

Plutarchus

11

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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Anthony G. Richards ed.

IN TEN VOLUMES

I

THESEUS AND ROMULUS
LYCURGUS AND NUMA
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA



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PREFATORY NOTE

AGREEMENT between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text of the present edition. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. All the *Lives* included in this volume are contained in the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), and occasional use has been made of the collations of that MS. by W. Meyer (Leipzig, 1890). Since no collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F^a), the excellent MS. so closely related to S, have been accessible to the Editor, its readings could only be inferred here and there from the text and notes of Stephanus. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

PREFATORY NOTE

The translation must speak for itself. Its author, like Plutarch himself, prays that he may find kindly readers, and feels reasonably confident of doing so among those who are able to appreciate the peculiarities of Plutarch's Greek. All the standard translations of the *Lives* have, of course, been carefully compared and utilized.

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INTRODUCTION

PLUTARCH'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

PLUTARCH was born at Chaeroneia, a small town on the northern confines of Boeotia, about the middle of the first century of our era, and toward the close of the reign of the emperor Claudius. He belonged to a family of ample means and generous culture, and was liberally educated. He studied at Athens, the most attractive university town in his day for both Greeks and Romans, and was a disciple of Ammonius of Lamptrae, a Peripatetic philosopher deeply versed in religious lore. Returning to his native town, he was soon called upon to represent it as deputy to the Roman governor of the province of Greece. That he travelled extensively over Greece, visited Asia Minor, Egypt, and Italy, and resided much at Rome, may be inferred from his writings, as most that is known about him must be inferred. At Rome, he was in charge of certain public business, so that he had not time to learn thoroughly the Latin language, as he himself confesses in the introduction to his *Demosthenes*. But Greek was the language of literary and polite

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society at Rome, and cultivated Greeks, especially philosophers, were welcome there. As a Greek philosopher, and a populariser of Platonism, Plutarch read and lectured at Rome, much as he did in the small but select circle of his intimates and friends at home. He made and retained a large acquaintance with the prominent Romans of his day, and was familiar with the questions which most occupied the minds of men at the political centre of the world. Then, after Athenian education, generous travels, diplomatic missions, modest literary celebrity, and considerable residence at Rome, he seems to have retired to his little country home, with his books, notes, lectures, essays, and gentle philosophy, and there, in a leisure not all too much encroached upon by local magistracies and certain religious offices at neighbouring Delphi, to have elaborated the sketches of his lectures and essays, which have come down to us under the collective name of *Morals*, and to have composed the work on which his fame chiefly rests,—the *Parallel Lives of Greeks and Romans*. He lived through the reigns Nero, Domitian, and Trajan, and, leaving the world as he did about 120 A.D., must have rejoiced at the accession of Hadrian to the imperial throne. His world had grown steadily better while he lived, and was now to enjoy its second golden age.

The *Morals* were composed, for the greater part, before the *Lives*, and are an invaluable prelude to and commentary on them, especially if we would

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know just what manner of man the author of the *Lives* was. They tell us, as the *Lives* do not, "of the points of view, moral and religious, from which he contemplated not this man's life or the other's, but the whole life of men. Nor is it too much to affirm that of the two halves of Plutarch's writings, of his *Lives* and his *Morals*, each constitutes a complement of the other; the one setting forth to us, and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had accomplished in the world of action, and the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought" (Trench, *Plutarch*, p. 90). But even in the *Lives*, Plutarch is far more moralist than historian.

Greece, after passing under Roman sway, lost sight gradually of her great men of action, and contented herself with the glories of her men of thought. Here surely the dominant Romans could not vie with her. It was to prove that the more remote past of Greece could show its lawgivers, commanders, statesmen, patriots, and orators, as well as the nearer and therefore more impressive past of Rome, that the *Parallel Lives* were written. With Scipio Africanus the Elder, the greatest man of Rome, Plutarch matched Epaminondas, the greatest man of Greece. This pair, or "book," of *Lives* is unfortunately lost. With Camillus, who saved Rome from the Gauls, he matched Themistocles, who saved Athens from the Persians. Then followed, as nearly

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as the order can be determined—for the order of the *Lives* in our collection is not the original one, the *Cimon and Lucullus*, the *Lycurgus and Numa*, the *Demosthenes and Cicero*, the *Pelopidas and Marcellus*, the *Lysander and Sulla*, the *Philopoemen and Flamininus*, the *Pericles and Fabius Maximus*, the *Aristides and Cato Major*, and thirteen other pairs. Eighteen of the twenty-two pairs which have come down to us, close with a formal comparison of the two careers and characters. This is often fanciful and forced, abounds in contrasts rather than resemblances, and is seldom of any special historical value, although it often has great literary charm. There are also four single *Lives* in our collection, *Artaxerxes*, *Aratus*, *Galba*, and *Otho*, and we get traces of twelve more that are now lost. One of the pairs is a double one, where, to match the two Gracchi, Plutarch selects the two reforming Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes. We have in all, therefore, fifty *Lives* by Plutarch.

MANUSCRIPTS, EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

A full account of the MSS. of Plutarch must be sought in the critical editions of the *Lives* by Sintenis and Bekker. It will be sufficient to speak here of six.

The oldest and, with one exception, the most authoritative MS., is the Codex Sangermanensis (S^r),

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in the library of the monastery of St. Germaindes-Prés, in the French Department of the Loire. It is a parchment MS. of the Xth century, but unfortunately contains only fifteen of the *Lives* : Antony (last part), Pyrrhus-Marius, Aratus, Artaxerxes, Agis and Cleomenes, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, Lycurgus-Numa, Lysander-Sulla, and Agesilaüs-Pompey.

The second oldest MS., and on the whole the most authoritative, is the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), belonging to the monastery of Seitenstetten, near Waidhofen, in Lower Austria. It is a parchment MS. of the XIth century, containing sixteen *Lives* : Lycurgus-Numa, Solon-Publicola, Aristides-Cato the elder, Themistocles-Camillus, Cimon-Lucullus, Pericles-Fabius Maximus, Nicias-Crassus, and Agesilaüs-Pompey. There are large deficiencies in the Lycurgus, Fabius, Nicias, and Crassus. It is only since 1870, and the edition of the Aristides and Cato by Hercher, that this MS. has been known to be not only the second oldest, but the best extant MS. of Plutarch. It has not been used in any special editions of *Lives* included in this first volume, but its readings are collected in the dissertation of W. Meyer, *De codice Plutarcho Seitenstettensi eiusque asseclis*, Leipsic, 1890.

Three parchment MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, No. 1671 (A), of the XIIIth century, containing all the *Morals* and *Lives*, No. 1672 (C), also of the XIIIth century, containing all the *Lives*, and No. 1674 (D), of the XVIth century containing all the *Lives*, are of supreme importance,

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and on these the texts of Sintenis and Bekker mainly rest. Of these three MSS., A and D seem to be more closely related to S^s, while C partakes of the characters both of S^k and S, and is often corrective of A and D.

Another MS. in the same library, No. 1676 (F^a), of the XVth century, has only more recently been recognized as the chief authority of Stephanus, and as partaking of the character of S. Its readings have not been fully published as yet, but have been used in editing the texts of special *Lives*, none of which, however, are included in this first volume.

Other MSS. will be mentioned as they come into importance for the text of special *Lives*.

The *editio princeps* of the *Parallel Lives*, 1517, "Florentiae, in aedibus Philippi Juntae," was based on Florentine MSS. of relatively inferior value.

The Aldine edition of the *Parallel Lives*, 1519, "Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri," was based on Venetian MSS., which were of greater excellence than the Florentine, some of them retaining their importance to the present day.

The first edition of the complete works of Plutarch, 1572, Paris, 13 voll. 8vo, was edited by Henri Etienne (Stephanus), who improved the text of his predecessors with readings of better MSS. unknown to them, making special use of Codex Parisinus, No. 1676 (F^a). The Paris edition of 1624, in two volumes folio, reproduced the text of Stephanus, and became the *textus receptus*. By its pages (given on the inner

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margin of the text of the present edition) Plutarch is cited in the *Index vocum verborumque exquisitorum in Plutarcho*, which closes Wytttenbach's great edition of the *Morals* (Oxford, 1830).

Critical and annotated editions of all the works of Plutarch by Reiske (Leipzig, 1774-82, 12 voll. 8vo), and of the *Parallel Lives* by Coraës (Paris, 1809-14, 6 voll. 8vo), were followed by the great critical edition of the *Parallel Lives* by Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-46, 4 voll. 8vo), which still remains the standard edition (Sintenis¹). A minor edition of this work appeared in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* (Leipzig, 1852-55, 5 voll. 12mo, re-issued without much change in 1873-75). It shows more boldness in the correction of obvious error, and greater freedom in the admission of conjecture, than the major edition, but is the most generally accepted text of the *Lives* (Sintenis²). The Tauchnitz text, edited by Immanuel Bekker (Leipzig, 1855-57, 5 voll. 8vo), does not differ very much from the first minor edition of Sintenis, but has a convenient division of the chapters into sections, which has been adopted in the present text.

In 1559 appeared the French version of the *Parallel Lives* by Jacques Amyot, the earliest French classic recognized by the French Academy. Amyot consulted many MSS. unknown to the authors of the Juntine and Aldine editions, and his work has an independent philological value, aside from its great literary merits.

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It was from Amyot's version, rather than from the original Greek, that Sir Thomas North made his version of the *Lives* (1579), a translation by the earliest master of great English prose from the earliest master of great French prose. Shakespeare used this version in his *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*. It was the Elizabethan Plutarch.

In Queen Anne's time, Dryden was "prevailed upon by his necessities" to head a company of translators of the *Lives*, and the version was called by his name (1683), although he furnished merely the Preface and the Life of Plutarch. Notwithstanding all the failings of this motley version, it supplanted that of North.

The first scholar's translation of the *Lives* from the original Greek into English, by the brothers John and William Langhorne, was published in 1770, and was the version most current from that time down to 1850. Compared with North's spirited version, it is rather dull and pedantic, although much more accurate.

Arthur Hugh Clough's revision of the so-called Dryden translation, a work which occupied this gifted scholar and poet for some seven years, was published in five volumes by Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, in 1859, and reprinted in one large octavo volume in 1876 and 1880. It is probably the best extant English version of all the *Lives*.

The best monograph on Plutarch in English is

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that of Archbishop Trench, which was published by the Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in 1873, and in a second edition in 1874. Ralph Waldo Emerson had already furnished a characteristic essay on Plutarch as an Introduction to Goodwin's revision of the translation of the *Morals* "by several hands" (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1870, reprinted, 1889). To the edition of North's translation of the *Lives* in the "Tudor Translations" (London, David Nutt, 1895-96), the Rt. Hon. George Wyndham furnished an Introduction of superlative power and excellence. Professor Mahaffy's chapters on Plutarch in his *Greek World under Roman Sway* (Macmillan & Co., 1890, pp. 291-350 = *The Silver Age of the Greek World*, Chicago and London, 1906, pp. 339-402) abound in discriminating and suggestive appreciations. Finally, mention may be made of *Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides*, newly translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Bernadotte Perrin, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS
EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE
OF THE GREEK LIVES.

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- (1) Theseus and Romulus.
Comparison.
- (2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
- (3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.

VOLUME II.

- (4) Themistocles and
Camillus.
- (9) Aristides and Cato the
Elder.
Comparison.
- (13) Cimon and Lucullus.
Comparison.

VOLUME III.

- (5) Pericles and Fabius Max-
imus.
Comparison.
- (14) Nicias and Crassus.
Comparison.

VOLUME IV.

- (6) Alcibiades and Coriola-
nus.
Comparison.
- (12) Lysander and Sulla.
Comparison.

VOLUME V.

- (16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
Comparison.
- (8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
Comparison.

VOLUME VI.

- (22) Dion and Brutus.
Comparison.
- (7) Timoleon and Aemilius
Paulus.
Comparison.
- (20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
Comparison.

VOLUME VII.

- (17) Alexander and Julius
Caesar.
- (15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
Comparison.

VOLUME VIII.

- (18) Phocion and Cato the
Younger.
- (21) Demetrius and Antony.
Comparison.

VOLUME IX.

- (11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
- (19) Agis and Cleomenes, and
Tiberius and Caius
Gracchus.
Comparison.

VOLUME X.

- (10) Philopoemen and Flam-
inius.
Comparison.
- (23) Aratus.
- (24) Artaxerxes.
- (25) Galba.
- (26) Otho.

THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE
PARALLEL LIVES.

- (1) Theseus and Romulus.
- (2) Lycurgus and Numa.
- (3) Solon and Publicola.
- (4) Themistocles and Camillus.
- (5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
- (6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
- (7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
- (8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
- (9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
- (10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
- (11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
- (12) Lysander and Sulla.
- (13) Cimon and Lucullus.
- (14) Nicias and Crassus.
- (15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
- (16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
- (17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
- (18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
- (19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius
Gracchus.
- (20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
- (21) Demetrius and Antony.
- (22) Dion and Brutus.
.....
- (23) Aratus.
- (24) Artaxerxes.
- (25) Galba.
- (26) Otho.

PLUTARCH'S PARALLEL
LIVES
THESEUS

VOL. I.

B

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΒΙΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΙ

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

Ι. "Ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς γεωγραφίαις, ὧ Σόσσιε
Σενεκίων, οἱ ἱστορικοὶ τὰ διαφεύγοντα τὴν Paris
Edition
a. 1624,
γνώσιν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσι τῶν πινά- 1
κων πιεζοῦντες, αἰτίας¹ παραγράφουσιν ὅτι "Τὰ
δ' ἐπέκεινα θῖνες ἄνδρσι καὶ θηριώδεσι" ἢ "πηλὸς
ἁῖδνῆς" ἢ "Σκυθικὸν κρύος" ἢ "πέλαγος πεπη-
γός," οὕτως ἐμοὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν βίων τῶν παραλ-
λήλων γραφήν, τὸν ἐφικτὸν εἰκότι λόγῳ καὶ βάσι-
μον ἱστορίαν πραγμάτων ἐχομένην χρόνον διελθόντι,
περὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω καλῶς εἶχεν εἰπεῖν. "Τὰ δ'
ἐπέκεινα τερατώδη καὶ τραγικὰ ποιηταὶ καὶ
μυθογράφοι νέμονται, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἔχει πίστιν
2 οὐδὲ σαφύνειαν." ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ Λυκούργου
τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ Νομά τοῦ βασιλέως λόγον
ἐκδόντες, ἐδοκοῦμεν οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ
προσαναβῆναι, πλησίον τῶν χρόνων αὐτοῦ τῇ
ἱστορίᾳ γεγονότες, σκοποῦντι δέ μοι

¹ αἰτίας Amyot, Stephanus, Coraës, Sintenis² with C;
Bekker and Sintenis¹ have εἰλίς (explaining some by saying).

PLUTARCH'S PARALLEL LIVES

THESEUS

I. JUST as geographers, O Socius Senecio,¹ crowd on to the outer edges of their maps the parts of the earth which elude their knowledge, with explanatory notes that "What lies beyond is sandy desert without water and full of wild beasts," or "blind marsh," or "Scythian cold," or "frozen sea," so in the writing of my *Parallel Lives*, now that I have traversed those periods of time which are accessible to probable reasoning and which afford basis for a history dealing with facts, I might well say of the earlier periods: "What lies beyond is full of marvels and unreality, the land of poets and fabulists, of doubt and obscurity." But after publishing my account of *Lycurgus* the lawgiver and *Numa* the king, I thought I might not unreasonably go back still farther to *Romulus*, now that my history had brought me near his times. And as I asked myself,

¹ One of the many friends whom Plutarch made during his residence at Rome. He was four times consul between the years 98 and 107 B.C. Plutarch addresses him also at the opening of the *Demosthenes* and the *Dion*, thus dedicating to him these "books."

Τοιῷδε φωτί (κατ' Αἰσχύλον) τίς ξυμβήσεται;¹
 τίν' ἀντιτάξω τῷδε; τίς φερέγγυος;²

ἐφαίνεταιο τὸν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀοιδίμων οἰκιστὴν
 Ἀθηνῶν ἀντιστῆσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν τῷ πατρὶ
 3 τῆς ἀνικῆτου καὶ μεγαλοδόξου Ῥώμης, εἴη μὲν
 οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκκαθαιρόμενον λόγῳ τὸ μυθῶδες ὑπα-
 κοῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἱστορίας ὄψιν, ὅπου δ' ἂν
 αὐθαδῶς τοῦ πιθανοῦ περιφρονῇ καὶ μὴ δέχεται
 τὴν πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς μῖξιν, εὐγνωμόνων ἀκροατῶν
 δεησόμεθα καὶ πράως τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν προσδε-
 χομένων.

II. Ἐδόκει δ' οὖν ὁ Θησεὺς τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ κατὰ
 πολλὰς ἐναρμόττειν ὁμοιότητας· ἄμφω μὲν γὰρ³
 ἀνεγγύω καὶ σκοτίῳ γενόμενοι δόξαν ἔσχον ἐκ
 θεῶν γεγονέναι,

Ἀμφω δ' αἰχμητά, τό γε δὴ καὶ ἴδμεν ἅπαντες,
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ τὸ συνετὸν ἔχοντες. πόλεων
 δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ὁ μὲν ἔκτισε τὴν Ῥώμην,
 ὁ δὲ συνώκισε τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἀρπαγὴ δὲ γυναικῶν
 2 ἐκατέρῳ πρόσσεστιν. οὐδέτερος δὲ δυστυχίαν περὶ
 τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ νέμεσιν ἐγγενῇ διέφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τελευτῶντες ἀμφότεροι λέγονται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
 προσκρούσαι πολίταις, εἴ τι τῶν ἥκιστα τραγι-

¹ *Seven against Thebes*, 435, τοιῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε — τίς
 ξυστήσεται;

² *Ibid.* 395 f.

τίν' ἀντιτάξεις τῷδε; τίς Προίτου πυλῶν
 κλήθρων λυθέντων προστατεῖν φερέγγυος;

³ *Coraë's*, Bekker, and Cobet, with C, after Reiske;
 ἄμφω μὲν.

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“ With such a warrior ” (as Aeschylus says) “ who will dare to fight ? ”

“ Whom shall I set against him ? Who is competent ? ”

it seemed to me that I must make the founder of lovely and famous Athens the counterpart and parallel to the father of invincible and glorious Rome. May I therefore succeed in purifying Fable, making her submit to reason and take on the semblance of History. But where she obstinately disdains to make herself credible, and refuses to admit any element of probability, I shall pray for kindly readers, and such as receive with indulgence the tales of antiquity.

II. It seemed to me, then, that many resemblances made Theseus a fit parallel to Romulus. For both were of uncertain and obscure parentage, and got the reputation of descent from gods ;

“ Both were also warriors, as surely the whole world knoweth,”¹

and with their strength, combined sagacity. Of the world's two most illustrious cities, moreover, Rome and Athens, Romulus founded the one, and Theseus made a metropolis of the other, and each resorted to the rape of women. Besides, neither escaped domestic misfortunes and the resentful anger of kindred, but even in their last days both are said to have come into collision with their own fellow-citizens,

¹ *Iliad* vii. 281, of Aias Telamon and Hector.

κὼς εἰρῆσθαι δοκούντων ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν.

III. Θησέως τὸ μὲν πατρῷον γένος εἰς Ἑρεχθέα 2
καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτόχθονας ἀνήκει, τῷ δὲ
μητρῷ Πελοπίδης ἦν. Πέλοψ γὰρ οὐ χρη-
μάτων πλήθει μᾶλλον ἢ παίδων μέγιστον ἴσχυσε
τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ βασιλέων, πολλὰς μὲν
ἐκδόμενος θυγατέρας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, πολλοὺς δὲ
ταῖς πόλεσιν υἱοὺς ἐγκατασπείρας ἄρχοντας· ὧν
εἰς γενόμενος Πιτθεύς, ὁ Θησέως πάππος, πόλιν
μὲν οὐ μεγάλην τὴν Τροιζηνίων ᾤκισε, δόξαν δὲ
μάλιστα πάντων ὡς ἀνὴρ λόγιος ἐν τοῖς τότε καὶ
2 σοφώτατος ἔσχεν. ἦν δὲ τῆς σοφίας ἐκείνης
τοιαύτη τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ιδέα καὶ δύναμις, οἷα
χρησάμενος Ἡσίοδος εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα περὶ τὰς
ἐν τοῖς Ἔργοις γνωμολογίας. καὶ μίαν γε τούτων
ἐκείνην λέγουσι Πιτθέως εἶναι,

Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένος ἄρκιος ἔστω.

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος
εἴρηκεν, ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης, τὸν Ἰππόλυτον ἀγνοῦ
Πιτθέως παῖδευμα προσειπὼν, ἐμφαίνει τὴν περὶ
τὸν Πιτθέα δόξαν.

3 Αἰγεί δὲ παίδων δεομένῳ τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνελεῖν
λέγουσι τὸν θρυλούμενον χρησμόν, διακελευο-
μένην μηδεμιᾷ γυναικὶ συγγενέσθαι πρὶν ἔλθειν
εἰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ πάννυ δὲ τοῦτο φράζειν εὐδὴλως

THESEUS

if there is any aid to the truth in what seems to have been told with the least poetic exaggeration.

III. The lineage of Theseus, on the father's side, goes back to Erechtheus and the first children of the soil; on the mother's side, to Pelops. For Pelops was the strongest of the kings in Peloponnesus quite as much on account of the number of his children as the amount of his wealth. He gave many daughters in marriage to men of highest rank, and scattered many sons among the cities as their rulers. One of these, named Pittheus, the grandfather of Theseus, founded the little city of Troezen, and had the highest repute as a man versed in the lore of his times and of the greatest wisdom. Now the wisdom of that day had some such form and force as that for which Hesiod was famous, especially in the sententious maxims of his "Works and Days." One of these maxims is ascribed to Pittheus, namely:—

"Payment pledged to a man who is dear must be ample and certain." ¹

At any rate, this is what Aristotle the philosopher says, ² and Euripides, ³ when he has Hippolytus addressed as "nursling of the pure and holy Pittheus," shows what the world thought of Pittheus.

Now Aegeus, king of Athens, desiring to have children, is said to have received from the Pythian priestess the celebrated oracle in which she bade him to have intercourse with no woman until he came to Athens. But Aegeus thought the words of the command somewhat obscure, and therefore turned

¹ Verse 370. ² Fragment 556. ³ *Hippolytus*, 11.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

δοκοῦσαν· ὅθεν εἰς Τροιζῆνα παρελθὼν ἀνεκοι-
νούτο Πιτθεὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φωνὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

Ἄσκού τὸν προὔχοντα πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε
λαῶν,

μὴ λύσης πρὶν δῆμον Ἀθηνέων εἰσαφικέσθαι·

- 4 ἃ δὴλον ὅτι νοήσας ὁ Πιτθεύς, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἢ
διηπάτησε τῇ Αἴθρᾳ συγγενέσθαι. συνελθὼν δὲ
καὶ γνούς ἐκείνος ὅτι τῇ Πιτθέως θυγατρὶ συγ-
γέγονε, καὶ κύειν αὐτὴν ὑπονοήσας, ἀπέλιπε ξίφος
καὶ πέδιλα κρύψας ὑπὸ πέτραν μεγάλην, ἐντὸς
ἔχουσαν κοιλότητα συμμέτρως ἐμπεριλαμβάνου-
5 σαν τὰ κείμενα. φράσας δὲ πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην,
καὶ διακελευσάμενος, ἂν υἱὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένηται,
καὶ λαβὼν ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν δυνατὸς ἢ τὴν πέτραν
ἀναστήσαι καὶ ὑφέλειν τὰ καταλειφθέντα, πέμ-
πειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ταῦτα μηδενὸς εἰδότος,
ἀλλ' ὥς ἔνεστι μάλιστα λανθάνοντα πάντα
(ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐδεδοίκει τοὺς Παλλαντίδας, ἐπι-
βουλεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν κατα-
φρονούντας· ἦσαν δὲ πεντήκοντα παῖδες ἐκ
Πάλλαντος γεγονότες), ἀπῆει.

IV. Τεκούσης δὲ τῆς Αἴθρας υἱόν, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς
ὀνομασθῆναι Θησέα λέγουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν γνωρι-
σμάτων θέσιν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀθήνησι παῖδα
θεμένου τοῦ Αἰγέως αὐτόν. τρεφόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ

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aside to Troezen and communicated to Pittheus the words of the god, which ran as follows :—

“Loose not the wine-skin’s jutting neck, great chief of the people,
Until thou shalt have come once more to the city of Athens.”¹

This dark saying Pittheus apparently understood, and persuaded him, or beguiled him, to have intercourse with his daughter Aethra. Aegeus did so, and then learning that it was the daughter of Pittheus with whom he had consorted, and suspecting that she was with child by him, he left a sword and a pair of sandals hidden under a great rock, which had a hollow in it just large enough to receive these objects. He told the princess alone about this, and bade her, if a son should be born to her from him, and if, when he came to man’s estate, he should be able to lift up the rock and take away what had been left under it, to send that son to him with the tokens, in all secrecy, and concealing his journey as much as possible from everybody; for he was mightily in fear of the sons of Pallas,² who were plotting against him, and who despised him on account of his childlessness; and they were fifty in number, these sons of Pallas. Then he went away.

IV. When Aethra gave birth to a son, he was at once named Theseus, as some say, because the tokens for his recognition had been *placed*³ in hiding; but others say that it was afterwards at Athens, when Aegeus *acknowledged*³ him as his son. He was reared

¹ Cf. Euripides, *Medea*, 674, 676 (Kirchhoff).

² His brother.

³ It is impossible to reproduce in English the play on the Greek words.

τοῦ Πιπθέως ἐπιστάτην ἔχειν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν ὄνομα Κουνίδαν, ᾧ μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι μᾶλλον πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Θησείων κριὸν ἐναγίζουσι, μεμνημένοι καὶ τιμῶντες πολὺ δικαιότερον ἢ Σιλανίωνα τιμῶσι καὶ Παρράσιον, εἰκόνων Θησέως γραφεῖς καὶ πλάστας γενομένους.

V. Ἔθους δὲ ὄντος ἔτι τότε τοὺς μεταβαίνοντας ἐκ παίδων ἐλθόντας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς κόμης, ἦλθε μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὁ Θησεύς, καὶ τόπον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Θησεΐαν ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐκείρατο δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ πρόσθεν μόνον, ὥσπερ Ὀμηρος ἔφη τοὺς Ἄβαντας· καὶ τοῦτο τῆς κουρᾶς τὸ γένος Θησηΐς ὠνομάσθη δι' ἐκείνον.

2 Οἱ δὲ Ἄβαντες ἐκείραντο πρῶτοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον οὐχ ὑπ' Ἀράβων διδαχθέντες, ὥς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, οὐδὲ Μυσσὺς ζηλώσαντες, ἀλλ' ὄντες πολεμικοὶ καὶ ἀγχιμάχοι, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων εἰς χεῖρας ὠθεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις μεμαθηκότες, ὥς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν τούτοις·

3 Οὐ τοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται οὐδὲ 3
θαμναῖ
σφενδόναί, εὐτ' ἂν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγῃ
ἐν πεδίῳ, ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσειται ἔργον·
ταύτης γὰρ κείνοι δαίμονές εἰσι μάχης
δεσπότης Εὐβοίας δουρικλυτοί.

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by Pittheus, as they say, and had an overseer and tutor named Connidas. To this man, even down to the present time, the Athenians sacrifice a ram on the day before the festival of Theseus, remembering him and honouring him with far greater justice than they honour Silanio and Parrhasius, who merely painted and moulded likenesses of Theseus.

V. Since it was still a custom at that time for youth who were coming of age to go to Delphi and sacrifice some of their hair to the god, Theseus went to Delphi for this purpose, and they say there is a place there which still to this day is called the Theseia from him. But he sheared only the fore part of his head, just as Homer¹ said the Abantes did, and this kind of tonsure was called Theseis after him.

Now the Abantes were the first to cut their hair in this manner, not under instruction from the Arabians, as some suppose, nor yet in emulation of the Mysians, but because they were war-like men and close fighters, who had learned beyond all other men to force their way into close quarters with their enemies. Archilochus is witness to this in the following words :—

“ Not many bows indeed will be stretched tight, nor
frequent slings
Be whirled, when Ares joins men in the moil of
war
Upon the plain, but swords will do their mournful
work ;
For this is the warfare wherein those men are
expert
Who lord it over Euboea and are famous with the
spear.”²

¹ *Iliad*, ii. 542.

² Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*⁴, ii. p. 383.

4 ὅπως οὖν μὴ παρέχοιεν ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν ἀντί-
ληψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπεκείραντο. τοῦτο δὲ
ἀμέλει καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐννοή-
σαντά φασι προστάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ξυρεῖν
τὰ γένεια τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς λαβὴν ταύτην ἐν
ταῖς μάχαις οὔσαν προχειροτάτην.

VI. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔκρυπτεν Αἰθρα
τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ Θησέως γένεσιν· ἦν δὲ λόγος
ὑπὸ τοῦ Πιτθέως διαδοθεὶς ὡς ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος
τεκνωθεῖη. Ποσειδῶνα γὰρ Τροιζήνιοι σέβονται
διαφερόντως, καὶ θεὸς οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς πολιού-
χος, ᾧ καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάρχονται καὶ τρίαιναν
2 ἐπίσημον ἔχουσι τοῦ νομίσματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ μειρά-
κιον ὢν, ἅμα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ διέφαινε
ἀλκὴν καὶ φρόνημα μετὰ νοῦ καὶ συνέσεως
βέβαιον, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡ Αἰθρα πρὸς τὴν πέτραν
προσαγαγοῦσα, καὶ φράσασα περὶ τῆς γενέσεως
τὰ ληθές, ἐκέλευσεν ὑφέλειν τὰ πατρῶα σύμβολα
3 καὶ πλεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πέτραν
ὑπέδυν καὶ ῥαδίως ἀνέωσε, πλεῖν δὲ ἀπέγνω,
καίπερ οὔσης ἀσφαλείας καὶ δεομένων τοῦ τε
πάππου καὶ τῆς μητρός. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν πεζῇ
πορεύεσθαι τὴν εἰς Ἀθήνας ὁδόν, οὐδὲν μέρος
καθαρὸν οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ κα-
κούργων ἔχουσαν.

4 Ὁ γὰρ δὴ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ἠνεγκεν ἀνθρώπους
χειρῶν μὲν ἔργοις καὶ ποδῶν τάχεσι καὶ σωμάτων
ῥώμαις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπερφυεῖς καὶ ἀκαμάτους,
πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τῇ φύσει χρωμένους ἐπιεικὲς οὐδὲ
ὠφέλιμον, ἀλλ' ὕβρει τε χαίροντας ὑπερηφάνῳ,
καὶ ἀπολαύοντας τῆς δυνάμεως ὠμότητι καὶ
πικρίᾳ, καὶ τῷ κρατεῖν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι καὶ

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Therefore, in order that they might not give their enemies a hold by their hair, they cut it off. And Alexander of Mæcedon doubtless understood this when, as they say, he ordered his generals to have the beards of their Macedonians shaved, since these afforded the readiest hold in battle.

VI. During the rest of the time, then, Aethra kept his true birth concealed from Theseus, and a report was spread abroad by Pittheus that he was begotten by Poseidon. For Poseidon is highly honoured by the people of Troezen, and he is the patron god of their city; to him they offer first fruits in sacrifice, and they have his trident as an emblem on their coinage. But when, in his young manhood, Theseus displayed, along with his vigour of body, prowess also, and a firm spirit united with intelligence and sagacity, then Aethra brought him to the rock, told him the truth about his birth, and bade him take away his father's tokens and go by sea to Athens. Theseus put his shoulder to the rock and easily raised it up, but he refused to make his journey by sea, although safety lay in that course, and his grandfather and his mother begged him to take it. For it was difficult to make the journey to Athens by land, since no part of it was clear nor yet without peril from robbers and miscreants.

For verily that age produced men who, in work of hand and speed of foot and vigour of body, were extraordinary and indefatigable, but they applied their powers to nothing that was fitting or useful. Nay rather, they exulted in monstrous insolence, and reaped from their strength a harvest of cruelty and bitterness, mastering and forcing and destroying everything that came in their path. And as for

- διαφθείρειν τὸ παραπίπτον, αἰδῶ δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ φιλόανθρωπον, ὡς ἀτολμία τοῦ ἀδικεῖν καὶ φόβος τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαινούντας, οὐδὲν οἰομένους προσ-
- 5 ἤκειν τοῖς πλέον ἔχειν δυναμένοις. τούτων Ἡρακλῆς τοὺς μὲν ἐξέκοπτε καὶ ἀνῆρει περιϊών, οἱ δὲ λανθάνοντες ἐκείνου παριόντος ἔπτησσον καὶ ἀνεδύοντο καὶ παρημελοῦντο ταπεινὰ πράττοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐχρήσατο συμφορᾷ, καὶ κτείνας Ἴφιτον εἰς Λυδῖαν ἀπῆρε καὶ συχνὸν ἐκεῖ χρόνον ἐδούλευε παρ' Ὀμφάλη, δίκην τοῦ φόνου ταύτην ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῷ, τότε τὰ μὲν Λυδῶν πράγματα πολλὴν ἔσχευ εἰρήνην καὶ ἄδειαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις αὐθις ἐξήνθησαν αἱ κακίαι καὶ ἀνερράγησαν, οὐδενὸς πιεζούντος οὐδὲ κατείργοντος.
- 6 Ἦν οὖν ὀλέθριος ἡ πορεία τοῖς Ἀθήναζε περὶ βαδίζουσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου· καὶ τῶν κακούργων ἕκαστον ἐξηγούμενος Πιτθεὺς ὁποῖος εἶη καὶ ὁποῖα δρώη περὶ τοὺς ξένους, ἔπειθε τὸν Θησέα κομίζεσθαι διὰ θαλάττης. τὸν δὲ πάλαι μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε, λεληθότως διέκαιεν ἡ δόξα τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἀρετῆς, καὶ πλεῖστον ἐκείνου λόγον εἶχε, καὶ προθυμότατος ἀκροατῆς ἐγίνετο τῶν διηγουμένων ἐκείνον οἷος εἶη, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν αὐτὸν ἑωρακότων καὶ πράττοντι καὶ λέγοντι
- 7 προστετυχηκότων· τότε δὲ παντάπασιν ἦν φανερὸς πεπονηθὼς ὅπερ ὕστερον χρόνοις πολλοῖς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπαθε, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφή τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον· οὕτως ἐκείνῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θαυμάζοντι τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ

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reverence and righteousness, justice and humanity, they thought that most men praised these qualities for lack of courage to do wrong and for fear of being wronged, and considered them no concern of men who were strong enough to get the upper hand. Some of these creatures Heracles cut off and destroyed as he went about, but some escaped his notice as he passed by, crouching down and shrinking back, and were overlooked in their abjectness. And when Heracles met with calamity and, after the slaying of Iphitus, removed into Lydia and for a long time did slave's service there in the house of Omphale, then Lydia indeed obtained great peace and security; but in the regions of Hellas the old villainies burst forth and broke out anew, there being none to rebuke and none to restrain them.

The journey was therefore a perilous one for travellers by land from Peloponnesus to Athens, and Pittheus, by describing each of the miscreants at length, what sort of a monster he was, and what deeds he wrought upon strangers, tried to persuade Theseus to make his journey by sea. But he, as it would seem, had long since been secretly fired by the glorious valour of Heracles, and made the greatest account of that hero, and was a most eager listener to those who told what manner of man he was, and above all to those who had seen him and been present at some deed or speech of his. And it is altogether plain that he then experienced what Themistocles many generations afterwards experienced, when he said that he could not sleep for the trophy of Miltiades.¹ In like manner Theseus admired the valour of Heracles, until by night his dreams were of the hero's

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, iii. 3.

νύκτωρ ὄνειρος ἦσαν αἱ πράξεις, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ ζῆλος καὶ ἀνηρέθιζε ταῦτα πρᾶττειν διανοούμενον.

VII. Ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ γένους κοινωνοῦντες 4
ἐξ ἀνεψιῶν ὄντες. Αἶθρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν Πιθέως θυγάτηρ, Ἀλκμήνη δὲ Λυσιδίκης, Λυσιδίκη δὲ καὶ Πιθεὺς ἀδελφοὶ γεγονότες ἐξ Ἴπποδαμείας καὶ Πέλοπος. δεινὸν οὖν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐκείνους μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πονηροὺς βαδίζοντα καθαίρειν γῆν καὶ θύλατταν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς 2 ἐμποδῶν ἄλλους ἀποδιδράσκειν, τὸν μὲν λόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ πατέρα καταισχύνων διὰ θαλάττης φυγῇ κομιζόμενος, τῷ δὲ ὄντι προσφέρων γνωρίσματα πέδιλα καὶ ξίφος ἀναίμακτον, οὐκ ἔργοις εὐθύς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πράξεσι παρέχων ἐμφανῆ χαρακτῆρα τῆς εὐγενείας. τοιούτῳ φρονήματι καὶ τοιούτοις λογισμοῖς ἐξώρμησεν, ὥς ἀδικήσων μὲν οὐδένα, τοὺς δὲ ὑπάρχοντας βίας ἀμυνόμενος.

VIII. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίᾳ Περιφήτην, ὅπλῳ χρώμενον κορύνῃ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Κορυνήτην ἐπικαλούμενον, ἀπτόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ κωλύοντα προάγειν συμβαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν· ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῇ κορύνῃ λαβὼν ὅπλον ἐποιήσατο καὶ διετέλει χρώμενος, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῷ δέρματι τοῦ λέοντος. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπίδειξις ἦν φορούμενον ἡλίκου τὸ μέγεθος θηρίου κρατήσκειν, οὗτος δὲ τὴν κορύνην ἐπεδείκνυσεν ἡττημένην μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀήττητον οὔσαν.
2 Ἐν δ' Ἰσθμῷ Σίνιν τὸν πιτυοκάμπτην ἡ τρόπῳ

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achievements, and by day his ardour led him along and spurred him on in his purpose to achieve the like.

VII. And besides, they were kinsmen, being sons of cousins-german. For Aethra was daughter of Pittheus, as Alcmena was of Lysidice, and Lysidice and Pittheus were brother and sister, children of Hippodameia and Pelops. Accordingly, he thought it a dreadful and unendurable thing that his famous cousin should go out against the wicked everywhere and purge land and sea of them, while he himself ran away from the struggles which lay in his path, disgracing his reputed father¹ by journeying like a fugitive over the sea, and bringing to his real father as proofs of his birth only sandals and a sword unstained with blood, instead of at once offering noble deeds and achievements as the manifest mark of his noble birth. In such a spirit and with such thoughts he set out, determined to do no man any wrong, but to punish those who offered him violence.

VIII. And so in the first place, in Epidauria, when Periphetes, who used a club as his weapon and on this account was called Club-bearer, laid hold of him and tried to stop his progress, he grappled with him and slew him. And being pleased with the club, he took it and made it his weapon and continued to use it, just as Heracles did with the lion's skin. That hero wore the skin to prove how great a wild beast he had mastered, and so Theseus carried the club to show that although it had been vanquished by him, in his own hands it was invincible.

On the Isthmus, too, he slew Sinis the Pine-bender

¹ Cf. chapter vi. 1.

πολλοὺς ἀνῆρει, τούτῳ διέφθειρεν αὐτός, οὐ μεμελητηκῶς οὐδ' εἰθισμένος, ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅτι καὶ τέχνης περίεστι καὶ μελέτης ἀπάσης. ἦν δὲ τῷ Σίνιδι καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα Περιγούνη. ταύτην τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνηρημένου φυγοῦσαν ἐζήτει περιῶν ὁ Θησεύς· ἡ δ' εἰς τόπον ἀπελθοῦσα λόχμην ἔχοντα πολλὴν στοιβὴν τε πλείστην καὶ ἀσφάραγον, ἀκάκως πάννυ καὶ παιδικῶς ὥσπερ αἰσθανομένων δεομένη προσεύχετο μεθ' ὄρκων, ἂν σώσωσιν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκρύψωσι, μηδέποτε λυμανεῖσθαι μηδὲ καύσειν.

3 ἀνακαλουμένου δὲ τοῦ Θησέως καὶ πίστιν διδόντος, ὥς ἐπιμελήσεται καλῶς αὐτῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικήσει, προῆλθε· καὶ τῷ μὲν Θησεῖ συγγενομένη Μελάνιππον ἔτεκε, Δηϊονεῖ δὲ τῷ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Οἰχαλιέως ὕστερον συνώκησε, Θησέως δόντος. ἐκ δὲ Μελάνιππου τοῦ Θησέως γενόμενος Ἴωξος Ὀρνύτῳ τῆς εἰς Καρίαν ἀποικίας μετέσχε· ὅθεν Ἴωξίδαις καὶ Ἴωξίσι πάτριον κατέστη μήτε ἄκανθαν ἀσφαράγου μήτε στοιβὴν καίειν, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν.

ΙΧ. Ἡ δὲ Κρομμυωνία σύς, ἦν Φαιᾶν προσωνόμαζον, οὐ φαῦλον ἦν θηρίον, ἀλλὰ μάχιμον καὶ χαλεπὸν κρατηθῆναι. ταύτην ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, ὥς μὴ δοκοίη πάντα πρὸς ἀνάγκην πονεῖν, ὑποστάς ἀνείλε, καὶ ἅμα τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀμυνόμενον οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν προσφέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ θηρίων καὶ προεπιχειροῦντα τοῖς γενναίοις μάχεσθαι καὶ διακινδυν-

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in the very manner in which many men had been destroyed by himself, and he did this without practice or even acquaintance with the monster's device, but showing that valour is superior to all device and practice. Now Sinis had a very beautiful and stately daughter, named Perigune. This daughter took to flight when her father was killed, and Theseus went about in search of her. But she had gone off into a place which abounded greatly in shrubs and rushes and wild asparagus, and with exceeding innocence and childish simplicity was supplicating these plants, as if they understood her, and vowing that if they would hide and save her, she would never trample them down nor burn them. When, however, Theseus called upon her and gave her a pledge that he would treat her honourably and do her no wrong, she came forth, and after consorting with Theseus, bore him Melanippus, and afterwards lived with Deïoneus, son of Eurytus the Oechalian, to whom Theseus gave her. From Melanippus the son of Theseus, Ioxus was born, who took part with Ornytus in leading a colony into Caria; whence it is ancestral usage with the Ioxids, men and women, not to burn either the asparagus-thorn or the rush, but to revere and honour them.

IX. Now the Crommyonian sow, which they called Phaea, was no insignificant creature, but fierce and hard to master. This sow he went out of his way to encounter and slay, that he might not be thought to perform all his exploits under compulsion, and at the same time because he thought that while the brave man ought to attack villainous men only in self defence, he should seek occasion to risk his life in battle with the nobler beasts. However, some say

νεύειν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὴν Φαιὰν ληστρίδα γενέσθαι γυναῖκα φονικὴν καὶ ἀκόλαστον, αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσαν ἐν Κρομμυῶνι, σὺν δὲ ἐπονομασθεῖσαν διὰ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν βίον εἴτα ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀποθανεῖν.

Χ. Σκείρωνα δὲ πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνείλε ρίψας κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν, ὥς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος ληστεύοντα τοὺς παριόντας, ὥς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ὕβρει καὶ τρυφῇ προτείνοντα τὴν πόδε τοῖς ξένοις καὶ κελεύοντα νίπτειν, εἴτα λακτίζοντα καὶ ἀπω-
 2 θούντα νίπτοντας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφεῖς, ὁμόσε τῇ φήμῃ βαδίζοντες καὶ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, πολεμοῦντες, οὔτε ὕβριστήν οὔτε ληστήν γεγενέσθαι τὸν Σκείρωνα φασιν, ἀλλὰ ληστῶν μὲν κολαστήν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ καὶ δικαίων οἰκείου ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλον. Αἰακὸν τε γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ὀσιώτατον νομίζεσθαι, 5 καὶ Κυχρέα τιμὰς θεῶν ἔχειν Ἀθήνησι τὸν Σαλαμίνιον, τὴν δὲ Πηλέως καὶ Τελαμῶνος ἀρε-
 3 τὴν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀγνοεῖσθαι. Σκείρωνα τοίνυν Κυχρέως μὲν γενέσθαι γαμβρόν, Αἰακοῦ δὲ πενθερόν, Πηλέως δὲ καὶ Τελαμῶνος πάππον, ἐξ Ἐνδηΐδος γεγονότων τῆς Σκείρωνος καὶ Χαρίκλους θυγατρὸς. οὐκ οὖν εἰκὸς εἶναι τῷ κακίστῳ τοὺς ἀρίστους εἰς κοινωνίαν γένους ἐλθεῖν, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα λαμβάνοντας καὶ δίδοντας. ἀλλὰ Θησέα φασιν οὐχ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, ἀλλ' ὕστερον Ἐλευσινὰ τε λαβεῖν Μεγαρέων ἐχόντων, παρακρουσάμενον Διοκλέα τὸν ἄρχοντα, καὶ Σκείρωνα ἀποκτείνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει τοιαύτας ἀντιλογίας.

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that Phaea was a female robber, a woman of murderous and unbridled spirit, who dwelt in Crommyon, was called Sow because of her life and manners, and was afterwards slain by Theseus.

X. He also slew Sciron on the borders of Megara, by hurling him down the cliffs. Sciron robbed the passers by, according to the prevalent tradition; but as some say, he would insolently and wantonly thrust out his feet to strangers and bid them wash them, and then, while they were washing them, kick them off into the sea. Megarian writers, however, taking issue with current report, and, as Simonides¹ expresses it, "waging war with antiquity," say that Sciron was neither a violent man nor a robber, but a chastiser of robbers, and a kinsman and friend of good and just men. For Aeacus, they say, is regarded as the most righteous of Hellenes, and Cychreus the Salaminian has divine honours at Athens, and the virtues of Peleus and Telamon are known to all men. Well, then, Sciron was a son-in-law of Cychreus, father-in-law of Aeacus, and grandfather of Peleus and Telamon, who were the sons of Endeïs, daughter of Sciron and Chariclo. It is not likely, then, they say, that the best of men made family alliances with the basest, receiving and giving the greatest and most valuable pledges. It was not, they say, when Theseus first journeyed to Athens, but afterwards, that he captured Eleusis from the Megarians, having circumvented Diocles its ruler, and slew Sciron. Such, then, are the contradictions in which these matters are involved.

¹ Fragment 193 (Bergk).

XI. Ἐν δὲ Ἐλευσίνι Κερκύονα τὸν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καταπαλαίσας ἀνείλε· καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν Δαμάστην ἐν Ἐρινεῷ¹ τὸν Προκρούστην, ἀναγκάσας αὐτὸν ἀπιστοῦν τοῖς κλητῆρσιν ὥσπερ τοὺς ξένους ἐκείνος. ἔπραττε δὲ ταῦτα μιμούμενος τὸν Ἡρακλέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος οἷς ἐπεβουλεύετο τρόποις ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς προεπιχειροῦντας, ἔθυσσε τὸν Βούσιριν καὶ κατεπάλαυσε τὸν Ἀνταῖον καὶ τὸν Κύκνον κατεμονομάχησε καὶ τὸν Τέρμερον συρρήξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέ-
 2 κτεινεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ Τερμέρειον κακὸν ὀνομασθῆναι λέγουσι· παίων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ Τέρμερος ἀπώλλυεν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ Θησεὺς κολάζων τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐπεξῆλθεν, οἷς μὲν ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς ἄλλους, ὑπ' ἐκείνου καταβιαζομένους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τρόποις τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀδικίας τὰ δίκαια πάσχοντας.

XII. Προϊόντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γενομένῳ κατὰ τὸν Κηφισόν, ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ Φυταλιδῶν γένους ἀπαντήσαντες ἡσπάσαντο πρῶτοι, καὶ δεομένου καθαρθῆναι, τοῖς νενομισμένοις ἀγνίσαντες καὶ μειλίχια θύσαντες εἰστίασαν οἴκοι, μηδεὶνδὸς πρότερον αὐτῷ φιλανθρώπου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐντυχόντος.

Ἡμέρᾳ μὲν οὖν ὀγδόῃ λέγεται Κρονίου μηνός, ὃν νῦν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα καλοῦσι, κατελθεῖν. κατελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὔρε τά τε κοινὰ ταραχῆς μεστὰ καὶ διχοφροσύνης, καὶ τὰ περὶ
 2 τὸν Αἰγέα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἰδίᾳ νοσοῦντα. Μήδεια

¹ Ἐρινεῷ with Coraës, after Pausanias, i. 38, 5: Ἐρμει, a correction by Palmerius of the MSS. Ἐρμιόνη.

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XI. In Eleusis, moreover, he out-wrestled Cercyon the Arcadian and killed him; and going on a little farther, at Erineüs, he killed Damastes, surnamed Procrustes, by compelling him to make his own body fit his bed, as he had been wont to do with those of strangers. And he did this in imitation of Heracles. For that hero punished those who offered him violence in the manner in which they had plotted to serve him, and therefore sacrificed Busiris, wrestled Antaeus to death, slew Cynus in single combat, and killed Termerus by dashing in his skull. It is from him, indeed, as they say, that the name "Termerian mischief" comes, for Termerus, as it would seem, used to kill those who encountered him by dashing his head against theirs. Thus Theseus also went on his way chastising the wicked, who were visited with the same violence from him which they were visiting upon others, and suffered justice after the manner of their own injustice.

XII. As he went forward on his journey and came to the river Cephissus, he was met by men of the race of the Phytalidae, who greeted him first, and when he asked to be purified from bloodshed, cleansed him with the customary rites, made propitiatory sacrifices, and feasted him at their house. This was the first kindness which he met with on his journey.

It was, then, on the eighth day of the month Cronius, now called Hecatombaeon, that he is said to have arrived at Athens. And when he entered the city, he found public affairs full of confusion and dissension, and the private affairs of Aegeus and his household in a distressing condition. For Medea,

γὰρ ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγοῦσα, φαρμάκοις ὑποσχομένη
 τῆς ἀτεκνίας ἀπαλλάξειν Αἰγέα, συνῆν αὐτῷ.
 προαισθομένη δὲ περὶ τοῦ Θησεῶς αὕτη, τοῦ
 δὲ Αἰγέως ἀγνοοῦντος, ὄντος δὲ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ
 φοβουμένου πάντα διὰ τὴν στάσιν, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν
 ὥς ξένον ἐστιῶντα φαρμάκοις ἀνελεῖν. ἐλθὼν
 οὖν ὁ Θησεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε
 φράζειν αὐτόν, ὅστις εἴη, πρότερος, ἐκείνῳ δὲ
 βουλόμενος ἀρχὴν ἀνευρέσεως παρασχεῖν, κρεῶν
 παρακειμένων σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, ὥς
 3 ταύτῃ τέμνων, ἐδείκνυεν ἐκείνῳ. ταχὺ δὲ κατα-
 μαθὼν ὁ Αἰγεὺς, τὴν μὲν κύλικα τοῦ φαρμάκου
 κατέβαλε, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἀνακρίνας ἡσπάζετο, καὶ
 συναγαγὼν τοὺς πολίτας ἐγνώριζεν, ἡδέως δεχο-
 μένους διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν. λέγεται δὲ τῆς
 κύλικος πεσούσης ἐκχυθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον ὅπου
 νῦν ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περίφρακτόν ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα
 γὰρ ὁ Αἰγεὺς ᾤκει, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν πρὸς ἔω
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλοῦσιν ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις.

XIII. Οἱ δὲ Παλλαντίδαι πρότερον μὲν ἠλπίζον
 αὐτοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καθεῖξιν Αἰγέως ἀτέκνου
 τελευτήσαντος· ἐπεὶ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀπεδείχθη διά-
 δοχος, χαλεπῶς φέροντες εἰ βασιλεύει μὲν Αἰγεὺς
 θετὸς γενόμενος Πανδίωνι καὶ μηδὲν Ἑρεχθεΐδαις
 προσήκων, βασιλεύσει δ' ὁ Θησεὺς πάλιν ἔπηλυς
 2 ὢν καὶ ξένος, εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. καὶ

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who had fled thither from Corinth, and promised by her sorceries to relieve Aegeus of his childlessness, was living with him. She learned about Theseus in advance, and since Aegeus was ignorant of him, and was well on in years and afraid of everything because of the faction in the city; she persuaded him to entertain Theseus as a stranger guest, and take him off by poison. Theseus, accordingly, on coming to the banquet, thought best not to tell in advance who he was, but wishing to give his father a clue to the discovery, when the meats were served, he drew his sword, as if minded to carve with this, and brought it to the notice of his father. Aegeus speedily perceived it, dashed down the proffered cup of poison, and after questioning his son, embraced him, and formally recognized him before an assembly of the citizens, who received him gladly because of his manly valour. And it is said that as the cup fell, the poison was spilled where now is the enclosure in the Delphinium,¹ for that is where the house of Aegeus stood, and the Hermes to the east of the sanctuary is called the Hermes at Aegeus's gate.

XIII. Now the sons of Pallas had before this themselves hoped to gain possession of the kingdom when Aegeus died childless. But when Theseus was declared successor to the throne, exasperated that Aegeus should be king although he was only an adopted son of Pandion and in no way related to the family of Erechtheus, and again that Theseus should be prospective king although he was an immigrant and a stranger, they went to war. And dividing

¹ The site of this sanctuary of the Delphinian Apollo is conjectured to have been somewhere to the east of the Olympieum.

διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν ἐμφανῶς Σφηττόθεν 6
 ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, οἱ δὲ
 Γαργηττοῖ κρύψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνὶ ἡδρευνον, ὥς
 διχόθεν ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. ἦν δὲ
 κῆρυξ μετ' αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ Ἀγνούσιος, ὄνομα Λεῶς.
 οὗτος ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Θησεῖ τὰ βεβουλευμένα τοῖς
 3 Παλλαντίδαις. ὁ δὲ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς
 ἐνεδρεύουσι πάντας διέφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ
 Πάλλαντος πυθόμενοι διεσπάρησαν. ἐκ τούτου
 φασὶ τῷ Παλληνέων δήμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγνουσίῳ
 ἐπιγαμίαν μὴ εἶναι, μηδὲ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦ-
 πιχώριον παρ' αὐτοῖς “Ἀκούετε λεῶ.” μισοῦσι
 γὰρ τοῦνομα διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐνεργὸς εἶναι βουλόμενος,
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ δημαγωγῶν, ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαρα-
 θώνιον ταῦρον, οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα τοῖς οἰκοῦσι
 τὴν Τετράπολιν παρέχοντα· καὶ χειρωσάμενος
 ἐπεδείξατο ζῶντα διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐλάσας, εἶτα τῷ
 2 Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφινίῳ κατέθυσεν. ἡ δὲ
 Ἑκάλη καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν μυθολόγημα τοῦ
 ξενισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἔοικε μὴ πάσης
 ἀμοιρεῖν ἀληθείας. ἔθνον γὰρ Ἑκαλήσια¹ οἱ
 πέριξ δῆμοι συνιόντες Ἑκάλῳ Διὶ, καὶ τὴν
 Ἑκάλην ἐτίμων, Ἑκαλίνην ὑποκοριζόμενοι διὰ τὸ
 κακείνην νέον ὄντα κομιδῇ τὸν Θησεῖα ξενίζουσιν
 ἀσπιάσασθαι πρεσβυτικῶς καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι

¹ Ἑκαλήσια the correction of Coraës: Ἑκαλήσιον,

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themselves into two bands, one of these marched openly against the city from Sphettus with their father; the other hid themselves at Gargettus and lay in ambush there, intending to attack their enemies from two sides. But there was a herald with them, a man of Agnus, by name Leos. This man reported to Theseus the designs of the Pallantidae. Theseus then fell suddenly upon the party lying in ambush, and slew them all. Thereupon the party with Pallas dispersed. This is the reason, they say, why the township of Pallene has no inter-marriage with the township of Agnus, and why it will not even allow heralds to make their customary proclamation there of "*Akouete leoi*" (*Hear, ye people!*). For they hate the word on account of the treachery of the man Leos.

XIV. But Theseus, desiring to be at work, and at the same time courting the favour of the people, went out against the Marathonian bull, which was doing no small mischief to the inhabitants of the Tetrapolis.¹ After he had mastered it, he made a display of driving it alive through the city, and then sacrificed it to the Delphinian Apollo. Now the story of Hecale and her receiving and entertaining Theseus on this expedition seems not to be devoid of all truth. For the people of the townships round about used to assemble and sacrifice the Hecalesia to Zeus Hecalus, and they paid honours to Hecale, calling her by the diminutive name of Hecaline, because she too, when entertaining Theseus, in spite of the fact that he was quite a youth, caressed him as elderly people do, and called

¹ An early name for a district of Attica comprising Marathon and three other adjacent townships.

3 τοιούτοις ὑποκορισμοῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ εὗξατο μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Διῖ, βαδίζοντος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, εἰ σῶς παραγένοιτο, θύσειν, ἀπέθανε δὲ πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθεῖν, ἔσχε τὰς εἰρημένας ἀμοιβὰς τῆς φιλοξενίας τοῦ Θησέως κελεύσαντος, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκεν.

XV. Ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον ἦκον ἐκ Κρήτης τὸ τρίτον οἱ τὸν δασμὸν ἀπάξοντες. ὅτι μὲν οὖν Ἀνδρόγεω περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποθανεῖν δόλῳ δόξαντος, ὃ τε Μίνως πολλὰ κακὰ -πολεμῶν εἰργάζετο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν (ἀφορία τε γὰρ καὶ νόσος ἐνέσκηψε πολλή καὶ ἀνέδυσαν οἱ ποταμοί), καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος ἱλασαμένοις τὸν Μίνω καὶ διαλλαγεῖσι λωφήσειν τὸ μήνιμα καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἔσεσθαι παῦλαν, ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι καὶ δεηθέντες ἐποίησαντο συνθήκας ὥστε πέμπειν δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν δασμὸν ἡϊθέους ἐπτὰ καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας, ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συγγρα-
2 φέων· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας εἰς Κρήτην κομιζομένους ὁ μὲν τραγικώτατος μῦθος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Μινώ-
ταυρον ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ διαφθεῖρειν, ἢ πλανω-
μένους αὐτοὺς καὶ τυχεῖν ἐξόδου μὴ δυναμένους ἐκεῖ καταθνήσκειν, τὸν δὲ Μινώταυρον, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης φησί,

Σύμμικτον εἶδος κάποφώλιον βρέφος
γεγονέναι, καὶ

Ταύρου μεμίχθαι καὶ βροτοῦ διπλῇ φύσει.

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him affectionately by such diminutive names. And since she vowed, when the hero was going to his battle with the bull, that she would sacrifice to Zeus if he came back safe, but died before his return, she obtained the above mentioned honours as a return for her hospitality at the command of Theseus, as Philochorus has written.

XV. Not long afterwards there came from Crete for the third time the collectors of the tribute. Now as to this tribute, most writers agree that because Androgeos was thought to have been treacherously killed within the confines of Attica, not only did Minos harass the inhabitants of that country greatly in war,¹ but Heaven also laid it waste, for barrenness and pestilence smote it sorely, and its rivers dried up; also that when their god assured them in his commands that if they appeased Minos and became reconciled to him, the wrath of Heaven would abate and there would be an end of their miseries, they sent heralds and made their supplication and entered into an agreement to send him every nine years a tribute of seven youths and as many maidens. And the most dramatic version of the story declares that these young men and women, on being brought to Crete, were destroyed by the Minotaur in the Labyrinth, or else wandered about at their own will and, being unable to find an exit, perished there; and that the Minotaur, as Euripides says, was

“A mingled form and hybrid birth of monstrous shape,”

and that

“Two different natures, man and bull, were joined in him.”²

¹ Cf. Plato, *Laws*, p. 706.

² Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 680.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XVI. Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν οὐ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν Κρήτας, ἀλλὰ λέγειν ὅτι φρουρὰ μὲν ἦν ὁ Λαβυρινθος, οὐδὲν ἔχων κακὸν ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς φυλαττομένους, ἀγῶνα δὲ ὁ Μίνως ἐπ' Ἀνδρόγεω γυμνικὸν ἐποίει καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἄθλα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐδίδου τέως ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ φυλαττομένους· ἐνίκα δὲ τοὺς προτέρους ἀγῶνας ὁ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενος τότε καὶ στρατηγῶν, ὄνομα Ταῦρος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ ἡμερος τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερηφάνως καὶ χαλεπῶς προσ-
 2 φερόμενος. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Βοττιαίων πολιτείᾳ δῆλός ἐστιν οὐ νομίζων ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνω, ἀλλὰ θητεύοντας ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ καταγηράσκειν· καί ποτε Κρήτας εὐχὴν παλαιὰν ἀποδιδόντας ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλειν, τοῖς δὲ πεμπομένοις ἀναμιχθέντας ἐκγόνους ἐκείνων συνεξελθεῖν· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ τρέφειν ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόθι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν διαπερᾶσαι ἧ
 κακεῖ κατοικεῖν περὶ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ αὖθις εἰς Θράκην κομισθῆναι καὶ κληθῆναι Βοττιαίους· διὸ τὰς κόρας τῶν Βοττιαίων θυσίαν τινὰ τελούσας ἐπάδειν· “Ἰωμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας.”
 Ἔοικε γὰρ ὄντως χαλεπὸν εἶναι φωνὴν ἐχούσῃ
 3 πόλει καὶ μούσαν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μίνως αἰεὶ διετέλει κακῶς ἀκούων καὶ λοιδορούμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς θεάτροις, καὶ οὔτε Ἡσίοδος

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XVI. Philochorus, however, says that the Cretans do not admit this, but declare that the Labyrinth was a dungeon, with no other inconvenience than that its prisoners could not escape; and that Minos instituted funeral games in honour of Androgeos, and as prizes for the victors, gave these Athenian youth, who were in the meantime imprisoned in the Labyrinth; and that the victor in the first games was the man who had the greatest power at that time under Minos, and was his general, Taurus by name, who was not reasonable and gentle in his disposition, but treated the Athenian youth with arrogance and cruelty. And Aristotle himself also, in his "Constitution of Bottiaea,"¹ clearly does not think that these youths were put to death by Minos, but that they spent the rest of their lives as slaves in Crete. And he says that the Cretans once, in fulfilment of an ancient vow, sent an offering of their first-born to Delphi, and that some descendants of those Athenians were among the victims, and went forth with them; and that when they were unable to support themselves there, they first crossed over into Italy and dwelt in that country round about Iapygia, and from there journeyed again into Thrace and were called Bottiaeans; and that this was the reason why the maidens of Bottiaea, in performing a certain sacrifice, sing as an accompaniment: "To Athens let us go!"

And verily it seems to be a grievous thing for a man to be at enmity with a city which has a language and a literature. For Minos was always abused and reviled in the Attic theatres, and it did not avail him either that Hesiod² called him "most

¹ Not extant.

² In some passage not extant.

αὐτὸν ὦνησε “βασιλεύτατον” οὔτε Ὅμηρος “ἄριστήν Διὸς” προσαγορεύσας, ἀλλ’ ἐπικρατήσαντες οἱ τραγικοὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λογιέου καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀδοξίαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν ὥς χαλεποῦ καὶ βιαίου γενομένου. καίτοι φασὶ τὸν μὲν Μίνω βασιλέα καὶ νομοθέτην, δικαστὴν δὲ τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν εἶναι καὶ φύλακα τῶν ὠρισμένων ὑπ’ ἐκείνου δικαίων.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν καθῆκεν ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τρίτου δασμοῦ, καὶ παρέχειν ἔδει τοὺς πατέρας ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον οἷς ἦσαν ἡῖθεοι παῖδες, αὐτοῖς ἀνεφύοντο τῷ Αἰγεί διαβολαὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ὀδυρομένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας ὅτι πάντων αἴτιος ὦν ἐκείνος, οὐδὲν μέρος ἔχει τῆς κολάσεως μόνος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ νόθῳ καὶ ξένῳ παιδί τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιημένος αὐτοὺς περιορᾷ γνησίων ἐρήμους καὶ

2 ἄπαιδας ἀπολειπομένους. ταῦτ’ ἡνία τὸν Θησέα, καὶ δικαίων μὴ ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ κοινωνεῖν τῆς τύχης τοῖς πολίταις, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ κλήρου προσελθών. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τό τε φρόνημα θαυμαστὸν ἐφάνη καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἡγάπησαν, ὁ δὲ Αἰγεύς, ἐπεὶ δεόμενος καὶ καθικετεύων ἀμετάπειστον ἑώρα καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτον, ἀπεκλήρωσε τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας.

3 Ἑλλάνικος δέ φησιν οὐ τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπὸ κλήρου καὶ τὰς λαχούσας ἐκπέμπειν τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Μίνω παραγινόμενον ἐκλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θησέα πάντων ἐλέσθαι πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρισθεῖσιν ὠρισμένον δ’ εἶναι τὴν μὲν ναῦν Ἀθηναίους παρέχειν, ἐμβάντας δὲ πλεῖν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἡιθέους μηδὲν ὄπλον ἀρήϊον ἐπιφερο-

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royal," or that Homer¹ styled him "a confidant of Zeus," but the tragic poets prevailed, and from platform and stage showered obloquy down upon him, as a man of cruelty and violence. And yet they say that Minos was a king and lawgiver, and that Rhadamanthus was a judge under him, and a guardian of the principles of justice defined by him.

XVII. Accordingly, when the time came for the third tribute, and it was necessary for the fathers who had youthful sons to present them for the lot, fresh accusations against Aegeus arose among the people, who were full of sorrow and vexation that he who was the cause of all their trouble alone had no share in the punishment, but devolved the kingdom upon a bastard and foreign son, and suffered them to be left destitute and bereft of legitimate children. These things troubled Theseus, who, thinking it right not to disregard but to share in the fortune of his fellow-citizens, came forward and offered himself independently of the lot. The citizens admired his noble courage and were delighted with his public spirit, and Aegeus, when he saw that his son was not to be won over or turned from his purpose by prayers and entreaties, cast the lots for the rest of the youths.

Hellanicus, however, says that the city did not send its young men and maidens by lot, but that Minos himself used to come and pick them out, and that he now pitched upon Theseus first of all, following the terms agreed upon. And he says the agreement was that the Athenians should furnish the ship, and that the youths should embark and sail

¹ *Odyssey*, xix. 179.

μένους, ἀπολομένου δὲ τοῦ Μινωταύρου πέρας ἔχειν τὴν ποιμήν.

4 Πρότερον μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ὑπέκειτο· διὸ καὶ μέλαν ἰστίον ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ προδήλῳ, τὴν ναῦν ἔπεμπον· τότε δὲ τοῦ Θησέως τὸν πατέρα θαρρύνοντος καὶ μεγαληγοροῦντος ὡς χειρώσεται τὸν Μινώταυρον, ἔδωκεν ἕτερον ἰστίον λευκὸν τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, κελεύσας ὑποστρέφοντα σωζομένου τοῦ Θησέως ἐπάρασθαι τὸ λευκόν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ μέλανι πλεῖν καὶ ἀποσημαίνειν τὸ πάθος.

5 Ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης οὐ λευκὸν φησιν εἶναι τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀλλὰ “φοινίκεον ἰστίον ὑγρῷ πεφυρμένον πρίνου ἄνθει ἐριθάλλου” καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι σημεῖον. ἐκυβέρνα δὲ τὴν ναῦν Ἀμαρσνάδας Φέρεκλος, 6 ὡς φησι Σιμωνίδης. Φιλόχορος δὲ παρὰ Σκίρου φησὶν ἐκ Σαλαμίνοσιν τὸν Θησέα λαβεῖν κυβερνήτην μὲν Ναυσίθοον, πρωρέα δὲ Φαίακα, μηδέπω τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσεχόντων τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἡϊθέων ἓνα Μενέσθην Σκίρου θυγατριδοῦν. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις ἡρῶα Ναυσιθόου καὶ Φαίακος εἰσαμένου Θησέως Φαληροῖ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Σκίρου ἱερῷ,¹ καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν τὰ Κυβερνήσια φασὶν ἐκείνοις τελεῖσθαι.

XVIII. Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κλήρου παραλαβὼν τοὺς λαχόντας ὁ Θησεὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς Δελφίνιον, ἔθηκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἱκετηρίαν. ἦν δὲ κλάδος ἀπὸ

¹ ἱερῷ bracketed by Bekker (near that of Scirus).

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with him carrying no warlike weapon, and that if the Minotaur was killed the penalty should cease.

On the two former occasions, then, no hope of safety was entertained, and therefore they sent the ship with a black sail, convinced that their youth were going to certain destruction; but now Theseus encouraged his father and loudly boasted that he would master the Minotaur, so that he gave the pilot another sail, a white one, ordering him, if he returned with Theseus safe, to hoist the white sail, but otherwise to sail with the black one, and so indicate the affliction.

Simonides, however, says¹ that the sail given by Aegeus was not white, but "a scarlet sail dyed with the tender flower of luxuriant holm-oak," and that he made this a token of their safety. Moreover, the pilot of the ship was Phereclus, son of Amarsyas, as Simonides says; but Philochorus says that Theseus got from Scirus of Salamis Nausithoüs for his pilot, and Phaeax for his look-out man, the Athenians at that time not yet being addicted to the sea, and that Scirus did him this favour because one of the chosen youths, Menesthes, was his daughter's son. And there is evidence for this in the memorial chapels for Nausithoüs and Phaeax which Theseus built at Phalerum near the temple of Scirus, and they say that the festival of the Cybrenesia, or Pilot's Festival, is celebrated in their honour.

XVIII. When the lot was cast, Theseus took those upon whom it fell from the prytaneium and went to the Delphinium, where he dedicated to Apollo in their behalf his suppliant's badge. This

¹ Fragment 54 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.⁴ p. 413).

τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας, ἐρίῳ λευκῷ κατεστεμμένος. εὐξάμενος δὲ κατέβαινε ἐκτῇ μηνὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἰσταμένου Μουνυχιῶνος, ἧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰς κόρας πέμπουσιν ἰλασομένας εἰς Δελφίνιον.

- 2 λέγεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνελεῖν θεὸν Ἀφροδίτην καθηγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παρα- 8
καλεῖν συνέμπορον, θύοντι δὲ πρὸς θαλάσση τὴν αἶγα θήλειαν οὔσαν αὐτομάτως τράγον γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν θεὸν Ἐπιτραγίαν.

- XIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην, ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσι καὶ ᾄδουσι, παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐρασθείσης τὸ λίνον λαβὼν, καὶ δι-
δαχθεὶς ὥς ἔστι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν, ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μινώταυρον καὶ ἀπέ-
πλευσε τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἡϊ-
θέους. Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν Κρη-
τικῶν νεῶν φησιν ἐκκόψαι τὸν Θησέα, τὴν
2 δῶξιν ἀφαιρούμενον. Δήμων δὲ καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον
ἀναιρεθῆναί φησι τὸν τοῦ Μίνω στρατηγόν, ἐν
τῷ λιμένι διαναυμαχοῦντα τοῦ Θησέως ἐκ-
πλέοντος. ὥς δὲ Φιλόχορος ἱστόρηκε, τὸν ἀγῶνα
τοῦ Μίνω συντελοῦντος, ἐπίδοξος ὢν ἅπαντας
πάλιν νικήσειν, ὁ Ταῦρος ἐφθονεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἡ
δύναμις αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἦν ἐπαχθής, καὶ
διαβολὴν εἶχεν ὥς τῇ Πασιφάῃ πλησιάζων. διὸ
καὶ τοῦ Θησέως ἀξιούντος ἀγωνίσασθαι συνε-
3 χώρησεν ὁ Μίνως. ἔθους δὲ ὄντος ἐν Κρήτῃ
θεᾶσθαι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἀριάδνη παρούσα πρὸς

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was a bough from the sacred olive-tree, wreathed with white wool. Having made his vows and prayers, he went down to the sea on the sixth day of the month Munychion, on which day even now the Athenians still send their maidens to the Delphinium to propitiate the god. And it is reported that the god at Delphi commanded him in an oracle to make Aphrodite his guide, and invite her to attend him on his journey, and that as he sacrificed the usual she-goat to her by the sea-shore, it became a he-goat ("tragos") all at once, for which reason the goddess has the surname Epitragia.

XIX. When he reached Crete on his voyage, most historians and poets tell us that he got from Ariadne, who had fallen in love with him, the famous thread, and that having been instructed by her how to make his way through the intricacies of the Labyrinth, he slew the Minotaur and sailed off with Ariadne and the youth. And Pherecydes says that Theseus also staved in the bottoms of the Cretan ships, thus depriving them of the power to pursue. And Demon says also that Taurus, the general of Minos, was killed in a naval battle in the harbour as Theseus was sailing out. But as Philochorus tells the story,¹ Minos was holding the funeral games, and Taurus was expected to conquer all his competitors in them, as he had done before, and was grudged his success. For his disposition made his power hateful, and he was accused of too great intimacy with Pasiphaë. Therefore when Theseus asked the privilege of entering the lists, it was granted him by Minos. And since it was the custom in Crete for women to view the games, Ariadne was present, and was

¹ Cf. chapter xvi. 1.

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τε τὴν ὄψιν ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ Θησέως καὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν ἐθαύμασε πάντων κρατήσαντος. ἦσθεις δὲ καὶ ὁ Μίνως μάλιστα τοῦ Ταύρου καταπαλαισθέντος καὶ προπηλακισθέντος, ἀπέδωκε τῷ Θησεῖ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἀνῆκε τῇ πόλει τὸν δασμόν.

- 4 Ἰδίως δέ πως καὶ περιττῶς ὁ Κλείδημος ἀπήγγειλε περὶ τούτων, ἄνωθ' ἐποθεὶς ἀρξάμενος, ὅτι δόγμα κοινὸν ἦν Ἑλλήνων μηδεμίαν ἐκπλεῖν τριήρη μηδαμῶθεν ἀνδρῶν πέντε πλείονας δεχομένην· τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἀργοῦς Ἰάσονα μόνον περιπλεῖν¹ ἐξείργοντα τῆς θαλάττης τὰ ληστήρια. Δαίδαλον δὲ πλοῖον φυγόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, Μίνως παρὰ τὰ δόγματα μακραῖς ναυσὶ διώκων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπηνέχθη καὶ ἐκεί κατέ-
- 5 στρεψε τὸν βίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δευκαλίων ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πολεμικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν, ἐκδιδόναι Δαίδαλον αὐτῷ κελεύων ἢ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλῶν οὓς ἔλαβεν ὁμήρους ὁ Μίνως, τούτῳ μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πρῶτος ὁ Θησεύς, παραιτούμενος ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα Δαίδαλον καὶ ἐκείνῳ κατὰ γένος προσήκοντα, μητρὸς ὄντα Μερόπης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως, αὐτὸς δὲ ναυπηγίαν ἐπεβάλετο, τὴν μὲν ἐν Θυμαिताδῶν αὐτόθι μακρὰν τῆς ξενικῆς ὁδοῦ, τὴν δὲ διὰ Πιτθέως ἐν
- 6 Τροιζήνι, βουλόμενος λαυθάνειν. γενομένων δὲ ἐτοίμων ἐξέπλευσε τὸν τε Δαίδαλον ἔχων καὶ φυγάδας ἐκ Κρήτης καθηγεμόνας· οὐδενὸς δὲ

¹ περιπλεῖν Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna after this word. A Bodleian MS. (B^a) has *τριήρει πλήρει ἀνδρῶν ἱκανῶν* (with a trireme fully manned).

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smitten with the appearance of Theseus, as well as filled with admiration for his athletic prowess, when he conquered all his opponents. Minos also was delighted with him, especially because he conquered Taurus in wrestling and disgraced him, and therefore gave back the youths to Theseus, besides remitting its tribute to the city.

Cleidemus, however, gives a rather peculiar and ambitious account of these matters, beginning a great way back. There was, he says, a general Hellenic decree that no trireme should sail from any port with a larger crew than five men, and the only exception was Jason, the commander of the *Argo*, who sailed about scouring the sea of pirates. Now when Daedalus fled from Crete in a merchant-vessel to Athens, Minos, contrary to the decrees, pursued him with his ships of war, and was driven from his course by a tempest to Sicily, where he ended his life.¹ And when Deucalion, his son, who was on hostile terms with the Athenians, sent to them a demand that they deliver up Daedalus to him, and threatened, if they refused, to put to death the youth whom Minos had received from them as hostages, Theseus made him a gentle reply, declining to surrender Daedalus, who was his kinsman and cousin, being the son of Merope, the daughter of Erechtheus. But privately he set himself to building a fleet, part of it at home in the township of Thymoetadae, far from the public road, and part of it under the direction of Pittheus in Troezen, wishing his purpose to remain concealed. When his ships were ready, he set sail, taking Daedalus and exiles from Crete as his guides, and since none

¹ Cf. Herodotus, vii. 170 ; Diodorus, iv. 79.

προειδότης, ἀλλὰ ναῦς φιλίας οἰομένων τῶν Κρητῶν προσφέρεισθαι, τοῦ λιμένος κρατήσας καὶ ἀποβάς ἔφθασεν εἰς τὴν Κνωσσὸν παρελθόν· καὶ μάχην ἐν πύλαις τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Δευκαλίωνα καὶ τοὺς 7 δορυφόρους. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς Ἀριάδνης γενομένης, σπεισάμενος πρὸς αὐτὴν τοὺς τε ἡϊθέους ἀνέλαβε καὶ φιλίαν ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Κρήτας, ὁμόσαντας μηδέποτε πολέμου κατάρξειν.

XX. Πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔτι λέγονται καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀριάδνης, οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπάγξασθαί φασιν αὐτὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θησέως, οἱ δὲ εἰς Νάξον ὑπὸ ναυτῶν κομισθεῖσαν Οἰνάρῳ τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διονύσου συνοικεῖν, ἀπολειφθῆναι δὲ τοῦ Θησέως ἐρῶντος ἐτέρας·

Δεινὸς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηίδος Αἴγλης.

2 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔπος ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου Πεισίστρατον ἐξελεῖν φησιν Ἡρέας ὁ Μεγαρεύς, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς πάλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου νέκυιαν τὸ

Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα, 9

χαριζόμενον Ἀθηναίοις· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τεκεῖν ἐκ Θησέως Ἀριάδνην Οἰνοπίωνα καὶ Στάφυλον· ὧν καὶ ὁ Χίος Ἴων ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος λέγων·

Τὴν ποτε Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων.

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of the Cretans knew of his design, but thought the approaching ships to be friendly, Theseus made himself master of the harbour, disembarked his men, and got to Gnosus before his enemies were aware of his approach. Then joining battle with them at the gate of the Labyrinth, he slew Deucalion and his body-guard. And since Ariadne was now at the head of affairs, he made a truce with her, received back the youthful hostages, and established friendship between the Athenians and the Cretans, who took oath never to begin hostilities.

XX. There are many other stories about these matters, and also about Ariadne, but they do not agree at all. Some say that she hung herself because she was abandoned by Theseus; others that she was conveyed to Naxos by sailors and there lived with Oenarus the priest of Dionysus, and that she was abandoned by Theseus because he loved another woman :—

“Dreadful indeed was his passion for Aigle child of Panopeus.”¹

This verse Peisistratus expunged from the poems of Hesiod, according to Hereas the Megarian, just as, on the other hand, he inserted into the *Inferno* of Homer the verse :—

“Theseus, Peirithous, illustrious children of Heaven,”²

and all to gratify the Athenians. Moreover, some say that Ariadne actually had sons by Theseus, Oenopion and Staphylus, and among these is Ion of Chios, who says of his own native city :—

“This, once, Theseus’s son founded, Oenopion.”³

¹ Cf. Athenaeus, p. 557 a.

² *Odyssey*, xi. 631.

³ Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* ii.⁴ p. 254.

- “Α δ' ἐστὶν εὐφημότατα τῶν μυθολογουμένων, πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διὰ στόματος ἔχουσιν. ἴδιον δέ τινα περὶ τούτων λόγον ἐκδέδωκε Παίων
- 3 ὁ Ἀμαθούσιος. τὸν γὰρ Θησέα φησὶν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς Κύπρον ἐξενεχθέντα καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἔγκυνον ἔχοντα, φαύλως δὲ διακειμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν, ἐκβιβάσαι μόνην, αὐτὸν δὲ τῷ πλοίῳ βοηθοῦντα πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φέρεσθαι. τὰς οὖν ἐγχωρίους γυναῖκας τὴν Ἀριάδνην ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ περιέπειν ἀθυμοῦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ μονώσει, καὶ γράμματα πλαστὰ προσφέρειν, ὡς τοῦ Θησέως γράφοντος αὐτῇ, καὶ περὶ τὴν ὥδινα συμπονεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν· ἀπο-
- 4 θανοῦσαν δὲ θάψαι μὴ τεκοῦσαν. ἐπελθόντα δὲ τὸν Θησέα καὶ περίλυπον γενόμενον τοῖς μὲν ἐγχωρίοις ἀπολιπεῖν χρήματα, συντάξαντα θύειν τῇ Ἀριάδνῃ, δύο δὲ μικροὺς ἀνδριαντίσκους ἰδρύσασθαι, τὸν μὲν ἀργυροῦν, τὸν δὲ χαλκοῦν. ἐν δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἱσταμένου δευτέρᾳ κατακλινόμενόν τινα τῶν νεανίσκων φθέγγεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἅπερ ὠδίνουσαι γυναῖκες· καλεῖν δὲ τὸ ἄλσος Ἀμαθουσίους, ἐν ᾧ τὸν τάφον δεικνύουσιν, Ἀριάδνης Ἀφροδίτης.
- 5 Καὶ Ναξίων δέ τινες ἰδίως ἱστοροῦσι δύο Μίνωας γενέσθαι καὶ δύο Ἀριάδνας, ὧν τὴν μὲν Διονύσῳ γαμηθῆναί φασιν ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Στάφυλον τεκεῖν, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν ἀρπασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θησέως καὶ ἀπολειφθεῖσαν εἰς Νάξον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τροφὸν μετ' αὐτῆς ὄνομα

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Now the most auspicious of these legendary tales are in the mouths of all men, as I may say ; but a very peculiar account of these matters is published by Paeon the Amathusian. He says that Theseus, driven out of his course by a storm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child and in sore sickness and distress from the tossing of the sea, set her on shore alone, but that he himself, while trying to succour the ship, was borne out to sea again. The women of the island, accordingly, took Ariadne into their care, and tried to comfort her in the discouragement caused by her loneliness, brought her forged letters purporting to have been written to her by Theseus, ministered to her aid during the pangs of travail, and gave her burial when she died before her child was born. Paeon says further that Theseus came back, and was greatly afflicted, and left a sum of money with the people of the island, enjoining them to sacrifice to Ariadne, and caused two little statuettes to be set up in her honour, one of silver, and one of bronze. He says also that at the sacrifice in her honour on the second day of the month Gorpiaeus, one of their young men lies down and imitates the cries and gestures of women in travail ; and that they call the grove in which they show her tomb, the grove of Ariadne Aphrodite.

Some of the Naxians also have a story of their own, that there were two Minoses and two Ariadnes, one of whom, they say, was married to Dionysus in Naxos and bore him Staphylus and his brother, and the other, of a later time, having been carried off by Theseus and then abandoned by him, came to Naxos, accompanied by a nurse named Corcyne,

Κορκύνην, ἥς δείκνυσθαι τάφον. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀριάδην αὐτόθι καὶ τιμὰς ἔχειν οὐχ ὁμοίας τῇ προτέρᾳ. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἡδομένους καὶ παίζοντας ἐορτάζειν, τὰς δὲ ταύτῃ δρωμένας θυσίας εἶναι πένθει τινὶ καὶ στυγνότητι μεμιγμένας.

XXI. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δῆλον κατέσχε· καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ ἀναθεὶς τὸ ἀφροδίσιον ὃ παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν, ἐχόρευσεν μετὰ τῶν ἡϊθέων χορείαν ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίους λέγουσι, μῆμμα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων, ἐν τινὶ ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην.
2 καλεῖται δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος. ἐχόρευσεν δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα βωμόν, ἐκ κεράτων συνηρμοσμένον εὐωνύμων ἀπάντων. ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν Δήλῳ, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τότε πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνου φοίνικα δοθῆναι.

XXII. Τῇ δὲ Ἀττικῇ προσφερομένων ἐκλαθέσθαι μὲν αὐτόν, ἐκλαθέσθαι δὲ τὸν κυβερνήτην ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐπάρασθαι τὸ ἰστίον ὃ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν ἔδει γνώριμον τῷ Αἰγεί γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ ἀπογνόντα ῥῖψαι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας ἑαυτὸν καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. καταπλεύσας δὲ ὁ Θησεὺς ἔθυσεν μὲν αὐτὸς ἅς ἐκπλέων θυσίας εὐξάτο τοῖς θεοῖς Φαληροῖ, κήρυκα δὲ ἀπέστειλε τῆς σωτηρίας ἄγγελον εἰς ἄστυ. οὗτος ἐνέτυχεν ὀδυρομένοις τε πολλοῖς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτήν καὶ χαίρουσιν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐτέροις καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι

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whose tomb they show ; and that this Ariadne also died there, and has honours paid her unlike those of the former, for the festival of the first Ariadne is celebrated with mirth and revels, but the sacrifices performed in honour of the second are attended with sorrow and mourning.

XXI. On his voyage from Crete, Theseus put in at Delos, and having sacrificed to the god and dedicated in his temple the image of Aphrodite which he had received from Ariadne, he danced with his youths a dance which they say is still performed by the Delians, being an imitation of the circling passages in the Labyrinth, and consisting of certain rhythmic involutions and evolutions. This kind of dance, as Dicaearchus tells us, is called by the Delians The Crane, and Theseus danced it round the altar called Keraton, which is constructed of horns ("kerata") taken entirely from the left side of the head. They say that he also instituted athletic contests in Delos, and that the custom was then begun by him of giving a palm to the victors.

XXII. It is said, moreover, that as they drew nigh the coast of Attica, Theseus himself forgot, and his pilot forgot, such was their joy and exultation, to hoist the sail which was to have been the token of their safety to Aegeus, who therefore, in despair, threw himself down from the rock and was dashed in pieces. But Theseus, putting in to shore, sacrificed in person the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at Phalerum when he set sail, and then dispatched a herald to the city to announce his safe return. The messenger found many of the people bewailing the death of their king, and others full of joy at his tidings, as was natural, and eager to welcome him

- καὶ στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ προθύμοις οὖσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν στεφάνους δεχόμενος τὸ κηρύκειον ἀνέστεφεν, ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οὐπὼ πεπονημένου σπονδὰς τοῦ Θεσέως ἔξω περιέμεινε, μὴ βουλόμενος τὴν θυσίαν ταρα-
 3 ξαι. γενομένων δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπήγγειλε τὴν τοῦ Αἰγέως τελευτήν. οἱ δὲ σὺν κλαυθμῷ καὶ 10
 θορύβῳ σπεύδοντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὠσχοφορίοις στεφανοῦσθαι μὲν οὐ τὸν κήρυκα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κηρύκειον, ἐπιφωνεῖν δὲ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, Ἑλελεῦ, Ἰού, Ἰού, τοὺς παρόντας· ὧν τὸ μὲν σπεύδοντες ἀναφωνεῖν καὶ παιωνίζοντες εἰώθασι, τὸ δὲ ἐκπλή-
 ξεως καὶ ταραχῆς ἐστι.
- 4 Θάψας δὲ τὸν πατέρα, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τοῦ Πυανεψιώνος μηνὸς ἱσταμένου· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀνέβησαν εἰς ἄστυσωθέντες. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔφησις τῶν ὁσπρίων λέγεται γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ σωθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς ταὐτὸ συμμῖξαι τὰ περιόντα τῶν σιτίων καὶ μίαν χύτραν κοινὴν ἐψήσαντας συνεστιαθῆναι καὶ
 5 συγκαταφαγεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τὴν δὲ εἰρεσιώωνη ἐκφέρουσι κλάδον ἐλαίας ἐρίῳ μὲν ἀνεστεμμένον, ὥσπερ τότε τὴν ἱκετηρίαν, παντοδαπῶν δὲ ἀνά-
 πλεων καταργμάτων διὰ τὸ λῆξαι τὴν ἀφορίαν, ἐπάδοντες·

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and crown him with garlands for his good news. The garlands, then, he accepted, and twined them about his herald's staff, and on returning to the sea-shore, finding that Theseus had not yet made his libations to the gods, remained outside the sacred precincts, not wishing to disturb the sacrifice. But when the libations were made, he announced the death of Aegeus. Thereupon, with tumultuous lamentation, they went up in haste to the city. Whence it is, they say, that to this day, at the festival of the Oschophoria,¹ it is not the herald that is crowned, but his herald's staff, and those who are present at the libations cry out: "Eleleu! Iou! Iou!" the first of which cries is the exclamation of eager haste and triumph, the second of consternation and confusion.

After burying his father, Theseus paid his vows to Apollo on the seventh day of the month Pyanepsion; for on that day they had come back to the city in safety. Now the custom of boiling all sorts of pulse on that day is said to have arisen from the fact that the youths who were brought safely back by Theseus put what was left of their provisions into one mess, boiled it in one common pot, feasted upon it, and ate it all up together. At that feast they also carry the so-called "eiresione," which is a bough of olive wreathed with wool, such as Theseus used at the time of his supplication, and laden with all sorts of fruit-offerings, to signify that scarcity was at an end, and as they go they sing:—

¹ A vintage festival, during which branches of the vine with grapes upon them (*ῥαχμοί*) were borne in procession from Athens to Phalerum. See chapter xxiii. 2.

Εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρει καὶ πίονας ἄρτους
καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀποψήσασθαι
καὶ κύλικ' εὖζωρον, ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃ.

καίτοι ταῦτά τινες ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις γίνεσθαι
λέγουσιν, οὕτως διατρεφομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων οἱ δὲ πλείονες ὡς προεῖρηται.

XXIII. Τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἡϊθέων
ἐπλευσε καὶ πάλιν ἐσώθη, τὴν τριακόντορον, ἄκρι
τῶν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως χρόνων διεφύ-
λαττον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τῶν ξύλων
ὑφαιροῦντες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ
συμπηγνύντες οὕτως ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις
εἰς τὸν αὐξόμενον λόγον ἀμφιδοξούμενον παρά-
δειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτό, τῶν
δὲ ὡς οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένονι λεγόντων.

2 Ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠσχοφορίων ἑορτὴν
Θησέως καταστήσαντος. οὐ γὰρ ἀπάσας αὐτὸν
ἐξαγαγεῖν τὰς λαχούσας τότε παρθένους, ἀλλὰ
τῶν συνήθων νεανίσκων δύο θηλυφανεῖς μὲν
ὀφθῆναι καὶ νεαροὺς, ἀνδρώδεις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ
προθύμους, λουτροῖς τε θερμοῖς καὶ σκιατραφίαις
καὶ ταῖς περὶ κόμην καὶ λειότητα καὶ χροιάν
ἀλοιφαῖς καὶ κοσμήσεσιν ὡς ἔστιν ἐξαλλάξαντα
κομιδῇ, καὶ διδάξαντα φωνὴν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ

THESEUS

“Eiresione for us brings figs and bread of the richest,
Brings us honey in pots and oil to rub off from the
body,
Strong wine too in a beaker, that one may go to
bed mellow.”

Some writers, however, say that these rites are in memory of the Heracleidae,¹ who were maintained in this manner by the Athenians; but most put the matter as I have done.

XXIII. The ship on which Theseus sailed with the youths and returned in safety, the thirty-oared galley, was preserved by the Athenians down to the time of Demetrius Phalereus.² They took away the old timbers from time to time, and put new and sound ones in their places, so that the vessel became a standing illustration for the philosophers in the mooted question of growth, some declaring that it remained the same, others that it was not the same vessel.

It was Theseus who instituted also the Athenian festival of the Oschophoria. For it is said that he did not take away with him all the maidens on whom the lot fell at that time, but picked out two young men of his acquaintance who had fresh and girlish faces, but eager and manly spirits, and changed their outward appearance almost entirely by giving them warm baths and keeping them out of the sun, by arranging their hair, and by smoothing their skin and beauti-

¹ On the death of Heracles, his children, to escape the wrath of the tyrant Eurystheus, came as suppliants to Athens, bearing branches in their hands. See the *Heracleidae* of Euripides.

² Regent of Athens for Cassander of Macedon, 317-307 B.C. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 58.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

βάδισιν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα παρθένοις ὁμοιοῦσθαι καὶ
 μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντας, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν
 τῶν παρθένων ἀριθμὸν καὶ διαλαθεῖν ἅπαντας·
 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανήλθεν, αὐτόν τε πομπεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς
 νεανίσκους οὕτως ἀμπεχομένους ὡς νῦν ἀμπέ-
 χονται τοὺς ὁσχοὺς φέροντες. φέρουσι δὲ Διο-
 νύσφ καὶ Ἀριάδνη χαριζόμενοι διὰ τὸν μῦθον, ἣ
 μᾶλλον ὅτι συγκόμιζομένης ὁπώρας ἐπανήλθον·
 αἱ δὲ δειπνοφόροι παραλαμβάνονται καὶ κοινω-
 νοῦσι τῆς θυσίας ἀπομιμούμεναι τὰς μητέρας
 ἐκείνων τῶν λαχόντων· ἐπεφοίτων γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 ὄψα καὶ σιτία κομίζουσαι· καὶ μῦθοι λέγονται
 διὰ τὸ κακέιναις εὐθυμίας ἔνεκα καὶ παρηγορίας
 μύθους διεξιέναι τοῖς παισί. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ
 Δήμων ἱστόρηκεν. ἐξηρέθη δὲ καὶ τέμενος αὐτῷ,
 καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παρασχόντων τὸν δασμὸν
 οἴκων ἔταξεν εἰς θυσίαν αὐτῷ τελεῖν ἀποφοράς·
 καὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐπεμελοῦντο Φυταλίδαι, Θησέως
 ἀποδόντος αὐτοῖς ἀμοιβὴν τῆς φιλοξενίας.

XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰγέως τελευτὴν μέγα καὶ
 θαυμαστὸν ἔργον εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενος συνώκισε
 τοὺς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατοικοῦντας εἰς ἓν ἄστυ, καὶ
 μιᾶς πύλεως ἓνα δῆμον ἀπέφηνε, τέως σποράδας
 ὄντας καὶ δυσανακλήτους πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πάντων

THESEUS

fying their complexions with unguents; he also taught them to imitate maidens as closely as possible in their speech, their dress, and their gait, and to leave no difference that could be observed, and then enrolled them among the maidens who were going to Crete, and was undiscovered by any. And when he was come back, he himself and these two young men headed a procession, arrayed as those are now arrayed who carry the vine-branches. They carry these in honour of Dionysus and Ariadne, and because of their part in the story; or rather, because they came back home at the time of the vintage. And the women called *Deipnophoroi*, or *supper-carriers*, take part in the procession and share in the sacrifice, in imitation of the mothers of the young men and maidens on whom the lot fell, for these kept coming with bread and meat for their children. And tales are told at this festival, because these mothers, for the sake of comforting and encouraging their children, spun out tales for them. At any rate, these details are to be found in the history of Demos. Furthermore, a sacred precinct was also set apart for Theseus, and he ordered the members of the families which had furnished the tribute to the Minotaur to make contributions towards a sacrifice to himself. This sacrifice was superintended by the *Phythalidae*, and Theseus thus repaid them for their hospitality.¹

XXIV. After the death of Aegeus, Theseus conceived a wonderful design, and settled all the residents of Attica in one city, thus making one people of one city out of those who up to that time had been scattered about and were not easily called together for the common interests of all, nay, they

¹ Cf. chapter xii. 1.

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- συμφέρον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διαφορομένους ἀλλήλοις
 2 καὶ πολεμοῦντας. ἐπιὼν οὖν ἀνέπειθε κατὰ 11
 δήμους καὶ γένη, τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πενήτων
 ἐνδεχομένων ταχὺ τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς
 δὲ δυνατοῖς ἀβασίλευτον πολιτείαν προτείνων
 καὶ δημοκρατίαν αὐτῷ μόνον ἄρχοντι πολέμου
 καὶ νόμων φύλακι χρησομένην, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
 3 παρέξουσιν ἅπασιν ἰσομοιρίαν. τοὺς μὲν ¹
 ταῦτα ἔπειθεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δεδιότες
 μεγάλην οὔσαν ἤδη καὶ τὴν τόλμαν, ἐβούλοντο
 πειθόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν.
 καταλύσας οὖν τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις πρυτανεία καὶ
 βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀρχάς, ἐν δὲ ποιήσας ἅπασιν
 κοινὸν ἐνταῦθα πρυτανεῖον καὶ βουλευτήριον
 ὅπου νῦν ἱδρύται τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν τε πόλιν Ἀθήνας
 προσηγόρευσε καὶ Παναθήναια θυσίαν ἐποίησε
 4 κοινήν. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ Μετοίκια τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ
 δέκα τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἣν ἔτι νῦν θύουσι.
 καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφείλ, ὥσπερ ὠμολόγησε,
 διεκόσμει τὴν πολιτείαν ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχόμενος·
 ἦκε γὰρ αὐτῷ χρησμὸς ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντευομένῳ
 περὶ τῆς πόλεως·
- 5 Αἰγείδῃ Θησεῦ, Πιθηίδος ἑκγονε κούρης,
 πολλαῖς τοι πολίεσσι πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐγκατέθηκε
 τέρματα καὶ κλωστήρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πτολίεθρῳ.
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ τι λῆην πεπονημένος ἐνδοθι θυμὸν
 βουλεύειν· ἀσκὸς γὰρ ἐν οἷδματι ποντοπορεύσει.

¹ ἰσομοιρίαν. τοὺς μὲν with Coraës and Bekker: ἰσομοιρίαν, τοὺς μὲν.

THESEUS

sometimes actually quarrelled and fought with each other. He visited them, then, and tried to win them over to his project township by township and clan by clan. The common folk and the poor quickly answered to his summons; to the powerful he promised government without a king and a democracy, in which he should only be commander in war and guardian of the laws, while in all else everyone should be on an equal footing. Some he readily persuaded to this course, and others, fearing his power, which was already great, and his boldness, chose to be persuaded rather than forced to agree to it. Accordingly, after doing away with the town-halls and council-chambers and magistracies in the several communities, and after building a common town-hall and council-chamber for all on the ground where the upper town of the present day stands, he named the city Athens, and instituted a Panathenaic festival. He instituted also the Metoecia, or Festival of Settlement, on the sixteenth day of the month Hecatombaeon, and this is still celebrated. Then, laying aside the royal power, as he had agreed, he proceeded to arrange the government, and that too with the sanction of the gods. For an oracle came to him from Delphi, in answer to his enquiries about the city, as follows:—

“Theseus, offspring of Aegeus, son of the daughter
of Pittheus,

Many indeed the cities to which my father has given
Bounds and future fates within your citadel’s
confines.

Therefore be not dismayed, but with firm and
confident spirit

Counsel only; the bladder will traverse the sea and
its surges.”

τούτο δὲ καὶ Σίβυλλαν ὕστερον ἀποστοματίσαι
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἱστοροῦσιν, ἀναφθεγαμένην·

Ἄσκος βαπτίζῃ· δύναι δέ τοι οὐ θέμις ἐστίν.

- XXV. Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξῆσαι τὴν πόλιν βου-
λόμενος ἐκάλει πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις, καὶ τὸ
“Δεῦρ’ ἴτε πάντες λεῶ” κήρυγμα Θησέως γενέ-
σθαι φασὶ πανδημίαν τινὰ καθιστάντος. οὐ μὴν
ἄτακτον οὐδὲ μεμιγμένην περιεΐδεν ὑπὸ πλήθους
ἐπιχυθέντος ἀκρίτου γενομένην τὴν δημοκρατίαν,
ἀλλὰ πρῶτος ἀποκρίνας χωρὶς εὐπατρίδας καὶ
2 γεωμόρους καὶ δημιουργούς, εὐπατρίδαις δὲ γινώ-
σκειν τὰ θεῖα καὶ παρέχειν ἄρχοντας ἀποδοὺς
καὶ νόμων διδασκάλους εἶναι καὶ ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν
ἐξηγητάς, τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ὥσπερ εἰς ἴσον
κατέστησε, δόξῃ μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, χρεῖα δὲ γεω-
μόρων, πλήθει δὲ δημιουργῶν ὑπερέχειν δοκούν-
των. ὅτι δὲ πρῶτος ἀπέκλινε πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον, ὡς
Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ μοναρχεῖν, ἔοικε
μαρτυρεῖν καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ μόνους
Ἀθηναίους δῆμον προσαγορεύσας.
- 3 Ἐκοψε δὲ καὶ νόμισμα, βούν ἐγχαράξας, ἥ διὰ
τὸν Μαραθώνιον ταῦρον, ἥ διὰ τὸν Μίνω στρατη-
γόν, ἥ πρὸς γεωργίαν τοὺς πολίτας παρακαλῶν.
ἀπ’ ἐκείνου δὲ φασὶ τὸ ἐκατόμβοιον καὶ τὸ δεκά-
βοιον ὀνομασθῆναι. προσκτησάμενος δὲ τῇ Ἀτ-
τικῇ τὴν Μεγαρικὴν βεβαίως, τὴν θρυλουμένην

THESEUS

And this oracle they say the Sibyl afterwards repeated to the city, when she cried :—

“Bladder may be submerged; but its sinking will not be permitted.”

XXV. Desiring still further to enlarge the city, he invited all men thither on equal terms, and the phrase “Come hither all ye people,” they say was a proclamation of Theseus when he established a people, as it were, of all sorts and conditions. However, he did not suffer his democracy to become disordered or confused from an indiscriminate multitude streaming into it, but was the first to separate the people into noblemen and husbandmen and handicraftsmen. To the noblemen he committed the care of religious rites, the supply of magistrates, the teaching of the laws, and the interpretation of the will of Heaven, and for the rest of the citizens he established a balance of privilege, the noblemen being thought to excel in dignity, the husbandmen in usefulness, and the handicraftsmen in numbers. And that he was the first to show a leaning towards the multitude, as Aristotle says, and gave up his absolute rule, seems to be the testimony of Homer also, in the Catalogue of Ships,¹ where he speaks of the Athenians alone as a “people.”

He also coined money, and stamped it with the effigy of an ox, either in remembrance of the Marathonian bull, or of Taurus, the general of Minos, or because he would invite the citizens to agriculture. From this coinage, they say, “ten oxen” and “a hundred oxen” came to be used as terms of valuation. Having attached the territory of Megara securely to

¹ *Iliad*, ii. 547.

ἐν Ἴσθμῳ στήλην ἔστησεν, ἐπιγράψας τὸ διορίζον
ἐπίγραμμα τὴν χώραν δυσὶ τριμέτροις, ὧν ἔφραζε
τὸ¹ μὲν πρὸς ἔω

Τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλ' Ἰωνία.

τὸ¹ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν

Τάδ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία.

- 4 καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτος ἔθηκε κατὰ ζῆλον Ἡρα-
κλέους, ὡς δι' ἐκείνον Ὀλύμπια τῷ Διὶ, καὶ δι'
αὐτὸν Ἴσθμα τῷ Ποσειδῶνι φιλοτιμηθεὶς ἄγειν
τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ τεθεὶς αὐ-
τόθι νυκτὸς ἐδράτο, τελετῆς ἔχων μᾶλλον ἢ θέας
καὶ πανηγυρισμοῦ τάξιν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἐπὶ
Σκείρωνι τὰ Ἴσθμα τεθῆναι, τοῦ Θησέως ἀφο-
σιουμένου τὸν φόνον διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. Σκείρωνα
γὰρ υἷον εἶναι Κανήθου καὶ Ἠνιόχης τῆς Πιτθέως.
5 οἱ δὲ Σίνιν, οὐ Σκείρωνα, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τεθῆναι
διὰ τοῦτον ὑπὸ Θησέως, οὐ δι' ἐκείνον. ἔταξεν οὖν
καὶ διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀθηναίων 12
τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἐπὶ τὰ Ἴσθμα παρέχειν προ-
εδρίαν ὅσον ἂν τόπον ἐπίσχη καταπετασθὲν τὸ
τῆς θεωρίδος νεὸς ἰστίον, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος καὶ
Ἀνδρων ὁ Ἀλικαρνασεὺς ἱστορήκασιν.

¹ τὸ μὲν, τὸ δὲ with Coraës, after Reiske : τὰ μὲν, τὰ δέ.

THESEUS

Attica, he set up that famous pillar on the Isthmus, and carved upon it the inscription giving the territorial boundaries. It consisted of two trimeters, of which the one towards the east declared :—

“ Here is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia ; ”

and the one towards the west :—

“ Here is the Peloponnesus, not Ionia.”

He also instituted the games here, in emulation of Heracles, being ambitious that as the Hellenes, by that hero's appointment, celebrated Olympian games in honour of Zeus, so by his own appointment they should celebrate Isthmian games in honour of Poseidon. For the games already instituted there in honour of Melicertes were celebrated in the night, and had the form of a religious rite rather than of a spectacle and public assembly. But some say that the Isthmian games were instituted in memory of Sciron, and that Theseus thus made expiation for his murder, because of the relationship between them ; for Sciron was a son of Canethus and Henioche, who was the daughter of Pittheus. And others have it that Sinis, not Sciron, was their son, and that it was in his honour rather that the games were instituted by Theseus. However that may be, Theseus made a formal agreement with the Corinthians that they should furnish Athenian visitors to the Isthmian games with a place of honour as large as could be covered by the sail of the state galley which brought them thither, when it was stretched to its full extent. So Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnassus tell us.

XXVI. Εἰς δὲ τὸν πόντον ἔπλευσε τὸν Εὐξει-
νον, ὡς μὲν Φιλόχορος καὶ τινες ἄλλοι λέγουσι,
μεθ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας συστρατεύ-
σας, καὶ γέρας¹ Ἀντιόπην ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ πλείους,
ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Φερεκύδης καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἡρό-
δωρος, ὕστερόν φασιν Ἡρακλέους ἰδιόστολον
πλεῦσαι τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα λαβεῖν
αἰχμάλωτον, πιθανώτερα λέγοντες. οὐδεὶς γὰρ
ἄλλος ἰστόρηται τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευσάντων
2 Ἀμαζόνα λαβεῖν αἰχμάλωτον. Βίων δὲ καὶ ταύ-
την παρακρουσάμενον οἴχεσθαι λαβόντα· φύσει
γὰρ οὔσας τὰς Ἀμαζόνας φιλάνδρους οὔτε φυγεῖν
τὸν Θησέα προσβάλλοντα τῇ χώρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ξένια πέμπειν· τὸν δὲ τὴν κομίζουσαν ἐμβῆναι
παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον· ἐμβάσης δὲ ἀνα-
χθῆναι.

Μενεκράτης δέ τις, ἱστορίαν περὶ Νικαίας τῆς
ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεως ἐκδεδωκώς, Θησέα φησὶ τὴν
Ἀντιόπην ἔχοντα διατρίψαι περὶ τούτους τοὺς
3 τόπους· τυγχάνειν δὲ συστρατεύοντας αὐτῷ τρεῖς
νεανίσκους ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων, Εὐ-
νεων καὶ Θόαντα καὶ Σολόεντα. τοῦτον οὖν ἐρῶν-
τα τῆς Ἀντιόπης καὶ λανθάνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους
ἐξειπεῖν πρὸς ἓνα τῶν συνήθων· ἐκείνου δὲ περὶ
τούτων ἐντυχόντος τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ, τὴν μὲν πείραν
ἰσχυρῶς ἀποτρίψασθαι, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα σωφρόνως
ἅμα καὶ πράως ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θησέα μὴ
4 κατηγορῆσαι. τοῦ δὲ Σολόεντος ὡς ἀπέγνω ρί-
ψαντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς ποταμόν τινα καὶ διαφθαρέντος,
ῥησθιμένον τότε τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ

¹ γέρας with Cobet ; γέρας ἀριστεῖον MSS., Coraë's, Bekker ;
γέρας ἀριστείων.

THESEUS

XXVI. He also made a voyage into the Euxine Sea, as Philochorus and sundry others say, on a campaign with Heracles against the Amazons, and received Antiope as a reward of his valour; but the majority of writers, including Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodorus, say that Theseus made this voyage on his own account, after the time of Heracles, and took the Amazon captive; and this is the more probable story. For it is not recorded that any one else among those who shared his expedition took an Amazon captive. And Bion says that even this Amazon he took and carried off by means of a stratagem. The Amazons, he says, were naturally friendly to men, and did not fly from Theseus when he touched upon their coasts, but actually sent him presents, and he invited the one who brought them to come on board his ship; she came on board, and he put out to sea.

And a certain Menecrates, who published a history of the Bithynian city of Nicaea, says that Theseus, with Antiope on board his ship, spent some time in those parts, and that there chanced to be with him on this expedition three young men of Athens who were brothers, Euneos, Thoas, and Soloïs. This last, he says, fell in love with Antiope unbeknown to the rest, and revealed his secret to one of his intimate friends. That friend made overtures to Antiope, who positively repulsed the attempt upon her, but treated the matter with discretion and gentleness, and made no denunciation to Theseus. Then Soloïs, in despair, threw himself into a river and drowned himself, and Theseus, when he learned the fate of

νεανίσκου τὸν Θησέα βαρέως ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ δυσφοροῦντα λόγιόν τι πυθόχρηστον ἀνενεγκεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένον ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας, ὅταν ἐπὶ ξένης ἀνιαιθῇ μάλιστα καὶ περίλυπος γένηται, πόλιν ἐκεῖ κτίσαι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν τινας ἡγεμόνας καταλιπεῖν.

- 5 ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν μὲν πόλιν, ἣν ἔκτισεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Πυθόπολιν προσαγορεύσαι, Σολόεντα δὲ τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ νεανίσκου. καταλιπεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ, οἷον ἐπιστάτας καὶ νομοθέτας, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἑρμον ἄνδρα τῶν Ἀθήνησιν εὐπατριδῶν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τόπον Ἑρμοῦ καλεῖν οἰκίαν τοὺς Πυθοπολίτας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν περισπῶντας καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀπὸ ἥρωος μετατιθέντας.

- XXVII. Πρόφασιν μὲν οὖν ταύτην ὁ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων πόλεμος ἔσχε· φαίνεται δὲ μὴ φαῦλον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ γυναικεῖον γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν ἄστει κατεστρατοπέδευσαν οὐδὲ τὴν μάχην συνῆψαν ἐν χρῶ περὶ τὴν Πνύκα καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, εἰ μὴ κρατοῦσαι τῆς χώρας ἀδεῶς τῇ πόλει
2 προσέμξαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν, ὥς Ἑλλάνικος ἰστόρηκε, τῷ Κιμμερικῷ Βοσπόρῳ παγέντι διαβᾶσαι περιῆλθον, ἔργον ἐστὶ πιστεῦσαι· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδὸν αὐτὰς ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι μαρτυρεῖται καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν τόπων καὶ ταῖς θήκαις τῶν πεσόντων.

Πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὄκνος ἦν καὶ μέλλησις ἀμφοτέροις τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως· τέλος δὲ Θησεὺς κατὰ

THESEUS

the young man, and what had caused it, was grievously disturbed, and in his distress called to mind a certain oracle which he had once received at Delphi. For it had there been enjoined upon him by the Pythian priestess that when, in a strange land, he should be sorest vexed and full of sorrow, he should found a city there, and leave some of his followers to govern it. For this cause he founded a city there, and called it, from the Pythian god, Pythopolis, and the adjacent river, Soloïs, in honour of the young man. And he left there the brothers of Soloïs, to be the city's presidents and law-givers, and with them Hermus, one of the noblemen of Athens. From him also the Pythopolitans call a place in the city the House of Hermes, incorrectly changing¹ the second syllable, and transferring the honour from a hero to a god.

XXVII. Well, then, such were the grounds for the war of the Amazons, which seems to have been no trivial nor womanish enterprise for Theseus. For they would not have pitched their camp within the city, nor fought hand to hand battles in the neighbourhood of the Pynx and the Museum, had they not mastered the surrounding country and approached the city with impunity. Whether, now, as Hellanicus writes, they came round by the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which they crossed on the ice, may be doubted; but the fact that they encamped almost in the heart of the city is attested both by the names of the localities there and by the graves of those who fell in battle.

Now for a long time there was hesitation and delay on both sides in making the attack, but finally

¹ Literally, giving it the circumflex accent.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

τι λόγιον τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγιασάμενος συνήψεν
 3 αὐταῖς. ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐγένετο
 μηνὸς ἐφ' ἧ τὰ Βοηδρόμια μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι
 θύουσιν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ Κλείδημος, ἑξακριβοῦν τὰ
 καθ' ἕκαστα βουλόμενος, τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον τῶν
 Ἀμαζόνων κέρας ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς τὸ νῦν καλού-
 μενον Ἀμαζόνειον, τῷ δὲ δεξιῷ πρὸς τὴν Πνύκα
 κατὰ τὴν Χρύσαν ἤκειν. μάχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ταῖς Ἀμα-
 ζόσι συμπεσόντας, καὶ τάφους τῶν πεσόντων
 περὶ τὴν πλατεῖαν εἶναι τὴν φέρουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς 13
 πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκώδοντος ἡρῶν, ἃς νῦν
 4 Πειραικὰς ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἐκβιασθῆ-
 ναι μέχρι τῶν Εὐμενίδων καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ταῖς
 γυναιξίν, ἀπὸ δὲ Παλλαδίου καὶ Ἀρδηττοῦ καὶ
 Λυκείου προσβαλόντας ὥσασθαι τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῶν
 ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πολλὰς καταβαλεῖν.
 τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ συνθήκας γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς
 Ἰππολύτης· Ἰππολύτην γὰρ οὗτος ὀνομάζει τὴν
 τῷ Θησεῖ συνοικοῦσαν, οὐκ Ἀντιόπην.

Ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ μετὰ τοῦ Θησεῶς μαχομένην
 πεσεῖν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ Μολπαδίας ἀκοντι-
 σθεῖσαν, καὶ τὴν στήλην τὴν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ὀλυμ-
 5 πίας ἱερὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κεῖσθαι. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐκ
 ἔστιν ἐπὶ πράγμασιν οὕτω παλαιοῖς πλανᾶσθαι
 τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς τετρωμένας φασὶ τῶν
 Ἀμαζόνων ὑπ' Ἀντιόπης εἰς Χαλκίδα λάθρα
 διαπεμφθείσας τυγχάνειν ἐπιμελείας, καὶ ταφῆ-
 ναί τινας ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ νῦν Ἀμαζόνειον καλούμενον.

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Theseus, after sacrificing to Fear, in obedience to an oracle, joined battle with the women. This battle, then, was fought on the day of the month Boëdromion on which, down to the present time, the Athenians celebrate the Boëdromia. Cleidemus, who wishes to be minute, writes that the left wing of the Amazons extended to what is now called the Amazoneum, and that with their left they touched the Pnyx at Chrysa; that with this left wing the Athenians fought, engaging the Amazons from the Museum, and that the graves of those who fell are on either side of the street which leads to the gate by the chapel of Chalcodon, which is now called the Peiraïc gate. Here, he says, the Athenians were routed and driven back by the women as far as the shrine of the Eumenides, but those who attacked the invaders from the Palladium and Ardetus and the Lyceum, drove their right wing back as far as to their camp, and slew many of them. And after three months, he says, a treaty of peace was made through the agency of Hippolyta; for Hippolyta is the name which Cleidemus gives to the Amazon whom Theseus married, not Antiope.

But some say that the woman was slain with a javelin by Molpadia, while fighting at Theseus's side, and that the pillar which stands by the sanctuary of Olympian Earth was set up in her memory. And it is not astonishing that history, when dealing with events of such great antiquity, should wander in uncertainty, indeed, we are also told that the wounded Amazons were secretly sent away to Chalcis by Antiope, and were nursed there, and some were buried there, near what is now called the Amazoneum. But that the war ended in a

ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε τὸν πόλεμον εἰς σπονδὰς τελευτῆσαι
μαρτύριόν ἐστιν ἥ τε τοῦ τόπου κλήσις τοῦ παρὰ
τὸ Θησεῖον, ὃνπερ Ὀρκωμόσιον καλοῦσιν, ἥ τε
γινομένη πάλαι θυσία ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι πρὸ τῶν
6 Θησείων. δεικνύουσι δὲ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς Ἀμαζό-
νων θήκην παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ῥοῦν
βαδίζουσιν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, ὅπου τὸ Ῥομβοειδές.
λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐτέρας ἀποθανεῖν,
καὶ ταφῆναι παρὰ τὸ ῤευμάτιον δὲ πάλαι μὲν, ὡς
ἔοικε, Θερμώδων, Αἴμων δὲ νῦν καλεῖται· περὶ ὧν
ἐν τῷ Δημοσθένους βίῳ γέγραπται. φαίνονται δὲ
μηδὲ Θεσσαλίαν ἀπραγμόνως αἱ Ἀμαζόνες διελ-
θοῦσαι· τάφοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν δείκνυνται
περὶ τὴν Σκοτουσαίαν καὶ τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλᾶς.

XXVIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης περὶ
τῶν Ἀμαζόνων. ἦν γὰρ ὁ τῆς Θησηίδος ποιητῆς
Ἀμαζόνων ἐπανάστασιν γέγραφε, Θησεῖ γαμοῦν-
τι Φαίδραν τῆς Ἀντιόπης ἐπιτιθεμένης καὶ τῶν
μετ' αὐτῆς Ἀμαζόνων ἀμυνομένων καὶ κτείνοντος
αὐτὰς Ἡρακλέους, περιφανῶς ἔοικε μύθῳ καὶ
2 πλάσματι. τῆς δὲ Ἀντιόπης ἀποθανούσης ἔγχε
Φαίδραν, ἔχων υἱὸν Ἰππόλυτον ἐξ Ἀντιόπης, ὡς δὲ
Πίνδαρός φησι, Δημοφῶντα. τὰς δὲ περὶ ταύτην
καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δυστυχίας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἀντι-

THESEUS

solemn treaty is attested not only by the naming of the place adjoining the Theseum, which is called Horcomosium,¹ but also by the sacrifice which, in ancient times, was offered to the Amazons before the festival of Theseus. And the Megarians, too, show a place in their country where Amazons were buried, on the way from the market-place to the place called Rhus,² where the Rhomboid² stands. And it is said, likewise, that others of them died near Chaeroneia, and were buried on the banks of the little stream which, in ancient times, as it seems, was called Thermodon, but nowadays, Haemon; concerning which names I have written in my *Life of Demosthenes*.³ It appears also that not even Thessaly was traversed by the Amazons without opposition, for Amazonian graves are to this day shown in the vicinity of Scotussa and Cynoscephalae.

XXVIII. So much, then, is worthy of mention regarding the Amazons. For the "Insurrection of the Amazons," written by the author of the *Theseid*, telling how, when Theseus married Phaedra, Antiope and the Amazons who fought to avenge her attacked him, and were slain by Heracles, has every appearance of fable and invention. Theseus did, indeed, marry Phaedra, but this was after the death of Antiope, and he had a son by Antiope, Hippolytus, or, as Pindar says,⁴ Demophoön. As for the calamities which befell Phaedra and the son of Theseus by Antiope, since there is no conflict here between

¹ From the oaths of ratification.

² "Stream," because water from the mountains above the city once flowed this way. Pausanias, i. xli. 2. The "Rhomboid" may have been an irregular mound.

³ Chapter xix.

⁴ In a passage not extant.

πίπτει παρὰ τῶν ἱστορικῶν τοῖς τραγικοῖς, οὕτως ἔχειν θετέον ὥς ἐκεῖνοι πεποιήκασιν ἅπαντες.

- XXIX. Εἰσὶ μέντοι λόγοι περὶ γάμων Θησέως καὶ ἕτεροι, τὴν σκηνὴν διαπεφευγότες, οὔτε ἀρχὰς εὐγνώμονας οὔτε εὐτυχεῖς τελευτὰς ἔχοντες. καὶ γὰρ Ἀναξώ τινα Τροιζηνίαν ἀρπάσαι λέγεται, καὶ Σίνιν ἀποκτείνας καὶ Κερκύονα συγγενέσθαι βία ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτῶν· γῆμαι δὲ καὶ Περίβοιαν τὴν Αἴαντος μητέρα καὶ Φερέβοιαν αὐθις
- 2 καὶ Ἰόπην τὴν Ἰφικλέους· καὶ διὰ τὸν Αἰγλης ἔρωτα τῆς Πανοπέως, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὴν Ἀριάδνης ἀπολείψιν αἰτιῶνται μὴ καλὴν γενέσθαι μηδὲ πρέπουσαν· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν πολέμου μὲν ἐμπλήσαι τὴν Ἀττικὴν, αὐτῷ δὲ εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ὄλεθρον τελευτῆσαι· περὶ ὧν ὀλίγον ὕστερον εἰρήσεται.
- 3 Πολλῶν δὲ τότε τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἄθλων γενομένων Ἡρόδωρος μὲν οὐδενὸς οἶεται τὸν Θησέα μετασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις Λαπίθαις τῆς κενταυρομαχίας· ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐν Κόλχοις γενέσθαι καὶ Μελεάγρῳ συνεξελεῖν τὸν κάπρον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παροιμίαν εἶναι τὴν “Οὐκ ἄνευ Θησέως” αὐτὸν μέντοι μηδενὸς συμμάχου δεη- 1
- 4 ἐκείνου κρατῆσαι. συνέπραξε δὲ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμεΐᾳ πεσόντων,

THESEUS

historians and tragic poets, we must suppose that they happened as represented by the poets uniformly.

XXIX. There are, however, other stories also about marriages of Theseus which were neither honourable in their beginnings nor fortunate in their endings, but these have not been dramatised. For instance, he is said to have carried off Anaxo, a maiden of Troezen, and after slaying Sinis and Cercyon to have ravished their daughters; also to have married Periboea, the mother of Aias, and Phereboea afterwards, and Iope, the daughter of Iphicles; and because of his passion for Aegle, the daughter of Panopeus, as I have already said,¹ he is accused of the desertion of Ariadne, which was not honourable nor even decent; and finally, his rape of Helen is said to have filled Attica with war, and to have brought about at last his banishment and death, of which things I shall speak a little later.

Of the many exploits performed in those days by the bravest men, Herodorus thinks that Theseus took part in none, except that he aided the Lapithae in their war with the Centaurs; but others say that he was not only with Jason at Colchis,² but helped Meleager to slay the Calydonian boar, and that hence arose the proverb "Not without Theseus"; that he himself, however, without asking for any ally, performed many glorious exploits, and that the phrase "Lo! another Heracles" became current with reference to him. He also aided Adrastus in recovering for burial the bodies of those who had fallen before the walls of the Cadmeia,³ not by mastering the

¹ Chapter xx. 1.

² In quest of the golden fleece.

³ The citadel of Thebes.

οὐχ ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ, μάχη
τῶν Θηβαίων κρατήσας, ἀλλὰ πείσας καὶ σπει-
σάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι· Φιλό-
χορος δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως
5 γενέσθαι πρώτας ἐκείνας. ὅτι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πρῶ-
τος ἀπέδωκε νεκροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐν τοῖς περὶ
Ἡρακλέους γέγραπται. ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν πολ-
λῶν ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς δείκνυνται, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων
περὶ Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ τοῦτο Θησέως Ἀδράστω
χαρισαμένου. καταμαρτυροῦσι δὲ τῶν Εὐριπίδου
Ἰκετίδων οἱ Αἰσχύλου Ἐλευσίνιοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ
ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Θησεὺς πεποιήται.

XXX. Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Πειρίθου φιλίαν τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι. δόξαν εἶχεν
ἐπὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ μεγίστην· βουλόμενος οὖν
ὁ Πειρίθους ἐξελέγξει καὶ λαβεῖν διάπειραν,
ἡλάσατο βοῦς ἐκ Μαραθῶνος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πυθό-
μενος διώκειν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκείνον οὐκ ἔφυγεν,
2 ἀλλ' ἀναστρέψας ἀπήντησεν. ὥς δὲ εἶδεν ἄτε-
ρος τὸν ἕτερον καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν
τόλμαν ἡγάσθη, μάχης μὲν ἔσχοντο, Πειρίθους
δὲ πρότερος τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν
γενέσθαι δικαστὴν τὸν Θησέα τῆς βοηλασίας·
ἐκὼν γὰρ ὑφέξειν ἦν ἂν ὀρίσῃ δίκην ἐκείνος·
Θησεὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν δίκην ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ προῦ-
καλεῖτο φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον· ἐποιήσαντο
δὲ τὴν φιλίαν ἔνορκον.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου γαμῶν ὁ Πειρίθους Δηιδάμειαν,
ἐδεήθη τοῦ Θησέως ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἰστο-

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Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy,¹ but by persuading them to a truce; for so most writers say, and Philochorus adds that this was the first truce ever made for recovering the bodies of those slain in battle, although in the accounts of Heracles it is written that Heracles was the first to give back their dead to his enemies. And the graves of the greater part of those who fell before Thebes are shown at Eleutherae, and those of the commanders near Eleusis, and this last burial was a favour which Theseus showed to Adrastus. The account of Euripides in his "Suppliants"² is disproved by that of Aeschylus in his "Eleusinians,"³ where Theseus is made to relate the matter as above.

XXX. The friendship of Peirithoüs and Theseus is said to have come about in the following manner. Theseus had a very great reputation for strength and bravery, and Peirithoüs was desirous of making test and proof of it. Accordingly, he drove Theseus's cattle away from Marathon, and when he learned that their owner was pursuing him in arms, he did not fly, but turned back and met him. When, however, each beheld the other with astonishment at his beauty and admiration of his daring, they refrained from battle, and Peirithoüs, stretching out his hand the first, bade Theseus himself be judge of his robbery, for he would willingly submit to any penalty which the other might assign. Then Theseus not only remitted his penalty, but invited him to be a friend and brother in arms; whereupon they ratified their friendship with oaths.

After this, when Peirithoüs was about to marry Deidameia, he asked Theseus to come to the wedding,

¹ *Suppliants*, 653 ff. ² Verses 1213 ff. ³ Not extant.

ρῆσαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι τοῖς Λαπίθαις. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κενταύρους κεκληκῶς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ὥς δὲ ἡσέλγαινον ὕβρει καὶ μεθύοντες οὐκ ἀπείχοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς ἄμυναν οἱ Λαπίθαι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ὕστερον ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς χώρας, τοῦ Θησέως αὐτοῖς συμμαχομένου, καὶ
 4 συμπολεμοῦντος. Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ταῦτα πραχθῆναι φησιν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος ἤδη τὸν Θησέα βοηθοῦντα τοῖς Λαπίθαις παραγενέσθαι, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὄψει γνωρίσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ποιησάμενον ἔργον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ περὶ Τραχίνα πεπαυμένῳ πλάνης ἤδη καὶ ἄθλων· γενέσθαι δὲ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης καὶ
 5 πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἀμφοτέροις τὴν ἔντευξιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἂν τις πρόσχοι τοῖς πολλάκις ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἱστοροῦσι· καὶ τὴν μύησιν Ἡρακλεῖ γενέσθαι Θησέως σπουδάσαντος καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς μύησεως καθαρμὸν ὡς δεομένῳ διὰ τινὰς πράξεις ἀβουλήτους.

XXXI. Ἦδη δὲ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, ὥς φησιν Ἑλλάνικος, ἔπραξε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην, οὐ καθ' ὥραν. ὅθεν ὡς δὴ μέγιστον ἐπανορθούμενοι τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἔνιοι λέγουσιν οὐκ αὐτὸν ἀρπάσαι τὴν Ἑλένην, ἀλλὰ Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως ἀρπασάντων παρακαταθήκη λαβόντα τηρεῖν καὶ μὴ προῖεσθαι τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀπαιτοῦσιν· ἢ νῆ Δία Τυνδάρεω παραδόντος

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and see the country, and become acquainted with the Lapithae. Now he had invited the Centaurs also to the wedding feast. And when these were flown with insolence and wine, and laid hands upon the women, the Lapithae took vengeance upon them. Some of them they slew upon the spot, the rest they afterwards overcame in war and expelled from the country, Theseus fighting with them at the banquet and in the war. Herodorus, however, says that this was not how it happened, but that the war was already in progress when Theseus came to the aid of the Lapithae; and that on his way thither he had his first sight of Heracles, having made it his business to seek him out at Trachis, where the hero was already resting from his wandering and labours; and he says the interview passed with mutual expressions of honour, friendliness, and generous praise. Notwithstanding, one might better side with those historians who say that the heroes had frequent interviews with one another, and that it was at the instigation of Theseus that Heracles was initiated into the mysteries at Eleusis, and purified before his initiation, when he requested it on account of sundry rash acts.

XXXI. Theseus was already fifty years old, according to Hellanicus, when he took part in the rape of Helen, who was not of marriageable age. Wherefore some writers, thinking to correct this heaviest accusation against him, say that he did not carry off Helen himself, but that when Idas and Lynceus had carried her off, he received her in charge and watched over her and would not surrender her to the Dioscuri¹ when they demanded her; or, if you will believe it, that her own father, Tyndareüs,

¹ Castor and Pollux, her brothers.

αὐτοῦ, φοβηθέντος Ἐναρσφόρον τὸν Ἱπποκόωντος ἔτι νηπίαν οὔσαν βιαζόμενον τὴν Ἑλένην λαβεῖν. τὰ δὲ εἰκότα καὶ πλείστους ἔχοντα μάρτυρας τοιαῦτά ἐστιν.

- 2 Ἦλθον μὲν εἰς Σπάρτην ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τὴν κόρην ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας χορεύουσιν ἀρπάσαντες ἔφυγον· τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν δίωξιν οὐ πορρωτέρω Τεγέας ἐπακολουθησάντων, ἐν ἀδείᾳ γινόμενοι καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας, τὸν μὲν λαχόντα κλήρῳ τὴν Ἑλένην ἔχειν γυναῖκα, συμπράττειν 15
3 δὲ θατέρῳ γάμον ἄλλον. ἐπὶ ταύταις δὲ κληρουμένων ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἔλαχε Θησεύς· καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν παρθένον οὐπω γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσιν εἰς Ἀφίδνας ἐκόμισε· καὶ τὴν μητέρα καταστήσας μετ' αὐτῆς Ἀφίδνῳ παρέδωκεν ὄντι φίλῳ, διακελευσάμενος φυλάττειν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἄλ-
4 λους. αὐτὸς δὲ Πειρίθῳ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἀποδιδούς, εἰς Ἡπειρον συναπεδήμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰδωνέως θυγατέρα τοῦ Μολοσσῶν βασιλέως, ὃς τῇ γυναικὶ Φερσεφόνῃ ὄνομα θέμενος, Κόρην δὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ, τῷ δὲ κυνὶ Κέρβερον, ἐκέλευε τούτῳ διαμάχεσθαι τοὺς μνωμένους τὴν παῖδα καὶ λαβεῖν τὸν κρατήσαντα. τοὺς μέντοι περὶ τὸν Πειρίθου οὐ μνηστῆρας ἦκειν, ἀλλ' ἀρπασομένους πυνθανόμενος συνέλαβε· καὶ τὸν μὲν Πειρίθου εὐθύς ἠφάνισε διὰ τοῦ κυνός, τὸν δὲ Θησεῖα καθείρξας ἐφύλαττεν.

XXXII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Μενεσθεὺς ὁ Πετειὼ τοῦ Ὀρνέως τοῦ Ἑρεχθέως πρῶτος, ὧς φασιν, ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθέμενος τῷ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ

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entrusted her to Theseus, for fear of Enarsphorus, the son of Hippocoön, who sought to take Helen by force while she was yet a child. But the most probable account, and that which has the most witnesses in its favour, is as follows.

Theseus and Peirithoüs went to Sparta in company, seized the girl as she was dancing in the temple of Artemis Orthia, and fled away with her. Their pursuers followed them no farther than Tegea, and so the two friends, when they had passed through Peloponnesus and were out of danger, made a compact with one another that the one on whom the lot fell should have Helen to wife, but should assist the other in getting another wife. With this mutual understanding they cast lots, and Theseus won, and taking the maiden, who was not yet ripe for marriage, conveyed her to Aphidnae. Here he made his mother a companion of the girl, and committed both to Aphidnus, a friend of his, with strict orders to guard them in complete secrecy. Then he himself, to return the service of Peirithoüs, journeyed with him to Epirus, in quest of the daughter of Aïdoneus the king of the Molossians. This man called his wife Phersephone, his daughter Cora, and his dog Cerberus, with which beast he ordered that all suitors of his daughter should fight, promising her to him that should overcome it. However, when he learned that Peirithoüs and his friend were come not to woo, but to steal away his daughter, he seized them both. Peirithoüs he put out of the way at once by means of the dog, but Theseus he kept in close confinement.

XXXII. Meanwhile Menestheus, the son of Peteos, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erechtheus, the first of men, as they say, to affect popularity

- πρὸς χάριν ὅχλῳ διαλέγεσθαι, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς
 συνίστη καὶ παρώξυνε, πάλαι βαρυνομένους τὸν
 Θησέα καὶ νομίζοντας ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν ἀφη-
 ρημένον ἐκάστου τῶν κατὰ δῆμον εὐπατριδῶν, εἰς
 ἐν ἄστυ συνείρξαντα πάντας ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι καὶ
 δούλοις, τοὺς τε πολλοὺς διετάραττε καὶ διέβαλ-
 λεν, ὡς ὄναρ ἐλευθερίας ὁρῶντας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀπεστε-
 ρημένους πατρίδων καὶ ἱερῶν, ὅπως ἀντὶ πολλῶν
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ γνησίων βασιλέων πρὸς ἓνα δε-
 2 σπότην ἔπηλυν καὶ ξένον ἀποβλέπωσι. ταῦτα
 δὲ αὐτοῦ πραγματευομένου μεγάλην ῥοπὴν ὁ πό-
 λεμος τῷ νεωτερισμῷ προσέθηκε, τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν
 ἐπελθόντων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλως φασὶν ὑπὸ τούτου
 πεισθέντας ἐλθεῖν.

- Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν, ἀλλ' ἀπήτουν
 τὴν ἀδελφὴν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει
 μήτε ἔχειν μήτε γινώσκειν ὅπου καταλέλειπται,
 3 πρὸς πόλεμον ἐτράποντο. φράζει δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀκά-
 δημος ἡσθημένος ᾧ δὴ τινι τρόπῳ τὴν ἐν Ἀφίδναις
 κρύψιν αὐτῆς. ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ τε τιμαὶ ζῶντι παρὰ
 τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ πολλάκις ὕστερον
 εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐμβαλόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
 πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν χώραν τέμνοντες, τῆς Ἀκαδημείας
 4 ἀπείχοντο διὰ τὸν Ἀκάδημον. ὁ δὲ Δικαίαρχος
 Ἐχεδήμου¹ φησὶ καὶ Μαράθου συστρατευσάντων

¹ Ἐχεδήμου with Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker, after
 Xylander : Ἐχέμου.

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and ingratiate himself with the multitude, stirred up and embittered the chief men in Athens. These had long been hostile to Theseus, and thought that he had robbed each one of the country nobles of his royal office,¹ and then shut them all up in a single city, where he treated them as subjects and slaves. The common people also he threw into commotion by his reproaches. They thought they had a vision of liberty, he said, but in reality they had been robbed of their native homes and religions in order that, in the place of many good kings of their own blood, they might look obediently to one master who was an immigrant and an alien. While he was thus busying himself, the Tyndaridae² came up against the city, and the war greatly furthered his seditious schemes; indeed, some writers say outright that he persuaded the invaders to come.

At first, then, they did no harm, but simply demanded back their sister. When, however, the people of the city replied that they neither had the girl nor knew where she had been left, they resorted to war. But Academus, who had learned in some way or other of her concealment at Aphidnae, told them about it. For this reason he was honoured during his life by the Tyndaridae, and often afterwards when the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica and laid waste all the country round about, they spared the Academy,³ for the sake of Academus. But Dicaearchus says that Echedemus and Marathus of

¹ Cf. chapter xxiv. 1-3.

² Or Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.

³ A shady precinct near the river Cephissus, about a mile N.W. of Athens. Here Plato and his disciples taught. See Plutarch's *Cimon*, xiii. 8.

τότε τοῖς Τυνδαρίδαις ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν Ἐχεδημίαν προσαγορευθῆναι τὴν νῦν Ἀκαδήμειαν, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ Μαραθῶνα τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἔκουσίως κατὰ τι λόγιον σφαγιάσασθαι πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως.

Ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας καὶ μάχῃ
5 κρατήσαντες ἐξεῖλον τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταυθὰ φασι καὶ Ἀλυκὸν πεσεῖν τὸν Σκείρωνος υἱόν, συστρατευόμενον τότε τοῖς Διοσκούροις, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τόπον τῆς Μεγαρικῆς Ἀλυκὸν καλεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος ἐνταφέντος. Ἡρέας δ' ὑπὸ Θησέως αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀφίδνας ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Ἀλυκὸν ἱστόρηκε, καὶ μαρτύρια ταυτὶ τὰ ἔπη παρέχεται περὶ τοῦ Ἀλύκου.

τὸν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ ποτ' Ἀφίδνῃ
μαρνάμενον Θησεὺς Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο
κτείνεν.

Οὐ μὴν εἰκὸς αὐτοῦ Θησέως παρόντος ἀλῶναι τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας.

XXXIII. Ἐχομένων δ' οὖν τῶν Ἀφιδνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ἄστει δεδιότων, ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ὁ Μενεσθεὺς δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας, ὥς μόνῳ Θησεῖ βίας ὑπάρξαντι πολεμοῦντας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εὐεργέτας ὄντας ἀνθρώπων καὶ σωτῆρας. ἐμαρτύρει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠξίωσαν ἀπάντων 16 κρατοῦντες ἄλλ' ἢ μνηθῆναι, μηδὲν ἡττον Ἑρα-
2 κλέους τῇ πόλει προσήκοντες. καὶ τοῦτο οὖν.

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Arcadia were in the army of the Tyndaridae at that time, from the first of whom the present Academy was named Echedemia, and from the other, the township of Marathon, since in accordance with some oracle he voluntarily gave himself to be sacrificed in front of the line of battle.

To Aphidnae, then, they came, won a pitched battle, and stormed the town. Here they say that among others Alycus, the son of Sciron, who was at that time in the army of the Dioscuri, was slain, and that from him a place in Megara where he was buried is called Alycus. But Hereas writes that Alycus was slain at Aphidnae by Theseus himself, and cites in proof these verses about Alycus :—

“whom once in the plain of Aphidnae,
Where he was fighting, Theseus, ravisher of fair-
haired Helen,
Slew.”

However, it is not likely that Theseus himself was present when both his mother and Aphidnae were captured.

XXXIII. At any rate, Aphidnae was taken and the city of Athens was full of fear, but Menestheus persuaded its people to receive the Tyndaridae into the city and show them all manner of kindness, since they were waging war upon Theseus alone, who had committed the first act of violence, but were benefactors and saviours of the rest of mankind. And their behaviour confirmed his assurances, for although they were masters of everything, they demanded only an initiation into the mysteries, since they were no less closely allied to the city than Heracles. This privilege was accordingly granted

ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀφίδνου ποιησαμένου παῖδας, ὥς Πύλιος Ἡρακλέα· καὶ τιμὰς ἰσοθέους ἔσχον, Ἄνακες προσαγορευθέντες, ἥ διὰ τὰς γενομένας ἀνοχὰς ἥ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ μηδένα κακῶς παθεῖν στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ἔνδον οὔσης· ἀνακῶς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους ἥ φυλάττοντας ὁτιοῦν· καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἀνακτας διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπιφάνειαν Ἄνακας ὀνομάζεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἄνω τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἀνεκὰς ὀνομάζειν, καὶ ἀνέκαθεν τὸ ἄνωθεν.

XXXIV. Αἴθραν δὲ τὴν Θησέως μητέρα γενομένην αἰχμάλωτον ἀπαχθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, κάκειθεν εἰς Τροίαν μετὰ Ἑλένης· καὶ μαρτυρεῖν Ὅμηρον, ἔπεσθαι τῇ Ἑλένῃ φάμενον·

Αἴθρην Πιτθῆος θύγατρα Κλυμένην τε βοῶπιν.

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν περὶ Μουνύχου μυθολογίαν, ὃν ἐκ Δημοφῶντος Λαοδίκης κρύφα τεκούσης ἐν Ἰλίῳ συνεκθρέψαι
 2 τὴν Αἴθραν λέγουσιν. ἴδιον δέ τινα καὶ παρηλαγμένον ὅλως λόγον ὁ Ἰστρος ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀναφέρει περὶ Αἴθρας, ὥς ἐνίων λεγόντων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν τὸν Πάριν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ¹ ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Πατρόκλου μάχῃ κρατηθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Σπερχειόν, Ἐκτορα δὲ τὴν Τροιζηνίων πόλιν λαβόντα διαρπάσαι καὶ

¹ τὸν Πάριν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, with Bekker : τὸν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Πάριν.

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them, after they had been adopted by Aphidnus, as Pylus had adopted Heracles. They also obtained honours like those paid to gods, and were addressed as "Anakes," either on account of their *stopping* hostilities, or because of their *diligent care* that no one should be injured, although there was such a large army within the city; for the phrase "anakos echein" is used of such as *care for*, or *guard* anything, and perhaps it is for this reason that kings are called "Anaktes." There are also those who say that the Tyndaridae were called "Anakes" because of the appearance of their twin stars in the heavens, since the Athenians use "anekas" and "anekathen" for "ano" and "anothen," signifying *above* or *on high*.

XXXIV. They say that Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who was taken captive at Aphidnae, was carried away to Lacedaemon, and from thence to Troy with Helen, and that Homer¹ bears witness to this when he mentions as followers of Helen:—

"Aethra of Pittheus born, and Clymene large-eyed and lovely."

But some reject this verse of Homer's, as well as the legend of Munychus, who was born in secret to Laodice from Demophoön, and whom Aethra helped to rear in Ilium. But a very peculiar and wholly divergent story about Aethra is given by Ister in the thirteenth book of his "Attic History." Some write, he says, that Alexander (Paris) was overcome in battle by Achilles and Patroclus in Thessaly, along the banks of the Spercheius, but that Hector took and plundered the city of Troezen, and carried

¹ *Iliad*, iii. 144.

τὴν Αἴθραν ἀπάγειν ἐκεῖ καταλειφθεῖσαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἔχει πολλὴν ἀλογίαν.

XXXV. Ἀἰδωνέως δὲ τοῦ Μολοσσοῦ ξενίζοντος Ἑρακλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θησέα καὶ Πειρίθουν κατὰ τύχην μνησθέντος, ἃ τε πράζοντες ἦλθον καὶ ἃ φωραθέντες ἔπαθον, βαρέως ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἑρακλῆς, τοῦ μὲν ἀπολωλὸς ἀδόξως, τοῦ δὲ ἀπολλυμένου. καὶ περὶ Πειρίθου μὲν οὐδὲν ᾤετο ποιήσειν πλεον ἔγκαλῶν, τὸν δὲ Θησέα παρητεῖτο καὶ χάριν ἡξίου ταύτην αὐτῷ
 2 δοθῆναι. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀἰδωνέως, λυθεὶς ὁ Θησεὺς ἐπανήλθε μὲν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐδέπω παντάπασι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ κεκρατημένων, καὶ ὅσα ὑπῆρχε τεμένη πρότερον αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελεύσεως ἅπαντα καθιέρωσε τῷ Ἑρακλεῖ καὶ προσηγόρευσεν ἀντὶ Θησεῖων Ἑρακλεια, πλὴν τεσσάρων, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστορήκεν. αὐτῷ¹ δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς πρότερον ἄρχειν καὶ κατηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πολιτεύματος εἰς στάσεις ἐνέπεσε καὶ ταραχάς, οὓς μὲν ἀπέλιπε μισούντας αὐτὸν εὐρίσκων τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τῷ μισεῖν προσειληφότας, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πολὺ τὸ διεφθαρμένον ὁρῶν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι βουλόμενον ἀντὶ
 3 τοῦ ποιεῖν σιωπῇ τὸ προσταττόμενον. ἐπιχειρῶν οὖν βιάζεσθαι κατεδημαγωγεῖτο καὶ κατεστασιάζετο. καὶ τέλος ἀπογνοὺς τὰ πράγματα τοὺς μὲν παῖδας εἰς Εὐβοίαν ὑπεξέπεμψε πρὸς Ἐλεφήνορα τὸν Χαλκώδοντος, αὐτὸς δὲ Γαργηττοῖ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρὰς θέμενος, οὗ νῦν ἔστι τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρατήριον, εἰς Σκύρον ἐξέπλευσεν,

¹ αὐτῷ Coraës, after Reiske : εὐθύς (at once).

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away Aethra, who had been left there. This, however, is very doubtful.

XXXV. Now while Heracles was the guest of Aïdoneus the Molossian, the king incidentally spoke of the adventure of Theseus and Peirithoüs, telling what they had come there to do, and what they had suffered when they were found out. Heracles was greatly distressed by the inglorious death of the one, and by the impending death of the other. As for Peirithoüs, he thought it useless to complain, but he begged for the release of Theseus, and demanded that this favour be granted him. Aïdoneus yielded to his prayers, Theseus was set free, and returned to Athens, where his friends were not yet altogether overwhelmed. All the sacred precincts which the city had previously set apart for himself, he now dedicated to Heracles, and called them Heracleia instead of Theseia, four only excepted, as Philochorus writes. But when he desired to rule again as before, and to direct the state, he became involved in factions and disturbances; he found that those who hated him when he went away, had now added to their hatred contempt, and he saw that a large part of the people were corrupted, and wished to be cajoled into service instead of doing silently what they were told to do. Attempting, then, to force his wishes upon them, he was overpowered by demagogues and factions, and finally, despairing of his cause, he sent his children away privately into Euboea, to Elephenor, the son of Chalcodon, while he himself, after invoking curses upon the Athenians at Gargettus, where there is to this day the place called Araterion,¹ sailed away to the island of Scyros,

¹ That is, the *place of prayer, or cursing.*

- οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ φιλίας, ὡς ᾤετο, καὶ
χωρίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πατρῶων. ἐβασίλευε δὲ
4 Λυκομήδης τότε τῶν Σκυρίων. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν
ἀφικόμενος ἐζήτηε τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπολαβεῖν, ὡς
αὐτόθι κατοικήσων· ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ παρακαλεῖν
αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὁ δὲ Λυκο-
μήδης, εἴτε δείσας τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἴτε τῷ
Μενεσθεῖ χαριζόμενος, ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς χώρας
ἀναγαγὼν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδείξων τοὺς
ἀγροὺς, ὥσε κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν καὶ διέφθειρεν.
ἔνιοι δ' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πεσεῖν φασὶ σφαλέντα, μετὰ 17
5 δεῖπνον, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, περιπατοῦντα. καὶ παραυ-
τίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ λόγον οὐδένα τεθνη-
κότος, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐβασίλευσε
Μενεσθεύς, οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἰδιωτεύοντες Ἐλεφήνορι
συνεστράτευσαν εἰς Ἴλιον. ἐκεῖ δὲ Μενεσθέως
ἀποθανόντος ἐπανελθόντες αὐτοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν
ἀνεκομίσαντο. χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναίους
ἄλλα τε παρέστησεν ὡς ἥρωα τιμᾶν Θησέα, καὶ
τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι πρὸς Μήδους μαχομένων ἔδοξαν
οὐκ ὀλίγοι φάσμα Θησέως ἐν ὅπλοις καθορᾶν πρὸ
αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους φερόμενον.

XXXVI. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος ἄρ-
χοντος μαντευομένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνεῖλεν ἡ
Πυθία τὰ Θησέως ἀναλαβεῖν ὅσα καὶ θεμένους
ἐντίμως παρ' αὐτοῖς φυλάττειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λα-
βεῖν ἀπορία καὶ γινῶναι τὸν τάφον ἀμύξια καὶ
χαλεπότητι τῶν ἐνοικούντων Δολόπων. οὐ μὴν

THESEUS

where the people were friendly to him, as he thought, and where he had ancestral estates. Now Lycomedes was at that time king of Scyros. To him therefore Theseus applied with the request that his lands should be restored to him, since he was going to dwell there, though some say that he asked his aid against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either because he feared a man of such fame, or as a favour to Menestheus, led him up to the high places of the land, on pretence of showing him from thence his lands, threw him down the cliffs, and killed him. Some, however, say that he slipped and fell down of himself while walking there after supper, as was his custom. At the time no one made any account of his death, but Menestheus reigned as king at Athens, while the sons of Theseus, as men of private station, accompanied Elephenor on the expedition to Ilium; but after Menestheus died there, they came back by themselves and recovered their kingdom. In after times, however, the Athenians were moved to honour Theseus as a demigod, especially by the fact that many of those who fought at Marathon against the Medes thought they saw an apparition of Theseus in arms rushing on in front of them against the Barbarians.¹

XXXVI. And after the Median wars, in the archonship of Phaedo,² when the Athenians were consulting the oracle at Delphi, they were told by the Pythian priestess to take up the bones of Theseus, give them honourable burial at Athens, and guard them there. But it was difficult to find the grave and take up the bones, because of the inhospitable and savage nature of the Dolopians,

¹ Cf. Pausanias, i. 15, 4.

² 476-475 B.C.

ἀλλὰ Κίμων ἐλὼν τὴν νῆσον, ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ
 ἐκείνου γέγραπται, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ἐξανευ-
 ρεῖν, αἰτοῦ τινα τόπον βουνοειδῆ κόπτοντος, ὧς
 φασι, τῷ στόματι καὶ διαστέλλοντος τοῖς δνυξι
 2 θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ συμφρονήσας ἀνέσκαψεν. εὐρέθη
 δὲ θήκη τε μεγάλου σώματος αἰχμὴ τε παρακει-
 μένη χαλκῇ καὶ ξίφος. κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων
 ὑπὸ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ τῆς τριήρους, ἡσθέντες οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι πομπαῖς τε λαμπραῖς ἐδέξαντο καὶ
 θυσίαις ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.
 καὶ κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν
 γυμνάσιον, ἔστι δὲ φύξιμον οἰκέταις καὶ πᾶσι
 τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις καὶ δεδιόσι κρείττονας, ὥς καὶ
 τοῦ Θησέως προστατικοῦ τινος καὶ βοηθητικοῦ
 γενομένου καὶ προσδεχομένου φιλανθρώπως τὰς
 3 τῶν ταπεινοτέρων δεήσεις. θυσίαν δὲ ποιοῦσιν
 αὐτῷ τὴν μεγίστην ὀγδόη Πυανεψιώνος, ἐν ᾗ
 μετὰ τῶν ἡιθέων ἐκ Κρήτης ἐπανῆλθεν. οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὀγδόαις τιμῶσιν αὐτόν, ἥ
 διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἀφικέσθαι τῇ ὀγδόῃ
 τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ὥς ἰστόρηκε Διόδωρος ὁ
 περιηγητής, ἥ νομίζοντες ἐτέρου μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ
 προσήκειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος
 4 γεγονέναι λεγομένῳ. καὶ γὰρ Ποσειδῶνα ταῖς

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who then inhabited the island. However, Cimon took the island, as I have related in his Life,¹ and being ambitious to discover the grave of Theseus, saw an eagle in a place where there was the semblance of a mound, pecking, as they say, and tearing up the ground with his talons. By some divine ordering he comprehended the meaning of this and dug there, and there was found a coffin of a man of extraordinary size, a bronze spear lying by its side, and a sword. When these relics were brought home on his trireme by Cimon, the Athenians were delighted, and received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, as though Theseus himself were returning to his city. And now he lies buried in the heart of the city, near the present gymnasium,² and his tomb is a sanctuary and place of refuge for runaway slaves and all men of low estate who are afraid of men in power, since Theseus was a champion and helper of such during his life, and graciously received the supplications of the poor and needy. The chief sacrifice which the Athenians make in his honour comes on the eighth day of the month Pyanepsion, the day on which he came back from Crete with the youths. But they honour him also on the eighth day of the other months, either because he came to Athens in the first place, from Troezen, on the eighth day of the month Hecatombaeon, as Diodorus the Topographer states, or because they consider this number more appropriate for him than any other since he was said to be a son of Poseidon.³ For they pay honours to Poseidon on the eighth day

¹ Chapter viii. 3-6.

² The gymnasium of Ptolemy. Pausanias, i. 17, 2.

³ Cf. chapter vi. 1.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ὀγδόαις τιμῶσιν. ἡ γὰρ ὀγδοὰς κύβος ἀπ' ἀρτίου
πρῶτος οὔσα καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τετραγώνου δι-
πλασία, τὸ μόνιμον καὶ δυσκίνητον οἰκεῖον ἔχει
τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως, ὃν ἀσφάλειον καὶ γαιήοχον
προσονομάζομεν.

THESEUS

of every month. The number eight, as the first cube of an even number and the double of the first square, fitly represents the steadfast and immovable power of this god, to whom we give the epithets of Securer and Earth-stayer.

ROMULUS

ΡΩΜΥΛΟΣ

- I. Τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα καὶ δόξη διὰ
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων κεχωρηκὸς ἀφ' ὅτου καὶ δι'
 ἦν αἰτίαν τῇ πόλει γέγονεν, οὐχ ὡμολόγηται
 παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πελασγοὺς
 ἐπὶ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης πλανηθέντας ἀν-
 θρώπων τε πλείστων κρατήσαντας, αὐτόθι κατ-
 οικῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ῥώμην
 2 οὕτως ὀνομάσαι τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Τροίας ἀλι-
 σκομένης διαφυγόντας ἐνίους καὶ πλοίων ἐπιτυ-
 χόντας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ προσπεσεῖν
 φερομένους, καὶ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν ὀρμί-
 σασθαι· ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἀπορουμέναις 11
 ἤδη καὶ δυσανασχετούσαις πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν
 ὑποθέσθαι μίαν, ἣ καὶ γένει προὔχειν καὶ φρονεῖν
 ἐδόκει μάλιστα, Ῥώμην ὄνομα, καταπρῆσαι τὰ
 3 πλοῖα· πραχθέντος δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἀγα-
 νακτεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἔπειτα δι' ἀνάγκην ἰδρυν-
 θέντας περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον, ὥς ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ
 κρείττον ἐλπίδος ἔπραττον, ἀγαθῆς τε πειρώμενοι
 χώρας καὶ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν προσοίκων,
 ἄλλην τε τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὴν
 4 πόλιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὥς αἰτίας, προσαγορεύειν. ἐξ
 ἐκείνου τε παραμένειν λέγουσι τὸ τοὺς συγγενεῖς

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1. FROM whom, and for what reason the great name of Rome, so famous among mankind, was given to that city, writers are not agreed. Some say that the Pelasgians, after wandering over most of the habitable earth and subduing most of mankind, settled down on that site, and that from their *strength* in war they called their city Rome. Others say that at the taking of Troy some of its people escaped, found sailing vessels, were driven by storms upon the coast of Tuscany, and came to anchor in the river Tiber; that here, while their women were perplexed and distressed at thought of the sea, one of them, who was held to be of superior birth and the greatest understanding, and whose name was Roma, proposed that they should burn the ships¹; that when this was done, the men were angry at first, but afterwards, when they had settled of necessity on the Palatine, seeing themselves in a little while more prosperous than they had hoped, since they found the country good and the neighbours made them welcome, they paid high honours to Roma, and actually named the city after her, since she had been the occasion of their founding it. And from that time on, they say, it has been

¹ Cf. *Aeneid*, v. 604-699.

τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ οἰκείους ἄνδρας ἀσπάζεσθαι τοῖς στόμασι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνας, ὅτε τὰ πλοῖα κατέπρησαν, οὕτως ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, δεομένας αὐτῶν καὶ παραιτουμένας τὴν ὀργήν.

II. Ἄλλοι δὲ Ῥώμην, Ἰταλοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ Λευκαρίας, οἱ δέ, Τηλέφου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, Αἰνεΐα γαμηθεῖσαν, οἱ δ' Ἀσκανίου τοῦ Αἰνείου, λέγουσι τοῦνομα θέσθαι τῇ πόλει· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμανόν, Ὀδυσσέως παῖδα καὶ Κίρκης, οἰκίσαι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ Ῥώμον ἐκ Τροίας ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἀποσταλέντα τὸν Ἡμαθίωνος, οἱ δὲ Ῥώμιν Λατίνων τύραννον, ἐκβαλόντα Τυρρηνοὺς τοὺς εἰς Λυδίαν μὲν ἐκ Θετταλίας, ἐκ δὲ Λυδίας εἰς Ἰταλίαν παραγενομένους. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' οἱ Ῥωμύλον τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων ἀποφαίνοντες ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεως ὁμολογοῦσι περὶ τοῦ
2 γένους αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Δεξιθέας τῆς Φόρβαντος υἱὸν ὄντα νήπιον εἰς Ἰταλίαν κομισθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ῥώμον· ἐν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ πλημμύραντι τῶν ἄλλων σκαφῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ παῖδες εἰς μαλακὴν ἀποκλιθέντος ὄχθην ἀτρέμα, σωθέντας¹
3 ἀπροσδοκῆτως,² ὀνομασθῆναι Ῥώμην. οἱ δὲ Ῥώμην θυγατέρα τῆς Τρωάδος ἐκείνης Λατίνῳ τῷ Τηλεμάχου γαμηθεῖσαν τεκεῖν τὸν Ῥωμύλον· οἱ δὲ Αἰμυλίαν τὴν Αἰνείου καὶ Λαβινίας Ἀρει συγγενομένην· οἱ δὲ μυθώδη παντάπασιν περὶ τῆς

¹ σωθέντας MSS., Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker: σωθέντος.

² ἀπροσδοκῆτως after this word, Bekker assumes a lacuna in the text.

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customary for the women to salute their kinsmen and husbands with a kiss; for those women, after they had burned the ships, made use of such tender salutations as they supplicated their husbands and sought to appease their wrath.

II. Others again say that the Roma who gave her name to the city was a daughter of Italus and Leucaria, or, in another account, of Telephus the son of Heracles; and that she was married to Aeneas, or, in another version, to Ascanius the son of Aeneas. Some tell us that it was Romanus, a son of Odysseus and Circe, who colonized the city; others that it was Romus, who was sent from Troy by Diomedes the son of Emathion; and others still that it was Romis, tyrant of the Latins, after he had driven out the Tuscans, who passed from Thessaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy. Moreover, even those writers who declare, in accordance with the most authentic tradition, that it was Romulus who gave his name to the city, do not agree about his lineage. For some say that he was a son of Aeneas and Dexithea the daughter of Phorbas, and was brought to Italy in his infancy, along with his brother Romus; that the rest of the vessels were destroyed in the swollen river, but the one in which the boys were was gently directed to a grassy bank, where they were unexpectedly saved, and the place was called Roma from them. Others say it was Roma, a daughter of the Trojan woman I have mentioned, who was wedded to Latinus the son of Telemachus and bore him Romulus; others that Aemilia, the daughter of Aeneas and Lavinia, bore him to Mars; and others still rehearse what is altogether fabulous concerning his

γενέσεως διεξίασι. Ταρχετίῳ γὰρ Ἀλβανῶν
 βασιλεῖ παρανομωτάτῳ καὶ ὤμοτάτῳ φάσμα
 δαιμόνιον οἴκοι γενέσθαι· φαλλὸν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς
 ἐστίας ἀνασχεῖν καὶ διαμένειν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας·
 4 εἶναι δὲ Τηθύος ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ χρηστήριον, ἀφ' οὗ
 κομισθῆναι τῷ Ταρχετίῳ χρησμὸν ὥστε συμ-
 μίξαι τῷ φάσματι παρθένον· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ ἐξ
 αὐτῆς παῖδα κλεινότατον ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ καὶ
 ῥώμῃ διαφέροντα. φράσαντος οὖν τὸ μάντευμα
 τοῦ Ταρχετίου μὲν τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ συγ-
 γενέσθαι τῷ φαλλῷ προστάξαντος, αὐτὴν μὲν
 5 ἀπαξιῶσαι, θεράπαιναν δὲ εἰσπέμψαι. τὸν δὲ
 Ταρχέτιον, ὡς ἔγνω, χαλεπῶς φέροντα συλλαβεῖν
 μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τὴν δ' Ἑστίαν ἰδόντα
 κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀπαγορεύουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν
 φόνον, ἰστόν τινα παρεγγυῆσαι ταῖς κόραις
 ὑφαίνειν δεδεμέναις, ὡς ὅταν ἐξυφάνωσι, τότε
 δοθησομένας πρὸς γάμον. ἐκείνας μὲν οὖν δι'
 ἡμέρας ὑφαίνειν, ἑτέρας δὲ νύκτωρ τοῦ Ταρ-
 χετίου κελεύοντος ἀναλύειν τὸν ἰστόν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
 φαλλοῦ τῆς θεραπαινίδος τεκούσης δίδυμα, δοῦναί
 τινα Τερατίῳ τὸν Ταρχέτιον ἀνελεῖν κελεύσαντα.
 6 τὸν δὲ θεῖναι φέροντα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλησίον·
 εἶτα λύκαιναν μὲν ἐπιφοιτᾶν μαστὸν ἐνδιδούσαν,
 ὄρνιθας δὲ παντοδαποὺς ψωμίσματα κομίζοντας
 ἐντιθέναι τοῖς βρέφεσιν, ἄχρι οὗ βουκόλον ἰδόντα
 καὶ θαυμάσαντα τολμῆσαι προσελθεῖν καὶ ἀνε-
 λέσθαι τὰ παιδιά. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας
 αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἐκτραφέντας ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ
 Ταρχετίῳ καὶ κρατῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Προ- 19

ROMULUS

origin. For instance, they say that Tarchetius, king of the Albans, who was most lawless and cruel, was visited with a strange phantom in his house, namely, a phallus rising out of the hearth and remaining there many days. Now there was an oracle of Tethys in Tuscany, from which there was brought to Tarchetius a response that a virgin must have intercourse with this phantom, and she should bear a son most illustrious for his valour, and of surpassing good fortune and strength. Tarchetius, accordingly, told the prophecy to one of his daughters, and bade her consort with the phantom ; but she disdained to do so, and sent a handmaid in to it. When Tarchetius learned of this, he was wroth, and seized both the maidens, purposing to put them to death. But the goddess Hestia appeared to him in his sleep and forbade him the murder. He therefore imposed upon the maidens the weaving of a certain web in their imprisonment, assuring them that when they had finished the weaving of it, they should then be given in marriage. By day, then, these maidens wove, but by night other maidens, at the command of Tarchetius, unravelled their web. And when the handmaid became the mother of twin children by the phantom, Tarchetius gave them to a certain Teratius with orders to destroy them. This man, however, carried them to the river-side and laid them down there. Then a she-wolf visited the babes and gave them suck, while all sorts of birds brought morsels of food and put them into their mouths, until a cow-herd spied them, conquered his amazement, ventured to come to them, and took the children home with him. Thus they were saved, and when they were grown up, they set upon Tarchetius and overcame him.

μαθίων τις ἱστορίαν Ἰταλικὴν συντεταγμένους εἴρηκε.

- III. Τοῦ δὲ πίστιν ἔχοντος λόγου μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους μάρτυρας τὰ μὲν κυριώτατα πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξέδωκε Διοκλῆς Πεπαρήθιος, ᾧ καὶ Φάβιος ὁ Πίκτωρ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπηκολούθηκε. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἕτεραι
- 2 διαφοραί· τύπῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτός ἐστι. τῶν ἀπ' Αἰνείου γεγονότων ἐν Ἀλβη βασιλέων εἰς ἀδελφοὺς δύο, Νομήτορα καὶ Ἀμούλιον, ἡ διαδοχὴ καθήκεν. Ἀμούλιου δὲ νείμαντος τὰ πάντα δίχα, τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν ἐκ Τροίας κομισθέντα χρυσὸν ἀντιθέντος, εἴλετο τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Νομήτωρ. ἔχων οὖν ὁ Ἀμούλιος τὰ χρήματα καὶ πλεον ἅπ' αὐτῶν δυνάμενος τοῦ Νομήτορος, τὴν τε βασιλείαν ἀφείλετο ῥαδίως, καὶ φοβούμενος ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι
- 3 παῖδας ἰέρειαν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀπέδειξεν, ἄγαμον καὶ παρθένον αἰὲ βιωσομένην. ταύτην οἱ μὲν Ἰλίαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥέαν, οἱ δὲ Σιλουίαν ὀνομάζουσι. φωρᾶται δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον κυοῦσα παρὰ τὸν καθεστῶτα ταῖς Ἑστιάσι νόμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνῆκεστα μὴ παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγάτηρ Ἀνθὼ παρητήσατο, δεηθεῖσα τοῦ πατρός· εἵρχθη δὲ καὶ δίαίταν εἶχεν ἀνεπίμικτον, ὅπως μὴ λάθοι τεκοῦσα τὸν Ἀμούλιον. ἔτεκε δὲ δύο παῖδας ὑπερφυεῖς
- 4 μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει. δι' ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀμούλιος φοβηθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ὑπηρέτην λαβόντα ῥίψαι. τοῦτον ἐνιοὶ Φαυστύλον ὀνομάζεσθαι

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At any rate, this is what a certain Promathion says, who compiled a history of Italy.

III. But the story which has the widest credence and the greatest number of vouchers was first published among the Greeks, in its principal details, by Diocles of Peparethus, and Fabius Pictor follows him in most points. Here again there are variations in the story, but its general outline is as follows. The descendants of Aeneas reigned as kings in Alba, and the succession devolved at length upon two brothers, Numitor and Amulius.¹ Amulius divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures and the gold which had been brought from Troy over against the kingdom, and Numitor chose the kingdom. Amulius, then, in possession of the treasure, and made more powerful by it than Numitor, easily took the kingdom away from his brother, and fearing lest that brother's daughter should have children, made her a priestess of Vesta, bound to live unwedded and a virgin all her days. Her name is variously given as Ilia, or Rhea, or Silvia. Not long after this, she was discovered to be with child, contrary to the established law for the Vestals.² She did not, however, suffer the capital punishment which was her due, because the king's daughter, Antho, interceded successfully in her behalf, but she was kept in solitary confinement, that she might not be delivered without the knowledge of Amulius. Delivered she was of two boys, and their size and beauty were more than human. Wherefore Amulius was all the more afraid, and ordered a servant to take the boys and cast them away. This servant's name was Faustulus, according to some, but others

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 3.

² Cf. Livy, i. 4, 1-5.

λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνελόμενον.
 ἐνθέμενος οὖν εἰς σκάφην τὰ βρέφη, κατέβη μὲν ἐπὶ
 τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ῥίψων, ἰδὼν δὲ κατιόντα πολλῷ
 5 ῥεύματι καὶ τραχυνόμενον ἔδεισε προσελθεῖν, ἐγ-
 γὺς δὲ τῆς ὄχθης καταθεὶς ἀπηλλάσσετο. τοῦ δὲ
 ποταμοῦ κατακλύζοντος ἡ πλήμμυρα τὴν σκάφην
 ὑπολαβοῦσα καὶ μετεωρίσασα πρῶως κατήνεγκεν
 εἰς χωρίον ἐπιεικῶς μαλθακόν, ὃ νῦν Κερμαλὸν
 καλοῦσι, πάλαι δὲ Γερμανόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι καὶ
 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς γερμανοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν.

IV. Ἦν δὲ πλησίον ἐρινεός, ὃν Ῥωμινάλιον
 ἐκάλουν, ἡ διὰ τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομί-
 ζουσιν, ἡ διὰ τὸ τὰ μηρυκώμενα τῶν θρεμμάτων
 ἐκεῖ διὰ τὴν σκιὰν ἐνδιάζειν, ἡ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν
 τῶν βρεφῶν θηλασμόν, ὅτι τὴν τε θηλὴν ροῦμαν
 ὠνόμαζον οἱ παλαιοί, καὶ θεὸν τινα τῆς ἐκτροφῆς
 τῶν νηπίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δοκοῦσαν ὀνομάζουσι
 2 Ῥουμιλίαν, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῇ νηφάλια, καὶ γάλα
 τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπισπένδουσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοῖς
 βρέφεσι κειμένοις τὴν τε λύκαιναν ἱστοροῦσι
 θηλαζομένην, καὶ δρυοκολάπτην τινὰ παρεῖναι
 συνεκτρέφοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα. νομίζεται δ'
 Ἄρεως ἱερὰ τὰ ζῶα· τὸν δὲ δρυοκολάπτην καὶ
 διαφερόντως Λατῖνοι σέβονται καὶ τιμῶσιν·
 ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα πίστιν ἔσχεν ἡ τεκοῦσα τὰ
 βρέφη τεκεῖν ἐξ Ἄρεως φάσκουσα. καίτοι τοῦτο
 παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἐξαπατηθεῖσαν λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Ἀμουλίου διαπαρθενευθεῖσαν ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπιφανέν-
 τος αὐτῇ καὶ συναρπάσαντος.

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give this name to the man who took the boys up. Obeying the king's orders, the servant put the babes into a trough and went down towards the river, purposing to cast them in; but when he saw that the stream was much swollen and violent, he was afraid to go close up to it, and setting his burden down near the bank, went his way. Then the overflow of the swollen river took and bore up the trough, floating it gently along, and carried it down to a fairly smooth spot which is now called Kermalus, but formerly Germanus, perhaps because brothers are called "germani."

IV. Now there was a wild fig-tree hard by, which they called Ruminalis, either from Romulus, as is generally thought, or because cud-chewing, or *ruminating*, animals spent the noon-tide there for the sake of the shade, or best of all, from the suckling of the babes there; for the ancient Romans called the teat "*ruma*," and a certain goddess, who is thought to preside over the rearing of young children, is still called Rumilia, in sacrificing to whom no wine is used, and libations of milk are poured over her victims. Here, then, the babes lay, and the she-wolf of story here gave them suck,¹ and a woodpecker came to help in feeding them and to watch over them. Now these creatures are considered sacred to Mars, and the woodpecker is held in especial veneration and honour by the Latins, and this was the chief reason why the mother was believed when she declared that Mars was the father of her babes. And yet it is said that she was deceived into doing this, and was really deflowered by Amulius himself, who came to her in armour and ravished her.

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 4, 6-7.

3 Οί δὲ τοῦνομα τῆς τροφοῦ δι' ἀμφιβολίαν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκτροπῇ τῇ φήμῃ παρασχεῖν. Λούπας γὰρ ἐκάλουν οἱ Λατῖνοι τῶν τε θηρίων τὰς λυκαῖνας, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς ἐταιρούσας· εἶναι δὲ τοιαύτην τὴν Φαυστύλου γυναῖκα τοῦ τὰ βρέφῃ θρέψαντος, Ἄκκαν Λαρεντίαν ὄνομα. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ χοὰς ἐπιφέρει τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου μηνὸς αὐτῇ¹ ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερεὺς, καὶ Λαρεντίαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἑορτήν.

V. Ἐτέραν δὲ τιμῶσι Λαρεντίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. ὁ νεωκόρος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀλύων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ σχολῆς, προὔθετο πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διακυβεύειν, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι νικήσας μὲν αὐτὸς ἔξει 20 τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστόν, ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τῷ θεῷ τράπεζαν ἄφθονον παρέξει καὶ γυναῖκα καλὴν 2 συναναπαυσομένην. ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ τιθεὶς, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ψήφους, ἀνεφάνη νικῶμενος. εὐσυνθετεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος καὶ δικαίων ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὀρισθεῖσι, δεῖπνόν τε τῷ θεῷ παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τὴν Λαρεντίαν οὔσαν ὥραίαν, οὐπω δὲ ἐπιφανῇ, μισθωσάμενος, εἰστίασεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, κλίνην ὑποστορέσας, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον συνεῖργεν, ὡς δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔξοντος αὐτήν. 3 καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐντυχεῖν λέγεται τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ κελεύσαι βαδίζειν ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσαντα πρῶτον ἀσπασαμένην ποιεῖσθαι φίλον. ἀπήντησεν οὖν αὐτῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνὴρ ἡλικίας τε πόρρω ἡκῶν καὶ

¹ αὐτῇ bracketed in Sintenis², to avoid the hiatus.

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But some say that the name of the children's nurse, by its ambiguity, deflected the story into the realm of the fabulous. For the Latins not only called she-wolves "lupae," but also women of loose character, and such a woman was the wife of Faustulus, the foster-father of the infants, Acca Larentia by name. Yet the Romans sacrifice also to her, and in the month of April the priest of Mars pours libations in her honour, and the festival is called Larentalia.

V. They pay honours also to another Larentia, for the following reason. The keeper of the temple of Hercules, being at a loss for something to do, as it seems, proposed to the god a game of dice, with the understanding that if he won it himself, he should get some valuable present from the god; but if he lost, he would furnish the god with a bounteous repast and a lovely woman to keep him company for the night. On these terms the dice were thrown, first for the god, then for himself, when it appeared that he had lost. Wishing to keep faith, and thinking it right to abide by the contract, he prepared a banquet for the god, and engaging Larentia, who was then in the bloom of her beauty, but not yet famous,¹ he feasted her in the temple, where he had spread a couch, and after the supper locked her in, assured of course that the god would take possession of her. And verily it is said that the god did visit the woman, and bade her go early in the morning to the forum, salute the first man who met her, and make him her friend. She was met, accordingly, by one of the citizens who was well on in years and possessed of considerable property, but

¹ In *Morals*, p. 273 a, she is called a public courtesan.

συνειλοχῶς οὐσίαν ἱκανήν, ἅπαις δὲ καὶ βεβιω-
 4 κῶς ἄνευ γυναικός, ὄνομα Ταρρούτιος. οὗτος
 ἔγνων τὴν Λαρεντίαν καὶ ἠγάπησε, καὶ τελευτῶν
 ἀπέλιπε κληρονόμον ἐπὶ πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς
 κτήμασιν, ὧν ἐκείνη τὰ πλεῖστα τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ
 διαθήκας ἔδωκε. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὴν ἐνδοξον οὔσαν
 ἤδη καὶ θεοφιλῇ νομιζομένην, ἄφανῇ γενέσθαι
 περὶ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ. καὶ τὴν προτέραν
 5 ἐκείνην Λαρεντίαν κεῖσθαι. καλεῖται δὲ νῦν ὁ
 τόπος Βήλαυρον, ὅτι τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλάκις
 ὑπερχεομένου διεπεραιοῦντο πορθμείοις κατὰ τοῦ-
 το τὸ χωρίον εἰς ἀγοράν· τὴν δὲ πορθμείαν
 βηλατούραν καλοῦσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν
 εἰς τὸν ἵπποδρομον φέρουσαν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς πάροδον
 ἰστίοις καταπεταννύναι τοὺς τὴν θέαν παρέ-
 χοντας, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχομένους· ῥωμαῖστί δὲ τὸ
 ἰστίον βῆλον ὀνομάζουσι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει
 τιμὰς ἢ δευτέρα Λαρεντία παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.

VI. Τὰ δὲ βρέφη Φαυστύλος Ἀμουλίου σύ-
 φορβὸς ἀνείλετο λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι
 φασὶ τῶν εἰκότων ἐχόμενοι μᾶλλον, εἰδότος τοῦ
 Νομήτορος καὶ συγχωρηγοῦντος τροφὰς κρύφα
 τοῖς τρέφουσι. καὶ γράμματα λέγονται καὶ
 τᾶλλα μανθάνειν οἱ παῖδες εἰς Γαβίους κοι-
 2 σθέντες, ὅσα χρή τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας. κληθῆναι
 δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς θηλῆς ἱστοροῦσι Ῥωμύλον
 καὶ Ῥώμον, ὅτι θηλάζοντες ὥφθησαν τὸ θηρίον.
 ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εὐγένεια καὶ νηπίων
 ὄντων εὐθὺς ἐξέφαινε μεγέθει καὶ ἰδέα τὴν φύσιν·
 αὐξόμενοι δὲ θυμοειδεῖς ἦσαν ἀμφοτέροι καὶ
 ἀνδρώδεις καὶ φρονήματα πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα

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childless, and unmarried all his life, by name Tarrutius. This man took Larentia to his bed and loved her well, and at his death left her heir to many and fair possessions, most of which she bequeathed to the people. And it is said that when she was now famous and regarded as the beloved of a god, she disappeared at the spot where the former Larentia also lies buried. This spot is now called Velabrum, because when the river overflowed, as it often did, they used to cross it at about this point in *ferry-boats*, to go to the forum, and their word for ferry is "velatura." But some say that it is so-called because from that point on, the street leading to the Hippodrome¹ from the forum is covered over with *sails* by the givers of a public spectacle, and the Roman word for sail is "velum." It is for these reasons that honours are paid to this second Larentia amongst the Romans.

VI. As for the babes, they were taken up and reared by Faustulus, a swineherd of Amulius, and no man knew of it; or, as some say with a closer approach to probability, Numitor did know of it, and secretly aided the foster-parents in their task. And it is said that the boys were taken to Gabii to learn letters and the other branches of knowledge which are meet for those of noble birth. Moreover, we are told that they were named, from "ruma," the Latin word for *teat*,² Romulus and Romus (or Remus), because they were seen sucking the wild beast. Well, the noble size and beauty of their bodies, even when they were infants, betokened their natural disposition; and when they grew up, they were both of them courageous and manly, with spirits which

¹ That is, the Circus Maximus.

² Cf. chapter iv. 1.

δεινὰ καὶ τόλμαν ὅλως ἀνέκπληκτον ἔχοντες· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος γνώμη τε χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καὶ πολιτικὴν ἔχειν σύνεσιν, ἐν ταῖς περὶ νομᾶς καὶ κυνηγίας πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας ἐπιμιξίαις πολλὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχων κατανόησιν ἡγεμονικοῦ
 3 μᾶλλον ἢ πειθαρχικοῦ φύσει γεγονότος. διὸ τοῖς μὲν ὁμοφύλοις ἢ ταπεινοτέροις προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν, ἐπιστάτας δὲ καὶ διόπους βασιλικούς καὶ ἀγγελάρχας, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας, ὑπερφρονούντες οὐτ' ἀπειλῆς ἐφρόντιζον οὔτε ὀργῆς. ἐχρῶντο δὲ διαίταις καὶ διατριβαῖς ἐλευθερίοις, οὐ τὴν σχολὴν ἐλευθέριον ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀπονίαν, ἀλλὰ γυμνάσια καὶ θήρας καὶ δρόμους καὶ τὸ ληστὰς ἀμύνασθαι καὶ κλώπας ἐλεῖν καὶ βίας ἐξελέσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους. ἦσαν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα περιβόητοι.

VII. Γενομένης δὲ τινος πρὸς τοὺς Νομήτορος βουκόλους τοῖς Ἀμουλίου διαφορᾶς καὶ βοσκημάτων ἐλάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι συγκόπτουσι μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τρέπονται, ἀποτέμνονται δὲ τῆς λείας συχνήν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Νομήτορος ὀλιγώρουν· συνῆγον δὲ καὶ προσεδέχοντο πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπόρους, πολλοὺς δὲ δούλους, θράσους ἀπο-
 2 στατικοῦ καὶ φρονήματος ἀρχὰς ἐνδιδόντες. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου πρὸς τινα θυσίαν ἀποτραπομένου (καὶ γὰρ ἦν φιλοθύτης καὶ μαντικός), οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος βοτῆρες τῷ Ῥώμῳ μετ' ὀλίγων βαδίζοντι προστυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ γενομένων 21 πληγῶν καὶ τραυμάτων ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Νομήτορος καὶ συνέλαβον ζῶντα τὸν

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courted apparent danger, and a daring which nothing could terrify. But Romulus seemed to exercise his judgement more, and to have political sagacity, while in his intercourse with their neighbours in matters pertaining to herding and hunting, he gave them the impression that he was born to command rather than to obey. With their equals or inferiors they were therefore on friendly terms, but they looked down upon the overseers, bailiffs, and chief herdsmen of the king, believing them to be no better men than themselves, and disregarded both their threats and their anger. They also applied themselves to generous occupations and pursuits, not esteeming sloth and idleness generous, but rather bodily exercise, hunting, running, driving off robbers, capturing thieves, and rescuing the oppressed from violence. For these things, indeed, they were famous far and near.

VII. When a quarrel arose between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius,¹ and some of the latter's cattle were driven off, the brothers would not suffer it, but fell upon the robbers, put them to flight, and intercepted most of the booty. To the displeasure of Numitor they gave little heed, but collected and took into their company many needy men and many slaves, exhibiting thus the beginnings of seditious boldness and temper. But once when Romulus was busily engaged in some sacrifice, being fond of sacrifices and of divination, the herdsmen of Numitor fell in with Remus as he was walking with few companions, and a battle ensued. After blows and wounds given and received on both sides, the herdsmen of Numitor prevailed and took Remus prisoner, who was

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 5, 3 ff.

Ῥώμον. ἀναχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Νομή-
τορα καὶ κατηγορηθέντος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκόλασε,
χαλεπὸν ὄντα δεδιὼς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐλθὼν δὲ
πρὸς ἐκείνουν ἐδεῖτο τυχεῖν δίκης, ἀδελφὸς ὢν καὶ
καθυβρισμένος ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἐκείνου βασιλέως
3 ὄντος. συναγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἀλβη καὶ
δεινὰ πάσχειν οἰομένων τὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἀξίαν,
κινηθεὶς ὁ Ἀμούλιος αὐτῷ παραδίδωσι τῷ Νομή-
τορι τὸν Ῥώμον ὃ τι βούλοιτο χρῆσασθαι.

Παραλαβὼν δὲ ἐκείνος, ὡς ἦκεν οἰκαδε, θαυμά-
ζων μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὸν νεανίσκον ὑπερ-
φέροντα μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ πάντας, ἐνορῶν δὲ τῷ
προσώπῳ τὸ θαρραλέον καὶ ἱταμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς
4 ἀδούλωτον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ἔργα
δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξεις ὅμοια τοῖς βλεπομένοις
ἀκούων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὡς ἔοικε, θεοῦ συμπα-
ρόντος καὶ συνεπευθύνοντος ἀρχὰς μεγάλων πραγ-
μάτων, ἀπτόμενος ἐπινοία καὶ τύχῃ τῆς ἀλη-
θείας, ἀνέκρινεν ὅστις εἴη καὶ ὅπως γένοιτο,
φωνῇ τε πράξι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ βλέμματι
5 πίστιν αὐτῷ μετ' ἐλπίδος ἐνδιδούς. ὁ δὲ θαρρῶν
ἔλεγεν· “Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀποκρύψομαί σε· καὶ γὰρ
εἶναι δοκεῖς Ἀμουλίου βασιλικώτερος.. ἀκούεις
γὰρ καὶ ἀνακρίνεις πρὶν ἢ κολάζειν· ὁ δ' ἀκρίτους
ἐκδίδωσι. πρότερον μὲν ἑαυτοὺς οἰκετῶν βασι-
λέως Φαυστύλου καὶ Λαρεντίας ἠπιστάμεθα παῖ-
δας (ἐσμέν δὲ δίδυμοι), γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν αἰτία
πρὸς σέ καὶ διαβολαῖς καὶ τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς
ἀγῶσιν, ἀκούομεν μεγάλα περὶ ἑαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ
6 πιστά, κρίνειν ἔοικε νῦν ὁ κίνδυνος. γοναὶ μὲν

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then carried before Numitor and denounced. Numitor himself did not punish his prisoner, because he was in fear of his brother Amulius, who was severe, but went to Amulius and asked for justice, since he was his brother, and had been insulted by the royal servants. The people of Alba, too, were incensed, and thought that Numitor had been undeservedly outraged. Amulius was therefore induced to hand Remus over to Numitor himself, to treat him as he saw fit.

When Numitor came home, after getting Remus into his hands, he was amazed at the young man's complete superiority in stature and strength of body, and perceiving by his countenance that the boldness and vigour of his soul were unsubdued and unharmed by his present circumstances, and hearing that his acts and deeds corresponded with his looks, but chiefly, as it would seem, because a divinity was aiding and assisting in the inauguration of great events, he grasped the truth by a happy conjecture, and asked him who he was and what were the circumstances of his birth, while his gentle voice and kindly look inspired the youth with confidence and hope. Then Remus boldly said : " Indeed, I will hide nothing from thee ; for thou seemest to be more like a king than Amulius ; thou hearest and weighest before punishing, but he surrenders men without a trial. Formerly we believed ourselves (my twin brother and I) children of Faustulus and Larentia, servants of the king ; but since being accused and slandered before thee and brought in peril of our lives, we hear great things concerning ourselves ; whether they are true or not, our present danger is likely to decide. Our birth is said to have been secret, and

γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀπόρρητοι λέγονται, τροφαὶ δὲ καὶ τιθηνήσεις ἀτοπώτεραι νεογνῶν, οἷς ἐρρίφημεν οἰωνοῖς καὶ θηρίοις, ὑπὸ τούτων τρεφόμενοι, μαστῶ λυκαίνης καὶ δρυοκολάπτου ψωμίσμασιν, ἐν σκάφῃ τινὶ κείμενοι παρὰ τὸν μέγαν ποταμόν. ἔστι δ' ἡ σκάφη καὶ σώζεται, χαλκοῖς ὑποζώμασι γραμμάτων ἀμυδρῶν ἐγκεχαραγμένων, ἃ γένοιτ' ἂν ἴσως ὕστερον ἀνωφελῇ γνωρίσματα
7 τοῖς τοκεῦσιν ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων.”

‘Ο μὲν οὖν Νομήτωρ ἔκ τε τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν εἰκάζων τὸν χρόνον, οὐκ ἔφευγε τὴν ἐλπίδα σαίνουσας, ἀλλ’ ἐφρόντιζεν ὅπως τῇ θυγατρὶ περὶ τούτων κρύφα συγγενόμενος φράσειεν· ἐφρουρεῖτο γὰρ ἔτι καρτερῶς.

VIII. ‘Ο δὲ Φαυστύλος ἀκούσας τὴν τε σύλληψιν τοῦ Ῥώμου καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν, τὸν μὲν Ῥωμύλον ἡξίου βοηθεῖν, τότε σαφῶς διδάξας περὶ τῆς γενέσεως· πρότερον δὲ ὑπηνίττετο καὶ παρεδήλου τοσοῦτον ὅσον προσέχοντας μὴ μικρὸν φρονεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν σκάφην κομίζων ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Νομήτορα, σπουδῆς καὶ δέους μεστὸς
2 ὢν διὰ τὸν καιρόν. ὑποψίαν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παρέχων, καὶ ὑφορώμενος¹ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ταραττομένος περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν σκάφην τῷ χλαμυδίῳ περικαλύπτων. ἦν δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης τῶν τὰ παιδιά ρίψαι λαβόντων καὶ γεγυότων περὶ τὴν ἑκθεσιν. οὗτος ἰδὼν τὴν σκάφην τότε, καὶ γνωρίσας τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τοῖς γράμ-

¹ ὑφορώμενος corrected by Bekker to ἐρωτώμενος (questioned).

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our nursing and nurture as infants stranger still. We were cast out to birds of prey and wild beasts, only to be nourished by them,—by the dugs of a she-wolf and the morsels of a woodpecker, as we lay in a little trough by the side of the great river. The trough still exists and is kept safe, and its bronze girdles are engraved with letters now almost effaced, which may perhaps hereafter prove unavailing tokens of recognition for our parents, when we are dead and gone.”

Then Numitor, hearing these words, and conjecturing the time which had elapsed from the young man's looks, welcomed the hope that flattered him, and thought how he might talk with his daughter concerning these matters in a secret interview; for she was still kept in the closest custody.

VIII. But Faustulus, on hearing that Remus had been seized and delivered up to Numitor, called upon Romulus to go to his aid, and then told him clearly the particulars of their birth; before this also he had hinted at the matter darkly, and revealed enough to give them ambitious thoughts when they dwelt upon it. He himself took the trough and went to see Numitor, full of anxious fear lest he might not be in season. Naturally enough, the guards at the king's gate were suspicious of him, and when he was scrutinized by them and made confused replies to their questions, he was found to be concealing the trough in his cloak. Now by chance there was among the guards one of those who had taken the boys to cast them into the river, and were concerned in their exposure. This man, now seeing the trough, and recognizing it by its

- μασιν, ἔτυχεν ὑπονοία τοῦ ὄντος καὶ οὐ παρημέλησεν, ἀλλὰ φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ βασιλεῖ
- 3 κατέστησεν εἰς ἔλεγχον. ἐν δὲ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀνάγκαις ὁ Φαυστύλος οὐτ' ἀήττητον ἑαυτὸν διεφύλαξεν οὔτε παντάπασιν ἐκβιασθείς, σῶζεσθαι μὲν ὡμολόγησε τοὺς παῖδας, εἶναι δ' ἄπωθεν τῆς Ἀλβης ἔφη νέμοντας· αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Ἰλίαν φέρων βαδίζειν, πολλάκις ἰδεῖν καὶ θιγεῖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι βεβαιότερα τῶν τέκνων ποθήσασαν.
- 4 "Ὅπερ οὖν οἱ ταραττόμενοι καὶ μετὰ δέους ἢ πρὸς ὀργὴν πράττοντες ὁτιοῦν ἐπεικῶς πάσχουσι, συνέπεσε παθεῖν τὸν Ἀμούλιον. ἄνδρα γὰρ ἄλλη 22 τε χρηστὸν καὶ τοῦ Νομήτορος φίλον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔπεμψε, διαπυθέσθαι τοῦ Νομήτορος κεύσας εἴ τις ἦκοι λόγος εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν
- 5 παίδων ὡς περιγενομένων. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θεασάμενος ὅσον οὐπω τὸν Ῥώμον ἐν περιβολαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις τοῦ Νομήτορος, τὴν τε πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησε τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ παρεκελεύσατο τῶν πραγμάτων ὀξέως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ συνῆν αὐτὸς ἤδη καὶ συνέπραττεν. ὁ δὲ καιρὸς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ὀκνεῖν παρείχεν. ὁ γὰρ Ῥωμύλος ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξέθεον οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολιτῶν μίσει
- 6 καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ Ἀμουλίου. Πολλὴν δὲ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἦγε συλλελοχισμένην εἰς ἑκατοστύας· ἐκάστης δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφηγεῖτο χόρτου καὶ ὕλης ἀγκαλίδα κοντῷ περικειμένην ἀνέχων· μανίπλα ταύτας Λατῖνοι καλοῦσιν· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι τούτους μανιπλαρίους ὀνομάζουσιν. ἅμα δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ῥώμου

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make and inscription, conceived a suspicion of the truth, and without any delay told the matter to the king, and brought the man before him to be examined. In these dire and pressing straits, Faustulus did not entirely hold his own, nor yet was his secret wholly forced from him. He admitted that the boys were alive and well, but said they lived at a distance from Alba as herdsmen; he himself was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often yearned to see and handle it, in confirmation of her hope for her children.

As, then, men naturally fare who are confounded, and act with fear or in a passion, so it fell out that Amulius fared. For he sent in all haste an excellent man and a friend of Numitor's, with orders to learn from Numitor whether any report had come to him of the children's being alive. When, accordingly, the man was come, and beheld Remus almost in the affectionate embraces of Numitor, he confirmed them in their confident hope, and entreated them to proceed at once to action, promptly joining their party himself and furthering their cause. And the opportunity admitted of no delay, even had they wished it; for Romulus was now close at hand, and many of the citizens who hated and feared Amulius were running forth to join him. He was also leading a large force with him, divided into companies of a hundred men, each company headed by a man who bore aloft a handful of hay and shrubs tied round a pole (the Latin word for *handful* is "*manipulus*," and hence in their armies they still call the men in such companies "*manipulares*"). And when Remus incited the

τοὺς ἐντὸς ἀφιστάντος, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου προσάγοντος ἔξωθεν, οὔτε πράξας οὐδὲν ὁ τύραννος οὔτε βουλευσας σωτήριον ἑαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν καὶ ταράττεσθαι, καταληφθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.

- 7 Ὡν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου λέγοντος καὶ τοῦ Πεπαρηθίου Διοκλέους, ὃς δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἐκδοῦναι Ῥώμης κτίσιν, ὑποπτον μὲν ἐνίοις ἐστὶ τὸ δραματικὸν καὶ πλασματῶδες, οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπισταῖν τὴν τύχην ὁρῶντας οἷων ποιημάτων δημιουργός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα λογιζομένους ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προὔβη δυνάμεως, μὴ θείαν τινὰ ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν.

- IX. Ἀμουλίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καταστάντων, Ἀλβην μὲν οὗτ' οἰκεῖν μὴ ἄρχοντες οὗτ' ἄρχειν ἐβούλοντο τοῦ μητροπάτορος ζῶντος, ἀποδόντες δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τιμὰς πρεπούσας, ἔγνωσαν οἰκεῖν καθ' ἑαυτούς, πόλιν ἐν οἷς χωρίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνετράφησαν κτίσαντες· αὕτη γὰρ εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν
2 αἰτιῶν ἐστίν· ἦν δ' ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον, οἰκετῶν καὶ ἀποστατῶν πολλῶν ἡθροισμένων πρὸς αὐτούς, ἣ καταλυθῆναι παντάπασι τούτων διασπαρέντων ἢ συνοικεῖν ἰδίᾳ μετ' αὐτῶν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἤξιουν οἱ τὴν Ἀλβην οἰκούντες ἀναμιγνύναι τοὺς ἀποστάτας ἑαυτοῖς οὐδὲ προσδέχεσθαι πολίτας, ἐδήλωσε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔργον, οὐχ ὑβρεὶ τολμηθέν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνάγκην, ἐκουσίῳ

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citizens within the city to revolt, and at the same time Romulus attacked from without, the tyrant, without taking a single step or making any plan for his own safety, from sheer perplexity and confusion, was seized and put to death.

Although most of these particulars are related by Fabius and Diocles of Peparethus, who seems to have been the first to publish a "Founding of Rome," some are suspicious of their fictitious and fabulous quality; but we should not be incredulous when we see what a poet fortune sometimes is, and when we reflect that the Roman state would not have attained to its present power, had it not been of a divine origin, and one which was attended by great marvels.

IX. Amulius being now dead, and matters settled in the city, the brothers were neither willing to live in Alba, unless as its rulers, nor to be its rulers while their grandfather was alive. Having therefore restored the government to him and paid fitting honours to their mother, they resolved to dwell by themselves, and to found a city in the region where, at the first, they were nourished and sustained;¹ this surely seems a most fitting reason for their course. But perhaps it was necessary, now that many slaves and fugitives were gathered about them, either to disperse these and have no following at all, or else to dwell apart with them. For that the residents of Alba would not consent to give the fugitives the privilege of intermarriage with them, nor even receive them as fellow-citizens, is clear, in the first place, from the rape of the Sabine women,² which was not a deed of wanton daring, but one of necessity, owing to the lack of marriages by consent;

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 6, 3 f.

² See chapter xiv.

ἀπορία γάμων· ἐτίμησαν γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀρπιάσαντες
 3 περιττῶς. ἔπειτα τῆς πόλεως τὴν πρώτην
 ἵδρυσιν λαμβανούσης, ἱερόν τι φύξιμον τοῖς ἀφι-
 σταμένοις κατασκευάσαντες, ὃ Θεοῦ Ἀσυλαίου
 προσηγόρευον, ἐδέχοντο πάντας, οὔτε δεσπόταις
 δούλον οὔτε θῆτα χρήσταις οὔτ' ἄρχουσιν ἀνδρο-
 φόνον ἐκδιδόντες, ἀλλὰ μαντεύματι πυθοχρήστῳ
 πᾶσι βεβαιοῦν τὴν ἀσυλίαν φάσκοντες, ὥστε
 πληθῦσαι ταχὺ τὴν πόλιν· ἐπεὶ τὰς γε πρώτας
 ἐστίας λέγουσι τῶν χιλίων μὴ πλείονας γενέσθαι.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

4 Ὀρμήσασι δὲ πρὸς τὸν συνοικισμὸν αὐτοῖς
 εὐθύς ἦν διαφορὰ περὶ τοῦ τόπου. Ῥωμύλος μὲν
 οὖν τὴν καλουμένην Ῥώμην κουαδράτην, ὅπερ
 ἐστὶ τετράγωνον, ἔκτισε, καὶ ἐκείνον ἐβούλετο
 πολίζειν τὸν τόπον, Ῥώμος δὲ χωρίον τι τοῦ
 Ἀβεντίνου καρτερόν, ὃ δι' ἐκείνον μὲν ὠνομάσθη
 5 Ῥεμώνιον, νῦν δὲ Ῥιγνάριον καλεῖται. συνθε-
 μένων δὲ τὴν ἔριν ὄρνισιν αἰσίοις βραβεῦσαι καὶ
 καθεζομένων χωρίς, ἕξ φασι τῷ Ῥώμῳ, διπλα-
 σίους δὲ τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ προφανῆναι γῦπας. οἱ δὲ
 τὸν μὲν Ῥώμον ἀληθῶς ἰδεῖν, ψεύσασθαι δὲ τὸν
 Ῥωμύλον· ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμου, τότε τοὺς
 δώδεκα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ φανῆναι, διὸ καὶ νῦν μάλιστα
 χρῆσθαι γυνψὶ Ῥωμαίους οἰωνιζομένους.

Ἡρόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἡρα- 23
 6 κλέα χαίρειν γυπὸς ἐπὶ πράξει φανέντος. ἔστι
 μὲν γὰρ ἀβλαβέστατον ζώων ἀπάντων, μηδὲν ὦν

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for they certainly honoured the women, when they had carried them off, beyond measure. And in the second place, when their city was first founded, they made a sanctuary of refuge for all fugitives,¹ which they called the sanctuary of the God of Asylum. There they received all who came, delivering none up, neither slave to masters, nor debtor to creditors, nor murderer to magistrates, but declaring it to be in obedience to an oracle from Delphi that they made the asylum secure for all men. Therefore the city was soon full of people, for they say that the first houses numbered no more than a thousand. This, however, was later.

But when they set out to establish their city, a dispute at once arose concerning the site. Romulus, accordingly, built Roma Quadrata (which means *square*), and wished to have the city on that site; but Remus laid out a strong precinct on the Aventine hill, which was named from him Remonium, but now is called Rignarium. Agreeing to settle their quarrel by the flight of birds of omen,² and taking their seats on the ground apart from one another, six vultures, they say, were seen by Remus, and twice that number by Romulus. Some, however, say that whereas Remus truly saw his six, Romulus lied about his twelve, but that when Remus came to him, then he did see the twelve. Hence it is that at the present time also the Romans chiefly regard vultures when they take auguries from the flight of birds.

Herodorus Ponticus relates that Hercules also was glad to see a vulture present itself when he was upon an exploit. For it is the least harmful

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 8, 5 f.

² Cf. Livy, i. 7, 1.

σπείρουσιν ἢ φυτεύουσιν ἢ νέμουσιν ἄνθρωποι
σινόμενον, τρέφεται δὲ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν σωμάτων,
ἀποκτίννυσι δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λυμαίνεται ψυχὴν ἔχον,
πτηνοῖς δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν οὐδὲ νεκροῖς πρόσεισιν.
ἀετοὶ δὲ καὶ γλαῦκες καὶ ἰέρακες ζῶντα κόπτουσι
τὰ ὁμόφυλα καὶ φονεύουσι· καίτοι κατ' Αἰ-
σχύλον·

Ὅρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἀγνεύοι φαγών;

7 ἔτι τὰλλα μὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀνα-
στρέφεται καὶ παρέχει διὰ παντὸς αἰσθησιν
ἑαυτῶν· ὁ δὲ γυνῆ σπάνιον ἐστὶ θέαμα καὶ νεοσ-
σοῖς γυπὸς οὐ ῥαδίως ἴσμεν ἐντετυχηκότες, ἀλλὰ
καὶ παρέσχεν ἐνίοις ἄτοπον ὑπόνοιαν, ἔξωθεν
αὐτοὺς ἀφ' ἐτέρας τινὸς γῆς καταίρειν ἐνταῦθα,
τὸ σπάνιον καὶ μὴ συνεχές, οἷον οἱ μάντις ἀξιού-
σιν εἶναι τὸ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν μηδ' ἀφ' αὐτοῦ, πομπῇ
δὲ θεία φαινόμενον.

X. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγνω τὴν ἀπάτην ὁ Ῥώμος, ἔχα-
λέπαινε, καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου τάφρον ὀρύττοντος ἢ
τὸ τεῖχος ἔμελλε κυκλοῦσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐχλεύαζε
τῶν ἔργων, τοῖς δ' ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ
διαλλόμενον αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμύλου πατά-
ξαντος, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων τινὸς Κέλερος, ἐνταῦθα
2 πεσεῖν λέγουσιν. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ Φαυστύλος ἐν τῇ
μάχῃ καὶ Πλειστίνος, δν ἀδελφὸν ὄντα Φαυστύ-
λου συνεκθρέψαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἱστοροῦ-
σιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κέλερ εἰς Τυρρηνίαν μετέστη καὶ
ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς ταχεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὀξεῖς
κέλερας ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ Κόιντον Μέτελλον, ὅτι

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of all creatures, injures no grain, fruit-tree, or cattle, and lives on carrion. But it does not kill or maltreat anything that has life, and as for birds, it will not touch them even when they are dead, since they are of its own species. But eagles, owls, and hawks smite their own kind when alive, and kill them. And yet, in the words of Aeschylus :—¹

“How shall a bird that preys on fellow bird be clean?”

Besides, other birds are, so to speak, always in our eyes, and let themselves be seen continually; but the vulture is a rare sight, and it is not easy to come upon a vulture's young, nay, some men have been led into a strange suspicion that the birds come from some other and foreign land to visit us here, so rare and intermittent is their appearance, which soothsayers think should be true of what does not present itself naturally, nor spontaneously, but by a divine sending.

X. When Remus knew of the deceit, he was enraged,² and as Romulus was digging a trench where his city's wall was to run, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, when he leaped across it, he was smitten (by Romulus himself, as some say; according to others, by Celer, one of his companions), and fell dead there. Faustulus also fell in the battle, as well as Pleistinus, who was a brother of Faustulus, and assisted him in rearing Romulus and Remus. Celer, at any rate, betook himself to Tuscany, and from him the Romans call such as are swift and speedy, “celeres.” Quintus Metellus, for instance, when his father died,

¹ *Suppliants*, 226 (Dindorf). ² Cf. Livy, i. 7, 2.

τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος ἀγῶνα μονομάχων ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις ἐποίησε, θαυμάσαντες τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς Κέλερα προσηγόρευσαν.

- XI. Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐν τῇ Ῥεμωνίᾳ¹ θάψας τὸν Ῥῶμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς, ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμφάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ. βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερῆς, ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων, ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις, ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος, ἐξ ἧς ἀφίκτο γῆς ἕκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν, ἔβαλλον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ
- 2 συνεμίγνυνον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ᾧ καὶ τὸν ὄλυμπον ὀνόματι μούνδον. εἶτα ὥσπερ κύκλον κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δ' οἰκιστὴς ἐμβαλὼν ἀρότρῳ χαλκῇν ὕνιν, ὑποζεύξας δὲ βούν ἄρρενα καὶ θήλειαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπάγει περιελαύνων αὐλακα βαθεῖαν τοῖς τέρμασι, τῶν δ' ἐπομένων ἔργον ἐστίν, ἃς ἀνίστησι βώλους τὸ ἄροτρον καταστρέφειν εἰσω, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔξω
- 3 περιορᾶν ἐκτρεπομένην. τῇ μὲν οὖν γραμμῇ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφορίζουσι καὶ καλεῖται κατὰ συγκοπὴν πωμήριον, οἶον ὅπισθεν τείχους ἢ μετὰ τεῖχος· ὅπου δὲ πύλην ἐμβαλεῖν διανοοῦνται, τὴν ὕνιν ἐξελόντες καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον ὑπερθέντες διῶλειμμα

¹ Ῥεμωνίᾳ Coraë's and Bekker, with C: Ῥεμορίζ.

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took only a few days to provide gladiatorial contests in his honour, and the people were so amazed at his speed in preparing them that they gave him the surname of Celer.

XI. Romulus buried Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in the Remonia,¹ and then set himself to building his city, after summoning from Tuscany men who prescribed all the details in accordance with certain sacred ordinances and writings, and taught them to him as in a religious rite. A circular trench was dug around what is now the Comitium,² and in this were deposited first-fruits of all things the use of which was sanctioned by custom as good and by nature as necessary; and finally, every man brought a small portion of the soil of his native land, and these were cast in among the first-fruits and mingled with them. They call this trench, as they do the heavens, by the name of "mundus." Then, taking this as a centre, they marked out the city in a circle round it. And the founder, having shod a plough with a brazen ploughshare, and having yoked to it a bull and a cow, himself drove a deep furrow round the boundary lines, while those who followed after him had to turn the clods, which the plough threw up, inwards towards the city, and suffer no clod to lie turned outwards. With this line they mark out the course of the wall, and it is called, by contraction, "pomerium," that is "post murum," *behind or next the wall*. And where they purposed to put in a gate, there they took the share out of the ground, lifted the plough over, and left a vacant

¹ See chapter ix. 4.

² A space adjoining the forum where the people met in assembly. The *mundus*, or augural centre of the city, was really on the Palatine.

ποιοῦσιν. ὅθεν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἱερὰς νομίζοντας οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ δεισδαιμονίας τὰ μὲν δέχεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μὴ καθαρῶν.

XII. "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ κτίσις ἡμέρα γένοιτο τῇ πρὸ ἑνδεκα καλανδῶν Ματῶν ὁμολογεῖται· καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἑορτάζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, γενέθλιον τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες. ἐν ἀρχῇ δ', ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲν ἔμφυχον ἔθνον, ἀλλὰ καθαρὰν καὶ ἀναίμακτον ὦντο δεῖν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς γενέσεως ἑορτὴν φυλάττειν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ 24 καὶ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως βοτηρικὴ τις ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ Παρίλια προσηγόρευον αὐτήν.

- 2 Νῦν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αἱ Ῥωμαῖκαὶ κουμηνίαι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ὁμολογούμενον ἔχουσιν· ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἣ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἔκτιζεν, ἀτρεκῇ τριακάδα τυχεῖν λέγουσι· καὶ σύνοδον ἐκλειπτικὴν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι σελήνης πρὸς ἥλιον, ἣν εἶδέναι καὶ Ἀντίμαχον οἶονται, τὸν Τῆϊον ἐποποιόν, ἔπει τρίτῃ τῆς ἑκτῆς ὀλυμ-
- 3 πιάδος συμπεσοῦσαν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ Βάρρωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον χρόνοις, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐν ἱστορίᾳ βιβλιακώτατον, ἦν Ταρούτιος ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ, φιλόσοφος μὲν ἄλλως καὶ μαθηματικός, ἀπτόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν πίνακα μεθόδου θεωρίας
- 4 ἔνεκα καὶ δοκῶν ἐν αὐτῇ περιττὸς εἶναι. τούτῳ προὔβαλεν ὁ Βάρρων ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν Ῥωμύλου γένεσιν εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ἀποτελεσμάτων περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ποιησάμενον τὸν συλλογισμὸν, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν γεωμετρικῶν ὑφη-

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space. And this is the reason why they regard all the wall as sacred except the gates; but if they held the gates sacred, it would not be possible, without religious scruples, to bring into and send out of the city things which are necessary, and yet unclean.

XII. Now it is agreed that the city was founded on the twenty-first of April, and this day the Romans celebrate with a festival, calling it the birthday of their country. And at first, as it is said, they sacrificed no living creature at that festival, but thought they ought to keep it pure and without stain of blood, since it commemorated the birth of their country. However, even before the founding of the city, they had a pastoral festival on that day, and called it Parilia.

At the present time, indeed, there is no agreement between the Roman and Greek months, but they say that the day on which Romulus founded his city was precisely the thirtieth of the month, and that on that day there was a conjunction of the sun and moon, with an eclipse, which they think was the one seen by Antimachus, the epic poet of Teos, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.¹ And in the times of Varro the philosopher, a Roman who was most deeply versed in history, there lived Tarutius, a companion of his, who, besides being a philosopher and a mathematician, had applied himself to the art of casting nativities, in order to indulge a speculative turn of mind, and was thought to excel in it. To this man Varro gave the problem of fixing the day and hour of the birth of Romulus, making his deductions from the conjunctions of events reported in the man's life, just as the solutions of

¹ 754 B.C.

γούνται προβλημάτων ἀναλύσεις· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς θεωρίας εἶναι χρόνον τε λαβόντας ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως βίον προειπεῖν καὶ βίῳ δοθέντι θηρεύ-
 5 σαι χρόνον. ἐποίησεν οὖν τὸ προσταχθέν ὁ Ταρουτίος, καὶ τά τε πάθη καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδὼν καὶ χρόνον ζωῆς καὶ τρόπον τελευτῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα συνθείς, εὖ μάλᾳ τεθαρρηκότως καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀπεφῆνατο τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ μητρὶ γεγονέναι τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σύλληψιν ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς δευτέρᾳς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν μηνὶ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Χοιάκ, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, τρίτης ὥρας, καθ' ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε παντελῶς· τὴν δ' ἐμφανῇ γένεσιν ἐν μηνὶ Θωύθ, ἡμέρα
 6 πρώτη μετ' εἰκάδα, περὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς. κτισθῆναι δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐνάτῃ Φαρμουθὶ μηνὸς ἵσταμένου, μεταξὺ δευτέρας ὥρας καὶ τρίτης· ἐπεὶ καὶ πόλεως τύχην, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου, κύριον ἔχειν οἴονται χρόνον, ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐποχὰς θεωρούμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ ξένῳ καὶ περιττῷ προσάξεται μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐνοχλήσει τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτοῖς.

XIII. Κτισθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτον μὲν ὅσον ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πλῆθος εἰς συντάγματα στρατιωτικὰ διεῖλεν· ἕκαστον δὲ σύνταγμα πεζῶν τρισχιλίων ἦν καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων. ἐκλήθη δὲ λεγεὼν τῷ λογάδᾳ εἶναι τοὺς μαχίμους ἐκ πάντων. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐχρήτο δῆμῳ καὶ ποπούλους ὠνομάσθη τὸ πλῆθος· ἑκατὸν δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀπέδειξε βουλευτάς, καὶ αὐτοὺς

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geometrical problems are derived ; for the same science, he said, must be capable not only of foretelling a man's life when the time of his birth is known, but also, from the given facts of his life, of hunting out the time of his birth. This task, then, Tarutius performed, and when he had taken a survey of the man's experiences and achievements, and had brought together the time of his life, the manner of his death, and all such details, he very courageously and bravely declared that Romulus was conceived in his mother's womb in the first year of the second Olympiad,¹ in the month Choeac of the Egyptian calendar, on the twenty-third day, and in the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed ; and that he was born in the month Thoth, on the twenty-first day, at sun-rise ; and that Rome was founded by him on the ninth day of the month Pharmuthi, between the second and third hour : for it is thought that a city's fortune, as well as that of a man, has a decisive time, which may be known by the position of the stars at its very origin. These and similar speculations will perhaps attract readers by their novelty and extravagance, rather than offend them by their fabulous character.

XIII. When the city was built, in the first place, Romulus divided all the multitude that were of age to bear arms into military companies, each company consisting of three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen. Such a company was called a "legion," because the warlike were *selected* out of all. In the second place, he treated the remainder as a people, and this multitude was called "populus" ; a hundred of them, who were the most eminent, he

¹ 772 B.C.

- 2 μὲν πατρικίους, τὸ δὲ σύστημα σενα̑τον προσηγο-
 ρευσεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν σενα̑τος ἀτρεκῶς γερουσίαν
 σημαίνει· πατρικίους δὲ τοὺς βουλευτὰς κλη-
 θῆναι λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν ὅτι παίδων γνησίων πα-
 τέρες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας
 ἑαυτῶν ἀποδείξαι πατέρας, ὅπερ οὐ πολλοῖς
 ὑπῆρξε τῶν πρώτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν συρρεόντων·
 οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πατρωνείας. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν
 τὴν προστασίαν καὶ καλοῦσιν ἄχρι νῦν, οἰόμενοι
 Πάτρωνά τινα τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ παραγενομένων,
 κηδεμονικὸν τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ὄντα καὶ βοηθη-
 τικόν, ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τῷ πράγματι ταύτην τὴν προση-
 3 γορίαν ἀπολιπεῖν. μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις τυγχάνοι
 τοῦ εἰκότος, εἰ νομίζοι τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀξιούντα
 τοὺς πρώτους καὶ δυνατωτάτους πατρικῇ κηδε-
 μονίᾳ καὶ φροντίδι προσήκειν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν
 ταπεινοτέρων, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκοντα
 μὴ δεδιέναι μηδ' ἄχθεσθαι ταῖς τῶν κρειττόνων
 τιμαῖς, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ νομίζοντας
 καὶ προσαγορεύοντας πατέρας, οὕτως ὀνομάσαι.
 4 καὶ γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν τοὺς ἐν συγκλήτῳ τελούντας
 οἱ μὲν ἐξωθεν ἄνδρας ἡγεμόνας καλοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ
 δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πατέρας συγγεγραμμένους, τῷ μέ- 25
 γιστον μὲν ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμὴν, ἥκιστα δὲ φθόνον
 ἔχοντι χρώμενοι τῶν ὀνομάτων. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν
 οὖν πατέρας αὐτοὺς μόνον, ὕστερον δὲ πλειόνων
 προσαναλαμβανομένων, πατέρας συγγεγραμμέ-
 5 νους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ὄνομα
 σεμνότερον αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν τοῦ
 βουλευτικοῦ διαφορᾶς· ἑτέροις δὲ τοὺς δυνατοὺς

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appointed to be councillors, calling the individuals themselves "patricians," and their body a "senate." Now the word "senate" means literally a Council of Elders, and the councillors were called "patricians," as some say, because they were *fathers* of lawful children¹; or rather, according to others, because they could tell who their own *fathers* were, which not many could do of those who first streamed into the city; according to others still, from "patronage," which was their word for the protection of inferiors, and is so to this day; and they suppose that a certain Patron, one of those who came to Italy with Evander, was a protector and defender of the poor and needy, and left his own name in the word which designates such activity. But the most reasonable opinion for any one to hold is that Romulus thought it the duty of the foremost and most influential citizens to watch over the more lowly with *fatherly* care and concern, while he taught the multitude not to fear their superiors nor be vexed at their honours, but to exercise goodwill towards them, considering them and addressing them as *fathers*, whence their name of Patricii. For down to the present time foreign peoples call the members of their senate "chief men," but the Romans themselves call them "conscript fathers," using that name which has the greatest dignity and honour, and awakens the least envy. At first, then, they called them simply "fathers," but later, when more had been added to their number, they addressed them as "conscript fathers." By this more imposing title Romulus distinguished the senate from the commonalty, and in other ways, too, he separated the nobles from the

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 8, 7.

ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν διήρει, πάτρωνας ὀνομάζων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ προστάτας, ἐκείνους δὲ κλίεντας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πελάτας· ἅμα δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θαυμαστὴν εὖνοιαν αὐτοῖς καὶ μεγάλων δικαίων ὑπάρξουσιν ἐνεποίησεν. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγητάς τε τῶν νομίμων καὶ προστάτας δικαζομένοις συμβούλους τε
 6 πάντων καὶ κηδεμόνας ἑαυτοὺς παρείχον, ἐκείνοι δὲ τούτους ἐθεράπευον οὐ μόνον τιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πενομένοις θυγατέρας συνεκδιδόντες καὶ χρέα συνεκτίνοντες. καταμαρτυρεῖν τε πελάτου προστάτην, ἢ προστάτου πελάτην, οὔτε νόμος οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἄρχων ἠνάγκαζεν. ὕστερον δέ, τῶν ἄλλων δικαίων μενόντων, τὸ λαμβάνειν χρήματα τοὺς δυνατοὺς παρὰ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἀγεννές. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

XIV. Τετάρτῳ δὲ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν, ὥς Φάβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὸ περὶ τὴν ἄρπαγὴν ἐτολμήθη τῶν γυναικῶν. καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ἔνιοι τὸν Ῥώμυλον αὐτὸν τῇ φύσει φιλοπόλεμον ὄντα, καὶ πεπεισμένον ἔκ τινων ἄρα λογίων ὅτι τὴν Ῥώμην πέπρωται πολέμοις τρεφόμενην καὶ αὐξομένην γενέσθαι μεγίστην, βίας ὑπάρξαι πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους· οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλάς, ἀλλὰ τριάκοντα
 2 μᾶλλον ἢ γάμων δεόμενον. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰκός· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὀρώων ἐποίκων εὐθὺς ἐμπιπλάμενην, ὧν ὀλίγοι γυναῖκας εἶχον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ

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multitude, calling the one "patrons," that is to say, protectors, and the other "clients," that is to say, dependants. At the same time he inspired both classes with an astonishing goodwill towards each other, and one which became the basis of important rights and privileges. For the patrons advised their clients in matters of custom, and represented them in courts of justice, in short, were their counsellors and friends in all things; while the clients were devoted to their patrons, not only holding them in honour, but actually, in cases of poverty, helping them to dower their daughters and pay their debts. And there was neither any law nor any magistrate that could compel a patron to bear witness against a client, or a client against a patron. But in later times, while all other rights and privileges remained in force, the taking of money by those of high degree from the more lowly was held to be disgraceful and ungenerous. So much, then, on these topics.

XIV. It was in the fourth month after the founding of the city, as Fabius writes, that the rape of the Sabine women was perpetrated.¹ And some say that Romulus himself, being naturally fond of war, and being persuaded by sundry oracles, too, that it was the destiny of Rome to be nourished and increased by wars till she became the greatest of cities, thereby merely began unprovoked hostilities against the Sabines; for he did not take many maidens, but thirty only, since what he wanted was war rather than marriages. But this is not likely. On the contrary, seeing his city filling up at once with aliens, few of whom had wives, while the greater part of them, being a mixed rabble of needy

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 9.

μιγάδες ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀφανῶν ὄντες ὑπερεω-
 ρῶντο καὶ προσεδοκῶντο μὴ συμμενεῖν βεβαίως,
 ἐλπίζων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους τρόπον τινὰ
 συγκράσεως καὶ κοινωνίας ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀδί-
 κημα ποιήσῃν ἡμερωσαμένοις τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπε-
 χείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

- 3 Διεδόθη λόγος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ὡς θεοῦ
 τινος ἀνευρήκοι βωμὸν ὑπὸ γῆς κεκρυμμένον.
 ὠνόμαζον δὲ τὸν θεὸν Κῶνσον, εἴτε βουλαῖον
 ὄντα (κωνσίλιον γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τὸ συμβούλιον
 καλοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους κωνσούλας, οἷον προ-
 βούλους), εἴτε ἵππιον Ποσειδῶ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ βωμὸς
 ἐν τῷ μείζονι τῶν ἵπποδρόμων ἔστιν, ἀφανὴς
 τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἵππικοῖς ἀγῶσιν
- 4 ἀνακαλυπτόμενος. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλως φασὶ τοῦ
 βουλευματος ἀπορρήτου καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὄντος ὑπό-
 γειον οὐκ ἀλόγως τῷ θεῷ βωμὸν γενέσθαι κε-
 κρυμμένον. ὥς δ' ἀνεφάνη, θυσίαν τε λαμπρὰν
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα καὶ θέαν ἐκ καταγγελίας
 ἐπετέλει πανηγυρικὴν. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι
 συνῆλθον, αὐτὸς δὲ προὔκθητο μετὰ τῶν ἀρί-
 5 στων ἀλουργίδι κεκοσμημένος. ἦν δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ
 τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως σύμβολον ἐξαναστάντα τὴν
 ἀλουργίδα πτύξαι καὶ περιβαλέσθαι πάλιν.
 ἔχοντες οὖν ξίφη πολλοὶ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ, καὶ
 τοῦ σημείου γενομένου σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ
 μετὰ βοῆς ὀρμήσαντες ἥρπαζον τὰς θυγατέρας
 τῶν Σαβίνων, αὐτοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εἶων καὶ

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and obscure persons, were looked down upon and expected to have no strong cohesion; and hoping to make the outrage an occasion for some sort of blending and fellowship with the Sabines after their women had been kindly entreated, he set his hand to the task, and in the following manner.

First a report was spread abroad by him that he had discovered an altar of a certain god hidden underground. They called this god Consus, and he was either a god of *counsel* (for "consilium" is still their word for *counsel*, and they call their chief magistrates "consuls," that is to say, *counsellors*), or an equestrian Neptune. For the altar is in the Circus Maximus, and is invisible at all other times, but at the chariot-races it is uncovered. Some, however, simply say that since counsel is secret and unseen, it is not unreasonable that an altar to the god of counsel should be hidden underground.¹ Now when this altar was discovered, Romulus appointed by proclamation a splendid sacrifice upon it, with games, and a spectacle open to all people. And many were the people who came together, while he himself sat in front, among his chief men, clad in purple. The signal that the time had come for the onslaught was to be his rising and folding his cloak and then throwing it round him again. Armed with swords, then, many of his followers kept their eyes intently upon him, and when the signal was given, drew their swords, rushed in with shouts, and ravished away the daughters of the Sabines, but permitted and encouraged the men

¹ The altar was kept buried in the earth to signify the secret processes of nature in the production of crops and vegetation. For Consus was an ancient Italian god of agriculture.

6 παρίεσαν. ἄρπασθῆναι δέ φασιν οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα μόνας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰς φρατρίας ὀνομασθῆναι, Οὐαλλέριος δὲ Ἀντίας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακοσίας, Ἰόβας δὲ τρεῖς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίας παρθένους· ὃ μέγιστον ἦν ἀπολόγημα τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ· γυναῖκα γὰρ οὐ λαβεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ μίαν, Ἐρσιλίαν, διαλαθοῦσαν αὐτούς, ἅτε δὴ μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως μηδ' ἀδικίας ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν 26 ἄρπαγὴν, ἀλλὰ συμμῖξαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ τὰ γένη ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις διανοη-

7 θέντας. τὴν δ' Ἐρσιλίαν οἱ μὲν Ὀστίλιον γῆμαι λέγουσιν, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανέστατον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Ῥωμόλον, καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ παῖδας αὐτῷ, μίαν μὲν θυγατέρα Πρίμαν, τῇ τάξει τῆς γενέσεως οὕτω προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἓνα δ' υἱὸν μόνον, ὃν Ἀόλλιον μὲν ἐνείνους ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἀθροίσεως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν ὠνόμασεν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον Ἀβίλλιον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἱστορῶν Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Τροιζήνιος πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας.

XV. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄρπάζουσι τὰς παρθένους τότε τυχεῖν λέγουσι τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν τινας ἄγοντας κόρην τῷ τε κάλλει πολὺ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διαφέρουσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπαντῶντες ἐνιοὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, βοᾶν τοὺς ἄγοντας ὡς Ταλασίῳ κομίζοιεν αὐτήν, ἀνδρὶ νέφ 2 μὲν, εὐδοκίμῳ δὲ καὶ χρηστῷ· τοῦτ' οὖν ἀκούσαντας εὐφημεῖν καὶ κροτεῖν ἐπαινοῦντας, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ παρακολουθεῖν ἀναστρέψαντας εὐνοίᾳ καὶ

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themselves to escape. Some say that only thirty maidens were seized, and that from these the Curiae¹ were named; but Valerius Antias puts the number at five hundred and twenty-seven, and Juba at six hundred and eighty-three, all maidens. And this was the strongest defence which Romulus could make, namely, that they took only one married woman, Hersilia, and her by mistake, since they did not commit the rape out of wantonness, nor even with a desire to do mischief, but with the fixed purpose of uniting and blending the two peoples in the strongest bonds. As for this Hersilia, some say that she was married to Hostilius, a most eminent Roman, and others, to Romulus himself, and that she also bore him children: one daughter, Prima, so called from the order of birth, and one son only, whom Romulus named Aollius, from the great *concourse*² of citizens under him, but later ages Avillius. However, Zenodotus of Troezen, who gives us this account, is contradicted by many.

XV. Among those who ravished away the maidens at that time, it chanced, they say, that certain men of meaner sort were dragging along a damsel who far surpassed the rest in beauty and stature; and when some men of superior rank met them and tried to rob them of their prize, they cried out that they were conducting the girl to Talasius, a young man, but one of excellent repute. The other party, then, on hearing this, shouted and clapped their hands in approval, and some of them actually turned back

¹ The thirty divisions into which the three ancient Roman tribes were divided for political and ceremonial purposes. Cf. Livy, i. 13, 6 f.

² A Greek etymology, connecting the name with ἀολλής, *in throngs*.

χάριτι τοῦ Ταλασίου, μετὰ βοῆς τοῦνομα φθεγγομένους. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸν Ταλάσιον ἄχρι νῦν, ὡς "Ἕλληνες τὸν Ὑμέναιον, ἐπάδουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς γάμοις· καὶ γὰρ εὐτυχίᾳ φασὶ χρήσασθαι περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὸν Ταλάσιον.

- Σέξτιος δὲ Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος, οὔτε μουσῶν οὔτε χαρίτων ἐπιδεὴς ἀνὴρ, ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν ὅτι τῆς ἀρπαγῆς σύνθημα τὴν φωνὴν ἔδωκε ταύτην ὁ
- 3 Ῥωμύλος. ἅπαντες οὖν τὸν Ταλάσιον ἐβόων οἱ τὰς παρθένους κομίζοντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς γάμοις παραμένει τὸ ἔθος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι νομίζουσιν, ὧν καὶ Ἰόβας ἐστί, παράκλησιν εἶναι καὶ παρακέλευσιν εἰς φιλεργίαν καὶ ταλασίαν, οὕτω τότε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐπικεχυμένων. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγεται κακῶς, ἀλλ' ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι τότε τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ταλασίας, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἐτέραν ἂν τις αἰτίαν
- 4 εἰκάσειε πιθανωτέραν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Σαβῖνοι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσαντες διηλλάγησαν, ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταλασίαν ὑπουργῶσι. παρέμεινεν οὖν καὶ τοῖς αὖθις γαμοῦσι τοὺς διδόντας ἢ παραπέμποντας ἢ ὅλως παρόντας, ἀναφωνεῖν τὸν Ταλάσιον μετὰ παιδιᾶς, μαρτυρομένους ὡς ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὑπουργημα τῆς
- 5 γυναικὸς ἢ ταλασίαν εἰσαγομένης. διαμένει δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ τὴν νύμφην αὐτὴν ἀφ' αὐτῆς μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν τὸν οὐδὸν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἀλλ' αἰρομένην εἰσφέρεισθαι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε κομισθῆ-

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and accompanied them, out of good will and favour to Talasius, shouting his name as they went along. Hence, indeed, down to the present time, Talasius is the nuptial cry of the Romans, as Hymenæus is of the Greeks; for they say that Talasius was fortunate in his wife.

But Sextius Sulla, the Carthaginian, a man who lacks neither learning nor charm, told me that Talasius was the word which Romulus gave as a watchword for the rape. All those, therefore, who took the maidens away, shouted "Talasius!" and on this account the custom now prevails at marriages. But most writers are of the opinion—and Juba is one of them—that the cry is an exhortation and incitement to industry and "talasia," as the Greeks call *spinning*, Italian words having not yet at that time entirely submerged the Greek. Now if this is right, and the Romans did at that time use the word "talasia" for *spinning*, as we do, then a more credible reason for the custom might be conjectured as follows. When the Sabines, after their war against the Romans, were reconciled with them, it was agreed that their women should perform no other tasks for their husbands than those which were connected with spinning. It was customary, therefore, at subsequent marriages, for those who gave the bride away, or escorted her to her new home, or simply looked on, to cry "Talasius!" merrily, in testimony that the woman was led home for no other task than that of spinning. And it continues to be a custom down to the present time that the bride shall not of herself cross the threshold into her new home, but be lifted up and carried in, because the Sabine women were carried in

ναι βιασθείσας, μὴ εἰσελθεῖν.¹ ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὸ τὴν κόμην τῆς γαμουμένης αἰχμῇ διακρίνεσθαι δορατίου σύμβολον εἶναι τοῦ μετὰ μάχης καὶ πολεμικῶς τὸν πρῶτον γάμον γενέσθαι· περὶ ὧν ἐπιπλέον ἐν τοῖς Αἰτίοις εἰρήκαμεν.

Ἐτολμήθη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἄρπαγὴ περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν τοῦ τότε μὲν Σεξτιλίου μηνός, Αὐγούστου δὲ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν τῶν Κωνσαλίων ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν.

- XVI. Οἱ δὲ Σαβῖνοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν καὶ πολεμικοί, κώμας δὲ ὄκουν ἀτειχίστους, ὥς προσῆκον αὐτοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι
- 2 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους οὖσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς ἐνδεδεμένους μεγάλους ὀμηρεύμασι, καὶ δεδιότες περὶ τῶν θυγατέρων, πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν ἐπιεικὴ καὶ μέτρια προκαλούμενοι, τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀποδόντα τὰς κόρας αὐτοῖς καὶ λύσαντα τὸ τῆς βίας ἔργον, εἶτα πειθοῖ καὶ νόμῳ πρᾶττειν τοῖς γένεσι φιλίαν καὶ οἰκειότητα. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰς μὲν κόρας μὴ προιεμένου, παρακαλοῦντος δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν δέχεσθαι τοὺς
- 3 Σαβίνους, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βουλευόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι διέτριβον, Ἀκρων δὲ βασιλεὺς Κεννητῶν, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ δεινὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τά τε πρῶτα τολμήματα τοῦ Ῥωμύλου δι' ὑποψίας εἶχε, καὶ τῷ πραχθέντι περὶ τὰς 27 γυναικάς ἤδη φοβερὸν ἡγούμενος πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, εἰ μὴ κολασθεῖη, προεξανέστη τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐχώρει δυνάμεως ἐπ'

¹ μὴ εἰσελθεῖν bracketed by Bekker.

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by force, and did not go in of their own accord. And some say also that the custom of parting the bride's hair with the head of a spear is a reminder that the first marriage was attended with war and fighting ; on which topic I have spoken more fully in my " Roman Questions." ¹

Leaving such matters aside, the rape was committed on the eighteenth day of the month once called Sextilis, but now, August, on which day the festival of the Consualia ² is celebrated.

XVI. Now the Sabines were a numerous and war-like people, and dwelt in unwall'd villages, thinking that it behoved them, since they were Lacedaemonian colonists, to be bold and fearless. Nevertheless, seeing themselves bound by precious hostages, and fearing for their daughters, they sent ambassadors with reasonable and moderate demands, namely, that Romulus should give back to them their maidens, disavow his deed of violence, and then, by persuasion and legal enactment, establish a friendly relationship between the two peoples. But Romulus would not surrender the maidens, and demanded that the Sabines should allow community of marriage with the Romans, whereupon they all held long deliberations and made extensive preparations for war. But there was one exception. Acron, king of the Caeninenses, a man of courageous spirit and skilled in war, had been suspicious of the daring deeds of Romulus from the beginning, and now that this violence had been done the women, thinking him a menace to all peoples, and intolerable unless chastised, at once rose up in arms, and with a great

¹ *Morals*, p. 285 c (Question 87).

² A harvest festival, named from Consus. See chapter xiv. 3.

- 4 αὐτόν· καὶ ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπ' ἐκείνον. γενόμενοι δ' ἐν ὄψει καὶ κατιδόντες ἀλλήλους προὔκαλουντο μάχεσθαι, τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀτρεμούντων. εὐξάμενος οὖν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, εἰ κρατήσῃ καὶ καταβάλῃ, τῷ Διὶ φέρων ἀναθήσειν αὐτὸς τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτόν τε καταβάλλει κρατήσας καὶ τρέπεται τὸ στράτευμα μάχης γενομένης, αἰρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μὴν ἠδίκησε τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας, ἀλλ' ἡ τὰς οἰκίας ἐκέλευσε καθελόντας ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὡς πολίτας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἔσομένους.
- 5 Τούτου μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι μᾶλλον ἠὔξησε τὴν Ῥώμην, αἰεὶ προσποιούσαν ἑαυτῇ καὶ συννέμουσαν ὧν κρατήσῃ· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τὴν εὐχὴν τῷ τε Διὶ κεχαρισμένην καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν ἐπιτερπὴ παράσχοι σκεψάμενος, ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ δρῦν ἔτεμεν ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ διεμόρφωσεν ὥσπερ τρόπαιον, καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ Ἀκρωνος ἕκαστον ἐν τάξει περιήρμωσε καὶ κατήρτησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα περιεζώσατο, δάφνη δὲ ἐστέψατο τὴν κεφαλὴν κομώσαν.
- 6 ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ τρόπαιον ὥμῳ προσερειδόμενον ὀρθόν, ἐβάδιζεν ἐξάρχων ἐπινικίου παιᾶνος ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπομένη τῇ στρατιᾷ, δεχομένων τῶν πολιτῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ θαύματος. ἡ μὲν οὖν πομπὴ τῶν αὐθις θριάμβων ἀρχὴν καὶ ζῆλον παρέσχε· τὸ δὲ τρόπαιον ἀνά-

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force advanced against him.¹ Romulus also marched out to meet him. But when they were face to face and had surveyed each other, they challenged mutually to single combat before battle, while their armies remained quiet under arms. Romulus, then, after making a vow that if he should conquer and overthrow his adversary, he would carry home the man's armour and dedicate it in person to Jupiter, not only conquered and overthrew him, but also routed his army in the battle which followed, and took his city as well. To the captured citizens, however, he did no harm beyond ordering them to tear down their dwellings and accompany him to Rome, where, he promised them, they should be citizens on equal terms with the rest.

Now this, more than anything else, was what gave increase to Rome: she always united and incorporated with herself those whom she conquered. But Romulus, after considering how he might perform his vow in a manner most acceptable to Jupiter and accompany the performance with a spectacle most pleasing to the citizens, cut down a monstrous oak that grew in the camp, hewed it into the shape of a trophy, and fitted and fastened to it the armour of Acron, each piece in its due order. Then he himself, girding his raiment about him and wreathing his flowing locks with laurel, set the trophy on his right shoulder, where it was held erect, and began a triumphal march, leading off in a paean of victory which his army sang as it followed under arms, and being received by the citizens with joyful amazement. This procession was the origin and model of all subsequent triumphs, and the

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 10.

θημα Φερετρίου Διὸς ἐπωνομάσθη. τὸ γὰρ πλή-
 ξαι φερίρε Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν· εὔξατο δὲ πλήξαι
 7 τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καταβαλεῖν· ὀπίμια δὲ τὰ σκῦλα,
 φησὶ Βάρρων, καθότι καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν ὅπεμ
 λέγουσι. πιθανώτερον δ' ἂν τις εἴποι διὰ τὴν
 πρᾶξιν· ὅπους γὰρ ὀνομάζεται τὸ ἔργον. αὐ-
 τουργῷ δὲ ἀριστείας στρατηγῷ στρατηγὸν ἀνε-
 λόντι δέδοται καθιέρωσις ὀπιμίων.

Καὶ τρισὶ μόνοις τούτου τυχεῖν ὑπῆρξε Ῥω-
 μαίοις ἡγεμόσι, πρώτῳ Ῥωμύλῳ, κτείναντι τὸν
 Κενινήτην Ἀκρωνα, δευτέρῳ Κορινθίῳ Κόσσῳ,
 Τυρρηνὸν ἀνελόντι Τολούμνιον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ
 Κλαυδίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ, Βριτομάρτου κρατήσαντι
 8 Γαλατῶν βασιλέως. Κόσσος μὲν οὖν καὶ Μάρ-
 κελλος ἤδη τεθρίπποις εἰσήλαυνον αὐτοὶ τὰ
 τρόπαια φέροντε· Ῥωμύλον δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς φησιν
 ἄρματι χρῆσασθαι Διονύσιος. Ταρκύνιον γὰρ
 ἱστοροῦσι τὸν Δημαράτου τῶν βασιλέων πρώτον
 εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἐξᾶραι τοὺς
 θριάμβους· ἕτεροι δὲ πρῶτον ἐφ' ἄρματος θριαμ-
 βεῦσαι Ποπλικόλαν. τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλου τὰς εἰκό-
 νας ὁρᾶν ἔστιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰς τροπαιοφόρους πεζὰς
 ἀπάσαθ.

XVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Κενινήτῶν ἄλωσιν ἔτι τῶν
 ἄλλων Σαβίνων ἐν παρασκευαῖς ὄντων, συνέστη-
 σαν οἱ Φιδήνην καὶ Κρουστουμέριον καὶ Ἀντέ-
 μναν οἰκοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ μάχης

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trophy was styled a dedication to Jupiter Feretrius, so named from the Roman word "ferire," to *smite*; for Romulus vowed to *smite* his foe and overthrow him. And such spoils were called "opima," because as Varro says, "opes" is the Roman word for *richness*; but it would be more plausible to say that they were so called from the *deed of valour* involved, since "opus" is the Roman word for *deed* or *exploit*. And only to a general who with his own hand has performed the exploit of slaying an opposing general, has the privilege of dedicating the "spolia opima" been granted.

Furthermore, only three Roman leaders have attained this honour: Romulus first, for slaying Acron the Caeninensian; next, Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan;¹ and lastly, Claudius Marcellus, for overpowering Britomartus, king of the Gauls.² Cossus indeed, and Marcellus, already used a four-horse chariot for their entrance into the city, carrying the trophies themselves, but Dionysius³ is incorrect in saying that Romulus used a chariot. For it is matter of history that Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, was first of the kings to lift triumphs up to such pomp and ceremony, although others say that Publicola was first to celebrate a triumph riding on a chariot.⁴ And the statues of Romulus bearing the trophies are, as may be seen in Rome, all on foot.

XVII. After the capture of the Caeninensians, while the rest of the Sabines were still busy with their preparations, the people of Fidenae, Crustumerium, and Antemnae banded together against the

¹ In 436 B.C., according to Livy, iv. 19, 1-5.

² In 222 B.C. See Plutarch's *Marcellus*, vii.

³ *Antiq. Rom.* ii. 34. ⁴ Cf. *Publicola*, ix. 5.

- γενομένης ήττηθέντες όμοίως, τάς τε πόλεις Ῥω-
 μύλῳ παρήκαν έλεῖν καί τήν χώραν δάσασθαι
 καί μετοικίσαι σφᾶς αὐτούς εἰς Ῥώμην. ό δέ
 Ῥωμύλος τήν μέν ἄλλην κατένειμε χώραν τοῖς
 πολίταις, ὅσην δ' εἶχον οἱ τῶν ήρπασμένων
 παρθένων πατέρες, αὐτούς ἔχειν ἐκείνους εἶασεν.
- 2 Ἐπὶ τούτοις βαρέως φέροντες οἱ λοιποὶ Σα-
 βῖνοι Τάτιον ἀποδείξαντες στρατηγόν ἐπὶ τήν
 Ῥώμην ἐστράτευσαν· ήν δέ δυσπρόσοδος ή πόλις,
 ἔχουσα πρόβλημα τὸ νῦν Καπιτώλιον, ἐν ᾧ
 φρουρὰ καθειστήκει καὶ Ταρπήϊος ήγεμὼν αὐτῆς,
 οὐχὶ Ταρπηῖα παρθένος, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, εὐήθη
 τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀποδεικνύοντες· ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ ή
 Ταρπηῖα τοῦ ἄρχοντος οὔσα προὔδωκε τοῖς Σα-
 βῖνοις, ἐπιθυμήσασα τῶν χρυσῶν βραχιονιστήρων
 οὓς εἶδε περικειμένους, καὶ ἤτησε μισθὸν τῆς προ- 28
- 3 δοσίας ἃ φοροῖεν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς χερσί. συνθε-
 μένου δέ τοῦ Τατίου, νύκτωρ ἀνοίξασα πύλην μίαν
 ἐδέξατο τοὺς Σαβῖνους. οὐ μόνος οὖν, ὡς ἔοικεν,
 Ἀντίγονος ἔφη προδιδόντας μέν φιλεῖν, προδεδω-
 κότας δέ μισεῖν, οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ, εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 Θρακὸς Ῥοιμητάλκου, φιλεῖν μέν προδοσίαν, προ-
 δότην δέ μισεῖν· ἀλλὰ κοινόν τι τοῦτο πάθος ἐστὶ
 πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ
 ἰοῦ καὶ χολῆς ἐνίων θηρίων δέονται· τήν γὰρ
 χρειάν ὅτε λαμβάνουσιν ἀγαπῶντες, ἐχθαίρουσι
- 4 τήν κακίαν ὅταν τύχῳσι. τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τήν
 Ταρπηῖαν τότε παθὼν ό Τάτιος ἐκέλευσε μεμνη-

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Romans,¹ and in a battle which ensued, they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be seized, their territory to be divided, and themselves to be transported to Rome. Romulus distributed among the citizens all the territory thus acquired, excepting that which belonged to the parents of the ravished maidens; this he suffered its owners to keep for themselves.

At this the rest of the Sabines were enraged, and after appointing Tatius their general, marched upon Rome. The city was difficult of access, having as its fortress the present Capitol, on which a guard had been stationed, with Tarpeius as its captain,—not Tarpeia, a maiden, as some say, thereby making Romulus a simpleton. But Tarpeia, a daughter of the commander, betrayed the citadel to the Sabines, having set her heart on the golden armlets which she saw them wearing, and she asked as payment for her treachery that which they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreed to this, whereupon she opened one of the gates by night and let the Sabines in. Antigonus was not alone, then, in saying that he loved men who offered to betray, but hated those who had betrayed; nor yet Caesar, in saying of the Thracian Rhoemetalcus, that he loved treachery but hated a traitor; but this is a very general feeling towards the base on the part of those who need their services, just as they need certain wild creatures for their venom and gall; for while they feel the need of them, they put up with them, but abhor their vileness when they have obtained from them what they want. This, too, was the feeling which Tatius then had towards Tarpeia, when he ordered

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 11.

μένους τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τοὺς Σαβίνους μηδενὸς αὐτῇ φθονεῖν ὧν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς ἔχουσι. καὶ πρῶτος ἄμα τὸν βραχιονιστῆρα τῆς χειρὸς περιελὼν καὶ τὸν θυρεὸν ἐπέρριψε. πάντων δὲ αὐτὸ ποιούντων βαλλομένη τε τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ καταχωσθεῖσα τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ
 5 βάρους ἀπέθανεν. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ Ταρπηῖος προδοσίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου διωχθεὶς, ὡς Ἰόβας φησὶ Γάλβαν Σουλπίκιον ἱστορεῖν. τῶν δ' ἄλλα περὶ Ταρπητίας λεγόντων ἀπίθανοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ Τατίου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῶν Σαβίνων οὖσαν αὐτήν, Ῥωμύλῳ δὲ βία συνοικοῦσαν, ἱστοροῦντες ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός· ὧν καὶ Ἀντίγονός ἐστι. Σιμύλος δ' ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ παντάπασι ληρεῖ μὴ Σαβίνοις οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ Κελτοῖς τὴν Ταρπητίαν προδοῦναι τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐρασθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα·

Ἡ δ' ἀγχοῦ Τάρπεια παρὰ Καπιτώλιον αἶπος
 ναίουσα Ῥώμης ἔπλετο τειχολέτις,

Κελτῶν ἢ στέρξασα γαμήλια λέκτρα γενέσθαι
 σκηπτούχῳ, πατέρων οὐκ ἐφύλαξε δόμους.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα περὶ τῆς τελευταίας·

Τὴν δ' οὐτ' ἄρ Βοῖοί τε καὶ ἔθνεα μυρία Κελτῶν
 χηράμενοι ρεῖθρων ἐντὸς ἔθεντο Πάδου·

ὅπλα δ' ἐπιπροβαλόντες ἀρειμανέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
 κούρη ἐπὶ στυγερῇ κόσμον ἔθεντο φόνον.

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his Sabines, mindful of their agreement, not to begrudge the girl anything they wore on their left arms. And he was first to take from his arm not only his armlet, but at the same time his shield, and cast them upon her. All his men followed his example, and the girl was smitten by the gold and buried under the shields, and died from the number and weight of them. And Tarpeius also was convicted of treason when prosecuted by Romulus, as, according to Juba, Sulpicius Galba relates. Of those who write differently about Tarpeia, they are worthy of no belief at all who say that she was a daughter of Tatius, the leader of the Sabines, and was living with Romulus under compulsion, and acted and suffered as she did, at her father's behest; of these, Antigonus is one. And Simylus the poet is altogether absurd in supposing that Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines, but to the Gauls, because she had fallen in love with their king. These are his words :—

“And Tarpeia, who dwelt hard by the Capitolian steep,

Became the destroyer of the walls of Rome;

She longed to be the wedded wife of the Gallic chieftain,

And betrayed the homes of her fathers.”

And a little after, speaking of her death :—

“Her the Boii and the myriad tribes of Gauls

Did not, exulting, cast amid the currents of the Po;

But hurled the shields from their belligerent arms
Upon the hateful maid, and made their ornament her doom.”

XVIII. Τῆς μέντοι Ταρπητίας ἐκεῖ ταφείσης ὁ λόφος ὠνομάζετο Ταρπήϊος, ἄχρι οὗ Ταρκυνίου βασιλέως Διὶ τὸν τόπον καθιεροῦντος ἅμα τε τὰ λείψανα μετηνέχθη καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς Ταρπητίας ἐξέλιπε. πλὴν πέτραι ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Ταρπητῶν καλοῦσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρίπτουν τοὺς κακούργους.

- 2 Ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς ἄκρας ὑπὸ τῶν Σαβίνων, ὃ τε Ῥωμύλος ὑπ' ὀργῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοὺς προὔκαλειτο, καὶ ὁ Τάτιος ἐθάρρει, καρτεράν, εἰ βιασθεῖεν, ἀναχώρησιν ὀρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. ὁ γὰρ μεταξὺ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ συμπίπτειν ἔμελλον, ὑπὸ πολλῶν λόφων περιεχόμενος ἀγῶνα μὲν ὀξύν ἐδόκει καὶ χαλεπὸν ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας ἀμφοτέροις παρέξειν, φυγὰς δὲ καὶ διώξεις ἐν στενῷ βρα-
- 3 χείας. ἔτυχε δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμνάσαντος οὐ πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις, ἐγκαταλελείφθαι τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ τυφλὸν ἐν τόποις ἐπιπέδοις κατὰ τὴν νῦν οὔσαν ἀγοράν· ὅθεν οὐκ ἦν ὄψει πρόδηλον, οὐδ' εὐφύλακτον, ἄλλως δὲ χαλεπὸν καὶ ὑπουλον. ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἀπειρία φερομένοις εὐτύ-
- 4 χημὰ γίνεται. Κούρτιος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, δόξη καὶ φρονήματι γαῦρος, ἵππον ἔχων πολὺν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχώρει· δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βαράθρου τὸν ἵππον ἄχρι μὲν τινος ἐπειράτο πληγῇ καὶ παρακελεύσει χρώμενος ἐξελαύνειν, ὡς δ' ἦν ἀμήχανον, ἑάσας τὸν ἵππον ἑαυτὸν ἔσωζεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τόπος δι' ἐκείνον ἔτι νῦν Κούρτιος λάκκος ὀνομάζεται· φυλαξάμενοι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ Σαβῖνοι μάχην καρτεράν ἐμαχέσαντο κρίσιν οὐ λαβοῦσαν, καίτοι πολλῶν πεσόντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ

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XVIII. However, Tarpeia was buried there, and the hill was called from her Tarpeius, until King Tarquin dedicated the place to Jupiter, when her bones were removed and the name of Tarpeia died out, except that a cliff on the Capitol is still called the Tarpeian Rock, from which they hurl malefactors.

The citadel thus occupied by the Sabines,¹ Romulus angrily challenged them to battle, and Tatius was bold enough to accept, since he saw that the Sabines, if worsted, had a strong place of retreat. For the intervening space, in which they were to join battle, being surrounded by many hills, seemed to impose upon both parties a sharp and grievous contest, owing to the difficulties of the field, where flight and pursuit must be narrowly confined and short. It happened, too, since the river had overflowed not many days before, that a deep and blind slime had been left in the valley where the forum is now. Wherefore it was not apparent to the eye, nor yet easy to avoid, and besides it was soft beneath the surface and dangerous. On to this the Sabines were ignorantly rushing, when a piece of good fortune befell them. Curtius, a conspicuous man among them, eager for glory and high design, was advancing on horseback far in front of the rest, when his horse sank in the gulf of mud. For some time he tried to drive him out, with blows and cries of encouragement, but since it was impossible, he abandoned his horse and saved himself. Accordingly, the place to this day is called from him "lacus Curtius." But the Sabines, having avoided this peril, fought a sturdy fight, and one which was indecisive, although

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 12.

- 5 Ὅστιλιος. τοῦτον Ἐρσιλίας ἄνδρα καὶ πάππον 29
 Ὅστιλιου τοῦ μετὰ Νομᾶν βασιλεύσαντος γε-
 νέσθαι λέγουσιν. αὐθις δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἐν
 βραχεῖ συνισταμένων, ὡς εἰκός, ἐνὸς μάλιστα τοῦ
 τελευταίου μνημονεύουσιν, ἐν ᾧ Ῥωμύλου τὴν
 κεφαλὴν πληγέντος λίθῳ καὶ πεσεῖν ὀλίγον δεή-
 σαντος τοῦ τ' ἀντέχειν ὑφεμένου τοῖς Σαβίνοις,
 ἐνέδωκαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ φυγῇ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον
 6 ἐχώρουν ἐξωθούμενοι τῶν ἐπιπέδων. ἤδη δὲ ὁ
 Ῥωμύλος ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέρων ἐβούλετο μὲν
 εἰς τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐναντίως, καὶ
 μέγα βοῶν ἴστασθαι καὶ μάχεσθαι παρεκάλει.
 πολλῆς δὲ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτῷ περιχομενης καὶ
 μηδενὸς ἀναστρέφειν τολμώντος, ἀνατείνας εἰς
 οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας εὐξάτο τῷ Διὶ στήσαι τὸ
 στράτευμα καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα πεσόντα
 7 μὴ περιῦδειν, ἀλλ' ὀρθῶσαι. γενομένης δὲ τῆς
 εὐχῆς, αἰδῶς τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἔσχε πολλοὺς καὶ
 θάρσος ἐκ μεταβολῆς παρέστη τοῖς φεύγουσιν.
 ἔστησαν οὖν πρῶτον οὐ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 Στάτορος ἵδρυται νεώς, ὃν ἐπιστάσιον ἂν τις
 ἐρμηνεύσειεν· εἴτα συνασπίσαντες πάλιν ἔωσαν
 ὀπίσω τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν Ῥήγιαν προσ-
 αγορευομένην καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερόν.

XIX. Ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς
 μάχεσθαι παρασκευαζομένους ἐπέσχε δεινὸν ἰδεῖν
 θέαμα καὶ λόγου κρείττων ὄψις. αἱ γὰρ ἡρπα-
 σμένοι θυγατέρες τῶν Σαβίνων ὥφθησαν ἀλλα-
 χόθεν ἄλλαι μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ὀλολυγμοῦ διὰ τῶν
 ὀπλων φερόμεναι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκ θεοῦ

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many fell, among whom was Hostilius. This man, they say, was husband of Hersilia¹ and grandfather to the Hostilius who was king after Numa. Afterwards many conflicts raged within a short time, as might be expected, but one is most memorable, namely the last, in which Romulus was hit on the head with a stone and almost fell to the ground, abandoning his resistance to the Sabines. The Romans thereupon gave way and began to fly to the Palatine, now that they were repulsed from the plain. But presently Romulus, recovering from his blow, wished to stem the tide of fugitives and renew the battle, and called upon them with a loud voice to stand and fight. But as the waves of flight encompassed him and no man dared to face about, he stretched his hands towards heaven and prayed Jupiter to stay his army and not suffer the Roman cause to fall, but to restore it. No sooner was his prayer ended than many stopped out of reverence for their king, and courage returned to the fugitives. They made their first stand, then, where now is the temple of Jupiter Stator, which epithet might be interpreted as *Stayer*. Then they closed their ranks again and drove the Sabines back to where the so-called Regia² now stands, and the temple of Vesta.

XIX. Here, as they were preparing to renew the battle, they were checked by a sight that was wonderful to behold and a spectacle that passes description.³ The ravished daughters of the Sabines were seen rushing from every direction, with shouts and lamentations, through the armed men and the

¹ Cf. chapter xiv. 6 f.

² In historical times, the house of the Pontifex Maximus. See *Numa*, xiv. 1.

³ Cf. Livy, i. 13.

κάτοχοι, πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πατέρας, αἱ μὲν παιδία κομίζουσαι νήπια πρὸς ταῖς ἀγκάλαις, αἱ δὲ τὴν κόμην προῖσχόμεναι λελυμένην, πᾶσαι δ' ἀνακαλούμεναι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὀνόμασι ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς Σαβίνους, ποτὲ δὲ
 2 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεκλάσθησαν οὖν ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ διέσχον αὐταῖς ἐν μέσῳ καταστῆναι τῆς παρατάξεως· καὶ κλαυθμὸς ἅμα διὰ πάντων ἐχώρει, καὶ πολὺς οἶκτος ἦν πρὸς τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἔτι μᾶλλον, εἰς ἱκεσίαν καὶ δέησιν ἐκ δικαιολογίας καὶ παρρησίας τελευτῶντας. “Τί
 3 γὰρ (ἔφασαν) ὑμᾶς δεινὸν ἢ λυπηρὸν ἐργασάμεναι, τὰ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθαμεν, τὰ δὲ πάσχομεν τῶν σχετλίων κακῶν; ἡρπάσθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐχόντων βίᾳ καὶ παρανόμως, ἀρπασθεῖσαι δ' ἡμελήθημεν ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ πατέρων καὶ οἰκείων χρόνον τοσοῦτον ὅσος ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ ἔχθιστα κεράσας ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις, πεποίηκε νῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν βιασαμένων καὶ παρανομησάντων
 4 δεδιέναι μαχομένων καὶ κλαίειν θνησκόντων. οὐ γὰρ ἦλθετε τιμωρήσοντες ἡμῖν παρθένους οὔσαις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀνδρῶν ἀποσπᾶτε γαμετὰς καὶ τέκνων μητέρας, οἰκτροτέραν βοήθειαν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀμελείας καὶ προδοσίας βοηθοῦντες ἡμῖν ταῖς ἀθλίαις. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἡγαπήθημεν ὑπὸ τούτων, τοιαῦτα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐλεούμεθα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἐμάχεσθε, παύσασθαι δι' ἡμᾶς πενθεροὺς γεγονότας καὶ

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dead bodies, as if in a frenzy of possession, up to their husbands and their fathers, some carrying young children in their arms, some veiled in their dishevelled hair, and all calling with the most endearing names now upon the Sabines and now upon the Romans. So then both armies were moved to compassion, and drew apart to give the women place between the lines of battle; sorrow ran through all the ranks, and abundant pity was stirred by the sight of the women, and still more by their words, which began with argument and reproach, and ended with supplication and entreaty. "Wherein, pray (they said), have we done you wrong or harm, that we must suffer in the past, and must still suffer now, such cruel evils? We were violently and lawlessly ravished away by those to whom we now belong, but though thus ravished, we were neglected by our brethren and fathers and kinsmen until time had united us by the strongest ties with those whom we had most hated, and made us now fear for those who had treated us with violence and lawlessness, when they go to battle, and mourn for them when they are slain. For ye did not come to avenge us upon our ravishers while we were still maidens, but now ye would tear wives from their husbands and mothers from their children, and the succour wherewith ye would now succour us, wretched women that we are, is more pitiful than your former neglect and abandonment of us. Such is the love which we have here enjoyed, such the compassion shown to us by you. Even if ye were fighting on other grounds, it were meet that ye should cease for our sakes, now that ye are become fathers-in-law and grandsires and have

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5 παππους καὶ οἰκείους ὄντας ἐχρῆν. εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ
 ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμός ἐστι, κομίσασθε ἡμᾶς μετὰ
 γαμβρῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν πατέρας
 καὶ οἰκείους, μηδὲ ἀφέλησθε παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας.
 ἵκετεῦμεν ὑμᾶς μὴ πάλιν αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι."

Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τῆς Ἑρσιλίας προαγορευ-
 ούσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεομένων, ἐσπείσθησαν
 6 ἀνοχαὶ καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς λόγους οἱ ἡγεμόνες. αἱ
 δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς πατράσι καὶ τοῖς
 ἀδελφοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας προσῆγον καὶ τὰ τέκνα,¹
 προσέφερόν τε τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις,
 καὶ τοὺς τετρωμένους ἐθεράπευον οἵκαδε κομί-
 ζουσαι καὶ παρείχον ὅρᾱν ἀρχούσας μὲν αὐτὰς
 τοῦ οἴκου, προσέχοντας δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐταῖς 30
 7 καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας τιμὴν ἅπασαν νέμοντας. ἐκ
 τούτου συντίθενται τῶν μὲν γυναικῶν τὰς βουλο-
 μένας συνοικεῖν τοῖς ἔχουσιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται,
 παντὸς ἔργου καὶ πάσης λατρείας πλὴν θαλασσίας
 ἀφειμένας· οἰκεῖν δὲ κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίους
 καὶ Σαβίνους, καὶ καλεῖσθαι μὲν Ῥώμην ἐπὶ
 Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν, Κυρίτας δὲ Ῥωμαίους
 ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Τατίου πατρίδι, βασιλεύειν δὲ
 κοινῇ καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀμφοτέρους. ὅπου δὲ
 ταῦτα συνέθεντο μέχρι νῦν Κομίτιον καλεῖται·
 κομῖρε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ συνελθεῖν καλοῦσι.

XX. Διπλασιασθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, ἑκατὸν
 μὲν ἐκ Σαβίνων πατρίκιοι προσκατελέχθησαν, αἱ

¹ τὰ τέκνα Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: τέκνα.

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family ties among your enemies. If, however, the war is on our behalf, carry us away with your sons-in-law and their children, and so restore to us our fathers and kindred, but do not rob us of our children and husbands. Let us not, we beseech you, become prisoners of war again."

Many such appeals were made by Hersilia, and the other women added their entreaties, until a truce was made and the leaders held a conference. Meanwhile the women brought their husbands and their children and presented them to their fathers and brothers; they also carried food and drink to those that wanted, and bore the wounded to their homes for tender nursing; here they also made it evident that they were mistresses of their own households, and that their husbands were attentive to them and showed them all honour with good will. Thereupon agreements were made that such women as wished to do so might continue to live with their husbands, exempt, as aforesaid,¹ from all labour and all drudgery except spinning; also that the city should be inhabited by Romans and Sabines in common; and that the city should be called Rome, from Romulus, but all its citizens Quirites, from the native city of Tatius²; and that Romulus and Tatius should be joint kings and leaders of the army. The place where these agreements were made is to this day called Comitium, from the Roman word "*conire*," or "*coire*," *to come together*.

XX. The city thus doubled in its numbers, a hundred of the Sabines were added by election to the Patricii,³ and the legions were enlarged

¹ Cf. chapter xv. 4. ² Cures, a Sabine town.

³ Cf. chapter xiii. 1.

- δὲ λεγεῶνες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ ἑξακοσίων. φυλὰς δὲ τρεῖς καταστήσαντες ὠνόμασαν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου Ῥαμνήνσης, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Τατίου Τατιήνσης· τρίτους δὲ Λουκερήνσης διὰ τὸ ἄλσος, εἰς ὃ πολλοὶ καταφυγόντες, ἀσυλίας δεδομένης, τοῦ πολιτεύματος
- 2 μετέσχον· τὰ δ' ἄλση λούκους ὀνομάζουσιν. ὅτι δ' ἦσαν αἱ φυλαὶ τοσαῦται, τοῦνομα μαρτυρεῖ· τρίβους γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τὰς φυλὰς καλοῦσι, καὶ τριβούνους τοὺς φυλάρχους. ἐκάστη δὲ φυλὴ δέκα φρατρίας εἶχεν, ἃς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ἐπωνύμους εἶναι ἐκείνων τῶν γυναικῶν. τοῦτο δὲ δοκεῖ ψεῦδος εἶναι· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ χωρίων
- 3 τὰς προσηγορίας. ἄλλα μέντοι πολλὰ ταῖς γυναιξίν εἰς τιμὴν ἀπέδωκαν, ὧν καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἐξίστασθαι μὲν ὁδοῦ βαδιζούσαις, αἰσχρὸν δὲ μηδένα μηδὲν εἰπεῖν παρούσης γυναικός, μηδ' ὀφθῆναι γυμνόν, ἢ δίκην φεύγειν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν φονικῶν καθεστῶσι, φορεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τὴν καλουμένην βοῦλλαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, ὅμοιον πομφόλυγι, περιδέρραιόν τι καὶ περιπόρφυρον.
- 4 Ἐβουλευόντο δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐν κοινῷ μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἐκάτερος πρότερον ἰδίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἑκατόν, εἴτα οὕτως εἰς ταῦτόν ἅπαντας συνήγον. ᾧκει δὲ Τάτιος μὲν ὅπου νῦν ὁ τῆς Μονήτης ναὸς ἐστί, Ῥωμύλος δὲ παρὰ τοὺς λεγομένους βαθμοὺς καλῆς ἀκτῆς.¹ οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ

¹ καλῆς ἀκτῆς a corruption of Κάκου? Cf. Diodorus, iv. 21, 2.

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to six thousand footmen and six hundred horsemen.¹ The people, too, were arranged in three bodies, the first called Ramnenses, from Romulus; the second Tatienses, from Tatius; and the third Lucerenses, from the *grove* into which many betook themselves for refuge, when a general asylum was offered,² and then became citizens. Now the Roman word for *grove* is "lucus." That these bodies were three in number, their very name testifies, for to this day they call them *tribes*, and their chief officers, *tribunes*. And each tribe had ten phratries, or brotherhoods, which, as some say, were named after the thirty Sabine women;³ but this seems to be false, since many of them bear the names of places. However, they did make many other concessions to the women, to do them honour, some of which are as follow: to give them the right of way when walking; not to utter any indecent word in the presence of a woman; that no man should be seen naked by them, or else that he be liable to prosecution before the judges of homicide; and that their children should wear a sort of neck-lace, the "bullæ," so called from its shape (which was that of a *bubble*), and a robe bordered with purple.

The two kings did not at once hold council in common with one another, but each at first sat with his own hundred councillors apart, then afterwards they united them all into one body, as at the present time. Tatius dwelt where now is the temple of Moneta, and Romulus beside the so-called Steps of Fair Shore;⁴ these are near the descent into the

¹ Cf. chapter xiii. 1.

² Cf. chapter ix. 3.

³ Cf. chapter xiv. 6.

⁴ The Greek text is probably corrupt. The "scalæ Caci," or *Steps of Cacus*, must be meant.

περὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον τὸν μέγαν ἐκ Πα-
 5 λατίου κατάβασιν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν κρᾶ-
 νειαν ἔφασαν τὴν ἱερὰν γεγονέναι, μυθολογοῦντες
 ὅτι πειρώμενος ὁ Ῥωμύλος αὐτοῦ λόγῃην ἀκον-
 τίσειεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀουεντίνου τὸ ξυστὸν ἔχουσιν
 κρανείας· καταδύσης δὲ τῆς αἰχμῆς εἰς βάθος,
 ἀνασπάσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς πειρωμένων πολλῶν
 ἴσχυσε, τὸ δὲ ξύλον ἔστεξεν ἡ γῆ ζώφυτος οὔσα,
 καὶ βλαστοὺς ἀνῆκε καὶ στέλεχος εὐμέγεθες
 κρανείας ἔθρεψε. τοῦτο δ' οἱ μετὰ Ῥωμύλον
 ὡς ὃν τι τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἱερῶν φυλάττοντες καὶ
 6 σεβόμενοι περιετείχισαν. ὅτῳ δὲ προσιόντι δό-
 ξειε μὴ θαλερὸν εἶναι μηδὲ χλωρόν, ἀλλ' οἶον
 ἀτροφεῖν καὶ φθίνειν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔφραζε κραυγῇ
 τοῖς προστυγχάνουσιν, οἱ δ', ὥσπερ ἐμπρησμῶ
 βοηθοῦντες, ἐβόων ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ,¹ καὶ συνέ-
 τρεχον πανταχόθεν ἀγγεῖα πλήρη κομίζοντες
 ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. Γατοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος, ὡς φασι,
 τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἐπισκευάζοντος καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν
 περιορυττόντων τὰ πλησίον, ἔλαθον αἱ ῥίζαι
 κακωθεῖσαι παντάπασι καὶ τὸ φυτὸν ἐμαράνθη.

XXI. Μῆνας μὲν οὖν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων
 ἐδέξαντο, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅσα καλῶς εἶχεν ἐν τῇ
 Νομᾷ βίῃ γέγραπται· θυρεοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων ὁ
 Ῥωμύλος ἐχρήσατο, καὶ μετέβαλε τὸν ὀπλισμὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Ἀργοδικὰς πρότε-
 ρον ἀσπίδας φορούντων. ἐορτῶν δὲ καὶ θυσιῶν
 ἀλλήλοις μετεῖχον, ἃς μὲν ἤγε τὰ γένη πρότερον
 οὐκ ἀνελόντες, ἐτέρας δὲ θέμενοι καινὰς, ὧν ἡ τε
 τῶν Ματρωναλίων ἐστί, δοθεῖσα ταῖς γυναιξίν

¹ ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ with two Bodleian MSS. (B^{ab}): ὕδωρ.

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Circus Maximus from the Palatine. There also, it is said, grew the sacred cornel-tree, of which the following tale is told. Romulus, once, in trial of his strength, cast thither from the Aventine hill a spear, the shaft of which was made of cornel-wood; the head of the spear sank deep into the ground, and no one had strength to pull it up, though many tried, but the earth, which was fertile, cherished the wooden shaft, and sent up shoots from it, and produced a cornel-trunk of good size. Those who came after Romulus preserved this with religious care as one of the most sacred objects, and walled it in. And if any visitor thought that it was not green nor flourishing, but likely to wither away and die, he immediately proclaimed it loudly to all he met, and these, as though helping to save a house on fire, would cry "Water! Water!" and run together from all sides carrying full buckets to the place. But when Caius Caesar, as they say, was repairing the steps about the enclosure, and the workmen dug here and there in the neighbourhood, the roots were inadvertently destroyed and the tree withered away.

XXI. The Sabines, then, adopted the Roman months, about which I have written sufficiently in my *Life of Numa*.¹ Romulus, on the other hand, made use of their oblong shields, and changed his own armour and that of the Romans, who before that carried round shields of the Argive pattern. Feasts and sacrifices they shared with one another, not discarding any which the two peoples had observed before, but instituting other new ones. One of these is the *Matronalia*, which was bestowed upon the women to commemorate their putting a

¹ Chapters xviii. and xix.

ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσει, καὶ ἡ τῶν Καρ-
 2 μενταλίων. τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν οἶονταί τινες μοῖ-
 ραν εἶναι κυρίαν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως· διὸ καὶ
 τιμῶσιν αὐτὴν αἱ μητέρες. οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Εὐάν- 31
 δρου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος γυναῖκα, μαντικὴν τινα καὶ
 φοιβαστικὴν ἐμμέτρων χρησμῶν γενομένην, Καρ-
 μένταν ἐπονομασθῆναι (τὰ γὰρ ἔπη κάρμινα
 καλοῦσι)· Νικοστράτη¹ δὲ ἦν ὄνομα κύριον αὐτῇ.
 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὁμολογεῖται· τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν
 ἔνιοι πιθανώτερον ἀφερμηνεύουσιν οἶον ἐστερη-
 μένην νοῦ, διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς παρα-
 φροσύνας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ στέρεσθαι καρῆρε, μέντεμ
 3 δὲ τὸν νοῦν ὀνομάζουσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν Παριλίων
 προεῖρηται. τὰ δὲ Λουπερκάλια τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ
 δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι καθάρσια· δρᾶται γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις
 ἀποφράσι τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός, ὃν καθάρσιον
 ἂν τις ἐρμηνεύσειε, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τὸ
 παλαιὸν ἐκάλουν Φεβράτην· τοῦνομα δὲ τῆς
 ἐορτῆς ἑλληνιστὶ σημαίνει Λύκαια, καὶ δοκεῖ διὰ
 τοῦτο παμπάλαιος ἀπ' Ἀρκάδων εἶναι τῶν περὶ
 4 Εὐανδρον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν κοινόν ἐστι· δύναται
 γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς λυκαίνης γεγενῆσθαι τοῦνομα. καὶ γὰρ
 ἀρχομένους τῆς περιδρομῆς τοὺς Λουπέρκους ὀρῶ-
 μεν ἐντεῦθεν ὅπου τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐκτεθῆναι λέγου-
 σι. τὰ δὲ δρώμενα τὴν αἰτίαν ποιεῖ δυστόπαστον·
 σφάττουσι γὰρ αἶγας, εἶτα μεираκίων δυοῖν ἀπὸ

¹ Νικοστράτη Coraës and Bekker with the MSS. : Νικο-
 στράτη after Stephanus.

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stop to the war; and another is the Carmentalia. This Carmenta is thought by some to be a Fate presiding over human birth, and for this reason she is honoured by mothers. Others, however, say that the wife of Evander the Arcadian,¹ who was a prophetess and inspired to utter oracles in verse, was therefore surnamed Carmenta, since "*carmina*" is their word for *verses*, her own proper name being Nicostrate. As to her own name there is general agreement, but some more probably interpret Carmenta as meaning *bereft of mind*, because of her ecstasies under inspiration, since "*carere*" is the Roman word for *to be bereft*, and "*mens*" for *mind*. Of the Parilia I have spoken before.² As for the Lupercalia, judging by the time of its celebration, it would seem to be a feast of purification, for it is observed on the inauspicious days³ of the month of February, which name can be interpreted to mean *purification*, and the very day of the feast was anciently called Febrata. But the name of the festival has the meaning of the Greek "*Lycaea*," or *feast of wolves*, which makes it seem of great antiquity and derived from the Arcadians in the following of Evander.⁴ Indeed, this meaning of the name is commonly accepted; for it can be connected with the she-wolf of story. And besides, we see that the Luperci⁵ begin their course around the city at that point where Romulus is said to have been exposed. However, the actual ceremonies of the festival are such that the reason for the name is hard to guess. For the priests slaughter

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Roman Questions*, 56 (*Morals*, p. 278 b, c), and Livy, i. 7, 8 ² Chapter xii. 1.

³ "*Dies nefasti*." ⁴ Cf. Livy, i. 5, 1-2.

⁵ Priests of Faunus, the Roman Pan.

- γένους προσαχθέντων αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἡμαγμένη
μαχαίρα τοῦ μετώπου θιγγάνουσιν, ἕτεροι δ' ἀπο-
μύπτουσιν εὐθύς, ἔριθιν βεβρεγμένον γάλακτι
5 προσφέροντες. γελᾶν δὲ δεῖ τὰ μεϊρίκια μετὰ τὴν
ἀπόμαξιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ δέρματα τῶν αἰγῶν
κατατεμόντες διαθέουσιν ἐν περιζώσμασι γυμνοί,
τοῖς σκύτεσι τὸν ἐμποδὼν παίοντες. αἱ δ' ἐν
ἡλικίᾳ γυναῖκες οὐ φεύγουσι τὸ παίεσθαι, νομίζου-
σαι πρὸς εὐτοκίαν καὶ κύησιν συνεργεῖν. ἴδιον
δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς τὸ καὶ κύνα θύειν τοὺς Λουπέρκους.
6 Βούτας δέ τις αἰτίας μυθώδεις ἐν ἐλεγείοις
περὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀναγράφων, φησὶ τοῦ Ἀμου-
λίου τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον κρατήσαντας ἐλθεῖν
δρόμφῳ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ νηπίοις
οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ λύκαινα θηλὴν ὑπέσχε, καὶ μῖμημα
τοῦ τε δρόμου τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγεσθαι, καὶ τρέχειν
τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους τοὺς

Ἐμποδίους τύπτοντας, ὅπως τότε φάσγαν' ἔχοντες
ἐξ Ἀλβης ἔθεον Ῥωμύλος ἡδὲ Ῥέμος.

- καὶ τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἡμαγμένον προσφέρεσθαι τῷ
μετώπῳ τοῦ τότε φόνου καὶ κινδύνου σύμβολον,
τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος ἀποκάθαρσιν ὑπόμνημα
7 τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν εἶναι. Γάιος δὲ Ἀκίλιος ἱστορεῖ
πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως τὰ θρέμματα τῶν περὶ τὸν
Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τῷ Φαύνῳ
προσευξαμένους ἐκδραμεῖν γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτη-
σιν, ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ ιδρώτος μὴ ἐνοχλοῖντο· καὶ

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goats, and then, after two youths of noble birth have been brought to them, some of them touch their foreheads with a bloody knife, and others wipe the stain off at once with wool dipped in milk. The youths must laugh after their foreheads are wiped. After this they cut the goats' skins into strips and run about, with nothing on but a girdle, striking all who meet them with the thongs,¹ and young married women do not try to avoid their blows, fancying that they promote conception and easy child-birth. A peculiarity of the festival is that the Luperci sacrifice a dog also.

A certain Butas, who wrote fabulous explanations of Roman customs in elegiac verse, says that Romulus and Remus, after their victory over Amulius, ran exultantly to the spot where, when they were babes, the she-wolf gave them suck, and that the festival is conducted in imitation of this action, and that the two youths of noble birth run

“Smiting all those whom they meet, as once with
brandished weapons,

Down from Alba's heights, Remus and Romulus
ran.”

And that the bloody sword is applied to their foreheads as a symbol of the peril and slaughter of that day, while the cleansing of their foreheads with milk is in remembrance of the nourishment which the babes received. But Caius Acilius writes that before the founding of the city Romulus and his brother once lost their flocks, and after praying to Faunus, ran forth in quest of them naked, that they might not be impeded by sweat; and that this is the reason why

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Antony*, xii. 1.

διὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὺς περιτρέχειν τοὺς Λουπέρκους.
 τὸν δὲ κύνα φαίη τις ἄν, εἰ μὲν ἡ θυσία καθαρμός
 8 ἔστι, θύεσθαι καθαρσίῳ χρωμένων αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ
 "Ἕλληνες ἔν τε τοῖς καθαρσίοις σκύλακας ἐκφέ-
 ρουσι καὶ πολλαχοῦ χρώνται τοῖς λεγομένοις
 περισκυλακισμοῖς· εἰ δὲ τῇ λυκαίνῃ χαριστήρια
 ταῦτα καὶ τροφεῖα καὶ σωτήρια Ῥωμύλου τελοῦ-
 σιν, οὐκ ἀτόπως ὁ κύων σφάττεται· λύκοις γάρ
 ἔστι πολέμιος· εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία κολάζεται τὸ ζῶον
 ὡς παρενοχλοῦν τοὺς Λουπέρκους ὅταν περι-
 θέωσι.

XXII. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀγι-
 στεῖαν Ῥωμύλον καταστήσαι πρῶτον, ἀποδεί-
 ξαντα παρθένους ἱερὰς Ἑστιάδας προσαγορευο-
 μένας. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν εἰς Νομᾶν ἀναφέρουσι,
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὸν Ῥωμύλον θεοσεβῇ διαφερόντως,
 ἔτι δὲ μαντικὸν ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι, καὶ φορεῖν
 ἐπὶ μαντικῇ τὸ καλούμενον λίτυον, ἔστι δὲ καμ-
 πύλη ῥάβδος, ἣ τὰ πλινθία καθεζομένους ἐπ'
 2 οἰωνῶν διαγράφειν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν Παλατίῳ φυ-
 λαττόμενον ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ τῆς
 πόλεως ἀλούσης· εἴτα μέντοι τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἐκπεσόντων εὑρεθῆναι κατὰ τέφρας βαθείας ἀπα-
 θές ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπολω-
 λόσι καὶ διεφθαρμένοις.

3 Ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμους τινάς, ὧν σφοδρὸς μὲν
 ἔστιν ὁ γυναικὶ μὴ διδοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἄνδρα,
 γυναιῖκα δὲ διδοὺς ἐκβάλλειν¹ ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ καὶ

¹ ἐκβάλλειν Bekker, after Coraës: ἐκβαλεῖν.

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the Luperci run about naked. If the sacrifice is a purification, one might say that the dog is sacrificed as being a suitable victim for such rites, since the Greeks, in their rites of purification, carry forth puppies for burial, and in many places make use of the rites called "periskulakismoï;"¹ and if these rites are performed in grateful remembrance of the she-wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is not without reason that the dog is slain, since it is an enemy to wolves, unless, indeed, the animal is thus punished for annoying the Luperci when they run about.

XXII. It is said also that Romulus first introduced the consecration of fire, and appointed holy virgins to guard it, called Vestals. Others attribute this institution to Numa,² although admitting that Romulus was in other ways eminently religious, and they say further that he was a diviner, and carried for purposes of divination the so-called "lituus," a crooked staff with which those who take auguries from the flight of birds mark out the regions of the heavens. This staff, which was carefully preserved on the Palatine, is said to have disappeared when the city was taken at the time of the Gallic invasion; afterwards, however, when the Barbarians had been expelled, it was found under deep ashes unharmed by the fire, although everything about it was completely destroyed.³

He also enacted certain laws, and among them one of severity, which forbids a wife to leave her husband, but permits a husband to put away his wife

¹ Sacrifices where puppies were killed and carried about.

² See *Numa*, chapters ix. and x.

³ Cf. *Camillus*, xxxii. 4-5.

τέκνων ὑποβολῇ¹ καὶ μοιχευθεῖσαν· εἰ δ' ἄλλως 32
 τις ἀποπέμψαιτο, τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τῆς
 γυναικὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν κελεύων·
 τὸν δ' ἀποδόμενον γυναιῖκα θύεσθαι χθονίοις θεοῖς.
 4 ἴδιον δὲ τὸ μηδεμίαν δίκην κατὰ πατροκτόνων
 ὀρίσαντα πᾶσαν ἀνδροφονίαν πατροκτονίαν προσ-
 ειπεῖν, ὡς τούτου μὲν ὄντος ἐναγοῦς, ἐκείνου δὲ
 ἀδυνάτου. καὶ μέχρι χρόνων πολλῶν ἔδοξεν
 ὀρθῶς ἀπογνῶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀδικίαν· οὐδεὶς
 γὰρ ἔδρασε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ σχεδὸν ἐτῶν
 ἑξακοσίων διαγενομένων, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν
 Ἀννιβιακὸν πόλεμον ἱστορεῖται Λεύκιος Ὅστιος
 πατροκτόνος γενέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανὰ
 περὶ τούτων.

XXIII. Ἐτεῖ δὲ πέμπτῃ τῆς Τατίου βασιλείας,
 οἰκεῖοί τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενεῖς πρέσβεισιν ἀπὸ
 Λαυρέντου βαδίζουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐντυχόντες καθ'
 ὁδόν, ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ χρήματα βία,
 καὶ μὴ προῖεμένους, ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένους ἀνεῖλον.
 ἔργου δὲ δεινοῦ τολμηθέντος, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος
 εὐθύς δεῖν ᾤετο κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας,
 2 ὁ δὲ Τάτιος ἐξέκρουε καὶ παρήγγε. καὶ τοῦτο
 μόνον αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρξεν αἷτιον ἐμφανοῦς διαφορᾶς·
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα κατακοσμοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἔνι μά-
 λιστα κοινῶς ἐχρῶντο καὶ μεθ' ὁμονοίας τοῖς
 πράγμασιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνηρημένων οἰκεῖοι, πάσης
 ἐξειργόμενοι δίκης νομίμου διὰ τὸν Τάτιον, ἀπο-
 κτιννύουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν Λαβινίῳ θύοντα μετὰ Ῥω-
 μύλου προσπεσόντες, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον ὡς δίκαιον

¹ ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ καὶ τέκνων ὑποβολῇ with Cobet: ἐπὶ φαρ-
 μακείᾳ τέκνων ἢ κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ (for poisoning his children or
 counterfeiting his keys).

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for using poisons, for substituting children, and for adultery; but if a man for any other reason sends his wife away, the law prescribes that half his substance shall belong to his wife, and the other half be consecrate to Ceres; and whosoever puts away his wife, shall make a sacrifice to the gods of the lower world. It is also a peculiar thing that Romulus ordained no penalty for parricides, but called all murder parricide, looking upon one as abominable, and upon the other as impossible. And for many ages his judgement of such a crime seemed to have been right, for no one did any such deed at Rome for almost six hundred years; but after the war with Hannibal, Lucius Hostius is reported to have been the first parricide. So much, then, may suffice concerning these matters.

XXIII. In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some retainers and kinsmen of his, falling in with ambassadors from Laurentum on their way to Rome, attempted to rob them of their money,¹ and when they would not stand and deliver, slew them. It was a bold and dreadful crime, and Romulus thought its perpetrators ought to be punished at once, but Tatius tried to put off and turn aside the course of justice. This was the sole occasion of open variance between them; in all other matters they acted in the utmost concert and administered affairs with unanimity. The friends of the slain ambassadors, shut out as they were from all lawful redress, through the efforts of Tatius, fell upon him as he was sacrificing with Romulus at Lavinium, and killed him, but escorted Romulus on his way with loud praises of his

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 14, 1-3.

- 3 ἄνδρα προὔπεμψαν εὐφημοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Τατίου κομίσας ἐντίμως ἔθαψε, καὶ κείται περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρμλούστριον ἐν Ἀουεντίνῳ, τῆς δὲ δίκης τοῦ φόνου παντάπασιν ἡμέλησεν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστοροῦσι τὴν μὲν πόλιν τῶν Λαυρεντίων φοβηθεῖσαν ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αὐτόχειρας Τατίου, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον
- 4 ἀφεῖναι, φήσαντα φόνον φόνῳ λελύσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ λόγον μὲν τινα παρέσχε καὶ ὑποψίαν ὥς ἀσμένῳ γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων οὐδὲν διετάραξεν, οὐδὲ διεστασίασε τοὺς Σαβίνους, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ φόβῳ τῆς δυνάμεως, οἱ δ' ὥς θεῷ χρώμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν,¹ θαυμάζοντες διετέλουν.
- 5 Ἐθαύμαζον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων τὸν Ῥωμύλον· οἱ δὲ προγενέστεροι Λατῖνοι πέμψαντες αὐτῷ φιλίαν ἐποίησαντο καὶ συμμαχίαν. Φιδήνας δὲ εἶλεν, ἀστυγείτονα τῆς Ῥώμης πόλιν, ὥς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐξαίφνης τοὺς ἱππέας πέμψας καὶ κελεύσας ὑποτεμεῖν τῶν πυλῶν τοὺς στροφίγγας, εἶτα ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτὸς ἀπροσδοκῆτως.
- 6 ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσι προτέρους ἐκείνους ἐμβαλόντας ἐλάσασθαί τε λείαν καὶ καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὸ προάστειον, ἐνέδρας δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμύλον θέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφθείραντα πολλοὺς λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὲν ἀνείλεν οὐδὲ κατέσκαψεν, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησεν ἀποικίαν,

¹ χρώμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν MSS., Coraës ; Bekker corrects το χρώμενον εἰς πᾶν εὐμνεῖ (because heaven favoured him in all his undertakings.)

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justice. Romulus brought the body of Tatius home and gave it honourable burial, and it lies near the so-called *Armilustrum*, on the *Aventine* hill; but he took no steps whatsoever to bring his murderers to justice. And some historians write that the city of *Laurentum*, in terror, delivered up the murderers of Tatius, but that Romulus let them go, saying that murder had been requited with murder. This led some to say and suspect that he was glad to be rid of his colleague, but it caused no disturbance in the government, nor did it lead the *Sabines* into faction, nay, some through the good-will they had for him, others through their fear of his power, and others because they regarded him as a benevolent god, all continued to hold him in reverence to the end.

Romulus was held in reverence also by many foreign peoples, and the earlier *Latins* sent ambassadors and established friendship and alliance with him. *Fidenae*, a neighbouring city to Rome, he took,¹ as some say, by sending his horsemen of a sudden with orders to cut away the pivots of the gates, and then appearing himself unexpectedly; but others say that the men of *Fidenae* first made an incursion, driving off booty and devastating the territory and outskirts of the city, and that Romulus set an ambush for them, killed many of them, and took their city. He did not, however, destroy or raze it to the ground, but made it a colony of Rome, and sent thither

¹ Cf. *Livy*, i. 14, 4-11.

δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἀποστείλας οἰκή-
τορας εἰδοῖς Ἀπριλλίαις.

XXIV. Ἐκ τούτου λοιμὸς ἐμπίπτει, θανάτους
μὲν αἰφνιδίους ἀνθρώποις ἄνευ νόσων ἐπιφέρων,
ἀπτόμενος δὲ καὶ καρπῶν ἀφορίαις καὶ θρεμ-
μάτων ἀγονίαις. ὕσθη δὲ καὶ σταγόσιν αἵματος
ἢ πόλιν, ὥστε πολλὴν προσγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀναγ-
καίοις πάθεσι δεισιδαιμονίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὸ
Λαύρεντον οἰκοῦσιν ὅμοια συνέβαινεν, ἤδη παν-
τάπασιν ἐδόκει τῶν ἐπὶ Τατίῳ συγκεχυμένων δι-
καίων ἐπὶ τε τοῖς πρέσβεσι φονευθεῖσι μῆνιμα δαι-
2 μόνιον ἀμφοτέρας ἐλαύνειν τὰς πόλεις. ἐκδοθέν-
των δὲ τῶν φονέων καὶ κολασθέντων παρ' ἀμφο-
τέροις, ἐλώφησεν ἐπιδήλως τὰ δεινὰ καὶ καθαρμοῖς
ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἡγνισε τὰς πόλεις, οὓς ἔτι νῦν ἱστο-
ροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Φερεντίνης πύλης συντελεῖσθαι.

Πρὶν δὲ λῆξαι τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπέθεντο Καμέριοι 33
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κατέδραμον τὴν χώραν, ὡς ἀδυ-
3 νάτων ἀμύνεσθαι διὰ τὸ πάθος. εὐθύς οὖν ὁ
Ῥωμύλος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ μάχῃ
κρατήσας ἑξακισχιλίους ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ τὴν
πόλιν ἐλὼν, τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν περιγενομένων
εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξώκισε, τῶν δ' ὑπομενόντων διπλα-
σίους ἐκ Ῥώμης κατώκισεν εἰς τὴν Καμερίαν
Σεξιτιλίας καλάνδαις. τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιῆν
πολιτῶν ἑκατάδεκα ἔτη σχεδὸν οἰκοῦντι τὴν
Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις καὶ χαλκοῦν
ἐκόμισε τέθριππον ἐκ Καμερίας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀνέ-
στησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ποιησάμενος
ἐαυτὸν ὑπὸ Νίκης στεφανούμενον·.

XXV. Οὕτω δὲ ῥωννυμένοις τοῖς πράγμασιν
οἱ μὲν ἀσθενέστεροι τῶν προσοίκων ὑπεδύοντο

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twenty-five hundred colonists, on the Ides of April.

XXIV. After this, a plague fell upon the land, bringing sudden death without previous sickness upon the people, and afflicting the crops with unfruitfulness and the cattle with barrenness. There was a rain of blood also in the city, so that many superstitious fears were added to their unavoidable sufferings. And when similar calamities visited the people of Laurentum, all agreed at once that it was the miscarriage of justice for the death of Tatius and the slain ambassadors which brought the wrath of heaven down upon both cities. The murderers, therefore, were delivered up on both sides and punished, and the mischief visibly abated. Romulus also purified the cities with lustral rites, which they say are celebrated to this day at the Ferentine gate.

But before the pestilence had ceased, the people of Cameria attacked the Romans and overran their territory, thinking them incapable of defending themselves by reason of their distress. Romulus therefore at once marched against them, overcame them in battle, and killed six thousand of them. He also took their city, transplanted half of the survivors to Rome, and sent to Cameria as colonists from Rome twice the number he had left there, and this on the first of August. So many citizens had he to spare after dwelling in Rome less than sixteen years. Among other spoils he brought also a bronze four-horse chariot from Cameria, and dedicated it in the temple of Vulcan. For it he had a statue made of himself, with a figure of Victory crowning him.

XXV. The Roman state thus gathering strength, its weaker neighbours submitted to it, and were

- καὶ τυγχάνοντες ἀδείας ἡγάπων· οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ
 δεδιότες καὶ φθονοῦντες οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν περιορᾶν,
 ἀλλ' ἐνίστασθαι τῇ αὐξήσει καὶ κολουεῖν τὸν
 Ῥωμύλον. πρῶτοι δὲ Τυρρηνῶν Οὐήιοι, χώραν
 κεκτημένοι πολλὴν καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντες,
 ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσαντο πολέμου Φιδήνας ἀπαιτεῖν,
 2 ὥς προσήκουσαν αὐτοῖς. τὸ δ' οὐκ ἄδικον ἦν
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελοῖον, ὅτι κινδυνεύουσι τότε
 καὶ πολεμουμένοις οὐ προσαμύναντες, ἀλλ' ἐά-
 σαντες ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἰκίας καὶ γῆν
 ἀπαιτοῖεν ἄλλων ἐχόντων. καθυβρισθέντες οὖν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσι δίχα διεῖλον
 ἑαυτούς, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπέκειντο τῷ Φιδηνῶν στρα-
 τεύματι, τῷ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμύλον ἀπήντων. πρὸς
 μὲν οὖν Φιδήναις δισχιλίους Ῥωμαίων κρατή-
 σαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου δὲ νικηθέντες
 3 ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀπέβαλον. αὐθις δὲ περὶ
 Φιδήνην ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἔργον
 αὐτοῦ Ῥωμύλου γενέσθαι, τέχνην τε μετὰ τόλμης
 πᾶσαν ἐπιδειξαμένου ῥώμῃ τε καὶ ποδωκείᾳ
 πολὺν δόξαντος ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονι κεχρηῆσθαι,
 πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι· τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἐνίων λεγόμενον
 κομιδῇ μυθῶδές ἐστι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ἄπιστον,
 ὅτι μυρίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων πεσόντων ὑπερ-
 ημίσεις ἦσαν οὗς αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ Ῥωμύλος ἔ-
 κτεινεν, ὅπου γε καὶ Μεσσήνιοι κόμπῳ χρήσασθαι
 δοκοῦσι περὶ Ἀριστομένους λέγοντες ὥς τρεῖς
 ἑκατομφόνια θύσειεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.
- 4 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀφελὲς φεύγειν τοὺς

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satisfied to be let alone ; but the powerful ones, out of fear and jealousy, thought they ought not to tolerate, but resist and check the growing power of Romulus. And of the Tuscans, the people of Veii, who possessed much territory and dwelt in a great city, were the first to begin war¹ with a demand for Fidenae, which they said belonged to them. Now this was not only unjust, it was actually ridiculous, that they, who had not come to the aid of the people of Fidenae when they were in the perils of war, but suffered them to perish, then demanded their houses and land from those who had come into possession of them. Accordingly, Romulus gave them contemptuous answers, upon which they divided themselves into two armies, attacked Fidenae with one, and confronted Romulus with the other. Before Fidenae, then, they overpowered two thousand Romans and slew them ; but they were defeated by Romulus with a loss of eight thousand men. Once more a battle was fought near Fidenae, and here all agree that the victory was chiefly due to Romulus himself, who displayed every possible combination of skill and bravery, and seemed endowed with strength and swiftness far beyond the lot of man. But there is a statement made by some writers which is altogether fabulous, nay rather, wholly incredible, namely, that of the fourteen thousand Tuscans who fell in this battle, more than half were slain by Romulus with his own hand ; for even the Messenians seem to have been boastfully extravagant in saying that Aristomenes thrice offered sacrifice for a hundred Lacedaemonian enemies slain.

After the rout of the enemy, Romulus suffered the

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 15, 1-5.

περιόντας ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐχώρει τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο μεγάλης συμφορᾶς γενομένης, ἀλλὰ δεηθέντες ὁμολογίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ φιλίαν εἰς ἔτη ἑκατόν, χώραν τε πολλὴν προέμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἣν Σεπτεμπάγιον καλοῦσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἑπταμόριον, καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκστάντες ἀλοπηγίων, καὶ πεντήκοντα
 5 τῶν ἀρίστων ὁμήρους ἐγχειρίσαντες, ἐθριύμβευσε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων εἰδοῖς Ὀκτωβρίαις, ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχων καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Οὐνῶν, ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην, ἀφρόνως δόξαντα καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀπείρως τοῖς πράγμασι κεχρησθαι. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι θύοντες ἐπινίκια, γέροντα μὲν ἄγουσι δι' ἀγορᾶς εἰς Καπιτώλιον ἐν περιπορφύρῳ, βούλλαν αὐτῷ παιδικὴν ἄψαντες, κηρύττει δ' ὁ κῆρυξ Σαρδιανούς ὠνίους. Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἄποικοι Σαρδιανῶν λέγονται, Τυρρηνικὴ δὲ πόλις οἱ Οὐήιοι.

XXVI. Τοῦτον ἔσχατον πόλεμον ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπολέμησεν. εἶθ', ὃ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴν ὀλίγων πάσχουσι πάντες οἱ μεγάλαις καὶ παραλόγοις ἀρθέντες εὐτυχίαις εἰς δύναμιν καὶ ὄγκον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς διέφυγε παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκτεθαρρηκὼς τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ βαρυτέρῳ φρονήματι χρώμενος, ἐξίστατο τοῦ δημοτικοῦ, καὶ παρήλλαττεν εἰς μοναρχίαν ἐπαχθῇ καὶ λυπούσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος πρῶτον ᾧ κατεσχημάτιζεν ἑαυτόν.
 2 ἀλουργῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδύετο χιτῶνα, καὶ τήβεννον 34 ἐφόρει περιπόρφυρον, ἐν θρόνῳ δ' ἀνακλίτῳ καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. ἦσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τῶν νέων οἱ καλούμενοι Κέλερες, ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰς ὑπουργίας ὀξύτητος. ἐβάδιζον δὲ πρόσ-

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survivors to escape, and moved upon their city itself. But they could not hold out after so great a reverse, and suing for peace, made a treaty of friendship for a hundred years, giving up a large portion of their territory, called Septempagium, or the *Seven Districts*, abandoning their salt-works along the river, and delivering up fifty of their chief men as hostages. Romulus also celebrated a triumph for this victory on the Ides of October, having in his train, besides many other captives, the leader of the Veientes, an elderly man, who seems to have conducted the campaign unwisely, and without the experience to be expected of his years. Wherefore to this very day, in offering a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the forum to the Capitol, wearing a boy's toga with a bulla attached to it, while the herald cries: "Sardians for sale!" For the Tuscans are said to be colonists from Sardis, and Veii is a Tuscan city.

XXVI. This was the last war waged by Romulus. Afterwards, like many, nay, like almost all men who have been lifted by great and unexpected strokes of good fortune to power and dignity, even he was emboldened by his achievements to take on a haughtier bearing, to renounce his popular ways, and to change to the ways of a monarch, which were made hateful and vexatious first by the state which he assumed. For he dressed in a scarlet tunic, and wore over it a toga bordered with purple, and sat on a recumbent throne when he gave audience. And he had always about him some young men called Celeres, from their *swiftness* in doing service.¹ Others, too, went

¹ Cf. chapter x. 2; and Livy, i. 15, 8.

θεν ἕτεροι βακτηρίαις ἀνείργοντες τὸν ὄχλον, ὑπεζωσμένοι δὲ ἱμάντας, ὥστε συνδεῖν εὐθύς οὓς προστάζειε.

- 3 Τὸ δὲ δῆσαι Λατῖνοι πάλαι μὲν λιγᾶρε, νῦν δὲ ἀλλιγᾶρε καλοῦσιν· ὅθεν οἳ τε ῥαβδούχοι λικτώρεις, αἳ τε ῥάβδοι βάκυλα καλοῦνται, διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι τότε βακτηρίαις. εἰκὸς δὲ λικτώρεις ἐντιθεμένου τοῦ κάππα νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, πρότερον λιτώρεις, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ λειτουργοὺς ὄντας. λήϊτον γὰρ τὸ δημόσιον ἔτι νῦν Ἑλληνες καὶ λαὸν τὸ πλῆθος ὀνομάζουσιν.

- XXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πάππου Νομήτορος ἐν Ἀλβη τελευτήσαντος, αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν προσήκον, εἰς μέσον ἔθηκε τὴν πολιτείαν δημαγωγῶν, καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείκνυεν ἄρχοντα τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐδίδαξε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατοὺς ἀβασίλευτον ζητεῖν καὶ αὐτόνομον πολιτείαν, ἀρχομένους ἐν μέρει καὶ ἄρχοντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ καλούμενοι πατρίκιοι πραγμάτων μετεῖχον, ἀλλ' ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα περιῆν ἔντιμον αὐτοῖς, ἔθους ἔνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμης ἀθροιζομένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευ-
2 τήριον. εἰτα σιγῇ προστάττοντος ἡκροῶντο· καὶ τῷ πρότεροι τὸ δεδογμένον ἐκείνῳ πυθέσθαι τῶν πολλῶν πλεον ἔχοντες ἀπηλλάττοντο. καὶ τὰλλα μὲν ἦν ἐλάττονα· τῆς δὲ γῆς τὴν δορίκτητον

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before him with staves, keeping off the populace, and they were girt with thongs, with which to bind at once those whom he ordered to be bound.

To bind, in the Latin language, was formerly "ligare," though now it is "alligare"; whence the wand-bearers are called "lictiores," and the wands themselves "bacula," from the use, in the time of Romulus, of "bakteriai," which is the Greek word for *staves*.¹ But it is likely that the "c" in the word "lictiores," as now used, has been added, and that the word was formerly "litores," which is the Greek "leitourgoi," meaning *public servants*. For the Greeks still call a public hall "leiton," and the people "laos."¹

XXVII. But when his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, and its throne devolved upon Romulus, he courted the favour of the people by putting the government in their hands, and appointed an annual ruler for the Albans. In this way he taught the influential men at Rome also to seek after a form of government which was independent and without a king, where all in turn were subjects and rulers. For by this time not even the so-called patricians had any share in the administration of affairs, but a name and garb of honour was all that was left them, and they assembled in their council-chamber more from custom than for giving advice. Once there, they listened in silence to the commands of the king, and went away with this advantage only over the multitude, that they learned earlier what he had decreed. The rest of his proceedings were of lesser importance; but when of his own motion merely

¹ For this assumed use of Greek words by the Romans, cf. chapter xv. 3.

- αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δασάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τοῖς Οὐητοῖς ἀποδούς, οὔτε πεισθέντων οὔτε βουλομένων ἐκείνων, ἔδοξε κο-
- 3 μιδῇ τὴν γερουσίαν προπηλακίζειν. ὅθεν εἰς ὑποψίαν καὶ διαβολὴν ἐνέπεσε παραλόγως ἀφανισθέντος αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον. ἠφανίσθη δὲ νῶναις Ἰουλίαις, ὡς νῦν ὀνόμαζουσιν, ὡς δὲ τότε, Κυντιλίαις, οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν βέβαιον οὐδὲ ὁμολογούμενον πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπολιπών, ἀλλ' ἡ τὸν χρόνον, ὡς προεῖρηται. δρᾶται γὰρ ἔτι νῦν ὅμοια τῷ τότε πάθει πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.
- 4 Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀσάφειαν, ὅπου Σκηπίωνος Ἀφρικανοῦ μετὰ δεῖπνον οἴκοι τελευτήσαντος, οὐκ ἔσχε πίστιν οὐδ' ἔλεγχον ὁ τρόπος τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτομάτως ὄντα φύσει νοσώδη καμεῖν λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ φαρμάκοις ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτοῦ νύκτωρ παρειαυθέν-
- 5 τας. καίτοι Σκηπίων ἔκειτο νεκρὸς ἐμφανῆς ἰδεῖν πᾶσι, καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρῆχε πᾶσιν ὁρώμενον ὑποψίαν τινὰ τοῦ πάθους καὶ κατανοήσιν. Ῥωμύλου δὲ ἄφνω μεταλλάξαντος οὔτε μέρος ὤφθη σώματος οὔτε λείψανον ἐσθῆτος. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἵκαζον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐπαναστάοντας αὐτῷ καὶ διαφθείραντας, νείμαντας τὸ σῶμα καὶ μέρος ἕκαστον ἐνθήμενον εἰς
- 6 τὸν κόλπον ἐξενεγκεῖν· ἕτεροι δ' οἶονται μήτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου μήτε μόνων τῶν βουλευτῶν παρόντων γενέσθαι τὸν ἀφανισμόν, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν μὲν ἔξω περὶ τὸ καλούμενον αἰγὸς ἔλος

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he divided the territory acquired in war among his soldiers, and gave back their hostages to the Veientes, without the consent or wish of the patricians, he was thought to be insulting their senate outright. Wherefore suspicion and calumny fell upon that body when he disappeared unaccountably a short time after. He disappeared on the Nones of July, as they now call the month, then Quintilis, leaving no certain account nor even any generally accepted tradition of his death, aside from the date of it, which I have just given. For on that day many ceremonies are still performed which bear a likeness to what then came to pass.

Nor need we wonder at this uncertainty, since although Scipio Africanus died at home after dinner, there is no convincing proof of the manner of his end, but some say that he passed away naturally, being of a sickly habit, some that he died of poison administered by his own hand, and some that his enemies broke into his house at night and smothered him. And yet Scipio's dead body lay exposed for all to see, and all who beheld it formed therefrom some suspicion and conjecture of what had happened to it; whereas Romulus disappeared suddenly, and no portion of his body or fragment of his clothing remained to be seen. But some conjectured that the senators, convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and slew him, then cut his body in pieces, put each a portion into the folds of his robe, and so carried it away. Others think that it was neither in the temple of Vulcan nor when the senators alone were present that he disappeared, but that he was holding an assembly of the people

ἐκκλησίαν ἄγοντα τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ἄφνω δὲ θαυμα-
 στα καὶ κρείττονα λόγου περὶ τὸν αἶρα πάθη
 γενέσθαι καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀπίστους· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ
 ἡλίου τὸ φῶς ἐπιλιπεῖν, νύκτα δὲ κατασχεῖν, οὐ
 πραεῖαν, οὐδὲ ἥσυχον, ἀλλὰ βροντάς τε δεινὰς
 καὶ πνοὰς ἀνέμων ζάλην ἐλαυνόντων πανταχόθεν
 7 ἔχουσιν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸν μὲν πολὺν ὄχλον
 σκεδασθέντα φυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δυνατοὺς συστραφεῖ-
 ναι μετ' ἀλλήλων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔληξεν ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ
 τὸ φῶς ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ταῦτό
 πάλιν συνερχομένων ζήτησις ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως
 καὶ πόθος, οὐκ ἔαν τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐξετάζειν οὐδὲ
 πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τιμᾶν παρακελεύεσθαι 35
 πᾶσι καὶ σέβεσθαι Ῥωμύλον, ὡς ἀνηρπασμένον
 εἰς θεοὺς καὶ θεὸν εὐμενῇ γεννησόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐκ
 8 χρηστοῦ βασιλέως. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς ταῦ-
 τα πειθομένους καὶ χαίροντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι
 μετ' ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν προσκυνούντας· εἶναι δέ
 τινες οἱ τὸ πρᾶγμα πικρῶς καὶ δυσμενῶς ἐξελέγ-
 χοντες ἐτάραττον τοὺς πατρικίους καὶ διέβαλλον,
 ὡς ἀβέλτερά τὸν δῆμον ἀναπείθοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ
 τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόχειρας ὄντας.

XXVIII. Οὕτως οὖν ¹ ἄνδρα τῶν πατρικίων
 γένει πρῶτον, ἧθει τε δοκιμώτατον, αὐτῷ τε
 Ῥωμύλῳ πιστὸν καὶ συνήθη, τῶν ἀπ' Ἀλβης
 ἐποίκων, Ἰούλιον Πρόκλον, εἰς ἀγορὰν προελ-
 θόντα ² καὶ τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἑνορκον ἱερῶν ἀψά-
 μενον εἰπεῖν ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς ὁδὸν αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι
 Ῥωμύλος ἐξ ἐναντίας προσιὼν φανείη, καλὸς μὲν

¹ οὕτως οὖν Coraës, following Stephanus and C, has οὕτως
 οὖν παραπτομένων (while such disorder prevailed).

² προελθόντα MSS., Coraës, Sintenis¹: παρελθόντα.

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outside the city near the so-called Goat's Marsh,¹ when suddenly strange and unaccountable disorders with incredible changes filled the air; the light of the sun failed, and night came down upon them, not with peace and quiet, but with awful peals of thunder and furious blasts driving rain from every quarter, during which the multitude dispersed and fled, but the nobles gathered closely together; and when the storm had ceased, and the sun shone out, and the multitude, now gathered together again in the same place as before, anxiously sought for their king, the nobles would not suffer them to inquire into his disappearance nor busy themselves about it, but exhorted them all to honour and revere Romulus, since he had been caught up into heaven, and was to be a benevolent god for them instead of a good king. The multitude, accordingly, believing this and rejoicing in it, went away to worship him with good hopes of his favour; but there were some, it is said, who tested the matter in a bitter and hostile spirit, and confounded the patricians with the accusation of imposing a silly tale upon the people, and of being themselves the murderers of the king.

XXVIII. At this pass, then, it is said that one of the patricians, a man of noblest birth, and of the most reputable character, a trusted and intimate friend also of Romulus himself, and one of the colonists from Alba, Julius Proculus by name,² went into the forum and solemnly swore by the most sacred emblems before all the people that, as he was travelling on the road, he had seen Romulus coming

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 16, 1-4.

² Cf. Livy, i. 16, 5-8.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- ὀφθῆναι καὶ μέγας, ὥς οὐποτε πρόσθεν, ὅπλοις δὲ
 2 λαμπροῖς καὶ φλέγουσι κεκοσμημένος. αὐτὸς μὲν
 οὖν ἐκπλαγεὶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν “ὦ βασιλεῦ,”
 φάναι, “τί δὴ παθὼν ἢ διανοηθεὶς ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν
 αἰτίαις ἀδίκους καὶ πονηραῖς, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν
 ὀρφανὴν ἐν μυρίῳ πένθει προλέλοιπας;” ἐκείνον
 δ’ ἀποκρίνασθαι, “Θεοῖς ἔδοξεν, ὦ Πρόκλε, τοσοῦ-
 τον ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι μετ’ ἀνθρώπων χρόνον, ἐκείθεν
 ὄντας,¹ καὶ πόλιν ἐπ’ ἀρχῇ καὶ δόξῃ μεγίστη
 κτίσαντας αὐθις οἰκεῖν οὐρανόν. ἀλλὰ χαῖρε, καὶ
 φράζε ‘Ρωμαίοις ὅτι σωφροσύνην μετ’ ἀνδρείας
 ἀσκούντες ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρωπίνης ἀφίξονται
 3 Κυρίνος.” ταῦτα πιστὰ μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ‘Ρωμαίοις
 ἔδοκει διὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ διὰ τὸν
 ὅρκον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δαιμόνιον τι συν-
 εφάψασθαι πάθος ὅμοιον ἐνθουσιασμῷ· μηδένα
 γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ δια-
 βολὴν ἀφέντας εὐχεσθαι Κυρίνῳ καὶ θεοκλυ-
 τεῖν ἐκείνον.
- 4 “Ἐοικε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων περι-
 τε ‘Αριστέου τοῦ Προκονησίου καὶ Κλεομήδους
 τοῦ ‘Αστυπαλαιέως μυθολογουμένοις. ‘Αριστέαν
 μὲν γὰρ ἐν τινι κναφείῳ τελευτῆσαί φασι, καὶ τὸ
 σῶμα μετιόντων αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων ἀφανὲς οἴχε-
 σθαι· λέγειν δέ τινας εὐθύς ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἤκοντάς
 ἐντυχεῖν ‘Αριστέα τὴν ἐπὶ Κρότωνος πορευομένῳ·
 Κλεομήδῃ δέ, ῥώμῃ καὶ μεγέθει σώματος ὑπερ-
 φυᾷ γενόμενον ἔμπληκτόν τε τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ
 1 ἐκείθεν ὄντας MSS., Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker;
 Sintenis² transposes to follow οὐρανόν.

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to meet him, fair and stately to the eye as never before, and arrayed in bright and shining armour. He himself, then, affrighted at the sight, had said : " O King, what possessed thee, or what purpose hadst thou, that thou hast left us patricians a prey to unjust and wicked accusations, and the whole city sorrowing without end at the loss of its father ? " Whereupon Romulus had replied : " It was the pleasure of the gods, O Proculus, from whom I came, that I should be with mankind only a short time, and that after founding a city destined to be the greatest on earth for empire and glory, I should dwell again in heaven. So farewell, and tell the Romans that if they practise self-restraint, and add to it valour, they will reach the utmost heights of human power. And I will be your propitious deity, Quirinus." These things seemed to the Romans worthy of belief, from the character of the man who related them, and from the oath which he had taken ; moreover, some influence from heaven also, akin to inspiration, laid hold upon their emotions, for no man contradicted Proculus, but all put aside suspicion and calumny and prayed to Quirinus, and honoured him as a god.

Now this is like the fables which the Greeks tell about Aristeeas of Proconnesus¹ and Cleomedes of Astypaleia.² For they say that Aristeeas died in a fuller's shop, and that when his friends came to fetch away his body, it had vanished out of sight ; and presently certain travellers returning from abroad said they had met Aristeeas journeying towards Croton. Cleomedes also, who was of gigantic strength and stature, of uncontrolled temper, and like a mad man, is said to have done many deeds

¹ Cf. Herodotus, iv. 14 f.

² Cf. Pausanias, ix. 6 ff.

τινι διδασκαλείῳ παίδων τὸν ὑπερείδοντα τὴν
 ὀροφήν κίονα πατάξαντα τῇ χειρὶ κλάσαι μέσον
 5 καὶ τὴν στέγην καταβαλεῖν. ἀπολομένων δὲ τῶν
 παίδων διωκόμενον εἰς κιβωτὸν καταφυγεῖν
 μεγάλην, καὶ τὸ πῶμα κατακλείσαντα συνέχειν
 ἐντός, ὥστε ἀποσπάσαι μὴ δύνασθαι πολλοὺς
 ὁμοῦ βιαζομένους· κατασχίσαντας δὲ τὴν κιβω-
 τὸν οὔτε ζῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὑρεῖν οὔτε νεκρόν.
 ἐκπλαγέντας οὖν ἀποστεῖλαι θεοπρόπους εἰς
 Δελφούς, οἷς τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν·

Ἐσχατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπάλαιεύς.

6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀλκμήνης ἐκκομιζομένης
 νεκρὸν ἄδηλον γενέσθαι, λίθον δὲ φανῆναι κεί-
 μενον ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης. καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ τοιαῦτα
 μυθολογοῦσι, παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐκθειάζοντες τὰ
 θνητὰ τῆς φύσεως ἅμα τοῖς θεοῖς.

Ἀπογνῶναι μὲν οὖν παντάπασι τὴν θειότητα
 τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνόσιον καὶ ἀγεννές, οὐρανῷ δὲ μι-
 γνύειν γῆν ἀβέλτερον. ἐατέον οὖν, ἐχομένοις τῆς
 ἀσφαλείας, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, ὥς

σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
 ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἰδῶλον· τὸ γάρ
 ἐστι μόνον
 ἐκ θεῶν.

7 ἦκει γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἄνεισιν, οὐ μετὰ σώ-
 ματος, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὅτι μάλιστα σώματος ἀπαλ-
 λαγῇ καὶ διακριθῇ καὶ γένηται καθαρὸν παντά-
 πασι καὶ ἄσαρκον καὶ ἄγνόν. Αὕτη γὰρ ψυχὴ

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of violence, and finally, in a school for boys, he smote with his fist the pillar which supported the roof, broke it in two, and brought down the house. The boys were killed, and Aristetas, being pursued, took refuge in a great chest, closed the lid down, and held it so fast that many men with their united strength could not pull it up; but when they broke the chest to pieces, the man was not to be found, alive or dead. In their dismay, then, they sent messengers to consult the oracle at Delphi, and the Pythian priestess gave them this answer:—

“Last of the heroes he, Cleomedes, Astypalæan.”

It is said also that the body of Alcmene disappeared, as they were carrying her forth for burial, and a stone was seen lying on the bier instead. In short, many such fables are told by writers who improbably ascribe divinity to the mortal features in human nature, as well as to the divine.

At any rate, to reject entirely the divinity of human virtue, were impious and base; but to mix heaven with earth is foolish. Let us therefore take the safe course and grant, with Pindar,¹ that

“Our bodies all must follow death’s supreme
behest,
But something living still survives, an image of
life, for this alone
Comes from the gods.”

Yes, it comes from them, and to them it returns, not with its body, but only when it is most completely separated and set free from the body, and becomes altogether pure, fleshless, and undefiled. For “a dry

¹ Fragment 131, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* i. 4 p. 427.

ἀρίστη,¹ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ὥσπερ ἀστραπὴ νέ- 36
 φους διαπταμένη τοῦ σώματος. ἡ δὲ σώματι
 πεφυρμένη καὶ περίπλεως σώματος, οἷον ἀναθυ-
 μιάσις ἐμβριθὴς καὶ ὀμιχλώδης, δυσέξαπτός ἐστι
 8 καὶ δυσανακόμιστος. οὐδὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ σώματα
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν συναναπέμπειν παρὰ φύσιν εἰς οὐ-
 ρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς παντά-
 πασιν οἶεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν καὶ δίκην θείαν ἐκ μὲν
 ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἥρωας, ἐκ δ' ἡρώων εἰς δαίμονας,
 ἐκ δὲ δαιμόνων, ἂν τέλεον ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ καθαρ-
 θῶσι καὶ ὀσιωθῶσιν ἅπαν ἀποφυγεῖν τὸ
 θνητὸν καὶ παθητικόν, οὐ νόμῳ πόλεως, ἀλλ'
 ἀληθείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον εἰς θεοὺς
 ἀναφέρεσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον
 τέλος ἀπολαβούσας.

XXIX. Τὴν δὲ γενομένην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ῥω-
 μύλῳ τὸν Κυρίνον οἱ μὲν Ἐνυάλιον προσαγορεύ-
 ουσιν· οἱ δὲ πολίτην,² ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας
 Κυρίτας ὠνόμαζον· οἱ δὲ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἣ τὸ δόρυ
 τοὺς παλαιοὺς κύριν ὀνομάζουσιν, καὶ Κυρίτιδος
 Ἦρας ἄγαλμα καλεῖν ἐπ' αἰχμῆς ἰδρυμένον, ἐν δὲ
 τῇ Ῥηγίᾳ δόρυ καθιδρυμένον Ἄρεα προσαγορ-
 εῦειν, καὶ δόρατι τοὺς ἐν πολέμοις ἀριστεύοντας
 γεραίρειν· ὥς οὖν ἀρήϊόν τινα τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἢ
 2 αἰχμητὴν θεὸν ὀνομασθῆναι Κυρίνον. ἱερὸν μὲν
 οὖν αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Κυ-
 ρίνα προσαγορευομένῳ δι' ἐκείνον, ἡ δ' ἡμέρα ἣ
 μετήλλαξεν, ὄχλου φυγὴ καλεῖται, καὶ νῶναι
 Καπρατῖναι διὰ τὸ θύειν εἰς τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ἔλος ἐκ

¹ Ἀπὸ γὰρ ψυχῆ ἀρίστη Bekker: αὕτη γὰρ ψυχὴ ξερὴ καὶ ἀρίστη.

² οἱ δὲ πολίτην, ὅτι Coraës and Bekker, with two Bodleian MSS. (Bab): οἱ δὲ ὅτι.

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soul is best," according to Heracleitus,¹ and it flies from the body as lightning flashes from a cloud. But the soul which is contaminated with body, and surfeited with body, like a damp and heavy exhalation, is slow to release itself and slow to rise towards its source. We must not, therefore, violate nature by sending the bodies of good men with their souls to heaven, but implicitly believe that their virtues and their souls, in accordance with nature and divine justice, ascend from men to heroes, from heroes to demi-gods, and from demi-gods, after they have been made pure and holy, as in the final rites of initiation, and have freed themselves from mortality and sense, to gods, not by civic law, but in very truth and according to right reason, thus achieving the fairest and most blessed consummation.

XXIX. To the surname of Quirinus bestowed on Romulus, some give the meaning of *Mars*, others that of *Citizen*, because the citizens were called Quirites; but others say that the ancients called the *spear-head* (or the whole *spear*) "*quiris*," and gave the epithet Quiritis to the Juno whose statue leans upon a spear, and the name Mars to a spear consecrated in the Regia, and a spear as a prize to those who performed great exploits in war; and that Romulus was therefore called Quirinus as a *marital*, or *spear-wielding*, god. However that may be, a temple in his honour is built on the hill called Quirinalis after him, and the day on which he vanished is called People's Flight, and Capratine Nones, because they go out of the city and

¹ Fragment 74 (Bywater, *Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae*, p. 30).

πόλεως κατιόντας· τὴν γὰρ αἶγα κάπραν ὀνομά-
ζουσιν. ἐξιόντες δὲ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν πολλὰ τῶν
ἐπιχωρίων ὀνομάτων φθέγγονται μετὰ βοῆς, οἶον
Μάρκου, Λουκίου, Γαίου, μιμούμενοι τὴν τότε
τροπὴν καὶ ἀνάκλησιν ἀλλήλων μετὰ δέους καὶ
ταραχῆς.

- 3 Ἐνιοι μέντοι τὸ μίμημα τοῦτό φασι μὴ φυγῆς,
ἀλλ' ἐπείξεως εἶναι καὶ σπουδῆς, εἰς αἰτίαν
τοιαύτην ἀναφέροντες τὸν λόγον. ἐπεὶ Κελτοὶ
τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαβόντες ἐξεκρούσθησαν ὑπὸ
Καμίλλου καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἢ πόλις οὐκέτι ῥα-
δίως ἑαυτὴν ἀνελάμβανεν, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν
πολλοὶ τῶν Λατίνων, ἄρχοντα Λίβιον Ποστού-
μιον ἔχοντες. οὗτος δὲ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν οὐ
πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης ἔπεμπε κήρυκα, βούλεσθαι
λέγων τοὺς Λατίνους ἐκλιποῦσαν ἤδη τὴν πα-
λαιὰν οἰκειότητα καὶ συγγένειαν ἐκζωπυρῆσαι,
καιναῖς αὐθις ἀνακραθέντων ἐπιγαμίαις τῶν
4 γενῶν. ἂν οὖν πέμψωσι παρθένους τε συχνὰς
καὶ γυναικῶν τὰς ἀνάνδρους, εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι καὶ
φιλίαν αὐτοῖς, ὥς ὑπῆρξε πρὸς Σαβίνους πρό-
τερον ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ῥω-
μαῖοι τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ τὴν παρά-
δοσιν τῶν γυναικῶν οὐδὲν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιεικέ-
στερον ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον. ἀποροῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς θερα-
παινα Φιλωτίς, ὥς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, Τουτόλα καλου-
μένη, συνεβούλευσε μηδέτερα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησα-
μένους δόλῳ διαφυγεῖν ἅμα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν
5 ἐξομήρευσιν. ἦν δ' ὁ δόλος αὐτὴν τε τὴν Φιλω-
τίδα καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ θεραπαινίδας εὐπρεπεῖς
κοσμήσαντας ὥς ἐλευθέρας ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους· εἶτα νύκτωρ τὴν Φιλωτίδα πυρσὸν

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sacrifice at the Goat's Marsh ; and "capra " is their word for *she-goat*. And as they go forth to the sacrifice, they shout out many local names, like Marcus, Lucius, and Caius, in imitation of the way in which, on the day when Romulus disappeared, they called upon one another in fear and confusion.

Some, however, say that this imitation is not one of flight, but of haste and eagerness, and explain it as referring to the following occasion. After the Gauls had captured Rome and been driven out by Camillus, and when the city was still too weak to recover itself readily, an expedition was made against it by many of the Latins, under the command of Livius Postumius. This general stationed his army not far from Rome, and sent a herald with the message that the Latins wished to renew their ancient relationship and affinity with the Romans, by fresh intermarriages between the two peoples. If, therefore, the Romans would send them a goodly number of virgins and their widows, they should have peace and friendship, such as they had formerly made with the Sabines on the like terms. On hearing this message, the Romans hesitated between going to war, which they feared, and the surrender of their women, which they thought no more desirable than to have them captured. But while they were in this perplexity, a serving-maid called Philotis (or, as some say, Tutola) advised them to do neither, but by the use of a stratagem to escape alike the war and the giving of hostages. Now the stratagem was this, that they should send to the enemy Philotis herself, and with her other comely serving-maids arrayed like free-born women ; then in the night Philotis was to display a signal-fire, at which the

- ἀραι, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐπελθεῖν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων
καὶ χρήσασθαι κοιμωμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις. ταῦτα
δ' ἐδρᾶτο πεισθέντων τῶν Λατίνων· καὶ τὸν πυρσὸν
ἀνέσχευεν ἡ Φιλωτὶς ἔκ τινος ἐρινεοῦ, περισχοῦσα
προκαλύμμασι καὶ παραπετάσμασιν ὀπισθεν,
ὥστε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀόρατον εἶναι τὸ φῶς, τοῖς δὲ
6 Ῥωμαίοις κατὰδηλον. ὥς οὖν ἐπέιδον, εὐθύς ἐξή-
σαν ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔπειξιν ἀλλήλους περὶ
τὰς πύλας ἀνακαλοῦντες πολλάκις. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ
τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδοκῆτως καὶ κρατήσαντες,
ἐπινίκιον ἄγουσι τὴν ἑορτήν. καὶ Καπρατῖναι
μὲν αἱ νῶναι καλοῦνται διὰ τὸν ἐρινεὸν καπρί-
φικον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐστιῶσι δὲ
τὰς γυναῖκας ἔξω, συκῆς κλάδοις σκιαζόμενας.
αἱ δὲ θεραπαινίδες ἀγείρουσι περιϋοῦσαι καὶ 37
παίζουσιν, εἴτα πληγαῖς καὶ βολαῖς λίθων χρῶν-
ται πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὥς καὶ τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
παραγενόμεναι καὶ συναγωνισάμεναι μαχομένοις.
7 Ταῦτ' οὖν¹ πολλοὶ προσίενται τῶν συγγρα-
φέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν χρῆσθαι τῇ
ἀνακλήσει τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἔλος τὸ
τῆς αἰγὸς ὥς ἐπὶ θυσίαν² βαδίζοντας ἔοικε τῷ
προτέρῳ λόγῳ προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ νῆ
Δία τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐν χρόνοις ἐτέροις ἀμφό-
τερα τὰ πάθη συνέτυχε γενέσθαι. λέγεται δὲ
Ῥωμύλος τέσσαρα μὲν ἔτη καὶ πεντήκοντα γε-
γονώς, ὄγδοον δὲ βασιλεύων ἐκείνο καὶ τρια-
κοστὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι.

¹ οὖν with Cobet : οὐ (by few).

² θυσίαν with Coraës (as in xxix. 2) : θάλατταν (sea).

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Romans were to come in arms and deal with their enemies while asleep. This was done, with the approval of the Latins, and Philotis displayed the signal-fire from a certain wild fig-tree, screening it behind with coverlets and draperies, so that its light was unseen by the enemy, but visible to the Romans. When, accordingly, they beheld it, they sallied forth at once in great haste, and because of their haste calling upon one another many times at the gates. They fell upon their enemies when they least expected it and mastered them, and now celebrate this festival in memory of their victory. And the Nones on which it falls are called Capratine from the *wild fig-tree*, the Roman name for which is "caprificus," and they feast the women outside the city in booths made of fig-tree boughs. Then the serving-maids run about in companies and play, after which they strike and throw stones at one another, in token that on that earlier day they assisted the Romans and shared with them in their battle.¹

These details are accepted by many historians, but their calling out one another's names in the day time, and their marching out to the Goat's Marsh as for sacrifice, seem to be more consonant with the former story, unless, to be sure, both actions happened to take place on the same day in different periods. Romulus is said to have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign when he disappeared from among men.

¹ Cf. *Camillus*, xxxiii.

ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΥΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

- Ι. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης πυθέσθαι περὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Θησέως συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστί. φαίνεται δὲ πρῶτον ὁ μὲν ἐκ προαιρέσεως, οὐδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, ἀλλ' ἐξὸν ἀδεῶς ἐν Τροίῃ βασιλεύειν διαδεξάμενον ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἄδοξον, αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεγάλων ὀρεχθείς· ὁ δὲ δουλείας φυγῇ παρούσης καὶ τιμωρίας ἐπιφερομένης, ἐκείνο τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἀτεχνῶς ὑπὸ δέους ἀνδρείως γενόμενος, καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶν μεγάλα δι' ἀνάγκην παραγενόμενος.
- 2 ἔπειτα τούτου μὲν ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνελεῖν ἓνα τὸν Ἄλβης τύραννον, ἐκείνου δὲ πάρεργα καὶ προάγωνες ἦσαν ὁ Σκείρων, ὁ Σίνις, ὁ Προκρούστης, ὁ Κορυνήτης, οὗς ἀναιρῶν καὶ κολάζων ἀπήλαττε τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινῶν τυράννων πρὶν ὅστις ἐστὶ γινώσκειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωζομένους. καὶ τῷ μὲν παρὴν ἀπραγμόνως κομίζεσθαι διὰ θαλάττης ἀδικουμένῳ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, Ῥωμύλῳ δ' οὐ παρὴν μὴ πράγματα
- 3 ἔχειν Ἀμουλίου ζῶντος. μέγα δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἀδικούμενος ὥρμησεν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς, οἱ δ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ κακῶς οὐκ ἔπασχον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, περιεώρων ἀδικοῦντα πάντας. καὶ μὴν εἰ μέγα τὸ τρωθῆναι

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I. SUCH, then, are the memorable things about Romulus and Theseus which I have been able to learn. And it appears, first of all, that Theseus, of his own choice, when no one compelled him, but when it was possible for him to reign without fear at Troezen as heir to no inglorious realm, of his own accord reached out after great achievements; whereas Romulus, to escape present servitude and impending punishment, became simply "courageous out of fear," as Plato phrases it,¹ and through the dread of extreme penalties proceeded to perform great exploits under compulsion. In the second place, the chief deed of Romulus was the slaying of a single tyrant of Alba; whereas for mere by-adventures and preliminary struggles Theseus had Sciron, Sinis, Procrustes, and Corynetes, by slaying and chastising whom he freed Greece from dreadful tyrants before those who were saved by him knew who he was. Theseus might have travelled to Athens by sea without any trouble, and suffering no outrage at the hands of those robbers; whereas Romulus could not be without trouble while Amulius lived. And there is strong proof of this; for Theseus, although he had suffered no wrong at their hands himself, sallied out in behalf of others against those miscreants; while Romulus and Remus, as long as they themselves were not harmed by the tyrant, suffered him to wrong everybody else. And surely, if it was a great thing for Romulus

¹ *Phaedo*, p. 68 d.

μαχόμενον Σαβίνοις καὶ ἀνελεῖν Ἀκρωνα καὶ πολλῶν μάχῃ κρατῆσαι πολεμίων, τούτοις μὲν ἔστι τοῖς ἔργοις κενταυρομαχίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς
 4 Ἀμαζόνας παραβαλεῖν· ὃ δ' ἐτόλμησε¹ Θησεὺς περὶ τὸν Κρητικὸν δασμόν, εἴτε τινὶ θηρίῳ βοράν, εἴτε πρόσφαγμα τοῖς Ἀνδρόγεω τάφοις, εἴθ', ὃ κουφότατόν ἐστι τῶν λεγομένων, λατρεύειν παρ' ἀνδράσιν ὑβρισταῖς καὶ δυσμενέσιν ἀκλεῇ λατρείαν καὶ ἄτιμον ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ἐκουσίως μετὰ παρθένων πλεύσας καὶ παίδων νέων, οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ἡλικίης ἐστὶ τόλμης ἢ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἢ δικαιοσύνης περὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἢ πόθου δόξης καὶ
 5 ἀρετῆς. ὥστ' ἔμοιγε φαίνεται μὴ κακῶς ὀρίζεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους τὸν ἔρωτα θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν νέων. ὁ γὰρ Ἀριάδνης ἔρως παντὸς μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἔργον θεοῦ καὶ μηχανὴ γενέσθαι σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀνδρός. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν ἐρασθεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν εἰ μὴ πάντες οὕτω καὶ πᾶσαι διετέθησαν· εἰ δ' ἐκείνη μόνη τοῦτ' ἔπαθεν, εἰκότως ἔγωγε φαίην ἂν αὐτὴν ἀξιέραστον θεῷ γεγενέναι, φιλόκαλον καὶ φιλάγαθον καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐρωτικὴν οὔσαν.

II. Ἀμφοτέρων τοίνυν τῇ φύσει πολιτικῶν γεγονότων, οὐδέτερος διεφύλαξε τὸν βασιλικὸν τρόπον· ἐξέστη δὲ καὶ μετέβαλε μεταβολὴν ὁ μὲν δημοτικὴν, ὁ δὲ τυραννικὴν, ταῦτόν ἀπ'

¹ ὃ δ' ἐτόλμησε Coraës and Sintenis would begin the second chapter here.

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to be wounded in a battle with the Sabines, and to slay Acron, and to conquer many enemies in battle, with these exploits we may compare, on the part of Theseus, his battle with the Centaurs and his campaign against the Amazons; but as for the daring which he showed about the Cretan tribute, whether that was food for some monster, or a sacrifice on the tomb of Androgeos, or whether—and this is the mildest form of the story—he offered himself for inglorious and dishonourable servitude among insolent and cruel men when he volunteered to sail away with maidens and young boys, words cannot depict such courage, magnanimity, righteous zeal for the common good, or yearning for glory and virtue. It is therefore my opinion that the philosophers¹ give an excellent definition of love when they call it “a ministration of the gods for the care and preservation of the young.” For Ariadne’s love seems to have been, more than anything else, a god’s work, and a device whereby Theseus should be saved. And we should not blame her for loving him, but rather wonder that all men and women were not thus affected towards him; and if she alone felt this passion, I should say, for my part, that she was properly worthy of a god’s love, since she was fond of virtue, fond of goodness, and a lover of the highest qualities in man.

II. Although Theseus and Romulus were both statesmen by nature, neither maintained to the end the true character of a king, but both deviated from it and underwent a change, the former in the direction of democracy, the latter in the direction of tyranny, making thus the same mistake through opposite

¹ Polemon, as cited in *Morals*, p. 780 d.

ἐναντίων παθῶν ἀμαρτόντες. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄρχοντα σώζειν πρῶτον αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν· σώζεται δ' οὐχ ἥττον ἀπεχομένη τοῦ μὴ προσήκοντος ἢ 2 περιεχομένη τοῦ προσήκοντος. ὁ δ' ἐνδιδοὺς ἢ ἐπιτείνων οὐ μένει βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ἀλλ' ἢ δημαγωγὸς ἢ δεσπότης γιγνόμενος, ἐμποιεῖ τὸ μισεῖν ἢ καταφρονεῖν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐπιεικείας δοκεῖ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας εἶναι, τοῦτο δὲ φιλαυτίας ἀμάρτημα καὶ χαλεπότητος.

III. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ δυστυχηθέντα μὴ παντά- 38 πασι ποιεῖσθαι δαίμονος, ἀλλ' ἠθικὰς καὶ παθη- τικὰς ζητεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφοράς, θυμοῦ μὲν ἀλογίστου καὶ τάχος ἐχούσης ἄβουλον ὀργῆς μήτε τις ἐκείνον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπολυέτω μήτε τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν· ἢ δὲ κινήσασα τὸν θυμὸν ἀρχὴ μᾶλλον παραιτεῖται τὸν ὑπὸ μείζονος αἰτίας ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς χαλεπωτέρας 2 ἀνατραπέντα. Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ σκέψεως περὶ κοινῶν συμφερόντων διαφορᾶς γενομένης οὐκ ἂν ἠξιώσέ τις ἄφνω τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν τηλικούτῳ πάθει γενέσθαι· Θησέα δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἃ πάμπαν ὀλίγοι τῶν ὄντων διαπεφεύγασιν, ἔρως καὶ ζηλοτυπία καὶ διαβολαὶ γυναικὸς ἔσφηλαν. ὁ δὲ μείζων ἐστίν, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλου θυμὸς εἰς ἔργον ἐξέπεσε καὶ πρᾶξιν οὐκ εὐτυχὲς ἔχουσιν τέλος, ἢ δὲ Θησέως ὀργὴ μέχρι λόγου καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ κατάρας πρεσβυτικῆς προῆλθε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα φαίνεται τῇ τύχῃ χρήσασθαι τὸ μειράκιον. ὥστε ταύτας μὲν ἂν τις ἀποδοίῃ τῷ Θησεῖ τὰς ψήφους.

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affections. For the ruler must preserve first of all the realm itself, and this is preserved no less by refraining from what is unbecoming than by cleaving to what is becoming. But he who remits or extends his authority is no longer a king or a ruler; he becomes either a demagogue or a despot, and implants hatred or contempt in the hearts of his subjects. However, the first error seems to arise from kindness and humanity; the second from selfishness and severity.

III. Again, if the misfortunes of men are not to be attributed altogether to fortune, but to the different habits and passions which will be found underlying them, then no one shall acquit Romulus of unreasoning anger or hasty and senseless wrath in dealing with his brother, nor Theseus in dealing with his son, although the cause which stirred his anger leads us to be more lenient towards the one who was overthrown by a stronger provocation, as by a heavier blow. For since the difference between Romulus and his brother arose from a deliberate investigation of the common welfare, there could have been no good reason for his flying into such a passion; while Theseus was impelled to wrong his son by love, jealousy, and a woman's slanders, the overmastering power of which very few men have escaped. And what is of greater weight, the anger of Romulus vented itself in action and a deed of most unfortunate issue; whereas the wrath of Theseus got no farther than words of abuse and an old man's curse, and the rest of the youth's calamities seem to have been due to fortune. On these counts, therefore, one would give his vote of preference to Theseus.

- IV. Ἐκείνῳ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπάρχει μέγα τὸ μικροτάτας λαβεῖν ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα. δοῦλοι γὰρ δὴ καὶ συφορβῶν παῖδες ὀνομαζόμενοι, πρὶν ἐλεύθεροι γενέσθαι, πάντας ὀλίγου δεῖν ἡλευθέρωσαν Λατίνους, ἐνὶ χρόνῳ τῶν καλλίστων ὀνομάτων ἅμα τυχόντες, φονεῖς ἐχθρῶν καὶ σωτῆρες οἰκείων καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐθνῶν καὶ οἰκισταὶ πόλεων, οὐ μετοικισταί, καθάπερ ἦν ὁ Θησεύς, ἐκ πολλῶν συντιθεὶς καὶ συνοικοδομῶν ἐν οἰκητήριον, ἀναιρῶν δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις
- 2 ἐπωνύμους βασιλέων καὶ ἡρώων παλαιῶν. Ῥωμύλος δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἔδρα, τοὺς πολέμους ἀναγκάζων τὰ οἰκεία καταβάλλοντας καὶ ἀφανίζοντας τοῖς νενικηκόσι προσνέμεσθαι· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον οὐ μετατιθεὶς οὐδ' αὖξων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν, ἀλλὰ ποιῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ κτῶμενος ἑαυτῷ χώραν ὁμοῦ, πατρίδα, βασιλείαν, γένη, γάμους, οἰκειότητας, ἀνῆρει μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἀπώλλυεν, εὐεργέτει δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αἰοίκων καὶ ἀνεστίων δῆμον ἐθέλοντας εἶναι καὶ πολίτας. λησταὺς δὲ καὶ κακούργους οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' ἔθνη προσηγάγετο πολέμῳ καὶ πόλεις κατεστρέψατο καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ ἡγεμόνας.
- V. Καὶ τὸ μὲν Ῥώμου πάθος ἀμφισβητούμενον ἔχει τὸν αὐτόχειρα, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ἑτέρους τῆς αἰτίας τρέπουσι· τὴν δὲ μητέρα διολλυμένην ἔσωσε περιφανῶς, καὶ τὸν πάππον ἀκλεῶς δουλεύοντα καὶ ἀτίμως εἰς τὸν Αἰνείου θρόνον ἐκάθισε. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκὼν εὐεργέ-
- 2 τησεν, ἔβλαψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἄκων. τὴν δὲ

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IV. But Romulus has, in the first place, this great superiority, that he rose to eminence from the smallest beginnings. For he and his brother were reputed to be slaves and sons of swineherds, and yet they not only made themselves free, but freed first almost all the Latins; enjoying at one and the same time such most honourable titles as slayers of their foes, saviours of their kindred and friends, kings of races and peoples, founders of cities; not transplanters, as Theseus was, who put together and consolidated one dwelling-place out of many, but demolished many cities bearing the names of ancient kings and heroes: Romulus, it is true, did this later, compelling his enemies to tear down and obliterate their dwellings and enrol themselves among their conquerors; but at first, not by removing or enlarging a city which already existed, but by creating one from nothing, and by acquiring for himself at once territory, country, kingdom, clans, marriages and relationships, he ruined no one and killed no one, but was a benefactor of men without homes and hearths, who wished instead to be a people and citizens of a common city. Robbers and miscreants, it is true, he did not slay, but he subdued nations in war, laid cities low, and triumphed over kings and commanders.

V. Besides, there is dispute as to who actually slew Remus, and most of the blame for the deed is put upon others than Romulus; but Romulus did unquestionably save his mother from destruction, and he set his grandfather, who was living in inglorious and dishonourable subjection, upon the throne of Aeneas. Moreover, he did him many favours of his own accord, and did him no harm, not even inadver-

Θησέως λήθην καὶ ἀμέλειαν τῆς περὶ τὸ ἰστίον ἐντολῆς μόλις ἂν οἶμαι μακρᾷ τινι παραιτήσῃ καὶ ἐν ῥαθύμοις δικασταῖς αἰτίαν ἀποφυγεῖν πατροκτονίας· ὃ δὲ καὶ συνιδὼν τις Ἀττικὸς ἀνὴρ ὡς παγγάλεπόν ἐστι βουλομένοις ἀπολογεῖσθαι, πλάττει τὸν Αἰγέα τῆς νεὸς προσφερομένης ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνατρέχοντα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θέας ἔνεκα καὶ σφαλλόμενον καταπεσεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀπαδῶν ἔρημον, ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὁδὸν σπεύδοντι μὴ παρούσης τινὸς θεραπείας.

VI. Καὶ μὴν τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἡμαρτημένα Θησεῖ μὲν εὐσχήμονος ἐνδεᾶ προφάσεως γέγονε. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πολλάκις ἤρπασε γὰρ Ἀριάδην καὶ Ἀντιόπην καὶ Ἀναξὼ τὴν Τροιζηνίαν, ἐπὶ πάσαις δὲ τὴν Ἑλένην, παρηκμακῶς οὐκ ἀκμάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ νηπίαν καὶ ἄωρον αὐτὸς ὥραν ἔχων ἤδη γάμων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ νομίμων· ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀξιώτεραί γε παιδοποιοὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν Ἑρεχθίδων καὶ Κεκροπίδων αἱ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Λακωνίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ἀνέγγυοι θυγατέρες² ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποψίαν ἔχει πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ καθ' ἡδονὴν πεπρᾶχθαι. Ῥωμύλος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὀκτακοσίων ὀλίγον ἀριθμῷ δεούσας³⁹ ἀρπάσας, οὐ πάσας, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ὥς φασιν, Ἑρσιλίαν ἔλαβε, τὰς δ' ἄλλας διένειμε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς¹ τῶν πολιτῶν· ἔπειτα τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμῇ καὶ ἀγαπήσει καὶ δικαιοσύνη τῇ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέδειξε τὴν βίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν

¹ ἀγαθοῖς MSS. and edd. : ἀγάμοις (unmarried).

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tently. Theseus, on the contrary, for his forgetfulness and neglect of the command about the sail, can hardly, I think, escape the charge of parricide, be the plea of his advocate ever so long and his judges ever so lenient. Indeed, a certain Attic writer, conscious that would-be defenders of Theseus have a difficult task, feigns that Aegeus, on the approach of the ship, ran up to the acropolis in his eagerness to catch sight of her, and stumbled and fell down the cliff; as though he were without a retinue, or was hurrying down to the sea without any servants.

VI. Furthermore, the transgressions of Theseus in his rapes of women admit of no plausible excuse. This is true, first, because there were so many; for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, Anaxo of Troezen, and at last Helen, when he was past his prime and she had not reached her prime, but was an unripe child, while he was already of an age too great for even lawful wedlock. It is true, secondly, because of the reason for them; for the daughters of Troezenians and Laconians and Amazons were not betrothed to him, and were no worthier, surely, to be the mothers of his children than the daughters of Erechtheus and Cecrops at Athens. But one may suspect that these deeds of his were done in lustful wantonness. Romulus, on the other hand, in the first place, although he carried off nearly eight hundred women, took them not all to wife, but only one, as they say, Hersilia, and distributed the rest among the best of the citizens. And in the second place, by the subsequent honour, love, and righteous treatment given to these women, he made it clear that his

ἀδικίαν κάλλιστον ἔργον καὶ πολιτικώτατον εἰς
 3 κοινωνίαν γενομένην. οὕτω συνέμιξεν ἀλλήλοις
 καὶ συνέπηξε τὰ γένη, καὶ παρέσχε πηγὴν τῆς
 εἰς αὐθις εὐνοίας καὶ δυνάμεως τοῖς πράγμασιν.
 αἰδοῦς δὲ καὶ φιλίας καὶ βεβαιότητος, ἦν εἰργά-
 σατο περὶ τοὺς γάμους, ὁ χρόνος ἐστὶ μάρτυς.
 ἐν γὰρ ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις οὔτε ἀνὴρ
 ἐτόλμησε γυναικὸς οὔτε γυνὴ κοινωνίαν ἀνδρὸς
 ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν Ἑλλησιν οἱ σφόδρα
 περιττοὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν πατροκτόνον
 ἢ μητροφόνον, οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι
 Καρβίλιος Σπόριος ἀπεπέμψατο γυναῖκα πρῶ-
 4 τος, ἀπαιδίαν αἰτιασάμενος. τῷ δὲ τοσούτῳ
 χρόνῳ συμμαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχῆς
 ἐκοινωνήσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ πολιτείας τὰ γένη
 διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐκείνην· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Θησέως γά-
 μων Ἀθηναίοις φιλικὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ κοινωνικὸν
 ὑπῆρξε πρὸς οὐδένα συμβόλαιον, ἔχθραι δὲ καὶ
 πόλεμοι καὶ φόνοι πολιτῶν καὶ τέλος Ἀφίδνας
 ἀπολέσαι καὶ μόλις ὑπ' οἴκτου τῶν πολεμίων,
 προσκυνήσαντας καὶ θεοὺς ἀνειπόντας, μὴ πα-
 5 θεῖν ἂν Τρῶες ἔπαθον δι' Ἀλέξανδρον. ἡ μέντοι
 μήτηρ ἢ Θησέως οὐκ ἐκινδύνευσεν, ἀλλ' ἔπαθε
 τὰ τῆς Ἑκάβης, ἐγκαταλιπόντος καὶ προεμένου
 τοῦ παιδός, εἶγε μὴ πέπλασται τὰ τῆς αἰχμα-
 λωσίας, ὥς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτο ψεῦδος εἶναι καὶ
 τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ
 θείου μυθολογούμενα πολλὴν ποιεῖ διαφοράν.

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deed of violence and injustice was a most honourable achievement, and one most adapted to promote political partnership. In this way he intermixed and blended the two peoples with one another, and supplied his state with a flowing fountain of strength and good will for the time to come. And to the modesty, tenderness, and stability which he imparted to the marriage relation, time is witness. For in two hundred and thirty years no man ventured to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband; but, just as the very curious among the Greeks can name the first parricide or matricide, so the Romans all know that Spurius Carvilius was the first to put away his wife, accusing her of barrenness. And the immediate results of his act, as well as the long lapse of time, witness in favour of Romulus. For the two kings shared the government in common, and the two peoples the rights and duties of citizenship, because of that intermarriage; whereas from the marriages of Theseus the Athenians got no new friends at all, nor even any community of enterprise whatsoever, but enmities, wars, slaughters of citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnae, and an escape from the fate which Troy suffered by reason of Alexander, only because their enemies took compassion on them when they called upon them worshipfully as gods. However, the mother of Theseus was not only in danger, but actually suffered the fate of Hecuba when she was deserted and abandoned by her son, unless, indeed, the tale of her captivity is fictitious, and it may well be false, as well as most of the other stories. For example, the tales told of divine intervention in their lives are in great contrast; for Romulus was

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Ῥωμύλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία μετὰ πολλῆς ὑπῆρξε
θεῶν εὐμενείας, ὁ δ' Αἰγεί δοθεὶς χρησμός, ἀπέ-
χεσθαι γυναικὸς ἐπὶ ξένης, ἔοικεν ἀποφαίνειν
παρὰ γνώμην θεῶν γεγονέναι τὴν Θησέως
τέκνωσιν.

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preserved by the signal favour of the gods, while the oracle given to Aegeus, forbidding him to approach a woman while in a foreign land, seems to indicate that the birth of Theseus was not agreeable to the will of the gods.

LYCURGUS

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ

- Ι. Περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον, οὐ γὰρ καὶ γένος καὶ ἀποδημία καὶ τελευτὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ἢ περὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγματεία διαφόρους ἔσχηκεν ἱστορίας, ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ χρόνοι καθ' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁμολογοῦνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφίτῳ συνακμάσαι καὶ συνδιαθεῖναι τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ἐκεχειρίαν λέγουσιν αὐτόν, ὃν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον προσφέρων τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι δίσκον ἐν ᾧ τοῦνομα
- 2 τοῦ Λυκούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένον· οἱ δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βεβασιλευκότων ἀναλεγόμενοι τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Τίμαιος δὲ ὑπονοεῖ, δυεῖν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γεγονότων Λυκούργων οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὰς ἀμφοῖν πράξεις διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀνακείσθαι· καὶ τὸν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ὀμήρου γεγονέναι χρόνων, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατ' ὄψιν ἐντυχεῖν Ὀμήρῳ.

LYCURGUS

I. CONCERNING Lycurgus the lawgiver, in general, nothing can be said which is not disputed, since indeed there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and above all, of his work as law-maker and statesman; and there is least agreement among historians as to the times in which the man lived. Some say that he flourished at the same time with Iphitus, and in concert with him established the Olympic truce. Among these is Aristotle the philosopher, and he alleges as proof the discus at Olympia on which an inscription preserves the name of Lycurgus.¹ But those who compute the time by the successions of kings at Sparta, like Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, prove that Lycurgus was many years earlier than the first Olympiad.² And Timaeus conjectures that there were two Lycurgus at Sparta, at different times, and that to one of them the achievements of both were ascribed, owing to his greater fame; he thinks also that the elder of the two lived not far from the times of Homer, and some assert that he actually met Homer face to face.

¹ As joining with Iphitus in founding, or reviving, the Olympic games, in 776 B.C., the date assigned to the first recorded victory. Cf. Pausanias, v. 4, 5 f.; 20, 1. A stay of hostilities was observed all over Greece during the festival.

² 776-73 B.C.

3 δίδωσι δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὑπόνοιαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐν 40
οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα λέγει γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρα-
κλείδας. γένει μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλείδαι δῆπουθεν
ἦσαν καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων, ὁ
δὲ ἔοικε βουλομένῳ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκείνους καὶ
σύνεγγυς Ἡρακλέους ὀνομάζειν Ἡρακλείδας.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως πεπλανημένης τῆς
ἱστορίας, πειρασόμεθα τοῖς βραχυτάτας ἔχουσιν
ἀντιλογίας ἢ γνωριμωτάτους μάρτυρας ἐπόμενοι
τῶν γεγραμμένων περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδοῦναι τὴν
4 διήγησιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ¹ Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ
Εὐνόμου λέγει τὸν Λυκοῦργον πατρός, ἀλλὰ Πρυ-
τάνιδος καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τὸν Εὐνομον, οἱ
δὲ² πλείστοι σχεδὸν οὐχ οὕτω γενεαλογοῦσιν,
ἀλλὰ Προκλέους μὲν τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου γενέσθαι
Σόον, Σόον δὲ Εὐρυπῶντα, τούτου δὲ Πρύτανιν,
ἐκ τούτου δὲ Εὐνομον, Εὐνόμου δὲ Πολυδέκτην ἐκ
προτέρας γυναικός, Λυκοῦργον δὲ νεώτερον ἐκ
Διωνάσσης, ὡς Διευτυχίδας ἱστόρηκεν, ἔκτον μὲν
ἀπὸ Προκλέους, ἐνδέκατον δὲ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους.

II. Τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα μὲν ἐθαυ-
μάσθη Σόος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας ἐποιήσαντο
δούλους οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ χώραν προσεκτήσαντο
πολλὴν Ἀρκαδίων ἀποτεμόμενοι. λέγεται δὲ τὸν

¹ ἐπεὶ καὶ Sintenis would begin the second chapter here,
assuming also a lacuna in the text preceding.

² οἱ δὲ with Bekker: οἱ.

LYCURGUS

Xenophon, also,¹ makes an impression of simplicity in the passage where he says that Lycurgus lived in the time of the Heracleidae. For in lineage, of course, the latest of the Spartan kings were also Heracleidae; but Xenophon apparently wishes to use the name Heracleidae of the first and more immediate descendants of Heracles, so famous in story.

However, although the history of these times is such a maze, I shall try, in presenting my narrative, to follow those authors who are least contradicted, or who have the most notable witnesses for what they have written about the man. For instance, Simonides the poet says that Lycurgus was not the son of Eunomus, but that both Lycurgus and Eunomus were sons of Prytanis; whereas most writers give a different genealogy, as follows: Aristodemus begat Procles, Procles begat Soüs, Soüs begat Eurypon, and he begat Prytanis, from whom sprang Eunomus, and from Eunomus Polydectes by a first wife, and Lycurgus, who was a younger son by a second wife, Dionassa, as Dieutyichidas has written, making Lycurgus sixth from Procles, and eleventh from Heracles.²

II. Of these ancestors of Lycurgus, Soüs was most famous, under whom the Spartans made the Helots their slaves, and acquired by conquest from the Arcadians a large additional tract of land. It is also

¹ *Reip. Lac.* x. 8. "Lycurgus is said to have lived in the times of the Heracleidae."

² Aristodemus, from whose twin sons Eurysthenes and Procles the elder and younger royal lines at Sparta (the Agids and Eurypontids) were descended, was the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodæus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles. See Pausanias, iii. 1-10; Herodotus, vii. 204 and viii. 131.

Σόον ἐν χωρίῳ χαλεπῷ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ Κλειτορίων, ὁμολογήσαι τὴν δορίκτητον γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀφήσειν, εἰ πίοι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πλησίον πηγῆς. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὀρκίων¹ συναγαγόντα τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ διδόναι τῷ μὴ πiónτι τὴν βασιλείαν· οὐδενὸς δὲ καρτερήσαντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων πiónτων, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι καταβάντα καὶ περιρρανάμενον ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν, ὡς μὴ πάντων πiónτων.

Ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπὶ τούτοις θαυμάζοντες αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσαν Εὐρυπωντίδας, ὅτι δοκεῖ πρῶτος Εὐρυπῶν τὸ ἄγαν μοναρχικὸν ἀνεῖναι τῆς βασιλείας, δημαγωγῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνέσεως τοῦ μὲν δήμου θρασυνομένου, τῶν δ' ὕστερον βασιλέων τὰ μὲν ἀπεχθανομένων τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὑποφερομένων, ἀνομία καὶ ἀταξία κατέσχε τὴν Σπάρτην ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον· ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Λυκούργου βασιλεύοντα συνέβη τελευτῆσαι. διερύκων γὰρ ἀψιμαχίαν τινά, μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι πληγείς ἀπέθανε, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ παιδί Πολυδέκτῃ καταλιπὼν τὴν βασιλείαν.

III. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ τούτου μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔδει βασιλεύειν, ὡς πάντες ᾤοντο, τὸν Λυκούργον· καὶ πρὶν γε τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φανεράν γενέσθαι κύουσαν ἐβασίλευεν. ἐπεὶ

¹ ὀρκίων with Bekker and Cobet: ὀρκίων ὁμολογιῶν.

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related of this Soüs that when he was besieged by the Cleitorians in a rough and waterless place, he agreed to surrender to them the land which he had conquered if he himself and all his men with him should drink from the adjacent spring. After the oaths to this agreement were taken, he assembled his men and offered his kingdom to the one who should not drink; no one of them, however, could forbear, but all of them drank, whereupon Soüs himself went down last of all to the water, sprinkled his face merely, while the enemy were still at hand to see, and then marched away and retained his territory, on the plea that all had not drunk.

But although on these grounds he was held in great admiration, his royal line was not named from him, but were called Eurypontids from his son, because Eurypon appears to have been the first king to relax the excessive absolutism of his sway, seeking favour and popularity with the multitude. But in consequence of such relaxation the people grew bold, and succeeding kings were some of them hated for trying to force their way with the multitude, and some were brought low by their desire for favour or through weakness, so that lawlessness and confusion prevailed at Sparta for a long time; and it was owing to this that the father of Lycurgus, a reigning king, lost his life. For as he was trying to separate some rioters, he was stabbed to death with a butcher's knife, leaving the kingdom to his elder son, Polydectes.

III. Polydectes also died soon afterwards, and then, as was generally thought, the kingdom devolved upon Lycurgus; and until his brother's wife was known to be with child, he was king. But as soon

- δὲ τοῦτο τάχιστα ἦσθετο, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ παιδὸς οὖσαν, ἄνπερ ἄρρην γένηται, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπίτροπος διεῖπε. τοὺς δὲ τῶν ὀρφανῶν βασιλέων ἐπιτρόπους Λακεδαι-
 2 μόνιοι προδίκους¹ ὠνόμαζον. ὡς δὲ ἡ γυνὴ προσέπεμπε κρύφα καὶ λόγους ἐποιεῖτο, βου-
 λομένη διαφθεῖραι τὸ βρέφος ἐπὶ τῷ συνοικεῖν ἐκείνῳ βασιλεύοντι τῆς Σπάρτης, τὸ μὲν ἦθος αὐτῆς ἐμίσησε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δέχεσθαι προσποιού-
 μενος, οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν ἀμβλίσκουσαν αὐτὴν καὶ φαρμακευομένην διαλυμαίνεσθαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ κινδυνεύειν· αὐτῷ γὰρ μελήσειν ὅπως εὐθὺς ἐκ-
 3 ποδῶν ἔσται τὸ γεννηθέν. οὕτω δὲ παραγαγὼν ἄχρι τοῦ τόκου τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἦσθετο τίκτου-
 σαν, εἰσέπεμψε παρέδρους ταῖς ὠδίσιν αὐτῆς καὶ φύλακας, οἷς ἦν προστεταγμένοι, ἐὰν μὲν θῆλυ τεχθῇ, παραδοῦναι ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἐὰν δὲ ἄρρεν, κομίσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ τι ἂν τύχῃ πράτ-
 των. ἔτυχε δὲ δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν 4
 ἀρχόντων ἀποκυηθὲν ἄρρεν· καὶ παρήσαν οἱ ὑπη-
 4 ρέται τὸ παιδάριον αὐτῷ κομίζοντες. ὁ δὲ δεξά-
 μενος, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπὼν,
 “Βασιλεὺς ὑμῖν γέγονεν, ὦ Σπαρτιᾶται,” κατέκλι-
 νεν ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ χώρᾳ καὶ Χαρίλαον ὠνόμασε
 διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας εἶναι περιχαρεῖς, ἀγαμένους
 αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἐβασί-
 λευσε δὲ μῆνας ὀκτὼ τὸ σύμπαν. ἦν δὲ καὶ
 τὰλλα περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ πλείο-

¹ προδίκους with most MSS. and edd. : προδίκως with A (corrected), the Doric form.

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as he learned of this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her offspring, if it should be male, and himself administered the government only as guardian. Now the guardians of fatherless kings are called "prodikoi" by the Lacedaemonians. Presently, however, the woman made secret overtures to him, proposing to destroy her unborn babe on condition that he would marry her when he was a king of Sparta; and although he detested her character, he did not reject her proposition, but pretended to approve and accept it. He told her, however, that she need not use drugs to produce a miscarriage, thereby injuring her health and endangering her life, for he would see to it himself that as soon as her child was born it should be put out of the way. In this manner he managed to bring the woman to her full time, and when he learned that she was in labour, he sent attendants and watchers for her delivery, with orders, if a girl should be born, to hand it over to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, no matter what he was doing. And it came to pass that as he was at supper with the chief magistrates, a male child was born, and his servants brought the little boy to him. He took it in his arms, as we are told, and said to those who were at table with him, "A king is born unto you, O men of Sparta;" then he laid it down in the royal seat and named it Charilaüs, or *People's Joy*, because all present were filled with joy, admiring as they did his lofty spirit and his righteousness. And so he was king only eight months in all. But on other accounts also he was revered by his fellow-citizens, and more than

νες ἐγένοντο τῶν ὡς ἐπιτρόφῳ βασιλέως καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντι πειθομένων οἱ δι' ἀρετὴν προσέχοντες αὐτῷ καὶ ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες ἐτοίμως τὸ προσταττόμενον.

- 5 Ἦν δέ τι καὶ τὸ φθονοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν ὄντι νέῳ πειρώμενον ἐνίστασθαι, μάλιστα μὲν οἱ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκεῖοι τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μητρὸς ὑβρίσθαι δοκούσης, ὃ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς Λεωνίδας καὶ θρασύτερόν ποτε τῷ Λυκούργῳ λαιδορηθεὶς, ὑπεῖπεν ὡς εἰδείη σαφῶς μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν αὐτόν, ὑπόνοιαν διδοὺς καὶ προκαταλαμβάνων διαβολῇ τὸν Λυκούργον, εἴ τι συμβαίῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ παθεῖν, ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευκότα. τοιοῦτοι δέ τινες λόγοι καὶ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξεφοίτων· ἐφ' οἷς βαρέως φέρων καὶ δεδοικὼς τὸ ἄδηλον, ἔγνω φυγεῖν ἀποδημία τὴν ὑπόνοιαν, καὶ πλανηθῆναι μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τεκνώσῃ διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας.

IV. Οὕτως ἀπάρας πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀφίκετο· καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι πολιτείας κατανοήσας καὶ συγγενόμενος τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν κατὰ δόξαν ἀνδράσι, τὰ μὲν ἐζήλωσε καὶ παρέλαβε τῶν νόμων, ὡς οἴκαδε μετοίσων καὶ χρησόμενος, ἔστι δ' ὧν κατεφρόνησεν. ἓνα δὲ τῶν νομιζομένων ἐκεῖ σοφῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν χάριτι καὶ φιλίᾳ πείσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, Θάλητα, ποιητὴν μὲν δοκοῦντα λυρικῶν μελῶν καὶ πρόσχημα τὴν τέχνην ταύτην πεποιημένον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἄπερ οἱ κρᾶτιστοι τῶν νομοθετῶν διαπραττό-

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those who obeyed him because he was guardian of the king and had royal power in his hands, were those who claved to him for his virtues and were ready and willing to do his bidding.

There was a party, however, which envied him and sought to impede the growing power of so young a man, especially the kinsmen and friends of the queen-mother, who thought she had been treated with insolence. Her brother, Leonidas, actually railed at Lycurgus once quite boldly, assuring him that he knew well that Lycurgus would one day be king, thereby promoting suspicion and paving the way for the accusation, in case any thing happened to the king, that he had plotted against his life. Some such talk was set in circulation by the queen-mother also, in consequence of which Lycurgus was sorely troubled and fearful of what might be in store for him. He therefore determined to avoid suspicion by travelling abroad, and to continue his wanderings until his nephew should come of age and beget a son to succeed him on the throne.

IV. With this purpose, he set sail, and came first to Crete. Here he studied the various forms of government and made the acquaintance of their most distinguished men. Of some things he heartily approved, and adopted some of their laws, that he might carry them home with him and put them in use; for some things he had only contempt. One of the men regarded there as wise statesmen was Thales, whom Lycurgus persuaded, out of favour and friendship, to go on a mission to Sparta. Now Thales passed as a lyric poet, and screened himself behind this art, but in reality he did the work of

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- 2 μενον. λόγοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ ῥῆδαι πρὸς εὐπείθειαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἀνακλητικοί, διὰ μελῶν ἅμα καὶ ῥυθμῶν πολὺ τὸ κόσμιον ἐχόντων καὶ καταστατικόν, ὧν ἀκροώμενοι κατεπραύνοντο λεληθότως τὰ ἥθη καὶ συμφκειοῦντο τῷ ζήλῳ τῶν καλῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιχωριαζούσης τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακοθυμίας, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ προοδοποιεῖν τὴν παιδείυσιν αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ.
- 3 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὁ Λυκούργος ἐπὶ Ἀσίαν ἔπλευσε, βουλόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, ταῖς Κρητικαῖς διαίταις, εὐτελέσιν οὔσαις καὶ αὐστηραῖς, τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφάς, ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς σώμασιν ὑγιεινοῖς ὑπουλα καὶ νοσώδη, παραβαλὼν ἀποθεωρῆσαι τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν βίων καὶ
- 4 τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ὀμήρου ποιήμασιν ἐντυχὼν πρῶτον, ὡς ἔοικε, παρὰ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τοῖς Κρεοφύλου διατηρουμένοις, καὶ κατιδὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀκρασίαν διατριβῆς τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ παιδευτικὸν οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἀναμεμιγμένον, ἐγράψατο προθύμως καὶ συνήγαγεν ὡς δεῦρο κομιῶν. ἦν γάρ τις ἤδη δόξα τῶν ἐπῶν ἀμαυρὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐκέκτηντο δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ μέρη τινά, σποράδην τῆς ποιήσεως, ὡς ἔτυχε, διαφερομένης· γνωρίμην δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ μάλιστα πρῶτος ἐποίησε Λυκούργος.
- 5 Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Λυκούργον οἴονται, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν τοῦ μαχίμου διάκρισιν μάλιστα θαυμάσαντα

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one of the mightiest lawgivers. For his odes were so many exhortations to obedience and harmony, and their measured rhythms were permeated with ordered tranquillity, so that those who listened to them were insensibly softened in their dispositions, insomuch that they renounced the mutual hatreds which were so rife at that time, and dwelt together in a common pursuit of what was high and noble. Thales, therefore, after a fashion, was a forerunner in Sparta of Lycurgus and his discipline.

From Crete, Lycurgus sailed to Asia, with the desire, as we are told, of comparing with the Cretan civilization, which was simple and severe, that of the Ionians, which was extravagant and luxurious, just as a physician compares with healthy bodies those which are unsound and sickly; he could then study the difference in their modes of life and forms of government. There too, as it would appear, he made his first acquaintance with the poems of Homer, which were preserved among the posterity of Creophylus; and when he saw that the political and disciplinary lessons contained in them were worthy of no less serious attention than the incentives to pleasure and license which they supplied, he eagerly copied and compiled them in order to take them home with him. For these epics already had a certain faint reputation among the Greeks, and a few were in possession of certain portions of them, as the poems were carried here and there by chance; but Lycurgus was the very first to make them really known.

The Aegyptians think that Lycurgus visited them also, and so ardently admired their separation of the military from the other classes of society that he

μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, καὶ χωρίσαντα τοὺς βαναύσους καὶ χειροτέχνας ἀστεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ καθαρὸν ἀποδείξαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτίοις ἔνιοι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν 42
6 συγγραφέων μαρτυροῦσιν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Λυκούργος καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πλανηθεὶς τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς ὠμίλησεν, οὐδένα πλὴν Ἀριστοκράτη τὸν Ἱππάρχου Σπαρτιάτην εἰρηκότα γινώσκουμεν.

V. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Λυκούργον ἐπόθουν ἀπόντα καὶ μετεπέμποντο πολλάκις, ὡς τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς ὄνομα καὶ τιμὴν, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν διαφέρουν τῶν πολλῶν ἔχοντας, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ φύσιν ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἀνθρώπων ἀγωγὸν οὖσαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἦν ἀβούλητος ἡ παρουσία τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἤλπιζον ἐκείνου συμπαρόντος ἡττον ὑβρίζουσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς.
2 ἐπανελθὼν οὖν πρὸς οὕτω διακειμένους εὐθύς ἐπεχειρεῖ τὰ παρόντα κινεῖν καὶ μεθιστάναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὡς τῶν κατὰ μέρος νόμων οὐδὲν ἔργον οὐδὲ ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ τις ὥσπερ σώματι πονηρῷ καὶ γέμοντι παντοδαπῶν νοσημάτων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐκτῆξας καὶ μεταβαλὼν κρᾶσιν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν ἐτέρας ἄρξεται καὶνῆς διαίτης.
3 διανοηθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ χρησάμενος ἐπανῆλθε τὸν διαβόητον ἐκείνον χρησμὸν κομίζων, ᾧ θεοφιλῇ μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ Πυθία προσεῖπε καὶ θεὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπον, εὐνομίας δὲ χρῆζοντι

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transferred it to Sparta, and by removing mechanics and artisans from participation in the government, made his civil polity really refined and pure. At any rate, this assertion of the Aegyptians is confirmed by some Greek historians. But that Lycurgus visited Libya and Iberia also, and that he wandered over India and had conferences with the Gymnosophists, no one has stated, so far as I know, except Aristocrates the son of Hipparchus, the Spartan.

V. The Lacedaemonians missed Lycurgus sorely, and sent for him many times. They felt that their kings were such in name and station merely, but in everything else were nothing better than their subjects, while in him there was a nature fitted to lead, and a power to make men follow him. However, not even the kings were averse to having him at home, but hoped that in his presence their subjects would treat them with less insolence. Returning, then, to a people thus disposed, he at once undertook to change the existing order of things and revolutionize the civil polity. He was convinced that a partial change of the laws would be of no avail whatsoever, but that he must proceed as a physician would with a patient who was debilitated and full of all sorts of diseases; he must reduce and alter the existing temperament by means of drugs and purges, and introduce a new and different regimen. Full of this determination, he first made a journey to Delphi, and after sacrificing to the god and consulting the oracle, he returned with that famous response in which the Pythian priestess addressed him as "beloved of the gods, and rather god than man," and said that the god had granted

διδόναι καὶ καταινεῖν ἔφη τὸν θεὸν ἢ πολὺ κρατίστη τῶν ἄλλων ἔσται πολιτειῶν.

- 4 Ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ τούτοις προσήγετο¹ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ συνεφάπτεσθαι παρεκάλει, κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτον, εἶτα οὕτως κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπτόμενος πλειόνων καὶ συνιστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὥς δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, τριάκοντα τοὺς πρώτους ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἔωθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν ἐκπλήξεως ἕνεκα καὶ φόβου πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας. ὧν εἴκοσι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Ἑρμιππος ἀνέγραψε· τὸν δὲ μάλιστα τῶν Λυκούργου ἔργων κοινωνήσαντα πάντων καὶ συμπραγματευσάμενον τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους Ἀρθμιᾶ-
- 5 δαν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Χαρίλαος φοβηθεὶς ὥς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅλης τῆς πράξεως συνισταμένης, κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν Χαλκίοικον· εἶτα πεισθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ὄρκους ἀνέστη καὶ μετείχε τῶν πραττομένων, φύσει πρᾶος ὢν· ὥς που καὶ λέγεται συμβασιλεύοντα τὸν Ἀρχέλαον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκωμιάζοντας τὸν νεανίσκον εἰπεῖν· “Πῶς δ' ἂν εἴη Χαρίλαος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ὃς οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπός ἐστι;”

- 6 Πλειόνων δὲ καινοτομουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου πρῶτον ἦν καὶ μέγιστον ἡ κατάστασις τῶν γερόντων, ἣν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχῇ φλεγμαινούσῃ μιχθεῖσαν καὶ γενομένην ἰσόψηφον εἰς τὰ μέγιστα σωτηρίαν ἅμα καὶ

¹ προσήγετο Cobet : προσήγε.

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his prayer for good laws, and promised him a constitution which should be the best in the world.

Thus encouraged, he tried to bring the chief men of Sparta over to his side, and exhorted them to put their hands to the work with him, explaining his designs secretly to his friends at first, then little by little engaging more and uniting them to attempt the task. And when the time for action came, he ordered thirty of the chief men to go armed into the market-place at break of day, to strike consternation and terror into those of the opposite party. The names of twenty of the most eminent among them have been recorded by Hermippus; but the man who had the largest share in all the undertakings of Lycurgus and co-operated with him in the enactment of his laws, bore the name of Arthmiadas. When the tumult began, King Charilaüs, fearing that the whole affair was a conspiracy against himself, fled for refuge to the Brazen House;¹ but he was soon convinced of his error, and having exacted oaths for his safety from the agitators, left his place of refuge, and even joined them in their enterprise, being of a gentle and yielding disposition, so much so, indeed, that Archelaüs, his royal colleague, is said to have remarked to those who were extolling the young king, "How can Charilaüs be a good man, when he has no severity even for the bad?"

Among the many innovations which Lycurgus made, the first and most important was his institution of a senate, or Council of Elders, which, as Plato says,² by being blended with the "feverish" government of the kings, and by having an equal vote with them in matters of the highest importance,

¹ A temple of Athena.

² *Laws*, p. 691 c.

σωφροσύνην παρασχεῖν. αἰωρουμένη γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία καὶ ἀποκλίνουσα νῦν μὲν ὡς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τυραννίδα, νῦν δὲ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ 7 δημοκρατίαν, οἶον ἔρμα τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν ἐν μέσῳ θεμένη καὶ ἰσορροπήσασα τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην τάξιν ἔσχε καὶ κατάστασιν, αἰὲ τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι γερόντων τοῖς μὲν βασιλεῦσι προστιθεμένων ὅσον ἀντιβῆναι πρὸς δημοκρατίαν, αὐθις δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τυραννίδα τὸν δῆμον ἀναρρωνύντων. τοσοῦτους δὲ φησι κατασταθῆναι τοὺς γέροντας Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι 8 τριάκοντα τῶν πρώτων μετὰ Λυκούργου γενομένων δύο τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐγκατέλιπον ἀποδειλιάσαντες. ὁ δὲ Σφαῖρος ἐξ ἀρχῆς φησι τοσοῦτους γενέσθαι τοὺς τῆς γνώμης μετασχόντας. εἴη δ' ἂν τι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δι' ἑβδομάδος τετράδι πολλαπλασιασθείσης ἀποτελούμενον, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν ἴσος ὢν μετὰ τὴν ἐξάδα τέλειός ἐστιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τοσοῦτους ἀποδεῖξαι τοὺς γέροντας ὅπως οἱ πάντες εἴεν τριάκοντα, τοῖς ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι τοῖν δυοῖν βασιλέοιν 43 προστιθεμένοι.

VI. Οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λυκούργος ὥστε μαντείαν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομίσαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἣν ῥήτραν καλοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· “Διὸς Συλλανίου¹ καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Συλλανίας¹ ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ

¹ Συλλανίου, Συλλανίας Bekker adopts the corrections of Bryan to Ἑλλανίου and Ἑλλανίας.

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brought safety and due moderation into counsels of state. For before this the civil polity was veering and unsteady, inclining at one time to follow the kings towards tyranny, and at another to follow the multitude towards democracy; but now, by making the power of the senate a sort of ballast for the ship of state and putting her on a steady keel, it achieved the safest and the most orderly arrangement, since the twenty-eight senators always took the side of the kings when it was a question of curbing democracy, and, on the other hand, always strengthened the people to withstand the encroachments of tyranny. The number of the senators was fixed at twenty-eight because, according to Aristotle, two of the thirty original associates of Lycurgus abandoned the enterprise from lack of courage. But Sphaerus says that this was originally the number of those who shared the confidence of Lycurgus. Possibly there is some virtue in this number being made up of seven multiplied by four, apart from the fact that, being equal to the sum of its own factors, it is the next perfect number after six. But in my own opinion, Lycurgus made the senators of just that number in order that the total might be thirty when the two kings were added to the eight and twenty.

VI. So eager was Lycurgus for the establishment of this form of government, that he obtained an oracle from Delphi about it, which they call a "rhetra." And this is the way it runs: "When thou hast built a temple to Zeus Syllanius and Athena Syllania, divided the people into 'phylai' and into 'obai,' and established a senate of thirty members, including the 'archagetai,' then from time to

- Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι· δάμῳ δὲ τὰν κυρίαν ἤμεν καὶ
 2 κράτος.” ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν φυλὰς φυλάξαι καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαι διελεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ κατανεῖμαι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς μερίδας, ὧν τὰς μὲν φυλὰς, τὰς δὲ ὠβὰς προσηγόρευκεν. ἀρχαγέται δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς λέγονται, τὸ δὲ ἀπελλάζειν ἐκκλησιάζειν· ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὸν Πύθιον ἀνήψε. τὴν δὲ Βαβύκαν Χείμαρρος,¹ καὶ τὸν Κνακιῶνα νῦν Οἰνοῦντα προσαγορεύουσιν· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὸν μὲν Κνακιῶνα ποταμόν, τὴν δὲ
 3 Βαβύκαν γέφυραν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τούτων τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἤγον, οὔτε παστάδων οὐσῶν οὔτε ἄλλης τινὸς κατασκευῆς. οὐθὲν γὰρ ᾤετο ταῦτα πρὸς εὐβουλίαν εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ βλάπτειν, φλυαρώδεις ἀπεργαζόμενα καὶ χαύνους φρονήματι κενῶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν συμπορευομένων, ὅταν εἰς ἀγάλματα καὶ γραφὰς ἢ προσκῆνια θεάτρων ἢ στέγας βουλευτηρίων ἡσκημένους περιττῶς ἐκκλησιάζοντες ἀποβλέπωσι. τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους ἀθροισθέντος εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ἐφέιτο, τὴν δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων προτεθεῖσαν
 4 ἐπικρῖναι κύριος ἦν ὁ δῆμος. ὕστερον μέντοι τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέσει καὶ προσθέσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρεφόντων καὶ παραβιαζομένων, Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ βασιλεῖς τάδε τῇ ῥήτρᾳ παρενέγραψαν· “Αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατήρας ἤμεν,” τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ μὴ κυροῦν, ἀλλ’ ὅλως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ

¹ Χείμαρρος this, or some other later name, is thought to have fallen from the text by Sintenis², after E. Curtius, *Peloponnesus*, ii. p. 315; Coraës and Bekker have τὴν δὲ Βαβύκαν καὶ τὸν Κνακιῶνα, with the MSS.

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time 'appellazein' between Babyca¹ and Cnacion,¹ and there introduce and rescind measures; but the people must have the deciding voice and the power." In these clauses, the "phylai" and the "obai" refer to divisions and distributions of the people into *clans* and *phratries*, or *brotherhoods*; by "archagetai" the *kings* are designated, and "apellazein" means *to assemble* the people, with a reference to *Apollo*, the Pythian god, who was the source and author of the polity. The Babyca is now called Cheimarrus, and the Cnacion Oenus; but Aristotle says that Cnacion is a river, and Babyca a bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls nor any other kind of building for the purpose. For by such things Lycurgus thought good counsel was not promoted, but rather discouraged, since the serious purposes of an assembly were rendered foolish and futile by vain thoughts, as they gazed upon statues and paintings, or scenic embellishments, or extravagantly decorated roofs of council halls. When the multitude was thus assembled, no one of them was permitted to make a motion, but the motion laid before them by the senators and kings could be accepted or rejected by the people. Afterwards, however, when the people by additions and subtractions perverted and distorted the sense of motions laid before them, Kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted this clause into the rhetra: "But if the people should adopt a distorted motion, the senators and kings shall have power of adjournment"; that is, should not ratify the vote, but dismiss outright and dissolve the session, on the

¹ Probably names of small tributaries of the river Eurotas.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον, ὥς ἐκτρέποντα καὶ μεταποι-
 5 οὔντα τὴν γνώμην παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔπεισαν
 δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ὥς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προσ-
 τάσσοντος, ὥς που Τυρταῖος ἐπιμέμνηται διὰ
 τούτων·

Φοίβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν
 μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα·
 ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας,
 οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτας ἱμερόεσσα πόλις,
 πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας
 ἄνδρας,
 εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους.

VII. Οὕτω τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦ Λυκούργου μί-
 ξαντος, ὅμως ἄκρατον ἔτι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ
 ἰσχυρὰν οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ὀρώντες σπαργῶσαν καὶ
 θυμουμένην, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, οἷον ψάλιον
 ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἔτεσί
 που μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Λυκούρ-
 γον πρῶτων τῶν περὶ Ἑλατον ἐφόρων καταστα-
 2 θέντων ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος· ὃν καὶ
 φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ὀνειδιζόμενον ὥς
 ἐλάττω παραδώσοντα τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ
 παρέλαβε, “Μείζω μὲν οὖν,” εἰπεῖν, “ὅσῳ χρονιω-
 τέραν.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὸ ἄγαν ἀποβαλοῦσα μετὰ
 τοῦ φθόνου διέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον, ὥστε μὴ παθεῖν

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ground that it was perverting and changing the motion contrary to the best interests of the state. And they were actually able to persuade the city that the god authorized this addition to the rhetra, as Tyrtaeus reminds us in these verses :—

“ Phoebus Apollo’s the mandate was which they
brought from Pytho,
Voicing the will of the god, nor were his words
unfulfilled :
Sway in the council and honours divine belong to
the princes
Under whose care has been set Sparta’s city of
charm ;
Second to them are the elders, and next come the
men of the people
Duly confirming by vote unperverted decrees.”

VII. Although Lycurgus thus tempered his civil polity, nevertheless the oligarchical element in it was still unmixed and dominant, and his successors, seeing it “ swelling and foaming,” as Plato says,¹ “ imposed as it were a curb upon it, namely, the power of the ephors.” It was about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus that the first ephors, Elatus and his colleagues, were appointed, in the reign of Theopompus. This king, they say, on being reviled by his wife because the royal power, when he handed it over to his sons, would be less than when he received it, said : “ Nay, but greater, in that it will last longer.” And in fact, by renouncing excessive claims and freeing itself from jealous hate, royalty at Sparta escaped its perils, so that the Spartan kings did not experience the fate which the

¹ *Laws*, p. 692 a.

ἃ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλεῖς ἔδρασαν, μηδὲν ἐνδοῦναι μηδὲ χαλάσαι τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐβελήσαντας. δ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Λυκούργου σοφίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποίησε φανεράν εἰς τὰς Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀργείων, συγγενῶν καὶ γειτόνων, δῆμων καὶ βασιλέων στά- 3 σεις καὶ κακοπολιτείας ἀφορῶσιν, οἱ τῶν ἴσων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τετυχηκότες, ἐν δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ πλεον ἔχειν ἐκείνων δόξαντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδαιμόνησαν, ἀλλ' ὕβρει μὲν τῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ εὐπειθείᾳ δὲ τῶν ὄχλων, τὰ καθεστῶτα συνταρά- 4 ξαντες ἔδειξαν ὅτι θεῖον ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐτύχημα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ὁ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀρμοσάμενος καὶ κεράσας παρ' αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

VIII. Δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Λυκούργου πολιτευμάτων καὶ νεανικώτατον ὁ τῆς γῆς ἀναδασμός ἐστι. δεινῆς γὰρ οὔσης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ πολλῶν ἀκτη- μόνων καὶ ἀπόρων ἐπιφερομένων τῇ πόλει, τοῦ δὲ πλούτου παντάπασιν εἰς ὀλίγους συνερρυγκότος, ὕβριν καὶ φθόνον καὶ κακουργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔτι πρεσβύτερα καὶ μείζω νοσήματα 2 πολιτείας, πλούτον καὶ πενίαν, ἐξελαύνων, συνέ- πεισε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς μέσον θέντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναδάσασθαι, καὶ ζῆν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἅπαν- τας ὁμαλεῖς καὶ ἰσοκλήρους τοῖς βίοις γενομένους, τὸ δὲ πρωτεῖον ἀρετῇ μετιόντας, ὡς ἄλλης ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ οὔσης διαφορᾶς οὐδὲ ἀνισότητος, 226

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Messenians and Argives inflicted upon their kings, who were unwilling to yield at all or remit their power in favour of the people. And this brings into the clearest light the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus, when we contrast the factions and misgovernment of the peoples and kings of Messenia and Argos, who were kinsmen and neighbours of the Spartans. They were on an equality with the Spartans in the beginning, and in the allotment of territory were thought to be even better off than they, and yet their prosperity did not last long, but what with the insolent temper of their kings and the unreasonableness of their peoples, their established institutions were confounded, and they made it clear that it was in very truth a divine blessing which the Spartans had enjoyed in the man who framed and tempered their civil polity for them. These events, however, were of later date.

VIII. A second, and a very bold political measure of Lycurgus, in his redistribution of the land. For there was a dreadful inequality in this regard, the city was heavily burdened with indigent and helpless people, and wealth was wholly concentrated in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to banish insolence and envy and crime and luxury, and those yet more deep-seated and afflictive diseases of the state, poverty and wealth, he persuaded his fellow-citizens to make one parcel of all their territory and divide it up anew, and to live with one another on a basis of entire uniformity and equality in the means of subsistence, seeking pre-eminence through virtue alone, assured that there was no other difference or inequality between man

πλήν ὅσῃν αἰσχυρῶν ψόγος ὀρίζει καὶ καλῶν ἔπαινος.

- 3 Ἐπάγων δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον ἔνειμε τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τοῖς περιοίκοις Λακωνικὴν τρισμυρίους κλήρους, τὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὴν Σπάρτην συντελοῦσαν ἑνακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο κληροὶ Σπαρτιατῶν· ἔνιοι δὲ φασι τὸν μὲν Λυκούργον ἑξακισχιλίους νεῖμαι, τρισχιλίους δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα προσθεῖναι Πολύδωρον· οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν ἑνακισχιλίων τοῦτον, τοὺς δὲ
4 ἡμίσεις Λυκούργον. ὁ δὲ κληρὸς ἦν ἐκάστου τοσοῦτος ὥστε ἀποφορὰν φέρειν ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα κριθῶν μεδίμνους, γυναικὶ δὲ δώδεκα, καὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν καρπῶν ἀναλόγως τὸ πλήθος. ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ᾤετο τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς, τῆς τροφῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ὑγίαν ἱκανῆς, ἄλλου δὲ μηδενὸς δεησομένοις. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν ὕστερόν ποτε χρόνῳ τὴν χώραν διερχόμενον ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἄρτι τεθερισμένην, ὁρῶντα τοὺς σωροὺς παραλλήλους καὶ ὁμαλεῖς, μειδιᾶσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς ἡ Λακωνικὴ φαίνεται πᾶσα πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν εἶναι νεωστὶ νενεμημένων.

IX. Ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα διαιρεῖν, ὅπως παντάπασιν ἐξέλοι τὸ ἄνισον καὶ ἀνώμαλον, ἐπεὶ χαλεπῶς ἑώρα προσδεχομένους τὴν ἀντικρυς ἀφαίρεσιν, ἑτέρα περιήλθεν ὁδῷ καὶ κατεπολιτεύσατο τὴν ἐν τούτοις πλεονεξίαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκυρώσας πᾶν νόμισμα χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ σιδηρῷ προσέταξε· καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἀπὸ πολλοῦ σταθμοῦ

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and man than that which was established by blame for base actions and praise for good ones.

Suiting the deed to the word, he distributed the rest of the Laconian land among the "perioeci," or free provincials, in thirty thousand lots, and that which belonged to the city of Sparta, in nine thousand lots, to as many genuine Spartans. But some say that Lycurgus distributed only six thousand lots among the Spartans, and that three thousand were afterwards added by Polydorus; others still, that Polydorus added half of the nine thousand to the half distributed by Lycurgus. The lot of each was large enough to produce annually seventy bushels of barley for a man and twelve for his wife, with a proportionate amount of wine and oil. Lycurgus thought that a lot of this size would be sufficient for them, since they needed sustenance enough to promote vigour and health of body, and nothing else. And it is said that on returning from a journey some time afterwards, as he traversed the land just after the harvest, and saw the heaps of grain standing parallel and equal to one another, he smiled, and said to them that were by: "All Laconia looks like a family estate newly divided among many brothers."

IX. Next, he undertook to divide up their movable property also, in order that every vestige of unevenness and inequality might be removed; and when he saw that they could not bear to have it taken from them directly, he took another course, and overcame their avarice by political devices. In the first place, he withdrew all gold and silver money from currency, and ordained the use of iron money only. Then to a great weight and mass of this he gave a trifling.

- καὶ ὄγκου δύναμιν ὀλίγην ἔδωκεν, ὥστε δέκα
 μνῶν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθήκης τε μεγάλης ἐν οἰκίᾳ
 2 δεῖσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἄγοντος. τούτου δὲ κυρω-
 θέντος ἐξέπεσεν ἀδικημάτων γένη πολλὰ τῆς
 Λακεδαιμόνος. τίς γὰρ ἢ κλέπτειν ἔμελλεν ἢ
 δωροδοκεῖν ἢ ἀποστερεῖν ἢ ὑρπάζειν ὃ μήτε
 κατακρύψαι δυνατὸν ἦν μήτε κεκτηῖσθαι ζηλωτόν,
 ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατακόψαι λυσιτελές· ὅξει γάρ, ὡς
 λέγεται, διαπύρου σιδήρου τὸ στόμωμα κατα-
 σβέσας ἀφείλετο τὴν εἰς τὰλλα χρεῖαν καὶ δύ-
 ναμιν, ἀδρανούς καὶ δυσέργου γενομένου.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περισσῶν
 ἐποιεῖτο τεχνῶν ξενηλασίαν. ἔμελλον δὲ πού καὶ
 μηδεὶς ἐξελαύνοντος αἱ πολλαὶ τῷ κοινῷ νομίσ-
 ματι συνεκπεσεῖσθαι, διάθεςιν τῶν ἔργων οὐκ ἐχόν-
 των. τὸ γὰρ σιδηροῦν ἀγώγιμον οὐκ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς
 ἄλλους Ἑλληνας οὐδ' εἶχε τιμὴν καταγελῶμενον,
 ὥστε οὐδὲ πρίασθαι τι τῶν ξενικῶν καὶ ῥω-
 πικῶν ὑπῆρχεν, οὐδ' εἰσέπλει φόρτος ἐμπορικὸς
 εἰς τοὺς λιμένας, οὐδὲ ἐπέβαινε τῆς Λακωνικῆς
 οὐ σοφιστῆς λόγων, οὐ μάντις ἀγυρτικός, οὐχ
 ἑταιρῶν τροφεύς, οὐ χρυσῶν τις, οὐκ ἀργυρῶν
 καλλωπισμάτων δημιουργός, ἅτε δὴ νομίσματος
- 4 οὐκ ὄντος. ἀλλὰ οὕτως ἀπερημωθεῖσα κατὰ μικρὸν
 ἢ τρυφῇ τῶν ζωπυρούντων καὶ τρεφόντων αὐτὴ δι' 45
 αὐτῆς ἐμαραίνετο· καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν ἦν τοῖς πολλὰ
 κεκτημένοις, ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐχούσης εἰς μέσον τῆς εὐ-
 πορίας, ἀλλ' ἐγκατῳκοδομημένης καὶ ἀργούσης.
 διὸ καὶ τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀναγκαῖα
 ταῦτα, κλιντήρες καὶ δίφροι καὶ τράπεζαι, βέλ-
 πιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐδημιουργεῖτο, καὶ κώθων ὁ

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value, so that ten minas' worth¹ required a large store-room in the house, and a yoke of cattle to transport it. When this money obtained currency, many sorts of iniquity went into exile from Lacedaemon. For who would steal, or receive as a bribe, or rob, or plunder that which could neither be concealed, nor possessed with satisfaction, nay, nor even cut to pieces with any profit? For vinegar was used, as we are told, to quench the red-hot iron, robbing it of its temper and making it worthless for any other purpose, when once it had become brittle and hard to work.

In the next place, he banished the unnecessary and superfluous arts. And even without such banishment most of them would have departed with the old coinage, since there was no sale for their products. For the iron money could not be carried into the rest of Greece, nor had it any value there, but was rather held in ridicule. It was not possible, therefore, to buy any foreign wares or bric-à-brac; no merchant-seamen brought freight into their harbours; no rhetoric teacher set foot on Laconian soil, no vagabond soothsayer, no keeper of harlots, no gold- or silver-smith, since there was no money there. But luxury, thus gradually deprived of that which stimulated and supported it, died away of itself, and men of large possessions had no advantage over the poor, because their wealth found no public outlet, but had to be stored up at home in idleness. In this way it came about that such common and necessary utensils as bedsteads, chairs, and tables were most excellently made among them, and the Laconian "kothon," or drinking-cup, was in very high repute

¹ About £40, or \$200.

Λακωνικὸς εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς στρατείας,
 5 ὥς φησι Κριτίας. τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαίως πινόμενα
 τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ δυσωποῦντα τὴν ὄψιν ἀπεκρύπ-
 τετο τῇ χροῇ, καὶ τοῦ θολεροῦ προσκόπτοντος
 ἐντὸς καὶ προσισχομένον τοῖς ἄμβωσι, καθαρώ-
 τερον ἐπλησίαζε τῷ στόματι τὸ πινόμενον. αἴτιος
 δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ νομοθέτης· ἀπηλλαγμένοι γὰρ οἱ
 δημιουργοὶ τῶν ἀχρήστων ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις
 ἐπεδείκνυντο τὴν καλλιτεχνίαν.

Χ. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ
 τὸν ζῆλον ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου διανοηθεῖς, τὸ
 τρίτον πολίτευμα καὶ κάλλιστον ἐπῆγε, τὴν τῶν
 συσσιτίων κατασκευήν, ὥστε δειπνεῖν μετ' ἀλλή-
 λων συνιόντας ἐπὶ κοινοῖς καὶ τεταγμένοις ὄψοις
 καὶ σιτίοις, οἳκοι δὲ μὴ διαιτᾶσθαι κατακλινέντας
 εἰς στρωμνὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας, χερσὶ
 δημιουργῶν καὶ μαγεύρων ὑπὸ σκότος, ὥσπερ
 2 ἀδηφάγα ζῶα, πιαινομένους, καὶ διαφθείροντας
 ἅμα τοῖς ἡθεσι τὰ σώματα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν
 ἀνειμένα καὶ πλησμονήν, μακρῶν μὲν ὕπνων, θερ-
 μῶν δὲ λουτρῶν, πολλῆς δὲ ἡσυχίας καὶ τρόπον
 τινὰ νοσηλείας καθημερινῆς δεομένην. μέγα μὲν οὖν
 καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, μείζον δὲ τὸ τὸν πλούτον ἄζηλον,
 ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ ἄπλουτον ἀπεργά-
 σασθαι τῇ κοινότητι τῶν δείπνων καὶ τῇ περὶ
 3 τὴν δίαιταν εὐτελείᾳ. χρήσις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ
 ἀπόλαυσις οὐδὲ ὄψις ὅλως ἢ ἐπίδειξις τῆς πολλῆς
 παρασκευῆς, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δείπνον τῷ πένητι τοῦ
 πλουσίου βαδίζοντος· ὥστε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλού-
 μενον ἐν μόνῃ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον πόλεων τῇ
 Σπάρτῃ βλέπεσθαι, τυφλὸν ὄντα τὸν πλούτον καὶ

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for usefulness among soldiers in active service, as Critias tells us. For its colour concealed the disagreeable appearance of the water which they were often compelled to drink, and its curving lips caught the muddy sediment and held it inside, so that only the purer part reached the mouth of the drinker. For all this they had to thank their lawgiver; since their artisans were now freed from useless tasks, and displayed the beauty of their workmanship in objects of constant and necessary use.

X. With a view to attack luxury still more and remove the thirst for wealth, he introduced his third and most exquisite political device, namely, the institution of common messes, so that they might eat with one another in companies, of common and specified foods, and not take their meals at home, reclining on costly couches at costly tables, delivering themselves into the hands of servants and cooks to be fattened in the dark, like voracious animals, and ruining not only their characters but also their bodies, by surrendering them to every desire and all sorts of surfeit, which call for long sleeps, hot baths, abundant rest, and, as it were, daily nursing and tending. This was surely a great achievement, but it was a still greater one to make wealth "an object of no desire," as Theophrastus says, and even "unwealth,"¹ by this community of meals and simplicity of diet. For the rich man could neither use nor enjoy nor even see or display his abundant means, when he went to the same meal as the poor man; so that it was in Sparta alone, of all the cities under the sun, that men could have that far-famed sight, a Plutus blind, and lying as lifeless

¹ Cf. *Morals*, p. 527 b.

κείμενον ὥσπερ γραφὴν ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἴκοι προδειπνήσαντας ἐξῆν βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια πεπληρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελῶς οἱ λοιποὶ παραφυλάττοντες τὸν μὴ πίνοντα μηδὲ ἐσθίοντα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκάκιζον ὡς ἀκρατὴ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπομαλακίζόμενον δίαιταν.

- XI. Διὸ καὶ μάλιστα φασὶ τῷ Λυκούργῳ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα χαλεποὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς εὐπόρους, καὶ συστάντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀθρόους καταβοᾶν καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν· τέλος δὲ βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀγορᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφθασεν εἰς ἱερὸν καταφυγών· εἰς δὲ τις νεανίσκος, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἀφυῆς, ὅξυς δὲ καὶ θυμοειδής, Ἀλκανδρος, ἐπικείμενος καὶ διώκων ἐπιστραφέντος αὐτοῦ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ πα-
 2 τάξας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξέκοψεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυκούργος οὐδὲν ἐνδοὺς πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ στὰς ἐναντίος ἔδειξε τοῖς πολίταις τὸ πρόσωπον ἡμαγμένον καὶ διεφθαρμένην τὴν ὄψιν· αἰδῶς δὲ πολλή καὶ κατήφεια τοὺς ἰδόντας ἔσχεν, ὥστε παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀλκανδρον αὐτῷ καὶ προπέμψαι μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας συναγανακτοῦντας. ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος ἐκείνους μὲν ἐπαινέσας ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ Ἀλκανδρον εἰσαγαγὼν οἴκαδε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐποίησεν οὔτ' εἶπεν, ἀπαλλάξας δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ὑπηρέτας καὶ θεραπευτῆρας ἐκείνον ἐκέλευσεν ὑπηρετεῖν.
 3 ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὦν ἀγεννὴς ἐποίει τὸ προσταττόμενον σιωπῇ, καὶ παραμένων ἅμα τῷ Λυκούργῳ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος ἐν τῷ κατανοεῖν τὴν πραότητα καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν αὐστηρὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους

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and motionless as a picture. For the rich could not even dine beforehand at home and then go to the common mess with full stomachs, but the rest kept careful watch of him who did not eat and drink with them, and reviled him as a weakling, and one too effeminate for the common diet.

XI. It was due, therefore, to this last political device above all, that the wealthy citizens were incensed against Lycurgus, and banding together against him, denounced him publicly with angry shouts and cries ; finally many pelted him with stones, so that he ran from the market-place. He succeeded in reaching sanctuary before the rest laid hands on him ; but one young man, Alcander, otherwise no mean nature, but hasty and passionate, pressed hard upon him, and as he turned about, smote him with his staff and put out one of his eyes. Lycurgus, however, was far from yielding in consequence of this calamity, but confronted his countrymen, and showed them his face besmeared with blood and his eye destroyed. Whereupon they were so filled with shame and sorrow at the sight, that they placed Alcander in his hands, and conducted him to his house with sympathetic indignation. Lycurgus commended them for their conduct, and dismissed them, but took Alcander into the house with him, where he did the youth no harm by word or deed, but after sending away his customary servants and attendants, ordered him to minister to his wants. The youth, who was of a noble disposition, did as he was commanded, without any words, and abiding thus with Lycurgus, and sharing his daily life, he came to know the gentleness of the man, the calmness of his spirit, the rigid simplicity of his habits, and his

ἄκαμπτον, αὐτός τε δεινῶς διετέθη περὶ τὸν
 ἄνδρα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ἔλεγεν
 ὡς οὐ σκληρὸς οὐδ' αὐθάδης ὁ Λυκούργος, ἀλλὰ 46
 4 μόνος ἡμέρος καὶ πρῶός ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. οὕτω
 μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεκόλαστο καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπεσχέκει
 δίκην, ἐκ ποιηροῦ νέου καὶ αὐθάδους ἐμμελέστα-
 τος ἄνθρωπος καὶ σωφρονικώτατος γενόμενος. τοῦ
 δὲ πάθους ὑπόμνημα Λυκούργος ἰδρύσατο τῆς
 Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν, ἣν Ὀπτιλίτιν προσηγόρευσε· τοὺς
 γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτίλους οἱ τῇδε Δωριεῖς καλοῦ-
 σιν. ἔνιοι μέντοι τὸν Λυκούργον, ὃν καὶ Διο-
 σκορίδης ἐστὶν ὁ συντεταγμένος τὴν Λακωνικὴν
 πολιτείαν, πληγῆναι μὲν φασιν, οὐ τυφλωθῆναι
 δὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ θεῷ τῆς
 ἀκέσεως χαριστήριον ἰδρύσασθαι. τὸ μέντοι
 φέρειν βακτηρίαν ἐκκλησιάζοντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται
 μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνην ἀπέμαθον.

XII. Τὰ δὲ συσσίτια Κρήτες μὲν ἀνδρεῖα,
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ φιδίτια προσαγορεύουσιν, εἴτε
 ὡς φιλίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ὑπαρχόντων, ἀντὶ
 τοῦ λ τὸ δ λαμβάνοντες, εἴτε ὡς πρὸς εὐτέλειαν
 καὶ φειδῶ συνεθιζόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ
 τὸν πρῶτον ἔξωθεν ἐπικεῖσθαι φθόγγον, ὥσπερ
 ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐδιτίων παρὰ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὴν
 2 ἐδωδὴν λεγομένων. συνήρχοντο δὲ ἀνὰ πεντεκαί-
 δεκα καὶ βραχεὶ τούτων ἐλάττους ἢ πλείους.
 ἔφερε δὲ ἕκαστος κατὰ μῆνα τῶν συσσίτων ἀλφί-
 των μέδιμνον, οἴνου χόας ὀκτώ, τυροῦ πέντε μνᾶς,
 σύκων ἡμιμναῖα πέντε, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς ὄψω-
 νίαν μικρόν τι κομιδῇ νομίσματος. ἄλλως δὲ
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unwearied industry. He thus became a devoted follower of Lycurgus, and used to tell his intimates and friends that the man was not harsh nor self-willed, as he had supposed, but the mildest and gentlest of them all. Such, then, was the chastisement of this young man, and such the penalty laid upon him, namely, to become, instead of a wild and impetuous youth, a most decorous and discreet man. Lycurgus, moreover, in memory of his misfortune, built a temple to Athena Optilitis, so called from "optilus," which is the local Doric word for *eye*. Some writers, however, of whom one is Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise on the Spartan civil polity, say that although Lyeurgus was struck in the eye, his eye was not blinded, but he built the temple to the goddess as a thank-offering for its healing. Be that as it may, the Spartan practice of carrying staves into their assemblies was abandoned after this unfortunate accident.

XII. As for the public messes, the Cretans call them "andreia," but the Lacedaemonians, "phiditia," either because they are conducive to *friendship* and friendliness, "phiditia" being equivalent to "philitia"; or because they accustom men to simplicity and *thrift*, for which their word is "pheido." But it is quite possible, as some say, that the first letter of the word "phiditia" has been added to it, making "phiditia" out of "editia," which refers merely to meals and *eating*. They met in companies of fifteen, a few more or less, and each one of the mess-mates contributed monthly a bushel of barley-meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two and a half pounds of figs, and in addition to this, a very small sum of money for such relishes as flesh and fish. Besides this, whenever any one made a

- καὶ θύσας τις ἀπαρχὴν καὶ θηρεύσας μέρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον. ἐξῆν γὰρ οἴκοι δειπνεῖν ὁπότε θύσας τις ἢ κυνηγῶν ὀψίσειε, τοὺς
- 3 δὲ ἄλλους ἔδει παρῆναι. καὶ μέχρι γε πολλοῦ τὰς συσσιτήσεις ἀκριβῶς διεφύλαττον. Ἀγιδος γοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας καταπεπολεμηκῶς Ἀθηναίους, βουλομένον παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν καὶ μεταπεμπομένου τὰς μερίδας, οὐκ ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι, τοῦ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' ὀργῆς μὴ θύσαντος ἦν ἔδει θυσίαν, ἐξημίωσαν αὐτόν.
- 4 Εἰς δὲ τὰ συσσίτια καὶ παῖδες ἐφοίτων, ὥσπερ εἰς διδασκαλεία σωφροσύνης ἀγόμενοι, καὶ λόγων ἠκροῶντο πολιτικῶν καὶ παιδευτὰς ἐλευθερίας ἐώρων, αὐτοὶ τε παίζειν εἰθίζοντο καὶ σκώπτειν ἄνευ βωμολοχίας καὶ σκωπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο Λακωνικὸν εἶναι, σκώμματος ἀνέχεσθαι· μὴ φέροντα δὲ ἐξῆν
- 5 παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁ σκώπτων ἐπέπαντο. τῶν δ' εἰσιόντων ἐκάστῳ δείξας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τὰς θύρας, “Διὰ τούτων,” φησὶν, “ἔξω λόγος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται.” δοκιμάζεσθαι δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ συσσιτίου μετασχεῖν οὕτω φασί. λαβὼν τῶν συσσιτῶν ἕκαστος ἀπομαγδαλίαν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, τοῦ διακόνου φέροντος ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἔβαλλε σιωπῇ καθάπερ ψῆφον, ὁ μὲν δοκιμάζων ἀπλῶς, ὁ δ' ἐκκρίνων σφόδρα τῇ χειρὶ πῖεσας.
- 6 ἡ γὰρ πεπεισμένη τὴν τῆς τετρημένης ἔχει δύναμιν. κὰν μίαν εὖρωσι τοιαύτην, οὐ προσδέ-

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sacrifice of first fruits, or brought home game from the hunt, he sent a portion to his mess. For whenever any one was belated by a sacrifice or the chase, he was allowed to sup at home, but the rest had to be at the mess. For a long time this custom of eating at common mess-tables was rigidly observed. For instance, when King Agis, on returning from an expedition in which he had been victorious over the Athenians, wished to sup at home with his wife, and sent for his rations, the polemarchs¹ refused to send them to him; and when on the following day his anger led him to omit the customary sacrifice, they laid a fine upon him.

Boys also used to come to these public messes, as if they were attending schools of sobriety; there they would listen to political discussions and see instructive models of liberal breeding. There they themselves also became accustomed to sport and jest without scurrility, and to endure jesting without displeasure. Indeed, it seems to have been especially characteristic of a Spartan to endure jesting; but if any one could not bear up under it, he had only to ask it, and the jester ceased. As each one came in, the eldest of the company pointed to the door and said to him: "Through that door no word goes forth outside." And they say that a candidate for membership in one of these messes underwent the following ordeal. Each of the mess-mates took in his hand a bit of soft bread, and when a servant came along with a bowl upon his head, then they cast it into this without a word, like a ballot, leaving it just as it was if he approved of the candidate, but if he disapproved, squeezing it tight in his hand first. For the flattened piece

¹ At Sparta, military commanders under the kings.

χονται τὸν ἐπεισιόντα, βουλόμενοι πάντας ἡδο-
 μένους ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι. τὸν δὲ οὕτως ἀπο-
 δοκιμασθέντα κεκαδδίσθαι λέγουσι· κἀδδixος γὰρ
 καλεῖται τὸ ἀγγεῖον εἰς ὃ τὰς ἀπομαγαλίας
 ἐμβάλλουσι. τῶν δὲ ὄψων εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ μέλας ζωμός, ὥστε μηδὲ κρεαδίου
 δεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἀλλὰ παραχωρεῖν
 τοῖς νεανίσκοις, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοῦ ζωμοῦ καταχεο-
 7 μένους ἐστιᾶσθαι. λέγεται δὲ τινα τῶν Ποντικῶν
 βασιλέων ἔνεκα τοῦ ζωμοῦ καὶ πρίασθαι Λακω-
 νικὸν μάγειρον· εἶτα γευσάμενον δυσχερᾶναι· καὶ
 τὸν μάγειρον εἰπεῖν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτον δεῖ τὸν
 ζωμὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώτῃ λελουμένους ἐποψᾶσθαι.”
 πίνοντες δὲ μετρίως ἀπίασι δίχα λαμπάδος. οὐ
 γὰρ ἔξεστι πρὸς φῶς βαδίζειν, οὔτε ταύτην οὔτε
 ἄλλην ὁδόν, ὅπως ἐθίζονται σκότους καὶ νυκτὸς
 εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀδεῶς ὁδεύειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν συσσί-
 τια τοιαύτην ἔχει τάξιν.

XIII. Νόμους δὲ γεγραμμένους ὁ Λυκοῦργος 47
 οὐκ ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ μία τῶν καλουμένων ρητρῶν
 ἐστὶν αὕτη. τὰ μὲν γὰρ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα
 πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πόλεως καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἐν τοῖς
 ἡθεσιν ᾤετο καὶ ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τῶν πολιτῶν
 ἐγκατεστοιχειωμένα, μένειν ἀκίνητα καὶ βέβαια,
 ἔχοντα τὴν προαίρεσιν δεσμὸν ἰσχυρότερον τῆς
 ἀνάγκης, ἣν ἡ παιδείσις ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς νέοις, νομο-
 θέτου διάθεσιν ἀπεργαζομένη περὶ ἕκαστον αὐ-
 2 τῶν. τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ χρηματικὰ συμβόλαια καὶ

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of bread had the force of a perforated, or negative, ballot. And if one such is found in the bowl, the candidate is not admitted to the mess, because they wish all its members to be congenial. The candidate thus rejected is said to have been "caddished," for "caddichus"¹ is the name of the bowl into which they cast the pieces of bread. Of their dishes, the black broth is held in the highest esteem, so that the elderly men do not even ask for a bit of meat, but leave it for the young men, while they themselves have the broth poured out for their meals. And it is said that one of the kings of Pontus actually bought a Spartan cook for the sake of having this broth, and then, when he tasted it, disliked it; whereupon the cook said: "O King, those who relish this broth must first have bathed in the river Eurotas." After drinking moderately, they go off home without a torch; for they are not allowed to walk with a light, either on this or any other occasion, that they may accustom themselves to marching boldly and without fear in the darkness of night. Such, then, is the fashion of their common messes.

XIII. None of his laws were put into writing by Lycurgus, indeed, one of the so-called "rhetras" forbids it. For he thought that if the most important and binding principles which conduce to the prosperity and virtue of a city were implanted in the habits and training of its citizens, they would remain unchanged and secure, having a stronger bond than compulsion in the fixed purposes imparted to the young by education, which performs the office of a law-giver for every one of them. And as for minor

¹ Or "caddos," from which the verb in the Greek text is formed.

μεταπίπτοντα ταῖς χρεαίαις ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, βέλτιον ἦν μὴ καταλαμβάνειν ἐγγράφοις ἀνάγκαις μηδὲ ἀκινήτοις ἔθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν, προσθέσεις λαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀφαιρέσεις, ἃς ἂν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι δοκιμάσωσι. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ πᾶν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἔργον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν ἀνήψε.

- 3 Μία μὲν οὖν τῶν ῥητρῶν ἦν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις. ἐτέρα δὲ πάλιν κατὰ τῆς πολυτελείας, ὅπως οἰκία πᾶσα τὴν μὲν ὀροφὴν ἀπὸ πελέκεως εἰργασμένην ἔχῃ, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἀπὸ πρίονος μόνου καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαλείων. ὅπερ γὰρ ὕστερον Ἑπαμεινώνδαν εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τραπέζης, ὡς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄριστον οὐ χωρεῖ προδοσίαν, τοῦτο πρῶτος ἐνόησε Λυκούργος, ὡς οἰκία τοιαύτη τρυφὴν
- 4 οὐ χωρεῖ καὶ πολυτέλειαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀπειρόκαλος καὶ ἀνόητος ὥστε εἰς οἰκίαν ἀφελῆ καὶ δημοτικὴν εἰσφέρειν κλῖνας ἀργυρόποδας καὶ στρωμνὰς ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσᾶς κύλικας καὶ τὴν τούτοις ἐπομένην πολυτέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη συναρμόζεσθαι καὶ συνεξομοιοῦν τῇ μὲν οἰκίᾳ τὴν κλῖνην, τῇ δὲ κλῖνῃ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν
- 5 ἄλλην χορηγίαν καὶ κατασκευὴν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς συνηθείας φασὶ καὶ Λεωτυχίδην τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐν Κορίνθῳ δειπνοῦντα, καὶ θεασάμενον τῆς στέγης τοῦ οἴκου τὴν κατασκευὴν πολυτελὴ καὶ φατνωματικὴν, ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν ξένον εἰ τετράγωνον παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ξύλα φύεται.

Τρίτην δὲ ῥήτραν διαμνημονεύουσι τοῦ Λυκούργου, τὴν κωλύουσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους

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matters, such as business contracts, and cases where the needs vary from time to time, it was better, as he thought, not to hamper them by written constraints or fixed usages, but to suffer them, as occasion demanded, to receive such modifications as educated men should determine. Indeed, he assigned the function of law-making wholly and entirely to education.

One of his rhetras accordingly, as I have said, prohibited the use of written laws. Another was directed against extravagance, ordaining that every house should have its roof fashioned by the axe, and its doors by the saw only, and by no other tool. For, as in later times Epaminondas is reported to have said at his own table, that such a meal did not comport with treachery, so Lycurgus was the first to see clearly that such a house does not comport with luxury and extravagance. Nor is any man so vulgar and senseless as to introduce into a simple and common house silver-footed couches, purple coverlets, gold drinking-cups, and all the extravagance which goes along with these, but one must of necessity adapt and proportion his couch to his house, his coverlets to his couch, and to this the rest of his supplies and equipment. It was because he was used to this simplicity that Leotychides the Elder, as we are told, when he was dining in Corinth, and saw the roof of the house adorned with costly panellings, asked his host if trees grew square in that country.

A third rhetra of Lycurgus is mentioned, which forbids making frequent expeditions against the same

πολλάκις¹ στρατεύειν, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀμύνε-
 6 σθαι συνεθιζόμενοι πολεμικοὶ γένωνται. καὶ τοῦτό
 γε μάλιστα κατηγοροῦσιν Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ βασι-
 λέως ὕστερον, ὡς ταῖς συνεχέσι καὶ πυκναῖς εἰς
 τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβολαῖς καὶ στρατείαις τοὺς Θη-
 βαίους ἀντιπάλους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατα-
 σκευάσαντος. διὸ καὶ τετρωμένον αὐτὸν ἰδὼν
 Ἀνταλκίδας, “Καλά,” ἔφη, “τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ
 Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς
 μηδὲ εἰδότας μάχεσθαι διδάξας.” τὰ μὲν οὖν τοι-
 αῦτα νομοθετήματα ῥήτρας ὠνόμασεν, ὡς παρὰ
 τοῦ θεοῦ κομιζόμενα² καὶ χρησμούς ὄντα.

XIV. Τῆς δὲ παιδείας, ἣν μέγιστον ἡγεῖτο τοῦ
 νομοθέτου καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργον εἶναι, πόρρωθεν
 ἀρχόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπεσκόπει τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους
 καὶ τὰς γενέσεις. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν,
 ἐπιχειρήσας σωφρονίζειν τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπαύσατο
 μὴ κρατῶν τῆς πολλῆς ἀνέσεως καὶ γυναικοκρα-
 τίας διὰ τὰς πολλὰς στρατείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν
 αἷς ἡναγκάζοντο κυρίας ἀπολείπειν ἐκείνας, καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ προσήκοντος αὐτὰς ἐθερά-
 πευον καὶ δεσποίνας προσηγόρευον· ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τούτων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο.
 2 τὰ μὲν γε σώματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμοις καὶ
 πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων καὶ ἀκοντίων διεπόνη-
 σεν, ὡς ἢ τε τῶν γεννωμένων ῥίζωσις ἰσχυρὰν ἐν
 ἰσχυροῖς σώμασιν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα βλαστάνοι

¹ πολλάκις inserted before στρατεύειν to agree with *Morals*, p. 227 c; πολεμίου στρατεύειν.

² κομιζόμενα Cobet, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis³: νομιζόμενα (were believed to come).

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enemies, in order not to accustom such enemies to frequent defence of themselves, which would make them warlike. And this was the special grievance which they had against King Agesilaüs in later times, namely, that by his continual and frequent incursions and expeditions into Boeotia he rendered the Thebans a match for the Lacedaemonians. And therefore, when Antalcidas saw the king wounded, he said: "This is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to fight, when they did not wish to do it, and did not know how." Such ordinances as these were called "rhetras" by Lycurgus, implying that they came from the god and were oracles.

XIV. In the matter of education, which he regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the law-giver, he began at the very source, by carefully regulating marriages and births. For it is not true that, as Aristotle says,¹ he tried to bring the women under proper restraint, but desisted, because he could not overcome the great licence and power which the women enjoyed on account of the many expeditions in which their husbands were engaged. During these the men were indeed obliged to leave their wives in sole control at home, and for this reason paid them greater deference than was their due, and gave them the title of Mistress. But even to the women Lycurgus paid all possible attention. He made the maidens exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, casting the discus, and hurling the javelin, in order that the fruit of their wombs might have vigorous root in vigorous bodies and come to better maturity, and that they themselves

¹ *Pol.* ii. 6, 8.

- βέλτιον, αὐταί τε μετὰ ῥώμης τοὺς τόκους ὑπο-
 μένουσαι καλῶς ἅμα καὶ ῥαδίως ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς
 τὰς ὠδῖνας. ἀφελὼν δὲ θρύψιν καὶ σκιατραφίαν
 καὶ θηλύτητα πᾶσαν οὐδὲν ἤττον εἵθισε τῶν 48
 κόρων τὰς κόρας γυμνάς τε πομπεύειν καὶ πρὸς
 ἱεροῖς τισὶν ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ ἄδειν τῶν νέων παρόν-
 3 των καὶ θεωμένων. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ σκώμματα
 λέγουσαι πρὸς ἕκαστον εὐχρήστως ἐπελαμβάν-
 νοντο τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων· καὶ πάλιν εἰς τοὺς
 ἀξιόους αὐτῶν ἐγκώμια μετ' ὧδῆς πεποιημένα διεξ-
 ιοῦσαι, φιλοτιμίαν πολλὴν καὶ ζῆλον ἐνεποιοῦν
 τοῖς νεανίσκοις. ὁ γὰρ ἐγκωμιασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀνδρα-
 γαθίᾳ καὶ κλεινὸς ἐν ταῖς παρθένοις γεγωνὼς
 ἀπῆι μεγαλυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων· αἱ δὲ
 μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ σκωμμάτων δῆξεις οὐδὲν ἀμ-
 βλύτεραι τῶν μετὰ σπουδῆς νουθετημάτων ἦσαν,
 ἅτε δὴ πρὸς τὴν θεὰν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις
 καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων συμπορευο-
 μένων.
- 4 Ἡ δὲ γύμνωσις τῶν παρθένων οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν
 εἶχεν, αἰδοῦς μὲν παρούσης, ἀκрасίας δὲ ἀπούσης,
 ἀλλ' ἐθισμὸν ἀφελῇ καὶ ζῆλον εὐεξίας ἐνειργάζετο,
 καὶ φρονήματος τὸ θῆλυ παρέγευεν οὐκ ἀγεννοῦς,
 ὡς μηδὲν ἤττον αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας
 μετουσίαν οὔσαν. ὅθεν αὐταῖς καὶ λέγειν ἐπῆι
 καὶ φρονεῖν οἶα καὶ περὶ Γοργοῦς ἱστόρηται τῆς
 Λεωνίδου γυναικός. εἰπούσης γάρ τινος, ὡς ἔοικε,
 ξένης πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς “Μόνοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄρχετε
 ὑμεῖς αἱ Λάκαιναι,” “Μόνοι γάρ,” ἔφη, “τίκτομεν
 ἀνδρας.”

XV. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα παρορμητικὰ πρὸς
 γάμον· λέγω δὲ τὰς πομπὰς τῶν παρθένων καὶ

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might come with vigour to the fulness of their times, and struggle successfully and easily with the pangs of child-birth. He freed them from softness and delicacy and all effeminacy by accustoming the maidens no less than the youths to wear tunics only in processions, and at certain festivals to dance and sing when the young men were present as spectators. There they sometimes even mocked and railed good-naturedly at any youth who had misbehaved himself; and again they would sing the praises of those who had shown themselves worthy, and so inspire the young men with great ambition and ardour. For he who was thus extolled for his valour and held in honour among the maidens, went away exalted by their praises; while the sting of their playful raillery was no less sharp than that of serious admonitions, especially as the kings and senators, together with the rest of the citizens, were all present at the spectacle.

Nor was there anything disgraceful in this scant clothing of the maidens, for modesty attended them, and wantonness was banished; nay, rather, it produced in them habits of simplicity and an ardent desire for health and beauty of body. It gave also to woman-kind a taste of lofty sentiment, for they felt that they too had a place in the arena of bravery and ambition. Wherefore they were led to think and speak as Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, is said to have done. When some foreign woman, as it would seem, said to her: "You Spartan women are the only ones who rule their men," she answered: "Yes, we are the only ones that give birth to men."

XV. Moreover, there were incentives to marriage in these things,—I mean such things as the appear-

- τὰς ἀποδύσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν ὄψει τῶν νέων, ἀγομένων οὐ γεωμετρικαῖς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικάις, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀνάγκαις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀτιμίαν τινὰ προσέθηκε τοῖς ἀγάμοις. εἵργοντο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις τῆς θεάς· τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἐν κύκλῳ
- 2 γυμνοὺς περιϊέναι τὴν ἀγοράν, οἱ δὲ περιϊόντες ἦδον εἰς αὐτοὺς ῥῶδὴν τινα πεποιημένην, ὡς δίκαια πάσχοιεν, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις ἀπειθοῦσιν τιμῆς δὲ καὶ θεραπείας ἦν νέοι πρεσβυτέροις παρεῖχον, ἐστέρηντο. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πρὸς Δερκυλλίδαν ῥηθὲν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο, καίπερ εὐδόκιμον ὄντα στρατηγόν. ἐπιόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν νεωτέρων τις ἔδρας οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν, εἰπὼν, “Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τὸν ὑπεῖξοντα γεγέννηκας.”
- 3 Ἐγάμουν δὲ δι' ἀρπαγῆς, οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ ἁώρους πρὸς γάμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμαζούσας καὶ πεπείρους. τὴν δὲ ἀρπασθεῖσαν ἡ νυμφεύτρια καλουμένη παραλαβοῦσα, τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν χρῷ περιέκειρεν, ἱματίῳ δὲ ἀνδρείῳ καὶ ὑποδήμασιν ἐνσκευάσασα κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ στιβάδα μόνην ἄνευ φωτός. ὁ δὲ νυμφίος οὐ μεθύων οὐδὲ θρυπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ νήφων, ὥσπερ αἰεὶ, δεδειπνηκὼς ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις, παρεισελθὼν ἔλυνε τὴν ζώνην καὶ

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ance of the maidens without much clothing in processions and athletic contests where young men were looking on, for these were drawn on by necessity, "not geometrical, but the sort of necessity which lovers know," as Plato says.¹ Nor was this all; Lycurgus also put a kind of public stigma upon confirmed bachelors. They were excluded from the sight of the young men and maidens at their exercises, and in winter the magistrates ordered them to march round the market-place in their tunics only, and as they marched, they sang a certain song about themselves, and its burden was that they were justly punished for disobeying the laws. Besides this, they were deprived of the honour and gracious attentions which the young men habitually paid to their elders. Therefore there was no one to find fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, reputable general though he was. As he entered a company, namely, one of the younger men would not offer him his seat, but said: "Indeed, thou hast begotten no son who will one day give his seat to me."

For their marriages the women were carried off by force, not when they were small and unfit for wedlock, but when they were in full bloom and wholly ripe. After the woman was thus carried off, the bride's-maid, so called, took her in charge, cut her hair off close to the head, put a man's cloak and sandals on her, and laid her down on a pallet, on the floor, alone, in the dark. Then the bride-groom, not flown with wine nor enfeebled by excesses, but composed and sober, after supping at his public mess-table as usual, slipped stealthily into the room where the bride lay, loosed her virgin's zone, and bore her

¹ *Republic*, p. 458 d.

- 4 μετήνεγκεν ἀράμενος ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην. συνδιατρίψας δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀπῆει κοσμίως οὐπερ εἰώθει τὸ πρότερον, καθευδήσων μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νέων. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἔπραττε, τοῖς μὲν ἡλικιώταις συνδιημερεύων καὶ συναναπαυόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν νύμφην κρύφα μετ' εὐλαβείας φοιτῶν, αἰσχυρόμενος καὶ δεδοικῶς μή τις αἰσθοίτο τῶν ἔνδον, ἅμα καὶ τῆς νύμφης ἐπιτεχνωμένης καὶ συνευπορούσης ὅπως ἂν ἐν καιρῷ καὶ λανθάνοντες
- 5 ἀλλήλοις συμπορεύοιντο. καὶ τοῦτο ἔπραττον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὥστε καὶ παῖδας γενέσθαι ἐνίοις πρὶν ἐς ἡμέραν θεάσασθαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας. ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη σύνοδος οὐ μόνον ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης ἄσκησις ἦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε σώμασι γονίμους καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν αἰεὶ καινοὺς καὶ προσφάτους ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐ διακορεῖς οὐδ' ἐξιτήλους ταῖς ἀνέδην κοινωνίαις, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι λείψανον καὶ ὑπέκκαυμα πόθου καὶ χάριτος ἐναπολείποντας ἀλλήλοις.
- 6 Τοσαύτην δὲ τοῖς γάμοις ἐπιστήσας αἰδῶ καὶ 49 τάξιν, οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐξέβαλε τὴν κενὴν καὶ γυναικῶδη ζηλοτυπίαν, ἐν καλῷ καταστήσας ὕβριν μὲν καὶ ἀναξίαν πᾶσαν εἶργειν ἀπὸ τοῦ γάμου, παίδων δὲ καὶ τεκνώσεως κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις, καταγελῶντας τῶν ὡς ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινωνήτα
- 7 ταῦτα μετιόντων σφαγαῖς καὶ πολέμοις. ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέας γυναικός, εἰ δὴ τινα τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀσπάσαιο νέων καὶ δοκιμάσειεν, εἰσαγαγεῖν παρ' αὐτὴν καὶ πλήσαντα γενναίου σπέρματος ἴδιον αὐτοῖς ποιή-

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in his arms to the marriage-bed. Then, after spending a short time with his bride, he went away composedly to his usual quarters, there to sleep with the other young men. And so he continued to do from that time on, spending his days with his comrades, and sleeping with them at night, but visiting his bride by stealth and with every precaution, full of dread and fear lest any of her household should be aware of his visits, his bride also contriving and conspiring with him that they might have stolen interviews as occasion offered. And this they did not for a short time only, but long enough for some of them to become fathers before they had looked upon their own wives by daylight. Such interviews not only brought into exercise self-restraint and moderation, but united husbands and wives when their bodies were full of creative energy and their affections new and fresh, not when they were sated and dulled by unrestricted intercourse; and there was always left behind in their hearts some residual spark of mutual longing and delight.

After giving marriage such traits of reserve and decorum, he none the less freed men from the empty and womanish passion of jealous possession, by making it honourable for them, while keeping the marriage relation free from all wanton irregularities, to share with other worthy men in the begetting of children, laughing to scorn those who regard such common privileges as intolerable, and resort to murder and war rather than grant them. For example, an elderly man with a young wife, if he looked with favour and esteem on some fair and noble young man, might introduce him to her, and adopt her offspring by such a noble father as his

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σασθαι τὸ γεννηθέν. ἐξήν δὲ πάλιν ἀνδρὶ χρη-
 στῷ, τῶν εὐτέκνων τινὰ καὶ σωφρόνων θαυμά-
 σαντι γυναικῶν ἐτέρῳ γεγαμημένην, πείσαι τὸν
 ἄνδρα συνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν χώρα καλλικάρπῳ
 φυτεύοντα καὶ ποιούμενον παῖδας ἀγαθούς, ἀγα-
 8 θῶν ὁμαίμους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐσομένους. πρῶτον
 μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἰδίους ἡγεῖτο τῶν πατέρων τοὺς
 παῖδας, ἀλλὰ κοινούς τῆς πόλεως ὁ Λυκοῦργος,
 ὅθεν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων
 ἐβούλετο γεγονότας εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας. ἔπειτα
 πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν καὶ τύφον ἐνεώρα τοῖς περὶ
 ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων νομοθετήμασιν, οἳ κύνας μὲν
 καὶ ἵππους ὑπὸ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν ὀχείων
 βιβάζουσι χάριτι πείθοντες ἢ μισθῷ τοὺς κυ-
 ρίους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐγκλεισάμενοι φρουροῦσιν,
 ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνων τίκτειν ἀξιούντες, καὶ ἄφρονες
 9 ὧσι, καὶ παρήλικες, καὶ νοσώδεις, ὥς οὐχὶ πρῶ-
 τοις τοῖς κεκτημένοις καὶ τρέφουσι τῶν παίδων
 γινομένων πονηρῶν, ἐὰν ἐκ πονηρῶν γένωνται,
 καὶ τοῦναντίον χρηστῶν, ἂν τοιαύτης τύχωσι
 γενέσεως. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως πραττόμενα φυσικῶς
 καὶ πολιτικῶς τότε τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχε τῆς ὕστερον
 λεγομένης γενέσθαι περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εὐχερείας
 ὥστε ὅλως ἄπιστον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας παρ'
 10 αὐτοῖς. καὶ λόγος ἀπομνημονεύεται Γεράδα τινὸς
 Σπαρτιάτου τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν, ὃς ἐρωτηθεὶς
 ὑπὸ ξένου τί πάσχουσιν οἱ μοιχοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς,

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own. And again, a worthy man who admired some woman for the fine children that she bore her husband and the modesty of her behaviour as a wife, might enjoy her favours, if her husband would consent, thus planting, as it were, in a soil of beautiful fruitage, and begetting for himself noble sons, who would have the blood of noble men in their veins. For in the first place, Lycurgus did not regard sons as the peculiar property of their fathers, but rather as the common property of the state, and therefore would not have his citizens spring from random parentage, but from the best there was. In the second place, he saw much folly and vanity in what other peoples enacted for the regulation of these matters; in the breeding of dogs and horses they insist on having the best sires which money or favour can secure, but they keep their wives under lock and key, demanding that they have children by none but themselves, even though they be foolish, or infirm, or diseased; as though children of bad stock did not show their badness to those first who possessed and reared them, and children of good stock, contrariwise, their goodness. The freedom which thus prevailed at that time in marriage relations was aimed at physical and political well-being, and was far removed from the licentiousness which was afterwards attributed to their women, so much so that adultery was wholly unknown among them. And a saying is reported of one Geradas,¹ a Spartan of very ancient type, who, on being asked by a stranger what the punishment for adulterers was among them, answered: "Stranger,

¹ The name is Geradatas in *Morals*, p. 228 c (*Apophtheg. Lacon.* 20).

εἶπεν· “ὦ ξέने, οὐδεὶς γίνεται μοιχὸς παρ’ ἡμῖν.” ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπολαβόντος, “Ἐὰν οὖν γένηται;” “Ταῦρον,” ἔφη ὁ Γεράδας, “ἐκτίνει μέγαν, ὃς ὑπερκύψας τὸ Ταῦγετον ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα πίεται.” θαυμάσαντος δ’ ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος· “Πῶς δὲ ἂν γένοιτο βούς τηλικούτος;” γελάσας ὁ Γεράδας, “Πῶς δ’ ἂν,” ἔφη, “ἐν Σπάρτῃ μοιχὸς γένοιτο;” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστόρηται περὶ τῶν γάμων.

XVI. Τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν οὐκ ἦν κύριος ὁ γεννήσας τρέφειν, ἀλλ’ ἔφερε λαβὼν εἰς τόπον τινὰ λέσχην καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενοι τῶν φυλετῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καταμαθόντες τὸ παιδάριον, εἰ μὲν εὐπαγὲς εἴη καὶ ῥωμαλέον, τρέφειν ἐκέλευον, κλῆρον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων προσνείμαντες· εἰ δ’ ἀγεννὲς καὶ ἄμορφον, ἀπέπεμπον εἰς τὰς λεγομένας Ἀποθέτας, παρὰ Ταῦγετον βαραθρῶ-
 2 δη τόπον, ὡς οὔτε αὐτῷ ζῆν ἄμεινον ὄν¹ οὔτε τῇ πόλει τὸ μὴ καλῶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην. πεφυκός. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὕδατι τὰ βρέφη, ἀλλ’ οἶνῳ περιέλουον αἱ γυναῖκες, βάσανόν τινα ποιούμεναι τῆς κράσεως αὐτῶν. λέγεται γὰρ ἐξίστασθαι τὰ ἐπιληπτικὰ καὶ νοσώδη πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον ἀποσφακελίζοντα, τὰ δ’ ὑγιεινὰ μᾶλλον στομούσθαι καὶ κρατύνεσθαι τὴν
 3 ἔξιν. ἦν δὲ περὶ τὰς τροφούς ἐπιμέλειά τις μετὰ τέχνης, ὥστ’ ἄνευ σπαργάνων ἐκτρεφούσας τὰ βρέφη τοῖς μέλεσι καὶ τοῖς εἵδεσιν ἐλευθέρια ποιεῖν, ἔτι δὲ εὐκόλα ταῖς διαίταις καὶ ἄσικχα καὶ ἀθαμβῇ σκότου καὶ πρὸς ἐρημίαν ἄφοβα καὶ

¹ ὄν supplied by van Herwerden : ἄμεινον οὐτε.

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there is no adulterer among us." "Suppose, then," replied the stranger, "there should be one." "A bull," said Geradas, "would be his forfeit, a bull so large that it could stretch over Mount Taygetus and drink from the river Eurotas." Then the stranger was astonished and said: "But how could there be a bull so large?" To which Geradas replied, with a smile: "But how could there be an adulterer in Sparta?" Such, then, are the accounts we find of their marriages.

XVI. Offspring was not reared at the will of the father, but was taken and carried by him to a place called Lesche, where the elders of the tribes officially examined the infant, and if it was well-built and sturdy, they ordered the father to rear it, and assigned it one of the nine thousand lots of land; but if it was ill-born and deformed, they sent it to the so-called Apothetae, a chasm-like place at the foot of Mount Taygetus, in the conviction that the life of that which nature had not well equipped at the very beginning for health and strength, was of no advantage either to itself or the state. On the same principle, the women used to bathe their new-born babes not with water, but with wine, thus making a sort of test of their constitutions. For it is said that epileptic and sickly infants are thrown into convulsions by the strong wine and loose their senses, while the healthy ones are rather tempered by it, like steel, and given a firm habit of body. Their nurses, too, exercised great care and skill; they reared infants without swaddling-bands, and thus left their limbs and figures free to develop; besides, they taught them to be contented and happy, not dainty about their food, nor fearful of the dark, nor afraid to be left alone,

ἄπειρα δυσκολίας ἀγεννοῦς καὶ κλαυθμυρισμῶν. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἔνιοι τοῖς τέκνοις Λακωνικὰς ἐωνοῦντο τίτθας· καὶ τήν γε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἀλκιβιάδην τιτθεύσασαν Ἀμύκλαν ἱστοροῦσι γεγονέναι Λάκαιναν.

- 4 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν, ὥς Πλάτων φησί, Ζώπυρον ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν Περικλῆς, οὐδέν τι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντα δούλων· τοὺς δὲ Σπαρτιατῶν 50 παῖδας οὐκ ἐπὶ ὠνητοῖς οὐδὲ μισθίοις ἐποιήσατο παιδαγωγοῖς ὁ Λυκούργος, οὐδ' ἐξήν ἐκάστῳ τρέφειν οὐδὲ παιδεύειν ὥς ἐβούλετο τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ πάντας εὐθύς ἐπταετείς γενομένους παραλαμβάνων αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀγέλας κατελόχιζε, καὶ συννόμους ποιῶν καὶ συντρόφους μετ' ἀλλήλων
- 5 εἶθιζε συμπαίξειν καὶ συσχολάζειν. ἄρχοντα δ' αὐτοῖς παρίστατο τῆς ἀγέλης τὸν τῷ φρονεῖν διαφέροντα καὶ θυμοειδέστατον ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀφεώρων καὶ προστάττοντος ἡκροῶντο καὶ κολάζοντος ἐκαρτέρουν, ὥστε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην εὐπειθείας. ἐπεσκόπουν δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παίζοντας αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μάχας τινὰς ἐμβάλλοντες αἰεὶ καὶ φιλονεικίας, οὐ παρέργως κατεμάνθανον ὁποῖός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τολμᾶν καὶ μὴ φυγομαχεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἀμίλλαις.
- 6 Γράμματα μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα τῆς χρείας ἐμάνθανον· ἢ δ' ἄλλη πᾶσα παιδεία πρὸς τὸ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ καρτερεῖν πονοῦντα καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον. διὸ καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας προερχομένης ἐπέτεινον αὐτῶν τὴν ἀσκησιν, ἐν χρῶ τε κείροντες

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nor given to contemptible peevishness and whimpering. This is the reason why foreigners sometimes bought Spartan nurses for their children. Amycla, for instance, the nurse of the Athenian Alcibiades, is said to have been a Spartan.¹

And yet Alcibiades, as Plato says,² had for a tutor, set over him by Pericles, one Zopyrus, who was just a common slave. But Lycurgus would not put the sons of Spartans in charge of purchased or hired tutors, nor was it lawful for every father to rear or train his son as he pleased, but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them all to be taken by the state and enrolled in companies, where they were put under the same discipline and nurture, and so became accustomed to share one another's sports and studies. The boy who excelled in judgement and was most courageous in fighting, was made captain of his company; on him the rest all kept their eyes, obeying his orders, and submitting to his punishments, so that their boyish training was a practice of obedience. Besides, the elderly men used to watch their sports, and by ever and anon egging them on to mimic battles and disputes, learned accurately how each one of them was naturally disposed when it was a question of boldness and aggressiveness in their struggles.

Of reading and writing, they learned only enough to serve their turn; all the rest of their training was calculated to make them obey commands well, endure hardships, and conquer in battle. Therefore, as they grew in age, their bodily exercise was increased; their heads were close-clipped, and they

¹ Cf. *Alcibiades* i. 2.

² *Alcibiades* i. p. 122 b.

καὶ βαδίζειν ἀνυποδήτους παίζειν τε γυμνοὺς ὡς
τὰ πολλὰ συνεθίζοντες. γενόμενοι δὲ δωδεκαετείς
ἄνευ χιτῶνος ἤδη διετέλουν, ἐν ἱμάτιον εἰς τὸν
ἐνιαυτὸν λαμβάνοντες, αὐχμηροὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ
λουτρῶν καὶ ἀλειμμάτων ἄπειροι· πλὴν ὀλίγας
ἡμέρας τινὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης φιλαν-
7 θρωπίας μετεῖχον. ἐκάθειδον δὲ ὁμοῦ κατ' Ἴλην
καὶ ἀγέλην ἐπὶ στιβάδων, ἃς αὐτοῖς συνεφόρουν,
τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Εὐρώταν πεφυκὸτος καλάμου τὰ
ἄκρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἄνευ σιδήρου κατακλάσαντες.
ἐν δὲ τῇ χειμῶνι τοὺς λεγομένους λυκόφονας
ὑπεβάλλοντο καὶ κατεμήγνυσαν ταῖς στιβάσι,
θερμαντικὸν ἔχειν τι τῆς ὕλης δοκούσης.

XVII. Ἦδη δὲ τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐρασταὶ τῶν
εὐδοκίμων νέων συναναστρέφοντο· καὶ προσεῖχον
οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιφοιτῶντες εἰς τὰ
γυμνάσια, καὶ μαχομένοις καὶ σκώπτουσιν ἀλλή-
λους παρατυγχάνοντες, οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ τρό-
πον τινὰ πάντες οἰόμενοι πάντων καὶ πατέρες
εἶναι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ ἄρχοντες, ὥστε μήτε
καιρὸν ἀπολείπεσθαι μήτε χωρίον ἔρημον τοῦ
νουθετοῦντος τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα καὶ κολάζοντος.
2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδονόμος ἐκ τῶν καλῶν καὶ
ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐτάττετο, καὶ κατ' ἀγέλας αὐτοὶ
προΐσταντο τῶν λεγομένων εἰρένων ἀεὶ τὸν σω-
φρονέστατον καὶ μαχιμώτατον. εἰρένας δὲ κα-
λοῦσι τοὺς ἔτος ἤδη δεύτερον ἐκ παίδων γεγνονό-
τας, μελλεῖρένας δὲ τῶν παίδων τοὺς πρεσβυτά-
τους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ εἶρην, εἴκοσι ἔτη γεγονώς, ἄρχει
τε τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καὶ κατ'

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were accustomed to going bare-foot, and to playing for the most part without clothes. When they were twelve years old, they no longer had tunics to wear, received one cloak a year, had hard, dry flesh, and knew little of baths and ointments; only on certain days of the year, and few at that, did they indulge in such amenities. They slept together, in troops and companies, on pallet-beds which they collected for themselves, breaking off with their hands—no knives allowed—the tops of the rushes which grew along the river Eurotas. In the winter-time, they added to the stuff of these pallets the so-called “lycophon,” or *thistle-down*, which was thought to have warmth in it.

XVII. When the boys reached this age, they were favoured with the society of lovers from among the reputable young men. The elderly men also kept close watch of them, coming more frequently to their places of exercise, and observing their contests of strength and wit, not cursorily, but with the idea that they were all in a sense the fathers and tutors and governors of all the boys. In this way, at every fitting time and in every place, the boy who went wrong had someone to admonish and chastise him. Nor was this all; one of the noblest and best men of the city was appointed *paedonome*, or inspector of the boys, and under his directions the boys, in their several companies, put themselves under the command of the most prudent and warlike of the so-called *Eirens*. This was the name given to those who had been for two years out of the class of boys, and *Melleirens*, or *Would-be Eirens*, was the name for the oldest of the boys. This *eiren*, then, a youth of twenty years, commands his subordinates in their

3 οἶκον ὑπηρεταῖς χρήται πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπι-
τάσσει δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀδροῖς ξύλα φέρειν, τοῖς δὲ
μικροτέροις λάχανα. καὶ φέρουσι κλέπτοντες,
οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς κήπους βαδίζοντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὰ
τῶν ἀνδρῶν συσσίτια παρεισρέοντες εὖ μάλα
πανούργως καὶ πεφυλαγμένως· ἂν δ' ἄλῃ, πολ-
λὰς λαμβάνει πληγὰς τῇ μάστιγι, ῥαθύμως δοκῶν
κλέπτειν καὶ ἀτέχνως. κλέπτουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν
σιτίων ὃ τι ἂν δύνωνται, μαυθάνοντες εὐφυῶς
ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἢ ῥαθύμως φυλάτ-
4 τουσι. τῷ δὲ ἀλόντι ζημία πληγαὶ καὶ τὸ πει-
νῆν. γλίσχρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ δεῖπνον, ὅπως
δι' αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμενοι τὴν ἔνδειαν ἀναγκάζονται
τολμᾶν καὶ πανουργεῖν.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔργον τῆς ὀλιγοσιτίας· παρέργον
δὲ φασὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων αὐξησιν. φέρεται
γὰρ εἰς μῆκος, ὅταν τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ πολλὴν σχῇ
διατριβὴν καὶ ἀσχολίαν ὑπὸ πλήθους τροφῆς
εἰς βάθος καὶ πλάτος πιεζόμενον, ἀλλ' ἄνω βα- 51
5 ραδίως ἐπιδιδόντος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ καλοὺς
δοκεῖ ποιεῖν· αἱ γὰρ ἰσχνὰ καὶ διάκενοι μᾶλλον
ἔξεις ὑπακούουσι πρὸς τὴν διάρθρωσιν, αἱ δὲ
ὀγκώδεις καὶ πολύτροφοι διὰ βάρους ἀντιβαί-
νουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κύειν καθαι-
ρομένων γυναικῶν ἰσχνὰ μὲν, εὐειδῆ δὲ καὶ γλα-
φυρὰ γίνεται τὰ βρέφη, διὰ τὴν ἐλαφρότητα τῆς
ὑλῆς κρατουμένης μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυποῦντος.
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν αἰτία τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἐν μέσῳ
προκείμεθω σκοπεῖν.

XVIII. Οὕτω δὲ κλέπτουσι πεφροντισμένως
οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε λέγεται τις ἤδη σκύμνον ἀλώ-

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mimic battles, and in doors makes them serve him at his meals. He commissions the larger ones to fetch wood, and the smaller ones potherbs. And they steal what they fetch, some of them entering the gardens, and others creeping right slyly and cautiously into the public messes of the men ; but if a boy is caught stealing, he is soundly flogged, as a careless and unskilful thief. They steal, too, whatever food they can, and learn to be adept in setting upon people when asleep or off their guard. But the boy who is caught gets a flogging and must go hungry. For the meals allowed them are scanty, in order that they may take into their own hands the fight against hunger, and so be forced into boldness and cunning.

This is the main object of their spare diet ; a secondary one is to make them grow tall. For it contributes to height of stature when the vitality is not impeded and hindered by a mass of nourishment which forces it into thickness and width, but ascends of its own lightness, and when the body grows freely and easily. The same thing seems also to conduce to beauty of form ; for lean and meagre habits yield more readily to the force of articulation, whereas the gross and over-fed are so heavy as to resist it. Just so, we may be sure, women who take physic while they are pregnant, bear children which are lean, it may be, but well-shaped and fine, because the lightness of the parent matter makes it more susceptible to moulding. However, the reason for this I must leave for others to investigate.

XVIII. The boys make such a serious matter of their stealing, that one of them, as the story goes,

πεκος κεκλοφῶς καὶ τῷ τριβωνίῳ περιστέλλων, σπαρασσόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρίου τὴν γαστέρα τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἐγκαρτε-
ρῶν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐφήβων ἄπιστόν ἐστιν, ὧν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἐωράκαμεν ἐναποθνήσκοντας ταῖς πληγαῖς.

- 2 Δειπνήσας δὲ ὁ εἶρην κατακείμενος τῷ μὲν ἄσαι προσέταξε τῶν παίδων, τῷ δὲ ἐρώτημά τι προῦβαλε πεφροντισμένης δεόμενον ἀποκρίσεως· οἶον, ὅστις ἄριστος ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἢ ποία τις ἢ τοῦδε πρᾶξις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ κρίνειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθίζοντο περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἐρωτηθέντα, τίς πολίτης ἀγαθός, ἢ τίς οὐκ εὐδόκιμος, ἀπορεῖν τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι, νωθρᾶς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πρὸς
- 3 ἀρετὴν ἀφιλοτίμου ψυχῆς σημεῖον. ἔδει δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ ¹ μετ' αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ ἀποδείξεως εἰς βραχύν τινα συνηγμένης λόγον καὶ σύντομον· ὁ δὲ πλημμελῶς ἀποκρινάμενος ἐκολάζετο δῆγμα λαμβάνων ὑπὸ τοῦ εἵρενος εἰς τὸν ἀντίχειρα. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρων παρόντων καὶ ἀρχόντων ὁ εἶρην ἐκόλαζε τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπόδειξιν διδούς εἰ μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὡς δεῖ κολάζει. καὶ κολάζων μὲν οὐκ ἐκωλύετο, τῶν δὲ παίδων ἀπελθόντων εὐθύνας ὑπεῖχεν, εἰ τραχύτερον τοῦ δέοντος ἐπετίμησεν ἢ τούναντίον ἐκλελυμένως καὶ ἀτόνως.
- 4 Ἐκοινώνουν δὲ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῆς δόξης ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα· καὶ λέγεται ποτε παιδὸς ἐν τῷ

¹ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker, with the MSS. : καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.

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who was carrying concealed under his cloak a young fox which he had stolen, suffered the animal to tear out his bowels with its teeth and claws, and died rather than have his theft detected. And even this story gains credence from what their youths now endure, many of whom I have seen expiring under the lash at the altar of Artemis Orthia.

The eiren, as he reclined after supper, would order one of the boys to sing a song, and to another would put a question requiring a careful and deliberate answer, as, for instance, "Who is the best man in the city?" or, "What thinkest thou of this man's conduct?" In this way the boys were accustomed to pass right judgements and interest themselves at the very outset in the conduct of the citizens. For if one of them was asked who was a good citizen, or who an infamous one, and had no answer to make, he was judged to have a torpid spirit, and one that would not aspire to excellence. And the answer must not only have reasons and proof given for it, but also be couched in very brief and concise language, and the one who gave a faulty answer was punished with a bite in the thumb from the eiren. Often-times, too, the eiren punished the boys in the presence of the elders and magistrates, thus showing whether his punishments were reasonable and proper or not. While he was punishing them, he suffered no restraint, but after the boys were gone, he was brought to an account if his punishments were harsher than was necessary, or, on the other hand, too mild and gentle.

The boys' lovers also shared with them in their honour or disgrace; and it is said that one of them

μάχεσθαι φωνὴν ἀγεννῇ προεμένου ζημιωθῆναι τὸν ἐραστὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ἐρᾶν ἐγκεκριμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ τῶν παρθένων ἐρᾶν τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἀγαθὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ ἀντερᾶν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀρχὴν ἐποιοῦντο φιλίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐρασθέντες, καὶ διετέλουν κοινῇ σπουδάζοντες ὅπως ἄριστον ἀπεργάσαιτο τὸν ἐρώμενον.

- XIX. Ἐδίδασκον δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πικρίαν ἔχοντι μεμιγμένην χάριτι καὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ βραχείας λέξεως ἀναθεώρησιν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σιδηροῦν νόμισμα μικρὰν ἔχειν ἐποίησεν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ σταθμοῦ δύναμιν ὁ Λυκούργος, ὡς εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου νόμισμα τοῦναντίον ἀπ' εὐτελοῦς καὶ ὀλίγης λέξεως εἰς πολλὴν καὶ περιττὴν κατεσκεύασε διάνοιαν, τῇ πολλῇ σιωπῇ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποφθεγματικούς καὶ πεπαιδευμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μηχανώμενος. ὡς γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ἀκολάστων ἄγονον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἄκαρπὸν ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ πρὸς τὸ λαλεῖν ἀκρασία κενὸν τὸν λόγον ποιεῖ
 2 καὶ ἀνόητον. Ἄγεις μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, σκώπτοντος Ἀττικοῦ τινος τὰς Λακωνικὰς μαχαίρας εἰς τὴν μικρότητα, καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι ῥαδίως αὐτὰς οἱ θαυματοποιοὶ καταπίνουσιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, “Καὶ μὴν μάλιστα,” εἶπεν, “ἡμεῖς ἐφικνούμεθα τοῖς ἐγχειριδίοις τῶν πολεμίων” ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον ὁρῶ τὸν Λακωνικὸν βραχὺν μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦντα, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐφικνούμενον, καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀπτόμενον τῶν ἀκροωμένων.
 3 Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λυκούργος αὐτὸς βραχυλόγος 52

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was once fined by the magistrates because his favourite boy had let an ungenerous cry escape him while he was fighting. Moreover, though this sort of love was so approved among them that even the maideps found lovers in good and noble women, still, there was no jealous rivalry in it, but those who fixed their affections on the same boys made this rather a foundation for friendship with one another, and persevered in common efforts to make their loved one as noble as possible.

XIX. The boys were also taught to use a discourse which combined pungency with grace, and condensed much observation into a few words. His iron money, indeed, Lycurgus made of large weight and small value, as I have observed,¹ but the current coin of discourse he adapted to the expression of deep and abundant meaning with simple and brief diction, by contriving that the general habit of silence should make the boys sententious and correct in their answers. For as sexual incontinence generally produces unfruitfulness and sterility, so intemperance in talking makes discourse empty and vapid. King Agis, accordingly, when a certain Athenian decried the Spartan swords for being so short, and said that jugglers on the stage easily swallowed them, replied: "And yet we certainly reach our enemies with these daggers." And I observe that although the speech also of the Spartans seems short, yet it certainly reaches the point, and arrests the thought of the listener.

And indeed Lycurgus himself seems to have been

¹ Chapter ix. 1.

τις ἔοικε γενέσθαι καὶ ἀποφθεγματικός, εἰ δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· οἷόν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας πρὸς τὸν ἀξιούντα ποιεῖν δημοκρατίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει. “Σὺ γάρ,” ἔφη, “πρῶτος ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν.” καὶ περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί μικρὰς οὕτω καὶ εὐτελεῖς ἔταξεν, “Ἴνα μὴ ποτε,”
 4 ἔφη, “τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον διαλίπωμεν.” καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθλημάτων, ταῦτα μόνον μὴ κωλύσαντος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐν οἷς χεῖρ οὐκ ἀνατείνεται. φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι’ ἐπιστολῶν ἀποκρίσεις τοιαῦται πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας. πῶς ἂν πολεμίων ἔφοδον ἀλεξοίμεθα; “Ἄν πτωχοὶ μένητε καὶ μὴ μέσδων ἄτερος θατέρω ἐρᾶτε ἡμεν.” καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῶν τειχῶν. “Οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἀτείχιστος πόλις ἅτις ἀνδρεσσιν,¹ καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται.” περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν οὔτε ἀπιστῆσαι ῥάδιον οὔτε πιστεῦσαι.

XX. Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰ μήκη τῶν λόγων διαβολῆς δείγματα τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων ἐστί. Λεωνίδας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκαίρως τινὸς περὶ πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀχρήστων διαλεχθέντος, “ὦ ξένε,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἐν δέοντι χρέη τῷ δέοντι.” Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ Λυκούργου περὶ τῆς ὀλιγοτήτος αὐτοῦ τῶν νόμων ἐρωτηθεὶς, εἶπεν ὡς οἱ λόγοις μὴ χρώμενοι πολλοῖς οὐδὲ νόμων δέονται πολλῶν.
 2 Ἀρχιδαμίδας δὲ μεμφομένων τινῶν Ἐκαταῖον τὸν σοφιστὴν ὅτι παραληφθεὶς εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν, “Ὁ εἰδώς,” ἔφη, “λόγον καὶ καιρὸν οἶδεν.” ἃ δὲ τῶν πικρῶν ἔφην ἀπομνημονευμάτων οὐκ

¹ ἀνδρεσσι Cobet : ἀνδρελοῖς.

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short and sententious in his speech, if we may judge from his recorded sayings; that, for instance, on forms of government, to one who demanded the establishment of democracy in the city: "Go thou," said he, "and first establish democracy in thy household." That, again, to one who inquired why he ordained such small and inexpensive sacrifices: "That we may never omit," said he, "to honour the gods." Again, in the matter of athletic contests, he allowed the citizens to engage only in those where there was no stretching forth of hands.¹ There are also handed down similar answers which he made by letter to his fellow-citizens. When they asked how they could ward off an invasion of enemies, he answered: "By remaining poor, and by not desiring to be greater the one than the other." And when they asked about fortifying their city, he answered: "A city will be well fortified which is surrounded by brave men and not by bricks." Now regarding these and similar letters, belief and scepticism are alike difficult.

XX. Of their aversion to long speeches, the following apophthegms are proof. King Leonidas, when a certain one discoursed with him out of all season on matters of great concern, said: "My friend, the matter urges, but not the time." Charilaüs, the nephew of Lycurgus, when asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered: "Men of few words need few laws." Archidamidas, when certain ones found fault with Hecataeus the Sophist for saying nothing after being admitted to their public mess, answered: "He who knows how, knows also when to speak." Instances of the pungent sayings

¹ After the manner of men begging their conquerors to spare their lives.

- ἀμοιρεῖν χάριτος, τοιαῦτ' ἐστί. Δημάρατος ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ κόπτοντος αὐτὸν ἀκαίροις ἐρωτήμασι καὶ δὴ τοῦτο πολλάκις ἐρωτῶντος, “Τίς ἄριστος Σπαρτιατῶν;” ἔφη· “Ὁ τὴν ἀνομοιότατος.”
- 3 Ἄγις δέ, ἐπαινούντων τινῶν τοὺς Ἡλείους ὡς καλῶς τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ δικαίως ἄγοντας, “Καὶ τί μέγα,” ἔφη, “Ἡλείοι ποιοῦντι δι' ἐτῶν πέντε ἀμέρα μιᾷ χρώμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ;” Θεόπομπος δὲ ξένου τινὸς εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικνυμένου, καὶ φάσκοντος ὡς παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις φιλολάκων καλεῖται, “Κάλλιον¹ ἦν τοι,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ξένε, φιλο-
- 4 πολίταν καλεῖσθαι.” Πλειστῶναξ δὲ ὁ Πausανίου, ῥήτορος Ἀθηναίου τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμαθεῖς ἀποκαλοῦντος, “Ὀρθῶς,” ἔφη, “λέγεις· μόνοι γὰρ Ἑλλάνων ἄμμες οὐδὲν κακὸν μεμαθήκαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν.” Ἀρχιδαμίδας δὲ πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον πόσοι εἰσὶ Σπαρτιάται, “Ἰκανοί,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ξένε, τοὺς κακοὺς ἀπερύκειν.”
- 5 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰρημένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν τεκμήρασθαι τὸν ἐθισμόν. εἰθίζοντο γὰρ μηδέποτε χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ παρέργως, μηδὲ ἀφιέναι φωνὴν ἣτις οὐκ ἀμῶς γέ πως εἶχε τιнос θεωρίας ἀξίαν διάνοιαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ μιμουμένου τὴν ἀηδόνα παρακαλούμενος, “Αὐτᾶς,” ἔφη, “ἄκουκα τήνας.” ὁ δὲ ἀναγνούς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο·

Σβεννύντας ποτὲ τοῦσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος Ἀρης
εἶλε· Σελινούντος δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔθανον,

¹ κάλλιον Cobet, van Herwerden; cf. κρείσσον *Morals*, p. 221 e: καλὸν (it were well).

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not devoid of grace, of which I spoke,¹ are the following. Demaratus, when a troublesome fellow was pestering him with ill-timed questions, and especially with the oft repeated query who was the best of the Spartans, answered at last: "He who is least like thee." And Agis, when certain ones were praising the Eleians for their just and honourable conduct of the Olympic games, said: "And what great matter is it for the Eleians to practise righteousness one day in five years?" And Theopompus, when a stranger kept saying, as he showed him kindness, that in his own city he was called a lover of Sparta, remarked: "My good Sir, it were better for thee to be called a lover of thine own city." And Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias, when an Athenian orator declared that the Lacedaemonians had no learning, said: "True, we are indeed the only Hellenes who have learned no evil from you." And Archidamus, when some one asked him how many Spartans there were, replied: "Enough, good Sir, to keep evil men away."

And even from their jests it is possible to judge of their character. For it was their wont never to talk at random, and to let slip no speech which had not have some thought or other worth serious attention. For instance, when one of them was invited to hear a man imitate the nightingale, he said: "I have heard the bird herself." And another, on reading the epitaph:—

"Tyranny's fires they were trying to quench when
panoplied Ares
Slew them; Selinus looked down from her gates
on their death,"

¹ Chapter xix. 1.

“Δικαίως,” εἶπε, “τεθνάκанти τοὶ ἄνδρες· ἔδει γὰρ
6 ἀφέμεν ὅλαν αὐτὰν κατακαᾶμεν.” νεανίσκος δὲ
πρὸς τὸν ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτῷ δώσειν ἀλεκ-
τρύονας ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι, “Μὴ σύ
γε,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ δός μοι τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων ἐν τῷ
μάχεσθαι.” ἕτερος δὲ τις ἰδὼν ἐν ἀποχωρήσει
θακεύοντας ἐπὶ δίφρων ἀνθρώπους, “Μὴ γένοιτο,”
εἶπεν, “ἐνταῦθα καθίσαι ὅθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεξανα-
στήναι πρεσβυτέρῳ.” τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀποφθεγ-
μάτων εἶδος ἦν τοιοῦτον ὥστε καὶ λέγειν τινὰς
οὐκ ἀτόπως ὅτι μᾶλλον ἔστι τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ τὸ
φιλογυμναστεῖν λακωνίζειν.

XXI. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ μέλη παί- 53
δευσις οὐχ ἥττον ἐσπουδάζετο τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
εὐζηλίας καὶ καθαριότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλη
κέντρον εἶχεν ἐγερτικὸν θυμοῦ καὶ παραστατικὸν
ὀρμῆς ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πραγματικῆς, καὶ ἡ λέξις
ἦν ἀφελὴς καὶ ἄθρυπτος ἐπὶ πράγμασι σεμνοῖς
καὶ ἡθοποιοῖς. ἔπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονιζο-
μένων, καὶ ψόγοι τῶν τρεσάντων, ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ
κακοδαίμονα βιούντων βίον, ἐπαγγελία τε καὶ
μεγαλαυχία πρὸς ἀρετὴν πρόπρουσα ταῖς ἡλικίαις·
2 ὧν ἕνεκα δείγματος οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστιν ἔν τι προ-
ενέγκασθαι. τριῶν γὰρ χορῶν κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς
ἡλικίας συνισταμένων ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς, ὁ μὲν τῶν
γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ἦδεν·

· Ἄμμες πόκ' ἡμεῖς ἄλκιμοι νεανῖαι.

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said : "The men deserved to die ; they should have let the fires burn out entirely." And a youth, when some one promised to give him game-cocks that would die fighting, said, "Don't do that, but give me some of the kind that kill fighting." Another, seeing men seated on stools in a privy, said : "May I never sit where I cannot give place to an elder." The character of their apophthegms, then, was such as to justify the remark that love of wisdom rather than love of bodily exercise was the special characteristic of a Spartan.

XXI. Nor was their training in music and poetry any less serious a concern than the emulous purity of their speech, nay, their very songs had a stimulus that roused the spirit and awoke enthusiastic and effectual effort ; the style of them was simple and unaffected, and their themes were serious and edifying. They were for the most part praises of men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed and happy ; censure of men who had played the coward, picturing their grievous and ill-starred life ; and such promises and boasts of valour as befitted the different ages. Of the last, it may not be amiss to cite one, by way of illustration. They had three choirs at their festivals, corresponding to the three ages, and the choir of old men would sing first :—

"We once did deeds of prowess and were strong young men."

ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀμειβόμενος ἔλεγεν·

Ἄμμες δέ γ' εἰμέν· αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο.¹

ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ τῶν παίδων·

Ἄμμες δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῶ κάρρονες.

- 3 Ὅλως δὲ ἂν τις ἐπιστήσας τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ποιήμασιν, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔνια διεσώζετο, καὶ τοὺς ἐμβατηρίους ῥυθμοὺς ἀναλαβὼν, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐπάγοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ καλῶς ἡγήσαιο καὶ τὸν Τέρπανδρον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῇ μουσικῇ συνάπτειν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως πεποίηκε περὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων·

Ἐνθ' αἰχμὰ τε νέων θάλλει καὶ μούσα λίγεια
καὶ δίκαια εὐρύναντα — —

- 4 Πίνδαρος δέ φησιν·

Ἐνθα βουλὰι γερόντων
καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύουσι αἰχμαὶ
καὶ χοροὶ καὶ Μοῦσα καὶ ἀγλαΐα.

Μουσικωτάτους γὰρ ἄμα καὶ πολεμικωτάτους ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς·

Ῥέπει² γὰρ ἅντα τῷ σιδάρῳ τὸ καλῶς κί-
θαρίσδεν,

ὡς ὁ Λακωνικὸς ποιητὴς εἶρηκε. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προεθύετο ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀναμιμνήσκων, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν

¹ αὐγάσδεο Cobet, as in *Morals*, pp. 238 b, 544 e, and S (first hand): πείραν λαβέ (come take a try).

² Ῥέπει Scaliger's correction of ἔρπει. Cf. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii.⁴ p. 51 (Alcman, *Frag.* 35).

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Then the choir of young men would respond :—

“ We are so now, and if you wish, behold and see.”

And then the third choir, that of the boys, would sing :—

“ We shall be sometime mightier men by far than both.”

In short, if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time, and makes himself familiar with the marching songs which they used, to the accompaniment of the flute, when charging upon their foes, he will conclude that Terpander and Pindar were right in associating valour with music. The former writes thus of the Lacedaemonians :—

“ Flourish there both the spear of the brave and the
Muse’s clear message,
Justice, too, walks the broad streets——.”

And Pindar says :—¹

“ There are councils of Elders,
And young men’s conquering spears,
And dances, the Muse, and joyousness.”

The Spartans are thus shown to be at the same time most musical and most warlike ;

“ In equal poise to match the sword hangs the sweet
art of the harpist,”

as their poet says. For just before their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, reminding his warriors, as it would seem, of their training, and of the firm

¹ Fragment 199, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* i.⁴ p. 448.

κρίσεων, ἵνα ὧσι πρόχειροι παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἀξίας παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν μαχομένων.

- XXII. Τότε δὲ καὶ τοῖς νέοις τὰ σκληρότατα τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐπανιέντες, οὐκ ἐκώλυνον καλλωπίζεσθαι περὶ κόμην καὶ κόσμον ὄπλων καὶ ἱματίων, χαίροντες, ὥσπερ ἵπποις, γαυριῶσι καὶ φρύαττομένοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. διὸ κομῶντες εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἡλικίας, μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐθεράπευον τὴν κόμην λιπαράν τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ διακεκριμένην, ἀπομνημονεύοντές τινα καὶ Λυκούργου λόγον περὶ τῆς κόμης, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσ-
 2 χροὺς φοβερωτέρους. ἐχρῶντο δὲ καὶ γυμνασίοις μαλακωτέροις παρὰ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν οὐχ οὕτω κεκολασμένην οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς νέοις παρείχον, ὥστε μόνοις ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνοις τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήσεως ἀνάπαυσιν εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἤδη δὲ συντεταγμένης τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων,¹ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τὴν τε χίμαιραν ἐσφαγιάζετο καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι παρήγγελλε πᾶσι καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευε τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος.
 3 ἅμα δ' ἐξῆρχεν ἐμβατήριον παιᾶνος, ὥστε σεμνὴν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, ῥυθμῶ τε πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐμβαινόντων καὶ μήτε διάσπασμα ποιοούντων ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι μήτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς θορυβουμένων, ἀλλὰ πράως καὶ ἰλαρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους ἀγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον. οὔτε γὰρ φόβον οὔτε θυμὸν ἐγγίνεσθαι πλεονάζοντα

¹ παρόντων MSS., Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker: *δρώντων* (in the sight of), with Xenophon, *Reip. Lac.* xiii. 8.

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decisions they had made, in order that they might be prompt to face the dread issue, and might perform such martial deeds as would be worthy of some record.¹

XXII. In time of war, too, they relaxed the severity of the young men's discipline, and permitted them to beautify their hair and ornament their arms and clothing, rejoicing to see them, like horses, prance and neigh for the contest. Therefore they wore their hair long as soon as they ceased to be youths, and particularly in times of danger they took pains to have it glossy and well-combed, remembering a certain saying of Lycurgus, that a fine head of hair made the handsome more comely still, and the ugly more terrible. Their bodily exercises, too, were less rigorous during their campaigns, and in other ways their young warriors were allowed a regimen which was less curtailed and rigid, so that they were the only men in the world with whom war brought a respite in the training for war. And when at last they were drawn up in battle array and the enemy was at hand, the king sacrificed the customary she-goat, commanded all the warriors to set garlands upon their heads, and ordered the pipers to pipe the strains of the hymn to Castor; then he himself led off in a marching paeon, and it was a sight equally grand and terrifying when they marched in step with the rhythm of the flute, without any gap in their line of battle, and with no confusion in their souls, but calmly and cheerfully moving with the strains of their hymn into the deadly fight. Neither fear nor excessive fury is likely to possess men so disposed,

¹ The Greek of this sentence is obscure, and the translation doubtful.

τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένοις εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' εὐσταθὲς φρόνημα μετ' ἐλπίδος καὶ θράσους, ὥς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαρόντος.

- 4 Ἐχώρει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στεφανίτην ἀγῶνα νενικηκότα. καὶ φασὶ γέ τινα χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις διδομένων αὐτῷ μὴ δεξάμενον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ πόνῳ καταπαλαίσαντα τὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν, ὥς τις εἶπεν αὐτῷ, “Τί σοι πλεόν, ὦ Λάκων, γέγονε διὰ τῆς νίκης;” φάναι μειδιάσαντα, “Πρὸ τοῦ βασι-
5 λέως τεταγμένος μαχοῦμαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.” τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ νικήσαντες ἐδίωκον ὅσον ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι τὸ νίκημα τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰτα εὐθύς ἀνεχώρουν, οὔτε γενναῖον οὔτε Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγούμενοι κόπτειν καὶ φονεύειν ἀπολεγομένους καὶ παρακεχωρηκότας. ἦν δὲ οὐ μόνον καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ μεγαλόψυχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήσιμον. εἰδότες γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι τοὺς ὑφισταμένους ἀναιροῦσι, φείδονται δὲ τῶν ἐνδιδόντων, τοῦ μένειν τὸ φεύγειν ἡγούντο λυσιτελέστερον.

- XXIII. Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Λυκούργον Ἰππίας μὲν ὁ σοφιστὴς πολεμικώτατόν φησι γενέσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον στρατειῶν, Φιλοστέφανος δὲ καὶ τὴν κατ' οὐλαμοὺς τῶν ἱππέων διανομὴν Λυκούργῳ προστίθησιν εἶναι δὲ τὸν οὐλαμόν, ὥς ἐκεῖνος συνέστησεν, ἱππέων πεντήκοντα πλῆθος ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι τεταγμένων. ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀψάμενον πολεμικῆς πράξεως ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιακῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἢ ἐπίνοια πρᾶον καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οἰκείως ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. καίτοι φασὶ τινες, ὥς Ἑρμιππος

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but rather a firm purpose full of hope and courage, believing as they do that Heaven is their ally.

The king marched against the enemy in close companionship with one who had been crowned victor in the great games. And they tell of a certain Spartan who refused to be bought off from a contest at Olympia by large sums of money, and after a long struggle outwrestled his antagonist. When some one said to him then: "What advantage, O Spartan, hast thou got from thy victory?" he answered, with a smile: "I shall stand in front of my king when I fight our enemies." When they had conquered and routed an enemy, they pursued him far enough to make their victory secure by his flight, and then at once retired, thinking it ignoble and unworthy of a Hellene to hew men to pieces who had given up the fight and abandoned the field. And this was not only a noble and magnanimous policy, but it was also useful. For their antagonists, knowing that they slew those who resisted them, but showed mercy to those who yielded to them, were apt to think flight more advantageous than resistance.

XXIII. Hippias the Sophist says that Lycurgus himself was very well versed in war and took part in many campaigns, and Philostephanus attributes to him the arrangement of the Spartan cavalry by "oulamoi," explaining that the "oulamos," as constituted by him, was a troop of fifty horsemen in a square formation. But Demetrius the Phalerean says he engaged in no warlike undertakings, and established his constitution in a time of peace. And indeed the design of the Olympic truce would seem to bespeak a man of gentleness, and predisposed to peace. And yet there are some who say, as

μνημονεύει, τὸν Λυκούργον οὐ προσέχειν οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἴφιτον, ἀλλὰ τυγχάνειν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον· ἀκοῦσαι δὲ φωνὴν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζοντος ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας οὐ προτρέπεται κοινωνεῖν τῆς πανηγύρεως· ὡς δὲ μεταστραφέντος οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ὁ φθεγξάμενος ἦν, θεῖον ἡγησάμενον, οὕτω πρὸς τὸν Ἴφιτον τραπέσθαι καὶ συνδιακοσμήσαντα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐνδοξοτέραν καὶ βεβαιότεραν καταστήσαι.

- XXIV. Ἡ δὲ παιδεία μέχρι τῶν ἐνηλίκων διέτεινεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ἀφειμένος ὡς ἐβούλετο ζῆν, ἀλλ' οἶον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τῇ πόλει καὶ δίαιταν ἔχοντες ὠρισμένην καὶ διατριβὴν περὶ τὰ κοινά, καὶ ὅλως νομίζοντες οὐχ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος εἶναι διετέλουν, εἰ μὴ τι πράττειν ἕτερον εἴη προστεταγμένον, ἐπισκοποῦντες τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ διδάσκοντές τι τῶν χρησίμων ἢ μανθάνοντες
- 2 αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τούτῳ τῶν καλῶν ἦν καὶ μακαρίων ἃ παρεσκεύασε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις ὁ Λυκούργος, ἀφθονία σχολῆς, οἷς τέχνης μὲν ἄψασθαι βαναύσου τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐφείτο, χρηματισμοῦ δὲ συναγωγὴν ἔχοντος ἐργῶδη καὶ πραγματεῖαν οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἔδει, διὰ τὸ κομιδῇ τὸν πλοῦτον ἄξηλον γεγονέναι καὶ
- 3 ἄτιμον. οἱ δὲ εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν, ἀποφορὰν τὴν εἰρημένην τελούντες. ἐπιδημῶν δέ τις Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίων ὄντων, καὶ πυθόμενός τινα δίκην ἀργίας ὠφληκότα βαδίζειν ἀθυμοῦντα

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Hermippus reminds us, that at the outset Lycurgus had nothing whatever to do with Iphitus and his enterprise, but happened to come that way by chance, and be a spectator at the games; that he heard behind him, however, what seemed to be a human voice, chiding him and expressing amazement that he did not urge his fellow-citizens to take part in the great festival; and since, on turning round, he did not see the speaker anywhere, he concluded that the voice was from heaven, and therefore betook himself to Iphitus, and assisted him in giving the festival a more notable arrangement and a more enduring basis.

XXIV. The training of the Spartans lasted into the years of full maturity. No man was allowed to live as he pleased, but in their city, as in a military encampment, they always had a prescribed regimen and employment in public service, considering that they belonged entirely to their country and not to themselves, watching over the boys, if no other duty was laid upon them, and either teaching them some useful thing, or learning it themselves from their elders. For one of the noble and blessed privileges which Lycurgus provided for his fellow-citizens, was abundance of leisure, since he forbade their engaging in any mechanical art whatsoever, and as for money-making, with its laborious efforts to amass wealth, there was no need of it at all, since wealth awakened no envy and brought no honour. Besides, the Helots tilled their ground for them, and paid them the produce mentioned above.¹ Therefore it was that one of them who was sojourning at Athens when the courts were in session, and learned that a certain

¹ Chapter viii. 4.

καὶ προπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων συναχθομένων
καὶ βαρέως φερόντων, ἐδεῖτο δεῖξαι τοὺς συμπαρ-
όντας αὐτῷ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν ἐλευθερίας¹ ἐαλωκώς
δίκην. οὕτω δουλοπρεπὲς ἡγούντο τὴν περὶ τὰς
4 τέχνας καὶ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἀσχολίαν. δίκαι
δέ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐξέλιπον ἅμα τῷ νομίσματι, μήτε
πλεονεξίας μήτε ἀπορίας αὐτοῖς παρούσης, ἰσό-
τητος δὲ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ ῥαστώνῃ δι' εὐτέλειαν
γεγεννημένης. χοροὶ δὲ καὶ θαλῖαι καὶ εὐωχίαι
καὶ διατριβαὶ περὶ τε θήρας καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ
λέσχας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐπεχωρίαζον, ὅτε μὴ
στρατευόμενοι τύχοιεν.

XXV. Οἱ μὲν γε νεώτεροι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν τὸ
παράπαν οὐ κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ διὰ 55
τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς
ἀναγκαίας οἰκονομίας. τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις
αἰσχροὺς ἦν συνεχῶς ὀρᾶσθαι περὶ ταῦτα διατρί-
βουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας περὶ τὰ
γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς καλουμένας λέσχας ἀναστρέ-
φεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰς ταύτας συνιόντες ἐπιεικῶς
ἐσχόλαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων, οὐδενὸς μεμνημένοι τῶν
πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἢ χρεῖαν ἀγοραῖον συντε-
2 λούντων· ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης
διατριβῆς ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν τι τῶν καλῶν, ἢ τῶν
αἰσχροῶν ψέγειν, μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος, ἐλα-
φρῶς ὑποφέροντος εἰς νουθεσίαν καὶ διόρθωσιν.
οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀκράτως αὐστηρὸς ὁ Λυ-
κούργος· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γέλωτος ἀγαλμάτιον
ἐκείνον ἰδρύσασθαι Σωσίβιος ἱστορεῖ, τὴν παι-
διὰν ὥσπερ ἡδυσμα τοῦ πόνου καὶ τῆς διαίτης

¹ ἐλευθερίας, Sintenis² with Coraës, after Bryan; ἐλευ-
θερίαν MSS., Sintenis¹, and Bekker.

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Athenian had been fined for idleness and was going home in great distress of mind and attended on his way by sympathetic and sorrowing friends, begged the bystanders to show him the man who had been fined for living like a freeman. So servile a thing did they regard the devotion to the mechanical arts and to money-making. And law-suits, of course, vanished from among them with their gold and silver coinage, for they knew neither greed nor want, but equality in well-being was established there, and easy living based on simple wants. Choral dances and feasts and festivals and hunting and bodily exercise and social converse occupied their whole time, when they were not on a military expedition.

XXV. Those who were under thirty years of age did not go into the market-place at all, but had their household wants supplied at the hands of their kinsfolk and lovers. And it was disreputable for the elderly men to be continually seen loitering there, instead of spending the greater part of the day in the places of exercise and the so-called "leschai."¹ For if they gathered in these, they spent their time suitably with one another, making no allusions to the problems of money-making or of exchange, nay, they were chiefly occupied there in praising some noble action or censuring some base one, with jesting and laughter which made the path to instruction and correction easy and natural. For not even Lycurgus himself was immoderately severe; indeed, Sosibius tells us that he actually dedicated a little statue of Laughter, and introduced seasonable jesting into their drinking parties and like

¹ Places where men assembled for conversation.

ἐμβαλόντα κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς.

- 3 Τὸ δὲ ὅλον εἵθιζε τοὺς πολίτας μὴ βούλεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπίστασθαι κατ' ἰδίαν ζῆν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰς μελίττας τῷ κοινῷ συμφυεῖς ὄντας ἀεὶ καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων εἰλουμένους περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα, μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξεστῶτας ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὅλους εἶναι τῆς πατρίδος· ὡς ἔστι καὶ φωναῖς τισιν αὐτῶν ἀποθεωρῆσαι τὴν διάνοιαν.
- 4 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παιδάρητος οὐκ ἐγκριθεὶς εἰς τοὺς τριακοσίους ἀπῆει μάλα φαιδρός, ὥσπερ χαίρων ὅτι βελτίονας αὐτοῦ τριακοσίους ἢ πόλιν ἔχει. Πολυκρατίδας δὲ ὁ πρεσβεύων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγούς μεθ' ἑτέρων, ἐρομένων αὐτῶν πότερον ἰδίᾳ πάρεσιν ἢ δημοσίᾳ πεμφθέντες, εἶπεν, “Αἶκα τύχωμεν, δημοσίᾳ, αἶκα ἀποτύχωμεν, ἰδίᾳ.”
- 5 ἡ δὲ Βρασίδου μήτηρ Ἀργιλεωνίς, ὡς ἀφικόμενοί τινες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως εἰσῆθλον πρὸς αὐτήν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς ὁ Βρασίδας ἀπέθανε καὶ τὰς Σπάρτας ἀξίως μεγαλυνόντων δὲ ἐκείνων τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔχει τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ἢ Σπάρτη· “Μὴ λέγετε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ξένοι· καλὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὁ Βρασίδας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας Λακεδαίμων ἔχει τήνου κάρρονας.”

XXVI. Τοὺς δὲ γέροντας αὐτὸς μὲν, ὡς εἴρηται, κατέστησε τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν μετασχόντων τοῦ βουλευματος· ὕστερον δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ τελευτῶντος ἔταξε καθιστάναι τὸν ἄριστον ἀρετῇ κριθέντα τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων. καὶ μέγιστος

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diversions, to sweeten, as it were, their hardships and meagre fare.

In a word, he trained his fellow-citizens to have neither the wish nor the ability to live for themselves; but like bees they were to make themselves always integral parts of the whole community, clustering together about their leader, almost beside themselves with enthusiasm and noble ambition, and to belong wholly to their country. This idea can be traced also in some of their utterances. For instance, Paedaretus, when he failed to be chosen among the three hundred best men, went away with a very glad countenance, as if rejoicing that the city had three hundred better men than himself. And again, Polycratidas, one of an embassy to the generals of the Persian king, on being asked by them whether the embassy was there in a private or a public capacity, replied: "If we succeed, in a public capacity; if we fail, in a private." Again, Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, when some Amphipolitans who had come to Sparta paid her a visit, asked them if Brasidas had died nobly and in a manner worthy of Sparta. Then they greatly extolled the man and said that Sparta had not such another, to which she answered: "Say not so, Strangers; Brasidas was noble and brave, but Sparta has many better men than he."

XXVI. The senators were at first appointed by Lycurgus himself, as I have said,¹ from those who shared his counsels; but afterwards he arranged that any vacancy caused by death should be filled by the man elected as most deserving out of those above sixty years of age. And of all the contests in

¹ Chapter v. 7 f.

ἐδόκει τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγώνων οὗτος εἶναι καὶ
 περιμαχητότατος· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ταχέσι τάχιστον
 οὐδ' ἐν ἰσχυροῖς ἰσχυρότατον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγαθοῖς
 καὶ σώφροσιν ἄριστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον ἔδει
 κριθέντα νικητήριον ἔχειν τῆς ἀρετῆς διὰ βίου τὸ
 σύμπαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, κράτος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, κύριον
 ὄντα καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ ὅλως τῶν
 2 μεγίστων. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ κρίσις τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.
 ἐκκλησίας ἀθροισθείσης ἄνδρες αἰρετοὶ καθείρ-
 γνυντο πλησίον εἰς οἶκημα, τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐχ
 ὀρώντες οὐδὲ ὀρώμενοι, τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν μόνον
 ἀκούοντες ἐκκλησιαζόντων. βοῇ γὰρ ὡς τᾶλλα
 καὶ τοὺς ἀμιλλωμένους ἔκρινον, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντων,
 ἀλλ' ἐκάστου κατὰ κλῆρον εἰσαγομένου καὶ σιωπῇ
 3 διαπορευομένου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἔχοντες οὖν οἱ
 κατάκλειστοι γραμματεῖα, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεση-
 μαίνοντο τῆς κραυγῆς τὸ μέγεθος, οὐκ εἰδότες
 ὅτῳ γένοιτο, πλὴν ὅτι πρῶτος ἢ δεύτερος ἢ τρίτος
 ἢ ὀπρостоσοῦν εἴη τῶν εἰσαγομένων. ὅτῳ δὲ
 πλείστη γένοιτο καὶ μεγίστη, τοῦτον ἀνηγόρευον.
 ὁ δὲ στεφανωσάμενος περιῆει τοὺς θεούς· εἶποντο
 δὲ πολλοὶ νέοι ζηλοῦντες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μεγαλύν-
 οντες, πολλαὶ τε γυναῖκες ἐγκωμιάζουσαι δι'
 ᾧδῃς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸν βίον εὐδαιμονίζουσαι.
 4 τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων ἕκαστος αὐτῷ δείπνον παρα- 56
 τιθεὶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ πόλις ταύτη τιμᾷ τῇ τραπέζῃ.
 περιελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον ἀπῆει· καὶ τὰ μὲν
 ἄλλα ἐγένετο συνήθως, δευτέρας δὲ μερίδος αὐτῷ

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the world this would seem to have been the greatest and the most hotly disputed. For it was not the swiftest of the swift, nor the strongest of the strong, but the best and wisest of the good and wise who was to be elected, and have for the rest of his life, as a victor's prize for excellence, what I may call the supreme power in the state, lord as he was of life and death, honour and dishonour, and all the greatest issues of life. The election was made in the following manner. An assembly of the people having been convened, chosen men were shut up in a room near by so that they could neither see nor be seen, but only hear the shouts of the assembly. For as in other matters, so here, the cries of the assembly decided between the competitors. These did not appear in a body, but each one was introduced separately, as the lot fell, and passed silently through the assembly. Then the secluded judges, who had writing-tablets with them, recorded in each case the loudness of the shouting, not knowing for whom it was given, but only that he was introduced first, second, or third, and so on. Whoever was greeted with the most and loudest shouting, him they declared elected. The victor then set a wreath upon his head and visited in order the temples of the gods. He was followed by great numbers of young men, who praised and extolled him, as well as by many women, who celebrated his excellence in songs, and dwelt on the happiness of his life. Each of his relations and friends set a repast before him, saying: "The city honours thee with this table." When he had finished his circuit, he went off to his mess-table. Here he fared in other ways as usual, but a second portion of food was set before him,

παρατεθείσης ἐφύλαττεν ἀράμενος· καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ φιδιτίου τῶν οἰκείων παρουσῶν γυναικῶν, ἣν μάλιστα τυγχάνοι τιμῶν προσεκαλείτο, καὶ διδοὺς τὴν μοῖραν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ταύτην αὐτὸς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον ἐκείνη δίδωσιν, ὥστε κακέκνην ζηλουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων προπέμπεσθαι γυναικῶν.

XXVII. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄριστα διεκόσμησεν αὐτοῖς.¹ πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνελὼν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς, καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, συντρόφους ποιῶν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσι καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μηδ' ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μαιίνοντα τοὺς ἀψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τάφων διελθόντας. ἔπειτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας
2 θέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον. ἐπιγράφαι δὲ τοῦνομα θάψαντας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῦ νεκροῦ, πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων. χρόνον δὲ πένθους ὀλίγον προσώρισεν, ἡμέρας ἑνδεκα· τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδει Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀργὸν οὐδὲ ἀφειμένον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι κατεμίγνυε τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀρετῆς τινα ζῆλον ἢ κακίας διαβολήν· καὶ κατεπύκνου παραδειγμάτων πλήθει τὴν πόλιν, οἷς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐντυγχάνοντας αἰεὶ καὶ συντρεφομένους ἄγεσθαι καὶ κατασχηματίζεσθαι ἰόντας πρὸς τὸ καλόν.

¹ αὐτοῖς Coraës and Bekker, after Bryan: αὐτός (himself).

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which he took and put by. After the supper was over, the women who were related to him being now assembled at the door of the mess-hall, he called to him the one whom he most esteemed and gave her the portion he had saved, saying that he had received it as a meed of excellence, and as such gave it to her. Upon this, she too was lauded by the rest of the women and escorted by them to her home.

XXVII. Furthermore, Lycurgus made most excellent regulations in the matter of their burials. To begin with, he did away with all superstitious terror by allowing them to bury their dead within the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places, thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were not confounded by them, and had no horror of death as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves. In the second place, he permitted nothing to be buried with the dead; they simply covered the body with a scarlet robe and olive leaves when they laid it away. To inscribe the name of the dead upon the tomb was not allowed, unless it were that of a man who had fallen in war, or that of a woman who had died in sacred office. He set apart only a short time for mourning, eleven days; on the twelfth, they were to sacrifice to Demeter and cease their sorrowing. Indeed, nothing was left untouched and neglected, but with all the necessary details of life he blended some commendation of virtue or rebuke of vice; and he filled the city full of good examples, whose continual presence and society must of necessity exercise a controlling and moulding influence upon those who were walking the path of honour.

- 3 "Οθεν οὐδ' ἀποδημεῖν ἔδωκε τοῖς βούλομένοις
καὶ πλανᾶσθαι, ξενικὰ συνάγοντας ἤθη καὶ μιμή-
ματα βίων ἀπαιδευτῶν καὶ πολιτευμάτων δια-
φόρων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους ἐπ' οὐδενὶ
χρησίμῳ καὶ παρεισρέοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπή-
λαυνεν, οὐχ, ὥς Θουκυδίδης φησί, δεδιὼς μὴ τῆς
πολιτείας μιμηταὶ γένωνται καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τι
χρήσιμον ἐκμάθωσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως μὴ
4 διδάσκαλοι κακοῦ τινος ὑπάρξωσιν. ἅμα γὰρ
ξένοις σώμασιν ἀνάγκη λόγους ἐπεισιέναι ξένους·
λόγοι δὲ καινοὶ κρίσεις καινὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν. ἐξ
ᾧ ἀνάγκη πάθη πολλὰ φύεσθαι καὶ προαιρέσεις
ἀπαδούσας πρὸς τὴν καθεστῶσαν πολιτείαν,
ὥσπερ ἀρμονίαν. διὸ μᾶλλον ὤφετο χρῆναι φυ-
λάττειν τὴν πόλιν ὅπως ἡθῶν οὐκ ἀναπλησθή-
σεται πονηρῶν ἢ σωμάτων νοσερῶν ἔξωθεν
ἐπεισιόντων.

- XXVIII. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις οὐδέν ἐστιν
ἀδικίας ἵχνος οὐδὲ πλεονεξίας, ἣν ἐγκαλοῦσιν
ἔνιοι τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις, ὥς ἱκανῶς ἔχουσι
πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ἐνδεῶς δὲ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. ἡ
δὲ καλουμένη κρυπτεία παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἴ γε δὴ
τοῦτο τῶν Λυκούργου πολιτευμάτων ἓν ἐστιν,
ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστόρηκε, ταύτην ἂν εἴη καὶ τῷ
Πλάτῳ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
2 ἐνεργασμένη δόξαν. ἦν δὲ τοιαύτη· τῶν νέων
οἱ ἄρχοντες διὰ χρόνου τοὺς μάλιστα νοῦν ἔχειν
δοκούντας εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄλλως ἐξέπεμπον,
ἔχοντας ἐγχειρίδια καὶ τροφὴν ἀναγκαίαν, ἄλλο
δὲ οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν εἰς ἀσυνδήλους
διασπειρόμενοι τόπους, ἀπέκρυπτον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ

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This was the reason why he did not permit them to live abroad at their pleasure and wander in strange lands, assuming foreign habits and imitating the lives of peoples who were without training and lived under different forms of government. Nay more, he actually drove away from the city the multitudes which streamed in there for no useful purpose, not because he feared they might become imitators of his form of government and learn useful lessons in virtue, as Thucydides says,¹ but rather that they might not become in any wise teachers of evil. For along with strange people; strange doctrines must come in; and novel doctrines bring novel decisions, from which there must arise many feelings and resolutions which destroy the harmony of the existing political order. Therefore he thought it more necessary to keep bad manners and customs from invading and filling the city than it was to keep out infectious diseases.

XXVIII. Now in all this there is no trace of injustice or arrogance, which some attribute to the laws of Lycurgus, declaring them efficacious in producing valour, but defective in producing righteousness. The so-called "krupteia," or *secret service*, of the Spartans, if this be really one of the institutions of Lycurgus, as Aristotle says it was, may have given Plato also² this opinion of the man and his civil polity. This secret service was of the following nature. The magistrates from time to time sent out into the country at large the most discreet of the young warriors, equipped only with daggers and such supplies as were necessary. In the day time they scattered into obscure and out of the way places,

¹ In the *Funeral Oration* of Pericles, ii. 39, 1.

² *Laws*, p. 630 d.

ἀνεπαύοντο, νύκτωρ δὲ κατιόντες εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς
 3 τῶν εἰλώτων τὸν ἀλίσκομενον ἀπέσφαττον. πολ-
 λάκις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγροῖς¹ ἐπιπορευόμενοι τοὺς
 ῥωμαλεωτάτους καὶ κρατίστους αὐτῶν ἀνῆρουν.
 ὥσπερ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς
 ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀνδρεία προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν
 Σπαρτιατῶν στεφανώσασθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλευθέρους 57
 γεγονότας καὶ περιελθεῖν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά,
 μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἅπαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι,
 πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὄντας, ὡς μήτε παραχρῆμα
 μήτε ὕστερον ἔχειν τινὰ λέγειν ὅτῳ² τρόπῳ
 4 διεφθάρησαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μάλιστά φησι
 καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὅταν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῶσι
 πρῶτον, τοῖς εἰλωσι καταγγέλλειν πόλεμον,
 ὅπως εὐαγὲς ᾖ τὸ ἀνελεῖν.

Καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ τραχέως προσεφέροντο καὶ
 σκληρῶς αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ πίνειν ἀναγκάζοντες
 πολὺν ἄκρατον εἰς τὰ συσσίτια παρεισῆγον, ἐπι-
 δεικνύμενοι τὸ μεθύειν οἷόν ἐστι τοῖς νέοις. καὶ
 ᾧδὰς ἐκέλευον ᾄδειν καὶ χορείας χορεύειν ἀγεννεῖς
 καὶ καταγελάστους, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων.
 5 διὸ καὶ φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν
 Λακωνικὴν στρατείᾳ τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους εἰλωτας
 κελευομένους ᾄδειν τὰ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος
 καὶ Σπένδοντος τοῦ Λάκωνος παραιτεῖσθαι, φά-
 σκοντας οὐκ ἐθέλειν τοὺς δεσποσύνους. ὥστε τοὺς
 λέγοντας, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τὸν ἐλεύθερον μά-
 λιστα ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ τὸν δοῦλον μάλιστα

¹ τοῖς ἀγροῖς MSS. (incl. S): τοὺς ἀγροὺς after Coraëss.

² ὅτῳ Cobet, cf. Thuc. iv. 80, 4: τῷ.

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where they hid themselves and lay quiet; but in the night they came down into the highways and killed every Helot whom they caught. Oftentimes, too, they actually traversed the fields where Helots were working and slew the sturdiest and best of them. So, too, Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war,¹ tells us that the Helots who had been judged by the Spartans to be superior in bravery, set wreaths upon their heads in token of their emancipation, and visited the temples of the gods in procession, but a little while afterwards all disappeared, more than two thousand of them, in such a way that no man was able to say, either then or afterwards, how they came by their deaths. And Aristotle in particular says also that the ephors, as soon as they came into office, made formal declaration of war upon the Helots, in order that there might be no impiety in slaying them.

And in other ways also they were harsh and cruel to the Helots. For instance, they would force them to drink too much strong wine, and then introduce them into their public messes, to show the young men what a thing drunkenness was. They also ordered them to sing songs and dance dances that were low and ridiculous, but to let the nobler kind alone. And therefore in later times, they say, when the Thebans made their expedition into Laconia,² they ordered the Helots whom they captured to sing the songs of Terpander, Alcman, and Spondon the Spartan; but they declined to do so, on the plea that their masters did not allow it, thus proving the correctness of the saying: "In Sparta the freeman is more a freeman than anywhere else in the world,

¹ iv. 80.

² Under Epaminondas, 369 B.C.

δοῦλον, οὐ φαύλως τεθεωρηκέναι τὴν διαφοράν.
 6 τὰς μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας χαλεπότητας ὕστερον ἐγ-
 γενέσθαι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις νομίζω, μάλιστα μετὰ
 τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν, ᾧ συνεπιθέσθαι τοὺς εἴλωτας
 μετὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ πλείστα κακὰ
 τὴν χώραν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ μέγιστον τῇ πόλει
 περιστῆσαι κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγε προσθείην
 Λυκούργῳ μιὰρὸν οὕτω τῆς κρυπτείας ἔργον ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ πραότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης
 τεκμαιρόμενος τὸν τρόπον, ᾧ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον
 ἐπεμαρτύρησε.

XXIX. Κατειλημμένων δὲ τοῖς ἔθισμοις ἤδη
 τῶν κυριωτάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας
 ἐκτεθραμμένης ἱκανῶς καὶ δυναμένης φέρειν ἑαυ-
 τὴν καὶ σώζειν δι' ἑαυτῆς, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων
 φησὶν ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γενομένῳ καὶ κινηθέντι τὴν
 πρώτην κίνησιν εὐφρανθῆναι τὸν θεόν, οὕτως
 ἀγασθεὶς καὶ ἀγαπήσας τὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας κάλ-
 λος καὶ μέγεθος ἐν ἔργῳ γενομένης καὶ ὁδῷ βαδι-
 ζούσης, ἐπεθύμησεν, ὥς ἀνυστὸν ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης
 προνοίας, ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ ἀκίνητον
 2 εἰς τὸ μέλλον. συναγαγὼν οὖν ἅπαντας εἰς ἐκ-
 κλησίαν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετρίως ἔχειν ἔφη καὶ
 ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τῆς πόλεως,
 ὃ δὲ κυριωτάτῳ ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστον οὐκ ἂν ἐξε-
 νεγκεῖν πρότερον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ χρήσασθαι τῷ
 θεῷ. δεῖν οὖν ἐκείνους ἐμμένειν τοῖς καθεστῶσι
 νόμοις καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλάσσειν μηδὲ μετακινεῖν ἕως
 ἐπάνεισιν ἐκ Δελφῶν αὐτός· ἐπανελθὼν γὰρ ὃ τι

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and the slave more a slave." However, in my opinion, such cruelties were first practised by the Spartans in later times, particularly after the great earthquake,¹ when the Helots and Messenians together rose up against them, wrought the widest devastation in their territory, and brought their city into the greatest peril. I certainly cannot ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable a measure as the "krup-teia," judging of his character from his mildness and justice in all other instances. To this the voice of the god also bore witness.²

XXIX. When his principal institutions were at last firmly fixed in the customs of the people, and his civil polity had sufficient growth and strength to support and preserve itself, just as Plato says³ that Deity was rejoiced to see His universe come into being and make its first motion, so Lycurgus was filled with joyful satisfaction in the magnitude and beauty of his system of laws, now that it was in operation and moving along its pathway. He therefore ardently desired, so far as human forethought could accomplish the task, to make it immortal, and let it go down unchanged to future ages. Accordingly, he assembled the whole people, and told them that the provisions already made were sufficiently adapted to promote the prosperity and virtue of the state, but that something of the greatest weight and importance remained, which he could not lay before them until he had consulted the god at Delphi. They must therefore abide by the established laws and make no change nor alteration in them until he came back from Delphi in person ; ✓

¹ 464 B.C. Cf. Plutarch's *Cimon*, xvi.

² See chapter v. 3. ³ *Timaeus*, p. 37 c.

3 ἂν τῷ θεῷ δοκῇ ποιήσῃν. ὁμολογούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κελεύοντων βαδίζουσιν, ὄρκους λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν γερόντων, ἔπειτα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ἐμμενεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαι τῇ καθεστῶσῃ πολιτείᾳ μέχρις ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ ὁ Λυκούργος, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Δελφούς.

Παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν πόλεως κείμενοι
4 τυγχάνουσιν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους καλῶς κεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοξοτάτην διαμενεῖν τῇ Λυκούργου χρωμένην πολιτείᾳ, τὸ μάντευμα γραψάμενος εἰς Σπάρτην ἀπέστειλεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ θεῷ πάλιν θύσας καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀσπασάμενος καὶ τὸν υἱόν, ἔγνω μηκέτι τοῖς πολίταις ἀφεῖναι τὸν ὄρκον, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταλύσαι τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως, ἡλικίας γεγονῶς ἐν ᾗ καὶ βιοῦν ἔτι καὶ πεπαῦσθαι βουλομένοις ὠραῖόν ἐστι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱκανῶς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχειν δο-
5 κούντων. ἐτελεύτησεν οὖν ἀποκαρτερήσας, ἡγούμενος χρῆναι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν μηδὲ τὸν θάνατον ἀπολίτευτον εἶναι μηδὲ ἄργον τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρετῆς μερίδι καὶ πράξεως γενόμενον. αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἐξειργασμένῳ τὰ κάλλιστα τὴν τελευτὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιτελείωσιν εἶναι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὧν διὰ τοῦ βίου παρεσκεύασε καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν φύλακα τὸν θάνατον ἀπολείψειν, ὁμωμοκόσι χρῆσθαι τῇ πο-
6 λιτείᾳ μέχρις ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐπανέλθῃ. καὶ οὐ διεψεύ-

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then he would do whatsoever the god thought best. When they all agreed to this and bade him set out on his journey, he exacted an oath from the kings and the senators, and afterwards from the rest of the citizens, that they would abide by the established polity and observe it until Lycurgus should come back ; then he set out for Delphi.

On reaching the oracle, he sacrificed to the god, and asked if the laws which he had established were good, and sufficient to promote a city's prosperity and virtue. Apollo answered that the laws which he had established were good, and that the city would continue to be held in highest honour while it kept to the polity of Lycurgus. This oracle Lycurgus wrote down, and sent it to Sparta. But for his own part, he sacrificed again to the god, took affectionate leave of his friends and of his son, and resolved never to release his fellow-citizens from their oath, but of his own accord to put an end to his life where he was. He had reached an age in which life was not yet a burden, and death no longer a terror ; when he and his friends, moreover, appeared to be sufficiently prosperous and happy. He therefore abstained from food till he died, considering that even the death of a statesman should be of service to the state, and the ending of his life not void of effect, but recognized as a virtuous deed. As for himself, since he had wrought out fully the noblest tasks, the end of life would actually be a consummation of his good fortune and happiness ; and as for his fellow-citizens, he would make his death the guardian, as it were, of all the blessings he had secured for them during his life, since they had sworn to observe and maintain his polity until he should return. And he was not

σθη τῶν λογισμῶν· τοσοῦτον ἐπρώτευσεν ἡ πόλις τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐνομία καὶ δόξη, χρόνον ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων τοῖς Λυκούργου χρησαμένη νόμοις, οὓς δεκατεσσάρων βασιλέων μετ' ἐκείνων εἰς Ἄγιν τὸν Ἀρχιδάμου γενομένων οὐδεὶς ἐκίνησεν. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἐφόρων κατάστασις οὐκ ἄνεσις ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπίτασις τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δοκοῦσα πρὸς τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι σφοδροτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν.

XXX. Ἄγιδος δὲ βασιλεύοντος εἰσερρήν νόμισμα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νομίσματος πλεονεξία καὶ πλούτου ζῆλος ἐπέβη διὰ Λύσανδρον, ὃς αὐτὸς ὦν ἀνάλωτος ὑπὸ χρημάτων, ἐνέπλησε τὴν πατρίδα φιλοπλουτίας καὶ τρυφῆς, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καταγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς Λυκούργου καταπολιτευσάμε-
2 νος νόμους. ὦν ἐπικρατούντων πρότερον οὐ πόλεως ἡ Σπάρτη πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἔχουσα, μᾶλλον δ', ὥσπερ οἱ ποιεῖται τὸν Ἡρακλέα μυθολογοῦσι δέρμα καὶ ξύλον ἔχοντα τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, κολλάζοντα τοὺς παρανόμους καὶ θηριώδεις τυράν-
νους, οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ σκυτάλης μιᾶς καὶ τρίβωνος ἄρχουσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκούσης καὶ βουλομένης, κατέλυε τὰς ἀδίκους δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδας ἐν τοῖς πολιτεύμασι, καὶ πολέμους ἐβράβευε καὶ στάσεις κατέπαυε, πολλάκις οὐδ' ἀσπίδα κινήσασα μίαν, ἀλλ' ἓνα πέμψασα πρεσβευτήν, ᾧ πάντες εὐθὺς ἐποιοῦν τὸ προστασσόμενον, ὥσπερ αἱ μέλισσαι φανέντος ἡγεμόνος, συντρέχοντες καὶ κατακοσμούμενοι. τοσοῦτον περιῆν εὐνομίας τῇ πόλει καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

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deceived in his expectations, so long did his city have the first rank in Hellas for good government and reputation, observing as she did for five hundred years the laws of Lycurgus, in which no one of the fourteen kings who followed him made any change, down to Agis the son of Archidamus. For the institution of the ephors did not weaken, but rather strengthened the civil polity, and though it was thought to have been done in the interests of the people, it really made the aristocracy more powerful.

XXX. But in the reign of Agis, gold and silver money first flowed into Sparta, and with money, greed and a desire for wealth prevailed through the agency of Lysander, who, though incorruptible himself, filled his country with the love of riches and with luxury, by bringing home gold and silver from the war, and thus subverting the laws of Lycurgus. While these remained in force, Sparta led the life, not of a city under a constitution, but of an individual man under training and full of wisdom. Nay rather, as the poets weave their tales of Heracles, how with his club and lion's skin he traversed the world chastising lawless and savage tyrants, so we may say that Sparta, simply with the dispatch-staff and cloak of her envoys, kept Hellas in willing and glad obedience, put down illegal oligarchies and tyrannies in the different states, arbitrated wars, and quelled seditions, often without so much as moving a single shield, but merely sending one ambassador, whose commands all at once obeyed, just as bees, when their leader appears, swarm together and array themselves about him. Such a surplus fund of good government and justice did the city enjoy.

- 3 "Οθεν ἔγωγε θαυμάζω τῶν λεγόντων ὡς ἄρχε-
σθαι μὲν ἤδεσαν, ἄρχειν δὲ οὐκ ἠπίσταντο Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι, καὶ τὸν Θεοπόμπου τοῦ βασιλέως
ἐπαινούντων λόγον, ὃς, εἰπόντος τινὸς σῶζεσθαι
τὴν Σπάρτην διὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς γεγο-
νότας, "Μᾶλλον," εἶπε, "διὰ τοὺς πολίτας πει-
4 θαρχικοὺς ὄντας" οὐ γὰρ ἀκούειν ὑπομένουσι τῶν
προστατεῖν μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἡ πειθαρχία μάθη-
μα μὲν ἐστὶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος¹ (ἐμποιεῖ γὰρ ὁ καλῶς
ἄγων τὸ καλῶς ἔπεσθαι· καὶ καθάπερ ἵππικῆς
τέχνης ἀποτέλεσμα πρᾶον ἵππον καὶ πειθήνιον
παρασχεῖν, οὕτω βασιλικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔργον
ἀνθρώποις εὐπείθειαν ἐνεργάσασθαι), Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δὲ οὐκ εὐπείθειαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμίαν ἐνεργά-
ζοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ὑπακούειν
5 αὐτοῖς. ἦτουν γὰρ οὐ ναῦς οὐδὲ χρήματα παρ'
αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ὀπλίτας πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ ἓνα Σπαρ-
τιατὴν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ λαβόντες ἐχρῶντο μετὰ
τιμῆς καὶ δέους, ὥσπερ Γυλίππῳ Σικελιώται
καὶ Βρασίδα Χαλκιδεῖς, Λυσάνδρῳ δὲ καὶ Καλλι-
κρατίδῃ καὶ Ἀγησιλάῳ πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν
οἰκοῦντες Ἕλληνες, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἄρμοστὰς
καὶ σωφρονιστὰς τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ δήμων καὶ
ἀρχόντων ὀνομάζοντες, πρὸς δὲ σύμπασαν τὴν
τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πόλιν ὥσπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ
διδάσκαλον εὐσχήμονος βίου καὶ τεταγμένης
6 πολιτείας ἀποβλέποντες. εἰς δὲ καὶ Στρατόνικος
ἐπισκῶψαι δοκεῖ, μετὰ παιδιᾶς νομοθετῶν καὶ
κελεύων Ἀθηναίους ἄγειν μυστήρια καὶ πομπάς,
'Ηλείους δὲ ἀγωνοθετεῖν, ὡς κάλλιστα τοῦτο
ποιούντας, Λακεδαιμονίους δέ, ἂν ἀμαρτάνωσιν

¹ τοῦ ἄρχοντος with S: ἄρχοντος.

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Wherefore, I for one am amazed at those who declare that the Lacedaemonians knew how to obey, but did not understand how to command, and quote with approval the story of King Theopompus, who, when some one said that Sparta was safe and secure because her kings knew how to command, replied: "Nay, rather because her citizens know how to obey." For men will not consent to obey those who have not the ability to rule, but obedience is a lesson to be learned from a commander. For a good leader makes good followers, and just as the final attainment of the art of horsemanship is to make a horse gentle and tractable, so it is the task of the science of government to implant obedience in men. And the Lacedaemonians implanted in the rest of the Greeks not only a willingness to obey, but a desire to be their followers and subjects. People did not send requests to them for ships, or money, or hoplites, but for a single Spartan commander; and when they got him, they treated him with honour and reverence, as the Sicilians treated Gylippus; the Chalcidians, Brasidas; and all the Greeks resident in Asia, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaüs. These men, wherever they came, were styled regulators and chasteners of peoples and magistrates, and the city of Sparta from which they came was regarded as a teacher of well-ordered private life and settled civil polity. To this position of Sparta Stratonicus would seem to have mockingly alluded when, in jest, he proposed a law that the Athenians should conduct mysteries and processions, and that the Eleians should preside at games, since herein lay their special excellence, but that the Lacedaemonians should be cudgelled if the others

οὔτοι, δέρεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἴρηται χάριν τοῦ γελοίου· Ἀντισθένης δὲ ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ὁρῶν τοὺς Θηβαίους μέγα φρονούντας, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔφη διαφέρειν 59 παιδαρίων ἐπὶ τῷ συγκόψαι τὸν παιδαγωγὸν γαυριῶντων.

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν τοῦτό γε τῷ Λυκούργῳ κεφάλαιον ἦν τότε, πλείστων ἡγουμένην ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς βίῳ καὶ πόλεως ὅλης νομίζων εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν, πρὸς τοῦτο συνέταξε καὶ συνήρμωσεν, ὅπως ἐλευθέριοι καὶ αὐτάρκεις γενόμενοι καὶ σωφρονούντες ἐπὶ 2 πλείστον χρόνον διατελῶσι. ταύτην καὶ Πλάτων ἔλαβε τῆς πολιτείας ὑπόθεσιν καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τι περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντες εἰπεῖν ἐπαινοῦνται, γράμματα καὶ λόγους ἀπολιπόντες μόνον. ὁ δὲ οὐ γράμματα καὶ λόγους, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πολιτείαν ἀμίμητον εἰς φῶς προενεγκάμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι τὴν λεγομένην περὶ τὸν σοφὸν διάθεσιν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐπιδείξας ὅλην τὴν πόλιν φιλοσοφοῦσαν, εἰκότως ὑπερῆρε τῇ δόξῃ τοὺς πώποτε πολιτευσαμένους ἐν 3 τοῖς Ἕλλησι. δι' ὅπερ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλάττωνας σχεῖν φησι τιμὰς ἢ προσῆκον ἦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι, καίπερ ἔχοντα τὰς μεγίστας. ἱερόν τε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ θύουσιν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς θεῷ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν λειψάνων αὐτοῦ κομισθέντων οἴκαδε κεραυνὸν εἰς τὸν

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did amiss.¹ This was a joke ; but Antisthenes the Socratic, when he saw the Thebans in high feather after the battle of Leuctra,² said in all seriousness that they were just like little boys strutting about because they had thrashed their tutor.

XXXI. It was not, however, the chief design of Lycurgus then to leave his city in command over a great many others, but he thought that the happiness of an entire city, like that of a single individual, depended on the prevalence of virtue and concord within its own borders. The aim, therefore, of all his arrangements and adjustments was to make his people free-minded, self-sufficing, and moderate in all their ways, and to keep them so as long as possible. His design for a civil polity was adopted by Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and by all those who have won approval for their treatises on this subject, although they left behind them only writings and words. Lycurgus, on the other hand, produced not writings and words, but an actual polity which was beyond imitation, and because he gave, to those who maintain that the much talked of natural disposition to wisdom exists only in theory, an example of an entire city given to the love of wisdom, his fame rightly transcended that of all who ever founded polities among the Greeks. Therefore Aristotle says that the honours paid him in Sparta were less than he deserved, although he enjoys the highest honours there. For he has a temple, and sacrifices are offered to him yearly as to a god. It is also said that when his remains were brought home, his

¹ Cf. chapter xviii. 4.

² In 371 B.C., when the Thebans under Epaminondas broke the supremacy of Sparta.

τάφον κατασκήψαι· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ ῥαδίως ἐτέρῳ
τινὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν πλην Εὐριπίδῃ συμπεσεῖν
ὑστερον, τελευτήσαντι καὶ ταφέντι τῆς Μακεδον-
ίας περὶ Ἀρέθουσιν. ὥστε ἀπολόγημα καὶ μαρ-
τύριον μέγα εἶναι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὸ
μόνῳ συμπεσεῖν αὐτῷ μετὰ τελευτῇ¹ ἂ τῷ
θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ ὀσιωτάτῳ πρότερον συνέπεσε.

- 4 Τελευτήσαι δὲ τὸν Λυκούργον οἱ μὲν ἐν Κίρρα
λέγουσιν, Ἀπολλόθεμις δὲ εἰς Ἥλιν κομισθέντα,
Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν Κρήτῃ καταβιώ-
σαντα· καὶ τάφον Ἀριστόξενος αὐτοῦ δείκνυσθαι
φησιν ὑπὸ Κρητῶν τῆς Περγαμίας περὶ τὴν
ξενικὴν ὁδόν. υἱὸν δὲ λέγεται μονογενῆ καταλι-
πεῖν Ἀντίωρον· οὗ τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου τὸ γένος
5 ἐξέλιπεν. οἱ δ' ἐταῖροι καὶ οἰκεῖοι διαδοχὴν τινα
καὶ σύνοδον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους διαμείναςαν
κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς συνήρχοντο
Λυκουργίδας προσηγόρευσαν. Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ
ὁ Ἰππάρχου φησὶ τοὺς ξένους τοῦ Λυκούργου
τελευτήσαντος ἐν Κρήτῃ καῦσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ
διασπεῖραι τὴν τέφραν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, αὐτοῦ
δεηθέντος καὶ φυλαξαμένου μή ποτε ἄρα τῶν
λειψάνων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα κομισθέντων, ὥς ἐπαν-
ήκοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὄρκων λελυμένων, μετα-
βάλλωσι τὴν πολιτείαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ
Λυκούργου.

¹ The words καὶ γενέσθαι following τελευτῇ are deleted
by Bekker and Sintenis² (in critical notes).

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tomb was struck by lightning, and that this hardly happened to any other eminent man after him except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. The lovers of Euripides therefore regard it as a great testimony in his favour that he alone experienced after death what had earlier befallen a man who was most holy and beloved of the gods.

Some say that Lycurgus died in Cirrha ; Apollothemis, that he was brought to Elis and died there ; Timaeus and Aristoxenus, that he ended his days in Crete ; and Aristoxenus adds that his tomb is shown by the Cretans in the district of Pergamus, near the public highway. It is also said that he left an only son, Antiorus, on whose death without issue, the family became extinct. His friends and relations, however, instituted a periodical assembly in his memory, which continued to be held for many ages, and they called the days on which they came together, Lycurgidae. Aristocrates the son of Hipparchus says that the friends of Lycurgus, after his death in Crete, burned his body and scattered the ashes into the sea, and that this was done at his request, and because he wished to prevent his remains from ever being carried to Sparta, lest the people there should change his polity, on the plea that he had come back, and that they were therefore released from their oaths. This, then, is what I have to say about Lycurgus.

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- I. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν Νομᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνων, καθ' οὗς γέγονε, νεανικὴ διαφορά, καίπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τοῦτον κατὰγεσθαι τῶν στεμμάτων ἀκριβῶς δοκούντων. ἀλλὰ Κλώδιός τις ἐν ἐλέγχῳ χρόνων (οὕτω γάρ πως ἐπιγέγραπται τὸ βιβλίον) ἰσχυρίζεται τὰς μὲν ἀρχαίας ἐκείνας ἀναγραφὰς ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς πάθεσι τῆς πόλεως ἠφανίσθαι, τὰς δὲ νῦν φαινομένας οὐκ ἀληθῶς συγκεῖσθαι δι' ἀνδρῶν χαριζομένων τισὶν εἰς τὰ πρῶτα γένη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους οἴκους ἐξ οὗ προσηκόντων
- 2 εἰσβιαζομένοις. λεγομένου δ' οὖν ὡς Νομᾶς γένοι- 60
το Πυθαγόρου συνήθης, οἱ μὲν ὅλως ἀξιούσι μηδὲν Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείσεως Νομᾶ μετεῖναι, καθάπερ ἡ φύσει δυνατὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ βελτίονι Πυθαγόρου βαρβάρῳ τινὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδοῦναι παιδευσιν· οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν μὲν ὁψὲ γενέσθαι, τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων
- 3 ὁμοῦ τι πέντε γενεαῖς ἀπολειπόμενον, Πυθαγόραν δὲ τὸν Σπαρτιάτην Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότα στάδιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκαιδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἧς ἔτει τρίτῳ Νομᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστη, πλανηθέντα περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν συγγενέσθαι τῷ Νομᾶ καὶ συν-

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I. THERE is likewise¹ a vigorous dispute about the time at which King Numa lived, although from the beginning down to him the genealogies seem to be made out accurately. But a certain Clodius, in a book entitled "An Examination of Chronology," insists that the ancient records were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls,² and that those which are now exhibited as such were forged, their compilers wishing to gratify the pride of certain persons by inserting their names among the first families and the most illustrious houses, where they had no cause to appear. Accordingly, when it is said that Numa was an intimate friend of Pythagoras, some deny utterly that Numa had any Greek culture, holding either that he was naturally capable of attaining excellence by his own efforts, or that the culture of the king was due to some Barbarian superior to Pythagoras. Others say that Pythagoras the philosopher lived as many as five generations after Numa, but that there was another Pythagoras, the Spartan, who was Olympic victor in the foot-race for the sixteenth Olympiad³ (in the third year of which Numa was made king), and that in his wanderings about Italy he made the acquaintance of Numa, and helped him arrange the

¹ Cf. *Lycurgus*, i. 1-3.

² 390 B.C. Cf. *Camillus*, xix.-xxix. ³ 657-654 B.C.

διακοσμήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅθεν οὐκ ὀλίγα τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν Λακωνικῶν ἀναμειχθαι Πυθαγόρου διδάξαντος. ἄλλως δὲ Νομάς γένος μὲν ἦν ἐκ Σαβίνων, Σαβίνοι δὲ βούλονται

4 Λακεδαιμονίων ἑαυτοὺς ἀποίκους γεγονέναι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους, ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὀψέ φασιν Ἱππίαν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἡλείον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν· ἃ δὲ παρειλήφαμεν ἡμεῖς ἄξια λόγου περὶ Νομά, διέξιμεν ἀρχὴν οἰκείαν λαβόντες.

II. Ἐβδομον ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ Ῥώμη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἤδη Ῥωμύλου βασιλεύοντος ᾤκειτο· πέμπτη δὲ ἵσταμένου μηνός, ἦν νῦν ἡμέραν νῶνας Καπρατῖνας καλοῦσι, θυσίαν τινὰ δημοτελῆ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὃ Ῥωμύλος ἔθυε περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Αἰγὸς ἔλος, καὶ παρῆν ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ τοῦ δήμου

2 τὸ πλεῖστον. ἐξαίφνης δὲ μεγάλης περὶ τὸν ἀέρα τροπῆς γενομένης καὶ νέφους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐρεΐσαντος ἅμα πνεύματι καὶ ζάλῃ, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ὄμιλον ἐκπλαγέντα συνέβη φυγεῖν καὶ σκεδασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι, καὶ μήτε αὐτὸν ἔτι μήτε σῶμα τεθνηκότος εὑρεθῆναι, χαλεπὴν δέ τιν' ὑπόνοιαν ἄψασθαι τῶν πατρικίων, καὶ ῥυῆναι λόγον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατ' αὐτῶν ὡς πάλοι βαρυνόμενοι τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ μεταστήσαι τὸ κράτος εἰς αὐτοὺς θέλοντες ἀνέλοιεν τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τραχύτερον ἤδη

3 προσφέρεσθαι καὶ μοναρχικώτερον αὐτοῖς. ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐθεράπευον εἰς θεῶν

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government of the city, whence it came about that many Spartan customs were mingled with the Roman, as Pythagoras taught them to Numa. And at all events, Numa was of Sabine descent, and the Sabines will have it that they were colonists from Lacedaemon. Chronology, however, is hard to fix, and especially that which is based on the names of victors in the Olympic games, the list of which is said to have been published at a late period by Hippias of Elis, who had no fully authoritative basis for his work. I shall therefore begin at a convenient point, and relate the noteworthy facts which I have found in the life of Numa.

II. For thirty-seven years, now, Rome had been built and Romulus had been its king; and on the fifth of the month of July, which day they now call the Capratine Nones, Romulus was offering a public sacrifice outside the city at the so-called Goat's Marsh, in the presence of the senate and most of the people. Suddenly there was a great commotion in the air, and a cloud descended upon the earth bringing with it blasts of wind and rain. The throng of common folk were terrified and fled in all directions, but Romulus disappeared, and was never found again either alive or dead. Upon this a grievous suspicion attached itself to the patricians, and an accusing story was current among the people to the effect that they had long been weary of kingly rule, and desired to transfer the power to themselves, and had therefore made away with the king. And indeed it had been noticed for some time that he treated them with greater harshness and arrogance. This suspicion the patricians sought to remove by ascribing divine honours to Romulus,

τιμὰς ἀνάγοντες ὥς οὐ τεθνηκότα τὸν Ῥωμόλον, ἀλλὰ κρείττονος ὄντα μοίρας· καὶ Πρόκλος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, διωμόσατο Ῥωμόλον ἰδεῖν εἰς οὐρανὸν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀναφερόμενον, καὶ φωνῆς ἀκοῦσαι κελεύοντος αὐτὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι Κυρίνον.

- 4 Ἐτέρα δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι βασιλέως, οὐπω τῶν ἐπηλύδων κομιδῇ τοῖς πρώτοις συγκεκραμένων πολίταις, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦ τε δήμου πολλὰ κυμαίνοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἐν ὑποψίαις ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι μὲν ἐδόκει πᾶσιν, ἤρισαν δὲ καὶ διέστησαν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένους, ὁπότερον
- 5 παρέξει τὸν ἡγεμόνα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μετὰ Ῥωμόλου πρῶτοι συνοικίσαντες τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο πόλεως καὶ χώρας τοὺς Σαβίνους μεταλαβόντας ἄρχειν βιάζεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα δεξαμένων, καὶ τοῖς Σαβίνοις ἦν τις εὐγνώμων λόγος, ἐπεὶ Τατίου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος οὐκ ἐστασίασαν πρὸς Ῥωμόλον, ἀλλ' εἶασαν ἄρχειν μόνον, αὐθις ἀξιούντων τὸν ἄρχοντα γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ ταπεινοτέρων κρείττοσι προσγενέσθαι, καὶ προσγεγνημένοι πλήθει τε ῥῶσαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν εἰς ἀξίωμα πόλεως ἐκείνους μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐστασίαζον.

- 6 Ὅπως δὲ μὴ σύγχυσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας ἢ στάσις ἀπεργάσεται, μετεώρου τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὄντος, ἔταξαν οἱ πατρικιοὶ πενήτηκοντα 61

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on the ground that he was not dead, but blessed with a better lot. And Proculus, a man of eminence, took oath that he had seen Romulus ascending to heaven in full armour, and had heard his voice commanding that he be called Quirinus.¹

The city was now beset with fresh disturbance and faction over the king to be appointed in his stead, for the new comers were not yet altogether blended with the original citizens, but the commonalty was still like a surging sea, and the patricians full of jealousy towards one another on account of their different nationalities. It is indeed true that it was the pleasure of all to have a king, but they wrangled and quarrelled, not only about the man who should be their leader, but also about the tribe which should furnish him. For those who had built the city with Romulus at the outset thought it intolerable that the Sabines, after getting a share in the city and its territory, should insist on ruling those who had received them into such privileges; and the Sabines, since on the death of their king Tatius they had raised no faction against Romulus, but suffered him to rule alone, had a reasonable ground for demanding that now the ruler should come from them. They would not admit that they had added themselves as inferiors to superiors, but held rather that their addition had brought the strength of numbers and advanced both parties alike to the dignity of a city. On these questions, then, they were divided into factions.

But in order that their factions might not produce utter confusion from the absence of all authority, now that the administration of affairs was suspended,

¹ Cf. *Romulus*, xxvii. 3—xxviii. 3.

καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντων αὐτῶν, ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει τοῖς βασιλικοῖς παρασήμοις κοσμούμενον θύειν τε τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νενομισμένα καὶ χρηματίζειν ἕξ μὲν ὥρας 7 τῆς νυκτός, ἕξ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ γὰρ ἡ διανομὴ τῶν καιρῶν ἑκατέρου πρὸς ἰσότητα καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς ἄρχουσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρεῖν τὸν φθόνον, ὁρῶντα τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἰδιώτην ἐκ βασιλέως γινόμενον. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς μεσοβασιλείαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.

III. Ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω πολιτικῶς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἀφηγεῖσθαι δοκοῦντες, ὑπονοαῖς καὶ θορύβοις περιέπιπτον, ὡς μεθιστάντες εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαπαιδαγωγοῦντες ἐν σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὴν πολιτείαν, βασιλεύεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν. ἐκ τούτου συνέβησαν ἀμφότεραι πρὸς ἀλλήλας αἱ στάσεις, ὥστε τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκ 2 τῆς ἑτέρας ἀποδείξαι βασιλέα· μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι παύσασθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, καὶ τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἴσον γενέσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐλομένους ἀγαπῶντα, τοῖς δὲ εὖνουν ὄντα διὰ συγγένειαν. ἐπιτρεψάντων δὲ προτέροις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῶν Σαβίνων τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἔδοξε μᾶλλον ἐλέσθαι Σαβίνον αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξαντας ἢ παρασχεῖν Ῥωμαῖον ἐκείνων 3 ἐλομένων. καὶ βουλευσάμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἐκ Σαβίνων Νομᾶν Πομπήλιον, ἄνδρα τῶν μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπφκισμένων οὐ γενόμενον,

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it was arranged by the senators, who were one hundred and fifty in number,¹ that each of them in his turn should assume the insignia of royalty, make the customary sacrifices to the gods, and transact public business, for the space of six hours by day and six hours by night. This distribution of times seemed well adapted to secure equality between the two factions, and the transfer of power likely to remove all jealousy on the part of the people, when they saw the same man, in the course of a single day and night, become king and then a private citizen again. This form of government the Romans call "interregnum."

III. But although in this way the senators were thought to rule constitutionally and without oppression, they roused suspicions and clamorous charges that they had changed the form of government to an oligarchy, and were holding the state in tutelage among themselves, and were unwilling to be ruled by a king. Therefore it was agreed by both factions that one should appoint a king from the other. This was thought the best way to end their prevailing partisanship, and the king thus appointed would be equally well-disposed to both parties, being gracious to the one as his electors, and friendly to the other because of his kinship with them. Then, as the Sabines gave the Romans their option in the matter, it seemed to them better to have a Sabine king of their own nomination, than to have a Roman made king by the Sabines. They took counsel, therefore, among themselves, and nominated Numa Pompilius from among the Sabines, a man who had not joined the emigrants to Rome,

¹ Cf. *Romulus*, xx. 1.

γνώριμον δ' οὕτω δι' ἀρετὴν ὄντα πᾶσιν ὥστε
τῶν ἐλομένων προθυμότερον ὀνομασθέντος αὐτοῦ
δέξασθαι τοὺς Σαβίνους. φράσαντες οὖν τῷ δήμῳ
τὰ δεδογμένα, πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν
ἄνδρα κοινῇ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων,
ἤκειν δεησομένους καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασι-
λείαν.

- 4 Ἦν δὲ πόλεως μὲν ὁ Νομάς ἐπιφανοὺς ἐν
Σαβίνοις τῆς Κύρεων, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Κυρίτας
Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἀνακραθεῖσι
Σαβίνοις προσηγόρευσαν, υἱὸς δὲ Πόμπωνος,¹
ἄνδρὸς εὐδοκίμου, τεσσάρων ἀδελφῶν νεώτατος·
ἡμέρα δὲ γεγωνὼς κατὰ δὴ τινα θείαν τύχην ἐν
ἡ τὴν Ῥώμην ἔκτισαν οἱ περὶ Ῥωμύλον· αὕτη δέ
5 ἔστι πρὸ δεκαμῆας καλανδῶν Ματίων. φύσει δὲ
πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εὖ κεκραμένος τὸ ἦθος, ἔτι
μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐξημέρωσε διὰ παιδείας καὶ κακο-
παθείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας,² οὐ μόνον τὰ λοιδορού-
μενα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐδοκι-
μοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις βίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν
ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενος, ἀνδρείαν δὲ ἀληθῆ τὴν ὑπὸ
λόγου τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κάθειρξιν ἡγού-
6 μενος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶσαν οἰκοθεν ἅμα τρυφὴν
καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξελαύνων, παντὶ δὲ πολίτῃ καὶ
ξένῳ χρήσθαι παρέχων ἑαυτὸν ἄμεμπτον δικασ-
τὴν καὶ σύμβουλον, αὐτὸς δ' ἑαυτῷ σχολάζοντι
χρῶμενος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ πορισμούς,
ἀλλὰ θεραπείαν θεῶν καὶ θεωρίαν διὰ λόγου
φύσεώς τε αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεως, ὄνομα μέγα καὶ

¹ Πόμπωνος a correction of Πομπωνίου by Sintenis² (critical notes), adopted by Bekker, and now confirmed by S.

² καὶ φιλοσοφίας omitted by Bekker, with C.

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but was so universally celebrated for his virtues that, when he was nominated, the Sabines accepted him with even greater readiness than those who had chosen him. Accordingly, after making their decision known to the people, the leading senators of both parties were sent as ambassadors to Numa, begging him to come and assume the royal power.

Numa belonged to a conspicuous city of the Sabines called Cures, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the joint name of Quirites. He was a son of Pompon, an illustrious man, and was the youngest of four brothers. He was born, moreover, by some divine felicity, on the very day when Rome was founded by Romulus, that is, the twenty-first day of April.¹ By natural temperament he was inclined to the practice of every virtue, and he had subdued himself still more by discipline, endurance of hardships, and the study of wisdom. He had thus put away from himself not only the infamous passions of the soul, but also that violence and rapacity which are in such high repute among Barbarians, believing that true bravery consisted in the subjugation of one's passions by reason. On this account he banished from his house all luxury and extravagance, and while citizen and stranger alike found in him a faultless judge and counsellor, he devoted his hours of privacy and leisure, not to enjoyments and money-making, but to the service of the gods, and the rational contemplation of their nature and power. In consequence he had a great

¹ Cf. *Romulus*, xii. 1.

δόξαν εἶχεν, ὥστε καὶ Τάτιον τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 συμβασιλεύσαντα Ῥωμύλῳ, μιᾷς αὐτῷ θυγατρὸς
 7 οὔσης Τατίας, ποιήσασθαι γαμβρὸν ἐκείνον. οὐ
 μὴν ἐπήρθη γε τῷ γάμῳ μετοικίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν
 πενθερόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ περιέπων πατέρα γηραιὸν
 ἐν Σαβίνοις ὑπέμενεν, ἅμα καὶ τῆς Τατίας ἐλομέ-
 νης τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιωτεύοντος ἡσυχίαν πρὸ τῆς
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν πατέρα τιμῆς καὶ δόξης. αὕτη
 μὲν οὖν λέγεται τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ μετὰ τὸν
 γάμον ἔτει τελευτῆσαι.

IV. Ὁ δὲ Νομᾶς ἐκλείπων τὰς ἐν ἄστει δια-
 τριβὰς ἀγραινέειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πλανᾶσθαι μόνος
 ἤθελεν, ἐν ἄλσεσι θεῶν καὶ λειμῶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ
 τόποις ἐρήμοις ποιούμενος τὴν δίαίταν. ὅθεν 62
 οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ περὶ τῆς θεᾶς ἔλαβε
 λόγος, ὥς ἄρα Νομᾶς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀδημονία τινὶ
 ψυχῆς καὶ πλάνῃ τὸν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέ-
 2 λοιπε βίον, ἀλλὰ σεμνοτέρας γεγευμένος ὁμιλίας
 καὶ γάμων θείων ἡξιωμένος, Ἡγερίᾳ δαίμονι
 συνὼν ἐρώσῃ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ
 καὶ τὰ θεία πεπνυμένος γέγονεν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν
 ταῦτα πολλοῖς τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν μύθων ἔοικεν,
 οὓς οἱ Φρύγες τε περὶ Ἄττεω καὶ Βιθυνοὶ περὶ
 Ἡροδότου καὶ περὶ Ἐνδυμίωνος Ἀρκάδες ἄλλοι
 τε περὶ ἄλλων εὐδαιμόνων δὴ τινων καὶ θεοφιλῶν
 γενέσθαι δοκούντων παραλαβόντες ἠγάπησαν,
 3 οὐκ ἄδηλόν ἐστι. καὶ που λόγον ἔχει τὸν θεόν,
 οὐ φίλιππον οὐδὲ φίλορριν, ἀλλὰ φιλόανθρωπον
 ὄντα, τοῖς διαφερόντως ἀγαθοῖς ἐθέλειν συνεῖναι,
 καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν μηδὲ ἀτιμάζειν ἀνδρὸς ὁσίου

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name and fame, so that Tatius, the royal colleague of Romulus at Rome, made him the husband of his only daughter, Tatia. He was not, however, so exalted by his marriage as to go to dwell with his royal father-in-law, but remained among the Sabines ministering to his aged father. Tatia, too, preferred the quiet life which her husband led as a private citizen to the honour and fame which she had enjoyed at Rome because of her father. But she died, as we are told, in the thirteenth year after her marriage.

IV. Then Numa, forsaking the ways of city folk, determined to live for the most part in country places, and to wander there alone, passing his days in groves of the gods, sacred meadows, and solitudes. This, more than anything else, gave rise to the story about his goddess. It was not, so the story ran, from any distress or aberration of spirit that he forsook the ways of men, but he had tasted the joy of more august companionship and had been honoured with a celestial marriage; the goddess Egeria loved him and bestowed herself upon him, and it was his communion with her that gave him a life of blessedness and a wisdom more than human. However, that this story resembles many of the very ancient tales which the Phrygians have received and cherished concerning Attis, the Bithynians concerning Herodotus, the Arcadians concerning Endymion, and other peoples concerning other mortals who were thought to have achieved a life of blessedness in the love of the gods, is quite evident. And there is some reason in supposing that Deity, who is not a lover of horses or birds, but a lover of men, should be willing to consort with men of superlative goodness, and should not dislike or disdain the company of a wise and holy

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καὶ σώφρωνος ὁμλίαν. ὥς δὲ καὶ σώματος ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ ὥρας ἐστί τις θεῶ καὶ δαίμονι κοινωνία καὶ χάρις, ἔργον ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο πεισθῆναι.

- 4 Καίτοι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπιθάνως Αἰγύπτιοι διαιρεῖν ὥς γυναικὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀδύνατον πνεῦμα πλησιάσαι θεοῦ καὶ τινὰς ἐντεκεῖν ἀρχὰς γενέσεως, ἀνδρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σύμμιξις πρὸς θεὸν οὐδὲ ὁμλία σώματος. ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ ὅτι τὸ μὲν γινόμενον ᾧ μίγνυται τὴν ἴσην ἀνταποδίδωσι κοινωνίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φιλίαν γε πρὸς ἄνθρωπον εἶναι θεῶ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ λεγόμενον ἔρωτα καὶ φνόμενον εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἡθους καὶ ἀρετῆς, πρέπον ἂν εἴη.
- 5 καὶ οὐ πλημμελοῦσιν οἱ τὸν Φόρβαντα καὶ τὸν Ἑτάκιον καὶ τὸν Ἀδμητον ἐρωμένους Ἀπόλλωνος γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦντες, ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ τὸν Σικυώνιον Ἱππόλυτον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ φασιν, ὁσάκις τύχοι διαπλέων εἰς Κίρραν ἐκ Σικυῶνος, τὴν Πυθίαν, οἷον αἰσθανομένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ χαίροντος, ἀποθεσπίζειν τόδε τὸ ἥρῃον·

Καὶ δ' αὖθ' Ἱππολύτοιο φίλον κἄρα εἰς ἅλα βαίνει.

- 6 Πινδάρου δὲ καὶ τῶν μελῶν ἐραστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Πᾶνα μυθολογοῦσιν. ἀπέδωκε δέ τινα τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρχιλόχῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ τελευτήσασιν διὰ τὰς Μούσας τὸ δαιμόνιον. Σοφοκλεῖ δὲ καὶ ζῶντι

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man. But that an immortal god should take carnal pleasure in a mortal body and its beauty, this, surely, is hard to believe.

And yet the Egyptians make a distinction here which is thought plausible, namely, that while a woman can be approached by a divine spirit and made pregnant, there is no such thing as carnal intercourse and communion between a man and a divinity. But they lose sight of the fact that intercourse is a reciprocal matter, and that both parties to it enter into a like communion. However, that a god should have affection for a man, and a so-called love which is based upon affection, and takes the form of solicitude for his character and his virtue, is fit and proper. And therefore it is no mistake when the ancient poets tell their tales of the love Apollo bore Phorbas, Hyacinthus, and Admetus, as well as the Sicyonian Hippolytus also, of whom it is said, that, as often as he set out to sail from Sicyon to Cirrha, the Pythian priestess, as though the god knew of his coming and rejoiced thereat, chanted this prophetic verse:—

“Lo, once more doth beloved Hippolytus hither
make voyage.”

There is a legend, too, that Pan became enamoured of Pindar and his verses. And the divine powers bestowed signal honour on Archilochus and Hesiod after their deaths, for the sake of the Muses.¹ Again,

¹ The Delphian oracle pronounced a curse on the man who killed Archilochus, because “he had slain the servant of the Muses.” And the same oracle told the people of Orchomenus, when a plague had fallen upon them, that “the only remedy was to bring back the bones of Hesiod from the land of Naupactus to the land of Orchomenus.”

τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐπιξενωθῆναι λόγος ἐστὶ πολλὰ
μέχρι δεῦρο διασώζων τεκμήρια, καὶ τελευτήσαντι
τυχεῖν ταφῆς ἄλλος θεός, ὡς λέγεται, παρέσχευ.
7 ἄρα οὖν ἄξιόν ἐστι, ταῦτα συγχωροῦντας ἐπὶ
τούτων, ἀπιστεῖν εἰ Ζαλεύκῳ καὶ Μίνῳ καὶ Ζω-
ροάστρῃ καὶ Νομᾷ καὶ Λυκούργῳ βασιλείας
κυβερνῶσι καὶ πολιτείας διακοσμοῦσιν· εἰς τὸ
αὐτὸ ἐφοῖτα τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἢ τούτοις μὲν εἰκός ἐστι
καὶ σπουδάζοντας θεοὺς ὁμιλεῖν ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ
καὶ παραινέσει τῶν βελτίστων, ποιηταῖς δὲ καὶ
λυρικοῖς μινυρίζουσιν, εἴπερ ἄρα, χρῆσθαι παί-
8 ζοντας; εἰ δὲ λέγει τις ἄλλως, κατὰ Βακχυλίδην,
“Πλατεῖα κέλευθος.” οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄτερος λόγος ἔχει
τι φαῦλον, ὃν περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Νομᾷ καὶ
τοιούτων ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν λέγουσιν, ὡς δυσκάθεκτα
καὶ δυσάρεστα πλήθη χειρούμενοι καὶ μεγάλας
ἐπιφέρουντες ταῖς πολιτείαις καινοτομίας, προσε-
ποιήσαντο τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, αὐτοῖς ἐκεί-
νοις πρὸς οὓς ἐσχηματίζοντο σωτήριον οὔσαν.

V. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτος ἤδη διατελοῦντι τῷ Νομᾷ
τεσσαρακοστὸν ἦκον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης οἱ πρέσβεις
παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. τοὺς δὲ λό-
γους ἐποιήσατο Πρόκλος καὶ Οὐέλεσος, ὧν πρό-
τερον ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος αἰρήσεσθαι τὸν ἕτερον
βασιλέα, Πρόκλῳ μὲν τῶν Ῥωμύλου λαῶν,
Οὐελέσῳ δὲ τῶν Τατίου μάλιστα προσεχόντων.
οὔτοι μὲν οὖν βραχέα διελέχθησαν, οἰόμενοι τῷ

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there is a story, still well attested, that Sophocles, during his life, was blessed with the friendship of Aesculapius, and that when he died, another deity procured him fitting burial.¹ Is it worth while, then, if we concede these instances of divine favour, to disbelieve that Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, who piloted kingdoms and formulated constitutions, had frequent audience of the Deity? Is it not likely, rather, that the gods are in earnest when they hold converse with such men as these, in order to instruct and advise them in the highest and best way, but use poets and warbling singers, if at all, for their own diversion? However, if any one is otherwise minded, I say with Bacchylides, "Broad is the way."² Indeed there is no absurdity in the other account which is given of Lycurgus and Numa and their like, namely, that since they were managing headstrong and captious multitudes, and introducing great innovations in modes of government, they pretended to get a sanction from the god, which sanction was the salvation of the very ones against whom it was contrived.

V. But to resume the story, Numa was already completing his fortieth year when the embassy came from Rome inviting him to take the throne. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, one or the other of whom the people was expected to choose as their king, Proculus being the favourite of the people of Romulus, and Velesus of the people of Tattius. These speakers, then, were brief, supposing

¹ Dionysus is said to have appeared to Lysander and ordered him to allow Sophocles to be buried in the tomb of his fathers, on the road to Deceleia, then occupied by the Lacedaemonian army. See Pausanias, i. 21, 1, with Frazer's note.

² Fragment 29 (Jebb, *Bacchylides*, p. 423).

- 2 Νομᾶ τὴν συντυχίαν ἀσπαζομένῳ γεγονέναι ἦν δ' οὐ μικρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων πολλῶν καὶ δεήσεως τὸ πείσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι γνώμην ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ βεβιωκότος εἰς ἀρχὴν πόλεως τρόπον τινὰ καὶ γεγενημένης¹ πολέμου καὶ συνηυξημένης. ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῦ τε 63 πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παρόντος καὶ Μαρκίου, τῶν συγγενῶν ἐνός, ὡς “Πᾶσα μὲν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου μεταβολὴ σφαλερόν· ὧ δὲ μήτ' ἀπεστί τι τῶν ἱκανῶν μήτε μεμπτόν ἐστι τῶν παρόντων, τοῦτον οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ἄνοια μετακοσμεῖ καὶ μεθίστησιν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων· οἷς κὰν εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον προσείη,
- 3 τῷ βεβαιωτέρῳ διαφέρει τῶν ἀδήλων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄδηλα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τοῖς Ῥωμύλου τεκμαιρομένῳ παθήμασιν, ὡς πονηρὰν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλαβε δόξαν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ συνάρχοντι Τατίῳ, πονηρὰν δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις περιεποίησεν ὡς ἀνηρημένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν. καίτοι Ῥωμύλον μὲν οὗτοι παῖδα θεῶν ὑμνοῦσι φήμας, καὶ τροφήν τινα δαιμόνιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀπιστον ἔτι νηπίου λέγουσιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ γένος θνητόν ἐστι καὶ τροφή καὶ παίδευσις ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ὧν οὐκ
- 4 ἀγνοεῖτε γεγενημένη· τὰ δ' ἐπαινούμενα τοῦ τρόπου βασιλεύειν πόρρω μέλλοντος ἀνδρός, ἡσυχία τε πολλὴ καὶ διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους ἀπράγμονας, ὃ τε δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ σύντροφος εἰρήνης ἔρως καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπολέμων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν καὶ φιλοφροσύναις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνιόντων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γεωργούντων ἢ

¹ γεγενημένης Bekker has γεγεννημένης (born), after Cornelia.

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that Numa would welcome his good fortune. It was, however, no slight task, but one requiring much argument and entreaty, to persuade and induce a man who had lived in peace and quiet, to accept the government of a city which owed its existence and growth, in a fashion, to war. His reply, therefore, in the presence of his father and one of his kinsmen named Marcius, was as follows. "Every change in a man's life is perilous; but when a man knows no lack, and has no fault to find with his present lot, nothing short of madness can change his purposes and remove him from his wonted course of life, which, even though it have no other advantage, is at least fixed and secure, and therefore better than one which is all uncertain. But the lot of one who becomes your king cannot even be called uncertain, judging from the experience of Romulus, since he himself was accused of basely plotting against his colleague Tatius, and involved the patricians in the charge of having basely put their king out of the way. And yet those who bring these accusations laud Romulus as a child of the gods, and tell how he was preserved in an incredible way and fed in a miraculous manner when he was still an infant. But I am of mortal birth, and I was nourished and trained by men whom you know. Moreover, the very traits in my disposition which are commended, are far from marking a man destined to be a king, namely, my great love of retirement, my devotion to studies inconsistent with the usual activities of men, and my well-known strong and inveterate love of peace, of unwarlike occupations, and of men who come together only for the worship of the gods and for friendly intercourse, but who otherwise live by themselves as

5 νεμόντων. ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἴσως ἀβουλήτους ἀπολέλοιπε πολέμους Ῥωμύλος, οἷς ἀντερείδοντας ἢ πόλιν ἐμπείρου δεῖται βασιλέως καὶ ἀκμάζοντος· πολλή δὲ καὶ συνήθεια καὶ προθυμία δι' εὐτυχίαν γέγονε τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ οὐδένα λέληθεν αὔξεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ἐτέρων βουλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ γέλως ἂν εἴη τὰμά, θεραπεύοντος θεοῦς, καὶ δίκην τιμᾶν, βίαν δὲ καὶ πόλεμον ἐχθαίρειν διδάσκοντος πόλιν στρατηλάτου μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέως δεομένην.”

VI. Τοιούτοις λόγοις ἀφοσιουμένου τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι πᾶσαν ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν ἀντιβολουῦντες καὶ δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς αὐθις εἰς στάσιν ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, οὐκ ὄντος ἐτέρου πρὸς ὃν ἀμφοτέραι συννεύουσιν αἱ στάσεις, ὃ τε πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκείνων μεταστάντων ἰδίᾳ προσκείμενοι τὸν Νομᾶν ἔπει-
2 θον δέχεσθαι μέγα καὶ θεῖον δῶρον. “Ἐὶ δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτε πλούτου δέῃ δι' αὐτάρκειαν οὔτε δόξαν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας ἐζήλωκας κρείσσονα τὴν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὑπηρεσίαν γε θεοῦ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡγούμενος, ὅς γε ἀνίστησι καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ κεῖσθαι καὶ ἀργεῖν τὴν ἐν σοὶ τοσαύτην δικαιοσύνην, μὴ φεῦγε μηδὲ ἀποδίδρασκε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ πράξεων καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων οὖσαν χώραν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ θεραπείαι θεῶν μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰσι καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀνθρώπων ἡμερώσεις ῥᾶστα καὶ τάχιστα μετακοσμουμένων ὑπὸ

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tillers of the soil or herdsmen. Whereas, unto you, O Romans, whether you want them or not, Romulus has bequeathed many wars, and to make head against these the city needs a king with a warrior's experience and strength. Besides, the people has become much accustomed to war, and eager for it because of their successes, and no one is blind to their desire for growth by conquest. I should therefore become a laughing-stock if I sought to serve the gods, and taught men to honour justice and hate violence and war, in a city which desires a leader of its armies rather than a king."

VI. With such words did Numa decline the kingdom. Then the Romans put forth every effort to meet his objections, and begged him not to plunge them again into faction and civil war, since there was none other on whom both parties could unite. His father also and Marcius, when the envoys had withdrawn, beset him privately, and tried to persuade him to accept so great a gift or the gods. "Even though," they said, "thou neither desirest wealth for thyself, because thou hast enough, nor covetest the fame which comes from authority and power, because thou hast the greater fame which comes from virtue, yet consider that the work of a true king is a service rendered to God, who now rouses up and refuses to leave dormant and inactive the great righteousness which is within thee. Do not, therefore, avoid nor flee from this office, which a wise man will regard as a field for great and noble actions, where the gods are honoured with magnificent worship, and the hearts of men are easily and quickly softened and inclined towards piety, through the moulding influence of their ruler. This people

- 3 τοῦ κρατοῦντος. οὗτοι καὶ Τάτιον ἔστερξαν ἔπη-
 λυν ἡγεμόνα, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμύλου μνήμην ἀπο-
 θεοῦσι ταῖς τιμαῖς. τίς δὲ οἶδεν εἰ καὶ νικῶντι
 δήμῳ πολέμου κόρος ἐστί, καὶ μεστοὶ θριάμβων
 καὶ λαφύρων γεγονότες ἡγεμόνα πρᾶον καὶ δίκης
 ἐταῖρον ἐπ' εὐνομία καὶ εἰρήνῃ ποθοῦσιν; εἰ δὲ δὴ
 καὶ παντάπασιν ἀκρατῶς ἔχουσι καὶ μανικῶς
 πρὸς πόλεμον, ἂρ' οὐχὶ βέλτιον ἀλλαχόσε τὴν
 ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν τρέπειν, διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα τὰς
 ἡνίας, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι καὶ παντὶ τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει
 σύνδεσμον εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς πόλιν ἀκμά-
 4 ζουσιν καὶ δυνατὴν γενέσθαι;" τοῦτοις προσῆν,
 ὡς λέγεται, σημειῖά τε χρηστὰ καὶ σπουδὴ τῶν
 πολιτῶν καὶ ζῆλος, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν πρεσβείαν,
 δεομένων βαδίζειν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν βασι-
 λείαν ἐπὶ κοινωνία καὶ συγκράσει τῶν πολιτῶν.¹

VII. Ὡς οὖν ἐδέδοκτο, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς προ-
 ἦγεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. ἀπήντα δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ
 δῆμος ἔρωτι θαυμαστῷ τοῦ ἀνδρός, εὐφημίαι τε
 πρέπουσαι γυναικῶν ἐγίνοντο καὶ θυσίαι πρὸς 64
 ἱεροῖς καὶ χαρὰ πάντων, ὥσπερ οὐ βασιλέα τῆς
 πόλεως, ἀλλὰ βασιλείαν δεχομένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς
 τὴν ἀγορὰν κατέστησαν, ὁ μὲν ταῖς ὥραις ἐκείναις
 συνειληχῶς μεσοβασιλεὺς Σπόριος Οὐέττιος ψῆ-
 φον ἐπέδωκε τοῖς πολίταις καὶ πάντες ἤνεγκαν,
 προσφερομένων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν βασιλικῶν παρα-
 σήμων ἐπισχεῖν κελεύσας ἔφη δεῖσθαι καὶ θεοῦ
 2 τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμπεδοῦντος αὐτῷ. παραλαβὼν

¹ πολιτῶν MSS. and edd., including Sintenis¹. Bekker corrects to πόλεων (cities), and is followed by Sintenis².

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loved Tatius, though he was a foreign prince, and they pay divine honours to the memory of Romulus. And who knows but that the people, even though victorious, is sated with war, and, now that it is glutted with triumphs and spoils, is desirous of a gentle prince, who is a friend of justice, and will lead them in the paths of order and peace? But if, indeed, they are altogether intemperate and mad in their desire for war, then were it not better that thou, holding the reins of government in thy hand, shouldst turn their eager course another way, and that thy native city and the whole Sabine nation should have in thee a bond of goodwill and friendship with a vigorous and powerful city?" These appeals were strengthened, we are told, by auspicious omens and by the zealous ardour of his fellow-citizens, who, when they learned of the embassy from Rome, begged him to return with it and assume the royal power there, in order to unite and blend together the citizens.

VII. Numa therefore decided to yield, and after sacrificing to the gods, set out for Rome. The senate and people met him on his way, filled with a wondrous love of the man; women welcomed him with fitting cries of joy; sacrifices were offered in the temples, and joy was universal, as if the city were receiving, not a king, but a kingdom. When they were come down into the forum, Spurius Vettius, whose lot it was to be "interrex"¹ at that hour, called for a vote of the citizens, and all voted for Numa. But when the insignia of royalty were brought to him, he bade the people pause, and said his authority must first be ratified by Heaven. Then

¹ Cf. chapter ii. 7.

- δὲ μάντεις καὶ ἱερεῖς ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὸ Καπι-
τώλιον· Ταρπήϊον αὐτὸ λόφον οἱ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι
προσηγόρευον. ἐνταῦθα τῶν μάντεων ὁ πρω-
τεύων τὸν μὲν εἰς μεσημβρίαν τρέψας ἐγκεκαλυμ-
μένον, αὐτὸς δὲ παραστὰς ἐξόπισθεν καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ
τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτοῦ κατεύξατο, καὶ
3 περιφέρειν. σιγῇ δὲ ἄπιστος ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ
τὴν ἀγορὰν κατεῖχε καραδοκούντων καὶ συναιω-
ρουμένων τῷ μέλλοντι, μέχρι οὗ προῦφάνησαν
ὄρνιθες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ ἐπέτρεψαν.¹ οὕτω δὲ
τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα κατέβαινε
Νομᾶς εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. τότε δὲ
καὶ φωναὶ καὶ δεξιώσεις ἦσαν ὡς εὐσεβέστατον
καὶ θεοφιλέστατον δεχομένων.
- 4 Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῶν
τριακοσίων σύστημα διέλυσεν, οὓς Ῥωμύλος
ἔχων αἰεὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα Κέλερας προσηγόρευσεν,
ὅπερ ἐστὶ ταχεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν πιστεύουσιν
οὔτε βασιλεύειν ἀπιστούντων ἡξίου. δεύτερον
δὲ τοῖς οὖσιν ἱερεῦσι Διὸς καὶ Ἄρεως τρίτον
Ῥωμύλου προσκατέστησεν, ὃν Φλάμινα Κυρι-
5 νάλιον ὠνόμασεν. ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς προγενε-
στέρους Φλάμινας ἀπὸ τῶν περικρανίων πύλων
οὓς περὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι, πιλαμένας
τινὰς ὄντας, ὡς ἱστοροῦσι, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνο-
μάτων τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν τοῖς Λατίνοις ἀνακεκρα-
μένων. καὶ γὰρ ἅς ἐφόρουν οἱ ἱερεῖς λαίνας ὁ

¹ καὶ δεξιοὶ ἐπέτρεψαν with S: καὶ δεξιοὶ καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν.

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taking with him the augurs and priests, he ascended the Capitol, which the Romans of that time called the Tarpeian Hill. There the chief of the augurs turned the veiled head of Numa towards the south, while he himself, standing behind him, and laying the right hand on his head, prayed aloud, and turned his eyes in all directions to observe whatever birds or other omens might be sent from the gods. Then an incredible silence fell upon the vast multitude in the forum, who watched in eager suspense for the issue, until at last auspicious birds appeared and approached the scene on the right. Then Numa put on his royal robes and went down from the citadel to the multitude, where he was received with glad cries of welcome as the most pious of men and most beloved of the gods.

His first measure on assuming the government was to disband the body of three hundred men that Romulus always kept about his person, and called "*Celeres*" (that is, *swift ones*¹); for he would not consent to distrust those who trusted him, nor to reign over those who distrusted him. His second measure was to add to the two priests of Jupiter and Mars a third priest of Romulus, whom he called the Flamen Quirinalis. Now before this time the Romans called their priests "*flamines*," from the close-fitting "*piloi*," or *caps*, which they wear upon their heads, and which have the longer name of "*pilamenai*," as we are told, there being more Greek words mingled with the Latin at that time than now.² Thus also the name "*laena*," which the Romans

¹ Cf. *Romulus*, xxvi. 2.

² Cf. *Romulus*, xv. 3. Plutarch does not hesitate to derive the Latin "*flamines*" from the doubtful Greek "*pilamenai*."

Ἰόβας χλαίνας φησὶν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετοῦντα τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς ἀμφιθαλῇ παιῖδα λέγεσθαι Κάμιλλον, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν οὕτως ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κάμιλλον¹ ἀπὸ τῆς διακονίας προσηγόρευον.

VIII. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Νομᾶς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ δήμου πολιτευσάμενος εὐθύς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ σίδηρον, ἐκ σκληρᾶς καὶ πολεμικῆς μαλακώτεραν ποιῆσαι καὶ δικαιοτέραν. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ἦν Πλάτων ἀποκαλεῖ φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν ἐκείνη τότ' ἦν, συστᾶσα μὲν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τύλμητινὴ καὶ παραβόλῃ θρασύτητι τῶν θραυστάτων καὶ μαχιμωτάτων ἐκεῖ παντα-

2 χόθεν ὠσαμένων, ταῖς δὲ πολλαῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις τροφῇ χρησαμένη καὶ αὐξήσει τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ καταπηγνύμενα τῷ σείεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδράζεται, ῥώνυσθαι δοκοῦσα διὰ τῶν κινδύνων. οὕτω δὲ μετέωρον καὶ τετραχυμένον δῆμον οὐ μικρᾶς οὐδὲ φαύλης οἰόμενος εἶναι πραγματείας μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ μετακοσμήσαι πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἐπηγά-

3 γετο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν βοήθειαν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ θυσίαις καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ χορείαις, ἃς αὐτὸς ὠργίασε καὶ κατέστησεν, ἅμα σεμνότητι διαγωγὴν ἐπίχαριν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἡδονὴν ἐχούσαις, δημαγωγῶν καὶ τιθασέων τὸ θυμοειδὲς καὶ φιλοπόλεμον· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ φόβους τινὰς ἀπαγγέλλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φάσματα δαιμόνων ἀλλόκοτα καὶ φωνὰς οὐκ εὐμενεῖς, ἐδούλου καὶ

¹ Κάμιλλον deleted by Bekker; corrected to Καδμίλον by Sintenis².

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give to the priestly mantle, Juba says is the same as the Greek "chlaina"; and that the name Camillus, which the Romans give to the boy with both parents living who attends upon the priest of Jupiter, is the same as that which some of the Greeks give to Hermes, from his office of attendant.

VIII. After taking such measures to secure the goodwill and favour of the people, Numa straightway attempted to soften the city, as iron is softened in the fire, and change its harsh and warlike temper into one of greater gentleness and justice. For if a city was ever in what Plato calls¹ a "feverish" state, Rome certainly was at that time. It was brought into being at the very outset by the excessive daring and reckless courage of the boldest and most warlike spirits, who forced their way thither from all parts, and in its many expeditions and its continuous wars it found nourishment and increase of its power; and just as what is planted in the earth gets a firmer seat the more it is shaken, so Rome seemed to be made strong by its very perils. And therefore Numa, judging it to be no slight or trivial undertaking to mollify and newly fashion for peace so presumptuous and stubborn a people, called in the gods to aid and assist him. It was for the most part by sacrifices, processions, and religious dances, which he himself appointed and conducted, and which mingled with their solemnity a diversion full of charm and a beneficent pleasure, that he won the people's favour and tamed their fierce and warlike tempers. At times, also, by heralding to them vague terrors from the god, strange apparitions of divine beings and threatening voices, he would subdue and humble

¹ Cf. *Lycurgus*, v. 6.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ταπεινὴν ἐποiei τὴν διάνοiαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ δεισιδαι-
 4 μούiας. ἐξ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα λόγον ἔσχεν ἡ
 σοφία καὶ ἡ paίδευσις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς Πυθαγόρα
 συγγεγονότος. μέγα γὰρ ἦν μέρος, ὡς ἐκείνῳ τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας, καὶ τούτῳ τῆς πολιτείας ἡ περὶ τὸ
 θεῖον ἀγιστεία¹ καὶ διατριβή. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
 5 αὐτῆς Πυθαγόρα διανοίας περιβαλέσθαι. καὶ 65
 γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἰτόν τε δοκεῖ πρᾶθναι, φωναῖς τισιν
 ἐπιστήσας καὶ κατὰγαγὼν ὑπεριπτάμενον, τόν τε
 μηρὸν ὑποφῆναι χρυσοῦν Ὀλυμπίασι διαπορευό-
 μενος τὴν πανήγυριν· ἄλλας τε τερατώδεις μη-
 χανὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξεις ἀναγγέλλουσιν, ἐφ' αἷς
 καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἔγραψε·

Πυθαγόρην δὲ γόητας ἀποκλίνοντ' ἐπὶ δόξας
 θήρῃ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων, σεμνηγορίας ὁαριστήν·

6 τῷ δὲ Νομᾷ δράμα θεᾶς τινος ἡ νύμφης ὀρείας
 ἔρως ἦν καὶ συνουσία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπόρρητος,
 ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ κοιναὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν δια-
 τριβαί. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν μαντευμάτων εἰς
 Μούσας ἀνῆγε, καὶ μίαν Μοῦσαν ἰδίως καὶ
 διαφερόντως ἐδίδαξε σέβεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους,
 Τακίταν προσαγορεύσας, οἷον σιωπηλὴν ἢ ἐνεάν
 ὅπερ εἶναι δοκεῖ τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἀπομνημονεύ-
 οντος ἐχεμυθίαν καὶ τιμῶντος.

7 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων νομο-
 θετήματα παντάπασιν ἀδελφὰ τῶν Πυθαγόρου

¹ ἀγιστεία Bryan's correction, after Amyot, adopted by
 Coraës and Bekker: ἀγχιστεία (relationship).

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their minds by means of superstitious fears. This was the chief reason why Numa's wisdom and culture were said to have been due to his intimacy with Pythagoras; for in the philosophy of the one, and in the civil polity of the other, religious services and occupations have a large place. It is said also that the solemnity of his outward demeanour was adopted by him because he shared the feelings of Pythagoras about it. That philosopher, indeed, is thought to have tamed an eagle, which he stopped by certain cries of his, and brought down from his lofty flight; also to have disclosed his golden thigh as he passed through the assembled throngs at Olympia. And we have reports of other devices and performances of his which savoured of the marvellous, regarding which Timon the Phliasian wrote:—

“Down to a juggler's level he sinks with his cheating devices,
Laying his nets for men, Pythagoras, lover of bombast.”

In like manner Numa's fiction was the love which a certain goddess or mountain nymph bore him, and her secret meetings with him, as already mentioned,¹ and his familiar converse with the Muses. For he ascribed the greater part of his oracular teachings to the Muses, and he taught the Romans to pay especial honours to one Muse in particular, whom he called Tacita, that is, *the silent*, or *speechless one*; thereby perhaps handing on and honouring the Pythagorean precept of silence.

Furthermore, his ordinances concerning images are altogether in harmony with the doctrines of

Chapter iv. 1-2.

- δογμάτων. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἰσθητὸν ἢ παθητὸν, ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ ἄκτιστον¹ καὶ νοητὸν ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον, οὗτός τε διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῇ καὶ ζώομορφον εἰκόνα θεοῦ Ῥωμαίους νομίζειν. οὐδ' ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε γραπτὸν
- 8 οὔτε πλαστὸν εἶδος θεοῦ πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα τοῖς πρῶτοις ἔτεσι ναοὺς μὲν οἰκοδομοῦμενοι καὶ καλιάδας ἱερὰς ἰστώντες, ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐδὲν ἑμμορφον ποιούμενοι διετέλουν, ὥς οὔτε ὅσιον ἀφομοιοῦν τὰ βελτίονα τοῖς χείροσιν οὔτε ἐφάπτεσθαι θεοῦ δυνατὸν ἄλλως ἢ νοήσει. κομιδῇ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἔχεται τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς ἀγιστείας· ἀναίμακτοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ γε πολλάί, δι' ἀλφίτου καὶ σπονδῆς καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων πεπονημένοι.
- 9 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἑτέροις ἑξῶθεν ἐπαγωνίζονται τεκμηρίοις οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ ἀνδρὶ συνοικειοῦντες. ὧν ἐν μὲν ἐστὶν ὅτι Πυθαγοραν Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσέγραψαν, ὡς ἰστόρηκεν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ πρὸς Ἀντήνορα γεγραμμένῳ, παλαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς διατριβῆς μετεσχῆκώς· ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι τεσσάρων νιῶν βασιλεῖ Νομᾷ γενομένων ἓνα Μάμερκον ἐπὶ τῷ
- 10 Πυθαγόρου παιδὶ προσηγόρευσε. ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ τὸν Αἰμιλίων οἶκον ἀναμιχθέντα τοῖς πατρικίοις ὀνομασθῆναί φασιν, οὕτως ὑποκοριζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αἰμυλίαν καὶ χάριν. αὐτοὶ δ' ἀκηκόαμεν πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξιόντων ὅτι χρησμοῦ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις

¹ ἄκτιστον Sintenis¹ with AC, followed by Bekker: ἀκῆρατον (unmixed).

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Pythagoras. For that philosopher maintained that the first principle of being was beyond sense or feeling, was invisible and uncreated, and discernible only by the mind. And in like manner Numa forbade the Romans to revere an image of God which had the form of man or beast. Nor was there among them in this earlier time any painted or graven likeness of Deity, but while for the first hundred and seventy years they were continually building temples and establishing sacred shrines, they made no statues in bodily form for them, convinced that it was impious to liken higher things to lower, and that it was impossible to apprehend Deity except by the intellect. Their sacrifices, too, were altogether appropriate to the Pythagorean worship; for most of them involved no bloodshed, but were made with flour, drink-offerings, and the least costly gifts.

And apart from these things, other external proofs are urged to show that the two men were acquainted with each other. One of these is that Pythagoras was enrolled as a citizen of Rome. This fact is recorded by Epicharmus the comic poet, in a certain treatise which he dedicated to Antenor; and Epicharmus was an ancient, and belonged to the school of Pythagoras. Another proof is that one of the four sons born to king Numa was named Mamercus, after the son of Pythagoras. And from him they say that the patrician family of the Aemilii took its name, Aemilius being the endearing name which the king gave him for the grace and *winsomeness* of his speech. Moreover, I myself have heard many people at Rome recount how, when an oracle once commanded the

γενομένου τὸν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τὸν ἀνδρειότατον Ἑλλήνων ιδρύσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου, τὴν δὲ Πυθαγόρου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχοντα πολλὰς καὶ τὸ κινεῖν διὰ μακροτέρων καὶ τὸ πιστοῦσθαι¹ μειρακιώδους ἐστὶ φιλονεικίας.

- IX. Νομᾷ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οὓς Ποντίφικας καλοῦσι, διάταξιν καὶ κατὰστασιν ἀποδιδό-
 ασι, καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἓνα τούτων τὸν πρῶτον γεγο-
 νέναι. κεκλῆσθαι δὲ τοὺς Ποντίφικας οἱ μὲν ὅτι
 τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύουσι δυνατοὺς καὶ κυρίους ἀπάν-
 των ὄντας· ὁ γὰρ δυνατὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀνομάζεται
 2 πότνης· ἕτεροι δὲ φασι πρὸς ὑπεξαίρεσιν γεγο-
 νέναι τοῦνομα τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥς τοῦ νομοθέτου τὰς
 δυνατὰς ἐπιτελεῖν ἱεουργίας τοὺς ἱερεῖς κελεύ-
 οντος, ἂν δὲ ἢ τι κώλυμα μείζον, οὐ συκοφαν-
 τοῦντος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι μάλιστα καὶ τὸ γελώμενον
 τῶν ὀνομάτων δοκιμάζουσιν, ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ
 γεφυροποιοὺς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπικληθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν
 ποιουμένων περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἱερῶν, ἀγιωτάτων
 καὶ παλαιοτάτων ὄντων· πόντεμ γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι
 3 τὴν γέφυραν ὀνομάζουσιν. εἶναι μέντοι καὶ τὴν
 τήρησιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἐπισκευήν, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι
 τῶν ἀκινήτων καὶ πατρίων ἱερῶν, προσήκουσαν 66
 τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπάρατον
 ἡγεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ξυλίνης
 γεφύρας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ πᾶμπαν ἄνευ σιδήρου

¹ πιστοῦσθαι a correction of Reiske's, accepted by Coraës and Bekker: πιστεύεσθαι (believe).

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Romans to erect in their city monuments to the wisest and the bravest of the Greeks, they set up in the forum two statues in bronze, one of Alcibiades, and one of Pythagoras.¹ However, since the matter of Numa's acquaintance with Pythagoras is involved in much dispute, to discuss it at greater length, and to win belief for it, would savour of youthful contentiousness.

IX. To Numa is also ascribed the institution of that order of high priests who are called Pontifices, and he himself is said to have been the first of them. According to some they are called Pontifices because employed in the service of the gods, who are *powerful* and supreme over all the world; and "potens" is the Roman word for *powerful*. Others say that the name was meant to distinguish between *possible* and impossible functions; the lawgiver enjoining upon these priests the performance of such sacred offices only as were *possible*, and finding no fault with them if any serious obstacle prevented. But most writers give an absurd explanation of the name; Pontifices means, they say, nothing more nor less than *bridge-builders*, from the sacrifices which they performed at the bridge over the Tiber, sacrifices of the greatest antiquity and the most sacred character; for "pons" is the Latin word for *bridge*. They say, moreover, that the custody and maintenance of the bridge, like all the other inviolable and ancestral rites, attached to the priesthood, for the Romans held the demolition of the wooden bridge to be not only unlawful, but actually sacrilegious. It is also said

¹ According to the elder Pliny (*N.H.* xxxiv. 12), these statues stood in the comitium at Rome from the time of the Samnite wars (343-290 B.C.) down to that of Sulla (138-78 B.C.).

κατὰ δὴ τι λόγιον συγγεγομφῶσθαι διὰ τῶν
 ξύλων. ἡ δὲ λιθίνη πολλοὺς ὕστερον ἐξειργάσθη
 4 χρόνοις ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου ταμειούντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὴν ξυλίην τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων ἀπολείπεσθαι
 λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μαρκίου τοῦ Νομᾶ θυγατρίδου
 βασιλεύοντος ἀποτελεσθεῖσαν.

Ὁ δὲ μέγιστος τῶν Ποντιφίκων οἶον ἐξηγητοῦ
 καὶ προφήτου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἱεροφάντου τάξιν εἴλη-
 χεν, οὐ μόνον¹ τῶν δημοσία δρωμένων ἐπιμελού-
 μενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰδία θύοντας ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ
 κωλύων παρεκβαίνειν τὰ νενομισμένα, καὶ διδά-
 σκων ὅτου τις δέοιτο πρὸς θεῶν τιμὴν ἢ παραί-
 5 τησιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἐπίσκοπος,
 ἃς Ἑστιάδας προσαγορεύουσι. Νομᾶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ
 τὴν τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων καθιέρωσιν καὶ
 ὅλως τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀθάνατον, ὃ φυλάττουσιν
 αὐται, θεραπείαν τε καὶ τιμὴν ἀποδιδόασιν, εἴτε
 ὡς καθαρὰν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσίαν
 ἀκηράτοις καὶ ἀμιάντοις παρατιθεμένου σώμασιν,
 εἴτε τὸ ἄκαρπον καὶ ἄγονον τῇ παρθενίᾳ συν-
 οικειοῦντος. ἐπεὶ τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ
 ἄσβεστόν ἐστιν, ὡς Πυθοὶ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ
 παρθένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμένοι γάμων ἔχουσι
 6 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἐκλίπη,
 καθάπερ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀριστίωνος
 λέγεται τυραννίδος ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν ἱερὸν
 λύχνον, ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ καταπρησθέντος
 ὑπὸ Μήδων, περὶ δὲ τὰ Μιθριδατικά καὶ τὸν
 ἐμφύλιον Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ἅμα τῷ βωμῷ τὸ

¹ μόνον with most MSS. (including S) and edd. : *μόνων*.

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that it was built entirely without iron and fastened together with wooden pins in obedience to an oracle. The stone bridge was constructed at a much later period, when Aemilius was quaestor.¹ However, it is said that the wooden bridge also was later than the time of Numa, and was completed by Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter, when he was king.

The chief of the Pontifices, the Pontifex Maximus, had the duty of expounding and interpreting the divine will, or rather of directing sacred rites, not only being in charge of public ceremonies, but also watching over private sacrifices and preventing any departure from established custom, as well as teaching whatever was requisite for the worship or propitiation of the gods. He was also overseer of the holy virgins called Vestals; for to Numa is ascribed the consecration of the Vestal virgins, and in general the worship and care of the perpetual fire entrusted to their charge. It was either because he thought the nature of fire pure and uncorrupted, and therefore entrusted it to chaste and undefiled persons, or because he thought of it as unfruitful and barren, and therefore associated it with virginity. Since wherever in Greece a perpetual fire is kept, as at Delphi and Athens, it is committed to the charge, not of virgins, but of widows past the age of marriage. And if by any chance it goes out, as at Athens during the tyranny of Aristion² the sacred lamp is said to have been extinguished, and at Delphi when the temple was burned by the Medes, and as during the Mithridatic and the Roman civil wars the altar was demolished

¹ 179 B.C.

² 88-86 B.C. Cf. *Lucullus*, xix. 6; *Sulla*, xiii. 3.

- πῦρ ἠφανίσθη, οὗ φασι δεῖν ἀπὸ ἑτέρου πυρός ἐναύεσθαι, καινὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ νέον, ἀνάπτοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον.
- 7 ἐξάπτουσι δὲ μάλιστα τοῖς σκαφεῖσι, ἃ κατασκευάζεται μὲν ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς ἰσοσκελοῦς ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου κοιλαινόμενα, συννεύει δ' εἰς ἓν ἐκ τῆς περιφερείας κέντρον. ὅταν οὖν θέσιν ἐναντίαν λάβῃ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε τὰς αὐγὰς πανταχόθεν ἀνακοπτομένας ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι περὶ τὸ κέντρον, αὐτόν τε διακρίνει τὸν ἀέρα λεπτυνόμενον, καὶ τὰ κουφότατα καὶ ξηρότατα τῶν προστιθεμένων ὀξέως ἀνάπτει κατὰ τὴν ἀντέρεισιν, σῶμα καὶ πληγὴν πυρώδη τῆς
- 8 αὐγῆς λαβούσης. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ ἄσβεστον ἐκείνο φρουρεῖσθαι πῦρ νομίζουσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ εἶναί τινά φασιν ἀθέατα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερὰ κρυπτόμενα, περὶ ὧν ὅσα καὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ φράσαι θεμιτὸν ἐν τῷ Καμίλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.

- Χ. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Νομᾷ καθιερωθῆναι λέγουσι Γεγανίαν καὶ Βερηνίαν, δεύτερον δὲ Κανουλητῆαν καὶ Ταρπητῆαν· ὕστερον δὲ Σερβίου δύο προσθέντος ἄλλας τῷ ἀριθμῷ διατηρεῖσθαι¹ μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τούτων τὸ πλῆθος. ὥρίσθη δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγνεία τριακονταέτις, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν πρώτην δεκαετίαν ἃ χρὴ δρᾶν μαθηθῶσι, τὴν δὲ μέσσην ἃ μεμαθήκασιν δρῶσι, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἑτέρας αὐταὶ διδάσκουσιν.
- 2 εἰτα ἀνεῖται τῇ βουλομένῃ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ-

¹ διατηρεῖσθαι the correction of Coraës, adopted by Bekker : διατηρῆσαι.

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and the fire extinguished, then they say it must not be kindled again from other fire, but made fresh and new, by lighting a pure and unpolluted flame from the rays of the sun. And this they usually effect by means of metallic mirrors, the concavity of which is made to follow the sides of an isosceles rectangular triangle, and which converge from their circumference to a single point in the centre. When, therefore, these are placed opposite the sun, so that its rays, as they fall upon them from all sides, are collected and concentrated at the centre, the air itself is rarefied there, and very light and dry substances placed there quickly blaze up from its resistance, the sun's rays now acquiring the substance and force of fire. Some, moreover, are of the opinion that nothing but this perpetual fire is guarded by the sacred virgins; while some say that certain sacred objects, which none others may behold, are kept in concealment by them. What may lawfully be learned and told about these things, I have written in my *Life of Camillus*.¹

X. In the beginning, then, they say that Gegania and Verenia were consecrated to this office by Numa, who subsequently added to them Canuleia and Tarpeia; that at a later time two others were added by Servius, making the number which has continued to the present time. It was ordained by the king that the sacred virgins should vow themselves to chastity for thirty years; during the first decade they are to learn their duties, during the second to perform the duties they have learned, and during the third to teach others these duties. Then, the thirty years being now passed, any one who

¹ Chapter xx. 3-6.

τον ἤδη καὶ γάμου μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πρὸς ἑτερον τραπέσθαι βίον, ἀπαλλαγέσθαι τῆς ἱερουργίας. λέγονται δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ταύτην ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν ἄδειαν, οὐδὲ ἀσπασαμέναις χρηστὰ πράγματα συντυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μετανοία καὶ κατηφεία συνοῦσαι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐμβαλεῖν τὰς ἄλλας εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν, ὥστε μέχρι γήρως καὶ θανάτου διατελεῖν ἐγκαρτερούσας καὶ παρθενευομένας.

- 3 Τιμὰς δὲ μεγάλας ἀπέδωκεν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἔστι καὶ τὸ διαθέσθαι ζῶντος ἐξεῖναι πατρὸς καὶ τᾶλλα πράττειν ἄνευ προστάτου διαγούσας, ὥσπερ αἱ τρίπαιδες. ῥαβδουχοῦνται δὲ προϊοῦσαι· κὰν ἀγομένῳ τινὶ πρὸς θάνατον αὐτομάτως συντύχωσιν, οὐκ ἀναιρεῖται. δεῖ δὲ ἀπομόσαι τὴν παρθένον ἀκούσιον καὶ τυχαίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες γεγονέναι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. ὁ δὲ ὑπελθὼν κομιζο- 67
- 4 μένων ὑπὸ τὸ φορεῖον ἀποθνήσκει. κόλασις δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων πληγαὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, τοῦ μεγίστου Ποντίφικος κολάζοντος ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ γυμνὴν τὴν πλημμελήσαν, ὀθόνης ἐν παλινσκίῳ παρατεινομένης· ἡ δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν κατασχύνασα ζῶσα κατορύττεται παρὰ τὴν Κολλίνην λεγομένην πύλην· ἐν ᾗ τις ἔστιν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ὀφρὺς γεώδης παρατείνουσα πόρρω·
- 5 καλεῖται δὲ χῶμα διαλέκτῳ τῇ Λατίνων. ἐνταῦθα κατασκευάζεται κατάγειος οἶκος οὐ μέγας, ἔχων ἄνωθεν κατάβασιν. κεῖται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνη τε ὑπεστρωμένη καὶ λύχνος καίόμενος, ἀπαρχαί τε τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων βραχεῖαι τινες, οἶον ἄρτος, ὕδωρ ἐν ἀγγείῳ, γάλα, ἔλαιον, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιουμένων τὸ μὴ λιμῷ διαφθείρειν σῶμα ταῖς
- 6 μεγίσταις καθιερωμένον ἀγιστεῖαις. αὐτὴν δὲ

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wishes has liberty to marry and adopt a different mode of life, after laying down her sacred office. We are told, however, that few have welcomed the indulgence, and that those who did so were not happy, but were a prey to repentance and dejection for the rest of their lives, thereby inspiring the rest with superstitious fears, so that until old age and death they remained steadfast in their virginity.

But Numa bestowed great privileges upon them, such as the right to make a will during the life time of their fathers, and to transact and manage their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children. When they appear in public, the fasces are carried before them, and if they accidentally meet a criminal on his way to execution, his life is spared; but the virgin must make oath that the meeting was involuntary and fortuitous, and not of design. He who passes under the litter on which they are borne, is put to death. For their minor offences the virgins are punished with stripes, the Pontifex Maximus sometimes scourging the culprit on her bare flesh, in a dark place, with a curtain interposed. But she that has broken her vow of chastity is buried alive near the Colline gate. Here a little ridge of earth extends for some distance along the inside of the city-wall; the Latin word for it is "agger." Under it a small chamber is constructed, with steps leading down from above. In this are placed a couch with its coverings, a lighted lamp, and very small portions of the necessities of life, such as bread, a bowl of water, milk, and oil, as though they would thereby absolve themselves from the charge of destroying by hunger a life which had been consecrated to the highest services of religion.

τὴν κολαζομένην εἰς φορεῖον ἐνθήμενοι καὶ κατα-
στεγάσαντες ἔξωθεν καὶ καταλαβόντες ἰμάσιν, ὥς
μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐξάκουστον γενέσθαι, κομίζουσι δι'
ἀγορᾶς. ἐξίστανται δὲ πάντες σιωπῇ καὶ παρα-
πέμπουσιν ἄφθογγοι μετὰ τινος δεινῆς κατηφείας·
οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἕτερον θέαμα φρικτότερον, οὐδ' ἡμέραν
7 ἡ πόλις ἄλλην ἄγει στυγνοτέραν ἐκείνης. ὅταν
δὲ πρὸς τὸν τόπον κομισθῇ τὸ φορεῖον, οἱ μὲν
ὑπηρέται τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἐξέλυσαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων
ἑξαρχος εὐχὰς τινὰς ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενος καὶ
χεῖρας ἀνατείνας θεοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἐξάγει
συγκεκαλυμμένην καὶ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ κλίμακος
εἰς τὸ οἶκημα κάτω φερούσης. εἴτα αὐτὸς μὲν
ἀποτρέπεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων· τῆς δὲ
καταβάσης ἣ τε κλίμαξ ἀναιρεῖται καὶ κατα-
κρύπτεται τὸ οἶκημα γῆς πολλῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιφορου-
μένης, ὥστε ἰσόπεδον τῷ λοιπῷ χώματι γενέσθαι
τὸν τόπον. οὕτω μὲν αἱ προέμεναι τὴν ἱερὰν παρ-
θενίαν κολάζονται.

XI. Νομᾶς δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν
ἐγκύκλιον περιβαλέσθαι τῷ ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ φρου-
ράν, ἀπομιμούμενος οὐ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς ὥς
Ἑστίας οὔσης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, οὐ
μέσον οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸ πῦρ ἰδρῦσθαι νομίζουσι,
2 καὶ τοῦτο Ἑστίαν καλοῦσι καὶ μονάδα· τὴν δὲ
γῆν οὔτε ἀκίνητον οὔτε ἐν μέσῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς
οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ πῦρ αἰωρουμένην οὐ
τῶν τιμιωτάτων οὐδὲ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ κόσμου
μορίων ὑπάρχειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνά φασι
πρεσβύτην γενόμενον διανενοῆσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς

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Then the culprit herself is placed on a litter, over which coverings are thrown and fastened down with cords so that not even a cry can be heard from within, and carried through the forum. All the people there silently make way for the litter, and follow it without uttering a sound, in a terrible depression of soul. No other spectacle is more appalling, nor does any other day bring more gloom to the city than this. When the litter reaches its destination, the attendants unfasten the cords of the coverings. Then the high-priest, after stretching his hands toward heaven and uttering certain mysterious prayers before the fatal act, brings forth the culprit, who is closely veiled, and places her on the steps leading down into the chamber. After this he turns away his face, as do the rest of the priests, and when she has gone down, the steps are taken up, and great quantities of earth are thrown into the entrance to the chamber, hiding it away, and making the place level with the rest of the mound. Such is the punishment of those who break their vow of virginity.

XI. Furthermore, it is said that Numa built the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire was kept, of a circular form, not in imitation of the shape of the earth, believing Vesta to be the earth, but of the entire universe, at the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire, and call it Vesta and Unit. And they hold that the earth is neither motionless nor situated in the centre of surrounding space, but that it revolves in a circle about the central fire, not being one of the most important, nor even one of the primary elements of the universe. This is the conception, we are told, which Plato also, in his old age, had of the earth, namely that it is

ὥς ἐν ἑτέρα χώρα καθεστῶσης, τὴν δὲ μέσσην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἑτέρῳ τινὶ κρείττονι προσήκουσαν.

- XII. Οἱ δὲ Ποντίφικες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πάτρια τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀφηγοῦνται, Νομᾶ διδάξαντος μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μίασμα τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ θεοὺς σέβεσθαι τοῖς νενομισμένοις, ὥς τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑποδεχομένους· ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὴν προσαγορευομένην Λιβίτιναν, ἐπίσκοπον τῶν περὶ τοὺς θνήσκοντας ὁσίων θεὸν οὔσαν, εἴτε Περσεφόνην εἴτε μᾶλλον, ὥς οἱ λογιώτατοι Ῥωμαίων ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, Ἀφροδίτην, οὐ κακῶς εἰς μιᾶς δύναμιν θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς ἀνάπτουντες.
- 2 αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ πένθη καθ' ἡλικίας καὶ χρόνους ἔταξεν· οἶον παῖδα μὴ πενθεῖν νεώτερον τριετοῦς, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερον πλείονας μῆνας ὧν ἐβίωσεν ἐνιαυτῶν μέχρι τῶν δέκα, καὶ περαιτέρω μηδεμίαν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μακροτάτου πένθους χρόνον εἶναι δεκαμηνιαῖον, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ χηρεύουσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποθανόντων γυναῖκες. ἡ δὲ πρότερον γαμηθεῖσα βοῦν ἐγκύμονα κατέθυσεν ἐκείνου νομοθετήσαντος.
- 3 Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας Νομᾶ καταδείξαντος ἱερωσύνας ἔτι δεῖν μνησθήσομαι, τῆς τε Σαλίων καὶ τῆς τῶν Φιτιαλέων, αἱ μάλιστα τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐμφαίνουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 68 Φιτιαλεῖς εἰρηνοφύλακές τινες ὄντες, ὥς δ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ τοῦνομα λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως,

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established in a secondary space, and that the central and sovereign space is reserved for some other and nobler body.

XII. The Pontifices also explain and direct the ancestral rites of burial for those who desire it, and they were taught by Numa not to regard any such offices as a pollution, but to honour the gods below also with the customary rites, since they receive into their keeping the most sovereign part of us, and particularly the goddess called Libitina, who presides over the solemn services for the dead, whether she is Proserpina, or, as the most learned Romans maintain, Venus; thereby not inaptly connecting man's birth and death with the power of one and the same goddess. Numa himself also regulated the periods of mourning according to ages. For instance, over a child of less than three years there was to be no mourning at all; over one older than that, the mourning was not to last more months than it had lived years, up to ten; and no age was to be mourned longer than that, but ten months was the period set for the longest mourning.¹ This is also the period during which women who have lost their husbands remain in widowhood, and she who took another husband before this term was out, was obliged by the laws of Numa to sacrifice a cow with calf.

Numa also established many other orders of priesthood, of which I shall mention two, besides, those of the Salii and the Fetiales, which more than any others give evidence of the man's reverent piety. The Fetiales were guardians of peace, so to speak, and in my opinion took their name from their office, which was to put a stop to disputes by oral conference, or

¹ Cf. chapter xix. 1.

- λόγῳ τὰ νείκη κατέπαυον, οὐκ ἔωντες στρατεύειν
 πρότερον ἢ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα δίκης ἀποκοπήναι.
 4 καὶ γὰρ εἰρήνην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν ὅταν λόγῳ,
 μὴ βίᾳ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους χρώμενοι λύσωσι τὰς
 διαφοράς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων Φιτιαλεῖς πολλάκις
 μὲν ἐβάδιζον ὡς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτοὶ πείθοντες
 εὐγνωμονεῖν· ἀγνωμονούντων δὲ μαρτυράμενοι
 θεούς, καὶ κατευξάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καθ'
 αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος εἰ μὴ δικαίως
 ἐπεξίασιν, οὕτω κατήγγελλον αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον.
 5 κωλύοντων δὲ τούτων ἢ μὴ συναινούντων, οὔτε
 στρατιώτῃ θεμιτὸν οὔτε βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλα
 κινεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτων ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ
 πολέμου δεξάμενον ὡς δικαίου τὸν ἄρχοντα, τότε
 σκοπεῖν περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
 τὸ Κελτικὸν ἐκεῖνο πάθος τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι
 τούτων τῶν ἱερέων παρανομηθέντων.
 6 Ἐτυχον μὲν γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι Κλουσίνους
 πολιορκοῦντες· ἐπέμφθη δὲ πρεσβευτὴς Φάβιος
 Ἀμβουστός εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον διαλύσεις πράξων
 ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιορκουμένων. λαβὼν δὲ ἀποκρί-
 σεις οὐκ ἐπικεῖς καὶ πέρας σχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν
 πρεσβείαν οἴομενος, ἐνεανιεύσατο πρὸ τῶν Κλου-
 σίνων ὄπλα λαβὼν προκαλέσασθαι τὸν ἀριστεύ-
 7 οντα τῶν βαρβάρων. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς μάχης
 εὐτυχεῖτο καὶ καταβαλὼν ἐσκύλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα·
 γνωρίσαντες δὲ οἱ Κελτοὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην
 κήρυκα τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ἐκσπόνδου
 καὶ ἀπίστου καὶ ἀκατάγγελτον ἐξενηνοχότος πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον
 οἱ Φιτιαλεῖς ἔπειθον ἐκδιδόναι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς

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*parley*¹; and they would not suffer a hostile expedition to be made before every hope of getting justice had been cut off. For the Greeks call it peace when two parties settle their quarrels by mutual conference, and not by violence. And the Roman Fetiales often went to those who were doing them a wrong and made personal appeals for fair treatment; but if the unfair treatment continued, they called the gods to witness, invoked many dreadful evils upon themselves and their country in case they resorted to hostilities unjustly, and so declared war upon them. But if they forbade it or withheld their consent, neither soldier nor king of Rome could lawfully take up arms. War had to begin with their verdict that it was just, and the ruler, on receiving this verdict, must then deliberate on the proper way to wage it. And it is said that the dreadful disaster which the city experienced at the hands of the Gauls was in consequence of the illegal treatment of these priests.

For when the Barbarians were besieging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus was sent from Rome to their camp to bring about a cessation of hostilities on behalf of the besieged. But on receiving an unseemly answer, he thought his office of ambassador was at an end, and committed the youthful folly of taking up arms for the Clusians and challenging the bravest of the Barbarians to single combat. Fabius fought successfully, unhorsed his adversary, and stripped him of his armour. But when the Gauls discovered who he was, they sent a herald to Rome denouncing Fabius for violating a truce, breaking his oath, and fighting against them before war was formally declared. At Rome the Fetiales tried to persuade the senate to

¹ Connecting the name with *fateri*, *fari*, to *speak*.

Κελτοῖς, καταφυγὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ σπουδάζοντι χρησάμενος διεκρούσατο τὴν δίκην. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπελθόντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πλὴν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου διεπόρθησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Καμίλλου μᾶλλον ἀκριβοῦνται.

- XIII. Τοὺς δὲ Σαλίους ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοιαύτης λέγεται συστήσασθαι προφάσεως. ἔτος ὄγδοον αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος λοιμώδης νόσος περιϊούσα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐστρόβησε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἀθυμούντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱστορεῖται χαλκὴν πέλτην ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφερομένην εἰς τὰς Νομᾶ πεσεῖν χεῖρας. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ θαυμάσιόν τινα λόγον λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃν Ἡγερίας
- 2 τε καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν πυθέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄπλον ἦκειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ φρουρεῖσθαι γενομένων ἄλλων ἔνδεκα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος καὶ μορφήν ἐκείνῳ παραπλησίων, ὅπως ἄπορον εἶη τῷ κλέπτῃ δι' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ διοπετοῦς ἐπιτυχεῖν· ἔτι δὲ χρῆναι Μούσαις καθιερῶσαι τὸ χωρίον ἐκείνο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνας, ὅπου τὰ πολλὰ φοιτῶσαι συνδιατρίβουσιν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν ἣ κατάρδει τὸ χωρίον, ὕδωρ ἱερὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ταῖς Ἑστιάσι παρθένοις, ὅπως λαμβάνουσαι καθ' ἡμέραν ἀγνίζωσι
- 3 καὶ ραίνωσι τὸ ἀνάκτορον. τούτοις μὲν οὖν μαρτυρῆσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὰ τῆς νόσου παραχρήμα πανσάμενα. τὴν δὲ πέλτην προθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κελεύσαντος ἀμιλλᾶσθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμοιότητος, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπειπεῖν, Οὐτεούριον δὲ Μαμούριον ἓνα τῶν ἄκρων δημιουργῶν οὕτως ἐφικέσθαι τῆς ἐμφερείας, καὶ

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deliver Fabius into the hands of the Gauls, but he took refuge with the multitude, and through the favour of the populace evaded his punishment. After a little, therefore, the Gauls came up and sacked Rome, with the exception of the Capitol. But this story is more fully given in my *Life of Camillus*.¹

XIII. The priesthood of the Salii Numa is said to have been established for the following reason. In the eighth year of his reign a pestilence, which traversed Italy, distracted Rome also. The story goes that while the people were disheartened by this, a bronze buckler fell from heaven, which came into the hands of Numa, and a wonderful account of it was given by the king, which he learned from Egeria and the Muses. The buckler came, he said, for the salvation of the city, and must be carefully preserved by making eleven others of like fashion, size, and shape, in order that the resemblance between them might make it difficult for a thief to distinguish the one that fell from heaven. He said further that the spot where it fell, and the adjacent meadows, where the Muses usually had converse with him, must be consecrated to them; and that the spring which watered the spot should be declared holy water for the use of the Vestal virgins, who should daily sprinkle and purify their temple with it. Moreover, they say that the truth of all this was attested by the immediate cessation of the pestilence. When Numa showed the buckler to the artificers and bade them do their best to make others like it, they all declined, except Veturius Mamurius, a most excellent workman, who was so happy in his imitation of it, and made all the eleven so exactly

¹ Chapters xvii.—xxii.

κατασκευάσαι πάσας ὁμοίας, ὥστε μηδ' αὐτὸν
 ἔτι τὸν Νομᾶν διαγινώσκειν. τούτων οὖν φύ-
 λακας καὶ ἀμφιπόλους ἀπέδειξε τοὺς Σαλίους
 4 ἱερεῖς. Σάλιοι δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι
 μυθολογοῦσι, Σαμόθρακος ἀνδρὸς ἡ Μαντινέως,
 ὄνομα Σαλίου, πρώτου τὴν ἐνόπλιον ἐκδιδάξαντος
 ὀρχησιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως αὐτῆς,
 ἀλτικῆς οὔσης, ἣν ὑπορχοῦνται διαπορευόμενοι
 τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν τὰς ἱερὰς πέλτας ἀναλάβωσιν
 ἐν τῷ Μαρτίῳ μηνί, φοινικοὺς μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοι 69
 πλατεταῖς καὶ κράνη χαλκᾶ φοροῦντες, ἐγχειρι-
 5 δίοις δὲ μικροῖς τὰ ὄπλα κρούοντες. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη
 τῆς ὀρχήσεως ποδῶν ἔργον ἐστί· κινούνται γὰρ
 ἐπιτερπῶς, ἐλιγμούς τινας καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐν
 ῥυθμῷ τάχος ἔχοντι καὶ πυκνότητα μετὰ ῥώμης
 καὶ κουφότητος ἀποδιδόντες.

Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς πέλτας ἀγκύλια καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ
 σχῆμα· κύκλος γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀποδίδωσιν,
 ὡς πέλτη, τὴν περιφέρειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτομὴν ἔχει
 γραμμῆς ἐλικοειδοῦς, ἥς αἱ κεραῖαι καμπὰς ἔχου-
 σαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφουσαι τῇ πυκνότητι πρὸς
 6 ἀλλήλας ἀγκύλον τὸ σχῆμα ποιοῦσιν· ἡ δὲ διὰ τὸν
 ἀγκῶνα περὶ ὃν περιφέρονται. ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ
 Ἰόβας εἶρηκε γλιχόμενος ἐξελληνίσαι τοῦνομα.
 δύναιτο δ' ἂν τῆς ἀνέκαθεν φορᾶς πρῶτον ἐπώνυ-
 μον γεγονέναι, καὶ τῆς ἀκέσεως τῶν νοσοῦντων,
 καὶ τῆς τῶν αὐχμῶν λύσεως, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τῶν
 δεινῶν ἀνασχέσεως, καθ' ὃ καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους

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like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. For the watch and care of these bucklers, then, he appointed the priesthood of the Salii. Now the Salii were so named, not, as some tell the tale, from a man of Samothrace or Mantinea, named Salius, who first taught the dance in armour; but rather from the *leaping*¹ which characterized the dance itself. This dance they perform when they carry the sacred bucklers through the streets of the city in the month of March, clad in purple tunics, girt with broad belts of bronze, wearing bronze helmets on their heads, and carrying small daggers with which they strike the shields. But the dance is chiefly a matter of step; for they move gracefully, and execute with vigour and agility certain shifting convolutions, in quick and oft-recurring rhythm.

The bucklers themselves are called "ancilia," from their shape; for this is not round, nor yet completely oval, like that of the regular shield, but has a curving indentation, the arms of which are bent back and united with each other at top and bottom; this makes the shape "ancylon," the Greek for *curved*. Or, they are named from the *elbow* on which they are carried, which, in Greek, is "ankon." This is what Juba says, who is bent on deriving the name from the Greek. But the name may come from the Greek "anekathen," inasmuch as the original shield fell *from on high*; or from "akesis," because it *healed* those who were sick of the plague; or from "auchmon lysis," because it *put an end to the drought*; or, further, from "anaschesis," because it brought a *cessation* of calamities, just as Castor and Pollux were called Anakes by the Athenians; if,

¹ The Latin "salire," to leap.

Ἄνακας Ἀθηναῖοι προσηγόρευσαν, εἴ γε δεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἐξάγειν τοῦνομα.

- 7 Τῷ δὲ Μαμουρίῳ λέγουσι μισθὸν γενέσθαι τῆς τέχνης ἐκείνης μνήμην τινὰ δι' ᾧδῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαλίων ἅμα τῇ πυρρίχῃ διαπεραινομένης. οἱ δὲ οὐ Οὔετούριον Μαμούριον εἶναί φασι τὸν ἀδόμενον, ἀλλὰ οὔετέρεμ μεμορίαμ, ὅπερ ἐστί, παλαιὰν μνήμην.

- XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διεκόσμησε τὰς ἱερωσύνας, ἐδείματο πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥηγίαν, οἷόν τι βασίλειον οἶκημα· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτόθι τοῦ χρόνου διέτριβεν ἱεουργῶν ἢ διδάσκων τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἢ πρὸς ἐννοίᾳ τινὶ τῶν θείων πρὸς αὐτὸν σχολάζων. οἰκίαν δ' εἶχεν ἑτέραν περὶ τὸν Κυρίνου λόφον, ἧς ἔτι νῦν τὸν τόπον ἐπιδεικνύουσιν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προπομπαῖς καὶ ὅλως τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς πομπαῖς προηγούμενοι κήρυκες ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐλινύειν κελεύοντες καὶ
- 2 τὰ ἔργα καταπαύοντες. ὥς γάρ φασι τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς οὐκ εἶναι ἐκ παρόδου προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ' οἰκοθεν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοῦτο γνώμη παρεσκευασμένους βαδίζειν, οὕτως ᾤετο Νομᾶς χρῆναι τοὺς πολίτας μήτε ἀκούειν τι τῶν θείων μήτε ὁρᾶν ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ ἀμελῶς, ἀλλὰ σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλω καὶ προσέχοντας τὴν διάνοιαν ὥς πράξει μεγίστη τῇ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ψόφων τε καὶ πατάγων καὶ στεναγμῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καὶ βαναύσοις πόνοις ἔπεται, καθαρὰς τὰς ὁδοὺς ταῖς ἱεουργίαις παρέχοντας. ὦν ἵχνος τι μέχρι

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that is, we are bound to derive the name from the Greek.

We are told that Mamertius was rewarded for his wonderful art by having his name mentioned in a song which the Salii sing as they perform their war-dance. Some, however, say that the song does not commemorate Veturius Mamurius, but "*veterem memoriam*," that is to say, *ancient remembrance*.

XIV. After Numa had thus established and regulated the priestly orders, he built, near the temple of Vesta, the so-called Regia, or *royal house*. Here he passed most of his time, performing sacred functions, or teaching the priests, or engaged in the quiet contemplation of divine things. He also had another house on the Quirinal hill, the site of which is still pointed out. At all public and solemn processions of the priests, heralds were sent on before through the city, bidding the people make holiday, and putting a stop to all labour. For, just as it is said that the Pythagoreans do not allow men to worship and pray to their gods cursorily and by the way, but would have them go from their homes directly to this office, with their minds prepared for it, so Numa thought that his citizens ought neither to hear nor see any divine service while they were occupied with other matters and therefore unable to pay attention. They should rather be free from all distractions and devote their thoughts to the religious ceremony as a matter of the highest importance. They should also rid their streets of noise and clatter and clamour, and all such accompaniments of menial and manual labour, and clear them for the sacred ceremonies. And the Romans still preserve some traces of this earlier feeling.

νῦν διασώζοντες, ὅταν ἄρχων πρὸς ὄρνισιν ἢ θυ-
σίαις διατρίβῃ, βοῶσιν “Ὁκ ἄγε,” σημαίνει δὲ ἡ
φωνὴ “Τοῦτο πρᾶσσε,” συνεπιστρέφουσα καὶ
κατακοσμοῦσα τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας.

- 3 Ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραγγελμάτων αὐτοῦ
πολλὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς εἰκότα. ὥς γὰρ ἐκεῖ-
νοι παρήνουν ἐπὶ χοίνικος μὴ καθῆσθαι, καὶ
μαχαίρα πῦρ μὴ σκαλεύειν, καὶ βαδίζοντας εἰς
ἀποδημίας μὴ μεταστρέφεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
οὐρανίοις περισσὰ θύειν, ἄρτια δὲ τοῖς χθονίοις,
ὧν ἐκάστου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεκρύπτοντο πρὸς
τοὺς πολλούς, οὕτως ἕνια τῶν Νομᾶ πατρίων
ἀπόρρητον ἔχει τὸν λόγον· οἶον τὸ μὴ σπένδειν
θεοῖς ἐξ ἀμπέλων ἀτμήτων μηδὲ θύειν ἄτερ
ἀλφίτων· καὶ τὸ προσκυνεῖν περιστρεφομένους
4 καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι προσκυνήσαντας. τὰ μὲν οὖν
πρῶτα δύο τὴν γῆς ἐξημέρωσιν ἔοικε διδάσκειν,
ὥς μόριον εὐσεβείας οὖσαν· ἡ δὲ περιστροφή τῶν
προσκυνούντων λέγεται μὲν ἀπομίμησις εἶναι τῆς
τοῦ κόσμου περιφορᾶς, δόξειε δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ
προσκυνῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἔω τῶν ἱερῶν βλέπόντων
ἀπέστραπται τὰς ἀνατολάς, μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν
ἐνταῦθα καὶ περιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, κύκλον
ποιῶν καὶ συνάπτων τὴν ἐπιτελείωσιν τῆς εὐχῆς
5 δι' ἀμφοῖν· εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τροχοῖς
αἰνίττεται τι καὶ διδάσκει παραπλήσιον ἢ μετα- 70
βολὴ τοῦ σχήματος, ὥς οὐδενὸς ἐστῶτος τῶν
ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν στρέφῃ καὶ ἀνελίττῃ
τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, ἀγαπᾶν καὶ δέχεσθαι
προσῆκον. τὸ δὲ καθέζεσθαι προσκυνήσαντας
οἰωνισμὸν εἶναι λέγουσι τοῦ βεβαιότητα ταῖς

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When a magistrate is busy taking auspices or sacrificing, the people cry "*Hoc age*," which means "*Mind this*," and helps to make the bystanders attentive and orderly.

Many of his other precepts also resembled those of the Pythagoreans. For instance, the Pythagoreans said: "Don't use a quart-measure as a seat"; "Don't poke the fire with a sword"; "When you set out for foreign parts, don't turn back"; and "To the celestial gods sacrifice an even number, but an odd number to the terrestrial"; and the meaning of all these precepts they would keep hidden from the vulgar. So in some of Numa's rules the meaning is hidden; as, for instance, "Don't offer to the gods wine from unpruned vines"; "Don't make a sacrifice without meal"; "Turn round as you worship"; and "Sit down after worship." The first two rules would seem to teach that the subjection of the earth is a part of religion; and the worshippers' turning round is said to be an imitation of the rotary motion of the universe; but I would rather think that the worshipper who enters a temple, since temples face the east and the Sun, has his back towards the sunrise, and therefore turns himself half round in that direction, and then wheels fully round to face the god of the temple, thus making a complete circle, and linking the fulfilment of his prayer with both deities; unless, indeed, this change of posture, like the Aegyptian wheels, darkly hints and teaches that there is no stability in human affairs, but that we must accept contentedly whatever twists and turns our lives may receive from the Deity. And as for the sitting down after worship, we are told that it is an augury of the

εὐχαῖς καὶ διαμονὴν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιγίνεσθαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πράξεων διορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν
 6 ἀνάπαυσιν· ὡς οὖν τῇ προτέρᾳ πράξει πέρας ἐπιτιθέντας καθέζεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἵνα ἑτέρας πάλιν ἀρχὴν παρ' ἐκείνων λάβωσι. δύναται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖν, ἐθίζοντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐντεύξεις ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ καὶ παρέργως οἷον σπεύδοντας, ἀλλ' ὅταν χρόνον ἔχωμεν καὶ σχολὴν ἄγωμεν.

XV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης παιδαγωγίας πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἐγεγόνει χειροῆθης καὶ κατατεθαμβημένη τὴν τοῦ Νομᾶ δύναμιν, ὥστε μύθοις ἐοικότας τὴν ἀτοπίαν λόγους παραδέχεσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν μηδὲν ἄπιστον εἶναι μηδὲ
 2 ἀμήχανον ἐκείνου βουληθέντος. λέγεται γοῦν ποτε καλέσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν πολιτῶν, σκεύη τε φαῦλα καὶ δεῖπνον εὐτελὲς πάνυ προθέσθαι καὶ δημοτικόν· ἀρξαμένων δὲ δειπνεῖν ἐμβαλὼν λόγον ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἢ σύνεστιν ἥκοι πρὸς αὐτόν, αἰφνίδιον ἐπιδείξαι τὸν τε οἶκον ἐκπωμάτων πλήρη πολυτελῶν καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ὄψων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς δαψιλοῦς
 3 γεμούσας. πᾶσαν δὲ ὑπερβέβληκεν ἀτοπίαν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ὁμιλίας ἱστορούμενον. μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ εἰς τὸν Ἀβεντίνον λόφον οὐπω μέρος ὄντα τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ συνοικούμενον, ἀλλ' ἔχοντα πηγὰς τε δαψιλεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ νάπας σκιερὰς, φοιτᾶν δύο δαίμονας, Πίκον καὶ Φαῦνον· οὓς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Σατύρων ἂν τις ἢ Πανῶν γένει προσεικάζσειε, δυνάμει δὲ φαρμάκων καὶ δεινότητι τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα γοητείας λέγονται ταῦτά τοις

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acceptance of the worshipper's prayers and the duration of his blessings. We are also told, that, as different acts are separated by an interval of rest, so the worshipper, having completed one act, sits down in the presence of the gods, in order that he may begin another with their blessing. But this, too, can be brought into agreement with what was said above : the lawgiver is trying to accustom us not to make our petitions to the Deity when we are busied with other matters and in a hurry, as it were, but when we have time and are at leisure.

XV. By such training and schooling in religious matters the city became so tractable, and stood in such awe of Numa's power, that they accepted his stories, though fabulously strange, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he wished them to believe or do. At any rate, the story goes that he once invited a large number of the citizens to his table, and set before them mean dishes and a very simple repast ; but just as they began to eat, he surprised them by saying that the goddess with whom he consorted was come to visit him, and lo, on a sudden, the room was full of costly beakers and the tables were laden with all sorts of meats and abundant furniture. But nothing can be so strange as what is told about his conversation with Jupiter. When the Aventine hill—so runs the tale—was not yet a part of the city nor even inhabited, but abounded in springs and shady dells, two demi-gods, Picus and Faunus, made it their haunt. In other ways these divinities might be likened to Satyrs or Pans, but they are said to have used powerful drugs and practised clever incantations, and to have traversed

- ὕφ' Ἑλλήνων προσαγορευθεῖσιν Ἰδαίοις Δακτύ-
 4 λοις σοφιζόμενοι περιῖεναι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τούτους
 φασὶ χειρώσασθαι τὸν Νομᾶν, οἷνφ καὶ μέλιτι
 κεράσαντα τὴν κρήνην ἀφ' ἧς ἔπινον συνηθώς.
 ληφθέντας δὲ πολλὰς μὲν ἰδέας τρέπεσθαι καὶ
 μετεκδύεσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, ἀλλόκοτα φάσ-
 ματα καὶ φοβερὰ τῆς ὄψεως προβαλλομένους·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἐαλωκότες ἰσχυρὰν καὶ ἄφυκτον
 ἄλωσιν, ἄλλα τε προθεσπίσαι πολλὰ τῶν μελ-
 λόντων καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κεραυνοῖς ἐκδιδάξαι
 5 καθαρμόν, ὃς ποιεῖται μέχρι νῦν διὰ κρομμύων
 καὶ τριχῶν καὶ μαινίδων. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ τοὺς
 δαίμονας φασιν ὑποθέσθαι τὸν καθαρμόν, ἀλλ'
 ἐκείνους μὲν καταγαγεῖν τὸν Δία μαγεύσαντας,
 τὸν δὲ θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον τῷ Νομᾷ προστάσσειν
 ὥς χρὴ γενέσθαι τὸν καθαρμόν κεφαλαῖς· ὑπο-
 λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ Νομᾶ, “κρομμύων;” εἰπεῖν,
 “ἀνθρώπων.” τὸν δὲ αὖθις ἐκτρέποντα τὸ τοῦ
 προστάγματος δεινὸν ἐπερέσθαι, “θριξίν;” ἀπο-
 κριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Διός, “ἐμψύχοις,” ἐπαγαγεῖν
 τὸν Νομᾶν, “μαινίσι;” ταῦτα λέγειν ὑπὸ τῆς
 6 Ἡγερίας δεδιδαγμένον. καὶ τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀπελ-
 θεῖν ἴλεω γενόμενον, τὸν δὲ τόπον Ἰλίκιον ἀπ'
 ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ τὸν καθαρμόν οὕτω
 συντελεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μυθώδη καὶ
 γελοῖα τὴν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείκνυται
 διάθεσιν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἣν ὁ ἔθισμός αὐτοῖς
 ἐνεποίησεν. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Νομᾶν οὕτω φασὶν εἰς
 τὸ θεῖον ἀνηρτῆσθαι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὥστε καὶ
 προσαγγελίας αὐτῷ ποτε γενομένης ὥς ἐπέρ-
 χονται πολέμιοι, μειδιᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν. “Ἐγὼ δὲ
 θύω.”

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Italy playing the same tricks as the so-called Idaean Dactyli¹ of the Greeks. These demi-gods Numa is said to have caught, by mixing wine and honey with the water of the spring from which they were wont to drink. When captured, they dropped their own forms and assumed many different shapes, presenting hideous and dreadful appearances. But when they perceived that they were fast caught and could not escape, they foretold to Numa many things that would come to pass, and taught him besides the charm against thunder and lightning, which is still practised with onions, hair, and sprats. Some, however, say that it was not the imps themselves who imparted the charm, but that they called Jupiter down from heaven by their magic, and that this deity angrily told Numa that he must charm thunder and lightning with "heads." "Of onions?" asked Numa, filling out the phrase. "Of men," said Jupiter. Thereupon Numa, trying once more to avert the horror of the prescription, asked, "with hair?" "Nay," answered Jupiter, "with living—" "sprats?" added Numa, as he had been taught by Egeria to say. Then the god returned to heaven in a *gracious* mood,—"*hileos*," as the Greeks say,—and the place was called Ilicium from this circumstance; and that is the way the charm was perfected. These stories, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, show us the attitude which the men of that time, from force of custom, took towards the gods. And Numa himself, as they say, had such implicit confidence in the gods, that once, when a message was brought to him that enemies were coming up against the city, he smiled and said: "But I am sacrificing."

¹ Fabulous gnomes associated with the Mount Ida of Phrygia and Crete.

- XVI. Πρῶτον δέ φασι καὶ Πίστεως καὶ Τέρ-
 μονος ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. καὶ τὴν μὲν Πίστιν
 ὄρκον ἀποδείξαι Ῥωμαίοις μέγιστον, ᾧ χρώμενοι
 μέχρι νῦν διατελοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ Τέρμων ὅρος ἂν τις
 εἴη, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ δημοσία καὶ ἰδία κατὰ
 τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν περιορισμούς, νῦν μὲν ἔμφυχα,
 τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ ἀναίμακτος ἦν ἡ θυσία, Νομᾶ 71
 φιλοσοφήσαντος ὡς χρὴ τὸν ὄριον θεὸν εἰρήνης
 φύλακα καὶ δικαιοσύνης μάρτυν ὄντα φόνου
 2 καθαρὸν εἶναι. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅλως οὗτος ὀρίσαι
 τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς, Ῥωμύλου μὴ βουλη-
 θέντος ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ οἰκείου
 τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου· δεσμὸν γὰρ εἶναι
 τῆς δυνάμεως τὸν ὄρον, ἂν φυλάττηται, μὴ
 φυλαττόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀδικίας ἔλεγχον. οὐ μὴν
 οὐδὲ ἦν δαφιλῆς χώρα τῇ πόλει κατ' ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ
 3 τὴν πολλὴν αἰχμῇ προσεκλήσατο Ῥωμύλος· καὶ
 ταύτην πᾶσαν ὁ Νομᾶς διένειμε τοῖς ἀπόροις
 τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς ἀνάγκην τῆς ἀδικίας ἀφαιρῶν
 τὴν ἀπορίαν, καὶ τρέπων ἐπὶ γεωργίαν τὸν δῆμον
 ἅμα τῇ χώρᾳ συνεξημερούμενον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο
 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὕτως ἔρωτα δριμύνει εἰρήνης
 ἐργάζεται καὶ ταχύνει ὡς ὁ ἀπὸ γῆς βίος, ἐν ᾧ
 καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς εὐτολμίας τὸ μὲν ὑπερμαχη-
 τικὸν τοῦ οἰκείου διαμένει καὶ πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ εἰς
 ἀδικίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀνειμένον ἐκκέκοπται.
 4 διὸ καὶ τὴν γεωργίαν ὁ Νομᾶς οἶον εἰρήνης
 φίλτρον ἐμμίξας τοῖς πολίταις καὶ μᾶλλον ὡς
 ἡθοποιὸν ἢ πλουτοποιὸν ἀγαπήσας τέχνην, εἰς
 μέρη τὴν χώραν διεῖλεν, ἃ πάγους προσηγόρευσε,
 καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπισκόπους ἔταξε καὶ περι-
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XVI. He was also the first, they say, to build temples to Faith and Terminus; and he taught the Romans their most solemn oath by Faith, which they still continue to use. Terminus signifies *boundary*, and to this god they make public and private sacrifices where their fields are set off by boundaries; of living victims nowadays, but anciently the sacrifice was a bloodless one, since Numa reasoned that the god of boundaries was a guardian of peace and a witness of just dealing, and should therefore be clear from slaughter. And it is quite apparent that it was this king who set bounds to the territory of the city, for Romulus was unwilling to acknowledge, by measuring off his own, how much he had taken away from others. He knew that a boundary, if observed, fetters lawless power; and if not observed, convicts of injustice. And indeed the city's territory was not extensive at first, but Romulus acquired most of it later with the spear. All this was distributed by Numa among the indigent citizens. He wished to remove the destitution which drives men to wrongdoing, and to turn the people to agriculture, that they might be subdued and softened along with the soil they tilled. For there is no other occupation which produces so keen and quick a relish for peace as that of a farmer's life, where so much of the warrior's daring as prompts a man to fight for his own, is always preserved, while the warrior's licence to indulge in rapacity and injustice is extirpated. Numa, therefore, administering agriculture to his citizens as a sort of peace-potion, and well pleased with the art as fostering character rather than wealth, divided the city's territory into districts, to which he gave the name of "*pagi*," and in each of them he set

πόλους. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφορῶν καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς τρόπους τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν εἰς τιμὰς καὶ πίστεις ἀνῆγε, τοὺς δὲ ῥαθύμους καὶ ἀμελεῖς ψέγων καὶ κακίζων ἐσωφρόνιζε.

- XVII. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αὐτοῦ πολιτευμάτων ἡ κατὰ τέχνας διανομὴ τοῦ πλήθους μάλιστα θαυμάζεται. τῆς γὰρ πόλεως ἐκ δυεῖν γενῶν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, συνεστάναι δοκούσης, διεστώσης δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μηδενὶ τρόπῳ μιᾶς γενέσθαι βουλομένης μηδὲ οἶον ἐξαλείψαι τὴν ἐτερότητα καὶ διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ συγκρούσεις ἀπαιύστους καὶ φιλονεικίας τῶν μερῶν ἐχούσης, διανοηθεὶς ὅτι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ φύσει δύσμικτα καὶ σκληρὰ καταθραύοντες καὶ διαιροῦντες ἀναμιγνύουσιν, ὑπὸ μικρότητος ἀλλήλοις συμβαίνοντα μᾶλλον,
- 2 ἔγνω κατατεμεῖν τομὰς πλείονας τὸ σύμπαν πλῆθος· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς ἑτέρας ἐμβαλὼν διαφορὰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκείνην καὶ μεγάλην ἀφανίσαι ταῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἐνδιασπαρεῖσαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ διανομὴ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, αὐλητῶν, χρυσοχόων, τεκτόνων, βαφέων, σκυτοτόμων, σκυτοδεψῶν, χαλκέων, κεραμέων. τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τέχνας εἰς ταῦτ' ὅσον συναγαγὼν ἐν αὐτῶν ἐκ πασῶν ἀπέδειξε σύστημα.
- 3 κοινωνίας δὲ καὶ συνόδους καὶ θεῶν τιμὰς ἱποδοὺς ἐκάστω γένει πρεπούσας, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνείλε τὸ λέγεσθαι καὶ νομίζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν Σαβίνους, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοὺς

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overseers and patrols. But sometimes he would inspect them in person, and judging of the characters of the citizens from the condition of their farms, would advance some to positions of honour and trust; while others, who were indolent and careless, he would chide and reproach, and so try to make them sensible.

XVII. But of all his measures, the one most admired was his distribution of the people into groups according to their trades or arts. For the city was supposed to consist of two tribes, as has been said,¹ although it had no consistency, but was rather divided into two tribes, and utterly refused to become united, or to blot out its diversities and differences. On the contrary, it was filled with ceaseless collisions and contentions between its component parts. Numa, therefore, aware that hard substances which will not readily mingle may be crushed and pulverized, and then more easily mix and mingle with each other, owing to the smallness of their particles, determined to divide the entire body of the people into a greater number of divisions, and so, by merging it in other distinctions, to obliterate the original and great distinction, which would be lost among the lesser ones. He distributed them, accordingly, by arts and trades, into musicians, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, leather-workers, curriers, braziers, and potters. The remaining trades he grouped together, and made one body out of all who belonged to them. He also appointed social gatherings and public assemblies and rites of worship befitting each body. And thus, at last, he banished from the city the practice of speaking and thinking of some citizens as Sabines, and of others

¹ Chapter ii. 4 f.

μὲν Τατίου, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμύλου πολίτας, ὥστε τὴν διαίρεσιν εὐαρμοστίαν καὶ ἀνάμιξιν πάντων γενέσθαι πρὸς πάντας.

- 4 Ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν νόμον διόρθωμα τὸν διδόντα τοῖς πατράσι τοὺς παῖδας πιπράσκειν, ὑπεξελομένου τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, εἰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπαινοῦντος καὶ κελεύοντος ὁ γάμος γένοιτο. δεινὸν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο τὴν ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ γεγαμημένην γυναῖκα δούλῳ συνοικεῖν.

- XVIII. Ἦψατο δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πραγματείας οὔτε ἀκριβῶς οὔτε παντάπασιν ἀθεωρήτως. Ῥωμύλου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος ἀλόγως ἐχρῶντο τοῖς μῆσι καὶ ἀτάκτως, τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν, τοὺς δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, τοὺς δὲ πλειόνων λογιζόμενοι, τῆς δὲ γινομένης ἀνωμαλίας περὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἔννοιαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν φυλάττοντες μόνον, ὅπως ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἡμερῶν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς
2 ἔσται. Νομᾶς δὲ τὸ παράλλαγμα τῆς ἀνωμαλίας ἡμερῶν ἔνδεκα γίνεσθαι λογιζόμενος, ὡς τοῦ μὲν σεληνιακοῦ τριακοσίας πεντήκοντα τέσσαρας ἔχοντος ἡμέρας, τοῦ δὲ ἡλιακοῦ τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα πέντε, τὰς ἔνδεκα ταύτας ἡμέρας διπλασιάζων ἐπήγαγε παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Φεβρουαρίῳ μὲν τὸν ἐμβόλιμον, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Μερκεδίνον καλούμενον, εἴκοσι καὶ δυοῖν ἡμερῶν ὄντα.
3 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ ἴαμα τῆς ἀνωμαλίας μειζόνων ἔμελλεν ἰαμάτων δεήσεσθαι.

Μετεκίνησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν μηνῶν· τὸν γὰρ Μάρτιον πρῶτον ὄντα τρίτον ἔταξε, πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰανουάριον, ὃς ἦν ἐνδέκατος ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλου,

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as Romans ; or of some as subjects of Tatius, and others of Romulus, so that his division resulted in a harmonious blending of them all together.

Praise is also given to that measure of his whereby the law permitting fathers to sell their sons was amended. He made an exception of married sons, provided they had married with the consent and approval of their fathers. For he thought it a hard thing that a woman who had married a man whom she thought free, should find herself living with a slave.

XVIII. He applied himself, also, to the adjustment of the calendar, not with exactness, and yet not altogether without careful observation. For during the reign of Romulus, they had been irrational and irregular in their fixing of the months, reckoning some at less than twenty days, some at thirty-five, and some at more ; they had no idea of the inequality in the annual motions of the sun and moon, but held to this principle only, that the year should consist of three hundred and sixty days. But Numa, estimating the extent of the inequality at eleven days, since the lunar year had three hundred and fifty-four days, but the solar year three hundred and sixty-five, doubled these eleven days, and every other year inserted after the month of February the intercalary month called Mercedinus by the Romans, which consisted of twenty-two days. This correction of the inequality which he made was destined to require other and greater corrections in the future.

He also changed the order of the months. March, which had been first, he made the third month, and January, which had been the eleventh under Romulus,

δωδέκατος δὲ καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ Φεβρουάριος, ᾧ
 νῦν δευτέρῳ χρῶνται. πολλοὶ δὲ εἰσιν οἱ καὶ
 προστεθῆναι τούτους ὑπὸ Νομᾶ τοὺς μῆνας λέ-
 γουσι, τὸν τε Ἰανουάριον καὶ τὸν Φεβρουάριον,
 4 ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ χρῆσθαι δέκα μόνον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν,
 ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν βαρβάρων τρισί, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 Ἀρκάδες μὲν τέσσαρσιν, ἐξ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Αἰγυ-
 πτίοις δὲ μηνιαῖος ἦν ὁ ἐνιαυτός, εἴτα τετρά-
 μηνος, ὥς φασι. διὸ καὶ νεωτάτην χώραν οἰ-
 κοῦντες ἀρχαιότατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ πλήθος
 ἀμύχανον ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς γενεαλογίαις καταφέρου-
 σιν, ἅτε δὴ τοὺς μῆνας εἰς ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν τιθέμενοι.

XIX. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὅτι μὲν δέκα μῆνας εἰς τὸν
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἔταπτον, οὐ δώδεκα, τεκμήριον ἢ τοῦ
 τελευταίου προσηγορία· δέκατον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄχρι
 νῦν καλοῦσιν· ὅτι δὲ τὸν Μάρτιον πρῶτον, ἢ
 τάξις· τὸν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐκείνου πέμπτον ἐκάλουν
 πέμπτον· ἕκτον δὲ τὸν ἕκτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἐξῆς ὁμοίως ἕκαστον, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἰανουάριον καὶ
 τὸν Φεβρουάριον πρὸ τοῦ Μαρτίου τιθεμένοις
 συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς τὸν εἰρημένον μῆνα πέμπτον
 2 μὲν ὀνομάζειν, ἑβδομον δὲ ἀριθμεῖν. ἄλλως δὲ
 καὶ λόγον εἶχε τὸν Μάρτιον Ἄρει καθιερωμένον
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πρῶτον ὀνομάζεσθαι· δεύτερον
 δὲ τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον, ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τῆς Ἀφροδί-
 της, ἐν ᾧ θύουσί τε τῇ θεῇ καὶ ταῖς καλάνδαις
 αἱ γυναῖκες ἐστεφανωμέναι μυρσίνῃ λούονται.
 τινὲς δὲ οὐ διὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον

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he made the first month ; February, which had been twelfth and last, thus became the second month, as now. But there are many who say that these months of January and February were added to the calendar by Numa, and that at the outset the Romans had only ten months in their year, as some Barbarians have three, and as, among the Greeks, the Arcadians have four, and the Acarnanians six ; the Aegyptian year had at first only a single month in it, afterwards four, as we are told. And therefore, though they inhabit a very recent country,¹ they have the credit of being a very ancient people, and load their genealogies with a prodigious number of years, since they really count their months as so many years.

XIX. That the Romans had at first only ten months in their year, and not twelve, is proved by the name of their last month ; for they still call it December, or the tenth month. And that March used to be their first month, is proved by the sequence of months after it ; for the fifth month after it used to be called Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so on with the rest. Therefore, when they placed January and February before March, they were guilty of naming the above-mentioned month Quintilis, or fifth, but counting it seventh. And besides, it was reasonable that March, which is consecrate to Mars, should be put in the first place by Romulus, and April in the second place, since this month is named after Aphrodite. In it they sacrificed to this goddess, and on its first day the women bathe with myrtle garlands on their heads. Some, however, say that April, with its smooth "p," cannot

¹ Perhaps as formed by the deposits of the Nile (Herod. ii. 5 and 9).

- φασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔχει τοῦνομα ψιλόν, Ἀπρίλιον κεκληθῆσθαι τὸν μῆνα τῆς ἑαρινῆς ὥρας ἀκμαζούσης ἀνοίγοντα καὶ ἀνακαλύπτοντα τοὺς βλαστοὺς τῶν φυτῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ γλῶττα σημαίνει.
- 3 τῶν δ' ἐφεξῆς τὸν μὲν Μάϊον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Μαΐας· Ἑρμῇ γὰρ ἀνιέρωται· τὸν δὲ Ἰούνιον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥρας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ τούτους ἡλικίας ἐπωνύμους εἶναι λέγοντες πρεσβυτέρας καὶ νεωτέρας· μαϊώρεις γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἰουνιώρεις δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι καλοῦνται. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, ὥσπερ ἀριθμοῦντες, ὠνόμαζον πέμπτον, ἕκτον, ἑβδομον, ὄγδοον, ἕνατον, δέκατον.
- 4 εἶτα ὁ πέμπτος ἀπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ καταγωνισμένου Πομπηίου Ἰούλιος· ὁ δὲ ἕκτος Αὐγουστος ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου μὲν ἄρξαντος, Σεβαστοῦ δὲ ἐπικληθέντος, ὠνομάσθη. τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς¹ Δομετιανὸς εἰσεποίησε ταῖς αὐτοῦ προσωνυμίαις οὐ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαβόντες πάλιν ἐκείνου σφαγέντος ὁ μὲν ἑβδομος, ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος καλοῦνται. μόνοι δ' οἱ τελευταῖοι δύο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως κλήσιν, ὥσπερ ἔσχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, διεφύλαξαν.
- 5 Τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Νομᾷ προστεθέντων ἡ μετατεθέντων ὁ μὲν Φεβρουάριος οἶον καθάρσιος ἂν τις εἴη· καὶ γὰρ ἡ λέξις ἑγγιστα τοῦτο σημαίνει, καὶ τοῖς φθιτοῖς ἐναγίζουσι τότε καὶ τὴν τῶν Λουπερκαλίων ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰ πολλὰ καθαρμῶ προσεικυῖαν τελοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ πρῶτος Ἰανουάριος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὸν Μάρτιον ὁ Νομᾶς

¹ ἐφεξῆς Bekker adds δύο.

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be derived from Aphrodite, with its rough "ph," but that this month of high spring time is called April because it *opens* and discloses the buds and shoots in vegetation, this being the meaning of the word "aperio." The next month in order is called May, from Maia, the mother of Mercury, to whom it is sacred ; and June is so named from Juno. There are some, however, who say that these months get their name from an age, older and younger ; for "majores" is their name for the *elder*, "juniores" for the *younger* men. Each of the remaining months they named from its arithmetical position in the list, the fifth Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so on with September, October, November, and December. Afterwards the fifth month was named Julius, from Julius Caesar, the conqueror of Pompey ; and the sixth month Augustus, from the second Caesar, who was given that title. The seventh and eighth months bore for a short time the names Germanicus and Domitianus, which the emperor Domitian gave them ; but when he was slain, they resumed their old names of September and October. Only the last two months, November and December, preserved the names derived from their position in the list just as they were at the outset.

Of the months which were added or transposed by Numa, February must have something to do with *purification*, for this is nearest to the meaning of the word, and in this month they make offerings to the dead and celebrate the festival of the Lupercalia, which, in most of its features, resembles a purification.¹ The first month, January, is so named from Janus. And I think that March, which is

¹ Cf. *Romulus*, xxi. 4-8.

ἐπώνυμον ὄντα τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας μεταστῆσαι, βουλόμενος ἐν παντὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς
 6 δυνάμεως προτιμᾶσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν. ὁ γὰρ Ἰανὸς ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιοῖς εἴτε δαίμων εἴτε βασιλεὺς γενόμενος πολιτικὸς καὶ κοινωνικὸς ἐκ τοῦ θηριώδους καὶ ἀγρίου λέγεται μεταβαλεῖν τὴν δίαitan. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλάττουσιν αὐτὸν ἀμφιπρόσωπον, ὡς ἐτέραν ἐξ ἐτέρας τῷ βίῳ περιποιήσαντα τὴν μορφήν καὶ διάθεσιν.

XX. Ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νεὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ 73
 δίθυρος, ὃν πολέμου πύλην καλοῦσι. νομίζεται γὰρ ἀνεῶχθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὅταν ἢ πόλεμος, κεκλεισθαι δὲ εἰρήνης γενομένης. ὁ δὲ χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ σπανίως γινόμενον, αἰεὶ τιμὴν συνηρτημένης πολέμῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, διὰ μέγεθος τοῖς κύκλῳ περικεχυμένοις γένεσι βαρβάροις ἀντεριδούσης.
 2 πλὴν ἐπὶ γε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκλείσθη καθελόντος Ἀντώνιον καὶ πρότερον ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Ἀτιλίου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου χρόνον οὐ πολὺν· εἴτα εὐθὺς ἀνεῶχθη πολέμου συρραγέντος. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γε τῆς Νομᾶ βασιλείας οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνεωγμένος ὤφθη, τρία δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη συνεχῶς ἔμεινε κεκλεισμένος· οὕτως ἐξήρητο παντελῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
 3 πανταχόθεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἡμέρωτο καὶ κατεκεκλήλητο τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πραότητι τοῦ βασιλέως δῆμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις, ὥσπερ αὖρας τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἢ πνεύματος ὑγιεινοῦ φέροντος, ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς ἔλαβε καὶ πόθος εἰσερρήναι πάντα εὐνομίας καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γῆν φυτεύειν καὶ τέκνα τρέφειν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ

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named from Mars, was moved by Numa from its place at the head of the months because he wished in every case that martial influences should yield precedence to civil and political. For this Janus, in remote antiquity, whether he was a demi-god or a king, was a patron of civil and social order, and is said to have lifted human life out of its bestial and savage state. For this reason he is represented with two faces, implying that he brought men's lives out of one sort and condition into another.

XX. He also has a temple at Rome with double doors, which they call the gates of war; for the temple always stands open in time of war, but is closed when peace has come. The latter was a difficult matter, and it rarely happened, since the realm was always engaged in some war, as its increasing size brought it into collision with the barbarous nations which encompassed it round about. But in the time of Augustus Caesar it was closed, after he had overthrown Antony; and before that, when Marcus Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls, it was closed a short time; then war broke out again at once, and it was opened. During the reign of Numa, however, it was not seen open for a single day, but remained shut for the space of forty-three years together, so complete and universal was the cessation of war. For not only was the Roman people softened and charmed by the righteousness and mildness of their king, but also the cities round about, as if some cooling breeze or salubrious wind were wafted upon them from Rome, began to experience a change of temper, and all of them were filled with longing desire to have good government, to be at peace, to till the earth, to rear their children

- 4 σέβεσθαι θεούς. ἑορταὶ δὲ καὶ θαλῖαι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀδεῶς ἰόντων καὶ ἀναμινυμένων ὑποδοχαὶ καὶ φιλοφροσύναι τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατεῖχον, οἷον ἐκ πηγῆς τῆς Νομᾶ σοφίας τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπεισερόντων εἰς ἅπαντας καὶ διαχεομένης τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνον γαλήνης· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἐνδεῖν πρὸς τὴν τότε κατὰ
- 5 στασιν λέγουσιν· “Ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρπαξιν αἰθᾶν ἀραχνᾶν ἔργα.” καί, “εὐρὼς δάμνεται ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεά τ' ἀμφήκεα, χαλκεᾶν δὲ οὐκέτι σαλπύγγων κτύπος, οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων.” οὔτε γὰρ πόλεμος οὔτε στάσις οὔτε νεωτερισμὸς περὶ πολιτείαν ἱστόρηται Νομᾶ βασιλεύοντος· οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἔχθρα τις ἢ φθόνος ἢ δι' ἔρωτα
- 6 βασιλείας ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ σύστασις ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' εἴτε φόβος θεῶν προκήδεσθαι δοκούντων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴτε τῆς ἀρετῆς αἰδῶς εἴτε δαιμόνιος¹ τύχη, πάσης κακίας ἄθικτον ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ καθαρὸν διαφυλάττουσα τὸν βίον, ἐναργὲς ἐξήνεγκε παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς Πλατωνικῆς φωνῆς, ἣν ὕστερον ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὀλίγοις χρόνοις
- 7 γενόμενος ἐτόλμησεν ἀφείναι περὶ πολιτείας, ὡς μία κακῶν παῦλα καὶ λύσις ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, ἕκτινος τύχης θείας εἰς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀνοήτως φιλοσόφῳ βασιλικὴν συμπεσοῦσαν δύναμιν ἐγκρατῇ καὶ ὑπερδέξιον τῆς κακίας τὴν ἀρετὴν καταστήσαι. “Μακάριος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς” ὁ σὺφρων ὡς ἀλη-

¹ δαιμόνιος Bryan's correction, adopted by Coraës and Bekker: δαίμονος.

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in quiet, and to worship the gods. Festivals and feasts, hospitalities and friendly converse between people who visited one another promiscuously and without fear,—these prevailed throughout Italy, while honour and justice flowed into all hearts from the wisdom of Numa, as from a fountain, and the calm serenity of his spirit diffused itself abroad. Thus even the hyperboles of the poets fall short of picturing the state of man in those days: “And on the iron-bound shield-handles lie the tawney spiders’ webs”; and, “rust now subdues the sharp-pointed spears and two-edged swords; no longer is the blast of brazen trumpets heard, nor are the eyelids robbed of delicious sleep.”¹ For there is no record either of war, or faction, or political revolution while Numa was king. Nay more, no hatred or jealousy was felt towards his person, nor did ambition lead men to plot and conspire against his throne. On the contrary, either fear of the gods, who seemed to have him in their especial care, or reverence for his virtue, or a marvellous felicity, which in his days kept life free from the taint of every vice, and pure, made him a manifest illustration and confirmation of the saying which Plato,² many generations later, ventured to utter regarding government, namely, that human ills would only then cease and disappear when, by some divine felicity, the power of a king should be united in one person with the insight of a philosopher, thereby establishing virtue in control and mastery over vice. “Blessed,” indeed, is such a wise man

¹ A free citation, apparently from memory, of Bacchylides, *Fragment 13* (Bergk). See Jebb's *Bacchylides*, p. 411.

² *Republic*, p. 487 e.

θῶς, “μακάριοι δὲ οἱ συνήκοοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σωφρο-
 8 νούντος στόματος ἰόντων λόγων.” τάχα γὰρ οὐδὲ
 ἀνάγκης τινὸς δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐδὲ ἀπει-
 λῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν εὐδήλῳ παραδείγματι
 καὶ λαμπρῷ τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ὁρῶντες, ἐκου-
 σίως σωφρονοῦσι καὶ συµμετασχηµατίζονται
 πρὸς τὸν ἐν φιλίᾳ καὶ ὁµονοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ μετριότητος ἀµύµονα¹ καὶ
 μακάριον βίον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ κάλλιστον ἀπάσης πολι-
 τείας τέλος ἐστί, καὶ βασιλικώτατος ἀπάντων
 ὁ τοῦτον τὸν βίον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν τοῖς
 ὑπηκόοις ἐνεργάσασθαι δυνάµενος. ταῦτα μὲν
 οὖν Νοµᾶς παντὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται συνεωρακώς.

XXI. Περὶ δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ γάμων ἀντι-
 λογίαι γεγόνασιν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε
 γάμον ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Τατίας λαβεῖν αὐτὸν οὔτε
 παιδὸς ἐτέρου γενέσθαι πατέρα πλὴν μιᾶς θυγα-
 τρὸς Πομπιλίας λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ τέσ-
 σαραις υἱοὺς ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτοῦ, Πόμπωνα,
 Πῖνον, Κάλπον, Μάμερκον, ὧν ἕκαστον οἴκου
 2 διαδοχὴν καὶ γένους ἐντίμου καταλιπεῖν. εἶναι
 γὰρ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Πόμπωνος τοὺς Πομπωνίους,
 ἀπὸ δὲ Πίνου τοὺς Πιναρίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Κάλπου 74
 τοὺς Καλπουρνίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Μამέρκου τοὺς Μα-
 μερκίους, οἷς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ῥήγας γενέσθαι
 παρωνύμιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλέας. τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν
 οἱ τούτων μὲν κατηγοροῦντες ὡς χαριζομένων τοῖς
 γένεσι καὶ προστιθέντων οὐκ ἀληθῆ στέμματα
 τῆς ἀπὸ Νοµᾶ διαδοχῆς, τὴν δὲ Πομπιλίαν οὐκ ἐκ
 Τατίας γεγονέναι λέγοντες, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐτέρας γυναι-

¹ ἀµύµονα MSS. and edd. : ἀκύµονα (inaneless, serene), after Wytttenbach.

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“in himself, and blessed, too, are those who hear the words of wisdom issuing from his lips.”¹ For possibly there is no need of any compulsion or menace in dealing with the multitude, but when they see with their own eyes a conspicuous and shining example of virtue in the life of their ruler, they will of their own accord walk in wisdom’s ways, and unite with him in conforming themselves to a blameless and blessed life of friendship and mutual concord, attended by righteousness and temperance. Such a life is the noblest end of all government, and he is most a king who can inculcate such a life and such a disposition in his subjects. This, then, as it appears, Numa was preeminent in discerning.

XXI. As regards his marriages and offspring, historians are at variance. Some say that he had no other wife than Tatia, and no other child than one daughter, Pompilia. Others ascribe to him four sons besides, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, each one of whom was the founder of an honourable family. From Pompon the Pomponii are descended, from Pinus the Pinarii, from Calpus the Calpurnii, and from Mamercus the Mamercii, who for this reason had also the surname of Reges, or *Kings*. But there is a third class of writers who accuse the former of paying court to these great families by forging for them lines of descent from Numa, and they say that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife whom Numa

¹ Cf. Plato, *Laws*, p. 711 e.

- 3 κός, ἣν ἤδη βασιλεύων ἔγχε, Λουκρητίας· πάντες δ' οὖν ὁμολογοῦσι τὴν Πομπιλίαν Μαρκίῳ γαμηθῆναι. παῖς δὲ ἦν ὁ Μάρκιος ἐκείνου Μαρκίου τοῦ Νομᾶν παρορμήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ γὰρ συμμετώκησεν εἰς Ῥώμην αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου μετέσχε τιμώμενος, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Νομᾶ τελευτὴν Ὀστιλίῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστάς καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπεκατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μάρκιος ἔχων τὴν Πομπιλίαν κατέμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ Μάρκιον Ἀγκον ἐγέννησεν, ὃς μετὰ Τύλλον Ὀστίλιον ἐβασίλευσε.
- 4 τοῦτον, ὡς λέγεται, πενταετῇ καταλιπὼν ὁ Νομᾶς ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐ ταχείας οὐδ' αἰφνιδίου γενομένης αὐτῷ τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ γήρως καὶ νόσου μαλακῆς ἀπομαραινόμενος, ὡς ἰστόρηκε Πείσων. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα προσβιώσας.

XXII. Ζηλωτὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸν βίον ἐποίησαν οἱ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι δῆμοι, συνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἅμα δημοσίαις ἐπιφοραῖς καὶ στεφάνοις, οἱ τε πατρίκιοι τὸ λέχος ἀράμενοι, καὶ συμπαρόντες οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖς καὶ παρὰ πέμποντες, ὁ δ' ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἀναμειγμένων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων οὐχ ὡς βασιλέως ταφαῖς γηραιοῦ παρόντες, ἀλλ' ὡς τινα τῶν φιλτάτων ἑκαστός ἐν ἀκμῇ βίου ποθούμενον θάπτων, μετ' οἰωγῆς καὶ κλαυθμῶν ἐπόμενοι. πυρὶ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔδοσαν τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κωλύσαντος, ὡς λέγεται, δύο δὲ ποιησάμενοι λιθίνας σορούς ὑπὸ τὸ Ἰάνοκλον ἔθηκαν, τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχουσιν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἃς ἐγράψατο μὲν αὐτός,

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married after he became king. However, all are agreed that Pompilia was married to Marcius. Now this Marcius was a son of the Marcius who induced Numa to accept the throne.¹ That Marcius accompanied Numa to Rome, and there was honoured with membership in the Senate. After Numa's death, he competed for the throne with Hostilius, and being defeated, starved himself to death. But his son Marcius, the husband of Pompilia, remained at Rome, and begat Ancus Marcius, who succeeded Tullus Hostilius in the kingdom. This Ancus Marcius is said to have been only five years old when Numa died, not a speedy nor a sudden death, but wasting away gradually from old age and a mild disorder, as Piso writes. He was something over eighty years old when he died.

XXII. His obsequies were as much to be envied as his life. The peoples which were in alliance and friendship with Rome assembled at the rites with public offerings and crowns; the senators carried his bier, the priests of the gods served as its escort, and the rest of the people, including women and children, followed with groans and lamentations, not as though they were attending the funeral of an aged king, but as though each one of them was burying some dearest relation taken away in the flower of life. They did not burn his body, because, as it is said, he forbade it; but they made two stone coffins and buried them under the Janiculum. One of these held his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written out with his own hand, as the Greek

¹ Cf. chapter vi.

- ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νομοθέται τοὺς κύρβεις, ἐκδιδάξας δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔτι ζῶν τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ πάντων ἔξιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐνεργασάμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐκέλευσε συνταφῆναι μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἐν ἀψύχοις γράμμασι φρουρουμένων
- 3 τῶν ἀπορρήτων. ὃ λογισμῷ φασὶ μηδὲ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς εἰς γραφὴν κατατίθεσθαι τὰ συντάγματα, μνήμην δὲ καὶ παιδευσιν αὐτῶν ἄγραφον ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις. καὶ τῆς γε περὶ τὰς ἀπόρους καὶ ἀρρήτους λεγομένας ἐν γεωμετρίας μεθόδους πραγματείας πρὸς τινα τῶν ἀναξίων ἐκδοθείσης, ἔφασαν ἐπισημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεγάλῳ τινὶ καὶ κοινῷ κακῷ τὴν γεγεννημένην
- 4 παρανομίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἐπεξερχόμενον. ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχειν πολλὴν τοῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Πυθαγόρᾳ Νομῶν φιλοτιμουμένοις συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοσαύταις ὁμοιότησιν.

Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀντίαν ἱστοροῦσι δώδεκα μὲν εἶναι βίβλους ἱεροφαντικὰς, δώδεκα δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνικὰς φιλοσόφους τὰς εἰς τὴν σορὸν συντεθείσας. τετρακοσίων δὲ που διαγενομένων ἐτῶν ὕπατοι μὲν ἦσαν Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Βαίβιος· ὄμβρων δὲ μεγάλων ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ χύματος περιρραγέντος ἐξέωσε τὰς σοροὺς τὸ

5 ρεῦμα· καὶ τῶν ἐπιθημάτων ἀποπεσόντων ἡ μὲν ἐτέρα κενὴ παντάπασιν ὤφθη καὶ μέρος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λείψανον ἔχουσα τοῦ σώματος, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν γραμμάτων εὗρεθέντων ἀναγνῶναι μὲν αὐτὰ λέγεται Πετίλιος στρατηγῶν τότε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον κομίσαι,¹ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ θεμιτὸν εἶναι λέγων μηδὲ ὅσιον ἔκπυστα πολλοῖς τὰ γε-

¹ κομίσαι Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker, with C: ὀρμήσαι.

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lawgivers their tablets. But since, while he was still living, he had taught the priests the written contents of the books, and had inculcated in their hearts the scope and meaning of them all, he commanded that they should be buried with his body, convinced that such mysteries ought not to be entrusted to the care of lifeless documents. This is the reason, we are told, why the Pythagoreans also do not entrust their precepts to writing, but implant the memory and practice of them in living disciples worthy to receive them. And when their treatment of the abstruse and mysterious processes of geometry had been divulged to a certain unworthy person, they said the gods threatened to punish such lawlessness and impiety with some signal and wide-spread calamity. Therefore we may well be indulgent with those who are eager to prove, on the basis of so many resemblances between them, that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras.

Antias, however, writes that it was twelve pontifical books, and twelve others of Greek philosophy, which were placed in the coffin. And about four hundred years afterwards, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Baebius were consuls, heavy rains fell, and the torrent of water tore away the earth and dislodged the coffins. When their lids had fallen off, one coffin was seen to be entirely empty, without any trace whatever of the body, but in the other the writings were found. These Petilius, who was then praetor, is said to have read, and then brought to the senate, declaring that, in his opinion, it was not lawful or proper that the

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γραμμένα γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ κομισθείσας εἰς τὸ Κομίτιον τὰς βίβλους κατακαῆναι.

- 6 Πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ἔπεται τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ ἠγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι μείζων ὁ κατόπιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔπαινος, τοῦ φθόνου πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ ἐπιζῶντος, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ προαποθνήσκοντος· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνου γε τὴν δόξαν αἱ τῶν ὕστερον βασιλέων 75 τύχαι λαμπροτέραν ἐποίησαν. πέντε γὰρ γενομένων μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν ἔσχατος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν φυγῇ κατεγήρασε, τῶν δὲ τεσσάρων οὐδεὶς κατὰ φύσιν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τρεῖς 7 ἐπιβουλευθέντες ἐσφάγησαν, Ὀστίλιος δὲ Τύλλος, ὃς μετὰ Νομᾶν ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐκείνου καλῶν, ἐν δὲ πρώτοις καὶ μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν, ἐπιχλευάσας καὶ καθυβρίσας ὡς ἀργοποιὸν καὶ γυναικῶδη, πρὸς πόλεμον ἔτρεψε τοὺς πολίτας, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τοῖς νεανιεύμασι τούτοις, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ νόσου χαλεπῆς καὶ πολυτρόπου τὴν γνώμην ἀλλασσόμενος εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐνέδωκεν οὐδέν τι τῇ κατὰ Νομᾶν εὐσεβείᾳ προσήκουσαν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνεποίησε τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ τοιοῦτον πάθος, ὡς λέγεται, καταφλεχθεὶς ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν.

ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸν Νομᾶ καὶ Λυκούργου διεληλύθαμεν βίον, ἐκκειμένων ἀμφοῖν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον, οὐκ ἀποκνητέον συναγαγεῖν τὰς διαφοράς.

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writings should be published abroad. The books were therefore carried to the comitium and burned.

It is true, indeed, of all just and good men, that they are praised more after they have left the world than before, since envy does not long survive them, and some even see it die before them ; but in Numa's case the misfortunes of the kings who followed him made his fame shine all the brighter. For of the five who came after him, the last was dethroned and grew old in exile, and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three of them were conspired against and slain ; and Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, and who mocked and derided most of his virtues, and above all his devotion to religion, declaring that it made men idle and effeminate, turned the minds of the citizens to war. He himself, however, did not abide by his presumptuous folly, but was converted by a grievous and complicated disease, and gave himself over to a superstition which was far removed from the piety of Numa. His subjects, too, were even more affected with superstition, as we are told, when he died by a stroke of lightning.

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I. Now that we have recounted the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, and both lie clearly before us, we must attempt, even though the task be difficult, to assemble and put together their points of difference.

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- αἱ μὲν γὰρ κοινότητες ἐπιφαίνονται ταῖς πράξεσιν, οἷον ἡ σωφροσύνη τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἡ εὐσέβεια, τὸ πολιτικόν, τὸ παιδευτικόν, τὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμφοτέρους λαβεῖν τῆς νομοθεσίας· τῶν δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἐκατέρου καλῶν πρῶτόν ἐστι Νομᾶ μὲν ἡ παράληψις τῆς βασιλείας, Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἡ
- 2 παράδοσις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ αἰτῶν ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ἀπέδωκε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἕτεροι κύριον αὐτῶν κατέστησαν ἰδιώτην καὶ ξένον ὄντα, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἰδιώτην ἐκ βασιλέως ἐποίησε. καλὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ κτήσασθαι δικαιοσύνη τὴν βασιλείαν, καλὸν δὲ τὸ προτιμῆσαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς βασιλείας. ἡ γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἐνδοξον κατέστησεν ὥστε βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι, τὸν δὲ οὕτω μέγαν ἐποίησεν ὥστε βασιλείας καταφρονῆσαι.
- 3 Δεύτερον τοῖνυν, ἐπεὶ καθάπερ ἀρμονικοὶ λύρας, ὁ μὲν ἐκλελυμένην καὶ τρυφῶσαν ἐπέτεινε τὴν Σπάρτην, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ σφοδρὸν ἀνῆκε καὶ σύντονον, ἡ μὲν χαλεπότης τοῦ ἔργου τῷ Λυκούργῳ πρόσσεστιν. οὐ γὰρ θώρακας ἐκδύναι καὶ ξίφη τοὺς πολίτας καταθέσθαι ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ στρωμνὰς ἐκβαλεῖν πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας, οὐδὲ πανσαμένους πολέμων ἐορτάζειν καὶ θύειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖπνα καὶ πότους ἐάσαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς
- 4 παλαίστραις διαπονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσκεῖν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν δι' εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἅπαντα πείθων ἔπραξεν, ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων καὶ βαλλόμενος μόγις ἐπεκράτησεν.

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For their points of likeness are obvious from their careers: their wise moderation, their piety, their talent for governing and educating, and their both deriving their laws from a divine source. But each also performed noble deeds peculiar to himself. To begin with, Numa accepted, but Lycurgus resigned, a kingdom. One got it without asking for it, the other had it and gave it up. One was made by others their sovereign, though a private person and a stranger; the other made himself a private person, though he was a king. It was a noble thing, of course, to win a kingdom by righteousness; but it was also a noble thing to set righteousness above a kingdom. For it was virtue which rendered the one so famous as to be judged worthy of a kingdom, and virtue, too, which made the other so great as to scorn a kingdom.

In the second place, then, it is granted that, just as musicians tune their lyres, so Lycurgus tightened the strings at Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, and Numa loosened the strings at Rome, where the tones were sharp and high; but the task was more difficult in the case of Lycurgus. For his efforts were to persuade the citizens, not to take off their breast-plates and lay aside their swords, but to cast away gold and silver, and abandon costly couches and tables; not to cease from wars and hold festivals and sacrifices, but to give up feasting and drinking and practise laboriously as soldiers and athletes. Wherefore the one accomplished all his ends by persuasion, through the good-will and honour in which his people held him; but the other had to risk his life and suffer wounds, and scarcely then prevailed.

Ἡμερος μέντοι καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ἢ τοῦ Νομᾶ
 μούσα πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην μεθαρμο-
 σαμένου καὶ καταπραΰναντος ἐξ ἀκρατῶν καὶ
 διαπύρων ἡθῶν τοὺς πολίτας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ
 περὶ τοὺς Εἰλωτας ἀναγκάσει τις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν
 5 Λυκούργου θέσθαι πολιτείαν, ὡμότατον ἔργον
 καὶ παρανομώτατον, μακρῷ τινι τὸν Νομᾶν ἑλλη-
 νικώτερον γεγονέναι νομοθέτην φήσομεν, ὅς γε
 καὶ τοὺς ὡμολογημένους δούλους ἔγχευσε τιμῆς
 ἐλευθέρας, ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις ἐστιᾶσθαι μετὰ τῶν
 δεσποτῶν ἀναμεμιγμένους ἐθίσας. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο
 τῶν Νομᾶ πατρίων ἐν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς
 τῶν ἐτησίων ἀπολαύσεις καρπῶν τοὺς συνεργοὺς
 παραλαμβάνοντος. ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο ὑπόμνημα τῆς
 Κρονικῆς ἐκείνης ἰσονομίας ἀποσώζεσθαι μυθο-
 λογοῦσιν, ὡς μηδενὸς δούλου μηδὲ δεσπότου,
 πάντων δὲ συγγενῶν καὶ ἰσοτίμων νομιζομένων.

II. Ὅλως δὲ φαίνονται πρὸς τὴν αὐτάρκειαν
 ἀμφοτέροι καὶ σωφροσύνην ὁμοίως ἄγοντες τὰ
 πλήθη, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ὁ μὲν τὴν ἀνδρείαν
 μᾶλλον, ὁ δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἡγαπηκῶς· εἰ μὴ νῆ
 Δία διὰ τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῶν πολιτευμάτων
 ἐκατέρου φύσιν ἢ συνήθειαν, οὐχ ὁμοίαν οὔσαν,
 2 ἀνομοίας ἔδει παρασκευῆς. οὔτε γὰρ Νομᾶς διὰ 76
 δειλίαν κατέλυσε τὸ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ
 ἀδικεῖν, οὔτε Λυκούργος εἰς ἀδικίαν κατεσκεύασε
 πολεμικούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι. τὰς
 οὖν ὑπερβολὰς ἀφαιροῦντες ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τὰς
 ἐνδεΐας ἀναπληροῦντες τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ τοὺς
 πολίτας, ἡναγκάζοντο μεγάλαις χρήσθαι μετα-
 βολαῖς.

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Numa's muse, however, was gentle and humane, and he converted his people to peace and righteousness, and softened their violent and fiery tempers. And if we must ascribe to the administration of Lycurgus the treatment of the Helots, a most savage and lawless practice, we shall own that Numa was far more Hellenic as a lawgiver, since he gave acknowledged slaves a taste of the dignity of freedom, by making it the custom for them to feast in the company of their masters during the Saturnalia.¹ For this too was one of the institutions of Numa, as we are told, who thereby admitted to the enjoyment of the yearly fruits of the earth those who had helped to produce them. Some, however, fancy that this custom was a reminder of the equality which characterized the famous Saturnian age, when there was neither slave nor master, but all were regarded as kinsmen and equals.

II. In general, both alike manifestly strove to lead their peoples to independence and sobriety; but as regards the other virtues, the one set his affections more on bravery, the other on righteousness; unless, indeed, the different natures or usages on which the government of each was based required different provisions. For it was not out of cowardice that Numa put a stop to the waging of war, but to prevent the commission of injustice; neither was it to promote the commission of injustice that Lycurgus made his people warlike, but that they might not suffer injustice. Accordingly, in removing the excesses and supplying the deficiencies of their citizens, both were forced to make great innovations.

¹ A mid-winter harvest festival in honour of Saturnus.

- 3 Καὶ μὴν τῆς τε διατάξεως καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν πολιτευμάτων ὀχλικὴ μὲν ἀκράτως ἡ τοῦ Νομᾶ καὶ θεραπευτικὴ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐκ χρυσοχόων καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σκυτοτόμων συμμιγὴ τινα καὶ παμποίκιλον ἀποφαίνοντος δῆμον, αὐστηρὰ δὲ ἡ Λυκούργειος καὶ ἀριστοκρατικὴ, τὰς μὲν βαναύσους ἀποκαθαίρουσα τέχνας εἰς οἰκετῶν καὶ μετοίκων χεῖρας αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ δόρυ συνάγουσα, πολέμου χειροτέχνας καὶ θεράποντας Ἄρεως ὄντας, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν εἰδότας οὐδὲ μελετῶντας ἢ πείθεσθαι τοῖς
- 4 ἄρχουσι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ χρηματίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐξῆν, ἵνα ἐλευθεροὶ παντελῶς καὶ καθάπαξ ὦσιν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ χρήματα κατασκευὴ δεδομένη δούλοις καὶ Εἰλωσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ὄψον διακονία. Νομᾶς δὲ οὐδὲν διέκρινε τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν στρατιωτικὰς ἔπαυσε πλεονεξίας, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον οὐκ ἐκώλυσε χρηματισμόν, οὐδὲ τὴν
- 5 τοιαύτην κατεστόρεσεν ἀνωμαλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτῳ προῖεναι μέχρι παντὸς ἐφήκε, καὶ πενίας πολλῆς ἀθροισμένης καὶ ὑπορρεούσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμέλησε, δέον εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ, μηδέπω πολλῆς μηδὲ μεγάλης ἀνισότητος οὔσης, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῖς βίοις ὁμαλῶν καὶ παραπλησίων ὄντων, ἐνστήναι πρὸς τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὥσπερ Λυκούργος, καὶ φυλάξασθαι τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῆς βλάβας, οὐ μικρὰς γενομένας, ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κακῶν, ὅσα συννηέχθη, σπέρμα καὶ ἀρχὴν παρα-
- 6 σχούσας. ὁ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἀναδασμὸς οὔτε τὸν Λυκαῦργον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ποιεῖ ψεκτὸν γενόμενος οὔτε τὸν Νομᾶν μὴ γενόμενος. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔδραν

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And surely, as regards the arrangement and classification of the citizens under their respective governments, Numa's was strongly popular and inclined to favour the masses, resulting in a promiscuous and variegated commonalty of goldsmiths, musicians, and leather-workers ; but that of Lycurgus was rigid and aristocratic, relegating the mechanical arts into the hands of slaves and aliens, but confining the citizens themselves to the use of the shield and the spear, so that they were artificers of war and servants of Ares, but knew and cared for nothing else than to obey their commanders and master their enemies. For freemen were not even permitted to transact business, that they might be entirely and forever free, but the whole apparatus of business was turned over to slaves and Helots, just like the preparation and serving of their meals. Numa, on the contrary, made no such distinctions, but, while he put a stop to military rapacity, he prohibited no other gainful occupation. Nor did he reduce the great inequalities resulting therefrom, but left the acquisition of wealth wholly unrestricted, and paid no attention to the great increase of poverty and its gradual influx into the city. And yet it was his duty at the very outset, while as yet there was no general or great disparity of means, but people still lived on much the same plane, to make a stand against rapacity, as Lycurgus did, and take measures of precaution against its mischiefs ; for these were not trifling, but furnished the seed and source of the most and greatest evils of after times. But as regards the redistribution of the land, Lycurgus, in my opinion, is not to be censured for making it, nor Numa for not making it. In the one case, the re-

καὶ κρηπίδα τῆς πολιτείας ἡ ἰσότης αὕτη παρέσχε, τὸν δὲ προσφάτου τῆς κληρουχίας οὔσης οὐδὲν ἤπειγεν ἄλλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἀναδασμὸν οὐδὲ κινεῖν τὴν πρώτην νέμησιν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐστὶ, κατὰ χώραν μένουσαν.

- III. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τὰς τεκνώσεις κοινωνίας τὸ ἀζηλότυπον ὀρθῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς ἐμποιοῦντες ἀμφοτέροι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐ κατὰ πᾶν εἰς τοῦτο συνηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἀνὴρ ἱκανῶς ἔχων παιδοτροφίας, ὑφ' ἐτέρου δὲ πεισθεὶς δεομένου τέκνων, ἐξίστατο τῆς γυναικός, ἐκδόσθαι καὶ μετεκδόσθαι κύριος ὑπάρχων, ὁ δὲ Λάκων, οἴκοι τῆς γυναικὸς οὔσης παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ γάμου μένοντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων, μετεδίδου τῷ πείσαντι
- 2 τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς τέκνωσιν. πολλοὶ δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ παρακαλοῦντες εἰσῆγον ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐδόκουν μάλιστα παῖδας εὐεидεῖς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι. τίς οὖν ἡ διάκρισις τῶν ἐθισμῶν; ἡ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἄκρατος ἀπάθεια πρὸς γαμετὴν καὶ τὰ τaráττοντα καὶ κατακαίοντα ζηλοτυπίαις τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ὥσπερ αἰσχυνομένη ἀτυφία τις, παρακάλυμμα τὴν ἐγγύην ἐφελκομένη καὶ τὸ δυσκάρτερτον ἐξομολογουμένη τῆς κοινωνίας;
- 3 Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ περὶ τὰς παρθένους φυλακὴ κατέσταλται τῷ Νομῷ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ κόσμιον· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Λυκούργου παντάπασιν ἀναπεπταμένη καὶ ἄθηλος οὔσα τοῖς ποιηταῖς λόγον παρέσχηκε. φαινομηρίδας τε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὡς

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sulting equality was the foundation and base of his polity ; but in the other, since the allotment of lands was recent, there was no urgent reason for introducing another division, or for disturbing the first assignment, which probably was still in force.

• III. With regard to community in marriage and parentage, though both, by a sound policy, inculcated in husbands a freedom from selfish jealousy, still, their methods were not entirely alike. The Roman husband, if he had a sufficient number of children to rear, and another, who lacked children, could persuade him to the step, relinquished his wife to him, having the power of surrendering her entirely, or only for a season ; but the Spartan, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage retained its original rights and obligations, might allow any one who gained his consent to share his wife for the purpose of getting children by her. And many husbands, as we have said,¹ would actually invite into their homes men whom they thought most likely to procure them handsome and noble children. What, then, is the difference between the two customs ? We may say, perhaps, that the Spartan implies a complete indifference to the wife, and to the jealous emotions which confound and consume the hearts of most men ; while the Roman, as if with shame-faced modesty, makes a veil of the new betrothal, and concedes that community of wives is really insupportable.

Still further, Numa's watchful care of young maidens was more conducive to feminine decorum ; but the treatment of them by Lycurgus, being entirely unconfined and unfeminine, has given occasion to the poets. They call them " phainomerides,"

¹ *Lycurgus*, xv. 7.

Ἰβυκος, καὶ ἀνδρομανεῖς λαιδοροῦσιν, ὥς Εὐριπίδης, λέγων·

Αἱ σὺν νέοισιν ἐξερημοῦσιν¹ δόμους
γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πέπλοις ἀνειμένους.

- 4 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοῦ παρθενικοῦ χιτῶνος αἱ πτέρυγες 77
οὐκ ἦσαν συνερραμμέναι κάτωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεπτύσσοντο καὶ συνανηγύμνου ὅλον ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν τὸν μηρόν. καὶ σαφέστατα τὸ γινόμεον εἶρηκε Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τούτοις·

Καὶ τὰν νέορτον, ἃς ἔτ' ἄστολος χιτῶν
θυραῖον ἀμφὶ μηρόν
πτύσσεται, Ἑρμιόναυ.

- 5 διὸ καὶ θρασύτεραι λέγονται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρῶτον ἀνδρώδεις. τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἅτε δὴ τῶν μὲν οἴκων ἄρχουσαι κατὰ κράτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασι καὶ γνώμης μεταλαμβάνουσαι καὶ παρρησίας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ὁ δὲ Νομᾶς ταῖς γαμεταῖς τὸ μὲν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐτήρησε πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἣν εἶχον ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου θεραπευόμεναι διὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, αἰδῶ δὲ πολλὴν ἐπέστησεν αὐταῖς καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην ἀφεῖλε καὶ νήφειν ἐδίδαξε καὶ σιωπᾶν εἵθισεν, οἴνου μὲν ἀπεχομένας τὸ πάμπαν, λόγῳ δὲ μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀνδρὸς ἀνευ χρωμένας.
- 6 λέγεται γοῦν ποτε γυναικὸς εἰπούσης δίκην ἰδίαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πέμψαι τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς θεοῦ, πυν-

¹ ἐξερημοῦσιν adapted from ἐξερημοῦσαι (leaving their homes).

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bare-thighed (so Ibycus), and revile them as mad after men. Thus Euripides says ¹ :—

“ They leave their homes to mingle with the youths ;
Their thighs are naked, flying free their robes.”

For in fact the flaps of the tunic worn by their maidens were not sewn together below the waist, but would fly back and lay bare the whole thigh as they walked. Sophocles pictures the thing very clearly in these words ² :—

“ And that young maid, whose tunic, still unsewn,
Lays bare her gleaming thigh
Between its folds, Hermione.”

And so their women, it is said, were too bold, putting on men's airs with their husbands even, to begin with, since they ruled their houses absolutely, and besides, on public occasions, taking part in debate and the freest speech on the most important subjects. But Numa, while carefully preserving to the matrons that dignified and honourable relation to their husbands which was bestowed on them by Romulus,³ when he tried by kindly usage to efface the memory of the violence done them, nevertheless enjoined great modesty upon them, forbade them all busy intermeddling, taught them sobriety, and accustomed them to be silent ; wine they were to refrain from entirely, and were not to speak, even on the most necessary topics, unless their husbands were with them. At any rate, it is said that when a woman once pleaded her own cause in the forum, the senate sent to inquire of an oracle what the event might

¹ *Andromache*, 587 f. (Kirchhoff), slightly adapted.

² Fragment 788 (Nauck). ³ Cf. *Romulus*, xix. 6.

θανομένην τίνος ἄρα τῇ πόλει σημεῖον εἶη τὸ γεγενημένον. καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐπειθείας καὶ πραότητος αὐτῶν μέγα τεκμήριον ἡ μνήμη τῶν χειρόνων. ὥς γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ ἱστορικοὶ γράφουσι τοὺς πρώτους ἢ φόνον ἐμφύλιον ἐργασασμένους ἢ πολεμήσαντας ἀδελφοῖς ἢ πατρὸς αὐτόχειρας ἢ μητρὸς
 7. γενομένους, οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι πρῶτος μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο γυναῖκα Σπόριος Καρβίλιος, μετὰ τὴν Ῥώμης κτίσιν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις οὐδενὸς τοιούτου γεγονότος, πρώτη δὲ γυνὴ Πιναρίου Θαλαΐα τοῦνομα διηνέχθη πρὸς ἐκυρὰν αὐτῆς Γεγανίαν Ταρκυνίου Σουπέρβου βασιλεύοντος. οὕτω καλῶς καὶ κοσμίως τεταγμένα τὰ τῶν γάμων ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου.

IV. Τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ τῶν παρθένων ἀγωγῇ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκδόσεις ὁμολογεῖ, τοῦ μὲν Λυκούργου πεπείρους καὶ ὀργώσας νυμφεύοντος, ὅπως ἦ τε ὁμιλία, δεομένης ἤδη τῆς φύσεως, χάριτος ἢ καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ μᾶλλον ἢ μίσους καὶ φόβου παρὰ φύσιν βιαζομένων, καὶ τὰ σώματα ῥώμην ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ τὰς κυήσεις ἀναφέρειν καὶ τὰς ὠδίνους, ὥς ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γαμουμένων ἢ τὸ τῆς τεκνώσεως ἔργον, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων δωδεκαετείς καὶ νεωτέρας ἐκδιδόντων· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἦθος καθαρὸν καὶ ἄθικτον ἐπὶ
 2 τῷ γαμοῦντι γίνεσθαι. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τὸ μὲν

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portend for the city. And for their usual gentleness and readiness to obey, there is strong evidence in the specific mention made of those who were less amenable. For just as our Greek historians record the names of those who first slew kinsfolk, or made war on their brothers, or were parricides, or matricides, so the Romans make record of the fact that Spurius Carvilius was the first to divorce his wife, two hundred and thirty years after the founding of Rome, there being no precedent for it; also that the wife of Pinarius, Thalaëa by name, was the first woman to quarrel with her own mother-in-law, Gegania, in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. In such fitting and proper manner were marriages regulated by their lawgiver.

IV. Further, the practice of the two peoples in the matter of giving their young maids in marriage conforms to their education of them in general. Lycurgus made them brides only when they were fully ripe and eager for it, in order that intercourse with a husband, coming at a time when nature craved it, might produce a kindly love, instead of the timorous hate that follows unnatural compulsion; also that their bodies might be vigorous enough to endure the strain of conception and child-birth, convinced as he was that marriage had no other end than the production of children. The Romans, on the other hand, gave their maidens in marriage when they were twelve years old, or even younger. In this way more than any other, it was thought, both their bodies and their dispositions would be pure and undefiled when their husbands took control of them. It is clear, therefore, that one practice regarded nature more, with children in view; the other re-

φυσικώτερον πρὸς τέκνωσιν, τὸ δὲ ἠθικώτερον πρὸς συμβίωσιν.

- Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἐπιστάσiais τε παίδων καὶ συναγελασμοῖς καὶ παιδαγωγίαις καὶ κοινωνίαις, περί τε δειπνα καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἐμμελείαις καὶ διακοσμήσεσιν, οὐδέν τι τοῦ προστυχόντος νομοθέτου βελτίονα τὸν Νομᾶν ὁ Λυκούργος ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πατέρων ποιησάμενον ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ χρεαίαις τὰς τῶν νέων ἀγωγάς, εἴτε τις ἐργάτην γῆς βούλοιτο ποιεῖν τὸν υἱὸν εἴτε ναυπηγὸν ἢ χαλκέα διδάσκειν ἢ αὐλητήν, ὥσπερ οὐ πρὸς ἓν τέλος ὀφείλοντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄγεσθαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφεσθαι τοῖς ἡθεσιν, ἀλλ' οἷον εἰς ναῦν ἐπιβάτας ἕτερον ἐξ ἐτέρας ἦκοντα χρείας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις μόνον φόβῳ τοῦ ἰδίου συνίστασθαι πρὸς τὸ κοινόν,
- 4 ἄλλως δὲ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν σκοπεῖν ἕκαστον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν νομοθέταις ἐλλείπουσιν ἢ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν· ἀνδρὶ δὲ σοφῷ βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι δήμου νεωστὶ συνισταμένου καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντιτείνοντος, περὶ τί πρῶτον¹ ἦν σπουδάσαι προσῆκον ἢ παίδων ἐκτροφὴν καὶ νέων ἀσκησιν, ὅπως μὴ διάφοροι μηδὲ ταραχῶδεις γένοιντο τοῖς ἡθεσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἓν τι 78 κοινὸν ἀρετῆς ἔχνος εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλαττόμενοι
- 5 καὶ τυπούμενοι συμβαίνοιεν ἀλλήλοις; ὃ δὴ πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ σωτηρίαν νόμων ὠφέλησε τὸν Λυκούργον. μικρὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τῶν ὄρκων φόβος, εἰ

¹ πρῶτον Bekker corrects to πρότερον.

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garded more the formation of character, with married life in view.

But surely, by his careful attention to boys, by their collection into companies, their discipline and constant association, and by his painstaking arrangements for their meals and bodily exercise and sports, Lycurgus proves that Numa was no more than an ordinary lawgiver. For Numa left the bringing up of youths to the wishes or necessities of their fathers. A father might, if he wished, make his son a tiller of the soil, or a shipwright, or might teach him to be a smith or a flute-player, as if it were not important that all of them should be trained with one and the same end in view from the outset, and have their dispositions formed alike; but rather as if they were like passengers on a ship, each coming with a different object and purpose, and each therefore uniting with the rest for the common good only in times of peril, through fear of private loss, but otherwise consulting only his own interests. Now, it is not worth while to censure the common run of legislators, who fail through ignorance or weakness. But when a wise man had consented to be king over a people newly constituted and pliant to his every wish, what should have been his first care, unless it was the rearing of boys and the training of youths so that there might be no confusing differences in their characters, but that they might be moulded and fashioned from the very outset so as to walk harmoniously together in the same path of virtue? This, indeed, was what helped Lycurgus to secure, among other things, the stability and permanence of his laws. The Spartans took oaths to maintain these laws, it is true, but

μη διὰ τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς οἷον ἀνέδευσε¹
τοῖς ἡθεσι τῶν παίδων τοὺς νόμους, καὶ συνφκείωσε
τῇ τροφῇ τὸν ζῆλον τῆς πολιτείας, ὥστε πεντακο-
σίων ἐτῶν πλείω χρόνον τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ
μέγιστα διαμεῖναι τῆς νομοθεσίας, ὥσπερ βαφῆς
ἀκράτου καὶ ἰσχυρῶς καθαψαμένης.

6 Νομᾶ δὲ ὅπερ ἦν τέλος τῆς πολιτείας, ἐν
εἰρήνῃ καὶ φιλίᾳ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν, εὐθύς
συνεξέλιπε· καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐκείνου τὸν
ἀμφίθυρον οἶκον, ὃν κεκλεισμένον αὐτὸς συνεῖχεν,
ὥσπερ ὄντως ἐν αὐτῷ τιθασέων καθειργμένον τὸν
πόλεμον, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναπετάσαντες αἵματος
καὶ νεκρῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐνέπλησαν· καὶ οὐδὲ
ὀλίγον χρόνον ἢ καλλίστη καὶ δικαιοτάτῃ κατὰ-
στασις ἔμεινεν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὸ συνδετικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ,
τὴν παιδείαν, οὐκ ἔχουσα.

7 “Τί οὖν,” φήσκει τις, “οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἢ
Ῥώμῃ προῆλθε τοῖς πολεμικοῖς;” ἐρωτῶν ἐρώτημα
μακρᾶς ἀποκρίσεως δεόμενον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους
τὸ βέλτιον ἐν πλούτῳ καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ
μᾶλλον ἢ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ πραότητι καὶ τῇ μετὰ
δικαιοσύνης αὐταρκεῖᾳ τιθεμένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοῦτο Λυκούργῳ πού δόξει βοηθεῖν, τὸ
Ῥωμαίους μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Νομᾶ κατάστασιν ἐξαλλά-
8 ξαντας ἐπιδιδῶναι τοῖς πράγμασι τοσοῦτον, Λακε-
δαιμονίους δὲ ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐκβῆναι τὴν
Λυκούργου διάταξιν, ἐκ μεγίστων ταπεινοτάτους
γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν ἀπο-

¹ ἀνέδευσε Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to ἐνέδευσε.

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this would have availed little had he not, by means of his training and education of the boys, infused his laws, as it were, into their characters, and made the emulous love of his government an integral part of their rearing. The result was that for more than five hundred years the sovereign and fundamental features of his legislation remained in force, like a strong and penetrating dye.

But that which was the end and aim of Numa's government, namely, the continuance of peace and friendship between Rome and other nations, straightway vanished from the earth with him. After his death the double doors of the temple¹ which he had kept continuously closed, as if he really had war caged and confined there, were thrown wide open, and Italy was filled with the blood of the slain. Thus not even for a little time did the beautiful edifice of justice which he had reared remain standing, because it lacked the cement of education.

"What, then!" some one will say, "was not Rome advanced and bettered by her wars?" That is a question which will need a long answer, if I am to satisfy men who hold that betterment consists in wealth, luxury and empire, rather than in safety, gentleness, and that independence which is attended by righteousness. However, it will be thought, I suppose, to favour the superior claims of Lycurgus, that, whereas the Romans increased in power as they did after abandoning the institutions of Numa's time, the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, just as soon as they forsook the precepts of Lycurgus, sank from the highest to the lowest place, lost their supremacy over the Greeks, and were in danger of

¹ Cf. *Numa*, xx. 1.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

βαλόντας κινδυνεύσαι περὶ ἀναστάσεως. ἐκείνο μέντοι τῷ Νομᾷ μέγα καὶ θεῖον ὥς ἀληθῶς ὑπάρχει, τὸ ξένῳ τε μεταπέμπτῳ γενέσθαι καὶ πάντα πειθοῖ μεταβαλεῖν, καὶ κρατῆσαι πόλεως οὐπω συμπεπνευκυίας, μήτε ὀπλων δεηθέντα μήτε βίας τινός, ὥς Λυκούργος ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἤγε τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἀλλὰ σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη πάντας προσαγαγόμενον καὶ συναρμόσαντα.

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utter destruction. Nevertheless, this remains a great feature in Numa's career, and one really divine, that he was a stranger, and yet was summoned to the throne, where he changed the whole nature of the state by force of persuasion alone, and mastered a city which was not yet in sympathy with his views ; and that he accomplished this without appeal to arms or any violence (unlike Lycurgus, who led the nobles in arms against the commons), but by his wisdom and justice won the hearts of all the citizens and brought them into harmony.

SOLON

DD 2

ΣΟΛΩΝ

I. Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν
 ἀξόνων τῶν Σόλωνος ἀντιγραφῇ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιά-
 δην Φιλοκλέους τινὸς τέθεικε λέξιν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν
 Σόλωνα πατρὸς Εὐφορίωνος ἀποφαίνει παρὰ τὴν
 τῶν ἄλλων δόξαν, ὅσοι μέμνηνται Σόλωνος.
 Ἐξηκεστίδου γὰρ αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ὁμαλῶς γεγο-
 νέναι λέγουσιν, ἀνδρὸς οὐσίᾳ μὲν, ὥς φασι, καὶ
 2 κατὰ γένος· ἦν γὰρ Κοδρίδης ἀνέκαθεν. τὴν δὲ
 μητέρα τοῦ Σόλωνος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς
 ἱστορεῖ τῆς Πεισιστράτου μητρὸς ἀνεψιὰν γε-
 νέσθαι. καὶ φιλία τὸ πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς πολλή
 μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, πολλή δὲ διὰ τὴν 79
 εὐφυΐαν καὶ ὥραν, ὥς ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐρωτικῶς τὸν
 Πεισίστρατον ἀσπαζομένου τοῦ Σόλωνος. ὅθεν
 ὕστερον, ὥς ἔοικεν, εἰς διαφορὰν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ
 πολιτείᾳ καταστάντων οὐδὲν ἤνεγκεν ἢ ἔχθρα
 σκληρὸν οὐδ' ἄγριον πάθος, ἀλλὰ παρέμεινεν
 ἐκεῖνα τὰ δίκαια ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ παρεφύλαξε,

Τυφόμενα Δίου πυρὸς ἔτι ζῶσαν φλόγα,

3 τὴν ἐρωτικὴν μνήμην καὶ χάριν. ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 καλοὺς οὐκ ἦν ἐχυρὸς ὁ Σόλων οὐδ' Ἐρωτι θαρ-
 ραλέος “ ἀνταναστῆναι πύκτης ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας,”¹

¹ Ἐρωτι μὲν νυν ὅστις ἀντανίσταται
 πύκτης ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας, οὐ καλῶς φρονεῖ.

(Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 441 f.)

SOLON

I. DIDYMU^s the grammarian, in his reply to Asclepiades on Solon's tables of law, mentions a remark of one Philocles, in which it is stated that Solon's father was Euphorion, contrary to the opinion of all others who have written about Solon. For they all unite in saying that he was a son of Execestides, a man of moderate wealth and influence in the city, but a member of its foremost family, being descended from Codrus. Solon's mother, according to Heracleides Ponticus, was a cousin of the mother of Peisistratus. And the two men were at first great friends, largely because of their kinship, and largely because of the youthful beauty of Peisistratus, with whom, as some say, Solon was passionately in love. And this may be the reason why, in later years, when they were at variance about matters of state, their enmity did not bring with it any harsh or savage feelings, but their former amenities lingered in their spirits, and preserved there,

“smouldering with a lingering flame of Zeus-sent fire,”¹

the grateful memory of their love. And that Solon was not proof against beauty in a youth, and made not so bold with Love as “to confront him like a boxer, hand to hand,” may be inferred from his

¹ Euripides, *Bacchae*, 8.

ἐκ τε τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἔστι, καὶ νόμον ἔγραψε διαγορεύοντα δοῦλον μὴ ξηραλοῖ-
φειν μηδὲ παιδεραστεῖν, εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν
μερίδα καὶ σεμνῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τιθέμενος τὸ
4 πρᾶγμα, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοὺς ἀξίους προκαλού-
μενος ὧν τοὺς ἀναξίους ἀπήλυνε. λέγεται δὲ
καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐραστὴς Χάρμου γενέσθαι, καὶ
τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καθιε-
ρῶσαι, ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσιν οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν
λαμπάδα διαθέοντες.

II. Ὁ δ' οὖν Σόλων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς
ἐλαττώσαντος εἰς φιλανθρωπίας τινάς, ὥς φησιν
Ἑρμιππος, καὶ χάριτας, οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσας τῶν
βουλομένων ἐπαρκεῖν, αἰδούμενος δὲ λαμβάνειν
παρ' ἐτέρων ἐξ οἰκίας γεγονῶς εἰθισμένης ἐτέροις
βοηθεῖν, ὥρμησε νέος ὧν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμπορίαν.
καίτοι φασὶν ἐνιοὶ πολυπειρίας ἔνεκα μᾶλλον καὶ
ἱστορίας ἢ χρηματισμοῦ πλανηθῆναι τὸν Σόλωνα.
2 σοφίας μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁμολογουμένως ἐραστὴς, ὅς
γε καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὧν ἔλεγε "γηράσκειν αἰεὶ
πολλὰ διδασκόμενος."¹ πλοῦτον δ' οὐκ ἐθαύμαζεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ φησιν ὁμοίως πλουτεῖν ᾧ τε²

πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία
ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾧ μόνᾳ ταῦτα πάρεστι,
γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇ καὶ ποσὶν ἀβρὰ παθεῖν,
παιδὸς τ' ἡδὲ γυναικὸς, ἐπὴν καὶ ταῦτ' ἀφίκεται,
ἥβη, σὺν δ' ὥρῃ γίνεται ἀρμοδία.

¹ Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. Fragment 18 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* ii.⁴ p. 47).

² Ἴσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ., Fragment 24 (Bergk), verses 1-6.

SOLON

poems. He also wrote a law forbidding a slave to practise gymnastics or have a boy lover, thus putting the matter in the category of honourable and dignified practices, and in a way inciting the worthy to that which he forbade the unworthy. And it is said that Peisistratus also had a boy lover, Charmus, and that he dedicated the statue of Love in the Academy, where the runners in the sacred torch race light their torches.

II. Solon, then, after his father had impaired his estate in sundry benevolent charities, as Hermippus tells us, might have found friends enough who were willing to aid him. But he was ashamed to take from others, since he belonged to a family which had always helped others, and therefore, while still a young man, embarked in commerce. And yet some say that he travelled to get experience and learning rather than to make money. For he was admittedly a lover of wisdom, since even when he was well on in years he would say that he "grew old ever learning many things"; and he was not an admirer of wealth, but actually says that two men are alike wealthy of whom one

"much silver hath,
And gold, and wide domains of wheat-bearing soil,
Horses and mules; while to the other only enough
belongs
To give him comfort of food, and clothes, and
shoes,
Enjoyment of child and blooming wife, when these
too come,
And only years commensurate therewith are his."

3 ἀλλ' ἐτέρωθι λέγει·

Χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πε-
πᾶσθαι

οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.

κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα
μήτε τῶν περιττῶν τὴν κτήσιν ἐν σπουδῇ τί-
θεσθαι μήτε τῆς χρείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ
ἱκανῶν καταφρονεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε χρόνοις,
καθ' Ἡσίοδον, ἔργον οὐδὲν ἦν ὄνειδος, οὐδὲ τέχνη
διαφορὰν ἔφερεν, ἐμπορία δὲ καὶ δόξαν εἶχεν
οἰκείουμένη τὰ βαρβαρικὰ καὶ προξενούσα φι-
λίας βασιλέων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπείρους ποιοῦ-
4 σα πολλῶν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πόλεων οἰκιστὰι γε-
γόνασι μεγάλων, ὥς καὶ Μασσαλίας Πρώτις
ὑπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ἀγαπηθείς.
καὶ Θαλῆν δὲ φασιν ἐμπορίᾳ χρῆσασθαι καὶ
Ἰπποκράτην τὸν μαθηματικόν, καὶ Πλάτωνα τῆς
ἀποδημίας ἐφόδιον ἐλαίου τινὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διά-
θεσιν γενέσθαι.

III. Τὸ δ' οὖν εὐδάπανον τῷ Σόλῳ καὶ ὑγρὸν
πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν, καὶ τὸ φορτικώτερον ἢ φιλοσο-
φώτερον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν
ἡδονῶν, τὸν ἐμπορικὸν οἶονται βίον προστε-
τρίφθαι· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντα κινδύνους καὶ
μεγάλους ἀνταπαιτεῖν πάλιν εὐπαθείας τινὰς καὶ
2 ἀπολαύσεις. ὅτι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν πενήτων
μερίδι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τῶν πλουσίων ἔταπτε, δηλὸν
ἐστὶν ἐκ τούτων·

Πολλοὶ γὰρ πλουτεῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πέ-
νονται·

ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα

SOLON

However, in another place he says:—¹

“Wealth I desire to have; but wrongfully to get it,
I do not wish. Justice, even if slow, is sure.”

And there is no reason why a good statesman should either set his heart too much on the acquisition of superfluous wealth, or despise unduly the use of what is necessary and convenient. In those earlier times, to use the words of Hesiod,² “work was no disgrace,” nor did a trade bring with it social inferiority, and the calling of a merchant was actually held in honour, since it gave him familiarity with foreign parts, friendships with foreign kings, and a large experience in affairs. Some merchants were actually founders of great cities, as Protis, who was beloved by the Gauls along the Rhone, was of Marseilles. Thales is said to have engaged in trade, as well as Hippocrates the mathematician; and Plato defrayed the expenses of his sojourn there by the sale of oil in Egypt.

III. Accordingly, if Solon's way of living was expensive and profuse, and if, in his poems, he speaks of pleasure with more freedom than becomes a philosopher, this is thought to be due to his mercantile life; he encountered many and great dangers, and sought his reward therefor in sundry luxuries and enjoyments. But that he classed himself among the poor rather than the rich, is clear from these verses:—³

“For often evil men are rich, and good men poor;
But we will not exchange with them

¹ Fragment 13 (Bergk), verses 7 f.

² *Works and Days*, 311. ³ Fragment 15 (Bergk).

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον· ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,

χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

- 3 τῇ δὲ ποιήσει κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιον 80
 σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ παίζων ἔοικε προσχρήσασθαι
 καὶ παράγων ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν· ὕστερον
 δὲ καὶ γνώμας ἐνέτεινε φιλοσόφους καὶ τῶν
 πολιτικῶν πολλὰ συγκατέπλεκε τοῖς ποιήμασιν,
 οὐχ ἱστορίας ἔνεκεν καὶ μνήμης, ἀλλ' ἀπολογι-
 σμούς τε τῶν πεπραγμένων ἔχοντα καὶ προτρο-
 πὰς ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ νουθεσίας καὶ ἐπιπλήξεις πρὸς
 4 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς
 νόμους ἐπεχείρησεν ἐντείνας εἰς ἔπος ἐξενεγκεῖν,
 καὶ διαμνημονεύουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

Πρῶτα μὲν εὐχόμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῇ
 θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσ-
 σαι.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ τοῦ ἡθικοῦ μάλιστα τὸ πολιτι-
 κόν, ὥσπερ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν σοφῶν, ἡγάπησεν.
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἀπλοὺς ἐστὶ λίαν καὶ ἀρχαῖος,
 ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τούτων·

- 5 Ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἡδὲ χαλάζης·
 βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίνεται ἀστεροπῆς.
 ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται· ἦν δέ τις
 αὐτὴν
 μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη.

καὶ ὅλως ἔοικεν ἡ Θάλασσα μόνου σοφία τότε
 περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας ἐξικέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ· τοῖς

SOLON

Our virtue for their wealth, since one abides
always,
While riches change their owners every day."

And he seems to have composed his poetry at first with no serious end in view, but as amusement and diversion in his hours of leisure. Then later, he put philosophic maxims into verse, and interwove many political teachings in his poems, not simply to record and transmit them, but because they contained justifications of his acts, and sometimes exhortations, admonitions, and rebukes for the Athenians. Some say, too, that he attempted to reduce his laws to heroic verse before he published them, and they give us this introduction to them:—

"First let us offer prayers to Zeus, the royal son of
Cronus,
That he may give these laws of ours success and
fame." ¹

In philosophy, he cultivated chiefly the domain of political ethics, like most of the wise men of the time; and in physics, he is very simple and antiquated, as is clear from the following verses:—

"From clouds come sweeping snow and hail,
And thunder follows on the lightning's flash.
By winds the sea is lashed to storm, but if it be
Unvexed, it is of all things most amenable." ²

And in general, it would seem that Thales was the only wise man of the time who carried his speculations beyond the realm of the practical; the

¹ Fragment 31 (Bergk).

² Fragment 9, verses 1-2; and fragment 12 (Bergk).

δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦνομα τῆς σοφίας ὑπῆρξε.

- IV. Γενέσθαι δὲ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἔν τε Δελφοῖς ὁμοῦ λέγονται καὶ πάλιν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Περιάνδρου σύλλογόν τινα κοινὸν αὐτῶν καὶ συμπόσιον κατασκευάσαντος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς ἀξίωμα καὶ δόξαν αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἡ τοῦ τρίποδος περίοδος καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀνακύκλησις καὶ ἀνθύπειξις μετ'
- 2 εὐμενείας φιλοτίμου γενομένη. Κῶν γάρ, ὥς φασι, καταγόντων σαγήνην, καὶ ξένων ἐκ Μιλήτου πριαμένων τὸν βόλον οὐπω φανερόν ὄντα, χρυσοὺς ἐφάνη τρίπους ἐλκόμενος, ὃν λέγουσιν Ἑλένην πλέουσιν ἐκ Τροίας αὐτόθι καθεῖναι χρησμοῦ τινος ἀναμνησθεῖσαν παλαιοῦ. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς ξένοις πρῶτον ἀντιλογίας πρὸς τοὺς ἀλίας περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, εἶτα τῶν πόλεων ἀναδεξαμένων τὴν διαφορὰν ἄχρι πολέμου προελθούσαν, ἀνεῖλεν ἀμφοτέροις ἡ Πυθία τῷ σοφω-
- 3 τάτῳ τὸν τρίποδα ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Θαλῆν εἰς Μίλητον, ἐκουσίως τῶν Κῶν ἐνὶ δωρουμένων ἐκείνῳ περὶ οὗ πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ Μιλησίους ἐπολέμησαν. Θάλεω δὲ Βίαντα σοφώτερον ἀποφαίνοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἦκεν· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δ' αὖθις ἀπεστάλη πρὸς ἄλλον ὥς σοφώτερον. εἶτα περιῶν καὶ ἀναπεμπόμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Θαλῆν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφίκετο, καὶ τέλος εἰς Θήβας ἐκ Μιλήτου κομισθεὶς τῷ Ἴσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι καθιερώθη.

SOLON

rest¹ got the name of wisdom from their excellence as statesmen.

IV. They are all said to have met together at Delphi, and again in Corinth, where Periander arranged something like a joint conference for them, and a banquet. But what contributed still more to their honour and fame was the circuit which the tripod made among them, its passing round through all their hands, and their mutual declination of it, with generous expressions of good will. Some Coans, as the story goes, were dragging in a net, and some strangers from Miletus bought the catch as yet unseen. It proved to contain a golden tripod which Helen, on her voyage from Troy, is said to have thrown in there, when she called to mind a certain ancient oracle. First the strangers had a dispute with the fishermen about the tripod, and then their cities took up the quarrel and went at last to war, whereupon the Pythian priestess of Apollo told both parties in an oracle that the tripod must be given to the wisest man. So in the first place it was sent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans willingly bestowing upon him alone that for which they had waged war against all the Milesians together. But Thales declared that Bias was a wiser man than he, and the tripod was sent to Bias. From Bias, in his turn, it was dispatched to another, as wiser than he. So it went the rounds and was sent away by each in turn, until at last it came to Thales for the second time. Finally, it was carried from Miletus to Thebes and dedicated to Ismenian Apollo.

¹ The names usually given in the list of the Seven Wise Men are: Bias of Priene, Chilon of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus, Periander of Corinth, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon of Athens, and Thales of Miletus. See chapter xii. 4.

4 Θεόφραστος δέ φησι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Πιρήνην Βίαντι τὸν τρίποδα πεμφθῆναι, δεύτερον δ' εἰς Μίλητον Θαλῇ Βιάντος ἀποπέμψαντος· οὕτω δὲ διὰ πάντων πάλιν εἰς Βιάντα περιελθεῖν, τέλος δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποσταλῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ πλειόνων τεθρύληται, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ δῶρον ἀντὶ τοῦ τρίποδος οἱ μὲν φιάλην ὑπὸ Κροίσου πεμφθεῖσαν, οἱ δὲ ποτήριον Βαθυκλέους ἀπολιπόντος εἶναι λέγουσιν.

V. Ἰδία δ' Ἀναχάρσεως τε πρὸς Σόλωνα καὶ πάλιν Θάλεω συνουσίαν τινὰ καὶ λόγους ἀναγράφουσι τοιούτους. Ἀνάχαρσιν μὲν εἰς Ἀθήνας φασὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σόλωνος οἰκίαν ἐλθόντα κόπτειν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς ξένος ὢν ἀφίκεται φιλίαν ποιησόμενος καὶ ξενίαν πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἴκοι βέλτιόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι φιλίας, “Οὐκοῦν,” φάναι τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν, “αὐτὸς ὢν οἴκοι
2 σὺ ποιῆσαι φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.” οὕτω δὲ θαυμάσαντα τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸν Σόλωνα δέξασθαι φιλοφρόνως, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ κατασχεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἥδη τὰ δημόσια πράττοντα καὶ συν-
3 ταττόμενον τοὺς νόμους. τὸν οὖν Ἀνάχαρσιν 81 πυθόμενον καταγελᾶν τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ Σόλωνος, οἰομένου γράμμασιν ἐφέξειν τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἃ μὴδὲν τῶν ἀραχνίων διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκεῖνα τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λεπτοὺς τῶν ἀλίσκομένων καθέξειν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
3 δυνατῶν καὶ πλουσίων διαρραγήσεσθαι. τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα πρὸς ταῦτά φασιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ συν-
θήκας ἄνθρωποι φυλάττουσιν, ἃς οὐδετέρῳ λυσι-

SOLON

Theophrastus, however, says that the tripod was sent in the first place to Bias at Priene, and in the second place to Thales at Miletus, at the instance of Bias, and so passed through the hands of all the wise men until it came round again to Bias, and finally was sent to Delphi. These, then, are the more common versions of the tale. But some say that the gift thus passed from hand to hand was not the tripod now seen at Delphi, but a bowl sent there by Croesus; and others that it was a beaker left there by Bathyces.

V. In particular we are told of private intercourse between Solon and Anacharsis, and between Solon and Thales, of which the following accounts are given.¹ Anacharsis came to Athens, knocked at Solon's door, and said that he was a stranger who had come to make ties of friendship and hospitality with him. On Solon's replying that it was better to make one's friendships at home, "Well then," said Anacharsis, "do thou, who art at home, make me thy friend and guest." So Solon, admiring the man's ready wit, received him graciously and kept him with him some time. This was when he was already engaged in public affairs and compiling his laws. Anacharsis, accordingly, on learning what Solon was about, laughed at him for thinking that he could check the injustice and rapacity of the citizens by written laws, which were just like spiders' webs; they would hold the weak and delicate who might be caught in their meshes, but would be torn in pieces by the rich and powerful. To this Solon is said to have answered that men keep their agreements with each other when neither party profits by

¹ In chapters. v. and vi.

τελές ἐστὶ παραβαίνειν τῶν θεμένων· καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτὸς οὕτως ἀρμόζεται τοῖς πολίταις ὥστε πᾶσι τοῦ παρανομεῖν βέλτιον ἐπιδείξαι τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς Ἀνάχαρσις εἵκαζεν ἀπέβη μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ Σόλωνος. ἔφη δὲ κακεῖνο θαυμάζειν ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐκκλησίᾳ παραγενόμενος, ὅτι λέγουσι μὲν οἱ σοφοὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσι, κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς.

VI. Πρὸς Θαλῆν δ' εἰς Μίλητον ἐλθόντα τὸν Σόλωνα θαυμάζειν ὅτι γάμου καὶ παιδοποιῆας τὸ παράπαν ἡμέληκε. καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν τότε μὲν σιωπῆσαι, διαλιπόντα δ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἄνδρα παρασκευάσαι ξένον, ἀρτίως ἤκειν φάσκοντα δεκαταῖον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος εἰ δὴ τι καινὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, δεδιδαγμένον ἂν χρή λέγειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, “Οὐδέν,” εἰπεῖν, “ἕτερον, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία νεανίσκου τινὸς ἦν ἐκφορὰ
 2 καὶ προὔπεμπεν ἡ πόλις. ἦν γὰρ υἱός, ὡς ἔφασαν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ πρωτεύοντος ἀρετῇ τῶν πολιτῶν· οὐ παρῆν δέ, ἀλλ' ἀποδημεῖν ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ἤδη πολὺν χρόνον.” “Ὡς δυστυχῆς ἐκείνος,” φάναι τὸν Σόλωνα. “τίνα δὲ ὠνόμαζον αὐτόν;” “Ἦκουσα,” φάναι, “τοῦνομα,” τὸν ἄνθρωπον, “ἀλλ' οὐ μνημονεύω· πλὴν ὅτι πολὺς λόγος ἦν αὐτοῦ σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης.” οὕτω δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην ἀπόκρισιν τῷ φόβῳ προσαγόμενον τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ τέλος ἤδη συντεταραγμένον αὐτὸν ὑποβάλλειν τοῦνομα τῷ ξένῳ, πυθνανόμενον μὴ Σόλωνος
 3 ὁ τεθνηκώς υἱὸς ὠνομάζετο. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸν μὲν ὀρμῆσαι παίειν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰλλα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἂν συμβαίνει τοῖς

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the breaking of them, and he was adapting his laws to the citizens in such a manner as to make it clear to all that the practice of justice was more advantageous than the transgression of the laws. But the results justified the conjecture of Anacharsis rather than the hopes of Solon. It was Anacharsis, too, who said, after attending a session of the assembly, that he was amazed to find that among the Greeks, the wise men pleaded causes, but the fools decided them.

VI. On his visit to Thales at Miletus, Solon is said to have expressed astonishment that his host was wholly indifferent to marriage and the getting of children. At the time Thales made no answer, but a few days afterwards he contrived to have a stranger say that he was just arrived after a ten days' journey from Athens. When Solon asked what news there was at Athens, the man, who was under instructions what to say, answered: "None other than the funeral of a young man, who was followed to the grave by the whole city. For he was the son, as I was told, of an honoured citizen who excelled all others in virtue; he was not at the funeral of his son; they told me that he had been travelling abroad for a long time." "O the miserable man!" said Solon; "pray, what was his name?" "I heard the name," the man said, "but I cannot recall it; only there was great talk of his wisdom and justice." Thus every answer heightened Solon's fears, and at last, in great distress of soul, he told his name to the stranger and asked him if it was Solon's son that was dead. The man said it was; whereupon Solon began to beat his head and to do and say everything else that betokens a transport of

περιπαθοῦσι, τὸν δὲ Θαλῆν ἐπιλαβόμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ γελάσαντα, “Ταῦτά τοι,” φάναι, “ὦ Σόλων, ἐμὲ γάμου καὶ παιδοποιῖας ἀφίστησιν, ἃ καὶ σὲ κατερείπει τὸν ἐρρωμενέστατον. ἀλλὰ θάρρει τῶν λόγων ἔνεκα τούτων· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ἀληθεῖς.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἑρμιππος ἱστορεῖν φησι Πάταικον, ὃς ἔφασκε τὴν Αἰσώπου ψυχὴν ἔχειν.

- VII. Ἀτοπος δὲ καὶ ἀγεννὴς ὁ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς ἀποβολῆς τὴν κτῆσιν ὧν χρὴ προῖέμενος· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τις οὐ πλούτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐ σοφίαν ἀγαπήσειε παραγενομένην, δεδιὼς στέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀρετὴν, ἥς κτῆμα μεῖζον οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἥδιον, ἐξισταμένην ὑπὸ νόσων καὶ φαρμάκων ὀρώμεν· αὐτῷ τε Θαλῇ μὴ γήμαντι πλέον οὐδὲν εἰς ἀφοβίαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ φίλων κτῆσιν ἔφυγε καὶ οἰκείων
- 2 καὶ πατρίδος. ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖδα θετὸν ἔσχε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὥς φασι, Κύβισθον. ἐχούσης γάρ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαπητικὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ πεφυκυίας, ὥσπερ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μνημονεύειν, οὕτω καὶ φιλεῖν, ἐνδύεται τι τούτῳ καὶ προσφύεται τῶν ἐκτὸς οἷς οἰκείον οὐδὲν ἐστίν, καὶ καθάπερ οἶκον ἢ χώραν γνησίων ἔρημον διαδόχων, τὸ φιλόστοργον ἀλλότριον καὶ νόθοι παῖδες ἢ θεράποντες εἰσοικισάμενοι καὶ καταλαβόντες ἅμυ τῷ φιλεῖν τὸ φροντίζειν καὶ δεδιέναι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνεποίησαν.
- 3 ὥστ’ ἴδοις ἂν ἀνθρώπους στερροτέρα τῇ φύσει περὶ γάμου καὶ γενέσεως παίδων διαλεγόμενους, εἴτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ παισὶν οἰκοτρίβων ἢ θρέμμασι παλλακῶν νοσοῦσι καὶ θνήσκουσι παρατεινομένους πόθῳ καὶ φωνὰς ἀγεννεῖς ἀφιέντας.

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grief. But Thales took him by the hand and said, with a smile, "This it is, O Solon, which keeps me from marriage and the getting of children; it overwhelms even thee, who art the most stout-hearted of men. But be not dismayed at this story, for it is not true." Such, at any rate, according to Hermippus, is the story of Pataecus, who used to boast that he had Aesop's soul.

VII. However, it is irrational and ignoble to renounce the acquisition of what we want for fear of losing it; for on this principle a man cannot be gratified by the possession of wealth, or honour, or wisdom, for fear he may be deprived of them. Indeed, even virtue, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world, is often banished by sickness and drugs. And Thales himself, though unmarried, was nevertheless not wholly free from apprehension, unless he also avoided having friends, or relations, or country. On the contrary, he had a son by his own adoption, as we are told, Cybisthus, his sister's son. For the soul has in itself a capacity for affection, and loves just as naturally as it perceives, understands, and remembers. It clothes itself in this capacity, and attaches itself to those who are not akin to it, and just as if it were a house or an estate that lacks lawful heirs, this craving for affection is entered and occupied by alien and illegitimate children, or retainers, who, along with love for them, inspire anxiety and fear in their behalf. So that you will find men of a somewhat rugged nature who argue against marriage and the begetting of children, and then, when children of their servants, or offspring of their concubines fall sick and die, these same men are racked with sorrow and lament abjectly. Some, too,

ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κυνῶν θανάτῳ καὶ ἵππων αἰσχροῶς
καὶ ἀβιώτως ὑπὸ λύπης διετέθησαν. ἀλλ' ἑτεροί
γε παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς ἀποβαλόντες οὐδὲν ἔπαθον
δεινὸν οὐδ' ἐποίησαν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρώμενοι
4 τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ κατὰ λόγον διετέλεσαν. ἀσθένεια
γάρ, οὐκ εὖνοια, λύπας ἀπεράντους ἐπάγεται καὶ
φόβους ἀνθρώποις ἀνασκήτοις ὑπὸ λόγου πρὸς
τύχην, οἷς οὐδ' ἀπόλαυσις ἐγγίνεται τοῦ ποθο-
μένου παρόντος, τοῦ μέλλοντος ὠδίνας αἰεὶ καὶ
τρόμους καὶ ἀγῶνας, εἰ στερήσονται, παρέχοντος
αὐτοῖς. δεῖ δὲ μήτε πενία πρὸς χρημάτων
πεφράχθαι¹ στέρησιν μήτε ἀφιλία πρὸς φίλων
ἀποβολὴν μήτ' ἀπαιδία πρὸς τέκνων θάνατον,
ἀλλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς πάντα. καὶ ταῦτα μέν,
ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι, πλείονα τῶν ἱκανῶν.

VIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μακρόν τινα καὶ δυσχερὴ πόλε-
μον οἱ ἐν ἄστει περὶ τῆς Σαλαμινίων νήσου Μεγα-
ρεῦσι πολεμοῦντες ἐξέκαμον, καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο
μήτε γράψαι τινὰ μήτ' εἰπεῖν αὐθις ὡς χρὴ τὴν
πόλιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἢ θανάτῳ
ζημιοῦσθαι, βαρέως φέρων τὴν ἀδοξίαν ὁ Σόλων,
καὶ τῶν νέων ὁρῶν πολλοὺς δεομένους ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ
τὸν πόλεμον, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ θαρροῦντας ἄρξασθαι
διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐσκήψατο μὲν ἕκστασιν τῶν λο-
2 γισμῶν, καὶ λόγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας
διεδόθη παρακινήτικῶς ἔχειν αὐτόν, ἐλεγεία δὲ
κρύφα συνθεῖς καὶ μελετήσας ὥστε λέγειν ἀπὸ
στόματος, ἐξεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἄφνω
πυλίδιον περιθέμενος. ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ συνδρα-

¹ πεφράχθαι Bekker and Cobet, after Bryan: πεπαῦσθαι
(be delivered from).

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at the death even of dogs and horses, have been plunged into shameful and intolerable grief. But others have borne the loss of noble sons without terrible sorrow or unworthy conduct, and have conformed the rest of their lives to the dictates of reason. For it is weakness, not kindness, that brings men into endless pains and terrors when they are not trained by reason to endure the assaults of fortune. Such men do not even enjoy what they long for when they get it, but are filled with continual pangs, tremors, and struggles by the fear of future loss. However, we must be fortified not by poverty against deprivation of worldly goods, nor by friendlessness against loss of friends, nor by childlessness against death of children, but by reason against all adversities. This, under present circumstances, is more than enough on this head.

VIII. Once when the Athenians were tired out with a war which they were waging against the Megarians for the island of Salamis, they made a law that no one in future, on pain of death, should move, in writing or orally, that the city take up its contention for Salamis. Solon could not endure the disgrace of this, and when he saw that many of the young men wanted steps taken to bring on the war, but did not dare to take those steps themselves on account of the law, he pretended to be out of his head, and a report was given out to the city by his family that he showed signs of madness. He then secretly composed some elegiac verses, and after rehearsing them so that he could say them by rote, he sallied out into the market-place of a sudden, with a cap upon his head. After a large crowd had

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

μόντος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ κήρυκος λίθον ἐν ᾧδῇ
διεξήλθε τὴν ἐλεγείαν, ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχή·

Αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἦλθον ἀφ' ἡμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος,
κόσμον ἐπέων ᾧδὴν ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος.

- 3 τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα Σαλαμῖς ἐπιγέγραπται καὶ
στίχων ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ, χαριέντως πάνυ πεποιημένον.
τότε δὲ ἀσθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ
Σόλωνος ἀρξαμένων ἐπαινεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ
Πεισιστράτου τοῖς πολίταις ἐγκελευομένου καὶ
παρορμῶντος πεισθῆναι τῷ λέγοντι, λύσαντες
τὸν νόμον αὐθις ἤπτοντο τοῦ πολέμου, προστη-
σάμενοι τὸν Σόλωνα.
- 4 Τὰ μὲν οὖν δημῳδῇ τῶν λεγομένων τοιαύτ'
ἐστίν, ὅτι πλεύσας ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετὰ τοῦ
Πεισιστράτου, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτόθι πάσας
τὰς γυναῖκας τῇ Δήμητρι τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν
ἐπιτελούσας, ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρα πιστὸν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα
προσποιοῦμενον αὐτόμολον εἶναι, κελεύοντα τοὺς
Μεγαρεῖς, εἰ βούλονται τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πρῶ-
τας λαβεῖν γυναῖκας, ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα μετ' αὐτοῦ
- 5 πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. ὥς δὲ πεισθέντες οἱ Μεγα-
ρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐξέπεμψαν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ κατεῖδεν
ὁ Σόλων τὸ πλοῖον ἐλαυνόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου,
τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε,
τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων τοὺς μηδέπω γενειῶντας ἐνδύ-
μασι καὶ μίτραις καὶ ὑποδήμασι τοῖς ἐκείνων
σκευασαμένους καὶ λαβόντας ἐγχειρίδια κρυπτὰ
παίζειν καὶ χορεύειν προσέταξε πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ,
μέχρις ἂν ἀποβῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ γένηται τὸ
- 6 πλοῖον ὑποχείριον. οὕτω δὲ τούτων πραττομένων,

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collected there, he got upon the herald's stone and recited the poem which begins :—

“Behold in me a herald come from lovely Salamis,
With a song in ordered verse instead of a
harangue.”¹

This poem is entitled “Salamis,” and contains a hundred very graceful verses. When Solon had sung it, his friends began to praise him, and Peisistratus in particular urged and incited the citizens to obey his words. They therefore repealed the law and renewed the war, putting Solon in command of it.

The popular account of his campaign is as follows. Having sailed to Cape Colias with Peisistratus, he found all the women of the city there, performing the customary sacrifice to Demeter. He therefore sent a trusty man to Salamis, who pretended to be a deserter, and bade the Megarians, if they wished to capture the principal women of Athens, to sail to Colias with him as fast as they could. The Megarians were persuaded by him, and sent off some men in his ship. But when Solon saw the vessel sailing back from the island, he ordered the women to withdraw, and directed those of the younger men who were still beardless, arraying themselves in the garments, head-bands, and sandals which the women had worn, and carrying concealed daggers, to sport and dance on the sea shore until the enemy had disembarked and the vessel was in their power. This being done as he directed, the

¹ Only six more verses are preserved (Fragments 1-3, Bergk). They contain reproaches of the Athenians for abandoning Salamis, and an exhortation to go and fight for it.

ὑπαχθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς τῇ ὄψει καὶ προσμύ-
ξαντες ἐγγύς, ἐξεπήδων ὡς ἐπὶ γυναῖκας, ἀμιλλώ-
μενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,¹ ὥστε μηδένα διαφυγεῖν,
ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπιπλεύ-
σαντας εὐθὺς ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

ΙΧ. Ἄλλοι δέ φασιν οὐ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
γενέσθαι τὴν κατάληψιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ
τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν χρῆσαι·

Ἄρχηγους χώρας θυσίαις ἥρωας ἐνοίκους
Ἰλασο, τοὺς κόλποις Ἀσωπιάς ἀμφικαλύπτει,
οἱ φθίμενοι δέρκονται ἐς ἥελιον δύνοντα·

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τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα διαπλεύσαντα νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν
νῆσον ἐντεμεῖν σφάγια Περιφήμῳ καὶ Κυχρεῖ
2 τοῖς ἥρωσιν. εἶτα παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐβελοντὰς
λαβεῖν πεντακοσίους, δόγματος γενομένου τού-
τους, ἂν κατασχῶσι τὴν νῆσον, κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ
πολιτεύματος. ἀναχθέντα δὲ συχναῖς ἀλιάσιν
ἅμα τριακοντόρου συμπαραπλευούσης ὑφορμί-
σασθαι τῇ Σαλαμῖνι κατὰ χηλὴν τινα πρὸς τὴν
Εὐβοίαν² ἀποβλέπουσαν. πυθομένους δὲ τοὺς ἐν
Σαλαμῖνι Μεγαρεῖς ἔκ τινος φήμης οὐδὲν βέβαιον,
αὐτοὺς μὲν εἰς τὰ ὄπλα θορυβουμένους βαδίζουσιν,
ναῦν δ' ἀποστεῖλαι κατασκεψομένην τῶν πολε-
3 μίων· ἥς ἐγγὺς ἐλθούσης κρατῆσαι τὸν Σόλωνα
καὶ καθεῖρξαι τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς. ἐμβιβάσαι δὲ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων τοὺς κρατίστους κελεύσαντα πλεῖν ἐπὶ
τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα κρύπτοντας

¹ ἀλλήλους Sintenis and Bekker assume here a lacuna in the text, where such details were given as are found in Polyaeus, *Strategemata*, i. 20.

² Εὐβοίαν Sintenis suggests Νίσαιαν (cf. xii. 3).

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Megarians were lured on by what they saw, beached their vessel, and leapt out to attack women, as they supposed, vying with one another in speed. The result was that not a man of them escaped, but all were slain, and the Athenians at once set sail and took possession of the island.

IX. Others, however, say that the island was not taken in this way, but that Solon first received this oracle from the god at Delphi : —

“The tutelary heroes of the land where once they
lived, with sacred rites
Propitiate, whom the Asopian plain now hides in
its bosom ;
There they lie buried with their faces toward the
setting sun.”

Thereupon Solon sailed by night to the island and made sacrifices to the heroes Periphemus and Cychreus. Then he took five hundred Athenian volunteers, a decree having been made that these should be supreme in the government of the island if they took it, and setting sail with a number of fishing boats convoyed by a thirty-oared ship, he anchored off the island of Salamis, at a point of land looking towards Euboea. But the Megarians in the city of Salamis, hearing only an uncertain report of what had happened, armed themselves hurriedly and set out for the place, at the same time dispatching a ship to spy out the enemy. This ship came near and was captured by Solon, who put her crew in confinement. Then he manned her with the best of his Athenians, and ordered them to sail against the city, keeping themselves as much

ἑαυτούς· ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἀναλαμβάνοντα πεζῇ συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι· καὶ τῆς μάχης ἔτι συνεστώσης φθάσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς καταλαβόντας τὴν πόλιν.

- 4 Ἦοικε δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ δρώμενα μαρτυρεῖν. ναῦς γάρ τις Ἀττικὴ προσέπλει σιωπῇ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα κραυγῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ προσφερομένων εἰς ἀνὴρ ἑνοπλος ἐξαλλόμενος μετὰ βοῆς ἔθει πρὸς ἄκρον τὸ Σκιράδιον¹ ἐκ γῆς προσφερομένοις. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἰδρυσαμένου Σόλωνος. ἐνίκησε γὰρ τοὺς Μεγαρέας, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ διεφθάρησαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, πάντας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν.

Χ. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιμενόντων πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ δρῶντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πάσχοντες, ἐποίησαντο Λακεδαιμονίους διαλλακτὰς καὶ δικαστάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλῳι συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὀμήρου δόξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι·

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἔν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

- 2 αὐτοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν οἶονται φλυαρίαν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα φασιν ἀποδείξαι τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι Φιλαῖος καὶ Εὐρυσάκης, Αἴαντος υἱοί, Ἀθήνησι πολιτείας μεταλαβόντες παρέ-

¹ Σκιράδιον after this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text.

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concealed as was feasible. At the same time, with the rest of his Athenians, he engaged the Megarians on land, and while the fight was still raging, the crew of the ship succeeded in capturing the city.

Now there seems to be a confirmation of this story in certain ceremonies afterwards established. Namely, an Attic ship would approach the island in silence at first, then its crew would make an onset with shouts and cries, and one man in full armour would leap out with a shout of triumph and run to the promontory of Sciradium to inform those who were attacking by land. Hard by that place is the temple of Enyalius¹ which was erected by Solon. For he conquered the Megarians, and all who were not slain in the battle were released on parole.

X. Notwithstanding all this, the Megarians persisted in their opposition, and both sides inflicted and suffered many injuries in the war, so that finally they made the Lacedaemonians arbiters and judges of the strife. Accordingly, most writers say that the fame of Homer favoured the contention of Solon; for after himself inserting a verse into the Catalogue of Ships, he read the passage at the trial thus :—

“ Ajax from Salamis brought twelve ships,
And bringing, stationed them near the Athenian
hosts.”²

The Athenians themselves, however, think this an idle tale, and say that Solon proved to the judges that Philaeus and Eurysaces, the sons of Ajax, became citizens of Athens, made over their island

¹ Ares.

² *Iliad*, ii. 557 f.

δοσαν τὴν νῆσον αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατώκησαν ὁ μὲν ἐν Βραυρωνί τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐν Μελίτῃ· καὶ δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν ἔχουσιν, 3 ὅθεν ἦν Πεισίστρατος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξελέγξαι τοὺς Μεγαρέας βουλόμενον ἰσχυρίσασθαι περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς οὐχ ὃν τρόπον ἐκεῖνοι θάπτουσι κεκηδευμένων, ἀλλ' ὃν αὐτοί. θάπτουσι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἑὼ τοὺς νεκροὺς στρέφοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. Ἡρέας δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐνιστάμενος λέγει καὶ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν τετραμμένα τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν τιθέναι· καὶ μείζον ἔτι τούτου, μίαν ἕκαστον Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν θήκην, Μεγαρέων δὲ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρας ἐν 4 μιᾷ κεῖσθαι. τῷ μέντοι Σόλῳ καὶ Πυθικὸν τινὰς βοηθῆσαι λέγουσι χρησμούς, ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς Ἰαονίαν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα προσηγόρευσε. ταύτην τὴν δίκην ἐδίκασαν Σπαρτιατῶν πέντε ἄνδρες, Κριτολαΐδας, Ἀμομφάρετος, Ὑψηχίδας, Ἀναξίλας, Κλεομένης.

XI. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔνδοξος ἦν ὁ Σόλων καὶ μέγας. ἐθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διεβοήθη μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰπὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὡς χρὴ βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν Κιρραίους ὑβρίζοντας εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, ἀλλὰ προσαμύνειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ Δελφοῖς. πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες, ὡς ἄλλοι τε μαρτυροῦσι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ

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to them, and took up their residence in Attica, one at Brauron, and the other at Melité; and they have a township named after Philaeus, namely Philaïdae, to which Peisistratus belonged. They say, too, that Solon, wishing to refute the claims of the Megarians still further, made the point that the dead on the island of Salamis were not buried after the Megarian, but after the Athenian fashion. For the Megarians bury their dead facing the east, but the Athenians facing the west. However, Hereas the Megarian denies this, and says that the Megarians also turn the faces of their dead to the west. And what is still more important than this, he says that the Athenians use one tomb for each body, whereas the Megarians (like the early inhabitants of Salamis) place three or four bodies in one tomb. However, they say that Solon was further supported by sundry Pythian oracles, in which the god spoke of Salamis as Ionian. This case was decided by five Spartans, Critolaïdas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes.

XI. These events, then, presently made Solon famous and powerful. But he was even more admired and celebrated among the Greeks for what he said in behalf of the temple at Delphi, namely, that the Greeks must come to its relief, and not suffer the people of Cirrha to outrage the oracle, but aid the Delphians in maintaining the honour of the god. For it was by his persuasion that the Amphictyons¹ undertook the war, as Aristotle, among others, testifies, in his list of the victors at the Pythian games,

¹ The twelve peoples who had as common sanctuaries the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the temple of Demeter at Anthela, near Thermopylae.

2 Σόλωνι τὴν γνώμην ἀνατιθείς. οὐ μέντοι στρα- 84
τηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπεδείχθη τὸν πόλεμον, ὥς
λέγειν φησὶν Ἑρμῖππος Εὐάνθη τὸν Σάμιον· οὔτε
γὰρ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ τοῦτ' εἶρηκεν, ἔν τε τοῖς
Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀλκμαίων, οὐ Σόλων,
Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγέγραπται.

XII. Τὸ δὲ Κυλώνειον ἄγος ἤδη μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ
διετάραττε τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ
Κύλωνος ἱκετεύοντας τὴν θεὸν Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων
ἐπὶ δίκη κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν· ἐξάψαντας δὲ τοῦ
ἔδους κρόκην κλωστήν καὶ ταύτης ἔχομένους, ὥς
ἐγένοντο περὶ τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς καταβαίνοντες,
αὐτομάτως τῆς κρόκης ῥαγείσης, ὥρμησε συλ-
λαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες, ὥς
τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀπολεγομένης· καὶ τοὺς μὲν
ἔξω κατέλευσαν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς προσφυγόντες
ἀπεσφάγησαν· μόνοι δ' ἀφείθησαν οἱ τὰς γυναῖ-
2 κας αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαντες. ἐκ τούτου δὲ κληθέντες
ἐναγεῖς ἐμισοῦντο· καὶ τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περι-
γενόμενοι πάλιν ἦσαν ἰσχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες
αἰεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους.
ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λα-
βούσης μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος, ἤδη
δόξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρήλθεν εἰς μέσον ἄμα
τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ δεόμενος καὶ
διδάσκων ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς λεγομένους δίκην

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where he ascribes the measure to Solon. He was not, however, appointed general for this war, as Evanthes the Samian says (according to Hermippus), for Aeschines the orator makes no such statement,¹ and in the records of Delphi it is stated that Alcmaeon, and not Solon, commanded the Athenians.

XII. Now the Cylonian pollution had for a long time agitated the city, ever since Megacles the archon had persuaded Cylon and his fellow-conspirators, who had taken sanctuary in the temple of Athena, to come down and stand their trial.² They fastened a braided thread to the image of the goddess and kept hold of it, but when they reached the shrine of the Erinyes on their way down, the thread broke of its own accord, upon which Megacles and his fellow-archons rushed to seize them, on the plea that the goddess refused them the rights of suppliants. Those who were outside of sacred precincts were stoned to death, and those who took refuge at the altars were slaughtered there; only those were spared who made supplication to the wives of the archons. Therefore the archons were called polluted men and were held in execration. The survivors of the followers of Cylon also recovered strength, and were forever at variance with the descendants of Megacles. At this particular time the quarrel was at its height and the people divided between the two factions. Solon, therefore, being now in high repute, interposed between them, along with the noblest of the Athenians, and by his entreaties and injunctions persuaded the men who were held to be polluted to submit to a trial, and to

¹ In his speech *Against Ctesiphon*, § 109.

² About 636 B.C. Cf. Herod. v. 71; Thuc. i. 126.

- ὑποσχεῖν καὶ κριθῆναι τριακοσίων ἀριστίνδην
 3 δικαζόντων. Μύρωνος δὲ τοῦ Φλυέως κατηγο-
 ρούντος ἐάλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ
 ζῶντες· τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνο-
 ρύξαντες ἐξέριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους. ταύταις
 δὲ ταῖς ταραχαῖς καὶ Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων
 ἀπέβαλόν τε Νίσαιαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Σαλαμῖνος
 ἐξέπεσον αὐθις. καὶ φόβοι τινὲς ἐκ δεισιδαι-
 μονίας ἅμα καὶ φάσματα κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, οἳ
 τε μάντεις ἄγῃ καὶ μiasμοὺς δεομένους καθαρμῶν
 προφαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡγόρευον.
- 4 Οὕτω δὴ μετάπεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης
 Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαίστιος, ὃν ἑβδομον ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς
 καταριθμοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν οὐ προσιεμένων τὸν
 Περίανδρον. ἐδόκει δέ τις εἶναι θεοφιλὴς καὶ
 σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τε-
 λεστικὴν σοφίαν, διὸ καὶ παῖδα νύμφης ὄνομα
 Βάλτης καὶ Κούρητα νέον αὐτὸν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι
 προσηγόρευον. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ τῷ Σόλῳ χρησά-
 μενος φίλῳ πολλὰ προσυπειργάσατο καὶ προω-
 5 δοποίησεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας. καὶ γὰρ εὐστα-
 λεῖς ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη
 πραότερους, θυσίας τινὰς εὐθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς
 τὰ κήδη, καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν ἀφελὼν καὶ τὸ βαρβα-
 ρικὸν ᾧ συνείχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλείσται γυ-
 ναῖκες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἱλασμοῖς τισι καὶ καθ-
 αρμοῖς καὶ ἰδρύσεσι κατοργιάσας καὶ καθοσιώ-

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abide by the decision of three hundred jurors selected from the nobility. Myron of Phlya conducted the prosecution, and the family of Megacles was found guilty. Those who were alive were banished, and the bodies of the dead were dug up and cast forth beyond the borders of the country. During these disturbances the Megarians also attacked the Athenians, who lost Nisaea, and were driven out of Salamis once more. The city was also visited with superstitious fears and strange appearances, and the seers declared that their sacrifices indicated pollutions and defilements which demanded expiation.

Under these circumstances they summoned to their aid from Crete Epimenides of Phaestus, who is reckoned as the seventh Wise Man by some of those who refuse Periander a place in the list.¹ He was reputed to be a man beloved of the gods, and endowed with a mystical and heaven-sent wisdom in religious matters. Therefore the men of his time said that he was the son of a nymph named Balte, and called him a new Cures.² On coming to Athens he made Solon his friend, assisted him in many ways, and paved the way for his legislation. For he made the Athenians decorous and careful in their religious services, and milder in their rites of mourning, by attaching certain sacrifices immediately to their funeral ceremonies, and by taking away the harsh and barbaric practices in which their women had usually indulged up to that time. Most important of all, by sundry rites of propitiation and purification, and by sacred foundations, he hallowed and conse-

¹ See note on iii. 5, and cf. Aristotle. *Const. of Athens*, i.

² The Curetes were Cretan priests of Idaean Zeus, who took their name from the demi-gods to whose care Rhea was said to have committed the infant Zeus.

σας τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον τοῦ δικαίου καὶ μᾶλλον
 εὐπειθῇ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν κατέστησε. λέγεται δὲ
 τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἰδὼν καὶ καταμαθὼν πολὺν
 χρόνον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς τυφλόν
 6 ἔστι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄνθρωπος· ἐκφαγεῖν γὰρ ἂν
 Ἀθηναίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ὁδοῦσιν, εἰ προήδεσαν ὅσα
 τὴν πόλιν ἀνιάσει τὸ χωρίον· ὅμοιον δέ τι καὶ
 Θαλῆν εἰκάσαι λέγουσι· κελεύσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔν
 τινι τόπῳ τῆς Μιλησίας φαύλῳ καὶ παρορωμένῳ
 7 τελευτήσαντα θείναι, προειπὼν ὡς ἀγορά ποτε
 τοῦτο Μιλησίων ἔσται τὸ χωρίον. Ἐπιμενίδης
 μὲν οὖν μάλιστα θαυμασθεὶς, καὶ χρήματα δι-
 δόντων πολλὰ καὶ τιμὰς μεγάλας τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
 οὐδὲν ἢ θαλλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας αἰτησάμενος
 καὶ λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν.

XIII. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Κυλωνείου πεπαυ-
 μένης ταραχῆς καὶ μεθεστώτων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται,
 τῶν ἐναγῶν, τὴν παλαιὰν αὐθις στάσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 πολιτείας ἐστασίαζον, ὅσας ἡ χώρα διαφορὰς
 εἶχεν, εἰς τοσαῦτα μέρη τῆς πόλεως διαστάσης.
 ἦν γὰρ τὸ μὲν τῶν Διακρίων γένος δημοκρατικῶν 85
 1 τατον, ὀλιγαρχικώτατον δὲ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων· τρί-
 2 τοι δ' οἱ Πάραλοι μέσον τινὰ καὶ μεμιγμένον
 αἰρούμενοι πολιτείας τρόπον, ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ
 διεκώλυνον τοὺς ἐτέρους κρατῆσαι. τότε δὲ τῆς τῶν
 πενήτων πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀνωμαλίας ὥσπερ
 ἀκμὴν λαβούσης παντάπασιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἡ πόλις
 διέκειτο, καὶ μόνως ἂν ἐδόκει καταστῆναι καὶ

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crated the city, and brought it to be observant of justice and more easily inclined to unanimity. It is said that when he had seen Munychia¹ and considered it for some time, he remarked to the bystanders that man was indeed blind to the future; for if the Athenians only knew what mischiefs the place would bring upon their city, they would devour it with their own teeth. A similar insight into futurity is ascribed to Thales. They say that he gave directions for his burial in an obscure and neglected quarter of the city's territory, predicting that it would one day be the market-place of Miletus. Well then, Epimenides was vastly admired by the Athenians, who offered him much money and large honours; but he asked for nothing more than a branch of the sacred olive-tree, with which he returned home.

XIII. But the Athenians, now that the Cylonian disturbance was over and the polluted persons banished, as described,² relapsed into their old disputes about the form of government, the city being divided into as many parties as there were diversities in its territory. The Hill-men favoured an extreme democracy; the Plain-men an extreme oligarchy; the Shore-men formed a third party,³ which preferred an intermediate and mixed form of government, was opposed to the other two, and prevented either from gaining the ascendancy. At that time, too, the disparity between the rich and the poor had culminated, as it were, and the city was in an altogether perilous condition; it seemed as if the only

¹ The acropolis of the Peiræus, strategically commanding not only that peninsula, but also Athens itself. It was often garrisoned by conquerors of Athens.

² Chapter xii. 3.

³ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiii. 4.

παύσασθαι ταραττομένη τυραννίδος γενομένης. ἅπας μὲν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἦν ὑπόχρεως τῶν πλουσίων. ἡ γὰρ ἐγεώργουν ἐκείνοις ἕκτα τῶν γινομένων τελούντες, ἑκτημόριοι προσαγορευόμενοι καὶ θῆτες, ἡ χρέα λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀγώγιμοι τοῖς δανείζουσιν ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντες, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην πιπρασκόμενοι.

- 3 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους ἠναγκάζοντο πωλεῖν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ νόμος ἐκώλυε) καὶ τὴν πόλιν φεύγειν διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν δανειστῶν. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατοι συνίσταντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐλομένους ἓνα προστάτην ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς ὑπερημέρους καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ὅλως μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν.

XIV. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ φρονιμώτατοι συνορῶντες τὸν Σόλωνα μόνον μάλιστα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς ὄντα, καὶ μήτε τοῖς πλουσίοις κοινωνοῦντα τῆς ἀδικίας μήτε ταῖς τῶν πενήτων ἀνάγκαις ἐνεχόμενον, ἐδέοντο τοῖς κοινοῖς προσελθεῖν καὶ καταπαῦσαι τὰς διαφοράς. καίτοι Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σόλωνα, χρησάμενον ἀπάτῃ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, ὑποσχέσθαι κρύφα τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις τὴν νέμῃσιν, τοῖς δὲ χρηματικοῖς βεβαίωσιν τῶν συμβολαίων.

- 2 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Σόλων ὁκνῶν φησι τὸ πρῶτον ἄψασθαι τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ δεδοικῶς τῶν μὲν τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν. ἤρέθη δὲ ἄρχων μετὰ Φιλόμβροτον ὁμοῦ καὶ διαλλακτῆς καὶ νομοθέτης, δεξαμένων προθύμως αὐτὸν ὥς μὲν

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way to settle its disorders and stop its turmoils was to establish a tyranny. All the common people were in debt to the rich. For they either tilled their lands for them, paying them a sixth of the increase (whence they were called Hectemorioi and Thetes), or else they pledged their persons for debts and could be seized by their creditors, some becoming slaves at home, and others being sold into foreign countries. Many, too, were forced to sell their own children (for there was no law against it), or go into exile, because of the cruelty of the money-lenders. But the most and sturdiest of them began to band together and exhort one another not to submit to their wrongs, but to choose a trusty man as their leader, set free the condemned debtors, divide the land anew, and make an entire change in the form of government.

XIV. At this point, the wisest of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon. They saw that he was the one man least implicated in the errors of the time; that he was neither associated with the rich in their injustice, nor involved in the necessities of the poor. They therefore besought him to come forward publicly and put an end to the prevailing dissensions. And yet Phanias the Lesbian writes that Solon of his own accord played a trick upon both parties in order to save the city, and secretly promised to the poor the distribution of land which they desired, and to the rich, validation of their securities. But Solon himself says that he entered public life reluctantly, and fearing one party's greed and the other party's arrogance.¹ However, he was chosen archon² to succeed Philombrotus, and made mediator and legislator for the crisis, the rich

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, v. 3. ² 594 B.C.

εὐπορον τῶν πλουσίων, ὥς δὲ χρηστὸν τῶν πενή-
των. λέγεται δὲ καὶ φωνή τις αὐτοῦ περιφερομένη
πρότερον, εἰπόντος ὥς τὸ ἴσον πόλεμον οὐ ποιεῖ,
καὶ τοῖς κτηματικοῖς ἀρέσκειν καὶ τοῖς ἀκτήμοσι,
τῶν μὲν ἀξία καὶ ἀρετῇ, τῶν δὲ μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ
3 τὸ ἴσον ἔξειν προσδοκῶντων· ὅθεν ἐπ' ἐλπίδος
μεγάλης ἐκατέρων γενομένων οἱ προϊστάμενοι
προσέκειντο τῷ Σόλῳ τυραννίδα προξενούντες
καὶ ἀναπείθοντες εὐτολμότερον ἄψασθαι τῆς
πόλεως ἐγκρατῇ γενόμενον. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν
διὰ μέσου πολιτῶν, τὴν ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ νόμου
μεταβολὴν ὀρῶντες ἐργώδη καὶ χαλεπὴν οὖσαν,
οὐκ ἔφευγον ἓνα τὸν δικαιοτάτον καὶ φρονιμώτα-
4 τον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασι
καὶ μαντεῖαν γενέσθαι τῷ Σόλῳ Πυθοῖ τοιαύ-
την·

Ἦσο μέσσην κατὰ νῆα κυβερνητήριον ἔργον
εὐθύνων· πολλοὶ τοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπίκουροι.

μάλιστα δὲ οἱ συνήθεις ἐκάκιζον εἰ διὰ τοῦνομα
δυσωπεῖται τὴν μοναρχίαν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρετῇ τοῦ
λαβόντος εὐθὺς ἂν βασιλείαν γενομένην, καὶ
γεγενημένην πρότερον μὲν Εὐβοεῦσι Τυννών-
δαν, νῦν δὲ Μιτυληναίοις Πιττακὸν ἡρημένους
τύραννον.

5 Τούτων οὐδὲν ἐξέκρουσε τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς αὐτοῦ
προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν,
ὥς λέγεται, καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρίον,
οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν, πρὸς δὲ Φῶκον ἐν τοῖς
ποιήμασι γράφων·

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accepting him readily because he was well-to-do, and the poor because he was honest. It is also said that a certain utterance of his which was current before his election, to the effect that equality bred no war, pleased both the men of substance and those who had none ; the former expecting to have equality based on worth and excellence, the latter on measure and count. Therefore both parties were in high hopes, and their chief men persistently recommended a tyranny to Solon, and tried to persuade him to seize the city all the more confidently now that he had it completely in his power. Many citizens, too, who belonged to neither party, seeing that it would be a laborious and difficult matter to effect a change by means of argument and law, were not reluctant to have one man, the justest and wisest of all, put at the head of the state. Furthermore, some say that Solon got an oracle at Pytho which ran as follows :—

“Take thy seat amidships, the pilot’s task is thine ;
Perform it ; many in Athens are thine allies.”

And above all, his familiar friends chid him for being averse to absolute power because of the name of tyranny, as if the virtues of him who seized it would not at once make it a lawful sovereignty. Euboea (they argued) had formerly found this true of Tynnondas, and so had the Mitylenaeans, now that they had chosen Pittacus to be their tyrant.

None of these things shook Solon from his resolution. To his friends he said, as we are told, that a tyranny was a lovely place, but there was no way down from it. And in his poems he writes to Phocus :—

Εἰ δὲ γῆς (φησὶν) ἐφεισάμην
πατρίδος, τυραννίδος δὲ καὶ βίης ἀμειλίχου
οὐ καθηψάμην μίανας καὶ καταισχύνας κλέος,
οὐδὲν αἰδεύμαι· πλέον γὰρ ὧδε νικήσειν δοκέω
πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

ὁθεν εὐδηλον ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας μεγά-
6 λην δόξαν εἶχεν. ἃ δὲ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραν-
νίδα πολλοὶ καταγελῶντες ἔλεγον, γέγραφεν
οὕτως·

Οὐκ ἔφν Σόλων βαθύφρων οὐδὲ βουλήεις ἀνὴρ·
ἐσθλὰ γὰρ θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο.
περιβαλὼν δ' ἄγραν ἀγασθεὶς οὐκ ἐπέσπασεν
μέγα

δίκτυον, θυμοῦ θ' ἀμαρτῇ καὶ φρενῶν ἀπο-
σφαλείς.

ἤθελον¹ γὰρ κεν κρατήσας, πλούτον ἄφθονον
λαβὼν

καὶ τυραννεύσας Ἀθηνῶν μῶνον ἡμέραν μίαν,
ἄσκηδς¹ ὕστερον δεδάρθαι κάπιτετριφθαι γένος.

XV. Ταῦτα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ φαύλους περὶ
αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε λέγοντας. οὐ μὲν ἀπώσάμενός
γε τὴν τυραννίδα τὸν πραότατον ἐχρήσατο τρόπον
τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ μαλακῶς οὐδ' ὑπέικων τοῖς
δυναμένοις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἐλομένων ἔθετο

¹ ἤθελον, ἄσκηδς Bergk, with the better MSS. : ἤθελεν, αὐτός
(he (Solon) would have been willing; himself).

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“And if,” he says, “I spared my land,
My native land, and unto tyranny and violence
implacable
Did not set hand, polluting and disgracing my fair
fame,
I’m not ashamed ; in this way rather shall my name
be set above
That of all other men.”¹

From this it is clear that even before his legislation he was in high repute. And as for the ridicule which many heaped upon him for refusing the tyranny, he has written as follows ;—

“Solon was a shallow thinker and a man of counsel
void ;
When the gods would give him blessings, of his own
will he refused.
When his net was full of fish, amazed, he would
not pull it in,
All for lack of spirit, and because he was bereft of
sense.
I had certainly been willing, for the power, and
boundless wealth,
And to be tyrant over Athens no more than a
single day,
Then to have a pouch flayed from me, and my
lineage blotted out.”²

XV. Thus he represents the multitude and men of low degree as speaking of him. However, though he rejected the tyranny, he did not administer affairs in the mildest possible manner, nor in the enactment of his laws did he show a feeble spirit, nor make concessions to the powerful, nor consult the pleasure

¹ Fragment 32 (Bergk).

² Fragment 33 (Bergk).

τοὺς νόμους· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἄριστον ἦν, οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν
 ἰατροίαν οὐδὲ καινοτομίαν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ συγχέας
 παντάπασι καὶ ταραξας τὴν πόλιν ἰσθενέστερος
 γένηται τοῦ καταστήσαι πάλιν καὶ συναρμό-
 2 σασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον· ἃ δὲ καὶ λέγων ἤλπιζε
 πειθομένοις καὶ προσάγων ἀνάγκην ὑπομένουσι
 χρήσασθαι, ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός,

‘Ομοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας.¹

ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ τοὺς ἀρίστους Ἀθη-
 ναίοις νόμους ἔγραψεν, “Ὦν ἄν,” ἔφη, “προσεδέ-
 ξαντο τοὺς ἀρίστους.”

“Α δ' οὖν οἱ νεώτεροι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγουσι
 τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχερείας ὀνόμασι χρηστοῖς
 καὶ φιλανθρωποῖς ἐπικαλύπτοντας ἀστείως ὑπο-
 3 κορίζεσθαι, τὰς μὲν πόρνas ἐταίρας, τοὺς δὲ φό-
 ρους συντάξεις, φυλακὰς δὲ τὰς φρουράς τῶν
 πόλεων, οἴκημα δὲ τὸ δεσμωτήριον καλοῦντας,
 πρώτου Σόλωνος ἦν, ὥς ἔοικε, σόφισμα τὴν τῶν
 χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν σεισάχθειαν ὀνομάσαντος. τοῦτο
 γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρῶτον πολίτευμα, γράψας τὰ
 μὲν ὑπάρχοντα τῶν χρεῶν ἀνεῖσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ
 4 λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μηδένα δανείζειν. καίτοι
 τινὲς ἔγραψαν, ὧν ἐστὶν Ἀνδροτίων, οὐκ ἀποκοπῇ
 χρεῶν, ἀλλὰ τόκων μετριότητι κουφισθέντας ἀγα-
 πῆσαι τοὺς πένητας, καὶ σεισάχθειαν ὀνομάσαι
 τὸ φιλανθρώπουμα τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἅμα τούτῳ
 γενομένην τῶν τε μέτρων ἐπαύξησιν καὶ τοῦ νομί-
 σματος τιμὴν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν

¹ Fragment 36, verse 14 (Bergk); verse 16 of the longer fragment now found in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens*, chapter xii. 4, where we have κράτει νόμου, βίην τε κτλ.

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of his electors. Nay, where a condition was as good as it could well be, he applied no remedy, and introduced no innovation, fearing lest, after utterly confusing and confounding the city, he should be too weak to establish it again and recompose it for the best. But those things wherein he hoped to find them open to persuasion or submissive to compulsion, these he did,

“Combining both force and justice together,”

as he says himself. Therefore when he was afterwards asked if he had enacted the best laws for the Athenians, he replied, “The best they would receive.”

Now later writers observe that the ancient Athenians used to cover up the ugliness of things with auspicious and kindly terms, giving them polite and endearing names. Thus they called harlots “companions,” taxes “contributions,” the garrison of a city its “guard,” and the prison a “chamber.” But Solon was the first, it would seem, to use this device, when he called his cancelling of debts a “disburdenment.” For the first of his public measures was an enactment that existing debts should be remitted, and that in future no one should lend money on the person of a borrower. Some writers, however, and Androtion is one of them, affirm that the poor were relieved not by a cancelling of debts, but by a reduction of the interest upon them, and showed their satisfaction by giving the name of “disburdenment” to this act of humanity, and to the augmentation of measures and the purchasing power of money which accompanied it.¹ For

¹ See Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, x. 1, with Sandys' note.

μνᾶν πρότερον ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὔσαν,
ὥστ' ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἴσον, δυνάμει δ' ἔλαττον ἀπο-
διδόντων, ὠφελεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐκτίνοντας μεγάλα,
5 μηδὲν δὲ βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς κομιζομένους. οἱ δὲ
πλείστοι πάντων ὁμοῦ φασὶ τῶν συμβολαίων
ἀναίρεσιν γενέσθαι τὴν σεισάχθειαν, καὶ τούτοις
συνάδει μᾶλλον τὰ ποιήματα. Σεμνύνεται γὰρ
Σόλων ἐν τούτοις ὅτι τῆς τε προὔποκειμένης γῆς

“Ορους ἀνείλε πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας·
πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρα·

καὶ τῶν ἀγωγίμων πρὸς ἀργύριον γεγονότων πολι-
τῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀνήγαγεν ἀπὸ ξένης,

γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
ιέντας, ὥς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους·
τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα
ἔχοντας

ἐλευθέρους φησὶ ποιῆσαι.

- 6 Πρᾶγμα δ' αὐτῷ συμπεσεῖν λέγεται πάντων
ἀνιαιρότατον ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης. ὥς γὰρ
ᾤρησεν ἀνιέναι τὰ χρέα καὶ λόγους ἀρμόττοντας
ἐζήτηι καὶ πρέπουσαν ἀρχήν, ἐκοινώσατο τῶν
φίλων οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύων καὶ χρώμενος
ἐτύγχανε, τοῖς περὶ Κόνωνα καὶ Κλεινίαν καὶ
Ἰππόνικον, ὅτι γῆν μὲν οὐ μέλλει κινεῖν, χρεῶν
δὲ ποιεῖν ἀποκοπὰς ἔγνωκεν. οἱ δὲ προλαβόντες 87
εὐθὺς καὶ φθάσαντες ἐδανείσαντο συχρὸν ἀργύριον

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he made the mina to consist of a hundred drachmas, which before had contained only seventy-three, so that by paying the same amount of money, but money of a lesser value, those who had debts to discharge were greatly benefited, and those who accepted such payments were no losers. But most writers agree that the "disburdenment" was a removal of all debt, and with such the poems of Solon are more in accord. For in these he proudly boasts that from the mortgaged lands

"He took away the record-stones that everywhere were planted ;

Before, Earth was in bondage, now she is free."¹

And of the citizens whose persons had been seized for debt, some he brought back from foreign lands,

"uttering no longer Attic speech,

So long and far their wretched wanderings ;

And some who here at home in shameful servitude
Were held "²

he says he set free.

This undertaking is said to have involved him in the most vexatious experience of his life. For when he had set out to abolish debts, and was trying to find fitting arguments and a suitable occasion for the step, he told some of his most trusted and intimate friends, namely, Conon, Cleinias, and Hipponicus, that he was not going to meddle with the land, but had determined to cancel debts. They immediately took advantage of this confidence and anticipated

¹ Fragment 36, verses 4 f. (Bergk), with adaptation from the first person ; verses 6 f. in Aristotle's citation.

² Fragment 36, verses 9-12 (Bergk) ; verses 11-14 in Aristotle.

παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ μεγάλας συνεωνήσαντο
 7 χώρας. εἶτα τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεχθέντος τὰ μὲν
 κτήματα καρπούμενοι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα τοῖς δανεί-
 σασιν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντες, εἰς αἰτίαν τὸν Σόλωνα
 μεγάλην καὶ διαβολήν, ὥσπερ οὐ συναδικούμενον,
 ἀλλὰ συναδικούντα, κατέστησαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
 μὲν εὐθὺς ἐλύθη τὸ ἔγκλημα τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις·
 τοσαῦτα γὰρ εὐρέθη δανείζων, καὶ ταῦτα πρῶτος
 ἀφῆκε κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἔνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα
 λέγουσιν, ὧν καὶ Πολύζηλος ὁ Ῥόδιός ἐστι.
 τοὺς μέντοι φίλους αὐτοῦ χρεωκοπίδας καλοῦντες
 διετέλεσαν.

XVI. Ἦρесе δ' οὐδετέροις, ἀλλ' ἐλύπησε καὶ
 τοὺς πλουσίους ἀνελὼν τὰ συμβόλαια, καὶ μᾶλλον
 ἔτι τοὺς πένητας, ὅτι γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὐκ ἐποίησεν
 ἐλπίσασιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ παντάπασιν, ὥσπερ ὁ
 Λυκούργος, ὁμαλοὺς τοῖς βίοις καὶ ἴσους κατέ-
 στησεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐνδέκατος ὧν ἀφ'
 Ἡρακλέους καὶ βεβασιλευκῶς ἔτη πολλὰ τῆς
 Λακεδαιμόνος, ἀξίωμα μέγα καὶ φίλους καὶ
 δύναμιν οἷς ἔγνω καλῶς περὶ τῆς πολιτείας
 ὑπηρετοῦσαν εἶχε, καὶ βία μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῖ
 χρησάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκοπήναι,
 κατειργάσατο τὸ μέγιστον εἰς σωτηρίαν πόλεως
 καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, μηδένα πένητα μηδὲ πλούσιον εἶναι
 2 τῶν πολιτῶν· Σόλων δὲ τούτου μὲν οὐκ ἐφίκετο
 τῇ πολιτείᾳ δημοτικὸς ὧν καὶ μέσος, ἐνδεέστερον
 δὲ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης δυνάμεως οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν,

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Solon's decree by borrowing large sums from the wealthy and buying up great estates. Then, when the decree was published, they enjoyed the use of their properties, but refused to pay the moneys due their creditors. This brought Solon into great condemnation and odium, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were a party to the imposition.¹ However, this charge was at once dissipated by his well-known sacrifice of five talents. For it was found that he had lent so much, and he was the first to remit this debt in accordance with his law. Some say that the sum was fifteen talents, and among them is Polyzelus the Rhodian. But his friends were ever after called "chreocopidae," or *debt-cutters*.

XVI. He pleased neither party, however; the rich were vexed because he took away their securities for debt, and the poor still more, because he did not re-distribute the land, as they had expected, nor make all men equal and alike in their way of living, as Lycurgus did. But Lycurgus was eleventh in descent from Heracles, and had been king in Lacedaemon for many years. He therefore had great authority, many friends, and power to support his reforms in the commonwealth. He also employed force rather than persuasion, insomuch that he actually lost his eye thereby,² and most effectually guaranteed the safety and unanimity of the city by making all its citizens neither poor nor rich. Solon, on the contrary, could not secure this feature in his commonwealth, since he was a man of the people and of modest station; yet he in no wise

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, vi.

² Cf. *Lycurgus*, xi.

ὀρμώμενος ἐκ μόνου τοῦ βούλεσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολίτας. ὅτι δ' οὖν προσέκρουσε τοῖς πλείστοις ἕτερα προσδοκήσασιν, αὐτὸς εἴρηκε περὶ αὐτῶν, ὥς

Χαῦνα μὲν τότε ἐφράσαντο, νῦν δέ μοι χολούμενοι

λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀρώσι πάντες ὥστε δήϊον.

καίτοι φησὶν ὥς, εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔσχε τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν,

Οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον, οὐδ' ἐπαύσατο,
πρὶν ἀνταράξας, πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα.¹

- 3 Ταχὺ μέντοι τοῦ συμφέροντος αἰσθόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν μέμψεις ἀφέντες ἔθυσάν τε κοινῇ, σεισάχθειαν τὴν θυσίαν ὀνομάσαντες, καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς πολιτείας διορθωτὴν καὶ νομοθέτην ἀπέδειξαν, οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ' οὐχί, πάντα δ' ὁμαλῶς ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἀρχάς, ἐκκλησίας, δικαστήρια, βουλὰς, καὶ τίμημα τούτων ἐκάστου καὶ ἀριθμὸν καὶ καιρὸν ὀρίσαι, λύοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ καθεστώτων ὃ τι δοκοίη.

XVII. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς Δράκοντος νόμους ἀνεῖλε πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν ἅπαντας, διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. μία γὰρ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασιν ὥριστο τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι

¹ So the verses are now more correctly found in Aristotle (*Const. of Athens*, xii. 5, Sandys).

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acted short of his real power, relying as he did only on the wishes of the citizens and their confidence in him. Nevertheless he gave offence to the greater part of them, who expected different results, as he himself says of them in the lines :—

“Then they had extravagant thoughts of me, but
now, incensed,
All look askance at me, as if I were their foe.”¹

And yet had any other man, he says, acquired the same power,

“He had not held the people down, nor made an
end
Until he had confounded all, and skimmed the
cream.”

Soon, however, they perceived the advantages of his measure, ceased from their private fault-finding, and offered a public sacrifice, which they called *Seisactheia*, or *Disburdenment*. They also appointed Solon to reform the constitution and make new laws, laying no restrictions whatever upon him, but putting everything into his hands, magistracies, assemblies, courts-of-law, and councils. He was to fix the property qualification for each of these, their numbers, and their times of meeting, abrogating and maintaining existing institutions at his pleasure.

XVII. In the first place, then, he repealed the laws of Draco, all except those concerning homicide,² because they were too severe and their penalties too heavy. For one penalty was assigned to almost all transgressions, namely death, so that even those

¹ Fragment 34 (Bergk); now verses 4 f. of a fragment of nine verses cited by Aristotle (*Const. of Athens*, xii. 3).

² Cf. Aristotle, *op. cit.* vii. 1.

ζημία θάνατος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀργίας ἀλόντας ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ τοὺς λάχανα κλέψαντας ἢ ὁπώραν ὁμοίως κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ 2 ἀνδροφόνοις. διὸ Δημάδης ὕστερον εὐδοκίμησεν εἰπὼν ὅτι δι' αἵματος, οὐ διὰ μέλανος, τοὺς νόμους ὁ Δράκων ἔγραψεν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκείνος, ὥς φασιν, ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί τοῖς πλείστοις ἀδικήμασι ζημίαν ἔταξε θάνατον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὰ μὲν μικρὰ ταύτης ἄξια νομίζειν, τοῖς δὲ μεγάλοις οὐκ ἔχειν μείζονα.

XVIII. Δεύτερον δὲ Σόλων τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας, ὥσπερ ἦσαν, τοῖς εὐπόροις ἀπολιπεῖν βουλόμενος, τὴν δ' ἄλλην μίξαι πολιτείαν, ἧς ὁ δῆμος οὐ μετείχεν, ἔλαβε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγροῖς μέτρα πεντακόσια ποιοῦντας πρῶτους ἔταξε καὶ 88 πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευσε· δευτέρους δὲ τοὺς ἵππον τρέφειν δυναμένους ἢ μέτρα ποιεῖν 2 τριακόσια· καὶ τούτους ἱππάδα τελούντας ἐκάλουν· ζευγῖται δ' οἱ τοῦ τρίτου τιμήματος ὠνομάσθησαν, οἷς μέτρον ἦν συναμφοτέρων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐκαλοῦντο θῆτες, οἷς οὐδεμίαν ἄρχειν ἔδωκεν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τῷ συνεκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν μόνον μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας. ὁ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδέν, ὕστερον δὲ παμμέγεθες ἐφάνη· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τῶν διαφόρων ἐνέπιπτεν εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔταξε κρίνειν, ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων εἰς τὸ

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convicted of idleness were put to death, and those who stole salad or fruit received the same punishment as those who committed sacrilege or murder. Therefore Demades, in later times, made a hit when he said that Draco's laws were written not with ink, but blood. And Draco himself, they say, being asked why he made death the penalty for most offences, replied that in his opinion the lesser ones deserved it, and for the greater ones no heavier penalty could be found.

XVIII. In the second place, wishing to leave all the magistracies in the hands of the well-to-do, as they were, but to give the common people a share in the rest of the government, of which they had hitherto been deprived, Solon made an appraisement of the property of the citizens.¹ Those who enjoyed a yearly increase of *five hundred measures* (wet and dry), he placed in the first class, and called them Pentakosiomedimnoi; the second class was composed of those who were able to keep a horse, or had a yearly increase of three hundred measures, and they were called Hippada Telountes, since they *paid a Knight's tax*; the members of the third class, whose yearly increase amounted to two hundred measures (wet and dry together), were called Zeugitai. All the rest were called Thetes; they were not allowed to hold any office, but took part in the administration only as members of the assembly and as jurors. This last privilege seemed at first of no moment, but afterwards proved to be of the very highest importance, since most disputes finally came into the hands of these jurors. For even in cases which Solon assigned to the magistrates

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, vii. 3 f.

- δικαστήριον ἐφέσεις ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις.
 3 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀσαφέστερον γράψας
 καὶ πολλὰς ἀντιλήψεις ἔχοντας αὐξῆσαι τὴν
 τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύν· μὴ δυναμένους γὰρ ὑπὸ
 τῶν νόμων διαλυθῆναι περὶ ὧν διεφέροντο, συνέ-
 βαιεν ἀεὶ δεῖσθαι δικαστῶν καὶ πᾶν ἄγειν
 ἀμφισβήτημα πρὸς ἐκείνους, τρόπον τινὰ τῶν
 4 νόμων κυρίους ὄντας. ἐπισημαίνεται δ' αὐτὸς
 αὐτῷ τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὕτως·

Δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος ὅσσον
 ἀπαρκεῖ,
 τιμῆς οὐτ' ἀφελὼν οὐτ' ἐπορεζάμενος·
 οἱ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγητοί,
 καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν.
 ἔστιν δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερόν σάκος ἀμφοτέ-
 ροισι·
 νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἶας· οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως.

- 5 Ἐτι μέντοι μᾶλλον οἰόμενος δεῖν ἐπαρκεῖν τῇ
 τῶν πολλῶν ἀσθενείᾳ, παντὶ λαβεῖν δίκην ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ κακῶς πεπονθότος ἔδωκε. καὶ γὰρ πληγέντος
 ἑτέρου καὶ βιασθέντος ἢ βλαβέντος ἐξῆν τῷ
 δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι τὸν ἀδι-
 κοῦντα καὶ διώκειν, ὀρθῶς ἐθίζοντος τοῦ νομοθέτου
 τοὺς πολίτας ὥσπερ ἐνὸς μέρους σώματος¹ συναι-
 σθάνεσθαι καὶ συναλγεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ
 νόμῳ συμφωνοῦντα λόγον αὐτοῦ διαμνημονεύου-

¹ μέρη σώματος (or σώματος μέρη) Coraës and Bekker, after
 Xylander : ἐνὸς μέρους.

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for decision, he allowed also an appeal to a popular court when any one desired it. Besides, it is said that his laws were obscurely and ambiguously worded on purpose to enhance the power of the popular courts. For since parties to a controversy could not get satisfaction from the laws, the result was that they always wanted jurors to decide it, and every dispute was laid before them, so that they were in a manner masters of the laws. And he himself claims the credit for this in the following words :—

“ For to the common people I gave so much power
as is sufficient,
Neither robbing them of dignity, nor giving them
too much ;
And those who had power, and were marvellously
rich,
Even for these I contrived that they suffered no
harm.
I stood with a mighty shield in front of both classes,
And suffered neither of them to prevail unjustly.”¹

Moreover, thinking it his duty to make still further provision for the weakness of the multitude, he gave every citizen the privilege of entering suit in behalf of one who had suffered wrong. If a man was assaulted, and suffered violence or injury, it was the privilege of any one who had the ability and the inclination, to indict the wrong-doer and prosecute him. The law-giver in this way rightly accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and sympathize with one another's wrongs. And we are told of a saying of his which is consonant with this

¹ Fragment 5 (Bergk) ; Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xii. 1 ; cf. also ix. 1 f.

σιν. ἐρωτηθεὶς γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦτις οἰκεῖται κάλλιστα τῶν πόλεων, “Ἐκείνη,” εἶπεν, “ἐν ἧ τῶν ἀδικουμένων οὐχ ἦττον οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι προβάλλονται καὶ κολάζουσι τοὺς ἀδικούντας.”

XIX. Συστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν ἐκ τῶν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχόντων, ἧς διὰ τὸ ἄρξαι καὶ αὐτὸς μετείχεν, ἔτι δ’ ὄρων τὸν δῆμον οἰδοῦντα καὶ θρασυνόμενον τῇ τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει, δευτέραν προσκατένειμε βουλὴν, ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης, τεττάρων οὐσῶν, ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὓς προβουλεύειν ἔταξε τοῦ δήμου καὶ μηδὲν ἑὰν ἀπροβούλευτον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
2 εἰσφέρεισθαι. τὴν δ’ ἄνω βουλὴν ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυσὶ βουλαῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ὁρμούσαν ἦττον ἐν σάλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτρεμοῦντα τὸν δῆμον παρέξειν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείστοι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Σόλωνα συστήσασθαι φασί· καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ μάλιστα τὸ μηδαμοῦ τὸν Δράκοντα λέγειν μηδ’ ὀνομάζειν Ἀρεοπαγίτας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐφέταις αἰεὶ διαλέγεσθαι
3 περὶ τῶν φονικῶν. ὁ δὲ τρισκαιδέκατος ἄξων τοῦ Σόλωνος τὸν ὄγδοον ἔχει τῶν νόμων οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι γεγραμμένον. “Ἀτίμων ὅσοι ἄτιμοι ἦσαν πρὶν ἢ Σόλωνα ἄρξαι, ἐπιτίμους εἶναι πλὴν ὅσοι ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου ἢ ὅσοι ἐκ τῶν

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law. Being asked, namely, what city was best to live in, "That city," he replied, "in which those who are not wronged, no less than those who are wronged, exert themselves to punish the wrong-doers."

XIX. After he had established the council of the Areiopagus, consisting of those who had been archons year by year (and he himself was a member of this body, since he had been archon), he observed that the common people were uneasy and bold in consequence of their release from debt, and therefore established another council besides, consisting of four hundred men, one hundred chosen from each of the four tribes.¹ These were to deliberate on public matters before the people did, and were not to allow any matter to come before the popular assembly without such previous deliberation. Then he made the upper council a general overseer in the state, and guardian of the laws, thinking that the city with its two councils, riding as it were at double anchor, would be less tossed by the surges, and would keep its populace in greater quiet.

Now most writers say that the council of the Areiopagus, as I have stated, was established by Solon. And their view seems to be strongly supported by the fact that Draco nowhere makes any mention whatsoever of Areiopagites, but always addresses himself to the "ephetai" in cases of homicide. Yet Solon's thirteenth table contains the eighth of his laws recorded in these very words: "As many of the disfranchised as were made such before the archonship of Solon, shall be restored to their rights and franchises, except such as were

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, viii. 4.

ἐφετῶν ἢ ἐκ πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες ὑπὸ
 τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἢ σφαγαῖσιν ἢ ἐπὶ
 4 τυραννίδι ἔφευγον ὅτε ὁ θεσμός ἐφάνη ὅδε." ταῦτα
 δὴ πάλιν ὡς πρὸ τῆς Σόλωνος ἀρχῆς καὶ νομο-
 θεσίας τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν οὖσαν
 ἐνδείκνυται. τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ Σόλωνος
 ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ καταδικασθέντες, εἰ πρῶτος
 Σόλων ἔδωκε τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ τὸ
 κρίνειν; εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία γέγονέ τις ἀσάφεια τοῦ 89
 γράμματος ἢ ἔκλειψις, ὥστε τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπ'
 αἰτίαις αἷς κρίνουσι νῦν οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται καὶ
 ἐφέται καὶ πρυτάνεις, ὅτε ὁ θεσμός ἐφάνη ὅδε,
 μένειν ἀτίμους, τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτίμων γενομένων.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπισκόπει.

XX. Τῶν δ' ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἴδιος μὲν
 μάλιστα καὶ παράδοξος ὁ κελεύων ἄτιμον εἶναι
 τὸν ἐν στάσει μηδετέρας μερίδος γενόμενον. βού-
 λεται δ', ὡς ἔοικε, μὴ ἀπαθῶς μηδ' ἀναισθήτως
 ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενον τὰ
 οἰκεῖα καὶ τῷ μὴ συναλγεῖν μηδὲ συννοσεῖν τῇ
 πατρίδι καλλωπιζόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν τοῖς τὰ
 βελτίῳ καὶ δικαιοτέρα πράττουσι προσθέμενον,
 συγκινδυνεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἢ περιμένειν
 2 ἀκινδύνως τὰ τῶν κρατούντων. ἄτοπος δὲ δοκεῖ
 καὶ γελοῖος ὁ τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ διδούς, ἂν ὁ κρατῶν
 καὶ κύριος γεγονὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς μὴ
 δυνατὸς ἢ πλησιάζειν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔγγιστα τοῦ

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condemned by the Areiopagus, or by the ephetai, or in the prytaneium by the kings, on charges of murder or homicide, or of seeking to establish a tyranny, and were in exile when this law was published." This surely proves to the contrary that the council of the Areiopagus was in existence before the archonship and legislation of Solon. For how could men have been condemned in the Areiopagus before the time of Solon, if Solon was the first to give the council of the Areiopagus its jurisdiction? Perhaps, indeed, there is some obscurity in the document, or some omission, and the meaning is that those who had been convicted on charges within the cognizance of those who were Areiopagites and ephetai and prytanes when the law was published, should remain disfranchised, while those convicted on all other charges should recover their rights and franchises. This question, however, my reader must decide for himself.

XX. Among his other laws there is a very peculiar and surprising one which ordains that he shall be disfranchised who, in time of faction, takes neither side.¹ He wishes, probably, that a man should not be insensible or indifferent to the common weal, arranging his private affairs securely and glorying in the fact that he has no share in the distempers and distresses of his country, but should rather espouse promptly the better and more righteous cause, share its perils and give it his aid, instead of waiting in safety to see which cause prevails. That law, too, seems absurd and ridiculous, which permits an heiress, in case the man under whose power and authority she is placed by law is himself unable to consort with her, to be married by one of his next of kin.

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, viii. 5.

- ἀνδρὸς ὀπύεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο δ' ὀρθῶς ἔχειν
 τινὲς φασι πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους συνεῖναι,
 χρημάτων δ' ἔνεκα λαμβάνοντας ἐπικλήρους καὶ
 τῷ νόμῳ καταβιαζομένους τὴν φύσιν. ὁρῶντες
 γὰρ ᾧ βούλεται τὴν ἐπικλήρον συνοῦσαν ἢ
 προήσονται τὸν γάμον ἢ μετ' αἰσχύνης καθέξουσι,
 3 φιλοπλουτίας καὶ ὕβρεως δίκην διδόντες. εὖ
 δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν συγγενῶν
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ᾧ βούλεται διαλέγεσθαι τὴν ἐπικλή-
 ρον, ὅπως οἰκεῖον ἢ καὶ μετέχον τοῦ γένους τὸ
 τικτόμενον. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ συντελεῖ καὶ τὸ τὴν
 νύμφην τῷ νυμφίῳ συγκαθεύγειν συγκαθεύγειν μῆλου
 κυδωνίου κατατραγοῦσαν, καὶ τὸ τρις ἐκάστου
 μηνὸς ἐντυγχάνειν πάντως τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ τὸν
 λαβόντα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ γένοιτο παῖδες, ἀλλὰ
 τιμὴ τις ἀνδρὸς αὕτη πρὸς σῶφρονα γυναῖκα, καὶ
 φιλοφροσύνη πολλὰ τῶν συλλεγομένων ἐκάστοτε
 δυσχερῶν ἀφαιροῦσα, καὶ ταῖς διαφοραῖς οὐκ
 ἐῷσα παντάπασιν ἀποστραφῆναι.
- 4 Τῶν δ' ἄλλων γάμων ἀφείλε τὰς φερνάς, ἱμάτια
 τρία καὶ σκευὴ μικροῦ νομίσματος ἄξια κελεύσας,
 ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν ἐπιφέρεισθαι τὴν γαμουμένην. οὐ
 γὰρ ἐβούλετο μισθοφόρον οὐδ' ὦνιον εἶναι τὸν
 γάμον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεκνώσει καὶ χάριτι καὶ φιλότῃ
 γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συνοικισμόν.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Διονύσιος, ἀξιούσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ
 δοθῆναι τινι τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς γάμον, ἔφη τοὺς
 μὲν τῆς πόλεως νόμους λελυκέναι τυραννῶν, τοὺς
 δὲ τῆς φύσεως οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸς βιάζεσθαι γά-
 5 μους νυμφαγωγῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι
 τὴν ἀταξίαν ταύτην οὐ δοτέον, οὐδὲ περισπτόεν

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Some, however, say that this was a wise provision against those who are unable to perform the duties of a husband, and yet, for the sake of their property, marry heiresses, and so under cover of law, do violence to nature. For when they see that the heiress can consort with whom she pleases, they will either desist from such a marriage, or make it to their shame, and be punished for their avarice and insolence. It is a wise provision, too, that the heiress may not choose her consort at large, but only from the kinsmen of her husband, that her offspring may be of his family and lineage. Conformable to this, also, is the requirement that the bride eat a quince and be shut up in a chamber with the bridegroom; and that the husband of an heiress shall approach her thrice a month without fail. For even though they have no children, still, this is a mark of esteem and affection which a man should pay to a chaste wife; it removes many of the annoyances which develop in all such cases, and prevents their being altogether estranged by their differences.

In all other marriages he prohibited dowries; the bride was to bring with her three changes of raiment, household stuff of small value, and nothing else. For he did not wish that marriage should be a matter of profit or price, but that man and wife should dwell together for the delights of love and the getting of children. Dionysius, indeed, when his mother asked him to give her in marriage to one of his citizens, said that, although he had broken the laws of the city by being its tyrant, he could not outrage the laws of nature by giving in marriage where age forbade. And so our cities should not allow this irregularity, nor tolerate unions which age forbids

ἀώρους καὶ ἀχαρίτους ἐπιπλοκάς καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον
γαμήλιον ἐχούσας μηδὲ τέλος. ἀλλὰ γέροντι νέαν
ἀγομένῳ φαίη τις ἂν ἐμμελὴς ἄρχων ἢ νομοθέτης
τὸ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτῆτην·

εὖ γοῦν ὥς γαμεῖν ἔχεις τάλας,

καὶ νέον ἐν δωματίῳ πλουσίας πρεσβύτιδος,
ὥσπερ οἱ πέρδικες, ἀπὸ συνουσίας παχυνόμενον
ἐξανευρὼν μετοικίσει πρὸς παρθένον νύμφην
ἀνδρὸς δεομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

- XXI. Ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων
νόμος τὸν τεθνηκότα κακῶς ἀγορεύειν. καὶ γὰρ
ὅσιον τοὺς μεθεστῶτας ἱεροὺς νομίζειν, καὶ δίκαιον
ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ πολιτικὸν
ἀφαιρεῖν τῆς ἔχθρας τὸ αἶδιον. ζῶντα δὲ κακῶς
λέγειν ἐκώλυσε πρὸς ἱεροῖς καὶ δικαστηρίοις καὶ
ἀρχείοις καὶ θεωρίας οὔσης ἀγώνων· ἢ τρεῖς
δραχμὰς τῷ ἰδιώτῃ, δύο δ' ἄλλας ἀποτίνειν εἰς
τὸ δημόσιον ἔταξε. τὸ γὰρ μηδαμοῦ κρατεῖν
ὀργῆς ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον· τὸ δὲ πανταχοῦ
χαλεπὸν, ἐνίοις δὲ ἀδύνατον· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δυνα- 90
τὸν γράφεσθαι τὸν νόμον, εἰ βούλεται χρησίμως
ὀλίγους, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἀχρήστως κολάζειν.
- 2 Εὐδοκίμησε δὲ καὶ τῷ περὶ διαθηκῶν νόμῳ·
πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ γένει τοῦ
τεθνηκότος ἔδει τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν οἶκον κατα-
μένειν, ὁ δ' ὧ βούλεται τις ἐπιτρέψας, εἰ μὴ

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and love does not invite, which do not fulfil the function of marriage, and defeat its object. Nay, to an old man who is marrying a young wife, any worthy magistrate or lawgiver might say what is said to Philoctetes¹:

“Indeed, poor wretch, thou art in fine state for marrying!”

And if he discovers a young man in the house of a rich and elderly woman, waxing fat, like a cock-partridge, in her service, he will remove him and give him to some marriageable maid that wants a husband. Thus much, then, on this head.

XXI. Praise is given also to that law of Solon which forbids speaking ill of the dead. For it is piety to regard the deceased as sacred, justice to spare the absent, and good policy to rob hatred of its perpetuity. He also forbade speaking ill of the living in temples, courts-of-law, public offices, and at festivals; the transgressor must pay three drachmas to the person injured, and two more into the public treasury. For never to master one's anger is a mark of intemperance and lack of training; but always to do so is difficult, and for some, impossible. And a law must regard the possibilities in the case, if its maker wishes to punish a few to some purpose, and not many to no purpose.

He was highly esteemed also for his law concerning wills. Before his time, no will could be made, but the entire estate of the deceased must remain in his family. Whereas he, by permitting a

¹ In a play of this name, of uncertain authorship. See Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 841. Plutarch cites two entire verses in *Morals*, p. 789 a.

- παῖδες εἶεν αὐτῷ, δοῦναι τὰ αὐτοῦ, φιλίαν τε συγγενείας ἐτίμησε μᾶλλον καὶ χάριν ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὰ χρήματα κτήματα τῶν ἐχόντων ἐποίησεν.
- 3 οὐ μὴν ἀνέδην γε πάλιν οὐδ' ἀπλῶς τὰς δόσεις ἐφῆκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ νόσων ἔνεκεν ἢ φαρμάκων ἢ δεσμῶν¹ ἢ ἀνάγκη κατασχεθεῖς ἢ γυναικὶ πιθόμενος,² εὖ πάνυ καὶ προσηκόντως τὸ πεισθῆναι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τοῦ βιασθῆναι διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς ταῦτ' οὕτως τὴν ἀπάτην τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τὴν ἡδονὴν θέμενος, ὥς οὐχ ἥττον ἐκστῆσαι λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπου δυναμένων.
- 4 Ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς πένθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐορταῖς νόμον ἀπείργοντα τὸ ἄτακτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐξίεναι μὲν ἱματίων τριῶν μὴ πλέον ἔχουσας κελεύσας, μηδὲ βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν πλείονος ἢ ὀβολοῦ φερομένην, μηδὲ κάνητα πηχυαίου μείζονα, μηδὲ νύκτωρ πορεύεσθαι πλὴν ἀμάξης κομιζομένην λύχνου προφαίνοντος. Ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων καὶ τὸ θρηνεῖν πεποιημένα καὶ τὸ κωκύειν ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς
- 5 ἐτέρων ἀφεῖλεν. ἐναγίζειν δὲ βοῦν οὐκ εἴασεν, οὐδὲ συντιθέναι πλέον ἱματίων τριῶν, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀλλότρια μνήματα βαδίζειν χωρὶς ἐκκομιδῆς. ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις νόμοις ἀπηγόρευται· πρόσκειται δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ζημιοῦσθαι

¹ δεσμῶν Bekker adopts Schaefer's correction to δεσμῶ.

² πιθόμενος Cobet : πειθόμενος.

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man who had no children to give his property to whom he wished, ranked friendship above kinship, and favour above necessity, and made a man's possessions his own property. On the other hand, he did not permit all manner of gifts without restriction or restraint, but only those which were not made under the influence of sickness, or drugs, or imprisonment, or when a man was the victim of compulsion or yielded to the persuasions of his wife. He thought, very rightly and properly, that being persuaded into wrong was no better than being forced into it, and he placed deceit and compulsion, gratification and affliction, in one and the same category, believing that both were alike able to pervert a man's reason.

He also subjected the public appearances of the women, their mourning and their festivals, to a law which did away with disorder and licence. When they went out, they were not to wear more than three garments, they were not to carry more than an obol's worth of food or drink, nor a pannier more than a cubit high, and they were not to travel about by night unless they rode in a waggon with a lamp to light their way. Laceration of the flesh by mourners, and the use of set lamentations, and the bewailing of any one at the funeral ceremonies of another, he forbade. The sacrifice of an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor the burial with the dead of more than three changes of raiment, nor the visiting of other tombs than those of their own family, except at the time of interment. Most of these practices are also forbidden by our laws, but ours contain the additional proviso that such

τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιούντας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικονόμων, ὡς ἀνάνδροις καὶ γυναικώδεσι τοῖς περὶ τὰ πένθη πάθεσι καὶ ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐνεχομένους.

XXII. Ὅρων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄστνυ πιμπλάμενον ἀνθρώπων αἰὲ συρρεόντων πανταχόθεν ἐπ' ἀδείας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, τὰ δὲ πλείστα τῆς χώρας ἀγεννῆ καὶ φαῦλα, τοὺς δὲ χρωμένους τῇ θαλάττῃ μηδὲν εἰσθότας εἰσάγειν τοῖς μηδὲν ἔχουσιν ἀντιδοῦναι, πρὸς τὰς τέχνας ἔτρεψε τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ νόμον ἔγραψεν νῖφ τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα μὴ διδασκόμενον
2 τέχνην ἐπάναγκες μὴ εἶναι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Λυκούργῳ καὶ πόλιν οἰκοῦντι καθαρὰν ὄχλου ξενικοῦ καὶ χώραν κεκτημένῳ

Πολλοῖσι πολλήν, δις τοσοῖς δὲ πλείονα,¹

κατ' Εὐριπίδην, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, εἰλωτικοῦ πλήθους, ὃ βέλτιον ἦν μὴ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ τριβόμενον αἰὲ καὶ πονοῦν ταπεινοῦσθαι, περικεχυμένου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, καλῶς εἶχεν ἀσχολιῶν ἐπιπόνων καὶ βαναύσων ἀπαλλάξαντα τοὺς πολίτας συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, μίαν τέχνην ταύτην ἐκμανθάνοντας καὶ ἀσκούοντας· Σόλων δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι
3 τοὺς νόμους μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πράγματα τοῖς νόμοις προσαρμόζων, καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶν τοῖς γεωργοῦσι γλίσχρως διαρκοῦσαν, ἀργὸν δὲ καὶ σχολαστὴν ὄχλον οὐ δυναμένην τρέφειν, ταῖς τέχναις ἀξίωμα περιέθηκε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν ἔταξεν ἐπισκοπεῖν ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἔχει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ τοὺς ἀργοὺς κολάζειν.

¹ Following Nauck (*Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 680): πολλοῖς, τοσοῖσδε.

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offenders shall be punished by the board or censors for women, because they indulge in unmanly and effeminate extravagances of sorrow when they mourn.

XXII. Observing that the city was getting full of people who were constantly streaming into Attica from all quarters for greater security of living, and that most of the country was unfruitful and worthless, and that seafaring men are not wont to import goods for those who have nothing to give them in exchange, he turned the attention of the citizens to the arts of manufacture, and enacted a law that no son who had not been taught a trade should be compelled to support his father. It was well enough for Lycurgus, whose city was free from swarms of strangers, and whose country was, in the words of Euripides,

“For many large, for twice as many more than large,”

and because, above all, that country was flooded with a multitude of Helots, whom it was better not to leave in idleness, but to keep down by continual hardships and toil,—it was well enough for him to set his citizens free from laborious and mechanical occupations and confine their thoughts to arms, giving them this one trade to learn and practice. But Solon, adapting his laws to the situation, rather than the situation to his laws, and observing that the land could give but a mere subsistence to those who tilled it, and was incapable of supporting an unoccupied and leisured multitude, gave dignity to all the trades, and ordered the council of the Areiopagus to examine into every man's means of livelihood, and chastise those who had no occupation.

- 4 Ἐκείνο δ' ἤδη σφοδρότερον, τὸ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξ
 ἑταίρας γενομένοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας
 τρέφειν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστόρηκεν ὁ Ποντικός. ὁ
 γὰρ ἐν γάμφῳ παρορῶν τὸ καλὸν οὐ τέκνων ἔνεκα
 δῆλός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα, τὸν
 τε μισθὸν ἀπέχει, καὶ παρρησίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς
 γενομένους οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν, οἷς αὐτὸ τὸ γενέσθαι
 πεποίηκεν ὄνειδος.

- XXIII. Ὅλως δὲ πλείστην ἔχειν ἀτοπίαν οἱ
 περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν νόμοι τῷ Σόλωνι δοκοῦσι.
 μοιχὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τῷ λαβόντι δέδωκεν·
 εἰ δ' ἀρπάσῃ τις ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα καὶ βιά-
 σηται, ζημίαν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἔταξε· κἂν προ-
 αγωγεύῃ, δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, πλὴν ὅσαι πεφασμένως 91
 πωλοῦνται, λέγων δὴ τὰς ἑταίρας. αὗται γὰρ
 2 ἐμφανῶς φοιτῶσι πρὸς τοὺς διδόντας. ἔτι δ' οὔτε
 θυγατέρας πωλεῖν οὔτ' ἀδελφὰς δίδωσι, πλὴν
 ἂν μὴ λάβῃ παρθένον ἀνδρὶ συγγεγεννημένην.
 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα ποτὲ μὲν πικρῶς καὶ ἀπαι-
 τήτως κολάζειν, ποτὲ δ' εὐκόλως καὶ παίζοντα,
 πρόστιμον ζημίαν τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὀρίζοντα, ἄλογόν
 ἐστὶ· πλὴν εἰ μὴ σπανίζοντος τότε τοῦ νομίσματος
 ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγάλας ἐποίει τὰς ἀργυρικὰς ζημίας
 3 τὸ δυσπόριστον. εἰς μὲν γε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν
 θυσιῶν λογίζεται πρόβατον καὶ δραχμὴν ἀντὶ
 μεδίμνου· τῷ δ' Ἰσθμια νικήσαντι δραχμὰς ἔταξεν
 ἑκατὸν δίδοσθαι, τῷ δ' Ὀλύμπια πεντακοσίας·
 λύκον δὲ τῷ κομίσαντι πέντε δραχμὰς ἔδωκε,
 λυκιδέα δὲ μίαν, ὣν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος
 τὸ μὲν βοὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ προβάτου τιμήν. ἄς γὰρ
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But that provision of his was yet more severe, which, as Heracleides Ponticus informs us, relieved the sons who were born out of wedlock from the necessity of supporting their fathers at all. For he that avoids the honourable state of marriage, clearly takes a woman to himself not for the sake of children, but of pleasure; and he has his reward, in that he robs himself of all right to upbraid his sons for neglecting him, since he has made their very existence a reproach to them.

XXIII. But in general, Solon's laws concerning women seem very absurd. For instance, he permitted an adulterer caught in the act to be killed; but if a man committed rape upon a free woman, he was merely to be fined a hundred drachmas; and if he gained his end by persuasion, twenty drachmas, unless it were with one of those who sell themselves openly, meaning of course the courtesans. For these go openly to those who offer them their price. Still further, no man is allowed to sell a daughter or a sister, unless he find that she is no longer a virgin. But to punish the same offence now severely and inexorably, and now mildly and pleasantly, making the penalty a slight fine, is unreasonable; unless money was scarce in the city at that time, and the difficulty of procuring it made these monetary punishments heavy. In the valuations of sacrificial offerings, at any rate, a sheep and a bushel of grain are reckoned at a drachma; the victor in the Isthmian games was to be paid a hundred drachmas, and the Olympic victor five hundred; the man who brought in a wolf, was given five drachmas, and for a wolf's whelp, one; the former sum, according to Demetrius the Phalerian, was the price of an ox, the latter that of

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- ἐν τῷ ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ τῶν ἀξόνων ὀρίζει τιμὰς τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἱερείων, εἰκὸς μὲν εἶναι πολλαπλασίας, ἄλλως δὲ καθεῖναι πρὸς τὰς νῦν εὐτελεῖς εἰσιν.
- 4 ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς λύκοις, βελτίονα νέμειν ἢ γεωργεῖν χώραν ἔχουσι. καὶ τὰς φυλὰς εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἴωνος υἱῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν, εἰς ἃ διηρέθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, ὠνομάσθαι, τὸ μὲν μάχιμον Ὀπλίτας, τὸ δ' ἐργατικὸν Ἑργάδεις· δυεῖν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Γελέοντας μὲν τοὺς γεωργοὺς, Αἰγικορεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ νομαῖς καὶ προβατείαις διατρίβοντας.
- 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ὕδωρ οὔτε ποταμοῖς ἐστὶν ἀενάοις οὔτε λίμναις τισὶν οὔτ' ἀφθόνοις πηγαῖς ἢ χώρα διαρκής, ἀλλ' οἱ πλεῖστοι φρέασι ποιητοῖς ἐχρῶντο, νόμον ἔγραψεν, ὅπου μὲν ἐστὶ δημόσιον φρέαρ ἐντὸς ἵππικου, χρῆσθαι τούτῳ· τὸ δ' ἵππικὸν διάστημα τεσσάρων ἡν σταδίων· ὅπου δὲ πλεῖον ἀπέχει, ζητεῖν ὕδωρ ἴδιον· ἐὰν δὲ ὀρύξαντες ὀργυιῶν δέκα βάθος παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μὴ εὕρωσι, τότε λαμβάνειν παρὰ τοῦ γείτονος ἐξάχουν ὑδρίαν δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πληροῦντας· ἀπορία γὰρ ᾤετο δεῖν βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἀργίαν ἐφοδιάζειν.
- 6 ὦρισε δὲ καὶ φυτειῶν μέτρα μάλ' ἐμπείρως, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλο τι φυτεύοντας ἐν ἀγρῷ πέντε πόδας

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a sheep. For although the prices which Solon fixes in his sixteenth table are for choice victims, and naturally many times as great as those for ordinary ones, still, even these are low in comparison with present prices. Now the Athenians were from of old great enemies of wolves, since their country was better for pasturage than for tillage. And there are those who say that their four tribes were originally named, not from the sons of Ion, but from the classes into which occupations were divided; thus the warriors were called Hoplitai, the craftsmen Ergadeis; and of the remaining two, the farmers were called Geleontes, the shepherds and herdsmen Aigikoreis.¹

Since the country was not supplied with water by ever-flowing rivers, or lakes, or copious springs, but most of the inhabitants used wells which had been dug, he made a law that where there was a public well within a "hippikon," a distance of four furlongs, that should be used, but where the distance was greater than this, people must try to get water of their own; if, however, after digging to a depth of ten fathoms on their own land, they could not get water, then they might take it from a neighbour's well, filling a five gallon jar twice a day; for he thought it his duty to aid the needy, not to provision the idle. He also showed great experience in the limits which he set to the planting of trees; no one could set out a tree in a field within five feet of his

¹ This is strained etymology to explain the ancient tribal names of Hopletes, Argadeis, Geleontes, and Aigikoreis, which are derived, in Herodotus v. 66, from the names of the four sons of Ion. The first has nothing to do with "hopla," *arms*; nor the second with "ergon," *work*; nor the third with "ge," *earth*; nor the fourth with "aix," *goat*.

ἀπέχειν τοῦ γείτονος κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ συκὴν ἢ ἐλαίαν ἐννέα. πορρωτέρω γὰρ ἐξικνεῖται ταῦτα ταῖς ρίζαις, καὶ οὐ πᾶσι γειτνιά τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀσινῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφήν παραιρεῖται καὶ βλάπτουσιν ἐνίοις ἀπορροὴν ἀφήσει. βόθρους δὲ καὶ τάφρους τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευσεν ὀρύσσειν, ὅσον ἐμβάλλει βάθος, ἀφιστάμενον ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑφ' ἐτέρου πρότερον ἰδρυμένων πόδας τριακοσίου.

XXIV. Τῶν δὲ γινομένων διάθεσιν πρὸς ξένους ἐλαίου μόνον ἔδωκεν, ἄλλα δ' ἐξάγειν ἐκώλυσε· καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐξαγόντων ἀρὰς τὸν ἄρχοντα ποιεῖσθαι προσέταξεν, ἢ ἐκτίνειν αὐτὸν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον. καὶ πρῶτος ἄξων ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦτον περιέχων τὸν νόμον. οὐκ ἂν οὖν τις ἡγήσαιο παντελῶς ἀπιθάνους τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι καὶ σύκων ἐξαγωγή τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπείρητο, καὶ τὸ φαίνειν ἐνδεικνύμενον τοὺς ἐξάγοντας κληθῆναι συκοφαντεῖν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ βλάβης τετραπόδων νόμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κύνα δακόντα παραδούναί κελεύει κλοιῷ τριπήχει δεδεμένον· τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χάριεν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν.

- 2 Παρέχει δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ ὁ τῶν δημοποιήτων νόμος, ὅτι γενέσθαι πολίταις οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν αἰφυγία τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἢ πανεστίοις Ἀθήναζε μετοικιζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνη. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ οὕτως ἀπελαύνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους ὥς κατακαλούμενον Ἀθήναζε τούτους ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τῷ μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἅμα

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neighbour's field, or, in case it was a fig-tree or an olive-tree, within nine. For these reach out farther with their roots, and injure some trees by their proximity, taking away their nourishment, and emitting an exhalation which is sometimes noxious. He that would dig a pit or a trench, must dig it at the distance of its own depth from his neighbour's; and he that would set out hives of bees, must put them three hundred feet away from those which another had already installed.

XXIV. Of the products of the soil, he allowed oil only to be sold abroad, but forbade the exportation of others; and if any did so export, the archon was to pronounce curses upon them, or else himself pay a hundred drachmas into the public treasury. His first table is the one which contains this law. One cannot, therefore, wholly disbelieve those who say that the exportation of figs also was anciently forbidden, and that the one who *showed up*, or pointed out such exporters, was called a "sycophant," or *fig-shower*. He also enacted a law concerning injuries received from beasts, according to which a dog that had bitten anybody must be delivered up with a wooden collar three cubits long fastened to it; a happy device this for promoting safety.

But the law concerning naturalized citizens is of doubtful character. He permitted only those to be made citizens who were permanently exiled from their own country, or who removed to Athens with their entire families to ply a trade. This he did, as we are told, not so much to drive away other foreigners, as to invite these particular ones to Athens with the full assurance of becoming citizens; he also thought that reliance could be placed both

πιστοὺς νομίζοντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότας τὴν
 ἐαυτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, τοὺς δ' ἀπολελοιπότας
 3 διὰ τὴν γνώμην. ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ τὸ
 περὶ τῆς ἐν δημοσίῳ σιτήσεως, ὅπερ αὐτὸς
 παρασιτεῖν κέκληκε. τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔᾶ
 σιτεῖσθαι πολλάκις, ἐὰν δὲ ᾗ καθήκει μὴ βού-
 ληται, κολάζει, τὸ μὲν ἡγούμενος πλεονεξίαν, τὸ
 δ' ὑπεροψίαν τῶν κοινῶν.

XXV. Ἴσχυν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις πᾶσιν εἰς ἑκατὸν
 ἐνιαυτοὺς ἔδωκε· καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους
 ἄξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους,
 ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λείψανα μικρὰ
 διεσώζετο· καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέ-
 λης φησί, κύρβεις. καὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ κωμικὸς
 εἴρηκε πον·

Πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος οἷσι νῦν
 φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχρυσ τοῖς κύρβεσιν.

2 ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἰδίως ἐν οἷς ἱερὰ καὶ θυσίαι
 περιέχονται, κύρβεις, ἄξονας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
 ὠνομάσθαι. κοινὸν μὲν οὖν ὤμνυνε ὄρκον ἢ βουλὴ
 τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἐμπεδώσειν, ἴδιον δ' ἕκαστος
 τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ, κατα-
 φατίζων, εἴ τι παραβαίῃ τῶν θεσμῶν, ἀνδριάντα
 χρυσοῦν ἰσομέτρητον¹ ἀναθήσειν ἐν Δελφοῖς.¹

¹ ἰσομέτρητον and ἐν Δελφοῖς are not in the text of Aristotle.

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on those who had been forced to abandon their own country, and on those who had left it with a fixed purpose. Characteristic of Solon also was his regulation of the practice of eating at the public table in the townhall, for which his word was "parasitein."¹ The same person was not allowed to eat there often, but if one whose duty it was to eat there refused, he was punished. Solon thought the conduct of the first grasping; that of the second, contemptuous of the public interests.

XXV. All his laws were to have force for a hundred years, and they were written on "axones," or wooden tablets, which revolved with the oblong frames containing them. Slight remnants of these were still preserved in the Prytaneium when I was at Athens, and they were called, according to Aristotle,² "kurbeis." Cratinus, also, the comic poet, somewhere says:—

"By Solon, and by Draco too I make mine oath,
Whose kurbeis now are used to parch our barley-corns."³

But some say that only those tablets which relate to sacred rites and sacrifices are properly called "kurbeis," and the rest are called "axones." However that may be, the council took a joint oath to ratify the laws of Solon, and each of the "thesmothetai," or guardians of the statutes, swore separately at the herald's stone in the market-place, vowing that if he transgressed the statutes in any way, he would dedicate at Delphi a golden statue of commensurate worth.

¹ Hence, with scornful meaning, the word *parasite*.

² Cf. *Const. of Athens*, vii. 1, with Sandys' notes.

³ Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 94.

3 Συνιδὼν δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τῆς σελήνης οὔτε δυομένῳ τῷ ἡλίῳ πάντως οὔτ' ἀνίσχοντι συμφερομένην, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, αὐτὴν μὲν ἔταξε ταύτην ἔνῃ καὶ νέαν καλεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρὸ συνόδου μόριον αὐτῆς τῷ παυομένῳ μηνί, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη τῷ ἀρχομένῳ προσήκειν ἡγούμενος, πρῶτος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὀρθῶς ἀκούσας Ὀμήρου λέγοντος,

Τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἵσταμένοιο,

τὴν δ' ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραν νουμηνίαν ἐκάλεσε. τὰς δ' ἀπ' εἰκάδος οὐ προστιθείς, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ ἀναλύων, ὥσπερ τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἑώρα, μέχρι τριακάδος ἡρίθμῃσεν.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν νόμων εἰσενεχθέντων ἔνιοι τῷ Σόλῳ καθ' ἐκάστην προσήεσαν ἡμέραν, ἐπαινοῦντες ἢ ψέγοντες ἢ συμβουλεύοντες ἐμβάλλειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὃ τι τύχοιεν ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν, πλείστοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀνακρίνοντες καὶ κελεύοντες αὐτὸν ὅπως ἕκαστον ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ἣν κείται διάνοιαν ἐπεκιδιδάσκειν καὶ σαφ-
5 νίζειν, ὁρῶν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πράττειν ἄτοπον καὶ τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἐπίφθονον, ὅλως δὲ ταῖς ἀπορίαις ὑπεκστῆναι βουλόμενος καὶ διαφυγεῖν

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Observing the irregularity of the month, and that the motion of the moon does not always coincide with the rising and setting of the sun, but that often she overtakes and passes the sun on the same day, he ordered that day to be called the Old and New, assigning the portion of it which preceded the conjunction to the expiring month, and the remaining portion to the month that was just beginning. He was thus the first, as it would seem, to understand Homer's verse,¹ which speaks of a day when

"This month is waning, and the next is setting in," and the day following this he called the first of the month. After the twentieth he did not count the days by adding them to twenty, but by subtracting them from thirty, on a descending scale, like the waning of the moon.²

No sooner were the laws of Solon put into operation than some would come to him every day with praise or censure of them, or with advice to insert something into the documents, or take something out. Very numerous, too, were those who came to him with inquiries and questions about them, urging him to teach and make clear to them the meaning and purpose of each several item. He saw that to do this was out of the question, and that not to do it would bring odium upon him, and wishing to be wholly rid of these perplexities and to escape from

¹ *Odyssey*, xiv. 162=xix. 307, of the day when Odysseus would return to Ithaca.

² Thus the twenty-first was called the tenth, the twenty-second the ninth, and so on, "of the waning month." The twenty-ninth was the second of the waning month, the thirtieth the Old and New.

τὸ δυσάρεστον καὶ φιλαίτιον τῶν πολιτῶν (ἔργμασι γὰρ ἐν μεγάλοις πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν χαλεπόν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶρηκε), πρόσχημα τῆς πλάνης τὴν ναυκληρίαν ποιησάμενος ἐξέπλευσε, δεκαετὴ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδημίαν αἰτησάμενος. ἤλπιζε γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοὺς¹ ἔσσεσθαι συνήθεις.

XXVI. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο καὶ διέτριψεν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι,

Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς.

χρόνον δέ τινα καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ψένωφιν τὸν Ἡλιου-πολίτην καὶ Σῶγχιν τὸν Σαῖτην, λογιωτάτοις οὔσι τῶν ἱερέων, συνεφιλοσόφησε· παρ' ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἀκούσας λόγον, ὡς Πλάτων φησὶν, ἐπεχείρησε διὰ ποιήματος ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς² τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἔπειτα πλεύσας εἰς Κύπρον ἡγαπήθη διαφερόντως ὑπὸ Φιλοκύπρου τινὸς τῶν ἐκεῖ βασιλέων, ὃς εἶχεν οὐ μεγάλην πόλιν, ὠκισμένην ὑπὸ Δημοφῶντος τοῦ Θησέως, περὶ τὸν Κλάριον ποταμὸν ἐν χωρίοις ὀχυροῖς μὲν, ἄλλως δὲ δυσχερέσι καὶ φαύλοις κειμένην. ἔπεισεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Σόλων ὑποκειμένου καλοῦ⁹³ πεδίου μεταθέντα τὴν πόλιν ἡδιόνα καὶ μείζονα³ κατασκευάσαι. καὶ παρῶν ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ συν-οικισμοῦ, καὶ συνδιεκόσμησε πρὸς τε διαγωγὴν ἄριστα καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν οἰκῆτορας τῷ Φιλοκύπρῳ συνελθεῖν, ζηλῶσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας· διὸ καὶ τῷ Σόλῳ τιμὴν

¹ τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῖς after MSS. cited by Stephanus ; Bekker has τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς, the conjecture of Stephanus (the laws would be familiar to them).

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the captiousness and censoriousness of the citizens (for "in great affairs," as he says himself,¹ "it is difficult to please all"), he made his ownership of a vessel an excuse for foreign travel, and set sail, after obtaining from the Athenians leave of absence for ten years. In this time he hoped they would be accustomed to his laws.

XXVI. In the first place, then, he went to Egypt,² and lived, as he himself says,³

"Where Nile pours forth his floods, near the Canobic shore."

He also spent some time in studies with Psenophis of Heliopolis and Sonchis of Saïs, who were very learned priests. From these, as Plato says,⁴ he heard the story of the lost Atlantis, and tried to introduce it in a poetical form to the Greeks.⁵ Next he sailed to Cyprus, and was greatly beloved of Philocyprus, one of the kings of the island. This prince had a small city, founded by Demophon, the son of Theseus, and lying near the river Clarius, in a position which was strong, but otherwise inconvenient and sorry. Solon therefore persuaded him to remove the city to the fair plain which lay below it, and make it more spacious and pleasant. He also remained and took charge of the new city's consolidation, and helped to arrange it in the best possible manner both for convenience of living and for safety. The result was that many colonists flocked to Philocyprus, and he was the envy of the other kings. He therefore paid Solon the honour of

¹ Fragment 7 (Bergk).

² Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xi. 1.

³ Fragment 28 (Bergk). ⁴ *Timaeus*, p. 22 a.

⁵ Cf. chapters xxxi. 3; xxxii. 1 f.

ἀποδιδούς Αἰπείαν τὴν πόλιν καλουμένην πρό-
 4 τερον ἀπ' ἐκείνου Σόλους προσηγόρευσε. καὶ
 αὐτὸς δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ· προσαγο-
 ρεύσας γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις τὸν Φιλόκυπρον,

Νῦν δὲ (φησί) σὺ μὲν Σολίοισι πολὺν χρόνον
 ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσω

τὴνδε πόλιν ναίοις καὶ γένος ὑμέτερον·
 αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ ξὺν νηϊ θοῇ κλεινῆς ἀπὸ νήσου
 ἀσκηθῇ πέμποι Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος·
 οἰκισμῷ δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε χάριν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάζοι
 ἐσθλὸν καὶ νόστον πατρίδ' ἐς ἡμετέρην.

XXVII. Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἔντευξιν αὐτοῦ
 δοκοῦσιν ἔνιοι τοῖς χρόνοις ὥς πεπλασμένην
 ἐλέγχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον οὕτω καὶ το-
 σούτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα, καί, ὃ μείζον ἐστι,
 πρέποντα τῷ Σόλωνος ἦθει καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου με-
 γαλοφροσύνης καὶ σοφίας ἄξιον, οὗ μοι δοκῶ
 προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν,
 οὓς μυρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν
 αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστήσαι τὰς
 2 ἀντιλογίας. τὸν δ' οὖν Σόλωνά φασιν εἰς Σάρδεις
 δεσθέντι τῷ Κροίσῳ παραγενόμενον, παθεῖν τι
 παραπλήσιον ἀνδρὶ χερσαίῳ κατιόντι πρῶτον ἐπὶ
 θάλατταν. ἐκείνός τε γὰρ ὁρῶν ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου
 ποταμὸν ᾧετο τὴν θάλασσαν εἶναι, καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι
 τὴν αὐλὴν διαπορευομένῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ὁρῶντι
 τῶν βασιλικῶν κεκοσμημένους πολυτελῶς, καὶ

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naming the new city after him, and called it Soli ; its name had been Aipeia. Solon himself also makes mention of this consolidation. In his elegies, namely, he addresses Philocyprus, and says ¹ :—

“ Now mayest thou long time be lord and master for
the Solii here,
Dwelling in this city thyself, and thy family after
thee ;
But may I and my swift ship, as we leave this
storied isle,
Be brought upon our way in safety by Cypris of the
violet crown.
Upon this settlement of thine may she bestow
favour and glory ;
And upon me an auspicious return to my father-
land.”

XXVII. As for his interview with Croesus, some think to prove by chronology that it is fictitious. But when a story is so famous and so well-attested, and, what is more to the point, when it comports so well with the character of Solon, and is so worthy of his magnanimity and wisdom, I do not propose to reject it out of deference to any chronological canons, so called, which thousands are to this day revising, without being able to bring their contradictions into any general agreement. So then, they say that Solon, on visiting Sardis at the invitation of Croesus,² had much the same experience as an inland man who goes down for the first time to the sea. For just as such a man thinks each successive river that he sees to be the sea, so Solon, as he passed through the court and beheld many of the king's retainers in

¹ Fragment 19 (Bergk).

² Cf. Herodotus, i. 30–33.

- σοβοῦντας ἐν ὄχλῳ προπομπῶν καὶ δορυφόρων, ἕκαστος ἐδόκει Κροῖσος εἶναι, μέχρι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤχθη, πᾶν ὅσον ἐν λίθοις, ἐν βαφαῖς ἐσθήτος, ἐν τέχναις χρυσοῦ περὶ κόσμον ἐκπρεπὲς ἔχειν ἢ περιττὸν ἢ ζηλωτὸν ἐδόκει περικείμενον, ὡς δὴ θέαμα σεμνότατον ὀφθείη καὶ ποικιλώτατον.
- 3 ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σόλων ἄντικρυς καταστάς οὐτ' ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν οὐτ' εἶπε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ὧν ὁ Κροῖσος προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλος ἦν τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσι τῆς ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ μικροπρεπείας καταφρονῶν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τούς τε θησαυροὺς ἀνοῖξαι τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἄγοντας ἐπιδεῖξαι μηδὲν δεομένῳ κατασκευὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν. ἦρκει γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦ τρόπου κατανόησιν παρασχεῖν. ὡς δ' οὖν αὖθις ἤχθη γεγωνὺς ἀπάντων θεατῆς, ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κροῖσος εἴ τινα
- 4 οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ μακαριώτερον. ἀποφνηάμενου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὅτι οἶδε Τέλλον αὐτοῦ πολίτην, καὶ διεξελθόντος ὅτι χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ Τέλλος γενόμενος καὶ παῖδας εὐδοκίμους καταλιπὼν καὶ βίον οὐδενὸς ἐνδεᾶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐνδόξως ἀριστεύσας ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ἥδη μὲν ἀλλόκοτος ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ Κροίσῳ καὶ ἄγροικος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον πολὺ μηδὲ χρυσίον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ποιεῖται τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν, ἀλλὰ δημοτικοῦ καὶ ιδιώτου βίον καὶ θάνατον ἀνθρώπου μᾶλλον ἢ τοσαύτην ἀγαπῆν δύναμιν καὶ ἀρχήν.
- 5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ μετὰ Τέλλον ἄλλον ἔγνωκεν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονέστερον. πάλιν δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος εἰπόντος εἰδέναι Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα, φιλαδέλφους καὶ φιλομή-

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costly apparel and moving proudly amid a throng of couriers and armed guards, thought each in turn to be Croesus, until he was brought to the king himself, who was decked out with everything in the way of precious stones, dyed raiment, and wrought gold that men deem remarkable, or extravagant, or enviable, in order that he might present a most august and gorgeous spectacle. But when Solon, in this presence, neither showed any astonishment at what he saw, nor made any such comments upon it as Croesus had expected, but actually made it clear to all discerning eyes that he despised such vulgarity and pettiness, the king ordered his treasure chambers to be thrown open for the guest, and that he should be led about to behold the rest of his sumptuous equipments. Of this there was no need, for the man himself sufficed to give Solon an understanding of his character. However, when Solon had seen everything and had been conducted back again, Croesus asked him if he had ever known a happier man than he. Solon said he had, and that the man was Tellus, a fellow-citizen of his own ; Tellus, he went on to say, had proved himself an honest man, had left reputable sons behind him, and had closed a life which knew no serious want with a glorious display of valour in behalf of his country. Croesus at once judged Solon to be a strange and uncouth fellow, since he did not make an abundance of gold and silver his measure of happiness, but admired the life and death of an ordinary private man more than all this display of power and sovereignty. Notwithstanding, he asked him again whether, next to Tellus, he knew any other man more fortunate than he. Again Solon said he did, naming Cleobis and Bito, men surpass-

τορας διαφερόντως ἄνδρας, οἱ τὴν μητέρα τῶν
 βοῶν βραδυνόντων ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ τῷ ζυγῷ τῆς 94
 ἀμάξης ἐκόμισαν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἡρας ἱερὸν εὐδαι-
 μονιζομένην ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ χαίρουσαν, εἶτα
 θύσαντες καὶ πίνοντες οὐκ ἔτι μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀνέστη-
 σαν, ἀλλὰ τεθηγκότες ἀναλγῇ καὶ ἄλυπον ἐπὶ
 6 δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ θάνατον ὤφθησαν, “Ἡμᾶς δέ,”
 εἶπεν ἤδη πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ Κροῖσος, “εἰς οὐδένα
 τίθης εὐδαιμόνων ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπων;” καὶ ὁ
 Σόλων οὔτε κολακεύειν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν οὔτε
 περαιτέρω παροξύνειν, “Ἕλλησιν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ
 βασιλεῦ Λυδῶν, πρὸς τε τὰλλα μετρίως ἔχειν ὁ
 θεὸς ἔδωκε, καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἀθαρσοῦς, ὡς ἔοικε,
 καὶ δημοτικῆς, οὐ βασιλικῆς οὐδὲ λαμπρᾶς, ὑπὸ
 μετριότητος ἡμῖν μέτεστιν, ἣ τύχαις ὁρώσα παν-
 τοδαπαῖς χρώμενον ἀεὶ τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἐᾷ τοῖς
 παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν, οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν
 ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν μεταβολῆς χρόνον ἔχουσαν.
 7 ἔπεισι γὰρ ἐκάστῳ ποικίλον ἐξ ἀδήλου τὸ μέλλον·
 ᾧ δ' εἰς τέλος ὁ δαίμων ἔθετο τὴν εὐπραξίαν,
 τοῦτον εὐδαίμονα νομίζομεν. ὁ δὲ ζῶντος ἔτι καὶ
 κινδυνεύοντος ἐν τῷ βίῳ μακαρισμός, ὥσπερ
 ἀγωνιζομένου κήρυγμα καὶ στέφανος, ἐστὶν
 ἀβέβαιος καὶ ἄκυρος.” ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Σόλων
 ἀπηλλάττετο λυπήσας μὲν, οὐ νουθετήσας δὲ
 τὸν Κροῖσον.

XXVIII. Ὁ δὲ λογοποιὸς Αἰσωπος, ἐτύγχανε

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ing all others in brotherly love and in dutiful affection towards their mother ; for once, he said, when the car in which she was riding was delayed by the oxen, they took the yoke upon their own shoulders and brought their mother to the temple of Hera, where her countrymen called her a happy woman and her heart was rejoiced ; then, after sacrifice and feasting, they laid themselves to rest, and never rose again, but were found to have died a painless and tranquil death with so great honour fresh upon them. "What!" said Croesus, who by this time was angered, "dost thou not count us among happy men at all?" Then Solon, who was unwilling to flatter him and did not wish to exasperate him further, said : "O king of Lydia, as the Deity has given us Greeks all other blessings in moderation, so our moderation gives us a kind of wisdom which is timid, in all likelihood, and fit for common people, not one which is kingly and splendid. This wisdom, such as it is, observing that human life is ever subject to all sorts of vicissitudes, forbids us to be puffed up by the good things we have, or to admire a man's felicity while there is still time for it to change. For the future which is advancing upon every one is varied and uncertain, but when the Deity bestows prosperity on a man up to the end, that man we consider happy ; to pronounce any one happy, however, while he is still living and running the risks of life, is like proclaiming an athlete victorious and crowning him while he is still contending for the prize ; the verdict is insecure and without authority." When he had said this, Solon departed, leaving Croesus vexed, but none the wiser for it.

XXVIII. Now it so happened that Aesop, the

γὰρ εἰς Σάρδεις μετάπεμptos γεγονῶς ὑπὸ Κροΐ-
σου καὶ τιμῶμενος, ἡχθέσθη τῷ Σόλῳι μηδεμιᾶς
τυχόντι φιλανθρωπίας· καὶ προτρέπων αὐτόν,
“ὦ Σόλων,” ἔφη, “τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δεῖ ὡς
ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα ὀμιλεῖν.” καὶ ὁ Σόλων,
“Μὰ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἄριστα.”

- 2 Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Κροῖσος οὕτω τοῦ Σόλωνος
κατεφρόνησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρῳ συμβαλὼν ἐκρατήθη
μάχῃ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσε, καὶ ζῶν ἄλous
αὐτὸς ἔμελλε καταπίμπρασθαι, καὶ γενομένης
πυρᾶς ἀνεβιβάσθη δεδεμένος θεωμένων Περσῶν
ἀπάντων καὶ Κύρου παρόντος, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐξικνεῖτο
καὶ δυνατὸς ἦν τῇ φωνῇ φθεγξάμενος ἀνεβόησε
τρίς, “ὦ Σόλων.” θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Κύρος ἔπεμψε
τοὺς ἐρησομένους ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν οὗτός
ἐστίν ὁ Σόλων, ὃν ἐν τύχαις¹ ἀπόροις μόνον
3 ἀνακαλεῖται. καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος οὐδὲν ἀποκρυψά-
μενος εἶπεν ὅτι “Τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσι σοφῶν εἰς
οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὃν ἐγὼ μετεπεμψάμην οὐκ
ἀκοῦσαί τι βουλόμενος οὐδὲ μαθεῖν ὧν ἐνδεὴς
ἦμην, ἀλλ’ ὡς δὴ μοι θεατῆς γένοιτο καὶ μάρτυς
ἀπίοι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐκείνης, ἣν ἀποβαλεῖν ἄρα
μεῖζον ἢ κακὸν ἢ λαβεῖν ἀγαθόν. λόγος γὰρ ἦν
καὶ δόξα τῷ ἀγαθὸν παρούσης· αἱ μεταβολαὶ δέ μοι
αὐτῆς εἰς πάθη δεινὰ καὶ συμφοράς ἀνηκέστους
4 ἔργῳ τελευτῶσι. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν
τότε τὰ νῦν τεκμαιρόμενος, ἐκέλευε τὸ τέλος τοῦ
βίου σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ θρασυνόμενον ἀβεβαίοις
ὑπονοίαις ὑβρίζειν.” ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ’ ἀνηνέχθη πρὸς
τὸν Κύρον, ἅτε δὴ σοφώτερος ὢν τοῦ Κροΐσου καὶ

¹ ἐν τύχαις Coraës, Cobet, and S: τύχαις.

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writer of fables, was in Sardis, having been summoned thither by Croesus, and receiving much honour at his hands. He was distressed that Solon met with no kindly treatment, and said to him by way of advice : " O Solon, our converse with kings should be either as rare, or as pleasing as is possible." " No, indeed ! " said Solon, " but either as rare or as beneficial as is possible."

At this time, then, Croesus held Solon in a contempt like this ; but afterwards he encountered Cyrus, was defeated in battle, lost his city, was taken alive and condemned to be burnt ; and then, as he lay bound upon the pyre in the sight of all the Persians and of Cyrus himself, with all the reach and power of which his voice was capable, he called out thrice :¹ " O Solon ! " Cyrus, then, astonished at this, sent men to ask him what man or god this Solon was on whom alone he called in his extremity. And Croesus, without any concealment, said : " This man was one of the sages of Greece, and I sent for him, not with any desire to hear or learn the things of which I stood in need, but in order that he might behold, and, when he left me, bear testimony to the happiness I then enjoyed, the loss of which I now see to be a greater evil than its possession was a good. For when it was mine, the good I derived from it was matter of report and men's opinion, but its departure from me issues in terrible sufferings and irreparable calamities which are real. And that man, conjecturing this future from what he then saw, bade me look to the end of my life, and not let insecure conjectures embolden me to be proud and insolent." When this was reported to Cyrus, since he was a wiser man than Croesus, and

¹ Cf. Herodotus, i. 86.

τὸν λόγον τοῦ Σόλωνος ἰσχυρὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι βλέπων, οὐ μόνον ἀφῆκε τὸν Κροῖσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἐφ' ὅσον ἔζη διετετέλεσε· καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὁ Σόλων ἐνὶ λόγῳ τὸν μὲν σώσας, τὸν δὲ παιδεύσας τῶν βασιλέων.

XXIX. Οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει πάλιν ἐστασίαζον ἀποδημοῦντος τοῦ Σόλωνος· καὶ προειστήκει τῶν μὲν Πεδιέων Λυκούργος, τῶν δὲ Παράλων Μεγακλῆς ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος, Πεισίστρατος δὲ τῶν Διακρίων, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ θητικὸς ὄχλος καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀχθόμενος· ὥστε χρῆσθαι μὲν ἔτι τοῖς νόμοις τὴν πόλιν, ἤδη δὲ πράγματα νεώτερα προσδοκᾶν καὶ ποθεῖν ἅπαντας ἐτέραν κατάστασιν, οὐκ ἴσον ἐλπίζοντας, ἀλλὰ πλέον ἔξειν ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ κρατήσειν παντάπασιν τῶν διαφορο-
 2 μένων. οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων ὁ Σόλων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, αἰδῶ μὲν εἶχε καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἐν δὲ κοινῷ λέγειν καὶ πράσ- 95
 σειν ὁμοίως οὐκ ἔτ' ἦν δυνατὸς οὐδὲ πρόθυμος ὑπὸ γήρως, ἀλλ' ἐντυγχάνων ἰδίᾳ τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν στάσεων ἀνδράσιν ἐπειράτο διαλύειν καὶ συναρμόττειν, μάλιστα τοῦ Πεισιστράτου προσέχειν δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ αἰμύλον τι καὶ προσφιλὲς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ βοηθητικὸς ἦν τοῖς πένησι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἔχθρας ἐπιεικὲς καὶ
 3 μέτριος. ἃ δὲ φύσει μὴ προσῆν αὐτῷ, καὶ ταῦτα μιμούμενος ἐπιστεύετο μᾶλλον τῶν ἐχόντων, ὥς εὐλαβῆς καὶ κόσμιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ ἴσον ἀγαπῶν, καὶ δυσχεραίνων εἴ τις τὰ παρόντα

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saw the word of Solon confirmed in the example before him, he not only released Croesus, but actually held him in honour as long as he lived. And thus Solon had the reputation of saving one king and instructing another by means of a single saying.

XXIX. But the people of Athens were again divided into factions while Solon was away. The Plain-men were headed by Lycurgus; the Shore-men by Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, and the Hill-men by Peisistratus.¹ Among the last was the multitude of Thetes, who were the bitter enemies of the rich. As a consequence, though the city still observed the new laws, yet all were already expecting a revolution and desirous of a different form of government, not in hopes of an equality, but each party thinking to be bettered by the change, and to get the entire mastery of its opponents. Such was the state of affairs when Solon returned to Athens. He was revered and honoured by all, but owing to his years he no longer had the strength or the ardour to speak and act in public as before. He did, however, confer privately with the chiefs of the opposing factions, endeavouring to reconcile and harmonize them, and Peisistratus seemed to pay him more heed than the others. For Peisistratus had an insinuating and agreeable quality in his address, he was ready to help the poor, and was reasonable and moderate in his enmities. Even those virtues which nature had denied him were imitated by him so successfully that he won more confidence than those who actually possessed them. He was thought to be a cautious and order-loving man, one that prized equality above all things, and would take it ill if any one disturbed the existing

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiii. 4.

κινοίη καὶ νεωτέρων ὀρέγοιτο· τούτοις γὰρ ἐξ-
πάτα τοὺς πολλοὺς. ὁ δὲ Σόλων ταχὺ τὸ ἦθος
ἐφώρασεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν πρῶτος
ἐγκατείδεν· οὐ μὴν ἐμίσησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειράτο
πραῦνεin καὶ νουθετεῖν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγε καὶ
πρὸς ἐτέρους ὡς εἴ τις ἐξέλοι τὸ φιλόπρωτον αὐτοῦ
τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἰάσαιτο τῆς τυραν-
νίδος, (οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος εὐφυνέστερος) πρὸς ἀρετὴν
οὐδὲ βελτίων πολίτης.

- 4 Ἀρχομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν
τραγωδίαν κινεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὴν καινότητά τοὺς
πολλοὺς ἄγοντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὐπω δ' εἰς
ἄμιλλαν ἐναγώνιον ἐξηγμένου, φύσει φιλήκοος ὢν
καὶ φιλομαθὴς ὁ Σόλων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν γῆρᾳ
σχολῇ καὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ νῇ Δία πότοις καὶ μουσικῇ
παραπέμπων ἑαυτὸν, ἐθεάσατο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν
ὑποκρινόμενον, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς.
- 5 μετὰ δὲ τὴν θέαν προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν
εἰ τοσούτων ἐναντίον οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τηλικαῦτα
ψευδόμενος. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος μὴ δεινὸν
εἶναι τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾶς λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ
πράσσειν, σφόδρα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν γῆν ὁ Σόλων
παταξας· “Ταχὺ μέντοι τὴν παιδιάν,” ἔφη, “ταύ-
την ἐπαινοῦντες οὕτω καὶ τιμῶντες εὐρήσομεν ἐν
τοῖς συμβολαίοις.”

XXX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατατρώσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ
Πεισίστρατος ἤκεν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ ζεύγους κομι-
ζόμενος, καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ὡς διὰ τὴν
πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβεβουλευμένος,

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order and attempted a change. On these points, indeed, he completely deceived most people. But Solon quickly detected his real character, and was the first to perceive his secret designs. He did not, however, treat him as an enemy, but tried to soften and mould him by his instructions. He actually said to him and to others that if the desire for pre-eminence could but be banished from his soul, and his eager passion for the tyranny be cured, no other man would be more naturally disposed to virtue, or a better citizen.

Thespis was now beginning to develop tragedy, and the attempt attracted most people because of its novelty, although it was not yet made a matter of competitive contest. Solon, therefore, who was naturally fond of hearing and learning anything new, and who in his old age more than ever before indulged himself in leisurely amusement, yes, and in wine and song, went to see Thespis act in his own play, as the custom of the ancient poets was. After the spectacle, he accosted Thespis, and asked him if he was not ashamed to tell such lies in the presence of so many people. Thespis answered that there was no harm in talking and acting that way in play, whereupon Solon smote the ground sharply with his staff and said: "Soon, however, if we give play of this sort so much praise and honour, we shall find it in our solemn contracts."

XXX. Now when Peisistratus, after inflicting a wound upon himself,¹ came into the market-place riding in a chariot, and tried to exasperate the populace with the charge that his enemies had plotted against his life on account of his political

¹ Cf. Herodotus, i. 59 ; Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiv. 1.

καὶ πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ βοῶντας, προσελθὼν ἐγγὺς ὁ Σόλων καὶ παραστάς, “Οὐ καλῶς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ Ἱπποκράτους, ὑποκρίνη τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν Ὀδυσσεά· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖς τοὺς πολίτας παρακρουόμενος οἷς ἐκείνος τοὺς πολέ-
 2 μίους ἐξηπάτησεν, αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτόν.” ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἦν ἑτοιμον ὑπερμαχεῖν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου, καὶ συνήλθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος. Ἀρίστωνος δὲ γράψαντος ὅπως δοθῶσι πεντήκοντα κορυνηφόροι τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ φυλακὴ τοῦ σώματος, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Σόλων ἀναστὰς καὶ πολλὰ διεξήλθεν ὅμοια τούτοις οἷς διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων γέγραπεν·

ἡμεῖς

Εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁράτε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἰμύλου ἀνδρός.

ὑμῶν δ' εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἔχνεσι βαίνει, σύμπασιν δ' ὑμῖν χαῦνος ἔνεστι νόος.

3 ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν πένητας ὠρμημένους χαρίζεσθαι τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ καὶ θορυβοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ ἀποδειλιῶντας, ἀπῆλθεν εἰπὼν ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐστὶ σοφώτερος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρειότερος· σοφώτερος μὲν τῶν μὴ συνιέντων τὸ πραττόμενον, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τῶν συνιέντων μὲν, ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ τυραννίδι φοβουμένων. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα κυρώσας ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἔτι τῶν κορυνηφόρων διεμικρολογεῖτο πρὸς τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐβούλετο τρέφοντα καὶ συνάγοντα φανερώς περιεώρα, μέχρι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέσχε.

4 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς πόλεως συντα-

SOLON

opinions, and many of them greeted the charge with angry cries, Solon drew near and accosted him, saying: "O son of Hippocrates, thou art playing the Homeric Odysseus badly; for when he disfigured himself it was to deceive his enemies,¹ but thou doest it to mislead thy fellow-citizens." After this the multitude was ready to fight for Peisistratus, and a general assembly of the people was held. Here Ariston made a motion that Peisistratus be allowed a body-guard of fifty club-bearers, but Solon formally opposed it, and said many things which were like what he has written in his poems:—

"Ye have regard indeed to the speech and words of a wily man.

Yet every one of you walks with the steps of a fox,
And in you all dwells an empty mind."²

But when he saw that the poor were tumultuously bent on gratifying Peisistratus, while the rich were fearfully slinking away from any conflict with him, he left the assembly, saying that he was wiser than the one party, and braver than the other; wiser than those who did not understand what was being done, and braver than those who, though they understood it, were nevertheless afraid to oppose the tyranny.³ So the people passed the decree, and then held Peisistratus to no strict account of the number of his club-bearers, but suffered him to keep and lead about in public as many as he wished, until at last he seized the acropolis.

When this had been done, and the city was in an

¹ *Odyssey*, iv. 244-264.

² Fragment 11 (Bergk), verses 7, 5, and 6. Plutarch has changed the order; Bekker and Cobet restore it.

³ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiv. 2.

ραχθείσης, ὁ μὲν Μεγακλῆς εὐθὺς ἔφυγε μετὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν, ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἤδη μὲν 96
 ἦν σφόδρα γέρων καὶ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας οὐκ εἶχεν,
 ὅμως δὲ προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ διελέχθη πρὸς
 τοὺς πολίτας, τὰ μὲν κακίζων τὴν ἀβουλίαν αὐ-
 τῶν καὶ μαλακίαν, τὰ δὲ παροξύνων ἔτι καὶ
 5 παρακαλῶν μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ὅτε καὶ
 τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἶπεν, ὥς πρῶην μὲν ἦν εὐ-
 μαρέστερον αὐτοῖς τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τυραννίδα
 συνισταμένην, νῦν δὲ μεῖζόν ἐστι καὶ λαμπρότερον
 ἐκκόψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν συνεστῶσαν ἤδη καὶ πεφυ-
 κυῖαν. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν
 φόβον ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ
 λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν θέμενος εἰς
 τὸν στενωπόν, “Ἐμοὶ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὥς δυνατὸν
 6 ἦν βεβοήθηται τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις.” καὶ
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε, καὶ τῶν φίλων φεύγειν
 παραινούντων οὐ προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ ποιήματα γρά-
 φων ὠνείδιζε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις·

Εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε λυγρὰ δι’ ὑμετέρεην κακότητα,
 μή τι θεοῖς τούτων μῆνιν ἐπαμφέρετε.
 αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὔξησατε ρύματα δόντες,
 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην.

XXXI. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πολλῶν νουθετούντων
 αὐτὸν ὥς ἀποθανούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, καὶ

SOLON

uproar, Megacles¹ straightway fled, with the rest of the Alcmaeonidae. But Solon, although he was now a very old man, and had none to support him, went nevertheless into the market-place and reasoned with the citizens, partly blaming their folly and weakness, and partly encouraging them still and exhorting them not to abandon their liberty. Then it was, too, that he uttered the famous saying, that earlier it had been easier for them to hinder the tyranny, while it was in preparation; but now it was a greater and more glorious task to uproot and destroy it when it had been already planted and was grown. No one had the courage to side with him, however, and so he retired to his own house, took his arms, and placed them in the street in front of his door, saying: "I have done all I can to help my country and its laws."² From that time on he lived in quiet retirement, and when his friends urged him to fly, he paid no heed to them, but kept on writing poems, in which he heaped reproaches on the Athenians:—

"If now ye suffer grievously through cowardice all
your own,
Cherish no wrath against the gods for this,
For ye yourselves increased the usurper's power by
giving him a guard,
And therefore are ye now in base subjection."³

XXXI. In view of this, many warned him that the tyrant would put him to death, and asked him on

¹ Grandson of the Megacles who brought the taint of pollution upon the family (chapter xii. 1-3). He had been allowed to return from banishment.

² It was for others now to do the same. Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiv. 2. ³ Fragment 11 (Bergk), verses 1-4.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- πυνθανομένων τίνι πιστεύων οὕτως ἀπονοεῖται,
 “Τῷ γῆρα,” εἶπεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ ὁ Πεισίστρατος
 ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως ἐξε-
 θεράπευσε τὸν Σόλωνα, τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονού-
 μενος καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος, ὥστε καὶ σύμβουλον
 εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρᾶσσομένων ἐπαινεῖν.
 καὶ γὰρ ἐφύλαττε τοὺς πλείστους νόμους τοῦ
 Σόλωνος, ἐμμένων πρῶτος αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς φίλους
 2 ἀναγκάζων ὅς γε καὶ φόνου προσκληθεὶς εἰς
 Ἀρειον πάγον, ἤδη τυραννῶν, ἀπήντησε κοσμίως
 ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ κατήγορος οὐχ ὑπήκουσε·
 καὶ νόμους αὐτὸς ἐτέρους ἔγραψεν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ
 ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι
 κελεύων. τοῦτο δὲ φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ πρό-
 τερον ἐπὶ Θερσίππῳ πηρωθέντι τοῦ Σόλωνος
 ψηφισαμένου μιμήσασθαι τὸν Πεισίστρατον. ὥς
 δὲ Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκε, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀργίας
 νόμον οὐ Σόλων ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ Πεισίστρατος,
 ᾧ τὴν τε χώραν ἐνεργότεραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 ἡρεμαιοτέραν ἐποίησεν.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἀψάμενος μεγάλης τῆς περὶ
 τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν λόγον ἢ μῦθον πραγματείας,
 ὃν διήκουσε τῶν περὶ Σαῖν λογίων προσήκοντα
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέκαμεν, οὐ δι’ ἀσχολίαν, ὥς
 Πλάτων φησὶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ γῆρως, φοβη-
 θεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γραφῆς. ἐπεὶ σχολῆς

SOLON

what he relied that he was so lost to all sense, to which he answered, "My old age." However, when Peisistratus had become master of the situation, he paid such court to Solon by honouring him, showing him kindness, and inviting him to his palace, that Solon actually became his counsellor and approved of many of his acts. For he retained most of Solon's laws, observing them first himself, and compelling his friends to do so. For instance, he was summoned before the Areiopagus on a charge of murder, when he was already tyrant, and presented himself there to make his defence in due form, but his accuser did not put in an appearance. He also made other laws himself, one of which provides that those who are maimed in war shall be maintained at the public charge. But Heracleides says that even before that Solon had caused a decree to be passed to this effect in the case of Thersippus, who had been so maimed, and that Peisistratus was following his example. Moreover, Theophrastus writes that the law against idleness, in consequence of which the country became more productive and the city more tranquil, was not made by Solon, but by Peisistratus.

Now Solon, after beginning his great work on the story or fable of the lost Atlantis, which, as he had heard from the learned men of Sais,¹ particularly concerned the Athenians, abandoned it, not for lack of leisure, as Plato says, but rather because of his old age, fearing the magnitude of the task. For

¹ Cf. chapter xxvi. 1. There is no trace of any such work of Solon's, and the attribution of it to him is probably a play of Plato's fancy.

γε περιουσίαν αὐτοῦ μηνύουσιν αἱ τοιαῦται
φωναί·

Γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος·

καί,

Ἔργα δὲ Κυπρογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διο-
νύσου

καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.

- XXXII. Ὡς δὲ χώρας καλῆς ἔδαφος ὁ Πλάτων
ἔρημον, αὐτῷ δέ πως κατὰ συγγένειαν προσῆκον,
ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ διακοσμήσαι φιλοτιμούμενος
τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν ὑπόθεσιν, πρόθυρα μὲν μεγάλα
καὶ περιβόλους καὶ αὐλὰς τῇ ἀρχῇ περιέθηκεν,
οἷα λόγος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔσχεν οὐδὲ μῦθος οὐδὲ
2 ποίησις, ὃψὲ δὲ ἀρξάμενος προκατέλυσε τοῦ
ἔργου τὸν βίον, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει τὰ γε-
γραμμένα, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν
ἀνιάσας. ὥς γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ
Ὀλυμπιεῖον, οὕτως ἡ Πλάτωνος σοφία τὸν
Ἀτλαντικὸν ἐν πολλοῖς καλοῖς μόνον ἔργον ἀτε-
λὲς ἔσχηκεν.
- 3 Ἐπεβίωσε δ' οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ
Πεισιστράτου τυραννεῖν, ὥς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ
Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, συχνὸν χρόνον, ὥς δὲ Φανίας
ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἐλάττονα δυοῖν ἐτῶν. ἐπὶ Κωμίου 97
μὲν γὰρ ἤρξατο τυραννεῖν Πεισίστρατος, ἐφ'
Ἡγεστράτου δὲ Σόλωνά φησιν ὁ Φανίας ἀπο-

SOLON

that he had abundant leisure, such verses as these testify :—

“ But I grow old ever learning many things ; ” ¹

and again,

“ But now the works of the Cyprus-born goddess are
dear to my soul,
Of Dionysus, too, and the Muses, which impart
delights to men.” ²

XXXII. Plato, ambitious to elaborate and adorn the subject of the lost Atlantis, as if it were the soil of a fair estate unoccupied, but appropriately his by virtue of some kinship with Solon,³ began the work by laying out great porches, enclosures, and court-yards, such as no story, tale, or poesy ever had before. But he was late in beginning, and ended his life before his work.⁴ Therefore the greater our delight in what he actually wrote, the greater is our distress in view of what he left undone. For as the Olympieum in the city of Athens, so the tale of the lost Atlantis in the wisdom of Plato is the only one among many beautiful works to remain unfinished.

Well, then, Solon lived on after Peisistratus had made himself tyrant, as Heracleides Ponticus states, a long time ; but as Phantias of Eresos says, less than two years. For it was in the archonship of Comeas⁵ that Peisistratus began his tyranny, and Phantias says that Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus,

¹ Cf. chapter ii. 2.

² Fragment 26 (Bergk).

³ Plato mentions the relationship of Critias, his maternal uncle, with Solon (*Charmides*, p. 155 a).

⁴ Plato's *Critias* is a splendid fragment. ⁵ 561–60 B.C.

- 4 θανεῖν τοῦ μετὰ Κωμίαν ἄρξαντος. ἡ δὲ δια-
σπορὰ κατακαυθέντος αὐτοῦ τῆς τέφρας περὶ
τὴν Σαλαμινίων νῆσον ἔστι μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν
ἀπίθανος παντάπασι καὶ μυθώδης, ἀναγέγραπται
δ' ὑπὸ τε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἀξιολόγων καὶ Ἀριστο-
τέλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

SOLON

the successor of Comeas. The story that his body was burned and his ashes scattered on the island of Salamis is strange enough to be altogether incredible and fabulous, and yet it is given by noteworthy authors, and even by Aristotle the philosopher.

PUBLICOLA

ΠΟΠΛΙΚΟΛΑΣ

- Ι. Τοιούτῳ δὴ γενομένῳ τῷ Σόλωνι τὸν Ποπλικόλαν παραβάλλομεν, ᾧ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐξεῦρεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦνομα, πρὸ τοῦ δὲ Πόπλιος Οὐαλλέριος ἐκαλεῖτο, Οὐαλλερίου δοκῶν ἀπόγονος εἶναι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρὸς αἰτιωτάτου γενομένου Ῥωμαίους καὶ Σαβίνους ἐκ πολεμίων ἔνα γενέσθαι δῆμον· ὁ γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλεῖς εἰς ταῦτὸ πείσας συνελθεῖν καὶ
- 2 διαλλάξας ἐκείνός ἐστι. τούτῳ δὴ κατὰ γένος προσήκων ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὥς φασι, βασιλευμένης μὲν ἔτι τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιφανῆς ἦν διὰ λόγον καὶ πλούτον, ὧν τῷ μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας αἰεὶ χρώμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐλευθερίως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐπαρκῶν, δῆλος ἦν εὐθύς, εἰ γένοιτο δημοκρατία, πρωτεύων.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ταρκύνιον Σούπερβον οὔτε λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνόσιως καὶ παρανόμως, οὔτε χρώμενον αὐτῇ βασιλικῶς, ἀλλ' ὑβρίζοντα καὶ τυραννοῦντα, μισῶν ὁ δῆμος καὶ βαρυνόμενος, ἀρχὴν ἀποστάσεως ἔλαβε τὸ Λουκρητίας πάθος αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ βιασθῆναι διεργασαμένης, καὶ Λεύκιος Βρούτος ἀπτόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων

PUBLICOLA

I. SUCH was Solon, and with him we compare Publicola, to whom the Roman people gave this surname later as a mark of honour. Before that he was called Publius Valerius, and was reputed to be a decendant of that ancient Valerius who was most instrumental in making the Romans and the Sabines one people instead of enemies ; for it was he more than anyone else that persuaded their kings to come together, and settled their differences. Such being his lineage, Valerius, as we are told, while Rome was still a kingdom, was conspicuous for his eloquence and wealth, always employing the one with integrity and boldness in the service of justice, while with the other he gave liberal and kindly aid to the poor and needy. It was therefore clear that, should Rome become a democracy, he would at once be one of its foremost men.

Now Tarquinius Superbus had not acquired his power honourably, but by the violation of divine and human laws ; nor did he exercise it in kingly fashion, but after the manner of an insolent and haughty tyrant. The people therefore hated him, resented his oppressions, and found occasion for revolt in the fate of Lucretia, who made away with herself after violence had been done to her. Lucius Brutus, engaging in the revolution, came to

τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἦλθε τὸν Οὐαλλέριον
καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτῷ προθυμοτάτῳ συνεξέβαλε
4 τοὺς βασιλεῖς, μέχρι μὲν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὁ δῆμος ἓνα
χειροτονήσῃν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγόν,
ἡσυχίαν ἡγεῖν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὡς τῷ Βρούτῳ
μᾶλλον ἄρχειν προσῆκον ἡγεμόνι τῆς ἐλευθερίας
γεγεννημένῳ· δυσχεραينوμένου δὲ τοῦ τῆς μοναρχίας
ὀνόματος, καὶ δοκοῦντος ἂν ἀλυπότερον τοῦ
δήμου μερισθεῖσαν ὑπομεῖναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύο
προβαλλομένου καὶ καλοῦντος, ἐλπίζων μετὰ τὸν
Βρούτον αἰρεθήσεσθαι καὶ συνυπατεύσειν διήμαρ-
τεν. ἡρέθη γὰρ ἄκοντι τῷ Βρούτῳ συνάρχων
ἀντὶ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου Ταρκύνιος Κολλατῖνος, ὁ
Λουκρητίας ἀνὴρ, οὐδὲν ἀρετῇ Οὐαλλερίου δια-
φέρων, ἀλλ' οἱ δυνατοὶ δεδιότες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἔτι
πολλὰ πειρῶντας ἔξωθεν καὶ μαλάσσοντας τὴν
πόλιν, ἐβούλουντο τὸν ἐντονώτατον αὐτοῖς ἐχθρὸν
ἔχειν στρατηγὸν ὡς οὐχ ὑψησόμενον.

II. Ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, εἰ μὴ
πιστεύεται πάντα πράττειν ἔνεκα τῆς πατρίδος,
ὅτι μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων πέπονθε,
τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπέστη καὶ τὰς συνηγορίας ἀπέειπε
καὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ παντελῶς ἐξέλιπεν,
ὥστε καὶ λόγον τοῖς πολλοῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ
φροντίδα, φοβουμένοις μὴ δι' ὀργὴν προσθέμενος
τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν 98
2 πόλιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς

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Valerius first of all, and with his most zealous assistance drove out the kings.¹ Then, as long as the people was likely to elect one man as their commander in place of the king, Valerius acquiesced, thinking it more fitting that Brutus should have the office, because he had led the way to freedom. But the very name of monarchy was odious to the people, who thought that it would be less vexatious to submit to an authority which was divided, and therefore proposed and demanded that two men should be elected to the highest office. Then Valerius, who hoped that he would be chosen next to Brutus, and would be consul with him, was disappointed. For against the wishes of Brutus, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was elected as his colleague,² instead of Valerius. He was a man of no greater excellence than Valerius, but the influential citizens were afraid of the kings, who were still putting forth many efforts outside, and trying to appease resentment inside the city, and they therefore desired to have as their commander the most pronounced enemy of the royal family, believing that he would make no concessions to them.

II. Valerius, accordingly, vexed that his desire to do his utmost for his country should be doubted, merely because he had received no private injury at the hands of the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, gave up his practice as an advocate, and abandoned entirely his public activities. This caused anxious remark among the multitude. They feared lest, in his wrath, he should attach himself to the royal exiles, and subvert the established order of the city, which was in a dangerous pass. But when Brutus,

¹ Cf. Livy, i. 58 f. ; ii. 2, 11. ² Cf. Livy, i. 60, 4.

έτέρους τινὰς ὑποψίαν ἔχων ὁ Βρούτος ἐβούλετο διὰ σφαγίων ὀρκῶσαι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ προεῖπεν ἡμέραν, καταβάς μάλα φαιδρὸς εἰς ἀγορὰν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, καὶ πρῶτος ὁμόσας μηδὲν ἐνδώσειν μηδ' ὑφήσεσθαι Ταρκυνίοις, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσειν κατὰ κράτος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἡδονὴν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ θάρσος ἅμα τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρέσχευ. εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τὸν ὄρκον ἐβεβαίον.

- 3 πρέσβεις γὰρ ἦκον ἀπὸ Ταρκυνίου γράμματα κομίζοντες ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ λόγους ἐπικεῖς, οἷς μάλιστα τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤοντο διαφθεῖρειν, λεγομένοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἀφεικέναι τὸ φρόνημα καὶ μετρίων δεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος. τούτους εἰς τὸ πλῆθος οἰομένων δεῖν τῶν ὑπάτων προαγαγεῖν οὐκ εἶασεν ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ἀλλ' ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρώποις πένησι καὶ βαρυνόμενοις μᾶλλον τῆς τυραννίδος τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχὰς καὶ προφάσεις νεωτερισμῶν ἐγγενέσθαι.

- III. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρέσβεις ἦκον ἕτεροι τῆς τε βασιλείας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ πολεμοῦντα παύσασθαι τὸν Ταρκύνιον λέγοντες, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῷ καὶ φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις, ἀφ' ὧν διαβιώσονται φεύγοντες. ἐπικλωμένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Κολλατίνου συναγορεύοντος, ἄτρεπτος ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ τραχὺς ὀργὴν ὁ Βρούτος ἐξέδραμεν εἰς ἀγορὰν, προδότῃν ἀποκαλῶν τὸν συνάρχοντα, πολέμου καὶ τυραννίδος ἀφορμὰς χαριζόμενον οἷς δεινὸν ἦν ὄντως
- 2 ἐφόδια φυγῆς ψηφίσασθαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν πρῶτος ιδιώτης ἀνὴρ εἶπεν ἐν δήμῳ τότε

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who had his suspicions of certain others also, desired the senators to take a sacrificial oath, and set a day for the ceremony, Valerius went down with a glad countenance into the forum, and was the first to take oath that he would make no submission or concession to the Tarquins, but would fight with all his might in defence of freedom. This pleased the senate and inspired the consuls with courage. And his actions speedily confirmed his oath. For envoys came from Tarquin bringing letters calculated to seduce the people, and specious words by which they thought the multitude were most likely to be corrupted, coming as they did from a king who seemed to have humbled himself, and to ask only moderate terms. These envoys the consuls thought should be brought before the assembled people, but Valerius would not suffer it. He was unalterably opposed to giving poor men, who considered war a greater burden than tyranny, occasions and excuses for revolution.

III. After this, other envoys came announcing that Tarquin abdicated his throne and ceased to wage war upon the city, but demanded for himself, his friends, and his kinsmen, their moneys and effects,¹ wherewith to maintain themselves in exile. Many were inclined to grant this favour, and Collatinus in particular joined in advocating it, but Brutus, a man of harsh and unyielding temper, ran forth into the forum and denounced his colleague as a traitor, because he would bestow the means for waging war and maintaining tyranny on men to whom it were a terrible mistake to vote even a bare subsistence in exile. And when an assembly of the citizens was held, the first to speak among them

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 3, 5.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Γάιος Μινούκιος, τῷ τε Βρούτῳ διακελευόμενος καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραινῶν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὰ χρήματα μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντα πολεμοίῃ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους μᾶλλον ἢ μετ' ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτούς. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ἔδοξε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχουσιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐπολέμουν, μὴ προέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἕνεκα χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς τυράννοις.

Ἦν δὲ ἄρα Ταρκυνίῳ λόγος μὲν ἐλάχιστος τῶν χρημάτων, ἡ δ' ἀπαίτησις ἅμα πείρα τοῦ
 3 δήμου καὶ κατασκευὴ προδοσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπραττον οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων προφάσει, τὰ μὲν ἀποδίδοσθαι, τὰ δὲ φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν φάσκοντες, ἄχρι οὗ διέφθειραν οἴκους δύο τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν νομιζομένων, τὸν Ἀκυλλίων τρεῖς ἔχοντα βουλευτάς καὶ δύο τὸν Οὐϊτελλίων. οὗτοι πάντες ἦσαν ἀπὸ μητέρων ἀδελφιδοῖ Κολλατίνου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Οὐϊτελλίοις ἐτέρα πρὸς Βρούτον οἰκειότης ὑπῆρχεν. ἀδελφὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν
 4 ὁ Βρούτος εἶχε καὶ παῖδας ἕξ αὐτῆς πλείονας· ὧν δύο τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ συγγενεῖς ὄντας ἅμα καὶ συνήθεις οἱ Οὐϊτέλλιοι προσηγάγοντο καὶ συνέπεισαν ἐν τῇ προδοσίᾳ γενέσθαι καὶ καταμίξαντας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς γένος μέγα τὸ τῶν Ταρκυνίωι καὶ βασιλικὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀβελτερίας καὶ χαλεπότητος· χαλεπότητα μὲν τὸ ἀπαραίτητον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς λέγοντες, τῇ δ' ἀβελτερίᾳ προσποιή-

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was Caius Minucius, a private man, who exhorted Brutus and advised the Romans to see to it that the treasures fought with them against the tyrants, rather than with the tyrants against them. However, the Romans decided that, since they had the liberty for which they were at war, they would not sacrifice peace for the sake of wealth, but cast this also out along with the tyrants.¹

Now the wealth, of course, was of very slight consequence to Tarquin, but the demand for it was at once a test of the people's disposition and a means of instigating treachery among them. And it was with this that the envoys busied themselves, making the property merely a pretext for remaining in the city, and saying that they were selling part of it, and reserving part, and sending part of it away. At last they succeeded in corrupting two of the noble families of Rome, that of the Aquillii, which had three senators, and that of the Vitellii, which had two. All these, by the mother's side, were nephews of Collatinus the consul, and besides, the Vitellii were related in another manner to Brutus. For Brutus had married a sister of theirs, and she had borne him several sons. Two of these, who had come to manhood, and were their near kindred and close companions, the Vitellii won over and persuaded to join the plot for betraying the city, to ally themselves with the great family and the royal expectations of the Tarquins, and rid themselves of the stupidity and cruelty of their father. For they gave the name of cruelty to that father's inexorable treatment of criminals, and as for his stupidity, he had for a long time, as it appears, feigned and

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 4, 3.

ματι καὶ παρακαλύμματι πολὺν χρόνον, ὥς ἔοικε, χρησάμενος ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους, οὐδ' ὕστερον ἔφυγεν αὐτῆς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

- IV. Ὡς δ' οὖν συνεπίεσθη τὰ μεράκια καὶ τοῖς Ἀκυλλίοις εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν, ὄρκον ὁμόσαι μέγαν ἔδοξε πᾶσι καὶ δεινόν, ἀνθρώπου σφαγέντος ἐπισπείσαντας αἷμα καὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνων θιγόντας. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς τὴν Ἀκυλλίων οἰκίαν συνῆλθον. ἦν δ' ὁ οἶκος, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα δράσειν ἔμελλον, οἶον εἰκός, ὑπέρημος καὶ σκοτώδης. ἔλαθεν οὖν αὐτοὺς οἰκέτης ὄνομα Οὐνδίκιος ἔνδον κατακρύψας ἑαυτόν, οὐ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν 99
- 2 ἡ προαίσθησίν τινα τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ὦν ἔτυχε καὶ προσιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μετὰ σπουδῆς ὀφθῆναι φοβηθεὶς ὑπέστη, λάρνακα κειμένην πρὸ αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τῶν πραττομένων θεατῆς γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπήκοος. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα δηλούσας γράψαντες ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς τὸν Ταρκύνιον ἔδωκαν τοῖς πρέσβεσι· καὶ γὰρ ᾤκουν αὐτόθι, τῶν Ἀκυλλίων ξένοι γεγονότες, καὶ τότε τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ παρήσαν.
- 3 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα πράξαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὑπεξελθὼν ὁ Οὐνδίκιος λάθρα, χρήσασθαι τοῖς προσπεσοῦσιν οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἠπορεῖτο, δεινὸν μὲν ἡγούμενος, ὥσπερ ἦν, πρὸς πατέρα Βροῦτον υἱῶν ἐξάγιστα κατηγορεῖν ἢ πρὸς θεῖον ἀδελφιδῶν τὸν Κολλατῖνον, ιδιώτην δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα νο-

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assumed this, to insure his safety from the cruel designs of the tyrants, and afterwards the surname of Brutus, which had been given him for it, clung to him.

IV. When, accordingly, the youths had been persuaded and held conference with the Aquillii, it was decided that all the conspirators should swear a great and dreadful oath, pouring in libation the blood of a slain man, and touching his entrails. For this purpose they met at the house of the Aquillii.¹ Now the room in which the ceremony was to be held was, as was natural, dark and somewhat desolate. Without their knowing it, therefore, a slave named Vindicius had concealed himself therein, not with design, or with any inkling of what was to happen there; he merely chanced to be there, and when they came in with anxious haste, he was afraid to be seen by them, and hid himself behind a chest that lay there, so that he saw what they did, and heard what they resolved upon. Their decision was to kill the consuls, and when they had written letters to Tarquin to this effect, they gave them to his envoys, who were living there as guests of the Aquillii, and were then present at the conspiracy.

Their business transacted, the conspirators departed, and then Vindicius stole secretly away from the house. He knew not what use to make of what had befallen him, but was at a loss, considering it a dreadful thing, as it really was, to arraign the sons of Brutus before their father, or the nephews of Collatinus before their uncle, on the most abominable charges, and yet believing that no Roman in a private station could be entrusted with such im-

¹ At the house of the Vitellii, according to Livy, ii. 4, 5.

4 μίζων ἐχέγγυον ἀπορρήτων τηλικούτων. πᾶν δ' αὖ μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατὸς ὦν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἐλαυνόμενος δὲ τῷ συνειδότητι τοῦ πράγματος, ὥρμησέ πως πρὸς τὸν Οὐαλλέριον, μάλιστα τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις¹ ἐπαχθεὶς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτι πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος ἦν τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀεὶ παρεῖχεν ἀνεωγμένην, καὶ λόγον οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ χρεῖαν ἀπερρίπτει τῶν ταπεινῶν.

V. Ὡς οὖν ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Οὐινδίκιος καὶ κατεῖπε πάντα, Μάρκου τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παρόντος αὐτῷ μόνου καὶ τῆς γυναικός, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ δείσας ὁ Οὐαλλέριος οὐκέτι προήκατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ κατακλείσας εἰς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ φύλακα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ταῖς θύραις ἐπιστήσας, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔπαυλιν περισχόντα τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν, ἂν δυνατὸν ἦ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας παραφυλάττειν· αὐτὸς δὲ πελατῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ φίλων ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων καὶ θεραπείας συχνῆς, ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν Ἀκυλλίων οὐκ ἔνδον ὄντων.

2 διὸ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ὥσάμενος διὰ θυρῶν ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς γράμμασι κειμένοις ὅπου κατέλυνον οἱ πρέσβεις. ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ πράττοντος οἱ Ἀκυλλιοὶ δρόμῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας συμμίζαντες ἐζήτουν ἀφελέσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολάς. οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια περιβαλόντες αὐτῶν τοῖς τραχήλοις ὑπὸ βίας καὶ μόλις ὠθούμενοι καὶ ὠθούμενοι διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλον. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν ἅμα τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐγίνετο, τοῦ Μάρκου γραμμάτων ἐτέρων ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι κομιζομένων

¹ φιλανθρώποις Bekker supplies τρόποις, after Porson.

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portant secrets. The last thing that he could do, however, was to hold his peace, and driven on by his knowledge of the affair, he made his way somehow to Valerius, attracted especially by the affable and kindly ways of the man.¹ For he was easily accessible to all the needy, always kept open house, and never refused to hear or help one of the lowly.

V. Accordingly, when Vindicius came to him and told him the whole story, in the presence of his brother Marcus only, and of his wife, Valerius was struck with consternation and fear, and would not now let the man go, but shut him up in a room and set his own wife to guard the door. Then he ordered his brother to surround the royal residence, seize the letters, if possible, and take the servants into custody. He himself, with the numerous clients and friends who were always about him, and with a large company of retainers, went to the house of the Aquillii, who were not at home. Therefore, to the surprise of everybody, he forced the door, and came upon the letters lying in the quarters where the envoys were lodging. Meantime the Aquillii came up in hot haste, joined battle at the door, and sought to take away the letters. But Valerius and his party resisted the attack, threw their togas about their opponents' necks, and after much struggling on both sides, at last succeeded in pushing them through the streets into the forum. The same success was had at the royal residence, where Marcus laid hands on other letters which were to be conveyed away in the baggage, seized as many

¹ Vindicius laid the matter before the consuls, according to Livy, ii. 4, 6.

ἐπιλαμβανομένου, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὅσους δυνατὸς ἦν ἔλκοντας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν.

- VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν θόρυβον κατέπαυσαν οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου κελεύσαντος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁ Οὐινδίκιος προήχθη, καὶ γενομένης κατηγορίας ἀνεγνώσθη τὰ γράμματα καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν ἐτόλμυσαν ἀντειπεῖν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἦν μὲν κατήφεια καὶ σιωπὴ τῶν ἄλλων, ὀλίγοι δὲ βουλόμενοι τῷ Βρούτῳ χαρίζεσθαι φυγῆς ἐμέμνηντο. καὶ τὸ καὶ Κολλατῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδος ἐπιεικοῦς ἐνεδίδου δεδακρυμένος καὶ Οὐαλλέριος σιωπῶν. ὁ δὲ Βρούτος ὀνομαστὶ τῶν υἱῶν ἐκάτερον προσειπών, “Ἄγε, ὦ Τίτε,” εἶπεν, “ἄγε, ὦ Τιβέριε, τί οὐκ ἀπολογεῖσθε πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν;” ὥς δ’ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο τρεῖς ἐρωτηθέντες, οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον, “Τμέτερον ἤδη,” εἶπε, “τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον.” οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς συλλαβόντες τοὺς νεανίσκους περιερρήγνυνον τὰ ἱμάτια, τὰς χεῖρας ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω, ῥάβδοις ἐξαινον τὰ σώματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ δυνάμενων προσορᾶν οὐδὲ καρτερούντων, ἐκεῖνον δὲ λέγεται μῆτε τὰς ὄψεις ἀπαγαγεῖν ἀλλαχόσε μὴτ’ οἶκτῳ τι τρέψαι τῆς περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὀργῆς καὶ βαρύτητος, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἐνορᾶν κολαζομένοις τοῖς παισὶν ἄχρι οὗ κατατείναντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος πελέκει τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέκοψαν. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι ποιησάμενος ὥχετ’ ἐξαναστάς, ἔργον εἰργασμένος οὗτ’ ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένοις ἀξίως οὔτε ψέγειν ἐφικτόν. ἡ γὰρ ἀρετῆς ὕψος εἰς ἀπάθειαν ἐξέστησε τὴν ψυχὴν, ἡ πάθους μέγεθος εἰς ἀναλ-

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of the king's people as he could, and haled them to the forum.

VI. When the consuls had quieted the tumult, Valerius ordered Vindicius to be brought from his house, the denunciation was made, the letters were read aloud, and the accused had no courage to reply. Most of the people held their peace for very sorrow, but a few spoke of exile as a penalty, wishing to do Brutus a kindness. They were also somewhat encouraged to hope by the tears of Collatinus and the silence of Valerius. But Brutus, calling each of his sons by name, said: "Come, Titus, come Tiberius, why do ye not defend yourselves against this denunciation?" But when they made no answer, though he put his question to them thrice, he turned to the lictors and said: "It is yours now to do the rest." These straightway seized the young men, tore off their togas, bound their hands behind their backs, and scourged their bodies with their rods. The rest could not endure to look upon the sight, but it is said that the father neither turned his gaze away, nor allowed any pity to soften the stern wrath that sat upon his countenance, but watched the dreadful punishment of his sons until the lictors threw them on the ground and cut off their heads with the axe. Then he rose and went away, after committing the other culprits to the judgement of his colleague.¹ He had done a deed which it is difficult for one either to praise or blame sufficiently. For either the loftiness of his virtue made his spirit incapable of suffering, or else the magnitude of his

¹ With this account, compare Livy, ii. 5, 5-9. Brutus looked on "*eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium.*"

γησίαν. οὐδέτερον δὲ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινον, ἀλλ' ἢ θεῖον ἢ θηριῶδες. δίκαιον δὲ τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἔπεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσθενείᾳ τοῦ κρίνοντος ἀπιστεῖσθαι. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔργον οἴονται Ῥωμύλου γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἰδρυσιν, ὅσον Βρούτου τὴν κτίσιν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ κατάστασιν.

- VII. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀπήλθεν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τότε, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἔκπληξίς εἶχε καὶ φρίκη καὶ σιωπὴ πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις· πρὸς δὲ τὴν Κολλατίνου μαλακίαν καὶ μέλλησιν ἀνεθάρρῃσαν οἱ Ἀκύλλιοι, καὶ χρόνον ἡξίουں λαβόντες ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Οὐινδίκιον αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθῆναι δούλον ὄντα, καὶ μὴ παρὰ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς
- 2 εἶναι. βουλομένου δὲ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν καὶ διαλύοντος ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ Οὐαλλέριος οὔτε τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἷός τ' ἦν ἀφεῖναι τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλῳ καταμεμιγμένον, οὔτε τὸν δῆμον εἶα προέμενον τοὺς προδότας ἀπελθεῖν. τέλος δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπιβαλὼν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν Βρούτον, καὶ τὸν Κολλατίνον ἐβόα δεινὰ ποιεῖν, εἰ τῷ συνάρχοντι παιδοφονίας ἀνάγκην προστριψάμενος αὐτὸς οἴεται δεῖν καταχαρίζεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοὺς προδότας καὶ πολεμίους τῆς
- 3 πατρίδος. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγεσθαι τὸν Οὐινδίκιον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται διωσάμενοι τὸν ὄχλον ἤπτοντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοὺς ἀφαιρουμένους ἔτυπτον, οἱ
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suffering made it insensible to pain. In neither case was his act a trivial one, or natural to a man, but either god-like or brutish. However, it is right that our verdict should accord with the reputation of the man, rather than that his virtue should be discredited through weakness in the judge. For the Romans think that the work of Romulus in building the city was not so great as that of Brutus in founding and establishing its form of government.

VII. After Brutus had left the forum at this time, for a long while consternation, horror, and silence prevailed among all who remained, as they thought of what had been done. But soon the weakness and hesitation of Collatinus gave the Aquillii fresh courage; they demanded time in which to make their defence, and the surrender of Vindicius to them, since he was their slave, and ought not to be in the hands of their accusers. Collatinus was willing to grant this request, and was about to dissolve the assembly with this understanding; but Valerius was neither able to surrender the slave, who had mingled with the throng about him, nor would he suffer the people to release the traitors and withdraw. So at last he seized the persons of the Aquillii and summoned Brutus to the scene, crying aloud that Collatinus was acting shamefully in laying upon his colleague the necessity of killing his own sons, and then thinking it necessary for himself to bestow upon their wives the lives of his country's betrayers and foes. The consul was indignant at this, and ordered that Vindicius should be taken away, whereupon the lictors pushed their way through the crowd, seized the man, and beat those who tried to rescue him. Then Valerius and his

δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου προέστησαν ἀμυνόμενοι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐβόα κελεύων παρεῖναι τὸν Βροῦτον. ἦκεν οὖν αὐθις ὑποστρέψας· καὶ γενομένης αὐτῷ σιωπῆς εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν υἱοῖς αὐτὸς ἀποχρῶν ἦν δικαστής, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθέροις οὐσι ψῆφον δίδωσι· λεγέτω δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ πειθέτω τὸν δῆμον. οὐκέτι μέντοι λόγων ἐδέξεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ψήφου δοθείσης πάσαις ἀλόντες ἐπελεκίσθησαν.

- 4 Ὁ δὲ Κολλατῖνος ἦν μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν ὑποψίᾳ τινὶ καὶ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν βασιλέων, ἥχθοντο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀφοσιούμενοι τὸν Ταρκύνιον. ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα συνέβη, παντάπασι προσκρούσας ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθεν. οὕτω δὲ πάλιν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν γενομένων ὑπατος ἀπεδείχθη λαμπρῶς ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ἀξίαν ἀπολαβὼν τῆς προ-
- 5 θυμίας χάριν· ἥς οἰόμενός τι δεῖν ἀπολαῦσαι τὸν Οὐινδίκιον ἐψηφίσατο πρῶτον ἀπελεύθερον ἐκείνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι πολίτην καὶ φέρειν ψῆφον ἢ βούλοιτο φρατρίᾳ προσνεμηθέντα. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπελευθέροις ὅψε καὶ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξουσίαν ψήφου δημαγωγῶν ἔδωκεν Ἀππίος· ἡ δὲ παντελὴς ἀπελευθέρωσις ἄχρι νῦν οὐινδίκτα λέγεται δι' ἐκείνον, ὡς φασι, τὸν Οὐινδίκιον.

VIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν χρήματα τῶν βασιλέων διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔδωκαν, τὴν δὲ

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friends stood forth in the man's defence, while the people shouted for Brutus to come. He turned back, therefore, and came, and when silence had been made for him, said that for his sons, he himself sufficed as judge, but he would leave the fate of the other traitors to the votes of the citizens, who were free, and any one who wished might speak and try to persuade the people. However, by this time there was no need of oratory, but a vote was taken which unanimously condemned the men, and they were beheaded.

Collatinus, as it would seem, was already under some suspicion on account of his relationship to the royal family, and the second of his names also was hateful to the people, who loathed the sound of Tarquin. But after these recent events, he saw that he was altogether obnoxious, and therefore resigned his office and withdrew secretly from the city.¹ A new election was consequently held, and Valerius was triumphantly declared consul, thus receiving a worthy reward for his zeal. In this reward he thought that Vindicius ought to share, and therefore had a decree passed which made him, first of all freedmen, a citizen of Rome, and entitled him to vote with any curia in which he chose to be enrolled. Other freedmen received the right of suffrage in much later times from Appius,² who thus courted popularity. And from this Vindicius, as they say, a perfect manumission is to this day called "vindicta."³

VIII. After this, the property of the royal family was given to the Romans to plunder, and their house

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 2, 3-10.

² Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.C.

³ Cf. Livy, ii. 5, 10.

- οἰκίαν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν· τοῦ δ' Ἀρείου πεδίου τὸ ἥδιστον ἐκέκτητο Ταρκύνιος, καὶ τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσάν. ἔτυχε δὲ τεθρισμένον ἄρτι, καὶ κειμένων ἔτι τῶν δραγμάτων οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀλοᾶν οὐδὲ χρῆσθαι διὰ τὴν καθιέρωσιν, ἀλλὰ συνδραμόντες ἐφόρουν τὰς
- 2 ἀμάλλας εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντες ἐνέβαλλον, ἀργὸν παντάπασιν τὸ χωρίον ἀνιέντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἄκαρπον. ὠθουμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀθρόων ὑπήγαγεν ὁ ῥοῦς οὐ πολὺν τόπον, ἀλλ' ὅπου τὰ πρῶτα συνενεχθέντα καὶ περιπεσόντα τοῖς στερεοῖς ὑπέστη, τῶν ἐπιφερομένων διέξοδον οὐκ ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ἐνισχομένων καὶ περιπλεκομένων, ἐλάμβανεν ἢ σύμπηξις ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥίζωσιν αὐξανο- 101
- 3 μένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος. ἰλὺν τε γὰρ ἐπήγαγε πολλήν, ἣ προσισταμένη τροφήν παρείχεν ἅμα καὶ κόλλησιν, αἷ τε πληγαὶ σάλον οὐκ ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλὰ μαλακῶς πιέζουσαι συνήλανον εἰς ταὐτὸ πάντα καὶ συνέπλαττον. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους καὶ στάσεως ἕτερον αὐτὸ μέγεθος ἐκτᾶτο καὶ χώραν ἀναδεχομένην τὰ πλείστα τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφερομένων. τοῦτο νῦν νήσός ἐστιν ἱερὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ ναοὺς θεῶν καὶ περιπάτους, καλεῖται δὲ φωνῇ τῇ Λατίνων Μέση δυοῖν γεφυρῶν.
- 4 Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τοῦτο συμπεσεῖν ἱστοροῦσιν οὐχ ὅτε Ταρκυνίου καθιερώθη τὸ πεδίου, ἀλλὰ χρόνοις ὕστερον ἄλλο χωρίον ὁμοροῦν ἐκείνῳ Ταρκυνίας

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and palace were razed to the ground. But the pleasantest part of the field of Mars, which had belonged to Tarquin, was dedicated to that god. Now it chanced that it had just been reaped, and the grain still lay upon the ground; but since the field had been consecrated, they thought it not right to thresh it or use it in any way. They therefore with one accord carried the sheaves to the river and cast them in. In like manner also they cast in the trees which had been cut, and left the place wholly untilled and barren for the god of war. The quantities of stuff thus heaped together were not borne along by the current very far, but the advanced portions stopped and accumulated at the shallows which they encountered. The portions that followed these could not get through them, but impinged upon them and blended inextricably with them, and the aggregation was made increasingly firm and fast by the action of the stream. For this brought along great quantities of mud, the addition of which increased the size and cohesion of the mass. And besides, the impacts of the current were not rude, but with a gentle pressure pushed and moulded everything together. Owing to its size and position the mass acquired fresh size, and an extent sufficient to receive most of what was brought down by the river. It is now a sacred island over against the city, containing temples of the gods and covered walks,¹ and is called in the Latin tongue "Inter duos pontes."

Some, however, say that this did not happen when the field of Tarquin was consecrated, but in later times, when Tarquinia devoted another field adjacent

Cf. Livy, ii. 5, 1-4.

ἀνείσης. ἡ δὲ Ταρκυνία παρθένος ἦν ἱέρεια, μία τῶν Ἑστιάδων, ἔσχε δὲ τιμὰς ἀντὶ τούτου μεγάλας, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ τὸ μαρτυρίαν αὐτῆς δέχεσθαι μόνης γυναικῶν. τὸ δ' ἐξεῖναι γαμείσθαι ψηφισαμένων οὐ προσεδέξατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσι.

- IX. Ταρκύνιον δὲ τὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἀπογνόντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνάληψιν ἐδέξαντο Τυρρηνοὶ προθύμως καὶ μεγάλη δυνάμει κατήγουν. ἀντεξῆγον δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οἱ ὑπατοὶ, καὶ παρέταξαν ἐν χωρίοις ἱεροῖς, ὧν τὸ μὲν Ἄρσιον¹ ἄλσος, τὸ δὲ Αἰσούειον λειμῶνα προσαγορεύουσιν. ἀρχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάγειν εἰς χεῖρας Ἄρρων ὁ Ταρκυνίου παῖς καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτος οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἀλλήλοις περιπεσόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἔχθους καὶ 2 ὀργῆς, ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τύραννον καὶ πολέμιον τῆς πατρίδος, ὁ δὲ τῆς φυγῆς ἀμυνόμενος, ὥρμησαν ὁμόσε τοῖς ἵπποις. θυμῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ προσμίξαντες ἠφείδησαν αὐτῶν καὶ συναπέθανον ἀλλήλοις. οὕτω δὲ δεινοῦ γενομένου τοῦ προάγωνος οὐκ ἔσχεν ὁ ἀγὼν τέλος ἐπιεικέστερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δράσαντες ἴσα καὶ παθόντες οἱ στρατοὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος.
- 3 Ἦν οὖν ἐν ἀπόροις ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὸ τῆς μάχης πέρας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν νεκροῖς ἀθυμοῦντας, ἐπαιρομένους δὲ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων· οὕτως ἄκριτος ἦν καὶ

¹ Ἄρσιον Amyot, Coraës, Bekker, after Livy's *silva Arsia* (iii. 7, 2) : Οὐρσον.

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to this. Now Tarquinia was a holy virgin, one of the Vestals, and received great honours for this act, among which was this, that of all women her testimony alone should be received. The people also voted her permission to marry, but she did not avail herself of it. This is how the thing happened, as the tale runs.

IX. But Tarquin, despairing of attempts to regain his throne by treachery, was eagerly welcomed by the Tuscans,¹ who set out to restore him with a great force. The consuls led the Romans out to meet them, and arrayed their forces in certain sacred precincts, one of which was called the Arsian grove, the other the Aesuvian meadow. When the engagement began, Aruns the son of Tarquin and Brutus the Roman consul encountered each other. It was not by chance, but both were driven on by hatred and wrath, the one to attack a tyrant and foe of his country, the other to avenge himself on the author of his exile. They urged their horses to the combat, but since they engaged with fury rather than calculation, they were reckless of themselves, and fell by one another's hands. The battle which had such a dreadful beginning, ended no less disastrously; the armies, after inflicting and suffering equal losses, were separated by a tempest.²

Valerius was therefore in perplexity, not knowing what the issue of the battle was, but seeing his soldiers as much disheartened by their own losses as they were encouraged by those of their enemies. So undistinguishable and equal was the slaughter on

¹ By the people of Veii and Tarquinii, according to Livy, ii. 6, 4f.

² According to Livy (ii. 7, 1), the Tuscans departed in terror after the battle.

παράλληλος ὑπὸ πλήθους ὁ φόνος. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐκατέροις ἐγγύθεν ὁρώμενα τὰ οἰκεῖα μᾶλλον ἐβεβαίου τὴν ἡτταν ἢ τὴν νίκην εἰκαζόμενα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπελθούσης δὲ νυκτὸς οἶαν εἰκὸς οὕτω μεμαχημένοις, καὶ γενομένων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν στρατοπέδων, λέγουσι σεισθῆναι τὸ ἄλσος, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκπεσεῖν μεγάλην φράζουσαν ὡς ἐνὶ πλείους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τεθνήκασι Τυρρηνῶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων. ἦν δ' ἄρα θεῖόν τι τὸ φθεγξάμενον· εὐθύς τε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀλαλάξαι παρέστη μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ περίφοβοι γενόμενοι καὶ συνταραχθέντες ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ διεσπάρῃσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι· τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ὀλίγῳ πεντακισχιλίων ἐλάσσους ἐπελθόντες εἶλον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰλλα διήρπασαν. οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ διαριθμηθέντες εὐρέθησαν τριακόσιοι μὲν ἐπὶ χιλίοις καὶ μυρίοις οἱ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων παρ' ἓνα τοσοῦτοι.

Ταύτην τὴν μάχην λέγουσι γενέσθαι πρὸ μιᾶς καλανδῶν Μαρτίων. ἐθριάμβευσε δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς Οὐαλλέριος εἰσελάσας τεθρίππῳ πρῶτος ὑπάτων. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα σεμνὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ παρέσχευ ὄψιν, οὐκ ἐπίφθονον οὐδ' ἀνιάσασαν, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τοὺς ὁρῶντας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔσχε ζῆλον τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ φιλοτιμίαν εἰς ἔτη πάμπολλα διαμένουσαν. ἀπεδέξαντο δὲ τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν συνάρχοντα τιμάς, αἷς ἐκκομιζόμενον καὶ θαπτόμενον ἐκόσμησε· καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ διεξῆλθεν ἐπιτάφιον, δς οὕτως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡγαπήθη καὶ τοσαύτην ἔσχε χάριν

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both sides. Each army, however, was more convinced of defeat by the near sight of its own dead, than it could be of victory by conjecturing those of the enemy. But when such a night came on as must needs follow such a battle, and both camps were quiet, they say that the grove was shaken, and a loud voice issued from it declaring that the Tuscans had lost one man more in the battle than the Romans. The utterance was manifestly from some god,¹ for at once the Romans were inspired by it to loud shouts of courage, while the Tuscans were panic-stricken, abandoned their camp in confusion, and were for the most part dispersed. As for those that remained, a little less than five thousand in number, the Romans fell upon them, took them prisoners, and plundered the camp. And when the dead on both sides were numbered, those of the enemy were found to be eleven thousand and three hundred, and those of the Romans as many less one.

It is said that this battle was fought on the last day of February. Valerius celebrated a triumph for it, being the first consul to drive into the city on a four-horse chariot. And the proceeding afforded a spectacle which was imposing and magnificent, not odious and offensive to the spectators, as some say; otherwise it would not have been continued with such ardour and emulation for countless years. The people were also pleased with the honours which Valerius bestowed upon his colleague at the funeral ceremonies. He even delivered a funeral oration in his honour, which was so admired by the Romans and won such favour that from that time on, when

¹ Silvanus, as Livy tells the tale (ii. 7, 2).

ὥστε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ὑπάρχειν ἐξ ἐκείνου τελευτήσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιταφίων ἐκείνος γενέσθαι πρεσβύτερος, εἴγε μὴ καὶ τοῦτο Σόλωνός ἐστιν, ὡς Ἀναξιμένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ιστόρηκεν.

Χ. Ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνα μᾶλλον ἤχθοντο τῷ Οὐαλλερίῳ καὶ προσέκρουον, ὅτι Βροῦτος μὲν, ὃν πατέρα τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐνόμιζεν ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἠξίωσε μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνάρχοντα προσείλετο καὶ δεύτερον· “Οὐτοσὶ δ’,” ἔφασαν, “εἰς αὐτὸν ἅπαντα συνενεγκάμενος οὐκ ἔστι τῆς Βρούτου κληρονόμος ὑπατείας μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ταρκυνίου τυραννίδος. καίτοι τί δεῖ λόγῳ μὲν Βροῦτον ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἔργῳ δὲ μιμῆσθαι Ταρκύνιον, ὑπὸ ῥάβδοις ὁμοῦ πάσαις καὶ πελέκεσι κατιόντα μόνον ἐξ οἰκίας τοσαύτης τὸ μέγεθος ὅσῃν οὐ καθεῖλε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως;” καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ὁ Οὐαλλέριος ᾧκει τραγικώτερον ὑπὲρ τὴν καλουμένην Οὐελίαν οἰκίαν ἐπικρεμαμένην τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ καθορώσαν ἐξ ὕψους ἅπαντα, δυσπρόσοδον δὲ πελάσαι καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔξωθεν, ὥστε καταβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σχῆμα μετέωρον εἶναι καὶ βασιλικὸν τῆς προπομπῆς τὸν ὄγκον. ὅσον οὖν ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἀγαθὸν ἦν ἔχειν ὥτα παρρησίαν ἀντὶ κολακείας προσιέμενα καὶ λόγους ἀληθεῖς, ἔδειξεν. ἀκούσας γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀμαρτάνειν ἐδόκει τῶν φίλων διεξιόντων, οὐκ ἐφίλονεῖ-
3 κησεν, οὐδ’ ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ τάχῃ πολλοὺς

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their great and good men died, encomiums were pronounced upon them by the most distinguished citizens. And this funeral oration of his is said to have been earlier than any among the Greeks, unless Anaximenes the orator is right in saying that the custom originated with Solon.

X. But that which the rather displeased and offended the people in Valerius was this. Brutus, whom they regarded as the father of their liberties, would not consent to rule alone, but once and again chose a colleague to rule with him. "But this Valerius," they said, "in concentrating all power upon himself, is not a successor to the consulate of Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. Yet why should he extol Brutus in words, while in deeds he imitates Tarquin, descending to the forum alone, escorted by all the rods and axes together, from a house no less stately than the royal house which he demolished?" For, as a matter of fact, Valerius was living in a very splendid house on the so-called Velia.¹ It hung high over the forum, commanded a view of all that passed there, and was surrounded by steeps and hard to get at, so that when he came down from it the spectacle was a lofty one, and the pomp of his procession worthy of a king. Accordingly, Valerius showed what a good thing it is for men in power and high station to have ears which are open to frankness and truth instead of flattery. For when he heard from his friends, who spared him no detail, that he was thought by the multitude to be transgressing, he was not obstinate nor exasperated, but quickly got together a large force of workmen, and while it

¹ An eminence of the Palatine hill.

συναγαγὼν τεχνίτας ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης κατέβαλε
τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ κατέσκαψεν εἰς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν,
4 ὥστε μεθ' ἡμέραν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁρῶντας καὶ
συνισταμένους τοῦ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαπᾶν καὶ θαυ-
μάζειν τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, ἄχθεσθαι δὲ τῆς
οἰκίας καὶ ποθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος,
ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου, διὰ φθόνον οὐ δικαίως κατα-
λελυμένης, τοῦ δὲ ἄρχοντος, ὥσπερ ἀνεστίου,
παρ' ἑτέροις οἰκοῦντος. ἐδέχοντο γὰρ οἱ φίλοι
τὸν Οὐαλλέριον ἄχρι οὗ τόπον ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος
αὐτῷ καὶ κατεσκεύασεν οἰκίαν ἐκείνης μετριω-
τέραν, ὅπου νῦν ἱερόν ἐστιν Οὐίκας πότας ὀνομα-
ζόμενον.

5 Βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ φοβερᾶς χειροήθῃ καὶ προσφιλεῖ
ποιεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τοὺς τε πελέκεις ἀπέλυσε
τῶν ῥάβδων, αὐτάς τε τὰς ῥάβδους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
παριῶν ὑψήκε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ κατέκλινε, μέγα
ποιῶν τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς δημοκρατίας. καὶ τοῦτο
6 μέχρι νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες. ἐλάνθανε
δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ἑαυτόν, ὡς φῶντο, ποιῶν
ταπεινόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν φθόνον τῇ μετριότητι ταύτῃ
καθαιρῶν καὶ κολούων, αὐτῷ δὲ προστιθεὶς το-
σοῦτον μέγεθος δυνάμεως ὅσον ἀφαιρεῖν ἐδόκει
τῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑποδυσμένου μεθ' ἡδονῆς αὐτῷ τοῦ

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was still night tore the house down, and razed it all to the ground. In the morning, therefore, the Romans saw what had happened, and came flocking together. They were moved to love and admiration by the man's magnanimity, but were distressed for the house, and mourned for its stately beauty, as if it had been human, now that envy had unjustly compassed its destruction. They were also distressed for their ruler, who, like a homeless man, was now sharing the homes of others. For Valerius was received into the houses of his friends until the people gave him a site and built him a house, of more modest dimensions than the one he had lived in before, where now stands the temple of Vica Pota,¹ so-called.

Wishing now to make not only himself but also the government, instead of formidable, submissive and agreeable to the multitude, he removed the axes from the lictors' rods, and when he came into the assembly, inclined and lowered the rods themselves to the people, emphasizing the majesty of the democracy. This custom the consuls observe to this day. And before the multitude were aware of it, he had succeeded, not by humbling himself, as they thought, but by checking and removing their envious feelings through such moderation on his part, in adding to his real influence over them just as much as he had seemed to take away from his authority, and the people submitted to him with pleasure and bore his

¹ Victress Possessor, a name of the goddess of victory, whose temple was at the foot of the Velia (Livy, ii. 7, 12). According to Livy, Valerius was building the house on the Velia, but in order to allay the people's jealousy, brought the materials to the foot of the hill, and built the house there.

δήμου καὶ φέροντος ἑκουσίως. ὥστε καὶ Ποπλικόλαν ἀνηγόρευσε αὐτόν· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦνομα δημοκηδῆ· καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἴσχυσε τῶν ἀρχαίων ὀνομάτων, ᾧ καὶ ἡμεῖς χρησόμεθα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστοροῦντες.

- XI. Ὑπατεῖαν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε μετιέναι καὶ παραγγέλλειν τοῖς βουλομένοις· πρὸ δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως τοῦ συνάρχοντος οὐκ εἰδὼς τὸν γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ δεδιὼς ἀντίπραξιν ὑπὸ φθόνου τινὸς ἢ ἀγνοίας, ἐχρήσατο τῇ μοναρχίᾳ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλὴν ὀλιγανδρουσαν· ἐτεθνήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ταρ-
 2 κυνίου πρότερον, οἱ δὲ ἔναγχος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. τοὺς δ' ἐγγραφέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρας γενέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νόμους ἔγραψεν, ὧν μάλιστα μὲν ἰσχυροὺς ἐποίησε τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τῷ φεύγοντι δίκην ἐπικαλεῖσθαι διδούς· δεῦτερος ὁ 104
 3 ἀποθνήσκειν κελεύων· τρίτος δὲ μετὰ τούτους, ὃς ἐβοήθησε τοῖς πένησιν, ᾧ τὰ τέλη τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφείλε καὶ προθυμότερον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἐργασιῶν ἐποίησεν ἅπαντας. ὁ δὲ γραφεὶς κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθούντων τοῖς ὑπάτοις οὐχ ἦττον ἔδοξε δημο-
 4 τικὸς εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατῶν γεγράφθαι. ζημίαν γὰρ ἀπειθείας ἔταξε βῶν πέντε καὶ δυεῖν προβάτων ἀξίαν. ἦν δὲ τιμὴ προβάτου μὲν ὀβολοὶ δέκα, βοὸς δὲ ἑκατόν, οὐπω νομίσματι χρωμένων πολλῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων,

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yoke willingly. They therefore called him Publicola,¹ a name which signifies *people-cherisher*. This name prevailed over the older names which he had borne, and it is the name which I shall use for him in the remainder of this Life.

XI. For he permitted any who wished to enter the lists and sue for the consulship. But before the installation of his colleague, not knowing who he would be, but fearing an opposition due to some jealousy or ignorance, he used his sole authority for the enactment of his best and most important measures. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which was much reduced in numbers; for some had long before been put to death by Tarquin, and others had recently fallen in the battle with the Tuscans. Those who were enrolled in this body by him amounted, they say, to a hundred and sixty-four. After this he enacted several laws, one of which especially strengthened the position of the commons by allowing a defendant to appeal to the people from the judgement of the consuls. A second made it a capital offence to assume a magistracy which the people had not bestowed. A third, following these, came to the relief of the poor; it lifted the taxes from the citizens, so that all engaged more zealously in manufactures and commerce. And the one which was enacted against disobedience to the consuls was thought to be no less popular in its character, and to be in the interest of the many rather than of the powerful. For the fine which it imposed on disobedience was only the worth of five oxen and two sheep. Now the value of a sheep was ten obols, and that of an ox, a hundred, for the Romans at

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 1.

ἀλλὰ προβατείαις καὶ κτηνοτροφίαις εὐθηνούντων. διὸ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἄχρι νῦν ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων πεκούλια καλοῦσι, καὶ τῶν νομισμάτων τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις βουὴν ἐπεχάραττον ἢ πρόβατον ἢ σὺν. ἐτίθεντο δὲ καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν Συτλλοὺς καὶ Βουβούλκους καὶ Καπραρίους ὀνόματα καὶ Πορκίους· κάπρας μὲν τὰς αἰγας, πόρκους δὲ τοὺς χοίρους ὀνομάζοντες.

XII. Οὕτω δὲ περὶ ταῦτα δημοτικὸς γενόμενος νομοθέτης καὶ μέτριος, ἐν τῷ μὴ μετρίῳ¹ τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑπερέτεινεν. ἔγραψε γὰρ νόμον ἄνευ κρίσεως κτεῖναι διδόντα τὸν βουλόμενον τυραννεῖν· κτείναντα δὲ φόνου καθαρὸν ἐποίησεν, εἰ παράσχοιτο τοῦ ἀδικήματος τοὺς ἐλέγχους. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν ἐπιχειροῦντα τηλικούτοις λαθεῖν ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ μὴ λαθόντα τοῦ κριθῆναι φθάσαι κρείττονα γενόμενον, ἣν ἀναιρεῖ τὸ ἀδίκημα κρίσιν, προλαβεῖν ἔδωκε τῷ δυναμένῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀδικούντος.

- 2 Ἐπηνέθη δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν ταμειυτικὸν νόμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔδει χρήματα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐσιῶν τοὺς πολίτας, οὗτ' αὐτοὺς ἄψασθαι τῆς οἰκονομίας οὔτε τοὺς φίλους ἐᾶσαι βουλόμενος οὐθ' ὅλως εἰς οἶκον ἰδιώτου παρελθεῖν δημόσια χρήματα, ταμιεῖον μὲν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ναόν, ᾧ μέχρι νῦν χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι, ταμίας δὲ τῷ δήμῳ δύο τῶν νέων ἔδωκεν ἀπο-
3 δεῖξαι· καὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν οἱ πρῶτοι Πούπλιος

¹ ἐν τῷ μὴ μετρίῳ with Coraës : ἐν τῷ μετρίῳ.

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that time did not use much coined money, but their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Therefore to this day they call their substance "*peculium*," from "*pecus*," *cattle*; and their oldest coins are stamped with the figure of an ox, a sheep, or a hog. And they actually gave their own sons such surnames as *Suillius*, *Bubulcus*, *Caprarius*, and *Porcius*; the last two from "*capra*" and "*porcus*," their words for *goat* and *pig*.¹

XII. But although in these particulars he showed himself a popular and moderate lawgiver, in the case of an immoderate offence he made the penalty severe. For he enacted a law by which any one who sought to make himself tyrant might be slain without trial, and the slayer should be free from blood-guiltiness if he produced proofs of the crime. For although it is impossible for one who attempts so great a task to escape all notice, it is not impossible for him to do so long enough to make himself too powerful to be brought to trial, which trial his very crime precludes. He therefore gave any one who was able to do so the privilege of anticipating the culprit's trial.

He also received praise for his law concerning the public treasury. When it was necessary for the citizens to contribute from their substance means for carrying on the war, he was unwilling to assume the administration of it himself, or to allow his friends to do so, or, indeed, to have the public moneys brought into any private house. He therefore made the temple of Saturn a treasury, as it is to this day, and gave the people the privilege of appointing two young men as *quaestors*, or *treasurers*. The first to

¹ The first two from forms of "*sus*," *swine*, and "*bos*," *ox*.

Οὐετούριος καὶ Μινούκιος Μάρκος καὶ χρήματα
συνήχθη πολλά. τρισκαίδεκα γὰρ ἀπεγράψαντο
μυριάδες, ὀρφανοῖς παισὶ καὶ χήραις γυναιξὶν
ἀνεθείσης τῆς εἰσφορᾶς.

- 4 Ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσας ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτῷ συνάρ-
χοντα τὸν Λουκρητίας πατέρα Λουκρήτιον, ᾧ τῆς
ἡγεμονικωτέρας ἐξιστάμενος ὄντι πρεσβυτέρῳ
τάξεως παρέδωκε τοὺς καλουμένους φάσκης· καὶ
τοῦτο διέμεινεν εἰς ἡμᾶς τὸ πρεσβείον ἀπ' ἐκείνου
τοῖς γεραιτέροις φυλαττόμενον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὀλίγαις
ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Λουκρήτιος, πάλιν
ἀρχαιρεσιῶν γενομένων ἡρέθη Μάρκος Ὀράτιος,
καὶ συνῆρχε τῷ Ποπλικόλῳ τὸν ὑπολειπόμενον
χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

- XIII. Ταρκυνίου δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δεύτερον πόλεμον
ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ κινούντος μέγα σημεῖον λέγεται
γενέσθαι· βασιλεύων γὰρ ἔτι καὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ
Καπιτωλίου Διὸς ἔχων ὁ Ταρκύνιος ὅσον οὐπω
συντετελεσμένον, εἴτε μαντείας γενομένης εἴτ' αὐ-
τῷ δόξαν ἄλλως, ἄρμα κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπιστῆσαι
κεραμεοῦν ἐξέδωκε Τυρρηνοῖς τισιν ἐξ Οὐητῶν
δημιουργοῖς, εἴτ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐξέπεσε τῆς
2 ἀρχῆς. τῶν δὲ Τυρρηνῶν διαπεπλασμένον τὸ
τέθριππον ἐμβαλόντων εἰς κάμινον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν
ἂ προσήκει πάσχειν πηλὸν ἐν πυρί, πυκνοῦσθαι
καὶ συνιζάνειν, ἐκτηκομένης τῆς ὑγρότητος, ἀλλ'
ἐξέστη καὶ ᾤδησε καὶ μέγεθος ἔσχεν ἅμα ῥώμῃ
καὶ σκληρότητι τοσοῦτον ὥστε μόλις ἐξαιρεθῆναι
τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀποσκευασαμένων τῆς καμίνου καὶ
3 τῶν τοίχων περιαιρεθέντων. ὥς οὖν ἐδόκει τοῖς
μάντεσι θεῖον εἶναι σημεῖον εὐτυχίας καὶ δυνά-
μεως παρ' οἷς ἔσοιτο τὸ τέθριππον, ἔγνωσαν οἱ

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be thus appointed were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minucius, and large sums of money were collected. For one hundred and thirty thousand names were on the assessment lists, orphans and widows being excused from the contribution.¹

This matter regulated, he caused Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague in the consulship.² To him he yielded the precedence, as the elder man, and committed to him the so-called "fasces," a privilege of seniority which has continued from that day to this. But Lucretius died a few days afterwards, and in a new election Marcus Horatius was chosen consul, and shared the office with Publicola for the remainder of the year.

XIII. While Tarquin was stirring up in Tuscany another war against the Romans, a thing of great portent is said to have happened. When Tarquin was still king, and had all but completed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, either in consequence of an oracle, or else of his own good pleasure, he commissioned certain Tuscan craftsmen of Veii to place upon its roof a chariot of terra cotta. Soon after this he was driven from his throne. The Tuscans, however, modelled the chariot and put it in a furnace for firing, but the clay did not contract and shrink in the fire, as it usually does, when its moisture evaporates. Instead of this, it expanded and swelled and took on such size, strength, and hardness, that it could with difficulty be removed, even after the roof of the furnace had been taken off and its sides torn away. To the seers, accordingly, this seemed a divine portent of prosperity and power for those who should possess the chariot, and the

¹ Cf. *Camillus*, ii. 2. ² Cf. *Livy*, ii. 8, 1-4.

Οὐήιοι μὴ προέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαιτοῦσι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο τοῦτο Ταρκύνιοις, οὐ τοῖς Ταρκυνίους ἐκβαλοῦσι προσήκειν. ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον 104 ἡμέραις ἦσαν ἵππων ἀγῶνες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θέαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰωθυῖαν παρεῖχε, τὸ δὲ νικῆσαν τέθριππον ὁ μὲν ἡνίοχος ἐξήλαυνε τοῦ
 4 ἵπποδρόμου σχέδην ἐστεφανωμένος, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι πτοηθέντες ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐμφανοῦς προφάσεως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τι δαιμόνιον ἢ τύχην ἴεντο παντὶ τάχει πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν, ἔχοντες τὸν ἡνίοχον, ὥς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργον αὐτοῦ κατατείνοντος οὐδὲ παρηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ' ἤρπαστο, δόντα τῇ ῥύμῃ καὶ φερόμενον, ἄχρι οὐ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσμίξαντες ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τὴν πύλιν ἣν νῦν Ῥατουμέναν καλοῦσι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου θαυμάσαντες οἱ Οὐήιοι καὶ φοβηθέντες ἐπέτρεψαν ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἄρμα τοῖς τεχνίταις.

XIV. Τὸν δὲ νεὼν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς εὐ-
 ξατο μὲν ἀναθήσειν Ταρκύνιος ὁ Δημαράτου πολεμῶν Σαβίνοις, ὠκοδόμησε δὲ Ταρκύνιος ὁ Σούπερβος υἱὸς ὧν ἢ υἱωνὸς τοῦ εὐξαμένου καθιερώσαι δὲ οὐκ ἔφθασεν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν ἀπελείπετο τοῦ τέλους ἔχειν ὅτε Ταρκύνιος ἐξέπιπτεν. ὥς οὖν ἀπείργαστο τελέως καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα κόσμον ἀπεῖχεν, ἦν τῷ Ποπλικόλῳ φιλοτιμία
 2 πρὸς τὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἐφθόνουν δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν, καὶ ἤχθοντο ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις τιμαῖς ἦττον, ἃς νομοθετῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐκ προσηκόντων ἔσχε· ταύτην δ' οὐσαν ἀλλοτρίαν οὐκ ᾔφοντο δεῖν αὐτῷ προσγενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ὀράτιον

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people of Veii determined not to give it up. When the Romans asked for it, they were told that it belonged to the Tarquins, not to those who had expelled the Tarquins. But a few days afterwards there were chariot races at Veii. Here the usual exciting spectacles were witnessed, but when the charioteer, with his garland on his head, was quietly driving his victorious chariot out of the race-course, his horses took a sudden fright, upon no apparent occasion, but either by some divine ordering or by merest chance, and dashed off at the top of their speed towards Rome, charioteer and all. It was of no use for him to rein them in or try to calm them with his voice; he was whirled helplessly along until they reached the Capitol and threw him out there, at the gate now called Ratumena. The Veientes were amazed and terrified at this occurrence, and permitted the workmen to deliver their chariot.

XIV. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had been vowed by Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, when he was at war with the Sabines, but it was actually built by Tarquinius Superbus, the son, or grandson, of him who vowed it. He did not, however, get so far as to consecrate it, but was driven out before it was quite completed. Accordingly, now that it was completely finished and had received all the ornaments that belonged to it, Publicola was ambitious to consecrate it. But this excited the jealousy of many of the nobility. They could better brook his other honours, to which, as legislator and military commander, he had a rightful claim. But this one they thought he ought not to have, since it was more appropriate for others, and therefore they

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προετρέποντο καὶ παρώξυνον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως. γενομένης οὖν τῷ Ποπλικόλα στρατείας ἀναγκαίας, ψηφισάμενοι τὸν Ὀράτιον καθιεροῦν ἀνήγον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς οὐκ
 3 ἂν ἐκείνου περιγενόμενοι παρόντος. ἔνιοι δέ φασι κλήρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων λαχεῖν ἐκείνον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἄκοντα, τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἔξεστι δὲ περὶ τούτων ὡς ἔσχευ εἰκά-
 ζειν τοῖς πραχθεῖσι περὶ τὴν καθιέρωσιν. εἰδοῖς οὖν Σεπτεμβρίαις, ὃ συντυγχάνει περὶ τὴν παν-
 σέληνον μάλιστα τοῦ Μεταγεινιῶνος, συνηθροί-
 4 σμένων ἀπάντων εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὃ μὲν Ὀράτιος σιωπῆς γενομένης τά τ' ἄλλα δράσας καὶ τῶν θυρῶν ἀψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐπεφθέγγετο τὰς νενομισμένας ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει φωνάς· ὃ δ' ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ποπλικόλα Μάρκος ἐκ πολλοῦ παρὰ τὰς θύρας ὑφεστῶς καὶ παραφυ-
 λάττων τὸν καιρόν, “ὦ ὑπατε,” εἶπεν, “ὁ υἱός
 5 σου τέθνηκεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νοσήσας.” τοῦτο πάντας ἠνίασε τοὺς ἀκούσαντας· ὃ δ' Ὀράτιος οὐδὲν διαταραχθεὶς, ἀλλ' ἡ τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν, “Ῥίψατε τοῖνυν ὅποι βούλεσθε τὸν νεκρόν, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ προσίεμαι τὸ πένθος,” ἐπέραινε τὴν λοιπὴν καθιέρωσιν. ἦν δὲ τὸ προσηγ-
 γελμένον οὐκ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ὁ Μάρκος ὡς ἀπο-
 στήσων τὸν Ὀράτιον ἐψεύσατο. θαυμαστὸς οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς εὐσταθείας, εἴτε τὴν ἀπάτην ἐν καιρῷ βραχεὶ συνεῖδεν εἴτε πιστευθεὶς ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἐκίνησεν αὐτόν.

XV. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν δεύτερον ναὸν

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encouraged and incited Horatius to claim the privilege of consecrating the temple. At a time, then, when Publicola was necessarily absent on military service, they got a vote passed that Horatius should perform the consecration, and conducted him up to the Capitol, feeling that they could not have gained their point had Publicola been in the city. Some, however, say that Publicola was designated by lot, against his inclination, for the expedition, and Horatius for the consecration.¹ And it is possible to infer how the matter stood between them from what happened at the consecration. It was the Ides of September, a day which nearly coincides with the full moon of the Attic month Metageitnion; the people were all assembled on the Capitol, silence had been proclaimed, and Horatius, after performing the other ceremonies and laying hold upon the door of the temple, as the custom is, was pronouncing the usual words of consecration. But just then Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had long been standing by the door and was watching his opportunity, said: "O Consul, thy son lies dead of sickness in the camp." This distressed all who heard it; But Horatius, not at all disturbed, merely said: "Cast forth the dead then whither ye please, for I take no mourning upon me," and finished his consecration. Now the announcement was not true, but Marcus thought by his falsehood to deter Horatius from his duty. Wonderful, therefore, was the firm poise of the man, whether he at once saw through the deceit, or believed the story without letting it overcome him.¹

XV. A similar fortune seems to have attended the

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 6-8.

ὁμοία τύχη γενέσθαι τῆς καθιερώσεως. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, ὡς εἴρηται, Ταρκυνίου κατασκευάσαντος, Ὡρατίου δὲ καθιερώσαντος, ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις πῦρ ἀπώλεσε· τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀνέστησε μὲν Σύλλας, ἐπεγραφή δὲ τῇ καθιερώσει Κάτουλος Σύλλα προαποθανόντος.

2 τούτου δὲ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Οὐϊτέλλιον στάσεσι διαφθαρέντος τὸν τρίτον τῇ πρὸς τὰλλα καὶ τοῦτο χρησάμενος εὐποτμία Οὐεσπεσιανὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἀναγαγών, ἐπεῖδε γενόμενον καὶ φθειρόμενον μετ' ὀλίγον οὐκ ἐπέιδεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον εὐτυχία Σύλλαν παρήλθεν ὅσον ἐκείνου μὲν τῆς ἀφιερώσεως τοῦ ἔργου, τοῦτον δὲ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως προαποθανεῖν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ τελευτήσαι Οὐεσπεσιανὸν ἐνεπρήσθη τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

3 Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὗτος ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ καὶ 105 συνετελέσθη καὶ καθιερώθη. λέγεται δὲ Ταρκύνιον εἰς τοὺς θεμελίους ἀναλῶσαι λίτρας ἀργυρίου τετρακισμυρίας· τούτου δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸν μέγιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πλοῦτον ἐκλογισθέντα τὸ τῆς χρυσώσεως μὴ τελέσαι ἂν ἀνάλωμα, πλέον ἢ δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων τάλαντων γενόμενον. οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθου, κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντες· εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αὐθις καὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας καὶ¹ τοῦ καλοῦ, διάκενοι

¹ καὶ supplied by Bekker, after G. Hermann: συμμετρίας τοῦ καλοῦ (*the symmetry of their beauty*).

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dedication of the second temple. The first, as I have said, was built by Tarquin, but consecrated by Horatius; this was destroyed by fire during the civil wars.¹ The second temple was built by Sulla, but Catulus was commissioned to consecrate it,² after the death of Sulla. This temple, too was destroyed, during the troublous times of Vitellius,³ and Vespasian began and completely finished the third, with the good fortune that attended him in all his undertakings. He lived to see it completed, and did not live to see it destroyed, as it was soon after; and in dying before his work was destroyed he was just so much more fortunate than Sulla, who died before his work was consecrated. For upon the death of Vespasian the Capitol was burned.⁴

The fourth temple, which is now standing on the same site as the others, was both completed and consecrated by Domitian. It is said that Tarquin expended upon its foundations forty thousand pounds of silver. But the greatest wealth now attributed to any private citizen of Rome would not pay the cost of the gilding alone of the present temple, which was more than twelve thousand talents.⁵ Its pillars are of Pentelic marble,⁶ and their thickness was once most happily proportioned to their length; for we saw them at Athens. But when they were recut and scraped at Rome, they did not gain as much in polish as they lost in symmetry and beauty,

¹ 83 B.C.

² 69 B.C.

³ 69 A.D.

⁴ 80 A.D.

⁵ For purposes of comparison a talent may be reckoned as worth £250, or \$1200.

⁶ Pentelé was an Attic deme on the N.E. edge of the Athenian plain, near which excellent marble was quarried from the mountain. This was called Brilessus in earlier times than Pentelicus.

5 καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες. ὁ μέντοι θαυμάσας τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὴν πολυτέλειαν, εἰ μίαν εἶδεν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Δομετιανοῦ στοὰν ἢ βασιλικὴν ἢ βαλανεῖον ἢ παλλακίδων δίαιταν, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐπιχάρμου πρὸς τὸν ἄσωντον,

Οὐ φιλάνθρωπος τύ γ' ἐστ'. ἔχεις νόσον·
χαίρεις διδούς,

τοιούτον ἂν τι πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπεῖν προήχθη·
“Οὐκ εὖσεβὴς οὐδὲ φιλότιμος τύ γ' ἐσσί· ἔχεις νόσον· χαίρεις κατοικοδομῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ Μίδας ἐκεῖνος, ἅπαντά σοι χρυσᾶ καὶ λίθινα βουλόμενος γίνεσθαι.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ Ταρκύνιος μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην μάχην ἐν ἣ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπώλεσε μονομαχήσαντα Βρούτῳ, καταφυγὼν εἰς τὸ Κλούσιον ἰκέτευσε Λάραν Πορσίναν, ἄνδρα καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην ἔχοντα τῶν Ἰταλικῶν βασιλέων καὶ δοκοῦντα χρηστὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλότιμον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο βοηθήσειν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην κελεύων δέχεσθαι τὸν Ταρκύνιον· ὥς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καταγγείλας αὐτοῖς πόλεμον καὶ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τόπον εἰς ὃν ἔμελλεν
2 ἐμβαλεῖν, ἀφίκετο μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. Ποπλικόλας δ' ἡρέθη μὲν ἀπὼν ὑπατος τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Τίτος Λουκρήτιος· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ βουλόμενος τῷ φρονήματι πρῶτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν Πορσίναν, ἐκτίξε πόλιν Σιγλιουρίαν ἥδη πλησίον ὄντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τειχίσας μεγάλοις ἀναλώμασιν ἑπτακοσίους ἐποι-

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and they now look too slender and thin. However, if anyone who is amazed at the costliness of the Capitol had seen a single colonnade in the palace of Domitian, or a basilica, or a bath, or the apartments for his concubines, then, as Epicharmus says to the spendthrift,

“ ’Tis not beneficent thou art ; thou art diseased ;
thy mania is to give,”

so he would have been moved to say to Domitian :
“ ’Tis not pious, nor nobly ambitious that thou art ;
thou art diseased ; thy mania is to build ; like the famous Midas, thou desirest that every thing become gold and stone at thy touch.” So much, then, on this head.

XVI. But to return to Tarquin, after the great battle in which he lost his son in a duel with Brutus, he fled for refuge to Clusium, and became a suppliant of Lars Porsena, the most powerful king in Italy, who was thought also to be a man of worth and noble ambitions. He promised Tarquin his aid and assistance. So in the first place he sent to Rome and ordered them to receive Tarquin as their king. Then when the Romans refused, he declared war upon them, proclaimed the time and place of his attack, and marched thither with a great force.¹ Publicola was chosen consul for the second time, in his absence, and Titus Lucretius as his colleague. Returning, therefore, to Rome, and wishing, in the first place, to surpass Porsena in the loftiness of his spirit, he built the city of Sigliuria, although his adversary was already near at hand. After he had fortified it at great expense, he sent to it a colony of seven hundred

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 9.

- 3 *κούς ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς ῥαδίως φέρων καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσβολῆς ὀξείας τῷ*
τείχει γενομένης ἐξεώσθησαν οἱ φύλακες ὑπὸ
τοῦ Πορσίνα, καὶ φεύγοντες ὀλίγου συνεπεσπά-
σαντο τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἔφθη δὲ
πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκβοηθήσας ὁ Ποπλικόλας, καὶ
μάχην συνάψας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀντείχε πλή-
θει βιαζομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄχρι οὗ τραύμασι
νεανικοῖς περιπεσῶν ἀπεκομίσθη φοράδην ἐκ τῆς
 4 *μάχης. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Λουκρητίου τοῦ συνάρ-*
χοντος αὐτῷ παθόντος ἀθυμία τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐνέπεσε, καὶ φυγῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔσωζον ἑαυ-
τούς. ὠθουμένων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων διὰ τῆς ξυλί-
νης γεφύρας ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡ Ῥώμη κατὰ κράτος
ἀλῶναι. πρῶτος δὲ Κόκλιος Ὠράτιος καὶ σὺν
αὐτῷ δύο τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν, Ἑρμίνιος
 5 *καὶ Λάρκιος, ἀντέστησαν περὶ τὴν ξυλίην γέφυ-*
ραν. ὁ δ' Ὠράτιος τὸν Κόκλιον ἐπωνύμιον ἔσχεν
ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν ὁμμάτων θάτερον ἐκκοπεῖς· ὡς
δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, διὰ σιμότητα τῆς ῥινὸς ἐνδεδυ-
κυίας ὥστε μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ διορίζον τὰ ὄμματα
καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς συγκεχύσθαι, Κύκλωπα βουλό-
μενοι καλεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς γλώττης ὀλι-
 6 *σθαινοῦσης ἐκράτησεν ὑπὸ πλήθους Κόκλιον κα-*
λεῖσθαι. οὗτος ἐστὼς πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἡμύνετο
τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄχρι οὗ διέκοψαν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ
κατόπιν τὴν γέφυραν. οὕτω δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων
ἀφείδεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπενήξατο, καὶ
 7 *προσέμιξε τῇ πέραν ὄχθῃ δόρατι Τυρρηνικῷ*
βεβλημένος τὸν γλουτόν. ὁ δὲ Ποπλικόλας τὴν
ἀρετὴν θαυμάσας αὐτίκα μὲν εἰσηγήσατο Ῥω- 106

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men, indicating that he had no concern or fear about the war. However, a sharp assault was made upon its wall by Porsena, and its garrison was driven out. They fled to Rome, where the pursuing enemy almost followed them into the city. But Publicola promptly sallied out to their aid in front of the gate, joined battle by the river side with the enemy, who pressed on in great numbers, and held out against them until he was desperately wounded and carried bodily out of the battle. The same fate overtook Lucretius, his colleague, also, so that dismay fell upon the Romans, and they fled for safety towards the city. But as the enemy were forcing their way onto the wooden bridge, Rome was in danger of being taken by storm. Horatius Cocles,¹ however, first, and with him two of the most illustrious men of the city, Herminius and Lartius, defended the wooden bridge against them. Horatius had been given his surname of Cocles because he had lost one of his eyes in the wars. Some, however, say that his nose was flat and sunken, so that there was nothing to separate his eyes, and his eye-brows ran together, and that for this reason the multitude wished to call him Cyclops, but by a slip of the tongue the name of Cocles became generally prevalent instead. This Cocles, standing at the head of the bridge, kept the enemy back until his companions had cut the bridge in two behind him. Then, all accoutred as he was, he plunged into the river and swam across to the other side, in spite of a wound in the buttocks from a Tuscan spear. Publicola, out of admiration for his valour, proposed that every Roman should at once

¹ The exploit of Horatius is much more dramatically narrated by Livy (ii. 10).

μαίους ἅπαντας, ὅσῃν ἕκαστος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τροφήν ἀνῆλiske, δοῦναι συνεισενεγκόντας, ἔπειτα τῆς χώρας ἦν αὐτὸς περιαρόσειεν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἔστησαν αὐτῷ¹ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τὴν γενομένην ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος τῷ ἀνδρὶ χολότητα μετὰ τιμῆς παρηγοροῦντες.

XVII. Ἐπικειμένου δὲ Πορσίνα τῇ πόλει καὶ λιμὸς ἤπτετο τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ἕτερος στρατὸς αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐνέβαλε. Ποπλικόλας δὲ τὸ τρίτον ὑπατεύων Πορσίνα μὲν ἀτρεμῶν καὶ φυλάττων τὴν πόλιν ὤετο δεῖν ἀντέχειν, τοῖς δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἐπεξήλθε καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐτρέψατο καὶ πεντακισχιλίους αὐτῶν ἀνείλε.

Τὸ δὲ περὶ Μούκιον εἴρηται μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρως, λεκτέον δὲ ἥ μάλιστα πιστεύεται
 2 καὶ ἡμῖν. ἦν ἀνὴρ εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἀγαθός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἄριστος· ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ τὸν Πορσίναν ἀνελεῖν παρεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον Τυρρηνίδα φορῶν ἐσθήτα καὶ φωνῇ χρώμενος ὁμοία. περιελθὼν δὲ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως καθεζομένου, καὶ σαφῶς μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰδώς, ἐρέσθαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδιώς, ὃν ὥήθη μάλιστα τῶν συγκαθεζομένων ἐκείνον εἶναι σπα-
 3 σάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο· καὶ τινος ἐσχαρίδος πῦρ ἐχούσης μέλλοντι τῷ Πορσίνα θύειν κεκομισμένης, ὑπερσχὼν τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καιομένης τῆς σαρκὸς εἰστήκει πρὸς τὸν Πορσίναν ἀποβλέπων ἰταμῷ καὶ ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ προσώπῳ, μέχρι οὐ θαυ-

¹ αὐτῷ bracketed in Sintenis² because of the hiatus following.

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contribute for him as much provision as each consumed in a day, and that afterwards he should be given as much land as he could plough round in a day. Besides this, they set up a bronze statue of him in the temple of Vulcan, to console him with honour for the lameness consequent upon his wound.

XVII. While Porsena was closely investing the city, a famine afflicted the Romans,¹ and another Tuscan army on its own account invaded their territory. Publicola, who was now consul for the third time, thought that Porsena must be met by a quiet and watchful resistance within the city; but he sallied out upon the other Tuscan army, engaged it, routed it, and slew five thousand of them.

The story of Mucius has been often and variously told, but I must give it as it seems most credible to me.² He was a man endowed with every virtue, but most excellent in war. Designing to kill Porsena, he stole into his camp, wearing a Tuscan habit, and using a speech to correspond. After walking around the tribunal where the king was sitting with others, not knowing him certainly, and fearing to inquire about him, he drew his sword and slew that one of the group whom he thought most likely to be the king. Upon this he was seized, and was being questioned, when a sort of pan containing live coals was brought to Porsena, who was about to offer sacrifice. Mucius held his right hand over the flames and, while the flesh was burning, stood looking at Porsena with a bold and steadfast countenance, until the king was overcome with

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 12, 1.

² Plutarch's version is far less coherent and dramatic than Livy's (ii. 12).

μάσας ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀποδιδούς
ᾧρεξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος· ὁ δὲ τὴν εὐώνυμον
προτείνας ἐδέξατο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασιν αὐτῷ
γενέσθαι τὸν Σκαιόλαν ἐπίκλησιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ

- 4 Λαιόν. ἔφη δὲ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Πορσίνα νενικηκῶς ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ χάριτι μηνύειν ἅ πρὸς ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἂν ἐξηγόρευσε. “Τριακόσιοι γὰρ Ῥωμαίων,” ἔφη, “τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σου πλανῶνται καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες· ἐγὼ δὲ κλήρῳ λαχὼν καὶ προεπιχειρήσας οὐκ ἄχθομαι τῇ τύχῃ, διαμαρτῶν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίου
- 5 Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι πρέποντος.” ταῦθ’ ὁ Πορσίνας ἀκούσας ἐπίστευσε καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἥδιον ἔσχεν, οὐ τοσοῦτό, μοι δοκεῖ, φόβῳ τῶν τριακοσίων, ὅσον ἀγασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

Τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα Μούκιον ὁμοῦ τι πάντων καὶ Σκαιόλαν καλούντων Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Σάνδωνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ὀκταουτὶαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ὀψύγονον ὠνομάσθαι φησίν.

XVIII. Ὁ μέντοι Ποπλικόλας αὐτός, οὐχ οὕτω πολέμιον ὄντα τὸν Πορσίναν βαρὺν ἡγούμενος ὥς ἄξιον πολλοῦ τῇ πόλει φίλον γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχον, οὐκ ἔφευγεν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ δίκη κριθῆναι πρὸς Ταρκύνιον, ἀλλ’ ἐθάρρει καὶ προῦκαλεῖτο

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admiration and released him, and handed him back his sword, reaching it down to him from the tribunal. Mucius stretched out his left hand and took it (on which account, they say, he received the surname of Scaevola, which means *Left-handed*). Then he said that although he had conquered the fear which Porsena inspired, he was vanquished by the nobility which he displayed, and would reveal out of gratitude what he would not have disclosed under compulsion. "Three hundred Romans, then," said he, "with the same resolution as mine, are now prowling about in thy camp and watching their opportunity. I was chosen by lot to make the first attempt upon thee, and I am not distressed at what has happened, so noble is the man whom I failed to kill, and so worthy to be a friend rather than an enemy of the Romans." On hearing this, Porsena believed it to be true, and felt more inclined to come to terms, not so much, I suppose, through fear of the three hundred, as out of wondering admiration for the lofty spirit and bravery of the Romans.¹

All other writers agree in giving this Mucius the surname of Scaevola, but Athenodorus, the son of Sandon, in his book addressed to Octavia, the sister of Augustus Caesar, says that his surname was Postumus.

XVIII. Publicola himself, moreover, thinking that Porsena would be more valuable as a friend and ally of the city than he was dangerous as its enemy, did not shrink from making the king an arbitrator in his dispute with Tarquin,¹ but often boldly challenged

¹ According to Livy (ii. 13, 1-5), Porsena was so terrified by the disclosures of Mucius, that he made propositions of peace to the Romans.

πολλάκις ὡς ἐξελέγξων κάκιστον ἀνδρῶν καὶ
δικαίως ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀποκριναμένου
δὲ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου τραχύτερον, οὐδένα ποιεῖσθαι
δικαστήν, ἥκιστα δὲ Πορσίναν, εἰ σύμμαχος
2 ὦν μεταβάλλεται, δυσχεράνας καὶ καταγνοὺς ὁ
Πορσίνας, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἄρροντος δεομένου
καὶ σπουδάζοντος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, κατελύ-
σατο τὸν πόλεμον ἐξισταμένοις ἥς ἀπετέμοντο
τῆς Τυρρηνίδος χώρας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
ἀποπέμπουσι, κομιζομένοις δὲ τοὺς αὐτομόλους.
ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμήρους ἔδωκαν ἑξ εὐπατριδῶν περι-
πορφύρους δέκα καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας, ὧν
ἦν καὶ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ Οὐαλλερία.

XIX. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων τοῦ τε Πορσίνα
πᾶσαν ἤδη τὴν πολεμικὴν ἀνεικότος παρασκευὴν
διὰ πίστιν, αἱ παρθένοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατήλθον
ἐπὶ λουτρὸν ἔνθα δὴ μηνοειδῆς τις ὄχθη περι-
βάλλουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ἡσυχίαν μάλιστα καὶ
γαλήνην τοῦ κύματος παρείχεν. ὥς δ' οὔτε 107
τινὰ φυλακὴν ἐώρων οὔτε παριόντας ἄλλως ἢ
διαπλέοντας, ὁρμὴν ἔσχον ἀπονήξασθαι πρὸς
2 ῥεῦμα πολὺ καὶ δίνας βαθείας. ἔνιοι δὲ φασι
μίαν αὐτῶν, ὄνομα Κλοιλίαν, ἵππῳ διεξελάσαι
τὸν πόρον, ἐγκελευομένην ταῖς ἄλλαις νεούσαις
καὶ παραθαρρύνουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθεῖσαι πρὸς
τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἦκον, οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν οὐδ' ἠγά-
πησεν, ἀλλ' ἠνιάθη, ὅτι Πορσίνα κακίων ἐν
πίστει φανεῖται, καὶ τὸ τόλμημα τῶν παρθένων

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Tarquin to do so, confident of proving that he was the basest of men and justly deprived of his kingdom. And when Tarquin gave him a rough answer, saying that he would make no man his judge, least of all Porsena, seeing that he was swerving from his alliance with him, Porsena was displeased and perceived the weakness of his cause. His son Aruns also pleaded earnestly with him in behalf of the Romans. Consequently, he put an end to his war against them, on condition that they gave up the territory of Tuscany which they had taken, sent back their prisoners of war, and received back their deserters. In confirmation of these conditions, the Romans gave as hostages ten young men from their noblest families, and as many maidens, of whom Valeria, a daughter of Publicola, was one.

XIX. After these stipulations had been carried out, and when Porsena had already remitted all his warlike preparations through his confidence in the treaty, these Roman maidens went down to the river to bathe, at a place where the curving bank formed a bay and kept the water especially still and free from waves. As they saw no guard near, nor any one else passing by or crossing the stream, they were seized with a desire to swim away, notwithstanding the depth and whirl of the strong current. And some say that one of them, named Cloelia, crossed the stream on horseback, exhorting and encouraging the rest as they swam. But when they were come in safety to Publicola, he bestowed no admiration or affection upon them, but was distressed because he would be thought less true to his word than Porsena, and because the daring exploit of the maidens would be called a base fraud on the part of

- αἰτίαν ἔξει κακούργημα Ῥωμαίων γεγονέναι. διὸ συλλαβὼν αὐτὰς πάλιν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν
- 3 Πορσίαν. ταῦτα δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ταρκύνιον προ-
αισθόμενοι, καὶ καθίσαντες ἐνέδραν τοῖς ἄγουσι
τὰς παῖδας, ἐν τῷ περᾷ ἐπέθεντο πλείονες ὄντες.
ἐκείνων δὲ ὅμως ἀμυνομένων, ἡ Ποπλικόλα
θυγάτηρ Οὐαλλερία διὰ μέσων ὁρμήσασα τῶν
μαχομένων ἀπέφυγε, καὶ τρεῖς τινες οἰκείται
συνδιεκπεσόντες ἔσωζον αὐτήν. τῶν δ' ἄλλων
οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς μαχομένοις,
αἰθόμενος Ἄρρων ὁ Πορσίνα υἱὸς ὀξέως προσε-
βοήθησε, καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης τῶν πολεμίων
περιεποίησε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.
- 4 Ὡς δὲ τὰς παρθένους κομισθείσας ὁ Πορσίνας
εἶδε, τὴν καταρξαμένην τῆς πράξεως καὶ παρα-
κελευσαμένην ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐζήτει. ἀκούσας δὲ
τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Κλοιλίας προσέβλεψεν αὐτὴν ἴλεω
καὶ φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ, καὶ κελεύσας ἵππον
ἄχθῆναι τῶν βασιλικῶν κεκοσμημένον εὐπρεπῶς
ἔδωρήσατο. τοῦτο ποιοῦνται μαρτύριον οἱ μόνην
τὴν Κλοιλίαν λέγοντες ἵππῳ διεξελάσαι τὸν
- 5 ποταμόν. οἱ δ' οὐ φασιν, ἀλλὰ τιμῆσαι τὸ
ἀνδρῶδες αὐτῆς τὸν Τυρρηνόν. ἀνάκειται δὲ τὴν
ἱερὰν ὁδὸν πορευομένοις εἰς Παλάτιον ἀνδρίας
αὐτῆς ἔφιππος, ὃν τινες οὐ τῆς Κλοιλίας, ἀλλὰ
τῆς Οὐαλλερίας εἶναι λέγουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ Πορσίνας διαλλαγεὶς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις

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the Romans. He seized them, therefore, and sent them back again to Porsena. But Tarquin and his men got timely intelligence of this, set an ambush for the convoy of the maidens, and attacked them in superior numbers as they passed along. The party attacked defended themselves, nevertheless, and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, darted through the combatants and fled, and with the help of three attendants who broke through the crowd with her, made good her escape. The rest of the maidens were mingled with the combatants and in peril of their lives. But Aruns, the son of Porsena, learning of the affair, came with all speed to their assistance, put their enemies to flight, and rescued the Romans.

When Porsena saw the maidens thus brought back, he asked for the one who had begun the enterprise and encouraged the rest in it. And when he heard Cloelia named as the one, he looked upon her with a gracious and beaming countenance, and ordering one of the royal horses to be brought, all fittingly caparisoned, he made her a present of it. Those who say that Cloelia, and Cloelia alone, crossed the river on horseback, produce this fact in evidence. Others dispute the inference, and say that the Tuscan merely honoured in this way the maiden's courage. But an equestrian statue of her stands by the Via Sacra, as you go to the Palatine, though some say it represents not Cloelia, but Valeria.¹

Porsena, thus reconciled with the Romans, gave

¹ According to Livy, who gives a very different version of the Cloelia episode (ii. 13, 6-11), the maidens were incited by the example of Mucius to their display of courage, in memory of which the Romans erected at the top of the Via Sacra an equestrian statue, "virgo insidens equo."

ἄλλην τε ἑαυτοῦ πολλὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐπε-
 δείξατο τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς
 6 ἀναλαβεῖν κελεύσας, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν, ἀλλ' ἐκλεί-
 πειν τὸν χάρακα σίτου τε πολλοῦ καὶ χρημάτων
 γέμοντα παντοδαπῶν, παρέδωκε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.
 διὸ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι πωλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια
 πρῶτα κηρύττουσι τὰ Πορσίνα χρήματα, τιμὴν
 τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς χάριτος αἰδίου ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ δια-
 φυλάττοντες. εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ χαλκοὺς ἀνδρίας
 αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀπλοὺς καὶ ἀρ-
 χαϊκὸς τῇ ἐργασίᾳ.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σαβίνων ἐμβαλόντων
 εἰς τὴν χώραν ὑπατος μὲν ἀπεδείχθη Μάρκος
 Οὐαλλέριος, ἀδελφὸς Ποπλικόλα, καὶ Ποστού-
 μιος Τούβερτος. Πραττομένων δὲ τῶν μεγίστων
 γνώμη καὶ παρουσία Ποπλικόλα δυσὶ μάχαις
 μεγάλαις ὁ Μάρκος ἐνίκησεν, ὧν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ
 2 μνηδὲν Ῥωμαίων ἀποβαλὼν τρισχιλίους ἐπὶ
 μυρίοις τῶν πολεμίων ἀνείλε. καὶ γέρας ἔσχεν
 ἐπὶ τοῖς θριάμβοις οἰκίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι δημοσίοις
 ἀναλώμασιν ἐν Παλατίῳ. τῶν δ' ἄλλων τότε
 θυρῶν εἰσω τῆς οἰκίας εἰς τὸ κλεισίον ἀνοιγο-
 μένων, ἐκείνης μόνης τῆς οἰκίας ἐποίησαν ἐκτὸς
 ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν αὐλειον, ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγχώ-
 ρημα τῆς τιμῆς αἰεὶ τοῦ δημοσίου προσεπι-
 λαμβάνοι.

Τὰς δ' Ἑλληνικὰς πρότερον οὕτως ἔχειν ἀπάσας
 λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν κωμωδιῶν λαμβάνοντες, ὅτι
 κόπτουσι καὶ ψοφοῦσι τὰς αὐτῶν θύρας ἐνδοθεν
 οἱ προϊέναι μέλλοντες, ὅπως αἰσθησις ἔξω γένοιτο
 τοῖς παρερχομένοις ἢ προεστῶσι καὶ μὴ κατα-

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the city many proofs of his magnanimity. In particular, he ordered his Tuscan soldiers, when they evacuated their camp, to take with them their arms only, and nothing else, leaving it full of abundant provisions and all sorts of valuables, which he turned over to the Romans. Therefore it is that down to this very day, when there is a sale of public property, Porsena's goods are cried first, and thus the man's kindness is honoured with perpetual remembrance. Moreover, a bronze statue of him used to stand near the senate-house, of simple and archaic workmanship.¹

XX. After this, when the Sabines invaded the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, a brother of Publicola, was made consul, and with him Postumius Tubertus. Inasmuch as the most important steps were taken with the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus was victorious in two great battles, and in the second of them, without losing a single Roman, slew thirteen thousand of the enemy.² Besides his triumphs, he also obtained the honour of a house built for him at the public charge on the Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inwards into the vestibule, they made the outer door of his house, and of his alone, to open outwards, in order that by this concession he might be constantly partaking of public honour.

They say that all Greek doors used to open outwards in this way, and the conclusion is drawn from their comedies, where those who are about to go out of a house beat noisily on the inside of their own doors, in order that persons passing by or standing in front of them may hear, and not be

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 14, 1-4. ² Cf. Livy, ii. 16, 1.

λαμβάνονται προϋούσαις ταῖς κλεισιάσιν εἰς τὸν στενωπόν.

XXI. Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει πάλιν ὑπάτευε Ποπλικόλας τὸ τέταρτον· ἦν δὲ προσδοκία πολέμου Σαβίνων καὶ Λατίνων συνισταμένων. καὶ τις ἄμα δεισιδαιμονία τῆς πόλεως ἤψατο· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ κυοῦσαι τότε γυναῖκες ἐξέβαλλον ἀνάπηρα, καὶ τέλος οὐδεμία γένεσις ἔσχεν. ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν 108 Σιβυλλείων ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἰλασάμενος τῷ "Αἰδῇ καὶ τινας ἀγῶνας πυθοχρήστους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἡδύονα καταστήσας τὴν πόλιν, ἤδη τοῖς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων φοβεροῖς προσεῖχε. μεγάλη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο κατασκευὴ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ σύστασις.

- 2 Ἦν οὖν Ἀππίος Κλαῦσος ἐν Σαβίνοις, ἀνὴρ χρήμασί τε δυνατὸς καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιφανής, ἀρετῆς δὲ δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ λόγου δεινότητι πρωτεύων. ὃ δὲ πᾶσι συμβαίνει τοῖς μεγάλοις οὐ διέφυγε παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐφθονεῖτο· καὶ τοῖς φθονοῦσιν αἰτίαν παρέσχε καταπαύων τὸν πόλεμον αὖξιν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι
- 3 καὶ δουλώσει τῆς πατρίδος. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς λόγους τούτους βουλομένῳ τῷ πλήθει λεγομένους, καὶ προσκρούοντα τοῖς πολεμοποιοῖς καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς ἑαυτὸν, ἐφοβεῖτο τὴν κρίσιν. ἑταιρείαν δὲ καὶ δύναμιν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἔχων ἀμύ-

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taken by surprise when the doors open out into the street.

XXI. In the following year Publicola was consul again, for the fourth time, when there was expectation of a war with the Sabines and Latins combined.¹ At the same time also a sort of superstitious terror seized upon the city because all the women who were pregnant were delivered of imperfect offspring, and all births were premature. Wherefore, by direction of the Sibylline books, Publicola made propitiatory sacrifices to Pluto, and renewed certain games that had been recommended by Apollo, and after he had thus made the city more cheerful in its hopes and expectations from the gods, he turned his attention to what it feared from men. For their enemies were plainly making great preparations and a powerful league against them.

Now there was among the Sabines one Appius Clausus,² a man whose wealth made him powerful, as his personal prowess made him illustrious, but who was most eminent for his lofty character and for his great eloquence. He could not, however, escape the fate of all great men, but was an object of jealous hate, and when he tried to stop the war, those who hated him charged him with trying to increase the power of Rome, with a view to making himself tyrant and master of his own country. Perceiving that the multitude gave a ready ear to these stories, and that he himself was obnoxious to the war party and the military, he feared the issue, but with a large and powerful coterie of friends and

¹ Livy gives a very brief account of this war (ii. 16, 2-6).

² Attius Clausus among the Sabines, Appius Claudius among the Romans, according to Livy, ii, 16, 4.

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- νουσαν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστασίαζε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν τοῦ πολέμου διατριβὴ καὶ μέλλησις τοῖς Σαβίνοις.
- 4 Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Ποπλικόλας οὐ μόνον εἰδέναι ποιοῦμενος ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινεῖν καὶ συνεξορμᾶν τὴν στάσιν, εἶχεν ἄνδρας ἐπιτηδείους οἱ τῷ Κλαύσῳ διελέγοντο παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα, ὥς ὁ Ποπλικόλας ἄνδρα σε χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον οὐδενὶ κακῷ δεῖν οἴεται τοὺς σεαυτοῦ πολίτας ἀμύνεσθαι, καίπερ ἀδικούμενον· εἰ δὲ βούλοιο σώζων ἑαυτὸν μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν τοὺς μισούντας, ὑποδέχεται σε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῆς τε σῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξίως καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων λαμπρότητος.
- 5 ταῦτα πολλάκις ἀνασκοποῦντι τῷ Κλαύσῳ βέλτιστα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συμπαρακαλῶν, ἐκείνων τε πολλοὺς ὁμοίως συναναπειθύντων, πεντακισχιλίους οἴκους ἀναστήσας μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ὅπερ ἦν ἐν Σαβίνοις ἀθόρυβον μάλιστα καὶ βίου πρᾶου καὶ καθεστῶτος οἰκεῖον, εἰς Ῥώμην ἦγε, προειδότες τοῦ Ποπλικόλα καὶ δεχομένου φιλοφρόνως καὶ
- 6 προθύμως ἐπὶ πᾶσι δίκαιοις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οἴκους εὐθὺς ἀνέμιξε τῷ πολιτεύματι, καὶ χώραν ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστῳ δνεῖν πλέθρων περὶ τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμόν, τῷ δὲ Κλαύσῳ πλέθρα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι γῆς ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ προσέγραψεν, ἀρχὴν πολιτείας λαμβάνοντα ταύτην, ὅτι χρώμενος ἐμφρόνως ἀνέδραμεν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἔλμα καὶ δύναμιν ἔσχε μεγάλην, καὶ γένος νὸς ἀμαυρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Κλαυδίῳ ἀφ' οὗ κατέλιπε.

XII. Τὰ δὲ Σαβίνων οὕτω διακριθέντα τῷ

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kinsmen to defend him, continued his opposition. This made the Sabines put off and delay the war.

Publicola, accordingly, making it his business not only to know about these matters, but also to foment and promote the faction, kept some of his followers employed in bringing to Clausus from him such messages as this : " Publicola thinks thee too worthy and just a man to inflict any evil upon thy fellow citizens in self-defence, even though thou art wronged by them. But if thou wishest, for thine own safety, to change thine allegiance and flee from those who hate thee, he will receive thee with public and private honours which are worthy of thine own excellence and the splendour of Rome." On repeated consideration of the matter, this course seemed to Clausus the best that was open to him ; he therefore summoned his friends, who in like manner persuaded many more, to join him, and taking five thousand families from their homes, wives and children included, the most peaceful folk among the Sabines, of gentle and sedate lives, he led them to Rome. Publicola knew beforehand of their coming, and gave them an eager and a kindly welcome, admitting them to all rights and privileges. For he at once incorporated the families in the Roman state, and gave each one two acres of land on the river Anio. To Clausus, however, he gave twenty-five acres of land, and enrolled him among the senators. This was the beginning of a political power which he used so wisely that he mounted to the highest dignity and acquired great influence. The Claudian family, which is descended from him, is no less illustrious than any in Rome.

XXII. Though the schism among the Sabines was

- μετοικισμῷ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ εἶσαν οἱ δημαγω-
 γοῦντες ἀτρεμῆσαι καὶ καταστήναι, σχετλιά-
 ζοντες εἰ Κλαῦσος ἂ παρὼν οὐκ ἔπεισε διαπρά-
 ξεται φυγὰς γενόμενος καὶ πολέμιος, μὴ δοῦναι
 δίκην Ῥωμαίους ὧν ὑβρίζουσιν. ἄραντες οὖν
 στρατῷ μεγάλῳ περὶ Φιδήνας κατηυλίσαντο, καί
 τινα λόχον θέμενοι πρὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν χωρίοις
 συνηρεφέσι καὶ κοίλοις δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἔμελ-
 λον ἄμ' ἡμέρᾳ φανερώς ὀλίγοις ἱππεύσι λείαν ἐλαύ-
 *2 νειν. εἴρητο δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅταν τῇ πόλει προσελά-
 σωσιν, ὑποφεύγειν ἕως ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν
 τοὺς πολεμίους· ταῦθ' ὁ Ποπλικόλας αὐθημερὸν
 πυθόμενος παρ' αὐτομόλων ταχὺ διηρμόσατο πρὸς
 πάντα καὶ διένειμε τὴν δύναμιν. Ποστούμιος
 μὲν γὰρ Βάλβος ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ τρισχιλίοις
 ὀπλίταις ἐσπέρας ἔτι προελθὼν καὶ κατα-
 λαβὼν τοὺς ἀκρολόφους, ὑφ' οἷς ἐνῆδρευν οἱ
 3 Σαβίνοι, παρεφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ συνάρχων Λου-
 κρήτιος ἔχων τὸ κουφότατον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ
 γενναιότατον ἐτάχθη τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι τὴν λείαν
 ἱππεύσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀνα-
 λαβὼν στρατιὰν κύκλῳ περιῆλθε τοὺς πολεμίους.
 καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὁμίχλης βαθείας ἐπιπεσούσης,
 περὶ ὄρθρον ἅμα Ποστούμιός τε τοὺς ἐνεδρεύ-
 οντας ἐμβοήσας ἔβαλεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, καὶ τοῖς
 προῖππασαμένοις ἐφῆκε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Λου-
 κρήτιος, καὶ Ποπλικόλας προσέβαλε τοῖς στρατο-
 4 πέδοις τῶν πολεμίων. πάντῃ μὲν οὖν ἐκακοῦτο
 τὰ Σαβίνων καὶ διεφθείρετο· τοὺς δ' ἐνταῦθα μηδ'
 ἀμυνομένους, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας, εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον οἱ
 Ῥωμαῖοι, τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ὀλεθριωτάτης γενο-

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thus removed by the emigration of these men, their popular leaders would not suffer them to settle down into quiet, but complained bitterly that Clausus, by becoming an exile and an enemy, should bring to pass what he could not effect by his persuasions at home, namely, that Rome pay no penalty for her outrages. Setting out, therefore, with a large army, they encamped near Fidenæ, and placed two thousand men-at-arms in ambush just outside of Rome in wooded hollows. Their intention was that a few of their horsemen, as soon as it was day, should boldly ravage the country. But these had been ordered, whenever they approached the city and were attacked, to retire gradually until they had drawn the enemy into the ambuscade. That very day Publicola learned of this plan from deserters, and took measures accordingly, dividing up his forces. Postumius Balbus, his son-in-law, while it was yet evening, went out with three thousand men-at-arms, occupied the hills under which the Sabines were lying in ambush, and kept the enemy under observation; Lucretius, his colleague, retaining in the city the lightest armed and most impetuous troops, was ordered to attack the enemy's horsemen as they ravaged the country; he himself took the rest of the army and encircled the enemy in their camp. Favoured by a heavy fog, at break of day Postumius, with loud shouts, fell upon the ambuscade from the heights, while Lucretius hurled his troops upon the horsemen when they rode towards the city, and Publicola attacked the camp of the enemy. At all points, then, the Sabines were worsted and undone. Wherever they were, they made no defence, but fled, and the Romans straightway slew them. The

μένης. σώζεσθαι γὰρ οἰόμενοι τοὺς ἑτέρους οἱ ἕτεροι τῷ μάχεσθαι καὶ μένειν οὐ προσεῖχον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων πρὸς τοὺς ἐνεδρεύ-
 5 οντας, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ὡς ἐκείνους εἰς τὸ στρατό-
 πεδον θέοντες ἐναντίοι φεύγουσιν ἐνέπιπτον πρὸς
 οὓς ἔφευγον καὶ βοηθείας δεομένοις οὓς ἤλπιζον
 αὐτοῖς βοηθήσειν. τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι
 τοὺς Σαβίνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιγενέσθαι τινὰς ἢ
 Φιδηνατῶν πόλις ἐγγὺς οὖσα παρέσχε, καὶ
 μάλιστα τοῖς ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅθ' ἠλίσκετο,
 διεκπίπτουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ Φιδηνῶν διήμαρτον διε-
 φθάρησαν ἢ ζῶντες ἀπήχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων.

XXIII. Τοῦτο τὸ κατόρθωμα Ῥωμαῖοι, καίπερ
 εἰωθότες ἅπασιν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐπιφημίζειν τὸ δαι-
 μόνιον, ἐνὸς ἔργου ἡγοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γεγο-
 νέναι. καὶ τῶν μεμαχημένων πρῶτον ἦν ἀκούειν
 ὅτι χωλοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ μόνον οὐ
 καθεῖρξας τοὺς πολεμίους Ποπλικόλας παρέδωκε
 χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν. ἐρρώσθη δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν
 ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.

- 2 Ὁ δὲ Ποπλικόλας τὸν τε θρίαμβον ἀγαγὼν
 καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ὑπάτοις παρα-
 δούς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς ἐφικτόν
 ἐστίν ἀνθρώποις μάλιστα τοῖς νενομισμένοις κα-
 λοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐκτελειώσας.
 ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὥσπερ οὐδὲν εἰς ζῶντα τῶν ἀξίων
 πεποιηκώς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὀφείλων χάριν, ἐψηφί-
 σατο δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τεταρτη-
 3 μόριον ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τιμῇ συνεισενεγκεῖν. αἱ δὲ
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very hopes they placed in one another proved most fatal to them. For each party, supposing that the other was safe, had no thought of holding their ground and fighting, but those in the camp ran towards those in the ambuscade, while these, on their part, ran to those in the camp, so that fugitives encountered fugitives, and found those needing succour from whom they expected succour themselves. And all the Sabines would have perished, had not the neighbouring city of Fidenæ afforded a refuge to some, especially to those who fled from the camp when it was captured. All who did not gain this city were either slain or brought back to Rome as prisoners.

XXIII. This success the Romans, although they were wont to attribute all such great events to the influence of the gods, considered to be the work of their general alone. And the first thing his soldiers were heard to say was that Publicola had delivered their enemies into their hands lame, blind, and all but imprisoned, to be dispatched by their swords. Great wealth also accrued to the people from the spoils and prisoners.

But Publicola, immediately after celebrating his triumph and handing the city over to the consuls appointed to succeed him, died. So far as it can possibly be achieved by men who are regarded as honourable and good, he had brought his life to perfection. The people, as if they had done nothing to show their esteem for him while he was alive, but owed him every homage, decreed that his body should be buried at the public charge, and that every man should contribute a quadrans towards the honour. The women also, by private agreement

γυναῖκες, ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὰς συμφρονήσασαι, διεπέν-
θησαν ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πένθος ἔντιμον
καὶ ζηλωτόν. ἐτάφη δὲ καὶ οὕτως τῶν πολιτῶν
ψηφισαμένων ἐντὸς ἄστεος παρὰ τὴν καλου-
μένην Οὐελίαν, ὥστε καὶ γένει παντὶ τῆς ταφῆς
μετεῖναι. νῦν δὲ θάπτεται μὲν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀπὸ
γένους, κομίσαντες δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκεῖ κατατί-
θενται καὶ δᾶδά τις ἡμμένην λαβὼν ὅσον ὑπή-
νεγκεν, εἶτα ἀναιρεῖται, μαρτυρόμενος ἔργῳ τὸ
ἐξεῖναι, φέιδεσθαι δὲ τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν
οὕτως ἀποκομίζουσιν.

ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΠΛΙΚΟΛΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Ἄρ' οὖν ἰδιὸν τι περὶ ταύτην τὴν σύγκρισιν
ὑπάρχει καὶ μὴ πάννυ συμβεβηκὸς ἑτέρα τῶν
ἀναγεγραμμένων, τὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι μιμητὴν
τοῦ ἑτέρου, τὸν ἕτερον δὲ μάρτυν; ὅρα γὰρ ἦν
ὁ Σόλων ἐξήνεγκε περὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἀπόφασιν
πρὸς Κροῖσον, ὡς Ποπλικόλα μᾶλλον ἢ Τέλλῳ
2 προσήκει. Τέλλου μὲν γάρ, ὃν εἶπε γεγονέναι
μακαριώτατον δι' εὐποτμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐ-
τεκνίαν, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ὡς ἀνδρὸς
ἀγαθοῦ λόγον ἔσχεν οὔτε παῖδες οὔτ' ἀρχή τις
εἰς δόξαν ἦλθεν. Ποπλικόλας δὲ καὶ ζῶν ἐπρώ-
τευσεν δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ δι' ἀρετὴν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ

¹ "In the following year, Agrippa Menemus and P. Postumius being consuls, P. Valerius, by universal consent the foremost Roman in the arts of war and peace, died, in the height of his glory, but so poor that means to defray his

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amongst themselves, mourned a whole year for him, with a mourning which was honourable and enviable.¹ He was buried, too, by express vote of the citizens, within the city, near the so-called Velia,² and all his family were to have privilege of burial there. Now, however, none of the family is actually buried there, but the body is carried thither and set down, and some one takes a burning torch and holds it under the bier for an instant, and then takes it away, attesting by this act that the deceased has the right of burial there, but relinquishes the honour. After this the body is borne away.

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I. THERE is, then, something peculiar in this comparison, and something that has not been true of any other thus far, namely, that the second imitated the first, and the first bore witness for the second. For it must be plain that the verdict concerning happiness which Solon pronounced to Croesus, is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. Tellus, whom Solon pronounced the most blessed man he knew, because of his fortunate lot, his virtue, and his goodly offspring, was not celebrated in Solon's poems as a good man, nor did his children or any magistracy of his achieve a reputation ; whereas Publicola, while he lived, was foremost among the Romans in funeral expenses were lacking. He was therefore buried at the public charge, and the matrons mourned for him as they had done for Brutus" (Livy, ii. 16, 7).

² See chapter x. 2.

τεθνηκότος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις γένεσι καὶ
 στέμμασιν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς Ποπλικόλαι καὶ Μεσ-
 σάλαι καὶ Οὐαλλέριοι δι' ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων τῆς
 3 εὐγενείας τὴν δόξαν ἀναφέρουσι. καὶ Τέλλος μὲν
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τάξει
 μένων καὶ μαχόμενος κατέστρεψε. Ποπλικόλας
 δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτείνας, ὃ τοῦ πεσεῖν
 εὐτυχέστερόν ἐστι, τὴν δὲ πατρίδα νικῶσαν
 ἐπιδὼν δι' αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ στρατηγούμεντα,
 τιμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ θριαμβεύσας ἔτυχε τῆς ζηλου-
 μένης ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ μακαριζομένης τελευτῆς.
 4 ἔτι τοίνυν οἷς πρὸς Μίμνερμον ἀντειπὼν περὶ
 χρόνου ζωῆς ἐπιπεφώνηκε,

Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ
 φίλοισι

ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς,

εὐδαίμονα τὸν Ποπλικόλαν ἄνδρα ποιεῖ. τελευ- 110
 τήσας γὰρ οὐ φίλοις οὐδ' οἰκείοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῇ
 πόλει πάσῃ, μυριάσι πολλαῖς, δάκρυα καὶ πόθον
 καὶ κατήφειαν ἐφ' αὐτῷ παρέσχε· αἱ γὰρ Ῥω-
 μαίων γυναῖκες ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ υἱὸν ἢ
 5 ἀδελφὸν ἢ πατέρα κοινὸν ἀποβαλοῦσαι. “Χρή-
 ματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν,” φησὶν ὁ Σόλων, “ἀδίκως
 δὲ πεπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλω,” ὡς δίκης ἐπιούσης.
 Ποπλικόλα δ' ὑπῆρχεν οὐ μόνον μὴ κακῶς
 πλουτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς ἀναλίσκειν εὖ ποιοῦντι
 τοὺς δεομένους. ὥστ' εἰ σοφώτατος ἀπάντων ὁ
 Σόλων, εὐδαιμονέστατος ὁ Ποπλικόλας. ἃ γὰρ
 εὔξατο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκεῖνος ὡς μέγιστα καὶ

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fluence and repute for virtue, and since his death the most illustrious family lines of our own day, like the Publicolae, the Messalae, and the Valerii, have for six hundred years ascribed the glory of their noble birth to him. Tellus, moreover, though he kept his post and fought like a brave man, died at the hands of his enemies; whereas Publicola slew his enemies, which is a better fortune than to be slain by them, saw his country victorious through his efforts as consul and general, and enjoyed honours and triumphs before he came to the end which Solon pronounced so enviable and blest. Still further, what Solon says to Mimmermus,¹ in arguing with him on the proper duration of human life,

“ May not an unlamented death be mine, but unto friends

Let me be cause, when dead, for sorrow and for sighing,”

argues Publicola a happy man. For when he died, his loss filled not only friends and kindred, but the entire city, numbering many tens of thousands, with weeping and yearning and sorrow. For the women of Rome mourned for him as though they had lost a son, or a brother, or a common father. “Wealth I desire to have,” says Solon, “but wrongfully to get it, I do not wish,”² believing that punishment would follow. And Publicola’s wealth was not only not ill got, but also nobly spent in benefactions to the needy. So that if Solon was the wisest, Publicola was the most happy of men, since what Solon prayed for as the greatest and

¹ Fragment 21 (Bergk).

² See *Solon*, ii. 3.

κάλλιστα, ταῦτα καὶ κτήσασθαι Ποπλικόλα καὶ φυλάξαι χρωμένῳ μέχρι τέλους ὑπῆρξεν.

II. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σόλων κεκόσμηκε τὸν Ποπλικόλαν, τὸν Σόλωνα δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ παραδειγμάτων κάλλιστον ἀνδρὶ κοσμοῦντι δημοκρατίαν θέμενος· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὄγκον ἀφελὼν εὐμενῇ πᾶσι καὶ ἄλυπον κατέστησε, νόμοις δὲ πολλοῖς ἐχρήσατο τῶν ἐκείνου. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως κυρίους ἐποίησε τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσι δίκην ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον, ὥσπερ ὁ Σόλων τοὺς δικαστάς, ἔδωκε. καὶ βουλὴν μὲν ἑτέραν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Σόλων, τὴν δ' οὖσαν ἡὔξησεν ἀριθμῷ
 2 μικροῦ διπλασιάσας. ἥ τε τῶν ταμιῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι κατάστασις ἐκείθεν ἦλθεν, ὅπως ὁ ἀρχων μὴτ' εἰ χρηστός ἐστιν ἀσχολίαν ἔχῃ πρὸς τὰ μείζω, μὴτ' εἰ φαῦλος ἀφορμὰς τοῦ ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον, καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κύριος γενόμενος. τὸ δὲ μισοτύραννον ἐν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ σφοδρότερον. εἰ γάρ τις ἐπιχειροίη τυραννεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἀλόντι τὴν δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν, ὁ
 3 δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἀνελεῖν δίδωσι. σεμνυνομένου δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ὅτι καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ διδόντων τυραννεῖν καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐκ ἀκουσίως δεχομένων ἀπέειπεν, οὐχ ἥττον ὑπάρχει καλὸν τῷ Ποπλικόλᾳ τὸ λαβόντα τυραννικὴν ἀρχὴν ποιῆσαι δημοτικωτέραν καὶ μὴδ' οἷς ἐξῆν ἔχοντα χρήσασθαι. καὶ τοῦτο δ'

COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

fairest of blessings, these Publicola was privileged to win and continue to enjoy until the end.

II. Thus did Solon enhance the fame of Publicola. And Publicola, too, in his political activities, enhanced the fame of Solon, by making him the fairest of examples for one who was arranging a democracy. For he took away the arrogant powers of the consulship and made it gracious and acceptable to all, and he adopted many of Solon's laws. For instance, he put the appointment of their rulers in the power of the people, and gave defendants the right of appealing to the people, as Solon to the jurors. He did not, indeed, create a new senate, as Solon did, but he increased the one already existing to almost double its numbers. And his appointment of quaestors over the public moneys had a like origin. Its purpose was that the consul, if a worthy officer, might not be without leisure for his more important duties, and, if unworthy, might not have greater opportunities for injustice by having both the administration and the treasury in his hands. Hatred of tyranny was more intense in Publicola than in Solon. For in case any one attempted to usurp the power, by Solon's law he could be punished only after conviction, whereas Publicola made it lawful to kill him before any trial. Moreover, though Solon rightly and justly plumes himself on rejecting absolute power even when circumstances offered it to him and his fellow-citizens were willing that he should take it, it redounds no less to the honour of Publicola that, when he had received a tyrannical power, he made it more democratic, and did not use even the prerogatives which were his by right of possession. And of the wisdom of such a course

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἔοικε συνιδεῖν πρότερος ὁ Σόλων, ὅτι δῆμος

ὥδ' ἂν ἄριστα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἔποιτο,
μήτε λῆην ἀνεθείς μήτε πιεζόμενος.

III. Ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἡ τῶν χρεῶν ἀνεσις, ἣ
μάλιστα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐβεβαίωσε τοῖς πολίταις.
οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος νόμων ἰσότητα παρεχόντων,
ἣν ἀφαιρεῖται τὰ χρέα τοὺς πένητας· ἀλλ' ὅπου
μάλιστα χρῆσθαι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ δοκοῦσι, δου-
λεύουσι μάλιστα τοῖς πλουσίοις, ἐν τῷ δικάζειν
καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ λέγειν ἐπιταττόμενοι καὶ ὑπηρε-
2 τούντες. τούτου δὲ μείζον, ὅτι πάσῃ χρεῶν ἀπο-
κοπῇ στάσεως ἐπομένης, ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ, καθάπερ
φαρμάκῳ παραβόλῳ μὲν, ἰσχυρῷ δὲ χρησάμενος
εὐκαίρως, καὶ τὴν οὖσαν στάσιν ἔλυσε, τῇ περὶ
αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀδοξίας
καὶ διαβολῆς περιγενόμενος.

Τῆς δ' ὅλης πολιτείας τῇ μὲν ἀρχῇ λαμπρό-
τερος ὁ Σόλων· ἡγήσατο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἠκολούθησε,
καὶ καθ' αὐτόν, οὐ μεθ' ἐτέρων, ἔπραξε τὰ πλείστα
καὶ μέγιστα τῶν κοινῶν· τῷ τέλει δὲ ἄτερος
3 εὐτυχῆς καὶ ζηλωτός. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Σόλωνος
πολιτείαν αὐτὸς ἐπεῖδε Σόλων καταλυθεῖσαν, ἡ
δὲ Ποπλικόλα μέχρι τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων
διεφύλαξεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὴν πόλιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἅμα
τῷ θέσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀπολιπὼν ἐν ξύλοις καὶ

COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

Solon seems to have been conscious even before Publicola, when he says¹ that a people

“then will yield the best obedience to its guides

When it is neither humoured nor oppressed too much.”

III. Peculiar to Solon was his remission of debts, and by this means especially he confirmed the liberties of the citizens. For equality under the laws is of no avail if the poor are robbed of it by their debts. Nay, in the very places where they are supposed to exercise their liberties most, there they are most in subjection to the rich, since in the courts of justice, the offices of state, and in public debates, they are under their orders and do them service. And what is of greater moment here, though sedition always follows an abolition of debts, in this case alone, by employing opportunely, as it were, a dangerous but powerful medicine, Solon actually put an end to the sedition that was already rife, for his own virtue and high repute prevailed over the ill-repute and odium of the measure.

As regards their political careers in general, Solon's was more brilliant in the beginning. For he led the way and followed no man, and it was alone and without colleagues that he effected the most and greatest of his public measures. But in the ending, the other was more fortunate and enviable. For Solon lived to see with his own eyes the dissolution of his polity, while that of Publicola preserved order in the city down to the civil wars. Solon, as soon as he had made his laws, left them

¹ Fragment 6 (Bergk); cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xii. 2.

γράμμασιν ἐρήμους τοῦ βοηθοῦντος ὥχετ' ἀπιὼν
 ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὁ δὲ μένων καὶ ἄρχων καὶ
 πολιτευόμενος ἵδρυσε καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς ἀσφαλὲς
 4 τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔτι δ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲ μέλλοντα
 κωλύσαι προαισθομένην Πεισίστρατον ὑπῆρξεν,
 ἀλλ' ἡττήθη συνισταμένης τῆς τυραννίδος· οὗτος 111
 δὲ βασιλείαν ἰσχύουσαν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἤδη
 καὶ κρατοῦσαν ἐξέβαλε καὶ κατέλυσεν, ἀρετὴν
 μὲν ἴσῃ καὶ προαίρεσιν ὁμοίαν παρασχόμενος,
 τύχῃ δὲ καὶ δυνάμει τελεσιουργῶ πρὸς τὴν
 ἀρετὴν χρησάμενος.

IV. Τῶν μέντοι πολεμικῶν Σόλωνι μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ
 πρὸς Μεγαρεῖς Δαῖμαχος ὁ Πλαταιεὺς μεμαρ-
 τύρηκεν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν· Ποπλικόλας
 δὲ τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς καὶ μαχόμενος
 καὶ στρατηγῶν κατώρθωσε. καὶ μὴν ἔτι πρὸς
 τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις ὁ μὲν ἐν παιδιᾷ τινι
 τρόπῳ καὶ προσποίημα μανίας ἀναλαβὼν, ὑπὲρ
 2 Σαλαμῖνος ἐρῶν προῆλθεν· ὁ δ' αὐτόθεν ἀναρ-
 ρίψας τὸν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κίνδυνον ἐπανέστη
 τε Ταρκυνίοις καὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ἐφώρασε· καὶ
 τοῦ κολασθῆναι καὶ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς πονηροὺς
 αἰτιώτατος γενόμενος οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον τῶν
 τυράννων ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς
 ἐλπίδας ἐξέκοψεν. οὕτω δὲ τοῖς δεχομένοις
 πράγμασιν ἀγῶνα καὶ θυμὸν καὶ ἀντίταξιν
 ἐρρωμένως καὶ ἀτενῶς ἀπαντήσας, ἔτι βέλτιον
 ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὁμιλίαις ἀπολέμον καὶ πειθοῦς

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inscribed on wooden tables and destitute of a defender, and departed from Athens; whereas Publicola, by remaining in the city, serving as consul, and busying himself with public affairs, firmly and safely established his form of government. And further, though Solon knew beforehand of the designs of Peisistratus, he was not able to hinder them, but yielded to his tyranny in its incipency; whereas Publicola subverted and drove out a kingly power which was strong with the might which many ages bring. Thus, while exhibiting virtues equal to Solon's, and a purpose identical with his, he enjoyed a good fortune and an efficacious power which supplemented his virtues.

IV. When we consider their military careers, moreover, Daimachus of Plataea does not allow Solon even the conduct of the war against the Megarians, as we have described it; ¹ but Publicola, fighting and commanding in person, brought the greatest struggles to a successful issue. And still further, comparing their political activities, Solon, in play, so to speak, and counterfeiting madness, went forth to plead for the recovery of Salamis; but Publicola, without any subterfuges, ran the greatest risks, set himself in opposition to the party of the Tarquins, and detected their treachery. Then, after being mainly instrumental in the capture and punishment of the traitors, he not only drove the tyrants themselves from the city, but extirpated their very hopes of return. And if he thus sturdily and resolutely confronted situations which called for active and spirited opposition, still better did he deal with those which required peaceable intercourse and gentle

Solon, viii. ; cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xiv. 1.

ὑπεικούσης δεομένοις, Πορσίναν ἄμαχον ἄνδρα καὶ φοβερὸν ἐμμελῶς προσαγαγόμενος καὶ μεταστήσας εἰς φιλίαν.

- 3 Καίτοι φήσκει τις ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν Σόλωνα προεμένοις ἀναλαβεῖν Ἀθηναίοις Σαλαμίνα, τὸν δὲ Ποπλικόλαν ἧς ἐκέκτηντο Ῥωμαῖοι χώρας ἀποστήναι. δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς τὰς πράξεις θεωρεῖν. ποικίλος γὰρ ὢν ὁ πολιτικὸς ὧ τρόπῳ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον εὐληπτόν ἐστι μεταχειρίζεται,¹ καὶ μέρους ἀφέσει πολλάκις ἔσωσε τὸ πᾶν καὶ μικρῶν ἀποστὰς
- 4 μειζόνων ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος ὁ ἀνὴρ τότε τῆς μὲν ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἀποστὰς ἔσωσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βεβαίως ἅπασαν, οἷς δ' ἦν μέγα τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάξαι προσεκτήσατο τὸ τῶν πολιορκούντων στρατόπεδον, ἐπιτρέψας δὲ τῷ πολεμίῳ δικαστῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ περιγενόμενος τῇ δίκῃ, προσέλαβεν ὅσα δόντας ἀγαπητὸν ἦν νικῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον διέλυσε καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς διὰ πίστιν ἀρετῆς καὶ καλοκαγαθίας, ἣν ὁ ἄρχων ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἐνεποίησεν αὐτῷ.

¹ μεταχειρίζεται with two Paris MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: μεταχειρίσασθαι.

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persuasion, as when he tactfully won over Porsena, an invincible and formidable foe, and made him a friend of Rome.

But here, perhaps, some one will say that Solon won back Salamis for the Athenians when they had given it up, whereas Publicola relinquished territory which the Romans had acquired. But we must view men's actions in the light of the times which call them forth. The subtle statesman will handle each issue that arises in the most feasible manner, and often saves the whole by relinquishing a part, and by yielding small advantages secures greater ones. And so Publicola, in that instance, by yielding the territory which belonged to others, saved all that was assuredly his own, and procured besides, for those who were hard put to it to save their city, the camp of their besiegers with all its stores. He made his adversary judge in the controversy, won his case, and received besides what his people would gladly have given for the victory. For Porsena put a stop to the war, and left the Romans all his provisions for carrying it on, owing to the confidence in their virtue and nobility with which their consul had inspired him.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Abantes, 11, a people of Euboea in the Homeric period.

Adrastus, 67, king of Argos, and leader of the "Seven against Thebes."

Acilius, Calus, 159, interpreter in the Roman senate for the Athenian embassy of 155 B.C. (*Cato Major*, xxii. 4), author of a history of Rome from the earliest to his own time.

Aeacus, 21, a mythical king of Aegina, after death one of the judges in Hades.

Agus, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.

Alba, 97, a very ancient town of Latium, on the Alban lake, some twelve miles S.E. of Rome.

Alcman, 291, a Lydian of Sardis, who came in his youth to Sparta, and became the founder of Dorian lyric poetry. He flourished in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.

Alcmene, 17, wife of Amphytrion of Thebes, and mother of Heracles by Zeus.

Anacharsis, 415, a Scythian, who travelled extensively in pursuit of knowledge (Herod. iv. 76 f.).

Anaximenes, the orator, 527, of Lampsacus, a pupil of Diogenes the Cynic, active at Athens as rhetorician and historian in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

Androgeos, 29, son of Minos the king of Crete.

Andron of Halicarnassus, 57, a genealogical writer of the fourth century B.C.

Androtion, 443, active in the political life of Athens from 376 to 346 B.C. In old age and exile he wrote an *Atthis*, or History of Attica, which was much read.

Antias, Valerius, 131, 381, a Roman historian who flourished in the earlier part of the first century B.C. His history extended from the earliest times down to those of Sulla, and was much used by both Livy and Plutarch.

Antigonus, 141, probably the general of Alexander who was afterwards king of Asia, surnamed the One-eyed.

Antigonus, 143, author of a History of Italy, in Greek, probably in the latter part of the third century B.C.

Antimachus, of Teos, 121, an early epic poet. Two poems of the epic cycle, the *Thebais*, and the *Epigoni*, went under his name.

Antisthenes the Socratic, 301, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates.

Aphidnae, 75, an ancient Attic township, about fifteen miles N.W. of Athens.

Apollodorus, 205, a learned grammarian of Athens in the latter part of the second century B.C. A treatise of his on mythology, the *Bibliotheca*, has come down to us.

Apollonothemis, 303, mentioned only here.

Archilochus, 11, 319, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.

Ardettus, 63, a hill in the S.E. suburbs of Athens.

Ariadne, 37, daughter of Minos and Pasiphaë, of Crete

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Aristocrates, 217, 303, known only as the author of an antiquarian and historical work on Sparta, probably of the early Roman imperial period.

Aristomenes, 169, the Messenian hero of the second war between Messenia and Sparta (685-668 B.C.).

Aristoxenus, 303, of Tarentum, a Greek writer on philosophy and music, a pupil of Aristotle, flourishing in 330 B.C. Parts of his works on Harmony and Rhythm have come down to us.

Athenodorus, son of Sandon, 549, of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher long resident at Rome, and much esteemed by Augustus.

B

Blon, 59, of Proconnesus, a compiler of mythical history, of uncertain date, not earlier than the fourth century B.C.

Boëdromion, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.

Brasidas, 283, the greatest Spartan hero of the Peloponnesian war. His death at Amphipolis is described by Thucydides in v. 10.

Brauron, 429, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Attica.

Busiris, 23, a mythical Egyptian king, who sacrificed all foreigners that entered his country.

Butas, 159, probably the freedman of Cato the Younger (Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, lxx.), known as a writer only from this mention of his work.

C

Camera, 167, an ancient city of Latium, the site of which is unknown.

Cephalus, 23, a river flowing through the plain west of Athens.

Chaeronela, 65, a town on the northern confines of Boeotia.

Chalcis, 63, the chief town of Euboea, on the straits of the Euripus.

Chrysa, 63, apparently a district of Athens at the foot of the Pnyx hill; but there are no other allusions to it.

Cirrha, 429, a town on the Corinthian gulf, serving as the seaport of Delphi.

Cleidemus, 39, 63, the oldest annalist of Athens, *circa* 420-350 B.C.

Clodius, 307, a Roman chronographer, otherwise unknown.

Codrus, 405, the last king of Athens, who, according to tradition, sacrificed himself for his country.

Colchis, 67, a district on the eastern shore of the Euxine sea.

Collas, Cape, 423, about three miles to the south-east of the ancient harbour of Phalerum.

Creophylus, 215, one of the earliest epic poets of Greece, said to have been a native of Chios, and a relative of Homer. The epic poem *Oechalia* was attributed to him.

Crommyon, **Crommyonia**, 19, a village and district on the Isthmus of Corinth.

Cythereus, 21, a mythical king of Salamis, receiving hero worship.

Cycnus, 23, a mythical son of Ares, slain by Heracles in Thessaly.

D

Daedalus, 39, the mythical "cunning artificer" of Athens, who took refuge with king Minos of Crete, for whom he built the Labyrinth. He was the father of Icarus.

Dalmachus of Plataea, 573, a Greek historian active in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., author of a work on India.

Daidameia, 69, wife of Peirithoüs, commonly called Hippodameia.

Deinon, 37, 51, one of the annalists of Athens, contemporary with Philochorus (306-260 B.C.).

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Demades, 451, a prominent orator and statesman at Athens in the times of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater; a member of the Macedonian party.

Demetrius the Phalerean, 277, 467, regent at Athens for Cassander 317-307 B.C., a voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.

Dicaearchus, 45, a celebrated Peripatetic philosopher, a disciple of Aristotle and a friend of Theophrastus.

Didymus, 405, the celebrated Alexandrian grammarian, of the time of Augustus.

Dieutychidas, 207, perhaps Dieuchidas is meant, a Megarian chronicler, of the fourth century B.C.

Diocles of Peparethus, 97, 113, an otherwise almost unknown Greek writer, whom Plutarch regards as a source for Fabius Pictor.

Diodorus the Topographer (or Periegete), 85, was probably an Athenian, and flourished at and after the time of Alexander the Great (330-300 B.C.). He wrote a work on the townships of Attica, and one on its monuments.

Diogenes, 301, probably Diogenes the Babylonian is meant, the head of the Stoic school at Athens, and one of the Athenian embassy to Rome in 155 B.C. He wrote a treatise on Laws.

Dionysius, 459, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse 405-367 B.C.

Dionysius, 139, of Halicarnassus, went to Rome about 29 B.C., where he remained for twenty-two years, collecting materials for his great work on the antiquities and history of Rome.

Dioscorides (or Dioscurides), 237, a pupil of Isocrates, writing in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

Draco, 449, one of the "thesmothetai," or six legislative archons at Athens, in 621 B.C.

E

Eleusis, 21, a city some twelve miles west of Athens, the seat of the celebrated mysteries.

Eleutheræe, 69, a mountain fastness between Eleusis and Boeotia.

Epicharmus the comic poet, 335, 542, born on the island of Cos, about 540 B.C., but early taken to Megara in Sicily, and from 484 to 450 B.C. one of the ornaments of the court of Hiero of Syracuse.

Epidauria, 17, between Troezen, on the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus, and the Isthmus of Corinth.

Eratosthenes, 205, of Cyrene, 276-196 B.C., a learned geographer and mathematician, for many years librarian at Alexandria.

Erechtheus, 39, a mythical king of Athens.

Eurytus, 19, a mythical king of the Thessalian city of Oechalia.

Evander, 125, the reputed leader of a colony from Arcadia into Italy, some sixty years before the Trojan war.

G

Gabii, 103, one of the oldest cities of Latium, about twelve miles S.E. of Rome; probably an earlier colony from Alba than Rome.

Gargettus, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.

Gymnosophists, 217, the naked philosophers of India. See Plutarch's *Alexander*, lxiv.

H

Hecataeus the Sophist, 267, of Abdera, a learned philosopher, critic, and grammarian, contemporary with the first Ptolemy (324-283 B.C.).

Hecatombæon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Hellanicus, 33, of Lesbos, the greatest of the Greek chroniclers, 480-395 (?) B.C.

Heracleides Ponticus, 405, 467, so called from his birth in Heraclea of Pontus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects. Cicero thought him superstitious and uncritical.

Heracleitus, 183, of Ephesus, a philosopher of the Ionian school, who flourished in the latter part of the sixth century B.C.

Hereas the Megarian, 41, 77, 429, known only through Plutarch's citations.

Hermippus, 279, 407, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and biographer, active in the second half of the third century B.C.

Herodorus, 59, of Heracleia in Pontus, flourished in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and was the author of an extended work on the mythology and worship of Heracles.

Hippias the Sophist, 277, 309, a native of Elis, and a contemporary of Socrates. Two dialogues of Plato bear his name.

Hippocrates, 409, of Chios, a Pythagorean philosopher, flourishing in the middle of the fifth century B.C., and chiefly famous as a mathematician.

Hippodamela, 17, daughter of Oenomaüs, and wife of Pelops.

I

Idas, 71, a Messenian hero, inseparable from his brother, the keen-eyed Lynceus, with whom he took part in the Argonautic expedition and the Calydonian boar hunt.

Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month (the thirteenth of March, May, July, and October).

Ion of Chios, 41, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., also author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he

recounted his experiences with famous men of the day.

Ister, 79, of Cyrene, a Greek historian flourishing between 250 and 230 B.C.

J

Juba, 131, 331, 353, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

L

Lapithae, 67, a mountain tribe of Thessaly.

Laurentum, 165, the ancient capital of Latium, on the sea-coast, about sixteen miles S.W. of Rome.

Lavinium, 163, an ancient city of Latium, about seventeen miles S.W. of Rome.

Lycelum, 63, in historic times a gymnasium in the eastern suburbs of Athens.

Lynceus, 71, see Idas.

M

Mantineae, 353, one of the most ancient and powerful towns in Arcadia.

Mellicertes, 57, a legendary personage, son of Athamas and Ino and, after his death by drowning, a beneficent sea deity.

Melité, 429, a deme, or ward, of the city of Athens, comprising the hill-region west of the acropolis.

Menecrates, 59, otherwise unknown.

Metellus, Quintus, 117, probably the consul of 60 B.C. His father had been consul in 93 B.C.

Molpadia, 63, an Amazon who was said to have slain Antiope. She was herself slain by Theseus, and her tomb was shown at Athens (Pausanias, i. 2, 1).

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Munychion, the tenth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our April.

Museum, 63, one of three hills to the S.W. of the acropolis at Athens.

N

Naxos, 41, the largest of the Cyclades islands, half way between Attica and Asia Minor.

Nones, the ninth day of the Roman month (the seventh of March, May, July, and October).

O

Oechalia, 19, see Eurytus.

Omphale, 15, a mythical queen of Lydia.

P

Paeon the Amathusian, 43, otherwise unknown.

Palladium, 63, a sacred precinct, evidently near Ardetus, in the S.E. suburbs of Athens. In historical times the "ephetai" sat here to try cases of involuntary homicide.

Palléné, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.

Parrhasius, 11, a celebrated painter, a native of Ephesus, but resident at Athens, flourishing in 400 B.C.

Pasiphaë, 37, wife of Minos, and mother of Ariadne and the Minotaur.

Pataecus, 419, otherwise unknown.

Peirithoüs, 41, king of the Lapithae, a mountain tribe of Thessaly.

Pelsistratus, 41, became tyrant of Athens in 560 B.C.

Peleus, 21, mythical king of the Myrmidons of Thessaly, father of Achilles.

Pelops, 17, a mythical king of Elis in Peloponnesus, husband of Hippodamela.

Periander, 413, tyrant of Corinth 625-585 B.C., one of the Seven Wise Men.

Phalerum, 35, the ancient harbour of Athens, before Themistocles fortified Peiraeus.

Phanias the Lesbian, 437, of Eresos, the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prolific writer on philosophy and history, an historical romancer.

Pherecydes, 37, of Leros, one of the Greek logographers, who lived at Athens, and died about 400 B.C.

Philochorus, 29, 35, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306-260 B.C.

Philostephanus, 277, of Cyrene, an Alexandrian historian and geographer, who was flourishing in 250 B.C.

Phlya, 433, a township in the eastern part of Attica.

Pictor, Fabius, 97, 113, the earliest Roman annalist, flourishing in the latter part of the third century B.C.

Plutus, 233, the god of wealth.

Pnyx, 61, that one of the three hills to the S.W. of the acropolis of Athens on which the people's assembly was held.

Polyzelus the Rhodian, 447, an historian of uncertain date.

Promathion, 97, otherwise unknown.

Pyanepsion, the fourth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our October.

R

Rhadamanthus, 33, a brother of Minos king of Crete, and like him a judge in the under world.

S

Samothrace, 353, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.

Scyros, 81, an island east of Euboea.

Selinus, 269, a Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

- Silanio, 11, a famous Athenian statuery in bronze, flourishing in 320 B.C.
- Simonides, 21, 35, of Ceos, the greatest lyric poet of Greece, 556-487 B.C.
- Simylus the poet, 143, otherwise unknown.
- Sosibius, 281, a distinguished Lacedaemonian grammarian, flourishing about 250 B.C.
- Spendon the Spartan, 291, otherwise unknown.
- Sphaerus, 221, a Stoic philosopher who lived at Alexandria and Sparta, and flourished early in the third century B.C.
- Sphettus, 27, a township in the eastern part of Attica.
- Stratonicus, 299, probably the famous Athenian musician of the time of Alexander the Great.
- Sulla, Sextius, the Carthaginian, 133, otherwise unknown.

T

- Tegea, 73, an ancient city in southern Arcadia.
- Telamon, 21, a mythical king of Salamis, son of Aeacus, father of Aias.
- Termerus, 23, a mythical highwayman slain by Heracles.
- Terpander, 291, of Lesbos, father of Greek music and lyric poetry, who taught at Sparta during the seventh century B.C.
- Thales, 409, 411, 417, of Miletus, the most celebrated Ionian philosopher, one of the Seven Wise Men, flourishing in the sixth century B.C.

- Thales (or Thaletas), 213, a Cretan musician and poet, who was flourishing about 680 B.C.
- Timaëus, 205, 303, of Tauromenium, a famous historian of Sicily, 352-256 B.C.
- Timon the Phliasian, 333, a native of Phlius in N.E. Peloponnesus, composed satirical poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy (320-230 B.C.).
- Trachis, 71, a city of Malis, commanding the approach to Thermopylae.
- Troezen, 7, a city on the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus.
- Tyrtæus, 225, a poet who flourished at Sparta during the second Messenian war (685-668 B.C.).

V

- Valerias, 131, see Antias.
- Varro, 121, M. Terentius, "the most learned of the Romans," an intimate friend of Cicero, whose political principles he shared (116-28 B.C.).
- Veii, 169, an ancient and powerful city of Etruria, about twelve miles north of Rome.

Z

- Zeno, 301, probably the Stoic philosopher is meant, who taught at Athens in the third century B.C., and wrote on law and government.
- Zenodotus of Troezen, 131, referred to by Dionysius Hal. (ii. 49) as author of a history of Umbria.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN TEN VOLUMES

II

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR
CIMON AND LUCULLUS



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the first volume of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F*) and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

Among editions of special *Lives* included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Sauppe

PREFATORY NOTE

series of annotated texts ; that of Blass, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts ; and the same editor's *Aristides und Cato*, Leipzig, 1898, in the same series. All these editions bring F^a and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. This has been done also by Holden, in his edition of the *Themistocles* (Macmillan, 1892).

The translations of the *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, and *Cimon* have already appeared in my "Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides" (New York, 1901), and "Plutarch's Cimon and Pericles" (New York, 1910), and are reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The translations of the *Camillus*, *Cato*, and *Lucullus* appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilised, including that of the *Lucullus* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

February, 1914.

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PARALLEL LIVES.

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- (23) Aratus.
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THEMISTOCLES

VOL. II.

B

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

Ι. Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε· πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν Ἀθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δῆμων ἐκ τῆς Λεοντίδος φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν·

Ἀβρότονον Θρηῖσσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι τὸν μέγαν Ἑλλησὶν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.

- 2 Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ Θράτταν, ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα, ἀλλ' Εὐτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ πόλιν αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας Ἀλικαρνασσὸν προστίθησι.

Paris
Edition,
n. 1624, p.
112

Διὸ καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ κακεῖνος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθεία διὰ τὴν μητέρα θνητὴν οὖσαν) ἔπειθέ τις ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν εὐγεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου γενομένου

THEMISTOCLES

I. In the case of Themistocles,¹ his family was too obscure to further his reputation. His father was Neocles,—no very conspicuous man at Athens,—a Phrearrhian by deme, of the tribe Leontis; and on his mother's side he was an alien, as her epitaph testifies :—

“ Abrotonon was I, and a woman of Thrace, yet I
brought forth
That great light of the Greeks,—know ! 'twas
Themistocles.”²

Phanias, however, writes that the mother of Themistocles was not a Thracian, but a Carian woman, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe. And Neanthes actually adds the name of her city in Caria,—Halicarnassus.

It was for the reason given, and because the aliens were wont to frequent Cynosarges,—this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Heracles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal,—that Themistocles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning

¹ It is probable that one or more introductory paragraphs of this biography have been lost. ² Athenaeus, xiii. p. 576.

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δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.

- 3 "Ὅτι μέντοι τοῦ Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δῆλός ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρήσθην ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἰστόρηκεν.

II. Ἐτι δὲ παῖς ὢν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι, καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτικός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἐρραθύμει, καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὐρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν παίδων.

2 ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὡς "Οὐδὲν ἔση, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν." ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς μὲν ἡθοποιούς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἐξεμάνθανε, τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ πρᾶξιν λεγομένων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν¹ παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὡς τῇ φύσει πιστεύων.

- 3 "Ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ἀστείαις λεγομέναις διατριβαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πεπαιδευσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος ἠναγκάζετο φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων, ὅτι λύραν μὲν ἀρμόσα-

¹ ὑπερορῶν Sintonis² with the best MSS.; Sintonis¹ and Bekker have οὐχ ὑπερορῶν, showed attentiveness.

THEMISTOCLES

he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.

However, it is clear that he was connected with the family of the Lycomidae, for he caused the chapel shrine at Phlya, which belonged to the Lycomidae, and had been burned by the Barbarians, to be restored at his own costs and adorned with frescoes, as Simonides has stated.

II. However lowly his birth, it is agreed on all hands that while yet a boy he was impetuous, by nature sagacious, and by election enterprising and prone to public life. In times of relaxation and leisure, when absolved from his lessons, he would not play nor indulge his ease, as the rest of the boys did, but would be found composing and rehearsing to himself mock speeches. These speeches would be in accusation or defence of some boy or other. Wherefore his teacher was wont to say to him: "My boy, thou wilt be nothing insignificant, but something great, of a surety, either for good or evil." Moreover, when he was set to study, those branches which aimed at the formation of character, or ministered to any gratification or grace of a liberal sort, he would learn reluctantly and sluggishly; and to all that was said for the cultivation of sagacity or practical efficiency, he clearly showed an indifference far beyond his years, as though he put his confidence in his natural gifts alone.

Thus it came about that, in after life, at entertainments of a so-called liberal and polite nature, when he was taunted by men of reputed culture, he was forced to defend himself rather rudely, saying that

σθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπίσταται, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε διακούσαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέλισσου σπουδάσαι τὸν φυσικόν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος. Περικλεῖ γάρ, ὃς πολὺ νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστρατήγει πολιορκοῦντι Σαμίους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε.

4 Μᾶλλον οὖν ἂν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρρίου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὔτε ῥήτορος ὄντος οὔτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε¹ καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὐσαν δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὥσπερ αἶρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἦν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους, σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἤδη πολιτευόμενος ἐπλησίαζεν.

5 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὁρμαῖς ἀνώμαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος, ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος ἄνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα μεγάλας ποιουμένη μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἐξισταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὥς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὠμολόγει, καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πῶλους ἀρίστους ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἥς προσήκει τύχῳσι παιδείας καὶ
6 καταρτίσεως. ἃ δὲ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκήρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ

¹ τὴν τότε Fuhr and Blass with S: τὴν,

THEMISTOCLES

tuning the lyre and handling the harp were no accomplishments of his, but rather taking in hand a city that was small and inglorious and making it glorious and great. And yet Stesimbrotus says that Themistocles was a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a disciple of Melissus the physicist; but he is careless in his chronology. It was Pericles, a much younger man than Themistocles, whom Melissus opposed at the siege of Samos,¹ and with whom Anaxagoras was intimate.

Rather, then, might one side with those who say that Themistocles was a disciple of Mnesiphilus the Phrearrhian, a man who was neither a rhetorician nor one of the so-called physical philosophers, but a cultivator of what was then called *sophia*, or wisdom, although it was really nothing more than cleverness in politics and practical sagacity. Mnesiphilus received this *sophia*, and handed it down, as though it were the doctrine of a sect, in unbroken tradition from Solon. His successors blended it with forensic arts, and shifted its application from public affairs to language, and were dubbed "sophists." It was this man, then, to whom Themistocles resorted at the very beginning of his public life.

But in the first essays of his youth he was uneven and unstable, since he gave his natural impulses free course, which, without due address and training, rush to violent extremes in the objects of their pursuit, and often degenerate; as he himself in later life confessed, when he said that even the wildest colts made very good horses, if only they got the proper breaking and training. What some story-makers add to this, however, to the effect that his father disinherited him, and his mother took her

¹ 440 B.C.

πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμία περιλύπου γενομένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι· καὶ τὸυναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι τοῦ τὰ¹ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς τριήρεις ἐρριμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ὡς δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται, τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοίως ἐχόντων.

III. Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἄψασθαι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ σφόδρα ἢ πρὸς δόξαν ὁρμὴ κρατῆσαι. δι' ἣν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐφιεμένος ἰταμῶς 113 ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύοντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν αἰεὶ πορευόμενον² αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔχθρα μεираκιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν· ἡράσθησαν γὰρ ἀμφότεροι τοῦ καλοῦ Στησίλεω, Κείου τὸ γένος ὄντος, ὡς Ἀρίστων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἰστό-
2 ρηκεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλουν καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοιότης ἔοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. πρῶτος γὰρ ὧν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικός τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἀριστείδης, καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡναγκάζετο τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι πολλάκις, ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὖξῃσιν.

¹ τοῦ τὰ Fuhr and Blass with F^{ms}: τὰ.

² πορευόμενον with Bekker and the MSS.: πορευόμενος.

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own life for very grief at her son's ill-fame, this I think is false. And, in just the opposite vein, there are some who say that his father fondly tried to divert him from public life, pointing out to him old triremes on the sea-shore, all wrecked and neglected, and intimating that the people treated their leaders in like fashion when these were past service.

III. Speedily, however, as it seems, and while he was still in all the ardour of youth, public affairs laid their grasp upon Themistocles, and his impulse to win reputation got strong mastery over him. Wherefore, from the very beginning, in his desire to be first, he boldly encountered the enmity of men who had power and were already first in the city, especially that of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was always his opponent. And yet it is thought that his enmity with this man had an altogether puerile beginning. They were both lovers of the beautiful Stesilaüs, a native of Ceos, as Ariston the philosopher has recorded, and thenceforward they continued to be rivals in public life also. However, the dissimilarity in their lives and characters is likely to have increased their variance. Aristides was gentle by nature, and a conservative in character. He engaged in public life, not to win favour or reputation, but to secure the best results consistent with safety and righteousness, and so he was compelled, since Themistocles stirred the people up to many novel enterprises and introduced great innovations, to oppose him often, and to take a firm stand against his increasing influence.

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- 3 Λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής, ὥστε νέος ὢν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννους ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν
- 4 καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις, καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐῷ τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας ὧντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τῶν βαρβάρων ἦτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὗς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤσκει πόρωθεν ἔτι¹ προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

IV. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἐχόντων Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς χρή τὴν διανομὴν ἐάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλεμον. ἥκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται² πλήθει νεῶν τὴν θάλασσαν.

2 ἦ καὶ ῥᾶον Θεμιστοκλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρείον οὐδὲ Πέρσας (μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι

¹ ἔτι Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: ἤδη.

² νησιῶται Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: Αἰγινήται.

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It is said, indeed, that Themistocles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that though he was still a young man when the battle with the Barbarians at Marathon¹ was fought and the generalship of Miltiades was in everybody's mouth, he was seen thereafter to be wrapped in his own thoughts for the most part, and was sleepless o' nights, and refused invitations to his customary drinking parties, and said to those who put wondering questions to him concerning his change of life that the trophy of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. Now the rest of his countrymen thought that the defeat of the Barbarians at Marathon was the end of the war; but Themistocles thought it to be only the beginning of greater contests, and for these he anointed himself, as it were, to be the champion of all Hellas, and put his city into training, because, while it was yet afar off, he expected the evil that was to come.

IV. And so, in the first place, whereas the Athenians were wont to divide up among themselves the revenue coming from the silver mines at Laureium, he, and he alone, dared to come before the people with a motion that this division be given up, and that with these moneys triremes be constructed for the war against Aegina.² This was the fiercest war then troubling Hellas, and the islanders controlled the sea, owing to the number of their ships. Wherefore all the more easily did Themistocles carry his point, not by trying to terrify the citizens with dreadful pictures of Darius or the Persians—

¹ 490 B.C.

² 484-483 B.C.

- 3 Λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής, ὥστε νέος ὢν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννους ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν
- 4 καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις, καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφ' ἃ τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας ὧντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶν βαρβάρων ἦτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀρχὴν μειζόνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὗς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ ὅλης Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤσρωθεν ἔτι¹ προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

IV. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων Ἰσθμίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ἐάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων κατασκευασθαι τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἵστασθαι, ἡκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται².

- 2 σαν. ἢ καὶ ῥᾶον Θηβαίων καὶ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πέρσας.

¹ ἔτι Fuhr and Blomfield.

² νησιῶται Fuhr and Blomfield.

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[illegible]

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καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιξόμενοι παρεί-
χον) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ὀργῇ καὶ
φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρησάμενος εὐκαίρως
ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν. ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν χρη-
μάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις, αἷς¹ καὶ
πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν.

- 3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ κατα-
βιβάζων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς τὰ
πεζὰ μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἀξιομάχους ὄντας,
τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀλκῇ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν δυναμένους,
ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυ-
βάτας καὶ θαλαττίους ἐποίησε, καὶ διαβολὴν
καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχευ, ὡς ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ
δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος
εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθη-
ναίων δῆμον. ἔπραξε δὲ ταῦτα Μιλτιάδου
κρατήσας ἀντιλέγοντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Σησίμ-
βροτος.

- 4 Εἰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ
πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἢ μὴ ταῦτα πράξας, ἔστω
φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν· ὅτι δὲ ἡ τότε σωτη-
ρία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπῆρξε καὶ
τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν αἱ τριήρεις
ἐκεῖναι, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε.
τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἀθραύστου διαμενού-
σης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἥτταν, ὡς οὐκ ὦν
ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς

¹ αἷς Fuhr and Blass with S: αἱ.

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these were too far away and inspired no very serious fear of their coming, but by making opportune use of the bitter jealousy which they cherished toward Aegina in order to secure the armament he desired. The result was that with those moneys they built a hundred triremes, with which they actually fought at Salamis¹ against Xerxes.

And after this, by luring the city on gradually and turning its progress toward the sea, urging that with their infantry they were no match even for their nearest neighbours, but that with the power they would get from their ships they could not only repel the Barbarians but also take the lead in Hellas, he made them, instead of "steadfast hoplites"—to quote Plato's words,² sea-tossed mariners, and brought down upon himself this accusation: "Themistocles robbed his fellow-citizens of spear and shield, and degraded the people of Athens to the rowing-pad and the oar." And this he accomplished in triumph over the public opposition of Miltiades, as Stesimbrotus relates.

Now, whether by accomplishing this he did injury to the integrity and purity of public life or not, let the philosopher rather investigate. But that the salvation which the Hellenes achieved at that time came from the sea, and that it was those very triremes which restored again the fallen city of Athens, Xerxes himself bore witness, not to speak of other proofs. For though his infantry remained intact, he took to flight after the defeat of his ships, because he thought he was not a match for the Hellenes, and he left Mardonius behind, as it seems to me,

¹ 480 B.C.

² *Laws*, iv. p. 706.

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"Ελλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἢ δουλωσόμενον αὐτούς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V. Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν 114
οἱ μὲν τινὲς φασὶ δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας· οἱ δὲ τούναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρολογίαν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν ἐδωδύ-
2 μων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵπποτρόφος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἠπέλιψε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσκειν δούρειον ἵππον, αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινὰς ταραξείν.

Τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντα ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι μὲν νέος ὦν καὶ ἀφανὴς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμιόνης κιθαριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκλιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.
3 εἰς δ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηναὶς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας μεγάλης ᾧοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ μήπω γνῶριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι
4 προσωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγωδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντας, καὶ πίνακα

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rather to obstruct their pursuit than to subdue them.

V. Some say that Themistocles was an eager money-maker because of his liberality; for since he was fond of entertaining, and lavished money splendidly on his guests, he required a generous budget. Others, on the contrary, denounce his great stinginess and parsimony, claiming that he used to sell the very food sent in to him as a gift. When Philides the horse-breeder was asked by him for a colt and would not give it, Themistocles threatened speedily to make his house a wooden horse; thereby darkly intimating that he would stir up accusations against him in his own family, and lawsuits between the man and those of his own household.

In his ambition he surpassed all men. For instance, while he was still young and obscure, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a harpist who was eagerly sought after by the Athenians, to practise at his house, because he was ambitious that many should seek out his dwelling and come often to see him. Again, on going to Olympia, he tried to rival Cimon in his banquets and booths and other brilliant appointments, so that he displeased the Hellenes. For Cimon was young and of a great house, and they thought they must allow him in such extravagances; but Themistocles had not yet become famous, and was thought to be seeking to elevate himself unduly without adequate means, and so was charged with ostentation. And still again, as choregus, or theatrical manager, he won a victory with tragedies, although even at that early time this contest was conducted with great eagerness and

τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα·
 “Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος
 ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἤρχεν.”

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο
 μὲν ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα λέγων ἀπὸ
 στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τὰ
 συμβόλαια παρέχων ἑαυτόν, ὥστε πού καὶ πρὸς
 Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κεῖον εἰπεῖν, αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν
 οὐ μετρίων παρ’ αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος, ὡς οὐτ’
 ἐκεῖνος ἂν γένοιτο ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ
 μέλος οὐτ’ αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον
 5 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-
 σκώπτων ἔλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν
 λοιδροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ
 ποιούμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὄντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν
 ὄψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων
 τέλος κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἐξοστρα-
 κισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

VI. Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βουλευομένων περὶ
 στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκόντας ἐκστήναι
 τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν ἐκπεπληγμένους τὸν
 κίνδυνον, Ἐπικύδην δὲ τὸν Εὐφημίδου, δη-
 μαγωγὸν ὄντα δεινὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, μαλακὸν δὲ
 τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ χρημάτων ἥττονα, τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἐφίεσθαι καὶ κρατήσειν ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ χει-
 ροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα δείσαντα, μὴ τὰ
 πράγματα διαφθαρείη παντάπασι τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐμπεσούσης, χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν
 ἐξωνήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύδους.

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ambition, and set up a tablet commemorating his victory with the following inscription: "Themistocles the Phrearrhian was Choregus; Phrynichus was Poet; Adeimantus was Archon."¹

However, he was on good terms with the common folk, partly because he could call off-hand the name of every citizen, and partly because he rendered the service of a safe and impartial arbitrator in cases of private obligation and settlement out of court; and so he once said to Simonides of Ceos, who had made an improper request from him when he was magistrate: "You would not be a good poet if you should sing contrary to the measure; nor I a clever magistrate if I should show favour contrary to the law." And once again he banteringly said to Simonides that it was nonsense for him to abuse the Corinthians, who dwelt in a great and fair city, while he had portrait figures made of himself, who was of such an ugly countenance. And so he grew in power, and pleased the common folk, and finally headed a successful faction and got Aristides removed by ostracism.²

VI. At last, when the Mede was descending upon Hellas and the Athenians were deliberating who should be their general, all the rest, they say, voluntarily renounced their claims to the generalship, so panic-stricken were they at the danger; but Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a popular leader who was powerful in speech but effeminate in spirit and open to bribes, set out to get the office, and was likely to prevail in the election; so Themistocles, fearing lest matters should go to utter ruin in case the leadership fell to such a man, bribed and bought off the ambition of Epicydes.

¹ 476 B.C.

² 483-482 B.C.

- 2 Ἐπαινείται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον ἔργον ἐν τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος αἴτησιν. ἑρμηνέα γὰρ ὄντα συλλαβὼν διὰ ψηφίσματος ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάροις προστάγμασιν ἐτόλμησε
- 3 χρῆσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην· Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ εἰπόντος καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος ἐνέγραψαν, ὅτι τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκόμισε. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους καὶ διαλλάξαι τὰς πόλεις ἀλλήλαις, πείσαντα τὰς ἔχθρας διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβαλέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ Χείλεων τὸν Ἀρκάδα μάλιστα συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι.

VII. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθύς μὲν ἐπεχείρει τοὺς πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔπειθεν ἐκλιπόντας ὡς προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπαντᾶν τῷ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐξήγαγε πολλὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Τέμπε μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς αὐτόθι προκινδυνεύοντων τῆς

2 Θετταλίας οὐπω τότε μὴδίζειν δοκούσης· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θετταλῶν βασιλεῖ προσγενομένων ἐμῆδιζε τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτίας, μᾶλλον ἤδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσείχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξω.

Ἐνθα δὴ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων Εὐρυβιάδην καὶ

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Praise is given to his treatment of the linguist in the company of those who were sent by the King to demand earth and water as tokens of submission : this interpreter he caused to be arrested, and had him put to death by special decree, because he dared to prostitute the speech of Hellas to Barbarian stipulations. Also to his treatment of Arthmius of Zeleia : on motion of Themistocles this man was entered on the list of the disfranchised, with his children and his family, because he brought the gold of the Medes and offered it to the Hellenes. But the greatest of all his achievements was his putting a stop to Hellenic wars, and reconciling Hellenic cities with one another, persuading them to postpone their mutual hatreds because of the foreign war. To which end, they say, Cheileos the Arcadian most seconded his efforts.

VII. On assuming the command, he straightway went to work to embark the citizens on their triremes, and tried to persuade them to leave their city behind them and go as far as possible away from Hellas to meet the Barbarians by sea. But many opposed this plan, and so he led forth a large army to the vale of Tempe, along with the Lacedaemonians, in order to make a stand there in defence of Thessaly, which was not yet at that time supposed to be medising. But soon the army came back from this position without accomplishing anything, the Thessalians went over to the side of the King, and everything was medising as far as Boeotia, so that at last the Athenians were more kindly disposed to the naval policy of Themistocles, and he was sent with a fleet to Artemisium, to watch the narrows.

It was at this place that the Hellenes urged

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Λακεδαιμονίους ἡγεῖσθαι κελευόντων, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πλήθει τῶν νεῶν σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιούντων
 3 ἐτέροις ἔπescθαι, συνιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αὐτός τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Εὐρυβιάδῃ παρήκε καὶ κατεπράυνε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὑπισχνούμενος, ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκόντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ πειθομένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διόπερ δοκεῖ τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, ὡς ἀνδρεία μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσύνη δὲ τῶν συμμάχων περιγενομένους.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀφetaῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου προσμίξαντος ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Εὐρυβιάδης τῶν κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ πλήθος, ἄλλας δὲ πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιαθοῦ περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην εἶσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος κομισθεὶς ἄψασθαι Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπεριβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀπρόσμαχον ἡγούμενος τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀλκὴν βασιλέως, δείσαντες οἱ Εὐβοεῖς, μὴ σφᾶς οἱ Ἕλληνες πρό-
 5 γοντα μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν πέμψαντες. ἂ λαβὼν ἐκεῖνος, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστόρηκε, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔδωκεν.

Ἐναντιουμένου δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἀρχιτέλους, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς νεῶς τριήραρχος, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ χρήματα τοῖς ναύταις χορηγεῖν ἔσπευδεν ἀποπλεῦσαι, παρώξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐπ' αὐτόν,

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Eurybiades and the Lacedaemonians to take the lead, but the Athenians, since in the number of their ships they surpassed all the rest put together, disdained to follow others,—a peril which Themistocles at once comprehended. He surrendered his own command to Eurybiades, and tried to mollify the Athenians with the promise that if they would show themselves brave men in the war, he would induce the Hellenes to yield a willing obedience to them thereafter. Wherefore he is thought to have been the man most instrumental in achieving the salvation of Hellas, and foremost in leading the Athenians up to the high repute of surpassing their foes in valour and their allies in magnanimity.

Now Eurybiades, on the arrival of the Barbarian armament at Aphetae, was terrified at the number of ships that faced him, and, learning that two hundred ships more were sailing around above Sciathus to cut off his retreat, desired to proceed by the shortest route down into Hellas, to get into touch with Peloponnesus and encompass his fleet with his infantry forces there, because he thought the power of the King altogether invincible by sea. Therefore the Euboeans, fearing lest the Hellenes abandon them to their fate, held secret conference with Themistocles, and sent Pelagon to him with large sums of money. This money he took, as Herodotus relates,¹ and gave to Eurybiades.

Meeting with most opposition among his fellow-citizens from Architeles, who was captain on the sacred state galley, and who, because he had no money to pay the wages of his sailors, was eager to sail off home, Themistocles incited his crew all the

¹ viii. 5.

6 ὥστε τὸ δεῖπνον ἀρπάσαι συνδραμόντας. τοῦ δ' Ἀρχιτέλους ἀθυμοῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος, εἰσέπεμψεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν κίστῃ δεῖπνον ἄρτων καὶ κρεῶν, ὑποθεὶς κάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου καὶ κελεύσας αὐτόν τε δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν πριηριτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, καταβοήσειν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας¹ ὥς ἔχοντος ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἶρηκεν.

VIII. Αἱ δὲ γενόμεναι τότε πρὸς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς περὶ τὰ στενὰ μάχαι κρίσιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην οὐκ ἐποίησαν, τῇ δὲ πείρᾳ μέγιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὤνησαν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους διδαχθέντας, ὥς οὔτε πλήθη νεῶν οὔτε κόσμοι καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων οὔτε κραυγαὶ κομπῶδεις ἢ βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχουσι τι δεινὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπισταμένους εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι καὶ μάχεσθαι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων καταφρονοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα φέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα διαγωνίζεσθαι συμ-
2 πλακέντας. ὃ δὴ καὶ Πίνδαρος οὐ κακῶς ἔοικε συνιδὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ μάχης εἰπεῖν·

“Ὅθι παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεινὰν
κρηπίδ' ἐλευθερίας·

ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ νικᾶν τὸ θαρρεῖν.

“Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἐστίαιαν αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπεπτα-
μένος, ἀντιτείνει δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὸ

¹ παρόντας Fuhr and Blass with F²S: πολίτας.

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more against him, so that they made a rush upon him and snatched away his dinner. Then, while Architeles was feeling dejected and indignant over this, Themistocles sent him a dinner of bread and meat in a box at the bottom of which he had put a talent of silver, and bade him dine without delay, and on the morrow satisfy his crew; otherwise he said he would denounce him publicly as the receiver of money from the enemy. At any rate, such is the story of Phantias the Lesbian.

VIII. The battles which were fought at that time with the ships of the Barbarians in the narrows were not decisive of the main issue, it is true, but they were of the greatest service to the Hellenes in giving them experience, since they were thus taught by actual achievements in the face of danger that neither multitudes of ships nor brilliantly decorated figure-heads nor boastful shouts or barbarous battle-hymns have any terror for men who know how to come to close quarters and dare to fight there; but that they must despise all such things, rush upon the very persons of their foes, grapple with them, and fight it out to the bitter end. Of this Pindar seems to have been well aware when he said of the battle of Artemisium:—

“Where Athenians’ valiant sons set in radiance
eternal

Liberty’s corner-stone.”¹

For verily the foundation of victory is courage.

Artemisium is a part of Euboea above Hestiaea, —a sea-beach stretching away to the north,—and just about opposite to it lies Olizon, in the territory

¹ Bergk, *Frag.* 77.

Φιλοκτήτη γενομένης χώρας Ὀλιζών. ἔχει δὲ ναὸν οὐ μέγαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Προσηφίας, 116 καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτῷ πέφυκε καὶ στηλαι κύκλω λίθου λευκοῦ πεπήγασιν· ὁ δὲ λίθος τῇ χειρὶ τριβόμενος καὶ χροᾶν καὶ ὁσμὴν κροκίζουσιν 3 ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν στηλῶν ἐλεγείον ἦν τότε γεγραμμένον·

Παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεᾶς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷδέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει
ναυμαχίῃ δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὦλετο
Μήδων,
σήματα ταῦτ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

δείκνυνται δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς τόπος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ πέριξ θινὶ κόνιν τεφρώδη καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκ βάθους ἀναδιδούς, ὥσπερ πυρίκαυστον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς καῦσαι δοκοῦσι.

IX. Τῶν μέντοι περὶ Θερμοπύλας εἰς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπαγγελλόντων¹ πυθόμενοι Λεωνίδα τε κεῖσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν Ξέρξην τῶν κατὰ γῆν παρόδων, εἴσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνεκομίζοντο, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τεταγμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ μέγα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φρονούντων. παραπλέων δὲ τὴν χώραν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἥπερ κατάρσεις ἀναγκαίας καὶ καταφυγὰς ἐώρα τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐνεχάραττε κατὰ τῶν λίθων ἐπιφανῇ 2 γράμματα, τοὺς μὲν εὐρίσκων ἀπὸ τύχης, τοὺς δ'

¹ ἀπαγγελλόντων Fuhr and Blass with F²S: ἀπαγγελέντων.

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once subject to Philoctetes. It has a small temple of Artemis surnamed *Proseoea*, which is surrounded by trees and enclosed by upright slabs of white marble. This stone, when you rub it with your hand, gives off the colour and the odour of saffron. On one of these slabs the following elegy was inscribed :—

“ Nations of all sorts of men from Asia’s boundaries
coming,
Sons of the Athenians once, here on this arm of
the sea,
Whelmed in a battle of ships, and the host of the
Medes was destroyed;
These are the tokens thereof, built for the Maid
Artemis.” ¹

And a place is pointed out on the shore, with sea sand all about it, which supplies from its depths a dark ashen powder, apparently the product of fire, and here they are thought to have burned their wrecks and dead bodies.

IX. However, when they learned by messengers from Thermopylae to Artemisium that Leonidas was slain and that Xerxes was master of the pass, they withdrew further down into Hellas, the Athenians bringing up the extreme rear because of their valour, and greatly elated by their achievements. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw places at which the enemy must necessarily put in for shelter and supplies, he inscribed conspicuous writings on stones, some of which he found to his hand there by chance, and some he himself caused to be set near the inviting anchorages and

¹ Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.⁴ p. 480.

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αὐτὸς ἰστὰς περὶ τὰ ναύλοχα καὶ τὰς ὑδρείας, ἐπισκῆπτων Ἰωσι διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε, μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς πατέρας ὄντας καὶ προκινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας, εἰ δὲ μή, κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ συνταράττειν. ταῦτα δ' ἤλπιζεν ἢ μεταστήσειν τοὺς Ἰωνας ἢ ταράξειν ὑποπτοτέρους τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένους.

- 3 Ξέρξου δὲ διὰ τῆς Δωρίδος ἄνωθεν ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὰ τῶν Φωκέων ἄσθη πυρπολοῦντος οὐ προσήμυναν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καίπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεομένων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν. μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου περιεχομένων καὶ πᾶσαν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ὠρμημένων συνάγειν, καὶ διατειχιζόντων
- 4 τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, ἅμα μὲν ὀργὴ τῆς προδοσίας εἶχε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ δυσθυμία καὶ κατήφεια μεμονωμένους. μάχεσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐ διανοοῦντο μυριάσι στρατοῦ τοσαύταις· ὃ δ' ἦν μόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντας ἐμφῦναι ταῖς ναυσίν, οἱ πολλοὶ χαλεπῶς ἤκουον, ὥς μήτε νίκης δεόμενοι μήτε σωτηρίαν ἐπιστάμενοι θεῶν τε ἱερὰ καὶ πατέρων ἡρία προῖεμένων.

X. Ἐνθα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπορῶν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ

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watering places. In these writings he solemnly enjoined upon the Ionians, if it were possible, to come over to the side of the Athenians, who were their ancestors, and who were risking all in behalf of their freedom; but if they could not do this, to damage the Barbarian cause in battle, and bring confusion among them. By this means he hoped either to fetch the Ionians over to his side, or to confound them by bringing the Barbarians into suspicion of them.

Although Xerxes had made a raid up through Doris into Phocis, and was burning the cities of the Phocians, the Hellenes gave them no succour. The Athenians, it is true, begged them to go up into Boeotia against the enemy, and make a stand there in defence of Attica, as they themselves had gone up by sea to Artemisium in defence of others. But no one listened to their appeals. All clung fast to the Peloponnesus, and were eager to collect all the forces inside the Isthmus, and went to running a wall through the Isthmus from sea to sea. Then the Athenians were seized alike with rage at this betrayal, and with sullen dejection at their utter isolation. Of fighting alone with an army of so many myriads they could not seriously think; and as for the only thing left them to do in their emergency, namely, to give up their city and stick to their ships, most of them were distressed at the thought, saying that they neither wanted victory nor understood what safety could mean if they abandoned to the enemy the shrines of their gods and the sepulchres of their fathers.

X. Then indeed it was that Themistocles, despairing of bringing the multitude over to his views by

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ἐν τραγωδία μηχανὴν ἄρας, σημεῖα δαιμόνια καὶ
 χρησμούς ἐπῆγεν αὐτοῖς· σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων
 τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃς ἀφανὴς ἐκείναις ταῖς
 ἡμέραις ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς
 καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας ἀπαρχὰς εὐρί-
 σκοντες ἀψαύστους οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐξήγγελλον εἰς
 τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον διδόντος,
 ὥς ἀπολέλοιπε τὴν πόλιν ἢ θεὸς ὑψηγομένη
 2 πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοῖς. τῷ δὲ χρησμῷ
 πάλιν ἐδημαγώγει, λέγων μηδὲν ἄλλο δηλοῦσθαι
 ξύλινον τεῖχος ἢ τὰς ναῦς· διὸ καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα
 θείαν, οὐχὶ δεινὴν οὐδὲ σχετλίαν καλεῖν τὸν θεόν,
 ὥς εὐτυχήματος μεγάλου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπώ-
 νυμον ἔσομένην. κρατήσας δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ψή-
 φισμα γράφει, τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι
 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηναίων μεδεούσῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐν
 ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, παῖδας
 δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σώζειν ἕκαστον
 3 ὡς δυνατόν. κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος
 οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς¹
 καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα, φιλοτίμως πάνυ τῶν
 Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων· καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψη- 117
 φίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ διδόντες,
 καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐξεῖναι

¹ γενεὰς Madvig's correction, adopted by Blass: γονεάς parents.

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any human reasonings, set up machinery, as it were, to introduce the gods to them, as a theatrical manager would for a tragedy, and brought to bear upon them signs from heaven and oracles. As a sign from heaven he took the behaviour of the serpent, which is held to have disappeared about that time from the sacred enclosure on the Acropolis. When the priests found that the daily offerings made to it were left whole and untouched, they proclaimed to the multitude,—Themistocles putting the story into their mouths,—that the goddess had abandoned her city and was showing them their way to the sea. Moreover, with the well-known oracle¹ he tried again to win the people over to his views, saying that its “wooden wall” meant nothing else than their fleet; and that the god in this oracle called Salamis “divine,” not “dreadful” nor “cruel,” for the very reason that the island would sometime give its name to a great piece of good fortune for the Hellenes. At last his opinion prevailed, and so he introduced a bill providing that the city be entrusted for safe keeping “to Athena the patroness of Athens,” but that all the men of military age embark on the triremes, after finding for their children, wives, and servants, such safety as each best could. Upon the passage of this bill, most of the Athenians bestowed their children and wives in Troezen, where the Troezenians very eagerly welcomed them. They actually voted to support them at the public cost, allowing two obols daily to each family, and to permit the boys to pluck of the vintage fruit everywhere, and

¹ Herod., vii. 141.

- πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθοὺς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν.
- 4 Οὐκ ὄντων δὲ δημοσίων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν φησι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν πορίσασαν ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς ἐκάστω τῶν στρατευομένων αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριήρεις, Κλείδημος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ποιεῖται στρατήγημα. καταβαινόντων γὰρ εἰς Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγάλματος· τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ διερευνώμενον ἅπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρίσκειν πλήθος ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ὧν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων εὐπορήσαι τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναὺς ἐφοδίων.
- 5 Ἐκπλεούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς μὲν οἶκτον τὸ θέαμα, τοῖς δὲ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης παρεῖχε, γενεὰς μὲν ἄλλη προπεμπόντων, αὐτῶν δ' ἀκάμπτων πρὸς οἰμωγὰς καὶ δάκρυα γονέων καὶ περιβολὰς διαπερώντων εἰς τὴν νῆσον. καίτοι πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ γῆρας ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλεον εἶχον· ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ συντρόφων ζώων ἐπικλῶσα γλυκυθυμία, μετ' ὠρυγῆς καὶ πόθου συμπαραθεόντων ἐμβαίνουσι
- 6 τοῖς ἑαυτῶν τροφεῦσιν. ἐν οἷς ἱστορεῖται κύων Ξανθίππου τοῦ Περικλέους πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μόνωσιν ἐναλέσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῇ τριήρει παρανηχόμενος ἐκπεσεῖν

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besides to hire teachers for them. The bill was introduced by a man whose name was Nicagoras.

Since the Athenians had no public moneys in hand, it was the Senate of Areiopagus, according to Aristotle, which provided each of the men who embarked with eight drachmas, and so was most instrumental in manning the triremes; but Cleidemus represents this too as the result of an artifice of Themistocles. He says that when the Athenians were going down to the Piraeus and abandoning their city, the Gorgon's head was lost from the image of the goddess; and then Themistocles, pretending to search for it, and ransacking everything, thereby discovered an abundance of money hidden away in the baggage, which had only to be confiscated, and the crews of the ships were well provided with rations and wages.

When the entire city was thus putting out to sea, the sight provoked pity in some, and in others astonishment at the hardihood of the step; for they were sending off their families in one direction, while they themselves, unmoved by the lamentations and tears and embraces of their loved ones, were crossing over to the island where the enemy was to be fought. Besides, many who were left behind on account of their great age invited pity also, and much affecting fondness was shown by the tame domestic animals, which ran along with yearning cries of distress by the side of their masters as they embarked. A story is told of one of these, the dog of Xanthippus the father of Pericles, how he could not endure to be abandoned by his master, and so sprang into the sea, swam across the strait by the side of his master's trireme,

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εἰς τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ λιποθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν εὐθύς· οὐ καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον ἄχρι νῦν καὶ καλούμενον Κυνὸς σῆμα τάφον εἶναι λέγουσι.

XI. Ταῦτά τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αἰσθόμενος ποθοῦντας Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεδιότας, μὴ δι' ὀργὴν τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑλλάδος (ἐξωστράκιστο γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους), γράφει ψήφισμα, τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν ἐξεῖναι κατελθοῦσι πράττειν καὶ λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν.

- 2 Εὐρυβιάδου δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν νεῶν ἔχοντας διὰ τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα, μαλακοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὄντος, αἶρειν δὲ βουλομένους καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἤθροιστο τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀντέλεγεν· ὅτε καὶ τὰ μνημονευόμενα λεχθῆναί φασι. τοῦ γὰρ Εὐρυβιάδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος· “ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοὺς προεξανισταμένους ῥαπίζουσι,” “Ναί,” εἶπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, “ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας οὐ
- 3 στεφανοῦσιν.” ἐπαραμένου δὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν ὡς πατάξοντος, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφη· “Πάταξον μὲν, ἄκουσον δέ.” θαυμάσαντος δὲ τὴν πραότητα τοῦ Εὐρυβιάδου καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄπολις οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ προσέσθαι

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and staggered out on Salamis, only to faint and die straightway. They say that the spot which is pointed out to this day as "Dog's Mound" is his tomb.

XI. These were surely great achievements of Themistocles, but there was a greater still to come. When he saw that the citizens yearned for Aristides, and feared lest out of wrath he might join himself to the Barbarian and so subvert the cause of Hellas,—he had been ostracized before the war in consequence of political defeat at the hands of Themistocles,¹—he introduced a bill providing that those who had been removed for a time be permitted to return home and devote their best powers to the service of Hellas along with the other citizens.

When Eurybiades, who had the command of the fleet on account of the superior claims of Sparta, but who was faint-hearted in time of danger, wished to hoist sail and make for the Isthmus, where the infantry also of the Peloponnesians had been assembled, it was Themistocles who spoke against it, and it was then, they say, that these memorable sayings of his were uttered. When Eurybiades said to him, "Themistocles, at the games those who start too soon get a caning," "Yes," said Themistocles, "but those who lag behind get no crown." And when Eurybiades lifted up his staff as though to smite him, Themistocles said: "Smite, but hear me." Then Eurybiades was struck with admiration at his calmness, and bade him speak, and Themistocles tried to bring him back to his own position. But on a certain one saying that a man without a city had no business to advise men who still had cities of their own

¹ Cf. chap. v. *fin*.

τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπιστρέψας τὸν
 4 λόγον· “Ἡμεῖς τοι,” εἶπεν, “ὦ μοχθηρέ, τὰς μὲν
 οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλελοιπάμεν, οὐκ ἀξι-
 ούντες ἀψύχων ἔνεκα δουλεύειν, πόλις δ’ ἡμῖν
 ἔστι μεγίστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, αἱ διακόσiai
 τριήρεις, αἱ νῦν μὲν ὑμῖν παρεστᾶσι βοηθοὶ
 σώζεσθαι δι’ αὐτῶν βουλομένοις, εἰ δ’ ἄπιτε
 δεύτερον ἡμᾶς προδόντες, αὐτίκα πεύσεται τις Ἑλ-
 λήνων Ἀθηναίους καὶ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ χώραν
 5 οὐ χείρονα κεκτημένους ἧς ἀπέβαλον.” ταῦτα
 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰπόντος ἔννοια καὶ δέος ἔσχε
 τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ σφᾶς ἀπο-
 λείποντες οἴχονται. τοῦ δ’ Ἐρετριέως πειρω- 118
 μένου τι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, “Ἡ γάρ,” ἔφη, “καὶ
 ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἐστι λόγος, οἷ καθάπερ αἱ
 τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ
 ἔχετε;”

XII. Λέγεται δ’ ὑπὸ τινων τὸν μὲν Θεμιστο-
 κλέα περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος
 ἄνωθεν τῆς νεῶς διαλέγεσθαι, γλαῦκα δ’ ὀφθῆναι
 διαπετομένην ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῖς
 καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσιν διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
 προσέθεντο τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναυ-
 2 μαχήσοντες. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὃ τε
 στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικὸν προσ-
 φερόμενος τοὺς πέριξ ἀπέκρυνεν αἰγιαλούς,
 αὐτὸς τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ
 καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄθρους ὤφθη, τῶν
 δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων, ἐξερρήσαν οἱ τοῦ
 Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλιν
 ἐπάπταινον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν,

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to abandon and betray them, Themistocles addressed his speech with emphasis to him, saying: "It is true, thou wretch, that we have left behind us our houses and our city walls, not deeming it meet for the sake of such lifeless things to be in subjection; but we still have a city, the greatest in Hellas, our two hundred triremes, which now are ready to aid you if you choose to be saved by them; but if you go off and betray us for the second time, straightway many a Hellene will learn that the Athenians have won for themselves a city that is free and a territory that is far better than the one they cast aside." When Themistocles said this, Eurybiades began to reflect, and was seized with fear lest the Athenians go away and abandon him. And again, when the Eretrian tried to argue somewhat against him, "Aha!" said he, "what argument can ye make about war, who, like the cuttle-fish, have a long pouch in the place where your heart ought to be?"

XII. Some tell the story that while Themistocles was thus speaking from off the deck of his ship, an owl was seen to fly through the fleet from the right and alight in his rigging; wherefore his hearers espoused his opinion most eagerly and prepared to do battle with their ships. But soon the enemy's armament beset the coast of Attica down to the haven of Phalerum, so as to hide from view the neighbouring shores; then the King in person with his infantry came down to the sea, so that he could be seen with all his hosts; and presently, in view of this junction of hostile forces, the words of Themistocles ebbed out of the minds of the Hellenes, and the Peloponnesians again turned their eyes wistfully towards the Isthmus and were vexed if any one spake

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εἴ τις ἄλλο τι λέγοι χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐδόκει δὲ τῆς
 νυκτὸς ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς
 3 κυβερνήταις, ἔνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμισ-
 στοκλῆς, εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν
 προέμενοι βοήθειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλυθήσονται
 κατὰ πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ συνετίθει τὴν περὶ
 τὸν Σίκιννον παραγματείαν.

Ἦν δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Πέρσης ὁ Σίκιννος, αἰχμάλ-
 λωτος, εὖνους δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ τῶν τέκνων
 4 αὐτοῦ παιδαγωγός. ὃν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν
 Ξέρξην κρύφα, κελεύσας λέγειν, ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς
 ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς αἰρούμενος τὰ βα-
 σιλέως ἐξαγγέλλει πρῶτος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 ἀποδιδράσκοντας, καὶ διακελεύεται μὴ παρεῖναι
 φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ τaráττονται τῶν πεζῶν
 χωρὶς ὄντες ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναυτι-
 5 κὴν δύναμιν. ταῦτα δ' ὁ Ξέρξης ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας
 λελεγμένα δεξάμενος ἤσθη, καὶ τέλος εὐθὺς
 ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν νεῶν, τὰς μὲν
 ἄλλας πληροῦν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, διακοσίαις δ'
 ἀναχθέντας ἤδη περιβαλέσθαι τὸν πόρον ἐν
 κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ διαζῶσαι τὰς νήσους, ὅπως
 ἐκφύγοι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων.

6 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λύσι-
 μάχου πρῶτος αἰσθόμενος ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, οὐκ ὦν φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι'
 ἐκείνον ἐξωστρακισμένος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται· προελ-
 θόντι δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ φράζει τὴν κύκλωσιν.
 ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἄλλην καλοκαγαθίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
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of any other course; nay, they actually decided to withdraw from their position in the night, and orders for the voyage were issued to the pilots. Such was the crisis when Themistocles, distressed to think that the Hellenes should abandon the advantages to be had from the narrowness of the straits where they lay united, and break up into detachments by cities, planned and concocted the famous affair of Sicinnus.

This Sicinnus was of Persian stock, a prisoner of war, but devoted to Themistocles, and the paedagogue of his children. This man was sent to Xerxes secretly with orders to say: "Themistocles the Athenian general elects the King's cause, and is the first one to announce to him that the Hellenes are trying to slip away, and urgently bids him not to suffer them to escape, but, while they are in confusion and separated from their infantry, to set upon them and destroy their naval power." Xerxes received this as the message of one who wished him well, and was delighted, and at once issued positive orders to the captains of his ships to man the main body of the fleet at their leisure, but with two hundred ships to put out to sea at once, and encompass the strait round about on every side, including the islands in their line of blockade, that not one of the enemy might escape.

While this was going on, Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was the first to perceive it, came to the tent of Themistocles, who was no friend of his, nay, through whom he had even been ostracized, as I have said; and when Themistocles came forth from the tent, Aristides told him how the enemy surrounded them. Themistocles, knowing the tried nobility of the man, and filled with admiration for

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εἰδὼς καὶ τῆς τότε παρουσίας ἀγάμενος λέγει τὰ περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεκάλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ συμπροθυμεῖσθαι πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς
 7 ναυμαχήσωσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀριστείδης ἐπαινέσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπῆει στρατηγούς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην παροξύνων. ἔτι δ' ὅμως ἀπιστούντων ἐφάνη Τηνία τριήρης αὐτόμολος, ἧς ἐναυάρχει Παναίτιος, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὴν κύκλωσιν, ὥστε καὶ θυμῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὀρμῆσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.

XIII. Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα Ξέρξης μὲν ἄνω καθήστο τὸν στόλον ἐποπτεύων καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὡς μὲν Φανόδημός φησιν, ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἣ βραχεῖ πόρῳ διείργεται τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἢ νήσος, ὡς δ' Ἀκεστόδωρος, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων, χρυσοῦν δῖφρον θέμενος καὶ γραμματεῖς πολλοὺς παραστησάμενος, ὧν ἔργον ἦν ἀπογράφεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην πραττόμενα.

2 Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη σφαγιαζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ιδέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ἐσθῆσι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταύκτου. τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ 119

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his coming at that time, told him all about the Sicinnus matter, and besought him to join in this desperate attempt to keep the Hellenes where they were,—admitting that he had the greater credit with them,—in order that they might make their sea-fight in the narrows. Aristides, accordingly, after bestowing praise upon Themistocles for his stratagem, went round to the other generals and trierarchs inciting them on to battle. And while they were still incredulous in spite of all, a Tenian trireme appeared, a deserter from the enemy, in command of Panaetius, and told how the enemy surrounded them, so that with a courage born of necessity the Hellenes set out to confront the danger.

XIII. At break of day, Xerxes was seated on a high place and overlooking the disposition of his armament. This place was, according to Phanodemus, above the Heracleium, where only a narrow passage separates the island from Attica; but according to Acestodorus, it was in the border-land of Megara, above the so-called "Horns." Here a gilded throne had been set for him at his command, and many secretaries stationed near at hand, whose task it was to make due record of all that was done in the battle.

But Themistocles was sacrificing alongside the admiral's trireme. There three prisoners of war were brought to him, of visage most beautiful to behold, conspicuously adorned with raiment and with gold. They were said to be the sons of Sandaucé, the King's sister, and Artayctus. When Euphrantides the seer caught sight of them, since at one and that same moment a great and glaring flame shot up from the sacrificial victims and a sneeze gave forth

δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὠμῆστῇ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσσεσθαι
 3 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὡς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα καὶ δεινόν, οἶον εἶωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες ἠνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκε.

XIV. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βαρβαρικῶν νεῶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς ἂν εἰδὼς καὶ διαβεβαιούμενος ἐν τραγωδίᾳ Πέρσαις λέγει ταῦτα·

Ξέρξῃ δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν
 ὧν ἦγε¹ πλήθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκομποι τάχει
 ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἐπτά θ'· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸ πλήθος οὐσῶν ἐκάστη τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος μαχομένους ὀκτωκαίδεκα εἶχεν, ὧν τοξόται τέσσαρες ἦσαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὀπλίται.
 2 Δοκεῖ δ' οὐκ ἦττον εὖ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἢ τὸν τόπον συνιδὼν καὶ φυλάξας μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπρόρους καταστήσαι ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς τὰς τριήρεις, ἢ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν

¹ ὧν ἦγε Fuhr and Blass with Aeschylus : νεῶν τὸ.

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its good omen on the right, he clasped Themistocles by the hand and bade him consecrate the youths, and sacrifice them all to Dionysus Carnivorous, with prayers of supplication; for on this wise would the Hellenes have a saving victory. Themistocles was terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking; but the multitude, who, as it went to be the case in great struggles and severe crises, looked for safety rather from unreasonable than from reasonable measures, invoked the god with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the fulfilment of the sacrifice, as the seer commanded. At any rate, this is what Phanias the Lesbian says, and he was a philosopher, and well acquainted with historical literature.

XIV. As regards the number of the Barbarian ships, Aeschylus the poet, in his tragedy of "The Persians," as though from personal and positive knowledge, says this:—

"But Xerxes, and I surely know, had a thousand
ships
In number under him; those of surpassing speed
Were twice five score beside and seven; so stands
the count."¹

The Attic ships were one hundred and eighty in number, and each had eighteen men to fight upon the decks, of whom four were archers and the rest men-at-arms.

Themistocles is thought to have divined the best time for fighting with no less success than the best place, inasmuch as he took care not to send his triremes bow on against the Barbarian vessels until the

¹ Verses 341-343 (Dindorf).

ὄραν' παραγενέσθαι, τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐκ
 πελάγους αἰεὶ καὶ κύμα διὰ τῶν στενῶν κατά-
 γουσαν· ὃ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνικὰς οὐκ ἔβλαπτε ναῦς
 ἀλιτενεῖς οὐσας καὶ ταπεινοτέρας, τὰς δὲ βαρβα-
 ρικὰς ταῖς τε πρύμναις ἀνεστῶσας καὶ τοῖς κατα-
 στρώμασιν ὑψορόφους καὶ βαρείας ἐπιφερομένας
 ἔσφαλλε προσπίπτον καὶ παρεδίδου πλαγίας
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁξέως προσφερομένοις καὶ τῷ
 Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχουσιν, ὡς ὁρῶντι μάλιστα
 3 τὸ συμφέρον, καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνον ὁ Ξέρξου
 ναύαρχος Ἀριαμένης ναῦν ἔχων μεγάλην ὥσπερ
 ἀπὸ τείχους ἐτόξευε καὶ ἠκόντιζεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
 ὢν καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφῶν πολὺ κράτιστός
 τε καὶ δικαιοτάτος. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν Ἀμεινίας ὁ
 Δεκελεὺς καὶ Σωκλῆς ὁ Παιανιεὺς¹ ὁμοῦ πλέοντες,
 ὡς αἱ νῆες ἀντίπρωροι προσπεσοῦσαι καὶ συνε-
 ρεῖσασαι τοῖς χαλκώμασιν ἐνεσχέθησαν, ἐπι-
 βαίνοντα τῆς αὐτῶν τριήρους ὑποστάντες καὶ
 τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέ-
 βαλον· καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετ' ἄλλων διαφερόμενον
 ναυαγίων Ἀρτεμισία γνωρίσασα πρὸς Ξέρξην
 ἀνήνεγκεν.

XV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος φῶς μὲν
 ἐκλάμπει μέγα λέγουσιν Ἐλευσινόθεν, ἤχον δὲ
 καὶ φωνὴν τὸ Θριάσιον κατέχειν πεδίον ἄχρι
 θαλάττης, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ πολλῶν τὸν μυστι-
 κὸν ἐξαγόντων Ἰακχόν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους
 τῶν φθεγγομένων κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναφε-
 ρόμενον νέφος ἔδοξεν αὐθις ὑπονοστεῖν καὶ κατα-
 σκήπτειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις. ἕτεροι δὲ φάσματα

¹ Παιανιεὺς correction of Blass : Πεδιεὺς,

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hour of the day had come which always brought the breeze fresh from the sea and a swell rolling through the strait. This breeze wrought no harm to the Hellenic ships, since they lay low in the water and were rather small ; but for the Barbarian ships, with their towering sterns and lofty decks and sluggish movements in getting under way, it was fatal, since it smote them and slewed them round broadside to the Hellenes, who set upon them sharply, keeping their eyes on Themistocles, because they thought he saw best what was to be done, and because confronting him was the admiral of Xerxes, Ariamenes, with a great ship, and just as if he were on a city-wall he kept shooting arrows and javelins, —brave man that he was, by far the strongest and justest of the King's brothers. It was upon him that Ameinias the Deceleian and Socles the Paeonian bore down,—they being together on one ship,—and as the two ships struck each other bow on, crashed together, and hung fast by their bronze beaks, he tried to board their trireme ; but they faced him, smote him with their spears, and hurled him into the sea. His body, as it drifted about with other wreckage, was recognised by Artemisia, who had it carried to Xerxes.

XV. At this stage of the struggle they say that a great light flamed out from Eleusis, and an echoing cry filled the Thriasian plain down to the sea, as of multitudes of men together conducting the mystic Iacchus in procession. Then out of the shouting throng a cloud seemed to lift itself slowly from the earth, pass out seawards, and settle down upon the triremes. Others fancied they saw apparitions and

καὶ εἰδῶλα καθορᾶν ἔδοξαν ἐνόπλων ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἀνεχόντων πρὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τριηρῶν· οὗς εἵκαζον Αἰακίδας εἶναι παρακεκλημένους εὐχαῖς πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν.

- 2 Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν λαμβάνει ναῦν Λυκομήδης, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τριηραρχῶν, ἥς τὰ παράσημα περικόψας ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι δαφνηφόρῳ Φλυῆσιν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περιπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις ἐτρέψαντο, μέχρι δείλης ἀντισχόντας, ὡς εἶρηκε Σιμωνίδης, τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἥς οὐθ' Ἑλλησιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιον ἔργον εἵργασται λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρεία μὲν καὶ προθυμία κοινῇ τῶν ναυμαχησάντων, γνώμη δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῇ¹ Θεμιστοκλέους.

XVI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ξέρξης μὲν ἔτι 120

θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπότην ἐπεχείρει διὰ χωμάτων ἐπάγειν τὸ πεζὸν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, ἐμφράξας τὸν διὰ μέσου πόρον· Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' ἀποπειρώμενος Ἀριστείδου λόγῳ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο λύειν τὸ ζεύγμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον, “Ὅπως,” ἔφη, “τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λάβωμεν.”

- 2 δυσχεραίνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι, “Νῦν μὲν τρυφῶντι τῷ βαρβάρῳ πεπολεμήκαμεν, ἂν δὲ κατακλείσωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην ὑπὸ δέους ἄνδρα τηλικούτων δυνάμεων κύριον, οὐκέτι καθήμενος

¹ δεινότητι τῇ Fuhr and Blass with S: δεινότητι.

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shapes of armed men coming from Aegina with their hands stretched out to protect the Hellenic triremes. These, they conjectured, were the Aeacidæ, who had been prayerfully invoked before the battle to come to their aid.¹

Now the first man to capture an enemy's ship was Lycomedes, an Athenian captain, who cut off its figure-head and dedicated it to Apollo the Laurel-bearer at Phlya. Then the rest, put on an equality in numbers with their foes, because the Barbarians had to attack them by detachments in the narrow strait and so ran foul of one another, routed them, though they resisted till the evening drew on, and thus "bore away," as Simonides says,² "that fair and notorious victory, than which no more brilliant exploit was ever performed upon the sea, either by Hellenes or Barbarians, through the manly valour and common ardour of all who fought their ships, but through the clever judgment of Themistocles."

XVI. After the sea-fight, Xerxes, still furious at his failure, undertook to carry moles out into the sea on which he could lead his infantry across to Salamis against the Hellenes, damming up the intervening strait. But Themistocles, merely by way of sounding Aristides, proposed, as though he were in earnest, to sail with the fleet to the Hellespont and break the span of boats there, "in order," said he, "that we may capture Asia in Europe." Aristides, however, was displeased with the scheme and said: "Now indeed the Barbarian with whom we have fought consults his ease and pleasure, but should we shut up in Hellas and bring under fearful compulsion a man who is lord of such vast forces, he will

¹ Herod. viii. 64. ² Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii. 4 p. 423.

- ὑπὸ σκιᾷδι χρυσῇ θεάσεται τὴν μάχην ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τολμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς παρὼν διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρειμένα καὶ βουλευσεται βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων.
- 3 οὐ τὴν οὔσαν οὖν," ἔφη, "δεῖ γέφυραν, ὦ Θεμιστοκλεις, ἡμᾶς ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν, εἴπερ οἶόν τε, προσκατασκευάσαντας ἐκβαλεῖν διὰ τάχους τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης." "Οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, "εἰ δοκεῖ ταῦτα συμφέρειν, ὦρα σκοπεῖν καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγῇσεται τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος."
- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, πέμπει τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐνούχων ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνευρών, Ἀρνάκην ὄνομα, φράζειν βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησι δέδοκται τῷ ναυτικῷ κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τὸ ζεύγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν γέφυραν, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως παραινεί σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θάλατταν καὶ περαιοῦσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ τινὰς διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμαχοῖς καὶ
- 5 μελλήσεις πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πείραν ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ παρέσχεν, εἵγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου δυνάμεως διαγωνισάμενοι Πλαταιᾶσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὄλων κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.

XVII. Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγινητῶν ἀριστεύσαι φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ δέ, καίπερ

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no longer sit under a golden parasol to view the spectacle of the battle at his ease, but he will dare all things, and, superintending everything in person, because of his peril, will rectify his previous remissness and take better counsel for the highest issues thus at stake. We must not, then," said he, "tear down the bridge that is already there, Themistocles, nay rather, we must build another alongside it, if that be possible, and cast the fellow out of Europe in a hurry." "Well, then," said Themistocles, "if that is what is thought for the best, it is high time for us all to be studying and inventing a way to get him out of Hellas by the speediest route."

As soon as this policy had been adopted, he sent a certain royal eunuch whom he discovered among the prisoners of war, by name Arnaces, with orders to tell the King that the Hellenes had decided, since their fleet now controlled the sea, to sail up into the Hellespont, where the strait was spanned, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, out of regard for the King, urged him to hasten into home waters and fetch his forces across; he himself, he said, would cause the allies all sorts of delays and postponements in their pursuit. No sooner did the Barbarian hear this than he was seized with exceeding fear and speedily began his retreat. This thoughtful prudence on the part of Themistocles and Aristides was afterwards justified by the campaign with Mardonius, since, although they fought at Plataea with the merest fraction of the armies of Xerxes, they yet staked their all upon the issue.

XVII. Among the cities, now, Herodotus¹ says that Aegina bore away the prize of valour; but

¹ viii. 93.

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ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου, τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπέδωσαν ἅπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφαινε ἀρετῇ, δεύτερον δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν Θεμιστοκλέα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν καταγαγόντες Εὐρυβιάδῃ μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδωσαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῖον ἔδωρήσαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν νέων πομπούς
 2 ἄχρι τῶν ὄρων συνεξέπεμψαν. λέγεται δ' Ὀλυμπίων τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς παρόντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνῳ θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἅμα θαυμάζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογήσαι τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ ποιηθέντων.

XVIII. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότατος, εἰ δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. αἰρεθεὶς γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο¹ τὸ προσπίπτον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ' ἣν ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵν' ὁμοῦ πολλὰ πράττων πράγματα καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν μέγας εἶναι δοκῇ καὶ πλεῖστον δύνασθαι.

¹ ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἀνεβάλλετο every duty.

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among individuals, all virtually awarded the first place to Themistocles, though their envy made them unwilling to do this directly. For when the generals withdrew to the Isthmus and solemnly voted on this question, taking their ballots from the very altar of the god there, each one declared for himself as first in valour, but for Themistocles as second after himself. Then the Lacedaemonians brought him down to Sparta, and while they gave Eurybiades the prize for valour, to him they gave one for wisdom,—a crown of olive in each case,—and they presented him with the best chariot there was in the city, and sent three hundred picked youth along with him to serve as his escort to the boundary. And it is said that when the next Olympic festival was celebrated, and Themistocles entered the stadium, the audience neglected the contestants all day long to gaze on him, and pointed him out with admiring applause to visiting strangers, so that he too was delighted, and confessed to his friends that he was now reaping in full measure the harvest of his toils in behalf of Hellas.

XVIII. And indeed he was by nature very fond of honour, if we may judge from his memorable sayings and doings. When, for example, the city had chosen him to be admiral, he would not perform any public or private business at its proper time, but would postpone the immediate duty to the day on which he was to set sail, in order that then, because he did many things all at once and had meetings with all sorts of men, he might be thought to be some great personage and very powerful.

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- 2 Τῶν δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἐπισκοπῶν
παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς εἶδε περικειμένους
ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ στρεπτοὺς, αὐτὸς μὲν
παρῆλθε, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ φίλῳ δείξας εἶπεν· 121
“ Ἀνελοῦ σαυτῷ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἰ Θεμιστοκλῆς.”
πρὸς δέ τινα τῶν καλῶν γεγονότων, Ἀντιφάτην,
ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον πρότερον, ὕστερον
δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν, “ Ὡ μειράκιον,”
εἶπεν, “ ὁψὲ μὲν, ἀμφότεροι δ' ἅμα νοῦν ἐσχή-
3 καμεν.” ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν
οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πλατάνῳ χειμαζο-
μένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν κινδυνεύοντας, εὐδίας δὲ
περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης τίλλειν καὶ κολοῦειν. τοῦ
δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτὸν
ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, “ Ἀληθῇ
λέγεις,” εἶπεν, “ ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σεριφίος ὦν
ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος.”
- 4 Ἐτέρου δὲ τινος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξέ τι
χρήσιμον διαπεπρᾶχθαι τῇ πόλει, θρασυνομένου
πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς
ἐκείνου πράξεις ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἔφη τῇ
ἐορτῇ τὴν ὕστεραίαν ἐρίσαι λέγουσαν, ὡς ἐκείνη
μὲν ἀσχολιῶν τε μεστή καὶ κοπώδης ἐστίν, ἐν
αὐτῇ δὲ πάντες ἀπολαύουσι τῶν παρεσκευα-
σμένων σχολάζοντες· τὴν δ' ἐορτὴν πρὸς ταῦτ'
εἰπεῖν· “ Ἀληθῇ λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὴ γενομένης
σὺ οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα.” “ κἀμοῦ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ τότε
5 μὴ γενομένου, ποῦ ἂν ἦτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;” τὸν δὲ υἱὸν

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Surveying once the dead bodies of the Barbarians which had been cast up along the sea, he saw that they were decked with golden bracelets and collars, and yet passed on by them himself, while to a friend who followed he pointed them out and said : " Help thyself, thou art not Themistocles." Again, to one who had once been a beauty, Antiphates, and who had at that time treated him disdainfully, but afterwards courted him because of the reputation he had got, " Young man," said he, "'tis late, 'tis true, but both of us have come to our senses." Also he used to say of the Athenians that they did not really honour and admire him for himself, but treated him for all the world like a plane-tree, running under his branches for shelter when it stormed, but when they had fair weather all about them, plucking and docking him. And when he was told by the Seriphian that it was not due to himself that he had got reputation, but to his city, " True," said he, " but neither should I, had I been a Seriphian, have achieved reputation, nor wouldst thou, hadst thou been an Athenian."

Again, when one of his fellow-generals who thought he had done some vast service to the city, grew bold with Themistocles, and began to compare his own services with his, " With the Festival-day," said he, " the Day After once began a contention, saying : ' Thou art full of occupations and wearisome, but when I come, all enjoy at their leisure what has been richly provided beforehand ' ; to which the Festival-day replied : ' True, but had I not come first, thou hadst not come at all.' So now," said he, " had I not come at that day of Salamis, where would thou and thy colleagues be now ? " Of his son, who

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ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ καὶ δι' ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλείστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύνασθαι τοῖς μὲν γὰρ "Ελλησιν ἐπιτάττειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίοις δ' αὐτόν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δ' ἐκείνον· ἴδιος δέ τις ἐν πᾶσι βουλόμενος εἶναι χωρίον μὲν πιπράσκων ἐκέλευε κηρύττειν, ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει· τῶν δὲ μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν ἐπιεικῇ τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἔφη ζητεῖν ἄνδρα χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἀνδρός. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιοῦτός τις ἦν.

XIX. Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθύς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν, ὥς μὲν ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, χρήμασι πείσας μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὥς δ' οἱ πλείστοι, παρακρουσάμενος. ἦκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραφάμενος· ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγοροῦντος ἐπίτηδες
2 ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀποσταλέντος, ἡρνεῖτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοφυομένους, ἅμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. δ καὶ συνέβη· γινόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθές οὐκ ἠδίκησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλως χαλεπαίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυῖαν κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν

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lorded it over his mother, and through her over himself, he said, jestingly, that the boy was the most powerful of all the Hellenes; for the Hellenes were commanded by the Athenians, the Athenians by himself, himself by the boy's mother, and the mother by her boy. Again, with the desire to be somewhat peculiar in all that he did, when he offered a certain estate for sale, he bade proclamation to be made that it had an excellent neighbour into the bargain. Of two suitors for his daughter's hand, he chose the likely man in preference to the rich man, saying that he wanted a man without money rather than money without a man. Such were his striking sayings.

XIX. After the great achievements now described, he straightway undertook to rebuild and fortify the city, — as Theopompus relates, by bribing the Spartan Ephors not to oppose the project; but as the majority say, by hoodwinking them. He came with this object to Sparta, ostensibly on an embassy, and when the Spartans brought up the charge that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and Polyarchus was sent expressly from Aegina with the same accusation, he denied that it was so, and bade them send men to Athens to see for themselves, not only because this delay would secure time for the building of the wall, but also because he wished the Athenians to hold these envoys as hostages for his own person. And this was what actually happened. When the Lacedaemonians found out the truth they did him no harm, but concealed their displeasure and sent him away.

After this he equipped the Piraeus, because he had noticed the favourable shape of its harbours, and

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ὅλην ἀρμοττόμενος πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ
 τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθη-
 3 ναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος. ἐκείνοι μὲν γάρ, ὡς
 λέγεται, πραγματευόμενοι τοὺς πολίτας ἀπο-
 σπάσαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνεθίσαι ζῆν μὴ
 πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύοντας, τὸν περὶ
 τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς διέδосαν λόγον, ὡς ἐρίσαντα περὶ
 τῆς χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶ δείξασα τὴν μορίαν τοῖς
 δικασταῖς ἐνίκησε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' οὐχ, ὡς
 Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει, τῇ πόλει τὸν
 Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψε
 4 τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης· ὅθεν
 καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἠὔξησε κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ
 θράσους ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς ναύτας καὶ κελευστὰς
 καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. διὸ
 καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκί πεποιημένον ὥστ'
 ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὕστερον οἱ
 τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι
 τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι
 δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ἦττον δυσχεραίνειν
 τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

XX. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι περὶ τῆς
 ναυτικῆς διανοήθη δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν 121
 Ἑλλήνων στόλος ἀπηλλαγμένου Ξέρξου κατήρεν
 εἰς Παγασὰς καὶ διεχείμαζε, δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς
 Ἀθηναίοις ἔφη τινα πρᾶξιν ἔχειν ὠφέλιμον μὲν
 αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτήριον, ἀπόρρητον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 2 πολλούς. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδης φράσαι
 μόνῳ κελευόντων, καὶ ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περαι-

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wished to attach the whole city to the sea; thus in a certain manner counteracting the policies of the ancient Athenian kings. For they, as it is said, in their efforts to draw the citizens away from the sea and accustom them to live not by navigation but by agriculture, disseminated the story about Athena, how when Poseidon was contending with her for possession of the country, she displayed the sacred olive-tree of the Acropolis to the judges, and so won the day. But Themistocles did not, as Aristophanes¹ the comic poet says, "knead the Piraeus on to the city," nay, he fastened the city to the Piraeus, and the land to the sea. And so it was that he increased the privileges of the common people as against the nobles, and filled them with boldness, since the controlling power came now into the hands of skippers and boatswains and pilots. Therefore it was, too, that the bema in Pnyx, which had stood so as to look off toward the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants so as to look inland, because they thought that maritime empire was the mother of democracy, and that oligarchy was less distasteful to tillers of the soil.

XX. But Themistocles cherished yet greater designs even for securing the naval supremacy. When the fleet of the Hellenes, after the departure of Xerxes, had put in at Pagasae and was wintering there, he made a harangue before the Athenians, in which he said that he had a certain scheme in mind which would be useful and salutary for them, but which could not be broached in public. So the Athenians bade him impart it to Aristides alone, and if he should approve of it, to put it into execution.

¹ *Knights*, 815.

νειν, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφρασε τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ, τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον παρελθὼν ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἣν διανοεῖται πράττειν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μηδεμίαν εἶναι μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα παύσασθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέταξαν.

- 3 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσηγουμένων, ὅπως ἀπείργωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, φοβηθεῖς, μὴ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖους, ἔτι δὲ Θηβαίους ἐκβαλόντες τοῦ συνεδρίου παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις, συνεῖπε ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς γνώμας τῶν πυλαγόρων,
- 4 διδάξας, ὥς τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους παντάπασι μικραί· δεινὸν οὖν, εἰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσπόνδου γενομένης ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ συνέδριον. ἐκ τούτου μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε· διὸ καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες.

XXI. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπαχθὴς περιπλέων τε τὰς νήσους καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οἷα καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντά φησιν αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. δύο γὰρ ἦκειν ἔφη θεοὺς κομίζων, Πειθῶ καὶ Βίαν· οἱ δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρ'

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Themistocles accordingly told Aristides that he purposed to burn the fleet of the Hellenes where it lay ; but Aristides addressed the people, and said of the scheme which Themistocles purposed to carry out, that none could be either more advantageous or more iniquitous. The Athenians therefore ordered Themistocles to give it up.

At the Amphictyonic or Holy Alliance conventions, the Lacedaemonians introduced motions that all cities be excluded from the Alliance which had not taken part in fighting against the Mede. So Themistocles, fearing lest, if they should succeed in excluding the Thessalians and the Argives and the Thebans too from the convention, they would control the votes completely and carry through their own wishes, spoke in behalf of the protesting cities, and changed the sentiments of the delegates by showing that only thirty-one cities had taken part in the war, and that the most of these were altogether small ; it would be intolerable, then, if the rest of Hellas should be excluded and the convention be at the mercy of the two or three largest cities. It was for this reason particularly that he became obnoxious to the Lacedaemonians, and they therefore tried to advance Cimon in public favour, making him the political rival of Themistocles.

XXI. He made himself hateful to the allies also, by sailing round to the islands and trying to exact money from them. When, for instance, he demanded money of the Andrians, Herodotus¹ says he made a speech to them and got reply as follows : he said he came escorting two gods, Persuasion and Compulsion ; and they replied that they already had two great

¹ viii. 111.

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αὐτοῖς θεοὺς μεγάλους δύο, Πενίαν καὶ Ἀπορίαν,
2 ὑφ' ὧν κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι χρήματα ἐκείνῳ.

Τιμοκρέων δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος μελοποιὸς ἐν ᾧσματι
καθάπτεται πικρότερον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὥς
ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ χρήμασι φυγάδας διαπραξαμένου
κατελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ξένον ὄντα καὶ φίλον προε-
μένου δι' ἀργύριον. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

Ἄλλ' εἰ τύγε Πausανίαν ἢ καὶ τύγε Ξάνθιπ-
πον αἰνεῖς

ἢ τύγε Λευτυχίδα, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδα ἐπαινέω
ἄνδρ' ἱερὰν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν

ἐλθεῖν ἓνα λῶστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλῆ' ἤχθαρε
Λατώ,

3 ψεύσταν, ἄδικον, προδόταν, ὃς Τιμοκρέοντα
ξείνον ἔοντ'

ἀργυρίοις σκυβαλικοῖσι πεισθεὶς οὐ κατὰγεν
εἰς πάτραν Ἰαλυσόν,

λαβὼν δὲ τρὶ' ἀργυρίου τάλαντ' ἔβα πλέων εἰς
ὄλεθρον,

τοὺς μὲν κατάγων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δ' ἐκδιώκων,
τοὺς δὲ καίνων,

ἀργυρίων ὑπόπλεως, Ἰσθμοῖ δ' ἐπανδόκευε
γελοῖως ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων·

οἱ δ' ἥσθιον κηῦχοντο μὴ ὦραν Θεμιστοκλεὺς
γενέσθαι.

4 πολὺ δ' ἀσελγεστέρα καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη μᾶλλον
εἰς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα βλασφημία κέχρηται μετὰ

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gods, Penury and Powerlessness, who hindered them from giving him money.

Timocreon, the lyric poet of Rhodes, assailed Themistocles very bitterly in a song, to the effect that for bribes he had secured the restoration of other exiles, but had abandoned him, though a host and a friend, and all for money. The song runs thus¹ :—

“Come, if thou praisest Pausanias, or if Xanthippus,

Or if Lætychidas, then I shall praise Aristides,
The one best man of all

Who came from sacred Athens ; since Leto
loathes Themistocles,

“The liar, cheat, and traitor, who, though Timocreon
was his host,

By knavish moneys was induced not to bring
him back

Into his native Ialysus,

But took three talents of silver and went cruising
off,— to perdition,

“Restoring some exiles unjustly, chasing some away,
and slaying some,

Gorged with moneys ; yet at the Isthmus he
played ridiculous host with the stale meats
set before his guests ;

Who ate thereof and prayed Heaven ‘no happy
return of the day for Themistocles !’ ”

Much more wanton and extravagant was the railery
which Timocreon indulged in against Themistocles

¹ No attempt is made in the translations of Timocreon to imitate the metre of the original.

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τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων
ἄσμα ποιήσας, οὐ ἐστὶν ἀρχή·

Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος
κλέος ἀν' Ἑλλανας τίθει,
ὥς εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον.

λέγεται δ' ὁ Τιμοκρέων ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν
5 συγκαταψηφισαμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ὥς
οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε μηδίξειν, ταῦτ'
ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτόν·

Οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μῶνος Μήδοισιν ὀρκια-
τομεί,
ἀλλ' ἐντὶ καῖλλοι δὴ πονηροί· οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνα
κόλουρις·
ἐντὶ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀλώπεκες.

XXII. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φόβο- 123
νεῖν ἠδέως τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἠναγκάζετο
λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεων πολλάκις ἐν
τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραί-
νοντας “Τί κοπιᾶτε,” εἶπεν, “ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν
πολλάκις εὖ πάσχοντες;” ἠνίασε δὲ τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος, ἦν
Ἀριστοβούλην μὲν προσηγόρευσεν, ὥς ἄριστα
2 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι βουλευσάμενος, πλη-
σίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μελίτῃ τὸ
ἱερὸν, οὐ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατουμένων οἱ
δήμιοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τοὺς
βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων
ἐκφέρουσιν. ἔκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
60

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after the latter's own exile and condemnation. Then he composed the song beginning :—

“ O Muse, grant that this song
Be famed throughout all Hellas,
As it is meet and just.”

It is said that Timocreon was sent into exile on a charge of Medising, and that Themistocles concurred in the vote of condemnation. Accordingly, when Themistocles also was accused of Medising, Timocreon composed these lines upon him :—

“ Not Timocreon alone, then, made compacts with
the Medes,
But there are other wretches too; not I alone am
brushless,
There are other foxes too.”

XXII. And at last, when even his fellow-citizens were led by their jealousy of his greatness to welcome such slanders against him, he was forced to allude to his own achievements when he addressed the Assembly, till he became tiresome thereby, and he once said to the malcontents: “ Why are ye vexed that the same men should often benefit you?” He offended the multitude also by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed *Aristoboulé*, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes. This temple he established near his house in Melité, where now the public officers cast out the bodies of those who have been put to death, and carry forth the garments and the nooses of those who have dispatched themselves by hanging. A portrait-statue of Themistocles stood in this

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εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλης ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς· καὶ φαίνεται τις οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος.

- 3 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἐποίησαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ κολούοντες τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων, οὓς ᾤοντο τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητα δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμὸς, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου καὶ κουνφισμὸς ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀποπνέοντος.

- XXIII. Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὰ περὶ Πausaniān συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκείνου παρέσχε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμὰς. ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν προδοσίας Λεωβώτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν, ἅμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ὁ γὰρ Πausaniās πράττων ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
- 2 καίπερ ὄντα φίλον· ὥς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς ἐθάρσυσεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν, γράμματα¹ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο τοῦ Πausaniou καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ὅλως ἀπείπατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι προσδοκῶν

¹ γράμματα Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: τὰ γράμματα.

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temple of *Aristoboulé* down to my time, from which he appears to have been a man not only of heroic spirit, but also of heroic presence.

Well then, they visited him with ostracism,¹ curtailing his dignity and pre-eminence, as they were wont to do in the case of all whom they thought to have oppressive power, and to be incommensurate with true democratic equality. For ostracism was not a penalty, but a way of pacifying and alleviating that jealousy which delights to humble the eminent, breathing out its malice into this disfranchisement.

XXIII. After he had been thus banished from the city, and while he was sojourning at Argos, circumstances connected with the death of Pausanias gave his enemies at Athens ground for proceeding against him. The one who actually brought in the indictment against him for treason was Leobotes the son of Alcmeon, of the deme Agraulé, but the Spartans supported him in the accusation. Pausanias, while engaged in his grand scheme of treachery, at first kept it concealed from Themistocles; but when he saw him thus banished from his state and in great bitterness of spirit, he made bold to invite him into partnership in his own undertakings, showing him a letter he had received from the King, and inciting him against the Hellenes as a base and thankless people. Themistocles rejected the solicitation of Pausanias, and utterly refused the proffered partnership; and yet he disclosed the propositions to no one, nor did he even give information of the treacherous scheme, because he expected either that Pausanias would give it up of his own

¹ About 472 B.C.

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αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἄλλως καταφανῇ γενήσεσθαι σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων καὶ παραβόλων ὀρεγόμενον.

- 3 Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Πausανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαί τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβόων μὲν αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγοροῦν δ' οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου μάλιστα
- 4 ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις. διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἔγραφεν, ὥς ἄρχεῖν μὲν αἰεὶ ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκῶς μηδὲ βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάρους αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις¹ ἀποδόσθαι μετὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κατηγορούντων ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρας, οἷς εἴρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν² αὐτὸν κριθησόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

XXIV. Προαισθόμενος δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς Κέρκυραν διεπέρασεν, οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐεργεσίας. Γενόμενος γὰρ αὐτῶν κριτῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐχόντων διαφοράν, ἔλυσε τὴν ἐχθρὰν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους καταβαλεῖν καὶ Λευκάδα κοινῇ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων ἀποικον. ἐκείθεν δ' εἰς Ἡπειρον ἔφυγε· καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλπίδας χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπόρους καταφυγῶν πρὸς

2 Ἀδμητον, ὃς βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν Μολοττῶν, δεηθεὶς δέ τι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ

¹ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις Fuhr and Blass with F^aS : καὶ πολεμίοις αὐτὸν. ² ἀνάγειν Fuhr and Blass with S : ἄγειν.

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accord, or that in some other way he would be found out, since he was so irrationally grasping after such strange and desperate objects.

And so it was that, when Pausanias had been put to death, certain letters and documents regarding these matters were discovered which cast suspicion on Themistocles. The Lacedaemonians cried him down, and his envious fellow-citizens denounced him, though he was not present to plead his cause, but defended himself in writing, making particular use of earlier accusations brought against him. Since he was once slanderously accused by his enemies before his fellow-citizens—so he wrote, as one who ever sought to rule, but had no natural bent nor even the desire to be ruled, he could never have sold himself with Hellas to Barbarians, much less to foemen. The people, however, were overpersuaded by his accusers, and sent men with orders to arrest him and bring him up in custody to stand trial before a Congress of Hellenes.

XXIV. But he heard of this in advance, and crossed over to Corcyra, where he had been recognized as a public benefactor of the city. For he had served as arbiter in a dispute between them and the Corinthians, and settled the quarrel by deciding that the Corinthians should pay an indemnity of twenty talents, and administer Leucas as a common colony of both cities. Thence he fled to Epirus, and being pursued by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, he threw himself upon grievous and desperate chances of escape by taking refuge with Admetus, who was king of the Molossians, and who, since he had once asked some favour of the Athenians and

- Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτ' ἤκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχεν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ καὶ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι, 124 τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῇ καὶ πρόσφατον φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ταύτην φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτόν, ἰκέτης τοῦ Ἀδμήτου καταστὰς ἰδίῳ τινι καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον.
- 3 ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην μεγίστην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγουμένων ἰκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν Φθίαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸ ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καθίσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδμητον, ὥς ἀφοσιώσασαιτο πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι τὸν ἄνδρα, διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγφῆσαι τὴν ἰκεσίαν.
- 4 Ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκκλέψας ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἐπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἀπέστειλεν· ὃν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κίμων ὕστερον κρίνας ἐθανάτωσεν, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Στησίμβροτος. εἰτ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαί φησιν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἱέρωνος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, ὑπισχνούμενον· αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπηκόους ποιήσῃν ἀποτριψαμένου¹ δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος, οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπάραι.

¹ ἀποτριψαμένου Fuhr and Blass with S: ἀποστρεψαμένου.

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had been insultingly refused it by Themistocles, then at the height of his political influence, was angry with him ever after, and made it plain that he would take vengeance on him if he caught him. But in the desperate fortune of that time Themistocles was more afraid of kindred and recent jealousy than of an anger that was of long standing and royal, and promptly cast himself upon the king's mercy, making himself the suppliant of Admetus in a way quite peculiar and extraordinary. That is to say, he took the young son of the king in his arms and threw himself down at the hearth; a form of supplication which the Molossians regarded as most sacred, and as almost the only one that might not be refused. Some, it is true, say that it was Phthia, the wife of the king, who suggested this form of supplication to Themistocles, and that she seated her son on the hearth with him; and certain others that Admetus himself, in order that he might give a religious sanction to the necessity that was upon him of not surrendering the man, arranged beforehand and solemnly rehearsed with him the supplication scene.

Thither his wife and children were privily removed from Athens and sent to him by Epicrates of the deme Acharnae, who, for this deed, was afterwards convicted by Cimon and put to death, as Stesimbrotus relates. Then, somehow or other, Stesimbrotus forgets this, or makes Themistocles forget it, and says he sailed to Sicily and demanded from Hiero the tyrant the hand of his daughter in marriage, promising as an incentive that he would make the Hellenes subject to his sway; but that Hiero repulsed him, and so he set sail for Asia.

XXV. Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὕτω γενέσθαι. Θεόφραστος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πέμψαντος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἰέρωνος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηνὴν τινα κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι λόγον, ὡς χρή τὴν σκηνὴν διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ κωλύσαι τοὺς ἵππους
 2 ἀγωνίσασθαι. Θουκυδίδης δέ φησι καὶ πλεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν καταβάντα θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Πύδνης, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος ὅστις εἴη τῶν πλεόντων, μέχρι οὗ πνεύματι τῆς ὀλκάδος εἰς Νάξον καταφερομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πολιορκουμένην τότε φοβηθεὶς ἀναδείξειεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τε ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι κατηγορήσοι καὶ καταψεύσοιτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀναλάβοιεν αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεῦσαι καὶ
 3 λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἀσίαν. ἔπλει τῶν δὲ φανερῶν γενομένων καὶ συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον Θεόπομπος μὲν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, Θεόφραστος δὲ ὀγδοήκοντά φησι γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, οὐδὲ τριῶν ἄξια τάλαντων κεκτημένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας.

XXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κύμην καὶ πολλοὺς ἥσθετο τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ παραφυλάττοντας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἐργοτέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρον (ᾧ γὰρ ἡ θήρα λυσιτελεῖς τοῖς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι,

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XXV. But it is not likely that this was so. For Theophrastus, in his work "On Royalty," tells how, when Hiero sent horses to compete at Olympia, and set up a sort of booth there with very costly decorations, Themistocles made a speech among the assembled Hellenes, urging them to tear down the booth of the tyrant and prevent his horses from competing. And Thucydides¹ says that he made his way across the country to the sea, and set sail from Pydna, no one of the passengers knowing who he was until, when the vessel had been carried by a storm to Naxos, to which the Athenians at that time were laying siege,² he was terrified, and disclosed himself to the master and the captain of the ship, and partly by entreaties, partly by threats, actually declaring that he would denounce and vilify them to the Athenians as having taken him on board at the start in no ignorance but under bribes,—in this way compelled them to sail by and make the coast of Asia. Of his property, much was secretly abstracted for him by his friends and sent across the sea to Asia; but the sum total of that which was brought to light and confiscated amounted to one hundred talents, according to Theopompus,—Theophrastus says eighty,—and yet Themistocles did not possess the worth of three talents before he entered political life.

XXVI. After landing at Cymé, and learning that many people on the coast were watching to seize him, and especially Ergoteles and Pythodorus,—for the chase was a lucrative one to such as were fond of getting gain from any and every source, since

¹ i. 137.

² About 469 B.C.

διακοσίῳ ἐπικεκηρυγμένῳ αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως), ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἰγὰς, Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοούμενος πλὴν τοῦ ξένου Νικογένους, ὃς Αἰολέων πλείστην οὐσίαν ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοῖς ἄνω δυνατοῖς γνώριμος ὑπῆρχε.
 2 παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διέτριψεν· εἶτα μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκ θυσίας τινὸς Ὀλβιος ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους παιδαγωγὸς ἔκφρων γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ¹ ταυτί·

Νυκτὶ φωνήν, νυκτὶ βουλήν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδου.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὄναρ ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ περιελιττόμενον καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ τραχήλῳ.
 3 γενόμενον δ' αἰτόν, ὥς ἤψατο τοῦ προσώπου, περιβαλόντα τὰς πτέρυγας ἐξᾶραι καὶ κομίζειν πολλὴν ὁδόν, εἶτα χρυσοῦ τινὸς κηρυκείου φανέντος, ἐπὶ τούτου στήσαι βεβαίως αὐτὸν ἀμηχάνου δείματος καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπαλλαγέντα.

Πέμπεται δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους μηχανη- 125
 σαμένου τι τοιόνδε.² τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄγριον φύσει καὶ χαλεπὸν
 4 ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους καὶ παλλακευόμενας ἰσχυρῶς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὥς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὀρᾶσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι κατακεκλεισ-
 μένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ σκηνὰς κύκλῳ

¹ ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ Fuhr and Blass with S: ἀνεφώνησε μέτρῳ. ² τοιόνδε Fuhr and Blass with F^aS; τοιοῦτον.

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two hundred talents had been publicly set upon his head by the King,—he fled to Aegae, a little Aeolic citadel. Here no one knew him except his host Nicogenes, the wealthiest man in Aeolia, and well acquainted with the magnates of the interior. With him he remained in hiding for a few days. During this time, after the dinner which followed a certain sacrifice, Olbius, the paedagogue of the children of Nicogenes, becoming rapt and inspired, lifted up his voice and uttered the following verse:—

“Night shall speak, and night instruct thee, night
shall give thee victory.”

And in the night that followed, Themistocles, as he lay in bed, thought he saw in a dream that a serpent wound itself along over his body and crept up to his neck, then became an eagle as soon as it touched his face, enveloped him with its wings and lifted him on high and bore him a long distance, when there appeared as it were a golden herald's wand, on which it set him securely down, freed from helpless terror and distress.

However that may be, he was sent on his way by Nicogenes, who devised the following scheme for his safety. Most barbarous nations, and the Persians in particular, are savage and harsh in their jealous watchfulness over their women. Not only their wedded wives, but also their boughten slaves and concubines are strictly guarded, so that they are seen by no outsiders, but live at home in complete seclusion, and even on their journeys are carried in tents closely hung round about with curtains and set

περιπεφραγμένας ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρμαμαξῶν ὀχεῖσθαι. τοιαύτης τῇ Θεμιστοκλεῖ κατασκευασθείσης ἀπήνης καταδὺς ἐκομίζετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν αἰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων, ὅτι γύναιον Ἑλληνικὸν ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις βασιλέως.

- XXVII. Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστοροῦσι τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῇ Θεμιστοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν. Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ
- 2 οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταττομένοις. ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Ἀρταβάνῳ τῇ χιλιάρχῳ λέγων, "Ἕλληνας μὲν εἶναι, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐντυχεῖν βασιλεῖ περὶ μεγίστων πραγμάτων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυγχάνει μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. ὁ δὲ φησιν. "ὦ ξέने, νόμοι διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων· ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλά· καλὸν δὲ πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεία
- 3 κοσμεῖν καὶ σώζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐλευθερίαν μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἰσότητά λόγος· ἡμῖν δὲ πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, τιμᾶν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις, ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι βασιλέα καὶ προσειπεῖν· εἰ δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς,

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upon four-wheeled waggons. Such a vehicle was made ready for Themistocles, and safely ensconced in this he made his journey, while his attendants replied in every case to those who met them with enquiries, that they were conducting a Hellenic woman, fair but frail, to one of the King's courtiers.

XXVII. Now Thucydides¹ and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was dead, and that it was his son Artaxerxes with whom Themistocles had his interview ; but Ephorus and Dinon and Clitarchus and Heracleides and yet more besides have it that it was Xerxes to whom he came. With the chronological data Thucydides seems to me more in accord, although these are by no means securely established. Be that as it may, Themistocles, thus at the threshold of the dreadful ordeal, had audience first with Artabanus the Chiliarch, or Grand Vizier, and said that he was a Hellene, and that he desired to have an audience with the King on matters which were of the highest importance and for which the monarch entertained the most lively concern. Whereupon the Chiliarch replied : " O Stranger, men's customs differ ; different people honour different practices ; but all honour the exaltation and maintenance of their own peculiar ways. Now you Hellenes are said to admire liberty and equality above all things ; but in our eyes, among many fair customs, this is the fairest of all, to honour the King, and to pay obeisance to him as the image of that god who is the preserver of all things. If, then, thou approvest our practice and wilt pay obeisance, it is in thy power to behold and address the King ; but if thou art otherwise minded, it will be needful

¹ i. 137.

ἀγγέλοις ἑτέροις χρήσῃ πρὸς αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ
 γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ προσκυνή-
 4 σαντος.” ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει
 πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἄλλ’ ἔγωγε τὴν βασιλέως, ὦ
 Ἀρτάβανε, φήμην καὶ δύναμιν αὐξήσων ἀφίγμαι,
 καὶ αὐτὸς τε πείσομαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις νόμοις,
 ἐπεὶ θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι Πέρσας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ
 δι’ ἐμὲ πλείονες τῶν νῦν βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν.
 ὥστε τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις, οὗς
 5 βούλομαι πρὸς ἐκείνον εἰπεῖν.” “Τίνα δ’,” εἶπεν
 ὁ Ἀρτάβανος, “Ἑλλήνων ἀφίχθαι σε φῶμεν; οὐ
 γὰρ ἰδιώτῃ τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας.” καὶ ὁ Θεμι-
 στοκλῆς· “Τοῦτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἄν,” ἔφη, “πύθοιτό τις,
 Ἀρτάβανε, πρότερος βασιλέως.”

Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησίν. ὁ δ’ Ἐρατοσθένης
 ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλούτου προσιστόρησε, διὰ γυναικὸς
 Ἐρετρικῆς, ἣν ὁ χιλιάρχος εἶχε, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
 τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.

XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν εἰσῆχθη πρὸς βασιλέα
 καὶ προσκυνήσας ἔστη σιωπῇ, προστάξαντος
 τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτῆσαι, τίς ἐστι,
 καὶ τοῦ ἑρμηνέως ἐρωτήσαντος, εἶπεν· “Ἦκω
 σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐγὼ
 φυγὰς ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων διωχθεὶς, ὃ πολλὰ μὲν
 ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακὰ, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ κωλύ-
 σαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ
 γενομένης παρέσχε τὰ οἱκοι σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαι
 2 τι καὶ ὑμῖν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα πρέποντα ταῖς

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for thee to employ messengers to him in thy stead, for it is not a custom of this country that the King give ear to a man who has not paid him obeisance." When Themistocles heard this, he said to him: "Nay, but I am come, Artabanus, to augment the King's fame and power, and I will not only myself observe your customs, since such is the pleasure of the god who exalts the Persians, but I will induce more men than do so now to pay obeisance to the King. Therefore let this matter by no means stand in the way of the words I wish to speak to him." "And what Hellene," said Artabanus, "shall I say thou art who hast thus come? Verily, thou dost not seem to be a man of ordinary understanding." And Themistocles said: "This, Artabanus, no one may learn before the King."

So indeed Phantias says, and Eratosthenes, in his book "On Wealth," adds the statement that it was through a woman of Eretria, whom the Chiliarch had to wife, that Themistocles obtained interview and conference with him.

XXVIII. That may or may not be so. But when he was led into the presence of the King and had made him obeisance, and was standing in silence, the King ordered the interpreter to ask him who he was, and, on the interpreter's asking, he said: "I who thus come to thee, O King, am Themistocles the Athenian, an exile, pursued by the Hellenes; and to me the Persians are indebted for many ills, but for more blessings, since I hindered the pursuit of the Hellenes, at a time when Hellas was brought into safety, and the salvation of my own home gave me an opportunity for showing some favour also to you. Now, therefore, I may look for any sequel to

παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἐστι, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἀφίγμαι δέξασθαι τε χάριν εὐμενῶς διαλλαττομένου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μνησικακούντος ὀργήν· σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς μάρτυρας θέμενος ὦν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας, νῦν ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀργῆς. σώσεις μὲν γὰρ ἰκέτην σόν,

3 ἀπολείς δ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμιον γενόμενον." ταῦτ' 126 εἰπὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσδιελθὼν τὴν ὄψιν, ἣν εἶδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ Δωδωναίου Διός, ὡς κελευσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμφρονήσειε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀναπέμπεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέας.

Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Πέρσης, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, καίπερ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν

4 τόλμαν αὐτοῦ· μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ, καὶ κατευξάμενος αἰεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι τὸν Ἀριμάνιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, θῦσαί τε τοῖς θεοῖς λέγεται καὶ πρὸς πόσιν εὐθὺς τραπέσθαι καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διὰ μέσων τῶν ὕπνων βοῆσαι τρίς· "Ἐχω Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον."

XXIX. Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους εἰσήγεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν¹ ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν ἐξ ὧν ἑώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τοῦνομα παρόντος αὐτοῦ, χαλεπῶς διακειμένους καὶ κακῶς

¹ οὐδὲν Fuhr and Blass with F²S: μηδέν.

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my present calamities, and I come prepared to receive the favour of one who benevolently offers reconciliation, or to deprecate the anger of one who cherishes the remembrance of injuries. But do thou take my foes to witness for the good I wrought the Persians, and now use my misfortunes for the display of thy virtue rather than for the satisfaction of thine anger. For it is a suppliant of thine whom thou wilt save, but an enemy of the Hellenes whom thou wilt destroy." After these words Themistocles spoke of divine portents in his favour, enlarging upon the vision which he saw at the house of Nicogenes, and the oracle of Dodonaean Zeus, how when he was bidden by it to proceed to the namesake of the god, he had concluded that he was thereby sent to him, since both were actually "Great Kings," and were so addressed.

On hearing this the Persian made no direct reply to him, although struck with admiration at the boldness of his spirit; but in converse with his friends it is said that he congratulated himself over what he called the greatest good fortune, and prayed Arimanius ever to give his enemies such minds as to drive their best men away from them; and then sacrificed to the gods, and straightway betook himself to his cups; and in the night, in the midst of his slumbers, for very joy called out thrice: "I have Themistocles the Athenian."

XXIX. At daybreak he called his friends together and bade Themistocles to be introduced, who expected no favourable outcome, because he saw that the guards at the gates, when they learned the name of him who was going in, were bitterly disposed and

- λέγοντας. ἔτι δὲ Ῥωξάνης ὁ χιλίαρχος, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσιών, καθημένου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπώντων, ἀτρέμα στενάξας εἶπεν. “Ὁφίς Ἕλλην ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ 2 βασιλέως σε δαίμων δεῦρο ἤγαγεν.” οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν προσκυνήσαντος, ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεύς, ἥδη μὲν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ διακόσια τάλαντα ὀφείλειν· κομίσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι· πολλῷ δὲ πλείω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ παρεθάρρυνε καὶ λέγειν ἐδίδου περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἃ βούλοιο, παρρησιαζόμενον.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν λόγον εἰκέναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῖς ποικίλοις στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τοῦτον ἐκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ εἶδη, συσσελλόμενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ χρόνου δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δέ, ἡσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ εἰκασίᾳ καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτησίμενος καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γλῶτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν ἐνετύγχανε βα- 4 σιλεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς δόξαν παρέσχε περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων διειλέχθαι, πολλῶν δὲ καινοτομουμένων περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, φθόνον ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτετολμηκώς. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ τιμαὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων εἰκυῖαι ξένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ βασιλεῖ μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἴκοι διατριβῶν, ὥστε

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spoke insultingly to him. And besides, Roxanes the Chiliarch, when Themistocles came along opposite him,—the King being seated and the rest hushed in silence,—said in an angry undertone: “Thou subtle serpent of Hellas, the King’s good genius hath brought thee hither.” However, when he had come into the King’s presence, and had once more paid him obeisance, the King welcomed him and spake him kindly, and said he already owed him two hundred talents, for since he had delivered himself up it was only just that he himself should receive the reward proclaimed for his captor. And he promised him much more besides, and bade him take heart, and gave him leave to say whatever he wished concerning the affairs of Hellas, with all frankness of speech.

But Themistocles made answer that the speech of man was like embroidered tapestries, since like them this too had to be extended in order to display its patterns, but when it was rolled up it concealed and distorted them. Wherefore he had need of time. The King at once showed his pleasure at this comparison by bidding him take time, and so Themistocles asked for a year, and in that time he learned the Persian language sufficiently to have interviews with the King by himself without interpreters. Outsiders thought these conferences concerned Hellenic matters merely; but since about that time many innovations were introduced by the King at court and among his favourites, the magnates became jealous of Themistocles, on the ground that he had made bold to use his freedom of speech with the King to their harm. For the honours he enjoyed were far beyond those paid to other foreigners; nay, he actually took part in the King’s hunts and in his household diver-

καὶ μητρὶ τῇ βασιλέως εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν καὶ γενέ-
σθαι συνήθης, διακοῦσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν
5 λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δη-
μάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰτήσασθαι δωρεὰν κελ-
ευσθεὶς ᾗτήσατο τὴν κίταριν, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς,
ἐπαράμενος εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύσ-
της μὲν ἀνεψιὸς ὢν βασιλέως εἶπε τοῦ Δημαρά-
του τῆς τιάρας ἀψάμενος. “Αὕτη μὲν ἡ κίταρις
οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκέφαλον, ὃν ἐπικαλύψει· σὺ δ’ οὐκ
6 ἔσῃ Ζεὺς ἂν λάβῃς κεραυνόν.” ἀπωσαμένου δὲ
τὸν Δημάρατον ὀργῇ διὰ τὸ αἶτημα τοῦ βασι-
λέως καὶ δοκοῦντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς
αὐτόν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς δεηθεὶς ἔπεισε καὶ
διήλλαξε.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον βασιλεῖς, ἐφ’ ὧν
μᾶλλον αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς
ἀνεκράθησαν, ὅσάκις δεηθεῖεν ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνος,
ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν ἕκαστον, ὡς μείζων
7 ἔσοιτο παρ’ αὐτῷ Θεμιστοκλέους. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα φασὶν ἤδη μέγαν ὄντα καὶ θεραπευό-
μενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρᾶς ποτε τραπέζης αὐτῷ
παρατεθείσης¹ πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἰπεῖν. “ὦ
παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα.” πόλεις 127
δ’ αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν
εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ
Λάμψακον καὶ Μυῦντα· δύο δ’ ἄλλας προστί-
θησιν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας, Περ-
κώτην καὶ Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ
ἀμπεχόνην.

XXX. Καταβαίνοντι δ’ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλ-
ληνικὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ θάλατταν Πέρσης ἀνὴρ

¹ αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης Bekker, Fuhr with F¹S: παρατεθείσης.

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sions, so far that he even had access to the queen-mother and became intimate with her, and at the King's bidding heard expositions also of the Magian lore. And when Demaratus the Spartan, being bidden to ask a gift, asked that he might ride in state through Sardis, wearing his tiara upright after the manner of the Persian kings, Mithropaustes the King's cousin said, touching the tiara of Demaratus : "This tiara of thine hath no brains to cover ; indeed thou wilt not be Zeus merely because thou graspest the thunderbolt." The King also repulsed Demaratus in anger at his request, and was minded to be inexorable towards him, and yet Themistocles begged and obtained a reconciliation with him.

And it is said that later kings also, in whose reigns Persia and Hellas came into closer relations, as often as they asked for a Hellene to advise them, promised him in writing, every one, that he should be more influential at court than Themistocles. And Themistocles himself, they say, now become great and courted by many, said to his children, when a splendid table was once set for him : "My children, we should now have been undone, had we not been undone before."¹ Three cities, as most writers say, were given him for bread, wine, and meat, namely : Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus ; and two others are added by Neanthes of Cyzicus and by Phanias, namely : Percoté and Palaescepsis ; these for his bedding and raiment.

XXX. Now as he was going down to the sea on his commission to deal with Hellenic affairs, a

¹ Thuc. i. 138.

Ἐπιζύης ὄνομα, σατραπεύων τῆς ἄνω Φρυγίας, ἐπεβούλευσε, παρσκευακῶς ἔκπαλαι Πισίδας τινὰς ἀποκτενοῦντας, ὅταν ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ κώμῃ¹ Λεοντοκεφάλῳ γενόμενος καταυλισθῇ. τῷ δὲ λέγεται καθεύδοντι μεσημβρίας τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ὄναρ φανείσαν εἰπεῖν. “ὦ Θεμιστοκλείς, ὕστερει κεφαλῆς λέοντων, ἵνα μὴ λέοντι περιπέσης. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου σε αἰτῶ θεράπαιναν Μνη-
2 σιπτολέμαν.” διαταραχθεὶς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ τὴν μὲν λεωφόρον ἀφήκεν, ἑτέραν δὲ περιελθὼν καὶ παραλλάξας τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης κατηυλίσατο.

Τῶν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν κομιζόντων ὑποζυγίων ἐνὸς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντος, οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οἰκέται τὰς αὐλαίας διαβρόχους γενομένας ἐκπετάσαντες ἀνέψυχον. οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες ἐν τούτῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὰ ψυχόμενα πρὸς τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἰδόντες ᾤθησαν εἶναι τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κακεῖνον
3 ἔνδον εὐρήσειν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὥς δ' ἐγγὺς γενομένοι τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι. διαφυγὼν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτω καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ Δινδυμήνης καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μνησιπτολέμαν ἱέρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.

XXXI. Ὡς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχολὴν

¹ κώμη Fuhr and Blass with F²S: πόλει city.

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Persian, Epixyes by name, satrap of Upper Phrygia, plotted against his life, having for a long time kept certain Pisidians in readiness to slay him whenever he should reach the village called Lion's Head, and take up his night's quarters there. But while Themistocles was asleep at midday before, it is said that the Mother of the Gods¹ appeared to him in a dream and said: "O Themistocles, shun a head of lions, that thou mayest not encounter a lion. And for this service to thee, I demand of thee Mnesiptolema to be my handmaid." Much disturbed, of course, Themistocles, with a prayer of acknowledgment to the goddess, forsook the highway, made a circuit by another route, and passing by that place, at last, as night came on, took up his quarters.

Now, since one of the beasts of burden which carried the equipage of his tent had fallen into the river, the servants of Themistocles hung up the curtains which had got wet, and were drying them out. The Pisidians, at this juncture, sword in hand, made their approach, and since they could not see distinctly by the light of the moon what it was that was being dried, they thought it was the tent of Themistocles, and that they would find him reposing inside. But when they drew near and lifted up the hanging, they were fallen upon by the guards and apprehended. Thus Themistocles escaped the peril, and because he was amazed at the epiphany of the goddess, he built a temple in Magnesia in honour of Dindymené, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema her priestess.

XXXI. When he had come to Sardis and was

¹ Rhea, or Cybele, Magna Mater, called also Dindymené, from Mount Dindymon, in Phrygia.

- ἄγων ἐθεάτο τῶν ἱερῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, εἶδε δὲ ἐν μητρὸς ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην χαλκῇν, μέγεθος δίπηχυν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὅτε τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἦν, ἐλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχετεύοντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος, εἴτε δὴ παθὼν τι πρὸς τὴν αἰχμηλωσίαν τοῦ ἀναθήματος εἴτε βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅσῃ ἔχει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, λόγον τῷ Λυδίας σατράπῃ προσήνεγκεν αἰτούμενος ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν
- 2 κόρην εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. χαλεπαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ βασιλεῖ γράφειν φήσαντος ἐπιστολὴν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῆτιν κατέφυγε καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας αὐτοῦ θεραπεύσας χρήμασιν ἐκείνόν τε κατεπράυνε τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, ἥδη καὶ τὸν φθόνον τῶν βαρβάρων δεδοικώς. οὐ γὰρ πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἀλλ' ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν, καρπούμενος δὲ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος ὅμοια Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀδεῶς διῆγεν, οὐ πᾶν τι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασι βασιλέως προσέχοντος ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἄνω πράξεις.
- 3 Ὡς δ' Αἰγυπτὸς τε ἀφισταμένη βοηθούντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριήρεις Ἑλληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας ἀναπλέουσai καὶ Κίμων θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ κωλύειν αὐξανομένους ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἥδη

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viewing at his leisure the temples built there and the multitude of their dedicatory offerings, and saw in the temple of the Mother the so-called Water-carrier,—a maid in bronze, two cubits high, which he himself, when he was water commissioner at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated from the fines he exacted of those whom he convicted of stealing and tapping the public water,—whether it was because he felt some chagrin at the capture of the offering, or because he wished to show the Athenians what honour and power he had in the King's service, he addressed a proposition to the Lydian satrap and asked him to restore the maid to Athens. But the Barbarian was incensed and threatened to write a letter to the King about it; whereat Themistocles was afraid, and so had recourse to the women's chambers, and, by winning the favour of the satrap's concubines with money, succeeded in assuaging his anger. Thereafter he behaved more circumspectly, fearing now even the jealousy of the Barbarians. For he did not wander about over Asia, as Theopompus says, but had a house in Magnesia, and gathered in large gifts, and was honoured like the noblest Persians, and so lived on for a long time without concern, because the King paid no heed at all to Hellenic affairs, owing to his occupation with the state of the interior.

But when Egypt revolted with Athenian aid,¹ and Hellenic triremes sailed up as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon's mastery of the sea forced the King to resist the efforts of the Hellenes and to hinder their hostile growth; and when at last forces began to be moved, and generals were

¹ 459 B.C.

δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκινούντο καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμ-
ποντο καὶ κατέβαινον¹ ἀγγελίαι πρὸς Θεμιστο-
κλέα, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτεσθαι κελεύοντας
4 βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιοῦν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δι'
ὀργήν τινα παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε
ἐπαρθεὶς τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν² ἡγούμενος
τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχού-
σης στρατηγοὺς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος ὑπερφυνῶς 128
εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον
αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος
5 ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν πρέπουσαν, ἔθυσσε
τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξιω-
σάμενος, ὥς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἶμα ταύρειον
πιῶν, ὥς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγ-
κάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε πέντε πρὸς
τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βεβιωκὼς ἔτη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τού-
των ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν
τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθόμενον βασιλέα
λέγουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείοις χρώμενον διατελεῖν
φιλανθρώπως.

XXXII. Ἀπέλιπε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἐκ
μὲν Ἀρχίππης τῆς Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
Ἀρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Κλεόφαντον,
οὗ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς ἱππέως ἀρίστου,
τᾶλλα δ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου γενομένου μνημονεύει.

¹ κατέβαινον Fuhr and Blass with F²S: κατέβαινον εἰς Μαγνησίαν.

² οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν Fuhr and Blass with F²S: οὐκ ἐφικτὸν.

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despatched hither and thither, and messages came down to Themistocles saying that the King commanded him to make good his promises by applying himself to the Hellenic problem, then, neither embittered by anything like anger against his former fellow-citizens, nor lifted up by the great honour and power he was to have in the war, but possibly thinking his task not even approachable, both because Hellas had other great generals at the time, and especially because Cimon was so marvellously successful in his campaigns; yet most of all out of regard for the reputation of his own achievements and the trophies of those early days; having decided that his best course was to put a fitting end to his life, he made a sacrifice to the gods, then called his friends together, gave them a farewell clasp of his hand, and, as the current story goes, drank bull's blood, or as some say, took a quick poison, and so died in Magnesia, in the sixty-fifth year of his life,¹ most of which had been spent in political leadership. They say that the King, on learning the cause and the manner of his death, admired the man yet more, and continued to treat his friends and kindred with kindness.

XXXII. Themistocles left three sons by Archippé, the daughter of Lysander, of the deme Alopecé, namely: Archeptolis, Polyeuctus and Cleophantus, the last of whom Plato the philosopher mentions as a capital horseman, but good for nothing else.²

¹ Thuc. i. 138.

² *Meno*, p. 93.

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- τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτάτων Νεοκλῆς μὲν ἔτι παῖς ὢν
 ὑφ' ἵππου δηχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα δὲ Λύσαν-
 2 δρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποίησατο. θυγατέρας δὲ
 πλείους ἔσχευ, ὧν Μνησιπτολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς
 ἐπιγαμηθείσης γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφὸς
 οὐκ ὢν ὁμομήτριος ἔγημεν, Ἰταλίαν δὲ Πανθοίδης
 ὁ Χίος, Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος·
 Νικομάχην δὲ Φρασικλῆς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμιστο-
 κλέους, ἥδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκείνου, πλεύσας εἰς
 Μαγνησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, νεωτάτην
 δὲ πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσίαν ἔθρεψε.
- 3 Καὶ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
 Μάγνητες ἔχουσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων οὗτ'
 Ἀνδοκίδῃ προσέχειν ἄξιον ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐταίρους λόγοντι, φωράσαντας τὰ λείψανα διαρ-
 ρῖψαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν
 δῆμον παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς), ὃ τε Φύ-
 λαρχος, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μονονοῦ
 μηχανὴν ἄρας καὶ προαγαγὼν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ
 Δημόπολιν, υἱοὺς Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγῶνα βού-
 λεται κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, ὃ οὐδ' ἂν ὁ τυχὼν ἀγνοή-
 4 σειεν ὅτι πέπλασται. Διόδωρος δ' ὁ περιηγητὴς
 ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων εἴρηκεν ὡς ὑπονοῶν μάλ-
 λον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ
 Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιμον ἀκρωτη-
 ρίου πρόκειται τις οἶον ἀγκῶν, καὶ κάμψαντι
 τοῦτον ἐντός, ἥ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπὶς
 ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βῶμοειδὲς

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One of his two oldest sons, Neocles, died in boyhood from the bite of a horse, and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters, of whom Mnesiptolema, born of his second wife, became the wife of Archeptolis her half-brother, Italia of Panthoides the Chian, and Sybaris of Nicomedes the Athenian. Nicomaché was given in marriage by her brothers to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who sailed to Magnesia after his uncle's death, and who also took charge of Asia, the youngest of all the children.

The Magnesians have a splendid tomb of Themistocles in their market place; and with regard to his remains, Andocides is worthy of no attention when he says, in his Address to his Associates, that the Athenians stole away those remains and scattered them abroad, for he is trying by his lies to incite the oligarchs against the people; and Phylarchus, too, when, as if in a tragedy, he all but erects a theatrical machine for this story, and brings into the action a certain Neocles, forsooth, and Demopolis, sons of Themistocles, wishes merely to stir up tumultuous emotion; his tale even an ordinary person must know is fabricated. Diodorus the Topographer, in his work "On Tombs," says, by conjecture rather than from actual knowledge, that near the large harbour of the Piræus a sort of elbow juts out from the promontory opposite Alcimus, and that as you round this and come inside where the water of the sea is still, there is a basement of goodly size, and that the altar-like structure upon this is the

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5 τάφος τοῦ Θεμισκοκλέους. οἶεται δε καὶ Πλά-
 τωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τούτοις·

Ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
 τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
 τοὺς τ'¹ ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,
 χῶπόταν ἄμιλλα² τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ
 τιμαί τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι
 τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἦσαν, ἃς ἐκαρπούτο Θεμι-
 στοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος συνήθης καὶ φίλος
 παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ γενόμενος.

¹ τοὺς τ' corrected by Bekker to οὖς.

² ἄμιλλα Bekker has ἄμιλλ' ᾗ after Porson.

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tomb of Themistocles. And he thinks that the comic poet Plato is a witness in favour of his view when he says :—

“Thy tomb is mounded in a fair and sightly place ;
The merchantmen shall ever hail it with glad cry ;
It shall behold those outward, and those inward
bound,
And all the emulous rivalry of racing ships.”

For the lineal descendants of Themistocles there were also certain dignities maintained in Magnesia down to my time, and the revenues of these were enjoyed by a Themistocles of Athens, who was my intimate and friend in the school of Ammonius the philosopher.

CAMILLUS

ΚΑΜΙΛΛΟΣ

- Ι. Περὶ δὲ Φουρίου Καμίλλου πολλῶν καὶ 129
μεγάλων λεγομένων ἴδιον εἶναι δοκεῖ μάλιστα
καὶ παράδοξον, ὅτι πλεῖστα μὲν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις
καὶ μέγιστα κατορθώσας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πεντάκις
αἵρεθείς, θριαμβεύσας δὲ τετράκις, κτίστης δὲ
τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναγραφεὶς δεύτερος, οὐδὲ ἅπαξ
2 ὑπάτευσε. τούτου δ' αἷτιον ἡ τῆς τότε πολι-
τείας κατάστασις, ἐκ διαφορᾶς τοῦ δήμου πρὸς
τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπάτους μὲν ἐρίσαντος μὴ ἀπο-
δείκνυσθαι, χιλιάρχους δὲ χειροτονούντος ἐπὶ
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὧν, καίπερ ἀπ' ἐξουσίας καὶ
δυνάμεως ὑπατικῆς ἅπαντα πραττόντων, ἦττον
ἦν ἐπαχθῆς ἡ ἀρχὴ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ
ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ μὴ δύο, τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφιστάναι,
παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς βαρυνομένους τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν.
3 Κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ καιροῦ μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς
πράγμασιν ἀκμάσας ὁ Κάμιλλος ὑπάτος μὲν οὐκ
ἠξίωσεν ἄκοντι τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι, καίπερ ἐν τῷ
διὰ μέσου δεξαμένης ὑπατικᾶς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῆς
πολιτείας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡγεμονίαις

CAMILLUS

I. TURNING now to **Furius Camillus**, among the many notable things that are told of him, this seems the most singular and strange, namely, that although in other offices of command he won many and great successes, and although he was five times chosen dictator, four times celebrated a triumph, and was styled a Second Founder of Rome, not even once was he consul. The reason for this lay in the political conditions of his time. The common people, being at variance with the Senate, strove against the appointment of consuls, and elected military tribunes to the command instead. These, although they always acted with consular authority and power, were less obnoxious in their sway because of their number. For the fact that six men instead of two stood at the head of affairs, was some comfort to those who were bitterly set against the rule of the few.

Now it was at this period that **Camillus** came to the height of his achievements and fame, and he would not consent to become consul over a reluctant people, although during his career the city tolerated consular elections many times. But in the many other and varied offices which he held, he so conducted himself that even when the authority rightly

πολλαῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς γενομέναις τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν παρέσχεν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἑξουσίαν καὶ μοναρχοῦντος εἶναι κοινήν, τὴν δὲ δόξαν ἰδίαν καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων στρατηγοῦντος· ὦν τοῦ μὲν ἡ μετριότης αἴτιον ἀνεπιφθόνως ἄρχοντος, τοῦ δ' ἡ φρόνησις, δι' ἣν ὁμολογουμένως ἐπρώτευν.

II. Οὐπω δὲ τότε περὶ τὸν τῶν Φουρίων οἶκον οὔσης μεγάλης ἐπιφανείας αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτος εἰς δόξαν προήλθεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ μάχῃ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους ὑπὸ δικτάτορι Ποστούμῳ Τουβέρτῳ στρατευόμενος. προῖππεύων γὰρ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πληγῇ περιπεσὼν εἰς τὸν μηρὸν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐγκείμενον τῷ τραύματι παρέλκων τὸ ἀκόντισμα καὶ συμπλεκόμενος τοῖς 2 ἀρίστοις τῶν πολεμίων τροπὴν ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν τ' ἄλλων γερών ἔτυχε καὶ τιμητῆς ἀπεδείχθη, μέγα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα ταύτης ἐπὶ τῶν τότε χρόνων ἐχούσης. μνημονεύεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τιμητεύοντος καλὸν μὲν ἔργον τὸ τοὺς ἀγάμους λόγοις τε πείθοντα καὶ ζημίαις ἀπειλοῦντα συγκαταζεύξαι ταῖς χηρευούσαις γυναῖξιν (πολλαὶ δ' ἦσαν αὐταὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους), ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς ὑποτελεῖς ποιῆσαι 3 πρότερον ἀνεισφόρους ὄντας. αἰτίαι δ' ἦσαν αἱ συνεχεῖς στρατεῖαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων δεόμεναι, καὶ μάλιστα κατήπειγεν ἡ Οὐητῶν πολιορκία. τούτους ἔνιοι Οὐηῖεντανοὺς καλοῦσιν.

Ἦν δὲ πρόσχημα τῆς Τυρρηνίας ἡ πόλις, ὅπλων μὲν ἀριθμῷ καὶ πλήθει τῶν στρατευομένων οὐκ ἀποδέουσα τῆς Ῥώμης, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ βίῳν ἀβρότητι καὶ τρυφαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις ἀγαλλομένη

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belonged to him alone, it was exercised in common with others; while the glory that followed such exercise was his alone, even when he shared the command. In the first case, it was his moderation that kept his rule from exciting envy; in the second, it was his ability that gave him the first place with none to dispute it.

II. At a time when the house of the Furii was not yet very conspicuous, he, by his own efforts, was the first of his clan to achieve fame. This he did in the great battle with the Aequians and Volscians, serving under Postumius Tubertus the dictator. Dashing out on his horse in front of the army, he did not abate his speed when he got a wound in the thigh, but dragging the missile along with him in its wound, he engaged the bravest of the enemy and put them to flight. For this exploit, among other honours bestowed upon him, he was appointed censor, in those days an office of great dignity. // There is on record a noble achievement of his censorship, that of bringing the unmarried men, partly by persuasion and partly by threatening them with fines, to join in wedlock with the women who were living in widowhood, and these were many because of the wars; likewise a necessary achievement, that of making the orphans, who before this had contributed nothing to the support of the state, subject to taxation. The continuous campaigns, demanding great outlays of money, really required this. Especially burdensome was the siege of Veii (some call the people Veientani).

This city was the barrier and bulwark of Tuscany, in quantity of arms and multitude of soldiery no whit inferior to Rome. Indeed, pluming herself on her wealth, and on the refinement, luxury,

- πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἡγωνίσατο περὶ δόξης
 4 καὶ δυναστείας πολεμοῦσα Ῥωμαίοις. ἐν δὲ τῷ
 τότε χρόνῳ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας ἀφειστήκει συν-
 τριβείσα μεγάλαις μάχαις· ἐπαράμενοι δὲ τείχη
 μεγάλα καὶ καρτερὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀπλων καὶ
 βελῶν καὶ σίτου καὶ παρασκευῆς ἀπάσης ἐμπλή-
 σαντες, ἀδεῶς ὑπέμενον τὴν πολιορκίαν, μακρὰν
 μὲν οὖσαν, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἐρ-
 5 γώδη καὶ χαλεπὴν γενομένην. εἰθισμένοι γὰρ οὐ 130
 πολὺν χρόνον ἅμα ὥρα θέρους ἔξω στρατεύειν,
 οἴκοι δὲ διαχειμάζειν, τότε πρῶτον ἠναγκάσθησαν
 ὑπὸ τῶν χιλιάρχων φρούρια κατασκευσάμενοι
 καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τειχίσαντες ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ
 χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος συνάπτειν, ἥδη σχεδὸν ἔτους
 ἐβδόμου τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτῶντος. ὥστε καὶ
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν αἰτία γενέσθαι καὶ μαλακῶς
 πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν,
 ἐτέρων αἰρεθέντων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον· ὧν ἦν καὶ
 6 Κάμιλλος τότε χιλιάρχων τὸ δεύτερον. ἔπραξε
 δὲ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ,
 λαχὼν Φαλερίοις καὶ Καπηνάταις πολεμεῖν, οἱ
 δι' ἀσχολίαν τότε πολλὰ τὴν χώραν καθυβρί-
 σαντες καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν Τυρρηνικὸν πόλεμον
 ἐνοχλήσαντες ἐπιέσθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ
 συνεστάλησαν εἰς τὰ τείχη πολλοὺς ἀποβα-
 λόντες.

III. Ἐκ τούτου τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀλβανίδα λίμνην
 πάθος ἀκμάζοντι τῷ πολέμῳ συνενεχθὲν οὐδενὸς
 ἥττον τῶν ἀπίστων πυθέσθαι θαυμάτων αἰτίας
 κοινῆς ἀποοία καὶ λόγου φυσικὴν ἔχοντος ἀρχὴν
 ἐφόβησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὥρα μετοπωρινή, καὶ τὸ
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and sumptuousness in which her citizens lived she had waged many noble contests for glory and power in her wars with the Romans. At this time, however, she had been crushed in great battles, and had given up her former ambitious pretensions. But her people built their walls high and strong, filled the city full of armour, missiles, grain, and every possible provision, and confidently endured their siege, which, though long, was no less laborious and difficult for the besiegers. These had been accustomed to short campaigns abroad as the summer season opened, and to winters at home; but then for the first time they had been compelled by their tribunes to build forts and fortify their camp and spend both summer and winter in the enemy's country, the seventh year of the war being now nearly at an end. For this their rulers were held to blame, and finally deprived of their rule, because they were thought to conduct the siege without energy. Others were chosen to carry on the war, and one of these was Camillus, now tribune for the second time. But for the present he had nothing to do with the siege, since it fell to his lot to wage war with the Falerians and the Capenates, who, while the Romans had their hands full, had often harried their territory, and during all the Tuscan war had given them annoyance and trouble. These were overwhelmed by Camillus in battle and shut up in their fastnesses with great loss of life.

III. And now, when the war was at its climax, the calamity of the Alban lake added its terrors. It seemed a most incredible prodigy, without familiar cause or natural explanation. For the season was autumn, and the summer just ended had, to all

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- θέρος ἔληγεν οὐτ' ἔπομβρον οὔτε πνεύμασι νοτίοις
 2 χαλεπὸν ἐπιδήλως γενόμενον· πολλὰς δὲ λίμνας
 καὶ ποταμούς καὶ νάματα παντοδαπὰ τῆς Ἰτα-
 λίας ἐχούσης τὰ μὲν ἐξέκιπε κομιδῇ, τὰ δ' ἀντ-
 ἔσχε γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις, οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ πάντες
 ὥσπερ αἰεὶ κοῖλοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ διὰ θέρους ἐρρύη-
 σαν. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης ἀρχὴν ἔχον
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τελευτὴν, ὅρεσιν εὐγείοις περιεχό-
 μενον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς αἰτίου, πλήν εἴ τι θεῖον, αὐξό-
 μενον ἐπιδήλως διωγκοῦτο καὶ προσίστατο ταῖς
 ὑπωρείαις καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω λόφων ὁμαλῶς ἐπέ-
 ψαυεν, ἄνευ σάλου καὶ κλύδωνος ἐξανιστάμενον.
 3 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν ποιμένων θαῦμα καὶ βοτῆρων
 ἐπεὶ δέ, τοῦ διείργοντος ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω χώρας
 οἶον ἰσθμοῦ τὴν λίμνην ὑπεκραγέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πλήθους καὶ βάρους, μέγα ρεῦμα κατέβαινε διὰ
 τῶν ἀρουμένων καὶ φυτευομένων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατ-
 ταν, οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς παρείχετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐκπληξιν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τοῖς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοι-
 κοῦσι μηδενὸς μικροῦ σημείου εἶναι. πλεῖστος
 δ' αὐτοῦ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ πολιορ-
 κοῦντι τοὺς Οὐηίους, ὥστε καὶ κείνοις ἐκπυστον
 γενέσθαι τὸ περὶ τὴν λίμνην πάθος.

IV. Οἷα δ' ἐν πολιορκίᾳ διὰ χρόνου μῆκος
 ἐπιμιξίας τε πολλὰς ἐχούσῃ καὶ κοινολογίας
 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγεγόνει τινὶ Ῥωμαίῳ
 συνήθεια καὶ παρρησία πρὸς ἓνα τῶν πολιτῶν,
 ἀνθρωπον ἔμπειρόν τε λογίων παλαιῶν καὶ τι
 καὶ πλεον εἰδέναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ μαντικῆς
 δοκοῦντα. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὥς ἤκουσε
 τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῆς λίμνης, ὁρῶν ὑπερηδόμενόν
 τε καὶ καταγελῶντα τῆς πολιορκίας, οὐ ταῦτ'

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observation, been neither rainy nor vexed by south winds. Of the lakes, rivers, and streams of all sizes with which Italy abounds, some had failed utterly, others barely managed to hold out, and all the rivers ran low, between high banks, as was always the case in summer. But the Alban lake, which had its source and outlet within itself, and was girt about with fertile mountains, for no reason, except it be that heaven willed it, was observed to increase and swell until it reached the skirts of the mountains and gradually touched their highest ridges. All this rise was without surge or billow. At first it was a prodigy for neighbouring shepherds and herdsmen. But when the volume and weight of water broke away the barrier which, like an isthmus, had kept the lake from the country lying below it, and a huge torrent poured down through the fields and vineyards and made its way to the sea, then not only were the Romans themselves dismayed, but all the inhabitants of Italy thought it a sign of no small evil to come. There was much talk about it in the army that was besieging Veii, so that even the besieged themselves heard of the calamity.

IV. As was to be expected in a long siege requiring many meetings for conference with the enemy, it fell out that a certain Roman became intimate and confidential with one of the citizens of Veii, a man versed in ancient oracles, and reputed wiser than the rest from his being a diviner. The Roman saw that this man, on hearing the story of the lake, was overjoyed and made mock of the siege. He therefore told

- ἔφη μόνον ἐνηνοχῆναι θαυμάσθαι τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἕτερα τούτων ἀποπώτερα σημεῖα Ῥωμαίοις γεγονέναι, περὶ ὧν ἐθέλειν ἐκείνῳ κοινωσάμενος, εἴ τί τι δύναίτο, θέσθαι τῶν ἰδίων
- 2 ἄμεινον ἐν τοῖς κοινούσι νοσοῦσιν. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προθύμως καὶ διδόντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς κοινολογίαν, ὡς ἀπορρήτων τινῶν ἀκροατὴν ἐσόμενον, κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὑπάγων αὐτόν, ὡς πορρωτέρω τῶν πυλῶν ἐγεγόνεισαν, αἶρει τε μετέωρον εὐρωστότερος ὧν καὶ τινῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου προσδραμόντων χειρωσάμενος καὶ κρατήσας παρέδωκε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.
- 3 ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἀνάγκης γεγονώς ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μαθὼν ἄρα τὸ πεπρωμένον ὡς ἄφυκτον εἶη, λόγια προῦφαινεν ἀπόρρητα περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἁλωσίμου πρότερον ἢ τὴν Ἀλβανίδα λίμνην ἐκχυθεῖσαν καὶ φερομένην ὁδοὺς ἑτέρας ὥσαντες ὀπίσω καὶ περισπάσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι κωλύσουσι μίγνυσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ.
- 4 Ταῦτα τῇ συγκλήτῳ πυθομένη καὶ διαπορούσῃ 131 καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε πέμψαντας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεόν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι, Κόσσος Λικίνιος καὶ Οὐαλλέριος Ποτίτιος καὶ Φάβιος Ἀμβουστος, πλῆ τε χρησάμενοι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τυχόντες ἤκουον ἄλλας τε μαντείας κομίζοντες, αἱ πατρίων τινῶν περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Λατίνας ἑορτὰς
- 5 ὀλιγωρίαν ἔφραζον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος ὕδωρ ἐκέλευον εἰργοντας ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστι τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνωθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον πόρον, ἢ τοῦτο μὴ δυναμένους ὀρύγμασι καὶ τάφροις παράγειν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ καταναλίσκειν,

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him this was not the only wonder which the passing days had brought, but that other and stranger signs than this had been given to the Romans, of which he was minded to tell him, in order that, if possible, he might better his own private case in the midst of the public distresses. The man gave eager hearing to all this, and consented to a conference, supposing that he was going to hear some deep secrets. But the Roman led him along little by little, conversing as he went, until they were some way beyond the city gate, when he seized him bodily, being a sturdier man than he, and with the help of comrades who came running up from the camp, mastered him completely and handed him over to the generals. Thus constrained, and perceiving that fate's decrees were not to be evaded, the man revealed secret oracles regarding his native city, to the effect that it could not be captured until the Alban lake, after leaving its bed and making new channels for itself, should be driven back by the enemy, deflected from its course, and prevented from mingling with the sea.

The Senate, on hearing this, was at great loss what to do, and thought it well to send an embassy to Delphi to consult the god. The envoys were men of great repute and influence, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus, who made their voyage and came back with the responses of the god. One of these told them that certain ancestral rites connected with the so-called Latin festivals had been unduly neglected; another bade them by all means to keep the water of the Alban lake away from the sea and force it back into its ancient bed, or, if they could not effect this, by means of canals and trenches to divert it into the

ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἔπραττον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξέτρεπεν.

V. Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ δέκατον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσασα τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δικτάτορα Κάμιλλον ἀπέδειξεν· ἵππαρχον δ' ἐκείνος αὐτῷ προσελόμενος Κορνήλιον Σκηπίωνα, πρῶτον μὲν εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος εὐκλεές λαβόντι τὰς μεγάλας θέας ἄξειν καὶ νεῶν θεᾶς, ἣν μητέρα Ματούταν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καθιερώσειν.

- 2 Ταύτην ἂν τις ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμένων ἱερῶν μάλιστα Λευκοθέαν νομίσειεν εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ θεράπαιναι εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰσάγουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν, εἰτ' ἐξελαύνουσι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τέκνα πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐναγκαλίζονται καὶ δρῶσι περὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἃ ταῖς Διονύσου τροφοῖς καὶ τοῖς διὰ τὴν παλλακὴν πάθεσι τῆς Ἰνοῦς προσέοικε.

- Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Φαλίσκων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ μάχη μεγάλη τούτους τε καὶ Καπηνάτας προσβοηθήσαντας αὐτοῖς
- 3 ἐνίκησεν. ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τραπόμενος τῶν Οὐνίων καὶ τὸν ἐκ προσβολῆς ἀγῶνα χαλεπὸν καὶ δύσεργον ὁρῶν ὑπονόμους ἔτεμνε, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρίων ἐνδιδόντων τοῖς ὀρύγμασι καὶ καταδεχομένων εἰς βάθος ἄγειν ἄδηλον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ ἔργα. διὸ καὶ προϊούσης ὁδῷ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξωθεν προσέβαλλεν, ἐκκαλούμενος ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη τοὺς πολεμίους,

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plain and dissipate it. On receipt of these responses the priests performed the neglected sacrifices, and the people sallied out into the fields and diverted the course of the water.

V. In the tenth year of the war,¹ the Senate abolished the other magistracies and appointed Camillus dictator. After choosing Cornelius Scipio as his master of horse, in the first place he made solemn vows to the gods that, in case the war had a glorious ending, he would celebrate the great games in their honour, and dedicate a temple to a goddess whom the Romans call Mater Matuta.

From the sacred rites used in the worship of this goddess, she might be held to be almost identical with Leucothea. The women bring a serving-maid into the sanctuary and beat her with rods, then drive her forth again; they embrace their nephews and nieces in preference to their own children; and their conduct at the sacrifice resembles that of the nurses of Dionysus, or that of Ino under the afflictions put upon her by her husband's concubine.

After his vows, Camillus invaded the country of the Faliscans and conquered them in a great battle, together with the Capenates who came up to their aid. Then he turned to the siege of Veii, and seeing that direct assault upon the city was a grievous and difficult matter, he went to digging mines, since the region round the city favoured such works, and allowed their being carried to a great depth without the enemy's knowing about it. So then, when his hopes were well on their way to fulfilment, he himself assaulted the city from the outside, and thus called the enemy

¹ 396 B.C.

ἄλλοι δ' ἀδήλως ὑποπορευόμενοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἔλαθον ἐντὸς γενόμενοι τῆς ἄκρας κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἡρας¹ ἱερόν, ὃ μέγιστον ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μάλιστα τιμώμενον.

- 4 Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται τυχεῖν κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐφ' ἱεροῖς· τὸν δὲ μάντιν εἰς τὰ σπλάγχνα κατιδόντα καὶ μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἶπεῖν, ὅτι νίκην ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τῷ κατακολουθήσαντι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκείνοις· ταύτης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις Ῥωμαίους ἐπακούσαντας ταχὺ διασπάσαι τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ψόφου τῶν ὅπλων ἀναδύντας, ἐκπλαγέντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φυγόντων, ἀρπάσαντας τὰ σπλάγχνα κομίσαι πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλ-
5 λον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως εἰκέναι δόξει μυθεύμασιν.

- Ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ κράτος καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων ἀπειρόν τινα πλοῦτον, ἐφορῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας τὰ πραττόμενα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐστὼς ἐδάκρυσεν, εἶτα μακαρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἀνέσχε τὰς
6 χεῖρας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσευχόμενος εἶπε· “Ζεῦ μέγιστε καὶ θεοὶ χρηστῶν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ποιηρῶν ἔργων, αὐτοὶ που σύνιστε Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς οὐ παρὰ δίκην, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀμυνόμενοι μετερχόμεθα δυσμενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρανόμων πόλιν. εἰ δ' ἄρα τις,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντίστροφος ὀφείλεται τῆς παρούσης νέμεσις εὐπραξίας, εὐχομαι ταύτην ὑπὲρ τε πόλεως καὶ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἑμᾶντὸν ἐλαχίστῳ κακῷ

¹ τῆς Ἡρας with C and S: “Ἡρας.

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away to man their walls; while others secretly made their way along the mines and reached unnoticed the interior of the citadel, where the temple of Juno stood, the largest temple in the city, and the one most held in honour.

There, it is said, at this very juncture, the commander of the Tuscans chanced to be sacrificing, and his seer, when he beheld the entrails of the victim, cried out with a loud voice and said that the god awarded victory to him who should fulfill that sacrifice. The Romans in the mines below, hearing this utterance, quickly tore away the pavement of the temple and issued forth with battle cries and clash of arms, whereat the enemy were terrified and fled away. The sacrificial entrails were then seized and carried to Camillus. But possibly this will seem like fable.

At any rate the city was taken by storm, and the Romans were pillaging and plundering its boundless wealth, when Camillus, seeing from the citadel what was going on, at first burst into tears as he stood, and then, on being congratulated by the bystanders, lifted up his hands to the gods and prayed, saying: "O greatest Jupiter, and ye gods who see and judge men's good and evil deeds, ye surely know that it is not unjustly, but of necessity and in self-defence that we Romans have visited its iniquity upon this city of hostile and lawless men. But if, as counterpoise to this our present success, some retribution is due to come upon us, spare, I beseech you, the city and the army of the Romans, and let it fall upon my own head, though with as little harm as may be."

7 τελευτήσαι.” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν, καθάπερ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος ἐπευξαμένοις καὶ προσκυνήσασιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐξελίττειν, ἐσφάλῃ περιστρεφόμενος. δια-
ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων πάλιν ἀναλαβὼν
ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος εἶπεν, ὡς γέγονεν αὐτῷ
κατ’ εὐχὴν σφάλμα μικρὸν ἐπ’ εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστη.

VI. Διαπορθήσας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω τὸ ἄγαλμα 132
τῆς Ἥρας μεταφέρειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὥσπερ
εὔξατο. καὶ συνελθόντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν τεχνι-
τῶν, ὁ μὲν ἔθνε καὶ προσεύχετο τῇ θεῇ δέχεσθαι
τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐμενῇ γενέσθαι σύνοι-
κον τοῖς λαχοῦσι τὴν Ῥώμην θεοῖς, τὸ δ’ ἄγαλμά
φασιν ὑποφθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ βούλεται
2 καὶ συγκαταινεῖ. Διούϊος δέ φησιν εὔχεσθαι
μὲν τὸν Κάμιλλον ἀπτόμενον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ παρα-
καλεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι δέ τινας τῶν παρόντων, ὅτι
καὶ βούλεται καὶ συγκαταινεῖ καὶ συνακολουθεῖ
προθύμως.

Οἱ δ’ ἰσχυριζόμενοι καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ βοηθοῦν-
τες μεγίστην μὲν ἔχουσι συνήγορον τὴν τύχην
τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ καταφρονουμένης
ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως προελ-
θεῖν δίχα θεοῦ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπιφανείαις
3 ἐκάστοτε συμπαρόντος ἀμήχανον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
συνάγουσιν ὁμοειδῆ τινα, τοῦτο μὲν ἰδρῶτας ἀγαλ-
μάτων πολλάκις ἐκχυθέντας, τοῦτο δὲ στεναγμούς
ἀκουσθέντας ἀποστροφάς τε δεικνύντες καὶ κατα-
μύσεις ξοάνων, ἃς ἱστορήκασιν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν
πρότερον. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀκηκοό-
τες ἀνθρώπων λέγειν ἔχομεν ἄξια θαύματος, ὧν

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With these words, as the Romans' custom is after prayer and adoration, he wheeled himself about to the right, but stumbled and fell as he turned. The bystanders were confounded, but he picked himself up again from his fall and said: "My prayer is granted! a slight fall is my atonement for the greatest good fortune."

VI. After he had utterly sacked the city, he determined to transfer the image of Juno to Rome, in accordance with his vows. The workmen were assembled for the purpose, and Camillus was sacrificing and praying the goddess to accept of their zeal and to be a kindly co-dweller with the gods of Rome, when the image, they say, spoke in low tones and said she was ready and willing. But Livy¹ says that Camillus did indeed lay his hand upon the goddess and pray and beseech her, but that it was certain of the bystanders who gave answer that she was ready and willing and eager to go along with him.

Those who insist upon and defend the marvel have a most powerful advocate for their contention in the fortune of the city, which, from its small and despised beginning, could never have come to such a pinnacle of glory and power had God not dwelt with her and made many great manifestations of himself from time to time. Moreover, they adduce other occurrences of a kindred sort, such as statues often dripping with sweat, images uttering audible groans, turning away their faces, and closing their eyes, as not a few historians in the past have written. And we ourselves might make mention of many astonishing things which we

¹ v. 22.

4 οὐκ ἂν τις εἰκῇ καταφρονήσειεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς καὶ τὸ πιστεύειν σφόδρα καὶ τὸ λίαν ἀπιστεῖν ἐπισφαλές ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ κρατοῦσαν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκφερομένην ὅπου μὲν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τῦφον, ὅπου δ' εἰς ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιφρόνησιν· ἢ δ' εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄριστον.

VII. Ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος εἴτε μεγέθει τοῦ ἔργου, πόλιν ἀντίπαλον τῆς Ῥώμης ἔτει δεκάτῳ τῆς πολιορκίας καθηρηκῶς, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζόντων αὐτὸν εἰς ὄγκον ἐξαρθεὶς καὶ φρόνημα νομίμου καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαχθέστερον, τὰ τε ἄλλα σοβαρῶς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ τέθριππον ὑποζευζάμενος λευκόπῳλον ἐπέβη καὶ διεξήλασε τῆς Ῥώμης, οὐδενὸς τοῦτο ποιήσαντος ἡγεμόνος πρότερον οὐδ' ὕστερον. ἱερὸν γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄχημα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιπε-
 2 φημισμένον. ἔκ τε δὴ τούτου διεβλήθη πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας οὐκ εἰθισμένους ἐντροφᾶσθαι, καὶ δευτέραν ἔλαβεν αἰτίαν ἐνιστάμενος νόμῳ διοικίζοντι τὴν πόλιν. εἰσηγοῦντο γὰρ οἱ δήμαρχοι τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἴσα μέρη δύο νεμηθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτόθι κατοικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ κλήρω λαχόντας εἰς τὴν αἰχμάλωτον μεταστῆναι πόλιν, ὡς εὐπορωτέρων ἐσομένων καὶ δυσὶ μεγάλοις καὶ καλοῖς ἄστεσι τὴν τε χώραν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
 3 εὐδαιμονίαν φυλαξόντων. ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἥδη πολὺς γεγονὼς καὶ ἀχρήματος ἄσμενος ἐδέξατο,

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have heard from men of our own time,—things not lightly to be despised. But in such matters eager credulity and excessive incredulity are alike dangerous, because of the weakness of our human nature, which sets no limits and has no mastery over itself, but is carried away now into vain superstition, and now into contemptuous neglect of the gods. Caution is best, and to go to no extremes.

VII. Whether it was due to the magnitude of his exploit in taking a city which could vie with Rome and endure a siege of ten years, or to the congratulations showered upon him, Camillus was lifted up to vanity, cherished thoughts far from becoming to a civil magistrate subject to the law, and celebrated a triumph with great pomp: he actually had four white horses harnessed to a chariot on which he mounted and drove through Rome, a thing which no commander had ever done before or afterwards did. For they thought such a car sacred and devoted to the king and father of the gods. In this way he incurred the enmity of the citizens, who were not accustomed to wanton extravagance. They had also a second grievance against him in that he opposed himself to a law dividing the city. The tribunes introduced a measure dividing the people and the Senate into two parts, one to remain and dwell there, and the one on which the lot fell to remove into the city they had captured, on the ground that they would thus be more commodiously bestowed, and with two large and fair cities could better protect their territory as well as their prosperity in general. Accordingly the people, which was now become numerous and poor, welcomed the measure

καὶ συνεχῆς ἦν τοῖς περὶ τὸ βῆμα θορύβοις αἰτῶν
τὴν ψῆφον· ἡ δὲ βουλή καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κρά-
τιστοι πολιτῶν οὐ διαίρεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναίρεσιν
ἡγούμενοι τῆς Ῥώμης πολιτεύεσθαι τοὺς δημάρ-
χους καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον
4 κατέφυγον. καὶ κεῖνος ὀρρωδῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα προ-
φάσεις ἐνέβαλλε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἀσχολίας, δι' ὧν
αἰετὸν τὸν νόμον ἐξέκρουεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα
λυπηρός.

Ἡ δὲ φανερωτάτη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἀπε-
χθειῶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης
τῶν λαφύρων ὑπῆρξεν, οὐκ ἄλογον, εἰ καὶ μὴ
πάνυ δικαίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν πολλῶν λαβόντων.
5 εὗξατο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐητοὺς, ὡς ἔοικε, βαδί-
ζων, εἰ τὴν πόλιν ἔλοι, τῷ θεῷ τούτων τὴν
δεκάτην καθιερώσειν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως
καὶ διαρπασθείσης, εἴτ' ὀκνήσας ἐνοχλήσαι τοῖς
πολίταις, εἴτε λήθη τις αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων
πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τῆς εὐχῆς, περιεῖδεν ὠφεληθέν-
τας. ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἤδη
πεπαυμένος ἀνῆνεγκε περὶ τούτων εἰς¹ τὴν σύγ-
κλητον, οἳ τε μάντεις ἡγγελλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς 133
προφαίνεσθαι θεῶν μῆνιν ἰλασμοῦ καὶ χαριστη-
ρίων δεομένην.

VIII. Ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν μὲν
ὠφέλειαν (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν) ἀνάδαστον μὴ γενέ-
σθαι, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας αὐτοὺς σὺν ὄρκῳ τὴν
δεκάτην παραφέρειν εἰς μέσον, ἐγένετο πολλὰ

¹ εἰς Bekker and Sintenis¹, with most MSS.: πρὸς.

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with delight, and was for ever thronging tumultuously about the rostra with demands that it be put to vote. But the Senate and the most influential of the other citizens considered that the measure proposed by the tribunes meant not division but destruction for Rome, and in their aversion to it went to Camillus for aid and succour. He, dreading the struggle, always contrived to keep the people busy with other matters, and so staved off the passage of the bill. For this reason, then, they were vexed with him.

But the strongest and most apparent reason why the multitude hated him was based on the matter of the tenth of the spoil of Veii, and herein they had a plausible, though not a very just ground of complaint. He had vowed, as it seems, on setting out against Veii, that if he should take the city, he would consecrate the tenth of its booty to the Delphian god. But after the city had been taken and sacked, he allowed his soldiers full enjoyment of their plunder, either because he shrank from annoying them, or because, in the multitude of his activities, he as good as forgot his vow. At a later time, when he had laid down his command, he referred the matter to the Senate, and the seers announced tokens in their sacrifices that the gods were angry, and must be propitiated with due offerings.

VIII. The Senate voted, not that the booty should be redistributed, for that would have been a difficult matter, but that those who had got it should, in person and under oath, bring the tenth thereof to the public treasury. This subjected the soldiers to

- λυπήρὰ καὶ βίαια περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀνθρώ-
 πους πένητας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηκότας, ἀναγκαζο-
 μένους ὧν ἐκέκτηντο καὶ κατεκέχρηντο μέρος
 2 εἰσφέρειν τοσοῦτον. θορυβουμένῳ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 τῷ Καμίλλῳ καὶ προφάσεως ἀποροῦντι βελτίονος
 εἰς τὸν ἀτοπώτατον τῶν λόγων συνέβαινε κατα-
 φεύγειν, ὁμολογοῦντι ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς εὐχῆς. οἱ
 δ' ἐχαλέπαινον, εἰ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δεκατεύσειν
 εὐξάμενος τότε νῦν δεκατεύει τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. οὐ
 μὴν ἀλλὰ πάντων ὅσον ἔδει μέρος εἰσενεγκόντων
 ἔδοξε κρατῆρα χρυσοῦν κατασκευάσαντας εἰς
 3 Δελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι. χρυσίου δ' ἦν σπάνις ἐν
 τῇ πόλει· καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὅθεν ἂν πορισθείη
 σκοπούντων, αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ καθ' αὐτὰς βου-
 λευσάμεναι τὸν ὄντα χρυσοῦν ἐκάστη περὶ τὸ
 σῶμα κόσμον ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα, σταθμῷ
 χρυσίου γενόμενον ὀκτὼ ταλάντων. καὶ ταύταις
 μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ἀποδιδούσα τιμὴν πρέπουσαν
 ἐψηφίσατο μετὰ θάνατον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι
 καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λέγεσθαι τὸν ἄξιον ἔπαινον· οὐ
 γὰρ ἦν εἰθισμένον πρότερον ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι γυ-
 4 ναῖκα δημοσίᾳ τελευτήσασαν· ἐλόμενοι δὲ τρεῖς
 ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων θεωροὺς καὶ νῦν μακρὰν
 εὐανδρῶντι πληρώματι καὶ κόσμῳ πανηγυρικῶ
 κατασκευάσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν.

Ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ χειμῶν καὶ γαλήνη θαλάσσης
 ἀργαλέον, ὥς ἐκείνοις συνέτυχε τότε παρ' οὐδὲν
 ἐλθόντας ἀπολέσθαι διαφυγεῖν αὐθις ἀπροσ-
 δοκῆτως τὸν κίνδυνον. ἐπέπλευσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 Λιπαρέων τριήρεις περὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους τοῦ

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many vexations and constraints. They were poor men, who had toiled hard, and yet were now forced to contribute a large share of what they had gained, yes, and spent already. Beset by their tumultuous complaints, and at loss for a better excuse, Camillus had recourse to the absurdest of all explanations, and admitted that he had forgotten his vow. The soldiers were filled with indignation at the thought that it was the goods of the enemy of which he had once vowed a tithe, but the goods of his fellow citizens from which he was now paying the tithe. However, all of them brought in the necessary portion, and it was decided to make a bowl of massive gold and send it to Delphi. Now there was a scarcity of gold in the city, and the magistrates knew not whence it could be had. So the women, of their own accord, determined to give the gold ornaments which they wore upon their persons for the offering, and these amounted to eight talents weight. The women were fittingly rewarded by the Senate, which voted that thereafter, when women died, a suitable eulogy should be spoken over them, as over men. For it was not customary before that time, when a woman died, that a public encomium should be pronounced. Then they chose three of the noblest citizens as envoys, manned with its full complement of their best sailors a ship of war decked out in festal array, and sent them on their way.

Calm at sea has its perils as well as storm, it would seem, at least so it proved in this case. Envoys and crew came within an ace of destruction, and found escape from their peril when they least expected it. Off the Aeolian isles, as the wind died down, some Liparian galleys put out against them, taking them

5 πνεύματος ἐκλιπόντος ὥς λησταῖς. δεομένων δὲ καὶ προῖσχομένων χεῖρας ἐμβολῆς μὲν ἔσχοντο, τὴν δὲ ναῦν ἀναψάμενοι καὶ καταγαγόντες ἀπεκήρυττον, ἅμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ σώματα, πειρατικὰ κρίναντες εἶναι. μόλις δ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει Τιμησιθέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεισθέντες μεθῆκαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ προσκαθελκύσας ἴδια πλοῖα παρέπεμψε καὶ συγκαθιέρωσε τὸ ἀνάθημα· δι' ὃ καὶ τιμὰς ἔσχευ, ἅς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

IX. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὐθις ἐπεγειρόντων τὸν περὶ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ νόμον, ὁ πρὸς Φαλίσκους πόλεμος ἐν καιρῷ παραφανεῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνδράσιν ἀρχαιρεσιάσαι κατὰ γνώμην καὶ Κάμιλλον ἀποδεῖξαι μεθ' ἐτέρων πέντε χιλίαρχον, ὥς τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνος δεομένων ἀξίωμα
2 καὶ δόξαν μετ' ἐμπειρίας ἔχοντος. ψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν δύναμιν ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Φαλίσκων ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πόλιν ἐρυμνὴν κατεσκευασμένην πᾶσιν εἰς πόλεμον καλῶς Φαλερίους ἐπολιόρκει, τὸ μὲν ἐλεῖν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον οὐδὲ χρόνου τοῦ τυχόντος ἡγούμενος, ἄλλως δὲ τρίβειν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ περισπᾶν βουλόμενος, ὥς μὴ σχολάζοιεν οἴκοι καθήμενοι δημαγωγεῖσθαι καὶ στασιάζειν. ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ αἰεὶ φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ χρώμενοι διετέλουν, ὥσπερ ἰατροί, τὰ ταρακτικὰ πάθη τῆς πολιτείας ἔξω τρέποντες.

X. Οὕτως δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας κατεφρόνουν οἱ

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for pirates. The enemy had sufficient regard to their prayers and supplications not to run their vessel down, but they took it in tow, brought it to land, and proclaimed their goods and persons for sale, adjudging them piratical. At last, and with much ado, through the brave intercession of a single man, Timesitheus, their general, the Liparians were persuaded to let the captives go. This man then launched boats of his own, convoyed the suppliants on their way, and assisted them in the dedication of their offering. For this he received suitable honours at Rome.

IX. Once more the tribunes of the people urged the passage of the law for the division of the city, but the war with the Faliscans came on opportunely and gave the leading men occasion to hold such elective assemblies as they wished, and to appoint Camillus military tribune, with five others. The emergency was thought to demand a leader with the dignity and reputation which experience alone could give. After the people had ratified the election, Camillus, at the head of his army, invaded the territory of the Faliscans and laid siege to Falerii, a strong city, and well equipped with all the munitions of war. It was not that he thought its capture would demand slight effort or short time, but he wished to turn the thoughts of the citizens to other matters and keep them busy therein, that they might not be able to stay at home and become the prey of seditious leaders. This was a fitting and sovereign remedy which the Romans used, like good physicians, thereby expelling from the body politic its troublesome distempers.

X. The Falerians, relying on the great strength of

- Φαλέριοι τῷ πανταχόθεν ἐξωχυρῶσθαι πιστεύοντες, ὥστε πλὴν τῶν τὰ τεῖχῃ φυλαττόντων τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ἱματίοις κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφεισθαι, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν εἰς τε τὰ διδασκαλεία φοιτᾶν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τεῖχῃ περιπατήσοντας καὶ γυμνασομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καταβιβάζεσθαι. κοινῷ γὰρ ἐχρῶντο τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες, οἱ Φαλέριοι, βουλό- 134
μενοι συντρέφεισθαι καὶ συναγελάζεσθαι μετ' ἄλλήλων εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς παῖδας. οὗτος οὖν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐπιβουλεύων τοῖς Φαλερίοις διὰ τῶν παίδων ἐξῆγεν αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐγγὺς τὸ πρῶτον, εἰτ' ἀπῆγεν αὐθις εἰσω γυμνασαμένους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων εἴθισε θαρρεῖν ὡς πολλῆς οὔσης ἀδείας, καὶ τέλος ἔχων ἅπαντας εἰς τοὺς προφύλακας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνέβαλε καὶ παρέδωκεν,
3 ἄγειν κελεύσας πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον. ἀχθεῖς δὲ καὶ καταστὰς εἰς μέσον ἔλεγε παιδευτῆς μὲν εἶναι καὶ διδάσκαλος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐλόμενος τῶν δικαίων, ἥκειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς παισὶ κομίζων. δεινὸν οὖν ἀκούσαντι τὸ ἔργον ἐφάνη Καμίλλῳ· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπὼν, ὡς χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ πόλεμος καὶ διὰ πολλῆς ἀδικίας καὶ βιαιῶν περαινόμενος
4 ἔργων, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πολέμων ὁμῶς τινὲς νόμοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐχ οὕτω δικαίον, ὥστε μὴ φεύγειν τὰς ἐκ κακῶν καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἔργων χάριτας (ἀρετῇ γὰρ οἰκεία τὸν μέγαν στρατηγόν, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίᾳ θαρροῦντα κακία χρῆναι στρατεύειν), προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου καταρρηγνύναι τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ

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their city at all points, made so light of the siege that, with the exception of the defenders of the walls, the rest went up and down the city in their garb of peace. The boys went to school as usual, and were brought by their teacher along the walls outside to walk about and get their exercise. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, employed one teacher in common, wishing their boys, from the very start, to herd with one another and grow up together. This teacher, then, wishing to betray Falerii by means of its boys, led them out every day beyond the city walls, at first only a little way, and then brought them back inside when they had taken their exercise. Presently he led them, little by little, farther and farther out, accustomed them to feel confident that there was no danger at all, and finally pushed in among the Roman outposts with his whole company, handed them over to the enemy, and demanded to be led to Camillus. So led, and in that presence, he said he was a boys' school-teacher, but chose rather to win the general's favour than to fulfil the duties of his office, and so had come bringing to him the city in the persons of its boys. It seemed to Camillus, on hearing him, that the man had done a monstrous deed, and turning to the bystanders he said: "War is indeed a grievous thing, and is waged with much injustice and violence; but even war has certain laws which good and brave men will respect, and we must not so hotly pursue victory as not to flee the favours of base and impious doers. The great general will wage war relying on his own native valour, not on the baseness of other men." Then he ordered his attendants to tear the man's clothing from him, tie

τὰς χεῖρας ὀπίσω περιάγειν, τοῖς δὲ παισὶ διαδοῦναι ῥάβδους καὶ μάστιγας, ὅπως κολάζοντες τὸν προδότην ἐλαύνωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

- 5 Ἄρτι δὲ τῶν Φαλερίων ἡσθημένων τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου προδοσίαν καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν, οἶον εἰκός, ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτῃ θρήνου κατέχοντος, ἀνδρῶν δ' ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ φερόμενων, προσήγον οἱ παῖδες τὸν διδάσκαλον γυμνὸν καὶ δεδεμένον προπηλακίζοντες, τὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον σωτήρα καὶ πατέρα καὶ θεὸν ἀνακα-
- 6 λούντες, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς γονεῦσι τῶν παιδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ταύτ' ὁρώσι θαυμά τε καὶ πόθον ἐμπεσεῖν τῆς τοῦ Καμίλλου δικαιοσύνης. καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐκείνῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντες, οὓς ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς
- 7 Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καταστάντες εἶπον, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς νίκης τὴν δικαιοσύνην προτιμήσαντες ἐδίδαξαν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡτταν ἀγαπήσαι πρὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ δυνάμει λείπεσθαι δοκοῦντας, ὅσον ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁμολογοῦντας. ἀποδόσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς πάλιν ἐκείνῳ τὸ κρίναι καὶ διαιτῆσαι ταῦτα, χρήματα λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Φαλερίων καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας Φαλίσκους θέμενος ἀνεχώρησεν.

XI. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διαρπάσειν προσδοκῆσαντες τοὺς Φαλερίους, ὡς ἐπανήλθον εἰς Ῥώμην κεναῖς χερσί, κατηγοροῦν τοῦ Καμίλλου πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ὡς μισοδήμου καὶ φθονήσαντος ὠφελῆσθαι τοῖς πένησιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ νόμον οἱ δήμαρχοι προθέντες

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his arms behind his back, and put rods and scourges in the hands of the boys, that they might chastise the traitor and drive him back into the city.

The Falerians had just become aware of the teacher's treachery, and the whole city, as was natural, was filled with lamentation over a calamity so great. Men and women alike rushed distractedly to the walls and gates, when lo! there came the boys, bringing their teacher back stripped, bound, and maltreated, while they called Camillus their saviour, their father, and their god. On this wise not only the parents of the boys, but the rest of the citizens as well, when they beheld the spectacle, were seized with admiration and longing for the righteousness of Camillus. In haste they held an assembly and sent envoys to him, entrusting him with their lives and fortunes. These envoys Camillus sent to Rome. Standing in the Senate, they declared that the Romans, by esteeming righteousness above victory, had taught them to love defeat above freedom; not so much because they thought themselves inferior in strength, as because they confessed themselves vanquished in virtue. On the Senate's remanding to Camillus the decision and disposition of the matter, he took a sum of money from the Falerians, established friendship with all the Faliscans, and withdrew.

XI. But the soldiers thought to have had the sacking of Falerii, and when they came back to Rome empty-handed, they denounced Camillus to the rest of the citizens as a hater of the common people, and as begrudging to the poor the enjoyment of their rightful booty. And when the tribunes once more put forward the law for the division of the city

αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκάλουν τὸν δῆμον, ὁ δὲ
Κάμιλλος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπεχθείας οὐδὲ παρρησίας
φεισάμενος ἐφάνη μάλιστα πάντων ἐκβιαζό-
μενος τοὺς πολλούς, τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄκοντες
-2 ἀπεψηφίσαντο, τὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον,
ὥστε καὶ δυστυχήσαντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ οἰκεία
(τῶν γὰρ υἱῶν ἀπέβαλε τὸν ἕτερον νοσήσαντα)
μηδὲν οἰκτῶ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑφέσθαι. καίτοι τὸ
πάθος οὐ μετρίως ἤνεγκεν ἀνὴρ ἡμερος φύσει καὶ
χρηστός, ἀλλὰ τῆς δίκης προγεγραμμένης αὐτῷ
διὰ πένθος οἰκούρει καθειργμένος μετὰ τῶν
γυναικῶν.

XII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν κατήγορος ἦν Λεύκιος Ἀπου-
λῆϊος, ἔγκλημα δὲ κλοπῆς περὶ τὰ Τυρρηνικὰ
χρήματα. καὶ δῆτα καὶ θύραι τινὲς ἐλέγοντο
χαλκαῖ παρ' αὐτῷ φανῆναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ὁ
δὲ δῆμος ἐξηρέθιστο καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἐκ πάσης
προφάσεως κατ' αὐτοῦ τῇ ψήφῳ χρησόμενος.
2 οὕτως οὖν συναγαγὼν τοὺς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς
συστρατευσαμένους οὐκ ὀλίγους τὸ πλῆθος ὄντας,
ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιῦδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀδίκως ἐπ' αἰτίαις 135
πονηραῖς ὀφλόντα καὶ καταγέλαστον ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν γενόμενον. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ φίλοι βουλευσά-
μενοι καὶ διαλεχθέντες ἑαυτοῖς ἀπεκρίναντο, πρὸς
μὲν τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ μηδὲν οἶεσθαι βοηθήσειν, τὴν
δὲ ζημίαν ὀφλόντι συνεκτίσειν, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος
ἔγνω μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς
3 ὀργήν. ἀσπασάμενος οὖν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν
υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προῆει σιωπῇ μέχρι τῆς
πύλης· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐπέστη, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς ὀπίσω

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and summoned the people to vote upon it, then Camillus, shunning no hatred nor any boldness of utterance, was manifestly the chief one in forcing the multitude away from its desires. Therefore, they did indeed reject the law, much against their will, but they were wroth with Camillus, so that even when he met with domestic affliction and lost one of his two sons by sickness, their wrath was in no wise softened by pity. And yet he set no bounds to his sorrow, being by nature a gentle and kindly man, but even after the indictment against him had been published, he suffered his grief to keep him at home, in close seclusion with the women of his household.

XII. Well, then, his accuser was Lucius Apuleius, and the charge was theft of Tuscan goods. It was said, forsooth, that certain bronze doors belonging to the booty had been seen at his house. But the people were exasperated, and would plainly lay hold of any pretext whatever for condemning him. So then he assembled his friends and comrades in arms, who were many in number, and begged them not to suffer him to be convicted on base charges and to be made a laughing-stock by his foes. When his friends had laid their heads together and discussed the case, they answered that, as regarded his trial, they thought they could be of no help to him; but if he were punished with a fine, they would help him pay it. This he could not endure, and in his wrath determined to depart the city and go into exile. Accordingly, after he had kissed his wife and son good-bye, he went from his house in silence as far as the gate of the city. There he stopped, turned himself about, and stretching his hands out towards

καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπεύξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ δικαίως, ἀλλ' ὕβρει δῆμου καὶ φθόνῳ προπηλακιζόμενος ἐκπίπτει, ταχὺ Ῥωμαίους μετανοῆσαι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανεροὺς γενέσθαι δεομένους αὐτοῦ καὶ ποθοῦντας Κάμιλλον.

XIII. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἀρὰς θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ μεταστὰς ὠφλε τὴν δίκην ἐρήμην, τίμημα μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἀσσαρίων ἔχουσιν.

Ὁ γίνεταί πρὸς ἀργυρίου λόγον χίλιαι δραχμαὶ καὶ πεντακόσiai· ἀσσάριον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ τὸ δεκάχαλκον οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο δηνάριον.

- 2 Οὐδεὶς δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων, ὃς οὐ νομίζει τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ Καμίλλου ταχὺ τὴν Δίκην ὑπολαβεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀδικίας οὐκ ἡδεῖαν, ἀλλ' ἀνιάραν, ὀνομαστὴν δὲ καὶ περιβόητον· τοσαύτη περιῆλθε τὴν Ῥώμην νέμεσις, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἄγων φθόρον καὶ κίνδυνον ἅμα μετ' αἰσχύνῃς ἐφάνη καιρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, εἴτε τῆς τύχης οὕτω συνελθούσης, εἴτε καὶ θεῶν τινος ἔργον ἐστὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν ἀρετῆς ἀχαριστουμένης.

XIV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔδοξε σημεῖον γεγονέναι κακοῦ μεγάλου προσιόντος ἢ Ἰουλίου τοῦ τιμητοῦ τελευτῇ· μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι σέβονται καὶ νομίζουσιν ἱερὰν τὴν τῶν τιμητῶν ἀρχήν. δεῦτερον δὲ πρὸ τῆς Καμίλλου φυγῆς ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐπιφανὴς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπιεικὴς δὲ καὶ χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Μάρκος Καιδίκιος, ἀνήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους πρᾶγμα φροντίδος ἄξιον.

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the Capitol, prayed the gods that, if with no justice, but through the wantonness of the people and the abuse of the envious he was now being driven from his country, the Romans might speedily repent, and show to all men that they needed and longed for Camillus.

XIII. After he had thus, like Achilles,¹ invoked curses upon his fellow citizens, he removed from out the city. His case went by default, and he was fined fifteen thousand asses.

This sum, reduced to our money, is fifteen hundred drachmas. For the as was the current copper coin, and the silver coin worth ten of these pieces was for that reason called the denarius, which is equivalent to the drachma.

Now there is no Roman who does not believe that justice followed hard upon the imprecations of Camillus, and that he received a requital for his wrongs which was not pleasing to him, but painful; certainly it was notable and famous. For a great retribution encompassed Rome, and a season of dire destruction and peril not unmingled with disgrace assailed the city, whether fortune so brought things to pass, or whether it is the mission of some god not to neglect virtue that goes unrequited.

XIV. In the first place, then, it seemed to be a sign of great evil impending when Julius the censor died. For the Romans specially revere and hold sacred the office of censor. In the second place, before Camillus went into exile, a man who was not conspicuous, to be sure, but who was esteemed honest and kindly, Marcus Caedicius, informed the military tribunes of a matter well worth their atten-

¹ *Iliad* i. 407-412.

- 2 ἔφη γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρωχημένῃ νυκτὶ καθ' ὁδὸν βαδίζων, ἦν Καινὴν ὀνομάζουσι, κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος φθεγξαμένου μεταστραφῆναι, καὶ θεάσασθαι μὲν οὐδένα, φωιῆς δὲ μείζονος ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀκοῦσαι τάδε λεγούσης· “Ἄγε, Μάρκε Καιδίκιε, λέγε πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἕωθεν ἔλθων ὀλίγου χρόνου Γαλάτας προσδέχεσθαι.” ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ χιλιάρχοι γέλωτα καὶ παιδιὰν ἐποιούντο. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον συνέβη τὰ περὶ Κάμλλον.

XV. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τοῦ Κελτικοῦ γένους ὄντες ὑπὸ πλῆθους λέγονται τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπολιπόντες, οὐκ οὔσαν αὐτάρκη τρέφειν ἅπαντας, ἐπὶ γῆς ζήτησιν ἐτέρας ὀρμῆσαι· μυριάδες δὲ πολλὰι γενόμενοι νέων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαχίμων, ἔτι δὲ πλείους παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἄγοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον Ὀκεανὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη ῥυῆναι καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Εὐρώπης κατα-

2 σχεῖν, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ Πυρρήνης ὄρους καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἰδρυθέντες ἐγγὺς Σενώνων καὶ Κελτορίων κατοικεῖν χρόνον πολὺν· ὃψὲ δ' οἴνου γευσάμενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας διακομισθέντος οὕτως ἄρα θαυμάσαι τὸ πόμα καὶ πρὸς τὴν καινότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔκφρονες γενέσθαι πάντες, ὥστε ἀράμενοι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ γενεὰς ἀναλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεὺς φέρεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἐκείνην τὴν γῆν, ἣ τοιοῦτον καρπὸν ἀναδίδωσι, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἀκαρπον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνήμερον.

- 3 Ὁ δ' εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν οἶνον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ παροξύνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτος Ἀρρων λέγεται γενέσθαι Τυρρηνός, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ φύσει μὲν οὐ πονηρός, συμφορὰ δὲ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος. ἦν ἐπίτροπος παιδὸς ὀρφανοῦ

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tion. He said that during the night just passed, as he was going along the so-called New Street, he was hailed by someone in clear tones, and turned, and saw no man, but heard a voice louder than man's saying: "Hark thou! Marcus Caedicius, early in the morning go and tell the magistrates that within a little time they must expect the Gauls." At this story the tribunes mocked and jested. And a little while after, Camillus suffered his disgrace.

XV. The Gauls were of the Celtic stock, and their numbers were such, as it is said, that they abandoned their own country, which was not able to sustain them all, and set out in quest of another. They were many myriads of young warriors, and they took along with them a still greater number of women and children. Some of them crossed the Rhipæan mountains, streamed off towards the northern ocean, and occupied the remotest parts of Europe; others settled between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and the Celtorians, and dwelt there a long time. But at last they got a taste of wine, which was then for the first time brought to them from Italy. They admired the drink so much, and were all so beside themselves with the novel pleasure which it gave, that they seized their arms, took along their families, and made off to the Alps, in quest of the land which produced such fruit, considering the rest of the world barren and wild.

The man who introduced wine to them, and was first and foremost in sharpening their appetite for Italy, is said to have been Arron, a Tuscan. He was a man of prominence, and by nature not prone to evil, but had met with the following misfortune. He was guardian of an orphan boy who was heir to

πλούτῳ τε πρώτου τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ θαυματο-
 μένου κατ' εἶδος, ὄνομα Λουκούμῳ. οὗτος ἐκ 136
 νέου παρὰ τῷ Ἀρρῳ διείταν εἶχε, καὶ μεираκίον
 ὧν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ προσεποιεῖτο
 4 χαίρειν συνὼν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐλάνθανε
 διεφθαρκῶς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ διεφθαρμένους
 ὑπ' ἐκείνης· ἥδη δὲ πόρρῳ τοῦ πάθους ἀμφοτέρων
 γεγονότων καὶ μήτ' ἀφείναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μήτε
 κρύπτειν ἔτι δυναμένων, ὁ μὲν νεανίσκος ἐπεχείρει
 φανερώς ἀποσπάσας ἔχειν τὴν ἀνθρωπον, ὁ δ'
 ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δίκην ἐλθὼν καὶ κρατούμενος πλήθει
 φίλων καὶ χρημάτων δαπάναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκού-
 μῳ ἐξέλιπε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ τῶν
 Γαλατῶν ἦκεν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ καθηγήσατο τῆς εἰς
 τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατείας.

XVI. Οἱ δ' ἐμβαλόντες εὐθὺς ἐκράτουν τῆς
 χώρας ὅσῃν τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ κατείχον,
 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας καθήκουσαν τὰς
 θαλάσσας, ὥς καὶ τοῦνομα μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ.
 τὴν μὲν γὰρ βόρειον θάλατταν Ἀδρίαν καλοῦσιν
 ἀπὸ Τυρρηνικῆς πόλεως Ἀδρίας, τὴν δὲ πρὸς
 νότον κεκλιμένην ἄντικρυς Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος.
 2 πᾶσα δ' ἐστὶ δενδρόφυτος αὕτη καὶ θρέμμασιν
 εὐβοτος καὶ κατάρρυτος ποταμοῖς. καὶ πόλεις
 εἶχεν ὀκτωκαίδεκα καλὰς καὶ μεγάλας καὶ κατε-
 σκευασμένας πρὸς τε χρηματισμὸν ἐργατικῶς καὶ
 πρὸς δίαιταν πανηγυρικῶς, ἃς οἱ Γαλάται τοὺς
 Τυρρηνοὺς ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοὶ κατέσχον. ἀλλὰ
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπράχθη συχνῶ τινι χρόνῳ πρότερον.

XVII. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τότε πρὸς πόλιν Τυρρη-
 νίδα Κλούσιον στρατεύσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν. οἱ
 δὲ Κλουσῖνοι καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

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the greatest wealth in the city, and of amazing beauty, Lucumo by name. This Lucumo from his youth up had lived with Arron, and when he came to man's estate, did not leave his house, but pretended to take delight in his society. He had, however, corrupted Arron's wife, and been corrupted by her, and for a long time kept the thing a secret. But at last the passions of both culprits increased upon them so that they could neither put away their desires nor longer hide them, wherefore the young man made open attempt to remove the woman and have her to wife. Her husband brought the case to trial, but was defeated by Lucumo, owing to the multitude of his friends and his lavish outlays of money, and forsook the city. Learning about the Gauls, he betook himself to them, and led them on their expedition into Italy.

XVI. The Gauls burst in and straightway mastered all the country which the Tuscans occupied of old, namely, that stretching from the Alps down to both seas, the names of which bear witness to the story. For the northern sea is called Adria, from the Tuscan city of Adria; the southern is called outright the Tuscan Sea. This whole country is studded with trees, has excellent pasturage for flocks and herds, and an abundance of rivers. It had also eighteen cities, large and fair, well equipped for profitable commerce and for sumptuous living. These the Gauls took away from the Tuscans and occupied themselves. But this happened long before the time of which I speak.

XVII. At this time the Gauls had marched against the Tuscan city of Clusium and were laying siege to it. The Clusians applied for assistance to the

- ἤτήσαντο πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ γράμματ' αὖ
πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ τοῦ
Φαβίων γένους τρεῖς ἄνδρες εὐδόκιμοι καὶ τιμὰς
2 μεγάλας ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει. τοὺτους ἐδέξαντο
μὲν οἱ Γαλάται φιλανθρώπως διὰ τὸ τῆς Ῥώμης
ὄνομα, καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὰ τείχη μάχης
εἰς λόγους συνῆλθον. πυνθανομένων δ' αὐτῶν,
ὃ τι παθόντες ὑπὸ Κλουσίων ἤκοιεν ἐπὶ τὴν
πόλιν, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Γαλατῶν Βρέννος,
"Ἄδικοῦσιν ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "Κλουσίνοι γῆν καὶ
χώραν ὀλίγην μὲν γεωργεῖν δυνάμενοι, πολλὴν δὲ
κατέχειν ἀξιούντες καὶ μὴ μεταδιδόντες ἡμῖν
3 ξένοις οὖσι καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ πένησι. ταῦτα δ'
ἄρα καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡδίκουν, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρότερον μὲν
Ἄλβανοι καὶ Φιδηνᾶται καὶ Ἀρδεᾶται, νῦν δὲ
Οὐήιοι καὶ Καπηνᾶται καὶ πολλοὶ Φαλίσκων καὶ
Οὐολούσκων· ἐφ' οὓς ὑμεῖς στρατεύοντες, εἰ μὴ
μεταδιδῶσιν ὑμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀνδραποδίζεσθε
καὶ λεηλατεῖτε καὶ κατασκάπτετε τὰς πόλεις
αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς γε δεινὸν οὐδὲ ἄδικον
4 ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν νόμων
ἀκολουθοῦντες, ὃς τῷ κρείττονι τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων
δίδωσιν ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τελευτῶν
εἰς τὰ θηρία. καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἐκ φύσεως ἔνεστι
τὸ ζητεῖν πλέον ἔχειν τὰ κρείττονα τῶν ὑποδε-
εστέρων. Κλουσίλους δὲ παύσασθε πολιορκου-
μένους οἰκτεῖροντες, ὥς μὴ καὶ Γαλάτας διδάξητε
χρηστοὺς καὶ φιλοικτίρμονας γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων ἀδικουμένοις."
- 5 Ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
τὸν Βρέννον ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντα, καὶ παρελ-

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Romans, and begged them to send ambassadors in their behalf with a letter to the Barbarians. So there were sent three men of the Fabian gens who were of great repute and honour in the city. The Gauls received them courteously, because of the name of Rome, ceased their attacks upon the city walls, and held conference with them. When they were asked what wrong they had suffered at the hands of the Clusians that they had come up against their city, Brennus, the king of the Gauls, burst into a laugh and said : " The Clusians wrong us in that, being able to till only a small parcel of earth, they yet are bent on holding a large one, and will not share it with us, who are strangers, many in number and poor. This is the wrong which ye too suffered, O Romans, formerly at the hands of the Albans, Fidenates, and Ardeates, and now lately at the hands of the Veientes, Capenates, and many of the Faliscans and Volscians. Ye march against these peoples, and if they will not share their goods with you, ye enslave them, despoil them, and raze their cities to the ground ; not that in so doing ye are in any wise cruel or unjust, nay, ye are but obeying that most ancient of all laws which gives to the stronger the goods of his weaker neighbours, the world over, beginning with God himself and ending with the beasts that perish. For these too are so endowed by nature that the stronger seeks to have more than the weaker. Cease ye, therefore, to pity the Clusians when we besiege them, that ye may not teach the Gauls to be kind and full of pity towards those who are wronged by the Romans."

From this speech the Roman envoys saw that there was no coming to terms with Brennus, and so they

θόντες εἰς τὸ Κλούσιον ἐθάρρουν καὶ παρώρων
 μων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς βαρβύροις
 μετ' αὐτῶν, εἴτε τὴν ἐκείνων ἀλκὴν κατα-
 μαθεῖν εἴτε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείξασθαι θέλοντες.
 ἐκδρομῆς δὲ τῶν Κλουσίων καὶ μάχης παρὰ τὰ
 τείχη γενομένης εἰς τῶν Φαβίων, Κοῖντος Ἄμ-
 βουστος, ἵππον ἔχων ἐλήλασεν ἀντίος ἀνδρὶ
 μεγάλῳ καὶ καλῷ Γαλάτῃ πολὺ προῖππεύοντι
 τῶν ἄλλων, ἀγνοηθεὶς ἐν ἀρχῇ διὰ τὸ τὴν σύνοδον
 ὀξεῖαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα περιλύμποντα τὴν
 6 ὄψιν ἀποκρύπτειν. ὥς δ' ἐπικρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ
 καὶ καταβαλὼν ἐσκύλευε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, γνωρίσας
 ὁ Βρέννος αὐτὸν ἐπεμαρτύρατο θεοῦς, ὥς παρὰ 137
 τὰ κοινὰ καὶ νενομισμένα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅσια
 καὶ δίκαια πρεσβευτοῦ μὲν ἦκοιτος, πολέμια δὲ
 εἰργασμένου. καταπαύσας δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα
 Κλουσίνοὺς μὲν εἶα χαίρειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην
 τὸν στρατὸν ἤγεन. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ δόξαι τὴν
 ἀδικίαν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἰσμένοις γεγονέναι καὶ
 δεομένοις προφάσεως, ἔπεμψεν ἑξαιτῶν ἐπὶ τι-
 μωρία τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ προῆγεν ἅμα σχολαίως.

XVIII. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ τῆς βουλῆς συναχθείσης
 ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγοροῦν, καὶ
 τῶν ἱερέων οἱ καλούμενοι Φητιαλεῖς ἐνήγον
 ἐπιθειάζοντες καὶ κελεύοντες τὸ τῶν πεπραγ-
 μένων ἄγος τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς ἓνα τὸν αἴτιον
 τρέψασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφοσιώσασθαι.

Τούτους τοὺς Φητιαλεῖς Πομπήλιος Νομᾶς,
 βασιλέων ἡμερώτατος γενόμενος καὶ δικαιοτάτος,
 κατέστησε φύλακας μὲν εἰρήνης, ἐπιγνώμονας δὲ
 καὶ βεβαιωτὰς αἰτιῶν, αἱ σὺν δίκῃ πόλεμον
 συνάπτουσι.

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slipped into Clusium, and emboldened and incited its citizens to sally out against the Barbarians with them, either because they wished to discover the prowess of those warriors or to display their own. The Clusians made a sally, and in the fight which raged along the walls one of the Fabii, Quintus Ambustus, drove his horse straight at a stately and handsome Gaul who was riding far out in front of the rest. At first he was not recognized, because the conflict came swiftly to pass and his dazzling armour hid his face. But when he had conquered and unhorsed his foe and was stripping his arms from him, then Brennus recognized him, and called upon the gods to witness how, contrary to the general practice of all mankind, which was deemed just and holy, he had come as an ambassador, but had wrought as an enemy. Then, putting a stop to the battle, he straightway let the Clusians alone, and led his host against Rome. But not wishing to have it thought that his people were rejoiced at the outrage, and only wanted some pretext for war, he sent and demanded the offender for punishment, and in the meantime advanced but slowly.

XVIII. When the Senate convened in Rome, many denounced the Fabii, and especially the priests called Fetiales were instant in calling upon the Senate in the name of all the gods to turn the curse of what had been done upon the one guilty man, and so to make expiation for the rest.

These Fetiales were instituted by Numa Pompilius, gentlest and justest of kings, to be the guardians of peace, as well as judges and determiners of the grounds on which war could justly be made.

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- 2 Τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνενεγκαμένης τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ὅμοια τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγορούντων, οὕτω περιῦβρισαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ κατεγέλασαν, ὥστε καὶ χιλιάρχον ἀποδείξαι τὸν Φάβιον μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ χαλεπῶς φέροντες οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν ἐποιοῦντο τῆς σπουδῆς, ἀλλ'
- 3 ἐχώρουν παντὶ τάχει· καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ βίαν καὶ θυμὸν ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν διὰ μέσου, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἀπολωλέναι πᾶσαν ἤδη καὶ τὰς πόλεις εὐθύς ἀπολείσθαι δοκούντων, παρ' ἐλπίδας οὐδὲν ἠδίκουν οὐδ' ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐγγὺς παρεξιόντες ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πορεύεσθαι καὶ μόνοις πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους φίλους ἐπίστασθαι.
- 4 Τοιαύτη δὲ χρωμένων ὁρμῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξήγον οἱ χιλιάρχοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, πλήθει μὲν οὐκ ἐνδεεῖς (ἐγένοντο γὰρ ὀπλῖται τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάσσους), ἀνασκήτους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀπτομένους ὅπλων. ἔτι δ' ἐξημέλητο τὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς οὔτε καλλιερήσασιν οὔτε μάντις ἢ πρὸ κινδύνου καὶ μάχης εἰκὸς ἦν ἐρομένοις.
- 5 οὐδενὸς δὲ ἦττον ἐπετάραττεν ἢ πολυαρχία τὰ πραττόμενα. καίτοι πρότερόν γε καὶ πρὸς ἐλάττονας ἀγῶνας εἴλοντο πολλάκις μονάρχους, οὓς Δικτάτορας καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅσον ἐστὶν εἰς ἐπισφαλῇ καιρὸν ὄφελος μᾶλλον χρωμένους γνώμῃ πρὸς ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἐν χερσὶ τῇν
- 6 δίκην ἔχουσιν εὐτακτεῖν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ

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The Senate referred the matter to the people, and although the priests with one accord denounced Fabius, the multitude so scorned and mocked at religion as to appoint him military tribune, along with his brothers. The Gauls, on learning this, were wroth, and suffered nothing to impede their haste, but advanced with all speed. What with their numbers, the splendour of their equipment, and their furious violence, they struck terror wherever they came. Men thought the lands about their cities lost already, and their cities sure to follow at once. But contrary to all expectation the enemy did them no harm, nor took aught from their fields, but even as they passed close by their cities shouted out that they were marching on Rome and warred only on the Romans, but held the rest as friends.

Against this onset of the Barbarians the military tribunes led the Romans forth to battle. They were not inferior in numbers, being no fewer than forty thousand men-at-arms, but most of them were untrained, and had never handled weapons before. Besides, they had neglected all religious rites, having neither sacrificed with good omens, nor consulted the prophets as was meet before the perils of battle. But what most of all confounded their undertakings was the number of their commanders. And yet before this, and on the brink of lesser struggles, they had often chosen a single commander, with the title of Dictator, not unaware how great an advantage it is, when confronting a dangerous crisis, to be of one mind in paying obedience to an authority which is absolute, and holds the scales of justice in its own hands. Moreover, their unfair treatment of Camillus

Κάμιλλος ἀγνωμονηθεὶς ἔβλαψε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὴ πρὸς χάριν μηδὲ κολακεύοντας ἄρχειν φοβεροῦ γενομένου.

Προελθόντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου ἐνενήκοντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀλίαν ποταμὸν ἠυλίσθησαν, οὐ πόρρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Θύμβριδι συμφερόμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιφανέντων αἰσχροῦς ἀγωνισάμενοι δι' ἀταξίαν 7 ἐτράποντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν κέρας εὐθύς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ διέφθειραν· τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν ὑπεκκλίναν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοὺς λόφους ἤττον ἐξεκόπη· καὶ διεξέπεσον ἀπὸ τούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ πολλοί. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις, ὅσοι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειπόντων πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἐσώθησαν, εἰς Οὐηίους αἱ φυγαὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἦσαν, ὡς τῆς Ῥώμης οἰχομένης καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πάντων ἀπολωλότων.

XIX. Ἐγένετο δ' ἡ μάχη μετὰ τροπὰς θερινὰς περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἥ καὶ πρότερον ἡμέρα μέγα πάθος συνέβη τὸ περὶ τοὺς Φαβίους· τριακόσιοι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἄνδρες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀνιρέθησαν. ἐκράτησε δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἡττης Ἀλιάδα μέχρι νῦν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν.

Περὶ δ' ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων, εἴτε χρὴ τίθεσθαι 138 τινας, εἴτε ὀρθῶς Ἡράκλειτος ἐπέπληξεν Ἡσιόδῳ τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ποιουμένῳ, τὰς δὲ φαύλας, ὡς ἀγνωοῦντι φύσιν ἡμέρας ἀπάσης μίαν οὔσαν, 2 ἐτέρωθι διηπόρηται. τῇ δ' ὑποκειμένη γραφῇ τὸ μνημονεύσαι παραδειγμάτων ὀλίγων ἴσως ἂν

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was in no slight degree fatal to discipline, since it was now dangerous to hold command without paying regard to the pleasure and caprice of the people.

They advanced from the city about eleven miles, and encamped along the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the Barbarians came suddenly upon them, and after a disorderly and shameful struggle, they were routed. Their left wing was at once driven into the river by the Gauls and destroyed; their right wing was less cut up, because it withdrew before the enemy's onset from the plain to the hills, from which most of them made their way back to the city. The rest, as many as escaped the enemy's hands, which were weary with slaughter, fled by night to Veii. They thought that Rome was lost and all her people slain.

XIX. The battle¹ took place just after the summer solstice when the moon was near the full, on the very day of a former great disaster, when three hundred men of the Fabian gens had been cut to pieces by the Tuscans. But the second defeat was so much the worse that the day on which it fell is called down to the present time "*dies Alliensis*," from the river.

Now concerning "*dies nefasti*," or unlucky days, whether we must regard some as such, or whether Heracleitus was right in rebuking Hesiod for calling some days good and some bad, in his ignorance that the nature of every day is one and the same,—this question has been fully discussed elsewhere. Still, even in what I am now writing, the mention of a few

¹ 390 B.C.

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- ἀρμόσειε. τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν Βοιωτοῖς Ἱπποδρομίου μηνός, ὥς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἵσταμένου πέμπτη δύο λαβεῖν συνέβη νίκας ἐπιφανεστάτας, αἷς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἠλευθέρωσαν, τὴν τε περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κερησσῶ ταύτης πρότερον ἔτεσι πλείοσιν ἢ διακοσίοις, ὅτε
- 3 Λατταμῦαν καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐνίκησαν. τοῦτο δ' αὖ πάλιν Πέρσαι μηνός Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μὲν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, τρίτη δ' ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἄμα καὶ περὶ Μυκάλην ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πέμπτη δὲ φθίνοντος ἐν Ἀρβήλοις. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ἐνίκων ναυμαχίαν, ἧς Χαβρίας ἐστρατήγει, τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὰς εἰκάδας,
- 4 ὥς ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡμερῶν ἀποδέδεικται. ἐνῆνοχε δὲ καὶ ὁ Θαρρηλιῶν μὴν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιδήλως ἀτυχίας· καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγούς Θαρρηλιῶνος ἐνίκησε, καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος ἡττώντο τῇ ἐβδόμῃ φθίνοντος, περὶ ἣν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ἄλῶναι, Θαρρηλιῶνος,¹ ὥς Ἐφορος καὶ Καλλισθένης καὶ Δαμάστης καὶ
- 5 Φύλαρχος ἱστορήκασιν. ἀνάπαλιν δ' ὁ Μεταγειτνίων, ὃν Βοιωτοὶ Πάνεμον καλοῦσιν, τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐκ εὖμενῆς γέγονε. τούτου γὰρ τοῦ μηνός ἐβδόμῃ καὶ τὴν ἐν Κρανῶνι μάχην ἡττηθέντες ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τελέως ἀπώλοντο, καὶ πρότερον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἡτύχησαν. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἐν τῷ Μεταγειτνίωνι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ μετ' Ἀρχιδάμου διαβάντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ βαρβάρων

¹ Θαρρηλιῶνος deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.

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examples may not be amiss. To begin with, then, it was on the fifth day of the month of Hippodromius (which the Athenians call Hecatombaeon) that the Boeotians won two illustrious victories which set the Greeks free: that at Leuctra, and that at Ceressus more than two hundred years earlier, when they conquered Lattamyas and the Thessalians. Again, on the sixth day of the month of Boedromion the Greeks defeated the Persians at Marathon, on the third day at Plataea and Mycale together, and on the twenty-sixth day at Arbela. Moreover, it was about full moon of the same month that the Athenians won their sea-fight off Naxos, under the command of Chabrias, and about the twentieth, that at Salamis, as has been set forth in my treatise "On days." Further, the month of Thargelion has clearly been a disastrous one for the Barbarians, for in that month the generals of the King were conquered by Alexander at the Granicus, and on the twenty-fourth of the month the Carthaginians were worsted by Timoleon off Sicily. On this day, too, of Thargelion, it appears that Ilium was taken, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus have stated. Contrary-wise, the month of Metageitnion (which the Boeotians call Panemus) has not been favourable to the Greeks. On the seventh of this month they were worsted by Antipater in the battle of Crannon, and utterly undone; before this they had fought Philip unsuccessfully at Chaeroneia on that day of the month; and in the same year, and on the same day of Metageitnion, Archidamus and his army, who had crossed into Italy, were cut to pieces by the Barbarians there.

6 διεφθάρησαν. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην φθίνοντος ὥς τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ φέρουσιν παραφυλάττουσιν.

Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ δ' ὅτι περὶ τὸν τῶν μυστηρίων καιρὸν αὐθις Θῆβαί τε κατεσκάφησαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φρουρὰν Ἀθηναῖοι Μακεδόνων ἐδέξαντο περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκάδα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος, ἣ τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχὸν ἐξάγουσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κίμβρων τὸ μετὰ Καιπίωνος ἀπέβαλον στρατόπεδον, ὕστερον δὲ Λουκούλλον στρατηγούντος Ἀρμενίους καὶ Τιγράνην ἐνίκησαν. Ἀτταλος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Πομπηῖος Μάγνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γενεθλίοις ἀπέθανον. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶ πολλοὺς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ταῖς αὐταῖς χρησαμένους ἀποδείξαι περιόδοις.

8 Ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις αὕτη μία τῶν μάλιστα ἀποφράδων ἐστὶ, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἕτεραι δύο, τῆς πρὸς τὸ συμβὰν εὐλαβείας καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐπὶ πλείον, ὥσπερ εἶωθε, ῥυείσης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἰτιῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐπιμελέστερον διήρηται.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Γαλάται τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσε τὴν Ῥώμην ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καταλειφθέντας· τοσοῦτον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐνεργάζοντο δαῖμα τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις, καὶ τοσαύτης πάλιν ἐνεπίμπλαντο
2 ταραχῆς καὶ παραφροσύνης. νυνὶ δ' ἀπιστία τοῦ μεγέθους οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς νίκης καὶ πρὸς εὐπάθει-

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The Carthaginians also regard with fear the twenty-second of this month, because it has ever brought upon them the worst and greatest of their misfortunes.

I am not unaware that, at about the time when the mysteries are celebrated, Thebes was razed to the ground for the second time by Alexander, and that afterwards the Athenians were forced to receive a Macedonian garrison on the twentieth of Boedromion, the very day on which they escort the mystic Iacchus forth in procession. And likewise the Romans, on the self-same day, saw their army under Caepio destroyed by the Cimbri, and later, when Lucullus was their general, conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. Both King Attalus and Pompey the Great died on their own birth-days. In short, one can adduce many cases where the same times and seasons have brought opposite fortunes upon the same men.

But this day of the Allia is regarded by the Romans as one of the unluckiest, and its influence extends over two other days of each month throughout the year, since in the presence of calamity, timidity and superstition often overflow all bounds. However, this subject has been more carefully treated in my "Roman Questions."¹

XX. Now had the Gauls, after this battle, followed hard upon the fugitives, naught would have hindered Rome from being utterly destroyed and all those who remained in her from perishing, such was the terror which the fugitives infused into the occupants of the city, and with such confusion and delirium were they themselves once more filled. But as it was, the Barbarians could not realize the magnitude of their

¹ *Morals*, pp. 269 f.

αν ἐκ τοῦ περιχαροῦς ἅμα καὶ νεμήσεις τῶν
 ἐαλωκότων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χρημάτων τραπό-
 μενοι, τῷ μὲν ἐκπίπτουσι τῆς πόλεως ὄχλῳ
 ῥαστώνην φυγῆς παρέσχον, ἐλπίσαι δ' ἔτι καὶ
 παρασκευάσασθαι τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν. τὴν γὰρ
 ἄλλην πόλιν προέμενοι τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐφράξαντο
 3 βέλεσι καὶ διατειχίσμασιν. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ τῶν
 ἱερῶν ἃ μὲν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνεσκευάσαντο,
 τὸ δὲ πῦρ τῆς Ἑστίας αἱ παρθένοι μετὰ τῶν
 ἱερῶν ἔφευγον ἀρπασάμεναι.

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Καίτοι τινὲς οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸ φρουρούμενον ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἢ πῦρ ἀφθιτον ἱστοροῦσι, Νομᾶ
 τοῦ βασιλέως καταστήσαντος ὡς ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων
 4 σέβεσθαι. κινητικώτατον γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦτο·
 κινήσεις δέ τις ἢ σύν τινι κινήσει πάντως ἢ γένε-
 σις· τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς ὕλης μόρια θερμότητος
 ἐπιλιπούσης ἀργὰ κείμενα καὶ νεκροῖς ἐοικότα
 ποθεῖ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν, ὡς ψυχὴν, καὶ
 προσελθούσης ἀμῶς γέ πως ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶν τι καὶ
 πᾶσχειν τρέπεται. τοῦτ' οὖν ἅτε δὴ περιττὸν
 ἄνδρα τὸν Νομᾶν καὶ λόγον ἔχοντα ταῖς Μούσαις
 συνεῖναι διὰ σοφίαν ἐξοσιῶσαι καὶ φρουρεῖν
 ἀκοίμητον ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς τὰ πάντα κοσμοῦσης
 5 αἰδίου δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ, ὥσπερ παρ'
 Ἑλλήσι, πρὸ ἱερῶν αἰθεσθαι καθάρσιον, ἄλλα
 δὲ τὰ ἐντὸς ἀθέατα κρύπτεσθαι πᾶσι, πλὴν ταύ-
 ταις ταῖς παρθένοις, ἃς Ἑστιάδας ἐπονομάζουσι.

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victory, and in the excess of their joy, turned to revelry and the distribution of the good things captured in their enemy's camp. For this reason the throngs who were for abandoning the city had ample time for flight, and those who were for remaining plucked up hope and prepared to defend themselves. Abandoning the rest of the city, they fenced the Capitol with ramparts and stocked it with missiles. But their first care was for their sacred things, most of which they carried away to the Capitol; the fire of Vesta, however, was snatched up and carried off by the vestal virgins in their flight, along with the other sacred things entrusted to their care.

However, some writers state that these virgins have watch and ward over nothing more than the ever-living fire, which Numa the King appointed to be worshipped as the first cause of all things. For fire produces more motion than anything else in nature, and all birth is a mode of motion, or is accompanied by motion. All other portions of matter, in the absence of heat, lie inert and dead, yearning for the force of fire to inform them, like a spirit, and on its accession in any manner soever, they become capable of acting and being acted upon. This principle of fire, then, Numa, who was an extraordinary man, and whose wisdom gave him the repute of holding converse with the Muses, is said to have hallowed and ordered to be kept sleepless, that it might image forth the ever-living force which orders the universe aright. Others say that this fire is kept burning before the sacred things by way of purification, as among the Greeks, and that other objects within the temple are kept hidden from the gaze of all except these virgins, whom they call

καὶ πλείστος μὲν λόγος κατείχε τὸ Τρωϊκὸν
ἐκεῖνο Παλλάδιον ἀποκεῖσθαι δι' Αἰνείου κομι-
σθὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὰ Σαμοθράκια
μυθολογοῦντες Δάρδανον μὲν εἰς Τροίαν ἐξενεγ-
κάμενον ὀργιάσαι καὶ καθιερώσαι κτίσαντα τὴν
πόλιν, Αἰνείαν δὲ περὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐκκλέψαντα
6 διασῶσαι μέχρι τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικήσεως. οἱ
δὲ προσποιούμενοι πλέον ἐπίστασθαί τι περὶ
τούτων δύο φασὶν οὐ μεγάλους ἀποκεῖσθαι πί-
θους, ὧν τὸν μὲν ἀνεφγότα καὶ κενόν, τὸν δὲ
πλήρη καὶ κατασσημασμένον, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ
ταῖς παναγέσι μόναις παρθένοις ὁρατοὺς εἶναι.
ἄλλοι δὲ τούτους διεψεῦσθαι νομίζουσι τῷ τὰ
πλείστα τῶν ἱερῶν τότε τὰς κόρας ἐμβαλούσας
εἰς πίθους δύο κρύψαι κατὰ γῆς ὑπὸ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ
Κυρίνου, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν
Πιθίσκων φέρεσθαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

XXI. Τὰ δὲ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἱερῶν
αὐταὶ λαβοῦσαι φυγῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποι-
οῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. ἐνταῦθα Λεύκιος Ἀλβί-
νιος¹ ἀνὴρ δημοτικὸς ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἔτυχε
τέκνα νήπια καὶ γυναῖκα μετὰ χρημάτων ἀναγ-
καίων ἐφ' ἀμάξης ὑπεκκομίζων. ὥς δ' εἶδε τὰς
παρθένους ἐν τοῖς κόλποις φερούσας τὰ τῶν
θεῶν ἱερὰ θεραπείας ἐρήμους παραπορευομένας
καὶ κακοπαθούσας, ταχὺ τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ τῶν
παίδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων καθελὼν ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀμάξης ἐκείναις παρέδωκεν ἐπιβῆναι καὶ δια-

¹ Ἀλβίνιος S and Livy, v. 40 : Ἀλβίνος.

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Vestals. And a very prevalent story had it that the famous Palladium of Troy was hidden away there, having been brought to Italy by Aeneas. There are some who say that it is the Samothracian images which are hidden there, and they tell the tale of Dardanus bringing these to Troy, after he had founded that city, and consecrating them there with celebration of their rites; and of Aeneas, at the capture of Troy, stealing them away and preserving them until he settled in Italy. Others still, pretending to have larger knowledge in these matters, say that two small jars are stored away there, of which one is open and empty, and the other full and sealed up, and that both are visible only to the holy virgins. But others think that these knowing ones have been led astray by the fact that the virgins, at the time of which I am now speaking, cast the most of their sacred treasures into two jars, and hid them underground in the temple of Quirinus, whence that place, down to the present time, has the name of "Doliola," or "Jars."

XXI. However that may be, these virgins took the choicest and most important of the sacred objects and fled away along the river. There it chanced that Lucius Albinus, a man of the common people, was among the fugitives, carrying off his wife and little children, with the most necessary household goods, upon a waggon. When he saw the virgins with the sacred symbols of the gods in their bosoms, making their way along unattended and in great distress, he speedily took his wife, with the children and the household goods, down from the waggon, and suffered the virgins to mount upon it and make

2 φυγεῖν εἰς τινα τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἀλβινίου πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις καιροῖς ἐκφανῇ γενομένην οὐκ ἄξιον ἦν ἀμνημόνευτον παρελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερεῖς οἳ τε γηραιοὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν καὶ θριαμβικῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἱεράς δὲ καὶ λαμπρὰς ἀναλαβόντες ἐσθήτας, ἐξηγουμένου Φαβίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τῷ δαίμονι καθιεροῦντες, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων δίφρων ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐκάθηντο¹ κεκοσμημένοι, τὴν ἐπιούσαν τύχην ὑπομένοντες.

XXII. Τρίτῃ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν ὁ Βρέννος ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τὰς τε πύλας εὐρὼν ἀνεωγμένας καὶ τὰ τείχη φυλάκων ἔρημα, πρῶτον μὲν ἔδεισεν ἐνέδραν καὶ δόλον, ἀπιστῶν οὕτω παντάπασιν ἀπειρηκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγνω τὸ ἀληθές, εἰσελάσας διὰ τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης εἰλε τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν πλείονα βραχὺ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἔχουσιν, εἴ τω πιστὸν ἀποσώζεσθαι τινα τῶν χρόνων ἀκρίβειαν, οἷς καὶ περὶ νεωτέρων ἄλλων ἀμφισβήτησιν ἢ 2 σύγχυσις ἐκείνῃ παρέσχε. τοῦ μέντοι πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἔοικεν ἀμυδρά τις εὐθύς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φήμη διελθεῖν. Ἡρακλείδης γὰρ 140 ὁ Ποντικὸς οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συγγράμματι φησιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας λόγον κατασχεῖν, ὡς στρατὸς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθὼν ἔξωθεν ἡρήκοι πόλιν Ῥωμῆν, ἐκεῖ που κατφεκμένην περὶ

¹ ἐκάθηντο with all MSS. and editors : καθήντο.

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their escape to a Greek city. This pious act of Albinus, and the conspicuous honour which he showed the gods in a season of the greatest danger, could not well be passed over in silence.

But the priests of the other gods, and the aged men who had been consuls and celebrated triumphs, could not endure to leave the city. So they put on their robes of state and ceremony, following the lead of Fabius, the pontifex maximus, and vowed the gods that they would devote themselves to death in their country's behalf. Then they sat themselves down, thus arrayed, on their ivory chairs in the forum, and awaited their fate.

XXII. On the third day after the battle, Brennus came up to the city with his army. Finding its gates open and its walls without defenders, at first he feared a treacherous ambush, being unable to believe that the Romans were in such utter despair. But when he realised the truth, he marched in by the Colline gate, and took Rome. This was a little more than three hundred and sixty years from her foundation, if one can believe that any accurate chronology has been preserved in this matter, when that of even later events is disputed, owing to the confusion caused by this very disaster. However, it would seem that some vague tidings of the calamity and capture of the city made their way at once to Greece. For Heracleides Ponticus, who lived not long after that time, in his treatise "On the soul," says that out of the West a story prevailed, how an army of Hyperboreans had come from afar and captured a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere on the shores

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- 3 τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάσαιμι μυθώδη καὶ πλασματίαν ὄντα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐπικομπάσαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ μὲν ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς, τὸν δὲ σώσαντα Λεύκιον εἰναί φησιν· ἦν δὲ Μάρκος, οὐ Λεύκιος, ὁ Κάμιλλος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰκασμῷ λέλεκται.
- 4 Κατασχὼν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Βρέννος τῷ μὲν Καπιτωλίῳ φρουρὰν περιέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐθαύμαζε τοὺς προκαθημένους ἀνδρας ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ σιωπῇ θεώμενος, ὥς οὐθ' ὑπεξανέστησαν ἐπιόντων πολέμιων οὐτ' ὄψιν ἢ χροᾶν ἔτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐγκεκλιμένοι τοῖς σκίπτωσιν, οὐς ἐφόρουν,¹ καὶ προσ-
- 5 βλέποντες ἀλλήλοις ἡσύχαζον. ἦν οὖν θαῦμα τοῖς Γαλάταις πρὸς τὴν ἀτοπίαν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὀκνοῦντες ἄψασθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ὥς κρείττοσι διηπόρουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τολμήσας τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς παρέστη Παπειρίῳ Μάρκῳ καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὴν χεῖρα πρῶως ἤψατο τοῦ γενείου καὶ κατήγε τὴν ὑπὴνην βαθεῖαν οὖσαν, ὁ μὲν Παπεῖριος τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πατάξας συνέτριψεν, ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος σπασάμενος
- 6 τὴν μάχαιραν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκείνον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνῆρουν προσπεσόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἐπιτύχοιεν διεχρῶντο, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπόρθουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες, εἴτα κατεπίμπρασαν καὶ κατέσκαπτον ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὅτι

¹ ἐφόρουν with S: ἔφερον.

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of the Great Sea. Now I cannot wonder that so fabulous and fictitious a writer as Heracleides should deck out the true story of the capture of Rome with his "Hyperboreans" and his "Great Sea." But Aristotle the philosopher clearly had accurate tidings of the capture of the city by the Gauls, and yet he says that its saviour was Lucius, although the fore-name of Camillus was not Lucius, but Marcus. However, these details were matters of conjecture.

When he had occupied Rome, Brennus surrounded the Capitol with a guard. He himself went down through the forum, and was amazed to see the men sitting there in public state and perfect silence. They neither rose up to meet their enemies when they approached, nor did they change countenance or colour, but sat there quietly, at ease and without fear, leaning on their staves and gazing into one another's faces. The Gauls were amazed and perplexed at the unwonted sight, and for a long time hesitated to approach and touch them, regarding them as superior beings. But at last one of them, plucking up his courage, drew near Papirius Marcus, and stretching out his hand, gently grasped his chin and stroked his long beard, whereupon Papirius, with his staff, smote him a crushing blow on the head. Then the Barbarian drew his sword and killed him. After that, they fell upon the rest and slew them, made away with every one else they met, sacked and plundered the houses of the city for many days together, and finally burned them down and levelled them with the ground, in their wrath at the defenders of the Capitol. For these would not

καλούντων αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσβάλλουσι πληγὰς ἔδοσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀμυνόμενοι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐλυμήναντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ προσδιέφθειραν τοὺς ἀλiskoμένους, ὁμοίως μὲν ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, ὁμοίως δὲ πρεσβύτας καὶ παῖδας.

- XXIII. Τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης ἐπισιτισμοῦ τοῖς Γαλάταις ἔδει· καὶ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ παραμένοντες ἐφρούρου τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν περιιόντες ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐπόρθουν προσπίπτοντες, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντες, ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλη καθ' ἡγεμονίας καὶ συντάγματα, τῷ μέγα φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καὶ δεδιέναι μηδὲν ἀπο-
- 2 σκιδνάμενοι. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα συντεταγμένον ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν, ἐν ἣ διέτριβε Κάμιλλος ἀργῶν ταῖς πράξεσι μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ ιδιωτεύων, ἐλπίδας δὲ λαμβάνων καὶ διαλογισμοὺς οὐχὶ τὸ λαθεῖν καὶ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγαπώντος ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ὅπως, εἰ παραγένοιτο καιρὸς, ἀμυνεῖται
- 3 σκοποῦντος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας ὁρῶν πλήθει μὲν ἱκανοὺς ὄντας, ἐνδεεῖς δὲ τόλμης δι' ἀπειρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐνέβαλε λόγον εἰς τοὺς νέους πρῶτον, ὥς οὐ χρὴ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀτυχίαν ἀνδρείαν Κελτῶν νομίζειν, οὐδ' ἂ κακῶς φρονήσασι συνέβη παθεῖν ἐκείνοις ἔργα τῶν οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ νικῆσαι παρασχόντων, ἀλλὰ τύχης
- 4 ἐπίδειξιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν εἶναι καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἀπώσασθαι πόλεμον ἀλλόφυλον καὶ βαρβαρικόν, ᾧ τοῦ κρατεῖν πέρας, ὥσπερ τῷ πυρί, διαφθαρῆναι τὸ νικώμενον· οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ

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surrender at their summons, but when they were attacked, actually repulsed their foes from the ramparts with loss. Therefore the Gauls inflicted every outrage upon the city, and put to the sword all whom they captured, men and women, old and young alike.

XXIII. The siege lasted a long time, and the Gauls began to lack provisions. They therefore divided their forces. Some remained with their king and watched the Capitol, others ravaged the country round about, falling upon the villages and sacking them, not all together in one body, but scattered about by commands and companies, some here, some there, moved by their successes to great confidence and the fear of nothing. The largest and best disciplined body of them marched upon the city of Ardea, where Camillus was staying since his exile. He lived in complete retirement and privacy, it is true, but cherished the hopes and plans not of a man who eagerly desired to escape the notice and hands of the enemy, but of one who sought to avenge himself upon them if occasion offered. Wherefore, seeing that the Ardeans were of sufficient numbers, but lacked courage, through the inexperience and effeminacy of their generals, he began to reason with the young men first, to the effect that the mishap of the Romans ought not to be laid to the valour of the Gauls, nor the sufferings of that infatuated people to the prowess of men who did not deserve their victory, but rather to the dictates of fortune. It was a fine thing, he said, even at dangerous risks, to repel the attack of an alien and barbarous folk, whose only end in getting the mastery was, as in the work of fire, the utter destruction of what it conquered. But

καὶ θαρροῦσι καὶ προθυμουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀκίνδυνον ἐν καιρῷ τὴν νίκην παρέξειν.

Τούτους τοὺς λόγους τῶν νέων δεξαμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦει καὶ τοὺς προβούλους τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος. ὥς δὲ κἀκείνους συνέπεισεν, ὥπλισε 141 τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας καὶ συνέειχε τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, ἀγνοεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων 5 ἐγγὺς ὄντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν ἵππασάμενοι καὶ βαρεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων ἀμελῶς καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου νύξ ἐπῆλθε μεθύουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σιωπῇ κατέσχε τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυθόμενος ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐξῆγε τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας· καὶ διελθὼν καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον περὶ μέσας νύκτας προσέμιξε τῷ χάρακι κραυγῇ τε χρώμενος πολλῇ καὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξι πανταχόθεν ἐκταράττων ἀνθρώπους κακῶς ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ μόλις ἐκ τῶν ὑπνῶν ἀναφέροντας πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον. 6 ὀλίγοι μὲν οὖν ἀνανήψαντες ἐν τῷ φόβῳ καὶ διασκευασάμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπέστησαν, ὥστ' ἀμυνόμενοι πεσεῖν τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἔτι κρατουμένους ὑπνῳ καὶ οἴνῳ καταλαμβάνοντες ἀνόπλους ἔκτεινον. ὅσοι δὲ νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οὐ πολλοί, τούτους μεθ' ἡμέραν σποράδας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διαφερομένους ἐπελαύνοντες ἵππεῖς διέφθειρον.

XXIV. Ἡ δὲ φήμη ταχὺ διαγγέλλουσα τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐξεκαλεῖτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ συνισταμένους, μάλιστα δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὅσοι διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλῖα μάχης ἐν Οὐηλτοῖς ἦσαν· καὶ ὠδύροντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς,

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in the present case, if they were bold and zealous, he would find occasion to give them a victory without any danger.

After gaining the support of the young men, Camillus went to the rulers and councillors of Ardea, and when he had won them over also, he armed all who were of age for service and kept them together within the walls, that they might not be perceived by the enemy, who were near. These had scoured the country round about, and encamped in the plain, without care or concern, and heavily encumbered with their abundant booty. When night had fallen upon them, putting an end to their carousals, and silence reigned throughout their camp, Camillus, acquainted with this by his scouts, led forth the Ardeans. Passing quietly over the intervening space, they reached the camp about midnight, and with shouts and trumpet blasts on every hand confounded the men, who were scarcely brought to their senses by the din, heavy as they were with drunkenness and sleep. A few of them were sobered by fear, armed themselves, and made resistance to Camillus and his men, so that they fell fighting; but most were still mastered by sleep and wine when they were fallen upon and slain without their arms. A few only ran from the camp, under cover of darkness, and when day came, were seen straggling about the fields, but horsemen pursued them and cut them to pieces.

XXIV. Rumour quickly carried news of this exploit to the neighbouring cities, and called to arms many of those who were of age for service, particularly the Romans who had made their escape from the battle on the Allia, and were in Veii. These

“Οἷον ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ῥώμης ὁ δαίμων ἀφελόμενος Ἀρδεάτας ἐκόσμησε τοῖς Καμίλλου κατορθώμασιν, ἡ δὲ γειναμένη καὶ θρέψασα τοιοῦτον
 2 ἄνδρα πόλις οἶχεται καὶ ἀπόλωλεν. ἡμεῖς δ’ ἀπορία στρατηγῶν ἀλλότρια τείχη περιβαλλόμενοι καθήμεθα προέμενοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. φέρε, πέμψαντες Ἀρδεάτας ἀπαιτῶμεν τὸν ἑαυτῶν στρατηγόν, ἡ λαβόντες αὐτοὶ τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς ἐκείνον βαδίζωμεν· οὐκέτι γάρ ἐστι φυγὰς οὐδ’ ἡμεῖς πολίται πατρίδος οὐκ οὔσης, ἀλλὰ κρατουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.” ταῦτ’ ἔδοξε καὶ πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Καμίλλου δέχεσθαι τὴν
 3 ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη πρότερον ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πολίτας ἐπιψηφίσασθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἐκείνους γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι πατρίδα σωζομένους, καὶ κελεύουσι μὲν ὑπακούειν προθύμως, ἀκόντων δὲ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονήσειν. τῆς μὲν οὖν εὐλαβείας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας τὸν Κάμιλλον ἐθαύμασαν. ἦν δ’ ἀπορία τοῦ ταῦτα διαγγελοῦντος εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· μᾶλλον δ’ ὅλως ἀδύνατον ἐδόκει τῶν πολεμίων ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν ἄγγελον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρελθεῖν.

XXV. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς νέοις Πόντιος Κομίνιος, τῶν μέσων κατὰ γένος πολιτῶν, δόξης δὲ καὶ τιμῆς ἐραστής· οὗτος ὑπέστη τὸν ἄθλον ἐκούσιος. καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, μὴ ληφθέντος αὐτοῦ φωράσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι δι’ αὐτῶν τοῦ Καμίλλου τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φαύλην ἔχων καὶ φελλοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῇ κομίζων τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἡμέρας ἀδεῶς διήλθεν, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως

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lamented among themselves, saying: "Of what a leader has heaven robbed Rome in Camillus, only to adorn Ardea with his victories! The city which bore and reared such a hero is dead and gone, and we, for lack of generals, sit pent up within alien walls, and see Italy ruined before our very eyes. Come! let us send to Ardea and demand our own general, or take our arms and go ourselves to him! For he is no longer an exile, nor are we citizens, now that our country is no more, but is mastered by the enemy." So said, so done, and they sent and asked Camillus to take the command. But he refused to do so before the citizens on the Capitol had legally elected him. They were preserving the country, as he thought, and if they had commands for him, he would gladly obey, but against their wishes he would meddle with nothing whatsoever. This noble restraint on the part of Camillus was much admired, but it was hard to see how the matter could be referred to the Capitol. Nay rather, it seemed utterly impossible, while the enemy held the city, for a messenger to elude them and reach the acropolis.

XXV. But there was a certain young man, Pontius Cominius by name, who was, in spite of his ordinary birth, a lover of glory and honour. He volunteered to attempt the task. He took no letter with him to the defenders of the Capitol, lest this, in the event of his capture, should help the enemy to discover the purpose of Camillus; but under the coarse garments which he wore, he carried some pieces of cork. The greater part of his journey was made by daylight and without fear; but as night came on he found himself near the city.

- γενόμενος ἤδη σκοταῖος, ἐπεὶ κατὰ γέφυραν οὐκ ἦν τὸν ποταμὸν περᾶσαι τῶν βαρβάρων παρα-
 2 φυλαττόντων, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα τῇ κεφαλῇ περι-
 σπειράσας οὐ πολλὴν οὐδὲ βαρεῖαν, τοῖς δὲ
 φελλοῖς ἐφείς τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνεπικουφίζων τῷ¹
 περαιούσθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐξέβη. καὶ παραλ-
 λάττων ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐγρηγορότας, τοῖς φέγγεσι καὶ
 τῷ θορύβῳ τεκμαιρόμενος, ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὴν
 Καρμεντίδα πύλην, ἣ πλείστην εἶχεν ἡσυχίαν,
 καὶ μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὴν ὄρθιος ὁ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου
 λόφος ἀνέστηκε καὶ πέτρα κύκλῳ πολλὴ καὶ
 τραχεῖα περιπέφυκε· δι' ἧς ἀνέβη λαθὼν καὶ
 προσέμιξε τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὸ διατείχισμα
 χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις κατὰ τὸ λαγαρώτατον.
 3 ἀσπάσαμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φράσας ἑαυτὸν
 ἐξ ὀνόματος, ἀναληφθεὶς ἐχώρει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ταχὺ δὲ συγκλήτου γενομένης 142
 παρελθὼν τὴν τε νύκην ἀπήγγειλε τοῦ Καμίλλου
 πρότερον οὐ πυθομένοις, καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς
 στρατιώταις διηγείτο· καὶ παρεκάλει τῷ Κα-
 μίλλῳ βεβαιῶσαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς μόνῳ πεισο-
 4 μένων ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἔξω πολιτῶν. οἱ δ' ἀκού-
 σαντες καὶ βουλευσάμενοι τὸν τε Κάμιλλον ἀπο-
 δεικνύουσι δικτάτορα, καὶ τὸν Πόντιον αὐθις
 ἀποπέμπουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ὁμοίως ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 χρησάμενον. ἔλαθε γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὰ
 παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς ἔξω Ῥωμαίοις.

XXVI. Ἐκείνων δὲ δεξαμένων προθύμως ἰφι-
 κόμενος ὁ Κάμιλλος ἤδη μὲν ἐν ὅπλοις δισμυρίους
 κατέλαβε, πλείονας δὲ συνῆγεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμ-

¹ τῷ Bekker supplies ἐν with Bryan.

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He could not cross the river by the bridge, since the Barbarians were guarding it, so he wrapped his light and scanty garments about his head, fastened the corks to his body, and thus supported, swam across, came out on the other side, and went on towards the city. Always giving a wide berth to those of the enemy who were watchful and wakeful, as he judged by their fires and noise, he made his way to the Carmental gate, where there was the most quiet, at which the Capitoline hill was most sheer and steep, and which was girt about by a huge and jagged cliff. Up this he mounted unperceived, and finally reached, with great pains and difficulty, the sentries posted where the wall was lowest. Hailing them, and telling them who he was, he was pulled up over the wall, and taken to the Roman magistrates. The Senate quickly convening, he appeared before it, announced the victory of Camillus, about which they had not heard, and explained to them the will and pleasure of his fellow-soldiers. He exhorted them to confirm Camillus in his command, since he was the only man whom the citizens outside would obey. When the Senate had heard his message and deliberated upon it, they appointed Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back again by the way he had come, wherein he repeated his former good fortune. For he eluded the enemy's notice and brought the Senate's message to the Romans outside the city.

XXVI. These gave eager welcome to the tidings, so that when Camillus came, he found twenty thousand men already under arms. He collected

μάχων καὶ παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. οὕτω μὲν ἡρέθη δικτάτωρ ὁ Κάμιλλος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ πορευθεὶς εἰς Οὐήτους ἐνέτυχε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνήγε πλείους ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὥς ἐπιθησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις.¹

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἐκείνη κατὰ τύχην παρεξιώντες, ἥ διὰ νυκτὸς ὁ Πόντιος προσέβη τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καταμαθόντες πολλαχῇ μὲν ἵχνη ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν, ὥς ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ περιεδράττετο, πολλαχῇ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεφυκόντων τοῖς κρημνοῖς ἀποτριβὰς καὶ περιολισθήσεις τῶν
2 γεωδῶν, φράζουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ κείνος ἐπελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τότε μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ἐσπέρας δὲ τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πεφυκότας ὀρειβατεῖν μάλιστα τῶν Κελτῶν συναγαγών, “Τὴν μὲν ὁδόν,” εἶπεν, “ἡμῖν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοοῦμένην οἱ πολέμιοι δεικνύουσιν ὥς οὐτ’ ἀπόρευτος οὔτε ἄβατος ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, αἰσχύνη δὲ πόλλῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντας ἐλλείπειν πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ προέσθαι τὸν τόπον ὥς ἀνάλωτον, αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ἥ ληπτὸς ἐστὶ διδασκόντων. ἥ γὰρ ἐνὶ προσβῆναι ῥάδιον, οὐδὲ πολλοῖς καθ’ ἓνα δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ βοήθειᾳ πολλῇ μετ’ ἀλλήλων ἐπιχειροῦσι. δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ τιμαὶ πρέπουσαι τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ἐκάστῳ δοθῇσονται.”

XXVII. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως διαλεχθέντος ὑπέστησαν οἱ Γαλάται προθύμως, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπιβάντες ἅμα πολλοὶ τῆς πέτρας

¹ Οὕτω . . . πολεμίοις deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.

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still more from the allies, and made preparations for his attack. Thus Camillus was chosen dictator for the second time, and proceeding to Veii, he put himself at the head of the soldiers there, and collected more from the allies, with the purpose of attacking the enemy.

But in Rome, some of the Barbarians chanced to pass by the spot where Pontius had made his way by night up to the Capitol, and noticed in many places the marks made by his hands and feet in clambering up, and many places also where the plants that grew upon the rocks had been torn away, and the earth displaced. They advised their king of this, and he too came and made inspection. At the time he said nothing, but when evening came, he assembled the nimblest men and the best mountain-climbers of the Gauls and said to them: "The enemy have shown us that there is a way up to them of which we knew not, and one which men can traverse and tread. It would be a great shame for us, after such a beginning as we have made, to fail at the end, and to give the place up as impregnable, when the enemy themselves show us where it can be taken. For where it is easy for one man to approach it, there it will be no difficult matter for many to go one by one, nay, they will support and aid one another greatly in the undertaking. Gifts and honours befitting his valour shall be given to every man."

XXVII. So spake their king, and the Gauls eagerly undertook to do his will. About midnight a large band of them scaled the cliff and made

- ἐχώρουν ἄνω μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἐμφυόμενοι τοῖς χωρίοις ἀποτόμοις οὔσι καὶ χαλεποῖς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδοκήθη πειρωμένων αὐτῶν
- 2 προσιεμένοις καὶ παρείκουσιν, ὥστε τοὺς πρῶτους ἀψαμένους τῶν ἄκρων καὶ διασκευασμένους ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τοῦ προτειχίσματος ἀπ-
τέσθαι καὶ τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιχειρεῖν κοιμωμένοις· ἦσθετο γὰρ οὐτ' ἄνθρωπος οὔτε κύων. ἀλλὰ χῆνες ἦσαν ἱεροὶ περὶ τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἥρας τρεφόμενοι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀφθόνως, τότε δὲ τῶν σιτίων ἤδη γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις αὐτοῖς διαρ-
- 3 κούντων ἀμελούμενοι κακῶς ἔπραττον. ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ φύσει πρὸς αἴσθησιν ὀξὺ καὶ ψοφοδεὲς τὸ ζῶον· ἐκείνοι δὲ καὶ διὰ λιμὸν ἀγρυπνητικοὶ καὶ θορυβώδεις γεγονότες ταχὺ τὴν ἔφοδον ἤσθοντο τῶν Γαλατῶν, καὶ μετὰ δρόμου καὶ κλαγγῆς φερόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπήγειραν ἅπαντας, ἤδη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ μὴ λανθάνειν ἀφειδούντων θορύβου καὶ βιαιότερον
- 4 ἐπιτιθεμένων. ἀρπάσαντες οὖν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ὧς τις ἕκαστος ὄπλῳ προσετύγχανεν, ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἐβοήθουν. πάντων δὲ πρῶτος Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, τό τε σῶμα ῥωμαλέος καὶ φρονήματι ψυχῆς ἐπιφανής, ἀπαντήσας δυσὶν ὁμοῦ τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ μὲν ἔφθασε διηρμένου κοπίδα τῷ ξίφει τὴν δεξιὰν ἀποκόψας, τὸν δὲ τῷ θυρεῷ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔωσεν ὀπίσω κατὰ τῆς
- 5 πέτρας. ἐπιστὰς δὲ τῷ τείχει μετὰ τῶν συνδραμόντων καὶ γενομένων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέστρεψε τοὺς ἄλλους, οὔτε πολλοὺς ἄνω γενομένους οὔτε πράξαντάς τι τῆς τόλμης ἄξιον. οὕτω δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκφυγόντες ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα

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their way upward in silence. They climbed on all fours over places which were precipitous and rough, but which yielded to their efforts better than they had expected, until the foremost of them reached the heights, put themselves in array, and had all but seized the outwork and fallen upon the sleeping watch. Neither man nor dog was aware of their approach. But there were some sacred geese near the temple of Juno, which were usually fed without stint, but at that time, since provisions barely sufficed for the garrison alone, they were neglected and in evil plight. The creature is naturally sharp of hearing and afraid of every noise, and these, being specially wakeful and restless by reason of their hunger, perceived the approach of the Gauls, dashed at them with loud cries, and so waked all the garrison. At once the Barbarians, now that they were detected, spared no noise, and came on more impetuously to the attack. The defenders, snatching up in haste whatever weapon came to hand, made the best shift they could. Manlius first of all, a man of consular dignity, mighty in body and exceeding stout of heart, confronting two of the enemy at once, cut off the right hand of one of them with his sword as he was lifting his battle-axe, and dashing his shield into the face of the other, tumbled him backwards down the cliff. Then taking his stand on the wall with those who ran to his aid and formed about him, he repulsed the rest of the enemy, who had reached the top in no great numbers, and showed no prowess to match their daring. So the Romans escaped out of their peril. At break of day, they east the

τῶν φυλάκων ἔρριψαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τῆς πέτρας, τῷ δὲ Μαλλίῳ τῆς νίκης ἀριστεΐα πρὸς τιμὴν μεγάλην¹ μᾶλλον ἢ χρεΐαν ψηφισάμενοι συνήνεγκαν ὅσον ἡμέρας ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τροφήν, σίτου μὲν ἡμίλιτρον ἐπιχωρίου (οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσιν αὐτό), οἴνου δὲ κοτύλης Ἑλληνικῆς τέταρτον.

- XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἦν ἀθυρότερα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτηδεῖων ἐσπᾶνίζον εἰργόμενοι προνομῆς φόβῳ τοῦ Καμίλλου, καὶ νόσος ὑποικούρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν νεκρῶν πλήθει χύδην καταβεβλημένων σκηνοῦντας ἐν ἐρειπίοις, τό τε βάθος τῆς τέφρας ἀέρα ξηρότητι καὶ δριμύτητι φαῦλον ὑπὸ πνευμάτων καὶ καυμάτων ἀναθυμώσης ἐλυμαίνετο τὰ σώματα διὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς.
- 2 μάλιστα δ' ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς συντροφῆς διαίτης ἐκ τόπων σκιερῶν καὶ θέρους καταφυγὰς ἀλύπους ἐχόντων ἐμβαλόντας εἰς χώραν ταπεινὴν καὶ κεκραμένην ἀφυῶς πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἐκίνησεν αὐτοὺς, ἥ τε πρὸς τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καθέδρα καὶ σχολὴ γενομένη χρόνιος. ἔβδομον γὰρ ἐκείνον οἰκούρου μῆνα πολιορκοῦντες. ὥστε φθορὰν εἶναι πολλὴν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μηδὲ θάπτεσθαι διὰ πλήθος ἔτι τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας.
- 3 Οὐ μὲν παρὰ² τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα βελτίω τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἦν. ἐπέτεινε γὰρ ὁ λιμός, ἥ τε τῶν περὶ Κάμιλλον ἄγνοια παρείχε δυσθυμίαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι

¹ μεγάλην deleted by Coraës and Bekker.

² παρὰ MSS. and edd., including Sintenis¹ : περὶ.

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captain of the watch down the cliff among the enemy, but voted to Manlius a meed of victory which did him more honour than service. They collected for him the rations which each man of them received for one day, namely, half a pound of native spelt, Roman weight, and an eighth of a pint of wine, Greek measure.

XXVIII. After this, the case of the Gauls was less hopeful. They lacked provisions, being shut off from foraging through fear of Camillus, and disease lurked among them. They were encamped amid ruins, where a multitude of corpses had been cast at random, and besides, an air made dry and acrid by vast quantities of ashes which wind and heat sent flying abroad, made breathing hurtful. But what most of all affected them was the complete change in their mode of life. They had come all at once from regions of shade, where easy refuge could be had from the heats of summer, into a land which was low lying and had an unnatural climate towards autumn. Then there was their long and idle sitting down before the Capitol,—they were now whiling away the seventh month in its siege. For all these reasons the mortality was great in their camp; so many were the dead that they could no longer be buried.

All this, however, brought no relief to the besieged, for famine increased upon them, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing made them dejected. No messenger could come from him because the city was now closely watched

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τὴν πόλιν ἀκριβῶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. ὅθεν οὕτω πράττουσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίνοντο συμβατικοὶ λόγοι διὰ τῶν προφυλάκων τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις
 4 ἐντυγχανόντων· εἶτα, ὥς ἔδοξε τοῖς κρατίστοις, συνελθόντος εἰς λόγους Βρέννῳ Σουλπικίου τοῦ χιλιάρχου τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὡμολογήθη τοὺς μὲν χιλίας λίτρας χρυσίου καταβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀναχωρεῖν. ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένων ὄρκων καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου κομισθέντος, τῶν δὲ Κελτῶν περὶ τὸν σταθμὸν ἀγνωμονούντων κρύφα τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα
 5 ῥοπήν, ἡγανάκτου οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Βρέννος οἶον ἐφυβρίζων καὶ καταγελῶν ἀποδυσάμενος¹ τὴν μάχαιραν ἅμα καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προσέθηκε τοῖς σταθμοῖς. πυνθανομένου δὲ τοῦ Σουλπικίου, “Τί τοῦτο;” “Τί γὰρ ἄλλο,” εἶπεν, “ἢ τοῖς νενικημένοις ὀδύνη;” τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἤδη παροιμιώδης λόγος γέγονε. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν ἡγανάκτου καὶ τὸ χρυσίου ὥντο δεῖν λαβόντας αὐθις ἀπιέναι καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ὑπομένειν· οἱ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἐκέλευον ἀδικουμένους μέτρια, καὶ μὴ τῷ πλέον διδόναι προσλογίζεσθαι τὸ αἰσχρὸν, αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δοῦναι διὰ τὸν καιρὸν οὐ καλῶς ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαίως ὑπομένοντας.

XXIX. Οὕσης δὲ περὶ τούτων πρὸς τε τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς² διαφορᾶς ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ἦν· καὶ πυνθόμενος τὰ γινόμενα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τάξει καὶ σχέδην ἐπακολουθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ

¹ ἀποδυσάμενος with S: ἀπολυσάμενος *unfastening*.

² αὐτοὺς Sintenis² with C: αὐτοὺς Bekker and Sintenis¹.

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by the Barbarians. Wherefore, both parties being in such a plight, a compromise was proposed, at first by the outposts as they encountered one another. Then, since those in authority thought it best, Sulpicius, the military tribune of the Romans, held a conference with Brennus, and it was agreed that on the delivery of a thousand pounds of gold by the Romans, the Gauls should straightway depart out of the city and the country. Oaths were sworn to these terms, and the gold was brought to be weighed. But the Gauls tampered with the scales, secretly at first, then they openly pulled the balance back out of its poise. The Romans were incensed at this, but Brennus, with a mocking laugh, stripped off his sword, and added it, belt and all, to the weights. When Sulpicius asked, "What means this?" "What else," said Brennus, "but woe to the vanquished?"¹ and the phrase passed at once into a proverb. Some of the Romans were incensed, and thought they ought to go back again with their gold, and endure the siege. Others urged acquiescence in the mild injustice. Their shame lay, they argued, not in giving more, but in giving at all. This they consented to do because of the emergency; it was not honourable, but it was necessary.

XXIX. While they were thus at odds in the matter, both with the Gauls and with themselves, Camillus led his army up to the gates of the city. On learning what was going on, he ordered the rest of his army to follow in battle array and deliberately,

¹ *Vae victis!*

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- τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπειγόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς
 2 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. διαστάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ
 δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα κόσμῳ καὶ
 σιωπῇ, τὸ μὲν χρυσίον ἄρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοῖς
 ὑπηρέταις ἔδωκε, τὸν δὲ ζυγὸν καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ
 τοὺς Κελτοὺς λαβόντας ἀποχωρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
 εἰπών, ὡς σιδήρῳ πάτριόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις, οὐ
 χρυσῷ τὴν πατρίδα σώζειν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ
 τοῦ Βρέννου καὶ φάσκοντος ἀδικεῖσθαι λυομένης
 τῆς ὁμολογίας, ἀντείπε μὴ νομίμως γεγονέναι
 3 μὴδὲ κυρίας εἶναι τὰς συνθήκας· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτοῦ
 δικτάτορος ἡρημένου καὶ μηδενὸς ἄρχοντος ἑτέρου
 νόμῳ πρὸς οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαν ὁμολογηθῆναι.
 νυνὶ δὲ χρῆναι λέγειν εἴ τι βούλονται· νόμῳ γὰρ
 ἦκειν κύριος γεγονὼς συγγνώμην τε δεομένοις
 δοῦναι καὶ δίκην, εἰ μὴ μετανοοῦσιν, ἐπιθεῖναι
 4 τοῖς αἰτίοις. πρὸς ταῦτα θορυβηθεὶς ὁ Βρέννος 14
 ἤψατο μὲν ἀψιμαχίας, καὶ προῆλθον ἄχρι ξι-
 φουλκίας ἐκάτεροι καὶ διωθισμῶν ἀναμεμιγμένοι
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐν οἰκίαις καὶ
 στενωποῖς ἀναστρεφόμενοι καὶ χωρίοις δέξασθαι
 παράταξιν οὐ δυναμένοις. ταχὺ δὲ συμφρονήσας
 ὁ Βρέννος ἀπήγαγε τοὺς Κελτοὺς εἰς τὸ στρατό-
 πεδον οὐ πολλῶν πεσόντων. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναστή-
 σας ἅπαντας ἐξέλιπε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθὼν
 ἐξήκοντα σταδίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὴν
 5 Γαβινίαν ὁδόν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα παρήν ὁ Κάμιλλος
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥπλισμένος λαμπρῶς καὶ τεθαρρηκότας
 ἔχων τότε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς
 μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτοὺς τε τρέπεται
 πολλῷ φόνῳ καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῶν

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while he himself, with the flower of his men, pressed on, and presently came to the Romans. These all made way for him, in decorous silence acknowledging him as their dictator. Thereupon he lifted the gold from the scales and gave it to his attendants, and then ordered the Gauls to take their scales and weights and be off, saying that it was the custom with the Romans to deliver their city with iron and not with gold. When Brennus in wrath declared that he was wronged by this breaking of the agreement, Camillus answered that the compact was not legally made nor binding, since he himself had already been chosen dictator and there was no other legal ruler ; the agreement of the Gauls had therefore been made with men who had no power in the case. Now, however, they must say what they wanted, for he was come with legal authority to grant pardon to those who asked it, and to inflict punishment on the guilty, unless they showed repentance. At this, Brennus raised a clamour and began a skirmish, in which both sides got no further than drawing their swords and pushing one another confusedly about, since the action took place in the heart of the ruined city, where no battle array was possible. But Brennus soon came to his senses, and led his Gauls off to their camp, with the loss of a few only. During the ensuing night he broke camp and abandoned the city with his whole force, and after a march of about eight miles, encamped along the Gabinian way. At break of day Camillus was upon him, in glittering array, his Romans now full of confidence, and after a long and fierce battle, routed the enemy with great slaughter and took their camp. Of the fugitives, some were at once

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δὲ φευγόντων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνηρέθησαν καταδιωχθέντες, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους διασπαρέντας ἐπεκθέοντες ἐκ τῶν πέριξ κωμῶν καὶ πόλεων ἔκτεινον.

XXX. Οὕτω μὲν ἡ Ῥώμη παραλόγως ἤλω καὶ παραλογώτερον ἐσώθη, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς πάντας ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένη. παρελθόντες γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῶν Κυῖντιλίων εἰδὼν περὶ τὰς Φεβρουαρίας εἰδούς ἐξέπεσον. ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐθριάμβευσε μὲν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, τὸν ἀπολωλυίας σωτῆρα πατρίδος γενόμενον καὶ
 2 κατάγοντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν εἰς ἑαυτήν· οἳ τε γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἅμα παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν εἰσελαύνοντος αὐτοῦ συγκατήεσαν, οἳ τε πολιορκηθέντες ἐν τῇ Καπιτωλίῳ, μικροῦ δεήσαντες ἀπολέσθαι διὰ λιμόν, ἀπῆντων περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ δακρύοντες ὑπὸ ¹ τῆς παρουσίας ἡδονῆς, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ζάκοροι θεῶν, ὅσα φεύγοντες αὐτόθι τῶν ἀβεβήλων ἔκρυψαν ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐξέκλεψαν, ἀνασωζόμενα ² κομίζοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο ποθομένας ὅψεις τοῖς πολίταις δεχομένοις μετὰ χαρᾶς, ὥσπερ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν αὐθις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
 3 συγκατερχομένων· θύσας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ καθάρας τὴν πόλιν ἐξηγουμένων τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δεινῶν, τὰ μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἱερῶν κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἰδρύσατο νεῶν Φήμης καὶ Κληδόνος, ἀνευρῶν ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ νύκτωρ ἡ καταγγέλλουσα τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατιὰν ἐκ θεοῦ τῇ Καϊδικίῳ Μάρκῳ φωνὴ προσέπεσε.

¹ ὑπὸ with S: ἀπιστία for distrust of.

² ἀνασωζόμενα καὶ κεκοσμημένα S, and adorned.

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pursued and cut down, but most of them scattered abroad, only to be fallen upon and slain by the people of the surrounding villages and cities.

XXX. So strangely was Rome taken, and more strangely still delivered, after the Barbarians had held it seven months in all. They entered it a few days after the Ides of July, and were driven out about the Ides of February. Camillus celebrated a triumph, as it was meet that a man should do who had saved a country that was lost, and who now brought the city back again to itself. For the citizens outside, with their wives and children, accompanied his triumphal chariot as it entered the city, and those who had been besieged on the Capitol, and had narrowly escaped death by starvation, came forth to meet them, all embracing one another, and weeping for the joy that was theirs. The priests and ministrants of the gods, bringing whatever sacred objects they had either buried on the spot or carried off with them when they took to flight, displayed them, thus preserved in safety, to the citizens, who caught the welcome sights with delight, believing in their hearts that the gods themselves were now coming back to Rome with them. After Camillus had made sacrifices to the gods and purified the city, in the manner prescribed by those who were versed in such rites, he restored the existing temples, and erected a new one to Rumour and Voice,¹ having sought out carefully the spot where by night the voice from Heaven, announcing the coming of the Barbarian host, had fallen upon the ears of Marcus Caedicius.

¹ Ara Aii Locutii.

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- XXXI. Χαλεπῶς μὲν οὖν καὶ μόλις αἱ τῶν
 ἱερῶν ἀνεκαλύπτοντο χῶραι φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ Κα-
 μίλλου καὶ πόνῳ πολλῇ τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν· ὥς δὲ
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἔδει παντάπασι διε-
 φθαρμένην, ἀθυμία πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς
 πολλοῖς καὶ μέλλησις ἦν ἐστερημένοις ἀπάντων
 καὶ τινος ἐν τῇ παρόντι ῥαστώνης καὶ ἀναπαύ-
 σεως ἐκ κακῶν δεομένοις μᾶλλον ἢ κάμνειν
 καὶ ἀποτρύχειν ἑαυτοὺς οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε
 2 σώμασιν ἐρρωμένους. οὕτω δὲ ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τοὺς
 Οὐητοὺς αὐθις ἀποστρεφόμενοι, πόλιν ἅπασι
 κατεσκευασμένην καὶ διαμένουσαν, ἀρχὰς δημα-
 γωγιῶν ἐνέδοσαν τοῖς πρὸς χάριν εἰθισμένοις
 ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ λόγων ἡκροῶντο στασιαστικῶν πρὸς
 τὸν Κάμιλλον, ὥς ἐκείνου φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα καὶ
 δόξης ἰδίας ἀποστεροῦντος αὐτοὺς πόλεως ἐτοίμης
 καὶ βιαζομένου σκηνοῦν ἐρείπια καὶ πυρκαϊὰν
 τοσαύτην ἐγείρειν, ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἡγεμῶν Ῥώμης
 καὶ στρατηγός, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης λέγεται παρώ-
 σας Ῥωμύλον.
- 3 Ἐκ τούτου φοβηθεῖσα τὸν θόρυβον ἡ βουλή
 τὸν μὲν Κάμιλλον οὐκ εἶασε βουλόμενον ἀπο-
 θέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ καίπερ ἕξ
 μῆνας οὐδενὸς ὑπερβαλόντος ἐτέρου δικτά-
 τορος, αὐτὴ δὲ παρεμυθεῖτο καὶ κατεπράυνε
 πείθουσα καὶ δεξιουμένη τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδεικνυ-
 μένη μὲν ἡρία καὶ τάφους πατέρων, ὑπομμνή-
 σκουσα δὲ χωρίων ἱερῶν καὶ τόπων ἀγίων, οὓς
 Ῥωμύλος ἢ Νομᾶς ἢ τις ἄλλος αὐτοῖς τῶν

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XXXI. Owing to the zeal of Camillus and the abundant labours of the priesthood, the sites of the temples were at last uncovered, but it proved a grievous undertaking. And since the city had also to be built up again from a state of utter destruction, the multitude were overwhelmed with despair of the task, and shrunk from it. They were bereft of all things, and for the present needed some rest and repose after their sufferings, instead of toiling and wearing themselves out on a task for which they had neither means nor strength. And so it was that insensibly their thoughts turned again to Veii, a city which remained intact and was equipped with all things needful. This gave opportunity for mischievous agitations to such as were wont to consult only the people's will and pleasure, and ready ear was given to seditious speeches against Camillus. He had an eye, it was said, only to his own ambition and fame, when he would deprive them of a city that stood ready to receive them, and force them to pitch their tents among a mass of ruins, while they rebuilt what had become a monstrous funeral pyre. He wished not merely to be a leader and general of Rome, but to thrust Romulus to one side and be styled its founder.

The Senate, therefore, fearful of this clamour, would not suffer Camillus, much as he wished it, to lay down his office within a year, although no other dictator had served more than six months. Meanwhile the Senators, by dint of kindly greetings and persuasive words, tried to soften and convert the people, pointing out the sepulchres and tombs of their fathers, and calling to their remembrance the shrines and holy places which Romulus, or Numa,

4 βασιλέων ἐπιθειάσας παρέδωκεν. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ τῶν θείων τὴν τε νεοσφαγὴ κεφαλὴν προὔφερον 145 ἐν τῇ θεμελιώσει τοῦ Καπιτωλίου φανείσαν, ὡς τῷ τόπῳ πεπρωμένον ἐκείνῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας κεφαλῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας πῦρ, ὃ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἀναπτόμενον αὖθις ἀφανίζειν καὶ σβεννύναι τοὺς προλιπόντας τὴν πόλιν, ὄνειδος αὐτοῖς ἐσόμενον, ἂν τε ὑπ' ἄλλων οἰκουμένην ὁρώσιν ἐπηλύδων καὶ ξένων ἂν τ' ἔρημον οὔσαν καὶ μηλόβοτον.

5 Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ σχετλιάζοντες ἐπεκλῶντο πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τὴν παρούσαν ὀλοφυρομένων ἀμηχανίαν, καὶ δεομένων μὴ σφᾶς ὥσπερ ἐκ ναυαγίου γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀπόρους σωθέντας προσβιάζεσθαι τὰ λείψανα τῆς διεφθαρμένης συμπηγνύναι πόλεως, ἐτέρας ἐτοίμης παρουσίας.

XXXII. Ἐδοξεν οὖν βουλὴν προθεῖναι τῷ Καμίλλῳ· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς διεξῆλθε παρακαλῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βουλόμενος· τέλος δὲ τὸν πρῶτον εἰωθότα λέγειν γνώμην Λεύκιον Λουκρήτιον ἀναστήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφῆνᾶσθαι πρῶτον, εἴτα 2 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφεξῆς. γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς καὶ τοῦ Λουκρητίου μέλλοντος ἐνάρχεσθαι, κατὰ τύχην ἔξωθεν ἑκατοντάρχης ἄγων τάγμα φυλακῆς ἡμερινῆς παρεπορεύετο, καὶ τὸν φέροντα πρῶτον τὸ σημεῖον μεγάλη φωνῇ προσαγορεύσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ μένειν καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τίθεσθαι·

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or some other king, had consecrated and left to their care. Among other signs from Heaven, they laid chief stress on the newly severed head that was found when the foundations of the Capitol were dug, showing, as it did, that the place where it was found was fated to be the head of Italy ; also on the sacred fire of Vesta, which had been kindled anew by her virgins after the war. If they should quench and extinguish this again by their abandonment of the city, it would be a disgrace to them, whether they saw that city occupied by immigrants and aliens, or abandoned to flocks and herds.

Thus did the Senators remonstrate with the people, both individually in private, and often in the public assemblies. They, in their turn, were moved to compassion by the wailing complaints of the multitude, who lamented the helplessness to which they were come, and begged, now that they had been saved alive as it were from a shipwreck, in nakedness and destitution, that they be not forced to piece together the fragments of their ruined city, when another stood all ready to receive them.

XXXII. Accordingly, Camillus decided that the question should be debated and settled in council. He himself spoke at great length, in exhortation to preserve their common country, and every one else who wished did likewise. Finally, he called upon Lucius Lucretius, to whom custom gave the first vote, and bade him declare his opinion first, and then the other senators in the order due. Silence fell, and Lucretius was on the point of beginning, when it chanced that a centurion with a squad of the day watch passed by outside, and calling with a loud voice on the man who led with the standard,

- κάλλιστα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καθεδεῖσθαι καὶ μενεῖν.
 ἅμα δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος
 ἐννοία καὶ ἀδηλότητι τῆς φωνῆς γενομένης, ὃ τε
 Λουκρήτιος ἔφη προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ προστί-
 θεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 3 ἕκαστος ἐπηκολούθησε. θαυμαστὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ
 πλῆθος ἔσχε μεταβολὴ τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἀλλήλους
 παρακαλούντων καὶ προτρεπομένων¹ πρὸς τὸ
 ἔργον, οὐκ ἐκ διανομῆς τινος ἢ τάξεως, ἀλλ' ὡς
 ἕκαστος ἐτοιμότητος ἢ βουλήσεως εἶχε τῶν
 χωρίων καταλαμβανομένων. διὸ καὶ τεταραγ-
 μένην τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ συμπεφυρμένην ταῖς
 οἰκήσεσιν ἀνήγαγον τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καὶ
 τάχους. ἐντὸς γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῦ λέγεται καὶ τοῖς
 τείχεσι καινὴ καὶ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς οἰκοδομαῖς ἀνα-
 στῆναι πάλιν.
- 4 Οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς τόπους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὀρίσαι
 ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου, συγκεχυμένων
 ἀπάντων, ὡς ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάδα τοῦ Ἄρεως
 περιοδεύοντες τὸ Παλάτιον, αὐτὴν μὲν, ὡς τὰ
 ἄλλα, διεφθαρμένην καὶ κατακεκαυμένην εὗρον
 ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, σκευωρούμενοι δὲ καὶ καθαί-
 ροντες τὸ χωρίον ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ μαντικῷ ξύλῳ
 τοῦ Ῥωμύλου κατὰ τέφρας πολλῆς καὶ βαθείας
 5 καταδεδυκότι. τοῦτο δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐπικαμπὲς ἐκ
 θατέρου πέρατος, καλεῖται δὲ λίτυον· χρώνται δ'
 αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλινθίων ὑπογραφὰς ὅταν ἐπ'
 ὄρنيσι διαμαντευόμενοι καθέζωνται, ὡς κακεῖνος
 ἐχρήτο μαντικώτατος ὢν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
 ἠφανίσθη, παραλαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ ξύλον
 ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἄψανστον ἐφύλαττον.

¹ προτρεπομένων with S : τρεπομένων.

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bade him halt and plant his standard there, for that was the best place to settle down and stay in. The utterance fell at the crisis of their anxious thought for the uncertain future, and Lucretius said, with a devout obeisance, that he cast his vote with the god. The rest, one by one, followed his example. Then the inclinations of the multitude were marvellously changed. They exhorted and incited one another to the work, and pitched upon their several sites, not by any orderly assignment, but as each man found it convenient and desirable. Therefore the city was rebuilt with confused and narrow streets and a maze of houses, owing to their haste and speed. Within a year's time, it is said, a new city had arisen, with walls to guard it and homes in which to dwell.

Those who had been deputed by Camillus to recover and mark out anew the sacred places, found them all in utter confusion. When they came to the shrine of Mars, in their circuit of the Palatium, they found that it had been demolished and burnt by the Barbarians, like the rest, but as they were clearing away and renovating the place, they came upon the augural staff of Romulus, buried deep in a great heap of ashes. The augural staff is curved at one end, and is called *lituus*. It is used to mark off the different quarters of the heavens, in the ceremonies of divination by the flight of birds, and so Romulus had used this one, for he was a great diviner. But when he vanished from among men, the priests took this staff and kept it inviolate, like

τοῦτο δὴ τότε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολωλότων ἀνευ-
ρόντες διαπεφευγὸς τὴν φθορὰν ἡδίοις ἐγένοντο
ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς ἀέδιον αὐτῇ
τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ σημείου βεβαιούντος.

XXXIII. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα πεπαυ-
μένοις ἀσχολίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτει πόλεμος,
Αἰκανῶν μὲν ἅμα καὶ Οὐολούσκων καὶ Λατίνων
εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλλόντων, Τυρρηνῶν δὲ πολι-
ορκούντων Σούτριν, συμμαχίδα Ῥωμαίων πόλιν.
ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντες χιλιάρχοι
στρατοπεδευσάμενοι περὶ τὸ Μάρκιον ὄρος ὑπὸ
τῶν Λατίνων ἐπολιορκούντο καὶ κινδυνεύοντες
ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν
2 ἀποδείκνυται τὸ τρίτον Κάμилλος δικτάτωρ. περὶ
τούτου τοῦ πολέμου διττοὶ λόγοι λέγονται· δίεμι
δὲ τὸν μυθώδη πρότερον.

Φασὶ τοὺς Λατίνους, εἴτε προφάσει χρωμένους
εἴτε βουλομένους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναμίξασθαι τὰ
γένη πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς, πέμψαντας αἰτεῖν παρὰ 146
τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρθένους ἐλευθέρας γυναῖκας.
ἀπορούντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν (καὶ
γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον ὠρρώδουν οὕτω καθεστῶτες οὐδ'
ἀνειληφότες αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν αἴτησιν τῶν γυναι-
κῶν ὑπώπτειον ἐξομήρευσιν εἶναι, τοῦ δ' εὐπρε-
ποῦς χάριν ἐπιγαμίαν καλεῖσθαι), θεραπαινίδα
3 τοῦνομα Τουτούλαν, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, Φιλωτίδα
τοῖς ἄρχουσι παραινέσαι πέμπειν σὺν αὐτῇ τῶν
δμῳῶδων τὰς ἐν ᾧρᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ταῖς ὄψεσιν
ἐλευθερίους, κοσμήσαντας ὡς νύμφας εὐγενεῖς,
τὰ λοιπὰ δ' αὐτῇ μελήσειν. πεισθέντας δὲ τοὺς
ἄρχοντας ἐπιλέξασθαι τῶν θεραπαινίδων ὅσας
ἐκέλη πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἐδοκίμασε, καὶ κοσμήσαν-

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any other sacred object. Their finding this at that time unscathed, when all the rest had perished, gave them more pleasing hopes for Rome. They thought it a token that assured her of everlasting safety.

XXXIII. They were not yet done with these pressing tasks when a fresh war broke upon them. The Aequians, Volscians, and Latins burst into their territory all at once, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city allied with Rome. The military tribunes in command of the army, having encamped near Mount Marcius, were besieged by the Latins, and were in danger of losing their camp. Wherefore they sent to Rome for aid, and Camillus was appointed dictator for the third time. Two stories are told about this war, and I will give the fabulous one first.

They say that the Latins, either as a pretext for war, or because they really wished to revive the ancient affinity between the two peoples, sent and demanded from the Romans free-born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in doubt what to do, for they dreaded war in their unsettled and un-restored condition, and yet they suspected that this demand for wives was really a call for hostages disguised under the specious name of intermarriage. In their perplexity, a serving-maid named Tutula, or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates to send her to the enemy with some maid-servants of the comeliest sort and most genteel appearance, all arrayed like free-born brides; she would attend to the rest. The magistrates yielded to her persuasions, chose out as many maid-servants as she thought meet

- τας ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λατίνοις οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδεύουσι.
- 4 νύκτωρ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ὑφελέσθαι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν δ' εἶτε Τουτούλαν εἶτε Φιλωτίδα προσβᾶσαν ἐρινεῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ παρατείνασαν ὀπίσω τὸ ἱμάτιον ἄραι πυρσὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὥσπερ ἦν συγκείμενον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν πολιτῶν εἰδότος. δι' ὃ καὶ θορυβῶδη γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔξοδον, ὡς κατήπειγον οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἀλλήλους ἀνακαλούντων καὶ μόλις εἰς τὴν τάξιν καθισταμένων. ἐπελθόντας δὲ τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων οὐ προσδεχομένων καὶ καθευδόντων ἐλεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ
- 5 διαφθεῖραι τοὺς πλείστους. τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ταῖς νῦν Ἰουλίαις, τότε δὲ Κυντιλίαις νώναις, καὶ τὴν ἀγομένην ἑορτὴν ὑπόμνημα τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξιόντες ἀθρόοι διὰ τῆς πύλης πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ κοινῶν ὀνομάτων βοῇ φθέγγονται, Γάϊον, Μάρκον, Λούκιον καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, μιμούμενοι τὴν τότε γενομένην μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλων ἀνάκλησιν.
- 6 ἔπειτα κεκοσμημένοι λαμπρῶς αἱ θεραπαινίδες περιῖτασι παίζουσαι διὰ σκωμμάτων εἰς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. γίνεται δὲ καὶ μάχη τις αὐταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὡς καὶ τότε τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους ἀγῶνος συνεπιλαμβανομέναις. ἐστιώμεναι δὲ καθέζονται κλάδοις σκυῆς σκιαζόμεναι· καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν νώνας Καπρατίνας καλοῦσιν, ὡς οἶονται διὰ τὸν ἐρινεόν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν παιδίσκην τὸν πυρσὸν ἄραι· τὸν γὰρ ἐρινεὸν καπρίφικον ὀνομάζουσιν.
- 7 Ἄτεροι δὲ τούτων τὰ πλείστα δρᾶσθαι καὶ λέγεσθαί φασιν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πάθει·

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for her purpose, arrayed them in fine raiment and gold, and handed them over to the Latins, who were encamped near the city. In the night, the rest of the maidens stole away the enemy's swords, while Tutula, or Philotis, climbed a wild fig-tree of great height, and after spreading out her cloak behind her, held out a lighted torch towards Rome, this being the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, though no other citizen knew of it. Hence it was that the soldiers sallied out of the city tumultuously, as the magistrates urged them on, calling out one another's names, and with much ado getting into rank and file. They stormed the entrenchments of the enemy, who were fast asleep and expecting nothing of the sort, captured their camp, and slew most of them. This happened on the Nones of what was then called Quintilis, now July, and the festival since held on that day is in remembrance of the exploit. For, to begin with, they run out of the city gate in throngs, calling out loudly many local and common names, such as Gaius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like, in imitation of the way the soldiers once called aloud upon each other in their haste. Next, the maid-servants, in gay attire, run about jesting and joking with the men they meet. They have a mock battle, too, with one another, implying that they once took a hand in the struggle with the Latins. And as they feast, they sit in the shade of a fig-tree's branches. The day is called the "Capratine Nones," from the wild fig-tree, as they suppose, from which the maid held forth her torch; this goes by the name of *caprificus*.

But others say that most of what is said and done at this festival has reference to the fate of Romulus.

κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ἔξω πύλης, ζόφου καὶ θυέλλης ἄφνω περισχούσης, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου γενομένης, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου νώνας Καπρατίνας κληθῆναι, τὴν γὰρ αἶγα κάπραν ὀνομάζουσιν· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἠφανίσθη δημηγορῶν περὶ τὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ἔλος προσαγορευόμενον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

- XXXIV. Τὸν δ' ἕτερον λόγον οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συγγραφέων δοκιμάζοντες οὕτω λέγουσιν. ἀποδειχθεὶς δικτάτωρ τὸ τρίτον ὁ Κάμилλος καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων στράτευμα πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τῶν Οὐολούσκων, ἠναγκάσθη καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἐν ᾧρᾳ τῶν πολι-
 2 τῶν, ἀλλ' ἤδη παρηβηκότας καθοπλίσαι. περιελθὼν δὲ μακρὰν περίοδον περὶ τὸ Μάρκιον ὄρος καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους ἵδρυσεν τὴν στρατιὰν κατόπιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ καύσας διεσήμηνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρουσίαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολιορκούμενοι θαρρήσαντες ἐπιέναι διανοοῦντο καὶ
 3 μάχην συνάπτειν· οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι συστείλαντες εἰσω τοῦ χάρακος ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεσταύρουν ξύλοις πολλοῖς καὶ διεφράγγυντο πανταχόθεν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περιμένειν ἐγνωκότες ἐτέρα οἴκοθεν δύναμιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνῶν προσδεχόμενοι βοήθειαν. τοῦτο δ' αἰσθόμενος ὁ Κάμилλος καὶ
 4 14 δεδοικὼς παθεῖν ὅπερ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κυκλωσάμενος ἔσπευδε προλαβεῖν τὸν καιρόν. ὄντος δὲ τοῦ περιφράγματος ξυλίνου καὶ πνεύματος μεγάλου κατιόντος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἅμα

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For on this same day he vanished from sight, outside the city gates, in sudden darkness and tempest, and, as some think, during an eclipse of the sun. The day, they say, is called the "Capratine Nones" from the spot where he thus vanished. For the she-goat goes by the name of *capra*, and Romulus vanished from sight while haranguing an assembly of the people at the Goat's Marsh, as has been stated in his *Life*.¹

XXXIV. But most writers adopt the other account of this war, which runs thus. Camillus, having been appointed dictator for the third time, and learning that the army under the military tribunes was besieged by the Latins and Volscians, was forced to put under arms even those of the citizens who were exempt from military duty by reason of advancing years. Fetching a long circuit around Mount Marcius and thus eluding the enemy's notice, he planted his army securely in their rear, and then by lighting many fires made known his presence there. The besieged Romans at once took heart and purposed to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians retired within their trenches, fenced themselves in with a great wooden palisade, and barricaded their camp on all sides, for they now had a hostile force in front and rear, and were determined to await reinforcements from home. At the same time they expected aid from the Tuscans also. Camillus, perceiving their design, and fearful of being himself surrounded by the enemy as he had surrounded them, made haste to improve his opportunity. The enemy's barricades were of wood, and a strong wind

¹ Chap. xxvii.

φάει, πυροβόλα ¹ παρασκευασάμενος καὶ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσε χρῆσθαι βέλεσι καὶ κραυγῇ καθ' ἕτερον μέρος, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἀφήσειν μέλλοντας ἔχων ὅθεν εἰώθει μάλιστα προσπίπτειν ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἀνέμενε τὴν ὥραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεστώσης τῆς μάχης ὃ τε ἥλιος ἀνῆει καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐξέπιπτε, σημήνας ἐπιδρομὴν κατέσπειρε τοῦ χάρακος ἄφθονα τῶν πυροβόλων.

5 ταχὺ δὲ τῆς φλογὸς ἐν ὕλῃ πυκνῇ καὶ σταυρώμασι ξυλίνοις ἀνατραφείσης καὶ κύκλῳ περινεμένης, οὐδὲν ἄκος οὐδὲ σβεστήριον ἔχοντες οἱ Λατίνοι παρεσκευασμένοι, ὡς πλήρες ἦν ἤδη τὸ στρατόπεδον πυρός, ἐπ' ὀλίγον συστελλόμενοι τόπον ἐξέπιπτον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης πρὸς ὀπλισμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τούτων μὲν ὀλίγοι διέφυγον, τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάντας διέφθειρε τὸ πῦρ, μέχρι οὗ κατασβέσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.

XXXV. Γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν υἱὸν Λεύκιον φύλακα τῶν ἡλωκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ χρημάτων αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τὴν Αἰκανῶν πόλιν ἐξελὼν καὶ προσαγαγόμενος τοὺς Οὐολούσκους εὐθύς ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν πρὸς τὸ Σούτριον, οὐπω τὰ συμβεβηκότα τοῖς Σουτρίνοις πεπυσμένος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι κινδυνεύουσι καὶ πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρ-
2 ρηνῶν βοηθῆσαι σπεύδων. οἱ δ' ἔτυχον ἤδη τὴν μὲν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίους παραδεδωκότες, αὐτοὶ

¹ πυροβόλα conjecture of Sintenis²; πυρὰ πολλὰ MSS., Sintenis¹, and edd.

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blew down from the mountains at sun-rise. Accordingly, he equipped himself with fiery darts, and leading his forces out towards day-break, ordered part of them to attack with missiles and loud cries at an opposite point, while he himself, with those appointed to hurl fire, took his post where the wind was wont to smite the enemy's trenches with the greatest force, and awaited the propitious moment. When battle had been joined and the sun rose and the wind burst forth with fury, he gave orders for an onset, and scattered no end of fiery darts along the trenches. The flames speedily found food in the crowded timbers of the wooden palisades and spread in all directions. The Latins had nothing at hand with which to ward off or quench them, and when at length their camp was full of fire, they were huddled together into a small space, and at last forced to dash out against an enemy who were drawn up in full battle array in front of the trenches. Few of them made their escape, and those who were left behind in the camp were all a prey to the fire until the Romans put it out and fell upon their booty.

XXXV. This business dispatched, he left his son Lucius in command of the camp to guard the captives and the booty, while he himself invaded the enemy's country. He captured the city of the Aequians, brought the Volscians to terms, and straightway led his army towards Sutrium. He was not yet apprised of the fate of the Sutrians, but thought they were still in peril of siege by the Tuscans, and so hastened to relieve them. But they had already surrendered their city to the enemy, and been sent off in utter

δὲ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ἐν ἱματίοις μόνον ἀφειμένοι
καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντι τῷ Καμίλλῳ μετὰ παίδων καὶ
γυναικῶν ἀπήντων ὀδυρόμενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν τύχας.
ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος αὐτός τε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐπικλα-
σθεὶς καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁρῶν ἐμφυομένων αὐτοῖς
τῶν Σουτρίνων δακρύοντας καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντας
ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἔγνω μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τῆς
3 τιμωρίας ἀναβολήν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ
Σούτριον ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, λογιζόμενος ἀνθρώ-
πους εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλουσίαν πόλιν ἄρτι κατειλη-
φότας καὶ μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ὑπολελοιπότας
ἐν αὐτῇ μηδὲ προσδεχομένους ἔξωθεν, ἐκκελυμέ-
νους παντάπασι καὶ ἀφυλάκτους εὐρήσειν· ὀρθῶς
λογισάμενος. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν χώραν ἔλαθε
διελθών, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος καὶ
τὰ τείχη καταλαβών· ἐφύλαττε γὰρ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ'
ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ συνουσίαις ἦσαν ἐσκεδασμένοι κατὰ
4 τὰς οἰκίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο τοὺς πολεμίους
κρατοῦντας ἤδη, οὕτω διέκειντο μοχθηρῶς ὑπὸ
πλησμονῆς καὶ μέθης, ὥς μηδὲ πρὸς φυγὴν
ὀρμήσαι πολλούς, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις αἰσχιστα
πάντων ὑπομένοντας ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ παραδιδόναι
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις. τὴν μὲν οὖν Σουτρί-
νων πόλιν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ δις ἀλούσαν οὕτω συνέβη
καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀποβαλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἀφηρημέ-
νους ἀπολαβεῖν διὰ Καμίλλον.

XXXVI. Ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων θρίαμβος αὐτῷ
χάριν οὐκ ἐλάττονα καὶ κόσμον ἤνεγκε τῶν
πρώτων дуεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πάνυ βασκαίνοντας
τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πάντα βουλομένους εὐτυχία

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destitution, with nothing but the clothes on their backs. As Camillus came marching along they met him, with their wives and children, all lamenting their misfortunes. Camillus himself was filled with compassion at the sight, and noticed that his Romans too, with the Sutrians hanging upon their necks in supplication, were moved to tears and anger at their lot. He therefore determined to make no postponement of his vengeance, but to march straight upon Sutrium that very day. He reasoned that men who had just taken a prosperous and opulent city, leaving none of their enemies in it, and expecting none from without, would be found wholly relaxed in discipline and off their guard; and he reasoned correctly. He not only passed unnoticed through the city's territory, but was actually at its gates and in command of its walls before the enemy knew it. For not a man of them was on guard, but they were all scattered among the houses of the city drinking and feasting. And even when they perceived that their enemies already had the mastery, they were so sluggishly disposed by reason of satiety and drunkenness that many did not so much as try to flee, but awaited there in the houses the most shameful of all deaths, or gave themselves up to their enemies. The city of Sutrium was thus twice captured in a single day, and it came to pass that those who had won it, lost it, and those who had first lost it, won it back, and all by reason of Camillus.

XXXVI. The triumph decreed him for these victories brought him no less favour and renown than his first two had done, and those citizens who had been most envious of him and preferred to ascribe all his successes to an unbounded good fortune rather

- τινὲ μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν κατωρθῶσθαι, τότε
 2 ἡνάγκαζον αἱ πράξεις τῇ δεινότητι καὶ τῷ δρα-
 στηρίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδιδόναι τὴν δόξαν. ἦν δὲ
 τῶν διαμαχομένων αὐτῷ καὶ προσφθονούντων
 ἐπιφανέστατος Μάρκος Μάλλιος, ὁ πρῶτος
 ὡσάμενος τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ὅτε τῷ
 Καπιτωλίῳ νυκτὸς¹ ἐπέθεντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 Καπιτωλίνος ἐπικληθεῖς. οὗτος γὰρ ἀξιῶν πρῶ-
 τος εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὸν
 Κάμιλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου τρόπου τῇ δόξῃ
 3 παρελθεῖν, ὑπόθεσιν τυραννίδος ἐποιήσατο κοινὴν 148
 καὶ συνήθη, δημαγωγῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς, μάλιστα
 δὲ τῶν ὀφειλόντων χρέα τοῖς μὲν ἀμύνων καὶ
 συνδικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς δανειστάς, τοὺς δ' ἀφαιρού-
 μενος βία καὶ κωλύων ἄγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν νόμον,
 ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπόρων ταχὺ περὶ αὐτὸν
 γενέσθαι καὶ πολὺν φόβον παρασχεῖν τοῖς
 βελτίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν θρασυνομένους καὶ
 4 ταραττοντας τὴν ἀγοράν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατασταθεῖς
 ἐπὶ ταῦτα δικτάτωρ Κούιντος Καπιτωλίνος εἰς
 τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐνέβαλε τὸν Μάλλιον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος
 γενομένου τούτου μετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, πρᾶγμα
 γινόμενον ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις καὶ δημοσίαις,
 δείσασα τὸν θόρυβον ἢ σύγκλητος ἐκέλευσεν
 ἀφεθῆναι τὸν Μάλλιον. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἀφεθεῖς
 ἀμείνων, ἀλλὰ σοβαρώτερον ἐδημαγώγει καὶ
 διεστασίαζε τὴν πόλιν. αἰρῶνται δὲ πάλιν
 χιλίαρχον τὸν Κάμιλλον.
- 5 Εἰσαγομένων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Μαλλίου
 δικῶν μέγαλα τοὺς κατηγοροὺς ἐβλαπτεν ἢ
 ὄψις. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐφ' οὗ βεβηκὼς ὁ Μάλλιος

¹ νυκτὸς with S: διὰ νυκτὸς.

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than to a native valour, were forced by these new exploits to set the man's glory to the credit of his ability and energy. Now of all those who fought him with hatred and envy, the most conspicuous was Marcus Manlius, the man who first thrust the Gauls down the cliff when they made their night attack upon the Capitol, and for this reason had been surnamed Capitolinus. This man aspired to be chief in the city, and since he could not in the fairest way outstrip Camillus in the race for glory, he had recourse to the wonted and usual arts of those that would found a tyranny. He courted, that is, the favour of the multitude, especially of the debtor class, defending some and pleading their causes against their creditors; snatching others from arrest and preventing their trial by process of law. In this way great numbers of indigent folk soon formed a party about him, and their bold and riotous conduct in the forum gave the best citizens much to fear. To quell their disorder, Quintus Capitolinus was made dictator, and he cast Manlius into prison. Thereupon the people put on the garb of mourners, a thing done only in times of great public calamity, and the Senate, cowed by the tumult, ordered that Manlius be released. He, however, when released, did not mend his ways, but grew more defiantly seditious, and filled the whole city with faction. Accordingly, Camillus was again made military tribune.

When Manlius was brought to trial, the view from the place was a great obstacle in the way of his accusers. For the spot where Manlius had stood

ἐνυκτομάχησε πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς, ὑπερεφαίνετο
 τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ παρέιχεν
 οἶκτον τοῖς ὀρώσιν· αὐτὸς τε τὰς χεῖρας
 ὀρέγων ἐκείσε καὶ δακρύων ὑπερέμνησκε τῶν
 ἀγώνων, ὥστε τοὺς κρίνοντας ἀπορεῖν καὶ πολ-
 λάκις ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν δίκην, μήτ' ἀφείναι
 βουλομένους ἐπὶ τεκμηρίοις φανεροῖς τὸ ἀδίκημα
 μήτε χρήσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ δυναμένους ἐν ὀφθαλ-
 6 μοῖς τῆς πράξεως οὔσης διὰ τὸν τόπον. ὁ δὲ
 συμφρονήσας ὁ Κάμιλλος μετήγαγεν ἔξω πύλης
 τὸ δικαστήριον εἰς τὸ Πετηλῖνον ἄλσος· ὅθεν οὐκ
 ὄντος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καταφανοῦς ὃ τε διώκων
 ἐχρήσατο τῇ κατηγορίᾳ καὶ τοῖς κρίνουσι παρε-
 χώρησεν ἡ μνήμη τῶν γεγονότων ἀξίαν ἀναλα-
 7 βεῖν¹ ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρούσιν ἀδικήμασιν. ὁ
 μὲν οὖν Μάλλιος ἀλούς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον
 ἀπήχθη, καὶ κατὰ τῆς πέτρας ὥσθεις τὸν αὐτὸν
 τόπον ἔσχε καὶ τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων ἔργων καὶ τῶν
 μεγίστων ἀτυχημάτων μνημεῖον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι
 τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαντες ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο
 θεᾶς, ἣν Μονῆταν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐψη-
 φίσαντο μηδένα τῶν πατρικίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας
 κατοικεῖν.

XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐπὶ χιλιαρχίαν
 ἔκτην καλούμενος παρῆτεῖτο, γεγονὼς μὲν ἡλικίας
 ἤδη πρόσω καὶ πού τινα καὶ φθόνον δεδιὼς καὶ
 νέμεσιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατορθώμασιν·
 ἡ δὲ φανερωτάτῃ τῶν αἰτιῶν ἦν ἀρρωστία σώμα-
 2 τος· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ νοσῶν περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας.

¹ ἀναλαβεῖν with S: λαβεῖν.

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when he fought his night battle with the Gauls, overlooked the forum from the Capitol, and moved the hearts of the spectators to pity. Manlius himself, too, stretched out his hands toward the spot, and wept as he called to men's remembrance his famous struggle there, so that the judges knew not what to do, and once and again postponed the case. They were unwilling to acquit the prisoner of his crime when the proofs of it were so plain; and they were unable to execute the law upon him when, owing to the place of trial, his saving exploit was, so to speak, in every eye. So Camillus, sensible of all this, transferred the court outside the city to the Peteline Grove, whence there is no view of the Capitol. There the prosecutor made his indictment, and the judges were able to forget the man's past services in their righteous anger at his present crimes. So then Manlius was convicted, carried to the Capitol, and thrust down the rock, thus making one and the same spot a monument of his most fortunate actions and of his greatest misfortunes. The Romans, besides, razed his house to the ground, and built there a temple to the goddess they call Moneta. They decreed also that in future no patrician should ever have a house on the Capitoline hill.

XXXVII. Camillus, called now to be military tribune for the sixth time, declined the honour, being already well on in years, and fearful perhaps of the envy of men and the resentment of the gods which often follows upon such glorious successes as his. But the most manifest reason was his bodily weakness, for it chanced that in those days he was sick. The people, however, would not relieve him of the

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- βοῶν μήτε ἱππεύοντος αὐτοῦ μήτε ὀπλομαχοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι δεῖσθαι, βουλευομένου δὲ μόνον καὶ προστάττοντος, ἠνάγκασεν ὑποστῆναι τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ μεθ' ἐνὸς τῶν συναρχόντων Λευκίου Φουρίου τὸν στρατὸν ἄγειν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Πραίνεστῖνοι καὶ Οὐολοῦσκοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὴν συμμα-
- 3 χίδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων πορθοῦντες. ἐξελθὼν δὲ καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας τοῖς πολεμίους αὐτὸς μὲν ἡξίου τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον χρόνῳ, κὰν εἰ μάχης δεήσειε ῥώσας τὸ σῶμα διαγωνίσασθαι, Λευκίου δὲ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιθυμία δόξης φερομένου πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ἀκατασχέτως καὶ συνεξορμῶντος ἅμα ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγούς, φοβηθεὶς μὴ φθόνῳ δὴ τινι δοκῇ κατόρθωμα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι νέων ἀνδρῶν συνεχώρησεν ἅκων ἐκείνῳ παρατάξαι τὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὑπελείφθη μετ' ὀλίγων ἐν τῷ
- 4 στρατοπέδῳ. τοῦ δὲ Λευκίου προπετῶς χρησαμένου τῇ μάχῃ καὶ σφαλέντος, αἰσθόμενος τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ κατέσχευ αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀναθορῶν ἐκ τῆς στιβάδος ἀπήντα μετὰ τῶν ὀπαδῶν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τοῦ χάρακος, διὰ τῶν φευγόντων ὠθούμενος εἰς τοὺς διώκοντας, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν εὐθύς ἀναστρέφειν καὶ συνακολουθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ προσφερομένους ἔξωθεν ἵστασθαι πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνασπίζειν, παρεγγυῶντας ἀλλήλοις μὴ
- 5 ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπετράποντο τῆς διώξεως οἱ πολέμοι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Κάμιλλος

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office. He had no need, they cried, to fight in the ranks of the cavalry or the men-at-arms, but only to counsel and ordain; and so they forced him to undertake the command, and with one of his colleagues, Lucius Furius, to lead the army at once against the enemy. These were the Praenestines and Volscians, who, with a large force, were laying waste the lands of the Roman allies. Marching forth, therefore, and encamping near the enemy, he himself thought it best to protract the war, that so, in case a battle should at last be necessary, he might be strong of body for the decisive struggle. But Lucius, his colleague, carried away by his desire for glory, would not be checked in his ardour for battle, and incited the same feelings in the inferior officers of the army. So Camillus, fearing lest it be thought that out of petty jealousy he was trying to rob younger men of the successes to which they eagerly aspired, consented, with reluctance, that Lucius should lead the forces out to battle, while he himself, on account of his sickness, was left behind in the camp with a few followers. Lucius conducted the battle rashly and was discomfited, whereupon Camillus, perceiving the rout of the Romans, could not restrain himself, but sprang up from his couch and ran with his attendants to the gate of the camp. Through the fugitives he pushed his way to their pursuers. Those of his men who had passed him *into* the camp, wheeled about at once and followed him, and those who came bearing down on him from outside, halted and formed their lines about him, exhorting one another not to abandon their general. In this way, for that day, the enemy were turned back from their pursuit. On the next day, Camillus

καὶ συνάψας μάχην αὐτούς τε νικᾷ κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν χάρακα λαμβάνει συνεισπεσὼν τοῖς φεύγουσι καὶ διαφθείρας τοὺς πλείστους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πυθόμενος πόλιν Σατρίαν ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἐαλωκέναι καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀπεσφάχθαι Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ὄντας, τὴν μὲν πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας μάλιστα καὶ προθυμώτατους ἀναλαβὼν ἐπέβαλε τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνοῖς καὶ κρατήσας τοὺς μὲν - ἐξήλασεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέκτεινεν.

- XXXVIII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπέδειξε φρονιμωτάτους ἀπάντων τοὺς μὴ φοβηθέντας ἀσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας ἡγεμόνος ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τόλμαν ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ἐλομένους ἐκείνον ἄκοντα καὶ νοσοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς δεομένους καὶ σπουδάζοντας ἄρχειν. διὸ καὶ Τουσκληνῶν ἀφεστάναι λεγομένων ἐκέλευον ἐξιέναι τὸν Κάμιλλον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
- 2 ἓνα τῶν πέντε συστρατῆγων προσελόμενον. ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἀπάντων βουλομένων καὶ δεομένων, εἰσάσας τοὺς ἄλλους, προσεΐλετο Λεύκιον Φούριον οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν ὁ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ Καμίλλου διαγωνίσασθαι προθυμηθεὶς ἑναγχος καὶ δυστυχήσας περὶ τὴν μάχην· ἀλλὰ βουλομενος, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀποκρῖναι τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ
- 3 ἀνδρὸς ἀντὶ πάντων τούτον προήγεν. οἱ δὲ Τουσκληανοὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐπανορθούμενοι πανούργως, ἥδη βαδίζοντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ Καμίλλου τὸ μὲν πεδίον ἀνθρώπων ὥς ἐν εἰρήνῃ γεωργούντων καὶ νεμόντων ἐνέπλησαν, τὰς δὲ πύλας εἶχον

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led his forces out, joined battle with the enemy, defeated them utterly, and took their camp, actually bursting into it along with those who fled to it, and slaying most of them. After this, learning that the city of Satricum had been taken by the Tuscans, and its inhabitants, all Romans, put to the sword, he sent back to Rome the main body of his army, comprising the men-at-arms, while he himself, with the youngest and most ardent of his men, fell suddenly upon the Tuscans who held the city and mastered them, expelling some and slaying the rest.

XXXVIII. He returned with much spoil to Rome, having proved that those citizens were the most sensible of all who did not fear the bodily age and weakness of a leader possessed of experience and courage, but chose him out, though he was ill and did not wish it, rather than younger men who craved and solicited the command. They showed the same good sense, when the Tusculans were reported to be on the brink of a revolt, in ordering Camillus to select one of his five colleagues as an aid, and march out against them. Although all the five wished and begged to be taken, Camillus passed the rest by and selected Lucius Furius, to everyone's surprise. For he was the man who had just now been eager to hazard a struggle with the enemy against the judgment of Camillus, and had been worsted in the battle. But Camillus wished, as it would seem, to hide away the misfortune and wipe away the disgrace of the man, and so preferred him above all the rest. But the Tusculans, when once Camillus was on the march against them, set to rectifying their transgression as craftily as they could. Their fields were found full of men tilling the soil and pasturing flocks, as in

- ἀνεωγμένας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις
μαυθάνοντας, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ μὲν βάνανσον ἐπὶ
τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐωρᾶτο περὶ τὰς τέχνας, τὸ δ'
ἀστείον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν ἱματίοις· οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες
περιήεσαν σπουδῇ καταλύσεις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐπαγγέλλοντες, ὥς οὐδὲν κακὸν προσδοκῶντες
4 οὐδὲ συνειδότες. τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀπι-
στεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆει τῷ Καμίλλῳ τὴν προδοσίαν,
οἰκτείρας δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ μετάνοιαν
αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐλθόντας
παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ὀργήν· καὶ παραιτουμένοις
συνέπραξεν αὐτὸς ἀφεθῆναι τε τὴν πόλιν αἰτίας
ἀπάσης καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἰσοπολιτείας. αὗται μὲν
οὖν ἐγένοντο τῆς ἑκτῆς χιλιαρχίας ἐπιφανέσταται
πράξεις.

- XXXIX. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λικινίου Στόλωνος
ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν μεγάλην στάσιν ἐγείροντος, ἣν ὁ
δῆμος ἐστασίαζε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον βιαζόμενος
δυεῖν ὑπάτων καθισταμένων τὸν ἕτερον πάντως ἐκ
δημοτῶν εἶναι καὶ μὴ συναμφοτέρους πατρικίους,
δήμαρχοι μὲν ἡρέθησαν, τὰς δ' ὑπατικὰς ἀρ-
χαιρεσίας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι διεκώλυσαν οἱ πολλοί.
2 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δι' ἀναρχίας φερομένων ἐς
μείζονας ταραχὰς ἀποδείκνυται δικτάτωρ ὁ Κά-
μιλλος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄκοντι τῷ δήμῳ τὸ τέταρ-
τον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὦν πρόθυμος οὐδὲ βουλόμενος
ἐναντιοῦσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους παρρησίαν ἔχοντας
ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς
πλείονα μετ' αὐτῶν¹ διαπεπραγμένος ἐν στρατη-
γίαις ἢ μετὰ τῶν πατρικίων ἐν πολιτείαις, καὶ

¹ μετ' αὐτῶν διαπεπραγμένος edd., including Sintenis¹, and S;
ἐν στρατηγίαις μετ' αὐτῶν with C.

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times of peace ; their gates lay wide open ; their boys were at school conning their lessons ; and of the people, the artizans were to be seen in their workshops plying their trades, the men of leisure sauntered over the forum clad in their usual garb, while the magistrates bustled about assigning quarters for the Romans, as though they expected and were conscious of no evil. Their performances did not bring Camillus into any doubt of their intended treachery, but out of pity for the repentance that followed so close upon their treachery, he ordered them to go to the Senate and beg for a remission of its wrath. He himself also helped to make their prayers effectual, so that their city was absolved from all charges and received the rights of Roman citizenship. Such were the most conspicuous achievements of his sixth tribuneship.

XXXIX. After this, Licinius Stolo stirred up the great dissension in the city which brought the people into collision with the Senate. The people insisted that, when two consuls were appointed, one of them must certainly be a plebeian, and not both patricians. Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the multitude prevented the consular elections from being duly held. Owing to this lack of magistrates, matters were getting more and more confused, and so Camillus was for the fourth time appointed dictator by the Senate, though much against the wishes of the people. He was not eager for the office himself, nor did he wish to oppose men whose many and great struggles gave them the right to say boldly to him : "Your achievements have been in the field with us, rather than in politics with the patricians ;

νῦν διὰ φθόνον ἐκείνων ἡρημένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως
 ἢ καταλύσειε τὸν δῆμον ἰσχύσας ἢ καταλυθείη
 3 μὴ κρατήσας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος ἀμύνειν
 τοῖς παροῦσι, τὴν ἡμέραν γνούς, ἐν ᾗ νομοθετεῖν 150
 οἱ δῆμαρχοι διανοοῦντο, προέγραψε στρατιᾶς κα-
 τάλογον καὶ μετεκάλει τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
 εἰς τὸ πεδίου μεγάλας ζημίας ἀπειλῶν κατὰ τοῦ
 4 μὴ ὑπακούσαντος. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων ἐκείθεν αὐ-
 πάλιν ἀντανισταμένων ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ διομνυ-
 μένων πέντε μυριάσιν ἀργυρίου ζημιώσκειν, εἰ μὴ
 παύσαιοτο τοῦ δήμου τὸν νόμον ἀφαιρούμενοις καὶ
 τὴν ψήφον, εἴτε δείσας φυγὴν ἑτέραν καὶ κατα-
 δίκην, ὥς ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ καὶ κατειργασμένῳ
 μεγάλα μὴ πρέπουσαν, εἴτε τοῦ δήμου τὴν βίαν
 ἄμαχον οὖσαν καὶ δυσνίκητον ὑπερβαλέσθαι μὴ
 δυνάμενος μηδὲ βουλόμενος, τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρησεν
 οἴκαδε· ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις σκηψάμενος ἀρ-
 ρωστεῖν ἐξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν.

5 Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἕτερον δικτάτορα κατέστησε·
 καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀποδείξας ἵππαρχον αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα
 τῆς στάσεως Στόλωνα παρήκεν ἐπικυρῶσαι τὸν
 νόμον τὸν μάλιστα λυποῦντα τοὺς πατρικίους.
 ἐκέλευσε δ' οὗτος μηδένα πλέθρων πεντακοσίων
 πλείονα χώραν κεκτηῖσθαι. τότε μὲν οὖν λαμπρὸς
 ὁ Στόλων ἐγεγόνει τῇ ψήφῳ κρατήσας· ὀλίγῳ δ'
 ὕστερον αὐτὸς ἐάλω κεκτημένος ὅσῃν ἔχειν ἐκώ-
 λυνεν ἑτέρους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ νόμον δίκην
 ἔδωκεν.

XL. Ὑπολειπομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν
 ἀρχαιρεσιῶν φιλονεικίας, ὃ δὴ χαλεπώτατον τῆς
 στάσεως ἦν καὶ πρῶτον ἤρξε καὶ πλείστα

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it is through hate and envy that they have now made you dictator; they hope that you will crush the people if you prevail, or be crushed yourself if you fail." However, he tried to ward off the threatening evils. Having learned the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he issued proclamation making it a day of general muster, and summoned the people from the forum into the Campus Martius, with threats of heavy fines upon the disobedient. The tribunes, on the contrary, for their part, opposed his threats with solemn oaths that they would fine him fifty thousand silver drachmas if he did not cease trying to rob the people of its vote and its law. Then, either because he feared a second condemnation to exile, a penalty unbecoming to a man of his years and achievements, or because he was not able, if he wished, to overcome the might of the people which was now become resistless and invincible, he withdrew to his house, and after alleging sickness for several days, resigned his office.

But the Senate appointed another dictator, and he, after making Stolo himself, the very leader of the sedition, his master of horse, suffered the law to be enacted. It was a most vexatious law for the patrician, for it prohibited anyone from owning more than five hundred acres of land. At that time, then, Stolo was a resplendent figure, owing to his victory at the polls; but a little while after, he himself was found to be possessed of what he forbade others to own, and so paid the penalty fixed by his own law.

XL. There remained, however, the strife over the consular elections, which was the main problem in the dissensions, as it was its first cause, and gave

πράγματα τῇ βουλῇ παρέσχε διαφερομένη πρὸς
 τὸν δῆμον, ἀγγελίαι προσέπεσον σαφεῖς, Κελ-
 τοὺς αὖθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς ἄραντας θα-
 λάσσης μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύ-
 2 νειν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου
 παρῆν πορθουμένης τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων, ὅσοις μὴ ῥάδιον ἦν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατα-
 φυγεῖν, ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη σκεδαννυμένων. οὗτος ὁ
 φόβος κατέπαυσε τὴν στάσιν, καὶ συνελθόντες
 εἰς ταὐτὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ
 3 κτάτορα τὸ πέμπτον Κάμιλλον. ὁ δ' ἦν μὲν
 σφόδρα γέρων καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέλειπεν ὀγδοήκοντα
 ἔτη γεγονέναι· συνορῶν δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν
 κίνδυνον, οὔτε ὑποτίμησιν εἰπὼν, ὥς πρότερον,
 οὔτε προφάσει χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ὑπο-
 στάς τὴν στρατηγίαν κατέλεγε τοὺς μαχησο-
 μένους.

Εἰδὼς δὲ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀλκῆς τὴν βιαιο-
 τάτην ἐν ταῖς μαχαίραις οὔσαν, ἃς βαρβαρικῶς
 καὶ σὺν οὐδεμιᾷ τέχνῃ καταφέροντες ὤμους
 4 μάλιστα καὶ κεφαλὰς διέκοπτον, ἐχαλκεύσατο
 μὲν κράνη τοῖς πλείστοις ὀλοσίδηρα καὶ λεῖα ταῖς
 περιφερείαις, ὥς ἀπολισθαίνειν ἢ κατάγνυσθαι
 τὰς μαχαίρας, τοῖς δὲ θυρεοῖς κύκλῳ περιήρμοσε
 λεπίδα χαλκῇν, τοῦ ξύλου καθ' αὐτὸ τὰς πληγὰς
 μὴ στέγοντος· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδί-
 दाξε τοῖς ὕσσοις μακροῖς διὰ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι καὶ
 τοῖς ξίφεσι τῶν πολεμίων ὑποβάλλοντας ἐκδέ-
 χεσθαι τὰς καταφοράς.

XLI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν οἱ Κελτοί, περὶ
 τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμὸν στρατόπεδον βαρὺ καὶ
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the Senate most concern in its contention with the people. But suddenly clear tidings came that the Gauls had once more set out from the Adriatic Sea, many myriads strong, and were marching on Rome. With the word, the actual deeds of war kept pace. The country was ravaged, and its population, all who could not more easily fly to Rome for refuge, scattered among the mountains. This terror put an end to the dissension in the city, and brought together into conference both the rich and the poor, the Senate and the people. All with one mind chose Camillus dictator for the fifth time. He was now quite old, lacking little of eighty years; but recognizing the peril and the necessity which it laid upon him, he neither made excuse, as before, nor resorted to pretext, but instantly took upon him the command and went to levying his soldiers.

Knowing that the prowess of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their swords, which they plied in true barbaric fashion, and with no skill at all, in mere slashing blows at head and shoulders, he had helmets forged for most of his men which were all iron and smooth of surface, that the enemy's swords might slip off from them or be shattered by them. He also had the long shields of his men rimmed round with bronze, since their wood could not of itself ward off the enemy's blows. The soldiers themselves he trained to use their long javelins like spears,—to thrust them under the enemy's swords and catch the downward strokes upon them.

XLI. When the Gauls were near at hand, being encamped on the Anio and encumbered with untold

- μεστὸν ἀφθόνου λείας ἔχοντες, ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἴδρυσεν κατὰ νάπης μαλακῆς καὶ συγκλίσεις πολλὰς ἐχούσης, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, τὸ δ' ὀρώμενον δοκεῖν ὑπὸ δέους
- 2 εἰς χωρία προσάντη κατελειθεῖσθαι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος αὖξεν βουλόμενος οὐ προσήμυνε τῶν ὑπὸ πόδας πορθουμένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν χάρακα φραζάμενος ἡρέμει, μέχρι οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἐν προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους κατέϊδε, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐμπιπλαμένους
- 3 ἀφειδῶς καὶ μεθύοντας. τότε δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τοὺς ψιλοὺς προεκπέμψας ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένοις καὶ διαταράττειν εὐθὺς ἐπεξιόντας, κατεβίβαζεν ὀρθρου τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ παρέταττεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις, πολλοὺς 151 καὶ προθύμους, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι προσεδόκων, ὀλίγους καὶ ἀτόλμους φανέντας. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τῶν Κελτῶν ἀνέτρεψε τὰ φρονήματα παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι δοκούντων. ἔπειτα προσπίπτοντες οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὸν συνήθη λαβεῖν κόσμον καὶ διακριθῆναι κατὰ λόχους κινοῦντες αὐτοὺς καὶ βιαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ
- 4 συντυχὸν ἀτάκτους ἠνάγκασαν μάχεσθαι. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Καμίλλου τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπάγοντος, οἱ μὲν ἀνατεινόμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας συνδραμεῖν ἔσπευδον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὑσσοῖς ἀπαντῶντες καὶ τὰ σεσιδηρωμένα μέρη ταῖς πληγαῖς ὑποφέροντες ἀνέστρεφον τὸν ἐκείνων σίδηρον μαλακὸν ὄντα καὶ λεπτῶς ἐληλαμένον, ὥστε κύμπτεσθαι ταχὺ καὶ διπλοῦσθαι τὰς μαχαίρας, τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς
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plunder, Camillus led his forces out and posted them in a gently sloping glade with many hollows, so that the largest part of them were concealed, and the part that could be seen had the look of shutting themselves up in hilly places out of fear. This opinion of them Camillus wished to strengthen, and therefore made no defence of those who were plundered even at his very feet, but fenced in his trenches and lay quiet, until he saw that some of the enemy were scattered abroad in foraging parties, while those in the camp did nothing but gorge themselves with meat and drink. Then, while it was yet night, he sent his light-armed troops forward to hinder the Barbarians from falling into battle-array and throw them into confusion as they issued from their camp. Just before dawn, he led his men-at-arms down into the plain and drew them up in battle-array, many in number and full of spirit, as the Barbarians now saw, not few and timid, as they had expected. To begin with, it was this which shattered the confidence of the Gauls, who thought it beneath them to be attacked first. Then again, the light-armed folk fell upon them, forced them into action before they had taken their usual order and been arrayed in companies, and so compelled them to fight at random and in utter disorder. Finally, when Camillus led his men-at-arms to the attack, the enemy raised their swords on high and rushed for close quarters. But the Romans thrust their javelins into their faces, received their strokes on the parts that were shielded by iron, and so turned the edge of their metal, which was soft and weakly tempered, so much so that their swords quickly bent up double, while their shields were pierced and

συμπεπάρθαι καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τῶν ὑσῶν ἐφελ-
 5 κομένων. διὸ καὶ μεθιστάμενοι τῶν ἰδίων ὄπλων
 ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς ἐκείνων συστρέφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς
 ὑσσοὺς παραφέρειν ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν.
 οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι γυμνουμένους¹ ὁρῶντες ἤδη τοῖς
 ξίφεσιν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ φόνος μὲν ἦν πολὺς τῶν
 προτάκτων, φυγὴ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πανταχόσε τοῦ
 πεδίου. τοὺς γὰρ λόφους καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ προκατ-
 ειλήφει Κάμιλλος, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον διὰ τὸ
 θαρσεῖν ἄφρακτον ἔχοντες ἥδεσαν οὐ χαλεπῶς
 ἁλωσόμενον.

6 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τρισκαίδεκα
 γενέσθαι λέγουσι τῆς Ῥώμης ἀλώσεως, καὶ βέ-
 βαιον ἐξ αὐτῆς φρόνημα κατὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐγγε-
 νέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις σφόδρα δεδοικόσι τοὺς βαρ-
 βάρους, ὥς τὸ πρῶτον διὰ νόσους καὶ τύχας
 παραλόγους, οὐ κατὰ κράτος, ὑπ' αὐτῶν νενικη-
 μένους. οὕτω δ' οὖν ὁ φόβος ἦν ἰσχυρός, ὥστε
 θέσθαι νόμον ἀφείσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς στρατείας
 χωρὶς ἂν μὴ Γαλατικὸς ἢ πόλεμος.

XLII. Τῶν μὲν οὖν στρατιωτικῶν ἀγώνων
 οὗτος ἡγωνίσθη τῷ Καμίλλῳ τελευταῖος. τὴν
 γὰρ Οὐελιτρανῶν πόλιν εἶλεν ἐν παρέργῳ ταύτης
 τῆς στρατείας ἀμαχεῖ προσχωρήσασαν αὐτῷ.
 τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο καὶ
 χαλεπώτερος² πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἰσχυρὸν ἐπανή-
 κοντα τῇ νίκῃ καὶ βιαζόμενον ἐκ δημοτῶν ὑπατον
 ἀποδείξαι παρὰ τὸν καθεστῶτα νόμον, ἀντιταττο-
 μένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον οὐκ ἐώσης

¹ γυμνουμένους with S: γυμνοὺς.

² καὶ χαλεπώτερος Sintenis¹, now supported by S: χαλεπώ-
 τερος.

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weighed down by the javelins which stuck in them. Therefore they actually abandoned their own weapons and tried to possess themselves of those of their enemies, and to turn aside the javelins by grasping them in their hands. But the Romans, seeing them thus disarmed, at once took to using their swords, and there was a great slaughter of their foremost ranks, while the rest fled every whither over the plain; the hill tops and high places had been occupied beforehand by Camillus, and they knew that their camp could easily be taken, since, in their overweening confidence, they had neglected to fortify it.

This battle, they say, was fought thirteen years after the capture of Rome, and produced in the Romans a firm feeling of confidence regarding the Gauls. They had mightily feared these Barbarians, who had been conquered by them in the first instance, as they felt, in consequence of sickness and extraordinary misfortunes, rather than of any prowess in their conquerors. At any rate, so great had their terror been that they made a law exempting priests from military service, except in case of a Gallic war.

XLII. This was the last military exploit performed by Camillus, for the capture of Velitrae was a direct sequel of this campaign, and it yielded to him without a struggle. But the greatest of his civil contests yet remained and it was harder to wage it now against a people which had come back flushed with victory, and bent on electing a plebeian consul, contrary to the established law. But the Senate opposed their demands, and would not suffer Camillus to lay aside

- ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς μετ' ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ
 2 μεγάλης ἐξουσίας τῆς ἐκείνου μαχησομένων ἀν
 βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 προκαθημένου τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ χρηματίζοντος
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπηρέτης πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τῶν
 δημάρχων ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα
 τῷ σώματι προσήγεν ὥς ἀπάξων, κραυγὴ δὲ καὶ
 θόρυβος, οἶος οὐπω, κατέσχε τὴν ἀγοράν, τῶν
 μὲν περὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὠθούντων ἀπὸ τοῦ
 βήματος τὸν δημόσιον, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν κάτωθεν
 ἔλκειν ἐπικελευομένων, ἀπορούμενος τοῖς πα-
 ροῦσι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐ προήκατο, τοὺς δὲ βου-
 λευτὰς ἀναλαβὼν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον.
 3 καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν μεταστραφεὶς εἰς τὸ Καπι-
 τώλιον εὗξατο τοῖς θεοῖς κατευθῦναι τὰ παρόντα
 πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος, ὑποσχόμενος ναὸν
 Ὀμονοίας ιδρύσασθαι τῆς ταραχῆς καταστάσης.
 Μεγάλου δ' ἀγῶνος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ γενο-
 μένου πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίας γνώμας, ὅμως ἐνίκησεν
 ἢ μαλακωτέρα καὶ ὑπείκουσα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ
 διδοῦσα τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλή-
 4 θους ἀρχαιρεσιᾶσαι. ταῦτα δ' ὥς τῇ βουλῇ
 δοκοῦντα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀνειπόντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ,
 παραχρῆμα μὲν, οἶον εἰκός, ἡδόμενοι τῇ βουλῇ
 διηλλάττοντο καὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον οἴκαδε κρότῳ
 καὶ βοῇ προέπεμπον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συνελ-
 θόντες ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς μὲν Ὀμονοίας ἱερὸν,
 ὥσπερ εὗξατο Κάμιλλος, εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν καὶ τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν ἄποπτον ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ιδρύ-
 5 σασθαι, ταῖς δὲ καλουμέναις Λατίναις μίαν
 ἡμέραν προσθέντας ἑορτάζειν τέτταρας, παραυ-

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his office, thinking that, with the aid of his great power and authority, they could make a better fight in defence of their aristocracy. But once when Camillus was seated in state and despatching public business in the forum, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow, actually laying hands upon him as though to hale him away. All at once such cries and tumult as had never been heard before filled the forum, the friends of Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the multitude below ordering him to drag the dictator away. Camillus, perplexed at the issue, did not renounce his office, but taking the senators with him, marched off to their place of meeting. Before he entered this, turning to the Capitol, he prayed the gods to bring the present tumults to their happiest end, solemnly vowing to build a temple to Concord when the confusion was over.

In the Senate there was a great conflict of opposing views, but nevertheless, the milder course prevailed, concession was made to the people, and permission given them to elect one of the consuls from their own body. When the dictator announced this to the people as the will and pleasure of the Senate, at once, as was to be expected, they were delighted to be reconciled with the Senate, and escorted Camillus to his home with loud applause. On the following day they held an assembly and voted to build a temple of Concord, as Camillus had vowed, and to have it face the forum and place of assembly, to commemorate what had now happened. They voted also to add a day to the so-called Latin festival, and thereafter to celebrate four days, and that all

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τίκα δὲ θύειν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν Ῥωμαίους
ἅπαντας. τῶν δ' ἀρχαιρεσίων βραβευθέντων
ὑπὸ Καμίλλου κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Μάρκος
μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐκ πατρικίων, Λεύκιος δὲ Σέξτιος
ἐκ δημοτῶν πρῶτος. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας αἱ Κα-
μίλλου πράξεις ἔσχον.

XLIII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτῷ λοιμῶδης
νόσος ἐμπεσοῦσα τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ὄχλον
οὐ περιληπτὸν ἀριθμῷ διέφθειρε, τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων
τοὺς πλείστους. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Κάμιλλος,
ἡλικίας μὲν οὐνεκα καὶ βίου τελειότητος, ὥς εἴ-
τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὥραϊος, ἀνιάσας δὲ Ῥω-
μαίους ὥς οὐδὲ σύμπαντες οἱ τῇ νόσῳ κατ'
ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἀποθανόντες.

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Romans at once perform sacrifices with garlands on their heads. At the elections held by Camillus, Marcus Aemilius was chosen consul from the patricians, and Lucius Sextus first consul from the plebeians. This was the last public act of Camillus.

XLIII. In the year following, a pestilential sickness visited Rome, carrying off an incalculable number of the common people, and most of the magistrates. Camillus also died at this time, and he was full ripe for death, if any man ever was, considering his years and the completeness of his life ; yet his loss grieved the Romans more than that of all those who perished of the plague at this time.

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ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ

Ι. Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου φυλῆς μὲν ἦν Ἀντιοχίδος, τῶν δὲ δήμων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. περὶ δ' οὐσίας αὐτοῦ λόγοι διάφοροι γεγόνασιν, οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐν πενία συντόνῳ καταβιώσαντος καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπολιπόντος θυγατέρας δύο πολὺν
2 χρόνον ἀνεκδότους δι' ἀπορίαν γενομένης· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένον ἀντι-
τασσόμενος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ Σωκ-
ράτει χωρίῳ Φαληροῖ φησι γινώσκειν Ἀριστείδου
γενόμενον, ἐν ᾧ τέθαιπται, καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς περὶ
τὸν οἶκον εὐπορίας ἐν μὲν ἡγεῖται τὴν ἐπώνυμον
ἀρχήν, ἣν ἦρχεν ὁ¹ τῷ κυάμφ λαχὼν ἐκ τῶν
γενῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων, οὓς
πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευον, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν
3 ἐξοστρακισμόν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν πενήτων, ἀλλὰ
τοῖς ἐξ οἴκων τε μεγάλων καὶ διὰ γένους ὄγκον
ἐπιφθόνων ὄστρακον ἐπιφέρεσθαι· τρίτον δὲ καὶ
τελευταῖον, ὅτι νίκης ἀναθήματα χορηγικοὺς
τρίποδας ἐν Διονύσου καταλέλοιπεν, οἱ καὶ καθ'
ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυντο τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν διασώζοντες·

¹ ἦρχεν ὁ Blass, adopting Sintenis' conjecture : ἦρξε.

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I. ARISTIDES, the son of *Lysimachus*, belonged to the tribe *Antiochis*, and to the deme *Alopecé*. As regards his substance, stories differ, some having it that he passed all the days of his life in severe poverty, and that at his death he left behind him two daughters who for a long time were not sought in marriage² because of their indigence. But in contradiction of this story which so many writers give, *Demetrius of Phalerum*, in his "*Socrates*," says he knows of an estate in *Phalerum* which belonged to *Aristides*—the one in which he lies buried, and regards as proofs of his opulent circumstances, first, his office of *Archon Eponymous*, which only he could hold who obtained it by lot from among the families carrying the highest property-assessments (these were called *Pentacosiomedimni*, or Five-hundred-bushellers); second, his banishment in ostracism, for no poor men, but only men from great houses which incurred envy because of their family prestige, were liable to ostracism; third, and last, the fact that he left in the precinct of *Dionysus* as offerings for victory some choregic tripods, which, even in our day, were pointed out as still bearing the inscription: "The tribe

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“ Ἀντιοχὶς ἐνίκα, Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει, Ἀρχέ-
στρατος ἐδίδασκε.”

- 4 Τοῦτ' ἔστι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ εἶναι δοκοῦν μέγιστον,
ἀσθενέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ὃν
πάντες ἄνθρωποι γινώσκουσιν ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ τρα-
φέντα πολλῇ καὶ βιώσαντα, καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλό-
σοφος οὐκ ἀφιλοτίμους ἀνεδέξαντο χορηγίας, ὁ
μὲν αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁ δὲ παισὶ κυκλίοις
χορηγήσας, τούτῳ μὲν Δίωνος τοῦ Συρακουσίου
τὴν δαπάνην παρέχοντος, Ἐπαμεινώνδα δὲ τῶν
5 περὶ Πελοπίδαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
ἀκήρυκτος καὶ ἄσπονδος πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν
φίλων δωρεὰς πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἰς ἀπόθεσιν
καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀγενεῖς ἡγούμενοι καὶ ταπεινάς, 319
ᾧσαι φιλοτιμίας τινὸς ἀκερδοῦς ἔχονται καὶ λαμ-
πρότητος οὐκ ἀπωθοῦνται.

- Παναίτιος μέντοι περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀποφαίνει
6 τὸν Δημήτριον ὁμωνυμίᾳ διεψευσμένον· ἀπὸ γὰρ
τῶν Μηδικῶν εἰς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ Πελοποννη-
σιακοῦ πολέμου δύο μόνους Ἀριστείδας χορηγοὺς
ἀναγράφεσθαι νικῶντας, ὧν οὐδέτερον εἶναι τῷ
Λυσιμάχῳ τὸν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Ξενοφίλου
πατρός, τὸν δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ νεώτερον, ὡς ἐλέγ-
χει τὰ γράμματα τῆς μετ' Εὐκλείδην ὄντα γραμ-
ματικῆς καὶ προσγεγραμμένος ὁ Ἀρχέστρατος,
ὃν ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς οὐδεὶς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πελοπον-
νησιακοῖς συχνοὶ χορῶν διδάσκαλον ἀναγρά-
φουσι.

- 7 Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Παναιτίου βέλτιον ἐπισκεπτέον

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Antiochis was victorious; Aristides was Choregus; Archestratus was Poet."

Now this last argument, though it seems very strong, is really very weak. For both Epaminondas, who, as all men know, was reared and always lived in great poverty, and Plato the philosopher, took it upon themselves to furnish munificent public performances, the first, of men trained to play the flute, the second, of boys trained to sing and dance; but Plato received the money that he spent thereon from Dion of Syracuse, and Epaminondas from Pelopidas. Good men wage no savage and relentless war against the gifts of friends, but while they look upon gifts taken to be stored away and increase the receiver's wealth as ignoble and mean, they refuse none which promote an unselfish and splendid munificence.

However, as regards the tripods, Panaetius tries to show that Demetrius was deceived by identity of name. From the Persian wars, he says, down to the end of the Peloponnesian war, only two Aristides are recorded as victorious *choregi*, and neither of them is identical with the son of Lysimachus. One was the son of Xenophilus, and the other lived long afterwards, as is proved by the inscription itself, which is written in the character used after Eucleides,¹ as well as by the last name, Archestratus, of whom there is no record during the Persian wars, while during the time of the Peloponnesian war his name often appears as that of a choral poet.

This argument of Panaetius should be more closely

¹ In 403-402 B.C., when Eucleides was Archon *Eponymous*, the Ionian alphabet was officially adopted at Athens.

ὅπως ἔχει. τῷ δ' ὀστράκῳ πᾶς ὁ διὰ δόξαν
ἢ γένος ἢ λόγου δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς
νομιζόμενος ὑπέπιπτεν· ὅπου καὶ Δάμων ὁ Περι-
κλέους διδάσκαλος, ὅτι τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει τις
8 εἶναι περιττός, ἐξωστρακίσθη. καὶ μὴν ἄρξαι
γε τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς οὐ κυαμευτόν, ἀλλ'
ἐλομένων Ἀθηναίων φησίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν
ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην ἤρξεν, ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ Δημή-
τριος γέγραφε, καὶ πάνυ πιθανόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ
τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατορθώμασι τηλικούτοις ἀξιωθῆναι
δι' ἀρετὴν ἧς διὰ πλοῦτον ἐτύγχανον οἱ λαγχά-
9 νοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος οὐ μόνον
Ἀριστείδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτην δῆλός ἐστι τῆς
πενίας ἐξελέσθαι φιλοτιμούμενος ὥς μεγάλου
κακοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ φησὶν οὐ μόνον τὴν οἰκίαν
ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μνᾶς ἐβδομήκοντα τοκιζο-
μένας ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος.

II. Ἀριστείδης δὲ Κλεισθένης μὲν τοῦ κατα-
στησαμένου τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ τοὺς τυράννους
ἐταῖρος γενόμενος, ζηλώσας δὲ καὶ θαυμάσας
μάλιστα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν Λυκούργον τὸν
Λακεδαιμόνιον, ἤψατο μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῆς πολι-
τείας, ἔσχε δ' ἀντιτασσόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου
Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν φασιν
παῖδας ὄντας αὐτοὺς καὶ συντρεφομένους ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς ἐν παντὶ καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχομένῳ καὶ παιδιᾷς
πράγματι καὶ λόγῳ διαφέρεισθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
2 καὶ τὰς φύσεις εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῆς φιλονεικίας ἐκείνης

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examined as to its validity; but to banishment in ostracism every one was liable who was superior to the common run of men in reputation, or lineage, or eloquence. And so it was that Damon, the teacher of Pericles, was ostracized because he was thought to be rather extraordinary in his wisdom.¹ Furthermore, Idomeneus says that Aristides obtained the office of archon, not by lot, but by the election of the Athenians.² And if he was made archon after the battle of Plataea, as Demetrius himself has written, it is certainly very credible that in view of such a reputation and such successes as he there won, he should be deemed worthy, for his valour, of an office which men who drew lots for it obtained for their wealth. In fact, Demetrius is clearly ambitious to rescue not only Aristides, but also Socrates from what he deems the great evil of poverty, for he says that Socrates owned not only his house, but also seventy minas out at interest with Crito.

II. Aristides was an intimate friend of that Cleisthenes who set the state in order after the expulsion of the tyrants. He also admired and emulated, above all other statesmen, Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian. He therefore favoured an aristocratic form of government, and ever had opposed to him, as champion of the people, Themistocles the son of Neocles. Some say that even as boys and fellow-pupils, from the outset, in every word and deed, whether serious or trivial, they were at variance with one another, and that by

¹ *Pericles*, iv. 2.

² From 508 B.C. to 487 B.C. the archons were elected by the Assembly; after 487, they were once more chosen by lot.

ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι, τὴν μὲν εὐχερῇ καὶ παράβολον καὶ πανοῦργον οὔσαν καὶ μετ' ὀξύτητος ἐπὶ πάντα ῥαδίως φερομένην, τὴν δ' ἰδρυμένην ἐν ἡθει βεβαίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον ἀτενῇ,¹ ψεύδος δὲ καὶ βωμολοχίαν καὶ ἀπάτην οὐδ' ἐν παιδιᾷ τινι τρόπῳ προσιεμένην.

Ἄριστων δ' ὁ Κεῖος ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι φησὶ καὶ προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν
3 ἔχθραν αὐτῶν. Στησίλεω γάρ, ὃς ἦν γένει Κεῖος, ἰδέα τε καὶ μορφῇ σώματος πολὺ τῶν ἐν ᾧρα λαμπρότατος, ἀμφοτέρους ἐρασθέντας οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ πάθος οὐδ' ἅμα λήγοντι τῷ κάλλει τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐγγυμνασμένους ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐθύς ὀρμῆσαι διαπύρους ὄντας καὶ διαφόρως ἔχοντας.

4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς ἐταιρείαν ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἶχε πρόβλημα καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα καλῶς αὐτὸν ἄρξειν Ἀθηναίων, ἅνπερ ἴσος ἦ καὶ κοινὸς ἅπασι “Μηδέποτε,” εἰπεῖν, “εἰς τοῦτον ἐγὼ καθίσαιμι τὸν θρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πλέον οὐδὲν ἔξουσιν
5 οἱ φίλοι παρ' ἐμοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων.” Ἀριστείδης δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἰδίαν ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενος συναδικεῖν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἢ λυπηρὸς εἶναι μὴ χαριζόμενος, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἰδὼν ἐπαίρουσαν ἀδικεῖν ἐφυλάττετο, μόνῳ τῷ χρηστᾷ

¹ ἀτενῇ MSS. and editors, including Sintenis¹: ἀτενεῖ after Classen.

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this very rivalry their natures were straightway made manifest, the one as dexterous, reckless, and unscrupulous, easily carried with impetuosity into any and every undertaking ; the other as established on a firm character, intent on justice, and admitting no falsity or vulgarity or deceit, not even in any sport whatsoever.

But Ariston of Ceos says that this enmity of theirs, which came to be so intense, had its origin in a love affair. They were both enamoured of Stesilaüs, who was of Ceian birth, and in beauty of person the most brilliant of youths ; and they cherished their passion so immoderately, that not even after the boy's beauty had faded did they lay aside their rivalry, but, as though they had merely taken preliminary practice and exercise in that, they presently engaged in matters of state also with passionate heat and opposing desires.

Themistocles joined a society of political friends, and so secured no inconsiderable support and power. Hence when some one told him that he would be a good ruler over the Athenians if he would only be fair and impartial to all, he replied : " Never may I sit on a tribunal where my friends are to get no more advantage from me than strangers." But Aristides walked the way of statesmanship by himself, on a private path of his own, as it were, because, in the first place, he was unwilling to join with any comrades in wrong-doing, or to vex them by withholding favours ; and, in the second place, he saw that power derived from friends incited many to do wrong, and so was on his guard against it, deeming

καὶ δίκαια πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀξιῶν θαρρεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.

- III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ, πολλὰ κινουμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους παραβόλως καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐνισταμένου καὶ διακόπτοντος, 320 ἤναγκάζετό που καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενος, τὰ δὲ κολούων τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν αὐξομένην ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι οἷς ἔπραττεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, βέλτιον ἡγούμενος παρελθεῖν ἔνια τῶν συμφερόντων τὸν δῆμον ἢ τῷ κρατεῖν 2 ἐκεῖνον ἐν πᾶσιν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι. τέλος δέ ποτε τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πράττοντός τι τῶν δεόντων ἀντικρούσας καὶ περιγενόμενος οὐ κατέσχευ, ἀλλ' εἶπεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπιῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρία τοῖς Ἀθηναίων πράγμασιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβάλοιεν. πάλιν δὲ γράψας τινὰ γνώμην εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἀντιλογίας οὔσης πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φιλονεικίας, ἐκράτει· μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ προέδρου τὸν δῆμον ἐπερωτᾶν αἰσθόμενος ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν τὸ ἀσύμφορον ἀπέστη τοῦ ψηφίσματος. 3 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δι' ἐτέρων εἰσέφερε τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ φιλονεικίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐμπόδιος εἴη τῷ συμφέροντι.

Θαυμαστὴ δέ τις ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολὰς ἢ εὐστάθεια, μήτε ταῖς τιμαῖς ἐπαιρομένου πρὸς τε τὰς δυσημερίας ἀθορύβως καὶ πρῶως ἔχοντος, καὶ ὁμοίως ἡγου- 218

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it right that the good citizen should base his confidence only on serviceable and just conduct.

III. However, since Themistocles was a reckless agitator, and opposed and thwarted him in every measure of state, Aristides himself also was almost compelled—partly in self-defence, and partly to curtail his adversary's power, which was increasing through the favour of the many—to set himself in opposition to what Themistocles was trying to do, thinking it better that some advantages should escape the people than that his adversary, by prevailing everywhere, should become too strong. Finally there came a time when he opposed and defeated Themistocles in an attempt to carry some really necessary measure. Then he could no longer hold his peace, but declared, as he left the Assembly, that there was no safety for the Athenian state unless they threw both Themistocles and himself into the death-pit. On another occasion he himself introduced a certain measure to the people, and was carrying it through successfully, in spite of the attacks of the opposition upon it, but just as the presiding officer was to put it to the final vote, perceiving, from the very speeches that had been made in opposition to it, the inexpediency of his measure, he withdrew it without a vote. And oftentimes he would introduce his measures through other men, that Themistocles might not be driven by the spirit of rivalry with him to oppose what was expedient for the state.

Altogether admirable was his steadfast constancy amid the revulsions of political feeling. He was not unduly lifted up by his honours, and faced adversity with a calm gentleness, while in all cases alike he

μένου χρήναι τῇ πατρίδι παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν οὐ
 χρημάτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξης προῖκα καὶ
 4 ἀμισθὶ πολιτευόμενον. ὅθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν εἰς
 Ἀμφιάραον ὑπ' Αἰσχύλου πεποιημένων ἱαμβείων
 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ λεγομένων·

Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
 βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
 ἀφ' ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευματα,

πάντες ἀπέβλεψαν εἰς Ἀριστείδην, ὡς ἐκείνῳ
 μάλιστα τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης προσηκούσης.

IV. Οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸς εὖνοιαν καὶ χάριν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἰσχυρότατος ἦν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων ἀντιστῆναι. λέγεται γοῦν
 ποτε διώκων ἐχθρόν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, μετὰ τὴν
 κατηγορίαν οὐ βουλομένων ἀκούειν τοῦ κινδυνεύ-
 οντος τῶν δικαστῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψῆφον εὐθὺς
 αἰτούντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀναπηδήσας τῷ κρινομένῳ
 συνικετεύειν, ὅπως ἀκουσθεῖη καὶ τύχοι τῶν
 2 νομίμων· πάλιν δὲ κρίνων ἰδιώταις δυσί, τοῦ
 ἐτέρου λέγοντος, ὡς πολλὰ τυγχάνει τὸν Ἀρι-
 στείδην ὁ ἀντίδικος λελυπηκῶς “Λέγ', ὦ γαθέ,”
 φάναι, “μᾶλλον, εἴ τι σὲ κακὸν πεποίηκε· σοὶ
 γάρ, οὐκ ἔμαυτῷ, δικάζω.” τῶν δὲ δημοσίων
 προσόδων αἰρεθεὶς ἐπιμελητῆς οὐ μόνον τοὺς
 καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένους

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considered it his duty to give his services to his country freely and without any reward, either in money, or, what meant far more, in reputation. And so it befell, as the story goes, that when the verses composed by Aeschylus upon Amphiaraus were recited in the theatre :—

“He wishes not to seem, but rather just to be,
And reap a harvest from deep furrows in a mind
From which there spring up honourable counsel-
lings,”¹

all the spectators turned their eyes on Aristides, feeling that he, above all men, was possessed of such excellence.

IV. It was not only against the inclinations of his good-will and personal favour that he was a most strenuous champion of justice, but also against those of his anger and hatred. At any rate a story is told, how he was once prosecuting an enemy in court, and after he had made his accusation the judges were loath to hear the defendant at all, and demanded that their vote be taken against him straightway; but Aristides sprang to his feet and seconded the culprit's plea for a hearing and the usual legal procedure. And again, when he was serving as private arbitrator between two men, on one of them saying that his opponent had done Aristides much injury, “Tell me rather,” he said, “whether he has done thee any wrong; it is for thee, not for myself, that I am seeking justice.” When he was elected overseer of the public revenues, he proved clearly that large sums had been embezzled, not only by his fellow-officials, but also by

¹ *Seven against Thebes*, 592 ff. (Dindorf).

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ἄρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυε πολλὰ νενοσφισμένους, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα.

Σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ, τῆς δὲ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν.

- 3 Διὸ καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις διώκων κλοπῆς καταδίκη περιέβαλεν, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ βελτίστων, οὐ μόνον ἀφείθη τῆς ζημίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἄρχων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διοίκησιν ἀπεδείχθη. προσποιούμενος δὲ τῶν προτέρων μεταμέλειν αὐτῷ καὶ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ἤρεσκε τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτουσιν οὐκ ἐξελέγχων οὐδ' ἀκριβολογούμενος, ὥστε καταπιμπλαμένους τῶν δημοσίων
- 4 ὑπερεπαινεῖν τὸν Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεξιοῦσθαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, σπουδάζοντας ἄρχοντα πάλιν αἰρεθῆναι. μελλόντων δὲ χειροτονεῖν ἐπετίμησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. “Ὅτε μὲν γάρ,” ἔφη, “πιστῶς καὶ καλῶς ὑμῖν ἤρξα, προῦπηλακίσθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν καταπροεῖμαι τοῖς κλέπτουσι
- 5 θαυμαστὸς εἶναι δοκῶ πολίτης. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν αἰσχύνομαι τῇ νῦν τιμῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πρώην καταδίκη, συνάχθομαι δ' ὑμῖν, παρ' οἷς ἐνδοξότερόν ἐστι τοῦ σώζειν τὰ δημόσια τὸ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πονηροῖς.” ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς κλοπὰς 321 ἐξελέγξας τοὺς μὲν τότε βοῶντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μαρτυροῦντας ἐπεστόμισε, τὸν δ' ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων ἔπαινον εἶχεν.

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those of former years, and particularly by Themistocles :—

“The man was clever, but of his hand had no control.”

For this cause, Themistocles banded many together against Aristides, prosecuted him for theft at the auditing of his accounts, and actually got a verdict against him, according to Idomeneus. But the first and best men of the city were incensed at this, and he was not only exempted from his fine, but even appointed to administer the same charge again. Then he pretended to repent him of his former course, and made himself more pliable, thus giving pleasure to those who were stealing the common funds by not examining them or holding them to strict account, so that they gorged themselves with the public moneys, and then lauded Aristides to the skies, and pleaded with the people in his behalf, eagerly desirous that he be once more elected to his office. But just as they were about to vote, Aristides rebuked the Athenians. “Verily,” said he, “when I served you in office with fidelity and honour, I was reviled and persecuted; but now that I am flinging away much of the common fund to thieves, I am thought to be an admirable citizen. For my part, I am more ashamed of my present honour than I was of my former condemnation, and I am sore distressed for you, because it is more honourable in your eyes to please base men than to guard the public moneys.” By these words, as well as by exposing their thefts, he did indeed stop the mouths of the men who were then testifying loudly in his favour, but he won genuine and just praise from the best citizens.

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- V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δᾶτις ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθεὶς λόγῳ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι δίκην Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι Σάρδεις ἐνέπρησαν, ἔργῳ δὲ καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰς Μαραθῶνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ κατέσχε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, τῶν δέκα καθεστῶτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν μέγιστον μὲν εἶχεν ἀξίωμα Μιλτιάδης, δόξη δὲ
 2 καὶ δυνάμει δεύτερος ἦν Ἀριστείδης. καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς μάχης γνώμη τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος οὐ μικρὰν ἐποίησε ῥοπήν· καὶ παρ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστου στρατηγοῦ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντας, ὡς περιῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀρχή, παρέδωκε Μιλτιάδῃ, διδάσκων τοὺς συνάρχοντας, ὅτι τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ σεμνὸν ἐστὶ καὶ σωτήριον. οὕτω δὲ πραῦνας τὴν φιλονεικίαν καὶ προτρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαπᾶν μὴ γνώμη τῇ κρατίστη χρωμένους, ἔρρωσε τὸν Μιλτιάδην τῷ ἀπερισπάστῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον. χαίρειν γὰρ ἔων ἕκαστος ἤδη τὸ παρ' ἡμέραν ἄρχειν ἐκείνῳ προσεῖχεν.
- 3 Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ μέσου πονήσαντος καὶ πλείστον ἐνταῦθα χρόνον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντερεισάντων κατὰ τὴν Λεοντίδα καὶ τὴν Ἀντιοχίδα φυλὴν, ἠγωνίσαντο λαμπρῶς τεταγμένοι παρ' ἀλλήλους ὁ τε Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεοντίδος ἦν, ὁ δ' Ἀντιοχίδος· ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς
 4 βαρβάρους ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ πλέοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ νήσων ἐώρων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσω πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν

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V. Now when Datis, on being sent by Darius ostensibly to punish the Athenians for burning Sardis, but really to subdue all the Hellenes, put in at Marathon with all his armament and went to ravaging the country, then, of the ten generals appointed by the Athenians for the conduct of the war, it was Miltiades who enjoyed the greatest consideration, but in reputation and influence Aristides was second. By adopting at that time the opinion of Miltiades about the battle to be fought, he did much to turn the scale in its favour. And since each general held the chief authority for a single day in turn, when the command came round to him, he handed it over to Miltiades, thereby teaching his fellow-officers that to obey and follow men of wisdom is not disgraceful, but dignified and salutary. By thus appeasing the jealousy of his colleagues and inducing them to be cheerfully contented in the adoption of a single opinion (and that the best), he confirmed Miltiades in the strength which comes from an unrestricted power. For each of the other generals at once relinquished his own right to command for a day in turn, and put himself under the orders of Miltiades.

In the battle, the Athenian centre was the hardest pressed, and it was there that the Barbarians held their ground the longest, over against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis. There, then, Themistocles and Aristides fought brilliantly, ranged side by side; for one was a Leontid, the other an Antiochid. When the Athenians had routed the Barbarians and driven them aboard their ships, and saw that they were sailing away, not toward the islands, but into the gulf toward Attica under compulsion of

- ἀποβιαζομένους, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον
 λάβωσι τῶν ἀμυνομένων, ταῖς μὲν ἐννέα φυλαῖς
 ἡπείγοντο πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ κατήνυσαν αὐθημερόν·
 5 ἐν δὲ Μαραθῶνι μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φυλῆς Ἀρισ-
 τείδης ἀπολειφθεὶς φύλαξ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ
 τῶν λαφύρων οὐκ ἐψεύσατο τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ
 χύδην μὲν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ παρόντος, ἐσθῆτος
 δὲ παντοδαπῆς καὶ χρημάτων ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων ἐν
 ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡλωκόσι σκάφεσιν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμησε θιγεῖν οὗτ' ἄλλον
 εἶασε, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐκείνον λαθόντες ὠφελήθησαν·
 ὦν ἦν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ δαδοῦχος.
- 6 Τούτῳ γάρ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν βαρβάρων προσ-
 ἔπεσεν οἰηθεὶς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν κόμην καὶ τὸ
 στρόφιον εἶναι· προσκυνήσας δὲ καὶ λαβόμενος
 τῆς δεξιᾶς ἔδειξε πολὺ χρυσίον ἐν λάκκῳ τινὶ
 κατορωρυγμένον. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ὠμότατος ἀνθρώ-
 πων καὶ παρανομώτατος γενόμενος τὸν μὲν χρυ-
 σὸν ἀνείλετο, τὸν δ' ἄνθρωπον, ὡς μὴ κατεῖποι
 πρὸς ἐτέρους, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ καὶ
 λακκοπλοῦτους ὑπὸ τῶν κωμικῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
 οἰκίας λέγεσθαι, σκωπτόντων εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ
 τὸ χρυσίον ὁ Καλλίας εὗρεν.
- 7 Ἀριστείδης δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον εὐθύς ἀρχὴν ἤρξε.
 καίτοι φησὶν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἄρξαι τὸν
 ἄνδρα μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θανάτου μετὰ τὴν
 ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς
 μετὰ μὲν Ξανθιππίδην, ἐφ' οὗ Μαρδόνιος ἡττήθη
 Πλαταιᾶσιν, οὐδ' ὁμώνιμον Ἀριστείδην ἐν πάνν

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wind and wave, then they were afraid lest the enemy find Athens empty of defenders, and so they hastened homeward with nine tribes, and reached the city that very day. But Aristides was left behind at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the captives and the booty. Nor did he belie his reputation, but though silver and gold lay about in heaps, and though there were all sorts of raiment and untold wealth besides in the tents and captured utensils, he neither desired to meddle with it himself, nor would he suffer any one else to do so, although certain ones helped themselves without his knowledge. Among these was Callias the Torch-bearer.¹

Some Barbarian, it seems, rushed up to this man, supposing him to be a king from his long hair and the headband that he wore, made obeisance to him, and taking him by the hand in suppliant fashion, showed him a great mass of gold buried up in a sort of pit. Callias, most savage and lawless of men, took up the gold; but the man, to prevent his betraying the matter to others, he slew. From this circumstance, they say, his descendants are called by the comic poets "Laccopluti," or "Pit-wealthies," in sly allusion to the place where Callias found his gold.

Aristides at once received the office of Archon *Eponymous*. And yet Demetrius of Phalerum says that it was a little while before his death, and after the battle of Plataea, that the man held this office.² But in the official records, after Xanthippides, in whose year of office Mardonius was defeated at Plataea, you cannot find, long as the list is, so much

¹ One of the highest officers at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries.

² 479-478 B.C.

πολλοῖς λαβεῖν ἔστι, μετὰ δὲ Φαίνιππον,¹ ἐφ' οὗ
τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἐνίκων, εὐθὺς Ἀριστείδης
ἄρχων ἀναγέγραπται.

VI. Πασῶν δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῶν ἡ
δικαιοσύνη μάλιστα τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰσθησιν παρεῖχε
διὰ τὸ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐνδελεχεστάτην αὐτῆς καὶ
κοινοτάτην ὑπάρχειν. ὅθεν ἀνὴρ πένης καὶ δημο-
τικὸς ἐκτέησατο τὴν βασιλικωτάτην καὶ θειοτάτην
2 προσηγορίαν τὸν Δίκαιον· ὁ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ
τυράννων οὐδεὶς ἐξήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ Πολιορκηταὶ καὶ 322
Κεραυνοὶ καὶ Νικάτορες, ἔνιοι δ' Ἀετοὶ καὶ
Ἰέρακες ἔχαιρον προσαγορευόμενοι, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
βίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὡς ἔοικε, μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀγαπῶντες. καίτοι τὸ
θεῖον, ᾧ γλίσχονται συνοικεῖν καὶ συναφομοιοῦν
αὐτοὺς, τρισὶ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀφθαρσία καὶ
δυνάμει καὶ ἀρετῇ, ὧν καὶ ² σεμνότατον ἡ ἀρετὴ
3 καὶ θειοτάτον ἔστιν. ἀφθάρτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ
τῷ κενῷ καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις συμβέβηκε, δυνάμιν
δὲ καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ κεραυνοὶ καὶ πνευμάτων ὄρμαι
καὶ ῥευμάτων ἐπιφοραὶ μεγάλην ἔχουσι, δίκης δὲ
καὶ θέμιδος οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λογίζε-
σθαι³ μεταλαγχάνει.

Διὸ καὶ τριῶν ὄντων, ἃ πεπόνθασιν οἱ πολλοὶ
πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ζήλου καὶ φόβου καὶ τιμῆς, ζηλοῦν
μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζειν εἰκόασι κατὰ τὸ ἄ-
φθαρτον καὶ αἰδῖον, ἐκπλήττεσθαι δὲ καὶ δεδιέναι
κατὰ τὸ κύριον καὶ δυνατὸν, ἀγαπᾶν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν

¹ Φαίνιππον Bekker, Hercher, and Blass with F^aS: Φά-
νιππον. ² ὧν καὶ Hercher and Blass with S: ὧν.

³ λογίεσθαι Blass: λογίεσθαι τὸ θεῖον reasoning about the
deity.

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as the name Aristides; whereas immediately after Phaenippus, in whose year of office the victory at Marathon was won, an Aristides is recorded as archon.¹

VI. Of all his virtues, it was his justice that most impressed the multitude, because of its most continual and most general exercise. Wherefore, though poor and a man of the people, he acquired that most kingly and godlike surname of "The Just." This no kings or tyrants ever coveted, nay, they rejoiced to be surnamed "Besiegers," or "Thunderbolts," or "Conquerors," and some "Eagles," or "Hawks,"² cultivating the reputation which is based on violence and power, as it seems, rather than on virtue. And yet divinity, to which such men are eager to adapt and conform themselves, is believed to have three elements of superiority,—incorruption, power, and virtue; and the most reverend, the divinest of these, is virtue. For vacuum and the ultimate elements partake of incorruption; and great power is exhibited by earthquakes and thunderbolts, and rushing tornadoes, and invading floods; but in fundamental justice nothing participates except through the exercise of intelligent reasoning powers.

Therefore, considering the three feelings which are generally entertained towards divinity,—envy, fear, and honourable regard, men seem to envy and felicitate the deities for their incorruption and perpetuity; to dread and fear them for their sovereignty and power; but to love and honour and revere them

¹ 490–489 B.C.

² Demetrius *Poliorcetes*; Ptolemy *Ceraunos*; Seleucus *Nicator*; Pyrrhus *Aëtos*; Antiochus *Hierax*.

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4 καὶ σέβεσθαι κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἀλλὰ, καίπερ οὕτω διακείμενοι, τῆς μὲν ἀθανασίας, ἣν ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν οὐ δέχεται, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἥς ἐν τῇ τύχῃ¹ κεῖται τὸ πλείστον, ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν, ἧ μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἐν ὑστέρω τίθενται, κακῶς φρονοῦντες, ὡς τὸν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ τύχῃ μεγάλη καὶ ἀρχῇ βίον ἡ μὲν δικαιοσύνη ποιεῖ θεῖον, ἡ δ' ἀδικία θηριώδη.

VII. Τῷ δ' οὖν Ἀριστείδῃ συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπωμένῳ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὕστερον φθονεῖσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διαδιδόντος,² ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἀνηρῆ-κῶς τὰ δικαστήρια τῷ κρίνειν ἅπαντα καὶ δικά-ζειν, λέληθε μοναρχίαν ἀδορυφόρητον ἑαυτῷ κατεσκευασμένος· ἤδη δέ που καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μέγα φρονῶν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν ἤχθετο τοῖς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς
2 ἔχουσι. καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἄστνυ πανταχόθεν ἐξοστρακίζουσι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ὄνομα τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης φόβον τυραννίδος θέμενοι.

Μοχθηρίας γὰρ οὐκ ἦν κόλασις ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν δι' εὐπρέπειαν ὄγκου καὶ δυνάμεως βαρυτέρας ταπείνωσις καὶ κόλουσις, ἣν δὲ φθόνου παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος, εἰς ἀνήκεστον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἰς μετὰστασιν ἐτῶν δέκα τὴν πρὸς

¹ τῇ τύχῃ Reiske, Hercher, and Blass with F^aS: τύχη.

² διαδιδόντος Hercher and Blass with F^aS: ἐκβαλόντος.

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for their justice. And yet, although men are thus disposed, it is immortality, of which our nature is not capable, and power, the chief disposal of which is in the hands of fortune, that they eagerly desire ; while as for virtue, the only divine excellence within our reach, they put it at the bottom of the list, unwisely too, since a life passed in power and great fortune and authority needs justice to make it divine ; by injustice it is made bestial.

VII. Now, to resume, it befell Aristides to be loved at first because of this surname, but afterwards to be jealously hated, especially when Themistocles set the story going among the multitude that Aristides had done away with the public courts of justice by his determining and judging everything in private, and that, without any one perceiving it, he had established for himself a monarchy, saving only the armed body-guard. And besides, the people too must by this time have become greatly elated over their victory ; they thought nothing too good for themselves, and were therefore vexed with those who towered above the multitude in name and reputation. So they assembled in the city from all the country round, and ostracized Aristides, giving to their envious dislike of his reputation the name of fear of tyranny.

Now the sentence of ostracism was not a chastisement of base practices, nay, it was speciously called a humbling and docking of oppressive prestige and power ; but it was really a merciful exorcism of the spirit of jealous hate, which thus vented its malignant desire to injure, not in some irreparable evil,

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- 3 τὸ λυποῦν ἀπηρειδομένου δυσμένειαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤρξαντό τινες ἀνθρώπους ἀγεννεῖς καὶ πονηροὺς ὑποβάλλειν τῷ πράγματι, τελευταῖον ἀπάντων Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακίσαντες ἐπαύσαντο. λέγεται δὲ τὸν Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ Νικίας μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι διεστασίαζον. ὥς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἔμελλε φέρειν τὸ ὄστρακον καὶ δῆλος ἦν τὸν ἕτερον γράψων, διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἑκατέρας εἰς ταῦτ' συναγαγόντες τὸν
- 4 Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δυσχεράνας ὁ δῆμος ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ προπετηλακισμένον ἀφήκε παντελῶς καὶ κατέλυσεν.

Ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον, ὡς τύπῳ φράσαι, τὸ γινόμενον. ὄστρακον λαβὼν ἕκαστος καὶ γράψας δν ἐβούλετο μεταστῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἔφερεν εἰς ἓνα τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιπεφραγμένον ἐν κύκλῳ

5 δρυφάκτοις. οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες πρῶτον μὲν διηρίθμουν τὸ σύμπαν ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν ὀστράκων πλήθος· εἰ γὰρ ἑξακισχιλίων ἐλύττονες οἱ φέροντες¹ εἶεν, ἀτελής ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός· ἔπειτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ θέντες τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων γεγραμμένον ἐξεκέρυττον εἰς ἔτη δέκα, καρπούμενον τὰ αὐτοῦ.

Γραφομένων οὖν τότε τῶν ὀστράκων λέγεται³²³ τινα τῶν ἀγραμμάτων καὶ παντελῶς ἀγροίκων ἀναδόντα τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τὸ ὄστρακον ὡς ἐνὶ τῶν τυχόντων παρακαλεῖν, ὅπως Ἀριστείδην ἐγγράψῃ. τοῦ δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ πυθομένου, μή τι

¹ φέροντες Blass with F^aS: γράψαντες.

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but in a mere change of residence for ten years. And when ignoble men of the baser sort came to be subjected to this penalty, it ceased to be inflicted at all, and Hyperbolus was the last to be thus ostracized.¹ It is said that Hyperbolus was ostracized for the following reason. Alcibiades and Nicias had the greatest power in the state, and were at odds. Accordingly, when the people were about to exercise the ostracism, and were clearly going to vote against one or the other of these two men, they came to terms with one another, united their opposing factions, and effected the ostracism of Hyperbolus. The people were incensed at this for they felt that the institution had been insulted and abused, and so they abandoned it utterly and put an end to it.

The method of procedure—to give a general outline—was as follows. Each voter took an *ostrakon*, or potsherd, wrote on it the name of that citizen whom he wished to remove from the city, and brought it to a place in the agora which was all fenced about with railings. The archons first counted the total number of *ostraka* cast. For if the voters were less than six thousand, the ostracism was void. Then they separated the names, and the man who had received the most votes they proclaimed banished for ten years, with the right to enjoy the income from his property.

Now at the time of which I was speaking, as the voters were inscribing their *ostraka*, it is said that an unlettered and utterly boorish fellow handed his *ostrakon* to Aristides, whom he took to be one of the ordinary crowd, and asked him to write *Aristides* on it. He, astonished, asked the man what possible

¹ About 417 B.C. Cf. *Nicias*, xi., *Alcibiades*, xiii.

κακὸν αὐτὸν Ἀριστείδης πεποίηκεν, “Οὐδέν,” εἶπεν, “οὐδὲ γινγνώσκω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ ἐνοχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν Δίκαιον ἀκούων.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀποκρίνασθαι μὲν οὐδέν, ἐγγράψαι δὲ τοῦνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἤδη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐξάτο τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐχὴν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, μηδένα καιρὸν Ἀθηναίους καταλαβεῖν, ὃς ἀναγκάσει τὸν δῆμον Ἀριστείδου μνησθῆναι.

VIII. Τρίτῳ δ’ ἔτει Ξέρξου διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐλαύνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, μὴ προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθείρῃ καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃς γε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου διετέλει προτρέπων καὶ παροξύνων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγούντος αὐτοκράτορος, πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον.

- 2 Ὡς γὰρ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν Σαλαμίνα βουλευόμενων τῶν περὶ Εὐρυβιάδην αἱ βαρβαρικαὶ τριήρεις νύκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαι καὶ περιβαλοῦσαι τὸν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς νήσους κατεῖχον, οὐδενὸς προειδότος τὴν κύκλωσιν ἤκεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἀπ’ Αἰγίνης παραβόλως διὰ τῶν

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wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don't even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'The Just.'" On hearing this, Aristides made no answer, but wrote his name on the *ostrakon* and handed it back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles made¹—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter,² when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

¹ *Iliad* i. 407-412.

² 480 B.C.

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- πολεμίων νεῶν διεκπλεύσας· καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καλέσας
3 αὐτὸν ἔξω μόνον “Ἡμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεμ-
στοκλείς, εἰ σωφρονούμεν, ἤδη τὴν κενὴν καὶ
μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες ἀρξώμεθα σωτηρίου
καὶ καλῆς φιλονεικίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλλώ-
μενοι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, σὺ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ
στρατηγῶν, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑπουργῶν καὶ συμβουλευὼν,
ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν σε πυνθάνομαι μόνον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν
ἀρίστων λογισμῶν, κελεύοντα διανauμαχεῖν ἐν
4 τοῖς στενοῖς τὴν ταχίστην. καὶ σοι τῶν συμ-
μάχων ἀντιπραττόντων οἱ πολέμιοι συνεργεῖν
εἰκόασι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ κατόπιν ἤδη
πέλαγος ἐμπέπλησται νεῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε καὶ
τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἀνάγκη κατέληφεν ἀγαθοὺς
ἄνδρας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι· φυγῆς γὰρ ὁδὸς οὐ
5 λέλειπται.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἶπεν·
“Οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην, ὦ Ἀριστείδη, σὲ κατὰ
τοῦτό μου κρείττονα γενέσθαι, πειράσομαι δὲ
πρὸς καλὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμιλλώμενος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι
τοῖς ἔργοις.” ἅμα δ’ αὐτῷ φράσας τὴν ὑφ’
ἐαυτοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἀπάτην πρὸς τὸν
βάρβαρον, παρεκάλει πείθειν τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην
καὶ διδάσκειν, ὥς ἀμήχανόν ἐστι σωθῆναι μὴ
ναυμαχήσαντας· εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν.
6 ὅθεν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπόντος
Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ Κορινθίου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
μηδ’ Ἀριστείδη τὴν γνώμην ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῦ,
παρόντα γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ὥς
οὐκ ἂν ἐσιώπα μὴ λέγοντος τὰ ἄριστα τοῦ
Θεμιστοκλέους· νῦν δ’ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐ δι’
εὐνοίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινῶν.

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enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone. "O Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed, no way of escape is left." To this Themistocles replied: "I should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to Themistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any goodwill to the man, but because he approved of his plan.

- IX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ναύαρχοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁρῶν τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, ἣ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κεῖται νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεστήν οὔσαν, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς ὑπηρετικά τοὺς προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν προσέμιξε τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ, καὶ μάχην πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, πλὴν ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ζῶντες ἤλωσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὄνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθύς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα·
- 2 καὶ λέγονται κατὰ τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως 324 Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, ὠμῆστῃ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι. τὴν δὲ νησιῖδα τοῖς ὅπλοις πανταχόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης περιστέψας ἐφῆδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὥς μήτε τῶν φίλων τινὰ διαφθαρῆναι μήτε τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πλείστος ὠθισμὸς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης τὸ καρτερώτατον ἔοικε περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρεῖττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὰ ζεύγματα¹ διακόψαντας. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστείδης ἀνακραγὼν τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευε τὸν λόγον καταβαλεῖν, σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν, ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλωσι τὸν Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
- 4 μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορίᾳ φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης

¹ τὰ ζεύγματα Hercher and Blass with F²S: τὸ ζεύγμα.

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IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia, a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis, was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked in small boats the most ardent and the most warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia, joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken alive. Among these were three sons of the King's sister Sandaucé,¹ whom he straightway sent to Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed to Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xiii. 2.

δυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, οὕτω πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνοῦχον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὠρμημένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψει σῶζεσθαι βασιλέα βουλόμενος.

- Χ. Ἐκ τούτου Ξέρξης μὲν περίφοβος γενόμενος εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἠπείγετο, Μαρδόνιος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ δοκιμώτατον¹ ἔχων περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ὑπελείπετο, καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν ἀπ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐλπίδος ἀπειλῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ γράφων τοιαῦτα·
- 2 “Νενικήκατε θαλασσίους ξύλοις χερσαίους ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπισταμένους κώπην ἐλαύνειν· ἀλλὰ νῦν πλατεῖα μὲν ἡ Θετταλῶν γῆ, καλὸν δὲ τὸ Βοιωτικὸν πεδίων ἀγαθοῖς ἵππευσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐναγωνίσασθαι.” πρὸς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν ἰδίᾳ γράμματα καὶ λόγους παρὰ βασιλέως, τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κυρίου καταστήσειν ἐκποδῶν τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου.
- 3 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ δείσαντες ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε πρέσβεις, δεόμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Σπάρτην ἀποστείλωσι, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις τροφὰς παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνωσιν· ἰσχυρὰ γὰρ ἦν ἀπορία περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ
- 4 τὴν² χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀκούσαντες, Ἀριστείδου ψήφισμα

¹ δοκιμώτατον Blass with F^aS : μαχιμώτατον.

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he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive. So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces,¹ a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles, had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to save the King.

X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius, with the flower of the army, to the number of three hundred thousand men, was left behind. He was a formidable adversary, and because his confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: "Ye have conquered with your maritime timbers landsmen who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend in." But to the Athenians he sent separate letters and proposals from the King, who promised to rebuild their city, give them much money, and make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they would cease fighting against him.

When the Lacedaemonians learned this, they took fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for their aged and infirm; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xvi. 2 f.

γράφαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο θαυμαστὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις συγγνώμην ἔχειν φάσκοντες, εἰ πάντα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων ὧνια νομίζοιεν, ὧν κρεῖττον οὐδὲν ἴσασιν, ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν πενίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν νῦν παρούσαν Ἀθηναίοις μόνον ὀρώσι, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀμνημονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σιτίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες.

5 ταῦτα γράψας Ἀριστείδης καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγαγὼν, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐκέλευσε φράζειν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος οὐθ' ὑπὲρ γῆν οὐθ' ὑπὸ γῆν, ὅσον Ἀθηναῖοι δέξαιντο ἂν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τὸν ἥλιον δείξας, “Ἀχρι ἂν οὗτος,” ἔφη, “ταύτην πορεύηται τὴν πορείαν, Ἀθηναῖοι πολεμήσουσι Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς δεδηωμένης χώρας καὶ τῶν

6 ἡσεβημένων καὶ κατακεκαυμένων ἱερῶν.” ἔτι δὲ ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, εἰ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσαιτο Μήδοις ἢ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολίποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ Μαρδονίου τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, αὐθις εἰς Σαλαμίνα διεπέρασαν. Ἀριστείδης δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῆς μὲν βραδυτῆτος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει καὶ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας, προεμένοις αὐθις τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἡξίου δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἔτι σωζόμενα τῆς Ἑλλάδος

7 βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἐφοροὶ μεθ' 321

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with an admirable answer, declaring that they could be tolerant with their foes for supposing that everything was to be bought for wealth and money, since their foes could conceive of nothing higher than these things; but they were indignant at the Lacedaemonians for having an eye only to the penury and indigence that now reigned at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valour and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations. When Aristides had made this motion and had introduced the waiting embassies into the Assembly, he bade the Lacedaemonians tell their people that there was not bulk of gold above or below ground so large that the Athenians would take it in payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to the sun: "As long as yonder sun journeys his appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage war against the Persians in behalf of the land which has been ravaged by them and of the temples which they have defiled and consumed with fire." Still further, he made a motion that the priests should solemnly curse all who came to a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of the Hellenes.

When Mardonius for the second time invaded Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis. Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to Lacedaemon, inveighed against their sluggishness and indifference, in that they had once more abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded that they go to the aid of what was still left of Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as

κακὸν αὐτὸν Ἀριστείδης πεποίηκεν, “Οὐδέν,” εἶπεν, “οὐδὲ γινώσκω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ ἐνόχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν Δίκαιον ἀκούων.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀποκρίνασθαι μὲν οὐδέν, ἐγγράψαι δὲ τοῦνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἤδη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐξάτο τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐχὴν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, μηδένα καιρὸν Ἀθηναίους καταλαβεῖν, ὃς ἀναγκάσει τὸν δῆμον Ἀριστείδου μνησθῆναι.

VIII. Τρίτῳ δ’ ἔτει Ξέρξου διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐλαύνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, μὴ προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθείρῃ καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃς γε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου διετέλει προτρέπων καὶ παροξύνων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγούντος αὐτοκράτορος, πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον.

- 2 Ὡς γὰρ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν Σαλαμίνα βουλευομένων τῶν περὶ Εὐρυβιάδην αἱ βαρβαρικαὶ τριήρεις νύκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαι καὶ περιβαλοῦσαι τὸν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς νήσους κατεῖχον, οὐδενὸς προειδότες τὴν κύκλωσιν ἤκεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἀπ’ Αἰγίνης παραβόλως διὰ τῶν

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wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don't even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'The Just.'" On hearing this, Aristides made no answer, but wrote his name on the *ostrakon* and handed it back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles made¹—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter,² when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

¹ *Iliad* i. 407–412.

² 480 B.C.

- πολεμίων νεῶν διεκπλεύσας· καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καλέσας
3 αὐτὸν ἔξω μόνον “Ἡμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεμ-
στοκλείς, εἰ σωφρονούμεν, ἤδη τὴν κενὴν καὶ
μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες ἀρξώμεθα σωτηρίου
καὶ καλῆς φιλονεικίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλλώ-
μενοι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, σὺ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ
στρατηγῶν, ἐγὼ δ’ ὑπουργῶν καὶ συμβουλεύων,
ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν σε πυνθάνομαι μόνον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν
ἀρίστων λογισμῶν, κελεύοντα διανανομαχεῖν ἐν
4 τοῖς στενοῖς τὴν ταχίστην. καὶ σοι τῶν συμ-
μάχων ἀντιπραττόντων οἱ πολέμοι συνεργεῖν
εἰκόασι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ κατόπιν ἤδη
πέλαγος ἐμπέπλησται νεῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε καὶ
τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἀνάγκη κατείληφεν ἀγαθοὺς
ἄνδρας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι· φυγῆς γὰρ ὁδὸς οὐ
5 λέλειπται.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἶπεν·
“Οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην, ὦ Ἀριστείδη, σὲ κατὰ
τοῦτό μου κρείττονα γενέσθαι, πειράσομαι δὲ
πρὸς καλὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμιλλώμενος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι
τοῖς ἔργοις.” ἅμα δ’ αὐτῷ φράσας τὴν ὑφ’
ἐαυτοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἀπάτην πρὸς τὸν
βάρβαρον, παρεκάλει πείθειν τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην
καὶ διδάσκειν, ὥς ἀμήχανόν ἐστι σωθῆναι μὴ
ναυμαχήσαντας· εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν.
6 ὅθεν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπόντος
Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ Κορινθίου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
μηδ’ Ἀριστείδην τὴν γνώμην ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῦ,
παρόντα γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ὥς
οὐκ ἂν ἐσιώπα μὴ λέγοντος τὰ ἄριστα τοῦ
Θεμιστοκλέους· νῦν δ’ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐ δι’
εὐνοίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινῶν.

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enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone. "O Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed, no way of escape is left." To this Themistocles replied: "I should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to Themistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any goodwill to the man, but because he approved of his plan.

- IX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ναύαρχοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁρῶν τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, ἥ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κείται νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεστὴν οὔσαν, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς ὑπηρετικά τοὺς προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν προσέμιξε τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ, καὶ μάχην πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, πλὴν ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ζῶντες ἤλωσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὄνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθύς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα·
- 2 καὶ λέγονται κατὰ τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως 324 Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, ὠμῆστῃ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι. τὴν δὲ νησίδα τοῖς ὅπλοις πανταχόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης περιστέψας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὥς μήτε τῶν φίλων τινὰ διαφθαρῆναι μήτε τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πλείστος ὠθισμὸς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης τὸ καρτερώτατον ἔοικε περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρεῖττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὰ ζεύγματα¹ διακόψαντας. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστείδης ἀνακραγὼν τούτου μὲν ἐκέλευε τὸν λόγον καταβαλεῖν, σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν, ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλλωσι τὸν Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
- 4 μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορία φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης

¹ τὰ ζεύγματα Hercher and Blass with F²S: τὸ ζεύγμα.

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IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia, a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis, was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked in small boats the most ardent and the most warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia, joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken alive. Among these were three sons of the King's sister Sandaucé,¹ whom he straightway sent to Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed to Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xiii. 2.

δυνάμεως τραπῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, οὕτω πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνοῦχον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὥρμημένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψειε σῶζεσθαι βασιλέα βουλόμενος.

- Χ. Ἐκ τούτου Ξέρξης μὲν περίφοβος γενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἠπείγετο, Μαρδόνιος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ δοκιμώτατον¹ ἔχων περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ὑπελείπετο, καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν ἀπ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐλπίδος ἀπειλῶν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ γράφων τοιαῦτα·
- 2 “Νενικήκατε θαλασσίους ξύλοις χερσαίους ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπισταμένους κώπην ἐλαύνειν· ἀλλὰ νῦν πλατεῖα μὲν ἡ Θετταλῶν γῆ, καλὸν δὲ τὸ Βοιωτίον πεδῖον ἀγαθοῖς ἵππευσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐναγωνίσασθαι.” πρὸς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν ἰδία γράμματα καὶ λόγους παρὰ βασιλέως, τήν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κυρίου καταστήσειν ἐκποδῶν τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων.
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¹ δοκιμώτατον Blass with F^aS : μαχιμώτατον.

² καὶ τὴν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τὴν.

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he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive. So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces,¹ a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles, had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to save the King.

X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius, with the flower of the army, to the number of three hundred thousand men, was left behind. He was a formidable adversary, and because his confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: "Ye have conquered with your maritime timbers landsmen who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend in." But to the Athenians he sent separate letters and proposals from the King, who promised to rebuild their city, give them much money, and make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they would cease fighting against him.

When the Lacedaemonians learned this, they took fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for their aged and infirm; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xvi. 2 f.

γράφαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο θαυμαστὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις συγγνώμην ἔχειν φάσκοντες, εἰ πάντα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων ὧνια νομίζοιεν, ὧν κρεῖττον οὐδὲν ἴσασιν, ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν πενίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν Ἀθηναίοις μόνον ὀρώσι, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀμνημονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σιτίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες.

5 ταῦτα γράψας Ἀριστείδης καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγαγών, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐκέλευσε φράζειν, ὥς οὐκ ἔστι χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος οὔθ' ὑπὲρ γῆν οὔθ' ὑπὸ γῆν, ὅσον Ἀθηναῖοι δέξαιντο ἂν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τὸν ἥλιον δείξας, “Ἀχρὶ ἂν οὗτος,” ἔφη, “ταύτην πορεύηται τὴν πορείαν, Ἀθηναῖοι πολεμήσουσι Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς δεδηωμένης χώρας καὶ τῶν

6 ἡσεβημένων καὶ κατακεκαυμένων ἱερῶν.” ἔτι δὲ ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσαιτο Μήδοις ἢ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολίποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ Μαρδονίου τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, αὐθις εἰς Σαλαμῖνα διεπέρασαν. Ἀριστείδης δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῆς μὲν βραδυτῆτος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει καὶ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας, προεμένοις αὐθις τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἡξίου δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἔτι σωζόμενα τῆς Ἑλλάδος

7 βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἐφοροὶ μεθ' 3:

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with an admirable answer, declaring that they could be tolerant with their foes for supposing that everything was to be bought for wealth and money, since their foes could conceive of nothing higher than these things; but they were indignant at the Lacedaemonians for having an eye only to the penury and indigence that now reigned at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valour and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations. When Aristides had made this motion and had introduced the waiting embassies into the Assembly, he bade the Lacedaemonians tell their people that there was not bulk of gold above or below ground so large that the Athenians would take it in payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to the sun: "As long as yonder sun journeys his appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage war against the Persians in behalf of the land which has been ravaged by them and of the temples which they have defiled and consumed with fire." Still further, he made a motion that the priests should solemnly curse all who came to a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of the Hellenes.

When Mardonius for the second time invaded Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis. Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to Lacedaemon, inveighed against their sluggishness and indifference, in that they had once more abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded that they go to the aid of what was still left of Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as

ἡμέραν μὲν ἐδόκουν παίζειν καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν ἑορτάζοντες· ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ῥακίνθια· νυκτὸς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπιλέξαντες, ὧν ἕκαστος ἐπὶ αὐτὸν εἴλωτας εἶχεν, ἐξέπεμψαν οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Ἀριστείδης προσῆλθεν, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλῳτι ληρεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασκον καὶ καθεύδειν, ἥδη γὰρ ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ τὸν στρατὸν εἶναι πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους (ξένους γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς Πέρσας),
 8 οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔφη παίζειν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ἀντὶ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατῶντας. ταῦθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰδομενέα λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ Ἀριστείδου πρεσβευτῆς οὐκ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ Κίμων καὶ Ξάνθιππος καὶ Μυρωνίδης φέρονται.

XI. Χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀκτακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας ἀναλαβὼν, ἦκεν εἰς Πλαταιάς. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ Πausanίας ὁ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡγούμενος Ἑλληνικοῦ συνέμιξεν ἔχων τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπέρρει τὸ πλῆθος.
 2 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ μὲν ὅλον τῆς στρατοπεδείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν παρεκτεταμένης οὐδεὶς ἦν ὄρος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα τείχος περιεφράξαντο τετράγωνον, οὗ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστη μῆκος ἦν δέκα σταδίων.

Πausanία μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι κοινῇ Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἥλειος ἐμαντεύσατο, καὶ προεῖπε νίκην ἀμυνομένοις καὶ μὴ προεπιχειροῦσιν·

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it was day, publicly disported themselves in easy-going festival fashion ; for it was their festival of the *Hyacinthia*. But in the night they selected five thousand Spartans, each of whom had seven Helots to attend upon him, and sent them forth without the knowledge of the Athenians. So when Aristides came before them with renewed invectives, they laughed and said he was but a sleepy babbler, for that their army was already in Arcadia on its march against the "strangers" (they called the Persians strangers). But Aristides declared they were jesting out of all season, forasmuch as they were deceiving their friends instead of their enemies. This is the way Idomeneus tell the story. But in the decree which Aristides caused to be passed, he himself is not named as envoy, but Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

XI. Having been elected general with sole powers in view of the expected battle, he came to Plataea¹ at the head of eight thousand Athenian hoplites. There Pausanias also, the commander in chief of the whole Hellenic army, joined him with his Spartans, and the forces of the rest of the Hellenes kept streaming up. Now, generally speaking, there was no limit to the encampment of the Barbarians as it lay stretched out along the river Asopus, so vast was it ; but round their baggage trains and chief headquarters they built a quadrangular wall, whereof each side was ten stadia in length.

To Pausanias and all the Hellenes under him Tisamenus the Eleian made prophecy, and foretold victory for them if they acted on the defensive and

¹ Spring of 479 B.C.

- 3 Ἀριστείδου δὲ πέμψαντος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς Ἀθηναίους καθυπερτέρους ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων εὐχομένους τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Κιθαιρωνίᾳ καὶ Πανὶ καὶ νύμφαις Σφραγιτίσι, καὶ θύοντας ἥρωσιν Ἀνδροκράτει, Λεύκωνι, Πεισάνδρῳ, Δαμοκράτει, Ὑψίῳ, Ἀκταίῳ, Πολυίδῳ, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ ποιουμένους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τᾶς Δάματρος τᾶς Ἐλευσινίας καὶ
- 4 τᾶς Κόρας. οὗτος ὁ χρησμός ἀνενεχθεὶς ἀπορίαν τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ παρείχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥρωες, οἷς ἐκέλευε θύειν, ἀρχηγέται Πλαταιέων ἦσαν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σφραγιτίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἐν μιᾷ κορυφῇ τοῦ Κιθαιρωνός ἐστιν, εἰς δυσμὰς ἡλίου θερινὰς τετραμμένον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν πρότερον, ὥς φασι, καὶ πολλοὶ κατείχοντο τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, οὓς νυμφολήπτους προσηγόρευον.
- 5 τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος πεδίον, καὶ τὸ τὴν μάχην ἐν ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ ποιουμένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νίκην δίδοσθαι, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ μεθίστη τὸν πόλεμον.
- Ἐνθα τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρίμνηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτόν, ὃ τι δὴ πράττειν δέδοκται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰπεῖν, “Αὔριον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξομεν, ὧ δέσποτα, καὶ διαμαχούμεθα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὸ πυθόχρηστον.”
- 6 τὸν οὖν θεὸν φάναι διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς τοῦ παντός· αὐτόθι γὰρ εἶναι περὶ τὴν Πλαταϊκὴν τὰ πυθόχρηστα καὶ ζητοῦντας ἀνευρήσειν. τούτων ἐναργῶς τῷ Ἀριμνήστῳ φανέντων ἐξεργό-

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did not advance to the attack. But Aristides sent to Delphi and received from the god response that the Athenians would be superior to their foes if they made vows to Zeus, Cithaeronian Hera, Pan, and the Sphragitic nymphs; paid sacrifices to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisandrus, Damocrates, Hypsion, Actaeon, and Polyidus; and if they sustained the peril of battle on their own soil, in the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. When this oracle was reported to Aristides, it perplexed him greatly. The heroes to whom he was to sacrifice were, it was true, ancient dignitaries of the Plataeans; and the cave of the Sphragitic nymphs was on one of the peaks of Cithaeron, facing the summer sunsets, and in it there was also an oracle in former days, as they say, and many of the natives were possessed of the oracular power, and these were called *nympholepti*, or "nymph-possessed." But the plain of Eleusinian Demeter, and the promise of victory to the Athenians if they fought the battle in their own territory, called them back, as it were, to Attica, and changed the seat of war.

At this time the general of the Plataeans, Arimnestus, had a dream in which he thought he was accosted by Zeus the Saviour and asked what the Hellenes had decided to do, and replied: "On the morrow, my Lord, we are going to lead our army back to Eleusis, and fight out our issue with the Barbarians there, in accordance with the Pythian oracle." Then the god said they were entirely in error, for the Pythian oracle's places were there in the neighbourhood of Plataea, and if they sought them they would surely find them. All this was made so vivid to Arimnestus that as soon as he awoke

- μενος τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους καὶ πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, μεθ' ὧν διαλεγόμενος καὶ συνδιαπορῶν εὗρεν, ὅτι τῶν Ὑσιῶν πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναὸς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος πάνυ¹ Διήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσαγορευόμενος. εὐθὺς οὖν παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, εὐφυνέστατον ὄντα παρατάξαι φάλαγγα πεζικὴν ἵπποκρατουμένοις, διὰ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀφιππα ποιούσας τὰ καταλήγοντα καὶ συγκυροῦντα τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. αὐτοῦ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρώων ἐγγύς, ἄλσει πυκνῶν καὶ συσκίων δένδρων περιεχόμενον. ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἐλλιπὲς ἔχη πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ὁ χρησμός, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν, Ἀριμνῆστου γνώμην εἰπόντος, ἀνελεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὅρια τῆς Πλαταιίδος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδιδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν οἰκείᾳ κατὰ τὸν χρησμόν ἐναγωνίσασθαι.
- 9 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν Πλαταιέων οὕτῳ συνέβη περιβόητον γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη βασιλεύοντα τῆς Ἀσίας ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τειχίζοντα τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἀνειπεῖν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὑπὸ κήρυκος, ὅτι ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποδίδωσι Πλαταιεῦσι τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας χάριν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπέδωκαν καὶ παρέσχον αὐτοὺς προθυμοτάτους.
- XII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ Τεγεᾶται περὶ τύξεως ἐρίσαντες ἡξίου, ὥσπερ αἰεὶ, Λακεδαιμονίῳ τὸ δεξιὸν ἐχόντων κέρας, αὐτοὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχειν,

¹ πάνυ omitted by Bekker, now found in S.

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he summoned the oldest and most experienced of his fellow-citizens. By conference and investigation with these he discovered that near Hysiae, at the foot of mount Cithaeron, there was a very ancient temple bearing the names of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. Straightway then he took Aristides and led him to the spot. They found that it was naturally very well suited to the array of infantry against a force that was superior in cavalry, since the spurs of Cithaeron made the edges of the plain adjoining the temple unfit for horsemen. There, too, was the shrine of the hero Androcrates hard by, enveloped in a grove of dense and shady trees. And besides, that the oracle might leave no rift in the hope of victory, the Plataeans voted, on motion of Arimnestus, to remove the boundaries of Plataea on the side toward Attica, and to give this territory to the Athenians, that so they might contend in defence of Hellas on their own soil, in accordance with the oracle.

This munificence of the Plataeans became so celebrated that Alexander, many years afterwards, when he was now King of Asia,¹ built the walls of Plataea, and had proclamation made by herald at the Olympic games that the King bestowed this grace upon the Plataeans in return for their bravery and magnanimity in freely bestowing their territory upon the Hellenes in the Median war, and so showing themselves most zealous of all.

XII. Now with the Athenians the men of Tegea came to strife regarding their position in the line. They claimed that, as had always been the case, since the Lacedaemonians held the right wing, they

¹ 331-330 B.C.

πολλὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν προγόνους ἐγκωμιάζοντες. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης εἶπε· “Τεγεάταις μὲν ἀντειπεῖν περὶ εὐγενείας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς οὐ δίδωσι, πρὸς δ’ ὑμᾶς, ὦ Σπαρτιᾶται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας λέγομεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τόπος οὐδὲ δίδωσιν· ἦν δ’ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν τάξιν ἀποδῶτε πειρασόμεθα κοσμοῦντες καὶ φυλάττοντες μὴ καταισχύνειν τοὺς προηγوني-
 2 σμένους ἀγῶνας. ἤκομεν γὰρ οὐ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς στασιάζοντες, ἀλλὰ μαχοῦμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐδ’ ἐπαινεσόμενοι τοὺς πατέρας, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρέξοντες· ὥς οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν δείξει καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ ἰδιώτην ὅπόσου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξιὸς ἐστί.” ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες οἱ συνέδρου καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ θάτερον αὐτοῖς κέρας ἀπέδωκαν.

XIII. Οὕσης δὲ μετεώρου τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπι-
 σφαλῶς ἐχόντων, ἄνδρες ἐξ οἴκων ἐπιφανῶν καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων πένητες ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότες καὶ πᾶσαν ἅμα τῷ πλούτῳ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ δόξαν οἰχομένην ὀρών-
 τες, ἐτέρων τιμωμένων καὶ ὑρχόντων, συνῆλθον εἰς οἰκίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς κρύφα καὶ συνωμόσαντο καταλύσειν τὸν δῆμον· εἰ δὲ μὴ προχωροῖη, λυμανεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις προδώσειν.

2 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ συχνῶν ἤδη διεφθαρμένων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἀριστείδης καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸν καιρὸν, ἔγνω μὴτ’ εἶναι

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themselves should hold the left, and in support of their claim they sounded loudly the praises of their ancestors. The Athenians were incensed, and Aristides came forward and made this speech : " To argue with the men of Tegea about noble birth and bravery, there is surely no time now ; but we declare to you, O Spartans, and to the rest of the Hellenes, that valour is not taken away from a man, nor is it given him, by his position in the line. Whatsoever post ye shall assign to us, we will endeavour to maintain and adorn it, and so bring no disgrace upon the contests we have made before. We are come, not to quarrel with our allies, but to do battle with our foes ; not to heap praises on our fathers, but to show ourselves brave men in the service of Hellas. It is this contest which will show how much any city or captain or, private soldier is worth to Hellas." On hearing this, the councillors and leaders declared for the Athenians, and assigned to them the other wing.

XIII. While Hellas was thus in suspense and Athens especially in danger, certain men of that city who were of prominent families and large wealth, but had been impoverished by the war, saw that with their riches all their influence in the city and their reputation had departed, while other men now had the honours and offices. They therefore met together secretly at a certain house in Plataea, and conspired to overthrow the democracy ; or, if their plans did not succeed, to injure the general cause and betray it to the Barbarians.

Such was the agitation in the camp, and many had already been corrupted, when Aristides got wind of the matter, and, fearful of the crisis that favoured the plot, determined not to leave the

ἀμελούμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα μήθ' ἅπαν ἐκκαλύπτειν, ἀγνοούμενον εἰς ὅσον ἐκβήσεται πλῆθος ὁ ἔλεγχος τὸν τοῦ δικαίου ζητῶν ὅρον ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος.
 3 ὁκτὼ δὴ τινὰς ἐκ πολλῶν συνέλαβε· καὶ τούτων δύο μὲν, οἷς πρῶτοις ἡ κρίσις προεγράφη, οἱ καὶ πλείστην αἰτίαν εἶχον, Αἰσχίνης Λαμπτρέυς καὶ Ἀγησίας Ἀχαρνεύς, ὧχοντο φεύγοντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀφῆκε, θαρσῆσαι διδούς καὶ μεταγνῶναι τοῖς ἔτι λανθάνειν οἰομένοις, ὑπειπὼν ὡς μέγα δικαστήριον ἔχουσι τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολύσασθαι τὰς αἰτίας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῇ πατρίδι βουλευόμενοι.

XIV. Μετὰ ταῦτα Μαρδόνιος, ὃς πλείστον ἐδόκει διαφέρειν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπεπειράτο, τὴν ἵππον ἀθρόαν αὐτοῖς ἐφείς καθεζομένοις ὑπὸ τὸν πρόποδα τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ἐν χωρίοις ὄχυροῖς καὶ πετρώδεσι πλὴν Μεγαρέων. οὗτοι δὲ τρισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις μᾶλλον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. διὸ καὶ κακῶς ἔπασχον ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ῥυείσης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς
 2 ἐχούσης πανταχόθεν. ἔπεμπον οὖν ἄγγελον κατὰ τάχος πρὸς Πausανίαν βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες, ὥς οὐ δυνάμενοι καθ' αὐτοὺς ὑποστῆναι τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος. ταῦτα Πausανίας ἀκούων, ἥδη δὲ καὶ καθορῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀκοντισμάτων καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μεγαρέων καὶ συνεσταλμένους αὐτοὺς εἰς ὀλίγον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμήχανος ἦν πρὸς ἱππότηας ἀμύνειν 321

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matter in neglect, nor yet to bring it wholly to the light, since it could not be known how many would be implicated by a test which was based on justice rather than expediency. Accordingly, he arrested some eight or so of the many conspirators. Two of these, against whom the charge was first formally brought, and who were really the most guilty ones, Aeschines of Lamptrae and Agesias of Acharnae, fled the camp. The rest he released, affording thus an opportunity for encouragement and repentance to those who still thought they had escaped detection, and suggested to them that the war was a great tribunal for their acquittal from the charges made against them, provided they took sincere and righteous counsel in behalf of their country.

XIV. After this, Mardonius made trial of the Hellenes with that arm of his service in which he thought himself most superior. He despatched all his cavalry against them as they lay encamped at the foot of Cithaeron, in positions that were rugged and rocky—all except the Megarians. These, to the number of three thousand, were encamped the rather in open plain. For this reason they suffered severely at the hands of the cavalry, which poured in tides against them, and found access to them on every side. Accordingly, they sent a messenger in haste to Pausanias, bidding him come to their aid, since they were unable of themselves to withstand the host of the Barbarians. Pausanias, on hearing this, and seeing at once that the camp of the Megarians was as good as hidden from view by the multitude of the enemy's javelins and arrows, and that its defenders were huddled together in narrow quarters, on his own part had no way of rendering

ὀπλιτικῇ φάλαγγι καὶ βαρεῖα τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν,
 3 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσι προϋθετο ζῆλον ἀρετῆς
 καὶ φιλοτιμίας, εἰ δὴ τινες ἐκόντες ἀναδέξαιτο
 προαγωνίσασθαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι.
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀκνούντων Ἀριστείδης ἀναδεξάμενος
 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἔργον ἀποστέλλει τὸν
 προθυμότατον τῶν λοχαγῶν Ὀλυμπιόδωρον,
 ἔχοντα τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένους λογάδας
 τριακοσίους καὶ τοξότας ἀναμεμιγμένους σὺν
 αὐτοῖς.

4 Τούτων δὲ¹ ὁξέως διασκευασαμένων καὶ προσ-
 φερομένων δρόμῳ, Μασίστιος ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἵππαρχος, ἀνὴρ ἀλκῇ τε θαυμαστός μεγέθει τε
 καὶ κάλλει σώματος περιττός, ὥς κατείδεν,
 ἐναντίον ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἵππον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνε.
 τῶν δ' ἀνασχομένων καὶ συμβαλόντων ἦν ἀγὼν
 καρτερός, ὥς πείραν ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ παντός λαμ-
 5 βανόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοξευθεὶς ὁ ἵππος τὸν Μα-
 σίστιον ἀπέρριψε καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ βάρους τῶν
 ὅπλων αὐτός τε δυσκίνητος ἦν ἀναφέρειν καὶ τοῖς
 Ἀθηναίοις ἐπικειμένοις καὶ παίουσι δυσμεταχείρι-
 στος, οὐ μόνον στέρνα καὶ κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
 γυῖα χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ καταπεφραγ-
 μένος, τοῦτον μὲν ἢ τὸ κράνος ὑπέβαινε τὸν
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἀκοντίου στύρακι παίων τις ἀνείλεν, οἱ
 δ' ἄλλοι Πέρσαι προέμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν ἔφευγον.
 6 ἐγνώσθη δὲ τοῦ κατορθώματος τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς
 Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν τοῦ πλήθους,
 ὀλίγοι γὰρ οἱ πεσόντες ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πένθει τῶν

¹ τούτων δὲ Hercher and Blass with F^{as}: τούτων.

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them aid against horsemen, since his phalanx of Spartans was full-armoured and slow of movement ; but to the rest of the generals and captains of the Hellenes who were about him he proposed, in order to stir up their valour and ambition, that some of them should volunteer to make contention for the succour of the Megarians. The rest all hesitated, but Aristides, in behalf of the Athenians, undertook the task, and despatched his most zealous captain, Olympiodorus, with the three hundred picked men of his command, and archers mingled with them.

These quickly arrayed themselves and advanced to the attack on the run. Masistius, the commander of the Barbarian cavalry, a man of wonderful prowess and of surpassing stature and beauty of person, saw them coming, and at once wheeled his horse to face them and charged down upon them. Then there was a mighty struggle between those who withstood and those who made the charge, since both regarded this as a test of the whole issue between them. Presently the horse of Masistius was hit with an arrow, and threw his rider, who lay where he fell, unable to raise himself, so heavy was his armour ; and yet he was no easy prey to the Athenians, though they pressed upon him and smote him. For not only his chest and head, but also his limbs were encased in gold and bronze and iron. But at last, with the spike of a javelin, through the eye-hole of his helmet, he was smitten to the death, and the rest of the Persians abandoned his body and fled. The magnitude of their success was known to the Hellenes, not from the multitude of those they slew, for few

βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἔκειραν ἐπὶ τῷ Μασιστίῳ καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους, οἰμωγῆς τε καὶ κλαυθμοῦ τὸ πεδίον ἐνεπίμπλασαν, ὡς ἄνδρα πολὺν πρῶτον ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον αὐτὸν ἀποβαλόντες.

XV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππομαχίαν ἀμφοτέροι μάχης ἔσχοντο χρόνον πολὺν· ἀμυνομένοις γὰρ οἱ μάντις νίκην προῦφαινον ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς Πέρσiais καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖεν, ἦτταν. ἔπειτα Μαρδόνιος, ὡς αὐτῷ μὲν ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια περιῆν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες αἰετινων ἐπιρρεόντων πλείονες ἐγίνοντο, δυσανασχετῶν ἔγνω μηκέτι μένειν, ἀλλὰ διαβὰς ἅμα φάει τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπροσδοκήτως· καὶ παράγγελμα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐσπέρας ἔδωκε.

- 2 Μεσοῦσης δὲ μάλιστα τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνὴρ ἵππον ἔχων ἀτρέμα προσεμίγνυε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐντυχὼν δὲ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν Ἀριστείδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ ταχέως ἔφησεν· “Εἰμὶ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, ἤκω δὲ κινδύνων τὸν μέγιστον εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αἰρόμενος, ὡς μὴ τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἐκπλήξῃεν ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἀγωνίσασθαι.
- 3 μαχεῖται γὰρ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος αὖριον, οὐχ ὑπ' ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς οὐδὲ θάρσους, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ μάντις ἐκείνων ἀπαισίους ἱεροῖς καὶ λογίοις χρησμῶν εἵργουσι μάχης, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχει δυσθυμία πολλή καὶ κατάπληξις. ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τολμῶντα πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης

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had fallen, but from the grief of the Barbarians. For they shorn their own hair in tribute to Masistius, and that of their horses and mules, and filled the plain with their wailing cries. They felt that they had lost a man who, after Mardonius himself, was by far the first in valour and authority.

XV. After this cavalry battle, both sides refrained from further fighting for a long time, since only as they acted on the defensive would victory be theirs—so the soothsayers interpreted the sacrifices alike for Persians and Hellenes,—but if they attacked, defeat. At last Mardonius, since he had supplies remaining for only a few days, and since the Hellenes were ever increasing in number as fresh bodies joined them, impatiently determined to wait no longer, but to cross the Asopus at day-break and attack the Athenians unexpectedly. During the evening he gave the watchword to his commanders.

But about midnight a solitary horseman quietly approached the camp of the Hellenes, and falling in with the outposts, ordered that Aristides the Athenian come to him. He was speedily obeyed, and then said: "I am Alexander the Macedonian, and I am come at the greatest peril to myself, out of my good-will toward you, that no suddenness of attack may frighten you into inferior fighting. Mardonius will surely give battle on the morrow, not because he has substantial hope or even courage, but because he is destitute of provisions. His soothsayers, indeed, are trying to keep him from battle by unpropitious sacrifices and oracular utterances, while his army is full of dejection and consternation; but he must needs boldly try his fortune, or sit

ἡ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπομένειν ἀπορίαν καθεζόμενον.
 4 ταῦτα φράσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδεῖτο τὸν Ἀριστείδην αὐτὸν εἰδέναι καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ μὴ κατειπεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν ἔφη ταῦτα Παν-
 σανίαν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἀνακείσθαι
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρρητα πρὸ
 τῆς μάχης ἔδοξεν¹ ἔσεσθαι, νικώσης δὲ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος οὐδένα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου προθυμίαν καὶ
 5 ἀρετὴν ἀγνοήσκειν. λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ τε
 βασιλεὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπήλυνεν ὀπίσω
 πάλιν, ὁ τε Ἀριστείδης ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν 328
 σκηνὴν τοῦ Πανσανίου διηγεῖτο τοὺς λόγους· καὶ
 μετεπέμποντο τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ παρήγ-
 γελλον ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, ὡς μάχης
 ἐσομένης.

XVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ', ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ,
 Πανσανίας Ἀριστείδῃ προσέφερε λόγον, ἀξίων
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μετατάξαι καὶ²
 κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀντιταχθῆναι, βέλτιον γὰρ
 ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τῆς τε μάχης ἐμπείρους γεγονότας
 καὶ τῷ προνενικηκέναι θαρροῦντας, αὐτῷ δὲ παρα-
 δοῦναι τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὅπου τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ
 μηδίζοντες ἐπιβάλλειν ἔμελλον.

2 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 ἀγνώμονα καὶ φορτικὸν ἡγοῦντο τὸν Πανσανίαν,
 εἰ τὴν ἄλλην ἑὼν τάξιν ἐν χώρᾳ μόνους ἄνω καὶ
 κάτω μεταφέρει σφᾶς ὥσπερ εἴλωτας, κατὰ τὸ

¹ ἔδοξεν bracketed by Bekker, omitted by Blass.

² μετατάξαι καὶ MSS., Sintenis¹, Coraës, Bekker: μεταγα-
 γόντα.

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still and endure extremest destitution." When he had told him this, Alexander begged Aristides to keep the knowledge to himself and bear it well in mind, but to tell it to none other. Aristides replied that it was not honourable to conceal this knowledge from Pausanias, since it was on him that the supreme command devolved, but that it should not be told the other leaders before the battle; though in case Hellas were victorious, no man should remain ignorant of Alexander's zeal and valour. After this conversation, the king of the Macedonians rode off back again, and Aristides went to the tent of Pausanias and told him all that had been said. Then they summoned the other leaders and gave them orders to keep the army in array, since there was to be a battle.

XVI. At this juncture, as Herodotus relates,¹ Pausanias sent word to Aristides, demanding that the Athenians change their position and array themselves on the right wing, over against the Persians, where they would contend better, he said, since they were versed already in the Persian style of fighting, and emboldened by a previous victory over them; the left wing, where the Medising Hellenes were going to attack, should be intrusted to himself and his Spartans.

The rest of the Athenian generals thought it inconsiderate and annoying in Pausanias to leave the rest of his line in the position assigned, while he moved them, and them only, back and forth like Helots, and put them forward where the

¹ ix. 46.

- μαχιμώτατον προβαλλόμενος· ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκε τοῦ παντός, εἰ πρῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔχειν διεφιλοτιμοῦντο Τεγεάταις καὶ προκριθέντες ἐσε-
 3 μνύνοντο, νῦν δέ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκουσίως αὐτοῖς ἐξισταμένων τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραδιδόντων, οὔτε τὴν δόξαν ἀγαπῶ-
 σιν οὔτε κέρδος ἡγοῦνται τὸ μὴ πρὸς ὁμοφύλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους καὶ φύσει πολε-
 μίους ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἐκ τούτου πάνυ προθύμως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διημείβοντο τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις τὴν
 4 τάξιν· καὶ λόγος ἐχώρει δι' αὐτῶν πολὺς ἀλ-
 λήλοις παρεγγυώντων, ὥς οὔτε ὅπλα βελτίω λαβόντες οὔτε ψυχὰς ἀμείνους οἱ πολέμιοι τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι προσίασιν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἀμείνους
 τόξα, ταῦτ' ἐσθήτος ποικίλματα καὶ χρυσὸς ἐπὶ σώμασι μαλακοῖς καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀνάνδροις· ἡμῖν δ' ὅμοια μὲν ὅπλα καὶ σώματα, μείζον δὲ ταῖς
 νίκαις τὸ θάρσος, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐχ ὑπὲρ χώρας καὶ πόλεως μόνον, ὥς ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι τροπαίων, ὥς μὴδ' ἐκεῖνα Μιλτιάδου δοκῇ καὶ τύχῃ, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων.
 5 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν σπεύδοντες ἐν ἀμείψει τῶν τάξεων ἦσαν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ Θηβαῖοι παρ' αὐτο-
 μόλων Μαρδονίῳ φράζουσι. κακείνος εὐθύς, εἴτε δεδιὼς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἴτε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
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fighting was to be hottest. But Aristides declared that they were utterly wrong; they had contended emulously with the Tegeans, but a little while back, for the occupation of the left wing, and plumed themselves on being preferred before those rivals; but now, when the Lacedaemonians of their own accord vacated the right wing for them, and after a fashion proffered them the leadership among the Hellenes, they neither welcomed the reputation thus to be won, nor counted it gain that their contention would thus be, not with men of the same tribes and kindreds, but rather with Barbarians and natural enemies. Upon this the Athenians very willingly exchanged posts with the Spartans, and the word passed from lip to lip far through their ranks that their enemies would attack them with no better arms and with no braver spirits than at Marathon, nay, with the same kind of archery as then, and with the same variegated vesture and gold adornments to cover soft bodies and unmanly spirits; "while we have not only like arms and bodies with our brethren of that day, but that greater courage which is born of our victories; and our contest is not alone for land and city, as theirs was, but also for the trophies which they set up at Marathon and Salamis, in order that the world may think that not even those were due to Miltiades only, or to fortune, but to the Athenians."

The Spartans and Athenians, then, were busily engaged in exchanging posts; but the Thebans heard of it from deserters and told Mardonius. He, at once, whether through fear of the Athenians or out of ambition to engage with the Lacedaemonians,

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συμπεσεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἀντιπαρεξήγε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας ἐκέλευε τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἴστασθαι.
 6 γενομένης δὲ τῆς μετακοσμήσεως καταφανοὺς ὃ τε Πausanίας ἀποτραπείας αὐθις ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κατέστη, καὶ Μαρδόνιος, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀνέλαβε τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους γενόμενος, ἥ τε ἡμέρα διεξήλθεν ἀργή. καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε πορρωτέρω μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι καὶ καταλαβεῖν εὐνδρον χωρίον, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλησίον νάματα καθύβριστο καὶ διέφθαρτο τῶν βαρβάρων ἵπποκρατούντων.

XVII. Ἐπελθούσης δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποδεδειγμένην στρατοπεδείαν οὐ πάνυ πρόθυμον ἦν ἔπεσθαι καὶ συμμένειν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἐρυμάτων ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Πλαταιέων οἱ πολλοί, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐκεῖ διασκιδνάμενων καὶ κατασκηνούντων ἀτάκτως. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ συνέβαινεν¹ ἄκουσι μόνοις ἀπολεί-
 2 πεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων. Ἀμομφάρετος γάρ, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος, ἔκπαλαι πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπαργῶν καὶ βαρυνόμενος τὰς πολλὰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ μελλήσεις, τότε δὴ παντάπασιν τὴν μετανάστασιν φυγὴν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν, οὐκ ἔφη λείψειν τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι μένων μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λοχιτῶν ὑποστήσασθαι Μαρδό-
 3 νιον. ὥς δὲ Πausanίας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγε ταῦτα πράττειν ἐψηφισμένα καὶ δεδογμένα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀράμενος ταῖν χεροῖν πέτρον μέγαν ὃ

¹ συνέβαινεν Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis¹; συνέβη [μὲν].

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counterchanged his Persians to the right wing, and ordered the Hellenes with him to set themselves against the Athenians. When this change in his enemy's order of battle was manifest, Pausanias returned and occupied the right wing again, whereupon Mardonius also resumed his own left wing, just as he stood at the beginning, facing the Lacedaemonians. And thus the day came to an end without action. The Hellenes, on deliberation, decided to change their camp to a position farther on, and to secure a spot where there was plenty of good water, since the neighbouring springs were defiled and ruined by the Barbarians' superior force of cavalry.

XVII. Night came on, and the generals set out to lead their forces to the appointed encampment. The soldiers, however, showed no great eagerness to follow in close order, but when they had once abandoned their first defences, most of them hurried on toward the city of Plataea, and there tumult reigned as they scattered about and encamped in no order whatsoever. But it chanced that the Lacedaemonians were left alone behind the others, and that too against their will. For Amompharetus, a man of a fierce and venturesome spirit, who had long been mad for battle and distressed by the many postponements and delays, now at last lost all control of himself, denounced the change of position as a runaway flight, and declared that he would not abandon his post, but stay there with his company and await the onset of Mardonius. And when Pausanias came up and told him that their action had been formally voted by the Hellenes in council,

Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ καταβαλὼν πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Πausανίου ταύτην ἔφη ψῆφον αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς 329 μάχης τίθεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δειλὰ βουλευματα καὶ δόγματα χαίρειν ἔαν. ἀπορούμενος δὲ Πausανίας τῷ παρόντι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν ἀπιόντας ἤδη, περιμεῖναι δεόμενος καὶ κοινῇ βαδίζειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἤγε πρὸς τὰς Πλαταιὰς ὡς ἀναστήσων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον.

- 4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, καὶ Μαρδόνιος (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐκλελοιπότες οἱ Ἕλληνες) ἔχων συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις βοῇ πολλῇ καὶ πατάγῳ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς οὐ μάχης ἐσομένης, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας ἀναρπασομένων τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὁ μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς ἐδέησε γενέσθαι.
- 5 κατιδὼν γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον ὁ Πausανίας ἔσχετο μὲν τῆς πορείας καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ μάχῃ τάξιν ἐκέλευσε λαμβάνειν ἕκαστον, ἔλαθε δ' αὐτόν, εἴθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὀργῆς εἴτε τῷ τάχει θορυβηθέντα τῶν πολεμίων, σύνθημα μὴ δοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ὅθεν οὐτ' εὐθὺς οὐτ' ἀθρόοι, κατ' ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ σποράδην, ἤδη τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης, προσεβοήθουν.
- 6 Ὡς δὲ θυόμενος οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει, προσέταξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν θεμένους ἀτρέμα καθέζεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ, μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ἀμυνομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐσφαγιάζετο. καὶ προσέπιπτον οἱ ἵππεῖς ἤδη δὲ καὶ βέλος ἐξικνεῖτο καὶ τις ἐπέπληκτο
- 7 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Καλλικράτης,

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Amompharetus picked up a great stone and threw it down at the feet of Pausanias, saying that was his personal ballot for battle, and he cared not a whit for the cowardly counsels and votes of the rest. Pausanias, perplexed at the case, sent to the Athenians, who were already moving off, begging them to wait and make the march in company with him, and then began to lead the rest of his troops toward Plataea, with the idea that he would thus force Amompharetus from his position.

At this point day overtook them, and Mardonius, who did not fail to notice that the Hellenes had abandoned their encampment, with his force in full array, bore down upon the Lacedaemonians, with great shouting and clamour on the part of the Barbarians, who felt that there would be no real battle, but that the Hellenes had only to be snatched off as they fled. And this lacked but little of coming to pass. For Pausanias, on seeing the situation, though he did check his march and order every man to take post for battle, forgot, either in his rage at Amompharetus or his confusion at the speed of the enemy, to give the signal for battle to the confederate Hellenes. For this reason they did not come to his aid at once, nor in a body, but in small detachments and straggling, after the battle was already joined.

When Pausanias got no favourable omens from his sacrifices, he ordered his Lacedaemonians to sit quiet with their shields planted in front of them, and to await his orders, making no attempt to repulse their enemies, while he himself went to sacrificing again. By this time the horsemen were charging upon them; presently their missiles actually reached them, and many a Spartan was smitten. And then it was

ὃν ἰδέα τε κάλλιστον Ἑλλήνων καὶ σώματι μέγιστον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι, τοξευθεὶς καὶ θνήσκων οὐκ ἔφη τὸν θάνατον ὀδύρεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν οἴκοθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθανοῦμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι θνήσκει τῇ χειρὶ μὴ χρησάμενος. ἦν οὖν τὸ μὲν πάθος δεινόν, ἡ δ' ἐγκράτεια θαυμαστὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἡμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβαίνοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καιρὸν ἀναμένοντες ἡνείχοντο βαλλόμενοι καὶ πίπτοντες ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν.

- 8 *Ἐνιοὶ δέ φασι τῷ Πausανία μικρὸν ἔξω τῆς παρατάξεως θύοντι καὶ κατευχομένῳ τῶν Λυδῶν τινὰς ἄφνω προσπεσόντας ἀρπάζειν καὶ διαρρίπτειν τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν, τὸν δὲ Πausανίαν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχοντας ὅπλα ῥάβδοις καὶ μάστιξι παίειν· διὸ καὶ νῦν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς μμήματα τὰς περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ πληγὰς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν Λυδῶν πομπὴν συντελεῖσθαι.

XVIII. Δυσφορῶν οὖν ὁ Πausανίας τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἄλλα τοῦ μάντεως ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἱερεῖα καταβάλλοντος, τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον τῇ ὄψει δεδακρυμένος, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν εὗξατο Κιθαιρωνία Ἥρα καὶ θεοῖς ἄλλοις, οἳ Πλαταιῖδα γῆν ἔχουσιν, εἰ μὴ πέπρωται τοῖς Ἑλλησι νικᾶν, ἀλλὰ δρᾶσαντάς γέ τι παθεῖν καὶ δείξαντας ἔργῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥς ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μάχε-

2 σθαι μεμαθηκότας ἐστράτευσαν. ταῦτα τοῦ Πausανίου θεοκλυτοῦντος ἅμα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐφάνη τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ νίκην ὁ μάντις ἔφραζε. καὶ δοθέντος

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that Callicrates, said to be the fairest of the Hellenes to look upon, and the tallest man in their whole army, was shot, and, dying, said he did not grieve at death, since he had left his home to die for Hellas, but at dying without striking a single blow. Their experience was indeed a terrible one, but the restraint of the men was wonderful. They did not try to repel the enemy who were attacking them, but awaited from their god and their general the favourable instant, while they endured wounds and death at their posts.

Some say that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying, a little to one side of his line of battle, some Lydians suddenly fell upon him and rudely hurled away the sacrificial offerings; and that Pausanias and his attendants, being without weapons, smote the intruders with the sacrificial staves and goads; wherefore, to this day, in imitation of this onslaught, the ceremonies of beating the young warriors round the altar at Sparta, and of the procession of the Lydians which follows this, are duly celebrated as rites.

XVIII. Then, in distress at this state of affairs, while the seer slew victim after victim, Pausanias turned his face, all tears, toward the Heraeum, and with hands uplifted prayed Cithaeronian Hera and the other gods of the Plataean land that, if it was not the lot of the Hellenes to be victorious, they might at least do great deeds before they fell, and show to a certainty that their enemies had marched out against men who were brave and who knew how to fight. While Pausanias was thus calling on the gods, right in the midst of his prayers, the sacrifices showed themselves propitious and the seer announced

- εἰς ἅπαντας τοῦ παραγγέλματος καθίστασθαι
 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἥ τε φάλαγξ ὄψιν ἔσχεν
 αἰφνιδίως ἐνὸς ζώου θυμοειδοῦς πρὸς ἀλκὴν
 τρεπομένου καὶ φρίξαντος, τοῖς τε βαρβάροις
 τότε παρέστη λογισμός, ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁ ἀγὼν
 3 ἔσοιτο μάχουμένους ἄχρι θανάτου. διὸ καὶ
 προθέμενοι πολλὰ τῶν γέρρων ἐτόξευον εἰς τοὺς¹
 Λακεδαιμονίους. οἱ δὲ τηροῦντες ἅμα τὸν συνα-
 σπισμὸν ἐπέβαινον, καὶ προσπεσόντες ἐξεώθουν
 τὰ γέρρα, καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τύπτουντες πρόσωπα
 καὶ στέρνα τῶν Περσῶν πολλοὺς κατέβαλλον,
 οὐκ ἀπράκτως οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας. καὶ γὰρ
 ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν δοράτων ταῖς χερσὶ γυμ-
 ναῖς συνέθραυον τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς 330
 ξιφουλκίας ἐχώρουν οὐκ ἀργῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τε
 κοπίσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκινάκαις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰς
 ἀσπίδας παρασπῶντες καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι χρόνον
 πολὺν ἀντεῖχον.
- 4 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τέως μὲν ἡτρέμουν ἀναμένοντες
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγὴ τε προσέ-
 πιπτε πολλὴ μαχομένων καὶ παρῆν, ὥς φασιν,
 ἄγγελος παρὰ Πανσανίου τὰ γινόμενα φράζων,
 ὥρμησαν κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖν. καὶ προχωροῦ-
 σιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὴν βοήν ἐπεφέ-
 5 ροντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδίζοντες, Ἀριστείδης
 δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς εἶδε, πολὺ προελθὼν ἐβόα,
 μαρτυρόμενος Ἑλληνίους θεοὺς, ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης
 καὶ μὴ σφίσις ἐμποδὼν εἶναι μηδὲ κωλύειν
 ἐπαμύνοντας τοῖς προκινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος, ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα μὴ προσέχοντας αὐτῷ
 4 καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, οὕτω τῆς

¹ eis τοὺς Hercher and Blass with S: τοὺς.

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victory. Word was at once passed all along the line to set themselves in motion against the enemy, and the phalanx suddenly had the look of a fierce beast bristling up to defend itself. The Barbarians then got assurance that their contest was to be with men who would fight to the death. Therefore they made a rampart of their wicker targets and shot their arrows into the ranks of the Lacedaemonians. These, however, kept their shields closely locked together as they advanced, fell upon their foemen, tore away their wicker targets, and then, smiting the Persians in face and breast with their long spears, they slew many, who nevertheless did great deeds of courage before they fell. For they grasped the long spears with their naked hands, fractured them for the most part, and then took to short-range fighting with a will, plying their daggers and scimitars, tearing away their enemies' shields, and locking them in close embrace; and so they held out a long time.

The Athenians, meanwhile, were quietly awaiting the Lacedaemonians. But when the shouts of those engaged in battle fell loud upon their ears, and there came, as they say, a messenger from Pausanias telling them what was happening, they set out with speed to aid him. However, as they were advancing through the plain to his aid, the Medising Hellenes bore down upon them. Then Aristides, to begin with, when he saw them, went far forward and shouted to them, invoking the gods of Hellas, that they refrain from battle, and oppose not nor hinder those who were bearing aid to men standing in the van of danger for the sake of Hellas. But as soon as he saw that they paid no heed to him, and were

ἐκεῖ βοηθείας ἀποτραπόμενος συνέβαλε τούτοις
 6 περὶ πεντακισμυρίους οὖσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν
 πλείστον εὐθύς ἐνέδωκε καὶ ἀπεχώρησεν, ἅτε
 δὴ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἡ δὲ
 μάχη λέγεται μάλιστα κατὰ Θηβαίους γενέσθαι,
 προθυμότερα τῶν πρώτων καὶ δυνατωτάτων τότε
 παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδιζόντων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ κατὰ
 γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὀλιγαρχούμενον ἀγόντων.

XIX. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος δίχα συνεστῶτος
 πρώτοι μὲν ἐώσαντο τοὺς Πέρσας οἱ Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι· καὶ τὸν Μαρδόνιον ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης
 ὄνομα Ἀρίμνηστος ἀποκτίννυσι, λίθῳ τὴν κε-
 φαλὴν πατάξας, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προσεήμανε τὸ
 ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω μαντεῖον. ἔπεμψε γὰρ ἄνδρα
 Λυδὸν ἐνταῦθα, Κᾶρα δὲ ἕτερον εἰς Τροφωνίου
 ὁ¹ Μαρδόνιος· καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ προφήτης Καρικῇ
 2 γλῶσση προσεῖπεν, ὁ δὲ Λυδὸς ἐν τῷ σηκῷ τοῦ
 Ἀμφιάρεω κατευνασθεὶς ἔδοξεν ὑπηρέτην τινὰ
 τοῦ θεοῦ παραστήναι καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι,
 μὴ βουλομένου δὲ λίθον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμβαλεῖν
 μέγαν, ὥστε δόξαι πληγέντα τεθνάναι τὸν ἄνθρω-
 πον· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγεται. τοὺς
 δὲ φεύγοντας εἰς τὰ ξύλινα τείχη καθεῖρξαν.

Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Θηβαίους
 τρέπονται, τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ
 3 πρώτους διαφθείραντες ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ. γε-
 γεννημένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἤκεν αὐτοῖς ἀγγελος
 πολιορκεῖσθαι τὸ βαρβαρικὸν εἰς τὰ τείχη κατα-

¹ ὁ bracketed in Sintenis²; Blass reads εἰς τὸ Πύλον ὁ with S, after Hercher, thus agreeing with Herodotus viii. 135.

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arrayed for battle, then he turned aside from rendering aid where he had proposed, and engaged with these, though they were about fifty thousand in number. But the greater part of them at once gave way and withdrew, especially as the Barbarians had also retired, and the battle is said to have been fought chiefly with the Thebans, whose foremost and most influential men were at that time very eagerly Medising, and carried with them the multitude, not of choice, but at the bidding of the few.

XIX. The contest thus begun in two places, the Lacedaemonians were first to repulse the Persians. Mardonius was slain by a man of Sparta named Arimnestus, who crushed his head with a stone, even as was foretold him by the oracle in the shrine of Amphiaraüs. Thither he had sent a Lydian man, and a Carian besides to the oracle of Trophonius.¹ This latter the prophet actually addressed in the Carian tongue; but the Lydian, on lying down in the precinct of Amphiaraüs, dreamed that an attendant of the god stood by his side and bade him be gone, and on his refusal, hurled a great stone upon his head, insomuch that he died from the blow (so ran the man's dream). These things are so reported. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians shut the flying Persians up in their wooden stockade.

Shortly after this it was that the Athenians routed the Thebans, after slaying three hundred, their most eminent leaders, in the actual battle. After the rout was effected, and more might have been slain, there came a messenger to the Athenians, telling them that the Barbarian force was shut up and besieged

¹ According to Herodotus, viii. 135, Mys the Carian visited the shrine of the Ptoan Apollo, overlooking Lake Copais.

- κεκλεισμένον. οὕτω δὴ σώζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 εἰσάσαντες ἐβοήθουν πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη· καὶ τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις παντάπασιν ἀργῶς πρὸς τειχο-
 μαχίαν καὶ ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν ἐπιφανέντες αἰροῦσι
 τὸ στρατόπεδον φόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν πολεμίων.
 4 λέγονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων
 τετρακισμύριοι φυγεῖν σὺν Ἀρταβάζῳ, τῶν δ'
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνισαμένων ἔπεσον οἱ
 πάντες ἐπὶ χιλίοις ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι.
 τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἦσαν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα,
 πάντες ἐκ τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς, ὥς φησι Κλεί-
 5 δημοσ, ἀγωνισαμένης ἄριστα· διὸ καὶ ταῖς
 Σφραγίτισι νύμφαις ἔθνον Αἰαντίδαι τὴν πυθό-
 χρηστον θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης, ἐκ δημοσίου τὸ
 ἀνάλωμα λαμβάνοντες· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐνὶ
 πλείους τῶν ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεᾶται δ' ἑκατάδεκα.
 Θαυμαστὸν οὖν τὸ Ἡροδότου, πῶς μόνους
 τούτους φησὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις,
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ
 πλῆθος τῶν πεσόντων μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ μνήματα
 6 κοινὸν γενέσθαι τὸ κατόρθωμα· καὶ τὸν βωμὸν
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπέγραψαν οὕτως, εἰ μόναι τρεῖς πόλεις
 ἠγωνίσαντο, τῶν ἄλλων ἀτρέμα καθεζομένων·
 Τόνδε ποθ' Ἕλληνες νίκας κράτει, ἔργῳ Ἀρης,¹
 Πέρσας ἐξελάσαντες ἐλευθέρᾳ Ἑλλάδι κοινὸν
 ἰδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν ἐλευθερίου.

¹ Coraës and Bekker insert after this verse the pentameter :
 εὐτόλμῳ ψυχᾷς λήματι πειθόμενοι, following the bold impulse of
 their spirit, found in the Palatine Anthology, vi. 50.



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in their stockade. So they suffered the Hellenes in front of them to make good their escape, while they themselves marched to the stockade. They brought welcome aid to the Lacedaemonians, who were altogether inexperienced and helpless in storming walled places, and captured the camp with great slaughter of the enemy. Out of three hundred thousand, only forty thousand, it is said, made their escape with Artabazus. Of those who contended in behalf of Hellas, there fell in all one thousand three hundred and sixty. Of these, fifty-two were Athenians, all of the Aeantid tribe, according to Cleidemus, which made the bravest contest (for which reason the Aeantids used to sacrifice regularly to the Sphragitic nymphs the sacrifice ordained by the Pythian oracle for the victory, receiving the expenses therefor from the public funds); ninety-one were Lacedaemonians, and sixteen were men of Tegea.

Astonishing, therefore, is the statement of Herodotus,¹ where he says that these one hundred and fifty-nine represented the only Hellenes who engaged the enemy, and that not one of the rest did so. Surely the total number of those who fell, as well as the monuments erected over them, testifies that the success was a common one. Besides, had the men of three cities only made the contest, while the rest sat idly by, the altar would not have been inscribed as it was:—

“Here did the Hellenes, flushed with a victory
granted by Ares

Over the routed Persians, together, for Hellas
delivered,

Build them an altar of Zeus, Zeus as De-
liverer known.”

¹ ix. 85.

7 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο τῇ τετράδι τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἰσταμένου κατ' Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ δὲ Βοιωτοὺς τετράδι τοῦ Πανέμου φθίνοντος, ἥ 331 καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀθροίζεται συνέδριον καὶ θύουσι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. τὴν δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐ θαυμαστέον, ὅπου καὶ νῦν διηκριβωμένων τῶν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ μᾶλλον ἄλλην ἄλλοι μηνὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἄγουσιν.

XX. Ἐκ τούτου τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἀριστεῖον οὐ παραδιδόντων τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὐδὲ τρόπαιον ἰστάναι συγχωρούντων ἐκείνοις, παρ' οὐδὲν ἂν ἦλθεν εὐθύς ἀπολέσθαι τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διαστάντων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ παρηγορῶν καὶ διδάσκων τοὺς συστρατήγους ὁ Ἀριστείδης, μάλιστα δὲ Λεωκράτη καὶ Μυρωνίδην, ἔσχε καὶ συνέπεισε τὴν 2 κρίσιν ἐφεῖναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἐνταῦθα βουλευομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων Θεογείτων μὲν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς εἶπεν, ὥς ἑτέρα¹ πόλει δοτέον εἶη τὸ ἀριστεῖον, εἰ μὴ βούλονται συνταράξαι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δ' ἀναστὰς Κλεόκριτος ὁ Κορίνθιος δόξαν μὲν παρέσχεν ὥς Κορινθίοις αἰτήσων τὸ ἀριστεῖον· ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγίστῳ μετὰ τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἡ Κόρινθος· εἶπε δὲ πᾶσιν ἀρέσαντα καὶ θαυμαστὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ Πλαταιέων, καὶ συνεβούλευσε τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἀνελεῖν ἐκείνοις τὸ ἀριστεῖον ἀποδόντας, οἷς 3 οὐδετέρους τιμωμένοις ἄχθεσθαι. ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων πρῶτος μὲν Ἀριστείδης συνεχώρησεν

¹ ἑτέρα Bekker has οὐδετέρα neither city, adopting a conjecture of Muretus.

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This battle was fought on the fourth of the month Boëdromion, as the Athenians reckon time; but according to the Boeotian calendar, on the twenty-seventh of the month Panemus,¹ the day when, down to the present time, the Hellenic council assembles in Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer for the victory. We must not wonder at the apparent discrepancy between these dates, since, even now that astronomy is a more exact science, different peoples have different beginnings and endings for their months.

XX. After this, the Athenians would not grant the Spartans the highest meed of valour, nor allow them to erect a general trophy, and the cause of the Hellenes had certainly gone at once to destruction from their armed contention, had not Aristides, by abundant exhortation and admonition, checked his fellow-generals, especially Leocrates and Myronides, and persuaded them to submit the case to the Hellenes for decision. Thereupon, in the council of the Hellenes, Theogeiton the Megarian said that the meed of valour must be given to some third city, unless they desired the confusion of a civil war. At this point Cleocritus the Corinthian rose to speak. Every one thought he would demand the meed of valour for the Corinthians, since Corinth was held in greatest estimation after Sparta and Athens. But to the astonishment and delight of all, he made a proposition in behalf of the Plataeans, and counselled to take away contention by giving them the meed of valour, since at their honour neither claimant could take offence. To this proposal Aristides was first to

¹ About August 1, 479 B.C.

ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔπειτα Πausanías ὑπὲρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. οὕτω δὲ διαλλαγέστες ἐξεῖλον ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνφοδόμησαν¹ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἔδος ἔστησαν καὶ γραφαῖς τὸν νεῶν διεκόσμησαν, αἱ μέχρι νῦν ἀκμάζουσιν διαμένουσιν, ἔστησαν δὲ τρόπαιον ἰδίᾳ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χωρὶς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι.

- 4 Περὶ δὲ θυσίας ἐρομένοις αὐτοῖς ἀνείλεν ὁ Πύθιος Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, θῦσαι δὲ μὴ πρότερον ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πῦρ ἀποσβέσαντας ὥς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων μεμιασμένον ἐναύσασθαι καθαρὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιιόντες εὐθύς ἠνάγκαζον ἀποσβευνύναι τὰ πυρὰ πάντα τοὺς χρωμένους, ἐκ δὲ Πλαταιέων Εὐχίδας ὑποσχόμενος ὥς ἐνδέχεται τάχιστα κρμειῖν
- 5 τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ ἦκεν εἰς Δελφούς. ἀγνίσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ περιρρανάμενος ἔστεφανώσατο δάφνῃ· καὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ πῦρ δρόμῳ πάλιν εἰς τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἐχῶρει καὶ πρὸ ἡλίου² δυσμῶν ἐπανῆλθε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας χιλίους σταδίους κατανύσας. ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὸ πῦρ παραδοὺς εὐθύς ἔπεσε καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξέπνευσεν. ἀγάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἔθαψαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἐπιγράψαντες τόδε τὸ τετράμετρον·

Εὐχίδας Πυθῶδε θρέξας ἦλθε τᾶδ' αὐθημερόν.

¹ ἀνφοδόμησαν Hercher and Blass, following Stephanus, and favoured by F^aS: ὑποδόμησαν built.

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agree on behalf of the Athenians, then Pausanias on behalf of the Lacedaemonians. Thus reconciled, they chose out eighty talents of the booty for the Plataeans, with which they rebuilt the sanctuary of Athena, and set up the shrine, and adorned the temple with frescoes, which continue in perfect condition to the present day; then the Lacedaemonians set up a trophy on their own account, and the Athenians also for themselves.

When they consulted the oracle regarding the sacrifice to be made, the Pythian god made answer that they were to erect an altar of Zeus the Deliverer, but were not to sacrifice upon it until they had extinguished the fire throughout the land, which he said had been polluted by the Barbarians, and kindled it fresh and pure from the public hearth at Delphi. Accordingly the commanders of the Hellenes went about straightway and compelled all who were using fire to extinguish it, while Euchidas, who promised to bring the sacred fire with all conceivable speed, went from Plataea to Delphi. There he purified his person by sprinkling himself with the holy water, and crowned himself with laurel. Then he took from the altar the sacred fire and started to run back to Plataea. He reached the place before the sun had set, accomplishing thus a thousand furlongs in one and the same day. He greeted his countrymen, handed them the sacred fire, and straightway fell down, and after a little expired. In admiration of him the Plataeans gave him burial in the sanctuary of Artemis Eucleia, and inscribed upon his tomb this tetrameter verse:—

“Euchidas, to Pytho running, came back here
the selfsame day.”

- 6 Τὴν δ' Εὐκλείαν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ καλοῦσι καὶ νομίζουσιν Ἄρτεμιν, ἔνιοι δέ φασιν Ἥρα- κλέους μὲν θυγατέρα καὶ Μυρτοῦς γενέσθαι, τῆς Μενoitίου μὲν θυγατρός, Πατρόκλου δ' ἀδελφῆς, τελευτήσασαν δὲ παρθένον ἔχειν παρά τε Βοιω- τοῖς καὶ Λοκροῖς τιμάς. βωμὸς γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄγαλμα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν ἵδρυται, καὶ προ- θύουσιν αἱ τε γαμούμεναι καὶ οἱ γαμοῦντες.

XXI Ἐκ τούτου γενομένης ἐκκλησίας κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔγραψεν Ἀριστείδης ψήφισμα συνιέναι μὲν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβούλους καὶ θεωροὺς, ἄγεσθαι δὲ πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἑλευ- θερίων. εἶναι δὲ σύνταξιν Ἑλληνικὴν μυρίας μὲν ἀσπίδας, χιλίους δὲ ἵππους, ναῦς δ' ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς βαρβάρους πόλεμον, Πλαταιεῖς δ' ἀσύλους καὶ ἱεροὺς ἀφείσθαι τῷ θεῷ θύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

- 2 Κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπεδέ- 332 ξαντο τοῖς πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναγίζειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν δρῶσι τόνδε¹ τὸν τρόπον· τοῦ Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὃς ἐστὶ παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ἀλαλκομένιος, τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα πέμπουσι πομ- πήν, ἧς προηγείται μὲν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ σαλπυγκτῆς 3 ἐγκελευόμενος τὸ πολεμικόν, ἔπονται δ' ἅμαξαι μυρρίνης μεσταὶ καὶ στεφανωμάτων καὶ μέλας ταῦρος καὶ χοὰς οἴνου καὶ γάλακτος ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν ἐλαίου τε καὶ μύρου κρωσσοὺς νεανίσκοι κομί- ζοντες ἐλεύθεροι· δούλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἔξεστι τῶν

¹ τόνδε Hercher and Blass with F^{as}: τοῦτον.

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Now Eucleia is regarded by most as Artemis, and is so addressed; but some say she was a daughter of Heracles and of that Myrto who was daughter of Menoetius and sister of Patroclus, and that, dying in virginity, she received divine honours among the Boeotians and Locrians. For she has an altar and an image built in every market place, and receives preliminary sacrifices from would-be brides and bridegrooms.

XXI. After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated — the *Eleutheria*; also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian; also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.

These propositions were ratified, and the Plataeans undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Hellenes who had fallen in battle and lay buried there. And this they do yet unto this day, after the following manner. On the sixteenth of the month Maimacterion (which is the Boeotian Alalcomenius), they celebrate a procession. This is led forth at break of day by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle; waggons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in jars, and pitchers of oil and myrrh (no slave may put hand to

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περὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἐκείνην προσάψασθαι διὰ τὸ
 4 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας· ἐπὶ πᾶσι
 δὲ τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ ἄρχων, ᾧ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
 οὔτε σιδήρου θιγεῖν ἔξεστιν οὔθ' ἑτέραν ἐσθῆτα
 πλὴν λευκῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, τότε χιτῶνα φοινικοῦν
 ἐνδεδυκὼς ἀράμενός τε ὑδρίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ γραμματο-
 φυλακίου ξιφῆρης ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους προάγει διὰ
 5 μέσης τῆς πόλεως. εἶτα λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς
 κρήνης αὐτὸς ἀπολούει τε τὰς στήλας καὶ μύρῳ
 χρίει, καὶ τὸν ταῦρον εἰς τὴν πυρὰν σφάξας καὶ
 κατευξάμενος Διὶ καὶ Ἑρμῇ χθονίῳ παρακαλεῖ
 τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἀποθανόντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν αἰμοκουρίαν.
 ἔπειτα κρατῆρα κεράσας οἴνου καὶ χεάμενος ἐπι-
 λέγει· “ Προπίνω τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἐλευθερίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποθανούσι.” ταῦτα
 μὲν οὖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς.

XXII. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναχωρήσαντας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἑώρα ζητοῦντας
 τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ἄξιον ἡγού-
 μενος διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐπιμελείας τὸν δῆμον,
 ἅμα δ' οὐκ ἔτι ῥάδιον ἰσχύοντα τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ
 μέγα φρονούντα ταῖς νίκαις ἐκβιασθῆναι, γράφει
 ψήφισμα κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς
 ἄρχοντας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων αἰρεῖσθαι.
 2 Θεμιστοκλέους δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντος, ὥς
 ἔχει τι βούλευμα καὶ γνώμην ἀπόρρητον, ὠφέ-
 λιμον δὲ τῇ πόλει καὶ σωτήριον, ἐκέλευσαν
 Ἀριστείδην μόνον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ συνδοκιμάσαι.

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any part of that ministration, because the men thus honoured died for freedom); and following all, the chief magistrate of Plataea, who may not at other times touch iron or put on any other raiment than white, at this time is robed in a purple tunic, carries on high a water-jar from the city's archive chamber, and proceeds, sword in hand, through the midst of the city to the graves; there he takes water from the sacred spring, washes off with his own hands the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh; then he slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre, and, with prayers to Zeus and Hermes Terrestrial, summons the brave men who died for Hellas to come to the banquet and its copious draughts of blood; next he mixes a mixer of wine, drinks, and then pours a libation from it, saying these words: "I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes." These rites, I say, are observed by the Plataeans down to this very day.

XXII. After the Athenians had returned to their own city, Aristides saw that they desired to receive the more popular form of government. He thought the people worthy of consideration because of its sturdy valour, and he saw also that it was no longer easy to be forced out of its desires, since it was powerful in arms, and greatly elated by its victories. So he introduced a decree that the administration of the city be the privilege of all classes, and that the archons be chosen from all the Athenians.

Themistocles once declared to the people that he had devised a certain measure which could not be revealed to them, though it would be helpful and salutary for the city, and they ordered that Aristides alone should hear what it was and pass judgment on

φράσαντος δὲ τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς διανοεῖται τὸν ναύσταθμον ἐμπρῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὕτω γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι μεγίστους καὶ κυρίους ἀπάντων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς πράττειν διανοεῖται, μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν ἄλλην μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν εἶναι. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παύσασθαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα προσέταξαν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἦν φιλοδίκαιος, οὕτω δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πιστὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ βέβαιος.

- XXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐκπεμφθεὶς μετὰ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἑώρα τὸν τε Πανσανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ χαλεποὺς τοῖς συμμάχοις ὄντας, αὐτὸς τε πρῶτος καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὁμιλῶν καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα παρέχων εὐάρμοστον αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔλαθε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐχ ὅπλοις οὐδὲ ναυσὶν οὐδ' ἵπποις, εὐγνωμοσύνη δὲ καὶ πολιτεία τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
- 2 παρελόμενος. προσφιλεῖς γὰρ ὄντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Ἑλλησι διὰ τὴν Ἀριστείδου δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος ἐπιείκειαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Πανσανίου πλεονεξία καὶ βαρύτης ποθεινοὺς ἐποίει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἄρχουσι τῶν συμμάχων αἰεὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐνετύγχανε καὶ τραχέως, τοὺς τε πολλοὺς ἐκόλαζε πληγαῖς ἢ σιδηρᾶν ἄγκυραν ἐπιτιθεὶς ἠνάγκαζεν ἐστάναι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας.
- 3 στιβάδα δ' οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν οὐδὲ χόρτον οὐδὲ κρήνην προσελθεῖν ὑδρενόμενον οὐδένα πρὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ἀλλὰ μάστιγας ἔχοντες ὑπηρέται

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it. So Themistocles told Aristides that his purpose was to burn the naval station of the confederate Hellenes, for that in this way the Athenians would be greatest, and lords of all. Then Aristides came before the people and said of the deed which Themistocles purposed to do, that none other could be more advantageous, and none more unjust. On hearing this, the Athenians ordained that Themistocles cease from his purpose.¹ So fond of justice was the people, and so loyal and true to the people was Aristides.

XXIII. When he was sent out as general along with Cimon to prosecute the war,² and saw that Pausanias and the other Spartan commanders were offensive and severe to the allies, he made his own intercourse with them gentle and humane, and induced Cimon to be on easy terms with them and to take an actual part in their campaigns, so that, before the Lacedaemonians were aware, not by means of hoplites or ships or horsemen, but by tact and diplomacy he had stripped them of the leadership. For, well disposed as the Hellenes were toward the Athenians on account of the justice of Aristides and the reasonableness of Cimon, they were made to long for their supremacy still more by the rapacity of Pausanias and his severity. The commanders of the allies ever met with angry harshness at the hands of Pausanias, and the common men he punished with stripes, or by compelling them to stand all day long with an iron anchor on their shoulders. No one could get bedding or fodder or go down to a spring for water before the Spartans, nay, their servants

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xx. 1-2.

² 478 B.C.

τοὺς προσιόντας ἀπήλαινον. ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ βουλευθέντος ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ διδάξαι,¹ συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ Πausanias οὐκ ἔφη σχολάζειν οὐδ' ἤκουσεν.

- 4 Ἐκ τούτου προσιόντες οἱ ναύαρχοι καὶ στρα- 333
τηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μάλιστα δὲ Χῖοι καὶ Σάμιοι
καὶ Λέσβιοι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἔπειθον ἀναδέξα-
σθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι τοὺς
συμμάχους πάλαι δεομένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν
Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους. ἀποκριναμένου δ' ἐκείνου τοῖς μὲν λόγοις
αὐτῶν τό τε ἀναγκαῖον ἐνορᾶν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον,
ἔργου δὲ δεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν, ὃ πραχθὲν οὐκ ἑάσει
- 5 πάλιν μεταβαλέσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, οὕτως οἱ
περὶ τὸν Σάμιον Οὐλιάδην καὶ τὸν Χῖον Ἀντα-
γόραν συνομοσάμενοι περὶ Βυζάντιον ἐμβάλ-
λουσιν εἰς τὴν τριήρη τοῦ Πausanίου, προεκπλέ-
ουσιν ἐν μέσῳ λαβόντες. ὥς δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκείνος
ἐξανέστη καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἠπείλησεν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ
τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιδείξειν οὐκ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν
ἐμβεβληκότας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας,
ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν συναγω-
νισαμένην τύχην ἐν Πλαταιαῖς· ἐκείνην γὰρ ἔτι
τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰσχυνομένους μὴ λαμβάνειν
ἄξιαν δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δ' ἀποστάντες
ᾤχοντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

- 6 Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Σπάρτης διεφάνη

¹ ποτὲ . . . διδάξαι Hercher and Blass with F²S : ποτ' ἐγκα-
λέσαι καὶ διδάξαι βουλομένου.

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armed with goads would drive away such as approached. On these grounds Aristides once had it in mind to chide and admonish him, but Pausanias scowled, said he was busy, and would not listen.

Subsequently the captains and generals of the Hellenes, and especially the Chians, Samians, and Lesbians, came to Aristides and tried to persuade him to assume the leadership and bring over to his support the allies, who had long wanted to be rid of the Spartans and to range themselves anew on the side of the Athenians. He replied that he saw the urgency and the justice of what they proposed, but that to establish Athenian confidence in them some overt act was needed, the doing of which would make it impossible for the multitude to change their allegiance back again. So Uliades the Samian and Antagoras the Chian conspired together, and ran down the trireme of Pausanias off Byzantium, closing in on both sides of it as it was putting out before the line. When Pausanias saw what they had done, he sprang up and wrathfully threatened to show the world in a little while that these men had run down not so much his ship as their own native cities; but they bade him be gone, and be grateful to that fortune which fought in his favour at Plataea; it was because the Hellenes still stood in awe of this, they said, that they did not punish him as he deserved. And finally they went off and joined the Athenians.

Then indeed was the lofty wisdom of the

θαυμαστόν. ὥς γὰρ ἦσθοντο τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας διαφθειρομένους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀφῆκαν ἐκουσίως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πέμποντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο στρατηγούς, μᾶλλον αἰρούμενοι σωφρονοῦντας ἔχειν καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντας τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν ἀπάσης.

- XXIV. Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐτέλουν μὲν τινα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένων ἀποφορὰν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ταχθῆναι δὲ βουλόμενοι κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστοις τὸ μέτριον ἡτήσαντο παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδην, καὶ προσέταξαν αὐτῷ χώραν τε καὶ προσόδους ἐπισκεψάμενον ὀρίσαι τὸ κατ' 2 ἀξίαν ἐκάστῃ καὶ δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ τηλικαύτης ἐξουσίας κύριος γενόμενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὰ πράγματα πάντα θεμένης, πένης μὲν ἐξῆλθεν, ἐπανῆλθε δὲ πενέστερος, οὐ μόνον καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσφιλῶς πᾶσι καὶ ἁρμοδίως τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν χρημάτων ποιησάμενος. ὥς γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίον, οὕτως οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρον εὐποτμίαν τινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀνομάζοντες ὕμνου, καὶ 3 μάλιστα μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διπλασιασθέντος, εἰτ' αὖθις τριπλασιασθέντος. ὃν μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστείδης ἔταξεν, ἦν εἰς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων λόγον· τούτῳ δὲ Περικλῆς μὲν ἐπέθηκεν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὸ τρίτον μέρος· ἐξακόσια γὰρ τάλαντα Θουκυδίδης φησὶν ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου προσιέναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων· Περικλέους δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπιτείνοντες

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Spartans made manifest in a wonderful way. When they saw that their commanders were corrupted by the great powers entrusted to them, they voluntarily abandoned the leadership and ceased sending out generals for the war, choosing rather to have their citizens discreet and true to their ancestral customs than to have the sway over all Hellas.

XXIV. The Hellenes used to pay a sort of contribution for the war even while the Lacedaemonians had the leadership, but now they wished to be assessed equably city by city. So they asked the Athenians for Aristides, and commissioned him to inspect their several territories and revenues,¹ and then to fix the assessments according to each member's worth and ability to pay. And yet, though he became master of such power, and though after a fashion Hellas put all her property in his sole hands, poor as he was when he went forth on this mission, he came back from it poorer still, and he made his assessments of money not only with purity and justice, but also to the grateful satisfaction and convenience of all concerned. Indeed, as men of old hymned the praises of the age of Cronus—the golden age, so did the allies of the Athenians praise the tariff of Aristides, calling it a kind of blessed happening for Hellas, especially as, after a short time, it was doubled and then again trebled. For the tax which Aristides laid amounted to four hundred and sixty talents only; but Pericles must have added almost a third to this, since Thucydides² says that when the war began the Athenians had a revenue of six hundred talents from their allies. And after

¹ 478-477 B.C.

² ii. 13.

οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ταλάντων κεφάλαιον ἀνήγαγον, οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ πολέμου διὰ μῆκος καὶ τύχας δαπανηροῦ γενομένου καὶ πολυτελοῦς, ὥς τὸν δῆμον εἰς διανομὰς καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ κατασκευὰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἱερῶν προάγαγόντες.

- 4 Μέγα δ' οὖν ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τῇ διατάξει τῶν φόρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς λέγεται καταγελᾶν, ὥς οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ὄντα τὸν ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ θυλάκου χρυσοφύλακος ἀνομοίως ἀμυνόμενος τὴν Ἀριστείδου παρρησίαν· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ¹ εἰπόντος ποτὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρετὴν ἡγεῖσθαι μεγίστην στρατηγοῦ τὸ γινώσκειν καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι τὰ βουλευόμενα τῶν πολεμίων, “Τοῦτο μὲν,” εἰπεῖν, “ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, καλὸν δὲ καὶ στρατηγικὸν ἀληθῶς ἢ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐγκράτεια.”

- XXV. Ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης ὥρκισε μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ὤμοσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μύ- 334
δρους ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀραις εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὕστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρχειν ἐγκρατέστερον, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐκβιαζομένων ἐκέλευε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν ἐπιτοκίαν τρέψαντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν²
2 ἣ συμφέρει χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. καθ' ὅλου δ' ὁ Θεόφραστός φησι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἄκρως ὄντα δίκαιον ἐν

¹ ἐκείνῳ γὰρ Hercher and Blass with F²S: ἐκεῖνος γάρ.

² ἑαυτὸν Hercher and Blass with F²S: αὐτὸν.

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the death of Pericles the demagogues enlarged it little by little, and at last brought the sum total up to thirteen hundred talents, not so much because the war, by reason of its length and vicissitudes, became extravagantly expensive, as because they themselves led the people off into the distribution of public moneys for spectacular entertainments, and for the erection of images and sanctuaries.

So then Aristides had a great and admirable name for his adjustment of the revenues. But Themistocles is said to have ridiculed him, claiming that the praise he got therefor was not fit for a man, but rather for a mere money-wallet. He came off second best, however, in this retort upon the plain speech of Aristides, who had remarked, when Themistocles once declared to him the opinion that the greatest excellence in a general was the anticipation of the plans of his enemies: "That is indeed needful, Themistocles, but the honourable thing, and that which makes the real general, is his mastery over his fingers."

XXV. Aristides did, indeed, bind the Hellenes by an oath, and took oath himself for the Athenians, solemnly casting iron ingots from the very altars into the sea; but afterwards, when circumstances, forsooth, compelled a more strenuous sway, he bade the Athenians lay the perjury to his own charge, and turn events to their own advantage. And in general, as Theophrastus tells us, while the man was strictly just in his private relations to his fellow-citizens, in public matters he often

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τοῖς κοινοῖς πολλὰ πράξαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν
 τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς συχνῆς καὶ ἀδικίας δεομένην.¹
 καὶ γὰρ τὰ χρήματά φησιν ἐκ Δήλου βουλευομέ-
 νων Ἀθήναζε κομίσαι παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ²
 3 δίκαιον μὲν, συμφέρον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστί. καὶ τέλος
 εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων τοσούτων καταστήσας
 τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πενία καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ πένης εἶναι δόξαν οὐδὲν ἡττον ἀγαπῶν τῆς
 ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων διετέλεσε. δῆλον δ' ἐκείθεν.
 Καλλίας ὁ δαδούχος ἦν αὐτῷ γένει προσήκων
 τοῦτον οἱ ἐχθροὶ θανάτου διώκοντες, ἐπεὶ περὶ
 ὧν ἐγράψαντο μετρίως κατηγόρησαν, εἰπὼν τινα
 λόγον ἔξωθεν τοιοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς·
 4 “ Ἀριστείδην,” ἔφησαν, “ ἴστε τὸν Λυσιμάχου
 θαυμαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι· τούτῳ πῶς οἴεσθε
 τὰ κατ' οἶκον ἔχειν ὀρώντες αὐτὸν ἐν τρίβωνι
 τοιοῦτῳ προερχόμενον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον; ἂρ' οὐκ
 εἰκὸς ἐστί τὸν ῥιγοῦντα φανερῶς καὶ πεινᾶν οἶκοι
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζειν; τοῦτον
 μέντοι Καλλίας, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, πλουσιώτατος ὢν
 Ἀθηναίων περιορᾷ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς
 ἐνδεόμενον, πολλὰ κεχρημένος τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ
 5 πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν δυνάμεως ἀπολε-
 λαυκῶς.” ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ὀρών ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα

¹ καὶ ἀδικίας δεομένην Blass, favoured by F^aS: ἀδικίας δεομένης. ² καὶ bracketed by Sintenis².

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acted in accordance with the policy which his country had adopted, feeling that this required much actual injustice. For instance, he says that when the question of removing the moneys of the confederacy from Delos to Athens,¹ contrary to the compacts, was being debated, and even the Samians proposed it, Aristides declared that it was unjust, but advantageous. And yet, although he at last established his city in its sway over so many men, he himself abode by his poverty, and continued to be no less content with the reputation he got from being a poor man, than with that based on his trophies of victory. This is clear from the following story.

Callias the Torch-bearer was a kinsman of his. This man was prosecuted by his enemies on a capital charge, and after they had brought only moderate accusations against him within the scope of their indictment, they went outside of it and appealed to the judges as follows: "You know Aristides the son of Lysimachus," they said, "how he is admired in Hellas; what do you suppose his domestic circumstances are when you see him entering the public assembly in such a scanty cloak as that? Is it not likely that a man who shivers in public goes hungry at home, and is straitened for the other necessities of life? Callias, however, who is the richest man of Athens (and his cousin at that), allows him to suffer want with his wife and children, though he has often had service of the man, and many times reaped advantage from his influence with you." But Callias, seeing

¹ 454 B.C.

- θορυβοῦντας τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ἀξιῶν μαρτυρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ διδόντος καὶ δεομένου λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀποκρινόμενος, ὥς μᾶλλον αὐτῷ διὰ πενίαν μέγα φρονεῖν ἢ Καλλία διὰ πλοῦτον προσήκει· πλούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν εὖ τε καὶ κακῶς χρωμένους, πενίαν δὲ φέροντι γενναίως οὐ ῥάδιον ἐντυχεῖν· αἰσχύνεσθαι δὲ
- 6 πενίαν τοὺς ἀκουσίως πενομένους. ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου τῷ Καλλίᾳ προσμαρτυρήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν ἀκουόντων, ὃς οὐκ ἀπῆει πένης μᾶλλον ὥς Ἀριστείδης εἶναι βουλόμενος ἢ πλουτεῖν ὥς Καλλίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν¹ Αἰσχίνης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἀναγέγραφε. Πλάτων δὲ τῶν μεγάλων δοκούντων καὶ ὀνομαστῶν Ἀθήνησι μόνον ἄξιον λόγου τοῦτον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἄνδρα· Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κίμωνα καὶ Περικλέα στοῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ φλυαρίας πολλῆς ἐμπλήσαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀριστείδην δὲ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν.
- 7 Μεγάλα δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα τῆς ἐπιεικείας σημεία. χρησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐχθρῷ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐξοστρακισθεὶς, ἐπεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρέσχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενόμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ Κίμωνος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐλαυνόντων καὶ κατηγορούντων μόνος Ἀριστείδης οὐτ' ἔπραξεν οὐτ' εἶπέ τι φαῦλον, οὐδ' ἀπέλαυσεν ἐχθροῦ

¹ μὲν οὖν Hercher and Blass with F²S : μὲν.

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that his judges were very turbulent at this charge, and bitterly disposed toward him, summoned Aristides and demanded his testimony before the judges that though often proffered aid from him and importuned to accept it, he had refused it, with the answer that it more became him to be proud of his poverty than Callias of his wealth; for many were to be seen who use wealth well or ill, but it was not easy to find a man who endured poverty with a noble spirit; and those only should be ashamed of poverty who could not be otherwise than poor. When Aristides had borne this witness for Callias, there was no one of his hearers who did not go home preferring to be poor with Aristides rather than to be rich with Callias. This, at any rate, is the story told by Aeschines the Socratic. And Plato¹ maintains that of all those who had great names and reputations at Athens, this man alone was worthy of regard. Themistocles, he says, and Cimon, and Pericles, filled the city with porches and moneys and no end of nonsense; but Aristides squared his politics with virtue.

There are also strong proofs of his reasonableness to be seen in his treatment of Themistocles. This man he had found to be his foe during almost all his public service, and it was through this man that he was ostracized; but when Themistocles was in the same plight, and was under accusation before the city, Aristides remembered no evil; nay, though Alcmeon and Cimon and many others denounced and persecuted the man, Aristides alone did and said no meanness, nor did he take any advantage of

¹ *Gorgias*, pp. 518 f., 526.

δυστυχοῦντος, ὥσπερ οὐδ' εὐημεροῦντι πρότερον ἐφθόνησε.

- XXVI. Τελευτῆσαι δὲ Ἀριστείδην οἱ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ φασὶν ἐκπλεύσαντα πράξεων ἔνεκα δημοσίων, οἱ δ' Ἀθήνησι γήρα, τιμώμενον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. Κρατερὸς δ' ὁ Μακεδῶν τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηκε. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν φησὶν ὥσπερ ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἀναφῦσαι πλῆθος συκοφαντῶν, οἱ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ δυνατωτάτους ἀνδρας διώκοντες ὑπέβαλλον τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολ- 335
- 2 λῶν ἐπαιρομένων ὑπ' εὐτυχίας καὶ δυνάμεως. ἐν τούτοις καὶ Ἀριστείδην ἀλῶναι δωροδοκίας, Διοφάντου τοῦ Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν κατηγοροῦντος, ὡς, ὅτε τοὺς φόρους ἔταττε, παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων χρηματα λαβόντος· ἐκτίσαι δ' οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν κατάδικην πεντήκοντα μνῶν οὐσαν ἐκπλεύσαι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποθανεῖν. τούτων δὲ οὐδὲν ἔγγραφον ὁ Κρατερὸς τεκμήριον παρέσχηκεν, οὔτε δίκην οὔτε ψήφισμα, καίπερ εἰωθὼς ἐπιεικῶς γράφειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ παρατίθεσθαι τοὺς ἱστοροῦντας.
- 3 Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι τὰ πλημμεληθέντα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς διεξίασι, τὴν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν καὶ τὰ Μιλτιάδου δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν Περικλέους ζημίαν καὶ τὸν Πάχητος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ θάνατον, ἀνελόντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ὡς ἡλίσκετο, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα συνάγουσι καὶ θρυλοῦσιν, Ἀριστείδου δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐξοστρακισμόν παρατίθενται, καταδίκης δὲ τοιαύτης οὐδαμοῦ μνημονεύουσι.

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his enemy's misfortune, just as formerly he did not grudge him his prosperity.

XXVI. As touching the death of Aristides, some say he died in Pontus, on an expedition in the public service ; others at Athens, of old age, honoured and admired by his countrymen. But Craterus the Macedonian tells something like this about the death of the man. After the exile of Themistocles, he says, the people waxed wanton, as it were, and produced a great crop of sycophants, who hounded down the noblest and most influential men, and subjected them to the malice of the multitude, now exalted with its prosperity and power. Among these he says that Aristides also was convicted of bribery, on prosecution of Diophantus of the deme Amphitropé, for having taken money from the Ionians when he was regulating the tributes ; and, further, that being unable to pay the judgment, which was fifty minas, he sailed away and died somewhere in Ionia. But Craterus furnishes no documentary proof of this,—no judgment of the court, no degree of indictment,—although he is wont to record such things with all due fulness, and to adduce his authorities.

All the rest, as I may venture to say,—all who rehearse the shortcomings of the people in dealing with their leaders,—compile and descant upon the exile of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine of Pericles, the death of Paches in the court room,—he slew himself on the rostrum when he saw that he was convicted,—and many such a case, and they put into the list the ostracism of Aristides, but of such a condemnation as this for bribery they make no mention whatsoever.

- XXVII. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τάφος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ Φαληροῖ δεικνύμενος, ὃν φασὶ κατασκευάσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ μὴδ' ἐντάφια καταλιπόντι. καὶ τὰς μὲν θυγατέρας ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐκδοθῆναι δημοσίᾳ, τῆς πόλεως τὸν γάμον ἐγγνώσης καὶ προῖκα τρισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἑκατέρᾳ ψηφισαμένης, Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ μνᾶς μὲν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ γῆς τοσαῦτα πλέθρα πεφυτευμένης ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, ἅλλας δὲ δραχμὰς
- 2 τέσσαρας εἰς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἀπέταξεν, Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος. ἔτι δὲ Λυσιμάχου θυγατέρα Πολυκρίτην ἀπολιπόντος, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησί, καὶ ταύτῃ σίτησιν ὅσῃν καὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (εἰ δὴ τό γε¹ Περὶ εὐγενείας βιβλίον ἐν τοῖς γνησίοις Ἀριστοτέλους θετέον) ἱστοροῦσι Μυρτῶ θυγατριδὴν Ἀριστείδου Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συνοικῆσαι, γυναῖκα μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχοντι, ταύτην δ' ἀναλαβόντι χηρέουσαν διὰ πενίαν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεο-
- 3 μένην. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους ἱκανῶς ὁ Παναίτιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σωκράτους ἀντεΐρηκεν· ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει φησὶ μνημονεύειν Ἀριστείδου θυγατριδοῦν εὖ μάλα πένητα Λυσίμαχον, ὃς ἑαυτὸν μὲν² ἐκ πινακίου τινὸς ὄνειροκριτικοῦ παρὰ τὸ Ἰακχεῖον λεγόμενον καθεζόμενος ἔβοσκε. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἀδελφῇ ψήφισμα γράψας ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον τροφὴν διδόναι τριῶβολον ἑκάστης ἡμέρας. αὐτὸς μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος

¹ τό γε Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τὸ.

² ἑαυτὸν μὲν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : ἑαυτὸν.

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XXVII. Moreover, his tomb is pointed out at Phalerum, and they say the city constructed it for him, since he did not leave even enough to pay for his funeral. And they tell how his daughters were married from the prytaneium at the public cost, the city bestowing the dowry for the marriage and voting outright three thousand drachmas to each daughter, while to Lysimachus his son, the people gave one hundred minas in silver, as many acres of vineyard land, and besides this a pension of four drachmas per diem,—all in a bill which was brought in by Alcibiades. And further, Lysimachus left a daughter, Polycrité, according to Callisthenes, and the people voted for her a public maintenance, in the style of their Olympic victors. Again, Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the Rhodian, Aristoxenus the Musician, and Aristotle (provided the book "On Nobility of Birth" is to be ranked among the genuine works of Aristotle) relate that Myrto, the granddaughter of Aristides, lived in wedlock with Socrates the Sage. He had another woman to wife, but took this one up because her poverty kept her a widow, and she lacked the necessaries of life. To these, however, Panaetius, in his work on Socrates, has made sufficient reply.

And the Phalerean says, in his "Socrates," that he remembers a grandson of Aristides, Lysimachus, a very poor man, who made his own living by means of a sort of dream-interpreting tablet, his seat being near the so-called Iaccheium. To this man's mother and to her sister, Demetrius persuaded the people to give, by formal decree, a pension of three obols per

νομοθετῶν ἀντὶ τριωβόλου δραχμὴν ἑκατέρα τάξαι τῶν γυναικῶν.

- 4 Καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι θαυμαστὸν οὕτω φροντίσαι τῶν ἐν ἄστει τὸν δῆμον, ὅπου θυγατριδὴν Ἀριστογείτονος ἐν Δήμῳ πυθόμενοι ταπεινὰ πράττειν ἀνδρὸς ἀποροῦσαν διὰ πενίαν κατήγαγον Ἀθήναζε, καὶ συνοικίσαντες ἀνδρὶ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων τὸ Ποταμοῖ χωρίον εἰς φερνὴν ἐπέδωκαν. ἥς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡ πόλις ἐκφέρειουσα δείγματα θαυμάζεται καὶ ζηλοῦται δικαίως.

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diem; though afterwards, in his capacity of sole legislator, he himself, as he says, assigned a drachma instead of three obols to each of the women.

It is not to be wondered at that the people took such thought for families in the city, since on learning that the granddaughter of Aristogeiton was living humbly in Lemnos, unmarried because of her poverty, they brought her back to Athens, consorted her with a well-born man, and gave her the estate in Potamus for her dowry. For such humanity and benevolence, of which the city still gives illustrious examples even in my own day, she is justly admired and lauded.

MARCUS CATO

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΩΝ

Ι. Μάρκῳ δὲ Κάτωνί φασιν ἀπὸ Τούσκλου τὸ γένος εἶναι, δίαίταν δὲ καὶ βίον ἔχειν πρὸ τῶν ³³⁶ στρατειῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν χωρίοις πατρώοις περὶ Σαβίνους. τῶν δὲ προγόνων παντάπασιν ἀγνώστων γεγονέναι δοκούντων αὐτὸς ὁ Κάτων καὶ τὸν πατέρα Μάρκον ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπαινεῖ, καὶ Κάτωνα τὸν πρόπαππον ἀριστείων πολλάκις τυχεῖν φησι καὶ πέντε πολεμιστὰς ἵππους ἐν μάχαις ἀποβαλόντα τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δι' ἄνδρ-
2 αγαθίαν. εἰωθότων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους μὲν δόξαν οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἀρχομένους δὲ γνωρίζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν καινοὺς προσαγορεύειν ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα προσηγόρευον, αὐτὸς ἔλεγε καινὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἔργοις δὲ προγόνων καὶ ἀρεταῖς παμπάλαιος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων πρότερον οὐ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ Πρίσκος, ὕστερον δὲ τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπώνυμον ἔσχε· Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ τὸν ἔμπειρον κάτον ὀνομάζουσιν.

3 Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος ὑπόπυρρος καὶ γλαυκός,

MARCUS CATO

I. THE family of Marcus Cato, it is said, was of Tusculan origin, though he lived, previous to his career as soldier and statesman, on an inherited estate in the country of the Sabines. His ancestors commonly passed for men of no note whatever, but Cato himself extols his father, Marcus, as a brave man and good soldier. He also says that his grandfather, Cato, often won prizes for soldierly valour, and received from the state treasury, because of his bravery, the price of five horses which had been killed under him in battle. The Romans used to call men who had no family distinction, but were coming into public notice through their own achievements, "new men," and such they called Cato. But he himself used to say that as far as office and distinction went, he was indeed new, but having regard to ancestral deeds of valour, he was oldest of the old. His third name was not Cato at first, but Priscus. Afterwards he got the surname of Cato for his great abilities. The Romans call a man who is wise and prudent, *catus*.

As for his outward appearance, he had reddish hair, and keen grey eyes, as the author of the well-

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ὥς ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον οὐκ εὐμενῶς
παρεμφαίνει·

Πυρρόν, πανδακέτην, γλαυκόμματον, οὐδὲ
θανόντα

Πόρκιον εἰς αἰδὴν Φερσεφόνη δέχεται.

Τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἔξιν αὐτουργία καὶ διαίτη
σώφρονι καὶ στρατείαις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συντρέφου
γεγονότος πάνυ χρηστικὴν εἶχε, καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν
4 καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ὁμαλῶς συνέστῳσαν. τὸν δὲ
λόγον, ὥσπερ δεύτερον σῶμα καὶ τῶν καλῶν,
οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων¹ ὄργανον ἀνδρὶ μὴ
ταπεινῶς βιωσομένῳ μηδ' ἀπράκτως, ἐξηρτύετο
καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ἐν ταῖς περιοικίσι κώμαις καὶ
τοῖς πολυχνίοις ἐκάστοτε συνδικῶν τοῖς δεομένοις
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀγωνιστῆς εἶναι δοκῶν πρόθυμος,
εἴτα καὶ ῥήτωρ ἱκανός. ἐκ δὲ τούτου μᾶλλον
τοῖς χρωμένοις κατεφαίνετο βάρος τι καὶ φρό-
νημα περὶ αὐτὸν ἦθους πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ
5 πολιτείας δεόμενον ἡγεμονικῆς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον,
ὥς ἔοικε, μισθαρινίας καθαρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς
δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν
δόξαν ὥς μέγιστον ἀγαπῶν ἐφαίνετο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
τοιούτων ἀγώνων, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις
βουλόμενος εὐδοκιμεῖν ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν τραυμά-
6 των τὸ σῶμα μεστὸν ἐναντίων εἶχε. φησὶ γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα γεγονῶς ἔτη τὴν πρώτην
στρατεύσασθαι στρατείαν περὶ ὃν Ἀννίβας
χρόνον εὐτυχῶν ἐπέφλεγε τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

¹ τῶν ἀναγκαίων Hercher and Blass, with Bekker : ἀναγ-
καίων.

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known epigram ill-naturedly gives us to understand :—

Red-haired, snapper and biter, his grey eyes
flashing defiance,

Porcius, come to the shades, back will be
thrust by their Queen.

His bodily habit, since he was addicted from the very first to labour with his own hands, a temperate mode of life, and military duties, was very serviceable, and disposed alike to vigour and health. His discourse,—a second body, as it were, and, for the use of a man who would live neither obscurely nor idly, an instrument with which to perform not only necessary, but also high and noble services,—this he developed and perfected in the villages and towns about Rome, where he served as advocate for all who needed him, and got the reputation of being, first a zealous pleader, and then a capable orator. Thenceforth the weight and dignity of his character revealed themselves more and more to those who had dealings with him; they saw that he was bound to be a man of great affairs, and have a leading place in the state. For he not only gave his services in legal contests without fee of any sort, as it would seem, but did not appear to cherish even the repute won in such contests as his chief ambition. Nay, he was far more desirous of high repute in battles and campaigns against the enemy, and while he was yet a mere stripling, had his breast covered with honourable wounds. He says himself that he made his first campaign when he was seventeen years old, at the time when Hannibal was consuming Italy with the flames of his successes.¹

¹ 217 B.C.

Παρείχε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῇ μὲν χειρὶ πλήκτην, τῷ δὲ ποδὶ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον, γαῦρον δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ· λόγου δ' ἀπειλῇ καὶ τραχύτητι φωνῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχρήτο, ὀρθῶς καὶ διανοούμενος καὶ διδάσκων, ὅτι πολλάκις τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ξίφους μᾶλλον καταπλήττεται τοὺς
 7 ἐναντίους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πορείαις αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζε φέρων τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ θεράπων εἰς εἶπετο τὰ πρὸς δίαιταν αὐτῷ κομίζων, ᾧ λέγεται μηδέποτε δυσκολᾶναι μηδὲ μέμψασθαι παραθέντι ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλαμβάνειν αὐτὸς τὰ πλείστα καὶ συμπαρασκευάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενόμενος ἔργων. ὕδωρ δ' ἔπινεν ἐπὶ στρατείας, πλὴν εἶποτε διψήσας περικυβερτῶς ὄξος αἰτήσειεν¹ ἢ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐνδιδούσης ἐπιλάβοι 337 μικρὸν οἰνάριον.

II. Ἦν δὲ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἡ γενομένη Μανίου Κουρίου τοῦ τρις θριαμβεύσαντος ἔπαυλις. ἐπὶ ταύτην συνεχῶς βαδίζων καὶ θεώμενος τοῦ τε χωρίου τὴν μικρότητα καὶ τῆς οἰκήσεως τὸ λιτόν, ἔννοϊαν ἐλάμβανε τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων μέγιστος γενόμενος καὶ τὰ μαχιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπαγαγόμενος καὶ Πύρρον ἐξελάσας τῆς Ἰταλίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίδιον αὐτὸς ἔσκαπτε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἔπαυλιν ᾠκει μετὰ τρεῖς
 2 θριάμβους. ἐνταῦθα πρὸς ἐσχάρα καθήμενον αὐτὸν ἔψοντα γογγυλίδας εὐρόντες οἱ Σαυνιτῶν πρέσβεις ἐδίδosan πολὺ χρυσίον· ὁ δ' ἀπεπέμψατο φήσας οὐδὲν χρυσίου δεῖν ᾧ δεῖπνον ἄρκεῖ τοιοῦτον, αὐτῷ μέντοι τοῦ χρυσίου ἔχειν κάλλιον εἶναι τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς ἔχοντας. ταῦθ' ὁ Κάτων

¹ αἰτήσειεν Blass, with Bekker : ᾗτησεν.

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In battle, he showed himself effective of hand, sure and steadfast of foot, and of a fierce countenance. With threatening speech and harsh cries he would advance upon the foe, for he rightly thought, and tried to show others, that often-times such action terrifies the enemy more than the sword. On the march, he carried his own armour on foot, while a single attendant followed in charge of his camp utensils. With this man, it is said, he was never wroth, and never scolded him when he served up a meal, nay, he actually took hold himself and assisted in most of such preparations, provided he was free from his military duties. Water was what he drank on his campaigns, except that once in a while, in a raging thirst, he would call for vinegar, or, when his strength was failing, would add a little wine.

II. Near his fields was the cottage which had once belonged to Manius Curius, a hero of three triumphs. To this he would often go, and the sight of the small farm and the mean dwelling led him to think of their former owner, who, though he had become the greatest of the Romans, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, nevertheless tilled this little patch of ground with his own hands and occupied this cottage, after three triumphs. Here it was that the ambassadors of the Samnites once found him seated at his hearth cooking turnips, and offered him much gold; but he dismissed them, saying that a man whom such a meal satisfied had no need of gold, and for his part he thought that a more honourable thing than the possession of gold was the conquest of its possessors. Cato would go away with his mind full of these

ἐνθυμούμενος ἀπῆει, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πάλιν οἶκον ἐφορῶν καὶ χωρία καὶ θεράποντας καὶ δίαιταν ἐπέτεινε τὴν αὐτουργίαν καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυτέλειαν.

- 3 Φαβίου δὲ Μαξίμου τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἐλόντος ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ Κάτων στρατευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῷ κομιδῇ μεираάκιον ὦν, Νεάρχῳ δέ τινι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ξένῳ χρησάμενος ἐσπούδασε τῶν λόγων μεταλαβεῖν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα διαλεγόμενου τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἷς κέχρηται καὶ Πλάτων, τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν ἀποκαλῶν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ, συμφορὰν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα πρώτην, λύσιν δὲ καὶ καθαρμὸν οἷς μάλιστα χωρίζει καὶ ἀφίστησιν αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα παθημάτων λογισμοῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡγάπησε τὸ λιτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.
- 4 ἄλλως δὲ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς ὀφειμαθῆς γενέσθαι λέγεται, καὶ πόρρῳ παντάπασιν ἡλικίας ἐληλακῶς¹ Ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας βραχεὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Θουκυδίδου, πλείονα δ' ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν ὠφεληθῆναι. τὰ μέντοι συγγράμματα καὶ δόγμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἱστορίαις ἐπιεικῶς διαπεποίκιλται· καὶ μεθρημνευμένα πολλὰ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι καὶ ταῖς γνωμολογίαις τέτακται.

III. Ἦν δέ τις ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων καὶ δυνατός, ἀρετὴν δὲ φυομένην μὲν αἰσθάνεσθαι δεινός, εὐμενὴς δὲ καὶ θρέψαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, Οὐαλλέριος Φλάκκος. οὗτος εἶχεν ὁμορῶντα χωρία τοῖς Κάτωνος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν αὐτουργίαν καὶ δίαιταν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ θαυμάσας ἐξηγουμένων, ὅτι

¹ ἡλικίας ἐληλακῶς Hercher and Blass with S: ἡλικίας.

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things, and on viewing again his own house and lands and servants and mode of life, would increase the labours of his hands and lop off his extravagancies.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum,¹ it chanced that Cato, who was then a mere stripling, served under him, and being lodged with a certain Nearchus, of the sect of the Pythagoreans, he was eager to know of his doctrines. When he heard this man holding forth as follows, in language which Plato also uses, condemning pleasure as "the greatest incentive to evil," and the body as "the chief detriment to the soul, from which she can release and purify herself only by such reasonings as most do wean and divorce her from bodily sensations," he fell still more in love with simplicity and restraint. Further than this, it is said, he did not learn Greek till late in life, and was quite well on in years when he took to reading Greek books; then he profited in oratory somewhat from Thucydides, but more from Demosthenes. However, his writings are moderately embellished with Greek sentiments and stories, and many literal translations from the Greek have found a place among his maxims and proverbs.

III. There was at Rome a certain man of the highest birth and greatest influence, who had the power to discern excellence in the bud, and the grace to cultivate it and bring it into general esteem. This man was Valerius Flaccus. He had a farm next to that of Cato, and learned from Cato's servants of their master's laborious and frugal way of living. He was amazed to hear them tell how Cato, early in

¹ 209 B.C.

2 *πρωτὴ μὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζει καὶ παρίσταται τοῖς
 δεομένοις, ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ἂν μὲν ἦ
 χειμῶν, ἐξωμίδα λαβὼν, θέρους δὲ γυμνὸς ἐργασά-
 μενος μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐσθίει τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον
 ὁμοῦ καθήμενος καὶ πίνει τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον, ἄλλην
 τε πολλὴν ἐπιείκειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετριότητα καὶ
 3 τινὰς καὶ λόγους ἀποφθεγματικούς διαμνημονεύον-
 των, ἐκέλευσε κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐκ δὲ
 τούτου χρώμενος καὶ κατανοῶν ἡμερον καὶ
 ἀστεῖον ἦθος, ὥσπερ φυτὸν ἀσκήσεως καὶ χώρας
 ἐπιφανοῦς δεόμενον, προετρέψατο καὶ συνέπεισεν
 ἄψασθαι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας. κατελθὼν
 οὖν εὐθύς τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκτᾶτο θαυμαστάς
 καὶ φίλους διὰ τῶν συνηγοριῶν, πολλὴν δὲ
 τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ προσ-
 4 τιθέντος χιλιαρχίας ἔτυχε πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐταμίευ-
 σεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ λαμπρὸς ὢν ἤδη καὶ περιφανὴς
 αὐτῷ τῷ Οὐαλλερίῳ περὶ τὰς μεγίστας συνεξέ-
 δραμεν ἀρχάς, ὑπατός τε μετ' ἐκείνου καὶ πάλιν
 τιμητὴς γενόμενος.*

Τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων πολιτῶν Μαξίμῳ Φαβίῳ
 προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἐνδοξοτάτῳ μὲν ὄντι καὶ
 μεγίστην ἔχοντι δύναμιν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν τρόπον
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς κάλλιστα παραδείγματα
 5 προθέμενος. διὸ καὶ Σκηπίωνι τῷ μεγάλῳ, νέῳ 338
 μὲν ὄντι τότε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Φαβίου δύναμιν ἀνταί-
 ροντι καὶ φθονεῖσθαι δοκοῦντι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἐποιή-
 σατο γενέσθαι διάφορος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταμίας αὐτῷ
 πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον συνεκπεμφθεὶς, ὡς

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the morning, went on foot to the market-place and pleaded the cases of all who wished his aid; then came back to his farm, where, clad in a working blouse if it was winter, and stripped to the waist if it was summer, he wrought with his servants, then sat down with them to eat of the same bread and drink of the same wine. They told Valerius many other instances of Cato's fairness and moderation, quoting also sundry pithy sayings of his, until at last Valerius gave command that Cato be invited to dine with him. After this, discovering by converse with him that his nature was gentle and polite, and needed, like a growing tree, only cultivation and room to expand, Valerius urged and at last persuaded him to engage in public life at Rome. Accordingly, taking up his abode in the city, his own efforts as an advocate at once won him admiring friends, and the favour of Valerius brought him great honour and influence, so that he was made military tribune first, and then quaestor. After this, being now launched on an eminent and brilliant career, he shared the highest honours with Valerius, becoming consul with him, and afterwards censor.

Of the elder statesmen, he attached himself most closely to Fabius Maximus, who was of the highest reputation and had the greatest influence, but this was more by way of setting before himself the character and life of the man as the fairest examples he could follow. In the same spirit he did not hesitate to oppose the great Scipio, a youthful rival of Fabius, and thought to be envious of him. When he was sent out with Scipio as quaestor for the war in Africa,¹ he saw that the man indulged in

¹ 204 B.C.

ἑώρα τῇ συνήθει πολυτελείᾳ χρώμενον τὸν ἄνδρα
 καὶ καταχορηγοῦντα τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀφειδῶς
 6 τῶν χρημάτων, ἐπαρρησιάζετο πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ τὸ
 τῆς δαπάνης μέγιστον εἶναι φάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 διαφθείρει τὴν πάτριον εὐτέλειαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 ἐφ' ἡδονὰς καὶ τρυφὰς τῷ περιόντι τῆς χρείας
 τρεπομένων. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος, ὥς οὐ-
 δὲν δέοιτο ταμίου λίαν ἀκριβοῦς πλησίστιος ἐπὶ
 τὸν πόλεμον φερόμενος, πράξεων γάρ, οὐ χρημά-
 7 των, τῇ πόλει λόγον ὀφείλειν, ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Κάτων
 ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Φαβίου καταβοῶν ἐν τῷ
 συνεδρίῳ φθοράν τε χρημάτων ἀμυθήτων ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Σκηπίωνος καὶ διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ μεираκιώδεις ἐν
 παλαίστραις καὶ θεάτροις, ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγού-
 ντος, ἀλλὰ πανηγυρίζοντος, ἐξεργάσατο πεμφθῆ-
 ναι δημάρχους ἐπ' αὐτόν ἄξοντας εἰς Ῥώμην,
 8 ἅνπερ ἀληθεῖς αἱ κατηγορίαι φανῶσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν
 Σκηπίων ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν
 νίκην ἐπιδειξάμενος, καὶ φανείς ἡδὺς μὲν ἐπὶ
 σχολῆς συνεῖναι φίλοις, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῷ φιλαν-
 θρώπῳ τῆς διαίτης εἰς τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ μεγάλα
 ῥάθυμος, ἐξέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

IV. Τῷ δὲ Κάτωνι πολλὴ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου
 δύναμις ἡὔξητο, καὶ Ῥωμαῖον αὐτόν οἱ πολλοὶ
 Δημοσθένην προσηγόρευον, ὁ δὲ βίος. μᾶλλον
 ὀνομαστός ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιβόητος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ
 ἐν τῷ λέγειν δεινότης προὔκειτο τοῖς νέοις ἀγῶ-
 νισμα κοινὸν ἤδη καὶ περισπούδαστον, ὁ δὲ τὴν
 πάτριον αὐτουργίαν ὑπομένων καὶ δεῖπνον ἀφελές
 καὶ ἄριστον ἄπυρον καὶ λιτὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δημο-
 τικὴν ἀσπαζόμενος οἴκησιν καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν

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his wonted extravagance, and lavished money without stint upon his soldiery. He therefore made bold to tell him that the matter of expense was not the greatest evil to be complained of, but the fact that he was corrupting the native simplicity of his soldiers, who resorted to wanton pleasures when their pay exceeded their actual needs. Scipio replied that he had no use for a parsimonious quaestor when the winds were bearing him under full sail to the war; he owed the city an account of his achievements, not of its moneys. Cato therefore left Sicily, and joined Fabius in denouncing before the Senate Scipio's waste of enormous moneys, and his boyish addiction to palaestras and theatres, as though he were not commander of an army, but master of a festival. As a result of these attacks, tribunes were sent to bring Scipio back to Rome, if the charges against him should turn out to be true. Well then, Scipio convinced the tribunes that victory in war depended on the preparations made for it; showed that he could be agreeable in his intercourse with his friends when he had leisure for it, but was never led by his sociability to neglect matters of large and serious import; and sailed off for his war in Africa.

IV. The influence which Cato's oratory won for him waxed great, and men called him a Roman Demosthenes; but his manner of life was even more talked about and noised abroad. For his oratorical ability only set before young men a goal which many already were striving eagerly to attain; but a man who wrought with his own hands, as his fathers did, and was contented with a cold breakfast, a frugal dinner, simple raiment, and a humble dwelling,—one who thought more of not

- περιττῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κεκτῆσθαι θαυμάζων
 2 σπάνιος ἦν, ἥδη τότε τῆς πολιτείας τὸ καθαρὸν
 ὑπὸ μεγέθους οὐ φυλαττούσης, ἀλλὰ τῷ κρατεῖν
 πραγμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς πολλὰ
 μινυμένης ἔθη καὶ βίων παραδείγματα παντοδα-
 πῶν ὑποδεχομένης. εἰκότως οὖν ἐθαύμαζον τὸν
 Κάτωνα, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων θραυο-
 μένους καὶ μαλασσομένους ὑπὸ ¹ τῶν ἡδονῶν
 3 ὀρώντες, ἐκείνους δὲ ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν ἀήττητον, οὐ μόνον
 ἕως ἔτι νέος καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντα
 καὶ πολὺν ἥδη μεθ' ὑπατείας καὶ θρίαμβον, ὥσπερ
 ἀθλητὴν νικηφόρον, ἐγκαρτεροῦντα τῇ τάξει τῆς
 ἀσκήσεως καὶ διομαλίζοντα μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.
 Ἐσθῆτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε φησι φορέσαι πολυ-
 τελεστέραν ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν, πιεῖν δὲ καὶ στρα-
 τηγῶν καὶ ὑπατεύων τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον τοῖς ἐργά-
 ταις, ὅψον δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον
 ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀσσαρίων τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ
 τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως ἰσχύοι τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὰς
 4 στρατείας. ἐπίβλημα δὲ τῶν ποικίλων Βαβυ-
 λώνιον ἐκ κληρονομίας κτησάμενος εὐθὺς ἀπο-
 δόσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐπαύλεων αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν εἶναι
 κεκονιαμένην, οὐδένα δὲ πώποτε πρίασθαι δοῦλον
 ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας δραχμὰς καὶ πεντακοσίας, ὥς
 ἂν οὐ τρυφερῶν οὐδ' ὠραίων, ἀλλ' ἐργατικῶν καὶ
 στερεῶν, οἷον ἵπποκόμων καὶ βοηλατῶν, δεό-
 μενος· καὶ τούτους δὲ πρεσβυτέρους γενομένους
 ᾤετο δεῖν ἀποδίδοσθαι καὶ μὴ βόσκειν ἀχρήστους.
 ὅλως δὲ μηδὲν εὖνων εἶναι τῶν περιττῶν, ἀλλ'
 οὐ τις οὐ δεῖται, κἂν ἀσσαρίου πιπράσκηται,

¹ ὑπὸ Hercher and Blass with S: καὶ ὑπὸ.

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wanting the superfluities of life than of possessing them,—such a man was rare. The commonwealth had now grown too large to keep its primitive integrity ; the sway over many realms and peoples had brought a large admixture of customs, and the adoption of examples set in modes of life of every sort. It was natural, therefore, that men should admire Cato, when they saw that, whereas other men were broken down by toils and enervated by pleasures, he was victor over both, and this too, not only while he was still young and ambitious, but even in his hoary age, after consulship and triumph. Then, like some victorious athlete, he persisted in the regimen of his training, and kept his mind unaltered to the last.

He tells us that he never wore clothing worth more than a hundred drachmas ; that he drank, even when he was praetor or consul, the same wine as his slaves ; that as for fish and meats, he would buy thirty asses' worth¹ for his dinner from the public stalls, and even this for the city's sake, that he might not live on bread alone, but strengthen his body for military service ; that he once fell heir to an embroidered Babylonian robe, but sold it at once ; that not a single one of his cottages had plastered walls ; that he never paid more than fifteen hundred drachmas for a slave, since he did not want them to be delicately beautiful, but sturdy workers, such as grooms and herdsmen, and these he thought it his duty to sell when they got oldish, instead of feeding them when they were useless ; and that in general, he thought nothing cheap that one could do without, but that what one did not need, even if it cost but a

¹ The *as* corresponded nearly to the English penny.

πολλοῦ νομίζειν κτᾶσθαι δὲ τὰ σπειρόμενα καὶ νεμόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ραινόμενα καὶ σαιρόμενα.

- V. Ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς μικρολογίαν ἐτίθεντο τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ διορθώσει καὶ σωφρονισμῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνδοτέρω συστέλλοντος ἑαυτὸν ἀπεδέχοντο. πλὴν τὸ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὡς ὑποζυγίοις ἀποχρησάμενον ἐπὶ γήρως ἐλαύνειν καὶ πιπράσκειν ἀτενοῦς ἄγαν ἥθους ἔγωγε τίθεμαι, καὶ 339
 2 νημα τῆς χρείας πλέον ὑπάρχειν. καίτοι τὴν χρηστότητα τῆς δικαιοσύνης πλατύτερον τόπον ὀρώμεν ἐπιλαμβάνουσιν· νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μόνον χρῆσθαι πεφύκαμεν, πρὸς εὐεργεσίας δὲ καὶ χάριτας ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς πλουσίας ἀπορρεῖ τῆς ἡμερότητος. καὶ γὰρ ἵππων ἀπειρηκότων ὑπὸ χρόνου τροφαὶ καὶ κυνῶν οὐ σκυλακεῖται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γηροκομία τῷ χρηστῷ προσήκουσιν.
 3 Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος οἰκοδομῶν τὸν ἑκατόμπεδον, ὅσας κατενόησεν ἡμιόνους μάλιστα τοῖς πόνοις ἐγκαρτερούσας, ἀπέλυσεν ἐλευθέρας νέμεσθαι καὶ ἀφέτους, ὧν μίαν φασὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα τοῖς ἀνάγουσι τὰς ἀμάξας ὑποζυγίοις εἰς ἀκρόπολιν συμπαρατρέχειν καὶ προηγείσθαι καθάπερ ἐγκελευομένην καὶ συνεξορμῶσαν, ἣν καὶ τρέφεσθαι δημοσία
 4 μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν δὲ Κίμωνος ἵππων, αἷς Ὀλύμπια τρεῖς ἐνίκησε, καὶ ταφαὶ
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penny, was dear; also that he bought lands where crops were raised and cattle herded, not those where lawns were sprinkled and paths swept.

V. These things were ascribed by some to the man's parsimony; but others condoned them in the belief that he lived in this contracted way only to correct and moderate the extravagance of others. However, for my part, I regard his treatment of his slaves like beasts of burden, using them to the uttermost, and then, when they were old, driving them off and selling them, as the mark of a very mean nature, which recognizes no tie between man and man but that of necessity. And yet we know that kindness has a wider scope than justice. Law and justice we naturally apply to men alone; but when it comes to beneficence and charity, these often flow in streams from the gentle heart, like water from a copious spring, even down to dumb beasts. A kindly man will take good care of his horses even when they are worn out with age, and of his dogs, too, not only in their puppyhood, but when their old age needs nursing.

While the Athenians were building the Parthenon, they turned loose for free and unrestricted pasturage such mules as were seen to be most persistently laborious. One of these, they say, came back to the works of its own accord, trotted along by the side of its fellows under the yoke, which were dragging the waggons up to the Acropolis, and even led the way for them, as though exhorting and inciting them on. The Athenians passed a decree that the animal be maintained at the public cost as long as it lived. Then there were the mares of Cimon, with which he won three victories at Olympia; their graves are

πλησίον εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκείνου μνημάτων. κύνας δὲ συντρόφους γενομένους καὶ συνήθεις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ξάνθιππος ὁ παλαιὸς τὸν εἰς Σαλαμίνα τῇ τριήρει παρανηξάμενον, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ὁ δῆμος ἐξέλειπεν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἐκήδευσεν, ἦν Κυνὸς σῆμα μέχρι νῦν καλοῦσιν.

- 5 Οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑποδήμασιν ἢ σκεύεσι τοῖς ψυχὴν ἔχουσι χρηστέον, κοπέντα καὶ κατατριβέντα ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ἀπορριπτοῦντας, ἀλλ' εἰ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μελέτης ἕνεκα τοῦ φιλανθρώπου προεθιστέον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις πρῶτον εἶναι καὶ μείλιχον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ βούν ἂν ἐργάτην διὰ γῆρας ἀποδοίμην, μή τί γε πρεσβύτερον ἄνθρωπον, ἐκ χώρας συντρόφου καὶ διαίτης συνήθους ὥσπερ ἐκ πατρίδος μεθιστάμενον ἀντὶ κερμάτων μικρῶν, ἄχρηστόν γε τοῖς ὠνουμένοις ὥσπερ τοῖς πιπρά-
- 6 σκουσι γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ὥσπερ νεανειούμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὸν ἵππον, ᾧ παρὰ τὰς στρατείας ὑπατεύων ἐχρήτο, φησὶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ ναῦλον αὐτοῦ λογίσσῃται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε μεγαλοψυχίας εἴτε μικρολογίας θετέον, ἔξεστι τῷ πείθοντι χρῆσθαι λογισμῷ.

- VI. Τῆς δ' ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας ὑπερφυῶς θαυμαστός ὁ ἀνὴρ οἶον ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἐλάμβανεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλέον εἰς τὸν μῆνα πυρῶν ἢ τρεῖς Ἀττικοὺς μεδίμνους, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν κριθῶν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔλαττον
- 2 τριῶν ἡμιμεδίμνων. ἐπαρχίαν δὲ λαβὼν Σαρδόνα, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῶν εἰωθότων χρῆσθαι

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near the tombs of his family. Dogs also that have been close and constant companions of men, have often been buried with honour. Xanthippus, of olden time, gave the dog which swam along by the side of his trireme to Salamis, when the people were abandoning their city, honourable burial on the promontory which is called to this day Cynossema, or Dog's Mound.¹

We should not treat living creatures like shoes or pots and pans, casting them aside when they are bruised and worn out with service, but, if for no other reason, for the sake of practice in kindness to our fellow men, we should accustom ourselves to mildness and gentleness in our dealings with other creatures. I certainly would not sell even an ox that had worked for me, just because he was old, much less an elderly man, removing him from his habitual place and customary life, as it were from his native land, for a paltry price, useless as he is to those who sell him and as he will be to those who buy him. But Cato, exulting as it were in such things, says that he left in Spain even the horse which had carried him through his consular campaign, that he might not tax the city with the cost of its transportation. Whether, now, these things should be set down to greatness of spirit or littleness of mind, is an open question.

VI. But in other matters, his self-restraint was beyond measure admirable. For instance, when he was in command of an army, he took for himself and his retinue not more than three Attic bushels of wheat a month, and for his beasts of burden, less than a bushel and a half of barley a day. He received Sardinia as his province,² and whereas his predecessors

¹ Cf. *Themistocles* x. 6.

² 198 B.C.

καὶ σκηνώμασι δημοσίοις καὶ κλίναις καὶ ἱμα-
τίοις, πολλῇ δὲ θεραπείᾳ καὶ φίλων πλήθει καὶ
περὶ δεῖπνα δαπάναις καὶ παρασκευαῖς βαρυνόν-
των, ἐκείνος ἄπιστον ἐποίησε τὴν διαφορὰν
τῆς εὐτελείας. δαπάνης μὲν γὰρ εἰς οὐδὲν οὐδε-
μιᾶς προσεδεδήθη δημοσίας, ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ταῖς
πόλεσιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἄνευ ζεύγους πορευόμενος,
εἰς δὲ ἠκολούθει δημόσιος ἐσθῆτα καὶ σπονδεῖον
3 αὐτῷ πρὸς ἱερουργίαν κομίζων. ἐν δὲ τούτοις
οὕτως εὐκόλος καὶ ἀφελὴς τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα φαινό-
μενος, αὐθις ἀνταπεδίδου τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ
τὸ βάρος ἀπαραίτητος ὦν ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ
τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προστάγμασιν ὄρθιος
καὶ αὐθέκαστος, ὥστε μηδέποτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχὴν ἐκείνοις μήτε φοβερωτέραν μήτε προσφι-
λεστέραν γενέσθαι.

VII. Τοιαύτην δὲ τινα φαίνεται καὶ ὁ λόγος
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰδέαν ἔχειν· εὐχαρις γὰρ ἅμα καὶ
δεινὸς ἦν, ἡδὺς καὶ καταπληκτικός, φιλοσκώμων
καὶ αὐστηρὸς, ἀποφθεγματικὸς καὶ ἀγωνιστικός,
ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν Σωκράτην φησὶν ἔξωθεν
ιδιώτην καὶ σατυρικὸν καὶ ὑβριστὴν τοῖς ἐντυγ-
χάνουσι φαινόμενον ἔνδοθεν σπουδῆς καὶ πρᾶγ-
μάτων μεστὸν εἶναι δάκρυα κινούντων τοῖς 341
2 ἀκροωμένοις καὶ τὴν καρδίαν στρεφόντων. ὅθεν
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Λυσίου λόγῳ
μάλιστα φάμενοι προσεοικέναι τὸν Κάτωνος.
οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἷς μᾶλλον ἰδέας λόγων
Ῥωμαϊκῶν¹ αἰσθάνεσθαι προσήκει διακρινούσιν,
ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων βραχέα γρά-
ψομεν, οἱ τῷ λόγῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προσώπῳ,

¹ Ῥωμαϊκῶν Blass with S: ῥητορικῶν.

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were wont to charge the public treasury with their pavilions, couches, and apparel, while they oppressed the province with the cost of their large retinues of servants and friends, and of their lavish and elaborate banquets, his simple economy stood out in an incredible contrast. He made no demands whatever upon the public treasury, and made his circuit of the cities on foot, followed by a single public officer, who carried his robe and chalice for sacrifices. And yet, though in such matters he showed himself mild and sparing to those under his authority, in other ways he displayed a dignity and severity which fully corresponded, for in the administration of justice he was inexorable, and in carrying out the edicts of the government was direct and masterful, so that the Roman power never inspired its subjects with greater fear or affection.

VII. Much the same traits are revealed in the man's oratory. It was at once graceful and powerful, pleasant and compelling, facetious and severe, sententious and belligerent. So Plato says of Socrates¹ that from the outside he impressed his associates as rude, uncouth, and wanton; but within he was full of earnestness, and of matters that moved his hearers to tears and wrung their hearts. Wherefore I know not what they can mean who say that Cato's oratory most resembled that of Lysias. However, such questions must be decided by those who are more capable than I am of discerning the traits of Roman oratory, and I shall now record a few of his famous sayings, believing that men's characters are revealed

¹ *Symposium*, p. 215.

καθάπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσι, τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαμέν
ἐμφαίνεσθαι τὸ ἦθος.

- VIII. Μέλλων ποτὲ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ὠρμη-
μένον ἀκαίρως ἐπὶ σιτομετρίας καὶ διανομᾶς
ἀποτρέπειν, ἥρξατο τῶν λόγων οὕτως· “Χαλεπὸν
μέν ἐστίν, ὦ πολῖται, πρὸς γαστέρα λέγειν ὧτα
οὐκ ἔχουσιν.” κατηγορῶν δὲ τῆς πολυτελείας
ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι σωθῆναι πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ πωλεῖται
2 πλείονος ἰχθὺς ἢ βοῦς. εἰκέναι δὲ προβάτοις
ἔφη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· ὥς γὰρ ἐκείνα καθ’ ἕκαστον
μέν οὐ πείθεται, σύμπαντα δ’ ἔπεται μετ’ ἀλλή-
λων τοῖς ἄγουσιν, “Οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “οἷς
οὐκ ἂν ἀξιῶσαιτε συμβούλοις χρήσασθαι κατ’
ἰδίαν, ὑπὸ τούτων εἰς ἓν συνελθόντες ἄγεσθε.”
περὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικοκρατίας διαλεγόμενος “Πάν-
τες,” εἶπεν, “ἄνθρωποι τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχουσιν,
ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες.”
3 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐστίν ἐκ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους
μετενηνεγμένον ἀποφθεγμάτων. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπι-
τάττοντος αὐτῷ πολλὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς
“ὦ γύναι,” εἶπεν, “Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἄρχουσι
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ἐμοῦ δὲ σύ,
σοῦ δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὥστε φειδέσθω τῆς ἐξουσίας,
δι’ ἣν ἀνόητος ὢν πλείστον Ἑλλήνων δύναται.”
4 Τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὁ Κάτων ἔφη τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ
μόνον ταῖς πορφύραις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύ-
μασι τὰς τιμὰς ἐπιγράφειν. “Ὡς γὰρ οἱ βαφεῖς,”
ἔφη, “ταύτην μάλιστα βάπτουσιν, ἣ χαίροντας
ὀρώσιν, οὕτως οἱ νέοι ταῦτα μαυθάνουσι καὶ
ζηλοῦσιν, οἷς ἂν ὁ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἔπαινος ἔπηται.”
5 παρεκάλει δ’ αὐτούς, εἰμὲν ἀρετῇ καὶ σωφρο-

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much more by their speech than, as some think, by their looks.

VIII. He once wished to dissuade the Roman people from insisting unseasonably upon a distribution of corn, and began his speech with these words: "It is a hard matter, my fellow citizens, to argue with the belly, since it has no ears." Again, inveighing against the prevalent extravagance, he said: "It is a hard matter to save a city in which a fish sells for more than an ox." Again, he said the Romans were like sheep; for as these are not to be persuaded one by one, but all in a body blindly follow their leaders, "so ye," he said, "though as individuals ye would not deign to follow the counsels of certain men, when ye are got together ye suffer yourselves to be led by them." Discoursing on the power of women, he said: "All other men rule their wives; we rule all other men, and our wives rule us." This, however, is a translation from the sayings of Themistocles.¹ He, finding himself much under his son's orders through the lad's mother, said: "Wife, the Athenians rule the Hellenes, I rule the Athenians, thou rulest me, and thy son thee. Therefore let him make sparing use of that authority which makes him, child though he is, the most powerful of the Hellenes."

The Roman people, Cato said, fixed the market value not only of dyes, but also of behaviour. "For," said he, "as dyers most affect that dye which they see pleases you, so your young men learn and practice that which wins your praise." And he exhorted them, in case it was through virtue and temperance that they had become great, to

¹ *Themistocles*, xviii. 4.

σύνῃ γεγόνασι μεγάλοι, μηδὲν¹ μεταβάλλεσθαι
 πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, εἰ δ' ἀκрасία καὶ κακία, μετα-
 βάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον· ἱκανῶς γὰρ ἤδη
 μεγάλους ἀπ' ἐκείνων γεγονέναι. τοὺς δὲ πολλά-
 κεις ἄρχειν σπουδάζοντας ἔφη καθάπερ ἀγνοοῦντας
 τὴν ὁδὸν αἰεὶ μετὰ ραβδούχων ζητεῖν πορεύεσθαι,
 6 μὴ πλανηθῶσιν. ἐπετίμα δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς
 αὐτοὺς αἰρουμένους πολλάκις ἄρχοντας. “Δόξετε
 γάρ,” ἔφη, “μὴ² πολλοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν ἄξιον ἢ μὴ
 πολλοὺς τοῦ ἄρχειν ἀξίους ἡγεῖσθαι.” περὶ δὲ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν τινος αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀδόξως βιοῦν
 δοκοῦντος “Ἡ τούτου μήτηρ,” ἔφη, “κατάραν,
 οὐκ εὐχὴν, ἡγεῖται τὸ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπο-
 7 λιπεῖν.” τὸν δὲ πεπρακότα τοὺς πατρώους
 ἀγροὺς παραλίους ὄντας ἐπιδεικνύμενος προσε-
 ποιεῖτο θαυμάζειν ὡς ἰσχυρότερον τῆς θαλάττης·
 “Ἄ γὰρ ἐκείνη μόλις ἔκλυzen, οὗτος,” ἔφη,
 “ῥαδίως καταπέπωκεν.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Εὐμενοῦς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδημήσαντος
 εἰς Ῥώμην ἣ τε σύγκλητος ὑπερφυῶς ἀπεδέξατο
 καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἄμιλλα καὶ σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτὸν
 ἐγένετο, δῆλος ἦν ὁ Κάτων ὑφορώμενος καὶ
 8 φυλαττόμενος αὐτόν. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος “Ἀλλὰ
 μὴν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ φιλορρώμαιος,” “Ἔστω,”
 εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ φύσει τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον ὁ βασιλεὺς
 σαρκοφάγον ἐστίν.” οὐδένα δὲ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζο-
 μένων ἔφη βασιλέων³ ἄξιον εἶναι παραβάλλειν
 πρὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἢ Περικλέα ἢ Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ
 Μάνιον Κούριον ἢ Ἀμίλκαν τὸν ἐπικληθέντα

¹ μηδὲν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : μὴ.

² μὴ Blass with F^aS : ἢ μὴ.

³ ἔφη βασιλέων Hercher and Blass with F^aS : βασιλέων.

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make no change for the worse ; but if it was through intemperance and vice, to change for the better ; these had already made them great enough. Of those who were eager to hold high office frequently, he said that like men who did not know the road, they sought to be ever attended on their way by lictors, lest they go astray. He censured his fellow citizens for choosing the same men over and over again to high office. " You will be thought," said he, " not to deem your offices worth much, or else not to deem many men worthy of your offices." Of one of his enemies who had the name of leading a disgraceful and disreputable life, he said : " This man's mother holds the wish that he may survive her to be no pious prayer, but a malignant curse." Pointing to a man who had sold his ancestral fields lying near the sea, he pretended to admire him, as stronger than the sea. " This man," said he, " has drunk down with ease what the sea found it hard to wash away."

When King Eumenes paid a visit to Rome, the Senate received him with extravagant honours, and the chief men of the city strove who should be most about him. But Cato clearly looked upon him with suspicion and alarm. " Surely," some one said to him, " he is an excellent man, and a friend of Rome." " Granted," said Cato, " but the animal known as king is by nature carnivorous." He said further that not one of the kings whom men so lauded was worthy of comparison with Epaminondas, or Pericles, or Themistocles, or Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas. His

- 9 Βάρκαν. αὐτῷ δ' ἔλεγε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φθονεῖν, ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ νυκτὸς¹ ἀνίσταται καὶ τῶν ιδίων ἀμελῶν τοῖς δημοσίοις σχολάζει. βούλεσθαι δ' ἔλεγε μᾶλλον εὖ πράξας ἀποστερηθῆναι χάριν ἢ κακῶς μὴ τυχεῖν κολάσεως, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔφη διδόναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι πλὴν αὐτοῦ.

- IX. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰς Βιθυνίαν τρεῖς ἐλο- 341
μένων πρέσβεις, ὧν ὁ μὲν ποδαγρικός ἦν, ὁ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξ ἀνατρήσεως καὶ περικοπῆς κοίλην εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδόκει μωρὸς εἶναι, καταγελῶν ὁ Κάτων εἶπε πρεσβείαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστέλλεσθαι μῆτε πόδας μῆτε κεφαλὴν μῆτε καρδίαν
2 ἔχουσιν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας φυγάδων ἐν-
τευχθεὶς διὰ Πολύβιον ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος, ὡς πολὺς ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ λόγος ἐγίνετο, τῶν μὲν διδόντων κάθοδον αὐτοῖς, τῶν δ' ἐνισταμένων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κάτων “Ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες,” εἶπεν, “ὃ πράτ-
τωμεν καθήμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην περὶ γεροντίων Γραικῶν ζητοῦντες, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ
3 τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι.” ψηφισ-
θείσης δὲ τῆς καθόδου τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἡμέρας ὀλίγας οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον διαλιπόντες αὐθις ἐπεχείρουν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελθεῖν, ὅπως ἂς προτερον εἶχον ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ τιμὰς οἱ φυγάδες ἀνα-
λάβοιεν, καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς γνώ-
μης. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας ἔφη τὸν Πολύβιον, ὥσπερ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, βούλεσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπήλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐπιλεησμένον.

- 4 Τοὺς δὲ φρονίμους ἔλεγε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἢ τοὺς ἄφρονας ὑπὸ τῶν φρονίμων

¹ ἐκ νυκτὸς Hercher and Blass with F^aSD: νυκτὸς.

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enemies hated him, he used to say, because he rose every day before it was light and, neglecting his own private matters, devoted his time to the public interests. He also used to say that he preferred to do right and get no thanks, rather than to do ill and get no punishment; and that he had pardon for everybody's mistakes except his own.

IX. The Romans once chose three ambassadors to Bithynia, of whom one was gouty, another had had his head trepanned, and the third was deemed a fool. Cato made merry over this, and said that the Romans were sending out an embassy which had neither feet, nor head, nor heart. His aid was once solicited by Scipio, at the instance of Polybius, in behalf of the exiles from Achaia, and after a long debate upon the question in the Senate, where some favoured and some opposed their return home, Cato rose and said: "Here we sit all day, as if we had naught else to do, debating whether some poor old Greeks shall be buried here or in Achaia." The Senate voted that the men be allowed to return, and a few days afterwards Polybius tried to get admission to that body again, with a proposal that the exiles be restored to their former honours in Achaia, and asked Cato's opinion on the matter. Cato smiled and said that Polybius, as if he were another Odysseus, wanted to go back into the cave of the Cyclops for a cap and belt which he had left there.

Wise men, he said, profited more from fools than fools from wise men; for the wise shun the

ὠφελεῖσθαι· τούτους μὲν γὰρ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς
 ἐκείνων ἀμαρτίας, ἐκείνους δὲ τὰς τούτων μὴ μιμεί-
 σθαι κατορθώσεις. τῶν δὲ νέων ἔφη χαίρειν τοῖς
 ἐρυθριῶσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὠχριῶσι, στρατιώτου δὲ
 μὴ δεῖσθαι τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν, τοὺς δὲ
 πόδας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι κινούντος, μεῖζον δὲ ῥέγγον-
 5 τος ἢ ἀλαλάζοντος. τὸν δὲ ὑπέρπαχυν κακίζων
 “Ποῦ δ’ ἄν,” ἔφη, “σῶμα τοιοῦτον τῇ πόλει
 γένοιτο χρήσιμον, οὗ τὸ μεταξὺ λαιμοῦ καὶ βου-
 βώνων πᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς γαστρὸς κατέχεται;” τῶν
 δὲ φιληδόνων τινὰ βουλόμενον αὐτῷ συνεῖναι
 παραιτούμενος, ἔφη μὴ δύνασθαι ζῆν μετ’ ἀνθρώ-
 που τῆς καρδίας τὴν ὑπερφάν εὐαισθητοτέραν
 ἔχοντος. τοῦ δ’ ἐρώντος ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν
 6 ἄλλοτρίῳ σώματι ζῆν. μεταμεληθῆναι δ’ αὐτὸς
 ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ τρεῖς μεταμελείας· μίαν μὲν
 ἐπὶ τῷ γυναικί πιστεῦσαι λόγον ἀπόρρητον,
 ἑτέραν δὲ πλεῦσας ὅπου δυνατόν ἦν πεζεῦσαι, τὴν
 δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι μίαν ἡμέραν ἀδιάθετος ἔμεινε. πρὸς
 δὲ πρεσβύτην πονηρευόμενον “Ἀνθρωπε,” εἶπε,
 “πολλὰ ἔχοντι τῷ γήρᾳ τὰ αἰσχρὰ μὴ προστίθει
 7 τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας αἰσχύνην.” πρὸς δὲ δήμαρχον
 ἐν διαβολῇ μὲν φαρμακείας γενόμενον, φαῦλον δὲ
 νόμον εἰσφέροντα καὶ βιαζόμενον “ὦ μειράκιον,”
 εἶπεν, “οὐκ οἶδα, πότερον χεῖρόν ἐστιν ὁ κίρνης
 πιεῖν ἢ ὁ γράφειν κυρώσαι.” βλασφημούμενος
 δ’ ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπου βεβιωκότος ἀσελγῶς καὶ κακῶς
 “Ἄνισος,” εἶπεν, “ἢ πρὸς σέ μοι μάχη ἐστί· καὶ
 γὰρ ἀκούεις τὰ κακὰ ῥαδίως καὶ λέγεις εὐχερῶς,
 ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀηδὲς καὶ ἀκούειν ἀηθές.” τὸ
 μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων γένος τοιοῦτόν
 ἐστί.

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mistakes of fools, but fools do not imitate the successes of the wise. He said he liked to see blushes on a young man's face rather than pallor, and that he had no use for a soldier who plied his hands on the march, and his feet in battle, and whose snore was louder than his war-cry. Railing at the fat knight, he said, "Where can such a body be of service to the state, when everything between its gullet and its groins is devoted to belly?" A certain epicure wished to enjoy his society, but he excused himself, saying that he could not live with a man whose palate was more sensitive than his heart. As for the lover, he said his soul dwelt in the body of another. And as for repentance, he said he had indulged in it himself but thrice in his whole life: once when he entrusted a secret to his wife; once when he paid ship's fare to a place instead of walking thither; and once when he remained intestate a whole day. To an old man who was steeped in iniquity he said: "Man, old age has disgraces enough of its own; do not add to them the shame of vice." To a tribune of the people who had been accused of using poison, and who was trying to force the passage of a useless bill, he said: "Young man, I know not which is worse, to drink your mixtures, or to enact your bills." And when he was reviled by a man who led a life of shameless debauchery, he said: "I fight an unequal battle with you: you listen to abuse calmly, and utter it glibly; while for me it is unpleasant to utter it, and unusual to hear it."

Such, then, is the nature of his famous sayings.

- X. Ὑπατος δὲ μετὰ Φλάκκου Οὐαλλερίου τοῦ φίλου καὶ συνήθους ἀποδειχθεὶς ἔλαχε τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἣν Ἐντὸς Ἰσπανίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν καταστρεφόμενῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τὰ δ' οἰκειουμένῳ διὰ λόγων πολλή στρατιὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αἰσchrῶς ἐκβιασθῆναι. διὸ τῶν ἐγ-
 2 γὺς Κελτιβήρων ἐπεκαλεῖτο συμμαχίαν. αἰτούντων δ' ἐκείνων τῆς βοηθείας διακόσια τάλαντα μισθόν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαίους βαρβάροις ἐπικουρίας ὁμολογῆσαι μισθόν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων οὐδὲν ἔφη δεινὸν εἶναι, νικῶντας μὲν γὰρ ἀποδώσειν παρὰ¹ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν, ἡττωμένων δὲ μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτούμενους ἔσεσθαι μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτού-
 3 καὶ τὰλλα προὔχῳρει λαμπρῶς. Πολύβιος μὲν γέ φησι τῶν ἐντὸς Βαίτιος ποταμοῦ πόλεων ἡμέρα μῖα τὰ τεῖχη κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ περιαιρεθῆναι· πάμπολλαι δ' ἦσαν αὗται καὶ γέμουσαι μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ φησιν ὁ Κάτων πλείονας εἰληφέναι πόλεις ὢν διήγαγεν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ· καὶ τοῦτο κόμπος οὐκ ἔστιν, εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς τετρακόσiai τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν.
 4 Τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν στρατείαν ὠφεληθεῖσιν ἔτι καὶ λίτραν ἀργυρίου κατ' ἄνδρα προσδιένειμεν, εἰπὼν ὡς κρεῖττον εἶη πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ὀλίγους ἔχοντας ἐπανελθεῖν. εἰς δ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων οὐδὲν ἐλθεῖν λέγει πλὴν ὅσα πέπωκεν ἢ βέβρωκε. “Καὶ οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι,” φησί, “τοὺς

¹ παρὰ Hercher and Blass with F^{as}: ἀπὸ.

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X. Having been elected consul¹ with Valerius Flaccus, his intimate friend, the province which the Romans call Hither Spain was allotted to his charge. Here, while he was subduing some of the tribes, and winning over others by diplomacy, a great host of Barbarians fell upon him, and threatened to drive him disgracefully out of the province. He therefore begged the neighbouring Celtiberians to become his allies. On their demanding two hundred talents pay for such assistance, all his officers thought it intolerable that Romans should agree to pay Barbarians for assistance. But Cato said there was nothing terrible in it; should they be victorious, they could pay the price with the spoils taken from the enemy, and not out of their own purse; whereas, should they be vanquished, there would be nobody left either to pay or to ask the price. In this battle he was completely victorious, and the rest of his campaign was a brilliant success. Polybius indeed says that in a single day the walls of all the cities on this side the river Baetis—and they were very many, and full of warlike men—were torn down at his command. And Cato himself says that he took more cities than he spent days in Spain, nor is this a mere boast, since, in fact, there were four hundred of them.

His soldiers got large booty in this campaign, and he gave each one of them a pound of silver besides, saying that it was better to have many Romans go home with silver in their pockets than a few with gold. But in his own case, he says that no part of the booty fell to him, except what he ate and drank. "Not that I find fault," he says, "with those who

¹ 195 B.C.

ὠφελεῖσθαι ζητοῦντας ἐκ τούτων, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι
 μᾶλλον περὶ ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἢ περὶ χρημά-
 των τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις ἀμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς
 5 φιλαργυρωτάτοις περὶ φιλαργυρίας." οὐ μόνον
 δ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττε
 καθαροὺς παντὸς λήμματος. ἦσαν δὲ πέντε
 θεράποντες ἐπὶ στρατείας σὺν αὐτῷ. τούτων εἰς
 ὄνομα Πάκκιος ἠγόρασε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τρία
 παιδάρια· τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος αἰσθομένου, πρὶν εἰς
 ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπήγγξατο. τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὁ Κάτων
 ἀποδόμενος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκε τὴν τιμὴν.

XI. Ἐτι δ' αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ
 Σκηπίων ὁ μέγας, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ βουλόμενος
 ἐνστήναι κατορθοῦντι καὶ τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς πράξεις
 ὑπολαβεῖν, διεπράξατο τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνης
 ἀποδειχθῆναι διάδοχος. σπεύσας δ' ὡς ἐνῆν
 τάχιστα κατέπαυσε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος. ὁ
 δὲ λαβὼν σπείρας ὀπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ πεντακο-
 σίους ἵππεῖς προπομποὺς κατεστρέψατο μὲν τὸ
 Λακετανῶν ἔθνος, ἑξακοσίους δὲ τῶν νῦτομοληκό-
 2 των κομισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ' οἷς σχετλιάζοντα
 τὸν Σκηπίωνα κατειρωνευόμενος οὕτως ἔφη τὴν
 Ῥώμην ἔσεσθαι μεγίστην, τῶν μὲν ἐνδόξων καὶ
 μεγάλων τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς πρωτεῖα μὴ μεθιέντων
 τοῖς ἀσημοτέροις, τῶν δ' ὥσπερ αὐτός ἐστι
 δημοτικῶν ἀμιλλωμένων ἀρετῇ πρὸς τοὺς τῷ γένει
 καὶ τῇ δόξῃ προήκοντας. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῆς
 συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν μηδὲ
 κινεῖν τῶν διωκμένων ὑπὸ Κάτωνος, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ
 τῷ Σκηπίωνι τῆς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς Κάτωνος
 ἀφελούσα δόξης ἐν ἀπραξίᾳ καὶ σχολῇ μάτην

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seek to profit by such a case, but I prefer to strive in bravery with the bravest, rather than in wealth with the richest, and in greed for money with the greediest." And he strove to keep not only himself, but also his associates, free from all taint of gain. He had five attendants with him in the field. One of these, whose name was Paccus, bought three boys for his own account from among the public prisoners, but finding that Cato was aware of the transaction, or ever he had come into his presence, went and hanged himself. Cato sold the boys, and restored the money to the public treasury.

XI. While Cato still tarried in Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wished to obstruct the current of his successes and take away from him the administration of affairs in Spain, got himself appointed his successor in command of that province. Then he set out with all the speed possible, and brought Cato's command to an end. But Cato took five cohorts of men-at-arms and five hundred horsemen as escort on his way home, and on the march subdued the tribe of the Lacetanians, and put to death six hundred deserters whom they delivered up to him. Scipio was enraged at this proceeding, but Cato, treating him with mock humility, said that only then would Rome be at her greatest, when her men of high birth refused to yield the palm of virtue to men of lower rank, and when plebeians like himself contended in virtue with their superiors in birth and reputation. However, in spite of Scipio's displeasure, the Senate voted that no change whatever be made in what Cato had ordered and arranged, and so the administration of Scipio was marked by inactivity and idleness, and detracted from his own,

- 3 διήλθεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων θριαμβεύσας οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀμιλλωμένων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας τιμὰς ἐξίκωνται καὶ τύχῳσιν ὑπατείας καὶ θριάμβων, ἥδη τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἡδονὴν καὶ σχολὴν συσκευασάμενοι τὸν βίον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπίαςιν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξανῆκε καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' ὅμοια τοῖς πρῶτον ἀπτομένοις πολιτείας καὶ διψῶσι τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀφ' ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παρεῖχε καὶ φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ πολίταις, οὔτε τὰς συνηγορίας οὔτε τὰς στρατείας ἀπειπάμενος.

- XII. Τιβερίῳ μὲν οὖν Σεμπρωνίῳ τὰ περὶ Θράκην καὶ Ἰστρον ὑπατεύοντι πρεσβεύων συγκατειργάσατο, Μανίῳ δ' Ἀκιλίῳ χιλιάρχῳ ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν συνεξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φοβήσαντα Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐδένα ἕτερον μετ' Ἀννίβαν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίαν, ὅσῃν ὁ Νικάτωρ Σέλευκος εἶχεν, ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασαν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνειληφώς, ἔθνη τε πάμπολλα καὶ μάχιμα βαρβάρων ὑπήκοα πεποιημένος, ἐπῆρτο συμπεσεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ὡς μόνοις ἔτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιομάχοις 343
2 οὔσιν. εὐπρεπῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενος αἰτίαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν, οὐδὲν δεομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους χάριτι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων νεωστὶ γεγονότας, διέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως. καὶ σάλον εὐθύς ἢ Ἑλλὰς εἶχε καὶ μετέωρος ἦν ἐλπίσι διαφθειρο-
3 μένη βασιλικαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν. ἔπεμπεν οὖν πρέσβεις ὁ Μάνιος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πλείστα τῶν νεωτεριζόντων Τίτος Φλαμνίνος

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rather than from Cato's reputation. Cato, on the other hand, celebrated a triumph.¹ Most men who strive more for reputation than for virtue, when once they have attained the highest honours of consulship and triumphs, straightway adjust their future lives to the enjoyment of a pleasurable ease, and give up their public careers. But Cato did not thus remit and dismiss his virtue, nay, rather, like men first taking up the public service and all athirst for honour and reputation, he girt his loins anew, and held himself ever ready to serve his friends and fellow-citizens, either in the forum or in the field.

XII. And so it was that he assisted Tiberius Sempronius the consul in subduing the regions in Thrace and on the Danube, acting as his ambassador ; and as legionary tribune under Manius Acilius, he marched into Greece against Antiochus the Great, who gave the Romans more to fear than any man after Hannibal. For he won back almost all of Seleucus Nicator's former dominions in Asia, reduced to subjection many warlike nations of Barbarians, and was eager to engage the Romans, whom he deemed the only worthy foemen left for him. So he crossed into Greece with an army, making the freeing of the Greeks a specious ground for war. This they did not need at all, since they had recently been made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians by grace of the Romans. Greece was at once a stormy sea of hopes and fears, being corrupted by her demagogues with expectations of royal bounty. Accordingly, Manius sent envoys to the several cities. Most of those which were unsettled in their allegiance Titus Flamininus restrained

¹ 194 B.C.

ἔσχευεν ἄνευ ταραχῆς καὶ κατεπραῦνεν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, Κάτων δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Πατρεῖς, ἔτι δ' Αἰγιεῖς παρεστήσατο.

- 4 Πλείστον δὲ χρόνον ἐν Ἀθήναις διέτριψε. καὶ λέγεται μὲν τις αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι λόγος, ὃν Ἑλληνιστὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἶπεν, ὥς ζηλῶν τε τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηναίων τῆς τε πόλεως διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἡδέως γεγονῶς θεατῆς· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑρμηνέως ἐνέτυχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δυνηθεὶς ἂν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν, ἐμμένων δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις καὶ καταγελῶν τῶν τὰ Ἑλ-
- 5 ληνικὰ τεθαυμακότων. Ποστούμιον γοῦν Ἀλβῖνον ἱστορίαν Ἑλληνιστὶ γράψαντα καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτούμενον ἐπέσκωψεν εἰπὼν, δοτέον εἶναι τὴν συγγνώμην, εἰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ψηφισμένων ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπέμεινε τὸ ἔργον. θαυμάσαι δέ φησι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ τάχος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς φράσεως· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξέφερε βραχέως, τὸν ἑρμηνέα μακρῶς καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἀπαγγέλλειν· τὸ δ' ὅλον οἶέσθαι τὰ ῥήματα τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησιν ἀπὸ χειλέων, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ καρδίας φέρεσθαι.

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐμφράξας τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας στενὰ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοφυέσι τῶν τόπων ἐρύμασι προσβαλὼν χαρακώματα καὶ διατειχίσματα, καθῆστο τὸν πόλεμον ἐκκεκλεικέναι νομίζων, τὸ μὲν κατὰ στόμα βιάζεσθαι παντάπασιν ἀπεγίνωσκον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν δὲ Περσικὴν ἐκείνην περιήλυσιν καὶ κύκλωσιν ὁ

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without ado, and quieted down, as I have written in his *Life*;¹ but Corinth, Patrae, and Aegium were brought over to Rome by Cato.

He also spent much time at Athens. And we are told that a certain speech of his is extant, which he addressed to the Athenian people in Greek, declaring that he admired the virtues of the ancient Athenians, and was glad to behold a city so beautiful and grand as theirs. But this is not true. On the contrary, he dealt with the Athenians through an interpreter. He could have spoken to them directly, but he always clung to his native ways, and mocked at those who were lost in admiration of anything that was Greek. For instance, he poked fun at Postumius Albinus, who wrote a history in Greek, and asked the indulgence of his readers. Cato said they might have shown him indulgence had he undertaken his task in consequence of a compulsory vote of the Amphictyonic Assembly. Moreover, he says the Athenians were astonished at the speed and pungency of his discourse. For what he himself set forth with brevity, the interpreter would repeat to them at great length and with many words; and on the whole he thought the words of the Greeks were born on their lips, but those of the Romans in their hearts.

XIII. Now Antiochus had blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylae with his army,² adding trenches and walls to the natural defences of the place, and sat there, thinking that he had locked the war out of Greece. And the Romans did indeed despair utterly of forcing a direct passage. But Cato, calling to mind the famous compass and circuit of the pass

¹ Chapters xv-xvii.

² 191 B.C.

- Κάτων εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος ἐξώδευσε νύκτωρ,
 2 ἀναλαβὼν μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἄνω
 προελθόντων ὁ καθοδηγῶν αἰχμύλωτος ἐξέπεσε
 τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τόποις ἀπόροις καὶ
 κρημνώδεσι δεινὴν ἀθυμίαν καὶ φόβον ἐνειργάσατο
 τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὁρῶν ὁ Κάτων τὸν κίνδυνον
 ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ περι-
 3 μένειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Λεύκιόν τινα Μάλλιον, ἄνδρα
 δεινὸν ὀρειβατεῖν, παραλαβὼν ἐχώρει πολυπόνως
 καὶ παραβόλως ἐν ἰσελήνῳ νυκτὶ καὶ βαθείᾳ,
 κοτίνοις¹ καὶ πάγοις ἀνατεταμένοις διασπάσματα
 πολλὰ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ ἀσάφειαν ἐχούσης, ἕως
 ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀτραπὸν, ὡς ᾤοντο, κάτω περαι-
 νουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων ἔθεντο
 σημεῖα πρὸς τινὰς εὐσκόπους κεραίας ὑπὲρ τὸ
 4 Καλλίδρομον ἀνεχούσας. οὕτω δὲ πάλιν ἐπαν-
 ελθόντες ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνέλαβον, καὶ
 πρὸς τὰ σημεῖα προάγοντες ἤψαντο μὲν ἐκείνης
 τῆς ἀτραποῦ καὶ κατεστήσαντο τὴν πορείαν,
 μικρὸν δὲ προελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπέλιπε φάραγος
 ὑπολαμβανούσης. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἀπορία καὶ δέος
 οὐκ ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ συνορώντων ὅτι πλησίον
 ἐτύγγανον τῶν πολεμίων γεγονότες. ἤδη δὲ διέ-
 λαμπεν ἡμέρα, καὶ φθογγῆς τις ἔδοξεν ἐπακοῦσαι,
 τύχα δὲ καὶ καθορᾶν Ἑλληνικὸν χάρακα καὶ
 5 προφυλακὴν ὑπὸ τὸ κρημνώδες. οὕτως οὖν ἐπι-
 στήσας ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Κάτων ἐκέλευσεν
 αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς Φιρμα-
 νούς, οἷς αἰεὶ πιστοῖς ἐχρῆτο καὶ προθύμοις.
 συνδραμόντων δὲ καὶ περιστάντων αὐτὸν ἀθρόων

¹ κοτίνοις MSS.; κολωνοῖς (hills) Bekker, adopting the correction of Coraës.

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which the Persians had once made, took a considerable force and set out under cover of darkness. They climbed the heights, but their guide, who was a prisoner of war, lost the way, and wandered about in impracticable and precipitous places until he had filled the soldiers with dreadful dejection and fear. Cato, seeing their peril, bade the rest remain quietly where they were, while he himself, with a certain Lucius Manlius, an expert mountain-climber, made his way along, with great toil and hazard, in the dense darkness of a moonless night, his vision much impeded and obscured by wild olive trees and rocky peaks, until at last they came upon a path. This, they thought, led down to the enemy's camp. So they put marks and signs on some conspicuous cliffs which towered over Mount Callidromus, and then made their way back again to the main body. This too they conducted to the marks and signs, struck into the path indicated by these, and started forward. But when they had gone on a little way, the path failed them, and a ravine yawned to receive them. Once more dejection and fear were rife. They did not know and could not see that they were right upon the enemy whom they sought. But presently gleams of daylight came, here and there a man thought he heard voices, and soon they actually saw a Greek outpost entrenched at the foot of the cliffs. So then Cato halted his forces there, and summoned the men of Firmum to a private conference. These soldiers he had always found trusty and zealous in his service. When they had run up and stood grouped about him,

εἶπεν· “Ἄνδρα χρήζω λαβεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ζῶντα καὶ πυθέσθαι, τίνες οἱ προφυλάττοντες οὗτοι, πόσον πλῆθος αὐτῶν, τίς ὁ τῶν ἄλλων διάκοσμος ἢ τάξις καὶ παρασκευή, μεθ’ ἧς ὑπομένουσιν ἡμᾶς.
 6 τὸ δ’ ἔργον ἄρπαγμα δεῖ τάχους γενέσθαι καὶ τόλμης, ἢ καὶ λέοντες ἄνοπλοι θαρροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰ δειλὰ τῶν θηρίων βαδίζουσι.” ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτόθεν ὁρούσαντες, ὥσπερ εἶχον, οἱ Φιρμανοὶ κατὰ τῶν ὁρῶν ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰς προφυλακάς· καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι πάντας μὲν διετύραξαν καὶ διεσκέδασαν, ἓνα δ’ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις 344
 7 ἄρπάσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν τῷ Κάτῳ. παρὰ τούτου μαθὼν, ὡς ἡ μὲν ἄλλη δύναμις ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κάθηται μετ’ αὐτοῦ¹ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἱ δὲ φρουροῦντες οὗτοι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Αἰτωλῶν εἰσιν ἑξακόσιοι λογάδες, καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀλιγότητος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας εὐθύς ἐπήγεν ἅμα σάλπιγξι καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ, πρῶτος σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν. οἱ δ’ ὡς εἶδον ἀπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπιφερομένους, φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον κατεπίμπλασαν ταραχῆς ἅπαντας.²

XIV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μανίου κάτωθεν πρὸς τὰ διατειχίσματα βιαζομένου καὶ τοῖς στενοῖς προσβάλλοντος ἀθρόαν τὴν δύναμιν, ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὸ στόμα λίθῳ πληγείς ἐκτιναχθέντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀδόντων ἀπέστρεψε τὸν ἵππον ὀπίσω, περιαλγῆς γινόμενος, τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ
 2 μέρος οὐδὲν ὑπέμεινε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀπόρους καὶ ἀμηχάνους τῆς φυγῆς ὁδοὺς καὶ πλάνας ἐχούσης, ἐλὼν βαθέων καὶ πετρῶν ἀπο-

¹ μετ’ αὐτοῦ Blass with S : μετὰ.

² ἅπαντας Sintenis² with C ; Bekker reads ἅπαντα, with Sintenis¹ and Coraës.

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he said: "I must take one of the enemy's men alive, and learn from him who they are that form this advance guard, what their number is, and with what disposition and array their main body awaits us. But the task demands the swift and bold leap of lions fearlessly rushing all unarmed upon the timorous beasts on which they prey." So spake Cato, and the Firmians instantly started, just as they were, rushed down the mountain-side, and ran upon the enemy's sentinels. Falling upon them unexpectedly, they threw them all into confusion and scattered them in flight; one of them they seized, arms and all, and delivered him over to Cato. From the captive Cato learned that the main force of the enemy was encamped in the pass with the king himself, and that the detachment guarding the pass over the mountains was composed of six hundred picked Aetolians. Despising their small numbers and their carelessness, he led his troops against them at once, with bray of trumpet and battle-cry, being himself first to draw his sword. But when the enemy saw his men pouring down upon them from the cliffs, they fled to the main army, and filled them all with confusion.

XIV. Meanwhile Manius also, down below, threw his whole force forward into the pass and stormed the enemy's fortifications. Antiochus, being hit in the mouth with a stone which knocked his teeth out, wheeled his horse about for very anguish. Then his army gave way everywhere before the Roman onset. Although flight for them meant impracticable roads and helpless wanderings, while deep marshes and steep cliffs threatened those who

τόμων τὰ πτώματα καὶ τὰς ὀλισθήσεις ὑποδεχομένων, εἰς ταῦτα διὰ τῶν στενῶν ὑπερχεόμενοι καὶ συνωθούμενοι ἀλλήλους φόβῳ πληγῆς καὶ σιδήρου πολεμίων αὐτοὺς διέφθειρον.

Ὁ δὲ Κάτων αἰὲν μὲν τις ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδῆς καὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς μεγαλαυχίαν ὡς ἐπακολούθημα τῆς μεγαλουργίας οὐκ ἔφευγε, πλείστον δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι ταύταις ὄγκον
 3 περιτέθεικε, καὶ φησι τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν αὐτὸν τότε διώκοντα καὶ παίοντα τοὺς πολεμίους παραστήναι μηδὲν ὀφείλειν Κάτωνα τῷ δήμῳ τοσοῦτον, ὅσον Κάτωνι τὸν δῆμον, αὐτὸν τε Μάνιον τὸν ὕπατον θερμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔτι θερμῷ περιπλακέντα πολὺν χρόνον ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ βοᾶν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, ὡς οὐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς οὐθ' ὁ σύμπας δῆμος ἐξισώσει τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ταῖς Κά-
 4 τωνος εὐεργεσίαις. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπέμπετο τῶν ἡγωνισμένων αὐτάγγελος· καὶ διέπλευσε μὲν εἰς Βρεντέσιον εὐτυχῶς, μᾶ δ' ἡμέρα διελάσας ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Τάραντα καὶ τέσσαρας ἄλλας ὁδεύσας πεμπταῖος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀφίκετο καὶ πρῶτος ἀπήγγειλε τὴν νίκην. καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνέπλησεν εὐφροσύνης καὶ θυσιῶν, φρονήματος δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὡς πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης κρατεῖν δυνάμενον.

XV. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολεμικῶν πράξεων τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐταὶ σχεδὸν εἰσιν ἐλλογιμώταται· τῆς δὲ πολιτείας φαίνεται τὸ περὶ τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τῶν πονηρῶν μόριον οὐ μικρὰς ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἡγησάμενος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐδίωξε πολλοὺς καὶ διώκουσιν ἑτέροις συνηγωνίσατο καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ὅλως διώκοντας,

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slipped and fell, still, they poured along through the pass into these, crowding one another on in their fear of the enemy's deadly weapons, and so destroyed themselves.

Cato, who was ever rather generous, it would seem, in his own praises, and did not hesitate to follow up his great achievements with boastings equally great, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says that those who saw him at that time pursuing the enemy and hewing them down, felt convinced that Cato owed less to Rome than Rome to Cato; also that the consul Manius himself, flushed with victory, threw his arms about him, still flushed with his own victory, and embraced him a long time, crying out for joy that neither he himself nor the whole Roman people could fittingly requite Cato for his benefactions. Immediately after the battle he was sent to Rome as the messenger of his own triumphs. He had a fair passage to Brundisium, crossed the peninsula from there to Tarentum in a single day, travelled thence four days more, and on the fifth day after landing reached Rome, where he was the first to announce the victory. He filled the city full of joy and sacrifices, and the people with the proud feeling that it was able to master every land and sea.

XV. These are perhaps the most remarkable features of Cato's military career. In political life, he seems to have regarded the impeachment and conviction of malefactors as a department worthy of his most zealous efforts. For he brought many prosecutions himself, assisted others in bringing theirs, and even instigated some to begin prosecutions, as

- 2 ὥς ἐπὶ Σκηπίωνα τοὺς περὶ Πετίλλιον. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπ' οἴκου τε μεγάλου καὶ φρονήματος ἀληθινοῦ ποιησάμενον ὑπὸ πόδας τὰς διαβολὰς μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι δυνηθεὶς ἀφῆκε· Λεύκιον δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν κατηγορῶν συστάς καταδίκη περιέβαλε χρημάτων πολλῶν, πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον, ἣν οὐκ ἔχων ἐκείνος ἀπολύσασθαι καὶ κινδυνεύων δεθῆναι μόλις ἐπικλήσει τῶν δημάρχων ἀφείθη.
- 3 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ νεανίσκῳ τινὶ τεθνηκότος πατρὸς ἐχθρὸν ἡτιμωκότι καὶ πορευομένῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς μετὰ τὴν δίκην ἀπαντήσας ὁ Κάτων δεξιώσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ταῦτα χρὴ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐναγίζειν, οὐκ ἄρνας οὐδ' ἐρίφους, ἀλλ' ἐχθρῶν δάκρυα καὶ καταδίκας. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ περιῆν ἀθῶος, ἀλλ' ὅπου τινὰ λαβὴν παράσχοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, κρινόμενος καὶ
- 4 κινδυνεύων διετέλει. λέγεται γὰρ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπούσας τῶν πεντήκοντα φυγεῖν δίκας, μίαν δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν¹ ἔξ ἔτη καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγυνώς· ἐν ἣ καὶ τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἶπεν, ὥς χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν ἐν ἄλλοις βεβιωκότα ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἄλλοις 345 ἀπολογεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας οὐκ ἐποίησατο τῶν ἀγώνων, τεσσάρων δ' ἄλλων ἐνιαυτῶν διελθόντων Σερουίου Γάλβα κατηγορήσεν ἐνενήκοντα
- 5 γεγυνώς ἔτη. κινδυνεύει γὰρ ὡς ὁ Νέστωρ εἰς

¹ τὴν τελευταίαν Hercher and Blass with F¹S : τελευταίαν.

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for instance Petillius against Scipio. That great man, however, trampled the accusations against him under foot, as the splendour of his house and his own inherent loftiness of spirit prompted him to do, and Cato, unable to secure his capital conviction, dropped the case. But he so co-operated with the accusers of Lucius, Scipio's brother, as to have him condemned to pay a large fine to the state. This debt Lucius was unable to meet, and was therefore liable to imprisonment. Indeed, it was only at the intercession of the tribunes that he was at last set free.

We are also told that a certain young man, who had got a verdict of civil outlawry against an enemy of his dead father, was passing through the forum on the conclusion of the case, and met Cato, who greeted him and said: "These are the sacrifices we must bring to the spirits of our parents; not lambs and kids, but the condemnations and tears of their enemies." However, he himself did not go unscathed, but wherever in his political career he gave his enemies the slightest handle, he was all the while suffering prosecutions and running risk of condemnation. It is said that he was defendant in nearly fifty cases, and in the last one when he was eighty-six years of age. It was in the course of this that he uttered the memorable saying: "It is hard for one who has lived among men of one generation, to make his defence before those of another." And even with this case he did not put an end to his forensic contests, but four years later, at the age of ninety, he impeached Servius Galba. Indeed, he may be said, like Nestor,

τριγωνίαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι κατελθεῖν. Σκηπίωνι γάρ, ὡς λέλεκται, τῷ μεγάλῳ πολλὰ διερισάμενος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διέτεινεν εἰς Σκηπίωνα τὸν νέον, ὃς ἦν ἐκείνου κατὰ ποίησιν υἱωνός, υἱὸς δὲ Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας καταπολεμήσαντος.

- XVI. Τῆς δ' ὑπατείας κατόπιν ἔτεσι δέκα τιμητείαν ὁ Κάτων παρήγγειλε. κορυφή δέ τίς ἐστι τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπιτελείωσις, ἄλλην τε πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἥθη καὶ τοὺς βίους ἐξέτασιν. οὔτε γὰρ γάμον οὔτε παιδοποιεῖν τινὸς οὔτε δίκαιαν οὔτε συμπόσιον ᾧοντο δεῖν ἄκριτον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐπιθυμίας
- 2 ἔχοι καὶ προαιρέσεως, ἀφείσθαι. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις νομίζοντες ἢ ταῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσι τρόπον ἀνδρὸς ἐνορᾶσθαι, φύλακα καὶ σωφρονιστὴν καὶ κολαστὴν τοῦ μηδένα καθ' ἡδονὰς ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ παρεκβαίνειν τὸν ἐπιχώριον καὶ συνήθη βίον ἡροῦντο τῶν καλουμένων πατρικίων ἕνα καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἕνα. τιμητὰς δὲ τούτους προσηγόρευον, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἀφελέσθαι μὲν ἵππον, ἐκβαλεῖν δὲ συγκλήτου τὸν
- 3 ἀκολάστως βιοῦντα καὶ ἀτάκτως. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὰ τιμήματα τῶν οὐσιῶν λαμβάνοντες ἐπεσκόπουν, καὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διέκρινον· ἄλλας τε μεγάλας ἔχει δυνάμεις ἡ ἀρχή.

Διὸ καὶ τῷ Κάτωνι πρὸς τὴν παραγγελίαν

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to have been vigorous and active among three generations. For after many political struggles with Scipio the Great, as told above, he lived to be contemporary with Scipio the Younger, who was the Elder's grandson by adoption, and the son of that Paulus Aemilius who subdued Perseus and the Macedonians.¹

XVI. Ten years after his consulship,² Cato stood for the censorship. This office towered, as it were, above every other civic honour, and was, in a way, the culmination of a political career. The variety of its powers was great, including that of examining into the lives and manners of the citizens. Its creators thought that no one should be left to his own devices and desires, without inspection and review, either in his marrying, or in the begetting of his children, or in the ordering of his daily life, or in the entertainment of his friends. Nay, rather, thinking that these things revealed a man's real character more than did his public and political career, they set men in office to watch, admonish, and chastise, that no one should turn aside to wantonness and forsake his native and customary mode of life. They chose to this office one of the so-called patricians, and one of the plebeians. These officers were called censors, and they had authority to degrade a knight, or to expel a senator who led an unbridled and disorderly life. They also revised the assessments of property, and arranged the citizens in lists according to their social and political classes. There were other great powers also connected with the office.

Therefore, when Cato stood for it, nearly all

¹ In the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C. ² 184 B.C.

ἀπήντησαν ἐνιστάμενοι σχεδὸν οἱ γνωριμώτατοι καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδας ὁ φθόνος ἐλύπει, παντάπασιν οἰομένους προπηλακίζεσθαι τὴν εὐγένειαν ἀνθρώπων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀδόξων εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τιμὴν καὶ δύνα-
 4 μιν ἀναβιβαζομένων, οἱ δὲ μοχθηρὰ συνειδότες αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν ἐθῶν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν αὐστηρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀπαραίτητον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐσομένην. διὸ συμφρονήσαντες καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἐπτά κατῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἀντιπάλους τῷ Κάτῳ, θεραπεύοντας ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς τὸ πλήθος, ὥς δὴ μαλακῶς καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἄρχεσθαι
 5 δεόμενον. τούναντίον δ' ὁ Κάτων οὐδεμίαν ἐνδιδούς ἐπιείκειαν, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἀπειλῶν τε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ κεκραγῶς μεγάλου καθαρμοῦ χρήζειν τὴν πόλιν, ἡξίου τοὺς πολλούς, εἰ σωφρονούσι, μὴ τὸν ἡδιστον, ἀλλὰ τὸν σφοδρότατον αἰρεῖσθαι τῶν ἱατρῶν· τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἓνα Φλάκκον Οὐαλλέριον· μετ' ἐκείνου γὰρ οἶεσθαι μόνου τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν μαλακίαν ὥσπερ ὕδραν τέμνων καὶ ἀποκαίων προὔργου τι ποιήσῃ, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὁρᾶν ἕκαστον ἄρξαι κακῶς βιαζόμενον, ὅτι τοὺς καλῶς
 6 ἄρξοντας δέδοικεν. οὕτω δ' ἄρα μέγας ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλων ἄξιος δημαγωγῶν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὥστε μὴ φοβηθῆναι τὴν ἀνάτασιν καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡδεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸς

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the best known and most influential men of the senatorial party united to oppose him. The men of noble parentage among them were moved by jealousy, thinking that nobility of birth would be trampled in the mire if men of ignoble origin forced their way up to the summits of honour and power; while those who were conscious of base practices and of a departure from ancestral customs, feared the severity of the man, which was sure to be harsh and inexorable in the exercise of power. Therefore, after due consultation and preparation, they put up in opposition to Cato seven candidates for the office, who sought the favour of the multitude with promises of mild conduct in office, supposing, forsooth, that it wanted to be ruled with a lax and indulgent hand. Cato, on the contrary, showed no complaisance whatever, but plainly threatened wrong-doers in his speeches, and loudly cried that the city had need of a great purification. He adjured the people, if they were wise, not to choose the most agreeable physician, but the one who was most in earnest. He himself, he said, was such a physician, and so was Valerius Flaccus, of the patricians. With him as colleague, and him alone, he thought he could cut and sear to some purpose the hydra-like luxury and effeminacy of the time. As for the rest of the candidates, he saw that they were all trying to force their way into the office in order to administer it badly, since they feared those who would administer it well. And so truly great was the Roman people, and so worthy of great leaders, that they did not fear Cato's rigour and haughty independence, but rejected rather those agreeable candidates who,

χάριν ἅπαντα ποιήσῃν δοκοῦντας ἀπορρίψας
ἐλέσθαι μετὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος τὸν Φλάκκον, ὥσπερ
οὐκ αἰτοῦντος ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἤδη καὶ
προστάττοντος ἀκροώμενος.

XVII. Προέγραψε μὲν οὖν ὁ Κάτων τῆς συγ-
κλήτου τὸν συνάρχοντα καὶ φίλον Λεύκιον
Οὐαλλέριον Φλάκκον, ἐξέβαλε δὲ τῆς βουλῆς
ἄλλους τε συχνοὺς καὶ Λεύκιον Κοῖντιον, ὑπατου
μὲν ἑπτὰ πρότερον ἐνιαυτοῖς γεγενημένον, ὃ δ' ἦν
αὐτῷ πρὸς δόξαν ὑπατείας μείζον, ἀδελφὸν Τίτου
Φλαμινίου τοῦ καταπολεμήσαντος Φίλιππον.

- 2 αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ἔσχε τοιαύτην. 346
μειράκιον ἐκ τῆς παιδικῆς ὥρας ἑταίρου ἀνειληφῶς ὁ Λεύ-
κιος αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε καὶ συνεπήγετο στρατη-
γῶν ἐπὶ τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως τοσαύτης, ὅσην οὐδεὶς
εἶχε τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτῷ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων.
ἐτύγχανε μὲν οὖν ἡγούμενος ὑπατικῆς ἐπαρχίας·
ἐν δὲ συμποσίῳ· τινὶ τὸ μειράκιον, ὥσπερ εἰώθει,
συγκατακείμενον ἄλλην τε κολακείαν ἐκίνει πρὸς
ἄνθρωπον¹ ἐν οἴνῳ ῥαδίως ἀγόμενον, καὶ φιλεῖν
αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔλεγεν “ὥστ’,” ἔφη, “θέας οὔσης
οἴκοι μονομάχων οὐ τεθραμένους πρότερον ἐξώρ-
μησα πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἐπιθυμῶν ἰδεῖν ἄνθρωπον
3 σφαττόμενον.” ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀντιφιλοφρονού-
μενος “Ἀλλὰ τούτου γε χάριν,” εἶπε, “μή μοι
κατάκεισο λυπούμενος, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἰάσομαι.” καὶ
κελεύσας ἓνα τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακρίτων εἰς τὸ
συμπόσιον ἀχθῆναι καὶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἔχοντα

¹ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον Blass with F^aSC: πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

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it was believed, would do every thing to please them, and elected Flaccus to the office along with Cato.¹ To Cato they gave ear, not as to one soliciting office, but as to one already in office and issuing his decrees.

XVII. As censor, then, Cato made Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his colleague and friend, chief senator. He also expelled many members of the Senate, including Lucius Quintius. This man had been consul seven years before, and, a thing which gave him more reputation than the consulship even, was brother of the Titus Flamininus who conquered King Philip.² The reason for his expulsion was the following: There was a youth who, ever since his boyhood, had been the favourite of Lucius. This youth Lucius kept ever about him, and took with him on his campaigns in greater honour and power than any one of his nearest friends and kinsmen had. He was once administering the affairs of his consular province, and at a certain banquet this youth, as was his wont, reclined at his side, and began to pay his flatteries to a man who, in his cups, was too easily led about. "I love you so much," he said, "that once, when there was a gladiatorial show at home, a thing which I had never seen, I rushed away from it to join you, although my heart was set on seeing a man slaughtered." "Well, for that matter," said Lucius, "don't lie there with any grudge against me, for I will cure it." Thereupon he commanded that one of the men who were lying under sentence of death be brought to the banquet, and that a lictor with an axe stand by his side. Then he

¹ 184 B.C.

² At Cynoscephalae, 198 B.C.

πέλεκυν παραστήναι, πάλιν ἠρώτησε τὸν ἐρώμενον, εἰ βούλεται τυπτόμενον θεάσασθαι. φήσαντος δὲ βούλεσθαι, προσέταξεν ἀποκόψαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν τράχηλον.

4 Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείστοι ταῦτα ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ ὁ γε Κικέρων αὐτὸν τὸν Κάτωνα διηγούμενον ἐν τῷ περὶ γήρως διαλόγῳ πεποίηκεν· ὁ δὲ Λίβιος αὐτόμολον εἶναι φησι Γαλάτην τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα, τὸν δὲ Λεύκιον οὐ δι' ὑπηρέτου κτεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ χειρί, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν λόγῳ¹ γεγράφθαι Κάτωνος.

5 Ἐκβληθέντος οὖν τοῦ Λευκίου τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ βαρέως φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον κατέφυγε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκέλευεν εἰπεῖν τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς ἐκβολῆς. εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ διηγησαμένου τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπεχείρει μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος ἀρνεῖσθαι, προκαλουμένου δὲ τοῦ Κάτω-
6 νος εἰς ὀρισμὸν ἀνεδύετο. καὶ τότε μὲν ἄξια παθεῖν κατεγνώσθη· θέας δ' οὔσης ἐν θεάτρῳ τὴν ὑπατικὴν χώραν παρελθὼν καὶ πορρωτάτῳ πον καθεσθεις οἶκτον ἔσχε παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ βοῶν-
τες ἠνάγκασαν αὐτὸν μετελθεῖν, ὥς ἦν δυνατὸν ἐπανορθούμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες τὸ γεγεννη-
μένον.

7 Ἄλλον δὲ βουλῆς ἐξέβαλεν ὑπατεύσειν ἐπίδοξον ὄντα, Μανίλλιον, ὅτι τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁρώσης τῆς θυγατρὸς κατεφίλησεν. αὐτῷ δ' ἔφη τὴν γυναῖκα μηδέποτε πλὴν βροντῆς μεγάλης γενομένης περιπλακῆναι, καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὥς μακάριός ἐστι τοῦ Διὸς βροντῶντος.

¹ ἐν λόγῳ Hercher and Blass with F^aSC: ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.

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asked his beloved if he wished to see the man smitten. The youth said he did, and Lucius ordered the man's head to be cut off.

This is the version which most writers give of the affair, and so Cicero has represented Cato himself as telling the story in his dialogue "On Old Age."¹ But Livy² says the victim was a Gallic deserter, and that Lucius did not have the man slain by a lictor, but smote him with his own hand, and that this is the version of the story in a speech of Cato's.

On the expulsion of Lucius from the Senate by Cato, his brother was greatly indignant, and appealed to the people, urging that Cato state his reasons for the expulsion. Cato did so, narrating the incident of the banquet. Lucius attempted to make denial, but when Cato challenged him to a formal trial of the case with a wager of money upon it, he declined. Then the justice of his punishment was recognized. But once when a spectacle was given in the theatre, he passed along by the senatorial seats, and took his place as far away from them as he could. Then the people took pity upon him and shouted till they had forced him to change his seat, thus rectifying, as far as was possible, and alleviating the situation.

Cato expelled another senator who was thought to have good prospects for the consulship, namely, Manilius, because he embraced his wife in open day before the eyes of his daughter. For his own part, he said, he never embraced his wife unless it thundered loudly; and it was a pleasantry of his to remark that he was a happy man when it thundered.

¹ *Cato Maior*, 12, 42.

² xxxix, 42.

XVIII. Ἦνευκε δέ τινα τῷ Κάτωνι καὶ
 Λεύκιος ὁ Σκηπίωνος ἀδελφὸς ἐπίφθονον αἰτίαν,
 θριαμβικὸς ἀνὴρ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον·
 ἔδοξε γὰρ οἷον ἐφυβρίζων Ἀφρικανῷ Σκηπίωνι
 τεθνηκότι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους
 ἠνίασε μάλιστα τῇ περικοπῇ τῆς πολυτελείας,
 ἣν ἄντικρυς μὲν ἀφελέσθαι, νενοσηκότων ἤδη
 καὶ διεφθαρμένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀδύ-
 2 νατον ἦν, κύκλῳ δὲ περιῶν ἠνάγκαζεν ἐσθῆτος,
 ὀχήματος, κόσμου γυναικείου, σκευῶν τῶν περὶ
 δαίαιταν, ὧν ἐκάστου τὸ τίμημα δραχμὰς χιλίας
 καὶ πεντακοσίας ὑπερέβαλλεν, ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὴν
 ἀξίαν εἰς τὸ δεκαπλάσιον, βουλόμενος ἀπὸ μει-
 ζόνων τιμημάτων αὐτοῖς μείζονας καὶ τὰς εἰσφο-
 ρὰς εἶναι. καὶ προσετίμησε τρεῖς χαλκοὺς πρὸς
 τοῖς χιλίοις, ὅπως βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς
 καὶ τοὺς εὐσταλεῖς καὶ λιτοὺς ὀρώντες ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἴσων ἐλάττονα τελούοντας εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπα-
 3 γορεύουσιν. ἦσαν οὖν αὐτῷ χαλεποὶ μὲν οἱ τὰς
 εἰσφορὰς διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ὑπομένοντες, χαλεποὶ
 δ' αὖ πάλιν οἱ τὴν τρυφὴν ἀποτιθέμενοι διὰ
 τὰς εἰσφορὰς. πλούτου γὰρ ἀφαίρεσιν οἱ πολλοὶ
 νομίζουσι τὴν κώλυσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως,
 ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς περιττοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ἀναγ-
 καίοις. ὃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστά φασι τὸν φιλόσοφον
 Ἀρίστωνα θαυμάζειν, ὅτι τοὺς τὰ περιττὰ κε-
 κτημένους μᾶλλον ἡγοῦνται μακαρίους ἢ τοὺς
 4 τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εὐποροῦντας. Σκό-
 πας δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς αἰτουμένου τινὸς τῶν φίλων

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XVIII. Cato was rather bitterly censured for his treatment of Lucius, the brother of Scipio, whom, though he had achieved the honour of a triumph, he expelled from the equestrian order. He was thought to have done this as an insult to the memory of Scipio Africanus. But he was most obnoxious to the majority of his enemies because he lopped off extravagance in living. This could not be done away with outright, since most of the people were already infected and corrupted by it, and so he took a roundabout way. He had all apparel, equipages, jewellery, furniture and plate, the value of which in any case exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas, assessed at ten times its worth, wishing by means of larger assessments to make the owners' taxes also larger. Then he laid a tax of three on every thousand asses thus assessed, in order that such property holders, burdened by their charges, and seeing that people of equal wealth who led modest and simple lives paid less into the public treasury, might desist from their extravagance. As a result, both classes were incensed against him, both those who endured the taxes for the sake of their luxury, and those no less who put away their luxury because of the taxes. For most men think themselves robbed of their wealth if they are prevented from displaying it, and that display of it is made in the superfluities, not in the necessities of life. This, we are told, is what most astonished Ariston the philosopher, namely, that those possessed of the superfluities of life should be counted happy, rather than those well provided with life's necessary and useful things. Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked for something of his which

παρ' αὐτοῦ τι τοιοῦτον, ὃ μὴ σφόδρα ἦν χρήσιμον 347
ἐκείνῳ, καὶ λέγοντος, ὥς οὐδὲν αἰτεῖ τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων καὶ χρησίμῳ "Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ τούτοις,"
εἶπεν, "εὐδαίμων καὶ πλούσιός εἰμι, τοῖς ἀχρή-
στοις καὶ περιττοῖς." οὕτως ὁ τοῦ πλούτου
ζῆλος οὐδενὶ πάθει φυσικῶ συνημμένος ἐκ τῆς
ὀχλῶδους καὶ θυραίου δόξης ἐπεισώδιός ἐστιν.

- XIX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐγκαλούντων ἐλάχιστα
φροντίζων ὁ Κάτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινεν, ἀπο-
κόπτων μὲν ὀχετούς, οἷς τὸ παραρρέον δημόσιον
ὑδωρ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπῆγον εἰς οἰκίας ἰδίας
καὶ κήπους, ἀνατρέπων δὲ καὶ καταβάλλων
ὅσα προὔβαινεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον οἰκοδομήματα,
συστέλλων δὲ τοῖς μισθοῖς τὰς ἐργολαβίας, τὰ
δὲ τέλη ταῖς πράσεσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐλαύνων
2 τιμάς. ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῷ πολὺ συνήχθη μῖσος. οἱ
δὲ περὶ τὸν Τίτον συστάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν τε
τῇ βουλῇ τὰς γεγενημένας ἐκδόσεις καὶ μισθώσεις
τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων ἔλυσαν ὥς γε-
γενημένας ἀλυσιτελῶς, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς
θραυστάτους παρώξυναν ἐν δήμῳ προσκαλέ-
σασθαι τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ ζημιῶσαι δυσὶ ταλάν-
τοις. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλικῆς
κατασκευὴν ἠναντιώθησαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐκ χρημά-
των κοινῶν ὑπὸ τὸ βουλευτήριον τῇ ἀγορᾷ
παρέβαλε καὶ Πορκία βασιλικὴ προσηγορεύθη.¹
3 Φαίνεται δὲ θαυμαστῶς ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ
τὴν τιμητείαν ὁ δῆμος. ἀνδριάντια γοῦν ἀναθεῖς
ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὑγείας ἐπέγραψεν οὐ τὰς

¹ Πορκία βασιλικὴ προσηγορεύθη Sintenis with the better
MSS., and now S. Cf. Livy 39, 44. Πορκίαν βασιλικὴν
προσηγόρευσεν Bekker (and called).

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was of no great service to him, with the remark that he asked for nothing that was necessary and useful, replied : " And yet my wealth and happiness are based on just such useless and superfluous things." Thus the desire for wealth is no natural adjunct of the soul, but is imposed upon it by the false opinions of the outside world.

XIX. However, Cato paid not the slightest heed to his accusers, but grew still more strict. He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed part of the public water supply into their private houses and gardens ; he upset and demolished all buildings that enroached on public land ; he reduced the cost of public works to the lowest, and forced the rent of public lands to the highest possible figure. All these things brought much odium upon him. Titus Flamininus headed a party against him which induced the Senate to annul as useless the outlays and payments which he had authorised for temples and public works, and incited the boldest of the tribunes to call him to account before the people and fine him two talents. The Senate also strongly opposed the erection of the basilica which he built at the public cost below the council-house in the Forum, and which was called the Basilica Porcia.

Still, it appears that the people approved of his censorship to an amazing extent. At any rate, after erecting a statue to his honour in the temple of Health, they commemorated in the inscription

- στρατηγίας οὐδὲ τὸν θρίαμβον τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλ', ὡς ἂν τις μεταφράσειε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν, "Ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τιμητῆς γενόμενος χρησταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἐθισμοῖς καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὀρθὸν αὐθις ἀποκατέστησε."
- 4 καίτοι πρότερον αὐτὸς κατεγέλα τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ χαλκῶν καὶ ζωγράφων ἔργοις μέγα φρονούντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ καλλίστας εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς περιφέρειν τοὺς πολίτας· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας, ὅτι πολλῶν ἀδόξων ἀνδριάντας ἔχόντων ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔχει "Μᾶλλον γάρ," ἔφη, "βούλομαι ζητεῖσθαι, διὰ τί μου ἀνδριάς οὐ κείται ἢ διὰ
- 5 τί κείται;" τὸ δ' ὅλον οὐδ' ἐπαινούμενον ἡξίου τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ὑπομένειν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο χρησίμως γίνοιτο τῷ κοινῷ.

Καίτοι¹ πλείστα πάντων ἑαυτὸν ἐγκεκωμίακεν, ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτίνοντάς τι περὶ τὸν βίον, εἰτ' ἐλεγχομένους λέγειν φησίν, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ Κάτωνές εἰσι· καὶ τοὺς ἔνια μιμῆσθαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένων οὐκ ἐμμελῶς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐπαριστέρους καλεῖσθαι

6 Κάτωνας· ἀφορᾶν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις καιροῖς ὥσπερ ἐν πλῆ πρὸς κυβερνήτην, καὶ πολλάκις μὴ παρόντος ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς. ἂ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖται· μέγα γὰρ ἔσχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ διὰ τὸν βίον καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀξίωμα.

XX. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ πατὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ περὶ

¹ καίτοι conjecture of Blass : καί.

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upon it, not the military commands nor the triumph of Cato, but, as the inscription may be translated, the fact "that when the Roman state was tottering to its fall, he was made censor, and by helpful guidance, wise restraints, and sound teachings, restored it again." And yet, before this time he used to laugh at those who delighted in such honours, saying that, although they knew it not, their pride was based simply on the work of statuaries and painters, whereas his own images, of the most exquisite workmanship, were borne about in the hearts of his fellow citizens. And to those who expressed their amazement that many men of no fame had statues, while he had none, he used to say: "I would much rather have men ask why I have no statue, than why I have one." In short, he thought a good citizen should not even allow himself to be praised, unless such praise was beneficial to the commonwealth.

And yet of all men he has heaped most praises upon himself. He tells us that men of self-indulgent lives, when rebuked for it, used to say: "We ought not to be blamed; we are no Catos." Also that those who imitated some of his practices and did it clumsily, were called "left-handed Catos." Also that the Senate looked to him in the most dangerous crises as seafarers to their helmsman, and often, if he was not present, postponed its most serious business. These boasts of his are confirmed, it is true, by other witnesses, for he had great authority in the city, alike for his life, his eloquence, and his age.

XX. He was also a good father, a considerate

- γυναῖκα χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ χρηματιστῆς οὐκ
 εὐκαταφρόνητος οὐδ' ὥς τι μικρὸν ἢ φαῦλον ἐν
 παρέργῳ μεταχειρισάμενος τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπι-
 μέλειαν. ὅθεν οἶομαι δεῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅσα
 καλῶς ἔχει διελθεῖν· γυναῖκα μὲν εὐγενεστέραν
 ἢ πλουσιωτέραν ἔγημεν, ἡγούμενος ὁμοίως μὲν
 ἀμφοτέρας ἔχειν βάρος καὶ φρόνημα, τὰς δὲ
 γεμναίας αἰδουμένας τὰ αἰσχρὰ μᾶλλον ὑπηκόους
 2 εἶναι πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι. τὸν δὲ
 τύπτοντα γαμέτην ἢ παῖδα τοῖς ἀγιωτάτοις ἔλεγεν
 ἱεροῖς προσφέρειν τὰς χεῖρας. ἐν ἐπαίνῳ δὲ
 μείζονι τίθεσθαι τὸ γαμέτην ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ μέγαν
 εἶναι συγκλητικόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτους οὐδὲν
 ἄλλο θαυμάζειν τοῦ παλαιοῦ πλὴν ὅτι γυναικὶ
 χαλεπῇ καὶ παισὶν ὑποπλήκτοις χρώμενος ἐπι-
 εικῶς καὶ πράως διετέλεσε. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ
 παιδὸς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργον οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ μὴ τι
 δημόσιον, ὥς μὴ παρεῖναι τῇ γυναικὶ λουούσῃ τὸ 348
 3 βρέφος καὶ σπαργανούσῃ. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔτρεφεν
 ἰδίῳ γάλακτι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων
 παιδάρια τῷ μαστῷ προσιεμένη κατεσκεύαζεν
 εὖνοϊαν ἐκ τῆς συντροφίας πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἤρξατο συνιέναι, παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκε
 γράμματα, καίτοι χαρίεντα δούλον εἶχε γραμμα-
 τιστὴν ὄνομα Χίλωνα, πολλοὺς διδάσκοντα
 4 παῖδας. οὐκ ἡξίου δὲ τὸν υἱόν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός,
 ὑπὸ δούλου κακῶς ἀκούειν ἢ τοῦ ὥτὸς ἀνατεί-
 νεσθαι μανθάνοντα βράδιον, οὐδέ γε μαθήματος
 τηλικούτου τῷ δούλῳ χάριν ὀφείλειν, ἀλλ'
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν γραμματιστής, αὐτὸς δὲ νομοδι-

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husband, and a household manager of no mean talent, nor did he give only a fitful attention to this, as a matter of little or no importance. Therefore I think I ought to give suitable instances of his conduct in these relations. He married a wife who was of gentler birth than she was rich, thinking that, although the rich and the high-born may be alike given to pride, still, women of high birth have such a horror of what is disgraceful that they are more obedient to their husbands in all that is honourable. He used to say that the man who struck his wife or child, laid violent hands on the holiest of holy things. Also that he thought it more praiseworthy to be a good husband than a great senator, nay, there was nothing else to admire in Socrates of old except that he was always kind and gentle in his intercourse with a shrewish wife and stupid sons. After the birth of his son, no business could be so urgent, unless it had a public character, as to prevent him from being present when his wife bathed and swaddled the babe. For the mother nursed it herself, and often gave suck also to the infants of her slaves, that so they might come to cherish a brotherly affection for her son. As soon as the boy showed signs of understanding, his father took him under his own charge and taught him to read, although he had an accomplished slave, Chilo by name, who was a school-teacher, and taught many boys. Still, Cato thought it not right, as he tells us himself, that his son should be scolded by a slave, or have his ears tweaked when he was slow to learn, still less that he should be indebted to his slave for such a priceless thing as education. He was therefore

δίακτης, αὐτὸς δὲ γυμναστής, οὐ μόνον ἀκοντίζειν οὐδ' ὄπλομαχεῖν οὐδ' ἵππεύειν διδάσκων τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ πύξ παίειν καὶ καῦμα καὶ ψυχὸς ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ δινώδη καὶ τραχύνοντα
 5 τοῦ ποταμοῦ διανηχόμενον ἀποβιάζεσθαι. καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας δὲ συγγράψαι φησὶν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ μεγάλοις γράμμασιν, ὅπως οἰκοθεν ὑπάρχοντι τῷ παιδί πρὸς ἐμπειρίαν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ πατρίων ὠφελεῖσθαι· τὰ δ' αἰσχροῦ τῶν ῥημάτων οὐχ ἡττον εὐλαβεῖσθαι τοῦ παιδὸς παρόντος ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων, ἃς Ἑστιάδας καλοῦσι· συλλοῦσασθαι δὲ μηδέποτε. καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν ἔοικε Ῥωμαίων ἔθος εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ πενθεροὶ γαμβροῖς¹ ἐφυλάττοντο συλλοῦεσθαι, δυσωπούμενοι τὴν
 11 ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ γύμνωσιν. εἴτα μέντοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι μαθόντες, αὐτοὶ πάλιν τοῦ καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν τοῦτο πρᾶσσειν ἀναπεπλήκασιν τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Οὕτω δὲ καλὸν ἔργον εἰς ἀρετὴν τῷ Κάτωνι πλάττοντι καὶ δημιουργοῦντι τὸν υἱόν, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς προθυμίας ἦν ἄμεμπτα καὶ δι' εὐφυΐαν ὑπήκουεν ἢ ψυχῇ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα μαλακώτερον ἐφαίνετο τοῦ πονεῖν, ὑπανῆκεν αὐτῷ τὸ σύντρονον
 7 ἄγαν καὶ κεκολασμένον τῆς διαίτης. ὁ δέ, καίπερ οὕτως ἔχων, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις, καὶ τὴν πρὸς Περσέα μάχην ἡγωνίσαστο λαμπρῶς Παύλου στρατηγοῦντος. εἴτα μέντοι τοῦ ξίφους ἐκκρουσθέντος ὑπὸ πληγῆς ἢ δι' ὑγρότητα τῆς

¹ πενθεροὶ γαμβροῖς Hercher and Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis : πενθεροῖς γαμβροί.

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himself not only the boy's reading-teacher, but his tutor in law, and his athletic trainer, and he taught his son not merely to hurl the javelin and fight in armour and ride the horse, but also to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim lustily through the eddies and billows of the Tiber. His History of Rome, as he tells us himself, he wrote out with his own hand and in large characters, that his son might have in his own home an aid to acquaintance with his country's ancient traditions. He declares that his son's presence put him on his guard against indecencies of speech as much as that of the so-called Vestal Virgins, and that he never bathed with him. This, indeed, would seem to have been a general custom with the Romans, for even fathers-in-law avoided bathing with their sons-in-law, because they were ashamed to uncover their nakedness. Afterwards, however, when they had learned from the Greeks their freedom in going naked, they in their turn infected the Greeks with the practice even when women were present.

So Cato wrought at the fair task of moulding and fashioning his son to virtue, finding his zeal blameless, and his spirit answering to his good natural parts. But since his body was rather too delicate to endure much hardship, he relaxed somewhat in his favour the excessive rigidity and austerity of his own mode of life. But his son, although thus delicate, made a sturdy soldier, and fought brilliantly under Paulus Aemilius in the battle against Perseus.¹ On that occasion his sword either was smitten from his hand or slipped from his

¹ Pydna, 168 B.C.

χειρὸς ἐξολισθόντος ἀχθεσθεῖς τρέπεται πρὸς
 τινας τῶν συνήθων, καὶ παραλαβὼν ἐκείνους
 αὐθις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνέβαλε. πολλῷ δ'
 ἀγῶνι καὶ βία μεγάλῃ διαφωτίσας τὸν τόπον
 ἀνεῦρε μόγις ἐν πολλοῖς σάγμασιν ὅπλων καὶ
 σώμασι νεκρῶν ὁμοῦ φίλων τε καὶ πολεμίων
 8 κατασεσφωρεμένων. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ Παῦλος ὁ στρα-
 τηγὸς ἡγάσθη τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ
 φέρεται τις ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὑπερφυῶς
 ἐπαινούντος τὴν περὶ τὸ ξίφος φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ
 καὶ σπουδὴν. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Παύλου θυγατέρα
 Τερτίαν ἔγημεν ὁ νεανίας, ἀδελφὴν Σκηπίωνος,
 οὐχ ἦττον ἤδη δι' αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν πατέρα καταμιγνύ-
 μενος εἰς γένος τηλικούτον. ἡ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν
 υἱὸν ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ Κάτωνος ἄξιον ἔσχεν τέλος.

XXI. Οἰκέτας δὲ πολλοὺς ἐκτᾶτο, τῶν αἰχ-
 μαλώτων ὠνούμενος μάλιστα τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ
 δυναμένους ἔτι τροφὴν καὶ παίδευσιν ὡς σκύ-
 λακας ἢ πῶλους ἐνεγκεῖν. τούτων οὐδεὶς εἰσῆλ-
 θεν εἰς οἰκίαν ἑτέραν, εἰ μὴ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ
 Κάτωνος ἢ τῆς γυναικός. ὁ δ' ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί
 πράττοι Κάτων, οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνετο πλὴν ἀγνοεῖν.
 2 ἔδει δὲ ἢ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἰκοὶ τὸν
 δούλον ἢ καθεύδειν· καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς κοιμωμένοις
 ὁ Κάτων ἔχαιρε, πραότερους τε τῶν ἐγρηγορότων
 νομίζων καὶ πρὸς οἰοῦν βελτίονας χρῆσθαι τῶν
 δεομένων ὕπνου τοὺς ἀπολελαυκότας. οἰόμενος
 δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ραδιουργεῖν ἀφροδισίων ἔνεκα τοὺς
 δούλους ἔταξεν ὠρισμένου νομίσματος ὁμιλεῖν 349
 ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν, ἑτέρα δὲ γυναικὶ μηδένα πλη-
 σιάζειν.

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moist grasp. Distressed at this mishap, he turned to some of his companions for aid, and supported by them rushed again into the thick of the enemy. After a long and furious struggle, he succeeded in clearing the place, and found the sword at last among the many heaps of arms and dead bodies where friends and foes alike lay piled upon one another. Paulus, his commander, admired the young man's exploit, and there is still extant a letter written by Cato himself to his son, in which he heaps extravagant praise upon him for this honourable zeal in recovering his sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, a daughter of Paulus and a sister of the younger Scipio, and his admission into such a family was due no less to himself than to his father. Thus Cato's careful attention to the education of his son bore worthy fruit.

XXI. He owned many domestics, and usually bought those prisoners of war who were young and still capable of being reared and trained like whelps or colts. Not one of his slaves ever entered another man's house unless sent thither by Cato or his wife, and when such an one was asked what Cato was doing, he always answered that he did not know. A slave of his was expected either to be busy about the house, or to be asleep, and he was very partial to the sleepy ones. He thought these gentler than the wakeful ones, and that those who had enjoyed the gift of sleep were better for any kind of service than those who lacked it. In the belief that his slaves were led into most mischief by their sexual passions, he stipulated that the males should consort with the females at a fixed price, but should never approach any other woman.

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- 3 Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν ἔτι πένης ὢν καὶ στρατευσόμενος πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυσκόλαινε τῶν περὶ δίαιταν, ἀλλ' αἰσχιστον ἀπέφαινε διὰ γαστέρα πρὸς οἰκέτην ζυγομαχεῖν. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδιδόντων ποιούμενος ἐστιάσεις φίλων καὶ συναρχόντων ἐκόλαζεν εὐθύς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἱμάντι τοὺς ἀμελέστερον ὑπουργήσαντας ὅτι οὖν ἢ
- 4 σκευάσαντας. αἰεὶ δέ τινα στάσιν ἔχειν τοὺς δούλους ἐμνηχανᾶτο καὶ διαφορὰν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὑπονοῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ δεδοικώς. τοὺς δ' ἄξιον εἰργάσθαι τι θανάτου δόξαντες ἐδικαίου κριθέντας ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις πᾶσιν ἀποθνήσκειν, εἰ καταγνωσθεῖεν.
- 5 Ἀπτόμενος δὲ συντονώτερον πορισμοῦ τὴν μὲν γεωργίαν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖτο διαγωγὴν ἢ πρόσ-
οδον, εἰς δ' ἀσφαλῆ πράγματα καὶ βέβαια κατατιθέμενος τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκτᾶτο λίμνας, ὕδατα θερμά, τόπους κναφεύσιν ἀνειμένους, ἔργα πίσσια, χώραν¹ ἔχουσαν αὐτοφυεῖς νομὰς καὶ ὕλας, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῷ χρήματα προσήει πολλὰ μὴδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, βλαβῆναι δυνα-
- 6 μένων. ἐχρήσατο δὲ καὶ τῷ διαβεβλημένῳ μάλιστα τῶν δανεισμῶν ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς τὸν τρόπον τούτον. ἐκέλευε τοὺς δανειζομένους ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολλοὺς παρακαλεῖν, γενομένων δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ πλοίων τοσούτων αὐτὸς εἶχε μίαν μερίδα διὰ Κουῖντίωνος ἀπελευθέρου τοῖς δανειζομένοις συμ-
πραγματευομένου καὶ συμπλέοντος. ἦν δ' οὖν οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' εἰς μέρος μικρὸν
- 7 ἐπὶ κέρδεσι μεγάλους. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν

¹ ἔργα πίσσια, χώραν Blass with S: ἐργατησίαν χώραν, productive land.

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At the outset, when he was still poor and in military service, he found no fault at all with what was served up to him, declaring that it was shameful for a man to quarrel with a domestic over food and drink. But afterwards, when his circumstances were improved and he used to entertain his friends and colleagues at table, no sooner was the dinner over than he would flog those slaves who had been remiss at all in preparing or serving it. He was always contriving that his slaves should have feuds and dissensions among themselves; harmony among them made him suspicious and fearful of them. He had those who were suspected of some capital offence brought to trial before all their fellow servants, and, if convicted, put to death.

However, as he applied himself more strenuously to money-getting, he came to regard agriculture as more entertaining than profitable, and invested his capital in business that was safe and sure. He bought ponds, hot springs, districts given over to fullers, pitch factories, land with natural pasture and forest, all of which brought him in large profits, and "could not," to use his own phrase, "be ruined by Jupiter." He used to loan money also in the most disreputable of all ways, namely, on ships, and his method was as follows. He required his borrowers to form a large company, and when there were fifty partners and as many ships for his security, he took one share in the company himself, and was represented by Quintio, a freedman of his, who accompanied his clients in all their ventures. In this way his entire security was not imperilled, but only a small part of it, and his profits were large.

- τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀργύριον· οἱ δ' ἐωνοῦντο
 παῖδας, εἴτα τούτους ἀσκήσαντες καὶ διδάξαντες
 ἀναλώμασι τοῦ Κάτωνος μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδί-
 δοντο. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεῖχεν ὁ Κάτων, ὅσην
 ὁ πλείστην διδοὺς ἐωνεῖτο τιμὴν ὑπολογιζόμενος.
 8 προτρέπων δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτά φησιν οὐκ
 ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ χήρας γυναικὸς εἶναι τὸ μειῶσαί τι
 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἤδη σφοδρότερον
 τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὅτι θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα καὶ θεῖον
 εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε πρὸς δόξαν, ὃς ἀπολείπει πλέον
 ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὃ προσέθηκεν οὐ παρέλαβεν.

- XXII. Ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ γέροντος γεγονότος
 πρέσβεις Ἀθήνηθεν ἦλθον εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ περὶ
 Καρνεάδην τὸν Ἀκαδημαῖκὸν καὶ Διογένη τὸν
 Στωϊκὸν φιλόσοφον, καταδίκην τινὰ παραιτησό-
 μενοι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἣν ἐρήμην
 ὦφλον Ὠρωπίων μὲν διωξάντων, Σικυνίων δὲ
 καταψηφισαμένων, τίμημα ταλάντων πεντα-
 2 κοσίων ἔχουσιν. εὐθύς οὖν οἱ φιλολογώτατοι
 τῶν νεανίσκων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔεντο, καὶ συνῆ-
 σαν ἀκροώμενοι καὶ θαυμάζοντες αὐτούς. μά-
 λιστα δ' ἡ Καρνεάδου χάρις, ἥς δυνάμεις τε
 πλείστη καὶ δόξα τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀποδέουσα,
 μεγάλων ἐπιλαβομένη καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἀκροα-
 τηρίων ὡς πνέυμα τὴν πόλιν ἡχῆς ἐνέπλησε.
 3 καὶ λόγος κατεῖχεν, ὥς ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήν εἰς ἑκπληξιν
 ὑπερφυῆς πάντα κηλῶν καὶ χειρούμενος ἔρωτα

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He used to lend money also to those of his slaves who wished it, and they would buy boys with it, and after training and teaching them for a year, at Cato's expense, would sell them again. Many of these boys Cato would retain for himself, reckoning to the credit of the slave the highest price bid for his boy. He tried to incite his son also to such economies, by saying that it was not the part of a man, but of a widow woman, to lessen his substance. But that surely was too vehement a speech of Cato's, when he went so far as to say that a man was to be admired and glorified like a god if the final inventory of his property showed that he had added to it more than he had inherited.

XXII. When he was now well on in years, there came as ambassadors from Athens to Rome,¹ Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic philosopher, to beg the reversal of a certain decision against the Athenian people, which imposed upon them a fine of five hundred talents. The people of Oropus had brought the suit, the Athenians had let the case go by default, and the Sicyonians had pronounced judgment against them. Upon the arrival of these philosophers, the most studious of the city's youth hastened to wait upon them, and became their devoted and admiring listeners. The charm of Carneades especially, which had boundless power, and a fame not inferior to its power, won large and sympathetic audiences, and filled the city, like a rushing mighty wind, with the noise of his praises. Report spread far and wide that a Greek of amazing talent, who disarmed all opposition by the magic of his eloquence, had infused a tremen-

¹ 155 B.C.

δεινὸν ἐμβέβληκε τοῖς νέοις, ὑφ' οὗ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἡδονῶν καὶ διατριβῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐνθουσιῶσι
 περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἤρεσκε
 Ῥωμαίοις γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ μειράκια παιδείας
 Ἑλληνικῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα καὶ συνόντα θαυμα-
 4 ζόμενοις ἀνδράσιν ἡδέως ἐώρων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε τοῦ ζήλου τῶν λόγων παραρρέοντας
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤχθετο φοβούμενος, μὴ τὸ φιλό-
 τιμον ἐνταῦθα τρέψαντες οἱ νέοι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ
 λέγειν δόξαν ἀγαπήσωσι μᾶλλον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἔργων καὶ τῶν στρατειῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ προὔβαινε
 ἡ δόξα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς
 πρῶτους λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀνὴρ
 ἐπιφανὴς σπουδάσας αὐτὸς καὶ δεηθεὶς ἡρμή-
 νευσε, Γάϊος Ἀκίλιος, ἔγνω μετ' εὐπρεπείας
 ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἅπαντας
 5 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλη- 350
 τον ἐμέμψατο τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὅτι πρεσβεία
 κάθηται πολὺν χρόνον ἄπρακτος ἀνδρῶν, οἱ περὶ
 παντὸς οὐ βούλονται ῥαδίως πείθειν δύνανται·
 δεῖν οὖν τὴν ταχίστην γινῶναι τι καὶ ψηφίσασθαι
 περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας, ὅπως οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς
 σχολὰς τραπόμενοι διαλέγονται παισὶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων νέοι τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν
 ἀρχόντων ὡς προτέρον ἀκούωσι.

XXIII. Ταῦτα δ' οὐχ, ὥς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι,
 Καρνεάδῃ δυσχεράνας ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὅλως φιλο-
 σοφία προσκεκρουκῶς καὶ πᾶσαν Ἑλληνικὴν
 μούσαν καὶ παιδείαν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας προπηλακί-
 ζων, ὃς γε καὶ Σωκράτῃ φησὶ λάλον καὶ βίαιον
 γενόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν, ᾧ τρόπῳ δυνατὸς ἦν, τυραν-
 νεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, καταλύοντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πρὸς

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dous passion into the youth of the city, in consequence of which they forsook their other pleasures and pursuits and were "possessed" about philosophy. The other Romans were pleased at this, and glad to see their young men lay hold of Greek culture and consort with such admirable men. But Cato, at the very outset, when this zeal for discussion came pouring into the city, was distressed, fearing lest the young men, by giving this direction to their ambition, should come to love a reputation based on mere words more than one achieved by martial deeds. And when the fame of the visiting philosophers rose yet higher in the city, and their first speeches before the Senate were interpreted, at his own instance and request, by so conspicuous a man as Gaius Acilius, Cato determined, on some decent pretext or other, to rid and purge the city of them all. So he rose in the Senate and censured the magistrates for keeping in such long suspense an embassy composed of men who could easily secure anything they wished, so persuasive were they. "We ought," he said, "to make up our minds one way or another, and vote on what the embassy proposes, in order that these men may return to their schools and lecture to the sons of Greece, while the youth of Rome give ear to their laws and magistrates, as heretofore."

XXIII. This he did, not, as some think, out of personal hostility to Carneades, but because he was wholly averse to philosophy, and made mock of all Greek culture and training, out of patriotic zeal. He says, for instance, that Socrates was a mighty prattler, who attempted, as best he could, to be his country's tyrant, by abolishing its customs,

- ἐναντίας τοῖς νόμοις δόξας ἔλκοντα καὶ μεθιστάντα
 2 τοὺς πολίτας. τὴν δ' Ἴσοκράτους διατριβὴν
 ἐπισκώπτων γηρᾶν φησι παρ' αὐτῷ τοὺς μαθητὰς
 ὡς ἐν "Αἰδου παρὰ Μίνῳ χρησομένους ταῖς
 τέχναις καὶ δίκας ἐρούοντας. τὸν δὲ παῖδα δια-
 βάλλων πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ φωνῇ κέχρηται
 θρασυτέρα τοῦ γήρως, οἶον ἀποθεσπίζων καὶ
 προμαντεύων, ὡς ἀπολοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πράγματα
 3 γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν ἀναπλησθέντες. ἀλλὰ
 ταύτην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν δυσφημίαν ὁ χρόνος
 ἀποδείκνυσι κενήν, ἐν ᾧ τοῖς τε πράγμασιν
 ἡ πόλις ἤρθη μεγίστη καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνικὰ μαθή-
 ματα καὶ παιδείαν ἅπασαν ἔσχεν οἰκείως.
 Ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον ἀπηχθάνετο τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν
 Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰατρεύοντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 δι' ὑποψίας εἶχε. καὶ τὸν Ἴπποκράτους, ὡς
 ἔοικεν, ἀκηκοὼς λόγον, ὃν εἶπε τοῦ μεγάλου
 βασιλέως καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τισι
 ταλάντοις, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάρους Ἑλλήνων
 πολεμίους ἑαυτὸν παρασχεῖν, ἔλεγε κοινὸν ὄρκον
 4 εἶναι τοῦτον ἰατρῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ παρεκελεύετο
 φυλάττεσθαι τῷ παιδὶ πάντας· αὐτῷ δὲ γεγραμ-
 μένον ὑπόμνημα εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο θεραπεύειν
 καὶ διαιτᾶν τοὺς νοσοῦντας οἴκοι, νῆστιν μὲν
 οὐδέποτε διατηρῶν οὐδένα, τρέφων δὲ λαχάνοις ἢ
 σαρκιδίοις νήσσης ἢ φάσσης ἢ λαγῷ· καὶ γὰρ
 τοῦτο κοῦφον εἶναι καὶ πρόσφορον ἀσθενοῦσι,
 πλὴν ὅτι πολλὰ συμβαίνει τοῖς φαγοῦσιν ἐνυπνιά-
 ζεσθαι· τοιαύτῃ δὲ θεραπείᾳ καὶ διαίτῃ χρώ-
 μενος ὑγιαίνειν μὲν αὐτός, ὑγιαίνοντας δὲ τοὺς
 ἑαυτοῦ διαφυλάττειν.

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and by enticing his fellow citizens into opinions contrary to the laws. He made fun of the school of Isocrates, declaring that his pupils kept on studying with him till they were old men, as if they were to practise their arts and plead their cases before Minos in Hades. And seeking to prejudice his son against Greek culture, he indulges in an utterance all too rash for his years, declaring, in the tone of a prophet or a seer, that Rome would lose her empire when she had become infected with Greek letters. But time has certainly shown the emptiness of this ill-boding speech of his, for while the city was at the zenith of its empire, she made every form of Greek learning and culture her own.

It was not only Greek philosophers that he hated, but he was also suspicious of Greeks who practised medicine at Rome. He had heard, it would seem, of Hippocrates' reply when the Great King of Persia consulted him, with the promise of a fee of many talents, namely, that he would never put his skill at the service of Barbarians, who were enemies of Greece. He said all Greek physicians had taken a similar oath, and urged his son to beware of them all. He himself, he said, had written a book of recipes, which he followed in the treatment and regimen of any who were sick in his family. He never required his patients to fast, but fed them on greens, or bits of duck, pigeon, or hare. Such a diet, he said, was light and good for sick people, except that it often causes dreams. By following such treatment and regimen he said he had good health himself, and kept his family in good health.

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XXIV. Καὶ περὶ γε τοῦτο φαίνεται γεγονὼς οὐκ ἀνεμέσητος· καὶ γὰρ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέβαλεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ σώματι πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην ἀσφαλῶς πεπηγὼς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέιχεν, ὥστε καὶ γυναικὶ πρεσβύτης ὦν σφόδρα πλησιάζειν καὶ γῆμαι γάμον οὐ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκ τοιαύτης προφάσεως. ἀποβαλὼν τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ μὲν υἱῷ Παύλου θυγατέρα, Σκηπίωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴν ἡγάγετο πρὸς γάμον, αὐτὸς δὲ χηρεύων ἐχρήτο παιδίσκη 2 κρύφα φοιτῶσιν πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦν οὖν ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ νύμφην ἐχούσῃ τοῦ πράγματος αἰσθησῖς· καί ποτε τοῦ γυναιίου θρασύτερον παρασοβῆσαι παρὰ τὸ δωμάτιον δόξαντος ὁ νεανίας εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν, ἐμβλέψας δὲ πῶς πικρότερον καὶ διατραπείς οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν πρεσβύτην. ὥς οὖν ἔγνω τὸ πρᾶγμα δυσχεραίνόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλέσας οὐδὲ μεμψάμενος, ἀλλὰ καταβαίνων, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, μετὰ φίλων εἰς ἀγορὰν Σαλῶνιόν τινα τῶν ὑπογεγραμματοευκότων αὐτῷ παρόντα καὶ συμπροπέμποντα μεγάλη φωνῇ προσαγορεύσας ἠρώτησεν, 3 εἰ τὸ θυγάτριον συνήρמוκε νυμφίῳ. τοῦ δ' ἀνθρώπου φήσαντος, ὥς οὐδὲ μέλλει μὴ πρότερον ἐκείνῳ κοινωνάμενος “Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ σοι,” φησὶν, 351 “εὗρηκα κηδεστὴν ἐπιτήδειον, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας δυσχεραίνοιτο· τᾶλλα γὰρ οὐ μεμπτός ἐστι, σφόδρα δὲ πρεσβύτης.” ὥς οὖν ὁ Σαλῶνιος ἐκέλευε ταῦτα φροντίζειν καὶ διδόναι τὴν κόρην ᾧ προαιρεῖται, πελάτιν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δεομένην τῆς ἐκείνου κηδεμονίας, οὐδεμίαν ὁ

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XXIV. Such presumption on his part seems not to have gone unpunished, for he lost his wife and his son. He himself was well confirmed in bodily health and vigour, and long withstood the assaults of age. Even when an old man he was prone to indulge his sexual appetite, and at last married a wife when he was long past the marrying age. This was the way it came about. After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Aemilius Paulus, the sister of Scipio, but he himself, in his widowhood, took solace with a slave girl who secretly visited his bed. Of course, in a small house with a young married woman in it, the matter was discovered, and once, when the girl seemed to flaunt her way rather too boldly to his chamber, the old man could not help noticing that his son, although he said nothing, looked very sour, and turned away. Perceiving that the thing displeased his children, Cato did not upbraid or blame them at all, but as he was going down in his usual way to the forum with his clients, called out with a loud voice to a certain Salonius, who had been one of his under-secretaries, and was now in his train, asking him if he had found a good husband for his young daughter. The man said he had not, and would not do so without first consulting his patron. "Well then," said Cato, "I have found a suitable son-in-law for you, unless indeed his age should be displeasing; in other ways no fault can be found with him, but he is a very old man." Salonius at once bade him take the matter in charge and give the maid to the man of his choice, since she was a dependant of his and in need of his kind services. Then Cato, without any more

Κάτων ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν
 4 παρθένον αἰτεῖν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς
 εἰκός, ὁ λόγος ἐξέπληξε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πόρρω μὲν
 γάμου τὸν Κάτωνα, πόρρω δ' αὐτὸν οἰκίας
 ὑπατικῆς καὶ θριαμβικῶν κηδευμάτων τιθέμενον·
 σπουδῇ δὲ χρώμενον ὁρῶν ἄσμενος ἐδέξατο, καὶ
 καταβάντες εὐθὺς εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν
 ἐγγύην.

Πραττομένου δὲ τοῦ γάμου παραλαβὼν τοὺς
 ἐπιτηδεῖους ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἠρώτησε τὸν
 πατέρα, μή τι μεμφόμενος ἢ λελυπημένος ὑπ'
 5 αὐτοῦ μητριαν ἐπάγεται. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀνα-
 βοήσας “Εὐφήμησον,” εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ· πάντα
 γὰρ ἀγαστά μοι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ μεμπτὸν οὐδέν·
 ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ πλείονας ἑμαυτῷ τε παιῖδας καὶ
 πολίτας τῇ πατρίδι τοιούτους ἀπολιπεῖν.” ταύτην
 δὲ τὴν γνώμην πρότερον εἰπεῖν φασὶ Πεισί-
 στρατον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τύραννον ἐπιγήμεντα
 τοῖς ἐηλίκοις παισὶ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώνασσαν,
 ἐξ ἧς Ἰοφῶντα καὶ Θεσσαλὸν αὐτῷ λέγουσι
 6 γενέσθαι. γήμεντι δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι γίνεται παῖς,
 ᾧ παρωνύμιον ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἔθετο Σαλώνιον.
 ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς ἐτελεύτησε στρατηγῶν.
 καὶ μέμνηται μὲν αὐτοῦ πολλὰκις ἐν τοῖς βι-
 βλίοις ὁ Κάτων ὡς ἄνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γεγονότος,
 πράως δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφως λέγεται τὴν συμφορὰν
 ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἀμβλύτερος δι' αὐτὴν εἰς
 7 τὰ πολιτικὰ γενέσθαι. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Λεύκιος
 Λούκουλλος ὕστερον καὶ Μέτελλος ὁ Πίος,
 ἐξέκαμιν ὑπὸ γήρως πρὸς τὰ δημόσια, λειτουρ-
 γίαν τὴν πολιτείαν ἡγούμενος, οὐδ' ὡς πρότερον
 Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς διὰ τὸν ἀντικρούσαντα

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ado, said that he asked the damsel to wife for himself. At first, as was natural, the proposal amazed the man, who counted Cato far past marriage, and himself far beneath alliance with a house of consular dignity and triumphal honours; but when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he gladly accepted his proposal, and as soon as they reached the forum the banns were published.

While the marriage was in hand, Cato's son, accompanied by his friends, asked his father if it was because he had any complaint to make against him that he was now foisting a step-mother upon him. "Heaven forbid! my son," cried Cato, "all your conduct towards me has been admirable, and I have no fault to find with you; but I desire to bless myself and my country with more such sons." However, they say that this sentiment was uttered long before by Peisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, who gave his grown up sons a step-mother in the person of Timonassa of Argolis, by whom he is said to have had Iophon and Thessalus. Of this second marriage a son was born to Cato, who was named Salonius, after his mother's father. But his elder son died in the praetorship. Cato often speaks of him in his books as a brave and worthy man, and is said to have borne his loss with all the equanimity of a philosopher, remitting not a whit because of it his ardour in the public service. For he was not, like Lucius Lucullus and Metellus Pius in after times, too enfeebled by old age to serve the people, regarding the service of the state as a burdensome duty; nor did he, like Scipio Africanus before him, because of envious attacks

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πρὸς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ φθόνον ἀποστραφεῖς τὸν δῆμον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐποιήσατο τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου
 8 τέλος ἀπραγμοσύνην, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ Διονυσίον
 τις ἔπεισε κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν
 τυραννίδα, κάλλιστον αὐτὸς ἐγγήραμα τὴν πο-
 λιτείαν ποιησάμενος ἀναπαύσεσιν ἐχρήτο καὶ
 παιδιαῖς, ὁπότε σχολάζοι, τῷ συντάττεσθαι
 βιβλία καὶ τῷ γεωργεῖν.

XXV. Συνετάττετο μὲν οὖν λόγους τε παντο-
 दाπούς καὶ ἱστορίας· γεωργία δὲ προσεῖχε νέος
 μὲν ὦν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν (φησὶ γὰρ δυσὶ
 κεχρῆσθαι μόνοις πορισμοῖς γεωργία καὶ φειδοῖ),
 τότε δὲ διαγωγὴν καὶ θεωρίαν αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα
 κατ' ἀγρὸν παρεῖχε. καὶ συντέτακται γε βιβλίον
 γεωργικόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ πλακούντων σκευασίας
 καὶ τηρήσεως ὁπώρας γέγραφεν, ἐν παντὶ φι-
 2 λοτιμούμενος περιττὸς εἶναι καὶ ἴδιος. ἦν δὲ
 καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν ἀγρῷ δαψιλέστερον· ἐκάλει
 γὰρ ἐκάστοτε τῶν ἀγρογειτόνων καὶ περιχώρων
 τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ συνδιῆγεν ἰλαρῶς, οὐ τοῖς
 καθ' ἡλικίαν μόνοις ἡδὺς ὦν συγγενέσθαι καὶ
 ποθεινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς νέοις, ἅτε δὴ πολλῶν
 μὲν ἔμπειρος πραγμάτων γεγωνός, πολλοῖς δὲ
 γράμμασι καὶ λόγοις ἀξίοις ἀκοῆς ἐντετυχηκώς.
 3 τὴν δὲ τράπεζαν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλοποιὸν
 ἡγεῖτο· καὶ πολλὴ μὲν εὐφημία τῶν καλῶν
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν ἐπεισέγετο, πολλὴ δ' ἦν
 ἀμνηστία τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ πονηρῶν, μήτε
 ψόγῳ μήτ' ἐπαίνῳ πάροδον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῦ
 Κάτωνος εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον διδόντος.

XXVI. Ἔσχατον δὲ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ

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upon his reputation, turn his back upon the people and make leisure his end and aim for the rest of his life; but rather, as someone persuaded Dionysius to regard his sovereignty as his fairest winding-sheet, so he held public service to be the fairest privilege of old age. For recreation and amusement, when he had leisure therefor, he resorted to the writing of books and to farming.

XXV. He composed speeches, then, on all sorts of subjects, and histories, and as for farming, he followed it in earnest when he was young and poor,—indeed, he says he then had only two ways of getting money, farming and frugality,—but in later life he was only a theoretical and fancy farmer. He also composed a book on farming,¹ in which he actually gave recipes for making cakes and preserving fruit, so ambitious was he to be superior and peculiar in everything. The dinners, too, which he gave in the country, were quite plentiful. He always asked in congenial country neighbours, and made merry with them, and not only did those of his own age find in him an agreeable and much desired companion, but also the young. For he was a man of large experience, who had read and heard much that was well worth repeating. He held the table to be the very best promoter of friendship, and at his own, the conversation turned much to the praise of honourable and worthy citizens, greatly to the neglect of those who were worthless and base. About such Cato suffered no table-talk, either by way of praise or blame.

XXVI. The last of his public services is supposed

¹ *De re rustica.*

τὴν Καρχηδόνος ἀνάστασιν οἴονται γεγονέναι, τῷ
 μὲν ἔργῳ τέλος ἐπιθέντος τοῦ νέου Σκηπίωνος, 352
 βουλῇ δὲ καὶ γνώμῃ μάλιστα τῇ Κάτωνος ἀρα-
 μένων τὸν πόλεμον ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. Κάτων
 ἐπέμφθη πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ Μασσανάσσην
 τὸν Νομάδα πολεμοῦντας ἀλλήλοις, ἐπισκεψό-
 μενος τὰς τῆς διαφορᾶς προφάσεις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν
 τοῦ δήμου φίλος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οἱ δ' ἐγεγόνεισαν ἔν-
 σπονδοι μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος ἦτταν, ἀφαι-
 ρέσει τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ βαρεῖ δασμῷ χρημάτων
 2 κολουθέντες. εὐρῶν δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὐχ, ὥς ᾤοντο
 Ῥωμαῖοι, κεκακωμένην καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττουσαν,
 ἀλλὰ πολλῇ μὲν εὐανδροῦσαν ἡλικίᾳ, μεγάλων
 δὲ πλούτων γέμουσαν, ὅπλων δὲ παντοδαπῶν
 καὶ παρασκευῆς πολεμιστηρίου μεστὴν καὶ μικρὸν
 οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις φρονοῦσαν, οὐ τὰ Νομάδων
 ᾤετο καὶ Μασσανάσσου πράγματα Ῥωμαῖους
 ᾧραν ἔχειν τίθεσθαι καὶ διαιτᾶν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ
 καταλήψονται πόλιν ἄνωθεν ἐχθρὰν καὶ βαρύ-
 θυμον ἠϋξημένην ἀπίστως, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ἴσοις
 3 κινδύνοις ἔσεσθαι. ταχέως οὖν ὑποστρέψας ἐδί-
 δασκε τὴν βουλήν, ὥς αἱ πρότερον ἦτται καὶ
 συμφοραὶ Καρχηδονίων οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆς δυνάμεως
 ὅσον τῆς ἀνοίας ἀπαρύσασαι, κινδυνεύουσιν
 αὐτοὺς οὐκ ὑσθενεστέρους, ἐμπειροτέρους δὲ
 πολεμεῖν ἀπεργάσασθαι, ἥδη δὲ καὶ προανα-
 κινεῖσθαι τοῖς Νομαδικοῖς τοὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαῖους
 ἀγῶνας, εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ σπονδὰς ὄνομα τοῦ

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to have been the destruction of Carthage. It was Scipio the Younger who actually brought the task to completion,¹ but it was largely in consequence of the advice and counsel of Cato that the Romans undertook the war. It was on this wise. Cato was sent² on an embassy to the Carthaginians and Masinissa the Numidian, who were at war with one another, to inquire into the grounds of their quarrel. Masinissa had been a friend of the Roman people from the first, and the Carthaginians had entered into treaty relations with Rome after the defeat which the elder Scipio had given them. The treaty deprived them of their empire, and imposed a grievous money tribute upon them. Cato, however, found the city by no means in a poor and lowly state, as the Romans supposed, but rather teeming with vigorous fighting men, overflowing with enormous wealth, filled with arms of every sort and with military supplies, and not a little puffed up by all this. He therefore thought it no time for the Romans to be ordering and arranging the affairs of Masinissa and the Numidians, but that unless they should repress a city which had always been their malignant foe, now that its power was so incredibly grown, they would be involved again in dangers as great as before. Accordingly, he returned with speed to Rome, and advised the Senate that the former calamitous defeats of the Carthaginians had diminished not so much their power as their foolhardiness, and were likely to render them in the end not weaker, but more expert in war; their present contest with Numidia was but a prelude to a contest with Rome, while peace and treaty were mere names wherewith to

¹ 146 B.C.

² 150 B.C.

πολέμου τῇ μελλήσει κείσθαι καιρὸν περιμένοντος.

- XXVII. Πρὸς τούτοις φασὶ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ σῦκα τῶν Λιβυκῶν ἐπίτηδες ἐκβαλεῖν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, τὴν τήβεννον ἀναβαλόμενον· εἶτα θαυμάσαντων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἢ ταῦτα φέρουσα χώρα τριῶν ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχει τῆς Ῥώμης. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἤδη καὶ βιαίότερον, τὸ περὶ παντὸς οὐδὲν δῆποτε πράγματος γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενον προσεπιφωνεῖν οὕτως· “Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι.” τοῦναντίον δὲ Πόπλιος Σκηπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος αἰεὶ διετέλει λέγων καὶ ἀποφαινόμενος· “Δοκεῖ μοι Καρχηδόνα εἶναι.” πολλὰ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὄβρει τὸν δῆμον ὁρῶν ἤδη πλημμελοῦντα καὶ δι' εὐτυχίαν καὶ φρόνημα τῇ βουλῇ δυσκάθεκτον ὄντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ὅπη ῥέψειε ταῖς ὁρμαῖς βία συνεφελκόμενον, ἐβούλετο τοῦτον γοῦν τὸν φόβον ὥσπερ χαλινὸν ἐπικεῖσθαι σωφρονιστῆρα τῇ θρασύτητι τῶν πολλῶν, ἔλαττον μὲν ἡγούμενος ἰσχύειν Καρχηδονίους τοῦ περιγενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων, μεῖζον δὲ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι.
- 3 τῷ δὲ Κάτωνι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, βακχεύοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ σφαλλομένῳ τὰ πολλὰ δι' ἐξουσίαν πόλιν αἰεὶ μεγάλην, νῦν δὲ καὶ νήφουσιν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν καὶ κεκολασμένην ἐπικρέμασθαι καὶ μὴ παντάπασιν τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀνελεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας φόβους, ἀναφορὰς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰς οἰκοθεν ἀμαρτίας ἀπολιπόντας.
- 4 Οὕτω μὲν ἐξεργάσασθαι λέγεται τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον ὁ Κάτων ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους πόλε-

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cover their postponement of war till a fit occasion offered.

XXVII. In addition to this, it is said that Cato contrived to drop a Libyan fig in the Senate, as he shook out the folds of his toga, and then, as the senators admired its size and beauty, said that the country where it grew was only three days' sail from Rome. And in one thing he was even more savage, namely, in adding to his vote on any question whatsoever these words: "In my opinion, Carthage must be destroyed." Publius Scipio Nasica, on the contrary, when called upon for his vote, always ended his speech with this declaration: "In my opinion, Carthage must be spared." He saw, probably, that the Roman people, in its wantonness, was already guilty of many excesses, and in the pride of its prosperity, spurned the control of the Senate, and forcibly dragged the whole state with it, whithersoever its mad desires inclined it. He wished, therefore, that the fear of Carthage should abide, to curb the boldness of the multitude like a bridle, believing her not strong enough to conquer Rome, nor yet weak enough to be despised. But this was precisely what Cato dreaded, when the Roman people was inebriated and staggering with its power, to have a city which had always been great, and was now but sobered and chastened by its calamities, for ever threatening them. Such external threats to their sovereignty ought to be done away with altogether, he thought, that they might be free to devise a cure for their domestic failings.

In this way Cato is said to have brought to pass the third and last war against Carthage,¹ but it had

¹ 151-146 B.C.

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μον, ἀρξαμένων δὲ πολεμεῖν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπο-
 θεσπίσας περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιθήσειν τῷ
 πολέμῳ τέλος ἀνδρός, ὃς ἦν τότε μὲν νεανίας,
 χιλιάρχος δὲ στρατευόμενος ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ
 γνώμης ἔργα καὶ τόλμης πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας.
 ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ τούτων εἰς Ῥώμην πυνθανό-
 μενον τὸν Κάτωνά φασιν εἰπεῖν·

οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἰτσοῦσι.

5 ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταχὺ δι' ἔργων
 ἐβεβαίωσε· ὁ Σκηπίων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀπέλιπε
 γενεὰν ἓνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, ᾧ
 παρωνύμιον ἔφασκεν γενέσθαι Σαλώνιον, ἓνα δὲ
 υἱωνὸν ἐκ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος υἱοῦ. καὶ Σαλώνιος
 μὲν ἐτελεύτησε στρατηγῶν, ὁ δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενό-
 μενος Μάρκος ὑπάτευσεν. ἦν δὲ πάππος οὗτος
 τοῦ φιλοσόφου Κάτωνος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ
 τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιφανεστάτου γενομένου.

[ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ]

I. Γεγραμμένων δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν ἀξίων 353
 μνήμης, ὅλος ὁ τούτου βίος ὅλῳ τῷ θατέρῳ
 παρατεθεὶς οὐκ εὐθεώρητον ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν
 ἐναφανιζομένην πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ὁμοιότησιν.
 εἰ δὲ δεῖ κατὰ μέρος τῇ συγκρίσει διαλαβεῖν
 ὥσπερ ἔπος ἢ γραφὴν ἐκάτερον, τὸ μὲν ἐξ οὐχ
 ὑπαρχούσης ἀφορμῆς εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ δόξαν

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no sooner begun than he died,¹ having first prophesied of the man who was destined to end it. This man was then young, but as tribune in the army, he was giving proofs of judgment and daring in his engagements with the enemy. Tidings of this came to Rome, and Cato is said to have cried on hearing them :—

“ Only he has wits, but the rest are fluttering shadows.”²

This utterance of Cato's, Scipio speedily confirmed by his deeds. Cato left one son by his second wife, whose surname, as we have already remarked, was Saloni^us; and one grandson by the son who died before him. Saloni^us died in the praetorship, but the son whom he left, Marcus, came to be consul. This Marcus was the grandfather of Cato the philosopher, who was the best and most illustrious man of his time.

COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES WITH MARCUS CATO

Now that I have recorded the most noteworthy things in the careers of these men also, if one compare the entire life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to mark the difference between them, obscured as it is by many great resemblances. And even if, in our comparison, we analyse each life, as we would a poem or a picture, we shall find that the rise to political power and repute in consequence

¹ 149 B.C.

² *Odysseey*, x. 495.

ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει προελθεῖν ἀμφοτέροις κοινόν
 2 ἔστι. φαίνεται δ' ὁ μὲν Ἀριστείδης οὐπω τότε
 μεγάλων οὐσῶν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις
 ἔτι συμμέτροις καὶ ὁμαλοῖς ἐπιβαλὼν δημαγω-
 γοῖς καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπιφανῆς γενέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ
 μέγιστον ἦν τίμημα τότε πεντακοσίων μεδίμνων,
 τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τριακοσίων, ἔσχατον δὲ καὶ τρίτον
 3 διακοσίων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐκ πολίχνης τε μικρᾶς καὶ
 διαίτης ἀγροίκου δοκούσης φέρων ἀφήκεν ἑαυτὸν
 ὥσπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείαν,
 οὐκέτι Κουρίων καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Ἀτιλίων
 ἔργον οὐσαν ἡγεμόνων, οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρότρου καὶ
 σκαφείου πένητας καὶ αὐτουργοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας
 ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προσιεμένην ἄρχοντας καὶ δημαγω-
 γοὺς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γένη μεγάλα καὶ πλούτους καὶ
 νομὰς καὶ σπουδαρχίας ἀποβλέπειν εἰθισμένην,
 καὶ δι' ὄγκον ἤδη καὶ δύναμιν ἐντρυνφῶσαν τοῖς
 4 ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσιν. οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅμοιον ἀντιπάλῳ
 χρῆσθαι Θεμιστοκλεῖ μήτ' ἀπὸ γένους λαμπρῷ
 καὶ κεκτημένῳ μέτρια (πέντε γὰρ ἡ τριῶν ταλάν-
 των οὐσίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὅτε πρῶτον
 ἤπτετο τῆς πολιτείας) καὶ πρὸς Σκηπίωνας
 Ἀφρικανοὺς καὶ Σερουίους Γάλβας καὶ Κοϊντίους
 Φλαμινίους ἀμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ πρωτείων, μηδὲν
 ὀρμητήριον ἔχοντα πλὴν φωνὴν παρρησιαζομένην
 ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων.

II. Ἐτι δ' Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ
 πάλιν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς δέκατος ἦν στρατηγός,
 Κάτων δὲ δεύτερος μὲν ὑπάτος ἡρέθη πολλῶν
 ἀντιμετιόντων, δεύτερος δὲ τιμητῆς ἐπτά τοὺς
 ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ἀμιλλωμένους
 ὑπερβαλόμενος· καὶ μὴν Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἐν

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of innate excellence and strength, rather than of inherited advantages, is common to both. But in the case of Aristides, Athens was not yet great when he rose to eminence, and the leaders and generals with whom he dealt were men of moderate and uniform fortunes. The highest assessment of property in those days was five hundred bushels of grain, the second three hundred, the third and last two hundred. Whereas Cato, coming from a little town and from ways of life deemed rustic, plunged headlong into the boundless sea of Roman politics when they were no longer conducted by such men as Curius, Fabricius, and Atilius, nor welcomed as magistrates and leaders poor men who had mounted the rostrum after working with their own hands at the plough and the mattock, but were wont to have regard rather for great families and their wealth, largesses, and solicitations, while those who sought office, such was now the power and arrogance of the people, were wantonly handled. It was not the same thing to have Themistocles for a rival, who was of no illustrious family and had only moderate possessions (he is said to have been worth three, or, at most, five talents when he entered public life), as it was to compete for pre-eminence with such men as Scipio Africanus, Servius Galba, and Quintius Flamininus, having no other advantage than a tongue which spoke boldly for the right.

II. Besides, at Marathon, and again at Plataea, Aristides was only one of ten generals, while Cato was elected one of two consuls out of many competitors, and one of two censors over the heads of seven of the foremost and most illustrious Romans, who stood for the office with him. Furthermore,

- οὐδενὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων γέγονε πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ Μιλτιάδης ἔχει τοῦ Μαραθῶνος τὸ πρωτεῖον, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἐν δὲ Πλαταιαῖς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἀνελέσθαι καλλίστην νίκην
- 2 Πausanίαν, Ἀριστείδῃ δὲ καὶ τῶν δευτερείων ἀμφισβητοῦσι Σωφάναι καὶ Ἀμεινίαι καὶ Καλλίμαχοι καὶ Κυναίγειροι διαπρεπῶς ἀριστεύσαντες ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀγῶσι· Κάτων δ' οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπρώτευσε καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χιλιάρχων περὶ Θερμοπύλας ὑπατεύοντος ἐτέρου τὴν δόξαν ἔσχε τῆς νίκης, μεγάλας ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον Ῥωμαίοις ἀναπετάσας κλεισιάδας καὶ πρόσω μόνον ὀρῶντι τῷ βασιλεῖ περιστήσας κατὰ νώτου τὸν πόλεμον.
- 3 ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ νίκη περιφανῶς ἔργον οὔσα Κάτωνος ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ παρέσχεν ἐπιβατὴν αὐθις Σκηπίωνι.
- Πολεμοῦντες μὲν οὖν ἀήττητοι γεγόνασιν ἀμφοτέρω, περὶ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἔπταισεν ἐξοστρακισθεὶς καὶ καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους, Κάτων δ', οἵπερ ἦσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατώτατοι καὶ μέγιστοι, πᾶσιν, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀντιπάλους χρώμενος καὶ μέχρι γήρως ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆς ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀπτῶτα διετήρησεν
- 4 ἑαυτὸν. πλείστας δὲ καὶ φυγῶν δημοσίας δίκας καὶ διώξας πολλὰς μὲν εἴλε, πάσας δ' ἀπέφυγε, πρόβλημα τοῦ βίου καὶ δραστήριον ὄργανον ἔχων τὸν λόγον, ᾧ δικαιότερον ἂν τις ἢ τύχῃ καὶ δαίμονι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν παρ' ἀξίαν ἀνατιθείη. μέγα γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ 354

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Aristides was not the foremost man in any one of his victories, but Miltiades has the chief honour of Marathon, Themistocles of Salamis, and at Plataea, Herodotus¹ says it was Pausanias who won that fairest of all victories, while even for second honours Aristides has such rivals as Sophanes, Ameinias, Callimachus, and Cynaegirus, who displayed the greatest valour in those actions. Cato, on the other hand, was not only chief in the plans and actions of the Spanish war during his own consulate, but also at Thermopylae, when he was but a tribune in the army and another was consul, he got the glory of the victory, opening up great mountain passes for the Romans to rush through upon Antiochus, and swinging the war round into the king's rear, when he had eyes only for what was in front of him. That victory was manifestly the work of Cato, and it not only drove Asia out of Hellas, but made it afterwards accessible to Scipio.

It is true that both were always victorious in war, but in politics Aristides got a fall, being driven into a minority and ostracised by Themistocles. Cato, on the contrary, though he had for his antagonists almost all the greatest and ablest men in Rome, and though he kept on wrestling with them up to his old age, never lost his footing. He was involved in countless civil processes, both as plaintiff and defendant; as plaintiff, he often won his case, as defendant, he never lost it, thanks to that bulwark and efficacious weapon of his life, his eloquence. To this, more justly than to fortune and the guardian genius of the man, we may ascribe the fact that he was never visited with disgrace. That was a great

¹ ix. 64.

φιλοσόφῳ τούτο προσεμαρτύρησεν Ἀντίπατρος γράφων περὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν εἶχεν.

- III. "Ὅτι μὲν δὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀνθρωπος ἀρετῆς οὐ κτᾶται τελειότεραν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι· ταύτης δέ που μόριον οἱ πλείστοι τὴν οἰκονομικὴν οὐ μικρὸν τίθενται· καὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις οἴκων τι σύστημα καὶ κεφάλαιον οὔσα ῥώννυται πρὸς τὰ δημόσια τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις τῶν πολιτῶν εὐθενούντων, ὅπου καὶ Λυκούργος ἐξοικίσας μὲν ἄργυρον, 2 ἐξοικίσας δὲ χρυσὸν τῆς Σπάρτης, νόμισμα δὲ διεφθαρμένου πυρὶ σιδήρου θέμενος αὐτοῖς οἰκονομίας οὐκ ἀπήλλαξε τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ τὰ τρυφῶντα καὶ ὑπουλα καὶ φλεγμαίνοντα τοῦ πλούτου περιελών, ὅπως εὐπορήσωσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων ἅπαντες, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς νομοθέτης προϋνόησε, τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ πένητα 3 σύνοικον ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολιτείας μᾶλλον τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ὑπερόγκου φοβηθείς. φαίνεται τοίνυν ὁ μὲν Κάτων οὐδέν τι φαυλότερος οἴκου προστάτης ἢ πόλεως γενόμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἠϋξῆσε τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον καὶ κατέστη διδάσκαλος οἰκονομίας καὶ γεωργίας ἐτέροις, πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα περὶ τούτων συνταξάμενος· Ἀριστείδης δὲ τῇ πενίᾳ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην συνδιέβαλεν ὡς οἰκοφθόρον καὶ πτωχοποιὸν καὶ πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κεκτη- 4 μένοις ὠφέλιμον. καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν Ἡσίοδος

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tribute which was paid Aristotle the philosopher by Antipater, when he wrote concerning him, after his death, that in addition to all his other gifts, the man had also the gift of persuasion.

III. Man has no higher capacity than that for conducting cities and states, as is generally admitted. But the ability to conduct a household enters in no small degree into this higher political capacity, as most believe. For the city is but an organised sum total of households, and has public vigour only as its citizens prosper in their private lives. When Lycurgus banished both silver and gold from Sparta, and introduced there a coinage of iron that had been ruined by fire, he did not set his fellow citizens free from the duty of domestic economy. He merely removed the swollen and feverish wantonness of wealth, and so provided that all alike might have an abundance of the necessary and useful things of life. He did this because better than any other ancient legislator, he foresaw that the helpless, homeless, and poverty-stricken citizen was a greater menace to the commonwealth than one who was rich and ostentatious. Cato, then, was no whit less efficient in the conduct of his household than in that of the city. He not only increased his own substance, but became a recognized teacher of domestic economy and agriculture for others, and compiled many useful precepts on these subjects. Aristides, on the other hand, was so poor as to bring even his righteousness into disrepute, as ruining a household, reducing a man to beggary, and profiting everybody rather than its possessor. And yet Hesiod¹ has much to say by

¹ *Works and Days*, 309.

πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ἅμα καὶ οἰκονομίαν παρακαλῶν
 ἡμᾶς εἴρηκε καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ὡς ἀδικίας ἀρχὴν
 λελοιδόρηκεν, εὖ δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιήται·

ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἦεν
 οὐδ' οἰκωφελίη, ἣ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
 ἀλλὰ μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ἐπήρετμοι φίλαι ἦσαν
 καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἄκοντες εὖξεστοι καὶ οὔστοι·

ὥς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀμελοῦντας οἰκίας καὶ ποριζομέν-
 5 οὺς ἐξ ἀδικίας. οὐ γάρ, ὡς τοῦλαιον οἱ ἱατροί
 φασι τοῦ σώματος εἶναι τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς ὠφελιμώ-
 τατον, τοῖς δ' ἐντὸς βλαβερώτατον, οὕτως ὁ
 δίκαιος ἐτέροις μὲν ἐστι χρήσιμος, αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ
 τῶν ἰδίων ἀκηδής, ἀλλ' ἔοικε ταύτῃ πεπηρῶσθαι
 τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τὸ πολιτικόν, εἴπερ, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι
 λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ προῖκα τοῖς θυγατρίοις οὐδὲ
 6 ταφὴν αὐτῷ καταλιπέσθαι προϋνόησεν. ὅθεν ὁ
 μὲν Κάτωνος οἶκος ἄχρι γένους τετάρτου στρατη-
 γοὺς καὶ ὑπάτους τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρέιχε· καὶ γὰρ
 υἱοὶ καὶ τούτων ἔτι παῖδες ἤρξαν ἀρχὰς τὰς
 μεγίστας· τῆς δ' Ἀριστείδου τοῦ πρωτεύσαντος
 Ἑλλήνων γενεᾶς ἡ πολλὴ καὶ ἄπορος πενία τοὺς
 μὲν εἰς ἀγυρτικοὺς κατέβαλε πίνακας, τοὺς δὲ δη-
 μοσίῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἐράνῳ δι' ἔνδειαν ὑπέχειν ἠνάγκ-
 ασεν, οὐδενὶ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄξιον ἐκείνου
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φρονῆσαι παρέσχεν.

IV. Ἡ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀμφιλογίαν ἔχει; πενία
 γὰρ αἰσχροὺς οὐδαμοῦ μὲν δι' αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπου
 δεῖγμα ῥαθυμίας ἐστίν, ἀκρασίας, πολυτελείας,

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way of exhorting us to righteousness allied with domestic economy, and abuses idleness as a source of injustice ; Homer also says well :—

“ Labour I never liked,
Nor household thrift, which breeds good children.
But ships equipped with oars were ever my delight,
Battles and polished javelins and arrows,”¹

implying that the men who neglect their households are the very ones to live by injustice. Oil, as physicians tell us, is very beneficial when externally applied, though very injurious when used internally. But the righteous is not so. He is not helpful to others, while heedless of himself and his family. Indeed, the poverty of Aristides would seem to have been a blemish on his political career, if, as most writers state, he had not foresight enough to leave his poor daughters a marriage portion,² or even the cost of his own burial. And so it fell out that the family of Cato furnished Rome with prætors and consuls down to the fourth generation, for his grandsons, and their sons after them, filled the highest offices of state. Whereas, though Aristides was foremost of the Greeks, the abject poverty of his descendants forced some to ply a fortune-teller's trade,³ and others, for very want, to solicit the public bounty, while it robbed them all of every ambition to excel, or even to be worthy of their great ancestor.

IV. Possibly this point invites discussion. Poverty is never dishonourable in itself, but only when it is a mark of sloth, intemperance, extravagance, or

¹ *Odyssey*, xiv. 222 ff., Palmer's translation.

² *Aristides*, xxvii. 1. ³ *Aristides*, xxvii. 3.

ἀλογιστίας, ἀνδρὶ δὲ σώφρονι καὶ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ
 δικαίῳ καὶ ἀνδρείῳ καὶ δημοσιεύοντι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς
 ἀπάσαις συνοῦσα μεγαλοψυχίας ἐστὶ καὶ μεγαλο-
 2 φροσύνης σημεῖον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πράττειν μεγάλα
 φροντίζοντα μικρῶν, οὐδὲ πολλοῖς δεομένοις
 βοηθεῖν πολλῶν αὐτὸν δεόμενον. μέγα δ' εἰς
 πολιτείαν ἐφόδιον οὐχὶ πλοῦτος, ἀλλ' αὐτάρκεια,
 τῷ μηδενὸς ἰδίᾳ τῶν περιττῶν δεῖσθαι πρὸς οὐ-
 δεμίαν ἀσχολίαν ἄγουσα τῶν δημοσίων. ἀπροσ-
 δεῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς ὁ θεός, ἀνθρωπίνης δ' ἀρετῆς,
 ᾧ συνάγεται πρὸς τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἢ χρεία, τοῦτο
 3 τελειότατον καὶ θειότατον. ὥς γὰρ σῶμα τὸ 355
 καλῶς πρὸς εὐεξίαν κεκραμένον οὔτ' ἐσθῆτος οὔτε
 τροφῆς δεῖται περιττῆς, οὕτω καὶ βίος καὶ οἶκος
 ὑγιαίνων ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων διοικεῖται. δεῖ δὲ
 τῇ χρείᾳ σύμμετρον ἔχειν τὴν κτῆσιν· ὥς ὁ γε
 πολλὰ συνάγων, ὀλίγοις δὲ χρώμενος οὐκ ἔστιν
 αὐτάρκης, ἀλλ' εἴτε μὴ δεῖται, τῆς παρασκευῆς ὧν
 οὐκ ὀρέγεται μάταιος, εἴτ' ὀρέγεται, μικρολογία
 κολούων τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἄθλιος.

Αὐτοῦ γέ τοι Κάτωνος ἡδέως ἂν πυθοίμην·
 4 εἰ μὲν ἀπολαυστὸν ὁ πλοῦτός ἐστι, τί σεμνύνη τῷ
 πολλὰ κεκτημένος ἀρκεῖσθαι μετρίοις; εἰ δὲ
 λαμπρόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἄρτῳ τε χρῆσθαι
 τῷ προστυχόντι καὶ πίνειν οἶον ἐργάται πι-
 νουσι καὶ θεράποντες οἶνον καὶ πορφύρας μὴ
 δεσθῆναι μηδὲ οἰκίας κεκονιαμένης, οὐδὲν οὔτ'
 Ἀριστείδης οὔτ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας οὔτε Μάνιος
 Κούριος οὔτε Γάϊος Φαβρίκιος ἐνέλιπον τοῦ προσ-

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thoughtlessness. When, on the other hand, it is the handmaid of a sober, industrious, righteous, and brave man, who devotes all his powers to the service of the people, it is the sign of a lofty spirit that harbours no mean thoughts. It is impossible for a man to do great things when his thoughts are busy with little things; nor can he aid the many who are in need when he himself is in need of many things. A great equipment for public service consists, not in wealth, but in contented independence, which requires no private superfluities, and so puts no hindrance in the way of serving the commonwealth. God alone is absolutely free from wants; but that is the most perfect and god-like quality in human excellence which reduces man's wants to their lowest terms. For as a body which is well tempered and vigorous needs no superfluous food or raiment, so a healthy individual or family life can be conducted with the simplest outlays. A man should make his gains tally with his needs. He who heaps up much substance and uses little of it, is not contented and independent. If he does not need it, he is a fool for providing what he does not crave; and if he craves it, he makes himself wretched by parsimoniously curtailing his enjoyment of it.

Indeed, I would fain ask Cato himself this question: "If wealth is a thing to be enjoyed, why do you plume yourself on being satisfied with little when possessed of much?" But if it be a fine thing, as indeed it is, to eat ordinary bread, and to drink such wine as labourers and servants drink, and not to want purple robes nor even plastered houses, then Aristides and Epaminondas and Manius Curius and Gaius Fabricius were perfectly right in turning

ήκοντος, χαίρειν έύσαντες τήν κτήσιν ών τήν
 5 χρήσιν άπεδοκίμαζον. ού γάρ ην αναγκαίον άν-
 θρώπῳ γογγυλίδας ήδιστον ὄψον πεποιημένῳ καί
 δι' αὐτοῦ ταύτας ἔψοντι, ματτούσης ἅμα τῆς
 γυναικὸς ἄλφιστα, τοσαῦτα περὶ ἄσσαρίου θρυλεῖν
 καὶ γράφειν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν τις ἐργασίας τάχιστα
 πλούσιος γένοιτο. μέγα γάρ τὸ εὐτελές καὶ
 αὐταρκες, ὅτι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς φρον-
 6 τίδος ἀπαλλάττει τῶν περιττῶν. διὸ καὶ τοῦτό
 φασιν ἐν τῇ Καλλίου δίκη τὸν Ἀριστείδην εἰπεῖν,
 ὡς αἰσχύνεσθαι πενίαν προσήκει τοῖς ἀκουσίως
 πενομένοις, τοῖς δ', ὥσπερ αὐτός, ἐκουσίως, ἐγκαλ-
 λωπίζεσθαι. γελοῖον γὰρ οἶεσθαι ῥαθυμίας εἶναι
 τὴν Ἀριστείδου πενίαν, ᾧ παρὴν αἰσχρὸν εἰργα-
 σμένῳ μηδέν, ἀλλ' ἓνα σκυλεύσαντι βάρβαρον ἢ
 μίαν σκηνὴν καταλαμβάνει πλουσίῳ γενέσθαι.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

V. Στρατηγίαι δὲ αἱ μὲν Κάτωνος οὐδὲν ὡς
 μεγάλοις πράγμασι μέγα προσέθηκαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
 Ἀριστείδου τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα καὶ
 πρῶτα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων ἐστίν, ὁ Μαραθῶν,
 ἡ Σαλαμίς, αἱ Πλαταιαί. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον δήπου
 παραβαλεῖν τῷ Ξέρξῃ τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τὰ
 περιαιρεθέντα τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν πόλεων τείχη ταῖς
 τοσαύταις μὲν ἐν γῇ, τοσαύταις δ' ἐν θαλάσῃ
 2 πεσούσαις μυριάσιν· ἐν οἷς Ἀριστείδης ἔργῳ
 μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐλείπετο, δόξης δὲ καὶ στεφάνων,
 ὥσπερ ἀμέλει πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων, ὑφήκατο
 τοῖς μᾶλλον δεομένοις, ὅτι καὶ πάντων τούτων
 διέφερεν.

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their backs on the gaining of what they scorned to use. Surely it was not worth while for a man who, like Cato, esteemed turnips a delectable dish and cooked them himself, while his wife was kneading bread, to babble so much about a paltry copper, and write on the occupation in which one might soonest get rich. Great is the simple life, and great its independence, but only because it frees a man from the anxious desire of superfluous things. Hence it was that Aristides, as we are told, remarked at the trial of Callias¹ that only those who were poor in spite of themselves should be ashamed of their poverty; those who, like himself, chose poverty, should glory in it. And surely it were ridiculous to suppose that the poverty of Aristides was due to his sloth, when, without doing anything disgraceful, but merely by stripping a single Barbarian, or seizing a single tent, he might have made himself rich. So much on this head.

V. The military campaigns of Cato made no great addition to the Roman empire, which was great already; but those of Aristides include the fairest, most brilliant, and most important actions of the Greeks, namely, Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. And certainly Antiochus is not worthy to be compared with Xerxes, nor the demolition of the walls of the Spanish cities with the destruction of so many myriads of Barbarians both by land and sea. On these occasions Aristides was inferior to no one in actual service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did wealth and substance, to those who wanted them more, because he was superior to all these things also.

¹ *Aristides*, xxv. 5.

Εγὼ δ' οὐ μέμφομαι μὲν Κάτωνος τὸ μεγαλύνειν αἰεὶ καὶ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἀπάντων τίθεσθαι· καίτοι φησὶν ἔν τινι λόγῳ τὸ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τὸ λοιδορεῖν ἄτοπον εἶναι· τελειότερος δέ μοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τοῦ πολλάκις ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντος ὁ μὴδ' ἑτέρων τοῦτο ποιούντων
 3 δεόμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἀφιλότιμον οὐ μικρὸν εἰς πραότητα πολιτικὴν ἐφόδιον, καὶ τοῦναντίον ἢ φιλοτιμία χαλεπὸν καὶ φθόνου γονιμώτατον, ἧς ὁ μὲν ἀπήλλακτο παντάπασιν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πολλῆς μετεῖχεν. Ἀριστείδης μὲν γε Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὰ μέγιστα συμπράττων καὶ τρόπον τινα τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ δορυφορῶν ὠρθωσε
 4 τὰς Ἀθήνας, Κάτων δ' ἀντιπράττων Σκηπίῳ μικροῦ μὲν ἀνέτρεψε καὶ διελυμήνατο τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν ἀήττητον Ἀννίβαν καθεῖλε, τέλος δὲ μηχανώμενος αἰεὶ τινὰς ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολὰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αἰσχίστη κλοπῆς καταδίκη περιέβαλεν.

VI. Ἦν τοίνυν πλείστοις ὁ Κάτων κεκόσμηκε καὶ καλλίστοις ἐπαίνοις αἰεὶ σωφροσύνην Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἄθικτον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ καθαρὰν ἐτήρησεν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὁ παρ' ἀξίαν ἅμα καὶ παρ' ὥραν γάμος οὐ μικρὰν οὐδὲ φαύλην εἰς τοῦτο διαβολὴν κατεσκέδασε. πρεσβύτην
 356 γὰρ ἤδη τοσοῦτον ἐνηλίκῳ παιδὶ καὶ γυναικὶ νύμφη παιδὸς ἐπιγῆμαι κόρην ὑπηρέτου καὶ δημοσιεύοντος ἐπὶ μισθῷ πατρὸς οὐδαμοῦ καλόν,

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For my own part, I do not blame Cato for his constant boasting, and for rating himself above everybody else, although he does say, in one of his speeches, that self-praise and self-depreciation are alike absurd. But I regard the man who is often lauding himself as less complete in excellence than one who does not even want others to do so. Freedom from ambition is no slight requisite for the gentleness which should mark a statesman; and, on the contrary, ambition is harsh, and the greatest fomentor of envy. From this spirit Aristides was wholly free, whereas Cato was very full of it. For example, Aristides co-operated with Themistocles in his greatest achievements, and as one might say, stood guard over him while he was in command, and thereby saved Athens; while Cato, by his opposition to Scipio, almost vitiated and ruined that wonderful campaign of his against the Carthaginians, in which he overthrew the invincible Hannibal,¹ and finally, by perpetually inventing all sorts of suspicions and calumnies against him, drove him out of Rome, and brought down on his brother's head a most shameful condemnation for embezzlement.

VI. Once more, that temperance which Cato always decked out with the fairest praises, Aristides maintained and practised in unsullied purity; whereas Cato, by marrying unworthily and unseasonably, fell under no slight or insignificant censure in this regard. It was surely quite indecent that a man of his years should bring home as step-mother to his grown-up son and that son's bride, a girl whose father was his assistant and served the public for hire. Whether he did this merely for

¹ At Zama, 202 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀλλ εἴτε πρὸς ἡδονὴν ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν εἴτ' ὀργῇ
 διὰ τὴν ἐταίραν ἀμυνόμενος τὸν υἱόν, αἰσχύνῃ
 2 ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἡ πρόφασις. ὧ δ' αὐτὸς
 ἐχρήσατο λόγῳ κατειρωνευόμενος τὸ μειράκιον,
 οὐκ ἦν ἀληθής. εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλετο παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς
 ὁμοίως τεκνῶσαι, γάμον ἔδει λαβεῖν γενναῖον
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς σκεψάμενον, οὐχ ἕως μὲν ἐλάνθανεν
 ἀνεγγύῳ γυναικὶ καὶ κοινῇ συγκοιμώμενος ἀγα-
 πᾶν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐφωράθη ποιήσασθαι πενθερόν,
 ὃν ῥᾶστα πείσειν, οὐχ ὧ κάλλιστα κηδεύσειν
 ἔμελλεν.

COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES AND CATO

his own pleasure, or in anger, to punish his son for objecting to his mistress, both what he did and what led him to do it were disgraceful. And the sarcastic reason for it which he gave his son was not a true one. For had he wished to beget more sons as good, he should have planned at the outset to marry a woman of family, instead of contenting himself, as long as he could do so secretly, with the society of a low concubine, and when he was discovered, making a man his father-in-law whom he could most easily persuade, rather than one whose alliance would bring him most honour.

CIMON

KIMΩN

- Ι. Περιπόλτας ὁ μάντις ἐκ Θετταλίας εἰς Βοιωτίαν Ὀφέλταν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαοὺς καταγαγὼν γένος εὐδοκιμήσαν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους κατέλιπεν, οὐ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ κατῴκησεν, ἣν πρώτην πόλιν ἔσχον ἐξελάσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους φύσει μάχιμοι καὶ ἀνδρώδεις γενόμενοι καταναλώθησαν ἐν ταῖς Μηδικαῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς καὶ τοῖς Γαλατικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀφειδήσαντες ἑαυτῶν.
- 2 λείπεται δὲ παῖς ὀρφανὸς γονέων, ὄνομα Δάμων, παρωνύμιον δὲ Περιπόλτας, πολὺ δὴ τι καὶ σώματος κάλλει καὶ ψυχῆς φρονήματι τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπεραίρων νέους, ἄλλως δ' ἀπαίδευτος καὶ σκληρὸς τὸ ἦθος.

- Τούτου Ῥωμαῖος ἡγεμὼν σπεύρας τινὸς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ διαχειμαζούσης ἐρασθεὶς ἄρτι τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παρηλλάχότος, ὥς οὐκ ἔπειθε πειρῶν καὶ διδούς, δῆλος ἦν οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος βίας, 479 ἄτε δὴ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν τότε λυπρὰ πραττούσης καὶ διὰ μικρότητα καὶ πενίαν παρορωμένης.
- 3 τοῦτο δὴ δεδιὼς ὁ Δάμων, καὶ τὴν πείραν αὐτὴν δι' ὀργῆς πεποιημένος, ἐπεβούλευε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ συνίστη τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τινας ἐπ' αὐτόν, οὐ πολλοὺς ἕνεκα τοῦ λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ σύμπαντες

CIMON

I. PERIPOLTAS the seer, who conducted King Opheltas with his subjects from Thessaly into Boeotia, left a posterity there which was in high repute for many generations. The greater part of them settled in Chaeroneia, which was the first city they won from the Barbarians. Now the most of this posterity were naturally men of war and courage, and so were consumed away in the Persian invasions and the contests with the Gauls, because they did not spare themselves. There remained, however, an orphan boy, Damon by name, Peripoltas by surname, who far surpassed his fellows in beauty of body and in vigour of spirit, though otherwise he was untrained and of a harsh disposition.

With this Damon, just passed out of boy's estate, the Roman commander of a cohort that was wintering in Chaeroneia fell enamoured, and since he could not win him over by solicitations and presents, he was plainly bent on violence, seeing that our native city was at that time in sorry plight, and neglected because of her smallness and poverty. Violence was just what Damon feared, and since the solicitation itself had enraged him, he plotted against the man, and enlisted against him sundry companions,—a few only, that they might escape notice. There were

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- ἐκκαίδεκα γενόμενοι χρίονται μὲν αἰθάλῳ τὰ πρόσωπα νυκτός, ἐμπιόντες δὲ ἄκρατον ἄμ' ἡμέρα προσπίπτουσι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ κατ' ἀγορὰν θύοντι, καὶ καταβαλόντες αὐτὸν τε καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
- 4 οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετέστησαν. γενομένης δὲ ταραχῆς ἡ τῶν Χαιρωνέων βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα θάνατον αὐτῶν κατέγων· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολόγημα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐσπέρας δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστί, κοινῇ δειπνούντων οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμωνα παρεισπεσόντες εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἀπέσφαξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πάλιν ὥχοντο φεύγοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
- 5 Ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας Λεύκιος Λούκουλλος ἐπὶ τινα πρᾶξιν μετὰ δυνάμεως παρερχόμενος. ἐπιστήσας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τῶν γεγονότων προσφάτων ὄντων ἐξέτασιν ποιησάμενος εὔρε τὴν πόλιν οὐδενὸς αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συνηδικημένην· καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας
- 6 ἀναλαβὼν ἀπήγαγε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. τὸν δὲ Δάμωνα ληστείαις καὶ καταδρομαῖς πορθοῦντα τὴν χώραν καὶ τῇ πόλει προσκείμενον ὑπηγάγοντο πρεσβεΐαις καὶ ψηφίσμασι φιλανθρώποις οἱ πολῖται, κατελθόντα δὲ γυμνασίαρχον κατέστησαν· εἰτ' ἀλειφόμενον ἐν τῷ πυριατηρίῳ διέφθειραν. ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον εἰδῶλων τινῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ προφαινομένων καὶ στεναγμῶν ἐξακουομένων, ὥς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν λέγουσι, τὰς θύρας ἀνφοδόμησαν τοῦ πυριατηρίου· καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ τῷ τόπῳ γειτνιῶντες οἶονταί τινας ὄψεις καὶ φωνὰς ταρα-
- 7 χῶδεις φέρεσθαι. τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ (διασώζονται γὰρ ἔνιοι, μάλιστα τῆς Φωκίδος

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sixteen of them in all, who smeared their faces with soot one night, heated themselves with wine, and at daybreak fell upon the Roman while he was sacrificing in the market-place, slew him, together with many of his followers, and departed the city. During the commotion which followed, the council of Chaeroneia met and condemned the murderers to death, and this was the defence which the city afterwards made to its Roman rulers. But in the evening, while the magistrates were dining together, as the custom is, Damon and his men burst into the town-hall, slew them, and again fled the city.

Now about that time¹ it chanced that Lucius Lucullus passed that way, on some errand, with an army. Halting on his march and investigating matters while they were still fresh in mind, he found that the city was in no wise to blame, but rather had itself also suffered wrong. So he took its garrison of soldiers and led them away with him. Then Damon, who was ravaging the country with predatory forays and threatening the city, was induced by embassies and conciliatory decrees of the citizens to return, and was appointed gymnasiarch. But soon, as he was anointing himself in the vapour-bath, he was slain. And because for a long while thereafter certain phantoms appeared in the place, and groans were heard there, as our Fathers tell us, the door of the vapour-bath was walled up, and to this present time the neighbours think it the source of alarming sights and sounds. Descendants of Damon's family (and some are still living, especially near Stiris in

¹ 74 B.C. (?)

περὶ Στεῖριν, αἰολίζοντες) ἀσβολωμένους καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ τὸν Δάμωνα πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἀσβόλῳ χρισάμενον ἐξελλθεῖν.

- II. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀστυγείτονες ὄντες Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Χαιρωνεῦσιν ἐμισθώσαντο Ῥωμαϊκὸν συκοφάντην, ὃ δ' ὥσπερ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα κατενεγκὼν ἐδίωκε φόνου τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμωνος ἀνηρημένων, ἡ δὲ κρίσις ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας (οὐπω γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγοὺς διεπέμ-
 2 ποντο), οἱ λέγοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὴν Λουκούλλου μαρτυρίαν, γράψαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς Λούκουλλον ἐκεῖνος ἐμαρτύρησε τάληθῇ, καὶ τὴν δίκην οὕτως ἀπέφυγεν ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύουσα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τότε σωθέντες εἰκόνα τοῦ Λουκούλλου λιθίνην ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνέστησαν, ἡμεῖς δ', εἰ καὶ πολλαῖς ἡλικίαις λειπόμεθα, τὴν μὲν χάριν οἴομεθα διατείνειν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς
 3 νῦν ὄντας, εἰκόνα δὲ πολὺ καλλίονα νομίζοντες εἶναι τῆς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπομιμουμένης τὴν τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐμφανίζουσιν, ἀναληψόμεθα τῇ γραφῇ τῶν παραλλήλων βίων τὰς πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρός, τάληθῇ διεξιόντες. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡ τῆς μνήμης χάρις· ἀληθοῦς δὲ μαρτυρίας οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἡξίωσε μισθὸν λαβεῖν ψευδῇ καὶ πεπλασμένην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν.
 4 Ὡσπερ γὰρ τοὺς τὰ καλὰ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχοντα χάριν εἶδη ζωγραφούντας, ἂν προσῇ τι μικρὸν αὐτοῖς δυσχερές, ἀξιοῦμεν μήτε παραλιπεῖν τοῦτο τελέως μήτε ἐξακριβοῦν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν, τὸ δ' ἀνομοίαν παρέχεται τὴν ὄψιν· οὕτως, ἐπεὶ
 408

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Phocis, Aeolians in speech) are called "Asbolomeni," or "Besooted," because Damon smeared himself with soot before he went forth to do his deed of murder.

II. But the Orchomenians, who were neighbours and rivals of the Chaeroneians, hired a Roman informer to cite the city by name, as though it were an individual person, and prosecute it for the murder of the Roman soldiers who had been slain by Damon. The trial was held before the praetor of Macedonia (the Romans were not yet sending praetors to Greece), and the city's advocates invoked the testimony of Lucullus. Lucullus, when the praetor wrote to him, testified to the truth of the matter, and so the city escaped capital condemnation. Accordingly, the people who at that time were saved by him erected a marble statue of Lucullus in the market-place beside that of Dionysus. And we, though many generations removed from him, think that his favour extends even down to us who are now living; and since we believe that a portrait which reveals character and disposition is far more beautiful than one which merely copies form and feature, we shall incorporate this man's deeds into our parallel lives, and we shall rehearse them truly. The mere mention of them is sufficient favour to show him; and as a return for his truthful testimony he himself surely would not deign to accept a false and garbled narrative of his career.

We demand of those who would paint fair and graceful features that, in case of any slight imperfection therein, they shall neither wholly omit it nor yet emphasise it, because the one course makes the portrait ugly and the other unlike its original. In

χαλεπόν ἐστι, μᾶλλον δ' ἴσως ἀμήχανον, ἀμεμφῇ
καὶ καθαρὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδείξαι βίον, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς 480
ἀναπληρωτέον ὥσπερ ὁμοιότητα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
5 τὰς δ' ἐκ πάθους τινὸς ἢ πολιτικῆς ἀνάγκης
ἐπιτρεχούσας ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀμαρτίας καὶ κήρας
ἐλλείμματα μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς τινος ἢ κακίας
πονηρεύματα νομίζοντας οὐ δεῖ πάνυ προθύμως
ἐναποσημαίνειν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ περιττῶς, ἀλλ'
ὥσπερ αἰδουμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως,
εἰ καλὸν οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς οὐδ' ἀναμφισβήτητον
εἰς ἀρετὴν ἥθος γεγονὸς ἀποδίδωσιν.

III. Ὁ δ' οὖν Λούκουλλος ἐδόκει σκοποῦσιν
ἡμῖν τῷ Κίμωνι παραβλητέος εἶναι. πολεμικοὶ
γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους λαμπροί,
πρᾶοι δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐμφυλίων
στάσεων ἀναπνοὴν ταῖς πατρίσι παρασχόντες,
ἕκαστος δὲ τις αὐτῶν στήσαντες τρόπαια καὶ
2 νίκας ἀνελόμενοι περιβοήτους. οὔτε γὰρ Ἑλ-
λῆνων Κίμωνος οὔτε Ῥωμαίων Λουκούλλου πρό-
τερος οὐδεὶς οὕτω μακρὰν πολεμῶν προῆλθεν,
ἔξω λόγου τιθεμένων τῶν καθ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ
Διόνυσον, εἴ τί τι Περσέως πρὸς Αἰθίοπας ἢ
Μήδους καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἢ Ἰάσονος ἔργον ἀξιόπι-
στον ἐκ τῶν τότε χρόνων μνήμη φερόμενον εἰς
3 τοὺς νῦν ἀφίκται. κοινὸν δὲ πῶς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ
ἀτελὲς γέγονε τῆς στρατηγίας, ἑκατέρου μὲν
συντρίψαντος, οὐδετέρου δὲ καταλύσαντος τὸν
ἀνταγωνιστὴν. μάλιστα δ' ἡ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς
καὶ τὰς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτας ὑγρότης καὶ δαψί-
λεια καὶ τὸ νεαρὸν καὶ ἀνειμένον ἐν τῇ διαίτη
παραπλήσιον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἰδεῖν ὑπάρχει.

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like manner, since it is difficult, nay rather perhaps impossible, to represent a man's life as stainless and pure, in its fair chapters we must round out the truth into fullest semblance; but those transgressions and follies by which, owing to passion, perhaps, or political compulsion, a man's career is sullied, we must regard rather as shortcomings in some particular excellence than as the vile products of positive baseness, and we must not all too zealously delineate them in our history, and superfluously too, but treat them as though we were tenderly defending human nature for producing no character which is absolutely good and indisputably set towards virtue.

III. On looking about for some one to compare with Lucullus, we decided that it must be Cimon. Both were men of war, and of brilliant exploits against the Barbarians, and yet they were mild and beneficent statesmen, in that they gave their countries unusual respite from civil strifes, though each one of them set up martial trophies and won victories that were famous. No Hellene before Cimon and no Roman before Lucullus carried his wars into such remote lands, if we leave out of our account the exploits of Heracles and Dionysus, and whatever credible deeds of Perseus against the Aethiopians or Medes and Armenians, or of Jason, have been brought down in the memory of man from those early times to our own. Common also in a way to both their careers was the incompleteness of their campaigns. Each crushed, but neither gave the death blow to his antagonist. But more than all else, the lavish ease which marked their entertainments and hospitalities, as well as the ardour and laxity of their way of living, was conspicuous alike in both. Pos-

παραλείπομεν δ' ἴσως καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὁμοιότητας, ἃς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐκ τῆς διηγήσεως αὐτῆς συναγαγεῖν.

- IV. Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου μητρὸς ἦν Ἡγησιπύλης, γένος Θράττης, θυγατρὸς Ὀλόρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥς ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχελαίου καὶ Μελανθίου ποιήμασιν εἰς αὐτὸν Κίμωνα γεγραμμένοις ἰστόρηται. διὸ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ ἱστορικὸς τοῖς περὶ Κίμωνα κατὰ γένος προσήκων Ὀλόρου τε πατρὸς ἦν, εἰς τὸν πρόγονον ἀναφέροντος τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν,
- 2 καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα περὶ τὴν Θράκην ἐκέκτητο. καὶ τελευτήσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκαπτῇ ὕλῃ (τοῦτο δ' ἔστι τῆς Θράκης χωρίου) λέγεται φονευθεὶς ἐκεῖ, μνήμα δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν λειψάνων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κομισθέντων ἐν τοῖς Κιμωνείοις δείκνυται παρὰ τὸν Ἑλπινίκης τῆς Κίμωνος ἀδελφῆς τάφον. ἀλλὰ Θουκυδίδης μὲν Ἀλιμούσιος γέγονε τῶν δήμων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μιλτιάδην Λακιάδαι.
- 3 Μιλτιάδης μὲν οὖν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ὀφλῶν δίκην καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔκτισιν εἰρχθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ, Κίμων δὲ μειράκιον παντάπασιν ἀπολειφθεὶς μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔτι κόρης οὔσης καὶ ἀγάμου τὸν πρῶτον ἡδόξει χρόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κακῶς ἤκουεν ὥς ἄτακτος καὶ πολυπότης καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Κίμωνι προσεικῶς τὴν φύσιν, ὃν δι' εὐήθειάν φασι Κοάλεμον προσαγο-
- 4 ρευθῆναι. Στησίμβροτος δ' ὁ Θάσιος περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τι χρόνον τῷ Κίμωνι γεγονώς φησιν αὐτὸν οὔτε μουσικὴν οὔτε ἄλλο τι μάθημα τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἐκδιδαχθῆναι, δεινότητός τε καὶ στωμυλίας

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sibly we may omit still other resemblances, but it will not be hard to gather them directly from our story.

IV. Cimon was the son of Miltiades by Hegesipyle, a woman of Thracian stock, daughter of King Olorus, as it is stated in the poems of Archelaüs and Melanthius addressed to Cimon himself. That explains how it was that the father of Thucydides the historian—and Thucydides was connected with the family of Cimon—was also an Olorus, who referred his name back to that of the common ancestor, and also how it was that Thucydides had gold mines in Thrace.¹ And it is said that Thucydides died in Skapte Hylé, a place in Thrace, having been murdered there; but his remains were brought to Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon's family, hard by the tomb of Elpinicé, Cimon's sister. However, Thucydides belonged to the deme of Halimus, the family of Miltiades to that of Laciadae.

Now Miltiades, who had been condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents and confined till payment should be made, died in prison, and Cimon, thus left a mere stripling with his sister who was a young girl and unmarried, was of no account in the city at first. He had the bad name of being dissolute and bibulous, and of taking after his grandfather Cimon, who, they say, because of his simplicity, was dubbed Coalemus, or Booby. And Stesimbrotus the Thasian, who was of about Cimon's time, says that he acquired no literary education, nor any other liberal and distinctively Hellenic accomplishment; that he lacked entirely the Attic cleverness and fluency

¹ Thuc. iv. 105.

Ἀττικῆς ὅλως ἀπηλλάχθαι, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺ
τὸ γενηαῖον καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐνυπάρχειν, καὶ μᾶλλον
εἶναι Πελοποννήσιον τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ
ἀνδρός,

φαῦλον, ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστ' ὑγαθόν,

κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδειον Ἡρακλέα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστι
τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Στῆσιμβρότου γεγραμμένοις ἐπει-
πεῖν.

- 5 Ἔτι δὲ νέος ὢν αἰτίαν ἔσχε πλησιάζειν τῇ
ἀδελφῇ. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως τὴν Ἑλπινίκην
εὐτακτόν τινα γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πρὸς Πολύγνωντον ἑξαμαρτεῖν τὸν ζῳγράφον·
καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασιν ἐν τῇ Πεισιανακτεῖω τότε
καλουμένη, Ποικίλῃ δὲ νῦν στοᾷ, γράφοντα τὰς 481
Τρῳάδας τὸ τῆς Λαοδίκης ποιῆσαι πρόσωπον
6 ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς Ἑλπινίκης. ὁ δὲ Πολύγνυτος οὐκ
ἦν τῶν βαναύσων οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐργολαβίας ἔγραφε
τὴν στοάν, ἀλλὰ προῖκα, φιλοτιμούμενος πρὸς
τὴν πόλιν, ὡς οἳ τε συγγραφεῖς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ
Μελάνθιος ὁ ποιητὴς λέγει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·

Αὐτοῦ γὰρ δαπάναισι θεῶν ναοὺς ἀγοράν τε

Κεκροπίαν κόσμησ' ἡμιθέων ἀρεταῖς.

- 7 εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν Ἑλπινίκην οὐ κρύφα τῷ Κίμωνι,
φανερῶς δὲ γημαμένην συνοικῆσαι λέγουσιν,
ἀξίου τῆς εὐγενείας νυμφίου διὰ τὴν πενίαν
ἀποροῦσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλίας τῶν εὐπόρων τις
Ἀθήνησιν ἐρασθεὶς προσῆλθε τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
πατρὸς καταδίκην ἐκτίνειν ἔτοιμος ὢν πρὸς τὸ
δημόσιον, αὐτὴν τε πεισθῆναι καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα
τῷ Καλλίᾳ συνοικίσαι τὴν Ἑλπινίκην.

CIMON

of speech ; that in his outward bearing there was much nobility and truthfulness ; that the fashion of the man's spirit was rather Peloponnesian,

“ Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true,” as Euripides says of Heracles,¹ a citation which we may add to what Stesimbrotus wrote.

While he was still a youth he was accused of improper intercourse with his sister. And indeed in other cases too they say that Elpinicé was not very decorous, but that she had improper relations also with Polygnotus the painter, and that it was for this reason that, in the Peisianactium, as it was then called, but now the Painted Colonnade, when he was painting the Trojan women, he made the features of Laodicé a portrait of Elpinicé. Now Polygnotus was not a mere artisan, and did not paint the stoa for a contract price, but gratis, out of zeal for the welfare of the city, as the historians relate, and as Melanthius the poet testifies after this fashion :—

“ He at his own lavish outlay the gods' great fanes,
and the market

Named Cecropia, adorned ; demigods' valour his
theme.”

Still, there are some who say that Elpinicé did not live with Cimon in secret intercourse, but openly rather, as his wedded wife, because, on account of her poverty, she could not get a husband worthy of her high lineage ; but that when Callias, a wealthy Athenian, fell in love with her, and offered to pay into the state treasury the fine which had been imposed upon her father, she consented herself, and Cimon freely gave Elpinicé to Callias to wife.

¹ Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, 473.

8 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως φαίνεται τοῖς περὶ
τὰς γυναῖκας ἐρωτικοῖς ὁ Κίμων ἔνοχος γενέσθαι.
καὶ γὰρ Ἀστερίας τῇ γένει Σαλαμινίας καὶ
πάλιν Μνήστρας τινὸς ὁ ποιητὴς Μελάνθιος
μνημονεύει πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα παίζων δι' ἐλεγείας,
9 ὥς σπουδαζομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. δῆλος δ' ἐστὶ
καὶ πρὸς Ἰσοδίκην τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου μὲν
θυγατέρα τοῦ Μεγακλέους, κατὰ νόμους δ' αὐτῇ
συμβιώσασαν ὁ Κίμων ἐμπαθέστερον διατεθείς
καὶ δυσφορήσας ἀποθανούσης, εἴ τι δεῖ τεκμαί-
ρεσθαι ταῖς γεγραμμέναις ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ τοῦ
πένθους ἐλεγείαις πρὸς αὐτόν, ὦν Παναίτιος
ὁ φιλόσοφος οἶεται ποιητὴν γεγονέναι τὸν φυσικὸν
Ἀρχέλαον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς χρόνοις
εἰκάζων.

V. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα τοῦ ἥθους ἀγαστὰ καὶ
γενναῖα τοῦ Κίμωνος. οὔτε γὰρ τόλμῃ Μιλτιάδου
λειπόμενος οὔτε συνέσει Θεμιστοκλέους, δικαιο-
τερος ἀμφοῖν ὁμολογεῖται γενέσθαι, καὶ ταῖς
πολεμικαῖς οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἀποδέων ἀρεταῖς ἐκείνων
ἀμήχανον ὅσον ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ὑπερβαλέσθαι
2 νέος ὦν ἔτι καὶ πολέμων ἄπειρος. ὅτε γὰρ τὸν
δῆμον ἐπιόντων Μήδων Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπειθε
προέμενον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντα
πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ ὅπλα θέσθαι
καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐκπεπληγμέ-
νων τῶν πολλῶν τὸ τόλμημα πρῶτος Κίμων
ᾤφθη διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φαιδρὸς ἀνιῶν εἰς τὴν
ἀκρόπολιν μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππου τινὰ χαλινὸν
ἀναθεῖναι τῇ θεῇ, διὰ χειρῶν κομίζων, ὥς οὐδὲν
ἵππικῆς ἀλκῆς, ἀλλὰ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇ
3 παρόντι τῆς πόλεως δεομένης. ἀναθεὶς δὲ τὸν

CIMON

However, it is perfectly apparent that Cimon was given to the love of women. Asteria, of a Salaminian family, and a certain Mnestra are mentioned by the poet Melanthius, in a sportive elegy addressed to Cimon, as wooed and won by him. And it is clear that he was even too passionately attached to his lawful wife, Isodicé, the daughter of Euryptolemus and grand-daughter of Megacles, and that he was too sorely afflicted at her death, if we may judge from the elegy addressed to him for the mitigation of his grief. This was composed by the naturalist Archelaüs, as Panaetius the philosopher thinks, and his conjecture is chronologically possible.

V. All other traits of Cimon's character were admirable and noble. Neither in daring was he inferior to Miltiades, nor in sagacity to Themistocles, and it is admitted that he was a juster man than either, and that while not one whit behind them in the good qualities of a soldier, he was inconceivably their superior in those of a statesman, even when he was still young and untried in war. When the Medes made their invasion, and Themistocles was trying to persuade the people to give up their city, abandon their country, make a stand with their fleet off Salamis, and fight the issue at sea, most men were terrified at the boldness of the scheme; but lo! Cimon was first to act, and with a gay mien led a procession of his companions through the Cerameicus up to the Acropolis, to dedicate to the goddess there the horse's bridle which he carried in his hands, signifying thus that what the city needed then was not knightly prowess but sea-fighters. After he had dedicated his bridle,

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

χαλινὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν κρεμα-
μένων ὑσπίδων, καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ, κατέ-
βαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἀρχὴ τοῦ
θαρρεῖν γενόμενος.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ιδέα οὐ μεμπτός, ὡς Ἴων ὁ
ποιητὴς φησιν, ἀλλὰ μέγας, οὕλη καὶ πολλῇ
τριχὶ κομῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν. φανεῖς δὲ καὶ κατ'
αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα λαμπρὸς καὶ ἀνδρώδης ταχὺ δό-
ξαν ἐν τῇ πόλει μετ' εὐνοίας ἔσχευ, ἀθροιζομένων
πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλούντων ἄξια τοῦ
4 Μαραθῶνος ἤδη διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράσσειν. ὁρμή-
σαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἄσμενος ὁ
δῆμος ἐδέξατο, καὶ μεστὸς ὢν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
ἀνῆγε πρὸς¹ τὰς μεγίστας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς καὶ
ἀρχάς, εὐάρμοστον ὄντα καὶ προσφιλεῖ τοῖς πολ-
λοῖς διὰ πράγματα καὶ ἀφέλειαν. οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ
αὐτὸν ἠὔξησεν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, τὴν
εὐφυΐαν ἐνορῶν τῷ ἥθει, καὶ ποιούμενος οἷον ἀντί-
παλον πρὸς τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους δεινότητα καὶ
τόλμαν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μήδων φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλ-
λάδος ἐπέμφθη στρατηγός, κατὰ θάλατταν οὕτω
τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων, ἔτι δὲ Πausanία
τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπομένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν
ταῖς στρατείαις αἰεὶ παρεῖχε τοὺς πολίτας κόσμῳ
τε θαυμαστοὺς καὶ προθυμίας πολὺ πάντων δια-
2 φέροντας· ἔπειτα Pausanίου τοῖς μὲν βαρ- 482
βάροις διαλεγόμενου περὶ προδοσίας καὶ βασιλεῖ
γράφοντος ἐπιστολὰς, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις τραχέως
καὶ αὐθαδῶς προσφερομένου καὶ πολλὰ δι'

¹ πρὸς supplied by Stephanus, and confirmed by S; Bekker
supplied eis.

CIMON

he took one of the shields which were hung up about the temple, addressed his prayers to the goddess, and went down to the sea, whereat many were first made to take heart.

He was also of no mean presence, as Ion the poet says, but tall and stately, with an abundant and curly head of hair. And since he displayed brilliant and heroic qualities in the actual struggle at Salamis,¹ he soon acquired reputation and good will in the city. Many thronged to him and besought him to purpose and perform at once what would be worthy of Marathon. So when he entered politics the people gladly welcomed him, and promoted him, since they were full to surfeit of Themistocles, to the highest honours and offices in the city, for he was engaging and attractive to the common folk by reason of his gentleness and artlessness. But it was Aristides, son of Lysimachus, who more than any one else furthered his career, for he saw the fine features of his character, and made him, as it were, a foil to the cleverness and daring of Themistocles.

VI. After the flight of the Medes from Hellas, Cimon was sent out as a commander,² before the Athenians had obtained their empire of the sea, and while they were still under the leadership of Pausanias and the Lacedaemonians. During this campaign, the citizen-soldiers he furnished on expeditions were always admirably disciplined and far more zealous than any others; and again, while Pausanias was holding treasonable conference with the Barbarians, writing letters to the King, treating the allies with harsh arrogance, and displaying much wantonness of

¹ 480 B.C.

² 478-477 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὄγκον ἀνόητον ὑβρίζοντος, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶως τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐξομιλῶν ἔλαθεν οὐ δι' ὅπλων τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ καὶ ἤθει παρελόμενος.

3 προσετίθεντο γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συμμάχων ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ Πausανίου μὴ φέροντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἅμα προσήγοντο καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις πέμποντες ἔφραζον, ὡς ἀδοξούσης τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ ταραττομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀνακαλεῖν τὸν Πausανίαν.

4 Λέγεται δὲ παρθένον τινὰ Βυζαντίαν ἐπιφανῶν γονέων, ὄνομα Κλεονίκη, ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ Πausανίου μεταπεμπομένου, τοὺς μὲν γονεῖς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ φόβου προέσθαι τὴν παῖδα, τὴν δὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου δεηθεῖσαν ἀνελῆσθαι τὸ φῶς, διὰ σκότους καὶ σιωπῆς τῇ κλίνῃ προσιοῦσαν ἤδη τοῦ Πausανίου καθεύδοντος, ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ ἀνα-
5 τρέψαι τὸ λυχνίον ἄκουσαν· τὸν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ψόφου ταραχθέντα καὶ σπασάμενον¹ τὸ παρακείμενον ἐγχειρίδιον, ὥς τινος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐχθροῦ βαδίζοντος, πατάξαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὴν παρθένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔαν τὸν Πausανίαν ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ εἰδωλον αὐτῷ φοιτῶσαν εἰς τὸν ὕπνον ὀργῇ λέγειν τόδε τὸ ἡρῶν·

Στείχε δίκης ἄσσον· μάλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν ὕβρις.

ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες οἱ

¹ καὶ σπασάμενον with S: σπασάμενον.

CIMON

power and silly pretension, Cimon received with mildness those who brought their wrongs to him, treated them humanely, and so, before men were aware of it, secured the leadership of Hellas, not by force of arms, but by virtue of his address and character. For most of the allies, because they could not endure the severity and disdain of Pausanias, attached themselves to Cimon and Aristides, who had no sooner won this following than they sent also to the Ephors and told them, since Sparta had lost her prestige and Hellas was in confusion, to recall Pausanias.

It is said that a maiden of Byzantium, of excellent parentage, Cleonicé by name, was summoned by Pausanias for a purpose that would disgrace her. Her parents, influenced by constraint and fear, abandoned their daughter to her fate, and she, after requesting the attendants before his chamber to remove the light, in darkness and silence at length drew near the couch on which Pausanias was asleep, but accidentally stumbled against the lamp-holder and upset it. Pausanias, startled by the noise, drew the dagger which lay at his side, with the idea that some enemy was upon him, and smote and felled the maiden. After her death in consequence of the blow, she gave Pausanias no peace, but kept coming into his sleep by night in phantom form, wrathfully uttering this verse :—

“ Draw thou nigh to thy doom ; 'tis evil for men to
be wanton.”

At this outrage the allies were beyond measure

σύμμαχοι μετὰ τοῦ Κίμωνος ἐξεπολιόρκησαν
 6 αὐτόν. ὁ δ' ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ τῷ
 φάσματι ταραττόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, κατέφυγε
 πρὸς τὸ νεκυομαντεῖον εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ τὴν
 ψυχὴν ἀνακαλούμενος τῆς Κλεονίκης παρητεῖτο
 τὴν ὀργήν. ἡ δ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθοῦσα ταχέως ἔφη
 παύσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν αὐτὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενό-
 μενον, αἰνιττομένη, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ
 τελευτῇ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἱστορῆται.

VII. Κίμων δέ, τῶν συμμάχων ἤδη προσκε-
 χωρηκότων αὐτῷ, στρατηγὸς εἰς Θράκην ἔπλευσε,
 πυνθανόμενος Περσῶν ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους καὶ συγ-
 γενεῖς βασιλέως Ἡϊόνα πόλιν παρὰ τῷ Στρυμόνι
 κειμένην ποταμῷ κατέχοντας ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς περὶ
 2 τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον Ἑλλησι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν
 αὐτοὺς μάχῃ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνίκησε καὶ κατέκλει-
 σεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ Στρυμόνα
 Θρᾶκας, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἐφοῖτα σίτος, ἀναστάτους
 ποιῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν παραφυλάττων ἅπασαν εἰς
 τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους κατέστη-
 σεν, ὥστε Βούτην τὸν βασιλέως στρατηγὸν ἀπο-
 γνόντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει πῦρ ἐνεῖναι καὶ
 συνδιαφθεῖραι μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
 3 ἑαυτόν. οὕτω δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν
 οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ὠφελήθη, τῶν πλείστων τοῖς
 βαρβάροις συγκατακαέντων, τὴν δὲ χώραν
 εὐφρεστάτην οὖσαν καὶ καλλίστην οἰκῆσαι
 παρέδωκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς

CIMON

incensed, and joined Cimon in forcing Pausanias to give up the city. Driven from Byzantium, and still harassed by the phantom, as the story goes, he had recourse to the ghost-oracle of Heracleia, and summoning up the spirit of Cleonicé, besought her to forgo her wrath. She came into his presence and said that he would soon cease from his troubles on coming to Sparta, thus darkly intimating, as it seems, his impending death. At any rate, this tale is told by many.

VII. But Cimon, now that the allies had attached themselves to him, took command of them and sailed to Thrace,¹ for he heard that men of rank among the Persians and kinsmen of the King held possession of Eïon, a city on the banks of the Strymon, and were harassing the Hellenes in that vicinity. First he defeated the Persians themselves in battle and shut them up in the city; then he expelled from their homes above the Strymon the Thracians from whom the Persians had been getting provisions, put the whole country under guard, and brought the besieged to such straits that Butes, the King's general, gave up the struggle, set fire to the city, and destroyed with it his family, his treasures, and himself. And so it was that though Cimon took the city, he gained no other memorable advantage thereby, since most of its treasures had been burned up with the Barbarians; but the surrounding territory was very fertile and fair, and this he turned over to the Athenians for occupation. Wherefore the people permitted him to

¹ 476-475 B.C.

αὐτῷ τοὺς λιθίνους ὁ δῆμος ἀναθεῖναι συνεχώρησεν, ὧν ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ

- 4 Ἦν ἄρα κακείμενοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων
 παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,
 λιμόν τ' αἰθωνα κρυερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα
 πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην.

τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ

Ἠγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν
 ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν.
 μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
 ἀμφὶ περὶ ξυνοῖς πράγμασι δῆριν ἔχειν.

- 5 τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ

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Ἐκ ποτε τῇσδε πόλῃος ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι Μενε-
 σθεὺς

ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἐς πεδῖον·
 ὃν ποθ' Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτάων
 κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ὄντα μολεῖν.
 οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
 κοσμηταῖς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡγορέης,

CIMON

dedicate the stone *Hermæ*, on the first of which is the inscription :—

“ Valorous-hearted as well were they who at Eïon
fighting,
Facing the sons of the Medes, Strymon's current
beside,
Fiery famine arrayed, and gore-flecked Ares,
against them,
Thus first finding for foes that grim exit,—
despair ; ”

and on the second :—

“ Unto their leaders reward by Athenians thus
hath been given ;
Benefits won such return, valorous deeds of
the brave.
All the more strong at the sight will the men
of the future be eager,
Fighting for commonwealth, war's dread strife
to maintain ; ”

and on the third :—

“ With the Atridae of old, from this our city,
Menestheus
Led his men to the plain Trojan called and
divine.
He, once Homer asserted, among well-armoured
Achaeans,
Marshaller was of the fight, best of them all
who had come.
Thus there is naught unseemly in giving that
name to Athenians ;
Marshallers they both of war and of the vigour
of men,”

- VIII. Ταῦτα καίπερ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ Κίμωνος ὄνομα δηλοῦντα τιμῆς ὑπερβολὴν ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοιοῦτου τινὸς οὔτε Μιλτιάδης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε θαλλοῦ στέφανον αἰτοῦντι Σωφάνης ὁ Δεκελεὺς ἐκ μέσου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστὰς ἀντ-εῖπεν, οὐκ εὐγνώμονα μὲν, ἀρέσασαν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τότε φωνὴν ἀφείς· “Ὅταν γάρ,” ἔφη, “μόνος ἀγωνισάμενος, ὦ Μιλτιάδη, νικῆσῃς τοὺς βαρ-
 2 βάρους, τότε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι μόνος ἀξίου.” διὰ τί τοίνυν τὸ Κίμωνος ὑπερηγάπησαν ἔργον; ἢ ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων στρατηγούντων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἡμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτου δὲ καὶ ποιῆσαι κακῶς ἡδυνήθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ στρατεύσαντες, καὶ προσεκτῆσαντο χώρας αὐτὴν τε τὴν Ἡϊόνα καὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οἰκίσαντες;
 3 Ὡς οὖν ὦνικισαν δὲ καὶ Σκῦρον ἐλόντος Κίμωνος ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. Δόλοπες ὥκουν τὴν νῆσον, ἐργάται κακοὶ γῆς· ληϊζόμενοι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, τελευτώντες οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσπλεόντων παρ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ χρωμένων ἀπείχοντο ξένων, ἀλλὰ Θετταλοὺς τινὰς ἐμπόρους περὶ τὸ Κτήσιον
 4 ὀρμισαμένους συλήσαντες εἰρξαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαδράντες ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δίκην κατεδικάσαντο τῆς πόλεως Ἀμφικτυονικὴν, οὐ βουλομένων τὰ χρήματα τῶν πολλῶν συνεκτίνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ διηρπακότας ἀποδοῦναι κελευόντων, δέξαντες ἐκεῖνοι πέμπουσι γράμματα πρὸς Κίμωνα, κελεύοντες ἥκειν μετὰ τῶν νεῶν ληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐνδιδομένην.

CIMON

VIII. Although these inscriptions nowhere mentioned Cimon by name, his contemporaries held them to be a surpassing honour for him. Neither Themistocles nor Miltiades achieved any such, nay, when the latter asked for a crown of olive merely, Sophanes the Deceleian rose up in the midst of the assembly and protested. His speech was ungracious, but it pleased the people of that day. "When," said he, "thou hast fought out alone a victory over the Barbarians, then demand to be honoured alone." Why, then, were the people so excessively pleased with the achievement of Cimon? Perhaps it was because when the others were their generals they were trying to repel their enemies and so avert disaster; but when he led them they were enabled to ravage the land of their enemies with incursions of their own, and acquired fresh territories for settlement, not only Eion itself, but also Amphipolis.

They settled Scyros too, which Cimon seized for the following reason. Dolopians were living on the island, but they were poor tillers of the soil. So they practised piracy on the high sea from of old, and finally did not withhold their hands even from those who put into their ports and had dealings with them, but robbed some Thessalian merchants who had cast anchor at Ctesium, and threw them into prison. When these men had escaped from bondage and won their suit against the city at the Amphictyonic assembly, the people of Scyros were not willing to make restitution, but called on those who actually held the plunder to give it back. The robbers, in terror, sent a letter to Cimon, urging him to come with his fleet to seize the city, and they would give it up to him.

- 5 παραλαβὼν δ' οὕτω τὴν νῆσον ὁ Κίμων τοὺς μὲν Δόλοπας ἐξήλασε καὶ τὸν Αἰγαῖον ἡλευθέρωσε, πυνθανόμενος δὲ τὸν παλαιὸν Θησέα τὸν Αἰγέως φυγόντα μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Σκύρον, αὐτοῦ δ' ἀποθανόντα δόλω διαφύγοντα ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους τοῦ
- 6 βασιλέως, ἐσπούδασε τὸν τάφον ἀνευρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἦν χρησμός Ἀθηναίοις τὰ Θησέως λείψανα κελεύειν ἀνακομίζειν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ τιμᾶν ὡς ἥρωα πρεπόντως, ἀλλ' ἡγνύουσιν ὅπου κεῖται, Σκυρίων οὐχ ὁμολογούντων οὐδ' ἐώντων ἀναζητεῖν. τότε δὴ πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ σηκοῦ μόγις ἐξευρεθέντος, ἐνθέμενος ὁ Κίμων εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τριήρη τὰ ὅστ' αὐτῳ καὶ τὰλλα κοσμήσας μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ δι' ἐτῶν σχεδὸν τετρακοσίων. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡδέως ὁ δῆμος ἔσχευεν.
- 7 Ἐθεντο δ' εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγωδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομένην. πρώτην γὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἔτι νέου καθέντος, Ἀψεφίων ὁ ἄρχων, φιλονεικίας οὔσης καὶ παρατάξεως τῶν θεατῶν, κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν συστρατῆγων προελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐποίησατο τῷ θεῷ τὰς νενομισμένας σπονδὰς, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρκώσας ἠνάγκασε καθίσαι καὶ κρίναι δέκα ὄντας, ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἕκαστον.
- 8 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε. νικήσαντος δὲ τοῦ

CIMON

In this manner Cimon got possession of the island, drove out the Dolopians, and made the Aegean a free sea.

On learning that the ancient Theseus, son of Aegeus, had fled in exile from Athens to Scyros, but had been treacherously put to death there, through fear, by Lycomedes the king, Cimon eagerly sought to discover his grave. For the Athenians had once received an oracle bidding them bring back the bones of Theseus to the city and honour him as became a hero, but they knew not where he lay buried, since the Scyrians would not admit the truth of the story, nor permit any search to be made. Now, however, Cimon set to work with great ardour, discovered at last the hallowed spot, had the bones bestowed in his own trireme, and with general pomp and show brought them back to the hero's own country after an absence of about four hundred years. This was the chief reason why the people took kindly to him.

But they also cherished in kindly remembrance of him that decision of his in the tragic contests which became so famous. When Sophocles, still a young man, entered the lists with his first plays, Apsephion the Archon, seeing that the spirit of rivalry and partisanship ran high among the spectators, did not appoint the judges of the contest as usual by lot, but when Cimon and his fellow-generals advanced into the theatre and made the customary libation to the god, he would not suffer them to depart, but forced them to take the oath and sit as judges, being ten in all, one from each tribe. So, then, the contest, even because of the unusual dignity of the judges, was more animated than ever before. But

Σοφοκλέους λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον περιπαθῆ γενόμενον καὶ βαρέως ἐνεγκόντα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν Ἀθήνησι διαγαγεῖν, εἴτ' οἷχεσθαι δι' ὄργην εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅπου καὶ τελευτήσας περὶ Γέλαν τέθαπται.

IX. Συνδειπνήσαι δὲ τῷ Κίμωνί φησιν ὁ Ἰωὺν 484 παντάπασι μεράκιον ἥκων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Χίου παρὰ Λαομέδοντι· καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων παρακληθέντος¹ ἄσαι, καὶ ἄσαντος¹ οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ὡς δεξιώτερον Θεμιστοκλέους· ἐκείνον γὰρ ἄδειν μὲν οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ 2 πλουσίαν ἐπίστασθαι· τούντεϋθεν, οἶον εἰκὸς ἐν πότῳ, τοῦ λόγου ῥυέντος ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ Κίμωνος καὶ μνημονευομένων τῶν μεγίστων, αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐν διελθεῖν στρατήγημα τῶν ἰδίων ὡς σοφώτατον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκ Σηστοῦ καὶ Βυζαντίου πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες οἱ σύμμαχοι τῷ Κίμωνι διανεῖμαι προσέταξαν, ὁ δὲ χωρὶς μὲν αὐτούς, χωρὶς δὲ τὸν 3 τὴν διανομὴν ὡς ἄνισον. ὁ δὲ τῶν μερίδων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἐλέσθαι τὴν ἐτέραν, ἣν δ' αὖ ἐκείνοι καταλίπωσιν, ἀγαπήσειν Ἀθηναίους. Ἡροφύτου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίου συμβουλευσάντος αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ Περσῶν μᾶλλον ἢ Πέρσας, τὸν μὲν κόσμον αὐτοὶ ἔλαβον, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλιπον. καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ Κίμων ἀπῆει γελοῖος εἶναι δοκῶν διανομεύς, τῶν μὲν συμμάχων

¹ παρακληθέντος, ἄσαντος Bekker corrects, after Schäfer, το παρακληθέντα, ἄσαντα.

CIMON

Sophocles came off victorious, and it is said that Aeschylus, in great distress and indignation thereat, lingered only a little while at Athens, and then went off in anger to Sicily. There he died also, and is buried near Gela.

IX. Ion says that, coming from Chios to Athens as a mere stripling, he was once a fellow-guest with Cimon at a dinner given by Laomedon, and that over the wine the hero was invited to sing, and did sing very agreeably, and was praised by the guests as a cleverer man than Themistocles. That hero, they said, declared that he had not learned to sing, nor even to play the lyre, but knew how to make a city great and rich.¹ Next, Ion says, as was natural over the cups, the conversation drifted to the exploits of Cimon, and as his greatest deeds were being recounted, the hero himself dwelt at length on one particular stratagem which he thought his shrewdest. Once, he said, when the Athenians and their allies had taken many Barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium and turned them over to him for distribution, he put into one lot the persons of the captives, and into another the rich adornments of their bodies, and his distribution was blamed as unequal. But he bade the allies choose one of the lots, and the Athenians would be content with whichever one they left. So, on the advice of Herophytus the Samian to choose Persian wealth rather than Persians, the allies took the rich adornments for themselves, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. At the time Cimon came off with the reputation of being a ridiculous distributor, since

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, ii. 3.

ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ μανιάκας καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ
 κάνδυας καὶ πορφύραν φερομένων, τῶν δ' Ἀθη-
 ναίων γυμνὰ σώματα κακῶς ἡσκημένα πρὸς
 4 ἐργασίαν παραλαβόντων. μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον
 οἱ τῶν ἐαλωκότων φίλοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι καταβαίνοντες
 ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας ἐλυτροῦντο μεγάλων
 χρημάτων ἕκαστον, ὥστε τῷ Κίμωνι τεσσάρων
 μηνῶν τροφὰς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ὑπάρξαι καὶ προσέτι
 τῇ πόλει χρυσίου οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῶν λύτρων
 περιγενέσθαι.

X. Ἡδὴ δ' εὐπορῶν ὁ Κίμων ἐφόδια τῆς
 στρατηγίας ἃ καλῶς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔδοξεν
 ὠφελῆσθαι κάλλιον ἀνήλυσκεν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας.
 τῶν τε γὰρ ἀγρῶν τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφεΐλεν, ἵνα
 καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς δεομένοις
 ἀδεῶς ὑπάρχη λαμβάνειν τῆς ὁπώρας, καὶ δεῖπνον
 οἴκοι παρ' αὐτῷ λιτὸν μέν, ἀρκοῦν δὲ πολλοῖς,
 ἐποιεῖτο καθ' ἡμέραν, ἐφ' ὃ τῶν πενήτων ὁ
 βουλόμενος εἰσῆει καὶ διατροφὴν εἶχεν ἀπράγ-
 2 μονα, μόνοις τοῖς δημοσίοις σχολάζων. ὥς
 δ' Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν, οὐχ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων,
 ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῦ Λακιαδῶν παρεσκευά-
 ζετο τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸ δεῖπνον. αὐτῷ δὲ νεανίσκοι
 παρείποντο συνήθεις ἀμπεχόμενοι καλῶς, ὧν
 ἕκαστος, εἴ τις συντύχοι τῷ Κίμωνι τῶν ἀστῶν
 πρεσβύτερος ἡμφιεσμένος ἐνδεῶς, διημείβετο πρὸς
 αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια· καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἐφαίνετο
 3 σεμνόν. οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ νόμισμα κομίζοντες
 ἄφθονον παριστάμενοι τοῖς κομψοῖς τῶν πενήτων
 ἐν ἀγορᾷ σιωπῇ τῶν κερματίων ἐνέβαλλον εἰς

CIMON

the allies had their gold anklets and armlets and collars and jackets and purple robes to display, while the Athenians got only naked bodies ill-trained for labour. But a little while after, the friends and kinsmen of the captives came down from Phrygia and Lydia and ransomed every one of them at a great price, so that Cimon had four months' pay and rations for his fleet, and besides that, much gold from the ransoms was left over for the city.

X. And since he was already wealthy, Cimon lavished the revenues from his campaign, which he was thought to have won with honour from the enemy, to his still greater honour, on his fellow-citizens. He took away the fences from his fields, that strangers and needy citizens might have it in their power to take fearlessly of the fruits of the land; and every day he gave a dinner at his house,—simple, it is true, but sufficient for many, to which any poor man who wished came in, and so received a maintenance which cost him no effort and left him free to devote himself solely to public affairs. But Aristotle says¹ that it was not for all Athenians, but only for his own demesmen, the Laciadae, that he provided a free dinner. He was constantly attended by young comrades in fine attire, each one of whom, whenever an elderly citizen in needy array came up, was ready to exchange raiment with him. The practice made a deep impression. These same followers also carried with them a generous sum of money, and going up to poor men of finer quality in the market-place, they would quietly thrust small change into their hands. To such generosity as this

¹ *Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 3.

τὰς χεῖρας. ὧν δὴ καὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν
'Αρχιλόχοις ἔοικε μεμνήσθαι διὰ τούτων·

- 4 Κάγῳ γὰρ ἡὔχουν Μητρόβιος ὁ γραμματεὺς
σὺν ἀνδρὶ θείῳ καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ
καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ τῶν Πανελλήνων πρὸ τοῦ
Κίμωνι λιπαρὸν γῆρας εὐωχούμενος
αἰῶνα πάντα συνδιατρίψειν. ὁ δὲ
λιπὼν βέβηκε πρότερος.

- 5 ἔτι τοίνυν Γοργίας μὲν ὁ Λεοντίνος φησι τὸν
Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὥς χρῶτο,
χρῆσθαι δὲ ὥς τιμῶτο, Κριτίας δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα
γενόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγεῖαις εὔχεται·

Πλούτον μὲν Σκοπαδῶν, μεγαλοφροσύνην δὲ
Κίμωνος,
νίκας δ' Ἀρκεσίλα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου.

- Καίτοι Λίχαν γε τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἀπ' οὐδενὸς
ἄλλου γινώσκομεν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὀνομαστὸν
γενόμενον ἢ ὅτι τοὺς ξένους ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις 485
ἐδείπνιζεν· ἡ δὲ Κίμωνος ἀφθονία καὶ τὴν
παλαιὰν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φιλοξείαν καὶ φιλαν-
6 θρωπίαν ὑπερέβαλεν. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἐφ' οἷς ἡ
πόλις μέγα φρονεῖ δικαίως, τό τε σπέρμα τῆς
τροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐξέδωκαν ὑδάτων τε
πηγαίων¹ καὶ πυρὸς ἔναυσιν χρήζουσιν
ἀνθρώποις ἐδίδαξαν,² ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν τοῖς
πολίταις πυρτανεῖον ἀποδείξας κοινόν, ἐν δὲ
τῇ χώρᾳ καρπῶν ἐτοιμῶν ἀπαρχὰς καὶ ὅσα
ὦραι καλὰ φέρουσι χρῆσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν
ἅπαντα τοῖς ξένοις παρέχων, τρόπον τινὰ τὴν ἐπὶ

¹ The lacuna can only be conjecturally filled.

² ἐδίδαξαν Bekker corrects, with Schäfer, to ἔδειξαν.

CIMON.

Cratinus] seems to have referred in his *Archilochi*, with the words :—

“ Yes, I too hoped, Metrobius, I, the public scribe,
Along with man divine, the rarest host that lives,
In every way the best of all Hellenic men,
With Cimon, feasting out in joy a sleek old age,
To while away the remnant of my life. But he
Has gone before and left me.”

And again, Georgias the Leontine says that Cimon made money that he might spend it, and spent it that he might be honoured for it. And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, prays in his elegies that he may have “ the wealth of the Scopadae, the great-mindedness of Cimon, and the victories of Arcesilaus of Lacedaemon.”

And yet we know that Lichas the Spartan became famous among the Hellenes for no other reason than that he entertained the strangers at the boys' gymnastic festival; but the generosity of Cimon surpassed even the hospitality and philanthropy of the Athenians of olden time. For they—and their city is justly very proud of it—spread abroad among the Hellenes the sowing of grain and the lustral uses of spring waters, and taught mankind who knew it not the art of kindling fire. But he made his home in the city a general public residence for his fellow citizens, and on his estates in the country allowed even the stranger to take and use the choicest of the ripened fruits, with all the fair things which the seasons bring. Thus, in a certain fashion, he

Κρόνου μυθολογουμένην κοινωνίαν εἰς τὸν βίον
 7 αὐθις κατήγεν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα κολακείαν ὄχλου καὶ
 δημαγωγίαν εἶναι διαβάλλοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης
 ἐξηλέγχοντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προαιρέσεως ἀριστοκρα-
 τικῆς καὶ Λακωνικῆς οὔσης, ὅς γε καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
 πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπαίροντι τὴν δημοκρατίαν
 ἀντέβαινε μετ' Ἀριστείδου, καὶ πρὸς Ἐφιάλτην
 ὕστερον χάριτι τοῦ δήμου καταλύοντα τὴν ἐξ
 8 Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν διηνέχθη, λημμάτων δὲ
 δημοσίων τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ
 Ἐφιάλτου πάντας ἀναπιμπλαμένους ὁρῶν, αὐτὸν
 ἀδέκαστον καὶ ἄθικτον ἐκ τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίας
 καὶ πάντα προῖκα καὶ καθαρῶς πράττοντα καὶ
 λέγοντα διὰ τέλους παρέσχε.

Λέγεται γέ τοι Ῥοισάκην τινὰ βάρβαρον ἀπο-
 στάτην βασιλέως ἐλθεῖν μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν
 εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ σπαραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συκο-
 φαντῶν καταφυγεῖν πρὸς Κίμωνα, καὶ θείναι
 παρὰ τὴν αὐλειον αὐτοῦ φιάλας δύο, τὴν μὲν
 ἀργυρεῖων ἐμπλησάμενον Δαρεικῶν, τὴν δὲ χρυ-
 σῶν· ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ μειδιάσαντα
 9 πυθέσθαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, πότερον αἰρεῖται Κίμωνα
 μισθωτὸν ἢ φίλον ἔχειν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος φίλον
 “Οὐκοῦν,” φάναι, “ταῦτ' ἄπιθι μετὰ σεαυτοῦ
 κομίζων· χρήσομαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅταν δέωμαι φίλος
 γενόμενος.”

XI. Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ σύμμαχοι τοὺς φόρους μὲν
 ἐτέλουν, ἀνδρας δὲ καὶ ναῦς ὡς ἐτάχθησαν οὐ
 παρείχον, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύοντες ἤδη πρὸς τὰς
 στρατείας, καὶ πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, γεωρ-
 γεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῆν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπιθυμοῦντες,
 ἀπηλλαγμένων τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μὴ διοχλοῦν-

CIMON

restored to human life the fabled communism of the age of Cronus,—the golden age. Those who slanderously said that this was flattery of the rabble and demagogic art in him, were refuted by the man's political policy, which was aristocratic and Laconian. He actually opposed Themistocles when he exalted the democracy unduly, as Aristides also did. Later on he took hostile issue with Ephialtes, who, to please the people, tried to dethrone the Council of the Areiopagus; and though he saw all the rest except Aristides and Ephialtes filling their purses with the gains from their public services, he remained unbought and unapproached by bribes, devoting all his powers to the state, without recompense and in all purity, through to the end.

It is told, indeed, that one Rhoesaces, a Barbarian who had deserted from the King, came to Athens with large moneys, and being set upon fiercely by the public informers, fled for refuge to Cimon, and deposited at his door two platters, one filled with silver, the other with golden Darics. Cimon, when he saw them, smiled, and asked the man whether he preferred to have Cimon as his hireling or his friend, and on his replying, "As my friend," "Well then," said Cimon, take this money with thee and go thy way, for I shall have the use of it when I want it if I am thy friend."

XI. The allies continued to pay their assessments, but did not furnish men and ships according to allotment, since they were soon weary of military service, and had no need of war, but a great desire to till their land and live at their ease. The Barbarians were gone and did not harass them, so they neither

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- των, οὔτε τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν οὔτ' ἄνδρας ἀπέ-
 στελλον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 προσηνάγκαζον αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς
 ἐλλείποντας ὑπάγοντες δίκαις καὶ κολάζοντες
 2 ἐπαχθῇ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λυπηρὰν ἐποιοῦν, Κίμων
 δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ πορευό-
 μενος βίαν μὲν οὐδεὶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσήγε,
 χρήματα δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων
 στρατεῦσθαι καὶ ναῦς κενάς, ἐκείνους εἶα δελεα-
 ζομένους τῇ σχολῇ περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διατρίβειν,
 γεωργοὺς καὶ χρηματιστὰς ἀπολέμους ἐκ πολε-
 μικῶν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀνοίας γινομένους, τῶν δ'
 Ἀθηναίων ἀνὰ μέρος πολλοὺς ἐμβιβάζων καὶ
 διαπονῶν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοῖς
 3 παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μισθοῖς καὶ χρήμασι δεσπό-
 τας αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων ἐποίησε. πλείοντας γὰρ
 αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας αἰεὶ τὰ
 ὅπλα καὶ τρεφομένους καὶ ἀσκοῦντας ἐκ τῆς
 αὐτῶν ἀστρατείας¹ ἐθισθέντες φοβεῖσθαι καὶ
 κολακεύειν, ἔλαθον ἀντὶ συμμάχων ὑποτελεῖς καὶ
 δοῦλοι γεγονότες.

XII. Καὶ μὴν αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως
 οὐδεὶς ἐταπείνωσε καὶ συνέστειλε τὸ φρόνημα
 μᾶλλον ἢ Κίμων. οὐ γὰρ ἀνῆκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλ-
 λάδος ἀπηλλαγμένον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ ποδὸς
 διώκων, πρὶν διαπνεῦσαι καὶ στήναι τοὺς βαρ-
 βάρους, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ ὁρβῇ καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τὰ δὲ
 ἀφίστη καὶ προσήγετο τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὥστε τὴν
 ἀπ' Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν ἄχρι Παμφυλίας παντάπασι

¹ ἀστρατείας the correction of Reiske, adopted by Sintenis
 and Bekker. The MSS., including S, have στρατείας, which
 must be referred to the Athenians. So Coraës.

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manned their ships nor sent out soldiers. The rest of the Athenian generals tried to force them to do this, and by prosecuting the delinquents and punishing them, rendered their empire burdensome and vexatious. But Cimon took just the opposite course when he was general, and brought no compulsion to bear on a single Hellene, but accepted money from those who did not wish to go out on service, and ships without crews, and so suffered the allies, caught with the bait of their own ease, to stay at home and become tillers of the soil and unwarlike merchants instead of warriors, and all through their foolish love of comfort. On the other hand, he made great numbers of the Athenians man their ships, one crew relieving another, and imposed on them the toil of his expeditions, and so in a little while, by means of the very wages which they got from the allies, made them lords of their own paymasters. For those who did no military service became used to fearing and flattering those who were continually voyaging, and for ever under arms and training, and practising, and so, before they knew it, they were tributary subjects instead of allies.

XII. And surely there was no one who humbled the Great King himself, and reduced his haughty spirit, more than Cimon. For he did not let him go quietly away from Hellas, but followed right at his heels, as it were, and before the Barbarians had come to a halt and taken breath, he sacked and overthrew here, or subverted and annexed to the Hellenes there, until Asia from Ionia to Pamphylia was

- 2 Περσικῶν ὅπλων ἐρημῶσαι. πυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγούς μεγάλῳ στρατῷ καὶ ναυσὶ 486
πολλαῖς ἐφεδρεῖν περὶ Παμφυλίαν, καὶ βουλό-
μενος αὐτοῖς ἄπλουν καὶ ἀνέμβατον ὅλως ὑπὸ
φόβου τὴν ἐντὸς Χελιδονίων ποιήσασθαι θάλατ-
ταν, ὥρμησεν ἄρας ἀπὸ Κνίδου καὶ Τριοπίου
διακοσίαις τριήρεσι, πρὸς μὲν τάχος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
καὶ περιαγωγὴν ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄριστα
κατεσκευασμέναις, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε καὶ πλατυτέρας
ἐποίησεν αὐτάς καὶ διάβασιν τοῖς καταστρώμασιν
ἔδωκεν, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὀπλιτῶν μαχιμώτεραι
3 προσφέροντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπιπλεύσας δὲ τῇ
πόλει τῶν Φασηλιτῶν, Ἑλλήνων μὲν ὄντων, οὐ
δεχομένων δὲ τὸν στόλον οὐδὲ βουλομένων ἀφί-
στασθαι βασιλέως, τὴν τε χώραν κακῶς ἐποίει
καὶ προσέβαλλε τοῖς τείχεσιν. οἱ δὲ Χίοι συμ-
πλέοντες αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Φασηλίτας ἐκ
παλαιοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντες, ἅμα μὲν τὸν Κίμωνα
κατεπράϋνον, ἅμα δὲ τοξεύοντες ὑπὲρ τὰ τείχη
βιβλίδια προσκείμενα τοῖς οὔστοις ἐξήγγελλον
4 τοῖς Φασηλίταις. τέλος δὲ διήλλαξεν¹ αὐτούς,
ὅπως δέκα τάλαντα δόντες ἀκολουθῶσι καὶ συ-
στρατεύωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους.

Ἐφορος μὲν οὖν Τιθραύστην φησὶ τῶν βασι-
λικῶν νεῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ Φερενδάτην,
Καλλισθένης δ' Ἀριομάνδην τὸν Γωβρύου κυριώ-
τατον ὄντα τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα
ταῖς ναυσὶ παρορμεῖν, οὐκ ὄντα μάχεσθαι τοῖς
Ἑλλήσι πρόθυμον, ἀλλὰ προσδεχόμενον ὀγδοή-
κοντα ναῦς Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ Κύπρου προσπλε-

¹ διήλλαξεν Coraës and Bekker have διήλλαξαν, as does S, referring to the Chians as reconciling the two hostile parties.

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entirely cleared of Persian arms. Learning that the generals of the King were lurking about Pamphylia with a great army and many ships, and wishing to make them afraid to enter at all the sea to the west of the Chelidonian isles, he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium¹ with two hundred triremes. These vessels had been from the beginning very well constructed for speed and manœuvring by Themistocles; but Cimon now made them broader, and put bridges between their decks, in order that with their numerous hoplites they might be more effective in their onsets. Putting in at Phaselis, which was a Hellenic city, but refused to admit his armament or even to abandon the King's cause, he ravaged its territory and assaulted its walls. But the Chians, who formed part of his fleet and were of old on friendly terms with the people of Phaselis, laboured to soften Cimon's hostility, and at the same time, by shooting arrows over the walls with little documents attached, they conveyed messages of their success to the men of Phaselis. So finally Cimon made friends with them on condition that they should pay ten talents and join him in his expedition against the Barbarians.

Now Ephorus says that Tithraustes was commander of the royal fleet, and Pherendates of the infantry; but Callisthenes says that it was Ariomandes, the son of Gobryas, who, as commander-in-chief of all the forces, lay at anchor with the fleet off the mouth of the Eurymedon, and that he was not at all eager to fight with the Hellenes, but was waiting for eighty Phoenician ships to sail up from

¹ About 467 B.C.

5 ούσας. ταύτας φθῆναι βουλόμενος ὁ Κίμων ἀνήχθη, βιάζεσθαι παρεσκευασμένος, ἂν ἐκόντες μὴ ναυμαχῶσιν. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, ὥς μὴ βιασθεῖεν, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν εἰσωρμίσαντο, προσφερομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντεξέπλευσαν, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Φανόδημος, ἑξκαοσίαις ναυσίν, ὥς δ' Ἐφορος, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις. ἔργον δὲ κατὰ γοῦν τὴν θάλατταν οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 6 ἐπράχθη τῆς δυνάμεως ἄξιον, ἀλλ' εὐθύς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποστρέφοντες ἐξέπιπτον οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κατέφευγον εἰς τὸ πεζὸν ἐγγὺς παρατεταγμένον, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο μετὰ τῶν νεῶν. ᾧ καὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι πάμπολλοί τινες αἱ πεπληρωμένοι τοῖς βαρβάροις νῆες ἦσαν, ὅτε πολλῶν μὲν, ὥς εἰκός, ἐκφυγουσῶν, πολλῶν δὲ συντριβεισῶν, ὅμως αἰχμαλώτους διακοσίας ἔλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

XIII. Τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἐπικαταβάντων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἐφαίνετο τῷ Κίμωνι τὸ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν καὶ κεκμηκότας ἀκμήσι καὶ πολλαπλασίοις ἐπάγειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅμως δὲ ῥώμη καὶ φρονήματι τοῦ κρατεῖν ὁρῶν ἐπηρμένους καὶ προθύμους ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπεβίβαζε τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἔτι θερμούς τῷ κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀγῶνι μετὰ
 2 κραυγῆς καὶ δρόμου προσφερομένους. ὑποστάντων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ δεξαμένων οὐκ ἀγευνῶς κρατερὰ μάχη συνέστη· καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρῶτοι καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ἔπεσον. πολλῶν δ' ἀγῶνι τρεψάμενοι

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Cyprus. Wishing to anticipate their arrival, Cimon put out to sea, prepared to force the fighting if his enemy should decline an engagement. At first the enemy put into the river, that they might not be forced to fight; but when the Athenians bore down on them there, they sailed out to meet them. They had six hundred ships, according to Phanodemus; three hundred and fifty, according to Ephorus. Whatever the number, nothing was achieved by them on the water which was worthy of such a force, but they straightway put about and made for shore, where the foremost of them abandoned their ships and fled for refuge to the infantry which was drawn up near by; those who were overtaken were destroyed with their ships. Whereby also it is plain that the Barbarian ships which went into action were very numerous indeed, since, though many, of course, made their escape and many were destroyed, still two hundred were captured by the Athenians.

XIII. When the enemy's land forces marched threateningly down to the sea, Cimon thought it a vast undertaking to force a landing and lead his weary Hellenes against an unwearied and many times more numerous foe. But he saw that his men were exalted by the impetus and pride of their victory, and eager to come to close quarters with the Barbarians, so he landed his hoplites still hot with the struggle of the sea-fight, and they advanced to the attack with shouts and on the run. The Persians stood firm and received the onset nobly, and a mighty battle ensued, wherein there fell brave men of Athens who were foremost in public office and eminent. But after a long struggle the Athenians

τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔκτεινον, εἶτα ἤρουν αὐτοὺς
τε καὶ σκηναὺς παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων γεμούσας.

- 3 Κίμων δ' ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆς δεινὸς ἡμέρα μιᾷ
δύο καθηρηκῶς ἀγωνίσματα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν
Σαλαμῖνι πεζομαχίᾳ, τὸ δ' ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ναυ-
μαχίᾳ παρεληλυθὼς τρόπαιον, ἐπηγωνίσατο ταῖς
νίκαις, καὶ τὰς ὀγδοήκοντα Φοινίσσας τριήρεις,
αἱ τῆς μάχης ἀπελείφθησαν, Ὅδρω προσβεβλη-
κέναι πυθόμενος διὰ τάχους ἐπλευσεν, οὐδὲν
εἰδόντων βέβαιον οὐπω περὶ τῆς μείζονος δυνά-
μεως τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ δυσπίστως ἔτι καὶ
4 μετεώρως ἐχόντων· ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες
ἀπώλεσαν τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
οἱ πλείστοι συνδιεφθάρησαν. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον
οὕτως ἐταπείνωσε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ βασιλέως,
ὥστε συνθέσθαι τὴν περιβόητον εἰρήνην ἐκείνην, 487
ἵππου μὲν δρόμον αἰετὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀπέχειν
θαλάσσης, ἔνδον δὲ Κυανέων καὶ Χελιδονίων
μακρὰ νηὶ καὶ χαλκεμβόλῳ μὴ πλέειν.
- 5 Καίτοι Καλλισθένης οὗ φησι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι
τὸν βάρβαρον, ἔργῳ δὲ ποιεῖν διὰ φόβον τῆς
ἡττῆς ἐκείνης, καὶ μακρὰν οὕτως ἀποστήναι τῆς
Ἑλλάδος, ὥστε πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ Περικλέα καὶ
τριάκοντα μόναις Ἐφιάλτην ἐπέκεινα πλεῦσαι
Χελιδονίων καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ναυτικὸν ἀπαντῆσαι
6 παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν,
ἃ συνήγαγε Κρατερός, ἀντίγραφα συνθηκῶν ὡς
γενομένων κατατέτακται. φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν

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routed the Barbarians with slaughter, and then captured them and their camp, which was full of all sorts of treasure.

But Cimon, though like a powerful athlete he had brought down two contests in one day, and though he had surpassed the victory of Salamis with an infantry battle, and that of Plataea with a naval battle, still went on competing with his own victories. Hearing that the eighty Phoenician triremes which were too late for the battle had put in at Hydrus,¹ he sailed thither with all speed, while their commanders as yet knew nothing definite about the major force, but were still in distrustful suspense. For this reason they were all the more panic-stricken at his attack, and lost all their ships. Most of their crews were destroyed with the ships. This exploit so humbled the purpose of the King that he made the terms of that notorious peace, by which he was to keep away from the Hellenic sea-coast as far as a horse could travel in a day, and was not to sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles with armoured ships of war.

And yet Callisthenes denies that the Barbarian made any such terms, but says he really acted as he did through the fear which that victory inspired, and kept so far aloof from Hellas that Pericles with fifty, and Ephialtes with only thirty, ships sailed beyond the Chelidonian isles without encountering any navy of the Barbarians. But in the decrees collected by Craterus there is a copy of the treaty in its due place, as though it had actually been made. And they say that the Athenians

¹ Hydrus is the name in the MSS., but no such place is known. Syedra is the most probable correction.

εἰρήνης διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ιδρύσασθαι, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν πρεσβεύσαντα τιμῇσι διαφερόντως.

- Πραθέντων δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λαφύρων εἰς τε τὰ ἄλλα χρήμασιν ὁ δῆμος ἐρρώσθη, καὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ νότιον τεῖχος κατεσκεύασεν ἀπ' 7 ἐκείνης εὐπορήσας τῆς στρατείας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ἃ σκέλη καλοῦσι, συντελεσθῆναι μὲν ὕστερον τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τὴν δὲ πρώτην θεμελίωσιν εἰς τόπους ἐλώδεις καὶ διαβρόχους τῶν ἔργων ἐμπεσόντων ἐρεισθῆναι διὰ Κίμωνος ἀσφαλῶς, χάλικι πολλῇ καὶ λίθοις βαρέσι τῶν ἐλῶν πιεσθέντων, ἐκείνου χρήματα πορίζοντος καὶ 8 διδόντος. πρῶτος δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐλευθερίοις καὶ γλαφυραῖς διατριβαῖς, αἱ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπερφυῶς ἠγαπήθησαν, ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν πλατάνοις καταφυτεύσας, τὴν δ' Ἀκαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυντον ἀποδείξας ἄλσος ἡσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκίοις περιπάτοις.

- XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν τινες οὐκ ἐβούλονται τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐκλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἄνωθεν ἐπεκαλοῦντο καταφρονούντες τοῦ Κίμωνος μετ' ὀλίγων παντάπασι τριήρων Ἀθήνηθεν ἐκπεπλευκότος, ὁρμήσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τέσσαρσι μὲν ναυσὶ τρισκαίδεκα τὰς ἐκείνων ἔλαβεν, ἐξελάσας δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ κρατήσας τῶν Θρᾷκῶν πᾶσαν ᾧκειώσατο τῇ πόλει τὴν Χερρόνησον. 2 ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θασίους μὲν ἀποστάντας Ἀθηναίων καταναυμαχήσας τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα τὰ

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also built the altar of Peace to commemorate this event, and paid distinguished honours to Callias as their ambassador.

By the sale of the captured spoils the people was enabled to meet various financial demands, and especially it constructed the southern wall of the Acropolis with the generous resources obtained from that expedition. And it is said that, though the building of the long walls, called "legs," was completed afterwards, yet their first foundations, where the work was obstructed by swamps and marshes, were stayed up securely by Cimon, who dumped vast quantities of rubble and heavy stones into the swamps, meeting the expenses himself. He was the first to beautify the city with the so-called "liberal" and elegant resorts which were so excessively popular a little later, by planting the market-place with plane trees, and by converting the Academy from a waterless and arid spot into a well watered grove, which he provided with clear running-tracks and shady walks.

XIV. Now there were certain Persians who would not abandon the Chersonese, but called in Thracians from the North to help them, despising Cimon, who had sailed out from Athens with only a few triremes all told.¹ But he sallied out against them with his four ships and captured their thirteen, drove out the Persians, overwhelmed the Thracians, and turned the whole Chersonese over to his city for settlement. And after this, when the Thasians were in revolt from Athens,² he defeated them in a sea-fight, captured thirty-three of their ships, besieged and took their city, acquired their gold mines

¹ 466 B.C.

² 465 B.C.

πέραν Ἀθηναίοις προσεκτήσατο καὶ χώραν, ἥς ἐπήρχον Θάσιοι, παρέλαβεν.

- Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ῥαδίως ἐπιβῆναι Μακεδονίας καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι παρασχόν, ὡς ἐδόκει, μὴ θελήσας αἰτίαν ἔσχε δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεπεῖσθαι, καὶ δίκην ἔφυγε τῶν
- 3 ἐχθρῶν συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἀπολογούμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς οὐκ Ἰώνων ἔφη προξενεῖν οὐδὲ Θεσσαλῶν, πλουσίων ὄντων, ὥσπερ ἐτέρους, ἵνα θεραπεύωνται καὶ λαμβάνωσιν, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, μιμούμενος καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐτέλειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἥς οὐδένα προτιμᾶν πλούτον, ἀλλὰ πλουτίζων ἀπὸ τῶν πο-
- 4 λεμίων τὴν πόλιν ἀγάλλεσθαι. μνησθεῖς δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἐκείνης ὁ Στησίμβροτός φησι τὴν Ἑλπινίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κίμωνος δεομένην ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ Περικλέους (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τῶν κατηγορῶν ὁ σφοδρότατος), τὸν δὲ μειδιάσαντα “Γραῦς εἶ,” φάναι, “γραῦς, ὦ Ἑλπινίκη, ὡς τηλικαῦτα διαπράττεσθαι πρῶγματα.” πλὴν ἔν γε τῇ δίκῃ πρῶτατον γενέσθαι τῷ Κίμωνι καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἅπαξ ἀναστήναι μόνον, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιούμενον.

XV. Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν ἀπέφυγε τὴν δίκην· ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ πολιτείᾳ παρὼν μὲν ἐκράτει καὶ συνέστελλε τὸν δῆμον ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ περισπῶντα τὴν πᾶσαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν· ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ στρατείᾳ ἐξέπλευσε, τελέως ἀνεθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ συγχέαντες τὸν καθεστῶ- 488
τα τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον τά τε πάτρια νόμιμα, οἷς

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on the opposite mainland for Athens, and took possession of the territory which the Thasians controlled there.

From this base he had a good opportunity, as it was thought, to invade Macedonia and cut off a great part of it, and because he would not consent to do it, he was accused of having been bribed to this position by King Alexander, and was actually prosecuted, his enemies forming a coalition against him.¹ In making his defence before his judges he said he was no proxenus of rich Ionians and Thessalians, as others were, to be courted and paid for their services, but rather of Lacedaemonians, whose temperate simplicity he lovingly imitated, counting no wealth above it, but embellishing the city with the wealth which he got from the enemy. In mentioning this famous trial Stesimbrotus says that Elpinicé came with a plea for Cimon to the house of Pericles, since he was the most ardent accuser, and that he smiled and said, "Too old, too old, Elpinicé, to meddle with such business." But at the trial he was very gentle with Cimon, and took the floor only once in accusation of him, as though it were a mere formality.

XV. Well then, Cimon was acquitted at this trial. And during the remainder of his political career, when he was at home, he mastered and constrained the people in its onsets upon the nobles, and in its efforts to wrest all office and power to itself; but when he sailed away again on military service,² the populace got completely beyond control. They confounded the established political order of things and the ancestral practices which they had formerly

¹ 463 B.C.

² 462 B.C. See chap. xvii

- 2 ἐχρῶντο πρότερον, Ἐφιάλτου προεστῶτος ἀφεί-
 λοντο τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς τὰς κρίσεις
 πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀπάσας, καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων
 κυρίου ἐαυτοὺς ποιήσαντες εἰς ἄκρατον δημο-
 κρατίαν ἐνέβαλον τὴν πόλιν, ἥδη καὶ Περικλέους
 δυναμένου καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν φρονούντος. διὸ
 καὶ τοῦ Κίμωνος, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν, ἀγανακτοῦντος
 ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ συνε-
 δρίου, καὶ πειρωμένου πάλιν ἄνω τὰς δίκας
 ἀνακαλεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισθένους ἐγείρειν
 ἀριστοκρατίαν, κατεβῶν συνιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν
 3 δῆμον ἐξηρέθιζον, ἐκεῖνά τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν
 ἀνανεοῦμενοι καὶ Λακωνισμόν ἐπικαλοῦντες. εἰς
 ἃ καὶ τὰ Εὐπόλιδος διατεθρύληται περὶ Κίμωνος,
 ὅτι

Κακὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦν, φιλοπότης δὲ κάμελής·
 κἀνίот' ἂν ἀπεκοιμᾶτ' ἂν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι,
 κἂν Ἑλπινίκην τήνδε καταλιπὼν μόνην.

εἰ δ' ἀμελῶν καὶ μεθυσκόμενος τοσαύτας πόλεις
 εἶλε καὶ τοσαύτας νίκας ἐνίκησε, δῆλον ὅτι
 νήφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ προσέχοντος οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτε
 τῶν πρότερον οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον Ἑλλήνων παρῆλθε
 τὰς πράξεις.

XVI. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς φιλολάκων· καὶ τῶν
 γε παίδων τῶν διδύμων τὸν ἕτερον Λακεδαιμόν-
 ιον ὠνόμασε, τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἡλεῖον, ἐκ γυναικὸς
 αὐτῷ Κλειτορίας γενομένους, ὡς Στησίμβροτος
 ἱστορεῖ· διὸ πολλάκις τὸν Περικλέα τὸ μητρῷον
 αὐτοῖς γένος ὀνειδίζειν. Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Περιηγη-
 τῆς καὶ τούτους φησὶ καὶ τὸν τρίτον τῶν Κίμωνος

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observed, and under the lead of Ephialtes they robbed the Council of the Areiopagus of all but a few of the cases in its jurisdiction. They made themselves masters of the courts of justice, and plunged the city into unmitigated democracy, Pericles being now a man of power and espousing the cause of the populace. And so when Cimon came back home, and in his indignation at the insults heaped upon the reverend council, tried to recall again its jurisdiction and to revive the aristocracy of the times of Cleisthenes, they banded together to denounce him, and tried to inflame the people against him, renewing the old slanders about his sister and accusing him of being a Spartan sympathiser. It was to these calumnies that the famous and popular verses of Eupolis about Cimon had reference :—

“ He was not base, but fond of wine and full of
sloth,
And oft he 'ld sleep in Lacedaemon, far from
home,
And leave his Elpinicé sleeping all alone.”

But if, though full of sloth and given to tippling, he yet took so many cities and won so many victories, it is clear that had he been sober and mindful of his business, no Hellene either before or after him would have surpassed his exploits.

XVI. It is true indeed that he was from the first a philo-Laconian. He actually named one of his twin sons Lacedaemonius, and the other Eleius,—the sons whom a woman of Cleitor bare him, as Stesimbrotus relates, wherefore Pericles often reproached them with their maternal lineage. But Diodorus the Topographer says that these, as well

- νιῶν Θεσσαλὸν ἐξ Ἰσοδίκης γεγονέναι τῆς
 2 Εὐρυπτολέμου τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ἠϋξήθη δ' ὑπὸ
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἤδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσπο-
 λεμούντων καὶ τοῦτον ὄντα νέον ἐν Ἀθήναις
 μᾶλλον ἰσχύειν καὶ κρατεῖν βουλομένων. οἱ
 δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρῶτον ἡδέως ἐώρων οὐ μικρὰ τῆς
 πρὸς ἐκείνον εὐνοίας τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπολαύον-
 τες· αὐξανόμενοις γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ
 3 συμμαχικὰ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὐκ ἤχθοντο τιμῇ
 καὶ χάριτι τοῦ Κίμωνος. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα δι'
 ἐκείνου τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν διεπράττετο, πράως μὲν
 τοῖς συμμάχοις, κεχαρισμένως δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις ὁμιλοῦντος. ἔπειτα δυνατώτεροι γενό-
 μενοι καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὐκ
 ἡρέμα προσκείμενον ὀρώντες ἤχθοντο. καὶ γὰρ
 αὐτὸς ἐπὶ παντὶ μεγαλύνων τὴν Λακεδαίμονα
 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε τύχοι μεμφό-
 μενος αὐτοῖς ἢ παροξύνων, ὥς φησι Σπησίμβροτος,
 εἰώθει λέγειν· “Ἄλλ' οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιοί γε
 4 τοιοῦτοι.” ὅθεν φθόνον ἐαυτῷ συνῆγε καὶ
 δυσμένειάν τινα παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.
 Ἡ δ' οὖν ἰσχύσασα μάλιστα κατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
 διαβολῶν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοιαύτην. Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ
 Ζευξιδάμου τέταρτον¹ ἔτος ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλεύον-
 τος ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ μεγίστου δὴ τῶν μνημονευομένων
 πρότερον ἢ τε χώρα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χάσμα-
 σιν ἐνώλισθε πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ταυγέτων τιναχ-
 θέντων κορυφαί τινες ἀπερράγησαν, αὐτὴ δ' ἡ
 πόλις ὅλη συνεχύθη πλὴν οἰκίων πέντε, τὰς δ'
 ἄλλας ἤρειψεν ὁ σεισμός.

¹ τέταρτον Bekker adopted Niebuhr's correction to τεσσα-
 ρεσκαδέκατον fourteen.

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as the third of Cimon's sons, Thessalus, were born of Isodicé, the daughter of Eurypolemus, the son of Megacles. And he was looked upon with favour by the Lacedaemonians, who soon were at enmity with Themistocles, and therefore preferred that Cimon, young as he was, should have the more weight and power in Athens. The Athenians were glad to see this at first, since they reaped no slight advantage from the good will which the Spartans showed him. While their empire was first growing, and they were busy making alliances, they were not displeased that honour and favour should be shown to Cimon. He was the foremost Hellenic statesman, dealing gently with the allies and acceptably with the Lacedaemonians. But afterwards, when they became more powerful, and saw that Cimon was strongly attached to the Spartans, they were displeased thereat. For on every occasion he was prone to exalt Lacedaemon to the Athenians, especially when he had occasion to chide or incite them. Then, as Stesimbrotus tells us, he would say, "But the Lacedaemonians are not of such a sort." In this way he awakened the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens.

At any rate, the strongest charge against him arose as follows. When Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, was in the fourth year of his reign at Sparta,¹ a greater earthquake than any before reported rent the land of the Lacedaemonians into many chasms, shook Taygetus so that sundry peaks were torn away, and demolished the entire city with the exception of five houses. The rest were thrown down by the earthquake.

¹ 464 B.C.

- 5 Ἐν δὲ μέσῃ τῇ στοᾷ γυμναζομένων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων λέγεται μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ λαγὼν παραφανῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους, ὥσπερ ἦσαν ἀλληλιμμένοι, μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐκδραμεῖν καὶ διώκειν, τοῖς δ' ἐφήβοις ὑπολειφθεῖσιν ἐπιπείσειν τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πάντας ὁμοῦ τελευτῆσαι. τὸν δὲ τάφον αὐτῶν ἔτι νῦν Σεισματίαν προσαγορεύουσι.
- 6 Ταχὺ δὲ συνιδὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας 489 ὁρῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τὰ τιμιώτατα πειρωμένους σώζειν, ἐκέλευσε τῇ σύλπιγγι σημαίνειν, ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀθροίζωνται πρὸς αὐτόν. ὃ δὲ καὶ μόνον ἐν τῷ τότε καιρῷ τὴν Σπάρτην διέσωσεν. οἱ γὰρ εἴλωτες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέδραμον πανταχόθεν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς σεσωσμένους
- 7 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ὦπλισμένους δὲ καὶ συνεταγμένους εὐρόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ φανερώς ἐπολέμουν, τῶν τε περιοίκων ἀναπείσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγους, καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἅμα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις συνεπιθεμένων.

Πέμπουσιν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Περικλείδαν εἰς Ἀθήνας δεόμενοι βοηθεῖν, ὃν φησι κωμωδῶν Ἀριστοφάνης καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ὥχρὸν 8 ἐν φοινικίδι στρατιὰν ἐπαιτεῖν. Ἐφιάλτου δὲ κωλύοντος καὶ διαμαρτυρομένου μὴ βοηθεῖν μηδ' ἀνιστάναι πόλιν ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀλλ' εἶαν κεῖσθαι καὶ πατηθῆναι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Σπάρτης, Κίμωνά φησι Κριτίας τὴν τῆς πατρίδος αὔξησιν ἐν ὑστέρω θέμενον τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων

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It is said that while the young men and youths were exercising together in the interior of the colonnade, just a little before the earthquake, a hare made its appearance, and the youths, all anointed as they were, in sport dashed out and gave chase to it, but the young men remained behind, on whom the gymnasium fell, and all perished together. Their tomb, even down to the present day, they call *Seismatias*.

Archidamus at once comprehended from the danger at hand that which was sure to follow, and as he saw the citizens trying to save the choicest valuables out of their houses, ordered the trumpet to give the signal of an enemy's attack, in order that they might flock to him at once under arms. This was all that saved Sparta at that crisis. For the Helots hurriedly gathered from all the country round about with intent to despatch the surviving Spartans. But finding them arrayed in arms, they withdrew to their cities and waged open war, persuading many Perioeci also so to do. The Messenians besides joined in this attack upon the Spartans.

Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent Pericleidas to Athens with request for aid, and Aristophanes introduces him into a comedy as "sitting at the altars, pale of face, in purple cloak, soliciting an army."¹ But Ephialtes opposed the project, and besought the Athenians not to succour nor restore a city which was their rival, but to let haughty Sparta lie to be trodden under foot of men. Whereupon, as Critias says, Cimon made his country's increase of less account than Sparta's interest, and persuaded the

¹ *Lysistrata*, 1137 ff.

συμφέροντος ἀναπείσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἐξελθεῖν βοηθοῦντα μετὰ πολλῶν ὀπλιτῶν. ὁ δ' Ἴων ἀπομνημονεύει καὶ τὸν λόγον, ᾧ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκίνησε, παρακαλῶν μήτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα χωλὴν μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἑτερόζυγα περιιδεῖν γεγεννημένην.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βοηθήσας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπῆει διὰ Κορίνθου τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων, ἐνεκάλει Λάχαρτος αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς πολίταις εἰσαγαγόντι τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ θύραν κόψαντας ἄλλοτρίαν οὐκ εἰσιέναι πρότερον ἢ τὸν κύριον κελεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ Κίμων “Ἄλλ’ οὐχ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Λάχαρτε, τὰς Κλεωναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων πύλας κόψαντες, ἀλλὰ κατασχίσαντες εἰσεβιάσασθε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀξιοῦντες ἀνεωγέναι πάντα τοῖς μεῖζον δυναμένοις.” οὕτω μὲν ἐθρασύνατο πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐν δέοντι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς διεξῆλθεν.

2 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὐθις ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ Μεσσηνίους καὶ εἴλωτας, ἐλθόντων δὲ τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα δείσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο μόνους τῶν συμμάχων ὡς νεωτεριστάς. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπελθόντες ἤδη τοῖς λακωνίζουσι φανερώς ἐχαλέπαινον, καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα μικρᾶς ἐπιλαβόμενοι προφάσεως ἐξωστράκισαν εἰς ἔτη δέκα· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν χρόνου τεταγμένον ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐξοστρακισμένοις.

3 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἐπανήρχοντο Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ Φωκέων ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἐν

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people to go forth to her aid with many hoplites. And Ion actually mentions the phrase by which, more than by anything else, Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians, exhorting them "not to suffer Hellas to be crippled, nor their city to be robbed of its yoke-fellow."

XVII. After he had given aid to the Lacedaemonians, he was going back home with his forces through the Isthmus of Corinth, when Lachartus upbraided him for having introduced his army before he had conferred with the citizens. "People who knock at doors," said he, "do not go in before the owner bids them"; to which Cimon replied, "And yet you Corinthians, O Lachartus, did not so much as knock at the gates of Cleonae and Megara, but hewed them down and forced your way in under arms, demanding that everything be opened up to the stronger." Such was his boldness of speech to the Corinthian in an emergency, and he passed on through with his forces.

Once more the Lacedaemonians summoned the Athenians to come to their aid against the Messenians and Helots in Ithomé, and the Athenians went, but their dashing boldness awakened fear, and they were singled out from all the allies and sent off as dangerous conspirators. They came back home in a rage, and at once took open measures of hostility against the Laconizers, and above all against Cimon. Laying hold of a trifling pretext, they ostracised him for ten years.¹ That was the period decreed in all cases of ostracism.

It was during this period that the Lacedaemonians, after freeing the Delphians from the Phocians,

¹ 461 B.C.

Τανάγρα καταστρατοπεδευσάντων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἀπήντων διαμαχοῦμενοι, Κίμων δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων ἦκεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φυλὴν τὴν Οἰνηίδα, πρόθυμος ὦν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ
 4 τῶν πολιτῶν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων πυθο-
 μένη καὶ φοβηθεῖσα, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ κατα-
 βοώντων ὡς συνταράξαι τὴν φάλαγγα βουλο-
 μένου καὶ τῇ πόλει Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαγαγεῖν,
 ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν
 ἄνδρα. κακείνος μὲν ὥχετο δεηθεὶς Εὐθίππου
 τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων, ὅσοι
 μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ λακωνίζειν αἰτίαν ἔσχον, ἐρρωμέ-
 νως ἀγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ δι'
 ἔργων ἀπολύσασθαι τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας.
 5 οἱ δὲ λαβόντες αὐτοῦ τὴν πανοπλίαν εἰς τὸν λόχον
 ἔθεντο· καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων συστάντες ἐκθύμως
 ἑκατὸν ὄντες ἔπεσον, πολὺν αὐτῶν πόθον καὶ
 μεταμέλειαν ἐφ' οἷς ἠτιάθησαν ἀδίκως ἀπολιπόν-
 τες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τῷ πρὸς Κίμωνα
 θυμῷ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνέμειναν, τὰ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός,
 ὦν ἔπαθον εὖ μεμνημένοι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ συλ-
 6 λαμβανομένου. νενικημένοι γὰρ ἐν Τανάγρα 490
 μάχῃ μεγάλη καὶ προσδοκῶντες εἰς ὥραν ἔτους
 στρατιὰν Πελοποννησίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ἐκ
 τῆς φυγῆς τὸν Κίμωνα· καὶ κατήλθε τὸ ψήφισμα
 γράψαντος αὐτῷ Περικλέους. οὕτω τότε πολιτι-
 καὶ μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαφοραί, μέτριοι δ' οἱ θυμοὶ

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encamped at Tanagra on their march back home.¹ Here the Athenians confronted them, bent on fighting their issue out, and here Cimon came in arms, to join his own Oeneïd tribe, eager to share with his fellow-citizens in repelling the Lacedaemonians. But the Council of the Five Hundred learned of this and was filled with fear, since Cimon's foes accused him of wishing to throw the ranks into confusion, and then lead the Lacedaemonians in an attack upon the city ; so they forbade the generals to receive the man. As he went away he besought Euthippus of Anaphlystus and his other comrades, all who were specially charged with laconizing, to fight sturdily against the enemy, and by their deeds of valour to dissipate the charge which their countrymen laid at their door. They took his armour and set it in the midst of their company, supported one another ardently in the fight, and fell, to the number of one hundred, leaving behind them among the Athenians a great and yearning sense of their loss, and sorrow for the unjust charges made against them. For this reason the Athenians did not long abide by their displeasure against Cimon, partly because, as was natural, they remembered his benefits, and partly because the turn of events favoured his cause. For they were defeated at Tanagra in a great battle, and expected that in the following spring-time an armed force of Peloponnesians would come against them, and so they recalled Cimon from his exile. The decree which provided for his return was formally proposed by Pericles. To such a degree in those days were dissensions based on political differences of opinion, while personal feelings were

¹ 457 B.C.

καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐανάκλητοι συμφέρον, ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία πάντων ἐπικρατοῦσα τῶν παθῶν τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεχώρει καιροῖς.

XVIII. Εὐθύς μὲν οὖν ὁ Κίμων κατελθὼν ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διήλλαξε τὰς πόλεις· γενομένης δ' εἰρήνης ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ κινεῖσθαι καὶ αὐξάνεσθαι ταῖς στρατείαις βουλομένους, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησι διοχλῶσι μηδὲ περὶ τὰς νήσους ἢ Πελοπόννησον ἀναστρεφόμενοι ναυσὶ πολλαῖς αἰτίας ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ συμμαχικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀρχὰς ἐπισπάσωνται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, 2 ἐπλήρου διακοσίας τριήρεις ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον αὐθις ἐκστρατευσόμενος, ἅμα μὲν ἐμμελετᾶν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγῶσι βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δ' ὠφελεῖσθαι δικαίως τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πολεμίων εὐπορίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίζοντας.

Ἦδη δὲ παρεσκευασμένων ἀπάντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντος ὄναρ εἶδεν ὁ 3 Κίμων. ἐδόκει κύνα θυμουμένην ὑλακτεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑκλαῆς μεμιγμένον ἀφείσαν ἀνθρώπου φθόγγον εἰπεῖν·

Στείχε· φίλος γὰρ ἔση καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐμοῖς σκυλάκεσσιν.

οὕτω δὲ δυσκρίτου τῆς ὄψεως οὔσης Ἀστύφίλος ὁ Ποσειδωνιάτης, μαντικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ συνήθης τῷ Κίμωνι, φράζει θάνατον αὐτῷ προσημαίνειν τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτω διαιρῶν· κύων ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς ὃν ὑλακτεῖ, πολέμιος· πολεμίῳ δ' οὐκ ἂν τις μᾶλλον

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moderate, and easily recalled into conformity with the public weal. Even ambition, that master passion, paid deference to the country's welfare.

XVIII. Well then, as soon as Cimon returned from exile he stopped the war and reconciled the rival cities. After peace was made,¹ since he saw that the Athenians were unable to keep quiet, but wished to be on the move and τῶν ἄλλων great by means of military expeditions ; also because he wished that they should not exasperate the Hellenes generally, nor by hovering around the islands and the Peloponnesus with a large fleet bring down upon the city charges of intestine war, and initial complaints from the allies, he manned two hundred triremes. His design was to make another expedition with them against Egypt and Cyprus. He wished to keep the Athenians in constant training by their struggles with Barbarians, and to give them the legitimate benefits of importing into Hellas the wealth taken from their natural foes.

All things were now ready and the soldiery on the point of embarking, when Cimon had a dream. He thought an angry bitch was baying at him, and that mingled with its baying it uttered a human voice, saying :—

“ Go thy way, for a friend shalt thou be both to me and my puppies.”

The vision being hard of interpretation, Astyphilus of Posidonia, an inspired man and an intimate of Cimon's, told him that it signified his death. He analysed the vision thus : a dog is a foe of the man at whom it bays ; to a foe, one cannot be a friend

¹ 450 B.C.

ἡ τελευτήσας φίλος γένοιτο· τὸ δὲ μῖγμα τῆς
φωνῆς Μῆδον ἀποδηλοῖ τὸν ἐχθρόν· ὁ γὰρ
4 Μῆδων στρατὸς Ἑλλησιν ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάροις
μέμικται. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τῷ
Διονύσῳ θύσαντος ὁ μὲν μάντις ἀπέτεμε τὸ
ἱερεῖον, τοῦ δ' αἵματος τὸ πηγνύμενον ἤδη
μύρμηκες πολλοὶ λαμβάνοντες κατὰ μικρὸν ἔφερον
πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ τοῦ ποδὸς περὶ τὸν μέγαν
δάκτυλον περιέπλαττον, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λαν-
θάνοντες. ἅμα δέ πως ὁ τε Κίμων τῷ γινομένῳ
προσέσχε καὶ παρῆν ὁ θύτης ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ
τὸν λοβὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα κεφαλὴν.

Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀνάδυσσις τῆς στρατείας ἐξέ-
πλευσε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἀπέστειλεν
εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις πάλιν . . . ἔπλει.¹
5 καὶ καταναυμαχήσας Φοινισσῶν νεῶν καὶ Κιλις-
σῶν βασιλικὸν στόλον ἀνεκτάτῳ τε τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ
πόλεις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐφήδρευεν, οὐδὲν
μικρόν, ἀλλ' ὅλης ἐπινοῶν τῆς βασιλέως ἡγεμο-
νίας κατὰλυσιν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τοῦ Θεμιστο-
κλέους ἔπυνθάνετο δόξαν εἶναι καὶ δύναμιν ἐν
τοῖς βαρβάροις μεγάλην, ὑποδεδεγμένου βασιλεῖ
κινεῖν τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον στρατηγήσειν.
6 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα λέγεται τὰς
Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ἀπογνοῦς, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ὑπερ-
βαλλόμενος τὴν Κίμωνος εὐτυχίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν,
ἐκὼν τελευτῆσαι, Κίμων δὲ μεγάλων ἐπαιρόμενος
ἀρχὰς ἀγώνων καὶ περὶ Κύπρον συνέχων τὸ
ναυτικὸν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀμμωνος ἄνδρας ἀπόρρη-
τόν τινα μαντείαν ποιησομένους παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

¹ πάλιν . . . ἔπλει either πάλιν is a corruption (περὶ Παμ-
φυλίαν?), or words have fallen out.

CIMON

any better than by dying; the mixture of speech indicates that the enemy is the Mede, for the army of the Medes is a mixture of Hellenes and Barbarians. After this vision, when Cimon had sacrificed to Dionysus and the seer was cutting up the victim, swarms of ants took the blood as it congealed, brought it little by little to Cimon, and enveloped his great toe therewith, he being unconscious of their work for some time. Just about at the time when he noticed what they were doing, the ministrant came and showed him the liver of his victim without a head.

But since he could not get out of the expedition, he set sail, and after detailing sixty of his ships to go to Egypt, with the rest he made again for Cyprus. After defeating at sea the royal armament of Phœnician and Cilician ships, he won over the cities round about, and then lay threatening the royal enterprise in Egypt, and not in any trifling fashion,—nay, he had in mind the dissolution of the King's entire supremacy, and all the more because he learned that the reputation and power of Themistocles were great among the Barbarians, who had promised the King that when the Hellenic war was set on foot he would take command of it. At any rate, it is said that it was most of all due to Themistocles' despair of his Hellenic undertakings, since he could not eclipse the good fortune and valour of Cimon, that he took his own life.¹

But Cimon, while he was projecting vast conflicts and holding his naval forces in the vicinity of Cyprus, sent men to the shrine of Ammon to get oracular answer from the god to some secret question.

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xxxi. 4.

7 γινώσκει γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν, οὐδὲ χρησμὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι τοὺς θεοπρόπους· αὐτὸν γὰρ ἤδη τὸν Κίμωνα παρ' ἑαυτῷ τυγχάνειν ὄντα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ θεοπρόποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τότε περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἦν, ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι τὸν Κίμωνα· καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον ἀνάγοντες ἔγνωσαν ἡνιγμένην τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ἤδη παρὰ θεοῖς ὄντος.

XIX. Ἀπέθανε δὲ πολιορκῶν Κίτιον, ὡς οἱ 491 πλείστοι λέγουσι, νοσήσας· ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἐκ τραύματος, ὃ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔσχε. τελευτῶν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθύς ἀποπλεῖν ἀποκρυψάμενους τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνέβη μήτε τῶν πολεμίων μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αἰσθομένων ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοὺς ἀνακομισθῆναι στρατηγούμενους ὑπὸ Κίμωνος, ὥς φησι Φανόδημος, τεθνηκότος ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα.

- 2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐδὲν ἔτι λαμπρὸν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐπράχθη στρατηγού τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ τραπέντες ὑπὸ δημαγωγῶν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οὐδενὸς τὰς χεῖρας ἐν μέσῳ διασχόντος, συνεργήσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀναπνοὴ μὲν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι γενόμενοι, φθόρον δ' ἀμύθητον
- 3 τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπεργασάμενοι. ὁψέ δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξενεγκάμενοι τὰ ὄπλα βραχέος ἤψαντο πολέμου πρὸς

CIMON

No one knows what they were sent to ask, nor did the god vouchsafe them any response, but as soon as the enquirers drew nigh, he bade them depart, saying that Cimon himself was already with him. On hearing this, the enquirers went down to the sea-coast, and when they reached the camp of the Hellenes, which was at that time on the confines of Egypt, they learned that Cimon was dead, and on counting the days back to the utterance of the oracle, they found that it was their commander's death which had been darkly intimated, since he was already with the gods.

XIX. He died while besieging Citium, of sickness, as most say.¹ But some say it was of a wound which he got while fighting the Barbarians. As he was dying he bade those about him to sail away at once and to conceal his death. And so it came to pass that neither the enemy nor the allies understood what had happened, and the force was brought back in safety "under the command of Cimon," as Phanodemus says, "who had been dead for thirty days."

After his death no further brilliant exploit against the Barbarians was performed by any general of the Hellenes, who were swayed by demagogues and partisans of civil war, with none to hold a mediating hand between them, till they actually clashed together in war. This afforded the cause of the King a respite, but brought to pass an indescribable destruction of Hellenic power. It was not until long afterwards² that Agesilaüs carried his arms into Asia and prosecuted a brief war against the King's

¹ Thuc. i. 112.

² 396-394 B.C.

τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ βασιλέως στρατηγούς· καὶ
λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μέγα δράσαντες, αὐθις δὲ
ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς στάσεσι καὶ ταραχαῖς ἀφ'
ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς ὑπενεχθέντες, ὥχοντο τοὺς Περσῶν
φορολόγους ἐν μέσαις ταῖς συμμάχοις καὶ φίλαις
πόλεσιν ἀπολιπόντες, ὧν οὐδὲ γραμματοφόρος
κατέβαινεν οὐδ' ἵππος πρὸς θαλάσῃ τετρακοσ-
ίων σταδίων ἐντὸς ὥφθη στρατηγούντος Κίμωνος.

- 4 "Οτι μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπεκομίσθη
τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ, μαρτυρεῖ τῶν μνημάτων τὰ
μέχρι νῦν Κιμώνεια προσαγορευόμενα· τιμῶσι
δὲ καὶ Κιτιεῖς τάφον τινὰ Κίμωνος, ὡς Ναυσι-
κράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ φησὶν, ἐν λοιμῇ καὶ γῆς ἀφορία
τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀμελεῖν Κί-
μωνος, ἀλλ' ὡς κρείττονα σέβεσθαι καὶ γεραίρειν.
τοιούτος μὲν ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς ἡγεμὼν.

CIMON

generals along the sea-coast. And even he could perform no great and brilliant deeds, but was overwhelmed in his turn by a flood of Hellenic disorders and seditions and swept away from a second empire. So he withdrew, leaving in the midst of allied and friendly cities the tax-gatherers of the Persians, not one of whose scribes, nay, nor so much as a horse, had been seen within four hundred furlongs of the sea, as long as Cimon was general.

That his remains were brought home to Attica, there is testimony in the funeral monuments to this day called Cimonian. But the people of Citium also pay honours to a certain tomb of Cimon, as Nausicrates the rhetorician says, because in a time of pestilence and famine the god enjoined upon them not to neglect Cimon, but to revere and honour him as a superior being. Such was the Greek leader.

LUCULLUS

ΛΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΣ

- Ι. Τῷ δὲ Λουκούλλῳ πάππος μὲν ἦν ὑπατικός, θεῖος δὲ πρὸς μητρός Μέτελλος ὁ Νομαδικὸς ἐπικληθείς. τῶν δὲ γονέων ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐάλω κλοπῆς, Κεκιλία δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἠδόξησεν ὥς οὐ βεβιωκυῖα σωφρόνως. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν, πρὶν ἀρχὴν τινα μετελθεῖν καὶ πολιτείας ἄψασθαι, πρῶτον ἔργον ἐποιήσατο τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς κατήγορον κρίναι Σερουίλιον
- 2 αὔγουρα, λαβὼν ἀδικοῦντα δημοσίᾳ. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην ὥσπερ ἀριστείαν διὰ στόματος ἔσχον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἄνευ προφάσεως οὐκ ἀγεννὲς εἶναι τὸ τῆς κατηγορίας ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάννυ τοὺς νέους ἐβούλοντο τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιφυομένους ὄρᾶν ὥσπερ θηρίοις εὐγενεῖς σκύλακας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μεγάλης περὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην φιλονεικίας γενομένης, ὥστε καὶ τρωθῆναί τινας καὶ πεσεῖν, ἀπέφυγεν ὁ Σερουίλιος.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος ἤσκητο καὶ λέγειν ἱκανῶς ἐκατέραν γλῶτταν, ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐκείνῳ προσεφώνησεν ὥς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσονται τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον. ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν χρεῖαν μόνην ἐμμελὴς αὐτοῦ

LUCULLUS

I. IN the case of Lucullus, his grandfather was a man of consular rank, and his uncle on his mother's side was Metellus, surnamed Numidicus. But as for his parents, his father was convicted of peculation, and his mother, Caecilia, had the bad name of a dissolute woman. Lucullus himself, while he was still a mere youth, before he had entered public life or stood for any office, made it his first business to impeach his father's accuser, Servilius the Augur, whom he found wronging the commonwealth. The Romans thought this a brilliant stroke, and the case was in everybody's mouth, like a great deed of prowess. Indeed, they thought the business of impeachment, on general principles and without special provocation, no ignoble thing, but were very desirous to see their young men fastening themselves on malefactors like high-bred whelps on wild beasts. However, the case stirred up great animosity, so that sundry persons were actually wounded and slain, and Servilius was acquitted.

Lucullus was trained to speak fluently both Latin and Greek, so that Sulla, in writing his own memoirs, dedicated them to him, as a man who would set in order and duly arrange the history of the times better than himself. For the style of Lucullus was not only businesslike and ready; the same

καὶ πρόχειρος ὁ λόγος, καθάπερ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν
μὲν ἀγορὰν

Θύννος βολαῖος πέλαγος ὡς διεστρόβει,

- γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκτὸς αὐτος, ἀμουσία
4 τεθνηκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐμμελῆ ταύτην καὶ 492
λεγομένην ἐλευθέριον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ προσεποιεῖτο
παιδεῖαν ἔτι καὶ μειράκιον ὦν. γενόμενος δὲ
πρεσβύτερος ἤδη παντάπασιν ὥσπερ ἐκ πολλῶν
ἀγώνων ἀφήκε τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ σχολά-
ζειν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι, τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῆς
ἐγείρας, καταλύσας δ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κολούσας τὸ
5 φιλότιμον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Πομπηίου διαφορᾶς. περὶ
μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλολογίας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις
καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται· νέον ὄντα πρὸς Ὀρτήσιον τὸν
δικολόγον καὶ Σισενῶν τὸν ἱστορικὸν ἐκ παιδιᾶς
τινος εἰς σπουδὴν προελθούσης ὁμολογῆσαι, προ-
θεμένων ποίημα καὶ λόγον Ἑλληνικόν τε καὶ
Ῥωμαϊκόν, εἰς ὃ τι ἂν λάχῃ τούτων, τὸν Μαρ-
σικὸν ἐντενεῖν πόλεμον. καὶ πῶς ἔοικεν εἰς λόγον
Ἑλληνικὸν ὁ κλῆρος ἀφικέσθαι· διασώζεται γὰρ
Ἑλληνικὴ τις ἱστορία τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου.
6 Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μάρκον εὐνοίας
πολλῶν τεκμηρίων ὄντων μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ
πρώτου μνημονεύουσι. πρεσβύτερος γὰρ ὢν
αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν μόνος οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ
τὸν ἐκείνου καιρὸν ἀναμείνας οὕτως ἐπηγάγετο

LUCULLUS

was true of many another man's in the Forum.
There,

“Like smitten tunny, through the billowy sea it
dashed,”

although outside of the Forum it was

“Withered, inelegant, and dead.”

But Lucullus, from his youth up, was devoted to the genial and so-called “liberal” culture then in vogue, wherein the Beautiful was sought. And when he came to be well on in years, he suffered his mind to find complete leisure and repose, as it were after many struggles, in philosophy, encouraging the contemplative side of his nature, and giving timely halt and check, after his difference with Pompey, to the play of his ambition. Now, as to his love of literature, this also is reported, in addition to what has already been said: when he was a young man, proceeding from jest to earnest in a conversation with Hortensius, the orator, and Sisenna, the historian, he agreed, on their suggestion of a poem and a history, both in Greek and Latin, that he would treat the Marsic war in whichever of these forms the lot should prescribe. And it would seem that the lot prescribed a Greek history, for there is extant a Greek history of the Marsic war.

Of his affection for his brother Marcus there are many proofs, but the Romans dwell most upon the first. Although, namely, he was older than his brother, he was unwilling to hold office alone, but waited until his brother was of the proper age, and thus gained the favour of the people

τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε σὺν ἐκείνῳ μὴ παρὼν ἀγορανόμος αἰρεθῆναι.

- II. Νέος δ' ὢν ἐν τῷ Μαρσικῷ πολέμῳ πολλὰ μὲν τόλμης δείγματα παρέσχε καὶ συνέσεως, μᾶλλον γε μὴν αὐτὸν δι' εὐστάθειαν καὶ πραότητα Σύλλας προσηγάγετο, καὶ χρώμενος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς διετέλεσεν. ὢν ἦν
- 2 καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα πραγματεία. δι' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐκόπη τὸ πλείστον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ περὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, καὶ Λουκούλλειον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσηγορεύθη, καὶ διετέλεσεν ἐπὶ πλείστον, ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν χρειῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ λαμβάνον ἀμοιβὴν ταχεῖαν. ἐκ τούτου τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐπικρατῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, περι-
κοπτόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ναυκρατούντων, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης τὸν Λούκουλλον ἄξοντα
- 3 ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀκμὴ χειμῶνος, ἐξέ-
πλευσε δὲ τρισὶν Ἑλληνικοῖς μυσπάρωσι καὶ δικρότοις Ἰσαῖς Ῥοδιακαῖς πρὸς μέγα πέλαγος καὶ ναῦς πολεμίας, πανταχόσε τῷ κρατεῖν πολλὰς διαφορομένας, παραβαλλόμενος. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρήτην κατάρας ὤκειώσατο καὶ Κυρηναίους καταλαβὼν ἐκ τυραννίδων συνεχῶν καὶ πολέμων ταραττομένους ἀνέλαβε, καὶ κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν Πλατωνικῆς τινος φωνῆς ἀναμνήσας τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀπεθέσπισε πρὸς αὐτούς.
- 4 δεομένων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅπως τε νόμους γράψῃ καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν εἰς τύπον τινὰ καταστήσῃ πολιτείας σὺν φρόνῳ, ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι Κυρηναίοις

LUCULLUS

to such an extent that, although in absence from the city, he was elected aedile along with his brother.

II. Though he was but a young man in the Marsic war,¹ he gave many proofs of courage and understanding. It was, however, more owing to his constancy and mildness that Sulla attached him to himself and employed him from first to last on business of the highest importance. Such, for instance, was the management of the mint. Most of the money used in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war was coined by him, and was called Lucullean after him. It remained current for a long time, since the wants of the soldiery during the war gave it rapid circulation. Afterwards, at Athens, Sulla found himself master on land, but cut off from supplies by sea, owing to the superior naval force of the enemy. He therefore despatched Lucullus to Egypt and Libya,² with orders to fetch ships from there. Winter was then at its worst, but he sailed forth with three Greek brigantines and as many small Rhodian galleys, exposing himself not only to the high sea, but to numerous hostile ships which were cruising about everywhere in full mastery of it. However, he put in at Crete and won it over to his side. He also made Cyrené, and finding it in confusion in consequence of successive tyrannies and wars, he restored it to order, and fixed its constitution, reminding the city of a certain oracular utterance which the great Plato had once vouchsafed to them. They asked him, it would seem, to write laws for them, and to mould their people into some form of sound government, whereupon he said that it was hard to be a lawgiver for the Cyrenaeans when they

¹ 90-89 B.C.

² 87-86 B.C.

οὕτως εὐτυχούσι νομοθετεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώ-
που δυσαρκτότερον εὖ πράσσειν δοκοῦντος,
οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν δεκτικώτερον ἐπιστάσις συστα-
λέντος ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. ὃ καὶ τότε Κυρηναίους
νομοθετοῦντι Λουκούλῳ πρᾶους παρέσχεν.

- 5 Ἐκείθεν δ' ἀναχθεὶς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλεῖστα
τῶν σκαφῶν ἀπέβαλε πειρατῶν ἐπιφανέντων,
αὐτὸς δὲ διασωθεὶς κατήγετο λαμπρῶς εἰς Ἀλε-
ξάνδρειαν. ἀπήντησε γὰρ αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ στόλος,
ὥσπερ εἰώθει βασιλεῖ καταπλέοντι, κεκοσμη-
μένος ἐκπρεπῶς· καὶ τὸ μεираκίον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος
ἄλλην τε θαυμαστήν ἐπεδείκνυτο φιλοφροσύνην
πρὸς αὐτόν, οἴκησιν τε καὶ δίαιταν ἐν τοῖς βασι-
λείοις ἔδωκεν, οὐδενὸς πω ξένου πρότερον ἡγεμόνος
6 αὐτόθι καταχθέντος. δαπάνην δὲ καὶ σύνταξιν
οὐχ ὄσπην ἐδίδου τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ τετραπλὴν
ἐκείνῳ παρείχεν, οὐ προσιεμένῳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
πλέον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ δῶρον λαβόντι, καίπερ ὀγδοή-
κοντα ταλάντων ἄξια πέμψαντος αὐτῷ. λέγεται 493
δὲ μήτ' εἰς Μέμφιν ἀναβῆναι μήτ' ἄλλο τῶν
θαυματομένων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ περιβοήτων ἱστο-
ρῆσαι· σχολάζοντος γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα θεατοῦ καὶ
τρυφῶντος, οὐχ, ὥς αὐτός, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὸν αὐτο-
κράτορα σκηνοῦντα παρὰ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι τῶν
πολεμίων ἀπολελοιπότος.

III. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέλιπε τὴν συμμαχίαν ὁ Πτολε-
μαῖος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀποδειλιάσας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ
ναῦς ἄχρι Κύπρου πομποὺς παρέσχε, καὶ περὶ
τὸν ἔκπλουν αὐτὸν ἰσπαζόμενος καὶ θεραπεύων
ἔδωρεῖτο χρυσένδετον σμάραγδον τῶν πολυτελῶν,

LUCULLUS

were having such good-fortune. In fact, nothing is more ungovernable than a man reputed to be prosperous; and, on the other hand, nothing is more receptive of authority than a man who is humbled by misfortune. This was what made the Cyrenaeans at that time so submissive to Lucullus as their law-giver.

From thence he set sail for Egypt, but was attacked by pirates, and lost most of his vessels. He himself, however, escaped in safety, and entered the port of Alexandria in splendid style. The entire Egyptian fleet came to meet him, as it was wont to do when a king put into port, in resplendent array, and the youthful Ptolemy, besides showing him other astonishing marks of kindness, gave him lodging and sustenance in the royal palace, whither no foreign commander had ever been brought before. The allowance which the king made for his expenses was not the same as others had received, but four times as much, and yet he accepted nothing beyond what was actually necessary, and took no gift, although he was offered the worth of eighty talents. It is also said that he neither went up to Memphis, nor sought out any other of the famous wonders of Egypt; this he held to be the privilege of a leisurely and luxurious sight-seer, not of one who, like himself, had left his commander-in-chief encamped under the open sky alongside the battlements of the enemy.

III. Ptolemy abandoned his alliance with Rome, out of fear for the outcome of the war, but furnished Lucullus with ships to convoy him as far as Cyprus, embraced him graciously at parting, and offered him a costly emerald set in gold. At first Lucullus

- τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Λούκουλλος παρητεῖτο, δείξαν-
τος δὲ τὴν γλυφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα οὔσαν
ἰδίαν ἐφοβήθη διώσασθαι, μὴ παντάπασιν ἐχ-
θρὸς ἀποπλεῖν νομισθεὶς ἐπιβουλευθεῖη κατὰ
2 θάλατταν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλῆθος ἐν παράπλῳ νεῶν ἐκ
τῶν παραλίῳν πόλεων ἀθροίσας, πλὴν ὅσοι πει-
ρατικῶν μετεῖχον ἀδικημάτων, εἰς τὴν Κύπρον
διεπέρασεν, ἐνταῦθα πυνθανόμενος τοὺς πολε-
μίους ναυλοχοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄκραις παραφυλάτ-
τειν αὐτόν, ἐνεώλκησε τὰ σκάφη πάντα, καὶ ταῖς
πόλεσιν ἔγραψε περὶ χειμαδίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς, ὥς
3 αὐτόθι τὴν ὥραν ἀναμενῶν. εἴτα πλοῦ φανέντος
ἐξαπίνης κατασπάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀνήχθη, καὶ μεθ'
ἡμέραν μὲν ὑφειμένοις πλέων τοῖς ἰστίοις καὶ
ταπεινοῖς, νύκτωρ δ' ἐπαιρομένοις εἰς Ῥόδον
ἐσώθη. Ῥοδίων δὲ ναῦς αὐτῷ προσπαρασχόντων
Κῶους ἔπεισε καὶ Κνιδίους τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀπαλ-
λαγέοντας ἐπὶ Σαμίους συστρατεύειν. ἐκ δὲ Χίου
τοὺς βασιλικοὺς αὐτὸς ἐξήλασε, Κολοφωνίους
δ' ἡλευθέρωσε συλλαβὼν Ἐπίγονον τὸν τύραννον
αὐτῶν.
- 4 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἤδη
Μιθριδάτης τὸ Πέργαμον ἐκκλελοιπῶς καὶ συνε-
σταλμένος εἰς Πιτάνην. ἐκεῖ δὲ Φιμβρίου κατέ-
χοντος αὐτόν ἐκ γῆς καὶ πολιορκούντος, εἰς τὴν
θάλατταν ἀφορῶν συνήγε καὶ μετεπέμπετο τοὺς
πανταχόθεν στόλους πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀνδρὶ τολμητῇ
καὶ νενικηκότῳ τῷ Φιμβρίᾳ συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ
5 πολεμεῖν ἀπεγνωκῶς. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα συνορῶν, ναυ-
τικῷ δὲ λειπόμενος πρὸς Λούκουλλον ἔπεμπεν,
ἦκειν τῷ στόλῳ δεόμενος καὶ συνεξελεῖν ἔχθιστον

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declined to accept it, but when the king showed him that the engraving on it was a likeness of himself, he was afraid to reject it, lest he be thought to have sailed away at utter enmity with the king, and so have some plot laid against him on the voyage. As he sailed along, he collected a multitude of ships from the maritime cities, omitting all those engaged in piracy, and came at last to Cyprus. Learning there that the enemy lay at anchor off the headlands and were watching for his coming, he hauled all his vessels up on land, and wrote letters to the cities requesting winter quarters and provisions, as though he would await the fine season there. Then, when the wind served, he suddenly launched his ships and put out to sea, and by sailing in the day time with his sails reefed and low, but in the night time under full canvas, he came safely to Rhodes. The Rhodians furnished him with more ships, and he induced the people of Cos and Cnidus to forsake the royal cause and join him in an expedition against Samos. Without any aid he also drove the royal forces out of Chios,¹ and set the Colophonians free from their tyrant, Epigonus, whom he arrested.

It happened about this time that Mithridates abandoned Pergamum and shut himself up in Pitané. Since Fimbria held him in close siege there by land, he looked to make his escape by sea, and collected and summoned his fleets from every quarter for this purpose, renouncing all engagements in the field with a man so bold and victorious as Fimbria. This design Fimbria perceived, and being without any fleet of his own, sent to Lucullus, beseeching him to come with his, and assist in capturing the

¹ 85 B.C.

καὶ πολεμιώτατον βασιλέων, ὥς μὴ τὸ μέγα καὶ
 διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων διωκόμενον ἄθλον
 ἐκφύγοι Ῥωμαίους, Μιθριδάτης εἰς λαβὰς ἤκων
 καὶ γεγονὼς ἐντὸς ἀρκύων, οὐ ληφθέντος οὐδένα
 τῆς δόξης οἴσεσθαι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἐμποδὼν τῇ φυγῇ
 6 στάντα καὶ διαδιδράσκοντος ἐπιλαβόμενον· ὑφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἐξεωσμένον τῆς γῆς, ὑπ' ἐκείνου δὲ
 τῆς θαλάττης εἰργόμενον ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδώσειν
 τὸ κατόρθωμα, τὰς δὲ Σύλλα πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ
 καὶ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ὑμνουμένας ἀριστείας ἐν
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους. καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν
 ἀπὸ τρόπου τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ παντὶ δῆλον,
 ὥς, εἰ Φιμβρία τότε πεισθεὶς ὁ Λούκουλλος οὐ
 μακρὰν ὦν περιήγαγεν ἐκείσε τὰς ναῦς καὶ συνέ-
 φραξε τὸν λιμένα τῷ στόλῳ, πέρας ἂν εἶχεν ὁ
 πόλεμος καὶ μυρίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν ἅπαντες
 7 ἦσαν. ἀλλ' εἴτε τὰ πρὸς Σύλλαν δίκαια πρεσ-
 βεύων πρὸ παντὸς ἰδίου τε καὶ κοινοῦ συμφέ-
 ροντος, εἴτε τὸν Φιμβρίαν μιὰρὸν ὄντα καὶ φονέα
 γεγεννημένον ἔναγχος ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ
 διὰ φιλαρχίαν προβαλλόμενος, εἴτε κατὰ θείαν
 δὴ τινα τύχην περιφεισάμενος αὐτὸς τοῦ¹ Μιθρι-
 δάτου καὶ φυλάξας ἀνταγωνιστήν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν,
 ἀλλὰ Μιθριδάτῃ μὲν ἐκπλεῦσαι παρέσχε καὶ
 8 καταγελάσαι τῆς Φιμβρίου δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς δὲ
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ Λεκτοῦ τῆς Τρωάδος βασιλικὰς
 ναῦς ἐπιφανείσας κατεναυμάχησεν, αὐθις δὲ πρὸς
 Τενέδῳ ναυλοχοῦντα μείζονι παρασκευῇ κατιδὼν

¹ αὐτὸς τοῦ Reiske, Coraës, Bekker : αὐτοῦ.

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most hostile and warlike of kings, that the great prize which they had sought with so many toils and struggles might not escape the Romans, now that Mithridates was in their grip and fast in the meshes of their net. If he should be captured, Fimbria said, no one would get more of the glory than the man who stood in the way of his flight and seized him as he was running off. "Driven from the land by me, and excluded from the sea by you, he will crown us both with success, and the much heralded exploits of Sulla at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia will cease to interest the Romans." And there was nothing absurd in the proposition. It is clear to everyone that if Lucullus, who was close at hand, had then listened to Fimbria, brought his ships thither, and closed up the harbour with his fleet, the war would have been at an end, and the world freed from infinite mischief. But, whether he ranked the honourable treatment of Sulla above every consideration of private or public advantage, or whether he regarded Fimbria as a wretch whose ambition for command had recently led him to murder a man who was his friend and superior officer, or whether it was by some mysterious dispensation of fortune that he chose to spare Mithridates, and so reserved him for his own antagonist,—for whatever reason, he would not listen to the proposal, but suffered Mithridates to sail off and mock at Fimbria's forces, while he himself, to begin with, defeated the king's ships which showed themselves off Lectum in the Troad. And again, catching sight of Neoptolemus lying in wait for him at Tenedos with a still larger armament,

Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπέπλει πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Ῥοδιακῆς πεντήρους ἐπιβεβηκώς, ἥς ἐναυάρχει Δαμαγόρας, ἀνὴρ εὖνους τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ θαλασσίων ἀγώνων 9 ἐμπειρότατος. ἐπελαύνοντος δὲ ῥοθίῳ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς ἐμβολὴν ἀγαγεῖν 494 τὸν κυβερνήτην, δείσας ὁ Δαμαγόρας τὸ βάρος τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τοῦ χαλκώματος οὐκ ἐτόλμησε συμπεσεῖν ἀντίπρῳρος, ἀλλ' ὀξέως ἐκ περιαγωγῆς ἀποστρέψας ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ πρύμναν ὤσασθαι· καὶ πιεσθείσης ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεῶς ἐδέξατο τὴν πληγὴν ἀβλαβῇ γενομένην, ἅτε δὴ τοῖς θαλαττεύουσι τῆς νεῶς μέρεσι προσπε- 10 σοῦσαν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φίλων προσφερομένων, ἐγκελευσάμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ καταδιώκει τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον.

IV. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Σύλλα περὶ Χερρόνησον ἤδη μέλλοντι διαβαίνειν συμβαλὼν τὸν τε πόρον ἀσφαλῆ παρεῖχε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν συνδιεβίβαζεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνθηκῶν γενομένων Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον, Σύλλας δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν δισμυρίοις ταλάντοις ἐξημίωσε, προσ- ταχθὲν αὐτῷ τά τε χρήματα ταῦτα πρᾶξαι καὶ νόμισμα κόψαι, παραμύθιον τι δοκεῖ τῆς Σύλλας χαλεπότητος γενέσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐ μόνον καθαρὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρᾶον εἰς οὕτω βαρὺ καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ὑπηρέτημα παρασχὼν ἑαυτόν.

2 Μιτυληναίους δ' ἄντικρυς ἀφεστῶτας ἐβούλετο μὲν εὐγνωμονῆσαι καὶ δίκης τυχεῖν μετρίας ἐφ' οἷς περὶ Μάριον¹ ἐξήμαρτον, ὥς δ' ἑώρα κακοδαιμο-

¹ Μάριον with Sintenis¹ and Coraës : Μάνιον.

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he sailed out against him in advance of the rest, on board of a Rhodian galley which was commanded by Damagoras, a man well disposed to the Romans, and of the largest experience as a sea-fighter. Neoptolemus dashed out to meet him, and ordered his steersman to ram the enemy. Damagoras, however, fearing the weight of the royal ship and her rugged bronze armour, did not venture to engage head on, but put swiftly about and ordered his men to back water, thus receiving his enemy astern, where his vessel was depressed. The blow was harmless, since it fell upon the submerged parts of the ship. At this point, his friends coming up, Lucullus gave orders to turn the ship about, and, after performing many praiseworthy feats, put the enemy to flight and gave close chase to Neoptolemus.

IV. From thence he joined Sulla at the Chersonesus, where he was about to cross the strait into Asia;¹ he rendered his passage safe, and assisted in transporting his troops. After peace had been made, Mithridates sailed away into the Euxine, and Sulla laid a contribution of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. Lucullus was commissioned to collect this money and re-coin it, and the cities of Asia felt it to be no slight assuagement of Sulla's severity when Lucullus showed himself not only honest and just, but even mild in the performance of a task so oppressive and disagreeable. The Mitylenaeans too, who had revolted outright, he wished to be reasonable, and to submit to a moderate penalty for having espoused the cause of Marius. But when he saw that they were possessed by an

¹ 84 B.C.

νοῦντας, ἐπιπλεύσας ἐκράτησε μάχη καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὰ τείχη, καὶ πολιορκίαν συστησάμενος ἐξέπλευσε μὲν ἡμέρας καὶ φανερώς εἰς Ἑλαίαν, ὑπέστρεψε δὲ λεληθότως καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν
 3 ὑφεῖς ἐνέδραν ἡσύχαζεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ θράσους ὡς ἔρημον ἀρπασόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι προήλθον, ἐπείσπεσὼν αὐτοῖς ἔλαβέ τε παμπόλλους ζῶντας καὶ τῶν ἀμυνομένων πεντακοσίους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀνδραπόδων δὲ χιλιάδας ἕξ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναρίθμητον ἤλασατο λείαν.

4 Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κακῶν, ἃ τότε Σύλλας καὶ Μάριος ἄφθονα καὶ παντοδαπὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέιχον, οὐ πᾶν μετέσχε θεία τινὶ τύχῃ περὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πράξεις βραδύνας. οὐ μὴν ἔλαττόν τι παρὰ Σύλλα τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἔσχευ, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε γραφήν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκείνῳ δι' εὐνοίαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ παιδὸς ἔγραψεν ὑπερβὰς Πομπήϊον. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξαι διαφορᾶς αἷτιον καὶ ζηλοτυπίας νέοις οὔσι καὶ διαπύροις πρὸς δόξαν.

V. Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἢ Σύλλαν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάτευσε μετὰ Μάρκου Κόττα περὶ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας. πολλῶν οὖν αὐθις ἀνακινούντων τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, ἔφη Μάρκος αὐτὸν οὐ πεπαῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀναπεπαῦσθαι. διὸ καὶ λαχὼν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἤχθητο, πράξεων ὑποθέσεις μεγάλων οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

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evil spirit, he sailed against them, conquered them in battle, and shut them up within their walls. After instituting a siege of their city, he sailed away in open day to Elaea, but returned by stealth, and lay quietly in ambush near the city. When the Mitylenaeans sallied forth in disorder and with the confident expectation of plundering his deserted camp, he fell upon them, took a great number of them alive, and slew five hundred of those who offered resistance. He also carried off six thousand slaves, besides countless other booty.

But in the boundless and manifold evils which Sulla and Marius were bringing upon the people of Italy at that time, he had no share whatever, for, as some kindly fortune would have it, he was detained at his business in Asia.¹ However, Sulla accorded no less favour to Lucullus than to his other friends. His memoirs, as I have said, Sulla dedicated to Lucullus in token of affection, and in his will appointed him guardian of his son, thereby passing Pompey by. And this seems to have been the first ground for estrangement and jealousy between these two men; both were young, and burning for distinction.

V. Shortly after the death of Sulla, Lucullus was made consul along with Marcus ~~Cotta~~, about the hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad.² Many were now trying to stir up anew the Mithridatic war, which Marcus said had not come to an end, but merely to a pause. Therefore when the province of Cisalpine Gaul was allotted to Lucullus, he was displeased, since it offered no opportunity for great exploits. But what most of all embittered him was

¹ 84-80 B.C.

² 74 B.C.

- 2 μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν εὐδοκίμων Πομπήϊος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παρώξυνεν, ὥς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἐπίδοξος ὢν, εἰ συμβαίῃ παύσασθαι τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν πόλεμον, εὐθύς αἰρεθήσεσθαι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην. διὸ καὶ χρήματα αἰτοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ γράφοντος, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμποιεν, ἀφείς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Σερτώριον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπάξοι τὰς δυνάμεις, συνέπραξεν ὁ Λούκουλλος προθυμότατα πεμφθῆναι τὰ χρήματα καὶ μηδ' ἀφ' ἥστινοσούν προφάσεως ἐκείνουν
- 3 ἐπανελθεῖν ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ· πάντα γὰρ ἂν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενήσεσθαι τὰ τῆς πόλεως παρόντι μετὰ τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κρατῶν τότε τῆς πολιτείας τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν Κέθηγος ἔχθραν τινὰ πρὸς Λούκουλλον εἶχε, βδελυττόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον 495 αἰσχυρῶν ἐρώτων καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ πλημμελείας
- 4 μεστὸν ὄντα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἄντικρυς ἐπολέμει· Λεύκιον δὲ Κόϊντον, ἄλλον δημαγωγόν, ἐπαναστάντα τοῖς Σύλλα πολιτεύμασι καὶ ταραττεῖν τὰ πράγματα πειρώμενον ἐκ τοῦ καθεστῶτος, ἰδίᾳ τε πολλὰ παραμυθούμενός καὶ δημοσίᾳ νουθετῶν ἀπέστησε τῆς πείρας καὶ κατεστόρεσε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, ὥς ἐνῆν μάλιστα πολιτικῶς καὶ σωτηρίως ἀρχὴν νοσήματος μεγάλου μεταχειρισάμενος.

VI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἔχων Ὀκταούϊος ἠγγέλθη τεθνηκώς. σπαργόντων δὲ πολλῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν καὶ Κέθηγον ὡς δυνατώτατον ὄντα διαπράξασθαι θεραπευόντων, αὐτῆς μὲν ὁ Λούκουλλος Κιλικίας οὐ πολὺν εἶχε λόγον, οἰόμενος δ', εἰ λάβοι ταύτην, ἐγγὺς οὔσης Καππαδοκίας, ἄλλον οὐδένα πεμφθήσεσθαι πολε-

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the reputation which Pompey was winning in Spain. If the war in Spain should happen to come to an end, Pompey was more likely than anyone else to be at once chosen general against Mithridates. Therefore when Pompey wrote home requesting money, and declaring that if they did not send it, he would abandon Spain and Sertorius and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus moved heaven and earth to have the money sent, and to prevent Pompey from coming back, on any pretext whatsoever, while he was consul. He knew that all Rome would be in Pompey's hands if he were there with so large an army. For the man who at that time controlled the course of political affairs by virtue of doing and saying everything to court the favour of the people, Cethegus, hated Lucullus, who loathed his manner of life, full as it was of disgraceful amours and wanton trespasses. Against this man Lucullus waged open war. But Lucius Quintus, another popular leader, who opposed the institutions of Sulla and sought to confound the established order of things, he turned from his purpose by much private remonstrance and public admonition, and allayed his ambition, thus treating in as wise and wholesome a manner as was possible the beginnings of a great distemper.

VI. At this time there came tidings of the death of Octavius, the governor of Cilicia. There were many eager applicants for the province, and they paid court to Cethegus as the man best able to further their designs. Of Cilicia itself Lucullus made little account, but in the belief that, if he should get this province, which was near Cappadocia, no one else would be sent to conduct the war against

μήσοντα Μιθριδάτῃ, πᾶσαν ἔστρεφε μηχανὴν
 2 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐτέρῳ. καὶ
 τελευτῶν ἔργον οὐ σεμνὸν. οὐδ' ἐπαινετόν, ἄλλως
 δ' ἀνύσιμον πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης
 ὑπέμεινε παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν.

Πραικία τις ἦν ὄνομα τῶν ἐφ' ὥρα καὶ λαμυρία
 διαβοήτων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρείττων
 οὐδὲν ἀνέδην ἐταιρούσης γυναικός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
 χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῇ καὶ διαλεγο-
 μένοις πρὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων σπουδὰς καὶ
 πολιτείας προσλαβοῦσα τῇ λοιπῇ χάριτι τὸ
 δοκεῖν φιλέταιρός τις εἶναι καὶ δραστήριος
 3 ἴσχυσε μέγιστον. ὥς δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἀνθοῦντα
 τῇ δόξῃ τότε καὶ φέροντα τὴν πόλιν ὑπηγάγετο
 καὶ συνῆν ἐρῶντι, παντάπασιν εἰς ἐκείνην
 περιήλθεν ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις· οὐδὲ γὰρ
 ἐπράττετό τι δημοσία Κεθήγου μὴ σπουδάζοντος
 οὐδὲ Πραικίας μὴ κελευούσης παρὰ Κεθήγῳ.
 ταύτην οὖν ὑπελθὼν δώροις ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ
 κολακείαις (ἦν δέ που καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ
 συμφιλοτιμουμένην ὁρᾶσθαι μέγας γυναικὶ σο-
 βαρᾷ καὶ πανηγυρικῇ μισθός), εὐθύς εἶχε τὸν
 Κέθηγον ἐπαινέτην καὶ προμνόμενον αὐτῷ
 4 Κιλικίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἔτυχε ταύτης, οὐδὲν ἔτι
 Πραικίαν οὐδὲ Κέθηγον ἔδει παρακαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ
 πάντες ὁμαλῶς ἐκείνῳ φέροντες ἐνεχείρισαν τὸν
 Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον ὥς ὑφ' ἐτέρου μηδενὸς
 ἄμεινον διαπολεμηθῆναι δυνάμενον, Πομπηίου μὲν
 ἔτι Σερτωρίῳ προσπολεμοῦντος, Μετέλλου δ'
 ἀπειρηκότος ἤδη διὰ γῆρας, οὓς μόνους ἂν τις

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Mithridates, he strained every nerve to keep the province from being assigned to another. And finally, contrary to his natural bent, he was driven by the necessities of the case to adopt a course which was neither dignified nor praiseworthy, it is true, but conducive to his end.

There was a certain woman then in Rome, Praecia by name, whose fame for beauty and wit filled the city. In other respects she was no whit better than an ordinary courtesan, but she used her associates and companions to further the political ambitions of her friends, and so added to her other charms the reputation of being a true comrade, and one who could bring things to pass. She thus acquired the greatest influence. And when Cethegus also, then at the zenith of his fame and in control of the city, joined her train and became her lover, political power passed entirely into her hands. No public measure passed unless Cethegus favoured it, and Cethegus did nothing except with Praecia's approval. This woman, then, Lucullus won over by gifts and flatteries, and it was doubtless a great boon for a woman so forward and ostentatious to be seen sharing the ambitions of Lucullus. Straightway he had Cethegus singing his praises and suing for Cilicia in his behalf. But as soon as he had obtained this province, there was no further need of his soliciting the aid of Praecia, or of Cethegus, for that matter, but all were unanimous and prompt in putting into his hands the Mithridatic war, assured that no one else could better bring it to a triumphant close. Pompey was still engaged in his war with Sertorius, Metellus had now retired from active service by reason of his age, and these were the only

ἐναμίλλους ἐποίησατο Λουκούλλῳ περὶ τῆς
5 στρατηγίας ἀμφισβητοῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
Κόττας ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ πολλὰ λιπαρήσας τὴν
σύγκλητον ἀπεστάλη μετὰ νεῶν τὴν Προποντίδα
φυλάξων καὶ προπολεμήσων Βιθυνίας.

VII. Λούκουλλος δὲ τάγμα μὲν αὐτόθεν ἔχων
συντεταγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν
Ἀσίαν· ἐκεῖ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην παρέλαβε δύναμιν,
πάντων μὲν πάλαι τρυφαῖς διεφθορότων καὶ
πλεονεξίαις, τῶν δὲ Φιμβριανῶν λεγομένων καὶ
διὰ συνήθειαν ἀναρχίας δυσμεταχειρίστων γεγο-
2 νότων. οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Φλάκκον τε μετὰ
Φιμβρίου τὸν ὑπατον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀνηρηκότες
αὐτόν τε τὸν Φιμβρίαν Σύλλα προδεδωκότες,
αὐθάδεις μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ παράνομοι, μάχιμοι
δὲ καὶ τλήμονες μετ' ἐμπειρίας πολέμου. οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ καὶ τούτων τὸ θράσος
ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπέ-
στρεψε, τότε πρῶτον, ὥς ἔοικε, πειρωμένους
ἄρχοντος ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ἡγεμόνος· ἄλλως δ' ἐδη-
μαγωγοῦντο πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐθιζόμενοι στρατεύεσθαι.

3 Τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτως εἶχε. Μιθριδάτης, 496
ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν, κομπώδης ἐν
ἀρχῇ καὶ σοβαρὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀναστὰς δια-
κένῳ δυνάμει, λαμπρᾷ δὲ καὶ πανηγυρικῇ τὴν
ᾧψιν, εἴτ' ἐκπεσὼν καταγελάστως καὶ νουθετη-
θεῖς, ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον πολεμεῖν ἔμελλεν, εἰς
ἀληθινὴν καὶ πραγματικὴν συνέστελλε τὰς δυνά-
4 μεις παρασκευήν. ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὰ παντοδαπὰ
πλήθη καὶ τὰς πολυγλώσσους ἀπειλὰς τῶν
βαρβάρων, ὅπλων τε¹ διαχρύσων καὶ διαλίθων

¹ τε with S: δέ.

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men who could be regarded as rivals of Lucullus in any dispute about this command. Cotta, however, his colleague in the consulship, after fervent entreaties to the Senate, was sent with some ships to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

VII. With a legion which he had raised himself in Italy, Lucullus crossed into Asia,¹ and there assumed command of the rest of the Roman forces. All these had long been spoiled by habits of luxury and greed, and the Fimbrians, as they were called, had become unmanageable, through long lack of discipline. These were the men who, in collusion with Fimbrius, had slain Flaccus, their consul and general, and had delivered Fimbrius himself over to Sulla. They were self-willed and lawless, but good fighters, hardy, and experienced in war. However, in a short time Lucullus pruned off their insolent boldness, and reformed the rest. Then for the first time, as it would seem, they made the acquaintance of a genuine commander and leader, whereas before this they had always been cajoled into doing their duty, like crowds at the hustings.

On the enemy's side, matters stood as follows. Mithridates, boastful and pompous at the outset, like most of the Sophists, had first opposed the Romans with forces which were really unsubstantial, though brilliant and ostentatious to look upon. With these he had made a ridiculous fiasco and learned a salutary lesson. When therefore, he thought to go to war the second time, he organized his forces into a genuinely effective armament. He did away with Barbarous hordes from every clime, and all their discordant and threatening cries; he provided no

¹ 74 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, i. 5.

κατασκευάς, ὡς λάφυρα τῶν κρατούντων, οὐκ
 ἀλκὴν τινα τῶν κεκτημένων ὄντα, ξίφη μὲν
 ἡλαύνετο Ῥωμαϊκὰ καὶ θυρεοὺς ἐμβριθεῖς ἐπή-
 γνυτο καὶ γεγυμνασμένους μᾶλλον ἢ κεκοσμη-
 μένους ἤθροιζεν ἵππους, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα
 κατεσκευασμένων εἰς φάλαγγα Ῥωμαϊκὴν, ἵππεῖς
 δὲ πρὸς μυρίοις ἑξακισχιλίους ἄνευ τῶν δρεπανη-
 5 φόρων τεθρίππων· ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἑκατόν· ἔτι δὲ
 ναῦς οὐ χρυσορόφοις σκηνίσιν οὐδὲ λουτροῖς
 παλλακίδων καὶ γυναικωνίτισι τρυφώσαις ἡσκη-
 μένας, ἀλλ' ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ χρημάτων
 γεμούσας παραρτυσάμενος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν,
 τῶν πόλεων αὐθις ἀσμένως ὑποδεχομένων οὐ
 μόνον τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅλην ὑπο-
 τροπὴ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν νοσημάτων εἶχεν, ἀφόρητα
 πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαϊκῶν δανειστῶν καὶ τελω-
 6 νῶν· οὓς ὕστερον μὲν ὥσπερ Ἀρπυίας τὴν τροφὴν
 ἀρπάζοντας αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐξήλασε, τότε
 δὲ μετριωτέρους ἐπειρᾶτο νουθετῶν ποιεῖν, καὶ
 τὰς ἀποστάσεις κατέπαυε τῶν δήμων, οὐδενός,
 ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἡσυχάζοντος.

VIII. Ὃν δὲ περὶ ταῦτα Λούκουλλος ἡσχο-
 λεῖτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ καιρὸν εἶναι νομίζων ὁ
 Κόττας παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι πρὸς Μιθρι-
 δάτην. καὶ πολλῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἤδη Λού-
 κουλλον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπιόντα,
 μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχειν τὸν θρίαμβον
 οἰόμενος, ὡς μὴ μεταλάβῃ Λούκουλλος αὐτοῦ,
 2 συμβαλεῖν ἔσπευσε. πληγεῖς δ' ἄμα καὶ κατὰ

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more armour inlaid with gold and set with precious stones, for he saw that these made rich booty for the victors, but gave no strength whatever to their wearers; instead, he had swords forged in the Roman fashion, and heavy shields welded; he collected horses that were well trained rather than richly caparisoned, and a hundred and twenty thousand footmen drilled in the Roman phalanx formation, and sixteen thousand horsemen, not counting the scythe-bearing, four-horse chariots, which were a hundred in number: and further, he put in readiness ships which were not tricked out with gilded canopies, or baths for concubines, and luxurious apartments for women, but which were rather loaded down with armour and missiles and munitions of war. Then he burst into Bithynia, and not only did the cities there receive him again with gladness, but all Asia suffered a relapse into its former distempered condition, afflicted, as it was, past bearing by Roman money-lenders and tax-gatherers. These were afterwards driven off by Lucullus,—harpies that they were, snatching the people's food; but then he merely tried, by admonishing them, to make them more moderate in their demands, and laboured to stop the uprisings of the towns, hardly one of which was in a quiet state.

VIII. While Lucullus was thus occupied, Cotta, thinking that his own golden opportunity had come, was getting ready to give battle to Mithridates. And when tidings came from many sources that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, thinking that a triumph was all but in his grasp, and desiring that Lucullus have no share in it, he hastened to engage the king. But

γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἀπώλεσεν αὐτανδρα σκάφη, πεζοὺς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους, αὐτὸς δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Χαλκηδόνα καὶ πολιορκούμενος εἰς τὰς Λουκούλλου χεῖρας ἀπέβλεπεν.

- 3 Ἦσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ τὸν Λούκουλλον ἀμελήσαντα Κόττα πρόσω χωρεῖν παρορμῶντες ὥς ἔρημον αἰρήσοντα τὴν Μιθριδάτου βασιλείαν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὗτος ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀγανακτούντων, εἰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσάμενος κακῶς ὁ Κόττας, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν ἔσται νικᾶν ἀμαχεὶ δυνα-
 4 μένοις. Λούκουλλος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τούτους δημηγορῶν εἶπεν, ὥς ἔνα βούλοιτ' ἂν ἐκ πολεμίων σῶσαι Ῥωμαῖον ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ περὶ Βοιωτίαν Μιθριδάτη στρατηγῆσαντος, εἶτ' ἀποστάντος καὶ Ῥωμαίοις συστρατεύοντος, διαβεβαιουμένου ὀφθέντα Λούκουλλον ἐν Πόντῳ πάντων ὁμοῦ κρατήσκειν, οὐκ ἔφη δειλότερος εἶναι τῶν κυνηγῶν, ὥστε τὰ θηρία παρελθὼν ἐπὶ κενοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς φωλεοὺς βαδί-
 5 ζειν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην προῆγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἔχων τρισμυρίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους πεντακοσίους. καταστὰς δ' εἰς ἔποψιν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ πλῆθος ἐβούλετο μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης καὶ τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον, Μαρίου δ', ὃν Σερτώριος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀπεστάλκει Μιθριδάτη μετὰ δυνάμεως στρατηγόν, ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ προκαλουμένου κατέστη μὲν εἰς τάξιν ὥς διαμαχούμενος, ἤδη δὲ ὅσον οὐπω συμφερο-
 6 μένων, ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς μεταβολῆς, ἀλλ'

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he was defeated by sea and land, lost sixty vessels, crews and all, and four thousand foot-soldiers, while he himself was shut up in Chalcedon and besieged there, looking for relief at the hands of Lucullus.

Now there were some who urged Lucullus to ignore Cotta and march on into the kingdom of Mithridates, assured of capturing it in its defenceless condition. This was the reasoning of the soldiers especially, who were indignant that Cotta, by his evil counsels, should not only be the undoing of himself and his army, but also block their own way to a victory which they could have won without a battle. But Lucullus, in a harangue which he made them, said that he would rather save one Roman from the enemy than take all that enemy's possessions. And when Archelaüs, who had held command for Mithridates in Boeotia, and then had abandoned his cause, and was now in the Roman army, stoutly maintained that if Lucullus were once seen in Pontus, he would master everything at once, Lucullus declared that he was at least as courageous as the hunter; he would not give the wild beasts the slip and stalk their empty lairs. With these words, he led his army against Mithridates, having thirty thousand foot-soldiers, and twenty-five hundred horsemen. But when he had come within sight of the enemy and seen with amazement their multitude, he desired to refrain from battle and draw out the time. But Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates from Spain with an army, came out to meet him, and challenged him to combat, and so he put his forces in array to fight the issue out. But presently, as they were on the point of joining

ἐξαίφνης τοῦ αἱματος ὑπορραγέντος¹ ὤφθη μέγα σῶμα φλογειδὲς εἰς μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων καταφερόμενον, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα πίθῳ μάλιστα, τὴν δὲ χροάν ἀργύρῳ διαπύρῳ προσεικός, ὥστε δείσαντας ἀμφοτέρους τὸ φάσμα διακριθῆναι. 497
7 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν φασιν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ περὶ τὰς λεγομένας Ὀτρίδας συμβῆναι τὸ πάθος.

Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος οὐδεμιᾶς εἶναι νομίζων ἀνθρωπίνης παρασκευῆς οὐδὲ πλούτου θρέψαι μυριάδας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντικαθηρένων πολεμίων τοσαύτας, ὅσας εἶχε Μιθριδάτης, ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἓνα· καὶ πρῶτον ἀνέκρινε, μετὰ πόσων διαιτῶτο συσκήνων, ἔπειτα
8 πόσον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καταλέλοιπε σῖτον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν μὲν ἐκέλευσε μεταστήναι, δεῦτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὁμοίως ἀνέκρινεν. εἶτα συνθεὶς τὸ τῆς παρεσκευασμένης τροφῆς πλήθος πρὸς τὸ τῶν τρεφομένων, ἔγνω τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ἐπιλείψοντα σῖτον τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον εἶχετο τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ συνῆγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα παμπληθῆ σῖτον, ὥς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάγων αὐτὸς ἐφεδρεύοι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀπορίαις.

IX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεβούλευε Κυζικηνοῖς πεπληγόσιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαλκηδόνα μάχῃ· τρισχιλίων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα νεῶν ἐστέρηντο. βουλόμενος οὖν λαθεῖν τὸν Λούκουλλον, εὐθύς ἀπὸ δείπνου νύκτα δυσφανῆ καὶ νοτεράν ἔχων ἐκίνει· καὶ φθάνει τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρυς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀδραστείας ὄρος

¹ ὑπορραγέντος with S : ἀπορραγέντος.

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battle, with no apparent change of weather, but all on a sudden, the sky burst asunder, and a huge, flame-like body was seen to fall between the two armies. In shape, it was most like a wine-jar, and in colour, like molten silver. Both sides were astonished at the sight, and separated. This marvel, as they say, occurred in Phrygia, at a place called Otryae.

But Lucullus, feeling sure that no human provision or wealth could maintain, for any length of time, and in the face of an enemy, so many thousands of men as Mithridates had, ordered one of the captives to be brought to him, and asked him first, how many men shared his mess, and then, how much food he had left in his tent. When the man had answered these questions, he ordered him to be removed, and questioned a second and a third in like manner. Then, comparing the amount of food provided with the number of men to be fed, he concluded that within three or four days the enemy's provisions would fail them. All the more, therefore, did he trust to time, and collected into his camp a great abundance of provisions, that so, himself in the midst of plenty, he might watch for his enemy's distress.

IX. But in the meantime, Mithridates planned a blow at Cyzicus, which had suffered terribly in the battle near Chalcedon, having lost three thousand men and ten ships. Accordingly, wishing to evade the notice of Lucullus, he set out immediately after the evening meal, taking advantage of a dark and rainy night, and succeeded in planting his forces over against the city, on the slopes of the mountain range

- 2 ἰδρύσας τὴν δύναμιν. Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος αἰσθόμενος καὶ διώξας ἠγάπησε μὲν οὐκ ἐμπεσὼν ἀσύντακτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, καθίζει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν περὶ τὴν Θρακίαν λεγόμενην κώμην ἐν τόπῳ κατὰ τῶν ὁδῶν ἄριστα πεφυκότι καὶ τῶν χωρίων, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ δι' ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς Μιθριδατικοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια φοιτᾶν. διὸ καὶ περιλαβὼν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ θέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐμεγαληγόρησεν, ὥς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀναιμωτὶ τὸ νίκημα παραδώσων αὐτοῖς.
- 3 Κυζικηνοὺς δὲ Μιθριδάτης δέκα μὲν ἐκ γῆς στρατοπέδοις περιλαβὼν, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διείργοντα τὴν πόλιν εὗριπον ἐμφράξας, ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπολιόρκει, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διακειμένους πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον εὐθαρσῶς καὶ πᾶν ἔνεκα Ῥωμαίων ἐγνωκότας ἐκδέχεσθαι δυσχερές, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ ὅπῃ Λούκουλλος εἶη καὶ τῷ μηδὲν
- 4 περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπύσθαι ταραττομένους. καίτοι καταφανὴς ἦν ἡ στρατοπεδεία καὶ ἄποπτος, ἀλλ' ὑπο τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν ἐξηπατῶντο. δεικνύντες γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἄνω παρεμβεβληκότας “Ὁρᾶτε τούτους;” ἔφασαν, “Ἀρμενίων στρατὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Μήδων, Τιγράνου Μιθριδάτῃ καταπέμψαντος ἐπικουρίαν.” οἱ δ' ἐξεπλήσσοντο τοσούτου πολέμου περικεχυμένου μηδ', εἰ παραγένοιτο Λούκουλλος, χώραν ἔτι λελεῖφθαι βοηθείας ἐλπίζοντες.
- 5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς εἰσπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀρχελάου Δημῶναξ ἔφρασε τὴν τοῦ Λουκούλλου

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of Adrasteia, by day-break. Lucullus got wind of his departure and pursued him, but was well satisfied not to fall upon the enemy while his own troops were in disorder from their march, and stationed his army near the village called Thracia, in a spot best suited to command the roads and regions from which, and over which, the army of Mithridates must get its necessary supplies. Seeing clearly, therefore, what the issue must be, he did not conceal it from his soldiers, but as soon as they had completed the labour of fortifying their camp, called them together, and boastfully told them that within a few days he would give them their victory, and that without any bloodshed.

Mithridates was besieging Cyzicus both by land and sea, having encompassed it with ten camps on the land side, and having blockaded with his ships by sea the narrow strait which parts the city from the mainland. Although the citizens viewed their peril with a high courage, and were resolved to sustain every hardship for the sake of the Romans, still, they knew not where Lucullus was, and were disturbed because they heard nothing of him. And yet his camp was in plain sight, only they were deceived by their enemies. These pointed the Romans out to them, lying encamped on the heights, and said: "Do you see those forces? It is an army of Armenians and Medes which Tigranes has sent to assist Mithridates." They were therefore terrified to see such hosts encompassing them, and had no hopes that any way of succour remained, even if Lucullus should come.

However, in the first place, Demonax was sent in to them by Archelaüs, and told them that Lucullus

παρουσίαν. Τούτων δ' ἀπιστούντων καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτὸν τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ παρηγορία πεπλασμένα λέγειν, ἦκε παιδάριον αἰχμάλωτον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποδεδρακός. πυνθανομένων δ' αὐτῶν, ποῦ λέγοι τὸν Λούκουλλον εἶναι, κατεγέλα παίζειν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενον. ὥς δ' ἑώρα σπουδάζοντας, ἐσήμηνε τῇ χειρὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' 6 ἀνεθάρσυσαν. τῆς δὲ Δασκυλίτιδος λίμνης πλεομένης ἀκατίοις ἐπιεικῶς εὐμεγέθεσι, τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀνελκύσας καὶ διαγαγὼν ἀμάξῃ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὅσους ἐχώρει στρατιώτας ἐνεβίβασεν. ἔλαθον δὲ νυκτὸς διαπεράσαντες καὶ παρεισῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

Χ. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιθαρρῦναι τοὺς Κυζικηνούς, ἀγασθὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἄλλοις τε σημείοις ἐναργέσι, καὶ τῆς τῶν Φερεφατῶν ἐορτῆς ἐνεστώσης οἱ μὲν ἠπόρουσαν βοδὸς μελαίνης πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ σταιτίνην πλάσαντες 498 τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησαν, ἡ δ' ἱερὰ καὶ τρεφομένη τῇ θεῷ νομὴν μὲν εἶχεν, ὥσπερ τὰλλα βοτὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, κατ' ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποκριθεῖσα τῆς ἀγέλης μόνη διενήξατο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν 2 αὐτήν. ὅναρ δ' ἡ θεὸς Ἀρισταγόρα τῷ τοῦ δήμου γραμματιστῇ παραστᾶσα, “Καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε,” εἶπεν, “ἦκω τὸν Λιβυκὸν αὐλητὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ποντικὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐπάγουσα. φράσον οὖν θαρρεῖν τοῖς πολίταις.” θαυμαζόντων δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τῶν Κυζικηνῶν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ σάλον εἶχεν ἡ θάλασσα κατιόντος ἀκρίτου πνεύματος, αἳ τε μηχαναὶ τοῦ βασιλέως παρεστῶσαι τοῖς τεύχεσιν, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ Νικωνίδου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ, ροίζῳ 500

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was arrived. They disbelieved him, and thought he had invented his story merely to mitigate their anxieties, but then a boy came to them, who had escaped from his captivity with the enemy. On their asking him where he thought Lucullus was, he laughed at them, supposing them to be jesting. But when he saw that they were in earnest, he pointed out the Roman camp to them, and their courage was revived. Again, Lucullus drew out on shore the largest of the sizable craft which plied the lake Dascylitis, carried it across to the sea on a waggon, and embarked upon it as many soldiers as it would hold, who crossed by night unobserved, and got safely into the city.

X. It would seem also that Heaven, in admiration of their bravery, emboldened the men of Cyzicus by many manifest signs, and especially by the following. The festival of Persephone was at hand, and the people, in lack of a black heifer for the sacrifice, fashioned one of dough, and brought it to the altar. Now the sacred heifer reared for the goddess was pasturing, like the other herds of the Cyzicenes, on the opposite side of the strait, but on that day she left her herd, swam over alone to the city, and presented herself for the sacrifice. And again, the goddess appeared in a dream to Aristagoras, the town-clerk, saying: "Lo, here am I, and I bring the Libyan fifer against the Pontic trumpeter. Bid the citizens therefore be of good cheer." While the Cyzicenes were lost in wonder at the saying, at day-break the sea began to toss under a boisterous wind, and the siege-engines of the king along the walls, the wonderful works of Niconides the Thessalian, by

3 καὶ πατάγῳ πρῶτον ἀπεδήλουν τὸ μέλλον· εἴτα νότος ἐκραγεῖς ἄπιστος τὸ μέγεθος τά τ' ἄλλα συνέτριψε μηχανήματα ὥρας βραχεῖ μορίῳ, καὶ τὸν ξύλινον πύργον ἑκατὸν πηχῶν ὕψος ὄντα διασείσας κατέβαλεν. ἱστορεῖται δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἰλίου πολλοῖς καθ' ὕπνον ὀφθῆναι τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ ῥεομένην καὶ ὑποφαίνουσάν τι τοῦ πέπλου παρερρωγός, λέγουσαν, ὡς ἀρτίως ἦκοι βοηθήσασα Κυζικηνοῖς. καὶ στήλην τινὰ δόγματα καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσαν ἐδείκνυν Ἰλιεῖς.

XI. Μιθριδάτην δέ, ἄχρι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν φενακίζόμενος ἡγνόμεν τὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λιμόν, ἡνίων Κυζικηνοὶ διαφεύγοντες τὴν πολιορκίαν. ταχὺ δ' ἐξερρύη τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλόνεικον ἐν αἰσθήσει γενομένου τῶν ἀποριῶν, αἷς οἱ στρατιῶται συνείχοντο, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωποφαγιῶν, ἅτε δὴ μὴ θεατρικῶς μὴδ' ἐπιδεικτικῶς Λουκούλλου πολεμοῦντος, ἀλλὰ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰς τὴν γαστέρα ἐναλλομένου καὶ ὅπως ὑφαιρήσει τὴν τροφὴν ἅπαντα πραγματευομένου. διὸ καὶ φρούριόν τι πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῷ καιρῷ χρήσασθαι σπεύδων ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐξέπεμψε εἰς Βιθυνίαν τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς σχεδὸν ἅπαντας μετὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς ἀχρήστους. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρῶτ' δὲ χειμῶνος ὄντος ἀναλαβὼν σπείρας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἵππον ἐδίωκε νιφόμενος καὶ κακοπαθῶν, ὥστε πολλοὺς ὑπὸ κρύους ἐνδιδόντας ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν στρα-

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their creaking and cracking showed clearly what was about to happen; then a south wind burst forth with incredible fury, shattered the other engines in a short space of time, and threw down with a great shock the wooden tower a hundred cubits high. It is related, too, that the goddess Athena appeared to many of the inhabitants of Ilium in their sleep, dripping with sweat, showing part of her peplus torn away, and saying that she was just come from assisting the Cyzicenes. And the people of Ilium used to show a stelé which had on it certain decrees and inscriptions relating to this matter.

XI. Mithridates, as long as his generals deceived him into ignorance of the famine in his army, was vexed that the Cyzicenes should successfully withstand his siege. But his eager ambition quickly ebbed away when he perceived the straits in which his soldiers were involved, and their actual cannibalism. For Lucullus was not carrying on the war in any theatrical way, nor for mere display, but, as the saying is, was "kicking in the belly," and devising every means for cutting off food. Accordingly, while Lucullus was laying siege to some outpost or other, Mithridates eagerly took advantage of the opportunity, and sent away into Bithynia almost all his horsemen, together with the beasts of burden, and those of his foot-soldiers who were disabled. On learning of this, Lucullus returned to his camp while it was still night, and early in the morning, in spite of a storm, took ten cohorts of infantry and his calvary, and started in pursuit, although snow was falling and his hardships were extreme. Many of his soldiers were overcome with the cold and had to be left behind, but with the rest he overtook the

- τιωτῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις περὶ τὸν Ῥυνδακὸν ποταμὸν
 3 καταλαβὼν τοὺς πολεμίους τοσαύτην τροπὴν
 ἐποίησεν, ὥστε τὰς γυναῖκας ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας
 προερχομένας ἀφαρπάζειν τὰ φορτία καὶ σκυ-
 λεύειν τοὺς φονευομένους. πολλῶν δ', ὡς εἰκός,
 ἀποθανόντων ἐάλωσαν ἵπποι μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι
 καὶ πλήθος ἀναρίθμητον ὑποζυγίων, ἄνδρες δὲ
 μύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι· καὶ τούτους ἄγων πάντας
 παρεξήει παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων.
 4 Σαλουστίου δὲ θαυμάζω τότε πρῶτον ὦφθαι
 Ῥωμαίοις καμήλους λέγοντος, εἰ μήτε πρότερον
 τοὺς μετὰ Σκηπίωνος νικήσαντας Ἀντίοχον ᾤετο
 μήτε τοὺς ἑναγχοῦς πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ καὶ περὶ
 Χαιρώνειαν Ἀρχελάφ μεμαχημένους ἐγνωκέναι
 κάμηλον.
 5 Ἀλλὰ τῷ γε Μιθριδάτῃ φεύγειν μὲν ἔγνωστο
 τὴν ταχίστην, ἀνθοκὰς δὲ Λουκούλλῳ καὶ δια-
 τριβὰς ὀπίσω μηχανώμενος ἔστελλε τὸν ναύαρχον
 Ἀριστόνικον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ
 ὅσον οὐπω μέλλοντος ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας ὁ
 Λούκουλλος ἐκυρίευσεν μετὰ χρυσῶν μυρίων, οὗς
 ἐκόμιζε διαφθερῶν τι τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματος. ἐκ τούτου Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ
 θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πεζοὶ τὸν στρατὸν
 6 ἀπήγαγον. ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος αὐτοῖς
 περὶ τὸν Γρανικὸν ποταμὸν εἰλέ τε παμπόλλους
 καὶ δισμυρίους ἀπέκτεινε. λέγονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ
 παντὸς ἀκολουθῶν τε καὶ μαχίμων ὄχλου μυρι-
 ᾶδες οὐ πολὺ δὴ τῶν τριάκοντα λείπουσαι 499
 διαφθαρῆναι.

XII. Λούκουλλος δὲ πρῶτον εἰς Κύζικον
 παρελθὼν ἀπέλαυσεν ἡδονῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης

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enemy at the river Rhyndacus and inflicted such a defeat upon them that the very women came forth from Apollonia and carried off their baggage and stripped their slain. Many fell in the battle, as it is natural to suppose. Six thousand horses and fifteen thousand men were captured, besides an untold number of beasts of burden. All these followed in the train of Lucullus as he marched back past the camp of the enemy. Sallust says, to my amazement, that camels were then seen by the Romans for the first time. He must have thought that the soldiers of Scipio who conquered Antiochus before this, and those who had lately fought Archelaüs at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia, were unacquainted with the camel.

Mithridates was now resolved upon the speediest possible flight, but with a view to drawing Lucullus away, and holding him back from pursuit, he dispatched his admiral, Aristonicus, to the Grecian sea. Aristonicus was just on the point of sailing when he was betrayed into the hands of Lucullus, together with ten thousand pieces of gold which he was carrying for the corruption of some portion of the Roman army. Upon this, Mithridates fled to the sea, and his generals of infantry began to lead the army away. But Lucullus fell upon them at the river Granicus, captured a vast number of them, and slew twenty thousand. It is said that out of the whole horde of camp-followers and fighting men, not much less than three hundred thousand perished in the campaign.

XII. Lucullus, in the first place, entered Cyzicus in triumph, and enjoyed the pleasant welcome which

πρεπούσης· ἔπειτα ναυτικὸν ἐξηρτύετο τὸν Ἑλ-
λήσποντον ἐπιπορευόμενος. εἰς δὲ Τρωάδα κατα-
χθεῖς ἐσκήνωσε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης,
κατακοιμηθεὶς δὲ νύκτωρ ἐδόκει τὴν θεὰν ὁρᾶν
ἐφεστῶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσαν·

Τί κνώσσεις, μεγάθυμε λέον; νεβροὶ δέ
τοι ἐγγύς.

- 2 ἐξαναστὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας διηγεῖτο
τὴν ὄψιν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης. καὶ παρήσαν ἐξ
Ἰλίου τινὲς ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὥφθαι περὶ τὸν
Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαίδεκα πεντήρεις τῶν βασι-
λικῶν ἐπὶ Λῆμνον πλεούσας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναχθεὶς
τούτους μὲν εἶλε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν
Ἰσίδωρον ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπλει
- 3 πρῶρέας. οἱ δὲ ἔτυχον ὁρμοῦντες, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα
πάντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν συνέλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν
καταστρωμάτων διεμάχοντο καὶ πληγὰς ἐδίδοσαν
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον, οὔτε περιπλεῦσαι
τοῦ χωρίου διδόντος οὔτε βιάσασθαι ναυσὶ
μετεώροις τὰς τῶν πολεμίων προσεληρισμένας
- 4 τῇ γῇ καὶ βεβηκυίας ἀσφαλῶς. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ
μόλις ἢ προσβολὴν τινα ἢ νήσος εἶχεν ἀποβι-
βάζει τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, οἱ κατόπιν
ἐπιπесόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρον
αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἠνάγκαζον ἀποκόπτοντας τὰ
πρυμνήσια τῶν νεῶν καὶ φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς γῆς
ἀλλήλοις τε συγκρούειν τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ταῖς ἐμβο-
λαῖς ταῖς περὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον ὑποπίπτειν.
- 5 πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν διεφθάρησαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλούσιν
ἀνήχθη καὶ Μάριος ὁ παρὰ Σερτωρίου στρατηγός·

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was his due ; then he proceeded to the Hellespont, and began to equip a fleet. On visiting the Troad, he pitched his tent in the sacred precinct of Aphrodite, and in the night, after he had fallen asleep, he thought he saw the goddess standing over him and saying :—

“Why dost thou sleep, great lion ? the fawns
are near for thy taking.”

Rising up from sleep and calling his friends, he narrated to them his vision, while it was yet night. And lo, there came certain men from Ilium, with tidings that thirteen of the king's galleys had been seen off the harbour of the Achaeans, making for Lemnos. Accordingly, Lucullus put to sea at once, captured these, slew their commander, Isodorus, and then sailed in pursuit of the other captains, whom these were seeking to join. They chanced to be lying at anchor close to shore, and drawing their vessels all up on land, they fought from their decks, and sorely galled the crews of Lucullus. These had no chance to sail round their enemies, nor to make onset upon them, since their own ships were afloat, while those of their enemies were planted upon the land and securely fixed. However, Lucullus at last succeeded in disembarking the best of his soldiers where the island afforded some sort of access. These fell upon the enemy from the rear, slew some of them, and forced the rest to cut their stern cables and fly from the shore, their vessels thus falling foul of one another, and receiving the impact of the ships of Lucullus. Many of the enemy perished, of course, and among the captives there was brought in Marius, the general sent from

ἦν γὰρ ἑτερόφθαλμος, καὶ παρήγγελτο τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐθὺς ἐπιπλέουσιν ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου μηδένα κτείνειν ἑτερόφθαλμον, ὅπως ἔξονειδισθεῖς καὶ καθυβρισθεῖς ἀποθάνοι.

- XIII. Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τούτων ἠπείγετο πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου δίωξιν. ἤλπιζε γὰρ ἔτι περὶ Βιθυνίαν εὐρήσειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Βοκωνίου φρουρούμενον, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐνστησόμενον τῇ φυγῇ
- 2 μετὰ νεῶν ἀπεστάλκει πρὸς Νικομήδειαν. ἀλλὰ Βοκώνιος μὲν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ μυνόμενος καὶ παινηγυρίζων καθυστέρησε· Μιθριδάτην δὲ ἀναχθέντα μετὰ τοῦ στόλου, σπεύδοντα πρὶν ἐπιστρέφειν Λούκουλλον εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλευῦσαι, καταλαμβάνει χειμῶν πολὺς, ὑφ' οὗ τὰ μὲν ἀφηρηπάγη, τὰ δ' ἐβυθίσθη τῶν σκαφῶν, πᾶσα δ' ἡ παραλία τῶν ναυαγίων ἐκφερομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἦν περίπλεως.
- 3 αὐτὸς δέ, τῆς ὀλκάδος, ἐφ' ἧς ἔπλει, μήτε πρὸς τὴν γῆν εὐπαρακομίστου διὰ μέγεθος ἐν σάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κύματι τυφλῷ παρισταμένης τοῖς κυβερνήταις, πρὸς τε τὴν θάλασσαν ἤδη βαρείας καὶ ὑπεράντλου γενομένης, μετεμβὰς εἰς ληστρικὸν μυοπάρωνα καὶ τὸ σῶμα πειραταῖς ἐγχειρίσας ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραβόλως εἰς τὴν Ποντικὴν
- 4 Ἡράκλειαν ἐξεσώθη. Λουκούλλῳ δ' ἀνεμέσητος ἡ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπέβη φιλοτιμία. ψηφισομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων ταλάντων ἐξαρτύεσθαι ναυτικόν, ἐκώλυσε πέμψας γράμματα καὶ μεγαληγορήσας,

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Sertorius. He had but one eye, and the soldiers had received strict orders from Lucullus, as soon as they set sail, to kill no one-eyed man. Lucullus wished Marius to die under the most shameful insults.

XIII. These things done, Lucullus hastened in pursuit of Mithridates himself. For he expected to find him still in Bithynia under the watch and ward of Voconius, whom he had dispatched with a fleet to Nicomedeia that he might intercept the king's flight. But Voconius was behindhand, owing to his initiation into, and celebration of, the mysteries in Samothrace, and Mithridates put to sea with his armament, eager to reach Pontus before Lucullus turned and set upon him. He was overtaken, however, by a great storm, which destroyed some of his vessels and disabled others. The whole coast for many days was covered with the wrecks dashed upon it by the billows. As for the king himself, the merchantman on which he was sailing was too large to be readily beached when the sea ran so high and the waves were so baffling, nor would it answer to its helm, and it was now too heavy and full of water to gain an offing; accordingly, he abandoned it for a light brigantine belonging to some pirates, and, entrusting his person to their hands, contrary to expectation and after great hazard, got safely to Heracleia in Pontus. And so it happened that the boastful speech of Lucullus to the Senate brought no divine retribution down upon him. When, namely, that body was ready to vote three thousand talents to provide a fleet for this war, Lucullus blocked the measure by writing a letter, in which he made the haughty boast that

ὥς ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ τοσαύτης παρασκευῆς ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων ναυσὶ Μιθριδάτην ἐκβαλεῖ τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ τοῦτο ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ συναγωνισαμένου. λέγεται γὰρ Ἀρτέμιδος χόλῳ Πριαπίνης ὁ χειμῶν ἐμπεσεῖν τοῖς Ποντικοῖς συλήσασιν αὐτῆς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνασπάσασι.

XIV. Πολλῶν δὲ Λουκούλλῳ παραινούντων ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ φροντίσας ἐνέβαλε διὰ Βιθυνίας καὶ Γαλατίας εἰς τὴν βασιλικήν, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐνδεῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ὥστε Γαλάτας ἔπεσθαι τρισμυρίους ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων κομίζοντα σίτου μέδιμνον, προῖων δὲ καὶ κρατῶν ἀπάντων εἰς τοσαύτην ἦλθεν εὐπορίαν, 500 ὥστε τὸν μὲν βοῦν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ δραχμῆς, τὸ δὲ ἀνδράποdon τεττάρων ὄνιον εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἄλλην λείαν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολείπειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀναλίσκειν. διάθεσις γὰρ ἦν οὐδενὸς πρὸς οὐδένα πάντων εὐπορούντων.

- 2 Ἄλλ' ὅσον φθεῖραι καὶ κακῶσαι τὴν χώραν ἱππασάμενοι καὶ καταδραμόντες ἄχρι Θεμισκύρας καὶ τῶν περὶ Θερμώδοντα πεδίων, ἡτιῶντο τὸν Λούκουλλον, ὅτι πάσας προσάγεται τὰς πόλεις, κατὰ κράτος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἥρηκεν οὐδὲ παρέσχηκεν αὐτοῖς ὠφελῆσθαι διαρπάσασιν.
- 3 “Ἄλλὰ καὶ νῦν,” ἔφασαν, “Ἀμισόν, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλουσίαν, οὐ μέγα ὄν ἔργον, εἴ τις ἐντείνει τὴν πολιορκίαν, κατασχεῖν, ἀπολιπόντας ἡμᾶς ἄγει περὶ τὴν Τιβαρηνῶν καὶ Χαλδαίων

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without any such costly array, but only with the ships of the allies, he would drive Mithridates from the sea. And this success he gained with the assistance of Heaven. For it is said that it was owing to the wrath of Artemis of Priapus that the tempest fell upon the men of Pontus, who had plundered her shrine and pulled down her image.

XIV. Though many now advised Lucullus to suspend the war, he paid no heed to them, but threw his army into the king's country by way of Bithynia and Galatia.¹ At first he lacked the necessary supplies, so that thirty thousand Galatians followed in his train, each carrying a bushel of grain upon his shoulders; but as he advanced and mastered everything, he found himself in the midst of such plenty that an ox sold in his camp for a drachma, and a man-slave for four, while other booty had no value at all. Some abandoned it, and some destroyed it. There was no sale for anything to anybody when all had such abundance.

But when Lucullus merely wasted and ravaged the country with cavalry incursions, which penetrated to Themiscyra and the plains of the river Thermodon, his soldiers found fault with him because he brought all the cities over to him by peaceable measures; he had not taken a single one by storm, they said, nor given them a chance to enrich themselves by plunder. "Nay," they said, "at this very moment we are leaving Amisus, a rich and prosperous city, which it would be no great matter to take, if its siege were pressed, and are following our general into the desert of the Tibareni and the Chaldaeans

¹ 73 B.C.

- ἐρημίαν Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμήσοντας.” ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐλπίσας εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας τοὺς στρατιώτας παραγαγεῖν, ὅσον ὕστερον ἐξέφηναν, ὑπερεώρα καὶ οὐκ
- 4 ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐκείνοις δ' ἀπελογεῖτο μᾶλλον, οἱ βραδυτῆτα κατηγοροῦν αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἐν ταῦθα περὶ κώμας καὶ πόλεις οὐ πολλοῦ τινος ἀξίας πολὺν χρόνον, ἐῶντος δ' αὔξεσθαι Μιθριδάτην. “Αὐτὸ γάρ,” ἔφη, “τοῦτο καὶ βούλομαι καὶ κάθημαι τεχνάζων, μέγαν αὖθις γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν,
- 5 ἵνα μείνῃ καὶ μὴ φύγῃ προσιόντας ἡμᾶς. ἡ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε πολλὴν μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀτέκμαρτον ἐρημίαν ὀπίσω παρούσαν; ἐγγὺς δὲ ὁ Καύκασος καὶ ὄρη πολλὰ καὶ βαθέα καὶ μυρίους βασιλεῖς φυγομαχοῦντας ἄρκοῦντα κατακρύψαι καὶ περισχεῖν ὀλίγων δ' ἡμερῶν ὁδὸς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐκ Καβείρων, καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀρμενίας κάθηται Τιγράνης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ἔχων δύναμιν, ἥ Πάρθους τε περικόπτει τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνακομίζει καὶ Συρίας κρατεῖ καὶ Παλαιστίνης καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεῖς ἀποκτινύνει, θυγατέρας δ' αὐτῶν ἄγει καὶ γυναῖκας
- 6 ἀνασπάστους. οὗτος οἰκεῖός ἐστι Μιθριδάτου καὶ γαμβρός. οὐ περιόψεται δὲ αὐτὸν ἰκέτην ὑποδεξάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσει πρὸς ἡμᾶς· καὶ σπεύδοντες ἐκβάλλειν Μιθριδάτην κινδυνεύσομεν ἐπισπάσασθαι Τιγράνην, πάλαι μὲν αἰτίας δεόμενον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, εὐπρεπεστέραν δὲ οὐκ ἂν λαβόντα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου καὶ βασιλέως ἀναγκασθέντα ὑπουργεῖν αὐτῷ. τί οὖν δεῖ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς

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to fight with Mithridates." But these grievances, not dreaming that they would bring the soldiers to such acts of madness as they afterwards performed, Lucullus overlooked and ignored. He was, however, more ready to defend himself against those who denounced his slowness in lingering there a long while, subduing worthless little villages and cities, and allowing Mithridates to recruit himself. "That," he said, "is the very thing I want, and I am sitting here to get it. I want the man to become powerful again, and to get together a force with which it is worth our while to fight, in order that he may stand his ground, and not fly when we approach. Do you not see that he has a vast and trackless desert behind him? The Caucasus, too, is near, with its many hills and dells, which are sufficient to hide away in safety ten thousand kings who decline to fight. And it is only a few days' journey from Cabira into Armenia and over Armenia there sits enthroned Tigranes, King of Kings, with forces which enable him to cut the Parthians off from Asia, transplant Greek cities into Media, sway Syria and Palestine, put to death the successors of Seleucus, and carry off their wives and daughters into captivity. This king is a kinsman of Mithridates, his son-in-law. He will not be content to receive him as a suppliant, but will make war against us. If we strive, therefore, to eject Mithridates from his kingdom, we shall run the risk of drawing Tigranes down upon us. He has long wanted an excuse for coming against us, and could not get a better one than that of being compelled to aid a man who is his kinsman and a king. Why, then, should we bring this to pass,

ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ διδάξαι Μιθριδάτην ἀγνοοῦντα, μεθ' ὧν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμητέον, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' ἄδοξοῦντα συνελάυνειν εἰς τὰς Τιγράνου χεῖρας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δόντας αὐτῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἀναθαρρῦναι, Κόλχοις καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖς καὶ Καππάδοξιν, ὧν πολλάκις κεκρατήκαμεν, μάχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ Μήδοις καὶ Ἀρμενίοις;

- XV. Ἐπὶ τοιούτων λογισμῶν γενόμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος περὶ τε τὴν Ἀμισὸν διέτριψε, μαλακῶς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χρώμενος, καὶ μετὰ χειμῶνα Μουρήναν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην καθήμενον ἐν Καβεῖροις καὶ διανοούμενον ὑφίστασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἡθροισμένης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως εἰς τετρακισμυρίους πεζοὺς, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους, οἷς ἐθάρρει
- 2 μάλιστα. καὶ διαβάς τὸν Λύκον ποταμὸν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον προῦκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. γενομένης δ' ἱππομαχίας ἔφυγον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. Πομπώνιος δ' ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄδοξος ἐάλω τετρωμένος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνήχθη κακῶς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων διακείμενος. πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεται φίλος, “Ὁ γὰρ δὴ,” ἔφη, “Ῥωμαίοις διαλλαγῆς· εἰ δὲ μή, πολέμιος.” τοῦτον μὲν θαυμάσας ὁ Μιθριδάτης οὐκ ἠδίκησε.
- 3 Τοῦ δὲ Λουκούλλου τὰ μὲν πεδία τῶν πολεμίων 501 ἱπποκρατούντων δεδιότος, τὴν δ' ὄρεινὴν ὀκνοῦντος προΐεναι, μακρὰν καὶ ὑλῶδη καὶ δύσβατον οὔσαν, ἀλίσκονται τινες κατὰ τύχην Ἕλληνες εἰς τι

LUCULLUS

and teach Mithridates, when he does not know it, with what allies he must carry on war against us? Why help to drive him, against his wish and as a last resource, into the arms of Tigranes, instead of giving him time to equip himself from his own resources and get fresh courage? Then we shall fight with Colchians and Tibareni and Cappadocians, whom we have often overcome, rather than with Medes and Armenians."

XV. Influenced by such considerations as these, Lucullus lingered about Amisus, without pushing the siege vigorously. When winter was over, he left Murena in charge of the siege, and marched against Mithridates,¹ who had taken his stand at Cabira, and intended to await the Roman onset there. A force of forty thousand footmen had been collected by him, and four thousand horsemen; on the latter he placed his chief reliance. Crossing the river Lycus and advancing into the plain, he offered the Romans battle. A cavalry fight ensued, and the Romans took to flight. Pomponius, a man of some note, having been wounded, was taken prisoner and led into the presence of Mithridates, suffering greatly from his wounds. When the king asked him if he would become his friend provided he spared his life, Pomponius answered: "Yes, indeed, if you come to terms with the Romans; otherwise I must remain your enemy." Mithridates was struck with admiration for him, and did him no harm.

Lucullus was now afraid of the plains, since the enemy was superior in cavalry, and yet hesitated to go forward into the hill country, which was remote, woody, and impassable. But it chanced that certain

¹ 72 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- σπήλαιον καταφυγόντες, ὃν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀρ-
τεμίδωρος ὑπέσχετο τὸν Λούκουλλον ἄξειν καὶ
καταστήσειν ἐπὶ τόπῳ ἀσφαλεῖ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
καὶ φρούριον ἔχοντι τοῖς Καβείροις ἐπικρεμάμενον.
- 4 πιστεύσας δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἅμα τῇ νυκτὶ πυρὰ
καύσας ἐκίνει· καὶ τὰ στενὰ παρελθὼν ἀσφαλῶς
τὸ χωρίον εἶχε, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπερεφαίνετο
τῶν πολεμίων ἰδρύων τὸν στρατὸν ἐν τόποις,
οἱ μάχεσθαι βουλομένῳ προσαγωγὴν ἐδίδοσαν
καὶ τὸ μὴ βιασθῆναι παρεῖχον ἡσυχάζοντι.
- 5 Γνώμην μὲν οὖν οὐδέτερος εἶχεν ἔν γε τῷ
παρόντι διακινδυνεύειν· ἔλαφον δὲ λέγεται τῶν
βασιλικῶν διωκόντων ὑποτεμνομένους ἀπαντῆσαι
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμπεσόντας ἀγω-
νίζεσθαι πλειόνων ἑκατέροις ἀεὶ προσγινομένων.
τέλος δ' ἐνίκων οἱ βασιλικοὶ· καὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἐκ
τοῦ χάρακος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθορῶντες ἡσχαλλον
καὶ συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Λούκουλλον, ἄγειν σφᾶς
δεόμενοι καὶ σύνθημα πρὸς τὴν μάχην αἰτοῦντες.
- 6 ὁ δὲ βουλούμενος αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν, ἡλίκον ἐστὶν ἐν
ἀγῶνι πολέμου καὶ κινδύνῳ παρουσία καὶ ὄψις
ἡγεμόνος ἔμφρονος, ἐκείνους μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν
ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ
τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπαντήσας τῶν φευγόντων ἴστασθαι
- 7 προσέταξε καὶ ἀναστρέφειν μετ' αὐτοῦ. πεισθέν-
των δὲ τούτων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μεταβαλλόμενοι καὶ
συστάντες ὀλίγῳ πόνῳ τρέπονται τοὺς πολεμίους
καὶ καταδιώκουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπαν-
ελθὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος ἀτιμίαν τινὰ τοῖς φεύγουσι
νενομισμένην προσέβαλε, κελεύσας ἐν χιτῶσιν

LUCULLUS

Greeks, who had taken refuge in a sort of cave, were captured, and the elder of them, Artemidorus, promised to serve Lucullus as a guide, and set him in a place which was safe for his camp, and which had a fortress overlooking Cabira. Lucullus put confidence in this promise, and as soon as it was night, lit his camp fires and set out. He passed safely through the narrow defiles and took possession of the desired place, and at daybreak was seen above the enemy, stationing his men in positions which gave him access to the enemy if he wished to fight, and safety from their assaults if he wished to keep quiet.

Now neither commander had any intention of hazarding an engagement at once. But we are told that while some of the king's men were chasing a stag, the Romans cut them off and confronted them, whereupon a skirmish followed, with fresh accessions continually to either side. At last, the king's men were victorious. Then the Romans in their camp, beholding the flight of their comrades, were in distress, and ran in throngs to Lucullus, begging him to lead them, and demanding the signal for battle. But he, wishing them to learn how important, in a dangerous struggle with the enemy, the visible presence of a prudent general is, bade them keep quiet. Then he went down into the plain by himself, and confronting the foremost of the fugitives, bade them stop, and turn back with him. They obeyed, and the rest also wheeled about and formed in battle array, and in a short time routed the enemy and drove them to their camp. When he came back, however, Lucullus inflicted the customary disgrace upon the fugitives. He bade them dig a twelve-

ἀζώστοις ὀρύξαι δώδεκα ποδῶν τάφρον, ἐφεστῶ-
των καὶ θεωμένων τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν.

- XVI. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Μιθριδάτου στρατοπέδῳ
Δανδαρίων δυνάστης Ὀλθακός (γένος δ' εἰσὶν οἱ
Δανδάριοι βαρβάρων τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν
οἰκούντων), ἀνὴρ ὅσα χειρὸς ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἐν
πολέμῳ διαπρεπῆς ἅπαντα, καὶ γνώμην ἱκανὸς
ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, ἔτι δ' ἐμμελὴς ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ
θεραπευτικός. οὗτος ἔχων ἀεὶ πρὸς τινα τῶν
ὁμοφύλων δυναστῶν ἄμιλλαν ὑπὲρ πρωτείων
καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν ὑπέσχετο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μέγα
2 ἔργον, ἀποκτενεῖν Λούκουλλον. ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τινος αὐτῷ προσβαλόντος
ἐπίτηδες ἀτιμίας εἰς προσποίησιν ὀργῆς ἀφιππά-
σατο πρὸς Λούκουλλον· ὁ δ' ἄσμενος ἐδέξατο·
λόγος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ·
καὶ ταχὺ πειρώμενος ἡσπάζετο τὴν τε ἀγχίνοιαν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ λιπαρές, ὥστε τραπέζης καὶ συνε-
δρίου ποτὲ ποιεῖσθαι κοινωνόν.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει καιρὸν ἔχειν ὁ Δανδάριος, τὸν
μὲν ἵππον ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος ἐκέλευσε προαγαγεῖν
τοὺς παῖδας, αὐτὸς δὲ μεσημβρίας οὔσης καὶ
τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνδιαζόντων καὶ ἀναπαυομένων
ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνήν, ὡς οὐδενὸς
κωλύσοντος εἰσελθεῖν ἄνδρα συνήθη καὶ λόγους
τινὰς ἀξίους σπουδῆς τῷ στρατηγῷ κομίζειν
- 4 φάσκοντα. κὰν εἰσῆλθεν ἀδεῶς, εἰ μὴ ὁ πολλοὺς
ἀννηρικῶς στρατηγούς ὕπνος Λούκουλλον ἔσωσεν.
ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καθεύδων· καὶ Μενέδημος, εἰς τῶν
κατευναστῶν, παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ἐστὼς οὐκ ἔφη
κατὰ καιρὸν ἦκειν τὸν Ὀλθακόν, ἄρτι Λουκούλλου
πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ πόνων

LUCULLUS

foot ditch, working in ungirt blouses, while the rest of the soldiers stood by and watched them.

XVI. In the camp of Mithridates there was a Dandarian prince named Olthacus (the Dandarians are a tribe of barbarians dwelling about Lake Maeotis), a man conspicuous as a soldier for qualities of strength and boldness, of a most excellent judgment, and withal affable in address and of insinuating manners. This man was always in emulous rivalry for the precedence with a fellow prince of his tribe, and so was led to undertake a great exploit for Mithridates, namely, the murder of Lucullus. The king approved of his design, and purposely inflicted upon him sundry marks of disgrace, whereupon, pretending to be enraged, he galloped off to Lucullus, who gladly welcomed him, since there was much talk of him in the camp. After a short probation, Lucullus was so pleased with his shrewdness and zeal, that he made him a table companion, and at last a member of his council.

Now when the Dandarian thought his opportunity had come, he ordered his slaves to lead his horse outside the camp, while he himself, at mid-day, when the soldiers were lying around enjoying their rest, went to the general's tent. He thought no one would deny entrance to a man who was an intimate of the general, and said he brought him certain messages of great importance. And he would have entered without let or hindrance, had not sleep, the destroyer of many generals, saved Lucullus. For it chanced that he was asleep, and Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, who stood at the tent-door, told Olthacus that he had come at an inopportune time, since Lucullus had just betaken himself to rest after

- 5 τοσούτων δεδωκότος ἑαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπήει
κελεύοντος, ἀλλ' ἔφη καὶ κωλύοντος εἰσελεύ-
σεσθαι περὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου καὶ μεγάλου
διαλεχθῆναι βουλόμενος, ἥδη πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ
Μενέδημος εἰπὼν μηδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον τοῦ σώ-
ζεσθαι Λούκουλλον ἀπέωσατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον 502
- 6 ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσίν. ὁ δὲ δείσας ὑπεξῆλθε
τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλασεν
εἰς τὸ Μιθριδάτου στρατόπεδον ἄπρακτος. οὕτως
ἄρα καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁ καιρὸς ὥσπερ τοῖς
φαρμάκοις καὶ τὴν σώζουσιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιροῦσαν
ροπὴν προστίθουσιν.

- XVII. Ἐκ τούτου Σωρνάτιος μὲν ἐπὶ σίτου
κομιδὴν ἐπέμφθη μετὰ δέκα σπειρῶν· καὶ κατα-
διωχθεὶς ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου, τῶν Μιθριδάτου στρα-
τηγῶν ἑνός, ἀντέστη καὶ συμβαλὼν φόνον ἐποίησε
πολὺν καὶ τροπὴν τῶν πολεμίων. αὐτῷ δὲ πεμφ-
θέντος Ἀδριανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως, ὅπως ἐκ περιου-
σίας ἔχουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται σῖτον, οὐ περιεΐδε Μι-
θριδάτης, ἀλλ' ἀπέστειλε Μενέμαχον καὶ Μύρωνα
πολλῶν μὲν ἱππέων, πολλῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἡγουμένους.
- 2 οὗτοι πάντες, ὡς λέγεται, πλὴν δυεῖν κατεκόπη-
σαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Μιθριδάτης μὲν
ἔκρυπτε τὴν συμφορὰν ὡς οὐ τοσαύτην οὖσαν,
ἀλλὰ μικράν, προσκεκρουκότων ἀπειρία τῶν
στρατηγῶν, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ λαμπρὸς παρημείβετο
τὸ στρατόπεδον πολλὰς κατὰ γων ἀμάξας σίτου
καὶ λαφύρων γεμούσας, ὥστε δυσθυμίαν μὲν
αὐτῷ, ταραχὴν δὲ καὶ φόβον ἀμήχανον ἐμπεσεῖν
- 3 τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἐδέδοκτο μὲν οὖν μηκέτι
μένειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προεξέπεμπον οἱ βασιλικοὶ τὰ
σφέτερα χρήματα καθ' ἡσυχίαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
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LUCULLUS

his long watching and many hardships. Olthacus did not retire at the bidding of Menedemus, but declared that even in spite of him he would go in, since he wished to confer with the general on urgent business of great importance. Then Menedemus got angry, declared that nothing was more urgent than the preservation of Lucullus, and pushed the man away with both hands. Then Olthacus, in fear, left the camp, took horse, and rode off to the camp of Mithridates, without effecting his purpose. So true is it that in active life, as well as in sickness, it is the critical moment which gives the scales their saving or their fatal inclination.

XVII. After this, Sornatius was sent with ten cohorts to get supplies of grain. Being pursued by Menander, one of the generals of Mithridates, he faced about, joined battle, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. And again, when Adrian was sent out with a force to procure an abundance of grain for the soldiers, Mithridates did not look on idly, but dispatched Menemachus and Myron, at the head of a large body of cavalry and footmen. All these, it is said, except two, were cut to pieces by the Romans. Mithridates tried to conceal the extent of the disaster, pretending that it was a slight matter, and due to the inexperience of his generals. But when Adrian marched pompously past his camp, conveying many waggons laden with grain and booty, a great despair fell upon the king, and confusion and helpless fear upon his soldiers. They decided, therefore, to remain where they were no longer. But when the king's servants tried to send away their own baggage first, and to hinder the rest from going, the soldiers at once got angry, pushed and forced

ἐκώλουν, ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξόδους ὠθούμενοι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἤρπαζον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπέσφαττον. ὅπου καὶ Δορύλαος ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔχων ἢ τὴν πορφύραν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπώλετο διὰ ταύτην, Ἑρμαῖος δὲ ὁ θύτης κατεπατήθη περὶ τὰς πύλας.

- 4 Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Μιθριδάτης, οὔτε ὀπαδοῦ τινος οὔτε ἵπποκόμου παραμείναντος αὐτῷ, συνεξέπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀναμειγμένος, οὐδ' ἵππου· τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐπορήσας, ἀλλ' ὀψέ που κατιδὼν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ρέυματι τῆς τροπῆς ἐκείνης διαφερόμενον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ εὐνούχος ἵππον ἔχων αὐτὸς ἀπεπήδησε καὶ
- 5 παρέσχεν. ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεΐχον ἐπικείμενοι· καὶ τάχει μὲν οὐκ ἀπελίποντο τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἦλθον ἔγγιστα τούτου, φιλοπλουτία δὲ καὶ μικρολογία στρατιωτικὴ τὸ πολλοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις διωκόμενον ἐκ μακροῦ θήραμα Ῥωμαίους ἀφείλετο καὶ Δούκουλλον ἀπεστέρησε νικῶντα τῶν ἐπάθλων.
- 6 ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐφικτῷ τῆς διώξεως ὁ ὑπεκφέρων τὸν ἄνδρα ἵππος, ἡμιόνου δὲ τῶν τὸ χρυσίον κομιζόντων μεταξὺ τοῦ βασιλέως εἴτ' ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου παρεισπεσόντος, εἴτε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτηδες ἐμβαλόντος αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς διώκοντας, ἀρπάζοντες καὶ συλλέγοντες τὸ χρυσίον καὶ
- 7 διαμαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθυστέρησαν. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτῶν ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πλεονεξίας Δούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντα Καλλίστρατον ὁ μὲν ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, οἱ δ' ἄγοντες αἰσθόμενοι πεντακοσίους

LUCULLUS

their way to the exits of the camp, and there plundered the baggage and slew the men in charge of it. There it was that Dorylaüs, the general, with nothing else about him but his purple robe, lost his life for that, and Hermaeus, the priest, was trampled to death at the gates.

Mithridates himself, with no attendant or groom to assist him, fled away from the camp in the midst of the throng, not even provided with one of the royal horses; but at last the eunuch Ptolemaeus, who was mounted, spied him as he was borne along in the torrent of the rout, leaped down from his horse, and gave it to the king. Presently the Romans, who were forcing the pursuit, were hard upon him, and it was for no lack of speed that they did not take him. Indeed, they were very near doing so, but greed, and petty soldier's avarice, snatched from them the quarry which they had so long pursued in many struggles and great dangers, and robbed Lucullus of the victor's prize. For the horse which carried the king was just within reach of his pursuers, when one of the mules which carried the royal gold came between him and them, either of his own accord, or because the king purposely sent him into the path of pursuit. The soldiers fell to plundering and collecting the gold, fought with one another over it, and so were left behind in the chase. Nor was this the only fruit of their greed which Lucullus reaped. He had given orders that Callistratus, who was in charge of the king's private papers, should be brought alive to him, but his conductors, finding that he had five hundred pieces of gold in his girdle, slew him.

χρυσούς ὑπέζωσμένον ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τὸν χάρακα πορθῆσαι.

- XVIII. Τὰ δὲ Κάβειρα λαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φρουρίων τὰ πλεῖστα θησαυρούς τε μεγάλους εὔρε καὶ δεσμοπήρια, πολλῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων, πολλῶν δὲ συγγενῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καθειργμένων, οἷς πάσαι τεθνάναι δοκοῦσιν οὐ σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀναβίωσιν καὶ δευτέραν τινὰ γέννησιν ἢ Λουκούλου χάρις παρέσχευ. 503 ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου Νύσσα σωτήριον ἄλωσιν· αἱ δ' ἀπωτάτω τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀποκεῖσθαι δοκοῦσαι περὶ Φαρνάκειαν ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες οἰκτρῶς ἀπώλonton, Μιθριδάτου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς Βακχίδην εὐνοῦχον. ἦσαν δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἀδελφαί τε δύο τοῦ βασιλέως, Ῥωξάνη καὶ Στάτειρα, περὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη παρθενεύουσαι, καὶ γαμεταὶ δύο, γένος Ἰωνίδες, Βερενίκη μὲν ἐκ Χίου, Μονίμη δὲ Μιλησία.
- 3 ταύτης ὁ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅτι τοῦ βασιλέως πειρῶντος αὐτὴν καὶ μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους χρυσοῦς προσπέμψαντος ἀντέσχε, μέχρι οὐ γάμων ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι καὶ διάδημα πέμψας αὐτῇ βασιλίσσαν ἀνηγόρευσεν. αὕτη καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνιαρῶς εἶχε καὶ ἀπεθρήνει τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐμορφίαν, ὥς δεσπότην μὲν ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ, φρουρὰν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀντὶ γάμου καὶ οἴκου προξενήσασαν, πόρρω δὲ πού τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπφικισμένη τοῖς ἐλπισθεῖσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὄναρ σύνεστι, τῶν δ' ἀληθινῶν ἐκείνων ἀπεστέρηται,

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However, Lucullus allowed such soldiers as these to plunder the enemy's camp.

XVIII. In capturing Cabira and most of the other strongholds, he found great treasures, and many prisons, in which many Greeks and many kinsfolk of the king were confined. As they had long been given up for dead, it was not so much a rescue as it was a resurrection and a sort of second birth, for which they were indebted to the favour of Lucullus. Nyssa, a sister of Mithridates, was also captured; and her capture was her salvation. But the sisters and wives of the king who were thought to be at farthest remove from danger and quietly hidden away in Pharnacia, perished pitifully, since Mithridates paused long enough in his flight to send Bacchides, a eunuch, to compass their death. Among many other women, there were two sisters of the king, Roxana and Statira, about forty years old and unmarried; and two of his wives, of Ionian families, Berenicé from Chios, and Monimé, a Milesian. The latter was most talked of among the Greeks, to the effect that though the king tempted her virtue and sent her fifteen thousand pieces of gold, she resisted his advances, until he entered into a marriage contract with her, sent her a diadem, and greeted her with the title of Queen. But her marriage had been an unhappy one, and she bewailed that beauty which had procured her a master instead of a husband, and a guard of Barbarians instead of home and family, dwelling as she did far, far away from Greece, where the blessings for which she had hoped existed only in her dreams, while she was bereft of the real blessings to which she had been wonted.

- 4 Καὶ δὴ τοῦ Βακχίδου παραγενομένου καὶ προστάξαντος αὐταῖς ἀποθνήσκειν, ὥς ἐκάστη δοκοίη ῥᾶστον εἶναι καὶ ἀλυπότατον, περισπᾶσασα τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ διάδημα τῷ τραχήλῳ περιήψε καὶ ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτήν. ταχὺ δ' ἀπορραγέντος "ὦ κατηραμένον," ἔφη, "ῥάκος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτό μοι χρήσιμον ἔσῃ;" καὶ κείμενον μὲν ἀπέρριψε προσπτύσασα, τῷ δὲ Βακχίδῃ τὴν
 5 σφαγὴν παρέσχεν. ἡ δὲ Βερενίκη κύλικα φαρμάκου λαβοῦσα, τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῇ παρούσης καὶ δεομένης, μετέδωκε. καὶ συνεξέπιον μὲν ἀμφοτέραι, ἤρκεσε δὲ ἡ τοῦ φαρμάκου δύναμις εἰς τὸ ἀσθενέστερον σῶμα, τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει πιούσαν οὐκ ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ δυσθανατοῦσα
 6 τοῦ Βακχίδου σπεύδοντος ἀπεπνίγη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων ἀδελφῶν ἐκείνων τὴν μὲν ἐπαρωμένην πολλὰ καὶ λοιδοροῦσαν ἐκπτεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, τὴν δὲ Στάτειραν οὔτε δύσφημόν τι φθελγασμένην οὔτ' ἀγεννές, ἀλλ' ἐπαινοῦσαν τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδυνεύων οὐκ ἡμέλησεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ προϋνόησεν ἐλευθέρως καὶ ἀνυβρίστους ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν φύσει χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἡνία τὸν Λούκουλλον.

XIX. Ἐλάσας δ' ἄχρι Ταλαύρων, ἔνθεν ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ πρότερον ἐφθάκει Μιθριδάτης εἰς Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς Τιγράνην πεφευγώς, ἀποτρέπεται. καταστρεφάμενος δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν παραλαβὼν καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις παραστησάμενος, Ἀππίον μὲν ἔπεμψε πρὸς Τιγράνην ἐξαιτῶν Μιθριδάτην, αὐτὸς
 2 δ' ἦκε πρὸς Ἀμισὸν ἔτι πολιορκουμένην. αἷτιος
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And now Bacchides came and ordered them all to die, in whatever manner each might deem easiest and most painless. Monimé snatched the diadem from her head, fastened it round her neck, and hanged herself. But her halter quickly broke in two. "O cursed bauble," she cried, "couldst thou not serve me even in this office?" Then she spat upon it, hurled it from her, and offered her throat to Bacchides. But Berenicé, taking a cup of poison, shared it with her mother, who stood at her side and begged for some. Together they drank it off, and the force of the poison sufficed for the weaker body, but it did not carry off Berenicé, who had not drunk enough. As she was long in dying, and Bacchides was in a hurry, she was strangled. It is said also that of the unmarried sisters, one drank off her poison with many abusive imprecations on her brother; but that Statira did so without uttering a single reproachful or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother because, when his own life was at hazard, he had not neglected them, but had taken measures to have them die in freedom and under no insults. Of course these things gave pain to Lucullus, who was naturally of a gentle and humane disposition.

XIX. Lucullus pushed on in pursuit as far as Talaura, whence, four days before, Mithridates had succeeded in escaping to Tigranes, in Armenia; then he turned aside. After subduing the Chaldaeans and the Tibareni, he occupied Lesser Armenia, reducing its fortresses and cities, and then sent Appius to Tigranes with a demand for Mithridates. He himself, however, came to Amisus, which was still holding out against the siege. Its success in

δ' ἦν Καλλίμαχος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐμπειρία μηχανικῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ δεινότητι πανουργίας, ὅσην πολιορκία δέχεται, πλεῖστα λυπήσας Ῥωμαίους· ὧν ὕστερον ἔδωκε δίκην. τότε δ' ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου καταστρατηγηθεῖς, ὑφ' ἣν ἔθος εἶχεν ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπάγειν καὶ ἀναπαύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐν ἐκείνῃ προσβαλόντος αἰφνιδίως καὶ κατασχόντος οὐ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους, αὐτὸς ἐκλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆψεν, εἴτε φθονῶν ὠφελθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις, εἴτε ῥαστώνην φυγῆς ἑαυτῷ μηχανώμενος. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐφρόντιζε τῶν ἐκπλεόντων, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἡ φλόξ ἀναδραμούσα πολλὰ τὰ τείχη περιέσχεν, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν, ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος οἰκτείρων ἀπολυμένην τὴν πόλιν ἔξωθεν ἐβοήθει πρὸς τὸ πῦρ καὶ σβεννύναι παρεκάλει, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, ἀλλ' ἐξαιτουμένων τὰ χρήματα καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ὄπλα κρουόντων, ἕως ἐκβιασθεὶς ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡς αὐτὴν γε τὴν πόλιν ἐξαιρεσόμενος τοῦ πυρός.

οἱ δὲ τοῦναντίον ἔπραξαν. πάντα γὰρ ἐξερευνῶντες ὑπὸ λαμπάδων καὶ πανταχοῦ φῶς ἐπιφέροντες αὐτοὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν οἰκημάτων καθείλον, ὥστε τὸν Λούκουλλον εἰσελθόντα μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ δακρύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς 504

πολλάκις ἤδη Σύλλαν μακαρίσας μάλιστα τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν τάνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν θαυμάσειεν, 5 ὅτι σῶσαι βουλευθεὶς ἐδυνήθη τὰς Ἀθήνας. “ Ἐμὲ

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this was due to Callimachus, its commander, who, by his acquaintance with mechanical contrivances and his power to employ every resource which the siege of a city demands, had given the Romans the greatest annoyance. For this he afterwards paid the penalty. But at this time, he was simply out-generalled by Lucullus, who made a sudden attack at just that time of day when Callimachus was accustomed to draw his soldiers off from the ramparts and give them a rest. When the Romans had got possession of a small part of the wall, Callimachus abandoned the city, first setting fire to it with his own hands, either because he begrudged the visitors their booty, or because his own escape was thus facilitated. For no one paid any attention to those who were sailing away, but when the flames increased mightily and enveloped the walls, the soldiers made ready to plunder the houses. Lucullus, out of pity for the perishing city, tried to bring aid from outside against the fire, and gave orders to extinguish the flames, but no one paid any heed to his commands. The soldiers all clamoured for the booty, and shouted, and clashed their shields and spears together, until he was forced to let them have their way, hoping that he could at least save the city itself from the flames. But the soldiers did just the opposite. Ransacking everything by torch-light and carrying lights about everywhere, they destroyed most of the houses themselves. When Lucullus entered the city at daybreak, he burst into tears, and said to his friends that he had often already deemed Sulla happy, and on that day more than ever he admired the man's good fortune, in that when he wished to save Athens, he had the power to do so. "But upon

δ’,” ἔφη, “τούτου ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον εἰς τὴν Μομμίου δόξαν ὁ δαίμων περιέστησεν.”

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναλαμβάνειν ἐπειράτο τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὄμβροι κατέσβεσαν ἐκ τινος θείας τύχης περὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτὴν συμπεσόντες, τὰ δὲ πλείστα τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸς ἔτι παρὼν ἀνφοδόμησε, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας Ἀμισσηνῶν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων κατώκισε τοὺς βουλομένους, εἴκοσι καὶ 6 ἑκατὸν σταδίων χώραν προσορίσας. ἦν δ’ ἡ πόλις Ἀθηναίων ἄποικος, ἐν ἐκείνοις ἄρα τοῖς καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς ἠκμαζεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν καὶ κατεῖχε τὴν θάλασσαν, οἰκισθεῖσα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ τῶν τὴν Ἀριστίωνος τυραννίδα βουλομένων φεύγειν εἰσπλεύσαντες αὐτοῦ κατώκουν καὶ μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας, οἷς συνέβη τὰ οἰκεία κακὰ φεύγουσιν ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε σωθέντας αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀμφιέσας καλῶς καὶ διακοσίας ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς ἐπιδοὺς ἀπέστειλε. 7 τότε καὶ Τυραννίων ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐάλω· Μουρήνας δ’ αὐτὸν ἐξητήσατο καὶ λαβὼν ἀπηλευθέρωσεν, ἀνελευθέρως τῇ δωρεᾷ χρησάμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἡξίου Λούκουλλος ἄνδρα διὰ παιδείαν ἐσπουδασμένον δοῦλον γενέσθαι πρότερον, εἰτ’ ἀπελευθερον. ἀφαίρεσις γὰρ ἦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἢ τῆς δοκούσης ἐλευθερίας δόσις. ἀλλὰ Μουρήνας μὲν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον ὥφθη πολὺ τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καλοκαγαθίας ἀποδέων.

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me," he said, "who have been so eager to imitate his example, Heaven has devolved the reputation of Mummius."

However, as far as circumstances allowed, he endeavoured to restore the city. The fire, indeed, had been quenched by showers which fell providentially just as the city was captured, and most of what the soldiers had destroyed he rebuilt himself before his departure. He also received into the city those of the Amisenes who had fled, and settled there any other Greeks who so desired, and added to the city's domain a tract of a hundred and twenty stadia. The city was a colony of Athens, founded in that period when her power was at its height and she controlled the sea. And this was the reason why many who wished to escape the tyranny of Aristion¹ at Athens sailed to Amisus, settled there, and became citizens. In flying from evils at home, they got the benefit of greater evils abroad. But those of them who survived were well clothed by Lucullus, and sent back home, with a present of two hundred drachmas apiece. Tyrannio the grammarian was also taken prisoner at this time. Murena asked to have him as his own prize, and on getting him, formally gave him his liberty, therein making an illiberal use of the gift which he had received. For Lucullus did not think it meet that a man so esteemed for his learning should first become a slave, and then be set at liberty. To give him a nominal liberty was to rob him of the liberty to which he was born. But this was not the only case in which Murena was found to be far inferior to his commander in nobility of conduct.

¹ Tyrant of Athens when the city was besieged by Sulla, 87 B.C.

- XX. Λούκουλλος δὲ τρέπεται πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὅπως, τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων σχολάζοντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ δίκης τινὸς μετὰσχη καὶ θεσμῶν, ὧν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδεὴ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν οὖσαν ἄρρητοι καὶ ἄπιστοι δυστυχίαι κατεῖχον, ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ τῶν δανειστῶν πορθουμένην καὶ ἀνδραποδιζομένην, πιπράσκειν ἰδίᾳ μὲν υἱοὺς εὐπρεπεῖς θυγατέρας τε παρθένους, δημοσίᾳ δ' ἀναθήματα, γραφάς, ἱεροὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀναγκαζομένων. αὐτοῖς δὲ τέλος μὲν ἦν προσθέτοις γενομένοις δουλεύειν, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτου χαλεπώτερα, σχοινισμοὶ καὶ κιγκλίδες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ στάσεις ὑπαιθροί, καύματος μὲν ἐν ἡλίῳ, ψύχους δ' εἰς πηλὸν ἐμβιβαζομένων ἢ πάγον, ὥστε τὴν δουλείαν σεισάχθειαν δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ εἰρήνην.
- 3 τοιαῦτα μὲν κακὰ Λούκουλλος εὐρὼν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πάντων ἀπήλλαξε τοὺς ἀδικουμένους.

- Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἑκατοστὴν ἐκέλευσε καὶ μὴ πλεόν εἰς τοὺς τόκους λογίζεσθαι· δεῦτερον δὲ τοὺς μακροτέρους τοῦ ἀρχαίου τόκους ἀπέκοψε· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ μέγιστον, ἔταξε τῶν τοῦ χρεωφειλέτου προσόδων τὴν τετάρτην μερίδα καρποῦσθαι τὸν δανειστὴν· ὁ δὲ τόκον κεφαλαίῳ
- 4 συνάψας ἐστέρητο τοῦ παντός· ὥστ' ἐν ἐλάττονι χρόνῳ τετραετίας διαλυθῆναι τὰ χρέα πάντα καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἐλευθέρως ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς δεσπόταις. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν δάνειον ἐκ τῶν δισμυρίων ταλάντων, οἷς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημίωσεν ὁ Σύλλας· καὶ διπλοῦν ἀπεδόθη τοῖς δανείσασιν, ὑπ' ἐκείνων

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XX. Lucullus now turned his attention to the cities in Asia,¹ in order that, while he was at leisure from military enterprises, he might do something for the furtherance of justice and law. Through long lack of these, unspeakable and incredible misfortunes were rife in the province. Its people were plundered and reduced to slavery by the tax-gatherers and money-lenders. Families were forced to sell their comely sons and virgin daughters, and cities their votive offerings, pictures, and sacred statues. At last men had to surrender to their creditors and serve them as slaves, but what preceded this was far worse,—tortures of rope, barrier, and horse ; standing under the open sky in the blazing sun of summer, and in winter, being thrust into mud or ice. Slavery seemed, by comparison, to be disburdenment and peace. Such were the evils which Lucullus found in the cities, and in a short time he freed the oppressed from all of them.

In the first place, he ordered that the monthly rate of interest should be reckoned at one per cent., and no more ; in the second place, he cut off all interest that exceeded the principal ; third, and most important of all, he ordained that the lender should receive not more than the fourth part of his debtor's income, and any lender who added interest to principal was deprived of the whole. Thus, in less than four years' time, the debts were all paid, and the properties restored to their owners unencumbered. This public debt had its origin in the twenty thousand talents which Sulla had laid upon Asia as a contribution, and twice this amount had been paid back to the money-lenders. Yet now, by

¹ 71-70 B.C.

ἀνηγμένον ἤδη τοῖς τόκοις εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας
 5 ταλάντων. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὥς δεινὰ πεπονθότες
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Λουκούλλου κατεβόων, καὶ χρή-
 μασιν ἀνίστασαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐνίους τῶν δημαγωγῶν,
 μέγα δυνάμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπόχρεως πεπονη-
 μένοι τῶν πολιτευομένων. ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος οὐ
 μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐ πεπονθότων ἡγαπάτο δῆμων,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις ποθεινὸς ἦν,
 εὐδαιμονίζουσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνος τοιούτου τυ-
 χόντας.

XXI. Ἀππίος δὲ Κλώδιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς πρὸς
 Τιγράνην (ἦν δὲ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀδελφὸς τῆς τότε 505
 Λουκούλλῳ συνοικούσης) πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
 βασιλικῶν ὁδηγῶν κύκλον τινὰ καὶ περιβολὴν
 ἔχουσιν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πολυήμερον ὁδὸν διὰ
 τῆς ἄνω χώρας ἀγόμενος, μηνύσαντος αὐτῷ τὴν
 εὐθείαν ὁδὸν ἀπελευθέρου Σύρου τὸ γένος, ἐκ-
 τρέπεται τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ σοφιστικῆς,
 ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀγωγοῖς,
 καὶ δι' ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τὸν Εὐφράτην περάσας
 2 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἦκε τὴν ἐπὶ Δάφνης. ἔπειτα
 Τιγράνην αὐτοῦ κελευσθεὶς περιμένειν (ἀπὴν γὰρ
 ἐνίας ἔτι τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ πόλεων καταστρεφό-
 μενος), πολλοὺς μὲν ὠκειώσατο τῶν ὑπούλως
 ἀκροωμένων τοῦ Ἀρμενίου δυναστῶν, ὧν εἰς ἦν
 καὶ Ζαρβιηνὸς ὁ τῆς Γορδυηνῆς βασιλεὺς,
 πολλαῖς δὲ κρύφα τῶν δεδουλωμένων πόλεων
 διαπεμπομέναις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο τὴν Λου-
 κούλλου βοήθειαν, ἐν τῷ παρόντι κελεύσας
 ἡσυχάζειν.
 3 Ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸς ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴ

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- reckoning usurious interest, they had brought the total debt up to a hundred and twenty thousand talents. These men, accordingly, considered themselves outraged, and raised a clamour against Lucullus at Rome. They also bribed some of the tribunes to proceed against him, being men of great influence, who had got many of the active politicians into their debt. Lucullus, however, was not only beloved by the peoples whom he had benefited, nay, other provinces also longed to have him set over them, and felicitated those whose good fortune it was to have such a governor.

XXI. Appius Clodius, who had been sent to Tigranes (Clodius was a brother of her who was then the wife of Lucullus), was at first conducted by the royal guides through the upper country by a route needlessly circuitous and long. But when a freedman of his, who was a Syrian, told him of the direct route, he left the long one which was being trickily imposed upon him, bade his Barbarian guides a long farewell, and within a few days crossed the Euphrates and came to Antioch by Daphne.¹ Then, being ordered to await Tigranes there (the king was still engaged in subduing some cities of Phoenicia), he gained over many of the princes who paid but a hollow obedience to the Armenian. One of these was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. He also promised many of the enslaved cities, when they sent to confer with him secretly, the assistance of Lucullus, although for the present he bade them keep quiet.

Now the sway of the Armenians was intolerably

¹ The great Antioch on the river Orontes. Daphne was the name of a grove near the city consecrated to Apollo.

- τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ χαλεπή· καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα τραγικὸν καὶ ὑπερογκον ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐτυχίαις ἐγεγόνει, πάντων, ὅσα ζηλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, οὐ μόνον ὄντων περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτὸν
- 4 γεγονέναι δοκούντων. ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ καταφρονουμένης ἐλπίδος ἔβη πολλὰ κατεστρέψατο, καὶ τὴν Πάρθων, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, δύναμιν ἐταπείνωσεν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τὴν Μεσσοποταμίαν ἐνέπλησε, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ Κιλικίας, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ Καππαδοκίας ἀνασπάστους κατοικίζων. ἐκίνησε δ' ἐξ ἡθῶν καὶ Ἀραβας τοὺς Σκηνίτας μεταγαγὼν καὶ πλησίον ἰδρύσας, ὅπως
- 5 χρῶτο δι' ἐκείνων ταῖς ἐμπορίαις. βασιλεῖς δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτόν, τέσσαρες δέ, οὓς αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτόν εἶχεν ὥσπερ ὀπαδοὺς ἢ δορυφόρους, ἱππότη μὲν ἐλαύνοντι πεζοὺς παραθέοντας ἐν χιτωνίσκοις, καθημένῳ δὲ καὶ χρηματίζοντι περιεστῶτας ἐπηλλαγμέναις δι' ἀλλήλων ταῖς χερσίν, ὅπερ ἐδόκει μάλιστα τῶν σχημάτων ἐξομολόγησις εἶναι δουλείας, οἷον ἀποδομένων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κυρίῳ παρεχόντων παθεῖν ἐτοιμότερον ἢ ποιῆσαι.
- 6 Ταύτην μέντοι τὴν τραγωδίαν οὐχ ὑποτρέσας οὐδ' ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Ἀππίος, ὡς ἔτυχε λόγου πρῶτον, ἀντικρυς ἤκειν ἔφη Μιθριδάτην ἀπάξων ὀφειλόμενον τοῖς Λουκούλλου θριαμβοῖς ἢ καταγεγῶν Τιγράνη πόλεμον, ὥστε τὸν Τιγράνην, καίπερ ἐν διαχύσει τοῦ προσώπου καὶ μειδιάματι πεπλασμένῳ πειρώμενον ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, μὴ λαθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ἡλλοιωμένον τῇ παρρησίᾳ τοῦ νεανίσκου, φωνῆς σχεδὸν ἐλευθέρας ἀκούοντα

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grievous to the Greeks. Above all else, the spirit of the king himself had become pompous and haughty in the midst of his great prosperity. All the things which most men covet and admire, he not only had in his possession, but actually thought that they existed for his sake. For though he had started on his career with small and insignificant expectations, he had subdued many nations, humbled the Parthian power as no man before him had done, and filled Mesopotamia with Greeks whom he removed in great numbers from Cilicia and from Cappadocia, and settled anew. He also removed from their wonted haunts the nomadic Arabians, and brought them to an adjacent settlement, that he might employ them in trade and commerce. Many were the kings who waited upon him, and four, whom he always had about him like attendants or body-guards, would run on foot by their master's side when he rode out, clad in short blouses, and when he sat transacting business, would stand by with their arms crossed. This attitude was thought to be the plainest confession of servitude, as if they had sold their freedom and offered their persons to their master disposed for suffering rather than for service.

Appius, however, was not frightened or astonished at all this pomp and show, but as soon as he obtained an audience, told the king plainly that he was come to take back Mithridates, as an ornament due to the triumph of Lucullus, or else to declare war against Tigranes. Although Tigranes made every effort to listen to this speech with a cheerful countenance and a forced smile, he could not hide from the bystanders his discomfiture at the bold words of the young man. It must have been five and twenty

διὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν· τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἐβασί-
 7 λευσε, μᾶλλον δὲ ὕβρισεν. ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν οὖν
 τῷ Ἀππίῳ μὴ προήσασθαι Μιθριδάτην, καὶ
 Ῥωμαίους πολέμου ἄρχοντας ἀμυνεῖσθαι. Λου-
 κούλλῳ δ' ὀργιζόμενος, ὅτι βασιλέα μόνον αὐτόν,
 οὐ βασιλέων ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ προσηγόρευσεν,
 οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀντιγράφων αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπεν.
 ἔπεμψε δὲ δῶρα τῷ Ἀππίῳ λαμπρά, καὶ μὴ λαβόν-
 τος ἄλλα πλείω προσέθηκεν. ἐκ τούτων ὁ Ἀππίος
 οὐκ ἐθέλων δοκεῖν ἔχθρα τινὶ διωθεῖσθαι φιάλην
 δεξάμενος μίαν ἀπέπεμψε τὰ λοιπά, καὶ διὰ
 ταχέων ἀπήλαυνε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα.

XXII. Τιγράνης δὲ Μιθριδάτην πρότερον μὲν
 οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν ἤξιωσεν οὐδὲ προσεῖπεν οἰκείον ἄνδρα
 βασιλείας ἐκπεπτωκότα τηλικαύτης, ἀλλ' ἀτίμως
 καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀπωτάτω περιεῖδεν αὐτὸν τρό-
 πον τινὰ φρουρούμενον ἐν χωρίοις ἐλώδεσι καὶ
 νοσεροῖς· τότε δὲ σὺν τιμῇ καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ
 2 μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ δὴ
 λόγων γενομένων ἀπορρήτων τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους 506
 ἐθεράπευον ὑποψίας ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν φίλων, εἰς
 ἐκείνους τὰς αἰτίας τρέποντες. ὧν ἦν καὶ
 Μητρόδωρος ὁ Σκήψιος, ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀηδὴς
 καὶ πολυμαθής, ἀκμῇ δὲ φιλίας τοσαύτῃ χρησά-
 μενος, ὥστε πατὴρ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ βασι-
 3 λέως. τοῦτον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ Τιγράνης πεμφθέντα
 πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς αὐτὸν
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years since he had listened to a free speech. That was the length of his reign, or rather, of his wanton tyranny. However, he replied to Appius that he would not surrender Mithridates, and that if the Romans began war, he would defend himself. He was vexed with Lucullus for addressing him in his letter with the title of King only, and not King of Kings, and accordingly, in his reply, would not address Lucullus as Emperor. But he sent splendid gifts to Appius, and when he would not take them, added more besides. Appius finally accepted a single bowl from among them, not wishing his rejection of the king's offers to seem prompted by any personal enmity, but sent back the rest, and marched off with all speed to join the Emperor.

XXII. Up to this time Tigranes had not deigned to see Mithridates, nor speak to him, though the man was allied to him by marriage, and had been expelled from such a great kingdom. Instead, he had kept him at the farthest remove possible, in disgrace and contumely, and had suffered him to be held a sort of prisoner in marshy and sickly regions. Now, however, he summoned him to his palace with marks of esteem and friendship. There, in secret conference, they strove to allay their mutual suspicions at the expense of their friends, by laying the blame upon them. One of these was Metrodorus of Scepsis, a man of agreeable speech and wide learning, who enjoyed the friendship of Mithridates in such a high degree that he was called the king's father. This man, as it seems, had once been sent as an ambassador from Mithridates to Tigranes, with a request for aid against the Romans. On this

- δεομένου βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἤρετο. “Σὺ δ’ αὐτός, ὦ Μητρόδωρε, τί μοι περὶ τούτων παραινεῖς;” κακέϊνος εἶτε πρὸς τὸ Τιγράνου συμφέρον εἶτε Μιθριδάτην σώζεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος, ὥς μὲν πρεσβευτῆς ἔφη κελεύειν, ὥς δὲ σύμβουλος ἀπαγορεύειν. ταῦτ’ ἐξήνεγκεν ὁ Τιγράνης τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ κατεῖπεν ὥς οὐδὲν ἐργασομένῳ τὸν
- 4 Μητρόδωρον ἀνήκεστον. ὁ δ’ εὐθύς ἀνήρητο· καὶ μετάνοια τὸν Τιγράνην εἶχεν, οὐ παντελῶς ὄντα τῷ Μητροδώρῳ τῆς συμφορᾶς αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ ῥοπὴν τινα τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθρῳ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου προσθέντα. πάλαι γὰρ ὑπούλως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐφωράθη τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ γραμμάτων ἀλόντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Μητρόδωρον ἀπολέσθαι διατεταγμένον. ἔθαψεν οὖν ὁ Τιγράνης λαμπρῶς τὸ σῶμα, μηδεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φεισάμενος εἰς νεκρὸν ὃν ζῶντα προὔδωκεν.
- 5 Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ παρὰ τῷ Τιγράνῃ καὶ Ἀμφικράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τούτου μνήμην τινα γενέσθαι διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας. λέγεται γὰρ φυγεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς Σελεύκειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Τίγριδι, δεομένων δ’ αὐτόθι σοφιστεύειν ὑπεριδεῖν καταλαξο-
νευσάμενον, ὥς οὐδὲ λεκάνῃ δελφίνα χωροίη, μεταστάντα δὲ πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Μιθριδάτου θυγατέρα, Τιγράνην δὲ συνοικοῦσαν ἐν διαβολῇ γενέσθαι ταχύ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιμιξίας εἰργόμενον ἀποκαρτερῆσαι· ταφῆναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἐντίμως ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας καὶ

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occasion Tigranes asked him: "But what is your own advice to me, Metrodorus, in this matter?" Whereupon Metrodorus, either with an eye to the interests of Tigranes, or because he did not wish Mithridates to be saved, said that as an ambassador he urged consent, but as an adviser he forbade it. Tigranes disclosed this to Mithridates, not supposing, when he told him, that he would punish Metrodorus past all healing. But Metrodorus was at once put out of the way. Then Tigranes repented of what he had done, although he was not entirely to blame for the death of Metrodorus. He merely gave an impulse, as it were, to the hatred which Mithridates already had for the man. For he had long been secretly hostile to him, as was seen from his private papers when they were captured, in which there were directions that Metrodorus, as well as others, be put to death. Accordingly, Tigranes gave the body of Metrodorus a splendid burial, sparing no expense upon the man when dead, although he had betrayed him when alive.

Amphicrates, the rhetorician, also lost his life at the court of Tigranes, if, for the sake of Athens, we may make some mention of him too. It is said that when he was exiled from his native city, he went to Seleucia on the Tigris, and that when the citizens asked him to give lectures there, he treated their invitation with contempt, arrogantly remarking that a stewpan could not hold a dolphin. Removing thence, he attached himself to Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates and wife of Tigranes, but speedily fell into disfavour, and, being excluded from intercourse with Greeks, starved himself to death. He also received honourable burial at the hands of

κεῖσθαι περὶ Σαφύν, ἐκεῖ τι χωρίον οὕτω κυλούμενον.

- XXIII. Λούκουλλος δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλῆς μὲν εὐνομίας, πολλῆς δ' εἰρήνης ἐμπεπληκὼς οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ πομπαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐπινικίοις καὶ ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν καὶ μονομάχων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καθήμενος ἐδημαγωγεῖ τὰς πόλεις, αἱ δ' ἀμειβόμεναι Λουκούλλειά τε ἦγον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἡδίονα
- 2 τὴν ἀληθινὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῷ παρεῖχον. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀππίος τε ἦκε καὶ πολεμητέον πρὸς Τιγράνην ἐφαίνετο, παρήλθεν αὐθις εἰς Πόντον, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Σινώπην, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν βασιλικούς Κίλικας, οἱ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντες τῶν Σινωπέων, τὴν
- 3 δὲ πόλιν ἐμπρήσαντες διὰ νυκτὸς ἔφυγον. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀκτακισχιλίους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπέδωκε τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη μάλιστα διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ὄψιν. ἐδόκει τινὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἰπεῖν παραστάντα· “Πρόελθε, Λούκουλλε, μικρόν ἤκει γὰρ
- 4 Αὐτόλυκος ἐντυχεῖν σοι βουλόμενος.” ἔξαναστὰς δὲ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὃ τι φέροι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἶλε κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας τῶν Κιλικῶν διώκων ὁρᾷ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνδριάντα κείμενον, ὃν ἐκκομίζοντες οἱ Κίλικες οὐκ ἔφθησαν ἐμβαλέσθαι· τὸ δ' ἔργον ἦν Σθένιδος τῶν καλῶν. φράζει οὖν τις, ὡς Αὐτολύκου τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν Σινώπην ὁ ἀνδριάς εἶη.

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Cleopatra, and his body lies at Sapha, as a place in those parts is called.

XXIII. Lucullus, after filling Asia full of law and order, and full of peace, did not neglect the things which minister to pleasure and win favour, but during his stay at Ephesus gratified the cities with processions and triumphal festivals and contests of athletes and gladiators. And the cities, in response, celebrated festivals which they called Lucullea, to do honour to the man, and bestowed upon him what is sweeter than honour, their genuine good-will. But when Appius came, and it was plain that war must be waged against Tigranes, he went back into Pontus, put himself at the head of his soldiers, and laid siege to Sinopé, or rather, to the Cilicians who were occupying that city for the king. These slew many of the Sinopians, fired the city, and set out to fly by night. But Lucullus saw what was going on, made his way into the city, and slew eight thousand of the Cilicians who were still there. Then he restored to the citizens their private property, and ministered to the needs of the city, more especially on account of the following vision. He thought in his sleep that a form stood by his side and said: "Go forward a little, Lucullus; for Autolycus is come, and wishes to meet you." On rising from sleep, he was unable to conjecture what the vision meant; but he took the city on that day, and as he pursued the Cilicians who were sailing away, he saw a statue lying on the beach, which the Cilicians had not succeeded in getting on board with them. It was the work of Sthenis, and one of his master-pieces. Well then, some one told Lucullus that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinopé.

- 5 Λέγεται δ' ὁ Αὐτόλυκος γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἐκ Θετταλίας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατευσάντων, Δηϊμάχου παῖς· ἐκείθεν δ' ἀποπλέων ἄμα Δημολέοντι καὶ Φλογίῳ τὴν μὲν ναὺν ἀπολέσαι περιπεσοῦσαν τῆς Χερρονήσου κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Πηδάλιον, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων 507 καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων πρὸς τὴν Σινώπην ἀφελέσθαι
- 6 τοὺς Σύρους τὴν πόλιν· Σύροι γὰρ αὐτὴν κατεῖχον ἀπὸ Σύρου γεγονότες τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ Σινώπης τῆς Ἀσωπίδος.

Ταῦτ' ἀκούων ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀνεμιμνήσκετο τῆς Σύλλα παραινέσεως· παρήνει δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκεῖνος μηδὲν οὕτως ἀξιόπιστον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ βέβαιον, ὥς ὃ τι ἂν ἀποσημανθῇ διὰ τῶν ἐνυπνίων.

- 7 Πυνθανόμενος δὲ Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην εἰς Λυκαονίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ὅσον οὐπω διαβιβάξειν δύναμιν ὡς προτέρους ἐμβαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐθαύμαζε τὸν Ἀρμένιον, εἰ γνώμην ἔχων ἐπιθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀκμάζοντι μὲν οὐκ ἐχρήτο Μιθριδάτῃ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐδ' ἐρρωμένοις τοῖς ἐκείνου τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ συνῆπτεν, ἀπολέσθαι δ' ἑάσας καὶ συντριβῆναι νῦν ἐπὶ ψυχραῖς ἐλπίσιν ἄρχεται πολέμου τοῖς ἀναστήναι μὴ δυναμένοις συγκαταβάλλων ἑαυτόν.

XXIV. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ Μιθριδάτου παῖς ἔχων τὸν Βόσπορον ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ στέφανον ἀπὸ χρυσῶν χιλίων, δεόμενος Ῥωμαίων ἀναγραφῆναι φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος, ἤδη οἰόμενος τὰ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου πέρας ἔχειν Σωρνάτιον

LUCULLUS

Now Autolyceus is said to have been one of those who made an expedition with Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons, a son of Deïmachus. On his voyage of return, in company with Demoleon and Phlogius, he lost his ship, which was wrecked at the place called Pedalium, in the Chersonesus; but he himself escaped, with his arms and his companions, and coming to Sinopé, took the city away from the Syrians. These Syrians who were in possession of the city were descended, as it is said, from Syrus, the son of Apollo, and Sinopé, the daughter of Asopis.

On hearing this, Lucullus called to mind the advice of Sulla, in his Memoirs, which was to think nothing so trustworthy and sure as that which is signified by dreams.

Being informed now that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia, with the purpose of invading Asia before war was actually declared, he was amazed that the Armenian, if he cherished the design of attacking the Romans, had not made use of Mithridates for this war when he was at the zenith of his power, nor joined forces with him when he was strong, but had allowed him to be crushed and ruined, and now began a war which offered only faint hopes of success, prostrating himself to the level of those who were unable to stand erect.

XXIV. But when Machares also, the son of Mithridates, who held the Bosphorus, sent Lucullus a crown valued at a thousand pieces of gold, begging to be included in the list of Rome's friends and allies, Lucullus decided at once that the first war was finished. He therefore left Sornatius there

- μὲν αὐτοῦ φύλακα τῶν Ποντικῶν ἀπέλιπε μετὰ
 2 στρατιωτῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, αὐτὸς δὲ μυρίους μὲν
 ἄγων καὶ δισχιλίους πεζοὺς, ἵππεις δὲ τρισχιλίων
 ἐλάττους, ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἐχώρει πόλεμον, ὁρμῇ
 τινι δοκῶν παραβόλῳ καὶ σωτήριον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ
 λογισμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔθνη μάχιμα καὶ
 μυριάδας ἱππέων πολλὰς καὶ ἀχανῆ χώραν,
 βαθέσι μὲν ποταμοῖς, αἰεὶ δὲ καταनिφομένοις ὄρεσι
 3 περιεχομένην, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας οὐδ'
 ἄλλως ὄντας εὐτάκτους ἄκοντας ἔπεσθαι καὶ
 ζυγομαχοῦντας, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καταβοᾶν καὶ δια-
 μαρτύρεσθαι τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὡς πόλεμον ἐκ
 πολέμου διώκει Λούκουλλος οὐδὲν τῆς πόλεως
 δεομένης, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγῶν μηδέποτε
 καταθέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα μηδὲ παύσασθαι χρηματιζό-
 4 μενος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν κινδύνων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν
 ἐξειργάσαντο χρόνῳ τὴν αὐτῶν ὑπόθεσιν. Λού-
 κουλλος δὲ συντόνως ὁδεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην,
 καὶ κατιόντα πολὺν καὶ θολερὸν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος
 εὐρών, ἥσχαλλεν, ὡς διατριβῆς αὐτῷ καὶ πραγ-
 ματείας ἐσομένης συνάγοντι πορθμεῖα καὶ πηγ-
 νυμένῳ σχεδίας. ἀρξάμενον δ' ἀφ' ἐσπέρας
 ὑποχωρεῖν τὸ ρεῦμα καὶ μειούμενον διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς
 ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ κοῖλον παρέσχεν ὀφθῆναι τὸν ποταμόν.
 5 οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι νησιδας ἐν τῷ πόρῳ μικρὰς διαφα-
 νέϊσας θεασάμενοι καὶ τεναγίζοντα τὸν ῥοὺν ἐπ'
 αὐταῖς, προσεκύνουν τὸν Λούκουλλον, ὡς ὀλιγάκις
 τούτου συμβεβηκότος πρότερον, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἐκου-
 σίως χειροῇθη καὶ πρῶον αὐτὸν ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ καὶ παρέχοντος ἀπράγμονα καὶ ταχεῖαν
 τὴν διάβασιν.

LUCULLUS

as guardian of Pontus, with six thousand soldiers, while he himself, with twelve thousand footmen and less than three thousand horse, set out for the second war.¹ He seemed to be making a reckless attack, and one which admitted of no saving calculation, upon warlike nations, countless thousands of horsemen, and a boundless region surrounded by deep rivers and mountains covered with perpetual snow. His soldiers, therefore, who were none too well disciplined in any case, followed him reluctantly and rebelliously, while the popular tribunes at Rome raised an outcry against him, and accused him of seeking one war after another, although the city had no need of them, that he might be in perpetual command and never lay down his arms or cease enriching himself from the public dangers. And, in time, these men accomplished their purpose. But Lucullus advanced by forced marches to the Euphrates. Here he found the stream swollen and turbid from the winter storms, and was vexed to think of the delay and trouble which it would cost him to collect boats and build rafts. But at evening the stream began to subside, went on diminishing through the night, and at day-break the river was running between lofty banks. The natives, observing that sundry small islands in the channel had become visible, and that the current near them was quiet, made obeisance to Lucullus, saying that this had seldom happened before, and that the river had voluntarily made itself tame and gentle for Lucullus, and offered him an easy and speedy passage.

¹ 69 B.C.

- 6 Χρησάμενος οὖν τῷ καιρῷ διεβίβαζε τὴν στρατιάν· καὶ γίνεται σημεῖον αὐτῷ χρηστὸν ἅμα τῇ διαβάσει. βόες ἱεραὶ νέμονται Περσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν μάλιστα θεῶν οἱ πέραν Εὐφράτου βάρβαροι τιμῶσι· χρῶνται δὲ ταῖς βουσί πρὸς θυσίαν μόνον, ἄλλως δὲ πλάζονται κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄφετοι, χαράγματα φέρουσαι τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα, καὶ λαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅταν δεηθῶσιν, οὐ πάνυ ῥαδίον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ μικρᾶς πραγματείας.
- 7 τούτων μία, τοῦ στρατοῦ διαβάντος τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τινα πέτραν ἱερὰν τῆς θεοῦ νομιζομένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔστη, καὶ καταβαλοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὥσπερ αἱ δεσμῷ κατατεινόμεναι, θῦσαι τῷ Λουκούλλῳ παρέσχεν αὐτήν. ἔθυσσε δὲ καὶ
- 8 τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ταῦρον διαβατήρην. καὶ κείνην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἠγλίστατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ 508 ταῖς ἐφεξῆς προῆγε διὰ τῆς Σωφηνῆς, οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσχωροῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ δεχομένους τὴν στρατιὰν ἀσμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φρούριόν τι δοκοῦν ἔχειν χρήματα πολλὰ βουλομένων λαβεῖν “Ἐκεῖνο,” ἔφη, “μᾶλλον τὸ φρούριον ἡμῖν ἐκκοπτέον ἐστί,” δείξας τὸν Ταῦρον ἄπωθεν ὄντα, “ταῦτα δ' ἀπόκειται τοῖς νικῶσι.” συντείνας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τὸν Τίγριν διαβὰς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.

XXV. Τιγράνῃ δ', ὡς ὁ πρῶτος ἀγγείλας ἦκουτα Λούκουλλον οὐκ ἐχαίρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπετέμνητο τὴν κεφαλὴν, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔφραζεν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοῶν καθῆστο περικαιόμενος ἤδη τῷ πολεμῷ

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Accordingly, he took advantage of his opportunity and put his troops across, and a favourable sign accompanied his crossing. Heifers pasture there which are sacred to Persia Artemis, a goddess whom the Barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates hold in the highest honour. These heifers are used only for sacrifice, and at other times are left to roam about the country at large, with brands upon them in the shape of the torch of the goddess. Nor is it a slight or easy matter to catch any of them when they are wanted. One of these heifers, after the army had crossed the Euphrates, came to a certain rock which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it, and lowering its head without any compulsion from the usual rope, offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice. He also sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates, in acknowledgment of his safe passage. Then, after encamping there during that day, on the next and the succeeding days he advanced through Sophené. He wrought no harm to the inhabitants, who came to meet him and received his army gladly. Nay, when his soldiers wanted to take a certain fortress which was thought to contain much wealth, "Yonder lies the fortress which we must rather bring low," said he, pointing to the Taurus in the distance; "these nearer things are reserved for the victors." Then he went on by forced marches, crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

XXV. Since the first messenger who told Tigranes that Lucullus was coming had his head cut off for his pains, no one else would tell him anything, and so he sat in ignorance while the fires of war were already blazing around him, giving ear only to those

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- πυρί, λόγους ἀκούων πρὸς χάριν, ὥς μέγαν ὄντα
 Λούκουλλον στρατηγόν, εἰ πρὸς Ἐφέσῳ Τιγράειν
 ὑποσταίη καὶ μὴ φεύγων εὐθὺς ἐξ Ἀσίας οἴχοιτο
 2 τὰς τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἰδών. οὕτως οὔτε σώμα-
 τος παντός ἐστι πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐνεγκεῖν οὔτε
 διανοίας τῆς τυχούσης ἐν εὐτυχήμασι μεγάλοις
 μὴ ἐκστήναι τῶν λογισμῶν. πρῶτος δ' αὐτῷ τῶν
 φίλων ἐτόλμησε Μιθροβαρζάνης φράσαι τὸ
 ἀληθές. οὐδ' οὗτος δὲ χρηστὸν ἠνέγκατο γέρας
 τῆς παρρησίας. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν
 Λούκουλλον σὺν ἱππεῦσι τρισχιλίοις, πεζοῖς δὲ
 παμπόλλοις, κελευσθεὶς τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν ἄγειν
 ζῶντα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταπατῆσαι.
- 3 Λουκούλλῳ δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡ μὲν ἤδη κατε-
 ζεύγνυνεν, ἡ δὲ ἔτι προσήει. τῶν δὲ σκοπῶν αὐτῷ
 φρασάντων ἐπελαύνοντα τὸν βάρβαρον, ἔδεισε μὴ
 χωρὶς ὄντας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει προσπεσὼν ταραξῇ.
 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καθίστατο τὴν στρατοπεδείαν,
 Σεξτίλιον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψεν ἱππεῖς ἔχοντα
 χιλίους ἑξακοσίους, ὀπλίτας δὲ καὶ ψιλοὺς οὐ
- 4 πολλῷ πλείονας, κελεύσας ἐγγὺς προσελθόντα
 τοῖς πολεμίοις μένειν, ἕως ἂν πύθηται τοὺς μετ'
 αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδευκότες. ἐβούλετο μὲν
 οὖν ὁ Σεξτίλιος ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐβιάσθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Μιθροβαρζάνου θρασέως ἐπελαύνοντος εἰς χεῖρας
 ἐλθεῖν. καὶ γενομένης μάχης ὁ μὲν Μιθροβαρ-
 ζάνης ἔπεσεν ἀγωνιζόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες
 ἀπώλουντο πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντες.
- 5 Ἐκ τούτου Τιγράνης μὲν ἐκλιπὼν Τιγρανό-
 κερτα, μεγάλην πόλιν ἐκτισμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,



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who flattered him and said that Lucullus would be a great general if he ventured to withstand Tigranes at Ephesus, and did not fly incontinently from Asia at the mere sight of so many myriads of men. Which only proves that it is not every man who can bear much unmixed wine, nor is it any ordinary understanding that does not lose its reckoning in the midst of great prosperity. The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes, and he, too, got no very excellent reward for his boldness of speech. He was sent at once against Lucullus with three thousand horsemen and a large force of infantry, under orders to bring the general alive, but to trample his men under foot.

Now, part of the army of Lucullus was already preparing to go into camp, and the rest was still coming up, when his scouts told him that the Barbarian was advancing to the attack. Fearing lest the enemy attack his men when they were separated and in disorder, and so throw them into confusion, he himself fell to arranging the encampment, and Sextilius, the legate, was sent at the head of sixteen hundred horsemen and about as many light and heavy infantry, with orders to get near the enemy and wait there until he learned that the main body was safely encamped. Well then, this was what Sextilius wished to do, but he was forced into an engagement by Mithrobarzanes, who boldly charged upon him. A battle ensued, in which Mithrobarzanes fell fighting, and the rest of his forces took to flight and were cut to pieces, all except a few.

Upon this, Tigranes abandoned Tigranocerta, that great city which he had built, withdrew to the

πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον ἀνεχώρησε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις πανταχόθεν ἐνταῦθα συνήγε, Λούκουλλος δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ χρόνον οὐ διδούς Μουρήναν μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐνοχλήσοντα καὶ περικόφοντα τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην, Σεξτίλιον δὲ πάλιν Ἀράβων χεῖρα μεγάλην ἀνείρξοντα βασιλεῖ
6 προσιοῦσαν. ὁμοῦ δὲ Σεξτίλιος μὲν ἐπιπεσὼν στρατόπεδον ποιούμενοις τοῖς Ἀραβι τοὺς πλείστους διέφθειρε, Μουρήνας δ' ἐπόμενος Τιγράνῃ τραχὺν αὐλῶνα καὶ στενόπορον στρατῷ μακρῷ διεκβάλλοντι καιροῦ παρασχόντος ἐπιτίθεται. καὶ φεύγει μὲν αὐτὸς Τιγράνης προέμενος τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν, ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πλείονες ἀλίσκονται τῶν Ἀρμενίων.

XXVI. Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προχωρούντων ἄρας ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Τιγρανόκερτα, καὶ περιστρατοπεδεύσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἦσαν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἕλληνες τῶν ἀναστάτων ἐκ Κιλικίας, πολλοὶ δὲ βάρβαροι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅμοια πεπονθότες, Ἀδιαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Γορδυνηνοὶ καὶ Καππάδοκες, ὧν κατασκάψας τὰς πατρίδας, αὐτοὺς δὲ κομίσας ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν
2 ἠνάγκασεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἡ πόλις μεστὴ καὶ ἀναθημάτων, παντὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ δυνάστου τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφιλοτιμουμένου πρὸς αὐξήσιν καὶ κατασκευὴν τῆς πόλεως. διὸ καὶ συντόνως ἐπολιόρκει ὁ Λούκουλλος αὐτήν, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὸν Τιγράνην οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπ' ὀργῆς καταβήσεσθαι διαμαχούμενον, ὀρθῶς οἰό-
3 μενος. πολλὰ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἀπηγόρευεν ἀγγέλους πέμπων καὶ γράμματα μὴ συνάπτειν μάχην, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι περικόπτειν τὴν ἀγοράν.



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Taurus, and there began collecting his forces from every quarter. Lucullus, however, gave him no time for preparation, but sent out Murena to harass and cut off the forces gathering to join Tigranes, and Sextilius again to hold in check a large body of Arabs which was drawing near the king. At one and the same time Sextilius fell upon the Arabs as they were going into camp, and slew most of them; and Murena, following hard upon Tigranes, seized his opportunity and attacked the king as he was passing through a rough and narrow defile with his army in long column. Tigranes himself fled, abandoning all his baggage, many of the Armenians were slain, and more were captured.

XXVI. Thus successful in his campaign, Lucullus struck camp and proceeded to Tigranocerta, which city he invested and began to besiege. There were in the city many Greeks who had been transplanted, like others, from Cilicia, and many Barbarians who had suffered the same fate as the Greeks,—Adiabeni, Assyrians, Gordyeni, and Cappadocians, whose native cities Tigranes had demolished, and brought their inhabitants to dwell there under compulsion. The city was also full of wealth and votive offerings, since every private person and every prince vied with the king in contributing to its increase and adornment. Therefore Lucullus pressed the siege of the city with vigour, in the belief that Tigranes would not endure it, but contrary to his better judgment and in anger would descend into the plains to offer battle; and his belief was justified. Mithridates, indeed, both by messengers and letters, strongly urged the king not to join battle, but to cut off the enemy's supplies

πολλὰ δὲ Ταξίλης ἤκων παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συστρα- 509
τεύων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως φυλάττεσθαι καὶ
φεύγειν ὡς ἄμαχον πρᾶγμα τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλα.
4 καὶ τά γε πρῶτα πράως ἤκουε τούτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ
πανστρατιᾷ μὲν αὐτῷ συνῆλθον Ἀρμένιοι καὶ
Γορδυηνοί, πανστρατιᾷ δὲ Μήδους καὶ Ἀδιαβη-
νοὺς ἄγοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς παρήσαν, ἤκον δὲ πολλοὶ
μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θαλάσσης Ἀραβες,
πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Κασπίας Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρες
Ἀλβανοῖς προσοικοῦντες, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ τῶν περὶ
τὸν Ἀράξην νεμομένων ἀβασίλευτοι χάριτι καὶ
δώροις πεισθέντες ἀπήντησαν, ἐλπίδων δὲ καὶ
θράσους καὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἀπειλῶν μεστὰ μὲν ἦν
τὰ συμπόσια τοῦ βασιλέως, μεστὰ δὲ τὰ συμ-
βούλια, παρεκινδύνευσε μὲν ὁ Ταξίλης ἀποθανεῖν
ὑπεναντιούμενος τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς μάχης, ἐδόκει δὲ
καὶ Μιθριδάτης φθονῶν ἀποτρέπειν μεγάλου
5 κατορθώματος. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνέμεινε αὐτὸν ὁ
Τιγράνης, μὴ μετάσχοι τῆς δόξης, ἀλλ' ἐχώρει
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ σφόδρα δυσφορῶν, ὡς λέγεται,
πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὅτι πρὸς Λούκουλλον αὐτῷ μό-
νον, οὐ πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσοιτο τοὺς Ῥω-
μαίων στρατηγούς ἐν ταύτῳ γενομένους.

Καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἦν τὸ θράσος αὐτοῦ μανιώδες
οὐδ' ἄλογον, ἔθνη τοσαῦτα καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπομένους
καὶ φάλαγγας ὀπλιτῶν καὶ μυριάδας ἱππέων ἀπο-
6 βλέποντος. τοξότας μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφενδονήτας δις-
μυρίους ἤγεεν, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισμυρίους καὶ πεν-
τακισχιλίους, ὧν ἑπτακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι κατὰ
φρακτοὶ ἦσαν, ὡς Λούκουλλος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν
σύγκλητον, ὀπλιτῶν δέ, τῶν μὲν εἰς σπείρας, τῶν

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with his cavalry; Taxiles also, who came from Mithridates and joined the forces of Tigranes, earnestly begged the king to remain on the defensive and avoid the invincible arms of the Romans. And at first Tigranes gave considerate hearing to this advice. But when the Armenians and Gordyeni joined him with all their hosts, and the kings of the Medes and Adiabeni came up with all their hosts, and many Arabs arrived from the sea of Babylonia, and many Albanians from the Caspian sea, together with Iberians who were neighbours to the Albanians; and when not a few of the peoples about the river Araxes, who are not subject to kings, had been induced by favours and gifts to come and join him; and when the banquets of the king, and his councils as well, were full of hopes and boldness and barbaric threats,—then Taxiles ran the risk of being put to death when he opposed the plan of fighting, and Mithridates was thought to be diverting the king from a great success out of mere envy. Wherefore Tigranes would not even wait for him, lest he share in the glory, but advanced with all his army, bitterly lamenting to his friends, as it is said, that he was going to contend with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals put together.

And his boldness was not altogether that of a mad man, nor without good reason, when he saw so many nations and kings in his following, with phalanxes of heavy infantry and myriads of horsemen. For he was in command of twenty thousand bowmen and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horsemen, of whom seventeen thousand were clad in mail, as Lucullus said in his letter to the Senate; also of one hundred and fifty thousand heavy infantry,

δ' εἰς φάλαγγας συντεταγμένων, πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ὁδοποιούς δὲ καὶ γεφυρωτὰς καὶ καθαρτὰς ποταμῶν καὶ ὑλοτόμους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρεῶν ὑπηρέτας τρισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἱ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι κατόπιν ὄψιν ἅμα καὶ ῥώμην παρείχον.

XXVII. Ὡς δ' ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταῦρον ἄθρους κατεφάνη καὶ κατείδε πρὸς τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις ἐπικαθήμενον τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει βάρβαρος ὁμιλος ὀλολυγῇ καὶ κρότῳ τὴν ὄψιν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐδείκνυσαν τοὺς 2 Ἀρμενίους. Λουκούλλῳ δὲ σκοποῦντι περὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄγειν ἐπὶ Τιγράνῃν ἐάσαντα τὴν πολιορκίαν συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὀπίσω πολεμίους τοσούτους μηδ' ἀνεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δ' εἰπὼν ἐκατέρους μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ καλῶς παραινεῖν διεῖλε τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ Μουρήναν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους ἔχοντα πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τέσσεσaras καὶ εἴκοσι σπείρας ἀναλαβὼν, ἐν αἷς οὐ πλείονες ἦσαν μυρίων ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἅπαντας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας περὶ χιλίους, ἐχώρει.

3 Καὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ καταστρατοπεδεύσας παντάπασι μικρὸς ἐφάνη Τιγράνῃ, καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν διατριβὴν παρείχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔσκωπτον, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν λαφύρων ἐν παιδιᾷ διεβάλλοντο κλῆρον· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἕκαστος ἡτέτετο προσιὼν αὐτοῦ μόνου γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἐκείνον

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some of whom were drawn up in cohorts, and some in phalanxes ; also of road-makers, bridge-builders, clearers of rivers, foresters, and ministers to the other needs of an army, to the number of thirty-five thousand. These latter, being drawn up in array behind the fighting men, increased the apparent strength of the army.

XXVII. When Tigranes had crossed the Taurus, deployed with all his forces, and looked down upon the Roman army investing Tigranocerta, the throng of Barbarians in the city greeted his appearance with shouts and din, and standing on the walls, threateningly pointed out the Armenians to the Romans. When Lucullus held a council of war, some of his officers advised him to give up the siege and lead his army against Tigranes ; others urged him not to leave so many enemies in his rear, and not to remit the siege. Whereupon, remarking that each counsel by itself was bad, but both together were good, he divided his army. Murena, with six thousand footmen, he left behind in charge of the siege ; while he himself, with twenty-four cohorts, comprising no more than ten thousand heavy infantry, and all the horsemen, slingers, and archers, to the number of about a thousand, set out against the enemy.

When he had encamped along the river in a great plain, he appeared utterly insignificant to Tigranes, and supplied the king's flatterers with ground for amusement. Some mocked at the Romans, and others, in pleasantry, cast lots for their spoil, while each of the generals and kings came forward and begged that the task of conquering them might be entrusted to himself alone, and that the

- 4 δὲ καθέζεσθαι θεατὴν. βουλόμενος δέ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Τιγράνης χαρίεις εἶναι καὶ σκωπτικὸς εἶπε τὸ θρυλούμενον “Εἰ μὲν ὡς πρεσβευταί, πολλοὶ πάρεισιν· εἰ δ’ ὡς στρατιῶται, ὀλίγοι.” καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως εἰρωνευόμενοι καὶ παίζοντες διετέλεσαν. ἅμα δ’ ἡμέρα Λούκουλλος ὥπλισμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγε. καὶ πρὸς ἔω μὲν 510 ἦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα· τοῦ δὲ ρεύματος ἀποστροφὴν λαμβάνοντος ἐπὶ τὰς δύοσεις, ἣ μάλιστα περάσιμον ἦν, ἀντιπαρεξάγων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ σπεύδων ἔδοξεν ἀποχωρεῖν
- 5 τῷ Τιγράνῃ. καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ταξίλην ἅμα γέλῳτι “Τοὺς ἀμάχους,” ἔφη, “Ῥωμαίων ὀπλίτας οὐχ ὁρᾷς φεύγοντας;” καὶ ὁ Ταξίλης “Βουλοίμην ἂν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, γενέσθαι τι τῷ σὺ δαίμονι τῶν παραλόγων, ἀλλ’ οὐτ’ ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν οἱ ἄνδρες λαμβάνουσιν ὁδοιποροῦντες οὔτε θυρεοῖς ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις χρῶνται καὶ κράνεσι γυμνοῖς, ὥσπερ νῦν τὰ σκύτινα τῶν ὀπλῶν σκεπύσματα περισπάσαντες, ἀλλὰ μαχουμένων ἐστὶν ἡ λαμπρότης αὕτη καὶ βαδιζόντων ἤδη
- 6 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.” ταῦτα λέγοντος ἔτι τοῦ Ταξίλου καταφανῆς ἦν πρῶτος αἰετὸς ἐπιστρέφοντος τοῦ Λουκούλλου καὶ τάξιν αἱ σπεῖραι κατὰ λόχους λαμβάνουσαι πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ μόλις ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης τινὸς ἀναφέρων ὁ Τιγράνης δις ἢ τρίς ἐξέκραγεν “Ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς οἱ ἄνδρες;” ὥστε θορύβῳ πολλῷ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, βασιλέως μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν τῷ Ἀδιαβηνῷ, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῷ Μήδῳ παραδόντος,

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king would sit by as a spectator. Then Tigranes, not wishing to be left behind entirely in this play of wit and scoffing, uttered that famous saying: "If they are come as ambassadors, they are too many; if as soldiers, too few." And so for the while they continued their sarcasms and jests. But at daybreak Lucullus led out his forces under arms. Now, the Barbarian army lay to the east of the river. But as the stream takes a turn to the west at the point where it was easiest to ford, and as Lucullus led his troops to the attack in that direction first, and with speed, he seemed to Tigranes to be retreating. So he called Taxiles and said, with a laugh, "Don't you see that the invincible Roman hoplites are taking to flight?" "O King," said Taxiles, "I could wish that some marvellous thing might fall to your good fortune; but when these men are merely on a march, they do not put on shining raiment, nor have they their shields polished and their helmets uncovered, as now that they have stripped the leathern coverings from their armour. Nay, this splendour means that they are going to fight, and are now advancing upon their enemies." While Taxiles was yet speaking, the first eagle came in sight, as Lucullus wheeled towards the river, and the cohorts were seen forming in maniples with a view to crossing. Then at last, as though coming out of a drunken stupor, Tigranes cried out two or three times, "Are the men coming against us?" And so, with much tumult and confusion, his multitude formed in battle array, the king himself occupying the centre, and assigning the left wing to the king of the Adiabeni, the right to the king of the Medes. In front of this wing also

ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τῶν καταφράκτων ἐν προτάγματι τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν.

- 7 Λουκούλλῳ δὲ μέλλοντι διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔνιοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρήνουν φυλάττεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν μίαν οὖσαν τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἃς μελαίνας καλοῦσιν· ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ μετὰ Καιπίωνος ἀπώλετο στρατιὰ συμβαλοῦσα Κίμβροις. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν μνημονευομένην φωνήν· “Ἐγὼ γάρ,” ἔφη, “καὶ ταύτην εὐτυχῇ ποιήσω Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἡμέραν.” ἦν δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν Ὀκτωβρίων.

- XXVIII. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ θαρρεῖν κελεύσας τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβαινε καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡγεῖτο, θώρακα μὲν ἔχων σιδηροῦν φολιδωτὸν ἀποστίλβοντα, κροσσωτὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἐστρίδα, τὸ δὲ ξίφος αὐτόθεν ὑποφαίνων γυμνόν, ὥς εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἵεσθαι δέον¹ ἐκηβόλοις ἀνδράσι καὶ συναιρεῖν² τὴν διατοξεύσιμον χώραν τῷ
2 τάχει τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάφρακτον ἵππον, ἧς πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος, κατεῖδε κατατεταγμένην ὑπὸ λόφῳ τινὶ τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἐπίπεδον καὶ πλατεῖαν ἔχοντι, πρόσβασιν δὲ τεττάρων σταδίων οὐ παντάπασι χαλεπὴν οὐδ' ἀποκεκομμένην, Θράκας μὲν ἵππεῖς καὶ Γαλάτας, οὓς εἶχεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ πλαγίου προσφερομένους παρακρούε-
3 σθαι ταῖς μαχαίραις τοὺς κοντούς· μία γὰρ ἀλκὴ τῶν καταφράκτων κοντός· ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν οὔθ' ἑαυτοῖς οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι δύνανται διὰ

¹ δέον Coraës, Sintenis and Bekker, after Reiske; δέοι MSS., including S.

² συναιρεῖν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske; συναῖρῃσειν (S) and συναῖρῃσει MSS.: συναῖρῃσων, a suggestion of Reiske's.

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the greater part of the mail-clad horsemen were drawn up.

As Lucullus was about to cross the river, some of his officers advised him to beware of the day, which was one of the unlucky days—the Romans call them “black days.” For on that day Caepio and his army perished in a battle with the Cimbri.¹ But Lucullus answered with the memorable words: “Verily, I will make this day, too, a lucky one for the Romans.” Now the day was the sixth of October.

XXVIII. Saying this, and bidding his men be of good courage, he crossed the river, and led the way in person against the enemy. He wore a steel breastplate of glittering scales, and a tasselled cloak, and at once let his sword flash forth from its scabbard, indicating that they must forthwith come to close quarters with men who fought with long range missiles, and eliminate, by the rapidity of their onset, the space in which archery would be effective. But when he saw that the mail-clad horsemen, on whom the greatest reliance was placed, were stationed at the foot of a considerable hill which was crowned by a broad and level space, and that the approach to this was a matter of only four stadia, and neither rough nor steep, he ordered his Thracian and Gallic horsemen to attack the enemy in the flank, and to parry their long spears with their own short swords. (Now the sole resource of the mail-clad horsemen is their long spear, and they

¹ B.C. 105. Cf. *Camillus*, xix. 7.

- βάρος καὶ σκληρότητα τῆς σκευῆς, ἀλλ' ἐγκατω-
κοδομημένοις εἰκόασιν. αὐτὸς δὲ δύο σπείρας
ἀναλαβὼν ἡμιλλᾶτο πρὸς τὸν λόφον, ἐρρωμένως
ἐπομένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὸ κάκεινον ἐν τοῖς
ὄπλοις ὄραν πρῶτον κακοπαθοῦντα πεζὸν καὶ
προσβιαζόμενον. γενόμενος δ' ἄνω καὶ στὰς ἐν
τῷ περιφανεῖ τοῦ χωρίου μέγα βοήσας “Νενική-
καμεν,” ἔφη, “νενικήκαμεν, ὦ συστρατιῶται.”
- 4 καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐπῆγε τοῖς καταφράκτοις,
κελεύσας μὴδὲν ἔτι χρήσθαι τοῖς ὕσσοις, ἀλλ' ἐκ
χειρὸς ἕκαστον διαλαβόντα παίειν τῶν πολεμίων
κνήμας τε καὶ μηρούς, ἃ μόνον γυμνὰ τῶν κατα-
φράκτων ἐστίν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέξασέ τι ταύτης τῆς
μάχης· οὐ γὰρ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλ'
ἀλαλάξαντες καὶ φεύγοντες αἰσχιστα πάντων
ἐνέωσαν ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους βαρεῖς ὄντας
εἰς τὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὄπλα πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τινος
ἐκείνους μάχης, ὥστε μήτε τραύματος γενομένου
μήθ' αἵματος ὀφθέντος ἡττᾶσθαι τὰς τοσαύτας
- 5 μυριάδας. ὁ δὲ πολὺς φόνος ἤδη φευγόντων
ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δὲ βουλομένων φεύγειν· οὐ γὰρ 511
ἐδύναντο πυκνότητι καὶ βάθει τῶν τάξεων ὑφ'
αὐτῶν ἐμποδιζόμενοι. Τιγράνης δ' ἐξελάσας ἐν
ἀρχῇ μετ' ὀλίγων ἔφευγε· καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὁρῶν
κοινωνοῦντα τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης περιεσπάσατο τὸ
διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς κάκεινῳ δακρύσας παρέδωκε,
σώζειν ἑαυτόν, ὅπως δύναται, καθ' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς
- 6 κελεύσας. ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἀναδήσασθαι μὲν οὐκ
ἐτόλμησε, τῶν δὲ παίδων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ φυλάτ-
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have none other whatsoever, either in defending themselves or attacking their enemies, owing to the weight and rigidity of their armour; in this they are, as it were, immured.) Then he himself, with two cohorts, hastened eagerly towards the hill, his soldiers following with all their might, because they saw him ahead of them in armour, enduring all the fatigue of a foot-soldier, and pressing his way along. Arrived at the top, and standing in the most conspicuous spot, he cried with a loud voice, "The day is ours, the day is ours, my fellow soldiers!" With these words, he led his men against the mail-clad horsemen, ordering them not to hurl their javelins yet, but taking each his own man, to smite the enemy's legs and thighs, which are the only parts of these mail-clad horsemen left exposed. However, there was no need of this mode of fighting, for the enemy did not await the Romans, but, with loud cries and in most disgraceful flight, they hurled themselves and their horses, with all their weight, upon the ranks of their own infantry, before it had so much as begun to fight, and so all those tens of thousands were defeated without the infliction of a wound or the sight of blood. But the great slaughter began at once when they fled, or rather tried to fly, for they were prevented from really doing so by the closeness and depth of their own ranks. Tigranes rode away at the very outset with a few attendants, and took to flight. Seeing his son also in the same plight, he took off the diadem from his head and, in tears, gave it to him, bidding him save himself as best he could by another route. The young man, however, did not venture to assume the diadem, but gave it to his most trusted slave for safe keeping.

τειν ἔδωκεν. οὗτος ἄλους κατὰ τύχην ἀνήχθη πρὸς Λούκουλλον, ὥστε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμάλωτον καὶ τὸ διάδημα γενέσθαι τοῦ Τιγράνου. λέγεται δὲ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας διαφθαρῆναι, τῶν δ' ἱππέων ὀλίγους παντάπασι διαφυγεῖν. Ῥωμαίων δ' ἑκατὸν ἐτρώθησαν, ἔπεσον δὲ πέντε.

- 7 Ταύτης τῆς μάχης Ἀντίοχος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ Περὶ θεῶν γραφῇ μνησθεὶς οὐ φησιν ἄλλην ἐφεωρακέσαι τοιαύτην τὸν ἥλιον. Στράβων δ', ἕτερος φιλόσοφος, ἐν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν αὐτοὺς λέγει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ καταγελᾶν ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἀνδράποδα τοιαῦτα δεσθέντας ὅπλων. Λιούιος δ' εἴρηκεν, ὡς οὐδέποτε Ῥωμαῖοι πολεμίοις ἀποδέοντες τοσούτῳ πλήθει παρετάξαντο· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰκοστόν, ἀλλ' ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο μέρος οἱ νικῶντες τῶν ἡσσημένων. 8 Ῥωμαίων δ' οἱ δεινότατοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ πλείστα πολέμοις ὠμιληκότες ἐπήνουν μάλιστα τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὸ δύο βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ μεγίστους δυσὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις, τάχει καὶ βραδυτῇτι, καταστρατηγῆσαι. Μιθριδάτην μὲν γὰρ ἀκμάζοντα χρόνῳ καὶ τριβῇ κατανάλωσε, Τιγράνην δὲ τῷ σπεύσαι συνέτριψεν, ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν πώποτε ἡγεμόνων τῇ μελλήσει μὲν ἔργῳ, τῇ τόλμῃ δ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας χρησάμενος.

XXIX. Διὸ καὶ Μιθριδάτης οὐ συνέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, τῇ συνήθει τὸν Λούκουλλον εὐλαβεῖα καὶ παραγωγῇ πολεμήσειν οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγοις τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐντυχὼν καθ'

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This slave happened to be captured, and was brought to Lucullus, and thus even the diadem of Tigranes became a part of the booty. It is said that more than a hundred thousand of the enemy's infantry perished, while of the cavalry only a few, all told, made their escape. Of the Romans, on the other hand, only a hundred were wounded, and only five killed.

Antiochus the philosopher makes mention of this battle in his treatise "Concerning Gods," and says that the sun never looked down on such another. And Strabo, another philosopher, in his "Historical Commentaries," says that the Romans themselves were ashamed, and laughed one another to scorn for requiring arms against such slaves. Livy also has remarked that the Romans were never in such inferior numbers when they faced an enemy; for the victors were hardly even a twentieth part of the vanquished, but less than this. The Roman generals who were most capable and most experienced in war, praised Lucullus especially for this, that he out-generalled two kings who were most distinguished and powerful by two most opposite tactics, speed and slowness. For he used up Mithridates, at the height of his power, by long delays; but crushed Tigranes by the speed of his operations, being one of the few generals of all time to use delay for greater achievement, and boldness for greater safety.

XXIX. This was the reason why Mithridates made no haste to be at the battle. He thought Lucullus would carry on the war with his wonted caution and indirectness, and so marched slowly to join Tigranes. At first he met a few Armenians hurrying back over the road in panic fear, and conjectured what had

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ὁδὸν ἐπτοιοιμένοις καὶ περιφόβοις ἀπιοῦσιν εἵκασε
τὸ πάθος, εἴτ' ἤδη πλειόνων γυμνῶν καὶ τετρω-
μένων ἀπαντῶντων πυθόμενος τὴν ἡτταν ἐζήτηι
2 τὸν Τιγράνην. εὐρὼν δὲ πάντων ἔρημον καὶ
ταπεινὸν οὐκ ἀνθύβρισεν, ἀλλὰ καταβὰς καὶ
συνδακρύσας τὰ κοινὰ πάθη θεραπείαν τε τὴν
ἐπομένην αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἔδωκε καὶ κατεθάρρυνε
πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν αὖθις ἐτέρας
δυνάμεις συνήγουν.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις τῶν
Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους στασιασάντων
καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντων προσβα-
3 λὼν εἶλε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει θησαυροὺς
παρελάμβανε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διαρπάσαι παρέδωκε
τοῖς στρατιώταις, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων
ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἔχουσιν. χω-
ρὶς δὲ τούτων ὀκτακοσίας δραχμὰς κατ' ἄνδρα
4 διένειμεν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων. πυνθανόμενος δὲ
πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατειληφθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν
Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, οὓς ὁ Τιγράνης πανταχόθεν
ἡθροΐκει μέλλων ἀποδεικνύναι τὸ κατεσκευασμέ-
νον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θέατρον, ἐχρήσατο τούτοις πρὸς
τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς θέας τῶν ἐπινικίων. τοὺς δ'
Ἕλληνας εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ἔπεμψε προσ-
θεῖς ἐφόδια, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμοίως τοὺς
ἡγιακασμένους κατοικεῖν, ὥστε συνέβη μῖα
πόλεως διαλυθείσης πολλὰς ἀνοικίζεσθαι πάλιν
κομιζόμενας τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκήτορας, ὑφ' ὧν ὡς
εὐεργέτης ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ κτίστης ἠγαπάτο.

5 Προὔχῳρει δὲ καὶ τὰλλα κατ' ἀξίαν τάνδρῃ 512
τῶν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐπαίνων

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happened; then presently, when he had learned of the defeat from more unarmed and wounded fugitives whom he met, he sought to find Tigranes. And though he found him destitute of all things and humiliated, he did not return his insolent behaviour, but got down from his horse and wept with him over their common sufferings. Then he gave him his own royal equipage, and tried to fill him with courage for the future. And so these kings began again to assemble fresh forces.

But in the city of Tigranocerta, the Greeks had risen up against the Barbarians and were ready to hand the city over to Lucullus; so he assaulted and took it. The royal treasures in the city he took into his own charge, but the city itself he turned over to his soldiers for plunder, and it contained eight thousand talents in money, together with the usual valuables. Besides this, he gave to each man eight hundred drachmas from the general spoils. On learning that many dramatic artists had been captured in the city, whom Tigranes had collected there from all quarters for the formal dedication of the theatre which he had built, Lucullus employed them for the contests and spectacles with which he celebrated his victories. The Greeks he sent to their native cities, giving them also the means wherewith to make the journey, and likewise the Barbarians who had been compelled to settle there. Thus it came to pass that the dissolution of one city was the restoration of many others, by reason of their recovering their own inhabitants, and they all loved Lucullus as their benefactor and founder.

And whatever else he did also prospered, in a way worthy of the man, who was ambitious of the

- ὀρεγομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κατορθώμασιν. ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον ἡ στρατιὰ καὶ πλείστον ἡ τύχη μετείχε, ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἡμέρου ψυχῆς καὶ πεπαιδευμένης ἐπίδειξις, οἷς ὁ Λούκουλλος τότε χωρὶς ὀπλῶν ἐχειροῦτο τοὺς βαρβάρους. καὶ γὰρ Ἀράβων βασιλεῖς ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίζοντες τὰ σφέτερα, καὶ τὸ
- 6 Σωφηνῶν ἔθνος προσεχώρει· τὸ δὲ Γορδυνῶν οὕτω διέθηκεν, ὥστε βούλεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκείνῳ μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐθέλοντάς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. Ζαρβινηὸς γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γορδυνῶν βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, δι' Ἀππίου κρύφα Λουκούλλῳ διείλεκτο περὶ συμμαχίας τὴν Τιγράνου τυραννίδα βαρυνόμενος· μνηστῆρες δ' ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ συριαπώλοντο πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους εἰς Ἀρμενίαν
- 7 ἐμβαλεῖν. τούτων οὐκ ἡμνημόνησεν ὁ Λούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Γορδυνῶν ταφὰς προὔθετο τοῦ Ζαρβινηοῦ, καὶ πυρὰν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Τιγράνου κοσμήσας λαφύροις αὐτὸς παρὼν ὑψήψε, καὶ χοὰς ἐπήνεγκε μετὰ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐταῖρον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων σύμμαχον ἀνακαλούμενος.
- 8 ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μνημεῖον ἀπὸ χρημάτων συχνῶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ εὐρέθη, καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ζαρβινηοῦ βασιλείοις, σίτου δ' ἀπέκειντο μυριάδες τριακόσiai μεδίμνων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον θαυμάζεσθαι, ὅτι δραχμὴν μίαν ἐκ

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praise that is consequent upon righteousness and humanity, rather than of that which follows military successes. For the latter, the army also was in no slight degree, and fortune in the highest degree, responsible ; but the former were the manifestations of a gentle and disciplined spirit, and in the exercise of these qualities Lucullus now, without appeal to arms, subdued the Barbarians. The kings of the Arabs came to him, with proffers of their possessions, and the Sopheni joined his cause. The Gordyeni were so affected by his kindness that they were ready to abandon their cities and follow him with their wives and children, in voluntary service. The reason for this was as follows: Zarbienus, the king of the Gordyeni, as has been said,¹ secretly stipulated with Lucullus, through Appius, for an alliance, being oppressed by the tyranny of Tigranes. He was informed against, however, and put to death, and his wife and children perished with him, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus was not unmindful of all this, but on entering the country of the Gordyeni, appointed funeral rites in honour of Zarbienus, and after adorning a pyre with royal raiment and gold and with the spoils taken from Tigranes, set fire to it with his own hand, and joined the friends and kindred of the man in pouring libations upon it, calling him a comrade of his and an ally of the Romans. He also ordered that a monument be erected to his memory at great cost ; for many treasures were found in the palace of Zarbienus, including gold and silver, and three million bushels of grain were stored up there, so that the soldiers were plentifully supplied, and Lucullus was admired

¹ xxi. 2.

τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου μὴ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ
διώκει τὸν πόλεμον.

XXX. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασι-
λέως ἦκε πρεσβεία παρ' αὐτὸν εἰς φιλίαν προ-
καλουμένου καὶ συμμαχίαν. ἦν δ' ἀσμένῳ ταῦτα
τῷ Λουκούλλῳ· καὶ πάλιν ἀντέπεμψε παρ' ἑαυ-
τοῦ πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον, οἱ κατεφώρασαν
αὐτὸν ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ μισθὸν
αἰτοῦντα κρύφα τοῦ συμμαχήσαι τῷ Τιγράνῃ
2 τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν. ὥς οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Λούκουλλος
ᾔσθητο, Τιγράνῃν μὲν ἔγνω καὶ Μιθριδάτην
παρελθεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀπειρηκότας,
ἀποπειρᾶσθαι δὲ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως καὶ
στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καλὸν ἡγούμενος μιᾷ
ρύμῃ πολέμου τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆς
βασιλεῖς καταπαλαῖσαι καὶ διὰ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ
τὸν ἥλιον μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν ἀήττητος καὶ
νικῶν διεξελθεῖν.

3 Ἐπεμψεν οὖν εἰς Πόντον τοῖς περὶ Σωρνάτιον
ἡγεμόσιν ἐπιστείλας ἄγειν τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιὰν
πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς ἐκ τῆς Γορδυνηῆς ἀναβησόμενος.
οἱ δὲ καὶ πρότερον χαλεποῖς χρώμενοι καὶ
δυσπειθέσι τοῖς στρατιώταις τότε παντελῶς
ἀπεκάλυψαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκολασίαν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ
πειθοῦς οὐδ' ἀνάγκης εὐρόμενοι προσαγαγέσθαι
μαρτυρομένους καὶ βοῶντας, ὥς οὐδ' αὐτόθι
μενοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἰχίσονται τὸν Πόντον ἔρημον
4 ἀπολιπόντες. ταῦτα πρὸς Λούκουλλον ἀπαγ-
γελθέντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ προσδιέφθειρε στρατιώ-
τας, ἥδη μὲν ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς βαρεῖς
γεγονότας πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ σχολῆς δεο-
μένους, ὥς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπύθοντο παρρησίαν,

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for not taking a single drachma from the public treasury, but making the war pay for itself.

XXX. Here he received an embassy from the king of the Parthians also, inviting him into friendly alliance. This was agreeable to Lucullus, and in his turn he sent ambassadors to the Parthian, but they discovered that he was playing a double game, and secretly asking for Mesopotamia as reward for an alliance with Tigranes. Accordingly, when Lucullus was apprised of this, he determined to ignore Tigranes and Mithridates as exhausted antagonists, and to make trial of the Parthian power by marching against them, thinking it a glorious thing, in a single impetuous onset of war, to throw, like an athlete, three kings in succession, and to make his way, unvanquished and victorious, through three of the greatest empires under the sun.

Accordingly he sent orders to Sornatius and his fellow commanders in Pontus to bring the army there to him, as he intended to proceed eastward from Gordyené. These officers had already found their soldiers unmanageable and disobedient, but now they discovered that they were utterly beyond control, being unable to move them by any manner of persuasion or compulsion. Nay, they roundly swore that they would not even stay where they were, but would go off and leave Pontus undefended. When news of this was brought to Lucullus, it demoralised his soldiers there also. Their wealth and luxurious life had already made them averse to military service and desirous of leisure, and when they heard of the bold words of their comrades in Pontus, they called them brave men, and said

ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς ἀπεκάλουν καὶ μιμητέον αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν εἶναι· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄξια σωτηρίας καὶ ἀναπαύσεως κατεργάσθαι.

- XXXI. Τοιούτων δὲ καὶ πονηροτέρων ἔτι λόγων αἰσθόμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν ἀφῆκεν, αὐθις δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνῃν ἐβάδιζε θέρους ἀκμάζοντος. καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβαλὼν ἠθύμησε χλωρῶν τῶν πεδίων ἐκφανέντων· τοσοῦτον αἱ ὥραι διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τοῦ αἵματος 513
 2 ὑστερίζουσιν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καταβὰς καὶ δις ἢ τρίς ἀνατολμήσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀρμενίους τρεψάμενος ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθει τὰς κώμας, καὶ τὸν παρεσκευασμένον τῷ Τιγράνῃ σίτον ἐξαιρῶν ἦν αὐτὸς ἐφοβεῖτο τοῖς πολεμίοις περιέστησεν ἀπορίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προκαλούμενος εἰς μάχην αὐτοὺς περιταφρεύων τὸν χάρακα καὶ πορθῶν ἐν ὄψει τὴν χώραν οὐκ ἐκίνει πεπληγότας πολλάκις, ἀναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' Ἀρτάξατα τὸ Τιγρίνου βασιλείον, ὅπου καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ νήπιοι καὶ γαμεταὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενος ἀμαχεῖ ταῦτα προήσεσθαι τὸν Τιγράνῃν.
- 3 Λέγεται δ' Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, Ἀντιόχου καταπολεμηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, μεταβάντα πρὸς Ἀρτάξαν τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἄλλων τε πολλῶν εἰσηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χρησίμων, καὶ τῆς χώρας καταμαθόντα τόπον εὐφύεστατον καὶ ἥδιστον ἀργοῦντα καὶ παρορώμενον σχῆμα πόλεως ἐν αὐτῷ προὑπογράψασθαι, καὶ

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their example must be followed in Gordyené, for their many achievements entitled them to respite from toil and freedom from danger.

XXXI. Such speeches, and even worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up his expedition against the Parthians, and marched once more against Tigranes,¹ it being now the height of summer. And yet, after crossing the Taurus, he was discouraged to find the plains still covered with unripe grain, so much later are the seasons there, owing to the coolness of the atmosphere. However, he descended from the mountains, routed the Armenians who twice or thrice ventured to attack him, and then plundered their villages without fear, and, by taking away the grain which had been stored up for Tigranes, reduced his enemy to the straits which he had been fearing for himself. Then he challenged them to battle by encompassing their camp with a moat, and by ravaging their territory before their eyes; but this did not move them, so often had they been defeated. He therefore broke camp and marched against Artaxata, the royal residence of Tigranes, where were his wives and young children, thinking that Tigranes would not give these up without fighting.

It is said that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus had been conquered by the Romans, left him and went to Artaxas the Armenian, to whom he gave many excellent suggestions and instructions. For instance, observing that a section of the country which had the greatest natural advantages and attractions was lying idle and neglected, he drew up a plan for a city there, and then brought Artaxas

¹ 68 B.C.

τὸν Ἀρτάξαν ἐπαγαγόντα δεῖξαι καὶ παρορμῆσαι
 4 πρὸς τὸν οἰκισμόν. ἡσθέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως
 καὶ δεηθέντος, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐπιστατήσῃ τοῦ ἔργου,
 μέγα τι καὶ πάγκαλον χρῆμα πόλεως ἀναστήναι,
 καὶ γενομένην ἐπώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως μητρόπολιν
 ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας.

Ἐπὶ ταύτην τοῦ Λουκούλλου βαδίζοντος οὐκ
 ἠνέσχετο Τιγράνης, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν
 ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ παρεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς Ῥω-
 μαίοις, ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν τὸν Ἀρσανίαν ποταμόν,
 5 ὃν ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαβατέον ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐπ'
 Ἀρταξάτων πορευομένοις. θύσας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς
 Λούκουλλος, ὡς ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης τῆς νίκης, διεβί-
 βαζε τὸν στρατὸν ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προτεταγ-
 μέναις, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐπιτεταγμέναις πρὸς τὰς
 κυκλώσεις τῶν πολεμίων. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν
 ἵππεῖς καὶ λογάδες ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι, πρὸ
 δ' αὐτῶν ἵπποτοξόται Μάρδοι καὶ λογχοφόροι
 Ἰβηρες, οἷς μάλιστα τῶν ξένων ὁ Τιγράνης
 6 ἐπίστευεν ὡς μαχιμωτάτοις. οὐ μὴν ἐπράχθη
 τι λαμπρὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἵππεῦσι
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαπληκτισάμενοι τοὺς πεζοὺς
 ἐπιόντας οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐκατέρωσε τῆς
 φυγῆς σχισθέντες ἐπεσπάσαντο τοὺς ἵππεῖς
 πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ τούτους διασπαρῆναι
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐξιππασαμένων ἰδὼν τὴν
 λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔδεισε.
 7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκαλείτο,
 πρῶτος δ' αὐτὸς ἀντέστη τοῖς Ἀτροπατηνοῖς κατ'
 αὐτὸν οὔσι μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας
 ἐλθεῖν φοβήσας ἐτρέψατο. τριῶν δ' ὁμοῦ παρα-

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to the place and showed him its possibilities, and urged him to undertake the building. The king was delighted, and begged Hannibal to superintend the work himself, whereupon a very great and beautiful city arose there, which was named after the king, and proclaimed the capital of Armenia.

When Lucullus marched against this city, Tigranes could not suffer it quietly, but put himself at the head of his forces, and on the fourth day encamped over against the Romans, keeping the river Arsania between himself and them, which they must of necessity cross on their way to Artaxata. Thereupon Lucullus sacrificed to the gods, in full assurance that the victory was already his, and then crossed the river with twelve cohorts in the van, and the rest disposed so as to prevent the enemy from closing in upon his flanks. For large bodies of horsemen and picked soldiers confronted him, and these were covered by Mardian mounted archers and Iberian lancers, on whom Tigranes relied beyond any other mercenaries, deeming them the most warlike. However, they did not shine in action, but after a slight skirmish with the Roman cavalry, gave way before the advancing infantry, scattered to right and left in flight, and drew after them the cavalry in pursuit. On the dispersion of these troops, Tigranes rode out at the head of his cavalry, and when Lucullus saw their splendour and their numbers he was afraid. He therefore recalled his cavalry from their pursuit of the flying enemy, and taking the lead of his troops in person, set upon the Atropateni, who were stationed opposite him with the magnates of the king's following, and before coming to close quarters, sent them off in panic flight. Of three

8 τεταγμένων βασιλέων αἰσχιστα δοκεῖ φυγεῖν ὁ Ποντικός Μιθριδάτης, οὐδὲ τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνασχόμενος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διώξεως μακρᾶς καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτός, οὐ μόνον κτείνοντες αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγροῦντες καὶ χρήματα καὶ λείαν ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες ἀπέειπον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Διούσιος ἐν μὲν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ πλείονας, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ γνωριμωτέρους πεσεῖν καὶ ληφθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων.

XXXII. Ἐκ τούτου Λούκουλλος μὲν ἐπηρμένος καὶ τεθαρρηκὼς ἄνω προάγειν διανοεῖτο καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν βάρβαρον· ὥρα δ' ἰσημερίας φθινοπωρινῆς οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντι χειμῶνες ἐπέπεσον βαρεῖς, τὰ μὲν πλείστα κατανίφοντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις πάχυνον ἐπιφέροντες καὶ πάγον, ὑφ' οὗ χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ποταμοὶ τοῖς ἵπποις πίνεσθαι διὰ ψυχρότητος ὑπερβολὴν, χαλεπαὶ δ' αὐτῶν αἱ διαβάσεις ἐκρηγνυμένου τοῦ κρυστάλλου καὶ διακόπτοντος τὰ νεῦρα τῶν
2 ἵππων τῇ τραχύτητι. τῆς δὲ χώρας ἡ πολλὴ συνηρεφὴς οὔσα καὶ στενόπορος καὶ ἐλώδης αἰεὶ καθύγραινεν αὐτούς, χιόνος ἀναπιμπλαμένους ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ κακῶς ἐν τόποις νοτεροῖς
3 στρατιᾶς. καίτοι πολλὰ προσελιπάρει Λούκουλλος ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς μακροθυμίαν ἐμβαλέσθαι ταῖς

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kings who together confronted the Romans, Mithridates of Pontus seems to have fled most disgracefully, for he could not endure even their shouting. The pursuit was long and lasted through the whole night, and the Romans were worn out, not only with killing their enemies, but also with taking prisoners and getting all sorts of booty. Livy says that in the former battle a greater number of the enemy, but in this more men of high station were slain and taken prisoners.

XXXII. Elated and emboldened by this victory, Lucullus purposed to advance further into the interior and subdue the Barbarian realm utterly. But, contrary to what might have been expected at the time of the autumnal equinox, severe winter weather was encountered, which generally covered the ground with snow, and even when the sky was clear produced hoar frost and ice, owing to which the horses could not well drink of the rivers, so excessive was the cold, nor could they easily cross them, since the ice broke, and cut the horses' sinews with its jagged edges. Most of the country was thickly shaded, full of narrow defiles, and marshy, so that it kept the soldiers continually wet; they were covered with snow while they marched, and spent the nights uncomfortably in damp places. Accordingly, they had not followed Lucullus for many days after the battle when they began to object. At first they sent their tribunes to him with entreaties to desist, then they held more tumultuous assemblies, and shouted in their tents at night, which seems to have been characteristic of a mutinous army. And yet Lucullus plied them with entreaties, calling upon them to possess their souls in patience until they had

ψυχαῖς, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις Καρχηδόνα λαβόντες ἀνδρὸς ἐχθίστου, τὸν Ἀννίβαν λέγων, ἔργον ἀνατρέψωσιν. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀπήγγεν αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω καὶ κατ' ἄλλας ὑπερβολὰς διελθὼν τὸν Ταῦρον εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Μυγδονικὴν κατέβαινε, χώραν πάμπορον μαὶ ἀλεεινὴν καὶ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔχουσαν, ἣν οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι Νίσιβιν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες

4 Ἀντιόχειαν Μυγδονικὴν προσηγόρευον. ταύτην εἶχεν ἀξιώματι μὲν ἀδελφὸς Τιγράνου Γούρας, ἐμπειρία δὲ καὶ δεινότητι μηχανικῇ Καλλίμαχος ὁ καὶ περὶ Ἀμισὸν πλεῖστα πράγματα Λουκούλλῳ παρασχών. βαλλόμενος δὲ στρατόπεδον καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πολιορκίας ἐπαγαγὼν ὀλίγῳ

5 χρόνῳ κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν. καὶ Γούρα μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντι φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο, Καλλιμάχῳ δ' ὑπισχνουμένῳ θήκας ἀπορρήτους μεγάλων χρημάτων ἀνακαλύψειν οὐ προσέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσεν ἐν πέδαις κομίζεσθαι δίκην ὑφέξοντα τοῦ πυρός, ᾧ τὴν Ἀμισηνῶν διαλυμηνάμενος πόλιν ἀφείλετο φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

XXXIII. Μέχρι τοῦδε φαίη τις ἂν Λουκούλλῳ τὴν τύχην ἐπομένην συστρατηγεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὥσπερ πνεύματος ἐπιλιπόντος προσβιαζόμενος πάντα καὶ παντάπασιν ἀντικρούων ἀρετὴν μὲν ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ μακροθυμίαν ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ, δόξαν δὲ καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν αἱ πράξεις ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἐγγὺς ἦλθε δυσπραγῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος μάτην ἀποβαλεῖν.

2 τῶν δ' αἰτιῶν αὐτὸς οὐχὶ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἰς τοῦτο παρέσχεν, οὐκ ὦν θεραπευτικὸς πλήθους

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taken and destroyed the Armenian Carthage, the work of their most hated foe, meaning Hannibal. But since he could not persuade them, he led them back, and crossing the Taurus by another pass, descended into the country called Mygdonia, which is fertile and open to the sun, and contains a large and populous city, called Nisibis by the Barbarians, Antioch in Mygdonia by the Greeks. The nominal defender of this city, by virtue of his rank, was Gouras, a brother of Tigranes; but its actual defender, by virtue of his experience and skill as an engineer, was Callimachus, the man who gave Lucullus most trouble at Amisus also. But Lucullus established his camp before it, laid siege to it in every way, and in a short time took the city by storm. To Gouras, who surrendered himself into his hands, he gave kind treatment; but to Callimachus, who promised to reveal secret stores of great treasure, he would not hearken. Instead, he ordered him to be brought in chains, that he might be punished for destroying Amisus by fire, and thereby robbing Lucullus of the object of his ambition, which was to show kindness to the Greeks.

XXXIII. Up to this point, one might say that fortune had followed Lucullus and fought on his side; but from now on, as though a favouring breeze had failed him, he had to force every issue, and met with obstacles everywhere. He still displayed the bravery and patience of a good leader, but his undertakings brought him no new fame or favour; indeed, so ill-starred and devious was his course, that he came near losing that which he had already won. And he himself was not least to blame for this. He was not disposed to court the favour of the common

- στρατιωτικοῦ, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ ἀρχομένου γινόμενον ἀρχῆς ἀτιμίαν καὶ κατάλυσιν ἡγούμενος· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οὐδὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἰσοτίμοις εὐάρμοστος εἶναι πεφυκώς, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταφρονῶν καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίους πρὸς αὐτὸν
- 3 ἡγούμενος. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπάρξαι Λουκούλλῳ κακὰ λέγουσιν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς· καὶ γὰρ μέγας καὶ καλὸς καὶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ φρόνιμος ὁμαλῶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ στρατοπέδῳ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι.
- 4 Σαλούστιος μὲν οὖν φησι χαλεπῶς διατεθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Κυζίκῳ καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Ἀμισῶ, δύο χειμῶνας ἐξῆς ἐν χάρακι διαγαγεῖν ἀναγκασθέντας. ἡνίων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ χειμῶνες. ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ διεχέιμαζον ἡ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπαιθροὶ σκηνοῦντες, εἰς δὲ πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φίλην οὐδ' ἄπαξ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ στρατοπέδου Λούκουλλος. οὕτω δὲ διακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας ἐνέδωκαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης οἱ δημαγωγοὶ προφάσεις, φθόνῳ τοῦ Λουκούλλου κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας καὶ φιλοπλουτίας ἔλκοντος τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μονοноῦ κατέχοντος ἐν ταῦτῳ Κιλικίαν, Ἀσίαν, Βιθυνίαν, Παφλαγονίαν, Γαλατίαν, Πόντον, Ἀρμενίαν, τὰ μέχρι Φάσιδος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Τιγράνου βασιλεία πεπορθηκότος, ὥσπερ ἐκδῦσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οὐ
- 5 καταπολεμῆσαι πεμφθέντος. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν φασιν ἓνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Λεύκιον Κόϊντον, ὑφ' οὗ μάλιστα πεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν διαδόχους τῷ Λουκούλλῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευσόντων πολ- 515
- λοὺς ἀφεῖσθαι στρατείας.

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soldier, and thought that everything that was done to please one's command only dishonoured and undermined one's authority. Worst of all, not even with men of power and of equal rank with himself could he readily co-operate; he despised them all, and thought them of no account as compared with himself. These bad qualities Lucullus is said to have had, but no more than these. He was tall and handsome, a powerful speaker, and equally able in the forum and the field.

Well, then, Sallust says that his soldiers were ill-disposed towards him at the very beginning of the war, before Cyzicus, and again before Amisus, because they were compelled to spend two successive winters in camp. The winters that followed also vexed them. They spent them either in the enemy's country, or among the allies, encamped under the open sky. Not once did Lucullus take his army into a city that was Greek and friendly. In their disaffection, they received the greatest support from the popular tribunes at Rome. These envied Lucullus and denounced him for protracting the war through love of power and love of wealth. They said he all but had in his own sole power Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and the regions extending to the Phasis, and that now he had actually plundered the palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent, not to subdue the kings, but to strip them. These were the words, they say, of Lucius Quintus, one of the praetors, to whom most of all the people listened when they passed a vote to send men who should succeed Lucullus in the command of his province. They voted also that many of the soldiers under him should be released from military service.

- XXXIV. Τούτοις δὲ τηλικούτοις οὔσι προσγίνεται τὸ μάλιστα Λουκούλλῳ διειργασμένον τὰς πράξεις, Πόπλιος Κλώδιος, ἀνὴρ ὑβριστῆς καὶ μεστὸς ὀλιγωρίας ἀπάσης καὶ θρασύτητος. ἦν δὲ τῆς Λουκούλλου γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, ἦν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν ἀκολαστοτάτην οὔσαν.
- 2 τότε δὲ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ συστρατεύων οὐχ ὅσης αὐτὸν ἡξίου τιμῆς ἐτύγχανεν· ἡξίου δὲ πρῶτος εἶναι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀπολειπόμενος διὰ τὸν τρόπον ὑποικούρει τὴν Φιμβριανὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παρώξυνε κατὰ τοῦ Λουκούλλου, λόγους χρηστοὺς εἰς οὐκ ἄκουτας οὐδ' ἀήθεις τοῦ δημαγωγεῖσθαι διαδιδούς. οὔτοι γὰρ ἦσαν, οὓς καὶ πρότερον ἀνέπεισε Φιμβρίας ἀποκτείναντας τὸν ὕπατον
- 3 Φλάκκον αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι στρατηγόν. διὸ καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἡδέως ἐδέχοντο καὶ φιλοστρατιώτην προσηγόρευον, ἀγανακτεῖν προσποιούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ πέρας οὐδὲν ἔσται πολέμων τοσούτων καὶ πόνων, ἀλλὰ παντὶ μὲν ἔθνει μαχόμενοι, πᾶσαν δὲ γῆν πλανώμενοι κατατρίψουσι τὸν βίον οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐκ τηλικαύτης φερόμενοι στρατείας, ἀλλὰ τὰς Λουκούλλου παραπέμποντες ἀμάξας καὶ καμήλους ἐκπωμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ διαλίθων
- 4 γεμούσας, οἱ δὲ Πομπηίου στρατιῶται δῆμος ὄντες ἤδη πού μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων κάθηνται γῆν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντες, οὐ Μιθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην εἰς τὰς ἀοικήτους ἐμβαλόντες ἐρημίας, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ βασίλεια καταρρίψαντες, ἀλλὰ φυγάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ δραπέ-
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XXXIV. To these factors in the case, so unfavourable in themselves, there was added another, which most of all vitiated the undertakings of Lucullus. This was Publius Clodius, a man of wanton violence, and full of all arrogance and boldness. He was a brother of the wife of Lucullus, a woman of the most dissolute ways, whom he was actually accused of debauching. At this time he was in service with Lucullus, and did not get all the honour which he thought his due. He thought a foremost place his due, and when many were preferred before him because of his evil character, he worked secretly upon the soldiers who had been commanded by Fimbria, and tried to incite them against Lucullus, disseminating among them speeches well adapted to men who were neither unwilling nor unaccustomed to have their favour courted. These were the men whom Fimbria had once persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and choose himself for their general. They therefore gladly listened to Clodius also, and called him the soldier's friend. For he pretended to be incensed in their behalf, if there was to be no end of their countless wars and toils, but they were rather to wear out their lives in fighting with every nation and wandering over every land, receiving no suitable reward for such service, but convoying the waggons and camels of Lucullus laden with golden beakers set with precious stones, while the soldiers of Pompey, citizens now, were snugly ensconced with wives and children in the possession of fertile lands and prosperous cities,—not for having driven Mithridates and Tigranes into uninhabitable deserts, nor for having demolished the royal palaces of Asia, but for having fought with wretched exiles in Spain and

ταις ἐν' Ἰταλίᾳ πολεμήσαντες. "Τί οὖν, εἰ δεῖ μηδέποτε παύσασθαι στρατευομένους, οὐχὶ τοιούτῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ σώματα τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ψυχὰς φυλάσσομεν, ὃ κάλλιστος εἶναι δοκεῖ κόσμος ὁ τῶν στρατευομένων πλοῦτος ;"

- 5 Τοιαύταις αἰτίαις τὸ Λουκούλλου στράτευμα διαφθαρὲν οὐτ' ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἠκολούθησεν οὐτ' ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην αὐθις ἐξ Ἀρμενίας εἰς Πόντον ἐμβαλόντα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντα, πρόσφασιν δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα ποιούμενοι περὶ τὴν Γορδυηνὴν διέτριβον, ὅσον οὐπω Πομπήϊον ἦ τιν' ἄλλον τῶν ἡγεμόνων Λουκούλλῳ διάδοχον ἀφίξεσθαι προσδοκῶντες.

XXXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἠγγέλτο Φάβιον νενικηκὼς ἐπὶ Σωρνάτιον καὶ Τριάριον βαδίζειν, αἰσχυινθέντες εἶποντο τῷ Λουκούλλῳ. Τριάριος δ' ὥς ἔτοιμον ἀρπάσαι τὸ νίκημα, πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν Λούκουλλον ἐγγὺς ὄντα, φιλοτιμούμενος ἡττᾶται μάχῃ μεγάλῃ. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἑπτακισχιλίους Ῥωμαίων ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἑκατόνταρχοι μὲν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, χιλιάρχοι δ' εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες· τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον εἶλε Μιθριδάτης.

- 2 ἐπελθὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις Τριάριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ζητούμενον πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐξέκλεψε, Μιθριδάτου δὲ μὴ θέλοντος μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ Τιγράνην περιμένοντος ἤδη καταβαίνοντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἔγνω πρὶν ἀμφοτέρους συνελθεῖν πάλιν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ δια-
3 γωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὁδὸν οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ στασιάζαντες ἀπέλιπον τὰς τάξεις, ὥς ἀφειμένοι δόγματι τῆς

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runaway slaves in Italy. "Why, then," he would cry, "if our campaigns are never to come to an end, do we not reserve what is left of our bodies, and our lives, for a general in whose eyes the wealth of his soldiers is his fairest honour?"

For such reasons as these the army of Lucullus was demoralised, and refused to follow him either against Tigranes, or against Mithridates, who had come back into Pontus from Armenia, and was trying to restore his power there. They made the winter their excuse for lingering in Gordyené, expecting every moment that Pompey, or some other commander, would be sent out to succeed Lucullus.

XXXV. But when tidings came that Mithridates had defeated Fabius,¹ and was on the march against Sornatius and Triarius, they were struck with shame and followed Lucullus. But Triarius, who was ambitious to snatch the victory, which he thought assured, before Lucullus, who was near, should come up, was defeated in a great battle. It is said that over seven thousand Romans fell, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes; and their camp was captured by Mithridates. But Lucullus, coming up a few days afterward, hid Triarius from the search of his infuriated soldiers. Then, since Mithridates was unwilling to give fight, but lay waiting for Tigranes, who was coming down with a large force, he determined to anticipate the junction of their armies, and march back to meet Tigranes in battle. But while he was on the way thither, the Fimbrian soldiers mutinied and left their ranks, declaring that they were discharged from

¹ 67 B.C.

στρατείας καὶ μηκέτι τῷ Λουκούλλῳ προσήκον
 ἄρχειν, ἑτέροις ἀποδεδειγμένων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν.
 οὐδὲν οὖν ἔστιν ὃ τι τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν ὁ Λούκουλλος
 οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀντιβδῶν καθ' ἓνα καὶ κατὰ
 σκηναὺς περιῶν ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος, ἔστι
 4 δ' ὦν καὶ χειρὸς¹ ἀπτόμενος. οἱ δ' ἀπετρίβοντο
 τὰς δεξιῶσεις καὶ κενὰ προσερρίπτουν βαλάντια,
 καὶ μόνον μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευον,
 ἀφ' ὧν μόνος ἠπίστατο πλουτεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν δεομένων ἐκβιασθέντες
 οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ συνέθεντο παραμεῖναι τὸ θέρος· 516
 εἰάν δὲ μηδεὶς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ κατῆι πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἀγωνιούμενος, ἀπηλλάχθαι. ταῦτ' ἔδει
 στέργειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸν Λούκουλλον, ἥ προσέσθαι
 5 τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν χώραν ἀπολειφθέντα. συνεί-
 χεν οὖν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι προσβιαζόμενος οὐδὲ
 προάγων πρὸς μάχην, ἀλλ' εἰ παραμένοιεν
 ἀγαπῶν, καὶ περιορῶν πορθουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Τιγράνου τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑβρίζοντα
 Μιθριδάτην, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπεστάλκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ
 γράφῳ καταπεπολεμῆσθαι· καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις
 παρῆσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ
 6 πραγμάτων, ὡς δὴ βεβαίως ἐχομένων. καὶ δὴ
 παρόντες ἑώρων οὐδ' αὐτοῦ κύριον, ἀλλὰ παροι-
 νούμενον καὶ προπηλακιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν, οἷς γε τοσοῦτο περιῆν τῆς εἰς τὸν στρατηγὸν
 ἀσελγείας, ὥστε τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος ἐνδύντες

¹ καὶ χειρὸς S; χειρός.

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service by decree of the people, and that Lucullus no longer had the right to command them, since the provinces had been assigned to others. Accordingly, there was no expedient, however much beneath his dignity, to which Lucullus did not force himself to resort,—entreating the soldiers man by man, going about from tent to tent in humility and tears, and actually taking some of the men by the hand in supplication. But they rejected his advances, and threw their empty purses down before him, bidding him fight the enemy alone, since he alone knew how to get rich from them. However, at the request of the other soldiers, the Fimbrians were constrained to agree to remain during the summer; but if, in the meantime, no enemy should come down to fight them, they were to be dismissed. Lucullus was obliged to content himself with these terms, or else to be deserted and give up the country to the Barbarians. He therefore simply held his soldiers together, without forcing them any more, or leading them out to battle. Their remaining with him was all he could expect, and he looked on helplessly while Tigranes ravaged Cappadocia and Mithridates resumed his insolent ways,—a monarch whom he had reported by letter to the Senate as completely subdued. Besides, the commissioners were now with him, who had been sent out to regulate the affairs of Pontus, on the supposition that it was a secure Roman possession. And lo, when they came, they saw that Lucullus was not even his own master, but was mocked and insulted by his soldiers. These went so far in their outrageous treatment of their general, that, at the close of the summer, they donned their

τὰ ὄπλα καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας προεκα-
λύντο τοὺς μηδαμοῦ παρόντας, ἀλλ' ἀπηρκότας
ἤδη πολεμίους. ἀλαλάξαντες δὲ καὶ σκιαμαχή-
σαντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπιμαρτυ-
ράμενοι πεπληρῶσθαι τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ὡμολόγησαν
τῷ Λουκούλλῳ παραμένειν.

- 7 Τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκάλει διὰ γραμμάτων Πομπή-
ϊος· ἤδη γὰρ ἀποδέδεικτο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην
καὶ Τιγράνην πολέμου στρατηγὸς χάριτι τοῦ
δήμου καὶ κολακείᾳ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἐπεὶ τῇ γε
βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἄδικα πάσχειν ἐδόκει
Λούκουλλος οὐ πολέμου διαδόχους, ἀλλὰ θριάμ-
βου λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀναγκαζό-
μενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπάθλων τῆς στρατηγίας ἐξί-
στασθαι καὶ παραχρεῖν ἐτέροις.

- XXXVI. Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφάνη τὸ γινόμενον
τοῖς ἐκεῖ παροῦσι νεμεσητόν. οὔτε γὰρ τιμῆς ὁ
Λούκουλλος οὔτε τιμωρίας τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κύριος
ὑπῆρχεν, οὐδ' εἶα τινὰ Πομπήϊος βαδίζειν πρὸς
αὐτὸν οὐδὲ προσέχειν οἷς ἐκείνος ἔγραφε καὶ
διένεμε μετὰ τῶν δέκα πρέσβων, ἀλλ' ἐκώλυεν
ἐκτιθεῖς διαγράμματα καὶ φοβερὸς παρὼν ἀπὸ
2 μείζονος δυνάμεως. ὅμως δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς φίλοις
συναγαγεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ συνήλθον ἐν κώμῃ τιτὶ
τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ προσεΐπον ἀλλήλους φιλοφρό-
νως καὶ συνήσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις
ἐκατέρῳ, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὢν ὁ Λούκουλλος,
ἀξίωμα δ' ἦν τὸ Πομπηίου μείζον ἀπὸ πλειόνων
στρατηγιῶν καὶ δυνεῖν θριάμβων. ῥάβδοι δ'

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armour, drew their swords, and challenged to battle an enemy who was nowhere near, but had already withdrawn. Then they shouted their war cries, brandished their weapons in the air, and departed from the camp, calling men to witness that the time had expired during which they had agreed to remain with Lucullus.

The rest of the soldiers Pompey summoned by letter, for he had already been appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates and Tigranes,¹ because he won the favour of the people and flattered their leaders. But the Senate and the nobility considered Lucullus a wronged man. He had been superseded, they said, not in a war, but in a triumph, and had been forced to relinquish and turn over to others, not his campaign, but the prizes of victory in his campaign.

XXXVI. But to those who were on the spot, what happened there seemed still greater matter for wrath and indignation. For Lucullus was not allowed to bestow rewards or punishments for what had been done in the war, nor would Pompey even suffer any one to visit him, or to pay any heed to the edicts and regulations which he made in concert with the ten commissioners, but prevented it by issuing counter-edicts, and by the terror which his presence with a larger force inspired. Nevertheless, their friends decided to bring the two men together, and so they met in a certain village of Galatia. They greeted one another amicably, and each congratulated the other on his victories. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey's prestige was the greater, because he had conducted more campaigns, and celebrated

¹ 66 B.C.

- ἀμφοτέρων προηγούντο δαφνηφόροι διὰ τὰς νίκας.
 3 καὶ τοῦ γε Πομπηίου μακρὰν ὁδὸν διὰ τόπων
 ἀνύδρων καὶ αὐχμηρῶν ὁδεύσαντος τὰς δάφνας
 ξηρὰς περικειμένας ταῖς ῥάβδοις ἰδόντες οἱ
 τοῦ Λουκούλλον ῥαβδοφόροι φιλοφρονούμενοι
 τοῖς ἐκείνου μετέδωκαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, προσ-
 φάτους καὶ θαλερὰς ἔχοντες. καὶ τὸ γινόμενον
 εἰς οἰωνὸν ἐτίθεντο χρηστὸν οἱ Πομπηίου φίλοι·
 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὴν ἐκείνου στρατηγίαν αἱ τούτου
 4 πράξεις ἐκόσμησαν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν λόγων πρὸς οὐδὲν
 ἐπιεικὲς συνέβησαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄλλοτριω-
 θέντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπῆλθον· καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Λουκούλλου γενομένας διατάξεις ἠκύρωσεν ὁ
 Πομπηῖος, στρατιώτας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαγαγὼν
 μόνους αὐτῷ χιλίους ἑξακοσίους ἀπέλιπε συν-
 θριαμβεύοντας, οὐδὲ τούτους μάλα προθύμως
 5 ἐπομένους. οὕτω τις ἦν ἀφύης ἢ δυστυχῆς ὁ
 Λούκουλλος πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πρῶτον
 καὶ μέγιστον· ὥς, εἰ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ, τηλικούτων ὄντων καὶ τοσούτων,
 μετ' ἀνδρείας, ἐπιμελείας, συνέσεως, δικαιοσύνης,
 οὐκ ἂν εἶχεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία τὸν Εὐφράτην
 6 τῆς Ἀσίας ὄρον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ τὴν Ἑρκα- 517
 νίαν θάλατταν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν Τιγράνη
 προηττημένων, τῆς δὲ Πάρθων δυνάμεως οὐχ ὅση
 κατὰ Κράσσον ἐξεφάνη τοσαύτης καὶ κατὰ Λού-
 κουλλον οὔσης οὐδ' ὁμοίως συνεστώσης, ἀλλ' ὑπ
 ἐμφυλίων καὶ προσοίκων πολέμων οὐδ' Ἀρμενίου
 ὑβρίζοντας ἐρρωμένης ἀμύνεσθαι.

Νῦν δέ μοι δοκεῖ Λούκουλλος ὢν ὠφέλησε δι'
 αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα βλάψαι μείζονα δι' ἐτέρων.

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two triumphs. Fasces wreathed with laurel were carried before both commanders in token of their victories, and since Pompey had made a long march through waterless and arid regions, the laurel which wreathed his fasces was withered. When the lictors of Lucullus noticed this, they considerably gave Pompey's lictors some of their own laurel, which was fresh and green. This circumstance was interpreted as a good omen by the friends of Pompey; for, in fact, the exploits of Lucullus did adorn the command of Pompey. However, their conference resulted in no equitable agreement, but they left it still more estranged from one another. Pompey also annulled the ordinances of Lucullus, and took away all but sixteen hundred of his soldiers. These he left to share his triumph, but even these did not follow him very cheerfully. To such a marvellous degree was Lucullus either unqualified or unfortunate as regards the first and highest of all requisites in a leader. Had this power of gaining the affection of his soldiers been added to his other gifts, which were so many and so great,—courage, diligence, wisdom, and justice,—the Roman empire would not have been bounded by the Euphrates, but by the outer confines of Asia, and the Hyrcanian sea; for all the other nations had already been subdued by Tigranes, and in the time of Lucullus the Parthian power was not so great as it proved to be in the time of Crassus, nor was it so well united, nay rather, owing to intestine and neighbouring wars, it had not even strength enough to repel the wanton attacks of the Armenians.

Now my own opinion is that the harm Lucullus did his country through his influence upon others, was greater than the good he did her himself. For his

7 τὰ γὰρ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τρόπαια Πάρθων πλησίον ἐστῶτα καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ Νίσιβις καὶ πλοῦτος ἐκ τούτων πολὺς εἰς Ῥώμην κομισθεὶς καὶ τὸ Τιγράνου διάδημα πομπευθὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπῆρε Κράσσον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς λάφυρα καὶ λείαν τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ὄντας. ταχὺ μέντοι τοῖς Πάρθων τοξεύμασιν ἐντυχὼν ἀπέδειξε τὸν Λούκουλλον οὐκ ἀφροσύνη καὶ μαλακίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτοῦ δὲ τόλμῃ καὶ δεινότητι περιγενόμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος ἀναβὰς εἰς Ῥώμην πρῶτον μὲν κατέλαβε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάρκον ὑπὸ Γαίου Μεμμίου κατηγορούμενον ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξε ταμιέων Σύλλα προστάξαντος. ἐκείνου δ' ἀποφυγόντος ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ὁ Μέμμιος μεταβαλλόμενος παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ νεοσφισμένῳ καὶ μηκύναντι τὸν πόλεμον ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ μὴ δοῦναι θρίαμβον. ἐλθόντος δ' εἰς ἀγῶνα τοῦ Λουκούλλου μέγαν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι καταμίξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς φυλαῖς πολλῇ δεήσει καὶ σπουδῇ μόλις ἔπεισαν τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτρέψαι θριαμβεῦσαι, οὐχ, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι, μήκει τε πομπῆς καὶ πλήθει τῶν κομιζομένων ἐκπληκτικὸν καὶ ὀχλώδη θρίαμβον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις τῶν πολεμίων οὖσι παμπόλλοις καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μηχανήμασι τὸν Φλαμίνειον ἱππόδρομον διεκόσμησε· καὶ θέα τις 3 ἦν αὐτῇ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· ἐν δὲ

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trophies in Armenia, standing on the borders of Parthia, and Tigranocerta, and Nisibis, and the vast wealth brought to Rome from these cities, and the display in his triumph of the captured diadem of Tigranes, incited Crassus to his attack upon Asia ; he thought that the Barbarians were spoil and booty, and nothing else. It was not long, however, before he encountered the Parthian arrows, and proved that Lucullus had won his victories, not through the folly and cowardice of his enemies, but through his own daring and ability. This, however, is later history.

XXXVII. Now when Lucullus had returned to Rome, he found, in the first place, that his brother Marcus was under prosecution by Gaius Memmius for his acts as quaestor under the administration of Sulla. Marcus, indeed, was acquitted, but Memmius then turned his attack upon Lucullus, and strove to excite the people against him. He charged him with diverting much property to his own uses, and with needlessly protracting the war, and finally persuaded the people not to grant him a triumph. Lucullus strove mightily against this decision, and the foremost and most influential men mingled with the tribes, and by much entreaty and exertion at last persuaded the people to allow him to celebrate a triumph ;¹ not, however, like some, a triumph which was startling and tumultuous from the length of the procession and the multitude of objects displayed. Instead, he decorated the circus of Flaminius with the arms of the enemy, which were very numerous, and with the royal engines of war ; and this was a great spectacle in itself, and far from contemptible.

¹ 66 B.C.

τῇ πομπῇ τῶν τε καταφράκτων ἱππέων ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἀρμάτων δέκα παρήλθον, ἐξήκοντα δὲ φίλοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν, μακραὶ δὲ χαλκέμβολοι νῆες ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα ἅμα παρεκομίσθησαν, αὐτοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου χρύσεος ἐξάπους κολοσσός, καὶ θυρεός τις διάλιθος, καὶ φορήματα εἴκοσι μὲν ἀργυρῶν σκευῶν, χρυσῶν δ' ἐκπωμάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ νομίσματος δύο καὶ 4 τριάκοντα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄνδρες παρεκόμεζον· ἡμίονοι δ' ὅκτὼ κλίνας χρυσᾶς ἔφερον, ἐξ δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα κεχωνευμένον ἀργύριον, ἄλλοι δ' ἑκατὸν ἐπτὰ νομίσματος ἀργυροῦ, μικρῷ τινι δεούσας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας. ἐν δὲ δέλτοις ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν ἤδη δεδομένων χρημάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Πομπητῆς πρὸς τὸν πειρατικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου, καὶ χωρὶς ὅτι στρατιώτης ἕκαστος ἐνακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἔλαβεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις τήν τε πόλιν εἰστίασε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὰς περιοικίδας κώμας, ἃς οὐίκους καλοῦσι.

XXXVIII. Τῆς δὲ Κλωδίας ἀπηλλαγμένος, οὔσης ἀσελγοῦς καὶ πονηρᾶς, Σερουίλιαν ἐγήμεν, ἀδελφὴν Κάτωνος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον εὐτυχῇ γάμον. ἐν γὰρ οὐ προσῆν αὐτῷ τῶν Κλωδίας κακῶν μόνον, ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαβολή· τὰλλα δὲ βδελυρὰν ὁμοίως οὔσαν καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἠναγκάζετο φέρειν αἰδούμενος Κάτωνα, τέλος δὲ ἀπέειπεν.

2 Ἐλπίδας δὲ θαυμαστὰς τῇ βουλῇ παρασχών, ὥς ἐχούσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἀντίταγμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πομπητοῦ τυραννίδα καὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας

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But in the procession, a few of the mail-clad horsemen and ten of the scythe-bearing chariots moved along, together with sixty of the king's friends and generals. A hundred and ten bronze-beaked ships of war were also carried along, a golden statue of Mithridates himself, six feet in height, a wonderful shield adorned with precious stones, twenty litters of silver vessels, and thirty-two litters of gold beakers, armour, and money. All this was carried by men. Then there were eight mules which bore golden couches, fifty-six bearing ingots of silver, and a hundred and seven more bearing something less than two million seven hundred thousand pieces of silver coin. There were also tablets with records of the sums of money already paid by Lucullus to Pompey for the war against the pirates, and to the keepers of the public treasury, as well as of the fact that each of his soldiers had received nine hundred and fifty drachmas. To crown all, Lucullus gave a magnificent feast to the city, and to the surrounding villages called *Vici*.

XXXVIII. After his divorce from Clodia, who was a licentious and base woman, he married Servilia, a sister of Cato, but this, too, was an unfortunate marriage. For it lacked none of the evils which Clodia had brought in her train except one, namely, the scandal about her brothers. In all other respects Servilia was equally vile and abandoned, and yet Lucullus forced himself to tolerate her, out of regard for Cato. At last, however, he put her away.

The Senate had conceived wondrous hopes that in him it would find an opposer of the tyranny of Pompey and a champion of the aristocracy, with all

- πρόμαχον ἀπὸ δόξης καὶ δυνάμειος ὀρμώμενον
 μεγάλης, ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ προήκατο τὴν πολιτείαν,
 εἴτε δυσκάθεκτον ἤδη καὶ νοσοῦσαν ὀρώων εἶθ', ὥς
 φασιν ἔνιοι, μεστὸς ὦν δόξης καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾶσδον
 ἀναπίπτων τοῦ βίου καὶ μαλακώτατον ἐκ πολλῶν
 ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων οὐκ εὐτυχέστατον τέλος
 3 λαβόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν 518
 τοσαύτην μεταβολήν, τὸ Μαρίου πάθος μὴ
 παθόντος, ὃς ἐπὶ ταῖς Κιμβρिकाῖς νίκαις καὶ τοῖς
 καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἐκείνοις κατορθώμασιν οὐκ
 ἠθέλησεν αὐτὸν ἀνεῖναι τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ ζηλωτόν,
 ἀλλ' ἀπληστίᾳ δόξης καὶ ἀρχῆς νέοις ἀνδράσι
 γέρων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος εἰς ἔργα δεινὰ καὶ πάθη
 δεινότερα τῶν ἔργων ἐξώκειλε· βέλτιον δ' ἂν καὶ
 Κικέρωνα γηρᾶσαι μετὰ Κατιλίαν ὑποστειλά-
 μενον καὶ Σκηπίωνα Καρχηδόνι προσθέντα
 4 Νομαντίαν, εἴτα παυσάμενον· εἶναι γάρ τινα καὶ
 πολιτικῆς περιόδου κατάλυσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀθλη-
 τικῶν ἀγώνων τοὺς πολιτικούς οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀκμῆς
 καὶ ὥρας ἐπιλιπούσης ἐλέγχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
 Κράσσον καὶ Πομπήϊον ἐχλεύαζον τὸν Λούκουλ-
 λον εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀφεικότα καὶ πολυτέλειαν αὐτόν,
 ὥσπερ οὐ τοῦ τρυφᾶν μᾶλλον τοῖς τηλικούτοις
 παρ' ἡλικίαν ὄντος ἢ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ
 στρατηγεῖν.

- XXXIX. Ἔστι δ' οὖν τοῦ Λουκούλλου βίου,
 καθάπερ ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, ἀναγνῶναι τὰ μὲν
 πρῶτα πολιτείας καὶ στρατηγίας, τὰ δ' ὕστερα
 πότους καὶ δείπνα καὶ μονονουχὶ κώμους καὶ
 2 λαμπάδας καὶ παιδιὰν ᾗπασαν. εἰς παιδιὰν γὰρ
 ἔγωγε τίθεμαι καὶ οἰκοδομὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ
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the advantage of great glory and influence; but he quitted and abandoned public affairs, either because he saw that they were already beyond proper control and diseased, or, as some say, because he had his fill of glory, and felt that the unfortunate issue of his many struggles and toils entitled him to fall back upon a life of ease and luxury. Some commend him for making such a change, and thereby escaping the unhappy lot of Marius, who, after his Cimbrian victories and the large and fair successes which were so famous, was unwilling to relax his efforts and enjoy the honours won, but with an insatiate desire for glory and power, old man that he was, fought with young men in the conduct of the state, and so drove headlong into terrible deeds, and sufferings more terrible still. Cicero, say these, would have had a better old age if he had taken in sail after the affair of Catiline, and Scipio, too, if he had given himself pause after adding Numantia to Carthage; for a political cycle, too, has a sort of natural termination, and political no less than athletic contests are absurd, after the full vigor of life has departed. Crassus and Pompey, on the other hand, ridiculed Lucullus for giving himself up to pleasure and extravagance, as if a luxurious life were not even more unsuitable to men of his years than political and military activities.

XXXIX. And it is true that in the life of Lucullus, as in an ancient comedy, one reads in the first part of political measures and military commands, and in the latter part of drinking bouts, and banquets, and what might pass for revel-routs, and torch-races, and all manner of frivolity. For I must count as frivolity his costly edifices, his ambulatories

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- κατασκευὰς περιπάτων καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἔτι
 μᾶλλον γραφὰς καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὴν περὶ
 ταύτας τὰς τέχνας σπουδὴν, ἃς ἐκεῖνος συνήγε
 μεγάλους ἀναλώμασιν, εἰς ταῦτα τῷ πλούτῳ
 ῥύδην καταχρῶμενος, ὃν ἠθροίκει πολλὴν καὶ
 λαμπρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν, ὅπου καὶ νῦν, ἐπί-
 δοσιν τοιαύτην τῆς τρυφῆς ἐχούσης, οἱ Λουκουλ-
 λιανοὶ κῆποι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τοῖς πολυτελεστά-
 3 τοις ἀριθμοῦνται. τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις καὶ
 περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἔργα, λόφους ἀνακρεμαννύντος
 αὐτοῦ μεγάλους ὀρύγμασι καὶ τροχοὺς θαλάσσης
 καὶ διαδρομὰς ἰχθυοτρόφους τοῖς οἰκητηρίοις
 περιελίσσοντος καὶ διαίτας ἐναλίους κτίζοντος, ὁ
 Στωϊκὸς Τουβέρων θεασάμενος Ξέρξην αὐτὸν ἐκ
 4 τηβέννου προσηγόρευσεν. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ περὶ
 Τοῦσκλον ἐγγχώριοι δίαται καὶ κατασκοπαὶ
 περιόπτων καὶ κατασκευαὶ ἀναπεπταμένων
 ἀνδρῶνων καὶ περιπάτων, ἐν αἷς ὁ Πομπήϊος
 γενόμενος ἐμέμφετο τὸν Λούκουλλον, ὅτι πρὸς
 θέρος ἄριστα διαθεῖς τὴν ἔπαυλιν ἀοίκητον ἐν
 χειμῶνι πεποίηκε. γελάσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος “Εἴτα,”
 ἔφη, “σοὶ δοκῶ ἐλάττονα τῶν γεράνων νοῦν ἔχειν
 καὶ τῶν πελαργῶν, ὥστε ταῖς ὥραις μὴ συμμετα-
 5 βάλλειν τὰς διαίτας;” στρατηγοῦ δέ ποτε
 φιλοτιμουμένου περὶ θέας καὶ χορῶ τινι κόσμον
 αἰτουμένου πορφυρᾶς χλαμύδας ἀπεκρίνατο
 σκεψάμενος, ἂν ἔχῃ, δώσειν, εἴτα μεθ' ἡμέραν
 ἠρώτησεν αὐτόν, ὅπόσων δέοιτο. τοῦ δὲ ἑκατὸν
 ἀρκέσειν φήσαντος ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν δις τοσαύτας·
 εἰς ὃ καὶ Φλάκκος ὁ ποιητῆς ἐπιπεφώνηκεν, ὥς

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and baths, and still more his paintings and statues (not to speak of his devotion to these arts), which he collected at enormous outlays, pouring out into such channels the vast and splendid wealth which he accumulated from his campaigns. Even now, when luxury has increased so much, the gardens of Lucullus are counted among the most costly of the imperial gardens. As for his works on the sea-shore and in the vicinity of Neapolis, where he suspended hills over vast tunnels, girdled his residences with zones of sea and with streams for the breeding of fish, and built dwellings in the sea,—when Tubero the Stoic saw them, he called him Xerxes in a toga. He had also country establishments near Tusculum, with observatories, and extensive open banqueting halls and cloisters. Pompey once visited these, and chided Lucullus because he had arranged his country seat in the best possible way for summer, but had made it uninhabitable in winter. Whereupon Lucullus burst out laughing and said: “Do you suppose, then, that I have less sense than cranes and storks, and do not change residences according to the seasons?” A praetor was once making ambitious plans for a public spectacle, and asked of him some purple cloaks for the adornment of a chorus. Lucullus replied that he would investigate, and if he had any, would give them to him. The next day he asked the praetor how many he wanted, and on his replying that a hundred would suffice, bade him take twice that number. The poet Flaccus¹ alluded to this when

¹ *Epist.* i. 6, 45 f.

οὐ νομίζει πλούτον, οὐ μὴ τὰ παρορώμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα πλείονα τῶν φαινομένων ἐστί.

XL. Νεόπλουτα δ' ἦν τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὰ δείπνα τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν, οὐ μόνον στρωμαῖς ἀλουργέσι καὶ διαλίθοις ἐκπώμασι καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ἀκροάμασιν ἐπεισοδίοις, ἀλλ' ὧσιν τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ πεμμάτων περιττῶς διαπεπονημένων παρασκευαῖς ζηλωτὸν ἀνελευθέρους ποιούντος 2
ἐαυτόν. ὁ γοῦν Πομπήϊος εὐδοκίμησε νοσῶν τοῦ γὰρ ἱατροῦ κίχλην αὐτὸν λαβεῖν κελεύσαντος, τῶν δ' οἰκετῶν οὐκ ἂν εὐρεῖν ἀλλαχόθι φαρμένων θέρους ὥρα κίχλην ἢ παρὰ Λουκούλλῳ σιτευομένην, οὐκ εἶασε λαβεῖν ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἱατρόν “ Οὐκοῦν, εἰ μὴ Λούκουλλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπήϊος οὐκ ἂν ἔζησεν; ” ἄλλο τι παρασκευάσαι 3
τῶν εὐπορίστων ἐκέλευσε. Κάτων δ' ἦν αὐτῷ 519 φίλος καὶ οἰκεῖος, οὕτω δὲ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐδυσχέraitεν, ὥστε, νέου τινὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγον ἐπαχθῇ καὶ μακρὸν ἀκαίρως ὑπὲρ εὐτελείας καὶ σωφροσύνης διελθόντος, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ Κάτων “ Οὐ παύση, ” ἔφη, “ σὺ πλουτῶν μὲν ὡς Κράσσος, ζῶν δ' ὡς Λούκουλλος, λέγων δὲ ὡς Κάτων; ” ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο ῥηθῆναι μὲν οὕτως, ὑπὸ Κάτωνος δὲ οὐ λέγουσιν.

XLI. Ὁ μέντοι Λούκουλλος οὐχ ἡδόμενος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνυνόμενος τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ δῆλος ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. λέγεται γὰρ Ἑλληνας ἀνθρώπους ἀναβάοντας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐστιᾶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοὺς δ' ὄντως Ἑλληνικὸν τι παθόντας, αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ διωθεῖσθαι 600

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he said that he did not regard a house as wealthy in which the treasures that were overlooked and unobserved were not more than those which met the eye.

XL. The daily repasts of Lucullus were such as the newly rich affect. Not only with his dyed coverlets, and beakers set with precious stones, and choruses and dramatic recitations, but also with his arrays of all sorts of meats and daintily prepared dishes, did he make himself the envy of the vulgar. A saying of Pompey's, when he was ill, was certainly very popular. His physicians had prescribed a thrush for him to eat, and his servants said that a thrush could not be found anywhere in the summer season except where Lucullus kept them fattening. Pompey, however, would not suffer them to get one from there, but bade them prepare something else that was easily to be had, remarking as he did so to his physician, "What! must a Pompey have died if a Lucullus were not luxurious?" And Cato, who was a friend of his, and a relation by marriage, was nevertheless much offended by his life and habits. Once when a youthful senator had delivered a tedious and lengthy discourse, all out of season, on frugality and temperance, Cato rose and said; "Stop there! you get wealth like Crassus, you live like Lucullus, but you talk like Cato." Some, however, while they say that these words were actually uttered, do not say that they were spoken by Cato.

XLI. Moreover, that Lucullus took not only pleasure but pride in this way of living, is clear from the anecdotes recorded of him. It is said, for instance, that he entertained for many successive days some Greeks who had come up to Rome, and that they, with genuinely Greek scruples, were at last ashamed to accept his invitation, on the ground

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- την κλήσιν, ὡς δι' αὐτοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν τοσούτων
2 ἀναλίσκομένων· τὸν οὖν Λούκουλλον εἰπεῖν μει-
διάσαντα πρὸς αὐτούς· “Γίνεται μὲν τι τούτων
καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες “Ἕλληνες· τὰ μέντοι
πλείστα γίνεται διὰ Λούκουλλον.” ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνου
δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ μία τράπεζα καὶ μέτριον παρε-
σκευάσθη δεῖπνον, ἡγανάκτει καλέσας τὸν ἐπὶ
τούτῳ τεταγμένον οἰκέτην. τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, ὡς
οὐκ ᾔετο μηδενὸς κεκλημένου πολυτελοῦς τινος
αὐτὸν δεήσεσθαι “Τί λέγεις;” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ᾔδεις,
3 ὅτι σήμερον παρὰ Λουκούλλῳ δειπνεῖ Λούκουλ-
λος;” ὄντος δὲ περὶ τούτου, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν τῇ πόλει
λόγου πολλοῦ, προσήλθον αὐτῷ κατ' ἀγορὰν
σχολὴν ἄγοντι Κικέρων καὶ Πομπηῖος, ὁ μὲν ἐν
τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ὦν καὶ συνήθης, Πομπηίῳ δ'
ἦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατηγίας διαφορὰ πρὸς αὐτόν,
εἰώθεισαν δὲ χρῆσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι πολλάκις
4 ἐπιεικῶς ἀλλήλοις. ὑσπασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων
αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς ἔντευξιν· τοῦ δὲ
φήσαντος, ὡς ἄριστα, καὶ παρακαλοῦντος ἐντυγ-
χάνειν “Ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “βουλόμεθα δειπνήσαι
παρὰ σοὶ τήμερον οὕτως, ὅπως ἐστί σοι παρε-
σκευασμένα.” θρυπτομένου δὲ τοῦ Λουκούλλου
καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἡμέραν ἀξιούντος οὐκ ἔφασαν
ἐπιτρέψειν, οὐδ' εἶων διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς οἰκέταις,
ἵνα μὴ τι πλεον κελεύσῃ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτῷ
5 γινομένων, πλὴν τοσοῦτο μόνον αἰτουμένῳ συνε-
χώρησαν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἓνα τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐναντίον
ἐκείνων, ὅτι τήμερον ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δειπνήσοι·
τοῦτο γάρ τις εἶχε τῶν πολυτελῶν οἴκων ὄνομα.

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that he was incurring so much expense every day on their account; whereupon Lucullus said to them with a smile, "Some of this expense, my Grecian friends, is indeed on your account; most of it, however, is on account of Lucullus." And once, when he was dining alone, and a modest repast of one course had been prepared for him, he was angry, and summoned the servant who had the matter in charge. The servant said that he did not suppose, since there were no guests, that he wanted anything very costly. "What sayest thou?" said the master, "dost thou not know that to-day Lucullus dines with Lucullus?" While this matter was much talked of in the city, as was natural, Cicero and Pompey came up to him as he was idling in the forum. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and although the matter of the command of the army had led to some coolness between him and Pompey, still they were accustomed to frequent and friendly intercourse and conversation with one another. Accordingly, Cicero saluted him, and asked how he was disposed towards receiving a petition. "Most excellently well," said Lucullus, and invited them to make their petition. "We desire," said Cicero, "to dine with you to-day just as you would have dined by yourself." Lucullus demurred to this, and begged the privilege of selecting a later day, but they refused to allow it, nor would they suffer him to confer with his servants, that he might not order any thing more provided than what was provided for himself. Thus much, however, and no more, they did allow him at his request, namely, to tell one of his servants in their presence that he would dine that day in the Apollo. Now this was the name of one of his costly apartments,

καὶ τοῦτο σεσοφισμένος ἐλελήθει τοὺς ἄνδρας.
 ἐκάστω γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δειπνητηρίῳ τεταγμένον
 ἦν τίμημα δείπνου, καὶ χορηγίαν ἰδίαν καὶ παρα-
 σκευὴν ἕκαστον εἶχεν, ὥστε τοὺς δούλους ἀκού-
 σαντας, ὅπου βούλεται δειπνεῖν, εἰδέναι, πόσον
 δαπάνημα καὶ ποῖόν τι κόσμῳ καὶ διαθέσει
 γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ δεῖπνον· εἰώθει δὲ δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ
 6 Ἀπόλλωνι πέντε μυριάδων· καὶ τότε τοσούτου
 τελεσθέντος ἐξέπληξε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐν
 τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δαπάνης τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς.
 εἰς ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑβριστικῶς ἐχρήτο τῷ πλούτῳ
 καθάπερ ὄντως αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ βαρβάρῳ.

XLII. Σπουδῆς δ' ἄξια καὶ λόγου τὰ περὶ τὴν
 τῶν βιβλίων κατασκευήν. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ
 γεγραμμένα καλῶς συνήγεν, ἥ τε χρήσις ἦν
 φιλοτιμοτέρα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀνειμένων πᾶσι τῶν
 βιβλιοθηκῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς περιπάτων
 καὶ σχολαστηρίων ἀκωλύτως ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας ὥσπερ εἰς Μουσῶν τι καταγώγιον
 ἐκείσε φοιτῶντας καὶ συνδιημερεύοντας ἀλλήλοις,
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων χρειῶν ἀσμένως ἀποτρέχοντας.
 2 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συνεσχόλαζεν αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλων
 εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους τοῖς φιλολόγοις καὶ τοῖς
 πολιτικοῖς συνέπραττεν ὅτου δέοιντο· καὶ ὅλως
 ἐστία καὶ πρυτανεῖον Ἑλληνικὸν ὁ οἶκος ἦν αὐτοῦ
 τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς Ῥώμην. φιλοσοφίαν δὲ
 πᾶσαν μὲν ἡσπάζετο καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν εὐμενὴς ἦν
 καὶ οἰκείος, ἴδιον δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἐξ ἀρχῆς

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and he thus outwitted the men without their knowing it. For each of his dining-rooms, as it seems, had a fixed allowance for the dinner served there, as well as its own special apparatus and equipment, so that his slaves, on hearing where he wished to dine, knew just how much the dinner was to cost, and what were to be its decorations and arrangements. Now the usual cost of a dinner in the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and that was the sum laid out on the present occasion. Pompey was amazed at the speed with which the banquet was prepared, notwithstanding it had cost so much. In these ways, then, Lucullus used his wealth wantonly, as though it were in very truth a Barbarian prisoner-of-war.

XLII. But what he did in the establishment of a library deserves warm praise. He got together many books; and they were well written, and his use of them was more honourable to him than his acquisition of them. His libraries were thrown open to all, and the cloisters surrounding them, and the study-rooms, were accessible without restriction to the Greeks, who constantly repaired thither as to an hostelry of the Muses, and spent the day with one another, in glad escape from their other occupations. Lucullus himself also often spent his leisure hours there with them, walking about in the cloisters with their scholars, and he would assist their statesmen in whatever they desired. And in general his house was a home and prytaneium for the Greeks who came to Rome. He was fond of all philosophy, and well-disposed and friendly towards every school, but from the first he cherished a particular and zealous love for the Academy, not

- 3 ἔρωτα καὶ ζῆλον ἔσχευ, οὐ τῆς νέας λεγομένης, καίπερ ἀνθούσης τότε τοῖς Καρνεάδου λόγοις διὰ Φίλωνος, ἀλλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς, πιθανὸν ἄνδρα 520 καὶ δεινὸν εἰπεῖν τότε προστάτην ἐχούσης τὸν Ἀσκαλωνίτην Ἀντίοχον, ὃν πάσῃ σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος φίλον ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ συμβιωτὴν ἀντέταττε τοῖς Φίλωνος ἀκροαταῖς, ὧν καὶ
- 4 Κικέρων ἦν. καὶ σύγγραμμά γε πάγκαλον ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν αἴρεσιν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταλήψεως λόγον Λουκούλλῳ περιτέθεικεν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸν ἐναντίον. Λούκουλλος δ' ἀναγέγραπται τὸ βιβλίον.

Ἦσαν δ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φίλοι σφόδρα καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸν πάμπαν ἀπηλλάχει τῆς πολιτείας ἑαυτὸν ὁ

5 Λούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι καὶ πλεῖστον δύνασθαι φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἄμεινον, ὥς οὔτε ἀκίνδυνον οὔτ' ἀνύβριστον οὔσαν, εὐθύς ἀφῆκε Κράσῳ καὶ Κάτωνι· τούτους γὰρ οἱ τὴν Πομπηίου δύναμιν ὑφορώμενοι προεβάλλοντο τῆς βουλῆς, ἀπολεγόμενου τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὰ πρωτεῖα· κατέβαινε δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν διὰ τοὺς φίλους, εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον, εἰ Πομπηίου

6 τινὰ δέοι σπουδὴν ἢ φιλοτιμίαν ἐπηρεῶσαι. καὶ τὰς τε διατάξεις, ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἐποιήσατο τῶν βασιλέων κρατήσας, ἐξέκρουσε, καὶ νέμησιν τινα τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ γράφοντος ἐκώλυσε δοθῆναι συμπράττοντος Κάτωνος, ὥστε Πομπηίου εἰς τὴν

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the New Academy, so-called, although that school at the time had a vigorous representative of the doctrines of Carneades in Philo, but the Old Academy, which at that time was headed by a persuasive man and powerful speaker in the person of Antiochus of Ascalon. This man Lucullus hastened to make his friend and companion, and arrayed him against the disciples of Philo, of whom Cicero also was one. Indeed, Cicero wrote a noble treatise on the doctrines of this sect, in which he has put the argument in support of "apprehension" into the mouth of Lucullus, and carried the opposing argument himself. The book is entitled "Lucullus."¹

Lucullus and Cicero were, as I have said, ardent friends, and members of the same political party, for Lucullus had not withdrawn himself entirely from political life, although he lost no time in leaving to Crassus and Cato the ambitious struggle for the chief place and the greatest power, since he saw that it involved both peril and ignominy. For those who looked with suspicion upon the power of Pompey, made Crassus and Cato the champions of the senatorial party when Lucullus declined the leadership. But Lucullus would still go to the forum in support of his friends, and also to the Senate, whenever there was need of combating some ambitious scheme of Pompey's. Thus, the dispositions which Pompey made after his conquest of the kings, Lucullus made null and void, and his proposal for a generous distribution of lands to his soldiers, Lucullus, with the co-operation of Cato, prevented from being granted. Pompey therefore

¹ *Academicorum Priorum*, Liber Secundus, qui inscribitur Lucullus.

Κράσσου καὶ Καίσαρος φιλίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ συνωμοσίαν, καταφυγεῖν καὶ πληρώσαντα τὴν πόλιν ὀπλων καὶ στρατιωτῶν βία κυρῶσαι τὰ δόγματα, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ Λούκουλλον ἐκβαλόντα τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

- 7 Ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις προῆγον οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ Βέττιόν τινα, συνειληφέναι λέγοντες ἐπιβουλεύοντα Πομπηίῳ. καὶ ἐκείνος ἀνακρινόμενος ἐν μὲν τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατηγορήσεν ἐτέρων τινῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ δῆμῳ Λούκουλλον ὠνόμασεν, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεσκευασμένος ἀποκτεῖναι Πομπηίον. οὐδεὶς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ προσέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραντίκα δῆλος ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ συκοφαντία καὶ διαβολῇ προηγμένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐφωράθη τὸ πρᾶγμα μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ριφθέντος ἐκ τῆς εἵρκτῆς νεκροῦ, λεγομένου μὲν αὐτομάτως τεθνάναι, σημεῖα δ' ἀγχόνης καὶ πληγῶν ἔχοντος· ἐδόκει γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνερῆσθαι τῶν παρεσκευακῶτων.
- 8

- XLIII. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπῆγε τῆς πολιτείας τὸν Λούκουλλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Κάτων εἰς Κύπρον ἀπεστάλη, παντάπασιν ἐξελύθη. καὶ πρό γε τῆς τελευτῆς λέγεται νοσήσαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῷ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπομαραινομένην. Νέπως δὲ Κορνήλιος οὐχ ὑπὸ γήρως φησὶν οὐδὲ νόσου παραλλάξαι τὸν Λούκουλλον, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκοις ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἀπελευ-
2 θέρων Καλλισθένους διαφθαρέντα· τὰ δὲ φάρμακα δοθῆναι μὲν, ὡς ἀγαπῶτο μᾶλλον ὁ Καλλισθένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τοιαύτην ἔχειν δοκοῦντα τὴν δύναμιν, ἐκστήσαι δὲ καὶ κατακλύσαι τὸν λογισμὸν, ὥστ'
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took refuge in an alliance, or rather a conspiracy, with Crassus and Caesar, and by filling the city with his armed soldiery and expelling from the forum the partisans of Cato and Lucullus, got his measures ratified.

As these proceedings were resented by the nobles, the partisans of Pompey produced a certain Vettius, whom, as they declared, they had caught plotting against the life of Pompey. So the man was examined in the Senate, where he accused sundry other persons, but before the people he named Lucullus as the man who had engaged him to kill Pompey. However, no one believed his story, nay, it was at once clear that the fellow had been put forward by the partisans of Pompey to make false and malicious charges, and the fraud was made all the plainer when, a few days afterwards, his dead body was cast out of the prison. It was said, indeed, that he had died a natural death, but he bore the marks of throttling and violence, and the opinion was that he had been taken off by the very men who had engaged his services.

XLIII. Of course this induced Lucullus to withdraw even more from public life. And when Cicero was banished from the city, and Cato was sent out to Cyprus, he retired altogether. Even before his death, it is said that his understanding was affected and gradually faded away. But Cornelius Nepos says that Lucullus lost his mind not from old age, nor yet from disease, but that he was disabled by drugs administered to him by one of his freedmen, Callisthenes; that the drugs were given him by Callisthenes in order to win more of his love, in the belief that they had such a power, but they drove him from his senses and overwhelmed his reason

ἔτι ζώντος αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν διοικεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν.
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὥς ἀπέθανε, καθάπερ ἂν¹ ἐν ἀκμῇ
τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ τελευτή-
σαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἡχθέσθη καὶ συνέδραμε, καὶ τὸ
σῶμα κομισθὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων
νεανίσκων ἐβιάζετο θάπτειν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ
3 Ἄρεως, ὅπου καὶ Σύλλαν ἐθαψεν. οὐδενὸς δὲ
τοῦτο προσδοκήσαντος, οὐδὲ ῥαδίας οὔσης τῆς
παρασκευῆς, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ δεόμενος καὶ παραι-
τούμενος ἔπεισεν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν παρεσκευασμένην
ἐν τῷ περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἀγρῷ τοῦ νεκροῦ κηδεῖαν
γενέσθαι. πολὺν δ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς προσεβίω χρόνον,
ἀλλ' ὥς ἡλικία καὶ δόξῃ μικρὸν ἀπελείφθη, καὶ
τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, φιλαδελφότατος γενό-
μενος.

KIMΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις εὐδαιμονίσειε τοῦ τέλους 521
Λούκουλλον, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἣν ἤδη
κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐτεκταίνετο τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις
πολέμοις τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἔφθη προαποθανὼν καὶ
καταλύσας ἐν νοσοῦσῃ μέν, ἔτι δ' ἐλευθέρα τῇ
πατρίδι τὸν βίον. καὶ τοῦτό γε πάντων αὐτῷ
2 πρὸς Κίμωνα κοινότατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
οὐπω συντεταραγμένων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀλλ'
ἀκμὴν ἔχοντων ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ
μέντοι καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἀπειρηκῶς οὐδ' ἀλύων,
οὐδὲ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν στρατηγιῶν καὶ τῶν

¹ ἂν supplied by Reiske.

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so that even while he was still alive, his brother managed his property. However, when he died,¹ the people grieved just as much as if his death had come at the culmination of his military and political services, and flocked together, and tried to compel the young nobles who had carried the body into the forum to bury it in the Campus Martius, where Sulla also had been buried. But no one had expected this, and preparations for it were not easy, and so his brother, by prayers and supplications, succeeded in persuading them to suffer the burial to take place on the estate at Tusculum, where preparations for it had been made. Nor did he himself long survive Lucullus, but, as in age and reputation he came a little behind him, so did he also in the time of his death, having been a most affectionate brother.

COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

I. ONE might deem Lucullus especially happy in his end, from the fact that he died before that constitutional change had come, which fate was already contriving by means of the civil wars. His country was in a distempered state when he laid down his life, but still she was free. And in this respect, more than any other, he is like Cimon. For Cimon also died before Greece was confounded, and while she was at the acme of her power. He died, however, in the field, and at the head of an army, not exhausted or of a wandering mind, nor yet

¹ About 57 B.C.

- τροπαίων ἔπαθλον ποιούμενος εὐωχίας καὶ πότους, ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἐπισκώπτει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, τοῖς εὖ βεβιωκόσι φάσκοντας ἀποκείσθαι γέρας
- 3 ἐν ἄδου μέθην αἰώνιον. σχολή μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡσυχία καὶ διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους ἡδονήν τινα καὶ θεωρίαν ἔχοντας εὐπρεπέστατον ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ καὶ πεπαυμένῳ πολέμων καὶ πολιτείας παραμύθιον· τὸ δ' ἐφ' ἡδονήν, ὥς τέλος, καταστρέψαντα τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ἤδη λοιπὸν Ἀφροδίσια τῶν πολέμων καὶ στρατηγιῶν ἄγοντα παίζειν καὶ τρυφᾶν οὐκ ἄξια τῆς καλῆς Ἀκαδημείας, οὐδὲ τὸν Ξενοκράτη ζηλοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλικότος
- 4 πρὸς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον. ὃ καὶ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν· ὑπεναντίως γὰρ ἡ νεότης τοῦ μὲν ἐπίψογος καὶ ἀκόλαστος γεγονέναι δοκεῖ, τοῦ δὲ πεπαιδευμένη καὶ σώφρων. βελτίων οὖν ὧ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἢ μεταβολή· χρηστοτέρα γὰρ ἡ φύσις, ἐν ᾗ γηρᾷ μὲν τὸ χειρόν, ἐπακμάζει δὲ τὸ ἄμεινον.

- Καὶ μὴν ὁμοίως γε πλουτήσαντες οὐχ ὁμοίως
- 5 διέθεντο τὸν πλοῦτον. οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον ὁμοιωσαὶ τῷ νοτίῳ τείχει τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ὃ τοῖς ὑπὸ Κίμωνος κομισθεῖσιν ἐτελέσθη χρήμασι, τοὺς ἐν Νέα πόλει θαλάμους καὶ τὰς περικλύστους ἀπόψεις, ἃς Λούκουλλος ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἐξωκοδόμει λαφύρων· οὐδέ γε τῇ Κίμωνος τραπέξῃ τὴν Λουκούλλου παραβαλεῖν, τῇ δημοκρατικῇ καὶ φιλαν-
- 6 θρώπῳ τὴν πολυτελεῇ καὶ σατραπικῇ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς δαπάνης πολλοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν διέτρεφεν, ἡ δ' εἰς ὀλίγους τρυφῶντας ἀπὸ πολλῶν

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making feastings and revellings the crowning prize for arms and campaigns and trophies. Plato¹ banters the followers of Orpheus for declaring that for those who have lived rightly, there is laid up in Hades a treasure of everlasting intoxication. Leisure, no doubt, and quiet, and the pursuit of pleasantly speculative learning, furnish a most fitting solace for a man of years who has retired from wars and politics. But to divert fair achievements to pleasure as their final end, and then to sport and wanton at the head of Aphrodite's train, as a sequel to wars and fightings, was not worthy of the noble Academy, nor yet of one who would follow Xenocrates, but rather of one who leaned towards Epicurus. And this is the more astonishing, because, contrariwise, Cimon seems to have been of ill repute and unrestrained in his youth, while Lucullus was disciplined and sober. Better, surely, is the man in whom the change is for the better; for it argues a more wholesome nature when its evil withers and its good ripens.

And further, though both alike were wealthy, they did not make a like use of their wealth. There is no comparing the south wall of the Acropolis, which was completed with the moneys brought home by Cimon, with the palaces and sea-washed Belvideres at Neapolis, which Lucullus built out of the spoils of the Barbarians. Nor can the table of Cimon be likened to that of Lucullus; the one was democratic and charitable, the other sumptuous and oriental. The one, at slight outlay, gave daily sustenance to many; the other, at large cost, was prepared for a few luxurious livers. It may be said,

¹ *Republic*, ii. p. 363.

παρεσκευάζετο χρημάτων. εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίει διαφορὰν ὁ χρόνος· ἄδηλον γάρ, εἰ καὶ Κίμων ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ στρατηγιῶν εἰς ἀπόλεμον καὶ ἀπολίτευτον γῆρας ἀφείς αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἂν ἐχρήσατο σοβαρὰ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνειμένη διαίτη· καὶ γὰρ φιλοπότης καὶ πανηγυρικός καὶ τὰ πρὸς γυναῖκας, ὡς προεί-
 7 ρηται, διαβεβλημένος. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας κατορθώσεις ἡδονὰς ἐτέρας ἔχουσιν τῶν χειρόνων ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀσχολίαν ποιούσι καὶ λήθην ταῖς πολιτικαῖς καὶ φιλοτίμοις φύσεσιν. εἰ γοῦν καὶ Λούκουλλος ἐτελεύτησεν ἀγωνιζόμενος καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐδ' ἂν ὁ ψογερώτατος καὶ φιλομεμφότατος εὐρεῖν μοι δοκεῖ διαβολὴν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς διαίτης.

II. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὅτι μὲν ἀμφότεροι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν ἀγωνιστὰι δῆλον· ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάλη καὶ παγκρατίῳ στεφανουμένους ἔθει τινὲ παραδοξονίκας καλοῦσιν, οὕτω Κίμων ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ πεζομαχίας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἅμα τροπαίῳ στεφανώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα δίκαιός ἐστιν ἔχειν τινὰ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.
 2 καὶ μὴν Λουκούλλῳ μὲν ἡ πατρίς, Κίμων δὲ τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιέθηκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχούσῃ τῶν συμμάχων προσεκτήσατο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δ' ἄλλοις ἐπομένην παραλαβὼν ἅμα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ἐποίησε, Πέρσας μὲν ἀναγκάσας ἡττη- 522
 θέντας ἐκβῆναι τῆς θαλάσσης, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ

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indeed, that the difference in state was due to the difference in time. For it is at least possible that Cimon also, if he had retired after his active campaigns to an old age which knew neither war nor politics, might have led an even more ostentatious and pleasure-loving life. He was fond of wine and given to display, and his relations with women, as I have said before,¹ were scandalous. But success in strenuous achievement, affording as it does a higher pleasure, gives public-spirited and ambitious natures no time to indulge the baser appetites, which are forgotten. At any rate, if Lucullus also had ended his days in active military command, not even the most carping and censorious spirit, I think, could have brought accusation against him. Thus much concerning their manner of life.

II. In war, it is plain that both were good fighters, both on land and sea. But just as those athletes who win crowns in wrestling and the pancratium on a single day are called, by custom, "Victors-extraordinary," so Cimon, who in a single day crowned Greece with the trophies of a land and sea victory, may justly have a certain pre-eminence among generals. And further, it was his country which conferred imperial power upon Lucullus, whereas Cimon conferred it upon his. The one added his foreign conquests to a country which already ruled her allies; the other found his country obeying others, and gave her command over her allies and victory over her foreign foes, by defeating the Persians and driving them from the sea, and by persuading the Lacedaemonians voluntarily to

¹ See *Cimon*, iv. 8.

- 3 πείσας ἐκόντας ἐκστήναι. εἰ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἔργον ἡγεμόνος εὐπείθειαν ἐργάσασθαι δι' εὐνοίας,¹ Λούκουλλος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεφρονήθη, Κίμων δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐθαυμάσθη· παρ' οὗ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστησαν, πρὸς δὲ μετέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὧν ἄρχων ἐξῆλθεν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπανήλθεν, ὁ δὲ μεθ' ὧν ἐτέροις ποιήσων τὸ προσταττόμενον ἐξεπέμφθη, τούτοις αὐτὸς διδοὺς τὸ παράγγελμα κατέπλευσε, τρία τὰ πάντων δυσκολώτατα διαπεπραγμένος ὁμοῦ τῇ πόλει, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους εἰρήνην, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὁμόνοιαν.
- 4 Μεγάλας τοίνυν ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀμφοτέροι καταλύειν ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ἀτελεῖς ἐγένοντο τῶν πράξεων, ὁ μὲν καθάπαξ διὰ τὴν τύχην· ἐτελεύτησε γὰρ στρατηγῶν καὶ εὐημερῶν· τὸν δ' οὐ παντελῶς ἂν τις ἐξέλοιτο τῆς παρ' αὐτὸν αἰτίας, εἴτ' ἡγνόησεν εἴτ' οὐκ ἐθεράπευσε τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ διαφορὰς καὶ μέμψεις, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τηλικαύτας
- 5 ἀπεχθείας προῆλθεν. ἡ τοῦτό γε καὶ πρὸς Κίμωνα κοινόν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον ὑπήγαγόν τε εἰς δίκας οἱ πολῖται καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐξωστράκισαν, ἕν' αὐτοῦ δέκα ἐτῶν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τῆς φωνῆς μὴ ἀκούσωσιν. αἱ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατικαὶ φύσεις ὀλίγα τοῖς πολλοῖς συνάδουσι καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ προσβιαζόμεναι τῷ κατευθύνειν διαστρεφόμενους ἀνιῶσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν ἱατρῶν δεσμοί, καίπερ εἰς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν

¹ εὐνοίας with S: εὐνοϊαν.

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relinquish the command. Granted that it is the most important task of a leader to secure prompt obedience through good will, Lucullus was despised by his own soldiers, while Cimon was admired by the allies. His soldiers deserted the one; the allies came over to the other. The one came back home abandoned by those whom he commanded when he set out; the other was sent out with allies to do the commands of others, but before he sailed home he himself gave commands to those allies, having successfully secured for his city three of the most difficult objects at once, namely, peace with the enemy, leadership of the allies, and concord with the Lacedaemonians.

Again, both attempted to subvert great empires and to subdue all Asia, and both left their work unfinished: Cimon through ill fortune pure and simple, for he died at the head of his army and at the height of his success; but Lucullus one cannot altogether acquit of blame, whether he was ignorant of, or would not attend to the grievances and complaints among his soldiery, in consequence of which he became so bitterly hated. Or perhaps this has its counterpart in the life of Cimon, for he was brought to trial by his fellow citizens and finally ostracised, in order that for ten years, as Plato says,¹ they might not hear his voice. For aristocratic natures are little in accord with the multitude, and seldom please it, but by so often using force to rectify its aberrations, they vex and annoy it, just as physicians' bandages vex and annoy, although they bring the dislocated members into their natural

¹ *Gorgias*, p. 516.

ἄγοντες τὰς παραθρήσεις. ταύτης μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἀπαλλακτέον τῆς αἰτίας ἐκάτερον.

III. Πολὺ δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος προῆλθε τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν τε Ταῦρον ὑπερβαλὼν στρατοπέδῳ Ῥωμαίων πρῶτος, καὶ τὸν Τίγριν διαβὰς καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν ὅψει τῶν βασιλέων, Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ Κάβειρα καὶ Σινώπην καὶ
 2 Νίσιβιν, ἐλὼν καὶ καταφλέξας, καὶ τὰ μὲν βόρεια μέχρι Φάσιδος, τὰ δ' ἔφα μέχρι Μηδίας, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον καὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν οἰκειωσάμενος διὰ τῶν Ἀραβικῶν βασιλέων, συντρίψας δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν βασιλέων, ἀπολειφθεὶς δὲ
 3 μόνου τοῦ τὰ σώματα λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ θηρίων εἰς ἐρημίας καὶ ὕλας ἀστιβεῖς καὶ ἀβάτους ἀποδιδρασκόντων. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγα· Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν μέγα πεπονθότες ὑπὸ Κίμωνος εὐθύς ἀντετάττοντο τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ τὴν γε πολλὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κρατήσαντες διέφθειραν, Τιγράνου δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτου μετὰ Λούκουλλον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀσθενὴς
 4 ἤδη καὶ συγκεκομμένος ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀγώνων οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἐτόλμησε δεῖξαι Πομπηίῳ τὴν δύναμιν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλὰ φυγὼν εἰς Βόσπορον κατέβη κακεῖ κατέστρεψε, Τιγράνης δ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν γυμνὸν καὶ ἄνοπλον φέρων ὑπέρριψε Πομπηίῳ, καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόμενος ἔθηκε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν, οὐ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κολακεύων Πομπηίου, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου τεθριαμβευμένοις. ἠγάπησε γοῦν ἀπολαμβάνων τὰ σύμβολα τῆς βασιλείας ὡς ἀφηρημένος πρότερον.

COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

position. Perhaps, then, both come off about alike on this count.

III. But Lucullus was much the greater in war. He was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army; he passed the Tigris and captured and burned the royal cities of Asia,—Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinopé, and Nisibis, before the eyes of their kings; he made his own the regions to the north as far as the Phasis, to the east as far as Media, and to the south as far as the Red Sea, through the assistance of the Arabian kings; he annihilated the forces of the hostile kings, and failed only in the capture of their persons, since like wild beasts they fled away into deserts and trackless and impenetrable forests. Strong proof of his superiority is seen in this, that the Persians, since they had suffered no great harm at the hands of Cimon, straightway arrayed themselves against the Greeks, and overwhelmed and destroyed that large force of theirs in Egypt;¹ whereas, after Lucullus, Tigranes and Mithridates availed nothing: the latter, already weak and disabled by his first struggles, did not once dare to show Pompey his forces outside their camp, but fled away to the Bosporus, and there put an end to his life; as for Tigranes, he hastened to throw himself, while unrobed and unarmed, at the feet of Pompey, and taking the diadem from off his head, laid it there upon the ground, flattering Pompey thus not with his own exploits, but with those for which Lucullus had celebrated a triumph. At any rate, he was as much delighted to get back the insignia of his royalty as though he had been robbed of them before. Greater therefore is the general, as is the

¹ 454 B.C. See Thucydides, i. 109 f.

μείζων οὖν στρατηγός, ὥσπερ ἀθλητής, ὁ τῷ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀσθενέστερον παραδούς τὸν ἀντίπαλον.

- 5 Ἔτι τοίνυν Κίμων μὲν συντετριμμένην τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν καὶ τὸ Περσῶν φρόνημα συνεσταλμένον ἤτταις μεγάλαις καὶ ἀπαύστοις φυγαῖς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Πανσανίου καὶ Λεωτυχίδου καταλαβὼν ἐπενέβη καὶ ὑποπεπτωκότων καὶ προηττημένων ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ σώματα ῥαδίως ἐνίκησε, Λουκούλλῳ δὲ Τιγράνης ἀήττητος 523 ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μέγα φρονῶν συνέπεσε.
- 6 πλήθει δ' οὐδ' ἄξιον παραβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ Λούκουλλον συνελθοῦσι τοὺς ὑπὸ Κίμωνος κρατηθέντας. ὥστε πάντα μεταλαμβάνοντι δυσδιαίτητον εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀμφοτέροις ἔοικεν εὐμενὲς γενέσθαι, τῷ μὲν ἂν χρή κατορθοῦν, τῷ δ' ἂν φυλάττεσθαι χρή προμνηῦον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ψῆφον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ὡς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ θείοις τὴν φύσιν ἀμφοτέροις.

COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

athlete, who hands over his antagonist to his successor in a weaker plight.

Moreover, and still further, Cimon made his onsets when the power of the king had been broken, and the pride of the Persians humbled by great defeats and incessant routs at the hands of Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychides, and easily conquered the bodies of men whose spirits had been defeated beforehand and lay prone. But when Tigranes encountered Lucullus, he had known no defeat in many battles, and was in exultant mood. In point of numbers also, those who were overpowered by Cimon are not worthy of comparison with those who united against Lucullus. Therefore, one who takes everything into consideration finds it hard to reach a decision. Heaven seems to have been kindly disposed to both, directing the one as to what he must perform, and the other as to what he must avoid. Both, therefore, may be said to have received the vote of the gods as noble and god-like natures.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

- Acestodorus**, possibly the Acestodorus of Megalopolis, of unknown date, author of a work "On Cities."
- Achaia**, a province in the north of Peloponnesus, seat of the Achaean League (280-146 B.C.). In 167 B.C., the Romans deported 1000 Achaeans to Italy, where they were held for seventeen years. Among them was the historian Polybius. The name Achaia was afterwards given to the whole of southern Greece as a Roman province.
- Acharnae**, the largest deme, or township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.
- Adiabéné**, the western province of Assyria, lying along the Tigris river.
- Aeolian Isles**, a group of islands lying between Sicily and Italy (Lucania).
- Aeschines** the Socratic, a disciple of Socrates, and author of Socratic dialogues.
- Agessilaüs**, king of Sparta 398-361 B.C.
- Albania**, a country lying between Armenia, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus mountains, to the east of Iberia.
- Allia**, an insignificant stream, joining the Tiber about eleven miles above Rome, from the east.
- Amisus**, a city of Pontus (or Paphlagonia), on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea, some one hundred miles east of Sinopé.
- Ammon**, a Libyan divinity, identified with Zeus and Jupiter. His most famous oracle was in an oasis of the Libyan desert.
- Amphiaratüs**, a mythical seer and prophet, king of Argos, who perished in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.
- Anaxagoras**, of Clazomenae, in Ionian Asia Minor, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.C., when the enemies of Pericles secured his banishment.
- Andocides**, an Athenian orator, prominent 415-390 B.C. He betrayed the oligarchical party, incurring its hatred, and vainly tried to win the favour of the democratic party.
- Andros**, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, S.E. of Euboea.
- Anio**, a large river of Latium, rising in the Apennines, and joining the Tiber about three miles above Rome, from the east.
- Antiochus the Great**, king of Syria 223-187 B.C.
- Antiochus the philosopher**, of Ascalon, pupil of Philo in the school of the Academy, a friend of Lucullus, and a teacher of Cicero. He died in 68 B.C.
- Antipater**, regent of Macedonia after the death of Alexander (322 B.C.), victor over the confederate Greeks at Crannon, in Thessaly, 322. He died in 319.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

- Araxes**, a large river rising in Armenia, and flowing east into the Caspian Sea.
- Arbela**, an Assyrian town near which (at the village of Gaugamela) Darius suffered final defeat at the hands of Alexander, in 331 B.C.
- Archelaus**, of Miletus, the natural philosopher, said to have been a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a teacher of Socrates.
- Archidamus**, king of Sparta from 361 to 338 B.C., when he went to the aid of the Tarentines in Italy, and was killed in battle.
- Archon** *Eponymous*, the first of the board of nine archons at Athens, so called, after the Roman conquest, because the year was registered in his name.
- Aristogeiton**, slayer, with Harmodius, of Hipparchus, the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias, in 514 B.C. The two "tyrannicides" were afterwards honoured as patriots and martyrs.
- Ariston of Ceos**, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens about 225 B.C. (pp. 9, 217).
- Ariston the philosopher** (p. 355), of Chios, a Stoic, pupil of Zeno. In his later life he taught doctrines of the Cynic school. He flourished about 260 B.C., and is often confounded with Ariston of Ceos.
- Aristoxenus** the musician, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school.
- Armenia**, a country lying north of Mesopotamia and Assyria, between the upper Euphrates and Media.
- Artaxata**, the ancient capital of Armenia, on the river Araxes. See *Tigranocerta*.
- Artemisia**, queen of Halicarnassus, vassal of Xerxes, who distinguished herself in the battle of Salamis.
- Asopis**, a mythical personage, mother of Mentor by Heracles.
- Atilius, M. Atilius Regulus**, consul for the second time in 256 B.C., when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians.
- Atropatené**, a province of Media, to the east of Armenia.
- Attalus**, the name of three kings of Pergamum, in Asia Minor.

B

- Bithynia**, a country of N.W. Asia Minor, lying east of the Propontis, and along the coast of the Euxine Sea.
- Boëdromion**, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.
- Brundisium**, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic Sea.

C

- Cabeira (or Cabira)**, a city of Pontus, in the northern part of Asia Minor.
- Caepio, Q. Servilius**, consul in 106 B.C., receiving the province of Gallia Narbonensis, where, in the following year, on the 6th of October, his army was utterly annihilated by the Cimbri.
- Callisthenes**, of Olynthus, a relative and pupil of Aristotle, author of a *Hellenica*, or History of Greece, from 387 to 357 B.C. He accompanied Alexander the Great as historian of the expedition, the end of which he did not live to see.
- Cappadocia**, a district in eastern Asia Minor, south of Pontus, and north of Cilicia.
- Carneades**, of Cyrené, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.C. (when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and until his death in 129 B.C. He was famous for the persuasive force of his eloquence.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

- Chaeronela**, a town commanding the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, celebrated for the battles fought in its neighbourhood. Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.C.
- Chalcedon**, a city of Bithynia, at the entrance of the Euxine Sea, opposite Byzantium.
- Chaldaeans**, a general name for the inhabitants of Babylonia.
- Charon of Lampsacus**, a "logographer," a predecessor of Herodotus, who wrote a history of Persia in annalistic form.
- Chelidonian Isles**, a group of islands off the coast of Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor.
- Chersonese** (i.e. peninsula), here (p. 447) of the Thracian Chersonese, extending in a S.W. direction into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.
- Cilicia**, a country in southern Asia Minor, extending along the Mediterranean between Pamphylia and Syria.
- Cimbri**, a northern tribe which, joining with the Teutones, invaded southern Europe. They were at last annihilated by Marius in 101 B.C.
- Citium**, a town on the southern coast of Cyprus.
- Cleidemus**, the oldest annalist of Athens, who flourished during the closing years of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century B.C.
- Cleisthenes**, the Athenian aristocrat who introduced the democratic reforms which followed the expulsion of the tyrants in 510 B.C.
- Cleitarchus** (Clitarchus), a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a rhetorical history of it. He was the son of Deinon.
- Cleonae**, a city nearly midway between Argos and Corinth in Peloponnesus. The Nemean games were celebrated in its territory.
- Cnidus**, a Dorian city in the S.W. of Caria, in south-western Asia Minor.
- Colchis**, a district at the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea, north of Armenia.
- Colophon**, one of the cities of Ionian Asia Minor.
- Corcyra**, an island in the Ionian Sea, opposite Epeirus, the modern Corfu.
- Cos**, an island off the S.W. coast of Caria, opposite Cnidus.
- Crannon**, a town in central Thessaly, the seat of the wealthy family of the Scopadae.
- Craterus the Macedonian**, a half-brother of Antigonus Gonatas, the king of Macedonia (ob. 239 B.C.), who compiled historical documents, such as decrees and other published inscriptions, bearing on the history of Athens.
- Critias**, one of the "thirty tyrants" (404-403 B.C.), like Alcibiades a follower of Socrates, author of tragedies, and elegiac poems on political subjects.
- Cronus**, the father of Zeus, identified with the Roman Saturnus.
- Curius**, Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290 B.C., in which year he brought the long war with the Samnites to a close and reduced the revolted Sabines. In 275 B.C., he defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum. He celebrated two triumphs in 290, and one in 275.
- Cyanean Isles**, two islands at mouth of the Bosphorus, entrance into the Euxine; the clashing isles of myth.
- Cyné**, an Aeoian city on the coast of Asia Minor, S.E. of Lampsacus.
- Cyrené**, a Greek city on the northern coast of Africa, commercial relations with Carthage, Greece, and Egypt.
- Cyzicus**, a city on the southern shore of the Propontis, in Mysia, were strongly situated on the neck of a peninsula.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

D

- Damastes, of Sigæum in the Troad, a historian contemporary with Herodotus, and author, besides many other works, of a genealogy of the Greeks who fought at Troy.
- Deceleia, a mountain citadel of Attica, about fourteen miles from Athens towards Boeotia.
- Deinon (Dinon), of Colophon, author of a History of Persia, father of Cleitarchus the historian of Alexander's expedition.
- Demetrius of Phalerum, regent at Athens for Cassander 317-307 B.C., a voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.
- Diodorus the Topographer (Periegetes), of Athens (probably), a contemporary of Alexander the Great, wrote on the deines and monuments of Attica.
- Dion, of Syracuse, an ardent disciple of Plato, master of Syracuse after the expulsion of Dionysius II, assassinated in 353 B.C.
- Dodona, a town in Epeirus, seat of the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

E

- Elaea, an Aeolic city of Asia Minor, the port for Pergamum.
- Epaminondas, Theban general and statesman, friend of Pelopidas, fell in the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.
- Ephesus, one of the twelve Ionian cities, in Lydia, Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river Cæster.
- Ephors, five chief magistrates at Sparta elected annually. The first Ephor gave his name to the year, like the Athenian Archon *Eponymous*.
- Ephorus, of Cymé, pupil of Isocrates, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.
- Epicurus, founder of the philo-

sophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C.

- Eratosthenes, of Cyrené, librarian at Alexandria, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, a writer also on philosophy and ethics, 275-194 B.C.
- Eumenes, king of Pergamum in Asia Minor from 197 to 159 B.C., and like his father (Attalus I), a persistent friend of Rome.
- Eurymedon, a river flowing through Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor, into the Mediterranean.

F

- Fabricius, C. Fabricius Luscinus, like Curius and Atilius a representative of the sterling virtues of the more ancient times, ambassador to Pyrrhus at Tarentum after the disastrous battle of Heracleia, 280 B.C., consul in 278 B.C., censor in 275, with the severity of a Cato.

G

- Gabinian way, Via Gabina (earlier called Via Tiburtina), leading eastwards from Rome to Tibur (Tivoli).
- Galatia, a district in central Asia Minor.
- Gordyené, a district of southern Armenia, lying east of the river Tigris.
- Gorgias, of Leontini in Sicily, famous for his eloquence, came on an embassy to Athens in 427 B.C., when sixty years of age, and spent the rest of his life in that and neighbouring cities, amassing great wealth as a paid teacher of rhetoric.
- Granicus, a river of Troas, flowing north into the Propontis.

H

- Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, implacable enemy of the Romans,

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

father of Hannibal, and founder of the Carthaginian empire in Spain, died in 229 B.C.

Hecatombæon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.

Helots, a name given to the original inhabitants of Laconia who had lost both land and freedom. They were state slaves. See *Perioeci*.

Heracleia (p. 423), called Pontica, to distinguish it from the many other cities of the same name, a city of Bithynia (or Phrygia Minor) on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea.

Heracleides, called Ponticus from his birth in Heracleia Pontica, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects. Cicero thought him superstitious and uncritical.

Hieronymus the Rhodian, a disciple of Aristotle, flourishing about 300 B.C. Little is known about him, though he is often quoted by Cicero.

Hippocrates, the second of that name, and the most famous physician of ancient times, 460-357 B.C.

Hyrcean Sea, another name for the Caspian Sea, from the province of Hyrcania to the S.E. of it.

I

Iberia, a country east of Colchis, between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.

Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month in March, May, July, and October; the thirteenth in the other months.

Idomeneus, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342-270 B.C.), author of biographical works on "The Socratics," and "The Demagogues."

Ino, daughter of Cadmus, and wife of Athamas, the king of Orchomenus in Boeotia. After her

death she was worshipped as Leucothea, a sea goddess. According to one of the many myths connected with her name, she became mad with jealousy of a female slave, and slew her own son. See *Plutarch, Roman Questions*, 16.

Ion, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., also author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

Isocrates, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436-338 B.C.

J

Jason, the great hero of the Argonautic expedition, husband of Medea.

L

Lampræ, name of two demes, or townships, in S.E. Attica.

Lemnos, a large island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea.

Leucothea. See *Ino*.

Lycaonia, a district in central Asia Minor, between Galatia and Cilicia.

Lycurgus, the semi-historical law-giver of Sparta, where he was honoured as a god.

Lysias, the Attic orator, 458-378 B.C.

M

Mæotis, Lake, the modern Sea of Azov, N.E. of the Euxine Sea.

Maimacterion, the fifth month of the Attic year, corresponding nearly to our November.

Mardians, a tribe on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

Marsi, an ancient people of central Italy, akin to the Sabines. After their defeat in 89 B.C., they were admitted to the Roman citizenship, with the other Italians.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Melanthius, an author of tragedies and elegiac poems, contemporary with Cimon at Athens.

Melissus, of Samos, a famous natural philosopher, a disciple of Parmenides, who led the Samians successfully against Pericles.

Mesopotamia, the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers above Babylonia.

Metageitnion, the second month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our August.

Metellus Pius, Q. Caecilius, obtained the surname of Pius for persuading the people to recall his father, Metellus Numidicus, from banishment. He was a successful general under Sulla, and consul with him in 80 B.C. He died about 63 B.C.

Mithridates, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly known as Mithridates the Great, 120-63 B.C., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.

Mitylené the largest city of Lesbos, off the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.

Mygdonia, a district in the N.E. of Mesopotamia.

N

Nausicrates (or Naucrates), the rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates. He composed models of funeral orations for men of note.

Neanthes, of Cyzicus, a voluminous writer of history, who flourished about 240 B.C. He belonged to the school of Isocrates.

Nepos, Cornelius, Roman biographer and historian, a contemporary and friend of Cicero.

Nicomedeia, capital of Bithynia, at the N.E. corner of the Propontis.

Nisibis, the chief city of Mygdonia (*q.v.*).

Nones, the ninth day before the Ides of the Roman month, falling therefore on the seventh day of

the month in March, May, July, and October, and on the fifth day of the other months.

Numantia, a city in the northern part of Spain, taken after a memorable siege by Scipio Africanus, in 134 B.C.

O

Oropus, a town and district on the northern and eastern borders (respectively) of Attica and Boeotia, much in dispute between Athenians and Thebans.

Orpheus, the mythical singer of Thrace, and one of the Argonauts.

P

Pagasaë, a city in S.E. Thessaly, at the head of a gulf of the same name, famed in story as the port from which Jason set sail with the Argonauts.

Palatium, the Palatine hill of Rome.

Pamphylia, a country on the south coast of Asia Minor, between Lycia and Cilicia.

Panaetius, of Rhodes, the Stoic philosopher, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.C.

Parthia, in the time of Lucullus, a vast realm to the east of Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia.

Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens in 560 B.C., and during seventeen of the thirty-three years thereafter.

Pelopidas, Theban general and statesman, bosom friend of Epaminondas, killed in battle 364 B.C.

Pergamum (or Pergamus), an ancient city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, on the river Calvus. After 283 B.C., it was the seat of the Attalid dynasty.

Perioeci, the name of those inhabitants of Sparta who kept their lands and personal liberty, unlike the Helots, but who did not exercise the rights of citizenship.

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- Perseus** (pp. 347, 363), the last king of Macedonia, son of Philip V. He graced the triumph of Aemilius Paulus in 167 B.C., and died at Rome several years later.
- Perseus** (p. 411), the famous Argive hero, son of Zeus and Danaë, slayer of the Gorgon Medusa.
- Phalerum**, the ancient harbour of Athens, before Themistocles fortified the Peiræus.
- Phanias**, the Lesbian, of Eresos, the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prolific writer on philosophy and history,—a historical romancer.
- Phanodemus**, a writer of Attic annals, after the manner of Cleidemus (*q.v.*).
- Pharnacia**, a city of Pontus, on the southern shore of the Euxine, N.E. of Cabeira.
- Phasis**, a river of Colchis, flowing into the Euxine at its eastern end.
- Philip** (p. 139), of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, secured the leadership of Greece in the battle at Chaeroneia, 338 B.C.
- Philip** (p. 335), Philip V of Macedon, father of Perseus, from 216 B.C. till his death in 179 a formidable enemy of Rome.
- Philo** (p. 607), the Academic, of Larissa, removed from Athens to Rome about 88 B.C., where he was teacher of Cicero, and where he died about 80 B.C.
- Phlya**, a deme, or township, somewhere in the N.E. of Attica.
- Phrygia**, a large province in western and north-western Asia Minor.
- Phylarchus**, of Naucratis and Athens, a Greek historian who flourished about 220 B.C., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his *Agis and Cleomenes*.
- Pitané**, an ancient Aeolian city on the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.
- Polybius**, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, born about 204 B.C., one of the Achaean exiles (see *Achaia*) in 167. In Rome, he resided in the house of Aemilius Paulus, and became the intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.
- Pontus**, a large district in N.E. Asia Minor, stretching along the southern shore of the Euxine.
- Potamus**, the name of a deme, or township, in eastern Attica.
- Propontia**, the intermediate sea between the Aegean and the Euxine, connected with the former by the Hellespont, with the latter by the Thracian Bosphorus.
- Pydna**, a town on the Thermalic gulf, S.E. of Macedonia.
- Pyrrius**, king of Epeirus from 295 till his death in 272 B.C. From 280 till 274 he was campaigning in Italy and Sicily.

S

- Sabines**, a people occupying the western slopes of the central Apennines, in Italy. They were finally subdued by Curius Dentatus in 290 B.C., and in 268 became Roman citizens.
- Sallust**, C. Sallustius Crispus, 86–34 B.C. He was a partisan of Caesar, who made him governor of Numidia, where he amassed great wealth. He afterwards wrote histories of the conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine war.
- Samnites**, inhabitants of Samnium, the mountainous district of central Italy lying between Latium and Apulia. In 290 B.C. Curius Dentatus won the honour of putting an end to the Samnite wars after they had lasted fifty years.
- Sarnothrace**, an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea.
- Scepsis**, an ancient town east of the Troad, which in later times became subject to Pergamum, and a seat of learning.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Scopas, the Thessalian. See *Cranon*.

Seleucus, surnamed *Nicator*, founder of the Syrian monarchy, 353-280 B.C.

Seriphus, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica, proverbial for poverty and insignificance.

Sertorius, one of the greatest soldiers bred by the Roman civil wars, who successfully opposed the best generals of the aristocratic party in Spain from 82 B.C. till his assassination in 72.

Sicyon, an important city in N.E. Peloponnesus, about two miles south of the Corinthian gulf.

Simonides of Ceos, one of the greatest lyric poets of Greece, 556-467 B.C.

Sinopé, an important Greek city on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea, in N.E. Paphlagonia.

Sophené, a district of S.W. Armenia.

Sophists, a general name for paid teachers of rhetoric and philosophy, like *Gorgias*.

Stesimbrotus, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note in Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.

Sthenis, of Olynthus, a famous statuary at Athens, who flourished about 350 B.C.

Strabo, the geographer (philosopher, p. 565), lived during the times of Augustus.

T

Talaura, a stronghold in Pontus.

Tanagra, a town and district in S.E. Boeotia.

Tarentum, a Greek city in S.E. Italy. It surrendered to the Romans in 272 B.C., was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212, and recovered by Fabius in 209.

Taurus, a general name for the lofty range of mountains extending from Lycia in Asia

Minor through Cilicia and south of Armenia into Media.

Tegea, an ancient city in S.E. Arcadia, of Peloponnesus.

Tempé, a famous valley in N.E. Thessaly.

Tenedos, an island about five miles west of the Troad, in the N.E. Aegean.

Tenos, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica.

Thargelion, the eleventh month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our May.

Themiscyra, a plain and city in Pontus, near the mouth of the river *Thermodon*.

Theophrastus, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, historian of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon (360-336 B.C.).

Tibareni, a tribe on the northern coast of Pontus.

Tigranocerta, the city of Tigranes, later capital of Armenia, in Mygdonia, west of Nisibis, just south of the Taurus.

Tigris, the great river rising in Armenia and flowing between Mesopotamia and Assyria.

Timocreon, of Rhodes, a lyric poet, now known chiefly for his hatred of Themistocles and Simonides of Ceos.

Timoleon, of Corinth, rescued Syracuse from its tyrant (*Dionysius II*) and the Carthaginians in 343 B.C., and became virtual master of Sicily, though without office. He died in Syracuse, 337 B.C.

Troezen, a city in S.E. Argolis, of Peloponnesus.

Trophonius, received worship and had an oracle in a cave near *Lebadela* in Boeotia.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Tubero the Stoic p. 599), Q. Aelius, a pupil of Panaetius, flourished in the century before Lucullus, and could not have seen him playing Xerxes. The jest may have come from Lucius Tubero, the relative and intimate friend of Cicero, who cultivated literature and philosophy.

Tusculum, an ancient city of Latium, fifteen miles S.E. of Rome, in the Alban mountains. It became a favourite resort of wealthy Romans.

Tyrannio the Grammarian, of Amisus in Pontus. He was taken to Rome by Lucullus,

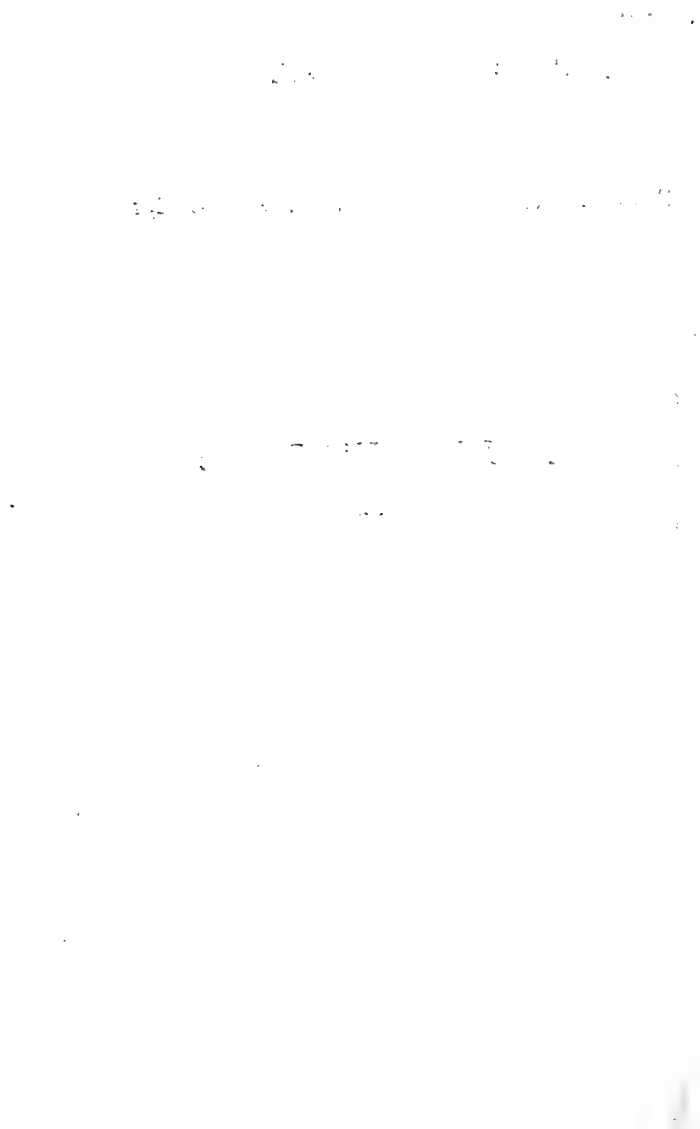
where he became a teacher, was patronised and praised by Cicero, and amassed wealth.

V

Vesta, an ancient Roman divinity, identical with the Greek Hestia as goddess of the hearth and fire-side. The Vestals were her virgin priestesses.

X

Xenocrates, of Chalcedon, 396-314 B.C., a pupil and disciple of Plato, became head of the Academy in 339 B.C.



~~LGr~~
~~P737v~~

Plutarch. Vitae parallelae

~~Sp. 2~~

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN TEN VOLUMES

III

PERICLES AND FABIVS MAXIMVS
NICIAS AND CRASSVS



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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of the one to the other, where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated in the critical notes. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F^a) and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. The text-tradition of the chapters of the *Crassus* (xv.-xxxiii.) which appear in the *Parthian War* attributed to Appian (Pseudo-Appian), is seldom, if ever, superior to that of the same chapters in Plutarch. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

PREFATORY NOTE

Among editions of special *Lives* included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Sauppe series of annotated texts; and that of Blass, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts. These editions bring F^a and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. Holden's edition of the *Nicias*, in the Pitt Press series, Cambridge, 1887, has also been found useful. A brief bibliography for the study of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume.

The translations of the *Pericles* and of the *Nicias* have already appeared in my *Plutarch's Cimon and Pericles* (New York, 1910), and *Plutarch's Nicias and Alcibiades* (New York, 1912), and are reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The translations of the *Fabius Maximus* and of the *Crassus* appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the *Crassus* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

June, 1915.

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ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

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- (2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
- (3) Solon and Publicola.
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- (16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
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VOLUME VIII.

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Comparison.

VOLUME IX.

- (11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
- (19) Agis and Cleomenes, and
Tiberius and Caius
Gracchus.
Comparison.

VOLUME X.

- (10) Philopoemen and Flam-
inius.
Comparison.
- (23) Artaxerxes.
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TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE
PARALLEL LIVES.

- (1) Theseus and Romulus.
- (2) Lycurgus and Numa.
- (3) Solon and Publicola.
- (4) Themistocles and Camillus.
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- (21) Demetrius and Antony.
- (22) Dion and Brutus.
.....
- (23) Artaxerxes.
- (24) Aratus.
- (25) Galba.
- (26) Otho.



PERICLES

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ

Ι. Ξένους τινὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πλουσίους κυνῶν τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις περιφέροντας καὶ ἀγαπῶντας ἰδὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ παῖδιά παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἡγεμονικῶς σφόδρα νουθετήσας τοὺς τὸ φύσει φιλητικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ φιλόστοργον εἰς θηρία καταναλίσκοντας ἀνθρώποις ὑφειλόμενον.

- 2 ἄρ' οὖν, ἐπεὶ φιλομαθές τι κέκτηται καὶ φιλοθέαμον ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ φύσει, λόγον ἔχει ψέγειν τοὺς καταχρωμένους τούτῳ πρὸς τὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἄξια σπουδῆς ἀκούσματα καὶ θεάματα, τῶν δὲ καλῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων παραμελοῦντας; τῇ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθήσει κατὰ πάθος τῆς πληγῆς ἀντιλαμβανομένη τῶν προστυγχανόντων ἴσως ἀνάγκη πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον, ἂν τε χρήσιμον ἂν τ' ἄχρηστον ἦ,
- 3 θεωρεῖν, τῷ νῷ δ' ἕκαστος εἰ βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι, καὶ τρέπειν ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ καὶ μεταβάλλειν ῥᾶστα πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν πέφυκεν, ὥστε χρὴ διώκειν τὸ βέλτιστον, ἵνα μὴ θεωρῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρέφεται τῷ θεωρεῖν. ὥς γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ χροῖα πρόσφορος ἦς τὸ ἀνθηρὸν ἅμα καὶ τερπνὸν ἀναζωπυρεῖ

Paris
Edition,
a. 1624,
P.
152

PERICLES

I. ON sceing certain wealthy foreigners in Rome carrying puppies and young monkeys about in their bosoms and fondling them, Caesar¹ asked, we are told, if the women in their country did not bear children, thus in right princely fashion rebuking those who squander on animals that proneness to love and loving affection which is ours by nature, and which is due only to our fellow-men. Since, then, our souls are by nature possessed of great fondness for learning and fondness for seeing, it is surely reasonable to chide those who abuse this fondness on objects all unworthy either of their eyes or ears, to the neglect of those which are good and serviceable. Our outward sense, since it apprehends the objects which encounter it by virtue of their mere impact upon it, must needs, perhaps, regard everything that presents itself, be it useful or uscless; but in the exercise of his mind every man, if he pleases, has the natural power to turn himself away in every case, and to change, without the least difficulty, to that object upon which he himself determines. It is meet, therefore, that he pursue what is best, to the end that he may not merely regard it, but also be edified by regarding it. A colour is suited to the eye if its freshness, and its pleasantness as well, stimulates and

¹ Caesar Augustus.

καὶ τρέφει τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπάγειν
δεῖ θεάμασιν ἂν τῷ χαίρειν πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτὴν
ἀγαθὸν ἐκκαλεῖ.

- 4 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἔργοις, ἃ καὶ
ζῆλόν τινα καὶ προθυμίαν ἀγωγὸν εἰς μίμησιν
ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ἱστορήσασιν¹ ἐπεὶ τῶν γ' ἄλλων
οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ θαυμάσαι τὸ πραχθὲν
ὁρμὴ πρὸς τὸ πράξαι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοῦ-
ναντίον χαίροντες τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ κατα-
φρονοῦμεν, ὥς ἐπὶ τῶν μύρων καὶ τῶν ἀλουργῶν
τούτοις μὲν ἡδόμεθα, τοὺς δὲ βαφεῖς καὶ μυρε-
ψοὺς ἀνελευθέρους ἡγούμεθα καὶ βαναύσους.
- 5 διὸ καλῶς μὲν Ἀντισθένης ἀκούσας ὅτι σπουδαῖός
ἐστὶν αὐλητῆς Ἰσμενίας, “Ἄλλ' ἄνθρωπος,” ἔφη,
“μοχθηρὸς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτω σπουδαῖος ἦν αὐλη-
τῆς.” ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιτερπῶς ἔν-
τινι πότῳ ψήλαντα καὶ τεχνικῶς εἶπεν· “Οὐκ
αἰσχύνῃ καλῶς οὕτω ψάλλων;” ἀρκεῖ γάρ, ἂν
βασιλεὺς ἀκροᾷσθαι ψαλλόντων σχολάζῃ, καὶ
πολὺν νέμει ταῖς Μούσαις ἐτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων
τὰ τοιαῦτα θεατῆς γιγνόμενος.

- II. Ἡ δ' αὐτουργία τῶν ταπεινῶν τῆς εἰς τὰ 153
καλὰ ῥαθυμίας μάρτυρα τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀχρήστοις
πόνον παρέχεται καθ' αὐτῆς· καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυῆς
νέος ἢ τὸν ἐν Πίσῃ θεασάμενος Δία γενέσθαι
Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν ἢ τὴν Ἥραν τὴν ἐν Ἀργεῖ
Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ' Ἀνακρέων ἢ Φιλητᾶς ἢ Ἀρχί-
2 λοχος ἡσθεῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς ποιήμασιν. οὐ γὰρ
ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ τέρπει τὸ ἔργον ὥς χάριεν, ἄξιον

¹ ἱστορήσασιν Bekker, Fuhr, and Blass, with Reiske, after Amyot: ἱστορήμασιν (researches).

PERICLES

nourishes the vision; and so our intellectual vision must be applied to such objects as, by their very charm, invite it onward to its own proper good.

Such objects are to be found in virtuous deeds; these implant in those who search them out a great and zealous eagerness which leads to imitation. In other cases, admiration of the deed is not immediately accompanied by an impulse to do it. Nay, many times, on the contrary, while we delight in the work, we despise the workman, as, for instance, in the case of perfumes and dyes; we take a delight in them, but dyers and perfumers we regard as illiberal and vulgar folk. Therefore it was a fine saying of Antisthenes, when he heard that Ismenias was an excellent piper: "But he's a worthless man," said he, "otherwise he wouldn't be so good a piper." And so Philip¹ once said to his son, who, as the wine went round, plucked the strings charmingly and skilfully, "Art not ashamed to pluck the strings so well?" It is enough, surely, if a king have leisure to hear others pluck the strings, and he pays great deference to the Muses if he be but a spectator of such contests.

II. Labour with one's own hands on lowly tasks gives witness, in the toil thus expended on useless things, to one's own indifference to higher things. No generous youth, from seeing the Zeus at Pisa,² or the Hera at Argos, longs to be Pheidias or Polycleitus; nor to be Anacreon or Philetas or Archilochus out of pleasure in their poems. For it does not of necessity follow that, if the work delights you with its grace, the one who wrought it is worthy of your

¹ Philip of Macedon, to Alexander.

² That is, Olympia.

- σπουδῆς εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον. ὅθεν οὐδ' ὠφελεῖ
τὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς θεωμένους, πρὸς ἃ μιμητικός οὐ
γίνεται ζῆλος οὐδὲ ἀνάδοσις κινουσα προθυμίαν
καὶ ὄρμην¹ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν. ἀλλ' ἢ γε ἀρετὴ
ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐθὺς οὕτω διατίθῃσιν ὥστε ἅμα
θαυμάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ζηλοῦσθαι τοὺς εἰργα-
3 σμένους. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν
τὰς κτήσεις καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, τῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς
τὰς πράξεις ἀγαπῶμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμῖν παρ'
έτέρων, τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐτέροις παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν
βουλόμεθα. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐφ' αὐτὸ πρακτικῶς
κινεῖ καὶ πρακτικὴν εὐθὺς ὄρμην ἐντίθῃσιν, ἡθο-
ποιοῦν οὐ τῇ μιμήσει τὸν θεατὴν, ἀλλὰ τῇ
ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου τὴν προαίρεσιν παρεχόμενον.
4 Ἐδοξεν οὖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνδιατρίψαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς
βίους ἀναγραφῇ, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον
συντετάχαμεν τὸν Περικλέους βίον καὶ τὸν Φα-
βίου Μαξίμου τοῦ διαπολεμήσαντος πρὸς Ἀννί-
βαν περιέχον, ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τε τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς
ὁμοίων, μάλιστα δὲ πραότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην,
καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι φέρειν δῆμων καὶ συναρχόντων
ἀγνωμοσύνας ὠφελιμωτάτων ταῖς πατρίσι γενο-
μένων. εἰ δ' ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμεθα τοῦ δέοντος,
ἔξεστι κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν γραφομένων.

III. Περικλῆς γὰρ ἦν τῶν μὲν φυλῶν Ἀκα-
μαντίδης, τῶν δὲ δῆμων Χολαργεύς, οἴκου δὲ καὶ
γένους τοῦ πρώτου κατ' ἀμφοτέρους. Ξάνθιππος
γὰρ ὁ νικήσας ἐν Μυκάλῃ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατη-
γοὺς ἔγημεν Ἀγαρίστην Κλεισθένους ἑγγονον, ὃς

¹ ὄρμην Fuhr and Blass, after Reiske: ἀφορμὴν.

PERICLES

esteem. Wherefore the spectator is not advantaged by those things at sight of which no ardour for imitation arises in the breast, nor any uplift of the soul arousing zealous impulses to do the like. But virtuous action straightway so disposes a man that he no sooner admires the works of virtue than he strives to emulate those who wrought them. The good things of Fortune we love to possess and enjoy; those of Virtue we love to perform. The former we are willing should be ours at the hands of others; the latter we wish that others rather should have at our hands. The Good creates a stir of activity towards itself, and implants at once in the spectator an active impulse; it does not form his character by ideal representation alone, but through the investigation of its work it furnishes him with a dominant purpose.

For such reasons I have decided to persevere in my writing of *Lives*, and so have composed this tenth book, containing the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who waged such lengthy war with Hannibal. The men were alike in their virtues, and more especially in their gentleness and rectitude, and by their ability to endure the follies of their peoples and of their colleagues in office, they proved of the greatest service to their countries. But whether I aim correctly at the proper mark must be decided from what I have written.

III. Pericles was of the tribe Acamantis, of the deme Cholargus, and of the foremost family and lineage on both sides. His father, Xanthippus, who conquered the generals of the King at Mycale,¹ married Agariste, granddaughter² of that Cleisthenes

¹ 479 B.C.

² His niece, rather.

ἐξήλασε Πεισιστρατίδας καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν τυραν-
νίδα γενναίως καὶ νόμους ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν
ἄριστα κεκραμένην πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ σωτηρίαν
2 κατέστησεν. αὕτη κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἔδοξε τεκεῖν
λέοντα, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἔτεκε Περικλέα,
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος ἄμεμπτον,
προμήκη δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ¹ καὶ ἀσύμμετρον. ὅθεν
αἱ μὲν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἅπασαι κράνεσι
περιέχονται, μὴ βουλομένων, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν τεχνι-
τῶν ἐξονειδίζειν. οἱ δ' Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ σχινο-
κέφαλον αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν· τὴν γὰρ σκίλλαν ἔστιν
3 ὅτε καὶ σχῖνον ὀνομάζουσι. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ
μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρῳσι· “Στάσις δὲ” (φησὶ)
“καὶ πρεσβυγενὴς Κρόνος ἀλλήλοισι μιγέντε
μέγιστον τίκτετον τύραννον, ὃν δὴ κεφαληγερέταν
θεοὶ καλέουσι” καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει· “Μόλ',
4 ὦ Ζεῦ ξένιε καὶ καραιέ.” Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ποτὲ μὲν
ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἠπορημένον καθῆσθαι φησιν
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει “καρηβαροῦντα, ποτὲ δὲ
μόνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐνδεκακλίνου θόρυβον πολὺν
ἐξανατέλλειν.” ὁ δ' Εὐπολὶς ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις
πυνθανόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων
ἐξ Ἰδου δημαγωγῶν, ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς ὠνομάσθη
τελευταῖος·

“Ὅ τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἤγαγες.

IV. Διδάσκαλον δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μουσικῶν οἱ
πλείστοι Δάμωνα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὗ φασι

¹ τῇ κεφαλῇ Fuhr and Blass with F^aS : τὴν κεφαλὴν.

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who, in such noble fashion, expelled the Peisistratidae and destroyed their tyranny, instituted laws, and established a constitution best attuned for the promotion of harmony and safety. She, in her dreams, once fancied that she had given birth to a lion, and a few days thereafter bore Pericles.¹ His personal appearance was unimpeachable, except that his head was rather long and out of due proportion. For this reason the images of him, almost all of them, wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with deformity. The comic poets of Attica used to call him "Schinocephalus," or *Squill-head* (the squill is sometimes called "schinus"). So the comic poet Cratinus, in his "Cheirons," says: "Faction and Saturn, that ancient of days, were united in wedlock; their offspring was of all tyrants the greatest, and lo! he is called by the gods the head-compeller."² And again in his "Nemesis": "Come, Zeus! of guests and heads the Lord!"² And Telecleides speaks of him as sitting on the acropolis in the greatest perplexity, "now heavy of head, and now alone, from the eleven-couched chamber of his head, causing vast uproar to arise."² And Eupolis, in his "Demes," having inquiries made about each one of the demagogues as they come up from Hades, says, when Pericles is called out last:—

"The very head of those below hast thou now brought."²

IV. His teacher in music, most writers state, was Damon (whose name, they say, should be pronounced

¹ Cf. Herodotus, vi. 131.

² Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 86; p. 49; p. 220; p. 280.

δεῖν τοῦνομα βραχύνοντας τὴν προτέραν συλλαβὴν ἐκφέρειν· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ παρὰ Πυθοκλείδῃ μουσικὴν διαπονηθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα φησίν. ὁ δὲ Δάμων ἔοικεν ἄκρος ὦν σοφιστὴς καταδύεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς ὄνομα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὴν δεινότητα, τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ 154
 2 καὶ διδάσκαλος. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθεν ὁ Δάμων τῇ λύρᾳ παρακαλύμματι χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ὥς μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ φιλοτύραννος ἐξωστρακίσθη καὶ παρέσχε τοῖς κωμικοῖς διατριβήν. ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων καὶ πυνθανόμενον αὐτοῦ τινα πεποίηκεν οὕτω·

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι λέξον, ἀντιβολῶ· σὺ γάρ, ὥς φασιν, ὁ Χείρων ἐξέθρεψας Περικλέα.

3 διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου πραγματευομένου περὶ φύσιν, ὥς Παρμενίδης, ἐλεγκτικὴν δέ τινα καὶ δι' ἀντιλογίας κατακλείουσιν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐξασκήσαντος ἕξιν, ὥσπερ καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος εἴρηκε διὰ τούτων·

Ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνὸν

Ζήνωνος, πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος.

4 Ὁ δὲ πλεῖστα Περικλεῖ συγγενόμενος καὶ μάλιστα περιθεὶς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ἐμβριθέστερον, ὅλως τε μετεωρίσας καὶ σινεξάρας τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἡθους, Ἀναξαγόρας ἦν ὁ Κλαζομένιος, ὃν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι Νοῦν προσ-

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with the first syllable short) ; but Aristotle ¹ says he had a thorough musical training at the hands of Pythocleides. Now Damon seems to have been a consummate sophist, but to have taken refuge behind the name of music in order to conceal from the multitude his real power, and he associated with Pericles, that political athlete, as it were, in the capacity of rubber and trainer. However, Damon was not left unmolested in this use of his lyre as a screen, but was ostracized for being a great schemer and a friend of tyranny, and became a butt of the comic poets. At all events, Plato ² represented some one as inquiring of him thus:—

“In the first place tell me then, I beseech thee,
thou who art
The Cheiron, as they say, who to Pericles gave his
craft.”

Pericles was also a pupil of Zeno the Eleatic, who discoursed on the natural world, like Parmenides, and perfected a species of refutative catch which was sure to bring an opponent to grief ; as Timon of Phlius expressed it:—

“His was a tongue that could argue both ways with
a fury resistless,
Zeno's ; assailer of all things.”

But the man who most consorted with Pericles, and did most to clothe him with a majestic demeanour that had more weight than any demagogue's appeals, yes, and who lifted on high and exalted the dignity of his character, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, whom men of that day used to call

¹ Plato, rather, *Alcibiades I.* 118 c.

² Plato the comic poet. Kock *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 655.

ηγόρευον, εἴτε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰς φυσιολογίαν καὶ περιττὴν διαφανεῖσαν θαυμάσαντες, εἴθ' ὅτι τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος οὐ τύχην οὐδ' ἀνάγκην διακοσμήσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπέστησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἄκρατον ἐν μεμιγμένοις πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὁμοιομερείας.

V. Τοῦτον ὑπερφυῶς τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάσας ὁ Περικλῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης μετεωρολογίας καὶ μεταρσιολεσχίας ὑποπιμπλάμενος, οὐ μόνον, ὥς ἔοικε, τὸ φρόνημα σοβαρὸν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑψηλὸν εἶχε καὶ καθαρὸν ὀχλικῆς καὶ πανούργου βωμολοχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσώπου σύστασις ἄθρυπτος εἰς γέλωτα καὶ πραότης πορείας καὶ καταστολὴ περιβολῆς πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκταραττομένη πάθος ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ πλάσμα φωνῆς ἀθόρυβον, καὶ ὅσα
2 τοιαῦτα πάντας θαυμαστώως ἐξέπληττε. λαιδορούμενος γοῦν ποτε καὶ κακῶς ἀκούων ὑπὸ τινος τῶν βδελυρῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων ὅλην ἡμέραν ὑπέμεινε σιωπῇ κατ' ἀγοράν, ἅμα τι τῶν ἐπειγόντων καταπραττόμενος· ἐσπέρας δ' ἀπῆει κροσμίως οἴκαδε παρακολουθοῦντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάσῃ
3 χρωμένου βλασφημίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὥς δ' ἔμελλεν εἰσιέναι σκότους ὄντος ἤδη, προσέταξέ τιτι τῶν οἰκετῶν φῶς λαβόντι παραπέμψαι καὶ καταστήσαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς Ἴων μοθωνικὴν φησι τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ ὑπότυφον εἶναι τοῦ Περικλέους, καὶ ταῖς

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"Nous," either because they admired that comprehension of his, which proved of such surpassing greatness in the investigation of nature ; or because he was the first to enthrone in the universe, not Chance, nor yet Necessity, as the source of its orderly arrangement, but Mind (Nous) pure and simple, which distinguishes and sets apart, in the midst of an otherwise chaotic mass, the substances which have like elements.

V. This man Pericles extravagantly admired, and being gradually filled full of the so-called higher philosophy and elevated speculation, he not only had, as it seems, a spirit that was solemn and a discourse that was lofty and free from plebeian and reckless effrontery, but also a composure of countenance that never relaxed into laughter, a gentleness of carriage and cast of attire that suffered no emotion to disturb it while he was speaking, a modulation of voice that was far from boisterous, and many similar characteristics which struck all his hearers with wondering amazement. It is, at any rate, a fact that, once on a time when he had been abused and insulted all day long by a certain lewd fellow of the baser sort, he endured it all quietly, though it was in the market-place, where he had urgent business to transact, and towards evening went away homewards unruffled, the fellow following along and heaping all manner of contumely upon him. When he was about to go in doors, it being now dark, he ordered a servant to take a torch and escort the fellow in safety back to his own home.

The poet Ion, however, says that Pericles had a presumptuous and somewhat arrogant manner of

μεγαλαυχίαις αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν ἀναμειχθαι καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων· ἐπαινεῖ δὲ τὸ Κίμωνος ἐμμελὲς καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ μεμουςωμένον
 1 ἐν ταῖς περιφοραῖς. ἀλλ' Ἴωνα μὲν, ὥσπερ τραγικὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἀξιούντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν τι πάντως καὶ σατυρικὸν μέρος ἔωμεν· τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους τὴν σεμνότητα δοξοκοπίαν τε καὶ τῦφον ἀποκαλοῦντας ὁ Ζήνων παρεκάλει καὶ αὐτούς τι τοιοῦτο δοξοκοπεῖν, ὡς τῆς προσποιήσεως αὐτῆς τῶν καλῶν ὑποποιούσης τινὰ λεληθότως ζῆλον καὶ συνήθειαν.

VI. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου συνουσίας ἀπέλαυσε Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καθυπέρτερος, ὅσῃν τὸ¹ πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα θάμβος ἐνεργάζεται τοῖς αὐτῶν· τε τούτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα δαιμονῶσι καὶ ταραττομένοις δι' ὑπειρίαν αὐτῶν, ἣν ὁ φυσικὸς λόγος ἀπαλλάττων ἀντὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς καὶ φλεγμαινούσης δεισιδαιμονίας τὴν ἀσφαλῆ μετ' ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εὐσέβειαν ἐργάζεται.
 2 Λέγεται δέ ποτε κριοῦ μονόκερω κεφαλὴν ἐξ ἄγρου τῷ Περικλεῖ κομισθῆναι, καὶ Λάμπωνα μὲν τὸν μάντιν, ὡς εἶδε τὸ κέρας ἰσχυρὸν καὶ στερεὸν ἐκ μέσου τοῦ μετώπου πεφυκός, εἰπεῖν ὅτι δυεῖν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναστειῶν, τῆς Θουκυδίδου 155 καὶ Περικλέους, εἰς ἓνα περιστήσεται τὸ κράτος

¹ ὅσῃν τὸ older edd., Coraës, Fuhr and Blass; Bekker ὅσῃ with the MSS.: ὅσῃν.

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address, and that into his haughtiness there entered a good deal of disdain and contempt for others; he praises, on the other hand, the tact, complaisance, and elegant address which Cimon showed in his social intercourse.¹ But we must ignore Ion, with his demand that virtue, like a dramatic tetralogy, have some sort of a farcical appendage. Zeno, when men called the austerity of Pericles a mere thirst for reputation, and swollen conceit, urged them to have some such thirst for reputation themselves, with the idea that the very assumption of nobility might in time produce, all unconsciously, something like an eager and habitual practice of it.

VI. These were not the only advantages Pericles had of his association with Anaxagoras. It appears that he was also lifted by him above superstition, that feeling which is produced by amazement at what happens in regions above us. It affects those who are ignorant of the causes of such things, and are crazed about divine intervention, and confounded through their inexperience in this domain; whereas the doctrines of natural philosophy remove such ignorance and inexperience, and substitute for timorous and inflamed superstition that unshaken reverence which is attended by a good hope.

A story is told that once on a time the head of a one-horned ram was brought to Pericles from his country-place, and that Lampon the seer, when he saw how the horn grew strong and solid from the middle of the forehead, declared that, whereas there were two powerful parties in the city, that of Thucydides and that of Pericles, the mastery would finally devolve upon one man,—the man to

¹ Cf. *Cimon*, ix.

παρ' ᾧ γένοιτο τὸ σημεῖον· τὸν δ' Ἀναξαγόραν
 τοῦ κρανίου διακοπέντος ἑπιδείξαι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον
 οὐ πεπληρωκότα τὴν βάσιν, ἀλλ' ὅξυν ὥσπερ
 ὦν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγγείου συνωλισθηκότα κατὰ
 τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ὅθεν ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ κέρατος εἶχε
 3 τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τότε μὲν θαυμασθῆναι τὸν
 Ἀναξαγόραν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὀλίγω δ' ὕστερον
 τὸν Λάμπωνα, τοῦ μὲν Θουκυδίδου καταλυθέντος,
 τῶν δὲ τοῦ δήμου πραγμάτων ὁμαλῶς ἀπάντων
 ὑπὸ τῷ Περικλεῖ γενομένων.

Ἐκώλυε δ' οὐδέν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν
 ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ τὸν μάντιν, τοῦ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν,
 τοῦ δὲ τὸ τέλος καλῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντος· ὑπέκειτο
 γὰρ τῷ μὲν, ἐκ τίνων γέγονε καὶ πῶς πέφυκε,
 θεωρῆσαι, τῷ δέ, πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ τί σημαίνει,
 4 προειπεῖν. οἱ δὲ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν εὑρεσιν ἀναίρεσιν
 εἶναι λέγοντες τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ἐπινοοῦσιν ἅμα
 τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ τῶν συμβόλων
 ἀθετοῦντες, ψόφους τε δίσκων καὶ φῶτα πυρσῶν
 καὶ γνωμόνων ἀποσκιασμούς· ὧν ἕκαστον αἰτία
 τινὲ καὶ κατασκευῇ σημεῖον εἶναι τινος πεποιήται.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐτέρας ἐστὶ πραγματείας.

VII. Ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς νέος μὲν ὦν σφόδρα
 τὸν δῆμον εὐλαβεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει Πεισι-
 στράτῳ τῷ τυράννῳ τὸ εἶδος ἐμφορῆς εἶναι,
 τὴν τε φωνὴν ἡδεῖαν οὔσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν
 γλῶτταν εὐτροχον ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ταχεῖαν
 οἱ σφόδρα γέροντες ἐξεπλήττοντο πρὸς τὴν

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whom this sign had been given. Anaxagoras, however, had the skull cut in two, and showed that the brain had not filled out its position, but had drawn together to a point, like an egg, at that particular spot in the entire cavity where the root of the horn began. At that time, the story says, it was Anaxagoras who won the plaudits of the bystanders; but a little while after it was Lampon, for Thucydides was overthrown, and Pericles was entrusted with the entire control of all the interests of the people.

Now there was nothing, in my opinion, to prevent both of them, the naturalist and the seer, from being in the right of the matter; the one correctly divined the cause, the other the object or purpose. It was the proper province of the one to observe why anything happens, and how it comes to be what it is; of the other to declare for what purpose anything happens, and what it means. And those who declare that the discovery of the cause, in any phenomenon, does away with the meaning, do not perceive that they are doing away not only with divine portents, but also with artificial tokens, such as the ringing of gongs, the language of fire-signals, and the shadows of the pointers on sundials. Each of these has been made, through some causal adaptation, to have some meaning. However, perhaps this is matter for a different treatise.

VII. As a young man, Pericles was exceedingly reluctant to face the people, since it was thought that in feature he was like the tyrant Peisistratus; and when men well on in years remarked also that his voice was sweet, and his tongue glib and speedy in discourse, they were struck with amazement at

- ὁμοιότητα. πλούτου δὲ καὶ γένους προσόντος αὐτῷ λαμπροῦ καὶ φίλων οἱ πλείστον ἠδύναντο, φοβούμενος ἔξοστρακισθῆναι, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατείαις ἀνὴρ
- 2 ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἀποτεθνήκει καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξεπεπτώκει, Κίμωνα δ' αἱ στρατεῖαι τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔξω κατεῖχον, οὕτω δὴ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ὀλίγων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πεινήτων ἐλόμενος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἤκιστα δημοτικὴν οὖσαν.
- 3 ἀλλ', ὥς ἔοικε, δεδιὼς μὲν ὑποψία περιπεσεῖν τυραννίδος, ὁρῶν δ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπώμενον, ὑπῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, δύναμιν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνου παρασκευαζόμενος.
- 4 Εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐτέραν τάξιν ἐπέθηκεν. ὁδὸν τε γὰρ ἐν ἄστει μίαν ἑωρᾶτο τὴν ἐπ' ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον πορευόμενος, κλήσεις τε δείπνων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπασαν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνήθειαν ἐξέλιπεν, ὥς ἐν οἷς ἐπολιτεύσατο χρόνοις μακροῖς γενομένοις πρὸς μηδένα τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ δείπνον ἐλθεῖν, πλὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ γαμοῦντος ἄχρι τῶν

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the resemblance. Besides, since he was rich, of brilliant lineage, and had friends of the greatest influence, he feared that he might be ostracized, and so at first had naught to do with politics, but devoted himself rather to a military career, where he was brave and enterprising. However, when Aristides was dead,¹ and Themistocles in banishment,² and Cimon was kept by his campaigns for the most part abroad, then at last Pericles decided to devote himself to the people, espousing the cause of the poor and the many instead of the few and the rich, contrary to his own nature, which was anything but popular. But he feared, as it would seem, to encounter a suspicion of aiming at tyranny, and when he saw that Cimon was very aristocratic in his sympathies, and was held in extraordinary affection by the party of the "Good and True," he began to court the favour of the multitude, thereby securing safety for himself, and power to wield against his rival.

Straightway, too, he made a different ordering in his way of life. On one street only in the city was he to be seen walking,—the one which took him to the market-place and the council-chamber. Invitations to dinner, and all such friendly and familiar intercourse, he declined, so that during the long period that elapsed while he was at the head of the state, there was not a single friend to whose house he went to dine, except that when his kinsman Eurypolemus gave a wedding feast, he attended until the libations were made,³ and then

¹ Soon after 468 B.C.

² After 472 B.C.

³ That is, until the wine for the symposium was brought in, and drinking began.

5 σπονδῶν παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐξανέστη. δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ φιλοφροσύναι παντὸς ὄγκου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ δυσφύλακτον ἐν συνηθείᾳ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν σεμνὸν ἐστι· τῆς ἀληθινῆς δ' ἀρετῆς κάλλιστα φαίνεται τὰ μάλιστα φαινόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν οὕτω θαυμάσιον τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὥς ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν βίος τοῖς συνοῦσιν.

Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ¹ τὸ συνεχὲς φεύγων καὶ τὸν κόρον οἶον ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἐπλησίαζεν, οὐκ ἐπὶ παντὶ πράγματι λέγων, οὐδ' αἰετὶ παριὼν εἰς τὸ πλήθος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν τριήρη, φησὶ Κριτόλαος, πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας χρείας ἐπιδιδούς, τὰλλα δὲ φίλους καὶ ῥήτορας
6 ἐτέρους καθιεὶς ἔπραττεν. ὦν ἓνα φασὶ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐφιάλτην, ὃς κατέλυσε τὸ κράτος τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, πολλήν, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, καὶ ἄκρατον τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν οἰνοχοῶν, ὑφ' ἧς, ὥσπερ ἵππον, ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δῆμον οἱ κωμωδοποιοὶ λέγουσι “πειθαρχεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾶν, ἀλλὰ δάκνειν τὴν Εὐβοίαν καὶ 156 ταῖς νήσοις ἐπιπηδᾶν.”

VIII. Τῇ μέντοι περὶ τὸν βίον κατασκευῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ φρονήματος ἀρμόζοντα λόγον, ὥσπερ ὄργανον, ἐξαρτυόμενος παρενέτεινε πολλαχοῦ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, οἶον βαφὴν τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὴν φυσιολογίαν ὑποχεόμενος. το γὰρ “ὑψη-

¹ τῷ δήμῳ Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : τοῦ δήμου.

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straightway rose up and departed. Conviviality is prone to break down and overpower the haughtiest reserve, and in familiar intercourse the dignity which is assumed for appearance's sake is very hard to maintain. Whereas, in the case of true and genuine virtue, "fairest appears what most appears," and nothing in the conduct of good men is so admirable in the eyes of strangers, as their daily walk and conversation is in the eyes of those who share it.

And so it was that Pericles, seeking to avoid the satiety which springs from continual intercourse, made his approaches to the people by intervals, as it were, not speaking on every question, nor addressing the people on every occasion, but offering himself like the Salaminian trireme, as Critolaüs says, for great emergencies. The rest of his policy he carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, as they say, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Council of the Areiopagus, and so poured out for the citizens, to use the words of Plato,¹ too much "undiluted freedom," by which the people was rendered unruly, just like a horse, and, as the comic poets say, "no longer had the patience to obey the rein, but nabbed Euboea and trampled on the islands."

VIII. Moreover, by way of providing himself with a style of discourse which was adapted, like a musical instrument, to his mode of life and the grandeur of his sentiments, he often made an auxiliary string of Anaxagoras, subtly mingling, as it were, with his rhetoric the dye of natural science.

¹ *Republic*, viii. p. 562 c.

- λόνουν τοῦτο καὶ πάντα τελεσιουργόν,” ὡς ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων φησί, “πρὸς τῷ εὐφυῆς εἶναι κτησάμενος” ἐκ φυσιολογίας, καὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐλκύσας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην, πολὺ πάντων
 2 διήνεγκε. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι· καίτοι τινὲς ἀπὸ τῶν οἷς ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς στρατηγίαις δυνάμεως Ὀλύμπιον αὐτὸν οἶονται προσαγορευθῆναι· καὶ συνδραμεῖν οὐδὲν ἀπέοικεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν προσόντων τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν δόξαν.
 3 αἱ μέντοι κωμωδίαί τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδῇ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνυμίαν γενέσθαι δηλοῦσι, “βροντᾶν” μὲν αὐτόν καὶ “ἀστράπτειν,” ὅτε δημηγοροίη, “δεινὸν δὲ κεραυνὸν ἐν γλώσσει φέρειν” λεγόντων.

- Διαμνημονεύεται δέ τις καὶ Θουκυδίδου τοῦ Μελησίου λόγος εἰς τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Περι-
 4 κλέους μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰρημένος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θουκυδίδης τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πλεῖστον ἀντεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Περικλεῖ χρόνον· Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως πυνθανομένου πότερον αὐτὸς ἢ Περικλῆς παλαίει βέλτιον, “Ὅταν,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ καταβάλω παλαίων, ἐκεῖνος ἀντιλέγων ὡς οὐ πέπτωκε, νικᾷ καὶ μεταπείθει τοὺς ὀρώντας.”

Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περικλῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον εὐλαβῆς ἦν, ὥστ’ αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ βῆμα

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It was from natural science, as the divine Plato says,¹ that he "acquired his loftiness of thought and perfectness of execution, in addition to his natural gifts," and by applying what he learned to the art of speaking, he far excelled all other speakers. It was thus, they say, that he got his surname; though some suppose it was from the structures with which he adorned the city, and others from his ability as a statesman and a general, that he was called Olympian. It is not at all unlikely that his reputation was the result of the blending in him of many high qualities. But the comic poets of that day, who let fly, both in earnest and in jest, many shafts of speech against him, make it plain that he got this surname chiefly because of his diction; they spoke of him as "thundering" and "lightening" when he harangued his audience,² and as "wielding a dread thunderbolt in his tongue."

There is on record also a certain saying of Thucydides, the son of Melesias, touching the clever persuasiveness of Pericles, a saying uttered in jest. Thucydides belonged to the party of the "Good and True," and was for a very long time a political antagonist of Pericles. When Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, asked him whether he or Pericles was the better wrestler, he replied: "Whenever I throw him in wrestling, he disputes the fall, and carries his point, and persuades the very men who saw him fall."

The truth is, however, that even Pericles, with all his gifts, was cautious in his discourse, so that when-

¹ *Phaedrus*, p. 270 a.

² Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 528-531.

βαδίζων εὔχετο τοῖς θεοῖς μηδὲ ῥῆμα μηδὲν
ἐκπεσεῖν ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην
5 χρεῖαν ἀνάρμοστον. ἔγγραφον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν
ἀπολέλοιπε πλὴν τῶν ψηφισμάτων· ἀπο-
μνημονεύεται δ' ὀλίγα παντάπασιν· οἷον τὸ τὴν
Λίγιναν ὡς λήμνην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κε-
λεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν πόλεμον ἤδη φάναι καθορᾶν
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου προσφερόμενον. καὶ ποτε
τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὅτε συστρατηγῶν ἐξέπλευσε
μετ' αὐτοῦ, παῖδα καλὸν ἐπαινέσαντος, “Οὐ
μόνον,” ἔφη, “τὰς χεῖρας, ὦ Σοφόκλεις, δεῖ
καθαρὰς ἔχειν τὸν στρατηγόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς
6 ὄψεις.” ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτος φησιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν
Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεούς·
οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὀρώμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς
ἃς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσιν,
ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα· ταῦτ' οὖν ὑπάρχειν
καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀριστοκρατικὴν
τινα τὴν τοῦ Περικλέους ὑπογράφει πολιτείαν,
“λόγῳ μὲν οὔσαν δημοκρατίαν, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχήν,” ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον
ὑπ' ἐκείνου φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ
θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι, κακῶς
ἐθισθέντα καὶ γενόμενον πολυτελῆ καὶ ἀκό-
λαστον ὑπὸ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἀντὶ σώ-

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ever he came forward to speak he prayed the gods that there might not escape him unawares a single word which was unsuited to the matter under discussion. In writing he left nothing behind him except the decrees which he proposed, and only a few in all of his memorable sayings are preserved, as, for instance, his urging the removal of Ægina as the "eye-sore of the Piræus," and his declaring that he "already beheld war swooping down upon them from Peloponnesus." Once also when Sophocles, who was general with him on a certain naval expedition,¹ praised a lovely boy, he said: "It is not his hands only, Sophocles, that a general must keep clean, but his eyes as well." Again, Stesimbrotus says that, in his funeral oration over those who had fallen in the Samian War, he declared that they had become immortal, like the gods; "the gods themselves," he said, "we cannot see, but from the honours which they receive, and the blessings which they bestow, we conclude that they are immortal." So it was, he said, with those who had given their lives for their country.

IX. Thucydides describes² the administration of Pericles as rather aristocratic,—“in name a democracy, but in fact a government by the greatest citizen.” But many others say that the people was first led on by him into allotments of public lands, festival-grants, and distributions of fees for public services, thereby falling into bad habits, and becoming luxurious and wanton under the influence of his public measures, instead of frugal and self-sufficing. ✓

¹ Against Samos, 440–439 B.C.

² In the encomium on Pericles, ii. 65, 9.

φρονος καὶ αὐτουργοῦ, θεωρεῖσθω διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μεταβολῆς.

- 2 Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος δόξαν ἀντιταττόμενος ὑπεποιεῖτο τὸν δῆμον· ἐλαττούμενος δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς πένητας, δεῖπνόν τε καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ δεομένῳ παρέχων Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀμφιεννύων, τῶν τε χωρίων τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφαιρῶν ὅπως ὀπωρίζωσιν οἱ βουλόμενοι, τούτοις ὁ Περικλῆς καταδημαγωγούμενος τρέπεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν δημοσίων διανομήν, συμβουλευσάντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Ὁαθεν, 157
- 3 ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορήκε. καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικοῖς καὶ δικαστικοῖς λήμμασιν ἄλλαις τε μισθοφοραῖς καὶ χορηγίαις συνδεκάσας τὸ πλῆθος, ἐχρήτο κατὰ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, ἧς αὐτὸς οὐ μετεῖχε διὰ τὸ μὴτ' ἄρχων μήτε θεσμοθέτης μήτε βασιλεὺς μήτε πολέμαρχος λαχεῖν. αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀρχαὶ κληρωταὶ τε ἦσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς Ἀρειοῦ πάγον. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχύσας ὁ Περικλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατεστασίασε τὴν βουλήν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὰς πλείστας κρίσεις δι' Ἐφιάλτου, Κίμωνα δ' ὡς φιλολάκωνα καὶ μισόδημον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει μηδενὸς ἀπολειπόμενον, νίκας δὲ καλλίστας νενικηκότα

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Let us therefore examine in detail the reason for this change in him.¹

In the beginning, as has been said, pitted as he was against the reputation of Cimon, he tried to ingratiate himself with the people. And since he was the inferior in wealth and property, by means of which Cimon would win over the poor,—furnishing a dinner every day to any Athenian who wanted it, bestowing raiment on the elderly men, and removing the fences from his estates that whosoever wished might pluck the fruit,—Pericles, outdone in popular arts of this sort, had recourse to the distribution of the people's own wealth. This was on the advice of Damonides, of the deme Oa, as Aristotle has stated.² And soon, what with festival-grants and jurors' wages and other fees and largesses, he bribed the multitude by the wholesale, and used them in opposition to the Council of the Areiopagus. Of this body he himself was not a member, since the lot had not made him either First Archon, or Archon Thesmothete, or King Archon, or Archon Polemarch. These offices were in ancient times filled by lot, and through them those who properly acquitted themselves were promoted into the Areiopagus. For this reason all the more did Pericles, strong in the affections of the people, lead a successful party against the Council of the Areiopagus. Not only was the Council robbed of most of its jurisdiction by Ephialtes, but Cimon also, on the charge of being a lover of Sparta and a hater of the people, was ostracized,³—a man who yielded to none in wealth

¹ The discussion of this change in Pericles from the methods of a demagogue to the leadership described by Thucydides, continues through chapter xv. ² *Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 4.

³ 461 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, xvii. 2.

τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ
λαφύρων ἐμπεπληκότα τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς
περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται. Τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ κράτος
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ Περικλέους.

Χ. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸς ὠρισμένην εἶχε
νόμῳ δεκαετίαν τοῖς φεύγουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ
μέσου Λακεδαιμονίων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐμβαλόν-
των εἰς τὴν Ταναγρικὴν καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐθύς
ὀρμησάντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὁ μὲν Κίμων ἐλθὼν ἐκ
τῆς φυγῆς ἔθετο μετὰ τῶν φυλετῶν εἰς λόχον τὰ
ὄπλα καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀπολύεσθαι τὸν Λακωνισμόν
ἐβούλετο, συγκινδυνεύσας τοῖς πολίταις, οἱ δὲ
φίλοι τοῦ Περικλέους συστάντες ἀπήλασαν αὐτὸν
2 ὡς φυγάδα. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ Περικλῆς ἐρρωμένε-
στατα¹ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ
γενέσθαι πάντων ἐπιφανέστατος ἀφειδήσας τοῦ
σώματος. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κίμωνος οἱ φίλοι
πάντες ὁμαλῶς, οὓς Περικλῆς συνεπητιᾶτο τοῦ
Λακωνισμοῦ· καὶ μετάνοια δεινὴ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
καὶ πόθος ἔσχε τοῦ Κίμωνος, ἡττημένους μὲν ἐπὶ
τῶν ὄρων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, προσδοκῶντας δὲ βαρὺν
3 εἰς ἔτους ὥραν πόλεμον. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Περι-
κλῆς οὐκ ὤκνησε χαρίσασθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ
τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας αὐτὸς ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα,
καὶ κείνος κατελθὼν² εἰρήνην ἐποίησε ταῖς πόλεσιν.
οἰκείως γὰρ εἶχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς αὐτὸν
ὥσπερ ἀπήχθοντο τῷ Περικλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
δημαγωγοῖς.

¹ ἐρρωμένεστατα Cobet, Sintenis², Fuhr, Blass; ἐρρωμενε-
στάτην Bekker, with the MSS.

² κατελθὼν Sintenis², Fuhr, Blass; ἀπελθὼν Bekker, with
the MSS.

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and lineage, who had won most glorious victories over the Barbarians, and had filled the city full of money and spoils, as is written in his Life. Such was the power of Pericles among the people.

X. Now ostracism involved legally a period of ten years' banishment. But in the meanwhile¹ the Lacedæmonians invaded the district of Tanagra with a great army, and the Athenians straightway sallied out against them. So Cimon came back from his banishment and stationed himself with his tribesmen in line of battle, and determined by his deeds to rid himself of the charge of too great love for Sparta, in that he shared the perils of his fellow-citizens. But the friends of Pericles banded together and drove him from the ranks, on the ground that he was under sentence of banishment. For which reason, it is thought, Pericles fought most sturdily in that battle, and was the most conspicuous of all in exposing himself to danger. And there fell in this battle all the friends of Cimon to a man, whom Pericles had accused with him of too great love for Sparta. Wherefore sore repentance fell upon the Athenians, and a longing desire for Cimon, defeated as they were on the confines of Attica, and expecting as they did a grievous war with the coming of spring. So then Pericles, perceiving this, hesitated not to gratify the desires of the multitude, but wrote with his own hand the decree which recalled the man. Whereupon² Cimon came back from banishment and made peace² between the cities. For the Lacedæmonians were as kindly disposed towards him as they were full of hatred towards Pericles and the other popular leaders.

¹ 457 B.C.

² 450 B.C.

- 4 Ἐνιοι δέ φασιν οὐ πρότερον γραφῆναι τῷ Κίμωνι τὴν κάθοδον ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους ἢ συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἀπορρήτους γειέσθαι δι' Ἑλπινίκης, τῆς Κίμωνος ἀδελφῆς, ὥστε Κίμωνα μὲν ἐκπλεῦσαι λαβόντα ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ τῶν ἔξω στρατηγεῖν, καταστρεφόμενον τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, Περικλεῖ δὲ τὴν ἐν ἄστει δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν.
- 5 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἢ Ἑλπινίκη τῷ Κίμωνι τὸν Περικλέα πρότερον παρασχεῖν, ὅτε τὴν θανατικὴν δίκην ἔφευγεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τῶν κατηγορῶν ὁ Περικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προβεβλημένος, ἐλθούσης δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς Ἑλπινίκης καὶ δεομένης μειδιάσας εἶπεν· “ὦ Ἑλπινίκη, γραῦς εἶ, γραῦς εἶ, ὥς πράγματα τηλικαῦτα πράσσειν.” οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἅπαξ ἀνέστη, τὴν προβολὴν ἀφοσιούμενος, καὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν ἐλάχιστα τὸν Κίμωνα λυπήσας ἀπεχώρησε.
- 6 Πῶς ἂν οὖν τις Ἰδομενεί πιστεῦσειε κατηγοροῦντι τοῦ Περικλέους ὥς τὸν δημαγωγὸν Ἐφιάλτην φίλον γενόμενον καὶ κοινωνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως δολοφονήσαντος διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν καὶ φθόνον τῆς δόξης; ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν συναγαγὼν ὥσπερ χολὴν τάνδρῃ προσβέβληκε, πάντῃ μὲν ἴσως οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτῳ, φρόνημα δ' εὐγενὲς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐμφύεται πάθος ὠμὸν οὕτω καὶ θηριῶδες.
- 7 Ἐφιάλτην μὲν οὖν φοβερόν ὄντα τοῖς ὀλιγαρχικοῖς 158 καὶ περὶ τὰς εὐθύνας καὶ διώξεις τῶν τὸν δῆμον ἀδικούντων ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιβουλεύσαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ δι' Ἀριστοδίκου τοῦ Ταναγρικοῦ κρυφαίως

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Some, however, say that the decree for the restoration of Cimon was not drafted by Pericles until a secret compact had been made between them, through the agency of Elpinicé, Cimon's sister, to the effect that Cimon should sail out with a fleet of two hundred ships and have command in foreign parts, attempting to subdue the territory of the King, while Pericles should have supreme power in the city. And it was thought that before this, too, Elpinice had rendered Pericles more lenient towards Cimon, when he stood his trial on the capital charge of treason.¹ Pericles was at that time one of the committee of prosecution appointed by the people, and on Elpinice's coming to him and supplicating him, said to her with a smile: "Elpinice, thou art an old woman, thou art an old woman, to attempt such tasks." However, he made only one speech, by way of formally executing his commission, and in the end did the least harm to Cimon of all his accusers.

How, then, can one put trust in Idomeneus, who accuses Pericles of assassinating the popular leader Ephialtes, though he was his friend and a partner in his political program, out of mere jealousy and envy of his reputation? These charges he has raked up from some source or other and hurled them, as if so much venom, against one who was perhaps not in all points irreproachable, but who had a noble disposition and an ambitious spirit, wherein no such savage and bestial feelings can have their abode. As for Ephialtes, who was a terror to the oligarchs and inexorable in exacting accounts from those who wronged the people, and in prosecuting them, his enemies laid plots against him, and had him slain

¹ 463 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, xiv. 2-4.

ἀνείλουν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης εἶρηκεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κίμων ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγῶν.

XI. Οἱ δ' ἀριστοκρατικοὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἤδη τὸν Περικλέα καὶ πρόσθεν ὀρώντες γεγονότα τῶν πολιτῶν, βουλόμενοι δ' ὅμως εἶναί τινα τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτασσόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀμβλύνοντα, ὥστε μὴ κομιδῇ μοναρχίαν εἶναι, Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, ἄνδρα σώφρονα καὶ κηδεστήν Κίμωνος, ἀντέστησαν ἐναντιωσόμενον, 2 ὃς ἦττον μὲν ὢν πολεμικὸς τοῦ Κίμωνος, ἀγοραῖος δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς μᾶλλον, οἰκουρῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα τῷ Περικλεῖ συμπλεκόμενος, ταχὺ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον κατέστησεν.

Οὐ γὰρ εἶασε τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ γαθοὺς καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἐνδιεσπάρθαι καὶ συμμεμίχθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς πρότερον, ὑπὸ πλῆθους ἡμαυρωμένους τὸ ἀξίωμα, χωρὶς δὲ διακρίνας καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ταῦτό τὴν πάντων δύναμιν ἐμβριθῇ 3 γενομένην ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ ῥοπήν ἐποίησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διπλόη τις ὕπουλος, ὥσπερ ἐν σιδήρῳ, διαφορὰν ὑποσημαίνουσα δημοτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατικῆς προαιρέσεως, ἣ δ' ἐκείνων ἄμιλλα καὶ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἀνδρῶν βαθυτάτην τομὴν τεμοῦσα τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν δῆμον, τὸ δ' ὀλίγους 4 ἐποίησε καλεῖσθαι. διὸ καὶ τότε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡνίας ἀνεῖς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτεύετο πρὸς χάριν, αἰεὶ μὲν τινα θέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἢ ἐστίασιν ἢ πομ-

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secretly by Aristodicus of Tanagra, as Aristotle says.¹ As for Cimon, he died on his campaign in Cyprus.²

XI. Then the aristocrats, aware even some time before this that Pericles was already become the greatest citizen, but wishing nevertheless to have some one in the city who should stand up against him and blunt the edge of his power, that it might not be an out and out monarchy, put forward Thucydides of Alopecé, a discreet man and a relative of Cimon, to oppose him. He, being less of a warrior than Cimon, and more of a forensic speaker and statesman, by keeping watch and ward in the city, and by wrestling bouts with Pericles on the bema, soon brought the administration into even poise.

He would not suffer the party of the "Good and True," as they called themselves, to be scattered up and down and blended with the populace, as heretofore, the weight of their character being thus obscured by numbers, but by culling them out and assembling them into one body, he made their collective influence, thus become weighty, as it were a counterpoise in the balance. Now there had been from the beginning a sort of seam hidden beneath the surface of affairs, as in a piece of iron, which faintly indicated a divergence between the popular and the aristocratic programme; but the emulous ambition of these two men cut a deep gash in the state, and caused one section of it to be called the "Demos," or the *People*, and the other the "Oligoi," or the *Few*. At this time, therefore, particularly, Pericles gave the reins to the people, and made his policy one of pleasing them, ever devising some

¹ *Const. of Athens*, xxv. A.

² 449 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, xviii., xix.

πὴν εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ἄστει καὶ “ διαπαιδα-
 γωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσοις ἡδοναῖς ” τὴν πόλιν, ἐξήκοντα
 δὲ τριῆρεις καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπέμπων, ἐν αἷς
 πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔπλεον ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἔμμισθοι,
 μελετῶντες ἅμα καὶ μανθάνοντες τὴν ναυτικὴν
 5 ἐμπειρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίους μὲν ἔστειλεν
 εἰς Χερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξον πεντα-
 κοσίους, εἰς δὲ Ἄνδρον τοὺς ἡμίσεις¹ τούτων, εἰς
 δὲ Θράκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας,
 ἄλλους δ’ εἰς Ἰταλίαν οἰκίζομένης Συβάρεως, ἣν
 Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔπραττεν
 ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολὴν πολυ-
 πράγμονος ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενος δὲ
 τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβον δὲ καὶ φρουρὰν
 τοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζειν τι παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμ-
 μάχοις.

XII. Ὁ δὲ πλείστην μὲν ἡδονὴν ταῖς Ἀθήναις
 καὶ κόσμον ἤνεγκε, μεγίστην δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλη-
 ξιν ἀνθρώποις, μόνον δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μαρτυρεῖ μὴ
 ψεύδεσθαι τὴν λεγομένην δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἐκείνην
 καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ὄλβον, ἡ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατα-
 σκευή, τοῦτο μάλιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων τοῦ
 Περικλέους ἐβάσκαινον οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ διέβαλλον
 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, βοῶντες ὡς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀδο-
 ξεῖ καὶ κακῶς ἀκούει τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 2 χρήματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Δήλου μεταγαγόν, ἡ δ’
 ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας εὐπρεπεστάτη
 τῶν προφάσεων, δείσαντα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκεῖθει

¹ τοὺς ἡμίσεις Fuhr and Blass, after Cobet : ἡμίσεις.

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sort of a pageant in the town for the masses, or a feast, or a procession, "amusing them like children with not uncouth delights,"¹ and sending out sixty triremes annually, on which large numbers of the citizens sailed about for eight months under pay, practising at the same time and acquiring the art of seamanship. In addition to this, he despatched a thousand settlers to the Chersonesus,² and five hundred to Naxos, and to Andros half that number, and a thousand to Thrace to settle with the Bisaltae, and others to Italy, when the site of Sybaris was settled,³ which they named Thurii. All this he did by way of lightening the city of its mob of lazy and idle busybodies, rectifying the embarrassments of the poorer people, and giving the allies for neighbours an imposing garrison which should prevent rebellion.

XII. But that which brought most delightful adornment to Athens, and the greatest amazement to the rest of mankind; that which alone now testifies for Hellas that her ancient power and splendour, of which so much is told, was no idle fiction,—I mean his construction of sacred edifices,—this, more than all the public measures of Pericles, his enemies maligned and slandered. They cried out in the assemblies: "The people has lost its fair fame and is in ill repute because it has removed the public moneys of the Hellenes from Delos into its own keeping, and that seemliest of all excuses which it had to urge against its accusers, to wit, that out of fear of the Barbarians it took the public funds

¹ An iambic trimeter from an unknown source.

² 447 B.C. Cf. chapter xix. 1-2.

³ 444 B.C. Sybaris had been destroyed in 510 B.C.

ἀνελέσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν ὀχυρῷ τὰ κοινά, ταύτην ἀνήρηκε Περικλῆς· καὶ δοκεῖ δεινὴν ὕβριν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεισθαι καὶ τυραννεῖσθαι περιφανῶς, ὁρῶσα τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμᾶς τὴν πόλιν καταχρυσοῦντας καὶ καλλωπίζοντας ὥσπερ ἀλαζόνα γυναῖκα, περιπτομένην λίθους πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ναοὺς χιλιοταλάντους.

3 Ἐδίδασκεν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ὀφείλουσι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον προπολεμοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνείργοντες, οὐχ ἵπποι, οὐ ναῦν, οὐχ ὀπλίτην, ἀλλὰ χρήματα μόνον τελούντων, ἃ τῶν διδόντων 159 οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων, ἃν παρέχωσιν

4 ἀνθ' οὗ λαμβάνουσι· δεῖ δὲ τίς πόλεως κατεσκευασμένης ἱκανῶς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς ταῦτα τὴν εὐπορίαν τρέπειν αὐτῆς ἀφ' ὧν δόξα μὲν γενομένων αἰτίδος, εὐπορία δὲ γινομένων ἐτοίμη παρέσται, παντοδαπῆς ἐργασίας φανείσης καὶ ποικίλων χρεῶν, αἱ πᾶσαν μὲν τέχνην ἐγείρουσαι, πᾶσαν δὲ χεῖρα κινεῖσαι, σχεδὸν ὅλην ποιοῦσιν ἔμμισθον τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἅμα κοσμουμένην καὶ τρεφομένην.

5 Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡλικίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ῥώμην αἱ στρατεῖαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν εὐπορίας παρείχον, τὸν δ' ἀσύντακτον καὶ βάνανσον ὄχλον οὗτ' ἄμοιρον εἶναι λημμάτων βουλόμενος οὔτε λαμβάνειν ἀργὸν καὶ σχολάζοντα, μεγάλας κατασκευ-

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from that sacred isle and was now guarding them in a stronghold, of this Pericles has robbed it. And surely Hellas is insulted with a dire insult and manifestly subjected to tyranny when she sees that, with her own enforced contributions for the war, we are gilding and bedizening our city, which, for all the world like a wanton woman, adds to her wardrobe precious stones and costly statues and temples worth their millions."

For his part, Pericles would instruct the people that it owed no account of their moneys to the allies provided it carried on the war for them and kept off the Barbarians; "not a horse do they furnish," said he, "not a ship, not a hoplite, but money simply; and this belongs, not to those who give it, but to those who take it, if only they furnish that for which they take it in pay. And it is but meet that the city, when once she is sufficiently equipped with all that is necessary for prosecuting the war, should apply her abundance to such works as, by their completion, will bring her everlasting glory, and while in process of completion will bring that abundance into actual service, in that all sorts of activity and diversified demands arise, which rouse every art and stir every hand, and bring, as it were, the whole city under pay, so that she not only adorns, but supports herself as well from her own resources."

And it was true that his military expeditions supplied those who were in the full vigour of manhood with abundant resources from the common funds, and in his desire that the unwarlike throng of common labourers should neither have no share at all in the public receipts, nor yet get fees for

ασμάτων ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πολυτέχνους ὑποθέσεις
 ἔργων διατριβὴν ἔχόντων ἐνέβαλε φέρων εἰς τὸν
 δῆμον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἦττον τῶν πλεόντων καὶ φρου-
 ρούντων καὶ στρατευομένων τὸ οἰκουροῦν ἔχη
 πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ
 6 μεταλαμβάνειν. ὅπου γὰρ ὕλη μὲν ἦν λίθος,
 χαλκός, ἐλέφας, χρυσός, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ
 δὲ ταύτην ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κτεργαζόμεναι τέχναι,
 τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, λιθουργοί, βα-
 φεῖς, χρυσοῦ μαλακτῆρες καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ζωγρά-
 φοι, ποικιλταί, τορευταί, πομποὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ
 κομιστῆρες, ἔμποροι καὶ ναῦται καὶ κυβερνήται
 7 κατὰ θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἀμαξοπηγοὶ καὶ
 ζευγοτρόφοι καὶ ἡνίοχοι καὶ καλωστρόφοι καὶ
 λινουργοὶ καὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ μεταλ-
 λεῖς, ἐκάστη δὲ τέχνη, καθάπερ στρατηγὸς ἴδιον
 στράτευμα, τὸν θητικὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἰδιώτην συν-
 τεταγμένον εἶχεν, ὄργανον καὶ σῶμα τῆς ὑπηρε-
 σίας γινόμενον, εἰς πᾶσαν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἡλικίαν
 καὶ φύσιν αἱ χρεῖαι διένεμον καὶ διέσπειρον τὴν
 εὐπορίαν.

XIII. Ἀναβαινόντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερη-
 φάνων μὲν μεγέθει, μορφῇ δ' ἀμιμήτων καὶ
 χάριτι, τῶν δημιουργῶν ἀμιλλωμένων ὑπερβάλ-
 λεσθαι τὴν δημιουργίαν τῇ καλλιτεχνίᾳ, μάλιστα
 θαυμάσιον ἦν τὸ τάχος. ὧν γὰρ ἕκαστον ὦντο
 πολλαῖς διςδοχαῖς καὶ ἡλικίαις μόλις ἐπὶ τέλος
 ἀφίξεσθαι, ταῦτα πάντα μιᾶς ἀκμῇ πολιτείας

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laziness and idleness, he boldly suggested to the people projects for great constructions, and designs for works which would call many arts into play and involve long periods of time, in order that the stay-at-homes, no whit less than the sailors and sentinels and soldiers, might have a pretext for getting a beneficial share of the public wealth. The materials to be used were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress-wood; the arts which should elaborate and work up these materials were those of carpenter, moulder, bronze-smith, stone-cutter, dyer, worker in gold and ivory, painter, embroiderer, embosser, to say nothing of the forwarders and furnishers of the material, such as factors, sailors and pilots by sea, and, by land, wagon-makers, trainers of yoked beasts, and drivers. There were also rope-makers, weavers, leather-workers, road-builders, and miners. And since each particular art, like a general with the army under his separate command, kept its own throng of unskilled and untrained labourers in compact array, to be as instrument unto player and as body unto soul in subordinate service, it came to pass that for every age, almost, and every capacity the city's great abundance was distributed and scattered abroad by such demands.

XIII. So then the works arose, no less towering in their grandeur than inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the workmen eagerly strove to surpass themselves in the beauty of their handicraft. And yet the most wonderful thing about them was the speed with which they rose. Each one of them, men thought, would require many successive generations to complete it, but all of them were

- 2 ἐλάμβανε τὴν συντέλειαν. καίτοι ποτέ φασιν Ἀγαθάρχου τοῦ ζωγράφου μέγα φρονούντος ἐπὶ τῷ ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως τὰ ζῶα ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ζεῦξιν εἰπεῖν. “Ἐγὼ δ’ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ.” ἢ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὐχέρεια καὶ ταχύτης οὐκ ἐντίθησι βάρος ἔργῳ μόνιμον οὐδὲ κάλλους ἀκρίβειαν· ὁ δ’ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τῷ πόνῳ προδανεισθεὶς χρόνος ἐν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γενομένου τὴν ἰσχὺν
- 3 ἀποδίδωσιν. ὅθεν καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενόμενα. κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον εὐθὺς ἦν τότε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατόν ἐστι καὶ νεουργόν· οὕτως ἐπανθεῖ καινότης αἰεί τις¹ ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διατηροῦσα τὴν ὄψιν, ὥσπερ αἰιθαλὲς πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγήρῳ καταμεμιγμένην τῶν ἔργων ἐχόντων.
- 4 Πάντα δὲ διείπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐκατόμβεδον Παρθενῶνα Καλλικράτης εἰργάζετο καὶ Ἰκτῖνος, τὸ δ’ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελεστήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ’ ἐδάφους κίονας ἔθηκεν οὗτος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις ἐπέξευξεν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου Μεταγένης ὁ Ξυπέτιος τὸ διάζωμα καὶ τοὺς ἄνω κίονας
- 5 ἐπέστησε· τὸ δ’ ὅπαιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε· τὸ δὲ μακρὸν 160

καινότης αἰεί τις Fuhr and Blass with F²S : καινότης τις.

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fully completed in the heyday of a single administration. And yet they say that once on a time when Agatharchus the painter was boasting loudly of the speed and ease with which he made his figures, Zeuxis heard him, and said, "Mine take, and last, a long time." And it is true that deftness and speed in working do not impart to the work an abiding weight of influence nor an exactness of beauty; whereas the time which is put out to loan in laboriously creating, pays a large and generous interest in the preservation of the creation. For this reason are the works of Pericles all the more to be wondered at; they were created in a short time for all time. Each one of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once antique; but in the freshness of its vigour it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought. Such is the bloom of perpetual newness, as it were, upon these works of his, which makes them ever to look untouched by time, as though the unfaltering breath of an ageless spirit had been infused into them.

His general manager and general overseer was Pheidias, although the several works had great architects and artists besides. Of the Parthenon, for instance, with its cella of a hundred feet in length, Callicrates and Ictinus were the architects; it was Coroebus who began to build the sanctuary of the mysteries at Eleusis, and he planted the columns on the floor and yoked their capitals together with architraves; but on his death Metagenes, of the deme Xypete, carried up the frieze and the upper tier of columns; while Xenocles, of the deme Cholargus, set on high the lantern over the shrine.

τείχος, περὶ οὗ Σωκράτης ἀκούσαί φησιν αὐτὸς εἰσηγουμένου γνώμην Περικλέους, ἡργολάβησε Καλλικράτης. κωμῳδεῖ δὲ τὸ ἔργον Κρατῖνος ὡς βραδέως περαινόμενον·

Πάλαι γὰρ αὐτό, φησί,
λόγοισι προάγει Περικλῆς, ἔργοισι δ' οὐδὲ
κινεῖ.

Τὸ δ' Ὀιδεῖον, τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον, τῇ δ' ἐρέψει περικλινὲς καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατοῦντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέους.
6 διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράιτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν·

Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε
προσέρχεται¹ τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου
ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται.

φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐψη-
φίσατο μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις
ἄγεσθαι, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἰρεθεὶς
καθότι χρή τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ἄδειν ἢ
κιθαρίζειν. ἐθεῶντο δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον
χρόνον ἐν Ὀιδείῳ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ἀγῶνας.
7 Τὰ δὲ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐξεργάσθη
μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ Μνησικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονούντος·
τύχη δὲ θαυμαστὴ συμβᾶσα περὶ τὴν οἰκοδο-
μίαν ἐμήνυσσε τὴν θεὸν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ

¹ ὅδε | προσέρχεται Fulir and Blass, after Cobet: προσέρ-
χεται | Περικλέους.

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For the long wall, concerning which Socrates says¹ he himself heard Pericles introduce a measure, Callicrates was the contractor. Cratinus pokes fun at this work for its slow progress, and in these words :—

“ Since ever so long now
In word has Pericles pushed the thing ; in fact he
does not budge it.”²

The Odeum, which was arranged internally with many tiers of seats and many pillars, and which had a roof made with a circular slope from a single peak, they say was an exact reproduction of the Great King's pavilion, and this too was built under the superintendence of Pericles. Wherefore Cratinus, in his “Thracian Women,” rails at him again :—

“The squill-head Zeus! lo! here he comes,
The Odeum like a cap upon his cranium,
Now that for good and all the ostracism is o'er.”³

Then first did Pericles, so fond of honour was he, get a decree passed that a musical contest be held as part of the Panathenaic festival. He himself was elected manager, and prescribed how the contestants must blow the flute, or sing, or pluck the zither. These musical contests were witnessed, both then and thereafter, in the Odeum.

The Propylaea of the acropolis were brought to completion in the space of five years, Mnesicles being their architect. A wonderful thing happened in the course of their building, which indicated that the goddess was not holding herself aloof, but was a

¹ Plato, *Gorgias*, p.455 e.

² From a play of unknown name. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 100.

³ Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 35.

- συνεφαπτομένην τοῦ ἔργου καὶ συνεπιτελοῦσαν.
- 8 ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς ἐξ ὕψους ἔπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἀθυμοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὄναρ φανείσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἣ χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως ἰάσατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ὑγιείας Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ὃς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν.
- 9 Ὁ δὲ Φειδίας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος, καὶ τούτου δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέγραπται,¹ πάντα δ' ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάτει τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ μὲν φθόνῳ, τῷ δὲ βλασφημίαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἐλευθέρας τῷ Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ ἔργα φοιτώσας ὑπο-
- 10 δεχομένου τοῦ Φειδίου. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν λόγον οἱ κωμικοὶ πολλὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἰς τε τὴν Μενίππου γυναῖκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ ὑποστρατηγοῦντος, εἰς τε τὰς Πυριλάμπους ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἐταῖρος ὦν Περικλέους αἰτίαν εἶχε ταῶναις ὑφίεναι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἷς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίαζε.
- 11 Καὶ τί ἂν τις ἀνθρώπους σατυρικοὺς τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων βλασφημίας ὥσπερ δαίμονι κακῷ τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποθύοντας ἐκάστοτε θαυμάσειεν, ὅπου καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ

¹ ἀναγέγραπται Cobet : εἶναι γέγραπται.

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helper both in the inception and in the completion of the work. One of its artificers, the most active and zealous of them all, lost his footing and fell from a great height, and lay in a sorry plight, despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was much cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed the man. It was in commemoration of this that he set up the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia on the acropolis near the altar of that goddess, which was there before, as they say.

But it was Pheidias who produced the great golden image of the goddess, and he is duly inscribed on the tablet as the workman who made it. Everything, almost, was under his charge, and all the artists and artisans, as I have said, were under his superintendence, owing to his friendship with Pericles. This brought envy upon the one, and contumely on the other, to the effect that Pheidias made assignments for Pericles with free-born women who would come ostensibly to see the works of art. The comic poets took up this story and bespattered Pericles with charges of abounding wantonness, connecting their slanders with the wife of Menippus, a man who was his friend, and a colleague in the generalship, and with the bird-culture of Pyrilampes, who, since he was the comrade of Pericles, was accused of using his peacocks to bribe the women with whom Pericles consorted.

And why should any one be astonished that men of wanton life lose no occasion for offering up sacrifices, as it were, of contumelious abuse of their superiors, to the evil deity of popular envy, when

Θάσιος δεινὸν ἀσέβημα καὶ μυθῶδες ἐξευεγκεῖν
 ἐτόλμησεν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ υἱοῦ κατὰ τοῦ
 12 Περικλέους; οὕτως ἔοικε πάντῃ χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ
 δυσθήρατον ἱστορίᾳ τὰληθές, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ὕστερον
 γεγονότες τὸν χρόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπιπροσθούντα τῇ
 γνώσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ
 τῶν βίων ἡλικιωτὶς ἱστορία τὰ μὲν φθόνοις καὶ
 δυσμενείαις, τὰ δὲ χαριζομένη καὶ κολακεύουσα
 λυμαίνεται καὶ διαστρέφῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

XIV. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ῥητόρων
 καταβοώντων τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς σπαθῶντος τὰ
 χρήματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἀπολλύντος, ἡρώ-
 τησεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν δῆμον εἰ πολλὰ δοκεῖ
 δεδαπανῆσθαι· φησάντων δὲ πάμπολλα· “Μὴ
 τοίνυν,” εἶπεν, “ὕμιν, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ δεδαπανήσθω,
 καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἰδίαν ἐμαντοῦ ποιήσομαι
 2 τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν.” εἰπόντος οὖν ταῦτα τοῦ Περι-
 κλέους, εἴτε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην αὐτοῦ θαυμά-
 σαντες εἴτε πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενοι 161
 τῶν ἔργων, ἀνέκραγον κελεύοντες ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων
 ἀναλίσκειν καὶ χορηγεῖν μηδενὸς φειδόμενον.
 τέλος δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θουκυδίδην εἰς ἀγῶνα περὶ τοῦ
 ὀστράκου καταστὰς καὶ διακινδυνεύσας ἐκείνον
 μὲν ἐξέβαλε, κατέλυσε δὲ τὴν ἀντιτεταγμένην
 ἑταιρείαν.

XV. Ὡς οὖν παντάπασι λυθείσης τῆς διαφο-
 ρᾶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως οἷον ὁμαλῆς καὶ μᾶς γενο-
 μένης κομιδῇ, περιήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰς Ἀθήνας

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even Stesimbrotus of Thasos has ventured to make public charge against Pericles of a dreadful and fabulous impiety with his son's wife? To such degree, it seems, is truth hedged about with difficulty and hard to capture by research, since those who come after the events in question find that lapse of time is an obstacle to their proper perception of them; while the research of their contemporaries into men's deeds and lives, partly through envious hatred and partly through fawning flattery, defiles and distorts the truth.

XIV. Thucydides and his party kept denouncing Pericles for playing fast and loose with the public moneys and annihilating the revenues. Pericles therefore asked the people in assembly whether they thought he had expended too much, and on their declaring that it was altogether too much, "Well then," said he, "let it not have been spent on your account, but mine, and I will make the inscriptions of dedication in my own name." When Pericles had said this, whether it was that they admired his magnanimity or vied with his ambition to get the glory of his works, they cried out with a loud voice and bade him take freely from the public funds for his outlays, and to spare naught whatsoever. And finally he ventured to undergo with Thucydides the contest of the ostracism, wherein he secured his rival's banishment,¹ and the dissolution of the faction which had been arrayed against him.

XV. Thus, then, seeing that political differences were entirely remitted and the city had become a smooth surface, as it were, and altogether united, he brought under his own control Athens and all the

¹ 442 B.C.

καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξηρητημένα πράγματα,
 φόρους καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ νήσους
 καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν δι' Ἑλλήνων,
 πολλὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ βαρβύρων ἤκουσαν ἰσχύν, καὶ
 ἡγεμονίαν ὑπηκοοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ φιλίαις βασιλέων
 2 καὶ συμμαχίαις πεφραγμένην δυναστῶν, οὐκέθ' ὁ
 αὐτὸς ἦν οὐδ' ὁμοίως χειροῆθης τῷ δήμῳ καὶ
 ῥίδιος ὑπέκειν καὶ συνενδιδόναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις
 ὥσπερ πνοαῖς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀνειμένης
 ἐκείνης καὶ ὑποθρυπτομένης ἔνια δημαγωγίας,
 ὥσπερ ἀνθηρᾶς καὶ μαλακῆς ἀρμονίας, ἀριστοκρα-
 τικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐντεινόμενος πολιτείαν, καὶ
 χρώμενος αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ὀρθῇ καὶ
 3 ἀνεγκλίτῳ, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ βουλόμενον ἡγε πείθων
 καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δῆμον, ἦν δ' ὅτε καὶ μάλα
 δυσχεραίνοντα κατατείνων καὶ προσβιβάζων ἔχει-
 ροῦτο τῷ συμφέροντι, μιμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς ἰατρὸν
 ποικίλῳ νοσήματι καὶ μακρῷ κατὰ καιρὸν μὲν
 ἡδονὰς ἀβλαβεῖς, κατὰ καιρὸν δὲ δηγμοὺς καὶ
 4 φάρμακα προσφέροντα σωτήρια. παντοδαπῶν
 γάρ, ὥς εἰκός, παθῶν ἐν ὄχλῳ τοσαύτην τὸ μέγε-
 θος ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι φυομένων, μόνος ἐμμελῶς
 ἕκαστα διαχειρίσασθαι πεφύκως, μάλιστα δ'
 ἐλπίσι καὶ φόβοις ὥσπερ οἶαξι προσστέλλων¹ τὸ
 θρασυνόμενον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δύσθυμον ἀνιεῖς καὶ
 παραμυθούμενος, ἔδειξε τὴν ῥητορικὴν κατὰ Πλά-
 τωνα ψυχαγωγίαν οὔσαν καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον

¹ προσστέλλων Fuhr and Blass with S (προστέλλων BCF^a):
 προαναστέλλων.

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issues dependent on the Athenians,—tributes, armies, triremes, the islands, the sea, the vast power derived from Hellenes, vast also from Barbarians, and a supremacy that was securely hedged about with subject nations, royal friendships, and dynastic alliances. But then he was no longer the same man as before, nor alike submissive to the people and ready to yield and give in to the desires of the multitude as a steersman to the breezes. Nay rather, forsaking his former lax and sometimes rather effeminate management of the people, as it were a flowery and soft melody, he struck the high and clear note of an aristocratic and kingly statesmanship, and employing it for the best interests of all in a direct and undeviating fashion, he led the people, for the most part willingly, by his persuasions and instructions. And yet there were times when they were sorely vexed with him, and then he tightened the reins and forced them into the way of their advantage with a master's hand, for all the world like a wise physician, who treats a complicated disease of long standing occasionally with harmless indulgences to please his patient, and occasionally, too, with caustics and bitter drugs which work salvation. For whereas all sorts of distempers, as was to be expected, were rife in a rabble which possessed such vast empire, he alone was so endowed by nature that he could manage each one of these cases suitably, and more than anything else he used the people's hopes and fears, like rudders, so to speak, giving timely check to their arrogance, and allaying and comforting their despair. Thus he proved that rhetoric, or the art of speaking, is, to use Plato's words,¹ "an enchantment

¹ *Phaedrus*, p 271 c.

αὐτῆς τὴν περὶ τὰ ἡθῆ καὶ πάθη μέθοδον, ὥσπερ
 τινὰς τόνους καὶ φθόγγους ψυχῆς μάλ' ἐμμελοῦς
 5 ἀφῆς καὶ κρούσεως δεομένους. αἰτία δ' οὐχ ἡ τοῦ
 λόγου ψιλῶς δύναμις, ἀλλ', ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησὶν,
 ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον δόξα καὶ πίστις τοῦ ἀνδρός,
 ἀδωροτάτου περιφανῶς γενομένου καὶ χρημάτων
 κρείττονος· ὃς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλης μεγίστην
 καὶ πλουσιωτάτην ποιήσας, καὶ γενόμενος δυνά-
 μει¹ πολλῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων ὑπέρτερος,
 ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ ἐπίτροπον τοῖς υἱέσι διέθεντο ἐκείνον,²
 μιᾷ δραχμῇ μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἢς ὁ
 πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε.

XVI. Καίτοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς μὲν ὁ
 Θουκυδίδης διηγέται, κακοήθως δὲ παρεμφαίνου-
 σιν οἱ κωμικοί, Πεισιστρατίδας μὲν νέους τοὺς
 περὶ αὐτὸν ἐταίρους καλοῦντες, αὐτὸν δ' ἀπομόσαι
 μὴ τυραννήσειν κελεύοντες, ὡς ἀσυμμέτρου πρὸς
 δημοκρατίαν καὶ βαρυτέρας περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης
 2 ὑπεροχῆς. ὁ δὲ Ἐλεγκλείδης παραδεδωκέναι φησὶν
 αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους

Πόλεων τε φόρους αὐτάς τε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν
 δεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀναλύειν,

λάϊνα τείχη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν, τὰ δ' ἔπειτα³
 πάλιν καταβάλλειν,

σπονδάς, δύναμιν, κράτος, εἰρήνην, πλοῦτόν τ'
 εὐδαιμονίαν τε.

καὶ ταῦτα καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν οὐδ' ἄκμῃ καὶ χάρις

¹ δυνάμει also Fuhr and Blass with S; Bekker has καὶ
 δυνάμει.

² ἐπίτροπον . . . ἐκείνον Madvig's restoration, adopted by
 Fuhr and Blass: ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱέσι διέθεντο, ἐκείνος (*willed their
 property to their sons*). ³ τὰ δ' ἔπειτα Fuhr: τὰ δὲ αὐτά.

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of the soul," and that her chiefest business is a careful study of the affections and passions, which are, so to speak, strings and steps of the soul, requiring a very judicious fingering and striking. The reason for his success was not his power as a speaker merely, but, as Thucydides says,¹ the reputation of his life and the confidence reposed in him as one who was manifestly proven to be utterly disinterested and superior to bribes. He made the city, great as it was when he took it, the greatest and richest of all cities, and grew to be superior in power to kings and tyrants. Some of these actually appointed him guardian of their sons, but he did not make his estate a single drachma greater than it was when his father left it to him.

XVI. Of his power there can be no doubt, since Thucydides gives so clear an exposition of it, and the comic poets unwittingly reveal it even in their malicious gibes, calling him and his associates "new Peisistratidae," and urging him to take solemn oath not to make himself a tyrant, on the plea, forsooth, that his preëminence was incommensurate with a democracy and too oppressive. Telecleides says² that the Athenians had handed over to him

"With the cities' assessments the cities themselves.
to bind or release as he pleases,
Their ramparts of stone to build up if he likes, and
then to pull down again straightway,
Their treaties, their forces, their might, peace, and
riches, and all the fair gifts of good fortune."
(ROGERS.)

And this was not the fruit of a golden moment, nor

¹ ii. 65, 8.

² In a play of unknown name. Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 220.

ἀνθούσης ἐφ' ὥρῃ πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα
 μὲν ἔτη πρωτεύων ἐν Ἐφιάλταις καὶ Λεωκράταις
 καὶ Μυρωνίδαις καὶ Κίμωσι καὶ Τολμίδαις καὶ
 3 Θουκυδίδαις, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θουκυδίδου κατάλυσιν
 καὶ τὸν ὁστρακισμὸν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα
 ἐτῶν διηνεκῇ καὶ μίαν οὔσαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις
 στρατηγίαις ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν κτησάμενος,
 ἐφύλαξεν ἑαυτὸν ἀνάλωτον ὑπὸ χρημάτων, καί- 162
 περ οὐ παντάπασιν ἀργῶς ἔχων πρὸς χρηματι-
 σμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πατρῶον καὶ δίκαιον πλοῦτον, ὡς
 μήτ' ἀμελούμενος ἐκφύγοι μήτε πολλὰ πράγματα
 καὶ διατριβὰς ἀσχολουμένῳ παρέχοι, συνέταξεν
 εἰς οἰκονομίαν ἣν ᾤετο ῥάστην καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην
 4 εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπετεῖους καρποὺς ἅπαντας
 ἀθρόους ἐπίπρασκεν, εἴτα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἕκαστον
 ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ὠνούμενος διώκει τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ περὶ
 τὴν δίαιταν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἡδὺς ἦν ἐνηλίκους παισὶν
 οὐδὲ γυναιξὶ δαψιλῆς χορηγός, ἀλλ' ἐμέμφοντο
 τὴν ἐφήμερον ταύτην καὶ συνηγμένην εἰς τὸ
 ἀκριβέστατον δαπάνην, οὐδενός, οἷον ἐν οἰκίᾳ
 μεγάλη καὶ πράγμασιν ἀφθόνοις, περιρρέοντος,
 ἀλλὰ παντὸς μὲν ἀναλώματος, παντὸς δὲ λήμ-
 5 ματος δι' ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μέτρου βαδίζοντος. ὁ δὲ
 πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην συνέχων ἀκρίβειαν εἰς
 ἣν οἰκέτης, Εὐάγγελος, ὡς ἕτερος οὐδεὶς εὐ πεφυ-
 κὼς ἢ κατεσκευασμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους πρὸς
 οἰκονομίαν.

Ἀπᾶδοντα¹ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου
 σοφίας, εἶγε καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκεῖνος ἐξέλιπε καὶ

¹ Ἀπᾶδοντα Valckenaer's restoration of the MS. ἅπαντα;
 Bekker changes to ἀπᾶδει.

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the culminating popularity of an administration that bloomed but for a season ; nay rather he stood first for forty years¹ among such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides, and after the deposition of Thucydides and his ostracism, for no less than fifteen of these years did he secure an imperial sway that was continuous and unbroken, by means of his annual tenure of the office of general. During all these years he kept himself untainted by corruption, although he was not altogether indifferent to money-making ; indeed, the wealth which was legally his by inheritance from his father, that it might not from sheer neglect take to itself wings and fly away, nor yet cause him much trouble and loss of time when he was busy with higher things, he set into such orderly dispensation as he thought was easiest and most exact. This was to sell his annual products all together in the lump, and then to buy in the market each article as it was needed, and so provide the ways and means of daily life. For this reason he was not liked by his sons when they grew up, nor did their wives find in him a liberal purveyor, but they murmured at his expenditure for the day merely and under the most exact restrictions, there being no surplus of supplies at all, as in a great house and under generous circumstances, but every outlay and every intake proceeding by count and measure. His agent in securing all this great exactitude was a single servant, Evangelus, who was either gifted by nature or trained by Pericles so as to surpass everybody else in domestic economy.

It is true that this conduct was not in accord with the wisdom of Anaxagoras, since that philosopher

¹ Reckoning roundly from 469 to 429 B.C.

τὴν χώραν ἀφῆκεν ἀργὴν καὶ μηλόβοτον ὑπ'
 6 ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, οὐ ταῦτόν
 δ' ἐστίν, οἶμαι, θεωρητικοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ πολι-
 τικοῦ βίος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνόργανον καὶ ἀπροσδεῇ
 τῆς ἐκτὸς ὕλης ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κινεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν,
 τῷ δ' εἰς ἀνθρωπείας χρείας ἀναμιγνύντι τὴν
 ἀρετὴν ἔστιν οὐ γένοιτ' ἂν οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καλῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, ὥσπερ
 ἦν καὶ Περικλεῖ βοηθοῦντι πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων.
 7 καὶ μέντοι γε τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν
 ἀσχολουμένου Περικλέους ἀμελούμενον κεῖσθαι
 συγκεκαλυμμένον ἤδη γηραιὸν ἀποκαρτεροῦντα·
 προσπεσόντος δὲ τῷ Περικλεῖ τοῦ πράγματος
 ἐκπλαγέντα θεῖν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δεῖσθαι
 πᾶσαν δέησιν, ὀλοφυρόμενον οὐκ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ'
 ἑαυτόν, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἀπολεῖ τῆς πολιτείας σύμ-
 βουλον. ἐκκαλυψάμενον οὖν τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν
 εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· “ὦ Περικλεῖς, καὶ οἱ τοῦ
 λύχνου χρεῖαν ἔχοντες ἔλαιον ἐπιχέουσιν.”

XVII. Ἀρχομένων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄχθεσθαι
 τῇ αὐξήσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαίρων ὁ Περικλῆς
 τὸν δῆμον ἔτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων
 αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν πραγμάτων, γράφει ψήφισμα, πάν-
 τας Ἑλληνας τοὺς ὀπήποτε κατοικοῦντας Εὐρώ-
 πης ἢ τῆς Ἀσίας παρακαλεῖν, καὶ μικρὰν πόλιν
 καὶ μεγάλην, εἰς σύλλογον πέμπειν Ἀθίναζε
 τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν,

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actually abandoned his house and left his land to lie fallow for sheep-grazing, owing to the lofty thoughts with which he was inspired. But the life of a speculative philosopher is not the same thing, I think, as that of a statesman. The one exercises his intellect without the aid of instruments and independent of external matters for noble ends; whereas the other, inasmuch as he brings his superior excellence into close contact with the common needs of mankind, must sometimes find wealth not merely one of the necessities of life, but also one of its noble things, as was actually the case with Pericles, who gave aid to many poor men. And, besides, they say that Anaxagoras himself, at a time when Pericles was absorbed in business, lay on his couch all neglected, in his old age, starving himself to death, his head already muffled for departure, and that when the matter came to the ears of Pericles, he was struck with dismay, and ran at once to the poor man, and besought him most fervently to live, bewailing not so much that great teacher's lot as his own, were he now to be bereft of such a counsellor in the conduct of the state. Then Anaxagoras—so the story goes—unmuffled his head and said to him, "Pericles, even those who need a lamp pour oil therein."

✓ XVII. When the Lacedaemonians began to be annoyed by the increasing power of the Athenians, Pericles, by way of inciting the people to cherish yet loftier thoughts and to deem itself worthy of great achievements, introduced a bill to the effect that all Hellenes wheresoever resident in Europe or in Asia, small and large cities alike, should be invited to send deputies to a council at Athens. This was to deliberate concerning the Hellenic sanctuaries which

ἃ κατέπρησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἅς
 ὀφείλουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοῖς
 θεοῖς ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ
 τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἀδεῶς καὶ
 2 τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγωσιν. ἐπὶ ταῦτα δ' ἄνδρες εἴκοσι
 τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων ἐπέμφθησαν,
 ὧν πέντε μὲν Ἴωνας καὶ Δωριεῖς τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ
 καὶ νησιώτας ἄχρι Λέσβου καὶ Ῥόδου παρεκά-
 λουν, πέντε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ Θράκῃ
 μέχρι Βυζαντίου τόπους ἐπήεσαν, καὶ πέντε ἐπὶ
 τούτοις εἰς Βοιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Πελοπόν-
 νησον, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Λοκρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσοι-
 κον ἡπειρον ἕως Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ Ἀμβρακίας
 3 ἀπεστάλησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δι' Εὐβοίας ἐπ'
 Οἰταίους καὶ τὸν Μαλιέα κόλπον καὶ Φθιώτας
 Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, συμπί-
 θοντες ἵεναι καὶ μετέχειν τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπ'
 εἰρήνῃ καὶ κοινοπραγίᾳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐπράχθη
 δὲ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ συνῆλθον αἱ πόλεις, Λακεδαιμονίων
 ὑπεναντιωθέντων, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν
 Πελοποννήσῳ τῆς πείρας ἐλεγχθείσης. τεῦτο
 μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φρό-
 νημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην.

XVIII. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις εὐδοκίμει 163
 μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, οὔτε μάχης ἐχούσης
 πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκουσίως ἀπτό-
 μενος, οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραβάλλεσθαι χρησα-
 μένους τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ καὶ θαυμασθέντας ὡς μεγά-
 λους ζηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος στρατηγούς, αἰεὶ τε
 λέγων πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ὡς ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 μενοῦσιν ἀθάνατοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον.

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the Barbarians had burned down, concerning the sacrifices which were due to the gods in the name of Hellas in fulfilment of vows made when they were fighting with the Barbarians, and concerning the sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the peace. To extend this invitation, twenty men, of such as were above fifty years of age, were sent out, five of whom invited the Ionians and Dorians in Asia and on the islands between Lesbos and Rhodes ; five visited the regions on the Hellespont and in Thrace as far as Byzantium ; five others were sent into Boeotia and Phocis and Peloponnesus, and from here by way of the Ozolian Locrians into the neighbouring continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia ; while the rest proceeded through Euboea to the Oetaeans and the Maliac Gulf and the Phthiotic Achaeans and the Thessalians, urging them all to come and take part in the deliberations for the peace and common welfare of Hellas. / But nothing was accomplished, nor did the cities come together by deputy, owing to the opposition of the Lacedaemonians, as it is said, since the effort met with its first check in Peloponnesus. I have cited this incident, however, to show forth the man's disposition and the greatness of his thoughts. /

XVIII. In his capacity as general, he was famous above all things for his saving caution ; he neither undertook of his own accord a battle involving much uncertainty and peril, nor did he envy and imitate those who took great risks, enjoyed brilliant good-fortune, and so were admired as great generals ; and he was for ever saying to his fellow-citizens that, so far as lay in his power, they would remain alive forever and be immortals.

- 2 Ὅρων δὲ Τολμίδην τὸν Τολμαίου διὰ τὰς πρότερον εὐτυχίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν σὺν οὐδενὶ καιρῷ παρασκευαζόμενον εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ πεπεικότα τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἐθελοντὶ στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίους γενομένους ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως, κατέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἰπὼν, ὥς εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο Περικλεῖ, τὸν γε σοφώτατον οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται σύμβουλον
- 3 ἀναμείνας χρόνον. τότε μὲν οὖν μετρίως εὐδοκίμησε τοῦτ' εἰπὼν· ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις, ὥς ἀνηγγέλθη τεθνεῶς μὲν αὐτὸς Τολμίδης περὶ Κορώνειαν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ, τεθνεῶτες δὲ πολλοὶ κάγαθοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, μεγάλην τοῦτο τῷ Περικλεῖ μετ' εὐνοίας δόξαν ἤνεγκεν, ὥς ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ.

- XIX. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγιῶν ἡγαπήθη μὲν ἡ περὶ Χερρόνησον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, σωτήριος γενομένη τοῖς αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐποίκους Ἀθηναίων χιλίους κομίσας ἔρρωσεν εὐανδρία τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα διαζώσας ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν
- 2 Θρακῶν περικεχυμένων τῇ Χερρονήσῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἐνδελεχῇ καὶ βαρὺν ἐξέκλεισεν, ᾧ συνείχετο πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡ χώρα βαρβαρικαῖς ἀναμμιγμένη γειτνιασεσι καὶ γέμουσα λησστηρίων

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So when he saw that Tolmides, son of Tolmaeus, all on account of his previous good-fortune and of the exceeding great honour bestowed upon him for his wars, was getting ready, quite inopportunately, to make an incursion into Boeotia, and that he had persuaded the bravest and most ambitious men of military age to volunteer for the campaign,—as many as a thousand of them, aside from the rest of his forces,—he tried to restrain and dissuade him in the popular assembly, uttering then that well remembered saying, to wit, that if he would not listen to Pericles, he would yet do full well to wait for that wisest of all counsellors, Time. This saying brought him only moderate repute at the time; but a few days afterwards, when word was brought that Tolmides himself was dead after defeat in battle near Coroneia,¹ and that many brave citizens were dead likewise, then it brought Pericles great repute as well as goodwill, for that he was a man of discretion and patriotism.

XIX. Of all his expeditions, that to the Chersonesus² was held in most loving remembrance, since it proved the salvation of the Hellenes who dwelt there. Not only did he bring thither a thousand Athenian colonists and stock the cities anew with vigorous manhood, but he also belted the neck of the isthmus with defensive bulwarks from sea to sea, and so intercepted the incursions of the Thracians who swarmed about the Chersonesus, and shut out the perpetual and grievous war in which the country was all the time involved, in close touch as it was with neighbouring communities of Barbarians, and full to overflowing of robber bands whose haunts were on or

¹ 447 B.C.

² 447 B.C.

- ὁμόρων καὶ συνοίκων· ἐθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διε-
 βοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπους περιπλεύσας
 Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Πηγῶν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνα-
 3 χθεὶς ἑκατὸν τριήρεσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπόρθησε
 τῆς παραλίας πολλήν, ὥς Τολμίδης πρότερον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω θαλάττης προελθὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ
 τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίταις τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰ τεῖχη
 συνέστειλε δέισαντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐν δὲ
 Νεμέᾳ Σικυωνίους ὑποστάντας καὶ συνάψαντας
 μάχην κατὰ κράτος τρεψάμενος ἔστησε τρόπαιον.
 4 ἐκ δ' Ἀχαΐας φίλης οὔσης στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν
 εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἠπειρον
 ἐκομίσθη τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχε-
 λῶν Ἀκαρνανίαν κατέδραμε, καὶ κατέκλεισεν
 Οἰνιάδας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τεμὼν τὴν γῆν καὶ
 κακώσας ἀπῆρεν ἐπ' οἶκου, φοβερός μὲν φανείς
 τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀσφαλὴς δὲ καὶ δραστήριος τοῖς
 πολίταις. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπὸ τύχης πρόσκρου-
 σμα συνέβη περὶ τοὺς στρατευομένους.

XX. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσας στόλῳ
 μεγάλῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ λαμπρῶς ταῖς μὲν
 Ἑλληνίσιν πόλεσιν ὧν ἐδέοντο διεπράξατο καὶ
 προσηνέχθη φιλανθρώπως, τοῖς δὲ περιοικοῦσι
 βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν καὶ
 δυνάσταις ἐπεδείξατο μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μέ-
 γεθος καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ἢ βούλονται
 πλεόντων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς πεποιημένων τὴν
 θάλασσαν, Σινωπεῦσι δὲ τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς ἀπέ-
 λιπε μετὰ Λαμάχου καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ Τιμησί-

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within its borders. But he was admired and celebrated even amongst foreigners for his circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus,¹ when he put to sea from Pegae in the Megarid with a hundred triremes. He not only ravaged a great strip of seashore, as Tolmides had done before him, but also advanced far into the interior with the hoplites from his ships, and drove all his enemies inside their walls in terror at his approach, excepting only the Sicyonians, who made a stand against him in Nemea, and joined battle with him; these he routed by main force and set up a trophy for his victory. Then from Achaia, which was friendly to him, he took soldiers on board his triremes, and proceeded with his armament to the opposite mainland, where he sailed up the Acheloüs, overran Acarnania, shut up the people of Oeniadae behind their walls, and after ravaging and devastating their territory, went off homewards, having shown himself formidable to his enemies, but a safe and efficient leader for his fellow-citizens. For nothing untoward befell, even as result of chance, those who took part in the expedition.

XX. He also sailed into the Euxine Sea² with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighbouring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control. He also left with the banished Sinopians thirteen ships of war and soldiers under command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesi-

¹ 453 B.C.

² Probably about 436 B.C.

2 λεων τύραννον. ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν
 ἐταίρων ἐψηφίσατο πλεῖν εἰς Σινώπην Ἀθηναίων
 ἐθελοντὰς ἑξακοσίους καὶ συγκατοικεῖν Σινωπεῦσι,
 νειμαμένους οἰκίας καὶ χώραν ἣν πρότερον οἱ
 τύραννοι κατεῖχον.

Τὰλλα δ' οὐ συνεχώρει ταῖς ὁρμαῖς τῶν πολι-
 τῶν, οὐδὲ συνεξέπιπτεν ὑπὸ ῥώμης καὶ τύχης
 τοσαύτης ἐπαιρομένων Λιγύπτου τε πάλιν ἀντι- 164
 λαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κινεῖν τῆς βασιλέως ἀρχῆς τὰ
 3 πρὸς θαλάσση. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Σικελίας ὁ
 δύσεως ἐκεῖνος ἤδη καὶ δύσποτμος ἔρως εἶχεν,
 ὃν ὕστερον ἐξέκασαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην
 ῥήτορες. ἦν δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνία καὶ Καρχηδῶν
 ἐνίοις ὄνειρος οὐκ ἀπ' ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
 ὑποκειμένης ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὴν εὐροίαν τῶν
 πραγμάτων.

XXI. Ἄλλ' ὁ Περικλῆς κατεῖχε τὴν ἐκδρομὴν
 ταύτην καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην,
 καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμεως ἔτρεπεν εἰς φυλακὴν
 καὶ βεβαιότητα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μέγα ἔργον
 ἡγούμενις ἀνείργειν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ὅλως
 ὑπεναντιούμενος ἐκείνοις, ὥς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς
 ἔδειξε καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἱερὸν πραχθεῖσι
 2 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατεύ-
 σαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς Φωκέων ἐχόντων τὸ ἱερὸν
 Δελφοῖς ἀπέδωκαν, εὐθὺς ἐκείνων ἀπαλλαγέντων

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leos. When the tyrant and his adherents had been driven from the city, Pericles got a bill passed providing that six hundred volunteers of the Athenians should sail to Sinope and settle down there with the Sinopians, dividing up among themselves the houses and lands which the tyrant and his followers had formerly occupied.

But in other matters he did not accede to the vain impulses of the citizens, nor was he swept along with the tide when they were eager, from a sense of their great power and good fortune, to lay hands again upon Egypt and molest the realms of the King which lay along the sea. Many also were possessed already with that inordinate and inauspicious passion for Sicily which was afterwards kindled into flame by such orators as Alcibiades. And some there were who actually dreamed of Tuscany and Carthage, and that not without a measure of hope, in view of the magnitude of their present supremacy and the full-flowing tide of success in their undertakings.

XXI. But Pericles was ever trying to restrain this extravagance of theirs, to lop off their expansive meddlesomeness, and to divert the greatest part of their forces to the guarding and securing of what they had already won. He considered it a great achievement to hold the Lacedaemonians in check, and set himself in opposition to these in every way, as he showed, above all other things, by what he did in the Sacred War.¹ The Lacedaemonians made an expedition to Delphi while the Phocians had possession of the sanctuary there, and restored it to the Delphians; but no sooner had the Lacedaemo-

¹ About 448 B.C.

ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπιστρατεύσας πάλιν εἰσήγαγε τοὺς Φωκέας. καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἦν ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς Δελφοὶ προμαντείαν εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ἐγκολαψάντων τοῦ χαλκοῦ λύκου, λαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς προμαντείαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λύκον κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν ἐνεχάραξεν.

XXII. "Οτι δ' ὀρθῶς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνείχεν, ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτῷ τὰ γενόμενα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπέστησαν, ἐφ' οὓς διέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως. εἶτ' εὐθύς ἀπηγγέλλοντο Μεγαρεῖς ἐκπεπολεμωμένοι καὶ στρατιὰ πολεμίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Ἀττικῆς οὔσα, Πλειστώνακτος ἡγουμένου, βασιλέως Λακεδαι-
2 μονίων. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς κατὰ τάχος ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀνεκομίζετο πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πόλεμον· καὶ συνάψαι μὲν εἰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐθάρσησε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ὀπλίταις προκαλουμένοις, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Πλειστώνακτα νέον ὄντα κομιδῇ, χρώμενον δὲ μάλιστα Κλεανδρίδῃ τῶν συμβούλων, ὃν οἱ ἔφοροι φύλακα καὶ πάρεδρον αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν συνέπεμψαν, ἐπειρᾶτο τούτου κρύφα· καὶ ταχὺ διαφθείρας χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους.

3 Ὡς δ' ἀπεχώρησεν ἡ στρατιὰ καὶ διελύθη κατὰ πόλεις, βαρέως φέροντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν μὲν βασιλέα χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, ὦν τὸ πλῆθος

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nians departed than Pericles made a counter expedition and reinstated the Phocians. And whereas the Lacedaemonians had had the "promanteia," or right of consulting the oracle in behalf of others also, which the Delphians had bestowed upon them, carved upon the forehead of the bronze wolf in the sanctuary, he secured from the Phocians this high privilege for the Athenians, and had it chiselled along the right side of the same wolf.

XXII. That he was right in seeking to confine the power of the Athenians within lesser Greece, was amply proved by what came to pass. To begin with, the Euboeans revolted,¹ and he crossed over to the island with a hostile force. Then straightway word was brought to him that the Megarians had gone over to the enemy, and that an army of the enemy was on the confines of Attica under the leadership of Pleistoanax, the king of the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly, Pericles brought his forces back with speed from Euboea for the war in Attica. He did not venture to join battle with hoplites who were so many, so brave, and so eager for battle, but seeing that Pleistoanax was a very young man, and that out of all his advisers he set most store by Cleandridas, whom the ephors had sent along with him, by reason of his youth, to be a guardian and an assistant to him, he secretly made trial of this man's integrity, speedily corrupted him with bribes, and persuaded him to lead the Peloponnesians back out of Attica.

When the army had withdrawn and had been disbanded to their several cities, the Lacedaemonians, in indignation, laid a heavy fine upon their king,

¹ 446 B.C.

οὐκ ἔχων ἐκτίσαι μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνου, τοῦ δὲ Κλεανδρίδου φεύγοντος θάνατον κατέγνωσαν. οὗτος δ' ἦν πατὴρ Γυλίππου τοῦ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμήσαντος. ἔοικε δ' ὥσπερ συγγενικὸν αὐτῷ προστρίψασθαι νόσημα τὴν φιλαργυρίαν ἢ φύσιν, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις ἰλοὺς ἐξέπεσε τῆς Σπάρτης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λυσάνδρου δεδηλώκαμεν.

XXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ἐν τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπολογισμῷ δέκα ταλάντων ἀνάλωμα γράψαντος ἀνηλωμένων εἰς τὸ δέον, ὁ δῆμος ἀπεδέξατο μὴ πολυπραγμονήσας μὴδ' ἐλέγξας τὸ ἀπόρρητον. ἔνιοι δ' ἱστορήκασιν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Θεόφραστος ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅτι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐφοῖτα δέκα τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ Περικλέους, οἷς τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας θεραπεύων παρητεῖτο τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ τὴν εἰρήνην ὠνούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ παρασκευασάμενος καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἔμελλε πολεμήσειν βέλτιον.

2 αὐθις¹ οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας τραπόμενος καὶ διαβὰς εἰς Εὐβοίαν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις ὀπλίταις κατεστρέψατο τὰς πόλεις. καὶ Χαλκιδέων μὲν τοὺς ἵπποβότας λεγομένους πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέροντας ἐξέβαλεν, Ἔστιεῖς δὲ πάντας ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἀθηναίους κατώκισε, μόνοις τούτοις ἀπαραιτήτως χρησάμενος ὅτι ναῦν Ἀττικὴν αἰχμύλωτον λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

¹ αὐθις Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : εὐθύς (at once).

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the full amount of which he was unable to pay, and so betook himself out of Lacedaemon, while Cleandridas, who had gone into voluntary exile, was condemned to death. He was the father of that Gylippus who overcame the Athenians in Sicily. And nature seems to have imparted covetousness to the son, as it were a congenital disease, owing to which he too, after noble achievements, was caught in base practices and banished from Sparta in disgrace. This story, however, I have told at length in my life of Lysander.¹

XXIII. When Pericles, in rendering his accounts for this campaign, recorded an expenditure of ten talents as "for sundry needs," the people approved it without officious meddling and without even investigating the mystery. But some writers, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, have stated that every year ten talents found their way to Sparta from Pericles, and that with these he conciliated all the officials there, and so staved off the war, not purchasing peace, but time, in which he could make preparations at his leisure and then carry on war all the better. However that may be, he again turned his attention to the rebels, and after crossing to Euboea with fifty ships of war and five thousand hoplites, he subdued the cities there. Those of the Chalcidians who were styled Hippobotae, or *Knights*, and who were preëminent for wealth and reputation, he banished their city, and all the Hestiaeans he removed from the country and settled Athenians in their places, treating them, and them only, thus inexorably, because they had taken an Attic ship captive and slain its crew.

¹ Chapters xvi. f.

XXIV. Ἐκ τούτου γενομένων σπονδῶν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰς ἔτη τριάκοντα ψηφίζεται τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, αἰτίαν ποιησάμενος κατ' αὐτῶν ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους κελεύόμενοι διαλύσασθαι πόλεμον οὐχ ὑπήκουον.

- Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀσπασία χαριζόμενος δοκεῖ πρᾶξαι τὰ πρὸς Σαμίους, ἐνταῦθα ἂν εἴη καιρὸς διαπορῆσαι μάλιστα περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τίνα τέχνην ἢ δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἔχουσα τῶν τε πολιτικῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις οὐ φαῦλον οὐδ' ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρέσχε λόγον.
- 2 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μιλησία γένος, Ἀξιόχου θυγάτηρ, ὁμολογεῖται· φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν Θαρρηλίαν τινὰ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἰάδων ζηλώσασαν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις ἀνδράσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Θαρρηλία τό τ' εἶδος εὐπρεπῆς γενομένη καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα μετὰ δεινότητος πλείστοις μὲν Ἑλλήνων συνώκησεν ἀνδράσι, πάντας δὲ προσεποίησε βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλησιάσαντας αὐτῇ, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι μηδισμοῦ δι' ἐκείνων ὑπέσπειρεν ἀρχὰς δυνατωτάτων ὄντων
- 3 καὶ μεγίστων. τὴν δ' Ἀσπασίαν οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφὴν τινὰ καὶ πολιτικὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους σπουδασθῆναι λέγουσι· καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔστιν ὅτε μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ἐφοῖτα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκροασομένας οἱ συνήθεις ἦγον ὡς¹ αὐτήν, καί-περ οὐ κοσμίου προεστῶσαν ἐργασίας οὐδὲ σεμνῆς, ἀλλὰ παιδίσκας ἐταιρούσας τρέφουσαν·

¹ ὡς Fuhr and Blass, with F²S: εἰς.

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XXIV. After this, when peace had been made for thirty years between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, he got a decree passed for his expedition to Samos,¹ alleging against its people that, though they were ordered to break off their war against the Milesians, they were not complying.

Now, since it is thought that he proceeded thus against the Samians to gratify Aspasia, this may be a fitting place to raise the query what great art or power this woman had, that she managed as she pleased the foremost men of the state, and afforded the philosophers occasion to discuss her in exalted terms and at great length. That she was a Milesian by birth, daughter of one Axiochus, is generally agreed; and they say that it was in emulation of Thargelia, an Ionian woman of ancient times, that she made her onslaughts upon the most influential men. This Thargelia came to be a great beauty and was endowed with grace of manners as well as clever wits. Inasmuch as she lived on terms of intimacy with numberless Greeks, and attached all her consorts to the king of Persia, she stealthily sowed the seeds of Persian sympathy in the cities of Greece by means of these lovers of hers, who were men of the greatest power and influence. And so Aspasia, as some say, was held in high favour by Pericles because of her rare political wisdom. Socrates sometimes came to see her with his disciples, and his intimate friends brought their wives to her to hear her discourse, although she presided over a business that was anything but honest or even reputable, since she kept a house of young courtesans. And Aeschines² says

¹ 440 B.C.

² Aeschines the Socratic, in a dialogue entitled "Aspasia," not extant.

- 4 Αἰσχίνης δέ φησι καὶ Λυσικλέα τὸν προβατοκά-
 πηλον ἐξ ἀγεννοῦς καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὴν φύσιν Ἀθη-
 ναίων γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἀσπασία συνόντα μετὰ
 τὴν Περικλέους τελευτήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενεξένῳ
 τῷ Πλάτωνος, εἰ καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὰ πρῶτα
 γέγραπται, τοσοῦτόν γ' ἱστορίας ἔνεστιν, ὅτι
 δόξαν εἶχε τὸ γύναιον ἐπὶ ῥητορικῇ πολλοῖς
 5 Ἀθηναίων ὀμιλεῖν. φαίνεται μέντοι μᾶλλον
 ἐρωτική τις ἢ τοῦ Περικλέους ἀγάπησις γενομένη
 πρὸς Ἀσπασίαν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ γυνὴ προσ-
 ήκουσα μὲν κατὰ γένος, συνωκηκυῖα δ' Ἱππονίκῳ
 πρότερον, ἐξ οὗ Καλλίαν ἔτεκε τὸν πλούσιον·
 ἔτεκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Περικλεῖ Ξάνθιππον καὶ
 Πάραλον. εἶτα τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ οὔσης αὐτοῖς
 ἀρεστῆς, ἐκείνην μὲν ἐτέρῳ βουλομένην συνεξ-
 ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν λαβὼν ἔστερξε
 6 διαφερόντως. καὶ γὰρ ἐξιών, ὥς φασι, καὶ εἰσιὼν
 ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἡσπάζετο καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ
 καταφιλεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς κωμωδίαις Ὀμφάλη τε νέα καὶ Δηϊ-
 άνειρα καὶ πάλιν Ἥρα προσαγορεύεται. Κρατῖνος
 δ' ἄντικρυς παλλακὴν αὐτὴν εἶρηκεν ἐν τούτοις·

Ἥραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγούνη
 παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα.

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν νόθον ἐκ ταύτης τεκνῶσαι, περὶ
 οὗ πεποίηκεν Εὐπολις ἐν Δήμοις αὐτὸν μὲν οὕτως
 ἐρωτῶντα·

Ὁ νόθος δέ μοι ζῆ;

τὸν δὲ Μυρωνίδην ἀποκρινόμενον·

Καὶ πάλαι γ' ἂν ἦν ἀνὴρ,

εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρινης ὑπωρρώδει κακόν.

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that Lysicles the sheep-dealer, a man of low birth and nature, came to be the first man at Athens by living with Aspasia after the death of Pericles. And in the "Menexenus" of Plato, even though the first part of it be written in a sportive vein, there is, at any rate, thus much of fact, that the woman had the reputation of associating with many Athenians as a teacher of rhetoric. However, the affection which Pericles had for Aspasia seems to have been rather of an amatory sort. For his own wife was near of kin to him, and had been wedded first to Hipponicus, to whom she bore Callias, surnamed the Rich; she bore also, as the wife of Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus. Afterwards, since their married life was not agreeable, he legally bestowed her upon another man, with her own consent, and himself took Aspasia, and loved her exceedingly. Twice a day, as they say, on going out and on coming in from the market-place, he would salute her with a loving kiss.

But in the comedies she is styled now the New Omphale, new Deianeira, and now Hera. Cratinus¹ flatly called her a prostitute in these lines:—

"As his Hera, Aspasia was born, the child of Un-
natural Lust,

A prostitute past shaming."

And it appears also that he begat from her that bastard son about whom Eupolis, in his "Demes," represented him as inquiring with these words:—

"And my bastard, doth he live?"

to which Myronides replies:—

"Yea, and long had been a man,
Had he not feared the mischief of his harlot-birth."²

¹ In his "Cheirons" (see chapter iii. 3).

² Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 282.

7 Οὕτω δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν ὀνομαστὴν καὶ κλεινὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὥστε καὶ Κῦρον τὸν πολεμῆσαντα βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας τὴν ἀγαπωμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τῶν παλλακίδων Ἀσπασίαν ὀνομάσαι, καλουμένην Μιλτῶ πρότερον. ἦν δὲ Φωκαῖς τὸ γένος, Ἑρμοτίμου θυγάτηρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Κύρου πεσόντος ἀπαχθεῖσα πρὸς βασιλέα πλείστον ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπελθόντα τῇ μνήμῃ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπόσασθαι καὶ παρελθεῖν ἴσως ἀπάνθρωπον ἦν.

XXV. Τὸν δὲ πρὸς Σαμίους πόλεμον αἰτιῶνται μάλιστα τὸν Περικλέα ψηφίσασθαι διὰ Μιλησίους Ἀσπασίας δεηθείσης. αἱ γὰρ πόλεις ἐπολέμουν τὸν περὶ Πριήνης πόλεμον, καὶ κρατοῦντες οἱ Σάμιοι, παύσασθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων κελευόντων καὶ δίκας λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν μὲν οὔσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐν Σάμῳ κατέλυσεν, τῶν δὲ πρώτων λαβὼν ὁμήρους πεντήκοντα καὶ 2 παῖδας ἴσους εἰς Λῆμνον ἀπέστειλε. καίτοι φασὶν ἕκαστον μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ὁμήρων διδόναι τάλαντον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι δημοκρατίαν. ἔτι δὲ Πισσοῦθνης ὁ Πέρσης ἔχων τινὰ πρὸς Σαμίους εὐνοίαν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μυρίους χρυσοῦς, παραιτούμενος τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὲν ἔλαβε τούτων οὐδὲν ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ χρησάμενος ὥσπερ ἐγνώκει τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ καταστήσας 3 δημοκρατίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. οἱ δ'

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So renowned and celebrated did Aspasia become, they say, that even Cyrus, the one who went to war with the Great King for the sovereignty of the Persians, gave the name of Aspasia to that one of his concubines whom he loved best, who before was called Milto. She was a Phocæan by birth, daughter of one Hermotimus, and, after Cyrus had fallen in battle, was carried captive to the King,¹ and acquired the greatest influence with him. These things coming to my recollection as I write, it were perhaps unnatural to reject and pass them by.

XXV. But to return to the war against the Samians, they accuse Pericles of getting the decree for this passed at the request of Aspasia and in the special behalf of the Milesians. For the two cities were waging their war for the possession of Priene, and the Samians were getting the better of it, and when the Athenians ordered them to stop the contest and submit the case to arbitration at Athens, they would not obey. So Pericles set sail and broke up the oligarchical government which Samos had, and then took fifty of the foremost men of the state, with as many of their children, as hostages, and sent them off to Lemnos. And yet they say that every one of these hostages offered him a talent on his own account, and that the opponents of democracy in the city offered him many talents besides. And still further, Pissouthnes, the Persian satrap, who had much good-will towards the Samians, sent him ten thousand gold staters and interceded for the city. However, Pericles took none of these bribes, but treated the Samians just as he had determined, set up a democracy and sailed back to Athens. Then

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 10, 2.

εὐθὺς ἀπέστησαν, ἐκκλέψαντος αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὁμήρους Πισσούθνου καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. αὐθις οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐξέπλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἡσυχάζοντας οὐδὲ κατεπτηχότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ἐγνωκότας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς ναυμαχίας περὶ νῆσον ἦν Τραγίας καλοῦσι, λαμπρῶς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐνίκα, τέσσαρσι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶν ἐβδομήκοντα καταναυμαχήσας, ὧν εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες ἦσαν.

XXVI. "Αμα δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει τοῦ λιμένος κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς Σαμίους, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἔτι τολμῶντας ἐπεξιέναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζων ἕτερος στόλος ἦλθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ παντελῶς κατεκλείσθησαν οἱ Σάμιοι, λαβὼν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐξήκοντα τριῆρεις ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὸν ἔξω πόντον, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, Φοινισσῶν νεῶν ἐπικούρων τοῖς Σαμίοις προσφερομένων ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι πορρωτάτῳ βουλόμενος, ὡς δὲ Στησίμβροτος, ἐπὶ Κύπρον στελλόμενος· ὅπερ οὐ
2 δοκεῖ πιθανὸν εἶναι. ὁποτέρῳ δ' οὖν ἐχρήσατο τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀμαρτεῖν ἔδοξε. πλεύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ Μέλισσος ὁ Ἰθαγένους, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος στρατηγῶν τότε τῆς Σάμου, καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀλιγότητος τῶν νεῶν ἢ τῆς ἀπειρίας τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἔπεισε τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ γενομένης μάχης νικήσαντες οἱ Σάμιοι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐλόντες,

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the Samians at once revolted, after Pissouthnes had stolen away their hostages from Lemnos for them, and in other ways equipped them for the war. Once more, therefore, Pericles set sail against them. They were not victims of sloth, nor yet of abject terror, but full of exceeding zeal in their determination to contest the supremacy of the sea. In a fierce sea-fight which came off near an island called Tragia, Pericles won a brilliant victory, with four and forty ships outfighting seventy, twenty of which were infantry transports. N 13

XXVI. Close on the heels of his victorious pursuit came his seizure of the harbour, and then he laid formal siege to the Samians, who, somehow or other, still had the daring to sally forth and fight with him before their walls. But soon a second and a larger armament came from Athens, and the Samians were completely beleaguered and shut in. Then Pericles took sixty triremes and sailed out into the main sea, as most authorities say, because he wished to meet a fleet of Phoenician ships which was coming to the aid of the Samians, and fight it at as great a distance from Samos as possible; but according to Stesimbrotus, because he had designs on Cyprus, which seems incredible. But in any case, whichever design he cherished, he seems to have made a mistake. For no sooner had he sailed off than Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a philosopher who was then acting as general at Samos, despising either the small number of ships that were left, or the inexperience of the generals in charge of them, persuaded his fellow-citizens to make an attack upon the Athenians. In the battle that ensued the Samians were victorious, taking many of their enemy

πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς διαφθείραντες, ἐχρῶντο τῇ
θαλάσῃ καὶ παρετίθεντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς
3 τὸν πόλεμον ὅσα μὴ πρότερον εἶχον. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ
Μελίσσου καὶ Περικλέα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀριστο-
τέλης ἡττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντα πρότερον.

Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἀνθυβρίζοντες ἔστιζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γλαῦκας·
καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σάμαιναν. ἡ δὲ
σάμαινα ναῦς ἐστὶν ὑόπρωρος μὲν τὸ σίμωμα,
κοιλοτέρα δὲ καὶ γαστροειδής, ὥστε καὶ ποντοπο-
4 ρεῖν¹ καὶ ταχυναυτεῖν. οὕτω δ' ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸ
πρῶτον ἐν Σάμῳ φανῆναι, Πολυκράτους τυράννου
κατασκευάσαντος. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ στίγματα λέ-
γουσι καὶ τὸ Ἀριστοφάνειον ἡνίχθαι·

Σαμίων ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὡς πολυγύμματος.

XXVII. Πυθόμενος δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν ἐπὶ
στρατοπέδου συμφορὰν ἐβοήθει κατὰ τάχος.
καὶ τοῦ Μελίσσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξαμένου
κρατήσας καὶ τρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους εὐθὺς
περιετείχιζε, δαπάνη καὶ χρόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τραύ-
μασι καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν περιγενέσθαι
2 καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ
δυσχεραίνοντας τῇ τριβῇ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ
μάχεσθαι προθυμουμένους ἔργον ἦν κατασχεῖν,
ὁκτὼ μέρη διελὼν τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἀπεκλήρου, καὶ
τῷ λαβόντι τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον εὐωχεῖσθαι καὶ

¹ ποντοπορεῖν MSS. and Blass: φορτοφορεῖν (a conjecture of Coraës, to carry freight).

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captive, and destroying many of their ships, so that they commanded the sea and laid in large store of such necessities for the war as they did not have before. And Aristotle says that Pericles was himself also defeated by Melissus in the sea-fight which preceded this.

The Samians retaliated upon the Athenians by branding their prisoners in the forehead with owls; for the Athenians had once branded some of them with the samaena. Now the samaena is a ship of war with a boar's head design for prow and ram, but more capacious than usual and paunchlike, so that it is a good deep-sea traveller and a swift sailer too. It got this name because it made its first appearance in Samos, where Polycrates the tyrant had some built. To these brand-marks, they say, the verse of Aristophanes¹ made riddling reference:—

“For oh! how lettered is the folk of the Samians!”

XXVII. Be that true or not, when Pericles learned of the disaster which had befallen his fleet, he came speedily to its aid. And though Melissus arrayed his forces against him, he conquered and routed the enemy and at once walled their city in, preferring to get the upper hand and capture it at the price of money and time, rather than of the wounds and deadly perils of his fellow-citizens. And since it was a hard task for him to restrain the Athenians in their impatience of delay and eagerness to fight, he separated his whole force into eight divisions, had them draw lots, and allowed the division which got the white bean to feast and take their ease, while the others

¹ From his *Babylonians*, not extant. Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 408.

σχολάζειν παρείχε τῶν ἄλλων μαχομένων. διὸ καὶ φασι τοὺς ἐν εὐπαθείαις τισὶ γενομένους λευκὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ κυάμου προσαγορεύειν.

3 Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς χρήσασθαι τὸν 167

Περικλέα, τὴν καινότητα θαυμάσαντα, Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ μηχανικοῦ παρόντος, ὃν χωλὸν ὄντα καὶ φορεῖν πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἔργων προσκομιζόμενον ὀνομασθῆναι περιφόρητον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐλέγχει τοῖς Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων ὀνομάζεται πολλαῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἡλικίαις τοῦ περὶ Σάμον πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνων· τὸν δ' Ἀρτέμωνα φησι τρυφερόν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακὸν ὄντα καὶ καταπλήγα τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι καθέζεσθαι, χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ δεῖν οἰκετῶν ὑπερεχόντων, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐμπεσεῖν τῶν ἄνωθεν, εἰ δὲ βιασθεῖν προελθεῖν, ἐν κλινιδίῳ κρεμαστῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφερόμενον κομίζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι περιφόρητον.

XXVIII. Ἐνάτῳ δὲ μηνὶ τῶν Σαμίων παραστάντων ὁ Περικλῆς τὰ τείχη καθεῖλε καὶ τὰς ναῦς παρέλαβε καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐξημίωσεν, ὧν τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰσήνεγκαν¹ οἱ Σάμιοι, τὰ δ' ἐν χρόνῳ ῥητῷ ταξάμενοι κατοίσειν ὁμήρους ἔδωκαν. Δούρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος τούτοις ἐπιτραγωδεῖ πολλὴν ὀμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν, ἣν οὔτε Θουκυδίδης ἱστόρηκεν οὔτ' 2 Ἐφορος οὔτ' Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀληθεύειν ἔοικεν, ὥς ἄρα τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-

¹ εἰσήνεγκαν Fuhr and Blass, with F²S: ἤνεγκαν.

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did the fighting. And this is the reason, as they say, why those who have had a gay and festive time call it a "white day,"—from the white bean.

Ephorus says that Pericles actually employed siege-engines, in his admiration of their novelty, and that Artemon the engineer was with him there, who, since he was lame, and so had to be brought on a stretcher to the works which demanded his instant attention, was dubbed Periphoretus. Heracleides Ponticus, however, refutes this story out of the poems of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphoretus is mentioned many generations before the Samian War and its events. And he says that Artemon was very luxurious in his life, as well as weak and panic-stricken in the presence of his fears, and therefore for the most part sat still at home, while two servants held a bronze shield over his head to keep anything from falling down upon it. Whenever he was forced to go abroad, he had himself carried in a little hammock which was *borne along* just above the surface of the ground. On this account he was called Periphoretus.

XXVIII. After eight months the Samians surrendered, and Pericles tore down their walls, took away their ships of war, and laid a heavy fine upon them, part of which they paid at once, and part they agreed to pay at a fixed time, giving hostages therefor. To these details Duris the Samian adds stuff for tragedy, accusing the Athenians and Pericles of great brutality, which is recorded neither by Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle. But he appears not to speak the truth when he says, forsooth, that Pericles had the Samian trierarchs and marines brought into

βάτας τῶν Σαμίων εἰς τὴν Μιλησίων ἀγορὰν
καταγαγὼν¹ καὶ σανίσι προσδήσας ἐφ' ἡμέρας
δέκα κακῶς ἤδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν,
ξύλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς συγκόψαντας, εἴτα προβα-
3 λεῖν ἀκήδευτα τὰ σώματα. Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ'
ὅπου μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσεστιν ἴδιον πάθος εἰωθὼς
κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μᾶλλον
ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα δεινῶσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμ-
φορὰς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς καταστρεψάμενος τὴν Σάμον
ὥς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ταφάς τε τῶν
ἀποθανόντων κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνδόξους ἐποίησε
καὶ τὸν λόγον εἰπὼν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τῶν
4 σημάτων ἐθαυμαστώθη. καταβαίνοντα δ' αὐτὸν
ὑπὸ τοῦ βήματος αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι γυναῖκες ἐδεξιούντο
καὶ στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν καὶ ταινίαις ὥσπερ ἀθλη-
τὴν νικηφόρον, ἡ δ' Ἑλπινίκη προσελθοῦσα
πλησίον. “Ταῦτ’,” ἔφη, “θαυμαστά, Περικλεῖς,
καὶ ἄξια στεφάνων, ὅς ἡμῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ὑγαθοὺς
ἀπώλεσας πολίτας οὐ Φοῖνιξι πολεμῶν οὐδὲ
Μήδοις, ὥσπερ οὐμὸς ἀδελφὸς Κίμων, ἀλλὰ
σύμμαχον καὶ συγγενὴ πόλιν καταστρεφόμενος.”
5 ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλπινίκης λεγοίσης ὁ Περικλῆς
μειδιῶσας ἀτρέμα λέγεται τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου
πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν.

Οὐκ ἂν μύροισι γραῦς ἐοῦς' ἠλείφεο.

θαυμαστὸν δέ τι καὶ μέγα φρονῆσαι καταπο-
λεμήσαντα τοὺς Σαμίους φησὶν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἴων, ὡς

¹ καταγαγὼν Fuhr and Blass, with F²S : ἀγαγὼν.

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the market-place of Miletus and crucified there, and that then, when they had already suffered grievously for ten days, he gave orders to break their heads in with clubs and make an end of them, and then cast their bodies forth without burial rites. At all events, since it is not the wont of Duris, even in cases where he has no private and personal interest, to hold his narrative down to the fundamental truth, it is all the more likely that here, in this instance, he has given a dreadful portrayal of the calamities of his country, that he might calumniate the Athenians.

When Pericles, after his subjection of Samos, had returned to Athens, he gave honourable burial to those who had fallen in the war, and for the oration which he made, according to the custom, over their tombs, he won the greatest admiration. But as he came down from the bema, while the rest of the women clasped his hand and fastened wreaths and fillets on his head, as though he were some victorious athlete, Elpinice drew nigh and said: "This is admirable in thee, Pericles, and deserving of wreaths, in that thou hast lost us many brave citizens, not in a war with Phoenicians or Medes, like my brother Cimon, but in the subversion of an allied and kindred city." On Elpinice's saying this, Pericles, with a quiet smile, it is said, quoted to her the verse of Archilochus:—

"Thou hadst not else, in spite of years, perfumed
thyself."¹

Ion says that he had the most astonishingly great thoughts of himself for having subjected the

¹ That is, "thou art too old to meddle in affairs." Cf. chapter x. 5.

τοῦ μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἔτεσι δέκα βάρβαρον
 πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ μηνὶν ἑννέα τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ
 6 δυνατωτάτους Ἰώνων ἐλόντος. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἄδικος
 ἢ ἀξίωσις, ἀλλ' ὄντως πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ
 μέγαν ἔσχε κίνδυνον ὁ πόλεμος, εἴπερ, ὥς
 Θουκυδίδης φησί, παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἦλθε Σαμίων ἢ
 πόλις ἀφελέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος
 Ἀθηναίους.

XXIX. Μετὰ ταῦτα κυμαίνοντος ἤδη τοῦ
 Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, Κερκυραίοις πολεμου-
 μένοις ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ἀπο-
 στεῖλαι βοήθειαν καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἐρρωμένην
 ναυτικῇ δυνάμει νῆσον, ὥς ὅσον οὐδέπω Πελο-
 2 ποννησίων ἐκπεπολεμωμένων πρὸς αὐτούς. ψηφι-
 σαμένου δὲ τοῦ δῆμου τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλε
 δέκα ναῦς μόνας ἔχοντα Λακεδαιμόνιον, τὸν
 Κίμωνος υἱόν, οἷον ἐφυβρίζων· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν
 εὖνοια καὶ φιλία τῷ Κίμωνος οἴκῳ πρὸς Λακε-
 δαιμονίους. ὥς ἂν οὖν, εἰ μηδὲν ἔργον
 μέγα μηδ' ἐκπρεπὲς ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ 168
 Λακεδαιμονίου γένοιτο, προσδιαβληθείη μᾶλλον
 εἰς τὸν λακωνισμόν, ὀλίγας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ
 3 μὴ βουλόμενον ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ ὅλως διετελεῖ
 κολούων ὥς μηδὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι γνησίους, ἀλλ'
 ὀθνεῖους καὶ ξένους, ὅτι τῶν Κίμωνος υἱῶν τῷ μὲν
 ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ Θεσσαλός, τῷ δὲ
 Ἡλεῖος. ἐδόκουν δὲ πάντες ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀρκαδι-
 κῆς γεγονέναι.

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Samians; whereas Agamemnon was all of ten years in taking a barbarian city, he had in nine months time reduced the foremost and most powerful people of Ionia. And indeed his estimate of himself was not unjust, nay, the war actually brought with it much uncertainty and great peril, if indeed, as Thucydides says,¹ the city of Samos came within a very little of stripping from Athens her power on the sea.

• XXIX. After this, when the billows of the Peloponnesian War were already rising and swelling, he persuaded the people to send aid and succour to the Corcyraeans² in their war with the Corinthians, and so to attach to themselves an island with a vigorous naval power at a time when the Peloponnesians were as good as actually at war with them. But when the people had voted to send the aid and succour, he despatched Lacedaemonius, the son of Cimon, with only ten ships, as it were in mockery of him. Now there was much good-will and friendship on the part of the house of Cimon towards the Lacedaemonians. In order, therefore, that in case no great or conspicuous achievement should be performed under the generalship of Lacedaemonius, he might so be all the more caluminated for his laconism, or sympathy with Sparta, Pericles gave him only a few ships, and sent him forth against his will. And in general he was prone to thwart and check the sons of Cimon, on the plea that not even in their names were they genuinely native, but rather aliens and strangers, since one of them bore the name of Lacedaemonius, another that of Thessalus, and a third that of Eleius. And they were all held to be the sons of a woman of Arcadia.³

¹ viii. 76, 4.

² 433 B.C.

³ Cf. *Cimon*, xvi. 1.

Κακῶς οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἀκούων διὰ τὰς δέκα ταύτας τριήρεις, ὡς μικρὰν μὲν βοήθειαν τοῖς δεηθεῖσι, μεγάλην δὲ πρόφασιν τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσι παρεσχηκώς, ἐτέρας αὖθις ἔστειλε πλείονας εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν, αἱ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφίκοντο.

4 Χαλεπαίνουνσι δὲ τοῖς Κορινθίσις καὶ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι προσεγένοντο Μεγαρεῖς, αἰτιώμενοι πάσης μὲν ἀγορᾶς, πάντων δὲ λιμένων, ὧν Ἀθηναῖοι κρατοῦσιν, εἶργεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γεγενημένους ὄρκους τοῖς Ἑλλησιν· Αἰγινῆται δὲ κακοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες καὶ βίαια πάσχειν ἐποτνιῶντο κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, φανερώς ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐ θαρροῦντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ποτίδαια, πόλις ὑπήκοος Ἀθηναίων, ἄποικος δὲ Κορινθίων, ἀποστᾶσα καὶ πολιορκουμένη μᾶλλον ἐπετάχυνε τὸν πόλεμον.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρεσβειῶν τε πεμπομένων Ἀθήναζε, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀρχιδάμου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰς διαλύσεις ἄγοντος καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πραῦνοντος, οὐκ ἂν δοκεῖ συμπεσεῖν ὑπὸ γε τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιῶν ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ τὸ ψήφισμα καθελεῖν τὸ Μεγαρικὸν ἐπέισθησαν καὶ διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦτο Περικλῆς ἐναντιωθεῖς, καὶ παροξύνας τὸν

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Accordingly, being harshly criticised because of these paltry ten ships, on the ground that he had furnished scanty aid and succour to the needy friends of Athens, but a great pretext for war to her accusing enemies, he afterwards sent out other ships, and more of them, to Corcyra,—the ones which got there after the battle.¹

The Corinthians were incensed at this procedure, and denounced the Athenians at Sparta, and were joined by the Megarians, who brought their complaint that from every market-place and from all the harbours over which the Athenians had control, they were excluded and driven away, contrary to the common law and the formal oaths of the Greeks; the Aeginetans also, deeming themselves wronged and outraged, kept up a secret wailing in the ears of the Lacedaemonians, since they had not the courage to accuse the Athenians openly. At this juncture Potidaea, too, a city that was subject to Athens, although a colony of Corinth, revolted, and the siege laid to her hastened on the war all the more.

Notwithstanding all, since embassies were repeatedly sent to Athens, and since Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, tried to bring to a peaceful settlement most of the accusations of his allies and to soften their anger, it does not seem probable that the war would have come upon the Athenians for any remaining reasons, if only they could have been persuaded to rescind their decree against the Megarians and be reconciled with them. And therefore, since it was Pericles who was most of all opposed to this, and who incited the people to

¹ Cf. Thucydides, i. 50, 5.

δῆμον ἐμμεῖναι τῇ πρὸς τοὺς¹ Μεγαρεῖς φιλονεικία, μόνος ἔσχε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αἰτίαν.

- XXX. Λέγουσι δὲ πρεσβείας Ἀθήναζε περὶ τούτων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀφιγμένης, καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους νόμον τινὰ προβαλλομένου κωλύοντα καθελεῖν τὸ πινάκιον ἐν ᾧ τὸ ψήφισμα γεγραμμένον ἐτύγχανεν, εἰπεῖν Πολυάλκη τῶν πρέσβεων τινά· “ Σὺ δὲ μὴ καθέλῃς, ἀλλὰ στρέψον εἰσω τὸ πινάκιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι νόμος ὁ τοῦτο κωλύων.” κομψοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου φανέντος οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὁ
- 2 Περικλῆς ἐνέδωκεν. ὑπὴν μὲν οὖν τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτῷ καὶ ἰδία πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς ἀπέχθεια· κοινὴν δὲ καὶ φαιερὰν ποιησάμενος αἰτίαν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τὴν ἱερὰν ὀργάδα, γράφει ψήφισμα κήρυκα πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν αὐτὸν κατηγοροῦντα
- 3 τῶν Μεγαρέων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ψήφισμα Περικλέους ἐστὶν εὐγνώμονος καὶ φιλανθρώπου δικαιολογίας ἐχόμενον· ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ πεμφθεὶς κήρυξ Ἀνθεμόκριτος αἰτία τῶν Μεγαρέων ἀποθανεῖν ἔδοξε, γράφει ψήφισμα κατ’ αὐτῶν Χαρίνος, ἄσπονδον μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἔχθραν, ὅς δ’ ἂν ἐπιβῇ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Μεγαρέων θανάτῳ ζημιῶσθαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς, ὅταν ὁμνύωσι τὸν πάτριον ὄρκον, ἐπομνύειν ὅτι καὶ δις ἰνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσι· ταφῆναι δ’ Ἀνθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Θριασίας ὑγύλας, αἱ νῦν Δίπυλον ὀνομάζονται.

¹ πρὸς τοὺς Fuhr and Blass, with F²S: πρὸς.

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abide by their contention with the Megarians, he alone was held responsible for the war.)

XXX. They say that when an embassy had come from Laedaemon to Athens to treat of these matters, and Pericles was shielding himself behind the plea that a certain law prevented his taking down the tablet on which the decree was inscribed, Polyalces, one of the ambassadors, cried : " Well then, don't take it down, but turn the tablet to the wall ; surely there's no law preventing that." Clever as the proposal was, however, not one whit the more did Pericles give in. He must have secretly cherished, then, as it seems, some private grudge against the Megarians ; but by way of public and open charge he accused them of appropriating to their own profane uses the sacred territory of Eleusis, and proposed a decree that a herald be sent to them, the same to go also to the Laedaemonians with a denunciation of the Megarians. This decree, at any rate, is the work of Pericles, and aims at a reasonable and humane justification of his course. But after the herald who was sent, Anthemocritus, had been put to death through the agency of the Megarians, as it was believed, Charinus proposed a decree against them, to the effect that there be irreconcilable and implacable enmity on the part of Athens towards them, and that whosoever of the Megarians should set foot on the soil of Attica be punished with death ; and that the generals, whenever they should take their ancestral oath of office, add to their oath this clause, that they would invade the Megarid twice during each succeeding year ; and that Anthemocritus be buried honourably at the Thriasian gates, which are now called the Dipylum.

- 4 Μεγαρεῖς δὲ τὸν Ἀνθεμοκρίτου φόνον ἀπαρνούμενοι τὰς αἰτίας εἰς Ἀσπασίαν καὶ Περικλέα τρέπουσι, χρώμενοι τοῖς περιβοήτοις καὶ δημώδεσι τούτοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων στιχιδίοις·

Πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγάραδε
νεανίαι κλέπτουσι μεθυσκοότταβοι·
καθ' οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι
ἀντεξέκλεψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνας δύο.

XXXI. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ὅπως ἔσχεν οὐ 169
ῥάδιον γινῶναι, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λυθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα
πάντες ὡσαύτως τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ Περικλεῖ.
πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἐκ φρονήματος μεγάλου μετὰ
γνώμης κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπισχυρίσασθαι
φασιν αὐτόν, πείραν ἐνδόσεως τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ
τὴν συγχώρησιν ἐξομολόγησιν ἀσθενείας ἡγούμενον·
οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐθαδείᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ
πρὸς ἔνδειξιν ἰσχύος περιφρονῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίων.

- 2 Ἡ δὲ χειρίστη μὲν αἰτία πασῶν, ἔχουσα δὲ
πλείστους μάρτυρας, οὕτω πως λέγεται. Φειδίας
ὁ πλάστης ἐργολάβος μὲν ἦν τοῦ ἀγάλματος,
ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φίλος δὲ τῷ Περικλεῖ γενόμενος
καὶ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεὶς τοὺς μὲν δι'
αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἐχθροὺς φθονούμενος, οἱ δὲ τοῦ
δήμου ποιούμενοι πείραν ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ποῖός τις
ἔσοιτο τῷ Περικλεῖ¹ κριτῆς, Μένωνά τινα τῶν

¹ τῷ Περικλεῖ Fuhr and Blass, with F^aS: Περικλεῖ.

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But the Megarians denied the murder of Anthemocritus, and threw the blame for Athenian hate on Aspasia and Pericles, appealing to those far-famed and hackneyed verses of the "Acharnians":—

"Simaetha, harlot, one of Megara's womankind,
Was stolen by gilded youths more drunk than
otherwise;
And so the Megarians, pangs of wrath all reeking
hot,
Paid back the theft and raped of Aspasia's
harlots two."¹

XXXI. Well, then, whatever the original ground for enacting the decree,—and it is no easy matter to determine this,—the fact that it was not rescinded all men alike lay to the charge of Pericles. Only, some say that he persisted in his refusal in a lofty spirit and with a clear perception of the best interests of the city, regarding the injunction laid upon it as a test of its submissiveness, and its compliance as a confession of weakness; while others hold that it was rather with a sort of arrogance and love of strife, as well as for the display of his power, that he scornfully defied the Lacedaemonians.

But the worst charge of all, and yet the one which has the most vouchers, runs something like this. Pheidias the sculptor was contractor for the great statue, as I have said, and being admitted to the friendship of Pericles, and acquiring the greatest influence with him, made some enemies through the jealousy which he excited; others also made use of him to test the people and see what sort of a judge it would be in a case where Pericles was involved.

¹ Verses 524 ff.

- Φειδίου συνεργῶν πείσαντες ἰκέτην ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθίζουσιν, αἰτούμενον ἄδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει καὶ
- 3 κατηγορία τοῦ Φειδίου. προσδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ διώξεως, κλοπαὶ μὲν οὐκ ἠλέγχοντο· τὸ γὰρ χρυσίον οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀγάλματι προσειργάσατο καὶ περιέθηκεν ὁ Φειδίας γνώμη τοῦ Περικλέους ὥστε πᾶν δυνατὸν εἶναι περιελούσιν ἀποδείξαι τὸν σταθμόν, ὃ καὶ τότε τοὺς κατηγοροὺς ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν ὁ Περικλῆς.
- 4 Ἡ δὲ δόξα τῶν ἔργων ἐπῆλθε φθόνῳ τὸν Φειδίαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας μάχην ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι ποιῶν αὐτοῦ τινα μορφήν ἐνετύπωσε πρεσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρου ἐπηρμένου δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους εἰκόνα παγκάλην ἐνέθηκε μαχομένου πρὸς Ἀμαζόνα. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς χειρός, ἀνατεινούσης δόρυ πρὸ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ Περικλέους, πεποιημένον εὐμηχάνως οἶον ἐπικρύπτειν βούλεται τὴν ὁμοιότητα παραφαινομένην ἐκατέρωθεν.
- 5 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φειδίας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ὡς δέ φασιν ἔνιοι, φαρμάκοις, ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τοῦ Περικλέους τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρασκευασάντων. τῷ δὲ μηνυτῇ Μένωνι γράψαντος Γλύκωνος ἀτέλειαν ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκε, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

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These latter persuaded one Menon, an assistant of Pheidias, to take a suppliant's seat in the market-place and demand immunity from punishment in case he should bring information and accusation against Pheidias. The people accepted the man's proposal, and formal prosecution of Pheidias was made in the assembly. Embezzlement, indeed, was not proven, for the gold of the statue, from the very start, had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Pheidias, at the wise suggestion of Pericles, that it could all be taken off and weighed,¹ and this is what Pericles actually ordered the accusers of Pheidias to do at this time.

But the reputation of his works nevertheless brought a burden of jealous hatred upon Pheidias, and especially the fact that when he wrought the battle of the Amazons on the shield of the goddess, he carved out a figure that suggested himself as a bald old man lifting on high a stone with both hands, and also inserted a very fine likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. And the attitude of the hand, which holds out a spear in front of the face of Pericles, is cunningly contrived as it were with a desire to conceal the resemblance, which is, however, plain to be seen from either side.

Pheidias, accordingly, was led away to prison, and died there of sickness; but some say of poison which the enemies of Pericles provided, that they might bring calumny upon him. And to Menon the informer, on motion of Glycon, the people gave immunity from taxation, and enjoined upon the generals to make provision for the man's safety.

¹ Cf. Thucydides, ii. 13, 5.

- XXXII. Περὶ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἀσπασία
 δίκην ἔφευγεν ἀσεβείας, Ἑρμίππου τοῦ κωμωδο-
 ποιοῦ διώκοντος καὶ προσκατηγοροῦντος ὡς
 Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτώ-
 σας ὑποδέχοιτο. καὶ ψήφισμα Διοπείθης ἔγρα-
 ψεν εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας
 ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας,
 ἀπεριεσπόμενος εἰς Περικλέα δι' Ἀναξαγόρου τὴν
 2 ὑπόνοιαν. δεχομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ προσιε-
 μένου τὰς διαβολάς, οὕτως ἤδη ψήφισμα κυροῦ-
 ται, Δρακοντίδου γράψαντος, ὅπως οἱ λόγοι τῶν
 χρημάτων ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς τοὺς Πρυτάνεις
 ἀποτεθεῖεν, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τὴν ψήφον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 βωμοῦ φέροντες ἐν τῇ πόλει κρίνοιεν. Ἄγνω δὲ
 τοῦτο μὲν ἀφείλε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, κρίνεσθαι δὲ
 τὴν δίκην ἔγραψεν ἐν δικασταῖς χιλίοις καὶ
 πεντακοσίοις, εἴτε κλοπῆς καὶ δώρων εἴτ' ἀδικίου
 βούλοιτό τις ὀνομάζειν τὴν δίωξιν.
- 3 Ἀσπασίαν μὲν οὖν ἐξητήσατο, πολλὰ πάννυ
 παρὰ τὴν δίκην, ὡς Λίσχίνης φησὶν, ἀφείδῃς ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῆς δάκρυα καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν δικαστῶν. Ἀναξα-
 γόραν δὲ φεβηθεὶς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
 ὡς δὲ διὰ Φειδίου προσέπταισε τῷ δήμῳ, φοβη-
 θεὶς τὸ δικαστήριον μέλλοντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
 ὑποτυφόμενον ἐξέκαυσεν, ἐλπίζων διασκεδάσειν
 τὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ ταπεινώσειν τὸν φθόνον ἐν
 πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ κινδύνοις τῆς πόλεως
 ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν
 ἀναθείσης ἑαυτήν. αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰτίαι δι' ἃς οὐκ

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XXXII. About this time also Aspasia was put on trial for impiety, Hermippus the comic poet being her prosecutor, who alleged further against her that she received free-born women into a place of assignation for Pericles. And Diopieithes brought in a bill providing for the public impeachment of such as did not believe in gods, or who taught doctrines regarding the heavens, directing suspicion against Pericles by means of Anaxagoras. The people accepted with delight these slanders, and so, while they were in this mood, a bill was passed, on motion of Dracontides, that Pericles should deposit his accounts of public moneys with the prytanes, and that the jurors should decide upon his case with ballots which had lain upon the altar of the goddess on the acropolis. But Hagnon amended this clause of the bill with the motion that the case be tried before fifteen hundred jurors in the ordinary way, whether one wanted to call it a prosecution for embezzlement and bribery, or malversation.

Well, then, Aspasia he begged off, by shedding copious tears at the trial, as Aeschines says, and by entreating the jurors; and he feared for Anaxagoras so much that he sent him away from the city. And since in the case of Pheidias he had come into collision with the people, he feared a jury in his own case, and so kindled into flame the threatening and smouldering war, hoping thereby to dissipate the charges made against him and allay the people's jealousy, inasmuch as when great undertakings were on foot, and great perils threatened, the city entrusted herself to him and to him alone, by reason of his worth and power. Such, then, are the reasons which are alleged for his not suffering

εἶασεν ἐνδοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν δῆμον, αὐται λέγονται, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἄδηλον.

XXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γινώσκοντες ὡς ἐκείνου καταλυθεντος εἰς πάντα μαλακωτέροις χρήσονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον,¹ ᾧ τὸ μητρόθεν γένος τοῦ Περικλέους ἔνοχον ἦν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ιστόρηκεν.² ἡ δὲ πείρα περιέστη τοῖς πέμψασιν εἰς τὸ νηαντίον· ἀντὶ γὰρ ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς ὁ Περικλῆς ἔτι μείζονα πίστιν ἔσχε καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ὡς μάλιστα μισούντων καὶ
2 φοβουμένων ἐκείνον τῶν πολεμίων. διὸ καὶ πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἔχοντα τοὺς Πελοποννησίους προεῖπε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἂν ἄρα τὰλλα δηῶν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἀπέχεται τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν ξενίαν τὴν οὖσαν αὐτοῖς, ἡ διαβολῆς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνδιδούς ἀφορμάς, ὅτι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπιδίδωσιν.

3 Ἐμβάλλουσιν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγούμενου. καὶ δηοῦντες τὴν χώραν προῆλθον εἰς Ἀχαρνὰς καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἀνεξομένων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ φρονήματος
4 διαμαχουμένων πρὸς αὐτούς. τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τοὺς ἑξακισμυρίους Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ὀπλίτας (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ

¹ ἐλαύνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον Fuhr and Blass, with BCF^aS: ἐλαύνειν ᾧ.

² ιστόρηκεν Fuhr and Blass, with BCF^aS: εἶρηκεν.

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the people to yield to the Lacedaemonians ; but the truth about it is not clear.

XXXIII. The Lacedaemonians, perceiving that if he were deposed they would find the Athenians more pliant in their hands, ordered them to drive out the Cylonian pollution,¹ in which the family of Pericles on his mother's side was involved, as Thucydides states.² But the attempt brought a result the opposite of what its makers designed, for in place of suspicion and slander, Pericles won even greater confidence and honour among the citizens than before, because they saw that their enemies hated and feared him above all other men. Therefore also, before Archidamus invaded Attica with the Peloponnesians, Pericles made public proclamation to the Athenians, that in case Archidamus, while ravaging everything else, should spare his estates, either out of regard for the friendly tie that existed between them, or with an eye to affording his enemies grounds for slander, he would make over to the city his lands and the homesteads thereon.

Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians and their allies invaded Attica with a great host under the leadership of Archidamus the king. And they advanced, ravaging the country as they went, as far as Acharnae, where they encamped, supposing that the Athenians would not tolerate it, but would fight with them out of angry pride. Pericles, however, looked upon it as a terrible thing to join battle with sixty thousand Peloponnesian and Boeotian hoplites

¹ That is, members of the Alcmaeonid family, which was involved in the stain of bloodguiltiness when the archon Megacles, about 636 B.C., sacrilegiously slew the followers of Cylon. See Plutarch, *Solon*, xii. 1-3 ; Thucydides, i. 126.

² l. 127, 1.

ἦσαν οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἐμβαλόντες) ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς
 πόλεως μάχην συνάψαι· τοὺς δὲ βουλομένους
 μάχεσθαι καὶ δυσπαθοῦντας πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα
 κατεπράϋνε, λέγων ὡς δένδρα μὲν τμηθέντα καὶ
 κοπέντα φύεται ταχέως, ἀνδρῶν δὲ διαφθαρέντων
 5 αὐθις τυχεῖν οὐ ῥάδιόν ἐστι. τὸν δὲ δῆμον εἰς
 ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνήγε δεδιὼς βιασθῆναι παρὰ
 γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ νεὼς κυβερνήτης ἀνέμου
 κατιόντος ἐν πελάγει θέμενος εὖ πάντα καὶ κατα-
 τέINAS τὰ ὄπλα χρήται τῇ τέχνῃ, δάκρυα καὶ
 δεήσεις ἐπιβατῶν ναυτιῶντων καὶ φοβουμένων
 εἰσάσας, οὕτως ἐκείνος, τό τε ἄστυ συγκλείσας καὶ
 καταλαβὼν πάντα φυλακαῖς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν,
 ἐχρήτο τοῖς αὐτοῦ λογισμοῖς, βραχέα φροντίζων
 6 τῶν καταβοώντων καὶ δυσχεραίνοντων. καίτοι
 πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων δεόμενοι προσέ-
 κειντο, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ
 κατηγοροῦντες, χοροὶ¹ δ' ἦδον ἄσματα καὶ σκώμ-
 ματα πρὸς αἰσχύνην, ἐφυβρίζοντες αὐτοῦ τὴν
 στρατηγίαν ὡς ἄνανδρον καὶ προἰεμένην τὰ
 πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπεφύετο δὲ καὶ
 Κλέων ἤδη, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον ὀργῆς τῶν
 7 πολιτῶν πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν δημαγωγίαν, ὡς
 τὰνάπαιστα ταῦτα δηλοῖ ποιήσαντος Ἑρμίππου·

Βασιλεῦ σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις
 δόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν
 περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινούς παρέχεις,²
 ψυχὴν δὲ Τέλητος ὕπεστιν;³

¹ χοροὶ Fuhr and Blass, with F^aS: πολλοί.

² παρέχεις Fuhr, with S: παρέχη.

³ ψυχὴ . . . ὕπεστιν Fuhr and Blass, after Emperius:
 ψυχὴν . . . ὑπέοτης.

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(those who made the first invasion were as numerous as that), and stake the city itself upon the issue. So he tried to calm down those who were eager to fight, and who were in distress at what the enemy was doing, by saying that trees, though cut and lopped, grew quickly, but if men were destroyed it was not easy to get them again. And he would not call the people together into an assembly, fearing that he would be constrained against his better judgement, but, like the helmsman of a ship, who, when a stormy wind swoops down upon it in the open sea, makes all fast, takes in sail, and exercises his skill, disregarding the tears and entreaties of the sea-sick and timorous passengers, so he shut the city up tight, put all parts of it under safe garrison, and exercised his own judgement, little heeding the brawlers and malcontents. And yet many of his friends beset him with entreaties, and many of his enemies with threats and denunciations, and choruses sang songs of scurrilous mockery, railing at his generalship for its cowardice, and its abandonment of everything to the enemy. Cleon, too, was already harassing him, taking advantage of the wrath with which the citizens regarded him to make his own way toward the leadership of the people, as these anapaestic verses of Hermippus¹ show :—

“Thou king of the Satyrs, why pray wilt thou not
Take the spear for thy weapon, and stop the dire
talk

With the which, until now, thou conductest the war,
While the soul of a Teles is in thee?

¹ From his “Moirai,” or *Fates*. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, i. pp. 236 f.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

καὶ χειριδίου δ' ἀκόνη· σκληρὰ
 παραθηγομένης βρύχης κοπίδος,¹
 δηχθεὶς αἰθωνι Κλέωνι.

- XXXIV. Πλὴν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκινήθη τῶν τοιού-
 των ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶως καὶ σιωπῇ τὴν
 ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ὑφιστάμενος, καὶ νεῶν
 ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον στόλον ἐκπέμπων
 αὐτὸς οὐ συνεξέπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν οἰκουρῶν
 καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἕως ἀπηλλάγησαν
 οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς
 ὁμως ἀσχάλλοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, διανομαῖς τε
 χρημάτων ἀνελάμβανε καὶ κληρουχίας ἔγραφεν.
 Αἰγινήτας γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἅπαντας διένειμε τὴν
 νῆσον Ἀθηναίων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν. ἦν δέ τις
 2 παρηγορία καὶ ὑφ' ᾧν ἔπασχον εἰ πολέμιοι. καὶ
 γὰρ οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον χώραν
 τε πολλὴν κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις μικρὰς διεπόρθη-
 σαν, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν
 Μεγαρικὴν ἔφθаре πᾶσαν. ἦ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι 171
 ποῦ μὲν δρῶντες κατὰ γῆν κακὰ² τοὺς Ἀθη-
 ναίους, πολλὰ δὲ πάσχοντες ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐκ
 θαλάττης, οὐκ ἂν εἰς μῆκος πολέμου τοσοῦτον
 προὔβησαν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀπείπον, ὥσπερ ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς ὁ Περικλῆς προηγόρευσεν, εἰ μὴ τι δαιμό-
 νιον ὑπηναντιώθη τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς.
 3 Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λοιμώδης ἐνέπεσε φθορὰ
 καὶ κατενεμήθη τὴν ἀκμάζουσαν ἡλικίαν καὶ
 δύναμιν· ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τὰ σώματα κακούμενοι καὶ

¹ καὶ χειριδίου . . . κοπίδος Coraës' restoration of these corrupt verses, adopted by Fuhr.

² κατὰ γῆν κακὰ Fuhr and Blass, with F^{as}: κακά.

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If the tiniest knife is but laid on the stone
To give it an edge, thou gnashest thy teeth,
As if bitten by fiery Cleon."

XXXIV. However, Pericles was moved by no such things, but gently and silently underwent the ignominy and the hatred, and, sending out an armament of a hundred ships against the Peloponnesus, did not himself sail with it, but remained behind, keeping the city under watch and ward and well in hand, until the Peloponnesians withdrew. Then, by way of soothing the multitude, who, in spite of their enemies' departure, were distressed over the war, he won their favour by distributions of moneys and proposed allotments of conquered lands; the Aeginetans, for instance, he drove out entirely, and parcelled out their island among the Athenians by lot. And some consolation was to be had from what their enemies suffered. For the expedition around the Peloponnesus ravaged much territory and sacked villages and small cities, while Pericles himself, by land, invaded the Megarid and razed it all. Wherein also it was evident that though their enemies did the Athenians much harm by land, they suffered much too at their hands by sea, and therefore would not have protracted the war to such a length, but would have speedily given up, just as Pericles prophesied in the beginning, had not a terrible visitation from heaven thwarted human calculations.

As it was, in the first place, a pestilential destruction fell upon them¹ and devoured clean the prime of their youth and power. It weakened

¹ 430 B.C. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 47-54.

τὰς ψυχὰς παντάπασιν ἡγριώθησαν πρὸς τὸν Περικλέα, καὶ καθάπερ ἰατρὸν ἢ πατέρα τῇ νόσῳ παραφρονήσαντες ἀδικεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς τὴν μὲν νόσον ἢ τοῦ χωριτικοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸ ἄστυ συμφόρησις
 4 ἀπεργάζεται,¹ θέρους ὥρα πολλῶν ὁμοῦ χύδην ἐν οἰκήμασι μικροῖς καὶ σκηνώμασι πνιγγοῖς ἡναγκασμένων διαιτᾶσθαι δίαιταν οἰκουρὸν καὶ ἀργὴν ἀντὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης τῆς πρότερον, τούτου δ' αἴτιος ὁ τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὰ τείχη καταχεύμενος καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν ἀνθρώποις τοσούτοις χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ἐὼν ὥσπερ βοσκήματα καθειργμένους ἀναπίμπλασθαι φθορᾶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ μηδεμίαν μεταβολὴν μηδ' ἀναψυχὴν ἐκπορίζων.

XXXV. Ταῦτα βουλόμενος ἰᾶσθαι καὶ τι παραλυπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ἐπλήρου, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας ἀναβιβασάμενος ἔμελλεν ἀνάγεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐλπίδα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ φόβον οὐκ ἐλάττω τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τοσαύτης ἰσχύος παρασχών. ἤδη δὲ πεπληρωμένων τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους ἀναβεβηκότος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκλιπεῖν συνέβη καὶ γενέσθαι σκότος, ἐκπλαγῆναι δὲ πάντας ὡς πρὸς μέγα σημεῖον.
 2 ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς περίφοβον τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ διηπορημένον, ἀνέσχε τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸ τῶν

¹ ἀπεργάζεται Fuhr and Blass, with F²S : ἐργάζεται.

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them in body and in spirit, and made them altogether wild against Pericles, so that, for all the world as the mad will attack a physician or a father, so they, in the delirium of the plague, attempted to do him harm, persuaded thereto by his enemies. These urged that the plague was caused by the crowding of the rustic multitudes together into the city, where, in the summer season, many were huddled together in small dwellings and stifling barracks, and compelled to lead a stay-at-home and inactive life, instead of being in the pure and open air of heaven as they were wont. They said that Pericles was responsible for this, who, because of the war, had poured the rabble from the country into the walled city, and then gave that mass of men no employment whatever, but suffered them, thus penned up like cattle, to fill one another full of corruption, and provided them no change or respite.

— XXXV. Desiring to heal these evils, and at the same time to inflict some annoyance upon the enemy, he manned a hundred and fifty ships of war, and, after embarking many brave hoplites and horsemen, was on the point of putting out to sea, affording great hope to the citizens, and no less fear to the enemy in consequence of so great a force. But when the ships were already manned, and Pericles had gone aboard his own trireme, it chanced that the sun was eclipsed and darkness came on, and all were thoroughly frightened, looking upon it as a great portent. Accordingly, seeing that his steersman was timorous and utterly perplexed, Pericles held up his cloak before the

ὄψεων¹ αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρακαλύψας ἠρώτησε μή τι δεινὸν ἢ δεινοῦ τινος οἶεται σημεῖον· ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔφη, “Τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐκείνο τούτου διαφέρει, πλὴν ὅτι μεῖζόν τι τῆς χλαμύδος ἐστὶ τὸ πεποιηκὸς τὴν ἐπισκότησιν;” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς λέγεται τῶν φιλοσόφων.

- 3 Ἐκπλεύσας δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὐτ' ἄλλο τι δοκεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον δρᾶσαι, πολιορκήσας τε τὴν ἱερὰν Ἐπίδαυρον ἐλπίδα παρασχούσαν ὥς ἄλωσομένην ἀπέτυχε διὰ τὴν νόσον. ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ οὐκ αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμμίσξαντας προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς διακειμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς αὐτὸν
- 4 ἐπειρᾶτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνειν. οὐ μὴν παρέλυσε τὴν ὀργὴν οὐδὲ μετέπεισε πρότερον ἢ τὰς ψήφους λαβόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ γενομένους κυρίους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ ζημιῶσαι χρήμασιν, ὧν ἀριθμὸν οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα, πεντήκοντα δ' οἱ τὸν πλεῖστον γράφουσιν. ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ δίκῃ κατηγορος, ὥς μὲν Ἰδομενεὺς λέγει, Κλέων, ὥς δὲ Θεόφραστος, Σιμμίας· ὁ δὲ Ποντικός Ἡρακλείδης Λακρατίδαν εἶρηκε.

XXXVI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δημόσια ταχέως ἔμελλε παύσεσθαι,² καθάπερ κέντρον εἰς τοῦτον ἄμα πληγῇ τὸν θυμὸν ἀφεικότων τῶν πολλῶν· τὰ δ' οἰκεῖα μοχθηρῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τε τὸν λοιμὸν

¹ τῶν ὄψεων Fuhr and Blass, with F^aS: τῆς ὄψεως.

² παύσεσθαι Fuhr and Blass, with F^aS, and after Reiske: παύεσθαι.

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man's eyes, and, thus covering them, asked him if he thought it anything dreadful, or portentous of anything dreadful. "No," said the steersman. "How then," said Pericles, "is yonder event different from this, except that it is something rather larger than my cloak which has caused the obscurity?" At any rate, this tale is told in the schools of philosophy.

Well, then, on sailing forth, Pericles seems to have accomplished nothing worthy of his preparations, but after laying siege to sacred Epidaurus, which awakened a hope that it might be captured, he had no such good fortune, because of the plague. Its fierce onset destroyed not only the Athenians themselves, but also those who, in any manner soever, had dealings with their forces. The Athenians being exasperated against him on this account, he tried to appease and encourage them. He did not, however, succeed in allaying their wrath, nor yet in changing their purposes, before they got their hostile ballots into their hands, became masters of his fate, stripped him of his command, and punished him with a fine.) The amount of this was fifteen talents, according to those who give the lowest, and fifty, according to those who give the highest figures. The public prosecutor mentioned in the records of the case was Cleon, as Idomeneus says, but according to Theophrastus it was Simmias, and Heracleides Ponticus mentions Lacratides.

XXXVI. So much, then, for his public troubles; they were likely soon to cease, now that the multitude had stung him, as it were, and left their passion with their sting; but his domestic affairs were in a

- οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀποβαλόντι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ
 στάσει διατεταραγμένα¹ πόρρωθεν. ὁ γὰρ πρεσ-
 βύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν γνησίων υἱῶν Ξάνθιππος
 φύσει τε δαπανηρὸς ὢν καὶ γυναικὶ νέᾳ καὶ πολυ-
 τελεῖ συνοικῶν, Τισάνδρου θυγατρὶ τοῦ Ἐπιλύκου,
 χαλεπῶς ἔφερε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκρίβειαν γλί-
 2 σχρα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ χορηγοῦντος. πέμψας 172
 οὖν πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων ἔλαβεν ἀργύριον ὡς τοῦ
 Περικλέους κελεύσαντος. ἐκείνου δ' ὕστερον ἀπαι-
 τοῦντος, ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς καὶ δίκην αὐτῷ προσ-
 ἔλαχε, τὸ δὲ μεираκίον ὁ Ξάνθιππος ἐπὶ τούτῳ
 χαλεπῶς διατεθεὶς ἐλοιδόρει τὸν πατέρα, πρῶτον
 μὲν ἐκφέρων ἐπὶ γέλῳ τὰς οἴκοι διατριβὰς
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐποιεῖτο² μετὰ τῶν
 3 σοφιστῶν. πεντάθλου γάρ τινος ἀκοντίῳ πατά-
 ξαντος Ἐπίτιμον τὸν Φαρσάλιον ἀκουσίως καὶ
 κατακτείναντος, ἡμέραν ὅλην ἀναλῶσαι μετὰ
 Πρωταγόρου διαποροῦντα πότερον τὸ ἀκόντιον ἢ
 τὸν βαλόντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας κατὰ τὸν
 ὀρθότατον λόγον αἰτίους χρῆ τοῦ πάθους ἡγεῖσθαι.
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς δια-
 βολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξανθίππου φησὶν ὁ Στησίμβρο-
 τος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διασπαρῆναι, καὶ ὅλως
 ἀνήκεστον ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τῷ νεανίσκῳ πρὸς
 τὸν πατέρα παραμεῖναι τὴν διαφυράν· ἀπέθανε
 γὰρ ὁ Ξάνθιππος ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ νοσήσας.
 4 Ἀπέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὁ Περικλῆς τότε
 καὶ τῶν κηδεστῶν καὶ φίλων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ

¹ διατεταραγμένα Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : διατεταραγ-
 μένη.

² ἐποιεῖτο Fuhr and Blass, with F^aS, and after Sauppe :
 ἐπολεῖ.

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sorry plight, since he had lost not a few of his intimate friends during the pestilence, and had for some time been rent and torn by a family feud. The eldest of his legitimate sons, Xanthippus, who was naturally prodigal, and had married a young and extravagant wife, the daughter of Tisander, the son of Epilycus, was much displeased at his father's exactitude in making him but a meagre allowance, and that a little at a time. Accordingly, he sent to one of his father's friends and got money, pretending that Pericles bade him do it. When the friend afterwards demanded repayment of the loan, Pericles not only refused it, but brought suit against him to boot. So the young fellow, Xanthippus, incensed at this, fell to abusing his father, publishing abroad, to make men laugh, his conduct of affairs at home, and the discourses which he held with the sophists. For instance, a certain athlete had hit Epitimus the Pharsalian with a javelin, accidentally, and killed him, and Pericles, Xanthippus said, squandered an entire day discussing with Protagoras whether it was the javelin, or rather the one who hurled it, or the judges of the contests, that "in the strictest sense" ought to be held responsible for the disaster. Besides all this, the slanderous charge concerning his own wife Stesimbrotus says was sown abroad in public by Xanthippus himself, and also that the quarrel which the young man had with his father remained utterly incurable up to the time of his death,—for Xanthippus fell sick and died during the plague.

Pericles lost his sister also at that time, and of his relatives and friends the largest part, and those

χρησιμωτάτους πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ μὲν
 ἀπεῖπεν οὐδὲ προὔδωκε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος
 τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κλαίων
 οὐδὲ κηδεύων οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφῳ τινὸς ὥφθη τῶν
 ἀναγκαίων, πρὶν γε δὴ καὶ τὸν περίλοιπον αὐτοῦ
 5 τῶν γνησίων υἱῶν¹ ἀποβαλεῖν Πάραλον. ἐπὶ τού-
 τῳ δὲ καμφθεὶς ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν ἐγκαρτερεῖν τῷ
 ἡθελαι καὶ διαφυλάττειν τὸ μεγαλόψυχον, ἐπι-
 φέρων δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ στέφανον ἡττήθη τοῦ πάθους
 πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, ὥστε κλαυθμόν τε ῥῆξαι καὶ πλη-
 θος ἐκχέαι δακρύων, οὐδέποτε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν
 τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ πεποιηκώς.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως πειρωμένης τῶν ἄλ-
 λων στρατηγῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ῥητόρων, ὡς
 δ' οὐδεὶς βάρος ἔχων ισόρροπον οὐδ' ἀξίωμα πρὸς
 τοσαύτην ἐχέγγυον ἡγεμονίαν ἐφαίνετο, ποθοῦσης
 ἐκείνους καὶ καλούσης ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρα-
 τήγιον, ἀθυμῶν καὶ κείμενος οἴκοι διὰ τὸ πένθος
 ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπείσθη φίλων
 2 προελθεῖν. ἀπολογησαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν
 ἀγνωμοσύνην πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑποδεξάμενος αὐτὸς
 τὰ πράγματα καὶ στρατηγὸς αἰρεθεὶς ἡτήσατο
 λυθῆναι τὸν περὶ τῶν νόθων νόμον, ὃν αὐτὸς
 εἰσενηνόχει πρότερον, ὡς μὴ παντάπασιν ἐρημία
 διαδοχῆς τὸν οἶκον ἐκλίποι τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ γένος.

3 Εἶχε δ' οὕτω τὰ περὶ τὸν νόμον. ἀκμάζων ὁ

¹ γνησίων υἱῶν Fuhr and Blass, with F^{as}: γνησίων.

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who were most serviceable to him in his administration of the city. He did not, however, give up, nor yet abandon his loftiness and grandeur of spirit because of his calamities, nay, he was not even seen to weep, either at the funeral rites, or at the grave of any of his connections, until indeed he lost the very last remaining one of his own legitimate sons, Paralus. Even though he was bowed down at this stroke, he nevertheless tried to persevere in his habit and maintain his spiritual greatness, but as he laid a wreath upon the dead, he was vanquished by his anguish at the sight, so that he broke out into wailing, and shed a multitude of tears, although he had never done any such thing in all his life before.

XXXVII. The city made trial of its other generals and counsellors for the conduct of the war, but since no one appeared to have weight that was adequate or authority that was competent for such leadership, it yearned for Pericles, and summoned him back to the bema and the war-office.¹ He was lying dejectedly at home because of his sorrow, but was persuaded by Alcibiades and his other friends to resume his public life. When the people had apologized for their thankless treatment of him, and he had undertaken again the conduct of the state, and been elected general, he asked for a suspension of the law concerning children born out of wedlock,—a law which he himself had formerly introduced,—in order that the name and lineage of his house might not altogether expire through lack of succession.

The circumstances of this law were as follows.

¹ 429 B.C.

Περικλῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸ πάνυ πολλῶν χρόνων, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, γνησίους, νόμον ἔγραψε μόνους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυεῖν Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δωρεὰν τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαντος τετρακισμυρίους πυρῶν μεδίμνους ἔδει διανέμεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, πολλὰ μὲν ἀνεφύοντο δίκαι τοῖς νόμοις ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκείνου τέως διαλανθάνουσι καὶ παρορωμένοις,¹ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συκοφαντήμασι περιέπιπτον. ἐπράθησαν δ' οὖν² ἄλόντες ὀλίγῳ πεντακισχιλίων ἐλάττους, οἱ δὲ μέιναντες ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κριθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι μύριοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἐξητάσθησαν. ὄντος οὖν δεινοῦ τὸν κατὰ τοσοῦτων ἰσχύσαντα νόμον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν λυθῆναι τοῦ γράψαντος, ἢ παροῦσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεῖ περὶ τὸν οἶκον, ὡς δίκην τινὰ δεδωκότι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλαυχίας ἐκείνης, ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ δόξαντες αὐτὸν νεμεσητά τε παθεῖν ἀνθρωπίνων³ τε δεῖσθαι συνεχώρησαν ἀπογράψασθαι τὸν νόμον εἰς τοὺς φράτορας, ὄνομα θέμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὕστερον ἐν Ἀργινούσαις καταναυμαχήσαντα Πελοποννησίους ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῶν συστρατῆγων.

¹ διαλανθάνουσι, παρορωμένοις Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : διαλανθάνουσαι, παρορώμεναι (referring to the prosecutions).

² δ' οὖν Fuhr and Blass, with F^{as}S : οὖν.

³ ἀνθρωπίνων Fuhr and Blass, with F^{as}S : ἀνθρωπίνως.

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Many years before this,¹ when Pericles was at the height of his political career and had sons born in wedlock, as I have said, he proposed a law that only those should be reckoned Athenians whose parents on both sides were Athenians. And so when the king of Egypt sent a present to the people of forty thousand measures of grain, and this had to be divided up among the citizens, there was a great crop of prosecutions against citizens of illegal birth by the law of Pericles, who had up to that time escaped notice and been overlooked, and many of them also suffered at the hands of informers. As a result, a little less than five thousand were convicted and sold into slavery, and those who retained their citizenship and were adjudged to be Athenians were found, as a result of this scrutiny, to be fourteen thousand and forty in number. It was, accordingly, a grave matter, that the law which had been rigorously enforced against so many should now be suspended by the very man who had introduced it, and yet the calamities which Pericles was then suffering in his family life, regarded as a kind of penalty which he had paid for his arrogance and haughtiness of old, broke down the objections of the Athenians. They thought that what he suffered was by way of retribution, and that what he asked became a man to ask and men to grant, and so they suffered him to enroll his illegitimate son in the phratry-lists and to give him his own name. This was the son who afterwards conquered the Peloponnesians in a naval battle at the Arginusae islands,² and was put to death by the people along with his fellow-generals.

¹ 451-450 B.C.

² 406 B.C.

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λοιμὸς λαβέσθαι λαβὴν οὐκ ὀξεῖαν, ὥσπερ ἄλλων, οὐδὲ σύντονον, ἀλλὰ βληχρᾷ τινι νόσῳ καὶ μῆκος ἐν ποικίλαις ἐχούσῃ μεταβολαῖς διαχρωμένην τὸ σῶμα σχολαίως καὶ ὑπερείπουσαν τὸ φρόνημα

2 τῆς ψυχῆς. ὁ γοῦν Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Ἑθικοῖς διαπορήσας εἰ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τρέπεται τὰ ἡθῆ καὶ κινούμενα τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων πάθεσιν ἐξίσταται τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἰστόρηκεν ὅτι νοσῶν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπισκοπούμενῳ τινὶ τῶν φίλων δείξειε περίαπτον ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιηρτημένον, ὡς σφόδρα κακῶς ἔχων ὅποτε καὶ ταύτην ὑπομένοι τὴν ἀβελτερίαν.

3 Ἦδη δὲ πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾷ ὄντος αὐτοῦ, περικαθήμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ περιόντες λόγον ἐποιοῦντο τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅση γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνεμετροῦντο καὶ τῶν τροπαίων τὸ πλῆθος· ἐννέα γὰρ ἦν ἂν στρατηγῶν καὶ νικῶν ἔστησεν ὑπὲρ

4 τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτα, ὡς οὐκέτι συνιέντος, ἀλλὰ καθηρημένου τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ, διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐτύγχανε τὸν νοῦν προσεσχηκῶς, καὶ φθεγξάμενος εἰς μέσον ἔφη θαυμάζειν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μνημονεύουσιν, ἂ καὶ πρὸς τύχην ἐστὶ κοινὰ καὶ γέγονεν ἤδη πολλοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον οὐ λέγουσιν. “Οὐδεὶς γάρ,” ἔφη, ‘δὲ ἐμὲ τῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἱμάτιον τεριεύαλετο.”

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XXXVIII. At this time, it would seem, the plague laid hold of Pericles, not with a violent attack, as in the case of others, nor acute, but one which, with a kind of sluggish distemper that prolonged itself through varying changes, used up his body slowly and undermined the loftiness of his spirit. Certain it is that Theophrastus, in his "Ethics," querying whether one's character follows the bent of one's fortunes and is forced by bodily sufferings to abandon its high excellence, records this fact, that Pericles, as he lay sick, showed one of his friends who was come to see him an amulet that the women had hung round his neck, as much as to say that he was very badly off to put up with such folly as that.

Being now near his end,¹ the best of the citizens and those of his friends who survived were sitting around him holding discourse of his excellence and power, how great they had been, and estimating all his achievements and the number of his trophies,—there were nine of these which he had set up as the city's victorious general. This discourse they were holding with one another, supposing that he no longer understood them but had lost consciousness. He had been attending to it all, however, and speaking out among them said he was amazed at their praising and commemorating that in him which was due as much to fortune as to himself, and which had fallen to the lot of many generals besides, instead of mentioning his fairest and greatest title to their admiration; "for," said he, "no living Athenian ever put on mourning because of me."

¹ He died in the autumn of 429 B.C.

XXXIX. Θαυμαστός οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πραότητος, ἣν ἐν πράγμασι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀπεχθείαις διετήρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καλῶν ἡγείτο βέλτιστον εἶναι τὸ μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι μηδὲν ὑπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως, μηδὲ

2 χρήσασθαι τινι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς ἀνηκέστῳ. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν μεираκιώδη καὶ σοβαρὰν ἐκείνην προσωνυμίαν ἐν τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἀνεπίφθονον καὶ πρέπουσαν, οὕτως εὐμένες ἦθος καὶ βίον ἐν ἐξουσία καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον Ὀλύμπιον προσαγορεύεσθαι, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος ἀξιούμεν αἷτιον μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἀναίτιον δὲ κακῶν πεφυκὸς ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν ὄντων, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ συνταράττοντες ἡμᾶς ἀμαθεστάταις

3 δόξαις ἀλίσκονται τοῖς αὐτῶν μυθεύμασι,¹ τὸν μὲν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς θεοὺς κατοικεῖν λέγουσιν, ἀσφαλὲς ἔδος καὶ ἀσάλευτον καλοῦντες, οὐ πνεύμασιν, οὐ νέφεσι χρώμενον, ἀλλ' αἶθρα² μαλακῇ καὶ φωτὶ καθαρωτάτῳ³ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὁμαλῶς περιλαμπόμενον, ὡς τοιαύτης τινὸς⁴ τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ διαγωγῆς μάλιστα πρεπούσης, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ταραχῆς καὶ δυσμενείας καὶ ὀργῆς ἄλλων τε μεστοὺς παθῶν ἀποφαίνοντες οὐδ' ἀνθρώποις νοῦν ἔχουσι προσηκόντων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐτέρας δόξει πραγματείας εἶναι.

4 Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ταχείαν αἴσθησιν καὶ σαφῇ

¹ μυθεύμασι Fuhr and Blass with S (μυθεύμασι F^a): ποιήμασι.

² αἶθρα Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: αἶθρα.

³ καθαρωτάτῳ Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: καθαρό.

⁴ τοιαύτης τινὸς Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: τοιαύτης.

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XXXIX. So, then, the man is to be admired not only for his reasonableness and the gentleness which he maintained in the midst of many responsibilities and great enmities, but also for his loftiness of spirit, seeing that he regarded it as the noblest of all his titles to honour that he had never gratified his envy or his passion in the exercise of his vast power, nor treated any one of his foes as a foe incurable. And it seems to me that his otherwise puerile and pompous surname is rendered unobjectionable and becoming by this one circumstance, that it was so gracious a nature and a life so pure and undefiled in the exercise of sovereign power which were called Olympian, inasmuch as we do firmly hold that the divine rulers and kings of the universe are capable only of good, and incapable of evil. In this we are not like the poets, who confuse us with their ignorant fancies, and are convicted of inconsistency by their own stories, since they declare that the place where they say the gods dwell is a secure abode and tranquil, without experience of winds and clouds, but gleaming through all the unbroken time with the soft radiance of purest light,¹—implying that some such a manner of existence is most becoming to the blessed immortal; and yet they represent the gods themselves as full of malice and hatred and wrath and other passions which ill become even men of any sense. But this, perhaps, will be thought matter for discussion elsewhere.

The progress of events wrought in the Athenians

¹ Cf. *Odyssey*, vi. 42 ff.

πόθον Ἀθηναίοις ἐνειργάζετο τὰ πράγματα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ζῶντος βαρυνόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ὥς ἀμαυροῦσαν αὐτούς, εὐθὺς ἐκ ποδῶν γενομένου πειρώμενοι ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ἐτέρων ἀνωμολογοῦντο μετριώτερον ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ σεμνότερον εἰ
 5 πραότητι μὴ φῦναι τρόπον· ἡ δ' ἐπίφθονος ἰσχὺς ἐκείνη, μοναρχία λεγομένη καὶ τυραννὶς πρότερον, ἐφάνη τότε σωτήριον ἔρυμα τῆς πολιτείας γενομένη· τοσαύτη φθορὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἐπέκειτο κακίας τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀσθενῇ καὶ ταπεινῇ ποιῶν ἀπέκρυπτε καὶ κατεκώλυεν ἀνήκεστον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ¹ γενέσθαι.

¹ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ Fuhr and Blass with F^aSC : ἐξουσίᾳ.

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a swift appreciation of Pericles and a keen sense of his loss. For those who, while he lived, were oppressed by a sense of his power and felt that it kept them in obscurity, straightway on his removal made trial of other orators and popular leaders, only to be led to the confession that a character more moderate than his in its solemn dignity, and more august in its gentleness, had not been created. (That objectionable power of his, which they had used to call monarchy and tyranny, seemed to them now to have been a saving bulwark of the constitution, so greatly was the state afflicted by the corruption and manifold baseness which he had kept weak and grovelling, thereby covering it out of sight and preventing it from becoming incurably powerful.



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ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ

- I. Τοιούτου δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐν τοῖς ἀξίοις 174
 μνήμης γεγονότος, ὥς παρειλήφαμεν, ἐπὶ τὸν
 Φάβιον τὴν ἱστορίαν μεταγάγωμεν. νυμφῶν μιᾶς
 λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας, Ἡρακλεῖ
 μιγείσης περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν γενέσθαι
 Φάβιον, ἄνδρα πολὺ καὶ δόκιμον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ
 2 Φαβίων γένος ἀφ' αὐτοῦ παρασχόντα. τινὲς δὲ
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τούτου πρῶτους τῇ δι' ὀρυ-
 γμάτων χρησαμένους ἄγρα Φοδίοις ἱστοροῦσιν
 ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸ παλαιόν· οὕτω γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν αἱ
 διώρυχες φόσσαι καὶ φόδере τὸ σκάψαι καλεῖται·
 χρόνῳ δὲ τῶν δυεῖν φθόγγων μεταπεσόντων
 Φάβιοι προσηγορεύθησαν. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγά-
 λους τῆς οἰκίας ἐξενεγκαμένης ἄνδρας, ἀπὸ Ῥούλ-
 λου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μαξίμου παρὰ
 Ῥωμαίοις ἐπονομασθέντος τέταρτος ἦν Φάβιος
 Μάξιμος, περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφομεν.
- 3 Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ σωματικὸν μὲν παρωνύμιον ὁ
 Βερούκωσος· εἶχε γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνα μικρὰν
 ἐπάνω τοῦ χεῖλους ἐπιπεφυκυῖαν· ὁ δὲ Ὀουι-
 κούλας σημαίνει μὲν τὸ προβάτιον, ἐτέθη δὲ πρὸς
 τὴν πραότητα καὶ βαρύτητα¹ τοῦ ἥθους ἔτι παιδὸς
 ὄντος· τὸ γὰρ ἡσύχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σιωπηλὸν καὶ

¹ βαρύτητα MSS., Sint.¹, Coraës, and Bekker: *βραδυτῆτα sloowness*.

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I. SUCH were the memorable things in the career of Pericles, as we have received them, and now let us change the course of our narrative and tell of Fabius. It was a nymph, they say, or a woman native to the country, according to others, who consorted with Hercules by the river Tiber, and became by him the mother of Fabius, the founder of the family of the Fabii, which was a large one, and of high repute in Rome. But some writers state that the first members of the family were called Fodii in ancient times, from their practice of taking wild beasts in pitfalls. For down to the present time "*fossae*" is the Latin for *ditches*, and "*fodere*" for *to dig*. In course of time, by a change of two letters, they were called Fabii. This family produced many great men, and from Rullus, the greatest of them, and on this account called Maximus by the Romans, the Fabius Maximus of whom we now write was fourth in descent.

He had the surname of Verrucosus from a physical peculiarity, namely, a small wart growing above his lip; and that of Ovicula, which signifies *Lambkin*, was given him because of the gentleness and gravity of his nature when he was yet a child. Indeed, the calmness and silence of his demeanour,

μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας τῶν παιδικῶν ἀπτόμενον
 ἡδονῶν, βραδέως δὲ καὶ διαπόνως δεχόμενον τὰς
 μαθήσεις, εὐκολον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ
 κατήκοον ἀβελτερίας τινὸς καὶ νωθρότητος ὑπό-
 νοιαν εἶχε παρὰ τοῖς ἑκτός· ὀλίγοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ τὸ
 4 δυσκίνητον ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ
 λεοντῶδες ἐν τῇ φύσει καθορῶντες αὐτοῦ. ταχὺ
 δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἐγειρόμενος διεσήμαινε καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπά-
 θειαν μὲν οὖσαν τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀπραγίαν, εὐ-
 βουλίαν δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ὀξύ
 μηδ' εὐκίνητον ἐν πᾶσι μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον.
 ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῶν
 πολέμων τὸ πλῆθος, ἤσκει τὸ μὲν σῶμα πρὸς τοὺς
 πολέμους, ὥσπερ ὄπλον σύμφυτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον
 ὄργανον πειθοῦς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, εὖ μάλα πρε-
 5 πόντως τῷ βίῳ κατακεκοσμημένον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ
 ὠραῖσμός οὐδὲ κενὴ καὶ ἀγοραῖος χάρις, ἀλλὰ
 νοῦς ἴδιον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχῆμα
 καὶ βάθος ἔχων, ἃς μάλιστα ταῖς Θουκυδίδου
 προσεοικέναι λέγουσι. διασώζεται γὰρ αὐτοῦ
 λόγος, ὃν εἶπεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ μεθ'
 ὑπατείας ἀποθανόντος ἐγκώμιον.

II. Πέντε δ' ὑπατειῶν ἃς ὑπάτευσεν, ἡ πρώτη
 τὸν ἀπὸ Λιγύων θρίαμβον ἔσχεν. ἡττηθέντες
 γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες
 εἰς τὰς Ἀλπεις ἀνεστάλησαν, καὶ τὴν πρόσοικον
 ἐπαύσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ληιζόμενοι καὶ κακῶς
 2 ποιοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν

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the great caution with which he indulged in childish pleasures, the slowness and difficulty with which he learned his lessons, and his contented submissiveness in dealing with his comrades, led those who knew him superficially to suspect him of something like foolishness and stupidity. Only a few discerned the inexorable firmness in the depth of his soul, and the magnanimous and leonine qualities of his nature. But soon, as time went on and he was roused by the demands of active life, he made it clear even to the multitude that his seeming lack of energy was only lack of passion, that his caution was prudence, and that his never being quick nor even easy to move made him always steadfast and sure. He saw that the conduct of the state was a great task, and that wars must be many; he therefore trained his body for the wars (nature's own armour, as it were), and his speech as an instrument of persuasion with the people, giving it a form right well befitting his manner of life. For it had no affectation, nor any empty, forensic grace, but an import of peculiar dignity, rendered weighty by an abundance of maxims. These, they say, most resembled those which Thucydides employs. And a speech of his is actually preserved, which was pronounced by him before the people in eulogy of his son,¹ who died consul.

II. The first² of the five consulships in which he served brought him the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. These were defeated by him in battle, with heavy loss, and retired into the Alps, where they ceased plundering and harrying the parts of Italy next to them. But Hannibal now

¹ Cf. Cicero, *Cato Maior*, 4.

² 233 B.C.

- καὶ μαχη πρῶτον περὶ τὸν Τρεβίαν ποταμὸν ἐπικρατήσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἤλαυνε διὰ Τυρρηνίας πορθῶν τὴν χώραν, ἔκπληξιν δὲ δεινὴν καὶ φόβον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνέβαλε, σημεία δὲ τὰ μὲν συνήθη Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν, τὰ δ' ὅλως ἐξηλλαγμένα
- 3 καὶ πολλὴν ἀτοπίαν ἔχοντα προσέπιπτε (θυρεοὺς τε γὰρ ἀφ' αὐτῶν αἵματι γενέσθαι διαβρόχους ἐλέχθη, καὶ θέρη σταχύων περὶ Ἄντιον ἔναιμα κείρεσθαι, καὶ λίθους μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος διαπύρους καὶ φλεγομένους φέρεσθαι, τοῦ δ' ὑπὲρ Φαλερίου οὐρανοῦ ραγῆναι δόξαντος ἐκπίπτειν καὶ διασπείρεσθαι πολλὰ γραμματεῖα, καὶ τούτων ἐν ἐνὶ γεγραμμένον φανῆναι κατὰ λέξιν "Ἄρης τὰ 175
- 4 ἑαυτοῦ ὄπλα σαλεύει"), τὸν μὲν ὕπατον Γαῖον Φλαμίνιον οὐδὲν ἡμβλυνε τούτων, ἄνδρα πρὸς τῷ φύσει θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλοτίμῳ μεγάλαις ἐπαιρόμενον εὐτυχίαις, ὡς πρόσθεν εὐτύχησε παραλόγως, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπαδούσης¹ καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐνισταμένου βία συμβαλὼν τοῖς Γαλάταις καὶ κρατήσας, Φάβιον δὲ τὰ μὲν σημεία, καίπερ ἀπτόμενα πολλῶν, ἥττον ὑπέθραττε διὰ
- 5 τὴν ἀλογίαν· τὴν δ' ὀλιγότητα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἀχρηματίαν πυνθανόμενος καρτερεῖν παρὲς κάλει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἡσκημένη στρατιᾷ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπιπέμποντας βοηθείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας αὐτὴν εἶναι περὶ αὐτῇ μαραίνεσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καθάπερ φλόγα λάμψασαν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ κούφης δυνάμεως.

¹ ἀπαδούσης with CS: ἀποκαλούσης.

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burst into Italy,¹ and was at first victorious in battle at the river Trebia. Then he marched through Tuscany, ravaging the country, and smote Rome with dire consternation and fear. Signs and portents occurred, some familiar to the Romans, like peals of thunder, others wholly strange and quite extraordinary. For instance, it was said that shields sweated blood, that ears of corn were cut at Antium with blood upon them, that blazing, fiery stones fell from on high, and that the people of Falerii saw the heavens open and many tablets fall down and scatter themselves abroad, and that on one of these was written in letters plain to see, "Mars now brandisheth his weapons."² The consul, Gaius Flaminius, was daunted by none of these things, for he was a man of a fiery and ambitious nature, and besides, he was elated by great successes which he had won before this, in a manner contrary to all expectation. He had, namely, although the senate dissented from his plan, and his colleague violently opposed it, joined battle with the Gauls and defeated them. Fabius also was less disturbed by the signs and portents, because he thought it would be absurd, although they had great effect upon many. But when he learned how few in number the enemy were, and how great was their lack of resources, he exhorted the Romans to bide their time, and not to give battle to a man who wielded an army trained by many contests for this very issue, but to send aid to their allies, to keep their subject cities well in hand, and to suffer the culminating vigour of Hannibal to sink and expire of itself, like a flame that flares up from scant and slight material.

¹ 218 B.C. ² *Manors telum suum concutit* (Livy, xxii. 1).

III. Οὐ μὴν ἔπεισε τὸν Φλαμίνιον, ἀλλὰ φήσας οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι προσιόντα τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν πόλεμον οὐδ', ὥσπερ ὁ παλαιὸς Κάμιλλος, ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμαχεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς χιλιάρχους, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀλλόμενος ἐξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίου προδήλου παραλόγως ἐιτρόμου τοῦ ἵππου γενομένου καὶ πτυρέντος ἐξέπεσε καὶ κατενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὅμως οὐδὲν ἔτρεψε τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλ' ὡς ὥρμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Θρασυμένην¹ λίμνην τῆς Τυρρηνίας παρετάξατο.

2 Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν συμβαλόντων εἰς χεῖρας ἅμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πόλεις ἀνετράπησαν καὶ ρεύματα ποταμῶν ἐξ ἑδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημνῶν ὑπώρειαι περιερράγησαν.² ἀλλά, καίπερ οὕτω γενομένου βιαίου τοῦ πάθους,³ οὐδεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἤσθητο

3 τῶν μαχομένων. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Φλαμίνιος πολλὰ καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ ῥώμης ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔπεσε, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ κρίτιστοι τῶν δ' ἄλλων τραπέντων πολὺς ἦν φόνος, καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι πρὸς μυρίοις κατεκόπησαν, καὶ ἐάλωσαν ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι. τὸ δὲ Φλαμινίου σῶμα φιλοτιμούμενος θάψαι καὶ κοσμήσαι δι' ἀρετὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐχ εὗρεν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἀλλ' ἠγνοεῖτο τὸ παράπαν ὅπως ἠφανίσθη.

4 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρεβίου γενομένην ἦτταν

¹ Θρασυμένην an early anonymous correction, adopted by Coraës and Bekker : Θρασυνίαν.

² περιερράγησαν Bekker's παρερράγησαν is now found in S.

³ τοῦ πάθους Coraës and Bekker after Reiske : πάθους.

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III. Flaminius, however, was not persuaded, but declared that he would not suffer the war to be brought near Rome, and that he would not, like Camillus of old, fight in the city for the city's defence. Accordingly, he ordered the tribunes to lead the army forth. But as Flaminius himself sprang upon his horse, for no apparent reason, and unaccountably, the animal was seized with quivering fright, and he was thrown and fell head foremost to the ground. Nevertheless, he in no wise desisted from his purpose, but since he had set out at the beginning to face Hannibal, drew up his forces near the lake called Thrasymen¹,¹ in Tuscany.

When the soldiers of both armies had engaged, at the very crisis of the battle, an earthquake occurred, by which cities were overthrown, rivers diverted from their channels, and fragments of cliffs torn away. And yet, although the disaster was so violent, no one of the combatants noticed it at all. Flaminius himself, then, while displaying many deeds of daring and prowess, fell, and round about him the flower of his army. The rest were routed with much slaughter. Fifteen thousand were cut to pieces, and as many more taken prisoners. The body of Flaminius, to which Hannibal was eager to give honourable burial because of his valour, could not be found among the dead, but disappeared, no one ever knowing how.

Now of the defeat sustained at the Trebia,² neither

¹ Tarsimene, Polybius, iii. 82; Trasimenus, Livy, xxii. 4.

² Cf. chapter ii. 2.

οὐθ' ὁ γράψας στρατηγὸς οὐθ' ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἄγγελος
 ἀπ' εὐθείας ἔφρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐψεύσατο τὴν νίκην
 ἐπίδικον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀμφίδοξον γενέσθαι· περὶ δὲ
 ταύτης ὡς πρῶτον ἤκουσεν ὁ στρατηγὸς Πομπώ-
 νιος, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον οὐ
 περιπλοκὰς οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἔφη
 προσελθὼν· “ Νενικήμεθα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι,
 μεγάλη μάχη, καὶ διέφθαρται τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ
 Φλαμίνιος ὑπάτος ἀπόλωλεν. ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθε
 5 περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας.” οὗτος μὲν
 οὖν ὥσπερ πνεῦμα τὸν λόγον ἐμβαλὼν εἰς
 πέλαγος τοσούτου δήμου συνετάραξε τὴν πόλιν,
 οὐδ' ἐστάναι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἐκπληξιν οἱ λογισμοὶ
 6 καὶ διαμένειν ἐδύναντο. πάντες δ' εἰς μίαν
 γνώμην συνήχθησαν ἀνυπευθύνου δεῖσθαι τὰ
 πράγματα μοναρχίας, ἣν δικτατορίαν καλοῦσι,
 καὶ τοῦ μεταχειριουμένου ταύτην ἀθρύπτως καὶ
 6 ἀδεῶς ἀνδρός· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον ἓνα Φάβιον
 Μάξιμον, ἰσόρροπον ἔχοντα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς
 τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἥθους, ἡλικίας τε
 κατὰ τοῦτο γεγενημένον ἐν ᾧ συνέστηκεν ἔτι πρὸς
 τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλευμάτα τὸ σῶμα τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ
 συγκέκρται τῷ φρονίμῳ τὸ θαρραλέον.

IV. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔδοξεν, ἀποδειχθεὶς δικτάτωρ
 Φάβιος, καὶ ἀποδείξας αὐτὸς ἵππαρχον Μάρκον
 Μινούκιον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡτήσατο τὴν σύγκλητον
 ἵππῳ χρῆσθαι παρὰ τὰς στρατείας. οὐ γὰρ
 ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγόρευτο κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον
 παλαιόν, εἴτε τῆς ἀλκῆς τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τῷ

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the general who wrote nor the messenger who was sent with the tidings gave a straightforward account, the victory being falsely declared uncertain and doubtful; but as soon as Pomponius the praetor heard of this second defeat, he called an assembly of the people, faced it, and without roundabout or deceptive phrases, but in downright fashion, said: "Men of Rome, we have been beaten in a great battle; our army has been cut to pieces; our consul, Flaminius, is dead. Take ye therefore counsel for your own salvation and safety." This speech of his fell like a tempest upon the great sea of people before him, and threw the city into commotion, nor could deliberate reasoning hold its own and stay the general consternation. But all were brought at last to be of one mind, namely, that the situation demanded a sole and absolute authority, which they call a dictatorship, and a man who would wield this authority with energy and without fear; that Fabius Maximus, and he alone, was such a man, having a spirit and a dignity of character that fully matched the greatness of the office, and being moreover at the time of life when bodily vigour still suffices to carry out the counsels of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

IV. Accordingly, this course was adopted, and Fabius was appointed dictator.¹ He himself appointed Marcus Minucius to be his Master of Horse, and then at once asked permission of the senate to use a horse himself when in the field. For this was not his right, but was forbidden by an ancient law, either because the Romans placed their greatest

¹ In the absence of a consul, who alone could appoint a dictator, the people made Fabius pro-dictator (Liv^y, xxii. 8).

- πεζῶ τιθεμένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν στρατηγὸν οἰομένων δεῖν παραμένειν τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ μὴ προλείπειν, εἴθ', ὅτι τυραννικὸν εἰς ἅπαντα τὰλλα 176 καὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἐστίν, ἔν γε τούτῳ βουλομένων τὸν δικτάτορα τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι
- 2 δεόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φάβιος εὐθύς ἐνδείξασθαι θέλων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ὥς μᾶλλον ὑπηκόοις χρῶτο καὶ πειθηνίοις τοῖς πολίταις, προῆλθε συνενεγκάμενος εἰς ταῦτο ῥαβδουχίας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας· καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαντῶντος αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπὲρ-την πέμψας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποθέμενον ἰδιώτην ἀπαντᾶν.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλλίστην ἀρχόμενος ἐκ θεῶν ἀρχήν, καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δῆμον ὥς ὀλιγωρία καὶ περιφρονήσει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, οὐ μοχθηρία τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων σφαλέντα, προὔ-τρεπε μὴ δέδιέναι τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν, οὐ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐνεργαζόμενος,¹ ἀλλὰ θαρρύνων εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίσι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβον ἀφαιρῶν καὶ παραμυθούμενος.
- 4 ἐκινήθησαν δὲ τότε πολλαὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ χρησίμων αὐτοῖς βίβλων, ἃς Σιβυλλείους καλοῦσι· καὶ λέγεται συνδραμεῖν ἔνια τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν αὐταῖς λογίων πρὸς τὰς τύχας καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν γνωσθὲν οὐκ ἦν ἐτέρῳ πυθέσθαι· προελθὼν δὲ ὁ δικτάτωρ εἰς τὸν

¹ ἐνεργαζόμενος Coraës and Bekker after Bryan, now with S: ἐργαζόμενος.

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strength in their infantry, and for this reason thought that their commander ought to be with the phalanx and not leave it; or because they wished, since the power of the office in all other respects is as great as that of a tyrant, that in this point at least the dictator should be plainly dependent on the people. However, Fabius himself was minded to show forth at once the magnitude and grandeur of his office, that the citizens might be more submissive and obedient to his commands. He therefore appeared in public attended by a united band of twenty-four lictors with their fasces,¹ and when the remaining consul was coming to meet him, sent his adjutant to him with orders to dismiss his lictors, lay aside the insignia of his office, and meet him as a private person.

After this, he began with the gods, which is the fairest of all beginnings, and showed the people that the recent disaster was due to the neglect and scorn with which their general had treated religious rites, and not to the cowardice of those who fought under him. He thus induced them, instead of fearing their enemies, to propitiate and honour the gods. It was not that he filled them with superstition, but rather that he emboldened their valour with piety, allaying and removing the fear which their enemies inspired, with hopes of aid from the gods. At this time, moreover, many of the so-called Sibylline books, containing secrets of service to the state, were consulted, and it is said that some of the oracular sayings therein preserved corresponded with the fortunes and events of the time. What was thus ascertained, however, could not be made public, but

¹ Each consul was allowed twelve.

ὄχλων εὖζατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν αἰγῶν καὶ
 συνῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν ἐπιγονήν, ὅσῃν
 Ἰταλίας ὄρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ λειμῶνες
 εἰς ὥραν ἐσομένην θρέψουσι, καταθύσειν ἅπαντα,
 θέας δὲ μουσικὰς καὶ θυμελικὰς ἄξειν ἀπὸ
 σηστερτίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν καὶ
 5 δηναρίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν ἔτι τριτη-
 μορίου προσόντος. τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν
 ὀκτὼ μυριάδες δραχμῶν καὶ δραχμαὶ τρισχίλαιοι
 πεντακόσιοι ὀγδοῖκοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο ὀβολοί.
 λόγον δὲ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἀκριβείας
 καὶ διανομῆς χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα
 βούλοιο τῆς τριάδος ὑμνεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ὅτι καὶ
 φύσει τέλειος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν περιττῶν ἀρχή
 τε πλήθους ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τε πρώτας διαφορὰς καὶ
 τὰ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα μίξας καὶ συναρμό-
 σας εἰς ταῦτόν ἀνείληφεν.

V. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν γνώμην
 ἀπαρτήσας εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἡδίῳ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον
 ἐποίησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ πάσας θέμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς
 τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας, ὥς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς εὐπραξίας
 δι' ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως παραδιδόντος, τρέπεται
 πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, οὐχ ὥς διαμαχούμενος, ἀλλὰ
 χρόνῳ τὴν ἀκμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν
 καὶ πολυανθρωπία τὴν ὀλιγότητα τρίβειν καὶ
 2 ὑπαναλίσκειν βεβουλευμένος. ὅθεν αἰεὶ μετέωρος
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τόποις ὀρεινοῖς
 στρατοπεδεύων ἐπηρεῖτο, καθημένου μὲν ἡσυχά-
 ζων, κινουμένου δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄκρων κύκλῳ περιῶν

the dictator, in the presence of all the people, vowed to sacrifice to the gods an entire year's increase in goats, swine, sheep, and cattle, that is, all that Italy's mountains, plains, rivers, and meadows should breed in the coming spring.¹ He likewise vowed to celebrate a musical and dramatic festival in honour of the gods, which should cost three hundred and thirty-three sester tia, plus three hundred and thirty-three denarii, plus one third of a denarius. This sum, in Greek money, amounts to eighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-three drachmas, plus two obols. Now the reason for the exact prescription of this particular number is hard to give, unless it was thereby desired to laud the power of the number three, as being a perfect number by nature, the first of odd numbers, the beginning of quantity, and as containing in itself the first differences and the elements of every number mingled and blended together.

V. By thus fixing the thoughts of the people upon their relations with Heaven, Fabius made them more cheerful regarding the future. But he himself put all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that Heaven bestowed success by reason of wisdom and valour, and turned his attentions to Hannibal. He did not purpose to fight out the issue with him, but wished, having plenty of time, money, and men, to wear out and consume gradually his culminating vigour, his scanty resources, and his small army. Therefore, always pitching his camp in hilly regions so as to be out of reach of the enemy's cavalry, he hung threateningly over them. If they sat still, he too kept quiet; but if they moved, he would fetch a

¹ Ver sacrum (Livy xxii. 10).

καὶ περιφαινόμενος ἐκ διαστήματος ὅσον ἀκοντὶ μὴ βιασθῆναι μάχεσθαι καὶ φόβον ὡς μαχησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως αὐτῆς παρέχειν. οὕτω δὲ παράγων τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ πάντων κατεφρονεῖτο, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἤκουεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κομιδῇ δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄτολμος ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς

3 Ἀντίβου. μόνος δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῦ τὴν δεινότητα, καὶ τὸν τρόπον ᾧ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, συνιδὼν, καὶ διανοηθεὶς ὡς πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ βίᾳ κινητέος ἐστὶν εἰς μάχην ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ διαπέπρακται τὰ Καρχηδονίων, οἷς μὲν εἰσι κρείττους ὅπλοις χρήσασθαι μὴ δυναμένων, οἷς δὲ λείπονται σώμασι καὶ χρήμασιν ἐλαττωμένων καὶ δαπανωμένων· εἰς τὸ μηδέν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν στρατηγικῶν σφισμάτων καὶ παλαισμάτων τρεπόμενος, καὶ πειρώμενος ὥσπερ δεινὸς ἀθλητῆς λαβὴν ζητῶν, προσέβαλλε καὶ διετάραττε καὶ μετῆγε πολλαχόσε τὸν Φάβιον, ἐκστῆσαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας λογισμῶν βου- 177
λόμενος.

4 Τῷ δ' ἡ μὲν γνώμη¹ πίστιν ἔχουσα τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐν ἑαυτῇ βέβαιος εἰστήκει καὶ ἀμετάπτωτος· ἠνώχλει δ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππαρχος Μινούκιος φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως καὶ θρασυνόμενος καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στράτευμα μανικῆς φορᾶς καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένον· οἱ τὸν μὲν Φάβιον σκώπτοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες Ἀντίβου παιδαγωγοὶ· ἀπεκάλουν, τὸν δὲ Μινού-

¹ Τῷ δ' ἡ μὲν γνώμη with Bekker : Τῷ δὲ ἡ γνώμη.

circuit down from the heights and show himself just far enough away to avoid being forced to fight against his will, and yet near enough to make his very delays inspire the enemy with the fear that he was going to give battle at last. But for merely consuming time in this way he was generally despised by his countrymen, and roundly abused even in his own camp. Much more did his enemies think him a man of no courage and a mere nobody,—all except Hannibal. He, and he alone, comprehended the cleverness of his antagonist, and the style of warfare which he had adopted. He therefore made up his mind that by every possible device and constraint his foe must be induced to fight, or else the Carthaginians were undone, since they were unable to use their weapons, in which they were superior, but were slowly losing and expending to no purpose their men and moneys, in which they were inferior. He therefore resorted to every species of strategic trick and artifice, and tried them all, seeking, like a clever athlete, to get a hold upon his adversary. Now he would attack Fabius directly, now he would seek to throw his forces into confusion, and now he would try to lead him off every whither, in his desire to divorce him from his safe, defensive plans.

But the purpose of Fabius, confident of a favourable issue, remained consistent and unchangeable. He was annoyed, however, by his Master of Horse, Minucius, who was eager to fight all out of season, and over bold, and who sought to win a following in the army, which he filled with mad impetuosity and empty hopes. The soldiers railed at Fabius and scornfully called him Hannibal's pedagogue; but

κιοι μέγαν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄξιον ἡγοῦντο
 5 στρατηγόν· ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς φρόνημα καὶ θράσος
 ἀνειμένος ἐχλεύαζε μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων στρα-
 τοπεδεΐας, ὡς καλὰ θέατρα τοῦ δικτάτορος αἰ
 παρασκευαζομένου θεωρήσουσι πορθουμένην καὶ
 φλεγομένην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἡρώτα δὲ τοὺς φίλους
 τοῦ Φαβίου πότερον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄρας ἀνα-
 φέροι τὸν στρατὸν ὡς τῆς γῆς ἀπεγνωκώς, ἢ νέφη
 καὶ ὁμίχλας προβαλλόμενος ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς
 6 πολεμίους. ταῦτα τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον
 ἀπαγγελλόντων καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν τῷ κινδύνῳ
 λῦσαι παραινούντων, “Οὕτω μέντ’ ἄν,” ἔφη, “δει-
 λότερος ἢ νῦν εἶναι δοκῶ γενοίμην, εἰ σκώμματα
 καὶ λοιδορίας φοβηθεὶς ἐκπέσειμι τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ
 λογισμῶν. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος οὐκ
 αἰσχροὺν δέος, ἢ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ
 διαβολὰς καὶ ψόγους ἑκπληξίς οὐκ ἄξιον τηλι-
 καύτης ἀρχῆς ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ δουλεύοντος ὧν κρα-
 τεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ δεσπόζειν κακῶς φρονούντων προσ-
 ἡκει.”

VI. Μετὰ ταῦτα γίνεται διαμαρτία τοῦ Ἀντί-
 βου. βουλόμενος γὰρ ἀπασπᾶσαι τοῦ Φαβίου
 πορρωτέρῳ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ πεδίῳ ἐπιλα-
 βέσθαι προνομὰς ἐχόντων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁδηγοὺς
 μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθύς ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ Κασινάτον.
 οἱ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς διὰ βαρβαρισμὸν οὐκ ἔξακού-
 σαντες ἀκριβῶς, ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν
 φέροντες εἰς τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς Καμπανίας εἰς
 πόλιν Κασιλῖνον, ἣν τέμνει ῥέων διὰ μέσης ποτα-
 μός, ὃν Οὐουλτοῦρνον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.
 2 ἔστι δ’ ἡ χώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιστεφῆς ὄρεσιν·

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Minucius they considered a great man, and a general worthy of Rome. All the more therefore did he indulge his arrogance and boldness, and scoffed at their encampments on the heights, where, as he said, the dictator was always arranging beautiful theatres for their spectacle of Italy laid waste with fire and sword. And he would ask the friends of Fabius whether he was taking his army up into heaven, having lost all hope of earth, or whether he wrapped himself in clouds and mists merely to run away from the enemy. When his friends reported this to Fabius, and advised him to do away with the opprobrium by risking battle, "In that case, surely," said he, "I should be a greater coward than I am now held to be, if through fear of abusive jests I should abandon my fixed plans. And verily the fear which one exercises in behalf of his country is not shameful; but to be frightened from one's course by the opinions of men, and by their slanderous censures, that marks a man unworthy of so high an office as this, who makes himself the slave of the fools over whom he is in duty bound to be lord and master."

VI. After this, Hannibal fell into a grievous error. He wished to draw his army off some distance beyond Fabius, and occupy plains affording pasturage. He therefore ordered his native guides to conduct him, immediately after supper, into the district of Casinum. But they did not hear the name correctly, owing to his foreign way of pronouncing it, and promptly hurried his forces to the edge of Campania, into the city and district of Casilinum, through the midst of which flows a dividing river, called Vulturnus by the Romans. The region is otherwise encompassed by mountains, but a narrow defile opens

- αὐλὼν δ' ἀναπέπταται πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ἔνθα
τὰ ἔλη καταδίδωσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιχεομένου,
καὶ θίνας ἄμμου βαθείας ἔχει, καὶ τελευτᾷ πρὸς
αἰγιαλὸν κυματώδη καὶ δύσορμον. ἐνταῦθα κατα-
βαίνοντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιελθὼν ἐμπειρία τῶν
ὁδῶν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν διέξοδον ὀπλίτας τετρα-
κισχιλίους ἐπιστήσας ἐνέφραξε, τὸν δ' ἄλλον
στρατὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄκρων ἐν καλῷ καθίσας
διὰ τῶν ἐλαφροτάτων καὶ προχειροτάτων ἐνέβαλε
τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ συνετάραξεν
ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα, διέφθειρε δὲ περὶ ὀκτακο-
3 σίους. ἐκ τούτου βουλόμενος Ἀννίβας ἀπαγαγεῖν
τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τὴν διαμαρτίαν τοῦ τόπου
νοήσας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν τοὺς
ὁδηγούς, ἐκβιάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ προσ-
μάχεσθαι τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας ἀπεγί-
νωσκε. δυσθύμως δὲ καὶ περιφόβως διακειμένων
ἀπάντων, καὶ περιστάναι σφᾶς πανταχόθεν
ἀφύκτους ἡγουμένων ἀπορίας, ἔγνω δολοῦν ἀπάτη
τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε.
- 4 Βοῦς ὅσον δισχιλίας ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκέ-
λευσε συλλαβόντας ἀναδῆσαι δᾶδα πρὸς ἕαστον
κέρας ἢ λύγων ἢ φρυγάνων αὐτῶν φάκελον· εἴτα
νυκτός, ὅταν ἀρθῇ σημεῖον, ἀνάψαντας ἐλαύνειν
ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς παρὰ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς φυλα-
κὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκεύαζον
οἷς προσετέτακτο, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἀναστή-
σας στρατὸν ἤδη σκύτους ὄντος ἤγε σχολαίως.
- 5 αἱ δὲ βούες, ἄχρι μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὀλίγον ἦν καὶ περιέ-

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out towards the sea, in the vicinity of which it becomes marshy, from the overflow of the river, has high sand-heaps, and terminates in a beach where there is no anchorage because of the dashing waves. While Hannibal was descending into this valley, Fabius, taking advantage of his acquaintance with the ways, marched round him, and blocked up the narrow outlet with a detachment of four thousand heavy infantry. The rest of his army he posted to advantage on the remaining heights, while with the lightest and readiest of his troops he fell upon the enemy's rear-guard, threw their whole army into confusion, and slew about eight hundred of them. Hannibal now perceived the mistake in his position, and its peril, and crucified the native guides who were responsible for it. He wished to effect a retreat, but despaired of dislodging his enemies by direct attack from the passes of which they were masters. All his men, moreover, were disheartened and fearful, thinking that they were surrounded on all sides by difficulties from which there was no escape. He therefore determined to cheat his enemies by a trick, the nature of which was as follows.

He gave orders to take about two thousand of the cattle which they had captured, fasten to each of their horns a torch consisting of a bundle of withes or faggots, and then, in the night, at a given signal, to light the torches and drive the cattle towards the passes, along the defiles guarded by the enemy. As soon as his orders had been obeyed, he decamped with the rest of his army, in the darkness which had now come, and led it slowly along. The cattle, as long as the fire was slight, and consumed only the

καίε τὴν ὕλην, ἀτρέμα προεχώρουν ἐλαυνόμεναι
 πρὸς τὴν ὑπώρειαν, καὶ θαῦμα τοῖς καθορώσι
 νομεῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ βουκόλοις ἦσαν αἱ
 φλόγες ἄκροις ἐπιλάμπουσαι τοῖς κέρασιν, ὡς
 στρατοπέδου καθ' ἓνα κόσμον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων
 6 πολλῶν βαδίζοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πυρούμενον τὸ κέρας 178
 ἄχρι ῥίζης διέδωκε τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν, καὶ
 πρὸς τὸν πόνον διαφέρουσαι καὶ τινάσσουσαι τὰς
 κεφαλὰς ἀνεπίμπλαντο πολλῆς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων φλο-
 γός, οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τῇ τάξει τῆς πορείας, ἀλλ'
 ἔκφοβοι καὶ περιαλγείς οὔσαι δρόμῳ κατὰ τῶν
 ὁρῶν ἐφέροντο, λαμπόμεναι μὲν οὐρὰς ἄκρας καὶ
 μέτωπα, πολλὴν δὲ τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἧς ἔφευγον,
 7 ἀνάπτουσαι. δεινὸν οὖν ἦν θέαμα τοῖς παραφυλάτ-
 τουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Ῥωμαίοις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ φλό-
 γες ἐώκεσαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων θεόντων διαφερομέναις
 λαμπάσι, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺς καὶ
 φόβος, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλους ἐπιφέρεισθαι τῶν πολε-
 μίων σφίσι καὶ κυκλοῦσθαι πανταχόθεν ἡγου-
 μένων. διὸ μένειν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ
 μείζον ἀνεχώρουν στρατόπεδον προέμενοι τὰ στενὰ.
 καὶ¹ κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ καιροῦ προσμίξαντες οἱ ψιλοὶ
 τοῦ Ἀννίβου τὰς ὑπερβολὰς κατέσχον, ἡ δ' ἄλλη
 δύναμις ἤδη προσέβαινε ἀδεῶς πολλὴν καὶ
 βαρεῖαν ἐφελκομένη λείαν.

VII. Τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ συνέβη, μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς
 αἰσθέσθαι τὸν δόλον (φεύγουσαι γὰρ ἔνιαι τῶν
 βοῶν σποράδες ἦκον αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας), ἐνέδρας δὲ
 δεδιὼς σκοταίους ἀτρέμα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς
 ὅπλοις εἶχεν. ὡς δ' ἦν ἡμέρα, διώκων ἐξήπτετο

¹ καὶ bracketed by Coraës and Bekker.

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wood, went on quietly, as they were driven, towards the slopes of the mountains, and the shepherds and herdsmen who looked down from the heights were amazed at the flames gleaming on the tips of their horns. They thought an army was marching in close array by the light of many torches. But when the horns had been burned down to the roots, and the live flesh felt the flames, and the cattle, at the pain, shook and tossed their heads, and so covered one another with quantities of fire, then they kept no order in their going, but, in terror and anguish, went dashing down the mountains, their foreheads and tails ablaze, and setting fire also to much of the forest through which they fled. It was, of course, a fearful spectacle to the Romans guarding the passes. For the flames seemed to come from torches in the hands of men who were running hither and thither with them. They were therefore in great commotion and fear, believing that the enemy were advancing upon them from all quarters and surrounding them on every side. Therefore they had not the courage to hold their posts, but withdrew to the main body of their army on the heights, and abandoned the defiles. Instantly the light-armed troops of Hannibal came up and took possession of the passes, and the rest of his forces presently joined them without any fear, although heavily encumbered with much spoil.

VII. It was still night when Fabius became aware of the ruse, for some of the cattle, in their random flight, were captured by his men ; but he was afraid of ambushes in the darkness, and so kept still, with his forces under arms. When it was day, however, he pursued the enemy, and hung upon their rear-guard,

τῶν ἐσχάτων, καὶ συμπλοκαὶ περὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐγίνοντο καὶ θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς, ἕως παρ' Ἀννίβου τῶν ὀρειβατεῖν δεινῶν Ἰβήρων ἄνδρες ἐλαφροὶ καὶ ποδώκεις πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ στόματος εἰς βαρεῖς ὀπλίτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέβαλον, καὶ διαφθείραντες οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέστρεψαν τὸν Φάβιον. τότε δὴ μάλιστα κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ καταφρονηθῆναι συνέβη τὸν Φάβιον. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τόλμης ὑφιέμενος, ὡς γνώμη καὶ προνοία καταπολεμήσων τὸν Ἀννίβαν, αὐτὸς ἡττημένος τούτοις καὶ κατεστρατηγημένος ἐφαίνετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκκαῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἀννίβας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα καίειν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκείνων δ' ἀπεῖπεν ἄπτεσθαι μόνων, καὶ παρακατέστησε φυλακὴν οὐδὲν ἐῴσαν ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν ἐκεῖθεν. ταῦτα προσδιέβαλε τὸν Φάβιον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οἱ δήμαρχοι κατεβόων, ἐπάγοντος μάλιστα Μετιλίου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Φάβιον ἔχθραν, ἀλλ' οἰκείως ὣν Μινουκίου τοῦ ἱπάρχου τιμὴν ᾤετο καὶ δόξαν ἐκείνῳ φέρειν τὰς τούτου διαβολάς· ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δι' ὀργῆς οὐχ ἥκιστα μεμφομένη τὰς περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ὁμολογίας. ὁμολογήκεισαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα μὲν ἰνδρὶ λύεσθαι τῶν ἰλισκομένων, εἰ δὲ πλείους οἱ ἕτεροι γένοιτο, διδόναι δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸν κομιζόμενον·

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and there was hand-to-hand fighting over difficult ground, and much tumult and confusion. At last Hannibal sent back from his van a body of Spaniards, —nimble, light-footed men, and good mountaineers, who fell upon the heavy-armed Roman infantry, cut many of them to pieces,¹ and forced Fabius to turn back. And now more than ever was Fabius the mark for scorn and abuse. He had renounced all bold and open fighting, with the idea of conquering Hannibal by the exercise of superior judgment and foresight, and now he was clearly vanquished himself by these very qualities in his foe, and out-generalled.

Hannibal, moreover, wishing to inflame still more the wrath of the Romans against Fabius, on coming to his fields, gave orders to burn and destroy everything else, but had these spared, and these alone.² He also set a guard over them, which suffered no harm to be done them, and nothing to be taken from them. When this was reported at Rome, it brought more odium upon Fabius. The tribunes of the people also kept up a constant denunciation of him, chiefly at the instigation and behest of Metilius; not that Metilius hated Fabius, but he was a kinsman of Minucius, the Master of Horse, and thought that slander of the one meant honour and fame for the other. The senate also was in an angry mood, and found particular fault with Fabius for the terms he had made with Hannibal concerning the prisoners of war. They had agreed between them to exchange the captives man for man, and if either party had more than the other, the one who recovered these

¹ One thousand, according to Polybius, iii. 94.

² Cf. *Pericles*, xxxiii. 2.

πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας. ὥς οὖν γενομένης τῆς
κατ' ἄνδρα διαμείψεως εὐρέθησαν ὑπόλοιποι
'Ρωμαίων παρ' Ἀννίβα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακό-
σιοι, τούτων ἡ σύγκλητος ἔγνω τὰ λύτρα μὴ
πέμπειν, καὶ προσητιάτο τὸν Φάβιον ὥς οὐ πρε-
πόντως οὐδὲ λυσιτελῶς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ δειλίας πολε-
5 μίων ἄγρην γενομένους ἀνακομιζόμενον. ταῦτ'
ἀκούσας ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἔφερε πρῶως
τῶν πολιτῶν, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχων, διαψεύσα-
σθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ προέσθαι τοὺς πολίτας
οὐχ ὑπομένων, ἔπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν εἰς Ῥώμην κελεύ-
σας ἀποδόσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον εὐθὺς
ὥς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κομίζειν. ἀποδο-
μένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὰ χωρία καὶ ταχέως
ἐπανελθόντος ἀπέπεμψε τὰ λύτρα τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ
καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλαβε· καὶ πολλῶν
ἀποδιδόντων ὕστερον παρ' οὐδενὸς ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ'
ἀφῆκε πᾶσι.

VIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἱερέων καλούντων
αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τινὰς θυσίας παρέδωκε τῷ
Μινουκίῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχεσθαι 179
μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ μόνον ὥς
αὐτοκράτωρ διαγορεύσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραινέσεις
καὶ δεήσεις πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος· ὧν
ἐκεῖνος ἐλάχιστα φροντίσας εὐθὺς ἐνέκειτο τοῖς
2 πολεμίοις. καὶ ποτε παραφυλάξας τὸν Ἀν-
νίβαν τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν
ἀφεικότα, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ,
κατήραξεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα καὶ διέφθειρεν
οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ φόβον περιέστησε πᾶσιν ὥς
πολιορκησομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ συλλεγομένης

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was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas per man. Accordingly, after the exchange of man for man was made, it was found that Hannibal still had two hundred and forty Romans left. The senate decided not to send the ransom money for these, and found fault with Fabius for trying, in a manner unbecoming and unprofitable to the state, to recover men whose cowardice had made them a prey to the enemy. When Fabius heard of this, he bore the resentment of his fellow-citizens with equanimity, but since he had no money, and could not harbour the thought of cheating Hannibal and abandoning his countrymen to their fate, he sent his son to Rome with orders to sell his fields¹ and bring the money to him at once, at camp. The young man sold the estates and quickly made his return, whereupon Fabius sent the ransom money to Hannibal and got back the prisoners of war. Many of these afterwards offered to pay him the price of their ransom, but in no case did he take it, remitting it rather for all.

VIII. After this he was summoned to Rome by the priests to assist in sundry sacrifices, and put his forces in charge of Minucius, who was not to give battle, nor engage the enemy in any way. Such were not only the commands of Fabius as dictator, but also his reiterated counsels and requests. To all these Minucius gave little heed, and straightway began to threaten the enemy. One day he noticed that Hannibal had sent the larger part of his army off to forage, whereupon he attacked the residue, drove them headlong inside their trenches, slew many of them, and inspired them all with the fear of being held in siege by him. When Hannibal's

¹ Cf. chapter vii. 2.

αὐθις εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ τῆς δυνά-
μεως ἀσφαλῶς ἀνεχώρησεν, αὐτὸν τε μεγαλαυ-
χίας ἀμέτρου καὶ θράσους τὸ στρατιωτικὸν
3 ἐμπεπληκῶς. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου λόγος μείζων
διεφοίτησεν εἰς Ῥώμην. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ἀκούσας
ἔφη μᾶλλον τοῦ Μινουκίου φοβεῖσθαι τὴν εὐτυ-
χίαν ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν,¹ ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἦρτο καὶ μετὰ
χάρᾳς εἰς ἀγορὰν συνέτρεχε, καὶ Μειτίλιος ὁ
δήμαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καταστὰς ἐδημηγόρει
μεγαλύνων τὸν Μινούκιον, τοῦ δὲ Φαβίου κατη-
γορῶν οὐ μαλακίαν οὐδ' ἀνανδρίαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη
4 προδοσίαν, συναιτιώμενος ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ πρώτους ἐπαγαγέ-
σθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ
δήμου, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εὐθύς εἰς μοναρχίαν
ἀνυπεύθυνον, ἢ διατρίβουσα τὰς πράξεις ἴδρυσιν
Ἀννίβᾳ παρέξει καὶ χρόνον αὐθις ἐκ Λιβύης
ἐτέραν δύναμιν προσγενέσθαι ὥς κρατοῦντι τῆς
Ἰταλίας.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Φάβιος προσελθὼν ἀπολογεῖ-
σθαι μὲν οὐδ' ἐμέλλησε πρὸς τὸν δήμαρχον, ἔφη
δὲ τάχιστα τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας γενέ-
σθαι, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα βαδιεῖσθαι τῷ
Μινουκίῳ δίκην ἐπιθήσων, ὅτι κωλύσαντος αὐτοῦ
τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέβαλε, θόρυβος διῆξε τοῦ δήμου
πολύς, ὥς κινδυνεύσοντος τοῦ Μινουκίου. καὶ γὰρ
εἶρξαι τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ θανατῶσαι πρὸ δίκης
ἔξεστι· καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ πολλῆς
πραότητος κεκινημένον ᾤοντο βαρὺν εἶναι καὶ

¹ ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν supplied by Sintenis, followed by Bekker.
Cf. *Morals*, p. 195 d. *Secunda se magis quam adversa*
timere, *Livy*, xxii. 25.

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forces were reunited in their camp, Minucius effected a safe retreat, thereby filling himself with measureless boastfulness and his soldiery with boldness. An exaggerated version of the affair speedily made its way to Rome, and Fabius, when he heard it, said he was more afraid of the success of Minucius than he would be of his failure. But the people were exalted in spirit and joyfully ran to a meeting in the forum. There Metilius their tribune mounted the rostra and harangued them, extolling Minucius, but denouncing Fabius, not as a weakling merely, nor yet as a coward, but actually as a traitor. He also included in his accusations the ablest and foremost men of the state besides. They had brought on the war at the outset, he said, in order to crush the people, and had at once flung the city into the hands of a man with sole and absolute authority, that he might, by his dilatory work, give Hannibal an assured position and time to reinforce himself with another army from Libya, on the plea that he had Italy in his power.

IX. Then Fabius came forward to speak, but wasted no time on a defence of himself against the tribune. He simply said that the sacrifices and sacred rites must be performed as quickly as possible, so that he might proceed to the army and punish Minucius for engaging the enemy contrary to his orders. Thereupon a great commotion spread swiftly through the people; they realized the peril that threatened Minucius. For the dictator has the power to imprison and put to death without trial, and they thought that the wrath of Fabius, provoked in a man of his great gentleness, would be severe

- 2 δυσπαραίτητον. ὅθεν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καταδείσαντες ἡσυχίαν ἤγουν· ὁ δὲ Μετίλιος ἔχων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἄδειαν (μόνη γὰρ αὕτη δικτάτορος αἰρεθέντος ἢ ἀρχὴ τὸ κράτος οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν, ἀλλὰ μένει τῶν ἄλλων καταλυθεισῶν), ἐνέκειτο τῷ δήμῳ πολὺς, μὴ προέσθαι δεόμενος τὸν Μινούκιον μηδ' ἐᾶσαι παθεῖν ἅ Μάλλιος Τουρκουᾶτος ἔδρασε τὸν υἱόν, ἀριστεύσαντος καὶ στεφανωθέντος ἀποκόψας πελέκει τὸν τράχηλον, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ σώζειν ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ πράγματα.
- 3 Τοιούτοις λόγοις κινηθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν μὲν Φάβιον οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀναγκάσαι καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, καίπερ ἄδοξοῦντα, τὸν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς στρατηγίας ὁμότιμον ὄντα διέπειν τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας τῷ δικτάτορι, πρᾶγμα μὴ πρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγονός, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον αὖθις γενόμενον μετὰ
- 4 τὴν ἐν Κάνναις ἀτυχίαν. καὶ γὰρ τότε ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων Μάρκος ἦν Ἰούνιος δικτάτωρ, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀναπληρῶσαι δεῆσαν, ἅτε δὴ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συγκλητικῶν ἀπολωλότων, ἕτερον εἴλοντο δικτάτορα Φάβιον Βουτεῶνα. πλὴν οὗτος μὲν, ἐπεὶ προῆλθε καὶ κατέλεξε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ συνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλήν, αὐθημερὸν ἀφείς τοὺς ῥαβδούχους καὶ διαφυγὼν τοὺς προάγοντας, εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἐμβαλὼν καὶ καταμίξας ἑαυτὸν ἤδη τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ διοικῶν καὶ πραγματευόμενος ὥσπερ ἰδιώτης ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνεστρέφετο.

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and implacable. Wherefore they were all terrified and held their peace, excepting only Metilius. He enjoyed immunity of person as tribune of the people (for this is the only magistracy which is not robbed of its power by the election of a dictator; it abides when the rest are abolished¹), and vehemently charged and prayed the people not to abandon Minucius, nor permit him to suffer the fate which Manlius Torquatus inflicted upon his son, whom he beheaded although crowned with laurel for the greatest prowess,² but to strip Fabius of his tyrant's power and entrust the state to one who was able and willing to save it.

The rabble were moved by such utterances. They did not dare to force Fabius to resign his sovereignty, unpopular as he was, but they voted that Minucius should have an equal share in the command, and should conduct the war with the same powers as the dictator,—a thing which had not happened before in Rome. A little while afterwards, it is true, it happened again, namely, after the disaster at Cannae.³ At that time Marcus Junius the dictator was in the field, and at home it became necessary that the senate should be filled up, since many senators had perished in the battle. They therefore elected Fabius Buteo a second dictator. But he, after acting in that capacity and choosing the men to fill up the senate, at once dismissed his lictors, eluded his escort, plunged into the crowd, and straightway went up and down the forum arranging some business matter of his own and engaging in affairs like a private citizen.

¹ See Polybius, iii. 87.

² The son had disobeyed consular orders and engaged in single combat with a Latin, in the great battle at the foot of Vesuvius, 340 B.C.

³ Cf. chapter xvi.

X. Τὸν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τῷ δικτάτορι πράξεις ἀποδείξαντες ὥντο κεκολοῦσθαι καὶ γεγονέναι ταπεινὸν παντάπασιν ἐκείνῳ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ἠγείτο τὴν ἐκείνων ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Διογένης ὁ σοφός, εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς αὐτόν· “Οὗτοι σοῦ καταγελῶσιν,” “Ἄλλ' ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “οὐ καταγελῶμαι,” μόνους ἠγούμενος καταγελᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
2 ταραττομένους, οὕτω Φάβιος ἔφερεν ἀπαθῶς καὶ ῥαδίως ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα, συμβαλλόμενος ἀπόδειξιν τῶν φιλοσόφων τοῖς ἀξιούσι μήτε ὑβρίζεσθαι μήτε ἀτιμῶσθαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σπουδαῖον. ἡνία δ' αὐτόν ἢ τῶν πολλῶν ἀβουλία διὰ τὰ κοινά, δεδωκότων ἀφορμὰς ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ὑγαινούση φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
3 μον. καὶ δεδοικῶς μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκμανεῖς ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης καὶ ὄγκου φθάσῃ τι κακὸν ἀπεργασάμενος, λαθὼν ἅπαντας ἐξῆλθε· καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Μινούκιον οὐκέτι καθεκτόν, ἀλλὰ βαρὺν καὶ τετυφωμένον καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦντα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐ συνεχώρησε, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διενείματο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς μέρους μόνος ἄρξων βέλτιον
4 ἢ πάντων παρὰ μέρος. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τέταρτον αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐκείνῳ παρέδωκεν, ἐπίσης καὶ τῶν συμμαχικῶν διανεμηθέντων. σεμνυνομένου δὲ τοῦ Μινουκίου καὶ χαίροντος ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ὑφεῖσθαι καὶ προπεπηλακίσθαι δι' αὐτόν, ὑπεμίμνησκεν ὁ Φάβιος ὡς οὐκ ὄντος μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς Φάβιον, ἀλλ',

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X. Now that they had invested Minucius with the same powers as the dictator, the people supposed that the latter would feel shorn of strength and altogether humble, but they did not estimate the man aright. For he did not regard their mistake as his own calamity, but was like Diogenes the wise man, who, when some one said to him, "These folk are ridiculing you," said, "But I am not ridiculed." He held that only those are ridiculed who are confounded by such treatment and yield their ground. So Fabius endured the situation calmly and easily, so far as it affected himself, thereby confirming the axiom of philosophy that a sincerely good man can neither be insulted nor dishonoured. But because it affected the state, he was distressed by the folly of the multitude. They had given opportunities to a man with a diseased military ambition, and fearful lest this man, utterly crazed by his empty glory and prestige, should bring about some great disaster before he could be checked, he set out in all secrecy from the city. When he reached the camp, he found that Minucius was no longer to be endured. He was harsh in his manner, puffed up with conceit, and demanded the sole command in his due turn. This Fabius would not grant, feeling that the sole command of a part of the army was better than the command of the whole in his turn. The first and fourth legions he therefore took himself, and gave the second and third to Minucius, the allied forces also being equally divided between them. When Minucius put on lofty airs and exulted because the majesty of the highest and greatest office in the state had been lowered and insulted on his account, Fabius reminded him that his contention was not

5 εἰ σωφρονεῖ, πρὸς Ἀννίβαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φιλονεικεῖ, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τοῦ νενικημένου καὶ καθυβρισμένου παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ τετιμημένος καὶ νενικηκὼς οὐ φανεῖται μᾶλλον ὀλιγωρῶν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας.

XI. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρωνεῖαν ἡγεῖτο γεροντικήν· παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποκληρωθεῖσαν δύναμιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, οὐδὲν ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐφεδρεύοντος. ἦν δὲ λόφος κατὰ μέσον καταληφθῆναι μὲν οὐ χαλεπός, ὄχυρός δὲ καταληφθεὶς στρατοπέδῳ καὶ διαρκὴς εἰς ἅπαντα. τὸ δὲ πέριξ πεδῖον ὀφθῆναι μὲν ἄπωθεν ὁμαλὸν διὰ ψιλότητα καὶ λείον, ἔχον δέ τινας οὐ μεγάλας
2 τάφρους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κοιλότητας ἄλλας. διὸ καὶ τὸν λόφον ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου κρύφα κατασχεῖν παρὸν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, ἀλλ' ἀπέλιπε μάχης ἐν μέσῳ πρόφασιν. ὥς δ' εἶδε κεχωρισμένον τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν Μινούκιον, νυκτὸς μὲν εἰς τὰς τάφρους καὶ τὰς κοιλότητας κατέσπειρε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινας, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φανερώς ἔπεμψεν οὐ πολλοὺς καταληψομένους τὸν λόφον, ὥς ἐπαγάγοιτο συμπεσεῖν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τὸν Μινούκιον.

3 Ὁ δὲ καὶ συνέβη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστειλε τὴν κούφην στρατιάν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἵππεῖς, τέλος

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with Fabius, but rather, were he wise, with Hannibal. If, however, he was bent on rivalry with his colleague in office, he must see to it that the man who had been triumphantly honoured by his fellow-citizens should not be proved more careless of their salvation and safety than the man who had been ingloriously outraged by them.

XI. But Minucius regarded all this as an old man's dissimulation, and taking the forces allotted to him, went into camp apart by himself,¹ while Hannibal, not unaware of what was going on, kept a watchful eye on everything. Now there was a hill between him and the Romans which could be occupied with no difficulty, and which, if occupied, would be a strong site for a camp and in every way sufficient. The plain round about, when viewed from a distance, was perfectly smooth and level, but really had sundry small ditches and other hollow places in it. For this reason, though it would have been very easy for him to get possession of the hill by stealth, Hannibal had not cared to do so, but had left it standing between the two armies in the hope that it might bring on a battle. But when he saw Minucius separated from Fabius, in the night he scattered bodies of his soldiers among the ditches and hollows,² and at break of day, with no attempt at concealment, sent a few to occupy the hill, that he might seduce Minucius into an engagement for it.

And this actually came to pass. First Minucius sent out his light-armed troops, then his horsemen,

¹ A mile and a half from Fabius, according to Polybius, iii. 103.

² Five thousand horsemen and footmen, according to Livy, xxii. 28; five thousand light-armed and other infantry, and five hundred cavalry, according to Polybius, iii. 104.

δ' ὁρῶν τὸν Ἀννίβαν παραβοηθοῦντα τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ
 λόφου πάσῃ κατέβαινε τῇ δυνάμει συντεταγμένους.
 καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν θέμενος ἡμύνετο τοὺς ἀπὸ
 τοῦ λόφου βάλλοντας, συμπλεκόμενος καὶ ἴσα
 φερόμενος, ἄχρι οὗ καλῶς ἡπατημένον ὁρῶν ὁ
 Ἀννίβας καὶ γυμνὰ παρέχοντα τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι
 4 τὰ νῶτα τὸ σημεῖον αἶρει. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο πολ-
 λαχόθεν ἐξανισταμένων ἅμα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς
 προσφερομένων καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀποκτινύν-
 των ἀδιήγητος κατεῖχε ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία τοὺς
 Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Μινουκίου τὸ θράσος
 κατακέκλαστο, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ἄλλοτε τῶν ἡγε-
 μόνων διεπύπταινεν, οὐδενὸς ἐν χώρᾳ μένειν πολ-
 μῶνιτος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγὴν ὠθουμένων οὐ σωτήριον.
 οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες ἤδη κρατοῦντες κύκλῳ περιήλουν
 τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκιδναμένους ἔκτεινον.

XII. Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ κακῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
 ὄντων οὐκ ἔλαθεν ὁ κίνδυνος τὸν Φάβιον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὸ μέλλον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤδη προειληφὼς τήν τε
 δύναμιν συντεταγμένην εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ
 τὰ πραττόμενα γινώσκειν ἐφρόντιζεν οὐ δι' ἀγ- 181
 γέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔχων κατασκοπὴν πρὸ τοῦ
 χάρακος. ὡς οὖν κατεῖδε κυκλοῦμενον καὶ ταρατ-
 τόμενον τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κραυγὴν προσέπιπτεν
 οὐ μενόντων, ἀλλ' ἤδη πεφοβημένων καὶ τρεπο-
 2 μένων, μηρόν τε πληξάμενος καὶ στενάξας μέγα
 πρὸς μὲν τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν. “ὦ Ἡράκλεις,
 ὡς τάχιον μὲν ἢ ἐγὼ προσεδόκων, βράδιον δ' ἢ
 αὐτὸς ἔσπευδε Μινούκιος ἑαυτὸν ἀπολώλεκε,” τὰς

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and finally, when he saw Hannibal coming to the support of his troops on the hill, he descended into the plain with all his forces in battle array. In a fierce battle he sustained the discharge of missiles from the hill, coming to close quarters with the enemy there and holding his advantage, until Hannibal, seeing that his enemy was happily deceived and was exposing the rear of his line of battle to the troops who had been placed in ambush, raised the signal. At this his men rose up on all sides, attacked with loud cries, and slew their foes who were in the rear ranks. Then indescribable confusion and fright took possession of the Romans. Minucius himself felt all his courage shattered, and looked anxiously now to one and now to another of his commanders, no one of whom dared to hold his ground, nay, all urged their men to flight, and a fatal flight too. For the Numidians, now masters of the situation, galloped round the plain and slew them as they scattered themselves about.

XII. Now that the Romans were in such an evil pass, Fabius was not unaware of their peril. He had anticipated the result, as it would seem, and had his forces drawn up under arms, wisely learning the progress of events not from messengers, but by his own observations in front of his camp. Accordingly, when he saw the army of Minucius surrounded and confounded, and when their cries, as they fell upon his ears, showed him that they no longer stood their ground, but were already panic-stricken and routed, he smote his thigh, and with a deep groan said to the bystanders: "Hercules! how much sooner than I expected, but later than his own rash eagerness demanded, has Minucius destroyed himself!" Then

δὲ σημαίῃς ἐκφέρειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας ἀνεβόησε· “Νῦν τις, ὦ στρατιῶται, Μάρκου Μινουκίου μεμνημένος ἐπειγέσθω· λαμπρὸς γάρ ἄνὴρ καὶ φιλόπατρις. εἰ δέ τι σπεύδων ἐξελάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἤμαρτεν, αὐθις αἰτιασόμεθα.”

- 3 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεῖς τρέπεται καὶ διασκίδνησι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιελαύνοντας Νομάδας· εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ κατὰ νότου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντας ἐχώρει καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἔκτεινεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποί,¹ πρὶν ἀποληφθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι περιπετεῖς οἷς αὐτοὶ τοὺς
- 4 Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν, ἐγκλίναντες ἔφυγον. ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Ἀντίβας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸν Φάβιον εὐρώστως παρ' ἡλικίαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὠθούμενον ἄνω πρὸς τὸν Μινούκιον εἰς τὸν λόφον, ἐπέσχε τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας ἀνάκλησιν ἀπῆγγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀσμένως καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποτρεπομένων. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀπιδόντα περὶ τοῦ Φαβίου πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον μετὰ παιδιᾶς· “οὐκ ἐγὼ μέντοι προὔλεγον ὑμῖν πολλάκις τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ταύτην καθημένην νεφέλην, ὅτι μετὰ ζάλης ποτὲ καὶ καταιγίδων ὄμβρον ἐκρήξει;”

XIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Φάβιος μὲν ὅσους ἔκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσας ἀνεχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον οὐδ' ἐπαχθὲς εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος· Μινούκιος δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας, “Ἄνδρες,” ἔφη, “συστρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν ἀμαρτεῖν μηδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις μεῖζον ἢ

¹ λοιποὶ MSS., Sintenis¹, Coraës, Bekker : πλείστοι.

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ordering the standards to be swiftly advanced and the army to follow, he called out with a loud voice : " Now, my soldiers, let every man be mindful of Marcus Minucius and press on to his aid ; for he is a brilliant man, and a lover of his country. And if his ardent desire to drive away the enemy has led him into any error, we will charge him with it later."

Well then, as soon as he appeared upon the scene, he routed and dispersed the Numidians who were galloping about in the plain. Then he made against those who were attacking the rear of the Romans under Minucius, and slew those whom he encountered. But the rest of them, ere they were cut off and surrounded in their own turn, as the Romans had been by them, gave way and fled. Then Hannibal, seeing the turn affairs had taken, and Fabius, with a vigour beyond his years, ploughing his way through the combatants up to Minucius on the hill, put an end to the battle, signalled a retreat, and led his Carthaginians back to their camp, the Romans also being glad of a respite. It is said that as Hannibal withdrew, he addressed to his friends some such pleasantries as this about Fabius : " Verily, did I not often prophesy to you that the cloud which we saw hovering above the heights would one day burst upon us in a drenching and furious storm ?"

XIII. After the battle, Fabius despoiled all of the enemy whom he had slain, and withdrew to his camp, without indulging in a single haughty or invidious word about his colleague. And Minucius, assembling his own army, said to them : " Fellow-soldiers, to avoid all mistakes in the conduct of great enter-

κατ' ἄνθρωπόν ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἁμαρτόντα χρήσασθαι τοῖς πταίσμασι διδάγμασι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνδρὸς
 2 ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογῶ μικρὰ μεμφόμενος τὴν τύχην περὶ μεζόνων ἐπαινεῖν. ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἡσθόμην χρόνον τοσοῦτον, ἡμέρας μέρει μικρῷ πεπαίδευμαι, γνοὺς ἑμαυτὸν οὐκ ἄρχειν ἐτέρων δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἐτέρου δεόμενον καὶ φιλοτιμούμενον ¹ νικᾶν ὑφ' ὧν ἡττᾶσθαι κύλλιον. ὑμῖν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἄρχων ὁ δικτάτωρ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνον εὐχαριστίας αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ἔσομαι, πρῶτον ἑμαυτὸν εὐπειθῆ καὶ ποιῶντα τὸ κελευόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεχόμενος."

3 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς ἄρασθαι κελεύσας καὶ πάντα ἀκολουθεῖν, ἦγε πρὸς τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Φαβίου. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐντὸς ἐβύδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνήν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν καὶ διαπορεῖν πάντας. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου θέμενος ἔμπροσθεν τὰς σημαίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνον πατέρα μεγάλῃ φωνῇ, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοὺς στρατιώτας πάτρωνας ἡσπάζοντο. τοῦτο δ' ἔστι τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις προσφώνημα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπε-
 4 λευθερώσαντας. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ὁ Μινούκιος εἶπε· " Δύο νίκας, ὦ δίκτατορ, τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ νενίκηκας, ἀνδρεία μὲν Ἀννίβαν, εὐβουλία δὲ καὶ χρηστότητι τὸν συνάρχοντα· καὶ δι' ἧς μὲν σέσωκας ἡμᾶς, δι' ἧς δὲ πεπαίδευκας, ἡττωμένους αἰσχρὰν μὲν ἡτταν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καλὴν δὲ καὶ
 5 σωτήριον ὑπὸ σοῦ. πατέρα δὴ σε χρηστὸν ²

¹ φιλοτιμούμενον the MSS. have μὴ φιλοτιμούμενον, which Coraës defends.

² χρηστὸν bracketed by Bekker.

prises is beyond man's powers ; but when a mistake has once been made, to use his reverses as lessons for the future is the part of a brave and sensible man. I therefore confess that while I have some slight cause of complaint against fortune, I have larger grounds for praising her. For what I could not learn in all the time that preceded it, I have been taught in the brief space of a single day, and I now perceive that I am not able to command others myself, but need to be under the command of another, and that I have all the while been ambitious to prevail over men of whom to be outdone were better. Now in all other matters the dictator is your leader, but in the rendering of thanks to him I myself will take the lead, and will show myself first in following his advice and doing his bidding."

After these words, he ordered the eagles to be raised and all to follow them, and led the way to the camp of Fabius. When he had entered this, he proceeded to the general's tent, while all were lost in wonder. When Fabius came forth, Minucius had the standards planted in front of him, and addressed him with a loud voice as Father, while his soldiers greeted the soldiers of Fabius as Patrons, the name by which freedmen address those who have set them free. When quiet prevailed, Minucius said: "Dictator, you have on this day won two victories, one over Hannibal through your valour, and one over your colleague through your wisdom and kindness. By the first you saved our lives, and by the second you taught us a great lesson, vanquished as we were by our enemy to our shame, and by you to our honour and safety. I call you by the

προσαγορεύω, τιμιωτέραν οὐκ ἔχων προσηγορίαν, ἐπεὶ τῆς γε τοῦ τεκόντος χάριτος μείζων ἢ παρὰ σοῦ χάρις αὕτη. ἐγεννήθην μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου μόνος, σῶζομαι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ μετὰ τοσούτων." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ περιβαλὼν τὸν Φάβιον ἡσπάζετο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἦν ὁρᾶν πράττοντας· ἐνεφύοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατεφίλουν, ὥστε μεστὸν εἶναι χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων ἡδίστων τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XIV. Ἐκ τούτου Φάβιος μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὕπατοι δ' αὖθις ἀπεδείκνυντο. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφύλαξαν ἦν ἐκείνος ιδέαν τοῦ πολέμου κατέστησε, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως φεύγοντες πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις ἐπιβοηθοῦντες καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις κωλύοντες. Τερέντιος δὲ Βάρρων εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν προαχθεὶς ἀπὸ γένους ἀσήμου, βίου δὲ διὰ δημοκοπίαν καὶ προπέτειαν ἐπισήμου, δῆλος ἦν εὐθύς ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητι τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀναρρίψων κύβον.

2 ἐβόα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μενεῖν¹ τὸν πόλεμον ἄχρι οὗ Φαβίοις χρήται στρατηγοῖς ἢ πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὄψεσθαι τε καὶ νικήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις συνῆγε καὶ κατέγραφε δύναμιν τηλικαύτην, ἥλικη πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐχρήσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι. μυριάδες γὰρ ἐννέα δισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν δέουσαι συνετάχθησαν εἰς τὴν μάχην, μέγα δέος Φαβίῳ καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαίων· οὐ γὰρ ἤλπιζον ἔξειν ἀναφορὰν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοσαύτῃ σφαλεῖσαν ἡλικία.

¹ μενεῖν Sintenis², after Coraës; MSS., Sintenis¹, and Bekker, μένειν.

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excellent name of Father, because there is no more honourable name which I can use ; and yet a father's kindness is not so great as this kindness bestowed by you. My father did but beget me, while to you I owe not only my own salvation, but also that of all these men of mine." So saying, he embraced Fabius and kissed him, and the soldiers on both sides in like manner embraced and kissed each other, so that the camp was filled with joy and tears of rejoicing.

XIV. After this, Fabius laid down his office, and consuls were again appointed. The first of these maintained the style of warfare which Fabius had ordained. They avoided a pitched battle with Hannibal, but gave aid and succour to their allies, and prevented their falling away. But when Terentius Varro was elevated to the consulship, a man whose birth was obscure and whose life was conspicuous for servile flattery of the people and for rashness, it was clear that in his inexperience and temerity he would stake the entire issue upon the hazard of a single throw. For he used to shout in the assemblies that the war would continue as long as the city employed men like Fabius as its generals ; but that he himself would conquer the enemy the very day he saw them. And not only did he make such speeches, but he also assembled and enrolled a larger force than the Romans had ever employed against any enemy. Eighty-eight thousand men were arrayed for battle, to the great terror of Fabius and all sensible Romans. For they thought their city could not recover if she lost so many men in the prime of life.

- 3 Διὸ καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τερεντίου Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον, ἄνδρα πολλῶν πολέμων ἔμπειρον, οὐκ ἄρεστόν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ καταπλήγῃ ἐκ τινος καταδίκης πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτῷ γεγεννημένης, ἀνίστη καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας, διδάσκων ὥς οὐ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς Τερέντιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσοιτο· σπεύδειν γὰρ μάχην γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς δυνάμεως, τὸν δ'
- 4 αἰσθανόμενον τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσθενείας. “ Ἐγὼ δ’,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ Παῦλε, Τερεντίου πιστεῦεσθαι δικαιότερός εἰμι περὶ τῶν Ἀννίβαν πραγμάτων διαβεβαιούμενος ὥς, εἰ μηδεὶς αὐτῷ μαχεῖται τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ἀπολείται μένων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ φεύγων ἄπεισιν, ὃ γε καὶ νῦν νικᾷν καὶ κρατεῖν δοκοῦντι τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς προσκεχώρηκε, τῆς δ’ οἰκοθεν δυνάμεως οὐδ’ ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα πάννυ
- 5 περίεστι.” πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεται τὸν Παῦλον εἰπεῖν· “ Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Φάβιε, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ σκοποῦντι κρεῖττόν ἐστι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποπεσεῖν δόρασιν ἢ πάλιν ταῖς ψήφοις τῶν πολιτῶν· εἰ δ’ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ δημόσια πράγματα, πειράσομαι μᾶλλον σοὶ δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι στρατηγὸς ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ τάναντία βιαζομένοις.” ταύτην ἔχων τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

XV. Ἀλλ’ ὁ Τερέντιος ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ παρ’ ἡμέραν ἄρχειν, καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ παραστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ τὸν Λυφίδιον ποταμὸν καὶ τὰς λεγομένας Κάννας, ἃμ’ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς μάχης σημείου ἐξέθηκεν (ἔστι δὲ χιτῶν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος), ὥστε καὶ

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Now, Paulus Aemilius was the colleague of Terentius, a man of experience in many wars, but not acceptable to the people, and ~~crushed in spirit by~~ ^{by a fine} which they had imposed upon him. Therefore Fabius tried to rouse and encourage him to restrain the madness of his colleague, showing him that he must struggle to save his country not so much from Hannibal as from Terentius. The latter, he said, was eager to fight because he did not see where his strength lay; the former, because he saw his own weakness. "But," said he, "it is to me, O Paulus, that more credence should be given in regard to Hannibal's affairs, and I solemnly assure you that, if no one shall give him battle this year, the man will remain in Italy only to perish, or will leave it in flight, since even now, when he is thought to be victorious and to be master of the country, not one of his enemies has come over to his side, and not even so much as the third part of the force which he brought from home is still left." To this Paulus is said to have answered: "If I consult my own interests, O Fabius, it is better for me to encounter the spears of the enemy than to face again the votes of my fellow-citizens. But if the state is in such a pass, I will try to be a good general in your opinion, rather than in that of all the rest who so forcibly oppose you." With this determination, Paulus went forth to the war.

XV. But Terentius, insisting on ~~his right~~ to command a day in turn, and then encamping over against Hannibal by the river Aufidus and the town called Cannae, at break of day put out the signal for battle,—a scarlet tunic displayed above the general's tent. At this even the Carthaginians were con-

τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαταραχθῆναι, τήν
 τε τόλμαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατο-
 πέδου πλήθος ὀρώοντας, αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἡμισυ μέρος
 2 ὄντας. Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι
 κελεύσας, αὐτὸς ἱππότης μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπὲρ λόφου
 τινὸς μαλακοῦ κατεσκύπει τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη
 καθισταμένους εἰς τάξιν. εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῶν
 περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρὸς ἰσοτίμου, τοῦνομα Γίσκωνος,
 ὡς θαυμαστὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται τὸ πλήθος τῶν
 πολεμίων, συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον ὃ Ἀννίβας,
 “Ἔτερον,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Γίσκων, λέληθέ σε τούτου
 θαυμασιώτερον.” ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Γίσκωνος, τὸ
 ποῖον; “Ὅτι,” ἔφη, “τούτων ὄντων τοσούτων
 3 οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς Γίσκων καλεῖται.” γενομένου
 δὲ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ σκώμματος ἐμπίπτει
 γέλως πᾶσι, καὶ κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοῖς 183
 ἀπαντῶσιν αἰὲ τὸ πεπαιγμένον ἀπαγγέλλοντες,
 ὥστε διὰ πολλῶν πολὺν εἶναι¹ τὸν γέλωτα καὶ
 μὴδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς δύνασθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν
 Ἀννίβαν. τοῦτο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἰδοῦσι θάρσος
 παράσθη, λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ πολλοῦ καὶ ἰσχυροῦ
 τοῦ καταφρονούντος ἐπιέναι γελᾶν οὕτως καὶ
 παίζειν τῷ στρατηγῷ παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον.

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ στρατηγήμασιν ἐχρή-
 σατο, πρώτῳ μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, ποιησά-
 μενος κατὰ νότου τὸν ἄνεμον· πρηστῆρι γὰρ
 ἐοικῶς φλέγοντι κατερρήγνυτο, καὶ τραχὺν ἐκ
 πεδίων ὑφάμμων καὶ ἀναπεπταμένων αἶρων κο-
 νιορτὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐώθει, καὶ προσέβαλλε τοῖς
 προσώποις ἀποστρεφομένοις καὶ συνταραττο-

¹ εἶναι Bekker corrects, after Schaefer, to ἰέναι, spread.

founded at first, seeing the boldness of the Roman general and the number of his army, which was more than double their own. But Hannibal ordered his forces to arm for battle, while he himself, with a few companions, rode to the top of a gently sloping ridge, from which he watched his enemies as they formed in battle array. When one of his companions, named Gisco, a man of his own rank, remarked that the number of the enemy amazed him, Hannibal put on a serious look and said: "Gisco, another thing has escaped your notice which is more amazing still." And when Gisco asked what it was, "It is the fact," said he, "that in all this multitude there is no one who is called Gisco." The jest took them all by surprise and set them laughing, and as they made their way down from the ridge, they reported the pleasantry to all who met them, so that great numbers were laughing heartily, and Hannibal's escort could not even recover themselves. The sight of this infused courage into the Carthaginians. They reasoned that their general must have a mighty contempt for the enemy if he laughed and jested so in the presence of danger.

XVI. In the battle Hannibal practiced a double strategy. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground to put the wind at his back. This wind came down like a fiery hurricane, and raised a huge cloud of dust from the exposed and sandy plains and drove it over the Carthaginian lines hard into the faces of the Romans, who turned away

- 2 μένοισι. δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν τάξιν· ὃ γὰρ ἦν ἰσχυρότατον αὐτῷ καὶ μαχιμώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκατέρωσε τοῦ μέσου τάξας, τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ συνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων, ἐμβόλῳ τούτῳ προέχοντι πολὺ τῆς ἄλλης φύλαγγος χρησόμενος· εἴρητο δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις, ὅταν τούτους διακόψαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸ εἶκον ἐκφερομένου τοῦ μέσου καὶ κύλπον λαμβάνοντος ἐντὸς γένωνται τῆς φύλαγγος, ὑξέως ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐμβαλεῖν τε πλαγίοις καὶ περι-
- 3 πτύσσειν ὅπισθεν συγκλείοντας. ὃ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τὸν πλεῖστον ἀπεργάσασθαι φύνον. ὥς γὰρ ἐνέδωκε τὸ μέσον καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξαντο διώκοντας, ἡ δὲ φύλαγξ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μεταβαλοῦσα τὸ σχῆμα μνηοειδῆς ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οἱ ταξίάρχοι ταχὺ τοὺς μὲν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίναντες προσέπεσον κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, πάντας, ὅσοι μὴ τὴν κύκλωσιν ὑπεκκλίναντες ἔφθασαν, ἐν μέσῳ κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν.
- 4 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἵππεῦσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμπτωμα παράλογον γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Παῦλον, ὥς ἔοικε, τρωθεὶς ὁ ἵππος ἀπεσεῖσατο, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον πεζὸς τῷ ὑπιάτῳ προσήμυνε. τοῦτο δ' οἱ ἵππεῖς ἰδόντες, ὥς παραγγέλματος κοινοῦ δεδομένου, πάντες ἀποπηδήσαντες πεζοὶ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἰδὼν δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας, “Τοῦτ’,” ἔφη, “μᾶλλον ἡβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον.”
- 5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας ἀπηγγέλκασιν.

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to avoid it, and so fell into confusion. In the second place, he formed his troops as follows: the sturdiest and most warlike part of his force he stationed on either side of the centre, and manned the centre itself with his poorest soldiers, intending to use this as a wedge jutting out far in advance of the rest of his line. But orders were given to the picked troops, when the Romans should have cut the troops in the centre to pieces, pursued them hotly as they retreated and formed a deep hollow, and so got within their enemy's line of battle,—then to turn sharply from either side, smite them on the flanks, and envelop them by closing in upon their rear. And it was this which seems to have produced the greatest slaughter. For the centre gave way and was followed by the Romans in pursuit, Hannibal's line of battle thus changing its shape into that of a crescent; and the commanders of the picked troops on his wings wheeled them swiftly to left and right and fell upon the exposed sides of their enemy, all of whom, except those who retired before they were surrounded, were then overwhelmed and destroyed.

It is said, further, that a strange calamity befell the Roman cavalry also. The horse of Paulus, as it appears, was wounded and threw his rider off, and one after another of his attendants dismounted and sought to defend the consul on foot. When the horsemen saw this, supposing that a general order had been given, they all dismounted and engaged the enemy on foot. On seeing this, Hannibal said: "This is more to my wish than if they had been handed over to me in fetters."¹ But such particulars as these may be found in the detailed histories of the war.

¹ *Quam malleum vinctos mihi traderet.* Livy, xxii. 49.

Τῶν δ' ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Βάρρων ὀλιγοστός ἀφίπ-
 πευσεν εἰς Οὐενουσίαν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ
 βυθῷ καὶ κλύδωνι τῆς φυγῆς ἐκείνης βελῶν τε
 πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν ἐγκειμένων ἀνάπλεως,
 τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πένθει τοσοῦτῳ βαρυνό-
 μενος, πρὸς τινι λίθῳ καθήστο, τὸν ἐπισφάζοντα
 6 τῶν πολεμίων ἀναμένων. ἦν δὲ δι' αἵματος πλήθος,
 ᾧ συνεπέφυρτο τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον,
 οὐ πολλοῖς διάδηλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλοι καὶ θερά-
 ποντες αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας παρήλθον. μόνος δὲ
 Κορνήλιος Λέντλος, εὐπατρίδης νέος, ἰδὼν καὶ
 προνοήσας ἀπεπήδησε τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ προσα-
 γαγὼν παρεκάλει χρῆσθαι καὶ σῶζειν αὐτὸν τοῖς
 πολίταις ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ τότε μάλιστα χρή-
 7 ζουσιν. ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἀπετρίψατο τὴν δέησιν,
 καὶ τὸ μεῖράκιον αὐθις ἠνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον
 ἀναβῆναι δακρῦον, εἶτα δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλὼν
 καὶ συνεξαναστάς, “ Ἀπάγγελλε,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ
 Λέντλε, Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ γενοῦ μάρτυς αὐτός,
 ὅτι Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος ἐνέμεινεν αὐτοῦ¹ τοῖς λογι-
 σμοῖς ἄχρι τέλους καὶ τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων πρὸς
 ἐκείνον οὐδὲν ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνικήθη πρότερον ὑπὸ
 8 Βάρρωνος, εἴθ' ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου.” τοσαῦτ' ἐπιστεί-
 λας τὸν μὲν Λέντλον ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ῥίψας
 ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς φονευομένους ἀπέθανε. λέγονται
 δὲ πεσεῖν μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων πεντακισμύ-
 ριοι, ζῶντες δ' ἀλῶναι τετρακισχίλιοι, καὶ μετὰ
 τὴν μάχην οἱ ληφθέντες ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς
 στρατοπέδοις μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους.

¹ αὐτοῦ Coraës and Bekker, now with S: αὐτοῦ *hīs oīn*
convictionibus. Cf. *praeceptorum eius memorem*, Livy, xxii. 49.

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As for the consuls, Varro galloped off with a few followers to the city of Venusia, but Paulus, caught in the deep surges of that panic flight and covered with many missiles which hung in his wounds, weighed down in body and spirit by so vast a misfortune, sat down, leaning against a stone, and waiting for an enemy to dispatch him. His head and face were so profusely smeared with blood that few could recognize him; even his friends and retainers passed him by without knowing him. Only Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of the patrician order, saw who he was, and leaping from his horse, led him to Paulus and besought the consul to take him and save himself for the sake of his fellow-citizens, who now more than ever needed a brave commander. But Paulus rejected this prayer, and forced the youth, all tears, to mount his horse again, and then rose up and clasped his hand and said: "Lentulus, tell Fabius Maximus, and be thyself a witness to what thou tellest, that Paulus Aemilius was true to his precepts up to the end, and broke not one of the agreements made with him, but was vanquished first by Varro, and then by Hannibal." With such injunctions, he sent Lentulus away, then threw himself into the midst of the slaughter and perished. And it is said that fifty thousand Romans fell in that battle, that four thousand were taken alive, and that after the battle there were captured in both consular camps no less than ten thousand.

XVII. Τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ κατορθώματι τῶν φίλων παρορμώντων ἅμ' ἔπεσθαι τῇ τύχῃ καὶ συνεπεισπεσεῖν ἅμα τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πεμπταῖον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ δειπνήσειν, οὐ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν, ὅστις ἀπέτρεψε λογισμός, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δαίμονος ἢ θεοῦ τινος ἐμποδῶν στάντος ἔοικεν ἔργον ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο μέλλησις αὐτοῦ καὶ δειλίασις γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ Βάρκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον εἰπεῖν μετ' ὀργῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσι. “Σὺ νικᾷν οἶδας, νίκη δὲ χρῆσθαι
 2 οὐκ οἶδας.” καίτοι τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἢ νίκη περὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, ὥς πρὸ τῆς μάχης οὐ πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμπόριον, οὐ λιμένα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔχοντα, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ δι' ἀρπαγῆς κομιζόμενον, ὀρμώμενον ἀπ' οὐδενὸς βεβαίου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ληστηρίῳ μεγάλῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλανώμενον καὶ περιφερόμενον, τότε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιή-
 3 σασθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν αὐτῷ προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσια, καὶ Καπύην, ἢ μέγιστον ἔχει μετὰ Ῥώμην ἀξίωμα τῶν πόλεων, προσθεμένην κατέσχευ.

Οὐ μόνον δ' ἦν ἅρα τὸ φίλων πείραν λαβεῖν, ὥς Εὐριπίδης φησίν,¹ οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
 - φρονίμων στρατηγῶν. ἢ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς μάχης Φαβίου δειλία καὶ ψυχρότης λεγομένη μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινος ἐδόκει λογισμός, ἀλλὰ θεῖόν τι χρῆμα διανοίας καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐκ τοσούτου τὰ μέλλοντα προορωμένης, ἃ μόλις ἦν

¹ φίλων λαβεῖν γὰρ πείραν οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 679.

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XVII. In view of such a complete success, Hannibal's friends urged him to follow up his good fortune and dash into their city on the heels of the flying enemy, assuring him in that case that on the fifth day after his victory he would sup on the Capitol. It is not easy to say what consideration turned him from this course, nay, it would rather seem that his evil genius, or some divinity, interposed to inspire him with the hesitation and timidity which he now showed. Wherefore, as they say, Barca, the Carthaginian, said to him angrily: "Thou canst win a victory, but thy victory thou canst not use."¹ And yet his victory wrought a great change in his circumstances. Before the battle, he had not a city, not a trading-place, not a sea-port in Italy, and could with difficulty barely supply his army with provisions by foraging, since he had no secure base of supplies for the war, but wandered hither and thither with his army as if it were a great horde of robbers. After the battle, however, he brought almost all Italy under his sway. Most of its peoples, and the largest of them too, came over to him of their own accord, and Capua, which is the most considerable city after Rome, attached herself firmly to his cause.

Not only, then, does it work great mischief, as Euripides says, to put friends to the test, but also prudent generals. For that which was called cowardice and sluggishness in Fabius before the battle, immediately after the battle was thought to be no mere human calculation, nay, rather, a divine and marvellous intelligence, since it looked so far into the future and foretold a disaster which could

¹ Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis." Livy, xxii. 51.

- 4 πιστὰ πάσχουσιν. ὅθεν εὐθὺς εἰς ἐκείνον ἡ Ῥώμη
 συνενεγκοῦσα τὰς λοιπὰς ἐλπίδας, καὶ προσφυ-
 γοῦσα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥσπερ ἱερῷ καὶ βωμῷ,
 πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ μείναι καὶ μὴ
 διαλυθῆναι τὴν ἐκείνου φρόνησιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς
 5 Κελτικοῖς πάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐδόκει δει-
 νὸν εἶναι καιροῖς εὐλαβῆς φαινόμενος καὶ δυσέλ-
 πιστος τότε πάντων καταβεβληκότων ἑαυτοὺς εἰς
 ἀπέραντα πένθη καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπράκτους, μόνος
 ἐφοῖτα διὰ τῆς πόλεως πρῶν βαδίσματι καὶ προσ-
 ὤπῳ καθεστῶτι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ προσαγορεύ-
 σει, κοπετούς τε γυναικείους ἀφαιρῶν καὶ συστά-
 σεις εἵργων τῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπὶ κοινοῖς
 ὁδυρμοῖς ἐκφερομένων, βουλὴν τε συνελθεῖν ἔπεισε
 καὶ παρεθάρσυνε τὰς ἀρχάς, αὐτὸς ὦν καὶ ῥώμη
 καὶ δύναμις ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀποβλε-
 πούσης.

- XVIII. Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πύλαις ἐπέστησε τοὺς
 τὸν ἐκπίπτοντα καὶ προλείποντα τὴν πόλιν ὄχλον
 ἀπείρξοντας, πένθους δὲ καὶ τόπον καὶ χρόνον
 ὥρισε, κατ' οἰκίαν ἀποθρηνεῖν κελεύσας ἐφ' ἡμέ-
 ρας τριάκοντα τὸν βουλόμενον· μετὰ δὲ ταύτας
 ἔδει πᾶν πένθος λύεσθαι καὶ καθαρεύειν τῶν
 2 τοιούτων τὴν πόλιν. ἑορτῆς τε Δήμητρος εἰς τὰς
 ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηκούσης βέλτιον ἐφάνη παρα-
 λιπεῖν ὅλως τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἢ τὸ
 μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὀλιγότητι καὶ κατηφεῖα
 τῶν συνερχομένων ἐλέγχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεῖον
 3 ἦδεσθαι τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχούντων. ὅσα
 μέντοι πρὸς ἱλασμοὺς θεῶν ἢ τεράτων ἀποτροπὰς
 συνηγόρευον οἱ μάντις ἐπράττετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰς
 Δελφοὺς ἐπέμφθη θεοπρόπος Πίκτωρ, συγγενὴς

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hardly be believed by those who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome at once placed her last hopes ; to his wisdom she fled for refuge as to temple and altar, believing that it was first and chiefly due to his prudence that she still remained a city, and was not utterly broken up, as in the troublous times of the Gallic invasion. For he who, in times of apparent security, appeared cautious and irresolute, then, when all were plunged in boundless grief and helpless confusion, was the only man to walk the city with calm step, composed countenance, and gracious address, checking effeminate lamentation, and preventing those from assembling together who were eager to make public their common complaints. He persuaded the senate to convene, heartened up the magistrates, and was himself the strength and power of every magistracy, since all looked to him for guidance.

XVIII. Accordingly, he put guards at the gates, in order to keep the frightened throng from abandoning the city, and set limits of time and place to the mourning for the dead, ordering any who wished to indulge in lamentation, to do so at home for a period of thirty days ; after that, all mourning must cease and the city be purified of such rites. And since the festival of Ceres fell within these days, it was deemed better to remit entirely the sacrifices and the procession, rather than to emphasize the magnitude of their calamity by the small number and the dejection of the participants. For the gods' delight is in honours paid them by the fortunate. However, all the rites which the augurs advocated for the propitiation of the gods, or to avert inauspicious omens, were duly performed. And besides, Pictor, a kinsman of Fabius, was sent to

Φαβίου, και τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων δύο διε-
φθαρμένας εὐρόντες, τὴν μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἔθος,
ζῶσαν κατώρυξαν, ἡ δ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀπέθανε.

- 4 Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις ἀγάσαιτο τὸ φρόνημα καὶ
την πραότητα τῆς πόλεως, ὅτε τοῦ ὑπάτου Βάρ-
ρωνος ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανιόντος, ὡς ἂν τις
αἰσχιστα καὶ δυσποτμότατα πεπραχῶς ἐπανίοι,
ταπεινοῦ καὶ κατηφοῦς, ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς
πύλας ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν ἄσπαζό-
5 μενοι. οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει καὶ πρῶτοι τῆς γερουσίας,
ὧν καὶ Φάβιος ἦν, ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἐπήνεσαν, 185
ὅτι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέγνω μετὰ δυστυχίαν
τηλικαύτην, ἀλλὰ πάρεστιν ἄρξων ἐπὶ τὰ πράγ-
ματα καὶ χρησόμενος τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολίταις
ὡς σῶζεσθαι δυναμένοις.

- XIX. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐπύθοντο μετὰ τὴν μάχην
ἀποτετράφθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, ἀναθαρ-
ρήσαντες ἐξέπεμπον ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατεύματα.
τούτων δ' ἐπιφανέστατοι Φάβιός τε Μάξιμος καὶ
Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος ἦσαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας
σχεδὸν προαιρέσεως θαυμαζόμενοι παραπλησίως.
2 ὁ μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένοις
εἴρηται, περιλαμπὲς τὸ δραστήριον ἔχων καὶ γαῦ-
ρον, ἅτε δὴ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα πλήκτης ἀνὴρ καὶ
φύσει τοιοῦτος ὧν οἴους Ὀμηρος μάλιστα καλεῖ
“φιλοπτολέμους” καὶ “ἀγερώχους,” ἐν τῷ παρα-
βολῇ καὶ ἰταμῷ καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα τολμηρὸν τὸν
Ἀννίβαν ἀντιτολμῶντι τρόπῳ πολέμου συνίστατο
3 τοὺς πρῶτους ἀγῶνας. Φάβιος δὲ τῶν πρῶτων
ἐχόμενος λογισμῶν ἐκείνων ἡλπιζε μηδενὸς μαχο-
μένου μηδ' ἐρεθίζοντος τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὐτὸν ἐπη-

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consult the oracle at Delphi; and when two of the vestal virgins were found to have been corrupted, one of them was buried alive, according to the custom,¹ and the other slew herself.

But most of all was the gentle dignity of the city to be admired in this, that when Varro, the consul, came back from his flight, as one would come back from a most ill-starred and disgraceful experience, in humility and dejection, the senate and the whole people met him at the gates with a welcome. The magistrates and the chief men of the senate, of whom Fabius was one, praised him, as soon as quiet was restored, because he had not despaired of the city after so great a misfortune, but was at hand to assume the reins of government, and to employ the laws and his fellow-citizens in accomplishing the salvation which lay within their power.

XIX. When they learned that Hannibal, after the battle, had turned aside into the other parts of Italy, they plucked up courage and sent out commanders with armies. The most illustrious of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men who were similarly admired for directly opposite characters. The latter, as has been stated in his Life,² was a man of splendid and impetuous actions, with an arm of ready vigour, and by nature like the men whom Homer is wont to call "fond of battle," and "eager for the fray." He therefore conducted his first engagements in the venturesome and reckless style of warfare which met the daring of such a man as Hannibal with an equal daring. Fabius, on the contrary, clung to his first and famous convictions, and looked to see Hannibal, if only no one

¹ Cf. *Numa*, x. 4 ff.

² Chapter i.

ρεάσειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ κατατριβήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ ἀθλητικοῦ σώματος τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπερτόνου γενομένης καὶ καταπόνου, ταχύτατα τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀποβαλόντα. διὸ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος φησι θυρεόν, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ξίφος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλεῖσθαι, κίρναμένην δὲ τὴν Φαβίου βεβαιότητα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Μαρκέλλου συνηθείᾳ¹ σωτήριον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῷ μὲν ὡς ῥέοντι σφύδρα ποταμῷ πολλάκις ἀπαντῶν ἐσείετο καὶ παρερρήγνυτο τὴν δύναμιν, ὑφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέοντος ἀψοφητὶ καὶ παρεμπίπτοντος ἐνδελεχῶς ὑπερειπόμενος καὶ δαπανώμενος ἐλάνθανε· καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν κατέστη τοσαύτην ὥστε Μαρκέλλῳ μὲν ἀποκαμεῖν μαχόμενον, Φάβιον δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μαχόμενον.

- 5 Τὸ γὰρ πλείστον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τοῦ χρόνου τούτοις διεπολέμησεν ἢ στρατηγοῖς ἢ ἀνθυπάτοις ἢ ὑπάτοις ἀποδεδειγμένοις· ἐκάτερος γὰρ αὐτῶν πεντάκις ὑπάτευσεν. ἀλλὰ Μάρκελλον μὲν ὑπατεύοντα τὸ πέμπτον ἐνέδρα περιβαλὼν ἔκτεινε, Φαβίῳ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀπάτην καὶ διώπειραν ἐπάγων πολλάκις οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε, πλὴν ἅπαξ ὀλίγου παρακρουσά-
- 6 μενος ἔσφηλε τὸν ἄνδρα. συνθεὶς γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ δυνατῶν καὶ πρώτων ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον, ὡς τῆς πόλεως ἐνδοθησομένης εἰ παραγένοιτο, καὶ τῶν τοῦτο πραττόντων ἐκείνον ἐλθεῖν καὶ φανῆναι πλησίον

¹ συνηθείη Bekker adopts συντονία (vehemence), the suggestion of Coraës, based on Amyot.

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fought with him or harassed him, become his own worst enemy, wear himself out in the war, and speedily lose his high efficiency, like an athlete whose bodily powers have been overtaxed and exhausted. It was for these reasons, (as) Poseidonius says, that the Romans called Fabius their buckler, and Marcellus their sword, and that the mingling of the firm steadfastness of the one with the versatility of the other proved the salvation of Rome. By his frequent encounters with Marcellus, whose course was like that of a swiftly-flowing river, Hannibal saw his forces shaken and swept away; while by Fabius, whose course was slow, noiseless, and unceasing in its stealthy hostility, they were imperceptibly worn away and consumed. And finally he was brought to such a pass that he was worn out with fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius when not fighting.

For it was with these two men that he fought almost all the time, as they held the offices of praetor, pro-consul, or consul; and each of them was consul five times. However, when Marcellus was serving as consul for the fifth time, Hannibal led him into an ambush and slew him¹; but he had no success against Fabius, although he frequently brought all sorts of deceitful tests to bear upon him. Once, it is true, he did deceive the man, and came near giving him a disastrous overthrow. He composed and sent to Fabius letters purporting to come from the chief men of Metapontum, assuring him that their city would be surrendered to him if he should come there, and that those who were contriving the surrender only waited for him to come and show

¹ In Lucania, 208 B.C. Cf. the *Marcellus*, xxix.

ἀναμενόντων. ταῦτ' ἐκίνησε τὸν Φάβιον τὰ γράμματα, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔμελλεν ὀρμήσειν διὰ νυκτός· εἶτα χρησάμενος ὄρνισιν οὐκ αἰσίοις ἀπετράπη, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀννίβου δόλῳ συντεθέντα καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἂν τις εὐνοία θεῶν ἀναθείη.

- XX. Τὰς δ' ἀποστάσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῶν συμμάχων ὁ Φάβιος μᾶλλον ᾤετο δεῖν ἡπίως ὁμιλοῦντα καὶ πράως ἀνείργειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν, μὴ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐλέγχοντα καὶ χαλεπὸν ὄντα παντάπασι τοῖς ὑπόπτοις. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι στρατιώτην ἄνδρα Μάρσον, ἀνδρεία καὶ γένει τῶν συμμάχων πρῶτον, αἰσθόμενος διειλεγμένον τισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περὶ ἀποστά-
 2 σεως οὐ διηρέθισεν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογήσας ἡμελησθαι παρ' ἀξίαν αὐτόν, νῦν μὲν ἔφη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰτιᾶσθαι πρὸς χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὰς τιμὰς νέμοντας, ὕστερον δ' ἐκεῖνον αἰτιάσεσθαι μὴ φράζοντα μηδ' ἐντυγχάνοντα πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴ του δέοιτο. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἵππον τε πολεμιστὴν ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστείοις ἐκόσμησεν, ὥστε πιστότατον ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ προθυμότατον
 3 εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. δεινὸν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν ἵππικους καὶ κυνηγετικούς ἐπιμελεῖα καὶ συνηθεία 18 καὶ τροφῇ μᾶλλον ἢ μάστιγι καὶ κλοιοῖς τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν ζώων καὶ τὸ θυμούμενον καὶ τὸ δυσκολαῖνον ἐξαιρεῖν, τὸν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντα μὴ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν χάριτι καὶ πραότητι τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τίθεσθαι, σκληρότερον δὲ προσ-

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himself in the neighbourhood. These letters moved Fabius to action, and he proposed to take a part of his force and set out by night. Then he got unfavourable auspices and was turned from his purpose by them, and in a little while it was discovered that the letters which had come to him were cunning forgeries by Hannibal, who had laid an ambush for him near the city. This escape, however, may be laid to the favour of the gods.

XX. Fabius thought that the revolts of the cities and the agitations of the allies ought to be restrained and discountenanced rather by mild and gentle measures, without testing every suspicion and showing harshness in every case to the suspected. It is said, for instance, that when he learned about a Marsian soldier, eminent among the allies for valour and high birth, who had been talking with some of the soldiers in the camp about deserting to the enemy, he was not incensed with him, but admitted frankly that he had been unduly neglected; so far, he said, this was the fault of the commanders, who distributed their honours by favour rather than for valour, but in the future it would be the man's own fault if he did not come to him and tell him when he wanted anything. These words were followed by the gift of a warhorse and by other signal rewards for bravery, and from that time on there was no more faithful and zealous man in the service. Fabius thought it hard that, whereas the trainers of horses and dogs relied upon care and intimacy and feeding rather than on goads and heavy collars for the removal of the animal's obstinacy, anger, and discontent, the commander of men should not base the most of his discipline on kindness and gentleness, but

φέρεισθαι καὶ βιαιότερον ἥπερ οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἐρίνεοις καὶ ἀχράσι καὶ κοτίνοις προσφέρονται, τὰ μὲν εἰς ἐλαίας, τὰ δ' εἰς ἀπίους, τὰ δ' εἰς συκᾶς ἐξημεροῦντες καὶ τιθασεύοντες.

- 4 "Ἐτερον τοίνυν τῷ γένει Λευκανὸν ἄνδρα προσηγγείλαν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ῥεμβόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείποντα πολλάκις. ὁ δ' ἠρώτησε, τὰλλα ποῖόν τινα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶδεῖν ὄντα. μαρτυρούντων δὲ πάντων ὅτι ῥαδίως ἕτερος οὐκ εἴη στρατιώτης τοιοῦτος, ἅμα τ' αὐτοῦ τινας ἀνδραγαθίας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ πράξεις λεγόντων, αἰτίαν τῆς ἀταξίας ζητῶν εὗρεν ἔρωτι παιδίσκης κατεχόμενον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κινδυνεύοντα μακρὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκάστοτε φοιτῶντα
- 5 πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πέμψας οὖν τινας ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαβῶν τὸ γύναιον ἔκρυψεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Λευκανὸν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, "Οὐ λέληθας," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πάτρια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀπονυκτερεύων τοῦ στρατοπέδου πολλάκις· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρηστὸς ὢν πρότερον ἐλελήθεις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα σοι λελύσθω τοῖς ἡνδραγαθημένοις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
- 6 ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ ποιήσομαι τὴν φρουράν." θαυμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατιώτου προαγαγὼν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐνεχείρισεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν. "Αὕτη μὲν ἐγγυᾶταί σε μενεῖν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μεθ' ἡμῶν· σὺ δ' ἔργῳ δείξεις, εἰ μὴ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ μοχθηρίαν ἀπέλειπες, ὁ δ' ἔρως καὶ αὕτη πρόφασις ἦν λεγομένη." ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι.

XXI. Τὴν δὲ Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἔσχεν ἑάλω-

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show more harshness and violence in his treatment of them than farmers in their treatment of wild fig-trees, wild pear-trees, and wild olive-trees, which they reclaim and domesticate till they bear luscious olives, pears, and figs.

Accordingly, when another soldier, a Lucanian, was reported by his officers as frequently quitting his post and roaming away from the camp, Fabius asked them what kind of a man they knew him to be in other respects. All testified that such another soldier could not easily be found, and rehearsed sundry exploits of his wherein he had shown conspicuous bravery. Fabius therefore inquired into the cause of the man's irregularity, and discovered that he was deeply in love with a maid, and risked his life in long journeys from the camp every time he visited her. Accordingly, without the man's knowledge, Fabius sent and arrested the girl and hid her in his own tent. Then he called the Lucanian to him privately and said: "It is well known that, contrary to Roman custom and law, you often pass the night away from camp; but it is also well known that you have done good service in the past. Your transgressions shall therefore be atoned for by your deeds of valour, but for the future I shall put another person in charge over you." Then, to the soldier's amazement, he led the girl forth and put her in his hands, saying: "This person pledges herself that you will hereafter remain in camp with us, and you will now show plainly whether or not you left us for some other and base purpose, making this maid and your love for her a mere pretext." Such is the story which is told about this matter.

XXI. The city of Tarentum, which had been lost

κυίαν ἐκ προδοσίας τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἐστρα-
τεύετο παρ' αὐτῷ νεανίας Ταραντῖνος ἔχων
ἀδελφὴν πιστῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοστοργῶς διακει-
μένην πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦρα δὲ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Βρέττιος
τῶν τεταγμένων ὑπ' Ἀννίβου τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν
ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας. τοῦτο πράξεως ἐλπίδα τῷ Τα-
ραντίνῳ παρέσχε, καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου συνειδότος εἰς
τὴν πόλιν ἀφείθη, λόγῳ δ' ἀποδεδράκει πρὸς τὴν
2 ἀδελφὴν εἰς Τάραντα. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται τῶν
ἡμερῶν ἦσαν, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ Βρέττιος
ἀνεπαύετο, λανθάνειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἰομένης
ἐκείνης. ἔπειτα λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ νεανίας·
“ Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖ λόγος ἐφοίτα πολὺς ἀνδρὶ σε τῶν
δυνατῶν καὶ μεγάλων συνεῖναι. τίς οὗτός ἐστιν;
εἰ γὰρ εὐδόκιμός τις, ὥς φασιν, ἀρετῇ καὶ
λαμπρὸς, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζει γένους ὁ πάντα
συμμιγνὺς πόλεμος· αἰσχρὸν δὲ μετ' ἀνάγκης
οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εὐτυχία τις ἐν καιρῷ τὸ δίκαιον
ἀσθενὲς ἔχοντι πραοτάτῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ βιαζο-
3 μένῳ.” ἐκ τούτου μεταπέμπεται μὲν ἡ γυνὴ τὸν
Βρέττιον καὶ γνωρίζει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ· ταχὺ
δὲ συμπράττων τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκείνος καὶ μᾶλλον
ἢ πρότερον εὖνουν καὶ χειροῖσθαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ
παρέχειν δοκῶν τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἔσχε πιστῶς, ὥστε
μὴ χαλεπῶς ἐρῶντος ἀνθρώπου μισθοφόρου
μεταστῆσαι διάνοιαν ἐπ' ἐλπίσι δωρεῶν μεγάλων,
ὡς ἐπηγγέλλετο παρέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν Φάβιον.

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to the Romans by treachery,¹ Fabius recovered in the following manner.² There was a young man of Tarentum in his army, and he had a sister who was very faithfully and affectionately disposed towards him. With this woman the commander of the forces set by Hannibal to guard the city, a Bruttian, was deeply enamoured, and the circumstance led her brother to hope that he could accomplish something by means of it. He therefore joined his sister in Tarentum, ostensibly as a deserter from the Romans, though he was really sent into the city by Fabius, who was privy to his scheme. Some days passed, accordingly, during which the Bruttian remained at home, since the woman thought that her amour was unknown to her brother. Then her brother had the following words with her: "I would have you know that a story was very current out there in the Roman camp that you have interviews with a man high in authority. Who is this man? For if he is, as they say, a man of repute, and illustrious for his valour, war, that confounder of all things, makes very little account of race. Nothing is disgraceful if it is done under compulsion, nay, we may count it rare good fortune, at a time when right is weak, to find might very gentle with us." Thereupon the woman sent for her Bruttian and made her brother acquainted with him. The Barbarian's confidence was soon gained, since the brother fostered his passion and plainly induced the sister to be more complacent and submissive to him than before, so that it was not difficult, the man being a lover and a mercenary as well, to change his allegiance, in anticipation of the large gifts which it was promised that he should receive from Fabius.

¹ 212 B.C.

² 209 B.C.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ πλείστοι γράφουσι περὶ τούτων· ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν ἄνθρωπον ὑφ' ἧς ὁ Βρέττιος μετήχθη, φασὶν οὐ Ταραντίνην, ἀλλὰ Βρεττίαν τὸ γένος οὔσαν, τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ παλλακευομένην, ὥς ἦσθετο πολίτην καὶ γνώριμον ὄντα τὸν τῶν Βρεττίων ἄρχοντα, τῷ τε Φαβίῳ φράσαι καὶ συνελθοῦσαν εἰς λόγους ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκπεῖσαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

XXII. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ Φάβιος περισπάσαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν τεχνάζων ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐν Ῥηγίῳ στρατιώταις τὴν Βρεττίαν καταδραμεῖν καὶ Καυλωνίαν ἐξελεῖν κατὰ κράτος στρατο- 187 πεδεύσαντας, ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας, αὐτομόλους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου κεκομισμένων ἀτίμων τοὺς ἀχρηστοτάτους καὶ μετ' ἐλαχίστης τῇ πόλει λύπης καὶ 2 βλάβης ἀπολουμένους. ἤλπιζε γὰρ τούτους προέμενος τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ δελεάσας ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τάραντος· ὁ καὶ συνέβαινεν. εὐθύς γὰρ ἐκεῖ διώκων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐρρῦν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἡμέρα δ' ἕκτη τοὺς Ταραντίνους τοῦ Φαβίου περιστρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ προδιελεγμένος τῷ Βρεττίῳ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς νεανίσκος ἦκε νύκτωρ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθεωρακῶς τὸν τόπον ἐφ' οὗ παραφυλάττων ὁ Βρέττιος ἔμελλεν ἐνδῶσειν καὶ παρήσειν τοῖς 3 προσβάλλουσιν. οὐ μὲν ἀπλῶς γε τῆς προδοσίας ἐξήρτησεν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν πράξιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείσε παρελθὼν ἡσυχίαν ἤγειν, ἡ δ' ἄλλη στρατιὰ προσέβαλλε τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἅμα, ποιοῦσα πολλὴν κραυγὴν

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This is the way the story is usually told.¹ But some writers say that the woman by whom the Bruttian was won over, was not a Tarentine, but a Bruttian, and a concubine of Fabius, and that when she learned that the commander of the Bruttian garrison was a fellow-countryman and an acquaintance of hers, she told Fabius, held a conference with the man beneath the walls of the city, and won him completely over.

XXII. While this plot was under way, Fabius schemed to draw Hannibal away from the neighbourhood, and therefore gave orders to the garrison at Rhegium to overrun Bruttium and take Caulonia by storm. This garrison numbered eight thousand, most of them deserters, and the refuse of the soldiers sent home from Sicily in disgrace by Marcellus, men whose loss would least afflict and injure Rome. Fabius expected that by casting these forces, like a bait, in front of Hannibal, he would draw him away from Tarentum. And this was what actually happened. For Hannibal immediately swept thither in pursuit with his army. But five days after Fabius had laid siege to Tarentum, the youth who, with his sister, had come to an understanding with the Bruttian commander in the city, came to him by night. He had seen and knew precisely the spot at which the Bruttian was watching with the purpose of handing the city over to its assailants. Fabius, however, would not suffer his enterprise to depend wholly upon the betrayal of the city. While, therefore, he himself led a detachment quietly to the appointed spot, the rest of his army attacked the walls by land and sea, with great shouting and

¹ So, substantially, by Livy, xxvii. 15.

καὶ θόρυβον, ἄχρι οὗ τῶν πλείστων Ταραντίνων ἐκεῖ βοηθούντων καὶ συμφερομένων τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἐσήμνηε τῷ Φαβίῳ τὸν καιρὸν ὃ Βρεττιος, καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβὰς ἐκράτησε τῆς πολέως.

- 4 Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι δοκεῖ φιλοτιμίας ἥττων γενέσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ Βρεττίους πρῶτους ἀποσφάττειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὥς μὴ προδοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἔχων φανερός γένοιτο. καὶ ταύτης τε διήμαρτε τῆς δόξης καὶ διαβολὴν ἀπιστίας προσέλαβε καὶ ὠμοπητος. ἀπέθανον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων· οἱ δὲ πραθέντες ἐγένοντο τρισμῦριοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡ στρατιὰ διήρπασεν· ἀννέχθη δ' 5 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τρισχίλια τάλαντα. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων λέγεται τὸν γραμματέα πυθέσθαι τοῦ Φαβίου περὶ τῶν θεῶν τί κελεύει, τὰς γραφὰς οὕτω προσαγορεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας· τὸν οὖν Φάβιον εἰπεῖν· “Ἀπολείπωμεν τοὺς θεοὺς Ταραντινοὺς κεχολω- 6 μένους.” οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὸν κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μετακομίσας ἐκ Τάραντος ἔστησεν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ πλησίον ἔφιππον εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἑαυτοῦ, πολὺ Μαρκέλλου φανείς ἀτοπώτερος περὶ ταῦτα, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως ἐκείνοι· ἄνδρα πραότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ θαυμαστὸν ἀποδείξας, ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

XXIII. Ἀννίβαν δὲ λέγεται διώκοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνους ἀπολειφθῆναι σταδίοις, καὶ

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tumult, until most of the Tarentines had run to the aid of those who were defending them. Then the Bruttian gave Fabius the signal, and he scaled the walls and got the mastery of the city.

At this point, however, Fabius seems to have been overcome by his ambition, for he ordered his men to put the Bruttians first of all to the sword, that his possession of the city might not be known to be due to treachery. He not only failed to prevent this knowledge, but incurred also the reproach of perfidy and cruelty. Many of the Tarentines also were slain, thirty thousand of them were sold into slavery, their city was plundered by the Roman army, and three thousand talents were thereby brought into the public treasury. While everything else was carried off as plunder, it is said that the accountant asked Fabius what his orders were concerning the gods, for so he called their pictures and statues; and that Fabius answered: "Let us leave their angered gods for the Tarentines." However, he removed the colossal statue of Heracles from Tarentum, and set it up on the Capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself, in bronze. He thus appeared far more eccentric in these matters than Marcellus, nay rather, the mild and humane conduct of Marcellus was thus made to seem altogether admirable by contrast, as has been written in his Life.¹

XXIII. It is said that Hannibal had got within five miles of Tarentum when it fell, and that openly

¹ Chapter xxi. Marcellus had enriched Rome with works of Greek art taken from Syracuse in 212 B.C. Livy's opinion is rather different from Plutarch's: *sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus*, xxvii. 16. Fabius killed the people but spared their gods; Marcellus spared the people but took their gods.

φανερῶς μὲν εἰπεῖν· “Ἦν ἄρα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Ἀννίβας τις ἕτερος· ἀπεβάλομεν γὰρ τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ὥσπερ ἐλάβομεν,” ἰδία δὲ τότε πρῶτον αὐτῷ παραστήναι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς πάλαι μὲν ἑώρα χαλεπὸν αὐτοῖς, νῦν δ' ἀδύνατον

2 κρατεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων Ἰταλίας. τοῦτον δεύτερον θρίαμβον ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρότερον τοῦ προτέρου Φάβιος, ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆς ἀγαθὸς ἐπασγωνιζόμενος τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπολυόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις, ὥσπερ ἄμματα καὶ λαβὰς οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχούσας τόνον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀνείτο τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῷ διὰ τρυφήν καὶ πλοῦτον, ἡ δ' ὥσπερ ἐξήμβλυντο καὶ κατατέτριπτο τοῖς ἀλωφήτοις ἀγῶσιν.

3 Ἦν δὲ Μάρκος Λίβιος, οὗ τὸν Τάραντα φρουρῶντος ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπέστησεν· ὅμως δὲ τὴν ἄκραν κατέχων οὐκ ἐξεκρούσθη, καὶ διεφύλαξεν ἄχρι τοῦ πάλιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι τοὺς Ταραντίνους. τοῦτον ἡνία Φάβιος τιμώμενος, καὶ ποτε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐξενεχθεὶς εἶπεν ὡς οὐ Φάβιος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αἴτιος γένοιτο τοῦ τὴν Ταραντίνων ἀλῶναι. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Φάβιος, “Ἀληθῇ λέγεις,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ γὰρ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ παρέλαβον.”

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τά τ' ἄλλα τῷ Φαβίῳ προσεφέροντο λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Φάβιον ἀνέδειξαν ὑπατον. παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διοικούντος τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὁ πατήρ, εἴτε διὰ γῆρας καὶ ἀσθένειαν

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he merely remarked: "It appears, then, that the Romans have another Hannibal, for we have lost Tarentum even as we took it"; but that in private he was then for the first time led to confess to his friends that he had long seen the difficulty, and now saw the impossibility of their mastering Italy with their present forces. For this success, Fabius celebrated a second triumph more splendid than his first, since he was contending with Hannibal like a clever athlete, and easily baffling all his undertakings, now that his hugs and grips no longer had their old time vigour. For his forces were partly enervated by luxury and wealth,¹ and partly blunted, as it were, and worn out by their unremitting struggles.

Now there was a certain Marcus Livius, who commanded the garrison of Tarentum when Hannibal got the city to revolt. He occupied the citadel, however, and was not dislodged from this position, but held it until the Romans again got the upper hand of the Tarentines. This man was vexed by the honours paid to Fabius, and once, carried away by his jealousy and ambition, said to the senate that it was not Fabius, but himself, who should be credited with the capture of Tarentum. At this Fabius laughed, and said: "You are right; had you not lost the city, I had not taken it."

XXIV. Among the other marks of high favour which the Romans conferred upon Fabius, they made his son Fabius consul.² When this son had entered upon his office and was arranging some matter pertaining to the war, his father, either by reason of his age and weakness, or because he was

¹ In 216-215 B.C. Hannibal made the opulent city of Capua his winter quarters.

² 213 B.C.

- εἶτε διαπειρώμενος τοῦ παιδός, ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον προσήει διὰ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ περιστώτων. ὁ δὲ νεανίας κατιδὼν πόρρωθεν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, πέμψας δ' ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευσε καταβῆναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προσελθεῖν, εἰ δὴ τι τυγχάνει τῆς ἀρχῆς δεόμενος. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἠνίασε τὸ ἐπίταγμα, καὶ σιωπῇ πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον ὡς ἀνάξια πάσχοντα τῆς δόξης ἀπέβλεψαν· αὐτὸς δ' ἐκείνος ἀποπηδήσας κατὰ τάχος, θάπτον ἢ βάδην πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπειχθεῖς, καὶ περιβαλὼν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, “Εὖ γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ, φρονεῖς καὶ πράττεις, αἰσθόμενος τίνων ἄρχεις καὶ πηλίκης μέγεθος ἀνείληφας ἀρχῆς. οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι τὴν Ῥώμην ἠϋξήσαμεν, ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ γονεῖς καὶ παῖδας αἰεὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος καλῶν τιθέμενοι.”
- 3 Λέγεται δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν πρόπαππον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει μεγίστη Ῥωμαίων γενόμενον πεντάκις μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπατεῦσαι καὶ θριάμβους ἐκ πολέμων μεγίστων ἐπιφανεστάτους καταγαγεῖν, ὑπατεῦντι δ' υἱῷ πρεσβευτὴν συνεξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ τῷ θριάμβῳ τὸν μὲν εἰσελαύνειν ἐπὶ τεθρίππῳ, τὸν δ' ἵππον ἔχοντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀγαλλόμενον ὅτι τοῦ μὲν υἱοῦ κύριος, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν μέγιστος καὶ ὦν καὶ προσαγορευόμενος, ὕστερον αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τίθησιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκείνος οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτων μόνον θαυμαστὸς ἦν.

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putting his son to the test, mounted his horse and rode towards him through the throng of bystanders. The young man caught sight of his father at a distance and would not suffer what he did, but sent a lictor with orders for him to dismount and come to the consul on foot if he had any need of his offices. All the rest were offended at this command, and implied by their silent gaze at Fabius that this treatment of him was unworthy of his high position. But Fabius himself sprang quickly from his horse, almost ran to his son, and embraced him affectionately. "My son," he said, "you are right in thought and act. You understand what a people has made you its officer, and what a high office you have received from them. It was in this spirit that our fathers and we ourselves have exalted Rome, a spirit which makes parents and children ever secondary to our country's good."¹

And of a truth it is reported of the great-grandfather of our Fabius, that though he had the greatest reputation and influence in Rome, and though he had himself been consul five times and had celebrated the most splendid triumphs for the greatest wars, he nevertheless, when his son was consul, went forth to war with him as his lieutenant,² and in the triumph that followed, while the son entered the city on a four-horse chariot, the father followed on horseback with the rest of the train, exulting in the fact that, though he was master of his son, and was the greatest of the citizens both in name and in fact, he yet put himself beneath the law and its official. However, this was not the only admirable thing about him.

¹ "Experiri volui, fili, satin scires consulem te esse."
Livy, xxiv. 44

² 292 B.C.

- 4 Τοῦ δὲ Φαβίου τὸν υἱὸν ἀποθανεῖν συνέβη· καὶ τὴν μὲν συμφορὰν ὡς ἀνὴρ τε φρόνιμος καὶ πατὴρ χρηστὸς ἤνεγκε μετριώτατα, τὸ δ' ἐγκώμιον, ὃ ταῖς ἐκκομιδαῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐπιτελοῦσιν, αὐτὸς εἶπε καταστὰς ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ γράψας τὸν λόγον ἐξέδωκεν.

- XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σκηπίων Κορνήλιος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν πεμφθεὶς Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐξήλασε μάχαις πολλαῖς κρατήσας, ἔθνη δὲ πάμπολλα καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ πράγματα λαμπρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κτησάμενος εὖνοϊαν εἶχε καὶ δόξαν ἐπανελθὼν ὅσῃν ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, ὕπατος δὲ κατασταθεὶς καὶ τὸν δῆμον αἰσθόμενος μεγάλην ἀπαιτοῦντα καὶ προσ-
 2 δεχόμενον πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ,¹ τὸ μὲν αὐτόθι συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς Ἀινίβαν ἀρχαῖον ἡγείτο λῖαν καὶ πρεσβυτικόν, αὐτὴν δὲ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην εὐθὺς ἐμπλήσας ὅπλων καὶ στρατευμάτων διανοεῖτο πορθεῖν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκεῖ μεθιστάναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο παντὶ τῷ θυμῷ συνεζώρμα τὸν δῆμον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ Φάβιος ἐπὶ πᾶν δέους ἄγων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνοήτου καὶ νέου φερομένην εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον καὶ μέγιστον κίνδυνον,
 3 οὔτε λόγου φειδόμενος οὔτ' ἔργου δοκοῦντος ἀποτρέψειν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ἔπεισε, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ διὰ φθόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ Σκηπίωνος εὐημεροῦντος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι, μή τι μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξεργασαμένου καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ παντάπασιν ἀνελόντος ἢ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντος

¹ αὐτοῦ Bekker corrects to παρ' αὐτοῦ.

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But the son of our Fabius, as it happened, died, and this affliction he bore with equanimity, like a wise man and a good father. The funeral oration, which is pronounced at the obsequies of illustrious men by some kinsman, he delivered himself from his place in the forum, and then wrote out the speech and published it.¹

XXV. But now Cornelius Scipio was sent into Spain, where he not only conquered the Carthaginians in many battles, and drove them out of the country, but also won over a multitude of nations, and took great cities with splendid spoils, so that, on his return to Rome, he enjoyed an incomparable favour and fame, and was made consul.² Perceiving that the people demanded and expected a great achievement from him, he regarded the hand to hand struggle with Hannibal there in Italy as very antiquated and senile policy, and purposed to fill Libya at once, and the territory of Carthage itself, with Roman arms and soldiery, and ravage them, and thus to transfer the war from Italy thither. To this policy he urged the people with all his soul. But just at this point Fabius tried to fill the city with all sorts of fear. They were hurrying, he said, under the guidance of a foolhardy young man, into the remotest and greatest peril, and he spared neither word nor deed which he thought might deter the citizens from this course. He brought the senate over to his views; but the people thought that he attacked Scipio through jealousy of his success, and that he was afraid lest, if Scipio performed some great and glorious exploit and either put an end to the war entirely or removed it out of Italy, his own

¹ Cf. chapter i. 5.

² 205 B.C.

αὐτὸς ἀργὸς φανῇ καὶ μαλακὸς ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ
μὴ¹ διαπεπολεμηκώς.

- 4 Ἔοικε δ' ὀρμῆσαι μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Φάβιος πρὸς
τὸ ἀντιλέγειν ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ προ-
νοίας, μέγαν ὄντα δεδιώς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐντεῖναι δέ
πως μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν καὶ πορρωτέρω προαχθῆναι
φιλοτιμία τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικία, κωλύων τοῦ Σκη-
πίωνος τὴν αὔξησιν, ὃς γε καὶ Κράσσον ἔπειθε,
τὸν συνυπατεύοντα τῷ Σκηπίωνι, μὴ παρεῖναι
τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδ' ὑπεῖκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτόν, εἰ
δόξειεν, ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους περαιοῦσθαι, καὶ χρή-
5 ματα δοθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ εἶασε. χρή-
ματα μὲν οὖν Σκηπίων ἑαυτῷ πορίζειν ἀναγκα-
ζόμενος ἤγειρε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Τύρρηνι πόλεων ἰδία 18
πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείως διακειμένων καὶ χαριζομένων.
Κράσσον δὲ τὰ μὲν ἢ φύσις οὐκ ὄντα φιλόνεικον,
ἀλλὰ πρᾶον, οἴκοι κατεῖχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ νόμος θεῖος
ἱερωσύνην ἔχοντα τὴν μεγίστην.

- XXVI. Αὐθις οὖν καθ' ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἀπαντῶν ὁ
Φάβιος τῷ Σκηπίωνι κατεκώλυε τοὺς ὀρμωμένους
αὐτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι τῶν γέων καὶ κατεῖχεν,
ἐν τε ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις βοῶν ὥς
οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἀννίβαν ἀποδιδράσκει μόνος ὁ Σκη-
πίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκπλέοι λαβὼν
δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δημαγωγῶν ἐλπίσι τοὺς
νέους καὶ ἀναπείθων ἀπολιπεῖν γονίας καὶ γυναι-
κας καὶ πόλιν, ἧς ἐν θύραις ἐπικρατῶν καὶ ἀήτ-
τητος ὁ πολέμιος κάθηται. καὶ μέντοι ταῦτα
2 λέγων ἐφόβησε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μόνοις αὐτὸν
ἐψηφίσαντο χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατεύμασι

¹ μὴ supplied by Sintenis² and Bekker.

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failure to end the war after all these years would be attributed to sloth and cowardice.

Now it is likely that Fabius began this opposition out of his great caution and prudence, in fear of the danger, which was great; but that he grew more violent and went to greater lengths in his opposition out of ambition and rivalry, in an attempt to check the rising influence of Scipio. For he even tried to persuade Crassus, Scipio's colleague in the consulship, not to surrender the command of the army and not to yield to Scipio, but to proceed in person against Carthage, if that policy were adopted. He also prevented the granting of moneys for the war. As for moneys, since he was obliged to provide them for himself, Scipio collected them on his private account from the cities of Etruria, which were devotedly attached to him; and as for Crassus, it was partly his nature, which was not contentious, but gentle, that kept him at home, and partly also a religious custom, for he was pontifex maximus, or High Priest.

XXVI. Accordingly, Fabius took another way to oppose Scipio, and tried to hinder and restrain the young men who were eager to serve under him, crying out in sessions of the senate and the assembly that it was not Scipio himself only who was running away from Hannibal, but that he was sailing off from Italy with her reserve forces, playing upon the hopes of her young men, and persuading them to abandon their parents, their wives, and their city, although the enemy still sat at her gates, masterful and undefeated. And verily he frightened the Romans with these speeches, and they decreed that Scipio should employ only the forces which were then in Sicily, and take with him only three hundred of the

καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γεγονότων μετ' αὐτοῦ τριακοσίους ἄγειν, οἷς ἐχρήτο πιστοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ὁ Φάβιος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σκηπίωνος εἰς Λιβύην διαβάντος εὐθὺς ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ πράξεις ὑπερήφανοι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κύλλος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπηγγέλλοντο, καὶ μαρτυροῦντα ταῖς φήμαις εἶπετο λάφυρα πολλά,
 3 καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Νομάδων αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ δύο στρατοπέδων ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἐμπρήσεις καὶ φθορὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶν δ' ὅπλων καὶ ἵππων ἐν αὐτοῖς συγκατακεκαυμένων, καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς Ἀντίβαν ἐπέμποντο παρὰ Καρχηδονίων καλούντων καὶ δεομένων ἐάσαντα τὰς
 4 ἀτελεῖς ἐκείνας ἐλπίδας οἵκαδε βοηθεῖν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πάντων ἐχόντων τὸν Σκηπίωνα διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, Φάβιος ἡξίου πέμπεσθαι Σκηπίωνι διάδοχον, ἄλλην μὲν οὐκ ἔχων πρόφασιν, εἰπὼν δὲ τὸ μνημονευόμενον, ὥς ἐπισφαλές ἐστι πιστεύειν ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς τύχῃ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα, χαλεπὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ εὐτυχεῖν τὸν αὐτόν, οὕτω προσέκρουσεν ἤδη πολλοῖς, ὥς δύσκολος ἀνὴρ καὶ βύσκανος ἢ πάμπαν ὑπὸ γήρως ἄτολμος γεγονὼς καὶ δύσελπις, περαιτέρω τε τοῦ
 5 μετρίου κατατεθαμβημένος τὸν Ἀντίβαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκπλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἶασε τὸ χαῖρον καὶ τεθαρρηκὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀθόρυβον καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ τότε δὴ μάλιστα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει θεούσῃ παρὰ τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγε·

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men who had been with him in Spain,—men who had served him faithfully. In this course, at any rate, Fabius seems to have been influenced by his own cautious temper.

But as soon as Scipio had crossed into Africa, tidings were brought¹ to Rome of wonderful achievements and of exploits transcendent in magnitude and splendour. These reports were confirmed by abundant spoils which followed them; the king of Numidia was taken captive; two of the enemy's camps were at once destroyed by fire, and in them a great number of men, arms, and horses; embassies were sent from Carthage to Hannibal urgently calling upon him to give up his fruitless hopes in Italy and come to the aid of his native city;² and when every tongue in Rome was dwelling on the theme of Scipio's successes, then Fabius demanded that a successor should be sent out to replace him. He gave no other reason, but urged the well remembered maxim that it was dangerous to entrust such vast interests to the fortune of a single man, since it was difficult for the same man to have good fortune always. By this course he gave offence now to many, who thought him a captious and malicious man, or one whose old age had robbed him utterly of courage and confidence, so that he was immoderately in awe of Hannibal. For not even after Hannibal and his army had sailed away from Italy³ would he suffer the rejoicing and fresh courage of the citizens to be undisturbed and assured, but then even more than ever he insisted that the city was running into extremest peril and that her affairs were in a dangerous plight.

¹ 204 B.C.

² Cf. Livy, xxx. 19.

³ 203 B.C.

βαρύτερον γὰρ ἐν Λιβύῃ πρὸ Καρχηδόνης αὐτοῖς Ἀννίβαν ἐμπεσεῖσθαι, καὶ στρατὸν ἀπαντῆσειν Σκηπίωνι πολλῶν ἔτι θερμὸν αὐτοκρατόρων αἵματι καὶ δικτατόρων καὶ ὑπάτων· ὥστε τὴν πόλιν αὐθις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀναταράττεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μεθεστῶτος εἰς Λιβύην ἐγγυτέρω τῆς Ῥώμης οἶεσθαι γεγονέναι τὸν φόβον.

XXVII. Ἀλλὰ Σκηπίων μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτὸν τε νικήσας μάχῃ κατὰ κράτος Ἀννίβαν καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ καταπατήσας τῆς Καρχηδόνης ὑποπεσούσης, ἀπέδωκε μείζονα χαρὰν ἀπάσης ἐλπίδους τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὡς ἀληθῶς “πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθεῖσαν ὥρθωσε πάλιν.”¹ Φάβιος δὲ Μάξιμος οὐ διήρκεσε τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, οὐδ’ ἤκουσεν Ἀννίβαν ἡττημένον, οὐδὲ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ βέβαιον εὐτυχίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεῖδεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὃν χρόνον Ἀννίβας ἀπῆρεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας 2 νόσῳ καμὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι δημοσίᾳ διὰ πενίαν, ἣν ἀπέλιπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἔθαψαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶκοι τελευτήσαντος εὐρεθῆναι πλὴν ὀβελίσκον σιδηροῦν λέγουσι· Φάβιον δὲ 190 Ῥωμαῖοι δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκ ἐκήδευσαν, ἰδίᾳ δ’ ἐκάστου τὸ σμικρότατον αὐτῷ τῶν νομισμάτων ἐπενεγκόντος, οὐχ ὡς δι’ ἔνδειαν προσαρκούντων, ἀλλ’ ὡς πατέρα τοῦ δήμου θάπτοντος, ἔσχε τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ πρέπουσαν.

¹ πολλῷ . . . πάλιν with Bekker, as adapted from (θεοί) πολλῷ σάλῳ σείσαντες ὥρθωσαν πάλιν, Sophocles, *Antigone*, 163. Sintenis corrected ὥρθωσε to ὥρθωσεν, after Coraës, and printed the whole as an iambic trimeter verse.

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For Hannibal, he said, would fall upon them with all the greater effect in Africa at the gates of Carthage, and Scipio would be confronted with an army yet warm with the blood of many imperators, dictators, and consuls. Consequently, the city was once more confounded by these speeches, and although the war had been removed to Africa, they thought its terrors were nearer Rome.

XXVII. But shortly afterward Scipio utterly defeated Hannibal himself in battle, humbled and trod under foot the pride of fallen Carthage, restored to his fellow-citizens a joy that surpassed all their hopes, and in very truth "righted once more" the ship of their supremacy, which had been "shaken in a heavy surge." Fabius Maximus, however, did not live to see the end of the war, nor did he even hear of Hannibal's defeat, nor behold the great and assured prosperity of the country, but at about the time when Hannibal set sail from Italy, he fell sick and died.¹ Epaminondas, it is true, was buried by the Thebans at the public cost, because of the poverty in which he died, for it is said that nothing was found in his house after his death except a piece of iron money. Fabius, however, was not buried by the Romans at the public charge, but each private citizen contributed the smallest coin in his possession, not because his poverty called for their aid, but because the people felt that it was burying a father, whose death thus received honour and regard befitting his life.

¹ 203 B.C. Cf. Livy, xxx. 26.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΒΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ
ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιαύτην ἔχουσιν ἱστορίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ παραδείγματα καταλελοίπασιν ἀμφοτέροι, φέρε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκείνο πρῶτον λάβωμεν, ὅτι Περικλῆς μὲν ἄριστα πράττοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ καθ' αὐτὸν ὄντι καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς δύναμιν ἀκμάζοντι χρώμενος ὑπὸ κοινῆς ἂν δόξειεν εὐτυχίας καὶ ῥώμης πραγμά-
2 των ἀσφαλῆς διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἄπταιστος, αἱ δὲ Φαβίου πράξεις ἐν αἰσχίστοις καὶ δυσποτμο-
τάτοις καιροῖς ἀναδεξαμένου τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀσφαλῆ διετήρησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ κακῶν εἰς βελτίῳ μετέστησαν. καὶ Περικλεῖ μὲν αἱ Κίμωνος εὐπραξίαι καὶ τὰ Μυρωνίδου καὶ τὰ Λεωκράτους τρόπαια καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα Τολμίδης κατορθῶν ἐνεορτάσαι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμπανηγυρίσαι στρατηγούντι τὴν πόλιν ἢ κτήσα-
3 σθαι πολέμῳ καὶ φυλάξαι παρέδωκαν· Φάβιος δ' ὁρῶν πολλὰς μὲν φυγὰς καὶ ἥττας, πολλοὺς δὲ θανάτους καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ στρατηγῶν, λίμνας δὲ καὶ πεδία καὶ δρυμοὺς νεκρῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθοντας, αἵματι δὲ καὶ φόνῳ ποταμοὺς ἄχρι θαλάττης ῥέοντας, ἐν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁρμωμένῳ καὶ βεβηκότι τὴν πόλιν ἀντι-
λαμβανόμενος καὶ ὑπερείδων, οὐκ εἴασε τοῖς

¹ ὁρμωμένῳ Bekker corrects to ἡρμωσμένῳ (*attempered*), after Coraës.

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I. SUCH is the story of these men's lives, and since both left behind them many examples of civil as well as military excellence, let us consider, in the first place, the matter of their military achievements. Pericles was at the head of his people when its prosperity was greatest, when its own strength was at the full, and its imperial power culminating. Apparently, therefore, it was the general good fortune and vigour that kept him free from stumbling and falling, whereas the achievements of Fabius, who took charge of his city at times of the greatest disgrace and misfortune, did not maintain her safely in her prosperity, but rather lifted her out of disaster into a better state. And besides, the victories of Cimon, and the trophies of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great successes of Tolmides, made it the privilege of Pericles, during his administration, to enrich the city with holidays and public festivals, rather than to enlarge and protect her dominion by war. Fabius, on the contrary, whose eyes beheld many disgraceful defeats, many cruel deaths of imperators and generals, lakes and plains and forests filled with slain armies, and rivers flowing with blood and slaughter to the sea, put helping and supporting hands to his city, and by his firm and independent course, prevented her from utter

ἐκείνων ὑποφερομένην πταίσμασι τελέως ἐκχυ-
 1 θῆναι. καίτοι δόξειεν ἂν οὐχ οὕτω χαλεπὸν εἶναι
 πόλιν ἐν συμφοραῖς μεταχειρίσασθαι ταπεινὴν
 καὶ τοῦ φρονούντος ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κατήκοον γενο-
 μένην, ὥς δι' εὐτυχίαν ἐπηρμένῳ καὶ σπαργῶντι
 τῷ δήμῳ χαλινὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ὕβρεως καὶ θρασύτη-
 τος· ᾧ δὲ μάλιστα φαίνεται τρόπῳ Περικλῆς
 Ἀθηναίων περιγενόμενος. ἀλλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίοις
 συμπεσόντων τότε κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ
 πλῆθος ἰσχυρόν τινα τὴν γνώμην¹ καὶ μέγαν
 ἔδειξεν ἄνδρα τὸν μὴ συγχυθέντα μηδὲ προέμενον
 τοὺς αὐτοῦ λογισμούς.

II. Καὶ Σάμῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους ἀλούετη
 τὴν Τάραντος ἔστι κατάληψιν ἀντιθεῖναι, καὶ νῆ
 Δί' Εὐβοία τὰς περὶ Καμπανίαν πόλεις· ἐπεὶ
 αὐτὴν γε Καπύην οἱ περὶ Φούλβιον καὶ Ἀππιων
 ὕπατοι κατέσχον. ἐκ δὲ παρατάξεως Φάβιος οὐ
 φαίνεται μάχῃ νενικηκὼς πλὴν ἀφ' ἧς τὸν πρό-
 τερον εἰσήλασε θρίαμβον, Περικλῆς δ' ἐννέα
 τρόπαια κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἔστησεν
 2 ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. οὐ μὴν λέγεται τοιαύτη
 πρᾶξις Περικλέους, οἷαν ἔπραξε Φάβιος Μινούκιον
 ἐξαρπάσας Ἀννίβου καὶ διασώσας ἐντελὲς στρα-
 τόπεδον Ῥωμαίων· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔργον καὶ κοινὸν
 ἀνδρείας ὁμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ χρηστότητος·
 ὥσπερ αὐτὸς πάλιν οὐδὲ σφάλμα λέγεται Περικλέους
 οἷον ἐσφάλῃ Φάβιος διὰ τῶν βοῶν καταστρατη-
 γηθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀννίβου, λαβὼν μὲν αὐτομάτως καὶ
 κατὰ τύχην ὑπελθόντα τοῖς στενοῖς τὸν πολέμιον,
 προέμενος δὲ νυκτὸς λαθόντα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν
 βιασάμενον καὶ φθάσαντα μέλλοντος καὶ κρατή-

¹ τὴν γνώμην Coraës : γνώμην.

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exhaustion through the disasters brought upon her by others. And yet it would appear to be not so difficult a task to manage a city when she is humbled by adversity and rendered obedient to wisdom by necessity, as it is to bridle a people which is exalted by prosperity and swollen with insolence and boldness, which is precisely the way in which Pericles governed Athens. Still, the magnitude and multitude of evils which afflicted the Romans revealed the steadfast purpose and the greatness of the man who was not confounded by them, and would not abandon his own principles of action.

II. Over against the capture of Samos by Pericles, it is fair to set the taking of Tarentum by Fabius, and against Euboea, the cities of Campania (Capua itself was reduced by the consuls Fulvius and Appius). In open and regular battle, Fabius seems to have won no victory except that for which he celebrated his first triumph¹; whereas Pericles set up nine trophies for his wars on land and sea. However, no such exploit is recorded of Pericles as that by which Fabius snatched Minucius from the hands of Hannibal, and preserved an entire Roman army; the deed was certainly a noble one, and showed a combination of valour, wisdom, and kindness alike. So, on the other hand, no such defeat is recorded of Pericles as that which Fabius suffered when he was outwitted by Hannibal's stratagem of the oxen; he had his enemy imprisoned in the narrow defile which he had entered of his own accord and accidentally, but let him slip away unnoticed in the night, force his way out when day came, take advantage of his adversary's delays, and

¹ Cf. chapter ii. 1.

- 3 *σαντα συλλαβόντος. εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ μόνον χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς τὸν ἀγαθὸν στρατηγόν, Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ὡς Περικλῆς προέγνω καὶ προεῖπεν ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πόλεμος· πολυπραγμονοῦντες γὰρ ἀπώλεσαν τὴν δύναμιν· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Φαβίου λογισμοὺς ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους Σκηπίωνα πάντων ἐκράτησαν, οὐ τύχη, σοφία δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀνδρεία κατὰ κράτος*
- 4 *νικήσαντος τοὺς πολεμίους. ὥστε τῷ μὲν 19 τὰ πταίσματα τῆς πατρίδος μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι καλῶς ἔγνω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἐσφαλμένον. ἴση δ' ἀμαρτία στρατηγοῦ κακῶ περιπεσεῖν μὴ προσδοκήσαντα καὶ κατορθώματος καιρὸν ἀπιστία προέσθαι. μία γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπειρία καὶ θράσος γεννᾷ καὶ θάρσος ἀφαιρεῖται. ταῦτα περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν.*

III. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας μέγα μὲν ἔγκλημα τοῦ Περικλέους ὁ πόλεμος. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπακτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου γενέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐρίσαντος μὴ ἐνδοῦναι. δοκῶ δὲ μὴδ' ἂν Φάβιον Μάξιμον ἐνδοῦναί τι Καρχηδονίοις, ἀλλ' εὐγενῶς ὑποστῆναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κίνδυνον. ἡ μέντοι πρὸς Μινούκιον ἐπιείκεια τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ πραότης ἐλέγχει τὸν πρὸς Κίμωνα καὶ Θουκυδίδην στασιασμόν, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἀριστο-

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so conquer his captor. And if it is the part of a good general not only to improve the present, but also to judge correctly of the future, then Pericles was such a general, for the war which the Athenians were waging came to an end as he had foreknown and foretold; for they undertook too much and lost their empire. But it was contrary to the principles of Fabius that the Romans sent Scipio against Carthage and were completely victorious, not through the favour of fortune, but through the wisdom and valour of the general who utterly conquered their enemies. Therefore the very disasters of his country bear witness to the sagacity of Pericles; while the successes of the Romans proved that Fabius was completely in the wrong. And it is just as great a failing in a general to involve himself in disaster from want of foresight, as it is to throw away an opportunity for success from want of confidence. Inexperience, it would seem, is to blame in each case, which both engenders rashness in a man, and robs a man of courage. So much for their military abilities.

III. As for their statesmanship, the Peloponnesian war was a ground of great complaint against Pericles. For it is said to have been brought on by his contention that no concession should be made to Sparta. I think, however, that not even Fabius Maximus would have made any concessions to Carthage, but would have nobly undergone the peril needful to maintain the Roman supremacy. Nevertheless, the courteous and gentle conduct of Fabius towards Minucius contrasts forcibly with the factious opposition of Pericles to Cimon and Thucydides, who were both good and true men and of the highest birth,

κρατικούς εἰς φυγὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦστρακον
 2 ἐκπεσόντας. ἀλλ' ἢ γε δύναμις μείζων ἢ τοῦ
 Περικλέους καὶ τὸ κράτος. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἄλλον
 εἶασεν ἐνδυστυχῆσαι τῇ πόλει κακῶς βουλευ-
 σάμενον στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος αὐτὸν ἐκφυγὼν
 Τολμίδης καὶ διωσάμενος βία προσέπταισε Βοιω-
 τοῖς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσετίθεντο καὶ κατεκοσμοῦντο
 πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ὑπὸ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ
 3 τῆς δυνάμεως. Φάβιος δὲ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῆς
 ὢν καὶ ἀναμάρτητος τῷ πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἑτέρους
 ἀδυνάτῳ φαίνεται λειπόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἂν το-
 σαύταις συμφοραῖς ἐχρήσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι Φαβίου
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅσον Ἀθήνησι Περικλέους δυνη-
 θέντος.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν γε πρὸς χρήματα μεγαλοφροσύνην
 ὁ μὲν τῷ μηδὲν λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν διδόντων, ὁ δὲ
 τῷ προέσθαι πολλὰ τοῖς δομένοις ἐπεδείξατο,
 λυσάμενος τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήμασι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.
 4 πλὴν τούτων μὲν οὐ πολὺς ἦν ἀριθμός, ἀλλ' ὅσον
 ἑξ τάλαντα· Περικλῆς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἴσως εἴποι τις
 ὅσα καὶ παρὰ συμμάχων καὶ βασιλέων ὠφελεί-
 σθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι παρόν, τῆς δυνάμεως
 διδούσης, ἀδωρότατον ἑαυτὸν καὶ καθαρώτατον
 ἐφύλαξεν.

5 Ἔργων γε μὴν μεγέθεσι καὶ ναῶν καὶ κατα-
 σκευαῖς οἰκοδομημάτων, ἑξ ὧν ἐκόσμησεν ὁ
 Περικλῆς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐκ ἄξιον ὁμοῦ πάντα τὰ
 πρὸ τῶν Καισάρων φιλοτιμήματα τῆς Ῥώμης
 παραβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἑξοχόν τι πρὸς ἐκείνα καὶ
 ἀσύγκριτον ἢ τούτων ἔσχε μεγαλουργία καὶ
 μεγαλοπρέπεια τὸ πρωτεῖον.

COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS

and yet were subjected by him to ostracism and banishment. But Pericles had greater influence and power than Fabius. For this reason he did not suffer any other general to bring misfortune upon the city by his evil counsels, except that Tolmides broke away from his guidance, carried through by main force a plan for attacking Boeotia, and met with disaster; but the rest all attached themselves submissively to his opinion, owing to the greatness of his influence. Fabius, on the other hand, though sure and unerring in his own conduct of affairs, seems to have fallen short through his inability to restrain others. Surely the Romans would not have suffered so many disasters if Fabius had been as influential with them as Pericles was at Athens.

And further, as regards their freedom from mercenary views, Pericles displayed it by never taking any gifts at all; Fabius by his liberality to the needy, when he ransomed at his own costs his captured soldiers. Albeit the amount of his property was not great, but about six talents. And Pericles, though he had opportunities, owing to his authority and influence, to enrich himself from obsequious allies and kings beyond all possible estimates, nevertheless kept himself pre-eminently superior to bribes and free from corruption.

By the side of the great public works, the temples, and the stately edifices, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all Rome's attempts at splendour down to the times of the Caesars, taken together, are not worthy to be considered, nay, the one had a towering pre-eminence above the other, both in grandeur of design, and grandeur of execution, which precludes comparison.





ΝΙΚΙΑΣ

Ι. Ἐπεὶ δοκοῦμεν οὐκ ἀτόπως τῷ Νικίᾳ τὸν Κράσσον παραβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ Παρθικὰ παθήματα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς, ὅρα παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς συγγράμμασι τούτοις, ὅπως ἐπὶ ταῖς διηγήσεσιν αἷς Θουκυδίδης, αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ ταῦτα παθητικώτατος, ἐναργέστατος, ποικιλώτατος γενόμενος, ἀμιμήτως ἐξενήνοχε, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπολάβωσι
2 πεπονθέναι Τιμαίῳ πάθος ὅμοιον, ὃς ἐλπίσας τὸν μὲν Θουκυδίδην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι δεινότητι, τὸν δὲ Φίλιστον ἀποδείξειν παντάπασι φορτικὸν καὶ ἰδιώτην, διὰ μέσων ὠθεῖται τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν μάλιστα κατωρθωμένων ἐκείνοις ἀγώνων καὶ ναυμαχιῶν καὶ δημηγοριῶν, οὐ μὰ Δία

παρὰ Λύδιον ἄρμα πεζὸς οἰχνεύων

ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος, ἀλλ' ὅλως τις ὀψιμαθὴς καὶ μειρακιώδης φαινόμενος ἐν τούτοις, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δίφιλον

παχύς, ὠνθυλευμένος στέατι Σικελικῷ,

3 πολλαχοῦ δ' ὑπορρέων εἰς τὸν Ξέναρχον, ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἰωνὸν ἡγήσασθαι γεγονέναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔχοντα τοῦνομα

NICIAS

I. I THINK that Nicias is a suitable parallel to Crassus, and the Sicilian to the Parthian disaster. I must therefore at once, and in all modesty, entreat my readers not to imagine for an instant that, in my narration of what Thucydides has inimitably set forth, surpassing even himself in pathos, vividness, and variety, I am so disposed as was Timaeus. He, confidently hoping to excel Thucydides in skill, and to make Philistus seem altogether tedious and clumsy, pushes his history along through the conflicts and sea-fights and harangues which those writers had already handled with the greatest success, showing himself, in rivalry with them, not even so much as

“By Lydian car a footman slowly plodding,”

to use Pindar's comparison,¹ nay rather, a perfect example of senile learning and youthful conceit, and, in the words of Diphilus,

“Obese, stuffed to the full with Sicilian grease.”²

Indeed, he often lapses unawares into the manner of Xenarchus, as, for instance, when he says he thinks it was a bad omen for the Athenians that Nicias, whose name was derived from victory, declined at

¹ One of the *Fragmenta Incerta* (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, i⁴. p. 450). ² Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 576.

στρατηγὸν ἀντειπόντα πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ τῇ περικοπῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν προσημαίνειν αὐτοῖς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὥς ὑπὸ Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Ἑρμωνος πλείστα πείσονται παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον· ἔτι δ' εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις βοηθεῖν διὰ τὴν Κόρην, παρ' ἧς ἔλαβε τὸν Κέρβερον, ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι τοὺς Αἰγεστέας, ἀπογόνους ὄντας Τρώων, ἔσωζον, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ Λαομέδοντος ἀδικηθεὶς ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν.

- 4 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας ταῦτά τε γράφειν ἐπῆει καὶ τὴν Φιλίστου διάλεκτον εὐθύνειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην λοιδореῖσθαι· ἐμοὶ δ' ὅλως μὲν ἡ περὶ λέξιν ἄμιλλα καὶ ζηλοτυπία πρὸς ἑτέρους μικροπρεπὲς φαίνεται καὶ σοφιστικόν, ἂν δὲ πρὸς τὰ
- 5 ἀμίμητα γίγνηται, καὶ τελέως ἀναίσθητον. ἃς γοῦν Θουκυδίδης ἐξήνεγκε πράξεις καὶ Φίλιστος, ἐπεὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἔστι, μάλιστά γε δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν καλυπτομένην περιεχούσας, ἐπιδραμὼν βραχέως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἵνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελὴς δοκῶ καὶ ἄργος εἶναι, τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλούς, ὑφ' ἑτέρων
- δ' εἰρημένα σποράδην ἢ πρὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἢ ψηφίσμασιν εὐρημένα παλαιοῖς πεπείραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἀθροίζων ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανόησιν ἡθους καὶ τρόπου παραδιδούς.

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first to head their expedition ; also that, by the mutilation of the " *Hermæ*," ¹ Heaven indicated to them in advance that by the hands of Hermocrates the son of Hermon they were to suffer most of their reverses during the war ; and, further, that it was fitting that Heracles should aid the Syracusans, for the sake of their goddess Cora, who delivered Cerberus into his hands, but should be angry with the Athenians, because they were trying to succour the Egestaeans, although they were descendants of the Trojans, whose city he had once destroyed because of the wrong done him by Laomedon their king.

As for Timæus, he may possibly have been moved to write thus in the exercise of the same critical taste which led him to correct the language of Philistus and abuse Plato and Aristotle ; but as for me, I feel that jealous rivalry with other writers in matters of diction is altogether undignified and pedantic, and if it be practised toward what is beyond all imitation, utterly silly. At all events, those deeds which Thucydides and Philistus have set forth,—since I cannot entirely pass them by, indicating as they do the nature of my hero and the disposition which lay hidden beneath his many great sufferings,—I have run over briefly, and with no unnecessary detail, in order to escape the reputation of utter carelessness and sloth ; but those details which have escaped most writers, and which others have mentioned casually, or which are found on ancient votive offerings or in public decrees, these I have tried to collect, not massing together useless material of research, but handing on such as furthers the appreciation of character and temperament.

¹ See chapter xiii. 2.

- II. Ἐνεστιν οὖν περὶ Νικίου πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ὃ γέγραφεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικὴν ἔχοντες εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ Μελησίου καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ Ἀγνωνος, ἦττον δὲ οὗτος ἢ ἐκείναι· καὶ γὰρ εἰς δυσγένειαν ὡς ξένος ἐκ Κέω λελοιδόρηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον, ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζον αἰεὶ τῇ προ-
 2 αἰρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκλήθη Κόθορνος. ἐκείνων δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἦν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ Περικλεῖ δημαγωγοῦντι τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν προϋστάμενος ἀντεπολιτεύσατο, νεώτερος δὲ Νικίας γενόμενος ἦν μὲν ἔν τιμι λόγῳ καὶ Περικλέους ζῶντος, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνῳ συστρατηγῆσαι καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἄρξαι πολλάκις, Περικλέους δ' ἀποθανόντος εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προήχθη, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ γνωρίμων, ἀντίταγμα ποιουμένων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Κλέωνος βδελυρίαν καὶ τόλμαν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἶχεν εὖνουν καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενον.
- 3 Ἰσχυε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κλέων μέγα "γερονταγωγῶν κἀναμισθαρνεῖν διδούς," ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἰταμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος¹ ὁρῶντες αὐτοὶ οἷς πρὸς χάριν ἔπραττεν, οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἐπήγοντο. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἀύστηρόν

¹ τὸ θράσος Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: θράσος.

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II. Accordingly, I may say of Nicias, in the first place, what Aristotle wrote,¹ namely, that the three best citizens of Athens,—men of hereditary good will and friendship for the people,—were Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Melesias, and Theramenes the son of Hagnon. However, this was true of the last in lesser degree than of the other two, because he has been flouted for inferior parentage as an alien from Ceos; and on account of his not being steadfast, but ever trying to court both sides in his political career, was nicknamed “Cothurnus.”² Of the other two, Thucydides was the older man, and as head of the aristocratic party,—the party of the “Good and True,”—often opposed Pericles in his efforts to win the favour of the people. Nicias was a younger man. He was held in some repute even while Pericles was still living, so that he was not only associated with him as general, but frequently had independent command himself; after Pericles was dead,³ Nicias was at once put forward into the position of leader, especially by the party of the rich and notable. These made him their champion to face the disgusting boldness of Cleon.

And yet, for that matter, the common people also held him in favour and aided his ambitions. For although Cleon had great influence with them, “by coddling them, and giving frequent jobs for pay,”⁴ yet the very men whose favour he thus sought to gain were aware of his rapacity and fierce effrontery, and for the most part preferred Nicias as their champion.

¹ *Constitution of Athens*, xxviii. 5.

² The high boot of tragic actors, which could be worn on either foot. ³ 429 B.C.

⁴ An iambic trimeter from an unknown comic poet (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, iii. p. 400).

οὐδ' ἐπαχθὲς ἄγαν αὐτοῦ τὸ σεμνόν, ἀλλ' εἰλα-
 βεία τινὲ μεμιγμένον αὐτῷ τῷ δεδιέναι δοκοῦντι
 4 τοὺς πολλοὺς δημαγωγοῦν. τῇ φύσει γὰρ ὦν
 ἀθαρσῆς καὶ δύσελπις, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς
 ἀπέκρυπτεν εὐτυχίαν τὴν δειλίαν· κατώρθου γὰρ
 ὁμαλῶς στρατηγῶν· τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ψοφο-
 δεὲς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας εὐθอรύβητον
 αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικὸν ἐδόκει, καὶ δύναμιν οὐ μικ-
 ρὰν ἀπ' εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου παρεῖχε τῷ δεδιέναι
 τοὺς ὑπερορῶντας, αὔξειν δὲ τοὺς δεδιότας. τοῖς
 γὰρ πολλοῖς τιμὴ μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν μειζόνων τὸ
 μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι.

III. Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τε ἀρετῆς ἀληθινῆς
 καὶ λόγου δυνάμεως τὴν πόλιν ἄγων οὐδενὸς ἐδεῖτο
 σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οὐδὲ πιθανότητος,
 Νικίας δὲ τούτοις μὲν λειπόμενος, οὐσία δὲ προέ-
 2 χων, ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐδημαγώγει. καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος
 εὐχερείᾳ καὶ βωμολοχίᾳ πρὸς ἡδονὴν μεταχειρι-
 ζομένη τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀντιπαρ-
 εξίγειν ἀπίθανος ὦν, χορηγίαις ἀνελάμβανε καὶ
 γυμνασιαρχίαις ἑτέραις τε τοιαύταις φιλοτιμίαις
 τὸν δῆμον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος πολυτελείᾳ καὶ χάριτι
 τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἅπαντας.
 3 εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς
 τό τε Παλλάδιον ἐν ἰκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσωσιν
 ἀποβεβληκός, καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν

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The dignity of Nicias was not of the harsh, offensive sort, but was blended with much circumspection, and won control of the people from the very fact that he was thought to be afraid of them. Timid as he was by nature, and distrustful of success, in war he managed to succeed in hiding his cowardice under a cloak of good fortune, for he was uniformly successful as a general; while in political life his nervousness, and the ease with which he could be put to confusion by accusers, actually tended to make him popular, and gave him in high degree that power which comes from the favour of the people, because they fear men who scorn them, but exalt men who fear them. The multitude can have no greater honour shown them by their superiors than not to be despised.

III. Now Pericles led the city by virtue of his native excellence and powerful eloquence, and had no need to assume any persuasive mannerisms with the multitude; but Nicias, since he lacked such powers, but had excessive wealth, sought by means of this to win the leadership of the people.¹ And since he despaired of his ability to vie successfully with the versatile buffoonery by which Cleon catered to the pleasure of the Athenians, he tried to captivate the people by choral and gymnastic exhibitions, and other like prodigalities, outdoing in the costliness and elegance of these all his predecessors and contemporaries. Of his dedicatory offerings there remain standing in my day not only the Palladium on the acropolis,—the one which has lost its gilding,—but also the temple surmounted by choregic tripods,¹ in

¹ Bronze tripods were awarded as prizes to the victorious *choregi* in the dithyrambic choral contests,

- choregic monument
in temple)

ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολ-
λάκις χορηγήσας, ἐλείφθη δὲ οὐδέποτε. λέγεται
δ' ἐν τινι χορηγίᾳ παρελθεῖν οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ κεκοσ-
μημένος εἰς σχῆμα Διονύσου, κάλλιστος ὀφθῆναι
καὶ μέγιστος, οὐπω γενειῶν· ἡσθέντων δὲ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων τῇ ὄψει καὶ κροτούντων ἐπὶ πολὺν
χρόνον, ἀναστὰς ὁ Νικίας εἶπεν ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον
ἡγοῖτο δουλεύειν καταπεφημισμένον θεῷ σῶμα,
καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀπηλευθέρωσε.

- 4 Μνημονεύεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ Δῆλον ὡς
λαμπρὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῇ φιλοτιμήματα. τῶν γὰρ
χορῶν, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἔπεμπον ἄσομένους τῷ θεῷ, 525
προσπλεόντων μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν, εὐθὺς δ' ὄχλου
πρὸς τὴν ναῦν ἀπαντῶντος ἄδειν κελευομένων
κατ' οὐδένα κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀσυντάκ-
τως ἀποβαινόντων ἅμα καὶ στεφανουμένων καὶ
5 μεταμφιευννυμένων, ἐκεῖνος, ὅτε τὴν θεωρίαν ἤγεν,
αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ῥήνειαν ἀπέβη τὸν χορὸν ἔχων καὶ
τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ζεύγμα δὲ
πεποιημένον Ἀθήνησι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ κεκοσ-
μημένον ἐκπρεπῶς χρυσώσεσι καὶ βαφαῖς καὶ
στεφάνοις καὶ αὐλαίαις κομίζων, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐγε-
φύρωσε τὸν μεταξὺ Ῥηνείας καὶ Δήλου πόρον οὐκ
ὄντα μέγαν· εἰθ' ἅμα ἡμέρα τὴν τε πομπὴν τῷ
θεῷ καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἄγων κεκοσμημένοι πολυτελῶς
6 καὶ ἄδοντα διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἀπεβίβαζε. μετὰ δὲ
τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις τὸν
τε φοῖνικα τὸν χαλκοῦν ἔστησεν ἀνάθημα τῷ
θεῷ, καὶ χωρίον μυρίων δραχμῶν πριάμενος

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the precinct of Dionysus. For he was often victorious with choruses, and was never defeated. A story is told how, in one of his choral exhibitions, a house servant of his appeared in the costume of Dionysus, very fair to see, and very tall, the down of youth still upon his face. The Athenians were delighted at the sight, and applauded for a long time. At last Nicias rose and said he deemed it an unholy thing that one who had been acclaimed as a god should be a slave, and gave the youth his freedom.

It is matter of record also how splendid and worthy of the god his lavish outlays at Delos were. The choirs which cities used to send thither to sing the praises of the god were wont to put in at the island in haphazard fashion. The throng of worshippers would meet them at the ship and bid them sing, not with the decorum due, but as they were hastily and tumultuously disembarking, and while they were actually donning their chaplets and vestments. But when Nicias conducted the festal embassy, he landed first on the neighbouring island of Rheneia, with his choir, sacrificial victims, and other equipment. Then, with the bridge of boats which he had brought along with him from Athens, where it had been made to measure and signally adorned with gildings and dyed stuffs and garlands and tapestries, he spanned during the night the strait between Rheneia and Delos, which is not wide. At break of day he led his festal procession in honour of the god, and his choir arrayed in lavish splendour and singing as it marched, across the bridge to land. After the sacrifices and the choral contests and the banquets were over, he erected the famous bronze palm-tree as a thank offering to the god, and consecrated to his service a tract of

καθιέρωσεν, οὐ τὰς προσόδους ἔδει Δηλίους κατα-
θύοντας ἐστιῶσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ Νικίᾳ παρὰ
τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένους· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ στήλῃ
ἐνέγραψεν, ἣν ὥσπερ φύλακα τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐν Δήλῳ
κατέλιπεν. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμά-
των ὑποκλασθεὶς ἐνέπεσε τῷ Ναξίων ἀνδριάντι
τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνέτρεψε.

IV. Τούτοις δ' ὅτι μὲν πολὺ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ
φιλοτιμίαν πανηγυρικὸν¹ καὶ ἀγοραῖον ἔνεστιν,
οὐκ ἄδηλον, ἀλλὰ τῷ λοιπῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
καὶ ἦθι πιστεύσειεν ἂν τις εὐσεβείας ἐπακολού-
θημα τὴν τοιαύτην χάριν καὶ δημαγωγίαν γενέ-
σθαι· τφόδρα γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων τὰ
δαιμόνια καὶ “θειαςμῷ προσκείμενος,” ὥς φησι
2 Θουκυδίδης. ἐν δέ τινι τῶν Πασιφώντος διαλόγων
γέγραπται ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἔθνε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ
μάντιν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προσεποιεῖτο μὲν αἰεὶ
σκέπτεσθαι περὶ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀργυρείων
μετάλλων· ἐκέκτητο γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λαυρεωτικῇ πολ-
λά, μεγάλα μὲν εἰς πρόσοδον, οὐκ ἀκινδύνους δὲ
τὰς ἐργασίας ἔχοντα· καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων
ἔτρεφεν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τὸ
3 πλεῖστον εἶχεν. ὅθεν οὐκ ὀλίγοι περὶ αὐτὸν
ἦσαν αἰτοῦντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες. ἐδίδου γὰρ οὐχ

¹ πανηγυρικὸν Madvig's conjecture : πανηγυρικὴν.

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land which he bought at the price of ten thousand drachmas,¹ the revenues from which the Delians were to expend in sacrificial banquets, at which many blessings should be invoked upon Nicias from the gods. This stipulation he actually had graven on the stone which he left in Delos to be as it were the sentry over his benefaction. The palm-tree, however, was torn away by the wind and fell against the colossal statue of the god which the Naxians erected, and overturned it.

IV. In this course it is clear that there was much ostentatious publicity, looking towards increase of reputation and gratification of ambition; and yet, to judge from the rest of the man's bent and character, one might feel sure that such means of winning the favour and control of the people were rather a corollary to his reverent piety. For he was one of those who are excessively terrified at heavenly portents, and was "addicted to divination," as Thucydides says.² And in one of the dialogues of Pasiphon³ it is recorded that he sacrificed every day to the gods, and that he kept a diviner at his house, ostensibly for the constant enquiries which he made about public affairs, whereas most of his enquiries were really made about his own private matters, and especially about his silver mines; for he had large interests in the mining district of Laurium, and they were exceedingly profitable, although worked at great risks. He maintained a multitude of slaves in these mines, and the most of his substance was in silver. For this reason he had a large retinue of people who wanted

¹ About £400, or \$2000, with four or five times the present purchasing power of money.

² vii. 50, 4.

³ Not extant.

ἦττον τοῖς κακῶς ποιεῖν δυναμένοις ἢ τοῖς εὖ πά-
σχαιν ἀξίοις, καὶ ὅλως πρόσδοδος ἦν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε
πονηροῖς ἢ δειλία καὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἢ φιλαν-
θρωπία.

Λαβεῖν δὲ περὶ τούτων μαρτυρίαν καὶ παρὰ
4 τῶν κωμικῶν ἔστι. Τηλεκλείδης μὲν γὰρ εἰς τινα
τῶν συκοφαντῶν ταυτὶ πεποίηκε·

Χαρικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἔδωκε μνᾶν, ἵν' αὐτὸν μὴ
λέγῃ

ὥς ἔφθ τῇ μητρὶ παίδων πρῶτος ἐκ βαλλαντίου·
τέσσαρας δὲ μνᾶς ἔδωκε Νικίας Νικηράτου·
ὦν δ' ἑκατὶ τοῦτ' ἔδωκε, καίπερ εὖ εἰδὼς ἐγὼ
οὐκ ἐρῶ, φίλος γὰρ ἀνὴρ, σωφρονεῖν δέ μοι
δοκεῖ.

5 ὁ δ' ὑπ' Εὐπύλιδος κωμωδούμενος ἐν τῷ Μαρικῇ
παράγων τινὰ τῶν ἀπραγμόνων καὶ πενήτων
λέγει·

Α. Πόσον χρόνου γὰρ συγγεγένησαι Νικία;

Β. οὐδ' εἶδον, εἰ μὴ ἵνα γχος ἐστῶτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ.

Α. ἀνὴρ ὁμολογεῖ Νικίαν ἐορακέναι.

καίτοι τί μαθὼν¹ ἂν εἶδεν, εἰ μὴ προὔδιδεν;

¹ μαθὼν MSS. and edd., including Sintenis¹: παθὼν, an
anonymous correction.

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his money, and who got it too ; for he gave to those who could work him harm no less than to those who deserved his favours, and in general his cowardice was a source of revenue to the base, as his liberality was to the good.

Witness to this can be had from the comic poets. Telecleides composed the following verses on a certain public informer :—

“ So then Charicles gave a mina that he might not tell of him

How he was his mother’s first-born,—and her purse-born child at that.

Minas four he got from Nicias, son of rich Niceratus ;
But the reason why he gave them, though I know it very well,

I’ll not tell ; the man’s my friend, and I think him wise and true.”¹

And the personage who is held up to ridicule by Eupolis, in his “ Maricas,”² fetches in a sort of lazy pauper, and says :—

(*Maricas*) “ How long a time now since you were with Nicias ? ”

(*Pauper*) “ I have not seen him,—saving just now on the Square.”

(*Maricas*) “ The man admits he actually did see Nicias !

Yet what possessed him thus to see him if he was not treacherous ? ”

¹ From a play of unknown name. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 219.

² A caricature of the demagogue Hyperbolus. Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 308.

Γ. ἠκούσατ', ὦ ξυνήλικες,
ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ Νικίαν εἰλημμένον.

Β. ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ φρενοβλαβεῖς,
λάβοιτ' ἂν ἄνδρ' ἄριστον ἐν κακῷ τινι;

6 ὁ δ' Ἀριστοφάνους Κλέων ἀπειλῶν λέγει·

Λαρυγγιῷ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταραῶξω.

ὑποδηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Φρύνιχος τὸ ἀθαρσὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ
καταπεπληγμένον ἐν τούτοις·

Ἦν γὰρ πολίτης ἀγαθός, ὡς εὖ οἶδ' ἐγώ,
κούχ ὑποταγεῖς ἐβάδιζεν, ὥσπερ Νικίας.

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V. Οὕτω δὲ διακείμενος εὐλαβῶς πρὸς τοὺς
συκοφάντας οὔτε συνεδείπνει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
οὔτε κοινολογίαις οὔτε συνδιημερεύσεσιν ἐνέ-
βαλλεν ἑαυτόν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐσχόλαζε ταῖς τοιαύ-
ταις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλ' ἄρχων μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ
διετέλει μέχρι νυκτός, ἐκ δὲ βουλῆς ὕστατος
ἀπῆει πρῶτος ἀφικνούμενος. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν
κοινῷ πράττειν ἔχοι, δυσπρόσοδος ἦν καὶ δυσέν-
2 τευκτος οἰκουρῶν καὶ κατακεκλεισμένος. οἱ δὲ
φίλοι τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις φοιτῶσιν ἐνετύγχανον,
καὶ παρητοῦντο συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ τότε
Νικίου πρὸς δημοσίας χρείας τινὰς καὶ ἀσχολίας
ὄντος.

Καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγωδῶν καὶ συμ-
περιτιθεὶς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν Ἰέρων ἦν, ἀνὴρ

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(*Chorus* ?) "Ye heard, ye heard, my comrades, O !
Our Nicias was taken in the very act !"

(*Pauper*) "What ! you ? O crazy-witted folk !
You catch a man so good in sin of any
sort ?"

And the Cleon of Aristophanes¹ blusteringly says :—

"I'll bellow down the orators, and Nicias I'll rattle."

And Phrynichus plainly hints at his lack of courage and his panic-stricken air in these verses :—

"He was a right good citizen, and I know it well ;
He wouldn't cringe and creep as Nicias always
does."²

V. Since he was disposed to be thus cautious of public informers, he would neither dine with a fellow citizen, nor indulge in general interchange of views or familiar social intercourse ; indeed, he had no leisure for such pastimes, but when he was general, he remained at the War Department till night, and when he was councillor, he was first to reach and last to leave the council. And even if he had no public business to transact, he was inaccessible and hard to come at, keeping close at home with his doors bolted. His friends used to accost those who were in waiting at his door and beg them to be indulgent with Nicias, for he was even then engaged upon sundry urgent matters of public business.

The man who most aided him in playing this rôle, and helped him to assume his costume of pompous

¹ *Knights*, 358. It is not Cleon, but his adversary, the rampant sausage-seller, who utters the verse.

² From a play of unknown name. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 385.

τεθραμμένος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ Νικίου, περὶ τε
 γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν ἐξησκημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
 προσποιούμενος δ' υἱὸς εἶναι Διονυσίου τοῦ
 Χαλκοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, οὗ καὶ ποιήματα
 σῶζεται, καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀποικίας ἡγεμὼν
 3 γενόμενος ἔκτισε Θουρίους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἰέρων
 τὰ τε πρὸς τοὺς μάντεις ἀπόρρητα διεπράττετο
 τῷ Νικίᾳ, καὶ λόγους ἐξέφερεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὡς
 ἐπίπονόν τινα καὶ ταλαίπωρον διὰ τὴν πόλιν
 ζώντος αὐτοῦ βίον· ὃ γ' ἔφη καὶ περὶ λουτρὸν
 ὄντι καὶ περὶ δεῖπνον αἰεὶ τι προσπίπτειν δημό-
 σιον. “ἀμελῶν δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ
 φροντίζειν μόλις ἄρχεται καθεύδειν περὶ πρῶτον
 4 ὕπνον. ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διάκειται κακῶς,
 καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὐ προσηνὴς οὐδὲ ἡδύς ἐστιν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους προσαποβέβληκε τοῖς χρήμασι
 πολιτευόμενος. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι καὶ φίλους κτώμενοι
 καὶ πλουτίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐπα-
 θοῦσι καὶ προσπαίζουσι τῇ πολιτείᾳ.” τῷ δ'
 ὄντι τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Νικίου βίος ὥστ' αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν
 τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰς αὐτόν·

Προστάτην γε τοῦ βίου
 τὸν ὄγκον ἔχομεν, τῷ τ' ὀχλῷ δουλεύομεν.¹

VI. Ὅρων δὲ τῶν ἐν λόγῳ δυνατῶν ἢ τῷ
 φρονεῖν διαφερόντων ἀποχρώμενον εἰς ἓνια ταῖς
 ἐμπειρίαις τὸν δῆμον, ὑφορώμενον δ' αἰεὶ καὶ

¹ Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 445 f. (Kirchhoff), where
 the MSS. have *προστάτην γε, τὸν δῆμον, τῷ τ' ὀχλῷ*. The
 MSS. of Plutarch have *προστάτην δέ, τὸν ὄγκον, τῷ δ' ὀχλῷ*.

dignity, was Hiero. He had been reared in the household of Nicias, and thoroughly instructed by him in letters and literature. He pretended to be the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus, whose poems¹ are indeed extant, and who, as leader of the colonizing expedition to Italy, founded Thurii.² This Hiero it was who managed for Nicias his secret dealings with the seers, and who was forever putting forth among the people moving tales about the life of severe hardships which his patron led for the sake of the city. "Why!" said he, "even when he takes his bath and when he eats his dinner, some public business or other is sure to confront him; he neglects his private interests in his anxiety for the common good, and scarcely gets to sleep till others wake. That's the reason why he is physically all run down, and is not affable or pleasant to his friends, nay, he has actually lost these too, in addition to his substance, and all in the service of the city. Other public men not only win friends but enrich themselves through their influence as public speakers, and then fare sumptuously, and make a plaything of the service of the city." In point of fact, such was the life of Nicias that he could say of himself what Agamemnon did:—

"Sooth, as master of my life
My pomp I have, and to the populace I'm a slave."

VI. He saw that the people, upon occasion, served their own turn with experienced men of eloquence or surpassing ability, but ever looked with suspicious and cautious eyes upon such powers, and tried to

¹ Seven fragments appear in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii⁴. pp. 262 ff. ² Cf. *Pericles*, xi. 5.

- φυλαττόμενον τὴν δεινότητα καὶ κολούοντα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ὡς δῆλον ἦν τῇ Περι- κλέους καταδίκη καὶ τῷ Δάμωνος ἐξοστρακισμῷ καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφῶντα τὸν Ῥαμνούσιον ἀπιστία τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τοῖς περὶ Πάχητα 2 τὸν ἐλόντα Λέσβον, ὃς εὐθύνας διδούς τῆς στρα- τηγίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σπασύμενος ξίφος ἀνεῖλεν ἑαυτόν, τὰς μὲν ἐργώδεις πάνυ καὶ μακρὰς ἐπειρᾶτο διακρούεσθαι στρατηγίας, ὅπου δ' αὐτὸς στρατεύοιτο τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐχόμενος καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατορθῶν, ὡς εἰκός, εἰς οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν ἢ δύναμιν ἢ ἀρετὴν ἀνέφερε τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ παρεχώρει τῇ τύχῃ καὶ κατέφευγεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον, τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης ὑφίεμενος.
- 3 Ἐπεμαρτύρει δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα· πολλῶν γὰρ τότε προσκρουσμάτων τῇ πόλει καὶ μεγάλων γενομένων, οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἐκεῖνος μετέσχεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ Θράκην μὲν ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων Καλλιάρχου τε καὶ Ξενοφώντος στρατηγούντων, τὸ δ' Αἰτωλικὸν πταῖσμα συνέβη Δημοσθένους ἄρχοντος, ἐν δὲ Δηλίῳ χιλίους αὐτῶν ἀπέβαλον Ἴπποκράτους ἡγουμένου, τοῦ δὲ λοιμοῦ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔλαβε Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατακλείσας τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας

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abate the pride and reputation to which they gave rise. This was manifest in their fining Pericles,¹ and ostracising Damon,² and discrediting, as most of them did, Antiphon the Rhamnusian,³ and finally, above all, in the fate of Paches, the captor of Lesbos,⁴ who, while he was giving the official account of his generalship, drew his sword in the very court-room and slew himself. Nicias therefore tried to evade commands which were likely to be laborious and long, and whenever he did serve as general made safety his chief aim, and so was successful for the most part, as was natural. He did not, however, ascribe his achievements to any wisdom or ability or valour of his own, but rather credited them to fortune, and took modest refuge in the divine ordering of events, relinquishing thereby part of his reputation through fear of envy.

Events bore witness to his wisdom, for in the many great reverses which the city suffered at that period he had absolutely no share. It was under the leadership of Calliades⁵ and Xenophon that his countrymen met defeat at the hands of the Chalcidians in Thrace; the Aetolian disaster occurred when Demosthenes was in command⁶; Hippocrates was general when a thousand citizens were sacrificed at Delium⁷; and for the plague Pericles incurred the most blame, because he shut up the throng from the country in

¹ *Pericles*, xxxv. 4.

² Cf. *Pericles*, iv. 1-2

³ He was tried and executed for participation in the revolution of the Four Hundred (411 B.C.).

⁴ In 427 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 28).

⁵ An error for Callias, who lost his life before Potidaea in 432 B.C. (Thuc. i. 63). In 429, Xenophon was defeated and killed, with his two colleagues (Thuc. ii. 79).

⁶ In 426 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 91-98).

⁷ In 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 89-101).

- ὄχλον, ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς τῶν τόπων καὶ διαίτης
 4 ἀήθους γενομένου. Νικίας δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων
 ἀναίτιος ἔμεινε· καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶλε μὲν Κύθηρα,
 νῆσον εὖ κατὰ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πεφυκυῖαν καὶ
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχουσιν οἰκήτορας, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ 527
 πολλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀφεστώτων καὶ προση-
 γάγετο, κατακλείσας δὲ Μεγαρεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 εὐθύς μὲν ἔσχε Μίνωαν τὴν νῆσον, ὀλίγῳ δ'
 ὕστερον ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος Νισαίας ἐκράτησεν,
 εἰς δὲ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀποβὰς ἐνίκησε μάχῃ καὶ
 διέφθειρε Κορινθίων πολλοὺς καὶ Λυκόφρονα τὸν
 στρατηγόν.
- 5 Ἐνθα δ' αὐτῷ συνέβη τῶν οἰκείων δύο νεκροὺς
 ἀπολιπεῖν διαλαθύντας περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. ὥς
 οὖν τοῦτ' ἔγνω, τάχιστα τὸν στόλον ἐπιστήσας
 ἔπεμψε κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους περὶ ἀναι-
 ρέσεως. καίτοι κατὰ νόμον τινὰ καὶ συνήθειαν
 ἐδόκουν οἱ νεκρῶν ὑποσπόνδων λαβόντες ἀναι-
 ρεσιν ἀπολέγεσθαι τὴν νίκην, καὶ τρόπαιον ἰστά-
 ναι τοὺς τούτου τυχόντας οὐκ ἔνθεσμον ἦν· νικᾶν
 γὰρ τοὺς κρατοῦντας, μὴ κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς αἰτοῦν-
 6 τας, ὥς λαβεῖν μὴ δυναμένους. ἀλλ' ὁμως
 ἐκεῖνος ὑπέμεινε μᾶλλον προέσθαι τὸ νίκημα

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the city on account of the war, and the plague was the result of their change of abode and their unwonted manner of living.¹ For all these things Nicias was free from blame, while as general he captured Cythera,² an island favourably situated for the command of Laconia and inhabited by Lacedaemonians; he captured also many places in Thrace³ which had revolted, and brought them back to their allegiance; having shut up the Megarians in their city he straightway seized the island of Minoa,⁴ and shortly after, from this base of operations, got possession of Nisaea⁵; he also made a descent upon the territory of Corinth,⁶ defeated the Corinthians in battle and slew many of them, including Lycophron their general.

Here it befell him, when his dead were taken up for burial, that two of his men were left unnoticed on the field. As soon as he was made aware of this, he halted his armament and sent a herald back to the enemy asking leave to take up his dead. And yet by usage and unwritten law the side which secured the right to take up its dead by a truce, was thought to renounce all claims to victory, and for those who so obtained this right, the erection of a trophy of victory was unlawful, since they are victors who possess the field; but petitioners do not possess the field, since they cannot take what they want. Notwithstanding this, Nicias endured rather to abandon the honour and reputation of his

¹ Cf. *Pericles*, xxxiv. 3 f.

² In 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 53-55).

³ In 423 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 129-133).

⁴ In 427 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 51).

⁵ This, on the contrary, was the exploit of Demosthenes in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 66-69).

⁶ In 425 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 42, 1, and 44).

καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀτάφους δύο τῶν πολιτῶν.

Πορθήσας δὲ τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάνας Λακεδαιμονίων τρεψάμενος, εἶλε Θυρέαν Αἰγινητῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἀπήγαγε ζῶντας εἰς Ἀθήνας.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημοσθένους Πύλον τειχίσαντος ἐπεστράτευσαν ἅμα πεζῶ καὶ ναυσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ μίχης γενομένης ἀπελήφθησαν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, μέγα μὲν, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἡγούμενοι τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ δυσέργου τῆς πολιορκίας οὔσης ἐν χωρίοις ἀνύδροις, καὶ θέρους μὲν μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ τὴν περιαγωγὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐχούσης, σφαλερὰν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ παντελῶς ἄπορον, ἤχθοντο καὶ μετεμέλοντο πρεσβεῖαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπώσάμενοι περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης
2 ἀφικομένην πρὸς αὐτούς. ἀπεώσαντο δὲ Κλέωνος ἐναντιωθέντος οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ Νικίαν· ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ὦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προθύμως ὀρῶν συμπράττοντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ἀποψηφίσασθαι τὰς σπονδάς. ὥς οὖν ἢ τε πολιορκία μῆκος ἐλάμβανε καὶ δεινὰς ἀπορίας ἐπυνθάνοντο περιεστάναι τὸ στρατόπεδον, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον τὸν Κλέωνα.

3 Τοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν Νικίαν ἐκτρέποντος τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος ὅτι δειλία καὶ μαλακία προτεταί τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥς αὐτοῦ γε στρατηγούντος οὐκ

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victory than to leave unburied two of his fellow citizens.

He also ravaged the coasts of Laconia,¹ routed the Lacedaemonians who opposed him, captured Thyrea, which the Aeginetans held, and took his prisoners off alive to Athens.

VII. After Demosthenes had fortified Pylos,² the Peloponnesians came up against it by land and sea, a battle was fought, and about four hundred Spartans were shut off on the island of Sphacteria. Then the Athenians considered that their capture would be a great achievement, as was true. But the siege was difficult and toilsome, since the region afforded little fresh water. Even in summer the shipping of the necessary supplies round Peloponnesus was a long and expensive process, while in winter it was sure to be perilous if not altogether impossible. The Athenians were therefore in bad humour, and repented them of having repulsed an embassy of the Lacedaemonians which had come to treat with them for a truce and peace. They had repulsed it because Cleon, chiefly on account of Nicias, was opposed to it. For he hated Nicias, and when he saw him zealously coöperating with the Lacedaemonians, persuaded the people to reject the truce. So when the siege grew longer and longer, and they learned that their forces were in terrible straits, they were angry with Cleon.

He, however, laid all the blame on Nicias, and denounced him, saying that it was through cowardice and weakness that he was letting the men on the island slip through his hands, whereas, had he

¹ In 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 54).

² In 425 B.C. The Pylos episode is narrated at great length by Thucydides (iv. 2-41).

ἀν περιγενομένους χρόνον τοσοῦτον, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰπεῖν παρέστη· “Τί δ’ οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς σὺ πλείς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας;” ὃ τε Νικίας ἀναστὰς ἐξίστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλον στρατηγίας αὐτῷ, καὶ λαμβάνειν ὁπόσῃν βούλεται δύναμιν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ μὴ θρασύνεσθαι λόγοις ἀκινδύνοις, ἀλλ’ ἔργον τι
 4 τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖν ἄξιον σπουδῆς. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεδύετο, τῷ μὴ προσδοκῆσαι τοῦτο θορυβούμενος· ἐγκελευομένων δὲ ταῦτά τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Νικίου καταβοῶντος, ἔξαρθεις καὶ ἀναφλεχθεὶς τὸ φιλότιμον ὑπεδέξατό τε τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ προσδιωρίσατο πλεύσας ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν ἑκοσιν ἢ κατακτενεῖν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ ζῶντας ἄξιν Ἀθήναζε. τοῖς δ’ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπῆλθε γελάσαι μέγα μᾶλλον ἢ πιστεῦσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως εἰώθεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν κουφότητα καὶ μανίαν φέρειν μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐκ ἀηδῶς.

5 Λέγεται γὰρ ἐκκλησίας ποτὲ οὔσης τὸν μὲν δῆμον καθήμενον ἄνω περιμένειν πολὺν χρόνον, ὃψὲ δ’ εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνον ἐστεφανωμένον καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς αὔριον· “Ἀσχολοῦμαι γάρ,” ἔφη, “σήμερον, ἐστιᾶν μέλλων ξένους καὶ τεθυκῶς τοῖς θεοῖς.” τοὺς δ’ Ἀθηναίους γελάσαντας ἀναστῆναι καὶ διαλῦσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

VIII. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τύχῃ χρησάμενος ἀγαθῇ καὶ στρατηγήσας ἄριστα μετὰ Δημοσθένους, ἐντὸς οὗ προεῖπε χρόνου τῶν Σπαρτια- 528

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himself been general instead of Nicias, they would not have held out so long. Thereupon it occurred to the Athenians to say: "It's not too late! Why don't you sail yourself and fetch the men?" Nicias too rose in the assembly and resigned his command of the expedition to Pylos in favour of Cleon, bidding him take as large a force as he wished, and not to vent his boldness in mere words which brought no peril with them, but to perform some deed for the city which would be worth its notice. At first Cleon tried to draw back, confused by the unexpectedness of this offer; but the Athenians kept up the same cries of encouragement, and Nicias kept taunting him, until, his ambition incited and on fire, he undertook the command, and, besides, declared in so many words that within twenty days after sailing he would either slay the men on the island or bring them alive to Athens. The Athenians were moved to hearty laughter at this rather than to belief in it, for they were already in the way of treating his mad vanity as a joke, and a pleasant one too.

It is said, for instance, that once when the assembly was in session, the people sat out on the Pnyx a long while waiting for him to address them, and that late in the day he came in all garlanded for dinner and asked them to adjourn the assembly to the morrow. "I'm busy to-day," he said, "I'm going to entertain some guests, and have already sacrificed to the gods." The Athenians burst out laughing, then rose up and dissolved the assembly.

VIII. However, this time he had good fortune, served as general most successfully along with Demosthenes, and within the time which he had

τῶν ὅσοι μὴ κατὰ μάχην ἔπεσον τὰ ὄπλα παραδόντας ἤγαγεν αἰχμαλώτους. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Νικίᾳ μεγάλην ἤνεγκεν ἀδοξίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀσπίδος ῥίψις, ἀλλ' αἰσχίον τι καὶ χεῖρον ἐδόκει τὸ δειλία τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκουσίως, καὶ προσέσθαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ τηλικούτου κατορθώματος ἀφορμὰς, αὐτὸν ἀποχειροτονήσαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς.
 2 σκώπτει δ' αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα πάλιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν μὲν Ὀρνισιν οὕτω πως λέγων·

Καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δι' οὐχὶ νυστάζειν γ' ἔτι ὦρα ἔστιν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ μελλονικίαν.

ἐν δὲ Γεωργοῖς ταῦτα γράφων·

Α. Ἐθέλω γεωργεῖν. Β. εἶτα τίς σε κωλύει;

Α. ὑμεῖς· ἐπεὶ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμάς, εἴαν με τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀφῆτε. Β. δεχόμεθα· δισχίλιαι γάρ εἰσι σὺν ταῖς Νικίου.

3 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔβλαψεν οὐ μικρὰ τῷ Κλέωνι τοσοῦτον προσγενέσθαι δόξης ἐάσας καὶ δυνάμεως, ὑφ' ἧς εἰς βαρὺ φρόνημα καὶ θράσος ἐμπεσὼν ἀκάθεκτον ἄλλας τε τῇ πόλει προσετρίψατο συμφοράς, ὧν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυσε, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κόσμον ἀνελὼν καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν ἀνακραγὼν καὶ περισπᾶσας τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν μηρὸν πατάξας

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specified brought home as prisoners of war, their arms surrendered, all the Spartans on Sphacteria who had not fallen in battle. This success of Cleon's brought great discredit on Nicias. He was thought not merely to have cast away his shield, but to have done something far more disgraceful and base in voluntarily throwing up his command out of cowardice, and in abandoning to his enemy the opportunity for so great a success,—actually voting himself out of office. For this, Aristophanes again scoffs at him in his "Birds," in words like these:—

"And lo! by Zeus! we can no longer doze about,—

We have no time,—nor shilly-shally-niciasize;"¹

and in his "Farmers," where he writes:—

"I want to go a-farming."

"Pray who hinders you?"

"You people do. Come! Let me give a thousand drachms

If you'll release me from my offices."

"'Tis done!

Yours make two thousand, counting those that Nicias gave."²

And besides, he wrought no little harm to the city in allowing Cleon to have such an access of reputation and influence that he launched out into offensive pride and ungovernable boldness and inflicted many mischiefs on the city, the bitter fruits of which he himself reaped most abundantly. Worst of all, Cleon stripped the bema of its decorum, setting the fashion of yelling when he harangued the people, of throwing back his robe, slapping his

¹ Verses 638 f.

² This play is not extant. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 416.

καὶ δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἅμα χρησάμενος, τὴν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἅπαντα τὰ πρῶγματα συγχέασαν εὐχέρειαν καὶ ὀλιγωρίαν τοῦ πρέποντος ἐνεποίησε τοῖς πολιτευομένοις.

IX. Ἦδη δέ που καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνεφύετο τηνικαῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημαγωγὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄκρατος, ἀλλ' οἷον ἡ Αἰγυπτίων χώρα λέγεται δι' ἀρετὴν ἐκφέρειν ὁμοῦ

Φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά,

οὕτως ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπ' ἀμφότερα πολλὴ ρυεῖσα καὶ λαμπρά, μεγάλων ἐνέδωκεν ἀρχὰς
2 νεωτερισμῶν. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγεῖς τοῦ Κλέωνος ὁ Νικίας καιρὸν ἔσχε παντάπασιν ἀναπαῦσαι καὶ καταστορέσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὁδὸν τὰ πρῶγματα σωτήριον καταστήσας ἐξέπεσε, ρύμη καὶ σφοδρότητι τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου φιλοτιμίας αὐθις ἐξωσθεῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

Ἐπράχθη δὲ οὕτως. οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλέων καὶ Βρα-
σίδας ἦσαν, ὧν ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκρυπτε τὴν
κακίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκόσμει. τῷ μὲν γὰρ
ἀδικημάτων μεγάλων, τῷ δὲ κατορθωμάτων ἀφορ-
3 μὰς παρεῖχε. τούτων οὖν ἅμα πεσόντων ἐν μάχῃ
μῆ περὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, εὐθὺς ὁ Νικίας παραλαβὼν
τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἐκπαλαι τῆς εἰρήνης ὀρεγο-
μένους, τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι τῷ πολέμῳ θαρ-
ροῦντας, ἀμφοτέρους δ' οἷον ἐκλελυμένους καὶ

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thigh, and running about while speaking. He thus imbued the managers of the city's policies with that levity and contempt for propriety which soon after confounded the whole state.

IX. Just about that time Alcibiades was beginning to be a power at Athens. For a popular leader he was not so unmixed an evil as Cleon. The soil of Egypt, it is said, by reason of its very excellence, produces alike

“Drugs of which many are good, intermixed, but many are deadly.”¹

In like manner the nature of Alcibiades, setting as it did with full and strong currents towards both good and evil, furnished cause and beginning for serious innovations. And so it came to pass that even after Nicias was rid of Cleon, he did not get opportunity to lull the city into perfect rest and calm, but, when he had actually set the state fairly in the path of safety, was hurled from it by an impetuous onset of Alcibiades' ambition, and plunged again into war.

This was the way it came about. The men most hostile to the peace of Hellas were Cleon and Brasidas. Of these, war covered up the baseness of the one and adorned the excellence of the other; that is to say, it gave the one opportunities for great iniquities, the other for great achievements. After these men had both fallen in one and the same battle before Amphipolis,² Nicias found at once that the Spartans had long been eager for peace, and that the Athenians were no longer in good heart for the war; that both were, so to speak, unstrung, and glad to let

¹ *Odyssey*, iv. 230.

² In the autumn of 422 B.C. Cf. Thuc. v. 8-11.

παρακαθιέντας ἐκουσίως τὰς χεῖρας, ἔπραττεν ὅπως εἰς φιλίαν τὰς πόλεις συναγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἀπαλλάξας κακῶν καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος, βέβαιον οὕτω τὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὄνομα
 4 πρὸς τὸν αὖθις χρόνον ποιοῖτο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν εὐπόρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτόθεν εἰρηνικὸν εἶχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοῖς ἐντυγχάνων ἰδίᾳ καὶ διδάσκων ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ἤδη τοῖς Σπαρτιῶταις ἐλπίδας ἐνδιδοὺς προ-
 5 ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἔχεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' ἐπίστευον αὐτῷ διὰ τε τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιείκειαν, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἡλωκόσι περὶ Πύλον καὶ δεδεμένοις ἐπι-
 6 μέλόμενος καὶ περιέπων φιλανθρώπως ἐλαφρο-
 5 τέραν ἐποίει τὴν ἀτυχίαν. ἦσαν οὖν πρότερον πεποιημένοι τινὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκεχειρίαν ἐνιαύσιον, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ καὶ γενομένοι
 πάλιν ἀδείας καὶ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ οἰκείους ἐπιμιξίας, ἐπόθουν τὸν ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀπό-
 5 λεμον βίον, ἡδέως μὲν ἀδόντων τὰ τοιαῦτα χορῶν ἀκούοντες·

Κεῖσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις·

ἡδέως δὲ μεμνημένοι τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι τοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεύδοντας οὐ σάλπιγγες, ἀλλ' ἀλεκ-
 6 τρυόνες ἀφυπνίζουσι. λοιδοροῦντες οὖν καὶ προ-
 βαλλόμενοι τοὺς λέγοντας ὥς τρεῖς ἐννέα ἔτη διαπολεμηθῆναι πέπρωται τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπειθ'

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their arms drop to their sides. He therefore strove to unite the two cities in friendship, and to free the rest of the Hellenes from ills, as well as to give himself a season of rest, and so to make secure for all coming time the name which he had for success. The men who were well-to-do, and the elderly men, and most of the farmers, he found inclined to peace from the first; and after he had talked privately with many of the rest, taught them his views, and blunted the edge of their desire for war, then he at once held out hopes to the Spartans, and urgently invited them to seek for peace. They had confidence in him, not only because of his usual fairness towards them, but especially because he had shown kind attentions to those of their men who had been captured at Pylos and kept in prison at Athens, had treated them humanely, and so eased their misfortune. The two parties had before this made a sort of stay of mutual hostilities for a year, and during this time they had held conferences with one another, and tasted again the sweets of security and leisure and intercourse with friends at home and abroad, so that they yearned for that old life which was undefiled by war, and listened gladly when choirs sang such strains as

“Let my spear lie unused for the spider to
cover with webs”¹

and gladly called to mind the saying, “In peace the sleeper is waked not by the trumpet, but by the cock.” Accordingly, they heaped abuse on those who said that the war was fated to last thrice nine

¹ The first verse of a beautiful fragment of the *Erechtheus* of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 474).

οὕτω περὶ παντὸς εἰς λόγους συμβαίνοντες ἐποίησαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, δόξα τε παρέστη τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπαλλαγὴν κακῶν σαφῇ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸν Νικίαν διὰ στόματος εἶχον, ὡς ἀνὴρ εἴη θεοφιλὴς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ δι' εὐσέβειαν ἐπωνύμῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ καλλίστου τῶν ἀγαθῶν δέδωκε· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι Νικίου τὴν εἰρήνην ἐνόμιζον ἔργον, ὡς Περικλέους τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' αἰτίαις μικραῖς εἰς συμφορὰς μεγάλας ἐμβαλεῖν ἐδόκει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὁ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἔπεισεν ἐκλαθέσθαι φίλους γενομένους. διὸ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκείνην ἄχρι νῦν Νικίειον καλοῦσι.

- Χ. Γενομένων δὲ συνθηκῶν ὅπως τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἃς εἶχον ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδιδῶσι, προτέρων ἀποδιδόντων τῶν κλήρῳ λαχόντων, ὠνήσατο τὸν κλήρον ὁ Νικίας κρύφα χρήμασιν, ὥστε προτέρους ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς
- 2 Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς τὰ πραττόμενα δυσκολαίνοντες αἰτίαις καὶ μέμψεσιν αὐθις ἐδόκουν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπεισεν ὁ Νικίας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὴν συμμαχίαν ὥσπερ κράτος ἢ δεσμὸν ἐπιθέντας, φοβερωτέρους τε τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις καὶ βεβαιωτέρους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι.
- 3 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὔτε πρὸς ἡσυχίαν εὖ πεφυκώς, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαι-

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years,¹ and then, in this spirit, debated the whole issue, and made peace.² Most men held it to be a manifest release from ills, and Nicias was in every mouth. They said he was a man beloved of God, and that Heaven had bestowed on him, for his reverent piety, the privilege of giving his name to the greatest and fairest of blessings. They really thought that the peace was the work of Nicias, as the war had been that of Pericles. The one, on slight occasion, was thought to have plunged the Hellenes into great calamities; the other had persuaded them to forget the greatest injuries and become friends. Therefore, to this day, men call that peace "The Peace of Nicias."

X. The articles of peace³ required that the strongholds and cities and prisoners of war which each party had taken from the other should be restored, and since that party was to make restoration first on whom the lot fell, the lot was secretly bought up by Nicias, so that the Lacedaemonians were the first to make restoration. This is the testimony of Theophrastus. But when the Corinthians and Boeotians, who were vexed at the course things were taking, seemed likely, by their accusations and complaints, to revive the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedaemonians to make the general peace secure by the mighty bond of a mutual alliance, whereby they should become more formidable to all seceders and better assured of each other.

Such being the course of events, Alcibiades, who was naturally indisposed to be quiet, and who was incensed at the Lacedaemonians because they scorn-

¹ Cf. Thuc. v. 26, 4. ² Signed in the spring of 421 B.C.

³ Cf. Thuc. v. 18.

μονίοις ἀχθόμενος ὅτι τῷ Νικίᾳ προσέκειντο καὶ
 προσείχον, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπερεώρων καὶ κατεφρόνουν,
 ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπεναντιωθεὶς τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ
 ἀντιστὰς οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ὁρῶν
 οὐκ ἔτι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως ἀρέσκοντας τοὺς
 Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖν δοκοῦντας ὅτι Βοιω-
 τοῖς ἔθεντο συμμαχίαν καὶ Πάνακτον ἐστῶσαν
 οὐ παρέδωκαν οὐδ' Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐπεφύετο ταῖς
 αἰτίαις καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ἐφ' ἐκάστη.
 4 τέλος δὲ πρεσβείαν μεταπεμψάμενος Ἀργείων
 ἔπραττε συμμαχίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ πρέσβεις ἔλθόντες ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος αὐτο-
 κράτορες καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προεντυγχάνοντες ἔδοξαν
 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡκεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις, δείσας ὁ Ἀλκι-
 βιάδης μὴ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων
 ἐπαγάγωνται, περιῆλθεν αὐτοὺς δι' ἀπάτης καὶ
 ὅρκων ὡς ἅπαντα συμπράξων, ἂν μὴ φῶσι μηδ'
 ὁμολογήσωσιν ἡκεῖν αὐτοκράτορες· μάλιστα γὰρ
 5 οὕτως ἂ βούλονται γενήσεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ
 καὶ μεταστάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίου πρὸς ἐκείνον,
 ἐμβαλὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἡρώτα πρῶτον εἰ
 περὶ πάντων ἡκούσιν αὐτοκράτορες· ὡς δ'
 ἡρνοῦντο, παρ' ἐλπίδας μεταβαλόμενος τήν τε
 βουλήν ἐπεκαλεῖτο μάρτυρα τῶν λόγων, καὶ τὸν

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fully ignored him in their fond attachment to Nicias, promptly opposed and obstructed the general peace. At the outset he made no headway; but a little while after, seeing that the Athenians were not so well pleased as before with the Lacedaemonians, but thought they had wronged them in making a separate alliance with the Boeotians, and in not restoring Panactum with its walls intact, nor Amphipolis at all, he laid great stress on these grounds of complaint, and tried to incense the people over each one of them. Finally he managed to have an embassy sent from Argos to Athens,¹ and tried to effect a separate alliance between these two cities. Ambassadors came at once from Sparta with full powers to treat all issues, and at their preliminary audience with the council were declared by that body to come with nothing but just proposals. But Alcibiades was afraid they would bring the assembly over to their views with the same arguments which had won the council. He therefore circumvented them by deceitfully swearing that he would coöperate with them fully in the assembly if they would only not claim nor even admit that they had come with full powers to treat all issues; for thus, he declared, they would most surely attain their desires. After they were persuaded by him, and had put themselves out of the guiding hands of Nicias and into his, he introduced them to the assembly, and asked them first whether they had come with full powers to treat all issues. On their saying "No" to this, he surprised them by changing front and calling on the members of the council who were present to bear witness to what they had said before that body. He then urged the

¹ In the spring of 419 B.C.

δῆμον ἐκέλευε μὴ προσέχειν μηδὲ πιστεύειν οὕτω
 περιφανῶς ψευδομένοις καὶ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ
 6 τὰναντία περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγουσι. θορυβου-
 μένων δ', ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Νικίου μηδὲν
 ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄχει καὶ θαύματι πεπλη-
 γότος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος εὐθὺς ὥρμητο τοὺς Ἀργεῖους
 καλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι συμμάχους, ἐβοήθησε δὲ
 τῷ Νικίᾳ σεισμός τις διὰ μέσου γενόμενος καὶ
 διαλύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία πάλιν
 τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος πολλὰ ποιήσας καὶ εἰπὼν
 ἔπεισε μόλις ἐπισχεῖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους, αὐτὸν 530
 δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς πάντων
 καλῶς γενησομένων.

7 Ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς Σπάρτην τὰλλα μὲν ὡς ἀνὴρ
 ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήθη, πράξας
 δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν βοιωτιαζόντων
 ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐ μόνον ἀδοξῶν καὶ κακῶς ἀκούων,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδιὼς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λυπουμενούς
 καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας ὅτι πεισθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου
 τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἀπέδωκαν· οἱ γὰρ
 ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ἦσαν ἐξ οἴκων τε πρώτων
 τῆς Σπάρτης, καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τοὺς
 8 δυνατωτάτους ἔχοντες. οὐ μὲν ἔπραξάν τι
 τραχύτερον ὀργῇ πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀλ-
 κιβιάδην στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο, καὶ Μαντινεῖς καὶ
 Ἡλείους Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντας ἐποιήσαντο
 συμμάχους μετ' Ἀργείων, καὶ ληστὰς εἰς Πύλον
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people not to follow, much less trust, men who were so manifestly liars, and who said now "Yes" and now "No" to the same question. The ambassadors were overwhelmed with confusion, naturally, and Nicias was unable to say a word,—struck dumb with amazement and anguish. Therefore the people were at once eager to call in the Argive embassy and make the alliance it desired, but there came a slight earthquake shock just then, luckily for Nicias, and the assembly was dissolved. On the following day, when the people had assembled again, by dint of great effort and much talking Nicias succeeded, with difficulty, in persuading them to refrain from the proposed arrangement with Argos, and to send him on an embassy to the Lacedaemonians, assuring them that everything would thus turn out well.

But when he came to Sparta, though in other ways he was honoured by them as a true man and one who had been zealous in their behalf, still, he accomplished nothing that he purposed, but was beaten by the party there which had Boeotian sympathies, and so came back home, not merely with loss of reputation and under harsh abuse, but actually in bodily fear of the Athenians. They were vexed and indignant because they had been persuaded by him to restore so many eminent prisoners of war; for the men who had been brought to the city from Pylos belonged to the leading families of Sparta, and the most influential men there were their friends and kinsmen. However, the Athenians took no very harsh measures in their anger against Nicias, but elected Alcibiades general, made an alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, who had seceded from the Lacedaemonians, as well as with the Argives, sent

ἔπεμψαν κακουργεῖν τὴν Λακωνικὴν· ἐξ ὧν αὐθις εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XI. Ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διαφορᾶς, καὶ γιγνομένης ὀστρακοφορίας, ἣν εἰώθει διὰ χρόνου τινὸς ὁ δῆμος ποιεῖσθαι, ἓνα τῶν ὑπόπτων ἢ διὰ δόξαν ἄλλως ἢ πλούτον ἐπιφθόνων ἀνδρῶν τῷ ὀστράκῳ μεθιστὰς εἰς δέκα ἔτη, πολὺς θόρυβος ἀμφοτέρους περιῖστατο καὶ κίνδυνος, ὥς θατέρου πάντως ὑπο-
 2 πεσουμένου τῷ ἐξοστρακισμῷ. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τὸν βίον ἐβδελύττοντο καὶ τὸ θράσος ὠρρώδουν, ὥς μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφομένοις δηλοῦται, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ὃ τε πλοῦτος ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει καὶ μάλιστα τῆς διαίτης τὸ μη φιλόανθρωπον μηδὲ δημοτικόν, ἀλλ' ἄμικτον καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἀλλόκοτον ἐδόκει, πολλὰ δ' ἤδη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν ἀντιτείνων, παρὰ γνώμην βια-
 3 ζόμενος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπαχθὴς ἦν. ὥς δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, νέων ἦν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἄμιλλα πρὸς εἰρηνοποιούς καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, τῶν μὲν εἰς τοῦτον, τῶν δ' εἰς ἐκείνον τὸ ὀστρακὸν τρεπόντων.

Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔμμορε τιμῆς· ὥς που καὶ τότε διαστὰς ὁ δῆμος δίχα χώραν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἰταμωτάτοις καὶ πανουργοτάτοις, ὧν

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freebooters to Pylos to ravage Laconia, and thus plunged again into war.

XI. At last the feud between Nicias and Alcibiades became so intense that recourse was had to the process of ostracism. This the people used to institute from time to time when they wished to remove for ten years, by the ostrakon ballot, any one man who was an object of suspicion generally because of his great reputation, or of jealousy because of his great wealth. Both the rivals were thus involved in much confusion and peril, since one or the other must in any event succumb to the ostracism. In the case of Alcibiades, men loathed his manner of life and dreaded his boldness, as will be shown more at length in his biography; and in the case of Nicias, his wealth made him an object of jealousy. Above all else, his way of life, which was not genial nor popular but unsocial and aristocratic, seemed alien and foreign: and since he often opposed the people's desires and tried to force them against their wishes into the way of their advantage, he was burdensome to them. To tell the simple truth, it was a struggle between the young men who wanted war and the elderly men who wanted peace; one party proposed to ostracise Nicias, the other Alcibiades.

"But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour,"¹

and so in this case also the people divided into two factions, and thereby made room for the most aggressive and mischievous men. Among these was

¹ A proverb in hexameter verse, attributed to Callimachus, the Alexandrian poet and scholar (310-235 B.C.).

ἦν καὶ Ὑπέρβολος ὁ Περιθοίδης, ἄνθρωπος ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς τολμῶν δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τολμᾶν εἰς δύναμιν προελθὼν, καὶ γενόμενος δι' ἣν εἶχεν
 4 ἐν τῇ πόλει δόξαν ἀδοξία τῆς πόλεως. οὗτος ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τοῦ μὲν ὀστράκου πόρρῳ τιθέμενος ἑαυτὸν, ἅτε δὴ τῷ κύφῳ μᾶλλον προσήκων, ἐλπίζων δὲ θατέρου τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκπεσόντος αὐτὸς ἀντίπαλος τῷ λειπομένῳ γενέσθαι, καταφανὴς ἦν ἡδόμενός τε τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ παροξύνων τὸν δῆμον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους. συνιδόντες οὖν τὴν μοχθηρίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ λόγον δόντες ἀλλήλοις κρύφα, καὶ τὰς στάσεις συναγαγόντες εἰς ἓν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἀναμίξαντες, ἐκράτησαν ὥστε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ὑπέρβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι.
 5 καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ἡδονὴν τοῦτο καὶ γέλῳτα τῷ δῆμῳ παρέσχεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἡγανάκτουν ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀνάξιον γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, εἶναι γάρ τι καὶ κολάσεως ἀξίωμα, μᾶλλον δὲ κόλασιν τὸν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἡγούμενοι Θουκυδίδῃ καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις, Ὑπερβόλῳ δὲ τιμὴν καὶ προσποίησιν ἡλαζονείας, εἰ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἔπαθε ταῦτα τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ὥς που καὶ Πλάτων ὁ
 6 κωμικὸς εἶρηκε περὶ αὐτοῦ·

Καίτοι πέπραχε τῶν προτέρων¹ μὲν ἄξια, αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στιγμάτων ἀνάξια· οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἶνεκ' ὄστραχ' εὐρέθη.

¹ τῶν προτέρων a correction suggested by Koek, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 654: τῶν τρόπων (a fate worthy of his ways).

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Hyperbolus of the deme Perithoedae, a man whose boldness was not due to any influence that he possessed, but who came to influence by virtue of his boldness, and became, by reason of the very credit which he had in the city, a discredit to the city. This fellow at that time thought himself beyond the reach of ostracism, since, indeed, he was a likelier candidate for the stocks; but he expected that when one of the rivals had been banished he might himself become a match for the one who was left, and so it was plain that he was pleased at their feud, and that he was inciting the people against both of them. Accordingly, when Nicias and Alcibiades became aware of his baseness, they took secret counsel with one another, united and harmonized their factions, and carried the day, so that neither of them was ostracised, but Hyperbolus instead.¹

For the time being this delighted and amused the people, but afterwards they were vexed to think that the ordinance of ostracism had been degraded by its application to so unworthy a man. They thought that even chastisement had its dignity, or rather, they regarded the ostracism as a chastisement in the cases of Thucydides and Aristides and such men, but in the case of Hyperbolus as an honour, and as good ground for boasting on his part, since for his baseness he had met with the same fate as the best men. And so Plato the comic poet somewhere said of him:—

“Indeed he suffered worthy fate for men of old
Albeit a fate too good for him and for his brands.
For such as him the ostrakon was ne’er devised.”

¹ Probably in 417 B.C

καὶ τὸ πέρας οὐδεὶς ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἔξωστρα-
κίσθη μετὰ Ὑπέρβολου, ἀλλ' ἔσχατος ἐκείνος, 531
πρῶτος δ' Ἰππαρχος ὁ Χολαργεὺς συγγενὴς
τις ὦν τοῦ τυράννου.

- 7 Ἄκριτον δ' ἡ τύχη πρᾶγμα καὶ ἄληπτον
λογισμῷ. Νικίας γάρ, εἰ τὸν περὶ ὀστράκου
κίνδυνον ἀνέρριψε πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἢ κρατήσας
ἂν ἀσφαλῶς ᾧκει τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνον ἐξελάσας,
ἢ κρατηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξήει πρὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων
ἀτυχιῶν, τὸ δοκεῖν ἄριστος εἶναι στρατηγὸς
διαφυλάξας.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι Θεόφραστος ἔξωστρακισθῆναί
φησι τὸν Ὑπέρβολου Φαίακος, οὐ Νικίου, πρὸς
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐρίσαντος. ἀλλ' οἱ πλείονες οὕτω
γεγράφασιν.

- XII. Ὁ δ' οὖν Νικίας, τῶν Αἰγεστέων πρέσ-
βων καὶ Λεοντίνων παραγενομένων καὶ πειθόντων
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στρατεῦειν ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, ἀντι-
στάμενος ἡττάτο τῆς βουλῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ
φιλοτιμίας, πρὶν ὅλως ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, κατα-
σχόντος ἤδη πλῆθος ἐλπίσι καὶ λόγοις προ-
διεφθαρμένον, ὥστε καὶ νέους ἐν παλαίστραις
καὶ γέροντας ἐν ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ ἡμικυκλίοις
συγκαθεζομένους ὑπογράφειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Σι-
κελίας, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν θαλάσσης,
καὶ λιμένας καὶ τόπους οἷς τέτραπται πρὸς
2 Λιβύην ἢ νῆσος. οὐ γὰρ ἄθλον ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ
πολέμου Σικελίαν, ἀλλ' ὀρμητήριον, ὥς ἀπ' αὐτῆς
διαγωνισόμενοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ σχήσοντες
ἅμα Λιβύην καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἱρακλείων στηλῶν
θύλασσαν.

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And in the end no one was ever ostracised after Hyperbolus, but he was the last, as Hipparchus of Cholargus, a kinsman of the famous tyrant Peisistratus, was the first to be so banished.¹

Verily fortune is an uncertain thing, and incalculable. Had Nicias run the risk with Alcibiades of being ostracised, he had either carried the day, expelled his rival, and then dwelt safely in the city; or, defeated, he had himself gone forth from the city before his last misfortunes, and had preserved the reputation of being a most excellent general.

I am well aware that Theophrastus says that Hyperbolus was ostracised when Phaeax, and not Nicias, was striving against Alcibiades, but most writers state the case as I have done.

XII. It was Nicias, then, who, when an embassy came from Egesta and Leontini² seeking to persuade the Athenians to undertake an expedition against Sicily, opposed the measure, only to be defeated by the ambitious purposes of Alcibiades. Before the assembly had met at all, Alcibiades had already corrupted the multitude and got them into his power by means of his sanguine promises, so that the youth in their training-schools and the old men in their work-shops and lounging-places would sit in clusters drawing maps of Sicily, charts of the sea about it, and plans of the harbours and districts of the island which look towards Libya. For they did not regard Sicily itself as the prize of the war, but rather as a mere base of operations, purposing therefrom to wage a contest with the Carthaginians and get possession of both Libya and of all the sea this side the Pillars of Heracles.

¹ 488-487 B.C.

² In the spring of 415 B.C.

Ὡς οὖν ὥρμηντο πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ Νικίας ἐναντιούμενος οὔτε πολλοὺς οὔτε δυνατοὺς εἶχε συναγωνιστάς. οἱ γὰρ εὖποροι δεδιότες μὴ δοκῶσι τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ τριηραρχίας ἀπο-
 3 διδράσκειν, παρὰ γνώμην ἡσύχαζον· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔκαμνεν οὐδ' ἀπηγόρευεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἀθηναίους καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐλέσθαι πρῶτον ἐκείνον μετ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Λαμάχου, πάλιν ἐκκλησίας γενομένης, ἀναστὰς ἀπέτρεπε καὶ διεμαρτύρετο, καὶ τελευτῶν διέβαλε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἰδίων ἔνεκα κερδῶν καὶ φιλοτιμίας τὴν πόλιν εἰς χαλεπὸν ἐξωθεῖν καὶ διαπόν-
 4 τιον κίνδυνον. ἔπραξε δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἐμπειρίας δόξας ἐπιτηδειότερος εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔξειν πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου τόλμαν καὶ τὴν Λαμάχου τραχύτητα¹ τῆς ἐκείνου συγκεραυνυμένης εὐλαβείας, βεβαιωτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀναστὰς γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παροξύνων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, Δημόστρατος, ἔφη τὸν Νικίαν προφάσεις λέγοντα παύσειν· καὶ ψήφισμα γράψας ὅπως αὐτοκράτορες ᾧσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κἀνταῦθα κἀκεῖ βουλευόμενοι καὶ πρύττοντες, ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ψηφίσασθαι.

XIII. Καίτοι λέγεται πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐναντιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν· ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ἔχων μάντεις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ δὴ τινων

¹ τραχύτητα Reiske's correction: *πρόδητα* (mildness); cf. chapter xv. 1.

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Since, therefore, their hearts were fixed on this, Nicias, in his opposition to them, had few men, and these of no influence, to contend on his side. For the well-to-do citizens feared accusations of trying to escape their contributions for the support of the navy, and so, despite their better judgement, held their peace. But Nicias did not faint nor grow weary. Even after the Athenians had actually voted for the war and elected him general first, and after him Alcibiades and Lamachus, in a second session of the assembly he rose and tried to divert them from their purpose by the most solemn adjurations, and at last accused Alcibiades of satisfying his own private greed and ambition in thus forcing the city into grievous perils beyond the seas. Still, he made no headway, nay, he was held all the more essential to the enterprise because of the experience from which he spoke. There would be great security, his hearers thought, against the daring of Alcibiades and the roughness of Lamachus, if his well known caution were blended with their qualities. And so he succeeded only in confirming the previous vote. For Demostratus, the popular leader who was most active in spurring the Athenians on to the war, rose and declared that he would stop the mouth of Nicias from uttering vain excuses; so he introduced a decree to the effect that the generals have full and independent powers in counsel and in action, both at home and at the seat of war, and persuaded the people to vote it.

XIII. And yet the priesthood also is said to have offered much opposition to the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners in his private service,

- λογίων προὔφερε παλαιῶν μέγα κλέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἔσεσθαι. καὶ θεοπρόποι τινὲς αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀμμωνος ἀφίκοντο χρησμὸν κομίζοντες ὥς λήψονται Συρακουσίους ἅπαντας Ἀθηναῖοι· τὰ δ' ἐναντία φοβούμενοι δυσφημεῖν
2 ἔκρυπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ προὔπτα καὶ καταφανῆ τῶν σημείων ἀπέτρεπεν, ἥ τε τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπή, μιᾷ νυκτὶ πάντων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων πλὴν ἑνός, ὃν Ἀνδοκίδου καλοῦσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγυπτίου φυλῆς, κείμενον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τότε οὔσης Ἀνδοκίδου οἰκίας, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. ἄνθρωπος γάρ τις ἐξαίφνης ἀναπηδήσας ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἴτα περιβὰς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τὸ αἰδοῖον.
- 3 Ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς Παλλάδιον ἔστηκε χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ φοῖνικος χαλκοῦ βεβηκός, ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀριστείων· τοῦτ' ἔκοπτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς προσπετόμενοι κόρακες, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ὄντα χρυσοῦν τοῦ φοῖνικος
4 ἀπέτρωγον καὶ κατέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν 533 ἔφασαν εἶναι Δελφῶν πλάσματα πεπεισμένων ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων· χρησμῷ δέ τινος κελεύοντος αὐτοὺς ἐκ Κλαζομενῶν τὴν ἰέρειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγειν, μετεπέμψαντο τὴν ἄνθρωπον· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἡσυχία. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὃ παρῆναι τῇ πόλει τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν.
- 5 Εἴτε δὴ ταῦτα δείσας εἴτ' ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ

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and from sundry oracles reputed ancient he cited one saying that great fame would be won by the Athenians in Sicily. To his delight also certain envoys who had been sent to the shrine of Ammon¹ came back with an oracle declaring that the Athenians would capture all the Syracusans; but utterances of opposite import the envoys concealed, for fear of using words of ill omen. For no signs could deter the people from the expedition, were they never so obvious and clear, such as, for instance, the mutilation of the "Hermae." These statues were all disfigured in a single night, except one, called the Hermes of Andocides, a dedication of the Aegeid tribe, standing in front of what was at that time the house of Andocides. Then there was the affair of the altar of the Twelve Gods. An unknown man leaped upon it all of a sudden, bestrode it, and then mutilated himself with a stone.

At Delphi, moreover, there stood a Palladium, made of gold and set upon a bronze palm tree, a dedication of the city of Athens from the spoils of her valour in the Persian wars. Ravens alighted on this image and pecked it for many days together; they also bit off the fruit of the palm-tree, which was of gold, and cast it down to the ground. The Athenians, it is true, said that this whole story was an invention of the Delphians, at the instigation of the Syracusans; but at any rate when a certain oracle bade them bring the priestess of Athena from Clazomenae, they sent and fetched the woman, and lo! her name was Peace. And this, as it seemed, was the advice which the divinity would give the city at that time, namely, to keep the peace.

It was either because he feared such signs as these,

¹ In an oasis of the Libyan desert. Cf. *Cimon*, xviii. 6 f.

τὴν στρατείαν φοβηθεῖς, ὁ ἀστρολόγος Μέτων (ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τινὸς τεταγμένος) προσεποιεῖτο τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάπτειν ὥς μεμηνώς. οἱ δὲ φασιν οὐ μανίαν σκηψάμενον, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ ἐμπρήσαντα τὴν οἰκίαν προελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ταπεινόν, καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τοσαύτῃ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντα πλεῖν τριήραρχον εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφῶσι τῆς στρατείας.

6 Σωκράτει δὲ τῷ σοφῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον οἷς εἰώθει συμβόλοις χρησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμήνυσε κακεῖνα, τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως πραττόμενον. ὁ δὲ τοῖς συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις ἔφρασε, καὶ διῆλθεν εἰς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος.

7 Οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν αἷς τὸν στόλον ἐξέπεμπον ὑπέθραττεν. Ἀδῶνια γὰρ εἶχον αἱ γυναῖκες τότε, καὶ προῦκειτο πολλαχόθι τῆς πόλεως εἰδῶλα, καὶ ταφαὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κοπετοὶ γυναικῶν ἦσαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ ποιούμενους τινὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσχεραίνειν καὶ δεδιέναι περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐκείνης καὶ δυνάμεως, μὴ λαμπρότητα καὶ ἀκμὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην σχοῦσα ταχέως μαρανθῇ.

XIV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐναντιωθῆναι ψηφιζομένη τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν Νικίαν, καὶ μήθ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων ἐπαρθέντα μήτε πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος ἐκπλαγέντα μεταθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς ἦν χρηστοῦ καὶ σώφρονος· ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε τοῦ πολέμου

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or because, from mere human calculation, he was alarmed about the expedition, that the astrologer Meton, who had been given a certain station of command, pretended to be mad and set his house on fire. Some, however, tell the story in this way: Meton made no pretence of madness, but burned his house down in the night, and then came forward publicly in great dejection and begged his fellow citizens, in view of the great calamity which had befallen him, to release from the expedition his son, who was about to sail for Sicily in command of a trireme. To Socrates the wise man also, his divine guide, making use of the customary tokens for his enlightenment, indicated plainly that the expedition would make for the ruin of the city. Socrates let this be known to his intimate friends, and the story had a wide circulation.

Not a few also were somewhat disconcerted by the character of the days in the midst of which they dispatched their armament. The women were celebrating at that time the festival of Adonis, and in many places throughout the city little images of the god were laid out for burial, and funeral rites were held about them, with wailing cries of women, so that those who cared anything for such matters were distressed, and feared lest that powerful armament, with all the splendour and vigour which were so manifest in it, should speedily wither away and come to naught.

XIV. Now, that Nicias should oppose the voting of the expedition, and should not be so buoyed up by vain hopes nor so crazed by the magnitude of his command as to change his real opinion,—this marked him as a man of honesty and discretion. But when

- τὸν δῆμον ἀποτρέψαι πειρώμενος οὐθ' αὐτὸν ἐξελέσθαι τῆς στρατηγίας δεόμενος ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀράμενος καὶ φέρων αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπέθηκε
- 2 τῇ δυνάμει στρατηγόν, οὐδεὶς ἔτι καιρὸς ἦν τῆς πολλῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ μελλήσεως, ὥστε παιδὸς δίκην ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ὀπίσω βλέποντα καὶ τὸ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ στρέφοντα πολλάκις ἐναμβλῦναι καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν διαφθεῖραι τῶν πράξεων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἔδει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμφύντα καὶ προσκείμενον ἐλέγχειν τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ τῶν
- 3 ἀγώνων. ὁ δέ, Λαμάχου μὲν ἀντικρυς ἀξιούντος πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ μάχην ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τιθέναι, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφιστάναι Συρακουσίων, εἶθ' οὕτως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν, τὰ ἐναντία λέγων καὶ κελεύων ἀτρέμα παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν κομιζομένους καὶ περιπλέοντας ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, εἶτ' ἀποπλεῖν Ἀθήναζε μικρὸν τῆς δυνάμεως Αἰγεστεύσιν ἀπαρξαμένους, αὐτίκα τε τὴν γνῶμην ὑπεξέλυσε καὶ κατέβαλε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
- 4 Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἀθηναίων μεταπεμψαμένων εἰς κρίσιν, λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς δεύτερος ἡγεμῶν, δυνάμει δὲ μόνος ὢν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο καθήμενος ἢ περιπλέον ἢ βουλευόμενος, πρὶν ἐγγηρᾶσαι μὲν αὐτῷ¹ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐκρυῆναι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ θάμβος καὶ τὸν φόβον ὃν ἢ πρώτη παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὄψις τῶν δυνάμεων.

¹ αὐτῷ MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: αὐτῶν.

he availed naught either in his efforts to divert the people from the war or in his desire to be relieved of his command,—the people as it were picking him up bodily and setting him over their forces as general,—then it was no longer a time for the exceeding caution and hesitation which he displayed, gazing back homewards from his ship like a child, and many times resuming and dwelling on the thought that the people had not yielded to his reasonings, till he took the edge from the zeal of his colleagues in command and lost the fittest time for action. He ought rather at once to have engaged the enemy at close quarters and put fortune to the test in struggles for the mastery. Instead of this, while Lamachus urged that they sail direct to Syracuse and give battle close to the city, and Alcibiades that they rob the Syracusans of their allied cities first and then proceed against them, Nicias proposed and urged in opposition that they make their way quietly by sea along the coasts of Sicily, circumnavigate the island, make a display of their troops and triremes, and then sail back to Athens, after having first culled out a small part of their force to give the Egestaeans a taste of succor. In this way he soon relaxed the resolution and depressed the spirits of his men.

After a little while the Athenians summoned Alcibiades home to stand his trial, and then Nicias, who nominally had still a colleague in the command, but really wielded sole power, made no end of sitting idle, or cruising aimlessly about, or taking deliberate counsel, until the vigorous hopes of his men grew old and feeble, and the consternation and fear with which the first sight of his forces had filled his enemies slowly subsided.

5 Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου παρόντος ἐξήκοντα
 ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας
 ἀνείχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λιμένος ἔξω παρατάξαντες,
 δέκα δὲ κατήλυνον εἴσω κατασκοπῆς εἵνεκα· καὶ
 Λεοντίνους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποκαλοῦσαι διὰ
 κήρυκος, αὗται λαμβάνουσι ναῦν πολεμίαν σανί-
 δας κομίζουσιν, εἰς ἃς ἀπεγράφοντο κατὰ φυλὰς
 αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακούσιοι· κείμεναι δ' ἄπωθεν τῆς
 πόλεως ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου τότε πρὸς ἐξέ-
 τασιν καὶ κατάλογον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μετεπέμφθη-
 6 σαν. ὥς οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀλοῦσαι πρὸς 533
 τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκομίσθησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
 ὤφθη τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἠχθέσθησαν οἱ μάντις μή
 ποτε ἄρα τὸ χρεὼν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρησμοῦ περαῖνοι,
 λέγοντος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λήψονται Συρακουσίους
 ἅπαντας. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐτέρῳ¹ φασιν ἔργῳ τοῦτο
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι ἐπιτελὲς καθ' ὃν χρόνον
 ἀποκτείνας Δίωνα Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔσχε
 Συρακούσας.

XV. Ἀποπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μετ'
 ὀλίγον ἐκ Σικελίας, τὸ πᾶν ἤδη κράτος ὁ Νικίας
 ἔσχε. ὁ δὲ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν ἀνδρώδης καὶ δίκαιος
 ἀνὴρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ χρώμενος ἀφειδῶς κατὰ τὰς
 μάχας, πένης δὲ τοσοῦτον καὶ λιτὸς ὥστε καθ'
 ἐκάστην στρατηγίαν ἀπολογίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθη-
 ναίοις μικρὸν ἀργύριον εἰς ἐσθῆτα καὶ κρηπίδας
 2 ἑαυτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Νικίου καὶ διὰ τὰλλα μέγας ἦν

¹ ἐτέρῳ MSS., Cornæus, and Bekker: ἕτεροι (others say that the prophecy was really fulfilled, etc.).

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While Alcibiades was yet with the fleet, sixty ships sailed for Syracuse, of which fifty lay out in the offing, drawn up so as to command the harbour, while ten rowed in to reconnoitre. These made formal proclamation by voice of herald that the people of Leontini should return to their homes. They also captured a ship of the enemy with tablets on board in which the Syracusans had recorded lists of their citizens by tribes. These lists had been deposited at some distance from the city, in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, but had been sent for at that time with a view to determining and enrolling those who had come to military age. Now when these had been captured by the Athenians and brought to their generals, and the number of names was seen, the soothsayers were in distress lest in this circumstance lie the fulfilment of what was predicted by the oracle which said: "The Athenians shall take all the Syracusans." However, they say that it was in another circumstance altogether that this prophecy was fulfilled for the Athenians, namely, at the time when Callippus the Athenian slew Dion and got possession of Syracuse.¹

XV. A little while after this Alcibiades sailed away from Sicily,² and then Nicias took the entire command. Lamachus was, it is true, a sturdy and honourable man, one who put forth his might without stint in battle, but so poor and petty that in every campaign where he served as general he would charge up to the Athenian people certain trifling moneys for his own clothes and boots. Nicias, on the contrary, was a man of great dignity and im-

¹ In 353 B.C. See Plutarch, *Dion*, liv.-lvii.

² See the *Alcibiades*, xxi. 1.

καὶ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὁ ὄγκος. λέγεται δ' ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ ποτὲ βουλευομένων τι κοινῇ τῶν συναρχόντων, κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτος εἰπεῖν γνώμην Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ποιητῆς ὡς πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν συστρατήγων, “Ἐγώ,” φάναι, “παλαιότατος εἰμί, σὺ δὲ πρεσβύτατος.”

- 3 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Λάμαχον ἄγων ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατηγικώτερον ὄντα, καὶ χρώμενος εὐλαβῶς καὶ διὰ μελλήσεως αἰεὶ τῇ δυνάμει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπωτάτω τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπεριπλέων Σικελίαν θάρσος ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα προσβαλὼν “Ἵβλη, πολυχνίῳ μικρῷ, καὶ πρὶν ἐλεῖν ἀποστὰς, 4 κομιδῇ κατεφρονήθη. καὶ τέλος εἰς Κατάνην ἀπῆλθε πράξας οὐδὲν ἢ καταστρεψύμενος “Ἐκκα-
κα, βαρβαρικὸν χωρίον, ὅθεν λέγεται καὶ Λαῖδα τὴν ἐταίραν ἔτι κόρην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις πραθείσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κομισθῆναι.

- XVI. Τοῦ δὲ θέρου διελθόντος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπυνθάνετο προτέρους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι τεθαρρηκότας, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς ὕβρει προσ-
ελαύνοντες ἤδη πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἡρώτων εἰ Καταναίοις συνοικήσοντες ἢ Λεοντίνοὺς κατοικιοῦντες ἤκουσι, μόλις ὁ Νικίας ὥρμησε πλεῖν ἐπὶ 2 Συρακούσας. καὶ βουλόμενος ἀδεῶς καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἰδρύσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπέπεμψεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Κατάνης κελεύοντα τοὺς Συρακουσίους, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὸ στρατό-

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portance, especially because of his wealth and reputation. It is said that once at the War Department, when his fellow commanders were deliberating on some matter of general moment, he bade Sophocles the poet state his opinion first, as being the senior general on the Board. Thereupon Sophocles said: "I am the oldest man, but you are the senior general."

So also in the present case he brought Lamachus under his orders, although more of a general than himself, and, always using his forces in a cautious and hesitating manner, he first gave the enemy courage by cruising around Sicily as far as possible from them, and then, by attacking the diminutive little city of Hybla, and going off without taking it, he won their utter contempt. Finally, he went back to Catana without effecting anything at all except the overthrow of Hyccara, a barbarian fastness. From this place it is said that Laïs the courtesan was sold as a prisoner of war, being still a girl, and brought into Peloponnesus.

XVI. The summer was now spent when Nicias learned that the Syracusans had plucked up courage and were going to take the initiative and come out against him. Their horsemen already had the insolence to ride up to the Athenian camp and ask its occupants whether they had come to share the homes of the Catanians or to restore the Leontines to their old homes. At last, therefore, and reluctantly, Nicias set out to sail against Syracuse. Wishing to establish his forces there deliberately and without fear of interruption from the enemy, he secretly sent on a man of Catana with a message for the Syracusans: if they wished to find the camp and

πέδον καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ πρὸς Κατάνην πανστρατιᾷ παραγενέσθαι, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πλείστα διατριβόντων ἐγνωκέναι τοὺς Συρακοوسیῳν φίλους, ὅταν ἐκείνους προσιόντας αἰσθωνται, τὰς τε πύλας καταλαμβάνειν ἅμα καὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον ὑποπιμπράναι· πολλοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς συνεστῶτας ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων περιμένοντας ἄφιξιν.

3 Τοῦτ' ἄριστα Νικίας ἐστρατήγησε περὶ Σικελίαν. πανστρατιᾷ γὰρ ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμοῦ τι ποιήσας ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν, αὐτὸς ἐκ Κατάνης ἀναχθεὶς τῶν τε λιμένων ἐκράτησε καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατέλαβε χώραν, ὅθεν ἠκιστα βλαπτόμενος οἷς ἐλείπετο τῶν πολεμίων, ἠλπίζεν ἐξ ὧν ἐθάρρει πολεμήσειν ἀκωλύτως.

4 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναστρέψαντες ἐκ Κατάνης οἱ Συρακούσιοι παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπαγαγὼν ταχὺ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκράτησε. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ γὰρ ἵππεῖς ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο τῇ διώξει· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ διαφθείρων καὶ ἀποκόπτων τὰς γεφύρας, παρέσχεν Ἑρμοκράτει λέγειν παραθαρρύνοντι τοὺς Συρακουσίους ὅτι γελοῖός ἐστιν ὁ Νικίας, ὅπως οὐ μαχεῖται

5 στρατηγῶν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχῃ πεπλευκώς. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ φόβον τε καὶ κατάπληξιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, ὥστ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὄντων τότε πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγῶν ἐτέρους ἐλέσθαι τρεῖς, οἷς πίστιν ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος δι' ὅρκων, 534 ἥ μὲν εἴσειν ἄρχειν αὐτοκράτορας.

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equipment of the Athenians abandoned of defenders, they must come in full force to Catana on a given day, for that the friends of the Syracusans in the city, where the Athenians spent most of their time, had determined, on perceiving their approach, to seize the gates and set fire to the Athenian fleet; the conspirators were already many and awaited their coming.

This was the best generalship that Nicias displayed in Sicily. He brought his enemy out of their city in full force, thereby almost emptying it of defenders, while he himself put out to sea from Catana, got control of the enemy's harbours, and seized a spot for his camp where he was confident that he would suffer least injury from that arm of the service in which he was inferior, the cavalry, and meet no hindrance in fighting with that arm whereon he most relied. When the Syracusans hurried back from Catana and drew up in order of battle before their own city, Nicias led his Athenians swiftly against them and carried the day. He did not slay many of the enemy, it is true, for their horsemen prevented his pursuit; he had to content himself with cutting to pieces and destroying the bridges over the river, and thus gave Hermocrates occasion to say, as he sought to encourage the Syracusans, that Nicias was ridiculous in manœuvring so as not to give battle, as though it was not for battle that he had crossed the seas. However, he did infuse fear and mighty consternation into the Syracusans, so that in place of their fifteen generals then in office they elected three others, to whom the people pledged themselves under oath that they would surely suffer them to command with full and independent powers.

- 6 Τοῦ δ' Ὀλυμπιείου πλησίον ὄντος ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καταλαβεῖν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῷ χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων. ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἐπίτηδες ἀναβαλλόμενος ὑστέρησε καὶ περιεΐδε φρουρὰν εἰσελθοῦσαν παρὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἡγούμενος, εἰὰ τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν κοινὸν οὐκ ὠφεληθήσεσθαι,
- 7 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν αὐτὸς ἔξειν τοῦ ἀσεβήματος. τῇ δὲ νίκη περιβοήτῳ γενομένη χρησάμενος εἰς οὐδέν, ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων αὐθις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Νάξον, κακεῖ διεχείμασε, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλίσκων στρατιᾷ τοσαύτῃ, πράττων δὲ μικρὰ πρὸς Σικελούς τινας ἀφισταμένους πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε τοὺς Συρακουσίους αὐθις ἀναθαρρήσαντας ἐξελάσαι πρὸς Κατάνην καὶ τὴν τε χώραν τεμεῖν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακαῦσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.
- 8 Ἄ δὴ πάντες ἡτιῶντο τὸν Νικίαν, ὥς ἐν τῷ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ μέλλειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τῶν πράξεων ἀπολλύντα καιρόν· ἐπεὶ τάς γε πράξεις οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐμέμψατο τοῦ ἀνδρός· ὀρμήσας γὰρ ἦν ἐνεργὸς καὶ δραστήριος, τολμῆσαι δὲ μελλητῆς καὶ ἄτολμος.

XVII. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐκίνησε τὴν στρατιὰν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας, οὕτως ἐστρατήγησε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὀξύτητος ἅμα καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐπῆλθεν, ὥστε λαθεῖν μὲν εἰς Θάψον ταῖς ναυσὶ προσμίξας καὶ ἀποβάς, φθάσαι δὲ τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς

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The Olympieum was hard by, and the Athenians set out to seize it, inasmuch as it contained many offerings of gold and silver. But Nicias purposely delayed operations until it was too late, and allowed a garrison from Syracuse to enter in, because he thought that if his soldiers plundered the temple's treasures the commonwealth would get no advantage from it, and he himself would incur the blame for the sacrilege. Of his victory, which was so noised about, he made no use whatever, but after a few days had elapsed withdrew again to Naxos, and there spent the winter, making large outlays on his vast armament, but effecting little in his negotiations with the few Sicels who thought of coming over to his side. The Syracusans therefore plucked up courage again, marched out to Catana, ravaged the fields, and burnt what had been the Athenian camp.

These things all men laid to the charge of Nicias, since, as they said, by his excessive calculation and hesitation and caution he let the proper time for action go by for ever. When he was once in action no one could find fault with the man, for after he had set out to do a thing he was vigorous and effective; but in venturing out to do it he was hesitating and timid.

XVII. At any rate, when he moved his armament back to Syracuse,¹ he showed such generalship, and made his approach with such speed and safety, that he put in at Thapsus with his fleet and landed his men unobserved, seized Epipolae² before the

¹ In the spring of 414 B.C., as described by Thucydides in vi. 97.

² A triangular plateau, rising gradually to the westwards of Syracuse, visible from the interior of the city, and surrounded by precipitous cliffs.

κατασχών, τῶν δὲ προσβοηθούντων λογάδων κρατήσας ἐλεῖν μὲν τριακοσίους, τρέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἵππον τῶν πολεμίων ἄμαχον εἶναι δοκοῦσαν.

- 2 Ὁ δὲ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ Σικελιώτας ἐξέπληξε καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπιστίαν παρέσχευ, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ περιετείχισε Συρακούσας, πόλιν Ἀθηνῶν οὐκ ἐλάττονα, δυσεργότεραν δὲ χωρίων ἀνωμαλίαις καὶ θαλάσση γειτνιώσῃ καὶ παρακειμένοις ἔλεσι τείχος κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον
- 3 ἀγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσασθαι μικρὸν ἐδέησε τοῦ παντὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐδ' ὑγιαίνοντι χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τοσαύτας φροντίδας, ἀλλὰ νόσον νοσῶν νεφρῖτιν, ἥς τὸ μὴ προσεκποιηθὲν λείμμα ποιεῖσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστι. θαυμάζω δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
- 4 ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐν οἷς κατώρθουν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐριπίδης μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον γράφων ἐπικήδειον ἐποίησεν·

Οἶδε Συρακοσίους ὀκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν

Ἄνδρες, ὅτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις·

- 5 οὐκ ὀκτὼ δὲ νίκας, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ἂν τις εὖροι Συρακουσίους νενικημένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πρὶν ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἢ τύχης ἀντίστασιν τινα γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πλείστον αἰρομένοις δυνάμεως.

XVIII Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πλείσταις πράξεσι βιαζόμενος τὸ σῶμα παρῆν ὁ Νικίας· ἀκμὴν δέ ποτε τῆς ἰρρωστίας λαβούσης ὁ μὲν ἐν τείχεσι μετ'

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enemy could prevent, defeated the picked companies which came to its rescue, killing three hundred men, and even routed the cavalry of the enemy, which was thought to be invincible.

But what most of all filled the Sicilians with terror and the Hellenes with incredulity was the fact that in a short time he carried a wall around Syracuse, a city fully as large as Athens, although the unevenness of the territory about it, its proximity to the sea and its adjacent marshes, made the task of surrounding it with such a wall very difficult. But he came within an ace of bringing this great task to completion,—a man who had not even sound health for such concerns, but was sick of a disease in the kidneys. To this it is only fair to ascribe the fact that part of the work was unfinished. I can but admire the watchful care of the general and the noble valour of his soldiers in what they did accomplish. Euripides, after their defeat and destruction, composed an epitaph for them, in which he said:—

“ These men at Syracuse eight times were triumphant
as victors ;

Heroes they were while the gods favoured both
causes alike.”¹

And not eight times only, nay, more than that you will find that the Syracusans were beaten by them, until the gods, as the poet says, or fortune, became hostile to the Athenians at the very pinnacle of their power.

XVIII. Now in most actions Nicias took part, despite his bodily infirmity. But once, when his weakness was extreme, he was lying in bed within

¹ Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.⁴ p. 265.

- ὀλίγων ὑπηρετῶν κατέκειτο, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν ἔχων ὁ Λάμαχος προσεμάχετο τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τείχος ἀνάγουσι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃ κωλύσειν ἔμελλε διὰ μέσου τὸν ἀπο-
 2 τειχισμόν. τῷ δὲ κρατεῖν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτακτότερον φερομένων πρὸς τὰς διώξεις, ἀπομονωθεὶς ὁ Λάμαχος ὑπέστη τῶν Συρακουσίων τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἐπιφερομένους. ἦν δὲ πρῶτος αὐτῶν Καλλικράτης, ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ θυμοειδής. πρὸς τοῦτον ἐκ προκλήσεως καταστάς ὁ Λάμαχος ἐμονομάχησε, καὶ λαβὼν πληγὴν πρότερος, εἴτα δούς καὶ πεσὼν
 3 ὁμοῦ συναπέθανε τῷ Καλλικράτει. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κρατήσαντες αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξήραν οἱ Συρακούσιοι, δρόμῳ δ' ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη 53 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν οἷς ὁ Νικίας ἦν οὐκ ἔχων τοὺς βοηθοῦντας. ὅμως δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐξαναστὰς καὶ κατιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὅσα ξύλα πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐτύγγανεν εἰς μηχανὰς παραβεβλημένα, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτὰς πῦρ κομίσαντας ἄψαι. τοῦτο τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπέσχε καὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἔσωσε καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων· φλόγα γὰρ ἀρθεῖσαν διὰ μέσου πολλὴν ἰδόντες ἀπετράπησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι.
- 4 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπολέλειπτο μὲν ὁ Νικίας μόνος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἦν δ' ἐλπίδος μεγάλης. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις μεθίσταντο καὶ πλοῖα μεστὰ σίτου πολλαχόθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον,¹ τοῖς πράγμασιν εὖ φερομένοις πάντων προστιθεμένων. καὶ λόγοι τινὲς ἤδη παρὰ τῶν

¹ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον MSS. and odd.; ἦλθεν added by Sintenis.

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the walls, attended by a few servants, while Lamachus with the soldiery was fighting the Syracusans. These were trying to run a wall from their city out to that which the Athenians were building, to intersect it and prevent its completion. The Athenians prevailed, and hurried off in pursuit with more or less disorder, so that Lamachus was isolated, and then had to face some Syracusan horsemen who made an onset upon him. Foremost of these was Calliocrates, a man skilled in war and of a high courage. Lamachus accepted his challenge to single combat, fought him, got a mortal blow from him, but gave him back the like, and fell and died along with him. The Syracusans got possession of the body of Lamachus, with its armour, and carried it off. Then they made a dash upon the Athenian walls where Nicias was, with none to succour him. He nevertheless, necessity compelling him, rose from his bed, saw his peril, and ordered his attendants to bring fire and set it to all the timbers that lay scattered in front of the walls for the construction of siege-engines, and to the engines themselves. This brought the Syracusans to a halt, and saved Nicias as well as the walls and stores of the Athenians. For when the Syracusans saw a great flame rising between them and the walls, they withdrew.

Thus it came to pass that Nicias was left sole general; but he was in great hopes. Cities were inclining to take his side, and ships full of grain came to his camp from every quarter. Everybody hastens to join a successful cause. Besides, sundry proposals for a treaty were already coming to him from those

5 Συρακουσίων ἐγίνοντο περὶ συμβασεως πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀπεγνωκότων τὴν πόλιν. ὅπου καὶ Γυλίππος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πλέων βοηθὸς αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἤκουσε κατὰ πλοῦν τὸν ἀποτειχισμὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας, οὕτως ἔπλει τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἐχομένης μὲν ἤδη τῆς Σικελίας, Ἰταλιώταις δὲ τὰς πόλεις διαφυλάξων, εἰ καὶ τοῦτό πως ἐγγένοιτο. μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ δόξα διεφοίτα τοῦ κρατεῖν πάντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔχειν ἄμαχον δι' εὐτυχίαν καὶ φρόνησιν.

6 Ὁ δὲ Νικίας εὐθύς¹ αὐτὸς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥώμης καὶ τύχης ἀνατεθαρρηκώς, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Συρακουσῶν διαλεγόμενοις κρύφα καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον οὐπω τὴν πόλιν ἐνδίδοσθαι κατὰ συμβάσεις νομίζων, οὐδένα τοῦ Γυλίππου λόγον ἔσχε προσπλέοντος, οὐδὲ φυλακὴν ἐποιήσατο καθαρὰν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παντελῶς ὑπερορᾶσθαι καὶ καταφρονεῖσθαι λαθὼν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰσέπλευσε διὰ πορθμοῦ, καὶ προσκομισθεὶς ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν Συρακουσῶν στρατιὰν συνηγάγετο πολλήν, οὐδ' εἰ πάρεστι τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ προσδοκῶν-
7 τῶν. διὸ καὶ παρήγγελτο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίᾳ περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν ὁμολογιῶν, καὶ τινες ἐβάδιζον ἤδη, πρὶν ἢ παντελῶς ἀποτειχισθῆναι τὴν πόλιν οἰόμενοι δεῖν γενέσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις· βραχὺ γὰρ ἦν κομιδὴ τὸ ἀπολειπόμενον τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ τοῦτο παραβεβλημένην εἶχε τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς τειχοδομίας σύμπασαν.

XIX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καιροῦ παρόντος τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφικνεῖται Γογγύλος ἐκ Κορίνθου μὴ

¹ εὐθύς deleted by Coraës and Bekker.

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Syracusans who despaired of their city. At this time, too, Gylippus, who was sailing from Sparta to their aid, when he heard on his voyage how they were walled up and in sore distress, held on his way, it is true, but with the belief that Sicily was as good as taken, and that he could only save the cities of the Italian Greeks, if haply even that. For the opinion gained ground and strength that the Athenians were all powerful, and had a general who was invincible by reason of his judgement and good fortune.

And Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was straightway so emboldened by the present momentum of his good fortune, and, most of all, by the secret messengers sent to him from the Syracusans was so fixed in his belief that the city was just on the point of surrendering conditionally, that he made no sort of account of Gylippus at his approach. He did not even set an adequate watch against him. Wherefore, finding himself completely overlooked and despised, the man sailed stealthily through the straits, made a landing at the farthest point from Syracuse, and collected a large force, the Syracusans being not so much as aware of his presence, nor even expecting him. On the contrary, they had actually called an assembly to discuss the agreements to be made with Nicias, and some were already on their way to it, thinking that the terms of peace should be made before their city was completely walled up. For that part of the work which remained to be done was quite small, and all the material required for it lay strewn along the line.

XIX. But in this nick of time and crisis of their peril Gongylus came to them from Corinth with a

τριήρει· καὶ συνδραμόντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς εἰκός, πάντων ἔφραζεν ὅτι Γύλιππος ἀφίξεται διὰ ταχέων καὶ νῆες ἄλλαι βοηθοὶ προσπλέουσιν.

2 οὐπω δὲ τῷ Γογγύλῳ πιστευόντων βεβαίως, ἦκεν ἄγγελος παρὰ τοῦ Γυλίππου κελεύοντος ἀπαντᾶν. οἱ δὲ θαρρήσαντες ἐξωπλίζοντο· καὶ προσῆγεν εὐθύς ὁ Γύλιππος ἐξ ὁδοῦ παρατεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ κἀκείνους ἀντέταξεν ὁ Νικίας, θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Γύλιππος τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κήρυκα πέμψας ἔλεγε διδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἄδειαν ἀπιούσιν ἐκ Σικελίας.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικίας οὐθὲν ἠξίωσεν ἀποκρίνασθαι· τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινες καταγελῶντες ἡρώτων εἰ διὰ παρουσίαν ἐνὸς τρίβωνος καὶ βακτηρίας Λακωνικῆς οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ τὰ Συρακουσίων ἐξαίφνης γέγονεν ὥστ' Ἀθηναίων καταφρονεῖν, οἱ πολὺ ῥωμαλεωτέρους Γυλίππου καὶ μᾶλλον κομῶντας τριακοσίους ἔχοντες ἐν πέδαις

4 δεδεμένους ἀπέδωκαν Λακεδαιμονίοις. Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σικελιώτας φησὶν ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν Γύλιππον, ὕστερον μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μικρολογίαν καταγνόντας, ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ὤφθη, σκώπτοντας εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν κόμην. εἶτα μέντοι φησὶν αὐτὸς ὅτι τῷ Γυλίππῳ φανέντι καθάπερ γλαυκὶ πολλοὶ προσέπτησαν ἐτοίμως στρατευόμενοι. καὶ ταῦτα τῶν πρῶτων ἀληθέστερά εἰσιν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ 536 τρίβωνι τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης

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single trireme. All flocking to meet him, as was natural, he told them that Gylippus would come speedily, and that other ships of war were sailing to their aid. Ere yet they could put implicit faith in what Gongylus told them, there came a messenger from Gylippus bidding them come out to meet him. Then they plucked up heart and donned their arms. No sooner had Gylippus come up than he led his men in battle array against the Athenians. But when Nicias arrayed his men too over against him, Gylippus halted under arms, and sent a herald with the message that he offered the Athenians safe conduct if they would depart from Sicily.

Nicias deigned no answer to this ; but some of his soldiers mocked, and asked the herald if the presence of a single Spartan cloak and staff had made the prospects of the Syracusans on a sudden so secure that they could afford to deride the Athenians, who had restored to the Lacedaemonians, out of prison and fetters, three hundred men¹ far sturdier than Gylippus, and longer haired. Timaeus says that the Sicilians also made no account of Gylippus, later on, indeed, because they learned to know his base greed and penuriousness ; but as soon as they set eyes upon him they jeered at his cloak and his long hair. Then, however, Timaeus himself says that as soon as Gylippus showed himself, for all the world like an owl among birds, many flocked to him, with ready offers of military service. This latter statement has more truth in it than his first, for in the staff and cloak of Gylippus men beheld the symbols of the majesty of Sparta, and rallied round

¹ The captives of Sphacteria (chapter viii. 1), two hundred and ninety-two in number (Thuc. iv. 38, 5).

5 καθορῶντες συνίσταντο. καὶ κείνου τὸ πᾶν ἔργον
γεγονέναι φησὶν οὐ Θουκυδίδης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Φίλιστος, ἀνὴρ Συρακούσιος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
όρατῆς γενόμενος.

Τῇ μὲν οὖν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι τῶν Συρακουσίων ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν
καὶ Γογγύλον τὸν Κορίνθιον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν
ἡμέραν ἔδειξεν ὁ Γύλιππος οἷόν ἐστιν ἐμπειρία.
τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ χωρίοις
χρησάμενος οὐχ ὡσαύτως, ἀλλὰ μεταθείς τὴν
6 τάξιν, ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· καὶ φυγόντων εἰς
τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιστήσας τοὺς Συρακουσίους,
τοῖς λίθοις οἷς ἐκείνοι προσεκόμιζον καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ
παροικοδομῶν εἰς διαστολὰς ἀπέκοψε τὸν ἐκείνων
περιτειχισμόν, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον
κρατοῦσιν.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ θαρρήσαντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι τὰς
τε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
καὶ ἀκολούθοις περιελαύνοντες πολλοὺς ἤρουν.
7 καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐπιὼν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτὸς
ἐξώρμα καὶ συνίστη πάντας ἐρρωμένως ὑπακούον-
τας αὐτῷ καὶ συλλαμβανομένους, ὥστε τὸν
Νικίαν αὖθις εἰς ἐκείνους ἀποτρεπόμενον τοὺς
πρώτους λογισμοὺς καὶ συμφρονούντα τὴν τῶν
πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν ἀθυμεῖν, καὶ γράφειν τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις κελεύοντα πέμπειν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἢ
καὶ τοῦτον ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτῷ δὲ
πάντως αἰτούμενον τῆς στρατηγίας ἄφεςιν διὰ
τὴν νόσον.

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them. Moreover, that the whole achievement of deliverance was his, is the testimony not only of Thucydides, but also of Philistus, who was a Syracusan, and an eye-witness of the events thereof.

Well, then, in the first battle the Athenians were victors and slew some few of the Syracusans, and also Gongylus the Corinthian; but on the day following Gylippus showed what a great thing experience is. Although he had the same infantry and the same cavalry and the same localities to deal with, he did not do it in the same way as before, but changed his tactics, and thereby conquered the Athenians. And as they fled to their camp, he halted his Syracusans in their pursuit, and with the very stones and timbers which his enemies had brought up for their own use, he carried on the cross wall until it intersected the besiegers' wall of enclosure, so that their superior strength in the field really availed them naught.

After this the Syracusans plucked up heart and went to manning their ships, while their own horsemen and those of their allies would ride about and cut off many of their besiegers. Gylippus also went out in person to the cities of Sicily and roused up and united them all into vigorous and obedient concert with him. Nicias therefore fell back again upon those views of the undertaking which he had held at the outset, and, fully aware of the reversal which it had suffered, became dejected, and wrote a dispatch¹ to the Athenians urging them to send out another armament, or else to recall the one already in Sicily, begging them also in any case to relieve him of his command because of his disease.

¹ Cf. Thuc. vii. 11-15.

XX. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὥρμητο πέμπειν ἑτέραν δύναμιν εἰς Σικελίαν, φθόνῳ δὲ τῶν πρῶτον πραττομένων πρὸς εὐτυχίαν τοῦ Νικίου τοσαύτην πολλὰς διατριβὰς ἐμβαλόντων τότε γοῦν ἔσπευδον βοηθεῖν. καὶ Δημοσθένης μὲν ἔμελλε μεγάλῳ στόλῳ πλεῖν ἐκ χειμῶνος, Εὐρυμέδων δὲ διὰ χειμῶνος προεξέπλευσε χρήματα κομίζων καὶ συστρατήγους ἀποφαίνων ἡρημένους τῷ Νικίᾳ τῶν αὐτόθι στρατευομένων Εὐθύδημον καὶ Μένανδρον.

- 2 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξαίφνης ἐπιχειρούμενος ὁ Νικίας ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ἡττώμενος τὸ πρῶτον ὅμως ἐξέωσε καὶ κατέδυσε πολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν οὐκ ἔφθασε βοηθῶν, ἀλλ' ἄφνω προσπεσὼν ὁ Γύλιππος εἶλε τὸ Πλημμύριον, ἐν ᾧ σκευῶν τριηρικῶν καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐκράτησε πάντων καὶ διέφθειρεν ἄνδρας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβε.
- 3 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀφείλετο τοῦ Νικίου τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν εὐπέτειαν. ἦν γὰρ ἡ κομιδὴ παρὰ τὸ Πλημμύριον ἀσφαλὲς καὶ ταχεῖα τῶν Ἀθηναίων κρατούντων, ἐκπεσόντων δὲ χαλεπὴ καὶ μετὰ μάχης ἐγίνετο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκεῖ ναυλοχοῦντας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖς Συρακουσίοις οὐκ ἀπὸ κράτους ἐφαίνετο νενικημένον, ἀλλ'

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XX. Even before this the Athenians had made preparations to send another force to Sicily, but the leading men among them felt some jealousy of the preliminary good fortune of Nicias, and so had induced many delays. Now, however, they were all eagerness to send aid. It was therefore determined that Demosthenes should sail with a large armament in the spring, and while it was yet winter Eurymedon preceded him with a smaller fleet, bringing money, and announcing the selection of colleagues for Nicias from among the members of the expedition there,—to wit, Euthydemus and Menander.

But in the meantime Nicias was suddenly attacked by land and sea. With his fleet, though vanquished at first, he yet succeeded in repulsing the enemy, and sank many of their ships; but he was not prompt enough in sending aid to his garrison at Plemmyrium,¹ and so Gylippus, who had fallen upon it suddenly, captured it. Large naval stores and moneys were in deposit there, all of which Gylippus secured, besides killing many men and taking many prisoners. What was most important of all, he robbed Nicias of his easy importation of supplies. These had been safely and speedily brought in past Plemmyrium as long as the Athenians held that post; but now that they had been driven from it, the process was a difficult one, and involved fighting with the enemy who lay at anchor there. And besides all this, the Syracusans felt that their fleet had been defeated, not through any superior strength in their enemy,

¹ A promontory which runs out opposite the city of Syracuse, and narrows the entrance into the great harbour.

ἄταξία περὶ τὴν δίωξιν. αὐθις οὖν ἐπεχείρουν
 παρασκευαζόμενοι λαμπρότερον.

- 4 Ὁ δὲ Νικίας οὐκ ἐβούλετο ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ
 πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι, στόλου τοσούτου
 προσπλέοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δυνάμεως ἀκραιφνοῦς,
 ἣν ἦγε Δημοσθένης σπεύδων, ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων καὶ
 χορηγούμενων φαύλως διαγωνίσασθαι. τοῖς δὲ
 περὶ τὸν Μένανδρον καὶ τὸν Εὐθύδημον ἀρτίως
 εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένοις φιλοτιμία καὶ ζῆλος
 ἦν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, τὸν μὲν
 Δημοσθένην φθῆναι πρᾶξαντάς τι λαμπρόν,
 5 ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸν Νικίαν. πρόσχημα δ' ἦν
 ἡ δόξα τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ κατα-
 λύεσθαι παντάπασι φάσκοντες εἰ φοβηθήσονται
 Συρακουσίους ἐπιπλέοντας, ἐξεβιάσαντο ναυ-
 μαχῆσαι. καὶ καταστρατηγηθέντες ὑπ' Ἀρίστωνος
 τοῦ Κορινθίων κυβερνήτου τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἄριστον,
 ὡς εἶρηκε Θουκυδίδης, κατὰ κράτος ἡττήθησαν
 καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον· καὶ ἀθυμία πολλὴ περι- 537
 εστήκει τὸν Νικίαν τῇ τε μοναρχίᾳ κακοπαθοῦντα
 καὶ σφαλλόμενον αὐθις ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων.

XXI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν
 λιμένων ἐπεφαίνετο λαμπρότατος τῇ παρασκευῇ
 καὶ δεινότατος τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐβδομή-
 κοντα καὶ τριῶν ἄγων ὀπλίτας πεντακισχιλίους,
 ἀκοντιστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας
 τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ὅπλων δὲ κόσμφ καὶ

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but by reason of their own disorderly pursuit of that enemy. Accordingly, they were making more vigorous preparations to try the issue again.

But Nicias did not want a sea fight. He said it would be great folly, when so large an armament was sailing to their aid and hurrying up fresh troops under Demosthenes, to fight the issue out with inferior forces, and those wretchedly supplied. Menander and Euthydemus, however, who had just been appointed to their offices, were moved by an ambitious rivalry with both the other generals; they longed to anticipate Demosthenes in some brilliant exploit, and to eclipse Nicias. They therefore made much of their city's reputation. This, they declared again and again, would be altogether ruined and dissipated if they should show fear when the Syracusans sailed out to attack them; and so they forced a decision to give battle by sea. But they were simply out-manœuvred by Ariston, the Corinthian captain, in the matter of the noon-day meal, as Thucydides relates,¹ and then worsted in action, with the loss of many men. And so a great despair encompassed Nicias; he had met with disaster while in sole command, and was now again brought to grief by his colleagues.

XXI. But at this juncture Demosthenes hove in sight off the harbours,² most resplendent in his array, and most terrifying to the enemy. He brought five thousand hoplites on seventy-three ships of war, besides javelineers and archers and slingers to no less a number than three thousand. What with the gleam

¹ vii. 36-41. The Syracusan crews took their meal close by their ships, and then suddenly re-embarked and attacked the Athenians, who supposed there would be no more fighting that day, and were taken unawares.

² About mid-summer, 413 B.C.

παρασήμοις τριήρων καὶ πλήθει κελευστῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν θεατρικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἑκπληξιν πολεμίων
 2 ἐξήσκημένος. ἦν οὖν, ὥς εἰκός, αὐθις ἐν φόβῳ
 μεγάλῳ τὰ Συρακουσίων εἰς οὐδὲν πέρας οὐδὲ
 ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἀλλὰ πονοῦντας ἄλλως καὶ φθειρο-
 μένους αὐτοὺς μάτην ὀρώντων.

Τὸν δὲ Νικίαν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εὐφρανεν ἡ
 παρουσία τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν
 λόγοις γενέσθαι, τοῦ Δημοσθένους εὐθὺς ἐπιχει-
 ρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις κελεύοντος καὶ τῷ ταχίστῳ
 τῶν κινδύνων περὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαγωνισαμένους
 ἐλεῖν Συρακούσας ἢ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, δείσας καὶ
 θαυμάσας τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ τόλμαν ἐδεῖτο μηδὲν
 3 ἀπεγνωσμένως πρῶττειν μηδὲ ἀνοήτως. τὴν γὰρ
 τριβὴν εἶναι κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε χρήματα
 κεκτημένων ἔτι, μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς
 πολὺν χρόνον παραμενούντων, εἰ δὲ θλίβοιντο
 ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ταχὺ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμ-
 βάσεις τραπησομένων, ὥς πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ
 ἦσαν ἄνδρες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις δια-
 λεγόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ κρύφα καὶ μένειν κελεύοντες,
 ὥς καὶ νῦν ὑπερπονούντων τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τὸν
 Γύλιππον βαρυνομένων, εἰ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπιτείνω-
 σιν αἱ ἀνάγκαι, παντάπασιν ἀπαγορευσόντων.
 4 τούτων ὁ Νικίας τὰ μὲν αἰνιττόμενος, τὰ δ' οὐ
 θέλων ἐν φαιερῷ λέγειν, ἀτολμίας παρέσχε τοῖς
 στρατηγοῖς δόξαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἤκειν
 φάσκοντες αὐτοῦ, μελλήματα καὶ διατριβὰς καὶ
 ἀκριβολογίας, αἷς ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀκμὴν οὐκ εὐθὺς
 ἐπιχειρῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἔωλος καὶ κατα-

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of his arms and the insignia of his triremes and the multitude of his coxwains and pipers, he made a spectacular display, and one which smote the enemy with dismay. Again, then, as was natural, fear reigned among the Syracusans. They saw before them no final release from their perils, but only useless toils and vain self-destruction.

But the joy of Nicias at the presence of this fresh force was not long lived. Nay, at the very first council of war, when Demosthenes urged an immediate attack upon the enemy, a settlement of the whole struggle by the speediest hazard, and either the capture of Syracuse or else a return home, he was in fearful amaze at such aggressive daring, and begged that nothing be done rashly or foolishly. Delay, he said, was sure to work against the enemy; they no longer had money to spend, and their allies would not longer stand by them; let them only be really distressed by the straits they were in, and they would soon come to him again for terms, as they had done before. For not a few of the men of Syracuse were in secret communication with Nicias. They urged him to bide his time, on the ground that even now they were worn out by the war and weary of Gylippus, and that if their necessities should but increase a little, they would give over altogether. At some of these matters Nicias could only hint darkly, of others he was unwilling to speak in public, and so he made the generals think him cowardly. It was the same old story over again with him, they would say,—delays, postponements, and hairsplitting distinctions; he had already forfeited the golden moment by not attacking the enemy at once, but rather going stale and winning

- φρονούμενος, τῷ Δημοοθέει προσετίθεντο. καὶ ὁ Νικίας μόλις συνεχώρησεν ἐκβιασθείς.
- 5 Οὕτω δὴ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρει ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν φθάσας πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἀμυνομένους ἐτρέψατο. καὶ κρατῶν οὐκ ἔμειεν, ἀλλ' ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, μέχρι οὗ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἐνέτυχε. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι συστρέψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐναντίοις τοῖς δόρασι μετὰ βοῆς ἐώσαντο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον.
- 6 δι' ὅλου δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐθύς ἦν πτοία καὶ ταραχή, καὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἤδη καταπιμπλάμενον τὸ ἔτι νικῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαῖνον καὶ προσφερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πεφοβημένων ἀνακοπτόμενον ἑαυτῷ περιέπιπτε, τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας οἰόμενον διώκειν,
- 7 τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς πολεμίοις χρώμενον. ἡ γὰρ ἄτακτος ἀνάμιξις ἐν ταύτῳ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγνοίας, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἄπιστον ἐν νυκτὶ μήτε σκότος ἄκρατον μήτε φῶς ἐχούσῃ βέβαιον, ἀλλ' οἷαν εἰκὸς ἤδη καταφερομένης σελήνης καὶ περισκιαζομένης ὅπλοις πολλοῖς καὶ σώμασι κινουμένοις διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς μὴ διασαφούσαν τὰ εἶδη φόβῳ τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ποιεῖν ὑποπτον, εἰς δεινὰς ἀπορίας καὶ περιπετείας καθίστη τοὺς
- 8 Ἀθηναίους. ἔτυχον δὲ πῶς καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἔχοντες ὀπισθεν· ὅθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰς σκιάς ἐπιβάλλοντες ἀπέκρυπτον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα, τοὺς δ' ἐναντίους ὁ πρὸς τὴν

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their contempt. So they sided with Demosthenes, and Nicias, with great reluctance, was forced to yield.

Therefore, Demosthenes, with the infantry, made a night attack upon Epipolæ. He took some of the enemy by surprise, and slew them; others, who tried to make a stand, he routed. Victorious, he did not halt, but pressed on farther, until he fell in with the Boeotians. These were the first of the enemy to form in battle array, and dashing upon the Athenians with spears at rest and with loud shouts, they repulsed them and slew many of them there. Through the whole army of attack there was at once panic and confusion. The part that was still pressing on victoriously was presently choked up with the part that fled, and the part that was yet coming up to the attack was beaten back by the panic-stricken and fell foul of itself, supposing that the fugitives were pursuers, and treating friends as foes. Their huddling together in fear and ignorance, and the deceitfulness of their vision, plunged the Athenians into terrible perplexities and disasters. For the night was one which afforded neither absolute darkness nor a steady light. The moon was low on the horizon, and was partially obscured by the numerous armed figures moving to and fro in her light, and so she naturally made even friends mutually suspicious through fear of foes, by not distinguishing their forms clearly. Besides, it somehow happened that the Athenians had the moon at their backs, so that they cast their shadows on their own men in front of them, and thus obscured their number and the brilliancy of their weapons; while in the case of the enemy, the reflection of the moon upon their

σελήνην τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀντιφωτισμὸς πολὺ πλείονας ὀράσθαι καὶ λαμπροτέρους ἐποίει.

- 9 Τέλος δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς ἐνέδοσαν, 538 προσκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων φεύγοντες οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὀλισθαίνοντες· τοὺς δ' ἀποσκεδασθέντας καὶ πλανωμένους ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης οἱ ἵππεῖς καταλαμβάνοντες διέφθειρον. ἐγένοντο δὲ νεκροὶ δισχίλιοι, καὶ τῶν περιγενομένων ὀλίγοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπεσώθησαν.

- XXII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικίας πληγεὶς οὐκ ἀπροσδοκήτως ἡττιάτο τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὴν προπέτειαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀπολογησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλην ἀφίξεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης τῶν 2 πολεμίων κρατεῖν, ὅπου γε καὶ κρατοῦντας ἐκείνων ἔδει μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν τὸ χωρίον, αἰεὶ μὲν, ὥς πυνθάνονται, βαρὺ καὶ νοσῶδες ὃν στρατοπέδῳ, νῦν δ', ὥς βλέπουσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὥραν ὀλέθριον. μετοπώρου γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἄρχή· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡσθένουں ἤδη, πάντες δὲ ἡθύμουν.

- Ὁ δὲ Νικίας χαλεπῶς ἤκουε τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, οὐ τῷ μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς Συρακουσίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰς 3 ἐκείνων δίκας καὶ συκοφαντίας φοβεῖσθαι. δεινὸν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτόθι προσδοκᾶν ἔφασκεν, εἰ δὲ συμβαίῃ, μᾶλλον αἰρεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐχ ὅμοια 286

shields made them seem far more numerous than they really were, and more resplendent to the eye.

Finally, when the Athenians gave ground, the enemy attacked them on all sides and put them to flight. Some of them died at the hands of their pursuers, others by one another's hands, and others still by plunging down the cliffs. The scattered and wandering fugitives, when day came, were overtaken and cut to pieces by the enemy's horsemen. The dead amounted in all to two thousand; and of the survivors, few saved their armour with their lives.

XXII. Nicias, accordingly, was overcome by this disaster, though it did not take him wholly by surprise, and he accused Demosthenes of rashness. Demosthenes defended himself on this score, and then urged that they sail away as soon as they could. No other force would come to their aid, he declared, and with the one they had they could not finally master the enemy, since, even if they were victorious in battle, they would be forced to change their base and abandon their present position; this was always, as they heard, a grievous and unwholesome spot for encampment, and now particularly, as they saw, it was actually deadly on account of the season of the year. For it was the beginning of autumn; many were sick already, and all were in low spirits.

But Nicias could not bear to hear of sailing off in flight, not because he had no fear of the Syracusans, but because he was more afraid of the Athenians with their prosecutions and denunciations. Nothing dreadful, he would say, was to be expected where they were, and even if the worst should come, he chose rather to die at the hands of his enemies than at the hands of his fellow citizens. In this he was

φρονῶν οἷς ὕστερον ὁ Βυζάντιος Λέων εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας· “Βούλομαι γὰρ,” ἔφη, “μᾶλλον ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἢ μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν”· περὶ μέντοι τόπου καὶ χώρας εἰς ἣν μετατάξουσιν τὸ στρατόπεδον, βουλευέσθαι καθ’ ἡσυχίαν.
 4 ταῦτα δ’ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης οὐδὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κατευτυχήσας ἐπαύσατο βιαζόμενος, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις παρέσχε τὸν Νικίαν προσδοκῶντα καὶ πιστεύοντα τοῖς ἔϊδον οὕτως ἐρρωμένως ἀναμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀποβάσεως· διὸ καὶ συνεχώρησαν. ὥς μέντοι στρατιὰ Συρακουσίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἄλλη καὶ μᾶλλον ἥπτετο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ νόσος, ἥδη καὶ τῷ Νικίᾳ συνεδόκει μεθίστασθαι, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐτρεπεῖς εἶναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν.

XXIII. Ὡς δ’ ἦν ἔτοιμα ταῦτα πάντα καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς παρεφύλαττεν, ἅτε δὴ μὴ προσδοκῶντων, ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτός, μέγα δέος τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκπεπληγμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡλίου τὴν περὶ τὰς τριακάδας ἐπισκότησιν ἁμῶς γέ πως ἥδη συνεφρόνουν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ γενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης·
 2 αὐτῇ δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ὥτιμι συντυγχάνουσα καὶ πῶς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ πανσελήνου τὸ φῶς ἀπόλλυσι καὶ χροᾶς ἴησι παντοδαπὰς, οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν καταλαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀλλόκοτον ἔγούντο καὶ πρὸ συμφορῶν τινων μεγάλων ἐκ θεοῦ γινόμενον σημεῖον.

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not like-minded with Leon of Byzantium, who, at a later time,¹ said to his fellow citizens: "I would rather be put to death by you than with you." However, regarding the exact spot to which they should remove their camp, Nicias said they would deliberate at their leisure. Thereupon Demosthenes, who had not been successful in his previous plan, ceased trying to carry his point, and so led the rest of the generals to believe that Nicias must have confident expectations from his correspondents in the city in making such a sturdy fight against the proposed retreat; they therefore sided with him. However, a fresh army came to the aid of the Syracusans, and sickness kept spreading among the Athenians, so that at last Nicias also decided in favour of a change of base, and ordered the soldiers to hold themselves in readiness to sail away.

XXIII. But just as everything was prepared for this and none of the enemy were on the watch, since they did not expect the move at all, there came an eclipse of the moon by night. This was a great terror to Nicias and all those who were ignorant or superstitious enough to quake at such a sight. The obscuration of the sun towards the end of the month was already understood, even by the common folk, as caused somehow or other by the moon; but what it was that the moon encountered, and how, being at the full, she should on a sudden lose her light and emit all sorts of colours, this was no easy thing to comprehend. Men thought it uncanny,—a sign sent from God in advance of divers great calamities.

¹ Perhaps in 340 B.C., when Philip of Macedon was besieging Byzantium. Leon was a rhetorician and historian.

- Ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατόν τε πάντων καὶ
 θαρραλεώτατον περὶ σελήνης καταυγασμῶν καὶ
 σκιᾶς λόγον εἰς γραφὴν καταθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας
 οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἦν παλαιὸς οὔτε ὁ λόγος ἔνδοξος, ἀλλ'
 ἀπόρρητος ἔτι καὶ δι' ὀλίγων καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας
 3 τινὸς ἢ πίστεως βαδίζων. οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο
 τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μετεωρολέσχας τότε καλου-
 μένους, ὥς εἰς αἰτίας ἀλόγους καὶ δυνάμεις
 ἀπρονοήτους καὶ κατηναγκασμένα πάθη δια-
 τρίβοντας τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἔφυγε,
 καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰρχθέντα μόλις περιεποιήσατο
 Περικλῆς, καὶ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν γε
 τοιούτων προσῆκον, ὅμως ἀπώλετο διὰ φιλοσοφίαν.
 4 ὧς δ' ἡ Πλάτωνος ἐκλάμψασα δόξα διὰ τὸν
 βίον τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ κυριω-
 τέραις ἀρχαῖς ὑπέταξε τὰς φυσικὰς ἀνάγκας, 539
 ἀφεῖλε τὴν τῶν λόγων τούτων διαβολήν, καὶ τοῖς
 μαθήμασιν εἰς ἅπαντας ὁδὸν ἐνέδωκεν. ὁ γοῦν
 ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ Δίων, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔμελλεν ἄρας
 ἐκ Ζακύνθου πλεῖν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον, ἐκλιπούσης
 τῆς σελήνης, οὐδὲν διαταραχθεὶς ἀνήχθη, καὶ
 κατασχὼν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐξέβαλε τὸν τύραν-
 νον.
- 5 Τῷ μέντοι Νικία συνηνέχθη τότε μηδὲ μάντιν
 ἔχειν ἔμπειρον· ὁ γὰρ συνήθης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πολὺ
 τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀφαιρῶν Στιλβίδης ἐτεθνήκει

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The first man to put in writing the clearest and boldest of all doctrines about the changing phases of the moon was Anaxagoras. But he was no ancient authority, nor was his doctrine in high repute. It was still under seal of secrecy, and made its way slowly among a few only, who received it with a certain caution rather than with implicit confidence. Men could not abide the natural philosophers and "visionaries," as they were then called, for that they reduced the divine agency down to irrational causes, blind forces, and necessary incidents. Even Protagoras had to go into exile,¹ Anaxagoras was with difficulty rescued from imprisonment by Pericles,² and Socrates, though he had nothing whatever to do with such matters, nevertheless lost his life³ because of philosophy. It was not until later times that the radiant repute of Plato, because of the life the man led, and because he subjected the compulsions of the physical world to divine and more sovereign principles, took away the obloquy of such doctrines as these, and gave their science free course among all men. At any rate, his friend Dion, although the moon suffered an eclipse at the time when he was about to set out from Zacynthus on his voyage against Dionysius, was in no wise disturbed, but put to sea, landed at Syracuse, and drove out the tyrant.⁴

However, it was the lot of Nicias at this time to be without even a soothsayer who was expert. The one who had been his associate, and who used to set him free from most of his superstition, Stilbides, had

¹ Not far from 411 B.C.

² About 432 B.C. See the *Pericles*, xxxii. 3.

³ In the spring of 399 B.C.

⁴ In 357 B.C. See the *Dion*, xxiv.

μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν. ἐπεὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὥς φησι Φιλό-
 χορος, φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἦν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν-
 χρηστὸν· ἐπικρύψεως γὰρ αἱ σὺν φόβῳ πράξεις
 6 δέονται, τὸ δὲ φῶς πολέμιόν ἐστιν αὐταῖς. ἄλλως
 τε καὶ τῶν περὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας
 ἐποιοῦντο φυλακὴν, ὥς Αὐτοκλείδης διέγραψεν
 ἐν τοῖς ἐξηγητικοῖς· ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἄλλην ἔπεισε
 σελήνης ἀναμένειν περίοδον, ὥσπερ οὐκ εὐθὺς
 θεασίμενος αὐτὴν ἀποκαθαρθεῖσαν, ὅτε τὸν
 σκιερὸν τόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀντιφραττόμενον
 παρήλθε.

XXIV. Μικροῦ δὲ πάντων ἀφέμενος τῶν ἄλλων
 ἔθυέ τε καὶ διεμαντεύετο καθήμενος, ἕως ἐπῆλθον
 αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸ
 στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν πολιορκοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ
 κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα περιλαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αὐτοὶ
 μόνον ταῖς τριήρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια
 πανταχόθεν ἐπιβαίνοντα τῶν ἀλιάδων καὶ ταῖς
 σκάφαις προσπλέοντα προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἀθη-
 2 ναίους καὶ προὔπηλάκιζεν. ὦν ἓνα, παῖδα γνωρί-
 μων γονέων, Ἡρακλείδην, προεξελάσαντα τῷ
 πλοίῳ ναὺς Ἀττικὴ διώκουσα κατελίμβανε.
 δείσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῷ Πόλλιχος ὁ θεῖος ἀντελαύνει
 δέκα τριήρεσιν ὧν ἦρχεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ τοῦ
 Πολλίχου φοβηθέντες ὡσαύτως ἀνήγοντο. καὶ
 ναυμαχίας ἰσχυρᾶς γενομένης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Συρι-
 κούσιοι, καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων
 διέφθειραν.

3 Ἦν οὖν οὐκέτι μένειν ἀνασχετὰ Ἀθηναίοις,

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died a short time before. For indeed the sign from Heaven, as Philochorus observed, was not an obnoxious one to fugitives, but rather very propitious; concealment is just what deeds of fear need, whereas light is an enemy to them. And besides, men were wont to be on their guard against portents of sun and moon for three days only, as Autocleides has remarked in his "Exegetics"; but Nicias persuaded the Athenians to wait for another full period of the moon, as if, forsooth, he did not see that the planet was restored to purity and splendour just as soon as she had passed beyond the region which was darkened and obscured by the earth.

XXIV. Abandoning almost everything else, Nicias lay there sacrificing and divining until the enemy came up against him. With their land forces they laid siege to his walls and camp, and with their fleet they took possession of the harbour round about. Not only the men of Syracuse in their triremes, but even the striplings, on board of fishing smacks and skiffs, sailed up from every side with challenges and insults for the Athenians. To one of these, a boy of noble parentage, Heracleides by name, who had driven his boat well on before the rest, an Attic ship gave chase, and was like to capture him. But the boy's uncle, Pollichus, concerned for his safety, rowed out to his defence with the ten triremes which were under his orders, and then the other commanders, fearing in turn for the safety of Pollichus, likewise put out for the scene of action. A fierce sea fight was thus brought on, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and slew Eurymedon along with many others.

Accordingly the Athenians could no longer endure

ἀλλὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατεβόων πεζῇ κελεύοντες ἀναχωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Συρακούσιοι νικήσαντες εὐθὺς ἐνέφραξαν καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὸν διέκπλουν τοῦ λιμένος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπολιπεῖν ὀλκάδας τε πολλὰς καὶ τριήρεις ὀλίγον ἀριθμῷ διακοσίων ἀποδεούσας· ἐμβιβάσαντες δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους ἐπλήρωσαν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα τριήρεις· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ταρσῶν ἐνδεεῖς ἦσαν. τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ὄχλον ἔστησε παρὰ θύλασσαν ὁ Νικίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὥστε μὴ τεθυκότων τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν Συρακουσίων, θῦσαι τότε τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἀναβάντας ἤδη πληρουμένων τῶν τριήρων.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μάντις τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἀπήγγειλαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν λαμπρότητα καὶ νίκην μὴ καταρχομένοις μάχης, ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένοις (καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων κρατεῖν ἀμυνόμενον καὶ προεπιχειρούμενον), ἀνήχθησαν.

Ἡ δὲ ναυμαχία πολὺ μεγίστη καὶ καρτερωτάτη γενομένη, καὶ μηδὲν ἐλάττονα πάθη καὶ θορύβους παρασχούσα τοῖς θεωμένοις ἢ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις διὰ τὴν παντὸς ἐπίβλεψιν τοῦ ἔργου ποικίλας μεταβολὰς καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτους ἐν ὀλίγῳ λαμβάνοντος, ἔβλαπτε ταῖς αὐτῶν παρασκευαῖς οὐχ ἥττον τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἀθρόαις γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ βαρεῖαις

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to remain there, but cried out loudly upon their generals and bade them withdraw by land; for the Syracusans, immediately after their victory, had blocked up and shut off the mouth of the harbour. But Nicias could not consent to this. He said it would be a terrible thing to abandon so many transports, and triremes almost two hundred in number. So he embarked the best of his infantry and the most efficient of his javelineers to man a hundred and ten triremes; the rest lacked oars. Then he stationed the remainder of his army along the shore of the harbour, abandoning his main camp and the walls which connected it with the Heracleum. And so it was that the Syracusans, who had so long been unable to offer their customary sacrifice to Heracles, offered it then, priests and generals going up to the temple for this purpose while their triremes were a-manning.

XXV. Presently their diviners announced to the Syracusans that the sacrifices indicated a splendid victory for them if only they did not begin the fighting, but acted on the defensive. Heracles also, they said, always won the day because he acted on the defensive and suffered himself to be attacked first. Thus encouraged, they put out from shore.

This proved the greatest and hottest sea fight they had yet made, and roused as many tumultuous emotions in those who were mere spectators as in those who did the fighting, because the whole action was in plain sight, and took on shifts and turns which were varied, unexpected, and sudden. Their own equipment wrought the Athenians no less harm than did that of their enemy; for they fought against light and nimble ships, which bore down upon them

πρὸς κούφας ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλας ἐπιφερομένας, καὶ βαλλόμενοι λίθοις ὁμοίαν ἔχουσι τὴν πληγὴν πανταχόθεν ἀντέβαλλον ἀκοντίοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν, ὧν ὁ σάλος τὴν εὐθυβολίαν διέστρεφεν, ὥστε μὴ πάντα κατ' αἰχμὴν προσφέρεσθαι. ταῦτα δ' Ἀρίστων ὁ Κορίνθιος κυβερνήτης ἐδίδαξε τοὺς 540 Συρακουσίους, καὶ παρὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτὴν ἀγωνιζόμενος προθύμως ἔπεσεν ἤδη κρατούντων τῶν Συρακουσίων.

- 3 Γενομένης δὲ μεγάλης τροπῆς καὶ φθορᾶς, ἡ μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν φυγὴ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀποκέκοπτο· χαλεπὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ γῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν ὁρῶντες οὔτε ναῦς ἀφέλκοντας ἐγγύθεν ἔτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκώλυνον οὔτε νεκρῶν ἤτησαν ἀναίρεσιν, ἅτε δὴ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀταφίας τὴν τῶν νοσούντων καὶ τετρωμένων ἀπόλειψιν οἰκτροτέραν οὖσαν ἤδη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, αὐτοὺς δὲ κἀκείνων ἐπιπονωτέρους ἡγούμενοι, μετὰ πλειόνων κακῶν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ πάντως ἀφιζομένους τέλος.

- XXVI. Ὁρμημένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπαίρειν διὰ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Γύλιππον, ὁρῶντες ἐν θυσίαις καὶ πότοις τοὺς Συρακουσίους διὰ τε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ὄντας, οὔτε πείσειν οὔτε βιάσσεσθαι προσεδόκων ἀναστάντας ἤδη προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπιούσιν, Ἑρμοκράτης δ' αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἀπάτην, 2 ἔπεμψε τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀπ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἦκειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φάσκοντας, οἳ καὶ πρότερον εἰώθεσαν κρύφα τῷ Νικίᾳ διαλέγεσθαι,

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from different directions at once, while their own were heavy and clumsy and all crowded together. Besides, they were bombarded with stones, whose blow is just as effective however they light; whereas they could only reply with javelins and arrows, whose proper cast was disturbed by the tossing water, so that they did not all fly head on to their mark. This method of fighting was taught the Syracusans by Ariston the Corinthian captain, who fought zealously while the battle lasted, only to fall just as the Syracusans were victorious.

The Athenians suffered such great rout and loss that they were cut off from flight by sea. Even by land they saw that their salvation was a difficult matter, so that they neither tried to hinder the enemy from towing away their ships under their very eyes, nor did they ask the privilege of taking up their dead. These, forsooth, could go unburied; the survivors were confronted with a more pitiful sight in the abandonment of their sick and wounded, and thought themselves more wretched still than their dead, since they were sure to come with more sorrows than they to the same end after all.

XXVI. They purposed to set out during the night, and Gylippus, who saw that the Syracusans were given over to sacrificial revels because of their victory and their festival of Heracles, despaired of persuading or compelling them to rise up from their pleasures at once and attack their enemy as he departed. But Hermocrates, all on his own account, concocted a trick to put upon Nicias, and sent certain companions to him with assurances that they were come from those men who before this had often held secret conferences with him. They advised Nicias not to

παραινοῦντας δὲ μὴ πορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτός, ὥς τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐνέδρας πεποιημένων αὐτοῖς καὶ προκατεχόντων τὰς παρόδους. τούτῳ δὲ καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὁ Νικίας ὑπέμενεν ἅ ψευδῶς ἔδεισεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀληθῶς παθεῖν.

3 προελθόντες γὰρ ἅμ' ἡμέρα τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν ὁδῶν κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπετείχισαν τὰς τε γεφύρας ἀπέκοψαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀμαλοῖς καὶ πεδινοῖς τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἔταξαν, ὥστε μηδένα λελεῖφθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τόπον ἀμαχεῖ προελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπιμείναντες ἐπορεύοντο κλαυθμῷ καὶ ὀλοφυρμῷ, καθάπερ ἐκ πατρίδος, οὐ πολεμίας, ἀνιστάμενοι, διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὰς ἀπολείψεις τῶν ἀδυνάτων φίλων καὶ συνήθων, ὅμως τὰ παρόντα κακὰ κουφότερα τῶν

4 προσδοκωμένων νομίζοντες εἶναι. πολλῶν δὲ δεινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φαινομένων, οὐδὲν ἦν οἰκτρότερον αὐτοῦ Νικίου θέαμα, κεκακωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας, συνεσταλμένου δὲ παρ' ἀξίαν εἰς ἀναγκαίαν δίαιταν καὶ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν ἐφοδίων εἰς τὸ σῶμα πολλῶν διὰ τὴν νόσον δεόμενον, πράττοντος δὲ μετ' ἀρρωστίας καὶ καρτεροῦντος ἅ πολλοὶ τῶν ἔρρωμένων μόλις ὑπέμενον, καταφανοὺς δὲ πᾶσιν ὄντος οὐ δι' αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τῷ φιλοψυχεῖν τοῖς πόνοις ἐμμένοντος, ἀλλὰ

5 δι' ἐκείνους τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ προῖεμένου. καὶ γὰρ εἰς δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ λύπης τρεπομένων, ἐκείνος, εἴ ποτε βιασθεῖη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, δῆλος ἦν τὸ αἰσχρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀκλεές

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set out during the night, inasmuch as the Syracusans had laid snares for him and preoccupied the ways of escape. Nicias was completely outgeneralled by this trick, and so ended by suffering in very truth at the hands of his enemies what their lies had made him fear. For the Syracusans set forth at break of day, occupied the difficult points in the roads, fortified the river fords, cut away the bridges, and posted their cavalry in the smooth open spaces, so that no spot was left where the Athenians could go forward without fighting.

They waited therefore all that day and the following night, and then set out, for all the world as though they were quitting their native city and not an enemy's country, with wailings and lamentations at their lack of the necessities of life and their enforced abandonment of helpless friends and comrades. And yet they regarded these present sorrows as lighter than those which they must expect to come. Many were the fearful scenes in the camp, but the most pitiful sight of all was Nicias himself, undone by his sickness, and reduced, as he little deserved, to a scanty diet, and to the smallest supply of those personal comforts whereof he stood so much in need because of his disease. And yet, for all his weakness, he persisted in doing what many of the strong could barely endure, and all saw plainly that it was not for his own sake or for any mere love of life that he was faithful to his tasks, but that for their sakes he would not give up hope. The rest, for very fear and distress, had recourse to lamentations and tears; but whenever he was driven to this pass, it was plainly because he was contrasting the shameful dishonour to which his expedition had now

τῆς στρατείας ἀναλογιζόμενος πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὧν ἡλπίζε κατορθώσειν.

- 6 Οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν ὀρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λόγων μνημονεύοντες καὶ τῶν παραινέσεων ἃς ἐποιήσατο κωλύων τὸν ἔκπλουν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνόμιζον ἀναξίως ταλαιπωρεῖν· καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἐλπίδας ἀθύμως εἶχον, ἐννοοῦντες ὡς ἀνὴρ θεοφιλῆς καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα λαμπρυνάμενος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οὐδενὸς ἐπιεικεστέρα τύχη χρήται τῶν κακίστων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ταπεινοτάτων.

- XXVII. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ὁ γε Νικίας ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ φωνῇ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ δεξιῶσει κρείττων ὀραῖσθαι τῶν δεινῶν. καὶ παρὰ πᾶσάν γε τὴν πορείαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ βαλλόμενος καὶ τραυματιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀήττητον ἐφύλαττε τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἄχρι οὗ Δημοσθένης ἐάλω 541 καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκείνου στράτευμα, περὶ τὴν Πολυζήλειον αὐλὴν ἐν τῷ διαμάχεσθαι καὶ ὑπολείπε-
2 σθαι κυκλωθέν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δημοσθένης σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπληξε μὲν ἑαυτόν, οὐ μὲν ἀπέθανε, ταχὺ τῶν πολεμίων περισχόντων καὶ συλλαβόντων αὐτόν.

Ὡς δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ προσελάσαντες ἔφραζον οἱ Συρακούσιοι καὶ πέμψας ἱππέας ἔγνω τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἄλωσιν, ἠξίου σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Γύλιππον, ὅπως ἀφῶσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ Σικελίας ὁμηρα λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα Συρακουσίους ἀνάλωτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

come with the great and glorious successes which he had hoped to achieve.

Besides, it was not merely the sight of him now, but also the memory of the arguments and exhortations with which he had once tried to prevent the sailing of the expedition, that led men to think him all the more unworthy to suffer such hardships now; and they had no courage to hope for aid from the gods when they reflected that a man so devout as he, and one who had performed so many great and splendid religious services, now met with no seemlier fortune than the basest and most obscure man in his army.

XXVII. However, it was this very Nicias who tried, both by words and looks and kindly manner, to show himself superior to his dreadful lot. And during all the march which he conducted for eight successive days,¹ though suffering from the missiles of the enemy, he yet succeeded in keeping his own forces from defeat, until Demosthenes and his detachment of the army were captured. These fell behind as they fought their way along, and were surrounded on the homestead of Polyzelus. Demosthenes himself drew his sword and gave himself a thrust; he did not, however, succeed in killing himself, since the enemy quickly closed in upon him and seized him.

When the Syracusans rode up and told Nicias of this disaster, he first sent horsemen to make certain that the force of Demosthenes was really taken, and then proposed to Gylippus a truce permitting the Athenians to depart from Sicily after giving hostages to the Syracusans for all the moneys which they had

¹ Minutely described, day by day, in Thuc. vii. 78-85.

- 3 οἱ δ' οὐ προσεΐχον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἔβαλλον ἤδη πάντων ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νύκτα διεκαρτέρησε καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν προΐει βαλλόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀσίναρον ποταμόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἱ πολέμοι συνενεγκόντες ἐνέσεισαν εἰς τὸ ρεῖθρον, οἱ δὲ
- 4 φθάνοντες ὑπὸ δίψους ἔρριπτον ἑαυτούς· καὶ πλείστος ἐνταῦθα μόρος ἦν καὶ ὠμότατος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ πινόντων ἅμα καὶ σφαττομένων, ἄχρι Νικίας Γυλίππῳ προσπεσὼν εἶπεν· “Ἐλεος ὑμᾶς, ὦ Γύλιππε, λαβέτω νικῶντας, ἐμοῦ μὲν μηδεῖς, ὃς ἐπὶ τηλικαύταις εὐτυχίαις ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, ἐννοηθέντας ὅτι κοιναὶ μὲν αἱ τύχαι τοῦ πολέμου, μετρίως δ' αὐταῖς καὶ πράως ἐχρήσαντο ἐν οἷς εὐτύχουν Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.”
- 5 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Νικίου λέγοντος ἔπαθε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁ Γύλιππος· ἤδει γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εὖ πεποιθότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς γενομένας διαλύσεις· μέγα δ' ἠγείτο πρὸς δόξαν εἰ ζῶντας ἀπαγάγοι τοὺς ἀντιστρατήγους. διὸ τὸν τε Νικίαν ἀναλαβὼν ἐθάρρυνε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ζωγρεῖν παρήγειλε. βραδέως δὲ τοῦ παραγγέλματος διῖκνουμένου πολλῷ τῶν φονευθέντων ἐλάττονες οἱ διασωθέντες ἐγένοντο· καίτοι πολλοὶ διεκλάπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.
- 6 Τοὺς δὲ φανερώς ἐαλωκότας ἀθροίσαντες τὰ μὲν κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα δένδρα τῶν περὶ τὸν

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expended on the war. But they would not entertain the proposal. Nay, with insolent rage they reviled and insulted him, and kept pelting him with missiles, destitute as he was of all the necessities of life. However, through that night and the following day he managed to hold out, and finally came, under constant fire, to the river Asinarus. There some of his men were crowded along by the enemy and thrust into the stream, while others, in advance of pursuit, were impelled by their thirst to cast themselves in, and an exceeding great and savage carnage raged in the river itself, men being butchered as they drank. At last Nicias fell down at the feet of Gylippus and cried: "Have pity, Gylippus, now that you are victorious, not on me at all, though my great successes have brought me name and fame, but on the rest of these Athenians. Remember that the fortunes of war are common to all, and that the Athenians, when they were in good fortune, used it with moderation and gentleness toward you."

So spake Nicias, and Gylippus felt some compunction, both at the sight of him, and at what he said. For he knew that the Lacedaemonians had been well treated by him when the peace was made, and, besides, he thought it would increase his own fame if he should bring home alive the generals who had opposed him. Therefore he raised Nicias up, gave him words of cheer, and issued command to take the rest of his men alive. But the command made its way slowly along, so that the spared were far fewer than the slain. And yet many were stolen and hidden away by the soldiery.

The public prisoners were collected together, the fairest and tallest trees along the river bank were

ποταμὸν ἀνέδησαν αἰχμαλώτοις πανοπλίαις, ἐστεφανωμένοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ κοσμήσαντες τοὺς¹ ἵππους διαπρεπῶς, κείραντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων εἰσήλυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀγῶνα λαμπρότατον ὧν Ἕλληνες πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἠγωνίσαντο καὶ νίκην τελεωτάτην κράτει πλείστῳ καὶ ῥώμῃ μεγίστῃ προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς κατωρθώκοτες.

XXVIII. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ πανδήμου Συρακουσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γενομένης, Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἔγραψε πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ τὸν Νικίαν ἔλαβον, ἱερὰν ἔχειν, θύοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἔργων, Ἀσιναρίαν τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλοῦντας· ἡμέρα δ' ἦν τετρὰς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνείου μηνός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι
 2 Μεταγειτνίῳνα προσαγορεύουσι· τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας φρουρεῖν ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὰς λατομίας, πλὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἀποκτείνειν.

Ταῦτα προσδεχομένων τῶν Συρακουσίων, Ἑρμοκράτης μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τοῦ νικᾶν κρεῖττόν ἐστι τὸ καλῶς χρῆσθαι τῇ νίκῃ, οὐ μετρίως ἐθορυβήθη, Γύλιππον δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαιτούμενον ζῶντας ἀγαγεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑβρίζοντες ἤδη τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν οἱ
 3 Συρακούσιοι κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ τὸ Λακωνικὸν τῆς ἐπιστασίας οὐ ῥαδίως ἐνηνοχότες, ὥς δὲ

¹ τοὺς supplied by Coraës and Bekker.

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hung with the captured suits of armour, and then the victors crowned themselves with wreaths, adorned their own horses splendidly while they sheared and cropped the horses of their conquered foes, and so marched into the city. They had brought to successful end a struggle which was the most brilliant ever made by Hellenes against Hellenes, and had won the completest of victories by the most overwhelming and impetuous display of zeal and valour.

XXVIII. At a general assembly of the Syracusans and their allies, Eurycles, the popular leader, brought in a motion, first, that the day on which they had taken Nicias be made a holy day, with sacrifices and abstention from labour, and that the festival be called Asinaria, from the river Asinarus (the day was the twenty-sixth of the month Carneius, which the Athenians call Metageitnion); and second, that the serving men of the Athenians and their immediate allies be sold into slavery, while the freemen and the Sicilian Hellenes who had joined them be cast into the stone quarries for watch and ward,—all except the generals, who should be put to death.

These propositions were adopted by the Syracusans. When Hermocrates protested that there was something better than victory, to wit, a noble use of victory, he was met with a tumult of disapproval; and when Gylippus demanded the Athenian generals as his prize, that he might take them alive to the Lacedaemonians, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune, abused him roundly. They were the more ready to do this because, all through the war, they had found it hard to put up with his harshness and the Laconian style with which he

Τίμαιός φησι, καὶ μικρολογίαν τινὰ καὶ πλεον-
εξίαν κατεγνωκότες, ἄρρώστημα πατρῶον, ἐφ' ᾧ
καὶ Κλεανδρίδης ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ δώρων ἀλούς
ἔφυγε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτός, ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ταλάντων
ἂ Λύσανδρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς Σπάρτην ὑφελόμενος
τριάκοντα καὶ κρύψας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄροφον τῆς οἰκίας,
εἴτα μηνυθεὶς, αἰσχιστα πάντων ἐξέπεσεν. ἀλλὰ
ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρου βίῳ μᾶλλον διηκρί-
βωται.

- 4 Δημοσθένην δὲ καὶ Νικίαν ἀποθανεῖν Τίμαιος
οὐ φησιν ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων κελευσθέντας, ὥς
Φίλιστος ἔγραψε καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' Ἑρμοκρά-
τους πέμψαντος, ἔτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνεστῶσης,
καὶ δι' ἐνὸς τῶν φυλάκων παρέντων αὐτοὺς δι'
αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν· τὰ μέντοι σώματα πρὸς ταῖς
πύλαις ἐκβληθέντα κεῖσθαι φανερά τοῖς δεομένοις
5 τοῦ θεάματος. πυνθάνομαι δὲ μέχρι νῦν ἐν
Συρακούσαις ἀσπίδα κειμένην πρὸς ἱερῷ δείκνυ-
σθαι, Νικίου μὲν λεγομένην, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ
πορφύρας εὖ πως πρὸς ἄλληλα μεμιγμένων δι'
ὑφῆς συγκεκροτημένην.

XXIX. Τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν πλείστοι
διεφθάρησαν ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις ὑπὸ νόσου καὶ
διαίτης πονηρᾶς, εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην κοτύλας δύο
κριθῶν λαμβάνοντες καὶ μίαν ὕδατος, οὐκ ὀλίγοι
δ' ἐπράθησαν διακλαπέντες ἢ καὶ διαλαθόντες ὥς
οἰκέται. καὶ τούτους ὥς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν, στίζον-
τες ἵππον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον· ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τοῦτο
πρὸς τῷ δουλεῦν ὑπομένοντες.

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exercised his authority. Timaeus says, moreover, that they denounced his exceeding penuriousness and avarice,—an inherited infirmity, it would seem, since his father, Cleandridas, was convicted of taking bribes and had to flee his country. And Gylippus himself, for abstracting thirty talents from the thousand which Lysander had sent to Sparta, and hiding them in the roof of his house,—as an informer was prompt to show,—was banished in the deepest disgrace. But this has been told with more detail in my Life of Lysander.¹

405 B

Timaeus denies that Demosthenes and Nicias were put to death by the orders of the Syracusans, as Philistus and Thucydides² state; but rather, Hermocrates sent word to them of the decision of the assembly while it was yet in session, and with the connivance of one of their guards they took their own lives. Their bodies, however, he says, were cast out at the prison door, and lay there in plain sight of all who craved the spectacle. And I learn that down to this day there is shown among the treasures of a temple in Syracuse a shield which is said to have been the shield of Nicias. It is a welded mosaic of gold and purple interwoven with rare skill.

XXIX. Most of the Athenians perished in the stone quarries of disease and evil fare, their daily rations being a pint of barley meal and a half-pint of water; but not a few were stolen away and sold into slavery, or succeeded in passing themselves off for serving men. These, when they were sold, were branded in the forehead with the mark of a horse,—yes, there were some freemen who actually suffered this indignity in addition to their servitude.

¹ Chapters xvi. f.

² vii. 86, 2.

2 Ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἢ τ' αἰδῶ καὶ τὸ
κόσμιον· ἢ γὰρ ἠλευθεροῦντο ταχέως ἢ τιμώμενοι
παρέμενον τοῖς κεκτημένοις. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δι'
Εὐριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. μίλιστα γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, τῶν
ἐκτὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐπόθησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μούσαν οἱ
περὶ Σικελίαν· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἐκά-
στοτε δείγματα καὶ γεύματα κομιζόντων ἐκμαν-
3 θάνοντες ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις. τότε
γοῦν φασὶ τῶν σωθέντων οἴκαδε συχνοὺς ἀσπά-
σασθαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διη-
γεῖσθαι τοὺς μὲν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφείθησαν ἐκδι-
δάξαντες ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμνηντο,
τοὺς δ', ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην τροφῆς
καὶ ὕδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ἄσαντες. οὐ δεῖ
δὴ θαυμάζειν ὅτι τοὺς Καυνίους φασὶ πλοίου
προσφερομένου τοῖς λιμέσιν ὑπὸ ληστρίδων διω-
κομένου μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἀπείργειν,
εἴτα μέντοι διαπυνθανομένους εἰ γινώσκουσιν
ἄσματα τῶν Εὐριπίδου, φησάντων ἐκείνων, οὕτω
παρεῖναι καὶ καταγαγεῖν τὸ πλοῖον.

XXX. Ἀθηναίοις δέ φασὶ τὴν συμφορὰν οὐχ
ἥκιστα διὰ τὸν ἄγγελον ἄπιστον γενέσθαι. ξένος
γάρ τις, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀποβὰς εἰς Πειραιᾶ καὶ καθί-
σας ἐπὶ κουρεῖον, ὥς ἐγνωκότων ἤδη τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων λόγους ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ὁ δὲ
κουρεὺς ἀκούσας, πρὶν ἄλλους πυνθάνεσθαι, δρόμῳ

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But even these were helped by their restrained and decorous bearing; some were speedily set free, and some remained with their masters in positions of honour. Some also were saved for the sake of Euripides. For the Sicilians, it would seem, more than any other Hellenes outside the home land, had a yearning fondness for his poetry. They were forever learning by heart the little specimens and morsels of it which visitors brought them from time to time, and imparting them to one another with fond delight. In the present case, at any rate, they say that many Athenians who reached home in safety greeted Euripides with affectionate hearts, and recounted to him, some that they had been set free from slavery for rehearsing what they remembered of his works; and some that when they were roaming about after the final battle they had received food and drink for singing some of his choral hymns. Surely, then, one need not wonder at the story that the Caunians, when a vessel of theirs would have put in at the harbour of Syracuse to escape pursuit by pirates, were not admitted at first, but kept outside, until, on being asked if they knew any songs of Euripides, they declared that they did indeed, and were for this reason suffered to bring their vessel safely in.

XXX. The Athenians, they say, put no faith in the first tidings of the calamity, most of all because of the messenger who brought them. A certain stranger, as it would seem, landed at the Piræus, took a seat in a barber's shop, and began to discourse of what had happened as if the Athenians already knew all about it. The barber, on hearing this, before others learned of it, ran at the top of his

συντείνας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς
 ἄρχουσιν εὐθύς κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε τὸν λόγον.
 2 ἐκπλήξεως δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς, ὥς εἰκός, γενομένης, οἱ
 μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες εἰσήγαγον
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὥς δ' ἐρωτώμενος παρ' οὐ πύθοιτο
 σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἶχε φράζειν, δόξας λογοποιὸς εἶναι
 καὶ ταραττεῖν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὸν τροχὸν καταδε-
 θεὶς ἐστρεβλοῦτο πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως ἐπῆλθον οἱ
 τὸ πᾶν κακόν, ὥς εἶχεν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οὕτω
 μόλις ὁ Νικίας ἐπιστεύθη παθὼν ἅ πολλάκις
 αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν.

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speed to the upper city, accosted the archons, and at once set the story going in the market place. Consternation and confusion reigned, naturally, and the archons convened an assembly and brought the man before it. But, on being asked from whom he had learned the matter, he was unable to give any clear answer, and so it was decided that he was a story-maker, and was trying to throw the city into an uproar. He was therefore fastened to the wheel and racked a long time, until messengers came with the actual facts of the whole disaster. So hard was it for the Athenians to believe that Nicias had suffered the fate which he had often foretold to them.



CRASSUS

ΚΡΑΣΣΟΣ

Ι. Μάρκος δὲ Κράσσος ἦν τιμητικοῦ καὶ θριαμβικοῦ πατρός, ἐτράφη δ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ μετὰ δυοῖν ἀδελφῶν. καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες ἦσαν ἔτι τῶν γονέων ζώντων, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφοίτων τράπεζαν, ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα δοκεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σώφρων καὶ μέτριος γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῇ γυναικὶ συνώκησε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔσχε, οὐδενὸς ἦττον καὶ περὶ ταῦτα
2 Ῥωμαίων εὐτακτος γενόμενος. καίτοι προῖων καθ' ἡλικίαν αἰτίαν ἔσχε Λικιννίαν συνιέναι τῶν Ἑστιάδων μιᾷ παρθένων· καὶ δίκην ἔφυγεν ἢ Λικιννία Πλωτίου τινὸς διώκοντος. ἦν δὲ προάστειον αὐτῇ καλόν, ὃ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν ὀλίγης τιμῆς ὁ Κράσσος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσκείμενος αἰετῇ γυναικὶ καὶ θεραπεύων, εἰς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐκείνην ἐνέπεσε· καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῇ φιλοπλουτίᾳ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπολυσάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀφείθη. τὴν δὲ Λικιννίαν οὐκ ἀνῆκε πρότερον ἢ τοῦ κτήματος κρατῆσαι.

ΙΙ. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσι πολλαῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ Κράσσου κακίαν μόνην ἐπισκοτῆσαι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν· ἔοικε δὲ μία πασῶν ἐρρωμενεστέρα

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I. Marcus Crassus was the son of a man who had been censor and had enjoyed a triumph ; but he was reared in a small house with two brothers. His brothers were married while their parents were still alive, and all shared the same table, which seems to have been the chief reason why Crassus was temperate and moderate in his manner of life. When one of his brothers died, Crassus took the widow to wife, and had his children by her, and in these relations also he lived as well-ordered a life as any Roman. And yet when he was further on in years, he was accused of criminal intimacy with Licinia, one of the vestal virgins, and Licinia was formally prosecuted by a certain Plotius. Now Licinia was the owner of a pleasant villa in the suburbs which Crassus wished to get at a low price, and it was for this reason that he was forever hovering about the woman and paying his court to her, until he fell under the abominable suspicion. And in a way it was his avarice that absolved him from the charge of corrupting the vestal, and he was acquitted by the judges. But he did not let Licinia go until he had acquired her property.

II. The Romans, it is true, say that the many virtues of Crassus were obscured by his sole vice of avarice ; and it is likely that the one vice which

τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κακιῶν γενομένη τὰς ἄλλας ἀμαυρῶ-
σαι. τεκμήρια δὲ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας αὐτοῦ μέγιστα
ποιοῦνται τὸν τε τρόπον τοῦ πορισμοῦ καὶ τῆς
2 οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος. τριακοσίων γὰρ οὐ πλείω
κεκτημένος ἐν ἀρχῇ ταλάντων, εἴτα παρὰ τὴν
ὑπατείαν ἀποθύσας μὲν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν δεκάτην
καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐστιάσας, τρεῖς δὲ μῆνας ἐκάστω
Ῥωμαίων σιτηρέσιον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ παρασχών,
ὅμως πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείας αὐτὸς αὐτῷ
θέμενος ἐκλογισμὸν τῆς οὐσίας εὗρεν ἑκατὸν
3 ταλάντων τίμημα πρὸς ἑπτακισχιλίοις. τὰ δὲ
πλείστα τούτων, εἰ δεῖ μετὰ βλασφημίας εἰπεῖν
τὸ ἀληθές, ἐκ πυρὸς συνήγαγε καὶ πολέμου, ταῖς
κοιναῖς ἀτυχίαις προσόδῳ τῇ μεγίστῃ χρη-
σάμενος.

“Οτε γὰρ Σύλλας ἐλὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐπώλει τὰς
οὐσίας τῶν ἀνηρημένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, λάφυρα καὶ
νομίζων καὶ ὀνομάζων, καὶ βουλόμενος ὅτι πλεί-
στοις καὶ κρατίστοις προσομόρξασθαι τὸ ἄγος,
4 οὔτε λαμβάνων οὔτ’ ὠνούμενος ἀπέειπε. πρὸς δὲ
τούτοις ὁρῶν τὰς συγγενεῖς καὶ συνοίκους τῆς
Ῥώμης κῆρας ἐμπρησμοὺς καὶ συνιζήσεις διὰ
βάρος καὶ πλήθος οἰκοδομημάτων, ἐωνεῖτο δούλους
ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους. εἴτ’ ἔχων τούτους
ὑπὲρ πεντακοσίους ὄντας, ἐξηγόραζε τὰ καιόμενα
καὶ γειτνιῶντα τοῖς καιομένοις, διὰ φόβον καὶ
ἀδηλότητα τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπ’ ὀλίγης τιμῆς
προϊεμένων, ὥστε τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ πλείστον μέρος
5 ὑπ’ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. τοσούτους δὲ κεκτημένος

CRASSUS

became stronger than all the others in him, weakened the rest. The chief proofs of his avarice are found in the way he got his property and in the amount of it. For at the outset he was possessed of not more than three hundred talents;¹ then during his consulship he sacrificed the tenth of his goods to Hercules, feasted the people, gave every Roman out of his own means enough to live on for three months, and still, when he made a private inventory of his property before his Parthian expedition, he found that it had a value of seventy-one hundred talents. The greatest part of this, if one must tell the scandalous truth, he got together out of fire and war, making the public calamities his greatest source of revenue.

For when Sulla took the city and sold the property of those whom he had put to death, considering it and calling it spoil of war, and wishing to defile with his crime as many and as influential men as he could, Crassus was never tired of accepting or of buying it.² And besides this, observing how natural and familiar at Rome were such fatalities as the conflagration and collapse of buildings, owing to their being too massive and close together, he proceeded to buy slaves who were architects and builders. Then, when he had over five hundred of these, he would buy houses that were afire, and houses which adjoined those that were afire, and these their owners would let go at a trifling price owing to their fear and uncertainty. In this way the largest part of Rome came into his possession. But though he owned so many artisans, he built

¹ Plutarch gives Greek values. The talent was a sum of money nearly equivalent to £240, or \$1200, with many times the purchasing power of money to-day ² Cf. chapter vi. 6.

- τεχνίτας οὐδὲν ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτὸς ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγε τοὺς φιλοικοδόμους αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν καταλύεσθαι χωρὶς ἀνταγωνιστῶν. ὄντων δ' αὐτῷ παμπόλλων ἀργυρείων, πολυτιμῆτου δὲ χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅμως ἂν τις ἡγήσαιτο μηδὲν εἶναι ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκετῶν τιμὴν· τοσοῦτους ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοιούτους, 54 ἀναγνώστας, ὑπογραφεῖς, ἀργυρογνώμονας, διοικητάς, τραπεζοκόμους, αὐτὸς ἐπιστατῶν μαθηάνουσι καὶ προσέχων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ ὅλως νομίζων τῷ δεσπότῃ προσήκειν μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπιμέλειαν ὡς ὄργανα ἔμψυχα τῆς οἰκονομικῆς.
- 7 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ὁ Κράσσος, εἶπερ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἡγεῖτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας δι' αὐτοῦ κυβερνᾶν· τὴν γὰρ οἰκονομικὴν ἐν ἀψύχοις χρηματιστικὴν οὖσαν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτικὴν γιγνομένην ὀρῶμεν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ εὔ, τὸ μηδένα νομίζειν μηδὲ φάσκειν εἶναι πλούσιον, ὅς οὐ δύναται τρέφειν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας 8 στρατόπεδον (ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται, κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὥσθ' ὁ πρὸς πόλεμον πλοῦτος ἀόριστος), καὶ πολὺ τῆς Μαρίου γνώμης ἀπηρτημένως. ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄνδρα νείμας ἐκάστω δέκα καὶ τέσσαρα πλέθρα γῆς ἔγνω πλεόν ἐπιζητοῦντας, “Μηδεῖς,” ἔφη, “γένοιτο Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγην ἡγούμενος τὴν τρέφειν ἀρκούσαν.”

no house for himself other than the one in which he lived; indeed, he used to say that men who were fond of building were their own undoers, and needed no other foes. And though he owned numberless silver mines, and highly valuable tracts of land with the labourers upon them, nevertheless one might regard all this as nothing compared with the value of his slaves; so many and so capable were the slaves he possessed,—readers, amanuenses, silver-smiths, stewards, table-servants; and he himself directed their education, and took part in it himself as a teacher, and, in a word, he thought that the chief duty of the master was to care for his slaves as the living implements of household management.

And in this Crassus was right, if, as he used to say, he held that anything else was to be done for him by his slaves, but his slaves were to be governed by their master. For household management, as we see, is a branch of finance in so far as it deals with lifeless things; but a branch of politics when it deals with men.¹ He was not right, however, in thinking, and in saying too, that no one was rich who could not support an army out of his substance; for “war has no fixed rations,” as King Achidamus said,² and therefore the wealth requisite for war cannot be determined. Far different was the opinion of Marius, who said, after distributing to each of his veterans fourteen acres of land and discovering that they desired more, “May no Roman ever think that land too small which suffices to maintain him.”

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 1253 b, 32.

² Cf. *Cleomenes* xxvii. 1; *Morals*, 190 a; 219 a. In *Demos-thenes*, xvii. 3, the saying is put in the mouth of “Crobylus,” as Hegesippus the Athenian orator was familiarly called.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ξένους ἦν φιλότιμος ὁ Κράσσος· ἀνέωκτο γὰρ ἡ οἰκία πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδάνειζεν ἄνευ τόκων, ἀπῆται δ' ἀποτόμως τοῦ χρόνου παρελθόντος εἰς ὃν ἐδάνεισε, καὶ τὸ προῖκα πολλῶν ἐγίνετο τόκων ἐπαχθέστερον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις ἡ μὲν κλῆσις ἦν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δημοτικὴ καὶ λαώδης, ἡ δ' εὐτέλεια τὴν καθαριότητα καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην ἡδίονα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς εἶχε.

- 2 Παιδείας δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγον μάλιστα μὲν τὸ ῥητορικὸν καὶ χρειῶδες εἰς πολλοὺς ἥσκησε, καὶ γενόμενος δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελεία καὶ πόνῳ τοὺς εὐφρεστάτους ὑπερέβαλεν. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ οὕτω δίκην φασὶ μικρὰν οὐδ' εὐκαταφρόνητον γενέσθαι πρὸς ἣν ἀπαράσκευος ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πομπηίου πολλάκις ὀκνοῦντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἐξαναστῆναι καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἐκείνος ἀνεπλήρου τὴν συνηγορίαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον
- 3 ἤρεσκεν ὡς ἐπιμελὴς καὶ βοηθητικός. ἤρεσκε δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλάνθρωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικόν. οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἀπῆντησε Ῥωμαίων ἀδόξῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ Κράσσος ὃν ἀσπασίμενον οὐκ ἀντιπροσηγόρευσεν ἐξ ὀνόματος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καθ' ἱστορίαν γενέσθαι, καί τι καὶ φιλοσοφῆσαι τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους λόγοις προσθέμενος, ὧν διδάσκαλοι εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἄνθρωπον εὐκολίας καὶ πράο-

III. However, Crassus was generous with strangers, for his house was open to all; and he used to lend money to his friends without interest, but he would demand it back from the borrower relentlessly when the time had expired, and so the gratuity of the loan was more burdensome than heavy interest. When he entertained at table, his invited guests were for the most part plebeians and men of the people, and the simplicity of the repast was combined with a neatness and good cheer which gave more pleasure than lavish expenditure.

As for his literary pursuits, he cultivated chiefly the art of speaking which was of general service, and after making himself one of the most powerful speakers at Rome, his care and application enabled him to surpass those who were most gifted by nature. For there was no case, they say, however trifling and even contemptible it might be, which he undertook without preparation, but often, when Pompey and Caesar and Cicero were unwilling to plead, he would perform all the duties of an advocate. And on this account he became more popular than they, being esteemed a careful man, and one who was ready with his help. He pleased people also by the kindly and unaffected manner with which he clasped their hands and addressed them. For he never met a Roman so obscure and lowly that he did not return his greeting and call him by name. It is said also that he was well versed in history, and was something of a philosopher withal, attaching himself to the doctrines of Aristotle, in which he had Alexander¹ as a teacher. This man gave proof of

¹ Perhaps Alexander Cornelius, surnamed Polyhistor, a contemporary of Sulla.

4 τητος ἀπόδειξιν διδόντα τὴν πρὸς Κράσσου συνή-
θειαν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀποφήνασθαι ῥαδίως πότερον
προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ πενέστερος ἢ προσελθὼν ἐγένετο.
μόνος γοῦν αἰεὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συναποδημῶν
στέγαστρον ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τοῦτ'
ἐπανελθὼν ἀπηγείτο. ἀλλὰ¹ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κίννας καὶ Μάριος κρατήσαντες
εὐθύς ἦσαν ἔνδηλοι κατιόντες οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς
πατρίδος, ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει δ' ἄντικρυς καὶ ὀλέθρῳ
τῶν ἀρίστων, οἱ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἀπέβη-
σκον, ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ πατήρ Κράσσου καὶ ὁ
ἀδελφός, αὐτὸς δὲ νέος ὧν παντάπασιν τὸ μὲν
αὐτίκα δεινὸν ἐξέφυγε, πάντα δὲ περιβαλλόμενον
ἑαυτὸν αἰσθανόμενος καὶ κυνηγετούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
τυράννων τρεῖς φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ θεράποντας
δέκα, τάχει δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι χρησάμενος εἰς Ἰβη-
ρίαν ἔφυγε, γεγονὼς πάλαι στρατηγοῦντος τοῦ
2 πατρὸς αὐτόθι καὶ φίλους πεπονημένος. εὐρὼν δὲ
πάντας περιδεεῖς καὶ τὴν ὀμότητα τὴν Μαρίου
καθάπερ ἐφειστώτος αὐτοῖς τρέμοντας, οὐδενὶ
γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἐθάρρησεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀγροὺς 5
ἐμβαλὼν παραλίους Οὐϊβίου Πακιακοῦ σπήλαιον
ἔχοντας εὐμέγεθες, ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτόν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν
Οὐϊβιον ἔπεμψεν ἓνα δούλον ἀποπειρώμενος, ἥδη
3 καὶ τῶν ἐφοδίων ἐπιλιπόντων. ὁ δὲ Οὐϊβιος ἀκού-
σας ἦσθη τε σωζομένῳ καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πλήθος
τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθεν

¹ ἀλλὰ. Before this sentence the words *φεῦ τῆς ὑπομένης, οὐδὲ τὴν πενίαν ὁ τλήμων ἀδιάφορον ἡγούμενος* were early stricken from the text as a gloss (*oh, the patience of the poor fellow! for his philosophy did not regard poverty as a thing indifferent*).

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contentedness and meekness by his intimacy with Crassus; for it is not easy to say whether he was poorer before or after his relations with his pupil. At any rate he was the only one of the friends of Crassus who always accompanied him when he went abroad, and then he would receive a cloak for the journey, which would be reclaimed on his return. But this was later on.

IV. When Cinna and Marius got the upper hand,¹ it was at once apparent that they would re-enter the city not for the good of their country, but for the downright destruction and ruin of the nobles; those who were caught were slain, and among them were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, being very young, escaped the immediate peril, but perceiving that he was surrounded on all sides by the huntsmen of the tyrants, he took with him three friends and ten servants and fled with exceeding speed into Spain, where he had been before, while his father was praetor there, and had made friends. But finding all men filled with fear and trembling at the cruelty of Marius as though he were close upon them, he had not the courage to present himself to any one. Instead, he plunged into some fields along the sea-shore belonging to Vibius Paciacus. In these there was a spacious cave, where he hid himself. However, since his provisions were now running low, and wishing to sound the man, he sent a slave to Vibius. But Vibius, on hearing the message, was delighted that Crassus had escaped, and after learning the number of his party and the place of their concealment, did not indeed

¹ In 87 B.C. Crassus was then not quite twenty years of age.

εἰς ὄψιν, τὸν δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἐπίτροπον προσαγαγὼν ἐγγὺς ἐκέλευσε καθ' ἡμέραν δεῖπνον πεποιημένον κομίζειν, καὶ τιθέντα παρὰ τὴν πέτραν ἀπέρχεσθαι σιωπῇ καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδ' ἐξετάζειν, προειπὼν πολυπραγμονοῦντι θάνατον, συμπράττοντι δὲ τοῦτο πιστῶς ἐλευθερίαν.

- 4 Τὸ δὲ σπήλαιον οὐκ ἄπωθεν μὲν ἐστὶ θαλάσσης, κρημνοὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ συμφερόμενοι λεπτὴν καὶ ἀσαφῇ παραπέμπουσι λαύραν ἄγουσαν εἴσω, παρελθόντι δ' ὕψος τε θαυμαστὸν ἀναπέπτатаι, καὶ κατ' εὖρος ἔχει κόλπους δι' ἀλλήλων ἀνοιγομένους μεγάλαις περιφερείαις. ἀμοιρεῖ δ' οὔτε ὕδατος οὔτε φωτός, ἀλλὰ πηγὴ μὲν ἡδίστου νύματος ὑπορρεῖ παρὰ τὸν κρημνόν, αὐτοφυεῖς δὲ ῥωχοὶ τῆς πέτρας ἥ μάλιστα περιπίπτει τὸ φῶς ἔξωθεν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ καταλάμπεται ἡμέρας τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς ἀῆρ ἀστάλακτος καὶ καθαρός, πυκνότητι τῆς πέτρας τὸ νοτερόν καὶ ἀποτηκόμενον εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἐκπιεζούσης.
- 5

- V. Ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι τῷ Κράσσῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καθ' ἡμέραν ἐφοῖτα κομίζων ὁ ἄνθρωπος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶν ἐκείνους οὔδὲ γινώσκων, ὑπ' ἐκείνων δὲ καθορώμενος εἰδότων καὶ παραφυλαττόντων τὸν καιρόν. ἦν δ' ἄφθονα καὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, οὐ μόνον χρεῖαν, ποιούμενα τὰ πρὸς τὸ
- 2 δεῖπνον. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Οὐίβιος ἀπάσῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ θεραπεύειν τὸν Κράσσον, ᾧ γε καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐν νῷ λαβεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ὥς παντάπασιν νεανίας εἶη καὶ τι καὶ ταῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἡδοναῖς αὐτοῦ χαριστέον, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε χρεῖαν ἀναγκαίως

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come in person to see them, but brought the overseer of the property near the place, and ordered him to bring a complete meal there every day, put it near the cliff, and then go away without a word; he was not to meddle in the matter nor investigate it, and was threatened with death if he did meddle, and promised his freedom if he co-operated faithfully.

The cave is not far away from the sea, and the cliffs which enclose it leave a small and indistinct path leading inside; but when one has entered, it opens out to a wonderful height, and at the sides has recesses of great circumference opening into one another. There is no lack of water or of light, but a spring of purest flow issues from the base of the cliff, and natural fissures in the rock, where its edges join, admit the light from outside, so that in the day-time the place is bright. The air inside is dry and pure, owing to the thickness of the rock, which deflects all moisture and dripping water into the spring.

V. Here Crassus lived, and day by day the man came with the provisions. He himself did not see the party of the cave, nor even know who they were, but he was seen by them, since they knew and were on the watch for the time of his coming. Now, the meals were abundant, and so prepared as to gratify the taste and not merely satisfy hunger. For Vibius had made up his mind to pay Crassus every sort of friendly attention, and it even occurred to him to consider the youth of his guest, that he was quite a young man, and that some provision must be made for the enjoyments appropriate to his years; the mere supply of his wants he regarded as the work of one who rendered help under compulsion rather

μᾶλλον ἢ προθύμως ὑπουργοῦντος εἶναι. δύο δὲ
 θεραπαινίδας εὐπρεπεῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ
 τὴν θάλασσαν. ὥς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον,
 δείξας τὴν ἄνοδον ἐκέλευεν εἰσω πορεύεσθαι καὶ
 3 θαρρεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἰδόντες προσερχο-
 μένας ἔδεισαν μὴ καταφανὲς καὶ γνώριμον εἶη τὸ
 χωρίον· ἀνέκρινον οὖν αὐτὰς τί βούλονται καὶ
 τίνες εἰσίν. ὥς δ' ἀπεκρίναντο δεδιδαγμένοι
 δεσπότην ζητεῖν ἐνταῦθα κρυπτόμενον, μαθὼν ὁ
 Κράσσος τοῦ Οὐϊβίου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν παιδιὰν
 4 καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἀνέλαβε τὰς παιδίσκας· καὶ
 συνῆσαν αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ὧν ἔδεϊτο
 φράζουσαι καὶ διαγγέλλουσαι πρὸς τὸν Οὐϊβιον.
 τούτων φησὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἤδη πρεσβύτιν οἶσαν ὁ
 Φαινεστέλλας ἰδεῖν αὐτός, καὶ πολλάκις ἀκοῦσαι
 μεμνημένης ταῦτα καὶ διεξιούσης προθύμως.

VI. Ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ὀκτῶ μῆνας οὕτω διαγαγὼν
 καὶ διακλαπεῖς, ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν Κίννα
 τελευτὴν φανερὸς γεγόμενος, συνδραμόντων πρὸς
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλεξάμενος δισχι-
 λίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐπήρχετο τὰς πόλεις· καὶ
 μίαν γε διήρπασε Μαλάκην, ὥς πολλοὶ γεγρά-
 φασιν, αὐτὸν δὲ φασιν ἀρνεῖσθαι καὶ διαμά-
 2 χεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας. ἐκ τούτου συναγα-
 γὼν πλοῖα καὶ διαπεράσας εἰς Λιβύην ἀφίκετο
 πρὸς Μέτελλον Πίον, ἑνδοξον ἄνδρα, συνειλοχότα
 στρατιὰν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον. οὐ πολὺν δὲ
 χρόνον ἐνταῦθα παρέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ στασιάσας τῷ
 Μετέλλῳ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπήγε, καὶ συνῆν ἐν τοῖς
 μάλιστα τιμώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβὰς εἰς Ἰταλίαν
 ὁ Σύλλας πάντα ἐβούλετο τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ

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than with ready zeal. So he took with him two comely female slaves and went down towards the sea. When he came to the place of the cave, he showed them the path up to it, and bade them go inside and fear nothing. When Crassus saw them approaching, he was afraid that the place had been discovered and was now known. He asked them, accordingly, who they were and what they wanted. They answered, as instructed, that they were in search of a master who was hidden there. Then Crassus understood the kindly joke which Vibius was playing upon him, and received the girls; and they lived with him the rest of the time, carrying the necessary messages to Vibius. Fenestella¹ says that he saw one of these slaves himself, when she was now an old woman, and often heard her mention this episode and rehearse its details with zest.

VI. Thus Crassus passed eight months in concealment; but as soon as he heard of Cinna's death, he disclosed himself. Many flocked to his standard, out of whom he selected twenty-five hundred men, and went about visiting the cities. One of these, Malaca, he plundered, as many writers testify, but they say that he himself denied the charge and quarrelled with those who affirmed it. After this he collected sailing vessels, crossed into Africa, and joined Metellus Pius, an illustrious man, who had got together a considerable army. However, he remained there no long time, but after dissension with Metellus set out and joined Sulla, with whom he stood in a position of special honour. But when Sulla crossed into Italy, he wished all the young men with him to take active part in the campaign,

¹ A Roman historian who flourished under Augustus.

νέους ἔχειν ἐνεργοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην ἄλλον
 ἔταπτε πρᾶξιν, ἀποστελλόμενος εἰς Μαρσούς ἐπὶ
 στρατιὰν ὁ Κράσσος ἦτει φύλακας· ἡ γὰρ
 3 πάροδος ἦν παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους. εἰπόντος 546
 δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ σφόδρα πρὸς αὐτόν,
 “ Δίδωμί σοι φύλακας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν ἀδελφόν,
 τοὺς φίλους, τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ὧν παρανόμως καὶ
 ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθέντων ἐγὼ¹ μετέρχομαι τοὺς
 φονεῖς,” οὕτω παθὼν τι καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ
 Κράσσος εὐθύς ἐξῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων
 ὡσάμενος εὐρώστως δύναμιν τε συχνὴν ἤθροισε
 καὶ πρόθυμον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷσι ἀγῶσι τῷ Σύλλα
 παρείχεν.

4 Ἀπ’ ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν πράξεων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ
 πρῶτον ἐγγενέσθαι τὴν πρὸς Πομπήϊον ὑπὲρ δόξης
 ἁμιλλαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήϊος ἡλικία
 τε λειπόμενος αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὸς γεγονὼς ἀδοξή-
 σαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ μισηθέντος ἔσχατον μῖσος
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς πράγμασιν
 ἐξέλαμψε καὶ διεφάνη μέγας, ὥστε Σύλλαν, ἃ
 πρεσβυτέροις καὶ ἰσοτίμοις οὐ πάνυ πολλάκις
 παρείχεν, ὑπεξανίστασθαι προσιόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
 κεφαλὴν ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν αὐτο-
 5 κράτορα. ταῦτα διέκαιε καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν Κράσ-
 σον οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐλασσούμενον.

Ἐμπειρίας τε γὰρ ἐνδεὴς ἦν καὶ τῶν πράξεων
 αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀφήρουν αἱ συγγενεῖς κῆρες
 ἐπιφερόμεναι, φιλοκέρδεια καὶ μικρολογία. καὶ
 γὰρ πόλιν Ὀμβρικήν Τουδερτίαν ἐλὼν ἔδοξε

¹ ἐγὼ the conjecture of Bryan, mentioned by many editors with approval, and found in codex Matritensis by Graux: ἔργῳ actually.

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and assigned different ones to different undertakings. Crassus, being sent out to raise a force among the Marsi, asked for an escort, since his road would take him past the enemy. But Sulla was wroth, and said to him vehemently: "I give thee as an escort thy father, thy brother, thy friends, and thy kinsmen, who were illegally and unjustly put to death, and whose murderers I am pursuing." Thus rebuked and incited, Crassus set out at once, and forcing his way vigorously through the enemy, raised a considerable force, and showed himself an eager partisan of Sulla in his struggles.

Out of these activities first arose, as they say, his ambitious rivalry with Pompey for distinction. For although Pompey was the younger man, and the son of a father who had been in ill repute at Rome and hated most bitterly by his fellow-citizens, still, in the events of this time his talents shone forth conspicuously, and he was seen to be great, so that Sulla paid him honours not very often accorded to men who were older and of equal rank with himself, rising at his approach, uncovering his head, and saluting him as Imperator. All this inflamed and goaded Crassus, although it was not without good reason that Sulla thus made less of him.

For he was lacking in experience, and his achievements were robbed of their favour by the innate curses of avarice and meanness which beset him. For instance, when he captured the Umbrian city of Tuder, it was believed that he appropriated to him-

πλείστα τῶν χρημάτων σφετερισσασθαι, καὶ διε-
 6 βλήθη πρὸς Σύλλαν. ἄλλ' ἐν γε τῷ περὶ τὴν
 Ῥώμην ἀγωνί πάντων γενομένῳ μεγίστῳ· καὶ
 τελευταίῳ Σύλλας μὲν ἡττήθη, τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
 ὠσθέντων καὶ συντριβέντων, Κράσσος δὲ τὸ
 δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων ἐνίκησε καὶ μέχρι νυκτὸς
 διώξας τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπεμψε πρὸς Σύλλαν, δεῖ-
 πνον αἰτῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα
 φρίζων. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς καὶ δημεύσεσι
 7 πάλιν κακῶς ἤκουσεν, ὠνούμενός τε τιμῆς βρα-
 Βρεττίοις λέγεται καὶ προγράψαι τινὰ οὐ Σύλλα
 κελεύσαντος, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ χρηματισμῷ, δι' ὃ καὶ
 Σύλλαν καταγνόντα πρὸς μηθὲν ἔτι χρῆσθαι
 δημόσιον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δεινότατος ἦν Κράσσος
 πάντας ἀνθρώπους κολακεία κατεργάσασθαι,
 πάλιν δ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ κολακείας εὐάλω-
 τος. ἴδιον δὲ κακὲίνο περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, φιλο-
 κερδέστατον ὄντα μάλιστα μισεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖν
 τοὺς ὁμοίους.

VII. Ἡνία δὲ Πομπήϊος αὐτὸν εὐημερῶν εἰ
 ἡγεμονίαις καὶ πρὶν ἢ βουλῆς μεταλαβεῖν θριαμ-
 βεύων καὶ Μάγνος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μέγας, ὑπὸ τῶν
 πολιτῶν ἀναγορευθείς. καὶ ποτε καὶ φήσαντός
 τινος ὡς Πομπήϊος Μάγνος πρόσσεις, γελάσας
 2 ἡρώτησεν ὀπηλίκος. ἀπογινοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς
 ἐξισώσασθαι πρὸς ἐκείνον, ὑπεδύετο τὴν πολιτείαν,
 σπουδαῖς καὶ συνηγορίαις καὶ δανεισμοῖς καὶ τῷ
 συμπαραγγέλλειν καὶ συνεξετάζεσθαι τοῖς δεομέ-
 νοις τι τοῦ δήμου κτώμενος δύναμιν ἀντίπαλον

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self most of the spoil, and charges to this effect were laid before Sulla. But in the struggle near Rome, which was the last and greatest of all, while Sulla was defeated and his army repulsed and shattered, Crassus was victorious with the right wing,¹ pursued the enemy till nightfall, and then sent to Sulla informing him of his success and asking supper for his soldiers. However, during the proscriptions and public confiscations which ensued, he got a bad name again, by purchasing great estates at a low price, and asking donations. It is said that in Bruttium he actually proscribed a man without Sulla's orders, merely to get his property, and that for this reason Sulla, who disapproved of his conduct, never employed him again on public business. And yet Crassus was most expert in winning over all men by his flatteries; on the other hand, he himself was an easy prey to flattery from anybody. And this too is said to have been a peculiarity of his, that, most avaricious as he was himself, he particularly hated and abused those who were like him.

VII. Now it vexed him that Pompey was successful in his campaigns, and celebrated a triumph before becoming a senator, and was called Magnus (that is, *Great*) by his fellow-citizens. And once when some one said: "Pompey the Great is coming," Crassus fell to laughing and asked: "How great is he?" Renouncing, therefore, all efforts to equal Pompey in military achievements, he plunged into politics, and by his zealous labours, his favours as advocate and money-lender, and his co-operation in all the solicitations and examinations which candidates for office had to make and undergo, he acquired

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Sulla*, xxix. 5.

- καὶ δόξαν ἢ Πομπηΐος εἶχεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ
 3 μεγάλων στρατειῶν. καὶ πρᾶγμα συνέβαινεν
 αὐτοῖς ἴδιον. μείζον γὰρ ἦν ἀπόντος ὄνομα τοῦ
 Πομπηΐου καὶ κράτος ἐν τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς στρα-
 τείας· παρὼν δὲ πολλάκις ἡλαττοῦτο τοῦ Κράσ-
 σου, διὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ βίου
 φεύγων τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἀναδυνόμενος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ
 τῶν δεομένων ὀλίγοις καὶ μὴ πάνυ προθύμως
 βοηθῶν, ὥς ἀκμαιοτέραν ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ
 4 αὐτοῦ χρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐνδελεχὲς τὸ
 χρήσιμον ἔχων καὶ σπάνιος οὐκ ὦν οὐδὲ δυσπρόσ-
 οδος, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις αἰεὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀναστρε-
 φόμενος, τῷ κοινῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ περιεγίνετο
 τῆς ἐκείνου σεμνότητος. σώματος δὲ ἀξίωμα καὶ
 λόγου πειθῶ καὶ προσώπου χάριν ἀγωγὸν
 ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως προσεῖναι λέγουσιν.
- 5 Οὐ μέντοι πρὸς ἔχθραν τινὰ τὸν Κράσσον ἢ 547
 κακόνοιαν ἐξήνεγκεν οὗτος ὁ ζῆλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 Πομπηΐῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τιμωμένοις μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν
 ἡχθετο, τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ ταύτῃ δυσμένειαν ἢ
 κακοήθειαν οὐ συνῆπτε· καίτοι Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ
 ληστῶν ἀλούς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ φρουρούμενος ἀνεβόη-
 σεν· “Ἡλίκης, ὦ Κράσσε, χαρᾶς ἀπολαύσεις
 6 πυθόμενος τὴν ἐμὴν ἄλωσιν.” ἀλλ' ὕστερόν γε
 φιλικῶς ἀλλήλοις προσεφέροντο· καί ποτε τῷ
 Καίσαρι μέλλοντι μὲν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξιέναι στρα-
 τηγῷ, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντι τῶν δανειστῶν
 ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπιλαμβανο-

an influence and a repute equal to that which Pompey possessed from his many and great expeditions. And the experience of each man was peculiar. For Pompey's name and power were greater in the city when he was away from it, owing to his campaigns; but when he was at home, he was often less powerful than Crassus, because the pomp and circumstance of his life led him to shun crowds, retire from the forum, and render aid to a few only of those who asked it of him, and then with no great zest, that he might keep his influence the more unimpaired for use in his own behalf. But Crassus was continually ready with his services, was ever at hand and easy of access, and always took an active part in the enterprises of the hour, and so by the universal kindness of his behaviour won the day over his rival's haughty bearing. But in dignity of person, persuasiveness of speech, and winning grace of feature, both were said to be alike gifted.

However, this eager rivalry did not carry Crassus away into anything like hatred or malice; he was merely vexed that Pompey and Caesar should be honoured above himself, but he did not associate this ambition of his with enmity or malevolence. It is true that once when Caesar had been captured by pirates in Asia and was held a close prisoner by them,¹ he exclaimed: "O Crassus, how great a pleasure wilt thou taste when thou hearest of my capture!" But afterwards, at least, they were on friendly terms with one another, and once when Caesar was on the point of setting out for Spain as praetor, and had no money, and his creditors descended upon him and began to attach his outfit,

¹ See Plutarch's *Caesar*, chapter ii.

μένων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ περιεΐδεν, ἀλλ' ἀπήλλαξεν
 ὑποθεὶς αὐτὸν ἔγγυον τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτακοσίων
 7 ταλάντων. καθόλου δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς τρεῖς
 νενεμημένης δυνάμεις, τὴν Πομπηίου, τὴν Καίσα-
 ρος, τὴν Κράσσου (Κάτωνος γὰρ ἡ δόξα μείζων
 ἦν τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον πλεόν
 ἴσχυεν), ἡ μὲν ἔμφρων καὶ καθεστῶσα μερὶς ἐν τῇ
 πόλει Πομπηϊῶν ἐθεράπευε, τὸ δ' ὄξυ καὶ φερόμε-
 νον μετ' εὐχερείας ταῖς Καίσαρος ἐλπίσιν ἐπηκο-
 8 λούθει, Κράσσος δὲ μέσος ὧν ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρήτο,
 καὶ πλείστας μεταβολὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβαλ-
 λόμενος οὔτε φίλος ἦν βέβαιος οὔτε ἀνήμετος
 ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως καὶ χάριτος καὶ ὀργῆς
 ἐξέπιπτεν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὥστε πολλάκις
 μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλάκις δὲ νόμων ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 φανῆναι τῶν αὐτῶν συνήγορος καὶ ἀντίδικος.
 9 ἴσχυε δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ φόβῳ, φόβῳ δ' οὐκ
 ἔλαττον. ὁ γοῦν πλείστα πρᾶγματα παρασχὼν
 τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσι καὶ δημαγωγοῖς, Σικίννιος,
 πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τί δὴ μόνον οὐ σπαράττει τὸν
 Κράσσον, ἀλλὰ παρίησι, χόρτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν
 ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος. εἰώθεισαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι
 τὸν κυρίττοντα τῶν βοῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι
 τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας χόρτῳ περιελίσσειν τὸ κέρας.

VIII. Ἡ δὲ τῶν μονομάχων ἐπανάστασις καὶ
 λεηλασία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ Σπαρτάκειον
 πόλεμον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοιαύτης
 αἰτίας. Λέντλου τινὸς Βατιάτου μονομάχους ἐν
 Καπύῃ τρέφοντος, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ Γαλάται καὶ

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Crassus did not leave him in the lurch, but freed him from embarrassment by making himself his surety for eight hundred and thirty talents. And when all Rome was divided into three powerful parties, that of Pompey, that of Caesar, and that of Crassus (for Cato's reputation was greater than his power, and men admired him more than they followed him), it was the thoughtful and conservative part of the city which attached itself to Pompey, the violent and volatile part which supported the hopes of Caesar, while Crassus took a middle ground and drew from both. He made very many changes in his political views, and was neither a steadfast friend nor an implacable enemy, but readily abandoned both his favours and his resentments at the dictates of his interests, so that, frequently, within a short space of time, the same men and the same measures found in him both an advocate and an opponent. And he had great influence, both from the favours which he bestowed and the fear which he inspired, but more from the fear. At any rate, Sicinnius, who gave the greatest annoyance to the magistrates and popular leaders of his day, when asked why Crassus was the only one whom he let alone and did not worry, said that the man had hay on his horn. Now the Romans used to coil hay about the horn of an ox that gored, so that those who encountered it might be on their guard.¹

VIII. The insurrection of the gladiators and their devastation of Italy, which is generally called the war of Spartacus,² had its origin as follows. A certain Lentulus Batiatus had a school of gladiators at Capua, most of whom were Gauls and Thracians.

¹ Cf. *foenum habet in cornu*, Hor. *Sat.* i. 4, 34. ² 73-71 B.C.

Θραῖκες ἦσαν, ἐξ αἰτιῶν οὐ πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀδικία
 τοῦ πριαμένου συνειρχθέντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τῷ
 2 μονομαχεῖν, ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν διακόσιοι φεύγειν,
 γενομένης δὲ μηνύσεως οἱ προαισθόμενοι καὶ
 φθάσαντες ὀγδοήκοντα δυεῖν δέοντες ἕκ τινος
 ὀπτανείου κοπίδας ἀράμενοι καὶ ὀβελίσκους ἔξε-
 πήδησαν, ἐντυχόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀμάξαις
 ὅπλα κομιζούσαις μονομίχων εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν
 ἀφήρπασαν καὶ ὥπλίσαντο· καὶ τόπον τινὰ
 καρτερὸν καταλαβόντες ἡγεμόνας εἵλουντο τρεῖς,
 ὧν πρῶτος ἦν Σπάρτακος, ἀνὴρ Θραῖξ τοῦ Νο-
 μαδικοῦ γένους, οὐ μόνον φρόνημα μέγα καὶ ῥώμην
 ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει καὶ πραότητι τῆς τύχης
 3 ἀμείνων καὶ τοῦ γένους Ἑλληνικώτερος. τούτῳ
 δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς Ῥώμην ὦνιος ἤχθη,
 δράκοντα κοιμωμένῳ περιπεπλεγμένον φανῆναι
 περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἢ γυνὴ δ' ὁμόφυλος οὔσα τοῦ
 Σπαρτάκου, μαντικὴ δὲ καὶ κάτοχος τοῖς περὶ
 τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς, ἔφραζε τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι
 μεγάλης καὶ φοβερᾶς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς εὐτυχές¹
 τέλος ἐσομένης δυνάμεως· ἢ καὶ τότε συνῆν αὐτῷ
 καὶ συνέφευγε.

ΙΧ. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Καπύης ἐλθόντας
 ὠσάμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ὅπλων ἐπιλαβόμενοι πολε-
 μιστηρίων ἄσμενοι ταῦτα μετελάμβανον, ἀπορρί-
 ψαντες ὡς ἄτιμα καὶ βάρβαρα τὰ τῶν μονομά-
 χων· ἔπειτα Κλωδίου στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τρισχι-
 λίων πεμφθέντος ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ πολιορκούντος
 αὐτοὺς ἐν ὄρει μίαν ἔχοντι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ

¹ εὐτυχές MSS. (including S), Coraës, and Sintenis¹; Sintenis² and Bekker adopt ἀτυχές, Reiske's correction (an unfortunate issue).

Through no misconduct of theirs, but owing to the injustice of their owner, they were kept in close confinement and reserved for gladiatorial combats. Two hundred of these planned to make their escape, and when information was laid against them, those who got wind of it and succeeded in getting away, seventy-eight in number, seized cleavers and spits from some kitchen and sallied out. On the road they fell in with waggons conveying gladiators' weapons to another city; these they plundered and armed themselves. Then they took up a strong position and elected three leaders. The first of these was Spartacus, a Thracian of Nomadic stock, possessed not only of great courage and strength, but also in sagacity and culture superior to his fortune, and more Hellenic than Thracian. It is said that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen coiled about his face as he slept, and his wife, who was of the same tribe as Spartacus, a prophetess, and subject to visitations of the Dionysiac frenzy, declared it the sign of a great and formidable power which would attend him to a fortunate issue. This woman shared in his escape and was then living with him.

IX. To begin with, the gladiators repulsed the soldiers who came against them from Capua, and getting hold of many arms of real warfare, they gladly took these in exchange for their own, casting away their gladiatorial weapons as dishonourable and barbarous. Then Clodius the praetor was sent out from Rome against them with three thousand soldiers, and laid siege to them on a hill which had but one ascent, and that a narrow and difficult one,

- 2 στενήν ἄνοδον, ἣν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐφρούρει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα 548
 κρημνοὺς ἀποτόμους καὶ λισσάδας, ἄμπελον δὲ
 πολλήν ἀγρίαν ἐπιπολῆς πεφυκυῖαν, ἔτεμνον τῶν
 κλημάτων τὰ χρήσιμα, καὶ συμπλέκοντες ἐξ
 αὐτῶν κλιμακίδας εὐτόνους καὶ βαθείας, ὥστ'
 ἄνωθεν ἀνηρτημένας παρὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ἄπτεσθαι
 τῶν ἐπιπέδων, κατέβαινον ἀσφαλῶς δι' αὐτῶν
 πλὴν ἐνός. οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἕνεκα μείνας,
 ἐπεὶ κατέβησαν, ἠφίει κάτω τὰ ὅπλα καὶ βαλὼν
 3 ἅπαντα τελευταῖος ἀπεσώζετο καὶ αὐτός. ταῦτ'
 ἠγνόουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· διὸ καὶ περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς
 ἐξέπληξαν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ, καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης
 ἔλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ προσεγίνοντο πολ-
 λοὶ τῶν αὐτόθι βοτῆρων καὶ ποιμένων αὐτοῖς,
 πλῆκται καὶ ποδώκεις ἄνδρες, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ὥπλι-
 ζον, τοῖς δὲ προδρόμοις καὶ ψιλοῖς ἐχρῶντο.
- 4 Δεύτερος ἐκπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς
 Πούπλιος Βαρῖνος, οὗ πρῶτα μὲν ὑποστρατηγόν
 τινα Φούριον ἔχοντα δισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἐτρέ-
 ψαντο συμβαλόντες· ἔπειτα σύμβουλον αὐτῷ
 καὶ συνάρχοντα Κοσσίνιον ἀποσταλέντα μετὰ
 πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Σπάρτακος λουό-
 μενον περὶ Σαλίνας, μικρὸν ἐδέησε συναρπάσαι.
- 5 χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις ἐκφυγόντος εὐθύς μὲν
 ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, ἐκ ποδὸς δὲ κατέχων
 καὶ διώκων φόνῳ πολλῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλεν.
 ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ Κοσσίνιος. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν
 ἄλλαις μάχαις πολλαῖς καταγωνισάμενος, τέλος
 δὲ τοὺς τε ραβδούχους καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ

which Clodius closely watched; everywhere else there were smooth and precipitous cliffs. But the top of the hill was covered with a wild vine of abundant growth, from which the besieged cut off the serviceable branches, and wove these into strong ladders of such strength and length that when they were fastened at the top they reached along the face of the cliff to the plain below. On these they descended safely, all but one man, who remained above to attend to the arms. When the rest had got down, he began to drop the arms, and after he had thrown them all down, got away himself also last of all in safety. Of all this the Romans were ignorant, and therefore their enemy surrounded them, threw them into consternation by the suddenness of the attack, put them to flight, and took their camp. They were also joined by many of the herdsmen and shepherds of the region, sturdy men and swift of foot, some of whom they armed fully, and employed others as scouts and light infantry.

In the second place, Publius Varinus, the praetor, was sent out against them, whose lieutenant, a certain Furius, with two thousand soldiers, they first engaged and routed; then Spartacus narrowly watched the movements of Cossinius, who had been sent out with a large force to advise and assist Varinus in the command, and came near seizing him as he was bathing near Salinae. Cossinius barely escaped with much difficulty, and Spartacus at once seized his baggage, pressed hard upon him in pursuit, and took his camp with great slaughter. Cossinius also fell. By defeating the praetor himself in many battles, and finally capturing his lictors and the very horse he rode, Spartacus was soon great and

λαβών, ἤδη μὲν μέγας καὶ φοβερός ἦν, ἐφρόνει
 δὲ τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι
 τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἙΑλπεις τὸν
 στρατόν, οἰόμενος δεῖν ὑπερβαλόντας αὐτὰς ἐπὶ
 τὰ οἰκεῖα χωρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Θράκην, τοὺς δ'
 6 εἰς Γαλατίαν. οἱ δὲ πλήθει τε ὄντες ἰσχυροὶ καὶ
 μέγα φρονοῦντες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπόρθουν
 ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

Οὐκέτ' οὖν τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἠνώ-
 χλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ δὴ
 διὰ φόβον τε καὶ κίνδυνον ὡς πρὸς ἓνα τῶν δυσκο-
 λωτάτων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων ἀμφοτέρους ἐξέ-
 7 πεμπον τοὺς ὑπάτους. ὧν Γέλλιος μὲν τὸ Γερ-
 μανικὸν ὕβρει καὶ φρονήματι τῶν Σπαρτακείων
 ἀποσχισθὲν ἐξαίφνης ἐμπεσὼν ἅπαν διέφθειρε,
 Λέντλου δὲ τὸν Σπάρτακον μεγάλους στρατο-
 πέδοις περιλαβόντος ὀρμήσας ὁμόσε καὶ μάχην
 συνάψας ἐκράτησε μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, ἔλαβε
 δὲ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν. ὠθουμένῳ δ' αὐτῷ
 πρὸς τὰς ἙΑλπεις Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς περὶ Πάδον
 Γαλατίας στρατηγὸς ἔχων μυρίους ἀπῆντησε·
 καὶ γενομένης μάχης κρατηθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς
 ἀποβαλὼν μόλις αὐτὸς ἐξέφυγε.

Χ. Ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ πυθομένη τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους
 πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, Κράσσον
 δὲ τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγὸν εἵλετο· καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ
 δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλίαν συνεστράτευον τῶν ἐπι-
 φανῶν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπέμεινε πρὸ τῆς Πικηνίδος
 ὡς τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐκεῖ φερόμενον δεξόμενος, Μόμ-

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formidable; but he took a proper view of the situation, and since he could not expect to overcome the Roman power, began to lead his army toward the Alps, thinking it necessary for them to cross the mountains and go to their respective homes, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But his men were now strong in numbers and full of confidence, and would not listen to him, but went ravaging over Italy.

It was now no longer the indignity and disgrace of the revolt that harassed the senate, but they were constrained by their fear and peril to send both consuls into the field, as they would to a war of the utmost difficulty and magnitude. Gellius, one of the consuls, fell suddenly upon the Germans, who were so insolent and bold as to separate themselves from the main body of Spartacus, and cut them all to pieces; but when Lentulus, the other consul, had surrounded the enemy with large forces, Spartacus rushed upon them, joined battle, defeated the legates of Lentulus, and seized all their baggage. Then, as he was forcing his way towards the Alps, he was met by Cassius, the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, with an army of ten thousand men, and in the battle that ensued, Cassius was defeated, lost many men, and escaped himself with difficulty.

X. On learning of this, the Senate angrily ordered the consuls to keep quiet, and chose Crassus to conduct the war, and many of the nobles were induced by his reputation and their friendship for him to serve under him. Crassus himself, accordingly, took position on the borders of Picenum, expecting to receive the attack of Spartacus, who was hastening thither; and he sent Mummius, his

μιον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν ἄγοντα δύο τάγματα κύκλῳ
 περιέπεμψεν, ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις,
 2 συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ μὴ μηδὲ ὑψιμαχεῖν. ὁ δ' ἄμα
 τῷ πρῶτον ἐπ' ἐλπίδος γενέσθαι μάχην θέμενος
 ἡττήθη· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔπεσον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνευ
 τῶν ὅπλων φεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος
 αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μόμμιον ἐδέξατο τραχέως, καὶ τοὺς
 στρατιώτας ὀπλίζων αὐτοῖς ἐγγυητὰς ἦται τῶν
 ὅπλων, ὅτι φυλάξουσιν, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοὺς
 πρῶτους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τρέσαντας, εἰς
 πεντήκοντα διανείμας δεκάδας ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἀπέ-
 κτεινεν ἕνα τὸν κλήρῳ λαχόντα, πάτριόν τι τοῦτο
 3 διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων κόλασμα τοῖς στρατιώταις
 ἔπαγαγών. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ θανάτου τῷ
 τρόπῳ πρόσεστι, καὶ δρᾶται πολλὰ φρικώδη
 καὶ σκυθρωπὰ περὶ τὴν κόλασιν ὑπάντων
 θεωμένων.

Οὕτω δ' ἐπιστρέψας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς 549
 πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος ὑπεξεχώρει διὰ
 Λευκανίας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐν δὲ πορθμῷ
 ληστρίσι Κιλίσσαις ἐπιτυχὼν ὥρμησεν ἄψασθαι
 Σικελίας καὶ δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς
 τὴν νῆσον αὐτοῖς ἐκζωπυρῆσαι τὸν δουλικὸν ἐκεῖ
 πόλεμον, οὐπω πολὺν χρόνον ἀπεσβηκότα καὶ
 4 μικρῶν πάλιν ὑπεκκαυμάτων δεόμενον. ὁμο-
 λογήσαντες δὲ οἱ Κίλικες αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα λα-
 βόντες ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν. οὕτω δὲ
 πάλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναζεύξας ἐκάθισε τὸν
 στρατὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥηγίνων χερρόνησον. ἐπελθὼν
 δ' ὁ Κράσσος, καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶν
 ὑψηλομένην τὸ δέον, ὥρμησεν ἀποτειχίσαι τὸν

legate, with two legions, by a circuitous route, with orders to follow the enemy, but not to join battle nor even skirmish with them. Mummius, however, at the first promising opportunity, gave battle and was defeated; many of his men were slain, and many of them threw away their arms and fled for their lives. Crassus gave Mummius himself a rough reception, and when he armed his soldiers anew, made them give pledges that they would keep their arms. Five hundred of them, moreover, who had shown the greatest cowardice and been first to fly, he divided into fifty decades, and put to death one from each decade, on whom the lot fell, thus reviving, after the lapse of many years, an ancient mode of punishing the soldiers. For disgrace also attaches to this manner of death, and many horrible and repulsive features attend the punishment, which the whole army witnesses.

When he had thus disciplined his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus avoided him, and retired through Lucania to the sea. At the Straits, he chanced upon some Cilician pirate craft, and determined to seize Sicily. By throwing two thousand men into the island, he thought to kindle anew the servile war there,¹ which had not long been extinguished, and needed only a little additional fuel. But the Cilicians, after coming to terms with him and receiving his gifts, deceived him and sailed away. So Spartacus marched back again from the sea and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium. Crassus now came up, and observing that the nature of the place suggested what must be done, he determined to build a wall

¹ 102-99 B.C.

ἰσθμόν, ἅμα καὶ τὴν σχολὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 5 ὑφαιρῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν πολεμίων. μέγα
 μὲν οὖν ἦν καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἦνυσε δὲ καὶ
 κατειργάσατο παρὰ δόξαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, τάφρον
 ἐμβαλὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ
 αὐχένος σταδίων τριακοσίων, εὖρος δὲ καὶ βάθος
 ἴσον πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τάφρου
 6 τεῖχος ἔστησεν ὕψει καὶ ῥώμῃ θαυμαστόν. ὧν ὁ
 Σπάρτακος ἡμέλει καὶ κατεφρόνει τὸ πρῶτον· ὥς
 δὲ τῆς λείας ἐπιλειπούσης προΐεναι βουλόμενος
 συνείδε τὸν ἀποτειχισμόν καὶ λαμβάνειν οὐδὲν
 ἦν ἐκ τῆς χερρουήσου, νύκτα νιφετώδῃ καὶ
 πνεῦμά τι χειμέριον παραφυλάξας ἔχωσε τῆς
 τάφρου μέρος οὐ πολὺ γῆ καὶ ὕλῃ καὶ κλύδοις
 δένδρων, ὥστε τῆς στρατιᾶς περαιῶσαι τὸ τρίτον.

XI. Ἐφοβήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Κράσσος μὴ λάβοι
 τις ὁρμὴ τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν,
 ἐθάρρησε δὲ πολλῶν ἐκ διαφορᾶς ἀποστάντων
 αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατοπεδευσασμένων καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
 Λευκανίδος λίμνης, ἣν φασὶ τρέπεσθαι διὰ χρόνου
 γινομένην γλυκεῖαν καὶ αὖθις ἄλμυράν καὶ
 ἄποτον. τούτοις ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κράσσος ἐξέωσε μὲν
 ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης, ἀφηρέθη δὲ τὸν φόνον καὶ τὴν
 δίωξιν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέντος ὀξέως τοῦ Σπαρτάκου
 καὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπιστήσαντος.

2 Γεγραφὼς δὲ τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον ὥς χρὴ καὶ
 Λούκουλλον ἐκ Θράκης καλεῖν καὶ Πομπήϊον ἐξ

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across the isthmus, thereby at once keeping his soldiers from idleness, and his enemies from provisions. Now the task was a huge one and difficult, but he accomplished and finished it, contrary to all expectation, in a short time, running a ditch from sea to sea through the neck of land three hundred furlongs in length and fifteen feet in width and depth alike. Above the ditch he also built a wall of astonishing height and strength. All this work Spartacus neglected and despised at first; but soon his provisions began to fail, and when he wanted to sally forth from the peninsula, he saw that he was walled in, and that there was nothing more to be had there. He therefore waited for a snowy night and a wintry storm, when he filled up a small portion of the ditch with earth and timber and the boughs of trees, and so threw a third part of his force across.

XI. Crassus was now in fear lest some impulse to march upon Rome should seize Spartacus, but took heart when he saw that many of the gladiator's men had seceded after a quarrel with him, and were encamped by themselves on a Lucanian lake. This lake, they say, changes from time to time in the character of its water, becoming sweet, and then again bitter and undrinkable. Upon this detachment Crassus fell, and drove them away from the lake, but he was robbed of the slaughter and pursuit of the fugitives by the sudden appearance of Spartacus, who checked their flight.

Before this Crassus had written to the senate that they must summon Lucullus¹ from Thrace and Pompey from Spain, but he was sorry now that he

Marcus Lucullus, brother of Lucius.

Ἰβηρίας, μετενόει, καὶ πρὶν ἤκειν ἐκείνους ἔσπευδε διαπράξασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ προσγενομένου καὶ βοηθήσαντος, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὸ κατόρθωμα δόξει. πρῶτον μὲν οἷν διαγνοὺς τοῖς ἀφεστῶσι καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν στρατευομένοις, ὧν ἀφηγούντο Γάϊος Καννίκιος καὶ Κάστος, ἐπιθέσθαι, λόφον τινὰ προκαταληψομένους ἄνδρας ἑξακισχιλίου ἀπέστειλε, λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι κελεύσας.

3 οἱ δ' ἐπειρῶντο μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ κράνη καταμπέχοντες, ὀφθέντες δ' ὑπὸ δυεῖν γυναικῶν προθυομένων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκινδύνευσαν, εἰ μὴ Κράσσος ὀξέως ἐπιφανεῖς μάχην ἔθετο πασῶν καρτερωτάτην, ἐν ᾗ τριακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις καὶ μυρίοις καταβαλὼν δύο μόνους εὔρε κατὰ νώτου τετρωμένους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐστῶτες ἐν τάξει καὶ μαχόμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέθανον.

4 Σπαρτάκῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἦτταν ἀναχωροῦντι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τὰ Πετηλῖνα, Κόϊντος τῶν περὶ Κράσσον ἡγεμόνων καὶ Σκρώφας ταμίας ἑξαπτόμενοι παρηκολούθουν. ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ γίνεται φυγὴ μεγάλη τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μόλις τρωθέντα τὸν ταμίαν ὑρπίσαντες ἀπεσώθησαν. τοῦτο τὸν Σπάρτακον ἀπώλεσε τὸ κατόρθωμα,

5 φρονήματος ἐπιγενομένου τοῖς δραπεταῖς. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἠξίουں φυγομαχεῖν οὐδ' ἐπείθοντο τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις περισχόντες ἠνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω διὰ τῆς Λευκανίας ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰς ταὐτὸ τῷ

had done so, and was eager to bring the war to an end before those generals came. He knew that the success would be ascribed to the one who came up with assistance, and not to himself. Accordingly, in the first place, he determined to attack those of the enemy who had seceded from the rest and were campaigning on their own account (they were commanded by Caius Canicius and Castus), and with this in view, sent out six thousand men to preoccupy a certain eminence, bidding them keep their attempt a secret. And they did try to elude observation by covering up their helmets, but they were seen by two women who were sacrificing for the enemy, and would have been in peril of their lives had not Crassus quickly made his appearance and given battle, the most stubbornly contested of all; for although he slew twelve thousand three hundred men in it, he found only two who were wounded in the back. The rest all died standing in the ranks and fighting the Romans.

After the defeat of this detachment, Spartacus retired to the mountains of Petelia, followed closely by Quintus, one of the officers of Crassus, and by Scrophas, the quaestor, who hung upon the enemy's rear. But when Spartacus faced about, there was a great rout of the Romans, and they barely managed to drag the quaestor, who had been wounded, away into safety. This success was the ruin of Spartacus, for it filled his slaves with over-confidence. They would no longer consent to avoid battle, and would not even obey their leaders, but surrounded them as soon as they began to march, with arms in their hands, and forced them to lead back through Lucania against the Romans, the very thing which Crassus

Κράσσῳ σπεύδοντες. ἤδη γὰρ ὁ Πομπήϊος 550
 προσιὼν ἀπηγγέλλετο· καὶ δὴ ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντες
 ἦσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τὴν νίκην ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πολέμου
 προσήκειν· ἐλθόντα γὰρ εὐθὺς μαχεῖσθαι καὶ
 καταλύσειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπειγόμενος οὖν διαγωνί-
 σασθαι καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις
 ὥρυττε τάφρον, πρὸς ἣν ἐκπηδῶντες οἱ δούλοι
 6 προσεμάχοντο τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις. αἰεὶ δὲ πλειόνων
 ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκβοηθούντων ὁρῶν τὴν ἀνάγκην ὁ
 Σπάρτακος ἅπαν παρέταξε τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ἵππου προσαχθέντος αὐτῷ
 σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι νικῶν μὲν ἔχει
 πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ καλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων,
 ἡττώμενος δὲ οὐ δεῖται, κατέσφαξε τὸν ἵππον·
 ἔπειτα πρὸς Κράσσον αὐτὸν ὠθούμενος διὰ
 πολλῶν ὄπλων καὶ τραυμάτων ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκ
 ἔτυχεν, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ δύο συμπεσόντας ἀνείλε.
 7 τέλος δὲ φυγόντων τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, αὐτὸς ἐστῶς
 καὶ κυκλωθεὶς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀμυνόμενος κατεκρήνη.
 Κράσσου δὲ τῇ τύχῃ χρησαμένου καὶ στρατηγή-
 σαντος ἄριστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κινδύνῳ παρασχόν-
 τος, ὅμως οὐ διέφυγε τὸ κατόρθωμα τὴν Πομπηίου
 δόξαν. οἱ γὰρ διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες¹ αὐτῷ
 διεφθάρησαν, ὥστε καὶ γράψαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλη-
 τον ὅτι μάχῃ μὲν τοὺς δραπέτας φανερά Κράσσος
 νενίκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ρίζαν
 8 ἀνήρηκε. Πομπήϊος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Σερτωρίου καὶ

¹ διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες Coraës' correction of the MSS. διαπεσόντες. Cf. Pompey, xxi. 2, from which Graux would correct δια<πεσόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης πενταχισχίλιοι περι>πεσόντες.

also most desired. For Pompey's approach was already announced, and there were not a few who publicly proclaimed that the victory in this war belonged to him; he had only to come and fight and put an end to the war. Crassus, therefore, pressed on to finish the struggle himself, and having encamped near the enemy, began to dig a trench. Into this the slaves leaped and began to fight with those who were working there, and since fresh men from both sides kept coming up to help their comrades, Spartacus saw the necessity that was upon him, and drew up his whole army in order of battle.

In the first place, when his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword, and saying that if he won the day he would have many fine horses of the enemy's, but if he lost it he did not want any, he slew his horse. Then pushing his way towards Crassus himself through many flying weapons and wounded men, he did not indeed reach him, but slew two centurions who fell upon him together. Finally, after his companions had taken to flight, he stood alone, surrounded by a multitude of foes, and was still defending himself when he was cut down. But although Crassus had been fortunate, had shown most excellent generalship, and had exposed his person to danger, nevertheless, his success did not fail to enhance the reputation of Pompey. For the fugitives from the battle¹ encountered that general and were cut to pieces, so that he could write to the senate that in open battle, indeed, Crassus had conquered the slaves, but that he himself had extirpated the war. Pompey, accordingly, for his

¹ Their number is given as five thousand in *Pompey*, xxi. 2.

Ἰβηρίας ἐπιφανῶς ἐθρίαμβευσε, Κράσσος δὲ τὸν μὲν μέγαν θρίαμβον οὐδ' αὐτὸς αἰτεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν πεζόν, οὐραν δὲ καλούμενον, ὑγεννῶς καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπὶ δουλικῷ πολέμῳ θριαμβεῦσαι. τί δ' οὗτος ἐκείνου διαφέρει, καὶ περὶ τῆς κλήσεως, ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.

XII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Πομπηίου αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν καλουμένου, ἐλπίδας ἔχων ὁ Κράσσος συνάρξειν ὅμως οὐκ ὤκνησε τοῦ Πομπηίου δεσθῆναι. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀσμένως ἐκείνος (ἐπεθύμει γὰρ ἀμῶς γέ πως αἰεὶ χάριτός τινος ὀφειλέτην λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον) ἐσπούδασε προθύμως, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ἐκκλησιάζων ὡς οὐκ ἐλάττονα περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος
 2 ἔξει χάριν ἢ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. οὐ μὲν ἔμειναν ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς φιλοφροσύνης εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστάντες, ἀλλ' ὀλίγου δεῖν περὶ πάντων διαφερόμενοι καὶ πάντα δυσκολαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ φιλονεικοῦντες ἀπολίτευτον καὶ ἄπρακτον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐποίησαν, πλὴν ὅτι Κράσσος Ἡρακλεῖ μεγάλην θυσίαν ποιησάμενος εἰστίασε τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ μυρίων τραπεζῶν καὶ σῖτον
 3 ἐμέτρησεν εἰς τρίμηνον. ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς τελευτώσης ἔτυχον μὲν ἐκκλησιάζοντες, ἀνὴρ δέ τις οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων, ἀγροῖκος δὲ τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἰδιώτης, Ὀνάτιος¹ Αὐρήλιος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ προσελθὼν² ὄψιν διηγείτο κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ γενομένην. “Ὁ γὰρ

¹ Ὀνάτιος in *Pompey*, xxiii. 1, Γάιος. Graux would therefore read here ὀνόματι Γάιος.

² προσελθὼν with Stephanus, Coraës, and S: προσελθών.

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victories over Sertorius and in Spain, celebrated a splendid triumph; but Crassus, for all his self-approval, did not venture to ask for the major triumph, and it was thought ignoble and mean in him to celebrate even the minor triumph on foot, called the ovation, for a servile war. How the minor triumph differs from the major, and why it is named as it is, has been told in my life of Marcellus.¹

XII. After this, Pompey was at once asked to stand for the consulship, and Crassus, although he had hopes of becoming his colleague, did not hesitate to ask Pompey's assistance. Pompey received his request gladly (for he was desirous of having Crassus, in some way or other, always in debt to him for some favour), and eagerly promoted his candidature, and finally said in a speech to the assembly that he should be no less grateful to them for the colleague than for the office which he desired. However, when once they had assumed office,² they did not remain on this friendly basis, but differed on almost every measure, quarrelled with one another about everything, and by their contentiousness rendered their consulship barren politically and without achievement, except that Crassus made a great sacrifice in honour of Hercules, feasted the people at ten thousand tables, and made them an allowance of grain for three months. And when at last their term of office was closing, and they were addressing the assembly, a certain man, not a noble, but a Roman knight, rustic and rude in his way of life, Onatius Aurelius, mounted the rostra and recounted to the audience a vision that had come to him in his sleep. "Jupiter," he said, "appeared to me

¹ Chapter xxii.

² 70 B.C.

Ζεύς," ἔφη, "μοι φανείς προσέταξεν εἰς κοινὸν εἰπεῖν ὅπως μὴ πρότερον περιῖδητε τοὺς ὑπάτους 4 ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ φίλους γενέσθαι." ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαλλάττεσθαι κελεύοντος, ὁ μὲν Πομπήϊος ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν ἐστώς, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ πρότερος, "Οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, οἶμαι, πολῖται, ταπεινὸν πράττειν οὐδ' ἀνάξιον ἐμαντοῦ καταρχόμενος εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς Πομπήϊον, ὃν ὑμεῖς μήπω γενειῶντα Μέγαν ἀνηγορεύσατε καὶ μήπω μετέχοντι βουλῆς ἐψηφίσασθε θρίαμβον."

XIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπατεία τοῦ Κράσσου ταυτ' ἔσχεν ἄξια μνήμης, ἡ δὲ τιμητεία παντάπασιν ἀτελὴς καὶ ἄπρακτος αὐτῷ διήλθεν, οὔτε γὰρ βουλῆς ἐξέτασιν οὔθ' ἱππέων ἐπίσκεψιν οὔτ' ἀποτίμησιν πολιτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καίτοι συν- 551 ἀρχοντα Ῥωμαίων ἔχοντι τὸν πραότατον Λουτάτιον Κάτλον. ἀλλὰ φασιν ἐπὶ δεινὸν ὀρμήσαντι τῷ Κράσσῳ πολίτευμα καὶ βίαιον, Αἴγυπτον ποιεῖν ὑποτελῆ Ῥωμαίοις, ἀντιβῆναι τὸν Κάτλον ἐρρωμένως· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενομένης διαφορᾶς ἐκόντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν.

2 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίαν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῦ δεήσασιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην, ἤψατο μὲν τις ὑπόνοια τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ προσ- ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος ὀνομάζων ἀπὸ τῆς συνωμοσίας, 3 οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐπίστευσεν. ὅμως δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τινι λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστριβόμενος. ἀλλ' οὔτε μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ὑπατείας

and bade me declare in public that you should not suffer your consuls to lay down their office until they become friends." When the man said this and the people urged a reconciliation, Pompey, for his part, stood motionless, but Crassus took the initiative, clasped him by the hand, and said: "Fellow-citizens, I think there is nothing humiliating or unworthy in my taking the first step towards good-will and friendship with Pompey, to whom you gave the title of 'Great' before he had grown a beard, and voted him a triumph before he was a senator."

XIII. Such, then, were the memorable things in the consulship of Crassus, but his censorship¹ passed without any results or achievements whatever. He neither made a revision of the senate, nor a scrutiny of the knights, nor a census of the people, although he had Lutatius Catulus, the gentlest of the Romans, for his colleague. But they say that when Crassus embarked upon the dangerous and violent policy of making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus opposed him vigorously, whereupon, being at variance, both voluntarily laid down their office.

In the affair of Catiline,² which was very serious, and almost subversive of Rome, some suspicion attached itself to Crassus, and a man publicly named him as one of the conspirators, but nobody believed him. Nevertheless, Cicero, in one of his orations,³ plainly inculpated Crassus and Caesar. This oration, it is true, was not published until after both were dead; but in the treatise upon his consulship,³

¹ 65 B.C.

² 63-62 B.C.

³ Not extant.

ὁ Κικέρων νύκτωρ φησὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζοντα¹ τὰ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίαν ἐξηγουμένην,¹ ὡς ἤδη βεβαιοῦντα
 4 τὴν συνωμοσίαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Κράσσος αἰεὶ μὲν ἐμίσει τὸν Κικέρωνα διὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ βλάπτειν ἀναφανδὸν ἐμποδῶν εἶχε τὸν υἱόν. ὁ γὰρ Πόπλιος ὦν φιλολόγος καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἐξήρτητο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὥστε καὶ συμεταβαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κρινομένῳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νέους ταῦτά ποιοῦντας παρασχεῖν. τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα πείσας φίλον ἐποίησεν.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, παρασκευαζόμενος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι καὶ Κράσσον ὁρῶν καὶ Πομπήϊον αὐθις ἐν διαφοραῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντας, οὔτε θατέρου δεηθεὶς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν ἐχθρὸν τὸν ἕτερον, οὔτε μηδετέρου συνεργοῦντος ἤλπιζε κατορθώσκειν.
 2 ἔπραττεν οὖν διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῖς προσκείμενος καὶ διδάσκων ὡς καταλύοντες ἀλλήλους αὔξουσιν Κικέρωνας καὶ Κάτλους καὶ Κάτωνα, ὧν οὐδεὶς λόγος, ἂν ἐκείνοι συνενεγκόντες εἰς ταῦτό τὰς φιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας ἐνὶ κρᾷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ τὴν πόλιν ἄγωσιν. πείσας δὲ καὶ διαλλάξας συνήγαγε καὶ συνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν ἰσχὺν ἄμαχον, ἣ κατέλυσε Ῥωμαίων τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, οὐκ ἐκείνους δι' ἀλλήλων μείζοντας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνων ἑαυτὸν μέγιστον ἀπεργασάμενος.
 3 εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀρθεὶς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὑπατος ἀπεδεί-

¹ κομίζοντα . . . ἐξηγουμένην S'intenis' correction of the MSS. κομίζοντα περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα καὶ ζητουμένην, which Coraüs and Bekker retain.

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Cicero says that Crassus came to him by night with a letter which gave details of the affair of Catiline,¹ and felt that he was at last establishing the fact of a conspiracy. And Crassus, accordingly, always hated Cicero for this, but was kept from doing him any open injury by his son. For Publius Crassus, being given to literature and learning, was attached to Cicero, so much so that he put on mourning when Cicero did at the time of his trial, and prevailed upon the other young men to do the same. And finally he persuaded his father to become Cicero's friend.

XIV. Now when Caesar came back from his province and prepared to seek the consulship, he saw that Pompey and Crassus were once more at odds with each other. He therefore did not wish to make one of them an enemy by asking the aid of the other, nor did he have any hope of success if neither of them helped him. Accordingly, he tried to reconcile them by persistently showing them that their mutual ruin would only increase the power of such men as Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, men whose influence would be nothing if Crassus and Pompey would only unite their friends and adherents, and with one might and one purpose direct the affairs of the city. He persuaded them, reconciled them, and won them both to his support, and constituted with that triumvirate an irresistible power, with which he overthrew the senate and the people, not by making his partners greater, the one through the other, but by making himself greatest of all through them. For owing to the support of both he was

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Cicero*, xv.

χθη λαμπρῶς. ὑπατεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ¹ ψηφισάμενοι στρατευμάτων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐγχειρίσαντες ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν, οἴομενοι καθ' ἡσυχίαν νεμήσεσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκείνῳ βεβαιοῦντες ἦν ἔλαχεν ἀρχήν.

- 4 Πομπηῖος μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀμέτρον ταῦτ' ἔπραττε· τῶν δὲ Κράσσου νοσημάτων τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἢ φιλοπλουτία καινὸν ἔρωτα προσλαβοῦσα καὶ ζῆλον ἐπὶ ταῖς Καίσαρος ἀριστεταῖς τροπαίων καὶ θριάμβων, οἷς γε μόνοις ἐλαττοῦσθαι προὔχοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν οὐδ' ἐλώφησε πρὶν εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀκλεῆ καὶ
- 5 δημοσίας συμφορὰς τελευτῆσαι. Καίσαρος γὰρ εἰς Λούκαν πόλιν ἐκ Γαλατίας καταβάντος ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀφίκοντο, καὶ Πομπηῖος καὶ Κράσσος ἰδίᾳ συγγενόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἐαυτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Καίσαρος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μένοντος, ἄλλας δὲ ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα Πομπηίου καὶ Κράσσου λαβόν-
- 6 των. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁδὸς ἦν μία δευτέρας ὑπατείας αἰτησις· ἦν μετιόντων ἐκείνων ἔδει συμπράττειν Καίσαρα, τοῖς τε φίλοις γράφοντα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμποντα πολλοὺς ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας.

XV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ περὶ Κράσσον εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ὑποπτοι, καὶ πολὺς ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων λόγος οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γεγο-

¹ αὐτῷ after this word καλῶς is bracketed by Sintenis and Bekker.

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at once triumphantly elected consul.¹ And during his consulship they voted him armies to command, and put Gaul into his hands, and so, as it were, established him in an acropolis, thinking to share the rest with one another at their leisure if they secured to him his allotted province.

Now Pompey did all this from an unbounded love of power; but to that ancient infirmity of Crassus, his avarice, there was now added a fresh and ardent passion, in view of the glorious exploits of Caesar, for trophies and triumphs. In these alone he thought himself inferior to Caesar, but superior in everything else. And his passion gave him no rest nor peace until it ended in an inglorious death and public calamities. For when Caesar came down to the city of Luca² from Gaul, many Romans came thither to meet him, and among them Pompey and Crassus. These held private conferences with Caesar, and the three determined to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves sole masters of the state. Caesar was to remain in his command, while Pompey and Crassus were to take other provinces and armies. But the only way to secure this end was by soliciting a second consulship. Since Pompey and Crassus were candidates for this, Caesar was to co-operate with them by writing letters to his friends and by sending many of his soldiers home to support them at the elections.

XV. With this understanding, Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, and were at once objects of suspicion; report was rife through the whole city that their meeting with Caesar had been for no good

¹ 59 B.C.

² 56 B.C.

- νέναι τὴν σύνοδον αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ
 Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Δομιτίου Πομπηίου ἐρωτῶντων
 εἰ μέτεισιν ὑπατείαν, ἀπεκρίνατο τυχὸν μὲν 555
 μετιέναι, τυχὸν δὲ μὴ μετιέναι· καὶ πάλιν ἐρωτώ-
 μενος ἔφη μετιέναι τοῖς δικαίοις πολίταις, μὴ
 2 μετιέναι δὲ τοῖς ἀδίκοις. τούτου δὲ δόξαντος
 ὑπερηφάνους ἀποκρίσεις καὶ τετυφωμένας ποιεῖ-
 σθαι μετριώτερον ὁ Κράσσος εἶπεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει
 συμφέρει, μετιέναι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ δὲ μή, πεπαύσε-
 σθαι. διὸ καὶ τινες ἐθάρρησαν ὑπατείαν μετελ-
 θεῖν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Δομίτιος. γενομένων δὲ φανερῶν
 ἐκείνων ἐν ταῖς παραγγελίαις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
 δείσαντες ἀπέστησαν, Δομίτιον δὲ Κάτων οἰκεῖον
 ὄντα καὶ φίλον ἐθάρρυνεν ἐγκελευόμενος καὶ
 παρορμῶν ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐλπίδος ὡς ὑπερμαχοῦντα
 τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας· οὐ γὰρ ὑπατείας Πομ-
 πηίου δεῖσθαι καὶ Κράσσον, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδος,
 οὐδ' ἀρχῆς αἵτησιν, ἀλλ' ἀρπαγὴν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ
 στρατοπέδων εἶναι τὰ πραττόμενα.
- 3 Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγων οὕτω καὶ φρονῶν ὁ Κάτων
 μονοноῦ βία προῆγεν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὸν Δομίτιον,
 καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ
 θαυμάζον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦν, “Τί δὴ δευτέρας οὗτοι
 χρήζουσιν ὑπατείας; τί δὲ πάλιν μετ' ἀλλήλων;
 τί δ' οὐ μεθ' ἐτέρων; πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἡμῖν
 οὐκ ἀνάξιοι δῆπου Κράσσῳ καὶ Πομπηίῳ συν-
 4 ἀρχειν.” ἐκ τούτου δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Πομπηίου
 οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο τῶν ἀκοσμοτάτων καὶ βιαιοτά-
 των, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις λόχον ὑφέντες

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purpose. In the senate, also, when Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompey if he was going to be a candidate for the consulship, he replied that perhaps he was, and perhaps he was not; and when asked the question again, he said he should solicit the votes of the good citizens, but not those of the bad. Since his answers were thought to have been made in pride and arrogance, Crassus said, more modestly, when the question was put to him, that if it was for the interest of the city, he would be a candidate for the office, but otherwise he would desist. For this reason divers persons were emboldened to sue for the consulship, one of whom was Domitius. When, however, Pompey and Crassus openly announced their candidature, the rest took fright and withdrew from the contest; but Cato encouraged Domitius, who was a kinsman and friend of his, to proceed, urging and inciting him to cling to his hopes, assured that he would do battle for the common freedom. For it was not the consulate, he said, which Crassus and Pompey wanted, but a tyranny, nor did their course of action mean simply a canvass for office, but rather a seizure of provinces and armies.

With such words and such sentiments Cato all but forced Domitius to go down to the forum as a candidate, and many joined their party. Many, too, voiced their amazement thus: "Why, pray, should these men want a second consulship? And why once more together? Why not have other colleagues? Surely there are many men among us who are not unworthy to be colleagues of Pompey and Crassus!" Alarmed at this, the partizans of Crassus and Pompey abstained from no disorder or violence, however extreme, and capped the climax by way-

τῷ Δομιτίῳ νυκτὸς ἔτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατ-
 ερχομένῳ κτείνουσι μὲν τὸν ἀνέχοντα τὸ φῶς
 πρὸ αὐτοῦ, συντιτρώκουσι δὲ πολλούς, ὧν ἦν καὶ
 Κάτων. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς
 5 τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνους ἀνηγορεύθησαν ὕπατοι· καὶ
 μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον αὐθις ὅπλοις περισχόντες
 τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκβαλόντες¹
 καὶ τινας ὑποστάντας ἀποκτείναντες, Καίσαρι
 μὲν ἄλλην ἐπέδωκαν πενταετίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς,
 αὐτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἐψηφίσαντο Συρίαν
 καὶ Ἰβηρίας συναμφοτέρας. κληρουμένων δὲ
 Συρίαν ἔλαχε Κράσσος, τὰ δ' Ἰβηρικὰ Πομ-
 πηῖος.

XVI. Ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκούσιος ὁ κλῆρος ἅπασιν.
 οἳ τε γὰρ πολλοὶ Πομπηῖον μὴ μακρὰν εἶναι τῆς
 πόλεως ἐβούλοντο, καὶ Πομπηῖος ἐρῶν τῆς γυναι-
 κὸς αὐτόθι τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβειν ἔμελλε, Κράσσος
 δὲ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς εὐθύς ἐκπесόντι τῷ κλήρῳ κατα-
 φανῆς ἦν οὐδὲν εὐτύχημα λαμπρότερον ἑαυτῷ
 γεγονέναι τοῦ παρόντος ἡγούμενος, ὥς μόλις ἐν
 ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, πρὸς δὲ
 τοὺς συνήθεις πολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μεираκιώδη λέγειν
 παρ' ἡλικίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φύσιν, ἥκιστα
 2 κομπαστῆς ἢ σοβαρὸς τῷ βίῳ γεγονώς. τότε δ'
 ἐπληρμένος κομιδῇ καὶ διεφθαρμένος οὐ Συρίαν
 οὐδὲ Πάρθους ὄρον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς εὐπραξίας, ἀλλ'
 ὥς παιδιὰν ἀποφανὼν τὰ Λουκούλλου πρὸς
 Τιγράνην καὶ Πομπηίου πρὸς Μιθριδάτην, ἄχρι
 Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἀνῆγεν
 ἑαυτὸν ταῖς ἐλπίσι.

¹ In codex Matritensis Graux found after this word μετὰ
 τῶν φίλων (together with his friends).

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laying Domitius, as he was coming down into the forum before day-break with his followers, killing his torch-bearer, and wounding many, among whom was Cato. After routing their opponents and shutting them up at home, they had themselves proclaimed consuls,¹ and a short time afterwards they once more surrounded the rostra with armed men, cast Cato out of the forum, slew several who made resistance, and then had another five years added to the proconsulship of Caesar in Gaul, and the provinces of Syria and both Spains voted to themselves. When the lot was cast, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

XVI. Now the lot fell out to the satisfaction of everybody. For most of the people wished Pompey to be not far away from the city; Pompey, who was passionately fond of his wife,² intended to spend most of his time there; and as for Crassus, as soon as the lot fell out, he showed by his joy that he regarded no piece of good fortune in his whole life as more radiant than the one which had now come to him. Among strangers and in public he could scarcely hold his peace, while to his intimates he made many empty and youthful boasts which ill became his years and his disposition, for he had been anything but boastful or bombastic before this. But now, being altogether exalted and out of his senses, he would not consider Syria nor even Parthia as the boundaries of his success, but thought to make the campaigns of Lucullus against Tigranes and those of Pompey against Mithridates seem mere child's play, and flew on the wings of his hopes as far as Bactria and India and the Outer Sea.

¹ 55 B.C. ² Julia, Caesar's daughter, who died in 54 B.C.

- 3 Καίτοι τῷ γραφέντι περὶ τούτων νόμῳ Παρθι-
 κὸς πόλεμος οὐ προσῆν. ἤδεσαν δὲ πάντες ὅτι
 πρὸς τοῦτο¹ Κράσσος ἐπτόηται· καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐκ
 Γαλατίας ἔγραφεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐπαινῶν καὶ
 παροξύνων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δημαρχῶν
 Ἀτήϊος ἔμελλε πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἐναντιώσεσθαι,
 καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ χαλεπαίνοντες εἴ τις
 ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνσπόνδοις,
 πολεμήσων ἄπεισι, δείσας ὁ Κράσσος ἐδεήθη
 Πομπηίου παραγενέσθαι καὶ συμπροπέμψαι.
 4 μέγα γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνου τὸ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ἀξίωμα·
 καὶ τότε παρεσκευασμένους πολλοὺς ἐνίστασθαι
 καὶ καταβοᾶν ὀρώμενος πρὸ αὐτοῦ φαιδρῷ βλέμ-
 ματι καὶ προσώπῳ κατεπράυνεν ὁ Πομπηῖος,
 ὥσθ' ὑπέειπεν σιωπῇ δι' αὐτῶν προϊοῦσιν. ὁ δ' 553
 Ἀτήϊος ἀπαντήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς
 ἐκώλυε καὶ διεμαρτύρετο μὴ βαδίζειν, ἔπειτα τὸν
 ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευεν ἀψάμενον τοῦ σώματος κατέ-
 5 χεῖν. ἄλλων δὲ δημάρχων οὐκ ἐόντων, ὁ μὲν
 ὑπηρέτης ἀφῆκε τὸν Κράσσον, ὁ δ' Ἀτήϊος προ-
 δραμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἔθηκεν ἐσχαρίδα καισμένην,
 καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου γενομένου κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμιῶν
 καὶ κατασπένδων ἀρὰς ἐπηρᾶτο δεινὰς μὲν αὐτὰς
 καὶ φρικώδεις, δεινοὺς δὲ τινὰς θεοὺς καὶ ἀλλοκό-
 6 τούς ἐπ' αὐταῖς καλῶν καὶ ὀνομάζων· ταύτας
 φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἀρὰς ἀποθέτους καὶ παλαιὰς
 τοιαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν ὥς περιφυγεῖν μηδένα τῶν
 ἐνσχεθέντων αὐταῖς, κακῶς δὲ πρᾶσσειν καὶ τὸν
 χρησάμενον, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχεῖσιν αὐτὰς οὐδ'
 ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀρᾶσθαι. καὶ τότε οὖν ἐμέμφοντο τὸν

¹ τοῦτο Bekker adopts τοῦτον from Reiske.

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And yet in the decree which was passed regarding his mission there was no mention of a Parthian war. But everybody knew that Crassus was all eagerness for this, and Caesar wrote to him from Gaul approving of his project, and inciting him on to the war. And when Ateius, one of the tribunes of the people, threatened to oppose his leaving the city, and a large party arose which was displeased that anyone should go out to wage war on men who had done the state no wrong, but were in treaty relations with it, then Crassus, in fear, begged Pompey to come to his aid and join in escorting him out of the city. For great was Pompey's reputation with the crowd. And now, when the multitude drawn up to resist the passage of Crassus, and to abuse him, saw Pompey's beaming countenance in front of him, they were mollified, and gave way before them in silence. But Ateius, on meeting Crassus, at first tried to stop him with words, and protested against his advance; then he bade his attendant seize the person of Crassus and detain him. And when the other tribunes would not permit this, the attendant released Crassus, but Ateius ran on ahead to the city gate, placed there a blazing brazier, and when Crassus came up, cast incense and libations upon it, and invoked curses which were dreadful and terrifying in themselves, and were reinforced by sundry strange and dreadful gods whom he summoned and called by name. The Romans say that these mysterious and ancient curses have such power that no one involved in them ever escapes, and misfortune falls also upon the one who utters them, wherefore they are not employed at random nor by many. And accordingly at this time they found

Ἀτήϊον, εἰ δὲ ἦν ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ Κράσσῳ πόλιν, εἰς αὐτὴν ἀρὰς ἀφῆκε καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην.

- XVII. Ὁ δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἦλθεν. ἔτι δ' ἀστατούσης χειμῶσι τῆς θαλάσσης οὐ περιέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἀνήχθη καὶ συχνὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπέβαλε, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν δύναμιν ἠπείγετο περὶ διὰ Γαλατίας. εὐρὼν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Διόταρον πάνυ μὲν ὄντα γηραιὸν ἤδη, κτίζοντα δὲ νέαν πόλιν, ἐπέσκωψεν εἰπὼν. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, δωδεκῆς ὥρας οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχῃ.”
- 2 γελίσας δ' ὁ Γαλάτης. “Ἄλλ' οὐδ' αὐτός,” εἶπεν, “ὦ αὐτόκρατορ, ὡς ὁρῶ, πρῶτ' ἴαν ἐπὶ Πάρθους ἐλαύνεις.” ἦν δ' ὁ Κράσσος ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη παραλλάττων, πρεσβύτερος δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν. ἀφικόμενον δ' αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο τὰ πράγματα τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀξίως τὸ πρῶτον. καὶ γὰρ ἔξευξε ῥαδίως τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ διήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ κατέσχευεν ἐκουσίως προσθεμένας.
- 3 ἐν μιᾷ δ', ἧς Ἀπολλώνιος ἐτυράννει, στρατιωτῶν ἑκατὸν ἀναιρεθέντων ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ κρατήσας διήρπασε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδοτο. Ζηνοδοτίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν πόλιν οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐπὶ ταύτης ἀλούσης δεξιόμενος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναγορευθῆναι πολλὴν ὥφλεν αἰσχύνην, καὶ ταπεινὸς ἐφάνη καὶ περὶ τὰ μείζονα δύσελπις οὕτω πλεονέκτημα
- 4 μικρὸν ἠγαπηκώς. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ φρουρὰς ταῖς προσκεχωρηκυῖαις πόλεσιν, ὧν ἀριθμὸς ἦν

fault with Ateius because it was for the city's sake that he was angered at Crassus, and yet he had involved the city in curses which awakened much superstitious terror.

XVII. But Crassus came to Brundisium.¹ And though the sea was still rough with wintry storms, he would not wait, but put out, and so lost a great number of his vessels. With what was left of his forces, however, he hurried on by land through Galatia. And finding that King Deiotarus, who was now a very old man, was founding a new city, he rallied him, saying: "O King, you are beginning to build at the twelfth hour." The Galatian laughed and said: "But you yourself, Imperator, as I see, are not marching very early in the day against the Parthians." Now Crassus was sixty years old and over, and looked older than his years. On his arrival, things went at first as he had hoped, for he easily bridged the Euphrates and led his army across in safety, and took possession of many cities in Mesopotamia which came over to him of their own accord. But at one of them, of which Apollonius was tyrant, a hundred of his soldiers were slain,² whereupon he led up his forces against it, mastered it, plundered its property, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. The city was called Zenodotia by the Greeks. For its capture he allowed his soldiers to salute him as Imperator, thereby incurring much disgrace and showing himself of a paltry spirit and without good hope for the greater struggles that lay before him, since he was so delighted with a trifling acquisition. After furnishing the cities which had come over to his side with garrisons, which amounted

¹ 54 B.C.

² Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 13.

ἑπτακισχίλιοι πεζοὶ χίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἀνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαχειμάσων καὶ δεξόμενος αὐτόθι τὸν υἱὸν ἦκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας αὐτόν τε κεκοσμημένον ἀριστείois καὶ χιλίους ἵππεῖς ἐπιλέκτους ἄγοντα.

Τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀμαρτεῖν ἔδοξεν ὁ Κράσσος μετὰ γε τὴν στρατείαν αὐτὴν μέγιστον ἀμάρτημα τῶν γενομένων, ὅτι πρόσω χωρεῖν δέον ἔχεσθαί τε Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Σελευκείας, δυσμενῶν αἰὲ Πάρθοις πόλεων, χρόνον ἐνέδωκε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρα-
 5 σκευῆς. ἔπειτα τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ διατριβὰς ἡτιῶντο χρηματιστικὰς μᾶλλον οὔσας ἢ στρατηγικὰς· οὐ γὰρ ὅπλων ἀριθμὸν ἐξετάζων οὐδὲ γυμνασιῶν ποιούμενος ἀμίλλας, ἀλλὰ προσόδους πόλεων ἐκλογιζόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει θεοῦ σταθμοῖς καὶ τρυτάναις μεταχειριζόμενος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἐπιγράφων δὲ καὶ δήμοις καὶ
 6 δυνάσταις στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους, εἴτ' ἀνιείς ἀργύριον διδόντας, ἡδόξει καὶ κατεφρονεῖτο τούτοις. γίνεται δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὑγρῶν παρα-
 σχοῦσαν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν νομίζουσι, καὶ τὴν πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν καταδείξα-
 σαν. ἐξιόντων γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐσφάλη κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὁ νεανίας Κράσσος, εἴτ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιπεσὼν ὁ πρεσβύτερος.

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XVIII. Ἦδη δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων συναθροίζοντος αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο παρ' Ἀρσάκου βραχύν τινα λόγον κομίζοντες. ἔφασαν
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in all to seven thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen, he himself withdrew to take up winter quarters in Syria, and to await there his son, who was coming from Caesar in Gaul, decorated with the insignia of his deeds of valour, and leading a thousand picked horsemen.

This was thought to be the first blunder which Crassus committed,—after the expedition itself, which was the greatest of all his blunders,—because, when he should have advanced and come into touch with Babylon and Seleucia, cities always hostile to the Parthians, he gave his enemies time for preparation. Then, again, fault was found with him because his sojourn in Syria was devoted to mercenary rather than military purposes. For he made no estimate of the number of his troops, and instituted no athletic contests for them, but reckoned up the revenues of cities, and spent many days weighing exactly the treasures of the goddess in Hierapolis, and prescribed quotas of soldiers for districts and dynasts to furnish, only to remit the prescription when money was offered him, thereby losing their respect and winning their contempt. And the first warning sign came to him from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, others Juno, while others still regard her as the natural cause which supplies from moisture the beginnings and seeds of everything, and points out to mankind the source of all blessings. For as they were leaving her temple, first the youthful Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and then his father fell over him.

XVIII. No sooner had he begun to assemble his forces from their winter quarters than envoys came to him from Arsaces¹ with a wonderfully brief

¹ In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.

γάρ, εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁ στρατὸς ἀπέσταλται, πόλεμον ἄσπονδον εἶναι καὶ ἀδιάλλακτον, εἰ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ἀκούσης, ὡς πυνθάνονται, Κράσσος ἰδίων ἔνεκα κερδῶν ὅπλα Πάρθοις ἐπενήνοχε καὶ χώραν κατείληφε, μετριάξειν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τὸ μὲν Κράσσου γῆρας οἰκτεῖρουν, ἀφιέναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔχει φρουρουμένους μᾶλλον ἢ
 2 φρουροῦντας. πρὸς ταῦτα Κράσσου κομπάσαντος ὡς ἐν Σελευκείᾳ δώσει τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, γελάσας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν πρέσβων Οὐαγίσσης καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ὑπτίας δείξας τὸ μέσον· “Ἐντεῦθεν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Κράσσε, φύσσονται τρίχες πρότερον ἢ σὺ ὄψει Σελεύκειαν.”

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀπήλυνον ὡς βασιλέα Ῥώδην πολεμητέα φράσσοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἐφρούρουν Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, παραβόλως τινὲς διεκπεσόντες ἄξια φροντίδων ἀνήγγε-
 3 λον, αὐτόπται μὲν γεγονότες τοῦ τε πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων ὧν ἠγωνίσαντο προσμαχόμενοι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ πάντα πρὸς τὸ δεινότερον ἐξαγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἄφυκτοι μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες διώκοντες, ἄληπτοι δὲ φεύγοντες, βέλη δὲ καινὰ¹ προθέοντα τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πρὶν ὀφθῆναι τὸν βάλλοντα χωροῦντα διὰ τοῦ προστυχόντος, τῶν δὲ καταφράκτων ὅπλα τὰ μὲν διὰ παντὸς ὠθεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι πεποιημένα.

¹ καινὰ MSS., Coraës, Sintenis,¹ and Bekker; πτηνὰ (winged) from Pseudo-Appian.

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message. They said that if the army had been sent out by the Roman people, it meant war without truce and without treaty; but if it was against the wishes of his country, as they were informed, and for his own private gain that Crassus had come up in arms against the Parthians and occupied their territory, then Arsaces¹ would act with moderation, would take pity on the old age of Crassus, and release to the Romans the men whom he had under watch and ward rather than watching over him. To this Crassus boastfully replied that he would give his answer in Seleucia, whereupon the eldest of the envoys, Vagises, burst out laughing and said, pointing to the palm of his upturned hand: "O Crassus, hair will grow there before thou shalt see Seleucia."²

The embassy, accordingly, rode away to King Hyrodes, to tell him there must be war. But from the cities of Mesopotamia in which the Romans had garrisons, certain men made their escape at great hazard and brought tidings of serious import. They had been eyewitnesses both of the numbers of the enemy and of their mode of warfare when they attacked their cities, and, as is usual, they exaggerated all the terrors of their report. "When the men pursued," they declared, "there was no escaping them, and when they fled, there was no taking them; and strange missiles are the precursors of their appearance, which pierce through every obstacle before one sees who sent them; and as for the armour of their mail-clad horsemen, some of it is made to force its way through everything, and some

¹ In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.

² Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 16.

- 4 ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀκουόντων τὸ θράσος ὑπέπιπτεν. πεπεισμένοι γὰρ οὐδὲν Ἀρμενίων διαφέρειν Πάρθους οὐδὲ Καππαδοκῶν, οὓς ἄγων καὶ φέρων Λούκουλλος ἀπεῖπε, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἡγούμενοι μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἔσεσθαι καὶ δίωξιν ἀνθρώπων εἰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀφιξομένων, παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀγῶνα καὶ κίνδυνον μέγαν προσεδόκων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τινὰς οἶεσθαι δεῖν ἐπισχόντα τὸν Κράσσον αὐθις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων γνώμην προθέσθαι. τούτων ἦν Κάσσιος ὁ ταμίας.
- 5 ἡσυχῇ δὲ παρεδήλουν καὶ οἱ μάντεις ὥς ἀεὶ πονηρὰ σημεῖα καὶ δυσέκθυτα προφαίνοιτο τῷ Κράσσῳ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἀλλ' οὔτε τούτοις προσεῖχεν οὔτε τοῖς ἑτερόν τι πλὴν ἐπείγεσθαι παραινοῦσιν.

XIX. Οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' αὐτὸν Ἀρταβάξης ὁ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς ἐπέρρωσεν· ἦλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον μεθ' ἑξακισχιλίων ἱππέων. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλέγοντο φύλακες καὶ προπομποὶ βασιλέως· ἐτέρους δὲ μυρίους ὑπισχνεῖτο καταφράκτους καὶ τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς οἰκοσίτους.

2 ἔπειθε δὲ Κράσσον ἐμβαλεῖν δι' Ἀρμενίας εἰς τὴν Παρθίαν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάξειν τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ παρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πορεύεσθαι δι' ἀσφαλείας, ὅρη πολλὰ καὶ λόφους συνεχεῖς καὶ χωρία δύσιππα πρὸς τὴν ἵππον, ἡ

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of it to give way to nothing." When the soldiers heard this, their courage ebbed away. For they had been fully persuaded that the Parthians were not different at all from the Armenians or even the Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had robbed and plundered till he was weary of it, and they had thought that the most difficult part of the war would be the long journey and the pursuit of men who would not come to close quarters; but now, contrary to their hopes, they were led to expect a struggle and great peril. Therefore some of the officers thought that Crassus ought to call a halt and reconsider the whole undertaking. Among these was Cassius,¹ the quaestor. The seers, also, quietly let it become known that the omens for Crassus which came from their sacrifices were always bad and inauspicious. But Crassus paid no heed to them, nor to those who advised anything else except to press forward.

XIX. And most of all, Artabazes the king of Armenia gave him courage, for he came to his camp with six thousand horsemen. These were said to be the king's guards and couriers; but he promised ten thousand mail-clad horsemen besides, and thirty thousand footmen, to be maintained at his own cost. And he tried to persuade Crassus to invade Parthia by way of Armenia, for thus he would not only lead his forces along in the midst of plenty, which the king himself would provide, but would also proceed with safety, confronting the cavalry of the Parthians, in which lay their sole strength, with many mountains, and continuous crests, and regions where the horse

¹ Caius Cassius Longinus, afterwards one of the assassins of Caesar.

μόνη Πάρθων ἀλκή, προβαλλόμενον. ὁ δὲ τὴν
προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς βοη-
θείας μετρίως ἠγάπησε, βαδιεῖσθαι δ' ἔφη διὰ
Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Ῥω-
3 μαίων ἄνδρας ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρμένιος ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἀπήλυνεν:

Τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ διαβιβάζοντι τὴν στρατιὰν
κατὰ τὸ Ζεῦγμα πολλὰ μὲν ὑπερφυεῖς βρονταὶ
περιερρήγνυντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἥστραπτεν¹ ἐναντία
τῷ στρατῷ, πνεῦμα δὲ νέφει καὶ πρηστῆρι μεμιγ-
μένον ἐρείσαν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς σχεδίας ἀνέρρηξε
4 πολλὰ καὶ συνέτριψεν· ἐβλήθη δὲ καὶ κεραυνοῖς
δυσὶν ὁ χῶρος οὗ στρατοπεδεύειν ἔμελλεν. Ἴππος
δὲ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἐπιφανῶς κεκοσμημένος βία
συνεπισπάσας τὸν ἡνίοχον εἰς τὸ ρεῖθρον ὑπο-
βρύχιος ἠφανίσθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰετῶν ὁ
πρῶτος ἀρθεῖς ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου μεταστραφῆναι. 5
5 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συνέπεσε μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν
μετρομένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πρῶ-
τα πάντων δοθῆναι φακοὺς καὶ ἄλας, ἃ νομίζουσι
Ῥωμαῖοι πένθιμα καὶ προτίθενται τοῖς νέκυσιν,
αὐτοῦ τε Κράσσου δημηγοροῦντος ἐξέπεσε φωνὴ
δεινῶς συγχέασα τὸν στρατόν. ἔφη γὰρ τὸ ζεῦγμα
τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαλύειν ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπαν-
έλθῃ. καὶ δέον, ὥς ἦσθετο τοῦ ῥήματος τὴν
ἀτοπίαν, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διασαφῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς
ἀποδειλιῶντας τὸ εἰρημένον, ἠμέλησεν ὑπὸ αὐθα-
6 δείας. τέλος δὲ τὸν εἰθισμένον καθαρμὸν ἐσφαγιά-

¹ καὶ ἥστραπτεν MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: κατήστραπτεν
with Pseudo-Appian.

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could not well serve. Crassus was tolerably well pleased with the king's zeal and with the splendid reinforcements which he offered, but said he should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left many brave Romans. Upon this, the Armenian rode away.

Now, as Crassus was taking his army across the Euphrates at Zeugma,¹ many extraordinary peals of thunder crashed about them, and many flashes of lightning also darted in their faces, and a wind, half mist and half hurricane, fell upon their raft, breaking it up and shattering it in many places. The place where he was intending to encamp was also smitten by two thunderbolts. And one of the general's horses, richly caparisoned, violently dragged its groom along with it into the river and disappeared beneath the waves. It is said also that the first eagle which was raised aloft, faced about of its own accord.² Besides all this, it happened that when their rations were distributed to the soldiers after the crossing of the river, lentils and salt came first, which are held by the Romans to be tokens of mourning, and are set out as offerings to the dead. Moreover, Crassus himself, while haranguing his men, let fall a phrase which terribly confounded them. He said, namely, that he should destroy the bridge over the river, that not one of them might return. And although he ought, as soon as he perceived the strangeness of his expression, to have recalled it and made his meaning clear to his timorous hearers, he was too obstinate to do so. And finally, when he

¹ A town in Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates, deriving its name from a bridge of boats there made across the river.

² Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 18.

ζετο, καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ μάντεως αὐτῷ προσδόντος ἐξέβαλε τῶν χειρῶν· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα δυσχεραίνοντας ἰδὼν τοὺς παρόντας ἐμειδίασε καὶ “Τοιοῦτον,” ἔφη, “τὸ γήρας· ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ὅπλων οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκφύγοι τὰς χεῖρας.”

XX. Ἐκ τούτου παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξήλαυνεν ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔχων ὀπλιτῶν τάγματα καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας ἱππεῖς, ψιλοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἱππεύσι παραπλησίους. τῶν δὲ προδρόμων τινὲς ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς ἐπανελθόντες ἠγγελλον ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἔρημον εἶναι τὴν χώραν, ἵππων δ' ἐντετυχηκέναι πολλῶν ἵχνεσιν οἶον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὀπίσω διωκομένων. ὅθεν αὐτός τε Κράσσος ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐελπὶς ἦν, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παντάπασι τῶν Πάρθων παρέστη καταφρονεῖν, ὥς οὐκ ἀφιξομένων
2 εἰς χεῖρας. ὅμως δ' οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον αὐτῆς διελέγοντο τῷ Κράσσῳ, καὶ παρήνουν μάλιστα μὲν ἐν πόλει τινὶ τῶν φρουρουμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ἄχρι οὗ τι πύθηται περὶ τῶν πολεμίων βέλαιον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Σελευκείας παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν· εὐπορίαν γὰρ τὰ σιτηγὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς παρέξειν ἅμα συγκαταίροντα πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φύλακα τοῦ μὴ κυκλωθῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντας ἀπ' ἴσης αἰεὶ πρὸς ἐναντίους μαχεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους.

XXI. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κράσσου διασκοποῦντος ἔτι καὶ βουλευομένου παραγίνεται φύλαρχος Ἀράβων, Ἀριάμνης ὄνομα, δολερὸς καὶ παλὶμβολος ἀνὴρ καὶ πάντων ὅσα συνήνεγκεν εἰς ὄλεθρον ἡ τύχη κακά, μέγιστον αὐτοῖς καὶ τελειότατον

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was making the customary sacrifice of purification for the army, and the seer placed the viscera in his hands, he let them fall to the ground ; then, seeing that the bystanders were beyond measure distressed at the occurrence, he smiled and said : “ Such is old age ; but no weapon, you may be sure, shall fall from its hands.”

XX. After this, he marched along the river with seven legions of men-at-arms, nearly four thousand horsemen, and about as many light-armed troops. Some of his scouts now came back from their explorations, and reported that the country was destitute of men, but that they had come upon the tracks of many horses which had apparently wheeled about and fled from pursuit. Wherefore Crassus himself was all the more confident, and his soldiers went so far as to despise the Parthians utterly, believing that they would not come to close quarters. But, nevertheless, Cassius once more had a conference with Crassus, and advised him above all things to recuperate his forces in one of the garrisoned cities, until he should get some sure information about the enemy ; but if not this, then to advance against Seleucia along the river. For in this way the transports would keep them abundantly supplied with provisions by putting in at their successive encampments, and, by having the river to prevent their being surrounded, they would always fight their enemies on even terms and face to face.

XXI. While Crassus was still investigating and considering these matters, there came an Arab chieftain, Ariamnes by name, a crafty and treacherous man, and one who proved to be, of all the mischiefs which fortune combined for the destruction of the

- 2 γενόμενον· τοῦτον δ' ἥδεσαν ἔνιοι τῶν Πομπηΐω
 συνεστρατευμένων ἀπολαύσαντά τι τῆς ἐκείνου
 φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δόξαντα φιλορρώμαιον εἶναι·
 τότε δ' ὑφείτο τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ γνώμης τῶν
 βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, εἰ δύναίτο παρατρέψας
 αὐτὸν ἀπωτάτω τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπωρείων
 εἰς πεδίον ἐκβαλεῖν ἀχανὲς καὶ περιελαυνόμενον.
 πάντα γὰρ διενοοῦντο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ στόμα
 3 προσφέρεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν
 Κράσσον ὁ βάρβαρος (ἦν δὲ καὶ πιθανὸς εἰπεῖν)
 Πομπηΐον μὲν ὡς εὐεργέτην ἐπῆναι, Κράσσον
 δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μακαρίσας ἐμέμφετο τῆς δια-
 τριβῆς μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον, ὥσπερ
 ὅπλων αὐτῷ δεῆσον, οὐ χειρῶν οὐδὲ ποδῶν τῶν
 ταχίστων ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους οἱ πάλοι ζητοῦσιν ἀρπά-
 σαντες τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων
 4 εἰς Σκύθας ἢ Ὑρκανοὺς ἀναπτέσθαι. “Καίτοι
 μάχεσθαι μέλλοντας,” ἔφη, “σπεύδειν ἔδει, πρὶν
 ἅπασαν ἐν ταύτῳ γενέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἀναθαρσέ-
 σαντος βασιλέως· ἐπεὶ νῦν γε Σουρήνας ὑμῖν
 προβέβληται καὶ Σιλλάκης ἐφ' αὐτοὺς ἀναδεξά-
 μενοι τὴν δίωξιν, ὁ δ' οὐδαμῇ φανερός ἐστιν.”
 5 Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ψευδῆ πάντα. διχῇ γὰρ εὐθὺς
 Ὑρώδης διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀρμενίαν
 ἐπὶ ὀρθῇ τιννύμενος Ἀρταουάσδην, Σουρήναν δ'
 ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, οὐχ ὑπερφροσύνη χρώ-
 μενος, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 Κράσσου μὲν ἀπαξιοῦν ἀνταγωνιστὴν, ἄνδρα

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Romans, the greatest and most consummate. Some of the soldiers who had served under Pompey in these parts knew that the fellow had profited by the kindness of that commander and was thought to be a friend of Rome; but now, with the knowledge of the royal generals, he tried to work his way into the confidence of Crassus, to see if he could turn him aside as far as possible from the river and the foothills, and bring him down into a boundless plain where he could be surrounded. For nothing was farther from the thoughts of the Parthians than to attack the Romans in front. Accordingly, coming to Crassus, the Barbarian (and he was a plausible talker, too) lauded Pompey as his benefactor, and complimented Crassus on his forces. But then he criticised him for wasting time in delays and preparations, as if it was arms that he needed, and not hands and the swiftest of feet to follow after men who had for some time been trying to snatch up their most valuable goods and slaves and fly with them into Scythia or Hyrcania. "And yet," said he, "if you intend to fight, you ought to hasten on before all the king's forces are concentrated and he has regained his courage; since, for the time being, Surena and Sillaces have been thrown forward to sustain your pursuit, but the king is nowhere to be seen."

Now this was all false. For Hyrodes had promptly divided his forces into two parts and was himself devastating Armenia to punish Artavasdes, while he despatched Surena to meet the Romans. And this was not because he despised them, as some say, for he could not consistently disdain Crassus as an antagonist, a man who was foremost of the

Ῥωμαίων πρῶτον, Ἀρταουάσδη δὲ προσπολεμῆν 556
καὶ ταῖς Ἀρμενίων ἐπιόντα κώμαις ἐξαιρεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν δοκεῖ καταδείσας τὸν κίνδυνον
αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ παραδοκεῖν τὸ μέλλον,
Σουρήναν δὲ προκαθεῖναι πειρασόμενον μάχης καὶ
6 περιέλξοντα τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῶν
τυχόντων ὁ Σουρήνας, ἀλλὰ πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ
γένει καὶ δόξῃ μετὰ βασιλέα δεύτερος, ἀνδρεία δὲ
καὶ δεινότητι τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν Πάρθοις πρῶτος,
ἔτι δὲ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει σώματος ὥς οὐδεὶς
ἕτερος. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ χιλίαις
σκευοφορούμενος καμήλοις, καὶ διακοσίας ἀπήνας
ἐπήγετο παλλακίδων, ἵππεῖς δὲ κατάφρακτοι
χίλιοι, πλείονες δὲ τῶν κούφων παρέπεμπον,
εἶχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἵππεῖς ὁμοῦ πελάτας τε
7 καὶ δούλους μυρίων οὐκ ἀποδέοντας. κατὰ γένος
μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκέκτητο βασιλεῖ γενομένῳ
Πάρθων ἐπιτιθέναι τὸ διάδημα πρῶτος, Ὑρώδην
δὲ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένον εἰς Πάρθους κατή-
γαγε, καὶ Σελεύκειαν αὐτῷ τὴν μεγάλην εἴλε
πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τρεψάμενος ἰδίᾳ
χειρὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας. οὐπω δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτη
τριάκοντα κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον εὐβουλίας
καὶ συνέσεως δόξαν εἶχε μεγίστην, οἷς οὐχ
ἦκιστα καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἔσφηλε, διὰ θάρσος καὶ
φρόνημα πρῶτον, εἴτα ὑπὸ δέους καὶ συμφορῶν
ταῖς ἀπίταις εὐχείρωτον γενόμενον.

XXII. Τότ' οὖν ὁ Βάρβαρος, ὥς ἔπεισεν αὐτόν,

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Romans, and wage war on Artavasdes, attacking and taking the villages of Armenia; on the contrary, it seems that he was in great fear of the danger which threatened, and therefore held himself in reserve and watched closely the coming event, while he sent Surena forward to make trial of the enemy in battle and to distract them. Nor was Surena an ordinary man at all, but in wealth, birth, and consideration, he stood next the king, while in valour and ability he was the foremost Parthian of his time, besides having no equal in stature and personal beauty. He used to travel on private business with a baggage train of a thousand camels, and was followed by two hundred waggons for his concubines, while a thousand mail-clad horsemen and a still greater number of light-armed cavalry served as his escort; and he had altogether, as horsemen, vassals, and slaves, no fewer than ten thousand men. Moreover, he enjoyed the ancient and hereditary privilege of being first to set the crown upon the head of the Parthian king; and when this very Hyrodes was driven out of Parthia, he restored him to his throne, and captured for him Seleucia the Great,¹ having been the first to mount its walls, and having routed with his own hand his opponents. And though at this time he was not yet thirty years of age, he had the highest reputation for prudence and sagacity, and it was especially by means of these qualities that he also brought Crassus to ruin, who, at first by reason of his boldness and conceit, and then in consequence of his fears and calamities, was an easy victim of deceptions.

XXII. At this time, accordingly, after the Bar-

¹ Seleucia on the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator.

- ἀποσπάσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ μέσων ἤγε τῶν πεδίων ὁδὸν ἐπιεικῇ καὶ κούφῃ τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα μοχθηράν, ἄμμου βαθείας ὑποδεχομένης καὶ πεδίων ἀδένδρων καὶ ἀνύδρων καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ πέρας ἐφικτὸν αἰσθήσει πανομένων, ὥστε μὴ μόνον δίψει καὶ χαλεπότητι τῆς πορείας
- 2 ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἁπαραμύθητον ἀθυμίαν παρέχειν οὐ φυτὸν ὀρώσιν, οὐ ῥεῖθρον, οὐ προβολὴν ὄρους καθιέντος, οὐ πῶαν διαβλαστάνουσαν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς πελάγιόν τι χεῦμα θινῶν τινων ἐρήμων περιεχόντων τὸν στρατόν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁ δόλος ὑποπτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀρταουάσδου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου παρήσαν ἄγγελοι φράζοντες ὡς πολλῶ συνέχοιτο πολέμῳ ῥυέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἑρώδου, καὶ πέμπειν
- 3 μὲν ἐκείνῳ βοήθειαν οὐ δύναται, παραινεῖ δὲ Κράσσῳ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκεῖ τραπέσθαι καὶ γενόμενον μετ' Ἀρμενίων ὁμοῦ διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἑρώδην, εἰ δὲ μή, πορεύεσθαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύειν αἰεὶ τὰ ἱππάσιμα φεύγοντα καὶ προσχωροῦντα τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς, Κράσσος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντιγράψας ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ σκαιότητος ἀπεκρίνατο νῦν μὲν Ἀρμενίοις μὴ σχολάζειν, αὐθις δ' ἀφίξεσθαι δίκην ἐπιθήσων Ἀρταουάσδῃ τῆς προδοσίας.
- 4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάσσιον αὐθις ἡγανάκτουν, καὶ Κράσσον μὲν ἀχθόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐπαύσαντο νουθετοῦντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐλοιδόρουν· “Τίς σε δαίμων πονηρός, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων, ἤγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς; τίσι δὲ φαρμάκοις καὶ γοητείαις ἔπεισας Κράσσον εἰς ἐρημίαν ἀχανῇ καὶ βύθιον ἐκχέαντα τὴν στρατιὰν ὁδὸν ὀδεύειν Νομάδι λη-

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barian had persuaded Crassus, he drew him away from the river and led him through the midst of the plains, by a way that was suitable and easy at first, but soon became troublesome when deep sand succeeded, and plains which had no trees, no water, and no limit anywhere which the eye could reach, so that not only did thirst and the difficulties of the march exhaust the men, but also whatever met their gaze filled them with an obstinate dejection. For they saw no plant, no stream, no projection of sloping hill, and no growing grass, but only sea-like billows of innumerable desert sand-heaps enveloping the army. This of itself was enough to induce suspicion of treachery, and soon messengers came from Artavasdes the Armenian declaring that he was involved in a great war with Hyrodes, who had attacked him with an overwhelming force, and could not therefore send Crassus aid, but advised him above all things to turn his course thither, join the Armenians, and fight the issue out with Hyrodes; but if not this, then to march and encamp always where mountains were near and cavalry could not operate. Crassus sent no reply in writing, but answered at once in rage and perversity that for the present he had no time to waste on the Armenians, but that at another time he would come and punish Artavasdes for his treachery.

But Cassius was once more greatly displeased, and though he stopped advising Crassus, who was angry with him, he did privately abuse the Barbarian. "Basest of men," he said, "what evil spirit brought you to us? With what drugs and jugglery did you persuade Crassus to pour his army into a yawning and abysmal desert and follow a route more fit for

στάρχη μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι προσ-
 5 ήκουσαν;” ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ἀνὴρ ὧν ποικίλος
 ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποπίπτων ἐθάρρυνε καὶ παρεκάλει
 μικρὸν ἔτι καρτερῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἅμα
 συμπαραθέων καὶ παραβοηθῶν ἐπέσκωπτε μετὰ
 γέλωτος. “Ἑμεῖς δὲ διὰ Καμπανίας ὁδεύειν
 οἶεσθε κρήνας καὶ νάματα καὶ σκιὰς καὶ λουτρὰ
 δηλαδὴ καὶ πανδοκεῖα ποθοῦντες; οὐ μέμνησθε
 δὲ τὴν Ἀράβων διεξιόντες καὶ Ἀσσυρίων μεθο-
 6 ρίαν;” οὕτω μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος διεπαιδαγώγησε
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι φανερὸς
 ἐξαπατῶν ἀφίππευσεν, οὐ λαθὼν τὸν Κράσσον, 557
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πείσας, ὥς ὑπεργάσεται καὶ
 διαταράξει τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

XXIII. Λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τὸν
 Κράσσον οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατη-
 γοῖς ἐν φοινικίδι προελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἱματίῳ
 μέλανι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀλλάξαι προνοή-
 σαντα, τῶν δὲ σημαιῶν ἐνίας μόλις ὥσπερ πεπη-
 γνίας πολλὰ παθόντας ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς φέροντας.
 2 ὧν ὁ Κράσσος καταγελῶν ἐπετάχυνε τὴν πορείαν,
 προσβιαζόμενος ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς
 ἰππεῦσι, πρὶν γε δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἀπο-
 σταλέντων ὀλίγοι προσπελάσαντες ἀπήγγειλαν
 ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων,
 αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιέναι δὲ μαχουμένους
 3 πλήθει πολλῷ καὶ θάρσει τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἅπαντες
 μὲν οὖν ἐθορυβήθησαν, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐξεπλάγη
 παντάπασι καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς οὐ πᾶνυ καθεστηκώς

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a robber chief of Nomads than for a Roman imperator?" But the Barbarian, who was a subtle fellow, tried to encourage them with all servility, and exhorted them to endure yet a little while, and as he ran along by the side of the soldiers and gave them his help, he would laughingly banter them and say: "Is it through Campania that you think you are marching, yearning for its fountains and streams and shades and baths (to be sure!) and taverns? But remember that you are traversing the border land between Assyria and Arabia." Thus the Barbarian played the tutor with the Romans, and rode away before his deceit had become manifest, not, however, without the knowledge of Crassus, nay, he actually persuaded him that he was going to work in his interests and confound the counsels of his enemies.

XXIII. It is said that on that day Crassus did not make his appearance in a purple robe, as is the custom with Roman generals, but in a black one, and that he changed it as soon as he noticed his mistake; also that some of the standard-bearers had great difficulty in raising their standards, which seemed to be imbedded, as it were, in the earth. Crassus made light of these things and hurried on the march, compelling the men-at-arms to keep up with the cavalry, until a few of those who had been sent out as scouts came riding up and announced that the rest of their number had been slain by the enemy, that they themselves had with difficulty escaped, and that their foes were coming up to fight them with a large force and great confidence. All were greatly disturbed, of course, but Crassus was altogether frightened out of his senses, and began to draw up his forces in haste and with no great consistency.

παρέταπτε, πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον ἡξίου, ἀραιὰν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνάγων τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς διανέμων τοῖς κέρασιν· ἔπειτα μετέδοξε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ἀμφίστομον ἐποίησε καὶ βαθὺ πλινθίον ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προερχομένης τῶν πλευρῶν
 4 ἐκάστης. παρὰ δὲ σπείραν ἰλὴν ἱππέων ἔταξεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοι μέρος ἐνδεὲς ἱππικῆς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ὁμαλῶς προσφέροιτο πεφραγμένος. τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν Κασσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ τῷ νέῳ Κράσσῳ παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δ' εἰς μέσον κατέστη.

Καὶ προάγοντες οὕτως ἐπὶ ρεῖθρον ἦλθον ὃ καλεῖται Βάλισσος, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἄφθονον, ἀσμένοις δὲ τότε τοῖς στρατιώταις φανὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ καὶ καύματι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην
 5 ἐπίπονον καὶ ἄνυδρον πορείαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὦντο δεῖν ἐνταῦθα καταυλισαμένους καὶ νυκτερεύσαντας καὶ πυθομένους, ἐφ' ὅσον οἶόν τε, πλήθος καὶ τάξιν τῶν πολεμίων, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς· Κράσσος δὲ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσιν ἐγκελευομένοις ἄγειν καὶ συνάπτειν ἐπαρθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους.
 6 καὶ πρὶν ἢ τοῦτο διὰ πάντων γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἦγεν οὐ σχέδην οὐδ' ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην διαναπαύων, ἀλλ' ὀξείᾳ καὶ συντόνῳ χρώμενος τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι οὐ κατώφθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, παρὰ δόξαν οὔτε πολλοὶ φανέντες οὔτε σοβαροὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλήθος ὑπέστειλε τοῖς προ-

At first, as Cassius recommended, he extended the line of his men-at-arms as far as possible along the plain, with little depth, to prevent the enemy from surrounding them, and divided all his cavalry between the two wings. Then he changed his mind and concentrated his men, forming them in a hollow square of four fronts, with twelve cohorts on each side. With each cohort he placed a squadron of horse, that no part of the line might lack cavalry support, but that the whole body might advance to the attack with equal protection everywhere. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, and one to the young Crassus, and took his own position in the centre.

Advancing in this formation, they came to a stream called Balissus, which was not large, to be sure, nor plentiful, but by this time the soldiers were delighted to see it in the midst of the drought and heat and after their previous toilsome march without water. Most of the officers, accordingly, thought they ought to bivouac and spend the night there, and after learning as much as they could of the number and disposition of the enemy, to advance against them at day-break. But Crassus was carried away by the eagerness of his son and the cavalry with him, who urged him to advance and give battle, and he therefore ordered that the men who needed it should eat and drink as they stood in the ranks. And before they were all well done with this, he led them on, not slowly, nor halting from time to time, as is usual on the way to battle, but with a quick and sustained pace until the enemy came in sight, who, to the surprise of the Romans, appeared to be neither numerous nor formidable. For Surena had

τάκτοις Σουρήνας, τὴν δὲ λαμπρότητα κατέκρυβε
τῶν ὅπλων ἱμάτια καὶ διφθέρας προῖσχεσθαι
κελεύσας. ὥς δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ σημεῖον
ἦρθη παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίμ-
πλαντο φθογγῆς βαρείας καὶ βρόμου φρικώδους
7 τὸ πεδίον. Πάρθοι γὰρ οὐ κέρασιν οὐδὲ σάλ-
πιγξιν ἐποτρύνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς μάχην, ἀλλὰ
ρόπτρα βυρσοπαγῇ καὶ κοῖλα περιτείναντες
ἡχείοις χαλκοῖς ἅμα πολλαχόθεν ἐπιδουπούσι,
τὰ δὲ φθέγγεται βύθιον τι καὶ δεινόν, ὠρυγῇ
θηριώδει καὶ τραχύτητι βροντῆς μεμιγμένον, εὖ
πως συνεωρακότες ὅτι τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀκοὴ
ταρακτικώτατόν ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ
ταύτην πάθη τάχιστα κινεῖ καὶ μάλιστα ἐξίστησι
τὴν διάνοιαν.

XXIV. Ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ
τὸν ἦχον, ἐξαίφνης τὰ προκαλύμματα τῶν ὅπλων
καταβαλόντες ὤφθησαν αὐτοῖ τε φλογοειδεῖς
κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι, τοῦ Μαργιανοῦ σιδήρου
στήλβοντος ὀξὺ καὶ περιλαμπές, οἳ θ' ἵπποι
καταπεφραγμένοι χαλκοῖς καὶ σιδηροῖς σκεπά-
2 σμασιν, ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας μέγιστος καὶ κύλλιστος
αὐτός, τῇ δὲ κατ' ἀνδρείαν δόξῃ τὴν θηλύτητα
τοῦ κάλλους οὐκ εἰκώς, ἀλλὰ Μηδικώτερον
ἐσκευασμένος ἐντρίμμασι προσώπου καὶ κόμης
διακρίσει, τῶν ἄλλων Πάρθων ἔτι Σκυθικῶς ἐπὶ 55
3 τὸ φοβερόν τῳ ἀνασίλλω¹ κομώντων. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν διανοοῦντο τοῖς κοντοῖς εἰσελαύνοντες ὠθεῖν
καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς προτάκτους· ὥς δ' ἐώρων τό

¹ τῳ ἀνασίλλω the correction of Schaefer (ἀνασίλλω Coraës) :
τῶν ἀνασίλλων.

veiled his main force behind his advance guard, and concealed the gleam of their armour by ordering them to cover themselves with robes and skins. But when they were near the Romans and the signal was raised by their commander, first of all they filled the plain with the sound of a deep and terrifying roar. For the Parthians do not incite themselves to battle with horns or trumpets, but they have hollow drums of distended hide, covered with bronze bells, and on these they beat all at once in many quarters, and the instruments give forth a low and dismal tone, a blend of wild beast's roar and harsh thunder peal. They had rightly judged that, of all the senses, hearing is the one most apt to confound the soul, soonest rouses its emotions, and most effectively unseats the judgment.

XXIV. While the Romans were in consternation at this din, suddenly their enemies dropped the coverings of their armour, and were seen to be themselves blazing in helmets and breastplates, their Margianian steel glittering keen and bright, and their horses clad in plates of bronze and steel. Surena himself, however, was the tallest and fairest of them all, although his effeminate beauty did not well correspond to his reputation for valour, but he was dressed more in the Median fashion, with painted face and parted hair, while the rest of the Parthians still wore their hair long and bunched over their foreheads, in Scythian fashion, to make themselves look formidable. And at first they purposed to charge upon the Romans with their long spears, and throw their front ranks into confusion; but when they saw the depth of their formation, where shield

τε βάθος τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ μύνημον καὶ παρεστηκός, ἀνῆγον ὀπίσω καὶ σκίδνασθαι δοκοῦντες ἅμα καὶ διαλύειν τὴν τάξιν ἐλάνθανον ἐν κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες τὸ πλινθίου
 4 αὐτῶν. Κράσσου δὲ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐκδραμεῖν κελεύσαντος, οὗτοι μὲν οὐ πολὺ προῆλθον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τοξεύμασιν ἐντυχόντες ταχὺ καὶ συμπαρέντες αὐθις ἐνεδύοντο τοῖς ὀπλίταις, καὶ παρείχον ἀκοσμίας ἀρχὴν καὶ δέους, ὁρῶσι τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀϊστῶν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην ὅπλα τε ῥηγνύντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς φερομένων ὁμοίως ἀντιτύπου καὶ μαλακοῦ στεγάσματος.

5 Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαστάντες ἐκ μήκους ἤρξαντο τοξεύειν ἅμα πανταχόθεν, οὐ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τοξείαν (ἡ γὰρ συνέχεια καὶ πυκνότης τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ διαμαρτάνειν ἀνδρὸς παρείχεν), εὐτόνους δὲ τὰς πληγὰς καὶ βιαίους διδόντες ἀπὸ τύξων κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ τῇ σκολιότητι τῆς καμπῆς ἠναγκασμένον τὸ βέλος ἀποστελλόντων.
 6 ἦν οὖν αὐτόθεν ἤδη μοχθηρὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ γὰρ μένοντες ἐν τάξει συνετιτρώσκοντο, καὶ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε πειρώμενοι τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν ἴσον ἀπέειχον, ὁμοίως δ' ἔπασχον. ὑπέφευγον γὰρ ἅμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι, καὶ τοῦτο κράτιστα ποιοῦσι μετὰ Σκύθας· καὶ σοφώτατόν ἐστιν ἀμυνομένους ἔτι σώζεσθαι καὶ τῆς φυγῆς ὑφαιρεῖν τὸ αἰσχρόν.

XXV. Ἀχρι μὲν οὖν ἤλπιζον αὐτοὺς ἐκχεαμένους τὰ βέλη σχήσεσθαι μάχης ἢ συνάψειν εἰς χεῖρας, ἐκαρτέρουν· ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πολλὰ

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was locked with shield, and the firmness and composure of the men, they drew back, and while seeming to break their ranks and disperse, they surrounded the hollow square in which their enemy stood before he was aware of the manœuvre. And when Crassus ordered his light-armed troops to make a charge, they did not advance far, but encountering a multitude of arrows, abandoned their undertaking and ran back for shelter among the men-at-arms, among whom they caused the beginning of disorder and fear, for these now saw the velocity and force of the arrows, which fractured armour, and tore their way through every covering alike, whether hard or soft.

But the Parthians now stood at long intervals from one another and began to shoot their arrows from all sides at once, not with any accurate aim (for the dense formation of the Romans would not suffer an archer to miss his man even if he wished it), but making vigorous and powerful shots from bows which were large and mighty and curved so as to discharge their missiles with great force. At once, then, the plight of the Romans was a grievous one; for if they kept their ranks, they were wounded in great numbers, and if they tried to come to close quarters with the enemy, they were just as far from effecting anything and suffered just as much. For the Parthians shot as they fled; and next to the Scythians, they do this most effectively; and it is a very clever thing to seek safety while still fighting, and to take away the shame of flight.

XXV. Now as long as they had hopes that the enemy would exhaust their missiles and desist from battle or fight at close quarters, the Romans held

- κάμηλοι παρεστᾶσι τοξευμάτων πλήρεις, ἀφ' ὧν περιελαύνοντες οἱ πρῶτοι λαμβάνουσιν, οὐδὲν πέρας ὁρῶν ὁ Κράσσος ἠθύμει, καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἀγγέλους πέμψας πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ὅπως προσμῖξαι βιάσεται τοῖς ἐναντίοις πρὶν ἢ κυκλωθῆναι. μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ προσέπιπτον καὶ περιίππευον τὸ κέρας ὡς κατὰ νώτου γενησόμενοι.
- 2 λαβὼν οὖν ὁ νεανίας ἱππεῖς τε χιλίους τριακοσίους, ὧν οἱ χίλιοι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ τῶν ἔγγιστα θυρεοφόρων ὀκτὼ σπείρας συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐμβολήν. τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οἱ περιελαύνοντες, εἴτε τέλμασιν ἐντυχόντες, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν, εἴτε λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπωτάτω τοῦ πατρὸς στρατηγοῦντες,
- 3 ὀπίσω στρέψαντες ἐδίωκον. ὁ δὲ βοήσας ὡς οὐ μένουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἤλαυνε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κησωρῖνός τε καὶ Μεγάβακχος, ὁ μὲν εὐψυχία καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέρων, Κησωρῖνος δὲ βουλευτικὸν ἔχων ἀξίωμα καὶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν, ἐταῖροι δὲ Κράσσου καὶ παραπλήσιοι καθ' ἡλικίαν. ἐπισπομένων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων οὐδὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπελείπετο προθυμία καὶ χαρὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος· νικᾶν γὰρ ᾤοντο καὶ διώκειν, ἄχρι οὐ πολὺ προελθόντες ἤσθοντο τὴν ἀπάτην, μεταβαλλομένων ἅμα τῶν φεύγειν δοκούντων καὶ
- 4 πλειόνων ἄλλων ἐπιφερομένων. ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν, οἰόμενοι συνάψειν αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ὀλίγοις οὔσι

out; but when they perceived that many camels laden with arrows were at hand, from which the Parthians who first encircled them took a fresh supply, then Crassus, seeing no end to this, began to lose heart, and sent messengers to his son with orders to force an engagement with the enemy before he was surrounded; for it was his wing especially which the enemy were attacking and surrounding with their cavalry, in the hope of getting in his rear. Accordingly, the young man took thirteen hundred horsemen, of whom a thousand had come from Caesar, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of the men-at-arms who were nearest him, and led them all to the charge. But the Parthians who were trying to envelop him, either because, as some say, they encountered marshes, or because they were manœuvring to attack Publius as far as possible from his father, wheeled about and made off. Then Publius, shouting that the men did not stand their ground, rode after them, and with him Censorinus and Megabacchus, the latter distinguished for his courage and strength, Censorinus a man of senatorial dignity and a powerful speaker, and both of them comrades of Publius and nearly of the same age. The cavalry followed after Publius, and even the infantry kept pace with them in the zeal and joy which their hopes inspired; for they thought they were victorious and in pursuit of the enemy, until, after they had gone forward a long distance, they perceived the ruse. For the seeming fugitives wheeled about and were joined at the same time by others more numerous still. Then the Romans halted, supposing that the enemy would come to close quarters with them,

- τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ τοὺς καταφράκτους προτά-
 ξαντες ἐναντίους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἵππον
 ἄτακτον περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντες, καὶ συνταράττον-
 τες τὸ πεδίον, ἀνίστασαν ἐκ βυθοῦ θίνας ἄμμου κο-
 νιορτὸν ἐπαγούσας ἄπλετον, ὥς μήτε διορᾶν ῥαδίως
 5 μήτε φθέγγεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰλουμένους δὲ
 ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ συμπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις βάλλεσθαι
 καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν οὐ ῥάδιον οὐδ' ὅξυν θάνατον, ἀλλ'
 ὑπὸ σπασμοῦ καὶ ὀδύνης δυσανασχετοῦντας καὶ
 κυλινδουμένους περὶ τοῖς ὀϊστοῖς ἐναποθραύειν τοῖς
 τραύμασι, βία τε πειρωμένους ἐξέλκειν ἡγκιστρω- 55
 μένας ἀκίδας καὶ δεδυκυίας διὰ φλεβῶν καὶ νεύρων
 προσαναρρηγνύναι καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι σφᾶς αὐτούς.
- 6 Οὕτω δὲ πολλῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἄπρακτοι καὶ
 οἱ ζῶντες ἦσαν πρὸς ἀλκὴν· καὶ τοῦ Ποπλίου
 παρακαλοῦντος ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάφρακτον,
 ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἑαυτῶν χεῖράς τε θυρεοῖς συμ-
 πεπερουνημένας καὶ πόδας διαμπὰξ προσεληλα-
 μένους πρὸς τοῦδαφος, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν
 7 ἀμηχάνους εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν. αὐτὸς οὖν
 τοὺς ἵππεῖς παρορμήσας προσέβαλε μὲν ἐρρω-
 μένως καὶ συνῆψε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἣν δὲ ἄνιστος ἔν
 τε ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ τῇ φυλάττεσθαι, παίων μὲν
 ἀσθενέσι καὶ μικροῖς δορατίοις θώρακας ὠμο-
 βύρσους καὶ σιδηροῦς, παιόμενος δὲ κοντοῖς εἰς
 εὐσταλῇ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα τῶν Γαλατῶν· τού-
 τοις γὰρ ἐθάρρει μάλιστα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔργα
 8 θαυμαστὰ διεπράττετο. τῶν τε γὰρ κοντῶν
 ἐπελαμβάνοντο, καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας

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since they were so few in number. But the Parthians stationed their mail-clad horsemen in front of the Romans, and then with the rest of their cavalry in loose array rode round them, tearing up the surface of the ground, and raising from the depths great heaps of sand which fell in limitless showers of dust, so that the Romans could neither see clearly nor speak plainly, but, being crowded into a narrow compass and falling one upon another, were shot, and died no easy nor even speedy death. For, in the agonies of convulsive pain, and writhing about the arrows, they would break them off in their wounds, and then in trying to pull out by force the barbed heads which had pierced their veins and sinews, they tore and disfigured themselves the more.

Thus many died, and the survivors also were incapacitated for fighting. And when Publius urged them to charge the enemy's mail clad horsemen, they showed him that their hands were riveted to their shields and their feet nailed through and through to the ground, so that they were helpless either for flight or for self defence. Publius himself, accordingly, cheered on his cavalry, made a vigorous charge with them, and closed with the enemy. But his struggle was an unequal one both offensively and defensively, for his thrusting was done with small and feeble spears against breastplates of raw hide and steel, whereas the thrusts of the enemy were made with pikes against the lightly equipped and unprotected bodies of the Gauls, since it was upon these that Publius chiefly relied, and with these he did indeed work wonders. For they laid hold of the long spears of the Parthians, and grappling with the men, pushed them from

- ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐώθουν τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ ὀπλισμοῦ
 δυσκινήτους ὄντας, πολλοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀπο-
 λείποντες ἵππους καὶ ὑποδύομενοι τοῖς ἐκείνων
 ἔτυπτον εἰς τὰς γαστέρας· οἱ δ' ἀνεσκίρτων ὑπ'
 ὀδύνης, καὶ συμπατοῦντες ἐν ταύτῳ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας
 καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναπεφυρμένους ἀπέθνησκον.
- 9 ἐπῖεξε δὲ τοὺς Γαλάτας μάλιστα τό τε θάλλπος
 καὶ τὸ δίψος, ἀμφοτέρων ἀήθεις ὄντας· καὶ τῶν
 ἵππων ἀπολώλειςαν οἱ πλεῖστοι πρὸς ἐναντίους
 ἐλαυνόμενοι τοὺς κοντούς. ἐβιάσθησαν οὖν ἀνα-
 χωρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔχοντες τὸν Πόπλιον
 ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἤδη κακῶς διακείμενον. ἰδόντες
 δὲ θίνα βουνώδη πλησίον ἐχώρουν ἐπ' αὐτήν,
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐν μέσῳ κατέδησαν, ἔξωθεν
 δὲ τοῖς θυρεοῖς συγκλείσαντες ὦντο ῥᾶον ἀμυνεῖ-
- 10 σθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἀπέβαινε δὲ τοῦναντίον.
 ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὁμαλῷ τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἀμῶς γέ πως
 παρέχουσιν οἱ πρότακτοι ῥαστώνην, ἐκεῖ δ' ἄλλον
 ὑπὲρ ἄλλον διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν ἀνέχοντος τοῦ
 χωρίου καὶ μᾶλλον αἰὲ τὸν κατόπιν ἐξαίροντος,
 οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ διαφεύγον, ἀλλ' ἐβάλλοντο πάντες
 ὁμαλῶς, ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀκλεῇ καὶ ἄπρακτον
 αὐτῶν τελευτήν.
- 11 Ἦσαν δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες
 δύο τῶν αὐτόθι κατοικούντων ἐν Κάρραις, Ἱερώνυ-
 μος καὶ Νικόμαχος, οἱ συνέπειθον αὐτὸν ὑπεξελ-
 θεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ διαφεύγειν εἰς Ἰχνας, πόλιν
 ἡρημένην τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὐ μακρὰν οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ
 φήσας οὐδένα δεινὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ὃν
 φοβηθεὶς Πόπλιος ἀπολείψει τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους
 δι' αὐτόν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκέλευσε σῶζεσθαι καὶ

their horses, hard as it was to move them owing to the weight of their armour ; and many of the Gauls forsook their own horses, and crawling under those of the enemy, stabbed them in the belly. These would rear up in their anguish, and die trampling on riders and foemen indiscriminately mingled. But the Gauls were distressed above all things by the heat and their thirst, to both of which they were unused ; and most of their horses had perished by being driven against the long spears. They were therefore compelled to retire upon the men at-arms, taking with them Publius, who was severely wounded. And seeing a sandy hillock near by, they all retired to it, and fastened their horses in the centre ; then locking their shields together on the outside, they thought they could more easily defend themselves against the Barbarians. But it turned out just the other way. For on level ground, the front ranks do, to some extent, afford relief to those who are behind them. But here, where the inequality of the ground raised one man above another, and lifted every man who was behind another into greater prominence, there was no such thing as escape, but they were all alike hit with arrows, bewailing their inglorious and ineffectual death.

Now there were with Publius two Greeks, of those who dwelt near by in Carrhae, Hieronymus and Nicomachus. These joined in trying to persuade him to slip away with them and make their escape to Ichnae, a city which had espoused the Roman cause and was not far off. But Publius, declaring that no death could have such terrors for him as to make him desert those who were perishing on his account, ordered them to save their own lives, bade them farewell, and

δεξιωσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ χειρὶ χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος (διελήλατο γὰρ βέλει), τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν ἐκέλευσε πατάξαι τῷ ξίφει, παρα-
 12 σχὼν τὸ πλευρόν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κηνησωρίνον ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν. Μεγίβακχος δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. τοὺς δ' ὑπολελειμμένους ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ Πάρθοι τοῖς κοντοῖς διήλανον μαχομένους· ζῶντας δ' οὐ πλείονας ἰλῶναί φασι πεντακοσίων. τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀποκόψαντες ἤλανον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Κράσσον.

XXVI. Εἶχε δὲ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν οὕτως. ὥς ἐκέλευσε τὸν υἱὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς Πάρθοις καὶ τις ἡγγεilen αὐτῷ μακρὰν τροπὴν εἶναι καὶ δίωξιν ἰσχυρὰν τῶν πολεμίων, ἑώρα δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν οὐκέτι προσκειμένους ὁμοίως (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐρρύησαν οἱ πλείστοι), μικρὸν ἀνεθάρρησε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ὑπέστειλεν ἐν χωρίοις προσάντεσι τὸν στρατόν, αὐτίκα προσδοκῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἐπανήξειν
 2 ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως. τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποπλίου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς ἐκινδύνευεν, οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφθάρησαν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὕστεροι μόγισ διαφυγόντες ἀπήγγελλον οἷχεσθαι τὸν Πόπλιον, εἰ μὴ ταχεῖα καὶ πολλή
 3 βοήθεια παρ' ἐκείνου γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἅμα πολλὰ πάθη κατέσχε· καὶ λογισμῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἑώρα, φόβῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἅμα καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλκόμενος βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ βοηθεῖν, τέλος ὥρμησε προάγειν τὴν δύναμιν.

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dismissed them. Then he himself, being unable to use his hand, which had been pierced through with an arrow, presented his side to his shield-bearer and ordered him to strike home with his sword. In like manner also Censorinus is said to have died ; but Megabacchus took his own life, and so did the other most notable men. The survivors fought on until the Parthians mounted the hill and transfixed them with their long spears, and they say that not more than five hundred were taken alive. Then the Parthians cut off the head of Publius, and rode off at once to attack Crassus.

XXVI. His situation was as follows. After ordering his son to charge the Parthians and receiving tidings that the enemy were routed to a great distance and hotly pursued, and after noticing also that his own immediate opponents were no longer pressing him so hard (since most of them had streamed away to where Publius was), he recovered a little courage, and drawing his troops together, posted them for safety on sloping ground, in immediate expectation that his son would return from the pursuit. Of the messengers sent by Publius to his father, when he began to be in danger, the first fell in with the Barbarians and were slain ; the next made their way through with difficulty and reported that Publius was lost unless he received speedy and abundant aid from his father. And now Crassus was a prey to many conflicting emotions, and no longer looked at anything with calm judgement. His fear for the whole army drove him to refuse, and at the same time his yearning love for his son impelled him to grant assistance ; but at last he began to move his forces forward.

Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ πολέμοιοι προσεφέροντο κλαγγῇ
καὶ παιᾶνι φοβερώτεροι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τυμπά-
νων αὐτοῖς περιεμυκάτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτέρας
4 μάχης ἀρχὴν προσδοκῶντας. οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν
τοῦ Ποπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπεπη-
γυῖαν ἐγγὺς προσελάσαντες ἀνέδειξαν, ὕβρει πυν-
θανόμενοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ
πρέπειν γε Κράσσου πατὴρ ἀνανδροτάτου καὶ
κακίστου γενναῖον οὕτω παῖδα καὶ λαμπρὸν
ἀρετῇ γενέσθαι. τοῦτο τὸ θέαμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ
ἅπαντα τᾶλλα δεινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς κατέκλασε καὶ
παρέλυσεν, οὐ θυμοῦ πρὸς ἄμυναν, ὥσπερ ἦν
εἰκός, ἀλλὰ φρίκης καὶ τρόμου πᾶσιν ἐγγενομένου.
5 καίτοι τόν γε Κράσσον αὐτοῦ λαμπρότατον ἐν τῷ
τότε πάθει φανῆναι λέγουσιν· ἐβόα γὰρ ἐπιὼν
τὰς τάξεις· “Ἐμὸν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦτο τὸ πένθος
ἰδιὸν ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ μεγάλη τύχη καὶ δόξα τῆς
Ῥώμης ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστηκε σωζομένοις ἄθραυστος καὶ
ἀήττητος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ τις οἶκτος ἀφηρημένου
παῖδα πάντων ἄριστον, ἐπιδείξασθε τοῦτο ὀργῇ
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀφέλεσθε τὴν χαρὰν αὐτῶν,
τιμωρήσασθε τὴν ὀμότητα, μὴ καταπλαγῆτε τοῖς
γεγενημένοις, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ παθεῖν μεγάλων ἐφιε-
6 μένους. οὐδὲ Λούκουλλος Τιγράνην ἀναιμωτὶ
καθεῖλεν, οὐδὲ Σκηπίων Ἀντίοχον, χιλίας δὲ ναῦς
οἱ παλαιοὶ περὶ Σικελίαν ἀπώλεσαν, ἐν δ' Ἰταλίᾳ
πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγούς, ὧν οὐδεὶς
προηττηθεὶς ἐκώλυσε αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι τῶν
νεκικηκότων. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχία τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ

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At this point, however, the enemy came up with clamour and battle cries which made them more fearful than ever, and again many of their drums began bellowing about the Romans, who awaited the beginning of a second battle. Besides, those of the enemy who carried the head of Publius fixed high upon a spear, rode close up and displayed it, scornfully asking after his parents and family, for surely, they said, it was not meet that Crassus, most base and cowardly of men, should be the father of a son so noble and of such splendid valour. This spectacle shattered and unstrung the spirits of the Romans more than all the rest of their terrible experiences, and they were all filled, not with a passion for revenge, as was to have been expected, but with shuddering and trembling. And yet Crassus, as they say, showed more brilliant qualities in that awful hour than ever before, for he went up and down the ranks crying: "Mine, O Romans, is this sorrow, and mine alone; but the great fortune and glory of Rome abide unbroken and unconquered in you, who are alive and safe. And now if ye have any pity for me, thus bereft of the noblest of sons, show it by your wrath against the enemy. Rob them of their joy; avenge their cruelty; be not cast down at what has happened, for it must needs be that those who aim at great deeds should also suffer greatly. It was not without bloody losses that even Lucullus overthrew Tigranes, or Scipio Antiochus; and our fathers of old lost a thousand ships off Sicily, and in Italy many imperators and generals, not one of whom, by his defeat, prevented them from afterwards mastering his conquerors. For it was not by good fortune merely that the Roman state reached its present

τλημοσύνη καὶ ἀρετῇ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ χωρούντων εἰς τοῦτο προήλθε δυνάμεως.”

XXVII. Τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ παραθαρσύνων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ πολλοὺς ἑώρα προθύμως ὑπακούοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναλαλᾶσαι κελεύσας ἤλεγξε τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν κατήφειαν, ὥς ἀσθενῇ καὶ ὀλίγῃ καὶ ἀνώμαλον κραυγὴν ἐποιήσαντο· ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων λαμπρὰ καὶ θρασεῖα κατεῖχεν. τραπομένων δὲ πρὸς ἔργον οἱ μὲν ἱππόται¹ πλείοι περιελαύνοντες ἐτόξενον, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῖς κοντοῖς οἱ πρότακτοι χρώμενοι συνέστελλον εἰς
2 ὀλίγον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πλὴν ὅσοι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων φεύγοντες θάνατον ἀπετόλμων παραβόλως εἰς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι, μικρὰ μὲν βλάπτοντες, ὁξέως δὲ θνήσκοντες ὑπὸ τραυμάτων μεγάλων καὶ καιρίων, παχὺν ἐπωθούντων τῷ σιδήρῳ τὸν κόντον εἰς τοὺς ἵππους, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διὰ δυεῖν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ ῥύμης διαπορευόμενον. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνισάμενοι νυκτὸς ἐπιούσης ἀπηλλύγησαν, εἰπόντες ὅτι Κράσσῳ χαρίζονται νύκτα μίαν ἀποθρηνῆσαι τὸν νιόν, ἣν ἄρα μὴ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ σκεψάμενος ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλον ἐβελήσῃ πρὸς Ἀρσάκην ἢ κομισθῆναι.

3 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐπαυλισάμενοι πλησίον ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ἦσαν· νύξ δὲ χαλεπὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατελάμβανε, οὔτε ταφῆς τῶν κειμένων οὔτε θεραπείας τῶν τετρωμένων καὶ ψυχorroαγούντων ποιουμένους λόγον, ἐκάστου δ' ἑαυτὸν ἀποκλαίοντος. ἄφυκτα γὰρ ἐφαίνετο τὴν τε ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ προσμείνασι καὶ νύκτωρ εἰς πεδῖον ἀχανὲς ἐμβα-

¹ ἱππόται with the MSS. (including S) : οἰκέται καὶ πελάται (slaves and vassals).

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plenitude of power, but by the patient endurance and valour of those who faced dangers in its behalf."

XXVII. Even as he spoke such words of encouragement, Crassus saw that not many of his men listened with any eagerness, but when he also bade them raise the battle cry, he discovered how despondent his army was, so weak, feeble, and uneven was the shout they made, while that which came from the Barbarians was clear and bold. Then, as the enemy got to work, their light cavalry rode round on the flanks of the Romans and shot them with arrows, while the mail-clad horsemen in front, plying their long spears, kept driving them together into a narrow space, except those who, to escape death from the arrows, made bold to rush desperately upon their foes. These did little damage, but met with a speedy death from great and fatal wounds, since the spear which the Parthians thrust into the horses was heavy with steel, and often had impetus enough to pierce through two men at once. After fighting in this manner till night came on, the Parthians withdrew, saying that they would grant Crassus one night in which to bewail his son, unless, with a better regard for his own interests, he should consent to go to Arsaces instead of being carried there.

The Parthians, then, bivouacked near by, and were in high hopes; but it was a grievous night for the Romans. They took no steps to bury their dead nor to care for their wounded and dying, but every man was lamenting his own fate. Escape seemed impossible, whether they waited there for day to come, or plunged by night into a limitless plain.

- λοῦσιν· οἳ τε τραυματαῖαι πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρῆ-
 χον, καὶ κομίζουσιν, ἐμποδὼν τῷ τάχει τῆς φυγῆς
 ἐσόμενοι, καὶ ἀπολείπουν, βοῇ τὴν ἀπόδρασιν
 4 ἐξαγγελοῦντες. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου, καίπερ αἴτιον
 ἀπάντων νομίζοντες, ἐπόθουν ὅμως τὴν τε ὄψιν
 καὶ τὴν φωνήν. ὁ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος 56
 ὑπὸ σκότους ἔκειτο, παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς
 τύχης, τοῖς δ' εὐφρονοῦσιν ἀβουλίας καὶ φιλο-
 τιμίας, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἡγάπα πρῶτος ὢν καὶ μέγιστος
 ἐν μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων τοσαύταις, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐνεῖν
 μόνον ἀνδρῶν ὕστερος ἐκρίνετο, τοῦ παντὸς ἀπο-
 δεῖν νομίζων.
- 5 Τότε δ' οὖν αὐτὸν Ὁκταοῦϊος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ
 Κάσσιος ἀνίστασαν καὶ παρεθάρρυνον. ὥς δ'
 ἀπηγορεύκει παντάπασιν, αὐτοὶ συγκαλέσαντες
 ἑκατοντάρχας καὶ λοχαγούς, ὥς ἔδοξε βουλευο-
 μένοις μὴ μένειν, ἀνίστασαν τὸν στρατὸν ἄνευ
 σάλπιγγος καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας τὸ πρῶτον· εἴτ' αἰ-
 σθομένων ὥς ἀπελείποντο τῶν ἀδυνάτων, ἀκοσμία
 δεινὴ καὶ σύγχυσις μετ' οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς τὸ
 6 στρατόπεδον κατεῖχεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ
 πτοία προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν, ὥς ἐπιφε-
 ρομένων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐκτρε-
 πόμενοι, πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τάξιν καθιστάμενοι, τῶν
 δὲ τραυματιῶν ὅσοι παρηκολούθουν τοὺς μὲν
 ἀναλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποτιθέμενοι, διατριβὴν
 εἶχον, πλὴν τριακοσίων ἱππέων, οὓς Ἰγνάτιος
 ἔχων προσέμιξε ταῖς Κάρραις περὶ μέσας νύκτας.
 7 φθεγξάμενος δὲ Ῥωμαῖσιν τοῖς τειχοφυλακοῦσιν,

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And their wounded caused them much perplexity: they were sure to impede flight if they were carried away, and if they were left behind, their cries would herald to the enemy the retreat of their companions. Although the soldiers held Crassus to blame for all their ills, still they yearned to see his face and hear his voice. But he was lying on the ground by himself, enveloped in darkness, to the multitude an illustration of the ways of fortune, but to the wise an example of foolish ambition, which would not let him rest satisfied to be first and greatest among many myriads of men, but made him think, because he was judged inferior to two men only, that he lacked everything,

At this time, then, Octavius the legate and Cassius tried to rouse him up and encourage him. But since he was in utter despair, they called together on their own authority the centurions and captains, and when they had decided, upon deliberation, not to remain where they were, they put the army in motion without trumpet signal, and in silence at first. Then the sick and wounded perceived that their comrades were abandoning them, and dreadful disorder and confusion, accompanied by groans and shouts, filled the camp. And after this, as they tried to advance, disorder and panic seized upon them, for they felt sure that the enemy was coming against them. Frequently they would change their course, frequently they would form in order of battle, some of the wounded who followed them had to be taken up, and others to be laid down, and so all were delayed, except three hundred horsemen under Ignatius, who reached Carrhae about midnight. Ignatius hailed the sentinels on the walls in the Roman tongue, and

ὥς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐκέλευσε Κοπωνίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι φράζειν ὅτι γέγονε μάχη μεγάλη Κράσσῳ πρὸς Πάρθους, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν εἰπὼν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ὅστις ἦν ἀπήλαινε ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεῦγμα, καὶ διέσωσε μὲν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, κακῶς δ' ἤκουσε καταλιπὼν τὸν στρα-
 8 τηγόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὦνησέ γε τὸν Κράσσον ἢ προσριφεῖσα τότε τῷ Κοπωνίῳ φωνή· συμφρονή-
 σας γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀγγέλλειν ἔχοντός ἐστι τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ συγκεχυμένον τοῦ λόγου, παρήγγειλεν εὐθὺς ἐξοπλίζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Κράσσον ἐν ὁδῷ γεγεννημένον ἀπαντήσας ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρέπεμπε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι νυκτὸς μὲν αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἀπόδρασιν οὐκ ἐδίωκον, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καταλειφθέντας οὐ μείους τετρακισχιλίων ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσφαξαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ πλανωμένους πολλοὺς ἱππασάμενοι συνέλα-
 2 βον. τέσσαρας δ' ὁμοῦ σπείρας, ἃς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπέρρηξε Βαργοντήιος ὁ πρεσβευτής, ἐκπεσούσας τῆς ὁδοῦ περισχόντες ἐν τινι λόφῳ διέφθειραν ἀμυνομένας, πλὴν ἀνδρῶν εἴκοσιν. τούτους δὲ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὠθουμένους δι' αὐτῶν θαυμάσαντες εἶξαν, καὶ διέξοδον ἀπιοῦσι βάδην εἰς τὰς Κάρρας ἐδίδοσαν.

Τῷ δὲ Σουρήνῃ προσέπεσε ψευδὴς λόγος ἐκπεφευγέναι Κράσσον μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δ' εἰς Κάρρας συνερρυηκὸς ὄχλον εἶναι σύμμικτον
 3 οὐκ ἀξίων σπουδῆς ἀνθρώπων. οἰόμενος οὖν

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when they answered, ordered them to tell Coponius, their commander, that there had been a great battle between Crassus and the Parthians. Then, without another word, and without even telling who he was, he rode off to Zeugma. He saved himself and his men, but got a bad name for deserting his general. However, the message shouted to Coponius at that time was of some advantage to Crassus. For Coponius, concluding that the haste and brevity of the message argued a bearer of no good news, ordered his men to arm forthwith, and as soon as he learned that Crassus was on the march, he went out to meet him, relieved him, and escorted his army into the city.

XXVIII. During the night the Parthians, although they were aware of the flight of the Romans, did not pursue; but as soon as day came, they attacked and slaughtered those who had been left behind in the Roman camp, to the number of four thousand, and then rode about and seized many who were wandering in the plain. Four cohorts together, also, which Vargontinus the legate had suffered to get detached from the main body while it was still dark, and which had lost their way, were surrounded on a sort of hill, and cut to pieces as they fought, all except twenty men. The Parthians, admiring these men, who tried to push their way through them with drawn swords, made way for them and suffered them to pass through and march deliberately to Carrhae.

A false report now reached Surena that Crassus, along with the men of highest rank, had made his escape, and that the fugitives who had streamed into Carrhae were a mixed rabble unworthy of his notice.

ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ τῆς νίκης τέλος, ἔτι δ' ἀμφι-
δοξῶν καὶ μαθεῖν βουλόμενος τὰληθές, ὅπως ἡ
προσμένων ἐνταῦθα πολιορκοίῃ Κράσσον ἢ διώκοι
χαίρειν ἐάσας Καρρηνοὺς, ὑποπέμπει τινὰ τῶν
παρ' αὐτῷ διγλώττων πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη, κελεύσας
ιέντα Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον καλεῖν Κράσσον αὐτὸν
ἢ Κάσσιον, ὥς Σουρήνα διὰ λόγων ἐθέλοντος
4 αὐτοῖς συγγενέσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦ διγλώττου φρά-
σαντος, ὥς ἀπηγγέλη τοῖς περὶ Κράσσον, ἐδέχοντο
τὰς προκλήσεις· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἤκον ἀπὸ τῶν
βαρβάρων Ἀραβες, οἱ Κράσσον εὖ καὶ Κάσσιον
ἀπ' ὄψεως ἐγνώριζον, ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πρὸ τῆς
μάχης γεγονότες. οὗτοι τὸν Κάσσιον ἰδόντες ἀπὸ
τοῦ τείχους, ἔλεγον ὅτι Σουρήνας σπένδεται καὶ
δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς φίλοις οὔσι βασιλέως σῶζεσθαι,
Μεσοποταμίαν ἐκλιποῦσιν· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁρᾶν λυσι-
τελὲς ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης.
5 δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ τόπον ὀρι-
σθῆναι καὶ χρόνον ἀξιούντος, ἐν ᾧ συνίασι 56
Σουρήνας καὶ Κράσσος, οὕτω φάμενοι ποιήσιν
ἀπήλαννον.

XXIX. Ἦσθεις οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς
ἄνδρας ἐνέχεσθαι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, μεθ' ἡμέραν
ἐπῆγε τοὺς Πάρθους πολλὰ καθυβρίζοντας καὶ
κελεύοντας, εἰ βούλονται τυχεῖν σπονδῶν Ῥωμαῖοι,
Κράσσον ἐγχειρίσαι σφίσι καὶ Κάσσιον δεδε-
2 μένους. οἱ δ' ἤχθοντο μὲν ἠπατημένοι, μακρὰς
δὲ καὶ κενὰς τὰς Ἀρμενίων ἐλπίδας καταβάλλειν
τῷ Κράσσῳ φράσαντες εἶχοντο δρασμοῦ· καὶ
τοῦτ' ἔδει μηδένα πρὸ καιροῦ Καρρηνῶν πυθέσθαι.
πυνθάνεται δ' ὁ πάντων ἀπιστότατος Ἀνδρόμαχος,

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Supposing, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory, but being still in doubt and wishing to learn the truth, in order that he might either wait there and lay siege to Crassus in the city, or else let Carrhae alone and pursue him, he sent one of his attendants who could speak both languages up to the walls, with orders to call out in the Roman tongue for Crassus himself or Cassius, saying that Surena wished to have a conference with them. The interpreter gave this message, and when it was reported to Crassus, he accepted the invitation. A little while afterwards there came from the Barbarians some Arabs, who knew Crassus and Cassius well by sight, having been in their camp before the battle. When these men saw Cassius on the wall, they said that Surena proposed a truce, and offered them safe conduct if they would be friends of the king and leave Mesopotamia ; for this he saw was more advantageous to both parties than any resort to extreme measures. Cassius accepted the proposal, and asked that time and place be fixed for a conference between Surena and Crassus. The men said that this should be done, and rode away.

XXIX. Now Surena was delighted that the men were where he could besiege them, and when day came, he led his Parthians up against the city. With many insults they ordered the Romans, if they wished to obtain a truce, to deliver Crassus and Cassius into their hands in fetters. The Romans were distressed to find themselves deceived, and telling Crassus to abandon his distant and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, prepared for flight, of which none of the men of Carrhae were to know beforehand. But Andromachus, the most faithless of men, learned of

- ὑπὸ Κράσσου καὶ τοῦτο πιστευθεὶς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλαθε τοὺς Πάρθους,
ἐξαγγέλλοντος τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου καθ' ἕκαστον.
- 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ νυκτομαχεῖν οὐ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐδὲ
ῥάδιον, ἐξῆει δὲ νύκτωρ ὁ Κράσσος, ὅπως μὴ
καθυστερήσωσι πολὺ τῇ διώξει στρατηγῶν ὁ
Ἀνδρόμαχος ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ὑφηγεῖτο, καὶ
τέλος ἐξέτρεψεν εἰς ἔλη βαθέα καὶ χωρία τάφρων
μεστὰ τὴν πορείαν, χαλεπὴν καὶ πολυπλανή
- 4 γινομένην τοῖς ἐπισπομένοις. ἐγένοντο γάρ τινες
οἱ μὴδὲν ὑγιᾶς τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον στρέφειν καὶ
περιελίττειν εἰκάσαντες οὐκ ἠκολούθησαν, ἀλλὰ
Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Κάρρας πάλιν, καὶ
τῶν ὁδηγῶν (Ἀραβες δ' ἦσαν) ἀναμένειν κελευόν-
των ἄχρι ἂν σελήνη παραλλάξῃ τὸν σκορπίον,
“Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε,” εἰπὼν, “ἔτι τούτου μᾶλλον
φοβοῦμαι τὸν τοξότην,” ἀπήλαυνεν εἰς Συρίαν
- 5 μεθ' ἱππέων πεντακοσίων· ἄλλοι δὲ χρησάμενοι
πιστοῖς ὁδηγοῖς ἐλάβοντο χωρίων ὀρεινῶν, ἃ
καλεῖται Σίννακα, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ
πρὸ ἡμέρας. οὗτοι περὶ πεντακισχιλίου ἦσαν·
ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Ὀκταοῦϊος.
- Τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἡμέρα κατελάμβανεν ἐπι-
βουλευόμενον ὑπ' Ἀνδρομάχου περὶ τὰς δυσχω-
6 ρίας καὶ τὸ ἔλος. ἦσαν δὲ τέσσαρες σπεῖραι σὺν
αὐτῷ θυρεοφόρων, ἱππεῖς δὲ παντελῶς ὀλίγοι καὶ
πέντε ῥαβδούχοι, μεθ' ὧν ἐπιπόνως εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν
καὶ μόλις καταστάς, ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικει-
μένων, ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους ἀπολιπὼν τοῦ
συμμίξαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀκταοῦϊον ἐπ' ἄλλον

¹ ἐπιβουλευόμενον Bekker reads ἔτι ἀγόμενον (still led), with Pseudo-Appian.

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it, for Crassus not only confided the secret to him, but made him the guide for the journey. Accordingly, everything was known to the Parthians, for Andromachus reported to them all the details. But since it is not the custom, and so not easy, for the Parthians to fight by night, and since Crassus set out by night, Andromachus, by leading the fugitives now by one route and now by another, contrived that the pursuers should not be left far behind, and finally he diverted the march into deep marshes and regions full of ditches, thus making it difficult and circuitous for those who still followed him. For there were some who conjectured that the twisting and turning of Andromachus boded no good, and therefore did not follow him. Cassius, indeed, went back again to Carrhae, and when his guides, who were Arabs, urged him to wait there until the moon had passed the Scorpion, he said that he feared the Archer¹ even more than the Scorpion, and rode off into Syria with five hundred horsemen. And others, too, employing trusty guides, reached a hill country called Sinnaca, and established themselves in safety before day came. These were about five thousand men, and they were led by Octavius, a brave man.

But day found Crassus a prey to the wiles of Andromachus in the difficult places and the marsh. There were with him four cohorts of men-at-arms, a few horsemen all told, and five lictors. With these he got back into the road, with great difficulty, when the enemy at once pressed upon him, and since he was about twelve furlongs short of a junction with Octavius, he took refuge on another hill, not so

¹ Sagittarius, the sign of the zodiac following Scorpio.

ἀναφεύγει λόφον, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν ἄφιππον οὐδ' ὀχυρόν, ὑποκείμενον δὲ τοῖς Σιννάκοις καὶ συνηρημένον αὐχένι μακρῷ διὰ μέσου κατατείνοντι τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοῦτον. ἦν οὖν ἐν ὧσφι τοῖς περὶ
7 τὸν Ὀκταοῦϊον ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος Ὀκταοῦϊος ἔθει μετ' ὀλίγων ἄνωθεν ἐπιβοηθῶν, εἶτα οἱ λοιποὶ κακίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ προσπεσόντες καὶ ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου περιέσχον ἐν μέσῳ τὸν Κράσσον καὶ προεβάλλοντο τοὺς θυρεούς, μεγαληγοροῦντες ὡς οὐκ ἔστι Πάρθοις βέλος ὃ προσπεσείται τῷ σώματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὶν ἢ σφᾶς ἅπαντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἀποθανεῖν.

XXX. Ὅρων οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας τοὺς τε Πάρθους ἀμβλύτερον ἤδη κινδυνεύοντας, καὶ ἦν ἡ τε νύξ ἐπίσχη καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λάβωνται, παντάπασιν αὐτοὺς ἐσομένους ἀλήπτους, ἐπήγγε τῷ Κράσσῳ δόλον. ἀφείθησαν μὲν γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκηκοότες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπίτηδες διαλεγόμενων ὡς οὐ βούλεται βασιλεὺς ἄσπονδον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν ἀναλαβεῖν χάριτι, Κράσσῳ χρησάμενος φιλαν-
2 θρώπως, ἔσχοντο δὲ μάχης οἱ βάρβαροι, Σουρήνας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων προσελάσας ἀτρέμα τῷ λόφῳ τοῦ μὲν τόξου τὸν τόνον ἀνῆκε, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν προὔτεινεν, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπὶ συμβάσεις, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἄκοντος πεπείραται βασιλέως, πραότητα δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἐκὼν ἐπιδείκνυται σπενδόμενος ἀπιούσι καὶ παρέχων σῶζεσθαι.

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difficult for cavalry nor yet so strong a position, but one that lay below Sinnaca and was connected with it by a long ridge running through the midst of the plain. His danger was therefore to be seen by Octavius. And Octavius ran first with a few men to bring him aid from the higher ground; then the rest of his men, reproaching themselves with cowardice, plunged forward, and falling upon the enemy and sweeping them from the hill, enveloped Crassus round about, and covered him with their shields, boldly declaring that no Parthian missile should smite their imperator until they had all died fighting in his defence.

XXX. And now Surena, observing that his Parthians were already less impetuous in their attacks, and that if night should come on and the Romans should reach the hills, it would be altogether impossible to capture them, brought a stratagem to bear on Crassus. Some of his Roman captives were first released, who, while in his camp, had heard the Barbarians saying to one another, as they had been ordered to do, that the king did not wish the war between him and the Romans to be waged relentlessly, but preferred to regain their friendship by doing them the favour of treating Crassus kindly. Then the Barbarians ceased fighting, and Surena with his chief officers rode quietly up to the hill, unstrung his bow, held out his right hand, and invited Crassus to come to terms, saying: "I have put your valour and power to the test against the wishes of the king, who now of his own accord shows you the mildness and friendliness of his feelings by offering to make a truce with you if you will withdraw, and by affording you the means of safety."

- 3 Ταῦτα τοῦ Σουρήνα λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι 56
 προθύμως ἐδέξαντο καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ
 Κρίσσος οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ δι' ἀπάτης ἐσφαλμένος
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς
 ἄλογον ἠγούμενος, οὐχ ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλ' ἐβου-
 4 λεύετο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βοῶντων καὶ κε-
 λευόντων, εἶτα λοιδορούντων καὶ κακιζόντων ὥς
 προβάλλοντα μαχουμένους αὐτοὺς οἷς αὐτὸς ἀν-
 ὀπλοῖς εἰς λόγους οὐ θαρρεῖ συνελθεῖν, πρῶτον
 μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο δεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ λειπόμενον
 μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας διακαρτερήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ὀρει-
 νοῖς καὶ τραχέσι δύνανται διὰ νυκτὸς ἵεναι, καὶ
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ
 5 προέσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγγὺς οὔσης. ὥς δὲ
 χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα κρούοντες
 ἠπεύλουν, φοβηθεὶς ἐχώρει, καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶπε
 μεταστραφεὶς· “Ὁκταοῦϊε καὶ Πετρώνιε καὶ ὅσοι
 πάρεστε Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες, ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶτε τῆς ἐμῆς
 ὁδοῦ τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ σύνιστε παρόντες ὥς αἰσχυρὰ
 πάσχω καὶ βίαια, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις
 λέγετε σωθέντες ὥς Κρίσσος ἀπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
 πολεμίων, οὐκ ἐκδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπώλετο.”

XXXI. Οὐ μὲν ἔμειναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὁκταοῦϊον,
 ἀλλὰ συγκατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου· τοὺς δὲ
 ῥαβδούχους ἐπομένους ὁ Κρίσσος ἀπήλασεν.
 πρῶτοι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο
 μιξέλληνες, οἱ καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν Κρίσσον
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἀλόμενοι, καὶ προσαγορεύσαντες
 ἐλλάδι φωνῇ παρεκάλουν προπέμψαι τινάς, οἷς

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When Surena said this, the rest of the Romans eagerly accepted his proposal and were full of joy, but Crassus, whose every discomfiture at the hands of the Barbarians had been due to fraud, and who thought the suddenness of their change a strange thing, would not reply, but took the matter into consideration. His soldiers, however, cried out and urged him to accept, then fell to abusing and reviling him for putting them forward to fight men with whom he himself had not the courage to confer even when they came unarmed. At first he tried entreaties and arguments. If they would hold out for what was left of the day, during the night they could reach the mountains and rough country; and he showed them the road thither, and exhorted them not to abandon hope when safety was so near. But when they grew angry with him, and clashed their arms together, and threatened him, then he was terrified and began to go towards Surena. As he went, however, he turned and said: "Octavius and Petronius and ye other Roman commanders here present, ye see that I go because I must, and ye are eyewitnesses of the shameful violence I suffer; but tell the world, if ye get safely home, that Crassus perished because he was deceived by his enemies, and not because he was delivered up to them by his countrymen."

XXXI. Octavius, however, and those about him, did not remain, but went down from the hill with Crassus; the lictors, who were following him, Crassus drove back. The first of the Barbarians to meet him were two half-breed Greeks, who leaped from their horses and made obeisance to him; then addressing him in the Greek tongue, they urged him to send a party forward to assure themselves that Surena and

- ἐπιδείξεται Σουρήνας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν
 2 ἀνόπλους καὶ ἀσιδήρους προσερχομένους. ὁ δὲ
 Κράσσος ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὥς, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἐλάχιστον
 εἶχε τοῦ ζῆν λόγον, οὐκ ἂν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς
 ἦλθεν, ὅμως δὲ δύο Ῥωσκίους ἀδελφούς ἔπεμψε
 πεισομένους ἐπὶ τίσι καὶ πόσοι συνίασιν. οὗς
 εὐθύς συλλαβὼν ὁ Σουρήνας κατέσχευεν, αὐτὸς
 δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππότης προσῆει καὶ “Τί
 τοῦτ’,” ἔφη, “πεζὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ,
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀχούμεθα;” καὶ προσαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
 3 ἵππον αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου φήσαντος οὔτε
 αὐτὸν ἀμαρτάνειν οὔτ’ ἐκείνον, ὥς ἐκατέρω πατριὸν
 ἐστὶ ποιουμένους τὴν σύνοδον, εἶναι μὲν αὐτόθεν
 ἔφη σπονδὰς καὶ εἰρήνην ὁ Σουρήνας Ἐτρώδῃ τε
 βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, δεῖν δὲ γράψασθαι τὰς
 συνθήκας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν προσελθόντας. “Οὐ
 γὰρ ὑμεῖς γε,” ἔφη, “πάνυ μνήμονες ὁμολογιῶν οἱ
 Ῥωμαῖοι,” καὶ προὔτεινε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ. μετα-
 πεμπομένου δ’ ἵππον οὐδὲν ἔφη δεῖν. “Βασιλεὺς
 4 γὰρ σοι δίδωσι τοῦτον.” ἅμα δ’ ἵππος τε τῷ
 Κράσσῳ παρέστη χρυσοχάλινος, οἱ τε ἀναβολεῖς
 αὐτὸν ἀράμενοι περιεβίβασαν καὶ παρείποντο
 πληγῇ τὸν ἵππον ἐπιταχύνοντες. Ὀκταοῦϊος δὲ
 πρῶτος ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῶν χαλινῶν, καὶ μετ’
 ἐκείνον εἰς τῶν χιλιάρχων Πετρώνιος, εἶτα οἱ
 λοιποὶ περιίσταντο τὸν τε ἵππον ἀνακόπτειν
 πειρώμενοι καὶ τοὺς πιεζοῦντας τὸν Κράσσον ἐξ
 5 ἐκατέρου μέρους ἀφέλκοντες. ὠθισμοῦ δὲ γενο-
 μένου καὶ ταραχῆς, εἶτα πληγῶν, Ὀκταοῦϊος μὲν
 ἀνασπάσας τὸ ξίφος ἐνὸς τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνει
 τὸν ἱπποκόμον, ἕτερος δὲ τὸν Ὀκταοῦϊον ἐκ τῶν

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those about him were advancing to the conference without armour and without weapons. Crassus replied that if he had the least concern for his life, he would not have come into their hands ; but nevertheless he sent two Roscii, brothers, to enquire on what terms and in what numbers they should hold their meeting. These men were promptly seized and detained by Surena, while he himself with his chief officers advanced on horseback, saying : "What is this? the Roman emperor on foot, while we are mounted?" Then he ordered a horse to be brought for Crassus. And when Crassus answered that neither of them was at fault, since each was following the custom of his country in this meeting, Surena said that from that moment there was a truce and peace between King Hyrodes and the Romans, but it was necessary to go forward to the river Euphrates and there have the contracts put in writing ; "for you Romans at least," said he, "are not very mindful of agreements," and he held out his right hand to Crassus. Then when Crassus proposed to send for a horse, Surena said there was no need of it, "for the king offers you this one." At the same time a horse with gold-studded bridle stood at Crassus's side, and the grooms lifted Crassus up and mounted him, and then ran along by him, quickening his horse's pace with blows. Octavius was first to seize the bridle, and after him Petronius, one of the legionary tribunes ; then the rest of the Romans in the party surrounded the horse, trying to stop him, and dragging away those who crowded in upon Crassus on either side. Scuffling followed, and a tumult, then blows. Octavius drew his sword and slew the groom of one of the Barbarians, but another smote Octavius down from

ὀπισθεν πατάξας. Πετρώνιος δὲ ὄπλου μὲν οὐκ εὐπόρησεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν θώρακα πληγεὶς ἀπεπήδησεν ἄτρωτος· τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ὄνομα Πομαξάθρης Πάρθος ἀπέκτεινεν.

- 6 Οἱ δ' οὐ φασιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, τοῦτον δὲ κειμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαι καὶ τὴν δεξιάν. εἰκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκεται· τῶν γὰρ παρόντων οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ μαχόμενοι περὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δ' 564
7 εὐθύς ἀνεπήδησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον. ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Κράσσος μὲν δίκην δέδωκε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κελεύει Σουρήνας κατιέναι θαρροῦντας, οἱ μὲν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτοὺς καταβάντες, οἱ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐσπάρησαν, καὶ τούτων ὀλίγοι παντάπασι διεσώθησαν· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκθηρεύοντες οἱ Ἀραβες συνελάμβανον καὶ διέφθειρον. λέγονται δ' οἱ πάντες δισμύριοι μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, μύριοι δὲ ἰλῶναι ζῶντες.

- XXXII. Ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς Ἱερὴν ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαδοὺς λόγον ὑπ' ἀγγέλων εἰς Σελεύκειαν ὡς ζῶντα Κράσσον ἄγοι, παρεσκευάζετο πομπὴν τινα γελοίαν ὕβρει προσαγορεύων 2 θρίαμβον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμφερέστατος Κράσσῳ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Γάιος Πακκιανός, ἐσθήτα βασιλικὴν γυναικὸς ἐνδύς καὶ διδαχθεὶς Κράσσος ὑπακούειν καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς καλοῦσιν, ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενος ἦγετο· πρὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλπικταὶ καὶ ῥαβδούχοί τινες ὀγούμενοι καμήλοις ἤλαυνον· ἐξήρτητο δὲ τῶν ῥάβδων βαλάντια καὶ παρὰ τοὺς

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behind. Petronius had no offensive weapons, but when he was struck on the breastplate, leaped down from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxathres.

Some, however, say that it was not this man, but another, who killed Crassus, and that this man cut off the head and right hand of Crassus as he lay upon the ground. These details, however, are matters of conjecture rather than of knowledge. For of the Romans who were present there and fighting about Crassus, some were slain, and others fled back to the hill. Thither the Parthians came and said that as for Crassus, he had met with his deserts, but that Surena ordered the rest of the Romans to come down without fear. Thereupon some of them went down and delivered themselves up, but the rest scattered during the night, and of these a very few made their escape; the rest of them were hunted down by the Arabs, captured, and cut to pieces. In the whole campaign, twenty thousand are said to have been killed, and ten thousand to have been taken alive.

XXXII. Surena now took the head and hand of Crassus and sent them to Hyrodes in Armenia, but he himself sent word by messengers to Seleucia that he was bringing Crassus there alive, and prepared a laughable sort of procession which he insultingly called a triumph. That one of his captives who bore the greatest likeness to Crassus, Caius Paccianus, put on a woman's royal robe, and under instructions to answer to the name of Crassus and the title of Imperator when so addressed, was conducted along on horseback. Before him rode trumpeters and a few lictors borne on camels; from the fasces of the

3 πελέκεις πρόσφατοι κεφαλαὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποτετμη-
 μέναι. κατόπιν δ' εἶποντο Σελευκίδες ἐταῖραι μουσ-
 ουργοί, πολλὰ βωμολόχα καὶ γελοῖα δι' ἄσμάτων
 εἰς θηλύτητα καὶ ἀνανδρίαν τοῦ Κράσσου λέγου-
 σαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντες ἐθεῶντο.

Τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν τῶν Σελευκέων ἀθροίσας
 εἰσήνεγκεν ἀκόλαστα βιβλία τῶν Ἀριστείδου
 Μιλησιακῶν, οὔτι ταῦτά γε καταψευσάμενος·
 εὐρέθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ῥωσκίου σκευοφόροις, καὶ
 παρέσχε τῷ Σουρήνῃ καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ καὶ
 κατασκῶψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μὴδὲ πολεμοῦντες
 ἀπέχεσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ γραμμάτων δύνανται
 4 τοιούτων. τοῖς μέντοι Σελευκεῦσιν ἐδόκει σοφὸς
 ἀνὴρ Αἴσωπος εἶναι, τὸν Σουρήναν ὁρῶσι τὴν τῶν
 Μιλησιακῶν ἀκολαστημάτων πῆραν ἐξηρτημένον
 πρόσθεν, ὅπισθεν δὲ Παρθικὴν Σύβαριν ἐφέλκο-
 μενον ἐν τοσαύταις παλλακίδων ἀμάξαις, τρόπον
 τινὰ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐχίδναις καὶ σκυτάλαις
 ἀντιμόρφως τὰ μὲν ἐμφανῇ καὶ πρόσθια μέρη
 φοβερά καὶ θηριώδη δόρασι καὶ τόξοις καὶ ἵπποις
 5 προβαλλομένην, κατ' οὐρὰν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος εἰς
 χορείας καὶ κρόταλα καὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ παννυχίδας
 ἀκολάστους μετὰ γυναικῶν τελευτῶσαν. ψεκτὸς
 μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ῥώσκιος, ἀναιδεῖς δὲ Πάρθοι τὰ Μιλη-
 σιακὰ ψέγοντες, ὧν πολλοὶ βεβασιλεύκασιν ἐκ

¹ Probably a collection of love stories, the scenes of which were laid in Miletus. Of its author, who flourished perhaps in the second century B.C., almost nothing is known.

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lictors purses were suspended, and to their axes were fastened Roman heads newly cut off; behind these followed courtezans of Seleucia, musicians, who sang many scurrilous and ridiculous songs about the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus; and these things were for all to see.

But before the assembled senate of Seleucia, Surena brought licentious books of the "Milesiaca"¹ of Aristides, and in this matter, at least, there was no falsehood on his part, for the books were found in the baggage of Roscius, and gave Surena occasion to heap much insulting ridicule upon the Romans, since they could not, even when going to war, let such subjects and writings alone. The people of Seleucia, however, appreciated the wisdom of Aesop² when they saw Surena with a wallet of obscenities from the "Milesiaca" in front of him, but trailing behind him a Parthian Sybaris in so many waggon-loads of concubines.³ After a fashion his train was a counterpart to the fabled echidnae and scytalae among serpents, by showing its conspicuous and forward portions fearful and savage, with spears, archery, and horse, but trailing off in the rear of the line into dances, cymbals, lutes, and nocturnal revels with women. Roscius was certainly culpable, but it was shameless in the Parthians to find fault with the "Milesiaca," when many of the royal line of their

² In the fable of the two wallets, which everyone carries, one in front containing his neighbour's faults, which are therefore always before his eyes; and one behind containing his own faults, which he therefore never sees.

³ Cf. chapter xxi. 6.

Μιλησίων καὶ Ἰωνίδων ἑταιρῶν γεγονότες Ἀρσακίδαι.

- XXXIII. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Ἑρώδης ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη διηλλαγμένος Ἀρταουάσδῃ τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Πακόρῳ τῷ παιδὶ καθωμολογημένος, ἐστιάσεις τε καὶ πότοι δι' ἀλλήλων ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ παρεισήγετο τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀκουσμάτων.
- 2 ἦν γὰρ οὔτε φωνῆς οὔτε γραμμάτων Ἑρώδης Ἑλληνικῶν ἄπειρος, ὁ δ' Ἀρταουάσδης καὶ τραγωδίας ἐποίει καὶ λόγους ἔγραφε καὶ ἱστορίας, ὧν ἔναι διασώζονται. τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Κράσσου κομισθείσης ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπηρμέναι μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τράπεζαι, τραγωδιῶν δὲ ὑποκριτῆς Ἰάσων ὄνομα Τραλλιανὸς ἦδεν Εὐριπίδου Βακχῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀγαύην. εὐδοκιμοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ Σιλλάκης ἐπιστὰς τῷ ἀνδρῶνι καὶ προσκυνήσας προὔ-
- 3 βαλεν εἰς μέσον τοῦ Κράσσου τὴν κεφαλὴν. κρότῳ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ χαρᾶς ἁραμένων, τὸν μὲν Σιλλάκην κατέκλιναν οἱ ὑπηρέται βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, ὁ δ' Ἰάσων τὰ μὲν τοῦ Πενθέως σκευοποιήματα παρέδωκέ τινι τῶν χορευτῶν, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου κεφαλῆς λαβόμενος καὶ ἀναβακχεύσας ἐπέραινεν ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέλη μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ ᾠδῆς·

Φέρομεν ἐξ ὄρεος
ἔλικά νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα,
μακαρίαν θήραν.¹

¹ Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1170-72 (Kirchhoff μακάριον).

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Arsacidæ were sprung from Milesian and Ionian courtezans.

XXXIII. While this was going on, it happened that Hyrodes was at last reconciled with Artavasdes the Armenian, and agreed to receive the latter's sister as wife for his son Pacorus, and there were reciprocal banquets and drinking bouts, at which many Greek compositions were introduced. For Hyrodes was well acquainted both with the Greek language and literature, and Artavasdes actually composed tragedies, and wrote orations and histories, some of which are preserved. Now when the head of Crassus was brought to the king's door, the tables had been removed, and a tragic actor, Jason by name, of Tralles, was singing that part of the "*Bacchæ*" of Euripides where Agave is about to appear.¹ While he was receiving his applause, Sillaces stood at the door of the banqueting-hall, and after a low obeisance, cast the head of Crassus into the centre of the company. The Parthians lifted it up with clapping of hands and shouts of joy, and at the king's bidding his servants gave Sillaces a seat at the banquet. Then Jason handed his costume of Pentheus to one of the chorus, seized the head of Crassus, and assuming the role of the frenzied Agave, sang these verses through as if inspired :

"We bring from the mountain
A tendril fresh-cut to the palace,
A wonderful prey."

¹ Pentheus, king of Thebes, the son of Agave, refused to recognize the divinity of Dionysus, whereupon the god infuriated the women, and Agave killed her own son. She appears in the *Bacchæ* with his head in her hand, exulting over the death of the supposed wild beast.

4 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πάντα ἕτερπεν· ἀδομένων δὲ τῶν 565
ἐφεξῆς ἀμοιβαίων πρὸς τὸν χορόν,

ΧΟ. τίς ἐφόνευσεν ;

ΑΓ. ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας¹

ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Πομαξίθρης (ἐτύγχανε δὲ δειπνῶν)
ἀντελαμβάνετο τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὥς ἑαυτῷ λέγειν
ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσήκον. ἡσθεὶς δ' ὁ
βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν οἷς πάτριόν ἐστιν ἐδωρήσατο,
τῷ δ' Ἰάσονι τάλαντον ἔδωκεν. εἰς τοιοῦτό φασιν
ἐξόδιον τὴν Κράσσου στρατηγίαν ὥσπερ τραγωδίαν
τελευτῆσαι.

5 Δίκη μέντοι καὶ τῆς ὁμότητος Ἑρώδη καὶ τῆς
ἐπιτορκίας Σουρήναν ἀξία μετῆλθεν. Σουρήναν μὲν
γὰρ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον Ἑρώδης φθόνῳ τῆς
δόξης ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἑρώδῃ δὲ ἀποβαλόντι Πάκορον
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μάχῃ κρατηθέντα, καὶ νοσήσαντι
νόσον εἰς ὕδρωπα τραπείσαν, Φραάτης ὁ υἱὸς
ἐπιβουλεύων ἀκόνιτον ἔδωκεν. ἀναδεξαμένης δὲ
τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον εἰς ἑαυτήν, ὥστε συνεκ-
κριθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος κουφισθέντος, ἐπὶ τὴν
ταχίστην τῶν ὁδῶν ἐλθὼν ὁ Φραάτης ἀπέπνιξεν
αὐτόν.

¹ Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1179 (Kirchhoff, ΧΟ. τίς ἂ βαλοῦσα
πρῶτα;).

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This delighted everybody ; but when the following dialogue with the chorus was chanted :

(*Chorus*) "Who slew him?"

(*Agave*) "Mine is the honour,"

Pomaxathres, who happened to be one of the banqueters, sprang up and laid hold of the head, feeling that it was more appropriate for him to say this than for Jason. The king was delighted, and bestowed on Pomaxathres the customary gifts, while to Jason he gave a talent. With such a farce as this the expedition of Crassus is said to have closed, just like a tragedy.¹

However, worthy punishment overtook both Hyrodes for his cruelty and Surena for his treachery. For not long after this Hyrodes became jealous of the reputation of Surena, and put him to death ; and after Hyrodes had lost his son Pacorus, who was defeated in battle by the Romans,² and had fallen into a disease which resulted in dropsy, his son Phraates plotted against his life and gave him aconite. And when the disease absorbed the poison so that it was thrown off with it and the patient thereby relieved, Phraates took the shortest path and strangled his father.

¹ A poet competing at the Athenian City Dionysia exhibited three tragedies and a satyric drama, "the four plays being performed in succession in the course of the same day."

² 38 B.C. Cf. Plutarch's *Antony*, xxxiv. 1. According to Dio Cassius, xlix, 21, Pacorus fell on the same day on which Crassus had been slain fifteen years before.

ΝΙΚΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΣΣΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

- I. Ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκρίσει πρῶτον ὁ Νικίου πλοῦτος τῷ Κράσσου παραβαλλόμενος ἀμεμπτοτέραν ἔχει τὴν κτῆσιν. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν τις δοκιμάσειε τὴν ἀπὸ μετάλλων ἐργασίαν, ἥς τὰ πλείστα περαίνεται διὰ κακούργων ἢ βαρβάρων, ἐνίων δεδεμένων καὶ φθειρομένων ἐν τόποις ὑπόλοις καὶ νοσεροῖς· παραβαλλομένη δὲ πρὸς τὰ Σύλλα δημιόπρατα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐργολα-
- 2 βίας, ἐπιεικεστέρα φανεῖται. ταύταις γὰρ ὁ Κράσσος ἀναφανδὸν ὡς τῷ γεωργεῖν ἐχρήτο καὶ τῷ δανείζειν· ὁ δὲ ἔξαρνος ἦν ἐλεγχόμενος, ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν ἐν βουλῇ λέγειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀδικεῖν καὶ γύναια περιϋὼν κολακεύειν καὶ συνεπικρύπτειν τοὺς πονηροὺς, τούτων αἰτίαν οὐδὲ ψευδῇ ποτε Νικίας ἔλαβεν, ἄλλως δὲ διδούς καὶ προῖέμενος ἀργύριον ὑπὸ δειλίας τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἐχλευάζετο, πρᾶγμα ποιῶν Περικλεῖ μὲν ἴσως καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ μὴ πρέπον, αὐτῷ δ' ἀναγκαῖον
- 3 οὐκ εὖ πεφυκότι πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν. ὃ καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὕστερον ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπαρρησιάσατο πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, αἰτίαν ἔχων ἐξωνήσασθαι τινα τῶν συκοφαντῶν· “Ἡδομαι γάρ,” εἶπεν, “εἰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον πεπολιτευμένος πᾶρ' ὑμῖν διδούς πεφώραμαι πρότερον ἢ λαμβάνων.”
- 4 Ἦν δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις πολιτικώτερος μὲν ὁ Νικίας ἀναθήμασι καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ διδα-

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I. In comparing the men, first, the wealth of Nicias was acquired in a more blameless manner than that of Crassus. For although it is true that the working of mines cannot be highly regarded, since most of it is carried on by employing malefactors or Barbarians, some of whom are kept in chains and done to death in damp and unwholesome places, still, when compared with the public confiscations of Sulla and the making of contracts where fire is raging, it will appear in the more favourable light. For Crassus openly utilized these opportunities as men do agriculture and money-lending. And as for the practices which he denied when on trial, namely, taking bribes for his voice in the senate, wronging the allies, circumventing weak women with his flatteries, and aiding base men to cloak their iniquities, no such charges, even though false, were ever made against Nicias; nay, he was rather laughed at for spending his money lavishly on informers out of cowardice, a practice unbecoming, perhaps, in a Pericles and an Aristides, but necessary for him, since he was not well stocked with courage. And for this practice Lycurgus the orator, in later times, boldly took to himself credit before the people, when accused of buying up one of these informers; "I am glad indeed," he said, "that after such a long political career among you, I have been detected in giving rather than receiving money."

As for their outlays of money, Nicias was more public spirited in his noble ambition to make offerings

σκαλίαις χορῶν φιλοτιμούμενος, ὦν δ' ὁ Κράσσος ἀνάλωσεν ἐστιάσας ἅμα τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, εἶτα θρέψας πάλιν, οὐδὲν ἦν μέρος ἂ Νικίας ἐκέκτετο σὺν οἷς ἀνάλωσεν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν, εἴ τινα λέληθε τὸ τὴν κακίαν ἀνωμαλίαν εἶναί τινα τρόπου καὶ ἀνομολογίαν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς αἰσχροῦς συλλέγοντας εἰτ' ἀχρήστως ἐκχέοντας.

- II. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλούτου τοσαῦτα· τοῖς δὲ πολιτεύμασι τοῦ μὲν Νικίου πανοῦργον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἄδικον οὐδὲ βίαιον πρόσεστιν οὐδὲ θρασύτης, ἀλλ' ἐξηπατᾶτο μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσῆει μετ' εὐλαβείας. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου πολλὴν μὲν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἔχθραν καὶ φιλίαν μεταβολαῖς ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν κατηγοροῦσι, βία δ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠρνεῖτο τὴν ὑπατείαν μετιέναι, μισθωσάμενος ἄνδρας τοὺς Κάτωνι καὶ Δομιτίῳ
- 2 τὰς χεῖρας προσοίσοντας. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ψηφοφορίᾳ τοῦ δήμου πολλοὶ μὲν ἐτρώθησαν, ἔπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες, αὐτὸς δ', ὅπερ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ διηγῇσει παρελήλυθε, Λεύκιον Ἀννάλιον, ἄνδρα βουλευτήν, ἀντιλέγοντα πύξ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξέβαλεν ἡμαγμένον.
- 3 Ὡς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα βίαιος ὁ Κράσσος καὶ τυραννικός, οὕτως αὖ πάλιν ἐκείνου τὸ ψοφοδεὲς 566 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἄτολμον καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις ὑφειμένον τῶν μεγίστων ἐπιλήψεων ἄξιον· ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ὑψηλὸς περὶ γε ταῦτα καὶ μεγαλόφρων, οὐ πρὸς Κλέωνας οὐδ' Ὑπερβόλους, μὰ Δία, τοῦ

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to the gods and provide the people with gymnastic exhibitions and trained choruses; and yet his whole estate, together with his expenditures, was not a tithe of what Crassus expended when he feasted so many myriads of men at once, and then furnished them with food afterwards. I am therefore amazed that anyone should fail to perceive that vice is a sort of inequality and incongruity of character, when he sees men amassing money shamefully and squandering it uselessly.

II. So much regarding their wealth. And now in their political careers, no chicanery nor injustice, no violence nor harshness attaches to Nicias, but he was deceived the rather by Alcibiades, and made his appeals to the people with too much caution. Whereas Crassus is accused of much ungenerous faithlessness in his vacillations between friends and enemies; and as for violence, he himself could not deny that when he stood for the consulship, he hired men to lay hands on Cato and Domitius. And in the assembly which voted on the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded and four killed; and Crassus himself (a fact which escaped us in the narrative of his life), when Lucius Annalius, a senator, was speaking in opposition, smote him in the face with his fist and drove him bleeding from the forum.

But if Crassus was violent and tyrannical in these matters, Nicias went to the other extreme. His timidity and cowardice in the public service, and his subservience to the basest men, deserve the severest censure. Crassus, indeed, showed a certain loftiness and largeness of spirit in this regard, for he contended not with men like Cleon and Hyperbolus,

ἀγῶνος ὄντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος λαμπρο-
τητα καὶ τρεῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου θριάμβους, οὐχ
ὑπείξας, ἀλλ' ἀντάρας ἐκατέρω τὴν δύναμιν,
ἀξιώματι δὲ τῆς τιμητικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ Πομπηίου
4 ὑπερβαλλόμενος. δεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγίστοις οὐ τὸ
ἀνεπίφθονον, ἀλλὰ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ
λαμβάνειν, μεγέθει δυνάμεως ἐξαμανροῦντα τὸν
φθόνον. εἰ δ' ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀγαπᾷς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ
ἡσυχίαν, καὶ δέδιας Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ
βήματος, ἐν δὲ Πύλῳ Λακεδαιμονίους, Περδίκκαν
δ' ἐν Θράκῃ, πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἢ πόλιν ἔχει
σχολῆς ἐκ μέσου γενόμενον καθῆσθαι πλέ-
κοντα τῆς ἀταραξίας σεαυτῷ στέφανον, ὡς ἔνιοι
5 σοφισταὶ λέγουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔρως
θεῖος ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὸ λῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον
Ἑλληνικώτατον πολίτευμα· καὶ τῆς πράξεως
ἔνεκα ταύτης οὐκ ἄξιον Νικίᾳ παραβαλεῖν Κράσ-
σον, οὐδ' εἰ τὸ Κάσπιον φέρων πέλαγος ἢ τὸν
Ἰνδὸν ὠκεανὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ προσώρισεν.

III. Πόλει μέντοι χρώμενον ἀρετῆς αἰσθανο-
μένη καὶ κρείττονα ὄντα τῇ δυνάμει χώραν οὐ
δοτέον τοῖς πονηροῖς οὐδ' ἀρχὴν μὴ ἀρχουσιν οὐδὲ
πίστιν ἀπιστουμένοις, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Νικίας,
τὸν Κλέωνα μηδὲν ὄντα πλέον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς
ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀναισχυντίας καὶ κραυγῆς αὐτὸς
2 εἰς τὸ στρατηγεῖν καταστήσας. οὐκ ἐπαινῶ μὲν
γὰρ ¹ ἐγὼ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτακείοις ἐπει-

¹ μὲν γὰρ Stephanus, Bekker, and S: μέν.

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far from it, but against the brilliant Caesar, and against Pompey with his three triumphs; and he did not shrink from their path, but made himself a match for each in power, and in the dignity of his censorial office actually surpassed Pompey. For in the supreme struggles of a political career one must not adopt a course which awakens no envy, but one which dazzles men, throwing envy into the shade by the greatness of one's power. But if, like Nicias, you set your heart above all else on security and quiet, and fear Alcibiades on the bema, and the Lacedaemonians at Pylos, and Perdiccas in Thrace, then there is ample room in the city where you can sit at leisure, removed from all activity, and "weaving for yourself," as sundry Sophists say, "a crown of tranquillity." His love of peace, indeed, had something godlike about it, and his putting a stop to the war was a political achievement most truly Hellenic in its scope. And because Nicias did this, Crassus is not worthy of comparison with him, nor would he have been even though in his ardour he had made the Caspian Sea or the Indian Ocean a boundary of the Roman empire.

III. When, however, a man wields superior power in a city which is open to the appeals of virtue, he should not give a footing to the base, nor command to those who are no commanders at all, nor confidence to those who deserve no confidence. But this is just what Nicias did when, of his own motion, he set Cleon in command of the army, a man who was nothing more to the city than a shameless brawler from the bema. I do not, indeed, commend Crassus, in the war with Spartacus,

χθέντα θάσσον ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον διαγωνίσασθαι, καίτοι φιλοτιμίας ἦν τὸ δεῖσαι μὴ Πομπήϊος ἐλθὼν ἀφέληται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἀφείλετο Μετέλλου Μόμμιος τὴν Κόρινθον· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Νικίου παντάπασιν ἄτοπον καὶ δεινόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐλπίδας οὐδὲ ῥαστώνην ἐχούσης ἐξέστη τῷ ἐχθρῷ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενος ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μέγαν ἠγάπησε, τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενος, προέσθαι τὸ
 3 κοινόν. καίτοι ὃ γε Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἵνα μὴ φαῦλος ἄνθρωπος ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ ἄφρων στρατηγήσας ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀργυρίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν αὐτόν, καὶ Κάτων, ὅτε μάλιστα ἑώρα πράγματα καὶ κινδύνους ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
 4 τὴν δημαρχίαν, μετῆλθεν· ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίνωαν καὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Μηλίους τοὺς ταλαιπώρους φυλάττων στρατηγόν, εἰ δὲ¹ δέοι μάχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀποδυνάμενος τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητι ναῦς καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατηγίαν ἐμπειρίας ἄκρας δεομένην παραδιδούς, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προίεται δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς² πατρίδος ἀσφάλειαν καὶ
 5 σωτηρίαν. ὅθεν ὕστερον οὐχ ἐκὼν οὐδὲ βουλόμενος Συρακουσίοις πολεμεῖν ἠναγκάζετο, δοκῶν οὐ λογισμῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλὰ ῥαστώνῃ καὶ μαλακίᾳ τὸ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀποστερεῖν Σικελίας τὴν πόλιν.

Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι μεγάλης ἐπιεικειᾶς σημεῖον, ὅτι δυσχεραίνοντα τὸ πολεμεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ φεύγοντα τὸ

¹ εἰ δὲ Coraës and Bekker, after Bryan : εἰ.

² τὴν τῆς Stephanus, Bekker, and S : τῆς.

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for pressing forward into action with greater speed than safety, although it was natural for a man of his ambition to fear that Pompey would come and rob him of his glory, just as Mummius had robbed Metellus of Corinth; but the conduct of Nicias was altogether strange and terrible. For it was not while it afforded him good hopes of success, or even of ease, that he renounced his ambition to hold the command in favour of his enemy, but when he saw that his generalship involved him in great peril, then he was content to betray the common good at the price of his own safety. And yet Themistocles, during the Persian wars, to prevent a worthless and senseless man from ruining the city as one of its generals, bought him off from the office; and Cato stood for the tribuneship when he saw that it would involve him in the greatest toil and danger in behalf of the city. Nicias, on the other hand, kept himself in the command against Minoa, and Cythera, and the wretched Melians, but when it was necessary to fight the Lacedaemonians, stripped off his general's cloak, handed over to the inexperience and rashness of Cleon ships, men, arms, and a command requiring the utmost experience, and so betrayed not only his own reputation, but the security and safety of his own country. Wherefore he was afterwards forced, against his wish and inclination, to wage war on Syracuse, for it was thought to be no calculation of what was expedient, but merely his love of ease and lack of spirit which made him use all his efforts to rob the city of Sicily.

There is, however, this proof of his great reasonableness, namely, that although he was always averse to war

στρατηγεῖν οὐκ ἐπαύοντο χειροτονοῦντες ὡς
 6 ἐμπειρότατον καὶ βέλτιστον· τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ
 παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐφιεμένῳ στρατηγίας οὐχ
 ὑπῆρξε τυχεῖν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δουλικὸν πόλεμον ἐξ
 ἀνάγκης, Πομπηίου καὶ Μετέλλου καὶ Λουκούλλων
 ἀμφοτέρων ἀπόντων, καίτοι τότε τιμωμένῳ μάλι-
 στα καὶ δυναμένῳ πλεῖστον. ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ
 τοῖς σπουδάζουσι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸν
 κωμικὸν "ἀνὴρ ἄριστος" εἶναι "τὰλλα πλὴν ἐν
 7 ἀσπίδι." καὶ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲν ὥνησεν 567
 ἐκβιασθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φιλαρχίας αὐτοῦ καὶ
 φιλοτιμίας. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντα Νικίαν
 ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ῥωμαίους δὲ Κράσ-
 σος ἄκοντας ἐξήγαγεν· καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦτον ἡ πόλις,
 ἐκείνος δὲ διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἠτύχησεν.

IV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις τὸν
 Νικίαν ἐπαινεῖν ἢ ψέγειν τὸν Κράσσον. ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ ἐμπειρία καὶ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος ἡγεμόνος
 ἔμφρονος οὐ συνηπατήθη ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν πολιτῶν,
 ἀλλ' ἀπεῖπε καὶ ἀπέγνω λήψεσθαι Σικελίαν· ὁ δ'
 ὡς ἐπὶ ῥᾶστον ἔργον τὸν Παρθικὸν ὀρμήσας πόλε-
 2 μον ἤμαρτεν. ὠρέχθη δὲ μεγάλων, Καίσαρος τὰ
 ἐσπέρια καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Γερμανοὺς καταστρε-
 φομένου καὶ Βρεττανίαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω καὶ
 τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐλῦσαι θάλασσαν καὶ προσεργάσα-
 σθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν οἷς Πομπηῖος ἐπῆλθε καὶ
 Λούκουλλος ἀντέσχευ, ἄνδρες εὐμενεῖς καὶ πρὸς
 πάντας ἀγαθοὶ διαμείναντες, προελόμενοι δ' ὅμοια

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and avoided military command, the Athenians ceased not to elect him to it, believing him to be their most experienced and best general. Whereas Crassus, though he was all the while eager for military command, did not succeed in getting it except in the servile war, and then of necessity, because Pompey and Metellus and both the Luculli were away. And yet by that time he had acquired the greatest honour and influence in the city. But it would seem that even his best friends thought him, in the words of the comic poet, "The bravest warrior everywhere but in the field."¹ And yet this did not prevent the Romans from being overwhelmed by his ambitious love of command. For the Athenians sent Nicias out to the war against his will; but the Romans were led out by Crassus against theirs. It was owing to Crassus that his city, but to his city that Nicias, suffered misfortune.

IV. However, in this there is more ground for praising Nicias than for blaming Crassus. The former brought into play the experience and calculation of a wise leader, and did not share the deceitful hopes of his fellow-citizens, but insisted that it was beyond his power to take Sicily; whereas Crassus made the mistake of entering upon the Parthian war as a very easy undertaking. And yet his aims were high; while Caesar was subduing the West,—Gaul and Germany and Britain,—he insisted on marching against the East and India, and on completing the reduction of Asia which had been begun by Pompey and Lucullus. Now these were men of good intentions and honourably disposed towards all, and yet they elected the same course as Crassus, and

¹ An iambic trimeter of unknown authorship (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 493).

- 3 Κράσσω καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπηΐω τῆς ἀρχῆς διδομένης ἡ σύγκλητος ἠγναντιοῦτο, καὶ Καίσαρα μυριάδας τριάκοντα Γερμανῶν τρεψάμενον συνεβούλευεν ὁ Κάτων ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ τρέψαι τὸ μήνιμα τοῦ παρασπονδήματος εἰς ἐκείνον· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας Κάτωνι, πειτεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας
- 4 ἔθυσεν ἐπινίκια καὶ περὶ χαρῆς ἦν. πῶς οὖν ἂν διετέθη καὶ πόσας ἔθυσεν ἡμέρας, εἰ Κράσσος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἔγραψε νικᾶν, εἴτ' ἐπελθὼν Μηδίαν, Περσίδα, Ὑρκανούς, Σοῦσα, Βύκτρα, Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίας ἀπέδειξεν; εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην,¹ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένους μηδὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἰδότας, οὐ Σκάνδειαν, οὐ Μένδην ἐκκοπτέον, οὐδὲ φεύγοντας
- 5 Αἰγινήτας ἀπολελοιπότας τὴν ἑαυτῶν, ὥσπερ ὄρνιθας εἰς ἐτέραν χώραν ἀποκεκρυμμένους, ἐκθηρατέον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ τιμητέον τὸ ἀδ. κεῖν, μὴ ῥαδίως μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ὥς τι φαῦλον ἢ μικρόν, προῖεμένους τὸ δίκαιον. οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ὁρμὴν ἐπαινοῦντες, τὴν δὲ Κράσσου ψέγοντες, οὐκ εὖ τὰ πρῶτα κρίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων.

V. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγαίαις αὐταῖς Νικίου μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα γενναῖα· καὶ γὰρ μαχαῖς πολλαῖς ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν Συρακούσας ὀλίγον ἐδέησε, καὶ πάντα δι' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔπται-

¹ Eteocles in the *Phoenissae*, 524 f. (Kirchhoff):

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυρανίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν· τᾶλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.

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adopted the same principles. For Pompey met with opposition from the senate when his province was allotted to him, and when Caesar routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato moved in the senate that he should be delivered up to those whom he had vanquished, and so bring upon his own head the punishment for his breach of faith; but the people turned contemptuously from Cato, sacrificed to the gods for fifteen days in honour of Caesar's victory, and were full of joy. What, then, would have been their feelings, and for how many days would they have sacrificed to the gods, if Crassus had written to them from Babylon that he was victorious, and had then overrun Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and declared them Roman provinces? "For if wrong must be done," as Euripides says, when men cannot keep quiet, and know not how to enjoy contentedly the blessings which they already have, then let it not be in raiding Scandeia or Mende, nor in beating up fugitive Aeginetans, who have forsaken their own, and hidden themselves away like birds in another territory, but let a high price be demanded for the wrongdoing, and let not justice be thrown to the winds lightly, nor on the first best terms, as if it were some trifling or insignificant thing. Those who have praise for Alexander's expedition, but blame for that of Crassus, unfairly judge of a beginning by its end.

V. As to the actual conduct of their expeditions, Nicias has not a little to his credit, for he conquered his enemies in many battles, and barely missed taking Syracuse, and not all his failures were due to himself, but they might be ascribed to his

σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσον ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο καὶ φθόνον τῶν οἴκοι πολιτῶν. Κράσσος δὲ διὰ πλήθος ἀμαρτημάτων οὐδὲν τῇ τύχῃ χρηστὸν ἀποδείξασθαι παρήκεν. ὥστε θαυμάζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν οὐ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως ἡττηθεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐτυχίας περιγενομένην.

2 Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ μὲν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπὸ μαντικῆς καταφρονῶν, ὁ δὲ πάντα ὑπερορῶν ὁμοίως ἀπώλοντο, χαλεπὴ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἡ ἀσφάλεια καὶ δύσκριτος, ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ ¹ τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ αὐθάδους τὸ μετὰ δόξης παλαιᾶς καὶ συνήθους δι' εὐλάβειαν ἀμαρτανόμενον.

Περὶ μέντοι τὴν τελευταίαν ἀμεμπτότερος ὁ Κράσσος οὐ παραδοὺς ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ δεθεὶς οὐδὲ φενακισθεὶς, ἀλλ' εἷξας τοῖς φίλοις δεομένοις καὶ παρασπονδηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων· ὁ δὲ Νικίας αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἀκλεοῦς ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας ὑποπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσχίονα ἑαυτῷ τὸν θάνατον ἐποίησεν.

¹ ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ a following αὐτῆς of the MSS. is suspected by Coraüs, lamely defended by Sintenis, and bracketed by Bekker.

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disease and to the jealousy of his fellow-citizens at home ; but Crassus made so many blunders that he gave fortune no chance to favour him. We may not therefore wonder that his imbecility succumbed to the power of the Parthians, but rather that it prevailed over the usual good fortune of the Romans.

Since one of them was wholly given to divination, and the other wholly neglected it, and both alike perished, it is hard to draw a safe conclusion from the premises ; but failure from caution, going hand in hand with ancient and prevalent opinion, is more reasonable than lawlessness and obstinacy.

In his end, however, Crassus was the less worthy of reproach. He did not surrender himself, nor was he bound, nor yet beguiled, but yielded to the entreaties of his friends, and fell a prey to the perfidy of his enemies ; whereas Nicias was led by the hope of a shameful and inglorious safety to put himself into the hands of his enemies, thereby making his death a greater disgrace for him.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acharnae, 95, the largest deme, or township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.

Aesop, 419, a Greek writer of fables, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Fables bearing his name were popular at Athens in the time of Aristophanes.

Agatharchus, 41, of Samos, prominent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter 460-420 B.C. Cf. the *Alcibiades*, xvi. 4.

Alopece, 33, a deme, or township, of Attica, some two or three miles east of Athens.

Anacreon, 5, of Teos, a popular lyric poet, honoured at the courts of Polycrates of Samos and Hipparchus of Athens, lived *circa* 563-478 B.C.

Anaxagoras, 11, 21, 53 f., 291, of Clazomenae, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.C.

Andros, 35, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, to the S.E. of Euboea.

Antisthenes, 5, the Socratic, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates, *circa* 450-366 B.C.

Archilochus, 5, of Paros, a roving soldier-poet of the earlier part of the seventh century B.C., famous for his satyric lambles.

Arginusae islands, 109, three small islands lying between Lesbos and the mainland of Asia Minor.

Autocleides, 293, an Athenian, of unknown date, author of a work on sacrificial ritual and tradition.

B

Balissus, 385, a small tributary of the Euphrates, south of Carrhae.

Brasidas, 237, the ablest and noblest Spartan leader during the first decade of the Peloponnesian war. He attempted to rob Athens of her allied cities in the north.

Brundisium, 365, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and the chief naval station of the Romans on the Adriatic Sea.

C

Carrhae, 395, 403-409, a town in the northern part of Mesopotamia.

Casinum, 135, the last city of Latium towards Campania on the Via Latina.

Catana, 263-267, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Tauromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.

Caunians, 309. Caunus was a city of Caria, in Asia Minor, belonging to the Rhodians.

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Chersonesus, 35, 59, the Thracian Chersonesus (peninsula), extending southwards into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.

Cholargus, 41, an Attic deme, or township, of uncertain site.

Clazomenae, 255, an Ionian city, situated on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.

Critolais, 21, of Phaselis in Lycia, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens, orator and statesman, eighty-two years of age when, in 156 B.C., he was sent on an embassy to Rome (see the *Cato Major*, xxii.).

D

Damon, 11, probably the same person as Damonides of Oea (p. 27).

Damonides, 27, of Oea, probably the same person as Damon (p. 11).

Delos, 35, 217, the central island of the Cyclades group, east of Attica.

Diphilus, 209, a prominent poet of the New Comedy, 336-250 B.C.

Duris, 79, the Samian, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, circa 350-280 B.C.

E

Egesta, 251, or Segesta, an ancient city in the N.W. of Sicily, neither Greek nor native Sicilian, said to have been founded by Trojans.

Eleusis, 41, the sacred city of the Mysteries, some twelve miles west of Athens.

Ephorus, 79, of Cymé in N.W. Asia Minor, a pupil of Isocrates, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epidaurus, 103, a city on the north-eastern coast of Peloponnesus, noted for its cult of Aesculapius.

G

Galatia, 365, the central province of Asia Minor, occupied by Gallic tribes from Europe late in the third century B.C.

H

Heracleides, 79, 103, called Ponticus from his birth in Heracleia of Pontus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects.

Hyrcania, 377, 435, a district of central Asia lying immediately south of the Caspian Sea.

I

Idomenus, 31, 103, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342-270 B.C.), author of biographical works entitled "The Socratics" and "The Demagogues."

Ion, 13, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., and author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

L

Lampon, 15, the most famous seer of his time, apparently trusted by Pericles. He played a prominent part in the colonization of Thurii, 444 B.C.

Leocrates, 53, commander in the final triumph of Athens over Aegina (456 B.C.).

Leontini, 251, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, lying between Syracuse and Catana, about eight miles inland.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Luca, 357, the southernmost city in Caesar's province of Cisalpine Gaul, afterwards included in Etruria.

Lycurgus, 425, Athenian orator and statesman, 396-323 B.C.

M

Margiana, 387, a district in central Asia lying south of Scythia and west of Bactria.

Melissus, 75, a native of Samos, and a disciple of Parmenides. Mallicious report made him a teacher of Themistocles (*Themistocles*, ii. 3).

Metellus, 431, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Macedonicus, won victories over Macedonian and Achæan armies in Greece, but could not bring the war to a close before he was superseded by Mummius (146 B.C.).

Mummius, 431, Lucius, superseded Metellus in 146 B.C., and completed the subjugation of Greece by the capture of Corinth.

Myronides, 53, leader of the "reserves" in the Athenian victory over Corinth in 458 B.C., and in the following year victor over the Boeotians at Oenophyta.

N

Naxos, 35, 219 (Naxians), the largest island of the Cyclades group, lying half-way between Attica and Asia Minor.

Naxos, 267, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, on the N.E. coast, just south of Tauromenium.

P

Parmenides, 11, of Elea in Italy, founder of a school of idealistic philosophy (see Zeno the Eleatic).

Pasiphon, 219, of Eretria, a notorious imitator of the Socratic disciples, to whom he attributed

his own compositions, *circa* 300-250 B.C.

Petelia, 347, an ancient city and district of Bruttium.

Pheidias, 5, 89 f., of Athens, the greatest sculptor and statuary of Greece, *ob.* 432 B.C.

Philetas, 5, of Cos, a poet and critic of the earlier Alexandrian school, who flourished under the first Ptolemy (*circa* 318-275 B.C.).

Philistus, 209, 277, 307, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.

Philochorus, 293, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306-260 B.C.

Polycleitus, 5, of Argos, a famous sculptor, statuary, and architect, who flourished *circa* 452-412 B.C.

Polycrates, 77, tyrant of Samos from about 530 till his death in 522 B.C. His career forms one of the great features of the third book of Herodotus.

Poseidonius, 175, of Apameia in Syria, a distinguished Stoic philosopher, resident in Athens, Rhodes, and Rome, contemporary with Cicero.

Protagoras, 291, of Abdera in Thrace, the first to call himself a "sophist," and to teach for pay. On a third visit to Athens, about 411 B.C., he was accused of impiety and fled, but only to perish at sea.

Pylos, 231, 245, 247, an ancient city on the west coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus, on a promontory commanding the north entrance to the great bay of Pylos (the modern Navarino).

S

Seleucia, 367 f., 369, 379, 417 f., the Seleucia which was built by Seleucus Nicator, on the right

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

bank of the Tigris, about forty miles N.E. of Babylon.

Sphacteria, 231, an island lying in front of the great bay of Pylos.

Stesimbrotus, 25, 47, 75, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note at Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.

T

Tanagra, 33, a town in eastern Boeotia, between Thebes and Attica.

Thapsus, 267, a peninsula just to the north of Syracuse.

Theophrastus, 67, 103, 111, 241, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was a native of Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Timaëus, 209, 275, 307, of Tauromenium in Sicily, whose life falls between the years 350-250 B.C., during a long exile in Athens wrote a voluminous history of his native island from earliest times down to 264 B.C.

Timon, 11, of Phlius, a composer of satiric poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy, 320-230 B.C.

Tolmides, 53, 59, 61, leader of an Athenian naval expedition round Peloponnesus in 455 B.C., and of other expeditions by sea.

Tralles, 421, a large and flourishing city of Caria, in Asia Minor.

X

Xenarchus, 209, apparently cited by Plutarch as an historian; but no historian of this name is known.

Xypeté, 41, an Attic deme, or township, near Phalerum or Piræus.

Z

Zacynthus, 291, an island off the N.W. coast of Peloponnesus, the modern Zante.

Zeno, 11, the Eleatic, a disciple of Parmenides, with whom he visited Athens when Socrates was a very young man (Plato, *Parmenides*, p. 127 a).

Zeuxis, 41, of Heraclea in Magna Graecia, the most celebrated painter of antiquity, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth and the earlier part of the fourth centuries B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN TEN VOLUMES

IV

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS
LYSANDER AND SULLA



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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OF THE PROGRESS

PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. None of the *Lives* presented in this volume is contained in the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), the relative value of which is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. A few superior readings have been adopted from the Codex Matriensis (M^a), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux, as published in *Bursians Jahresbericht* (1884). No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

Some use has been made of the edition of the

PREFATORY NOTE

Sulla by the Rev. Hubert A. Holden, Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1886.

The translation of the *Alcibiades* has already appeared in my "Plutarch's Nicias and Alcibiades" (New York, 1912), and is reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The translations of the *Coriolanus*, *Lysander*, and *Sulla* appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the *Sulla* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

April, 1916.

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ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS
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ALCIBIADES

VOL. IV.

B

ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣ

Ι. Τὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου γένος ἄνωθεν Εὐρυσάκην τὸν Αἴαντος ἀρχηγὸν ἔχειν δοκεῖ, πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Ἀλκμαιωνίδης ἦν, ἐκ Δεινομάχης γεγονὼς τῆς Μεγακλέους. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Κλεινίας ἰδιοστόλῳ τριήρει περὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐνδόξως ἐναυμάχησεν, ὕστερον δὲ Βοιωτοῖς μαχόμενος περὶ Κορώνειαν ἀπέθανε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου Περικλῆς καὶ Ἀρίφρων οἱ Ξανθίππου, προσήκοντες κατὰ γένος, ἐπετρόπευον.

- 2 Λέγεται δ' οὐ κακῶς ὅτι τῆς Σωκράτους πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας οὐ μικρὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπέλαυσεν, εἶγε Νικίου μὲν καὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Λαμάχου καὶ Φορμίωνος Θρασυβούλου Paris
Edition
a. 1624, τε καὶ Θηραμένους, ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων 192 κατ' αὐτόν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἡ μήτηρ ὀνόματος τετύχηκεν, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ καὶ τίτθην, γένος Λάκαιναν, Ἀμύκλαν ὄνομα, καὶ Ζώπυρον παιδαγωγὸν ἴσμεν, ὧν τὸ μὲν Ἀντισθένης, τὸ δὲ Πλάτων ἱστόρηκε.

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I. THE family of Alcibiades, it is thought, may be traced back to Eurysaces,¹ the son of Aias, as its founder; and on his mother's side he was an Alcmaeonid, being the son of Deinomache, the daughter of Megacles. His father, Cleinias, fitted out a trireme at his own cost and fought it gloriously at Artemisium.² He was afterwards slain at Coroneia,³ fighting the Boeotians, and Alcibiades was therefore reared as the ward of Pericles' and Aripbron, the sons of Xanthippus, his near kinsmen.⁴

It is said, and with good reason, that the favour and affection which Socrates showed him contributed not a little to his reputation. Certain it is that Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes were prominent men, and his contemporaries, and yet we cannot so much as name the mother of any one of them; whereas, in the case of Alcibiades, we even know that his nurse, who was a Spartan woman, was called Amycla, and his tutor Zopyrus. The one fact is mentioned by Antisthenes, the other by Plato.⁵

¹ Plato, *Alcibiades I.* p. 121.

² 480 B.C.

³ 447 B.C. ⁴ They were first cousins, once removed.

⁵ *Alcibiades I.* p. 122.

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- 3 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κάλλους Ἀλκιβιάδου οὐδὲν ἴσως δεῖ λέγειν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ παῖδα καὶ μεираκίον καὶ ἄνδρα πάσῃ συνανθήσαν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ὥρα τοῦ σώματος ἐράσμιον καὶ ἡδὺν παρέσχεν. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἔλεγε, πάντων τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλὸν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο Ἀλκιβιάδῃ μετ' ὀλίγων ἄλλων δι' εὐφυΐαν καὶ 4 ἀρετὴν σώματος ὑπεῆρξε. τῇ δὲ φωνῇ καὶ τὴν τραυλότητα ἐμπρέψαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ λάλῳ πιθανότητα παράσχειν χάριν ἐπιτελοῦσαν. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Ἀρίστοφάνης αὐτοῦ τῆς τραυλότητος ἐν οἷς ἐπισκώπτει Θέωρον·

Εἶτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπε πρὸς με τραυλίσας·
 “ὄλᾱς Θεῶλον; τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει.”
 ὀρθῶς γε τοῦτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐτραύλισεν.

καὶ Ἀρχιππος τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου σκώπτων· “Βαδίζει,” φησί, “διακεχλιδῶς, θοιμάτιον ἔλκων, ὅπως ἐμφερὴς μάλιστα τῷ πατρὶ δόξειεν εἶναι,

Κλασαυχενεύεται τε καὶ τραυλίζεται.”

II. Τὸ δ' ἦθος αὐτοῦ πολλὰς μὲν ὕστερον, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόποις, ἀνομοιότητος πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπεδείξατο. φύσει δὲ πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸ φιλόνηκον ἰσχυρότατον

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As regards the beauty of Alcibiades, it is perhaps unnecessary to say aught, except that it flowered out with each successive season of his bodily growth, and made him, alike in boyhood, youth and manhood, lovely and pleasant. The saying of Euripides,¹ that "beauty's autumn, too, is beautiful," is not always true. But it was certainly the case with Alcibiades, as with few besides, because of his excellent natural parts. Even the lisp that he had become his speech, they say, and made his talk persuasive and full of charm. Aristophanes notices this lisp of his in the verses wherein he ridicules Theorus: ²—

(*Sosias*) "Then Alcibiades said to me with a lisp,
said he,
'Cwemahk Theocwus? What a cwaven's
head he has!'"

(*Xanthias*) "That lisp of Alcibiades hit the mark for
once!"

And Archippus, ridiculing the son of Alcibiades, says :
"He walks with utter wantonness, trailing his long
robe behind him, that he may be thought the very
picture of his father, yes,

He slants his neck awry, and overworks the lisp." ³

II. His character, in later life, displayed many inconsistencies and marked changes, as was natural amid his vast undertakings and varied fortunes. He was naturally a man of many strong passions, the mightiest of which were the love of rivalry and the love

¹ Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 4.

² *Wasps*, 44 ff. The "lisp" of Alcibiades turned his r's into l's, and the play is on the Greek words κόραξ, *raven*, and κόλαξ, *flatterer* or *craven*.

³ Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 688.

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ἦν καὶ τὸ φιλόπρωτον, ὥς δῆλόν ἐστι τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν.

- 2 Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ παλαίῳ πιεζούμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πεσεῖν ἀναγαγὼν πρὸς τὸ στόμα τὰ ἄμματα τοῦ πιεζούντος, οἷος ἦν διαφαγεῖν τὰς χεῖρας. ἀφέντος δὲ τὴν λαβὴν ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος· “Δάκνεις, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, καθάπερ αἱ γυναῖκες,” “Οὐκ ἔγωγε,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ὥς οἱ λέοντες.”

- Ἔτι δὲ μικρὸς ὢν ἔπαιζεν ἀστραγάλοις ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ, τῆς δὲ βολῆς καθηκούσης εἰς αὐτὸν
3 ἄμαξα φορτίων ἐπήει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευε περιμεῖναι τὸν ἄγοντα τὸ ζεύγος· ὑπέπιπτε γὰρ ἡ βολὴ τῇ παρόδῳ τῆς ἀμάξης· μὴ πειθομένου δὲ δι’ ἀγροικίαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπάγοντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παῖδες διέσχον, ὁ δ’ Ἀλκιβιάδης καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ στόμα πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους καὶ παρατείνας ἑαυτὸν, ἐκέλευεν οὕτως, εἰ βούλεται, διεξελθεῖν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἀνακροῦσαι τὸ ζεύγος ὀπίσω δείσαντα, τοὺς δ’ ἰδόντας ἐκπλαγῆναι καὶ μετὰ βοῆς συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν.

- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν ἦκε, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὑπήκουε διδασκάλοις ἐπεικῶς, τὸ δ’ αὐλεῖν ἔφευγεν ὥς ἀγευνὲς καὶ ἀνελεύθερον· πληκτροῦ μὲν γὰρ καὶ λύρας χρήσιν οὐδὲν οὔτε σχήματος οὔτε μορφῆς ἐλευθέρῳ πρεπούσης διαφθείρειν, αὐλοὺς δὲ φυσῶντος ἀνθρώπου στόματι καὶ τοὺς συνήθεις ἂν πάνυ μόλις διαγνῶναι τὸ πρόσωπον.

- 5 ἔτι δὲ τὴν μὲν λύραν τῷ χρωμένῳ συμφθέγγεσθαι καὶ συνάδειν, τὸν δ’ αὐλὸν ἐπιστομίζειν καὶ ἀποφράττειν ἕκαστον τὴν τε φωνὴν καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀφαιρούμενον. “Αὐλείτωσαν οὖν,” ἔφη, “Θηβαίων παῖδες· οὐ γὰρ ἴσασι διαλέγεσθαι·

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of preëminence. This is clear from the stories recorded of his boyhood.

He was once hard pressed in wrestling, and to save himself from getting a fall, set his teeth in his opponent's arms, where they clutched him, and was like to have bitten through them. His adversary, letting go his hold, cried : "You bite, Alcibiades, as women do !" "Not I," said Alcibiades, "but as lions do."

While still a small boy, he was playing knuckle-bones in the narrow street, and just as it was his turn to throw, a heavy-laden waggon came along. In the first place, he bade the driver halt, since his cast lay right in the path of the waggon. The driver, however, was a boorish fellow, and paid no heed to him, but drove his team along. Whereupon, while the other boys scattered out of the way, Alcibiades threw himself flat on his face in front of the team, stretched himself out at full length, and bade the driver go on if he pleased. At this the fellow pulled up his beasts sharply, in terror ; the spectators, too, were affrighted, and ran with shouts to help the boy.

At school, he usually paid due heed to his teachers, but he refused to play the flute, holding it to be an ignoble and illiberal thing. The use of the plectrum and the lyre, he argued, wrought no havoc with the bearing and appearance which were becoming to a gentleman ; but let a man go to blowing on a flute, and even his own kinsmen could scarcely recognize his features. Moreover, the lyre blended its tones with the voice or song of its master ; whereas the flute closed and barricaded the mouth, robbing its master both of voice and speech. "Flutes, then," said he, "for the sons of Thebes ; they know not

ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς οἱ πατέρες λέγουσιν, ἀρχηγέτις Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πατρῶος Ἀπόλλων ἐστίν, ὣν ἡ μὲν ἔρριψε τὸν αὐλόν, ὃ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν
 6 ἐξέδειρεν." τοιαῦτα παίζων ἅμα καὶ σπουδάζων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτόν τε τοῦ μαθήματος ἀπέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. ταχὺ γὰρ διήλθε λόγος εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ὡς εὖ ποιῶν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης βδελύττοιο τὴν αὐλητικὴν καὶ χλευάζει τοὺς μανθάνοντας. ὅθεν ἐξέπεσε κομιδῇ τῶν ἐλευθέρων διατριβῶν καὶ προεπηλακίσθη παντάπασιν ὁ αὐλός.

III. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀντιφῶντος λοιδορίαις γέγραπται ὅτι παῖς ὢν, ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπέδρα πρὸς Δημοκράτη τινὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν βουλομένου δ' 193 αὐτὸν ἀποκηρύττειν Ἀρίφρονος, Περικλῆς οὐκ εἶασεν, εἰπὼν· εἰ μὲν τέθνηκεν, ἡμέρα μὶα διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα φανεῖσθαι πρότερον, εἰ δὲ σῶς ἐστιν, ἄσωστον αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἔσεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἀκολουθούντων τινὰ κτείνειεν ἐν τῇ Σιβυρτίου παλαίστρᾳ ξύλῳ πατάξας. ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως πιστεύειν, ἃ γε λοιδορεῖσθαι τις αὐτῷ δι' ἔχθραν ὁμολογῶν εἶπεν.

IV. Ἦδη δὲ πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀθροισμένων καὶ περιεπόντων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς ὥρας ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες, ὃ δὲ Σωκράτους ἔρως μέγα

¹ Athene threw away the flute because she saw her puffed and swollen cheeks reflected in the water of a spring. Marsyas the satyr was vanquished by Apollo in a musical contest, and was flayed alive.

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how to converse. But we Athenians, as our fathers say, have Athene for foundress and Apollo for patron, one of whom cast the flute away in disgust, and the other flayed the presumptuous flute-player."¹ Thus, half in jest and half in earnest, Alcibiades emancipated himself from this discipline, and the rest of the boys as well. For word soon made its way to them that Alcibiades loathed the art of flute-playing and scoffed at its disciples, and rightly, too. Wherefore the flute was dropped entirely from the programme of a liberal education and was altogether despised.

III. Among the calumnies which Antiphon² heaps upon him it is recorded that, when he was a boy, he ran away from home to Democrates, one of his lovers, and that Aripbron was all for having him proclaimed by town crier as a castaway. But Pericles would not suffer it. "If he is dead," said he, "we shall know it only a day the sooner for the proclamation; whereas, if he is alive, he will, in consequence of it, be as good as dead for the rest of his life." Antiphon says also that with a blow of his stick he slew one of his attendants in the palaestra of Sibyrtius. But these things are perhaps unworthy of belief, coming as they do from one who admits that he hated Alcibiades, and abused him accordingly.

IV. It was not long before many men of high birth clustered about him and paid him their attentions. Most of them were plainly smitten with his brilliant youthful beauty and fondly courted him. But it was the love which Socrates had for him that

² An abusive oration of Antiphon the Rhamnusian against Alcibiades, cited in Athenaeus, p. 525 b, was probably a fabrication and falsely attributed to him. It is not extant.

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μαρτύριον ἦν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐφυίας τοῦ παιδός, ἦν ἐμφαινομένην τῷ εἶδει καὶ διαλάμπουσαν ἐνορῶν, φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸν προκαταλαμβάνοντα κολακείαις καὶ χάρισιν ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ συμμάχων ὄχλον, οἷος ἦν ἀμύνειν καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ὡς φυτὸν ἐν ἄνθει τὸν

2 οἰκεῖον καρπὸν ἀποβάλλον καὶ διαφθεῖρον. οὐδένα γὰρ ἢ τύχῃ περιέσχεν ἔξωθεν καὶ περιέφραξε τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀγαθοῖς τοσοῦτον ὥστ' ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας γενέσθαι, καὶ λόγοις ἀπρόσιτον παρρησίαν καὶ δηγμὸν ἔχουσιν· ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδης εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς θρυπτόμενος καὶ ἀποκλειόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸς χάριν ἐξομιλούντων εἰσακούσαι τοῦ νουθετοῦντος καὶ παιδεύοντος, ὅμως ὑπ' εὐφυίας ἐγνώρισε Σωκράτη καὶ προσήκατο, διασχὼν

3 τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἐραστὰς. ταχὺ δὲ ποιησάμενος συνήθη, καὶ λόγων ἀκούσας οὐχ ἡδονὴν ἀνανδρον ἐραστοῦ θηρεύοντος, οὐδὲ φιλημάτων καὶ ψαύσεως προσαιτοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐλέγχοντος τὸ σαθρὸν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ πιεζοῦντος τὸν κενὸν καὶ ἀνόητον τύφον,

Ἐπτηξ' ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλος ὥς κλίνας πτερόν.

καὶ τὸ μὲν Σωκράτους ἡγήσατο πρᾶγμα τῷ ὄντι θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν εἰς νέων ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι καὶ

4 σωτηρίαν· καταφρονῶν δ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, θαυμάζων δ' ἐκείνων, ἀγαπῶν δὲ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐλάνθανεν εἰδῶλον ἔρωτος,

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bore strong testimony to the boy's native excellence and good parts. These Socrates saw radiantly manifest in his outward person, and, fearful of the influence upon him of wealth and rank and the throng of citizens, foreigners and allies who sought to preëempt his affections by flattery and favour, he was fain to protect him, and not suffer such a fair flowering plant to cast its native fruit to perdition. For there is no man whom Fortune so envelops and compasses about with the so-called good things of life that he cannot be reached by the bold and caustic reasonings of philosophy, and pierced to the heart. And so it was that Alcibiades, although he was pampered from the very first, and was prevented by the companions who sought only to please him from giving ear to one who would instruct and train him, nevertheless, through the goodness of his parts, at last saw all that was in Socrates, and clave to him, putting away his rich and famous lovers. And speedily, from choosing such an associate, and giving ear to the words of a lover who was in the chase for no unmanly pleasures, and begged no kisses and embraces, but sought to expose the weakness of his soul and rebuke his vain and foolish pride,

“He crouched, though warrior bird, like slave, with drooping wings.”¹

And he came to think that the work of Socrates was really a kind of provision of the gods for the care and salvation of youth. Thus, by despising himself, admiring his friend, loving that friend's kindly solicitude and revering his excellence, he

¹ The iambic trimeter is of unknown authorship.

ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀντέρωτα κτώμενος, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας ὁρῶντας αὐτὸν Σωκράτει μὲν συνδειπνοῦντα καὶ συμπαλαίοντα καὶ συσκηνοῦντα, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐρασταῖς χαλεπὸν ὄντα καὶ δυσχείρωτον, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παντάπασι σοβαρῶς προσφερόμενον, ὥσπερ Ἀνύτῳ τῷ Ἀνθεμίῳ.

- 5 Ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ ἐρῶν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, ξένους δὲ τινὰς ἐστιῶν ἐκάλει καὶ κεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν κλήσιν ἀπείπατο, μεθυσθεῖς δ' οἴκοι μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐκώμασε πρὸς τὸν Ἀνυτον, καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐπιστὰς τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος καὶ θεασάμενος ἀργυρῶν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ χρυσῶν πλήρεις τὰς τραπέζας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς παῖδας τὰ ἡμίση λαβόντας οἴκαδε κομίζειν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰσελθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πράξας ἀπῆλθε. τῶν οὖν ξένων δυσχεραίνοντων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ὑβριστικῶς καὶ ὑπερηφάνως εἶη τῷ Ἀνύτῳ κεχρημένος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, “Ἐπεικῶς μὲν οὖν,” ὁ Ἀνυτος ἔφη, “καὶ φιланθρώπως· ἃ γὰρ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν ἅπαντα, τούτων ἡμῖν τὰ μέρη καταλέλοιπεν.”

V. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐρασταῖς ἐχρήτο· πλὴν ἓνα μετοικικὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὥς φασιν, οὐ πολλὰ κεκτημένον, ἀποδόμενον δὲ πάντα καὶ τὸ συναχθὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν στατῆρας τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ προσφέροντα καὶ δεόμενον λαβεῖν, γελάσας καὶ ἡσθεὶς ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. ἐστιάσας δὲ καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς τό τε χρυσίον ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ προσέταξε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς ὠνουμένους τὰ τέλη τὰ δημόσια ταῖς τιμαῖς ὑπερβάλλειν ἀντωνού-

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insensibly acquired an "image of love," as Plato says,¹ "to match love," and all were amazed to see him eating, exercising, and tenting with Socrates,² while he was harsh and stubborn with the rest of his lovers. Some of these he actually treated with the greatest insolence, as, for example, Anytus, the son of Anthemion.

This man was a lover of his, who, entertaining some friends, asked Alcibiades also to the dinner. Alcibiades declined the invitation, but after having drunk deep at home with some friends, went in revel rout to the house of Anytus, took his stand at the door of the men's chamber, and, observing the tables full of gold and silver beakers, ordered his slaves to take half of them and carry them home for him. He did not deign to go in, but played this prank and was off. The guests were naturally indignant, and declared that Alcibiades had treated Anytus with gross and overweening insolence. "Not so," said Anytus, "but with moderation and kindness; he might have taken all there were: he has left us half."

V. He treated the rest of his lovers also after this fashion. There was one man, however, a resident alien, as they say, and not possessed of much, who sold all that he had, and brought the hundred staters which he got for it to Alcibiades, begging him to accept them. Alcibiades burst out laughing with delight at this, and invited the man to dinner. After feasting him and showing him every kindness, he gave him back his gold, and charged him on the morrow to compete with the farmers of the public revenues and outbid them all.

¹ *Phaedrus*, p. 255.

² Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, p. 219 e.

2¹ μενον. παραιτουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὸ πολλῶν ταλάντων εἶναι τὴν ὥνῃν, ἠπείλησε μαστιγῶσειν εἰ μὴ ταῦτα πράττοι· καὶ γὰρ 194 ἐτύγχανεν ἐγκαλῶν τι τοῖς τελῶναις ἴδιον. ἔωθεν οὖν προελθὼν¹ ὁ μέτοικος εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπέθηκε τῇ ὥνῃ τάλαντον. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ τελῶναι συστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐκέλευον ὀνομάζειν ἐγγυητήν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν εὐρόντος, θορυβουμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦντος, ἐστὼς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἄπωθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, “Ἐμὲ γράψατ’,” ἔφη, “ἐμὸς 3 φίλος ἐστίν, ἐγγυῶμαι.” ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ τελῶναι ἐξηπορήθησαν. εἰωθότες γὰρ αἰεὶ ταῖς δευτέραις ὥναις χρεωλυτεῖν τὰς πρώτας, οὐχ ἐώρων ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῖς οὔσαν τοῦ πράγματος. ἐδέοντο δὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀργύριον διδόντες· ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐκ εἶα λαβεῖν ἔλαττον ταλάντου. διδόντων δὲ τὸ τάλαντον ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστήναι λαβόντα. κἀκεῖνον μὲν οὕτως ὠφέλησεν.

VI. Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτους ἔρως πολλοὺς ἔχων καὶ μεγάλους ἀνταγωνιστὰς πῇ μὲν ἐκράτει τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, δι' εὐφυΐαν ἀπτομένων τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καρδίαν στρεφόντων καὶ δάκρυα ἐκχεόντων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τοῖς κόλαξι πολλὰς ἡδονὰς ὑποβάλλουσιν ἐνδιδούς ἑαυτόν, ἀπωλίσθαινε τοῦ Σωκράτους καὶ δραπετεύων ἀτεχνῶς ἐκυνηγείτο, πρὸς μόνον ἐκεῖνον ἔχων τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὑπερορῶν.

2 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κλεάνθης ἔλεγε τὸν ἐρώμενον ὑφ'

¹ προελθὼν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske : προσελθὼν

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The man protested, because the purchase demanded a capital of many talents ; but Alcibiades threatened to have him scourged if he did not do it, because he cherished some private grudge against the ordinary contractors. In the morning, accordingly, the alien went into the market place and increased the usual bid for the public lands by a talent. The contractors clustered angrily about him and bade him name his surety, supposing that he could find none. The man was confounded and began to draw back, when Alcibiades, standing afar off, cried to the magistrates : " Put my name down ; he is a friend of mine ; I will be his surety." When the contractors heard this, they were at their wit's end, for they were in the habit of paying what they owed on a first purchase with the profits of a second, and saw no way out of their difficulty. Accordingly, they besought the man to withdraw his bid, and offered him money so to do ; but Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent. On their offering the man the talent, he bade him take it and withdraw. To this lover he was of service in such a way.

VI. But the love of Socrates, though it had many powerful rivals, somehow mastered Alcibiades. For he was of good natural parts, and the words of his teacher took hold of him and wrung his heart and brought tears to his eyes. But sometimes he would surrender himself to the flatterers who tempted him with many pleasures, and slip away from Socrates, and suffer himself to be actually hunted down by him like a runaway slave. And yet he feared and revered Socrates alone, and despised the rest of his lovers.

/ It was Cleanthes who said that any one beloved of

ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὤτων κρατεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀντερασταῖς πολλὰς λαβὰς παρέχειν ἀθίκτους ἑαυτῷ, τὴν γαστέρα λέγων καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὸν λαιμόν· Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἦν μὲν ἀμέλει καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀγώγιμος· ἡ γὰρ ὑπὸ Θουκυδίδου λεγομένη παρανομία εἰς τὸ σῶμα τῆς διαίτης ὑποψίαν
 3 τοιαύτην δίδωσιν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι καὶ τῆς φιλοδοξίας οἱ διαφθείροντες ἐνέβαλλον οὐ καθ' ὥραν εἰς μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην, ἀναπείθοντες ὥς, ὅταν πρῶτον ἄρξηται τὰ δημόσια πράττειν, οὐ μόνον ἀμαυρῶσοντα τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς καὶ δημαγωγούς εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Περικλέους δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ δόξαν ὑπερβαλούμενον.
 4 ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ σίδηρος ἐν τῷ πυρὶ μαλασσόμενος αὐθις ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ πυκνοῦται καὶ σύνεισι τοῖς μορίοις εἰς αὐτόν, οὕτως ἐκείνους ὁ Σωκράτης θρύψεως διάπλεων καὶ χαυνότητος ὁσάκις ἂν λάβοι, πιέζων τῷ λόγῳ καὶ συστέλλων ταπεινὸν ἐποίει καὶ ἄτολμον, ἡλίκων ἐνδεής ἐστι καὶ ἀτελής πρὸς ἀρετὴν μαυθάνοντα.

VII. Τὴν δὲ παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παραλλάσσω ἐπέστη γραμματοδιδασκάλῳ καὶ βιβλίον ἤτησεν Ὀμηρικόν. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου μηδὲν ἔχειν Ὀμήρου, κονδύλῳ καθικόμενος αὐτοῦ παρῆλθεν. ἐτέρου δὲ φήσαντος ἔχειν Ὀμηρον ὑφ' αὐτοῦ διωρθωμένον, “Εἴτ’,” ἔφη, “γράμματα διδάσκεις, Ὀμηρον ἐπανορθοῦν ἱκανὸς ὢν; οὐχὶ τοὺς νέους παιδεύεις;”

2 Περικλεῖ δὲ βουλόμενος ἐντυχεῖν ἐπὶ θύρας

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him must be "downed," as wrestlers say, by the ears alone, though offering to rival lovers many other "holds" which he himself would scorn to take,—meaning the various lusts of the body. And Alcibiades was certainly prone to be led away into pleasure. That "lawless self-indulgence" of his, of which Thucydides speaks,¹ leads one to suspect this. However, it was rather his love of distinction and love of fame to which his corrupters appealed, and thereby plunged him all too soon into ways of presumptuous scheming, persuading him that he had only to enter public life, and he would straightway cast into total eclipse the ordinary generals and public leaders, and not only that, he would even surpass Pericles in power and reputation among the Hellenes. Accordingly, just as iron, which has been softened in the fire, is hardened again by cold water, and has its particles compacted together, so Alcibiades, whenever Socrates found him filled with vanity and wantonness, was reduced to shape by the Master's discourse, and rendered humble and cautious. He learned how great were his deficiencies and how incomplete his excellence.

< VII. Once, as he was getting on past boyhood, he accosted a school-teacher, and asked him for a book of Homer. The teacher replied that he had nothing of Homer's, whereupon Alcibiades fetched him a blow with his fist, and went his way. Another teacher said he had a Homer which he had corrected himself. "What!" said Alcibiades, "are you teaching boys to read when you are competent to edit Homer? You should be training young men."

He once wished to see Pericles, and went to his

¹ vi. 15, 4.

ἦλθεν αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ μὴ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὅπως ἀποδώσει λόγον Ἀθηναίοις, ἀπὶ ὧν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, “Εἴτα,” ἔφη, “βέλτιον οὐκ ἦν σκοπεῖν αὐτὸν ὅπως οὐκ ἀποδώσει λόγον Ἀθηναίοις;”

Ἔτι δὲ μειράκιον ὧν ἐστρατεύσατο τὴν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν στρατείαν, καὶ Σωκράτη σύσκηνον
 3 εἶχε καὶ παραστάτην ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. ἰσχυρὰς δὲ γενομένης μάχης ἠρίστευσαν μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, τοῦ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τραύματι περιπεσόντος ὁ Σωκράτης προέστη καὶ ἤμυνε καὶ μάλιστα δὴ προδήλως ἔσωσεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων. ἐγίνετο μὲν οὖν τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ λόγῳ Σωκράτους τὸ ἀριστεῖον· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ σπουδάζοντες ἐφαίνοντο περιθεῖναι τὴν δόξαν, ὁ Σωκράτης βουλόμενος αὔξεσθαι τὸ φιλότιμον ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς αὐτοῦ πρῶτος ἐμαρτύρει καὶ παρεκάλει στεφανοῦν ἐκείνον καὶ διδόναι τὴν πανοπλίαν. 195

4 Ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Δηλῷ μάχης γενομένης καὶ φευγόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἔχων ἵππον ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, τοῦ δὲ Σωκράτους πεζῇ μετ' ὀλίγων ἀποχωροῦντος, οὐ παρήλασεν ἰδὼν, ἀλλὰ παρέπεμψε καὶ περιήμυνεν, ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρούντων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη.

VIII. Ἱππονίκῳ δὲ τῷ Καλλίου πατρί, καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντι μεγάλην καὶ δύναμιν ἀπὸ πλούτου καὶ γένους, ἐνέτριψε κόνδυλον, οὐχ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἢ διαφορᾶς τινος προαχθείς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γέλῳτι,

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house. But he was told that Pericles could not see him; he was studying how to render his accounts to the Athenians. "Were it not better for him," said Alcibiades, as he went away, "to study how not to render his accounts to the Athenians?"

While still a stripling, he served as a soldier in the campaign of Potidaea,¹ and had Socrates for his tent-mate and comrade in action. A fierce battle took place, wherein both of them distinguished themselves; but when Alcibiades fell wounded, it was Socrates who stood over him and defended him, and with the most conspicuous bravery saved him, armour and all. The prize of valour fell to Socrates, of course, on the justest calculation; but the generals, owing to the high position of Alcibiades, were manifestly anxious to give him the glory of it. Socrates, therefore, wishing to increase his pupil's honourable ambitions, led all the rest in bearing witness to his bravery, and in begging that the crown and the suit of armour be given to him.

On another occasion, in the rout of the Athenians which followed the battle of Delium,² Alcibiades, on horseback, saw Socrates retreating on foot with a small company, and would not pass him by, but rode by his side and defended him, though the enemy were pressing them hard and slaying many. This, however, was a later incident.

VIII. He once gave Hipponicus a blow with his fist—Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man of great reputation and influence owing to his wealth and family—not that he had any quarrel with him, or was a prey to anger, but simply for the joke of the

¹ 432–431 B.C. Cf. chapter iv. 4.

² 424 B.C. Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, p. 221 a.

συνθέμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους. περιβοήτου δὲ τῆς ἀσελγείας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ συναγανακτούντων, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἀπάντων, ἅμ' ἡμέρα παρῆν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Ἴππο-
νίκου, καὶ τὴν θύραν κόψας εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν
καὶ θεὶς τὸ ἱμάτιον παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα, μαστι-
2 γοῦν καὶ κολάζειν κελεύων. ὁ δὲ συνέγνω καὶ
τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφήκεν, ὕστερον δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς
Ἰππαρέτης ἐποιήσατο νυμφίον.

Ἐνιοι δέ φασιν, οὐχ Ἰππόνικον, ἀλλὰ Καλλίαν,
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, δοῦναι τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὴν Ἰππα-
ρέτην ἐπὶ δέκα ταλάντοις· εἴτα μέντοι τεκούσης
ἄλλα πάλιν δέκα προσεῖσπρᾶξαι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην,
ὥς τοῦτο συνθέμενον εἰ γένοιτο παῖδες. ὁ δὲ
Καλλίας ἐπιβουλὴν δεδοικῶς προσῆλθε τῷ δήμῳ
τὰ χρήματα διδοὺς καὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἅνπερ αὐτῷ
συμπέση μὴ καταλιπόντι γενεὰν ἀποθανεῖν.

3 Εὐτακτος δ' οὔσα καὶ φίλανδρος ἡ Ἰππαρέτη,
λυπούμενη δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν γάμον ἐταίραις
ξέναις καὶ ἀσταῖς συνόντος, ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπιοῦσα
πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὥχετο. τοῦ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδου μὴ
φροντίζοντος, ἀλλὰ τρυφῶντος, ἔδει τὸ τῆς ἀπο-
λείψεως γράμμα παρὰ τῷ ἄρχοντι θέσθαι, μὴ δι'
4 ἐτέρων, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν παροῦσαν. ὥς οὖν παρῆν
τοῦτο πράξουσα κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐπελθὼν ὁ
Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ συναρπάσας αὐτὴν ἀπῆλθε δι'
ἀγορᾶς οἴκαδε κομίζων, μηδεὶς ἐναντιωθῆναι
μηδ' ἀφελέσθαι τολμήσαντος. ἔμεινε μέντοι
παρ' αὐτῷ μέχρι τελευτῆς, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ μετ'
οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εἰς Ἐφεσον τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
πλεύσαντος.

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thing, on a wager with some companions. The wanton deed was soon noised about the city, and everybody was indignant, as was natural. Early the next morning Alcibiades went to the house of Hipponicus, knocked at his door, and on being shown into his presence, laid off the cloak he wore and bade Hipponicus scourge and chastise him as he would. But Hipponicus put away his wrath and forgave him, and afterwards gave him his daughter Hipparete to wife.

Some say, however, that it was not Hipponicus, but Callias, his son, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with a dowry of ten talents; and that afterwards, when she became a mother, Alcibiades exacted other ten talents besides, on the plea that this was the agreement, should children be born. And Callias was so afraid of the scheming of Alcibiades to get his wealth, that he made public proffer to the people of his property and house in case it should befall him to die without lineal heirs.

Hipparete was a decorous and affectionate wife, but being distressed because her husband would consort with courtezans, native and foreign, she left his house and went to live with her brother. Alcibiades did not mind this, but continued his wanton ways, and so she had to put in her plea for divorce to the magistrate, and that not by proxy, but in her own person. On her appearing publicly to do this, as the law required, Alcibiades came up and seized her and carried her off home with him through the market place, no man daring to oppose him or take her from him. She lived with him, moreover, until her death, but she died shortly after this, when Alcibiades was on a voyage to Ephesus.

5 Αὕτη μὲν οὖν οὐ παντελῶς ἔδοξεν ἡ βία παρά-
νομος οὐδ' ἀπάνθρωπος εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος
δοκεῖ διὰ τοῦτο προάγειν τὴν ἀπολείπουσαν εἰς
τὸ δημόσιον αὐτήν, ὅπως ἐγγένηται τῷ ἀνδρὶ
συμβῆναι καὶ κατασχεῖν.

IX. Ὅντος δὲ κυνὸς αὐτῷ θαυμαστοῦ τὸ μέγε-
θος καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ὃν ἐβδομήκοντα μνῶν ἐωνημένος
ἐτύγχανεν, ἀπέκοψε τὴν οὐρὰν πάγκαλον οὔσαν.
ἐπιτιμώντων δὲ τῶν συνήθων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι
πάντες ἐπὶ τῷ κυνὶ δάκνονται καὶ λοιδοροῦσιν
αὐτόν, ἐπιγελάσας, “Γίνεται τοίνυν,” εἶπεν, “ὃ
βούλομαι· βούλομαι γὰρ Ἀθηναίους τοῦτο λαλεῖν,
ἵνα μὴ τι χεῖρον περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγωσι.”

X. Πρώτην δ' αὐτῷ πάροδον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον
γενέσθαι λέγουσι μετὰ χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεως, οὐκ
ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἀλλὰ παριόντα θορυβούντων
Ἀθηναίων ἐρέσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θορύβου, πυθό-
μενον δὲ χρημάτων ἐπίδοσιν γίνεσθαι παρελθεῖν
καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι· τοῦ δὲ δήμου κροτοῦντος καὶ
βοῶντος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ὄρτυγος ὃν
ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ· πτοηθέντος οὖν
καὶ διαφυγόντος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκβοῆσαι τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους, πολλοὺς δὲ συνθηρᾶν ἀναστάντας,
λαβεῖν δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ
ἀποδοῦναι· διὸ προσφιλέστατον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ
γενέσθαι.

2 Μεγάλας δ' αὐτῷ κλεισιάδας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν

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Such violence as this was not thought lawless or cruel at all. Indeed, the law prescribes that the wife who would separate from her husband shall go to court in person, to this very end, it would seem, that the husband may have a chance to meet and gain possession of her.

IX. Possessing a dog of wonderful size and beauty, which had cost him seventy minas,¹ he had its tail cut off, and a beautiful tail it was, too. His comrades chid him for this, and declared that everybody was furious about the dog and abusive of its owner. But Alcibiades burst out laughing and said: "That's just what I want; I want Athens to talk about this, that it may say nothing worse about me."

X. His first entrance into public life, they say, was connected with a contribution of money to the state, and was not of design. He was passing by when the Athenians were applauding in their assembly, and asked the reason for the applause. On being told that a contribution of money to the state was going on, he went forward to the bema and made a contribution himself. The crowd clapped their hands and shouted for joy—so much so that Alcibiades forgot all about the quail which he was carrying in his cloak, and the bird flew away in a fright. Thereupon the Athenians shouted all the more, and many of them sprang to help him hunt the bird. The one who caught it and gave it back to him was Antiochus, the sea captain, who became in consequence a great favourite with Alcibiades.²

Though great doors to public service were opened

¹ *I.e.* 7000 drachmas, or francs.

² Cf. chapter xxxv. 4-6.

ἀνοίγοντος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς τε
περὶ τὰς μάχας ἀνδραγαθίας, φίλων τε πολλῶν
καὶ οἰκείων ὑπαρχόντων, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἡξίου μάλ-
λον ἢ τῆς τοῦ λόγου χάριτος ἰσχύειν ἐν τοῖς 196
πολλοῖς. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δυνατὸς ἦν εἰπεῖν, οἷ τε
κωμικοὶ μαρτυροῦσι καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ὁ δυνατώ-
τατος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου, λέγων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην
καὶ δεινότατον εἰπεῖν γενέσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις.
3 εἰ δὲ Θεοφράστῳ πιστεύομεν, ἀνδρὶ φιληκόῳ
καὶ ἱστορικῷ παρ' ὄντινούν τῶν φιλοσόφων,
εὐρεῖν μὲν ἦν τὰ δέοντα καὶ νοῆσαι πάντων
ἱκανώτατος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ζητῶν δὲ μὴ μόνον ἀ
δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς δεῖ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς
ρήμασιν, οὐκ εὐπορῶν δέ, πολλάκις ἐσφάλλετο
καὶ μεταξὺ λέγων ἀπεσιώπα καὶ διέλειπε, λέξεως
διαφυγούσης αὐτόν, ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ διασκο-
πούμενος.

XI. Αἱ δ' ἵπποτροφίαι περιβόητοι μὲν ἐγένοντο
καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀρμάτων· ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἄλλος
οὐδεὶς καθῆκεν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἰδιώτης οὐδὲ βα-
σιλεύς, μόνος δὲ ἐκεῖνος. καὶ τὸ νικῆσαι δὲ καὶ
δεύτερον γενέσθαι καὶ τέταρτον, ὡς Θουκυδίδης
φησὶν, ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης τρίτον, ὑπερβάλλει λαμ-
πρότητι καὶ δόξῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τούτοις φι-
2 λοτιμίαν. λέγει δ' ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι
ταῦτα·

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to him by his birth, his wealth, and his personal bravery in battle; and though he had many friends and followers, he thought that nothing should give him more influence with the people than the charm of his discourse. And that he was a powerful speaker, not only do the comic poets testify, but also the most powerful of orators himself,¹ who says, in his speech "Against Meidias," that Alcibiades was a most able speaker in addition to his other gifts. And if we are to trust Theophrastus, the most versatile and learned of the philosophers, Alcibiades was of all men the most capable of discovering and understanding what was required in a given case. But since he strove to find not only the proper thing to say, but also the proper words and phrases in which to say it; and since in this last regard he was not a man of large resources, he would often stumble in the midst of his speech, come to a stop, and pause a while, a particular phrase eluding him. Then he would resume, and proceed with all the caution in the world.

XI. His breeds of horses were famous the world over, and so was the number of his racing-chariots. No one else ever entered seven of these at the Olympic games—neither commoner nor king—but he alone. And his coming off first, second, and fourth victor (as Thucydides says²; third, according to Euripides), transcends in the splendour of its renown all that ambition can aspire to in this field. The ode of Euripides³ to which I refer runs thus:—

¹ Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, § 145.

² In a speech of Alcibiades, vi. 16. 2.

³ An *Epinikion*, or hymn of victory, like the extant odes of Pindar.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Σὲ δ' αἰέσομαι, ὦ Κλεινίου παῖ.
καλὸν ἂ νίκα· κάλλιστον δ', ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος
Ἑλλάνων,
ἄρματι πρῶτα δραμεῖν καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα,
βῆναί τ' ἀπονητί, Διδὸς στεφθέντα τ' ἐλαία
κάρυκι βοᾶν¹ παραδοῦναι·

XII. Τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐπιφανέστερον ἐποίησεν ἢ τῶν πόλεων φιλοτιμία. σκηνην μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένην διαπρεπῶς ἔστησαν Ἑφέσιοι, τροφὰς δὲ ἵπποις καὶ πλήθος ἱερείων παρείχεν ἡ Χίων πόλις, οἶνον δὲ Λέσβιοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑποδοχὴν ἀφειδῶς ἐστιῶντι πολλούς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβολή τις ἢ κακοήθεια γενομένη περὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐκείνην πλείονα λόγον παρέσχε.

- 2 Λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἦν Ἀθήνησι Διομήδης, ἀνὴρ οὐ πονηρός, Ἀλκιβιάδου φίλος, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· καὶ πυνθανόμενος ἄρμα δημόσιον Ἀργείοις εἶναι, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην εἰδὼς ἐν Ἀργεὶ μέγα δυνάμενον καὶ φίλους ἔχοντα πολλούς, ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ πρίασθαι τὸ ἄρμα.
- 3 πριάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἴδιον ἀπεγράψατο, τὸν δὲ Διομήδην χαίρειν εἶασε χαλεπῶς φέροντα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ δίκη συστάσα περὶ τούτου, καὶ λόγος Ἰσοκράτει γέγραπται περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ

¹ Διδὸς στεφθέντα τ' ἐλαία κάρυκι βοᾶν with Hermann and Bergk (*Poet. Lyr. Gr.* ii.⁴ p. 266): δις στεφθέντ' ἐλαία κάρυκι βοᾶν (Bekker, βοᾶν).

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“Thee will I sing, O child of Cleinias ;
A fair thing is victory, but fairest is what no other
Hellene has achieved,
To run first, and second, and third in the contest
of racing-chariots,
And to come off unwearied, and, wreathed with
the olive of Zeus,
To furnish theme for herald’s proclamation.”

XII. Moreover, this splendour of his at Olympia was made even more conspicuous by the emulous rivalry of the cities in his behalf. The Ephesians equipped him with a tent of magnificent adornment; the Chians furnished him with provender for his horses and with innumerable animals for sacrifice; the Lesbians with wine and other provisions for his unstinted entertainment of the multitude. However, a grave calumny—or malpractice on his part—connected with this rivalry was even more in the mouths of men.

It is said, namely, that there was at Athens one Diomedes, a reputable man, a friend of Alcibiades, and eagerly desirous of winning a victory at Olympia. He learned that there was a racing-chariot at Argos which was the property of that city, and knowing that Alcibiades had many friends and was very influential there, got him to buy the chariot. Alcibiades bought it for his friend, and then entered it in the racing lists as his own, bidding Diomedes go hang. Diomedes was full of indignation, and called on gods and men to witness his wrongs. It appears also that a law-suit arose over this matter, and a speech was written by Isocrates¹ for the son of

¹ Oration xvi., *De bigis*.

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Ἀλκιβιάδου παῖδός, ἐν ᾧ Τισίας ἐστίν, οὐ
Διομήδης, ὁ δικασάμενος.

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν
ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὐθύς ἐτα-
πείνωσε δημαγωγούς, ἀγῶνα δ' εἶχε πρὸς τε
Φαίακα τὸν Ἑρασιστράτου καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικη-
ράτου, τὸν μὲν ἤδη καθ' ἡλικίαν προήκοντα καὶ
στρατηγὸν ἄριστον εἶναι δοκοῦντα, Φαίακα δ'
ἀρχόμενον, ὥσπερ αὐτός, αὐξάνεσθαι τότε καὶ
γνωρίμων ὄντα πατέρων, ἐλαττούμενον δὲ τοῖς τε
2 ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον. ἐντευκτικὸς γὰρ ἰδία
καὶ πιθανὸς ἐδόκει μᾶλλον ἢ φέρειν ἀγῶνας ἐν
δήμῳ δυνατός. ἦν γάρ, ὡς Εὐπολὶς φησι,

Λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν.

φέρεται δὲ καὶ λόγος τις κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου ὑπὸ ¹
Φαίακος γεγραμμένος, ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
γέγραπται καὶ ὅτι τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ πομπεῖα
χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ κεκτημένης Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐχρήτο
πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἰδίῳις πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν
δαίαιταν.

3 Ἦν δέ τις Ὑπέρβολος Περιθοίδης, οὐ μέμνηται
μὲν ὡς ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ Θουκυδίδης, τοῖς
δὲ κωμικοῖς ὁμοῦ τι πᾶσι διατριβὴν αἰεὶ σκωπτό-
μενος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις παρεῖχεν. ἄτρεπτος δὲ
πρὸς τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν καὶ ἀπαθὴς ὢν ὀλιγωρία

¹ ὑπὸ with Coraës: καί.

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Alcibiades "Concerning the Team of Horses." In this speech, however, it is Tisias, not Diomedes, who is the plaintiff.

XIII. On entering public life, though still a mere stripling, he immediately humbled all the other popular leaders except Phaeax, the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias, the son of Niceratus. These men made him fight hard for what he won. Nicias was already of mature years, and had the reputation of being a most excellent general; but Phaeax, like himself, was just beginning his career, and, though of illustrious parentage, was inferior to him in other ways, and particularly as a public speaker. He seemed affable and winning in private conversation rather than capable of conducting public debates. In fact, he was, as Eupolis says,¹

"A prince of talkers, but in speaking most incapable."

And there is extant a certain speech written by Phaeax² "Against Alcibiades," wherein, among other things, it is written that the city's numerous ceremonial utensils of gold and silver were all used by Alcibiades at his regular table as though they were his own.

Now there was a certain Hyperbolus, of the deme Perithoedae, whom Thucydides mentions³ as a base fellow, and who afforded all the comic poets, without any exception, constant material for jokes in their plays. But he was unmoved by abuse, and insensible

¹ In his *Demes* (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 281).

² This has come down to us among the orations of Andocides (*Or.* iv.). It is clearly a fictitious speech, put by its unknown author into the mouth of Phaeax (cf. §§ 2 and 41).

³ viii. 73, 3.

δόξης, ἣν ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ ἀπόνοιαν οὖσαν 197
 εὐτολμίαν ἔνιοι καὶ ἀνδρείαν καλοῦσιν, οὐδενὶ μὲν
 ἥρεσκεν, ἐχρήτο δ' αὐτῷ πολλάκις ὁ δῆμος ἐπι-
 θυμῶν προπηλακίζειν τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ συκο-
 4 φαντεῖν. ἀναπεισθεὶς οὖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τότε τὸ
 ὄστρακον ἐπιφέρειν ἔμελλεν, ᾧ κολοῦντες αἰεὶ τὸν
 προὔχοντα δόξη καὶ δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλαύ-
 νουσι, παραμυθούμενοι τὸν φθόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν
 φόβον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐνὶ τῶν τριῶν τὸ
 ὄστρακον ἐποίσουσι, συνήγαγε τὰς στάσεις εἰς
 ταῦτόν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν
 Νικίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ὑπερβόλου τὴν ὄστρακοφορίαν
 ἔτρεψεν.

Ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασιν, οὐ πρὸς Νικίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 Φαίακα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου προσλαβὼν
 ἐταιρίαν ἐξήλασε τὸν Ὑπέρβολον οὐδ' ἂν προσ-
 5 δοκήσαντα. φαῦλος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐνέπιπτεν εἰς
 τοῦτον τὸν κολασμὸν οὐδ' ἄδοξος, ὥς που καὶ
 Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς εἶρηκε τοῦ Ὑπερβόλου μνησ-
 θεὶς,

Καίτοι πέπραχε τῶν προτέρων¹ μὲν ἄξια,
 αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στιγμάτων ἀνάξια.
 οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἵνεκ' ὄστραχ' εὐρέθη.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐν ἐτέροις μᾶλλον εἴρηται τὰ
 ἱστορούμενα.

XIV. Τὸν δ' Ἀλκιβιάδην ὁ Νικίας οὐχ ἡττον
 ἡνία θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τιμώ-

¹ προτέρων with Kock (*Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 654): *τρόπων*
 (worthy of his ways).

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to it, owing to his contempt of public opinion. This feeling some call courage and valour, but it is really mere shamelessness and folly. No one liked him, but the people often made use of him when they were eager to besmirch and calumniate men of rank and station. Accordingly, at the time of which I speak, persuaded by this man, they were about to exercise the vote of ostracism, by which they cripple and banish whatever man from time to time may have too much reputation and influence in the city to please them, assuaging thus their envy rather than their fear. When it was clear that the ostracism would fall on one of three men—Phaeax, Alcibiades, or Nicias—Alcibiades had a conference with Nicias, united their two parties into one and turned the vote of ostracism upon Hyperbolus.

Some say, however, that it was not Nicias, but Phaeax, with whom Alcibiades had the conference which resulted in winning over that leader's party and banishing Hyperbolus, who could have had no inkling of his fate. For no worthless or disreputable fellow had ever before fallen under this condemnation of ostracism. As Plato, the comic poet, has somewhere said, in speaking of Hyperbolus,

“And yet he suffered worthy fate for men of old ;
A fate unworthy though of him and of his brands.
For such as he the ostrakon was ne'er devised.”

However, the facts which have been ascertained about this case have been stated more at length elsewhere.¹

XIV. Alcibiades was sore distressed to see Nicias no less admired by his enemies than honoured by

¹ Cf. *Nicias*, xi.

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- μενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. πρόξενος μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ τοὺς ἀλόν-
 τας αὐτῶν περὶ Πύλον ἄνδρας ἐθεράπευσεν·
 2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνοί τε διὰ Νικίου μάλιστα τῆς εἰρήνης
 τυχόντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολαβόντες ὑπερ-
 ηγάπων αὐτόν, ἔν τε τοῖς Ἑλλησι λόγος ἦν ὡς
 Περικλέους μὲν συνάψαντος αὐτοῖς, Νικίου δὲ
 λύσαντος τὸν πόλεμον, οἳ τε πλεῖστοι τὴν εἰρή-
 νην Νικίειον ὠνόμαζον, οὐ μετρίως ἀνιῶμενος
 ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ φθονῶν ἐβούλευε σύγχυσιν
 3 ὀρκίων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀργείους αἰσθανόμενος
 μίσει καὶ φόβῳ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ζητοῦντας
 ἀποστροφὴν, ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου κρύφα
 τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίας, καὶ παρεθάρρυνε
 πέμπων καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς προεστῶσι τοῦ
 δήμου μὴ δεδιέναι μηδ' ὑπέικειν Λακεδαιμονίοις,
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τρέπεσθαι καὶ περιμένειν
 ὅσον οὐδέπω μεταμελομένους καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
 ἀφιέντας.
 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς τε τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς
 ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν καὶ Πάνακτον οὐχ ἔστός,
 ὥσπερ ἔδει, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρέδωκαν, ἀλλὰ
 καταλύσαντες, ὀργιζομένους λαβὼν τοὺς Ἀθη-
 ναίους ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετράχυνε, καὶ τὸν Νικίαν
 5 ἐθορύβει καὶ διέβαλλεν εἰκότα κατηγορῶν, ὅτι
 τοὺς ἐν Σφακτηρίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποληφθέντας
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξελεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν στρατηγῶν,

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his fellow-citizens. For although Alcibiades was resident consul for the Lacedaemonians at Athens, and had ministered to their men who had been taken prisoners at Pylos,¹ still, they felt that it was chiefly due to Nicias that they had obtained peace and the final surrender of those men, and so they lavished their regard upon him. And Hellenes everywhere said that it was Pericles who had plunged them into war, but Nicias who had delivered them out of it, and most men called the peace the "Peace of Nicias."² Alcibiades was therefore distressed beyond measure, and in his envy planned a violation of the solemn treaty. To begin with, he saw that the Argives hated and feared the Spartans and sought to be rid of them. So he secretly held out hopes to them of an alliance with Athens, and encouraged them, by conferences with the chief men of their popular party, not to fear nor yield to the Lacedaemonians, but to look to Athens and await her action, since she was now all but repentant, and desirous of abandoning the peace which she had made with Sparta.

And again, when the Lacedaemonians made a separate alliance with the Boeotians, and delivered up Panactum to the Athenians not intact, as they were bound to do by the treaty, but dismantled, he took advantage of the Athenians' wrath at this to embitter them yet more. He raised a tumult in the assembly against Nicias, and slandered him with accusations all too plausible. Nicias himself, he said, when he was general, had refused to capture the enemy's men who were cut off on the island of

¹ In 425 B.C. Cf. *Nicias*, vii-viii.

² Ratified in 421 B.C. Cf. *Nicias*, ix.

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ἐτέρων δ' ἐξελόντων ἀφῆκε καὶ ἀπέδωκε χαριζόμενος Λακεδαιμονίοις· εἶτ' ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισε φίλος ὢν Βοιωτοῖς μὴ συνόμνυσθαι μηδὲ Κορινθίοις, Ἀθηναίοις¹ δὲ κωλύει² τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν Ἑλλήνων φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, εἰ μὴ δόξειε Λακεδαιμονίοις.

- 6 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κακῶς φερομένῳ τῷ Νικίᾳ παρήσαν ὥσπερ κατὰ τύχην πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, αὐτόθεν τε λόγους ἐπιεικεῖς ἔχοντες καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ συμβιβαστικὸν καὶ δίκαιον αὐτοκράτορες ἦκειν φάσκοντες. ἀποδεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μέλλοντος ἐκκλησιάζειν, δείσας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης διεπράξατο τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι
- 7 πρὸς αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ συνῆλθον ἔλεγε· “Τί πεπόνθατε, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιᾶται; πῶς ἔλαθεν ὑμᾶς ὅτι τὰ τῆς βουλῆς αἰὲ μέτρια καὶ φιλόανθρωπα πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μέγα φρονεῖ καὶ μεγάλων ὀρέγεται; κἂν φάσκητε κύριοι πάντων ἀφίχθαι, προστάττων καὶ βιαζόμενος 198 ἀγνωμονήσει. φέρε δὴ, τὴν εὐήθειαν ταύτην ἀφέντες, εἰ βούλεσθε χρήσασθαι μετρίοις Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μηδὲν ἐκβιασθῆναι παρὰ γνώμην, οὕτω διαλέγεσθε περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὥς οὐκ ὄντες αὐτο-

¹ Ἀθηναίοις Coraës and Bekker, with C: Ἀθηναίους.

² κωλύει Coraës, after Reiske: κωλύειν.

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Sphacteria, and when others had captured them, he had released and given them back to the Lacedaemonians, whose favour he sought; and then he did not persuade those same Lacedaemonians, tried friend of theirs as he was, not to make separate alliance with the Boeotians or even with the Corinthians, and yet whenever any Hellenes wished to be friends and allies of Athens, he tried to prevent it, unless it were the good pleasure of the Lacedaemonians.

Nicias was reduced to great straits by all this, but just then, by rare good fortune as it were, an embassy came from Sparta, with reasonable proposals to begin on, and with assurances that they came with full powers to adopt any additional terms that were conciliatory and just. The council received them favourably, and the people were to hold an assembly on the following day for their reception. But Alcibiades feared a peaceful outcome, and managed to secure a private conference with the embassy. When they were convened he said to them: "What is the matter with you, men of Sparta? Why are you blind to the fact that the council is always moderate and courteous towards those who have dealings with it, while the people's assembly is haughty and has great ambitions? If you say to them that you are come with unlimited powers, they will lay their commands and compulsions upon you without any feeling. Come now, put away such simplicity as this, and if you wish to get moderate terms from the Athenians, and to suffer no compulsion at their hands which you cannot yourselves approve, then discuss with them what would be a just settlement of your case, assuring them that you have not full powers to act.

κράτορες. συμπράξομεν δ' ἡμεῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
8 χαριζόμενοι." ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὄρκους ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς καὶ μετέστησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίου, παντά-
πασι πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζοντας ἅμα
τὴν δεινότητα καὶ σύνεσιν, ὥς οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος
ἄνδρὸς οὖσαν.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία συνήχθη μὲν ὁ δῆμος, εἰσῆλθον
δ' οἱ πρέσβεις. ἐρωτῶμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκι-
βιάδου πάνυ φιλανθρώπως ἐφ' οἷς ἀφιγμένοι
τυγχάνουσιν, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἥκειν αὐτοκράτορες.
9 εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνέκειτο μετὰ κραυγῆς
καὶ ὀργῆς, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀδικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀδικούμενος,
ἀπίστους καὶ παλιμβόλους ἀποκαλῶν καὶ μηδὲν
ὑγιὲς μήτε πρᾶξαι μήτ' εἰπεῖν ἥκοντας, ἐπη-
γανάκτει δ' ἡ βουλή, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐχαλέπαινε,
τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ἔκπληξιν εἶχε καὶ κατήφεια τῶν
ἀνδρῶν τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἀγνοοῦντα τὴν ἀπάτην
καὶ τὸν δόλον.

XV. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκπεσόντων,
στρατηγὸς ἀποδειχθεὶς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης εὐθύς
Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἡλείους συμμάχους
ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ τὸν μὲν τρόπον
οὐδεὶς τῆς πράξεως ἐπῆνει, μέγα δ' ἦν τὸ πεπραγ-
μένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, διαστῆσαι καὶ κραδᾶναι Πελο-
πόννησον ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασαν, καὶ τοσαύτας
ἀσπίδας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ περὶ Μαντίνειαν ἀντιτάξαι
Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν
ἀγῶνα κατασκευάσαι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς, ἐν ᾧ
μέγα μὲν οὐδὲν ἢ νίκη προσέθηκε κρατήσασιν, εἰ

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I will coöperate with you, out of my regard for the Lacedaemonians." After this speech he gave them his oath, and so seduced them wholly away from the influence of Nicias. They trusted him implicitly, admired his cleverness and sagacity, and thought him no ordinary man.

On the following day the people convened in assembly, and the embassy was introduced to them. On being asked by Alcibiades, in the most courteous tone, with what powers they had come, they replied that they were not come with full and independent powers. At once, then, Alcibiades assailed them with angry shouts, as though he were the injured party, not they, calling them faithless and fickle men, who were come on no sound errand whatever. The council was indignant, the assembly was enraged, and Nicias was filled with consternation and shame at the men's change of front. He was unaware of the deceitful trick which had been played upon him.¹

XV. After this fiasco on the part of the Lacedaemonians, Alcibiades was appointed general, and straightway brought the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans into alliance with Athens.² The manner of this achievement of his no one approved, but the effect of it was great. It divided and agitated almost all Peloponnesus; it arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Mantinea³ so many warlike shields upon a single day; it set at farthest remove from Athens the struggle, with all its risks, in which, when the Lacedaemonians conquered, their victory brought them no great advantage,

¹ This parliamentary trick of Alcibiades is related also in *Nicias*, chapter x.

² 420 B.C.

³ 418 B.C.

δ' ἐσφάλησαν, ἔργον ἦν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα περιγενέσθαι.

- 2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ἐπέθεντο καταλύειν ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὸν δῆμον οἱ χίλιοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον ποιεῖν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ παραγενόμενοι κατέλυσαν τὴν δημοκρατίαν. αὖθις δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξενεγκαμένων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ κρατησάντων, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τὴν τε νίκην ἐβεβαίωσε τῷ δῆμῳ, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη συνέπεισε καθεῖναι καὶ προσμίξαντας τῇ θαλάσῃ τὴν πόλιν ἐξάψαι παντάπασι τῆς Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως.
- 3 καὶ τέκτονας καὶ λιθουργοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐκόμισε καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνεδείκνυτο προθυμίαν, οὐχ ἥττον ἑαυτῷ κτώμενος ἢ τῇ πόλει χάριν καὶ ἰσχύν. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ Πατρεῖς ὁμοίως τειχεσι μακροῖς συνάψαι τῇ θαλάσῃ τὴν πόλιν. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν ὅτι “καταπιοῦνται ὑμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι.” “Ἴσως,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, “κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πόδας, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀθρόως.”
- 4 Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεβούλευεν ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀγραύλου προβαλλόμενον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὄρκον ἔργῳ βεβαιοῦν. ὁμνύουσι γὰρ ὅροις χρήσασθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς πυροῖς, κριθαῖς, ἀμπέλοις, ἐλαίαις, οἰκείαν ποιεῖσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ καρποφόρον.

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τοιούτοις πολιτεύμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ φρονήματι καὶ δεινότητι πολλὴν αὖ πάλιν τὴν τρυφὴν τῆς διαίτης καὶ περὶ πότους καὶ

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whereas, had they been defeated, the very existence of Sparta would have been at stake.

After this battle of Mantinea, the oligarchs of Argos, "The Thousand," set out at once to depose the popular party and make the city subject to themselves; and the Lacedaemonians came and deposed the democracy. But the populace took up arms again and got the upper hand.¹ Then Alcibiades came and made the people's victory secure. He also persuaded them to run long walls down to the sea, and so to attach their city completely to the naval dominion of Athens. He actually brought carpenters and masons from Athens, and displayed all manner of zeal, thus winning favour and power for himself no less than for his city. In like manner he persuaded the people of Patrae to attach their city to the sea by long walls.² Thereupon some one said to the Patrensiens: "Athens will swallow you up!" "Perhaps so," said Alcibiades, "but you will go slowly, and feet first; whereas Sparta will swallow you head first, and at one gulp."

However, he counselled the Athenians to assert dominion on land also, and to maintain in very deed the oath regularly propounded to their young warriors in the sanctuary of Agraulus. They take oath that they will regard wheat, barley, the vine, and the olive as the natural boundaries of Attica, and they are thus trained to consider as their own all the habitable and fruitful earth.

XVI. But all this statecraft and eloquence and lofty purpose and cleverness was attended with great luxuriousness of life, with wanton drunken-

¹ 417 B.C.

² 419 B.C.

ἔρωτας ὑβρίσματα, καὶ θηλύτητας ἐσθήτων
 ἀλουργῶν ἐλκομένων δι' ἀγορᾶς, καὶ πολυτέλειαν
 ὑπερήφανον, ἐκτομὰς τε καταστρωμάτων ἐν ταῖς
 τριήρεσιν, ὅπως μαλακώτερον ἐγκαθεύδοι, κει-
 ρίαις, ἀλλὰ μὴ σανίσι, τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπι-
 βαλλομένων, ἀσπίδος τε διαχρύσου ποίησιν οὐδὲν
 2 ἐπίσημον τῶν πατρίων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' Ἐρωτα
 κεραυνοφόρον, ἅπερ¹ ὁρῶντες οἱ μὲν ἔνδοξοι μετὰ
 τοῦ βδελύττεσθαι καὶ δυσχεραίνειν ἐφοβοῦντο
 τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρανομίαν, ὥς τυραν-
 νικὰ καὶ ἀλλόκοτα, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ πάθος τὸ 199
 πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος ὁ Ἀριστο-
 φάνης ταῦτ' εἶρηκε·

Ποθεῖ μὲν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται δ' ἔχειν,
 ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ πιέζων·

Μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ ἔν πόλει τρέφειν·
 ἦν δ' ἐκτρέφῃ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

3 ἐπιδόσεις γὰρ καὶ χορηγίαι καὶ φιλοτιμήματα
 πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπερβολὴν μὴ ἀπολείποντα καὶ
 δόξα προγόνων καὶ λόγου δύναμις καὶ σώματος
 εὐπρέπεια καὶ ῥώμη μετ' ἐμπειρίας τῶν πολεμι-
 κῶν καὶ ἀλκῆς πάντα τᾶλλα συγχωρεῖν ἐποίει
 καὶ φέρειν μετρίως τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰεὶ τὰ πρᾶτό-
 τατα τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι τιθεμένους,
 παιδιὰς καὶ φιλοτιμίας.

¹ ἅπερ. Either some verb is to be supplied from the context for the preceding accusatives (so Coraës), or ἅπερ is to be deleted (so Bekker and Sintenis²).

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ness and lewdness, with effeminacy in dress,—he would trail long purple robes through the market place,—and with prodigal expenditures. He would have the decks of his triremes cut away that he might sleep more softly, his bedding being slung on cords rather than spread on the hard planks. He had a golden shield made for himself, bearing no ancestral device, but an Eros armed with a thunderbolt. The reputable men of the city looked on all these things with loathing and indignation, and feared his contemptuous and lawless spirit. They thought such conduct as his tyrant-like and monstrous. How the common folk felt towards him has been well set forth by Aristophanes¹ in these words :—

“ It yearns for him, and hates him too, but wants him back ; ”

and again, veiling a yet greater severity in his metaphor :—

“ A lion is not to be reared within the state ;
But, once you’ve reared him up, consult his every mood.”

And indeed, his voluntary contributions of money, his support of public exhibitions, his unsurpassed munificence towards the city, the glory of his ancestry, the power of his eloquence, the comeliness and vigor of his person, together with his experience and prowess in war, made the Athenians lenient and tolerant towards everything else ; they were forever giving the mildest of names to his transgressions, calling them the product of youthful spirits and ambition.

¹ *Frogs*, 1425 ; 1431–1432.

- 4 Οἶον ἦν καὶ τὸ Ἀγάθαρχον εἰρξαι τὸν ζωγρά-
 φον, εἶτα γράψαντα τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφεῖναι δωρη-
 σάμενον· καὶ Ταυρέαν ἀντιχορηγοῦντα ῥαπίσαι
 φιλοτιμούμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης· καὶ τὸ Μηλίαν
 5 γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐξελόμενον καὶ
 συνόντα θρέψαι παιδάριον ἐξ αὐτῆς. καὶ γὰρ
 τοῦτο φιλάνθρωπον ἐκάλουν· πλὴν ὅτι τοὺς
 Μηλίους ἠβηδὸν ἀποσφαγῆναι τὴν πλείστην
 αἰτίαν ἔσχε, τῷ ψηφίσματι συνεπιπών.

Ἀριστοφώντος δὲ Νεμέαν γράψαντος ἐν ταῖς
 ἀγκάλαις αὐτῆς καθήμενον Ἀλκιβιάδην ἔχουσαν,
 ἐθεῶντο καὶ συνέτρεχον χαίροντες. οἱ δὲ πρεσ-
 βύτεροι καὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχέραινον ὡς τυραννικοῖς
 καὶ παρανόμοις. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέστρατος οὐκ
 ἀπὸ τρόπου λέγειν ὡς ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὐκ ἂν ἦνεγκε
 δύο Ἀλκιβιάδας.

- 6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος εὐημερήσαντα
 τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ προπεμπόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας ἐπιφανῶς οὐ παρήλθεν οὐδ' ἐξέκλινεν,
 ὥσπερ εἰώθει τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ' ἀπαντήσας καὶ
 δεξιωσάμενος, “Εὖ γ’,” ἔφη, “ποιεῖς αὐξόμενος,
 ὦ παῖ· μέγα γὰρ αὔξη κακὸν ἅπασι τούτοις,” οἱ
 μὲν ἐγέλων, οἱ δ' ἐβλασφήμουν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ πάννυ
 τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπέστρεφεν. οὕτως ἄκριτος ἦν ἡ δόξα
 περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀνωμαλίαν.

XVII. Σικελίας δὲ καὶ Περικλέους ἔτι ζῶντος

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For instance, he once imprisoned the painter Agatharchus in his house until he had adorned it with paintings for him, and then dismissed his captive with a handsome present. And when Taureas was supporting a rival exhibition, he gave him a box on the ear, so eager was he for the victory. And he picked out a woman from among the prisoners of Melos to be his mistress, and reared a son she bore him. This was an instance of what they called his kindness of heart, but the execution of all the grown men of Melos¹ was chiefly due to him, since he supported the decree therefor.

Aristophon painted Nemea² with Alcibiades seated in her arms; whereat the people were delighted, and ran in crowds to see the picture. But the elders were indignant at this too; they said it smacked of tyranny and lawlessness. And it would seem that Archestratus, in his verdict on the painting, did not go wide of the mark when he said that Hellas couldnot endure more than one Alcibiades.

✓ Timon the misanthrope once saw Alcibiades, after a successful day, being publicly escorted home from the assembly. He did not pass him by nor avoid him, as his custom was with others, but met him and greeted him, saying: "It's well you're growing so, my child; you'll grow big enough to ruin all this rabble." At this some laughed, and some railed, and some gave much heed to the saying. So undecided was public opinion about Alcibiades, by reason of the unevenness of his nature. ✓

XVII. On Sicily the Athenians had cast longing

¹ In the summer of 416. Cf. Thuc. v. 116, 2-4.

² A personification of the district of Nemea, in the games of which Alcibiades had been victorious. Cf. Pausanias, i. 22, 7, with Frazer's notes.

- ἐπεθύμουν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἤπτοντο, καὶ τὰς λεγομένας βοηθείας καὶ συμμαχίας ἔπεμπον ἐκάστοτε τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἐπιβάθρας τῆς μείζονος στρατείας τι-
- 2 θέντες. ὁ δὲ παντάπασι τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον ἀναφλέξας αὐτῶν, καὶ πείσας μὴ κατὰ μέρος μηδὲ κατὰ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ πλεύσαντας ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν νῆσον, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦν, τὸν τε δῆμον μεγάλα πείσας ἐλπίζειν, αὐτὸς τε μειζόνων ὀρεγόμενος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ εἶναι, πρὸς ἧ ἡλπίκει, διανοεῖτο τῆς στρατείας,
- 3 οὐ τέλος, ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποί, Σικελίαν. καὶ Νικίας μὲν ὡς χαλεπὸν ἔργον ὃν τὰς Συρακούσας ἐλεῖν ἀπέτρεπε τὸν δῆμον, Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην ὀνειροπολῶν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων προσγενομένων Ἰταλίαν καὶ Πελοπόννησον ἤδη περιβαλλόμενος, ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐφόδια τοῦ πολέμου Σικελίαν ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ τοὺς μὲν νέους αὐτόθεν εἶχεν ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπηρμένους, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἠκροῶντο πολλὰ θαυμάσια περὶ τῆς στρατείας περαινόντων, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις καὶ τοῖς ἡμικυκλίοις καθέζεσθαι τῆς τε νήσου τὸ σχῆμα καὶ θέσιν Λιβύης καὶ Καρχηδόνα ὑπογράφοντας.
- 4 Σωκράτη μέντοι τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ Μέτωνα τὸν ἀστρολόγον οὐδὲν ἐλπίζειν τῇ πόλει χρηστὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας ἐκείνης λέγουσιν, ὁ μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ συνήθους δαιμονίου γενομένου καὶ

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eyes even while Pericles was living ; and after his death they actually tried to lay hands upon it. The lesser expeditions which they sent thither from time to time, ostensibly for the aid and comfort of their allies on the island who were being wronged by the Syracusans, they regarded merely as stepping stones to the greater expedition of conquest. But the man who finally fanned this desire of theirs into flame, and persuaded them not to attempt the island any more in part and little by little, but to sail thither with a great armament and subdue it utterly, was Alcibiades ; he persuaded the people to have great hopes, and he himself had greater aspirations still. Such were his hopes that he regarded Sicily as a mere beginning, and not, like the rest, as an end of the expedition. So while Nicias was trying to divert the people from the capture of Syracuse as an undertaking too difficult for them, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and Libya, and, after winning these, of at once encompassing Italy and Peloponnesus. He almost regarded Sicily as the ways and means provided for his greater war. The young men were at once carried away on the wings of such hopes, and their elders kept recounting in their ears many wonderful things about the projected expedition. Many were they who sat in the palaestras and lounging-places mapping out in the sand the shape of Sicily and the position of Libya and Carthage.¹

Socrates the philosopher, however, and Meton the astrologer, are said to have had no hopes that any good would come to the city from this expedition ; Socrates, as it is likely, because he got an inkling of

¹ Cf. *Nicias*, xii. 1-2.

προσημαίνοντος, ὁ δὲ Μέτων ἔϊτε δείσας ἐκ λογισ-
μοῦ τὸ μέλλον εἶτε μαντικῆς τινι τρόπῳ χρη-
σάμενος ἐσκήψατο μεμνημένοι, καὶ λαβὼν δαδα 20
καιομένην οἶος ἦν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάπτειν.

5 ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ προσποίημα μὲν μανίας μηδὲν
ἐσκευάσθαι τὸν Μέτωνα, καταπρῆσαι δὲ τὴν
οἰκίαν νύκτωρ, εἰθ' ἔωθεν προελθόντα δεῖσθαι καὶ
ἀντιβολεῖν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτῃ τὸν υἱὸν
αὐτῷ παρεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας. ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν
ἔτυχεν ὧν ἡξίου, παρακρουσάμενος τοὺς πολίτας.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἄκων μὲν ἡρέθη στρατη-
γός, οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διὰ τὸν συνάρ-
χοντα φεύγων· ἐφαίνετο γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ
τοῦ πολέμου βέλτιον ἔξειν μὴ προεμένοις τὸν
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἄκρατον, ἀλλὰ μιχθείσης πρὸς τὴν
τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τῆς Νικίου προνοίας· καὶ γὰρ ὁ
τρίτος στρατηγὸς Λάμαχος ἡλικία προήκων ὅμως
ἐδόκει μηδὲν ἡττον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διά-
2 πυρος καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι· βουλευο-
μένων δὲ περὶ πλήθους καὶ τρόπου παρασκευῆς
ἐπεχείρησεν αὐθις ὁ Νικίας ἐνίστασθαι καὶ κατα-
παύειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἀντειπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκι-
βιάδου καὶ κρατήσαντος, ἔγραψε τῶν ῥητόρων
Δημόστρατος καὶ εἶπεν ὡς χρὴ τοὺς στρατηγούς
αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τοῦ
πολέμου παντός.

Ἐπιψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ γενομένων
ετοίμων πάντων πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν, οὐ χρηστὰ

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the future from the divine guide who was his familiar. Meton—whether his fear of the future arose from mere calculation or from his use of some sort of divination—feigned madness, and seizing a blazing torch, was like to have set fire to his own house. Some say, however, that Meton made no pretence of madness, but actually did burn his house down in the night, and then, in the morning, came before the people begging and praying that, in view of his great calamity, his son might be released from the expedition. At any rate, he succeeded in cheating his fellow citizens, and obtained his desire.¹

XVIII. Nicias was elected general against his will, and he was anxious to avoid the command most of all because of his fellow commander. For it had seemed to the Athenians that the war would go on better if they did not send out Alcibiades unblended, but rather tempered his rash daring with the prudent forethought of Nicias. As for the third general, Lamachus, though advanced in years, he was thought, age notwithstanding, to be no less fiery than Alcibiades, and quite as fond of taking risks in battle. During the deliberations of the people on the extent and character of the armament, Nicias again tried to oppose their wishes and put a stop to the war. But Alcibiades answered all his arguments and carried the day, and then Demostratus, the orator, formally moved that the generals have full and independent powers in the matter of the armament and of the whole war.²

After the people had adopted this motion and all things were made ready for the departure of the fleet, there were some unpropitious signs and portents,

¹ Cf. *Nicias*, xiii. 5-6.

² Cf. *Nicias*, xii. 3-4.

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- 3 παρὴν οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἐορτῆς. Ἀδωνίων γὰρ εἰς τὰς
 ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηκόντων εἶδωλα πολλαχοῦ
 νεκροῖς ἐκκομιζομένοις ὅμοια προὔκειντο ταῖς
 γυναιξί, καὶ ταφὰς ἐμιμοῦντο κοπτόμεναι, καὶ
 θρήνους ᾗδον. ἡ μέντοι τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπή,
 μιᾷ νυκτὶ τῶν πλείστων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων τὰ
 πρόσωπα, πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν περιφρονούντων τὰ
 τοιαῦτα διετάραξεν. ἐλέχθη μὲν οὖν ὅτι Κορίν-
 θιοι διὰ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀποίκους ὄντας, ὡς
 ἐπισχέσεως ἐσομένης πρὸς τῶν οἰωνῶν ἢ μετα-
 4 γνώσεως τοῦ πολέμου, ταῦτα δράσειαν. οὐ μὴν
 ᾗπτετό γε τῶν πολλῶν οὐθ' οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὐθ' ὁ
 τῶν σημείων δεινὸν εἶναι μηδὲν οἰομένων, ἀλλ' οἷα
 φιλεῖ φέρειν ἄκρατος ἀκόλαστων νέων εἰς ὕβριν
 ἐκ παιδιᾶς ὑποφερομένων· ὀργῇ δ' ἅμα καὶ φόβῳ
 τὸ γεγονός λαμβάνοντες ὡς ἀπὸ συνωμοσίας ἐπὶ
 πράγμασι μεγάλοις τετολμημένον, ἅπασαν ἐξή-
 ταζον ὑπόνοιαν πικρῶς ἢ τε βουλὴ συνιούσα περὶ
 τούτων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πολλάκις.

XIX. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δούλους τινὰς καὶ μετοίκους
 προήγαγεν Ἀνδροκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἄλλων τε
 ἀγαλμάτων περικοπὰς καὶ μυστηρίων παρ' οἶνον
 ἀπομιμήσεις τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν φίλων
 κατηγορούντας. ἔλεγον δὲ Θεόδωρον μὲν τινα
 δρᾶν τὰ τοῦ κήρυκος, Πουλυτίωνα δὲ τὰ τοῦ
 δαδούχου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην,
 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐταίρους παρεῖναι καὶ μνεῖσθαι
 2 μύστας προσαγορευομένους. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ

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especially in connection with the festival, namely, the Adonia. This fell at that time, and little images like dead folk carried forth to burial were in many places exposed to view by the women, who mimicked burial rites, beat their breasts, and sang dirges.¹ Moreover, the mutilation of the Hermae, most of which, in a single night, had their faces and forms disfigured, confounded the hearts of many, even among those who usually set small store by such things.¹ It was said, it is true, that Corinthians had done the deed, Syracuse being a colony of theirs, in the hope that such portents would check or stop the war. The multitude, however, were not moved by this reasoning, nor by that of those who thought the affair no terrible sign at all, but rather one of the common effects of strong wine, when dissolute youth, in mere sport, are carried away into wanton acts. They looked on the occurrence with wrath and fear, thinking it the sign of a bold and dangerous conspiracy. They therefore scrutinized keenly every suspicious circumstance, the council and the assembly convening for this purpose many times within a few days.

XIX. During this time Androcles, the popular leader, produced sundry aliens and slaves who accused Alcibiades and his friends of mutilating other sacred images, and of making a parody of the mysteries of Eleusis in a drunken revel. They said that one Theodorus played the part of the Herald, Pulytion that of the Torch-bearer, and Alcibiades that of the High Priest, and that the rest of his companions were there in the rôle of initiates, and were dubbed Mystae. Such indeed was the purport

¹ Cf. *Nicias*, xiii. 2, 7.

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- εἰσαγγελία γέγραπται Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Κίμωνος
 εἰσαγγείλαντος Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀσεβεῖν περὶ τῷ
 θεῷ. τραχυνομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πικρῶς
 πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἔχοντος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους
 (ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἐχθρὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ
 Ἀλκιβιάδου) παροξύνοντος, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐτα-
 3 ράχθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. αἰσθόμενοι
 δὲ τοὺς τε ναύτας, ὅσοι πλεῖν ἔμελλον εἰς
 Σικελίαν, εὐνους ὄντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ στρατιω-
 τικόν, Ἀργείων δὲ καὶ Μαντινέων χιλίων ὄντων
 ὀπλιτῶν ἀκούοντες ἀναφανδὸν λεγόντων ὡς δι'
 Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατεύονται διαπόντιον καὶ μακρὰν
 στρατείαν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἀγνωμονῇ περὶ τοῦτον,
 εὐθύς ἀποστήσεται, ἀνεθάρρουν καὶ παρίσταντο
 τῷ καιρῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογία, ὥστε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 πάλιν ἄθυμειν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ περὶ τὴν κρίσιν
 ὁ δῆμος ἀμβλύτερος αὐτῷ γένηται διὰ τὴν
 χρείαν.
- 4 Πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν τεχνάζουσι τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς 201
 οὐ δοκοῦντας ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, μισοῦντας
 δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἥττον τῶν ὁμολογούντων, ἀνιστα-
 μένους ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λέγειν ὡς ἄτοπόν ἐστιν
 αὐτοκράτορι στρατηγῷ τηλικαύτης ἀποδεδειγ-
 μένῳ δυνάμεως, ἡθροισμένης στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν
 συμμάχων, μεταξὺ κληροῦντας δικαστήριον καὶ
 ὕδωρ διαμετροῦντας ἀπολλύναι τὸν καιρόν·
 “Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ πλεέτω, τοῦ δὲ
 πολέμου διαπραχθέντος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις
 5 ἀπολογεῖσθω παρών.” οὐκ ἐλάνθανε μὲν οὖν
 ἡ κακοήθεια τῆς ἀναβολῆς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην,
 ἀλλ' ἔλεγε παριῶν ὡς δεινόν ἐστιν αἰτίας ἀπο-

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of the impeachment which Thessalus, the son of Cimon, brought in to the assembly, impeaching Alcibiades for impiety towards the Eleusinian goddesses. The people were exasperated, and felt bitterly towards Alcibiades, and Androcles, who was his mortal enemy, egged them on. At first Alcibiades was confounded. But perceiving that all the seamen and soldiers who were going to sail for Sicily were friendly to him, and hearing that the Argive and Mantinean men-at-arms, a thousand in number, declared plainly that it was all because of Alcibiades that they were making their long expedition across the seas, and that if any wrong should be done him they would at once abandon it, he took courage, and insisted on an immediate opportunity to defend himself before the people. His enemies were now in their turn dejected; they feared lest the people should be too lenient in their judgement of him because they needed him so much.

Accordingly, they devised that certain orators who were not looked upon as enemies of Alcibiades, but who really hated him no less than his avowed foes, should rise in the assembly and say that it was absurd, when a general had been appointed, with full powers, over such a vast force, and when his armament and allies were all assembled, to destroy his beckoning opportunity by casting lots for jurors and measuring out time for the case. "Nay," they said, "let him sail now, and Heaven be with him! But when the war is over, then let him come and make his defence. The laws will be the same then as now." Of course the malice in this postponement did not escape Alcibiades. He declared in the assembly that it was a terrible misfortune to be sent off at the

λιπόντα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διαβολὰς ἐκπέμπεσθαι μετέωρον ἐπὶ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ προσήκειν μὴ λύσαντι τὰς κατηγορίας, λύσαντι δὲ καὶ φανέντι καθαρῶ τρέπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δεδοικότι τοὺς συκοφάντας.

XX. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ πλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτόν, ἀνήχθη μετὰ τῶν συστρατῆγων ἔχων τριῆρεις μὲν οὐ πολλῶ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀποδεύσας, ὀπλίτας δὲ πεντακισχιλίου καὶ ἑκατόν, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ ψιλοὺς περὶ τριακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, καὶ τὴν
2 ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον. προσβαλὼν δ' Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ῥήγιον ἐλὼν, εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην ὅτω τρόπῳ πολεμητέον ἐστί. καὶ Νικίου μὲν ἀντιλέγοντος, Λαμάχου δὲ προσθεμένου, πλεύσας εἰς Σικελίαν προσηγάγετο Κατάνην, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἔπραξε μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν εὐθύς γενόμενος.

Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ψυχραὶ τινες ὑποψίαι καὶ διαβολαὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
3 προσέπιπτον ἀπὸ δούλων καὶ μετοίκων· ἔπειτα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ καθαπτομένων σφοδρότερον, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ὑβρίσμασι καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ συμπλεκόντων, ὥς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ συνωμοσίας πεπραγμένα, τοὺς μὲν ὅπως οὖν ἐπαιτιαθέντας ἐνέβαλλον ἀκρίτους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἤχθοντο δὲ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην μὴ λαβόντες ὑπὸ τὰς ψήφους τότε μὴδὲ κρίναν-

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head of such a vast force with his case still in suspense, leaving behind him vague accusations and slanders ; he ought to be put to death if he did not refute them ; but if he did refute them and prove his innocence, he ought to proceed against the enemy without any fear of the public informers at home.

XX. He could not carry his point, however, but was ordered to set sail. So he put to sea¹ along with his fellow generals, having not much fewer than one hundred and forty triremes ; fifty-one hundred men-at-arms ; about thirteen hundred archers, slingers, and light-armed folk ; and the rest of his equipment to correspond. On reaching Italy and taking Rhegium, he proposed a plan for the conduct of the war.² Nicias opposed it, but Lamachus approved it, and so he sailed to Sicily. He secured the allegiance of Catana, but accomplished nothing further, since he was presently summoned home by the Athenians to stand his trial.

At first, as I have said,³ sundry vague suspicions and calumnies against Alcibiades were advanced by aliens and slaves. Afterwards, during his absence, his enemies went to work more vigorously. They brought the outrage upon the Hermae and upon the Eleusinian mysteries under one and the same design ; both, they said, were fruits of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and so all who were accused of any complicity whatsoever therein were cast into prison without trial. The people were provoked with themselves for not bringing Alcibiades to trial and judgment at the time on such grave charges,

¹ About the middle of the summer of 415 B.C.

² Cf. *Nicias*, xiv. 3.

³ Chapter xix. 1.

- 4 *τες ἐπ' αἰτίαις τηλικαύταις. ὁ δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνουν ὀργῇ παραπεσὼν οἰκείος ἢ φίλος ἢ συνήθης χαλεπωτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο. τοὺς δὲ μηνύσαντας ὁ μὲν Θουκυδίδης ὀνομάσαι παρήκεν, ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι Διοκλείδαν καὶ Τεύκρον, ὧν καὶ Φρύνιχός ἐστιν ὁ κωμικὸς ταυτὶ πεποιηκώς·*

᾽Ω φίλταθ' Ἑρμῇ, καὶ φυλάσσου, μὴ πεσὼν αὐτὸν παρακρούσῃ καὶ παράσχευς διαβολὴν ἐτέρῳ Διοκλείδῃ βουλομένῳ κακὸν τι δρᾶν.

καί·

Φυλάξομαι· Τεύκρῳ γὰρ οὐχὶ βούλομαι μήνυτρα δοῦναι, τῷ παλαμναίῳ ξένῳ.

- 5 *Καίτοι βέβαιον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἰσχυρὸν οἱ μηνύοντες ἐδείκνυσαν. εἰς δ' αὐτῶν ἐρωτώμενος ὅπως τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Ἑρμοκοπιδῶν γνωρίσειε, καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, ἐσφάλῃ τοῦ παντός, ἔνης καὶ νέας οὔσης ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐδρᾶτο· ὁ¹ θόρυβον μὲν παρέσχε τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι, τὸν δῆμον δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο μαλακώτερον ἐποίησε πρὸς τὰς διαβολάς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο φέρων καὶ ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον οὐ τις κατεῖποι.*

XXI. Τῶν οὖν δεθέντων καὶ φυλαττομένων ἐπὶ κρίσει τότε καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὃν Ἑλλάνικος ὁ συγγραφεὺς εἰς τοὺς Ὀδυσσεύς ἀπογόνους ἀνήγαγεν. ἐδόκει δὲ μισόδημος καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸς ὁ Ἀνδοκίδης, ὑποπτον δὲ οὐχ

¹ ὁ supplied by Coraës and Sint.²; Bekker supplies καὶ, after Bryan.

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and any kinsman or friend or comrade of his who fell foul of their wrath against him, found them exceedingly severe. Thucydides neglected to mention¹ the informers by name, but others give their names as Diocleides and Teucer. For instance, Phrynichus the comic poet² referred to them thus :—

“ Look out too, dearest Hermes, not to get a fall,
And mar your looks, and so equip with calumny
Another Diocleides bent on wreaking harm.”

And the Hermes replies :—

“ I'm on the watch ; there's Teucer, too ; I would
not give
A prize for tattling to an alien of his guilt.”

And yet there was nothing sure or steadfast in the statements of the informers. One of them, indeed, was asked how he recognized the faces of the Hermae-defacers, and replied, “ By the light of the moon.” This vitiated his whole story, since there was no moon at all when the deed was done. Sensible men were troubled thereat, but even this did not soften the people's feeling towards the slanderous stories. As they had set out to do in the beginning, so they continued, haling and casting into prison any one who was denounced.

XXI. Among those thus held in bonds and imprisonment for trial was Andocides the orator, whom Hellanicus the historian included among the descendants of Odysseus. He was held to be a foe to popular government, and an oligarch, but what most made him suspected of the mutilation of the

¹ In vi. 53, 2

² Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 385.

ἥκιστα τῆς τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπῆς ἐποίησεν ὁ μέγας Ἑρμῆς, ὁ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίας
 2 ἀνάθημα τῆς Αἰγυπτίου φυλῆς ἰδρυμένος· ἐν γὰρ 202
 ὀλίγοις πάνυ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν μόνος σχεδὸν ἀκέραιος ἔμεινε· διὸ καὶ νῦν Ἀνδοκίδου καλεῖται, καὶ πάντες οὕτως ὀνομάζουσι τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντιμαρτυρούσης.

Συνέβη δὲ τῷ Ἀνδοκίδῃ μάλιστα τῶν τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἐχόντων ἐν τῷ δεσποτηρίῳ γενέσθαι συνήθη καὶ φίλον ἔνδοξον μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, συνέσει δὲ καὶ τόλμῃ περιττόν, ὄνομα Τίμαιον.
 3 οὗτος ἀναπείθει τὸν Ἀνδοκίδην ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορον καὶ τινων ἄλλων γενέσθαι μὴ πολλῶν· ὁμολογήσαντι γὰρ ἄδειαν εἶναι κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου, τὰ δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἄδηλα πᾶσι, τοῖς δὲ δυνατοῖς φοβερῶτατα· βέλτιον δὲ σωθῆναι ψευδόμενον ἢ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας ἀποθανεῖν ἀδόξως, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ σκοποῦντι συμφέρον ὑπάρχειν, ὀλίγους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους προέμενον, πολλοὺς
 4 καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐξελέσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς. ταῦτα τοῦ Τιμαίου λέγοντος καὶ διδάσκοντος ὁ Ἀνδοκίδης ἐπείσθη, καὶ γενόμενος μηνυτὴς καθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καθ' ἑτέρων ἔσχε τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἄδειαν αὐτός· οὓς δ' ὠνόμασε πάντες πλὴν τῶν φυγόντων ἀπώλοντο. καὶ πίστεως ἕνεκα προσέθηκεν αὐτοῖς οἰκέτας ἰδίους ὁ Ἀνδοκίδης.

5 Οὐ μὲν ὅ γε δῆμος τὴν ὀργὴν ἅπασαν ἀφῆκεν

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Hermae, was the tall Hermes which stood near his house, a dedication of the Aegeïd tribe. This was almost the only one among the very few statues of like prominence to remain unharmed. For this reason it is called to this day the Hermes of Andocides. Everybody gives it that name, in spite of the adverse testimony of its inscription.

Now it happened that, of all those lying in prison with him under the same charge, Andocides became most intimate and friendly with a man named Timaeus, of less repute than himself, it is true, but of great sagacity and daring. This man persuaded Andocides to turn state's evidence against himself and a few others. If he confessed,—so the man argued,—he would have immunity from punishment by decree of the people; whereas the result of the trial, while uncertain in all cases, was most to be dreaded in that of influential men like himself. It was better to save his life by a false confession of crime, than to die a shameful death under a false charge of that crime. One who had an eye to the general welfare of the community might well abandon to their fate a few dubious characters, if he could thereby save a multitude of good men from the wrath of the people. By such arguments of Timaeus, Andocides was at last persuaded to bear witness against himself and others. He himself received the immunity from punishment which had been decreed; but all those whom he named, excepting such as took to flight, were put to death, and Andocides added to their number some of his own household servants, that he might the better be believed.

Still, the people did not lay aside all their wrath

ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῶν Ἑρμοκο-
 πιδῶν ὥσπερ σχολάζοντι τῷ θυμῷ πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀλκιβιάδην ὅλος ἑρρῦη, καὶ τέλος ἀπέστειλε τὴν
 Σαλαμινίαν ἐπ' αὐτόν,¹ οὐ φαύλως αὐτό γε τοῦτο
 προστάξας, μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδ' ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ
 σώματος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μετρίῳ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι κελεύ-
 οντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐπὶ κρίσιν καὶ πείθειν τὸν
 6 δῆμον. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ ταραχὰς τοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματος ἐν πολεμίᾳ γῇ καὶ στάσιν, ὃ ῥαδίως ἂν
 ἐξειργάσατο βουλευθεῖς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης. καὶ γὰρ
 ἡθύμουν ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὴν τριβὴν
 προσεδόκων καὶ μῆκος ἀργὸν ἐν τῷ Νικίᾳ τὸν
 πόλεμον ἔξειν, καθάπερ μύωπος ἀφηρημένου τῶν
 πράξεων. ὁ γὰρ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν πολεμικὸς καὶ
 ἀνδρώδης, ἀξίωμα δ' οὐ προσῆν οὐδ' ὄγκος αὐτῷ
 διὰ πενίαν.

XXII. Εὐθύς μὲν οὖν ἀποπλέων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης
 ἀφείλετο Μεσσήνην Ἀθηναίους. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ
 μέλλοντες ἐνδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν, οὓς ἐκείνος εἰδὼς
 σαφέστατα τοῖς Συρακουσίων φίλοις ἐμήνυσε καὶ
 διέφθειρε τὴν πρᾶξιν. ἐν δὲ Θουρίοις γενόμενος
 καὶ ἀποβὰς τῆς τριήρους ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ
 2 διέφυγε τοὺς ζητοῦντας. ἐπιγνόντος δέ τινος καὶ
 εἰπόντος· “Οὐ πιστεύεις, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη, τῇ
 πατρίδι;” “Τὰ μὲν ἄλλ’,” ἔφη, “πάντα· περὶ δὲ
 τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί, μήπως ἀγνοή-
 σασα τὴν μέλαιναν ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς ἐπενέγκῃ

¹ ἐπ' αὐτόν with M^a and Cobet : πρὸς αὐτόν.

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at this point, but rather, now that they were done with the Hermae-defacers, as if their passion had all the more opportunity to vent itself, they dashed like a torrent against Alcibiades, and finally dispatched the Salaminian state-galley to fetch him home. They shrewdly gave its officers explicit command not to use violence, nor to seize his person, but with all moderation of speech to bid him accompany them home to stand his trial and satisfy the people. For they were afraid that their army, in an enemy's land, would be full of tumult and mutiny at the summons. And Alcibiades might easily have effected this had he wished. For the men were cast down at his departure, and expected that the war, under the conduct of Nicias, would be drawn out to a great length by delays and inactivity, now that their goad to action had been taken away. Lamachus, it is true, was a good soldier and a brave man ; but he lacked authority and prestige because he was poor.

XXII. Alcibiades had no sooner sailed away than he robbed the Athenians of Messana.¹ There was a party there who were on the point of surrendering the city to the Athenians, but Alcibiades knew them, and gave the clearest information of their design to the friends of Syracuse in the city, and so brought the thing to naught. Arrived at Thurii, he left his trireme and hid himself so as to escape all quest. When some one recognised him and asked, "Can you not trust your country, Alcibiades?" "In all else," he said, "but in the matter of life I wouldn't trust even my own mother not to mistake a black for a white ballot when she cast her vote." And

¹ In September, 415 B.C.

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ψῆφον.” ὕστερον δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκεν ἡ πόλις· “Ἄλλ' ἐγώ,” εἶπε, “δείξω αὐτοῖς ὅτι ζῶ.”

- 3 Τὴν μὲν οὖν εἰσαγγελίαν οὕτως ἔχουσαν ἀναγράφουσι· “Θεσσαλὸς Κίμωνος Λακιάδης Ἀλκιβιάδην Κλεινίου Σκαμβωνίδην εἰσήγγειλεν ἀδικεῖν περὶ τῷ θεῷ, τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ τὴν Κόρην, ἀπομιμούμενον τὰ μυστήρια καὶ δεικνύοντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐταίροις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἔχοντα στολὴν οἷαν περὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης¹ ἔχων δεικνύει τὰ ἱερά, καὶ ὀνομάζοντα αὐτὸν μὲν ἱεροφάντην, Πουλυτίωνα δὲ δαδούχον, κήρυκα δὲ Θεόδωρον Φηγαῖα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐταίρους μύστας προσ-
αγορεύοντα καὶ ἐπόπτας παρὰ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ καθεστηκότα ὑπὸ τε Εὐμολπιδῶν καὶ Κηρύκων
4 καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος.” ἐρήμην δ' αὐτοῦ καταγνόντες καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημεύσαντες ἔτι καταρᾶσθαι προσεψηφίσαντο πάντας ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερείας, ὧν μόνην φασὶ Θεανῶ τὴν Μένωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς τὸ ψήφισμα, φάσκουσιν εὐχῶν, οὐ καταρῶν ἱερίαν γεγονέναι.

- XXIII. Τοσούτων δὲ κατεψηφισμένων Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ κατεγνωσμένων, ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἐν Ἄργει διατρίβων, ὥς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ Θουρίων 203 ἀποδρὰς εἰς Πελοπόννησον διεκομίσθη, φοβούμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ παντάπασιν τῆς πατρίδος ἀπεγνωκῶς ἔπεμψεν εἰς Σπάρτην, ἀξιῶν ἄδειαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ πίστιν ἐπὶ μείζοσι χρεῖαις καὶ ὠφελείαις ὧν πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος ἔβλαψε.
2 δόντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ

¹ ὁ ἱεροφάντης with CM^a: ἱεροφάντης.

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when he afterwards heard that the city had condemned him to death, "I'll show them," he said, "that I'm alive."

His impeachment is on record, and runs as follows : "Thessalus, son of Cimon, of the deme Laciadae, impeaches Alcibiades, son of Cleinias, of the deme Scambonidae, for committing crime against the goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and Cora, by mimicking the mysteries and showing them forth to his companions in his own house, wearing a robe such as the High Priest wears when he shows forth the sacred secrets to the initiates, and calling himself High Priest, Pulytion Torch-bearer, and Theodorus, of the deme Phegaea, Herald, and hailing the rest of his companions as Mystae and Epoptae, contrary to the laws and institutions of the Eumolpidae, Heralds, and Priests of Eleusis." His case went by default, his property was confiscated, and besides that, it was also decreed that his name should be publicly cursed by all priests and priestesses. Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the deme Agraule, they say, was the only one who refused to obey this decree. She declared that she was a praying, not a cursing priestess.

XXIII. When these great judgments and condemnations were passed upon Alcibiades, he was tarrying in Argos, for as soon as he had made his escape from Thurii, he passed over into Peloponnesus. But fearing his foes there, and renouncing his country altogether, he sent to the Spartans, demanding immunity and confidence, and promising to render them aid and service greater than all the harm he had previously done them as an enemy. The Spartans granted this request and received him

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δεξαμένων, παραγενόμενος προθύμως ἐν μὲν εὐθύς ἐξειργάσατο, μέλλοντας καὶ ἀναβαλλομένους βοηθεῖν Συρακουσίοις ἐγείρας καὶ παροξύνας πέμψαι Γύλιππον ἄρχοντα καὶ θραῦσαι τὴν ἐκεῖ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν· ἕτερον δέ, κινεῖν τὸν αὐτόθεν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ μέγιστον, ἐπιτειχίσαι Δεκέλειαν, οὐ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν διειργάσατο καὶ κατοικοφθόρησε τὴν πόλιν.

- 3 Εὐδοκιμῶν δὲ δημοσίᾳ καὶ θαυμαζόμενος οὐχ ἥττον ἰδίᾳ τοὺς πολλοὺς κατεδημαγώγει καὶ κατεγοήτευε τῇ διαίτῃ λακωνίζων, ὥσθ' ὀρώντας ἐν χρῶ κουριῶντα καὶ ψυχρολουτοῦντα καὶ μάζη συνόντα καὶ ζωμῶ μέλανι χρώμενον ἀπιστεῖν καὶ διαπορεῖν, εἴ ποτε μάγειρον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἔσχευε ἢ προσέβλεψε μυρεψὸν ἢ Μιλησίαν
- 4 ἡνέσχετο θιγεῖν χλανίδος. ἦν γάρ, ὥς φασι, μία δεινότης αὕτη τῶν πολλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὴ θήρας ἀνθρώπων, συνεξομοιοῦσθαι καὶ συνομοπαθεῖν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ταῖς διαίταις, ὁξυτέρας τρεπομένῳ τροπᾷ τοῦ χαμαιλέοντος. πλὴν ἐκεῖνος μὲν, ὥς λέγεται, πρὸς ἐν ἐξιδυννατεῖ χρῶμα τὸ λευκὸν ἀφομοιοῦν ἑαυτόν· Ἀλκιβιάδῃ δὲ διὰ χρηστῶν ἰόντι καὶ πονηρῶν ὁμοίως οὐδὲν
- 5 ἦν ἀμίμητον οὐδ' ἀνεπιτήδευτον, ἀλλ' ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυμναστικός, εὐτελής, σκυθρωπός, ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ χλι-

¹ A mountain citadel of Attica, about fourteen miles from Athens towards Boeotia, commanding the Athenian plain

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among them. No sooner was he come than he zealously brought one thing to pass: they had been delaying and postponing assistance to Syracuse; he roused and incited them to send Gylippus thither for a commander, and to crush the force which Athens had there. A second thing he did was to get them to stir up the war against Athens at home; and the third, and most important of all, to induce them to fortify Deceleia.¹ This more than anything else wrought ruin and destruction to his native city.

At Sparta, he was held in high repute publicly, and privately was no less admired. The multitude was brought under his influence, and was actually bewitched, by his assumption of the Spartan mode of life. When they saw him with his hair untrimmed, taking cold baths, on terms of intimacy with their coarse bread, and supping black porridge, they could scarcely trust their eyes, and doubted whether such a man as he now was had ever had a cook in his own house, had even so much as looked upon a perfumer, or endured the touch of Milesian wool. He had, as they say, one power which transcended all others, and proved an implement of his chase for men: that of assimilating and adapting himself to the pursuits and lives of others, thereby assuming more violent changes than the chameleon. That animal, however, as it is said, is utterly unable to assume one colour, namely, white; but Alcibiades could associate with good and bad alike, and found naught that he could not imitate and practice. In Sparta, he was all for bodily training, simplicity of life, and severity of countenance; in Ionia, for and the shortest routes to Eubœa and Bœotia. It was occupied by the Spartans in the spring of 413 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- δανός, ἐπιτερπής, ῥάθυμος, ἐν Θράκῃ μεθυστικός, ἐν Θετταλοῖς ἵππαστικός, Τισαφέρνῃ δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ συνὼν ὑπερέβαλεν ὄγκῳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τὴν Περσικὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, οὐχ αὐτὸν ἐξιστὰς οὕτω ῥαδίως εἰς ἕτερον ἐξ ἐτέρου τρόπον, οὐδὲ πᾶσαν δεχόμενος τῷ ἥθει μεταβολήν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῇ φύσει χρώμενος ἔμελλε λυπεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνον-
 6 τας, εἰς πᾶν αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκείνοις σχῆμα καὶ πλάσμα κατεδύετο καὶ κατέφευγεν. ἐν γοῦν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξωθεν ἦν εἰπεῖν· “Οὐ παῖς Ἀχιλλέως, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος” εἶη ἂν ‘αὐτός,’ οἷον Λυκούργος ἐπαίδευσε.” τοῖς δ' ἀληθινοῖς ἂν τις ἐπεφώνησεν αὐτοῦ πάθει καὶ πράγμασιν· “Ἔστιν ἢ πάλαι γυνή.”
 7 Τιμαίαν γὰρ τὴν Ἀγιδος γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως στρατευομένου καὶ ἀποδημοῦντος οὕτω διέφθειρεν ὥστε καὶ κύειν ἐξ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι, καὶ τεκούσης παιδάριον ἄρρεν ἔξω μὲν Λεωτυχίδην καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ ψιθυριζόμενον ὄνομα πρὸς τὰς φίλας καὶ τὰς ὁπαδοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην εἶναι· τοσοῦτος ἔρως κατεῖχε τὴν ἄνθρωπον. ὁ δ' ἐντρυφὼν ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὕβρει τοῦτο πράττειν οὐδὲ κρατούμενος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ὅπως Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύσωσιν οἱ ἐξ
 8 αὐτοῦ γεγονότες. οὕτω πραττόμενα ταῦτα πολλοὶ κατηγοροῦν πρὸς τὸν Ἀγιν· ἐπίστευσε δὲ

¹ The first part of the passage in quotation marks is an adaptation of an iambic trimeter by some unknown poet,

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luxurious ease and pleasure ; in Thrace, for drinking deep ; in Thessaly, for riding hard ; and when he was thrown with Tissaphernes the satrap, he outdid even Persian magnificence in his pomp and lavishness. It was not that he could so easily pass entirely from one manner of man to another, nor that he actually underwent in every case a change in his real character ; but when he saw that his natural manners were likely to be annoying to his associates, he was quick to assume any counterfeit exterior which might in each case be suitable for them. At all events, in Sparta, so far as the outside was concerned, it was possible to say of him, “ ‘ No child of Achilles he, but Achilles himself,’¹ such a man as Lycurgus trained ” ; but judging by what he actually felt and did, one might have cried with the poet, “ ‘ Tis the selfsame woman still² ! ”

For while Agis the king was away on his campaigns, Alcibiades corrupted Timaea his wife, so that she was with child by him and made no denial of it. When she had given birth to a male child, it was called Leotychides in public, but in private the name which the boy's mother whispered to her friends and attendants was Alcibiades. Such was the passion that possessed the woman. But he, in his mocking way, said he had not done this thing for a wanton insult, nor at the behest of mere pleasure, but in order that descendants of his might be kings of the Lacedaemonians. Such being the state of things, there were many to tell the tale to Agis, and he believed it, more especially owing to the lapse of time.

which Plutarch uses entire in *Morals*, p. 51 c. Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 907.

² Electra, of Helen, in Euripides, *Orestes*, 129.

τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα, ὅτι σεισμῷ γενομένου φοβη-
θεῖς ἐξέδραμε τοῦ θαλάμου παρὰ τῆς γυναικός,
εἶτα δέκα μηνῶν οὐκέτι συνῆλθεν αὐτῇ, μεθ' οὓς
γενόμενον τὸν Λεωτυχίδην ἀπέφησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὴ
γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσεν
ὑστερον ὁ Λεωτυχίδης.

- XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
δυστυχίαν ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Σπάρτην ἅμα Χίοι
καὶ Λέσβιοι καὶ Κυζικηνοὶ περὶ ἀποστάσεως.
πραττόντων δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν Λεσβίοις, Φαρνα-
βάζου δὲ Κυζικηνοῖς, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ πεισθέντες
εἶλοντο Χίοις πρὸ πάντων βοηθεῖν. ἐκπλεύσας 204
δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέστησεν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασαν
Ἰωνίαν, καὶ πολλὰ συνὼν τοῖς τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων στρατηγοῖς ἔβλαπτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
2 ὁ δ' Ἄγις ἐχθρὸς μὲν ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν
γυναῖκα κακῶς πεπονθώς, ἤχθητο δὲ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ·
τὰ γὰρ πλείστα γίνεσθαι καὶ προχωρεῖν δι'
Ἀλκιβιάδην λόγος ἦν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων Σπαρτιατῶν
οἱ δυνατώτατοι καὶ φιλοτιμώτατοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιά-
δην ἤδη ἐβαρύνοντο διὰ φθόνον. ἴσχυσαν οὖν
καὶ διεπράξαντο τοὺς οἴκοθεν ἄρχοντας ἐπι-
στεῖλαι πρὸς Ἰωνίαν ὅπως ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν.
3 Ὁ δ' ἡσυχῇ προγνοὺς καὶ φοβηθεὶς τῶν μὲν
πράξεων πασῶν ἐκοινώνει τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τὸ
δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι παντάπασιν ἔφευγε, Τισαφέρνῃ
δέ, τῷ βασιλέως σατράπῃ, δούς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ
ἀσφαλείας εὐθύς ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ πρῶτος καὶ
4 μέγιστος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολύτροπον καὶ περιττὸν

¹ Cf. *Lysander*, xxii. 4-6.

² With these words the two years which had elapsed since
the flight of Alcibiades (xxii. 1) are passed over, so far as the

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There had been an earthquake, and he had run in terror out of his chamber and the arms of his wife, and then for ten months had had no further intercourse with her. And since Leotychides had been born at the end of this period, Agis declared that he was no child of his. For this reason Leotychides was afterwards refused the royal succession.¹

XXIV. After the Athenian disaster in Sicily,² the Chians, Lesbians, and Cyzicenes sent embassies at the same time to Sparta, to discuss a revolt from Athens. But though the Boeotians supported the appeal of the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus that of the Cyzicenes, the Spartans, under the persuasion of Alcibiades, elected to help the Chians first of all. Alcibiades actually set sail in person and brought almost all Ionia to revolt, and, in constant association with the Lacedaemonian generals, wrought injury to the Athenians. But Agis was hostile to him because of the wrong he had suffered as a husband, and he was also vexed at the repute in which Alcibiades stood; for most of the successes won were due to him, as report had it. The most influential and ambitious of the other Spartans also were already envious and tired of him, and soon grew strong enough to induce the magistrates at home to send out orders to Ionia that he be put to death.

His stealthy discovery of this put him on his guard, and while in all their undertakings he took part with the Lacedaemonians, he sedulously avoided coming into their hands. Then, resorting to Tissaphernes, the King's satrap, for safety, he was soon first and foremost in that grandee's favour. For his versatility

Sicilian expedition is concerned. They are covered by the narrative of the *Nicias* (xv.-xxx.).

αὐτοῦ τῆς δεινότητος οὐκ ὦν ἀπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ
κακοήθης καὶ φιλοπόνηρος, ἐθαύμαζεν ὁ βάρβαρος·
ταῖς δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ συσχολάζειν καὶ συν-
δαιτᾶσθαι χάρισιν οὐδέν ἦν ἄτεγκτον ἦθος οὐδὲ
φύσις ἀνάλωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδιόσι καὶ φθονοῦσιν
ὅμως τὸ συγγενέσθαι καὶ προσιδεῖν ἐκείνον ἡδο-
5 νήν τινα καὶ φιλοφροσύνην παρείχε. τὰλλ' οὖν
ὦν καὶ μισέλλην ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Περσῶν ὁ
Τισαφέρνης, οὕτως ἐνεδίδου τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ κολα-
κεύομενος ὥσθ' ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν ἀντικολακεύων
ἐκείνος. ὦν γὰρ ἐκέκτητο παραδείσων τὸν κάλ-
λιστον καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ λειμώνων ὑγιεινῶν ἔνεκεν,
διατριβὰς ἔχοντα καὶ καταφυγὰς ἡσκημένας
βασιλικῶς καὶ περιττῶς, Ἀλκιβιάδην καλεῖν
ἔθετο· καὶ πάντες οὕτω καλοῦντες καὶ προσα-
γορεύοντες διετέλουν.

XXV. Ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τὰ τῶν
Σπαρτιατῶν ὡς ἄπιστα, καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν
Ἀγιν, ἐκάκου καὶ διέβαλλε πρὸς τὸν Τισαφέρνην,
οὐκ ἔων βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς προθύμως οὐδὲ καταλύειν
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλὰ γλίσχρως χορηγοῦντα
θλίβειν καὶ ἀποκναίειν ἀτρέμα καὶ ποιεῖν ἀμφο-
τέρους βασιλεῖ χειροήθεις καὶ καταπόνους ὑπ'
2 ἀλλήλων. ὁ δ' ἐπείθετο ῥαδίως καὶ δῆλος ἦν
ἀγαπῶν καὶ θαυμάζων, ὥστ' ἀποβλέπεσθαι τὸν
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς
δ' Ἀθηναίους μεταμέλεσθαι τοῖς γνωσθεῖσι περὶ
αὐτοῦ κακῶς πάσχοντας, ἄχθεσθαι δὲ κακεῖνον
ἤδη καὶ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ παντάπασι τῆς πόλεως
ἀναιρεθεῖσης ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γένηται μισού-
μενος.

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and surpassing cleverness were the admiration of the Barbarian, who was no straightforward man himself, but malicious and fond of evil company. And indeed no disposition could resist and no nature escape Alcibiades, so full of grace was his daily life and conversation. Even those who feared and hated him felt a rare and winning charm in his society and presence. And thus it was that Tissaphernes, though otherwise the most ardent of the Persians in his hatred of the Hellenes, so completely surrendered to the flatteries of Alcibiades as to outdo him in reciprocal flatteries. Indeed, the most beautiful park he had, both for its refreshing waters and grateful lawns, with resorts and retreats decked out in regal and extravagant fashion, he named Alcibiades; everyone always called it by that name.

XXV. Alcibiades now abandoned the cause of the Spartans, since he distrusted them and feared Agis, and began to malign and slander them to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to aid them very generously, and yet not to put down the Athenians completely, but rather by niggardly assistance to straiten and gradually wear out both, and so make them easy victims for the King when they had weakened and exhausted each other. Tissaphernes was easily persuaded, and all men saw that he loved and admired his new adviser, so that Alcibiades was looked up to by the Hellenes on both sides, and the Athenians repented themselves of the sentence they had passed upon him, now that they were suffering for it. Alcibiades himself also was presently burdened with the fear that if his native city were altogether destroyed, he might come into the power of the Lacedaemonians, who hated him.

- 3 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάμῳ τότε πάντα τὰ πράγματα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις σχεδὸν ὑπῆρχε· κακείμενοι ὁρμώμενοι τῇ ναυτικῇ δυνάμει τὰ μὲν ἀνεκτῶντο τῶν ἀφελώντων, τὰ δ' ἐφύλαττον ἀμῶς γέ πως ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ θάλατταν ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι, Τισαφέρην δὲ φοβούμενοι καὶ τὰς λεγομένας ὅσον οὐπω παρῆναι Φοινίσσας τριήρεις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν οὐσας, ὧν ἀφικομένων οὐδεμία σω-
- 4 τηρίας ἐλπίς ὑπελείπετο τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ' εἰδὼς Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπεμπε κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ δυνατοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλπίδας ἐνδιδούς παρέξειν τὸν Τισαφέρην φίλον, οὐ τοῖς πολλοῖς χαριζόμενος οὐδὲ πιστεύων ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις, εἰ τολμήσειαν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ παύσαντες ὑβρίζοντα τὸν δῆμον αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν σώζειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν.
- 5 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι σφόδρα προσείχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν εἰς, Φρύνιχος ὁ Δειραδιώτης, ὑποπτεύσας, ὅπερ ἦν, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ δημοκρατίας δεόμενον, ζητοῦντα δὲ πάντως κατελθεῖν, ἐκ διαβολῆς τοῦ δήμου προθεραπεύειν καὶ ὑποδύεσθαι τοὺς δυνατοὺς, ἀνθίστατο. κρατούμενος δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ φανερώς ἤδη τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου γεγωνὸς ἐχθρὸς, ἐξήγγειλε κρύφα πρὸς Ἀστύοχον 205 τὸν τῶν πολεμίων ναύαρχον, ἐγκελευόμενος φυλάττεσθαι καὶ συλλαμβάνειν ὡς ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ἐλελήθει δ' ἄρα προδό-
- 70

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At this time¹ almost all the forces of Athens were at Samos. From this island as their naval base of operations they were trying to win back some of their Ionian allies who had revolted, and were watching others who were disaffected. After a fashion they still managed to cope with their enemies on the sea, but they were afraid of Tissaphernes and of the fleet of one hundred and fifty Phoenician triremes which was said to be all but at hand; if this once came up, no hope of safety was left for their city. Alcibiades was aware of this, and sent secret messages to the influential Athenians at Samos, in which he held out the hope that he might bring Tissaphernes over to be their friend. He did not seek, he said, the favour of the multitude, nor trust them, but rather that of the aristocrats, in case they would venture to show themselves men, put a stop to the insolence of the people, take the direction of affairs into their own hands, and save their cause and city.

Now the rest of the aristocrats were much inclined to Alcibiades. But one of the generals, Phrynichus, of the deme Deirades, suspected (what was really the case) that Alcibiades had no more use for an oligarchy than for a democracy, but merely sought in one way or another a recall from exile, and therefore inveighed against the people merely to court betimes the favour of the aristocrats, and ingratiate himself with them. He therefore opposed him. When his opinion had been overborne and he was now become an open enemy of Alcibiades, he sent a secret message to Astyochus, the enemy's naval commander, bidding him beware of Alcibiades and arrest him, for that he was playing a double game. But without his

¹ During the winter of 412-411 B.C.

της προδότῃ διαλεγόμενος. τὸν γὰρ Τισαφέρην
ἐκπεπληγμένος ὁ Ἀστύοχος, καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην
ὁρῶν παρ' αὐτῷ μέγαν ὄντα, κατεμήνυσε τὰ
τοῦ Φρυνίχου πρὸς αὐτούς. ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης
εὐθὺς εἰς Σάμον ἔπεμψε τοὺς τοῦ Φρυνίχου
κατηγορήσοντας. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ
συνισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν Φρύνιχον, οὐχ ὁρῶν
ἐτέραν διαφυγὴν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπεχείρησεν
7 ἰάσασθαι μείζονι κακῷ τὸ κακόν. αὐθις γὰρ
ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύοχον, ἐγκαλῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ
τῆς μηνύσεως, ἐπαγγελλόμενος δὲ τὰς ναῦς καὶ
τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποχείριον αὐτῷ
παρέξειν.

Οὐ μὲν ἔβλαψέ γε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡ τοῦ
Φρυνίχου προδοσία διὰ τὴν Ἀστυόχου παλιμ-
προδοσίαν. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα κατέπε τοῦ Φρυνίχου
8 πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Φρύνιχος
προαισθόμενος καὶ προσδεχόμενος δευτέραν κατη-
γορίαν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, φθάσας αὐτὸς
προεῖπε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἐπιπλεῖν
οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ παρήνεσε πρὸς ταῖς ναυσὶν
9 εἶναι καὶ περιτειχίσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπεὶ
δὲ πραττόντων ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦκε γράμ-
ματα πάλιν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, φυλάττεσθαι
κελεύοντος τὸν Φρύνιχον ὡς προδιδόντα τοῖς
πολεμίοις τὸν ναύσταθμον, ἠπίστησαν οἰόμενοι
τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην εἰδότα σαφῶς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων
παρασκευὴν καὶ διάνοιαν ἀποχρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν
10 τοῦ Φρυνίχου διαβολὴν οὐκ ἀληθῶς. ὕστερον

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knowing it, it was a case of traitor dealing with traitor. For Astyochus was much in awe of Tissaphernes, and seeing that Alcibiades had great power with the satrap, he disclosed the message of Phrynichus to them both. Alcibiades at once sent men to Samos to denounce Phrynichus. All the Athenians there were incensed and banded themselves together against Phrynichus, who, seeing no other escape from his predicament, attempted to cure one evil by another and a greater. He sent again to Astyochus, chiding him indeed for his disclosure of the former message, but announcing that he stood ready to deliver into his hands the fleet and army of the Athenians.

However, this treachery of Phrynichus did not harm the Athenians at all, because of the fresh treachery of Astyochus. This second message of Phrynichus also he delivered to Alcibiades. But Phrynichus knew all the while that he would do so, and expected a second denunciation from Alcibiades. So he got the start of him by telling the Athenians himself that the enemy were going to attack them, and advising them to have their ships manned and their camp fortified. The Athenians were busy doing this when again a letter came from Alcibiades bidding them beware of Phrynichus, since he had offered to betray their fleet to the enemy. This letter they disbelieved at the time, supposing that Alcibiades, who must know perfectly the equipment and purposes of the enemy, had used his knowledge in order to calumniate Phrynichus falsely. Afterwards,¹

¹ In the summer of 411 B.C., Phrynichus having been deposed from his command at Samos, and showing himself an ardent supporter of the revolutionary Four Hundred at Athens.

μέντοι τὸν Φρύνιχον ἐνὸς τῶν περιπόλων Ἑρμῶνος ἐν ἀγορᾷ πατάξαντος ἐγχειριδίῳ καὶ διαφθείραντος, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δίκης γενομένης τοῦ μὲν Φρυνίχου προδοσίαν κατεψηφίσαντο τεθνηκότος, τὸν δ' Ἑρμῶνα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ συστάντας ἐστεφάνωσαν.

- XXVI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάμῳ τότε κρατήσαντες οἱ Ἀλκιβιάδου φίλοι πέμπουσι Πείσανδρον εἰς ἄστυ κινήσοντα τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ παραθαρρυνούντα τοὺς δυνατοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ καταλύειν τὸν δῆμον, ὥς ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου Τισαφέρην αὐτοῖς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον παρέχοντος. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν πρόφασις καὶ τοῦτο πρόσχημα τοῖς καθιστάσι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἴσχυσαν καὶ παρέλαβον τὰ πράγματα οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι λεγόμενοι, τετρακόσιοι δὲ ὄντες, ἐλάχιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ προσεῖχον ἤδη καὶ μαλακώτερον ἤπτοντο τοῦ πολέμου, τὰ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντες ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ξενοπαθοῦσι τοῖς πολίταις, τὰ δ' οἰόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐνδῶσειν αὐτοῖς Λακεδαιμονίους αἰὲν πρὸς ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντας. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δῆμος ἄκων ὑπὸ δέους ἡσυχίαν ἤγε· καὶ γὰρ ἀπесφάγησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων φανερώς τοῖς τετρακοσίοις· οἱ δ' ἐν Σάμῳ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες ὥρμηντο πλεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ μεταπεμφάμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξαντες ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς τυράννους.
- 4 Ὁ δ' οὐχ οἶον ἂν τις ἐξαίφνης χάριτι τῶν

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however, when Hermon,¹ one of the frontier guard, had smitten Phrynichus with a dagger and slain him in the open market-place, the Athenians tried the case of the dead man, found him guilty of treachery, and awarded crowns to Hermon and his accomplices.

XXVI. But at Samos the friends of Alcibiades soon got the upper hand, and sent Peisander to Athens to change the form of government. He was to encourage the leading men to overthrow the democracy and take control of affairs, with the plea that on these terms alone would Alcibiades make Tissaphernes their friend and ally. This was the pretence and this the pretext of those who established the oligarchy at Athens. But as soon as the so-called Five Thousand (they were really only four hundred) got the power and took control of affairs, they at once neglected Alcibiades entirely, and waged the war with less vigour, partly because they distrusted the citizens, who still looked askance at the new form of government, and partly because they thought that the Lacedaemonians, who always looked with favour on an oligarchy, would be more lenient towards them. The popular party in the city was constrained by fear to keep quiet, because many of those who openly opposed the Four Hundred had been slain. But when the army in Samos learned what had been done at home, they were enraged, and were eager to sail forthwith to the Piraeus, and sending for Alcibiades, they appointed him general, and bade him lead them in putting down the tyrants.

An ordinary man, thus suddenly raised to great

¹ The name is wrong, and has crept into the story by an error which can be traced. Hermon was "commander of the frontier guard stationed at Munychia" (Thuc. viii. 92, 5).

πολλῶν μέγας γεγρονῶς ἔπαθε καὶ ἠγάπησε, πάντα δεῖν εὐθὺς οἰόμενος χαρίζεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς ἐκ πλάνητος καὶ φυγάδος αὐτὸν νεῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ δυνάμεως τηλικαύτης ἀποδείξασιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἦν ἄρχοντι μεγάλῳ προσῆκον, ἀντίστασθαι φερομένοις ὑπ' ὀργῆς, κωλύσας ἑξαμαρτεῖν, τότε γοῦν τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει περιφανῶς
 5 ἔσωσεν. εἰ γὰρ ἄραντες ἀπέπλευσαν οἴκαδε, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις εὐθὺς ἔχειν ὑπήρχεν Ἰωνίαν ἅπασαν, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον¹ ἀμαχεί, καὶ 206 τὰς νήσους, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μάχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμβαλόντας· ὃν μόνος μάλιστα μὴ γενέσθαι διεκώλυσε ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, οὐ μόνον πείθων καὶ διδάσκων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἓνα τοὺς μὲν ἀντιβολῶν,
 6 τῶν δ' ἐπιλαμβανόμενος. συνέπραττε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Θρασύβουλος ὁ Στειριεὺς ἅμα παρὼν καὶ κεκραγῶς· ἦν γάρ, ὡς λέγεται, μεγαλοφωνότατος Ἀθηναίων.
 Ἐκεῖνό τε δὴ καλὸν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ δεύτερον, ὅτι ὑποσχόμενος τὰς Φοινίσσας ναῦς, ἃς προσεδέχοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι βασιλέως πέμψαντος, ἢ μεταστήσειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ διαπράξεσθαι μηδὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους κομισθῆναι, διὰ ταχέων
 7 ἐξέπλευσε. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐκφανείσας περὶ Ἀσπενδον οὐκ ἤγαγεν ὁ Τισαφέρνης, ἀλλ' ἐψεύσατο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀποτρέψαι παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης

¹ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Bekker: Ἑλλήσποντον.

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power by the favour of the multitude, would have been full of complaisance, thinking that he must at once gratify them in all things and oppose them in nothing, since they had made him, instead of a wandering exile, leader and general of such a fleet and of so large an armed force. But Alcibiades, as became a great leader, felt that he must oppose them in their career of blind fury, and prevented them from making a fatal mistake. Therefore in this instance, at least, he was the manifest salvation of the city. For had they sailed off home, their enemies might at once have occupied all Ionia, the Hellespont without a battle, and the islands, while Athenians were fighting Athenians and making their own city the seat of war. Such a war Alcibiades, more than any other one man, prevented, not only persuading and instructing the multitude together, but also, taking them man by man, supplicating some and constraining others. He had a helper, too, in Thrasybulus of Steiris,¹ who went along with him and did the shouting; for he had, it is said, the biggest voice of all the Athenians.

A second honourable proceeding of Alcibiades was his promising to bring over to their side the Phoenician ships which the King had sent out and the Lacedaemonians were expecting,—or at least to see that those expectations were not realized,—and his sailing off swiftly on this errand. The ships were actually seen off Aspendus, but Tissaphernes did not bring them up, and thereby played the Lacedaemonians false. Alcibiades, however, was

¹ This illustrious commander, the son of Lycus, is to be distinguished from Thrasybulus, the son of Thraso (chapter xxxvi. 1).

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εἶχε, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς διδάσκων τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῶν περιορᾶν ἀπολλυμένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον ὅτι τοῖς ἐτέροις δύναμις τοσαύτη προσγενομένη τοὺς ἐτέρους ἀφηρεῖτο κομιδῇ τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάττης.

XXVII. Ἐκ τούτου κατελύθησαν μὲν οἱ τετρακόσιοι, τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδου φίλων προθύμως συλλαμβανομένων τοῖς τὰ δήμου φρονούσι· βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ κελευόντων κατιέναι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην αὐτὸς ᾤετο δεῖν μὴ κεναῖς χερσὶ μηδὲ ἀπράκτοις, οἷκτῳ καὶ χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνδόξως κατελθεῖν. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐκ Σάμου περιέπλει τὴν Κνιδίων καὶ Κῶν 2 θάλασσαν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀκούσας Μίνδαρον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ἀναπλεῖν τῷ στόλῳ παντὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἡπείγετο βοηθῆσαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. καὶ κατὰ τύχην εἰς τοῦτο καιροῦ συνήνυσσε πλέων ὀκτωκαίδεκα τριήρεσιν, ἐν ᾗ πάσαις ὁμοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ συμπεσόντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ διαναυμαχοῦντες περὶ Ἀβυδὸν ἀμφότεροι τοῖς μὲν ἡττώμενοι μέρεσι, τοῖς δὲ νικῶντες ἄχρι δείλης ἀγῶνι μεγάλῳ συνείχοντο. 3 καὶ παρέσχε μὲν ἐναντίαν δόξαν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιφανείς, ὥστε θαρρεῖν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, θορυβεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ταχὺ δὲ σημείον ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος φίλιον ὥρμησεν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας καὶ διώκοντας τῶν Πελοποννησίων. τρεψάμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξέωσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ προσκείμενος ἔκοπτε τὰς ναῦς

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credited with this diversion of the ships by both parties, and especially by the Lacedaemonians. The charge was that he instructed the Barbarian to suffer the Hellenes to destroy one another. For it was perfectly clear that the side to which such a naval force attached itself would rob the other altogether of the control of the sea.

XXVII. After this the Four Hundred were overthrown,¹ the friends of Alcibiades now zealously assisting the party of the people. Then the city willingly ordered Alcibiades to come back home. But he thought he must not return with empty hands and without achievement, through the pity and favour of the multitude, but rather in a blaze of glory. So, to begin with, he set sail with a small fleet from Samos and cruised off Cnidus and Cos. There he heard that Mindarus the Spartan admiral had sailed off to the Hellespont with his entire fleet, followed by the Athenians, and so he hastened to the assistance of their generals. By chance he came up, with his eighteen triremes, at just that critical point when both parties, having joined battle with all their ships off Abydos, and sharing almost equally in victory and defeat until evening, were locked in a great struggle. The appearance of Alcibiades inspired both sides with a false opinion of his coming : the enemy were emboldened and the Athenians were confounded. But he quickly hoisted Athenian colours on his flagship and darted straight upon the victorious and pursuing Peloponnesians. Routing them, he drove them to land, and following hard after them, rammed and shattered their ships.

¹ They usurped the power in June, of 411 B.C. ; they fell in September of the same year.

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καὶ συνετίτρωσκε, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκνεόντων καὶ
 Φαρναβάζου πεζῇ προσβοηθούντος αὐτοῖς καὶ
 μαχομένου παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν.
 4 τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων τριάκοντα λαβόντες,
 ἀνασώσαντες δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν, τρόπαιον ἔστησαν.

Οὕτω δὲ λαμπρᾷ χρησάμενος εὐτυχίᾳ, καὶ
 φιλοτιμούμενος εὐθὺς ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τῷ
 Τισαφέρνῃ, ξένια καὶ δῶρα παρασκευασάμενος καὶ
 θεραπείαν ἔχων ἡγεμονικὴν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς
 5 αὐτόν. οὐ μὲν ἔτυχεν ὧν προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ
 πάλαι κακῶς ἀκούων ὁ Τισαφέρνης ὑπὸ τῶν
 Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ φοβούμενος αἰτίαν λαβεῖν ἐκ
 βασιλέως, ἔδοξεν ἐν καιρῷ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην
 ἀφίχθαι, καὶ συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν εἴρξεν ἐν Σάρ-
 δεσιν ὡς λύσιν ἐκείνης τῆς διαβολῆς τὴν ἀδικίαν
 ταύτην ἐσομένην.

XXVIII. Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων
 ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἵππου ποθὲν εὐπορήσας καὶ
 ἀποδράς τοὺς φύλακας εἰς Κλαζομενὰς διέφυγε.
 καὶ τὸν μὲν Τισαφέρνην προσδιέβαλλεν ὡς ὑπ'
 ἐκείνου μεθιμένος, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς τὸ
 στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πυθόμενος
 Μίνδαρον ὁμοῦ καὶ Φαρνάβαζον ἐν Κυζικῇ γε-
 2 γονέναι, τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας παρώρμησεν, ὡς
 ἀνάγκην οὔσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζο-
 μαχεῖν καὶ νῆ Δία τειχομαχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πολε-
 μίους· χρήματα γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι μὴ πάντῃ κρατοῦσι· 207
 πληρώσας δὲ τὰς ναῦς καὶ κατάρας εἰς Προικόν-

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Their crews swam ashore, and here Pharnabazus came to their aid with his infantry and fought along the beach in defence of their ships. But finally the Athenians captured thirty of them, rescued their own, and erected a trophy of victory.

Taking advantage of a success so brilliant as this, and ambitious to display himself at once before Tissaphernes, Alcibiades supplied himself with gifts of hospitality and friendship and proceeded, at the head of an imperial retinue, to visit the satrap. His reception, however, was not what he expected. Tissaphernes had for a long time been accused by the Lacedaemonians to the King, and being in fear of the King's condemnation, it seemed to him that Alcibiades had come in the nick of time. So he arrested him and shut him up in Sardis, hoping that such an outrage upon him as this would dispel the calumnies of the Spartans.

XXVIII. After the lapse of thirty days Alcibiades ran away from his guards, got a horse from some one or other, and made his escape to Clazomenae. To repay Tissaphernes, he alleged that he had escaped with that satrap's connivance, and so brought additional calumny upon him. He himself sailed to the camp of the Athenians,¹ where he learned that Mindarus, along with Pharnabazus, was in Cyzicus. Thereupon he roused the spirits of the soldiers, declaring that they must now do sea-fighting and land-fighting and even siege-fighting, too, against their enemies, for poverty stared them in the face unless they were victorious in every way. He then manned his ships and made his way to Proconnesus,

¹ Early in the spring of 410 B.C. The Athenians were at Cardia, a city of the Thracian Chersonese.

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νησον ἐκέλευσεν ἐντὸς περιβάλλειν τὰ λεπτά πλοῖα καὶ παραφυλάσσειν, ὅπως μηδεμία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιπλέοντος αὐτοῦ γένοιτο μηδαμόθεν προαίσθησις.

- 3 Ἐτυχε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντα καὶ βροντὰς καὶ ζόφον συνεργῆσαι καὶ συνεπικρύψαι τὴν παρασκευήν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἔλαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπεγνωκότας ἤδη ἐμβῆναι κελεύσας ἀνήχθη. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὃ τε ζόφος διελύθη καὶ κατώφθησαν αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες αἰωρούμεναι
- 4 πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Κυζικηνῶν. δείσας οὖν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ διὰ τὸ πλήθος αὐτὸν προιδόντες εἰς τὴν γῆν καταφύγωσι, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχῇ πλέοντας ὑπολείπεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τετταράκοντα ναῦς ἔχων ἐφαίνετο καὶ προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξηπάτηντο καὶ καταφρονήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τοσαύτας ἀντεξήλασαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξήπτοντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἤδη μαχομένοις ἐπιφερομένων ἐκπλαγέντες ἔφευγον.
- 5 Ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἴκοσι ταῖς ἀρίσταις διεκπεύσας καὶ προσβαλὼν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀποβάς, ἐνέκειτο τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἔφθειρε· Μινδάρου δὲ καὶ Φαρναβάζου προσβοηθούντων κρατήσας, τὸν μὲν Μίνδαρον ἀνεῖλεν ἐρρωμένως
- 6 ἀγωνιζόμενον, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἔφυγε. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ὀπλων κρατήσαντες τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπάσας ἔλαβον, χειρωσάμενοι δὲ καὶ Κύζικον,

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giving orders at once to seize all small trading craft and keep them under guard, that the enemy might get no warning of his approach from any source so ever.

Now it chanced that copious rain fell all of a sudden, and thunder-peals and darkness coöperated with him in concealing his design. Indeed, not only did he elude the enemy, but even the Athenians themselves had already given up all expectation of fighting, when he suddenly ordered them aboard ship and put out to sea. After a little the darkness cleared away, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen hovering off the harbour of Cyzicus. Fearing then lest they catch sight of the full extent of his array and take refuge ashore, he ordered his fellow-commanders to sail slowly and so remain in the rear, while he himself, with only forty ships, hove in sight and challenged the foe to battle. The Peloponnesians were utterly deceived, and scorning what they deemed the small numbers of their enemy, put out to meet them, and closed at once with them in a grappling fight. Presently, while the battle was raging, the Athenian reserves bore down upon their foe, who were panic stricken and took to flight.

Then Alcibiades with twenty of his best ships broke through their line, put to shore, and disembarking his crews, attacked his enemy as they fled from their ships, and slew many of them. Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their aid, he overwhelmed; Mindarus was slain fighting sturdily, but Pharnabazus made his escape. Many were the dead bodies and the arms of which the Athenians became masters, and they captured all their enemy's ships. Then they also stormed Cyzicus, which Pharnabazus

ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων διαφθαρέντων, οὐ μόνον τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἶχον βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης ἐξήλασαν κατὰ κράτος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ γράμματα λακωνικῶς φράζοντα τοῖς Ἑφόροις τὴν γεγενημένην ἀτυχίαν· “Ἐρρει τὰ κᾶλα· Μίνδαρος ἀπессοῦα· πεινῶντι τῶνδρες· ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν.”

XXIX. Οὕτω δ' ἐπήρθησαν οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου στρατευσάμενοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησαν ὥστ' ἀπαξιούν ἔτι τοῖς ἄλλοις καταμιγνύναι στρατιώταις ἑαυτοὺς πολλάκις ἡττημένοις ἀητήτους ὄντας. καὶ γὰρ οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον συνεβέβηκει πταίσαντος περὶ Ἐφεσον τοῦ Θρασύλλου τὸ χαλκοῦν ἀνεστάναι τρόπαιον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων
 2 ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ταῦτ' οὖν ὠνείδιζον οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Θρασύλλου, μεγαλύνοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν στρατηγόν, ἐκείνοις δὲ μήτε γυμνασίῳ μήτε χώρας ἐν στρατοπέδῳ κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἱππέας τε πολλοὺς ἔχων καὶ πεζοὺς ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ἐμβεβληκόσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν, ὃ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκβοηθήσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατεδίωξεν ἄχρι σκότους μετὰ τοῦ Θρασύλλου, καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο καὶ κοινῇ φιλοφρονούμενοι καὶ χαίροντες ἐπανήεσαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

3 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία στήσας τρόπαιον ἐλεηλάτει τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν οὐδενὸς ἀμύνεσθαι τολμῶντος. ἱερεῖς μέντοι καὶ ἱερείας ἔλαβε μέν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων. Χαλκηδονίοις δ' ἀφεστῶσι καὶ

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abandoned to its fate, and the Peloponnesians in it were annihilated. Thus the Athenians not only had the Hellespont under their sure control, but even drove the Lacedaemonians at a stroke from the rest of the sea. A dispatch was captured announcing the disaster to the ephors in true laconic style: "Our ships are lost; Mindarus is gone; our men are starving; we know not what to do."

XXIX. But the soldiers of Alcibiades were now so elated and filled with pride that they disdained longer to mingle with the rest of the army, since it had often been conquered, while they were unconquered. For not long before this,¹ Thrasyllus had suffered a reverse at Ephesus, and the Ephesians had erected their bronze trophy of victory, to the disgrace of the Athenians. This was what the soldiers of Alcibiades cast in the teeth of Thrasyllus' men, vaunting themselves and their general, and refusing to share either training or quarters in camp with them. But when Pharnabazus with much cavalry and infantry attacked the forces of Thrasyllus, who had made a raid into the territory of Abydos, Alcibiades sallied out to their aid, routed Pharnabazus, and pursued him till nightfall, along with Thrasyllus. Thus the two factions were blended, and returned to their camp with mutual friendliness and delight.

On the following day Alcibiades set up a trophy of victory and plundered the territory of Pharnabazus, no one venturing to defend it. He even captured some priests and priestesses, but let them go without ransom. On setting out to attack Chalcedon, which

¹ During the summer of 410 B.C., after the victory of Cyzicus.

δεδεγμένοις φρουρὰν καὶ ἄρμοστὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥρμημένος πολεμεῖν, ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναγαγόντες εἰς Βιθυνοὺς ὑπεκτίθενται¹ φίλους ὄντας, ἤκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κήρυκα προπέμψας ἐνεκάλει τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς. οἱ δὲ δέισαντες τὴν τε λείαν ἀπέδοσαν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλίαν ὡμολόγησαν.

XXX. Ἀποτεριζομένης δὲ τῆς Χαλκηδόνος ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἤκεν ὡς λύσων τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ Ἰπποκράτης ὁ ἄρμοστής ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἐπεχείρει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἅμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀντιτάξας τὸ στράτευμα, τὸν μὲν Φαρνάβαζον αἰσχυρῶς φεύγειν ἠνάγκασε, τὸν δ' Ἰπποκράτη διέφθειρε καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡττηθέντας.

- 2 Εἴτ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἡργυρολόγει καὶ Σηλυβρίαν εἶλεν, ἀφειδήσας ἑαυτοῦ παρὰ τὸν καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ ἐνδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν συνέθεντο μὲν ἀνασχῆσθαι πυρσὸν αὐτῷ μεσοῦσης νυκτός, ἠναγκάσθησαν δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ, τῶν συνωμοτῶν τινα φοβηθέντες ἐξαίφνης μεταβαλλόμενον. ἀρθέντος οὖν τοῦ πυρσοῦ μηδέπω τῆς στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἐτοίμης, ἀναλαβὼν ὅσον τριάκοντα περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπείγετο δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη, τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεσθαι κατὰ τάχος
- 3 κελεύσας. ἀνοιχθείσης δὲ τῆς πύλης αὐτῷ καὶ προσγενομένων τοῖς τριάκοντα πελταστῶν εἴκοσι παρεισπεσὼν εὐθύς ἦσθετο τοὺς Σηλυβριανοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίας μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπιφερομένους. ἐπεὶ

¹ ὑπεκτίθενται with M^a and Cobet : ἐκτίθενται.

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had revolted from Athens and received a Lacedaemonian garrison and governor, he heard that its citizens had collected all their goods and chattels out of the country and committed them for safe keeping to the Bithynians, who were their friends. So he marched to the confines of Bithynia with his army, and sent on a herald with accusations and demands. The Bithynians, in terror, gave up the booty to him, and made a treaty of friendship.

XXX. While Chalcedon was being walled in from sea to sea,¹ Pharnabazus came to raise the siege, and at the same time Hippocrates, the Spartan governor, led his forces out of the city and attacked the Athenians. But Alcibiades arrayed his army so as to face both enemies at once, put Pharnabazus to shameful flight, and slew Hippocrates together with many of his vanquished men.

Then he sailed in person into the Hellespont and levied moneys there. He also captured Selymbria, where he exposed himself beyond all bounds. For there was a party in the city which offered to surrender it to him, and they had agreed with him upon the signal of a lighted torch displayed at midnight. But they were forced to give this signal before the appointed time, through fear of one of the conspirators, who suddenly changed his mind. So the torch was displayed before his army was ready; but Alcibiades took about thirty men and ran to the walls, bidding the rest of his force follow with all speed. The gate was thrown open for him and he rushed into the city, his thirty men-at-arms reinforced by twenty targeteers, but he saw at once that the Selymbrians were advancing in battle array to attack

¹ In the spring of 409 B.C.

δ' ὑποστάντι μὲν οὐκ ἐφαίνετο σωτηρία, πρὸς δὲ
 τὸ φυγεῖν, ἀήττητος ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν
 ταῖς στρατηγίαις γεγονώς, φιλονεικότερον εἶχε,
 τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας σιωπὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἓνα τῶν
 παρόντων ἀνειπεῖν Σηλυβριανοῖς Ἀθηναίους ἐναν-
 4 τία ὅπλα μὴ τίθεσθαι. τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς
 μὲν ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὥς
 τῶν πολεμίων ἔνδον ὄντων ἀπάντων, οἱ δὲ ταῖς
 ἐλπίσιν ἡδίους ἐγένοντο πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις. ἐν
 ᾧ δὲ συστάντες ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν λόγον, ἐπῆλθεν
 ἡ στρατιὰ τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅπερ
 ἦν, εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν τοὺς Σηλυβριανούς, ἔδεισε
 5 μὴ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Θρᾶκες διαρπάσωσιν. ἦσαν δὲ
 πολλοί, χάριτι τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ δι' εὐνοίαν
 στρατευόμενοι προθύμως. ἀπέπεμψεν οὖν τού-
 τους ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ Σηλυβρια-
 νούς δεσθέντας οὐδὲν ἡδίκησεν, ἀλλὰ χρήματα
 λαβὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσας ἀπῆλθεν.

XXXI. Οἱ δὲ πολιορκοῦντες τὴν Χαλκηδόνα
 στρατηγοὶ σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον
 ἐπὶ τῷ χρήματα λαβεῖν καὶ Χαλκηδονίους ὑπη-
 κόους πάλιν Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Φαρναβάζου
 χώραν μὴ ἀδικεῖν, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ πρέσβειν
 Ἀθηναίων πρὸς βασιλέα πομπὴν μετ' ἀσφαλείας
 2 παρασχεῖν. ὥς οὖν ἐπανελθόντα τὸν Ἀλκι-
 βιάδην ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἡξίου καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι περὶ
 τῶν ὁμολογημένων, οὐκ ἔφη πρότερον ἢ ἐκείνου
 αὐτοῖς ὁμόσαι.

Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὀρκῶν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους ἀφε-

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him. In resistance he saw no safety, and for flight, undefeated as he was in all his campaigns down to that day, he had too much spirit. He therefore bade the trumpet signal silence, and then ordered formal proclamation to be made that Selymbria must not bear arms against Athens. This proclamation made some of the Selymbrians less eager for battle, if, as they supposed, their enemies were all inside the walls; and others were mollified by hopes of a peaceful settlement. While they were thus parleying with one another, up came the army of Alcibiades. Judging now, as was really the case, that the Selymbrians were disposed for peace, he was afraid that his Thracian soldiers might plunder the city. There were many of these, and they were zealous in their service, through the favour and good will they bore Alcibiades. Accordingly, he sent them all out of the city, and then, at the plea of the Selymbrians, did their city no injury whatever, but merely took a sum of money from it, set a garrison in it, and went his way.

XXXI. Meanwhile the Athenian generals who were besieging Chalcedon made peace with Pharnabazus on condition that they receive a sum of money, that Chalcedon be subject again to Athens, that the territories of Pharnabazus be not ravaged, and that the said Pharnabazus furnish safe escort for an Athenian embassy to the King. Accordingly, when Alcibiades came back from Selymbria, Pharnabazus demanded that he too take oath to the treaty; but Alcibiades refused to do so until Pharnabazus had taken his oath to it.

After the oaths had been taken, he went up against Byzantium, which was in revolt against

- στῶτας ἦλθε καὶ περιετείχιζε τὴν πόλιν. Ἀναξιλάου δὲ καὶ Λυκούργου καὶ τινων ἄλλων συνθεμένων ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν, διαδοὺς λόγον ὥς ἀνίστησιν αὐτοὺς πράγματα νεώτερα συνιστάμενα περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ἡμέρας
- 3 ἀπέπλει ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις, νυκτὸς δ' ὑποστρέψας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέβη μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ προσελθὼν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἡσυχίαν ἤγειν, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα πλεύσασαι καὶ βιαζόμεναι κραυγῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ θορύβοις καὶ ψόφοις ἅμα μὲν ἐξέπληττον τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τοὺς Βυζαντίους, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς ἀττικίζουσι παρεῖχον ἐπ' ἀδείας τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην δέχεσθαι, πάντων ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα καὶ
- 4 τὰς ναῦς βοηθούντων. οὐ μὴν ἀμαχεῖ προσεχώρησαν· οἱ γὰρ παρόντες ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐτρέψαντο καὶ καθεῖρξαν εἰς τὰς ναῦς πάλιν, τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους ἔνδον ὄντας αἰσθόμενοι καὶ συντάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε. καρτερᾶς δὲ μάχης γενομένης ἐνίκησεν Ἀλκιβιάδης τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων, Θηραμένης δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς περιγενομένους ὅσον τριακοσίους ζῶντας ἔλαβε.
- 5 Βυζαντίων δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν οὐδ' ἔφυγεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες 209 παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ταῦτα συνέθεντο, μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἴδιον ὑπεξελόμενοι. διὸ καὶ δίκην προδοσίας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι φεύγων ὁ Ἀναξίλαος

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Athens, and compassed the city with a wall.¹ But after Anaxilaüs, Lycurgus, and certain men besides had agreed to surrender the city to him on condition that it be not plundered, he spread abroad the story that threatening complications in Ionia called him away. Then he sailed off in broad daylight with all his ships; but in the night time stealthily returned. He disembarked with the men-at-arms under his own command, and stationed himself quietly within reach of the city's walls. His fleet, meanwhile, sailed to the harbour, and forcing its way in with much shouting and tumult and din, terrified the Byzantians by the unexpectedness of its attack, while it gave the party of Athens in the city a chance to admit Alcibiades in all security, since everybody had hurried off to the harbour and the fleet. However, the day was not won without a battle. The Peloponnesians, Boeotians and Megarians who were in garrison at Byzantium routed the ships' crews and drove them back on board again. Then, perceiving that the Athenians were inside the city, they formed in battle array and advanced to attack them. A fierce battle followed, but Alcibiades was victorious with the right wing, as well as Theramenes with the left, and they took prisoners no less than three hundred of the enemy who survived.

Not a man of the Byzantians was put to death or sent into exile after the battle, for it was on these conditions that the men who surrendered the city had acted, and this was the agreement with them; they exacted no special grace for themselves. Therefore it was that when Anaxilaüs was prosecuted at Sparta for treachery, his words showed clearly

¹ During the winter of 409-408 B.C.

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ἐφάνη τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ αἰσχύνων. ἔφη γὰρ οὐκ ὦν Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀλλὰ Βυζάντιος, οὐδὲ τὴν Σπάρτην κινδυνεύουσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον ὁρῶν, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀποτετειχισμένης, μηδενὸς
 6 δ' εἰσαγομένου, τὸν δ' ὄντα σίτου ἐν τῇ πόλει Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἐσθιόντων, Βυζαντίων δὲ πεινῶντων σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν, οὐ προδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλάξαι τὴν πόλιν, μιμούμενος τοὺς ἀρίστους Λακεδαιμονίων, οἷς ἐν καλὸν ἀπλῶς καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἠδέσθησαν καὶ ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

XXXII. Ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἰδεῖν τε ποθῶν ἤδη τὰ οἶκοι, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀφθῆναι βουλόμενος τοῖς πολίταις νενικηκῶς τοὺς πολεμίους τοσαυτάκις, ἀνήχθη, πολλαῖς μὲν ἀσπίσι καὶ λαφύροις κύκλῳ κεκοσμημένων τῶν Ἀττικῶν τριήρων, πολλὰς δ' ἐφελκόμενος αἰχμαλώτους, ἔτι δὲ πλείω κομίζων ἀκροστόλια τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κεκρατημένων. ἦσαν γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττους συναμφότεραι διακοσίων.

2 Ἄ δὲ Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος Ἀλκιβιάδου φάσκων ἀπόγονος εἶναι προστίθῃσι τούτοις, αὐλεῖν μὲν εἰρεσίαν τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι Χρυσόγονον τὸν πυθιονίκην, κελεύειν δὲ Καλλιππίδην τὸν τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ὑποκριτὴν, στατοὺς καὶ ξυστίδας καὶ τὸν

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that his deeds had not been disgraceful. He said that he was not a Lacedaemonian, but a Byzantian, and it was not Sparta that was in peril. Considering therefore the case of Byzantium, he saw that the city was walled up, that no help could make its way in; and that the provisions already in the city were being consumed by Peloponnesians and Boeotians, while the Byzantians were starving, together with their wives and children. He had, therefore, not betrayed the city to its enemies, but set it free from war and its horrors, therein imitating the noblest Lacedaemonians, in whose eyes the one unqualifiedly honourable and righteous thing is their country's good. The Lacedaemonians, on hearing this, were moved with sincere respect, and acquitted the men.

XXXII. But Alcibiades, yearning at last to see his home, and still more desirous of being seen by his fellow citizens, now that he had conquered their enemies so many times, set sail.¹ His Attic triremes were adorned all round with many shields and spoils of war; many that he had captured in battle were towed along in his wake; and still more numerous were the figure-heads he carried of triremes which had been overwhelmed and destroyed by him. There were not less than two hundred of these all together.

Duris the Samian, who claims that he was a descendant of Alcibiades, gives some additional details. He says that the oarsmen of Alcibiades rowed to the music of a flute blown by Chrysogonus the Pythian victor; that they kept time to a rhythmic call from the lips of Callipides the tragic actor; that both these artists were arrayed in the

¹ From Samos, in the spring of 408 B.C.

- ἄλλον ἐναγώνιον ἀμπεχομένους κόσμον, ἰστίῳ δ' ἀλουργῷ τὴν ναυαρχίδα προσφέρεισθαι τοῖς λιμέ-
 3 σιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης ἐπικωμάζοντος, οὔτε Θεό-
 πομπος οὔτ' Ἐφορος οὔτε Ξενοφῶν γέγραφεν, οὔτ' εἰκὸς ἦν οὕτως ἐντρυφῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ φυγὴν καὶ συμφορὰς τοσαύτας κατερχόμε-
 νον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ δεδιὼς κατήγετο, καὶ καταχ-
 θεῖς οὐ πρότερον ἀπέβη τῆς τριήρους, πρὶν στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἰδεῖν Εὐρυπτόλεμόν τε τὸν ἀνεψιὸν παρόντα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ οἰκείων συχνοὺς ἐκδεχομένους καὶ παρακαλούν-
 τας.
- 4 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατηγούς οὐδ' ὄραν ἐδόκουν ἀπαντῶντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δ' ἐκείνον συντρέχοντες ἐβόων, ἡσπάζοντο, παρέ-
 πεμπον, ἐστεφάνουν προσιόντες, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνά-
 μενοι προσελθεῖν ἄπωθεν ἐθεῶντο, καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἐδείκνυσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. πολὺ δὲ καὶ δά-
 κρυον τῷ χαίρουσι τῆς πόλεως ἀνεκέκρατο, καὶ μνήμη πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν εὐτυχίαν τῶν πρόσθεν ἀτυχημάτων, λογιζομένοις ὥς οὔτ' ἂν Σικελίας
 5 διήμαρτον οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἐξέφυγεν αὐτοὺς ἐάσαντας Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπὶ τῶν τότε πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκείνης, εἰ νῦν τὴν πόλιν παραλαβὼν ὀλίγου δέουσας ἐκπεπτω-
 κέναι τῆς θαλάττης, κατὰ γῆν δὲ μόλις τῶν προαστείων κρατοῦσαν, αὐτὴν δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν στασιάζουσας, ἐκ λυπρῶν ἔτι λειψάνων καὶ ταπει-
 νῶν ἀναστήσας οὐ μόνον¹ τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος

¹ μόνον with M^a and Cobet : μόνον γε.

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long tunics, flowing robes, and other adornment of their profession ; and that the commander's ship put into harbours with a sail of purple hue, as though, after a drinking bout, he were off on a revel. But neither Theopompus, nor Ephorus, nor Xenophon mentions these things, nor is it likely that Alcibiades put on such airs for the Athenians, to whom he was returning after he had suffered exile and many great adversities. Nay, he was in actual fear as he put into the harbour, and once in, he did not leave his trireme until, as he stood on deck, he caught sight of his cousin Eurypotemus on shore, with many other friends and kinsmen, and heard their cries of welcome.

When he landed, however, people did not deign so much as to look at the other generals whom they met, but ran in throngs to Alcibiades with shouts of welcome, escorting him on his way, and putting wreaths on his head as they could get to him, while those who could not come to him for the throng, gazed at him from afar, the elderly men pointing him out to the young. Much sorrow, too, was mingled with the city's joy, as men called to mind their former misfortunes and compared them with their present good fortune, counting it certain that they had neither lost Sicily, nor had any other great expectation of theirs miscarried if they had only left Alcibiades at the head of that enterprise and the armament therefor. For now he had taken the city when she was almost banished from the sea, when on land she was hardly mistress of her own suburbs, and when factions raged within her walls, and had raised her up from this wretched and lowly plight, not only restoring her dominion over the sea,

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ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζῇ νικῶσαν ἀποδείκνυσιν πανταχοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους.

XXXIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα τῆς καθόδου πρότερον ἐκεκύρωτο, Κριτίου τοῦ Καλλαίσχρου γράφαντος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις πεποίηκεν, ὑπομιμνήσκων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην τῆς χάριτος ἐν τούτοις·

Γνώμη δ' ἥ σε κατήγαγ', ἐγὼ ταύτην ἐν ἅπασιν εἶπον, καὶ γράψας τοῦργον ἔδρασα τόδε.

σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώττης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κεῖται·

- 2 τότε δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πάθη 210
κλαύσας καὶ ὀλοφυράμενος, ἐγκαλέσας δὲ μικρὰ καὶ μέτρια τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἀναθεὶς αὐτοῦ τινὶ τύχῃ πονηρᾷ καὶ φθονερῷ δαίμονι, πλείστα δ' εἰς ἐλπίδας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν διαλεχθεὶς καὶ παρορμήσας, στεφάνοις μὲν ἐστεφανώθη χρυσοῖς, ἤρέθη δ' ἅμα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
3 κατὰ θάλασσαν αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀφοσιώσασθαι πάλιν Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας, αἷς ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος. ἀφοσιουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱεροφάντης “Ἄλλ' ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “οὐδὲ κατηρασάμην αὐτῷ κακὸν οὐδέν, εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν.”

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but actually rendering her victorious over her enemies everywhere on land.

XXXIII. Now the decree for his recall had been passed before this,¹ on motion of Critias, the son of Callaeschrus, as Critias himself has written in his elegies, where he reminds Alcibiades of the favour in these words :—

“ Mine was the motion that brought thee back ; I
made it in public ;
Words and writing were mine ; this the task I
performed ;
Signet and seal of words that were mine give
warrant as follows.” ²

At this time,³ therefore, the people had only to meet in assembly, and Alcibiades addressed them. He lamented and bewailed his own lot, but had only little and moderate blame to lay upon the people. The entire mischief he ascribed to a certain evil fortune and envious genius of his own. Then he descanted at great length upon the vain hopes which their enemies were cherishing, and wrought his hearers up to courage. At last they crowned him with crowns of gold, and elected him general with sole powers by land and sea. They voted also that his property be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidae and Heralds revoke the curses wherewith they had cursed him at the command of the people. The others revoked their curses, but Theodorus the High Priest said : “ Nay, I invoked no evil upon him if he does no wrong to the city.”

¹ Nearly three years before, in the late autumn of 411 B.C., after the overthrow of the Four Hundred.

² Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.⁴ pp. 279 ff.

³ In the early summer of 408 B.C.

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- XXXIV. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου λαμπρῶς
 εὐημεροῦντος ὑπέθραττεν ἐνίους ὁμῶς ὁ τῆς καθό-
 δου καιρός. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κατέπλευσεν, ἐδρᾶτο
 τὰ Πλυντήρια τῇ θεῷ. δρῶσι δὲ τὰ ὄργια
 Πραξιεργίδαι Θαρρηλιῶνος ἕκτη φθίνοντος ἀπόρ-
 ρητα, τόν τε κόσμον καθελόντες καὶ τὸ ἔδος
 κατακαλύψαντες. ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν
 ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἄπρακτον Ἀθη-
 2 ναῖοι νομίζουσιν. οὐ φιλοφρόνως οὖν οὐδ' εὐ-
 μενῶς ἐδόκει προσδεχομένη τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἡ
 θεὸς παρακαλύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἑαυτῆς.
 οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ πάντων γεγονότων τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ
 κατὰ γνώμην, καὶ πληρουμένων ἑκατὸν τριήρων
 αἷς αὐθις ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλε, φιλοτιμία τις οὐκ
 ἀγεννῆς προσπεσοῦσα κατέσχευ αὐτὸν ἄχρι
 μυστηρίων.
- 3 Ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἐπετειχίσθη Δεκέλεια καὶ τῶν
 εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα παρόδων ἐκράτουν οἱ πολέμιοι
 παρόντες, οὐδένα κόσμον εἶχεν ἡ τελετὴ πεμπο-
 μένη κατὰ θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ
 χορεῖαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν δρωμένων καθ' ὁδὸν
 ἱερῶν, ὅταν ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἰακχον, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
 4 ἐξελείπετο. καλὸν οὖν ἐφαίνετο τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ
 καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ὁσιότητα καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
 δόξαν ἀποδοῦναι τὸ πάτριον σχῆμα τοῖς ἱεροῖς,
 παραπέμψαντα πεζῇ τὴν τελετὴν καὶ δορυφορή-
 σαντα παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους· ἡ γὰρ ἀτρεμήσαντα
 κομιδῇ κολούσειν καὶ ταπεινώσειν τὸν Ἄγιν, ἡ
 μάχην ἱερὰν καὶ θεοφιλῇ περὶ τῶν ἀγιωτάτων

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XXXIV. But while Alcibiades was thus prospering brilliantly, some were nevertheless disturbed at the particular season of his return. For he had put into harbour on the very day when the Plynteria of the goddess Athene were being celebrated. The Praxiergidae celebrate these rites on the twenty-fifth day of Thargelion, in strict secrecy, removing the robes of the goddess and covering up her image. Wherefore the Athenians regard this day as the unluckiest of all days for business of any sort. The goddess, therefore, did not appear to welcome Alcibiades with kindly favour and good will, but rather to veil herself from him and repel him. However, all things fell out as he wished, and one hundred triremes were manned for service, with which he was minded to sail off again; but a great and laudable ambition took possession of him and detained him there until the Eleusinian mysteries.

Ever since Deceleia had been fortified, and the enemy, by their presence there, commanded the approaches to Eleusis, the festal rite had been celebrated with no splendour at all, being conducted by sea. Sacrifices, choral dances, and many of the sacred ceremonies usually held on the road, when Iacchus is conducted forth from Athens to Eleusis, had of necessity been omitted. Accordingly, it seemed to Alcibiades that it would be a fine thing, enhancing his holiness in the eyes of the gods and his good repute in the minds of men, to restore its traditional fashion to the sacred festival by escorting the rite with his infantry along past the enemy by land. He would thus either thwart and humble Agis, if the king kept entirely quiet, or would fight a fight that was sacred and approved by the

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καὶ μεγίστων ἐν ὄψει τῆς πατρίδος μαχεῖσθαι, καὶ πάντας ἔξειν μάρτυρας τοὺς πολίτας τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας.

- 5 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνω καὶ προεῖπεν Εὐμολπίδαις καὶ Κήρυξι, σκοποὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ἐκάθισε καὶ προδρόμους τινὰς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προεξέπεμψεν, ἱερεῖς δὲ καὶ μύστας καὶ μυσταγωγοὺς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις περικαλύψας ἤγγεν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ μετὰ σιωπῆς, θέαμα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκείνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ φθονούντων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ μυσταγωγίαν
- 6 προσαγορευομένην. μηδενὸς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθέσθαι τολμήσαντος ἀσφαλῶς ἐπαναγαγὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἦρθη μὲν αὐτὸς τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆρεν ὡς ἅμαχον καὶ ἀήττητον οὖσαν ἐκείνου στρατηγούντος, τοὺς δὲ φορτικούς καὶ πένητας οὕτως ἐδημαγώγησεν ὥστ' ἐρᾶν ἔρωτα θαυμαστὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου τυραννεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγειν ἐνίους καὶ προσιέναι παρακελευομένους ὅπως τοῦ φθόνου κρείττων γενόμενος καὶ καταβαλὼν ψηφίσματα καὶ νόμους καὶ φλυάρους ἀπολλύντας τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἂν πράξῃ καὶ χρήσῃται τοῖς πράγμασι, μὴ δεδιὼς τοὺς συκοφάντας.

XXXV. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐκείνος ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν περὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ἀδηλόν ἐστιν· οἱ δὲ δυνατῶτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσπούδασαν αὐτὸν ἐκπλεῦσαι τὴν ταχίστην, τά τ' ἄλλα ψηφισάμενοι καὶ συνάρχοντας οὓς ἐκείνος ἠθέλησεν.

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gods, in behalf of the greatest and holiest interests, in full sight of his native city, and with all his fellow citizens eye-witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this course and made known his design to the Eumolpidae and Heralds, he stationed sentries on the heights, sent out an advance-guard at break of day, and then took the priests, mystae, and mystagogues, encompassed them with his men-at-arms, and led them over the road to Eleusis in decorous and silent array. So august and devout was the spectacle which, as general, he thus displayed, that he was hailed by those who were not unfriendly to him as High Priest, rather, and Mystagogue. No enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession safely back to the city. At this he was exalted in spirit himself, and exalted his army with the feeling that it was irresistible and invincible under his command. People of the humbler and poorer sort he so captivated by his leadership that they were filled with an amazing passion to have him for their tyrant, and some proposed it, and actually came to him in solicitation of it. He was to rise superior to envy, abolish decrees and laws, and stop the mouths of the babblers who were so fatal to the life of the city, that he might bear an absolute sway and act without fear of the public informer.

XXXV. What thoughts he himself had about a tyranny, is uncertain. But the most influential citizens were afraid of it, and therefore anxious that he should sail away as soon as he could. They even voted him, besides everything else, the colleagues of his own choosing. Setting sail,¹ there-

¹ Towards the end of October, 408 B.C.

- ἐκπλεύσας δὲ ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ καὶ προσβαλὼν
 Ἄνδρῳ, μάχῃ μὲν ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν καὶ Λακε-
 δαιμονίων ὅσοι παρήσαν, οὐχ εἶλε δὲ τὴν πόλιν, 211
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τῶν καινῶν¹ ἐγκλημάτων πρῶτον
 ὑπῆρξε κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.
- 2 Ἔοικε δ', εἴ τις ἄλλος, ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης
 καταλυθῆναι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης. μεγάλη γὰρ
 οὔσα καὶ τόλμης καὶ συνέσεως γέμουσα ἀφ' ὧν
 κατώρθωσεν, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐλλείπον, ὥς οὐ
 σπουδάσαντος, ἀπιστία τοῦ μὴ δυνηθῆναι παρῆχε·
 σπουδάσαντα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν διαφυγεῖν. ἤλπιζον
 δὲ καὶ Χίρως ἐαλωκότας ἀκούσεσθαι καὶ τὴν
- 3 ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν. ὅθεν ἡγανάκτουν μὴ ταχὺ πάντα
 μὴδ' εὐθὺς, ὥς ἐβούλονται, πυνθανόμενοι δια-
 πεπραγμένον, οὐχ ὑπολογιζόμενοι τὴν ἀχρη-
 ματίαν, ἀφ' ἧς πολεμῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους βασιλέα
 μέγαν χορηγὸν ἔχοντας ἡναγκάζετο πολλάκις
 ἐκπλέων καὶ ἀπολείπων τὸ στρατόπεδον μισθοὺς
 καὶ τροφὰς πορίζειν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον
 ἐγκλημα διὰ ταύτην ἔλαβε τὴν αἰτίαν.
- 4 Λυσάνδρου γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ἀποστα-
 λέντος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ τετρώβολον ἀντὶ
 τριωβόλου τῷ ναύτῃ διδόντος ἐξ ὧν ἔλαβε παρὰ
 Κύρου χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἤδη γλίσχρως χορηγῶν
 καὶ τὸ τριώβολον ἀπῆρεν ἀργυρολογήσων ἐπὶ
 Καρίας. ὁ δ' ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπι-
 μελητῆς Ἀντίοχος ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἦν κυβερνήτης,
- 5 ἀνόητος δὲ τὰλλα καὶ φορτικός· ἔχων δὲ πρόσ-

¹ καινῶν with Bekker, M^a and Cobet : κοινῶν (public).

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fore, with his one hundred ships, and assaulting Andros, he conquered the islanders in battle, as well as the Lacedaemonians who were there, but he did not capture the city. This was the first of the fresh charges brought against him by his enemies.

And it would seem that if ever a man was ruined by his own exalted reputation, that man was Alcibiades. His continuous successes gave him such repute for unbounded daring and sagacity, that when he failed in anything, men suspected his inclination; they would not believe in his inability. Were he only inclined to do a thing, they thought, naught could escape him. So they expected to hear that the Chians also had been taken, along with the rest of Ionia. They were therefore incensed to hear that he had not accomplished everything at once and speedily, to meet their wishes. They did not stop to consider his lack of money. This compelled him, since he was fighting men who had an almoner of bounty in the Great King, to leave his camp frequently and sail off in quest of money for rations and wages. The final and prevailing charge against him was due to this necessity.

Lysander, who had been sent out as admiral by the Lacedaemonians, paid his sailors four obols a day instead of three, out of the moneys he received from Cyrus; while Alcibiades, already hard put to it to pay even his three obols, was forced to sail for Caria to levy money. The man whom he left in charge of his fleet, Antiochus,¹ was a brave captain, but otherwise a foolish and low-lived fellow.

¹ Cf. chapter x. 1.

ταγμα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μὴδ' ἂν ἐπιπλέω-
 σιν οἱ πολέμοι διανουμαχεῖν, οὕτως ἐξύβρισε
 καὶ κατεφρόνησεν ὥστε τὴν αὐτοῦ πληρωσάμενος
 τριήρη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν ἐπιπλεῦσαι τῇ
 Ἐφέσῳ καὶ παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν πολεμίων
 νεῶν πολλὰ καὶ πράττων καὶ φθειγγόμενος
 6 ἀκόλαστα καὶ βωμολόχα παρεξελαύνειν. τὸ μὲν
 οὖν πρῶτον Λύσανδρος ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐπαναχθεῖς
 ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβοηθούντων
 πάσαις ἀναχθεῖς καὶ κρατήσας αὐτόν τε διέφθειρε
 τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ ναῦς ἔλαβε πολλὰς καὶ ἀνθρώ-
 πους καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστησεν. ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν
 ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Σάμον, ἀνήχθη
 παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ καὶ προῦκαλεῖτο τὸν Λύσανδρον.
 ὁ δ' ἠγάπα νενικηκὼς καὶ οὐκ ἀντανήγετο.

XXXVI. Τῶν δὲ μισούντων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην
 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Θρασύβουλος ὁ Θράσωνος
 ἐχθρὸς ὢν ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας κατηγορήσων. καὶ
 τοὺς ἐκεῖ παροξύνας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὡς
 Ἀλκιβιάδης διέφθαρκε τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς
 ναῦς ἀπολώλεκεν, ἐντρυφῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ παρα-
 διδοὺς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀνθρώποις ἐκ πότων καὶ
 ναυτικῆς σπερμολογίας δυναμένοις παρ' αὐτῷ
 2 μέγιστον, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἀδείας χρηματίζεται
 περιπλέων καὶ ἀκολασταίνῃ μεθυσκόμενος καὶ
 συνῶν ἐταίραις Ἀβυδηναῖς καὶ Ἰωνίσιν, ἐφορ-
 μούντων δι' ὀλίγου τῶν πολεμίων. ἐνεκάλουν

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Although he had received explicit commands from Alcibiades not to hazard a general engagement even though the enemy sailed out to meet him, he showed such wanton contempt of them as to man his own trireme and one other and stand for Ephesus, indulging in many shamelessly insulting gestures and cries as he cruised past the prows of the enemy's ships. At first Lysander put out with a few ships only, and gave him chase. Then, when the Athenians came to the aid of Antiochus, Lysander put out with his whole fleet, won the day, slew Antiochus himself, captured many ships and men, and set up a trophy of victory. As soon as Alcibiades heard of this, he came back to Samos, put out to sea with his whole armament, and challenged Lysander to battle. But Lysander was satisfied with his victory, and would not put out to meet him.

XXXVI. There were those who hated Alcibiades in the camp, and of these Thrasybulus,¹ the son of Thraso, his particular enemy, set sail for Athens to denounce him. He stirred up the city against him by declaring to the people that it was Alcibiades who had ruined their cause and lost their ships by his wanton conduct in office. He had handed over—so Thrasybulus said—the duties of commander to men who won his confidence merely by drinking deep and reeling off sailors' yarns, in order that he himself might be free to cruise about collecting moneys and committing excesses of drunkenness and revelry with courtezans of Abydos and Ionia, and this while the enemy's fleet lay close to him. His enemies

¹ Not the illustrious commander (chapter xxvi. 6), who was the son of Lycus.

δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευήν, ἃ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Θράκῃ περὶ Βισάνθην αὐτῷ καταφυγὴν ὡς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μὴ δυνάμενος βιοῦν ἢ
 3 μὴ βουλόμενος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πεισθέντες ἐτέρους εἶλοντο στρατηγούς, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνουν ὀργὴν καὶ κακόνοιαν. ἃ δὲ πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ δεδοικῶς ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παντάπασι, καὶ συναγαγὼν ξένους ἐπολέμει τοῖς ἀβασιλεύτοις Θραξίν ἰδίᾳ, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα συνήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων, καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἅμα τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν ἄδειαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων παρείχεν.

4 Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ περὶ Τυδέα καὶ Μένανδρον καὶ Ἀδείμαντον στρατηγοί, πάσας ὁμοῦ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας τότε ναῦς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς, εἰώθεσαν ἐπιπλεῖν τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ ναυλοχοῦντι περὶ Λάμψακον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προκαλούμενοι καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφειν ὀπίσω καὶ διημερεύειν ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀμελῶς, ἅτε δὲ κατα-
 5 φρονοῦντες, ἐγγὺς ὣν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐ περιεῖδεν 212 οὐδ' ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἱππῳ προσελάσας ἐδίδασκε τοὺς στρατηγούς ὅτι κακῶς ὁρμοῦσιν ἐν χωρίοις ἀλιμένοις καὶ πόλιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν ἐκ Σηστοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια λαμβάνοντες, καὶ περι-
 ορῶντες τὸ ναυτικόν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γένηται, πλανώμενον ὅποι τις θέλοι καὶ διασπειρόμενον, ἀντεφορμοῦντος αὐτοῖς στόλου πρὸς ἐπίταγμα μοναρχικὸν εἰθισμένου σιωπῇ πάντα ποιεῖν.

¹ With these words Plutarch's story leaps over the events of two and a half years, from the spring of 407 to the autumn of 405 B.C.

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also found ground for accusation against him in the fortress which he had constructed in Thrace, near Bisanthe. It was to serve, they said, as a refuge for him in case he either could not or would not live at home. The Athenians were persuaded, and chose other generals in his place, thus displaying their anger and ill-will towards him. On learning this, Alcibiades was afraid, and departed from the camp altogether, and assembling mercenary troops made war on his own account against the Thracians who acknowledge no king. He got together much money from his captives, and at the same time afforded security from barbarian inroads to the Hellenes on the neighbouring frontier.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adeimantus, the generals, who had all the ships which the Athenians could finally muster in station at Aegospotami,¹ were wont to sail out at daybreak against Lysander, who lay with his fleet at Lampsacus, and challenge him to battle. Then they would sail back again, to spend the rest of the day in disorder and unconcern, since, forsooth, they despised their enemy. Alcibiades, who was near at hand,² could not see such conduct with calmness or indifference, but rode up on horseback and read the generals a lesson. He said their anchorage was a bad one; the place had no harbour and no city, but they had to get their supplies from Sestos, a long way off; and they permitted their crews, whenever they were on land, to wander and scatter about at their own sweet wills, while there lay at anchor over against them an armament which was trained to do everything silently at a word of absolute command.

² In his stronghold near Pactye (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 1, 25).

XXXVII. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντος τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου, καὶ παραινοῦντος εἰς Σηστόν μεθορμίσαι τὸν στόλον, οὐ προσεῖχον οἱ στρατηγοί· Τυδεὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχωρεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους στρατηγεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑπονοήσας τι καὶ προδοσίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆει, καὶ τοῖς προπέμπουσι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γνωρίμων ἔλεγεν ὅτι μὴ προπηλακισθεὶς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀλίγαις ἂν ἡμέραις ἠνάγκασε Λακεδαιμονίους διαναυμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς
 2 ἄκοντας ἢ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπεῖν. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀλαζονεύεσθαι, τοῖς δ' εἰκότα λέγειν, εἰ Θραῶκας ἐκ γῆς ἐπαγαγὼν πολλοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ ἵππεῖς προσμάχοιτο καὶ διαταράττοι τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν.

Ὅτι μέντοι τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς συνεῖδε, ταχὺ τὸ ἔργον ἐμαρτύρησεν. ἄφνω γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτως τοῦ Λυσάνδρου προσπεσόντος, ὅκτῳ μόναι τριήρεις ἐξέφυγον μετὰ Κόνωνος, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μικρὸν ἀπολείπουσai
 3 διακοσίων ἀπήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι. τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τρισχιλίους ἐλὼν ζῶντας ἀπέσφαξεν ὁ Λύσανδρος. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καθεῖλεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φοβηθεὶς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἄρχοντας ἤδη καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς Βιθυνίαν μετέστη, πολλὰ μὲν ἄγων χρήματα, πολλὰ δὲ κομίζων, ἔτι δὲ πλείω καταλιπὼν ἐν
 4 οἷς ὥκει τείχεσιν. ἐν δὲ Βιθυνίᾳ πάλιν οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολέσας καὶ περικοπεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Θρακῶν, ἔγνω μὲν ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς

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XXXVII. In spite of what Alcibiades said, and in spite of his advice to change their station to Sestos, the generals paid no heed. Tydeus actually insulted him by bidding him begone: he was not general now, but others. So Alcibiades departed, suspecting that some treachery was on foot among them. He told his acquaintances who were escorting him out of the camp that, had he not been so grievously insulted by the generals, within a few days he would have forced the Lacedaemonians to engage them whether they wished to do so or not, or else lose their ships. Some thought that what he said was arrant boasting; but others that it was likely, since he had merely to bring up his numerous Thracian javelineers and horsemen to assault by land and confound the enemy's camp.

However, that he saw only too well the errors of the Athenians the event soon testified. Lysander suddenly and unexpectedly fell upon them, and only eight of their triremes escaped with Conon; the rest, something less than two hundred, were captured and taken away. Three thousand of their crews were taken alive and executed by Lysander. In a short time¹ he also captured Athens, burned her ships, and tore down her long walls.

Alcibiades now feared the Lacedaemonians, who were supreme on land and sea, and betook himself into Bithynia, taking booty of every sort with him, but leaving even more behind him in the fortress where he had been living. In Bithynia he again lost much of his substance, being plundered by the Thracians there, and so he determined to go up to the court of

¹ In the spring of 404 B.C., some eight months later.

Ἄρταξέρξην, ἑαυτὸν τε μὴ χείρονα Θεμιστοκλέους πειρωμένῳ βασιλεῖ φανείσθαι νομίζων, καὶ κρείττονα τὴν πρόφασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας, ὥς ἐκείνουν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπουργήσῃν καὶ δεήσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως· εὐπορίαν δὲ τῆς ἀνόδου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας μάλιστα Φαρνάβαζον οἰόμενος παρέξειν, ὥχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Φρυγίαν, καὶ συνδιῆγε θεραπεύων ἅμα καὶ τιμώμενος.

XXXVIII. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν ἔφερον καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερηθέντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτῶν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀνδράσι τριάκοντα παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο σώζεσθαι δυνάμενοι λογισμοῖς, ἀπολωλότων ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων, συνίεσαν, ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ διεξιόντες τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγνοίας, ὧν μεγίστην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν δευτέραν

2 πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ὀργήν. ἀπερρίφη γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν αὐτός, ἀλλ' ὑπηρέτη χαλεπήναντες ὀλίγας ἀποβαλόντι ναῦς αἰσχροῦς, αἰσχίον αὐτοὶ τὸν κράτιστον καὶ πολεμικώτατον ἀφείλοντο τῆς πόλεως στρατηγόν. ἔτι δ' οὖν ὁμῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀνέφερε τις ἐλπίς ἀμυνδρὰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἔρρειν τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀλκιβιάδου περιόντος· οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον ἡγάπησε φεύγων ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας, οὔτε νῦν, εἰ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἱκανῶς ἔχει, περιόψεται Λακεδαιμονίους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα παροινούντας.

3 Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἦν ἄλογον οὕτως ὀνειροπολεῖν

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Artaxerxes. He thought to show himself not inferior to Themistocles if the King made trial of his services, and superior in his pretext for offering them. For it was not to be against his fellow countrymen, as in the case of that great man, but in behalf of his country that he would assist the King and beg him to furnish forces against a common enemy. Thinking that Pharnabazus could best give him facilities for safely making this journey up to the King, he went to him in Phrygia, and continued there with him, paying him court and receiving marks of honour from him.

XXXVIII. The Athenians were greatly depressed at the loss of their supremacy. But when Lysander robbed them of their freedom too, and handed the city over to thirty men, then, their cause being lost, their eyes were opened to the course they would not take when salvation was yet in their power. They sorrowfully rehearsed all their mistakes and follies, the greatest of which they considered to be their second outburst of wrath against Alcibiades. He had been cast aside for no fault of his own ; but they got angry because a subordinate of his lost a few ships disgracefully, and then they themselves, more disgracefully still, robbed the city of its ablest and most experienced general. And yet, in spite of their present plight, a vague hope still prevailed that the cause of Athens was not wholly lost so long as Alcibiades was alive. He had not, in times past, been satisfied to live his exile's life in idleness and quiet ; nor now, if his means allowed, would he tolerate the insolence of the Lacedaemonians and the madness of the Thirty.

It was not strange that the multitude indulged in

τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὅποτε καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα φροντί-
 ζειν ἐπῆει καὶ διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ λόγον ἔχειν
 πλείστον ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττε καὶ διενοεῖτο.
 τέλος δὲ Κριτίας ἐδίδασκε Λύσανδρον ὥς Ἀθη- 213
 ναίων οὐκ ἔστι δημοκρατουμένων ἀσφαλῶς ἄρχειν
 4 Λακεδαιμονίοις τῆς Ἑλλάδος· Ἀθηναίους δέ,
 κἂν πρῶως πάνυ καὶ καλῶς πρὸς ὀλιγαρχίαν
 ἔχωσιν, οὐκ ἑάσει ζῶν Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀτρεμεῖν
 ἐπὶ τῶν καθεστώτων. οὐ μὴν ἐπέισθη γε πρό-
 τερον τούτοις ὁ Λύσανδρος ἢ παρὰ τῶν οἴκοι
 τελῶν σκυτάλην ἐλθεῖν κελεύουσιν ἐκ ποδῶν
 ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, εἴτε κἀκείνων
 φοβηθέντων τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύ-
 νην τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἴτε τῷ Ἀγιδι χαριζομένων.

XXXIX. Ὡς οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔπεμψε πρὸς
 τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ταῦτα πράττειν κελεύων, ὁ δὲ
 Μαγαίῳ τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Σουσαμίθρῳ τῷ θείῳ
 προσέταξε τὸ ἔργον, ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ
 τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τότε διαιτώμενος,
 ἔχων Τιμάνδραν μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑταίραν, ὃψιν
 2 δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδε τοιαύτην· ἐδόκει περι-
 κεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῆς ἑταίρας,
 ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχου-
 σαν αὐτοῦ κοσμεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον ὥσπερ γυναικὸς
 ὑπογράφουσιν καὶ ψιμυθιοῦσαν. ἕτεροι δὲ φασιν
 ἰδεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνοντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς περὶ
 τὸν Μαγαῖον ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις καὶ τὸ σῶμα καίο-
 μενον. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ὃψιν οὐ πολὺ γενέσθαι
 λέγουσι πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς.

Οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν
 εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ κύκλω τὴν οἰκίαν περιστάντες
 3 ἐνεπύμπρασιν. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τῶν

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such dreams, when even the Thirty were moved to anxious thought and inquiry, and made the greatest account of what Alcibiades was planning and doing. Finally, Critias tried to make it clear to Lysander that as long as Athens was a democracy the Lacedaemonians could not have safe rule over Hellas ; and that Athens, even though she were very peacefully and well disposed towards oligarchy, would not be suffered, while Alcibiades was alive, to remain undisturbed in her present condition. However, Lysander was not persuaded by these arguments until a dispatch-roll came from the authorities at home bidding him put Alcibiades out of the way ; either because they too were alarmed at the vigour and enterprise of the man, or because they were trying to gratify Agis.

XXXIX. Accordingly, Lysander sent to Pharnabazus and bade him do this thing, and Pharnabazus commissioned Magaeus, his brother, and Sousamithras, his uncle, to perform the deed. At that time Alcibiades was living in a certain village of Phrygia, where he had Timandra the courtesan with him, and in his sleep he had the following vision. He thought he had the courtesan's garments upon him, and that she was holding his head in her arms while she adorned his face like a woman's with paints and pigments. Others say that in his sleep he saw Magaeus' followers cutting off his head and his body burning. All agree in saying that he had the vision not long before his death.

The party sent to kill him did not dare to enter his house, but surrounded it and set it on fire. When Alcibiades was aware of this, he gathered together

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μὲν ἱματίων τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων συναγαγὼν ἐπέρριψε τῷ πυρί, τῇ δ' ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα περιελίξας, τῇ δεξιᾷ σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐξέπεσεν ἀπαθὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς πρὶν ἢ διαφλέγεσθαι τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀφθεῖς διεσκέδασεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν αὐτὸν οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας συνῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀποστάντες ἔβαλλον ἀκοντίοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν.

4 οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντος καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπελθόντων, ἡ Τιμάνδρα τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνείλετο, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς περιβαλοῦσα καὶ περικαλύψασα χιτωνίσκοις, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐκήδευσεν λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως.

Ταύτης λέγουσι θυγατέρα γενέσθαι Λαίδα τὴν Κορινθίαν μὲν προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἐκ δὲ Ἑκκάρων, Σικελικοῦ πολίσματος, αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην.

5 ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περὶ τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου τελευτῆς ὁμολογοῦσι τούτοις, αἰτίαν δὲ φασιν οὐ Φαρνάβazon οὐδὲ Λύσανδρον οὐδὲ Λακεδαιμονίους παρασχεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην γνωρίμων τινῶν διεφθαρκότα γυναῖον ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ, τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ γυναιίου τὴν ὕβριν οὐ μετρίως φέροντας ἐμπρῆσαί τε τὴν οἰκίαν νύκτωρ, ἐν ᾗ διαιτώμενος ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, καὶ καταβαλεῖν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαλλόμενον.

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most of the garments and bedding in the house and cast them on the fire. Then, wrapping his cloak about his left arm, and drawing his sword with his right, he dashed out, unscathed by the fire, before the garments were in flames, and scattered the Barbarians, who ran at the mere sight of him. Not a man stood ground against him, or came to close quarters with him, but all held aloof and shot him with javelins and arrows. Thus he fell, and when the Barbarians were gone, Timandra took up his dead body, covered and wrapped it in her own garments, and gave it such brilliant and honourable burial as she could provide.

This Timandra, they say, was the mother of that Lais who was called the Corinthian, although she was a prisoner of war from Hyccara, a small city of Sicily.¹ But some, while agreeing in all other details of the death of Alcibiades with what I have written, say that it was not Pharnabazus who was the cause of it, nor Lysander, nor the Lacedaemonians, but Alcibiades himself. He had corrupted a girl belonging to a certain well known family, and had her with him; and it was the brothers of this girl who, taking his wanton insolence much to heart, set fire by night to the house where he was living, and shot him down, as has been described, when he dashed out through the fire.

¹ See the *Nicias*, xv. 4.

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ΓΑΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΙΟΣ

- Ι. Ὁ Μαρκίων οἶκος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν πατρικίων πολλοὺς παρέσχευεν ἐνδόξους ἄνδρας, ὧν καὶ Μάρκιος ἦν Ἄγκος, ὁ Νομᾶ θυγατρίδους καὶ μετὰ Τύλλον Ὀστίλιον βασιλεὺς γενόμενος. Μάρκιοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ Πόπλιος καὶ Κόϊντος οἱ πλεῖστον ὕδωρ καὶ κάλλιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ καταγαγόντες, καὶ Κηνσωρίνος, ὃν δις ἀπέδειξε τιμητὴν 214 ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, εἰτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεισθεὶς ἐκείνου νόμον ἔθετο καὶ ἐψηφίσατο μηδενὶ τὴν
- 2 ἀρχὴν δις ἐξεῖναι μετελθεῖν. Γάϊος δὲ Μάρκιος, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε γέγραπται, τραφεὶς ὑπὸ μητρὶ χήρᾳ πατρὸς ὀρφανός, ἀπέδειξε τὴν ὀρφανίαν ἄλλα μὲν ἔχουσιν κακά, πρὸς δὲ τὸ γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον ἄνδρα καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν οὖσαν, ἄλλως δὲ τοῖς φαύλοις αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ ψέγειν παρέχουσιν αὐτὴν ὥς ἀμελείᾳ διαφθείρουσαν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐμαρτύρησε καὶ τοῖς τὴν φύσιν ἡγουμένοις, ἐὰν οὖσα γενναία καὶ ἀγαθὴ παιδείας ἐνδεὴς γένηται, πολλὰ τοῖς χρηστοῖς ὁμοῦ φαῦλα συναποτίκτειν, ὥσπερ εὐγενὴ χώραν ἐν γεωργίᾳ
- 3 θεραπείας μὴ τυχοῦσαν. τὸ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντα τῆς γνώμης καὶ καρτερὸν ὁρμᾶς τε μεγάλας καὶ τελεσιουργοὺς τῶν καλῶν ἐξέφερε,
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I. THE patrician house of the Marcii at Rome furnished many men of distinction. One of them was Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter, and the successor of Tullus Hostilius in the kingship. To this family belonged also Publius and Quintus Marcius, the men who brought into Rome its best and most abundant supply of water. So likewise did Censorinus, whom the Roman people twice appointed censor, and then, at his own instance, made a law by which it was decreed that no one should hold that office twice. Caius Marcius, whose life I now write, lost his father at an early age, and was reared by his widowed mother. He showed, however, that such loss of a father, although otherwise bad for a boy, need not prevent him from becoming a worthy and excellent man, and that it is wrong for worthless men to lay upon it the blame for their perverted natures, which are due, as they say, to early neglect. On the other hand, the same Marcius bore witness for those who hold that a generous and noble nature, if it lack discipline, is apt to produce much that is worthless along with its better fruits, like a rich soil deprived of the husbandman's culture. For while the force and vigour of his intelligence, which knew no limitations, led him into great undertakings, and such as were productive of the highest results, still, on the other hand, since he

θυμοῖς τε αὖ πάλιν χρώμενον ἀκράτοις καὶ φιλο-
νεικίαις ἀτρέπτοις οὐ ῥάδιον οὐδ' εὐάρμοστον
ἀνθρώποις συνεῖναι παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ἡδοναῖς
καὶ πόνοις καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀπάθειαν αὐτοῦ
θαυμάζοντες καὶ ὀνομάζοντες ἐγκράτειαν καὶ
δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀνδρείαν, ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς αὖ
πάλιν ὁμιλίαις ὡς ἐπαχθῇ καὶ ἄχαριν καὶ
4 ὀλιγαρχικὴν ἐδυσχέraitον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο
Μουσῶν εὐμενείας ἀπολαύουσιν ἄνθρωποι τοσοῦ-
τον ὅσον ἐξημερῶσαι τὴν φύσιν ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ
παιδείας, τῷ λόγῳ δεξαμένην τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ
ἄγαν ἀποβαλοῦσαν. ὅλως μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς τότε
χρόνοις ἢ Ῥώμῃ μάλιστα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ περὶ
τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ στρατιωτικὰς ἐκύδαινε πράξεις,
καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς
ἀνδρείας ὀνόματι προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ
γένους ὄνομα κοινὸν ὑπάρχειν ὃ τὴν ἀνδρείαν
ιδία καλοῦσιν.

II. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἐτέρων μᾶλλον ἐμπαθὴς
γεγονὼς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας, εὐθὺς ἐκ
παιδὸς τὰ ὄπλα διὰ χειρὸς εἶχε, καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
κτήτων οὐδὲν ἔργον οἰόμενος εἶναι τοῖς μὴ τὸ
σύμφυτον ὄπλον καὶ συγγενὲς ἐξηρτυμένον ἔχουσι
καὶ παρσκευασμένον, οὕτως ἤσκησε τὸ σῶμα
πρὸς ἅπασαν ιδέα μύχης ὥστε καὶ θεῖν ἐλα-
φρὸν εἶναι καὶ βάρος ἔχειν ἐν λαβαῖς καὶ ἐν
διαπάλαις πολέμου δυσεκβίαστον. οἱ γοῦν ἔριν
ἔχοντες εὐψυχίας ἀεὶ καὶ ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐν
οἷς ἐλείποντο, τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἡτιῶντο ῥώμην
ἄτρεπτον οὔσαν καὶ πρὸς μηδένα πόνον ἀπαγ-
ορεύουσαν.

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indulged a vehement temper and displayed an unswerving pertinacity, it made him a difficult and unsuitable associate for others. They did indeed look with admiration upon his insensibility to pleasures, toils, and mercenary gains, to which they gave the names of self-control, fortitude, and justice ; but in their intercourse with him as a fellow-citizen they were offended by it as ungracious, burdensome, and arrogant. Verily, among all the benefits which men derive from the favour of the Muses, none other is so great as that softening of the nature which is produced by culture and discipline, the nature being induced by culture to take on moderation and cast off excess. It is perfectly true, however, that in those days Rome held in highest honour that phase of virtue which concerns itself with warlike and military achievements, and evidence of this may be found in the only Latin word for virtue, which signifies really *manly valour* ; they made valour, a specific form of virtue, stand for virtue in general.

II. And so Marcius, who was by nature exceedingly fond of warlike feats, began at once, from his very boyhood, to handle arms. And since he thought that adventitious weapons were of little avail to such as did not have their natural and native armour developed and prepared for service, he so practised himself in every sort of combat that he was not only nimble of foot, but had also such a weight in grapplings and wrestlings that an enemy found it hard to extricate himself. At any rate, those who from time to time contended with him in feats of courage and valour, laid the blame for their inferiority upon his strength of body, which was inflexible and shrank from no hardship.

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- III. Ἐστρατεύσατο δὲ πρώτην στρατείαν ἔτι μεираκίον, ὅτε Ταρκυνίῳ τῷ βασιλεύσαντι τῆς Ῥώμης, εἶτα ἐκπεσόντι, μετὰ πολλὰς μάχας καὶ ἥττας ὥσπερ ἔσχατον κύβον ἀφιέντι πλείστοι μὲν Λατίνων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰταλιωτῶν συνελάμβανον καὶ συγκατῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐκ ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ φόβῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐξόμενα καὶ φθόνῳ καταβάλλοντες.
- 2 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πολλὰς τροπὰς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα λαμβανούσῃ Μάρκιος ἀγωνιζόμενος εὐρώστως ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δικτάτορος, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον πεσόντα πλησίον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἔστη πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον τῶν πολεμίων ἀμυνόμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ὥς οὖν ἐκράτησεν ὁ στρατηγός, ἐν πρώτοις ἐκείνον ἐστεφάνωσε δρυὸς στεφάνῳ.
- 3 Τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ νόμος τῷ πολίτῃν ὑπερασπίσαντι τὸν στέφανον ἀποδέδωκεν, εἴτε δὴ μάλιστα τιμήσας δι' Ἀρκάδας τὴν δρῦν βαλανηφάγους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῷ προσαγορευθέντας, εἴτε ὡς ταχὺ καὶ πανταχοῦ δρυὸς οὔσαν εὐπορίαν στρατευομένοις, εἴτε Διὸς πολιέως ἱερὸν ὄντα τὸν τῆς δρυὸς στέφανον οἰόμενος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πολίτου δίδοσθαι πρεπόντως. ἔστι δὲ ἡ δρῦς τῶν μὲν ἀγρίων καλλικαρπότατον, τῶν δὲ τιθασῶν ἰσχυρότατον. ἦν δὲ καὶ σιτίον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἡ βάλανος καὶ ποτὸν τὸ μελίτειον, ὅψον δὲ παρεῖχε τὰ

¹ By Lake Regillus, 498 (?) B.C.

² Early colonists of Rome, under Evander.

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III. He made his first campaign while yet a stripling, when Tarquin, who had been king of Rome, and then had been expelled, after many unsuccessful battles, staked his all, as it were, upon a final throw. Most of the people of Latium and many also of the other peoples of Italy were assisting him and marching with him upon Rome, to reinstate him there, not so much from a desire to gratify him, as because fear and envy led them to try to overthrow the growing power of the Romans. In the ensuing battle,¹ which long favoured now this side and now that, Marcius, who was fighting sturdily under the eyes of the dictator, saw a Roman soldier struck down near by. He ran to him at once, stood in front of him, defended him, and slew his assailant. Accordingly, after the Roman general had won the day, he crowned Marcius, among the first, with a garland of oak leaves.

This is the civic crown which the law bestows upon one who has saved the life of a fellow-citizen in battle, either because the oak was held in special honour for the sake of the Arcadians,² who were called acorn-eaters in an oracle of Apollo³; or because they could speedily find an abundance of oak wherever they fought; or because it was thought that the garland of oak leaves, being sacred to Jupiter, the city's guardian, was fittingly bestowed upon one who saved the life of a citizen. The oak, moreover, has the most beautiful fruit of all wild trees, and is the sturdiest of all trees under cultivation. Its acorn used to be food, and the honey found in it used to be drink⁴ for men, and it furnished them with the flesh of most grazing

³. Cf. Herodotus, i. 66.

⁴ In the shape of mead.

πλείστα τῶν νεμομένων τε καὶ πτηνῶν, θήρας ὄργανον φέρουσα τὸν ἰξόν.

Ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐπιφανῆναι λέγουσι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὀφθῆναι ῥεομένοις ἰδρῶτι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὴν νίκην ἀπαγγέλλοντας, οὗ νῦν παρὰ τὴν κρήνην νεῶς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἰδρυμένος. ὁθεν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπινίκιον οὔσαν, ἐν τῷ Ἰουλίῳ μηνὶ τὰς εἰδούς, Διοσκούροις ἀνιερώκασι. 215

IV. Νέων δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφάνεια καὶ τιμὴ τὰς μὲν ἐλαφρῶς φιλοτίμους φύσεις πρωϊότερον παραγενομένη σβέννυσι, καὶ ἀποπίμπλησι ταχὺ τὸ διψῶδες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀψίκορον· τὰ δ' ἐμβριθῆ καὶ βέβαια φρονήματα αὖξουσιν αἰτιμαὶ καὶ λαμπρύνουσιν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐγειρόμενα πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον καλόν. οὐ γὰρ ὡς μισθὸν ἀπολαμβάνοντες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνέχυρον διδόντες αἰσχύνονται τὴν δόξαν καταλιπεῖν καὶ μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔργοις ὑπερβαλέσθαι. 2 τοῦτο παθὼν καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ζῆλον ἀνδραγαθίας προὔθηκε, καινός τε αἰὲν βουλόμενος εἶναι ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀριστεταῖς ἀριστείας συνῆπτε καὶ λάφυρα λαφύροις ἐπέφερε, καὶ τοῖς προτέροις αἰὲν τοὺς ὑστέρους ἡγεμόνας εἶχε περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς ἐρίζοντας, καὶ μαρτυρίας ὑπερβαλέσθαι.¹ πολλῶν γέ τοι τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἀγώνων καὶ πολέμων γενομένων, ἐξ οὐδενὸς ἀστεφάνωτος ἦλθεν οὐδ' ἀγέραςτος.

3 Ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἡ δόξα τῆς ἀρετῆς τέλος, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἡ τῆς μητρὸς εὐφροσύνη. τὸ

¹ καὶ μαρτυρίας ὑπερβαλέσθαι bracketed by Bekker.

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creatures and birds, since it bore the mistletoe, from which they made bird-lime for snares.

In the battle of which I was speaking, it is said that Castor and Pollux appeared, and that immediately after the battle they were seen, their horses all a-drip with sweat, in the forum, announcing the victory, by the fountain where their temple now stands. Therefore the day on which this victory was won, the Ides of July, was consecrated to the Dioscuri.

IV. It would seem that when a young man's ambition is no integral part of his nature, it is apt to be quenched by an honourable distinction which is attained too early in life; his thirst and fastidious appetite are speedily satisfied. But serious and firm spirits are stimulated by the honours they receive, and glow brightly, as if roused by a mighty wind to achieve the manifest good. They do not feel that they are receiving a reward for what they have done, but rather that they are giving pledges of what they will do, and they are ashamed to fall behind their reputation instead of surpassing it by their actual exploits. It was in this spirit that Marcius vied with himself in manly valour, and being ever desirous of fresh achievement, he followed one exploit with another, and heaped spoils upon spoils, so that his later commanders were always striving with their predecessors in their efforts to do him honour, and to surpass in their testimonials to his prowess. Many indeed were the wars and conflicts which the Romans waged in those days, and from none did he return without laurels and rewards of valour.

But whereas other men found in glory the chief end of valour, he found the chief end of glory in his mother's gladness. That she should hear him praised

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γὰρ ἐκείνην ἐπαινούμενον ἀκούσαι καὶ στεφανοῦ-
 μενον ἰδεῖν καὶ περιβαλεῖν δακρύουσαν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
 ἐντιμώτατον αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζε ποιεῖν καὶ μακαριώ-
 τατον. τοῦτο δ' ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν Ἑπαμεινώνδαν
 φασὶν ἐξομολογήσασθαι τὸ πάθος, εὐτυχίαν
 ποιούμενον αὐτοῦ μεγίστην ὅτι τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις
 στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ νίκην ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ
 4 ἔτι ζῶντες ἐπέιδον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀμφοτέρων
 ἀπέλαυσε τῶν γονέων συνηδομένων καὶ συνευη-
 μερούντων, Μάρκιος δὲ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τὰς τοῦ
 πατρὸς ὀφείλειν χάριτας οἶόμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμ-
 πλατο τὴν Οὐολουμνίαν εὐφραίνων καὶ τιμῶν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκα βουλομένης καὶ δεομένης
 ἐκείνης,¹ ἔγημε καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ᾧκει γενομένων
 παίδων ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς.

V. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγάλην ἔχοντας, ἡ βουλὴ
 τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀμύνουσα πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐστα-
 σίασε πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν δανεισ-
 τῶν δοκοῦντα. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κεκτημένους μέτρια
 πάντων ἀφηροῦντο τῶν ὄντων ἐνεχυρασμοῖς καὶ
 πράσεσι, τοὺς δὲ παντελῶς ἀπόρους αὐτοὺς
 ἀπῆγον καὶ τὰ σώματα καθείργνυσαν αὐτῶν,
 ὡτειλὰς ἔχοντα τετρωμένων πολλὰς καὶ πεπονη-
 2 κότων ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος στρατείαις, ὧν
 τὴν τελευταίαν ἐδέξαντο πρὸς Σαβίνους, τῶν τε
 πλουσιωτάτων ἐπαγγειλαμένων μετριάσειν καὶ
 τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἄρχοντα Μάρκον Οὐαλλέριον
 ἐγγυήσασθαι ψηφισαμένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνην
 ἀγωνισαμένοις τὴν μάχην προθύμως καὶ κρατή-

¹ δεομένης ἐκείνης with M^a : δεομένης.

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and see him crowned and embrace him with tears of joy, this was what gave him, as he thought, the highest honour and felicity. And it was doubtless this feeling which Epaminondas also is said to have confessed, in considering it his greatest good fortune that his father and mother lived to know of his generalship and victory at Leuctra. But he was so blessed as to have both his parents share in his pleasure and success, whereas Marcius, who thought he owed his mother the filial gratitude also which would have been due to his father, could not get his fill of gladdening and honouring Volumnia, nay, he even married according to her wish and request, and continued to live in the same house with his mother after children were born to him.

V. The reputation and influence procured by his valour were already great in the city, when the senate, taking the part of the wealthy citizens, began to be at variance with the common people, who thought they suffered many grievous ills at the hands of the money-lenders. For those of them that were possessed of moderate means were stripped of all they had by means of pledges and sales, while those who were altogether without resources were led away in person and put in prison, although their bodies bore many marks of wounds received and hardships undergone in campaigns for the defence of their country. The last of these had been against the Sabines, and they had undertaken it upon a promise of their wealthiest creditors to deal moderately with them, and after a vote of the senate that Marcus Valerius, the consul, should guarantee the promise. But after they had fought zealously in that battle also, and had conquered the enemy, no

σασι τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο παρὰ τῶν
 3 δανειστῶν ἐπιεικές, οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ προσεποιεῖτο
 μεμνησθαι τῶν ὁμολογημένων, ἀλλ' ἀγομένους
 πάλιν περιεώρα καὶ ῥυσιαζομένους, θόρυβοι δὲ
 καὶ συστάσεις ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πονηραί, καὶ
 τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔλαθε ταραχῶδῶς ἔχων ὁ
 δῆμος, ἀλλ' ἐμβαλόντες ἐπυρπόλουν τὴν χώραν,
 τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων εἰς τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ
 καλούντων οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουεν, οὕτω διέστησαν αἱ
 4 γινῶμαι πάλιν τῶν ἐν τέλει. καὶ τινες μὲν ᾤοντο
 δεῖν ὑφίεσθαι τοῖς πένησι καὶ χαλάσαι τὸ σύν-
 τονον ἄγαν καὶ νόμιμον, ἔνιοι δ' ἀντέτεινον, ὧν ἦν
 καὶ Μάρκιος, οὐ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων μέγιστον
 ἡγούμενος, ἀρχὴν δὲ καὶ πείραν ὕβρεως ὄχλου
 καὶ θρασύτητος ἐπανισταμένου τοῖς νόμοις, εἰ
 σωφρονούσι, παύειν καὶ σβεννύειν παρακελευό- 216
 μενος.

VI. Συνιούσης δὲ περὶ τούτων πολλάκις ἐν
 ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ μηδὲν τέλος ἐκ-
 φερούσης, συστάντες οἱ πένητες ἄφνω καὶ παρα-
 καλέσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀπέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
 καταλαβόντες ὄρος δὲ νῦν ἱερὸν καλεῖται, παρὰ
 τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμὸν ἐκαθέζοντο, πράττοντες μὲν
 οὐδὲν βίαιον οὐδὲ στασιαστικόν, ἐκπεπτωκέναι δὲ
 τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων πάλαι βοῶντες,
 ἄερα δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ τόπον ἐνταφῆναι πανταχοῦ
 2 τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτοῖς παρέξειν, ὧν πλεον οὐδὲν
 οἰκοῦσι τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἡ
 τιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλουσίων
 στρατευομένοις.

Ταῦτ' ἔδεισεν ἡ βουλὴ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς

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consideration was shown them by their creditors, and the senate did not even pretend to remember its agreements, but again suffered them to be seized in pledge of payments and haled away to prison. Then there were tumults and disorderly gatherings in the city, and the enemy, not unaware of the popular confusion, burst in and ravaged the country, and when the consuls summoned those of military age to arms, no one responded. In this crisis, the opinions of those in authority were again at variance. Some thought that concessions should be made to the plebeians, and the excessive rigor of the law relaxed; but others opposed this, and among them was Marcius. He did not regard the financial difficulties as the main point at issue, and exhorted the magistrates to be wise enough to check and quell this incipient attempt at bold outrage on the part of a populace in revolt against the laws.

VI. The senate met to debate this question many times within the space of a few days, but came to no definite conclusion. The plebeians therefore banded together on a sudden, and after mutual exhortations forsook the city, and taking possession of what is now called the Sacred Mount, established themselves beside the river Anio.¹ They committed no acts of violence or sedition, but only cried aloud that they had for a long time been banished from the city by the rich, and that Italy would everywhere afford them air, water, and a place of burial, which was all they had if they dwelt in Rome, except for the privilege of wounds and death in campaigns for the defence of the rich.

These proceedings alarmed the senate, and it sent

¹ Three miles from the city (Livy, ii. 32, 2).

μάλιστα καὶ δημοτικούς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔξαπέστειλε. προηγόρει δὲ Μενήνιος Ἀγρίππας· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ δήμου δεόμενος, πολλὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς παρρησιαζόμενος τελευτῶντι τῷ λόγῳ περιῆλθεν εἰς σχῆμα μύθου διαμνημονευόμενον.

- 3 ἔφη γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὰ μέλη πάντα πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα στασιάζει, καὶ κατηγορεῖν αὐτῆς ὡς μόνης ἀργοῦ καὶ ἀσυμβόλου καθεζομένης ἐν τῷ σώματι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰς τὰς ἐκείνης ὀρέξεις πόνους τε μεγάλους καὶ λειτουργίας ὑπομενόντων· τὴν δὲ γαστέρα τῆς εὐθείας αὐτῶν καταγελᾶν, ἀγνοούντων ὅτι τὴν τροφὴν ὑπολαμβάνει μὲν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἅπασαν, ἀναπέμπει δ' αὐθις ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ
- 4 διανέμει τοῖς ἄλλοις. “Οὕτως οὖν,” ἔφη, “καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου λόγος ἐστίν, ὧ πολῖται, πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τυγχάνοντα τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ οἰκονομίας βουλευμάτων καὶ πράγματα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐπιφέρει καὶ διανέμει τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ ὠφέλιμον.”

VII. Ἐκ τούτου διηλλάγησαν, αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τυχόντες ἀνδρας αἰρεῖσθαι πέντε προστάτας τῶν δεομένων βοηθείας, τοὺς νῦν δημάρχους καλουμένους. εἶλοντο δὲ πρώτους, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἡγεμόσι, τοὺς περὶ Βρούτον Ἰούνιον καὶ Σικίννιον Βέλλουτον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ πόλις εἰς ἓν ἦλθεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ παρείχον αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσι χρῆσθαι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

- 2 Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἡδόμενος οἷς ὁ δῆμος

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out those of its older members who were most reasonably disposed towards the people to treat with them. The chief spokesman was Menenius Agrippa, and after much entreaty of the people and much plain speaking in behalf of the senate, he concluded his discourse with a celebrated fable. He said, namely, that all the other members of man's body once revolted against the belly, and accused it of being the only member to sit idly down in its place and make no contribution to the common welfare, while the rest underwent great hardships and performed great public services only to minister to its appetites; but that the belly laughed at their simplicity in not knowing that it received into itself all the body's nourishment only to send it back again and duly distribute it among the other members. "Such, then," said Agrippa, "is the relation of the senate, my fellow-citizens, to you; the matters for deliberation which there receive the necessary attention and disposition bring to you all and severally what is useful and helpful."¹

VII. A reconciliation followed, after the people had asked and obtained from the senate the privilege of electing five men as protectors of those who needed succour, the officers now called tribunes of the people. And the first whom they chose to this office were Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus, who had been their leaders in the secession.² When the city was thus united, the common people at once offered themselves as soldiers, and the consuls found them ready and eager for service in the war.

As for Marcius, though he was displeased himself

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 32, 9-11; Dionysius Hal., *Antiq. Rom.* vi. 86.

² Cf. Livy, ii. 33, 1-3.

ἰσχυεν ἐνδούσης τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρικίων πολλοὺς ὁρῶν τὸ αὐτὸ πεπονθότας, ὅμως παρεκάλει μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντας αὐτῶν.

- VIII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Οὐολούσκων ἔθνει, πρὸς οὓς ἐπολέμουν, ἡ Κοριολανῶν πόλις ἀξίωμα μέγιστον εἶχε. ταύτην οὖν τοῦ ὑπάτου Κομινίου περι-στρατοπεδεύσαντος, οἱ λοιποὶ Οὐολούσκοι δέ-σαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεβοήθουν παντα-
 2 χόθεν, ὡς πρὸς τῇ πόλει ποιησόμενοι μάχην καὶ διχόθεν ἐπιχειρήσαντες αὐτοῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Κομίνιος διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπήντα τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπιούσι τῶν Οὐολούσκων, Λάρκιον δὲ Τίτον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλιπε, καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Κοριο-
 3 λανοὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐπεξῆλθον, καὶ προσμαχόμενοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν καὶ κατεδίωκον εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἔνθα δὲ Μάρκιος ἐκδραμὼν σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ καταβαλὼν τοὺς προσμίξαντας αὐτῷ μάλιστα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους στήσας ἐπιφερομένους, ἀνεκαλεῖτο μεγάλη βοή-
 4 τὸν χάρακα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. καὶ γὰρ ἦν, ὥσπερ ἡξίου τὸν στρατιώτην ὁ Κάτων, οὐ χειρὶ καὶ πληγῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόνῳ φωνῆς καὶ ὄψει προσώπου φοβερὸς ἐντυχεῖν πολεμῖν καὶ δυσυνόστατος. ἀθροιζομένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ συνισταμένων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ πολέμοι δέσαντες. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἡγάπησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπηκολούθει καὶ συνήλαυνεν

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to have the people increase in power at the expense of the aristocracy, and though he saw that many of the other patricians were of the same mind, he nevertheless exhorted them not to fall behind the common people in contending for their country's welfare, but to show that they were superior to them in valour rather than in political power.

VIII. Among the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war, the city of Corioli took highest rank. When, therefore, Cominius the consul had invested this place,¹ the rest of the Volscians, fearing for its safety, came to its aid against the Romans from all parts, designing to give them battle in front of the city and to attack them on both sides. Thereupon Cominius divided his forces, going forth himself to meet the Volscians who were coming up outside, and leaving Titus Lartius, one of the bravest Romans of his day, in charge of the siege. Then the men of Corioli, despising the forces that were left, sallied out against them, overcame them in battle at first, and pursued the Romans to their camp. At this point Marcius darted out with a small band, and after slaying those who came to close quarters and bringing the rest of the assailants to a halt, called the Romans back to the fight with loud cries. For he had, as Cato thought a soldier should have,² not only a vigour of stroke, but a voice and look which made him a fearful man for a foe to encounter, and hard to withstand. Many of his men rallied to support him, and the enemy withdrew in terror. With this, however, he was not satisfied, but followed

¹ It is in connection with the attack on Corioli that Livy first mentions Marcius (ii. 33, 5-9) ; also Dionysius Hal. (vi. 92). ² Cf. *Cato the Elder*, i. 6.

ἤδη προτροπάδην φεύγοντας ἄχρι τῶν πυλῶν.
 ἐκεῖ δ' ὁρῶν ἀποτρεπομένους τοῦ διώκειν τοὺς 217
 Ῥωμαίους, πολλῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βελῶν
 προσφερομένων, τὸ δὲ συνεισπεσεῖν τοῖς φεύγου-
 σιν εἰς πόλιν ἀνδρῶν πολεμικῶν γέμουσαν ἐν
 τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντων οὐδενὸς εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι
 τολμῶντος, ὅμως ἐπιστὰς παρεκάλει καὶ παρε-
 θάρρυνεν, ἀνεῶχθαι βοῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τοῖς
 διώκουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς φεύγουσι τὴν πόλιν.
 5 οὐ πολλῶν δὲ βουλομένων ἐπακολουθεῖν, ὡσά-
 μενος διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνήλατο ταῖς πύλαις καὶ
 συνεισέπεσε, μηδενὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἀντισχεῖν μηδ'
 ὑποστήναι τολμήσαντος, ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς κατείδον
 ὀλίγους παντάπασιν ἔνδον ὄντας, συμβοηθούτων
 6 καὶ προσμαχομένων, ἀναμεμιγμένος ὁμοῦ φίλοις
 καὶ πολεμίοις ἄπιστον ἀγῶνα λέγεται καὶ χειρὸς
 ἔργοις καὶ ποδῶν τάχει καὶ τολμήμασι ψυχῆς
 ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ κρατῶν ἀπάντων
 πρὸς οὓς ὀρούσειε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξῶσαι πρὸς τὰ
 ἔσχατα μέρη, τῶν δ' ἀπειπαμένων καὶ κατα-
 βαλόντων τὰ ὅπλα πολλὴν ἄδειαν τῷ Λαρκίῳ
 παρασχεῖν ἔξωθεν ἐπάγοντι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

IX. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης καὶ τῶν
 πλείστων ἐν ἄρπαγαῖς ὄντων καὶ διαφορήσεσι
 χρημάτων, ὁ Μάρκιος ἡγανάκτει καὶ ἐβόα, δεινὸν
 ἡγούμενος, τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ τῶν σὺν ἐκείνῳ πολι-
 τῶν τάχα συμπεπτωκότων τοῖς πολεμίοις
 καὶ διαμαχομένων, αὐτοὺς χρηματίζεσθαι περι-
 ιόντας ἢ προφάσει χρηματισμοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον
 ἀποδιδράσκειν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ πολλοὶ προσείχον

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hard upon them, and drove them at last in headlong flight, up to the gate of their city. There, although he saw the Romans turning back from the pursuit, now that many missiles from the walls were reaching them, and although not a man of them dared to think of bursting into the city along with the fugitives, full as it was of enemies in arms, he nevertheless took his stand, and exhorted and encouraged them to the exploit, crying out that fortune had opened the city for the pursuers rather than for the pursued. Only a few were willing to follow him, but he pushed his way through the enemy, leaped against the gate, and burst in along with them, no man daring to oppose him at first or resist him. Then, however, when the citizens saw that few of the enemy all told were inside, they rallied and attacked them. Enveloped thus by friends and foes alike, Marcius is said to have waged a combat in the city which, for prowess of arm, speed of foot, and daring of soul, passes all belief; he overwhelmed all whom he assailed, driving some to the remotest parts of the city, while others gave up the struggle and threw down their arms. Thus he made it abundantly safe for Lartius to lead up the Romans who were outside.

IX. The city having been captured in this manner, most of the soldiers fell to plundering and pillaging it. At this Marcius was indignant, and cried out that he thought it a shame, when their consul and their fellow citizens who were with him had perhaps fallen in with the enemy and were fighting a battle with them, that they on their part should be going about after booty, or, under pretext of getting booty, should run away from the danger. Only a few paid

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αὐτῷ, τοὺς βουλομένους ἀναλαβὼν ἐβάδιζε τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ τὸ στράτευμα προκεχωρηκὸς ἦσθετο, πολλάκις μὲν ἐποτρύνων τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ παρακαλῶν μὴ ἐνδιδόναι, πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμενος μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς μάχης, ἀλλ' εἰς καιρὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐν ᾧ συναγωνιεῖται καὶ συγκινδυνεύσει τοῖς πολίταις.

Ἦν δὲ τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένοις καὶ μέλλουσι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ περιζώννυσθαι τὴν τήβεννον ἅμα καὶ διαθήκας ἀγράφους γίνεσθαι, τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἐπακουόντων ὀνομάζοντας τὸν κληρονόμον.

3 ταῦτα δὴ πράττοντας ἤδη τοὺς στρατιώτας Μάρκιος ἐν ὄψει τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων κατελάμβανε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνίους διετάραξεν ὀφθεῖς μετ' ὀλίγων, αἵματος περίπλεως καὶ ἰδρώτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσδραμὼν τῷ ὑπάτῳ περιχαρὴς τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπήγγειλε τὴν ἄλωσιν, ὃ δὲ Κομίνιος περιεπτύξατο αὐτὸν καὶ κατησπάσατο, τοῖς μὲν πυθόμενοις τὸ γεγενημένον κατόρθωμα, τοῖς δ' εἰκάσασι θάρσος παρέστη, καὶ βοῇ παρεκάλουν ἄγειν

4 καὶ συνάπτειν. ὃ δὲ Μάρκιος ἠρώτησε τὸν Κομίνιον πῶς διακεκόσμηται τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὅπλα καὶ ποῦ τέτακται τὸ μαχιμώτατον. ἐκείνου δὲ φήσαντος οἶεσθαι τὰς κατὰ μέσον σπείρας Ἀντιατῶν εἶναι, πολεμικωτάτων καὶ μηδενὶ φρονήματος ὑφιεμένων, “Ἀξιῶ σε τοίνυν,” ὃ Μάρκιος ἔφη, “καὶ αἰτοῦμαι, κατὰ τούτους τάξον ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄνδρας.” ἔδωκεν οὖν ὁ ὑπάτος, θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόθυμον.

5 Ὡς δ' ἦσαν ἐμβόλαι ἱερᾶτων, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκίου

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any heed to his words, whereupon he took those who were willing to follow, and set out on the road by which, as he learned, the consul's army had marched before him, often urging his companions on and beseeching them not to slacken their efforts, and often praying the gods that he might not be too late for the battle, but might come up in season to share in the struggles and perils of his fellow-citizens.

It was a custom with the Romans of that time, when they were going into action, and were about to gird up their cloaks and take up their bucklers, to make at the same time an unwritten will, naming their heirs in the hearing of three or four witnesses. This was just what the soldiers were doing when Marcius overtook them, the enemy being now in sight. At first some of them were confounded when they saw that he had a small following and was covered with blood and sweat; but when he ran to the consul with a glad countenance, gave him his hand, and announced the capture of the city, and when Cominius embraced and kissed him, then they were encouraged, some hearing of the success which had been gained, and some but guessing at it, and all called loudly upon the consul to lead them into battle. But Marcius asked Cominius how the enemy were arrayed, and where their best fighting men were placed. And when the consul told him he thought the troops in the centre were those of the Antiates, who were the most warlike of all and yielded to none in bravery, "I ask and demand of you, then," said Marcius, "post us opposite these men." The consul, accordingly, granted his request, astonished at his ardour.

As soon as spears began to fly, Marcius darted out

προεκδραμόντος οὐκ ἀντέσχον οἱ κατὰ στόμα τῶν
 Οὐολούσκων, ἀλλ' ὃ προσέμιξε μέρει τῆς
 φάλαγγος εὐθὺς διεκέκοπτο, τῶν δ' ἐκατέρωθεν
 ἐπιστρεφόντων καὶ περιλαμβανόντων τοῖς ὅπλοις
 τὸν ἄνδρα, δείσας ὁ ὕπατος τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν
 6 περὶ αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμπεν. ἰσχυρὰς δὲ περὶ τὸν
 Μάρκιον μάχης γενομένης καὶ πολλῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ
 νεκρῶν πεσόντων, ἐγκείμενοι καὶ καταβιαζόμενοι
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐώσαντο, καὶ τρεπόμενοι πρὸς
 δίωξιν αὐτῶν τὸν Μάρκιον ἡξίουν ὑπὸ τε καμάτου
 βαρὺν ὄντα καὶ τραυμάτων ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ 218
 στρατόπεδον. εἰπὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος ὅτι νικῶντων οὐκ
 ἔστι τὸ κάμνειν, ἐφείπετο τοῖς φεύγουσιν. ἡττήθη
 δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στράτευμα, πολλῶν μὲν δια-
 φθαρέντων, πολλῶν δὲ ἀλόντων.

X. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοῦ Λαρκίου παραγενομένου
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀθροιζομένων πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον,
 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν πρέπου-
 σαν ἀποδοὺς ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις κατορθώμασιν
 εὐφημίαν, πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον τρέπεται. καὶ
 πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ θαυμαστὸν ἔπαινον εἶπε, τῶν
 μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γεγωνὸς θεατῆς, τὰ δὲ τοῦ
 2 Λαρκίου μαρτυροῦντος. ἔπειτα, πολλῶν χρη-
 μάτων καὶ ἵππων γεγονότων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ
 ἀνθρώπων, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐξελέσθαι δέκα
 πάντα πρὸ τοῦ νέμειν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἄνευ δὲ
 ἐκείνων ἀριστεῖον αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένον ἵππον
 ἔδωρήσατο. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαινεσάντων ὁ
 Μάρκιος προελθὼν τὸν μὲν ἵππον ἔφη δέχεσθαι

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before the line, and the Volscians who faced him could not withstand his charge, but where he fell upon their ranks they were speedily cut asunder. Those on either side, however, wheeled about and encompassed him with their weapons, so that the consul, fearing for his safety, sent to his aid the choicest men he had about his person. Then a fierce battle raged around Marcius, and many were slain in short space of time ; but the Romans pressed hard upon their enemies and put them to rout, and as they set out in pursuit of them, they insisted that Marcius, who was weighed down with fatigue and wounds, should retire to the camp. He answered, however, that weariness was not for victors, and took after the flying foe. The rest of their army also was defeated, many were slain, and many taken captive.¹

X. On the following day, when Lartius had come up, and the rest of the army was assembled before the consul, Cominius mounted the rostra, and after rendering to the gods the praise that was their due for such great successes, addressed himself to Marcius. In the first place, he rehearsed with praise his astonishing exploits, some of which he had himself beheld in the battle, while to others Lartius bore witness. Then, out of the abundant treasures and the many horses and prisoners that had been taken, he ordered him to choose out a tenth, before any distribution to the rest of the army ; and besides all this, he presented him with a horse, duly caparisoned, as a prize of valour. After the Romans had applauded this speech, Marcius came forward and said that he accepted the horse, and was de-

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal. vi. 94.

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καὶ χαίρειν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῦ ἄρχοντος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μισθόν, οὐ τιμὴν ἡγούμενος ἔαν, καὶ ἀγα-
 3 πῆσειν ὡς εἰς ἕκαστος τὴν νέμησιν. “Ἐξαί-
 ρετον δὲ μίαν αἰτοῦμαι χάριν,” ἔφη, “καὶ δέομαι
 λαβεῖν. ἦν μοι ξένος ἐν Οὐολούσκοις καὶ φίλος,
 ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικῆς καὶ μέτριος· οὗτος ἐάλωκε νῦν
 καὶ γέγονεν ἐκ πλουσίου καὶ μακαρίου δοῦλος.
 πολλῶν οὖν αὐτῷ κακῶν παρόντων ἐν ἀφελείν
 ἀρκεῖ, τὴν πρᾶσιν.”

Ἐπὶ τούτοις λεχθεῖσι βοή τε μείζων ἀπήντησε
 τῷ Μαρκίῳ, καὶ πλείονες οἱ θαυμάζοντες ἐγένοντο
 τὸ μὴ κρατούμενον ὑπὸ χρημάτων τάνδρως ἢ τὴν
 4 ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθίαν. καὶ γὰρ οἷς
 φθόνου τι καὶ ζήλου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέκειτο τιμώ-
 μενον ἐκπρεπῶς, κακείνοις τότε τοῦ λαβεῖν
 μεγάλα τῷ μὴ λαβεῖν ἄξιος ἔδοξε, καὶ μᾶλλον
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡγάπησαν, ἀφ’ ἧς κατεφρόνει
 τηλικούτων, ἢ δι’ ὧν ἡξιοῦτο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖ
 χρῆσθαι χρήμασι κάλλιον ἐστίν ἢ ὄπλοις, τοῦ δὲ
 χρῆσθαι τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων σεμνότερον.

XI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαύσατο βοῆς καὶ θορύβου τὸ
 πλῆθος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κορίνιος, “Ἄλλ’ ἐκείνας
 μέν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ συστρατιῶται, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ
 δύνασθε βιάζεσθαι μὴ δεχόμενον τὸν ἄνδρα μηδὲ
 βουλούμενον λαβεῖν· ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διδο-
 μένην ἀπώσασθαι, δῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφισώμεθα
 καλεῖσθαι Κοριολανόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἡ
 πρᾶξις αὐτὴ τοῦτο δέδωκεν.” ἐκ τούτου τρίτον
 ἔσχεν ὄνομα τὸν Κοριολανόν.

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lighted with the praises of the consul, but that he declined the rest, holding it to be pay, not honour, and would be content with his single share of the booty. "But I do ask one special favour," he said, "and beg that I may receive it. I had a guest-friend among the Volscians, a man of kindness and probity. This man is now a prisoner, and from wealth and happiness is reduced to subjection. Since, then, many evils have befallen him, let me at least free him from one, that of being sold into bondage."

At such words as these still louder shouts greeted Marcius, and he found more admirers of his superiority to gain than of the bravery he had shown in war. For the very ones who secretly felt a certain jealous envy of him for his conspicuous honours, now thought him worthy of great rewards because he would not take them; and they were more delighted with the virtue which led him to despise such great rewards, than with the exploits which made him worthy of them. For the right use of wealth is a fairer trait than excellence in arms; but not to need wealth is loftier than to use it.

XI. When the multitude had ceased shouting their applause, Cominius took up the word again and said: "Ye cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon the man, when he does not accept them and is unwilling to take them; but there is a gift which he cannot refuse when it is offered. Let us give him this gift, and pass a vote that he be surnamed Coriolanus, unless, indeed, before such act of ours, his exploit has itself given him this name." Thence came his third name of Coriolanus.¹

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal. vi. 94.

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- 2 Ὅτι καὶ μάλιστα δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι τῶν ὀνομάτων ἰδιον ἦν ὁ Γάϊος, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον οἰκίας ἢ γένους κοινὸν ὁ Μάρκιος, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ ὕστερον ἐχρήσαντο πράξεώς τινος ἢ τύχης ἢ ιδέας ἢ ἀρετῆς ἐπιθέτω, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες ἐτίθεντο πράξεως μὲν ἐπώνυμον τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ τὸν Καλλίνικον, ιδέας δὲ τὸν Φύσκωνα καὶ τὸν Γρυπὸν, ἀρετῆς δὲ τὸν Εὐεργέτην καὶ τὸν Φιλάδελφον, εὐτυχίας δὲ τὸν
- 3 Εὐδαίμονα τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Βάττων. ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ σκώμματα παρέσχεν ἐπικλήσεις, ὡς Ἀντιγόνῳ τὸν Δώσωνα καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τὸν Λάθυρον. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ τῷ γένει τούτῳ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κέχρηται, Διαδήματόν τινα τῶν Μετέλλων καλέσαντες, ὅτι πολὺν χρόνον ἔλκος ἔχων περιενόστει διαδεδεμένος¹ τὸ μέτωπον, ἕτερον δὲ Κέλερα σπεύσαντα μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆς ἐπιταφίους μονομάχων ἀγῶνας παρασχεῖν, τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς
- 4 παρασκευῆς θαυμάσαντες. ἐνίους δὲ συντυχία γενέσεως μέχρι νῦν καλοῦσι, Πρόκλον μὲν, ἂν ἀποδημοῦντος πατρὸς γένηται, καὶ Πόστουμον, ἂν τεθνηκότος· ὃ δ' ἂν διδύμῳ γενομένῳ συμβῇ περιβιῶναι, θατέρου τελευτήσαντος, Οὐοπίσκον. τῶν δὲ σωματικῶν οὐ μόνον Σύλλας οὐδὲ Νίγρους

¹ διαδεδεμένος with M^a: περιδεδεμένος.

¹ Soter, Saviour; Callinicus, Of noble victory; Physcon, Fat-paunch; Grypus, Hook-nosed; Euergetes, Benefactor; Philadelphus, Sister- or Brother-lover; Eudaemon, Prosperous;

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From this it is perfectly clear that Caius was the proper name; that the second name, in this case Marcius, was the common name of family or clan; and that the third name was adopted subsequently, and bestowed because of some exploit, or fortune, or bodily feature, or special excellence in a man. So the Greeks used to give surnames from an exploit, as for instance, Soter¹ and Callinicus; or from a bodily feature, as Physcon and Grypus; or from a special excellence, as Euergetes and Philadelphus; or from some good fortune, as Eudaemon, the surname of the second Battus. And some of their kings have actually had surnames given them in mockery, as Antigonus Doson and Ptolemy Lathyrus. Surnames of this sort were even more common among the Romans. For instance, one of the Metelli was called Diadematus, because for a long time he suffered from a running sore and went about with a bandage on his forehead; another member of this family was called Celer, because he exerted himself to give the people funeral games of gladiators within a few days of his father's death, and the speed and swiftness of his preparations excited astonishment.² And at the present day some of them are named from casual incidents at their birth, Proculus, for instance, if a child is born when his father is away from home; or Postumus, if after his death; and when one of twin children survives, while the other dies, he is called Vopiscus. Moreover, from bodily features they not only bestow such surnames as Sulla, Niger, and Rufus, but also

Doson, *Always-promising*; Lathyrus, *Velchling*; Sulla, *Blotches* (?); Niger, *Black*; Rufus, *Red*; Caecus, *Blind*; Claudius, *Lame*.

² Cf. *Romulus*, x. 2.

οὐδὲ ῥούφους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καίκους καὶ Κλωδίους ἐπωνυμίας τίθενται, καλῶς ἐθίζοντες μήτε τυφλό-
τητα μήτ' ἄλλην τινὰ σωματικὴν ἀτυχίαν ὄνει-
δος ἡγεῖσθαι μηδὲ λοιδορίαν, ἀλλ' ὥς οἰκείους ὑπακούειν ὀνόμασιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐτέρῳ
γένοι γραφῆς προσήκει.

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XII. Πausaμένῳ δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν στάσιν ἐπὶ
ἡγεῖν αὐθις οἱ δημαγωγοί, καινὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν
αἰτίαν ἔχοντες οὐδ' ἔγκλημα δίκαιον, ἃ δὲ ταῖς
προτέραις αὐτῶν διαφοραῖς καὶ ταραχαῖς ἀναγ-
καίως ἐπηκολούθησε κακά, ταῦτα ποιούμενοι
πρόφασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρικίους. ἄσπορος γὰρ ἡ
πλειστή καὶ ἀγεώργητος ἀπελείφθη τῆς χώρας,
ἀγορᾶς δ' ἐπείσάκτου παρασκευὴν διὰ τὸν πόλε-
2 μὸν ὁ καιρὸς οὐκ ἔδωκεν. ἰσχυρὰς οὖν ἀπορίας
γενομένης, ὀρώντες οἱ δημαγωγοί μήτ' ἀγορὰν
ἔχοντα μήτ', εἰ παρὴν ἀγορά, χρημάτων εὐ-
ποροῦντα τὸν δῆμον, ἐνέβαλλον λόγους καὶ
διαβολὰς κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων, ὥς ἐκείνοι τὸν
λιμὸν ἐπάγοιεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ μνησικακίας.

Ἐκ δὲ τῶν Οὐελιτρανῶν ἦκε πρεσβεία τὴν
πόλιν παραδιδόντων καὶ δεομένων ἀποίλους ἀπο-
στέλλειν. νόσος γὰρ ἐμπεσοῦσα λοιμώδης αὐτοῖς
τοσοῦτον ὄλεθρον καὶ φθορὰν ἀπειργάσατο τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ὥστε μόλις τὸ δέκατον τοῦ παντὸς
3 ἀπολειφθῆναι μέρος. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς νοῦν
ἔχουσιν εἰς δέον γεγονέναι καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἡ
χρεία τῶν Οὐελιτρανῶν διὰ τε τὴν ἀπορίαν
κουφισμοῦ δεομένοις, καὶ τὴν στάσιν ἅμα σκε-
δάσειν ἡλπιζον, εἰ τὸ θορυβοῦν μάλιστα καὶ

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such as Caecus and Claudius. And they do well thus to accustom men to regard neither blindness nor any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or a disgrace, but to answer to such names as though their own. This topic, however, would be more fittingly discussed elsewhere.

XII. The war was no sooner over than the popular leaders revived the internal dissensions, without any new cause of complaint, or just accusations, but making the very evils which had necessarily followed in the wake of their previous quarrels and disturbances a pretext for opposing the patricians. For the greater part of the land had been left unsown and untilled, and the war left no opportunity to arrange an importation of market supplies. There was, therefore, a great scarcity of food, and when the popular leaders saw that there were no market supplies, and that if there were, the people had no money to buy them, they assailed the rich with slanderous accusations of purposely arraying the famine against them, in a spirit of revenge.

Moreover, there came an embassy from the people of Velitrae, who offered to hand their city over to the Romans, and begged them to send out colonists for it. For a pestilential disease had assailed them, and wrought such death and destruction among their citizens that hardly the tenth part of the whole number was left. Accordingly, such of the Romans as were sensible thought that this request of the people of Velitrae had come at an advantageous and opportune time, since the scarcity of food made it needful to ease the city of its burdensome numbers; at the same time they also hoped to dissipate its sedition, if the most turbulent elements

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- συνεπηρμένον τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς ὥσπερ περίττωμα τῆς πόλεως νοσερὸν καὶ ταραχῶδες ἀποκαθαρθεῖν.
- 4 τούτους τε δὴ καταλέγοντες εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐξέπεμπον οἱ ὑπατοί, καὶ στρατεῖαν ἐπήγγελλον ἐτέροις ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐολούσκους, ἀσχολίαν τε τῶν ἐμφυλίων μηχανώμενοι θορύβων, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ κοινοῖς ἀγῶσιν αὐθις γενομένους πλουσίους ὁμοῦ καὶ πένητας καὶ δημοτικούς καὶ πατρικίους, ἡμερώτερον ἂν διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἥδιον.

- XIII. Ἐνίσταντο δὲ λοιπὸν οἱ περὶ Σικίννιον καὶ Βροῦτον δημαγωγοί, βοῶντες ἔργον ὠμότατον αὐτοὺς τῷ πραοτάτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποικίαν προσαγορεύσαντας ἀνθρώπους πένητας ὥσπερ εἰς βάραθρον ὠθεῖν, ἐκπέμποντας εἰς πόλιν ἀέρος τε νοσεροῦ καὶ νεκρῶν ἀτάφων γέμονσαν, ἀλλοτρίῳ δαίμονι καὶ παλαμναίῳ συνοικιζομένους.
- 2 εἶτα ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρκουμένους τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διολλύναι τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δὲ λοιμῷ προσβάλλειν, ἔτι καὶ πόλεμον αὐθαίρετον ἐπάγειν, ὅπως μηδὲν κακὸν ἀπῇ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι δουλεύουσα τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀπεῖπε. τοιούτων ἀναπιμπλάμενος λόγων ὁ δῆμος οὔτε τῷ καταλόγῳ προσήει τῶν ὑπάτων πρὸς τε τὴν ἀποικίαν διεβέβλητο.
- 3 Τῆς δὲ βουλῆς διαπορουμένης ὁ Μάρκιος, ἤδη μεστὸς ὦν ὄγκου καὶ μέγας γεγονὼς τῷ φρονήματι καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων, φανε-

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in it, and those which made most response to the exciting appeals of the popular leaders, should be purged away, like unhealthy and disturbing refuse from the body. Such citizens, therefore, the consuls selected as colonists and ordered them forth to Velitrae. They also enlisted others in a campaign against the Volscians, contriving thus that there should be no leisure for intestine tumults, and believing that when rich and poor alike, plebeians as well as patricians, were once more united in military service and in common struggles for the public good, they would be more gently and pleasantly disposed towards one another.

XIII. But the popular leaders, Sicinius and Brutus, with their following, at once rose up in opposition, crying out that the consuls were disguising a most cruel deed under that most inoffensive name, a colony, and were really pushing poor men into a pit of death, as it were, by sending them forth into a city which was full of deadly air and unburied corpses, to be associated with a strange and abominable deity; and then, as if not satisfied with destroying some of their fellow-citizens by famine, and exposing others to pestilence, they proceeded further to bring on a war of their own choosing, that no evil might spare the city, which had but refused to continue in servitude to the rich. With their ears full of such speeches as these, the people would neither answer the consular summons for enlistment, nor look with any favour on the colony.¹

The senate was in perplexity. But Marcius, who was now full of importance, and had grown lofty in spirit, and was looked upon with admiration by the

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal. vii. 13.

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ρὸς ἣν μάλιστα τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς ἀνθιστάμενος.
καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀποικίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ἐπιτιμίοις
μεγάλοις τοὺς λαχόντας ἐξελθεῖν ἀναγκάσαντες·
πρὸς δὲ τὴν στρατείαν παντάπασιν ἀπαγορευόν-
των, αὐτὸς ὁ Μάρκιος τοὺς τε πελάτας ἀναλαβὼν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσους ἔπεισε, κατέδραμε τὴν
4 Ἀντιατῶν χώραν. καὶ πολὺν μὲν σῖτον εὐρών,
πολλῇ δὲ λείᾳ θρεμμάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων
περιτυχών, αὐτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξείλετο, τοὺς δὲ
στρατευσαμένους πολλὰ μὲν ἄγοντας ἔχων,
πολλὰ δὲ φέροντας, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην,
ὥστε τοὺς ἄλλους μεταμελομένους καὶ φθονήσαν-
τας τοῖς εὐπορήσασιν ἄχθεσθαι τῷ Μαρκίῳ καὶ
βαρύνεσθαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὥς
ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐξομένην.

XIV. Ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου μετῆι μὲν ὑπατείαν
ὁ Μάρκιος, ἐκάμπτοντο δὲ οἱ πολλοί, καὶ τὸν
δῆμον αἰδῶς τις εἶχεν ἄνδρα καὶ γένει καὶ ἀρετῇ
πρῶτον ἀτιμάσαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοσούτοις
καὶ τηλικούτοις εὐεργετήμασι. καὶ γὰρ ἔθος ἦν
τοῖς μετιούσι τὴν ἀρχὴν παρακαλεῖν καὶ δεξιού-
σθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐν ἱματίῳ κατιόντας εἰς τὴν
ἀγορὰν ἄνευ χιτῶνος, εἴτε μᾶλλον ἐκταπεινούντας 22
ἑαυτοὺς τῷ σχήματι πρὸς τὴν δέησιν, εἴτε δεικ-
νύντας οἷς ἦσαν ὠτειλαὶ προφανῆ τὰ σύμβολα
2 τῆς ἀνδρείας. οὐ γὰρ ὑποψία δῆπου διανομῆς
ἀργυρίου καὶ δεκασμῶν ἄζωστον ἐβούλουντο προσ-
ιέναι καὶ ἀχίτωνα τοῖς πολίταις τὸν δεόμενον

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal. vii. 19.

² There is nothing of this candidacy for the consulship in Livy (ii. 34, 7-35). Marcius urges the senate to take advantage of the famine and exact from the plebeians a surrender

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most powerful men of the city, openly took the lead in resisting the popular leaders. The colony was sent out, those that were chosen for it by lot being compelled to go forth under severe penalties; and when the people utterly refused military service, Marcius himself mustered his clients and as many others as he could persuade, and made an incursion into the territory of Antium. There he found much corn, and secured large booty in cattle and captives, no part of which did he take out for himself, but brought his followers back to Rome laden with large spoils of every sort. The rest of the citizens therefore repented themselves, envied their more fortunate fellows, and were filled with hostility to Marcius, not being able to endure the reputation and power of the man, which was growing, as they thought, to be detrimental to the people.¹

XIV. But not long after, when Marcius stood for the consulship,² the multitude relented, and the people felt somewhat ashamed to slight and humble a man who was foremost in birth and valour and had performed so many and such great services. Now it was the custom with those who stood for the office to greet their fellow-citizens and solicit their votes, descending into the forum in their toga, without a tunic under it. This was either because they wished the greater humility of their garb to favour their solicitations, or because they wished to display the tokens of their bravery, in case they bore wounds. It was certainly not owing to a suspicion of the dispensing of money in bribery that the candidate for the votes of their tribunate. This so exasperates the people that they try Marcius *in absentia* and banish him, whereupon he goes over to the Volsci. Plutarch's story (xiv.-xx.) agrees closely with Dionysius Hal. vii. 21-64.

αὐτῶν· ὁψέ γὰρ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ὦνῃ καὶ
 πρᾶσις ἐπεισηλθε, καὶ συνεμίγη ταῖς ἐκκλησιασ-
 3 τικαῖς ψήφοις ἀργύριον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ δικασ-
 τῶν θιγοῦσα καὶ στρατοπέδων ἢ δωροδοκία
 περιέστησεν εἰς μοναρχίαν τὴν πόλιν, ἕξανδρα-
 ποδισαμένη τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς χρήμασιν. οὐ γὰρ
 κακῶς ἔοικεν εἰπεῖν ὁ εἰπὼν ὅτι πρῶτος κατέλυσε
 τὸν δῆμον ὁ πρῶτος ἐστιάσας καὶ δεκάσας.
 φαίνεται δὲ κρύφα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέον οὐκ
 4 εὐθύς ἔκδηλον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι τὸ κακόν. οὐ
 γὰρ ἴσμεν ὅστις ἦν ὁ δεκάσας πρῶτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 δῆμον ἢ δικαστήριον· Ἀθήνησι δὲ λέγεται πρῶ-
 τος ἀργύριον δοῦναι δικασταῖς Ἀνυτος ὁ Ἀνθε-
 μίωνος, προδοσίας περὶ Πύλου κρινόμενος, ἐν τοῖς
 Πελοποννησιακοῖς ἤδη τελευτῶσιν, ὅπηνίκα τὸ
 χρυσοῦν ἔτι γένος καὶ ἀκήρατον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν
 ἀγορὰν κατεῖχεν.

XV. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε Μαρκίου πολλὰς ὑπο-
 φαίνοντος ὥτειλὰς ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀγῶνων, ἐν οἷς
 ἐπρώτευσεν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη συνεχῶς στρατευό-
 μενος, ἐδυσωποῦντο τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ λόγον ἀλλή-
 λοις ἐδίδοσαν ὡς ἐκείνου ἀποδείξοντες. ἐπεὶ δέ,
 τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἣ τὴν ψήφον ἔδει φέρειν ἐνστάσης,
 ὁ Μάρκιος εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε σοβαρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς
 βουλῆς προπεμπόμενος, καὶ πάντες οἱ πατρίκιοι
 περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγένοντο φανεροὶ πρὸς μηδὲν οὕτω
 2 μηδέποτε σπουδάσαντες, ἐξέπεσον αὐθις οἱ πολ-
 λοὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας, εἰς τὸ νεμεσᾶν καὶ

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of the citizens was required to present himself before them without a tunic and ungirt. For it was long after this time that the buying and selling of votes crept in and money became a feature of the elections. But afterwards, bribery affected even courts and camps, and converted the city into a monarchy, by making armies the utter slaves of money. For it has been well said that he first breaks down the power of the people who first feasts and bribes them. But at Rome the mischief seems to have crept in stealthily and gradually, and not to have been noticed at once. For we do not know who was the first man to bribe her people or her courts of law; whereas at Athens, Anytus, the son of Anthemion, is said to have been the first man to give money to jurors, when he was on trial for the treacherous failure to relieve Pylos,¹ toward the close of the Peloponnesian war; a time when the pure race of the golden age still possessed the Roman forum.

XV. So when Marcius disclosed his many scars from many contests, wherein he had been a foremost soldier for seventeen years together, the people were put out of countenance by his valour, and agreed with one another to elect him. But when the day for casting their votes came, and Marcius made a pompous entry into the forum escorted by the senate, and all the patricians about him were clearly more bent on success than ever before, the multitude fell away again from their good will towards him, and

¹ A stronghold on the western coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus. It was occupied and successfully defended by the Athenians in 425 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 2-41). In 410, the Lacedaemonians laid siege to its Messenian garrison, which surrendered after an Athenian fleet had failed to relieve it (Diodorus, xiii. 64, 5 f.).

φθονεῖν ὑποφερόμενοι. προσὴν δὲ τῷ πάθει τούτῳ καὶ δέους, εἰ γένοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς κύριος ἀνὴρ ἀριστοκρατικὸς καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πατρικίοις ἀξίωμα, μὴ παντάπασιν ἀφέλοιτο τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

- 3 Οὕτω δὲ φρονήσαντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο τὸν Μάρκιον. ὥς δ' ἀνηγορεύθησαν ἕτεροι, βαρέως μὲν ἤνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δοκοῦσα προπεπηλακίσθαι μᾶλλον ἑαυτὴν ἢ τὸν Μάρκιον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐκείνος οὐ μετρίως ἔσχευε οὐδ' ἐπιεικῶς πρὸς τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἅτε δὴ πλείστα τῷ θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλονείκῳ μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥς ἔχοντι μέγεθος καὶ φρόνημα, κεχρημένος, τὸ δ' ἐμβριθὲς καὶ τὸ πρᾶον, οὐ τὸ πλείστον ἀρετῇ πολιτικῇ μέτεστιν, ἐγκεκραμένον οὐκ ἔχων ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ παιδείας,
- 4 οὐδὲ τὴν ἐρημίαν ξύνοικον, ὥς Πλάτων ἔλεγεν, αὐθάδειαν εἰδὼς ὅτι δεῖ μάλιστα διαφεύγειν ἐπιχειροῦντα πράγμασι κοινοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι τῆς πολλὰ γελωμένης ὑπ' ἐνίων ἀνεξικακίας ἐραστήν. ἀλλ' ἀπλοῦς τις ὢν αἰὲ καὶ ἀτενής, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν καὶ κρατεῖν ἀπάντων πάντως ἀνδρείας ἔργον ἡγούμενος, οὐκ ἀσθενείας καὶ μαλακίας, ἐκ τοῦ πονοῦντος καὶ πεπονθότος μάλιστα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥσπερ οἴδημα, τὸν θυμὸν ἀναδιδούσης, ἀπῆι ταραχῆς μεστὸς ὢν καὶ
- 5 πικρίας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῶν πατρικίων, ὃ τι περ ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει μάλιστα γαυρούμενον εὐγενείᾳ καὶ ἀνθούν, αἰεὶ τε θαυμαστώως ἐσπουδάκεσαν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τότε προσκείμενοι καὶ παρόντες οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὸν θυμὸν ἐξερρίπιζον αὐτοῦ τῷ συναγανακτεῖν καὶ

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drifted into feelings of resentment and envy. These feelings were reinforced by their fear that if an aristocrat, who had such weight with the patricians, should become supreme in the government, he might altogether deprive the people of their liberties.

So, being in such a state of mind, they rejected Marcius and others were proclaimed elected. The senators were indignant, thinking the insult directed rather at them than at Marcius, and he himself could not treat the occurrence with restraint or forbearance. He had indulged the passionate and contentious side of his nature, with the idea that there was something great and exalted in this, and had not been imbued, under the influence of reason and discipline, with that gravity and mildness which are the chief virtues of a statesman. Nor did he know that one who undertakes public business must avoid above all things that self-will which, as Plato says,¹ is the "companion of solitude"; must mingle with men, and be a lover of that submissiveness to injury which some people ridicule so much. But since he was ever a straightforward man and obstinate, and since he thought that conquest and mastery in all things and at all times was the prerogative of bravery, rather than of effeminate weakness (which breaks out in anger, like a swelling sore, from the troubled and wounded spirit), he went away full of indignation and bitterness towards the people. The younger patricians, too, that element in the city which made most vaunt of noble birth and was most showy, had always been amazingly devoted to the man, and, adhering to him now, when their presence did him no good, fanned his anger by their sympa-

¹ In a letter to Dio (*Epist.* iv. *ad fin.*).

συναλγεῖν. ἦν γὰρ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλος εὐμενῆς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις, καὶ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς ἄνευ φθόνου πρὸς ἀλλήλους γαυρῶσαι τοὺς κατορθοῦντας.

XVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ σίτος ἦκεν εἰς Ῥώμην, πολὺς μὲν ὠνητὸς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οὐκ ἐλάττων δὲ δωρητὸς ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, Γέλωνος τοῦ τυράννου πέμπσαντος· ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους ἐν ἐλπίσι γενέσθαι χρησταῖς, ἅμα τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τῆς 22 διαφορᾶς τὴν πόλιν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας. εὐθύς οὖν βουλῆς ἀθροισθείσης περιχυθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἔξωθεν ἐκαραδόκει τὸ τέλος, ἐλπίζων ἀγορᾷ τε χρήσεσθαι φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ προῖκα τὰς δωρεὰς νεμήσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἔνδον 2 ἦσαν οἱ ταῦτα τὴν βουλὴν πείθοντες. ὁ μὲντοι Μάρκιος ἀναστὰς σφόδρα καθήψατο τῶν χαριζομένων τοῖς πολλοῖς, δημαγωγούς καὶ προδότας ἀποκαλῶν τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ σπέρματα πονηρὰ θρασύτητος καὶ ὕβρεως εἰς ὄχλον ἀφειμένα τρέφοντας καθ' αὐτῶν, ἃ καλῶς μὲν εἶχε μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ φυόμενα μηδ' ἰσχυρὸν ἀρχῇ τηλικαύτῃ ποιῆσαι τὸν δῆμον, ἤδη δὲ καὶ φοβερὸν εἶναι τῷ πάντα βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν καὶ μηδὲν ἄκοντας βιάζεσθαι, μηδὲ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίας ἔχοντας 3 ἡγεμόνας ἰδίους ἄρχοντας προσαγορεύειν. ἐπιδόσεις μὲν οὖν καὶ διανομάς, ὥσπερ Ἑλλήνων οἱ κράτιστα δημοκρατούμενοι, καθέζεσθαι ψηφίζομένους ἔφη παντελῶς εἰς κοινὸν ὄλεθρον τὴν

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thetic vexation and sorrow. For he was their leader and willing teacher of the art of war in their campaigns, and inspired them in their victories with a zeal for valour, which had no tinge of mutual jealousy.

XVI. In the meantime grain came to Rome, a great part of it bought in Italy, but an equal amount sent as a present from Syracuse, where Gelo was tyrant. Most of the people were consequently in great hope, expecting that the city would be delivered both from its scarcity and its discord. The senate, accordingly, was convened at once, and the people, flocking about the senate-house, awaited the result of its deliberations. They expected that the market-price for grain would now be moderate, and that what had been sent as a present would be distributed gratis. For there were some in the senate who so advised that body. But Marcius rose in his place and vehemently attacked those who favoured the multitude, calling them demagogues and betrayers of the aristocracy, and declaring that they were nourishing, to their own harm, the evil seeds of boldness and insolence which had been sown among the rabble; these they should have choked when they first sprang up, and not have strengthened the people by such a powerful magistracy as the tribunate. But now their body was formidable, because it got everything that it desired, allowed no constraint upon its will, and refused to obey the consuls, but had their own leaders in anarchy, whom they styled their rulers. To sit there, moreover, voting such a people largesses and supplies, like those Greeks where democracy is most extreme, he said was nothing more nor less than maintaining them in their disobedience, to the common destruc-

ἀπειθείαν αὐτῶν ἐφοδιάζειν. “Οὐ γὰρ χάριν γε
 δήπου φήσουσιν ἀπολαμβάνειν τῶν στρατειῶν ἃς
 ἐγκατέλιπον, καὶ τῶν ἀποστάσεων αἷς προήκαντο
 τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τῶν διαβολῶν ἃς ἐδέξαντο κατὰ
 τῆς βουλῆς· ἀλλ’ ὑφιεμένους διὰ φόβον καὶ
 κολακεύοντας ὑμᾶς ταῦτα διδόναι καὶ συγχωρεῖν
 ἐλπίσαντες, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι πέρας ἀπειθείας, οὐδὲ
 4 παύσονται διαφερόμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες. ὥστε
 τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ κομιδὴ μανικόν· εἰ δὲ σωφρονου-
 μεν, ἀφαιρησόμεθα τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτῶν, ἀναί-
 ρεσιν οὖσαν ὑπατείας καὶ διάστασιν τῆς πόλεως,
 οὐκέτι μιᾶς, ὡς πρότερον, οὔσης, ἀλλὰ δεδεγμένης
 τομὴν μηδέποτε συμφῦναι μηδ’ ὁμοφρονῆσαι μηδὲ
 παύσασθαι νοσοῦντας ἡμᾶς καὶ ταραττομένους ὑπ’
 ἀλλήλων ἐάσουσιν.”

XVII. Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπερ-
 φυῶς εἶχε τοὺς νέους συνενθουσιῶντας αὐτῷ καὶ
 τοὺς πλουσίους ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπαντας, μόνον
 ἐκείνους ἄνδρα τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν ἀήττητον καὶ
 ἀκολάκευτον βοῶντας. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέ-
 ρων ἠναντιοῦντο, ὑφορώμενοι τὸ ἀποβησόμενον.
 ἀπέβη δὲ χρηστὸν οὐδέν. οἱ γὰρ δήμαρχοι
 παρόντες, ὡς ἦσθοντο τῇ γνώμῃ κρατοῦντα τὸν
 Μάρκιον, ἐξέδραμον εἰς τὸν ὄχλον μετὰ βοῆς
 παρακελευόμενοι συνίστασθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς
 2 τοὺς πολλούς. ἐκκλησίας δὲ θορυβώδους γενο-
 μένης, καὶ τῶν λόγων οὓς ὁ Μάρκιος εἶπεν ἀναγο-
 ρευθέντων, ὀλίγον ἐδέχσεν ἐμπεσεῖν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς
 φερόμενος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ δῆμος· οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι
 τοῦ Μαρκίου τὴν αἰτίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ πέμπου-

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tion of all. "For they surely will not say that they are getting these as a grateful return for the military services which they omitted, and the secessions by which they renounced their country, and the calumnies against the senate which they have countenanced. They will rather be confident that your fears drive you to subserviency and flattery when you make them these gifts and concessions, and will set no limit to their disobedience, nor cease from their quarrels and seditions. Such action on our part would therefore be sheer madness; but if we are wise, we shall take their tribunate away from them, for it makes the consulship null and void, and divides the city. This is no longer one, as before, but has been cut in two, so that we can never grow together again, or be of one mind, or cease afflicting and confounding one another."

XVII. With many such words as these Marcius was beyond measure successful in filling the younger senators, and almost all the wealthy ones, with his own fierce enthusiasm, and they cried out that he was the only man in the city who disdained submission and flattery. But some of the older senators opposed him, suspecting the outcome. And the outcome was wholly bad. For the tribunes were present, and when they saw that the proposal of Marcius was likely to prevail, they ran out among the crowd with loud cries, calling upon the plebeians to rally to their help. Then there was a stormy session of the assembly, and when the speech of Marcius was reported to it, the people were carried away with fury and almost burst in upon the senate. But the tribunes made their formal denunciation of Marcius, and summoned him by messenger to come before them and

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τες ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν ἀπολογησόμενον. ὥς δὲ πρὸς ὕβριν τοὺς πεμφθέντας ἐξήλασεν ὑπηρέτας, αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἤκον ἄξοντες βία τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπελαμβάνοντο. συστάντες δ' οἱ πατρίκιοι τοὺς μὲν δημάρχους ἀπετρίψαντο, τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις καὶ πληγὰς ἐνέβαλον.

- 3 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἑσπέρα καταλαβοῦσα τὴν ταραχὴν διέλυσεν· ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸν δῆμον ἐξηγριωμένον ὀρώντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ συντρέχοντα πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔδεισαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίσαντες ἐκέλευον σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἐπιεικέσι λόγοις καὶ δόγμασι χρηστοῖς πρᾶνῶσι καὶ καταστήσωσι τοὺς πολλούς, ὥς οὐ φιλοτιμίας οὔσαν ὥραν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ δόξης ἄμιλλαν, εἰ σωφρονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καιρὸν ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ ὀξύ, εὐγνώμονος πολιτείας καὶ φιλανθρώπου δεόμενον.
- 4 εἰζάντων δὲ τῶν πλείστων προελθόντες ὥς ἐνῆν μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ διελέγοντο καὶ κατεπράυνον, ἀπολυόμενοί τε τὰς διαβολὰς ἐπιεικῶς καὶ τῷ νουθετοῦντι καὶ δάκνουντι μετρίως χρώμενοι, περὶ δὲ τιμῆς ὧνίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς οὐδὲν διοίσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς φάσκοντες.

XVIII. Ὡς οὖν ἐνεδίδου τὸ πολὺ τοῦ δήμου 222 καὶ φανερόν ἦν τῷ κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως ἀκούειν ἀγόμενον καὶ κηλούμενον, ἀνέστησαν οἱ δήμαρχοι, τῇ μὲν βουλῇ σωφρονούσῃ τὸν δῆμον ἀνθυπεῖξειν ὅσα καλῶς ἔχει φάσκοντες, τὸν δὲ Μάρκιον ἀπολογεῖσθαι κελεύοντες, εἰ μή φησιν

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make his defence. And when he insolently drove away the officers who brought their message, they went themselves, attended by the aediles, to bring him by force, and tried to lay hands upon his person. But the patricians, banding together, drove the tribunes away, and actually beat the aediles.

By this time, then, evening had fallen, which put an end to the tumult; but as soon as it was day, the exasperated people came running together from all quarters into the forum. When the consuls saw this, they were alarmed for the city, and convening the senate, urged them to consider how, by reasonable proposals and suitable resolutions, they might soothe and pacify the multitude, since it was not a time for ambitious rivalry, nor would they be wise in contending for their dignity, but the crisis was severe and critical, and demanded measures that were considerate and humane. The majority of the senate acceding to these views, the consuls went out and reasoned with the people as well as they could, and tried to mollify them, answering their accusations in a reasonable manner, and making only a moderate use of admonition and rebuke; as regarded the price of provisions and market supplies, they declared there should be no difference between them.

XVIII. Accordingly, the greater part of the people showed signs of relenting, and it was evident, from their decorous and sober attention, that they were on the way to be controlled and won over. Then the tribunes rose and declared that since the senate was now acting soberly, the people in their turn would make such concessions as were fair and honourable. They insisted, however, that Marcius should make answer to the following charges: Could he deny that

- ἐπὶ συγχύσει τῆς πολιτείας καὶ καταλύσει τοῦ
 δήμου τὴν τε βουλὴν παροξύνειν καὶ καλούμενος
 2 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπειθῆσαι, τέλος δὲ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους
 τύπτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ προπηλακίζων ἐμφύλιον,
 ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, πόλεμον ἐξεργάσασθαι καὶ προ-
 αγαγεῖν εἰς ὄπλα τοὺς πολίτας. ἔλεγον δὲ ταῦτα
 βουλόμενοι τὸν Μάρκιον ἢ ταπεινὸν ἀποδείξαι,
 παρὰ φύσιν ὑφέντα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ θεραπεύοντα
 τὸν δῆμον, ἢ τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνῆκεστον
 ἀπεργάσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργήν· ὃ μᾶλλον
 ἤλπιζον, ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός.
- 3 Ἔσθη μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος, καὶ παρέ-
 σχεν αὐτῷ σιωπὴν καὶ ἡσυχίαν ὁ δῆμος· ὡς δ'
 ἤρξατο πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δεητικὸν τινα λόγον
 προσδεχομένους οὐ μόνον ἐπαχθεῖ παρρησίᾳ χρη-
 σθαι καὶ πλείονι κατηγορίᾳ τῆς παρρησίας, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τόνῳ φωνῆς καὶ διαθέσει προσώπου τὴν ἐγγὺς
 ὑπεροψίας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας ἀφοβίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος,
- 4 ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐξετραχύνθη καὶ φανερός ἦν δυσανα-
 σχετῶν καὶ βαρυνόμενος τοῖς λεγομένοις, τῶν δὲ
 δημάρχων ὁ θρασύτετος Σικίννιος μικρὰ τοῖς
 συνάρχουσι διαλεχθεὶς, εἴτ' εἰς μέσον ἀναγορεύσας
 ὡς θάνατος ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων τοῦ Μαρκίου
 κατέγνωσται, προσέταξε τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις ἀναγα-
 γόντας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν εὐθύς ὥσαι κατὰ
- 5 τῆς ὑποκειμένης φάραγγος. ἀπτομένων δὲ τῶν
 ἀγορανόμων τοῦ σώματος ἔδοξε μὲν καὶ τῶν
 δημοτῶν πολλοῖς φρικτὸν εἶναι τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ
 ὑπερήφανον, οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι παντάπασιν ἐκστάντες

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he had instigated the senate to violate the constitution and abrogate the powers of the people? When summoned to appear before them, had he not refused? And finally, by insulting and beating the aediles in the forum, had he not done all in his power to incite the citizens to arms and bring about a civil war? They made this demand with a desire either that Marcius should be publicly humiliated, if, contrary to his nature, he curbed his haughty spirit and sued for the favour of the people; or, if he yielded to his natural promptings, that he should do something which would justify their wrath against him and make it implacable. The latter was what they the rather expected, and they rightly estimated the man's character.

For he came and stood before them as one who would defend himself, and the people were quiet and silent in his presence. But when, instead of the more or less deprecatory language expected by his audience, he began not only to employ an offensive boldness of speech, which at last became actual denunciation, but also to show, by the tone of his voice and the cast of his countenance, that his fearlessness was not far removed from disdain and contempt, then the people was exasperated, and gave evident signs that his words roused their impatience and indignation. Upon this, Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a brief conference with his colleagues, made formal proclamation that Marcius was condemned to death by the tribunes of the people, and ordered the aediles to take him up to the Tarpeian rock at once, and cast him down the cliff below. But when the aediles laid hold of his person, it seemed, even to many of the plebeians, a horrible and monstrous act; the patricians,

καὶ περιπαθήσαντες ὥρμησαν ἀπὸ κραυγῆς βοη-
θεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ χερσὶ τοὺς ἐπιλαμβανομένους
ἀνείργοντες καὶ καταμιγνύντες ἑαυτοῖς τὸν Μάρ-
6 κιον· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντες ἐδέοντο
τῶν πολλῶν, ἐπειδὴ λόγου τε καὶ φωνῆς οὐδὲν
ἔργον ἦν ἐν ἀκοσμίᾳ τοσαύτῃ καὶ θορύβοις, ἄχρι
οὗ συμφρονήσαντες οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι τῶν
δημάρχων ὥς ἄνευ φόνου πολλοῦ τῶν πατρικίων
οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξαγαγεῖν οὐδὲ κολάσαι τὸν Μάρκιον,
ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς ἀφελεῖν τῆς τιμωρίας τὸ ἀλλόκοτον
καὶ βαρὺ, μὴ βία μηδ' ἄκριτον ἀποκτινύντας,
ἀλλὰ τῷ δήμῳ ψήφον ἐπενεγκεῖν ἀποδόντας.
7 ἐκ τούτου καταστὰς ὁ Σικίννιος ἡρώτα τοὺς
πατρικίους τί βουλόμενοι τὸν Μάρκιον ἀφαιροῦν-
ται τοῦ δήμου βουλομένου κολάζειν. ἐκείνων δὲ
πάλιν ἀντερωτῶντων· “Τί μὲν οὖν διανοεῖσθε
καὶ τί βούλεσθε ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς
ἀρίστοις ἄνευ κρίσεως ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ὤμην καὶ
8 παράνομον οὕτως ἄγοντες;” “Ἄλλὰ ταύτην μὲν,”
εἶπεν ὁ Σικίννιος, “ὕμεῖς μὴ ποιεῖσθε πρόφασιν
διαφορᾶς καὶ στάσεως πρὸς τὸν δῆμον· ὃ γὰρ
ἀξιοῦτε, δίδωσιν ὑμῖν, κριθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα. σοὶ
δέ, Μάρκιε, προαγορεύομεν εἰς τρίτην ἀγορὰν
παρεῖναι καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖς,
ὥς ψήφῳ κρινοῦντας.”

XIX. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἡγάπησαν οἱ πατρίκιοι
τὴν διάλυσιν, καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον ἀσμένως ἔχοντες
ἀπῆλθον. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ τῆς τρίτης
ἀγορᾶς (ἀγορᾶς δὲ ποιούσι Ῥωμαῖοι δι' ἡμέρας
ἐνάτης, νουνδίας καλοῦντες) ἐλπίδα μὲν αὐτοῖς
παρέσχε διακρούσεως στρατεία γενομένη πρὸς

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moreover, utterly beside themselves, distressed and horror stricken, rushed with loud cries to his aid. Some of them actually pushed away the officers making the arrest, and got Marcius among themselves; some stretched out their hands in supplication of the multitude, since words and cries were of no avail amid such disorder and confusion. At last the friends and kindred of the tribunes, perceiving that it was impossible, without slaying many patricians, to lead Marcius away and punish him, persuaded them to remit what was unusual and oppressive in his sentence, not to use violence and put him to death without a trial, but to surrender him and refer his case to the people. Then Sicinius, becoming calm, asked the patricians what they meant by taking Marcius away from the people when it wished to punish him. But the patricians asked in their turn: "What then is your purpose, and what do ye mean, by thus dragging one of the foremost men of Rome, without a trial, to a savage and illegal punishment?" "Well then," said Sicinius, "ye shall not have any such excuse for factious quarrel with the people; for they grant your demand that the man have a trial. And we cite thee, Marcius, to appear before the citizens on the third market-day ensuing, and convince them, if you can, of your innocence, assured that they will decide your case by vote."

XIX. For the time being, then, the patricians were satisfied with this truce, and went away in glad possession of Marcius. But in the time which intervened before the third market-day (for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, calling them, therefore, "*nundinae*"), a campaign was undertaken against the city of Antium, which led them to hope

- Ἀντιάτας, ὡς μῆκος ἔξουσα καὶ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ
χειροθήης ὁ δῆμος ἔσται, τῆς ὀργῆς ἀπομαρ-
θείσης ἢ παντελῶς ἐκπεσούσης δι' ἀσχολίαν καὶ
2 πόλεμον· ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ταχὺ διαλυσάμενοι πρὸς
τοὺς Ἀντιάτας ἐπανήλθον, ἐγίνοντο σύνοδοι τῶν
πατρικίων πολλάκις, δεδιότων καὶ σκοπούντων
ὅπως τὸν τε Μάρκιον οὐ προήσουνται τὸν τε δῆμον
αὐτοῖς οὐ παρέξουσιν ἐκταράττειν τοῖς δημα-
γωγοῖς. Ἀππίος μὲν οὖν Κλαύδιος αἰτίαν ἔχων 223
ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μισόδημος εἶναι διεμαρτύρετο,
λέγων τὴν τε βουλὴν αὐτοὺς ἀναιρήσειν καὶ
προήσεσθαι παντάπασιν τὴν πολιτείαν, εἰ κύριον
τῆς ψήφου κατὰ τῶν πατρικίων δέξονται γενό-
3 μενον τὸν δῆμον· οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ δημοτι-
κώτατοι τὸνναντίον ἡξίουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν οὐδὲ
βαρύν, ἀλλὰ πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ὑπὸ τῆς
ἐξουσίας ἔσεσθαι τὸν δῆμον· οὐ γὰρ καταφρο-
νοῦντι τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλ' οἰομένῳ καταφρονεῖσθαι
τιμὴν καὶ παραμυθίαν γενήσεσθαι τὴν κρίσιν,
ὥσθ' ἅμα τὴν ψήφον λαβόντας ἀποθήσεσθαι τὴν
ὀργήν.

XX. Ὅρων οὖν ὁ Μάρκιος εὐνοία μὲν αὐτοῦ,
φόβῳ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπορουμένην,
ἠρώτησε τοὺς δημάρχους τί κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ
καὶ περὶ τίνος κριθησόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐξ-
άγουσιν. εἰπόντων δ' ἐκείνων ὅτι τυραννίς ἐστι τὸ
ἔγκλημα καὶ τυραννεῖν διανοούμενον ἀποδεί-
ξουσιν αὐτόν, οὕτως ἐξαναστὰς αὐτὸς ἔφη πρὸς

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that the issue might be avoided altogether. The campaign would last long enough, they thought, for the people to become tractable, after their rage had languished or altogether disappeared by reason of their occupation with the war. But presently, when the citizens returned home after a speedy settlement of their dispute with Antium, the patricians were in frequent conclave, being full of fear, and deliberating how they might not surrender Marcius, and yet prevent the popular leaders from throwing the people again into tumult and disorder. Appius Claudius, indeed, who was counted among those most hostile to the claims of the people, said with all solemnity that the senate would destroy itself and utterly betray the government of the city, if it should suffer the people to wield their vote in judgement on the patricians. But the oldest senators, and those most inclined to favour the people, maintained on the contrary that it would not be rendered harsh or severe by its exercise of this power, but mild and humane; for since it did not despise the senate, but rather thought itself despised by that body, the prerogative of trying a senator would be a solace to its feelings and a mark of honour, so that as soon as it proceeded to vote it would lay aside its wrath.

XX. Marcius, therefore, seeing that the senate was in suspense between its kindly feelings towards him and its fear of the people, asked the tribunes what the accusations against him were, and on what charge he would be tried if they led him before the people. They replied that the charge against him was usurpation, and that they would prove him guilty of planning a usurpation of the government. Thereupon he rose of his own accord and said he was going

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τὸν δῆμον ἤδη βαδίζειν ἀπολογησόμενος καὶ μηδένα τρόπον κρίσεως μηδέ, ἂν ἀλφ, κολάσεως παραιτεῖσθαι. “Μόνον ὅπως,” ἔφη, “τοῦτο κατηγορήσητε καὶ μὴ ψεύσησθε τὴν βουλήν.” ὥς δ’ ὠμολόγησαν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο.

- 2 Συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου πρῶτον μὲν οὐ κατὰ λόχους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φυλὰς ἐβιάζοντο γίνεσθαι τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ γνωρίμων καὶ στρατευομένων τὸν ἄπορον καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ φροντίζοντα μηδὲν ὄχλον ἐπί-
- 3 προσθεν ταῖς ψήφοις ποιοῦντες. ἔπειτα τὴν τυραννίδος ἀφέντες αἰτίαν ἀναπόδεικτον οὔσαν, ἐκείνων πάλιν ἐμέμνηντο τῶν λόγων οὓς ὁ Μάρκιος πρότερον εἶπεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, κωλύων μὲν ἐπευνώσις τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τὴν δημαρχίαν τοῦ δήμου κελεύων. καινὸν δὲ κατηγορήσαν αὐτοῦ κατηγορήματα τὴν διανομὴν τῶν λαφύρων, ἃ λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιατῶν χώρας οὐκ ἀνήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, ἀλλὰ διένειμε τοῖς μεθ’ αὐτοῦ στρα-
- 4 τευομένοις· ὑφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα λέγεται διαταραχθῆναι τὸν Μάρκιον. οὐ γὰρ προσεδόκησεν οὐδ’ εὐπόρησε πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ἐκ τοῦ παραντίκα λόγων πιθανῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινοῦντι τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐθορύβησαν αὐτῷ πλείονες ὄντες οἱ μὴ στρατευσάμενοι. τέλος δ’ οὖν ταῖς φυλαῖς

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at once before the people to make his defence, and would deprecate no manner of trial, nor, should he be found guilty, any form of punishment; "Only," said he, "see that ye confine yourselves to the charge mentioned, and do not play false with the senate." The tribunes agreed to this, and on these terms the trial was held.

But when the people were come together, in the first place, the tribunes insisted that the votes be cast not by centuries,¹ but by tribes, thus making the indigent and officious rabble, which had no thought of honour, superior in voting power to the wealthy and well known citizens of the military class. In the second place, abandoning the charge of usurpation, which could not be proven, they dwelt again upon the speech which Marcius had previously made in the senate, when he protested against the lowering of the market-price of grain, and urged them to take the tribunate away from the people. They also added a fresh charge against him, namely, his distribution of the spoils which he had taken from the country of Antium; these, they said, he had not turned into the public treasury, but had distributed them among those who made the campaign with him. By this accusation Marcius is said to have been more disturbed than by all the rest. For he had not expected it, and was not ready at once with an answer which would satisfy the people, but began to praise those who had made the campaign, whereupon he was clamorously interrupted by those who had not made it, and they were the more numerous. In the end, therefore, the vote was taken

¹ Out of the 193 centuries, the richest class alone had 98, against 95 of all the other five classes put together.

τῆς ψήφου δοθείσης αἱ καθαιροῦσαι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο. ἦν δὲ τίμημα τῆς καταδίκης ἀλδῖος φυγή.
 5 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναγόμευσιν ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐδέποτε νικήσας μάχῃ πολεμίους τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησεν ὅσον τότε φρονῶν καὶ γεγηθὼς ἀπῆει, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν ἄχος ἔσχε καὶ κατήφεια δεινὴ, μεταμελομένην καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ πάντα ποιῆσαι καὶ παθεῖν πρότερον ἢ περιῖδεῖν ὑβρίσαντα καὶ χρησάμενον ἐξουσίᾳ τοσαύτῃ τὸν δῆμον. οὐδὲν δ' ἔδει τότε πρὸς διάγνωσιν ἐσθῆτος ἢ παρασῆμων ἐτέρων, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἦν δῆλος ὅτι δημότης ὁ χαίρων καὶ ὁ δυσφορῶν ὅτι πατρίκιος.

XXI. Πλὴν αὐτὸς ὁ Μάρκιος, ἀνέκπληκτος καὶ ἀταπείνωτος, καὶ σχήματι καὶ βαδίσματι καὶ προσώπῳ καθεστηκώς, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφαίνετο πεπονθόσιν ἀσυμπαθῆς ἑαυτῷ μόνος, οὐχ ὑπὸ λογισμοῦ καὶ πραότητος, οὐδὲ τῷ φέρειν μετρίως τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἀλλ' ἐμπαθῆς ὢν ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ βαρυφροσύνης, ὅπερ ἀγνοοῦσιν οἱ
 2 πολλοὶ λύπην οὔσαν. ὅταν γὰρ εἰς θυμὸν μεταβάλῃ, καθάπερ ἐκπυρωθεῖσα τὸ ταπεινὸν ἀποβάλλει καὶ ἀργόν· ἢ καὶ δοκεῖ δραστικὸς ὁ θυμούμενος ὥς θερμὸς ὁ πυρέττων, οἶον ἐν σφυγμῷ καὶ διατάσει καὶ ὄγκῳ γενομένης τῆς ψυχῆς. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτίκα μάλα τὴν διάθεσιν ταύτην ὁ Μάρκιος.

3 Εἰσελθὼν γὰρ οἴκαδε, καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν 224
 γυναῖκα μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ βοῆς ὀλοφυρομένας ἀσπασάμενος καὶ κελεύσας μετρίως φέρειν τὸ

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by tribes, and a majority of three condemned him.¹ The penalty assigned was perpetual banishment. After the result was announced, the people went off in greater elation and delight than they had ever shown for any victory in battle over their enemies; but the senate was in distress and dire dejection, repenting now and vexed to the soul that they had not done and suffered all things rather than allow the people to insult them in the exercise of such great powers. And there was no need now of dress or other marks of distinction in telling one class from another, but it was clear at once that he who rejoiced was a plebeian, and he who was vexed, a patrician.

XXI. Albeit Marcius himself, who was neither daunted nor humbled, but in mien, port, and countenance fully composed, seemed the only man among all the distressed patricians who was not touched by his evil plight. And this was not due to calculation, or gentleness, or to a calm endurance of his fate, but he was stirred by rage and deep resentment, and this, although the many know it not, is pain. For when pain is transmuted into anger, it is consumed, as it were, by its flames, and casts off its own humility and sloth. Wherefore the angry man makes a show of activity, as he who has a fever is hot, his spirit being, so to speak, afflicted with throbbing, distention, and inflation. And that such was his condition, Marcius showed right quickly by his conduct.

He went home, where his mother and his wife met him with wailings and loud lamentations, and after embracing them and bidding them to bear with equanimity the fate that had come upon them, he

¹ Dionysius Hal. (vii. 64) says that nine of the twenty-one tribes voted to acquit Marcius.

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συμβεβηκός, εὐθύς ἀπιὼν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν πατρικίων ὁμοῦ πάντων προπεμπόντων αὐτὸν οὔτε τι λαβῶν οὔτε τινὸς δεηθεὶς ἀπηλλάττετο, τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας πελάτας ἔχων
 4 περὶ αὐτόν. ἡμέρας δ' ὀλίγας ἔντισιν ἀγροῖς αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν διενεχθεὶς διαλογισμῶν, οἷους ὁ θυμὸς ὑπέβαλλεν, ὥστ' οὔτ' εἰς καλὸν οὔτε συμφέρον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ Ῥωμαίους μετελθεῖν, ἐγίνωσκε πόλεμόν τινα βαρὺν καὶ ὄμορον ἀναστήσαι ἐπ' αὐτούς. ὥρμησεν οὖν διαπειρᾶσθαι πρῶτον Οὐολούσκων, ἀκμάζοντας μὲν εἰδὼς ἔτι καὶ σώμασι καὶ χρήμασι, ταῖς δὲ γεγεννημέναις ἔναγχος ἦνταις οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀπολωλέναι τῆς δυνάμεως ὅσον ἐγγεγονέναι φιλονεικίας αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀργῆς οἰόμενος.

XXII. Ἦν δέ τις ἀνὴρ ἐξ Ἀντίου πόλεως διὰ τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ γένους ἐπιφάνειαν ἀξίωμα βασιλικὸν ἔχων ἐν πᾶσιν Οὐολούσκοις, ὄνομα Τύλλος Ἀμφίδιος. ὑπὸ τούτου μισούμενον ὁ Μάρκιος ἑαυτὸν ὡς οὐδένα Ῥωμαίων ἐγίνωσκε· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐν ἀπειλαῖς καὶ προκλήσεσι κατὰ τὰς μάχας γενόμενοι, καὶ κομπάσαντες διὰ τὸ ἐνάμιλλον οἷα νεανίων πολεμικῶν φιλοτιμίαι καὶ ζῆλοι φέρουσιν, ἴδιον προσεκτήσαντο τῷ κοινῷ τὸ
 2 κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχθος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μέγεθός τι φρονήματος ἔχοντα τὸν Τύλλον ὀρῶν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ Οὐολούσκων ἐπιθυμοῦντα Ῥωμαίους λαβὴν παρασχόντας ἐν μέρει κολοῦσαι, μαρτυρίαν ἀπέλιπε τῷ εἰπόντι· “Θυμῷ μάχεσθαι χαλεπὸν· δ

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straightway departed and went to the city gate. Thither all the patricians in a body escorted him, but without taking anything or asking for anything he departed, having only three or four of his clients with him. For a few days he remained by himself at some country place, torn by many conflicting counsels, such as his anger suggested to him, purposing no good or helpful thing at all, but only how he might take vengeance on the Romans. At last he determined to incite some neighbouring nation to a formidable war against them. Accordingly, he set out to make trial of the Volscians first, knowing that they were still abundantly supplied with men and money, and thinking that they had been not so much crippled in power by their recent defeats as filled with contentious wrath against the Romans.

XXII. Now there was a certain man of Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name, who, by reason of his wealth and bravery and conspicuous lineage, had the standing of a king among all the Volscians. By this man Marcius knew himself to be hated as no other Roman was; for they had often exchanged threats and challenges in the battles which they had fought, and such emulous boastings as the ambitious ardour of youthful warriors prompts had given rise to a mutual hatred of their own, in addition to that of their peoples. However, since he saw that Tullus had a certain grandeur of spirit, and that he, more than all other Volscians, was eager to retaliate upon the Romans, if they gave him any opportunity, Marcius bore witness to the truth of him who said¹: "With anger it is hard to fight; for whatsoever it wishes,

¹ Heracleitus, Fragment 105 (Bywater, *Heracleti Ephesi reliquiae*, p. 41).

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γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ, ψυχῆς ὠνεῖται.” λαβὼν γὰρ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ἐν ἣ ῥά μάλιστα μὴ δόξῃεν ὅς ἦν ἔμελλεν ὀρώμενος, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς,

Ἄνδρῶν δυσμενέων κατέδου πόλιν.

XXIII. Ἦν δ' ἐσπέρα, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῷ προσετύγχανον, ἐγνώριζε δ' οὐδεὶς. ἐβάδιζεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Τύλλου, καὶ παρεισελθὼν ἄφνω πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν ἐκάθισε σιωπῇ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἡσυχίαν ἤγεεν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν θαυμάσαντες ἀναστήσαι μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν (ἦν γὰρ τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς), ἔφρασαν δὲ τῷ Τύλλῳ περὶ δεῖπνον ὄντι τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ πράγ-
2 ματος. ὁ δ' ἐξαναστὰς ἦκε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνέκρινε τίς ὢν ἀφίκεται καὶ τίνων δεόμενος. οὕτως οὖν ὁ Μάρκιος ἀποκαλυψάμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἀνασχών, “Εἰ μήπω με γινώσκεις, ὦ Τύλλε,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ἀπιστεῖς, ἀνάγκη με κατήγορον ἐμαυτοῦ γενέσθαι. Γαῖός εἰμι Μάρ-
3 κιος, ὁ πλεῖστα σὲ καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐργασάμενος κακά, καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἐῷσαν ἀρνεῖσθαι ταῦτα περι-
φέρων προσηγορίαν τὸν Κοριολανόν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ἐκείνων ἐκτησάμην ἔπαθλον ἢ τὸ παράσημον ὄνομα τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθρας. καὶ τοῦτό μοι περίεστιν ἀναφαίρετον· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁμοῦ πάντα φθόνῳ δήμου καὶ ὕβρει, μαλακίᾳ δὲ καὶ προδοσίᾳ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἰσοτίμῳ ἀπεστέρημαι, καὶ φυγὰς ἐλήλαμαι, καὶ γέγονα τῆς ἐστίας τῆς σῆς ἰκέτης, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀδείας καὶ σωτηρίας (τί γὰρ ἔδει με

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that it buys, even at the cost of life." For, putting on such clothing and attire as would make him seem, to any one who saw him, least like the man he was, like Odysseus,

"He went into the city of his deadly foes."¹

XXIII. It was evening, and many met him, but no man knew him. He proceeded, therefore, to the house of Tullus, and slipping in unawares, took his seat at the hearth² in silence, covered his head, and remained there motionless. The people of the house were amazed, and did not venture to raise him up, for his mien and his silence gave him a certain dignity; but they told Tullus, who was at supper, what a strange thing had happened. Tullus rose from table and came to him, and asked him who he was, and why he was come. At this, then, Marcius uncovered his head, and after a slight pause, said: "If thou dost not yet recognize me, Tullus, but disbelievest thine eyes, I must be my own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, he who has wrought thee and the Volscians most harm, and the surname of Coriolanus which I bear permits no denial of this. I have won no other prize for all the toils and perils which I have undergone than the name which is a badge of my enmity to your people. This, indeed, cannot be taken away from me; but of everything else I have been stripped, through the envy and insolence of the Roman people, and the cowardly treachery of the magistrates and those of my own order. I have been driven into exile, too, and am become a suppliant at thy hearth, not for the sake of security and safety,—

¹ *Odyssey*, iv. 246.

² A sacred place of refuge for the suppliant. Cf. *Odyssey*, vii. 153.

δεῦρο ἤκειν φοβούμενον ἀποθανεῖν;) ἀλλὰ δίκας λαβεῖν χρήζων, καὶ λαμβάνων ἤδη παρὰ τῶν
 4 ἐκβαλλοντων τῷ σὲ ποιεῖν ἐμαντοῦ κύριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐστί σοι θυμὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἴθι, ταῖς ἐμαῖς συμφοραῖς, ὧ γενναῖε, χρῆσαι, καὶ κοινὸν εὐτύχημα ποιήσων Οὐολούσκων τὴν ἐμὴν ἀτυχίαν, τοσοῦτ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πολεμή-
 στοντος ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅσ' ὑποπολεμοῦσι βέλτιον οἱ γινώσκοντες τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις τῶν ἀγνο-
 ούντων. εἰ δ' ἀπείρηκας, οὐτ' ἐγὼ βούλομαι ζῆν 225
 οὔτε σοὶ καλῶς ἔχει σῶζειν πάλαι μὲν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πολέμιον, νῦν δ' ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἀχρη-
 στον.

5 Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τύλλος ἤκουσεν, ἥσθη τε θαυμαστώως καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλὼν, “Ἀνίστασο,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Μάρκιε, καὶ θάρρει. μέγα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν ἤκεις διδούς σεαυτὸν, ἔλπιζε δὲ μείζονα παρὰ Οὐολούσκων.” καὶ τότε μὲν εἰστίαι φιλοφρονούμενος τὸν Μάρκιον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιού-
 σαις ἡμέραις ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καθ' ἑαυτούς.

XXIV. Τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ἣ τε τῶν πατρικίων δυσμένεια πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν τοῦ Μαρκίου καταδίκην αἰτίαν ἐχόντων, ἐτάραττε, καὶ πολλὰ δαιμόνια μάντεις καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται προσήγγελλον ἄξια φροντίδος. ἐν δὲ λέγεται τοιοῦτό τι γενέσθαι. Τίτος ἦν Λατίνος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανής, ἀπράγμων δὲ καὶ μέτριος ἄλλως

¹ Livy simply says that Marcius was kindly received by the Volscians, and that he lodged with Tullus (ii. 35, 6). Chapters xxi.–xxiii. agree closely with Dionysius Hal. vii. 67 and viii. 1.

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for why should I come hither if I were afraid of death?—but with a desire to take vengeance on those who have driven me forth, which I take at once when I put myself in thy power. If, then, thou art eager to assail thine enemies, come, good Sir, take advantage of my calamities, and make my individual misfortune the good fortune of all the Volscians; I shall fight better for you than I have against you, in just so far as those who know the secrets of their enemies fight better than those who do not. But if thou hast given up hope, neither do I wish to live, nor is it for thine advantage to spare one who has long been an enemy and a foe, and now is unprofitable and useless.”

When Tullus heard this, he was wonderfully pleased, and giving him his right hand, said: “Rise up, Marcius, and be of good courage. In giving thyself to us, thou bringest us a great good, and thou mayest expect a greater one still from the Volscians.” Then he entertained Marcius at table with every mark of kindness, and during the ensuing days they took counsel together concerning the war.¹

XXIV. But at Rome, owing to the hatred of the people by the patricians, who were especially embittered by the condemnation of Marcius, there were great commotions, and many signs from heaven were reported by seers, priests, and private persons, which could not be ignored. One of these is said to have been as follows. There was one Titus Latinus,² a man of no great prominence, but of quiet and modest life in general, and free from superstitious fears, as

¹ The story is found in Livy, ii. 36, and in Valerius Maximus, i. 7, 4.

- καὶ καθαρὸς δεισιδαιμονίας, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀλα-
 2 ζουείας. οὗτος ὄναρ εἶδεν ὡς τοῦ Διὸς εἰς ὄψιν
 ἦκοντος αὐτῷ καὶ κελεύοντος εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὴν
 σύγκλητον ὅτι κακὸν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἔστειλαν
 αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς πομπῆς καὶ ἀτερπέστατον. ἰδὼν
 δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ἔλεγε μὴ πάνυ φροντίσαι τὸ πρῶτον·
 ὡς δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἰδὼν καὶ τρίτον ἡμέλησε,
 παιδὸς τε χρηστοῦ θάνατον ἐπιδεῖν καὶ τοῦ
 σώματος ἄφνω παρεθέντος ἀκρατῆς γενέσθαι.
 3 ταῦτα δ' ἐν κλινιδίῳ φοράδην κομισθεὶς εἰς τὴν
 σύγκλητον ἀπήγγειλεν. ἀπαγγείλας δ', ὥς φασιν,
 εὐθύς ἦσθετο ῥωννύμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ
 ἀναστὰς ἀπῆει δι' αὐτοῦ βαδίζων. θαυμάσαντες
 οὖν οἱ βουλευταὶ πολλὴν ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ πράγ-
 ματος ζήτησιν.

- Ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον· οἰκέτην τις αὐτοῦ παραδοὺς
 οἰκέταις ἐτέροις ἐκέλευσεν ἐξάγειν δι' ἀγορᾶς
 4 μαστιγοῦντας, εἴτ' ἀποκτείνειν. ταῦτα πρᾶτ-
 τουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον αἰκιζομένοις,
 στροφὰς τε παντοδαπὰς ὑπ' ὀδύνης στρεφόμενον
 καὶ κινήσεις ἄλλας ἀτερπεῖς τῷ περιπαθεῖν
 κινούμενον, ἡ πομπὴ κατὰ τύχην ἡκολουθήκει.
 καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδυσχέraitον τῶν παρόντων, οὐτ'
 ὄψιν ἱλαρὰν ὀρῶντες οὔτε κινήσεις πρεπούσας,
 οὔδεις δ' ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ λοιδορίαι μόνον
 ἐγένοντο καὶ κατάραι τῷ πικρῶς οὕτως κολάζοντι.
 καὶ γὰρ ἐχρῶντο πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας
 ἐπιεικείᾳ τότε, διὰ αὐτουργίαν καὶ τὸ κοινωνεῖν
 διαίτης ἡμερώτερον ἔχοντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ
 5 συνηθέστερον. ἦν δὲ μεγάλη κόλασις οἰκέτου
 πλημμελήσαντος, εἰ ξύλον ἀμάξης, ᾧ τὸν ῥυμὸν

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he was also, and yet more, from vain pretensions. This man dreamed that Jupiter appeared to him, and bade him tell the senate that the dancer, whom they had appointed to head his procession, was a bad one, and gave him the greatest displeasure. After having this vision, Titus said, he gave it no thought at all at first, but after he had seen it a second and a third time, and still neglected it, he had suffered the loss of an excellent son by death, and had himself become suddenly palsied. This story he told after having been brought into the senate on a litter, and no sooner had he told it, they say, than he at once felt the strength return to his body, and rose up, and went away, walking without aid. In amazement, then, the senators made a careful investigation of the matter.

Now, what had happened was this. A certain man had handed over one of his slaves to other slaves, with orders to scourge him through the forum, and then put him to death. While they were executing this commission and tormenting the poor wretch, whose pain and suffering made him writhe and twist himself horribly, the sacred procession in honour of Jupiter chanced to come up behind. Many of those who took part in it were, indeed, scandalized at the joyless sight and the unseemly contortions of the victim, but no one made any protest; they merely heaped abuse and curses on the head of the master who was inflicting such a cruel punishment. For in those days the Romans treated their slaves with great kindness, because they worked and even ate with them themselves, and were therefore more familiar and gentle with them. And it was a severe punishment for a slave who had committed a fault, if he

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ὑπερείδουσιν, ἀράμενος διεξέλθοι παρὰ τὴν γειν-
νίασιν. ὁ γὰρ τοῦτο παθὼν καὶ ὀφθεῖς παρὰ τῶν
συνοίκων καὶ γειτόνων οὐκέτι πίστιν εἶχεν.
ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ φούρκιφερ· ὃ γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπο-
στάτην καὶ στήριγμα, τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι φούρκαν
ὀνομάζουσιν.

XXV. Ὡς οὖν ὁ Λατῖνος ἀπήγγειλε τὴν ὄψιν
αὐτοῖς καὶ διηπόρουν ὅστις ἦν ὁ τῆς πομπῆς τότε
προηγούμενος ἀτερπῆς καὶ κακὸς ὀρχηστής,
ἀνεμνήσθησαν ἔνιοι διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς τιμω-
ρίας ἐκείνου τοῦ θεράποντος, ὃν μαστιγοῦντες
ἐξήγαγον δι' ἀγορᾶς, εἰτ' ἐθανάτωσαν. συμφωνη-
σάντων οὖν τῶν ἱερέων ὃ τε δεσπότης δίκην ἔδωκε,
καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν πομπὴν καὶ τὰς θεὰς αὐθις ἐξ
ἀρχῆς ἐπετέλουν.

- 2 Ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Νομάς τά τ' ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν
σοφώτατος ἐξηγητῆς γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῦτο παγκά-
λως γε νομοθετῆσαι πρὸς εὐλάβειαν αὐτοῖς. ὅταν
γὰρ ἄρχοντες ἢ ἱερεῖς πράττωσί τι τῶν θείων, ὁ
κῆρυξ πρόεισι μεγάλη φωνῇ βοῶν, “Ὁκ ἄγε.”
σημαίνει δ' ἢ φωνή, τοῦτο πρᾶττε, προσέχειν
κελεύουσα τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐμβαλεῖν
μεταξὺ μηδὲ χρεῖαν ἀσχολίας, ὥς τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν
ἀνθρωπίνων ἀναγκαίῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ καὶ διὰ βίας
3 περαίνόμενα. θυσίας δὲ καὶ πομπὰς καὶ θεὰς

¹ According to Livy (ii. 36 and 37), it was at the repetition
of the great games, which was made necessary by the

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was obliged to take the piece of wood with which they prop up the pole of a waggon, and carry it around through the neighbourhood. For he who had been seen undergoing this punishment no longer had any credit in his own or neighbouring households. And he was called "furcifer"; for what the Greeks call a *prop*, or *support*, is called "furca" by the Romans.

XXV. When, therefore, Latinus had reported his vision to the senators, and they were at a loss to know who the unpleasant and bad dancer was who had headed the procession referred to, some of them were led, owing to the extraordinary nature of his punishment, to think of the slave who had been scourged through the forum and then put to death. Accordingly, with the concurrence of the priests, the master of the slave was punished, and the procession and spectacles in honour of the god were exhibited anew.¹

Now it would seem that Numa, who in other respects also was a very wise director of sacred rites, had very properly sought to secure the people's reverent attention by means of the following ordinance. When, namely, magistrates or priests perform any religious function, a herald goes before, crying with a loud voice, "Hoc age." The meaning of the cry is, *Mind this!* and it warns the people to give heed to the sacred rites, and suffer no task or demand of business to intervene,² implying that men perform most of their duties under some sort of compulsion and by constraint. And it is customary for

profanation made known by the dream of Latinus, that the Volscians were sent out of the city, as described by Plutarch in chapter xxvi. 1. Cf. *Numa*, xiv. 2.

οὐ μόνον ἐξ αἰτίας τηλικαύτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ μικρὰς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος ἐστὶν ἀναλαμβάνειν. Ἰππου τε γὰρ ἐνὸς τῶν ἀγόντων τὰς καλουμένας θήσας ἀτονήσαντος, καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ἡνιόχου τῇ 226 ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὰς ἡνίας συλλαβόντος, αὐθις ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν πομπὴν ἐπιτελεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κάτω χρόνοις μίαν θυσίαν τριακοντάκις ἐποίησαν, αἰεὶ τινος ἐλλείμματος ἢ προσκρούσματος γίνεσθαι δοκούντος. τοιαύτη μὲν εὐλάβεια πρὸς τὸ θεῖον Ῥωμαίων.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος καὶ Τύλλος ἐν Ἀντίφ τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις κρύφα διελέγοντο, καὶ παρεκάλουν, ἕως στασιάζουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. τῶν δὲ δυσωπουμένων, ὅτι σπονδαὶ διέτεις ἦσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοχαὶ γεγενημέναι, πρόφασιν αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέσχον, ἕκ τινος ὑποψίας ἢ διαβολῆς ἐν θέαις καὶ ἀγῶσι κηρύξαντες ἀπιέναι Οὐολούσκους πρὸ 2 ἡλίου δύνοντος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἀπάτη τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ δόλῳ γενέσθαι τοῦτο, πέμψαντος εἰς Ῥώμην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας οὐκ ἀληθῆ κατήγορον τῶν Οὐολούσκων, ὥς ἐν ταῖς θέαις διανοομένων ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπιπρᾶν. πάντας μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦτο δυσμενεστέρους ἐποίησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις· ὁ δὲ Τύλλος ἐπὶ μείζον αἶρων τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ παροξύνων τέλος ἔπεισε πέμψαντας εἰς Ῥώμην τὴν τε χώραν ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας ἀφῆρηνται πολέμῳ τῶν Οὐολού-

¹ See the following *Comparison*, ii. 2.

² According to Livy (ii. 37, 1-7), it was Tullus himself

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the Romans to renew sacrifices and processions and spectacles, not only for such a reason as the above, but also for trivial reasons. For instance, if one of the horses drawing the sacred chariots called *Tensae* gives out; or again, if the charioteer takes hold of the reins with his left hand, they decree that the procession be renewed. And in later ages, a single sacrifice has been performed thirty times, because again and again some failure or offence was thought to occur. Such is the reverent care of the Romans in religious matters.

XXVI. But Marcius and Tullus were secretly conferring at Antium with the chief men, and were urging them to begin the war while the Romans were torn by internal dissensions. And when shame restrained them from this course, because they had agreed to a truce and cessation of hostilities for two years, the Romans themselves furnished them with a pretext, by making proclamation at the spectacles and games, because of some suspicion or slanderous report, that the visiting Volscians must leave the city before sunset. Some say¹ that this was due to a deceitful stratagem of Marcius, who sent a man to the consuls in Rome, bearing the false charge that the Volscians purposed to fall upon the Romans at the spectacles, and set the city on fire.² This proclamation made all the Volscians more embittered against the Romans; and Tullus, magnifying the incident, and goading them on, at last persuaded them to send ambassadors to Rome³ and demand back the territory and the cities which had been

who came to the consuls, as had been planned with Marcius. Plutarch agrees rather with Dionysius Hal. viii. 3.

¹ Livy speaks only of a revolt (ii. 38, *fin.*). Plutarch agrees with Dionysius Hal. viii. 4-10.

3 σκων. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν πρέσβων ἀκούσαντες ἡγανάκτησαν, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο προτέρους μὲν ἀναλήψεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς Οὐολούσκους, ὑστέ-
ρους δὲ καταθήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους. ἐκ τούτου συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν πάνδημον ὁ Τύλλος, ἐπεὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, συνεβούλευε τὸν Μάρ-
κιον καλέσαι, μηδὲν αὐτῷ μνησικακοῦντας, ἀλλὰ πιστεῦσαντας ὅτι συμμαχῶν ὠφελήσει ὅσα πολε-
μῶν οὐκ ἔβλαψεν.

XXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κληθεὶς ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ δια-
λεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οὐχ ἤττον ἀπὸ τῶν
λόγων ἢ τῶν ὅπλων ἀνὴρ δεινὸς ἐφάνη καὶ
πολεμικὸς καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ τολμᾶν περιττός,
ἀποδείκνυται μετὰ Τύλλου στρατηγὸς αὐτο-
2 κράτωρ τοῦ πολέμου. δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν χρόνον
ἐν ᾧ παρασκευάσασθαι τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ἔδει,
μὴ πολὺς γενόμενος τὸν καιρὸν ἀφέλῃται τῆς
πράξεως, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν δυνατοὺς
καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐκέλευε συνάγειν καὶ πορίζειν,
αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους ἄνευ καταλόγου
πέισας ἐκόντας αὐτῷ συνεξελθεῖν, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς
τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄφνω καὶ μηδενὸς προσδοκῶν-
3 τος. ὅθεν ἠνυπόρησε λείας τοσαύτης ὅσην ἄγοντας
καὶ φέροντας καὶ χρωμένους ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ἀπειπεῖν. ἦν δὲ μικρότατον
ἔργον αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἐκείνης ἢ εὐπορία καὶ
τὸ πολλὰ βλάψαι καὶ κακῶσαι τὴν χώραν οὐ
δ' ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττε, μέγα, τὸ τοὺς πατρικίους
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taken from the Volscians in war. But the Romans, after hearing the ambassadors, were full of indignation, and replied that the Volscians might be first to take up arms, but the Romans would be last to lay them down. Upon receiving this answer, Tullus called a general assembly of his people, and after they had voted for the war, advised them to call in Marcius, cherishing no resentment against him, but firmly convinced that he would be more helpful as an ally than he had been injurious as a foe.

XXVII. Marcius was therefore called in, and held a conference with the assembly; they saw from his speech that he was as eloquent as his exploits in arms had taught them that he was warlike, and were convinced of his surpassing intelligence and daring; so they appointed him general with Tullus, and gave him full powers to conduct the war. Fearing, then, that the time needed to equip and marshal the Volscians would be so long as to rob him of his best opportunity for action, he left orders with the magistrates and chief men of the city to assemble and provide the remaining forces and supplies that were requisite, while he himself, after persuading the most ardent spirits to march forth as volunteers with him and not stop for formal enrolment, burst into the Roman territory of a sudden, when no one expected it. Consequently he secured such abundance of booty that the Volscians had more than they could possibly do to use it in their camp or carry it off home. But the abundant supplies secured, and the great injury and damage done to the enemy's country, were, in his eyes, the most insignificant result of that expedition; its chief result, and his main object in making it, was to furnish the people of Rome with

προσδιαβαλὲν τῷ δήμῳ. τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντα λυ-
μαινόμενος καὶ διαφθείρων, τοὺς ἐκείνων ἀγροὺς
ἰσχυρῶς ἐφύλαττε, καὶ οὐκ εἶα κακουργεῖν οὐδὲ
4 λαμβάνειν ἐξ ἐκείνων οὐδέν. ὅθεν ἐν διαβολαῖς
ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο καὶ ταραχαῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
οἱ μὲν πατρίκιοι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐγκαλοῦντες ὡς
ἄνδρα δυνατὸν ἀδίκως ἐκβαλοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος
ἐκείνους ἡτῖατο διὰ μνησικακίαν ἐπάγειν τὸν
Μάρκιον, εἴτα πολεμουμένων ἐτέρων θεατὰς
καθῆσθαι, φύλακα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῶν χρη-
μάτων ἔξω τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν ἔχοντας. ταῦτα
διαπραξάμενος ὁ Μάρκιος, καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὸ
θαρρεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς
Οὐολούσκους ὠφελήσας, ἀπήγαγεν ἀσφαλῶς.

XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα ταχὺ καὶ προθύμως
ἡ τῶν Οὐολούσκων δύναμις ἡθροίσθη πολλή
φανείσα, μέρος μὲν ἔγνωσαν ὑπολιπεῖν ταῖς
πόλεσιν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας, μέρος δὲ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· ἐλέσθαι δὲ τῶν ἡγεμονιῶν ὁ
Μάρκιος ἔδωκε τῷ Τύλλῳ τὴν ἐτέραν. ὁ δὲ
Τύλλος, εἰπὼν ὡς οὐδὲν ἀρετῇ λειπόμενον αὐτοῦ
τὸν Μάρκιον ὁρᾷ, τύχῃ δὲ βελτίονι κεχρημένον ἐν
ταῖς μάχαις ἀπάσαις, ἐκέλευσεν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν 227
ἐξιόντων, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς τε πόλεις ὑπομένων
φυλάξειν καὶ τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπουργήσειν
2 τὰ πρόσφορα. μᾶλλον οὖν ἐπιρρωσθεὶς ὁ Μάρ-
κιος ἐχώρει πρῶτον ἐπὶ Κίρκαιον, πόλιν ἀποικίδα

¹ There is nothing of this preliminary foray in Livy. It is on the main expedition (chap. xxviii.) that the patrician lands

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fresh charges against the patricians. For while he maltreated and destroyed everything else, he kept a vigorous watch over the lands of the patricians, and would not suffer anyone to hurt them or take anything from them. This led to still further accusations and broils between the parties in the city; the patricians accused the people of unjustly driving out an influential man, and the people charged the patricians with bringing Marcius up against them in a spirit of revenge, and then enjoying the spectacle of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself protected their own wealth and property outside the city. After Marcius had accomplished his purposes, and greatly helped the Volscians towards courage and scorn of their enemies, he led his forces back in safety.¹

XXVIII. The entire force of the Volscians was assembled with speed and alacrity, and was then seen to be so large that they determined to leave a part of it behind for the security of their cities, and with the other part to march against the Romans. Moreover, Marcius left it to the choice of Tullus which of the two divisions he would command. Then Tullus, remarking that Marcius was clearly in no wise inferior to himself in valour, and had enjoyed a better fortune in all his battles, bade him lead the division that was to take the field, and he himself would remain behind to guard the cities and provide what was requisite for the army abroad.² With a stronger force than before, then, Marcius set out first against Circeii, a city which was a colony of Rome;

are spared (ii. 39). According to Dionysius (viii. 12), Tullus led one division into the territory of the Latins, Marcius the other into that of Rome, and both brought back enormous booty. ² Cf. Dionysius, viii. 13.

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Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ταύτην ἐνδοῦσαν ἐκουσίως οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐπόρθει τὴν Λατίνων χώραν, ἐνταῦθα προσμαχεῖσθαι προσδεχόμενος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπὲρ τῶν Λατίνων συμμάχων ὄντων καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλου-
 3 μένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπρόθυμον ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ὀλίγος ἔτι περιήν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ κινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Λατίνους ἀπέπεμψαν, οὕτως ὁ Μάρκιος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις ἦγε, καὶ Τολερίνους καὶ Λαουικανούς καὶ Πεδανούς, ἔτι δὲ Βωλανούς ἀντιστάντας αὐτῷ κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν, τὰ τε σώματα λείαν ἐποίησατο καὶ τὰ χρήματα δι-
 ἥρπασε. τῶν δὲ προστιθεμένων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιεῖτο πολλήν, ὅπως μὴδ' ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ βλάπτοιτο, πορρωτάτω στρατοπεδεύων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπεχόμενος.

XXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Βόλλας πόλιν οὐ πλείους σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἀπέχουσαν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλὼν χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐκράτησε καὶ πάντας ὀλίγου δεῖν τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ διέφθειρε, τῶν δὲ Οὐολούσκων οὐδ' οἱ μένειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταχθέντες ἐκαρτέρουν, ἀλλ' ἐφέροντο σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον, ἕνα στρατηγὸν καὶ μόνον ἄρχοντα ἑαυτῶν γινώσκειν ἐκείνον εἶναι λέγοντες, ἣν ὄνομα κατὰ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μέγα καὶ δόξα θαυμαστή, τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνὸς σώματος μεταθέσει τοσοῦτον ἀπεργασαμένης τὸ παράλογον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι.

2 Τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα κόσμον εἶχε, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἀπεγνωκότων, ἐν δὲ συστάσεσι καὶ λόγοις στασιαστικοῖς ὁσημέραι πρὸς ἀλλήλους

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this surrendered to him of its own accord, and he did it no harm. Next, he laid waste the country of the Latins, where he expected that the Romans would engage him in defence of the Latins, who were their allies and by frequent messengers were calling upon them for help. But the commons were indifferent to the appeal, the consuls were unwilling to risk a campaign during the short time left of their term of office, and therefore the Latin envoys were dismissed. Under these circumstances Marcius led his forces against their cities, and taking by assault those which offered resistance to him, namely, Tolerium, Lavicum, Pedum, and later Bola, he made slaves of the inhabitants and plundered their property. But for those who came over to him of their own accord he showed much concern, and that they might suffer no harm, even against his wishes, he encamped as far as he could from them, and held aloof from their territory.

XXIX. But after he had taken Bola, a city not more than twelve miles away from Rome, where he got much treasure and put almost all the adults to the sword; and after the Volscians even who had been ordered to remain in their cities grew impatient, and came trooping in arms to Marcius, declaring that he was the sole and only general whom they would recognize as their leader, then his name was great throughout all Italy, and men thought with amazement how the valour of a single man, upon his changing sides, had effected such a marvellous turn in affairs.

At Rome, however, all was disorder; its citizens refused to fight, and spent their whole time in cabals and factious disputes with one another, until tidings

ὄντων, ἄχρι οὗ Λαουτνιον ἀπηγγέλθη περιτειχι-
 ζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅπου καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ
 Ῥωμαίοις πατρῶων ἀπέκειτο, καὶ τοῦ γένους
 ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ἀρχαί, διὰ τὸ πρῶτην πόλιν ἐκείνην
 3 κτίσαι τὸν Αἰνείαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θαυμαστὴ μὲν
 ἔσχε καὶ ἀθρόα μεταβολὴ γνώμης τὸν δῆμον,
 ἄτοπος δὲ κομιδῇ καὶ παράλογος τοὺς πατρικίους.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ὥρμησε λύειν τὴν τοῦ Μαρκίου
 καταδίκην καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἡ δὲ
 βουλὴ συναχθεῖσα καὶ σκοποῦσα περὶ τοῦ
 βουλευματος ἀπέγνω καὶ διεκώλυσεν, εἴτε πάν-
 τως ἐνίστασθαι φιλονεικοῦσα πᾶσιν οἷς ὁ δῆμος
 4 ἐσπούδαζεν, εἴτ' ἄλλως χάριτι τοῦ δήμου τὸν
 ἄνδρα μὴ βουλομένη κατελθεῖν, εἴτε κἀκείνον
 αὐτὸν ἤδη πεποιημένη δι' ὀργῆς, ὅτι πάντας ἐποίει
 κακῶς οὐχ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνωμονηθεῖς, καὶ τῆς
 πατρίδος αὐτὸν ἔδειξεν ἐχθρόν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ κυριώτατον
 καὶ κράτιστον μέρος ἐγίνωσκε συμπαθοῦν αὐτῷ
 καὶ συναδικούμενον. ἐξενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης
 εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἄκυρος ἦν τοῦ
 ψήφου καὶ νόμῳ τι ποιεῖν ἄνευ προβουλευματος.
 XXX. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀκούσας ἔτι μᾶλλον
 ἐξετραχύνθη, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ
 τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐχώρει, καὶ περὶ τὰς λεγο-
 μένας Κλοιλίας τάφρους κατεστρατοπέδευσε
 τεσσαράκοντα τῆς πόλεως σταδίου ἀφεστώς.
 ὀφθεῖς δὲ φοβερὸς καὶ πολὺν θόρυβον παρασχών,
 ὅμως ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὴν στάσιν ἔπαυσεν· οὐδεὶς
 γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐτόλμησεν ἀντειπεῖν οὔτ'
 ἄρχων οὔτε βουλευτὴς περὶ τοῦ τὸν Μάρκιον
 2 κατάγειν, ἀλλ' ὀρώντες ἐν τῇ πόλει διαδρομας

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came that the enemy had laid close siege to Lavinium, where the sacred symbols of the ancestral gods of the Romans were stored up, and from which their nation took its origin, since that was the first city which Aeneas founded. This produced an astonishing and universal change of opinion in the commons, as well as one which was altogether strange and unexpected in the patricians. For the commons were eager to repeal the sentence against Marcius and invite him back to the city; whereas the senate, on assembling and considering the proposition, rejected and vetoed it; either because they were angrily bent on opposing all the people's desires; or else because they were unwilling that Marcius should owe his restoration to the kindness of the people; or because they were now angry at Marcius himself, seeing that he was injuring all alike, although he had not been ill-treated by all, and showed himself an enemy of his whole country, although he knew that the most influential and powerful men in it sympathised with him and shared in his wrongs. When this decision of the senate was made public, the people was powerless; it could not by its vote enact a law, without a previous decree of the senate.

XXX. But Marcius, when he heard of it, was yet more exasperated, and raising the siege of Lavinium, marched against Rome in wrath, and encamped at the so-called Fossae Cluiliae, only five miles distant from the city. Although the sight of him produced terror and great confusion there, still, it put a stop for the present to their dissensions; for no one longer, whether consul or senator, dared to oppose the people in the matter of restoring Marcius. On the contrary, when they saw the women running frantic in the

γυναικῶν καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκεσίας καὶ δάκρυα
 πρεσβυτῶν καὶ δεήσεις, πάντα δ' ἐνδεᾶ τόλμης
 καὶ σωτηρίων λογισμῶν, συνέγνωσαν ὀρθῶς τὸν
 δῆμον ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τοῦ Μαρκίου τραπέ-
 σθαι, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνειν, ὅτε
 παύσασθαι καλῶς εἶχεν ὀργῆς καὶ μνησικακίας, 228
 ἀρχομένην. ἔδοξεν οὖν πᾶσι πρέσβεις ἀπο-
 στείλαι πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον ἐκείνῳ τε κάθοδον
 διδόντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς
 3 λῦσαι δεομένους. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἀπὸ βουλῆς
 ἦσαν μὲν ἐπιτήδειοι τῷ Μαρκίῳ, προσεδέχοντο
 δὲ πολλὴν περί γε τὰς πρώτας ἀπαντήσεις
 φιλοφροσύνην παρ' ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου καὶ συνήθους.
 ἐγίνετο δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ στρατο-
 πέδου τῶν πολεμίων ἀχθέντες ἐνετύγχανον αὐτῷ
 μετ' ὄγκου καθεζομένῳ καὶ βαρύτητος οὐκ ἀνεκ-
 4 τῆς. ἔχων δὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Οὐολούσκων
 περὶ αὐτόν, ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὧν δεόμενοι τυγχά-
 νουσιν. εἰπόντων δὲ λόγους ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλαν-
 θρώπους ἐν ᾗθει τῷ πρέποντι καὶ παυσαμένων,
 ἀπεκρίνατο τὰ μὲν πικρῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς
 ὀργὴν ὧν ἔπαθε, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ὡς
 στρατηγός, ἀποδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν,
 ὅσῃν ἀπετέμοντο πολέμῳ, κελεύων, καὶ ψηφί-
 σασθαι Οὐολούσκοις ἰσοπολιτείαν ἥνπερ Λατί-
 5 νοις· ἄλλην γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι βέβαιον ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 ἴσοις καὶ δικαίοις ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου.
 χρόνον δὲ βουλῆς ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας τριά-

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city, and the aged men resorting to the sacred shrines with suppliant tears and prayers, and everywhere an utter lack of courage and saving counsels, then all agreed that the people had done well to seek a reconciliation with Marcius, but that the senate had made a total mistake in beginning then to indulge its wrath and revengeful spirit, when it had been well to lay such feelings aside. It was, therefore, unanimously decided to send ambassadors to Marcius, offering him the privilege of returning to his country, and begging him to stop his war upon them. Moreover, the messengers from the senate were kinsmen and friends of Marcius, and expected to be treated with great friendliness in their first interview with a man who was a relative and associate of theirs. But matters turned out quite otherwise; for after being led through the camp of the enemy, they found him seated in great state, and looking insufferably stern. Surrounded by the chief men of the Volscians, he bade the Romans declare their wishes. They did so, in reasonable and considerate language, and with a manner suitable to their position, and when they had ceased, he made an answer which, so far as it concerned himself, was full of bitterness and anger at their treatment of him, and in behalf of the Volscians, as their general, he ordered the restitution of the cities and territory which had been torn from them in war, and the passage of a decree granting the Volscians, as allies, equal civic rights, as had been done for the Latins. For no respite from the war would be secure and lasting, he said, except it be based on just and equal rights. Moreover, he gave them thirty days for deliberation, and when the ambassadors were

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κοντα· καὶ τῶν πρέσβων ἀπελθόντων εὐθὺς ἀνέξεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

- XXXI. Τοῦτο δὴ πρῶτον αἰτίαμα τῶν Οὐολούσκων οἱ πάλαι βαρυνόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ φθονοῦντες ἐλάβανον· ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ Τύλλος, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ἐν δ' ἀνθρωπίνῳ πάθει γεγονώς. ἤχθετο γὰρ ἡμαυρωμένος παντάπασι τῇ δόξῃ καὶ παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐολούσκων, πάντα μόνον ἡγουμένων αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν Μάρκιον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀξιούντων, ὅσον ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς μεταδώσει δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἀγαπᾶν ἔχοντας. ὅθεν αἱ πρῶται κατηγορίαι κρύφα διεσπείροντο, καὶ συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡγανάκτουν, καὶ προδοσίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν ἀνάξενον, οὐ τειχῶν οὐδ' ὅπλων, ἀλλὰ καιρῶν, οἷς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα σώζεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἀπόλλυσθαι πέφυκεν, ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τῷ πολέμῳ δεδομένων, οὐ μείζονας οὐδὲν ἐν ἐλάττονι χρόνῳ λαμβάνειν μεταβολάς.
- 3 Καίτοι τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὁ Μάρκιος οὐκ ἀργὸν διήγειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν πολεμίων ἔφθειρεν ἐπιῶν καὶ περιέκοπτε καὶ πόλεις ἐπὶ μεγάλας καὶ πολυανθρώπους ἔλαβεν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι βοηθεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, ἀλλ' ὅκνου πλήρεις ἦσαν αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ τοῖς ἐκνεναρκεκόσι κομιδῇ καὶ παραλελυμένοις σώμασιν
- 4 ὁμοίως διέκειντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ

¹ There is nothing of this withdrawal of forces in Livy (ii. 39).

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gone, he immediately withdrew his forces from the country.¹

XXXI. This was the first ground of complaint against him which was laid hold of by those of the Volscians who had long been jealous of him, and uneasy at the influence which he had acquired. Among these was Tullus also, not because he had been personally wronged at all by Marcius, but because he was only too human. For he was vexed to find his reputation wholly obscured and himself neglected by the Volscians, who thought that Marcius alone was everything to them, and that their other leaders should be content with whatever share of influence and authority he might bestow upon them. This was the reason why the first seeds of denunciation were sown in secret, and now, banding together, the malcontents shared their resentment with one another, and called the withdrawal of Marcius a betrayal, not so much of cities and armies, as of golden opportunities, which prove the salvation or the loss of these as well as of everything else; for he had granted a respite of thirty days from war, although in war the greatest changes might occur in much less time than this.

And yet Marcius did not spend this time in idleness, but fell upon the enemy's allies, harassed and ravaged their territories, and captured seven of their large and populous cities.² And the Romans did not venture to come to their aid, but their spirits were full of hesitation, and their attitude toward the war was that of men who are completely benumbed and paralyzed. And when the time had passed, and

² Cf. Dionysius, viii. 36. Chapters xxviii.-xxx. in Plutarch agree closely with Dionysius viii. 14-35.

χρόνος διήλθε καὶ παρὴν αὐθις ὁ Μάρκιος μετὰ
 τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπάσης, ἐκπέμπουσι πρεσβείαν
 πάλιν τοῦ Μαρκίου δεησομένην ὑφέσθαι τῆς
 ὀργῆς καὶ τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαγα-
 γόντα πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ὃ τι ἂν ἀμφοτέροις
 οἴηται βέλτιον εἶναι· φόβῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνδώσειν
 Ῥωμαίους, εἰ δὲ τινος τῶν φιλανθρώπων οἴηται
 δεῖν τυχεῖν τοὺς Οὐολούσκους, ἅπαν αὐτοῖς
 5 γενήσεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα καταθεμένοις. πρὸς ταῦθ'
 ὁ Μάρκιος ἔφη μηδὲν ὡς Οὐολούσκων ἀποκρίνεσθαι
 στρατηγός, ὥς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι πολίτης παραινεῖν
 καὶ παρακαλεῖν μετριώτερα φρονήσαντας ἐπὶ
 τοῖς δικαίοις ἤκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ἡμέραις τρισίν,
 ἃ προκαλεῖται ψηφισαμένους· εἰ δ' ἕτερα δόξειε,
 γιγνώσκειν οὐκ οὔσαν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν αὐθις μετὰ
 λόγων κενῶν βαδίζουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XXXII. Ἐπανελθόντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβειων ἀκού-
 σασα ἡ βουλή, καθάπερ ἐν χειμῶνι πολλῷ καὶ
 κλύδωνι τῆς πόλεως, ἄρασα τὴν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς ἀφήκεν.
 ὅσοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἱερεῖς θεῶν ἢ μυστηρίων ὀργιασταὶ
 ἢ φύλακες ἢ τὴν ἀπ' οἰωνῶν πάτριον οὔσαν ἐκ 229
 παλαιῶν μαντικὴν ἔχοντες, τούτους πάντας ἀπι-
 εῖναι πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον ἐψηφίσαντο, κεκοσμημένους
 ὡς ἦν ἐκάστῳ νόμος ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις· λέγειν δὲ
 ταῦτά, καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλάξας τὸν
 πόλεμον οὕτω διαλέγεται περὶ τῶν Οὐολούσκων
 2 τοῖς πολίταις. ἐδέξατο μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
 τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἔδωκεν οὐδ' ἔπραξεν
 οὐδ' εἶπε μαλακώτερον, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον

1 Coriolanus
caius marcius
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Marcius was at hand again with his entire force, they sent out another embassy to entreat him to moderate his wrath, withdraw the Volscian army from the country, and then make such proposals and settlements as he thought best for both nations; for the Romans would make no concessions through fear, but if he thought that the Volscians ought to obtain certain favours, all such would be granted them if they laid down their arms. Marcius replied that, as general of the Volscians, he would make no answer to this, but as one who was still a citizen of Rome, he advised and exhorted them to adopt more moderate views of what justice required, and come to him in three days with a ratification of his previous demands; but if they should decide otherwise, they must know well that it was not safe for them to come walking into his camp again with empty phrases.

XXXII. When the embassy had returned and the senate had heard its report, it was felt that the city was tossing on the billows of a great tempest, and therefore the last and sacred anchor was let down. A decree was passed that all the priests of the gods, and the celebrants or custodians of the mysteries, and those who practised the ancient and ancestral art of divination from the flight of birds,—that all these should go to Marcius, arrayed as was the custom of each in the performance of their sacred rites, and should urge him in the same manner as before to put a stop to the war, and then to confer with his fellow-citizens regarding the Volscians. He did, indeed, admit this embassy into his camp, but made no other concession, nor did he act or speak more mildly, but told them to make a settlement on his former

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ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις ἢ δέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπανελθόντων οὖν τῶν ἱερέων ἔδοξεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ τεῖχη φυλάττειν καὶ προσβάλλοντας ἀποκρούεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, 3 ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης παραλόγοις τιθεμένοις τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἐπεὶ δι' αὐτῶν γε σωτήριον οὐδὲν ἠπίσταντο πράττοντες, ἀλλὰ ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία καὶ φήμη πονηρὰ τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχεν, ἄχρι οὗ συνέβη τι πρᾶγμα τῷ πολλὰ-
κίς ὑφ' Ὀμήρου λεγομένῳ,¹ μὴ πάνυ δὲ πείθονται² 4 τοὺς πολλούς, ὅμοιον. λέγοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναφωνούντος ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις πράξεσι καὶ παραλόγοις·

Τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις
Ἀθήνη·

καὶ τὸ

Ἀλλά τις ἀθανάτων τρέψεν φρένας, ὅς γ' ἐνὶ
θυμῷ
δήμου θῆκε φάτιν·

καὶ τὸ

Ἦ τι οἰσάμενος ἦ καὶ θεὸς ὥς ἐκέλευε·

καταφρονοῦσιν ὡς ἀδυνάτοις πράγμασι καὶ μυθευ-
μασιν ἀπίστοις τὸν ἐκάστου λογισμὸν τῆς προ-
5 αἰρέσεως ἄπιστον³ καθιστάντος. οὐ ποιεῖ δὲ
τοῦτο Ὀμηρος, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν εἰκότα καὶ συνήθη

¹ τῷ . . . λεγομένῳ Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske (Amyot): τῶν . . . λεγομένων.

² πείθονται Bekker, after Reiske: πείθων.

³ ἄπιστον Bekker has ἀκρατῇ (powerless to determine).

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terms, or else accept the war.¹ Accordingly, when the priests had returned, it was decided to remain quietly in the city, guarding its walls, and repulsing the enemy, should he make an attack. They put their hopes in time especially, and in the vicissitudes of fortune, since they knew not how to save themselves by their own efforts, but turmoil, terror, and rumours of evil possessed the city. At last something happened that was like what Homer often mentions, although people generally do not wholly believe it. For when some great and unusual deed is to be done, that poet declares in his stately manner :—

“ He then was inspired by the goddess, flashing-eyed
Athenè ” ;²

and again :—

“ But some immortal turned his mind by lodging in
his heart
A fear of what the folk would say ” ;³

and again :—

“ Either through some suspicion, or else a god so
bade him do ” ;⁴

but people despise Homer and say that with his impossible exploits and incredible tales he makes it impossible to believe in every man's power to determine his own choice of action. This, however, is not what Homer does, but those acts which are natural, customary, and the result of reasoning, he

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 39, 12 ; Dionysius, viii. 38.

² *Odyssey*, xviii. 158 = xxi. i. (τῇ δ' ἄρα).

³ Not to be found now in Homer. ⁴ *Odyssey*, ix. 339.

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καὶ κατὰ λόγον περαινόμενα τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀποδί-
δωσι, καὶ λέγει δῆπου πολλάκις·

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ βούλευσα κατὰ μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
και,

Ὡς φάτο, Πηλείωνι δ' ἄχος γένητ', ἐν δέ οἱ
ῆτορ
στήθεσσι λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριζεν·

καὶ πάλιν,

ἀλλὰ τὸν οὔ τι
πεῖθ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα, δαΐφρονα Βελλεροφόν-
την·

- 6 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀτόποις καὶ παραβόλοις πράξεσι καὶ
φορᾷ τινος ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ παραστάσεως δεο-
μέναις οὐκ ἀναιροῦντα ποιεῖ τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ
κινοῦντα τὴν προαίρεσιν, οὐδ' ὁρμὰς ἐνεργαζόμενον,
ἀλλὰ φαντασίας ὁρμῶν ἀγωγούς, αἷς οὐδὲ ποιεῖ
τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀκούσιον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐκουσίῳ δίδωσιν
ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐλπίζειν προστίθησιν.
- 7 ἡ γὰρ ἀπαλλακτέον ὅλως τὰ θεῖα πάσης αἰτίας
καὶ ἀρχῆς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἢ τίς ἂν ἄλλος εἴη τρόπος
ὃ βοηθοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ συνεργοῦσιν; οὐ τὸ
σῶμα δῆπου πλάττοντες ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ τὰς χεῖρας,
ὥς δεῖ, μετατιθέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀλλὰ
τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ πρακτικὸν καὶ προαιρετικὸν ἀρχαῖς
τισι καὶ φαντασίαις καὶ ἐπινοαῖς ἐγείροντες ἢ
τοῦναντίον ἀποστρέφοντες καὶ ἰστάντες.

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attributes to our own volition, and he certainly says frequently :—

“ But I formed a plan within my lordly heart ” ; ¹
and also :—

“ So he spake, and Peleus’ son was sore distressed,
and his heart
Within his shaggy breast between two courses was
divided ” ; ²

and again :—

“ But him no whit
Could she persuade from his integrity, the fiery-
hearted Bellerophon ” ; ³

while in exploits of a strange and extraordinary nature, requiring some rush of inspiration, and desperate courage, he does not represent the god as taking away, but as prompting, a man’s choice of action ; nor yet as creating impulses in a man, but rather conceptions which lead to impulses, and by these his action is not made involuntary, but his will is set in motion, while courage and hope are added to sustain him. For either the influence of the gods must be wholly excluded from all initiating power over our actions, or in what other way can they assist and co-operate with men ? They certainly do not mould our bodies by their direct agency, nor give the requisite change to the action of our hands and feet, but rather, by certain motives, conceptions, and purposes, they rouse the active and elective powers of our spirits, or, on the other hand, divert and check them.

¹ *Odyssey*, ix. 299. ² *Iliad*, i. 188 f. ³ *Iliad*, vi. 161 f.

- XXXIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε τῶν γυναικῶν ἄλλαι μὲν πρὸς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς, αἱ δὲ πλεῖσται καὶ δοκιμώταται περὶ τὸν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διὸς βωμὸν ἰκέτευον. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἦν ἡ Ποπλικόλα τοῦ μεγάλα καὶ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίους ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ πολιτείαις ὠφελήσαντος ἀδελφῆ Οὐαλερία. Ποπλικόλας μὲν οὖν ἐτεθνήκει πρότερον, ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γεγραμμένοις ἱστορήκαμεν, ἡ δὲ Οὐαλερία δόξαν εἶχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τιμῇ,
- 2 δοκοῦσα τῷ βίῳ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὸ γένος. ὅπερ οὖν λέγω πάθος ἐξαπίνης παθοῦσα, καὶ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἀθείαστον ἀψαμένη τοῦ συμφέροντος, αὐτὴ τε ἀνέστη καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀναστήσασα πάσας ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς τοῦ Μαρκίου μητρὸς Οὐολουμνίας. ὥς δ' εἰσῆλθε καὶ κατέλαβε μετὰ τῆς νυοῦ καθεζομένην καὶ τὰ παῖδιά τοῦ Μαρκίου πρὸς τοῖς κόλποις ἔχουσιν, ἐν κύκλῳ περιστήσασα
- 3 τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῆς· “Αὐταὶ γε ἡμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Οὐολουμνία, καὶ σύ, Οὐεργιλία, γυναῖκες ἤκομεν πρὸς γυναῖκας, οὔτε βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης οὔτ' ἄρχοντος κελεύσαντος, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὥς ἔοικεν, οἰκτείρας τὴν ἰκετείαν, ὁρμὴν παρέστησε δευρὶ τραπέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ δεηθῆναι σωτηρίαν μὲν αὐταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις, ὑμῖν δὲ πεισθείσαις ἐπιφανεστέραν φέροντα δόξαν ἥς αἱ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες ἔσχον, εἰς φιλίαν καὶ εἰρήνην ἐκ πολέμων συναγαγοῦσαι πατέρας καὶ

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¹ Chapter xxiii.

² “Then the matrons came in a body to Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia, his wife. Whether this was the result of public counsel, or of the women’s fear,

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XXXIII. Now in Rome, at the time of which I speak, various groups of women visited the various temples, but the greater part of them, and those of highest station, carried their supplications to the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among these was Valeria, a sister of that Publicola who had done the Romans so many eminent services both as warrior and statesman. Publicola, indeed, had died some time before, as I have related in his Life;¹ but Valeria was still enjoying her repute and honour in the city, where her life was thought to adorn her lineage. This woman, then, suddenly seized with one of those feelings which I have been describing, and laying hold of the right expedient with a purpose not uninspired of heaven, rose up herself, bade the other women all rise, and came with them to the house of Volumnia,² the mother of Marcius. After entering and finding her seated with her daughter-in-law, and holding the children of Marcius on her lap, Valeria called about her the women who had followed, and said: "We whom thou seest here, Volumnia, and thou, Vergilia, are come as women to women, obeying neither senatorial edict nor consular command; but our god, as it would seem, taking pity on our supplication, put into our hearts an impulse to come hither to you and beseech you to do that which will not only be the salvation of us ourselves and of the citizens besides, but also lift you who consent to do it to a more conspicuous fame than that which the daughters of the Sabines won, when they brought their fathers and husbands out

I cannot ascertain."—Livy, ii. 40, 1. In Dionysius also (viii. 39, 40), whom Plutarch seems otherwise to be following, Veturia is the mother, and Volumnia the wife, of Marcius.

4 ἄνδρας. δεῦτε πρὸς Μάρκιον ἰοῦσαι μεθ' ἡμῶν συνάψασθε τῆς ἱκετηρίας, καὶ μαρτυρήσατε τῇ πατρίδι μαρτυρίαν ἀληθῆ καὶ δικαίαν, ὅτι πολλὰ πάσχουσα κακῶς οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἔπραξε δεινὸν οὐτ' ἐβούλευσε περὶ ὑμῶν δι' ὀργήν, ἀλλ' ἀποδίδωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐκείνῳ καὶ μηδενὸς τυγχάνειν μέλλῃ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν."

5 Ταῦτα τῆς Οὐαλερίας εἰπούσης ἀνεβόησαν αἱ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες, ἡμεῖψατο δὲ ἡ Οὐολουμνία· "Καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἡμῖν συμφορῶν, ὧ γυναῖκες, ἴσον μέτεστι, καὶ ἰδία πρᾶττομεν κακῶς ἀπολέσασαι τὴν Μαρκίου δόξαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, τὸ σῶμα δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ὅπλοις φρουρούμενον μᾶλλον ἢ σωζόμενον ἐφορῶσαι. μέγιστον δ' ἡμῖν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων ἐστίν, εἰ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος οὕτως
6 ἐξησθένηκεν ὥστ' ἐν ἡμῖν ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ εἴ τινα ποιήσεται λόγον ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος, εἴ γε μηδένα ποιεῖται τῆς πατρίδος, ἣν καὶ μητρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων προετίμησεν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ χρήσθε ἡμῖν λαβοῦσαι καὶ κομίζετε πρὸς ἐκείνον, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἱκεσίαις ἐναποπνεῦσαι δυναμένης."

XXXIV. Ἐκ τούτου τά τε παῖδιά καὶ τὴν Οὐεργιλίαν ἀναστήσασα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἐβάδιζεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Οὐολούσκων. ἡ δ' ὄψις αὐτῶν τό τ' οἰκτρὸν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνεποίησεν αἰδῶ καὶ σιωπῇ. ἔτυχε δ' ὁ Μάρκιος ἐπὶ βήματος καθεζόμενος μετὰ τῶν
2 ἡγεμονικῶν. ὥς οὖν εἶδε προσιούσας τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐθαύμασεν· ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τὴν μητέρα πρώτην βαδίζουσιν ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐμμένειν τοῖς ἀτρέπτοις

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of war into friendship and peace. Arise, come with us to Marcius, and join with us in supplicating him, bearing this just and true testimony in behalf of your country, that, although she has suffered much wrong at his hands, she has neither done nor thought of doing harm to you, in her anger, but restores you to him, even though she is destined to obtain no equitable treatment at his hands."

These words of Valeria were seconded by the cries of the other women with her, and Volumnia gave them this answer:—"O women, not only have we an equal share with you in the common calamities, but we have an additional misery of our own, in that we have lost the fame and virtue of Marcius, and see his person protected in command, rather than preserved from death, by the arms of our enemies. And yet it is the greatest of our misfortunes that our native city is become so utterly weak as to place her hopes in us. For I know not whether the man will have any regard for us, since he has none for his country, which he once set before mother and wife and children. However, take us and use us and bring us to him; if we can do nothing else, we can at least breathe out our lives in supplications for our country."

XXXIV. After this, she took the children and Vergilia and went with the other women to the camp of the Volscians. The sight of them, and the pitifulness of it, produced even in their enemies reverence and silence. Now it chanced that Marcius was seated on a tribunal with his chief officers. When, accordingly, he saw the women approaching, he was amazed; and when he recognized his mother, who walked at their head, he would fain have persisted

ἐκείνοις καὶ ἀπαραιτήτοις λογισμοῖς, γενόμενος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἐλάττων καὶ συνταραχθεὶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἔτλη καθεζομένῳ προσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καταβάς θάπτον ἢ βάδην καὶ ἀπαντήσας πρῶτην μὲν ἡσπάσατο τὴν μητέρα καὶ πλείστον χρόνον, εἵτα δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα, μήτε δακρύων ἔτι μήτε τοῦ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι φειδόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ρεύματος φέρεσθαι τοῦ πάθους ἑαυτὸν ἐνδεδωκώς.

- XXXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων ἄδην εἶχε καὶ τὴν μητέρα βουλομένην ἤδη λόγων ἄρχειν ἦσθετο, τοὺς τῶν Οὐολούσκων προβούλους παραστησάμενος ἤκουσε τῆς Οὐολουμνίας τοιαῦτα λεγούσης·
- “Ὅρᾳς μὲν, ὦ παῖ, κἂν αὐταὶ μὴ λέγωμεν, ἐσθῆτι καὶ μορφῇ τῶν ἀθλίων σωμάτων τεκμαιρόμενος, οἷαν οἰκουρίαν ἡμῖν ἢ σὴ φυγὴ περιεποιή-
 2 σατο· λόγισαι δὲ νῦν ὥς ἀτυχεύσεται πασῶν ἀφύγμεθα γυναικῶν, αἷς τὸ ἥδιστον θέαμα φοβρώτατον ἢ τύχῃ πεποίηκεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν υἱόν, ταύτῃ δ' ἄνδρα τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος τείχεσιν ἰδεῖν ἀντικαθήμενον. ὃ δ' ἔστι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀτυχίας πάσης καὶ κακοπραγίας παραμύθιον, εὖχεσθαι θεοῖς, ἡμῖν ἀπορώτατον γέγονεν. οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε καὶ τῇ πατρίδι νίκην ἅμα καὶ σοὶ σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ' ἅ τις ἂν ἡμῖν καταράσαιτο τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ταῦτα ταῖς ἡμετέραις
 3 ἔνεστιν εὐχαῖς. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ σοῦ στέρεσθαι γυναικὶ σὴ καὶ τέκνοις. ἐγὼ δ' οὐ περιμενῶ ταύτην μοι διαιτῆσαι τὴν τύχην ζώσῃ τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ σε πείσαιμι φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἀντὶ διαφορᾶς καὶ κακῶν θέμενον ἀμφο-

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in his previous inflexible and implacable course, but, mastered by his feelings, and confounded at what he saw, he could not endure to remain seated while they approached him, but descended quickly from the tribunal and ran to meet them. He saluted his mother first, and held her a long time in his embrace, and then his wife and children, sparing now neither tears nor caresses, but suffering himself as it were to be borne away by a torrent of emotion.

XXXV. But when he was sated with this, and perceived that his mother now wished to say something, he brought to his side the councillors of the Volscians, and heard Volumnia speak as follows: "Thou seest, my son, even if we do not speak ourselves, and canst judge from the wretchedness of our garb and aspect, to what a pitiful state thy banishment has reduced us. And now be sure that we who come to thee are of all women most unhappy, since fortune has made the sight which should have been most sweet, most dreadful for us, as I behold my son, and this wife of thine her husband, encamped against the walls of our native city. And that which for the rest is an assuagement of all misfortune and misery, namely prayer to the gods, has become for us most impracticable; for we cannot ask from the gods both victory for our country and at the same time safety for thee, but that which any one of our foes might imprecate upon us as a curse, this must be the burden of our prayers. For thy wife and children must needs be deprived either of their country or of thee. As for me, I will not wait to have the war decide this issue for me while I live, but unless I can persuade thee to substitute friendship and concord for dissension and hostility, and so

τερων εὐεργέτην γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ λυμεῶνα τῶν
 ἐτέρων, οὕτω διανοοῦ καὶ παρασκεύαζε σεαυτὸν
 ὥς τῇ πατρίδι μὴ προσμῖξαι δυνάμενος πρὶν ἢ 231
 νεκρὰν ὑπερβῆναι τὴν τεκοῦσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνην
 με δεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀναμένειν ἐν ἣ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπ-
 ὄψομαι θριαμβευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ θριαμ-
 4 βεύοντα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀξιῶ σε
 τὴν πατρίδα σῶσαι Οὐολούσκους ἀπολέσαντα,
 χαλεπή σοι καὶ δυσδιαίτητος, ὦ παῖ, πρόκειται
 σκέψις· οὔτε γὰρ διαφθεῖραι τοὺς πολίτας καλόν,
 οὔτε τοὺς πεπιστευκότας προδοῦναι δίκαιον· νῦν
 δ' ἀπαλλαγὴν κακῶν αἰτούμεθα, σωτήριον μὲν
 ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως, ἔνδοξον δὲ καὶ καλὴν μᾶλλον
 Οὐολούσκοις, ὅτι τῷ κρατεῖν δόξουσι διδόναι τὰ
 μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, οὐχ ἥττον λαμβάνοντες,
 εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν, ὧν μάλιστα μὲν αἴτιος ἔσῃ
 γινομένων, μὴ γινομένων δὲ μόνος αἰτίαν ἔξεις
 5 παρ' ἀμφοτέροις. ἄδηλος δ' ὦν ὁ πόλεμος τοῦτ'
 ἔχει πρόδηλον, ὅτι σοι νικῶντι μὲν ἀλάστορι τῆς
 πατρίδος εἶναι περίεστιν, ἡττώμενος δὲ δόξεις ὑπ'
 ὀργῆς εὐεργέταις ἀνδράσι καὶ φίλοις τῶν μεγίστων
 συμφορῶν αἴτιος γεγονέναι."

XXXVI. Ταῦτα τῆς Οὐολουμνίας λεγούσης ὁ
 Μάρκιος ἠκροᾶτο μηδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 καὶ παυσαμένης εἰστήκει σιωπῶν πολὺν χρόνον,
 αὐθις ἡ Οὐολουμνία· "Τί σιγᾶς," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ;
 πότερον ὀργῇ καὶ μνησικακίᾳ πάντα συγχωρεῖν
 καλόν, οὐ καλὸν δὲ μητρὶ χαρίσασθαι δεομένη
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to become a benefactor of both parties rather than a destroyer of one of them, then consider and be well assured that thou canst not assail thy country without first treading underfoot the corpse of her who bore thee. For it does not behoove me to await that day on which I shall behold my son either led in triumph by his fellow-citizens or triumphing over his country. If, then, I asked you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, the question before thee would be a grievous one, my son, and hard to decide, since it is neither honourable for a man to destroy his fellow-citizens, nor just for him to betray those who have put their trust in him; but as it is, we ask only a relief from evils, something which would be salutary for both parties alike, but more conducive to fame and honour for the Volscians, because their superiority in arms will give them the appearance of bestowing the greatest of blessings, namely peace and friendship, although they get these no less themselves. If these blessings are realized, it will be chiefly due to thee; if they are not, then thou alone wilt bear the blame from both nations. And though the issues of war are obscure, this is manifest, that if victorious, thou wilt only be thy country's destroying demon, and if defeated, the world will think that, to satisfy thy wrath, thou didst bring down the greatest calamities upon men who were thy benefactors and friends."

XXXVI. While Volumnia was saying this, Marcius listened without making any answer, and after she had ceased also, he stood a long time in silence. Volumnia therefore began once more: "Why art thou silent, my son? Is it right to yield everything to wrath and resentment, but wrong to gratify a

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- 2 *περὶ τηλικούτων; ἢ τὸ μεμνήσθαι πεπονθότα
κακῶς ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ προσήκει, τὸ δ' εὐεργεσίας,
αἷς εὐεργετοῦνται παῖδες ὑπὸ τῶν τεκόντων,
σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἐστὶ
μεγάλου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ; καὶ μὴν οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον
ἔπρεπε τηρεῖν χάριν ὥς σοί, πικρῶς οὕτως ἀχαρι-*
- 3 *στίαν ἐπεξιόντι. καίτοι παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἤδη
μεγάλας δίκας ἀπέκληφας, τῇ μητρὶ δ' οὐδεμίαν
χάριν ἀποδέδωκας. ἦν μὲν οὖν ὀσιώτατον ἄνευ
τινος ἀνάγκης τυχεῖν με παρὰ σοῦ δεομένην
οὕτω καλῶν καὶ δικαίων· μὴ πείθουσα δὲ τί
φείδομαι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐλπίδος;” καὶ ταυτ’
εἰποῦσα προσπίπτει τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς*
- 4 *γυναικὸς ἅμα καὶ τῶν τέκνων. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος
ἀναβοήσας· “Οἶα εἵργασαί με, ὦ μήτερ,” ἐξανί-
στησιν αὐτήν, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν πῖσας σφόδρα·
“Νενίκηκας,” εἶπεν, “εὐτυχῇ μὲν τῇ πατρίδι
νίκην, ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλέθριον· ἅπειμι γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ
μόνης ἡττώμενος.” τοῦτο δ' εἰπὼν, καὶ βραχεία
τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ διαλεχθεὶς ἰδίᾳ, τὰς
μὲν ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην πάλιν αὐτὰς δεομένας,
τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς παρελθούσης ἀπήγαγεν Οὐολού-
σκους, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδ' ὁμοίως διακει-*
- 5 *μένους ἅπαντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐμέμφοντο καὶ τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, οἱ δὲ οὐδέτερα, πρὸς
διάλυσιν καὶ εἰρήνην οἰκείως ἔχοντες, ἔνιοι δὲ
δυσχεραίνοντες τὰ πραττόμενα τὸν Μάρκιον
ὁμῶς οὐ πονηρὸν ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ συγγνωστὸν
ἐπικλασθέντα τηλικαύταις ἀνάγκαις. ἀντείπε*

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mother in such a prayer as this? Or is the remembrance of his wrongs becoming to a great man, while the remembrance, with reverence and honour, of the benefits which children have received from their parents is not the duty of a great and good man? Surely for no man were it more seemly to cherish gratitude than for thee, who dost so bitterly proceed against ingratitude. And yet, although thou hast already punished thy country severely, thou hast not shown thy mother any gratitude. It were, therefore, a most pious thing in thee to grant me, without any compulsion, so worthy and just a request as mine; but since I cannot persuade thee, why should I spare my last resource?" And with these words she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children. Then Marcius, crying out "What hast thou done to me, my mother!" lifted her up, and pressing her right hand warmly, said: "Thou art victorious, and thy victory means good fortune to my country, but death to me; for I shall withdraw vanquished, though by thee alone." When he had said this, and had held a little private conference with his mother and his wife, he sent them back again to Rome, as they desired, and on the next morning led away his Volscians, who were not all affected in the same way nor equally pleased by what had happened. For some found fault both with him and with what he had done; but others, who were favourably disposed towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute, with neither; while some, though displeased with his proceedings, nevertheless could not look upon Marcius as a bad man, but thought it pardonable in him to be broken down by such strong compulsions. No one, however, opposed him, but all followed

δ' οὐδεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἶποντο, τὴν ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ θαυμάζοντες ἢ τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

- XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐν ὅσῳ φόβῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ καθεισθήκει τοῦ πολέμου παρόντος, αἰσθησιν παρέσχε μᾶλλον λυθέντος. ἅμα γὰρ ἀφεώρων τοὺς Οὐολούσκους ἀναξενγνύοντας οἱ περὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ, καὶ πᾶν εὐθύς ἱερὸν ἀνεῳγει στεφανηφορούντων ὥσπερ ἐπὶ νίκη καὶ θυνόντων. μάλιστα δὲ τῇ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγαπήσει καὶ τιμῇ τῆς τε βουλῆς τοῦ τε πλήθους ἅπαντος ἔνδηλος ἦν ἡ χαρὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ λεγόντων καὶ νομιζόντων γεγονέναι τῆς σωτηρίας περι-
 2 φανῶς ἐκείνας αἰτίας. ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὃ τι ἂν αὐταῖς ἀξιώσωσι γενέσθαι πρὸς δόξαν ἢ χάριν, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οὐδὲν ἠξίωσαν ἄλλο ἢ Τύχης γυναικείας ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, τὸ μὲν ἀνάλωμα συμβαλόμεναι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἱεουργίας δὲ καὶ τιμάς, ὅσαι θεοὶς πρέπουσι, δημοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως
 3 ἀναλαβούσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν μὲν φιλοτι- 232 μίαν ἐπήνεσε, δημοσίαις δὲ δαπάναις ἐποίησατο τὸν νεὼν καὶ τὸ ἔδος, οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐταὶ χρήματα συνεισενεγκοῦσαι δεύτερον ἄγαλμα κατεσκεύασαν, ὃ δὴ καὶ φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καθιστάμενον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φθέγξασθαι τι τοιοῦτον· “Θεοφιλεῖ με θεσμῷ γυναικες δεδώκατε.”

XXXVIII. Ταύτην καὶ δις γενέσθαι τὴν φωνὴν μυθολογοῦσιν, ἀγενήτοις ὅμοια καὶ χαλεπὰ πει-

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him obediently, though rather out of admiration for his virtue than regard for his authority.¹

XXXVII. But the Roman people showed more plainly, when they were set free from the war, the greatness of their fear and peril while it lasted. For as soon as those who manned the walls descried the Volscians drawing their forces off, every temple was thrown open, and the people crowned themselves with garlands and offered sacrifices as if for victory. But the joy of the city was most apparent in the honour and loving favour which both the senate and the whole people bestowed upon the women, declaring their belief that the city's salvation was manifestly due to them. When, however, the senate passed a decree that whatsoever they asked for themselves in the way of honour or favour, should be furnished and done for them by the magistrates, they asked for nothing else besides the erection of a temple of Women's Fortune, the expense of which they offered to contribute of themselves, if the city would undertake to perform, at the public charge, all the sacrifices and honours, such as are due to the gods. The senate commended their public spirit, and erected the temple and its image at the public charge,² but they none the less contributed money themselves and set up a second image of the goddess, and this, the Romans say, as it was placed in the temple, uttered some such words as these: "Dear to the gods, O women, is your pious gift of me."³

XXXVIII. These words were actually uttered twice, as the story runs, which would have us be-

¹ Compare Livy's story of this interview and its results (ii. 40, 3-9). Plutarch agrees rather with Dionysius, viii. 39-54.

² Cf. Livy, ii. 40, 11. ³ Cf. Dionysius, viii. 56.

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- σθῆναι πείθοντες ἡμᾶς. ἰδίοντα μὲν γὰρ ἀγάλματα φανῆναι καὶ δακρυρροοῦντα καὶ τινὰς μεθιέντα νοτίδας αἱματώδεις οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ ξύλα καὶ λίθοι πολλάκις μὲν εὐρώτα συνάγουσι γόνιμον ὑγρότητος, πολλὰς δὲ χροιάς ἀνιᾶσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ δέχονται βαφὰς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος, οἷς ἔνια σημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐδὲν
- 2 ἂν δόξειε κωλύειν. δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ μυγμῶ καὶ στεναγμῶ ψόφον ὅμοιον ἐκβάλλειν ἀγάλματα κατὰ ῥῆξιν ἢ διάστασιν μορίων βιαιοτέραν ἐν βάθει γενομένην· ἔναρθρον δὲ φωνὴν καὶ διάλεκτον οὕτω σαφῇ καὶ περιττῇ καὶ ἀρτίστομον ἐν ἀψύχῳ γενέσθαι παντάπασιν ἀμήχανον, εἰ μὴδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἄνευ σώματος ὀργανικοῦ καὶ διηρμοσμένου μέρεσι λογικοῖς
- 3 γέγονεν ἡχεῖν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι. ὅπου δ' ἡμᾶς ἡ ἱστορία πολλοῖς ἀποβιάζεται καὶ πιθανοῖς μάρτυσιν, ἀνόμοιον αἰσθήσει πάθος ἐγγινόμενον τῷ φανταστικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς συναναπείθει τὸ δόξαν, ὥσπερ ἐν ὕπνοις ἀκούειν οὐκ ἀκούοντες καὶ βλέπειν οὐ βλέποντες δοκοῦμεν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἄγαν ἐμπαθῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ μὴδὲν ἀθετεῖν μὴδ' ἀναίνεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων δυναμένοις, μέγα πρὸς πίστιν ἐστὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον καὶ μὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς τοῦ
- 4 θεοῦ δυνάμεως. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἀνθρωπίνῳ προσέοικεν οὔτε φύσιν οὔτε κίνησιν οὔτε τέχνην οὔτ' ἰσχύν, οὐδ' εἴ τι ποιεῖ τῶν ἡμῖν ἀποιήτων καὶ μηχανᾶται τῶν ἀμηχάνων, παράλογόν ἐστιν,

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lieve what is difficult of belief and probably never happened. For that statues have appeared to sweat, and shed tears, and exude something like drops of blood, is not impossible; since wood and stone often contract a mould which is productive of moisture, and cover themselves with many colours, and receive tints from the atmosphere; and there is nothing in the way of believing that the Deity uses these phenomena sometimes as signs and portents. It is possible also that statues may emit a noise like a moan or a groan, by reason of a fracture or a rupture, which is more violent if it takes place in the interior. But that articulate speech, and language so clear and abundant and precise, should proceed from a lifeless thing, is altogether impossible; since not even the soul of man, or the Deity, without a body duly organized and fitted with vocal parts, has ever spoken and conversed. But where history forces our assent with numerous and credible witnesses, we must conclude that an experience different from that of sensation arises in the imaginative part of the soul, and persuades men to think it sensation; as, for instance, in sleep, when we think we see and hear, although we neither see nor hear. However, those who cherish strong feelings of good-will and affection for the Deity, and are therefore unable to reject or deny anything of this kind, have a strong argument for their faith in the wonderful and transcendent character of the divine power. For the Deity has no resemblance whatever to man, either in nature, activity, skill, or strength; nor, if He does something that we cannot do, or contrives something that we cannot contrive, is this contrary to reason; but rather, since He differs from us in all

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν πᾶσι διαφέρων πολὺ μάλιστα τοῖς ἔργοις ἀνόμοιός ἐστι καὶ παρηλλαγμένος. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν θείων τὰ πολλά, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἀπιστίῃ διαφυγγάνει μὴ γινώσκεσθαι.

- XXXIX. Τὸν δὲ Μάρκιον, ὡς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἄντιον ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας, μισῶν πάλαι καὶ βαρυνόμενος διὰ φθόνον ὁ Τύλλος ἐπεβούλευεν ἀνελεῖν εὐθύς, ὡς εἰ νῦν διαφύγοι, λαβὴν ἑτέραν οὐ παρέξοντα. πολλοὺς δὲ συστήσας καὶ παρασκευάσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθύνας ὑποσχεῖν τοῖς Οὐλολούςκοις, ἀποδόντα τὴν ἀρχήν.
- 2 ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος ἰδιώτης γενέσθαι τοῦ Τύλλου στρατηγούντος καὶ δυναμένου μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις, ἔλεγε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδώσειν Οὐλολούςκοις, ἂν κελεύωσι, καὶ γὰρ λαβεῖν πάντων κελεύόντων, εὐθύνας δὲ διδόναι καὶ λόγον οὐδὲ νῦν παραιτεῖσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις Ἀντιατῶν. γενομένης οὖν ἐκκλησίας, οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀνιστάμενοι παρώξυνον τὸ
- 3 πλῆθος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναστάντι τῷ Μαρκίῳ τὸ μὲν ἄγαν θορυβοῦν ὑπ' αἰδοῦς ἐνεδίδου καὶ παρεῖχεν ἀδεῶς λέγειν, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι καὶ μάλιστα χαίροντες εἰρήνῃ τῶν Ἀντιατῶν ἐγένοντο φανεροὶ μετ' εὐνοίας ἀκουσόμενοι καὶ δικαίως κρινούντες, ἔδεισεν ὁ Τύλλος τὴν ἀπολογίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἦν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δεινὸς εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὰ

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points, in His works most of all is He unlike us and far removed from us. But most of the Deity's powers, as Heracleitus says,¹ "escape our knowledge through incredulity."

XXXIX. But as for Marcius, when he came back to Antium from his expedition, Tullus, who had long hated him and been oppressed with jealousy of him, plotted to take him off at once, believing that if his enemy escaped him now, he would never give him another chance to seize him. Having, therefore, arrayed a large party against him, he bade him lay down his command and give the Volscians an account of his administration. But Marcius, afraid of being reduced to private station when Tullus was in command and exercising the greatest influence among his own countrymen, said he would resign his command to the Volscians, if they bade him do so, since it was at their general bidding that he had assumed it; and that he was ready, and would not refuse even before that, to give a full account of his administration to all the people of Antium who desired it. An assembly was therefore held, at which the popular leaders who had been set to the work rose and tried to embitter the multitude against him. But when Marcius rose to speak, the more disorderly part of his audience grew quiet, out of reverence for him, and gave him opportunity to speak fearlessly, while the best of the men of Antium, and those that were especially pleased with peace, made it clear that they would listen to him with favour and give a just decision. Tullus, therefore, began to fear the effect of the man's plea in self-defence; for he was one of the most powerful speakers, and his earlier achievements

¹ Fragment 116 (Bywater, p. 45).

πρόσθεν ἔργα μείζονα τὴν χάριν εἶχε τῆς ὕστερον αἰτίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως τὸ ἐγκλημα τοῦ
 4 μεγέθους τῆς χάριτος ἦν μαρτύριον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔδοξαν ἀδικεῖσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην ὑποχείριον μὴ λαβόντες, εἰ μὴ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο διὰ Μάρκιον.

Οὐκέτ' οὖν ἔδοξε διαμέλλειν οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι 233
 τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐγκραγόντες οἱ θρασύτατοι
 τῶν συνεστώτων ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκουστέον οὐδὲ
 περιοπτέον Οὐολούσκοις τὸν προδότην τυραν-
 νοῦντα καὶ μὴ κατατιθέμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, προσπε-
 σόντες ἀθρόοι διέφθειραν αὐτόν, καὶ προσήμυνεν
 5 οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων. ὅτι δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις οὐκ
 ἐπράχθη κατὰ γνώμην, ἐδήλωσαν αὐτίκα συνδρα-
 μόντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ θάψαντες
 ἐντίμως καὶ τὸν τάφον ὅπλοις καὶ λαφύροις
 κοσμήσαντες ὥς ἀριστέως καὶ στρατηγοῦ. Ῥω-
 μαῖοι δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν πυθόμενοι, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν
 ἀπεδείξαντο σημεῖον οὔτε τιμῆς οὔτ' ὀργῆς πρὸς
 αὐτόν, αἰτησαμέναις δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψαν
 ἀποπενθῆσαι δέκα μῆνας, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν ἐκάστη
 πατέρα καὶ παῖδα καὶ ἀδελφόν. οὗτος γὰρ ἦν
 ὄρος τοῦ μακροτάτου πένθους, ὃν ὥρισε Νομᾶς
 Πομπήλιος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γεγραμμένοις
 δεδήλωται.

6 Τὸν δὲ Μάρκιον εὐθύς ἐπόθει τὰ Οὐολούσκων
 πράγματα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ στασιάσαντες πρὸς
 Αἰκανοὺς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ὄντας ὑπὲρ

¹ "Then, after he had withdrawn his troops from the Roman territory, they say that he was overwhelmed with hatred in consequence, and lost his life, different writers giving different details of his death. In Fabius, who is by

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secured him a gratitude which outweighed his later fault; nay more, the very charge against him was but so much proof of the great gratitude which was his due. For they would not have thought themselves wronged in not getting Rome into their power, had not the efforts of Marcius brought them near to taking it.

Accordingly, the conspirators decided to make no more delay, and not to test the feelings of the multitude; but the boldest of them, crying out that the Volscians must not listen to the traitor, nor suffer him to retain his command and play the tyrant among them, fell upon him in a body and slew him, and no man present offered to defend him.¹ However, that the deed was not wrought with the approval of the majority of the Volscians, was seen at once from their coming out of their cities in concourse to his body, to which they gave honourable burial, adorning his tomb with arms and spoils, as that of a chieftain and general. But when the Romans learned of his death, they paid him no other mark either of honour or resentment, but simply granted the request of the women that they might mourn for him ten months, as was customary when any one of them lost a father, or a son, or a brother. For this was the period fixed for the longest mourning, and it was fixed by Numa Pompilius, as is written in his Life.²

The loss of Marcius was keenly felt at once by the Volscian state. For, in the first place, they quarrelled with the Aequians, who were their allies and friends, over the supreme command, and carried their quarrel

far the most ancient authority, I find that he lived even to old age" (Livy, ii. 40, 10). Chapter xxxix. in Plutarch agrees closely with Dionysius viii. 57-59, who says that Marcius was stoned to death. ² Chapter xii. 2.

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ἡγεμονίας, ἄχρι τραυμάτων καὶ φόνων προῆλθον· ἔπειτα μάχῃ κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἐν ᾗ Τύλλος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ ἀνθοῦν μάλιστα τῆς δυνάμεως διεφθάρη, διαλύσεις αἰσχίστας ἠγάπησαν ὑπήκοοι γενόμενοι, καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον αὐτοῖς ποιήσιν ὁμολογήσαντες.

ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΙΟΛΑΝΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

- Ι. Ἐκκειμένων δὲ τῶν πράξεων, ὅσας ἡγούμεθα λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἀξίας εἶναι, τὰς μὲν πολεμικὰς ἐπ' οὐδέτερον ποιούσας ῥοπὴν μεγάλην ὁρᾶν ἔστιν. ὁμαλῶς γὰρ ἀμφότεροι πολλὰ μὲν στρατιωτικῆς ἔργα τόλμης καὶ ἀνδρείας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τέχνης καὶ προνοίας στρατηγοῦντες ἐπεδείξαντο,
- 2 πλὴν εἰ μή τις θέλοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀγῶσι νικῶν καὶ κατορθῶν διετέλεσεν, ἀποφαίνειν τελειότερον στρατηγόν· ἐπεὶ τό γε παρόντας καὶ ἄρχοντας ὀρθοῦν αἰεὶ προδήλως τὰ οἰκεία καὶ προδηλότερον αὐτὸν πάλιν βλάπτειν μεθισταμένους
- 3 ἀμφοτέροις ὑπῆρξε. πολιτείαν δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου τὴν ἄγαν λαμυρὰν καὶ τὸ μὴ καθαρεῦον ἀναγωγίας καὶ βωμολοχίας ἐν τῇ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς οἱ σώφρονες ἐβδελύττοντο, τὴν δὲ Μαρκίου παντάπασιν ἄχαριν καὶ ὑπερ-

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to the length of bloodshed and slaughter; in the second place, they were defeated in battle by the Romans, wherein Tullus was slain and the very flower of their forces was cut to pieces, so that they were glad to accept most disgraceful terms, becoming subjects of Rome, and pledging themselves to obey her commands.¹

COMPARISON OF ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS

I. Now that all the deeds of these men are set forth, so far as we consider them worthy of recollection and record, it is plain that their military careers do not incline the balance either way very decidedly. For both alike gave many signal proofs of daring and valour as soldiers, as well as of skill and foresight as commanders; except that some may give the preference to Alcibiades, because he was continually successful and victorious in many struggles by sea, as well as by land, and declare him therefore the more consummate general. It is certainly true of each that, when he was at home and in command, he always conducted his country's cause with manifest success, and, contrariwise, inflicted even more manifest injury upon it when he went over to the enemy. As statesmen, if the exceeding wantonness of Alcibiades, and the stain of dissoluteness and vulgarity upon all his efforts to win the favour of the multitude, won the loathing of sober-minded citizens, it was equally true that the utter ungraciousness of

¹ Cf. Livy, ii. 40, 12 f.

φανον καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὴν γενομένην ἐμίσησεν ὁ
 4 Ῥωμαίων δῆμος. οὐδετέραν μὲν οὖν ἐπαινέτεον·
 ὁ δὲ δημαγωγῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος τῶν ὅπως οὐ
 δόξουσι δημαγωγεῖν προπηλακιζόντων τοὺς πολ-
 λούς ἀμεμπτότερος· αἰσχροὺς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κολα-
 κεῦναι δῆμον ἐπὶ τῷ δύνασθαι, τὸ δ' ἰσχύειν ἐκ τοῦ
 φοβερόν εἶναι καὶ κακοῦν καὶ πιέζειν πρὸς τῷ
 αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἄδικόν ἐστιν.

II. Ὅτι τοίνυν ἀπλοῦς τις ὁ Μάρκιος ὑπεί-
 ληπται τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονέναι καὶ αὐθέκαστος, ὁ δὲ
 Ἀλκιβιάδης πανούργος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἀνα-
 λήθης, οὐκ ἄδηλόν ἐστι. μάλιστα δὲ κατηγοροῦ-
 σιν αὐτοῦ κακοήθειαν καὶ ἀπάτην, ἣ τοὺς Λακε-
 δαιμονίων πρέσβεις παρακρουσάμενος, ὡς Θουκυ-
 2 δίδης ἰστόρηκε, τὴν εἰρήνην ἔλυσεν. ἀλλ' αὕτη
 μὲν ἡ πολιτεία, καίπερ εἰς πόλεμον αὐθις ἐμ-
 βαλοῦσα τὴν πόλιν, ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησε καὶ φο-
 βερὰν, τῆς Μαντινέων καὶ Ἀργείων συμμαχίας δι'
 Ἀλκιβιάδου προσγενομένης· Μάρκιος δ' ὅτι μὲν
 ἀπάτη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεπολέμωσε Ῥωμαίους καὶ
 Οὐολούσκους διαβαλὼν ψευδῶς τοὺς ἥκοντας ἐπὶ
 τὴν θέαν, Διονύσιος ἰστόρηκεν· ἡ δ' αἰτία φανλό-
 3 τερον ποιεῖ τὸ ἔργον. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ φιλονεικίας οὐδὲ
 πολιτικῆς μάχης ἡ ἀμίλλης, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ'
 ὀργῇ χαριζόμενος, παρ' ἧς οὐδένα φησὶν ὁ Δίων¹ 234
 ἀπολαβεῖν χάριν, πολλὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας μέρη συνε-
 τάραξε καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις οὐδὲν ἀδικούσας τῷ
 πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα θυμῷ παρανάλωσε. καίτοι

¹ Δίων Bekker corrects to Ἴων, after Bryan. The verse
 . . . οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὀργῆς χάριν ἀπέληφεν, πάτερ . . . is attributed
 to Menander in Stobaeus, *Floril.* xx. 6 (Kock, *Com. Att.*
Frag. iii. p. 188).

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Marcus, together with his pride and oligarchical demeanour, won the hatred of the Roman people. Neither course, then, is to be approved; although the man who seeks to win the people by his favours is less blameworthy than those who heap insults on the multitude, in order to avoid the appearance of trying to win them. For it is a disgrace to flatter the people for the sake of power; but to get power by acts of terror, violence, and oppression, is not only a disgrace, it is also an injustice.

II. Now, that Marcus is usually thought to have been rather simple in his nature, and straightforward, while Alcibiades was unscrupulous in his public acts, and false, is very clear. And Alcibiades is particularly denounced for the malicious deceit by which he cheated the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, as Thucydides relates,¹ and put an end to the peace. But this policy of his, although it did plunge the city again into war, made it nevertheless strong and formidable, by reason of the alliance with Mantinea and Argos which Alcibiades secured for it. And yet Marcus himself also used deceit to stir up war between the Romans and Volscians, when he brought a false charge against the visitors to the games, as Dionysius relates;² and the motive for his action makes it the worse of the two. For he was not influenced by ambition, or by rivalry in a political struggle, as Alcibiades was, but simply gave way to his anger, from which passion, as Dion says, "no one ever gets a grateful return," and threw many districts of Italy into confusion, and needlessly sacrificed many innocent cities to his rage against his country.

¹ V. 45; cf. Plutarch's *Nicias*, x. ; *Alcibiades*, xiv.

² See *Coriolanus*, xxvi. 2; Dionysius Hal., *Antiq. Rom.* viii. 2.

καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης δι' ὀργὴν μεγάλων αἵτιος συμ-
 4 φορῶν κατέστη τοῖς πολίταις. ἀλλ' ὅτε πρῶτον
 ἔγνω μεταμελομένους, εὐγνωμόνησε, καὶ πάλιν
 ἀπορριφεῖς οὐκ ἐφήσθη τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀμαρτά-
 νουσιν οὐδὲ παρεῖδε κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ
 κινδυνεύοντας, ἀλλ', ὅπερ Ἀριστείδης ἐπαινεῖται
 μάλιστα πράξας πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα, τοῦτ' ἐποίησε,
 πρὸς τοὺς τότε ἄρχοντας οὐ φίλους ὄντας ἐλθὼν καὶ
 5 φράσας τὸ δέον καὶ διδάξας. Μάρκιος δὲ πρῶτον
 μὲν ὅλην κακῶς ἐποίει τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ὑφ' ὅλης
 παθῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ κρατίστου μέρους
 συναδικηθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ συναλγήσαντος· ἔπειτα
 πολλαῖς πρεσβείαις καὶ δεήσεσι μίαν ἰωμένων
 ὀργὴν καὶ ἄγνοιαν οὐ τεγχθεῖς οὐδ' εἷξας ἐδήλωσεν
 ἐπὶ τῷ διαφθεῖραι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ καταβαλεῖν,
 οὐχ ὅπως ἀπολάβη καὶ κατέλθῃ, βαρὺν πόλεμον
 6 καὶ ἄσπονδον ἐπανηρημένος. τούτῳ δὲ¹ φήσει
 τις διαφέρειν· Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβουλεό-
 μενον ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν διὰ δέος ἅμα καὶ μῖσος
 αὐτῶν μεταστῆναι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, Μαρκίῳ δὲ
 πάντα δίκαια ποιοῦντας Οὐλοῦσκους οὐ καλῶς
 εἶχεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν ἀποδέδεικτο
 7 καὶ μεγίστην πίστιν εἶχε μετὰ δυνάμεως, οὐχ ὥς
 ἐκεῖνος, ἀποχρωμένων μᾶλλον ἢ χρωμένων αὐτῷ
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐν τῇ πόλει περιῶν καὶ κυλιν-
 δούμενος αὐθις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τέλος εἰς τὰς

¹ τούτῳ δὲ Coraës and Bekker read τούτῳ γε with C, and Bekker assumes a lacuna before the words.

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It is true, indeed, that Alcibiades also, through his anger, was the cause of great calamities to his countrymen. But just as soon as he saw that they were repentant, he showed them his goodwill, and after he had been driven away a second time, he did not exult over the mistakes of their generals, nor look with indifference upon their bad and perilous plans, but did precisely what Aristides is so highly praised for doing to Themistocles: he came to the men who were then in command, although they were not his friends, and told them plainly what they ought to do. Marcius, however, in the first place, did injury to his whole city, although he had not been injured by the whole of it, but the best and strongest part of it shared his wrongs and his distress; in the second place, by resisting and not yielding to the many embassies and supplications with which his countrymen tried to heal his single wrath and folly, he made it clear that he had undertaken a fierce and implacable war for the overthrow and destruction of his country, not that he might recover and regain it. Further, in this point it may be said there was a difference between them, namely, that Alcibiades, when he went over to the side of the Athenians, was moved by fear and hatred of the Spartans, who were plotting to take his life; whereas it was dishonourable for Marcius to leave the Volscians in the lurch when they were treating him with perfect fairness. For he was appointed their leader, and had the greatest credit and influence among them, unlike Alcibiades, whom the Lacedaemonians misused rather than used, who wandered about aimlessly in their city, and again was tossed to and fro in their camp, and at last threw himself

Τισαφέρνου χεῖρας ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν· εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία μὴ φθαρῆναι τὰς Ἀθήνας παντάπασι ποθῶν κατελθεῖν ἐθεράπευε.

III. Χρήματα τοίνυν ὁ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ εὖ πολλάκις ἐκ δωροδοκιῶν καὶ διαθέσθαι κακῶς εἰς τρυφήν καὶ ἀκολασίαν ἰστόρηται· Μάρκιον δὲ σὺν τιμῇ διδόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔπεισαν. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπαχθὴς ἦν ἐν ταῖς περὶ χρεῶν διαφοραῖς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὥς οὐκ ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ὕβριν καὶ περιφροσύνην τοῖς πένησιν ἐπηρεάζων.

- 2 Ἀντίπατρος μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινὶ γράφων περὶ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ φιλοσόφου τελευτῆς, “Πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις,” φησὶν, “ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ πείθειν εἶχε·” τὰς δὲ Μαρκίου πράξεις καὶ ἀρετὰς τοῦτο μὴ προσὸν ἐπαχθεῖς ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσι, τὸν ὄγκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν σύνοικον, ὥς Πλάτων εἶπεν, αὐθάδειαν μὴ ὑπομείναντας. τοῦ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τούναντίον ἐπισταμένου χρήσθαι τοῖς προστυγχάνουσιν οἰκείως, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἐν οἷς κατῴρθου τὴν δόξαν ἀνθεῖν μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς εὐημεροῦσαν, ὅπου καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἓν ἡμῶν¹ χάριν εἶχε
- 3 καὶ ὦραν. ὅθεν οὗτος μὲν οὐ μικρὰ βλάβας οὐδ' ὀλίγα τὴν πόλιν ὅμως ἀπεδείκνυτο πολλάκις ἡγεμῶν καὶ στρατηγός, ἐκεῖνος δὲ μετιῶν ἐπὶ

¹ πολλάκις bracketed by Bekker.

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into the hands of Tissaphernes ; unless, indeed, he was all the while paying him court in order that the Athens to which he longed to return might not be utterly destroyed.

III. Furthermore, in the matter of money, we are told that Alcibiades often got it ill by taking bribes, and spent it ill in luxury and dissipation ; whereas Marcius could not be persuaded to take it even when it was offered to him as an honour by his commanders. And for this reason he was especially odious to the multitude in the disputes with the people concerning debts, because they saw that it was not for gain, but out of insolence and scorn, that he acted despitely towards the poor.

Antipater, writing in one of his letters about the death of Aristotle the philosopher,¹ says : “ In addition to all his other gifts, the man had also that of persuasion ” ; and the absence of this gift in Marcius made his great deeds and virtues obnoxious to the very men whom they benefited, since they could not endure the arrogant pride of the man, and that self-will which is, as Plato says,² “ the companion of solitude.” Alcibiades, on the contrary, understood how to treat in a friendly manner those who met him, and we cannot wonder that when he was successful his fame was attended with goodwill and honour, and flowered luxuriantly, since some of his errors even had often charm and felicity. This was the reason why, in spite of the great and frequent harm done by him to the city, he was nevertheless many times appointed leader and general ; while Marcius, when he stood for an office which was his

¹ See *Comparison of Aristides and Cato*, ii. 4.

² See *Coriolanus*, xv. 4.

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πολλαῖς ἀριστείαις καὶ ἀνδραγαθίαις ἀρχὴν προσήκουσαν ἐξέπεσεν. οὕτω τὸν μὲν οὐδὲ πάσχοντες κακῶς ἐδύναντο μισεῖν οἱ πολῖται, τῷ δὲ περιῆν θαυματομένῳ μὴ φιλεῖσθαι.

- IV. Καὶ γάρ τοι Μάρκιος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεδείξατο τῇ πόλει στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ καὶ στρατευομένου πολλάκις καὶ στρατηγοῦντος ἀπέλαυσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· καὶ παρὼν ἐκράτει τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅσον ἐβούλετο, καὶ μὴ παρόντος ἴσχυσαν αἱ διαβολαί·
- 2 Μάρκιος δὲ παρὼν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατεδικάσθη, παρόντα δὲ Οὐολούσκοι διέφθειραν, οὐ δικαίως μὲν οὐδ' ὁσίως, αἰτίαν δὲ τοῦ εὐλόγου παρέσχευ αὐτός, ὅτι δημοσίᾳ τὰς διαλύσεις μὴ προσδεξάμενος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ 235 ἔλυσε τὴν ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολέμου μένοντος
- 3 ἀπώλεσε τὸν καιρὸν καὶ διέφθειρε. πείσαντα γὰρ ἔδει τοὺς πεπιστευκότας ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνους δικαίου πλείστον ἐποιεῖτο λόγον. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν Οὐολούσκων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βουλόμενος ἐνήγε τὸν πόλεμον, εἴτ' ἔληξεν, οὐ διὰ τὴν μητέρα καλῶς εἶχε φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῇ πατρίδι τῆς μητρός· μέρος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή
- 4 τῆς πατρίδος ἦν ἐπολιόρκει. τὸ δὲ δημοσίαις ἱκεσίαις καὶ δεήσει πρέσβων καὶ λιταῖς ἱερέων

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due in view of his valorous achievements, was defeated. And so it was that the one could not make himself hated by his countrymen, even when he was doing them harm ; while the other was after all not beloved, even while he was admired.

IV. For Marcius did not, as a commander, obtain any great successes for his city, but only for his enemies against his country ; whereas Alcibiades was often of service to the Athenians, both as a private soldier and as a commander. When he was at home, he mastered his adversaries to his heart's content ; it was when he was absent that their calumnies prevailed. Marcius, on the contrary, was with the Romans when they condemned him, and with the Volscians when they slew him. The deed was not in accordance with justice or right, it is true, and yet his own acts supplied an excuse for it, because, after rejecting the terms of peace publicly offered, and suffering himself to be persuaded by the private solicitations of the women, he did not put an end to hostilities, but allowed the war to continue, while he threw away for ever its golden opportunity. For he should have won the consent of those who had put their trust in him, before retiring from his position, if he had the highest regard for their just claims upon him. If, on the other hand, he cared nothing for the Volscians, but was prosecuting the war merely to satisfy his own anger, and then stopped it abruptly, the honourable course had been, not to spare his country for his mother's sake, but his mother together with his country ; since his mother and his wife were part and parcel of the native city which he was besieging. But after giving harsh treatment to public supplications, entreaties of embassies, and prayers of

ἀπηνῶς χρησάμενον εἶτα χαρίσασθαι τῇ μητρὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐ τῆς μητρὸς ἦν τιμή, ἀλλ' ἀτιμία τῆς πατρίδος, οἷκτω καὶ παραιτήσῃ διὰ μίαν γυναῖκα σωζομένης, ὥς οὐκ ἀξίας σώζεσθαι δι' αὐτήν. ἐπίφθονος γὰρ ἡ χάρις καὶ ὠμὴ καὶ ἀχάριστος ἀληθῶς καὶ πρὸς οὐδετέρους ἔχουσα τὸ εὐγνώμον· ἀνεχώρησε γὰρ μήτε πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμουμένων μήτε πείσας τοὺς συμπολεμοῦντας.

- 5 Ὡν αἴτιον ἀπάντων τὸ ἀνομίλητον τοῦ τρόπου καὶ λίαν ὑπερήφανον καὶ αὐθαδες, δ' καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἐπαχθὲς ἐστὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, τῷ δὲ φιλοτίμῳ προσὸν γίνεται παντάπασιν ἄγριον καὶ ἀπαράιτητον. οὐ γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥς μὴ δεόμενοι τιμῆς, εἶτα χαλεπαίνουσι μὴ τυγχάνοντες. ἐπεὶ τό γε μὴ λιπαρὴ μηδὲ θεραπευτικὸν ὄχλων εἶναι καὶ Μέτελλος εἶχε καὶ Ἀριστείδης
- 6 καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας· ἀλλὰ τῷ καταφρονεῖν ἀληθῶς ὦν δῆμός ἐστι καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι κύριος, ἐξοστρακιζόμενοι καὶ ἀποχειροτονούμενοι καὶ καταδικαζόμενοι πολλάκις οὐκ ὠργίζοντο τοῖς πολίταις ἀγνωμονοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἡγάπων αὐθις μεταμελομένους καὶ διηλλάττοντο παρακαλούντων. τὸν γὰρ ἥκιστα θεραπευτικὸν ἥκιστα πρέπει τιμωρητικὸν εἶναι τῶν πολλῶν, ὥς τὸ χαλεπαίνειν μάλιστα μὴ τυγχάνοντα τῆς τιμῆς ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα γλίχεσθαι φνόμενον.

V. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἡρνεῖτο τιμώμενος χαίρειν καὶ δυσφορεῖν παρορώμενος, ὅθεν ἐπειράτο

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priests, then to concede his withdrawal as a favour to his mother, was not so much an honour to that mother, as it was a dishonour to his country, which was thus saved by the pitiful intercession of a single woman, and held unworthy of salvation for its own sake. Surely the favour was invidious, and harsh, and really no favour at all, and unacceptable to both parties; for he retired without listening to the persuasions of his antagonists, and without gaining the consent of his comrades-in-arms.

The cause of all this lay in his unsociable, very overweening, and self-willed disposition, which of itself is offensive to most people, and when combined with an ambitious spirit, becomes altogether savage and implacable. Such men pay no court to the multitude, professing not to want their honours, and then are vexed if they do not get them. Certainly there was no tendency to importune or court the favour of the multitude in men like Metellus, Aristides, and Epaminondas; but owing to their genuine contempt for what a people has the power to give and take away, though they were repeatedly ostracised, defeated at elections, and condemned in courts of justice, they cherished no anger against their countrymen for their ingratitude, but showed them kindness again when they repented, and were reconciled with them when they asked it. Surely he who least courts the people's favour, ought least to resent their neglect, since vexation over failure to receive their honours is most apt to spring from an excessive longing after them.

V. Well, then, Alcibiades would not deny that he rejoiced to be honoured, and was displeased to be overlooked, and he therefore tried to be agreeable

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προσφιλῆς εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ κεχαρισμένος·
 Μάρκιον δὲ θεραπεύειν μὲν οὐκ εἶα τοὺς τιμᾶν
 δυναμένους καὶ αὔξειν τὸ ὑπερήφανον, ὀργὴν δὲ
 καὶ λύπην ἀμελουμένῳ τὸ φιλότιμον παρεῖχε.
 2 καὶ ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἃ τις ἂν αἰτιόσαιτο τοῦ ἀν-
 δρός· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα λαμπρά. σωφροσύνης
 δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἐγκρατείας ἕνεκα τοῖς ἀρίστοις
 καὶ καθαρωτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄξιον αὐτὸν
 παραβάλλειν, οὐκ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ μὰ Δία τῷ θρασυ-
 τάτῳ περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ὀλιγωροτάτῳ τοῦ καλοῦ
 γενομένου.

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and pleasant to his associates; but the overweening pride of Marcius would not suffer him to pay court to those who had the power to honour and advance him, while his ambition made him feel angry and hurt when he was neglected. These are the blameworthy traits in the man, but all the rest are brilliant. And for his temperance and superiority to wealth, he deserves to be compared with the best and purest of the Greeks, not with Alcibiades, who, in these regards, was the most unscrupulous of men, and the most careless of the claims of honour.

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ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ

I. Ὁ Ἀκανθίων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει τοιαύτην· “Βρασίδας καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι ἀπ’ Ἀθηναίων.” διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τὸν ἐντὸς ἐστῶτα τοῦ οἴκου παρὰ ταῖς θύραις λίθινον ἀνδριάντα Βρασίδου νομίζουσιν εἶναι. Λυσάνδρου δέ ἐστιν εἰκονικός, εὖ μάλα κομῶντος ἔθει τῷ παλαιῷ καὶ
 2 πώγωνα καθειμένον γενναῖον. οὐ γάρ, ὥς ἐνιοί φασιν, Ἀργείων μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἡτταν ἐπὶ πένθει καρέντων οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς τὰς κόμας ἀγαλλόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀνῆκαν, οὐδὲ Βακχιαδῶν τῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγόντων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀμόρφων διὰ τὸ κείρασθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς φανέντων εἰς ζῆλον αὐτοῖ τοῦ κομᾶν ἦλθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Λυκούργειόν ἐστι. καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὥς ἡ κόμη 434 τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ὀρᾶσθαι ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους.

II. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Λυσάνδρου πατὴρ Ἀριστόκλειτος οἰκίας μὲν οὐ γενέσθαι βασιλικῆς, ἄλλως δὲ γένους εἶναι τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν. ἐτράφη δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐν πενίᾳ, καὶ παρέσχευεν ἑαυτὸν εὐτακτον, ὥς εἴ τις ἄλλος, πρὸς τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ

¹ In B.C. 424, Brasidas won Acanthus, a town on the Chalcidic peninsula, away from its alliance with Athens (Thuc. iv. 84-88). ² Herodotus, i. 82.

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I. THE treasury of the Acanthians at Delphi bears this inscription : " Brasidas and the Acanthians, with spoil from the Athenians." ¹ For this reason many think that the marble figure standing within the edifice, by the door, is a statue of Brasidas. But it really represents Lysander, with his hair very long, after the ancient custom, and growing a generous beard. For it is not true, as some state, that because the Argives, after their great defeat, shaved their heads for sorrow, the Spartans, in contrary fashion, let their hair grow long in exultation over their victory ; ² nor was it because the Bacchiadae, ³ when they fled from Corinth to Lacedaemon, looked mean and unsightly from having shaved their heads, that the Spartans, on their part, became eager to wear their hair long ; but this custom also goes back to Lycurgus. And he is reported to have said that a fine head of hair makes the handsome more comely to look upon, and the ugly more terrible. ⁴

II. The father of Lysander, Aristocleitus, is said to have been of the lineage of the Heracleidae, though not of the royal family. But Lysander was reared in poverty, and showed himself as much as any man conformable to the customs of his people ;

¹ An oligarchical family, deposed from rule in Corinth by Cypselus, about 650 B.C. (Herod. v. 92).

⁴ Cf. *Lycurgus*, xxii. 1.

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- ἀνδρώδη καὶ κρείττονα πάσης ἡδονῆς, πλὴν εἴ
τινα τιμωμένοις καὶ κατορθοῦσιν αἱ καλαὶ πράξεις
ἐπιφέρουσι. ταύτης δὲ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν ἡττᾶ-
2 σθαι τοὺς νέους ἐν Σπάρτῃ. βούλονται γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐξ
ἀρχῆς πάσχειν τι τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν πρὸς δόξαν,
ἀλγυνομένους τε τοῖς ψόγοις καὶ μεγαλυνομένους
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων· ὁ δὲ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀκίνητος ἐν
τούτοις ὡς ἀφιλότιμος πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀργὸς
καταφρονεῖται. τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλότιμον αὐτῷ καὶ
φιλόνεικον ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς παρέμεινε παιδείας
ἐγγενόμενον, καὶ οὐδέν τι μέγα χρὴ τὴν φύσιν ἐν
3 τούτοις αἰτιᾶσθαι· θεραπευτικὸς δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν
μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ Σπαρτιάτην φύσει δοκεῖ γενέσθαι,
καὶ βάρος ἐξουσίας διὰ χρεῖαν ἐνεγκεῖν εὐκόλος·
ὁ πολιτικῆς δεινότητος οὐ μικρὸν ἔνιοι ποιοῦνται
μέρος. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὰς μεγάλας φύσεις ἀπο-
φαίνων μελαγχολικὰς, ὡς τὴν Σωκράτους καὶ
Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους, ἱστορεῖ καὶ Λύσανδρον
οὐκ εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῇ μελαγχολίᾳ
περιπεσεῖν.
- 4 Ἴδιον δὲ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τὸ καλῶς πενίαν
φέροντα, καὶ μηδαμοῦ κρατηθέντα μηδὲ διαφθα-
ρέντα χρήμασιν αὐτόν, ἐμπλήσαι τὴν πατρίδα
πλούτου καὶ φιλοπλουτίας καὶ παῦσαι θαυματο-
μένην ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θαυμάζειν πλούτον, εἰσάγοντα
χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου πλῆθος μετὰ τὸν Ἀττικὸν
πόλεμον, ἑαυτῷ δὲ μηδεμίαν δραχμὴν ὑπολειπό-
5 μενον. Διονυσίου δὲ τοῦ τυράννου πέμψαντος
αὐτοῦ ταῖς θυγατράσι πολυτελῆ χιτῶνια τῶν

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of a manly spirit, too, and superior to every pleasure, excepting only that which their good deeds bring to those who are successful and honoured. To this pleasure it is no disgrace for the youth in Sparta to succumb. Indeed, from the very first they wish their boys to be sensitive towards public opinion, distressed by censure, and exalted by praise; and he who is insensible and stolid in these matters, is looked down upon as without ambition for excellence, and a cumberer of the ground. Ambition, then, and the spirit of emulation, were firmly implanted in him by his Laconian training, and no great fault should be found with his natural disposition on this account. But he seems to have been naturally subservient to men of power and influence, beyond what was usual in a Spartan, and content to endure an arrogant authority for the sake of gaining his ends, a trait which some hold to be no small part of political ability. And Aristotle, when he sets forth that great natures, like those of Socrates and Plato and Heracles, have a tendency to melancholy, writes also¹ that Lysander, not immediately, but when well on in years, was a prey to melancholy.

But what is most peculiar in him is that, though he bore poverty well, and though he was never mastered nor even corrupted by money, yet he filled his country full of wealth and the love of wealth, and made her cease to be admired for not admiring wealth, importing as he did an abundance of gold and silver after the war with Athens, although he kept not a single drachma for himself. And when Dionysius the tyrant sent his daughters some costly tunics of Sicilian make, he would not receive them,

¹ *Problems*, xxx. 1.

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Σικελῶν, οὐκ ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν φοβεῖσθαι μὴ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον αἰσχροὶ φανῶσιν. ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τύραννον ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀποσταλεῖς πρεσβευτῆς, προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ δύο στολὰς ἐκείνου καὶ κελεύσαντος ἦν βούλεται τούτων ἐλόμενον τῇ θυγατρὶ κομίζειν, αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἔφη βέλτιον αἰρήσεσθαι, καὶ λαβὼν ἀμφοτέρας ἀπήλθεν.

- III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου μῆκος λαμβάνοντος, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κακοπραγίαν αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπιδόξων ὄντων ἐκπεσεῖσθαι τῆς θαλάττης, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπαγορεύσειν παντάπασιν, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπιστὰς τοῖς πράγμασι μεγάλην μεταβολὴν ἐποίησε καὶ κατέστησε τοὺς ναυτικούς
- 2 ἀγῶνας εἰς ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς, δείσαντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάλιν καὶ γενόμενοι ταῖς προθυμίαις καινοὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἡγεμόνος τε δεινοῦ καὶ παρασκευῆς ἔρρωμενεστέρας δεόμενον, ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἡγεμονίαν Λύσανδρον. γενόμενος δ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐρὼν εὖνουν μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ λακωνίζουσιν προθυμότατα, πράττουσαν δὲ τότε λυπρῶς καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐκβαρβαρωθῆναι τοῖς Περσικοῖς ἔθεσι διὰ τὰς ἐπιμιξίας, ἅτε δὴ τῆς Λυδίας περικεχυμένης καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτόθι τὰ
 - 3 πολλὰ διατριβόντων, στρατόπεδον βαλόμενος καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πανταχόθεν ἔλκεσθαι κελεύσας ἐκεῖ τὰ φορτηγὰ, καὶ ναυπηγίαν τριήρων ἐκεῖ κατασκευασάμενος, ταῖς μὲν ἐμπορίαις τοὺς λιμένας αὐτῶν ἀνέλαβεν, ἐργασίαις δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν, χρηματισμῶν δὲ τοὺς οἴκους καὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐνέ-

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saying he was afraid they would make his daughters look more ugly. But a little later, when he was sent as ambassador to the same tyrant from the same city, and was presented by him with two robes, and ordered to choose which of them he would, and carry it to his daughter, he said that she could choose better herself, and went off with both of them.

III. The Peloponnesian war had now been carried on for a long time, and after their disaster in Sicily¹ it was expected that the Athenians would straightway lose their control of the sea, and presently give up the struggle altogether. But Alcibiades, returning from exile and taking the command, wrought a great change, and made his countrymen again a match for their enemies by sea.² The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, were frightened again, and summoning up fresh zeal for the war, which required, as they thought, an able leader and a more powerful armament, sent out Lysander to take command upon the sea.³ When he came to Ephesus, he found the city well disposed to him and very zealous in the Spartan cause, although it was then in a low state of prosperity and in danger of becoming utterly barbarized by the admixture of Persian customs, since it was enveloped by Lydia, and the King's generals made it their headquarters. He therefore pitched his camp there, and ordered the merchant vessels from every quarter to land their cargoes there, and made preparations for the building of triremes. Thus he revived the traffic of their harbours, and the business of their market, and filled their houses and workshops with

¹ 413 B.C. Cf. Thuc. viii. 2. ² Cf. *Alcibiades*, xxxii. 4.

³ In the autumn of 408 B.C.

πλησεν, ὥστε πρῶτον ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν νῦν ὄντος ὄγκου καὶ μεγέθους διὰ Λύσανδρον γενέσθαι.

IV. Πυθόμενος δὲ Κῦρον εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίχθαι τὸν βασιλέως υἱόν, ἀνέβη διαλεξόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ 435 Τισαφέρνου κατηγορήσων, ὃς ἔχων πρόσταγμα Λακεδαιμονίοις βοηθεῖν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξελάσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐδόκει δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην ὑφιέμενος ἀπρόθυμος εἶναι καὶ γλίσχρως χορη-
2 γῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν φθείρειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Κύρῳ βουλο-
μένῳ τὸν Τισαφέρνην ἐν αἰτίαις εἶναι καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ διαφερόμενον. ἔκ τε δὴ τούτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης συνδιαιτήσεως ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀγαπηθεὶς καὶ τῷ
3 θεραπευτικῷ μάλιστα τῆς ὁμιλίας ἔλων τὸ μειρά-
κιον ἐπέρρωσε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαλ-
λάττεσθαι βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ἐστιῶν ὁ Κῦρος ἡξίου μὴ διωθεῖσθαι τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ φιλοφρο-
σύνας, ἀλλ' αἰτεῖν ὃ βούλοιτο καὶ φράζειν ὥς οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἀποτευξόμενον, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Λύ-
σανδρος, “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν,” εἶπεν, “οὕτως ἔχεις, ὦ Κῦρε, προθυμίας, αἰτοῦμαί σε καὶ παρακαλῶ
προσθεῖναι τῷ μισθῷ τῶν ναυτῶν ὀβολόν, ὅπως
4 τετρώβολον ἀντὶ τριωβόλου λαμβάνωσιν.” ἡσ-
θεὶς οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μυρίους αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς ἔδωκεν, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιμετρήσας τὸν ὀβολὸν τοῖς ναύταις καὶ λαμπρυνάμενος ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων κενὰς ἐποίησεν. ἀπεφοίτων γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλέον δι-

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profits, so that from that time on, and through his efforts, the city had hopes of achieving the stateliness and grandeur which it now enjoys.

IV. When he learned that Cyrus, the King's son, was come to Sardis,¹ he went up to confer with him and to accuse Tissaphernes, who, though he was commissioned to aid the Lacedaemonians and drive the Athenians from the sea, was thought to be remiss in his duty, through the efforts of Alcibiades,² showing lack of zeal, and destroying the efficiency of the fleet by the meagre subsidies which he gave. Now Cyrus was well pleased that Tissaphernes, who was a base man and privately at feud with him, should be accused and maligned. By this means, then, as well as by his behaviour in general, Lysander made himself agreeable, and by the submissive deference of his conversation, above all else, he won the heart of the young prince, and roused him to prosecute the war with vigour. At a banquet which Cyrus gave him as he was about to depart, the prince begged him not to reject the tokens of his friendliness, but to ask plainly for whatever he desired, since nothing whatsoever would be refused him. "Since, then," said Lysander in reply, "thou art so very kind, I beg and entreat thee, Cyrus, to add an obol to the pay of my sailors, that they may get four obols instead of three."³ Cyrus, accordingly, delighted with his public spirit, gave him ten thousand darics, out of which he added the obol to the pay of his seamen, and, by the renown thus won, soon emptied the ships of his enemies. For most of their seamen

¹ He succeeded Tissaphernes as satrap of Lydia.

² Cf. *Alcibiades*, xxv. 1-2.

³ Cf. *Xen. Hell.* i. 5, 6 f.

δόντας, οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἀπρόθυμοι καὶ στασιώδεις ἐγίνοντο καὶ κακὰ παρέειχον ὅσημέραι τοῖς στρατη-
 5 γοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως περισπάσας καὶ κακώσας τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Λύσανδρος ὠρρώδει ναυμαχεῖν, δραστήριον ὄντα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ νεῶν πλήθει περιόντα καὶ μάχας καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς ἐκείνο χρόνου πάσας ἀήττητον ἡγωνισμένον δεδοικώς.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδης εἰς Φωκαίαν ἐκ Σάμου διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόλου καταλιπὼν Ἀντίοχον τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος οἶον ἐφυβρίζων τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ θρασυνόμενος ἐπέπλευσε δυσὶ τριήρεσιν εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων καὶ παρὰ τὸν ναύσταθμον γέλῳτι καὶ πατάγῳ χρώμενος σοβαρῶς παρήλαυνεν, ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Λύσανδρος καὶ κατασπάσας τὸ πρῶτον οὐ πολλὰς τῶν τριήρων ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἰδὼν δὲ αὐ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθοῦντας ἄλλας ἐπλήρου,
 2 καὶ τέλος ἐναυμάχουν συμπεσόντες. ἐνῖκα δὲ Λύσανδρος, καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις λαβὼν ἔστησε τρόπαιον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὁ μὲν ἐν ἄστει δῆμος ὀργισθεὶς ἀπεχειροτόνησεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ στρατιωτῶν ἀτιμαζόμενος καὶ κακῶς ἀκούων ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν μάχην, καίπερ οὐ μεγάλην τῇ πράξει γενομένην, ἡ τύχη δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην ὀνομαστήν ἐποίησεν.

3 Ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἰς Ἐφεσον μεταπεμπόμενος οὕς ἐώρα μάλιστα ταῖς τε τόλμαις καὶ τοῖς φρονήμασιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄντας, ἀρχὰς ὑπέσπειρε τῶν ὕστερον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων δεκαδαρχῶν καὶ νεωτερισμῶν, προ-

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came over to those who offered higher pay, and those who remained were listless and mutinous, and gave daily trouble to their officers. However, although he had thus injured and weakened his enemies, Lysander shrank from a naval battle, through fear of Alcibiades, who was energetic, had a greater number of ships, and in all his battles by land and sea up to that time had come off victorious.

V. But after this, Alcibiades sailed away from Samos to Phocaea, leaving Antiochus, his pilot, in command of the fleet; and Antiochus, as if in bold mockery of Lysander, put in to the harbour of Ephesus with two triremes, and rowed ostentatiously past his ships, as they lay drawn up on shore, with noise and laughter. Lysander was incensed, and launching at first only a few of his triremes, pursued him; then seeing that the Athenians were coming to the rescue, he manned others, and at last the action became general. Lysander was victorious, too, captured fifteen triremes, and set up a trophy. Thereupon the people of Athens, flying into a passion, deposed Alcibiades from his command, and finding himself slighted and abused by the soldiers at Samos, he left the camp and sailed off to the Chersonese. This battle, then, although actually not a great one, was made memorable by its bearing on the fortunes of Alcibiades.¹

Lysander now summoned from their various cities to Ephesus men whom he saw to be most eminent for confidence and daring, and sowed in their minds the seeds of the revolutionary decadarchies² afterwards instituted by him, urging and inciting them to

¹ Cf. *Alcibiades*, xxxv.-xxxvi.

² Governing bodies of ten men.

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τρέπων καὶ παροξύνων ἑταιρικὰ συνίστασθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥς ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῶν τε δήμων ἀπαλλαζομένους καὶ δυναστεύοντας ἐν ταῖς
 4 πατρίσι. τούτων δὲ τὴν πίστιν ἐκάστω δι' ἔργων παρεῖχε, τοὺς ἤδη γεγονότας φίλους αὐτῷ καὶ ξένους εἰς μεγάλα πράγματα καὶ τιμὰς καὶ στρατηγίας ἀνάγων, καὶ συναδικῶν καὶ συνεξαμαρτάνων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων πλεονεξίας, ὥστε προσέχειν ἅπαντας αὐτῷ καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ποθεῖν, ἐλπίζοντας οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσειν τῶν
 5 μεγίστων ἐκείνου κρατοῦντος. διὸ καὶ Καλλικρατίδαν οὐτ' εὐθύς ἠδέως εἶδον ἐλθόντα τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ διάδοχον τῆς ναυαρχίας, οὔτε, ὥς ὕστερον διδοὺς πείραν ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο πάντων ἄριστος καὶ δικαιοτάτος, ἡρέσκοντο τῷ τρόπῳ 436 τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπλοῦν τι καὶ Δώριον ἐχούσης καὶ ἀληθινόν. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὥσπερ ἀγάλματος ἡρωϊκοῦ κάλλος ἐθαύμαζον, ἐπόθουν δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου σπουδὴν καὶ τὸ φιλέταιρον καὶ χρειῶδες ἐζήτουν, ὥστε ἀθυμεῖν ἐκπλέοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δακρύειν.

VI. Ὁ δὲ τούτους τε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ δυσμενεστέρους ἐποίει ἔτι μᾶλλον, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου χρημάτων αὐτῷ δεδομένων εἰς τὸ ναυτικὸν τὰ περιόντα πάλιν εἰς Σάρδεις ἀνέπεμψεν, αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν, εἰ βούλοιτο, τὸν Καλλικρατίδαν καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως θρέψοι τοὺς στρατιώτας κελεύσας.
 2 τέλος δὲ ἀποπλέων ἐμαρτύρατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι

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form political clubs in their several cities, and apply themselves to public affairs, assuring them that as soon as the Athenian empire was destroyed, they could rid themselves of their democracies and become themselves supreme in power. Moreover, by actual benefits he gave them all a confidence in this future, promoting those who were already his friends and allies to large enterprises and honours and commands, and taking a share himself in their injustice and wickedness in order to gratify their rapacity. Therefore all attached themselves to him, courted his favour, and fixed their hearts upon him, expecting to attain all their highest ambitions if only he remained in power. Therefore, too, they neither looked kindly upon Callicratidas at the first, when he came to succeed Lysander in the admiralty,¹ nor afterwards, when he had shown by manifest proofs that he was the justest and noblest of men, were they pleased with the manner of his leadership, which had a certain Doric simplicity and sincerity. They did, indeed, admire his virtue, as they would the beauty of a hero's statue; but they yearned for the zealous support of Lysander, and missed the interest which he took in the welfare of his partisans, so that when he sailed away they were dejected and shed tears.

VI. Lysander made these men yet more disaffected towards Callicratidas. He also sent back to Sardis what remained of the money which Cyrus had given him for the navy, bidding Callicratidas ask for it himself, if he wished, and see to the maintenance of his soldiers. And finally, as he sailed away, he called Callicratidas to witness that

¹ Late in the year 407 B.C. It was Spartan policy to change their admiral yearly.

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- θαλασσοκρατοῦν τὸ ναυτικὸν παραδίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ἐλέγξει τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἀλαζονικὴν καὶ κενὴν οὖσαν, “Οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “λαβὼν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμον καὶ περιπλεύσας εἰς Μίλητον ἐκεῖ μοι παράδος τὰς τριήρεις· δεδιέναι γὰρ οὐ χρὴ παραπλέοντας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ πολεμίους,
- 3 εἰ θαλασσοκρατοῦμεν.” πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Λύσανδρος ὅτι οὐκ αὐτός, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνος ἄρχοι τῶν νεῶν, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἐν πολλῇ τὸν Καλλικρατίδαν ἀπορία καταλιπών. οὔτε γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἀφικτο χρήματα κομίζων, οὔτε τὰς πόλεις ἀργυρολογεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι μοχθηρὰ
- 4 πραττούσας ὑπέμεινε. λοιπὸν οὖν ἦν ἐπὶ θύρας ἰόντα τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, ὥσπερ Λύσανδρος, αἰτεῖν· πρὸς δὲ πάντων ἀφνέστατος ἐτύγγα-
νευ, ἀνὴρ ἐλευθέριος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων ἦτταν Ἑλλησιν ἡγούμενος εὐπρε-
πεστέραν εἶναι τοῦ κολακεύειν καὶ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ θύρας ἀνθρώπων βαρβάρων, πολὺ χρυσίον, ἄλλο δ’ οὐδὲν καλὸν ἐχόντων.
- 5 Ἐκβιαζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας, ἀναβὰς εἰς Λυδίαν εὐθύς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ φράζειν προσέταξεν ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας ὁ ναύαρχος ἤκει διαλεχθῆναι βουλόμενος αὐτῷ. τῶν δ’ ἐπὶ θύραις τινὸς εἰπόντος, “Ἄλλ’ οὐ σχολὴ νῦν, ὦ ξένε, Κύρῳ· πίνει γάρ,” ἀφε-
λέστατά πως ὁ Καλλικρατίδας, “Οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “δεινόν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐστὼς ἀναμενῶ, μέχρι πίῃ.”
- 6 τότε μὲν οὖν δόξας ἀγροϊκὸς τις εἶναι καὶ κατα-
γελασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπῆλθεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ θύρας οὐ παρείθη, βαρέως

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the fleet which he handed over to him was in command of the sea. But he, wishing to prove the emptiness and vanity of this ambitious boast, said : " In that case, keep Samos on the left, sail to Miletus, and there hand the triremes over to me ; surely we need not fear to sail past the enemy at Samos if we are masters of the sea." To this Lysander answered that Callicratidas, and not he, was in command of the ships, and sailed off to Peloponnesus, leaving Callicratidas in great perplexity.¹ For neither had he brought money from home with him, nor could he bear to lay the cities under forced contribution when they were already in an evil plight. The only course left, therefore, was to go to the doors of the King's generals, as Lysander had done, and ask for money. For this he was of all men least fitted by nature, being of a free and lofty spirit, and one who thought any and every defeat of Greeks at the hands of Greeks more becoming to them than visits of flattery to the houses of Barbarians, who had much gold, but nothing else worth while.

Constrained, however, by his necessities, he went up into Lydia, proceeded at once to the house of Cyrus, and ordered word to be sent in that Callicratidas the admiral was come and wished to confer with him. And when one of the door-keepers said to him : " But Cyrus is not at leisure now, Stranger, for he is at his wine " ; Callicratidas replied with the utmost simplicity : " No matter, I will stand here and wait till he has had his wine." This time, then, he merely withdrew, after being taken for a rustic fellow and laughed at by the Barbarians. But when he was come a second time to the door and

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* i. 6, 2 f.

ἐνεγκὼν εἰς Ἐφεσον ᾗχετο, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπα-
 ρώμενος κακὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐντρυφηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ
 βαρβάρων καὶ διδάξασιν αὐτοὺς ὑβρίζειν διὰ
 7 πλοῦτον, ὁμνύων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἡ μὴν,
 ὅταν πρῶτον εἰς Σπάρτην παραγένηται, πάντα
 ποιήσῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλυθῆναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς
 φοβεροὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις εἶεν αὐτοὶ καὶ παύσαιντο
 τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους δεόμενοι δυνάμεως.

VII. Ἀλλὰ Καλλικρατίδας μὲν ἄξια τῆς
 Λακεδαιμόνος διανοηθεῖς, καὶ γενόμενος τοῖς ἄκ-
 ροις ἐνάμιλλος τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ
 μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν, μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον
 ἐν Ἀργινοῦσαις καταναυμαχηθεὶς ἠφανίσθη. τῶν
 δὲ πραγμάτων ὑποφερομένων οἱ σύμμαχοι πρεσ-
 βείαν πέμποντες εἰς Σπάρτην ἡτοῦντο Λύσανδρον
 ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν, ὥς πολὺ προθυμότερον ἀν-
 τιληψόμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνου στρατηγού-
 2 τος. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Κῦρος ἀξιῶν ἐπέστελλεν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμος ἦν οὐκ ἔων δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν,
 ἐβούλοντό τε χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς συμμάχοις οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς ναυαρχίας Ἀράκῳ
 τινὶ περιέθεσαν, τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ἐπιστολέα τῷ
 λόγῳ, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ κύριον ἀπάντων ἐξέπεμψαν.
 τοῖς μὲν οὖν πλείστοις τῶν πολιτευομένων καὶ
 δυναμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πάλαι ποθούμενος
 ἦκεν ἡλπίζον γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἰσχύσειν δι' αὐτοῦ
 3 παντάπασι τῶν δήμων καταλυθέντων τοῖς δὲ
 τὸν ἀπλοῦν καὶ γεναῖον ἀγαπῶσι τῶν ἡγεμόνων 437

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was refused admittance, he was indignant, and set off for Ephesus, invoking many evils upon those who first submitted to the mockery of the Barbarians and taught them to be insolent because of their wealth, and swearing roundly to the bystanders that as soon as he got back to Sparta, he would do all he could to reconcile the Greeks with one another, in order that they might themselves strike fear into the Barbarians, and cease soliciting their power against each other.

VII. But Callicratidas, after cherishing purposes worthy of Lacedaemon, and showing himself worthy to compete with the most eminent of the Greeks by reason of his righteousness, magnanimity, and valour, not long afterwards lost the sea-fight at Arginusae and vanished from among men.¹ Then, their cause declining, the allies sent an embassy to Sparta and asked that Lysander be made admiral, declaring that they would grapple much more vigorously with the situation if he were their commander. Cyrus also sent to make the same request. Now the Lacedaemonians had a law forbidding that the same man should be admiral twice, and yet they wished to gratify their allies; they therefore invested a certain Aracus with the title of admiral, and sent out Lysander as vice-admiral,² nominally, but really with supreme power. So he came out, as most of those who had political power and influence in the cities had long desired, for they expected to become still stronger by his aid when the popular governments had been utterly overthrown; but to those who loved simplicity and nobility in the character of their leaders,

¹ In the late summer of 406 B.C. (*Xen. Hell.* i. 6, 33).

² In the spring of 405 B.C. (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 1, 7).

τρόπον, ὁ Λύσανδρος τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ παρα-
 βαλλόμενος ἐδόκει πανοὔργος εἶναι καὶ σοφιστής,
 ἀπάταις τὰ πολλὰ διαποικίλλων τοῦ πολέμου
 καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῷ λυσιτελοῦντι μεγαλύνων,
 εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ συμφέροντι χρώμενος ὥς καλῷ, καὶ
 τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐ φύσει τοῦ ψεύδους κρεῖττον ἡγού-
 μενος, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρου τῇ χρεία τὴν τιμὴν ὀρίζων.
 4 τῶν δ' ἀξιούντων μὴ πολεμεῖν μετὰ δόλου τοὺς
 ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονότας καταγελαῶν ἐκέλευεν·
 “Ὅπου γὰρ ἡ λεοντὴ μὴ ἐφικνεῖται, προσραπτέον
 ἐκεῖ τὴν ἀλωπεκὴν.”

VIII. Τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ Μίλητον
 ἱστορεῖται. τῶν γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, οἷς ὑπέ-
 σχετο συγκαταλύσειν τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ συνεκ-
 βαλεῖν τοὺς διαφόρους, μεταβαλομένων καὶ διαλ-
 λαγόντων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, φανερώς μὲν ἦδεσθαι
 προσεποιεῖτο καὶ συνδιαλλάττειν, κρύφα δὲ
 λοιδορῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ κακίζων παρώξυνεν ἐπι-
 2 θέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς. ὥς δὲ ἦσθετο γινομένην
 τὴν ἐπανάστασιν, ὁξέως βοηθήσας καὶ παρεισελ-
 θὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἷς πρῶτοις ἐπιτύχοι τῶν
 νεωτεριζόντων ἐχαλέπαινε τῇ φωνῇ καὶ προσῆγε
 τραχυνόμενος ὥς ἐπιθήσων δίκην αὐτοῖς, τοὺς
 δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι προσ-
 3 δοκᾶν δεινὸν αὐτοῦ παρόντος. ὑπεκρίνετο δὲ
 ταῦτα καὶ διεποίκιλλε, τοὺς δημοτικωτάτους καὶ
 κρατίστους βουλόμενος μὴ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' ἀποθα-
 νεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέιναντας. δ καὶ συνέβη·
 πάντες γὰρ ἀπεσφάγησαν οἱ καταπιστεύσαντες.

Ἀπομνημονεύεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀνδροκλείδου λόγος
 πολλήν τινα κατηγορῶν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου περὶ τοὺς

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Lysander, compared with Callicratidas, seemed to be unscrupulous and subtle, a man who tricked out most of what he did in war with the varied hues of deceit, extolling justice if it was at the same time profitable, but if not, adopting the advantageous as the honourable course, and not considering truth as inherently better than falsehood, but bounding his estimate of either by the needs of the hour. Those who demanded that the descendants of Heracles should not wage war by deceit he held up to ridicule, saying that "where the lion's skin will not reach, it must be patched out with the fox's."

VIII. Of such a sort were his dealings with Miletus, according to the record. For when his friends and allies, whom he had promised to aid in overthrowing the democracy and expelling their opponents, changed their minds and became reconciled to their foes, openly he pretended to be pleased and to join in the reconciliation; but in secret he reviled and abused them, and incited them to fresh attacks upon the multitude. And when he perceived that the uprising was begun, he quickly came up and entered the city, where he angrily rebuked the first conspirators whom he met, and set upon them roughly, as though he were going to punish them, but ordered the rest of the people to be of good cheer and to fear no further evil now that he was with them. But in this he was playing a shifty part, wishing the leading men of the popular party not to fly, but to remain in the city and be slain. And this was what actually happened; for all who put their trust in him were slaughtered.

Furthermore, there is a saying of Lysander's, recorded by Androcleides, which makes him guilty of

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- 4 ὅρκους εὐχέριαν. ἐκέλευε γάρ, ὥς φησι, τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ὅρκοις ἐξαπατᾶν, ἀπομιμούμενος Πολυκράτη τὸν Σάμιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τύραννον στρατηγός, οὐδὲ Λακωνικὸν τὸ χρῆσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ὥσπερ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑβριστικώτερον. ὁ γὰρ ὅρκῳ παρακρουόμενος τὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν ὁμολογεῖ δεδιέναι, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖν.

- IX. Ὁ δ' οὖν Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν Λύσανδρον, τὰ μὲν ἔδωκε, τὰ δὲ ὑπέσχετο, νεανιευσάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου χάριν καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ὁ πατήρ διδώη καταχορηγήσειν τὰ οἰκεία· κἂν ἐπιλίπη πάντα, κατακόψειν ἔφη τὸν θρόνον ἐφ' ᾧ καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζε, χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν
2 ὄντα. τέλος δὲ εἰς Μηδίαν ἀναβαίνων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, τοὺς τε φόρους ἀπέδειξε τῶν πόλεων λαμβάνειν ἐκείνον, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ διεπίστευσεν ἀρχήν· ἀσπασάμενος δὲ καὶ δεηθεὶς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Ἀθηναίοις, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι πάλιν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ναῦς ἔχοντα πολλὰς ἔκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας, ἀνέβαινεν ὡς βασιλέα.

- Λύσανδρος δὲ μήτε ναυμαχεῖν ἀγχωμάλῳ πλήθει δυνάμενος μήτε ἀργὸς καθέζεσθαι μετὰ νεῶν τοσούτων, ἀναχθεὶς ἐνίας προσηγάγετο τῶν νήσων, Αἰγινάν τε καὶ Σαλαμῖνα προσμίξας κατέδραμεν.
3 εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβὰς καὶ τὸν Ἀγιν ἀσπασάμενος, κατέβη γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκ Δεκελείας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπέδειξε τῷ πεζῷ παρόντι τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1, 13 f.

² In the spring of 413 B.C. the Spartans had fortified Deceleia, a few miles N.W. of Athens, and stationed there a

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the greatest recklessness in the matter of oaths. It was his policy, according to this authority, "to cheat boys with knuckle-bones, but men with oaths," thus imitating Polycrates of Samos; not a proper attitude in a general towards a tyrant, nor yet a Laconian trait to treat the gods as one's enemies are treated, nay, more outrageously still; since he who overreaches his enemy by means of an oath, confesses that he fears that enemy, but despises God.

IX. Well, then, Cyrus summoned Lysander to Sardis, and gave him this, and promised him that, ardently protesting, to gratify him, that he would actually squander his own fortune, if his father gave him nothing for the Spartans; and if all else failed, he said he would cut up the throne on which he sat when giving audience, a throne covered with gold and silver. And finally, as he was going up into Media to wait upon his father, he assigned to Lysander the tribute of the cities, and entrusted his own government to him; and embracing him in farewell, and begging him not to fight the Athenians at sea until he was come back, and promising to come back with many ships from Phoenicia and Cilicia, he set out to go up to the King.¹

Then Lysander, who could neither fight a naval battle on equal terms, nor remain idle with the large fleet at his disposal, put out to sea and reduced some of the islands, and touching at Aegina and Salamis, overran them. Then he landed in Attica and saluted Agis, who came down in person from Deceleia² to meet him, and displayed to the land forces there the

permanent garrison under Agis the king. Lysander's ravaging of Aegina and Salamis was just before his siege of Athens, according to Xenophon (*Hell.* ii. 2, 9).

ρώμην, ὡς πλέων ἢ βούλοιτο, κρατῶν τῆς θαλάττης. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αἰσθόμενος διώκοντας αὐτὸν ἄλλω δρόμῳ διὰ νήσων ἔφευγεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

- 4 Καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔρημον καταλαβὼν ἐπεχείρει Λαμψακηνοῖς αὐτὸς ἐκ θαλάττης ταῖς ναυσί, Θώραξ δὲ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ συνανύσας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ προσέβαλε τοῖς τείχεσιν. ἔλὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στόλος ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρων ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἄρτι καθωρμισμένος εἰς Ἑλαιοῦντα τῆς Χερρονήσου, πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ἀπολωλέναι τὴν Λάμψακον εὐθύς εἰς 438

- 5 Σηστὸν καταίρουσι. κακεῖθεν ἐπισιτισάμενοι παρέπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς, ἀντιπέρασ τῶν πολεμίων ἔτι ναυλοχούντων περὶ τὴν Λάμψακον. ἐστρατήγουν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Φιλοκλῆς ὁ πείσας ποτὲ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀποκόπτειν τὸν δεξιὸν ἀντίχειρα τῶν ἀλισκομένων κατὰ πόλεμον, ὅπως δόρυ μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύνωνται, κώπην δὲ ἐλαύνωσι.

Χ. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀνεπαύοντο πάντες, ἐλπίζοντες εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ναυμαχήσειν. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἄλλα μὲν διενοεῖτο, προσέταττε δὲ ναύταις καὶ κυβερνήταις, ὡς ἀγῶνος ἅμα ἡμέρα γενησομένου, περὶ ὄρθρον ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις καὶ καθέζεσθαι κόσμῳ καὶ σιωπῇ, δεχομένους τὸ παραγελλόμενον, ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐν τάξει

- 2 παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἡσυχάζειν. ἀνίσχοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μετωπηδὸν ἀπάσαις ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ προκαλουμένων, ἀντιπρώρους

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strength of his fleet, with the mien of one who sailed where he pleased and was master of the sea. But on learning that the Athenians were pursuing him, he fled by another route through the islands to Asia.

Finding the Hellespont unguarded, he himself attacked Lampsacus from the sea with his ships, while Thorax, co-operating with the land forces, assaulted the walls. He took the city by storm, and gave it up to his soldiers to plunder.¹ Meanwhile the Athenian fleet of a hundred and eighty triremes had just arrived at Elaeus in the Chersonese, and learning that Lampsacus had fallen, they straightway put in at Sestos. There they took in provisions, and then sailed along to Aegospotami, over against their enemies, who were still in station at Lampsacus. The Athenians were under the command of several generals, among whom was Philocles, the man who had recently persuaded the people to pass a decree that their prisoners of war should have the right thumb cut off, that they might not be able to wield a spear, though they might ply an oar.²

X. For the time being, then, all rested, expecting that on the morrow the fleets would engage. But Lysander was planning otherwise, and ordered his seamen and pilots, as though there would be a struggle at daybreak, to go on board their triremes in the early morning, and take their seats in order and in silence, awaiting the word of command, and that the land forces also, in the same manner, remain quietly in their ranks by the sea. When the sun rose, however, and the Athenians sailed up with all their ships in line and challenged to battle, although

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1, 18 f. ² See the note on xiii. 1.

- ἔχων τὰς ναῦς καὶ πεπληρωμένας ἔτι νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀνῆγετο, πέμπων δὲ ὑπηρετικὰ παρὰ τὰς πρώτας τῶν νεῶν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ μένειν ἐν τάξει μὴ
- 3 θορυβουμένους μὴδ' ἀντεκπλέοντας. οὕτω δὲ περὶ δείλῃν ἀποπλέοντων ὀπίσω τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ πρότερον ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀφῆκεν, εἰ μὴ δύο καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἃς ἔπεμψε κατασκόπους, ἐλθεῖν ἰδόντας ἀποβεβηκότας τοὺς πολεμίους. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία πάλιν ἐγίνοντο ταῦτα καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ μέχρι τετάρτης, ὥστε πολὺ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις θράσος ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ καταφρόνησιν ὡς δεδιότων καὶ συνεσταλμένων τῶν πολεμίων.
- 4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ περὶ Χερρόνησον ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τείχεσι διαιτώμενος) ἵππῳ προσελάσας πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡτῖατο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς πρῶτον μὲν οὐ καλῶς οὐδ' ἀσφαλῶς στρατοπεδεύειν ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς δυσόρμοις καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις· ἔπειτα πόρρωθεν ἐκ Σηστοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια λαμβάνοντας ἀμαρτάνειν,
- 5 δέον εἰς λιμένα καὶ πόλιν Σηστὸν δι' ὀλίγου περιπλεύσαντας, ἀπωτέρω γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐφορμούντων στρατεύματι μοναρχουμένῳ καὶ πάντα πρὸς φόβον ὀξέως ἀπὸ συνθήματος ὑπηρετοῦντι. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντος οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, Τυδεὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπεκρίνατο, φήσας οὐκ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους στρατηγεῖν.

XI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑποπτεύσας τι καὶ προδοσίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπηλλάττετο. πέμπτη

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he had his ships drawn up in line to meet them and fully manned before it was light, he did not put out from his position, but sending despatch-boats to the foremost of his ships, ordered them to keep quiet and remain in line, not getting into confusion nor sailing out to meet the enemy. And so towards evening, when the Athenians sailed back, he did not allow his men to leave their ships until two or three triremes, which he sent to reconnoitre, came back, after seeing that the enemy had disembarked. On the following day this was done again, and on the third, and at last on the fourth, so that the Athenians became very bold and contemptuous, believing that their enemies were huddling together in fear.

At this juncture, Alcibiades, who was living in his own fortress on the Chersonese, rode up to the Athenian army and censured the generals, first, for having pitched their camp in a bad and even dangerous place on an open beach where there was no roadstead; and second, for the mistake of getting their provisions from distant Sestos, when they ought to sail round the coast a little way to the harbour and city of Sestos, where they would be at a longer remove from their enemies, who lay watching them with an army commanded by a single man, the fear of whom led it to obey his every order promptly. These were the lessons he gave them, but they would not receive them, and Tydeus actually gave him an insolent answer, saying that he was not general now, but others.¹

XI. Alcibiades, accordingly, suspecting that some treachery was afoot among them, went away. But

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1, 20-26; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, xxxvi. 4-xxxvii. 1.

- δὲ ἡμέρα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιησαμένων τὸν ἐπί-
πλουν καὶ πάλιν ἀπερχομένων, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν,
ὀλιγώρως πάνυ καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ὁ Λύσανδρος
ἐκπέμπων τὰς κατασκόπους ναῦς ἐκέλευσε τοὺς
τριηράρχους, ὅταν ἴδωσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκβε-
βηκότας, ἐλαύνειν ἀποστρέψαντας ὀπίσω τάχει
παντί, καὶ γενομένους κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον
ἀσπίδα χαλκὴν ἐπάρασθαι πρῶραθεν ἐπίπλου •
- 2 σύμβολον. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ τριηρ-
άρχους ἐπιπλέων ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ παρῶρμα συν-
έχειν ἕκαστον ἐν τάξει τὸ πλήρωμα καὶ τοὺς
ναύτας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, ὅταν δὲ σημανθῇ, μετὰ
προθυμίας καὶ ῥώμης ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-
μίους. ὥς δὲ ἦ τε ἀσπίς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἤρθη καὶ
τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ἐσήμαινεν ἀπὸ τῆς
ναυαρχίδος, ἐπέπλεον μὲν αἱ νῆες, ἡμιλλῶντο δὲ
- 3 οἱ πεζοὶ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν. τὸ δὲ
μεταξὺ τῶν ἡπείρων διάστημα ταύτῃ πεντεκαί-
δεκα σταδίων ἐστί, καὶ ταχέως ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καὶ
προθυμίας τῶν ἐλαυνόντων συνήρητο. Κόνων δὲ
πρῶτος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
ιδὼν ἐπιπλέοντα τὸν στόλον ἐξαίφνης ἀνεβόησεν
ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ περιπαθῶν τῷ κακῷ τοὺς μὲν
ἐκάλει, τῶν δὲ ἐδεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ ἠνάγκαζε πληροῦν
- 4 τὰς τριήρεις. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῦ τῆς σπουδῆς 439
ἐσκεδασμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὥς γὰρ ἐξέβησαν,
εὐθύς, ἅτε μηδὲν προσδοκῶντες, ἡγόραζον, ἐπλα-
νῶντο περὶ τὴν χώραν, ἐκάθευδον ὑπὸ ταῖς
σκηναῖς, ἡριστοποιοῦντο, πορρωτάτω τοῦ μέλλον-
- 5 τος ἀπειρία τῶν ἡγουμένων ὄντες. ἤδη δὲ κραυγὴ
καὶ ῥοθίῳ προσφερομένων τῶν πολεμίων ὁ μὲν

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on the fifth day, when the Athenians had sailed over to the enemy and back again, as was now their wont, very carelessly and contemptuously, Lysander, as he sent out his reconnoitring ships, ordered their commanders, as soon as they saw that the Athenians had disembarked, to put about and row back with all speed, and when they were half way across, to hoist a brazen shield at the prow, as a signal for the onset. And he himself sailed round and earnestly exhorted the pilots and trierarchs to keep all their crews at their post, sailors and soldiers alike, and as soon as the signal was given, to row with ardour and vigour against the enemy. When, therefore, the shield was hoisted on the lookout ships, and the trumpet on the admiral's ship signalled the attack, the ships sailed forth, and the land forces ran their fastest along the shore to seize the promontory. The distance between the two continents at this point is fifteen furlongs, and such was the zealous ardour of the rowers that it was quickly consumed. Conon, the Athenian general, who was the first to see from the land the onset of the fleet, suddenly shouted orders to embark, and deeply stirred by the threatening disaster, called upon some, besought others, and forced others still to man the triremes. But his eager efforts were of no avail, since the men were scattered. For just as soon as they had disembarked, since they expected no trouble, some went to market, some walked about the country, some lay down to sleep in their tents, and some began to get their suppers ready, being as far as possible removed from any thought of what was to happen, through the inexperience of their commanders. The shouts and splashing oars of the oncoming enemy were already

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Κόνων ὁκτὼ ναυσὶν ὑπεξέπλευσε καὶ διαφυγὼν ἀπεπέρασεν εἰς Κύπρον πρὸς Εὐαγόραν, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπιπεσόντες οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τὰς μὲν κενὰς παντάπασιν ἤρουν, τὰς δ' ἔτι πληρουμένας ἔκοπτον. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέθνησκον ἄνοπλοι καὶ σποράδες ἐπιβοηθοῦντες, ἔν τε τῇ γῇ φεύγοντες ἀποβάντων τῶν πολεμίων
 6 ἐκτείνοντο. λαμβάνει δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἅπαν δὲ τὸ ναύσταθμον ἄνευ τῆς Παράλου καὶ τῶν μετὰ Κόνωνος ἐκφυγουσῶν. ἀναδησάμενος δὲ τὰς ναῦς καὶ διαπορθήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ αὐλοῦ καὶ παιάνων ἀνέπλευσεν εἰς Λάμψακον, ἔργον ἐλαχίστῳ πόνῳ μέγιστον ἐξειργασμένος, καὶ συνηρηκὼς ὥρα μιᾷ χρόνου μήκιστον καὶ ποικιλώτατον πάθει τε καὶ τύχαις ἀπιστότατον
 7 τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολέμων, ὃς μυρίας μορφὰς ἀγῶνων καὶ πραγμάτων μεταβολὰς ἀμείψας, καὶ στρατηγούς ὄσους οὐδὲ οἱ σύμπαντες οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναλώσας, ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐβουλία καὶ δεινότητι συνήρητο· διὸ καὶ θεῖόν τινες ἡγήσαντο τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον.

XII. Ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐπὶ τῆς Λυσάνδρου νεὼς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅτε τοῦ λιμένος ἐξέπλει πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄστρα τοῖς οἶαξιν ἐπιλάμψαι λέγοντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ λίθου πτώσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τούτῳ σημεῖόν φασι

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heard, when Conon, with eight ships, sailed stealthily away, and making his escape, proceeded to Cyprus, to Evagoras; but the Peloponnesians fell upon the rest of the ships, some of which they took entirely empty, and others they disabled while their crews were still getting aboard. And the men, coming up unarmed and in straggling fashion, perished at their ships, or if they fled by land, their enemies, who had disembarked, slew them. Lysander took three thousand men prisoners, together with their generals, and captured the whole fleet, excepting the *Paralus*¹ and the ships that had made their escape with Conon. So after plundering his enemy's camp and taking their ships in tow, he sailed back to Lampsacus, to the sound of pipes and hymns of victory. He had wrought a work of the greatest magnitude with the least toil and effort, and had brought to a close in a single hour a war which, in length, and the incredible variety of its incidents and fortunes, surpassed all its predecessors. Its struggles and issues had assumed ten thousand changing shapes, and it had cost Hellas more generals than all her previous wars together, and yet it was brought to a close by the prudence and ability of one man. Therefore some actually thought the result due to divine intervention.

XII. There were some who declared that the Dioscuri² appeared as twin stars on either side of Lysander's ship just as he was sailing out of the harbour against the enemy, and shone out over the rudder-sweeps. And some say also that the falling of the stone was a portent of this disaster; for ac-

¹ One of the sacred state-galleys. It now carried the news of the disaster to Athens (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 1, 28).

² Castor and Pollux.

- γενέσθαι· κατηνέχθη γάρ, ὡς ἡ δόξα τῶν πολλῶν, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παμμεγέθης λίθος εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς.
- 2 καὶ δείκνυται μὲν ἔτι νῦν, σεβομένων αὐτὸν τῶν Χερρονησιτῶν· λέγεται δὲ Ἀναξαγόραν προειπεῖν ὡς τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐνδεδεμένων σωμάτων, γενομένου τινὸς ὀλισθήματος ἢ σάλου, ῥίψις ἔσται καὶ πτώσις ἐνὸς ἀπορραγέντος· εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐν ἡ πέφυκε χώρα· λιθώδη γὰρ ὄντα καὶ βαρέα λάμπειν μὲν ἀντερείσει καὶ περικλάσει τοῦ αἰθέρος, ἔλκεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ βίας σφιγγόμενα δίνη καὶ τόνῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς, ὥς που καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκρατήθη μὴ πεσεῖν δεῦρο, τῶν ψυχρῶν καὶ βαρέων ἀποκρινομένων τοῦ παντός.
- 3 Ἔστι δέ τις πιθανωτέρα δόξα ταύτης, εἰρηκόντων ἐνίων ὡς οἱ διάττοντες ἀστέρες οὐ ῥύσις εἰσὶν οὐδ' ἐπινέμησις αἰθέριου πυρὸς ἐν ἀέρι κατασβεννυμένου περὶ τὴν ἕξαψιν αὐτήν, οὐδὲ ἀέρος εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν πλῆθει λυθέντος ἔκπρησις καὶ ἀνάφλεξις, ῥίψις δὲ καὶ πτώσις οὐρανίων σωμάτων οἷον ἐνδόσει τινὶ τόνου καὶ περιτρόπου¹ κινήσεως ἐκπαλῶν φερομένων οὐ πρὸς τὸν οἰκούμενον τόπον τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων ἐκτὸς εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκπιπτόντων θάλατταν· διὸ καὶ λανθάνουσι.
- 4 Τῷ δ' Ἀναξαγόρᾳ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Δαίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εὐσεβείας, ἱστορῶν ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν τὸν λίθον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε συνεχῶς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἑωρᾶτο πύρινον σῶμα

¹ περιτρόπου the correction of Coraës: παρατρόπου (unusual).

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according to the common belief, a stone of vast size had fallen from heaven at Aegospotami,¹ and it is shown to this day by the dwellers in the Chersonese, who hold it in reverence. Anaxagoras is said to have predicted that if the heavenly bodies should be loosened by some slip or shake, one of them might be torn away, and might plunge and fall down to earth; and he said that none of the stars was in its original position; for being of stone, and heavy, their shining light is caused by friction with the revolving aether, and they are forced along in fixed orbits by the whirling impulse which gave them their circular motion, and this was what prevented them from falling to our earth in the first place, when cold and heavy bodies were separated from universal matter.

But there is a more plausible opinion than this, and its advocates hold that shooting stars are not a flow or emanation of aetherial fire, which the lower air quenches at the very moment of its kindling, nor are they an ignition and blazing up of a quantity of lower air which has made its escape into the upper regions; but they are plunging and falling heavenly bodies, carried out of their course by some relaxation in the tension of their circular motion, and falling, not upon the inhabited region of the earth, but for the most part outside of it and into the great sea; and this is the reason why they are not noticed.

But Daimachus, in his treatise "On Religion," supports the view of Anaxagoras. He says that before the stone fell, for seventy-five days continually, there was seen in the heavens a fiery body of

¹ In 468-7 B.C., according to the Parian marble (*ep.* 57) and Pliny, *N. H.* ii. 149 f.

παμμέγεθες, ὥσπερ νέφος φλογοειδές, οὐ σχολάζον, ἀλλὰ πολυπλόκους καὶ κεκλασμένας φορὰς φερόμενον, ὥστε ὑπὸ σάλου καὶ πλάνης ἀπορρηγνύμενα πυροειδῇ σπάσματα φέρεσθαι πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἀστράπτειν, ὥσπερ οἱ διάττοντες ἀστέρες.

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τῆς γῆς ἔβρισε καὶ παυσάμενοι φόβου καὶ θάμβους οἱ ἐπιχώριοι συνήλθον, ὥφθη πυρὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔργον οὐδ' ἶχνος τοσοῦτο,¹ λίθος δὲ κείμενος, ἄλλως μὲν μέγας, οὐθὲν δὲ μέρος, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐκείνης τῆς πυροειδοῦς περιοχῆς ἔχων. 440

6 δεῖται δὴλός ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ ἀληθής ὁ λόγος, ἐξελέγχει κατὰ κράτος τοὺς φάσκοντας ἔκ τινος ἀκρωρείας ἀποκοπεῖσαν πνεύμασι καὶ ζάλαις πέτραι, ὑποληφθεῖσαν δ' ὥσπερ οἱ στρόβιλοι, καὶ φερομένην, ἣ πρῶτον ἐνέδωκε καὶ διελύθη τὸ περιδινῆσαν,

7 ἐκριφῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν. εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία πῦρ μὲν ἦν ὄντως τὸ φαινόμενον ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, σβέσις δὲ καὶ φθορὰ μεταβολὴν ἀέρι παρέσχευε εἰς πνεύματα βιαιότερα καὶ κινήσεις, ὑφ' ὧν συνέτυχεν καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐκριφῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐτέρῳ γένει γραφῆς διακριβωτέον.

XIII. Ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ τῶν τρισχιλίων Ἀθηναίων, οὓς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους, ὑπὸ τῶν συνέδρων θάνατος κατέγνωστο, καλέσας Φιλοκλέα τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἠρώτησεν τίνα τιμᾶται δίκην ἑαυτῷ τοιαῦτα περὶ Ἑλλήνων συμβεβου-

¹ τοσοῦτο Coraës and Bekker adopt Reiske's correction to τοσοῦτου.

¹ See chapter ix. 5. According to Xenophon (*Hell.* ii. 1, 31 f.), however, the Athenians had passed a decree that, if victorious in the sea-fight, they would cut off the right hand

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vast size, as if it had been a flaming cloud, not resting in one place, but moving along with intricate and irregular motions, so that fiery fragments, broken from it by its plunging and erratic course, were carried in all directions and flashed fire, just as shooting stars do. But when it had fallen in that part of the earth, and the inhabitants, after recovering from their fear and amazement, were assembled about it, no action of fire was seen, nor even so much as a trace thereof, but a stone lying there, of large size, it is true, but one which bore almost no proportion at all to the fiery mass seen in the heavens. Well, then, that Daimachus must needs have indulgent readers, is clear; but if his story is true, he refutes utterly those who affirm that a rock, which winds and tempests had torn from some mountain top, was caught up and borne along like a spinning top, and that at the point where the whirling impetus given to it first relaxed and ceased, there it plunged and fell. Unless, indeed, what was seen in the heavens for many days was really fire, the quenching and extinction of which produced a change in the air resulting in unusually violent winds and agitations, and these brought about the plunge of the stone. However, the minute discussion of this subject belongs to another kind of writing.

XIII. Lysander, after the three thousand Athenians whom he had taken prisoners had been condemned to death by the special council of allies, calling Philocles, their general, asked him what punishment he thought should be visited upon him for having given his fellow-citizens such counsel regarding Greeks.¹ of every prisoner; and the crime of Philocles was that he had ordered the crews of two captured triremes to be thrown over a precipice.

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- 2 λευκῶς τοῖς πολίταις. ὁ δὲ οὐδέν τι πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν ἐνδοὺς ἐκέλευσε μὴ κατηγορεῖν ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ δικαστής, ἀλλὰ νικῶντα πράττειν ἅπερ ἂν νικηθεὶς ἔπασχεν· εἶτα λουσάμενος καὶ λαβὼν χλανίδα λαμπρὰν πρῶτος ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἡγεῖτο τοῖς πολίταις, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πλέων ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἀθηναίων μὲν οἷς ἐπιτύχοι ἐκέλευε πάντας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπιέναι· φείσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδενός, ἀλλ'
- 3 ἀποσφάξειν ὃν ἂν ἔξω λάβῃ τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττε καὶ συνήλαινεν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταχὺ λιμὸν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ σπάνιν, ὅπως μὴ πράγματα παρὰσχοιεν αὐτῷ τὴν πολιορκίαν εὐπόρως ὑπομένοντες. καταλύων δὲ τοὺς δήμους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, ἓνα μὲν ἄρμωσθὴν ἐκάστη Λακεδαιμόνιον κατέλιπε, δέκα δὲ ἄρχοντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγκεκροτη-
- 4 μένων κατὰ πόλιν ἑταιρειῶν. καὶ ταῦτα πράττων ὁμοίως ἐν τε ταῖς πολεμίαις καὶ ταῖς συμμάχοις γεγενημέναις πόλεσι, παρέπλει σχολαίως, τρόπον τινὰ κατασκευαζόμενος ἑαυτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀριστίνδην οὔτε πλουτίνδην ἀπεδείκνυε τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλ' ἑταιρείαις καὶ ξενίαις χαριζόμενος τὰ πράγματα καὶ κυρίους ποιῶν τιμῆς τε καὶ κολάσεως, πολλὰς δὲ παραγινόμενος αὐτὸς σφαγαῖς καὶ συνεκβάλλων τοὺς τῶν φίλων ἐχθρούς, οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς ἐδίδου τοῖς Ἑλλησι δεῦγμα τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς,

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But he, not one whit softened by his misfortunes, bade him not play the prosecutor in a case where there was no judge, but to inflict, as victor, the punishment he would have suffered if vanquished. Then, after bathing and putting on a rich robe, he went first to the slaughter and showed his countrymen the way, as Theophrastus writes. After this, Lysander sailed to the various cities, and ordered all the Athenians whom he met to go back to Athens, for he would spare none, he said, but would slaughter any whom he caught outside the city. He took this course, and drove them all into the city together, because he wished that scarcity of food and a mighty famine should speedily afflict the city, in order that they might not hinder him by holding out against his siege with plenty of provisions. He also suppressed the democratic, and the other forms of government, and left one Lacedaemonian harmost¹ in each city, and ten rulers chosen from the political clubs which he had organized throughout the cities. This he did alike in the cities which had been hostile, and in those which had become his allies, and sailed along in leisurely fashion, in a manner establishing for himself the supremacy over Hellas. For in his appointments of the rulers he had regard neither to birth nor wealth, but put control of affairs into the hands of his comrades and partisans, and made them masters of rewards and punishments. He also took part himself in many massacres, and assisted in driving out the enemies of his friends. Thus he gave the Greeks no worthy specimen of Lacedaemonian rule, nay,

¹ The specific name for the governor whom the Lacedaemonians sent out to the islands and cities of Greece during their supremacy.

5 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς Θεόπομπος ἔοικε ληρεῖν ἀπεικάζων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς καπηλίαις, ὅτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἡδιστον ποτὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας γεύσαντες ὄξος ἐνέχεαν· εὐθύς γὰρ ἦν τὸ γεῦμα δυσχερὲς καὶ πικρόν, οὔτε τοὺς δῆμους κυρίους τῶν πραγμάτων ἐὼντος εἶναι τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, καὶ τῶν ὀλίγων τοῖς θρασυτάτοις καὶ φιλονεικοτάτοις τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρίζοντος.

XIV. Διατρίψας δὲ περὶ ταῦτα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν, καὶ προπέμψας εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὅτι προσπλεῖ μετὰ νεῶν διακοσίων, συνέμιξε περὶ Ἀττικὴν Ἀγιδι καὶ Πανσανίᾳ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς ταχὺ συναιρήσων τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντείχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, λαβὼν τὰς ναῦς πάλιν εἰς Ἀσίαν διεπέρασε· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων ὁμαλῶς ἀπασὼν κατέλυε τὰς πολιτείας καὶ καθίστη δεκαδαρχίας, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν ἐκάστη σφαττομένων, πολλῶν δὲ φευγόντων, Σαμίους δὲ πάντας ἐκβαλὼν παρέδωκε τοῖς φυγάσι τὰς πόλεις.

- 2 Σησιπὸν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων ἀφελόμενος οὐκ εἴασεν οἰκεῖν Σησιτίους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῷ κυβερνήταις καὶ κελευσταῖς ἔδωκε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν νέμεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἀντέκρουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοὺς Σησιτίους
- 3 αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν κατήγαγον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνά γε τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πάντες ἡδέως ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, 441 Αἰγινήτας τε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν

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even the comic poet Theopompus was thought absurd in likening the Lacedaemonians to tavern-women, because they gave the Greeks a very pleasant sip of freedom, and then dashed the wine with vinegar; for from the very first the taste was harsh and bitter, since Lysander not only would not suffer the people to be masters of their affairs, but actually put the cities into the hands of the boldest and most contentious of the oligarchs.

XIV. After he had spent some little time in this business, and had sent messengers to Lacedaemon to report that he was sailing up with two hundred ships, he made a junction in Attica with the forces of Agis and Pausanias, the kings, believing that he would speedily capture the city.¹ But since the Athenians held out against them, he took his ships and crossed again to Asia. Here he suppressed the governments of all the remaining cities in like manner, and set up decadarchies, many citizens being slain in each city, and many banished; he also drove out all the Samians, and handed their cities over to the men whom they had banished.² Moreover, when he had taken Sestos out of the hands of the Athenians, he would not permit the Sestians to dwell there, but gave the city and its territory to be divided among men who had been pilots and boatswains under him. And this was the first step of his which was resisted by the Lacedaemonians, who restored the Sestians again to their country. But there were other measures of Lysander upon which all the Greeks looked with pleasure, when, for instance, the Aeginetans, after a long time,³ re-

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2, 5-9.

² This was after the fall of Athens (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3, 6 f.).

³ They had been expelled by the Athenians in 431 B.C.

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ἀπολαμβάνοντας καὶ Μηλίους καὶ Σκιωναίους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνοικιζομένους, ἐξελαυνομένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδιδόντων.

- Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει κακῶς ἔχειν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πυνθανόμενος κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ παρεστήσατο τὴν πόλιν, ἀναγκασθεῖσαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευε ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις.
- 4 καίτοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι λεγόντων ὡς Λύσανδρος μὲν ἔγραψε τοῖς ἐφόροις τάδε· “Ἀλώ-
καντι ταὶ Ἀθῆναι,” Λυσάνδρῳ δ' ἀντέγραψαν οἱ ἔφοροι· “Ἀρκεῖ τό γε ἐαλῶκειν.” ἀλλ' εὐπρεπείας χάριν οὗτος ὁ λόγος πέπλασται. τὸ δ' ἀληθινὸν δόγμα τῶν ἐφόρων οὕτως εἶχε· “Τάδε τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔγνω· καβ-
βαλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη, καὶ ἐκβάντες ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τὰν αὐτῶν γᾶν ἔχοντες, ταῦτά κα δρῶντες τὰν εἰράναν ἔχοιτε, αἱ χρήδοιτε, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἀνέντες.
- 5 περὶ τὰν ναῶν τῷ πλήθεος, ὁκοῖόν τί κα τηρεῖ δοκέη, ταῦτα ποιεέτε.” ταύτην δὲ προσεδέξαντο τὴν σκυτάλην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Θηραμένους τοῦ Ἀγνωνος συμβουλευσάντος· ὅτε καὶ φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν νέων τινὸς δημαγωγῶν Κλεομένους ἐρωτώ-
μενον εἰ τολμᾷ τὰναντία Θεμιστοκλεῖ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, παραδιδούς τὰ τεῖχῃ τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις, ἃ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκόντων ἐκεῖνος ἀν-
6 ἔστησεν, εἰπεῖν· “Ἄλλ' οὐδέν, ὦ μεираάκιον, ὑπε-
ναντίον ἐγὼ πράττω Θεμιστοκλεῖ· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ τεῖχῃ κακεῖνος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀν-

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ceived back their own city, and when the Melians¹ and Scionaeans² were restored to their homes by him, after the Athenians had been driven out and had delivered back the cities.

And now, when he learned that the people of Athens were in a wretched plight from famine, he sailed into the Piraeus, and reduced the city, which was compelled to make terms on the basis of his commands. It is true one hears it said by Lacedaemonians that Lysander wrote to the ephors thus: "Athens is taken"; and that the ephors wrote back to Lysander: "'Taken' were enough"; but this story was invented for its neatness' sake.³ The actual decree of the ephors ran thus: "This is what the Lacedaemonian authorities have decided: tear down the Piraeus and the long walls; quit all the cities and keep to your own land; if you do these things, and restore your exiles, you shall have peace, if you want it. As regards the number of your ships, whatsoever shall be decided there, this do."⁴ This edict was accepted by the Athenians, on the advice of Theramenes the son of Hagnon, who, they say, being asked at this time by Cleomenes, one of the young orators, if he dared to act and speak the contrary to Themistocles, by surrendering those walls to the Lacedaemonians which that statesman had erected in defiance of the Lacedaemonians, replied: "But I am doing nothing, young man, that is contrary to Themistocles; for the same walls which he erected

¹ The island and city of Melos were captured and depopulated by the Athenians in the winter of 416-415 B.C.

² The city of Scionè, on the Chalcidic peninsula, was captured and depopulated by the Athenians in 421 B.C.

³ To illustrate the Spartan passion for brevity of speech.

⁴ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2, 20.

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έστηκε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ σωτηρία καταβαλοῦμεν. εἰ δὲ τὰ τεῖχη τὰς πόλεις εὐδαίμονας ἐποίει, πασῶν ἔδει πρᾶττειν κάκιστα τὴν Σπάρτην ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν.”

XV. ‘Ο δ’ οὖν Λύσανδρος, ὡς παρέλαβε τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπάσας πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἕκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ Μουνυχιῶνος μηνός, ἐν ἣ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων τὸν βάρβαρον, ἐβούλευσεν εὐθύς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν
2 μεταστήσαι. δυσπειθῶς δὲ καὶ τραχέως φερόντων, ἀποστείλας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἔφη τὴν πόλιν εἰληφέναι παρασπονδοῦσαν· ἐστάναι γὰρ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν αἷς ἔδει καθηρῆσθαι παρωχημένων. ἐτέραν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προθήσειν γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς τὰς ὁμολογίας λελυκότων. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ προτεθῆναί φασιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμού γνώμην ἐν τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον Ἐρίανθον εἰσηγγήσασθαι τὸ μὲν ἄστυ κατασκάψαι, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀνεῖναι
3 μηλόβοτον. εἶτα μέντοι συνουσίας γενομένης τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρὰ πότον, καί¹ τινος Φωκέως ἄσαντος ἐκ τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἠλέκτρας τὴν πάροδον ἥς ἡ ἀρχή

Ἀγαμέμνωνος ὦ κόρα,
ἤλυθον, Ἠλέκτρα, ποτὶ σὰν ἀγρότειραν αὐλάν,

πάντας ἐπικλασθῆναι, καὶ φανῆναι σχέτλιον ἔργον τὴν οὕτως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ τοιούτους ἀνδρας φέρουσαν ἀνελεῖν καὶ διεργάσασθαι πόλιν.

4 ‘Ο δ’ οὖν Λύσανδρος ἐνδόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων

¹ παρὰ πότον καὶ Bekker follows Coraës in transposing to καὶ παρὰ πότον.

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for the safety of the citizens, we shall tear down for their safety. And if walls made cities prosperous, then Sparta must be in the worst plight of all, since she has none."

XV. Lysander, accordingly, when he had taken possession of all the ships of the Athenians except twelve, and of their walls, on the sixteenth day of the month Munychion, the same on which they conquered the Barbarian in the sea-fight at Salamis, took measures at once to change their form of government. And when the Athenians opposed him bitterly in this, he sent word to the people that he had caught the city violating the terms of its surrender; for its walls were still standing, although the days were past within which they should have been pulled down; he should therefore present their case anew for the decision of the authorities, since they had broken their agreements. And some say that in very truth a proposition to sell the Athenians into slavery was actually made in the assembly of the allies, and that at this time Erianthus the Theban also made a motion that the city be razed to the ground, and the country about it left for sheep to graze. Afterwards, however, when the leaders were gathered at a banquet, and a certain Phocian sang the first chorus in the "Electra" of Euripides,¹ which begins with

"O thou daughter of Agamemnon,
I am come, Electra, to thy rustic court,"

all were moved to compassion, and felt it to be a cruel deed to abolish and destroy a city which was so famous, and produced such poets.

So then, after the Athenians had yielded in all

¹ Verses 167 f. (Kirchhoff).

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πρὸς ἅπαντα, πολλὰς μὲν ἐξ ἄστεος μεταπεμψά-
 μενός αὐλητρίδας, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατο-
 πέδῳ συναγαγόν, τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτε καὶ τὰς
 τριήρεις κατέφλεγε πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν, ἐστεφανω-
 μένων καὶ παιζόντων ἅμα τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς
 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄρχουσιν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.
 5 εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκίνησε,
 τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ
 καταστήσας ἄρχοντας, ἐμβαλὼν δὲ φρουρὰν εἰς
 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ Καλλίβιον ἄρμοστήν, ἄνδρα
 Σπαρτιάτην, ἐπιστήσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος Αὐτό-
 λυκον τὸν ἀθλητὴν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ συμπόσιον ὁ Ξενο-
 φῶν πεποίηκε, τὴν βακτηρίαν διαράμενος παίσειν
 ἔμελλεν, ὁ δὲ τῶν σκελῶν συναράμενος ἀνέτρεψεν
 αὐτόν, οὐ συνηγανάκτησεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ συνεπετίμησε,¹ φήσας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι 442
 ἐλευθέρων ἄρχειν. ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Αὐτόλυκον
 οἱ τριάκοντα τῷ Καλλιβίῳ χαριζόμενοι μικρὸν
 ὕστερον ἀνείλυν.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀπὸ τούτων γενόμενος,
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐξέπλευσε, τῶν δὲ χρη-
 μάτων τὰ περιόντα καὶ ὅσας δωρεὰς αὐτὸς ἢ
 στεφάνους ἐδέξατο, πολλῶν, ὡς εἰκός, διδόντων
 ἀνδρὶ δυνατωτάτῳ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ κυρίῳ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος, ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα διὰ Γυ-
 λίππου τοῦ στρατηγῆσαντος περὶ Σικελίαν. ὁ
 δέ, ὡς λέγεται, τὰς ῥαφὰς τῶν ἀγγείων κάτωθεν

¹ συνεπετίμησε Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to ἐπετί-
 μησε.

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2, 23.

² The scene of the "Symposium" is laid at the house of

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points, Lysander sent for many flute-girls from the city, and assembled all those who were already in the camp, and then tore down the walls, and burned up the triremes, to the sound of the flute, while the allies crowned themselves with garlands and made merry together, counting that day as the beginning of their freedom.¹ Then, without delay, he also made changes in the form of government, establishing thirty rulers in the city and ten in Piræus. Further, he put a garrison into the acropolis, and made Callibius, a Spartan, its harmost. He it was who once lifted his staff to smite Autolycus, the athlete, whom Xenophon makes the chief character in his "Symposium";² and when Autolycus seized him by the legs and threw him down, Lysander did not side with Callibius in his vexation, but actually joined in censuring him, saying that he did not understand how to govern freemen. But the Thirty, to gratify Callibius, soon afterwards put Autolycus to death.

XVI. Lysander, after settling these matters, sailed for Thrace himself, but what remained of the public moneys, together with all the gifts and crowns which he had himself received,—many people, as was natural, offering presents to a man who had the greatest power, and who was, in a manner, master of Hellas,—he sent off to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had held command in Sicily.³ But Gylippus, as it is said, ripped open the sacks at the bottom,

Callias, to which Autolycus and his father have been invited, together with Socrates and some of his friends.

³ As Spartan general sent out to aid the Syracusans, he had turned the success of the besieging Athenians into disaster. See the *Nicias*, chapters xviii. ff.

- ἀναλύσας καὶ ἀφελὼν συχνὸν ἀργύριον ἐξ ἐκάστου πάλιν συνέρραψεν, ἀγνοήσας ὅτι γραμματίδιον ἐνῆν ἐκάστῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν σημαῖνον.
- 2 ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Σπάρτην ἃ μὲν ὑφῆρτο κατέκρυψεν ὑπὸ τὸν κέραμον τῆς οἰκίας, τὰ δὲ ἀγγεῖα παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τὰς σφραγίδας ἐπέδειξεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοιζάντων καὶ ἀριθμούντων διεφώνει πρὸς τὰ γράμματα τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ παρείχε τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀπορίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, φράζει θεράπων τοῦ Γυλίππου πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰνιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῷ κεραμικῷ κοιτάζεσθαι πολλὰς γλαῦκας. ἦν γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ πλείστου τότε νομίσματος διὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους γλαῦκες.

- XVII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Γύλιππος αἰσχρὸν οὕτω καὶ ἀγεννὲς ἔργον ἐπὶ λαμπροῖς τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ μεγάλοις ἐργασάμενος μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. οἱ δὲ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος ἰσχὺν φοβηθέντες, ὥς οὐχὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἀπτομένην πολιτῶν, τὸν τε Λύσανδρον ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ διεμαρτύραντο τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγίμους. οἱ δὲ προϋθεσαν γνώμην.
- 2 καὶ Θεόπομπος μὲν φησι Σκιραφίδαν, Ἐφορος δὲ Φλογίδαν εἶναι τὸν ἀποφηνάμενον ὥς οὐ χρὴ προσδέχεσθαι νόμισμα χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι τῷ πατρίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν σιδηροῦν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅξει καταβαπτόμενον ἐκ πυρός, ὅπως μὴ καταχαλκεύοιτο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν βαφὴν ἄστομον καὶ ἀδρανὲς γίνοιτο, ἔπειτα βαρύσταθμον καὶ δυσπαρακόμιστον καὶ

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and after taking a large amount of silver from each, sewed them up again, not knowing that there was a writing in each indicating the sum it held. And when he came to Sparta, he hid what he had stolen under the tiles of his house, but delivered the sacks to the ephors, and showed the seals upon them. When, however, the ephors opened the sacks and counted the money, its amount did not agree with the written lists, and the thing perplexed them, until a servant of Gylippus made the truth known to them by his riddle of many owls sleeping under the tiling. For most of the coinage of the time, as it seems, bore the effigy of an owl, owing to the supremacy of Athens.

XVII. Gylippus, then, after adding a deed so disgraceful and ignoble as this to his previous great and brilliant achievements, removed himself from Lacedaemon. And the wisest of the Spartans, being led by this instance in particular to fear the power of money, which they said was corrupting influential as well as ordinary citizens, reproached Lysander, and fervently besought the ephors to purify the city of all the silver and the gold, as imported curses. The ephors deliberated on the matter. And it was Sciraphidas, according to Theopompus, or Phlogidas, according to Ephorus, who declared that they ought not to receive gold and silver coinage into the city, but to use that of the country. Now this was of iron, and was dipped in vinegar as soon as it came from the fire, that it might not be worked over, but be made brittle and intractable by the dipping.¹ Besides, it was very heavy and troublesome

¹ Cf. *Lycurgus*, ix. 2.

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- ἀπὸ πολλοῦ τινος πλήθους καὶ ὄγκου μικράν
 3 **τινα** ἀξίαν δυνάμενον. κινδυνεύει δὲ καὶ τὸ
 πάμπαν ἀρχαῖον οὕτως ἔχειν, ὀβελίσκοις χρω-
 μένων νομίσμασι¹ σιδηροῖς, ἐνίων δὲ χαλκοῖς· ἀφ'
 ὧν παραμένει πλήθος ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν κερμάτων
 ὀβολοὺς καλεῖσθαι, δραχμὴν δὲ τοὺς ἕξ ὀβολοὺς·
 τοσούτων γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ περιεδράττετο.
- 4 **Τῶν** δὲ Λυσάνδρου φίλων ὑπεναντιουμένων
 καὶ σπουδασάντων ἐν τῇ πόλει καταμεῖναι τὰ
 χρήματα, δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἔδοξεν εἰσάγεσθαι νόμισμα
 τοιοῦτον, ἂν δέ τις ἀλῶ κεκτημένος ἰδίᾳ, ζημίαν
 ὦρισαν θάνατον, ὥσπερ τοῦ Λυκούργου τὸ
 νόμισμα φοβηθέντος, οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ νομίσματι
 φιλαργυρίαν, ἣν οὐκ ἀφήρει τὸ μὴ κεκτήσθαι
 τὸν ἰδιωτην, ὥς τὸ κεκτήσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰσε-
 ποιεῖτο,² τῆς χρείας ἀξίαν προσλαμβανούσης καὶ
 5 **ζῆλον**. οὐ γὰρ ἦν δημοσίᾳ τιμώμενον ορῶντας
 ἰδίᾳ καταφρονεῖν ὥς ἀχρήστου, καὶ πρὸς τὰ
 οἰκεία νομίζειν ἐκάστῳ μηδενὸς ἄξιον πρᾶγμα τὸ
 κοινῇ οὕτως εὐδοκιμοῦν καὶ ἀγαπώμενον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πολλῷ τάχιον ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων
 ἐπιρρέουσιν οἱ ἐθισμοὶ τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς βίοις ἢ τὰ
 καθ' ἕκαστον ὀλισθήματα καὶ πάθη τὰς πόλεις
 6 **ἀναπίμπλησι** πραγμάτων πονηρῶν. τῷ γὰρ ὅλῳ
 συνδιαστρέφεσθαι τὰ μέρη μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἐνδῶ
 πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, εἰκός, αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μέρους εἰς ὅλον
 ἀμαρτίαι πολλὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ βοηθείας ἀπὸ
 τῶν ὑγιαινόντων ἔχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ταῖς μὲν οἰκίαις
 τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅπως οὐ πάρειςιν εἰς αὐτὰς νόμισ- 443
 μα, τὸν φόβον ἐπέστησαν φύλακα καὶ τὸν νόμον,

¹ νομίσμασι Bekker corrects to νομίσματι.

² εἰσεποιεῖτο Bekker adopts Coraës' correction to εἰσεποιεῖ.

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to carry, and a great quantity and weight of it had but little value. Probably, too, all the ancient money was of this sort, some peoples using iron spits for coins, and some bronze; whence it comes that even to this day many small pieces of money retain the name of "oboli," or *spits*, and six "oboli" make a "drachma," or *handful*, since that was as many as the hand could grasp.

But since Lysander's friends opposed this measure, and insisted that the money remain in the city, it was resolved that money of this sort could be introduced for public use, but that if any private person should be found in possession of it, he should be punished with death; just as though Lycurgus had feared the coin, and not the covetousness which the coin produced. And this vice was not removed by allowing no private person to possess money, so much as it was encouraged by allowing the city to possess money, its use thereby acquiring dignity and honour. Surely it was not possible for those who saw money publicly honoured, to despise it privately as of no service; or to consider as worthless for the individual's private use that which was publicly held in such repute and esteem. Moreover, it takes far less time for public practices to affect the customs of private life, than it does for individual lapses and failings to corrupt entire cities. For it is natural that the parts should rather be perverted along with the whole, when that deteriorates; but the diseases which flow from a part into the whole find many correctives and aids in the parts which remain sound. And so these magistrates merely set the fear of the law to guard the houses of the citizens, that money might have no entrance there, but did not keep their

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αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεκπλήκτους καὶ ἀπαθεῖς
πρὸς ἀργύριον οὐ διετήρησαν, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς
ζῆλον ὡς σεμνοῦ δή τινος καὶ μεγάλου τοῦ πλου-
τεῖν ἅπαντας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ δι' ἐτέρας
που γραφῆς ἠψάμεθα Λακεδαιμονίων.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἔστησεν ἀπὸ τῶν
λαφύρων ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτοῦ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα καὶ
τῶν ναυάρχων ἐκάστου καὶ χρυσοῦς ἀστέρας
τῶν Διοσκούρων, οἱ πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἠφανί-
σθησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρασίδου καὶ Ἀκανθίων
θησαυρῷ τριήρης ἔκειτο διὰ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένη
καὶ ἐλέφαντος δυεῖν πηχῶν, ἣν Κῦρος αὐτῷ νικη-
2 τήριον ἔπεμψεν. Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ὁ Δελφὸς
ἱστορεῖ καὶ παρακαταθήκην ἐνταῦθα Λυσάνδρου
κεῖσθαι τάλαντον ἀργυρίου καὶ μνᾶς πεντήκοντα
δύο καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἑνδεκα στατήρας, οὐχ ὁμο-
λογούμενα γράφων τοῖς περὶ τῆς πενίας τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ὁμολογουμένοις. τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος
ὅσον οὐδεὶς τῶν πρόσθεν Ἑλλήνων δυνηθεὶς
ἐδόκει φρονήματι καὶ ὄγκῳ μείζονι κεχρῆσθαι τῆς
3 δυνάμεως. πρῶτῳ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις,
Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ βωμοὺς αἱ πόλεις ἀνέστησαν ὡς
θεῷ καὶ θυσίας ἔθυσαν, εἰς πρῶτον δὲ παιᾶνες
ῆσθησαν, ὧν ἐνὸς ἀρχὴν ἀπομνημονεύουσι
τοιάνδε·

Τὸν Ἑλλάδος ἀγαθέας
στραταγὸν ἀπ' εὐρυχόρου
Σπάρτας ὑμνήσομεν, ὦ,
ἱὴ Παιάν.

4 Σάμιοι δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἡραῖα Λυσάνδρεια
καλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν Χοιρίλον

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spirits undaunted by the power of money and in sensible to it; they rather inspired them all with an emulous desire for wealth as a great and noble object of pursuit. On this point, however, we have censured the Lacedaemonians in another treatise.¹

XVIII. Out of the spoils, Lysander set up at Delphi bronze statues of himself and each of his admirals, as well as golden stars of the Dioscuri, which disappeared before the battle of Leuctra.² And in the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians³ there was stored a trireme two cubits long, made of gold and ivory, which Cyrus sent Lysander as a prize for his victory. Moreover, Anaxandrides the Delphian writes that a deposit of Lysander's was also stored there, consisting of a talent of silver, and fifty-two minas, and eleven staters besides; a statement that is inconsistent with the generally accepted accounts of his poverty. At any rate, Lysander was at this time more powerful than any Greek before him had been, and was thought to cherish a pretentious pride that was greater even than his power. For he was the first Greek, as Duris writes, to whom the cities erected altars and made sacrifices as to a god, the first also to whom songs of triumph were sung. One of these is handed down, and begins as follows:—

“The general of sacred Hellas
who came from wide-spaced Sparta
will we sing, O! io! Paean.”

The Samians, too, voted that their festival of Hera should be called Lysandreia. And the poet Choe-

¹ *Inst. Lacon.* 42 (*Morals*, p. 239 f.).

² An omen of the defeat of the Spartans in that battle (371 B.C.).

³ Cf. chapter i. 1.

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μὲν αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ὥς κοσμήσοντα τὰς
 πράξεις διὰ ποιητικῆς, Ἀντιλόχῳ δὲ ποιήσαντι
 μετρίους τινὰς εἰς αὐτὸν στίχους ἡσθεὶς ἔδωκε
 πλήσας ἀργυρίου τὸν πῖλον. Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ
 Κολοφωνίου καὶ Νικηράτου τινὸς Ἡρακλεώτου
 ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεια διαγωνισαμένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 τὸν Νικῆρατον ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος
 5 ἀχθεσθεὶς ἠφάνισε τὸ ποίημα. Πλάτων δὲ νέος
 ὢν τότε, καὶ θαυμάζων τὸν Ἀντίμαχον ἐπὶ τῇ
 ποιητικῇ, βαρέως φέροντα τὴν ἡτταν ἀνελάμβανε
 καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κακὸν εἶναι φά-
 μενος τὴν ἀγνοίαν, ὥσπερ τὴν τυφλότητα τοῖς μὴ
 βλέπουσιν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ κιθαρωδὸς Ἀριστόνους
 ἐξάκις Πύθια νενικηκὼς ἐπηγγέλλετο τῷ Λυ-
 σάνδρῳ φιλοφρονούμενος, ἂν νικήσῃ πάλιν,
 Λυσάνδρου κηρύξειν ἑαυτόν, “Ἡ δοῦλον;” εἶπεν.

XIX. Ἄλλ' ἡ μὲν φιλοτιμία τοῦ Λυσάνδρου
 τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ ἰσοτίμοις ἦν ἐπαχθὴς μόνον.
 ὑπεροψίας δὲ πολλῆς ἅμα τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ διὰ τοὺς
 θεραπεύοντας ἐγγενομένης τῷ ἦθει καὶ βαρύτητος,
 οὔτε τιμῆς οὔτε τιμωρίας μέτρον ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ
 δημοτικόν, ἀλλὰ φιλίας μὲν ἄθλα καὶ ξενίας
 ἀνυπεύθυνοι δυναστεῖαι πόλεων καὶ τυραννίδες
 ἀνεξέταστοι, θυμοῦ δὲ μία πλήρωσις ἀπολέσθαι
 2 τὸν ἀπεχθόμενον· οὐδὲ γὰρ φυγεῖν ἐξῆν. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ Μιλησίων ὕστερον τοὺς τοῦ δήμου προϊστα-
 μένους δεδιὼς μὴ φύγῳσι, καὶ προαγαγεῖν τοὺς
 κεκρυμμένους βουλόμενος, ὥμοσε μὴ ἀδικήσειν·

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rilus was always kept in his retinue, to adorn his achievements with verse; while with Antilochus, who composed some verses in his honour, he was so pleased that he filled his cap with silver and gave it to him. And when Antimachus of Colophon and a certain Niceratus of Heracleia competed with one another at the Lysandreia in poems celebrating his achievements, he awarded the crown to Niceratus, and Antimachus, in vexation, suppressed his poem. But Plato, who was then a young man, and admired Antimachus for his poetry, tried to cheer and console him in his chagrin at this defeat, telling him that it is the ignorant who suffer from their ignorance, just as the blind do from their blindness. However, when Aristonoüs the harper, who had been six times victor at the Pythian games, told Lysander in a patronizing way that if he should be victorious again, he would have himself proclaimed under Lysander's name, "That is," Lysander replied, "as my slave?"

XIX. Now to the leading men, and to his equals, the ambition of Lysander was annoying merely. But since, owing to the court that was paid to him, great haughtiness and severity crept into his character along with his ambition, there was no such moderation as would become a popular leader either in his rewards or punishments, but the prizes he awarded to his friends and allies were irresponsible lordships over cities, and absolute sovereignties, while the sole punishment that could satisfy his wrath was the death of his enemy; not even exile was allowed. Nay, at a later time, fearing lest the active popular leaders of Miletus should go into exile, and desiring to bring from their retreats those also who were in hiding, he made oath that he would do them no

πιστεύσαντας δὲ καὶ προελθόντας ἀποσφάξαι
 τοῖς ὀλιγαρχικοῖς παρέδωκεν, οὐκ ἐλάττονας
 3 ὀκτακοσίων συναμφοτέρους ὄντας. ἦν δὲ καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δημοτικῶν φόνος οὐκ
 ἀριθμητός, ἅτε δὴ μὴ κατ' ἰδίας μόνον αἰτίας
 αὐτοῦ κτείνοντος, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς μὲν ἔχθραις,
 πολλαῖς δὲ πλεονεξίαις τῶν ἐκασταχόθι φίλων
 χαριζόμενον τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ συνεργούντος. ὅθεν
 εὐδοκίμησεν Ἐτεοκλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἰπὼν ὡς
 οὐκ ἂν ἡ Ἑλλὰς δύο Λυσάνδρους ἦνεγκε. τὸ δὲ
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου φησὶ Θεό- 444
 4 φραστος εἰπεῖν Ἀρχέστρατον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν
 ὕβρις ἦν καὶ τρυφή σὺν αὐθαδεῖα τὸ μάλιστα
 δυσχεραίνόμενον· τὴν δὲ Λυσάνδρου δύναμιν ἡ
 τοῦ τρόπου χαλεπότης φοβερὰν ἐποίει καὶ
 βαρεῖαν.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οὐ πάννυ
 προσείχον ἐγκαλοῦσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀδι-
 κούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ἄγοντος καὶ
 φέροντος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγορούς,
 ἀγανακτήσαντες οἱ ἔφοροι τῶν μὲν φίλων αὐτοῦ
 καὶ συστρατήγων ἓνα Θώρακα λαβόντες ἀργύριον
 ἰδίᾳ κεκτημένον ἀπέκτειναν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σκυτάλην
 ἐπεμψαν ἥκειν κελεύοντες.
 5 Ἔστι δὲ ἡ σκυτάλη τοιοῦτον. ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐκπέμ-
 πωσι ναύαρχον ἢ στρατηγὸν οἱ ἔφοροι, ξύλα δύο
 στρογγύλα μῆκος καὶ πάχος ἀκριβῶς ἀπισώ-
 σαντες, ὥστε ταῖς τομαῖς ἐφαρμόζειν πρὸς ἄλληλα,
 τὸ μὲν αὐτοὶ φυλάττουσι, θάτερον δὲ τῷ πεμπο-
 μένῳ διδόασιν. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ξύλα σκυτάλας
 6 καλοῦσιν. ὅταν οὖν ἀπόρρητόν τι καὶ μέγα

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harm; but when the first put faith in him and the second came forth, he delivered them all over to the oligarchs for slaughter, being no less than eight hundred of both classes. In the other cities also untold numbers of the popular party were slain, since he killed not only for his own private reasons, but also gratified by his murders the hatred and cupidity of his many friends everywhere, and shared the bloody work with them. Wherefore Eteocles the Lacedaemonian won great approval when he said that Hellas could not have borne two Lysanders. Now this same utterance was made by Archestratus concerning Alcibiades also,¹ as Theophrastus tells us. But in his case it was insolence, and wanton self-will, that gave most offence; whereas Lysander's power was made dreadful and oppressive by the cruelty of his disposition.

The Lacedaemonians paid little heed to the rest of his accusers, but when Pharnabazus, who was outraged by Lysander's pillaging and wasting his territory, sent men to Sparta to denounce him, the ephors were incensed, and when they found Thorax, one of Lysander's friends and fellow-generals, with money in his private possession, they put him to death, and sent a dispatch-scroll to Lysander, ordering him home.

The dispatch-scroll is of the following character. When the ephors send out an admiral or a general, they make two round pieces of wood exactly alike in length and thickness, so that each corresponds to the other in its dimensions, and keep one themselves, while they give the other to their envoy. These pieces of wood they call "scytalae." Whenever, then, they

¹ Cf. *Alcibiades*, xvi. 5.

φράσαι βουληθῶσι, βιβλίον ὥσπερ ἱμάντα μακρὸν καὶ στενὸν ποιούμεντες περιελίττουσι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς σκυτάλην, οὐδὲν διάλειμμα ποιούμεντες, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν κύκλῳ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτῆς τῷ βιβλίῳ καταλαμβάνοντες. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἂν βούλονται καταγράφουσιν εἰς τὸ βιβλίον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ τῇ σκυτάλῃ περικείμενον· ὅταν δὲ γράψωσιν, ἀφελόντες τὸ βιβλίον ἄνευ τοῦ ξύλου πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλουσι.

7 δεξάμενος δὲ ἐκείνος ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν ἀναλέξασθαι δύναται τῶν γραμμάτων συναφὴν οὐκ ἔχοντων, ἀλλὰ διεσπασμένων, τὴν δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ σκυτάλην λαβὼν τὸ τμήμα τοῦ βιβλίου περὶ αὐτὴν περιέτεινεν, ὥστε, τῆς ἑλικος εἰς τάξιν ὁμοίως ἀποκαθισταμένης, ἐπιβάλλοντα τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ δεύτερα, κύκλῳ τὴν ὄψιν ἐπάγειν τὸ συνεχὲς ἀνευρίσκουσιν. καλεῖται δὲ ὁμωνύμως τῷ ξύλῳ σκυτάλη τὸ βιβλίον, ὡς τῷ μετρούντι τὸ μετρούμενον.

XX. Ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἐλθούσης τῆς σκυτάλης πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, διαταράχθῃ, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τοῦ Φαρναβάζου δεδιῶς κατηγορίας, ἐσπούδασεν εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, ὡς λύσων τὴν διαφοράν. καὶ συνελθὼν ἐδεῖτο γράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐτέραν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐδὲν ἡδικημένον οὐδ' ἐγκαλοῦντα.

2 πρὸς Κρήτα δὲ ἄρα, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, κρητίζων ἡγνόει τὸν Φαρνάβαζον. ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ ἅπαντα ποιήσειν, φανερώς μὲν ἔγραψεν οἷαν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἡξίωσεν ἐπιστολὴν, κρύφα δὲ εἶχεν ἐτέραν αὐτόθι γεγραμμένην. ἐν δὲ τῷ τὰς σφρα-

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wish to send some secret and important message, they make a scroll of parchment long and narrow, like a leathern strap, and wind it round their "scytale," leaving no vacant space thereon, but covering its surface all round with the parchment. After doing this, they write what they wish on the parchment, just as it lies wrapped about the "scytale"; and when they have written their message, they take the parchment off, and send it, without the piece of wood, to the commander. He, when he has received it, cannot otherwise get any meaning out of it,—since the letters have no connection, but are disarranged,—unless he takes his own "scytale" and winds the strip of parchment about it, so that, when its spiral course is restored perfectly, and that which follows is joined to that which precedes, he reads around the staff, and so discovers the continuity of the message. And the parchment, like the staff, is called "scytale," as the thing measured bears the name of the measure.

XX. But Lysander, when the dispatch-scroll reached him at the Hellespont, was much disturbed, and since he feared the denunciations of Pharnabazus above all others, he hastened to hold a conference with him, hoping to compose their quarrel. At this conference he begged Pharnabazus to write another letter about him to the magistrates, stating that he had not been wronged at all, and had no complaints to make. But in thus "playing the Cretan against a Cretan," as the saying is, he misjudged his opponent. For Pharnabazus, after promising to do all that he desired, openly wrote such a letter as Lysander demanded, but secretly kept another by him ready written. And when it came to putting on the seals,

γίδας ἐπιβάλλειν ἐναλλάξας τὰ βιβλία μηδὲν
 διαφέροντα τῇ ὄψει, δίδωσιν ἐκείνην αὐτῷ τὴν
 3 κρύφα γεγραμμένην. ἀφικόμενος οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος
 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ πορευθεὶς, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν,
 εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον, ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ἐφόροις τὰ γράμματα
 τοῦ Φαρναβάζου, πεπεισμένος ἀνηρῆσθαι τὸ
 μέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἡγαπάτο γὰρ ὁ
 Φαρνάβαζος ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, προθυμό-
 4 γεγενημένος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναγνόντες οἱ ἔφοροι τὴν
 ἐπιστολὴν ἔδειξαν αὐτῷ, καὶ συνήκεν ὡς

Οὐκ ἂρ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐστιν αἰμύλος μόνος,

τότε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς τεθορυβημένος ἀπῆλθεν· ἡμέραις
 δὲ ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἐντυχὼν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔφη
 δεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἄμμωνος ἀναβῆναι καὶ τῷ θεῷ
 5 θῦσαι θυσίας ἃς εὔξατο πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων. ἔνιοι
 μὲν οὖν ἀληθῶς φασιν αὐτῷ πολιορκοῦντι τὴν τῶν
 Ἀφυταίων πόλιν ἐν Θράκῃ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους
 παραστήναι τὸν Ἄμμωνα· διὸ καὶ τὴν πολιορ-
 κίαν ἀφείς, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος, ἐκέλευσε
 τοὺς Ἀφυταίους Ἄμμωνι θύειν καὶ τὸν θεὸν
 ἐσπούδασεν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην πορευθεὶς ἐξιλάσα-
 6 σθαι. τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις ἐδόκει πρόσχημα ποι-
 εῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἄλλως δὲ τοὺς ἐφόρους δεδοικῶς 445
 καὶ τὸν οἴκοι ζυγὸν οὐ φέρων οὐδ' ὑπομένων ἄρ-
 χεσθαι πλάνης ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ περιφοιτήσεως
 τινός, ὥσπερ ἵππος ἐκ νομῆς ἀφέτου καὶ λειμῶνος
 αὐθις ἤκων ἐπὶ φάτνῃν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σύνηθες ἔργον

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he exchanged the documents, which looked exactly alike, and gave him the letter which had been secretly written. Accordingly, when Lysander arrived at Sparta and went, as the custom is, into the senate-house, he gave the ephors the letter of Pharnabazus, convinced that the greatest of the complaints against him was thus removed; for Pharnabazus was in high favour with the Lacedaemonians, because he had been, of all the King's generals, most ready to help them in the war. But when the ephors, after reading the letter, showed it to him, and he understood that

“Odysseus, then, is not the only man of guile,”¹

for the time being he was mightily confounded and went away. But a few days afterwards, on meeting the magistrates, he said that he was obliged to go up to the temple of Ammon² and sacrifice to the god the sacrifices which he had vowed before his battles. Now some say that when he was besieging the city of Aphytae in Thrace, Ammon really stood by him in his sleep; wherefore he raised the siege, declaring that the god had commanded it, and ordered the Aphytaeans to sacrifice to Ammon, and was eager to make a journey into Libya and propitiate the god. But the majority believed that he made the god a pretext, and really feared the ephors, and was impatient of the yoke at home, and unable to endure being under authority, and therefore longed to wander and travel about somewhat, like a horse which comes back from unrestricted pasturage in the meadows to his stall, and is put once more to his accustomed work.

¹ An iambic trimeter of some unknown poet.

² In an oasis of the great desert of Libya. Cf. *Cimon*, xviii. 6 f.

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αὐθις ἀγόμενος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ Ἐφορὸς τῆς ἀποδημίας ταύτης αἰτίαν ἀναγράφει, μετὰ μικρὸν ἀφηγησόμαι.

- XXI. Μόλις δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀφεθῆναι διαπραξάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξέπλευσεν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀποδημήσαντος αὐτοῦ συμφρονήσαντες ὅτι ταῖς ἐταιρείαις τὰς πόλεις κατέχων διὰ παντὸς ἄρχει καὶ κύριός ἐστι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἔπρασσον ὅπως ἀποδώσουσι τοῖς δημόταις τὰ πράγματα
- 2 τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐκβαλόντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν πρὸς ταῦτα κινήματος γενομένου, καὶ πρώτων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Ἀθηναίων ἐπιθεμένων τοῖς τριάκοντα καὶ κρατούντων, ἐπανελθὼν διὰ ταχέων ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔπεισε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κολάζειν. καὶ πρώτοις τοῖς τριάκοντα πέμπουσιν ἑκατὸν
- 3 Λύσανδρον. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς φθονοῦντες καὶ δεδιότες μὴ πάλιν ἔλῃ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔγνωσαν ἐξιέναι τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν. ἐξῆλθε δὲ ὁ Πausanίας, λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν τυράννων ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἔργῳ δὲ καταλύσων τὸν πόλεμον, ὥς μὴ πάλιν ὁ Λύσανδρος διὰ τῶν φίλων κύριος γένοιτο τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν διεπράξατο ῥαδίως· καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαλλάξας καὶ καταπαύσας τὴν στάσιν
- 4 ἀφείλετο τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὴν φιλοτιμίαν. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀποστάντων πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, ὥς ἐγκεχαλινωμένον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἀνεῖς αὐθις ἐξυβρίσαι καὶ

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Ephorus, it is true, assigns another reason for this absence abroad, which I shall mention by and by.¹

XXI. After he had with great difficulty procured his release by the ephors, he set sail. But the kings, when he had gone abroad, became aware that by means of the societies which he had formed, he had the cities entirely in his power and was master of Hellas; they therefore took measures for deposing his friends everywhere and restoring the management of affairs to the people. However, fresh disturbances broke out in connection with these changes, and first of all the Athenians from Phyle attacked the Thirty and overpowered them. Lysander therefore came home in haste, and persuaded the Lacedaemonians to aid the oligarchies and chastise the democracies. Accordingly, they sent to the Thirty, first of all, a hundred talents for the war, and Lysander himself as general. But the kings were jealous of him, and feared to let him capture Athens a second time; they therefore determined that one of them should go out with the army. And Pausanias did go out, ostensibly in behalf of the tyrants² against the people, but really to put a stop to the war, in order that Lysander might not again become master of Athens through the efforts of his friends. This object, then, he easily accomplished, and by reconciling the Athenians and putting a stop to their discord, he robbed Lysander of his ambitious hopes. A short time afterwards, however, when the Athenians revolted again, he himself was censured for taking the curb of the oligarchy out of the mouth of the people, and letting them grow bold and insolent again; while

¹ Chapter xxv. 3.

² That is, the Thirty in Athens.

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θρασύνασθαι, τῷ δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ προσεθήκατο δόξαν ἀνδρὸς οὐ πρὸς ἐτέρων χάριν οὐδὲ θεατρικῶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῇ Σπάρτῃ συμφέρον αὐθεκάστως στρατηγούντος.

- XXII. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ θρασὺς καὶ καταπληκτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιτείνοντας. Ἀργείοις μὲν γὰρ ἀμφιλογουμένοις περὶ γῆς ὄρων καὶ δικαιότερα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰομένοις λέγειν δείξας τὴν μάχαιραν, “Ὁ ταύτης,” ἔφη, “κρατῶν βέλτιστα περὶ γῆς ὄρων διαλέγεται.” Μεγαρέως δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τινι συλλόγῳ παρρησία χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, “Οἱ λόγοι σου,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ξένε, πόλεως δέονται.” τοὺς δὲ Βοιωτοὺς ἐπαμφοτερίζοντας ἡρώτα πότερον ὀρθοῖς τοῖς δόρασιν ἢ κεκλιμένοις διαπορεύηται τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀφεστώτων παρερχόμενος πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρα προσβάλλειν ὀκνοῦντας, καὶ λαγῶς τις ὤφθη διαπηδῶν τὴν τάφρον, “Οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε,” ἔφη, “τοιούτους φοβούμενοι πολεμίους, ὧν οἱ λαγωοὶ δι’ ἀργίαν τοῖς τεύχεσιν ἐγκαθεύδουσιν;”
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἄγισ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἀδελφὸν μὲν Ἀγησίλαον καταλιπών, υἱὸν δὲ νομιζόμενον Λεωτυχίδαν, ἐραστὴς τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου γεγυνὼς ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ὡς Ἡρακλείδην ὄντα γνήσιον. ὁ γὰρ Λεωτυχίδας διαβολὴν εἶχεν ἐξ Ἀλκιβιάδου γεγονέναι, συνόντος κρύφα τῇ Ἀγιδος γυναικὶ Τιμαίᾳ καθ’ ὃν χρόνον φεύγων ἐν Σπάρτῃ διέτριβεν.
- 4 ὁ δὲ Ἄγισ, ὥς φασι, χρόνου λογισμῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα συνελών, ὡς οὐ κυήσειεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παρη-

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Lysander won fresh repute as a man who exercised his command in downright fashion, not for the gratification of others, nor yet to win applause, but for the good of Sparta.

XXII. He was harsh of speech also, and terrifying to his opponents. For instance, when the Argives were disputing about boundaries, and thought they made a juster plea than the Lacedaemonians, he pointed to his sword, and said to them: "He who is master of this discourses best about boundaries." And when a Megarian, in some conference with him, grew bold in speech, he said: "Thy words, Stranger, lack a city." And when the Boeotians tried to play a double game with him, he asked them whether he should march through their territory with spears upright, or levelled. And once when the Corinthians had revolted, and, on coming to their walls, he saw that the Lacedaemonians hesitated to make an assault, a hare was seen leaping across the moat; whereupon he said: "Are ye not ashamed to fear enemies who are so lazy that hares sleep on their walls?"

When Agis the king died,¹ leaving a brother, Agesilaüs, and a reputed son, Leotychides, Lysander, who had been a lover of Agesilaüs, persuaded him to lay claim to the kingdom, on the ground that he was a genuine descendant of Heracles. For Leotychides was accused of being a son of Alcibiades, who had secret commerce with Timaea, the wife of Agis, while he was living in exile at Sparta. Now Agis, as they tell us, being convinced by a computation of time that his wife had not conceived by him, ignored

¹ In 398 B.C., after returning home from a victorious campaign (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3, 1).

μέλει τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου καὶ φανερός ἦν ἀναινόμενος αὐτὸν παρά γε τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ νοσῶν εἰς Ἡραίαν ἐκομίσθη καὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, τὰ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ νεανίσκου, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἐκλιπαρηθεὶς ἐναντίον πολλῶν ἀπέφηνεν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Λεωτυχίδα, καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν παρόντων ἐπιμαρτυρῆσαι ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς Λα-
 5 κεδαιμονίους ἀπέθανεν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐμαρ- 446
 τύρουν ταῦτα τῷ Λεωτυχίδᾳ· τὸν δ' Ἀγησίλαον λαμπρὸν ὄντα τᾶλλα καὶ συναγωνιστῇ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ χρώμενον ἔβλαπτε Διοπίθης, ἀνὴρ εὐδόκιμος ἐπὶ χρησμολογίᾳ, τοιόνδε μάντευμα προφέ-
 ρων εἰς τὴν χωλότητα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου·

Φράζεο δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μέγανυχος ἐοῦσα,
 μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστη χωλὴ βασιλεία.
 δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχίσουσιν ἄελπτοι
 φθισιβρότου τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδόμενον πολέ-
 μοιο.

6 πολλῶν οὖν ὑποκατακλινομένων πρὸς τὸ λόγιον καὶ τρεπομένων πρὸς τὸν Λεωτυχίδα, ὁ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔφη τὸν Διοπίθην τὴν μαντείαν ὑπολαμβάνειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσπταίσας τις ἄρχη Λακεδαιμονίων, δυσχεραίνειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν εἰ νόθοι καὶ κακῶς γεγονότες βασιλεύσουσι σὺν¹ Ἡρακλείδαις. τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ δυνάμενος πλεῖστον ἔπεισε, καὶ γίνεται βασιλεὺς Ἀγησίλαος.

¹ σὺν supplied by Sintenis alone.

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Leotychides, and manifestly repudiated him up to the last. But when he was carried sick to Heraea and was about to die, he yielded to the entreaties of the young man himself and of his friends, and declared in the hearing of many that Leotychides was his own son, and after begging those who were present to bear witness of this to the Lacedaemonians, died. Accordingly, they did so bear witness in favour of Leotychides. Moreover, Agesilaüs, who was otherwise illustrious, and had Lysander as a champion, was injured in his claim by Diopeithes, a man in high repute for his interpretation of oracles, who published the following prophecy with reference to the lameness of Agesilaüs¹:—

“Bethink thee now, O Sparta, although thou art
very proud,
Lest from thee, sound of foot, there spring a maimed
royalty;
For long will unexpected toils oppress thee,
And onward rolling billows of man-destroying
war.”

Many, therefore, out of deference to the oracle, inclined to Leotychides, but Lysander declared that Diopeithes did not interpret the prophecy correctly; for it did not mean that the god would be displeased if one who was lame should rule the Lacedaemonians, but the kingdom would be maimed if bastards and ill-born men should be kings in a line with the posterity of Heracles. By such arguments, and because he had very great influence, he prevailed, and Agesilaüs became king.²

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Agesilaüs*, ii. 2.

² Cf. Plutarch's *Agesilaüs*, iii. 3-5; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3, 2 f.

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XXIII. Εὐθύς οὖν αὐτὸν ἐξώρμα καὶ προὔ-
 τρεπεν ὁ Λύσανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατεύειν,
 ὑποτιθεὶς ἐλπίδας ὡς καταλύσονται Πέρσας καὶ
 μεγίστῳ γενησομένῳ, πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ
 φίλους ἔγραψεν αἰτεῖσθαι κελεύων παρὰ Λακε-
 δαιμονίων στρατηγὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς
 2 τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο καὶ
 πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα δεομένους· ὁ
 δοκεῖ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔλαττον Ἀγησιλάῳ καλὸν
 ὑπάρξαι διὰ Λύσανδρον. ἀλλ' αἱ φιλότιμοι
 φύσεις ἄλλως μὲν οὐ κακαὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡγεμονίας
 εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὁμοίοις διὰ δόξαν οὐ
 μικρὸν ἐμπόδιον τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἔχουσι·
 3 ποιοῦνται γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς οἷς πάρ-
 εστι χρῆσθαι συνεργοῖς. Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν
 ἐπηγάγετο Λύσανδρον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα συμ-
 βούλοις ὡς μάλιστα καὶ πρώτῳ τῶν φίλων
 χρησόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν παραγενομέ-
 νων πρὸς ἐκείνον μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 συνήθως βραχέα καὶ σπανίως διελέγοντο, τὸν δὲ
 Λύσανδρον ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς πρόσθεν ὁμιλίας οἷ τε
 φίλοι θεραπεύοντες οἷ τε ὑποπτοὶ δεδοικότες
 4 ἐφοίτων ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παρηκολούθουν, οἷον ἐν
 τραγωδίαις ἐπικεικῶς συμβαίνει περὶ τοὺς ὑπο-
 κριτάς, τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλου τινὸς ἢ θεράποντος
 ἐπικείμενον¹ πρόσωπον εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ πρωταγων-
 ιστεῖν, τὸν δὲ διάδημα καὶ σκῆπτρον φοροῦντα
 μηδὲ ἀκούεσθαι φθεγγόμενον, οὕτω περὶ τὸν
 σύμβουλον ἦν τὸ πᾶν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τῷ δὲ
 βασιλεὶ τοῦνομα τῆς δυνάμεως ἔρημον ἀπελείπετο.

¹ ἐπικείμενον Bekker adopts Coraës' correction to περιεί-
 μενον.

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XXIII. At once, then, Lysander tried to rouse and incite him to make an expedition into Asia, suggesting hopes that he would put down the Persians and become a very great man. He also wrote letters to his friends in Asia, bidding them ask Agesilaüs of the Lacedaemonians as general for their war against the Barbarians.¹ They obeyed, and sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon with the request, and thus an honour not inferior to that of being made king was obtained for Agesilaüs through the efforts of Lysander. But with ambitious natures, which are otherwise not ill qualified for command, jealousy of their equals in reputation is no slight obstacle to the performance of noble deeds; for they make those their rivals in the path of virtue, whom they might have as helpers. Agesilaüs did indeed take Lysander with him among his thirty counsellors, intending to treat him with special favour as his chief friend; but when they were come into Asia, the people there, who were not acquainted with him, conferred with him but rarely and briefly, whereas Lysander, in consequence of their large intercourse with him in former times, had them always at his door and in his train, those who were his friends coming out of deference, and those whom he suspected, out of fear. And just as in tragedies it naturally happens that an actor who takes the part of some messenger or servant is in high repute and plays leading rôles, while the one who bears the crown and sceptre is not even listened to when he speaks, so in this case the whole honour of the government was associated with the counsellor, and there was left for the king only the empty name of power.

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Agesilaüs*, vi. 1 f.

5 γενέσθαι μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἔδει τινὰ τῆς ἐκμελοῦς ταύτης φιλοτιμίας ἐπαφὴν καὶ συσταλῆναι τὸν Λύσανδρον ἄχρι τῶν δευτερείων· τὸ δὲ παντελῶς ἀπορρίψαι καὶ προπηλακίσαι διὰ δόξαν εὐεργέτην ἄνδρα καὶ φίλον οὐκ ἦν ἄξιον Ἀγησιλάῳ προσεῖναι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐ παρείχεν αὐτῷ πράξεων ἀφορμὰς, οὐδὲ ἔταπτεν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας· ἔπειτα ὑπὲρ ὧν αἰσθοιτό τι πράττοντα καὶ σπουδάζοντα τὸν Λύσανδρον, αἰεὶ τούτους πάντων ἀπράκτους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἔλαττον ἔχοντας ἀπέπεμπε, παραλύων ἡσυχῇ καὶ διαψύχων τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν. 6 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πάντων διαμαρτάνων ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔγνω τοῖς φίλοις τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν ἐναντίωμα γινομένην, αὐτός τε τὸ βοηθεῖν ἐξέλιπε ἀκείνων ἐδεῖτο μὴ προσιέναι μηδὲ θεραπεύειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις ὠφελεῖν τοὺς τιμῶντας αὐτοὺς 7 μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτόν περὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείχοντο, τὰς δὲ θεραπείας οὐ κατέλιπον, ἀλλὰ προσφοιτῶντες ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις καὶ γυμνασίοις 447 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἡνίων τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑπὸ φθόνου τῆς τιμῆς, ὥστε τοῖς πολλοῖς Σπαρτιάταις¹ ἡγεμονίας πραγμάτων καὶ διοικήσεις πόλεων ἀποδιδούς τὸν Λύσανδρον ἀπέδειξε κρεοδαίτην. εἴτα οἶον ἐφυβρίζων πρὸς τοὺς Ἴωνας, “Ἀπιόντες,” ἔφη, “νῦν τὸν ἐμὸν κρεοδαίτην θεραπευέτωσαν.” 8 ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ διὰ λόγων πρὸς αὐτόν

¹ Σπαρτιάταις the correction of Emperius: στρατιώταις (soldiers).

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It is true, perhaps, that there should have been some gentle handling of this excessive ambition, and that Lysander should have been reduced to the second place ; but entirely to cast off and insult, for fame's sake, a benefactor and a friend, was not worthy of the character of Agesilaüs.

In the first place, then, he did not give him opportunities for achievement, nor even assign him to a command ; and secondly, those in whose behalf he perceived that Lysander was earnestly exerting himself, these he always sent away with less reward than an ordinary suitor, or wholly unsuccessful, thus quietly undoing and chilling his influence. So when Lysander missed all his aims, and saw that his interested efforts for his friends were an obstacle to their success, he not only ceased to give them his own aid, but begged them not to wait upon him nor pay him their court, but to confer with the king, and with such as had more power to benefit those who showed them honour than was his at present. Most of those who heard this refrained from troubling him about their affairs, but did not cease paying him their court, nay rather, by waiting upon him in the public walks and places of exercise, they gave Agesilaüs even more annoyance than before, because he envied him the honour. Therefore, though he offered most of the Spartans¹ commands in the field and governments of cities, he appointed Lysander his carver of meats. And presently, as if by way of insult to the Ionians, he said : " Let them be off, and pay their court now to my carver of meats." Accordingly, Lysander determined to have a con-

¹ Agis took thirty Spartans with him as counsellors and captains (Plutarch's *Agesilaüs*, vi. 3 ; Xenophon's *Agesilaüs*, i. 7).

ἐλθεῖν· καὶ γίνεται βραχὺς καὶ Λακωνικὸς αὐτῶν
 διάλογος. “Ἡ καλῶς ᾗδεις, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, φίλους
 ἐλαττοῦν.” καὶ ὅς· “Ἄν γε ἐμοῦ βούλωνται
 μείζονες εἶναι· τοὺς δὲ αὖξοντας τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν
 9 καὶ μετέχειν αὐτῆς δίκαιον.” “Ἄλλ’ ἴσως μὲν,
 ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, σοὶ λέλεκται κάλλιον ἢ ἐμοὶ πέ-
 πρακται· δέομαι δέ σου καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐκτὸς
 ἀνθρώπους, οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέπουσιν, ἐνταῦθά
 με τῆς σεαυτοῦ στρατηγίας τάξουν, ὅπου τεταγ-
 μένον ἦκιστα μὲν ἐπαχθῇ, μᾶλλον δὲ χρήσιμον
 ἔσσεσθαι σεαυτῷ νομίζεις.”

XXIV. Ἐκ τούτου πρεσβευτῆς εἰς Ἑλλήσπον-
 τον ἐπέμπετο· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀγησίλαον δι’ ὀργῆς
 εἶχεν, οὐκ ἡμέλει δὲ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν,
 Σπιθριδάτην δὲ τὸν Πέρσην προσκεκρουκότα
 Φαρναβάζω, γενναῖον ἄνδρα καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοντα
 περὶ αὐτόν, ἀποστήσας ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγη-
 2 σίλαον. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐχρήσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν
 πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος ἀπέπλευσεν
 εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἀτίμως, ὀργιζόμενος μὲν τῷ
 Ἀγησιλάῳ, μισῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν ἔτι
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, καὶ τὰ πάλοι δοκοῦντα
 συγκεῖσθαι καὶ μεμηχανῆσθαι πρὸς μεταβολὴν
 καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐγνωκῶς ἐγχειρεῖν τότε καὶ μὴ
 διαμέλλειν.

3 Ἦν δὲ τοιάδε. τῶν ἀναμιχθέντων Δωριεῦσιν
 Ἑρακλειδῶν καὶ κατελθόντων εἰς Πελοπόννησον
 πολὺ μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦνθησε γένος,
 οὐ παντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς βασιλικῆς μετὴν διαδοχῆς,

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ference with him, at which a brief and laconic dialogue passed between them. "Verily, thou knowest well, Agesilaüs, how to abase friends." To which Agesilaüs: "Yes, if they would be greater than I; but those who increase my power should also share in it." "Well, perhaps thy words, Agesilaüs, are fairer than my deeds; but I beg thee, even because of the strangers who have their eyes upon us, to give me a post under thy command where thou believest that I shall be least annoying to thyself, and more serviceable than now."¹

XXIV. Upon this, he was sent as ambassador to the Hellespont; and though he was angry with Agesilaüs, he did not neglect to do his duty, but induced Spithridates the Persian, a high-minded man with forces at his command, to revolt from Pharnabazus, with whom he was at odds, and brought him to Agesilaüs.² The king made no further use of Lysander, however, in the war, and when his time had expired, he sailed back to Sparta without honour, not only enraged at Agesilaüs, but hating the whole form of government more than ever, and resolved to put into execution at once, and without delay, the plans for a revolutionary change which he is thought to have devised and concocted some time before.

They were as follows. Of the Heracleidae who united with the Dorians and came down into Peloponnesus, there was a numerous and glorious stock flourishing in Sparta; however, not every family belonging to it participated in the royal succession,

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Agesilaüs*, vii.-viii. 1-2; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4, 7-9.

² Cf. Plutarch's *Agesilaüs*, viii. 3; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4, 10.

ἀλλ' ἐβασίλευον ἐκ δυεῖν οἴκων μόνον Εὐρυπων-
 τίδαι καὶ Ἀγιάδαι προσαγορευόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ
 ἄλλοις οὐδὲν ἐτέρου πλέον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν ὑπῆρχεν, αἱ δὲ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς
 4 τιμαὶ πᾶσι προὔκειντο τοῖς δυναμένοις. τούτων
 οὖν γεγονὼς ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡς εἰς δόξαν τῶν πρά-
 ξων ἦρθη μεγάλην καὶ φίλους ἐκέκτητο πολλοὺς
 καὶ δύναμιν, ἤχθετο τὴν πόλιν ὀρών ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 μὲν αὐξανομένην, ὑφ' ἐτέρων δὲ βασιλευομένην
 οὐδὲν βέλτιον αὐτοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ διενοεῖτο τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν δυεῖν οἴκων μεταστήσας εἰς κοινὸν
 5 ἀποδοῦναι πᾶσιν Ἑρακλείδαις, ὡς δὲ ἐνιοὶ φασιν,
 οὐχ Ἑρακλείδαις, ἀλλὰ Σπαρτιάταις, ἵνα μὴ ἡ
 τῶν ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους, ἀλλὰ τῶν οἶος Ἑρακλῆς τὸ
 γέρας, ἀρετῇ κρινομένων, ἡ κάκῃνον εἰς θεῶν
 τιμὰς ἀνήγαγεν. ἤλπιζε δὲ τῆς βασιλείας οὕτω
 δικαζομένης οὐδένα πρὸ αὐτοῦ Σπαρτιάτην ἀν
 αἰρεθήσεσθαι.

XXV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ παρε-
 σκευάσατο πείθειν δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ
 λόγον ἐξεμελέτα πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γεγραμμένον
 ὑπὸ Κλέωνος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνασσέως. ἔπειτα τὴν
 ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ καινοτομουμένου
 πράγματος ὀρών ἱταμωτέρας δεόμενον βοηθείας,
 ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μηχανὴν αἵρων ἐπὶ τοὺς
 2 πολίτας, λόγια πυθόχρηστα καὶ χρησμούς συν-
 ετίθει καὶ κατεσκευάζεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφελησό-

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Agessilaüs*, viii. 3.

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but the kings were chosen from two houses only, and were called Eurypontidae and Agiadae. The rest had no special privileges in the government because of their high birth, but the honours which result from superior excellence lay open to all who had power and ability. Now Lysander belonged to one of these families, and when he had risen to great fame for his deeds, and had acquired many friends and great power, he was vexed to see the city increased in power by his efforts, but ruled by others who were of no better birth than himself. He therefore planned to take the government away from the two houses, and restore it to all the Heracleidae in common, or, as some say, not to the Heracleidae, but to the Spartans in general,¹ in order that its high prerogatives might not belong to those only who were descended from Heracles, but to those who, like Heracles, were selected for superior excellence, since it was this which raised him to divine honours. And he hoped that when the kingdom was awarded on this principle, no Spartan would be chosen before himself.

XXV. In the first place, then, he undertook and made preparations to persuade the citizens by his own efforts, and committed to memory a speech written by Cleon, the Halicarnassian, for the purpose. In the second place, seeing that the novelty and magnitude of his innovation demanded a more audacious support, he brought stage machinery to bear upon the citizens,² as it were, by collecting and arranging responses and oracles of Apollo; convinced

¹ In the Greek theatre, gods were swung into view, above the plane of the action, by means of a huge crane. Cf. *Themistocles*, x. 1.

μενος ὑπὸ τῆς Κλέωνος δεινότητος, εἰ μὴ φόβῳ
 θεοῦ τινι καὶ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ προεκπλήξας καὶ
 χειρωσάμενος ὑπαγάγοι πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοὺς πολί-
 3 τας. Ἐφορος μὲν οὖν φησιν αὐτόν, ὥς τὴν τε
 Πυθίαν ἐπιχειρήσας διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὰς Δωδω-
 νίδας αὐθις ἀναπεῖθων διὰ Φερεκλέους ἀπέ-
 τυχεν, εἰς Ἀμμωνος ἀναβῆναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι
 τοῖς προφήταις πολὺ χρυσίον διδόντά, τοὺς δὲ
 δυσχεραίνοντας εἰς Σπάρτην τινὰς ἀποστεῖλαι
 τοῦ Λυσάνδρου κατηγορήσαντας, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπε-
 λύθη, τοὺς Λίβυας ἀπλέοντας εἰπεῖν. “Ἄλλ’
 ἡμεῖς γε βέλτιον, ὧ Σπαρτιᾶται, κρινοῦμεν, ὅταν 448
 ἤκητε πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς Λιβύην οἰκήσαντες,” ὥς
 δὴ χρησμοῦ τινος ὄντος παλαιοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου
 4 ἐν Λιβύῃ κατοικῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ὅλην ἐπιβουλήν
 καὶ σκευωρίαν τοῦ πλάσματος οὐ φαύλην οὔσαν
 οὐδὲ ἀφ’ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἀρξαμένην, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς
 καὶ μεγάλας ὑποθέσεις, ὥσπερ ἐν διαγράμματι
 μαθηματικῷ, προσλαβοῦσαν καὶ διὰ λημμάτων
 χαλεπῶν καὶ δυσπορίστων ἐπὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα
 προῖοῦσαν, ἡμεῖς ἀναγράφομεν ἀνδρὸς ἱστορικοῦ
 καὶ φιλοσόφου λόγῳ κατακολουθήσαντες.

XXVI. Ἦν γύναιον ἐν Πόντῳ κύειν ἐξ Ἀπόλ-
 λωνος φάμενον, ὧ πολλοὶ μὲν, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν,
 ἡπίστουν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ προσεῖχον, ὥστε καὶ
 τεκούσης παιδάριον ἄρρεν ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ γνω-
 ρίμων σπουδάζεσθαι τὴν ἐκτροφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ
 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ὄνομα δὲ τῷ παιδί Σειληνὸς
 ἐκ δὴ τινος αἰτίας ἐτέθη. ταύτην λαβὼν ὁ

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that Cleon's clever rhetoric would not help him at all unless he should first terrify and subdue his countrymen by vague religious fear and superstitious terror, and then bring them under the influence of his argument. Well, then, Ephorus tells us that after an attempt to corrupt the Pythian priestess, and after a second failure to persuade the priestesses of Dodona by means of Pherecles, he went up to the temple of Ammon and had a conference with that god's interpreters there, at which he offered them much money, but that they took this ill, and sent certain messengers to Sparta to denounce him; and further, that when Lysander was acquitted of their charges, the Libyans said, as they went away, "But we will pass better judgments than yours, O Spartans, when ye come to dwell with us in Libya"; for they knew that there was a certain ancient oracle bidding the Lacedaemonians to settle in Libya. But since the whole plot and concoction was no insignificant one, nor yet carelessly undertaken, but made many important assumptions, like a mathematical demonstration, and proceeded to its conclusion through premises which were difficult and hard to obtain, we shall follow, in our description of it, the account of one who was both a historian and a philosopher.¹

XXVI. There was a woman in Pontus who declared that she was with child by Apollo. Many disbelieved her, as was natural, but many also lent an ear to her, so that when she gave birth to a male child, many notable persons took an interest in its care and rearing. For some reason or other, the name given to the boy was Silenus. Lysander

¹ Probably Ephorus.

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- Λύσανδρος ἀρχήν, τὰ λοιπὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσε-
τεκταίνεται καὶ συνύφαινεν, οὐκ ὀλίγοις χρώ-
μενος οὐδὲ φαύλοις τοῦ μύθου συναγωνισταῖς,
- 2 οἱ τὴν τε φήμην τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς
πίστιν ἀνυπόπτως προῆγον, ἄλλον τε λόγον ἐκ
Δελφῶν ἀντικομίσαντες εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην κατέ-
βαλον καὶ διέσπειραν, ὥς ἐν γράμμασιν ἀπορ-
ρήτοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων φυλάττοντο παμπάλαιοι
δή τινες χρησμοί, καὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτους
οὐδ' ἐντυχεῖν θεμιτόν, εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα γεγωνὸς
ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀφίκοιτο τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ
σύνθημα τοῖς φυλάττουσι τῆς γενέσεως γνώρι-
μον παρασχὼν κομίσαιτο τὰς δέλτους ἐν αἷς ἦσαν
- 3 οἱ χρησμοί. τούτων δὲ προκατεσκευασμένων ἔδει
τὸν Σειληνὸν ἐλθόντα τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν
ὥς Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα, τοὺς δὲ συμπράττοντας
τῶν ἱερέων ἐξακριβοῦν ἕκαστα καὶ διαπυνθάνε-
σθαι περὶ τῆς γενέσεως, τέλος δὲ πεπεισμένους
δῆθεν ὥς Ἀπόλλωνος υἱῷ δεῖξαι τὰ γράμματα,
τὸν δὲ ἀναγνῶναι πολλῶν παρόντων ἄλλας τε
μαντείας καὶ ἧς ἔνεκα τᾶλλα πέπλασται¹ τὴν
περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὥς ἄμεινον εἶη καὶ λῶϊον
Σπαρτιάταις ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων πολιτῶν αἰρουμένοις
τοὺς βασιλέας.
- 4 Ἦδη δὲ τοῦ Σειληνοῦ μεираκίου γεγονότος καὶ
πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἦκοντος, ἐξέπεσε τοῦ δράματος ὁ
Λύσανδρος ἀτολμία τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ συνεργῶν
ἐνός, ὥς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἦλθεν, ἀποδειλιάσαντος
καὶ ἀναδύντος. οὐ μὴν ἐφωράθη γε τοῦ Λυσάν-
δρου ζώντος οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

¹ τᾶλλα πέπλασται the correction of Coraës ; πᾶσαι Bekker :
πλάσαι, with the MSS.

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took these circumstances for his foundation, and supplied the rest of his cunning fabric himself, making use of not a few, nor yet insignificant, champions of the tale, who brought the story of the boy's birth into credit without exciting suspicion. They also brought back another response from Delphi, and caused it to be circulated in Sparta, which declared that sundry very ancient oracles were kept in secret writings by the priests there, and that it was not possible to get these, nor even lawful to read them, unless someone born of Apollo should come after a long lapse of time, give the keepers an intelligible token of his birth, and obtain the tablets containing the oracles. The way being thus prepared, Silenus was to come and demand the oracles as Apollo's son, and the priests who were in the secret were to insist on precise answers to all their questions about his birth, and finally, persuaded, forsooth, that he was the son of Apollo, were to show him the writing. Then Silenus, in the presence of many witnesses, was to read aloud the prophecies, especially the one relating to the kingdom, for the sake of which the whole scheme had been invented, and which declared that it was more for the honour and interest of the Spartans to choose their kings from the best citizens.

But when at last Silenus was grown to be a youth, and was ready for the business, Lysander's play was ruined for him by the cowardice of one of his actors, or co-workers, who, just as he came to the point, lost his courage and drew back. However, all this was actually found out, not while Lysander was alive, but after his death.

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XXVII. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ πρὶν ἐξ Ἀσίας ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὸν Βοιωτικὸν πόλεμον, ἢ μᾶλλον ἐμβαλὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν τινες ἐκείνου ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαίων, οἱ δὲ κοινήν, Θηβαίοις μὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι τῶν ἱερῶν διάρριψιν καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ Ἀνδροκλείδην καὶ Ἀμφίθεον χρήμασι βασιλικοῖς διαφθαρέντων ἐπὶ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἑλληνικὸν περιστῆσαι πόλεμον ἐπέθεντο Φωκεῦσι καὶ τὴν
 2 χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησαν, Λύσανδρον δὲ φασιν ὀργῇ φέρειν ὅτι τῆς δεκάτης ἀντεποιήσαντο τοῦ πολέμου Θηβαῖοι μόνοι, τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἡσυχάζοντων, καὶ περὶ χρημάτων ἡγανάκτησαν ἃ Λύσανδρος εἰς Σπάρτην ἀπέστειλε, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παρασχεῖν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναίοις ἐλευθερώσεως ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα τυράννων, οὓς Λύσανδρος μὲν κατέστησε, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δύναμιν καὶ φόβον αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀγωγίμους εἶναι παντα-
 3 ἄγουσι. πρὸς ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντεψηφίσαντο Θηβαῖοι ψηφίσματα πρέποντα καὶ ἀδελφὰ ταῖς Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διονύσου πράξεις, οἰκίαν μὲν ἀνεῶχθαι πᾶσαν καὶ πόλιν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ τοῖς δεομένοις Ἀθηναίων, τὸν δὲ τῷ ἀγομένῳ φυγάδι μὴ βοηθήσαντα ζημίαν ὀφείλειν τάλαντον, ἂν 449
 δέ τις Ἀθήναζε διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράν-

¹ In 395 B.C., the aggressions of Sparta led to an alliance between Thebes and Athens against her. In the following year Corinth and Argos joined the alliance, and the whole

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XXVII. And he died before Agesilaüs returned from Asia, after he had plunged, or rather had plunged Hellas, into the Boeotian war.¹ For it is stated in both ways; and some hold him responsible for the war, others the Thebans, and others both together. It is charged against the Thebans that they cast away the sacrifices at Aulis,² and that, because Androcleides and Amphitheus³ had been bribed with the King's money to stir up a war in Greece against the Lacedaemonians, they set upon the Phocians and ravaged their country. It is said, on the other hand, that Lysander was angry with the Thebans because they alone laid claim to a tenth part of the spoils of the war, while the rest of the allies held their peace; and because they were indignant about the money which he sent to Sparta; but above all, because they first put the Athenians in the way of freeing themselves from the thirty tyrants whom he had set up, whose terrorizing power the Lacedaemonians had increased by decreeing that fugitives from Athens might be brought back from every place of refuge, and that all who impeded their return should be declared enemies of Sparta. In reply to this the Thebans issued counter decrees, akin in spirit to the beneficent deeds of Heracles and Dionysus, to the effect that every house and city in Boeotia should be open to such Athenians as needed succour; and that whosoever did not help a fugitive under arrest, should be fined a talent; and that if any one should carry arms war, which dragged along until 387 B.C., is usually known as the "Corinthian war."

² In the spring of 396, when Agesilaüs vainly tried to sacrifice there, in imitation of Agamemnon (Plutarch's *Agesilaüs*, vi. 4-6; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4, 3 f., and 5, 5).

³ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5, 1 and 4.

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4 νους ὄπλα κομίζη, μήτε ὄραν τινα Θηβαῖον μήτε ἀκούειν. καὶ οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο μὲν οὕτως Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα, τὰς δὲ πράξεις τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁμοίας οὐ παρέσχον, ἀλλὰ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Φυλὴν καταλαβόντες ἐκ Θηβῶν ὠρμήθησαν, ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὸ λαθεῖν καὶ τὸ ἄρξασθαι Θηβαίων αὐτοῖς συμπαρασκευασάντων. αἰτίας μὲν οὖν ταύτας ἔλαβε κατὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ὁ Λύσανδρος.

XXVIII. Ἦδη δὲ παντάπασι χαλεπὸς ὦν ὀργὴν διὰ τὴν μελαγχολίαν ἐπιτείνουσαν εἰς γῆρας, παρώξυνε τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ συνέπεισε φῆναι φρουρὰν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐξεστράτευσεν. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Πανσανίαν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀπέστειλαν. 2 ἀλλὰ Πανσανίας μὲν κύκλῳ περιελθὼν διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ἐμβάλλειν ἐμελλεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, Λύσανδρος δὲ διὰ Φωκέων ἀπῆντα στρατιώτας ἔχων πολλούς· καὶ τὴν μὲν Ὀρχομενίων πόλιν ἐκουσίως προσχωρήσασαν ἔλαβε, τὴν δὲ Λεβადειαν ἐπελθὼν διεπόρθησεν. ἔπεμψε δὲ τῷ Πανσανίᾳ γράμματα κελεύων εἰς Ἀλιάρτον ἐκ Πλαταιῶν συνάπτειν, ὥς αὐτὸς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων γενησόμενος. ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπηνέχθη, τοῦ κομίζοντος εἰς κατασκόπους τινὰς ἐμπεσόντος. 3 οἱ δὲ προσβεβηθηκότων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκείνοις διεπίστευσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4, 1 f.

² Lysander was commissioned to raise a force of allies in Phocis and the neighbouring country, with which Pausanias

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through Boeotia against the tyrants in Athens, no Theban would either see him or hear about it. And they did not merely vote such Hellenic and humane decrees, without at the same time making their deeds correspond to their edicts; but Thrasybulus and those who with him occupied Phyle, set out from Thebes to do so,¹ and the Thebans not only provided them with arms and money, but also with secrecy and a base of operations. Such, then, were the grounds of complaint which Lysander had against the Thebans.

XXVIII. And since he was now of an altogether harsh disposition, owing to the melancholy which persisted into his old age, he stirred up the ephors, and persuaded them to fit out an expedition against the Thebans; and assuming the command, he set out on the campaign.² Afterwards the ephors sent out Pausanias the king also with an army. Now it was the plan that Pausanias should make a circuit by the way of Mount Cithaeron, and then invade Boeotia, while Lysander marched through Phocis to meet him, with a large force. He took the city of Orchomenus, which came over to him of its own accord, and assaulted and plundered Lebadeia. Then he sent a letter to Pausanias, bidding him move from Plataea and join forces with him at Haliartus, and promising that he himself would be before the walls of Haliartus at break of day. This letter was brought to Thebes by some scouts, into whose hands its bearer fell. The Thebans therefore entrusted their city to a force of Athenians which had come to their aid, while they themselves set out early in the
was to unite his troops (*Xen. Hell.* iii. 5, 6). Plutarch's language is obscure.

πρῶτον ὕπνον ἐξορμήσαντες ἔφθασαν ὀλίγῳ τὸν
 Λύσανδρον ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενοι, καὶ μέρει τινὶ
 παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ἔγνω τὴν στρατιὰν ἰδρύσας ἐπὶ λόφου
 περιμένειν τὸν Πausανίαν· ἔπειτα προΐούσης τῆς
 ἡμέρας ἀτρεμὲν οὐ δυνάμενος, λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ
 τοὺς συμμάχους παρορμήσας ὀρθίῳ τῇ φάλαγγι
 4 παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦγε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ
 Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν ἔξω μεμενηκότες ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
 τὴν πόλιν λαβόντες ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους
 τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὸ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Κισσοῦσαν
 προσαγορευομένην, ἔνθα μυθολογοῦσι τὰς τιθήνας
 νήπιον ἐκ τῆς λοχείας ἀπολοῦσαι τὸν Διόνυσον·
 καὶ γὰρ οἰνωπὸν ἐπιστίλβει τὸ χρῶμα καὶ διανγὲς
 καὶ πιεῖν ἡδιστον. οἱ δὲ Κρήσιοι στύρακες οὐ
 πρόσω περιπεφύκασιν, ἀ τεκμήρια τῆς Ῥαδα-
 μάνθυος αὐτόθι κατοικήσεως Ἀλιάρτιοι ποιοῦν-
 ται, καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δεικνύουσιν Ἀλεᾶ καλοῦν-
 5 τες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης μνημεῖον
 ἐγγύς· ἐνταῦθα γάρ, ὥς φασιν, ἐκηδεύθη συνοικ-
 ήσασα Ῥαδαμάνθυϊ μετὰ τὴν Ἀμφιτρύωνος
 τελευτήν.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀλιαρ-
 τίων συντεταγμένοι τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον, ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τὸν Λύσανδρον ἄμα τοῖς πρώτοις προσπελάζοντα
 τῷ τείχει κατεῖδον, ἑξαπίνης ἀνοίξαντες τὰς
 πύλας καὶ προσπεσόντες αὐτὸν τε μετὰ τοῦ
 μάντεως κατέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγους
 τινάς· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖστοι ταχέως ἀνέφυγον πρὸς
 6 τὴν φάλαγγα. τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων οὐκ ἀνιέντων,
 ἀλλὰ προσκειμένων αὐτοῖς, ἐτράποντο πάντες
 ἀνὰ τοὺς λόφους φεύγειν, καὶ χίλιοι πίπτουσιν

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night, and succeeded in reaching Haliartus a little before Lysander, and a considerable part of them entered the city. Lysander at first decided to post his army on a hill and wait for Pausanias; then, as the day advanced, being unable to remain inactive, he took his arms, encouraged his allies, and led them along the road in column towards the wall of the city. But those of the Thebans who had remained outside, taking the city on their left, advanced upon the rear of their enemy, at the spring called Cissusa. Here, as the story goes, his nurses bathed the infant Dionysus after his birth; for the water has the colour and sparkle of wine, is clear, and very pleasant to the taste. And not far away the Cretan storax-shrub grows in profusion, which the Haliartians regard as a proof that Rhadamanthus once dwelt there; and they show his tomb, which they call Alea. And near by is also the memorial of Alcmene; for she was buried there, as they say, having lived with Rhadamanthus after the death of Amphitryon.

But the Thebans inside the city, drawn up in battle array with the Haliartians, kept quiet for some time; when, however, they saw Lysander with his foremost troops approaching the wall, they suddenly threw open the gate and fell upon them, and killed Lysander himself with his soothsayer, and a few of the rest; for the greater part of them fled swiftly back to the main body. And when the Thebans made no halt, but pressed hard upon them, the whole force turned to the hills in flight, and a thousand of them were slain. Three hundred of

αὐτῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων τριακόσιοι πρὸς τὰ τραχέα καὶ καρτερὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνεκπεσόντες. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐν αἰτία τοῦ λακωνίζειν, ἣν σπουδάζοντες ἀπολύσασθαι τοῖς πολίταις καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀφειδούντες ἐν τῇ διώξει παραναλώθησαν.

XXIX. Τῷ δὲ Πausanίᾳ τὸ πάθος ἀγγέλλεται καθ' ὁδὸν ἐκ Πλαταιῶν εἰς Θεσπιάς πορευομένῳ· καὶ συνταξάμενος ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλάρτον. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος ἐκ Θηβῶν ἄγων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Πausανίου τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπαιτεῖν, δυσφοροῦντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν αὐτοὶ τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσιόντες ἐμαρτύραντο μὴ διὰ σπονδῶν ἀναιρεῖσθαι Λύσανδρον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅπλων περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγωνισαμένους καὶ νικήσαντας οὕτω τὸν ἄνδρα θάπτειν, ἥττωμένοις δὲ καλὸν ἐνταῦθα κεῖσθαι 450
2 μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. ταῦτα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λεγόντων ὁρῶν ὁ Πausανίας μέγα μὲν ἔργον ὑπερβαλέσθαι μάχῃ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄρτι κεκρατηκότας, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Λυσάνδρου παραπεπτωκός, ὥστε χαλεπὴν ἀνευ σπονδῶν καὶ νικῶσιν εἶναι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἔπεμψε κήρυκα καὶ σπεισάμενος ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν
3 ὀπίσω. τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ἡ πρώτην κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους ἐγένοντο τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐν φίλῃ καὶ συμμαχίδι χώρα τῇ Πανοπέων κατέθεσαν, οὗ νῦν τὸ μνημεῖόν ἐστι παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς Χαιρῶνειαν ἐκ Δελφῶν πορευομένοις.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς καταυλισαμένης

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the Thebans also lost their lives by pursuing their enemies into rough and dangerous places. These had been accused of favouring the Spartan cause, and in their eagerness to clear themselves of this charge in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, they exposed themselves needlessly in the pursuit, and so threw away their lives.¹

XXIX. Tidings of the disaster were brought to Pausanias while he was on the march from Plataea to Thespieae, and putting his army in battle array, he came to Haliartus. Thrasybulus also came from Thebes, leading his Athenians. But when Pausanias was minded to ask for the bodies of the dead under a truce, the elders of the Spartans could not brook it, and were angry among themselves, and coming to the king, they protested that the body of Lysander must not be taken up under cover of a truce, but by force of arms, in open battle for it; and that if they conquered, then they would give him burial, but if they were vanquished, it would be a glorious thing to lie dead with their general. Such were the words of the elders; but Pausanias saw that it would be a difficult matter to conquer the Thebans, flushed as they were with victory, and that the body of Lysander lay near the walls, so that its recovery would be difficult without a truce, even if they were victorious; he therefore sent a herald, and after making a truce, led his forces back. And as soon as they had come beyond the boundary of Boeotia with Lysander's body, they buried it in the friendly soil of their allies, the Panopeans, where his monument now stands, by the road leading from Delphi to Chaeroneia.

Here the army bivouacked; and it is said that a

¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5, 17-20.

λέγεται τινα τῶν Φωκέων ἑτέρῳ μὴ παρατυχόντι
τὸν ἀγῶνα διηγούμενον, εἰπεῖν ὥς οἱ πολέμιοι
προσπέσοιεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὸν Ὀπλίτην
4 ἤδη διαβεβηκότος. θαυμάσαντα δὲ Σπαρτιάτην
ἄνδρα τοῦ Λυσάνδρου φίλον ἐρέσθαι τίνα λέγοι
τὸν Ὀπλίτην· οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι τοῦνομα· “Καὶ μὴν
ἐκεῖ γε,” φάναι, “τοὺς πρώτους ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι
κατέβαλον. τὸ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ρεῖθρον
Ὀπλίτην καλοῦσιν.” ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν Σπαρ-
τιάτην ἐκδακρῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὥς ἄφευκτόν ἐστιν
5 ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ πεπρωμένον. ἦν γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, τῷ
Λυσάνδρῳ δεδομένος χρησμός οὕτως ἔχων·

‘Ὀπλίτην κελάδοντα φυλάξασθαι σε κελεύω
γῆς τε δράκονθ’ υἱὸν δόλιον κατόπισθεν ἰόντα.

τινὲς δὲ τὸν Ὀπλίτην οὐ πρὸς Ἀλιάρτῳ ρεῖν
λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Κορώνειαν χειμάρρουν εἶναι
τῷ Φιλάρῳ ποταμῷ συμφερόμενον παρὰ τὴν
πόλιν, ὃν πάλαι μὲν Ὀπλίαν, νῦν δὲ Ἰσόμαντον
6 προσαγορεύουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀποκτείνας τὸν Λύσανδρον
Ἀλιάρτιος ἀνὴρ ὄνομα Νεόχωρος ἐπίσημον εἶχε
τῆς ἀσπίδος δράκοντα· καὶ τοῦτο σημαίνειν ὁ
χρησμός εἰκάζετο. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοις ὑπὸ
τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον ἐν Ἰσμηνίῳ γενέ-
σθαι χρησμὸν ἅμα τὴν τε πρὸς Δηλίῳ μάχην καὶ
τὴν πρὸς Ἀλιάρτῳ ταύτην ἐκείνης ὕστερον ἔτει
7 τριακοστῇ γενομένην προμηνύοντα. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦ-
τος·

Ἐσχατιὰν πεφύλαξο λύκους καμάκεσσι δοκ-
εύων
καὶ λόφον Ὀρχαλίδην, ὃν ἀλώπηξ οὐποτε
λείπει.

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certain Phocian, recounting the action to another who was not in it, said that the enemy fell upon them just after Lysander had crossed the Hoplites. Then a Spartan, who was a friend of Lysander, asked in amazement what he meant by Hoplites, for he did not know the name. "Indeed it was there," said the Phocian, "that the enemy slew the foremost of us; for the stream that flows past the city is called Hoplites." On hearing this, the Spartan burst into tears, and said that man could not escape his destiny. For Lysander, as it appears, had received an oracle running thus :—

"Be on thy guard, I bid thee, against a sounding
Hoplites,
And an earth-born dragon craftily coming behind
thee."

Some, however, say that the Hoplites does not flow before Haliartus, but is a winter torrent near Coroneia, which joins the Philarus and then flows past that city; in former times it was called Hoplias, but now Isomantus. Moreover, the man of Haliartus who killed Lysander, Neochorus by name, had a dragon as emblem on his shield, and to this, it was supposed, the oracle referred. And it is said that the Thebans also, during the Peloponnesian war, received an oracle at the sanctuary of Ismenus which indicated beforehand not only the battle at Delium,¹ but also this battle at Haliartus, thirty years later. It ran as follows :—

"When thou huntest the wolf with the spear, watch
closely the border,
Orchalides, too, the hill which foxes never
abandon."

¹ 424 B.C.

τὸν μὲν οὖν περὶ Δήλιον τόπον ἐσχατιὰν προσ-
εἶπε, καθ' ὃν ἡ Βοιωτία τῇ Ἀττικῇ σύνορός ἐστιν,
Ὁρχαλίδην δὲ λόφον, ὃν νῦν Ἀλώπεκον καλοῦσιν,
ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα μέρεσι τοῦ Ἀλιάρτου
κείμενον.

XXX. Τοιαύτης δὲ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ τῆς τελευ-
τῆς γενομένης παραχρῆμα μὲν οὕτως ἤνεγκαν οἱ
Σπαρτιᾶται βαρέως, ὥστε τῷ βασιλεῖ κρίσιν
προγράψαι θανατικὴν· ἣν οὐχ ὑποστὰς ἐκείνος
εἰς Τεγέαν ἔφυγε, κακεῖ κατεβίωσεν ἰκέτης ἐν τῷ
2 τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πενία τοῦ Λυ-
σάνδρου τελευτήσαντος ἐκκαλυφθεῖσα φανερω-
τέραν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν
καὶ δυνάμεως θεραπείας τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέως
τοσαύτης μηδὲ μικρὸν ἐπιλαμπρύναντος τὸν οἶκον
εἰς χρημάτων λόγον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, ᾧ
μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦντι πιστεύσειεν ἢ τις ἢ ψέγοντι,
3 ψέγει γὰρ ἡδίων ἢ ἐπαινεῖ. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον
Ἐφορός φησιν ἀντιλογίας τινὸς συμμαχικῆς ἐν
Σπάρτῃ γενομένης, καὶ τὰ γράμματα δια-
σκέψασθαι δεῆσαν ἃ παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατέσχευεν ὁ
Λύσανδρος, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον.
εὐρόντα δὲ τὸ βιβλίον ἐν ᾧ γεγραμμένος ἦν ὁ
περὶ τῆς πολιτείας λόγος, ὡς χρὴ τῶν Εὐρυπων-
τιδῶν καὶ Ἀγιαδῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφελομένους
εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐκ τῶν
4 ἀρίστων, ὁρμῆσαι μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας τὸν λόγον
ἐξευεγκεῖν καὶ παραδεικνύναι τὸν Λύσανδρον,
οἷος ὢν πολίτης διαλάθοι, Λακρατίδαν δέ, ἄνδρα 451

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Now by "border," the god meant the region about Delium, where Boeotia is conterminous with Attica; and by Orchalides, the hill which is now called Alopecus, or *Fox-hill*, in the parts of Haliartus which stretch towards Mount Helicon.

XXX. Now that Lysander had met with such an end, at the outset the Spartans were so indignant about it that they summoned the king to trial for his life; but he evaded it, and fled to Tegea, where he spent the rest of his days as a suppliant in the sanctuary of Athena. For the poverty of Lysander, which was discovered at his death, made his excellence more apparent to all, since from the vast wealth and power in his hands, and from the great homage paid him by cities and the Great King, he had not, even in the slightest degree, sought to amass money for the aggrandizement of his family. This is the testimony of Theopompus, who is more to be trusted when he praises than when he blames; for he takes more pleasure in blaming than in praising. But after some time had passed, according to Ephorus, some dispute arose at Sparta with her allies, and it became necessary to inspect the writings which Lysander had kept by him; for which purpose Agesilaüs went to his house. And when he found the book containing the speech on the constitution,¹ which argued that the kingship ought to be taken from the Eurypontidae and Agiadae and made accessible to all Spartans alike, and that the choice should be made from the best of these, he was eager to produce the speech before his countrymen, and show them what the real character of Lysander's citizenship had been. But Lacratidas, a prudent man, and

¹ Cf. chapter xxv. 1.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

φρόνιμον καὶ τότε προεστῶτα τῶν ἐφόρων, ἐπι-
λαβέσθαι τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς δεῖ μὴ
ἀνορύττειν τὸν Λύσανδρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λόγον
αὐτῷ συγκατορύττειν οὕτω συντεταγμένον πιθα-
νῶς καὶ πανούργως.

- 5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὰς τε ἄλλας τιμὰς ἀπέδωκαν
αὐτῷ τελευτήσαντι, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσασμένους
τὰς θυγατέρας, εἴτα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ
Λυσάνδρου πένητος εὐρεθέντος ἀπειπαμένους ἐξη-
μίωσαν, ὅτι πλούσιον μὲν νομίζοντες ἐθεράπευον,
δίκαιον δὲ καὶ χρηστὸν ἐκ τῆς πενίας ἐπιγνόντες
ἐγκατέλιπον. ἦν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ
ἀγαμίου δίκη καὶ ὀψιγαμίου καὶ κακογαμίου·
ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπὴγον μάλιστα τοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
καὶ οἰκείων τοῖς πλουσίοις κηδεύοντας. τὰ μὲν
οὖν περὶ Λύσανδρον οὕτως ἱστορήσαμεν ἔχοντα.

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at that time the principal ephor, held Agesilaüs back, saying that they ought not to dig Lysander up again, but rather to bury the speech along with him, since it was composed with such a subtle persuasiveness.

However, they paid him many honours at his death. In particular, they imposed a fine upon the men who had engaged to marry his daughters, and then, after Lysander's death, when he was discovered to be poor, had renounced the engagement. The reason given for the fine was that the men had paid court to Lysander while they thought him rich, but when his poverty showed them that he was a just and good man, they forsook him. For there was, as it appears, a penalty at Sparta not only for not marrying at all, and for a late marriage, but also for a bad marriage; and to this last they subjected those especially who sought alliance with the rich, instead of with the good and with their own associates. Such, then, are the accounts we have found given of Lysander.

SULLA

v 2

ΣΥΛΛΑΣ

- I. Λεύκιος δὲ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας γένει μὲν ἦν ἐκ πατρικίων, οὓς εὐπατρίδας ἂν τις εἴποι, τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ λέγουσι Ῥουφῖνον ὑπατεῦσαι, καὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπιφανεστέραν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀτιμίαν. εὐρέθη γὰρ ἀργυρίου κοίλου κεκτημένος ὑπὲρ δέκα λίτρας, τοῦ νόμου μὴ διδόντος· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέπεσεν. οἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνουν ἤδη ταπεινὰ πράττοντες διετέλεσαν, αὐτὸς τε Σύλλας ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις ἐτράφη τοῖς πατρώοις.
- 2 γενόμενος δὲ μεράκιον ᾧκει παρ' ἐτέροις ἐνοίκιον οὐ πολὺν τελῶν, ὥς ὕστερον ὠνειδίζετο παρ' ἀξίαν εὐτυχεῖν δοκῶν. σεμνυνομένῳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μεγαληγοροῦντι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατείαν λέγεταί τις εἰπεῖν τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, “Καὶ πῶς ἂν εἴης σὺ χρηστός, ὃς τοῦ πατρός σοι
- 3 μὴδὲν καταλιπόντος τοσαῦτα κέκτησαι;” καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔτι τῶν βίων ἐν ἡθελσιν ὀρθίοις καὶ καθαροῖς μερόντων, ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλικότων καὶ παραδεδεγμένων τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας ζῆλον, εἰς ἴσον ὅμως ὄνειδος ἐτίθεντο τοὺς ὑπάρχουσιν εὐπορίαν ἀπολέσαντας καὶ τοὺς πενίαν πατρώαν μὴ δια-
- 4 φυλάξαντας. ὕστερον δὲ ἤδη κρατοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτινύντος, ἀπελευθερικὸς ἀνθρώπος, δοκῶν κρύπτειν ἓνα τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ κατακρημνίζεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο μέλλων, ὠνειδίσε

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I. LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA belonged to a patrician, or noble, family, and one of his ancestors, Rufinus, is said to have been consul, although he was not so conspicuous for this honour as for the dishonour which he incurred. For he was found to be possessed of more than ten pounds of silver plate, contrary to the law, and was for this reason expelled from the senate. His posterity became at once obscure, and continued so, nor did Sulla himself enjoy a wealthy parentage. When he was a youth, he lived in lodgings, at a low price, and this was afterwards cast in his teeth when men thought him unduly prosperous. For instance, we are told that when he was putting on boastful airs after his campaign in Libya, a certain nobleman said to him: "How canst thou be an honest man, when thy father left thee nothing, and yet thou art so rich?" For although the Romans of that time no longer retained their ancient purity and uprightness of life, but had degenerated, and yielded to the appetite for luxury and extravagance, they nevertheless held in equal opprobrium those who lost an inherited wealth and those who forsook an ancestral poverty. And afterwards, when he had at last become absolute in power, and was putting many to death, a freedman, who was thought to be concealing one of the proscribed, and was therefore to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock,

τὸν Σύλλαν ὅτι πολὺν χρόνον ἐν μιᾷ συνοικίᾳ διητῶντο, φέροντες ἐνοίκιον αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν ἄνω δισχιλίους νούμμους, ἐκείνος δὲ τῶν ὑποκάτω τρισχιλίους, ὥστε τῆς τύχης αὐτῶν τὸ μεταξὺ χιλίους εἶναι νούμμους, οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς δύνανται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστοροῦσι περὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τοῦ Σύλλα τύχης.

II. Τοῦ δὲ σώματος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο εἶδος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων φαίνεται, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀμμάτων γλαυκότητα δεινῶς πικρὰν καὶ ἄκρατον οὔσαν ἢ χροῶ τοῦ προσώπου φοβερωτέραν ἐποίει προσιδεῖν. ἐξήνθει γὰρ τὸ ἐρύθημα τραχὺ καὶ σποράδην καταμεμιγμένον τῇ λευκότητι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ νομα λέγουσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς χροῆς ἐπίθετον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι γεφυριστῶν ἐπέσκωψέ τις εἰς τοῦτο ποιήσας·

συκάμινόν ἐσθ' ὁ Σύλλας ἀλφίτῳ πεπασμένον.

- 2 τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις τῶν τεκμηρίων οὐκ ἄτοπόν ἐστι χρῆσθαι περὶ ἀνδρός, ὃν οὕτω φιλοσκώμμουνα 452 φύσει γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ὥστε νέον μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἄδοξον ἔτι μετὰ μίμων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν διαι-
- τᾶσθαι καὶ συνακολασταίνειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ κύριος ἀπάντων κατέστη, συναγαγόντα τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ θεάτρον τοὺς ἱταμωτάτους ὁσημέραι πίνειν καὶ διαπληκτίζεσθαι τοῖς σκώμμασι, τοῦ τε γήρως ἁωρότερα πράττειν δοκοῦντα καὶ πρὸς τῷ καταισχύειν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλὰ τῶν
- 3 δεομένων ἐπιμελείας προϊέμενον. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τῷ Σύλλᾳ περὶ δεῖπνον ὄντι χρῆσασθαι σπουδαῖον

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cast it in his teeth that they had long lived together in one lodging house, himself renting the upper rooms at two thousand sesterces,¹ and Sulla the lower rooms at three thousand. The difference in their fortunes, therefore, was only a thousand sesterces, which are equivalent to two hundred and fifty Attic drachmas. Such, then, is the account we find of Sulla's earlier fortune.

II. His personal appearance, in general, is given by his statues ; but the gleam of his gray eyes, which was terribly sharp and powerful, was rendered even more fearful by the complexion of his face. This was covered with coarse blotches of red, interspersed with white. For this reason, they say, his surname was given him because of his complexion, and it was in allusion to this that a scurrilous jester at Athens made the verse :—

“Sulla is a mulberry sprinkled o'er with meal.”

Nor is it out of place to mention such testimonies in the case of a man said to have been by nature so fond of raillery, that when he was still young and obscure he spent much time with actors and buffoons and shared their dissolute life ; and when he had made himself supreme master, he would daily assemble the most reckless stage and theatre folk to drink and bandy jests with them, although men thought that he disgraced his years, and although he not only dishonoured his high office, but neglected much that required attention. For when Sulla was once at table, he refused to be serious at all, but,

¹ In Sulla's time the *sestertius* was a silver coin worth between two and three pence, or about five cents. The Attic drachma was a silver coin worth about eight pence, or twenty cents.

οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐνεργὸς ὢν καὶ σκυθρωπότερος παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἀθρόαν ἐλάμβανε μεταβολὴν ὅποτε πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν εἰς συνουσίαν καταβάλοι καὶ πότον, ὥστε μιμῶδοις καὶ ὀρχησταῖς τιθασὸς εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἔντευξιν ὑποχείριος καὶ κατάντης. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνέσεως ἔοικε γεγενῆσθαι νόσημα καὶ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτας εὐχέρεια καὶ ῥύσις αὐτοῦ τῆς φιληδονίας, ἧς οὐδὲ γηράσας
 4 ἐπαύσατο, Μητροβίου δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς τινος ἔρων διετετέλεσεν ἔτι νέος ὢν.¹ καὶ συνήντησεν αὐτῷ τὸ τοιοῦτον· ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἐρᾶν κοινῆς μὲν, εὐπόρου δὲ γυναικός, ὄνομα Νικοπόλεως, καὶ διὰ συνηθειαν καὶ χάριν, ἣν ἀφ' ὧρας εἶχεν, εἰς ἐρωμένου σχῆμα περιελθὼν, ἀπελείφθη κληρονόμος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου τελευτώσης. ἐκληρονόμησε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητριάν, ἀγαπηθεὶς ὥσπερ υἱὸς ὑπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ μετρίως μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων εὐπόρησεν.

III. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ ταμίας ὑπατεύοντι Μαρίῳ τὴν πρώτην ὑπατείαν, συνεξέπλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην πολεμήσων Ἰογόρθαν. γενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τά τε ἄλλα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐδόκιμον, καὶ καιρῷ παραπεσόντι χρησάμενος εὖ φίλον ἐποίησατο τὸν τῶν Νομάδων βασιλέα Βόκχον. πρεσβευτὰς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ληστήριον Νομαδικὸν ἐκφυγόντας ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς, δῶρα καὶ
 2 πομπὴν ἀσφαλῆ παρασχὼν ἀπέστειλεν. ὁ δὲ Βόκχος ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἔτι γε πάλαι γαμβρὸν ὄντα μισῶν καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Ἰογόρθαν, τότε δὲ ἡττημένῳ καὶ πεφευγόντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύων ἐκάλει τὸν Σύλλαν, δι' ἐκείνου μάλιστα βουλό-

¹ ἔτι νέος ἂν before this phrase Bekker assumes a lacuna in the text; Sintenis would transpose it to follow ἀρξάμενος γάρ.

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although at other times he was a man of business and wore an austere look, he underwent a complete change as soon as he betook himself to good-fellowship and drinking, so that comic singers and dancers found him anything but ferocious, and ready to listen and yield to every request. It was this laxity, as it seems, which produced in him a diseased propensity to amorous indulgence and an unrestrained voluptuousness, from which he did not refrain even in his old age, but continued his youthful love for Metrobius, an actor.¹ He also had the following experience. He began by loving a common but wealthy woman, Nicopolis by name, and such was the charm of his intimacy and youthful grace that in the end he was beloved by her, and was left her heir when she died. He also inherited the property of his step-mother, who loved him as her own son. By these means he became moderately well off.

III. Having been appointed quaestor to Marius in his first consulship,² he sailed with him to Libya, to make war upon Jugurtha. He was put in charge of the camp, and won great credit for himself, especially by improving a favourable opportunity and making a friend of Bocchus, the king of Numidia. For he hospitably entertained ambassadors of the king, who had escaped from Numidian robbers, and sent them on their way with gifts and a safe escort. Now Bocchus had for a long time hated and feared his son-in-law, Jugurtha, who had been defeated and had fled to him for safety, and was then plotting against him. He therefore invited Sulla to come

¹ The sense of the obscure Greek is clear from chapter xxxvi. 1 *fn.* Capps suggests *ὥς . . . ὥν.* ² 107 B.C.

μενος τὴν σύλληψιν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῦ Ἰογόρθᾱ
γενέσθαι ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ. κοινωνάμενος δὲ τῷ Μάρῳ
καὶ λαβὼν στρατιώτας ὀλίγους ὁ Σύλλας τὸν
μέγιστον ὑπέδου κίνδυνον, ὅτι βαρβάρῳ καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀπίστῳ πιστεύσας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ
3 παραλαβεῖν ἕτερον ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείρισεν. οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ ὁ Βόκχος ἀμφοτέρων κύριος γενόμενος, καὶ
καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ παρασπον-
δῆσαι τὸν ἕτερον, καὶ πολλὰ διενεχθεὶς τῇ γνώμῃ,
τέλος ἐκύρωσε τὴν πρώτην προδοσίαν καὶ παρέ-
δωκε τῷ Σύλλᾳ τὸν Ἰογόρθαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν θρι-
αμβεύων ἐπὶ τούτῳ Μάριος ἦν, ἡ δὲ δόξα τοῦ
κατορθώματος, ἣν ὁ Μάρῳ φθόνος Σύλλας
4 προσετίθει, παρελύπει τὸν Μάριον ἡσυχῇ. καὶ
γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας φύσει τε μεγαλάνχος ὢν καὶ
τότε πρῶτον ἐκ βίου ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀγνώτου ἐν
τινὶ λόγῳ γεγονὼς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ τοῦ
τιμᾶσθαι γενόμενος, εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας προῆλ-
θεν ὥστε γλυψάμενος ἐν δακτυλίῳ φορεῖν εἰκόνα
τῆς πράξεως, καὶ ταύτῃ γε χρώμενος αἰεὶ διετέ-
λεσεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ γραφὴ Βόκχος μὲν παραδιδούς,
Σύλλας δὲ παραλαμβάνων τὸν Ἰογόρθαν.

IV. Ἦνία μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὸν Μάριον· ἔτι δὲ
ἡγούμενος ἐλάττονα τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι τὸν Σύλλαν,
ἐχρήτο πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, τὸ μὲν δεύτερον
ὑπατεύων πρεσβευτῇ, τὸ δὲ τρίτον χιλιάρχῳ, καὶ
πολλὰ δι' ἐκείνῳ τῶν χρησίμων κατωρθοῦτο.
πρεσβεύων τε γὰρ ἡγεμόνα Τεκτοσάγων Κόπιλ-
λον εἴλε, καὶ χιλιάρχων μέγα καὶ πολυάνθρωπον
ἔθνος Μαρσοὺς ἔπεισε φίλους γενέσθαι καὶ συμ-
2 μάχους Ῥωμαίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὸν Μάριον 453

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to him, wishing to have the seizure and surrender of Jugurtha effected through Sulla rather than through himself. Sulla imparted the matter to Marius, and taking with him a few soldiers, underwent the greatest peril ; he put faith in a Barbarian, and one who was faithless towards his own relations, and to secure his surrender of another, placed himself in his hands. However, Bocchus, now that he had both in his power, and had laid himself under the necessity of proving false to one or the other, although he vacillated long, finally decided upon his original betrayal, and handed Jugurtha over to Sulla. It is true that the one who celebrated a triumph for this was Marius, but those who envied him attributed the glory of the success to Sulla, and this secretly annoyed Marius. And indeed Sulla himself was naturally vainglorious, and now that he had for the first time emerged from his lowly and obscure condition and become of some account among his countrymen, and was enjoying a taste of honour, he was arrogant enough to have a representation of his exploit engraved on a seal-ring which he wore, and continued to use it ever after. The device was, Bocchus delivering, and Sulla receiving, Jugurtha.

IV. Of course this distressed Marius ; but since he considered Sulla to be beneath his envy, he used him in his campaigns, during his second consulship as legate, or lieutenant, and during his third as military tribune, and through his agency performed many successful services. For instance, as legate, Sulla captured Copillus, chieftain of the Tectosages ; and as tribune, he persuaded the great and populous nation of the Marsi to become friends and allies of Rome. But perceiving that Marius was vexed with

αἰσθόμενος ἀχθόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ μηκέτι προῖέ-
μενον ἡδέως πράξεων ἀφορμάς, ἀλλὰ ἐνιστάμενον
τῇ αὐξήσει, Κάτλῳ, τῷ συνάρχοντι τοῦ Μαρίου,
προσένειμεν ἑαυτὸν, ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ μὲν, ἀμβλυ-
τέρῳ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ὑφ' οὗ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ
μέγιστα πιστευόμενος εἰς δύναμιν ἅμα δόξῃ
3 προήει. καὶ πολέμῳ μὲν αἰρεῖ πολὺ μέρος τῶν ἐν
ταῖς Ἀλπεσι βαρβάρων, ἐπιλιπούσης δὲ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς ἀναδεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοσαύτην
ἐποίησε περιουσίαν, ὥστε τῶν Κάτλου στρατιω-
τῶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διαγόντων καὶ τοῖς Μαρίου
προσπαρασχεῖν. ἐφ' ᾧ φησιν αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς
4 ἀνιᾶσαι τὸν Μάριον. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἔχθρα βραχεῖαν
οὕτω καὶ μεираκιώδη λαβοῦσα τὴν πρώτην ὑπό-
θεσιν καὶ ἀρχήν, εἴτα χωροῦσα δι' αἵματος
ἐμφυλίου καὶ στάσεων ἀνηκέστων ἐπὶ τυραννίδα
καὶ σύγχυσιν ἁπάντων πραγμάτων, ἀπέδειξε τὸν
Εὐριπίδην σοφὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιστή-
μονα νοσημάτων, διακελευσάμενον φυλάττεσθαι
τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὡς ὀλεθριωτάτην καὶ κακίστην
δαίμονα τοῖς χρωμένοις.

V. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οἰόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
πολεμικῶν δόξαν ἐπὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις διαρ-
κεῖν, καὶ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας εὐθὺς ἐπὶ
τὴν τοῦ δήμου πρᾶξιν, ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν πολιτικὴν
ἀπεγράψατο καὶ διεψεύσθη· τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῖς
ὄχλοις ἀνατίθησι. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς
Βόκχον εἰδότας φιλίαν, καὶ προσδεχομένους, εἰ
πρὸ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀγορανομοίῃ, κυνηγέσια λαμ-

¹ In his *Memoirs*. Cf. chapter vi. 5.

² *Phoenissae*, 532 ff. (Kirchhoff).

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him for these successes, and that he was no longer glad to give him opportunities for action, but opposed his advancement, he attached himself to Catulus, the colleague of Marius in the consulship, a worthy man, but too sluggish for arduous contests. By him he was entrusted with the leading and most important enterprises, and rose to power and fame. He not only subdued in war a large part of the Barbarians of the Alps, but when provisions ran low, he undertook the task of furnishing them, and made them so abundant that the soldiers of Catulus lived in plenty, and had some to spare for those of Marius. At this, as Sulla himself says,¹ Marius was greatly distressed. So slight and puerile were the first foundations and occasions of that hatred between them, which afterwards led them through civil bloodshed and irreparable discords to tyranny and the confusion of the whole state. This proved that Euripides was a wise man, and acquainted with the distempers of civil government, when he exhorted men to beware of ambition as a deity most injurious and fatal to its votaries.²

V. Sulla now thought that the reputation which he had won in war was sufficient to justify political activities, and therefore at once exchanged military service for public life,³ offered himself as a candidate for the city praetorship, and was defeated. The responsibility for his defeat, however, he lays upon the populace. They knew, he says, about his friendship with Bocchus, and expected that if he should be made aedile before his praetorship, he would treat them to splendid hunting scenes and

³ He returned to Rome in 101 B.C., and was elected praetor in 93 B.C.

- πρὰ καὶ Λιβυκῶν θηρίων ἀγῶνας, ἐτέρους ἀπο-
 δεῖξαι στρατηγούς ὡς αὐτὸν ἀγορανομεῖν ἀναγκά-
 2 σοντας. ἔοικε δὲ τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς ἀποτεύξεως
 αἰτίαν οὐχ ὁμολογῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῖς
 πράγμασιν. ἐνιαυτῷ γὰρ κατόπιον ἔτυχε τῆς
 στρατηγίας, τοῦ δήμου τὸ μὲν τι θεραπείαι, τὸ δὲ
 καὶ χρήμασι προσαγαγόμενος. διὸ δὴ καὶ στρατη-
 γοῦντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα μετ' ὀργῆς
 εἰπόντος ὡς χρήσεται τῇ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξουσίᾳ,
 γελάσας ὁ Καίσαρ, “Ὁρθῶς,” ἔφη, “τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἰδίαν νομίζεις· ἔχεις γὰρ αὐτὴν πριάμενος.”
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατηγίαν εἰς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν
 ἀποστέλλεται, τὸν μὲν ἐμφανῆ λόγον ἔχων πρὸς
 τὴν στρατείαν Ἀριοβαρζάνην καταγαγεῖν, αἰτίαν
 δὲ ἀληθῆ Μιθριδάτην ἐπισχεῖν πολυπραγ-
 μονοῦντα καὶ περιβαλλόμενον ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν
 οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης. ἰδίαν μὲν οὖν
 δύναμιν οὐ πολλὴν ἐπήγετο, χρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς
 συμμάχοις προθύμοις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν
 Καππαδοκῶν, πλείονας δ' αὖθις Ἀρμενίων προσ-
 βοηθοῦντας ἀποκτείνας, Γόρδιον μὲν ἐξήλασεν,
 Ἀριοβαρζάνην δὲ ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.
- 4 Διατρίβοντι δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην
 ἐντυγχάνει Πάρθος Ὀρόβαζος, Ἀρσάκου βασι-
 λέως πρεσβευτής, οὐπω πρότερον ἀλλήλοις ἐπι-
 μεμιγμένων τῶν γενῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς με-
 γάλης δοκεῖ Σύλλα τύχης γενέσθαι, τὸ πρῶτον
 Ῥωμαίων ἐκείνῳ Πάρθους συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας
 δεομένους διὰ λόγων ἐλθεῖν. ὅτε καὶ λέγεται

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combats of Libyan wild beasts, and therefore appointed others to the praetorship, in order to force him into the aedileship. But subsequent events would seem to show that Sulla does not confess the real reason for his failure. For in the following year he obtained the praetorship, partly because he was subservient to the people, and partly because he used money to win their support. And so it happened that, during his praetorship, when he angrily told Caesar¹ that he would use his own authority against him, Caesar laughed and said : "You do well to consider the office your own, for you bought it."

After his praetorship, he was sent out to Cappadocia, ostensibly to reinstate Ariobarzanes, but really to check the restless activities of Mithridates, who was adding to his dominion and power fully as much as he had inherited. Accordingly, he took out with him no large force of his own, but made use of the allies, whom he found eager to serve him, and after slaying many of the Cappadocians themselves, and yet more of the Armenians who came to their aid, he drove out Gordius, and made Ariobarzanes king again.

As he lingered on the banks of the Euphrates, he received a visit from Orobazus, a Parthian, who came as an ambassador from king Arsaces, although up to this time the two nations had held no intercourse with one another. This also is thought to have been part of Sulla's great good fortune, that he should be the first Roman with whom the Parthians held conference when they wanted alliance and friendship

¹ Not the dictator, who was only seven years old at this time.

τρεῖς δίφρους προθέμενος, τὸν μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνη, τὸν δὲ Ὀροβάζω, τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ, μέσος ἀμφοῖν
 5 καθεζόμενος χρηματίζειν. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν μὲν Ὀρο-
 βαζον ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς ἀπέ-
 κτεινε, τὸν δὲ Σύλλαν οἱ μὲν ἐπήνεσαν ἐντρυφή-
 σαντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, οἱ δὲ ὡς φορτικὸν
 ἡτιάσαντο καὶ ἀκαίρως φιλότιμον. ἱστορεῖται δέ
 τις ἀνὴρ τῶν μετὰ Ὀροβάζου καταβεβηκότων,
 Χαλδαῖος, εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σύλλα πρόσωπον ἀπιδὼν
 καὶ ταῖς κινήσεσι τῆς τε διανοίας καὶ τοῦ σώμα-
 6 τος οὐ παρέργως ἐπιστήσας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῆς
 τέχνης ὑποθέσεις τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκεψάμενος,
 εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον εἴη τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα μέγισ-
 του γενέσθαι, θαυμάζειν δὲ καὶ νῦν πῶς ἀνέχεται
 μὴ πρῶτος ὢν ἀπάντων. ἀναχωρήσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ 454
 δίκην ἔλαχε δώρων Κηνσωρίνος, ὡς πολλὰ χρή-
 ματα συνειλοχότι παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκ φίλης καὶ
 συμμαχου βασιλείας. οὐ μὲν ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὴν
 κρίσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέστη τῆς κατηγορίας.

VI. Ἡ μέντοι πρὸς Μάριον αὐτῷ στάσις ἀνε-
 रिπίζετο καινὴν ὑπόθεσιν λαβοῦσα τὴν Βόκχου
 φιλοτιμίαν, ὃς τὸν τε δῆμον ἅμα θεραπεύων ἐν
 Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ χαριζόμενος ἀνέθηκε εἰκόνας¹
 ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ τροπαιοφόρους καὶ παρ' αὐταῖς
 χρυσοῦν Ἰογόρθαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ Σύλλα παραδιδό-
 2 μενον. ἐφ' ᾧ τοῦ Μαρίου βαρυνθυμουμένου καὶ
 καθαιρεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντος, ἐτέρων δὲ ἀμύνειν τῷ
 Σύλλᾳ, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὅσον οὐπω διακεκαυμένης
 ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν, ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος πάλαι τυφό-

¹ εἰκόνας Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker, with the MSS. Sintenis² adopts Cobet's correction to Νίκας (*Victories*), to agree with *Marius*, xxxii. 2.

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On this occasion, too, it is said that he ordered three chairs to be set, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and one for himself, and that he sat between them both and gave them audience. For this the king of Parthia afterwards put Orobazus to death; and while some people commended Sulla for the airs which he assumed with the Barbarians, others accused him of vulgarity and ill-timed arrogance. It is also recorded that a certain man in the retinue of Orobazus, a Chaldaean, after looking Sulla intently in the face, and studying carefully the movements of his mind and body, and investigating his nature according to the principles of his peculiar art, declared that this man must of necessity become the greatest in the world, and that even now the wonder was that he consented not to be first of all men. When Sulla came back to Rome, however, Censorinus brought suit against him for bribery, alleging that he had collected large sums of money illegally from a friendly and allied kingdom. However, Censorinus did not put in an appearance at the trial, but dropped his impeachment.

VI. Moreover, Sulla's quarrel with Marius broke out afresh on being supplied with fresh material by the ambition of Bocchus, who, desiring to please the people at Rome, and at the same time to gratify Sulla, dedicated on the Capitol some images bearing trophies, and beside them gilded figures representing Jugurtha being surrendered by Bocchus to Sulla. Thereupon Marius was very angry, and tried to have the figures taken down, but others were minded to aid Sulla in opposing this, and the city was all but in flames with their dispute, when the Social war,¹

¹ 90-89 B.C., following the revolt of Rome's Italian allies.

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μενος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναλάμψας τότε τὴν στάσιν
 ἐπέσχευ. ἐν τούτῳ, μεγίστῳ καὶ ποικιλωτάτῳ
 γενομένῳ καὶ πλείστα κακὰ καὶ βαρυτάτους
 παρασχόντι κινδύνους Ῥωμαίοις, Μάριος μὲν
 οὐδὲν ἀποδείξαι μέγα δυνηθεὶς ἤλεγχε τὴν πολε-
 μικὴν ἀρετὴν ἀκμῆς καὶ ῥώμης δεομένην, Σύλλας
 δὲ πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου δόξαν ἔσχευ ἡγε-
 μόνος μεγάλου μὲν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, μεγίστου
 δὲ παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις, εὐτυχεστάτου δὲ καὶ παρὰ
 3 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπαθε ταῦτ' Ἱμοθέῳ τῷ
 τοῦ Κόνωνος, ὅς, εἰς τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ τὰ κατορ-
 θώματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιθεμένων καὶ γραφόντων ἐν
 πίναξιν κοιμώμενον ἐκείνου, τὴν δὲ Τύχην δικτύῳ
 τὰς πόλεις περιβάλλουσιν, ἀγροικιζόμενος καὶ
 χαλεπαίνων πρὸς τὰ ταῦτα ποιούντας ὡς ἀπο-
 στερούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι δόξης,
 ἔφη ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐπανήκων ἐκ στρατείας
 εὖ κεχωρηκέναι δοκούσης, “Ἀλλὰ ταύτης γε
 τῆς στρατείας οὐδέν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ τύχῃ
 4 μέτεστι.” πρὸς Τιμόθεον μὲν οὖν φασιν οὕτω
 φανέντα φιλότιμον ἀντιμειρακιεύεσθαι τὸ δαιμό-
 νιον, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πρᾶξαι λαμπρόν, ἀλλὰ ὅλως
 ἀποτυγχάνοντα ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ προσκρούοντα
 τῷ δήμῳ τέλος ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πόλεως. Σύλλας δὲ
 οὐ μόνον ἡδέως προσιέμενος τὸν τοιοῦτον εὐδαι-
 μονισμόν καὶ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναύξων καὶ
 συνεπιθειάζων τὰ πραττόμενα, τῆς τύχης ἐξῆ-
 πτεν, εἴτε κόμπῳ χρώμενος εἴθ' οὕτως ἔχων τῇ
 5 δόξῃ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι

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which had long been smouldering, blazed up against the city and put a stop for the time being to the quarrel. In this war, which proved of the greatest moment and most varied fortunes, and brought innumerable mischiefs and the gravest perils upon the Romans, Marius was unable to render any great service, and proved that military excellence requires a man's highest strength and vigour. Sulla, on the other hand, did much that was memorable, and achieved the reputation of a great leader among his fellow-citizens, that of the greatest of leaders among his friends, and that of the most fortunate even among his enemies. But he did not feel about this as Timotheus the son of Conon did, who, when his adversaries ascribed his successes to Fortune, and had him represented in a painting as lying asleep, while Fortune cast her net about the cities, was rudely angry with those who had done this, because, as he thought, they were robbing him of the glory due to his exploits, and said to the people once, on returning from a campaign in which he was thought to have been successful: "In this campaign, at least, men of Athens, Fortune has no share." Upon Timotheus, then, who had shown himself so covetous of honour, the deity is said to have requited his youthful petulance, so that from that time on he did nothing brilliant, but miscarried in all his undertakings, gave offence to the people, and was finally banished the city; whereas Sulla not only accepted with pleasure such felicitations and admiration, but actually joined in magnifying the aid of Heaven in what he did, and gave the credit of it to Fortune, either out of boastfulness, or because he had such a belief in the divine agency. For in his Memoirs he writes

γέγραφεν ὅτι τῶν καλῶς αὐτῷ βεβουλευσθαι δοκούντων αἱ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀποτολμώμεναι πράξεις ἐπιπτον εἰς ἄμεινον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ δι' ὧν φησι πρὸς τύχην εὖ πεφυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς πόλεμον, τῇ τύχῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς πλέον ἔοικε νέμειν καὶ ὅλως ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δαίμονος ποιεῖν, ὅς γε καὶ τῆς πρὸς Μέτελλον ὁμονοίας, ἰσότημον ἄνδρα καὶ κηδεστήν, εὐτυχίαν τινὰ θείαν αἰτιᾶται· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ πράγματα παρέξειν ἐπίδοξον ὄντα πραότατον ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ γενέσθαι τῆς
6 ἀρχῆς. ἔτι δὲ Λευκόλλῳ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν ἐκείνῳ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνατέθεικε, παραινεῖ μηδὲν οὕτως ἡγεῖσθαι βέβαιον ὥς ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῷ προστάξῃ νύκτωρ τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἐκπεμπομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον ἱστορεῖ χάσμα τῆς γῆς μέγα γενέσθαι περὶ Λαβέρνην· ἐκ δὲ τούτου πῦρ ἀναβλῦσαι πολὺ καὶ φλόγα λαμπρὰν στηρίσαι πρὸς τὸν
7 οὐρανόν. εἰπεῖν δὴ καὶ τοὺς μάντις ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὄψει διάφορος καὶ περιττὸς ἄρξας ἀπαλλάξει τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς τὰς παρούσας. τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναί φησιν ὁ Σύλλας· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ὄψεως ἴδιον εἶναι τὸ περὶ τὴν κόμην χρυσωπὸν, ἀρετὴν δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι μαρτυρῶν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ πράξεις καλὰς οὕτω καὶ μεγάλας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς θειότητος.

Τὸν δὲ ἄλλον τρόπον ἀνώμαλός τις ἔοικε γεγονέναι καὶ διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ἀφελέσθαι πολλά, χαρίσασθαι πλείονα, τιμῆσαι παραλόγως, 455 παραλόγως ἐφυβρίσαι, θεραπεύειν ὧν δέοιτο,

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that, of the undertakings which men thought well-advised, those upon which he had boldly ventured, not after deliberation, but on the spur of the moment, turned out for the better. And further, from what he says about his being well endowed by nature for Fortune rather than for war, he seems to attribute more to Fortune than to his own excellence, and to make himself entirely the creature of this deity, since he accounts even his concord with Metellus, a man his equal in rank, and a relative by marriage, a piece of divine felicity; for whereas he expected much annoyance from him as a colleague in office, he found him most obliging. And still further, in the dedication of his Memoirs to Lucullus, he advises him to deem nothing so secure as what the divine power enjoins upon him in his dreams. And he relates that when he was dispatched with an army to the Social war, a great chasm in the earth opened near Laverna, from which a great quantity of fire burst forth and a bright flame towered up towards the heavens; whereupon the soothsayers declared that a brave man, of rare courage and surpassing appearance, was to take the government in hand and free the city from its present troubles. And Sulla says that he himself was this man, for his golden head of hair gave him a singular appearance, and as for bravery, he was not ashamed to testify in his own behalf, after such great and noble deeds as he had performed. So much, then, regarding his attitude towards the divine powers.

In other respects he seems to have been of very uneven character, and at variance with himself; he robbed much, but gave more; bestowed his honours unexpectedly, as unexpectedly his insults; fawned on

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- θρύπτεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους, ὥστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι
 πότερον ὑπεροπτης φύσει μᾶλλον ἢ κόλαξ γέγονε.
- 8 τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ἀνωμαλίαν, ἐξ ᾧ
 ἔτυχεν αἰτιῶν ἀποτυμπανίζοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν
 τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶως φέροντος,
 καὶ διαλλαττομένου μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις μετὰ
 εὐκολίας, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα προσκρούσματα
 σφαγαῖς καὶ δημεύσεσιν οὐσιῶν μετιόντος, οὕτως
 ἂν τις διαιτήσειεν ὡς φύσει μὲν ὀργὴν χαλεπὸν
 ὄντα καὶ τιμωρητικόν, ὑφιέμενον δὲ τῆς πικρίας
- 9 λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. ἐν αὐτῷ γε τούτῳ
 τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ
 στρατηγικὸν ἄνδρα πρεσβευτήν, Ἀλβῖνον ὄνομα,
 ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις διαχρησαμένων, παρήλθε καὶ
 οὐκ ἐπέξηλθεν ἀδίκημα τοσοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 σεμνυνόμενος διεδίδου λόγον ὡς προθυμοτέροις
 διὰ τοῦτο χρήσοιτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς
 ἰωμένοις τὸ ἀμάρτημα δι' ἀνδραγαθίας. τῶν δ'
 ἐγκαλούντων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν, ἀλλὰ ἤδη καταλῦ-
 σαι Μάριον διανοούμενος καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συμ-
 μάχους πολέμου τέλος ἔχειν δοκοῦντος ἀποδει-
 χθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ, ἐθεράπευε τὴν
 ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατιάν.
- 10 Καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπατος μὲν ἀπο-
 δείκνυται μετὰ Κοῖντου Πομπηίου, πεντήκοντα
 ἔτη γεγονώς, γαμεῖ δὲ γάμον ἐνδοξότατον Και-
 κιλίαν τὴν Μετέλλου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως.
 ἐφ' ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἦδον οἱ δημοτικοί,
 πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐνεμέσων, οὐκ ἄξιον
 ἡγούμενοι τῆς γυναικὸς ὃν ἄξιον ὑπατείας ἔκριναν,

¹ In 88 B.C.

² In the seventy-seventh, one of the lost books.

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those he needed, but gave himself airs towards those who needed him ; so that one cannot tell whether he was more inclined by nature to disdain or flattery. For as regards the irregularity of his punishments, cudgelling to death as he did on any chance grounds, and again gently submitting to the greatest wrongs ; readily open to reconciliation after the most irreparable injuries, but visiting small and insignificant offences with death and confiscation of goods ; here one might decide that he was naturally of a stern and revengeful temper, but relaxed his severity out of calculating regard for his interests. In this very Social war, for example, when his soldiers with clubs and stones did to death a legate, a man of praetorian dignity, Albinus by name, he passed over without punishment this flagrant crime, and solemnly passed the word about that he would find his men more ready and willing for the war on account of this transgression, since they would try to atone for it by their bravery. To those who censured the crime he paid no heed, but purposing already to put down the power of Marius and, now that the Social war was thought to be at an end, to get himself appointed general against Mithridates, he treated the soldiers under him with deference.

When he returned to the city, he was appointed consul with Quintus Pompeius,¹ in the fiftieth year of his age, and made a most illustrious marriage with Caecilia, the daughter of Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus. On the theme of this marriage many verses were sung in ridicule of him by the common people, and many of the leading men were indignant at it, deeming him, as Livy says,² unworthy of the woman although they had judged him worthy of the

- 11 ὥς φησιν ὁ Τίτος. οὐ μόνην δὲ ταύτην ἔγχευεν, ἀλλὰ πρώτην μὲν ἔτι μεираκιον ὦν Ἰλίαν ἔσχε τὴν καὶ θυγάτριον αὐτῷ τεκοῦσαν, εἶτα μετ' ἐκείνην Αἰλίαν· τρίτην δὲ Κλοιλίαν, ἣν ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν ὡς στεῖραν ἐντίμως καὶ μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ δῶρα προσθείς, ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Μετέλλαν ἔδοξε διὰ τοῦτο τὴν
- 12 Κλοιλίαν οὐ καλῶς αἰτιάσασθαι. τὴν μέντοι Μετέλλαν ἐν πᾶσι θεραπεύων διετέλεσεν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον, ὅτε τοὺς περὶ Μάριον φυγάδας ἐπεθύμει καταγαγεῖν, ἀρνούμενου τοῦ Σύλλα, δεόμενον ἐπιβοήσασθαι τὴν Μετέλλαν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐλὼν τὸ ἄστυ προσενηχθῆναι τραχύτερον, ὅτι τὴν Μετέλλαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους γεφυρίζοντες ἐλοιδόρησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

VII. Τότε δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα μικρὸν ἡγούμενος, ἐπτόητο τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον. ἀντανίστατο δὲ αὐτῷ Μάριος ὑπὸ δοξομανίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀγερᾶτων παθῶν, ἀνὴρ τῷ τε σώματι βαρὺς καὶ ταῖς ἑναγχοῦς ἀπειρηκῶς στρατείαις διὰ γῆρας ἐκδήμων

2 καὶ διαποντίων πολέμων ἐφιεμένος. καὶ τοῦ Σύλλα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιλιπεῖς πράξεις ὀρμήσαντος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτὸς οἰκουρῶν ἐτεκταίνετο τὴν ὀλεθριωτάτην ἐκείνην καὶ ὅσα σύμπαντες οἱ πόλεμοι τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἔβλαψαν ἀπεργασάμενην στάσιν, ὡς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς προεσήμνηε. πῦρ μὲν γὰρ αὐτόματον ἐκ τῶν τὰ σημεῖα

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consulship. And this was not the only woman whom he married, but first, when he was still a stripling, he took Ilia to wife, and she bore him a daughter ; then Aelia, after her ; and thirdly, Cloelia, whom he divorced for barrenness, honourably, and with words of praise, to which he added gifts. But since he married Metella only a few days afterwards, he was thought to have accused Cloelia unfairly. To Metella, however, he always showed great deference in all things, so that the Roman people, when it longed for the restoration of the exiled partisans of Marius, and Sulla refused it, in its need called upon Metella for aid. It was thought also that when he took the city of Athens, he treated its people more harshly because they had scurrilously abused Metella from the walls. But this was later.¹

VII. At the time of which I speak, deeming the consulship a slight matter in comparison with things to come, his thoughts soared to the Mithridatic war. But here he found a rival in Marius, who was possessed by ambition and a mad desire for fame, those never ageing passions. He was now unwieldy in body, and in the recent campaigns had given up service on account of his age, and yet set his heart upon foreign wars beyond the seas. And when Sulla had set out for his camp on unfinished business,² he himself kept at home and contrived that most fatal sedition, which wrought Rome more harm than all her wars together had done, as indeed the heavenly powers foreshowed to them. For fire broke forth of its own accord from the staves which supported

¹ Cf. chapter xiii. 1.

² Sulla was occupied with the siege of Nola, in Campania.

δοράτων ὑποφερόντων ἀνέλαμψε καὶ κατεσβέσθη
 μόλις, κόρακες δὲ τρεῖς τοὺς νεοσσούς εἰς τὴν
 ὁδὸν προαγαγόντες κατέφαγον, τὰ δὲ λείψανα
 3 πάλιν εἰς τὴν νεοσσιὰν ἀνήνεγκαν. καὶ μυνὼν δὲ
 ἐν ἱερῷ χρυσὸν ἀνακείμενον διαφαγόντων μίαν οἱ
 ζάκοροι πάγῃ θήλειαν λαμβάνουσιν, ἥ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ
 τῇ πάγῃ τεκοῦσα πέντε κατανάλωσε τὰ τρία. τὸ
 δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ἐξ ἀνεφέλου καὶ διαίθρου
 τοῦ περιέχοντος ἤχησε φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ὅξυν
 ἀποτείνουσα καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον, ὥστε πάντας 456
 ἔκφρονας γενέσθαι καὶ καταπτῆξαι διὰ τὸ μέγε-
 θος. Τυρρηνῶν δὲ οἱ λόγιοι μεταβολὴν ἐτέρου
 γένους ἀπεφαίνοντο καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποσημαί-
 4 νειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ὀκτώ¹ τὰ σύμπαντα
 γένη, διαφέροντα τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀλλή-
 λων, ἐκάστω δὲ ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνων ἀριθμὸν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ θεοῦ συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου
 περιόδῳ. καὶ ὅταν αὕτη σχῇ τέλος, ἐτέρας
 ἐνισταμένης κινεῖσθαι τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ
 οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ὥς δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς πεφρον-
 τικόσι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μεμαθηκόσιν εὐθύς ὅτι καὶ
 τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι
 5 γεγόνασιν, καὶ θεοὶς ἡττον ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν προ-
 τέρων μέλοντες. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα φασὶν ἐν τῇ
 τῶν γενῶν ἀμείψει λαμβάνειν μεγάλας καινοτο-
 μίας, καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ποτὲ μὲν αὔξεσθαι τῇ
 τιμῇ καὶ κατατυγχάνειν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσι,
 καθαρὰ καὶ φανερά σημεῖα τοῦ δαιμονίου προπέμ-
 ποντος, αὐθις δ' ἐν ἐτέρῳ γένει ταπεινὰ πράττειν,
 αὐτοσχέδιον οὖσαν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ἀμυδρῶν

¹ ὀκτώ before this word Sintenis² reads ἀνθρώπων, after Suidas.

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the ensigns, and was with difficulty extinguished ; and three ravens brought their young forth into the street and devoured them, and then carried the remains back again into their nest ; and after mice had gnawed consecrated gold in a temple, the keepers caught one of them, a female, in a trap, and in the very trap she brought forth five young ones, and ate up three of them. But most important of all, out of a cloudless and clear air there rang out the voice of a trumpet, prolonging a shrill and dismal note, so that all were amazed and terrified at its loudness. The Tuscan wise men declared that the prodigy foretokened a change of conditions and the advent of a new age. For according to them there are eight ages in all, differing from one another in the lives and customs of men, and to each of these God has appointed a definite number of times and seasons, which is completed by the circuit of a great year. And whenever this circuit has run out, and another begins, some wonderful sign is sent from earth or heaven, so that it is at once clear to those who have studied such subjects and are versed in them, that men of other habits and modes of life have come into the world, who are either more or less of concern to the gods than their predecessors were. All things, they say, undergo great changes, as one age succeeds another, and especially the art of divination ; at one period it rises in esteem and is successful in its predictions, because manifest and genuine signs are sent forth from the Deity ; and again, in another age, it is in small repute, being off-hand, for the most part, and seeking to grasp

καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὀργάνων τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπτομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ λογιώτατοι Τυρρηνῶν καὶ πλέον
 6 τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰδέναι δοκοῦντες ἐμυθολογοῦν. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου τοῖς μάντεσι περὶ τούτων σχολαζούσης καὶ καθημένης ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἐννουῆς, στρουθὸς εἰσέπτῃ πάντων ὀρώντων τέττιγα φέρων τῷ στόματι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκβαλὼν μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε, τὸ δὲ ἔχων ἀπῆλθεν. ὑφεωρῶντο δὴ στάσιν οἱ τερατοσκόποι καὶ διαφορὰν τῶν κτηματικῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀστικὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἀγοραῖον φωνάεντα γὰρ τοῦτον εἶναι καθάπερ τέττιγα, τοὺς δὲ χωρίτας ἀρουραίους.

VIII. Μάριος δὴ προσλαμβάνει δημαρχοῦντα Σουλπίκιον, ἄνθρωπον οὐδενὸς δεύτερον ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις κακίαις, ὥστε μὴ ζητεῖν τίνας ἐστὶν ἐτέρου μοχθηρότερος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί μοχθηρότατος ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὁμοίτης καὶ τόλμα καὶ πλεονεξία περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν ἀπερίσκεπτος αἰσχροῦ καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ, ὃς γε τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐξελευθερικοῖς καὶ μετοίκοις πωλῶν ἀναφανδὸν ἠρίθμει
 2 τιμὴν διὰ τραπέζης ἐν ἀγορᾷ κειμένης. ἔτρεφε δὲ τρισχιλίους μαχαιροφόρους, καὶ πλήθος ἵππικῶν νεανίσκων πρὸς ἅπαν ἐτοίμων περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, οὓς ἀντισύγκλητον ὠνόμαζε. νόμον δὲ κυρώσας μηδένα συγκλητικὸν ὑπὲρ δισχιλίας δραχμὰς ὀφείλειν, αὐτὸς ἀπέλιπε μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ὀφλήματος μυριάδας τριακοσίας. οὗτος εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀφεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρίου, καὶ συνταράξας πάντα

¹ The Greek of this sentence is acknowledged by all editors to be corrupt. The translation follows Coraës.

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the future by means of faint and blind senses. Such, at any rate, was the tale told by the wisest of the Tuscans, who were thought to know much more about it than the rest. Moreover, while the senate was busied with the soothsayers about these prodigies, and holding its session in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow came flying in, before the eyes of all, with a grasshopper in its mouth, a part of which it threw down and left there, and then went away with the other part. From this the diviners apprehended a quarrelsome dissension between the landed proprietors and the populace of the city and forum; for the latter is vociferous like a grasshopper, while the former haunt the fields (like the sparrow).¹

VIII. Marius now made alliance with Sulpicius who was a tribune of the people, a man second to none in prime villainies, so that the question was not whom else he surpassed in wickedness, but in what he surpassed his own wickedness. For the combination of cruelty, effrontery, and rapacity in him was regardless of shame and of all evil, since he sold the Roman citizenship to freedmen and aliens at public sale, and counted out the price on a money-table which stood in the forum. Moreover, he maintained three thousand swordsmen, and had about him a body of young men of the equestrian order who were ready for everything, and whom he called his anti-senate. Further, though he got a law passed that no senator should incur a debt of more than two thousand drachmas, he himself left behind him after death a debt of three millions. This man was now let loose upon the people by Marius, and after confounding all

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- τὰ πράγματα βία καὶ σιδήρῳ, νόμους ἔγραφεν
 ἄλλους τε μοχθηροὺς καὶ τὸν διδόντα Μάριον τοῦ
 3 Μιθριδατικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἀπραξίας
 δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων ψηφισαμένων, ἐπ-
 αγαγὼν αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσι περὶ τὸν νεὼν τῶν
 Διοσκούρων ὄχλον ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ
 Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑπάτου μειράκιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
 ἀνείλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ Πομπηῖος λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε.
 Σύλλας δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου συνδιωχθεὶς
 4 ἠναγκάσθη προελθὼν τὰς ἀπραξίας λύσαι· καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο τὸν Πομπηῖον ἐπάρχοντα παύσας¹ ὁ Σουλπί-
 κιος οὐκ ἀφείλετο τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν ὑπατείαν, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην στρατείαν μόνον εἰς Μάριον
 μετήνεγκε· καὶ πέμπει χιλιάρχους εὐθύς εἰς
 Νῶλαν παραληψομένους τὸ στράτευμα καὶ πρὸς
 τὸν Μάριον ἄξοντας.

- IX. Φθάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα διαφυγεῖν εἰς τὸ
 στρατόπεδον, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο
 ταῦτα, καταλευσάντων τοὺς χιλιάρχους, οἱ περὶ
 τὸν Μάριον αὐθις ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς Σύλλα φίλους
 ἀνῆρουν καὶ χρήματα διήρπαζον αὐτῶν. ἦσαν δὲ
 μεταστάσεις καὶ φυγαί, τῶν μὲν εἰς πόλιν ἀπὸ
 στρατοπέδου, τῶν δ' ἐκεῖσε διαφοιτῶντων ἐκ τῆς
 2 πόλεως. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἦν μὲν οὐχ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς Μαρίου καὶ Σουλπικίου διωκεῖτο προστάγ-
 μασι, πυθομένη δὲ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν 457
 ἐλαύνειν ἔπεμψε δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν, Βρούτον
 καὶ Σερουτίλιον, ἀπαγορεύοντας αὐτῷ βαδίξειν.
 τούτους θρασύτερον Σύλλα διαλεχθέντας ὤρ-
 μησαν μὲν ἀνελεῖν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰς δὲ ῥάβδους

¹ παύσας Coraës and Bekker, after Muretus : ποιήσας.

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things by force and the sword, he proposed certain vicious laws, and particularly one offering to Marius the command in the Mithridatic war. To prevent voting on these, the consuls decreed suspension of public business, whereupon Sulpicius led a mob against them, as they were holding an assembly near the temple of Castor and Pollux, and, amongst many others, slew also the young son of Pompeius the consul in the forum; but Pompeius himself made his escape unnoticed. Sulla, however, after having been pursued into the house of Marius, was forced to come forth and rescind the decree for suspension of public business; and it was because he did this that Sulpicius, although he deposed Pompeius, did not take the consulship away from Sulla, but merely transferred the expedition against Mithridates to the command of Marius. He also sent military tribunes at once to Nola, who were to take over the army there and conduct it to Marius.

IX. But Sulla succeeded in making his escape and reaching the camp first, and his soldiers, when they learned what had happened, stoned the tribunes to death; in return for which, Marius and his partisans in the city went to slaying the friends of Sulla and plundering their property. Then there were removals and flights, some passing continually from camp to city, and others from city to camp. The senate was not its own master, but was governed by the dictates of Marius and Sulpicius, and when it learned that Sulla was marching against the city, it sent two of the praetors, Brutus and Servilius, to forbid his advance. These men addressed Sulla with too much boldness, whereupon his soldiers

καὶ δεομένης μὴ βαδίζειν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου, πάντα γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι τὰ δίκαια τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης, ὠμολόγησε μὲν αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύσειν καὶ διαμετρεῖν ἐκέλευε χώρας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥστε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπελθεῖν πιστεύσαντας· ἐκείνων δὲ ἀπελθόντων εὐθὺς ἐκπέμφας Λεύκιον Βάσιλλον καὶ Γάϊον Μόμμιον καταλαμβάνει τὴν πύλην δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ περὶ τὸν λόφον τὸν Αἰσκυλῖνον· εἴτ' αὐτὸς ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ συνήπτε. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Βάσιλλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσόντων καὶ κρατούντων, ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἄνοπλος δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν κεράμῳ καὶ λίθῳ βάλλοντες ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν καὶ συνέστειλαν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Σύλλας παρῆν ἤδη, καὶ συνιδὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐβόα τὰς οἰκίας ὑφάπτειν, καὶ λαβὼν δᾶδα καιομένην ἐχώρει πρῶτος αὐτός, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐκέλευε χρῆσθαι τοῖς πυροβόλοις ἄνω τῶν στεγασμάτων ἐφιεμένους, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν, 7 ἀλλ' ἐμπαθῆς ὢν καὶ τῷ θυμῷ παραδεδωκῶς τὴν τῶν πρᾶσσομένων ἡγεμονίαν, ὅς γε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μόνον ἐώρα, φίλους δὲ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους εἰς οὐδένα λόγον θέμενος οὐδ' οἶκτον κατῆει διὰ πυρός, ᾧ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ μὴ διάγνωσις οὐκ ἦν. τούτων δὲ γινομένων Μάριος ἐξωσθεὶς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν ἐκάλει διὰ κηρύγματος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸ οἰκετικόν· ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων κρατηθεὶς ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως.

Χ. Σύλλας δὲ τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγὼν καταψηφίζεται θάνατον αὐτοῦ τε Μαρίου καὶ ὀλίγων

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deputation from the city, which begged him not to advance to an immediate attack, since the senate had voted that he should have all his rights; he therefore agreed to encamp there, and ordered his officers to measure out the ground, as was usual, for the camp, so that the deputation returned to the city believing that he would do so. But no sooner were they gone than he sent forward Lucius Basillus and Caius Mummius, who seized for him the city-gate and the walls on the Esquiline hill; then he himself followed hard after them with all speed. Basillus and his men burst into the city and were forcing their way along, when the unarmed multitude pelted them with stones and tiles from the roofs of the houses, stopped their further progress, and crowded them back to the wall. But by this time Sulla was at hand, and seeing what was going on, shouted orders to set fire to the houses, and seizing a blazing torch, led the way himself, and ordered his archers to use their fire-bolts and shoot them up at the roofs. This he did not from any calm calculation, but in a passion, and having surrendered to his anger the command over his actions, since he thought only of his enemies, and without any regard or even pity for friends and kindred and relations, made his entry by the aid of fire, which made no distinction between the guilty and the innocent. Meanwhile Marius, who had been driven back to the temple of Tellus, made a proclamation calling the slaves to his support under promise of freedom; but the enemy coming on, he was overpowered and fled from the city.

X. Sulla now called together the senate, and had sentence of death passed on Marius himself and a

- ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς Σουλπίκιος ἦν ὁ δήμαρχος. ἀλλὰ Σουλπίκιος μὲν ἀπεσφάγη προδοθεὶς ὑπὸ θεράποντος, δὲν ὁ Σύλλας ἠλευθέρωσεν, εἶτα κατεκρήμνισε, Μαρίῳ δ' ἐπεκήρυξεν ἀργύριον, οὐκ εὐγνωμόνως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥς γε μικρὸν ἔμ-
 2 προσθεν ὑποχείριον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν δούς ἑαυτὸν
 Σύλλαν, ἀλλ' ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Σουλπικίου προε-
 μένῳ, πάντων κρατεῖν ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλ' ὁμως ἐφεί-
 σατο· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν
 παρασχὼν οὐκ ἔτυχε τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ
 Σύλλας τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον ἀδήλως ἠνίασεν· ἡ δὲ
 3 παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δυσμένεια καὶ νέμεσις αὐτῷ 458
 φανερά δι' ἔργων ἀπῆντα. Νώνιον μὲν γε τὸν
 ἀδελφιδοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ Σερουήιον ἀρχὰς μετι-
 ὄντας ἀποψηφισάμενοι καὶ καθυβρίσαντες ἑτέρους
 κατέστησαν ἄρχοντας, οὓς μάλιστα τιμῶντες
 ᾤοντο λυπεῖν ἐκείνους. ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε προσε-
 ποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ὥς τοῦ δήμου τῷ ποιεῖν αἱ βού-
 λαιτο δι' αὐτὸν ἀπολαύοντος τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ
 θεραπεύων τὸ τῶν πολλῶν μῖσος ὕπατον κατέ-
 στησεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως Δεύκιον
 Κίνναν, ἀραῖς καὶ ὄρκοις καταλαβὼν εὐνοήσειν
 4 τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράγμασιν. ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ
 Καπιτώλιον ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ λίθον ᾧμνυεν, εἶτα
 ἐπαρασάμενος ἑαυτῷ μὴ φυλάττοντι τὴν πρὸς
 ἐκείνους εὐνοίαν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ ὁ
 λίθος διὰ τῆς χειρός, κατέβαλε χαμᾶζε τὸν λίθον
 οὐκ ὀλίγων παρόντων. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρ-

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few others, among whom was Sulpicius the tribune of the people. But Sulpicius was killed, after he had been betrayed by a servant, to whom Sulla first gave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock ; moreover, he set a price on the head of Marius, an act both ungrateful and impolitic, since it was in his house that he had found refuge and surrendered himself a little before this, and had been let off safe. And yet had Marius at that time not let Sulla go, but given him up to death at the hands of Sulpicius, he might have been absolute master in Rome ; nevertheless he spared his life, and when after a few days he had given him the same opportunity, he did not obtain like mercy. By these proceedings Sulla won the secret dislike of the senate ; but the people's hatred and indignation was made manifest to him by their acts. For instance, they ignominiously rejected Nonius his nephew, and Servius, who were his candidates for offices, and appointed others, whose preferment they thought would be most vexing to him. But he pretended to be pleased at this, saying that the people, in doing as it pleased, enjoyed a freedom which was due to him, and out of deference to the hatred of the multitude allowed Lucius Cinna, a man of the opposite faction, to be invested with the consulship, after binding him by solemn oaths to be favourable to his policies. And Cinna went up to the Capitol with a stone in his hand and took the oaths, and then, after praying that if he did not maintain his goodwill towards Sulla, he might be cast out of the city, as the stone from his hand, he threw the stone upon the ground in the sight of many people. But as soon as he had entered upon his office, he

χὴν εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν, καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν παρεσκεύασε καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐπέστησεν Οὐεργίνιον, ἓνα τῶν δημάρχων, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἅμα τῷ δικαστηρίῳ χαίρειν ἐάσας ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ἀπῆρε.

XI. Λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐν αἷς ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκίνει τὸν στόλον, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Μιθριδάτῃ διατρίβοντι περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἐπισκῆψαι δαιμόνια, καὶ Νίκην στεφανηφόρον καθιεμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Περγαμηνῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τινῶν ὀργάνων ἄνωθεν ὅσον οὐπὼ τῆς κεφαλῆς ψαύουσαν συντριβῆναι, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἐκπεσόντα κατὰ τοῦ θεάτρου φέρεσθαι χαμᾶζε διαθρυπτόμενον, ὥστε φρίκην μὲν τῷ δήμῳ, ἀθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν Μιθριδάτῃ παρασχεῖν, καίπερ αὐτῷ τότε τῶν πραγμάτων ἐλπίδος πέρα
 2 προχωρούντων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ Ἀσίαν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν τῶν βασιλέων ἀφρημένος ἐν Περγᾶμῳ καθῆστο, πλούτους καὶ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδας διανέμων τοῖς φίλοις, τῶν δὲ παίδων ὁ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Βοσπόρῳ τὴν παλαιὰν ἄχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μαιώτιν ἀοικήτων ἀρχὴν κατεῖχεν οὐδενὸς παρενοχλοῦντος, Ἀριαράθης δὲ Θράκην καὶ Μακεδονίαν
 3 ἐπῆει στρατῷ μεγάλῳ προσαγόμενος, ἄλλους δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τόπους ἐχειροῦντο δυνάμεις ἔχοντες, ὧν ὁ μέγιστος Ἀρχέλαος ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ὁμοῦ τι συμπάσης ἐπικρατῶν τῆς θαλάττης τὰς τε Κυκλάδας νήσους ἐδουλοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι Μαλέας ἐντὸς ἰδρυνται, καὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν αὐτὴν εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνῶν ὁρμώμενος τὰ μέχρι Θετ-

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tried to subvert the existing order of things, and had an impeachment prepared against Sulla, and appointed Virginius, a tribune of the people, to be his accuser. But Sulla, ignoring alike accuser and court, set out against Mithridates.¹

XI. And it is said that about the time when Sulla was moving his armament from Italy, Mithridates, who was staying at Pergamum, was visited with many other portents from Heaven, and that a Victory with a crown in her hand, which the Pergamenians were lowering towards him by machinery of some sort, was broken to pieces just as she was about to touch his head, and the crown went tumbling from her hand to the ground in the midst of the theatre, and was shattered, whereat the people shuddered, and Mithridates was greatly dejected, although at that time his affairs were prospering beyond his hopes. For he himself had wrested Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their kings, and was now set down in Pergamum, dispensing riches, principalities, and sovereignties to his friends; and of his sons, one was in Pontus and Bosphorus, holding without any opposition the ancient realm as far as the deserts beyond Lake Maeotis, while Ariarathes was overrunning Thrace and Macedonia with a large army, and trying to win them over; his generals, too, with forces under them, were subduing other regions, and the greatest of them, Archelaüs, who with his fleet controlled the entire sea, was subjugating the Cyclades, and all the other islands which lie to the east of Cape Malea, and was in possession of Euboea itself, while from his head-quarters at Athens he was bringing into revolt from Rome the peoples of Greece

¹ In 87 B.C.

ταλίας ἔθνη τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφίστη, μικρὰ προσ-
 4 κρούσας περὶ Χαιρώνειαν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτῷ
 Βρέττιος Σούρρας ἀπήντησε, πρεσβευτῆς μὲν
 ὦν Σεντίου, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας,
 ἀνὴρ δὲ τόλμη καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρων. οὗτος
 Ἀρχελάφ δικὴν ῥεύματος φερομένῳ διὰ τῆς
 Βοιωτίας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντιστάς, καὶ τρισὶ
 5 μάχαις διαγωνισάμενος περὶ Χαιρώνειαν, ἐξέωσε
 καὶ συνέστειλε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. Λευ-
 κίου δὲ Λευκόλλου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ὑποχω-
 ρεῖν ἐπιόντι Σύλλα καὶ τὸν ἐψηφισμένον ἐκείνῳ
 ἑᾶν πόλεμον, εὐθύς ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὀπίσω
 πρὸς Σέντιον ἀπήλαυνε, καίπερ αὐτῷ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ἐλπίδος πέρα προχωρούντων καὶ τῆς Ἑλ-
 λάδος οἰκείως ἐχούσης πρὸς μεταβολὴν διὰ τὴν
 ἐκείνου καλοκαγαθίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Βρεττίῳ μὲν
 ταῦτα λαμπρότατα τῶν πεπραγμένων.

XII. Σύλλας δὲ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις εὐθύς
 εἶχεν ἐπιπρεσβενομένας καὶ καλούσας, ταῖς δὲ
 Ἀθήναις διὰ τὸν τύραννον Ἀριστίωνα βασι-
 λεύεσθαι ἠναγκασμέναις ἄθρους ἐπέστη καὶ τὸν
 Πειραιᾶ περιλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει, μηχανὴν τε
 πᾶσαν ἐφίστας καὶ μάχας παντοδαπὰς ποιού-
 2 μενος. καίτοι χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀνασχομένῳ
 παρῆν ἀκινδύνως ἐλεῖν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν, ὑπὸ
 λιμοῦ συνηγμένην ἤδη τῇ χρεῖᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
 εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν· ἀλλ' ἐπειγόμενος εἰς
 Ῥώμην καὶ δεδιὼς τὸν ἐκεῖ νεωτερισμόν, πολ-
 λοῖς μὲν κινδύνοις, πολλαῖς δὲ μάχαις, μεγά- 459
 λαις δὲ δαπάναις κατέσπευδε τὸν πόλεμον, ὅ-
 γε δίχα τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς ἢ περὶ τὰ
 μηχανήματα πραγματεία ζεύγεσι μυρίοις ὀρικοῖς
 360

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as far as Thessaly, although he met with slight reverses at Chaeroneia. For here he was confronted by Bruttius Sura, who was a lieutenant of Sentius the praetor of Macedonia, and a man of superior courage and prudence. This man, as Archelaüs came rushing like a torrent through Boeotia, opposed him most fiercely, and after thrice giving him battle at Chaeroneia, repulsed him, and drove him back to the sea. But when Lucius Lucullus ordered him to give place to Sulla, who was coming, and to leave the conduct of the war to him, as the senate had voted, he at once abandoned Boeotia and marched back to Sentius, although his efforts were proving successful beyond hope, and although the nobility of his bearing was making Greece well-disposed towards a change of allegiance. However, these were the most brilliant achievements of Bruttius.

XII. As for Sulla, he at once received deputations and invitations from the other cities, but Athens was compelled by the tyrant Aristion to side with Mithridates. Against this city, therefore, Sulla led up all his forces, and investing the Piraeus, laid siege to it, bringing to bear upon it every sort of siege-engine, and making all sorts of assaults upon it. And yet if he had been patient a little while, he might have captured the upper city without hazard, since it lacked the necessities of life and was already reduced by famine to the last extremity. But since he was eager to get back to Rome, and feared the spirit of revolution there, he ran many risks, fought many battles, and made great outlays that he might hasten on the war, in which, not to speak of his other munitions, the operation of the siege engines

- ἐχορηγεῖτο, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνεργοῖς οὖσι πρὸς τὴν
 3 ὑπηρεσίαν. ἐπιλειπούσης δὲ τῆς ὕλης διὰ τὸ
 κόπτεσθαι πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων περικλώμενα τοῖς
 αὐτῶν βρίθεσι καὶ πυρπολεῖσθαι βαλλόμενα
 συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς
 ἱεροῖς ἄλσεσι, καὶ τὴν τε Ἀκαδήμειαν ἔκειρε
 δενδροφορωτάτην προαστείων οὖσαν καὶ τὸ Λύ-
 κειον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἔδει πολλῶν
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκίνει τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄσυλα,
 τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου, τοῦτο δὲ ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας,
 τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν ἀναθη-
 4 μάτων μεταπεμπόμενος. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τοῖς
 Ἀμφικτύουσιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὅτι τὰ χρήματα τοῦ
 θεοῦ βέλτιον εἴη κομισθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἡ γὰρ
 φυλάξειν ἀσφαλέστερον ἢ καὶ ἀποχρησάμενος
 ἀποδώσειν οὐκ ἐλάττω· καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπέστειλε
 Κάφιν τὸν Φωκέα κελεύσας σταθμῷ παραλαβεῖν
 ἕκαστον. ὁ δὲ Κάφης ἦκε μὲν εἰς Δελφούς,
 ὤκνει δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν θιγεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Ἀμφι-
 κτυόνων παρόντων ἀπεδάκρυσσε τὴν ἀνάγκην.
 5 ἐνίων δὲ φασκόντων ἀκοῦσαι φθεγγομένης τῆς
 ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις κιθάρας, εἴτε πιστεύσας εἴτε
 τὸν Σύλλαν βουλόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς δεισιδαι-
 μονίαν, ἐπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ σκώπτων
 ἀντέγραψε θαυμάζειν τὸν Κάφιν, εἰ μὴ συνήσιν
 ὅτι χαίροντος, οὐ χαλεπαίνοντος, εἴη τὸ ἄδειν·
 ὥστε θαρροῦντα λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἡδο-
 μένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδόντος.
 6 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διέλαθε τούς γε πολλοὺς
 Ἕλληνας ἐκπεμπόμενα, τὸν δὲ ἀργυροῦν πίθον,
 ὃς ἦν ὑπόλοιπος ἔτι τῶν βασιλικῶν, διὰ βάρος

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called for ten thousand pairs of mules, which were employed daily for this service. And when timber began to fail, owing to the destruction of many of the works, which broke down of their own weight, and to the burning of those which were continually smitten by the enemy's fire-bolts, he laid hands upon the sacred groves, and ravaged the Academy, which was the most wooded of the city's suburbs, as well as the Lyceum. And since he needed much money also for the war, he diverted to his uses the sacred treasures of Hellas, partly from Epidaurus, and partly from Olympia, sending for the most beautiful and most precious of the offerings there. He wrote also to the Amphictyons at Delphi that it was better to have the treasures of the god sent to him ; for he would either keep them more safely, or, if he spent them, would restore as much. And he sent Caphis, the Phocian, one of his friends, with the letter, bidding him receive each article by weight. Caphis came to Delphi, but was loth to touch the sacred objects, and shed many tears, in the presence of the Amphictyons, over the necessity of it. And when some of them declared they heard the sound of the god's lyre in the inner sanctuary, Caphis, either because he believed them, or because he wished to strike Sulla with superstitious fear, sent word to him about it. But Sulla wrote back jocosely, expressing his amazement that Caphis did not understand that singing was done in joy, not anger ; his orders were therefore to take boldly, assured that the god was willing and glad to give.

Accordingly, the rest of the treasures were sent away without the knowledge of the most, certainly, of the Greeks ; but the silver jar, the only one of

καὶ μέγεθος οὐ δυναμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τῶν ὑπο-
 ζυγίων, ἀναγκαζόμενοι κατακόπτειν οἱ Ἀμφι-
 κτύονες εἰς μνήμην ἐβάλουντο τοῦτο μὲν Τίτον
 Φλαμνῖνον καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον, τοῦτο δὲ
 Αἰμίλιον Παῦλον, ὃν ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχον ἐξελάσας
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς
 καταπολεμήσαντες οὐ μόνον ἀπέσχοντο τῶν
 ἱερῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῶρα καὶ
 τιμὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ σεμνότητα πολλὴν προσέθε-
 7 σαν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν τε σωφρόνων καὶ
 μεμαθηκότων σιωπῇ τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρέχειν τὰς
 χεῖρας ἡγούμενοι κατὰ νόμον, αὐτοὶ τε ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς βασιλικοὶ καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις εὐτελεῖς
 ὄντες, μετρίοις ἐχρῶντο καὶ τεταγμένοις ἀναλώ-
 μασι, τὸ κολακεύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας αἰσχιον
 8 ἡγούμενοι τοῦ δεδιέναι τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ
 τότε στρατηγοὶ βία τὸ πρωτεῖον, οὐκ ἀρετῇ,
 κτώμενοι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἀλλήλους δεόμενοι τῶν
 ὅπλων ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἡναγκάζοντο δημαγω-
 γεῖν ἐν τῷ στρατηγεῖν, εἰθ' ὃν εἰς τὰς ἡδυπαθείας
 τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀνήλiskon ὠνούμενοι τοὺς
 πόνους αὐτῶν, ἔλαθον ὧνιον ὅλην τὴν πατρίδα
 ποιήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς τε δούλους τῶν κακίστων ἐπὶ
 τῷ τῶν βελτιόνων ἄρχειν. ταῦτα ἐξήλανε
 Μάριον, εἰτ' αὖθις ἐπὶ Σύλλαν κατήγε, ταῦτα
 Ὀκταουτοῦ τοὺς περὶ Κίνναν, ταῦτα Φλάκκου
 9 τοὺς περὶ Φιμβρίαν αὐτόχειρας ἐποίησεν. ὧν

¹ The gifts of Croesus, king of Lydia (Herodotus, i. 51).

² Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul in 191 B.C., defeated Antiochus the Great at Thermopylae, and forced him to return to Asia.

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the royal gifts¹ which still remained, was too large and heavy for any beast of burden to carry, and the Amphictyons were compelled to cut it into pieces. As they did so, they called to mind now Titus Flamininus and Manius Acilius, and now Aemilius Paulus, of whom one had driven Antiochus out of Greece,² and the others had subdued in war the kings of Macedonia³; these had not only spared the sanctuaries of the Greeks, but had even made additional gifts to them, and greatly increased their honour and dignity. But these were lawful commanders of men who were self-restrained and had learned to serve their leaders without a murmur, and they were themselves kingly in spirit and simple in their personal expenses, and indulged in moderate and specified public expenditures, deeming it more disgraceful to flatter their soldiers than to fear their enemies; the generals of this later time, however, who won their primacy by force, not merit, and who needed their armies for service against one another, rather than against the public enemy, were compelled to merge the general in the demagogue, and then, by purchasing the services of their soldiers with lavish sums to be spent on luxurious living, they unwittingly made their whole country a thing for sale, and themselves slaves of the basest men for the sake of ruling over the better. This was what drove out Marius, and then brought him back again against Sulla; this made Cinna the assassin of Octavius, and Fimbria of

¹ Flamininus defeated Philip V. of Macedon at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C., and Aemilius Paulus crushed Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, at Pydna, in 168 B.C. See Plutarch's *Flamininus*, xv.; *Aemilius Paulus*, xvi.-xxii.

οὐχ ἥκιστα Σύλλας ἐνέδωκεν ἀρχάς, ἐπὶ τῷ διαφθεῖρειν καὶ μετακαλεῖν τοὺς ὑπ' ἄλλοις ταττομένους καταχορηγῶν εἰς τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ καὶ δαπανώμενος, ὥστε ἅμα τοὺς ἄλλους μὲν εἰς προδοσίαν, τοὺς δὲ ὑφ' αὐτῷ εἰς ἀσωτίαν διαφθεῖρων χρημάτων δεῖσθαι πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐκείνην.

- XIII. Δεινὸς γάρ τις ἄρα καὶ ἀπαραίτητος εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἔρως ἐλεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας, εἴτε ζήλῳ τινὶ πρὸς τὴν πάλαι σκιαμαχοῦντα τῆς πόλεως δόξαν, εἴτε θυμῷ τὰ σκώμματα φέροντα καὶ τὰς βωμολοχίας, αἷς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν Μετέλλαν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκάστοτε γεφυρίζων καὶ κατορχούμενος ἐξηρέθιζεν ὁ τύραννος Ἀριστίων, ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀσελγείας ὁμοῦ καὶ ὁμότητος ἔχων συγκεῖ-
 2 μένην τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὰ χεῖριστα τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν συνερρηκότες νοσημάτων καὶ παθῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνειληφώς, καὶ τῇ πόλει μυρίους μὲν πολέμους, πολλὰς δὲ τυραννίδας καὶ στάσεις διαπεφευγυῖα πρότερον ὥσπερ νόσημα θανατηφόρον εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους καιροὺς ἐπιτιθέμενος· ὅς, χιλίων δραχμῶν ὠνίου τοῦ μεδίμνου τῶν πυρῶν ὄντος ἐν ἄστει τότε, τῶν ἀνθρώπων σιτουμένων τὸ
 3 περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φυόμενον παρθένιον, ὑποδήματα δὲ καὶ ληκύθους ἐφθὰς ἐσθιόντων, αὐτὸς ἐνδελεχῶς πότοις μεθημερινοῖς καὶ κώμοις χρώμενος καὶ πυρριχίζων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν πρὸς τοὺς πόλεμους τὸν μὲν ἱερὸν τῆς θεοῦ λύχνον ἀπε-

¹ According to Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 71, Octavius, the consul, a supporter of Sulla, was killed at Rome by Censorinus, acting under the orders of Marius and Cinna, in 86 B.C. Valerius Flaccus, chosen consul to succeed Marius, in 86 B.C.,

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Flaccus.¹ And it was Sulla who, more than any one else, paved the way for these horrors, by making lavish expenditures upon the soldiers under his own command that he might corrupt and win over those whom others commanded, so that in making traitors of the rest, and profligates of his own soldiers, he had need of much money, and especially for this siege.

XIII. For he was possessed by some dreadful and inexorable passion for the capture of Athens, either because he was fighting with a sort of ardour against the shadow of the city's former glory, or because he was provoked to anger by the scurrilous abuse which had been showered from the walls upon himself and Metella by the tyrant Aristion, who always danced in mockery as he scoffed. This man's spirit was compounded of licentiousness and cruelty; he had made himself a sink for the worst of the diseases and passions of Mithridates; and in these her last days he had fixed himself, like a fatal malady, upon a city which had previously passed safely through countless wars, and many usurpations and seditions. This man, although at the time a bushel of wheat sold in the city for a thousand drachmas, and although men made food for themselves of the fever-few which grew on the acropolis, and boiled down shoes and leather oil-flasks to eat, was himself continually indulging in drinking-bouts and revels by daylight, was dancing in armour and making jokes to deride the enemy, while he suffered the sacred

was sent into Asia to thwart Sulla and conduct the war against Mithridates, but was murdered there by his mutinous lieutenant, Fimbria, in the following year. See chapters xx. 1; xxiii. 6; *Lucullus*, xxxiv. 2.

σβηκότα διὰ σπάνιν ἐλαίου περιεΐδε, τῇ δὲ ἱερο-
φάντιδι πυρῶν ἡμίεκτον προσαιτούσῃ πεπέρεως
ἔπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς καὶ ἱερεῖς ἰκετεύοντας
οἰκτεῖραι τὴν πόλιν καὶ διαλύσασθαι πρὸς Σύλ-
4 λαν τοξεύμασι βάλλων διεσκέδασεν. ὧς δὲ ἤδη
που μόλις ἐξέπεμψεν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης δύο ἢ τρεῖς
τῶν συμποτῶν πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν ἀξιούντας σω-
τήριον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὸν Εὐμόλπον καὶ τὰ
Μηδικὰ σεμνολογουμένους ὁ Σύλλας “Ἀπιτε,”
εἶπεν, “ὦ μακάριοι, τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἀνα-
λαβόντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ φιλομαθήσων εἰς Ἀθήνας
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέμφθην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀφιστα-
μένους καταστρεφόμενος.”

XIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ λέγεται τινας ἐν Κεραμεικῷ
πρεσβυτῶν ἀκούσαντας διαλεγομένων πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους καὶ κακιζόντων τὸν τύραννον, ὥς μὴ φυλάτ-
τοντα τοῦ τείχους τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἐπτάχαλκον
ἔφοδον καὶ προσβολήν, ἣ μόνῃ δυνατόν εἶναι καὶ
ῥάδιον ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπαγγεῖλαι
2 ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν. ὁ δὲ οὐ κατεφρόνησεν,
ἀλλὰ ἐπελθὼν νυκτὸς καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν τόπον
ἀλώσιμον εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου. λέγει δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ
Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τὸν πρῶτον ἐπιβάντα
τοῦ τείχους Μάρκον Ἀτήϊον ἀντιστάντος αὐτῷ
πολεμίου δόντα πληγὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς τῷ κράνει
περικλάσαι τὸ ξίφος, οὐ μὲν ὑφέσθαι τῆς χώρας,
ἀλλὰ μείναι καὶ κατασχεῖν. κατελήφθη μὲν οὖν
ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖθεν, ὥς Ἀθηναίων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι

¹ The Outer Cerameicus, i.e. the suburb before the Dipylon, or Sacred Gate, through which one left the city for Eleusis.

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lamp of the goddess to go out for lack of oil ; and when the chief priestess begged him for a twelfth of a bushel of wheat, he sent her so much pepper ; and when the senators and priests came to him in suppliant array, and entreated him to take pity on the city and come to terms with Sulla, he scattered them with a volley of arrows. But after a long time, at last, with much ado, he sent out two or three of his fellow-revellers to treat for peace, to whom Sulla, when they made no demands which could save the city, but talked in lofty strains about Theseus and Eumolpus and the Persian wars, said : " Be off, my dear Sirs, and take these speeches with you ; for I was not sent to Athens by the Romans to learn its history, but to subdue its rebels."

XIV. But at this juncture, as it is said, certain soldiers in the Cerameicus¹ overheard some old men talking with one another, and abusing the tyrant because he did not guard the approaches to the wall at the Heptachalcum,² at which point alone it was possible and easy for the enemy to get over. When this was reported to Sulla, he did not make light of it, but went thither by night, and after seeing that the place could be taken, set himself to the work. And Sulla himself says, in his Memoirs, that Marcus Ateius was the first man to mount the wall, and that when an enemy confronted him, he gave him a downward cut on the helmet with his sword, and shattered the weapon ; he did not, however, yield ground, but remained and held his own. At any rate, the city was taken at this point, as the oldest

¹ An unknown feature of the wall, somewhere between the Piraïc, or western gate, and the Dipylon, or Sacred Gate, opening to the N.W.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- 3 διεμνημόνευον. αὐτὸς δὲ Σύλλας τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραικῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συνομαλύνας, περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰσήλαυνε, φρικώδης ὑπὸ τε σάλπιγξι καὶ κέρασι πολλοῖς, ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ κραυγῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐφ' ἄρπαγην καὶ φόνον ἀφειμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ φερομένης διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν¹ ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ὥστε ἀριθμὸν μηδένα γενέσθαι τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ ῥυέντος αἵματος ἔτι νῦν
- 4 μετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλήθος. ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντων ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν φόνος ἐπέσχε πάντα τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμικόν· πολλοῖς δὲ λέγεται καὶ διὰ πυλῶν κατακλῦσαι τὸ προάστειον. ἀλλὰ τῶν οὕτως ἀποθανόντων, τοσούτων γενομένων, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν οἱ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διαφθείροντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίδος ὡς ἀναιρεθησομένης. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπογνῶναι καὶ φοβηθῆναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐποίησε τοὺς βελτίστους, οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ Σύλλᾳ φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲ μέτριον ἐλπίσαντας.
- 5 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο μὲν Μειδίου καὶ Καλλιφώντος τῶν φυγάδων δεομένων καὶ προκυλινδουμένων αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ὅσοι συνεστράτευον, ἐξαιτουμένων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς τε μεστὸς ὦν ἤδη τῆς τιμωρίας, ἐγκώμιόν τι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπειπὼν ἔφη χαρίζεσθαι πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους, ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσιν.
- 6 Ἐλεῖν δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸς φησιν ἐν τοῖς 461 ὑπομνήμασι Μαρτίαις καλάνδαις, ἧτις ἡμέρα

¹ τῶν στενωπῶν Bekker, after Coraës : στενωπῶν.

¹ In Plutarch's time.

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Athenians used to testify.¹ And Sulla himself, after he had thrown down and levelled with the ground the wall between the Piraic and the Sacred Gate, led his army into the city at midnight. The sight of him was made terrible by blasts of many trumpets and bugles, and by the cries and yells of the soldiery now let loose by him for plunder and slaughter, and rushing through the narrow streets with drawn swords. There was therefore no counting of the slain, but their numbers are to this day determined only by the space that was covered with blood. For without mention of those who were killed in the rest of the city, the blood that was shed in the market-place covered all the Cerameicus inside the Dipylon gate; nay, many say that it flowed through the gate and deluged the suburb. But although those who were thus slain were so many, there were yet more who slew themselves, out of yearning pity for their native city, which they thought was going to be destroyed. For this conviction made the best of them give up in despair and fear to survive, since they expected no humanity or moderation in Sulla. However, partly at the instance of the exiles Meidias and Calliphon, who threw themselves at his feet in supplication, and partly because all the Roman senators who were in his following interceded for the city, being himself also by this time sated with vengeance, after some words in praise of the ancient Athenians, he said that he forgave a few for the sake of many, the living for the sake of the dead.

He took Athens, as he says himself in his Memoirs, on the Calends of March,² a day which corresponds

¹ 86 B.C. Cf. the description of the capture of Athens given by Appian, *Bell. Mith.* xxx.

μάλιστα σύμπιπτει τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τύχην ὑπομνήματα πολλὰ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐκείνης δρῶσιν, ὡς τότε καὶ περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον μάλιστα τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ συμ-
 7 πεσόντος. ἐαλωκότος δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος ὁ μὲν τύραννος εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καταφυγὼν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένου· καὶ χρόνον ἐγκαρτερήσας συχνὸν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείρισε δίψει πιεσθείς. καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον εὐθὺς ἐπεσήμηνε· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τε καὶ ὥρας ἐκείνόν τε Κουρίων κατῆγε, καὶ νεφῶν ἐξ αἰθρίας συνδραμόντων πλῆθος ὄμβρου καταρραγὲν ἐπλήρωσεν ὕδατος τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. εἶλε¹ δὲ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατέκαυσεν, ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ Φίλωνος ὀπλοθήκη, θαυμαζόμενον ἔργον.

XV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ταξίλης ὁ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας καταβεβηκὼς δέκα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ μυρίοις ἵππεύσι καὶ τεθρίπποις ἐνενήκοντα δρεπανηφόροις ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀρχέλαον, ἔτι ναυλοχοῦντα περὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ μήτε τῆς θαλάττης βουλόμενον ἀποστήναι μήτε πρόθυμον ὄντα συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς
 2 εὐπορίας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖν. ἃ δὴ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνου συνωρῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἀνέξευξεν εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐκ χωρίων γλίσχρων καὶ μηδὲ ἐν εἰρήνῃ τρέφειν ἱκανῶν ὄντων. καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει σφάλ-

¹ εἶλε Bekker, after Emperius: εἶχε.

¹ In the time of Deucalion, the Noah of Greek tradition. (Cf. Pausanias, i. 18, 7.)

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very nearly with the first of the month Anthesterion. In this month, as it happens, the Athenians perform many rites commemorating the destruction and devastation caused by the flood, believing that the ancient deluge¹ occurred at about this time. On the capture of the town, the tyrant took refuge in the acropolis, and was besieged there by Curio, who was appointed to this task. He held out for a considerable time, but was driven by the pangs of thirst to give himself up. And the Deity at once gave a manifest token in the matter; for at the very hour of the day when Curio brought his prisoner down, clouds gathered in an open sky, and a quantity of rain fell and filled the acropolis with water. Not long after, Sulla took the Piræus also, and burnt most of it, including the arsenal of Philo,² a marvellous work.

XV. Meanwhile Taxiles, the general of Mithridates had come down from Thrace and Macedonia with a hundred thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and ninety scythe-bearing four-horse chariots, and summoned Archelaüs to join him. Archelaüs still lay with his fleet at Munychia,³ and was neither willing to quit the sea, nor eager to join battle with the Romans, but planned to protract the war and cut off their supplies. But Sulla understood the situation much better than Archelaüs did, and therefore transferred his forces into Boeotia, away from regions that were far from fertile, and unable to maintain a population even in time of peace. Most people thought that he had erred in his calculations,

¹ It must have been finished in 330-329 B.C. See Frazer on Pausanias, i. 1, 2.

² One of the three harbours of the Piræus.

- λεσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀττικὴν τραχεῖαν οὖσαν καὶ δύσιππον ἀπολιπὼν ἐνέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν πεδιάσι καὶ ἀναπεπταμέναις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν χώραις, ὁρῶν ἐν ἄρμασι καὶ ἵπποις τὴν
- 3 βαρβαρικὴν οὖσαν ἀλκὴν. ἀλλὰ φεύγων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, λιμὸν καὶ σπάνιν ἠναγκάζετο διώκειν τὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κίνδυνον. ἔτι δὲ Ὀρτήσιος αὐτὸν ἐφόβει, στρατηγικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόναικος, ὃν ἐκ Θετταλίας ἄγοντα τῷ Σύλλα δύνανται ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι παρεφύλαττον. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀνέξεν ὁ Σύλλας· Ὀρτήσιον δὲ Κάφης, ἡμέτερος ὢν, ἐτέροις ὁδοῖς ψευδόμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ κατήγεεν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Τιθόραν, οὐπω τοσαύτην πόλιν
- 4 οὖσαν ὅση νῦν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ φρούριον ἀπορρώγι κρημνῷ περικοπτόμενον, εἰς ὃ καὶ πάλαι ποτὲ Φωκέων οἱ Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα φεύγοντες ἀνεσκευάσαντο καὶ διεσώθησαν. ἐνταῦθα καταστρατοπεδεύσας Ὀρτήσιος ἡμέρας μὲν ἀπεκρούσατο τοὺς πολεμίους, νύκτωρ δ' ἐπὶ Πατρωνίδα ταῖς δυσχωρίαις καταβάς ἀπαντήσαντι τῷ Σύλλα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως συνέμιξε.

XVI. Γενόμενοι δὲ κοινῇ καταλαμβάνονται βουνὸν ἐκ μέσων ἐστῶτα τῶν Ἑλατικῶν πεδίων, εὐγεων καὶ ἀμφιλαφὴ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ρίζαν ὕδωρ ἔχοντα· Φιλοβοιωτὸς καλεῖται, καὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θέσιν ἐπαινεῖ θαυμασίως ὁ Σύλλας. στρατοπεδεύσαντες δὲ παντάπασιν ὀλίγοι τοῖς πολεμίοις κατεφάνησαν· ἱππεῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐ πλείους πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐγένοντο, πεζοὶ

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because he had abandoned Attica, which was a rough country and ill-suited for cavalry movements, and thrown himself into the plains and open districts of Boeotia, although he saw that the strength of the Barbarians consisted in chariots and cavalry. But in flying from scarcity and famine, as has been said, he was compelled to pursue the danger arising from battle. And furthermore, he was anxious about Hortensius, a bold and capable general, who was leading a force from Thessaly to Sulla while the Barbarians were closely watching for him in the passes.¹ For these reasons Sulla transferred his army into Boeotia. But Hortensius was rescued by Caphis, a countryman of mine, and conducted by different routes, of which the Barbarians were ignorant, past Parnassus to a spot just below Tithora. This was not so large a city then as it is now, but a fortress surrounded on all sides by steep cliffs, into which those of the Phocians who in ancient times fled before the advance of Xerxes betook themselves and were saved.² Having encamped here, Hortensius repulsed the enemy by day, and at night descended to Patronis by difficult paths and made a junction with Sulla, who came to meet him with his army.

XVI. When they had thus united their forces, they occupied a hill which rose out of the midst of the plains of Elatea, a fertile hill, thickly grown with trees, and supplied with water at its base. Philoboetotus is its name, and its situation and natural advantages are most highly praised by Sulla. As they lay encamped here, they appeared to the enemy altogether few in numbers; for they were not more than fifteen hundred horse, and less than fifteen

¹ At Thermopylae.

² Cf. Herodotus, viii. 32.

2 δὲ πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάττους. ὅθεν ἐκβιασάμενοι τὸν Ἀρχέλαον οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ παρατάξαντες τὴν δύναμιν, ἐνέπλησαν ἵππων, ἀρμάτων, ἀσπίδων, θυρεῶν τὸ πεδίον.

Τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ ἀὴρ ἐθνῶν τοσούτων ἅμα καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν. ἦν δὲ ἅμα καὶ τὸ κομπῶδες καὶ σοβαρὸν αὐτῶν τῆς πολυτελείας οὐκ ἀργὸν οὐδὲ ἄχρηστον εἰς ἐκπληξιν, ἀλλ' αἷ τε μαρμαρυγαὶ τῶν ὅπλων
 3 ἡσκημένων χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ διαπρεπῶς, αἷ τε βαφαὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ Σκυθικῶν χιτῶνων ἀναμεμιγμέναι χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ λάμποντι 462 πυροειδῇ καὶ φοβεράν ἐν τῷ σαλεύεσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι προσέβαλον ὄψιν, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τὸν χάρακα συστέλλειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ θάμβος αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖν δυνάμενον, βιάζεσθαι τε ἀποδιδράσκοντας οὐ βουλόμενον, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν βαρέως ἐφυβρίζοντας ὀρώντα κομπασμῷ καὶ γέλῳτι τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὤνησε μέντοι τοῦτο
 4 μάλιστα πάντων αὐτόν. οἱ γὰρ ἐναντίοι καταφρονήσαντες ἐτράποντο πρὸς ἀταξίαν πολλήν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ὑπήκοοι τῶν στρατηγῶν διὰ πολυαρχίαν ὄντες· ὥστε¹ ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐν τῷ χάρακι διεκαρτέρουν, ὁ δὲ πλείστος ὄχλος ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ πορθήμασι δελεαζόμενος ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πολλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσπείρετο. καὶ τὴν τε τῶν Πανοπέων πόλιν ἐκκόψαι λέγονται καὶ τὴν Λεβαδέων διαρπάσαι καὶ συλῆσαι τὸ μαντεῖον, οὐδενὸς στρατηγοῦ πρόσταγμα δόντος.

¹ ὥστε supplied by Coraës and Bekker ; Sintenis prefers καί, with Schaefer.

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thousand foot. Wherefore the rest of his generals overpowered the objections of Archelaüs and drew up for battle, filling the plain with their horses, chariots, shields, and bucklers.

The air could not contain the shouts and clamour of so many nations forming in array. At the same time also the pomp and ostentation of their costly equipment was not without its effect and use in exciting terror; indeed, the flashing of their armour, which was magnificently embellished with gold and silver, and the rich colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermingled with bronze and flashing steel, presented a flaming and fearful sight as they surged to and fro, so that the Romans huddled together behind their trenches, and Sulla, unable by any reasoning to remove their fear, and unwilling to force them into a fight from which they wanted to run away, had to sit still and endure as best he could the sight of the Barbarians insulting him with boasts and laughter. This, however, was of service to him above all else. For owing to their contempt of him, his opponents lapsed into great disorder, since even at their best they were not obedient to their generals, owing to the great number in command. Few of them therefore consented to remain within their entrenchments, but the largest part of the throng was lured away by plunder and pillage, and was scattered about the country many days march from their camp. They are said to have destroyed the city of Panope, and to have sacked Lebadeia and despoiled its oracle, although none of their generals ordered them to do so.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας, ἐν ὄμμασιν αὐτοῦ πόλεων ἀπολυμένων, δυσανασχετῶν καὶ λυπούμενος, οὐκ εἶα τοὺς στρατιώτας σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ προσάγων αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκαζε τὸν τε Κηφισὸν ἐκ τοῦ ρείθρου παρατρέπειν καὶ τάφρους ὀρύσσειν, ἀνάπαυλαν οὐδενὶ διδοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἀπαραίτητος ἐφεστὼς κολαστής, ὅπως ἀπαγορεύσαντες πρὸς τὰ ἔργα διὰ τὸν πόνον ἀσπάζωνται τὸν κίνδυνον.
- 6 ὁ καὶ συνέβη. τρίτην γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ Σύλλα παρεξίοντος ἐδέοντο μετὰ κραυγῆς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ οὐ μάχεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ βουλομένων πονεῖν ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸν λόγον· εἰ δὲ ὄντως ἔχουσιν ἀγωνιστικῶς, ἐκέλευσεν ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐλθεῖν ἐκείσε, δείξας αὐτοῖς τὴν πρότερον μὲν γενομένην ἀκρό-
- 7 πολιν τῶν Παραποταμίων, τότε δὲ ἀνηρημένης τῆς πόλεως λόφος ἐλείπετο πετρώδης καὶ περικρημνος, τοῦ Ἡδυλίου διωρισμένος ὄρους ὅσον ὁ Ἄσσος ἐπέχει ῥέων, εἶτα συμπίπτων ὑπὸ τὴν ῥίζαν αὐτὴν τῷ Κηφισῷ καὶ συνεκτραχυνόμενος ὀχυρὰν ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι τὴν ἄκραν ποιεῖ. διὸ καὶ τοὺς χαλκάσπιδας ὀρώων τῶν πολεμίων ὠθυμένους ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐβούλετο φθῆναι καταλαβὼν τὸν τόπον· καὶ κατέλαβε χρησάμενος
- 8 τοῖς στρατιώταις προθύμοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἐκείθεν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Χαιρώνειαν, οἱ δὲ συστρατευσάμενοι τῶν Χαιρωνέων ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σύλλα μὴ προσέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐκπέμπει τῶν χιλιάρχων ἓνα Γαβίνιον μετὰ τάγματος ἐνὸς καὶ τοὺς Χαιρωνεῖς ἀφίησι, βουληθέντας μὲν, οὐ μὴν δυνηθέντας φθῆναι τὸν

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But Sulla, though chafing and fretting while cities were destroyed before his eyes, would not suffer his soldiers to be idle, but led them out and forced them to dig ditches and divert the Cephisus from its channel, giving no man a respite, and showing himself an inexorable chastiser of those who were remiss, in order that they might be worn out at their tasks and induced by their hardships to welcome danger. And so it fell out. For on the third day of their drudgery, as Sulla passed by, they begged and clamoured to be led against the enemy. But Sulla said their words showed not a willingness to fight, but an unwillingness to labour; if, however, they were really disposed to fight, then he bade them take their arms and go at once yonder, pointing them to what had formerly been the acropolis of Parapotamii. At this time, however, the city had been destroyed, and only a rocky and precipitous crest remained, separated from Mount Hedylium by the breadth of the river Assus, which then falls into the Cephisus at the very base of the mountain, becomes impetuous in its flow after the confluence, and makes the citadel a strong place for a camp. For this reason, and because he saw the Chalcaspides, or *Bronze-shields*, of the enemy pushing their way towards it, Sulla wished to occupy the place first; and he did occupy it, now that he found his soldiers eager for action. And when Archelaüs, repulsed from this site, set out against Chaeroneia, and the Chaeroneians in Sulla's army besought him not to abandon their city to its fate, he sent out Gabinius, one of his tribunes, with one legion, and let the Chaeroneians also go, who wished, but were unable, to get into the city before Gabinius. So

Γαβίνιον. οὕτως ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ προθυμότερος εἰς τὸ σῶσαι τῶν σωθῆναι δεομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἰόβας οὐ Γαβινιὸν φησι πεμφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ Ἑρίκιον. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἡμῶν παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον.

XVII. Ἐκ δὲ Λεβαδείας καὶ τοῦ Τροφωνίου φῆμαί τε χρησταὶ καὶ νικηφόρα μαντεύματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐξεπέμποντο. περὶ ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι πλείονα λέγουσιν· ὥς δὲ Σύλλας αὐτὸς ἐν δεκάτῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων γέγραφε, Κόϊντος Τίτιος, οὐκ ἀφανῆς ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πραγματευομένων, ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤδη τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ νενικηκότα μάχην, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι καὶ δευτέραν ὁ Τροφώνιος αὐτόθι μάχην καὶ νίκην προσημαίνει
2 ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν τάξει στρατευομένων ὄνομα Σαλουήνιος ἀνήνεγκε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος οἶον αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πράξεις ἔμελλον ἔξειν. ἀμφοτέροι δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ὁμφῆς ἔφραζον· τῷ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν.

3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἄσσον ὁ Σύλλας, παρελθὼν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡδύλιον τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ παρεστρατοπέδευσε, βεβλημένῳ χάρακα καρτερόν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀκουτίου καὶ τοῦ Ἡδυλίου πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἀσσίοις. ὁ μέντοι τόπος ἐν ᾧ κατεσκή-
νωσεν ἄχρι νῦν Ἀρχέλαος ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖται. 463
διαλιπὼν δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν ὁ Σύλλας Μουρήναν μὲν ἔχοντα τάγμα καὶ σπείρας δύο πρὸς τὸ τοῖς τολεμίοις ἐνοχλῆσαι παραταττομένοις ἀπέλιπεν,

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efficient was he, and more eager to bring succour than those who begged that succour should be given. Juba, however, says it was not Gabinius, but Eriicius, who was thus sent. At any rate, so narrowly did my native city escape its peril.

XVII. From Lebadeia and the cave of Trophonius favourable utterances and oracles announcing victory were now sent out to the Romans. Of these the inhabitants of the country have more to say ; but Sulla himself has written in the tenth book of his Memoirs, how Quintus Titius, a prominent man among the Romans doing business in Greece, came to him immediately after he had won his victory at Chaeroneia,¹ with tidings that Trophonius predicted for him a second battle and victory in that neighbourhood within a short time.² And after him, a legionary soldier, Salvenius by name, brought him from the god a statement of the issue which affairs in Italy were going to have. But both agreed about the source of their oracle ; for they said they had beheld one who in beauty and majesty was like unto Olympian Jove.

Sulla now crossed the Assus, and after advancing to the foot of Mount Hedylium, encamped over against Archelaüs, who had thrown up strong entrenchments between Mounts Acontium and Hedylium, at the so-called Assian plain. The spot in which he encamped, moreover, is to this day called Archelaüs, after him. After one day's respite, Sulla left Murena behind with one legion and two cohorts, to obstruct the enemy if they attempted to draw up their forces, while he himself held sacrifices on the

¹ As described in chapter xix.

² Near Orchomenus, as described in chapter xxi.

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- 4 αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ἐσφαγιάζετο, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένων ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Χαιρώνειαν, ἀναληψόμενός τε τὴν αὐτόθι στρατιὰν καὶ κατοψόμενος τὸ καλούμενον Θούριον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκατειλημμένον. ἔστι δὲ κορυφὴ τραχεῖα καὶ στροβιλῶδες ὄρος, ὃ καλούμεν Ὀρθόπαγον, ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Μόλου καὶ Θουρίου νεὼς Ἀπόλλωνος. ὠνόμασται δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Θουρούς, τῆς Χαίρωνος μητρός, ὃν οἰκιστὴν γεγο-
- 5 νέναι τῆς Χαιρωνείας ἱστοροῦσιν. οἱ δὲ φασι τὴν Κάδμῳ δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυθίου καθηγεμόνα βούν ἐκεῖ φανῆναι, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὕτω προσαγορευθῆναι· θῶρ γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βούν καλοῦσι.

- Προσιόντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα πρὸς τὴν Χαιρώνειαν ὁ τεταγμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει χιλιάρχος, ἐξωπλισμένους ἄγων τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀπήντησε στέφανον δάφνης κομίζων. ὥς δὲ δεξάμενος ἡσπάσατο τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ παρώρμησε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν Χαιρωνέων ἄνδρες, Ὁμολοῖχος καὶ Ἀναξίδαμος, ὑφιστάμενοι τοὺς τὸ Θούριον κατασχόντας ἐκκόψειν, ὀλίγους στρατιώτας παρ' ἐκείνου λαβόντες· ἀτραπὸν γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἄδηλον, ἀπὸ τοῦ καλούμενου Πετράχου παρὰ τὸ Μουσεῖον ἐπὶ τὸ Θούριον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἄγουσαν, ἣ πορευθέντες οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπιπείσεισθαι καὶ καταλεύσειν ἄνωθεν
- 7 αὐτοὺς ἢ συνώσειν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. τοῦ δὲ Γαβινίου τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυρήσαντος ἀνδρείαν καὶ πίστιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιχειρεῖν ὁ Σύλλας· αὐτὸς δὲ συνέταττε τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διένειμε τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ κέρως ἐκατέρου, τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτὸς ἔχων, τὸ

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banks of the Cephissus, and, when the rites were over, moved on towards Chaeroneia, to pick up the forces stationed there, and to reconnoitre Thurium, as it is called, which had been already occupied by the enemy. This is a conical-shaped hill with a craggy peak (we call it Orthopagus), and at its foot is the river Molus and a temple of Apollo Thurius. The god got this surname from Thuro, the mother of Chaeron, who was founder of Chaeroneia, according to tradition. But some say that the cow which was given by Apollo to Cadmus as his guide, appeared there, and that the place was named as it is from her, "thor" being the Phoenician word for *cow*.

As Sulla drew near to Chaeroneia, the tribune who had been stationed in the city, with his men in full armour, came to meet him, carrying a wreath of laurel. After Sulla had accepted this, greeted the soldiers, and animated them for the coming danger, two men of Chaeroneia accosted him, Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus, and engaged to cut off the troops in possession of Thurium if he would give them a few soldiers; for there was a path out of sight of the Barbarians, leading from the so-called Petrachus along past the Museum to that part of Thurium which was over their heads, and by taking this path it would not be difficult, they said, to fall upon them and either stone them to death from above, or force them into the plain. After Gabinus had borne testimony to the men's courage and fidelity, Sulla ordered them to make the attempt, while he himself proceeded to form his line of battle, and to dispose his cavalry on either wing, taking command of the

δ' εὐώνυμον ἀποδοὺς Μουρήνα. Γάλβας δὲ καὶ Ὀρτήσιος οἱ πρεσβευταὶ σπείρας ἐπιτάκτους ἔχοντες ἔσχατοι παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φύλακες πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις· ἐωρῶντο γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι κατασκευάζοντες ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς ποδώκεσιν εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν τὸ κέρας εὐκαμπὲς καὶ κοῦφον, ὥς μακρὰν ἀνάξοντες καὶ κυκλωσόμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

- XVIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Χαιρωνέων Ἐρίκιον ἄρχοντα παρὰ τοῦ Σύλλα λαβόντων καὶ περιελθόντων ἀδήλως τὸ Θούριον, εἶτα ἐπιφανέντων, θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς καὶ φυγὴ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ φόνος ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὁ πλεῖστος. οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πρανοὺς φερόμενοι τοῖς τε δόρασι περιέπιπτον αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ κατεκρήμνιζον ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνωθεν ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ παίωντων,
- 2 ὥστε τρισχιλίους πεσεῖν περὶ τὸ Θούριον. τῶν δὲ φευγόντων τοὺς μὲν εἰς τάξιν ἤδη καθεστῶς ὁ Μουρήνας ἀπετέμνετο καὶ διέφθειρεν ὑπαντιάζων, οἱ δὲ ὠσάμενοι πρὸς τὸ φίλιον στρατόπεδον καὶ τῇ φάλαγγι φύρδην ἐμπεσόντες ἀνέπλησαν δέους καὶ ταραχῆς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος, καὶ διατριβὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐνεποίησαν οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασαν αὐτούς. ὀξέως γὰρ ὁ Σύλλας ταρασσομένοις ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τὸ μέσον διάστημα τῷ τάχει συνελὼν ἀφείλετο τὴν τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐνέργειαν.
- 3 ἔρρωται γὰρ μάλιστα μήκει δρόμου σφοδρότητα καὶ ῥύμην τῇ διεξελάσει διδόντος, αἱ δὲ ἐκ

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right himself, and assigning the left to Murena.¹ His lieutenants, Galba and Hortensius, with cohorts of reserves, stationed themselves on the heights in the rear, to guard against attacks on the flanks. For the enemy were observed to be making their wing flexible and light for evolution with large bodies of horse and light infantry, purposing to extend it and envelop the Romans.

XVIII. Meanwhile the Chaeroneians, over whom Erius had been placed in command by Sulla, made their way unnoticed around Thurium and then showed themselves suddenly, producing great confusion and rout among the Barbarians, and slaughter at one another's hands for the most part. For they did not hold their ground, but rushed down the steep, falling upon their own spears and crowding one another down the precipices, while their enemies pressed upon them from above and smote their exposed bodies, so that three thousand of them fell on Thurium. Of the fugitives, some were met by Murena, who had already formed his array, and were cut off and slain; others pushed their way towards the camp of their friends, and falling pell-mell upon their lines, filled the greater part of them with terror and confusion, and inflicted a delay upon their generals which was especially harmful to them. For Sulla promptly charged upon them while they were in confusion, and by abridging the space between the armies with the speed of his approach, robbed the scythe-bearing chariots of their efficiency. For these are of most avail after a long course, which gives them velocity and impetus for breaking through

¹ Cf. chapter xvii. 3. Archelaüs had followed Sulla towards Chaeroneia, leaving Murena free to join his chief.

βραχέος ἀφέσεις ἄπρακτοι καὶ ἀμβλείαι, καθά-
 περ βελῶν τάσιν οὐ λαβόντων. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε
 τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπήντα· καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἁρ-
 μάτων ἀργῶς ἐξελαυνόμενα καὶ προσπίπτοντα
 νωθρῶς ἐκκρούσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ κρότου
 καὶ γέλωτος ἄλλα ἤτουν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς
 4 θεατρικαῖς ἵπποδρομίαις. τούντεῦθεν αἱ πεζαὶ
 δυνάμεις συνερράγησαν, τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων προ- 464
 βαλλομένων τὰς σαρίσας μακρὰς καὶ πειρωμένων
 τῷ συνασπισμῷ τὴν φάλαγγα διατηρεῖν ἐν τάξει,
 τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ὑσσοὺς αὐτοῦ κατα-
 βαλόντων, σπασαμένων δὲ τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ
 παρακρουομένων τὰς σαρίσας, ὡς τάχιστα προσ-
 5 μίξειαν αὐτοῖς δι' ὄργην. προτεταγμένους γὰρ
 ἑώρων τῶν πολεμίων μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους
 θεράποντας, οὓς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων κηρύγμασιν ἐλευ-
 θεροῦντες οἱ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ κατελόχιζον
 εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας. καὶ τις ἑκατοντάρχης λέγεται
 Ῥωμαῖος εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐν Κρονίοις μόνον εἰδέειν τῆς
 6 παρρησίας δούλους μετέχοντας. τούτους μὲν οὖν
 διὰ βάθος καὶ πυκνότητα βραδέως ἐξωθουμένους
 ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν μένειν τολμῶν-
 τας αἱ τε βελοςφενδῶναι καὶ οἱ γρόσφοι, χρω-
 μένων ἀφειδῶς τῶν κατόπιν Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέστρε-
 φον καὶ συνετάραττον.

XIX. Ἀρχελάου δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ εἰς κύκλω-
 σιν ἀνάγοντος, Ὀρτήσιος ἐφῆκε τὰς σπείρας
 δρόμῳ προσφερομένας ὡς ἐμβαλῶν πλαγίοις.
 ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ ταχέως ἐκείνου τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν

¹ The festival of Saturn, a time of general license and mirth, when masters treated their slaves as equals.

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an opposing line, but short starts are ineffectual and feeble, as in the case of missiles which do not get full propulsion. And this proved true now in the case of the Barbarians. The first of their chariots were driven along feebly and engaged sluggishly, so that the Romans, after repulsing them, clapped their hands and laughed and called for more, as they are wont to do at the races in the circus. Thereupon the infantry forces engaged, the Barbarians holding their pikes before them at full length, and endeavouring, by locking their shields together, to keep their line of battle intact; while the Romans threw down their javelins, drew their swords, and sought to dash the pikes aside, that they might get at their enemies as soon as possible, in the fury that possessed them. For they saw drawn up in front of the enemy fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had set free by proclamation in the cities and enrolled among the men-at-arms. And a certain Roman centurion is reported to have said that it was only at the Saturnalia,¹ so far as he knew, that slaves participated in the general license. These men, however, owing to the depth and density of their array, and the unnatural courage with which they held their ground, were only slowly repulsed by the Roman men-at-arms; but at last the fiery bolts and the javelins which the Romans in the rear ranks plied unsparingly, threw them into confusion and drove them back.

XIX. Archelaüs now extended his right wing to envelop Sulla's line, whereupon Hortensius² sent his cohorts against him on a quick run, intending to attack his flank. But Archelaüs wheeled swiftly

² See chapter xvii. 7.

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- ἰππεῖς δισχιλίους, ἐκθλιβόμενος ὑπὸ πλήθους
προσεστέλλετο τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπορ-
ρηγνύμενος τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ περιλαμβανόμενος
2 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ
τοῦ δεξιοῦ μήπω συμπεπτωκότος εἰς μάχην
ἐδίωκε βοηθῶν. Ἀρχέλαος δὲ τῷ κονιορτῷ τῆς
ἐλάσεως ὅπερ ἦν τεκμηράμενος, Ὀρτήσιον μὲν εἶα
χαίρειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὥρμησεν ὅθεν ὁ
Σύλλας πρὸς τὸ δεξιόν, ὡς ἐρημον ἄρχοντος αἰρή-
σων. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Μουρήνα Ταξίλης ἐπήγε τοὺς
χαλκάσπιδας, ὥστε τῆς κραυγῆς διχόθεν φερο-
μένης καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνταποδιδόντων τὴν περι-
ήχησιν, ἐπιστήσαντα τὸν Σύλλαν διαπορεῖν
3 ὁποτέρῳσε χρὴ προσγενέσθαι. δόξαν δὲ τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἀναλαμβάνειν, Μουρήνα μὲν ἀρω-
γὸν ἔπεμψεν Ὀρτήσιον ἔχοντα τέσσαρας σπεί-
ρας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πέμπτην ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας
ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἠπείγετο καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μὲν ἀξιο-
μάχως ἤδη τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ συνεστηκός, ἐκείνου
δὲ ἐπιφανέντος παντάπασιν ἐξεβιάσαντο, καὶ
κρατήσαντες ἐδίωκον πρὸς τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ
4 τὸ Ἀκόντιον ὄρος προτροπάδην φεύγοντας. οὐ
μὲν ὅ γε Σύλλας ἡμέλησε Μουρήνα κινδυνεύον-
τος, ἀλλὰ ὥρμησε τοῖς ἐκεῖ βοηθεῖν· ἰδὼν δὲ
νικῶντας, τότε τῆς διώξεως μετείχε. πολλοὶ
μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνηροῦντο,
πλείστοι δὲ τῷ χάρακι προσφερόμενοι κατε-
κόπησαν, ὥστε μυρίους διαπεσεῖν εἰς Χαλκίδα
μόνους ἀπὸ τοσούτων μυριάδων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας
λέγει τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα ἐπιζητῆσαι τῶν αὐτοῦ
στρατιωτῶν, εἶτα καὶ τούτων δύο πρὸς τὴν
5 ἐσπέραν παραγενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις

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against him his two thousand horsemen, and Hortensius, forced aside by superior numbers, was keeping close to the hills, separating himself little by little from the main line, and getting surrounded by the enemy. When Sulla learned of this, he came swiftly to his aid from the right wing, which was not yet engaged. But Archelaüs, guessing the truth from the dust raised by Sulla's troops, gave Hortensius the go-by, and wheeling, set off for the right wing whence Sulla had come, thinking to surprise it without a commander. At the same time Murena also was attacked by Taxiles with his Bronze-shields, so that when shouts were borne to his ears from both places, and reëchoed by the surrounding hills, Sulla halted, and was at a loss to know in which of the two directions he ought to betake himself. But having decided to resume his own post, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to help Murena, while he himself, bidding the fifth cohort to follow, hastened to the right wing. This of itself had already engaged Archelaüs on equal terms, but when Sulla appeared, they drove the enemy back at all points, obtained the mastery, and pursued them to the river and Mount Acontium in a headlong flight. Sulla, however, did not neglect Murena in his peril, but set out to aid the forces in that quarter; he saw, however, that they were victorious, and then joined in the pursuit. Many of the Barbarians, then, were slain in the plain, but most were cut to pieces as they rushed for their entrenchments, so that only ten thousand out of so many myriads made their escape into Chalcis. But Sulla says he missed only fourteen of his soldiers, and that afterwards, towards evening, two of these came in. He therefore

ἐπέγραψεν Ἄρη καὶ Νίκην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ὥς οὐχ ἦττον εὐτυχία κατορθώσας ἢ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει τὸν πόλεμον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τρόπαιον ἔστηκε τῆς πεδιάδος μάχης ἢ πρῶτον ἐνέκλιναν οἱ περὶ Ἀρχέλαον παρὰ¹ τὸ Μόλον ῥεῖθρον, ἕτερον δέ ἐστι τοῦ Θουρίου κατὰ κορυφὴν βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κυκλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπισημαῖνον Ὁμολοῖχον
6 καὶ Ἀναξίδαμον ἀριστεῖς. ταύτης τὰ ἐπινίκια τῆς μάχης ἦγεν ἐν Θήβαις, περὶ τὴν Οἰδιπόδειον κρήνην κατασκευάσας θυμέλην. οἱ δὲ κρίνοντες ἦσαν Ἕλληνες ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνακεκλημένοι πόλεων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε Θηβαίους ἀδιαλλάκτως εἶχε, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καθιέρωσεν, ἐκ τῶν προσόδων κελεύσας ἀποδίδοσθαι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἅπερ αὐτὸς εἰλήφει.

XX. Μετὰ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενος Φλάκκον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως ὑπατον ἡρημένον διαπερᾶν 465 τὸν Ἴόνιον μετὰ δυνάμεως, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνον αὐτόν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Θετταλίας ὥς ἀπαντήσων. γενομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Μελίτειαν ἀφικνοῦντο πολλαχόθεν ἀγγελίαι πορθεῖσθαι τὰ κατόπιν αὐθις οὐκ ἐλάτ-
2 τονι στρατιᾷ βασιλικῇ τῆς πρότερον. Δορύλαος γὰρ εἰς Χαλκίδα καταχθεὶς παρασκευῇ νεῶν πολλῇ, ἐν αἷς ἦγεν ὀκτὼ μυριάδας ἡσκημένας καὶ συντεταγμένας ἄριστα δὴ τῆς Μιθριδατικῆς

¹ παρὰ with Bekker, after Emperius : μέχρι παρὰ.

¹ A deity of good fortune among the Romans.

² So named "because in it Oedipus washed off the blood of his murdered father" (Pausanias, ix. 18, 4).

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inscribed upon his trophies the names of Mars, Victory and Venus,¹ in the belief that his success in the war was due no less to good fortune than to military skill and strength. This trophy of the battle in the plain stands on the spot where the troops of Archelaüs first gave way, by the brook Molus, but there is another planted on the crest of Thurium, to commemorate the envelopment of the Barbarians there, and it indicates in Greek letters that Homoloichus and Anaxidamus were the heroes of the exploit. The festival in honour of this victory was celebrated by Sulla in Thebes, where he prepared a stage near the fountain of Oedipus.² But the judges were Greeks invited from the other cities, since towards the Thebans he was irreconcilably hostile. He also took away half of their territory and consecrated it to Pythian Apollo and Olympian Zeus, giving orders that from its revenues the moneys should be paid back to the gods which he had taken from them.³

XX. After this, learning that Flaccus, a man of the opposite faction, had been chosen consul⁴ and was crossing the Ionian sea with an army, ostensibly against Mithridates, but really against himself, he set out towards Thessaly in order to meet him. But when he was come to the city of Meliteia, tidings reached him from many quarters that the regions behind him were ravaged again by an army of the king which was no smaller than the former. For Dorylaüs, having put in at Chalcis with a large fleet, on which he brought eighty thousand of the best trained and disciplined men in the army of

¹ Cf. chapter xii. 3-6.

⁴ With Cinna, to succeed Marius, who died in 86 B.C.

- στρατιᾶς, εὐθὺς εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν, προθυμούμενος εἰς μάχην ἐπισπασθαι τὸν Σύλλαν, οὐ προσέχων Ἀρχελάφ διακωλύοντι, καὶ λόγον περὶ τῆς προτέρας μάχης διαδιδούς ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ προδοσίας μυριάδες τοσαῦται διαφθαρεῖεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ὁ Σύλλας ταχέως ὑποστρέψας ἀπέδειξε τῷ Δορυλάφ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἄνδρα φρόνιμον καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐμπειρότατον ἀρετῆς, ὥστε μικρὰ αὐτὸν τῷ Σύλλᾳ περὶ τὸ Τιλφώσσιον ἐμπεσόντα πρῶτον εἶναι τῶν οὐκ ἀξιούντων κρίνεσθαι διὰ μάχης, ἀλλὰ δαπάναις καὶ χρόνῳ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον. ὁμῶς δὲ θάρσος τι τῷ Ἀρχελάφ παρείχεν ὁ πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, εὐφύεστατος ὧν ἱπποκρατοῦσιν ἐναγωνίσασθαι.
- 4 τῶν γὰρ Βοιωτίων πεδίῳ ὃ τί πέρ ἐστι κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον, τοῦτο τῆς Ὀρχομενίων ἐξηρητημένον πόλεως ὁμαλὸν ἀναπέπταται καὶ ἄδενδρον ἄχρι τῶν ἐλῶν ἐν οἷς ὁ Μέλας καταναλίσκεται ποταμός, ἀνατέλλων μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ὀρχομενίων πολὺς καὶ πλώϊμος ἐν πηγαῖς μόνος τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ποταμῶν, αὐξόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τροπᾶς θερινᾶς, ὥσπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ φέρων ὅμοια τοῖς ἐκεῖ τὰ φυόμενα, πλὴν
- 5 ἄκαρπα καὶ ἀναυξή. πόρρω δὲ οὐ πρόεισιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλείστον εὐθὺς εἰς λίμνας τυφλὰς καὶ ἐλώδεις ἀφανίζεται, μέρος δὲ οὐ πολὺ τῷ Κηφισῷ συμμύγνυται, περὶ δὲ μάλιστα τόπον ἢ λίμνη δοκεῖ τὸν αὐλητικὸν ἐκφέρειν κύλαμον.

XXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἡσύχαζεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ὥρυττε

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Mithridates, at once burst into Boeotia and occupied the country. He was eager to entice Sulla to battle, disregarding the protests of Archelaüs, and giving it out that in the previous battle so many myriads had not perished without treachery. Sulla, however, turning swiftly back, showed Dorylaüs that Archelaüs was a man of prudence and best acquainted with the Roman valour, so that after a slight skirmish with Sulla near Tilphossium, he was first of those who thought it expedient not to decide the issue by a battle, but rather to wear out the war by dint of time and treasure. Nevertheless, Archelaüs was much encouraged by the nature of the country about Orchomenus, where they were encamped, since it was most favourable as a battle-field for an army superior in cavalry. For of all the plains of Boeotia this is the largest and fairest, and beginning from the city of Orchomenus, it spreads out smooth and treeless as far as the marshes in which the river Melas loses itself. This rises close under the city of Orchomenus, and is the only Greek river that is copious and navigable at its sources; moreover, it increases towards the time of the summer solstice, like the Nile, and produces plants like those which grow there, only stunted and without fruit. Its course is short, however, and the greater part of it disappears at once in blind and marshy lakes, while a small portion of it unites with the Cephissus, somewhere near the place in which the stagnant water is reputed to produce the famous reed for flutes.¹

XXI. When the two armies had encamped near each other, Archelaüs lay still, but Sulla proceeded

¹ The Boeotians excelled with the flute. See *Alcibiades*, ii. 4-6.

- τάφρους ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅπως, εἰ δύναίτο, τῶν στερεῶν καὶ ἵππασίμων ἀποτεμόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσειεν εἰς τὰ ἔλη. τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχομένων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀφείθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐντόνως καὶ ῥύδην ἐλαυνόντων, οὐ μόνον οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Σύλλα διεσκεδάσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παρατεταγμένου συνεχύθη τὸ πλείστον φυγόντος. 2 ἔνθα δὴ Σύλλας αὐτὸς ἀποπηδήσας τοῦ ἵππου καὶ σημεῖον ἀναρπάσας ὠθεῖτο διὰ τῶν φευγόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, βοῶν “Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνταῦθά που καλόν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τελευτᾶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις ποῦ προδεδώκατε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, μεμνημένοι φράζειν ὡς ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ.” τούτους τε δὴ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐπέστρεψε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως σπειρῶν δύο προσεβοήθησαν, ἃς ἐπαγαγὼν τρέπεται τοὺς 3 πολεμίους. ἀναγαγὼν δὲ μικρὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ δρὺς ἄριστον αὐτοῖς, αὐθις ἀπετάφρευε τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ αὐθις ἐν τάξει μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον προσεφέροντο. καὶ Διογένης μὲν ὁ τῆς Ἀρχελάου γυναικὸς υἱὸς ἀριστεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ περιόπτως ἔπεσεν, οἱ δὲ τοξόται, τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκβιαζομένων, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν ἀθρόοις τοῖς οἰστοῖς ἐκ χειρὸς ὥσπερ ξίφεσι παίοντες ἀνέκοπτον αὐτούς, τέλος δὲ κατακλεισθέντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα μοχθηρῶς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων καὶ φόνου¹ διενυκτέρευσαν. ἡμέρας δὲ πάλιν τῷ χάρακι τοὺς στρατιώτας προσαγα- 4 γὼν ὁ Σύλλας ἀπετάφρευεν. ἐξελθόντας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην συμβαλὼν τρέπεται, καὶ

¹ φόνου Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to φόβου (*terror*).

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to dig trenches on either side, in order that, if possible, he might cut the enemy off from the solid ground which was favourable for cavalry, and force them into the marshes. The enemy, however, would not suffer this, but when their generals sent them forth, charged impetuously and at full speed, so that not only Sulla's labourers were dispersed, but also the greater part of the corps drawn up to protect them was thrown into confusion and fled. Then Sulla threw himself from his horse, seized an ensign, and pushed his way through the fugitives against the enemy, crying : " For me, O Romans, an honourable death here ; but you, when men ask you where you betrayed your commander, remember to tell them, at Orchomenus." The fugitives rallied at these words, and two of the cohorts on his right wing came to his aid ; these he led against the enemy and routed them. Then he fell back a little distance, and after giving his men breakfast, again proceeded to fence the enemy's entrenchments off with his ditches. But they attacked him again in better order than before, Diogenes, the step-son of Archelaüs, fought gallantly on their right wing, and fell gloriously, and their archers, being hard pressed by the Romans, so that they had no room to draw their bows, took their arrows by handfuls, struck with them as with swords, at close quarters, and tried to beat back their foes, but were finally shut up in their entrenchments, and had a miserable night of it with their slain and wounded. Next day Sulla again led his soldiers up to the enemy's fortifications and continued trenching them off, and when the greater part of them came out to give him battle, he engaged with them and routed

πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνων φόβον οὐδενὸς μένοντος αἰρεῖ
κατὰ κράτος τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ κατέπλησαν 466
ἀποθνήσκοντες αἵματος τὰ ἔλη καὶ νεκρῶν τὴν
λίμνην, ὥστε μέχρι νῦν πολλὰ βαρβαρικὰ τόξα
καὶ κράνη καὶ θωράκων σπάσματα σιδηρῶν καὶ
μαχαίρας ἐμβεβαπτισμένας τοῖς τέλμασιν εὐρί-
σκεσθαι, σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης
ἐκείνης διαγεγονότων. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Χαι-
ρώνειαν καὶ πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ τοιαῦτα λέγεται
γενέσθαι.

XXII. Κίinna δὲ καὶ Κάρβωνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῖς
ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἀνδράσι χρωμένων παρανόμως καὶ
βιαίως, πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς
λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφέροντο,
καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγου χρόνου σχῆμα βουλῆς ἐγε-
γόνει. καὶ Μετέλλα μόλις διακλέψασα ἑαυτὴν
καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἤκεν ἀγγέλλουσα τὴν οἰκίαν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐμπε-
2 πρῆσθαι καὶ δεομένη τοῖς οἴκοι βοηθεῖν. ἀπορου-
μένῳ δ' αὐτῷ, καὶ μήτε τῆς πατρίδος ἀμελεῖν
ὑπομένοντι κακουμένης μήτε ὅπως ἄπεισιν ἀτελὲς
λιπὼν τοσοῦτον ἔργον, τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον,
ἐπινοοῦντι, παραγίνεται Δηλιακὸς ἔμπορος Ἀρχέ-
λαος, ἐλπίδας τινὰς καὶ λόγους κρύφα παρὰ τοῦ
βασιλικοῦ κομίζων Ἀρχελάου. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα
Σύλλας οὕτως ἡγάπησεν ὥστε αὐτὸς εἰς λόγους
3 σπεῦσαι τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ συνελθεῖν· καὶ συνῆλθον
ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ περὶ Δήλιον, οὗ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλ-
λωνός ἐστιν. ἀρξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου δια-
λέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀξιούντος ἀφέντα τὴν

¹ Plutarch must, therefore, have written this *Life* shortly before 115 A.D.

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them, and such was their panic that no resistance was made, and he took their camp by storm. The marshes were filled with their blood, and the lake with their dead bodies, so that even to this day many bows, helmets, fragments of steel breastplates, and swords of barbarian make are found embedded in the mud, although almost two hundred years have passed since this battle.¹ Such, then, are the accounts given of the actions at Chaeroneia and Orchomenus.

XXII. Now since Cinna and Carbo² at Rome were treating the most eminent men with injustice and violence, many of these had fled from their tyranny and were repairing to Sulla's camp as to a harbour of refuge, and in a little time he had about him a semblance of a senate. Metella, also, who had with difficulty stolen herself and her children away, came with tidings that his house and his villas had been burned by his enemies, and with entreaties that he would come to the help of his partisans at home. But while he was in doubt what to do, and could neither consent to neglect his country when she was outraged, nor see his way clear to go away and leave unfinished so great a task as the war with Mithridates, there came to him a merchant of Delos, named Archelaüs, who secretly brought from Archelaüs the king's general certain vague hopes and propositions. The matter was so welcome to Sulla that he was eager to have a personal conference with Archelaüs; and they had a meeting on the sea-coast near Delium, where the temple of Apollo is. Archelaüs began the conference by urging Sulla to abandon Asia and Pontus and sail

² Elected consul with Cinna in 85 B.C.

Ἀσίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πόλεμον
 πλεῖν, χρήματα λαβόντα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ δύ-
 ναμιν ὅσῃν βούλοιτο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑπο-
 λαβὼν ὁ Σύλλας Μιθριδάτου μὲν ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευεν,
 αὐτὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν ἀντ' ἐκείνου σύμμαχον
 Ῥωμαίων γενόμενον καὶ παραδόντα τὰς ναῦς.
 4 ἀφοσιουμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου τὴν προδο-
 σίαν, "Εἶτα," ἔφη, "σὺ μὲν, ὦ Ἀρχέλαε, Καπ-
 παδόκης ὢν καὶ βαρβάρου βασιλέως δούλος, εἰ
 δὲ βούλει, φίλος, οὐχ ὑπομένεις ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις
 ἀγαθοῖς τὸ αἰσχρόν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡγεμόνι Ῥωμαίων
 ὄντι καὶ Σύλλα τολμᾷς διαλέγεσθαι περὶ προ-
 δοσίας, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐκείνος ὢν Ἀρχέλαος, ὁ φυγὼν
 μὲν ἐκ Χαιρωνείας ὀλιγοστὸς ἀπὸ μυριάδων δυο-
 καίδεκα, κρυφθεὶς δὲ δύο ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς Ὀρ-
 χομενίων ἔλεσιν, ἄβατον δὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ
 5 νεκρῶν πλήθους ἀπολελοιπώς;" ἐκ τούτου μετα-
 βαλὼν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ προσκυνήσας ἐδεῖτο
 παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς
 τὸν Μιθριδάτην. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν
 πρόκλησιν ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι, Μιθριδάτην μὲν
 Ἀσίαν ἀφεῖναι καὶ Παφλαγονίαν, ἐκστήναι δὲ
 Βιθυνίας Νικομήδει καὶ Καππαδοκίας¹ Ἀριο-
 βαρζάνῃ, καταβαλεῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δισχίλια
 τάλαντα καὶ δοῦναι ναῦς ἐβδομήκοντα χαλ-
 κήρεις μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας παρασκευῆς, Σύλλαν
 δὲ ἐκείνῳ τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀρχὴν βεβαιοῦν καὶ σύμ-
 μαχον Ῥωμαίων ψηφίζεσθαι.

XXIII. Τούτων ὁμολογηθέντων ἀναστρέψας
 ἐβάδιζε διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Μακεδονίας ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔχων μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἐν

¹ καὶ Καππαδοκίας Bekker, after Coraës : Καππαδοκίας.

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for the war in Rome, on condition of receiving money, triremes, and as large a force as he wished, from the king. Sulla rejoined by bidding him take no further thought for Mithridates, but assume the crown himself in his stead, becoming an ally of the Romans, and surrendering to them his ships. And when Archelaüs expressed his abhorrence of such treason, Sulla said: "So then, thou, Archelaüs, who art a Cappadocian, and a slave of a barbarian king, or, if thou wilt, his friend, wilt not consent to a disgraceful deed for such great rewards; but to me, who am a Roman commander, and Sulla, thou darest to propose treachery? as if thou wert not that Archelaüs who fled from Chaeroneia with a few survivors out of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and who lay hid for two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and who left Boeotia impassable for the multitude of dead bodies!" Upon this, Archelaüs changed his tone, and as a humble suppliant besought him to desist from the war and be reconciled with Mithridates. Sulla granted the request, and terms of agreement were made as follows: Mithridates was to renounce Asia and Paphlagonia, restore Bithynia to Nicomedes and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, pay down to the Romans two thousand talents, and give them seventy bronze-armoured ships with their proper equipment; Sulla, on his part, was to confirm Mithridates in the rest of his dominions, and get him voted an ally of the Romans.

XXIII. When these agreements had been made, Sulla turned back and proceeded by way of Thessaly and Macedonia towards the Hellespont, having

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- τιμῇ. καὶ νοσήσαντος ἐπισφαλῶς περὶ Λάρισσαν ἐπιστήσας τὴν πορείαν, ὥς ἐνὸς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν
 2 ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐπεμελήθη. ταῦτά τε δὴ διέβαλλε τὸ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἔργον ὥς οὐχὶ καθαρῶς ἀγωνισθέν, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους Μιθριδάτῃ φίλους, οὓς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους, ἀποδοὺς ὁ Σύλλας Ἀριστίωνα μόνον τὸν τύραννον ἀνείλε διὰ φαρμάκων Ἀρχελάφ διάφορον ὄντα· μάλιστα δ' ἡ δοθεῖσα γῇ τῷ Καππαδόκῃ μυρίων πλέθρων ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων φίλον αὐτὸν καὶ σύμμαχον ὑπὸ Σύλλα ἀναγραφῆναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἀπολογεῖται.
- 3 Τότε δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου 46· παραγενομένων καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φασκόντων δέχεσθαι, Παφλαγονίαν δὲ ἀξιούντων μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τὰς δὲ ναῦς οὐδὲ ὅλως ὁμολογηθῆναι, χαλεπήνας ὁ Σύλλας, “Τί φατε;” εἶπε, “Μιθριδάτῃ Παφλαγονίας ἀντιποιεῖται καὶ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἑξαρνός ἐστιν, ὃν ἐγὼ προσκυνήσειν ἐνόμιζον, εἰ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ καταλείποιμι χεῖρα, δι' ἧς
 4 τοσούτους Ῥωμαίων ἀνείλεν; ἐτέρας μέντοι τάχα φωνὰς ἀφήσει διαβάντος εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐμοῦ· νῦν δὲ ἐν Περγάμῳ καθήμενος ὃν οὐχ ἑώρακε διαστρατηγεῖ πόλεμον.” οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις φοβηθέντες ἡσύχαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ κατεπράυνε τὴν ὀργήν, ἀπτόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ δακρύων. τέλος δ' ἔπεισεν ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτὸς¹ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην· διαπράξ-

¹ ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτὸς Sintenis¹ and Bekker, after Emperius : ἀποσταλῆναι. The best MS. (Ss) has αὐτοῦς.

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Archelaüs with him, and in honour. And when Archelaüs fell dangerously ill at Larissa, Sulla stopped his march, and cared for him as if he had been one of his own commanding officers. This raised the suspicion that the action at Chaeroneia had not been fairly fought, as well as the fact that Sulla released the other friends of Mithridates whom he had taken captive, but put to death Aristion the tyrant alone, by poison, who was at enmity with Archelaüs; the strongest ground for the suspicion, however, was his gift to the Cappadocian of ten thousand acres of land in Euboea, and his bestowing upon him the title of friend and ally of the Romans. At any rate, on these points Sulla defends himself in his Memoirs.

At this time also ambassadors from Mithridates arrived, and when they declared that he accepted the other terms, but demanded that Paphlagonia be not taken away from him, and that as to the ships no agreement whatsoever should be made, Sulla flew into a passion and said: "What say ye? Mithridates maintains his claim to Paphlagonia, and refuses to give the ships, when I thought he would prostrate himself humbly before me if I should leave him but that right hand of his, with which he took the lives of so many Romans? However, he will quickly talk in another strain after I have crossed into Asia; now he sits in Pergamum and directs a war which he has not seen." The ambassadors, accordingly, were frightened, and held their peace; but Archelaüs entreated Sulla, and tried to soften his anger, laying hold of his right hand and weeping. And finally he obtained Sulla's consent to send him in person to Mithridates; for

ἔσθαι γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς βούλεται τὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ μὴ
 5 πείθῃ, κτενεῖν αὐτὸς αὐτόν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ-
 πέμψας ἐκείνον αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Μαιδικὴν ἐνέβαλε,
 καὶ τὰ πολλὰ διαπορθήσας πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς
 Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἐδέξατο περὶ
 Φιλίππους ἀγγέλλοντα καλῶς ἔχειν πάντα·
 δεῖσθαι δὲ πάντως αὐτῷ τὸν Μιθριδάτην εἰς
 6 λόγους ἔλθειν. αἴτιος δ' ἦν μάλιστα Φιμβρίας,
 ὃς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας στάσεως ἄρχοντα Φλάκκον
 ἀνελὼν καὶ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν στρατηγῶν κρα-
 τήσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐβάδιζε. ταῦτα γὰρ
 δεῖσας ὁ Μιθριδάτης μᾶλλον εἴλετο τῷ Σύλλᾳ
 φίλος γενέσθαι.

XXIV. Συνῆλθον οὖν τῆς Τρωάδος ἐν Δαρδάνῳ,
 Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἔχων ναῦς αὐτόθι διακοσίας
 ἐνήρεις καὶ τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως ὀπλίτας μὲν
 δισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ συχνὰ
 τῶν δρεπανηφόρων, Σύλλας δὲ τέσσαρας σπείρας
 καὶ διακοσίους ἱππεῖς. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ τοῦ
 Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείναντος, ἠρώτη-
 σεν αὐτὸν εἰ καταλύσεται τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' οἷς
 ὠμολόγησεν Ἀρχέλαος· σιωπῶντος δὲ τοῦ βα-
 σιλέως, ὁ Σύλλας “Ἄλλὰ μὴν,” ἔφη, “τῶν δεο-
 μένων ἐστὶ τὸ προτέρους λέγειν, τοῖς δὲ νικῶσιν
 2 ἔξαρκεῖ τὸ σιωπᾶν.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξάμενος τῆς
 ἀπολογίας ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπειράτο τοῦ πολέμου
 τὰ μὲν εἰς δαίμονας τρέπειν, τὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτιᾶ-
 σθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Σύλλας ἔφη
 πάλαι μὲν ἐτέρων ἀκούειν, νῦν δ' αὐτὸς ἐγνωκέναι
 τὸν Μιθριδάτην δεινότατον ὄντα ῥητορεύειν, ὃς

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he said that he would have the peace ratified on Sulla's terms, or, if he could not persuade the king, would kill himself. Upon these assurances Sulla sent him away, and then himself invaded the country of the Maedi, and after ravaging the most of it, turned back again into Macedonia, and received Archelaüs at Philippi. Archelaüs brought him word that all was well, but that Mithridates insisted on a conference with him. Fimbria was chiefly responsible for this, who, after killing Flaccus, the consul of the opposite faction,¹ and overpowering the generals of Mithridates, was marching against the king himself. For this terrified Mithridates, and he chose rather to seek the friendship of Sulla.

XXIV. They met, accordingly, at Dardanus, in the Troad, Mithridates having two hundred ships there, equipped with oars, twenty thousand men-at-arms from his infantry force, six thousand horse, and a throng of scythe-bearing chariots; Sulla, on the other hand, having four cohorts and two hundred horse. When Mithridates came towards him and put out his hand, Sulla asked him if he would put a stop to the war on the terms which Archelaüs had made, and as the king was silent, Sulla said: "But surely it is the part of suppliants to speak first, while victors need only to be silent." Then Mithridates began a defence of himself, and tried to shift the blame for the war partly upon the gods, and partly upon the Romans themselves. But Sulla cut him short, saying that he had long ago heard from others, but now knew of himself, that Mithridates was a very powerful orator, since he

¹ See chapter xii. 8 and note.

ἐπὶ πράξεσιν οὕτω πονηραῖς καὶ παρανόμοις
 3 λόγων ἔχόντων εὐπρέπειαν οὐκ ἠπόρηκεν. ἐξ-
 ελέγξας δὲ τὰ πεπραγμένα πικρῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 κατηγορήσας, πάλιν ἠρώτησεν εἰ ποιεῖ τὰ συγ-
 κείμενα δι' Ἀρχελάου. φήσαντος δὲ ποιεῖν,
 οὕτως ἡσπάσατο καὶ περιλαβὼν ἐφίλησεν αὐτόν,
 Ἀριοβαρζάνην δὲ αὐθις καὶ Νικομήδην τοὺς
 βασιλεῖς προσαγαγὼν διήλλαξεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν
 Μιθριδάτης ἑβδομήκοντα ναῦς παραδοὺς καὶ
 τοξότας πεντακοσίους εἰς Πόντον ἀπέπλευσεν.

4 Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας, αἰσθόμενος ἀχθομένους τοὺς
 στρατιώτας τῇ διαλύσει (τὸν γὰρ ἔχθιστον τῶν
 βασιλέων καὶ δεκαπέντε μυριάδας ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τῶν
 ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίων κατασφαγῆναι παρασκευά-
 σαντα δεινὸν ἡγοῦντο μετὰ πλοῦτου καὶ λαφύρων
 ὁρᾷ ἐκπλέοντα τῆς Ἀσίας, ἣν ἔτη τέσσαρα
 λεηλατῶν καὶ φορολογῶν διετέλεσεν), ἀπελογεῖτο
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἄμα Φιμβρία καὶ Μιθρι-
 δάτῃ πολεμεῖν, εἰ συνέστησαν ἀμφοτέρω κατ'
 αὐτοῦ, δυνηθεῖς.

XXV. Ὁρμήσας δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Φιμβρίαν πρὸς
 Θυατείροις στρατοπεδεύοντα καὶ πλησίον κατα-
 ζεύξας, τάφρον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιέβαλεν. οἱ
 δὲ τοῦ Φιμβρίου στρατιῶται μονοχίτωνες ἐκ τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου προϊόντες ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς ἐκείνου
 καὶ συνελάμβανον αὐτοῖς τῶν ἔργων προθύμως.
 ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Φιμβρίας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸν
 Σύλλαν ὥς ἀδιάλλακτον δεδοικῶς αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διέφθειρε.

¹ In the late autumn of 88 B.C. The cities of Asia Minor were glad to obey the orders of Mithridates for a general

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had not been at a loss for plausible arguments to defend such baseness and injustice as his. Then he reproached him bitterly and denounced him for what he had done, and asked him again if he would keep the agreements made through Archelaüs. And when he said that he would, then Sulla greeted him with an embrace and a kiss, and later, bringing to him Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes the kings, he reconciled him with them. Mithridates, accordingly, after handing over to Sulla seventy ships and five hundred archers, sailed away to Pontus.

But Sulla perceived that his soldiers were incensed at the peace which he had made; they thought it a terrible thing to see the most hostile of kings, who had caused one hundred and fifty thousand of the Romans in Asia to be massacred in a single day¹ go sailing off with wealth and spoils from Asia, which he had for four years continued to plunder and levy taxes on. He therefore defended himself to them by saying that he would not have been able to carry on war with Mithridates and Fimbria too, if they had both joined forces against him.

XXV. Then he set out from thence against Fimbria, who was encamped near Thyateira, and halting his army near by, began to fortify his camp. But the soldiers of Fimbria came forth from their camp without any armour on, and welcomed Sulla's soldiers, and joined them eagerly in their labours, and when Fimbria saw this change in their allegiance, fearing that Sulla was irreconcilable, he laid violent hands on himself in the camp.

massacre of the resident Romans. Cf. Appian, *Mithridates*, xxii. Valerius Maximus (ix. 2, 4, Ext. 3) gives the number of slain as 80,000.

2 Σύλλας δὲ κοινῇ μὲν ἐξημίωσε τὴν Ἀσίαν
 δισμυρίοις ταλάντοις, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς οἴκους ἐξέ- 468
 τριψεν ὕβρει καὶ πολιορκίᾳ¹ τῶν ἐπισταθμευόν-
 των. ἐτέτακτο γὰρ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τῷ καταλύτῃ
 τὸν ξένον διδόναι τέσσαρα τετράδραχμα καὶ
 παρέχειν δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καὶ φίλοις, ὅσους ἂν
 ἐθέλῃ καλεῖν, ταξίARCHON δὲ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς
 λαμβάνειν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἄλλην μὲν
 οἰκουρῶν, ἄλλην δὲ εἰς ἀγορὰν προερχόμενος.

XXVI. Ἀναχθεῖς δὲ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐξ
 Ἐφέσου τριταῖος ἐν Πειραιεὶ καθωρμίσθη καὶ
 μνηθεὶς ἐξεῖλεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶνος τοῦ
 Τηίου βιβλιοθήκην, ἐν ᾗ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἀρισ-
 τοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου βιβλίων ἦν, οὐπω τότε
 σαφῶς γνωριζόμενα τοῖς πολλοῖς. λέγεται δὲ
 κομισθεῖσης αὐτῆς εἰς Ῥώμην Τυραννίωνα τὸν
 γραμματικὸν ἐνσκευάσασθαι τὰ πολλά, καὶ παρ'
 αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνδρόνικον εὐπορήσαντα τῶν
 ἀντιγράφων εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ ἀναγράψαι τοὺς
 2 νῦν φερομένους πίνακας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι
 Περιπατητικοὶ φαίνονται μὲν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενό-
 μενοι χαρίεντες καὶ φιλόλογοι, τῶν δὲ Ἀριστοτέ-
 λους καὶ Θεοφράστου γραμμάτων οὔτε πολλοῖς
 οὔτε ἀκριβῶς ἐντετυχηκότες διὰ τὸ τὸν Νηλέως
 τοῦ Σκηψίου κλῆρον, ᾧ τὰ βιβλία κατέλιπε
 Θεόφραστος, εἰς ἀφιλοτίμους καὶ ἰδιώτας ἀν-
 θρώπους περιγενέσθαι.

¹ πολιορκία MSS., Coraës, Sintenis¹, Bekker : πλεονεξία after Solanus.

¹ Cf. *Lucullus*, iv. 1.

² Cf. Strabo, xiii. 1, 54. Scepsis was a city of the Troad,

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Sulla now laid a public fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents,¹ and utterly ruined individual families by the insolent outrages of the soldiers quartered on them. For orders were given that the host should give his guest four tetradrachms every day, and furnish him, and as many friends as he might wish to invite, with a supper; and that a military tribune should receive fifty drachmas a day, and two suits of clothing, one to wear when he was at home, and another when he went abroad.

XXVI. Having put to sea with all his ships from Ephesus, on the third day he came to anchor in Piraeus. He was now initiated into the mysteries, and seized for himself the library of Apellicon the Teian, in which were most of the treatises of Aristotle and Theophrastus, at that time not yet well known to the public. But it is said that after the library was carried to Rome, Tyrannio the grammarian arranged most of the works in it, and that Andronicus the Rhodian was furnished by him with copies of them, and published them, and drew up the lists now current. The older Peripatetics were evidently of themselves accomplished and learned men, but they seem to have had neither a large nor an exact acquaintance with the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus, because the estate of Neleus of Scepsis, to whom Theophrastus bequeathed his books, came into the hands of careless and illiterate people.²

and a centre of learning under the Attalid dynasty of Pergamum. The writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus were hidden in an underground cellar by their owners, to keep them from being taken to Pergamum, and came in a damaged condition into the possession of Apellicon.

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- 3 Σύλλα δὲ διατρίβοντι περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄλγημα ναρκῶδες μετὰ βάρους εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἐνέπεσεν, ὃ φησιν ὁ Στράβων ποδάγρας ψελλισμὸν εἶναι. διαπλεύσας οὖν εἰς Αἰδηψον ἐχρήτο τοῖς θερμοῖς ὕδασι, ῥαθυμῶν ἅμα καὶ συνδιημερεύων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις. περιπατοῦντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἀλιεῖς τινες ἰχθῦς αὐτῷ παγκάλους προσήνεγκαν. ἥσθεις δὲ τοῖς δώροις, καὶ πυθόμενος ὡς ἐξ Ἀλῶν¹ εἶεν, “Ἔτι γὰρ ζῇ τις
- 4 Ἀλαίων;” ἔφη· ἐτύγχανε γάρ, ὅτε τὴν πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ μάχην νενικηκῶς ἐδίωκε τοὺς πολέμους, ἅμα τρεῖς πόλεις τῆς Βοιωτίας, Ἀνθηδόνα, Λάρυμναν, Ἀλὰς¹ ἀνηρηκῶς. τῶν δ’ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ δέους ἀφώνων γενομένων, διαμειδιάσας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι χαίροντας, ὡς οὐ μετὰ φαύλων οὐδὲ ἀξίων ὀλιγωρίας ἦκοντας παραιτητῶν. Ἀλαῖοι μὲν ἐκ τούτου λέγουσι θαρρήσαντες αὐθις εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνελθεῖν.

- XXVII. Σύλλας δὲ διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Μακεδονίας καταβὰς ἐπὶ θάλατταν παρεσκευάζετο χιλίαις ναυσὶ καὶ διακοσίαις ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου διαβάλλειν εἰς Βρεντέσιον. ἡ δὲ Ἀπολλωνία πλησίον ἐστί, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τὸ Νύμφαιον, ἱερὸς τόπος ἐκ χλοερᾶς νάπης καὶ λειμώνων ἀναδιδούς
- 2 πυρὸς πηγὰς σποράδας ἐνδελεχῶς ῥέοντος. ἐνταυθὰ φασι κοιμώμενον ἀλῶναι σάτυρον, οἷον οἱ πλάσται καὶ γραφεῖς εἰκάζουσιν, ἀχθέντα δὲ ὡς Σύλλαν ἐρωτᾶσθαι δι’ ἐρμηνέων πολλῶν ὅστις εἴη· φθεγξαμένου δὲ μόλις οὐδὲν συνετῶς, ἀλλὰ

¹ Ἀλῶν, Ἀλὰς with Coraës (in notes): Ἀλαίων, Ἀλαίας.

¹ In some passage not now extant.

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While Sulla was tarrying at Athens, his feet were attacked by numbness and a feeling of heaviness, which Strabo says¹ is premonitory gout. He therefore crossed the straits to Aedeepsus and used the hot waters there, taking a holiday at the same time, and passing his time pleasantly with the theatrical artists. Once, as he was walking along the seashore, certain fishermen brought him some very fine fish. Being delighted with their gift, and learning that they were from Halae, "What!" said he, "is any man of Halae still alive?" For when he was pursuing the enemy after his victory at Orchomenus, he had destroyed three cities of Boeotia together, Anthedon, Larymna, and Halae. The men were speechless with terror, but Sulla smiled and bade them depart in peace, since they had brought with them no mean or despicable intercessors. The men of Halae say that this gave them courage to go back again in a body to their city.

XXVII. And now Sulla, having passed through Thessaly and Macedonia down to the sea, was preparing to cross from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium with twelve hundred ships.² Near by is Apollonia, and in its vicinity is the Nymphaeum, a sacred precinct, which sends forth in various places from its green dell and meadows, streams of perpetually flowing fire. Here, they say, a satyr was caught asleep, such an one as sculptors and painters represent, and brought to Sulla, where he was asked through many interpreters who he was. And when at last he uttered nothing intelligible, but with difficulty

¹ His fleet had sailed round Peloponnesus from Piraeus. According to Appian (*Bell. Civ.* i. 79), Sulla crossed from Patras to Brundisium.

τραχεϊάν τινα καὶ μάλιστα μεμιγμένην ἵππου τε χρεμετισμῷ καὶ τράγου μηκασμῷ φωνὴν ἀφέντος, ἐκπλαγέντα τὸν Σύλλαν ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι.

- 3 Μέλλοντος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας διαπεραιοῦν, καὶ δεδιότος μὴ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιλαβόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι διαρρυῶσι, πρῶτον μὲν ὤμοσαν ἀφ' αὐτῶν παραμενεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκουσίως κακουργήσιν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔπειτα χρημάτων δεόμενον πολλῶν ὀρῶντες, ἀπήρχοντο καὶ συνεισέφερον ὥς ἕκαστος εἶχεν εὐπορίας. οὐ μὲν ἐδέξατο τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὁ Σύλλας, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσας καὶ παρορμήσας διέβαινεν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγούς πολεμίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίας σπείρας ἔχοντας, ἐκδηλότατα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς εὐτυχίας προσημαίνοντος αὐτῷ.
- 4 θύσαντος μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως ἢ διέβη περὶ Τάραντα, δάφνης στεφάνου τύπον ἔχων ὁ λοβὸς ὥφθη, καὶ λημνίσκων δύο κατηρημένων. μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ 469 τῆς διαβάσεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ περὶ τὸ Τίφατον ὄρος ἡμέρας ὥφθησαν δύο τράγοι μεγάλοι συμφερόμενοι καὶ πάντα δρῶντες καὶ πάσχοντες ἃ συμβαίνει μαχομένοις ἀνθρώποις. ἦν δὲ ἄρα φάσμα, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αἰρόμενον ἀπὸ γῆς διεσπείρετο πολλαχοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος εἰδώλοις ἀμαυροῖς
- 5 ὅμοιον, εἶτα οὕτως ἠφανίσθη. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ Μαρίου τοῦ νέου καὶ Νορβανοῦ τοῦ ὑπάτου μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπαγαγόντων, ὁ Σύλλας οὔτε τάξιν ἀποδοὺς οὔτε λοχίσας τὸ οἰκεῖον στράτευμα, ῥώμῃ δὲ προθυμίας κοινῆς καὶ φορᾷ τόλμης ἀποχρησάμενος

¹ In the spring of 83 B.C. The main part of his forces, at any rate, must have landed at Brundisium.

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emitted a hoarse cry that was something between the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat, Sulla was horrified, and ordered him out of his sight.

When Sulla was about to transport his soldiers, and was in fear lest, when they had reached Italy, they should disperse to their several cities, in the first place, they took an oath of their own accord to stand by him, and to do no damage to Italy without his orders; and then, seeing that he needed much money, they made a free-will offering and contribution, each man according to his abundance. Sulla, however, would not accept their offering, but after thanking them and rousing their courage, crossed over to confront, as he himself says, fifteen hostile commanders with four hundred and fifty cohorts. But the Deity gave him most unmistakable foretokens of his successes. For after he had sacrificed at once where he landed at Tarentum,¹ the victim's liver was seen to have an impression of a wreath of laurel, with two fillets hanging from it.² And a little while before he crossed over from Greece, there were seen on Mount Tifatium in Campania, in the day time, two great he-goats fighting together, and doing everything that men do when they fight a battle. But it proved to be an apparition, and gradually rising from earth it dispersed itself generally in the air, like vague phantoms, and then vanished from sight. And not long after,³ in this very place, when Marius the younger and Norbanus the consul led large forces up against him, Sulla, without either giving out an order of battle or forming his own army in companies, but taking advantage of a vigorous general alacrity and a

² The typical triumphal crown.

³ In 83 B.C.

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ἐτρέψατο τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς
 Καπύην πόλιν τὸν Νορβανόν, ἐπτακισχιλίους
 6 ἀποκτείνας. τοῦτο αἴτιον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι φησὶ
 τοῦ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ πόλεις,
 ἀλλὰ συμμεῖναι καὶ καταφρονῆσαι τῶν ἐναντίων
 πολλαπλασίων ὄντων. ἐν δὲ Σιλβίῳ φησὶν
 οἰκέτην Ποντίου θεοφόρητον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ λέ-
 γοντα παρὰ τῆς Ἐννοῦς κράτος πολέμου καὶ
 νίκην ἀπαγγέλλειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ σπεύσειεν, ἐμπεπρή-
 σεσθαι τὸ Καπιτώλιον· ὃ καὶ συμβῆναι τῆς
 ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἧς ὁ ἄνθρωπος προηγόρευσε· ἦν
 δὲ αὕτη πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν Κυντιλίων, ἃς νῦν
 7 Ἰουλίας καλοῦμεν. ἔτι δὲ Μάρκος Δεύκολλος, εἰς
 τῶν ὑπὸ Σύλλα στρατηγούντων, περὶ Φιδεντίαν
 ἐκκαίδεκα σπεύραις πρὸς πεντήκοντα τῶν πο-
 λεμίων ἀντιταχθεὶς τῇ μὲν προθυμίᾳ τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν ἐπίστευεν, ἀνόπλους δὲ τοὺς πολ-
 λούς ἔχων ὥκνει. βουλευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ
 διαμέλλοντος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πλησίον πεδίου λειμῶνα
 ἔχοντος αὔρα φέρουσα μαλακὴ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθέων
 ἐπέβαλε τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ κατέσπειρεν, αὐτομάτως
 ἐπιμένοντα καὶ περιπίπτοντα τοῖς θυρεοῖς καὶ
 τοῖς κράνεσιν αὐτῶν, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πο-
 8 λεμίοις ἐστεφανωμένους. γενόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τού-
 του προθυμότεροι συνέβαλον· καὶ νικήσαντες
 ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ
 στρατόπεδον εἶλον. οὗτος ὁ Δεύκολλος ἀδελφὸς
 ἦν Λευκόλλου τοῦ Μιθριδάτην ὕστερον καὶ
 Τιγράνην καταπολεμήσαντος.

XXVIII. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἔτι πολλοῖς στρατο-
 πέδοις καὶ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι περικεχυμένους

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transport of courage in them, routed the enemy and shut up Norbanus in the city of Capua, after slaying seven thousand of his men. It was on account of this success, he says, that his soldiers did not disperse into their several cities, but held together and despised their opponents, though these were many times more numerous. He says, moreover, that at Silvium, a servant of Pontius met him, in an inspired state, declaring that he brought him from Bellona triumph in war and victory, but that if he did not hasten, the Capitol would be burnt; and this actually happened, he says, on the day which the man foretold, namely, the sixth day of Quintilis, which we now call July.¹ And still further, at Fidentia, when Marcus Lucullus, one of Sulla's commanders, with sixteen cohorts confronted fifty cohorts of the enemy, although he had confidence in the readiness of his soldiers, still, as most of them were without arms, he hesitated to attack. But while he was waiting and deliberating, from the neighbouring plain, which was a meadow, a gentle breeze brought a quantity of flowers and scattered them down upon his army; they settled of their own accord and enveloped the shields and helmets of the soldiers, so that to the enemy these appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumstance made them more eager for the fray, and they joined battle, won the victory, killed eighteen thousand of the enemy, and took their camp. This Lucullus was a brother of the Lucullus who afterwards subdued Mithridates and Tigranes.

XXVIII. But Sulla, seeing that his enemies still surrounded him on all sides with many armies and

¹ Cf. *Publicola*, xv. 1.

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αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁρῶν πανταχόθεν ἤπτετο
 2 δυνάμει καὶ δι' ἀπάτης, προκαλούμενος εἰς δια-
 μένου δ' ἐκείνου σύλλογοι μὲν ἐγίνοντο καὶ
 κοινολογίαι πλείονες, αἰεὶ δέ τινα παραγωγὴν καὶ
 πρόφασιν ἐμβάλλων ὁ Σύλλας διέφθειρε τοὺς
 περὶ Σκηπίωνα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις, ἡσκη-
 μένοις πρὸς ἀπάτην καὶ γοητείαν ἅπασαν ὥσπερ
 αὐτὸς ὁ ἡγεμὼν. εἰσιόντες γὰρ εἰς τὸν χάρακα
 τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀναμιγνυμένοι τοὺς μὲν εὐθύς
 ἀργυρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ ὑποσχέσεσι, τοὺς δὲ κολακεύ-
 3 οντες καὶ ἀναπείθοντες προσήγοντο. τέλος δὲ
 τοῦ Σύλλα μετὰ σπειρῶν εἴκοσι προσελθόντος
 ἐγγὺς οἱ μὲν ἡσπάσαντο τοὺς τοῦ Σκηπίωνος, οἱ
 δὲ ἀντασπασάμενοι προσεχώρησαν· ὁ δὲ Σκηπίων
 ἔρημος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ληφθεὶς ἠφείθη, Σύλλας δὲ
 ταῖς εἴκοσι σπείραις ὥσπερ ἡθάσιν ὄρνισι τεσ-
 σαράκοντα τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παλεύσας ἀπή-
 γαγεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἅπαντας. ὅτε καὶ
 Κάρβωνά φασιν εἰπεῖν ὥς ἀλώπεκι καὶ λέοντι
 πολεμῶν ἐν τῇ Σύλλα ψυχῇ κατοικοῦσιν ὑπὸ
 τῆς ἀλώπεκος ἀνιῶτο μᾶλλον.

4 Ἐκ τούτου περὶ Σίγνιον Μάριος ὀγδοήκοντα
 καὶ πέντε σπείρας ἔχων προῦκαλεῖτο Σύλλαν. ὁ
 δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρόθυμος ἦν διαγωνίσασθαι κατ'
 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὄψιν ἑωρακῶς
 τοιάνδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. ἐδόκει τὸν γέροντα
 Μάριον τεθνηκότα πάλαι τῷ παιδὶ Μαρίῳ παραι-
 νεῖν φυλάξασθαι τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὥς μεγά-
 λην αὐτῷ δυστυχίαν φέρουσαν. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν
 δὴ πρόθυμος ὁ Σύλλας ἦν μάχεσθαι, καὶ μετε- 470
 πέμπετο τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἄπωθεν στρατοπε-

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large forces, had recourse to craft as well as force, and invited Scipio, the other consul, to make terms of peace. He accepted the proposal, and several meetings and conferences were held ; but Sulla continually interposed some pretext for gaining time, and gradually corrupted Scipio's soldiers by means of his own, who were practised in deceit and every kind of jugglery, like their general himself. For they entered the camp of their enemies, mingled freely with them, and gradually won them over to Sulla's cause, some at once with money, others with promises, and others still with persuasive flatteries. And finally, when Sulla drew near with twenty cohorts, his men greeted those of Scipio, who answered their greetings and went over to them. Scipio, who was left alone, was taken in his tent, but dismissed ; while Sulla, who had used his twenty cohorts as decoy-birds to catch the forty cohorts of the enemy, led them all back to his camp. It was on this occasion, too, that Carbo is said to have remarked that in making war upon the fox and the lion in Sulla, he was more annoyed by the fox.

After this, at Signia, Marius, with eighty-five cohorts, challenged Sulla to battle. Now Sulla was very eager to have the issue settled on that day ; for he had seen a vision in his dreams, as follows. He thought he saw the elder Marius, who was long since dead, advising his son Marius to beware of the ensuing day, since it would bring him a great calamity. For this reason, then, Sulla was eager to fight a battle, and was trying to get Dolabella, who was encamped at some distance, to join him. But

- 5 δέοντα. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐφισταμένων ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἀποφραττόντων οἱ τοῦ Σύλλα προσμαχόμενοι καὶ ὁδοποιοῦντες ἔκαμνον· καὶ πολὺς ὄμβρος ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιγενόμενος μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσεν αὐτούς. ὅθεν οἱ ταξίαρχοι προσιόντες τῷ Σύλλᾳ ἐδέοντο τὴν μάχην ἀναβαλέσθαι, δεικνύντες ἅμα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐρριμμένους ὑπὸ κόπου καὶ προσαναπαυομένους χαμᾶζε τοῖς θυ-
- 6 ρεοῖς κεκλιμένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεχώρησεν ἄκων καὶ πρόσταγμα καταζεύξεως ἔδωκεν, ἀρχομένων αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα βάλλειν καὶ τάφρον ὀρύσσειν πρὸ τῆς στρατοπεδείας, ἐπήλαινε σοβαρῶς ὁ Μάριος προῖππεύων ὡς ἀτάκτους καὶ τεθορυβημένους διασκεδάσων. ἐνταῦθα τῷ Σύλλᾳ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φωνὴν ὁ δαίμων συνετέλει. ὀργὴ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέστη, καὶ παυσάμενοι τῶν ἔργων τοὺς μὲν ὕσσοὺς κατέπηξαν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη καὶ συναλαλάξαντες ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τῶν πολεμίων.
- 7 οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν ὑπέστησαν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ γίνεται πολὺς φόνος αὐτῶν τραπέντων. Μάριος δὲ φεύγων εἰς Πραίνεστον ἤδη τὰς πύλας εὗρε κεκλειμένας· καλωδίου δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀφεθέντος ἐνζώσας ἑαυτὸν ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν, ὧν καὶ Φαινестέλλας ἐστίν, οὐδὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς μάχης τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀγρυπνιῶν καὶ κόπων ὑπὸ σκιᾷ τινι χαμαὶ κατακλινέντα τοῦ συνθήματος δοθέντος ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς ὕπνον, εἴτα μόλις
- 8 ἐξεγείρεσθαι τῆς φυγῆς γενομένης. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Σύλλας φησὶν εἰκοσιτρεῖς μόνους ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων δισμυρίους καὶ λαβεῖν ζῶντας ὀκτακισχιλίους. καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ ὁμοίως

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the enemy beset the roads and hemmed Sulla in, and his soldiers were worn out with fighting to open a passage. Much rain also came upon them while they were at work and added to their distress. The tribunes therefore came to Sulla and begged him to defer the battle, showing him the soldiers prostrated with weariness and resting on their shields, which they had laid upon the ground. Sulla yielded reluctantly, and gave orders to pitch a camp, but just as his men were beginning to dig a trench and throw up the rampart before it, Marius attacked them confidently, riding ahead of his lines, and hoping to scatter his enemies while they were in disorder and confusion. There the Deity fulfilled the words which Sulla had heard in his dreams. For Sulla's rage imparted itself to his soldiers, and leaving off their work, they planted their javelins in the trench, drew their swords, and with a general shout came to close quarters with their enemies. These did not hold their ground long, but took to flight, and were slain in great numbers. Marius fled to Præneste, but found the gate already closed. A rope was thrown down to him, however, and after fastening this around his waist, he was hoisted to the top of the wall. But there are some who say, and Fenestella is one of these, that Marius knew nothing of the battle, but was forced by loss of sleep and weariness to cast himself upon the ground in a shady place when the signal for battle was given, and there gave way to sleep, and was then roused with difficulty when the rout took place. In this battle Sulla says he lost only twenty-three men, but killed twenty thousand of the enemy, and took eight thousand prisoners. His other plans were carried out with like

εὐτυχεῖτο διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν, Πομπηίου, Κρασσου, Μετέλλου, Σερουιλίου. οὐδέν γὰρ ἡ μικρὰ προσκρούσαντες οὗτοι μεγάλας συνέτριψαν δυνάμεις τῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε τὸν μάλιστα τὴν ἐναντίαν στάσιν συνέχοντα Κάρβωνα νύκτωρ ἀποδράντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν εἰς Λιβύην ἐκπλεῦσαι.

- XXIX. Τὸν μέντοι τελευταῖον ἀγῶνα καθάπερ ἔφεδρος ἀθλητῇ καταπόνῳ προσενεχθεὶς ὁ Σαυνίτης Τελεσῖνος ἐγγὺς ἦλθε τοῦ σφῆλαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς Ῥώμης. ἔσπευδε μὲν γὰρ ἅμα Λαμπωνίῳ τῷ Λευκανῷ χεῖρα πολλὴν ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Πραίνεστον ὡς ἑξαρπασόμενος τῆς
- 2 πολιορκίας τὸν Μάριον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθετο Σύλλαν μὲν κατὰ στόμα, Πομπηίου δὲ κατ' οὐρὰν βοηδρομοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἰργόμενος τοῦ πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω πολεμιστῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων ἔμπειρος ἄρας νυκτὸς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐχώρει παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἔμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀφύλακτον· ἀποσχὼν δὲ τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης δέκα σταδίους ἐπηυλίσατο τῇ πόλει, μεγαλοφρονῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπηρμένος ὡς
- 3 τοσούτους ἡγεμόνας καὶ τηλικούτους κατεστρατηγικῶς. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τῶν λαμπροτάτων νέων ἐξιππασαμένων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ Κλαύδιον Ἀππίον, εὐγενὴ καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, κατέβαλε. θορύβου δ', οἷον εἰκός, ὄντος ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ βοῆς γυναικείας καὶ διαδρομῶν ὡς ἀλικομένων κατὰ κράτος, πρῶτος ὤφθη Βάλβος

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Pompey*, vi.-viii.

² Cf. Plutarch's *Crassus*, vi.

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success by his generals, Pompey,¹ Crassus,² Metellus, and Servilius. For with few or no reverses these annihilated large forces of the enemy, so that Carbo, the chief supporter of the opposite faction, ran away from his own army by night, and sailed off to Libya.

XXIX. In Sulla's last struggle, however, Telesinus the Samnite,³ like a third wrestler who sits by to contend with a weary victor, came near tripping and throwing him at the gates of Rome. For he had collected a large force, and was hastening, together with Lamponius the Lucanian, to Praeneste, in order to relieve Marius from the siege. But when he learned that Sulla to his front, and Pompey to his rear, were hurrying up against him, since he was being hemmed in before and behind, valiant and highly experienced soldier that he was, he broke camp by night, and marched with all his army against Rome itself. And he came within a little of breaking into the city in its unguarded state; indeed, he was only ten furlongs from the Colline gate when he bivouacked against it, highly encouraged and elated with hopes at the thought of having outgeneralled so many great commanders. And when, at day-break, the noblest youth of the city rode out against him, he overwhelmed many of them, including Appius Claudius, a man of high birth and character. There was a tumult in the city, naturally, and shrieking of women, and running hither and thither, as though the city were taken by storm, when Balbus, sent forward by Sulla, was first

³ At the close of the Social war, in 89 B.C., the Samnites and Lucanians alone persisted in their hostility to Rome. The Marian party had conciliated them, but they regarded Sulla as their bitterest foe.

ἀπὸ Σύλλα προσελαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἵππεύσιν ἐπτακοσίοις. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὅσον ἀναψῦξαι τὸν ἰδρώτα τῶν ἵππων, εἴτ' αὐθις ἐγχαλινώσας διὰ ταχέων ἐξήπτετο τῶν πολεμίων.

- 4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Σύλλας ἐφαίνετο· καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους εὐθὺς ἀριστῶν κελεύων εἰς τάξιν καθίστη. πολλὰ δὲ Δολοβέλλα καὶ Τουρκουάτου δεομένων ἐπισχεῖν καὶ μὴ κατακόπους ἔχοντα τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποκινδυνεύσαι περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων (οὐ γὰρ Κάρβωνα καὶ Μάριον, ἀλλὰ Σαννίτας καὶ Λευκανοὺς, 471 τὰ ἔχθιστα τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὰ πολεμικώτατα φύλα, συμφέρεσθαι), παρωσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν τὰς σάλπιγγας ἀρχὴν ἐφόδου, σχεδὸν εἰς ὥραν δεκάτην ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας καταστρεφούσης.
- 5 γενομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος, οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος, τὸ μὲν δεξιόν, ἐν ᾧ Κρυσσος ἐτέτακτο, λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα, τῷ δὲ εὐωνύμῳ πονοῦντι καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντι Σύλλας παρεβόηθει, λευκὸν ἵππον ἔχων θυμοειδῇ καὶ ποδωκέστατον· ἀφ' οὗ γνωρίσαντες αὐτὸν δύο τῶν πολεμίων διετείνοντο τὰς λόγχας ὡς ἀφήσοντες. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐ προενόησε, τοῦ δ' ἵπποκόμου μαστίξαντος τὸν ἵππον ἔφθη παρενεχθεὶς τοσοῦτον ὅσον περὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ἵππου τὰς αἰχμὰς συμπεσούσας εἰς τὴν γῆν παγῆναι.
- 6 λέγεται δὲ ἔχων τι χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐκ Δελφῶν αἰεὶ μὲν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὰς μάχας περιφέρειν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῦτο καταφιλεῖν οὕτω δὴ λέγων· “ὦ Πύθιε Ἀπολλον, τὸν εὐτυχῇ Σύλλαν Κορνήλιον ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἀγῶσιν ἄρας λαμπρὸν καὶ μέγαν ἐνταῦθα ῥίψεις ἐπὶ

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seen riding up at full speed with seven hundred horsemen. He paused just long enough to let the sweat of the horses dry off, and then quickly bridled them again and attacked the enemy.

At this juncture, Sulla also made his appearance, and ordering his vanguard to take food at once, proceeded to form them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus earnestly besought him to wait a while, and not to hazard the supreme issue with his men fatigued and spent; for they were to contend not with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the most inveterate enemies of Rome, and the most warlike of peoples. But he put them by, and commanded the trumpets to sound the charge, though it was now getting on towards four o'clock in the afternoon. In the struggle which followed, and no other was so fierce, the right wing, where Crassus was posted, was brilliantly successful; but the left was hard pressed and in a sorry plight, when Sulla came to its assistance, mounted on a white horse that was mettlesome and very swift. By this horse two of enemy recognised him, and poised their spears for the cast. Sulla himself, now, did not notice this, but his groom did, and with a cut of the lash succeeded in sending Sulla's horse along so that the spear-heads just grazed its tail and fixed themselves in the ground. There is also a story that Sulla had a little golden image of Apollo from Delphi which he always carried in his bosom when he was in battle, but that on this occasion he took it out and kissed it affectionately, saying: "O Pythian Apollo, now that thou hast in so many struggles raised the fortunate Cornelius Sulla to glory and greatness, can it be that thou hast brought

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7 θύραις τῆς πατρίδος ἀγαγών, αἰσχιστα τοῖς
 8 ἑαυτοῦ συναπολούμενον πολίταις; τοιαυτά
 φασι τὸν Σύλλα θεοκλυτοῦντα τοὺς μὲν ἀντι-
 βολεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπειλεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι·
 τέλος δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου συντριβέντος ἀναμι-
 χθέντα τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατα-
 φυγεῖν, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντα τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ
 γνωρίμων. οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐπὶ θέαν προελθόντες ἀπώλοντο καὶ κατεπατή-
 8 θησαν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν πόλιν οἶεσθαι διαπεπράχθαι,
 παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μαρίου πολιορκίαν λυ-
 θῆναι, πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ὠσαμένων ἐκεῖ καὶ
 τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τεταγμένον Ὀφέλλαν
 Λουκρήτιον ἀναξενγύναι κατὰ τάχος κελευόντων,
 ὡς ἀπολωλότης τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔχο-
 μένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

XXX. Ἦδη δὲ νυκτὸς οὕσης βαθείας ἦκον εἰς τὸ
 τοῦ Σύλλα στρατόπεδον παρὰ τοῦ Κράσσου
 δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μετιόντες· ὥς
 γὰρ ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰς Ἀντεμναν κατα-
 διώξαντες ἐκεῖ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ταῦτ' οὖν
 πυθόμενος ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων οἱ
 πλεῖστοι διολώλασιν, ἦκεν εἰς Ἀντεμναν ἅμ'
 ἡμέρα, καὶ τρισχιλίων ἐπικηρυκευσαμένων πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο δώσειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εἰ κακόν
 τι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐργασάμενοι πολεμίους ἔλθοιεν πρὸς
 2 αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς λοιποῖς,
 καὶ πολλοὶ κατεκόπησαν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων. οὐ μὲν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς περιγενο-
 μένους εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀθροίσας παρὰ τὸν ἱπ-
 ποδαμόν, ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τῆς

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him to the gates of his native city only to cast him down there, to perish most shamefully with his fellow-countrymen?" Thus invoking the god, they say, he entreated some of his men, threatened others, and laid hands on others still; but at last his left wing was completely shattered, and with the fugitives he sought refuge in his camp, after losing many friends and acquaintances. Not a few also of those who had come out of the city to see the battle were trodden under foot and killed, so that it was thought that all was over with the city, and that the siege of Marius in Praeneste was all but raised; indeed many of the fugitives made their way thither and urged Lucretius Ofella, who had been appointed to conduct the siege, to break camp with all speed, since Sulla had fallen, and Rome was in the hands of the enemy.

XXX. But when the night was now far advanced, messengers came to the camp of Sulla from Crassus, to fetch supper for him and his soldiers; for after conquering the enemy, he had pursued them into Antemnae, and was encamped before that city. When, therefore, Sulla learned this, and also that the greater part of the enemy had been destroyed, he came to Antemnae at break of day. There three thousand of the inhabitants sent a deputation to him to sue for mercy, and he promised them safety if they would do some mischief to the rest of his enemies before coming to him. So they, trusting to his promise, attacked the rest of the people in the city, and many were slain by one another's hands. However, the survivors of both parties alike, to the number of six thousand, were collected by Sulla in the circus at Rome, and then the senate was

- Ἐννοῦς ἱερόν. ἅμα δ' αὐτός τε λέγειν ἐνήρχετο καὶ κατέκοπτον οἱ τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἐξακισχιλίους.
- 3 κραυγῆς δέ, ὥς εἰκός, ἐν χωρίῳ μικρῷ τοσούτων σφαττομένων φερομένης καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐκπλαγέντων, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε λέγων ἀτρέπτῳ καὶ καθεστηκότι τῷ προσώπῳ προσέχειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ δ' ἔξω γινόμενα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν· νουθετεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐνίους τῶν πονηρῶν.
- 4 Τοῦτο καὶ τῷ βραδυτάτῳ Ῥωμαίων νοῆσαι παρέστησεν ὥς ἀλλαγὴ τὸ χρήμα τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴ γέγονε. Μάριος μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χαλεπὸς ὢν ἐπέτεινεν, οὐ μετέβαλε τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν· Σύλλας δὲ μετρίως τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πολιτικῶς ὁμιλήσας τῇ τύχῃ καὶ δόξαν ἀριστοκρατικοῦ καὶ δημωφελοῦς ἡγεμόνος
- 5 παρασχών, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φιλόγελως ἐκ νέου γεγόμενος καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον ὑγρός, ὥστε ῥαδίως ἐπιδακρύνειν, εἰκότως προσετρίψατο ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις διαβολὴν ὥς τὰ ἦθη μένειν οὐκ ἐώσαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τρόπων, ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτα καὶ χαῦνα καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα ποιούσαις. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἴτε κίνησίς ἐστι καὶ μεταβολὴ φύσεως ὑπὸ 472 τύχης, εἴτε μᾶλλον ὑποκειμένης ἀποκάλυψις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ κακίας, ἑτέρα τις ἂν διορίσειε πραγματεία.

XXXI. Τοῦ δὲ Σύλλα πρὸς τὸ σφάπτειν τρα-

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summoned by him to meet in the temple of Bellona,¹ and at one and the same moment he himself began to speak in the senate, and those assigned to the task began to cut to pieces the six thousand in the circus. The shrieks of such a multitude, who were being massacred in a narrow space, filled the air, of course, and the senators were dumbfounded; but Sulla, with the calm and unmoved countenance with which he had begun to speak, ordered them to listen to his words and not concern themselves with what was going on outside, for it was only that some criminals were being admonished, by his orders.

This gave even the dullest Roman to understand that, in the matter of tyranny, there had been an exchange, but not a deliverance. Marius the elder, at any rate, had been naturally harsh at the outset, and power had intensified, not altered, his disposition; but Sulla had used his good fortune moderately, at first, and like a statesman, and had led men to expect in him a leader who was attached to the aristocracy, and at the same time helpful to the common people. Furthermore, from his youth up he had been of a merry temper, and easily moved to tears of pity. Naturally, therefore, his conduct fixed a stigma upon offices of great power, which were thought to work a change in men's previous characters, and render them capricious, vain, and cruel. However, whether this is a change and reversal of nature, brought about by fortune, or rather a revelation, when a man is in authority, of underlying baseness, were matter for determination in some other treatise.

XXXI. Sulla now busied himself with slaughter,

¹ Both the circus (Flaminius) and the temple were in the Campus Martius.

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- πομένον καὶ φόνων οὔτε ἀριθμὸν οὔτε ὄρον ἔχόντων ἐμπιπλάντος τὴν πόλιν, ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν καὶ κατ' ἰδίας ἔχθρας, οἷς οὐδὲν ἦν πρᾶγμα πρὸς Σύλλαν, ἐφίεντος αὐτοῦ καὶ χαριζομένου τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἐτόλμησε τῶν νέων εἷς, Γάϊος Μέτελλος, ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοῦ Σύλλα πυθέσθαι τί πέρας ἔσται τῶν κακῶν, καὶ ποῖ προελθόντος αὐτοῦ δεῖ πεπαῦσθαι τὰ γινόμενα
- 2 προσδοκᾶν. “Παραιτούμεθα γάρ,” εἶπεν, “οὐχ οὕς σὺ ἔγνωκας ἀναιρεῖν τῆς τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀμφιβολίας οὕς ἔγνωκας σῶζειν.” ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα μηδέπω γινώσκειν οὕς ἀφίησιν, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Μέτελλος, “Οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “δήλωσον οὕς μέλλεις κολλάζειν.” καὶ ὁ Σύλλας
- 3 ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ τὸν Μέτελλον, ἀλλὰ Φουφιδίων τινα τῶν πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλούντων τῷ Σύλλᾳ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν. ὁ δ' οὖν Σύλλας εὐθύς ὀγδοήκοντα προέγραψεν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει κοινωσάμενος. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ πάντων, μίαν ἡμέραν διαλιπὼν ἄλλους προέγραψεν εἴκοσι καὶ διακοσίους, εἶτα τρίτη
- 4 πάλιν οὐκ ἐλάττους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις δημηγορῶν εἶπεν ὅσους μεμνημένους τυγχάνοι προγράψειν, τοὺς δὲ νῦν διαλανθάνοντας αὐθις προγράψειν. προέγραψε δὲ τῷ μὲν ὑποδεξαμένῳ καὶ διασώσαντι τὸν προγεγραμμένον, ζημίαν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὀρίζων θάνατον, οὐκ ἀδελφόν, οὐχ υἱόν, οὐ γονεῖς ὑπεξελόμενος, τῷ δὲ ἀποκτείναντι γέρας

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and murders without number or limit filled the city. Many, too, were killed to gratify private hatreds, although they had no relations with Sulla, but he gave his consent in order to gratify his adherents. At last one of the younger men, Caius Metellus, made bold to ask Sulla in the senate what end there was to be of these evils, and how far he would proceed before they might expect such doings to cease. "We do not ask thee," he said, "to free from punishment those whom thou hast determined to slay, but to free from suspense those whom thou hast determined to save." And when Sulla answered that he did not yet know whom he would spare, "Well, then," said Metellus in reply, "let us know whom thou intendest to punish." This Sulla said he would do. Some, however, say that it was not Metellus, but Fufidius, one of Sulla's fawning creatures, who made this last speech to him. Be that as it may, Sulla at once proscribed¹ eighty persons, without communicating with any magistrate; and in spite of the general indignation, after a single day's interval, he proscribed two hundred and twenty others, and then on the third day, as many more. Referring to these measures in a public harangue, he said that he was proscribing as many as he could remember, and those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe at a future time. He also proscribed any one who harboured and saved a proscribed person, making death the punishment for such humanity, without exception of brother, son, or parents, but offering any one who slew a proscribed

¹ A list of the persons proscribed was posted in public, and those whose names were on the list might be killed by any one who chose to do it.

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δύο τάλαντα τῆς ἀνδροφονίας, καὶ δοῦλος δεσπό-
 την καὶ πατέρα υἱὸς ἀνέλη. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀδι-
 κώτατον ἔδοξε, τῶν γὰρ προγεγραμμένων ἡτί-
 μωσε καὶ υἱοὺς καὶ υἱωνούς, καὶ τὰ χρήματα
 5 πάντων ἐδήμευσε. προεγράφοντο δὲ οὐκ ἐν
 Ῥώμῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πόλει τῆς
 Ἰταλίας· καὶ φονευομένων οὔτε ναὸς ἦν καθαρὸς
 θεοῦ οὔτε ἐστία ξένιος οὔτε οἶκος πατρῶος, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ παρὰ γυναιξὶ γαμεταῖς ἄνδρες ἐσφάττοντο
 καὶ παρὰ μητράσι παῖδες. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ δι'
 ὀργὴν ἀπολλύμενοι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν οὐδὲν μέρος
 τῶν διὰ χρήματα σφαττομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν
 ἐπῆρει τοῖς κολάζουσιν ὥς τόνδε μὲν ἀνήρηκεν
 οἰκία μεγάλη, τόνδε δὲ κῆπος, ἄλλον ὕδατα
 6 θερμά. Κόϊντος δὲ Αὐρήλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀπράγμων
 καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ μετεῖναι τῶν κακῶν νομίζων
 ὅσον ἄλλοις συναλγεῖν ἀτυχοῦσιν, εἰς ἀγορὰν
 ἐλθὼν ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς προγεγραμμένους· εὐρὼν
 δὲ ἑαυτόν, “Οἷμοι τάλας,” εἶπε, “διώκει με τὸ ἐν
 Ἀλβανῷ χωρίον.” καὶ βραχὺ προελθὼν ὑπὸ
 τινος ἀπεσφάγη καταδιώξαντος.

XXXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μάριος μὲν ἀλίσκόμενος
 ἑαυτὸν διέφθειρε, Σύλλας δὲ εἰς Πραίνεστον
 ἐλθὼν πρῶτα μὲν ἰδίᾳ κατ' ἄνδρα κρίνων ἐκό-
 λαζεν, εἶτα ὥς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης πάντας ἀθρόως
 εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγὼν, μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους
 ὄντας, ἐκέλευσεν ἀποσφάττειν, μόνῳ τῷ ξένῳ

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person two talents as a reward for his murderous deed, even though a slave should slay his master, or a son his father. And what seemed the greatest injustice of all, he took away all civil rights from the sons and grandsons of those who had been proscribed, and confiscated the property of all. Moreover, proscriptions were made not only in Rome, but also in every city of Italy, and neither temple of God, nor hearth of hospitality, nor paternal home was free from the stain of bloodshed, but husbands were butchered in the embraces of their wedded wives, and sons in the arms of their mothers. Those who fell victims to political resentment and private hatred were as nothing compared with those who were butchered for the sake of their property, nay, even the executioners were prompted to say that his great house killed this man, his garden that man, his warm baths another. Quintus Aurelius, a quiet and inoffensive man, who thought his only share in the general calamity was to condole with others in their misfortunes, came into the forum and read the list of the proscribed, and finding his own name there, said, "Ah! woe is me! my Alban estate is prosecuting me." And he had not gone far before he was dispatched by some one who had hunted him down.

XXXII. Meanwhile Marius the younger, at the point of being captured,¹ slew himself; and Sulla, coming to Praeneste, at first gave each man there a separate trial before he executed him, but afterwards, since time failed him, gathered them all together in one place—there were twelve thousand of them—and gave orders to slaughter them, his host

¹ According to Appian (*Bell. Civ.* i. 94), as he was trying to escape from Praeneste by an underground passage.

διδούς ἄδειαν. ὁ δὲ εὐγενῶς πάνυ φήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς οὐδέποτε σωτηρίας χάριν εἴσεται τῷ φονεῖ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀναμιχθεὶς ἐκὼν συγκατε-
 2 κόπη τοῖς πολίταις. ἔδοξε δὲ καινότατον γενέσθαι τὸ περὶ Λεύκιον Κατιλίναν. οὗτος γὰρ οὐπω τῶν πραγμάτων κεκριμένων ἀνηρηκῶς ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη τοῦ Σύλλα τότε προγράψαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς ζῶντα· καὶ προεγράφη. τούτου δὲ τῷ Σύλλα χάριν ἐκτίνων Μάρκον τινὰ Μάριον τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως ἀποκτείνας τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθεζομένῳ τῷ Σύλλα προσήνεγκε, τῷ δὲ περιρραντηρίῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγγὺς ὄντι προσελθὼν ἀπενύψατο τὰς χεῖρας.

XXXIII. Ἐξω δὲ τῶν φονικῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ 473 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύπει. δικτάτορα μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε, δι' ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβών. ἐψηφίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ πάντων ἄδεια τῶν γεγονότων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἐξουσία θανάτου, δημεύσεως, κληρουχιῶν, κτίσεως, πορθήσεως, ἀφελέσθαι βασιλείαν,
 2 καὶ ᾧ¹ βούλοιτο χαρίσασθαι. τὰς δὲ διαπράξεις τῶν δεδημευμένων οἴκων οὕτως ὑπερφάνως ἐποιεῖτο καὶ δεσποτικῶς ἐπὶ βήματος καθεζόμενος, ὥστε τῶν ἀφαιρέσεων ἐπαχθεστέρας αὐτοῦ τὰς δωρεὰς εἶναι, καὶ γυναιξὶν εὐμόρφοις καὶ λυρφοδοῖς καὶ μίμοις καὶ καθάρμασιν ἐξελευθερικοῖς ἐθνῶν χώρας καὶ πόλεων χαριζομένου προσόδους, ἐνίοις δὲ γάμους ἀκουσίως
 3 ζευγνυμένων γυναικῶν. Πομπήϊον γέ τοι βου-

¹ καὶ ᾧ with Bekker, after Reiske : ᾧ.

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alone receiving immunity. But this man, with a noble spirit, told Sulla that he would never owe his safety to the slayer of his country, and joining his countrymen of his own accord, was cut down with them. But that which Lucius Catiline did was thought to be most monstrous of all. This man, namely, had killed his brother before the civil struggle was decided, and now asked Sulla to proscribe the man, as one still living; and he was proscribed. Then Catiline, returning this favour of Sulla's, killed a certain Marcus Marius, one of the opposite faction, and brought his head to Sulla as he was sitting in the forum, and then going to the lustral water of Apollo which was near, washed the blood off his hands.

XXXIII. But besides his massacres, the rest of Sulla's proceedings also gave offence. For he proclaimed himself dictator,¹ reviving this particular office after a lapse of a hundred and twenty years. Moreover, an act was passed granting him immunity for all his past acts, and for the future, power of life and death, of confiscation, of colonization, of founding or demolishing cities, and of taking away or bestowing kingdoms at his pleasure. He conducted the sales of confiscated estates in such arrogant and imperious fashion, from the tribunal where he sat, that his gifts excited more odium than his robberies. He bestowed on handsome women, musicians, comic actors, and the lowest of freedmen, the territories of nations and the revenues of cities, and women were married against their will to some of his favourites. In the case of Pompey the Great,² at least,

¹ In 81 B.C.

² The title of Great was first bestowed on him by Sulla himself (cf. *Pompey*, xiii. 4).

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λόμενος οἰκειώσασθαι τὸν Μάγνον, ἣν μὲν εἶχε γαμετὴν ἀφείναι προσέταξεν, Αἰμιλίαν δέ, Σκαύρου θυγατέρα καὶ Μετέλλης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ἀποσπάσας Μανίου Γλαβρίωνος ἐγκύμονα, συνώκισεν αὐτῷ· ἀπέθανε δὲ ἡ κόρη παρὰ τῷ
 4 Πομπηΐῳ τίκτουσα. Λουκρητίου δὲ Ὀφέλλα τοῦ Μάριον ἐκπολιορκήσαντος αἰτουμένου καὶ μετιόντος ὑπατεῖαν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκώλυεν· ὥς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ πολλῶν σπουδαζόμενος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε, πέμψας τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑκατονταρχῶν ἀπέσφαξε τὸν ἄνδρα, καθεζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν τῷ Διοσκουρείῳ καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐφορῶν ἄνωθεν. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἑκατοντάρχην συλλαβόντων καὶ προσαγαγόντων τῷ βήματι, σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας τοὺς θορυβοῦντας αὐτὸς ἔφη κελεύσαι τοῦτο, καὶ τὸν ἑκατοντάρχην ἀφείναι προσέταξεν.

XXXIV. Ὁ μέντοι θρίαμβος αὐτοῦ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ καινότητι τῶν βασιλικῶν λαφύρων σοβαρὸς γενόμενος μείζονα κόσμον ἔσχε καὶ καλὸν θέαμα τοὺς φυγάδας. οἱ γὰρ ἐνδοξότατοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἐστεφανωμένοι παρείποντο, σωτῆρα καὶ πατέρα τὸν Σύλλαν ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἅτε δὴ δι' ἐκείνον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατιόντες καὶ κομιζόμενοι παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας.
 2 ἤδη δὲ συνηρημένων ἀπάντων, ἀπολογισμὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν πράξεων ποιούμενος οὐκ ἐλάσσονι σπουδῇ τὰς εὐτυχίας ἢ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας κατηριθμεῖτο, καὶ πέρας ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις Εὐτυχῇ προσαγορεύεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ

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wishing to establish relationship with him, he ordered him to divorce the wife he had, and then gave him in marriage Aemilia, daughter of Scaurus and his own wife Metella, whom he tore away from Manius Glabrio when she was with child by him; and the young woman died in childbirth at the house of Pompey.¹ Lucretius Ofella, who had reduced Marius by siege, gave himself out as a candidate for the consulship, and Sulla at first tried to stop him; but when Ofella came down into the forum with a large and eager following, he sent one of the centurions in his retinue and slew him, himself sitting on a tribunal in the temple of Castor and beholding the murder from above. The people in the forum seized the centurion and brought him before the tribunal, but Sulla bade them cease their clamour, and said that he himself had ordered this deed, and commanded them to let the centurion go.

XXXIV. His triumph, however, which was imposing from the costliness and rarity of the royal spoils, had a greater ornament in the noble spectacle of the exiles. For the most distinguished and influential of the citizens, crowned with garlands, followed in the procession, calling Sulla their saviour and father, since indeed it was through him that they were returning to their native city and bringing with them their wives and children. And when at last the whole spectacle was over, he gave an account of his achievements in a speech to the people, enumerating the instances of his good fortune with no less emphasis than his deeds of valour, and finally, in view of these, he ordered that he receive the surname of *Fortunate* (for this is what the word

¹ Cf. Plutarch's *Pompey*, ix. 2.

- Φῆλιξ μάλιστα βούλεται δηλοῦν· αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς
 "Ἑλλησι γράφων καὶ χρηματίζων ἑαυτὸν Ἑπα-
 φρόδιτον ἀνηγόρευε, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τρο-
 παίοις οὕτως ἀναγέγραπται· ΛΕΤΚΙΟΣ ΚΟΡ-
 3 ΝΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΤΑΛΛΑΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣ. ἔτι δὲ
 τῆς Μετέλλης παιδία τεκούσης δίδυμα τὸ μὲν
 ἄρρεν Φαῦστον, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ Φαῦσταν ὠνόμασε·
 τὸ γὰρ εὐτυχὲς καὶ ἱλαρὸν Ῥωμαῖοι φαῦστον
 καλοῦσιν. οὕτω δὲ ἄρα οὐ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὥς
 τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπίστευεν, ὥστε, παμπόλλων
 μὲν ἀνηρημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καινοτομίας δὲ γενο-
 μένης καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοσαύτης, ἀπο-
 θέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀρχαιρεσιῶν
 ὑπατικῶν ποιῆσαι κύριον, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ προσελ-
 θεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸ σῶμα παρέχων τοῖς βου-
 λομένοις ὑπεύθυνον ὥσπερ ιδιώτης ἀναστρέφε-
 4 σθαι. καὶ τις παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ θρασὺς ἀνὴρ
 καὶ πολέμιος ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὕπατος αἰρεθήσεσθαι,
 Μάρκος Λέπιδος, οὐ δι' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ
 σπουδάζοντι καὶ δεομένῳ τοῦ δήμου χαριζομένου.
 5 διὸ καὶ χαίροντα τῇ νίκῃ τὸν Πομπηίου ὁ Σύλλας
 ἰδὼν ἀπιόντα καλέσας πρὸς ἑαυτόν, "Ὡς καλόν,"
 ἔφη, "σοῦ τὸ πολίτευμα, ὦ νεανία, τὸ Κάτλου
 πρότερον ἀναγορεῦσαι Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρί-
 στον τὸν ἐμπληκτότατον. ὥρα μέντοι σοι μὴ
 καθεύδειν ὥς ἰσχυρότερον πεποιηκότι κατὰ σαυτοῦ
 τὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν." τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας 474
 ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε· ταχὺ γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας ὁ Λέπι-

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"Felix" most nearly means). But he himself, in writing to the Greeks on official business, styled himself Epaphroditus, or *Favourite of Venus*,¹ and on his trophies in our country his name is thus inscribed: Lucius Cornelius Sulla Epaphroditus. Besides this, when Metella bore him twin children, he named the male child Faustus, and the female Fausta; for the Romans call what is *auspicious* and *joyful*, "faustum." And to such an extent did he put more confidence in his good fortunes than in his achievements, that, although he had slain great numbers of the citizens, and introduced great innovations and changes in the government of the city,² he laid down his office of dictator, and put the consular elections in the hands of the people; and when they were held, he did not go near them himself, but walked up and down the forum like a private man, exposing his person freely to all who wished to call him to account. Contrary to his wishes, a certain bold enemy of his was likely to be chosen consul, Marcus Lepidus, not through his own efforts, but owing to the success which Pompey had in soliciting votes for him from the people. And so, when Sulla saw Pompey going away from the polls delighted with his victory, he called him to him, and said:³ "What a fine policy this is of thine, young man, to elect Lepidus in preference to Catulus, the most unstable instead of the best of men! Now, surely, it is high time for thee to be watchful, after strengthening thine adversary against thyself." And in saying this, Sulla was something of a prophet; for

¹ Cf. chapter xix. 5 and note.

² Sulla restored the ancient powers of the senate, and reduced those of the tribunate. He resigned the dictatorship in 79 B.C.

³ Cf. *Pompey*, xv. 1 f.

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δος εἰς πόλεμον κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον.

- XXXV. Ἀποθύων δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπάσης ὁ Σύλλας τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δεκάτην ἐστιάσεις ἐποιεῖτο τῷ δήμῳ πολυτελεῖς· καὶ τοσοῦτον περιττὴ ἦν ἡ παρασκευὴ τῆς χρείας ὥστε παμπληθῇ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ὄψα ῥίπτεισθαι, πίνεσθαι δὲ οἶνον ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ παλαιό-
 2 τερον. διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς θοίνης πολυημέρου γενομένης ἀπέθνησκει ἡ Μετέλλα νόσῳ· καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τὸν Σύλλαν οὐκ ἐώντων αὐτῇ προσελθεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ κήδει μιανθῆναι, γραψάμενος διάλυσιν τοῦ γάμου πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι ζῶσαν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς ἑτέραν οἰκίαν μετακομισθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀκριβῶς τὸ νόμιμον ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐτήρησε· τὸν δὲ τῆς ταφῆς ὀρίζοντα τὴν δαπάνην νόμον αὐτὸς εἰσηνηνοχῶς παρέβη,
 3 μηδενὸς ἀναλώματος φεισάμενος. παρέβαινε δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐτελείας τῶν δείπνων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεταγμένα, πότοις καὶ συνδείπνοις τρυφὰς καὶ βωμολοχίας ἔχουσι παρηγορῶν τὸ πένθος.

- Ὀλίγων δὲ μηνῶν διαγενομένων ἦν μὲν θεὰ μονομάχων, οὐπω δὲ τῶν τόπων διακεκριμένων, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῦ θεάτρου συμμιγούς ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν ὄντος, ἔτυχε πλησίον τοῦ Σύλλα καθεζομένη γυνὴ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπῆς καὶ γένους λαμπροῦ·
 4 Μεσσάλα γὰρ ἦν θυγάτηρ, Ὀρτησίου δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀδελφῆ, Οὐαλλερία δὲ τοῦνομα· συνεβεβήκει δὲ αὐτῇ νεωστὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα διάστασις. αὕτη παρὰ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐξόπισθεν παραπορευομένη τὴν τε χεῖρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπηρείσατο καὶ

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Lepidus speedily waxed insolent and went to war with Pompey and his party.¹

XXXV. On consecrating the tenth of all his substance to Hercules, Sulla feasted the people sumptuously, and his provision for them was so much beyond what was needed that great quantities of meats were daily cast into the river, and wine was drunk that was forty years old and upwards. In the midst of the feasting, which lasted many days, Metella lay sick and dying. And since the priests forbade Sulla to go near her, or to have his house polluted by her funeral, he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while she was still living. In doing this, he observed the strict letter of the law, out of superstition; but the law limiting the expense of the funeral, which law he had himself introduced, he transgressed, and spared no outlays. He transgressed also his own ordinances limiting the cost of banquets, when he tried to assuage his sorrow by drinking parties and convivial banquets, where extravagance and ribaldry prevailed.

A few months afterwards there was a gladiatorial spectacle, and since the places for men and women in the theatre were not yet separated,² but still promiscuous, it chanced that there was sitting near Sulla a woman of great beauty and splendid birth; she was a daughter of Messala, a sister of Hortensius the orator, and her name was Valeria, and it so happened that she had recently been divorced from her husband. As she passed along behind Sulla, she rested her hand upon him, plucked off a bit of nap

¹ On the death of Sulla, in 78 B.C., Lepidus headed an insurrection, and attempted to overthrow the constitution. Pompey adhered to the senatorial party (Cf. *Pompey*, xvi.).

² As they were in the time of Augustus.

κροκύδα τοῦ ἱματίου σπάσασα παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἑαυτῆς χώραν. ἐμβλέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ
 θαυμάσαντος, “Οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “δεινόν, αὐτό-
 κρατορ, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι τῆς σῆς καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν
 5 εὐτυχίας μεταλαβεῖν.” τοῦτο ἤκουσεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς
 ὁ Σύλλας, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλος εὐθύς ἦν ὑποκεκνισ-
 μένος· ἡρώτα γὰρ ὑποπέμπων αὐτῆς ὄνομα, καὶ
 γένος καὶ βίον ἐμάνθανεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ρίψεις
 ὁμμάτων ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ἐγίνοντο καὶ παρεπιστρο-
 φαὶ συνεχεῖς προσώπων καὶ μειδιαμάτων δια-
 δόσεις, τέλος δὲ ὁμολογίαι καὶ συνθέσεις περὶ
 γάμων, ἐκείνη μὲν ἴσως ἄμεμπτοι, Σύλλας δέ, εἰ
 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα σώφρονα καὶ γενναίαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ
 ἐκ σώφρονος καὶ καλῆς ἔγχευεν ἀρχῆς, ὅφει καὶ
 λαμυρία μεираκίου δίκην παραβληθείς, ὑφ’ ὧν
 τὰ αἰσχιστα καὶ ἀναιδέστατα πάθη κινεῖσθαι
 πέφυκεν.

XXXVI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔχων ἐπὶ
 τῆς οἰκίας συνῆν μίμοις γυναιξὶ καὶ κιθαριστρίαις
 καὶ θυμελικοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀφ’
 ἡμέρας συμπίνων. οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ τότε παρ’ αὐτῷ
 δυνάμενοι μέγιστον ἦσαν, Ῥώσκιος ὁ κωμωδὸς καὶ
 Σῶριξ ὁ ἀρχιμῖμος καὶ Μητρόβιος ὁ λυσιφδός,
 οὗ καίπερ ἐξώρου γενομένου διετέλει μέχρι παν-
 2 τὸς ἐρᾶν οὐκ ἀρνούμενος. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν νόσον ἀπ’
 αἰτίας ἐλαφρᾶς ἀρξαμένην ἐξέθρεψε, καὶ πολὺν
 χρόνον ἡγνόμενος περὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα γεγωνὸς ἔμπυος,
 ὑφ’ ἧς καὶ τὴν σαρκα διαφθαρεῖσαν εἰς φθειρας
 μετέβαλε πᾶσαν, ὥστε πολλῶν δι’ ἡμέρας ἅμα
 καὶ νυκτὸς ἀφαιρούντων μηδὲν εἶναι μέρος τοῦ
 ἐπιγινομένου τὸ ἀποκρινόμενον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν
 ἐσθῆτα καὶ λουτρὸν καὶ ἀπόνιμμα καὶ σιτίον

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from his mantle, and then proceeded to her own place. When Sulla looked at her in astonishment, she said: "It's nothing of importance, Dictator, but I too wish to partake a little in thy felicity." Sulla was not displeased at hearing this, nay, it was at once clear that his fancy was tickled, for he secretly sent and asked her name, and inquired about her family and history. Then followed mutual glances, continual turnings of the face to gaze, interchanges of smiles, and at last a formal compact of marriage. All this was perhaps blameless on her part, but Sulla, even though she was ever so chaste and reputable, did not marry her from any chaste and worthy motive; he was led away, like a young man, by looks and languishing airs, through which the most disgraceful and shameless passions are naturally excited.

XXXVI. However, even though he had such a wife at home, he consorted with actresses, harpists, and theatrical people, drinking with them on couches all day long. For these were the men who had most influence with him now: Roscius the comedian, Sorex the archmime, and Metrobius the impersonator of women, for whom, though past his prime, he continued up to the last to be passionately fond, and made no denial of it.¹ By this mode of life he aggravated a disease which was insignificant in its beginnings, and for a long time he knew not that his bowels were ulcerated. This disease corrupted his whole flesh also, and converted it into worms, so that although many were employed day and night in removing them, what they took away was as nothing compared with the increase upon him, but all his clothing,

¹ Cf. chapter ii. 4.

ἀναπίμπλασθαι τοῦ ρεύματος ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς
3 φθορᾶς· τοσοῦτον ἐξήνθει. διὸ πολλάκις τῆς
ἡμέρας εἰς ὕδωρ ἐνέβαινεν ἐκκλύζων τὸ σῶμα καὶ
ἀπορρυπτόμενος. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἐκράτει
γὰρ ἡ μεταβολὴ τῷ τάχει, καὶ περιεγίνετο παντὸς
καθαρμοῦ τὸ πλῆθος.

Λέγεται δὲ τῶν μὲν πάνυ παλαιῶν Ἀκαστον
φθειριάσαντα τὸν Πελίου τελευτῆσαι, τῶν δὲ
ὑστέρων Ἀλκμᾶνα τὸν μελοποιὸν καὶ Φερεκυδην
τὸν θεολόγον καὶ Καλλισθένη τὸν Ὀλύνθιον ἐν
εἰρκτῇ φρουρούμενον, ἔτι δὲ Μούκιον τὸν νομικόν. 475
4 εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς μὲν χρηστοῦ γνωρί-
μων δὲ ἄλλως ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέγεται τὸν ἄρξαντα
τοῦ δουλικοῦ πολέμου περὶ Σικελίαν δραπέτην,
Εὐνουν ὄνομα, μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγό-
μενον ὑπὸ φθειριάσεως ἀποθανεῖν.

XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ μόνον προέγνω
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτὴν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ
γέγραφε περὶ αὐτῆς. τὸ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεύ-
τερον τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πρὸ δυεῖν ἡμερῶν ἢ
ἐτελεύτα γράφων ἐπαύσατο· καὶ φησι τοὺς
Χαλδαίους αὐτῷ προειπεῖν ὥς δέοι βεβιωκότα
καλῶς αὐτὸν ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων κατα-
2 στρέψαι· λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τεθνηκότα
μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς Μετέλλης, φανῆναι κατὰ
τοὺς ὕπνους ἐν ἐσθῇτι φαύλῃ παρεστῶτα καὶ
δεόμενον τοῦ πατρὸς παύσασθαι τῶν φροντίδων,
ίοντα δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν μητέρα Μετέλλαν
ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν μετ' αὐτῆς. οὐ
3 μὴν ἐπαύσατό γε τοῦ πράττειν τὰ δημόσια. δέκα
μὲν γὰρ ἡμέραις ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς τοὺς
ἐν Δικαιαρχείᾳ στασιάζοντας διαλλάξας νόμον

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baths, hand-basins, and food, were infected with that flux of corruption, so violent was its discharge. Therefore he immersed himself many times a-day in water to cleanse and scour his person. But it was of no use; for the change gained upon him rapidly, and the swarm of vermin defied all purification.

We are told that in very ancient times, Acastus the son of Pelias was thus eaten of worms and died, and in later times, Alcman the lyric poet, Pherecydes the theologian, Callisthenes of Olynthus, who was kept closely imprisoned, as also Mucius the jurist; and if mention is to be made of men who had no excellence to commend them, but were notorious for other reasons, it is said that the runaway slave who headed the servile war in Sicily,¹ Eunus by name, was taken to Rome after his capture, and died there of this disease.

XXXVII. Sulla not only foresaw his own death, but may be said to have written about it also. For he stopped writing the twenty-second book of his *Memoirs* two days before he died, and he there says that the Chaldaeans foretold him that, after an honourable life, he was to end his days at the height of his good fortunes. He says also that his son, who had died a little while before Metella, appeared to him in his dreams, clad in mean attire, and besought his father to put an end to anxious thoughts, and come with him to his mother Metella, there to live in peace and quietness with her. However, he did not cease to transact the public business. For instance, ten days before he died, he reconciled the opposing factions in Dicaearchia,² and prescribed a code of

¹ B.C. 134; cf. Diodorus, xxxiv. 2, 23.

² An earlier name for Puteoli.

ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς καθ' ὃν πολιτεύσονται· πρὸ μιᾶς δὲ ἡμέρας πυθόμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα Γράνιον, ὡς ὀφείλων δημόσιον χρέος οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναμένει τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον· καὶ περιστήσας τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσε πνίγειν, τῇ δὲ κραυγῇ καὶ τῷ σπαραγμῷ τὸ ἀπόστημα ῥήξας πλήθος αἵματος
 4 ἐξέβαλεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιλιπούσης διαγαγὼν τὴν νύκτα μοχθηρῶς ἀπέθανε, δύο παῖδας ἐκ τῆς Μετέλλης νηπίους καταλιπών. ἡ γὰρ Οὐαλλερία μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον ἀπεκύησεν, ὃ Πόστουμαν ἐκάλουν· τοὺς γὰρ ὕστερον τῆς τῶν πατέρων τελευτῆς γενομένους οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύουσιν.

XXXVIII. Ὁρμησαν μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ καὶ συνέστησαν πρὸς Λέπιδον ὡς εἵρξοντες τὸ σῶμα κηδείας τῆς νενομισμένης· Πομπήϊος δέ, καίπερ ἐγκαλῶν τῷ Σύλλα (μόνον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις τῶν φίλων παρέλιπε), τοὺς μὲν χάριτι καὶ δεήσει, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλῇ διακρουσάμενος εἰς Ῥώμην παρέπεμψε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς
 2 ἀσφάλειαν ἅμα καὶ τιμὴν παρέσχε. λέγεται δὲ τοσοῦτο πλήθος ἀρωμάτων ἐπενεγκεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῷ ὥστε ἄνευ τῶν ἐν φορήμασι δέκα καὶ διακοσίοις διακομιζομένων πλασθῆναι μὲν εἶδωλον εὐμέγεθες αὐτοῦ Σύλλα, πλασθῆναι δὲ καὶ ῥαβδούχον ἐκ τε λιβανωτοῦ πολυτελοῦς καὶ κινναμώμου. τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας συννεφούς ἔωθεν οὕσης, ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ προσδοκῶντες ἐνάτης
 3 ἦραν μόλις ὥρας τὸν νεκρόν. ἀνέμου δὲ λαμπροῦ

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laws for their conduct of the city's government; and one day before he died, on learning that the magistrate there, Granius, refused to pay a debt he owed the public treasury, in expectation of his death, he summoned him to his room, stationed his servants about him, and ordered them to strangle him; but with the strain which he put upon his voice and body, he ruptured his abscess and lost a great quantity of blood. In consequence of this his strength failed, and after a night of wretchedness, he died, leaving two young children by Metella.¹ For it was after his death that Valeria gave birth to a daughter, who was called Postuma, this being the name which the Romans give to children who are born after their father's death.

XXXVIII. Many now joined themselves eagerly to Lepidus, purposing to deprive Sulla's body of the usual burial honours; but Pompey, although offended at Sulla (for he alone, of all his friends, was not mentioned in his will), diverted some from their purpose by his kindly influence and entreaties, and others by his threats, and then conveyed the body to Rome, and secured for it an honourable as well as a safe interment. And it is said that the women contributed such a vast quantity of spices for it, that, apart from what was carried on two hundred and ten litters, a large image of Sulla himself, and another image of a lictor, was moulded out of costly frankincense and cinnamon. The day was cloudy in the morning, and the expectation was that it would rain, but at last, at the ninth hour,² the corpse was placed upon the funeral pyre. Then a strong wind smote

¹ Cf. chapter xxxiv. 3.

² *I.e.* in the middle of the afternoon.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

καταιγίσαντος εἰς τὴν πυρὰν καὶ φλόγα πολλὴν
ἐγείραντος ἔφθη τὸ σῶμα συγκομισθὲν ὅσον ἤδη
τῆς πυρᾶς μαραιομένης καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπιδόντος
ἐκχυθῆναι πολὺν ὄμβρον καὶ κατασχεῖν ἄχρι
νυκτός, ὥστε τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν τὸ σῶμα
4 συνθάπτειν παραμένουσιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν μνημεῖον
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ Ἀρεῶς ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα
φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπογραφάμενον καταλιπεῖν, οὗ
κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ὡς οὔτε τῶν φίλων τις αὐτὸν εὖ
ποιῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακῶς ὑπερεβάλετο.

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΛΛΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου διεληλύθαμεν βίον,
ἴωμεν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀφ'
ἐαυτῶν αὐξήσεως ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσι μεγάλοις γε-
νέσθαι κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ὑπῆρξεν, ἴδιον δὲ
Λυσάνδρου τὸ βουλομένων τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ
ὑγιαινόντων ὅσας ἔσχεν ἀρχὰς λαβεῖν, βιά-
σασθαι δὲ μηδὲν ἀκόντων μηδ' ἰσχύσαι παρὰ
τοὺς νόμους.

2 Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔλλαχε
τιμῆς,

ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τότε διεφθαρμένου τοῦ δήμου
καὶ νοσοῦντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἄλλος 476
ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνίστατο δυνάστης. καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν
θαυμαστὸν εἰ Σύλλας ἦρχεν, ὅτε Γλαυκαίαι καὶ

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the pyre, and roused a mighty flame, and there was just time to collect the bones for burial, while the pyre was smouldering and the fire was going out, when a heavy rain began to fall, which continued till night. Therefore his good fortune would seem to have lasted to the very end, and taken part in his funeral rites. At any rate, his monument stands in the Campus Martius, and the inscription on it, they say, is one which he wrote for it himself, and the substance of it is, that no friend ever surpassed him in kindness, and no enemy in mischief.

COMPARISON OF LYSANDER AND SULLA

I. AND now since we have completed this Life also, let us come at once to the Comparison. In this respect, then, they were alike, namely, that both were founders of their own greatness; but it was a peculiar virtue in Lysander that he obtained all his high offices with the consent of his fellow-citizens, and when affairs were in a sound condition; he did not force anything from them against their will, nor did he acquire any power which was contrary to the laws.

“But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour,”¹

and so in Rome at that time, since the people was corrupt and their government in a distempered state, men of various origin rose to power. And it was no wonder that Sulla held sway, when such men as

¹ A proverb in hexameter verse, attributed to Callimachus of Alexandria. Plutarch uses it also in the *Nicias*, xi. 3, and in *Morals*, p. 479 a.

Σατορνῖνοι Μετέλλους ἤλαυνον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὑπάτων δὲ ἀπεσφάττοντο παῖδες ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀργυρίῳ δὲ καὶ χρυσίῳ τὰ ὄπλα παρελάμβανον ὠνούμενοι τοὺς στρατευομένους, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ σιδήρῳ τοὺς νόμους ἐτίθεσαν βιαζόμενοι τοὺς
 3 ἀντιλέγοντας. οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι δὲ τὸν ἐν τοιούτοις πράγμασι μέγιστον ἰσχύσαι διαπραξάμενον, ἀλλὰ σημεῖον οὐ τίθεμαι τοῦ βέλτιστον εἶναι τὸ γενέσθαι πρῶτον οὕτω πονηρὰ πραττούσης τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐνομουμένης τότε μάλιστα καὶ σωφρονούσης ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἐκπεμπόμενος ἡγεμονίας καὶ πράξεις σχεδὸν ἀρίστων ἄριστος ἐκρίνετο καὶ πρῶτων πρῶτος.
 4 ὅθεν ὁ μὲν πολλάκις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδοὺς τοῖς πολίταις ἀνέλαβε πολλάκις· διέμενε γὰρ ἡ τιμὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχουσα τὸ πρωτεῖον· ὁ δὲ ἄπαξ αἰρεθεὶς στρατεύματος ἡγεμών, ἔτη συνεχῶς δέκα, νῦν μὲν ὕπατον, νῦν δὲ δικτάτορα ποιῶν ἑαυτόν, αἰεὶ δὲ ὢν τύραννος, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔμενεν.

II. Ἐπεχείρησε μὲν οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡς εἴρηται, μεταστῆσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραότερον καὶ νομιμώτερον ἢ Σύλλας· πειθοῖ γάρ, οὐ δι' ὀπλων οὐδὲ πάντα συλλήβδην ἀναιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἐπανορθούμενος τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν βασιλέων· ὃ καὶ φύσει πον δίκαιον ἐδόκει, τὸν ἐξ ἀρίστων ἄριστον ἄρχειν ἐν πόλει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγουμένη δι' ἀρετὴν, οὐ
 2 δι' εὐγένειαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ κυνηγὸς οὐ ζητεῖ τὸ ἐκ κυνός, ἀλλὰ κύνα, καὶ ἵππικὸς ἵππον, οὐ τὸ ἐξ ἵππου· τί γάρ, ἂν ἐξ ἵππου ἡμίονος γένηται;

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Glaucia and Saturninus drove such men as Metellus from the city, when sons of consuls were butchered in assemblies, when silver and gold purchased arms and men to wield them, and laws were enacted with fire and sword in defiance of all opposition. Now I do not blame the man who, in such a state of affairs, forced his way to supreme power; but I cannot regard his becoming first man, when the city was in such an evil plight, as a proof that he was also the best man. Whereas Lysander, since Sparta was at the height of good government and sobriety when she sent him forth upon the greatest commands and undertakings, was virtually decided to be first of her first men, and best of her best. Lysander, therefore, though he often surrendered his power into the hands of his fellow-citizens, as often received it back again, since the honour accorded to virtue continued to rank highest in the state; but Sulla, when he had once been chosen leader of an army, remained in arms for ten years together, making himself now consul, and now dictator, but always being a usurper.

II. It is true, indeed, that Lysander attempted, as I have said, to change the form of government, but it was by milder and more legal methods than Sulla's; by persuasion, namely, not by force of arms, nor by subverting everything at once, as Sulla did, but by amending merely the appointment of the kings. And it seemed but natural justice, in a way, that the best of the best should rule in a city which had the leadership in Hellas by virtue of his excellence, and not of his noble birth. For just as a hunter looks for a dog, and not the whelp of a certain bitch, and a horseman for a horse, and not the foal of a certain mare (for what if the foal should prove to be a mule?),

οὕτως ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀμαρτήσεται τοῦ παντός, εἰ μὴ ζητῇ τὸν ἄρχοντα τίς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τίνος. αὐτοὶ γέ τοι Σπαρτιᾶται βασιλεύοντας ἐνίους ἀφείλοντο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς οὐ βασιλικούς, ἀλλὰ φαύλους καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας. εἰ δὲ κακία καὶ μετὰ γένους ἄτιμον, οὐδ' ἀρετὴ δι' εὐγένειαν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔντιμον.

- 3 Αἱ τοίνυν ἀδικίαι τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ φίλων, τῷ δ' ἄχρη φίλων ἐπράχθησαν. Λύσανδρος μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται τὰ πλείστα διὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἑξαμαρτεῖν καὶ τὰς πλείστας σφαγὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπεργάσασθαι δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος·
- 4 Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπηίου περιέκοψε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν φθονήσας, καὶ Δολοβέλλα τὴν ναυαρχίαν ἐπεχείρησε δοὺς ἀφελέσθαι, καὶ Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑπατεῖαν μνῶμενον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀποσφάζει προσέταξε, φρίκην καὶ δέος ἐμποιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν διὰ τῆς τῶν φιλτάτων ἀναιρέσεως.

III. "Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα σπουδὴν δείκνυσιν τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμονικῆν, τοῦ δὲ τυραννικῆν τὴν προαίρεσιν οὖσαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀκόλαστον οὐδὲ μεираκιῶδες ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει τηλικαύτῃ φαίνεται διαπεπραγμένος, ἀλλ', εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος, ἐκπεφευγὼς τουτὶ τὸ περίακτον· "Οἴκοι λέοντες, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ δὲ ἀλώπεκες" οὕτω σώφρονα καὶ Λακωνικὴν καὶ κεκολασμένην ἐπεδείκνυντο πανταχοῦ τὴν δίαίταν.

- 2 ὁ δὲ οὔτε νέος ὢν περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμετρίαζε διὰ τὴν πενίαν οὔτε γηράσας διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν,

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so the statesman makes an utter mistake if he enquires, not what sort of a man the ruler is, but from whom he is descended. And indeed the Spartans themselves deposed some of their kings, for the reason that they were not kingly men, but insignificant nobodies. And if vice, even in one of ancient family, is dishonourable, then it must be virtue itself, and not good birth, that makes virtue honourable.

Moreover, the acts of injustice which one wrought, were in behalf of his friends; while the other's extended to his friends. For it is generally agreed that Lysander committed the most of his transgressions for the sake of his comrades, and that most of his massacres were perpetrated to maintain their power and sovereignty; but Sulla cut down the number of Pompey's soldiers out of jealousy, and tried to take away from Dolabella the naval command which he had given him, and when Lucretius Ofella sued for the consulship as a reward for many great services, ordered him to be slain before his eyes, causing all men to regard him with fear and horror because of his murdering his dearest friends.

III. Still further, in their pursuit of riches and pleasures we discover that the purpose of one was more befitting a commander, that of the other more characteristic of a tyrant. For Lysander appears to have perpetrated no act of wantonness or youthful folly while he enjoyed such great authority and power, nay, if ever man did, he avoided the praise and reproach of the proverb: "Lions at home, but foxes abroad"; so sober, Spartan, and restrained was the way of life which he everywhere manifested. But Sulla allowed neither the poverty of his youth to set bounds to his desires, nor the years of his old age,

- ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης εἰσηγεῖτο νόμους τοῖς πολίταις αὐτὸς ἐρῶν καὶ μοιχεύων, ὥς φησι Σαλούστιος. ὅθεν οὕτω τὴν πόλιν πτωχὴν καὶ κενὴν ἐποίησε χρημάτων ὥστε ταῖς συμμαχίσι καὶ φίλαις πόλεσιν ἀργυρίου πωλεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν, καίτοι τοὺς πολυαργυρωτάτους οἴκους καὶ μεγίστους ὁσημέραι
- 3 δημεύοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκηρύττοντος. ἀλλὰ μέτρον οὐδὲν ἦν τῶν ῥιπτομένων καὶ καταχορηγούμενων εἰς τοὺς κόλακας. τίνα γὰρ εἰκὸς εἶναι λογισμὸν ἢ φειδῶ πρὸς τὰς παρ' οἶνον συνουσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτας, ὃς ἐν φανερῷ ποτε τοῦ δήμου περιεστῶτος οὐσίαν μεγάλην διαπιπράσκων τιμῆς τῆς τυχοῦσης εἰς ἓνα τῶν φίλων ἐκέλευε κατακηρύσσειν, ἐτέρου δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ὑπερβαλομένου καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος τὸ προστεθὲν ἀγορεύσαντος διηγανάκτησε, “Δεινὰ γε, ὦ φίλοι πολῖται, καὶ τυραννικὰ πάσχω,” φάμενος, “εἰ τὰ ἐμά μοι λάφυρα διαθέσθαι μὴ ἔξεστιν ὥς βούλομαι.”
- 4 Λύσανδρος δὲ καὶ τὰς αὐτῷ δοθείσας δωρεὰς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέπεμψε τοῖς πολίταις. καὶ οὐκ ἐπαινῶ τὸ ἔργον· ἴσως γὰρ ἔβλαψε τῇ κτήσει τῶν χρημάτων τὴν Σπάρτην οὗτος ὅσον οὐκ ἔβλαψε τῇ ἀφαιρέσει τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεῖνος· ἀλλὰ τεκμήριον τοῦτο ποιοῦμαι τῆς ἀφιλοπλουτίας
- 5 τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἴδιον δὲ τι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάτερος ἔπαθε. Σύλλας μὲν γὰρ ἀκόλαστος ὢν καὶ πολυτελεὴς ἐσωφρόνιζε τοὺς πολίτας, Λύσανδρος δ' ὢν αὐτὸς ἀπείχετο παθῶν ἐνέπλησε τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ὄντα χεῖρονα τῶν ἰδίων νόμων, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ χεῖρονας ἀπεργαζόμενον τοὺς πολίτας· δεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐδίδαξε

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but continued to introduce marriage and sumptuary laws for the citizens, while he himself was living in lewdness and adultery, as Sallust says. In these courses he so beggared and emptied the city of her wealth that he sold to allied and friendly cities their freedom and independence for money, although he was daily confiscating and selling at public auction the wealthiest and greatest estates. Nay, there was no measuring what he lavishly squandered and threw away upon his flatterers. For what calculation or economy could be expected in his convivial associations and delights, when, on a public occasion, with the people standing about, at the sale of a large property, he ordered the crier to knock it down to one of his friends at a nominal price, and when another bidder raised the price and the crier announced the advance, he flew into a rage, saying: "It is a dreadful wrong, my dear citizens, and a piece of usurpation, that I cannot dispose of my own spoils as I wish." But Lysander sent home for public use even the presents which had been given to him along with the rest of his spoils. Not that I commend what he did; for he, perhaps, by his acquisition of money for Sparta, injured her more than Sulla injured Rome by robbing her of it; but I offer this as a proof of the man's indifference to riches. Moreover, each had a peculiar experience with his own city. Sulla, who knew no restraint in his extravagance, tried to bring the citizens into ways of sobriety; while Lysander filled his city with the passions to which he himself was a stranger. The former erred, therefore, in falling below the standard of his own laws; the latter, in causing the citizens to fall below his own standard, since he taught Sparta to want

τὴν Σπάρτην ὧν αὐτὸς ἔμαθε μὴ προσδεῖσθαι.
καὶ τὰ μὲν πολιτικὰ ταῦτα.

- IV. Πολέμων δὲ ἀγῶσι καὶ στρατηγικαῖς
πράξεσι καὶ πλήθει τροπαίων καὶ μεγέθει κινδύ-
νων ἀσύγκριτος ὁ Σύλλας. ὁ μέντοι γε δύο
νίκας ἐξηνέγκατο ναυμαχίαις δυσί· προσθήσω
δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀθηνῶν πολιορκίαν, ἔργῳ μὲν οὐ
μεγάλῃν, τῇ δὲ δόξῃ λαμπροτάτην γενομένην.
- 2 τὰ δ' ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Ἀλιάρτῳ δυστυχία μὲν
ἴσως ἐπράχθη τινί, κακοβουλία δὲ προσέοικεν
οὐκ ἀναμείναντος ὅσον οὐπω παρούσαν ἐκ Πλα-
ταιῶν τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ
θυμῷ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ παρὰ καιρὸν ὥσαμένου πρὸς
τὸ τεῖχος, ὥστε τοὺς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκ-
πηδήσαντας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ κατὰβαλεῖν αὐτόν.
οὐ γὰρ ὡς Κλεόμβροτος ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀντερείδων
ἐπικειμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐδὲ ὡς Κῦρος οὐδὲ
ὡς Ἐπαμεινώνδας κατέχων ἐγκεκλικότας καὶ τὸ
νίκημα βεβαιούμενος πληγῇ καιρίᾳ περιέπεσεν·
- 3 ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν θάνα-
τον ἀπέθνησκον, Λύσανδρος δὲ πελταστοῦ καὶ
προδρόμου δίκην ἀκλεῶς παραναλώσας ἑαυτόν,
ἐμαρτύρησε τοῖς παλαιοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ὅτι καλῶς
ἐφυλάττοντο τὰς τειχομαχίας, ἐν αἷς οὐχ ὑπ'
ἀνδρὸς μόνον τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ παιδὸς
καὶ γυναικὸς ἀποθανεῖν ἂν συντύχοι πληγέντα
τὸν κράτιστον, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φασὶν ὑπὸ
τοῦ Πάριδος ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ἀναιρεθῆναι.
- 4 Σύλλας μὲν οὖν ὅσας ἐκ παρατάξεως ἐνίκησε
νίκας καὶ κατέβαλε μυριάδας πολεμίων οὐδὲ
ἀριθμῆσαι ῥαδίον ἐστίν· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην δις
εἶλε, καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οὐ λιμῷ

COMPARISON OF LYSANDER AND SULLA

what he himself had learned not to want. Such was their influence as statesmen.

IV. But as regards contests in war, achievements in generalship, number of trophies, and magnitude of dangers encountered, Sulla is beyond compare. Lysander, it is true, won two victories in as many naval battles; and I will add to his exploits his siege of Athens, which was really not a great affair, although the reputation of it was most brilliant. What occurred in Boeotia and at Haliartus, was due, perhaps, to a certain evil fortune; but it looks as though he was injudicious in not waiting for the large forces of the king, which had all but arrived from Plataea, instead of allowing his resentment and ambition to lead him into an inopportune assault upon the walls, with the result that an inconsiderable and random body of men sallied out and overwhelmed him. For he received his death wound, not as Cleombrotus did, at Leuctra, standing firm against the enemy's onsets, nor as Cyrus did, or Epaminondas, rallying his men and assuring the victory to them; these all died the death of kings and generals. But Lysander threw away his life ingloriously, like a common targeteer or skirmisher, and bore witness to the wisdom of the ancient Spartans in avoiding assaults on walled cities, where not only an ordinary man, but even a child or a woman may chance to smite and slay the mightiest warrior, as Achilles, they say, was slain by Paris at the gates.

In Sulla's case, at any rate, it is no easy matter even to enumerate the pitched battles which he won and the myriads of enemies whom he slew; Rome itself he captured twice, and he took the Piraeus of

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

καθάπερ Λύσανδρος, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ
μεγάλοις, ἐκβαλὼν Ἀρχέλαον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν
θάλατταν, κατέσχευεν. ἔστι δὲ μέγα καὶ τὸ τῶν
ἀντιστρατήγων. τρυφὴν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ παιδιὰν
πρὸς Ἀντίοχον διαναυμαχεῖν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου
κυβερνήτην, καὶ Φιλοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπ-
ατᾶν δημαγωγόν,

Ἄδοξον, ἄκραν γλῶσσαν ἠκουημένον·

οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἱπποκόμφῳ Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲ ῥαβδούχῳ
5 Μάριος ἠξίωσε παραβαλεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν δὲ
πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀνταραμένων δυναστῶν, ὑπάτων,
στρατηγῶν, δημαγωγῶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐάσω,
τίς ἦν Ῥωμαίων Μαρίου φοβερώτερος ἢ Μιθριδά-
του βασιλέων δυνατώτερος ἢ Λαμπωνίου καὶ
Τελεσίνου τῶν Ἰταλικῶν μαχιμώτερος; ὧν ἐκεῖνος
τὸν μὲν ἐξέβαλε, τὸν δὲ ὑπέταξε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέ-
κτεινε.

V. Τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω,
τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, ὅτι Λύσανδρος μὲν 478
κατώρθου πάντα τῶν οἴκοι συναγωνιζομένων,
Σύλλας δὲ φυγὰς ὧν καὶ κατεστασιασμένος ὑπὸ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἠλαύνετο μὲν αὐτοῦ
γυνή, κατεσκάπτετο δὲ οἰκία, φίλοι δὲ ἀπέθνησκον,
αὐτὸς ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ταῖς ἀναριθμήτοις μυριάσι
παρατασσόμενος καὶ κινδυνεύων ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρί-
2 δος, ἴστη τρόπαιον, καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ συμμαχίαν
διδόντι καὶ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ

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Athens, not by famine, as Lysander did, but by a series of great battles, after he had driven Archelaüs from the land to the sea. It is important, too, that we consider the character of their antagonists. For I think it was the merest child's play to win a sea-fight against Antiochus, Alcibiades' pilot, or to outwit Philocles, the Athenian demagogue,

“Inglorious foe, whose only weapon is a sharpened tongue”;¹

such men as these Mithridates would not have deigned to compare with his groom, nor Marius with his lictor. But of the dynasts, consuls, generals, and demagogues who lifted themselves against Sulla, to pass by the rest, who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius? who among the kings was more powerful than Mithridates? who among the Italians was more warlike than Lamponius and Telesinus? And yet Sulla banished the first of these, subdued the second, and slew the others.

V. But what is of more weight, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned, Lysander achieved all his successes with the co-operation of the authorities at home; whereas Sulla, though he was overpowered by a hostile faction, and an exile, at a time when his wife was being driven from home, his house being demolished, and his friends being slain, when he himself, too, was confronting countless myriads of enemies in Boeotia and risking his life for his country, set up his trophy of victory; and not even when Mithridates offered him an alliance and forces to wield against his enemies at Rome, would he make

¹ An iambic trimeter of unknown authorship (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 921).

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- μαλακὸν ἐνέδωκεν οὐδὲ φιλάνθρωπον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσεΐπεν οὐδὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε πρότερον ἢ πυθέσθαι παρόντος ὅτι καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφήσει καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραδίδωσι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν
- 3 ἐξίσταται καὶ Βιθυνίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας. ὦν οὐδὲν ὅλως δοκεῖ Σύλλας κάλλιον ἔργον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ μείζονος εἰργάσθαι φρονήματος, ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ οἰκείου πρόσθεν θέμενος, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ γενναῖοι κύνες οὐκ ἀνεῖς τὸ δῆγμα καὶ τὴν λαβὴν πρότερον ἢ τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀπειπεῖν, τότε
- 4 πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἄμυναν ὤρμησεν. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχει τινὰ ῥοπήν εἰς ἡθους σύγκρισιν· εἶγε Σύλλας μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μιθριδάτου δυνάμεως καὶ ἡγεμονίας πολεμήσασαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν ἐλευθέραν ἀφήκε καὶ αὐτόνομον, Λύσανδρος δὲ τοσαύτης ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσοῦσαν οὐκ ὥκτειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀφελόμενος ὠμοτάτους αὐτῇ καὶ παρανόμους ἀπέδειξε τοὺς τυράννους.
- 5 "Ὡρα δὴ σκοπεῖν, μὴ οὐ πολὺ τάληθοῦς διαμαρτάνωμεν ἀποφαινόμενοι πλέονα μὲν κατωρθωκέναι Σύλλαν, ἐλάττονα δὲ ἐξημαρτηκέναι Λύσανδρον, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης, τῷ δὲ στρατηγίας καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀποδιδόντες τὸ πρωτεῖον.

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any concession whatsoever, or show him kindness even; nay, he would not so much as greet him or give him his hand, until he heard him say personally that he would relinquish Asia, hand over his ships, and restore Bithynia and Cappadocia to their rightful kings. No act of Sulla's whatsoever appears more honourable than this, or due to a loftier spirit, because he set the public interests before his own, and, like dogs of noble breed, did not relax his bite or let go his hold until his adversary had yielded, and then only did he set out to avenge his own private wrongs. And besides all this, their treatment of Athens is of some weight in a comparison of their characters. Sulla, after taking the city, although it had fought against him to support the power and supremacy of Mithridates, restored her to freedom and independence; whereas Lysander, although she had fallen from such a great supremacy and empire, showed her no pity, but took away her democratic form of government, and appointed most savage and lawless men to be her tyrants.

We may now consider whether we shall err very much from the truth in pronouncing our verdict that Sulla won the more successes, while Lysander had the fewer failings; and in giving to the one the preëminence in self-control and moderation, to the other, in generalship and valour.

**A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES**

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A

- Abydos**, 105, a city of Mysia, on the eastern shore of the Hellespont, nearly opposite Sestos on the European side.
- Acastus**, 441, mythical king of Iolcus in Thessaly. He was one of the Argonauts, and took part in the Calydonian boar-hunt.
- Aedepsus**, 409, a town on the N.W. coast of Euboea, nearly opposite Thermopylae on the mainland.
- Aegospotami**, 107, a stream on the western side of the Hellespont, nearly opposite Lampsacus, with a town of the same name upon it.
- Agatharchus**, 43, of Samos, prominent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter, 460-420 B.C.
- Alcman**, 441, the greatest lyric poet of Sparta, who lived from about 670 to about 630 B.C. He was a Lydian by birth, and was brought to Sparta as a slave.
- Alcmene**, 313, wife of Amphitryon king of Thebes, and mother of Heracles by Zeus. After the death of Amphitryon she married Rhadamanthus.
- Amphictyons**, 363, officers of the Amphictyonic League, which comprised the peoples whose common sanctuaries were the temple of Apollo at Delphi and that of Demeter at Anthela, near Thermopylae.
- Amphitryon**, 313, mythical king of Thebes, and husband of Alcmene.
- Anaxagoras**, 263, of Clazomenae in Ionian Asia Minor, prominent at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460-432 B.C., when the enemies of Pericles brought about his banishment.
- Anaxandrides**, 281, the Delphian, probably of the third century B.C., author of a work on the plundered offerings of Delphi.
- Andronicus**, 407, the Rhodian, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Rome in the middle of the first century B.C.
- Antemnae**, 423, an ancient city of Latium, some three miles south of Rome, just below the junction of the Anio with the Tiber.
- Anthesterion**, 373, the eighth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding to the latter part of February and first part of March.
- Antigonus Doson**, 143, a grandson of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and king of Macedonia 229-221 B.C.
- Antiochus**, 283, otherwise unknown.
- Antimachus**, 283, of Colophon, a celebrated poet of Lysander's time, called "clarus poeta" in Cicero, *Brutus*, 51, 191.
- Antisthenes**, 3, the Socratic, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates.
- Antium**, 149, 163, 167, 171, 181, 215, a city of Latium, on the sea-coast about forty miles south of Rome.
- Anytus**, 13, 151, an influential politician at Athens, afterwards

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- one of the principal accusers of Socrates, after whose death he was sent into exile by the Athenians.
- Apellicon**, 407, of Teos, a Peripatetic philosopher, and a great collector of books by foul means and fair. He was obliged to fly from Athens to save his life, but returned to be prominent under the tyrant Aristion. He was not living when his library was taken to Rome.
- Archestratus**, 43, 285, perhaps the choral poet mentioned in the *Aristides*, l. 4, as flourishing during the Peloponnesian war.
- Arginusae**, 249, a group of three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.
- Ariobarzanes**, 335, 337, 399, 405, became king of Cappadocia in 93 B.C., but was soon afterwards expelled by Tigranes, king of Armenia, the son-in-law of Mithridates.
- Aristion**, 361, 367, 401, illegitimate son of an Athenian Peripatetic philosopher named Athenion, to whose property and citizenship he succeeded. He also taught philosophy. He was sent as an ambassador of Athens to Mithridates, in whose confidence he established himself, and on returning to Athens in 88 B.C. made himself tyrant of the city through the patronage and in the interest of that monarch.
- Aristophon**, 43, a distinguished Athenian painter, brother of the great Polygnotus. Aglaophon, however, was probably the author of the painting here spoken of.
- Arsaces**, 335, Arsaces IX. in the succession of Parthian rulers bearing this name. He seems to have asked for and obtained an alliance with Rome.
- Asia**, 359, 397, 399, the country on the west coast of Asia Minor out of which the Romans formed the province of Asia in 129 B.C.
- Aspendus**, 77, a city of Pamphylia in southern Asia Minor, on the river Eurymedon.
- Aulis**, 309, a town of Boeotia, on the strait of Euripus, nearly opposite Chalcis in Euboea. It was the rendezvous for the expedition of the Greeks under Agamemnon against Troy.

B

- Battus**, 143, Battus II., the third king of Cyrene, on the north coast of Africa. His reign began in 583 and ended soon after 570 B.C.
- Bola**, 187, an ancient town in Latium, of uncertain site.
- Bocchus**, 329, 331, 333, 337, a king of Mauritania, who betrayed Jugurtha to the Romans in 106 B.C.
- Bosporus**, 359, the kingdom of this name extended along the northern shore of the Euxine sea, on either side of the strait between that sea and Lake Maeotis, the strait called the Cimmerian Bosporus.

C

- Cappadocia**, 335, the eastern district of Asia Minor, between Pontus on the north and Cilicia on the south, and bordering on Armenia.
- Callisthenes**, 441, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who attended Alexander the Great on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.C.
- Capua**, 413, the capital city of Campania, finally subdued by the Romans in 211 B.C.
- Carbo**, 397, 415, 419, 421, Cnaeus Papirius, one of the leaders of the Marian party. After his flight to Libya (p. 419) he was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put to death (*Pompey*, chapter x.).
- Catiline**, 431, Lucius Sergius, the

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- famous conspirator in the consulship of Cicero, 63 B.C. (*Cicero*, chapters x.-xxii.).
- Censorinus, 337, Calus Marcius, prominent among the leaders of the Marian party and in many conflicts with Sulla. He was finally taken prisoner and put to death by Sulla in 82 B.C. Cicero speaks of him (*Brutus*, 67, 237) as well versed in Greek literature.
- Chalcedon, 85, 87, 89, a Greek city in Bithynia, opposite Byzantium.
- Chalcis, 389, 391, a city in Euboea, on the strait of Euripus, nearly opposite Chalcis in Boeotia.
- Chersonese, 243, 255, 257, 263, the Thracian Chersonese, or peninsula, on the west of the Hellespont.
- Choerilus, 281, of Samos, 479-399 B.C., author of an epic poem on the Persian wars.
- Cinna, 357, 397, Lucius Cornelius, leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87-84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85, and 84. He was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla.
- Circeii, 185, a town of Latium, on the sea-coast about eighty miles S.E. of Rome.
- Cithaeron, Mt., 311, a range of mountains separating Attica and Boeotia.
- Clazomenae, 81, an Ionian city on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.
- Cleanthes, 15, of Assos, a Stoic philosopher, who succeeded Zeno as head of the school at Athens in 263 B.C. His Hymn to Zeus is still extant.
- Cleon, the Halicarnassian, 303, 305, a rhetorician who flourished at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C.
- Critias, 97, 113, a brilliant follower of Socrates, like Alcibiades, and later one of the Thirty Tyrants. He was author of tragedies and elegiac poems.
- Cyzicus, 67, 81, 83, a Greek city on the Propontis, in Mysia.

D

- Dalmachus, 263, 267, perhaps the same person as the Dalmachus of Plataea (*Comparison of Solon and Publicola*, iv. 1), a historian who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.
- Dionysius, 237, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C.
- Dodona, 305, a town in Epirus, famous in earlier times for its oracle of Zeus, the influence of which among the Greek states was subsequently assumed by the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.
- Dolabella, 415, 421, 449, Cnaeus Corneliu, consul in 81 B.C., and afterwards proconsul of Macedonia. In 77, he was prosecuted by Julius Caesar for maladministration of his province (*Caesar*, iv. 1).
- Duris, the Samian, 93, 281, historian and for a time tyrant of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus. He lived about 350-280 B.C. He was an extravagant and sensational writer.
- Dyrrhachium, 409, a city on the coast of Illyricum, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

E

- Ephorus, 95, 277, 291, 305, 319, of Cymé, pupil of Isocrates with Theopompus, and author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from earliest times down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.
- Epidaurus, 363, a city on the east coast of Argolis in Peloponnesus, famous for its shrine and cult of Aesculapius.
- Eumolpus, 369, a mythical Thracian bard and warrior, called in to aid Eleusis against Athens, and slain by Erechtheus.

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Evagoras, 261, king of Salamis in Cyprus, extravagantly praised, in the oration of Isocrates bearing his name, as a mild and just ruler. He was a constant friend of Athens from the time here mentioned till his death in 374 B.C.

F

Fenestella, 417, a Roman historian who flourished during the reign of Augustus.

Fidentia, 413, a town of Cisalpine Gaul (now northern Italy), on the Via Aemilia, south of the Po.

G

Gelo, 155, tyrant of Syracuse 485-478 B.C., and victor over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C.

Glaucia, 447, Caius Servilius, praetor in 100 B.C., a partizan of Marius, and partner of Saturninus in the popular tumults of that year. He perished with Saturninus. Cicero compares him to the Athenian demagogue Hyperbolus (*Brutus*, 62, 224).

H

Heraea, 295, a city of north-western Arcadia in Peloponnesus.

I

Isocrates, 27, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436-338 B.C.

J

Juba, 381, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

Jugurtha, 329, 331, 337, king of Numidia 112-106 B.C., when he was brought a prisoner to Rome, and starved to death in 104.

L

Lamponius, the Lucanian, 419, 455, one of the principal leaders of the Italians in the war with Rome (90-88 B.C.).

Lampsacus, 107, 255, a famous Greek city on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, opposite Aegospotami.

Larissa, 401, an important city in N.E. Thessaly.

Laverna, 341, of unknown site.

Lavicum, 187, an ancient town in Latium, of uncertain site.

Lavinium, 189, an ancient town of Latium, near the sea-coast, about seventeen miles S.E. of Rome.

Lepidus, 435, 437, 443, Marcus Aemilius, father of the triumvir. He was driven from Italy by Pompey in 77 B.C., and died shortly afterwards in Sardinia.

M

Maedi, 403, a powerful people in the west of Thrace.

Maetis, Lake, 359, the modern Sea of Azov, north of the Black Sea.

Malea, Cape, 359, the S.E. extremity of Laconia in Peloponnesus, now Cape St. Angelo.

Marsi, 331, a warlike nation in central Italy, often victorious over the Romans. They were finally subdued soon after 89 B.C., and admitted to Roman citizenship.

Metellus, 341, 343, 419, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla's death in 79 B.C., he went as proconsul to Spain to prosecute the war against Ser-

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P

- torius (*Crassus*, chapter vi.). It has been shown that Metella, the wife of Sulla, was not the daughter of Metellus Pius, but of Metellus Dalmaticus, his uncle.
- Metellus, 447, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Numidicus, consul in 109 B.C., and conqueror of Jugurtha. As censor in 102 B.C., he attempted to expel Saturninus and Glaucia from the senate, but was prevented from doing so and himself expelled and driven into exile for a year (100-99 B.C.).
- Meton, 45, the astrologer, the most famous mathematician and astronomer of his time. In 432 B.C., he published a new calendar with a cycle of nineteen years, intended to reconcile the lunar and solar years.
- Mithridates, 335, 343, 351, 359, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly called Mithridates the Great, 120-63 B.C., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.
- Mucius, 441, probably Publius Mucius Scaevola, consul in 133 B.C.
- Munychion, 273, the tenth month in the Attic calendar, corresponding to the latter part of April and first part of May.
- Panactum, 33, a fortress of Attica on the confines of Boeotia, betrayed to the Thebans in 420 B.C. (Thuc., v. 3, 5).
- Pedum, 187, an ancient town of Latium, of uncertain site.
- Pergamum, 359, 401, the chief city of Mysia in Asia Minor, from 363 to 133 B.C., the seat of the Attalid dynasty. The last Attalid bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans.
- Pharnabazus, 67, 81-89, 111, 113, 115, 285, 287, 289, 301, satrap of the Persian provinces about the Hellespont from 412 till 393.
- Pherecydes, 441, of Syros, a writer on cosmogony and mythology who flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.C.
- Philippi, 403, a city of Macedonia on the river Strymon, formerly called Crenides, renamed by Philip the father of Alexander the Great.
- Phocaea, 243, the most northerly of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor.
- Phyle, 291, 311, a fortress on Mt. Parnes commanding the road from Athens and Eleusis to Thebes, some sixteen miles from Athens.
- Pompeius, Quintus, 343, 351, surnamed Rufus, tribune in 199, praetor in 91, and consul with Sulla in 88 B.C. Sulla left him in charge of Italy on setting out for the East, but he was murdered by the soldiers of Pompeius Strabo who had been assigned to his command.
- Pontus, 305, 359, 397, the district extending along the S.E. shore of the Euxine Sea, the seat of the kingdom of Mithridates.
- Praeneste, 417, 499, 423, 429, an ancient city of Latium on a spur of the Apennines about twenty-three miles east of Rome.
- Proconnesus, 81, an island in the western part of the Propontis.
- Ptolemy, Lathyrus, 143, Ptolemy VIII., king of Egypt 117-81 B.C., surnamed also Soter and Philometor

N

- Niceratus of Heracleia, 283, otherwise unknown.
- Nicomedes, 399, 405, the third king of Bithynia bearing this name. He was reseat on his throne in 90 and 84 B.C. by the Romans, and reigned ten years after the second restoration till his death in 74 B.C.
- Nola, 351, 353, an ancient and important town in Campania, some twenty miles S.E. of Capua.
- Norbanus, 411, 413, consul in 83 B.C. After his defeats by Sulla and Metellus, he fled to Rhodes, where he put an end to his life.

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R

Rhadamanthus, 313, mythical son of Zeus and Europa, brother of Minos the king of Crete. He fled from Crete to Ocaleia in Boeotia, where he married Alcmena. He became one of the judges in the lower world.

Roscius, 439, a great actor, from whom Cicero learned much, and of whom he often speaks in high terms of praise (cf. *pro Archia*, 8, 17).

S

Sallust, 451, 86-34 B.C., historian of the Conspiracy of Catiline, of the Jugurthine War (111-106 B.C.) and also, in a work that is lost, of portions of the Civil Wars.

Saturninus, 447, Lucius Appuleius, a Roman noble who allied himself with Marius and the popular party, tribune in 102 and 100 B.C., in which year he perished at the hands of a mob.

Selymbria, 87, 89, a Greek city on the northern shore of the Propontis, some forty miles west of Byzantium.

Servilius, 419, Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus, made consul by Sulla in 79 B.C. In the following year he was sent as proconsul to Cilicia to clear the sea of pirates. He was successful, and received the surname of Isauricus from one of the robber tribes which he subdued.

Sestos, 107, 109, 255, 257, 269, the chief town of the Thracian Chersonese, opposite Abydos on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont.

Signia, 415, an ancient city of Latium, now Segni, some thirty-five miles S.E. of Rome, in the Volscian mountains.

Silvium, 413, a town in the interior of Apulia, of uncertain site.

Sphacteria, 35, an island stretching in front of the harbour of Pylos, on the western coast of Peloponnesus.

T

Tarentum, 411, a great and powerful city in S.E. Italy, at the head of the gulf to which it gave its name.

Taureas, 43, competed with Alcibiades as choregus in a dithyrambic contest at the Greater Dionysia (cf. Demosthenes, *Or.* xxi. 147).

Tectosages, 331, a Celtic people dwelling at the foot of the Pyrenees in Gallia Narbonensis.

Tegea, 319, an ancient and powerful city in southern Arcadia of Peloponnesus.

Theophrastus, 25, 267, 285, 407, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C. at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, 95, 277, 319, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, historian of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon (360-336 B.C.). He is always censorious of Athens and her popular leaders.

Theopompus, the comic poet, 269, an Athenian poet of the Old and Middle Comedy, who wrote as late as 380 B.C.

Theramenes, 3, 91, 271, a brilliant naval commander who co-operated successfully with Alcibiades in the closing years of the Peloponnesian war. He was one of the Thirty Tyrants and favoured a moderate course, but fell a victim to the jealousy and hatred of Critias.

Thyateira, 405, a large city in the north of Lydia, about forty-five miles S.E. of Pergamum.

Timon, 43, the misanthrope, an Athenian of the time of the Peloponnesian War. He is attacked by the comic poets as a man-hating solitary. Plutarch devotes chapter lxx. of his *Antony* to a sketch of the man. A dialogue of Lucian bears his name.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Timotheus, 339, from 375 to 354 B.C. one of the most popular and successful Athenian commanders.

Tolericum, 187, an ancient town in Latium, of uncertain site.

Torquatus, 421, perhaps the Manlius Torquatus who was propraetor of Africa about 70 B.C.

Troad, 403, a district in the north-western angle of Mysia, bordering on the Hellespont and the Aegean Sea, named from ancient Troy.

Tyrannio, the grammarian, 407, a native of Amisus in Pontus. He

was brought as a captive to Rome by Lucullus in 72 B.C. (*Lucullus*, xix. 7). There he became a teacher, was patronized and praised by Cicero, and amassed wealth.

V

Vellitiae, 145, a city of Latium, on the southern slope of the Alban hills, about thirty miles S.E. of Rome.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

VOLUME I.

**THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.**

VOLUME II.

**THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.**

VOLUME III.

**PERICLES AND FABIVS MAXIMVS.
NICIAS AND CRASSVS.**

VOLUME IV.

**ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANVS.
LYSANDER AND SULLA.**

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

V

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. Of the *Lives* presented in this volume, the *Agesilaüs* and *Pompey* are contained in the Codex Sangermanensis (S^s) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), and in a few instances weight has been given to readings from the Codex Matritensis (M^a), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux, as published in *Bursians Jahresbericht* (1884). No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must still be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo). The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless

PREFATORY NOTE

otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the *Pompey* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

March, 1917.

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**ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS
EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE
OF THE GREEK LIVES.**

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Comparison.
- (2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
- (3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.

VOLUME II.

- (4) Themistocles and
Camillus.
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Elder.
Comparison.
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Comparison.

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- (5) Pericles and Fabius Max-
imus.
Comparison.
- (14) Nicias and Crassus.
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VOLUME X.

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Tiberius and Caius
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Comparison.
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inius.
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VOLUME XI.

- (23) Aratus.
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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

- (1) Theseus and Romulus.
- (2) Lycurgus and Numa.
- (3) Solon and Publicola.
- (4) Themistocles and Camillus.
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- (18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
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- (21) Demetrius and Antony.
- (22) Dion and Brutus.
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- (24) Artaxerxes.
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- (26) Otho.

ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ

Paris
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P.
596

- I. Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου βασιλεύσας ἐπιφανῶς Λακεδαιμονίων, κατέλιπεν υἱὸν ἐκ γυναικὸς εὐδοκίμου, Λαμπιδοῦς, Ἄγιν, καὶ πολὺ νεώτερον ἐξ Εὐπωλίας τῆς Μελησιππίδα θυγατρὸς, Ἀγησίλαον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀγιδι προσηκούσης κατὰ τὸν νόμον ιδιώτης ἐδόκει βιοτεύσειν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἤχθη τὴν λεγομένην ἀγωγὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, σκληρὰν μὲν οὖσαν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ πολὺπονον, παιδεύουσιν δὲ τοὺς νέους ἄρχεσθαι.
- 2 διὸ καὶ φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιμωνίδου τὴν Σπάρτην προσηγορεῦσθαι “δαμασίμβροτον,” ὥς μάλιστα διὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τοὺς πολίτας τοῖς νόμοις πειθνίους καὶ χειροήθεις ποιοῦσαν, ὥσπερ ἵππους εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δαμαζομένους. ταύτης ἀφήσιν ὁ νόμος τῆς ἀνάγκης τοὺς ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τρεφομένους
- 3 παῖδας. Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπῆρξεν ἴδιον, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν μὴ ἀπαίδευτον τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι.¹ διὸ καὶ πολὺ τῶν βασιλέων εὐαρμοστότατον αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις παρέσχε, τῷ φύσει ἡγεμονικῷ καὶ βασιλικῷ προσκτησάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.

II. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀγέλαις τῶν συντρεφομένων παίδων Λύσανδρον ἔσχεν ἐραστὴν,

¹ τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι with M^a and Cobet : ἄρχεσθαι.

AGESILAUS.

I. ARCHIDAMUS, the son of Zeuxidamas; after an illustrious reign over the Lacedaemonians, left behind him a son, Agis, by Lampido, a woman of honourable family; and a much younger son, Agesilaüs, by Eupolia, the daughter of Melesippidas. The kingdom belonged to Agis by law, and it was thought that Agesilaüs would pass his life in a private station. He was therefore given the so-called "agoge," or course of public training in Sparta, which, although austere in its mode of life and full of hardships, educated the youth to obedience. For this reason it was, we are told, that Simonides gave Sparta the epithet of "man-subduing," since more than in any other state her customs made her citizens obedient to the laws and tractable, like horses that are broken in while yet they are colts. From this compulsory training the law exempts the heirs-apparent to the throne. But Agesilaüs was singular in this also, that he had been educated to obey before he came to command. For this reason he was much more in harmony with his subjects than any of the kings; to the commanding and kingly traits which were his by nature there had been added by his public training those of popularity and kindliness.

II. While he was among the so-called "bands" of boys who were reared together, he had as his

ἐκπλαγέντα μάλιστα τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ. φιλονεικότατος γὰρ ὢν καὶ θυμοειδέστατος ἐν τοῖς νέοις καὶ πάντα πρωτεύειν βουλόμενος, καὶ τὸ σφοδρῶν ἔχων καὶ ῥαγδαῖον ἄμαχον καὶ δυσεκβίαστον, εὐπειθεῖα πάλιν αὐ καὶ πραότητι τοιοῦτος ἦν ὅλος φόβῳ μηδέν, αἰσχύνη δὲ πάντα ποιεῖν τὰ προσταττόμενα, καὶ τοῖς ψόγοις ἀλγύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πόνους βαρύνεσθαι.

2 τὴν δὲ τοῦ σκέλους πήρωσιν ἣ τε ὥρα τοῦ σώματος ἀνθούontos ἐπέκρυπτε, καὶ τὸ ῥαδίως φέρειν καὶ ἱλαρῶς τὸ τοιοῦτο, παίζοντα καὶ σκώπτοντα πρῶτον ἑαυτόν, οὐ μικρὸν ἦν ἐπανόρθωμα τοῦ πάθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐκδηλοτέραν ἐποίει, πρὸς μηδένα πόνον μηδὲ πρᾶξιν ἀπαγορεύοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν χωλότητα. τῆς δὲ μορφῆς εἰκόνα μὲν οὐκ ἔχομεν (αὐτὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθνήσκων ἀπέειπε "μήτε πλαστὰν μήτε μιμηλάν" τινα ποιήσασθαι τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα), λέγεται δὲ μικρὸς τε γενέσθαι

3 καὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐκαταφρόνητος· ἣ δὲ ἱλαρότης καὶ τὸ εὐθυμον ἐν ἅπαντι καιρῷ καὶ παιγνιώδες, ἀχθεινὸν δὲ καὶ τραχὺ μηδέποτε μήτε φωνῇ μήτε ὄψει, τῶν καλῶν καὶ ὠραίων ἐρασμιώτερον αὐτὸν ἄχρι γήρως παρείχεν. ὥς δὲ Θεόφραστος ἱστορεῖ, τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐξημίωσαν οἱ ἔφοροι γήμαντα γυναῖκα μικράν· "Οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς," ἔφασαν, 597 "ἄμμιν, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖδια γεννάσει."

III. Βασιλεύοντος δὲ Ἀγίδος ἦκεν Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σικελίας φυγὰς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα· καὶ χρόνον οὐπω πολὺν ἐν τῇ πόλει διάγων, αἰτίαν ἔσχε τῇ

AGESILAUS

lover Lysander,¹ who was smitten particularly with his native decorum. For although he was contentious and high-spirited beyond his fellows, wishing to be first in all things, and having a vehemence and fury which none could contend with or overwhelm, on the other hand he had such a readiness to obey and such gentleness, that he did whatever was enjoined upon him, not at all from a sense of fear, but always from a sense of honour, and was more distressed by censure than he was oppressed by hardships. As for his deformity, the beauty of his person in its youthful prime covered this from sight, while the ease and gaiety with which he bore such a misfortune, being first to jest and joke about himself, went far towards rectifying it. Indeed, his lameness brought his ambition into clearer light, since it led him to decline no hardship and no enterprise whatever. We have no likeness of him (for he himself would not consent to one, and even when he lay dying forbade the making of "either statue or picture" of his person), but he is said to have been a little man of unimposing presence. And yet his gaiety and good spirits in every crisis, and his raillery, which was never offensive or harsh either in word or look, made him more lovable, down to his old age, than the young and beautiful. But according to Theophrastus, Archidamus was fined by the ephors for marrying a little woman, "For she will bear us," they said, "not kings, but kinglets."

III. It was during the reign of Agis that Alcibiades came from Sicily as an exile to Sparta, and he had not been long in the city when he incurred the charge of illicit intercourse with Timaea,

¹ Cf. *Lycurgus*, xvii. 1 ; *Lysander*, xxii. 3.

- γυναικὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, Τιμαίᾳ, συνεῖναι. καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδάριον οὐκ ἔφη γινώσκειν ὁ Ἄγισ, ἀλλ' ἐξ Ἀλκιβιάδου γεγονέναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ πάνυ δυσκόλως τὴν Τιμαίαν ἐνεγκεῖν φησι Δοῦρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψιθυρίζουσιν οἱ πρὸς τὰς εἰλωτίδας Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸ παιδίον, οὐ Λεωτυχί-
 2 δην, καλεῖν· καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην αὐτὸν οὐ πρὸς ὕβριν τῇ Τιμαίᾳ φάναι πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμούμενον βασιλεύεσθαι Σπαρτιῖτας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότων. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑπεξῆλθε, φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἄγιν· ὁ δὲ παῖς τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑποπτος ἦν τῷ Ἀγίδι, καὶ γνησίου τιμὴν οὐκ εἶχε παρ' αὐτῷ, νοσοῦντι δὲ προσπεσὼν καὶ δακρύων ἔπεισεν υἱὸν ἀποφῆναι πολλῶν ἐναντίον.
 3 Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἀγιδος ὁ Λύσανδρος, ἤδη κατανεναυμαχηκὼς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μέγιστον ἐν Σπάρτῃ δυνάμενος, τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν προήγευ, ὥς οὐ προσήκουσαν ὄντι νόθῳ τῷ Λεωτυχίδῃ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν¹ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τὸ συντετράφθαι καὶ μετεσχηκεῖναι τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο καὶ συνέπραττον αὐτῷ προθύμως. ἦν δὲ Διοπεΐθης ἀνὴρ χρησμολόγος ἐν Σπάρτῃ, μαντιῶν τε παλαιῶν ὑπόπλεως καὶ δοκῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ περιττός.
 4 οὗτος οὐκ ἔφη θεμιτὸν εἶναι χολὸν γενέσθαι τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος βασιλείας, καὶ χρησμὸν ἐν τῇ δίκῃ τοιοῦτον ἀνεγίνωσκε·

Φράζεο δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μέγανυχος ἐοῦσα, μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστη χολὴ βασιλεία·

¹ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν Coraës and Bekker, after Bryan: τὴν ἀρετήν.

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the wife of the king. The child, too, that was born of her, Agis refused to recognize as his own, declaring that Alcibiades was its father. Duris says that Timaea was not very much disturbed at this, but in whispers to her Helot maids at home actually called the child Alcibiades, not Leotychides; moreover, that Alcibiades himself also declared that he had not approached Timaea out of wanton passion, but because he was ambitious to have the Spartans reigned over by his descendants.¹ On this account Alcibiades withdrew from Sparta, being in fear of Agis; and the boy was always an object of suspicion to Agis, and was not honoured by him as legitimate. But when the king lay sick, the supplications and tears of Leotychides prevailed upon him to declare him his son in the presence of many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this, after the death of Agis,² Lysander, who by this time had subdued the Athenians at sea and was a man of the greatest influence in Sparta, tried to advance Agesilaüs to the throne, on the plea that Leotychides was a bastard and had no claim upon it. Many of the other citizens also, owing to the excellence of Agesilaüs and the fact that he had been reared with them under the common restraints of the public training, warmly espoused the plan of Lysander and co-operated with him. But there was a diviner in Sparta, named Diopeithes, who was well supplied with ancient prophecies, and was thought to be eminently wise in religious matters. This man declared it contrary to the will of Heaven that a lame man should be king of Sparta, and cited at the trial of the case the following oracle:—

“Bethink thee now, O Sparta, though thou art very glorious, lest from thee, sound of foot, there

¹ Cf. *Alcibiades*, xxiii. 7 f. ² In 398 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

δηρὸν γὰρ νοῦσοί σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι
φθισιβρότου τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδόμενον πολέ-
μοιο.

5 πρὸς ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἔλεγεν ὥς, εἰ πάνυ φο-
βοῖντο τὸν χρησμὸν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, φυλακτέον
αὐτοῖς εἶη τὸν Λεωτυχίδην· οὐ γὰρ εἰ προσ-
πταίσας τις τὸν πόδα βασιλεύοι, τῷ θεῷ δια-
φέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ γνήσιος ὢν μηδὲ Ἡρακλείδης,
τοῦτο τὴν χολὴν εἶναι βασιλείαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγη-
σίλαος ἔφη καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ καταμαρτυρεῖν τοῦ
Λεωτυχίδου τὴν νοθείαν, ἐκβαλόντα σεισμῷ τοῦ
θαλάμου τὸν Ἄγιν· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ πλέον ἢ δέκα
μηνῶν διελθόντων γενέσθαι τὸν Λεωτυχίδην.

IV. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἀπο-
δειχθεὶς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εὐθύς εἶχε καὶ τὰ χρή-
ματα τοῦ Ἀγίδος, ὥς νόθον ἀπελάσας τὸν Λεω-
τυχίδην. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς οἰκείους
ἐπιεικεῖς μὲν ὄντας, ἰσχυρῶς δὲ πενομένους, ἀπέ-
νειμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἡμίσεα τῶν χρημάτων, εὖνοϊαν
ἑαυτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἀντὶ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας
ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ κατασκευαζόμενος. ὁ δὲ
φησιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι πάντα τῇ πατρίδι πειθό-
μενος ἵσχυε πλεῖστον, ὥστε ποιεῖν ὃ βούλοιο,
2 τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. τῶν ἐφόρων ἦν τότε καὶ τῶν
γερόντων τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κράτος,
ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχουσι μόνον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες
διὰ βίου ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν τιμὴν, ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ
πάντα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐξεῖναι συνταχθέντες,

AGESILAUS

spring a maimed royalty ; for long will unexpected toils oppress thee, and onward-rolling billows of man-destroying war."

To this Lysander answered that, in case the Spartans stood in great fear of the oracle, they must be on their guard against Leotychides ; for it mattered not to the god that one who halted in his gait should be king, but if one who was not lawfully begotten, nor even a descendant of Heracles, should be king, this was what the god meant by the "maimed royalty." And Agesilaüs declared that Poseidon also had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychides, for he had cast Agis forth from his bed-chamber by an earthquake, and after this more than ten months elapsed before Leotychides was born.¹

IV. In this way, and for these reasons, Agesilaüs was appointed king, and straightway enjoyed possession of the estates of Agis as well as his throne, after expelling Leotychides as a bastard. But seeing that his kinsmen on his mother's side, though worthy folk, were excessively poor, he distributed among them the half of his estates, thereby making his inheritance yield him good-will and reputation instead of envy and hatred. As for Xenophon's statement² that by obeying his country in everything he won very great power, so that he did what he pleased, the case is as follows. At that time the ephors and the senators had the greatest power in the state, of whom the former hold office for a year only, while the senators enjoy their dignity for life, their offices having been instituted to restrain the power of the kings, as I have said in my *Life of*

¹ Cf. *Alcibiades*, xxiii. 8 ; *Lysander*, xxii. 3 ff. ; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 3, 2.

² Xenophon's *Agesilaüs*, vi. 4.

ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λυκούργου γέγραπται. διὸ καὶ πατρικὴν τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ διετέλουν εὐθύς οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλονεικίαν καὶ δια-
 3 φορὰν παραλαμβάνοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν αὐτοῖς ἔσας ἐθεράπευε, πάσης μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνων πράξεως ἀρχόμενος, εἰ δὲ κληθείη, θάττον ἢ βάδην ἐπειγόμενος, ὅσακις δὲ τύχοι καθήμενος ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θώκῳ καὶ χρηματίζων, ἐπιούσι τοῖς ἐφόροις ὑπεξανίστατο, τῶν
 4 χλαῖναν ἔπεμπε καὶ βοῦν ἀριστεῖον. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τιμᾶν δοκῶν καὶ μεγαλύνειν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, ἐλάνθανεν αὖξων τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ προστιθέμενος μέγεθος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας συγχωρούμενον.

V. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ὁμιλίαις ἐχθρὸς ἦν ἀμεμπτότερος ἢ φίλος. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς ἀδίκως οὐκ ἔβλαπτε, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ τὰ μὴ δίκαια συνέπραττε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἡσχύνετο μὴ τιμᾶν κατορθοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ φίλους οὐκ ἐδύνατο ψέγειν ἀμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθῶν ἡγάλλετο καὶ συνεξαμαρτάνων αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ᾤετο τῶν φιλικῶν
 2 ὑπουργημάτων αἰσχρὸν εἶναι. τοῖς δ' αὖτε ἐφόροις πταίσασι πρῶτος συναχθόμενος καὶ δεηθείσι συμπράττων προθύμως ἐδημαγώγει καὶ προσήγετο πάντας. ὀρώντες οὖν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ἐξημίωσαν αὐτόν, αἰτίαν ὑπειπόντες ὅτι τοὺς κοινούς πολίτας ἰδίους κτᾶται.

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Lycurgus.¹ Therefore from the outset, and from generation to generation, the kings were traditionally at feud and variance with them. But Agesilaus took the opposite course. Instead of colliding and fighting with them, he courted their favour, winning their support before setting out on any undertaking; and whenever he was invited to meet them, hastening to them on the run. If ever the ephors visited him when he was seated in his royal chair and administering justice, he rose in their honour; and as men were from time to time made members of the senate, he would send each one a cloak and an ox as a mark of honour. Consequently, while he was thought to be honouring and exalting the dignity of their office, he was unawares increasing his own influence and adding to the power of the king a greatness which was conceded out of good-will towards him.

V. In his dealings with the rest of the citizens he was less blame-worthy as an enemy than as a friend; for he would not injure his enemies without just cause, but joined his friends even in their unjust practices. And whereas he was ashamed not to honour his enemies when they did well, he could not bring himself to censure his friends when they did amiss, but actually prided himself on aiding them and sharing in their misdeeds. For he thought no aid disgraceful that was given to a friend. But if, on the other hand, his adversaries stumbled and fell, he was first to sympathize with them and give them zealous aid if they desired it, and so won the hearts and the allegiance of all. The ephors, accordingly, seeing this, and fearing his power, laid a fine upon him, alleging as a reason that he made the citizens his own, who should be the common property of the state.

¹ Chapters v. 6 f.; vii. 1 f.

- 3 Καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ φυσικοὶ τὸ νεῖκος οἴονται καὶ τὴν ἔριν, εἰ τῶν ὄλων ἐξαιρεθείη, στήναι μὲν ἂν τὰ οὐράνια, παύσασθαι δὲ πάντων¹ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ κίνησιν ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς πάντα πάντων ἁρμονίας, οὕτως ἔοικεν ὁ Λακωνικὸς νομοθέτης ὑπέκκαυμα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλόνεικον, αἰεὶ τινα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διαφορὰν καὶ ἄμιλλαν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους βουλόμενος, τὴν δὲ ἀνθυπείκουσαν τῷ ἀνελέγκτῳ χάριν ἀργὴν καὶ ἀναγώνιστον οὖσαν
- 4 οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὁμόνοιαν λέγεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἀμέλει συνεωρακέναί καὶ τὸν "Ὀμηρον οἴονταί τινες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιῆσαι χαίροντα τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως εἰς λοιδορίαν προαχθέντων "ἐκπάγλοις ἐπέεσσιν," εἰ μὴ μέγα τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζῆλον καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν ἀρίστων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν οὕτως τις ἀπλῶς συγχωρήσειεν· αἱ γὰρ ὑπερβολαὶ τῶν φιλονεικιῶν χαλεπαὶ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἔχουσι.

VI. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν βασιλείαν νεωστὶ παρειληφότος, ἀπήγγελλον τινες ἐξ Ἀσίας ἦκοντες ὡς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς παρασκευάζοιτο μεγάλῳ στόλῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς θαλάσσης. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἐπιθυμῶν αὐθις εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀποσταλῆναι καὶ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς φίλοις, οὓς αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρχοντας καὶ κυρίους τῶν πόλεων ἀπέλιπε, κακῶς δὲ χρώμενοι καὶ βιαίως τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξέπιπτον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ἀνέπεισε τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ προπολεμῆσαι τῆς

¹ πάντων Coraës and Bekker have πάντως (utterly), an early, anonymous correction.

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Natural philosophers are of the opinion that, if strife and discord should be banished from the universe, the heavenly bodies would stand still, and all generation and motion would cease in consequence of the general harmony. And so the Spartan law-giver seems to have introduced the spirit of ambition and contention into his civil polity as an incentive to virtue, desiring that good citizens should always be somewhat at variance and in conflict with one another, and deeming that complaisance which weakly yields without debate, which knows no effort and no struggle, to be wrongly called concord. And some think that Homer also was clearly of this mind; for he would not have represented Agamemnon as pleased when Odysseus and Achilles were carried away into abuse of one another with "frightful words,"¹ if he had not thought the general interests likely to profit by the mutual rivalry and quarrelling of the chieftains. This principle, however, must not be accepted without some reservations; for excessive rivalries are injurious to states, and productive of great perils.

VI. Agesilaüs had but recently come to the throne, when tidings were brought from Asia that the Persian king was preparing a great armament with which to drive the Lacedaemonians from the sea. Now, Lysander was eager to be sent again into Asia, and to aid his friends there. These he had left governors and masters of the cities, but owing to their unjust and violent conduct of affairs, they were being driven out by the citizens, and even put to death. He therefore persuaded Agesilaüs to undertake the expedition and make war in behalf of

¹ *Odyssey*, viii. 75 ff.

- Ἑλλάδος, ἀπωτάτω διαβάντα καὶ φθάσαντα τὴν
 2 τοῦ βαρβάρου παρασκευήν. ἅμα δὲ τοῖς ἐν
 Ἀσίᾳ φίλοις ἐπέστελλε πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα
 καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀγησίλαον αἰτεῖσθαι. παρελ-
 θὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος Ἀγησίλαος ἀνεδέξατο
 τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ δοῖεν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν ἡγε-
 μόνας καὶ συμβούλους Σπαρτιάτας, νεοδαμώδεις
 δὲ λογάδας δισχιλίους, τὴν δὲ συμμαχικὴν εἰς
 3 ἑξακισχιλίους δύναμιν. συμπράττοντος δὲ τοῦ
 Λυσάνδρου πάντα προθύμως ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ
 τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐξέπεμπον εὐθύς¹ ἔχοντα τοὺς
 τριάκοντα Σπαρτιάτας, ὧν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἦν πρῶ-
 τος,² οὐ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἀγησιλάου φιλίαν, ᾧ μείζον
 ἐδόκει τῆς βασιλείας ἀγαθὸν διαπεπράχθαι τὴν
 στρατηγίαν ἐκείνην.
- 4 Ἀθροισμένης δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Γεραιστόν,
 αὐτὸς εἰς Αὐλίδαν κατελθὼν μετὰ τῶν φίλων
 καὶ νυκτερεύσας ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἰπεῖν
 τινα πρὸς αὐτόν. “ὦ βασιλεῦ Λακεδαιμονίων,
 599 ὅτι μὲν οὐδεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁμοῦ συμπάσης ἀπε-
 δείχθη στρατηγὸς ἢ πρότερον Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ σὺ
 νῦν μετ’ ἐκείνον, ἐννοεῖς δήπουθεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν
 αὐτῶν ἄρχεις ἐκείνῳ, τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖς, ἀπὸ
 δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων ὁρμᾷς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, εἰκός
 ἐστὶ καὶ θῦσαί σε τῇ θεῷ θυσίαν ἣν ἐκείνος ἐν-
 5 ταῦθα θύσας ἐξέπλευσεν.” ἅμα δέ πως ὑπῆλθε
 τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὁ τῆς κόρης σφαγιασμός, ἣν ὁ
 πατὴρ ἔσφαξε πεισθεὶς τοῖς μάντεσιν. οὐ μὴν

¹ ἐξέπεμπον εὐθύς MSS.: ἐξέπεμπον after Reiske.

² πρῶτος S: εὐθύς πρῶτος.

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Hellas, proceeding to the farthest point across the sea, and thus anticipating the preparations of the Barbarian. At the same time he wrote to his friends in Asia urging them to send messengers to Sparta and demand Agesilaüs as their commander. Accordingly, Agesilaüs went before the assembly of the people and agreed to undertake the war if they would grant him thirty Spartans as captains and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand enfranchised Helots, and a force of allies amounting to six thousand. They readily voted everything, owing to the co-operation of Lysander, and sent Agesilaüs forth at once with the thirty Spartans. Of these Lysander was first and foremost, not only because of his own reputation and influence, but also because of the friendship of Agesilaüs, in whose eyes his procuring him this command was a greater boon than his raising him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geraestus,¹ Agesilaüs himself went to Aulis with his friends and spent the night. As he slept, he thought a voice came to him, saying: "King of the Lacedaemonians, thou art surely aware that no one has ever been appointed general of all Hellas together except Agamemnon, in former times, and now thyself, after him. And since thou commandest the same hosts that he did, and wagest war on the same foes, and settest out for the war from the same place, it is meet that thou shouldst sacrifice also to the goddess the sacrifice which he made there before he set sail." Almost at once Agesilaüs remembered the sacrifice of his own daughter² which Agamemnon had there made in obedience to the soothsayers. He was not disturbed,

¹ In the spring of 396 B.C.

² Iphigeneia. Cf. Euripides, *Iph. Aul.*, 1540 ff. (Kirchhoff).

διετάραξεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς καὶ διηγησά-
μενος τοῖς φίλοις τὰ φανέντα τὴν μὲν θεὸν ἔφη
τιμήσειν οἷς εἰκὸς ἐστὶ χαίρειν θεὸν οὖσαν, οὐ
μιμήσεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἀπάθειαν¹ τοῦ τότε στρατη-
γοῦ. καὶ καταστέψας ἔλαφον ἐκέλευσεν ἀπάρξα-
σθαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μάντιν, οὐχ ὥσπερ εἰώθει τοῦτο
6 ποιεῖν ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένος. ἀκούσαντες
οὖν οἱ βοιωτάρχαι πρὸς ὀργὴν κινηθέντες ἔπεμ-
ψαν ὑπηρέτας, ἀπαγορεύοντες τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ μὴ
θύειν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ πάτρια Βοιωτῶν.
οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλαν καὶ τὰ μηρία διέρ-
ριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. χαλεπῶς οὖν ἔχων ὁ
Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέπλει, τοῖς τε Θηβαίοις διωργισ-
μένος καὶ γεγονὼς δύσελπις διὰ τὸν οἰωνόν, ὡς
ἀτελῶν αὐτῷ τῶν πράξεων γενησομένων καὶ τῆς
στρατείας ἐπὶ τὸ προσήκον οὐκ ἀφιζομένης.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἑφεσον, εὐθύς ἀξίωμα
μέγα καὶ δύναμις ἦν ἐπαχθῆς καὶ βαρεῖα περὶ τὸν
Λύσανδρον, ὃχλου φοιτῶντος ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἐκάσ-
τοτε καὶ πάντων παρακολουθούντων καὶ θερα-
πευόντων ἐκείνου, ὡς ὄνομα μὲν καὶ σχῆμα τῆς
στρατηγίας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔχοντα,² διὰ τὸν
νόμον, ἔργῳ δὲ κύριον ὄντα³ ἀπάντων καὶ δυνά-
μενον καὶ πράττοντα πάντα τὸν Λύσανδρον.
2 οὐδεὶς γὰρ δεινότερος οὐδὲ φοβερώτερος ἐκείνου
τῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀποσταλέντων ἐγένετο στρα-
τηγῶν, οὐδὲ μείζονα τοὺς φίλους ἀνὴρ ἄλλος
εὐεργέτησεν οὐδὲ κακὰ τηλικαῦτα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
ἐποίησεν. ὧν ἔτι προσφάτων ὄντων οἱ ἄνθρωποι

¹ ἀπάθειαν S and Amyot : ἀμαθίαν (stupidity).

² ἔχοντα Coraës, after Reiske : ὄντα.

³ κύριον ὄντα Reiske : κύριον.

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however, but after rising up and imparting his vision to his friends, declared that he would honour the goddess with a sacrifice in which she could fitly take pleasure, being a goddess, and would not imitate the cruel insensibility of his predecessor. So he caused a hind to be wreathed with chaplets, and ordered his own seer to perform the sacrifice, instead of the one customarily appointed to this office by the Boeotians. Accordingly, when the Boeotian magistrates heard of this, they were moved to anger, and sent their officers, forbidding Agesilaüs to sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of the Boeotians. These officers not only delivered their message, but also snatched the thigh-pieces of the victim from the altar.¹ Agesilaüs therefore sailed away in great distress of mind ; he was not only highly incensed at the Thebans, but also full of ill-boding on account of the omen. He was convinced that his undertakings would be incomplete, and that his expedition would have no fitting issue.

VII. As soon as he came to Ephesus, the great dignity and influence which Lysander enjoyed were burdensome and grievous to him. The doors of Lysander were always beset with a throng, and all followed in his train and paid him court, as though Agesilaüs had the command in name and outward appearance, to comply with the law, while in fact Lysander was master of all, had all power, and did everything.² In fact, none of the generals sent out to Asia ever had more power or inspired more fear than he ; none other conferred greater favours on his friends, or inflicted such great injuries upon his enemies. All this was still fresh in men's minds, and

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 3 f.

² Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 7.

- μνημονεύοντες, ἄλλως δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀγησίλαον ἀφελῇ καὶ λιτὸν ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ δημοτικὸν ὀρώντες, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοίως σφοδρότητα καὶ τραχύτητα καὶ βραχυλογίαν παρούσαν, ὑπέπιπτον αὐτῷ παντάπασι καὶ μόνῳ προσεῖχον.
- 3 ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν οἱ λοιποὶ Σπαρτιᾶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὑπηρέται Λυσάνδρου μᾶλλον ἢ σύμβουλοι βασιλέως ὄντες· ἔπειτα δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, εἰ καὶ μὴ φθονερὸς ἦν μηδὲ ἤχθετο τοῖς τιμωμένοις, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος ὢν σφόδρα καὶ φιλόνεικος, ἐφοβείτο μὴ, κἂν ἐνέγκωσί τι λαμπρὸν αἰ πράξεις, τοῦτο Λυσάνδρου γένηται διὰ τὴν δόξαν. οὕτως οὖν ἐποίει.
- 4 Πρῶτον ἀντέκρουε ταῖς συμβουλίαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πρὸς ἃς ἐκείνος ἐσπουδάκει μάλιστα πράξεις ἑὼν χαίρειν καὶ παραμελῶν, ἕτερα πρὸ ἐκείνων ἔπραττεν· ἔπειτα τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ δεομένων οὓς αἰσθοίτο Λυσάνδρῳ μάλιστα πεποιθότας, ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμπε· καὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὁμοίως οἷς ἐκείνος ἐπηρεάζοι, τούτους ἔδει πλέον ἔχοντας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ τὸναντίον οὓς φανερὸς γένοιτο προθυμούμενος ὠφελεῖν, χαλεπὸν ἦν μὴ
- 5 καὶ ζημιωθῆναι. γινομένων δὲ τούτων οὐ κατὰ τύχην, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ ὁμαλῶς, αἰσθόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ὥς δι' αὐτὸν ἀτιμάζοντο, καὶ παρεκάλει θεραπεύειν ἰόντας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ δυναμένους.

VIII. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἐδόκει φθόνον ἐκείνῳ μηχανώμενος, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ καθάψασθαι βουλόμενος Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέ-

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besides, when they saw the simple, plain, and familiar manners of Agesilaüs, while Lysander retained the same vehemence and harshness, and the same brevity of speech as before, they yielded to the latter's influence altogether, and attached themselves to him alone. As a consequence of this, in the first place, the rest of the Spartans were displeased to find themselves assistants of Lysander rather than counsellors of the king; and, in the second place, Agesilaüs himself, though he was not an envious man, nor displeased that others should be honoured, but exceedingly ambitious and high-spirited, began to fear that any brilliant success which he might achieve in his undertakings would be attributed to Lysander, owing to popular opinion. He went to work, therefore, in this way.

To begin with, he resisted the counsels of Lysander, and whatever enterprises were most earnestly favoured by him, these he ignored and neglected, and did other things in their stead; again, of those who came to solicit favours from him, he sent away empty-handed all who put their chief confidence in Lysander; and in judicial cases likewise, all those against whom Lysander inveighed were sure to come off victorious, while, on the contrary, those whom he was manifestly eager to help had hard work even to escape being fined. These things happened, not casually, but as if of set purpose, and uniformly. At last Lysander perceived the reason, and did not hide it from his friends, but told them it was on his account that they were slighted, and advised them to go and pay their court to the king, and to those more influential with him than himself.

VIII. Accordingly, since his words and acts seemed contrived to bring odium upon the king, Agesilaüs, wishing to despise him still more,

2 δειξε κρεοδαίτην καὶ προσεῖπεν, ὡς λέγεται, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων· “Νῦν οὖν θεραπευέτωσαν οὗτοι ἀπιόντες τὸν ἐμὸν κρεοδαίτην.” ἀχθόμενος οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἥιδεις ἄρα σαφῶς, Ἀγησίλαε, φίλους ἐλαττοῦν.” “Νῆ Δί’,”¹ 600 ἔφη, “τοὺς ἐμοῦ μεῖζον δύνασθαι βουλομένους.” καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος, “Ἄλλ’ ἴσως,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα σοὶ λέλεκται βέλτιον ἢ ἐμοὶ πέπρακται. δὸς δέ μοι τινὰ τάξιν καὶ χώραν ἔνθα μὴ λυπῶν ἔσομαι σοι χρήσιμος.” ἐκ τούτου πέμπεται μὲν ἐφ’ Ἑλλησποντον, καὶ Σπιθριδάτην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ἀπὸ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας μετὰ χρημάτων συχνῶν καὶ διακοσίων ἱππέων ἡγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, οὐκ ἔληγε δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ βαρέως φέρων ἤδη τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐβούλευεν ὅπως τῶν δυεῖν οἴκων τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενος εἰς μέσον ἅπασιν ἀποδοίῃ Σπαρτιάταις. καὶ ἐδόκει μεγάλην ἂν ἀπεργάσασθαι κίνησιν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτελεύ- 4 τησεν εἰς Βοιωτίαν στρατεύσας. οὕτως αἱ φιλότιμοι φύσεις ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις, τὸ ἄγαν μὴ φυλαξάμεναι, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεῖζον τὸ κακὸν ἔχουσι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ Λύσανδρος ἦν φορτικός, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπερβάλλων τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἠγνόει δῆπουθεν Ἀγησίλαος ἐτέραν ἀμεμπτοτέραν ἐπανόρθωσιν οὔσαν ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ φιλοτίμου πλημμελοῦντος. ἀλλ’ ἔοικε ταὐτῷ πάθει μήτε ἐκεῖνος ἄρχοντος ἐξουσίαν γινῶναι μήτε οὗτος ἄγνοιαν ἐνεγκεῖν συνήθους.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τισαφέρνης ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν φοβη-

¹ Νῆ Δί’ Cobet, comparing Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 9: *Ἥιδειν* (*I know how to humble*).

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appointed him his carver of meats, and once said, we are told, in the hearing of many: "Now then, let these suppliants go off to my carver of meats and pay their court to him." Lysander, then, deeply pained, said to him: "I see, Agesilaüs, that thou knowest very well how to humble thy friends." "Yes indeed," said the king, "those who wish to be more powerful than I am." Then Lysander said: "Well, perhaps these words of thine are fairer than my deeds. Give me, however, some post and place where I shall be of service to thee, without vexing thee."¹ Upon this he was sent to the Hellespont, and brought over to Agesilaüs from the country of Pharnabazus, Spithridates, a Persian, with much money and two hundred horsemen. He did not, however, lay aside his wrath, but continued his resentment, and from this time on planned how he might wrest the kingdom from the two royal families, and make all Spartans once more eligible to it. And it was thought that he would have brought about a great disturbance in consequence of this quarrel, had not death overtaken him on his expedition into Boeotia.² Thus ambitious natures in a commonwealth, if they do not observe due bounds, work greater harm than good. For even though Lysander was troublesome, as he was, in gratifying his ambition unseasonably, still, Agesilaüs must surely have known another and more blameless way of correcting a man of high repute and ambition when he erred. As it was, it seems to have been due to the same passion that the one would not recognize the authority of his superior, nor the other put up with the folly of his friend and comrade.

IX. At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaüs,

¹ Cf. *Lysander*, xxiii. 9.

² Cf. *Lysander*, xxiv.-xxviii.

- θείς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐποιήσατο σπονδάς, ὡς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῷ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἀφήσοντος αὐτόνομους βασιλέως, ὕστερον δὲ πεισθεὶς ἔχειν δύναμιν ἱκανὴν ἐξήνεγκε τὸν πόλεμον, ἄσμενος ὁ
- 2 Ἀγησίλαος ἐδέξατο. προσδοκία γὰρ ἦν μεγάλη τῆς στρατείας· καὶ δεινὸν ἡγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι μυρίους ἤκειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ὅσakis ἐβουλήθησαν αὐτοὶ τοσαυτάkis βασιλέα νενικηκότας, αὐτοῦ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντος ἡγουμένων γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης μηδὲν ἔργον ἄξιον μνήμης φανῆναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. εὐθύς οὖν ἀμυνόμενος ἀπάτη δικαία τὴν Τισαφέρνους ἐπιορκίαν, ἐπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν προάξων, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ βαρβάρου συναθροί-
- 3 σαντος ἄρας εἰς Φρυγίαν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ πόλεις μὲν εἶλε συχνὰς καὶ χρημάτων ἀφθόνων ἐκυρίευσεν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς φίλοις ὅτι τὸ μὲν σπείσάμενον ἀδικεῖν τῶν θεῶν ἔστι καταφρονεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παραλογίζεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ μόνον τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξα πολλή καὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡδονῆς κερδαίνειν ἔνεστι. τοῖς δὲ ἱππεύσιν ἐλαττωθεὶς καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀλόβων φανέντων, ἀναχωρήσας εἰς Ἐφεσον ἱππικὸν συνῆγε, τοῖς εὐπόροις προειπών, εἰ μὴ βούλονται στρατεῦεσθαι, παρασχεῖν ἕκαστον ἵππον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα.
- 4 πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ συνέβαινε τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ ταχὺ πολλοὺς καὶ πολεμικοὺς ἔχειν ἱππεῖς ἀντὶ δειλῶν ὀπλιτῶν. ἐμισθοῦντο γὰρ οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι στρατεῦεσθαι τοὺς βουλομένους στρα-

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and made a treaty in which he promised him to make the Greek cities free and independent of the King. Afterwards, however, when he was convinced that he had a sufficient force, he declared war, and Agesilaüs gladly accepted it. For he had great expectations from his expedition, and he thought it would be a disgraceful thing if, whereas Xenophon and his Ten Thousand had penetrated to the sea, and vanquished the King just as often as they themselves desired, he, in command of the Lacedaemonians, who had the supremacy on sea and land, should perform no deed worthy of remembrance in the eyes of the Hellenes. At once, then, requiting the perjury of Tisaphernes with a righteous deception, he gave out word that he was going to lead his troops against Caria; but when the Barbarian had assembled his forces there, he set out and made an incursion into Phrygia. He captured many cities and made himself master of boundless treasure, thus shewing plainly to his friends that the violation of a treaty is contempt for the gods, but that in outwitting one's enemies there is not only justice, but also great glory, and profit mixed with pleasure. However, since he was inferior in cavalry and his sacrifices were unpropitious, he retired to Ephesus and began to get together a force of horsemen, commanding the well-to-do, in case they did not wish to perform military service themselves, to furnish instead every man a horse and rider. There were many who chose this course, and so it came to pass that Agesilaüs quickly had a large force of warlike horsemen instead of worthless men-at-arms.¹ For those who did not wish to do military service hired those who did, and those who did not

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 15.

τεύεσθαι, οἱ δὲ μὴ βουλόμενοι ἵππεύειν τοὺς
βουλομένους ἵππεύειν.¹ καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα
ποιῆσαι καλῶς ὅτι θήλειαν ἵππον ἀγαθὴν λαβὼν
κακὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πλούσιον ἀπῆλλαξε τῆς στρα-
5 τείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς αἰχμαλώ-
τους ἀποδύοντες ἐπίπρασκον οἱ λαφυροπῶλαι,
καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐσθήτος ἦσαν ὠνηταὶ πολλοί, τῶν δὲ
σωμάτων λευκῶν καὶ ἀπαλῶν παντάπασι διὰ τὰς
σκιатραφίας γυμνουμένων κατεγέλων ὡς ἀχρή-
στων καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίων, ἐπιστὰς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος,
“Οὗτοι μὲν,” εἶπεν, “οἷς μάχεσθε, ταῦτα δὲ
ὑπὲρ ὧν μάχεσθε.”

X. Καιροῦ δὲ ὄντος αὐθις ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν
πολεμίαν προεῖπεν εἰς Λυδίαν ἀπάξειν, οὐκέτι
ψευδόμενος ἐνταῦθα τὸν Τισαφέρην· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος
ἑαυτὸν ἐξηπάτησε, διὰ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπάτην
ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ, καὶ νῦν γοῦν αὐτὸν
ἄψεσθαι τῆς Καρίας νομίζων οὔσης δυσίππου 601
2 πολὺ τῷ ἱππικῷ λειπόμενον. ἐπεὶ δέ, ὡς προεῖ-
πεν, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦκεν εἰς τὸ περὶ Σάρδεις πεδῖον,
ἠναγκάζετο κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν ὁ
Τισαφέρνης· καὶ τῇ ἵππῳ διεξελαύνων διέφθειρε
πολλοὺς τῶν ἀτάκτως τὸ πεδῖον πορθούντων.
ἐννοήσας οὖν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις
οὐπὼ πάρεστι τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως
3 οὐδὲν ἄπεστιν, ἔσπευσε διαγωνίσασθαι. καὶ τοῖς
μὲν ἵππεύσιν ἀναμίξας τὸ πελταστικόν, ἐλαύνειν
ἐκέλευσεν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ προσβάλλειν τοῖς
ἐναντίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ εὐθύς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπῆγε.
γενομένης δὲ τροπῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπακολουθή-

¹ ἐμισθοῦντο . . . ἵππεύειν bracketed by Sintenis² and Cobet.
The sentence is wanting in *Apophtheg. Lacon.* 12 (*Morals*,
p. 209 b).

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wish to serve as horsemen hired those who did. Indeed, Agesilaüs thought Agamemnon had done well in accepting a good mare and freeing a cowardly rich man from military service.¹ And once when, by his orders, his prisoners of war were stripped of their clothing and offered for sale by the venders of booty, their clothing found many purchasers, but their naked bodies, which were utterly white and delicate, owing to their effeminate habits, were ridiculed as useless and worthless. Then Agesilaüs, noticing, said: "These are the men with whom you fight, and these the things for which you fight."

X. When the season again favoured an incursion into the enemy's country,² Agesilaüs gave out that he would march into Lydia, and this time he was not trying to deceive Tisaphernes. That satrap, however, utterly deluded himself, in that he disbelieved Agesilaüs because of his former trick, and thought that now, at any rate, the king would attack Caria, although it was ill-suited for cavalry, and he was far inferior in that arm of the service. But Agesilaüs, as he had given out that he would do, marched into the plain of Sardis, and then Tisaphernes was forced to hasten thither from Caria with aid and relief; and riding through the plain with his cavalry, he cut off many straggling plunderers there. Agesilaüs, accordingly, reflecting that the enemy's infantry had not yet come up, while his own forces were complete, made haste to give battle. He mingled his light-armed infantry with his horsemen, and ordered them to charge at full speed and assault the enemy, while he himself at once led up his men-at-arms. The Barbarians were put to flight, and the Greeks,

¹ *Iliad*, xxiii. 296 ff.

² In the spring of 395 B.C.; cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 16 ff.

σαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οὐ μόνον ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἀδεῶς τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην ἐπιδεῖν Τισαφέρνῃ διδόντα, μοχθηρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῷ γένει τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπεχθέστατον. 4 ἔπεμψε γὰρ εὐθέως ὁ βασιλεὺς Τιθραύστην ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὃς ἐκείνου μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸν δὲ Ἀγησίλαον ἡξίου διαλυσάμενον ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, καὶ χρήματα διδούς αὐτῷ προσέπεμψε. ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης ἔφη τὴν πόλιν εἶναι κυρίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλουτίζων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἡδεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ πλουτῶν αὐτός· καὶ ἄλλως γε μέντοι νομίζειν Ἕλληνας καλὸν οὐ δῶρα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ λάφυρα παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. 5 ὅμως δὲ τῷ Τιθραύστῃ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐτετιμώρητο Τισαφέρνῃν, ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Φρυγίαν τὸ στράτευμα, λαβὼν ἐφόδιον παρ' αὐτοῦ τριάκοντα τάλαντα.

Καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὦν σκυτάλην δέχεται παρὰ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν κελεύουσιν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. τοῦτο μόνῳ πάντων ὑπῆρξεν Ἀγησιλάῳ. καὶ μέγιστος μὲν ἦν ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τῶν τότε ζώντων ἐπιφανέστατος, ὡς εἵρηκέ 6 πον καὶ Θεόπομπος, ἑαυτῷ γε μὴν ἐδίδου δι' ἀρετὴν φρονεῖν μείζον ἢ διὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τότε δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα Πείσανδρον ἀμαρτεῖν ἔδοξεν, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρων καὶ φρονιμωτέρων παρόντων οὐ σκεψάμενος τὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα τιμῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ χαριζόμενος, ἧς ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὁ Πείσανδρος, ἐκείνῳ παρέδωκε τὴν ναυαρχίαν.

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following close upon them, took their camp and slew many of them. As a result of this battle, the Greeks could not only harry the country of the King without fear, but had the satisfaction of seeing due punishment inflicted upon Tisaphernes, an abominable man, and most hateful to the Greek race. For the King at once sent Tithraustes after him, who cut off his head, and asked Agesilaüs to make terms and sail back home, offering him money at the hands of envoys. But Agesilaüs answered that it was for his city to make peace, and that for his own part, he took more pleasure in enriching his soldiers than in getting rich himself; moreover, the Greeks, he said, thought it honourable to take, not gifts, but spoils, from their enemies. Nevertheless, desiring to gratify Tithraustes, because he had punished Tisaphernes, that common enemy of the Greeks, he led his army back into Phrygia, taking thirty talents from the viceroy to cover the expenses of the march.

On the road he received a dispatch-roll from the magistrates at home, which bade him assume control of the navy as well as of the army.¹ This was an honour which no one ever received but Agesilaüs. And he was confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time, as Theopompus also has somewhere said, although he prided himself more on his virtues than on his high command. But in putting Peisander in charge of the navy at this time, he was thought to have made a mistake; for there were older and more competent men to be had, and yet he gave the admiralty to him, not out of regard for the public good, but in recognition of the claims of relationship and to gratify his wife, who was a sister of Peisander.

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 27 ff.

XI. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν καταστήσας εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζω τεταγμένην χώραν οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγε πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα συνῆγε πολλά· καὶ προελθὼν ἄχρι Παφλαγονίας προσ-
 ηγάγετο τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παφλαγόνων, Κότυν, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῦ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ
 2 πίστιν. ὁ δὲ Σπιθριδάτης, ὡς ἀποστὰς τοῦ Φαρναβάζου τὸ πρῶτον ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησί-
 λαον, αἰεὶ συναπεδήμει καὶ συνεστράτευεν αὐτῷ, κάλλιστον υἱὸν μὲν ἔχων, Μεγαβάτην, οὐ παιδὸς ὄντος ἦρα σφοδρῶς Ἀγησίλαος, καλὴν δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα παρθένον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γάμου. ταύτην
 3 ἔπεισε γῆμαι τὸν Κότυν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ χιλίους ἵππεῖς καὶ δισχιλίους πελτα-
 στὰς αὐθις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Φρυγίαν, καὶ κακῶς ἐποίει τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν οὐχ ὑπομένουτος οὐδὲ πιστεύοντος τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἔχων αἰεὶ τὰ πλεῖστα σὺν ἑαυτῷ τῶν τιμίων καὶ ἀγαπητῶν ἐξεχώρει καὶ ὑπέφευγεν ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχόσε τῆς χώρας μεθιδρυόμενος, μέχρι οὐ παραφυλάξας αὐτὸν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ παραλαβὼν Ἑριππίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἔλαβε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τῶν
 4 χρημάτων ἀπάντων ἐκράτησεν. ἔνθα δὴ πικρὸς ὢν ὁ Ἑριππίδας ἐξεταστῆς τῶν κλαπέντων, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀναγκάζων ἀποτίθεσθαι, καὶ πάντα ἐφορῶν καὶ διερευνώμενος, παρώξυνε τὸν Σπιθριδάτην, ὥστε ἀπελθεῖν εὐθὺς εἰς Σάρδεις μετὰ τῶν Παφλαγόνων.

Τοῦτο λέγεται τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ γενέσθαι πάντων 602

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XI. As for himself, he stationed his army in the province of Pharnabazus,¹ where he not only lived in universal plenty, but also accumulated much money. He also advanced to the confines of Paphlagonia and brought Cotys, the king of the Paphlagonians, into alliance with him, for his virtues, and the confidence which he inspired, inclined the king to desire his friendship. Spithridates also, from the time when he abandoned Pharnabazus and came to Agésilæus, always accompanied him in his journeys and expeditions. Spithridates had a son, a very beautiful boy, named Megabates, of whom Agésilæus was ardently enamoured, and a beautiful daughter also, a maiden of marriageable age. This daughter Agésilæus persuaded Cotys to marry, and then receiving from him a thousand horsemen and two thousand targeteers, he retired again into Phrygia, and harassed the country of Pharnabazus, who did not stand his ground nor trust in his defences, but always kept most of his valued and precious things with him, and withdrew or fled from one part of the country to another, having no abiding place. At last Spithridates, who had narrowly watched him, in conjunction with Herippidas the Spartan,² seized his camp and made himself master of all his treasures. Here, however, Herippidas, who had too sharp an eye to the booty that was stolen, and forced the Barbarians to restore it, watching over and enquiring into everything, exasperated Spithridates, so that he marched off at once to Sardis with the Paphlagonians.

This is said to have annoyed Agésilæus beyond all

¹ In the fall of 395 B.C.; cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 1, 1 ff.

² The leader of the second company of thirty Spartan counsellors sent out in the spring of 395 B.C. Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 20.

- ἀνιαρότατον. ἤχθετο μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρα γενναῖον ἀποβεβληκὸς τὸν Σπιθριδάτην καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ἥσχυνετο δὲ τῇ διαβολῇ τῆς μικρολογίας καὶ ἀνελευθερίας, ἥς οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καθαρεύουσαν αἰεὶ παρέ-
- 5 χεῖν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ἐμφανῶν τούτων ἔκνιζεν αὐτὸν οὐ μετρίως ὁ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρως ἐνεσταγμένος, εἰ καὶ πάνυ παρόντος αὐτοῦ τῷ φιλονείκῳ χρώμενος ἐπειρᾶτο νεανικῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. καὶ ποτε τοῦ Μεγαβάτου προσιόντος ὡς ἀσπασομένου καὶ
- 6 φιλήσοντος ἐξέκλινεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος αἰσχυνθεὶς ἐπαύσατο καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄπωθεν ἤδη προσηγόρευεν, ἀχθόμενος αὐτὸν πάλιν καὶ μεταμελόμενος τῇ φυγῇ τοῦ φιλήματος, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος προσεποιεῖτο θαυμάζειν ὅτι δὴ παθὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Μεγαβάτης ἀπὸ στόματος οὐ φιλοφρονοῖτο. “Σὺ γὰρ αἴτιος,” οἱ συνήθεις ἔφασαν, “οὐχ ὑποστάς, ἀλλὰ τρέσας τὸ φίλημα τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ φοβηθεὶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἂν ἔλθοι σοι πεισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἐντὸς φιλήματος· ἀλλ’ ὅπως αὐθις οὐκ ἀποδειλιασεῖς.”
- 7 χρόνον οὖν τινα πρὸς ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ διασιωπήσας, “Οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “δεινὸν¹ πείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐκείνον· ἐγὼ γάρ μοι δοκῶ τήναν τὰν μάχαν τὰν περὶ τοῦ φιλάματος ἄδιον ἂν μάχεσθαι πάλιν ἢ πάντα ὅσα τεθέαμαι χρυσία μοι γενέσθαι.” τοιοῦτος μὲν ἦν τοῦ Μεγαβάτου παρόντος, ἀπελθόντος γε μὴν οὕτω περικαῶς ἔσχεν ὡς χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν εἰ πάλιν αὐτὸν μεταβαλομένου καὶ φανέντος ἐνεκαρτέρησε μὴ φιληθῆναι.

¹ δεινὸν Reiske's correction of the δειν of the MSS., adopted by both Sintenis and Bekker; Stephanus read δεῖ (there is no need).

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else. For he was pained at the loss of a gallant man in Spithridates, and with him of a considerable force, and was ashamed to labour under the charge of pettiness and illiberality, from which he was always ambitious to keep not only himself, but also his country, pure and free. And apart from these manifest reasons, he was irritated beyond measure by his love for the boy, which was now instilled into his heart, although when the boy was present he would summon all his resolution and strive mightily to battle against his desires. Indeed, when Megabates once came up and offered to embrace and kiss him, he declined his caresses. The boy was mortified at this, and desisted, and afterwards kept his distance when addressing him, whereupon Agesilaüs, distressed now and repentant for having avoided his kiss, pretended to wonder what ailed Megabates that he did not greet him with a kiss. "It is thy fault," the king's companions said; "thou didst not accept, but didst decline the fair one's kiss in fear and trembling; yet even now he might be persuaded to come within range of thy lips; but see that thou dost not again play the coward." Then, after some time spent in silent reflection, Agesilaüs said: "There is no harm in your persuading him; for I think I would more gladly fight that battle of the kiss over again than to have all that my eyes behold turn into gold." Of such a mind was he while Megabates was with him, though when the boy was gone, he was so on fire with love for him that it were hard to say whether, had the boy come back into his presence, he would have had the strength to refuse his kisses.¹

¹ Cf. Xenophon's *Agesilaüs*, v. 4-7.

- XII. Μετὰ ταῦτα Φαρνάβαζος εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἠθέλησε, καὶ συνῆγεν ἀμφοτέρους ὧν ξένος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Ἀπολλοφάνης. πρότερος δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ὑπὸ σκιᾷ τινι πόας οὔσης βαθείας καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν, ἐνταῦθα περιέμενε τὸν Φαρνά-
2 βαζον. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν, ὑποβεβλημένων αὐτῷ κωδίων τε μαλακῶν καὶ ποικίλων δαπίδων, αἰδεσθεὶς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οὕτω κατακείμενον κατεκλίνη καὶ αὐτός, ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἐπὶ τῆς πόας χαμάζε, καίπερ ἐσθῆτα θαυμαστὴν λεπτότητι καὶ βαφαῖς ἐνδεδυκώς. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους ὁ μὲν Φαρνάβαζος οὐκ ἠπόρει λόγων δικαίων, ἅτε δὴ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα Λακεδαιμονίοις χρήσιμος γεγωνὼς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, νῦν δὲ
3 πορθούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ὁρῶν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας ὑπ' αἰσχύνης κύπτοντας εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ διαπορούντας (ἀδικούμενον γὰρ ἐώρων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον), “Ἡμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, καὶ φίλοι ὄντες πρότερον βασιλέως ἐχρώμεθα τοῖς ἐκείνου πράγμασι φιλικῶς καὶ νῦν πολέμοι γεγονότες πολεμικῶς. ἐν οὖν καὶ σὲ τῶν βασιλέως κτημάτων ὁρῶντες εἶναι βουλόμενον, εἰκότως διὰ σοῦ βλάπτομεν ἐκείνον.
4 ἀφ' ἧς δ' ἂν ἡμέρας σεαυτὸν ἀξιώσης Ἑλλήνων φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον μᾶλλον ἢ δοῦλον λέγεσθαι βασιλέως, ταύτην νόμιζε τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς τῶν σῶν κτημάτων φύλακας εἶναι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἧς ἄνευ καλὸν ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ζηλωτόν ἐστιν.”
5 ἐκ τούτου λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἦν εἶχε διάνοιαν. “Ἐγὼ γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ἐὰν μὲν ἄλλον ἐκπέμψῃ βασιλεὺς στρατηγόν, ἔσομαι

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XII. After this, Pharnabazus desired to have a conference with him, and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, who was a guest-friend of both, brought the two together. Agesilaüs, with his friends, came first to the appointed place, and throwing himself down in a shady place where the grass was deep, there awaited Pharnabazus. And when Pharnabazus came, although soft cushions and brodered rugs had been spread for him, he was ashamed to see Agesilaüs reclining as he was, and threw himself down likewise, without further ceremony, on the grassy ground, although he was clad in raiment of wonderful delicacy and dyes. After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus had plenty of just complaints to make, since, although he had rendered the Lacedaemonians many great services in their war against the Athenians, his territory was now being ravaged by them. But Agesilaüs, seeing the Spartans with him bowed to the earth with shame and at a loss for words (for they saw that Pharnabazus was a wronged man), said: "We, O Pharnabazus, during our former friendship with the King, treated what belongs to him in a friendly way, and now that we have become his enemies, we treat it in a hostile way. Accordingly, seeing that thou also desirest to be one of the King's chattels, we naturally injure him through thee. But from the day when thou shalt deem thyself worthy to be called a friend and ally of the Greeks instead of a slave of the King, consider this army, these arms and ships, and all of us, to be guardians of thy possessions and of thy liberty, without which nothing in the world is honourable or even worthy to be desired." Upon this, Pharnabazus declared to him his purposes. "As for me, indeed," he said, "if the King shall send out another general in my stead, I will be on

μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐὰν δ' ἐμοὶ παραδῶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐδὲν ἐλλείψω προθυμίας ἀμυνόμενος ὑμᾶς καὶ κακῶς ποιῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου." ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἤσθη, καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος καὶ συνεξαναστάς, "Εἶθε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, τοιοῦτος ὦν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμιος."

XIII. Ἀπιώντος δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ὁ υἱὸς ὑπολειφθεὶς προσέδραμε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ καὶ μειδιῶν εἶπεν· "Ἐγὼ σε ξένον, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιῶμαι." καὶ παλτὸν ἔχων ἐν 603 τῇ χειρὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ. δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ ἡσθεὶς τῇ τε ὄψει καὶ τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ τοῦ παιδός, ἐπεσκόπει τοὺς παρόντας, εἴ τις ἔχοι τι τοιοῦτον οἶον ἀντιδοῦναι καλῶ καὶ γενναίῳ 2 δῶρον. ἰδὼν δὲ ἵππον Ἰδαίου¹ τοῦ γραφέως κεκοσμημένον φαλάροις, ταχὺ ταῦτα περισπάσας τῷ μειρακίῳ δίδωσι. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐπαύετο μεμνημένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνῳ περιϋόντι τὸν οἶκον ἀποστερηθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεμελείτο. 3 καί τι καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν αὐτῷ συνέπραξεν. ἡράσθη γὰρ ἀθλητοῦ παιδὸς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὦν καὶ σκληρὸς Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἐκκριθῆναι, καταφεύγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὁ Πέρσης δεόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδός· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο βουλόμενος αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, μάλα μόλις διεπράξατο σὺν πολλῇ πραγματείᾳ.

Τάλλα μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀκριβὴς καὶ νόμιμος, ἐν

¹ Ἰδαίου with S and Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 1, 39): Ἀδαίου.

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your side ; but if he entrusts me with the command, I will spare no efforts to punish and injure you in his behalf." On hearing this, Agesilaüs was delighted, and said, as he seized his hand and rose up with him, "O Pharnabazus, I would that such a man as thou might be our friend rather than our enemy."¹

XIII. As Pharnabazus and his friends were going away, his son, who was left behind, ran up to Agesilaüs and said with a smile : "I make thee my guest-friend, Agesilaüs," and offered him a javelin which he held in his hand. Agesilaüs accepted it, and being delighted with the fair looks and kindly bearing of the boy, looked round upon his companions to see if any one of them had anything that would do for a return-gift to a fair and gallant friend ; and seeing that the horse of Idæus, his secretary, had a decorated head-gear, he quickly took this off and gave it to the youth. Nor afterwards did he cease to remember him, but when, as time went on, the youth was robbed of his home by his brothers and driven into exile in Peloponnesus, he paid him much attention. He even gave him some assistance in his love affairs. For the Persian was enamoured of an Athenian boy, an athlete, who, owing to his stature and strength, was in danger of being ruled out of the lists at Olympia. He therefore had recourse to Agesilaüs with entreaties to help the boy, and Agesilaüs, wishing to gratify him in this matter also, with very great difficulty and with much trouble effected his desires.²

Indeed, although in other matters he was exact and

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 1, 28-38, where Agesilaüs adds a promise to respect, in future, the property of Pharnabazus, even in case of war.

² Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 1, 39 f.

4 δὲ τοῖς φιλικοῖς πρόφασιν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸ λίαν
 Ἰδριέα τον Kāra τοιοῦτο· “Νικίας εἰ μὲν μὴ
 ἀδικεῖ, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἡμῖν ἄφες· πάντως
 δὲ ἄφες.” ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς πλείστοις τοιοῦτος
 ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· ἔστι δὲ ὅπου
 πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἐχρήτο τῷ καιρῷ μᾶλλον, ὥς
 ἐδήλωσεν, ἀναζυγῆς αὐτῷ θορυβωδεστέρας γενο-
 μένης, ἀσθενοῦντα καταλιπὼν τὸν ἐρώμενον. ἐκεί-
 νου γὰρ δεομένου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα,
 μεταστραφεὶς εἶπεν ὥς χαλεπὸν ἐλεεῖν ἄμα καὶ
 φρονεῖν. τουτὶ μὲν Ἰερώνυμος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἰστό-
 ρηκεν.

XIV. Ἦδη δὲ περιῶντος ἐνιαυτοῦ δευτέρου
 τῇ στρατηγίᾳ πολὺς ἄνω λόγος ἐχώρει τοῦ Ἀγη-
 σιλάου, καὶ δόξα θαυμαστὴ κατεῖχε τῆς τε
 σωφροσύνης αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐτελείας καὶ μετριότητος.
 ἐσκήνου μὲν γὰρ ἀποδημῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς
 ἀγιωτάτοις ἱεροῖς, ἃ μὴ πολλοὶ καθορῶσιν ἄνθρω-
 ποι πράττοντας ἡμᾶς, τούτων τοὺς θεοὺς ποιού-
 μενος ἐπόπτας καὶ μάρτυρας· ἐν δὲ χιλιάσι
 στρατιωτῶν τοσαύταις οὐ ῥαδίως ἂν τις εἶδε
 2 φαυλοτέραν στιβάδα τῆς Ἀγησιλάου. πρὸς τε
 θάλπος οὕτω καὶ ψυχὸς εἶχεν ὥσπερ μόνος ἀεὶ
 χρῆσθαι ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεκραμέναις ὥραις
 πεφυκώς. ἡδιστον δὲ θέαμα τοῖς κατοικοῦσι τὴν
 Ἀσίαν Ἑλλήσιν ἦσαν οἱ πάλαι βαρεῖς καὶ ἀφό-
 ρητοι καὶ διαρρέοντες ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς
 ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ στρατηγοὶ δεδιότες καὶ θεραπεύοντες

law-abiding, in matters of friendship he thought that rigid justice was a mere pretext. At any rate, there is in circulation a letter of his to Hidrieus the Carian, which runs as follows: "As for Nicias, if he is innocent, acquit him; if he is guilty, acquit him for my sake; but in any case acquit him." Such, then, was Agesilaüs in most cases where the interests of his friends were concerned; but sometimes he used a critical situation rather for his own advantage. Of this he gave an instance when, as he was decamping in some haste and confusion, he left his favourite behind him sick. The sick one besought him loudly as he was departing, but he merely turned and said that it was hard to be compassionate and at the same time prudent. This story is related by Hieronymus the philosopher.

XIV. Agesilaüs had now been nearly two years in the field, and much was said about him in the interior parts of Asia, and a wonderful opinion of his self-restraint, of his simplicity of life, and of his moderation, everywhere prevailed. For when he made a journey, he would take up his quarters in the most sacred precincts by himself,¹ thus making the gods overseers and witnesses of those acts which few men are permitted to see us perform; and among so many thousands of soldiers, one could hardly find a meaner couch than that of Agesilaüs; while to heat and cold he was as indifferent as if nature had given him alone the power to adapt himself to the seasons as God has tempered them. And it was most pleasing to the Greeks who dwelt in Asia to see the Persian viceroys and generals, who had long been insufferably cruel, and had revelled in wealth and luxury, now fearful and obsequious before a man who went about

¹ Cf. Xenophon's *Agesilaüs*, v. 7.

ἄνθρωπον ἐν τρίβωνι περιϊόντα λιτῷ, καὶ πρὸς ἐν
 ῥῆμα βραχὺ καὶ Λακωνικὸν ἀρμόζοντες ἑαυτοὺς
 καὶ μετασχηματίζοντες, ὥστε πολλοῖς ἐπῆει τὰ
 τοῦ Τιμοθέου λέγειν,

Ἄρης τύραννος· χρυσὸν δὲ Ἑλλάς οὐ δέδοικε.

XV. Κινουμένης δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πολλα-
 χοῦ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὑπεικούσης, ἀρμοσάμενος
 τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις, καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις δίχα
 φόνου καὶ φυγῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀποδοὺς τὸν προσή-
 κοντα κόσμον, ἐγνώκει πρόσω χωρεῖν, καὶ τὸν
 πόλεμον διάραι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάττης,
 περὶ τοῦ σώματος βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐκβα-
 τάνοις καὶ Σούσοις εὐδαιμονίας διαμάχεσθαι, καὶ
 περισπᾶσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὴν σχολήν, ὥς μὴ
 καθέξοιτο τοὺς πολέμους βραβεύων τοῖς Ἑλλησι
 2 καὶ διαφθείρων τοὺς δημαγωγούς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
 ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐπικυνδίδας ὁ Σπαρτιά-
 τῆς, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι πολὺς περιέστηκε τὴν Σπάρ-
 τῃν πόλεμος Ἑλληνικός, καὶ καλοῦσιν ἐκείνον οἱ
 ἔφοροι καὶ κελεύουσι τοῖς οἴκοι βοηθεῖν.

Ὡ βάρβαρ' ἐξευρόντες Ἕλληνας κακά·

τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἄλλο τὸν φθόνον ἐκείνων προσείποι
 καὶ τὴν τότε σύστασιν καὶ σύνταξιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων; οἱ τῆς τύχης ἄνω φερομένης ἐπε-
 λάβοντο, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους
 βλέποντα καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἤδη τῆς Ἑλλάδος 604
 3 ἐξωκισμένον αὐθις εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἔτρεψαν. οὐ γὰρ
 ἔγωγε συμφέρομαι τῷ Κορινθίῳ Δημαράτῳ μεγά-
 λης ἡδονῆς ἀπολελείφθαι φήσαντι τοὺς μὴ θεα-
 σαμένους Ἕλληνας Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείῳ
 θρόνῳ καθήμενον, ἀλλ' εἰκότως ἂν οἶμαι δακρῦ-

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in a paltry cloak, and at one brief and laconic speech from him conforming themselves to his ways and changing their dress and mien, insomuch that many were moved to cite the words of Timotheus:—

“Ares is Lord; of gold Greece hath no fear.”¹

XV. Asia being now unsettled and in many quarters inclining to revolt, Agesilaüs set the cities there in order, and restored to their governments, without killing or banishing any one, the proper form. Then he determined to go farther afield, to transfer the war from the Greek sea, to fight for the person of the King and the wealth of Ecbatana and Susa, and above all things to rob that monarch of the power to sit at leisure on his throne, playing the umpire for the Greeks in their wars, and corrupting their popular leaders. But at this point Epicydidas the Spartan came to him with tidings that Sparta was involved in a great war with other Greeks, and that the ephors called upon him and ordered him to come to the aid of his countrymen.

“O barbarous ills devised by Greeks!”²

How else can one speak of that jealousy which now leagued and arrayed the Greeks against one another? They laid violent hands on Fortune in her lofty flight, and turned the weapons which threatened the Barbarians, and War, which had at last been banished from Greece, back again upon themselves. I certainly cannot agree with Demaratus the Corinthian, who said that those Greeks had missed a great pleasure who did not behold Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius, nay, I think that such might well have

¹ Cf. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.⁴ p. 622.

² Euripides, *Troades*, 766 (Kirchhoff).

σαι, συννοήσαντας ὅτι ταῦτ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἀπέλιπον οἱ τότε τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγούς περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Κορώνειαν καὶ Κόρινθον καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν κατανήλωσαν.

- 4 Ἀγησιλάῳ μέντοι οὐδὲν κρεῖσσον ἢ μείζον ἐστὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἐκείνης διαπεπραγμένον, οὐδὲ γέγονε παράδειγμα πειθαρχίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἕτερον κάλλιον. ὅπου γὰρ Ἀννίβας ἤδη κακῶς πράττων καὶ περιωθούμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας μάλα μόλις ὑπήκουσε τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον πόλεμον καλοῦσιν, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ προσεπέσκωψε πυθόμενος τὴν πρὸς Ἄγιν Ἀντιπάτρου μάχην, εἰπὼν· “Ἔοικεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτε Δαρεῖον ἡμεῖς ἐνικῶμεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐκεῖ τις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι
5 μυομαχία.” πῶς οὐκ ἦν ἄξιον τὴν Σπάρτην μακαρίσαι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου τιμῆς πρὸς ταύτην καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νόμους τῆς εὐλαβείας; ὃς ἅμα τῷ τὴν σκυτάλην ἐλθεῖν εὐτυχίαν τοσαύτην καὶ δύναμιν παροῦσαν καὶ τηλικαύτας ἐλπίδας ὑψηγουμένας ἀφείλκε καὶ προέμενος εὐθύς ἀπέπλευσεν “ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ,” πολὺν ἑαυτοῦ πόθον τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀπολιπών, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸν Ἐρασιστράτου τοῦ Φαίακος ἐλέγξας λόγον, εἰπόντος ὡς εἰς δημοσίᾳ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι βελτίονες,
6 ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. βασιλέα γὰρ ἑαυτὸν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἄριστον ἐπιδειξάμενος, ἔτι βελτίονα καὶ ἡδίωνα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἰδίᾳ φίλον καὶ συνήθη παρέσχε. τοῦ δὲ Περσικοῦ νομίσματος χάραγμα

¹ At Megalopolis, in Arcadia, 331 B.C., Agis fell fighting, and the Spartan rebellion at once collapsed. Alexander



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shed tears when they reflected that this triumph was left for Alexander and Macedonians by those who now squandered the lives of Greek generals on the fields of Leuctra, Coroneia, and Corinth, and in Arcadia.

Agesilaüs, however, never performed a nobler or a greater deed than in returning home as he now did, nor was there ever a fairer example of righteous obedience to authority. For Hannibal, though he was already in an evil plight and on the point of being driven out of Italy, could with the greatest difficulty bring himself to obey his summons to the war at home; and Alexander actually went so far as to jest when he heard of Antipater's battle with Agis,¹ saying: "It would seem, my men, that while we were conquering Darius here, there has been a battle of mice there in Arcadia." Why, then, should we not call Sparta happy in the honour paid to her by Agesilaüs, and in his deference to her laws? No sooner had the dispatch-roll come to him than he renounced and abandoned the great good fortune and power already in his grasp, and the great hopes which beckoned him on, and at once sailed off, "with task all unfulfilled,"² leaving behind a great yearning for him among his allies, and giving the strongest confutation to the saying of Erasistratus the son of Phaeax, who declared that the Lacedaemonians were better men in public life, but the Athenians in private. For while approving himself a most excellent king and general, he shewed himself a still better and more agreeable friend and companion to those who enjoyed his intimacy. Persian coins were stamped with the figure of an archer, and Agesilaüs

had not the slightest thought of returning home to help Antipater.

² *Iliad*, iv. 175.

τοξότην ἔχοντος, ἀναζευγνύων ἔφη μυρίοις τοξόταις ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐξελαύνεσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας· τοσούτων γὰρ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Θήβας κομισθέντων καὶ διαδοθέντων τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς, ἐξεπολεμώθησαν οἱ δῆμοι πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας.

- XVI. Ὡς δὲ διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς Θράκης, ἐδεήθη μὲν οὐδενὸς τῶν βαρβάρων, πέμπων δὲ πρὸς ἐκάστους ἐπυνθάνετο πότερον ὡς φιλίαν ἢ ὡς πολεμίαν διαπορεύηται τὴν χώραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες φιλικῶς ἐδέχοντο καὶ παρέπεμπον, ὡς ἕκαστος δυνάμει εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι Τράλλεις, οἷς καὶ Ξέρξης ἔδωκεν, ὡς λέγεται, δῶρα, τῆς διόδου μισθὸν ἤτουν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα
 2 καὶ τοσαύτας γυναῖκας. ὁ δὲ κατειρωνεύσας αὐτοὺς καὶ φήσας· “Τί οὖν οὐκ εὐθύς ἦλθον ληψόμενοι;” προῆγε, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς παρατεταγμένοις ἐτρέψατο καὶ διέφθειρε πολλούς. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐρώτημα προσέπεμψε· φήσαντος δὲ βουλευέσθαι, “Βουλεύεσθω τοίνυν ἐκείνος,” εἶπεν, “ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ πορευόμεθα.” Θαυμάσας οὖν τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν ὡς φίλον προάγειν.
 3 τῶν δὲ Θετταλῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις συμμαχούντων ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν. εἰς δὲ Λάρισσαν ἐπέμψε Ξενοκλέα καὶ Σκύθην περὶ φιλίας· συλληφθέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ παραφυλασσομένων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βαρέως φέροντες ᾤοντο δεῖν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον περιστρατοπεδεύσαντα πολιορκεῖν

¹ According to Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 5, 1 ff.), Persian money was distributed in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos. “The Athenians, though they took no share of the gold, were none the less eager for war.”

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said, as he was breaking camp, that the King was driving him out of Asia with ten thousand "archers"; for so much money had been sent to Athens and Thebes and distributed among the popular leaders there, and as a consequence those peoples made war upon the Spartans.¹

XVI. And when he had crossed the Hellespont and was marching through Thrace,² he made no requests of any of the Barbarians, but sent envoys to each people asking whether he should traverse their country as a friend or as a foe. All the rest, accordingly, received him as a friend and assisted him on his way, as they were severally able; but the people called Trallians, to whom even Xerxes gave gifts, as we are told, demanded of Agesilaüs as a price for his passage a hundred talents of silver and as many women. But he answered them with scorn, asking why, then, they did not come at once to get their price; and marched forward, and finding them drawn up for battle, engaged them, routed them, and slew many of them. He sent his usual enquiry forward to the king of the Macedonians also, who answered that he would deliberate upon it. "Let him deliberate, then," said Agesilaüs, "but we will march on." In amazement therefore at his boldness, and in fear, the Macedonian king gave orders to let him pass as a friend. Since the Thes-salians were in alliance with his enemies, he ravaged their country. But to the city of Larissa he sent Xenocles and Scythes, hoping to secure its friendship. His ambassadors, however, were arrested and kept in close custody, whereupon the rest of his command were indignant, and thought that Agesilaüs ought to

² Agesilaüs followed "the very route taken by the Great King when he invaded Hellas" (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 2, 8).

τὴν Λάρισσαν, ὃ δὲ φήσας οὐκ ἂν ἐβελῆσαι Θεσσαλίαν ὅλην λαβεῖν ἀπολέσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν
 4 ἕτερον, ὑποσπόνδους αὐτοὺς ἀπέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐπ' Ἀγησιλάῳ θαυμαστὸν οὐκ ἦν, ὃς πυθόμενος μάχην μεγάλην γεγονέναι περὶ Κόρινθον, καὶ ἄνδρας¹ τῶν πάνν ἐνδόξων ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα αἰφνίδιον ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ¹ Σπαρτιατῶν μὲν ὀλίγους παντάπασι τεθνηκέναι, παμπόλλους δὲ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐκ ὥφθη περιχαρὴς οὐδὲ ἐπηρεμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνν βαρὺ στενάξας, “Φεὺ τῆς Ἑλλάδος,” ἔφη, “τοσούτους ἄνδρας ἀπολωλεκυίας ὑφ' αὐτῆς, ὅσοι ζῶντες ἐδύναντο νικᾶν
 5 ὁμοῦ σύμπαντας τοὺς βαρβάρους μαχόμενοι.” τῶν 605 δὲ Φαρσαλίων προσκειμένων αὐτῷ καὶ κακούντων τὸ στράτευμα, πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐμβαλεῖν κελεύσας σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τρεψάμενος ἕστησε τροπαιὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Ναρθακίῳ. καὶ τὴν νίκην ὑπερηγάπησεν ἐκείνην, ὅτι συστησάμενος ἱππικὸν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τούτῳ μόνῳ τοὺς μέγιστον ἐφ' ἱππικῇ φρονούντας ἐκράτησεν.

XVII. Ἐνταῦθα Διφρίδας οἰκοθεν ἔφορος ὦν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ κελεύων εὐθύς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. ὃ δέ, καίπερ ἀπὸ μείζονος παρασκευῆς ὕστερον τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διανοούμενος, οὐδὲν ὤτετο δεῖν ἀπειθεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προεῖπεν ἐγγὺς εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφ' ἣν ἐξ Ἀσίας ἤκουσι, καὶ δύο μόρας μετεπέμψατο τῶν
 2 περὶ Κόρινθον στρατευομένων. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει Λακεδαιμόνιοι τιμῶντες αὐτὸν ἐκήρυξαν τῶν νέων ἀπογράφεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ

¹ ἄνδρας . . . καὶ rejected by Sintenis and Bekker, and questioned by Coraës, after Schaefer; the words are wanting in *Apophth. Lacon.* 45 (*Morals*, p. 211 e).

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encamp about Larissa and lay siege to it. But he declared that the capture of all Thessaly would not compensate him for the loss of either one of his men, and made terms with the enemy in order to get them back. And perhaps we need not wonder at such conduct in Agesilaüs, since when he learned that a great battle had been fought near Corinth,¹ and that men of the highest repute had suddenly been taken off, and that although few Spartans altogether had been killed, the loss of their enemies was very heavy, he was not seen to be rejoiced or elated, but fetched a deep groan and said: "Alas for Hellas, which has by her own hands destroyed so many brave men! Had they lived, they could have conquered in battle all the Barbarians in the world." However, when the Pharsalians annoyed him and harassed his army, he ordered five hundred horsemen which he led in person to attack them, routed them, and set up a trophy at the foot of mount Nanthacium. This victory gave him special pleasure, because with horsemen of his own mustering and training, and with no other force, he had conquered those whose chief pride was placed in their cavalry.²

XVII. Here Diphridas, an ephor from Sparta, met him, with orders to invade Boeotia immediately. Therefore, although he was purposing to do this later with a larger armament, he thought it did not behoove him to disobey the magistrates, but said to those who were with him that the day was near for which they had come from Asia. He also sent for two divisions of the army at Corinth. Then the Lacedaemonians at home, wishing to do him honour, made proclamation that any young man who wished

¹ 394 B.C. Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 2, 18—3, 1 f.

² Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 3, 9.

βοηθεῖν. ἀπογραφασμένων δὲ πάντων προθύμως, οἱ ἄρχοντες πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ ῥωμαλεωτάτους ἐκλέξαντες ἀπέστειλαν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος εἴσω Πυλῶν παρελθὼν καὶ διοδεύσας τὴν Φωκίδα φίλην οὖσαν, ἐπεὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας πρῶτον ἐπέβη καὶ περὶ τὴν Χαιρώνειαν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἅμα μὲν τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλείποντα καὶ γινόμενον μηνοειδῆ κατείδεν, ἅμα δὲ ἤκουσε τεθνάναι Πείσανδρον ἡττημένον ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Κνίδον ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου καὶ Κόνωνος.
 3 ἡχθέσθη μὲν οὖν, ὥς εἰκός, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως δὲ μὴ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ μάχην βαδίζουσιν ἀθυμία καὶ φόβος ἐμπέσῃ, τὰναντία λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἤκοντας, ὅτι νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ· καὶ προελθὼν αὐτὸς ἐστεφανωμένος ἔθυσεν εὐαγγέλια καὶ διέπεμπε μερίδας τοῖς φίλοις ἀπὸ τῶν τεθυμένων.

XVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προῖων καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Κορωνείᾳ κατείδε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατώφθη, παρετάξατο δούς Ὀρχομενίοις τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπήγε· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν εἶχον αὐτοί, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Ἀργεῖοι. λέγει δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκείνην οἶαν οὐκ ἄλλην τῶν πώποτε γενέσθαι· καὶ παρῇν αὐτὸς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ συναγωνιζόμενος, ἐξ Ἀσίας διαβε-
 2 βηκώς. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη σύρραξις οὐκ ἔσχεν ὠτισμὸν οὐδὲ ἀγῶνα πολύν, ἀλλὰ οἷ τε Θηβαῖοι

¹ August, 394 B.C.

² The soldiers of Agesilaüs were consequently victorious in a skirmish with the enemy, according to Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 3, 14).

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might enlist in aid of the king. All enlisted eagerly, and the magistrates chose out the most mature and vigorous of them to the number of fifty, and sent them off.

Agesilaüs now marched through the pass of Thermopylae, traversed Phocis, which was friendly to Sparta, entered Boeotia, and encamped near Chaeroneia. Here a partial eclipse of the sun occurred, and at the same time¹ news came to him of the death of Peisander, who was defeated in a naval battle off Cnidus by Pharnabazus and Conon. Agesilaüs was naturally much distressed at these tidings, both because of the man thus lost, and of the city which had lost him; but nevertheless, that his soldiers might not be visited with dejection and fear as they were going into battle, he ordered the messengers from the sea to reverse their tidings and say that the Spartans were victorious in the naval battle. He himself also came forth publicly with a garland on his head, offered sacrifices for glad tidings, and sent portions of the sacrificial victims to his friends.²

XVIII. After advancing as far as Coroneia and coming within sight of the enemy, he drew up his army in battle array, giving the left wing to the Orchomenians, while he himself led forward the right. On the other side, the Thebans held the right wing themselves, and the Argives the left. Xenophon says that this battle was unlike any ever fought,³ and he was present himself and fought on the side of Agesilaüs, having crossed over with him from Asia.⁴ The first impact, it is true, did not meet with much resistance, nor was it long contested, but the

³ *Hellenica*, iv. 3, 16.

⁴ Cf. Xenophon's *Anabasis*, v. 3, 6.

- ταχὺ τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφότεροι τὰ εὐώνυμα πιέζεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν ἀνέστρεψαν, ἐνταῦθα τῆς νίκης ἀκινδύνου παρούσης, εἰ τῆς κατὰ στόμα μάχης ὑφέσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἠθέλησε καὶ παίειν ἐπόμενος παραλλάξαντας, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐναντίος ἐχώρει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὥσασθαι κατὰ κράτος
- 3 βουλόμενος. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ἡττον ἐρρωμένως ἐδέξαντο, καὶ μάχη γίνεται δι' ὅλου μὲν ἰσχυρὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἰσχυροτάτη δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς πεντήκοντα τεταγμένον, ὧν εἰς καιρὸν ἔοικεν ἡ φιλοτιμία τῷ βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ σωτήριος. ἀγωνιζόμενοι γὰρ ἐκθύμως καὶ προκινδυνεύοντες ἄτρωτον μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν φυλάξαι, πολλὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων δεξάμενον εἰς τὸ σῶμα πληγὰς δόρασι καὶ ξίφεσι μόλις ἀνῆρπασαν ζῶντα, καὶ συμφράξαντες πρὸ αὐτοῦ
- 4 πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνῆρουν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἔπιπτον. ὥς δὲ μέγα ἔργον ἦν ὥσασθαι προτροπάδην τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἠναγκάσθησαν ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ποιῆσαι. διέστησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διέσχον, εἴτα ἀτακτότερον ἤδη πορευομένους, ὥς διεξέπεσον, ἀκολουθοῦντες καὶ παραθέοντες ἐκ πλαγίων ἔπαιον. οὐ μὲν ἐτρέψαντό γε, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, μέγα τῇ μάχῃ φρονούντες, ὥς ἀήττητοι καθ' αὐτοὺς γεγονότες.

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Thebans speedily routed the Orchomenians, as Agesilaüs did the Argives. Both parties, however, on hearing that their left wings were overwhelmed and in flight, turned back. Then, although the victory might have been his without peril if he had been willing to refrain from attacking the Thebans in front and to smite them in the rear after they had passed by, Agesilaüs was carried away by passion and the ardour of battle and advanced directly upon them, wishing to bear them down by sheer force. But they received him with a vigour that matched his own, and a battle ensued which was fierce at all points in the line, but fiercest where the king himself stood surrounded by his fifty volunteers,¹ whose opportune and emulous valour seems to have saved his life. For they fought with the utmost fury and exposed their lives in his behalf, and though they were not able to keep him from being wounded, but many blows of spears and swords pierced his armour and reached his person, they did succeed in dragging him off alive, and standing in close array in front of him, they slew many foes, while many of their own number fell. But since it proved too hard a task to break the Theban front, they were forced to do what at the outset they were loth to do. They opened their ranks and let the enemy pass through, and then, when these had got clear, and were already marching in looser array, the Spartans followed on the run and smote them on the flanks. They could not, however, put them to rout, but the Thebans withdrew to Mount Helicon,² greatly elated over the battle, in which, as they reasoned, their own contingent had been undefeated.

¹ Cf. chapter xvii. 2. They are not mentioned by Xenophon.

² From the slopes of which they had advanced to the battle.

- XIX. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ ὑπὸ τραυμάτων 606
πολλῶν κακῶς τὸ σῶμα διακείμενος, οὐ πρότερον
ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἀπήλθεν ἢ φοράδην ἐνεχθῆναι πρὸς
τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἰδεῖν ἐντὸς τῶν
ὀπλων συγκεκομισμένους. ὅσοι μέντοι τῶν πολε-
μίων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κατέφυγον, πάντας ἐκέλευσεν
2 ἀφεθῆναι. πλησίον γὰρ ὁ νεὸς ἐστίν ὁ τῆς
Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τρόπαιον ἔστη-
κεν, ὃ πάλαι Βοιωτοὶ Σπάρτωνος στρατηγούντος
ἐνταῦθα νικῆσαντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ Τολμίδην
ἀποκτείναντες ἔστησαν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα βουλό-
μενος ἐξελέγξει τοὺς Θηβαίους ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, εἰ
διαμαχοῦνται, στεφανοῦσθαι μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς
στρατιώτας, αὐλεῖν δὲ τοὺς αὐλητάς, ἰστάναι
3 δὲ καὶ κοσμεῖν τρόπαιον ὡς νενικηκότας. ὡς δὲ
ἔπεμψαν οἱ πολέμιοι νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν αἰτοῦντες,
ἐσπίεσατο, καὶ τὴν νίκην οὕτως ἐκβεβαιωσάμενος
εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπεκομίσθη, Πυθίων ἀγομένων, καὶ
τὴν τε πομπὴν ἐπετέλει τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν δεκάτην
ἀπέθυε τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λαφύρων ἑκατὸν
ταλάντων γενομένην.
- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπενόστησεν οἴκαδε, προσφιλὴς μὲν
ἦν εὐθὺς τοῖς πολίταις καὶ περίβλεπτος ἀπὸ τοῦ
βίου καὶ τῆς διαίτης· οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ οἱ πλείστοι
τῶν στρατηγῶν, καινὸς ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης
καὶ κεκινημένος ὑπ' ἄλλοτρίων ἐθῶν, καὶ δυσκο-
λαίων πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι καὶ ζυγομαχῶν, ἀλλὰ
ὁμοίως τοῖς μηδεπώποτε τὸν Εὐρώταν διαβε-
βηκόσι τὰ παρόντα τιμῶν καὶ στέργων οὐ δέπνουν

¹ In 447 B.C.; cf. the *Pericles*, xviii. 2 f.

² Cf. the *Nicias*, vi. 5.

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XIX. But Agesilaüs, although he was weakened by many wounds, would not retire to his tent until he had first been carried to his troops and seen that the dead were collected within the encampment. Moreover, he ordered that all of the enemy who had taken refuge in the sanctuary should be dismissed. For the temple of Athena Itonia was near at hand, and a trophy stood in front of it, which the Boeotians had long ago erected, when, under the command of Sparto, they had defeated the Athenians there and slain Tolmides their general.¹ Early next morning, Agesilaüs, wishing to try the Thebans and see whether they would give him battle, ordered his soldiers to wreath their heads and his pipers to play their pipes, while a trophy was set up and adorned in token of their victory. And when the enemy sent to him and asked permission to take up their dead, he made a truce with them, and having thus assured to himself the victory,² proceeded to Delphi,³ where the Pythian games were in progress. There he celebrated the customary procession in honour of the god, and offered up the tenth of the spoils which he had brought from Asia, amounting to a hundred talents.

Then he went back home, where his life and conduct brought him at once the affection and admiration of his fellow-citizens. For, unlike most of their generals, he came back from foreign parts unchanged and unaffected by alien customs; he showed no dislike towards home fashions, nor was he restive under them, but honoured and loved what he found there just as much as those did who had never crossed the Eurotas; he made no change in his

³ Leaving the army in command of Gylis the polemarch (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 3, 21).

- 5 ἥλλαξεν, οὐ λουτρόν, οὐ θεραπείαν γυναικός, οὐχ ὀπλων κόσμον, οὐκ οἰκίας κατασκευήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς θύρας ἀφῆκεν οὕτως οὖσας σφόδρα παλαιάς, ὥς δοκεῖν εἶναι, ταύτας ἐκείνας ἃς ἐπέθηκεν Ἀριστόδημος. καὶ τὸ κάνναθρόν φησιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν οὐδέν τι σεμνότερον εἶναι τῆς ἐκείνου θυγατρὸς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων. κάνναθρα δὲ καλοῦσιν εἰδῶλα γρυπῶν ξύλινα καὶ τραγελάφων ἐν οἷς κομίζουσι
- 6 τὰς παῖδας ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ὄνομα τῆς Ἀγησιλάου θυγατρὸς οὐ γέγραφε, καὶ ὁ Δικαίαιρχος ἐπηγανάκτησεν ὥς μήτε τὴν Ἀγησιλάου θυγατέρα μήτε τὴν Ἐπαμινώνδου μητέρα γινωσκόντων ἡμῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ εὖρομεν ἐν ταῖς Λακωνικαῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὀνομαζομένην γυναῖκα μὲν Ἀγησιλάου Κλεόραν, θυγατέρας δὲ Εὐπωλίαν καὶ Πρόαυγαν.¹ ἔστι δὲ καὶ λόγῃην ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ κειμένην ἄχρι νῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσαν.

XX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ὁρῶν ἐνίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ ἵπποτροφίας δοκοῦντας εἶναί τινας καὶ μέγα² φρονούντας, ἔπεισε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Κυνίσκαν ἄρμα καθεῖσαν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγωνίσασθαι, βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὥς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ πλούτου καὶ δαπάνης ἢ νίκης.

2 Ξενοφῶντα δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ σπουδαζόμενον ἐκέλευε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τρέφειν μεταπεμψάμενον, ὥς μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν. τοῦ δὲ Λυσάνδρου τετελευτηκότος εὐρὼν ἑταιρείαν πολλὴν συνεστῶσαν, ἣν ἐκείνος

¹ Πρόαυγαν a reading mentioned by Stephanus, and now found in S: Προλύταν.

² μέγα Cobet, van Herwerden, with F^a: μεγάλα.

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table, or his baths, or the attendance on his wife, or the decoration of his armour, or the furniture of his house, nay, he actually let its doors remain although they were very old,—one might say they were the very doors which Aristodemus¹ had set up. His daughter's "kannathron," as Xenophon¹ tells us, was no more elaborate than that of any other maid ("kannathra" is the name they give to the wooden figures of griffins or goat-stags in which their young girls are carried at the sacred processions).² Xenophon, it is true, has not recorded the name of the daughter of Agesilaüs, and Dicaearchus expressed great indignation that neither her name nor that of the mother of Epaminondas was known to us; but we have found in the Lacedaemonian records that the wife of Agesilaüs was named Cleora, and his daughters Eupolia and Proauga. And one can see his spear also, which is still preserved at Sparta, and which is not at all different from that of other men.

XX. However, on seeing that some of the citizens esteemed themselves highly and were greatly lifted up because they bred racing horses, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to enter a chariot in the contests at Olympia, wishing to shew the Greeks that the victory there was not a mark of any great excellence, but simply of wealth and lavish outlay. Also, having Xenophon the philosopher in his following, and making much of him, he ordered him to send for his sons and rear them at Sparta, that they might learn that fairest of all lessons, how to obey and how to command. Again, finding after Lysander's death that a large society was in existence, which that

¹ The great-great-grandson of Heracles; cf. Xenophon, *Agésilas*, viii. 7.

² These figures of animals were on wheels, and served as carriages (cf. Athenaeus, p. 139 f.).

- εὐθὺς ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας συνέστησεν ἐπὶ
τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ὥρμησεν αὐτὸν ἐξελέγχειν οἷος
- 3 ἦν ζῶν πολίτης· καὶ λόγον ἀναγνοὺς ἐν βιβλίῳ
ἀπολελειμμένον, ὃν ἔγραψε μὲν Κλέων ὁ Ἀλι-
καρνασσεύς, ἔμελλε δὲ λέγειν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Λύσαν-
δρος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν καὶ
μεταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἠθέλησεν εἰς
μέσον ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἐπεὶ δέ τις τῶν γερόντων τὸν
λόγον ἀναγνοὺς καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν δεινότητα συνε-
βούλευσε μὴ τὸν Λύσανδρον ἀνορύττειν, ἀλλὰ
τὸν λόγον μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συγκατορύττειν, ἐπείσθη
- 4 καὶ καθησύχαζε. τοὺς δὲ ὑπεναντιουμένους αὐτῷ
φανερῶς μὲν οὐκ ἔβλαπτε, διαπραττόμενος δὲ
πέμπεσθαί τινας αἰεὶ στρατηγούς καὶ ἄρχοντας
ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐπεδείκνυε γενομένους ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις 607
πονηροὺς καὶ πλεονέκτας, εἴτα κρινομένοις πάλιν
αὐτοὺς βοηθῶν καὶ συναγωνιζόμενος, οἰκείους ἐκ
διαφόρων ἐποιεῖτο καὶ μεθίστη πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε
μηθένα ἀντίπαλον εἶναι.
- 5 Ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος βασιλεὺς Ἀγησίπολις, ἅτε δὴ
πατὴρ δὲ μὲν ὦν φυγάδος, ἡλικία δὲ παντάπασιν
μειράκιον, φύσει δὲ πρᾶος καὶ κόσμιος, οὐ πολλὰ
τῶν πολιτικῶν ἔπραττεν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῦτον ἐποιεῖτο χειροῆθη. συσσιτοῦσι γὰρ οἱ
βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτῶντες φιδίτιον, ὅταν
- 6 ἐπιδημῶσιν. εἰδὼς οὖν ἔνοχον ὄντα τοῖς ἔρω-
τικοῖς τὸν Ἀγησίπολιν, ὥσπερ ἦν αὐτός, αἰεὶ τινος

¹ Cf. the *Lysander*, chapter xxx.

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commander, immediately after returning from Asia, had formed against him, Agesilaüs set out to prove what manner of citizen Lysander had been while alive. So, after reading a speech which Lysander had left behind him in book form,—a speech which Cleon of Halicarnassus had composed, but which Lysander had intended to adopt and pronounce before the people in advocacy of a revolution and change in the form of government,—Agesilaüs wished to publish it. But one of the senators, who had read the speech and feared its ability and power, advised the king not to dig Lysander up again, but rather to bury the speech with him, to which advice Agesilaüs listened and held his peace.¹ And as for those who were in opposition to him, he would do them no open injury, but would exert himself to send some of them away from time to time as generals and commanders, and would shew them up if they proved base and grasping in their exercise of authority; then, contrariwise, when they were brought to trial, he would come to their aid and exert himself in their behalf, and so would make them friends instead of enemies, and bring them over to his side, so that no one was left to oppose him.

For Agesipolis, the other king, since he was the son of an exile,² in years a mere stripling, and by nature gentle and quiet, took little part in affairs of state. And yet he too was brought under the sway of Agesilaüs. For the Spartan kings eat together in the same "phiditium," or public mess,³ whenever they are at home. Accordingly, knowing that Agesipolis was prone to love affairs, just as he was himself,

² Pausanias, who was impeached in 395 B.C., went into voluntary exile, and was condemned to death.

³ Cf. the *Lycurgus*, xii. 1 f.

ὑπῆρχε λόγου περὶ τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ· καὶ προῆγε τὸν νεανίσκον εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ συνήρα καὶ συνέπραττε, τῶν Λακωνικῶν ἐρώτων οὐδὲν αἰσχρόν, αἰδῶ δὲ πολλήν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς ἔχόντων, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λυκούργου γέγραπται.

- XXI. Μέγιστον οὖν δυνάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει διαπράττεται Τελευτίαν τὸν ὁμομήτριον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ γενέσθαι. καὶ στρατευσάμενος εἰς Κόρινθον αὐτὸς μὲν ἥρει κατὰ γῆν τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ὁ Τελευτίας¹ Ἀργείων δὲ τὴν Κόρινθον ἔχόντων τότε καὶ τὰ Ἰσθμια συντελούντων, ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξήλασεν ἄρτι τῷ θεῷ τεθυκότας, τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν ἀπολιπόντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων ὅσοι φυγάδες ἔτυχον παρόντες ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων διατιθέντων καὶ συντελούντων παρέμεινε καὶ παρέσχευ ἀσφάλειαν. ὕστερον δὲ ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ πάλιν ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἤχθη τὰ Ἰσθμια, καὶ τινες μὲν ἐνίκησαν πάλιν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ νενικηκότες πρότερον, ἡττημένοι δὲ ὕστερον,
- 3 ἀνεγράψαν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ πολλὴν ἀπέφηνε δειλίαν κατηγορεῖν ἑαυτῶν τοὺς Ἀργείους ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, εἰ σεμνὸν οὕτω καὶ μέγα τὴν

¹ The lacuna after this name may be filled from the words κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεώρια ἤρηκε, in Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 4, 19.

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Agesilaüs would always introduce some discourse about the boys who were of an age to love. He would even lead the young king's fancy toward the object of his own affections, and share with him in wooing and loving, these Spartan loves having nothing shameful in them, but being attended rather with great modesty, high ambition, and an ardent desire for excellence, as I have written in my life of Lysurgus.¹

XXI. Having thus obtained very great influence in the city, he effected the appointment of Teleutias, his half-brother on his mother's side, as admiral. Then he led an army to Corinth, and himself, by land, captured the long walls, while Teleutias, with his fleet, seized the enemy's ships and dockyards. Then coming suddenly upon the Argives,² who at that time held Corinth, and were celebrating the Isthmian games, he drove them away just as they had sacrificed to the god, and made them abandon all their equipment for the festival. At this, the exiles from Corinth who were in his army begged him to hold the games. This, however, he would not do, but remained at hand while they held the games from beginning to end, and afforded them security. Afterwards, when he had departed, the Isthmian games were held afresh by the Argives, and some contestants won their victories a second time, while some were entered in the lists as victors in the first contests, but as vanquished in the second. In this matter Agesilaüs declared that the Argives had brought down upon themselves the charge of great cowardice, since they regarded the conduct of the

¹ Plutarch confuses the expedition of 393 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 4. 19) with that of 390 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 5, 1 ff.).

ἀγωνοθεσίαν ἡγούμενοι μάχεσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τάντα μετρίως ᾤετο δεῖν ἔχειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν οἴκοι χοροὺς καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπεκόσμει καὶ συμπαρήν ἀεὶ φιλοτιμίας καὶ σπουδῆς μεστὸς ὦν καὶ οὔτε παίδων οὔτε παρθένων ἀμίλλης ἀπολειπόμενος, ἃ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐώρα θαυμάζοντας ἐδόκει μηδὲ γινώσκειν.

- 4 καὶ ποτε Καλλιππίδης ὁ τῶν τραγωδιῶν ὑποκριτής, ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ σπουδαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσεῖπεν, ἔπειτα σοβαρῶς εἰς τοὺς συμπεριπατοῦντας ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδείκνυτο νομίζων ἐκείνον ἄρξειν τινὸς φιλοφροσύνης, τέλος δὲ εἶπεν. “Οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκεις με, ὦ βασιλεῦ;” καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀποβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν. “Ἄλλὰ οὐ σύγε ἐσσι Καλλιππίδας ὁ δεικηλίκτας;” οὕτω δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μίμους
- 5 καλοῦσι. παρακαλούμενος δὲ πάλιν ἀκούσαι τοῦ τὴν ἀηδόνα μιμουμένου, παρητήσατο φήσας, “Αὐτὰς ἄκουκα.” τοῦ δὲ ἱατροῦ Μενεκράτους, ἐπεὶ κατατυχὼν ἐν τισιν ἀπεγνωσμέναις θεραπείαις Ζεὺς ἐπεκλήθη, φορτικῶς ταύτῃ χρωμένου τῇ προσωνυμίᾳ καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐπιστεῖλαι τολμήσαντος οὕτως. “Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς βασιλεῖ Ἀγησιλάῳ χαίρειν,” ἀντέγραψε. “Βασιλεὺς Ἀγησίλαος Μενεκράτει ὑγιαίνειν.”

XXII. Διατρίβοντος δὲ περὶ τὴν Κορινθίων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον εἰληφότος καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἄγοντας καὶ φέροντας ἐπιβλέποντος, ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ἐκ Θηβῶν περὶ

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games as so great and august a privilege, and yet had not the courage to fight for it. He himself thought that moderation ought to be observed in all these matters, and sought to improve the local choirs and games. These he always attended, full of ambitious ardour, and was absent from no contest in which either boys or girls competed. Those things, however, for which he saw the rest of the world filled with admiration, he appeared not even to recognize. Once upon a time Callipides the tragic actor, who had a name and fame among the Greeks and was eagerly courted by all, first met him and addressed him, then pompously thrust himself into his company of attendants, showing plainly that he expected the king to make him some friendly overtures, and finally said: "Dost thou not recognize me, O King?" The king fixed his eyes upon him and said: "Yea, art thou not Callipides the buffoon?" And again, when he was invited to hear the man who imitated the nightingale, he declined, saying: "I have heard the bird herself."¹ Again, Menecrates the physician, who, for his success in certain desperate cases, had received the surname of Zeus, and had the bad taste to employ the appellation, actually dared to write the king a letter beginning thus: "Menecrates Zeus, to King Agesilaüs, greeting." To this Agesilaüs replied: "King Agesilaüs, to Menecrates, health and sanity."

XXII. While he was lingering in the territory of Corinth, he seized the Heraeum,² and as he was watching his soldiers carry off the prisoners and booty, messengers came from Thebes to treat for

¹ Cf. the *Lycurgus*, xx. 5.

² The refugees in the Heraeum came out and surrendered of their own accord (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 5, 5).

- φιλίας. ὁ δὲ μισῶν μὲν αἰὲν τὴν πόλιν, οἰόμενος
 δὲ τότε καὶ συμφέρειν ἐνυβρίσαι, προσεποιεῖτο
 μήτε ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς μήτε ἀκούειν ἐντυγχανόντων.
- 2 ἔπαθε δὲ πρᾶγμα νεμεσητόν· οὐπω γὰρ ἀπηλλαγ-
 μένων τῶν Θηβαίων ἡκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες
 αὐτῷ τὴν μόραν ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους κατακεκόφθαι.
 καὶ πάθος τοῦτο μέγα διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου συνέ-
 πεσεν αὐτοῖς· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἀπέ-
 βαλον κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τε πελταστῶν ὀπλίτας
 καὶ μισθοφόρων Λακεδαιμονίους.
- 3 Ἀνεπήδησε μὲν οὖν εὐθύς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὥς 601
 βοηθήσων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω διαπεπραγμένους, αὐθις
 εἰς τὸ Ἡραῖον ἦκε, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τότε προσ-
 ελθεῖν κελεύσας, ἐχρημάτιζεν. ὥς δὲ ἀνθυβρί-
 ζοντες ἐκείνοι τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἐμέμνητο,
 παρεθῆναι δὲ ἡξίου ἐἰς Κόρινθον, ὀργισθεὶς ὁ
 Ἀγησίλαος εἶπεν· “Εἵγε βούλεσθε τοὺς φίλους
 ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν μέγα φρονούντας ἐφ’ οἷς εὐτυχοῦσιν,
- 4 αὖριον ἀσφαλῶς ὑμῖν τοῦτο ὑπάρξει.” καὶ παρα-
 λαβὼν αὐτοὺς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν τε χώραν τῶν
 Κορινθίων ἔκοπτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν
 προσῆλθεν. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐξελέγξας
 ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ τολμῶντας, ἀφῆκε τὴν πρεσβείαν.
 αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς περιλελειμμένους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς
 μόρας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπῆγεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, πρὸ
 ἡμέρας ποιούμενος τὰς ἀναζεύξεις καὶ πάλιν
 σκοταίους τὰς καταλύσεις, ὅπως οἱ μισοῦντες καὶ
 βασκαίνοντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων μὴ ἐπιχαίρῳσιν.

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peace. But he had always hated that city, and thinking this an advantageous time also for insulting it, pretended neither to see nor hear its ambassadors when they presented themselves. But his pride soon had a fall; for the Thebans had not yet departed when messengers came to him with tidings that the Spartan division had been cut to pieces by Iphicrates.¹ This was the greatest disaster that had happened to the Spartans in a long time; for they lost many brave men, and those men were overwhelmed by targeteers and mercenaries, though they were men-at-arms and Lacedaemonians.

At once, then, Agesilaüs sprang up to go to their assistance, but when he learned that it was all over with them,² he came back again to the Heraeum, and ordering the Boeotians then to come before him, gave them an audience. But they returned his insolence by making no mention of peace, but simply asking safe conduct into Corinth. Agesilaüs was wroth at this, and said: "If you wish to see your friends when they are elated at their successes, you can do so to-morrow in all safety." And taking them along with him on the next day, he ravaged the territory of the Corinthians, and advanced to the very gates of the city. After he had thus proved that the Corinthians did not dare to resist him, he dismissed the embassy. Then he himself, picking up the survivors of the division that had been cut to pieces, led them back to Sparta, always breaking camp before it was day, and pitching the next camp after it was dark, in order that the hateful and malicious Arcadians might not exult over them.

¹ At Lechaëum, the port of Corinth on the Corinthian gulf, in 390 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 5, 11-18).

² He had marched till he was "well within the plateau of Lechaëum" (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 5, 8).

- 5 Ἐκ τούτου χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διέβαινεν εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν στρατιᾷ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν ἠλάσατο λείαν, μάχῃ δὲ τοὺς Ἀκαρνανὰς ἐνίκησε. δεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὅπως τὸν χειμῶνα παραμείνας ἀφέληται τὸν σπόρον τῶν πολεμίων, τὸυναντίον ἔφη ποιήσῃ· μᾶλλον γὰρ φοβηθήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς, ἢ ἐσπαρμένην τὴν γῆν εἰς ὥρας ἔχωσιν· ὃ καὶ συνέβη. παραγγελλομένης γὰρ αὐθις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατείας διηλλάγησαν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.

- XXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κόνων καὶ Φαρνάβαζος τῷ βασιλέως ναυτικῷ θαλαττοκρατοῦντες ἐπόρθουν τὰ παράλια τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Φαρναβάζου χρήματα δόντος, ἔδοξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα· καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδα πρὸς Τιρίβαζον, αἰσχιστα καὶ παρανομώτατα τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπολέ-
2 μησεν Ἀγησίλαος, βασιλεῖ παραδιδόντες. ὃθεν ἥκιστα συνέβη τῆς κακοδοξίας ταύτης Ἀγησιλάῳ μετασχεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐχθρὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξ ἅπαντος ἔπραττεν ὥς τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Ἀγησίλαον αὔξοντος καὶ ποιούντος ἐνδοξάτατον καὶ μέγιστον. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μηδίξειν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεκρίνατο μᾶλλον τοὺς Μήδους
3 λακωνίζειν. τοῖς δὲ μὴ βουλομένοις δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπειλῶν καὶ καταγγέλλων πόλεμον ἠνάγκασεν ἐμμένειν ἅπαντας οἷς ὁ Πέρσης ἐδικαίωσε, μάλιστα διὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους, ὅπως

¹ In 390-389 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 6, 3-7, 1).

² In 393 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 8, 10).

³ The Great King's satrap in Western Asia.

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After this, to gratify the Achaeans, he crossed over with them on an expedition into Acarnania,¹ where he drove away much booty and conquered the Acarnanians in battle. But when the Achaeans asked him to spend the winter there in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their fields, he said he would do the opposite of this; for the enemy would dread the war more if their land was sown when summer came. And this proved true; for when a second expedition against them was announced, they came to terms with the Achaeans.

XXIII. When Conon and Pharnabazus with the Great King's fleet were masters of the sea and were ravaging the coasts of Laconia, and after the walls of Athens had been rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus furnished,² the Lacedaemonians decided to make peace with the king of Persia. To that end, they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus,³ and in the most shameful and lawless fashion handed over to the King the Greeks resident in Asia, in whose behalf Agesilaüs had waged war. Agesilaüs, therefore, could have had no part at all in this infamy. For Antalcidas was his enemy, and put forth all his efforts to make the peace because he saw that the war enhanced to the utmost the reputation and power of Agesilaüs. Notwithstanding this, to one who remarked that the Lacedaemonians were favouring the Medes, Agesilaüs replied that the Medes were the rather favouring the Lacedaemonians. Moreover, by threatening with war the Greeks who were unwilling to accept the peace, he forced them all to abide by the terms which the Persian dictated,⁴ more especially on account of the Thebans, his object being to make

⁴ The peace of Antalcidas was ratified by all the Greek states except Thebes in 387 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 1, 29 ff.).

- αὐτόνομον τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀφέντες ἀσθενέστεροι γένωνται. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς ὕστερον ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Φοιβίδας ἔργον εἰργάσατο δεινὸν ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ εἰρήνῃ τὴν Καδμείαν καταλαβών, καὶ πάντες μὲν ἡγανάκτουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, χαλεπῶς
- 4 δὲ ἔφερον οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ διαφερόμενοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπυνθάνοντο τοῦ Φοιβίδου τίνος ταῦτα κελεύσαντος ἔπραξεν, εἰς ἐκείνον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τρέποντες, οὐκ ὤκνησε τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ βοηθῶν λέγειν ἀναφανδὸν ὅτι δεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτὴν, εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἔχει, σκοπεῖν· τὰ γὰρ συμφέροντα τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καλῶς ἔχειν
- 5 αὐτοματίζεσθαι, κἂν μηδεὶς κελεύσῃ. καίτοι τῷ λόγῳ πανταχοῦ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀπέφαινε πρωτεύειν τῶν ἀρετῶν· ἀνδρείας μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι, μὴ παρούσης δικαιοσύνης, εἰ δὲ δίκαιοι πάντες γένοιτο, μηδὲν ἀνδρείας δεήσεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ταῦτα δοκεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, “Τί δ' ἐκείνος ἐμοῦ,” εἶπε, “μείζων, εἰ μὴ καὶ δικαιότερος;” ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς οἰόμενος δεῖν τῷ δικαίῳ καθάπερ μέτρῳ βασιλικῷ μετρεῖ-
- 6 σθαι τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ μείζονος. ἦν δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ περὶ ξενίας καὶ 609 φιλίας ἐπιστολὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν ἔξαρκεῖν τὴν κοινὴν φιλίαν, καὶ μηδὲν ἰδίας δεήσεσθαι μενούσης ἐκείνης. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐκέτι ταύτην διαφυλάττων τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ πολλαχοῦ συνεκ-
- 7 φερόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ πρὸς Θηβαίους, οὐ μόνον ἔσωσε τὸν Φοιβίδαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν

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them weaker by leaving Boeotia independent of the King. This he made clear by his subsequent behaviour. For when Phoebidas committed the foul deed of seizing the Cadmeia¹ in a time of perfect peace, and all the Greeks were indignant and the Spartans displeased at the act, and when especially those who were at variance with Agesilaüs angrily asked Phoebidas by whose command he had done this thing, thereby turning suspicion upon Agesilaüs, he did not scruple to come to the help of Phoebidas, and to say openly that they must consider whether the act itself was serviceable or not; for that which was advantageous to Sparta might well be done independently, even if no one ordered it. And yet in his discourse he was always declaring that justice was the first of the virtues; for valour was of no use unless justice attended it, and if all men should be just, there would be no need of valour. And to those who said, "This is the pleasure of the Great King," he would say, "How is he greater than I unless he is also more just?", rightly and nobly thinking that justice must be the measure wherewith the relative greatness of kings is measured. And when, after the peace was concluded, the Great King sent him a letter proposing guest-friendship, he would not accept it, saying that the public friendship was enough, and that while that lasted there would be no need of a private one. Yet in his acts he no longer observed these opinions, but was often carried away by ambition and contentiousness, and particularly in his treatment of the Thebans. For he not only rescued Phoebidas from punishment, but

¹ The citadel of Thebes. It was seized by Phoebidas in 383 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 2, 26 ff.).

ἔπεισεν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναδέξασθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα καὶ κατέχειν τὴν Καδμείαν δι' ἑαυτῆς, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας Ἀρχίαν καὶ Λεοντίδαν ἀποδεῖξαι κυρίους, δι' ὧν ὁ Φοιβίδας εἰσῆλθε καὶ κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

XXIV. Ἦν μὲν οὖν εὐθύς ἐκ τούτων ὑπόνοια Φοιβίδου μὲν ἔργον εἶναι, βούλευμα δὲ Ἀγησιλάου τὸ πεπραγμένον· αἱ δὲ ὕστερον πράξεις ὁμολογουμένην ἐποίησαν τὴν αἰτίαν. ὥς γὰρ ἐξέβαλον οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡλευθέρωσαν, ἐγκαλῶν αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ τὸν Λεοντίδαν ἀπεκτόνεσαν, ἔργῳ μὲν τυράννους, λόγῳ δὲ πολεμάρχους ὄντας, ἐξήνεγκε

2 πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ Κλεόμβροτος ἡδὴ βασιλεύων Ἀγησιπόλιδος τεθνηκότος, εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐπέμφθη μετὰ δυνάμεως· ὁ γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος, ὥς ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονὼς ἀφ' ἧβης καὶ στρατείας ἔχων ἄφεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, ἔφυγε τὴν στρατηγίαν¹ ἐκείνην, αἰσχυρόμενος εἰ Φλιασίοις ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὲρ φυγάδων πεπολεμηκώς, αὐθις ὀφθήσεται Θηβαίους κακῶς ποιῶν διὰ τοὺς τυράννους.

3 Ἦν δέ τις Λάκων Σφοδρίας ἐκ τῆς ὑπεναντίας στάσεως τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τεταγμένος ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἀρμοστής, οὐκ ἄτολμος μὲν οὐδ' ἀφιλότιμος ἀνὴρ, αἰεὶ δ' ἐλπίδων μᾶλλον ἢ φρενῶν ἀγαθὸν μεστός. οὗτος ἐπιθυμῶν ὀνόματος μεγάλου, καὶ τὸν Φοιβίδαν νομίζων ἔνδοξον γεγονέναι καὶ περιβόητον ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Θήβας τολμήματος, ἐπείσθη πολὺ κάλλιον εἶναι καὶ λαμπρότερον εἰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλάβοι δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφέ-

¹ στρατηγίαν with Stephanus, Coraë's, and S: στρατείαν.

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actually persuaded Sparta to assume responsibility for his iniquity and occupy the Cadmeia on its own account, besides putting the administration of Thebes into the hands of Archias and Leontidas, by whose aid Phoebidas had entered and seized the acropolis.

XXIV. Of course this gave rise at once to a suspicion that while Phoebidas had done the deed, Agesilaüs had counselled it; and his subsequent acts brought the charge into general belief. For when the Thebans expelled the Spartan garrison and liberated their city,¹ he charged them with the murder of Archias and Leontidas, who were really tyrants, though polemarchs in name, and levied war upon them. And Cleombrotus, who was king now that Agesipolis was dead, was sent into Boeotia with an army; for Agesilaüs, who had now borne arms for forty years, and was therefore exempt by law from military service, declined this command. He was ashamed, after having recently made war upon the Phliasians in behalf of their exiles,² to be seen now harrying the Thebans in the interests of their tyrants.³

Now, there was a certain Lacedaemonian named Sphodrias, of the party opposed to Agesilaüs, who had been appointed harmost at Thespieae. He lacked neither boldness nor ambition, but always abounded in hopes rather than in good judgement. This man, coveting a great name, and considering that Phoebidas had made himself famous far and near by his bold deed at Thebes, was persuaded that it would be a far more honourable and brilliant exploit for him to seize the Peiraeus on his own account and rob the

¹ In 379 B.C., with the help of the Athenians (Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4, 2-12). Cf. the *Pelopidas*, ix.-xiii.

² In 380-379 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 3, 13-25).

³ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4, 13.

λοιτο τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐκ γῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτως
 4 ἐπελθών. λέγουσι δὲ τοῦτο μηχανήμα γενέσθαι
 τῶν περὶ Πελοπίδαν καὶ Μέλωνα βοιωταρχῶν.
 ὑπέπεμψαν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λακωνίζειν προσ-
 ποιουμένους, οἱ τὸν Σφοδρίαν ἐπαινούντες καὶ
 μεγαλύνοντες ὡς ἔργου τηλικούτου μόνον ἄξιον,
 ἐπῆραν καὶ παρώρμησεν ἀνελέσθαι πρᾶξιν ἄδικον
 μὲν ὁμοίως ἐκείνῃ καὶ παράνομον, τόλμης δὲ καὶ
 5 τύχης ἐνδεᾶ γενομένην. ἡμέρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ
 Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ κατέλαβε καὶ κατέλαμψεν ἐλ-
 πίσαντα νυκτὸς προσμίξειν τῷ Πειραιεῖ· καὶ φῶς
 ἀφ' ἱερῶν τινων Ἐλευσινόθεν ἰδόντας λέγουσι
 φρίξαι καὶ περιφόβους γενέσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας.
 αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ θράσους ἐξέπεσεν, ὡς οὐκέτι λαθεῖν
 ἦν, καὶ τινα βραχεῖαν ἀρπαγὴν θέμενος αἰσχυρῶς
 6 ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἀδόξως εἰς τὰς Θεσπιάς. ἐκ δὲ
 τούτου κατήγοροι μὲν ἐπέμφθησαν εἰς Σπάρτην ἐξ
 Ἀθηναίων, εὗρον δὲ κατηγορίας¹ μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὸν
 Σφοδρίαν δεομένους τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ θανάτου
 κρίσιν αὐτῷ προειρηκότας, ἦν ἐκείνος ὑπομένειν
 ἀπέγνω, φοβούμενος τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν πολιτῶν
 αἰσχυνομένων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ βουλομένων
 συναδικεῖσθαι δοκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συναδικεῖν δοκῶσιν.

XXV. Εἶχεν οὖν υἱὸν ὁ Σφοδρίας Κλεώνυμον,
 οὗ παιδὸς ὄντος ἔτι καὶ καλοῦ τὴν ὄψιν Ἀρχί-
 δαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸς ἦρα. καὶ
 τότε συνηγωνία μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτῷ² κινδυνεύοντι

¹ κατηγορίας with S : κατηγορίων.

² ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτῷ with S ; other MSS. ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν : αὐτῷ.

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Athenians of access to the sea, attacking them unexpectedly by land. It is said, too, that the scheme was devised by Pelopidas and Melo, chief magistrates at Thebes.¹ They privily sent men to him who pretended to be Spartan sympathizers, and they, by praising and exalting Sphodrias as the only man worthy to undertake so great a task, urged and incited him into an act which was no less lawless and unjust than the seizure of the Cadmeia, though it was essayed without courage or good fortune. For full daylight overtook him while he was yet in the Thriasian plain, although he had hoped to attack the Peiraeus by night. It is said also that his soldiers saw a light streaming from certain sanctuaries at Eleusis, and were filled with shuddering fear. Their commander himself lost all his courage, since concealment was no longer possible, and after ravaging the country a little, retired disgracefully and ingloriously to Thespieae. Hereupon men were sent from Athens to Sparta to denounce Sphodrias. They found, however, that the magistrates there had no need of their denunciation, but had already indicted Sphodrias on a capital charge. This charge he determined not to meet, fearing the wrath of his countrymen, who were ashamed in the presence of the Athenians, and wished to be thought wronged with them, that they might not be thought wrongdoers with Sphodrias.

XXV. Now Sphodrias had a son, Cleonymus, who was still a boy and fair to look upon, and of whom Archidamus, the son of King Agesilaüs, was enamoured. In this crisis Archidamus naturally sympathized with his favourite because of the peril in

¹ Their object was to embroil Athens and Sparta (Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4, 20-24).

περὶ τοῦ πατρός, συμπράττειν δὲ φανερώς καὶ
 βοηθεῖν οὐκ εἶχεν· ἦν γὰρ ὁ Σφοδρίας ἐκ τῶν
 2 διαφόρων τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου. τοῦ δὲ Κλεωνύμου
 προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ δεήσεως καὶ δακρύων
 ἐντυχόντος, ὅπως τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εὖνουν παρά- 610
 σχη, μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκείνουν αὐτοῖς φοβερὸν εἶναι,
 τρεῖς μὲν ἢ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας αἰδούμενος τὸν
 πατέρα καὶ δεδιὼς σιωπῇ παρηκολούθει· τέλος
 δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἐγγὺς οὔσης ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὅτι Κλεώνυμος αὐτοῦ
 3 δεηθεῖν περὶ τοῦ πατρός. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος εἰδὼς
 ἐρῶντα τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον οὐκ ἔπαυσεν· ἦν γὰρ ὁ
 Κλεώνυμος εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων ἐπίδοξος, εἴ τις καὶ
 ἄλλος, ἀνὴρ ἔσεσθαι σπουδαῖος. οὐ μὴν ἐνέδωκέ
 τι τότε χρηστὸν ἢ φιλάνθρωπον ἐλπίσαι δεομένῳ
 τῷ παιδί, σκέψεσθαι δὲ φήσας ὅ τι καλῶς ἔχοι
 4 καὶ πρεπόντως, ἀπῆλθεν. αἰδούμενος οὖν ὁ
 Ἀρχίδαμος ἐξέλειπε τὸ προσιέναι τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ,
 καίπερ εἰθὼς πολλάκις τοῦτο τῆς ἡμέρας ποιεῖν
 πρότερον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου κάκεινοι τὰ κατὰ τὸν
 Σφοδρίαν μᾶλλον ἀπέγνωσαν, ἄχρι οὗ τῶν
 Ἀγησιλάου φίλων Ἐτυμοκλῆς ἐν τινι κοινολογίᾳ
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεγύμνωσε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ Ἀγησι-
 λάου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔργον ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ψέγειν
 αὐτόν, ἄλλως γε μὴν ἄνδρα τὸν Σφοδρίαν ἀγαθὸν
 ἠγεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρᾶν τοιούτων στρα-
 5 τιωτῶν δεομένην. τούτους γὰρ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
 ἐκάστοτε τοὺς λόγους ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῆς δίκης, τῷ
 παιδί χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
 Κλεώνυμον εὐθύς αἰσθάνεσθαι τὴν σπουδὴν τοῦ
 Ἀρχιδάμου καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τοῦ Σφοδρίου
 θαρροῦντας ἤδη βοηθεῖν. ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλότεκνος
 ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διαφερόντως· καὶ περὶ ἐκείνου τὸ

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which his father stood, but he was unable to aid and assist him openly, since Sphodrias was one of the opponents of Agesilaüs. But when Cleonymus came to him in tears and begged him to mollify Agesilaüs, from whom he and his father had most to fear, for three or four days he was restrained by awe and fear from saying anything to Agesilaüs as he followed him about; but finally, when the trial was near at hand, he plucked up courage to tell him that Cleonymus had begged him to intercede for his father. Now Agesilaüs, although he knew of the love of Archidamus, had not put a stop to it, since Cleonymus, from his early boyhood, had given special promise of becoming an earnest and worthy man. At this time, however, he did not permit his son to expect any advantage or kindness in answer to his prayer; he merely said, as he went away, that he would consider what was the honourable and fitting course in the matter. Archidamus was therefore mortified, and ceased to visit Cleonymus, although before this he had done so many times a day. As a consequence, the friends of Sphodrias also were more in despair of his case, until Etymocles, one of the friends of Agesilaüs, conferred with them and disclosed the mind of the king, namely, that he blamed to the utmost what Sphodrias had done, but yet thought him a brave man, and saw that the city needed just such soldiers. For this was the way in which Agesilaüs always spoke about the trial, in his desire to gratify his son, so that Cleonymus was at once aware of the zealous efforts of Archidamus in his behalf, and the friends of Sphodrias had courage at last to come to his help. It is a fact also that Agesilaüs was excessively fond of his children, and a story is told of his joining in their childish play. Once,

τῆς παιδιᾶς λέγουσιν, ὅτι μικροῖς τοῖς παιδίοις οὔσι κάλαμον περιβεβηκῶς ὥσπερ ἵππον οἴκοι συνέπαιζεν, ὀφθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν φίλων παρεκάλει μηδενὶ φράσαι, πρὶν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ παίδων γένηται.

XXVI. Ἀπολυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρίου, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, πρὸς πόλεμον τραπομένων, σφόδρα κακῶς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἤκουσε, δι' ἐπιθυμίαν ἄτοπον καὶ παιδαριώδη δοκῶν ἐμποδῶν γεγονέναι κρίσει δικαίᾳ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν παραίτιον ἀπειργάσθαι παρανομημάτων τηλικούτων εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον οὐχ ἑώρα πρόθυμον ὄντα πολεμεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, οὕτω δὴ χαίρειν τὸν νόμον ἑάσας ᾧ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο περὶ τῆς στρατείας, αὐτὸς εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐνέβαλεν ἤδη καὶ κακῶς ἐποίει τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ πάλιν ἀντέπασχεν, ὥστε καὶ τρωθέντος αὐτοῦ ποτε τὸν Ἀνταλκίδαν εἰπεῖν· “Ἡ καλὰ τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους μηδὲ ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι Θηβαίους αὐτοὺς ἑαυτῶν πολεμικωτάτους τότε γενέσθαι φασί, ταῖς πολλαῖς στρατείαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐγγυμνασασμένους. διὸ καὶ Λυκούργος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις τρισὶ ῥήτραις ἀπεῖπε μὴ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν, ὅπως μὴ πολεμεῖν μανθάνωσιν.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων

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when they were very small, he bestrode a stick, and was playing horse with them in the house, and when he was spied doing this by one of his friends, he entreated him not to tell any one, until he himself should be a father of children.

XXVI. But after Sphodrias was acquitted,¹ and the Athenians, on learning of it, were inclined to go to war, Agesilaüs was very harshly criticized. It was thought that, to gratify an absurd and childish desire, he had opposed the course of justice in a trial, and made the city accessory to great crimes against the Greeks. Besides, when he saw that his colleague Cleombrotus was little inclined to make war upon the Thebans, he waived the exemption by law which he had formerly claimed in the matter of the expedition, and presently led an incursion into Boeotia himself,² where he inflicted damage upon the Thebans, and in his turn met with reverses, so that one day when he was wounded, Antalcidas said to him: "Indeed, this is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to fight when they did not wish to do it, and did not even know how." For the Thebans are said to have been really more war-like at this time than ever before, owing to the many expeditions which the Lacedaemonians made against them, by which they were virtually schooled in arms. And Lycurgus of old, in one of his three so-called "rhetras," forbade his people to make frequent expeditions against the same foes, in order that those foes might not learn how to make war.³

Moreover, the allies of the Lacedaemonians were

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4, 24-34.

² According to Xenophon (*Hell.* v. 4, 35), he was asked to do so by the Lacedaemonians, who preferred him to Cleombrotus as a leader. This was in 378 B.C.

³ Cf. the *Lycurgus*, xiii. 6.

ἐπαχθὴς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς δι' οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα
 δημόσιον, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ τινι καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τοὺς
 4 Θηβαίους ἀπολέσαι ζητῶν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλεγον
 δεόμενοι φθείρεσθαι δεῦρο κακείσε καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἐνιαυτόν, ὀλίγοις τοσούτοι συνακολουθοῦντες.
 ἔνθα δὲ δὴ λέγεται τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἐξελέγξαι
 βουλόμενον αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, τότε μηχανήσα-
 σθαι. πάντα ἐκέλευσε καθίσαι τοὺς συμμάχους
 μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμεμιγμένους, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς Λακε-
 5 δαιμονίους ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν. εἶτα ἐκήρυττε τοὺς κερα-
 μεῖς ἀνίστασθαι πρῶτον· ὡς δὲ ἀνέστησαν οὗτοι,
 δεύτερον ἐκήρυττε τοὺς χαλκεῖς, εἶτα τέκτονας
 ἐφεξῆς καὶ οἰκοδόμους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν
 ἑκάστην. πάντες οὖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀνέστησαν οἱ
 σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδεὶς· ἀπεί-
 ρητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς τέχνην ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μαθάνειν
 βάνανσον. οὕτω δὴ γελάσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος,
 “Ὁρᾶτε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅσῳ πλείονας ὑμῶν
 στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπομεν ἡμεῖς.”

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XXVII. Ἐν δὲ Μεγάροις, ὅτε τὴν στρατιὰν
 ἀπῆγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ
 ἀρχεῖον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, σπᾶσμα καὶ πόνον
 ἰσχυρὸν ἔλαβε τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου
 διογκωθὲν μεστὸν αἵματος ἔδοξε γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ
 2 φλεγμονὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν παρῆιχεν. ἱατροῦ δέ
 τινος Συρακουσίου τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ σφυρῷ φλέβα
 σχάσαντος, αἱ μὲν ἀλγηδόνες ἔλξαν, αἵματος
 δὲ πολλοῦ φερομένου καὶ ρέοντος ἀνεπισχέτως
 λιποψυχία πολλή καὶ κίνδυνος ὅξυς ἀπ' αὐτῆς
 περιέστη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε γε
 τὴν φορὰν τοῦ αἵματος ἔπαυσε· καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς

¹ Cf. the *Lycurgus*, xxiv. 2.

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offended at Agesilaüs, because, as they said, it was not upon any public ground of complaint, but by reason of some passionate resentment of his own, that he sought to destroy the Thebans. Accordingly, they said they had no wish to be dragged hither and thither to destruction every year, they themselves so many, and the Lacedaemonians, with whom they followed, so few. It was at this time, we are told, that Agesilaüs, wishing to refute their argument from numbers, devised the following scheme. He ordered all the allies to sit down by themselves promiscuously, and the Lacedaemonians apart by themselves. Then his herald called upon the potters to stand up first, and after them the smiths, next, the carpenters in their turn, and the builders, and so on through all the handicrafts. In response, almost all the allies rose up, but not a man of the Lacedaemonians; for they were forbidden to learn or practise a manual art.¹ Then Agesilaüs said with a laugh: "You see, O men, how many more soldiers than you we are sending out."

XXVII. But in Megara, when he was leading his army back from Thebes,² as he was going up to the senate-house in the acropolis, he was seized with a cramp and violent pain in his sound leg, which then swelled up, appeared to be congested, and showed signs of excessive inflammation. As soon as a certain Syracusan physician had opened a vein below the ankle, the pains relaxed, but much blood flowed and could not be checked, so that Agesilaüs was very faint from its loss, and in dire peril of his life. At last, however, the flow of blood was stopped, and Agesilaüs was carried to Sparta, where he remained

¹ From a second incursion into Boeotia, made in 377 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4, 47-55; 58).

Λακεδαίμονα πολὺν χρόνον ἔσχευ ἀρρώστως καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἀδυνάτως.

- 3 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ συνέβη πταίσματα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· ὧν ἦν τὸ περὶ Τεγύρας μέγιστον, ὅπου πρῶτον ἐκ παρατάξεως κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἡττήθησαν. ἔδοξεν οὖν πᾶσι θέσθαι πρὸς πάντας εἰρήνην· καὶ συνήλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ποιησόμενοι τὰς δια-
- 4 λύσεις. ὧν εἰς ἦν Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἀνὴρ ἔνδοξος ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ, στρατηγίας δὲ πείραν οὐπω δεδωκώς. οὗτος ὁρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὑποκατακλινομένους τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ, μόνος ἐχρήσατο φρονήματι παρρησίαν ἔχοντι, καὶ διεξῆλθε λόγον, οὐχ ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁμοῦ κοινόν, τὸν μὲν πόλεμον ἀποδεικνύων αὖξοντα τὴν Σπάρτην ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ κακῶς πάσχουσι, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἰσότητι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ κτᾶσθαι κελεύων· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὴν διαμενεῖν, ἴσων ἀπάντων γενομένων.

- XXVIII. Ὅρων οὖν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὑπερφυνῶς ἀγαμένους καὶ προσέχοντας αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ νομίζει δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ ἴσον αὐτονομεῖσθαι τὴν Βοιωτίαν. ἀντερωτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου ταχὺ καὶ τεθαρρηκότως εἰ κακέινος οἶεται δίκαιον αὐτονομεῖσθαι τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μετ' ὀργῆς ἐκέλευσε λέγειν σαφῶς αὐτὸν εἰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀφί-
- 2 σιν αὐτόνομον. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάλιν τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου φήσαντος, εἰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀφί-

¹ This battle, fought in 375 B.C., is not mentioned by Xenophon, but is described by Plutarch in the *Pelopidas*,

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for a long time in a weak condition and unable to take the field.

During this time the Spartans met with many reverses both by land and sea, the greatest of which was at Tegyra, where for the first time they were overpowered by the Thebans in a pitched battle.¹ There was, accordingly, a general sentiment in favour of a general peace, and ambassadors from all Hellas came together at Sparta to settle its terms.² One of these ambassadors was Epaminondas, a man of repute for culture and philosophy, although he had not yet given proof of capacity as a general. This man, seeing the rest all cringing before Agesilaüs, alone had the courage of his convictions, and made a speech, not in behalf of Thebes, his native city, but of all Greece in common, declaring that war made Sparta great at the expense of the sufferings of all the other states, and urging that peace be made on terms of equality and justice, for it would endure only when all parties to it were made equal.

XXVIII. Agesilaüs, accordingly, seeing that the Greeks all listened to Epaminondas with the greatest attention and admiration, asked him whether he considered it justice and equality that the cities of Boeotia should be independent of Thebes. Then when Epaminondas promptly and boldly asked him in reply whether he too thought it justice for the cities of Laconia to be independent of Sparta, Agesilaüs sprang from his seat and wrathfully bade him say plainly whether he intended to make the cities of Boeotia independent. And when Epaminondas answered again in the same way by asking whether

chapters xvi. and xvii., doubtless on the authority of Ephorus (cf. Diodorus, xv. 81, 2).

¹ In 371 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 3, 3-20).

σιν αὐτόνομον, οὕτω τραχέως ἔσχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν ἡγάπησεν ὥς εὐθὺς ἐξαλείψαι τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων ὄνομα τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ προειπεῖν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἕλληνας διαλαγέοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι, τὰ μὲν ἀκεστὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, τὰ δὲ ἀνήκεστα τοῦ πολέμου ποιοῦντας. ἔργον γὰρ ἦν πάσας ἐκκαθᾶραι καὶ διαλύσαι τὰς ἀμφιλογίας.

- 3 Ἐτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν Φωκεύσιν ὦν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος μετὰ δυνάμεως. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔπεμπον οἱ ἔφοροι κελεύοντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Θηβαίους ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους περιπέμποντες ἡθροίζον, ἀπροθύμους μὲν ὄντας καὶ βαρυνομένους τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτω δὲ θαρροῦντας ἀντιλέγειν οὐδὲ ἀπειθεῖν τοῖς Λακεδαι-
- 4 μονίοις. πολλῶν δὲ σημείων μοχθηρῶν γενομένων, ὥς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου γέγραπται, καὶ Προθόου τοῦ Λάκωνος ἐναντιουμένου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀλλ' ἐξέπραξε τὸν πόλεμον, ἐλπίζων αὐτοῖς μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅλης ὑπαρχούσης, ἐκσπόνδων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων γενομένων, καιρὸν εἶναι δίκην λαβεῖν
- 5 παρ' αὐτῶν. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ σὺν ὀργῇ μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ γενέσθαι τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην ὁ καιρός. τῇ γὰρ τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Σκιροφοριῶνος μηνὸς ἐποίησαντο τὰς σπονδὰς ἐν Λακε- 612
- δαίμονι, τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τοῦ Ἐκατομβαιῶνος ἡττήθησαν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι διαγενομένων. ἀπέθανον δὲ χίλιοι Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεόμβροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ κράτιστοι

¹ According to Xenophon (*loc. cit.*), who makes no mention of Epaminondas, the Thebans had signed as Thebans, but on

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he intended to make the cities of Laconia independent, Agesilaüs became violent and was glad of the pretext for at once erasing the name of the Thebans from the treaty of peace and declaring war upon them.¹ The rest of the Greeks, however, he ordered to depart, now that they were reconciled with each other, leaving differences which could be healed to the terms of peace, and those which could not, to war, since it was a hard task to settle and remove all their disputes.

At this time Cleombrotus was in Phocis with an army. The ephors therefore immediately sent him orders to lead his forces against Thebes. They also sent round a summons for an assembly of their allies, who were without zeal for the war and thought it a great burden, but were not yet bold enough to oppose or disobey the Lacedaemonians. And although many baleful signs appeared, as I have written in my Life of Epaminondas,² and though Prothoüs the Laconian made opposition to the expedition, Agesilaüs would not give in, but brought the war to pass. He thought that since all Hellas was on their side, and the Thebans had been excluded from the treaty, it was a favourable time for the Spartans to take vengeance on them. But the time chosen for it proves that this expedition was made from anger more than from careful calculation. For the treaty of peace was made at Lacedaemon on the fourteenth of the month Scirophorion, and on the fifth of Hecatombaeon the Lacedaemonians were defeated at Leuctra,—an interval of twenty days. In that battle a thousand Lacedaemonians fell, besides Cleombrotus the king, and

the next day wished to substitute Boeotians for Thebans. This Agesilaüs refused to permit. It would have recognized the supremacy of Thebes in Boeotia.

¹ Not extant.

- 6 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ἐν οἷς καὶ Κλεώνυμόν φασι τὸν Σφοδρίου τὸν καλὸν τρεῖς πεσόντα πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοσαντάκισ ἐξαναστάντα καὶ μαχόμενον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀποθανεῖν.

- XXIX. Συμβάντος δὲ τοῖς τε Λακεδαιμονίοις πταίσματος ἀπροσδοκῆτου καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις παρὰ δόξαν εὐτυχήματος οἶον οὐ γέγονεν ἄλλοις "Ἑλλησι πρὸς" Ἑλληνας ἀγωνισαμένοις, οὐδὲν ἄν τις ἦττον ἐξήλωσε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἠγάσθη τὴν
- 2 ἡττημένην πόλιν ἢ τὴν νικῶσαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ξενοφῶν φησι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχειν τι καὶ τὰς ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ παιδιᾷ φωνὰς καὶ διατριβὰς ἀξιομνημόνευτον, ὀρθῶς λέγων· ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ἦττον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἄξιον κατανοεῖν καὶ θεᾶσθαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ παρὰ τὰς τύχας πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσι διενεσχημονοῦντες. εὐτυχε μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐορτὴν ἄγουσα καὶ ξένων οὔσα μεστή· γυμνοπαιδίαι γὰρ ἦσαν ἀγωνιζομένων χορῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· παρήσαν δ' ἀπὸ Λεύκτρων οἱ τὴν
- 3 συμφορὰν ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι, καίπερ εὐθύς ὄντος καταφανοῦς ὅτι διέφθαρται τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολωλέκασιν, οὔτε χορὸν ἐξελθεῖν εἶασαν οὔτε τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐορτῆς μεταβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκίαν τῶν τεθνεώτων τοῖς προσήκουσι τὰ ὀνόματα πέμψαντες, αὐτοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν θέαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν χορῶν
- 4 ἔπραττον. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα φανερῶν ἤδη γεγονότων πᾶσι τῶν τε σωζομένων καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων, οἱ μὲν τῶν τεθνεώτων πατέρες καὶ κηδεσταὶ καὶ οἰκείοι καταβαίνοντες εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀλλήλους ἐδέξιοντο λιπαροὶ τὰ πρόσωπα, φρονήματος μεστοὶ καὶ γήθους, οἱ δὲ τῶν σωζομένων, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ

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around him the mightiest of the Spartans. Among these, they say, was Cleonymus, the beautiful son of Sphodrias,¹ who was thrice struck down in front of his king, as many times rose again to his feet, and died there, fighting the Thebans.

XXIX. Now that the Lacedaemonians had met with an unexpected reverse, and the Thebans with an unlooked-for success surpassing that of any other Hellenes at strife with Hellenes, the high conduct of the defeated city was no less to be envied and admired than that of the victorious city. Xenophon says² that in the case of noble men, there is much that is worth recording even in what they say and do at their wine and in their sports, and he is right; and it is no less, but even more, worth while to observe carefully the decorum with which noble men speak and act in the midst of adversity. The city was holding a festival and was full of strangers; for the "gymnopaediae" were in progress and choirs of boys were competing with one another in the theatre; then came the messengers of calamity from Leuctra. But the ephors, although it was at once apparent that their cause was ruined and their supremacy lost, would not allow a choral performance to be omitted, nor the fashion of the festival to be changed by the city, but after sending the names of the slain warriors to the homes of their kindred, they themselves conducted the spectacle and the choral contests to a close. On the next morning also, now that everyone knew who had survived the battle and who had been slain, the fathers and kindred and friends of the slain went down into the market-place and greeted one another with bright faces, full of pride and exultation; while the friends of the survivors, as if

¹ Cf. chapter xxv. 1. ² *Symposium*, i. 1.

πένθει, μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν οἴκοι διέτριβον, εἰ δέ τις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης προέλθοι, καὶ σχήματι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ βλέμματι ταπεινὸς ἐφαίνετο καὶ συνεσταλ-
 5 μένος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν γυναικῶν ἰδεῖν ἦν καὶ πυθέσθαι τὴν μὲν ζῶντα προσδεχομένην υἱὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης κατηφῇ καὶ σιωπηλήν, τὰς δὲ τῶν πεπτωκέναι λεγομένων ἔν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐθύς ἀναστρεφόμενας, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἰλαρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως βαδιζούσας.

XXX. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὥς ἀφίσταντο μὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι, προσεδοκᾶτο δὲ νενικη-
 κῶς Ἐπαμεινώνδας καὶ μεγαλοφρονῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἔννοια τῶν χρησμῶν ἐνέπεσε τότε, πρὸς τὴν χωλότητα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ δυσθυμία πολλή καὶ πτοία πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὥς διὰ τοῦτο πραττούσης κακῶς τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι τὸν ἀρτίποδα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβαλόντες εἴλοντο χολὸν καὶ πεπηρωμένον· ὃ παιτὸς μᾶλλον αὐ-
 2 τοὺς ἐδίδασκε φράζεσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ δαιμόνιον. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν οὐ μόνον ἐχρῶντο βασιλεῖ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πολι-
 τικῶν ἀποριῶν ἰατρῷ καὶ διαιτητῇ, τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καταδειλιάσασιν, οὓς αὐτοὶ τρέσαντας ὀνομάζουσιν, ὁκνοῦντες τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀτιμίας προσάγειν, πολλοῖς οὖσι καὶ δυνατοῖς, φοβού-
 3 μενοι νεωτερισμὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀρχῆς ἀπείργονται πάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦναί τινα τούτων γυναῖκα καὶ λαβεῖν ἄδοξόν ἐστι· παίει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων. οἱ

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in mourning, tarried at home with the women, and if one of them was obliged to appear in public, his garb and speech and looks betokened his humiliation and abasement.¹ And a still greater difference was to be seen (or heard about) in the women; she who expected her son back from the battle alive was dejected and silent, but the mothers of those reported to have fallen immediately frequented the temples, and visited one another with an air of gladness and pride.

XXX. The greater number, however, when their allies were falling away from them and it was expected that Epaminondas, in all the pride of a conqueror, would invade Peloponnesus, fell to thinking of the oracles,² in view of the lameness of Agesilaüs, and were full of dejection and consternation in respect to the divine powers, believing that their city was in an evil plight because they had dethroned the sound-footed king and chosen instead a lame and halting one,—the very thing which the deity was trying to teach them carefully to avoid. And yet otherwise he had such power and valour and fame that they not only continued to employ him as king and general in matters pertaining to war, but also as physician and arbiter in their civil perplexities. For instance, upon those who had shewn cowardice in the battle, whom they themselves call “tresantes,” or *run-aways*, they hesitated to inflict the disabilities required by the laws, since the men were numerous and powerful, for fear that they might stir up a revolution. For such men are not only debarred from every office, but intermarriage with any of them is a disgrace, and any one who meets them may strike them if he pleases. Moreover, they are

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 4, 16.

² Cf. chapter iii. 4 f.

δὲ καρτεροῦσι περιϊόντες αὐχμηροὶ καὶ ταπεινοί, τρίβωνάς τε προσερραμμένους χρώματος βαπτοῦ φοροῦσι, καὶ ξυρῶνται μέρος τῆς ὑπῆνης, μέρος δὲ
 4 τρέφουσι. δεινὸν οὖν ἦν τοιοῦτους ἐν τῇ πόλει περιορᾶν πολλοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγων δεομένη στρατιω-
 τῶν. καὶ νομοθέτῃν αἰροῦνται τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. ὁ δὲ μήτε προσθείς τι μήτε ἀφελὼν μήτε μετα-
 γράψας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Λακεδαι-
 μονίων· καὶ φήσας ὅτι τοὺς νόμους δεῖ σήμερον 613
 εἶναι πρὸς τὸ λοιπόν, ἅμα τοὺς τε νόμους τῇ
 5 πόλει καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιτίμους ἐφύλαξε. βου-
 λόμενος δὲ τὴν παρούσαν ἀθυμίαν καὶ κατή-
 φειαν ἀφελεῖν τῶν νέων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν,
 καὶ μάχην μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάξατο συνάψαι τοῖς
 ἐναντίοις, ἐλὼν δὲ πολίχνην τινὰ τῶν Μαντινέων
 καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμών, ἐλαφροτέραν ἐποίησε
 ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ ἡδίων τὴν πόλιν, ὥς οὐ παντά-
 πασιν ἀπεγνώσμενην.

XXXI. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρῆν εἰς τὴν Λακω-
 νικὴν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐκ
 ἐλάττονας ἔχων τετρακισμυρίων ὀπλιτῶν. πολ-
 λοι δὲ καὶ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἄνοπλοι πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν
 συνηκολουθοῦν, ὥστε μυριάδας ἑπτὰ τοῦ σύμ-
 παντος ὄχλου συνεισβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν.
 2 ἦν μὲν δὴ χρόνος οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων
 ἀφ' οὗ κατῴκουν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα Δωριεῖς· ἐν δὲ
 τούτῳ παντὶ τότε πρῶτον ὤφθησαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
 πολέμιοι, πρότερον δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν· ἀλλὰ
 ἀδῆωτον καὶ ἄθικτον οὖσαν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπυρ-
 πόλουν καὶ διήρπαζον ἄχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς
 3 πόλεως, μηδενὸς ἐπεξιόντος. ὁ γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος

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obliged to go about unkempt and squalid, wearing cloaks that are patched with dyed stuffs, half of their beards shaven, and half left to grow. It was a serious matter, therefore, to allow many such men in the city, when she lacked not a few soldiers. So they chose Agesilaüs as a law-giver for the occasion. And he, without adding to or subtracting from or changing the laws in any way, came into the assembly of the Lacedaemonians and said that the laws must be allowed to sleep for that day, but from that day on must be in sovereign force. By this means he at once saved the laws for the city and the men from infamy. Then, wishing to remove the discouragement and dejection which prevailed among the young men, he made an incursion into Arcadia,¹ and though he studiously avoided joining battle with the enemy, he took a small town of the Mantineans and overran their territory, and thus lightened and gladdened the expectations of his city, which felt that its case was not wholly desperate.

XXXI. After this,² Epaminondas entered Laconia with his allies, having no fewer than forty thousand men-at-arms. Many light armed and unarmed troops also followed him for the sake of plunder, so that a horde of seventy thousand, all told, made this incursion into Laconia. For a period of no less than six hundred years the Dorians had been living in Lacedaemon, and this was the first time in all that period that enemies had been seen in the country; before this, none had ventured there. But now they burst into an unravaged and inviolate land, and burned and plundered as far as the river and the city, and no one came out against them. For Agesilaüs

¹ In 370 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 5, 10-21).

² In the same year, after Agesilaüs had returned and disbanded his forces.

οὐκ εἶα πρὸς τοσοῦτον, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος,
 “ῥεῦμα καὶ κλύδωνα πολέμου” μάχεσθαι τοὺς
 Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως τὰ μέσα καὶ
 κυριώτατα τοῖς ὀπλίταις περιεσπειραμένος ἐκαρ-
 τέρει τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ τὰς μεγαλαυχίας τῶν
 Θηβαίων, προκαλουμένων ἐκείνους ὀνομαστί καὶ
 διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας κελευόντων, ὃς τῶν
 4 κακῶν αἰτιὸς ἐστὶν ἐκκαύσας τὸν πόλεμον. οὐχ
 ἦττον δὲ τούτων ἐλύπουν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οἱ κατὰ
 τὴν πόλιν θόρυβοι καὶ κραυγαὶ καὶ διαδρομαὶ
 τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων δυσανασχετούντων τὰ γινό-
 μενα καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐ δυναμένων ἡσυχάζειν,
 ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἐκφρόνων οὐσῶν πρὸς τε τὴν
 5 κραυγὴν καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν πολεμίων. ἡνία δὲ καὶ
 τὸ τῆς δόξης αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν μεγίστην
 παραλαβὼν καὶ δυνατωτάτην, ἑώρα συνεσταλ-
 μένον αὐτῆς τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ αὔχημα κεκολου-
 μένον, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχρήσατο πολλάκις, εἰπὼν
 ὅτι γυνὴ Λάκαινα καπνὸν οὐχ ἑώρακε πολέμιον.
 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀνταλκίδας, Ἀθηναίου τινὸς
 ἀμφισβητοῦντος ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ
 εἰπόντος, “Ἡμεῖς μέντοι πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Κηφισοῦ ἐδιώξαμεν,” ὑποτυχεῖν. “Ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς
 6 γε οὐδέποτε ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα.” παρα-
 πλησίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἀπεκρίνατο τῶν
 ἀσημοτέρων τις Σπαρτιατῶν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἶπε·
 “Πολλοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι κεῖνται,” ὁ δὲ
 ἀπήντησεν· “Τμῶν δὲ γε οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ Λα-
 κωνικῇ.”

XXXII. Τότε μέντοι τὸν Ἀνταλκίδαν φασὶν
 ἔφορον ὄντα τοὺς παῖδας εἰς Κύθηρα ὑπεκθέσθαι,
 περίφοβον γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπι-

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would not suffer the Lacedaemonians to fight against such a "billowy torrent of war," to use the words of Theopompus, but surrounded the central and most commanding parts of the city with his men-at-arms, while he endured the boastful threats of the Thebans, who called upon him by name and bade him come out and fight for his country, since he had caused her misfortunes by lighting up the flames of war. But this was not the worst. Agesilaüs was still more harassed by the tumults and shrieks and running about throughout the city, where the elder men were enraged at the state of affairs, and the women were unable to keep quiet, but were utterly beside themselves when they heard the shouts and saw the fires of the enemy.¹ He was also distressed at the thought of what his fame would be, because he had taken command of the city when she was greatest and most powerful, and now saw her reputation lowered, and her proud boast made empty, which boast he himself also had often made, saying that no Spartan woman had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's fires. It is said also that Antalcidas, when an Athenian was disputing with him over the valour of the two peoples and said, "Yet we have often driven you away from the Cephissus," replied: "But we have never driven you away from the Eurotas." And a similar retort was made by a Spartan of lesser note to the Argive who said, "Many of you lie buried in the lands of Argos"; the Spartan answered: "But not a man of you in the lands of Laconia."

XXXII. Now, however, they say that Antalcidas, who was an ephor, secretly sent his children away to Cythera, so full of fear was he. But Agesilaüs, when

¹ "The women could not endure even the sight of the smoke, since they had never set eyes upon an enemy" (Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 5, 28).

- χειρούντων διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν πολεμίων
καὶ βιάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκλιπὼν τὰ λοιπὰ
2 παρτάξατο πρὸ τῶν μέσων καὶ ὑψηλῶν. ἐρρύη
δὲ πλείστος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μέγιστος τότε ὁ Εὐρώ-
τας, χιόνων γενομένων, καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα μᾶλλον ὑπὸ
ψυχρότητος ἢ τραχύτητος ἐγένετο σκληρὸν καὶ
χαλεπὸν τοῖς Θηβαίοις. πορευόμενον δὲ πρῶτον
τῆς φάλαγγος τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐδείκνυσάν τινες
τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ· κακείνος, ὡς λέγεται, πολὺν
χρόνον ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ καὶ συμπαραπέμψας τὴν
ὄψιν οὐδὲν ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον εἶπεν· “ὦ τοῦ
3 μεγαλοπράγμονος ἀνθρώπου.” ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλοτι-
μούμενος ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει μάχην
συνάψαι καὶ στήσαι τρόπαιον οὐκ ἴσχυσεν
ἐξαγαγεῖν οὐδὲ προκαλέσασθαι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον,
ἐκείνος μὲν ἀναζεύξας πάλιν ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν,
ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι τῶν πάλαι τινὲς ὑπούλων καὶ
πονηρῶν ὡς διακόσιοι συστραφέντες κατελάβοντο
τὸ Ἰσώριον, οὗ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν, 614
4 εὐερκῇ καὶ δυσεκβίαστον τόπον. ἐφ’ οὓς βουλο-
μένων εὐθὺς ὠθεῖσθαι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, φοβη-
θεὶς τὸν νεωτερισμὸν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς
μὲν ἄλλους ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ἱματίῳ
καὶ μεθ’ ἐνὸς οἰκέτου προσῆει, βοῶν ἄλλως
ἀκηκοέναι τοῦ προστάγματος αὐτούς· οὐ γὰρ
ἐνταῦθα κελεῦσαι συνελθεῖν οὐδὲ πάντας, ἀλλὰ
τοὺς μὲν ἐκεῖ (δείξας ἕτερον τόπον), τοὺς δὲ
5 ἀλλαχόσε τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἡσθη-
σαν οἰόμενοι λανθάνειν, καὶ διαστάντες ἐπὶ
τοὺς τόπους οὓς ἐκείνος ἐκέλευσεν ἀπεχώρουν.
ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν Ἰσώριον εὐθὺς μεταπεμφάμενος
ἐτέρους κατέσχε, τῶν δὲ συστάντων ἐκείνων περὶ

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the enemy tried to cross the Eurotas and force their way to the city, abandoned the rest of it and drew up his forces in front of its central and lofty precincts. Now, the Eurotas at this time was flowing at its fullest and deepest, since snows had fallen, and its current, even more from its coldness than its violence, was very troublesome to the Thebans. As Epaminondas was fording it at the head of his phalanx, certain ones pointed him out to Agesilaüs, and he, we are told, after fixing his gaze upon him and watching him for a long time, said but these words : "O adventurous man !" Epaminondas was ambitious to join battle in the city and set up a trophy of victory there, but since he could neither force nor tempt Agesilaüs out of his positions, he withdrew and began to ravage the country. Meanwhile, about two hundred of the Lacedaemonians who had long been disaffected and mutinous banded together and seized the Issorium, where the temple of Artemis stands, a well-walled and inaccessible spot. The Lacedaemonians wished to make a dash upon them at once, but Agesilaüs, fearing their insurrection, ordered the rest to keep quiet, while he himself, wearing his cloak and attended by a single servant, went towards them, crying out that they had misunderstood his orders ; for he had not commanded them to assemble in that place, nor in a body, but some yonder (pointing to another spot), and some in another part of the city. They were delighted to hear this, supposing that their design was undiscovered, and, breaking up, went off to the places which he ordered them to occupy. Then Agesilaüs at once summoned other troops and took possession of the Issorium, after which he arrested about fifteen of the conspirators who had been gathered there,

- πεντεκαίδεκά τινας συλλαβὼν νυκτὸς ἀπέκτεινεν.
- 6 ἄλλη δὲ μείζων ἐμηνύθη συνωμοσία καὶ σύνοδος ἀνδρῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπὶ πράγμασι νεωτέροις εἰς οἰκίαν κρύφα συνερχομένων, οὓς καὶ κρίνειν ἄπορον ἦν ἐν ταραχῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ περιορᾶν ἐπιβουλεύοντας. ἀπέκτεινεν οὖν καὶ τούτους μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων βουλευσάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀκρίτους, οὐδενὸς δίχα δίκης τεθνατωμένου
- 7 πρότερον Σπαρτιατῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν συντεταγμένων¹ εἰς τὰ ὄπλα περιοίκων καὶ εἰλώτων ἀπεδίδρασκον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοῦτο πλείστην ἀθυμίαν παρεῖχεν, ἐδίδαξε τοὺς ὑπηρέτας περὶ ὀρθρον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ταῖς στιβάσι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν ἀποκεχωρηκότων λαμβάνειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν, ὅπως ἀγνοῖται τὸ πλῆθος.
- 8 Ἀναχωρῆσαι δὲ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι λέγουσι χειμῶνων γενομένων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀρξαμένων ἀπιέναι καὶ διαρρεῖν ἀτάκτως, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἐμμεμενηκότας ὅλους καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς χώρας διαπεπορθηκότας. Θεόπομπος δὲ φησιν, ἤδη τῶν βοιωταρχῶν ἐγνωκότων ἀπαίρειν, ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Φρίξον, ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, παρὰ Ἀγησιλάου δέκα τάλαντα κομίζοντα τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως μισθόν, ὥστε τὰ πάλοι δεδογμένα πράττουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐφόδιον παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων προσπεριγενέσθαι.
- XXXIII. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἡγνόησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, μόνος δὲ Θεόπομπος ᾔσθετο. τοῦ δὲ σωθῆναι τὴν Σπάρτην τότε πάντες αἴτιον ὁμολογοῦσι γενέσθαι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ὅτι τῶν

¹ συντεταγμένων with S: τεταγμένων.

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and put them to death in the night. He was also informed of another and a larger conspiracy of Spartans, who met secretly in a house and there plotted revolution. It was impracticable either to bring these men to trial in a time of so much confusion, or to overlook their plots. Accordingly, Agesilaüs conferred with the ephors, and then put these men also to death without process of law, although no Spartan had ever before met with such a death. At this time, also, many of the provincials and Helots who had been enrolled in the army ran away from the city and joined the enemy, and this caused very deep discouragement. Agesilaüs therefore instructed his servants to go every morning before it was light to the barracks and take the arms of the deserters and hide them, that their numbers might not be known.

As for the reason why the Thebans withdrew from Laconia, most writers say that it was because winter storms came on and the Arcadians began to melt away and disband; others, because they had remained there three entire months and thoroughly ravaged most of the country;¹ but Theopompus says that when the Theban chief magistrates had already determined to take their army back, Phrixus, a Spartan, came to them, bringing ten talents from Agesilaüs to pay for their withdrawal, so that they were only doing what they had long ago decided to do, and had their expenses paid by their enemies besides.

XXXIII. This story may be true, although I know not how all other writers could be ignorant of it, while Theopompus alone heard it; but, at any rate, all agree that the salvation of Sparta at this time was

¹ All three reasons are given by Xenophon (*Hell.* vi. 5. 50).

- ἐμφύτων αὐτῷ παθῶν, φιλονεικίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀποστάς, ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀσφαλῶς.
- 2 οὐ μέντοι τὴν γε δύναμιν καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐδυνήθη τῆς πόλεως ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σώματος ὑγιεινοῦ, λίαν δὲ ἀκριβεῖ καὶ κατησκημένῃ κεχρημένου διαίτη παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ἁμαρτία μία καὶ ῥοπή τὴν πᾶσαν ἔκλινεν εὐτυχίαν τῆς πόλεως· οὐκ ἀλόγως. πρὸς γὰρ εἰρήνην καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἄριστα συντεταγμένῳ πολιτεύματι προσαγαγόντες ἀρχὰς καὶ δυναστείας βιαίους, ὧν οὐδενὸς ἡγεῖτο δεῖσθαι πόλιν εὐδαιμόνως βιωσομένην ὁ Λυκούργος, ἐσφάλησαν.
- 3 Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἀπειρήκει διὰ τὸ γῆρας, Ἀρχίδαμος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἐκ Σικελίας ἤκουσαν παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου βοήθειαν ἔχων, ἐνίκησεν Ἀρκάδας τὴν λεγομένην ἄδακρυν μάχην· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔπεσε τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, συχνούς δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνεῖλεν. αὕτη μάλιστα τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἤλεγξεν ἢ νίκη τῆς
- 4 πόλεως. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ οὕτω σύνηθες ἡγοῦντο καὶ προσῆκον ἔργον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥστε μήτε θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς πλὴν ἀλεκτρύονα νικητήριον ἐν τῇ πόλει, μήτε μεγαληγορεῖν τοὺς ἀγωνισαμένους, μήτε ὑπερχαίρειν τοὺς πυνθανομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχης γενομένης, ἣν Θουκυδίδης γέγραφε, τῷ πρώτῳ φράσαντι τὴν νίκην οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐκ φιδιτίου κρέας
- 5 ἔπεμψαν εὐαγγέλιον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν· τότε δὲ τῆς μάχης ἀγγελθείσης καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου προσ-

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¹ Dionysius the Elder.

² In 368 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 1, 28–32).

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due to Agesilaüs, because he renounced his inherent passions of contentiousness and ambition, and adopted a policy of safety. He could not, however, restore the power and reputation of his city after its fall, for it was like a human body that is sound, indeed, but has followed all the while too strict and severe a regimen; a single error turned the scale and brought down the entire prosperity of the city. Nor was this strange. For to a civil polity best arranged for peace and virtue and unanimity they had attached empires and sovereignties won by force, not one of which Lycurgus thought needful for a city that was to live in happiness; and therefore they fell.

Agesilaüs himself now declined military service on account of his years, but Archidamus his son, with assistance which came from the tyrant of Sicily,¹ conquered the Arcadians in the so-called "tearless battle," where not one of his own men fell, and he slew great numbers of the enemy.² This victory, more than anything else, showed the weakness of the city. For up to this time they were wont to think the conquest of their enemies so customary and natural a thing for them to achieve, that no sacrifice for victory was offered in the city to the gods, beyond that of a cock, neither did the winners of the contest exult, nor those who heard of their victory show great joy. Nay, even after the battle at Mantinea,³ which Thucydides has described, the one who first announced the victory had no other reward for his glad tidings than a piece of meat sent by the magistrates from the public mess. But now, at the news of the Arcadian victory and at the approach of

³ In 418 B.C., when the Lacedaemonians defeated an allied force of Mantineans, Argives, and Athenians (Thucydides, v. 64-75).

ιόντος οὐδείς ἐκατέρησεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος ὁ πατήρ ἀπήντα δακρύων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους τὰ ἀρχαῖα, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν κατῆι, τὰς τε χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων καὶ θεοκλυτούντων, ὥσπερ ἀπεωσμένης τὰ παρ' ἀξίαν ὀνειδή τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ λαμπρὸν αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ φῶς ὀρώσης· ἐπεὶ πρότερόν γέ φασιν οὐδὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀντιβλέπειν τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰσχυνομένους ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαισαν.

- XXXIV. Οἰκίζομένης δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων πολιτῶν πανταχόθεν εἰς αὐτὴν συμπορευομένων, διαμάχεσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων οὐδὲ κωλύειν ἐδύναντο, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βαρέως πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εἶχον, ὅτι χώραν οὔτε πλήθει τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐλάττονα καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἔχοντες καὶ καρπούμενοι χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ
- 2 τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας ἀπολωλέκασιν. διὸ καὶ προτεινομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐδέξατο. μὴ βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ λόγῳ προέσθαι τοῖς ἔργῳ κρατοῦσι τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικῶν, ἐκείνην μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, μικροῦ δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην προσαπέβαλε καταστρα-
- 3 τηγηθείς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς αὖθις ἀπέστησαν τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ μετεπέμποντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐξεστρατευμένον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ προσιόντα, λαθὼν τοὺς Μαντινεῖς ἀνέξευξε νυκτὸς ἐκ Τεγέας ἄγων ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ μικρὸν ἐδέησε παραλ-

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Archidamus, no one could restrain himself, but first his father went to meet him, weeping for joy, and after him the chief magistrates, while the elderly men and the women went down in a throng to the river, lifting their hands to heaven and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had wiped away her unmerited disgraces and now saw the light shine bright again as of old ; for before this, we are told, her men could not so much as look their wives in the face, out of shame at their disasters.

XXXIV. But when Messene was built by Epaminondas, and its former citizens flocked into it from all quarters,¹ the Spartans had not the courage to contest the issue nor the ability to hinder it, but cherished the deepest resentment against Agesilaüs, because a country which was not of less extent than their own, which stood first among Hellenic lands for its fertility, the possession and fruits of which they had enjoyed for so long a time, had been lost by them during his reign. For this reason, too, Agesilaüs would not accept the peace which was proffered by the Thebans. He was not willing to give up to them formally the country which was actually in their power, and persisted in his opposition. As a consequence, he not only did not recover Messenia, but almost lost Sparta besides, after being outgeneralled. For when the Mantineans changed their allegiance,² revolted from Thebes, and called in the Lacedaemonians to help them, Epaminondas, learning that Agesilaüs had marched out from Sparta with his forces and was approaching, set out by night from Tegea, without the knowledge of the Mantineans, and led his army against Sparta itself. He passed by Agesilaüs, and came

¹ In 369 B.C.

² In 362 B.C.

λάξας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔρημον ἐξαίφνης κατα-
 4 λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Εὐθύνου δὲ Θεσπιέως, ὡς
 Καλλισθένης φησὶν, ὡς δὲ Ξενοφῶν, Κρητός
 τινος, ἐξαγγείλαντος τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ, ταχὺ προ-
 πέμψας ἱππέα τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει φράσσοντα, μετ'
 οὐ πολὺ καὶ αὐτὸς παρήλθεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.
 ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Θηβαῖοι διέβαινον τὸν Εὐ-
 ρώταν καὶ προσέβαλλον τῇ πόλει, μάλα ἐρρω-
 μένως τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐπαμύ-
 5 νουτος. οὐ γάρ, ὡς πρότερον, ἀσφαλείας ἑώρα
 τὸν καιρὸν ὄντα καὶ φυλακῆς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 ἀπονοίας καὶ τόλμης, οἷς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
 οὐδέποτε πιστεύσας οὐδὲ χρησάμενος, τότε μόνοις
 ἀπεώσατο τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Ἐπα-
 μεινώνδου τὴν πόλιν ἐξαρπάσας, καὶ στήσας
 τρόπαιον, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπι-
 δείξας τὰ κάλλιστα τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι τοὺς
 6 Λακεδαιμονίους ἀποδιδόντας, ἐν δὲ πρώτοις τὸν
 Ἀρχίδαμον ἀγωνιζόμενον ὑπερηφάνως τῇ τε
 ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῇ κουφότητι τοῦ σώματος,
 ὀξέως ἐπὶ τὰ θλιβόμενα τῆς μάχης διαθέοντα
 διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ πανταχοῦ μετ' ὀλίγων
 ἀντερείδοντα τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ἰσίδαν δὲ δοκῶ,
 τὸν Φοιβίδου υἱόν, οὐ τοῖς πολίταις μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις θέαμα φανῆναι καινὸν¹ καὶ
 7 ἀγαστόν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκπρεπὴς τὸ εἶδος καὶ
 τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος, ὥραν δὲ ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἡδι-
 στον ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνθρωποὶ παριόντες εἰς ἄνδρας
 ἐκ παίδων εἶχε, γυμνὸς δὲ καὶ ὅπλων τῶν σκεπόν-

¹ καινὸν with Amyot and S: καλὸν (noble).

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within a little of suddenly seizing the city in a defenceless state.¹ But Euthynus, a Thespian, as Callisthenes says, or, according to Xenophon,² a certain Cretan, brought word to Agesilaüs, who quickly sent on a horseman to warn the people in Sparta, and not long after he himself also entered the city. Soon after his arrival the Thebans were crossing the Eurotas and attacking the city, while Agesilaüs defended it right vigorously and in a manner not to be expected of his years. For he did not think, as on a former occasion, that the crisis demanded safe and cautious measures, but rather deeds of desperate daring. In these he had never put confidence before, nor had he employed them, but then it was only by their aid that he repelled the danger, snatching the city out of the grasp of Epaminondas, erecting a trophy of victory, and showing their wives and children that the Lacedaemonians were making the fairest of all returns to their country for its rearing of them. Archidamus, too, fought among the foremost, conspicuous for his impetuous courage and for his agility, running swiftly through the narrow streets to the endangered points in the battle, and everywhere pressing hard upon the enemy with his few followers.³ But I think that Isidas, the son of Phoebidas, must have been a strange and marvellous sight, not only to his fellow-citizens, but also to his enemies. He was of conspicuous beauty and stature, and at an age when the human flower has the greatest charm, as the boy merges into the man. Naked as he was, without either defensive

¹ "Like a nest of young birds utterly bereft of its natural defenders" (Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 5, 10).

² *Loc. cit.* Cf. also Diodorus, xv, 82, 6.

³ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 5, 12-14.

των καὶ ἱματίων, λίπα χρισάμενος τὸ σῶμα, καὶ
τῇ μὲν ἔχων χειρὶ λόγχην, τῇ δὲ ξίφος, ἐξήλατο
τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ διὰ μέσων τῶν μαχομένων ὡσά-
μενος ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνεστρέφετο, παίων τὸν
8 προστυχόντα καὶ καταβάλλων. ἐτρώθη δὲ ὑπ'
οὐδενός, εἴτε θεοῦ δι' ἀρετὴν φυλάττοντος αὐτόν,
εἴτε μείζον τι καὶ κρεῖττον ἀνθρώπου φανεὶς τοῖς
ἐναντίοις. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ λέγεται τοὺς ἐφόρους
στεφανώσαντας αὐτὸν εἰτα χιλίων δραχμῶν ἐπι-
βαλεῖν ζημίαν, ὅτι χωρὶς ὅπλων διακινδυνεύειν
ἐτόλμησεν.

XXXV. Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις περὶ τὴν
Μαντίνειαν ἐμαχέσαντο, καὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν
ἤδη κρατοῦντα τῶν πρώτων, ἔτι δὲ ἐγκείμενον 616
καὶ κατασπεύδοντα τὴν δίωξιν, Ἀντικράτης
Λάκων ὑποστὰς ἔπαισε δόρατι μὲν, ὡς Διοσκου-
ρίδης ἱστόρηκε, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Μαχαιρίωνας
ἔτι νῦν τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Ἀντικράτους καλοῦ-
2 σιν, ὡς μαχαίρα πατάξαντος. οὕτω γὰρ ἐθαύ-
μασαν καὶ ὑπερηγάπησαν αὐτὸν φόβῳ τοῦ
Ἐπαμεινώνδου ζώντος, ὥστε τιμὰς μὲν ἐκείνῳ
καὶ δωρεὰς ψηφίσασθαι, γένει δ' ἀτέλειαν, ἣν ἔτι
καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔχει Καλλικράτης, εἰς τῶν Ἀντι-
κράτους ἀπογόνων.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὸν θάνατον¹ τοῦ
Ἐπαμεινώνδου γενομένης εἰρήνης τοῖς Ἑλλησι
πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀπήλαυνον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
τοῦ ὄρκου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ὡς πόλιν οὐκ ἔχον-
3 τας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο καὶ τοὺς

¹ τὸν θάνατον with S: θάνατον.

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armour or clothing,—for he had just anointed his body with oil,—he took a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, leaped forth from his house, and after pushing his way through the midst of the combatants, ranged up and down among the enemy, smiting and laying low all who encountered him. And no man gave him a wound, whether it was that a god shielded him on account of his valour, or that the enemy thought him taller and mightier than a mere man could be. For this exploit it is said that the ephors put a garland on his head, and then fined him a thousand drachmas, because he had dared to hazard his life in battle without armour.

XXXV. A few days afterwards a battle was fought near Mantinea, in which Epaminondas had already routed the van of the Lacedaemonians, and was still eagerly pressing on in pursuit of them,¹ when Anticrates, a Spartan, faced him and smote him with a spear, as Dioscorides tells the story; but the Lacedaemonians to this day call the descendants of Anticrates “machaeriones,” or *swordsmen*, because he used a sword for the blow. For the Lacedaemonians were filled with such admiring love for him because of the fear in which they held Epaminondas while living, that they voted honours and gifts to Anticrates himself, and to his posterity exemption from taxes, an immunity which in my own day also is enjoyed by Callicrates, one of the descendants of Anticrates.

After the battle and the death of Epaminondas, when the Greeks concluded peace among themselves, Agesilaüs and his partisans tried to exclude the Messenians from the oath of ratification, on the ground that they had no city. And when all the rest admitted the Messenians and accepted their

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 5, 22–24.

ὄρκους ἐλάμβανον παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀπέστησαν οἱ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς πόλεμος ἦν
 ἐλπίζουσιν ἀναλήψεσθαι τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. βίαιος
 οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ ἀτενὴς καὶ πολέμων ἅπληστος
 ὁ Ἀγισίλαος εἶναι, τὰς μὲν κοινὰς διαλύσεις
 πάντα τρόπον ὑπορύττων καὶ ἀναβάλλων, πάλιν
 δὲ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀπορίας ἀναγκαζόμενος ἐνοχ-
 λεῖν τοῖς κατὰ πόλιν φίλοις καὶ δανείζεσθαι καὶ
 4 συνερανίζεσθαι, δέον ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν εἰς τοῦτο
 περιήκοντι τῷ καιρῷ, καὶ μὴ τὴν ἅπασαν ἀρχὴν
 τοσαύτην γενομένην ἀφεικότα καὶ πόλεις καὶ γῆν
 καὶ θάλατταν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ κτημάτων
 καὶ προσόδων σφαδάζειν.

XXXVI. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἠδόξεσε Τάχῳ τῷ
 Αἰγυπτίῳ στρατηγὸν ἐπιδουὺς ἑαυτόν. οὐ γὰρ
 ἡξίουν ἄνδρα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄριστον κεκριμένον
 καὶ δόξης ἐμπεπληκότα τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀπο-
 στάτη βασιλέως, ἀνθρώπῳ βαρβάρῳ, χρῆσαι τὸ
 σῶμα καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀποδόσθαι χρη-
 μάτων, ἔργα μισθοφόρου καὶ ξεναγοῦ διαπρατ-
 2 τόμενον. κεῖ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη
 καὶ πᾶν ὑπὸ τραυμάτων τὸ σῶμα κατακεκομ-
 μένος ἐκείνην αὖθις ἀνεδέξατο τὴν καλὴν καὶ
 περίβλεπτον ἡγεμονίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ἐλευθερίας, οὐ πάμπαν ἄμεμπτον εἶναι τὴν φιλο-
 τιμίαν· τοῦ γὰρ καλοῦ καιρὸν οἰκείου εἶναι καὶ
 ὦραν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν τῷ
 3 μετρίῳ διαφέρειν. οὐ μὲν ἐφρόντιζε· τούτων ὁ

¹ Cf. Diodorus, xv. 89, 1 f.

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oaths, the Lacedaemonians held aloof from the peace, and they alone remained at war in the hope of recovering Messenia.¹ Agesilaüs was therefore deemed a headstrong and stubborn man, and insatiable of war, since he did all in his power to undermine and postpone the general peace, and again since his lack of resources compelled him to lay burdens on his friends in the city and to take loans and contributions from them. And yet it was his duty to put an end to their evils, now that opportunity offered, and not, after having lost Sparta's whole empire, vast as it was, with its cities and its supremacy on land and sea, then to carry on a petty struggle for the goods and revenues of Messene.

XXXVI. He lost still more reputation by offering to take a command under Tachos the Egyptian. For it was thought unworthy that a man who had been judged noblest and best in Hellas, and who had filled the world with his fame, should furnish a rebel against the Great King, a mere Barbarian, with his person, his name, and his fame, and take money for him, rendering the service of a hired captain of mercenaries.¹ For even if, now that he was past eighty years of age and his whole body was disfigured with wounds, he had taken up again his noble and conspicuous leadership in behalf of the freedom of the Hellenes, his ambition would not have been altogether blameless, as men thought. For honourable action has its fitting time and season; nay, rather, it is the observance of due bounds that constitutes an utter difference between honourable and base actions. Agesilaüs, however, paid no heed

¹ Xenophon (*Agesilaüs*, ii. 28-31) has Agesilaüs take this step in order to punish the Great King and liberate again the Greeks of Asia.

Ἀγησίλαος, οὐδὲ ὥστε παρ' ἀξίαν εἶναι λει-
τούργημα δημόσιον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀνάξιον
ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ζῆν ἄπρακτόν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ καθῆ-
σθαι περιμένοντα τὸν θάνατον. ὅθεν ἀθροίσας¹
μισθοφόρους ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Τάχως αὐτῷ χρημάτων
ἐπεμψε, καὶ πλοῖα πληρώσας, ἀνήχθη, τριάκοντα
συμβούλους ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Σπαρτιάτας, ὡς
πρότερον.

- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, εὐθὺς
οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ διοικητῶν
ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ ναῦν θεραπεύοντες αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων σπουδὴ τε μεγάλη
καὶ προσδοκία διὰ τρῦνομα καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ
Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ συνετρόχαζον ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὴν
5 θέαν. ὡς δὲ ἑώρων λαμπρότητα μὲν καὶ κατα-
σκευὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἄνθρωπον δὲ πρεσβύτην κατα-
κείμενον ἐν τινι πόσῃ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, εὐτελῇ
καὶ μικρὸν τὸ σῶμα, τραχὺ καὶ φαῦλον ἱμάτιον
ἀμπεχόμενον, σκώπτειν αὐτοῖς καὶ γελωτοποιεῖν
ἐπῆει, καὶ λέγειν ὅτι τοῦτο ἦν τὸ μυθολογού-
6 μενον ὠδίνειν ὄρος, εἶτα μὺν ἀποτεκεῖν. ἔτι δὲ
μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐθαύμασαν, ὅτε ξενίων
προσκομισθέντων καὶ προσαχθέντων ἄλευρα μὲν
καὶ μόσχους καὶ χῆνας ἔλαβε, τραγῆματα δὲ
καὶ πέμματα καὶ μύρα διωθεῖτο, καὶ βιαζομένων
λαβεῖν καὶ λιπαρῶντων ἐκέλευσε τοῖς εἴλωσι
διδόναι κομίζοντας. τῇ μέντοι στεφανωτρίδι
βύβλῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα Θεόφραστος διὰ 617
τὴν λιτότητα καὶ καθαριότητα τῶν στεφάνων
αἰτήσασθαι καὶ λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἀπέπλει, παρὰ τοῦ
βασιλέως.

¹ ἀθροίσας with Coraëa and S: ἡθροισε.

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to these considerations, nor did he think any public service beneath his dignity; it was more unworthy of him, in his opinion, to live an idle life in the city, and to sit down and wait for death. Therefore he collected mercenaries with the money which Tachos sent him, embarked them on transports, and put to sea, accompanied by thirty Spartan counsellors, as formerly.¹

As soon as he landed in Egypt,² the chief captains and governors of the king came down to meet him and pay him honour. There was great eagerness and expectation on the part of the other Egyptians also, owing to the name and fame of Agesilaüs, and all ran together to behold him. But when they saw no brilliant array whatever, but an old man lying in some grass by the sea, his body small and contemptible, covered with a cloak that was coarse and mean, they were moved to laughter and jesting, saying that here was an illustration of the fable, "a mountain is in travail, and then a mouse is born."³ They were still more surprised, too, at his eccentricity. When all manner of hospitable gifts were brought to him, he accepted the flour, the calves, and the geese, but rejected the sweetmeats, the pastries, and the perfumes, and when he was urged and besought to take them, ordered them to be carried and given to his Helots. He was pleased, however, as Theophrastus tells us, with the papyrus used in chaplets, because the chaplets were so neat and simple, and when he left Egypt, asked and received some from the king.

¹ Cf. chapter vi. 2.

² 361 B.C.

³ In Athenaeus, p. 616 d, it is Tachos himself who makes this jest upon Agesilaüs, who replies in anger: "Someday you will think me a lion."

- XXXVII. Τότε δὲ συμμίξας τῷ Τάχῳ παρασκευαζομένῳ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, οὐχ, ὥσπερ ἤλπιζεν, ἀπάσης στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων μόνων, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Χαβρίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· ἡγεμῶν δὲ συμπάντων αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Τάχως. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡνίασε τὸν Ἀγησίλαον· ἔπειτα τὴν ἄλλην ἀλαζονείαν καὶ κενοφροσύνην τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου βαρυνόμενος ἠναγκάζεται φέρειν· καὶ συνεξέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας αὐτῷ, παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὑπέικων καὶ καρτερῶν, ἄχρι οὗ καιρὸν ἔλαβε.
- 3 Νεκτάναβις γὰρ ἀνεψιὸς ὢν τοῦ Τάχῳ καὶ μέρος ἔχων ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέστη· καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀναγορευθεὶς διέπέμπετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν παρεκάλει,
- 4 μεγάλας ὑπισχνούμενος ἀμφοτέροις δωρεάς. αἰσθομένου δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Τάχῳ καὶ τραπομένου πρὸς δέησιν αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν Χαβρίας ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ τοῦ Τάχῳ πείθων καὶ παραμυθούμενος κατέχειν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος εἶπεν ὅτι “Σοὶ μὲν, ὦ Χαβρία, κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἀφигμένῳ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς ἔξεστιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδόθην Αἰγυπτίοις στρατηγός. οὐκ οὖν ἂν ἔχοι μοι καλῶς οἷς ἐπέμφθην σύμμαχος πολεμεῖν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἡ
- 5 πατρίς κελεύσῃ.” ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Σπάρτην ἄνδρας, οἱ τοῦ μὲν Τάχῳ κατηγορήσειν, ἐπαινέσεσθαι δὲ τὸν Νεκτάναβιν ἔμελλον. ἔπεμψαν δὲ κακέينوι δεόμενοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁ μὲν ὡς πάλαι σύμμαχος γεγονὼς καὶ φίλος,

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XXXVII. But now, on joining Tachos, who was making preparations for his expedition, he was not, as he expected, appointed commander of all the forces, but only of the mercenaries, while Chabrias the Athenian had charge of the fleet, and Tachos himself was commander-in-chief.¹ This was the first thing that vexed Agesilaüs; then, though he was indignant at the vain pretensions of the king in other matters, he was compelled to endure them. He even sailed with him against the Phoenicians, forcing himself into a subservience which was beneath his dignity and contrary to his nature, until he found his opportunity.

For Nectanabis, who was a cousin of Tachos and had a part of the forces under his command, revolted from him, and having been proclaimed king by the Egyptians, sent to Agesilaüs asking for his aid and assistance. He made the same appeal to Chabrias also, promising large gifts to both. When Tachos learned of this and resorted to entreaties for their allegiance, Chabrias tried to persuade and encourage Agesilaüs to continue with him in the friendship of Tachos. But Agesilaüs said: "You, Chabrias, who came here on your own account, can decide your own case; but I was given by my country to the Egyptians as a general. It would therefore be dishonourable for me to make war on those to whom I was sent as an ally, unless my country gives me a new command to do so." After these words, he sent men to Sparta who were to denounce Tachos, and commend Nectanabis. Tachos and Nectanabis also sent and besought the support of the Lacedaemonians, the former on the ground that he had long been their ally and friend, the latter on the plea that he would

¹ Cf. Diodorus, xv. 92, 2 f.

ὁ δὲ ὡς εὖνους καὶ προθυμότερος περὶ τὴν πολιν
 ἐσόμενος. ἀκούσαντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς
 μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις ἀπεκρίναντο φανερώς Ἀγησίλαῳ
 περὶ τούτων μελήσειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐπέστειλαν ὁρᾶν
 κελεύοντες ὅπως πράξει τὸ τῇ Σπάρτῃ συμφέρον.
 6 οὕτω δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Τάχῳ μετέστη πρὸς τὸν Νεκτάναβιν,
 ἀτόπου καὶ ἀλλοκότου πράγματος παρακαλύμ-
 ματι τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος χρησάμενος·
 ἐπεὶ ταύτης γε τῆς προφάσεως ἀφαιρεθείσης τὸ
 δικαιοτάτον ὄνομα τῆς πράξεως ἦν προδοσία.
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ καλοῦ μερίδα
 τῷ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντι διδόντες οὔτε μανθά-
 νουσιν οὔτε ἐπίστανται δίκαιον ἄλλο πλὴν ὃ τὴν
 Σπάρτην αὖξιν νομίζουσιν.

XXXVIII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τάχως ἐρημωθείς τῶν
 μισθοφόρων ἔφυγεν, ἐκ δὲ Μένδητος ἕτερος ἐπανί-
 σταται τῷ Νεκτανάβιδι βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθείς·
 καὶ συναγαγὼν δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἐπήει.
 θαρσύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Νεκτανάβιδος τὸν Ἀγησί-
 λαον, καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν εἰσιν οἱ πολέ-
 μιοι, μιγάδες δὲ καὶ βάνανσοι καὶ δι' ἀπειρίαν
 2 εὐκαταφρόνητοι, “Καὶ μὴν οὐ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν,”
 ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν φοβοῦ-
 μαι καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν ὡς δυσεξαπάτητον. αἱ γὰρ
 ἀπάται τὸ παράδοξον ἐπάγουσι τοῖς πρὸς ἄμυναν
 ὑπονοοῦσι καὶ προσδοκῶσι τρεπομένοις, ὁ δὲ μὴ
 προσδοκῶν μηδὲ ὑπονοῶν μηδὲν οὐ δίδωσι τῷ

¹ Xenophon, who can see no fault in Agesilaüs, says (*Agesilaüs*, ii. 31): “Accordingly, he chose between the two

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be well disposed to their city and more eager to promote her interests. The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, after hearing the messengers, made public answer to the Egyptians that Agesilaüs would attend to these matters; but to Agesilaüs they wrote privately bidding him see to it that the interests of Sparta should not suffer. So Agesilaüs took his mercenaries and went over from Tachos to Nectanabis, making the interests of his country serve as a veil for a strange and unnatural proceeding, since when this pretext was removed, the most fitting name for his act was treachery.¹ But the Lacedaemonians assign the chief place in their ideas of honour to the interests of their country, and neither learn nor understand any other justice than that which they think will enhance the glory of Sparta.

XXXVIII. Tachos, accordingly, thus deserted by his mercenaries, took to flight. But in Mendes another rival rose up against Nectanabis and was proclaimed king, and after collecting a hundred thousand men advanced against him. Then Nectanabis sought to encourage Agesilaüs by saying that although the enemy were numerous, they were a mixed rabble of artisans whose inexperience in war made them contemptible. "Indeed," said Agesilaüs, "it is not their numbers that I fear, but the inexperience and ignorance of which you speak, which it is hard to overcome by stratagems. For stratagems array unexpected difficulties against men who try to defend themselves against them, if they suspect and await them; but he who does not await nor even suspect any stratagem gives no hold to the opponent

that one who seemed to be the truer partisan of Hellas, and with him marched against the enemy of Hellas and conquered him in battle.'

- παραλογιζομένῳ λαβὴν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῷ παλαίοντι ῥοπήν ὁ μὴ κινούμενος.” ἐκ τούτου καὶ ὁ
- 3 Μενδῆσιος ἔπεμπε πειρῶν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. ἔδεισεν οὖν ὁ Νεκτάναβις, καὶ κελεύοντας αὐτοῦ διαμάχεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην καὶ μὴ χρόνῳ πολεμεῖν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους ἀγῶνος, πολυχειρία δὲ περιελθεῖν καὶ περιταφρεῦσαι καὶ φθάσαι πολλὰ καὶ προλαβεῖν δυναμένους, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν ὑποψία καὶ φόβῳ γενόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς πόλιν εὐερκῇ καὶ μέγαν ἔχουσαν
- 4 περίβολον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἡγανάκτει μὲν 618 ἀπιστούμενος καὶ βαρέως ἔφερεν, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ καὶ πάλιν μεταστῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον καὶ τελέως ἀπελθεῖν ἄπρακτος, ἠκολούθησε καὶ συνεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος.

XXXIX. Ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περιταφρευόντων τὴν πόλιν, αὐθις αὐ δείσας τὴν πολιορκίαν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάλα συμπροθυμουμένους εἶχεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ σίτος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔῳν, ἀλλὰ κωλύων ἤκουε μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον κακῶς ἢ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ προδότης ἀπεκαλεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔφερε δὲ πραότερον ἤδη τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ προσεῖχε τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ στρατηγήματος.

- 2 Ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε. τάφρον ἔξωθεν ἦγον οἱ πολέμοι περὶ τὸ τεῖχος βαθεῖαν ὥς παντάπασιν ἀποκλείουντες αὐτούς. ὥς οὖν ἐγγὺς ἦσαν αἱ τελευταὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀπαντῶντος αὐτῷ καὶ περιϊόντος ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἐσπέραν ἀναμείνας γενέσθαι καὶ κελεύσας ἐξοπλίζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔλεγεν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον· “Ὁ

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who is trying to outwit him, just as, in a wrestling bout, he who does not stir gives no advantage to his antagonist." After this, the Mendesian also sent and tried to win over Agesilaüs. Nectanabis was therefore alarmed, and when Agesilaüs urged him to fight the issue out as speedily as possible, and not to wage a war of delays against men who were inexperienced in fighting, but were numerous enough to surround him and hedge him in and anticipate and get the start of him in many ways, he grew still more suspicious and fearful of him, and retired into a city which was well fortified and had a large compass. Agesilaüs was incensed at this lack of confidence, and full of indignation, but since he was ashamed to change sides again and finally go back home without accomplishing any thing, he accompanied Nectanabis and entered the city with him.

XXXIX. But when the enemy came up and began to surround the city with a trench, then the Egyptian changed his mind, grew fearful of the siege, and wished to give battle, for which the Greeks also were very eager, since there were no provisions in the place. Agesilaüs, however, would not permit it, but opposed it, and was therefore maligned by the Egyptians even more bitterly than before, and called a betrayer of the king. But he bore their calumnies more patiently now, and sought to find the fitting moment for his stratagem.

This was as follows. The enemy were digging a deep trench outside around the city, in order to shut its occupants up completely. Accordingly, when the trench had been carried almost around the city, and its ends were near one another, after waiting for evening to come and ordering the Greeks to arm themselves, Agesilaüs went to the Egyptian and said :

μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας, ὃ νεανία, καιρὸς οὗτός ἐστιν,
 ὃν ἐγὼ διαφθεῖραι φοβούμενος οὐκ ἔφραζον πρὶν
 3 ἔλθειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
 αὐτοῖ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν παρεσκευάκασιν, τοσαύτην
 ὀρυζάμενοι τάφρον, ἧς τὸ μὲν ἐξειργασμένον ἐκεί-
 νοις ἐμποδὼν ἐστὶ τοῦ πλήθους, τὸ δὲ διαλείπον
 ἡμῖν δίδωσιν ἴσῳ καὶ δικαίῳ μέτρῳ διαμάχεσθαι
 πρὸς αὐτούς, φέρε νῦν, προθυμηθεῖς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
 γενέσθαι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπισπόμενος δρόμῳ σῶζε
 4 σεαυτὸν ἅμα καὶ τὴν στρατιάν. ἡμᾶς γὰρ οἱ μὲν
 κατὰ στόμα τῶν πολεμίων οὐχ ὑπομενοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ
 ἄλλοι διὰ τὴν τάφρον οὐ βλάψουσιν." ἐθαύμασεν
 οὖν ὁ Νεκτάναβις τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν δεινότητα,
 καὶ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν εἰς μέσα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄπλα
 καὶ προσπεσὼν ἐτρέψατο ῥαδίως τοὺς ἀντιστάν-
 τας. ὥς δὲ ἅπαξ ἔλαβε πειθόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν
 Νεκτάναβιν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, αὐθις ἐπήγε τὸ αὐτὸ
 στρατήγημα καθάπερ πάλαισμα τοῖς πολεμίοις.
 5 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑποφεύγων καὶ ὑπάγων, τὰ δὲ ἀντι-
 περιχωρῶν, ἐμβάλλει τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶν εἰς τόπον
 ἔχοντα διώρυχα βαθεῖαν ἐξ ἐκατέρας πλευρᾶς
 παραρρέουσιν, ὧν τὸ μέσον ἐμφράξας καὶ κατα-
 λαβὼν τῷ μετώπῳ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐξίσωσε πρὸς
 τοὺς μαχομένους τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλήθος, οὐκ
 ἔχοντας περιδρομὴν καὶ κύκλωσιν. ὅθεν οὐ
 πολὺν χρόνον ἀντιστάντες ἐτράποντο· καὶ πολλοὶ
 μὲν ἀνῆρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἐσκεδάσθησαν
 καὶ διερρύθησαν.

XL. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καλῶς μὲν εἶχε τὰ πράγ-
 ματα καὶ βεβαίως τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν·
 ἀγαπῶν δὲ καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἐδεῖτο μείναι καὶ
 συνδιαχειμάσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. ὁ δὲ
 ὥρμητο πρὸς τὸν οἴκοι πόλεμον, εἰδὼς χρημάτων

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"Now is the time, young man, for us to save ourselves, and I would not speak of it until it came, for fear of vitiating it. The enemy have now worked out our safety with their own hands. They have dug their trench so far that the part which is finished hinders them from attacking us in great numbers, and the space between the ends gives us room to fight them on fair and equal terms. Come, then, be eager to shew yourself a brave man; follow with us as we charge, and save yourself and your army too. For the enemy in our front will not withstand us, and the rest will not harm us because of the trench." Nectanabis, then, was filled with admiration for the sagacity of Agesilaüs, and putting himself in the centre of the Greek array, charged forwards and easily routed his opponents. And now that Agesilaüs had won back the confidence of Nectanabis, he brought the same stratagem to bear again upon the enemy, like a trick in wrestling. By sometimes pretending to retreat and fly, and sometimes attacking them on the flanks, he drove their whole multitude into a tract which had a deep canal full of water on either side. The space between these he occupied and stopped up with the head of his column, and so made his numbers equal to those of the enemy who could fight with him, since they were unable to surround and enclose him. Therefore after a short resistance they were routed; many were slain, and the fugitives were dispersed and melted away.¹

XL. After this, the Egyptian succeeded in establishing himself firmly and securely in power, and showed his friendliness and affection by begging Agesilaüs to remain and spend the winter with him. But Agesilaüs was eager to return to the war at

¹ The account of this Egyptian campaign in Diodorus, xv. 93, differs in many details.

- δεομένην τὴν πόλιν καὶ ξενοτροφοῦσαν. προὔ-
πεμψεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐντίμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς,
ἄλλας τε λαβόντα τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον ἀργυρίου διακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα τά-
2 λαντα. χειμῶνος δὲ ὄντος ἤδη τῆς γῆς ἐχόμενος
ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ παρὰ τὴν Λιβύην εἰς χωρίον
ἔρημον κομισθεὶς, ὃ καλοῦσι Μενελάου λιμένα,
θνήσκει, βιώσας μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα
ἔτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐνὶ τῶν τεσ-
σαράκοντα πλέον, καὶ τούτων ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα
πάντων μέγιστος καὶ δυνατώτατος γενόμενος καὶ
σχεδὸν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς
νομισθεὶς ἄχρι τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης.
- 3 Ἔθους δὲ ὄντος Λακωνικοῦ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπὶ
ξένης ἀποθανόντων αὐτοῦ τὰ σώματα κηδεύειν
καὶ ἀπολείπειν, τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οἴκαδε κομί-
ζειν, οἱ παρόντες Σπαρτιᾶται κηρὸν ἐπιτήξαντες
τῷ νεκρῷ, μέλιτος οὐ παρόντος, ἀπῆγον εἰς Λακε-
δαίμονα. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ υἱὸς 619
αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε, καὶ διέμεινε τῷ γένει μέχρις
Ἀγιδος, ὃν ἐπιχειροῦντα τὴν πάτριον ἀναλα-
βεῖν πολιτείαν ἀπέκτεινε Λεωνίδας πέμπτον ἀπ'
Ἀγησιλάου γεγονότα.

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home, knowing that his city needed money and was hiring mercenaries. He was therefore dismissed with great honour and ceremony, taking with him, besides other honours and gifts, two hundred and thirty talents of silver for the war at home. But since it was now winter, he kept close to shore with his ships, and was borne along the coast of Libya to an uninhabited spot called the Harbour of Menelaüs. Here he died, at the age of eighty-four years. He had been king of Sparta forty-one years, and for more than thirty of these he was the greatest and most influential of all Hellenes, having been looked upon as leader and king of almost all Hellas, down to the battle of Leuctra.

It was Spartan custom, when men of ordinary rank⁷ died in a foreign country, to give their bodies funeral rites and burial there, but to carry the bodies of their kings home. So the Spartans who were with Agesilaüs enclosed his dead body in melted wax, since they had no honey, and carried it back to Lacedaemon. The kingdom devolved upon Archidamus his son, and remained in his family down to Agis, who was slain by Leonidas¹ for attempting to restore the ancient constitution, being the fifth in descent from Agesilaüs.

¹ In 240 B.C. See the *Agis*, chapters xix., xx.

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ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΣ

Ι. Πρὸς Πομπήϊον ἔοικε τοῦτο παθεῖν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅπερ ὁ Αἰσχύλου Προμηθεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγων·

Ἐχθροῦ πατρός μοι τοῦτο φίλτατον τέκνον.

οὔτε γὰρ μῖσος οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἄγριον ἐπεδείξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἕτερον στρατηγὸν ὥς τὸν Πομπηίου πατέρα Στράβωνα, ζώντος μὲν αὐτοῦ φοβούμενοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις δύναμιν (ἦν γὰρ 2 ἀνὴρ πολεμικώτατος), ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέθανε κεραννωθεὶς, ἐκκομιζόμενον τὸ σῶμα κατασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λέχους καὶ καθυβρίσαντες, οὔτε μὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῷ πάλιν σφοδροτέραν ἢ θάσσον ἀρξαμένην ἢ μᾶλλον εὐτυχοῦντι συνακμάσασαν ἢ πταίσαντι παραμείνασαν βεβαιότερον ἄλλος ἔσχε 3 Ῥωμαίων ἢ Πομπηίος. αἰτία δὲ τοῦ μὲν μίσους ἐκείνῳ μία, χρημάτων ἄπληστος ἐπιθυμία, τούτῳ δὲ πολλαὶ τοῦ ἀγαπᾶσθαι, σωφροσύνη περὶ δίκαιαν, ἄσκησις ἐν ὅπλοις, πιθανότης λόγου, πίστις ἡθους, εὐαρμοστία πρὸς ἔντευξιν, ὥς μη-

¹ A fragment of the *Prometheus Loosed* (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 68). Prometheus was fastened to a cliff in

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I. TOWARDS Pompey the Roman people must have had, from the very beginning, the feeling which the Prometheus of Aeschylus has towards Heracles, when, having been saved by him, he says :—

“I hate the sire, but dearly love this child of his.”¹

For never have the Romans manifested so strong and fierce a hatred towards a general as they did towards Strabo, the father of Pompey ; while he lived, indeed, they feared his talent as a soldier, for he was a very warlike man, but when he was killed by a thunderbolt,² and his body was on its way to the funeral pyre, they dragged it from its bier and heaped insults upon it. On the other hand, no Roman ever enjoyed a heartier goodwill on the part of his countrymen, or one which began sooner, or reached a greater height in his prosperity, or remained more constant in his adversity, than Pompey did. And whereas there was one sole reason for the hatred felt towards Strabo, namely, his insatiable desire for money, there were many reasons for the love bestowed on Pompey ; his modest and temperate way of living, his training in the arts of war, his persuasive speech, his trustworthy character, and his tact in meeting people, so that no man asked a Scythia by Zeus, whose eagle preyed upon the prisoner. Heracles slew the eagle and released the sufferer.

² In 87 B.C.

δενὸς ἀλυπότερον δεθῆναι μηδὲ ἥδιον ὑπουργῆσαι δεομένῳ. προσῆν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ταῖς χάρισι καὶ τὸ ἀνεπαχθὲς διδόντος καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν λαμβάνοντος.

II. Ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἔσχεν οὐ μετρίως συνδημαγωγούσαν καὶ προεντυγχάνουσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς φωνῆς. τὸ γὰρ ἐράσμιον ἀξιωματικὸν ἦν φιλανθρώπως, καὶ ἐν τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἀνθούντι διέφαινε εὐθύς ἡ ἀκμὴ τὸ γεγαρόν καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦ ἥθους. ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης ἀτρέμα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα ῥυθμῶν ὑγρότης τοῦ προσώπου, ποιοῦσα μᾶλλον λεγομένην ἢ φαινομένην ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνας. ἡ καὶ τοῦνομα πολλῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ συνεπιφερόντων οὐκ ἔφευγεν ὁ Πομπήϊος, ὥστε καὶ χλευάζοντας αὐτὸν ἐνίους ἤδη καλεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. διὸ καὶ Λεύκιος Φίλιππος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, συνηγορῶν αὐτῷ, μηδὲν ἔφη ποιεῖν παράλογον εἰ Φίλιππος ὢν φιλαλέξανδρός ἐστιν.

Φλώραν δὲ τὴν ἐταίραν ἔφασαν ἤδη πρεσβυτέραν οὔσαν ἐπιεικῶς ἀεὶ μνημονεύειν τῆς γενομένης αὐτῇ πρὸς Πομπήϊον ὁμιλίας, λέγουσαν ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνῳ συναναπαυσαμένην ἀδῆκτως ἀπελθεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διηγεῖσθαι τὴν Φλώραν ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα τῶν Πομπήϊου συνήθων αὐτῆς Γεμίνιον, καὶ πράγματα πολλὰ παρέχειν πειρῶντα· αὐτῆς δὲ φαιμένης οὐκ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι διὰ Πομπήϊον, ἐκείνῳ τὸν Γεμίνιον διαλέγεσθαι· τὸν οὖν Πομπήϊον ἐπιτρέψαι μὲν τῷ Γεμινίῳ, μηκέτι δὲ αὐτὸν ἄψασθαι τὸ παράπαν μηδὲ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῇ, καίπερ ἐρᾶν δοκοῦντα·

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favour with less offence, or bestowed one with a better mien. For, in addition to his other graces, he had the art of giving without arrogance, and of receiving without loss of dignity.

II. At the outset, too, he had a countenance which helped him in no small degree to win the favour of the people, and which pleaded for him before he spoke. For even his boyish loveliness had a gentle dignity about it, and in the prime and flower of his youthful beauty there was at once manifest the majesty and kingliness of his nature. His hair was inclined to lift itself slightly from his forehead, and this, with a graceful contour of face about the eyes, produced a resemblance, more talked about than actually apparent, to the portrait statues of King Alexander. Wherefore, since many also applied the name to him in his earlier years, Pompey did not decline it, so that presently some called him Alexander in derision. Hence, too, Lucius Philippus, a man of consular rank, when pleading in his behalf, said that he was doing nothing strange if, being Philip, he loved Alexander.

We are told that Flora the courtesan, when she was now quite old, always took delight in telling about her former intimacy with Pompey, saying that she never left his embraces without bearing the marks of his teeth. Furthermore, Flora would tell how Geminus, one of Pompey's companions, fell in love with her and annoyed her greatly by his attentions; and when she declared that she could not consent to his wishes because of Pompey, Geminus laid the matter before Pompey. Pompey, accordingly, turned her over to Geminus, but never afterwards had any thing at all to do with her himself, although he was thought to be enamoured of her; and she

τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὴν οὐχ ἑταιρικῶς ἐνεγκεῖν, ἀλλὰ
πολὺν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου χρόνον νοσῆσαι.
4 καίτοι τὴν Φλώραν οὕτω λέγουσιν ἀνθῆσαι καὶ
γενέσθαι περιβόητον ὥστε Κεκίλιον Μέτελλον
ἀνδριάσι καὶ γραφαῖς κοσμοῦντα τὸν νεῶν τῶν
Διοσκοῦρων, καὶ κείνης εἰκόνα γραψάμενον ἀνα-
θεῖναι διὰ τὸ κάλλος. Πομπήϊος δὲ καὶ τῇ 620
Δημητρίου τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου γυναικί, πλείστον
ἰσχύσαντος παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τετρακισχιλίων τα-
λάντων ἀπολιπόντος οὐσίαν, ἐχρήτο παρὰ τὸν
αὐτοῦ τρόπον οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς οὐδὲ ἐλευθερίως, φο-
βηθεὶς τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῆς ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ
περιβόητον οὔσαν, ὥς μὴ φανείη κεκρατημένος.
5 οὕτω δὲ πάνυ πόρρωθεν εὐλαβῆς ὢν πρὸς τὰ
τοιαῦτα καὶ πεφυλαγμένος, ὅμως οὐ διέφυγε τῶν
ἐχθρῶν τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ψόγον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῖς
γαμεταῖς ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν παρ-
ιδεῖν καὶ προέσθαι χαριζόμενος ἐκείναις.

Τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐκολίας καὶ λιτό-
τητος καὶ ἀπομνημόνευμα λέγεται τοιοῦτον.
6 ἰατρὸς αὐτῷ νοσοῦντι καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντι πρὸς τὰ
σιτία κίχλην προσέταξε λαβεῖν. ὥς δὲ ζητοῦντες
οὐχ εὖρον ὦνιον (ἦν γὰρ παρ' ὧραν), ἔφη δὲ τις
εὔρεθήσεσθαι παρὰ Λευκόλλῳ δι' ἔτους τρεφομέ-
νας, “Εἶτα,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ Λεύκολλος ἐτρύφα,
Πομπήϊος οὐκ ἂν ἔζησε;” καὶ χαίρειν ἐάσας τὸν
ἰατρὸν ἔλαβέ τι τῶν εὐπορίστων. ταῦτα μὲν
οὖν ὕστερον.

III. Ἐτι δὲ μειράκιον ὢν παντάπασι καὶ τῷ
πατρὶ συστρατενόμενος ἀντιτεταγμένος πρὸς Κίν-

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herself did not take this treatment as a mere courtesan would, but was sick for a long time with grief and longing. And yet Flora is said to have flowered into such beauty, and to have been so famous for it, that when Caecilius Metellus was decorating the temple of Castor and Pollux with paintings and statues, he gave her portrait also a place among his dedications. Moreover, Pompey also treated the wife of Demetrius his freedman (who had the greatest influence with him and left an estate of four thousand talents) with a lack of courtesy and generosity unusual in him, fearing lest men should think him conquered by her beauty, which was irresistible and far-famed. But though he was so extremely cautious in such matters and on his guard, still he could not escape the censures of his enemies on this head, but was accused of illicit relations with married women, to gratify whom, it was said, he neglected and betrayed many public interests.

As regards his simplicity and indifference in matters pertaining to the table, a story is told as follows. Once when he was sick and loathed his food, a physician prescribed a thrush for him. But when, on enquiry, his servants could not find one for sale (for it was past the season for them), and someone said they could be found at Lucullus's, where they were kept the year round, "What then," said he, "if Lucullus were not luxurious must Pompey have died?" and paying no regard to the physician he took something that could easily be procured.¹ This, however, was at a later time.

III. While he was still quite a stripling and was on a campaign with his father, who was arrayed against

¹ Cf. the *Lucullus*, xl. 2.

ναν, Λευκίον τινα Τερέντιον εἶχεν ἑταῖρον καὶ σύσκηνον. οὗτος ὑπὸ Κίinna πεισθεὶς χρήμασιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμελλε Πομπηῖον ἀποκτενεῖν, ἕτεροι δὲ
 2 τὴν σκηνὴν ἐμπρήσειν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. μηνύσεως δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ δεῖπνον ὄντι προσπεσούσης, οὐδὲν διαταραχθεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πιὼν προθυμότερον καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν Τερέντιον, ἅμα τῷ τραπέεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν ὑπεκρυεὶς τῆς σκηνῆς ἔλαθε, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ φρουρὰν περιστήσας ἡσύχαζεν. ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος, ὡς ἐνόμιζε καιρὸν εἶναι, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀνέστη καὶ τῇ στιβάδι τοῦ Πομπηίου προσελθὼν ὡς κατακειμένου πολ-
 3 λὰς ἐνεφόρει πληγὰς τοῖς στρώμασιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γίνεται μέγα κίνημα μίσει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὁρμὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τάς τε σκηνὰς ἀνασπώντων καὶ τὰ ὅπλα λαμβανόντων. ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατηγὸς οὐ προΐει δεδιὼς τὸν θόρυβον, ὁ δὲ Πομπηῖος ἐν μέσοις ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ δακρύων ἰκέτεue, τέλος δὲ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα πρὸ τῆς πύλης τοῦ χάρακος ἐμποδὼν ἔκειτο κλαίων καὶ πατεῖν κελεύων τοὺς ἐξιόντας, ὥστε ἕκαστον ἀναχωρεῖν ὑπ' αἰδοῦς καὶ πάντας οὕτω πλὴν ὀκτακοσίων μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς τὸν στρατηγόν.

IV. "Ἄμα δὲ τῷ τελευτῆσαι τὸν Στράβωνα, δίκην κλοπῆς ἔσχευ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσίων χρημάτων ὁ Πομπηῖος. καὶ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα φώρσας ἓνα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ὁ Πομπηῖος νενοσφισμένον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπέδειξε τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ λίνα θηρατικὰ καὶ βιβλία τῶν ἐν Ἀσκλη ληφθέντων ἔχειν κατηγορεῖτο. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλαβε μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλόντος τὸ Ἀσκλον, ἀπώ-

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Cinna,¹ he had a certain Lucius Terentius as tentmate and companion. This man was bribed by Cinna, and was himself to kill Pompey, while others were to set fire to the tent of the commander. But Pompey got information of the plot while he was at supper. He was not at all disturbed, but after drinking more freely even than usual and treating Terentius with kindness, as soon as he retired to rest stole out of the tent unperceived, set a guard about his father, and quietly awaited the event. Terentius, when he thought the proper time was come, arose, and approaching the couch of Pompey with drawn sword, stabbed the bed-clothing many times, supposing him to be lying there. After this there was a great commotion, owing to the hatred felt towards the general, and a rush to revolt on the part of the soldiers, who tore down their tents and seized their arms. The general did not venture forth for fear of the tumult, but Pompey went up and down among the soldiers beseeching them with tears, and finally threw himself on his face in front of the gate of the camp and lay there in the way, weeping and bidding those who were going out to trample on him. As a consequence, everyone drew back out of shame, and all except eight hundred changed their minds and were reconciled to their general.

IV. As soon as Strabo was dead, Pompey, as his heir, was put on trial for theft of public property. And although Pompey discovered that most of the thefts were committed by Alexander, one of his father's freedmen, and proved it to the magistrates, still he himself was accused of having in his possession hunting nets and books from the booty of Asculum. Now, he did receive these things from his father

¹ In 87 B.C.

- λεσε δὲ τῶν Κίinna δορυφόρων, ὅτε κατήλθεν, ὠσαμένων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ διαρπασάν-
 2 των. ἐγίνοντο δὲ τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ προαγῶνες οὐκ ὀλίγοι πρὸς τὸν κατήγορον. ἐν οἷς ὁξὺς ἅμα καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν εὐσταθῆς φαινόμενος δόξαν ἔσχε μεγάλην καὶ χάριν, ὥστε Ἀντίστιον στρατη-
 γοῦντα καὶ βραβεύοντα τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην ἐρα-
 σθῆναι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ γυναῖκα διδόναι τὴν
 3 ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῖς φίλοις διαλέγεσθαι. δεξαμένου δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ γενο-
 μένων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπορρήτων ὁμολογιῶν, ὅμως οὐκ ἔλαθε τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀντιστίου σπουδὴν. τέλος δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀνα-
 γορεύσαντος αὐτοῦ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπολύνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ παραγγέλματος ὁ δῆμος ἐπεφώνησε
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῖς γαμοῦσιν ἐπιφωνούμενον ἐξ
 ἔθους παλαιοῦ, Ταλασίῳ.
 4 Τὸ δὲ ἔθος ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν φασι τοιαύτην. ὅτε τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Σαβίνων ἐπὶ θέαν ἀγῶνος εἰς Ῥώμην παραγενομένας οἱ πρωτεύοντες ἀρετῇ 621
 Ῥωμαίων ἤρπαζον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας, ἄδοξοί τινες πελάται καὶ βοτῆρες ἀράμενοι κόρην καλὴν καὶ
 μεγάλην ἐκόμιζον. ὅπως οὖν μὴ προστυχὼν τις ἀφέληται τῶν κρειττόνων, ἐβόων θέοντες ἅμα
 Ταλασίῳ (τῶν δὲ χαριέντων καὶ γνωρίμων τις ἦν ὁ Ταλάσιος), ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούσαντας τοῦνομα
 κροτεῖν καὶ βοᾶν οἷον συνηδομένους καὶ συνεπ-
 5 αινοῦντας. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ (καὶ γὰρ εὐτυχῆς ὁ γάμος ἀπέβη τῷ Ταλασίῳ) ταύτην τὴν ἐπιφώ-

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when he took Asculum,¹ but he lost them when Cinna's guards, on that general's return to Rome, broke into his house and ransacked it. He had many preliminary bouts in the case with his accuser, and since in these he showed an acumen and poise beyond his years, he won great reputation and favour, insomuch that Antistius, the praetor and judge in the case, took a great liking to him and offered him his own daughter in marriage, and conferred with his friends about the matter. Pompey accepted the offer and a secret agreement was made between them, but nevertheless the people got wind of the matter, owing to the pains which Antistius took to favour Pompey. And finally, when Antistius pronounced the verdict of the judges in acquittal, the people, as if upon a signal given, broke out in the ancient and customary marriage acclamation, "Talasio."

The origin of the custom is said to have been this. At the time when the daughters of the Sabines, who had come to Rome to see a spectacle of games, were haled away by the most distinguished Romans to be their wives, certain hirelings and herdsmen of the meaner sort seized a fair and stately maiden and were carrying her off. In order, therefore, that no one of their betters, on meeting them, might rob them of their prize, they shouted with one voice as they ran, "*For Talasius*," Talasius being a well-known and popular personage. Consequently, those who heard the name clapped their hands and shouted it themselves, as if rejoicing with the others and approving what they did. From this circumstance, they say,—and indeed the marriage proved a happy one for Talasius,—this acclamation is used in mirth-

¹ In 89 B.C.

νησιν μετὰ παιδιᾶς γενέσθαι τοῖς γαμοῦσιν. οὗτος ὁ λόγος πιθανώτατός ἐστι τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ταλασίου λεγομένων. ὀλίγαις δ' οὖν ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὁ Πομπήϊος ἡγάγετο τὴν Ἀντιστίαν.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς Κίνναν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πορευθεὶς ἐξ αἰτίας τινὸς καὶ διαβολῆς ἔδεισε καὶ ταχὺ λαθὼν ἐκποδὼν ἐποίησεν ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ὄντος ἐμφανοῦς αὐτοῦ θροῦς διῆλθεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ λόγος ὡς ἀνηρήκοι τὸν νεανίσκον ὁ Κίννας· ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ πάλαι βαρυνόμενοι καὶ μισοῦντες ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ φεύγων καὶ καταλαμβανόμενος ὑπὸ τινος τῶν λοχαγῶν γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει διώκοντος προσέπεσε τοῖς γόνασι καὶ τὴν
2 σφραγίδα προὔτεινε πολύτιμον οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μάλα ὕβριστικῶς εἰπὼν, “Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐγγύην ἔρχομαι σφραγιούμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀνόσιον καὶ παράνομον τιμωρησόμενος τύραννον,” ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Κίννα τελευτήσαντος ἐδέξατο μὲν τὰ πράγματα καὶ συνεῖχε Κάρβων ἐμπληκτότερος ἐκείνου τύραννος, ἐπῆει δὲ Σύλλας τοῖς πλείστοις ποθεινός, ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν οὐδὲ δεσπότου μεταβολὴν μικρὸν ἡγουμένοις ἀγαθόν. εἰς τοῦτο προήγαγον αἱ συμφοραὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς δουλείαν ἐπιεικεστέραν ζητεῖν ἀπογνώσει τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

VI. Τότε οὖν ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐν τῇ Πικηνίδι τῆς Ἰταλίας διέτριβεν, ἔχων μὲν αὐτόθι καὶ χωρία, τό δὲ πλεον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡδόμενος οἰκείως καὶ φιλικῶς πατρόθεν ἐχούσαις πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολείποντας τὰ οἰκεία καὶ πανταχόθεν εἰς τὸ Σύλλα στρατόπεδον ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα κατα-

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ful greeting of the newly wedded. This is the most credible of the stories told about Talasius.¹ But be it true or not, a few days afterwards Pompey married Antistia.

V. Then he betook himself to Cinna's camp, but because of some calumnious accusation grew fearful and quickly withdrew unnoticed. On his disappearance, there went a rumour through the camp which said that Cinna had slain the young man, and in consequence of this those who had long hated Cinna and felt oppressed by him made an onslaught upon him. Cinna, as he fled, was seized by one of the centurions who pursued him with drawn sword, and fell upon his knees and held out his seal-ring, which was of great price. But the centurion, with great insolence, said: "Indeed, I am not come to seal a surety, but to punish a lawless and wicked tyrant," and slew him. When Cinna had come to such an end,² Carbo, a tyrant more capricious than he, received and exercised the chief authority. But Sulla was approaching, to the great delight of most men, who were led by their present evils to think even a change of masters no slight good. To such a pass had her calamities brought the city that, in despair of freedom, she sought a more tolerable servitude.

VI. At this time, then, Pompey was tarrying in the Italian province of Picenum, partly because he had estates there, but more because he had a liking for its cities, which were dutifully and kindly disposed towards him as his father's son. And when he saw the best and most prominent citizens forsaking their homes and hastening from all quarters to the camp of Sulla as to a haven of refuge, he

¹ Cf. the *Romulus*, chapter xv.

² In 84 B.C.

θέοντας, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἀποδρᾶς οὐδὲ ἀσύμβολος οὐδὲ χρήζων βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ ὑπάρξας τινὸς χάριτος ἐνδόξως καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. ὅθεν ἐκίνει τοὺς Πικηνοὺς ἀποπειρώμενος. οἱ δὲ ὑπήκουον αὐτῷ προθύμως καὶ τοῖς παρὰ Κάρβωνος ἠκούσιν οὐ προσεῖχον. Οὐήδιον δὲ τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι δημαγωγὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκ παιδαγωγείου παραπεπῆδηκεν ὁ Πομπηῖος, οὕτως ἠγανάκτησαν ὥστε εὐθὺς ἀνελεῖν προσπεσόντες τὸν Οὐήδιον.

3 Ἐκ τούτου Πομπηῖος ἔτη μὲν τρία καὶ εἴκοσι γεγονώς, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀποδεδειγμένος στρατηγός, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δούς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἐν Αὐξίμφ, πόλει μεγάλῃ, βῆμα θεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀδελφοὺς δύο Οὐεντιδίους ὑπὲρ Κάρβωνος ἀντιπράττοντας διατάγματι μεταστῆναι τῆς πόλεως κελεύσας, στρατιώτας κατέλεγε, καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ταξιάρχους κατὰ κόσμον ἀποδείξας ἐκάστοις τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις 4 ἐπῆει τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῶν. ἐξανισταμένων δὲ καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ὅσοι τὰ Κάρβωνος ἐφρόνουν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀσμένως ἐπιδιδόντων αὐτούς, οὕτω κατανείμας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τρία τάγματα τέλεια, καὶ τροφὴν πορίσας καὶ σκευαγωγὰ καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν παρασκευήν, ἤγε πρὸς Σύλλαν, οὐκ ἐπειγόμενος οὐδὲ τὸ λαθεῖν ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλὰ διατρίβων καθ' ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ κακῶς ποιεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἐπῆει τῆς Ἰταλίας πειρώμενος ἀφιστάναι τοῦ Κάρβωνος.

VII. Ἀνέστησαν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τρεῖς ἅμα στρατηγοὶ πολέμιοι, Καρίνας καὶ Κλοίλιος καὶ Βροῦτος, οὐκ ἐναντίοι πάντες οὐδὲ ὁμόθεν, ἀλλὰ

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himself would not deign to go to him as a fugitive, nor empty-handed, nor with requests for help, but only after conferring some favour first, in a way that would gain him honour, and with an armed force. Wherefore he tried to rouse up the people of Picenum and made test of their allegiance. They readily listened to him and paid no heed to the emissaries of Carbo. Indeed, when a certain Veditius remarked that Pompey had run away from pedagogues to be a demagogue among them, they were so incensed that they fell upon Veditius at once and killed him.

After this, Pompey, who was only twenty-three years old, and who had not been appointed general by anybody whomsoever, conferred the command upon himself, and setting up a tribunal in the market-place of Auximum, a large city, issued an edict ordering the chief men there, two brothers named Ventidius, who were acting against him in Carbo's interest, to leave the city. Then he proceeded to levy soldiers, and after appointing centurions and commanders for them all in due form, made a circuit of the other cities, doing the same thing. All the partisans of Carbo withdrew and gave place to him, and the rest gladly offered their services to him, so that in a short time he had mustered three complete legions, and provided them with food, baggage-waggons, carriages, and other needful equipment. Then he led his forces towards Sulla, not in haste, nor even with a desire to escape observation, but tarrying on the march as he harried the enemy, and endeavouring to detach from Carbo's interest all that part of Italy through which he passed.

VII. There came up against him, accordingly, three hostile generals at once, Carinas, Cloelius, and Brutus,¹ not all in front of him, nor from any one

¹ All belonging to the Marian party.

κύκλῳ τρισὶ στρατοπέδοις περιχωροῦντες ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔδεισεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν εἰς ταῦτὸ τὴν δύναμιν συναγαγὼν ὥρμησεν ἐφ' ἑν τὸ τοῦ Βρούτου στράτευμα, τοὺς ἵππεῖς, ἐν οἷς
 2 ἦν αὐτός, προτάξας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀντεξίππευσαν οἱ Κελτοί, τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν¹ καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατον φθάνει παίσας ἐκ χειρὸς δόρατι καὶ καταβαλὼν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τραπόμενοι καὶ τὸ πεζὸν συνετάραξαν, ὥστε φυγὴν γενέσθαι πάντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου στασιάσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνεχώρησαν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἔτυχε, Πομπηΐῳ δὲ προσεχώρουν αἱ πόλεις, ὡς διὰ φόβον ἐσκεδασμένων τῶν πολεμίων.
 3 αὐθις δὲ Σκηπίωνος ἐπιόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάτου, πρὶν ἐν ἐμβολαῖς ὑσσῶν γενέσθαι τὰς φάλαγγας, οἱ Σκηπίωνος ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς Πομπηΐου μετεβάλλοντο, Σκηπίων δὲ ἔφυγε. τέλος δὲ Κάρβωνος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσιν ποταμὸν ἱππέων συχνὰς ἴλας ἐφέντος, εὐρώστως ὑποστὰς καὶ τρεψάμενος εἰς χαλεπὰ καὶ ἄφιππα χωρία πάντας ἐμβάλλει διώκων· οἱ δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀνέλπιστον ὀρῶντες ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων.

VIII. Οὕπῳ δὲ ταῦτα Σύλλας ἐπέπυστο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πρώτας ἀγγελίας καὶ φήμας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεδοικὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις ἀναστρεφόμενου στρατηγοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐδίωκε βοηθήσων. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Πομπηΐος ἐγγὺς ὄντα προσέταξε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐξοπλίζειν καὶ διακοσ-

¹ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν with CMS and Coraës : τὸν πρῶτον.

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direction, but encompassing him round with three armies, in order to annihilate him. Pompey, however, was not alarmed, but collected all his forces into one body and hastened to attack one of the hostile armies, that of Brutus, putting his cavalry, among whom he himself rode, in the van. And when from the enemy's side also the Celtic horsemen rode out against him, he promptly closed with the foremost and sturdiest of them, smote him with his spear, and brought him down. Then the rest turned and fled and threw their infantry also into confusion, so that there was a general rout. After this the opposing generals fell out with one another and retired, as each best could, and the cities came over to Pompey's side, arguing that fear had scattered his enemies. Next, Scipio the consul came up against him, but before the lines of battle were within reach of each other's javelins, Scipio's soldiers saluted Pompey's and came over to their side, and Scipio took to flight.¹ Finally, when Carbo himself sent many troops of cavalry against him by the river Arsis, he met their onset vigorously, routed them, and in his pursuit forced them all upon difficult ground impracticable for horse; there, seeing no hope of escape, they surrendered themselves to him, with their armour and horses.

VIII. Sulla had not yet learned of these results, but at the first tidings and reports about Pompey had feared for his safety, thus engaged with so many and such able generals of the enemy, and was hastening to his assistance. But when Pompey learned that he was near, he ordered his officers to have the forces

¹ Plutarch seems to have transferred this exploit from Sulla to Pompey. See the *Sulla*, xxviii. 1-3, and cf. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 85.

- μεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ὥς καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτοκράτορι
καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ φανείῃ· μεγάλας γὰρ ἤλπιζε
2 παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμάς, ἔτυχε δὲ μειζόνων. ὥς γὰρ
εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας προσιόντα καὶ τὴν στρα-
τιὰν παρεστῶσαν εὐανδρία τε θαυμαστήν καὶ διὰ
τὰς κατορθώσεις ἐπηρμένην καὶ ἰλαράν, ἀποπη-
δήσας τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσαγορευθεὶς, ὥς εἰκός,
αὐτοκράτωρ ἀντιπροσηγόρευσε αὐτοκράτορα τὸν
Πομπήϊον, οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκῆσαντος ἀνδρὶ νέῳ
καὶ μηδέπω βουλῆς μετέχοντι κοινώσασθαι τοῦ-
νομα τοῦτο Σύλλαν, περὶ οὗ Σκηπίωσι καὶ
3 Μαρίοις ἐπολέμει. καὶ τὰλλα δὲ ἦν ὁμολο-
γούντα ταῖς πρώταις φιλοφροσύναις, ὑπεξανι-
σταμένου τε προσιόντι τῷ Πομπήϊῳ καὶ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ἀπάγοντος τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἃ πρὸς ἄλλον οὐ
ῥαδίως ἐωρᾶτο ποιῶν, καίπερ ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ
ἀγαθῶν περὶ αὐτόν.
- 4 Οὐ μὴν ἐκουφίσθη γε τούτοις ὁ Πομπήϊος,
ἀλλ' εὐθύς εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμπό-
μενος, ἦν ἔχων ὁ Μέτελλος ἐδόκει μηδὲν ἄξιον
πράττειν τῆς παρασκευῆς, οὐ καλῶς ἔφη ἔχειν
πρεσβύτερον καὶ προὔχοντα δόξῃ στρατηγίας
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, βουλομένῳ μέντοι τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ
κελεύοντι συμπολεμεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν ἔτοιμος εἶναι.
- 5 δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ γράψαντος ἤκειν,
ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν αὐτὸς τε καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἔργα θαυμαστὰ διεπράττετο, καὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου
τὸ μάχιμον καὶ θαρσαλέον ἤδη σβευνύμενον ὑπὸ
γῆρως αὐθις ἐξερρίπιζε καὶ συνεξεθέρμαινεν,
ὥσπερ ὁ ῥέων καὶ πεπυρωμένος χαλκὸς τῷ πεπη-
γότι καὶ ψυχρῷ περιχυθεὶς λέγεται τοῦ πυρὸς
6 μᾶλλον ἀνυγραίειν καὶ συνανατήκειν. ἀλλὰ

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fully armed and in complete array, that they might present a very fine and brilliant appearance to the emperor; for he expected great honours from him, and he received even greater. For when Sulla saw him advancing with an admirable army of young and vigorous soldiers elated and in high spirits because of their successes, he alighted from off his horse, and after being saluted, as was his due, with the title of Emperor, he saluted Pompey in return as Emperor. And yet no one could have expected that a young man, and one who was not yet a senator, would receive from Sulla this title, to win which Sulla was at war with such men as Scipio and Marius. And the rest of his behaviour to Pompey was consonant with his first tokens of friendliness; he would rise to his feet when Pompey approached, and uncover his head before him, things which he was rarely seen to do for any one else, although there were many about him who were of high rank.

Pompey, however, was not made vain by these things, but when Sulla would have sent him forth-with into Gaul, where, as it was thought, Metellus was doing nothing worthy of the armament at his disposal, he said it was not right for him to take the command away from a man of great reputation who was his senior, but that if Metellus wished and bade him do so, he was ready to assist him in carrying on the war. And when Metellus accepted the proposal and wrote him to come, he hurried into Gaul, and not only performed wonderful exploits himself, but also fanned into fresh heat and flame the bold and warlike spirit of Metellus which old age was now quenching, just as molten and glowing bronze, when poured round that which is cold and rigid, is said to soften it more than fire does, and to melt it also

γάρ, ὥσπερ ἀθλητοῦ πρωτεύσαντος ἐν ἀνδράσι καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ καθελόντος ἐνδόξως ἀγῶνας εἰς οὐδένα λόγον τὰς παιδικὰς τίθενται νίκας οὐδ' ἀναγράφουσιν, οὕτως ἅς ἔπραξε τότε πράξεις ὁ Πομπήϊος, αὐτὰς καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑπερφυνεῖς οὔσας, πλήθει δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν ὑστέρων ἀγώνων καὶ πολέμων κατακεχωσμένας, ἐδεδίειν κινεῖν, μὴ περὶ τὰ πρῶτα πολλῆς διατριβῆς γενομένης τῶν μεγίστων καὶ μάλιστα δηλούντων τὸ ἦθος ἔργων καὶ παθημάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολειφθῶμεν.

- IX. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐκράτησε τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁ 623
Σύλλας καὶ δικτάτωρ ἀνηγορεύθη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατηγούς ἡμείβετο πλουσίους ποιῶν καὶ προάγων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ χαριζόμενος ἀφθόνως καὶ προθύμως ὧν ἕκαστος ἐδεῖτο, Πομπήϊον δὲ θαυμάζων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ μέγα νομίζων ὄφελος εἶναι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράγμασιν, ἐσπούδασεν ἀμῶς γέ πως οἰκειότητι προσθέσθαι.
- 2 συμβουλομένης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς Μετέλλης, πείθουσι τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀπαλλαγέντα τῆς Ἀντιστίας λαβεῖν γυναῖκα τὴν Σύλλα πρόγονον Αἰμιλίαν, ἐκ Μετέλλης καὶ Σκαύρου γεγεννημένην, ἀνδρὶ δὲ συνοικοῦσαν ἤδη καὶ κύουσιν τότε.

- Ἦν οὖν τυραννικὰ τὰ τοῦ γάμου καὶ τοῖς Σύλλα καιροῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς Πομπηίου τρόποις πρέποντα, τῆς μὲν Αἰμιλίας ἀγομένης ἐγκύμονος
- 3 παρ' ἐτέρου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐξελαυνομένης δὲ τῆς

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down. However, just as athletes who have won the primacy among men and borne away glorious prizes everywhere, make no account of their boyish victories and even leave them unrecorded, so it is with the deeds which Pompey performed at this time; they were extraordinary in themselves, but were buried away by the multitude and magnitude of his later wars and contests, and I am afraid to revive them, lest by lingering too long upon his first essays, I should leave myself no room for those achievements and experiences of the man which were greatest, and most illustrative of his character.

IX. So then, when Sulla had made himself master of Italy and had been proclaimed dictator, he sought to reward the rest of his officers and generals by making them rich and advancing them to office and gratifying without reserve or stint their several requests; but since he admired Pompey for his high qualities and thought him a great help in his administration of affairs, he was anxious to attach him to himself by some sort of a marriage alliance. His wife Metella shared his wishes, and together they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia and marry Aemilia, the step-daughter of Sulla, whom Metella had borne to Scaurus, and who was living with a husband already and was with child by him at this time.¹

This marriage was therefore characteristic of a tyranny, and befitted the needs of Sulla rather than the nature and habits of Pompey, Aemilia being given to him in marriage when she was with child by another man, and Antistia being driven away from

¹ Cf. the *Sulla*, xxxiii. 3. This was in 82 B.C. With a similar purpose Sulla tried to make Julius Caesar part with his wife, but Caesar refused (cf. Plutarch's *Caesar*, i. 1).

Ἀντιστίας ἀτίμως καὶ οἰκτρῶς, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔναγχος ἐστερημένης διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα· κατεσφάγη γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίστιος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ δοκῶν τὰ Σύλλα φρονεῖν διὰ Πομπηίου· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἐπιδούσα ταῦτα προήκατο τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ περὶ τὸν γάμον ἐκείνον τραγωδίᾳ προσγενέσθαι καὶ νῆ Δία τὸ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν εὐθὺς διαφθαρῆναι παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τίκτουςαν.

X. Ἐκ τούτου Σικελίαν ἡγγέλλετο Περπέννας αὐτῷ κρατύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περιούσιν ἔτι τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως ὀρμητήριον παρέχειν τὴν νῆσον, αἰωρουμένου καὶ Κάρβωνος αὐτόθι ναυτικῷ καὶ Δομετίου Λιβύῃ προσπεπτωκότος, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν ἐπέκεινα μεγάλων ὠθουμένων φυγάδων, ὅσοι τὰς προγραφὰς ἔφθησαν ἀποδράντες. ἐπὶ τούτους Πομπηῖος ἀπεστάλη μετὰ πολλῆς δυνά-
 2 μεως. καὶ Περπέννας μὲν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ Σικελίας ἐξέστη, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἀνελάμβανε τετρυχωμένας καὶ φιλανθρώπως πάσαις ἐχρήτο πλὴν Μαμερτί-
 νων τῶν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ. παραιτουμένων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ὡς νόμῳ παλαιῷ Ῥωμαίων ἀπειρημένα, “Οὐ παύσεσθε,” εἶπεν,
 3 “ἡμῖν ὑπεξωσμένοις ξίφη νόμους ἀναγινώσκου-
 τες;” ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ ταῖς Κάρβωνος οὐκ ἀνθρω-
 πίνως ἐνυβρίσαι συμφοραῖς. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἦν ἴσως, ἀνελεῖν, εὐθὺς ἔδει λαβόντα, καὶ τοῦ κελεύσαντος ἂν ἦν τὸ ἔργον.

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him in dishonour, and in piteous plight too, since she had lately been deprived of her father because of her husband (for Antistius had been killed in the senate-house¹ because he was thought to be a partisan of Sulla for Pompey's sake), and her mother, on beholding these indignities, had taken her own life. This calamity was added to the tragedy of that second marriage, and it was not the only one, indeed, since Aemilia had scarcely entered Pompey's house before she succumbed to the pains of childbirth.

X. After this, word was brought to Sulla that Perpenna was making himself master of Sicily and furnishing a refuge in that island for the survivors of the opposite faction,² that Carbo was hovering in those waters with a fleet, that Domitius had forced an entry into Africa, and that many other exiled men of note were thronging to those parts, all, in fact, who had succeeded in escaping his proscriptions. Against these men Pompey was sent with a large force. Perpenna at once abandoned Sicily to him, and he recovered the cities there. They had been harshly used by Perpenna, but Pompey treated them all with kindness except the Mamertines in Messina. These declined his tribunal and jurisdiction on the plea that they were forbidden by an ancient law of the Romans, at which Pompey said: "Cease quoting laws to us that have swords girt about us!" Moreover, he was thought to have treated Carbo in his misfortunes with an unnatural insolence. For if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put the man to death, this ought to have been done as soon as he was seized, and the deed would have been his who

¹ Earlier in the same year, 82 B.C., by order of the younger Marius, one of the consuls (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 88).

² The Marian party.

- ὁ δὲ δέσμιον προαγαγὼν ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον τρεῖς ὑπατεύσαντα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ βήματος στήσας καθεζόμενος αὐτὸς ἀνέκρινεν, ἀχθομένων καὶ βαρυνομένων τῶν παρόντων· εἶτα ἐκέλευσεν
- 4 ἀπαγαγόντας ἀνελεῖν. ἀπαχθέντα μέντοι φασὶν αὐτόν, ὥς εἶδεν ἐλκόμενον ἤδη τὸ ξίφος, δεῖσθαι τόπον αὐτῷ καὶ χρόνον βραχύν, ὥς ὑπὸ κοιλίας ἐνοχλουμένῳ, παρασχεῖν. Γάϊος δὲ Ὀππίος ὁ Καίσαρος ἐταῖρος ἀπανθρώπως φησὶ καὶ Κοῖντῳ Οὐαλλερίῳ χρήσασθαι τὸν Πομπήϊον. ἐπιστάμενον γὰρ ὥς ἔστι φιλολόγος ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἐν ὀλίγοις ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ὥς ἤχθη πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπισπασάμενον καὶ συμπεριπατήσαντα καὶ πυθόμενον ὧν ἔχρηζε καὶ μαθόντα, προστάξαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις εὐθύς ἀνελεῖν ἀπαγαγόντας.
- 5 Ἄλλ' Ὀππίῳ μὲν, ὅταν περὶ τῶν Καίσαρος πολεμίων ἢ φίλων διαλέγεται, σφόδρα δεῖ πιστεύειν μετὰ εὐλαβείας· Πομπήϊος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα τῶν Σύλλα πολεμίων καὶ φανερῶς ἀλισκομένους ἀναγκαίως ἐκόλαζε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσους ἐξῆν περιεώρα λανθάνοντας,
- 6 ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ συνεξέπεμπε. τὴν δ' Ἱμεραίων πόλιν ἐγνωκότος αὐτοῦ κολάζειν γενομένην μετὰ τῶν πολεμίων, Σθένις ὁ δημαγωγὸς αἰτησάμενος λόγον οὐκ ἔφη δίκαια ποιήσῃν τὸν Πομπήϊον, εἰὰν τὸν αἴτιον ἀφείας ἀπολέσῃ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας. ἐρομένου δὲ ἐκείνου τίνα λέγει τὸν 624 αἴτιον, ἑαυτὸν ὁ Σθένις ἔφη, τοὺς μὲν φίλους πείσαντα τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς βιασά-
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ordered it. But as it was, Pompey caused a Roman who had thrice been consul to be brought in fetters and set before the tribunal where he himself was sitting, and examined him closely there, to the distress and vexation of the audience. Then he ordered him to be led away and put to death. They say, moreover, that after Carbo had been led away to execution, when he saw the sword already drawn, he begged that a short respite and a convenient place might be afforded him, since his bowels distressed him. Furthermore, Caius Oppius, the friend of Caesar, says that Pompey treated Quintus Valerius also with unnatural cruelty. For, understanding that Valerius was a man of rare scholarship and learning, when he was brought to him, Oppius says, Pompey took him aside, walked up and down with him, asked and learned what he wished from him, and then ordered his attendants to lead him away and put him to death at once.

But when Oppius discourses about the enemies or friends of Caesar, one must be very cautious about believing him. Pompey was compelled to punish those enemies of Sulla who were most eminent, and whose capture was notorious; but as to the rest, he suffered as many as possible to escape detection, and even helped to send some out of the country. Again, when he had made up his mind to chastise the city of Himera because it had sided with the enemy, Sthenis, the popular leader there, requested audience of him, and told him that he would commit an injustice if he should let the real culprit go and destroy those who had done no wrong. And when Pompey asked him whom he meant by the real culprit, Sthenis said he meant himself, since he had persuaded his friends among the citizens, and forced

7 μενον. ἀγασθεὶς οὖν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Πομπήϊος ἀφῆκε τῆς αἰτίας πρῶτον ἐκείνον, εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. ἀκούων δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἀτακτεῖν, σφραγίδα ταῖς μαχαίραις αὐτῶν ἐπέβαλεν, ἣν ὁ μὴ φυλάξας ἐκολάζετο.

XI. Ταῦτα πράττων ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ πολιτευόμενος ἐδέξατο δόγμα συγκλήτου καὶ γράμματα Σύλλα κελεύοντα εἰς Λιβύην πλεῖν καὶ πολεμεῖν Δομετίῳ κατὰ κράτος, ἡθροικότι πολλαπλασίαν δύναμιν ἣς ἔχων Μάριος οὐ πάσαι διεπέρασεν ἐκ Λιβύης εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ συνέχει τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, τύραννος ἐκ φυγάδος καταστάς.

2 ὁξέως οὖν ἅπαντα παρασκευασάμενος ὁ Πομπήϊος Σικελίας μὲν ἄρχοντα Μέμμιον κατέλιπε τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἀδελφῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνήγετο ναυσὶ μὲν μακραῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, φορτηγοῖς δὲ σῆτον καὶ βέλη καὶ χρήματα καὶ μηχανὰς κομιζούσαις ὀκτακοσίαις. κατασχόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταῖς μὲν εἰς Ἰτύκην ναυσί, ταῖς δὲ εἰς Καρχηδόνα, τῶν πολεμίων ἀποστάντες ἑπτακισχίλιοι προσεχώρησαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἤγεν ἕξ ἐντελῆ τάγματα.

3 Συμβῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ πρᾶγμα γελοῖον ἱστοροῦσι. στρατιῶται γάρ τινες, ὥς ἔοικε, θησαυρῷ περιπεσόντες ἔλαβον συχνὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος γενομένου φανεροῦ δόξα τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέστη πᾶσι χρημάτων μεστὸν εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐν ταῖς ποτε τύχαις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀποτε-

4 θειμένων. οὐδὲν οὖν ὁ Πομπήϊος εἶχε χρῆσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας θησαυροὺς ζητοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ περιῆει γελῶν καὶ θεώμενος ὁμοῦ μυριάδας τοσαύτας ὀρυσσούσας καὶ στρεφούσας

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his enemies, into their course. Pompey, then, admiring the man's frank speech and noble spirit, pardoned him first, and then all the rest. And again, on hearing that his soldiers were disorderly in their journeys, he put a seal upon their swords, and whosoever broke the seal was punished.

XI. While he was thus engaged in settling the affairs of Sicily, he received a decree of the senate and a letter from Sulla ordering him to sail to Africa and wage war with all his might against Domitius. For Domitius had assembled there a much larger force than that with which Marius, no long time ago,¹ had crossed from Africa into Italy and confounded the Roman state, making himself tyrant instead of exile. Accordingly, after making all his preparations with great speed, Pompey left Memmius, his sister's husband, as governor of Sicily, while he himself put out to sea with a hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred transports conveying provisions, ammunition, money, and engines of war. No sooner had he landed with part of his ships at Utica,² and with part at Carthage, than seven thousand of the enemy deserted and came over to him; and his own army contained six complete legions.

Here, we are told, a ludicrous thing happened to him. Some soldiers, it would seem, stumbled upon a treasure and got considerable amounts of money. When the matter became public, the rest of the army all fancied that the place was full of money which the Carthaginians had hidden away in some time of calamity. Accordingly, Pompey could do nothing with his soldiers for many days because they were hunting treasures, but he went about laughing at the spectacle of so many myriads of men digging and stirring up

¹ In 87 B.C.

² In 81 B.C.

τὸ πεδίον, ἕως ἀπειπόντες ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἄγειν ὅπη βούλεται τὸν Πομπήϊον, ὥς δίκην ἱκανὴν τῆς ἀβελτερίας δεδωκότας.

- XII. Ἀντιτεταγμένοι δὲ τοῦ Δομετίου καὶ χαράδραν τινὰ προβεβλημένου χαλεπὴν περᾶσαι καὶ τραχεῖαν, ὄμβρος ἅμα πνεύματι πολὺς ἔωθεν ἀρξάμενος κατεῖχεν, ὥστε ἀπογνόντα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης μαχέσασθαι τὸν Δομέτιον ἀναζυγὴν παραγγεῖλαι. Πομπήϊος δὲ τοῦτον αὐτοῦ ποι-
 2 ούμενος τὸν καιρὸν ὀξέως ἐπήει καὶ διέβαινε τὴν χαράδραν. οἱ δὲ ἀτάκτως καὶ θορυβούμενοι καὶ οὐ πάντες οὐδὲ ὁμαλῶς ὑφίσταντο, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα περιήει τὴν ζάλην αὐτοῖς προσβάλλον ἐναντίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁ χειμὼν ἐτάραξεν οὐ καθορῶντας ἀλλήλους ἀκριβῶς, αὐτὸς τε Πομπήϊος ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀγνοηθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐρωτῶντι στρατιώτῃ τὸ σύνθημα βράδιον ἀπο-
 3 κρινάμενος. Ὡσάμενοι δὲ πολλῷ φόνῳ τοὺς πολεμίους (λέγονται γὰρ ἀπὸ δισμυρίων τρισχίλιοι διαφυγεῖν) αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Πομπήϊον ἡσπᾶσαντο. φήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου μὴ δέχεσθαι τὴν τιμὴν ἕως ὀρθὸν ἔστηκε τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιούσι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, ἐκείνο χρήναι πρότερον καταβαλεῖν, ὥρμησαν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα· καὶ Πομπήϊος ἄνευ κράνους ἡγωνί-
 4 ζετο δεδοικῶς τὸ πρότερον πάθος. ἀλίσκεται δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Δομέτιος. τῶν δὲ πόλεων αἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπῆκουον, αἱ δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἐλήφθησαν. εἶλε δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

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the ground. At last they grew weary of the search and bade Pompey lead them where he pleased, assuring him that they had been sufficiently punished for their folly.

XII. Domitius now drew up his army against Pompey, with a ravine in front of him which was rough and difficult to cross ; but a violent storm of wind and rain began in the morning and continued to rage, so that he gave up the idea of fighting that day and ordered a retreat. But Pompey, taking advantage of this opportunity, advanced swiftly to the attack, and crossed the ravine. The enemy met his attack in a disorderly and tumultuous fashion, not all of them indeed, nor with any uniformity ; besides, the wind veered round and drove the rain into their faces. However, the Romans also were troubled by the storm, since they could not see one another clearly, and Pompey himself narrowly escaped death by not being recognized, when a soldier demanded the countersign from him and he gave it rather slowly.

Nevertheless, they routed the enemy with great slaughter (it is said that out of twenty thousand only three thousand escaped), and hailed Pompey as Imperator. And when he said he would not accept the honour as long as the camp of the enemy was intact, but that if they thought him worthy of the appellation, they must first destroy that, his soldiers immediately made an assault upon the ramparts ; and Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of a peril like the one he had just escaped. The camp was soon taken, and Domitius was slain. Then some of the cities submitted at once to Pompey, and others were taken by storm. King Iarbas also, the con-

Ἰάρφαν τὸν συμμαχήσαντα Δομετίῳ, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἰάμφα παρέδωκε. χρώμενος δὲ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ τοῦ στρατευματος εἰς τὴν Νομαδικὴν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πολλῶν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν
 5 ἐλάσας καὶ πάντων κρατήσας οἷς ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους δέος ἥδη τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξερρηγκὸς αὐθις ἰσχυρὸν καὶ φοβερὸν ἐγκαταστήσας, οὐδὲ τὰ θηρία δεῖν ἔφη τὰ τὴν Λιβύην κατοικοῦντα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπειρα ῥώμης καὶ τόλμης ἀπολείπειν. ὅθεν ἐν θήραις λεόντων καὶ 625 ἐλεφάντων ἡμέρας διέτριψεν οὐ πολλὰς· ταῖς δὲ πάσαις, ὥς φασι, τεσσαράκοντα τοὺς πολεμίους συνεῖλε καὶ Λιβύην ἐχειρώσατο καὶ διήτησε τὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ἔτος ἄγων ἐκείνο τέταρτον καὶ εἰκοστόν.

XIII. Ἐπανελθόντι δὲ εἰς Ἰτύκην αὐτῷ γράμματα κομίζεται Σύλλα προστάττοντος ἀφίεναι μὲν τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν, αὐτὸν δὲ μεθ' ἐνὸς τάγματος περιμένειν αὐτόθι τὸν διαδεξόμενον στρατηγόν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀδήλως μὲν αὐτὸς ἤχθετο καὶ βαρέως ἔφερεν, ἐμφανῶς δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἠγανάκτει· καὶ δεηθέντος τοῦ Πομπηίου προελθεῖν, τὸν τε Σύλλαν κακῶς ἔλεγον, κάκεινον οὐκ ἔφασαν προήσεσθαι χωρὶς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ εἷων
 2 πιστεύειν τῷ τυράννῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Πομπηῖος ἐπειρᾶτο πρᾶνναι καὶ παρηγορεῖν αὐτούς· ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε, καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπῆει δεδακρυμένος. οἱ δὲ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν αὐθις ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κατέστησαν· καὶ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνηλώθη, τῶν μὲν μένειν καὶ ἄρχειν κελευόντων, τοῦ δὲ πείθεσθαι δεομένου καὶ μὴ στασιάζειν, ἄχρι

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federate of Domitius, was captured, and his kingdom given to Hiempsal. Taking advantage of the good fortune and momentum of his army, Pompey now invaded Numidia. He marched through the country for many days, conquered all who came in his way, and made potent and terrible again the Barbarians' fear of the Romans, which had reached a low ebb. Nay, he declared that even the wild beasts in African lairs must not be left without experience of the courage and strength of the Romans, and therefore spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. It took him only forty days all told, they say, to bring his enemies to naught, get Africa into his power, and adjust the relations of its kings, though he was but twenty-four years of age.

XIII. On his return to Utica, a letter from Sulla was brought to him, in which he was commanded to send home the rest of his army, but to remain there himself with one legion, awaiting the arrival of the general who was to succeed him. Pompey himself gave no sign of the deep distress which these orders caused him, but his soldiers made their indignation manifest. When Pompey asked them to go home before him, they began to revile Sulla, declared they would not forsake their general, and insisted that he should not trust the tyrant. At first, then, Pompey tried what words could do to appease and mollify them; but when he was unable to persuade them, he came down from his tribunal and withdrew to his tent in tears. Then his soldiers seized him and set him again upon his tribunal, and a great part of the day was consumed in this way, they urging him to remain and keep his command, and he begging them to obey and not to raise a sedition. At last, when their clamours and entreaties increased, he swore

οὐ προσλιπαρούντων καὶ καταβοώντων ὤμοσεν ἀναιρήσειν ἑαυτὸν εἰ βιάζοντο, καὶ μόλις οὕτως ἐπαύσαντο.

- 3 Τῷ δὲ Σύλλα πρώτη μὲν ἦλθεν ἀγγελία τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀφεστάναι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν ὥς ἄρα πεπρωμένον ἦν αὐτῷ γενομένῳ γέροντι παίδων ἀγῶνας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, διὰ τὸ καὶ Μάριον αὐτῷ νέον ὄντα κομιδῇ πλείστα πράγματα παρασχέειν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους περιστῆσαι κινδύνους, πυθόμενος δὲ τάληθῇ, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους αἰσθανόμενος δέχεσθαι καὶ παραπέμπειν τὸν Πομπήϊον ὥρμημένους μετ' εὐνοίας, ἔσπευδεν ὑπερβαλέσθαι· καὶ προελθὼν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ὥς ἐνῆν προθυμότατα μεγάλη φωνῇ Μάγνον ἡσπάσατο, καὶ τοὺς παρόντας
- 5 οὕτως ἐκέλευσε προσαγορεῦσαι. σημαίνει δὲ τὸν μέγαν ὁ Μάγνος. ἕτεροι δὲ φασιν ἐν Λιβύῃ πρῶτον ἀναφώνημα τοῦτο τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς γενέσθαι, κράτος δὲ λαβεῖν καὶ δύναμιν ὑπὸ Σύλλα βεβαιωθέν. αὐτὸς μέντοι πάντων ὕστατος καὶ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἀνθύπατος ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Σερτώριον ἤρξατο γράφειν ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοῖς διατάγμασι Μάγνον Πομπήϊον· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἦν ἐπίφθονον τοῦνομα σύνηθες γενόμενον.
- 6 Ὅθεν εἰκότως ἀγασθείη καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις τοὺς πάλαι Ῥωμαίους, οἳ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπικλήσεσι καὶ προσωνυμίαις οὐ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἡμέιβοντο καὶ στρατιωτικὰς κατορθώσεις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ ἀρετὰς
- 7 ἐκόσμουν. δύο γοῦν Μαξίμους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μεγίστους, ἀνηγόρευεν ὁ δῆμος· Οὐαλλέριον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διαλλάξαι στασιάζουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν σύγ-

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with an oath that he would kill himself if they used force with him, and even then they would hardly stop.

Sulla's first tidings of the affair were that Pompey was in revolt, and he told his friends that it was evidently his fate, now that he was an old man, to have his contests with boys. This he said because Marius also, who was quite a young man, had given him very great trouble and involved him in the most extreme perils. But when he learned the truth, and perceived that everybody was sallying forth to welcome Pompey and accompany him home with marks of goodwill, he was eager to outdo them. So he went out and met him, and after giving him the warmest welcome, saluted him in a loud voice as "Magnus," or *The Great*, and ordered those who were by to give him this surname. Others, however, say that this title was first given him in Africa by the whole army, but received authority and weight when thus confirmed by Sulla. Pompey himself, however, was last of all to use it, and it was only after a long time, when he was sent as pro-consul to Spain against Sertorius, that he began to subscribe himself in his letters and ordinances "Pompeius Magnus"; for the name had become familiar and was no longer invidious.

And herein we may fittingly respect and admire the ancient Romans; they did not bestow such titles and surnames as a reward for successes in war and military command alone, but also adorned with them the high qualities and achievements of their statesmen. At any rate, in two such cases the people bestowed the title of "Maximus," which signifies *the Greatest*: upon Valerius, for reconciling them with the senate when it was at variance with them;¹ and

¹ After the famous secession of the plebs, in 494 B.C.

κλητον, Φάβιον δὲ Ῥούλλον, ὅτι πλουσίους τινὰς ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων γεγονότας καὶ καταλελεγμένους εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξέβαλεν.

- XIV. Ἐκ τούτου θρίαμβον ἤτει Πομπήϊος, ἀντέλεγε δὲ Σύλλας. ὑπάτῳ γὰρ ἡ στρατηγὴ μόνον, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος. διὸ καὶ Σκηπίων ὁ πρῶτος ἀπὸ μειζόνων καὶ κρειττόνων ἀγώνων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Καρχηδονίῳ κρατήσας οὐκ ἤτησε θρίαμβον· ὑπατος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ στρα-
2 τηγός. εἰ δὲ Πομπήϊος οὐπω πάνυ γενειῶν εἰσελὰ θριαμβεύων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ᾧ βουλῆς διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐ μέτεστι, παντάπασιν ἐπίφθονον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνῳ. ταῦτα πρὸς Πομπήϊον ὁ Σύλλας ἔλεγεν, ὥς οὐκ ἑάσων, ἀλλὰ ἐνστησόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ κωλύσων τὸ φιλόνηικον ἀπειθούντος.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ Πομπήϊος οὐχ ὑπέπτηξεν, ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Σύλλαν ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δυόμενον προσκυνοῦσιν, ὥς αὐτῷ μὲν 626 αὐξανομένης, μειουμένης δὲ καὶ μαραινομένης ἐκείνῳ τῆς δυνάμεως. ταῦτα ὁ Σύλλας οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐξακούσας, ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος ἐν θαύματι ποιουμένους, ἤρετο τί τὸ λεχθὲν εἴη. πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ καταπλαγείς τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν τόλμαν
4 ἀνεβόησε δις ἐφεξῆς, “Θριαμβευσάτω.” πολλῶν δὲ δυσχεραίνοντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦς, ὥς φασι, βουλόμενος ἀνιᾶν ὁ Πομπήϊος, ἐπεχείρησεν ἐλεφάντων ἄρματι τεττάρων ἐπιβὰς εἰσελαύνειν· ἤγαγε γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης τῶν

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upon Fabius Rullus,¹ because he expelled from the senate certain descendants of freedmen who had been enrolled in it on account of their wealth.

XIV. After this, Pompey asked for a triumph, but Sulla opposed his request. The law, he said, permitted only a consul or a praetor to celebrate a triumph, but no one else. Therefore the first Scipio, after conquering the Carthaginians in Spain in far greater conflicts, did not ask for a triumph; for he was not consul, nor even praetor. And if Pompey, who had scarcely grown a beard as yet, and who was too young to be a senator, should ride into the city in a triumph, it would not only make Sulla's government altogether odious, but also Pompey's honour. This was what Sulla said to Pompey, declaring that he would not allow his request, but would oppose him and thwart his ambition if he refused to listen to him.

Pompey, however, was not cowed, but bade Sulla reflect that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun, intimating that his own power was on the increase, while that of Sulla was on the wane and fading away. Sulla did not hear the words distinctly, but seeing, from their looks and gestures, that those who did hear them were amazed, he asked what it was that had been said. When he learned what it was, he was astounded at the boldness of Pompey, and cried out twice in succession: "Let him triumph!" Further, when many showed displeasure and indignation at his project, Pompey, we are told, was all the more desirous of annoying them, and tried to ride into the city on a chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought many

¹ Cf. the *Fabius Maximus*, i. 2. It was in the capacity of censor, 304 B.C., that Rullus thus purified the senate.

βασιλικῶν συχνοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· ἀλλὰ τῆς πύλης
 στενωτέρας οὔσης ἀπέστη καὶ μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 5 ἵππους. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται μὴ τυχόντες
 ἡλίκων προσεδόκησαν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐβούλυντο καὶ
 θορυβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔφη φροντίζειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 ἀφήσειν τὸν θρίαμβον ἢ κολακεύσειν ἐκείνους.
 ὅτε δὴ καὶ Σερουίλιος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ μάλιστα
 πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον ἐνστάς τοῦ Πομπηίου, νῦν
 ἔφη τὸν Πομπηϊὸν ὁρᾶν καὶ μέγαν ἀληθῶς καὶ
 6 ἄξιον τοῦ θρίαμβου. δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ὅτι καὶ
 βουλῆς ἂν ἐθέλῃσας τότε ῥαδίως ἔτυχεν. ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἐσπούδασεν, ὥς λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνδοξον ἐκ τοῦ
 παραδόξου θηρώμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν θαυμαστὸν εἰ
 πρὸ ἡλικίας ἐβούλευε Πομπηϊός, ἀλλ' ὑπέρλαμ-
 προν ὅτι μηδέπω βουλευὼν ἐθρίαμβευσεν. τοῦτο
 δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς εὐνοίαν ὑπῆρχε τῶν πολλῶν
 οὐ μικρόν· ἔχαιρε γὰρ ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ μετὰ θρίαμ-
 βον ἐν τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ἐξεταζομένῳ.

XV. Σύλλας δὲ ἡνιᾶτο μὲν ὁρῶν εἰς ὅσον
 δόξης πρόεισι καὶ δυνάμεως, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ
 κωλύειν ἡσυχίαν ἡγε· πλήν, ὅτε βία καὶ ἄκοντος
 αὐτοῦ Λέπιδον εἰς ὑπατείαν κατέστησε, συναρχ-
 αιρεσιάσας καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
 ἐκείνῳ σπουδάζοντα παρασχών, θεασάμενος αὐτὸν
 ἀπιόντα μετὰ πλήθους δι' ἀγορᾶς ὁ Σύλλας,
 2 “Ὁρῶ σε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ νεανία, χαίροντα τῇ νίκῃ·
 πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ γενναῖα ταῦτα καὶ καλά, Κάτλου
 τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου Λέπιδον τὸν πάντων κά-

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from Africa which he had captured from its kings. But the gate of the city was too narrow, and he therefore gave up the attempt and changed over to his horses. Moreover, when his soldiers, who had not got as much as they expected, were inclined to raise a tumult and impede the triumph, he said he did not care at all, but would rather give up his triumph than truckle to them. Then Servilius, a man of distinction, and one who had been most opposed to Pompey's triumph, said he now saw that Pompey was really great, and worthy of the honour. And it is clear that he might also have been easily made a senator at that time, had he wished it; but he was not eager for this, as they say, since he was in the chase for reputation of a surprising sort. And indeed it would have been nothing wonderful for Pompey to be a senator before he was of age for it; but it was a dazzling honour for him to celebrate a triumph before he was a senator. And this contributed not a little to win him the favour of the multitude; for the people were delighted to have him still classed among the knights after a triumph.

XV. Sulla, however, was annoyed at seeing to what a height of reputation and power Pompey was advancing, but being ashamed to obstruct his career, he kept quiet. Only, when in spite of him and against his wishes Pompey made Lepidus consul,¹ by canvassing for him and making the people zealously support him through their goodwill towards himself, seeing Pompey going off through the forum with a throng, Sulla said: "I see, young man, that you rejoice in your victory; and surely it was a generous and noble thing for Lepidus, the worst of men, to be proclaimed consul by a larger vote than Catulus, the

¹ In 79 B.C.

κιστον ἀποδειχθῆναι πρότερον ὑπατον, σοῦ τὸν δῆμον οὕτω παρασκευάσαντος; ὥρα μέντοι σοι μὴ καθεύδειν, ἀλλὰ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασιν· ἰσχυρότερον γὰρ τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν σεαυτῷ κατεσκευάκας.”¹ ἐδήλωσε δὲ μάλιστα Σύλλας ὅτι πρὸς Πομπήϊον οὐκ εὐμενῶς εἶχε ταῖς διαθήκαις
 3 ἃς ἔγραψεν. ἑτέροις γὰρ φίλοις δωρεὰς ἀπολιπὼν, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδείξας ἐπιτρόπους, τὸν Πομπήϊον ὅλως παρήλθεν. ἤνεγκε μέντοι τοῦτο μετρίως πάνυ καὶ πολιτικῶς ἐκείνος, ὥστε Λεπίδου καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐνισταμένων μὴ ταφῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, μηδὲ δημοσίᾳ τὴν ἐκφορὰν γενέσθαι, βοηθῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν δόξαν ἅμα ταῖς ταφαῖς καὶ ἀσφάλειαν.

XVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχὺ τοῦ Σύλλας τελευτήσαντος εἰς φῶς παρήει τὰ μαντεύματα, καὶ Λέπιδος εἰσποιῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν οὐ κύκλῳ περιῶν οὐδὲ μετὰ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ εὐθύς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦν, τὰ πάλαι νοσοῦντα καὶ διαφυγόντα τὸν Σύλλαν ὑπολείμματα τῶν στάσεων αὐθις ἀνακινῶν καὶ περιβαλλόμενος, ὃ δὲ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ Κάτλος, ᾧ τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ὑγιαῖνον μάλιστα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου προσεῖχεν, ἦν μὲν ἐν ἀξιώματι σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης
 2 μέγιστος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων, ἐδόκει δὲ πολιτικῆς ἡγεμονίας μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιωτικῆς οἰκείος εἶναι, τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ποθούντων τὸν Πομπήϊον οὐ διεμέλλησεν ὅπη τράπηται, προσθεὶς δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἑαυτὸν ἀπεδείχθη στρατεύματος ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἤδη πολλὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας κεκινηκότα καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν κατέχοντα διὰ Βρούτου στρατεύματι.

¹ κατεσκευάκας with Bekker and S: παρασκευάκας.

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best of men, because you influenced the people to take this course. Now, however, it is time for you to be wide awake and watchful of your interests; you have made your adversary stronger than yourself." But Sulla showed most clearly that he was not well-disposed to Pompey by the will which he wrote. For whereas he bequeathed gifts to other friends, and made some of them guardians of his son, he omitted all mention of Pompey. And yet Pompey bore this with great composure, and loyally, inso-much that when Lepidus and sundry others tried to prevent the body of Sulla from being buried in the Campus Martius, or even from receiving public burial honours, he came to the rescue, and gave to the interment alike honour and security.¹

XVI. Soon after the death of Sulla,² his prophecies were fulfilled, and Lepidus tried to assume Sulla's powers. He took no circuitous route and used no pretence, but appeared at once in arms, stirring up anew and gathering about himself the remnants of faction, long enfeebled, which had escaped the hand of Sulla. His colleague, Catulus, to whom the incorrupt and sounder element in the senate and people attached themselves, was the greatest Roman of the time in the estimate set upon his wisdom and justice, but was thought better adapted for political than military leadership. The situation itself, therefore demanded Pompey, who was not long in deciding what course to take. He took the side of the nobility, and was appointed commander of an army against Lepidus, who had already stirred up a large part of Italy and was employing Brutus to hold Cisalpine Gaul with an army.

¹ Cf. the *Sulla*, chapter xxxviii.

² 78 B.C.

- 3 Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἐκράτησε ῥαδίως ἐπελθὼν 627
 ὁ Πομπηΐος· ἐν δὲ Μουτίνῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀντε-
 κάθητο τῷ Βρούτῳ συχνὸν χρόνον· ἐν ᾧ Λέπιδος
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ῥυεῖς καὶ προσκαθήμενος ἔξωθεν
 ὑπατεῖαν ἤτει δευτέραν, ὅχλῳ πολλῷ δεδιττό-
 4 μενος τοὺς ἔνδον. ἔλυσε δὲ τὸν φόβον ἐπιστολῇ
 παρὰ Πομπηΐου κομισθεῖσα κατωρθωκότος ἄνευ
 μάχης τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ γὰρ Βρούτος, εἴτε παρα-
 δούς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτός, εἴτε προδοθεὶς μετα-
 βαλομένης ἐκείνης, ἐνεχείρισε τῷ Πομπηΐῳ τὸ
 σῶμα, καὶ λαβὼν ἱππεῖς προπομποὺς ἀπεχώ-
 ρησεν εἰς πολίχνιον τι τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον, ὅπου
 μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν, ἐπιπέμψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Πομ-
 5 πηΐου Γεμίνιον, ἀνηρέθη· καὶ πολλὴν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ
 τούτου Πομπηΐος αἰτίαν. γεγραφῶς γὰρ εὐθύς
 ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μεταβολῆς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὡς
 ἔκῳ αὐτῷ πρόσθοιτο Βρούτος, ἐτέρας αὖθις
 ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὰς ἀνηρημένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 κατηγορούσας. τούτου Βρούτος ἦν υἱὸς ὁ Καί-
 σαρα σὺν Κασσίῳ κτείνας, ἀνὴρ ὁμοίως τῷ πατρὶ
 μήτε πολεμήσας μήτε ἀποθανών, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ
 6 ἐκείνου γέγραπται. Λέπιδος μὲν οὖν εὐθύς
 ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπεπέρασεν εἰς Σαρδόναν·
 κακεῖ νοσήσας ἐτελεύτησε δι' ἀθυμίαν, οὐ τῶν
 πραγμάτων, ὡς φασιν, ἀλλὰ γραμματίῳ περι-
 πεσὼν ἐξ οὗ μοιχείαν τινὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφώρασε.
- XVII. Λεπίδῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ὅμοιος στρατηγὸς
 Ἰβηρίαν κατέχων Σερτώριος ἐπηρωρεῖτο Ῥωμαίοις
 φοβερός, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἔσχατον¹ νόσημα τῶν ἐμ-
 φυλίων πολέμων εἰς τούτον τὸν ἄνδρα συνερ-
 ρηκόντων, πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη τῶν ἐλαττόνων στρα-

¹ ἐπ' ἔσχατον Stephanus, Coraë's, and S : ἔσχατον.



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Other opponents against whom Pompey came were easily mastered by him, but at Mutina, in Gaul, he lay a long while besieging Brutus. Meanwhile, Lepidus had made a hasty rush upon Rome, and sitting down before it, was demanding a second consulship, and terrifying the citizens with a vast throng of followers. But their fear was dissipated by a letter brought from Pompey, announcing that he had brought the war to a close without a battle. For Brutus, whether he himself betrayed his army, or whether his army changed sides and betrayed him, put himself in the hands of Pompey, and receiving an escort of horsemen, retired to a little town upon the Po. Here, after a single day had passed, he was slain by Geminus, who was sent by Pompey to do the deed. And Pompey was much blamed for this. For as soon as the army of Brutus changed sides, he wrote to the senate that Brutus had surrendered to him of his own accord; then he sent another letter denouncing the man after he had been put to death. The Brutus who, with Cassius, killed Caesar, was a son of this Brutus, a man who was like his father neither in his wars nor in his death, as is written in his Life. As for Lepidus, moreover, as soon as he was expelled from Italy, he made his way over to Sardinia. There he fell sick and died of despondency, which was due, as we are told, not to the loss of his cause, but to his coming accidentally upon a writing from which he discovered that his wife was an adulteress.

XVII. But a general quite unlike Lepidus, namely Sertorius, was in possession of Spain, and was threatening the Romans like a formidable cloud. As if for a final disease of the state, the civil wars had poured all their venom into this man. He had

- τηγῶν ἀνηρηκότα, Μετέλλῳ δὲ Πίῳ τότε συμ-
 2 πεπλεγμένον, ἀνδρὶ λαμπρῷ μὲν καὶ πολεμικῷ,
 δοκοῦντι δὲ ἀργότερον ὑπὸ γήρως ἐπεσθαι τοῖς
 καιροῖς τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν
 πραγμάτων ἀρπαζομένων ὀξύτητι καὶ τάχει, τοῦ
 Σερτωρίου παραβόλως καὶ ληστρικώτερον αὐτῷ
 προσφερομένου, καὶ ταραττοντος ἐνέδραις καὶ
 περιδρομαῖς ἀνδρα νομίμων ἀθλητὴν ἀγώνων καὶ
 3 δυνάμεως στασίμον καὶ βαρείας ἡγεμόνα. πρὸς
 ταῦτα Πομπήϊος ἔχων τὴν στρατιὰν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ
 διεπράττετο Μετέλλῳ πεμφθῆναι βοηθός· καὶ
 Κάτλου κελεύοντος οὐ διέλυεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς
 ὅπλοις ἦν περὶ τὴν πόλιν, αἰετίνους ποιοῦμενος
 προφάσεις, ἕως ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν Λευκίου
 4 Φιλίππου γνώμην εἰπόντος. ὅτε καὶ φασιν ἐν
 συγκλήτῳ πυθομένου τινὸς καὶ θαυμάζοντος εἰ
 Πομπήϊον ἀνθύπατον οἶεται δεῖν ἐκπεμφθῆναι
 Φίλιππος· “Οὐκ ἔγωγε,” φάναι τὸν Φίλιππον,
 “ἀλλ' ἀνθ' ὑπάτων,” ὥς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς τότε
 ὑπατεύοντας οὐδενὸς ἀξίους ὄντας.

- XVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀψάμενος ὁ
 Πομπήϊος, οἷα φιλεῖ πρὸς νέου δόξαν ἡγεμόνος,
 ἐτέρους ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ
 τὰ μὴ πάνυ βεβαίως τῷ Σερτωρίῳ συνεστῶτα
 τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκινεῖτο καὶ μετεβάλλετο, λόγους
 ὑπερηφάνους ὁ Σερτώριος κατὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου
 διέσπειρε, καὶ σκώπτων ἔλεγε νάρθηκος ἂν αὐτῷ
 δεῆσαι καὶ σκύτους ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον, εἰ μὴ
 τὴν γραῦν ἐκείνην ἐφοβεῖτο, λέγων τὸν Μέτελ-
 2 λον. ἔργῳ μέντοι φυλαττόμενος σφόδρα καὶ

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already slain many of the inferior commanders, and was now engaged with Metellus Pius, an illustrious man and a good soldier, but, as men thought, too slow by reason of his years in following up the opportunities of war, and outdistanced when events swept along at high speed. For Sertorius attacked him recklessly and in robber fashion, and by his ambuscades and flanking movements confounded a man who was practised in regular contests only, and commanded immobile and heavy-armed troops.¹ Pompey, therefore, who kept his army under his command, tried to get himself sent out to reinforce Metellus, and although Catulus ordered him to disband his soldiers, he would not do so, but remained under arms near the city, ever making some excuse or other, until the senate gave him the command, on motion of Lucius Philippus. On this occasion, too, they say that a certain senator asked with amazement if Philippus thought it necessary to send Pompey out as pro-consul. "No indeed!" said Philippus, "but as pro-consuls," implying that both the consuls of that year were good for nothing.

XVIII. When Pompey arrived in Spain,² the reputation of a new commander produced the usual results; he transformed the men of Metellus with fresh hopes, and those nations which were not very firmly leagued with Sertorius began to be restless and change sides. Thereupon Sertorius disseminated haughty speeches against Pompey, and scoffingly said he should have needed but a cane and whip for this boy, were he not in fear of that old woman, meaning Metellus.³ In fact, however, he kept very close watch on Pompey, and was afraid of him, and

¹ Cf. the *Sertorius*, xii. 5.

² In 76 B.C.

³ Cf. the *Sertorius*, xix. 6.

δεδοικῶς τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀσφαλέστερον ἐστρατήγει. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μέτελλος, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν τις ᾤηθη, διετέθρυπτο τῷ βίῳ κομιδῇ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐνδεδωκῶς, καὶ μεγάλη τις εἰς ὄγκον καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξαίφνης ἐγεγόνει μεταβολὴ περὶ αὐτόν, ὥστε τῷ Πομπήϊῳ καὶ τοῦτο θαυμαστὴν εὐνοίαν ἅμα δόξῃ φέρειν, ἐπιτείνουντι τὴν εὐτέλειαν τῆς διαίτης οὐ πολλῆς ἐπιτηδεύσεως δεομένην· φύσει γὰρ ἦν σῶφρων καὶ τεταγμένος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

- 3 Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου πολλὰς ιδέας ἔχοντος, ἠΐσασε
 μάλιστα τὸν Πομπήϊον ἢ Λαύρωνος ἄλωσις ὑπὸ 628
 Σερτωρίου. κυκλοῦσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οἰηθεὶς καί
 τι μεγαληγορήσας, αὐτὸς ἐξαίφνης ἀνεφάνη περι-
 εχόμενος κύκλῳ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κινεῖσθαι δεδιὼς
 ἐπέιδε καταπιμπραμένην τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ παρόν-
 τος. Ἐρέννιον δὲ καὶ Περπένναν, ἄνδρας ἡγε-
 μονικοὺς τῶν πρὸς Σερτώριον καταπεφευγόντων
 καὶ στρατηγούντων ἐκείνῳ, νικήσας περὶ Οὐαλεν-
 τίαν ὑπὲρ μυρίους ἀπέκτεινεν.

- XIX. Ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ τῇ πράξει καὶ μέγα φρο-
 νῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔσπευδε Σερτώριον, ὡς μὴ μετά-
 σχοι τῆς νίκης Μέτελλος. περὶ δὲ Σούκρωνι
 ποταμῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη τελευτώσης συνέβαλον
 τὰς δυνάμεις, δεδιότες ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Μέτελλον,
 2 ὁ μὲν ὡς μόνος, ὁ δὲ ὡς μόνῳ διαγωνίσαιτο. τὸ
 μὲν οὖν τέλος ἀμφίδοξον ἔσχεν ὁ ἀγών· ἐκατέρου
 γὰρ θάτερον κέρας ἐνίκησε· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν
 πλεόν ἠνέγκατο Σερτώριος· ἐτρέψατο γὰρ τὸ

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therefore conducted his campaign with more caution. For Metellus, contrary to all expectation, had become luxurious in his way of living and had given himself up completely to his pleasures; in fact, there had been all at once a great change in him towards pomp and extravagance,¹ so that this circumstance also brought Pompey an astonishing goodwill, and enhanced his reputation, since he always maintained that simplicity in his habits which cost him no great effort; for he was naturally temperate and orderly in his desires.

The war had many phases, but what most vexed Pompey was the capture of Lauron by Sertorius. For when he supposed that his enemy was surrounded, and had made some boasts about it, all of a sudden it turned out that he was himself completely enveloped. He was therefore afraid to stir, and had to look on while the city was burned before his eyes.² However, near Valentia he conquered Herennius and Perpenna, men of military experience among the refugees with Sertorius, and generals under him, and slew more than ten thousand of their men.

XIX. Elated by this achievement and full of pride, he made all haste to attack Sertorius himself, that Metellus might not share in the victory. By the river Sucro, though it was now late in the day, they joined battle, both fearing the arrival of Metellus; the one wished to fight alone, the other wished to have only one antagonist. Well, then, the struggle had a doubtful issue, for one wing on each side was victorious; but of the generals, Sertorius bore away the more honour, for he put to

¹ Cf. the *Sertorius*, xiii. 1 f.

² Cf. the *Sertorius*, chapter xviii.

- καθ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνος ἀντιταχθείς. Πομπηΐῳ δὲ ἀνὴρ μέγας ἰππότη πεζὸς ἐφώρμησε· συμπεσόντων δ' εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ γενομένων ἐν λαβαῖς ἀπέσκηψαν αἱ πληγαὶ τῶν ξιφῶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοῖν, οὐχ ὁμοίως· ἐτρώθη μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πομπηΐος
- 3 μόνον, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπέκοψε τὴν χεῖρα. πλειόνων δὲ συνδραμόντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἤδη τῆς τροπῆς γεγενημένης, ἀνελπίστως διέφυγε, προέμενος τὸν ἵππον τοῖς πολεμίοις φάλαρα χρυσᾶ καὶ κόσμον ἄξιον πολλοῦ περικείμενον. ταῦτα γὰρ διανεμόμενοι καὶ περὶ τούτων μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
- 4 ἀπελείφθησαν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα παρετάξαντο μὲν ἀμφότεροι πάλιν ἐκβεβαιούμενοι τὸ νίκημα, Μετέλλου δὲ προσιόντος ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ Σερτώριος σκεδασθέντι τῷ στρατῷ. τοιαῦται γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ διαλύσεις καὶ πάλιν συνδρομαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὥστε πολλάκις μόνον πλανᾶσθαι τὸν Σερτώριον, πολλάκις δὲ αὖθις ἐπιέναι μυριάσι πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιᾶς, ὥσπερ χειμάρρουν ἐξαίφνης πιμπλάμενον.
- 5 Ὁ δ' οὖν Πομπηΐος, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπήντα τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν ὑφεῖναι τὰς ῥάβδους, θεραπεύων ὡς προὔχοντα τιμῇ τὸν Μέτελλον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεκώλυσε καὶ τὰλλα χρηστὸς ἦν ἀνὴρ περὶ αὐτόν, οὐδὲν ὡς ὑπατικῷ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέμων ἑαυτῷ πλέον, ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ σύνθημα κοινῇ στρατοπεδεύοντων εἰς ἅπαντας ἐξεπέμπετο παρὰ Μετέλλου· τὰ πολλὰ δὲ χωρὶς ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.
- 6 διέκοπτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ διῆστη ποικίλος ὦν ὁ

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flight the enemy in front of his position. But Pompey, who was on horseback, was attacked by a tall man who fought on foot; when they came to close quarters and were at grips, the strokes of their swords fell upon each other's hands, but not with like result, for Pompey was merely wounded, whereas he lopped off the hand of his opponent. Then, when more foes rushed upon him together, his troops being now routed, he made his escape, contrary to all expectation, by abandoning to the enemy his horse, which had golden head-gear and ornamented trappings of great value. They fought with one another over the division of these spoils, and so were left behind in the pursuit.¹ At break of day, however, both generals drew up their forces again to make the victory assured, but on the approach of Metellus, Sertorius retired and his army dispersed. His men were accustomed to scatter in this way, and then to come together again, so that often Sertorius wandered about alone, and often took the field again with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, like a winter torrent suddenly swollen.

Pompey, then, when he went to meet Metellus after the battle and they were near each other, ordered his lictors to lower their fasces, out of deference to Metellus as his superior in rank. But Metellus would not allow this, and in all other ways was considerate of him, not assuming any superiority as a man of consular rank and the elder, except that when they shared the same camp the watchword was given out to all from the tent of Metellus; but for the most part they encamped apart. For their versatile enemy used to cut off their communications

¹ Cf. the *Sertorius*, xix. 4.

πολέμιος καὶ δεινὸς ἐν βραχεὶ πολλαχοῦ περιφανῆναι καὶ μεταγαγεῖν ἀπ' ἄλλων εἰς ἄλλους ἀγῶνας. τέλος δὲ περικόπτων μὲν ἀγοράς, ληϊζόμενος δὲ τὴν χώραν, ἐπικρατῶν δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐξέβαλεν ἀμφοτέρους τῆς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν Ἰβηρίας, ἀναγκασθέντας εἰς ἀλλοτρίας καταφυγεῖν ἐπαρχίας ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

XX. Πομπηῖος δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ιδίων ἐξανηλωκὼς καὶ κατακεχρημένος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ᾗτει χρήματα τὴν σύγκλητον, ὡς ἀφιζόμενος εἰς Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰ μὴ πέμποιεν. ὑπατεύων δὲ Λεύκολλος τότε καὶ Πομπητῶ μὲν ὦν διάφορος, μνῶμενος δ' ἑαυτῷ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, ἔσπευσεν ἀποσταλῆναι τὰ χρήματα, φοβούμενος αἰτίαν Πομπητῶ παρασχεῖν δεομένῳ Σερτώριον ἀφεῖναι καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην τραπέσθαι, λαμπρὸν μὲν εἰς δόξαν, εὐμεταχείριστον δὲ
 2 φαινόμενον ἀνταγωνιστήν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ θνήσκει Σερτώριος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων δολοφονηθείς· ὦν Περπέννας ὁ κορυφαιότατος ἐπεχείρησεν ἐκείνῳ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν ὀρμώμενος δυνάμεων καὶ παρασκευῶν, τὸν δὲ χρώμενον αὐταῖς ὁμοίως οὐκ ἔχων λογισμόν. εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Πομπηῖος ἐπέξελθὼν καὶ ῥεμβόμενον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν Περπένναν καταμαθὼν, δέλεαρ αὐτῷ
 629 δέκα σπείρας ὑφῆκεν, εἰς τὸ πεδίου διασπαρῆναι
 3 κελεύσας. τραπομένου δὲ πρὸς ταύτας ἐκείνου καὶ διώκοντος, ἄθρους ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ συνάψας μάχην ἐκράτησε πάντων. καὶ διεφθάρησαν οἱ

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and separate them, and showed great skill in appearing in many places within a short time, and in drawing them from one contest into another. And finally, by cutting off their supplies, plundering the country, and getting control of the sea, he drove both of them out of that part of Spain which was under him, and forced them to take refuge in other provinces for lack of provisions.¹

XX. When Pompey had exhausted most of his private resources and spent them on the war, he asked money of the senate, threatening to come back to Italy with his army if they did not send it. Lucullus was consul at this time, and was not on good terms with Pompey, but since he was soliciting the conduct of the Mithridatic war for himself, made great efforts to have the money sent,² for fear of furthering Pompey's desire to let Sertorius go, and march against Mithridates, an antagonist whose subjection, as it was thought, would bring great glory and involve little difficulty. But in the meantime Sertorius was treacherously killed by his friends,³ and Perpenna, the ringleader among them, attempted to carry on his work. He had indeed the same forces and equipment, but lacked equal judgement in the use of them. Accordingly, Pompey took the field against him at once, and perceiving that he had no fixed plan of campaign, sent out ten cohorts as a decoy for him, giving them orders to scatter at random over the plain. Perpenna attacked these cohorts, and was engaged in their pursuit, when Pompey appeared in force, joined battle, and won a complete victory. Most of Perpenna's officers

¹ Cf. the *Sertorius*, chapter xxi.

² Cf. the *Lucullus*, v. 2 f.

³ In 72 B.C., two years after Lucullus had set out against Mithridates.

πλείστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· τὸν δὲ Περπένναν ἀχθέντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκ ἀχάριστος οὐδ' ἀμνήμων γενόμενος τῶν περὶ Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἔνιοι, μεγάλη δὲ διανοία
 4 καὶ σωτηρίῳ τῶν ὅλων γνώμῃ χρησάμενος. ὁ γὰρ Περπέννας τῶν Σερτωρίου γραμμάτων γε-
 γονὼς κύριος ἐδείκνυνεν ἐπιστολὰς τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὰ παρόντα κινῆσαι
 βουλόμενοι πράγματα καὶ μεταστήσαι τὴν πολι-
 τείαν ἐκάλουν τὸν Σερτώριον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.
 φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Πομπήϊος ταῦτα, μὴ μείζονας
 ἀναστήσῃ τῶν πεπαυμένων πολέμων, τὸν τε Περ-
 πένναν ἀνείλε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οὐδ' ἀναγνούς
 κατέκαυσεν.

XXI. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου παραμείνας χρόνον ὅσον
 τὰς μεγίστας κατασβέσαι ταραχὰς καὶ τὰ
 φλεγμαίνοντα μάλιστα καταστήσαι καὶ διαλύσαι
 τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπῆγεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρα-
 τόν, ἀκμάζοντι τῷ δουλικῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ τύχην
 φερόμενος. διὸ καὶ Κράσσος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἠπειξε
 παραβόλως τὴν μάχην, καὶ κατευτύχησε, δισχι-
 2 λίους τριακοσίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις κτείνας. οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ τὸν Πομπήϊον εἰσποιοῦσης
 ἀμῶς γέ πως τῷ κατορθώματι τῆς τύχης, πεντα-
 κισχίλιοι φεύγοντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐνέπεσον εἰς
 αὐτόν, οὓς ἅπαντας διαφθείρας, ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν
 σύγκλητον ὑποφθάσας ὡς Κράσσος μὲν ἐκ παρα-
 τάξεως νενίκηκε τοὺς μονομάχους, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν
 πόλεμον ἐκ ῥιζῶν παντάπασιν ἀνῆρκε. καὶ

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perished in the battle, but Perpenna himself was brought before Pompey, who ordered him to be put to death. In this he did not show ingratitude, nor that he was unmindful of what had happened in Sicily,¹ as some allege against him, but exercised great forethought and salutary judgement for the commonwealth. For Perpenna, who had come into possession of the papers of Sertorius, offered to produce letters from the chief men at Rome, who had desired to subvert the existing order and change the form of government, and had therefore invited Sertorius into Italy. Pompey, therefore, fearing that this might stir up greater wars than those now ended, put Perpenna to death and burned the letters without even reading them.

XXI. After this, he remained in Spain long enough to quell the greatest disorders and compose and settle such affairs as were in the most inflammatory state; then he led his army back to Italy, where, as chance would have it, he found the servile war at its height. For this reason, too, Crassus, who had the command in that war, precipitated the battle at great hazard, and was successful, killing twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Even in this success, however, fortune somehow or other included Pompey, since five thousand fugitives from the battle fell in his way, all of whom he slew, and then stole a march on Crassus by writing to the senate that Crassus had conquered the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that he himself had extirpated the war entirely.²

¹ Cf. chapter x. 2, where there is nothing to imply that Perpenna put Pompey under obligations to him, except that he made no resistance.

² Cf. the *Crassus*, xi. 7.

ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἦν δι' εὐνοίαν ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ λέγειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. Ἰβηρίαν δὲ καὶ Σερτώριον οὐδὲ παίζων ἄν τις εἶπεν ἐτέρου καὶ μὴ Πομπηίου τὸ πᾶν ἔργον εἶναι.

- 3 Ἐν τοσαύτῃ δὲ τιμῇ καὶ προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁμῶς ἐνῆν καὶ ὑποψία τις καὶ δέος, ὥς οὐ προησομένου τὸ στράτευμα, βαδιουμένου δὲ δι' ὀπλων καὶ μοναρχίας ἀντικρυς ἐπὶ τὴν Σύλλα πολιτείαν. ὅθεν οὐκ ἐλάττονες ἦσαν τῶν δι' εὐνοίαν τρεχόντων καὶ φιλοφρονουμένων καθ'
- 4 ὁδὸν οἱ φόβῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἀνείλε τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Πομπηΐος προειπὼν ἀφήσειν τὸ στράτευμα μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον, ἐν αἰτιάσθαι τοῖς βασκαίνουσι περιῆν ὑπόλοιπον, ὅτι τῷ δήμῳ προσνέμει μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν ἢ τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ τὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἀξίωμα, Σύλλα καταβαλόντος, ἔγνωκεν ἀνιστάναι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι
- 5 τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐτινος ἐμμανέστερον ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἡράσθη δῆμος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπόθησεν ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐθις ἐπιδεῖν ἐκείνην, ὥστε καὶ Πομπηϊὸν εὐτύχημα ποιεῖσθαι μέγα τὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος καιρόν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν εὐρόντα χάριν ἄλλην ἢ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀμείψεται τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰ ταύτῃ ἕτερος προέλαβε.

XXII. Ψηφισθέντος οὖν αὐτῷ δευτέρου θριάμβου καὶ ὑπατείας οὐ διὰ ταῦτα θαυμαστὸς ἐδόκει

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And it was agreeable to the Romans to hear this said and to repeat it, so kindly did they feel towards him ; while as for Spain and Sertorius, there was no one who would have said, even in jest, that the entire work of their subjugation was performed by any one else than Pompey.

Nevertheless, mingled with the great honour shown the man and the great expectations cherished of him, there was also considerable suspicion and fear ; men said he would not disband his army, but would make his way by force of arms and absolute power straight to the polity of Sulla. Wherefore those who ran out and greeted him on his way, out of their goodwill, were no more numerous than those who did it out of fear. But Pompey soon removed this suspicion also by declaring that he would disband his army after his triumph. Then there remained but one accusation for envious tongues to make, namely, that he devoted himself more to the people than to the senate, and had determined to restore the authority of the tribunate, which Sulla had overthrown, and to court the favour of the many ; which was true. For there was nothing on which the Roman people had more frantically set their affections, or for which they had a greater yearning, than to behold that office again. Pompey therefore regarded it as a great good fortune that he had the opportunity for this political measure, since he could have found no other favour with which to repay the goodwill of his fellow-citizens, if another had anticipated him in this.

XXII. Accordingly, a second triumph was decreed him,¹ and the consulship. It was not on this account, however, that men thought him admirable

¹ In 71 B.C.

- καὶ μέγας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τεκμήριον ἐποιοῦντο τῆς λαμπρότητος, ὅτι Κράσσος, ἀνὴρ τῶν τότε πολυτενομένων πλουσιώτατος καὶ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν καὶ μέγιστος, αὐτόν τε Πομπήϊον ὑπερφρονῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν ὑπατεῖαν μετιέναι πρότερον ἢ Πομπηίου δεσθῆναι.
- 2 καὶ μέντοι Πομπηῖος ἠγάπησε, πάλαι δεόμενος χρείας τινὸς ὑπάρξαι καὶ φιλανθρωπίας πρὸς αὐτόν· ὥστε καὶ δεξιούσθαι προθύμως καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὸν δῆμον, ἐπαγγελλόμενος χάριν ἔξειν οὐκ ἐλάττονα τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς.
- 3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀποδειχθέντες ὕπατοι διεφέροντο πάντα καὶ προσέκρουον ἀλλήλοισ· καὶ ἐν μὲν 630 τῇ βουλῇ μᾶλλον ἴσχυεν ὁ Κράσσος, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μέγα τὸ Πομπηίου κράτος ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἀπέδωκε τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰς δίκας περιεῖδεν αὐθις εἰς τοὺς ἰππέας νόμῳ μεταφερομένας. ἥδιστον δὲ θέαμα τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχευ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν στρατεῖαν παραιτούμενος.
- 4 Ἔθος γάρ ἐστι Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἰππεύσιν, ὅταν στρατεύσωνται τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἄγειν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὸν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας οὓς τιμητὰς καλοῦσι, καὶ καταριθμησαμένους τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων ἕκαστον ὑφ' οἷς ἐστρατεύσαντο, καὶ δόντας εὐθύνας τῆς στρατείας ἀφίεσθαι. νέμεται δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ ἀτιμία προσήκουσα τοῖς βίοις ἐκάστων.
- 5 Τότε δὴ προεκάθηντο μὲν οἱ τιμηταὶ Γέλλιος καὶ Λέντλος ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ πάροδος ἦν τῶν

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and great, nay, they considered this circumstance a proof of his splendid distinction, that Crassus, the richest statesman of his time, the ablest speaker, and the greatest man, who looked down on Pompey himself and everybody else, had not the courage to sue for the consulship until he had asked the support of Pompey. Pompey, moreover, was delighted, since he had long wanted an opportunity of doing him some service and kindness, and therefore granted his request readily and solicited the people in his behalf, announcing that he should be no less grateful to them for such a colleague than for the consulship. Notwithstanding, after they had been elected consuls, they differed on all points, and were constantly in collision.¹ In the senate, Crassus had more weight; but among the people the power of Pompey was great. For he gave them back their tribunate, and suffered the courts of justice to be transferred again to the knights by law.² But the most agreeable of all spectacles was that which he afforded the people when he appeared in person and solicited his discharge from military service.

It is customary for a Roman knight, when he has served for the time fixed by law, to lead his horse into the forum before the two men who are called censors, and after enumerating all the generals and imperators under whom he has served, and rendering an account of his service in the field, to receive his discharge. Honours and penalties are also awarded, according to the career of each.

At this time, then, the censors Gellius and Lentulus were sitting in state, and the knights were

¹ Cf. the *Crassus*, xii. 1 f.

² By a law passed in the time of Sulla, only senators were eligible as judges.

ἱππέων ἐξεταζομένων, ὥφθη δὲ Πομπηΐος ἄνωθεν ἐπ' ἀγορὰν κατερχόμενος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχων, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἄγων τὸν ἵππον. ὥς δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν καὶ καταφανῆς ἐγεγόνει, κελεύσας διασχεῖν τοὺς ῥαβδοφόρους τῷ βήματι
 6 προσήγαγε τὸν ἵππον. ἦν δὲ τῷ δῆμῳ θαῦμα καὶ σιωπὴ πᾶσα, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας αἰδῶς ἅμα καὶ χαρὰ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἔσχεν. εἶτα ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἠρώτησε· “Πυνθάνομαι σου, ὦ Πομπηΐε Μάγνε, εἰ πάσας ἐστράτευσαι τὰς κατὰ νόμον στρατείας;” Πομπηΐος δὲ μεγάλη φωνῇ, “Πάσας,” εἶπεν, “ἐστράτευμαι, καὶ πάσας ὑπ' ἑμαυτῷ αὐτοκράτορι.” τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ δῆμος ἐξέκραγε, καὶ κατασχεῖν οὐκέτι τὴν βοὴν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες οἱ τιμηταὶ προέπεμπον αὐτὸν οἴκαδε, χαριζόμενοι τοῖς πολίταις ἐπομένοις καὶ κροτοῦσιν.

XXIII. Ἦδη δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς περαινομένης τῷ Πομπηΐῳ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς Κράσσον αὐξομένης διαφορᾶς, Γαῖός τις Αὐρήλιος, ἀξιώμα μὲν ἱππικὸν ἔχων, βίῳ δὲ ἀπράγμονι κεχρημένος, ἐκκλησίας οὐσης ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ προσελθὼν ἔφη κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ τὸν Δία φανῆναι, κελεύοντα τοῖς ὑπάτοις φράσαι μὴ πρότερον ἀποθέσθαι
 2 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ φίλους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Πομπηΐος ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν ἐστῶς, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἀρξάμενος δεξιούσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, “Οὐδέν,” εἶπεν, “οἶμαι ποιεῖν ἀγεννὲς οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, ὦ πολῖται, Πομπηΐῳ πρότερος ἐνδιδούς, ὃν ὑμεῖς μήπω μὲν γενειῶντα Μέγαν ἠξιώσατε καλεῖν, μήπω δὲ μετέχοντι βουλῆς ἐψηφίσασθε δύο θριάμβους.” ἐκ τούτου διαλλαγέντες ἀπέθεντο τὴν ἀρχήν.

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passing in review before them, when Pompey was seen coming down the descent into the forum, otherwise marked by the insignia of his office, but leading his horse with his own hand. When he was near and could be plainly seen, he ordered his lictors to make way for him, and led his horse up to the tribunal. The people were astonished and kept perfect silence, and the magistrates were awed and delighted at the sight. Then the senior censor put the question: "Pompeius Magnus, I ask thee whether thou hast performed all the military services required by law?" Then Pompey said with a loud voice: "I have performed them all, and all under myself as imperator." On hearing this, the people gave a loud shout, and it was no longer possible to check their cries of joy, but the censors rose up and accompanied Pompey to his home, thus gratifying the citizens, who followed with applause.

XXIII. When Pompey's term of office was now about to expire, and his differences with Crassus were increasing, a certain Caius Aurelius, who, though belonging to the equestrian order, had never meddled in public affairs, ascended the rostra at an assembly of the people, and came forward to say that Jupiter had appeared to him in his sleep, bidding him tell the consuls not to lay down their office before they had become friends. After these words had been said, Pompey stood motionless, but Crassus took the initiative, clasped his hand and greeted him, and then said: "I think I do nothing ignoble or mean, my fellow-citizens, in yielding first to Pompey, whom you were pleased to call Magnus when he was still beardless, and to whom you decreed two triumphs before he was a senator." Upon this, they were reconciled, and afterwards laid down their office.¹

¹ Cf. the *Crassus*, xii. 3 f.

- 3 Καὶ Κράσσος μὲν ὄνπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴλετο
τρόπον τοῦ βίου διεφύλαττε, Πομπηίος δὲ τὰς
τε πολλὰς ἀνεδύετο συνηγορίας καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν
κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπέλειπε καὶ προῆι σπανίως εἰς τὸ
δημόσιον, αἰεὶ δὲ μετὰ πλήθους. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἔτι
ῥάδιον ὄχλου χωρὶς ἐντυχεῖν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν αὐτόν,
ἀλλ' ἡδιστος ὁμοῦ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀθρόοις ἐφαίνετο,
σεμνότητα περιβαλλόμενος ἐκ τούτου τῇ ὄψει
καὶ ὄγκῳ, ταῖς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἐντεύξεσι καὶ
4 συνηθείαις ἄθικτον οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα δια-
τηρεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν ἱματίῳ βίος ἐπισφαλῆς ἐστὶ
πρὸς ἀδοξίαν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων μεγάλοις καὶ
πρὸς ἰσότητά δημοτικὴν ἀσυμμέτροις· αὐτοὶ μὲν
γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρωτεύειν, ὡς ἐκεῖ, δικαιοῦσι,
τοῖς δὲ ἐκεῖ φερομένοις ἔλαττον ἐνταῦθα γοῦν
μὴ πλέον ἔχειν οὐκ ἀνεκτόν ἐστι. διὸ τὸν ἐν
στρατοπέδοις καὶ θριάμβοις λαμπρόν, ὅταν ἐν
ἀγορᾷ λάβωσιν, ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιοῦνται καὶ κατα-
βάλλουσι, τῷ δὲ ἀπολεγομένῳ καὶ ὑποχωροῦντι
τὴν ἐκεῖ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἀνεπίφθονον φυλάττου-
σιν. ἐδήλωσε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα μέτ' ὀλίγον
χρόνον.

- XXIV. Ἡ γὰρ πειρατικὴ δύναμις ὠρμήθη μὲν
ἐκ Κιλικίας τὸ πρῶτον, ἀρχὴν παράβολον λα-
βοῦσα καὶ λανθάνουσαν, φρόνημα δὲ καὶ τόλμαν
ἔσχεν ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ, χρήσασα ταῖς
2 βασιλικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις αὐτήν. εἴτα Ῥωμαίων 631
ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις περὶ θύρας τῆς Ῥώμης
συμπεσόντων, ἔρημος οὖσα φρουρᾶς ἢ θάλασσα
κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐφείλκετο καὶ προῆγεν,

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Now, Crassus continued the manner of life which he had chosen at the outset; but Pompey ceased his frequent appearances as an advocate, gradually forsook the forum, rarely shewed himself in public, and when he did, it was always with a retinue of followers. In fact, it was no longer easy to meet him or even to see him without a throng around him, but he took the greatest pleasure in making his appearance attended by large crowds, encompassing his presence thus with majesty and pomp, and thinking that he must keep his dignity free from contact and familiar association with the multitude. For life in the robes of peace has a dangerous tendency to diminish the reputation of those whom war has made great and ill suited for democratic equality. Such men claim that precedence in the city also which they have in the field, while those who achieve less distinction in the field feel it to be intolerable if in the city at any rate they have no advantage. Therefore when the people find a man active in the forum who has shone in camps and triumphs, they depress and humiliate him, but when he renounces and withdraws from such activity, they leave his military reputation and power untouched by their envy. How true this is, events themselves soon showed.

XXIV. The power of the pirates had its seat in Cilicia at first, and at the outset it was venturesome and elusive; but it took on confidence and boldness during the Mithridatic war,¹ because it lent itself to the king's service. Then, while the Romans were embroiled in civil wars at the gates of Rome, the sea was left unguarded, and gradually drew and enticed them on until they no longer attacked navi-

¹ 88-85, 83-81, 74 B.C.

- οὐκέτι τοῖς πλέουσι μόνον ἐπιτιθεμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ νήσους καὶ πόλεις παραλίους ἐκκόπτοντας. ἤδη δὲ καὶ χρήμασι δυνατοὶ καὶ γένεσι λαμπροὶ καὶ τὸ¹ φρονεῖν ἀξιούμενοι διαφέρειν ἄνδρες ἐνέβαινον εἰς τὰ ληστρικὰ καὶ μετείχον, ὥς καὶ δόξαν τινὰ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἔργου φέροντος.
- 3 ἦν δὲ καὶ ναύσταθμα πολλαχόθι πειρατικὰ καὶ φρυκτώρια τετειχισμένα, καὶ στόλοι προσέπιπτον οὐ πληρωμάτων μόνον εὐανδρίαις οὐδὲ τέχναις κυβερνητῶν οὐδὲ τάχεσι νεῶν καὶ κουφότησιν ἐξησκημένοι πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φοβεροῦ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὸ ἐπίφθονον ἐλύπει καὶ ὑπερήφανον, στυλίσιν χρυσαῖς καὶ παραπετάσματος ἀλουργοῖς καὶ πλάταις ἐπαργύροις, ὥσπερ ἐντροφύωντων τῷ κακουργεῖν καὶ καλλωπιζομένων.
- 4 αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ ψαλμοὶ καὶ μέθαι παρὰ πᾶσαν ἀκτὴν καὶ σωμάτων ἡγεμονικῶν ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων ἀπολυτρώσεις ὄνειδος ἦσαν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. ἐγένοντο δ' οὖν αἱ μὲν ληστρίδες νῆες ὑπὲρ χιλίας, αἱ δὲ ἀλοῦσαι πόλεις
- 5 ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετρακόσιαι. τῶν δὲ ἀσύλων καὶ ἀβάτων πρότερον ἱερῶν ἐξέκοψαν ἐπιόντες τὸ Κλάριον, τὸ Διδυμαῖον, τὸ Σαμοθράκιον, τὸν ἐν Ἑρμιόνη τῆς Χθονίας νεῶν καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ Καλαυρίᾳ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ καὶ Λευκάδι, τῆς δὲ Ἥρας τὸν ἐν Σάμφῳ, τὸν ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τὸν ἐπὶ Λακινίῳ. ξένας δὲ θυσίας ἔθνον αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ, καὶ τελετάς τινας ἀπορρήτους ἐτέλουν, ὧν ἡ τοῦ Μίθρου καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο διασώζεται καταδειχθεῖσα πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνων.

¹ τὸ Sintenis, with S&A ; Bekker, with inferior MSS., τῷ.

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gators only, but also laid waste islands and maritime cities. And presently men whose wealth gave them power, and those whose lineage was illustrious, and those who laid claim to superior intelligence, began to embark on piratical craft and share their enterprises, feeling that the occupation brought them a certain reputation and distinction. There were also fortified roadsteads and signal-stations for piratical craft in many places, and fleets put in here which were not merely furnished for their peculiar work with sturdy crews, skilful pilots, and light and speedy ships; nay, more annoying than the fear which they inspired was the odious extravagance of their equipment, with their gilded sails, and purple awnings, and silvered oars, as if they rioted in their iniquity and plumed themselves upon it. Their flutes and stringed instruments and drinking bouts along every coast, their seizures of persons in high command, and their ransomings of captured cities, were a disgrace to the Roman supremacy. For, you see, the ships of the pirates numbered more than a thousand, and the cities captured by them four hundred. Besides, they attacked and plundered places of refuge and sanctuaries hitherto inviolate, such as those of Claros, Didyma, and Samothrace; the temple of Chthonian Earth at Hermione; that of Asclepias in Epidaurus; those of Poseidon at the Isthmus, at Taenarum, and at Calauria; those of Apollo at Actium and Leucas; and those of Hera at Samos, at Argos, and at Lacinium. They also offered strange sacrifices of their own at Olympus,¹ and celebrated there certain secret rites, among which those of Mithras continue to the present time, having been first instituted by them.

¹ A town in southern Asia Minor, one of the strongholds of the pirates.

- 6 Πλείστα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐνυβρίσαντες, ἔτι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναβαίνοντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐλπίζοντο καὶ τὰς ἐγγὺς ἐπαύλεις ἐξέκοπτον. ἤρπασαν δέ ποτε καὶ στρατηγούς δύο Σεξτίλιον καὶ Βελλῖνον ἐν ταῖς περιπορφύροις, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἅμα καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους ὥχοντο σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἔχοντες. ἦλω δὲ καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀντωνίου, θριαμβικοῦ ἀνδρός, εἰς ἀγρὸν βαδίζουσα, καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπελυστρώθη.
- 7 ἐκείνο δὲ ἦν ὑβριστικώτατον. ὁπότε γάρ τις ἐάλωκὸς ἀναβοήσκει Ῥωμαῖος εἶναι καὶ τοῦνομα φράσειεν, ἐκπεπλήχθαι προσποιούμενοι καὶ δεδιέναι τοὺς τε μηρούς ἐπαίοντο καὶ προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ, συγγνώμην ἔχειν ἀντιβολοῦντες· ὁ δὲ ἐπείθετο ταπεινούς ὁρῶν καὶ δεομένους. ἐκ τούτου δὲ οἱ μὲν ὑπέδουν τοῖς καλκίοις αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ τήβεννον περιέβαλλον, ὡς δὴ μὴ πάλιν ἀγνοηθεῖη.
- 8 πολὺν δὲ χρόνον οὕτω κατειρωνευσάμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύσαντες τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος ἐν μέσῳ πελάγει κλίμακα προσβαλόντες ἐκέλευον ἐκβαίνειν καὶ ἀπιέναι χαίροντα, τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον ὠθοῦντες αὐτοὶ κατέδυνον.

XXV. Ἐπενείματο δὲ ἡ δύναμις αὕτη πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τι τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν, ὥστε ἄπλουν καὶ ἄβατον ἐμπορίᾳ πάσῃ γενέσθαι. τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐπέστρεψε, θλιβομένους τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ σπάνιν μεγάλην προσδοκῶντας, ἐκπέμψαι Πομπήϊον ἀφαιρεσόμενον τῶν πειρατῶν

2 τὴν θάλασσαν. ἔγραψε δὲ Γαβίνιος, εἰς τῶν Πομπηίου συνήθων, νόμον οὐ ναυαρχίαν, ἀντικρυς δὲ μοναρχίαν αὐτῷ διδόντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνυπεύθυνον. ἐδίδου γὰρ

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But they heaped most insults upon the Romans, even going up from the sea along their roads and plundering there, and sacking the neighbouring villas. Once, too, they seized two praetors, Sextilius and Bellinus, in their purple-edged robes, and carried them away, together with their attendants and lictors. They also captured a daughter of Antonius, a man who had celebrated a triumph, as she was going into the country, and exacted a large ransom for her. But their crowning insolence was this. Whenever a captive cried out that he was a Roman and gave his name, they would pretend to be frightened out of their senses, and would smite their thighs, and fall down before him entreating him to pardon them ; and he would be convinced of their sincerity, seeing them so humbly suppliant. Then some would put Roman boots on his feet, and others would throw a toga round him, in order, forsooth, that there might be no mistake about him again. And after thus mocking the man for a long time and getting their fill of amusement from him, at last they would let down a ladder in mid ocean and bid him disembark and go on his way rejoicing ; and if he did not wish to go, they would push him overboard themselves and drown him.

XXV. This power extended its operations over the whole of our Mediterranean Sea, making it unnavigable and closed to all commerce. This was what most of all inclined the Romans, who were hard put to it to get provisions and expected a great scarcity, to send out Pompey with a commission to take the sea away from the pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey's intimates, drew up a law which gave him, not an admiralty, but an out-and-out monarchy and irresponsible power over all men. For the law

- ἀρχειν ὁ νόμος αὐτῷ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων
στηλῶν θαλάσσης, ἡπείρου δὲ πάσης ἐπὶ στα-
δίους τετρακοσίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ
πάνυ πολλὰ χωρία τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένης
τὸ μέτρον ἐξέφυγεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν
καὶ τῶν βασιλέων οἱ δυνατώτατοι περιλαμβά-
3 νοντο. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐλέσθαι πεντεκαίδεκα 632
πρεσβευτὰς αὐτὸν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος
ἡγεμονίας, χρήματα δὲ λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν τα-
μείων καὶ παρὰ τῶν τελωνῶν ὅσα βούλοιο καὶ
ναῦς διακοσίας, κύριον ὄντα πλήθους καὶ κατα-
λόγου στρατιᾶς καὶ πληρωμάτων ἐρετικῶν.
- Ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὑπερ-
φυῶς ἐδέξατο, τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου τοῖς μεγίστοις
καὶ δυνατωτάτοις ἔδοξε μῆζον μὲν φθόνου, φόβου
δὲ ἄξιον εἶναι τὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπερίληπτον καὶ
4 ἀόριστον. ὅθεν ἐνίσταντο τῷ νόμῳ, πλὴν Καί-
σαρος· οὗτος δὲ συνηγόρει τῷ νόμῳ, Πομπηίου
μὲν ἐλάχιστα φροντίζων, ὑποδύμενος δὲ τὸν
δῆμον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἑαυτῷ καὶ κτώμενος. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
τοῦ Πομπηίου σφοδρῶς καθήπτοντο. καὶ τῶν
μὲν ὑπάτων ἄτερος, εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι Ῥω-
μύλον ζηλῶν οὐ φεύξεται ταῦτόν ἐκείνῳ τέλος,
ἐκινδύνευσεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους διαφθαρῆναι·
- 5 Κάτλου δὲ κατὰ τοῦ νόμου προσελθόντος, πολλὴν
μὲν αἰδούμενος ὁ δῆμος ἡσυχίαν παρείχεν, ἐπεὶ
δὲ πολλὰ μετὰ τιμῆς ἀνεπιφθόνως ὑπὲρ τοῦ
Πομπηίου διελθὼν συνεβούλευε φείδεσθαι καὶ
μὴ προβάλλειν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα κινδύνους ἐπαλ-



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gave him dominion over the sea this side of the pillars of Hercules, and over all the mainland to the distance of four hundred furlongs from the sea. These limits included almost all places in the Roman world, and the greatest nations and most powerful kings were comprised within them. Besides this, he was empowered to choose fifteen legates from the senate for the several principalities, and to take from the public treasuries and the tax-collectors as much money as he wished, and to have two hundred ships, with full power over the number and levying of soldiers and oarsmen.

When these provisions of the law were read in the assembly,¹ the people received them with excessive pleasure, but the chief and most influential men of the senate thought that such unlimited and absolute power, while it was beyond the reach of envy, was yet a thing to be feared. Therefore they all opposed the law, with the exception of Caesar; he advocated the law, not because he cared in the least for Pompey, but because from the outset he sought to ingratiate himself with the people and win their support. The rest vehemently attacked Pompey. And when one of the consuls told him that if he emulated Romulus,² he was near being torn in pieces by the multitude. Moreover, when Catulus came forward to speak against the law the people had regard enough for him to be quiet for some time; but after he had spoken at length in Pompey's praise and without any disparagement of him, and then counselled the people to spare such a man and

¹ In 67 B.C., Pompey being then thirty-nine years old.

² That is, he would be mysteriously put out of the way. Cf. the *Romulus*, chapter xxvii.

λήλοις καὶ πολέμοις, “Ἡ τίνα,” εἶπεν, “ἔξετε ἄλλον, ἂν ἀπολέσητε τοῦτον;” ἐκ μᾶς γνώμης 6 ὑπεφώνησαν ἅπαντες, “Σὲ αὐτόν.” ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάτλος, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀπέστη· Ῥωσκίου δὲ προσελθόντος οὐδεὶς ἤκουσεν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς δακτύλοις διεσήμεναι μὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ δεύτερον αἰρεῖσθαι Πομπήϊον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγεται δυσχεράναντα τὸν δῆμον τηλικούτου ἀνακραγεῖν ὥστε ὑπερπετό- 7 μενον κόρακα τῆς ἀγορᾶς τυφωθῆναι καὶ κατα- πέσειν εἰς τὸν ὄχλον. ὅθεν οὐ δοκεῖ ρήξει τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ διασπασμῷ κενὸν πολὺ λαμβάνοντος ἐνολισθαίνειν τὰ πίπτοντα τῶν ὀρνέων, ἀλλὰ τυπτόμενα τῇ πληγῇ τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι σάλον καὶ κύμα ποιήσῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ φερομένη.

XXVI. Τότε μὲν οὖν διελύθησαν· ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν ψῆφον ἐποιεῖν ἔμελλον, ὑπεξῆλθεν ὁ Πομπήϊος εἰς ἀγρόν. ἀκούσας δὲ κεκυρῶσθαι τὸν νόμον εἰσῆλθε νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐπιφθό- νου τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπαντήσεως καὶ συνδρομῆς ἐσομένης. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα προελθὼν ἔθυσεν καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας αὐτῷ, διεπράξατο προσ- λαβεῖν ἕτερα πολλὰ τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις ἤδη, 2 μικροῦ διπλασιάσας τὴν παρασκευήν. πεντα- κόσιαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ νῆες ἐπληρώθησαν, ὅπλι- τῶν δὲ μυριάδες δώδεκα καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς ἡθροίσθησαν. ἡγεμονικοὶ δὲ καὶ στρα- τηγικοὶ κατελέγησαν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἄνδρες εἰκο- σιτέσσαρες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, δύο δὲ ταμίαι παρήσαν. αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ τῶν ὀνίων εὐθὺς πεσοῦσαι λόγον



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not expose him to successive wars and perils, asking, "Whom else will you have if you lose him?" all with one accord replied, "Thyself." Catulus, accordingly, since he could not persuade them, retired; but when Roscius came forward to speak, no one would listen to him. He therefore made signs with his fingers that they should not choose Pompey alone to this command, but give him a colleague. At this, we are told, the people were incensed and gave forth such a shout that a raven flying over the forum was stunned by it and fell down into the throng. From this it appears that such falling of birds is not due to a rupture and division of the air wherein a great vacuum is produced, but that they are struck by the blow of the voice, which raises a surge and billow in the air when it is borne aloft loud and strong.

XXVI. For the time being, then, the assembly was dissolved; but when the day came for the vote upon the law, Pompey withdrew privately into the country. On hearing, however, that the law had been passed, he entered the city by night, feeling that he was sure to awaken envy if the people thronged to meet him. But when day came, he appeared in public and offered sacrifice, and at an assembly held for him he managed to get many other things besides those already voted, and almost doubled his armament. For five hundred ships were manned for him, and a hundred and twenty thousand men-at-arms and five thousand horsemen were raised. Twenty-four men who had held command or served as praetors were chosen from the senate by him, and he had two quaestors. And since the prices of provisions immediately fell, the people

ἡδομένῳ τῷ δήμῳ παρείχον, ὥς αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου λέλυκε τὸν πόλεμον.

- 3 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ διελὼν τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὸ διάστημα τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης εἰς μέρη τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ νεῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἄρχοντα τάξας, ἅμα πανταχοῦ τῇ δυνάμει σκεδασθείσῃ τὰ μὲν ἐμπίπτοντα τῶν πειρατικῶν ἀθρόα περιλαμβάνων εὐθὺς ἐξεθηράτο καὶ κατήγεν· οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες διαλυθῆναι καὶ διεκπεσόντες ὥσπερ εἰς σμήνος ἐδύοντο πανταχόθεν καταφερόμενοι τὴν Κιλικίαν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτὸς ἐστέλλετο ναὺς ἔχων ἐξήκοντα τὰς
- 4 ἀρίστας. οὐ μὴν πρότερον ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐξέπλευσεν ἢ παντάπασι καθῆραι τῶν αὐτόθι ληστηρίων τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος, τὸ Λιβυκόν, τὸ περὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρνον καὶ Σικελίαν, ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ταῖς πάσαις, αὐτῷ τε χρώμενος ἀτρύτῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς προθύμοις.

XXVII. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ τοῦ ὑπάτου Πείσωνος ὀργῇ καὶ φθόνῳ λυμαινομένου τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ διαλύοντος τὰ πληρώματα, τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν εἰς Βρεντέσιον περιέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ Τυρ- 633 ρηνίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέβαινεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ πάντες ἐξεχύθησαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ὥσπερ οὐ πρὸ

2 ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἐκπέμψαντες αὐτόν. ἐποίει δὲ τὴν χαρὰν τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς τάχος, ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀφθονίαν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐχούσης. ὅθεν ὁ Πείσων ἐκινδύνευσεν τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, Γαβινίου νόμον ἔχοντος ἤδη συγγεγραμμένον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο διεκώλυσεν ὁ Πομπηίος, καὶ τὰλλα χρηματίσας ἐπιεικῶς καὶ διαπραξά-



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were moved to say in their joy that the very name of Pompey had put an end to the war.

However, he divided the waters and the adjacent coasts¹ of the Mediterranean Sea into thirteen districts, and assigned to each a certain number of ships with a commander, and with his forces thus scattered in all quarters he encompassed whole fleets of piratical ships that fell in his way, and straight-way hunted them down and brought them into port; others succeeded in dispersing and escaping, and sought their hive, as it were, hurrying from all quarters into Cilicia. Against these Pompey intended to proceed in person with his sixty best ships. He did not, however, sail against them until he had entirely cleared of their pirates the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Libyan Sea, and the sea about Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, in forty days all told. This was owing to his own tireless energy and the zeal of his lieutenants.

XXVII. But the consul Piso at Rome, out of wrath and envy, was interfering with Pompey's equipment and discharging his crews; Pompey therefore sent his fleet round to Brundisium, while he himself went up by way of Tuscany to Rome. On learning of this, the citizens all streamed out into the road, just as if they had not escorted him forth only a few days before. What caused their joy was the unhopd for rapidity of the change, the market being now filled to overflowing with provisions. As a consequence Piso came near being deprived of his consulship, and Gabinius had the requisite law already written out. But Pompey prevented this, as well as other hostile acts, and after arranging everything else in a reasonable manner and getting

¹ Cf. chapter xxv. 2

3 μενος ὧν ἐδεῖτο, καταβὰς εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἐξέ-
πλευσεν. ἐπειγόμενος δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ παρα-
πλέων τὰς πόλεις ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ὅμως οὐ παρήλθε
τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ
προσαγορεύσας τὸν δῆμον εὐθύς ἀπιὼν ἀνεγί-
νωσκεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένα μονόστιχα, τὸ
μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς πύλης·

Ἐφ' ὅσον ὧν ἄνθρωπος οἶδας, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰ
θεός·

τὸ δ' ἐκτός·

Προσεδοκῶμεν, προσεκυνούμεν, εἶδομεν, προ-
πέμπομεν.

4 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν συνεστώτων ἔτι καὶ πλανωμένων ἔξω
πειρατηρίων ἐνίοις δεηθεῖσιν ἐπιεικῶς ἐχρήσατο
καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τὰ σώματα κακὸν
οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἐπ' ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς οἱ λοιποὶ
γενόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους διέφευγον ἡγεμόνας,
Πομπηΐῳ δὲ φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τέκνων καὶ
γυναικῶν ἐνεχείριζον. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἐφείδετο,
καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τούτων τοὺς ἔτι λανθάνοντας
ἐξιχνεύων καὶ λαμβάνων ἐκόλαζεν ὥς αὐτοὺς
ἑαυτοῖς ἀνήκεστα συνειδότας.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι
γενεὰς μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὸν ἄχρηστον
ὄχλον ἐν φρουρίοις καὶ πολίσμασι καρτεροῖς
περὶ τὸν Ταῦρον εἶχον ἀποκείμενα, τὰς δὲ ναῦς
πληρώσαντες αὐτοὶ περὶ τὸ Κορακήσιον τῆς
Κιλικίας ἐπιπλέοντα τὸν Πομπηΐον ἐδέξαντο·
καὶ μάχης γενομένης νικηθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο.
τέλος δὲ πέμψαντες ἱκετηρίας παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς
καὶ πόλεις καὶ νήσους ὧν ἐπεκράτουν ἐντειχι-

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what he wanted, went down to Brundisium and set sail. But though his immediate business was urgent and he sailed past other cities in his haste, still, he could not pass Athens by, but went up into the city, sacrificed to the gods, and addressed the people. Just as he was leaving the city, he read two inscriptions, each of a single verse, addressed to him, one inside the gate :—

“ As thou knowest thou art mortal, in so far thou art
a god ; ”

and the other outside :—

“ We awaited, we saluted, we have seen, and now
conduct thee forth.”

Some of the pirate bands that were still roving at large begged for mercy, and since he treated them humanely, and after seizing their ships and persons did them no further harm, the rest became hopeful of mercy too, and made their escape from the other commanders, betook themselves to Pompey with their wives and children, and surrendered to him. All these he spared, and it was chiefly by their aid that he tracked down, seized, and punished those who were still lurking in concealment because conscious of unpardonable crimes.

XXVIII. But the most numerous and powerful had bestowed their families and treasures and useless folk in forts and strong citadels near the Taurus mountains, while they themselves manned their ships and awaited Pompey's attack near the promontory of Coracesium in Cilicia; here they were defeated in a battle and then besieged. At last, however, they sent suppliant messages and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands of which they were in control; these they

σάμενοι, χαλεπὰς βιασθῆναι καὶ δυσπροσπελά-
 2 στους. κατελύθη μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ τὰ
 πανταχοῦ ληστήρια τῆς θαλάσσης ἐξέπεσεν οὐκ
 ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ τριῶν μηνῶν, ναῦς δὲ πολλὰς
 μὲν ἄλλας, ἐνενήκοντα δὲ χαλκεμβόλους παρέ-
 λαβεν. αὐτοὺς δὲ δισμυρίων πλείονας γενομένους
 ἀνελεῖν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐβουλεύσατο, μεθεῖναι δὲ καὶ
 περιῦδεῖν σκεδασθέντας ἢ συστάντας αὐθις,
 ἀπόρους καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς¹ ὄντας, οὐκ
 3 ὤφετο καλῶς ἔχειν. ἐννοήσας οὖν ὅτι φύσει μὲν
 ἄνθρωπος οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτ' ἔστιν ἀνήμερον ζῶον
 οὐδ' ἄμικτον, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται τῇ κακίᾳ παρὰ
 φύσιν χρώμενος, ἔθεσι δὲ καὶ τόπων καὶ βίῳ
 μεταβολαῖς ἐξημεροῦται, καὶ θηρία δὲ² διαίτης
 κοινωνοῦντα πραοτέρας ἐκδύεται τὸ ἄγριον καὶ
 χαλεπόν, ἔγνω τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς γῆν μεταφέρειν
 ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ βίου γεύειν ἐπιεικοῦς, συν-
 4 εθισθέντας ἐν πόλεσιν οἰκεῖν καὶ γεωργεῖν. ἐνίοις
 μὲν οὖν αἱ μικραὶ καὶ ὑπέρημοι τῶν Κιλικίων
 πόλεις ἐδέξαντο καὶ κατέμιξαν ἑαυταῖς χώραν
 προσλαβοῦσαι, τὴν δὲ Σολίων ἡρημωμένην ἑναγ-
 χος ὑπὸ Τιγράνου τοῦ Ἀρμενίων βασιλέως
 ἀναλαβὼν ἵδρυσε πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. τοῖς δὲ
 πολλοῖς οἰκητήριον ἔδωκε Δύμην τὴν Ἀχαΐδα,
 χηρεύουσαν ἀνδρῶν τότε, γῆν δὲ πολλὴν καὶ
 ἀγαθὴν ἔχουσαν.

XXIX. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ βασκαίνοντες ἔψεγον·
 τοῖς δὲ περὶ Κρήτην πραχθεῖσι πρὸς Μέτελλον
 οὐδ' οἱ πάνυ φιλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἔχαιρον. ὁ γὰρ

¹ καὶ πολλοὺς Coraës and Bekker, with S^c: τοὺς πολλοὺς
 after Stephanus (*most of them being, etc.*).

² δὲ supplied, after Emperius; Bekker has ὅπου καὶ θηρία,
 after Coraës.

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had fortified, making them hard to get at and difficult to take by storm. The war was therefore brought to an end and all piracy driven from the sea in less than three months, and besides many other ships, Pompey received in surrender ninety which had brazen beaks. The men themselves, who were more than twenty thousand in number, he did not once think of putting to death; and yet to let them go and suffer them to disperse or band together again, poor, warlike, and numerous as they were, he thought was not well. Reflecting, therefore, that by nature man neither is nor becomes a wild or an unsocial creature, but is transformed by the unnatural practice of vice, whereas he may be softened by new customs and a change of place and life; also that even wild beasts put off their fierce and savage ways when they partake of a gentler mode of life, he determined to transfer the men from the sea to land, and let them have a taste of gentle life by being accustomed to dwell in cities and to till the ground. Some of them, therefore, were received and incorporated into the small and half-deserted cities of Cilicia, which acquired additional territory; and after restoring the city of Soli, which had lately been devastated by Tigranes, the king of Armenia, Pompey settled many there. To most of them, however, he gave as a residence Dyme in Achaea, which was then bereft of men and had much good land.

XXIX. Well, then, his maligners found fault with these measures, and even his best friends were not pleased with his treatment of Metellus in Crete.

- Μέτελλος, οἰκείος ὦν ἐκείνου τοῦ συνάρξαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τῷ Πομπητῷ, στρατηγὸς εἰς Κρήτην ἐπέμφθη πρότερον ἢ τὸν Πομπήϊον αἰρεθῆναι· δευτέρα γάρ τις ἦν αὕτη τῶν πειρατηρίων πηγή μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ· καὶ πολλοὺς ἐγκαταλαβὼν
- 2 ὁ Μέτελλος ἐξήρει καὶ διέφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ περιόντες 634 ἔτι καὶ πολιορκούμενοι πέμψαντες ἱκετηρίαν ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν Πομπήϊον εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ὡς τῆς ἐκείνου μέρος οὔσαν ἀρχῆς καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐμπίπτουσαν εἰς τὸ μέτρον τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος ἔγραφε τῷ Μετέλλῳ κωλύων τὸν πόλεμον. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι μὴ προσέχειν Μετέλλῳ, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψε τῶν ὑφ'
- 3 ἑαυτὸν ἀρχόντων ἓνα Λεύκιον Ὀκταοῦιον, δς συνεισελθὼν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ μαχόμενος μετ' αὐτῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐπαχθῆ καὶ βαρύν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγέλαστον ἐποίει τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἀνθρώποις ἀνοσίοις καὶ ἀθέοις τοῦνομα κιχράντα καὶ περιάπτοντα τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ὥσπερ ἀλεξιφάρμακον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας
- 4 τῆς πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ποιεῖν ἀνδρὸς ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεираκίου παντάπασιν ἐμπλήκτου καὶ σεσοβημένου πρὸς δόξαν, ἀνανεύοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ διακωλύοντα βάλλειν Ἐκτορα,

Μή τις κῦδος ἄροιτο βαλὼν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔλθοι·

- 5 Πομπήϊον δὲ καὶ σώζειν ὑπερμαχοῦντα τῶν κοινῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν θρίαμβον ἀφελέσθαι στρατηγοῦ πολλὰ πεπονηκότος. οὐ μὴν ἐνέδω-
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Metellus, a kinsman of the Metellus who was a colleague of Pompey in Spain, had been sent as general to Crete before Pompey was chosen to his command; for Crete was a kind of second source for pirates, next to Cilicia. Metellus hemmed in many of them and was killing and destroying them. But those who still survived and were besieged sent suppliant messages to Pompey and invited him into the island, alleging that it was a part of his government, and that all parts of it were within the limit to be measured from the sea.¹ Pompey accepted the invitation and wrote to Metellus putting a stop to his war. He also wrote the cities not to pay any attention to Metellus, and sent them one of his own officers as general, namely, Lucius Octavius, who entered the strongholds of the besieged pirates and fought on their side, thus making Pompey not only odious and oppressive, but actually ridiculous, since he lent his name to godless miscreants, and threw around them the mantle of his reputation to serve like a charm against evil, through envy and jealousy of Metellus. For not even Achilles played the part of a man, men said, but that of a youth wholly crazed and frantic in his quest of glory, when he made a sign to the rest which prevented them from smiting Hector,

“Lest some one else win honour by the blow, and he come only second”;²

whereas Pompey actually fought in behalf of the common enemy and saved their lives, that he might rob of his triumph a general who had toiled hard to win it. Metellus, however, would not give in,

¹ Cf. chapter xxv. 2. ² *Iliad*, xxii. 207.

κεν ὁ Μέτελλος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε πειρατὰς ἐξελὼν ἐτιμωρήσατο, καὶ τὸν Ὀκταοῦιον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καθυβρίσας καὶ λοιδορήσας ἀφῆκεν.

- XXX. Ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην πέρας ἔχειν τὸν πειρατικὸν πόλεμον καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντα τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐπέρχεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, γράφει νόμον εἰς τῶν δημάρχων Μάλλιος, ὅσης Λεύκολλος ἄρχει χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως, Πομπήϊον παραλαβόντα πᾶσαν, προσλαβόντα δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίαν, ἣν ἔχει Γλαβρίων, πολεμεῖν Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ Τιγράνῃ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' οἷς ἔλαβεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐφ' ἐνὶ συλλήβδην γενέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν· ὧν γὰρ ἐδόκει μόνων ἐπαρχιῶν μὴ ἐφικνεῖσθαι τῷ προτέρῳ νόμῳ, Φρυγίας, Λυκαονίας, Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίας, Κιλικίας, τῆς ἄνω Κολχίδος, Ἀρμενίας, αὗται προσετίθεντο μετὰ στρατοπέδων καὶ δυνάμεων αἷς Λεύκολλος κατεπολέμησε Μιθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην. ἀλλὰ Λευκόλλου μὲν ἀποστερουμένου τὴν δόξαν ὧν κατειργάσατο καὶ θριάμβου μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμου διαδοχὴν λαμβάνοντος, ἥττων λόγος ἦν τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς, καίπερ οἰομένοις ἄδικα καὶ ἀχάριστα πᾶσχειν τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τοῦ Πομπηίου βαρέως φέροντες ὥς τυραννίδα καθισταμένην, ἰδίᾳ παρεκάλουν καὶ παρεθάρρυνον αὐτοὺς ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ νόμου καὶ μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

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but captured the pirates and punished them, and then sent Octavius away after insulting and abusing him before the army.

XXX. When word was brought to Rome that the war against the pirates was at an end, and that Pompey, now at leisure, was visiting the cities, Manlius,¹ one of the popular tribunes, proposed a law giving Pompey all the country and forces which Lucullus commanded, with the addition, too, of Bithynia, which Glabrio² had, and the commission to wage war upon Mithridates and Tigranes, the kings, retaining also his naval force and his dominion over the sea as he had originally received them. But this meant the placing of the Roman supremacy entirely in the hands of one man; for the only provinces which were held to be excluded from his sway by the former law, namely, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Upper Colchis, and Armenia, these were now added to it, together with the military forces which Lucullus had used in his conquest of Mithridates and Tigranes. But though Lucullus was thus robbed of the glory of his achievements, and was receiving a successor who would enjoy his triumph rather than prosecute the war,³ this was of less concern to the aristocratic party, although they did think that the man was unjustly and thanklessly treated; they were, however, displeased at the power given to Pompey, which they regarded as establishing a tyranny, and privately exhorted and encouraged one another to attack the law, and not to surrender their freedom. But when

¹ More correctly, Manilius. The Manilian law was passed in 66 B.C. Cf. the oration of Cicero *Pro Lege Manilia*.

² Glabrio, consul in 67 B.C., had been sent out to supersede Lucullus.

³ Cf. the *Lucullus*, xxxv. 7.

4 ἐνσtάντος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ, τὸν δῆμον φοβηθέντες
ἐξέλιπον καὶ κατεσιώπησαν οἱ λοιποὶ, Κάτλος
δὲ τοῦ νόμου πολλὰ κατηγορήσας καὶ τοῦ δη-
μάρχου, μηδένα δὲ πείθων, ἐκέλευε τὴν βουλὴν
ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κεκραγῶς πολλάκις ὄρος ζητεῖν,
ὥσπερ οἱ πρόγονοι, καὶ κρημνόν, ὅπου κατα-
5 φυγοῦσα διασώσει τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. ἐκυρώθη δ'
οὖν ὁ νόμος, ὡς λέγουσι, πάσαις ταῖς φυλαῖς, καὶ
κύριος ἀποδέδεικτο μὴ παρὼν ὁ Πομπήϊος ἀπάν-
των σχεδὸν ὧν ὁ Σύλλας ὅπλοις καὶ πολέμῳ τῆς
πόλεως κρατήσας. αὐτὸς δὲ δεξάμενος τὰ γράμ-
ματα καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ δεδογμένα, τῶν φίλων
παρόντων καὶ συνηδομένων, τὰς ὁφρὺς λέγεται
συναγαγεῖν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν πατάξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν
ὡς ἂν βαρυνόμενος ἤδη καὶ δυσχεραίνων τὸ ἄρ-
6 χεῖν. “Φεῦ τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἄθλων, ὡς ἄρα κρεῖττον
ἦν ἓνα τῶν ἀδόξων γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴδέποτε παύ-
σομαι στρατευόμενος μὴδὲ τὸν φθόνον τοῦτον
ἐκδὺς ἐν ἀγρῷ διαιτῆσομαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικός.” 635
ἐφ’ οἷς λεγομένοις οὐδ’ οἱ πάνν συνήθεις ἔφερον
αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρωνείαν, γινώσκοντες ὅτι τῆς ἐμφύτου
φιλοτιμίας καὶ φιλαρχίας ὑπέκκαυμα τὴν πρὸς
Λεύκολλον ἔχων διαφορὰν μειζόνως ἔχαιρεν.

XXXI. Ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔργα ταχέως αὐτὸν
ἀπεκάλυπτε. πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἐκτιθεὶς διαγράμ-
ματα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ μετεπέμ-
πετο τοὺς ὑπηκόους δυνάστας καὶ βασιλεῖς ὡς
ἑαυτόν. ἐπιὼν τε τὴν χώραν οὐδὲν ἀκίνητον εἶα
τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου γεγονότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ

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the time came, their hearts failed them through fear of the people, and all held their peace except Catulus; he denounced the law at great length and the tribune who proposed it, and when none of the people would listen to him, he called out in loud tones from the rostra urging the senate again and again to seek out a mountain, as their forefathers had done,¹ or a lofty rock, whither they might fly for refuge and preserve their freedom. But still the law was passed by all the tribes, as we are told, and Pompey, in his absence, was proclaimed master of almost all the powers which Sulla had exercised after subduing the city in armed warfare. Pompey himself, however, on receiving his letters and learning what had been decreed, while his friends surrounded him with their congratulations, frowned, we are told, smote his thigh, and said, in the tone of one who was already oppressed and burdened with command: "Alas for my endless tasks! How much better it were to be an unknown man, if I am never to cease from military service, and cannot lay aside this load of envy and spend my time in the country with my wife!" As he said this, even his intimate friends could not abide his dissimulation; they knew that his enmity towards Lucullus gave fuel to his innate ambition and love of power, and made him all the more delighted.

XXXI. And certainly his actions soon unmasked him. For he sent out edicts in all directions calling the soldiers to his standard, and summoned the subject potentates and kings into his presence. Moreover, as he traversed the country, he left nothing undisturbed that Lucullus had done, but

¹ In reference to the secession of the plebs to Mons Sacer. See the *Coriolanus*, chapter vi.

- κολάσεις ἀνῆκε πολλοῖς καὶ δωρεὰς ἀφείλετο καὶ πάντα ὅλως ἔπραττεν ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸν ἄνδρα φιλονεικῶν τοῖς θαυμάζουσιν οὐδενὸς ὄντα κύριον.
- 2 ἐγκαλοῦντος δ' ἐκείνου διὰ τῶν φίλων, ἔδοξε συνελθεῖν εἰς ταῦτό· καὶ συνήλθον περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν. οἷα δὲ μεγίστων στρατηγῶν καὶ μέγιστα κατωρθωκότων δάφναις ἀνεστεμμένας ἔχοντες ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους οἱ ὑπηρέται ἀπήντων· ἀλλὰ Λεύκολλος μὲν ἐκ τόπων χλοερῶν καὶ κατασκήνων προσήει, Πομπήϊος δὲ πολλὴν ἄδενδρον καὶ κατεψυγμένην ἔτυχε διεληλυθώς.
- 3 ἰδόντες οὖν οἱ τοῦ Λευκόλλου ῥαβδοφόροι τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰς δάφνας ἀθαλλεῖς καὶ μεμαραμμένας παντάπασιν, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσφάτων οὐσῶν μεταδιδόντες ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ κατέστεψαν τὰς ἐκείνου ῥάβδους. ὃ σημεῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τοῦ τὰ Λευκόλλου νικητήρια καὶ τὴν δόξαν οἰσόμενον ἔρχεσθαι Πομπήϊον. ἦν δὲ Λεύκολλος μὲν ἐν ὑπατείᾳ τε τάξει καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν πρεσβύτερος, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου μείζον ἀξίωμα τοῖς δυσὶ θριάμβοις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔντευξιν ὥς ἐνῆν μάλιστα πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἐποίησαντο, μεγαλύνοντες ἀλλήλων τὰ ἔργα καὶ συνηδόμενοι τοῖς κατορθώμασιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόγοις πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐπιεικές οὐδὲ μέτριον συμβάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ λοιδορήσαντες, ὁ μὲν εἰς φιλαργυρίαν τὸν Λεύκολλον, ὁ δὲ εἰς φιλαρχίαν ἐκείνον, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων μόλις διελύθησαν.
- 5 Καὶ Λεύκολλος μὲν ἐν Γαλατία διέγραψε χώρας τῆς αἰχμαλώτου καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλας οἷς ἐβούλετο, Πομπήϊος δὲ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω στρατοπεδεύσας ἐκώλυε προσέχειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας

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remitted punishments in many cases, and took away rewards, and did everything, in a word, with an eager desire to shew the admirers of that general that he was wholly without power. Lucullus expostulated through his friends, and it was decided that they should have a meeting; they met, therefore, in Galatia. And since both were very great and very successful generals, their lictors had their rods alike wreathed with laurel when they met; but Lucullus was advancing from green and shady regions, while Pompey chanced to have made a long march through a parched and treeless country. Accordingly, when the lictors of Lucullus saw that Pompey's laurels were withered and altogether faded, they took some of their own, which were fresh, and with them wreathed and decorated his rods. This was held to be a sign that Pompey was coming to rob Lucullus of the fruits of his victories and of his glory. Now, Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was older than he; but Pompey's two triumphs gave him a greater dignity. At first, however, their interview was conducted with all possible civility and friendliness, each magnifying the other's exploits and congratulating him on his successes; but in the conferences which followed they could come to no fair or reasonable agreement, nay, they actually abused each other, Pompey charging Lucullus with love of money, and Lucullus charging Pompey with love of power, and they were with difficulty separated by their friends.

Furthermore, Lucullus, remaining in Galatia, assigned parts of the conquered territory and made other gifts to whom he pleased; while Pompey, encamped at a little distance from him, tried to prevent any attention to his commands, and took away all

- ἅπαντας ἀφείλετο πλὴν χιλίων ἑξακοσίων, οὓς ἐνόμιζεν ὑπ' αὐθαδείας ἀχρήστους μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ
- 6 Λευκόλλῳ δὲ δυσμενεῖς εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διασύρων τὰ ἔργα ἐμφανῶς ἔλεγε τραγωδίαις καὶ σκιαγραφίαις πεπολεμηκέναι βασιλικάις τὸν Λεύκολλον, αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς ἀληθινὴν καὶ σεσωφρο-
νισμένην τὸν ἀγῶνα λείπεσθαι δύναμιν, εἰς θυ-
ρεοὺς καὶ ξίφη καὶ ἵππους Μιθριδάτου κατα-
φεύγοντος. ἀμυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Λεύκολλος εἰδὼλῳ
καὶ σκιᾷ πολέμου τὸν Πομπήϊον ἔφη μαχοῦμενον
βαδίζειν, εἰθισμένον ἀλλοτρίοις νεκροῖς, ὥσπερ
ὄρνιν ἀργόν, ἐπικαταίρειν καὶ λείψανα πολέμων
- 7 σπαράσσειν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιγράψαι Σερ-
τωρίῳ, Λεπίδῳ, τοῖς Σπαρτακέοις, τὰ μὲν Κράσ-
σου, τὰ δὲ Μετέλλου, τὰ δὲ Κάτλου κατωρθω-
κότος. ὅθεν οὐ θαυμάζειν εἰ τῶν Ἀρμενιакῶν
καὶ Ποντικῶν πολέμων ὑποβάλλεται τὴν δόξαν,
ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτὸν εἰς δραπετικὸν θρίαμβον ἀμῶς
γέ πως ἐμβαλεῖν μηχανησάμενος.

- XXXII. Ἐκ τούτου Λεύκολλος μὲν ἀπῆρε,
Πομπήϊος δὲ τῷ στόλῳ παντὶ τὴν μεταξὺ Φοινί-
κης καὶ Βοσπόρου θάλασσαν ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ δια-
λαβών, αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἔχοντα
τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς ἐν φάλαγγι καὶ δισχιλίους
- 2 ἵππεῖς, μάχεσθαι δὲ μὴ θαρροῦντα. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν αὐτοῦ καρτερόν ὄρος καὶ δύσμαχον, ἐν ᾧ
στρατοπεδεύων ἔτυχεν, ὥς ἄνδρον ἐκλιπόντος,
αὐτὸ τοῦτο κατασχὼν ὁ Πομπήϊος, καὶ τῇ φύσει
τῶν βλαστανόντων καὶ ταῖς συγκλινίαις τῶν
τόπων τεκμαιρόμενος ἔχειν πηγὰς τὸ χωρίον,

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his soldiers from him, except sixteen hundred, whose mutinous spirit made them, as he thought, useless to himself and hostile to Lucullus.¹ Besides this, he would belittle the achievements of Lucullus, declaring that he had waged war against mimic and shadowy kings only, while to himself there was now left the struggle against a real military force, and one disciplined by defeat, since Mithridates had now betaken himself to shields, swords, and horses. To this Lucullus retorted that Pompey was going forth to fight an image and shadow of war, following his custom of alighting, like a lazy carrion-bird, on bodies that others had killed, and tearing to pieces the scattered remnants of wars. For it was in this way that he had appropriated to himself the victories over Sertorius, Lepidus, and the followers of Spartacus, although they had actually been won by Metellus, Catulus, and Crassus. Therefore it was no wonder that he was trying to usurp the glory of the Pontic and Armenian wars, a man who had contrived to thrust himself in some way or other into the honour of a triumph for defeating runaway slaves.²

XXXII. After this, Lucullus withdrew from those parts, and Pompey, having distributed his whole fleet so as to guard the sea between Phoenicia and the Bosphorus, himself marched against Mithridates, who had a fighting force of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, but did not dare to offer battle. To begin with, the king was strongly encamped on a mountain which was difficult of assault, but abandoned it, supposing that it had no water. Pompey took possession of this very mountain, and judging by the nature of the vegetation and by the channels in the slopes that the place had springs, ordered his men to

¹ Cf. the *Lucullus*, xvi. 1-4.

² Cf. chapter xxi. 2.

ἐκέλευσεν ἐκβαλεῖν πανταχοῦ φρέατα. καὶ με-
 στὸν ἦν εὐθύς ὕδατος ἀφθόνου τὸ στρατόπεδον,
 ὥστε θαυμάζειν εἰ τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ τοῦτο Μιθρι-
 3 δάτης ἠγνόησεν. ἔπειτα περιστρατοπεδεύσας 636
 περιετείχιζεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταρά-
 κοντα πολιορκηθεὶς ἡμέρας ἔλαθεν ἀποδρὰς μετὰ
 τῆς ἐρρωμενεστάτης δυνάμεως, κτείνας τοὺς ἀχρή-
 στοὺς καὶ νοσοῦντας. εἶτα μέντοι περὶ τὸν
 Εὐφράτην καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήϊος παρε-
 στρατοπέδευσε· καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ φθάσῃ περάσας
 τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν ἐπήγεγν ὥπλι-
 4 σμένην τὴν στρατιάν· καθ' ὃν χρόνον λέγεται
 τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὄψιν ἐν ὕπνοις ἰδεῖν τὰ μέλ-
 λοντα προδηλοῦσαν. ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐρίῳ πνεύματι
 πλέων τὸ Ποντικὸν πέλαγος ἤδη Βόσπορον
 καθορᾶν καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς συμπλέοντας,
 ὥς ἂν τις ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ σαφεῖ καὶ βεβαίῳ χαίρων·
 ἄφνω δὲ ἀναφανῆναι πάντων ἔρημος ἐπὶ λεπτοῦ
 ναυαγίου διαφερόμενος. ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ αὐτὸν
 ὄντα πάθει καὶ φάσμασιν ἐπιστάντες ἀνέστη-
 5 σαν οἱ φίλοι, φράζοντες ἐπιέναι Πομπήϊον. ἦν
 οὖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης μαχητέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ
 προαγαγόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἔταξαν.
 αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Πομ-
 πήϊος ὤκνει κατὰ σκότος εἰς κίνδυνον ἐλθεῖν,
 καὶ κύκλῳ μόνον ὥετο δεῖν περιελαύνειν, ὅπως
 μὴ φεύγοιεν, ἡμέρας δὲ κρείττους ὄντας ἐπιχει-
 ρεῖν. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ταξιαρχῶν δεό-
 μενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἐξώρμησαν αὐτόν· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ σκότος ἦν παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ ἡ σελήνη

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sink wells everywhere. At once, then, his camp was abundantly supplied with water, and men wondered that in all the time of his encampment there Mithridates had been ignorant of this possibility. Next, he invested the king's camp and walled him in. But after enduring a siege of forty-five days, Mithridates succeeded in stealing off with his most effective troops; the sick and unserviceable he killed. Then, however, Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates river, and encamped close by; and fearing lest the king should get the advantage of him by crossing the Euphrates, he put his army in battle array and led it against him at midnight. At this time Mithridates is said to have seen a vision in his sleep, revealing what should come to pass. He dreamed that he was sailing the Pontic Sea with a fair wind, and was already in sight of the Bosphorus, and was greeting pleasantly his fellow-voyagers, as a man would do in his joy over a manifest and sure deliverance; but suddenly he saw himself bereft of all his companions and tossed about on a small piece of wreckage. As he dreamed of such distress, his friends came to his couch and roused him with the news that Pompey was advancing to the attack. He was therefore compelled to give battle in defence of his camp, and his generals led out their troops and put them in array. But when Pompey perceived their preparations to meet him, he hesitated to hazard matters in the dark, and thought it necessary merely to surround them, in order to prevent their escape, and then to attack them when it was day, since they were superior in numbers. But his oldest officers, by their entreaties and exhortations, prevailed upon him to attack at once; for it was not wholly dark, but the moon, which was setting, made it still possible

- καταφερομένη παρείχεν ἔτι τῶν σωμάτων ἱκανὴν ἔποψιν. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικούς
 6 ἔσφηλεν. ἐπήρσαν μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ νώτου τὴν σελήνην ἔχοντες· πεπιεσμένου δὲ περὶ τὰς δύοσεις τοῦ φωτός, αἱ σκιαὶ πολὺ τῶν σωμάτων ἔμπροσθεν προῖοῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέβαλλον, οὐ δυναμένοις τὸ διάστημα συνιδεῖν ἀκριβῶς· ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη γεγονότων τοὺς ὑσσοὺς ἀφέντες μάτην οὐδενὸς ἐφίκοντο.
 7 τοῦτο συνιδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐπέδραμον, καὶ μηκέτι μένειν τολμῶντας, ἀλλ' ἐκπεπληγμένους καὶ φεύγοντας ἔκτεινον, ὥστε πολὺ πλείονας μυρίων ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλῶναι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

- Αὐτὸς δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ὀκτακοσίους ἵππεῦσι διέκοψε καὶ διεξήλασε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων σκεδασθέντων ἀπελείφθη
 8 μετὰ τριῶν. ἐν οἷς ἦν Ὑψικράτεια παλλακίς, αἰεὶ μὲν ἀνδρώδης τις οὔσα καὶ παράτολμος· Ὑψικράτην γοῦν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλει· τότε δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἔχουσα Πέρσου στολὴν καὶ ἵππον οὔτε τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὰ μήκη τῶν δρόμων ἀπηγόρευσεν οὔτε θεραπεύουσα τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐξέκαμεν, ἄχρι ἤκον εἰς χωρίον Σίνωρα χρημάτων καὶ κειμηλίων βασιλικῶν
 9 μεστόν. ἐξ οὗ λαβὼν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐσθῆτας πολυτελεῖς διένειμε τοῖς συνδεδραμηκόσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐκάστῳ φορεῖν θανάσιμον φάρμακον, ὅπως ἄκων μηδεὶς ὑποχείριος γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐν-



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to distinguish persons clearly enough; indeed, it was this circumstance that brought most harm to the king's troops. For the Romans came to the attack with the moon at their backs, and since her light was close to the horizon, the shadows made by their bodies were thrown far in advance and fell upon the enemy, who were thus unable to estimate correctly the distance between themselves and their foes, but supposing that they were already at close quarters, they hurled their javelins to no purpose and hit nobody. The Romans, seeing this, charged upon them with loud cries, and when the enemy no longer ventured to stand their ground, but fled in panic fear, they cut them down, so that many more than ten thousand of them were slain, and their camp was captured.

Mithridates himself, however, at the outset, cut and charged his way through the Romans with eight hundred horsemen; but the rest were soon dispersed and he was left with three companions. One of these was Hypsicrateia, a concubine, who always displayed a right manly spirit and extravagant daring (for which reason the king was wont to call her Hypsicrates), and at this time, mounted and accoutred like a Persian, she was neither exhausted by the long journeys, nor did she weary of caring for the king's person and for his horse, until they came to a place called Sinora, which was full of the king's money and treasures. Thence Mithridates took costly raiment and distributed it to those who had flocked to him in his flight. He also gave each of his friends a deadly poison to carry with them, that no one of them might fall into the hands of the enemy against his will. From thence he set out

τεῦθεν ὥρμητο μὲν ἐπ' Ἀρμενίας πρὸς Τιγράνην, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπαγορεύοντος καὶ τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἐπικηρύξαντος αὐτῷ, παραμειψάμενος τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου διὰ τῆς Κολχίδος ἔφευγε.

- XXXIII. Πομπήϊος δὲ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐνέβαλε τοῦ νέου Τιγράνου καλοῦντος αὐτόν· ἤδη γὰρ ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πατρός, καὶ συνήντησε τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμόν, ὃς ἀνίσχει μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τόπων, ἀποτρεπόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς εἰς τὸ Κάσπιον ἐμβάλλει
- 2 πέλαγος. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προῆγον ἅμα τὰς πόλεις παραλαμβάνοντες· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Τιγράνης ἔναγχος μὲν ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου συντετριμμένος, ἡμερον δέ τινα τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ πρᾶον πυθόμενος εἶναι τὸν Πομπηίον, ἐδέξατο μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια φρουράν, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτὸς
- 3 ἐπορεύετο παραδώσων ἑαυτόν. ὥς δὲ ἦλθεν ἱπ- 637 πότης ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα, ῥαβδούχοι δύο τοῦ Πομπηίου προσελθόντες ἐκέλευσαν ἀποβῆναι τοῦ ἵππου καὶ πεζὸν ἐλθεῖν· οὐδένα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ἵππου καθεζόμενον ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῇ στρατοπέδῳ πώποτε ὀφθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα οὖν ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπείθετο καὶ τὸ ξίφος αὐτοῖς ἀπολυσάμενος παρεδίδου· καὶ τέλος, ὥς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθε τὸν Πομπηίον, ἀφελόμενος τὴν κίταριν ὥρμησε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν θείναι, καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτόν, αἰσχιστα δὴ πάντων, προσπεσεῖν αὐτοῦ τοῖς γόνασιν.
- 4 ἀλλ' ὁ Πομπηίος ἔφθη τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος προσαγαγέσθαι· καὶ πλησίον ἰδρυσάμενος ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐπὶ θάτερα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἔφησε δεῖν αἰτιᾶσθαι Λεύκολλον, ὑπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἀφηρηῆσθαι Συρίαν, Φοινίκην, Κιλικίαν, Γαλατίαν, Σωφηνήν, ἃ δὲ ἄχρι ἑαυτοῦ διατετήρηκεν,

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towards Armenia on his way to Tigranes ; but that monarch forbade his coming and proclaimed a reward of a hundred talents for his person ; he therefore passed by the sources of the Euphrates and continued his flight through Colchis.

XXXIII. Pompey then invaded Armenia on the invitation of young Tigranes, who was now in revolt from his father, and who met Pompey near the river Araxes, which takes its rise in the same regions as the Euphrates, but turns towards the east and empties into the Caspian Sea. These two, then, marched forward together, receiving the submission of the cities as they passed ; King Tigranes, however, who had recently been crushed by Lucullus, but now learned that Pompey was rather mild and gentle in his disposition, received a Roman garrison into his palace, and taking with him his friends and kindred, set out of his own accord to surrender himself. When he rode up to the Roman camp, two of Pompey's lictors came to him and bade him dismount from his horse and go on foot ; for no man mounted on horseback had ever been seen in a Roman camp. Tigranes, accordingly, not only obeyed them in this, but also unloosed his sword and gave it to them ; and finally, when he came into the presence of Pompey himself, he took off his royal tiara and made as if to lay it at his feet, and what was most humiliating of all, would have thrown himself down and clasped his knees in supplication. But before he could do this, Pompey caught him by the hand and drew him forward, and after giving him a seat near himself, and putting his son on the other side, told him that he must lay the rest of his losses to Lucullus, who had robbed him of Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene ; but that

ἔξειν ἐκτίσαντα ποινήν ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα
 Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἀδικίας, Σωφηνῆς δὲ βασιλεύσειν
 5 τὸν υἱόν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Τιγράνης ἡγάπησε,
 καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀσπασαμένων αὐτὸν βασιλέα
 περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἐπηγγείλατο στρατιώτῃ μὲν
 ἡμιμναῖον ἀργυρίου δώσειν, ἑκατοντάρχη δὲ μνᾶς
 δέκα, χιλιάρχῳ δὲ τάλαντον· ὁ δ' υἱὸς ἐδυσφόρει,
 καὶ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον οὐκ ἔφη Πομπηίου δεῖ-
 σθαι τοιαῦτα τιμῶντος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄλλον
 εὐρήσειν Ῥωμαίων. ἐκ τούτου δεθεὶς εἰς τὸν
 6 θρίαμβον ἐφυλάττετο. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον
 ἔπεμψε Φραάτης ὁ Πάρθος ἀπαιτῶν μὲν τὸν
 νεανίσκον, ὡς αὐτοῦ γαμβρόν, ἀξιῶν δὲ τῶν ἡγε-
 μονιῶν ὄρω χρήσθαι τῷ Εὐφράτῃ. Πομπηΐος δὲ
 ἀπεκρίνατο τὸν μὲν Τιγράνην τῷ πατρὶ μᾶλλον
 ἢ τῷ πενθερῷ προσήκειν, ὄρω δὲ χρήσεσθαι τῷ
 δικαίῳ.

XXXIV. Καταλιπὼν δὲ φρουρὸν Ἀρμενίας
 Ἀφράνιον αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῶν περιοικούντων τὸν
 Καύκασον ἔθνων ἀναγκαίως ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην. μέ-
 γιστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἔθνη¹ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρες,
 Ἰβηρες μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ Μοσχικὰ ὄρη καὶ τὸν Πόντον
 καθήκοντες, Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω καὶ τὴν
 2 Κασπίαν κεκλιμένοι θάλασσαν. οὗτοι πρῶτον
 μὲν αἰτοῦντι Πομπηίῳ δίοδον ἔδοσαν· χειμῶνος
 δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταλαβόντος καὶ
 τῆς Κρονικῆς ἑορτῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καθηκούσης·

¹ ἔθνη bracketed by Sintenis.

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what he had kept up to the present time he should continue to hold if he paid six thousand talents to the Romans as a penalty for his wrongdoing; and that his son should be king of Sophene. With these terms Tigranes was well pleased, and when the Romans hailed him as King, he was overjoyed, and promised to give each soldier half a mina of silver, to each centurion ten minas, and to each tribune a talent. But his son was dissatisfied, and when he was invited to supper, said that he was not dependent on Pompey for such honours, for he himself could find another Roman to bestow them. Upon this, he was put in chains and reserved for the triumph. Not long after this, Phraates the Parthian sent a demand for the young man, on the plea that he was his son-in-law, and a proposition that the Euphrates be adopted as a boundary between his empire and that of the Romans. Pompey replied that as for Tigranes, he belonged to his father more than to his father-in-law; and as for a boundary, the just one would be adopted.

XXXIV. Then leaving Afranius in charge of Armenia, Pompey himself proceeded against Mithridates,¹ and of necessity passed through the peoples dwelling about the Caucasus mountains. The greatest of these peoples are the Albanians and the Iberians, of whom the Iberians extend to the Moschian mountains and the Euxine Sea, while the Albanians lie to the eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. These latter at first granted Pompey's request for a free passage; but when winter had overtaken his army in their country and it was occupied in celebrating the Roman festival of the Saturnalia, they mustered no less than forty

¹ In 65 B.C.

γενόμενοι τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς, διαβάντες τὸν Κύρνον ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ὁρῶν ἀνιστάμενος καὶ δεχόμενος κατιόντα τὸν Ἀράξην ἀπ' Ἀρμενίας ἐξίησι δώ-
 3 δεκα στόμασιν εἰς τὸ Κάσπιον. οἱ δὲ οὐ φασι τούτῳ συμφέρεσθαι τὸν Ἀράξην, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἐγγὺς δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν εἰς ταὐτὸ πέλαγος. Πομπήϊος δέ, καίπερ ἐνστήναι δυνάμενος πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν τοῖς πολεμίοις, περιεῖδε διαβάντας καθ' ἡσυχίαν· εἶτα ἐπαγαγὼν ἐτρέ-
 4 ψατο καὶ διέφθειρε παμπληθεῖς. τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ δεηθέντι καὶ πέμψαντι πρέσβεις ἀφελὲς τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ σπείσάμενος, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰβηρας ἐβάδιζε, πλήθει μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττονας, μαχιμωτέρους δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων ὄντας, ἰσχυρῶς δὲ βουλομένους τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ διωθεῖσθαι τὸν Πομπήϊον.
 5 οὔτε γὰρ Μήδοις οὔτε Πέρσαις ὑπήκουσαν Ἰβηρες, διέφυγον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν, Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ ταχέων ἐκ τῆς Ἑρκανίας ἀπάραντος. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους μάχῃ μεγάλῃ τρεψάμενος ὁ Πομπήϊος, ὥστε ἀποθανεῖν μὲν ἑνακισχιλίους, ἀλῶναι δὲ πλείους μυρίων, εἰς τὴν Κολχικὴν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φᾶσιν αὐτῷ Σερουῖλιος ἀπήντησε, τὰς ναῦς ἔχων αἰς ἐφρούρει τὸν Πόντον.

XXXV. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Μιθριδάτου δίωξις ἐνδεδουκότος εἰς τὰ περὶ Βόσπορον ἔθνη καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ἀπορίας εἶχε μεγάλας· Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ αὐθις ἀφελῶντες αὐτῷ προσηγγέλθησαν. πρὸς οὓς ὑπ' 638 ὀργῆς καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐπιστρέψας τὸν τε Κύρνον μόλις καὶ παραβόλως πάλιν διεπέρασεν ἐπὶ πολὺν σταυροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκεχαρα-

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thousand men and made an attack upon it. To do this, they crossed the river Cynrus, which rises in the Iberian mountains, and receiving the Araxes as it issues from Armenia, empties itself by twelve mouths into the Caspian. Others say that the Araxes makes no junction with this stream, but takes a course of its own, and empties itself close by into the same sea. Although Pompey could have opposed the enemy's passage of the river, he suffered them to cross undisturbed; then he attacked them, routed them, and slew great numbers of them. When, however, their king sent envoys and begged for mercy, Pompey condoned his wrongdoing and made a treaty with him; then he marched against the Iberians, who were not less numerous than the others and more warlike, and had a strong desire to gratify Mithridates by repulsing Pompey. For the Iberians had not been subject either to the Medes or the Persians, and they escaped the Macedonian dominion also, since Alexander departed from Hyrcania in haste. Notwithstanding, Pompey routed this people also in a great battle, in which nine thousand of them were slain and more than ten thousand taken prisoners; then he invaded Colchis, where, at the river Phasis, Servilius met him, at the head of the fleet with which he was guarding the Euxine.

XXXV. Now, the pursuit of Mithridates, who had thrown himself among the peoples about the Bosphorus and the Maeotic Sea, was attended with great difficulties; besides, word was brought to Pompey that the Albanians had again revolted. Turning back against these in resentment and wrath, he crossed the Cynrus again with great difficulty and hazard, since the Barbarians had fenced off its banks with

- 2 κωμένον, καὶ μακρᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκδεχομένης ἀνύδρου καὶ ἀργαλέας ὁδοῦ, μυρίους ἀσκούς ὕδατος ἐμπλησάμενος ἤλυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ κατέλαβε πρὸς Ἀβαντι ποταμῷ παρατεταγμένους ἑξακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἵππεῖς ἐπὶ μυρίοις, ὥπλισμένους δὲ φαύλως καὶ δέρμασι θηρίων τοὺς πολλούς. ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν βασιλέως
- 3 ἀδελφὸς ὄνομα Κῶσις. οὗτος ἐν χειρὶ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον ὁρμήσας αὐτὸν ἔβαλεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θώρακος ἐπιπτυχὴν ἀκοντίσματι, Πομπήϊος δὲ ἐκείνον ἐκ χειρὸς διελάσας ἀνείλεν.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ λέγονται καὶ Ἀμαζόνες συναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θερμῶδοντα ποταμὸν ὄρων καταβᾶσαι. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην σκυλεύοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς βαρβάρους πέλταις Ἀμαζονικαῖς καὶ κοθόρνοις ἐνετύγχανον, σῶμα δὲ οὐδὲν ὥφθη γυναικείου.

4 νέμονται δὲ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὰ καθήκοντα πρὸς τὴν Ἑρκανίαν θάλασσαν, οὐχ ὁμοροῦσαι τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἀλλὰ Γέλαι καὶ Ἀῆγες οἰκοῦσι διὰ μέσον· καὶ τούτοις ἔτους ἐκάστου δύο μῆνας εἰς ταῦτὸ φοιτῶσαι περὶ τὸν Θερμῶδοντα ποταμὸν ὁμιλοῦσιν, εἴτα καθ' αὐτὰς ἀπαλλαγεῖσαι βιοτεύουσιν.

XXXVI. Ὁρμήσας δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρκανίαν καὶ Κασπίαν θάλασσαν, ὑπὸ πλήθους ἐρπετῶν θανάσιμων ἀπετράπη τριῶν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἀποσχών, εἰς δὲ τὴν

2 μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἑλυμαίων καὶ Μήδων βασιλεῖ πέμψασι πρέσβεις ἀντέγραψε φιλικῶς, τὸν δὲ Πάρθον, εἰς τὴν Γορδυηνὴν ἐμβεβληκότα καὶ περικόπτοντα τοὺς

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long stretches of palisades ; then, since he must make a long march through a waterless and difficult country, he ordered ten thousand skins to be filled with water, and with this provision advanced upon the enemy. He found them drawn up on the river Abas, sixty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, but wretchedly armed, and clad for the most part in the skins of wild beasts. They were led by a brother of the king, named Cosis, who, as soon as the fighting was at close quarters, rushed upon Pompey himself and smote him with a javelin on the fold of his breastplate ; but Pompey ran him through the body and killed him.

In this battle it is said that there were also Amazons fighting on the side of the Barbarians, and that they came down from the mountains about the river Thermodon. For when the Romans were despoiling the Barbarians after the battle, they came upon Amazonian shields and buskins ; but no body of a woman was seen. The Amazons inhabit the parts of the Caucasus mountains that reach down to the Hyrcanian Sea, and they do not border on the Albani, but Gelae and Leges dwell between. With these peoples, who meet them by the river Thermodon, they consort for two months every year ; then they go away and live by themselves.

XXXVI. After the battle, Pompey set out to march to the Hyrcanian and Caspian Sea, but was turned back by a multitude of deadly reptiles when he was only three days march distant, and withdrew into Lesser Armenia. Here the kings of the Elymaeans and the Medes sent ambassadors to him, and he wrote them a friendly answer ; but against the Parthian king, who had burst into Gordyene and was plundering the subjects of Tigranes, he sent

ὑπὸ Τιγράνῃ, πέμψας μετὰ Ἀφρανίου δύναμιν ἐξήλασε διωχθέντα μέχρι τῆς Ἀρβηλίτιδος.

- “Ὅσαι δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτου παλλακίδων ἀνήχθησαν, οὐδεμίαν ἔγνω, πάσας δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ οἰκείοις ἀνέπεμπε. ἦσαν γὰρ αἱ πολλαὶ θυγατέρες καὶ γυναῖκες στρατηγῶν καὶ δυναστῶν.
- 3 Στρατονίκη δέ, ἥ μέγιστον εἶχεν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ πολυχρυσότατον τῶν φρουρίων ἐφύλαττεν, ἦν μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε, ψάλτου τινὸς οὐχ εὐτυχοῦς τάλλα, πρεσβύτου δὲ θυγάτηρ, οὕτω δὲ εὐθύς εἴλε παρά πότον ψήλασα τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὥστε ἐκείνην μὲν ἔχων ἀνεπαύετο, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτην ἀπέπεμψε δυσφοροῦντα τῷ μηδὲ προσρήσεως τυχεῖν ἐπι-
- 4 εικοῦς. ὡς μὲντοι περὶ ὄρθρον ἐγερθεὶς εἶδεν ἔνδον ἐκπωμάτων μὲν ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν τραπέζας, ὄχλον δὲ θεραπείας πολύν, εὐνούχους δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἱμάτια τῶν πολυτελῶν προσφέροντας αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἵππον ἐστῶτα κεκοσμημένον ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως, χλευασμὸν εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα καὶ παιδιὰν ἡγούμενος
- 5 ὥρμησε φεύγειν διὰ θυρῶν. τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων ἀντιλαμβανομένων, καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι πλουσίου τεθυηκότος ἔναγχος οἶκον αὐτῷ μέγαν ὁ βασιλεὺς δεδώρηται, καὶ ταῦτα μικραὶ τινες ἀπαρχαὶ καὶ δείγματα τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων εἰσίν, οὕτω πιστεύσας μόλις καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς πόλεως βοῶν. “Ἐμὰ ταῦτα
- 6 πάντα ἐστί.” πρὸς δὲ τοὺς καταγελῶντας οὐ τοῦτο ἔλεγεν εἶναι θαυμαστόν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὴ λίθοις βάλλει τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς μαινόμενος. ταύτης μὲν ἦν καὶ γενεᾶς καὶ αἵματος ἡ Στρατο-

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an armed force under Afranius, which drove him out of the country and pursued him as far as the district of Arbela.

Of all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought to Pompey, he used not one, but restored them all to their parents and kindred; for most of them were daughters and wives of generals and princes. But Stratonice, who was held in highest esteem by the king and had the custody of the richest of his fortresses, was, it would seem, the daughter of a humble harpist, an old man, and poor besides; but she made such a swift conquest of Mithridates as she once played for him at his wine, that he took her with him to his bed, but sent the old man away in great displeasure at not getting so much as a kindly greeting. In the morning, however, when the old man rose and saw in his house tables loaded with gold and silver beakers, a large retinue of servants, and eunuchs and pages bringing costly garments to him, and a horse standing before his door caparisoned like those of the king's friends, he thought the thing a mockery and a joke, and tried to run out of doors. But the servants laid hold of him and told him that the king had bestowed on him the large estate of a rich man who had recently died, and that these things were only small foretastes and specimens of the goods and chattels still remaining. In this way he was with difficulty persuaded, and putting on his purple robes and leaping upon his horse, he rode through the city, crying: "All this is mine." To those who laughed at him he said that what he was doing was no wonder; the wonder was that he did not throw stones at those who met him, for he was mad with joy. Of such a stock and lineage was Stratonice: But she

νίκη. τῷ δὲ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τὸ χωρίον παρε-
 δίδου τοῦτο καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ προσήνεγκεν, ὧν
 ἐκείνος ὅσα κόσμον ἱεροῖς καὶ λαμπρότητα τῷ
 θριάμβῳ παρέξειν ἐφαίνετο λαβὼν μόνα, τὰ
 λοιπὰ τὴν Στρατονίκην ἐκέλευε κεκτῆσθαι χαί-
 7 ρουσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰβήρων
 κλίνην τε καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ θρόνον, ἅπαντα 639
 χρυσᾶ, πέμψαντος αὐτῷ καὶ δεηθέντος λαβεῖν,
 καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ταμίαις παρέδωκεν εἰς τὸ δη-
 μόσιον.

XXXVII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Καινῷ φρουρίῳ καὶ γράμ-
 μασιν ἀπορρήτοις ὁ Πομπηῖος ἐνέτυχε τοῦ Μιθρι-
 δάτου, καὶ διήλθεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς αὐτὰ πολλὴν
 ἔχοντα τοῦ ἥθους κατανόησιν. ὑπομνήματα γὰρ
 ἦν, ἐξ ὧν ἐφωράθη φαρμάκοις ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς
 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριαράθην ἀννηρηκῶς καὶ τὸν
 Σαρδιανὸν Ἀλκαῖον, ὅτι παρενδοκίμησεν αὐτὸν
 2 ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς ἐλαύνων. ἦσαν δὲ ἀναγεγραμ-
 μέναι καὶ κρίσεις ἐνυπνίων, ὧν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς
 ἐωράκει, τὰ δὲ ἔναι τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐπιστολαί τε
 Μονίμης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκόλαστοι καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου
 πρὸς αὐτήν. Θεοφάνης δὲ καὶ Ῥουτιλίου λόγον
 εὐρεθῆναί φησι παροξυντικὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν
 3 τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίων. ὁ καλῶς εἰκάζουσιν
 οἱ πλεῖστοι κακοήθειμα τοῦ Θεοφάνους εἶναι,
 τάχα μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τὸν Ῥουτίλιον εἰκότα
 μισοῦντος, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ διὰ Πομπηῖον, οὗ τὸν
 πατέρα παμπόνηρον ἀπέδειξεν ὁ Ῥουτίλιος ἐν
 ταῖς ἱστορίαις.

XXXVIII. Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Ἀμισὸν ἐλθὼν ὁ
 Πομπηῖος πάθος νεμεσητὸν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας
 ἔπαθε. πολλὰ γὰρ τὸν Λεύκολλον ἐπικερτο-
 μήσας, ὅτι τοῦ πολεμίου ζῶντος ἔγραφε διατάξεις

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surrendered this stronghold to Pompey, and brought him many gifts, of which he accepted only those which were likely to adorn the temples at Rome and add splendour to his triumph; the rest he bade Stratonice keep and welcome. In like manner, too, when the king of the Iberians sent him a couch, a table, and a throne, all of gold, and begged him to accept them, he delivered these also to the quaestors, for the public treasury.

XXXVII. In the fortress of Caenum Pompey found also private documents belonging to Mithridates, and read them with no little satisfaction, since they shed much light upon the king's character. For there were memoranda among them from which it was discovered that, besides many others, he had poisoned to death his son Ariarathes, and also Alcaeus of Sardis, because he had surpassed him in driving race-horses. Among the writings were also interpretations of dreams, some of which he himself had dreamed, and others, some of his wives. There were also letters from Monime to him, of a lascivious nature, and answering letters from him to her. Moreover, Theophanes says there was found here an address of Rutilius, which incited the king to the massacre of the Romans in Asia. But most people rightly conjecture that this was a malicious invention on the part of Theophanes, perhaps because he hated Rutilius, who was wholly unlike himself, but probably also to please Pompey, whose father had been represented as an utter wretch by Rutilius in his histories.

XXXVIII. From Caenum Pompey went to Amisus, where his ambition led him into obnoxious courses. For whereas he had roundly abused Lucullus because, while his enemy was still alive, he would

- καὶ δωρεὰς ἔνεμε καὶ τιμάς, ἃ συνηρημένου πολέμου καὶ πέρας ἔχοντας εἰώθασι ποιεῖν οἱ νενικηκότες, αὐτὸς ἐν Βοσπόρῳ Μιθριδάτου κρατοῦντος καὶ συνειλοχότος ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν, ὥς δὴ
- 2 συντετελεσμένων ἀπάντων, ἔπραττε ταῦτά, διακοσμῶν τὰς ἐπαρχίας καὶ διανέμων δωρεάς, πολλῶν μὲν ἡγεμόνων καὶ δυναστῶν, βασιλέων δὲ δώδεκα βαρβάρων ἀφικμένων πρὸς αὐτόν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἡξίωσε τὸν Πάρθον ἀντιγράφων, ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποί, βασιλέα βασιλέων προσαγορεύσαι, τοῖς ἄλλοις χαριζόμενος. αὐτὸν δέ τις ἔρως καὶ ζήλος εἶχε Συρίαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἐλάσαι θάλασσαν, ὥς τῷ περιϋόντι τὴν οἰκουμένην πανταχόθεν Ὀκτανῶ
- 3 προσμίξειε νικῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Λιβύῃ πρῶτος ἄχρι τῆς ἐκτὸς θαλάσσης κρατῶν προῆλθε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πάλιν ἀρχὴν ὥρίσατο Ῥωμαίοις τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ πελάγει, καὶ τρίτον ἔναγχος Ἀλβανούς διώκων ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑρκανίαν θάλασσαν. ὥς οὖν συνάψων τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ τὴν περίοδον τῆς στρατείας ἀνίστατο. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἑώρα δυσθήρατον ὄντα τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ φεύγοντα χαλεπώτερον ἢ μαχόμενον.

XXXIX. Διὸ τούτῳ μὲν εἰπὼν ἰσχυρότερον ἑαυτοῦ πολέμιον τὸν λιμὸν ἀπολείψειν, ἐπέστησε φυλακὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πλέοντας εἰς Βόσπορον ἐμπορούς· καὶ θάνατος ἦν ἡ ζημία τοῖς ἀλίσκομένοις. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν

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issue edicts and distribute gifts and honours,—things which victors are wont to do only when a war has been brought to an end and finished,—yet he himself, while Mithridates was supreme in Bosphorus and had collected a formidable force, just as though the whole struggle was ended, took the same course, regulating the provinces and distributing gifts; for many leaders and princes and twelve barbarian kings had come to him. Wherefore, to gratify these other kings, he would not deign, in answering a letter from the king of Parthia, to address him as King of Kings, which was his usual title. Moreover, a great and eager passion possessed him to recover Syria, and march through Arabia to the Red Sea,¹ in order that he might bring his victorious career into touch with the Ocean which surrounds the world on all sides; for in Africa he had been the first to carry his conquests as far as the Outer Sea, and again in Spain he had made the Atlantic Ocean the boundary of the Roman dominion, and thirdly, in his recent pursuit of the Albani, he had narrowly missed reaching the Hyrcanian Sea. In order, therefore, that he might connect the circuit of his military expeditions with the Red Sea, he put his army in motion. And, besides, he saw that it was difficult to hunt Mithridates down with an armed force, and that he was harder to deal with when he fled than when he gave battle.

XXXIX. Wherefore, remarking that he would leave behind him for this fugitive a mightier enemy than himself, to wit, famine, he stationed ships to keep guard against the merchants sailing to Bosphorus; and death was the penalty for such as were caught. Then taking the great mass of his army,

¹ i.e. the Persian Gulf.

- πληθὺν συχνὴν προήγε· καὶ τῶν μετὰ Τριαρίου
πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀτυχῶς ἀγωνισαμένων καὶ
πεσόντων ἐντυχὼν ἀτάφοις ἔτι τοῖς νεκροῖς,
ἔθαψε λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἅπαντας, ὃ δοκεῖ
παραλειφθὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα Λευκόλλῳ μίσους
2 αἷτιον γενέσθαι. χειρωσάμενος δὲ δι' Ἀφρα-
νίου τοὺς περὶ Ἀμανὸν Ἀραβας καὶ καταβὰς
αὐτὸς εἰς Συρίαν, ταύτην μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσαν
γνησίους βασιλεῖς ἐπαρχίαν ἀπέφηνε καὶ κτῆμα
τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων, τὴν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν κατε-
στρέψατο, καὶ συνέλαβεν Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν
βασιλέα. πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔκτιζε, τὰς δὲ
ἡλευθέρου κολάζων τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς τυράννους.
3 τὴν δὲ πλείστην διατριβὴν ἐν τῷ δικάζειν
ἐποιεῖτο, πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἀμφισβητήματα
διαιτῶν, ἐφ' ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐξικνεῖτο, πέμπων
τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Πάρθοις περὶ
ἧς διεφέροντο χώρας τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοις
ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἀπέστειλε κριτὰς καὶ διαλλακτάς.
4 μέγα μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῆς δυνάμεως, οὐκ ἔλαττον 640
δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πραότητος· ᾧ καὶ τὰ πλείιστα
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἁμαρτήματα φίλων καὶ συνήθων
ἀπέκρυπτε, κωλύειν μὲν ἢ κολάζειν τοὺς πονη-
ρευομένους οὐ πεφυκώς, αὐτὸν δὲ παρέχων τοῖς
ἐντυγχάνουσι τοιοῦτον ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων
πλεονεξίας καὶ βαρύτητας εὐκόλως ὑπομένειν.
- XL. Ὁ δὲ μέγιστον δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ
Δημήτριος ἦν ἀπελεύθερος, οὐκ ἄφρων εἰς τὰλλα
νεανίας, ἄγαν δὲ τῇ τύχῃ χρώμενος· περὶ οὗ καὶ
τοιούνδε τι λέγεται. Κάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἔτι μὲν

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he set out on his march, and when he came upon the still unburied bodies of those who, led by Triarius, had fallen in an unsuccessful combat with Mithridates,¹ he gave them all an honourable and splendid burial. The neglect of this is thought to have been the chief reason why Lucullus was hated by his soldiers. After his legate Afranius had subdued for him the Arabians about Amanus, he himself went down into Syria,² and since this country had no legitimate kings, he declared it to be a province and possession of the Roman people; he also subdued Judaea, and made a prisoner of Aristobulus the king. Some cities he built up, others he set free, chastising their tyrants. But most of his time he spent in judicial business, settling the disputes of cities and kings, and for those to which he himself could not attend, sending his friends. Thus when the Armenians and Parthians referred to him the decision of a territorial quarrel, he sent them three arbiters and judges. For great was the name of his power, and not less that of his virtue and clemency. This enabled him to hide away most of the transgressions of his friends and intimates, since he was not fitted by nature to restrain or chastise evil doers; but he was so helpful himself to those who had dealings with him that they were content to endure the rapacity and severity of his friends.

XL. The one who had most influence with him was Demetrius, a freedman, a young man of some intelligence otherwise, but who abused his good fortune. The following story is told about him. Cato the philosopher, when he was still a young man,

¹ Three years earlier. Cf. the *Lucullus*, xxxv. 1.

² In the spring of 64 B.C.

- ὦν νέος, ἤδη δὲ μεγάλην ἔχων δόξαν καὶ μέγα φρονῶν, ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτόθι Πομπηίου, βουλόμενος ἱστορῆσαι τὴν πόλιν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ αἰεὶ, πεζὸς ἐβάδιζεν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι συνώδευον ἵπποις χρώμενοι. κατιδὼν δὲ πρὸ τῆς πύλης ὄχλον ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἐσθῇσι λευκαῖς καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔνθεν μὲν τοὺς ἐφήβους, ἔνθεν δὲ τοὺς παῖδας διακεκριμένους, ἐδυσχέραινεν οἰόμενος εἰς τιμὴν τινα καὶ θεραπείαν ἑαυτοῦ μηδὲν δεομένου ταῦτα γίνεσθαι.
- 3 τοὺς μέντοι φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταβῆναι καὶ πορεύεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ· γενομένοις δὲ πλησίον ὁ πάντα διακοσμῶν ἐκείνα καὶ καθιστὰς ἔχων στέφανον καὶ ῥάβδον ἀπήντησε, πυνθανόμενος παρ' αὐτῶν ποῦ Δημήτριον ἀπολελοιπάσι καὶ πότε ἀφίξεται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν φίλους τοῦ Κάτωνος γέλως ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων εἰπὼν, “ὦ τῆς ἀθλίας πόλεως,” παρήλθεν, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀποκρινάμενος.
- 4 Οὐ μὲν ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦτον τὸν Δημήτριον ἤττον ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει αὐτὸς ὁ Πομπηῖος ἐντρυνφόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δυσκολαινῶν. λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου προσμένοντος καὶ δεχομένου τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνος ἤδη κατέκειτο σοβαρός, ἔχων δι' ὧτων κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον.
- 5 οὐπω δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπανεληλυθὼς ἐκέκμητο τῆς Ῥώμης τὰ ἥδιστα προάστεια καὶ τῶν ἡβητηρίων τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ κῆποι πολυτελεῖς ἦσαν ὀνομαζόμενοι Δημητρίου· καίτοι Πομπηῖος αὐτὸς ἄχρι τοῦ τρίτου θριάμβου μετρίως καὶ ἀφελῶς ὤκησεν. ὕστερον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καλὸν

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but had already great reputation and lofty purposes, went up to Antioch,¹ at a time when Pompey was not there, wishing to inspect the city. Cato himself, the story goes, marched on foot, as always, but the friends who journeyed with him were on horseback. When he beheld before the gate of the city a throng of men in white raiment, and drawn up along the road the youths on one side, and the boys on the other, he was vexed, supposing this to be done out of deference and honour to himself, who desired nothing of the kind. However, he ordered his friends to dismount and walk with him; but when they drew near, the master of all these ceremonies met them, with a wreath on his head and a wand in his hand, and asked them where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come. The friends of Cato, accordingly, burst out laughing, but Cato said, "O the wretched city!" and passed on without any further answer.

However, Pompey himself made this Demetrius less odious to the rest by enduring his caprices without vexation. For instance, it is said that many times at his entertainments, when Pompey was awaiting and receiving his other guests, that fellow would be already reclining at table in great state, with the hood of his toga drawn down behind his ears.² Before his return to Italy, he had purchased the pleasantest suburbs of Rome and the most beautiful places of entertainment, and very costly gardens were called "Demetrian" after him; and yet Pompey himself, up to the time of his third triumph, had a simple and modest house. After that, it is true, when he was erecting the famous and beautiful

¹ Cf. *Cato the Younger*, chapter xiii.

² A mark of slovenliness.

καὶ περιβόητον ἀνιστὰς θέατρον, ὥσπερ ἐφόλκιόν τι, παρετεκμήνατο λαμπροτέραν οἰκίαν ἐκείνης, ἀνεπίφθονον δὲ καὶ ταύτην, ὥστε τὸν γενόμενον δεσπότην αὐτῆς μετὰ Πομπήϊον εἰσελθόντα θαυμάζειν καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι ποῦ Πομπήϊος Μάγνος ἐδείπνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται.

- XLI. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν περὶ τὴν Πέτραν Ἀράβων πρότερον μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τιθεμένου, τότε δὲ δείσαντος ἰσχυρῶς καὶ γράψαντος ὅτι πάντα πείθεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἔγνωκεν, ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πέτραν οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄμεμπτον στρατείαν.
- 2 ἀπόδρασιν γὰρ ᾤοντο τῆς Μιθριδάτου διώξεως εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἡξίουσαν τρέπεσθαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀνταγωνιστήν, αὐτῆς ἀναξωπυροῦντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον, ὥς ἀπηγγέλλετο, διὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ Παιόνων στρατὸν ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὁ δὲ ῥᾶον οἰόμενος αὐτοῦ καταλύσειν τὴν δύναμιν πολεμοῦντος ἢ τὸ σῶμα λήψεσθαι φεύγοντος, οὐκ ἐβούλετο τρίβεσθαι μάτην περὶ τὴν δίωξιν, ἐτέρας δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρενθήκας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν χρόνον εἴλκεν.
- 3 Ἡ δὲ τύχη τὴν ἀπορίαν ἔλυσεν. οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς Πέτρας πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντος, ἥδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης βεβλημένου χάρακα καὶ γυμνάζοντος ἑαυτὸν ἵππῳ παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, γραμματηφόροι προσήλουν ἐκ Πόντου κομίζοντες εὐαγγέλια. δῆλοι δ' εὐθύς εἰσι ταῖς αἰχμαῖς τῶν δοράτων· δάφναις γὰρ ἀναστέφονται. τοὺτους ἰδόντες οἱ στρατιῶται συνετρόχαζον πρὸς 641
- 4 τὸν Πομπήϊον. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐβούλετο τὰ

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theatre which bears his name, he built close by it, like a small boat towed behind a ship, a more splendid house than the one he had before. But even this was not large enough to excite envy, so that when he who succeeded Pompey as its owner entered it, he was amazed, and inquired where Pompey the Great used to sup. At any rate, so the story runs.

XLI. The king of the Arabians about Petra had hitherto made no account of the Roman power, but now he was thoroughly alarmed and wrote that he had determined to obey and perform all commands. Pompey, therefore, wishing to confirm him in his purpose, marched towards Petra, an expedition which was not a little censured by most of his followers. For they thought it an evasion of the pursuit of Mithridates, and demanded that he should rather turn against that inveterate enemy, who was again kindling the flames of war and preparing, as it was reported, to march an army through Scythia and Paeonia against Italy. Pompey, however, thinking it easier to crush the king's forces when he made war than to seize his person when he was in flight, was not willing to wear out his own strength in a vain pursuit, and therefore sought other employment in the interval of the war and thus protracted the time.

But fortune resolved the difficulty. For when he was come within a short distance of Petra, and had already pitched his camp for that day and was exercising himself on horseback near by, dispatch-bearers rode up from Pontus bringing good tidings. Such messengers are known at once by the tips of their spears, which are wreathed with laurel. As soon as the soldiers saw these couriers they ran in throngs to Pompey. At first he was disposed to finish his

γυμνάσια συντελεῖν, βοώντων δὲ καὶ δεομένων καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ λαβὼν τὰ γράμματα προῆει. βήματος δὲ οὐκ ὄντος οὐδὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ γενέσθαι φθάσαντος (ὃ ποιοῦσιν αὐτοὶ τῆς γῆς ἑκτομὰς βαθείας λαμβάνοντες καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων συντιθέντες), ὑπὸ τῆς τότε σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τὰ σάγματα τῶν ὑποζυγίων συμ-
 5 φορήσαντες ὕψος¹ ἐξῆραν. ἐπὶ τοῦτο προβάς ὁ Πομπήϊος ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μιθριδάτης τέθηκεν στασιάσαντος Φαρνάκου τοῦ υἱοῦ δια-
 χρησάμενος αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖ πάντα πράγματα Φαρνάκης κατεκληρώσατο, καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ῥω-
 μαίοις γέγραφε ποιούμενος.

XLII. Ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῇ χαρᾷ χρώμενον, ὥς εἰκός, ἐν θυσίαις καὶ συνουσίαις διῆγεν, ὥς ἐν τῷ Μιθριδάτου σώματι μυρίων τεθνηκότων πολεμίων. Πομπήϊος δὲ ταῖς πρά-
 ξεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις κεφαλὴν ἐπιτε-
 2 εὐθὺς ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας· καὶ ταχὺ τὰς ἐν μέσῳ διεξελθὼν ἐπαρχίας εἰς Ἀμισὸν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατέλαβε πολλὰ μὲν δῶρα παρὰ Φαρνάκου κεκομισμένα, πολλὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν βασιλικῶν, αὐτόν δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτου νεκρὸν οὐ πᾶν γνῶ-
 ριμον ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου (τὸν γὰρ ἐγκέφαλον ἔλαθεν ἐκτῆξαι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας)· ἀλλὰ ταῖς οὐλαῖς ἐπεγίνωσκον οἱ δεόμενοι τοῦ θεάματος.
 3 οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς Πομπήϊος ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινε, ἀλλ' ἀφοσιωσάμενος τὸ νεμεσητὸν εἰς Σινώπην ἀπέ-
 πεμφε. τῆς δ' ἐσθῆτος, ἣν ἐφόρει, καὶ τῶν ὄπλων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα ἐθαύμασε· καίτοι

¹ ὕψος Coraës and Bekker have εἰς ὕψος, after Solanus.

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exercise, but at their shouts and entreaties he dismounted from his horse, took the dispatches, and led the way into camp. There was no regular tribunal, nor had there been time to erect the military substitute, which the soldiers make with their own hands by digging up large clods of earth and heaping them one upon another; but in the eager haste of the moment they piled up the pack-saddles of the beasts of burden and made an eminence of them. Pompey ascended this and announced to his soldiers that Mithridates was dead, having made away with himself because his son Pharnaces had revolted from him, and that Pharnaces had come into possession of all the power there, acting, as he wrote, in behalf of himself and the Romans.¹

XLII. Upon this the army, filled with joy, as was natural, gave itself up to sacrifices and entertainments, feeling that in the person of Mithridates ten thousand enemies had died. Then Pompey, having brought his achievements and expeditions to such an unexpectedly easy completion, straightway withdrew from Arabia, and passing rapidly through the intervening provinces, came to Amisus. Here he found many gifts that had been brought from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the royal family, and the corpse of Mithridates himself, which was not easy to recognize by the face (for the embalmers had neglected to remove the brain), but those who cared to see the body recognized it by the scars. Pompey himself could not bring himself to look upon the body, but to propitiate the divine jealousy sent it away to Sinope. He was amazed at the size and splendour of the arms and raiment which Mithridates used to wear; although the sword-belt, which

¹ This was in 63 B.C.

τὸν μὲν ξιφιστῆρα πεπονημένον ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων
ταλάντων Πόπλιος κλέψας ἐπώλησεν Ἀριαράθῃ,
τὴν δὲ κίταριν Γάϊος ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου σύντροφος
ἔδωκε κρύφα δεηθέντι Φαύστῳ τῷ Σύλλα παιδί,
θαυμαστῆς οὖσαν ἐργασίας. ὁ τότε τὸν Πομ-
πήϊον διέλαθε, Φαρνάκης δὲ γνούς ὕστερον ἐτι-
μωρήσατο τοὺς ὑφελομένους.

- 4 Διοικήσας δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ καταστησάμενος
οὕτως ἤδη πανηγυρικώτερον ἐχρήτο τῇ πορείᾳ.
καὶ γὰρ εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἀφικόμενος τὴν τε πόλιν
ἡλευθέρωσε διὰ Θεοφάνη, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν
πάτριον ἐθεάσατο τῶν ποιητῶν, ὑπόθεσιν μίαν
ἔχοντα τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις. ἡσθεῖς δὲ τῷ θεά-
τρῳ περιεγράψατο τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τύπον,
ὡς ὅμοιον ἀπεργασόμενος τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, μεῖζον δὲ
5 καὶ σεμνότερον. ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ γενόμενος πάντων
μὲν ἠκροάσατο τῶν σοφιστῶν, καὶ δωρεὰν ἐκάστῳ
τάλαντον ἔδωκε. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀκρό-
ασιν ἀνέγραψεν ἣν ἔσχεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἑρ-
μαγόραν τὸν ῥήτορα περὶ τῆς καθόλου ζητήσεως
ἀντιταξάμενος. ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
6 φιλοσόφους ὅμοια τοῦ Πομπηίου· τῇ πόλει δὲ
ἐπιδούς εἰς ἐπισκευὴν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα λαμ-
πρότατος ἀνθρώπων ἡλπιζεν ἐπιβήσεσθαι τῆς
Ἰταλίας καὶ ποθῶν ὀφθήσεσθαι τοῖς οἴκοι ποθοῦ-
σιν. ᾧ δ' ἄρα πρὸς τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν αἰεὶ τινα κεραυνῶναι κακοῦ
μοῖραν ἐπιμελὲς ἐστὶ δαιμονίῳ, τοῦτο ὑποικούρει
7 ἐπάνοδον. ἐξύβρισε γὰρ ἡ Μουκία παρὰ τὴν

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cost four hundred talents, was stolen by Publius and sold to Ariarathes, and the tiara was secretly given by Caius, the foster brother of Mithridates, to Faustus the son of Sulla, at his request; it was a piece of wonderful workmanship. All this escaped the knowledge of Pompey at the time, but Pharnaces afterwards learned of it and punished the thieves.

After arranging and settling affairs in those parts, Pompey proceeded on his journey, and now with greater pomp and ceremony. For instance, when he came to Mitylene, he gave the city its freedom, for the sake of Theophanes, and witnessed the traditional contest of the poets there, who now took as their sole theme his own exploits. And being pleased with the theatre, he had sketches and plans of it made for him, that he might build one like it in Rome, only larger and more splendid.¹ And when he was in Rhodes, he heard all the sophists there, and made each of them a present of a talent. Poseidonius has actually described the discourse which he held before him, against Hermagoras the rhetorician, on Investigation in General. At Athens, too, he not only treated the philosophers with like munificence, but also gave fifty talents to the city towards its restoration. He therefore hoped to set foot in Italy with a reputation more brilliant than that of any other man, and that his family would be as eager to see him as he was to see them. But that divine agency which always takes pains to mingle with the great and splendid gifts of fortune a certain portion of evil, had long been secretly at work preparing to make his return a very bitter one. For Mucia his wife

¹ Cf. chapter xl. 5. The theatre was opened in 55 B.C., and accommodated 40,000 persons.

ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ πόρρω μὲν ὦν ὁ Πομπήϊος κατεφρόνει τοῦ λόγου· πλησίον δὲ Ἰταλίας γενόμενος καὶ σχολάζοντι τῷ λογισμῷ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς αἰτίας ἀψάμενος, ἔπεμψεν αὐτῇ τὴν ἄφεσιν, οὔτε τότε γράψας οὔθ' ὕστερον ἐφ' οἷς ἀφῆκεν ἐξειπών· ἐν δ' ἐπιστολαῖς Κικέρωνος ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται.

XLIII. Λόγοι δὲ παντοδαποὶ περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου προκατέπιπτον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς, ὡς εὐθὺς ἄξοντος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὸ 642
στράτευμα καὶ μοναρχίας βεβαίας ἐσομένης. Κράσσος δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα λαβὼν ὑπεξῆλθεν, εἴτε δείσας ἀληθῶς, εἴτε μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐδόκει, πίστιν ἀπολείπων τῇ διαβολῇ καὶ τὸν
2 φθόνον ποιῶν τραχύτερον. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπιβὰς Ἰταλίας ὁ Πομπήϊος καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ πρέποντα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος, ἐκέλευσε διαλύεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστους καὶ τρέπεσθαι πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, μεμνημένους αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν. οὕτω δὲ τῆς
στρατιᾶς σκεδασθείσης καὶ πυνθανομένων ἀπάν-
3 των πρᾶγμα συνέβη θαυμαστόν. ὁρῶσαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις Πομπηίου Μάγνον ἄνοπλον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν συνήθων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἄλλης ἀποδημίας διαπορευόμενον, ἐκχεόμεναι δι' εὐνοίαν καὶ προπέμπουσαι μετὰ μείζονος δυνάμεως συγκατῆγον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, εἴ τι κινεῖν διενοεῖτο καὶ νεωτερί-

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had played the wanton during his absence. While Pompey was far away, he had treated the report of it with contempt; but when he was nearer Italy and, as it would seem, had examined the charge more at his leisure, he sent her a bill of divorce, although he neither wrote at that time, nor afterwards declared, the grounds on which he put her away; but the reason is stated in Cicero's letters.¹

XLIII. All sorts of stories about Pompey kept travelling to Rome before him, and there was much commotion there, where it was thought that he would straightway lead his army against the city, and that a monarchy would be securely established. Crassus took his children and his money and secretly withdrew, whether it was that he was really afraid, or rather, as seemed likely, because he wished to give credibility to the calumny and make the envious hatred of Pompey more severe. Pompey, accordingly, as soon as he set foot in Italy,² held an assembly of his soldiers, and after he had said what fitted the occasion, and had expressed his gratitude and affection for them, he bade them disperse to their several cities and seek their homes, remembering to come together again for the celebration of his triumph. When the army had been thus disbanded and all the world had learned about it, a wonderful thing happened. When the cities saw Pompey the Great journeying along unarmed and with only a few intimate friends, as though returning from an ordinary sojourn abroad, the people streamed forth to show their good will, and escorting him on his way with a larger force, brought him with them back to Rome, where, had he purposed any revolutionary

¹ Not in any which are extant. In a letter to Atticus (i. 12, 3) Cicero says that Pompey's divorce of Mucia was heartily approved.

² In 62 B.C.

ζειν τότε, μηδὲν ἐκείνου δεόμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος.

- XLIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ νόμος οὐκ εἶα πρὸ τοῦ θριάμβου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεμψεν ἀξιῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀναβαλέσθαι τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχαιρεσίας, καὶ δοῦναι ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν ὅπως παρὼν Πείσωνι συναρχαιρесиᾶσιν. 2 Κάτωνος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐνστάντος οὐκ ἔτυχε τοῦ βουλευματος. θαυμάσας δὲ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τόνον ᾧ μόνος ἐχρήτο φανερώς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, ἐπεθύμησεν ἀμῶς γέ πως κτήσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα· καὶ δεῖν οὐσῶν ἀδελφιδῶν τῷ Κάτωνι τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν 3 γυναῖκα, τὴν δὲ τῷ παιδί συνοικίσει. τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος ὑπιδομένου τὴν πείραν, ὡς διαφθορὰν οὐσαν αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ δεκαζομένου διὰ τῆς οἰκειότητος, ἥ τε ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον εἰ Πομπηίου Μάγνον ἀποτρίψεται κηδεστήν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ βουλόμενος ὑπατον ἀποδείξαι Πομπηῖος Ἀφράνιον ἀργύριον εἰς τὰς φυλὰς ἀνήλυσκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο κατιόντες εἰς τοὺς 4 Πομπηίου κήπους ἐλάμβανον, ὥστε τὸ πρᾶγμα περιβόητον εἶναι καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου ἀκούειν κακῶς, ἥς αὐτὸς ἀρχῆς ἐφ' οἷς κατώρθωσεν ὡς μεγίστης ἔτυχε, ταύτην ὦνιον ποιοῦντα τοῖς δι' ἀρετῆς κτήσασθαι μὴ δυναμένοις. “Τούτων μέντοι,” πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Κάτων ἔφησε, “τῶν ὄνειδῶν κοινωνητέον οἰκείοις Πομπηίου γενομένοις.” αἱ δὲ ἀκούσασαι συνέγνωσαν βέλτιον αὐτῶν ἐκείνον λογίζεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πρέποντος.

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changes at that time, he had no need of the army that he had disbanded.

XLIV. Now, since the law did not permit a commander to enter the city before his triumph, Pompey sent a request to the senate that they should put off the consular elections, asking them to grant him this favour in order that he might personally assist Piso in his candidacy. But Cato opposed the request, and Pompey did not get what he wished. However, Pompey admired Cato's boldness of speech and the firmness which he alone publicly displayed in defence of law and justice, and therefore set his heart on winning him over in some way or other; and since Cato had two nieces, Pompey wished to take one of them to wife himself, and to marry the other to his son. But Cato saw through the design, which he thought aimed at corrupting him and in a manner bribing him by means of marriage alliance, although his sister and his wife were displeased that he should reject Pompey the Great as a family connection. In the meantime, however, wishing to have Afranius made consul, Pompey spent money lavishly on his behalf among the tribes, and the people went down to Pompey's gardens to get it. As a consequence, the matter became notorious and Pompey was in ill repute; the office of consul was highest of all, and he himself had therefore received it as a reward for his successes, and yet he was making this office a thing to be bought by those who were unable to win it by merit. "In these reproaches, however," said Cato to the women, "we must have taken our share, if we had become allied to Pompey." And when they heard this, they agreed that his estimate of the fit and proper was better than theirs.¹

¹ Cf. *Cato the Younger*, xxx. 1-5.

- XLV. Τοῦ δὲ θριάμβου τῷ μεγέθει, καίπερ εἰς ἡμέρας δύο μερισθέντος, ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων πολλὰ τῆς θέας ἐξέπεσεν, ἑτέρας ἀποχρῶντα πομπῆς ἀξίωμα καὶ κόσμος εἶναι. γράμμασι δὲ προηγουμένοις ἐδη-
- 2 λούτο τὰ γένη καθ' ὧν ἐθριάμβευεν. ἦν δὲ τάδε· Πόντος, Ἀρμενία, Καππαδοκία, Παφλαγονία, Μηδία, Κολχίς, Ἰβηρες, Ἀλβανοί, Συρία, Κιλικία, Μεσοποταμία, τὰ περὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Παλαιστίνην, Ἰουδαία, Ἀραβία, τὸ πειρατικὸν ἅπαν ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάσῃ καταπεπολεμημένον. ἐν δὲ τούτοις φρούρια μὲν ἡλωκότα χιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττουνα, πόλεις δὲ οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἐνακοσίων ἀποδέουσαι, πειρατικαὶ δὲ νῆες ὀκτακόσιαι, κατοικίαι
- 3 δὲ πόλεων μιᾷς δέουσαι τετταράκοντα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔφραζε διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὅτι πεντακισχίλιναι μὲν μυριάδες ἐκ τῶν τελῶν ὑπῆρχον, ἐκ δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς προσεκτήσατο τῇ πόλει μυριάδας ὀκτακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας λαμβάνουσιν, ἀναφέρεται δὲ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ταμιεῖον ἐν νομίσματι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ δισμύρια τάλαντα, πᾶρες τῶν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας δεδομένων, ὧν ὁ τοῦλάχιστον αἶρων κατὰ λόγον
- 4 δραχμὰς εἴληφε χιλίας πεντακοσίας. αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐπομπεύθησαν, ἄνευ τῶν ἀρχιπειρατῶν, υἱὸς Τιγράνου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ θυγατρὸς, αὐτοῦ τε Τιγράνου τοῦ βασιλέως γυνή 643 Ζωσίμη, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων Ἀριστόβουλος, Μιθριδάτου δὲ ἀδελφὴ καὶ πέντε τέκνα, καὶ Σκυθίδες γυναῖκες, Ἀλβανῶν δὲ καὶ Ἰβήρων ὄμηροι καὶ τοῦ Κομμαγενῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τρόπαια πάμπολλα καὶ ταῖς μάχαις ἰσάριθμα

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XLV. His triumph had such a magnitude that, although it was distributed over two days, still the time would not suffice, but much of what had been prepared could not find a place in the spectacle, enough to dignify and adorn another triumphal procession. Inscriptions borne in advance of the procession indicated the nations over which he triumphed. These were: Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, Judaea, Arabia, and all the power of the pirates by sea and land which had been overthrown. Among these peoples no less than a thousand strongholds had been captured, according to the inscriptions, and cities not much under nine hundred in number, besides eight hundred piratical ships, while thirty-nine cities had been founded. In addition to all this the inscriptions set forth that whereas the public revenues from taxes had been fifty million drachmas, they were receiving from the additions which Pompey had made to the city's power eighty-five million, and that he was bringing into the public treasury in coined money and vessels of gold and silver twenty thousand talents, apart from the money which had been given to his soldiers, of whom the one whose share was the smallest had received fifteen hundred drachmas. The captives led in triumph, besides the chief pirates, were the son of Tigranes the Armenian with his wife and daughter, Zosime, a wife of King Tigranes himself, Aristobulus, king of the Jews, a sister and five children of Mithridates, Scythian women, and hostages given by the Iberians, by the Albanians, and by the king of Commagene; there were also very many trophies, equal in number to all the battles in which Pompey

πάσαις ἅς ἡ αὐτὸς ἡ διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐνίκησε.
 5 μέγιστον δὲ ὑπῆρχε πρὸς δόξαν καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν
 πώποτε Ῥωμαίων γεγονός, ὅτι τὸν τρίτον θρί-
 αμβον ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης ἡπείρου κατήγαγεν. ἐπεὶ
 τρίς γε καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν ἕτεροι τεθριαμβευκότες·
 ἐκείνος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ δεύ-
 τερον ἐξ Εὐρώπης, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τελευταῖον ἀπὸ
 τῆς Ἀσίας εἰσαγαγὼν τρόπον τινα τὴν οἰκουμέ-
 νην ἐδόκει τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπῆχθαι θριάμβοις.

XLVI. Ἡλικία δὲ τότε ἦν, ὥς μὲν οἱ κατὰ
 πάντα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὸν
 καὶ προσβιβάζοντες ἀξιούσι, νεώτερος τῶν τριά-
 κοντα καὶ τεττάρων ἐτῶν, ἀληθεία δὲ τοῖς
 τετταράκοντα προσῆγεν. ὥς ὦνητό γ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα
 τοῦ βίου παυσάμενος, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
 τύχην ἔσχεν· ὁ δὲ ἐπέκεινα χρόνος αὐτῷ τὰς μὲν
 εὐτυχίας ἠνεγκεν ἐπιφθόνους, ἀνηκέστους δὲ τὰς
 2 δυστυχίας. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ προσηκόντων αὐτὸς ἐκτῆ-
 σατο δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ταύτῃ χρώμενος ὑπὲρ
 ἄλλων οὐ δικαίως, ὅσον ἐκείνοις ἰσχύος προσε-
 τίθει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἀφαιρῶν, ἔλαθε ῥώμη
 καὶ μεγέθει τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως καταλυθεῖς.
 καὶ καθάπερ τὰ καρτερώτατα μέρη καὶ χωρία
 τῶν πόλεων, ὅταν δέξηται πολεμίους, ἐκείνοις
 προστίθῃσι τὴν αὐτῶν ἰσχύν, οὕτως διὰ τῆς
 Πομπηίου δυνάμεως Καῖσαρ ἐξαρθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν
 πόλιν, ᾧ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχυσε, τοῦτον ἀνέ-
 τρεψε καὶ κατέβαλεν. ἐπράχθη δὲ οὕτως.
 3 Δεύκολλον, ὥς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀσίας ὑπὸ Πομ-

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had been victorious either in person or in the persons of his lieutenants. But that which most enhanced his glory and had never been the lot of any Roman before, was that he celebrated his third triumph over the third continent. For others before him had celebrated three triumphs; but he celebrated his first over Libya, his second over Europe, and this his last over Asia, so that he seemed in a way to have included the whole world in his three triumphs.

XLVI. His age at this time, as those insist who compare him in all points to Alexander and force the parallel, was less than thirty-four years, though in fact he was nearly forty.¹ How happy would it have been for him if he had ended his life at this point, up to which he enjoyed the good fortune of Alexander! For succeeding time brought him only success that made him odious, and failure that was irreparable. That political power which he had won by his own legitimate efforts, this he used in the interests of others illegally, thus weakening his own reputation in proportion as he strengthened them, so that before he was aware of it he was ruined by the very vigour and magnitude of his own power. And just as the strongest parts of a city's defences, when they are captured by an enemy, impart to him their own inherent strength, so it was by Pompey's power and influence that Caesar was raised up against the city, and Caesar overthrew and cast down the very man by whose aid he had waxed strong against the rest. And this was the way it came about.

When Lucullus came back from Asia, where he

¹ In 61 B.C., when this triumph was celebrated, Pompey was in his forty-sixth year.

πητὸν περιῦβρισμένος, ἀντίκα τε λαμπρῶς ἡ
 σύγκλητος ἐδέξατο, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι Πομπηίου
 παραγενομένου κολούουσα τὴν δόξαν ἡγείρεν ἐπὶ
 τὴν πολιτείαν. ὁ δὲ τὰλλα μὲν ἀμβλὺς ἦν ἤδη
 καὶ κατέψυκτο τὸ πρακτικόν, ἡδονῇ σχολῆς καὶ
 ταῖς περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον διατριβαῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐνδεδω-
 κώς, ἐπὶ δὲ Πομπηίου εὐθύς ἀτίξας καὶ λαβόμενος
 ἐντόνως αὐτοῦ περὶ τε τῶν διατάξεων ἃς ἔλυσεν
 ἐκράτει, καὶ πλέον εἶχεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συναγωνι-
 4 ζομένον Κάτωνος. ἐκπίπτων δὲ καὶ περιωθούμενος
 ὁ Πομπηῖος ἠναγκάζετο δημαρχοῦσι προσφεύγειν
 καὶ προσαρτᾶσθαι μεираκίοις· ὧν ὁ βδελυρώτατος
 καὶ θρασύτατος Κλώδιος ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὑπέρ-
 ριψε τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν κυλινδούμενον ἐν
 ἀγορᾷ ἔχων καὶ περιφέρων ἐχρήτο τῶν πρὸς χάριν
 ὄχλου καὶ κολακείαν γραφομένων καὶ λεγομένων
 5 βεβαιωτῇ, καὶ προσέτι μισθὸν ἤτει, ὥσπερ οὐ
 καταισχύνων, ἀλλὰ εὐεργετῶν, ὃν ὕστερον ἔλαβε
 παρὰ Πομπηίου, προέσθαι Κικέρωνα, φίλον ὄντα
 καὶ πλεῖστα δὴ πεπολιτευμένον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.
 κινδυνεύοντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ δεομένῳ βοηθείας
 οὐδὲ εἰς ὄψιν προήλθεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡκουσιν
 ἀποκλείσας τὴν αὐλειὸν ἐτέραις θύραις ὥχετο
 ἀπιών. Κικέρων δὲ φοβηθεὶς τὴν κρίσιν ὑπεξ-
 ἤλθε τῆς Ῥώμης.

¹ Cf. chapter xxxi. 1.

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had been outrageously treated by Pompey, the senate at once gave him a splendid reception, and after Pompey's arrival, wishing to obstruct that leader's reputation, it urged Lucullus all the more to take part in public life. In other matters Lucullus was already dulled and chilled past all efficiency, having given himself over to the pleasures of ease and the enjoyment of his wealth; but he sprang at once upon Pompey and by a vigorous attack won a victory over him in the matter of those ordinances of his own which Pompey had annulled,¹ and carried the day in the senate with the support of Cato. Thus worsted and hard pressed, Pompey was forced to fly for refuge to popular tribunes and attach himself to young adventurers. Among these the boldest and vilest was Clodius, who took him up and threw him down under the feet of the people, and keeping him ignobly rolled about in the dust of the forum, and dragging him to and fro there, he used him for the confirmation of what was said and proposed to gratify and flatter the people. He even went so far as to ask a reward for his services from Pompey, as if he were helping him instead of disgracing him, and this reward he subsequently got in the betrayal of Cicero, who was Pompey's friend and had done him more political favours than any one else. For when Cicero was in danger of condemnation and begged his aid, Pompey would not even see him, but shut his front door upon those who came in Cicero's behalf, and slipped away by another. Cicero, therefore, fearing the result of his trial, withdrew secretly from Rome.²

² Having been impeached for illegally putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, he went into voluntary exile in 58 B.C. See the *Cicero*, chapters xxx. and xxxi.

- XLVII. Τότε δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ στρατείας ἤψατο πολιτεύματος ὃ πλείστην μὲν αὐτῷ χάριν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ δύναμιν εἰσαυθις ἤνεγκε, μέγιστα δὲ Πομπήϊον ἔβλαψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ὑπατείαν μὲν γὰρ μετῆει πρώτην· ὁρῶν δὲ ὅτι Κράσσου πρὸς Πομπήϊον διαφερομένου θατέρῳ προσθέμενος ἐχθρῷ χρήσεται τῷ ἐτέρῳ, τρέπεται πρὸς διαλλαγὰς ἀμφοῖν, πρᾶγμα καλὸν μὲν ἄλλως καὶ πολιτικόν, αἰτία δὲ φαύλη καὶ μετὰ
- 2 δεινότητος ὑπ' ἐκείνου συντεθὲν ἐπιβούλως. ἡ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν σκάφει τὰς ἀποκλίσεις ἐπανισοῦσα τῆς πόλεως ἰσχὺς εἰς ἓν συνελθούσα καὶ γενομένη 644 μίᾳ τὴν πάντα πράγματα καταστασιάσασαν καὶ καταβαλοῦσαν ἀνανταγώνιστον ῥοπὴν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γοῦν Κάτων τοὺς λέγοντας ὑπὸ τῆς ὕστερον γενομένης πρὸς Καῖσαρα Πομπητῶ διαφορᾶς ἀνατραπήναι τὴν πόλιν ἀμαρτάνειν ἔλεγεν αἰτιω-
- 3 μένους τὸ τελευταῖον· οὐ γὰρ τὴν στάσιν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐχθραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύστασιν καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει κακὸν πρῶτον γενέσθαι καὶ μέγιστον. ἤρέθη μὲν γὰρ ὕπατος Καῖσαρ· εὐθὺς δὲ θεραπεύων τὸν ἄπορον καὶ πέννητα κατοικίας πόλεων καὶ νομὰς ἀγρῶν ἔγραφεν, ἐκβαίνων τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δημαρχίαν
- 4 τὴν ὑπατείαν καθιστάς. ἐναντιουμένου δὲ τοῦ συνάρχοντος αὐτῷ Βύβλου, καὶ Κάτωνος ἐρρωμενέστατα τῷ Βύβλῳ παρεσκευασμένου βοηθεῖν, προαγαγὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Πομπηϊον ἐμφανῇ καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἠρώτησεν εἰ τοὺς

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XLVII. At this time Caesar had returned from his province¹ and had inaugurated a policy which brought him the greatest favour for the present and power for the future, but proved most injurious to Pompey and the city. He was a candidate for his first consulship, and seeing that, while Crassus and Pompey were at variance, if he attached himself to the one he would make an enemy of the other, he sought to reconcile them with one another,—a thing which was honourable in itself and conducive to the public good, but he undertook it for an unworthy reason and with all the cleverness of an intriguer. For those opposing forces which, as in a vessel, prevented the city from rocking to and fro, were united into one, thereby giving to faction an irresistible momentum that overpowered and overthrew everything. At all events, Cato, when men said that the state had been overturned by the quarrel which afterwards arose between Caesar and Pompey, declared that they wrongly laid the blame on what had merely happened last; for it was not their discord nor yet their enmity, but their concord and harmony which was the first and greatest evil to befall the city. Caesar was, indeed, chosen consul; but he at once paid his court to the indigent and pauper classes by proposing measures for the founding of cities and the distribution of lands, thereby lowering the dignity of his office and making the consulate a kind of tribunate. And when he was opposed by his colleague Bibulus, and Cato stood ready to support Bibulus with all his might, Caesar brought Pompey on the rostra before the people, and asked him in so many words

¹ He returned from Spain in 60 B.C. See the *Caesar*, chapters xiii. and xiv.

νόμους ἐπαινοίη· τοῦ δὲ συμφήσαντος, “Οὐκοῦν,”
 εἶπεν, “ἂν τις τοὺς νόμους βιάζηται, εἰς τὸν
 5 δῆμον ἀφίξῃ βοηθῶν;” “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη ὁ
 Πομπηῖος, “ἀφίξομαι, πρὸς τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας τὰ
 ξίφη μετὰ ξίφους καὶ θυρεὸν κομίζων.” τούτου
 Πομπηῖος οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε ποιῆσαι μέχρι
 τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης φορτικώτερον ἔδοξεν, ὥστε
 καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀπολογεῖσθαι φάσκοντας ἐκ-
 φυγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τὸ ῥῆμα. τοῖς μέντοι
 μετὰ ταῦτα πραττομένοις φανερός ἦν ἡδὴ παντά-
 πασιν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Καίσαρι χρῆσασθαι παραδεδω-
 6 κώς. Ἰουλίαν γὰρ τὴν Καίσαρος θυγατέρα,
 Καιπίωνι καθωμολογημένην καὶ γαμεῖσθαι μέλ-
 λουσαν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκή-
 σαντος ἔγχε Πομπηῖος, μείλιγμα Καιπίωνι τῆς
 ὀργῆς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καταινέσας, Φαύστῳ
 τῷ παιδί Σύλλα πρότερον ἐγγεγυνημένην. αὐτὸς
 δὲ Καίσαρ ἔγχε Καλπουρνιαὺν τὴν Πείσωνος.

XLVIII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Πομπηῖος ἐμπλήσας
 στρατιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα βία
 κατεῖχε. Βύβλῳ τε γὰρ εἰς ἀγορὰν τῷ ὑπάτῳ
 κατιόντι μετὰ Λευκόλλου καὶ Κάτωνος ἄφνω
 προσπεσόντες κατέκλασαν τὰς ῥάβδους, αὐτοῦ
 δέ τις κοπρίων κόφινον ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Βύβλου
 κατεσκέδασε, δύο δὲ δήμαρχοι τῶν συμπροπεμ-
 2 πόντων ἐτρώθησαν. οὕτω δὲ τῶν ἐνισταμένων
 τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐρημώσαντες ἐπεκύρωσαν τὸν περὶ
 τῆς διανομῆς τῶν χωρίων νόμον· ᾧ δελεασθεὶς ὁ
 δῆμος εἰς πᾶσαν ἡδὴ τιθασὸς αὐτοῖς ἐγεγόνει καὶ
 κατάντης πρᾶξιν, οὐδὲν πολυπραγμονῶν, ἀλλ’
 ἐπιφέρων σιωπῇ τοῖς γραφομένοις τὴν ψῆφον.
 3 ἐκυρώθησαν οὖν Πομπηίῳ μὲν αἱ διατάξεις ὑπὲρ

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whether he approved the proposed laws: and when Pompey said he did, "Then," said Caesar, "in case any resistance should be made to the laws, will you come to the aid of the people?" "Yes, indeed," said Pompey, "I will come, bringing, against those who threaten swords, both sword and buckler." Never up to that day had Pompey said or done anything more vulgar and arrogant, as it was thought, so that even his friends apologized for him and said the words must have escaped him on the spur of the moment. However, by his subsequent acts he made it clear that he had now wholly given himself up to do Caesar's bidding. For to everybody's surprise he married Julia, the daughter of Caesar, although she was betrothed to Caepio and was going to be married to him within a few days; and to appease the wrath of Caepio, Pompey promised him his own daughter in marriage, although she was already engaged to Faustus the son of Sulla. Caesar himself married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

XLVIII. After this, Pompey filled the city with soldiers and carried everything with a high hand. As Bibulus the consul was going down into the forum with Lucullus and Cato, the crowd fell upon him and broke the fasces of his lictors, and somebody threw a basket of ordure all over the head of Bibulus himself, and two of the tribunes who were escorting him were wounded. When they had thus cleared the forum of their opponents, they passed the law concerning the distribution of lands; and the people, caught by this bait, became tame at once in their hands, and ready to support any project, not meddling at all, but silently voting for what was proposed to them. Accordingly, Pompey got those enactments of his ratified which Lucullus contested;

ὦν Λεύκολλος ἤριζε, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἔχειν Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς εἰς πενταετίαν καὶ τέσσαρα τάγματα τέλεια στρατιωτῶν, ὑπάτους δὲ εἰς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι Πείσωνα τὸν Καίσαρος πενθερὸν καὶ Γαβίνιον, ἄνδρα τῶν Πομπηίου κολάκων ὑπερφυέστατον.

- 4 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων Βύβλος μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατακλεισάμενος ὀκτῶ μηνῶν οὐ προῆλθεν ὑπατεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμπε διαγράμματα βλασφημίας ἀμφοῖν ἔχοντα καὶ κατηγορίας, Κάτων δὲ ὥσπερ ἐπίπνους καὶ φοιβόληπτος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ προηγόρευε, Λεύκολλος δὲ ἀπειπὼν ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν ὡς οὐκέτι πρὸς πολιτείαν ὥραϊος· ὅτε δὴ καὶ Πομπηῖος ἔφη, γέροντι τὸ τρυφᾶν ἁωρότερον εἶναι
- 5 τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι. ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμάλασσετο τῷ τῆς κόρης ἔρωτι καὶ προσεῖχεν ἐκείνῃ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνδιημέρευεν ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ κήποις, ἡμέλει δὲ τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν πραττομένων, ὥστε καὶ Κλώδιον αὐτοῦ καταφρονῆσαι δημαρχοῦντα τότε καὶ θρασυτάτων ἄψασθαι
- 6 πραγμάτων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέβαλε Κικέρωνα, καὶ Κάτωνα προφάσει στρατηγίας εἰς Κύπρον ἀπέπεμψε, Καίσαρος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξεληλακότος, αὐτῷ δὲ προσέχοντα τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα πάντα 645 πράττοντι καὶ πολιτενομένῳ πρὸς χάριν, εὐθύς ἐπεχειρεῖ τῶν Πομπηίου διατάξεων ἐνίας ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν αἰχμάλωτον ἀφαρπάσας εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις δίκας ἐπῆγε, πείραν

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Caesar received the two Gauls and Illyricum for five years, together with four complete legions ; and it was decided that the consuls for the ensuing year¹ should be Piso, the father-in-law of Caesar, and Gabinius, who was the most extravagant of Pompey's flatterers.

While this was going on, Bibulus shut himself up in his house and for the eight months remaining of his consulship did not appear in public, but issued edicts which were full of accusations and slanders against Pompey and Caesar ; Cato, as though inspired and possessed by a spirit of prophecy, foretold in the senate what the future would bring to the city and to Pompey ; while Lucullus renounced the struggle and led a life of ease, on the plea that he was past the age for political affairs ; whereat Pompey remarked that for an old man luxurious living was more unseasonable than political activity. However, Pompey himself also soon gave way weakly to his passion for his young wife, devoted himself for the most part to her, spent his time with her in villas and gardens, and neglected what was going on in the forum, so that even Clodius, who was then a tribune of the people, despised him and engaged in most daring measures. For after he had driven Cicero into banishment, and sent Cato off to Cyprus under pretence of giving him military command, and Caesar was gone off to Gaul, and when he saw that the people were devoted to him because all his political measures were undertaken to please them, he straightway attempted to repeal some of the arrangements which Pompey had made ; he took away his prisoner, Tigranes, and kept him about his own person ; and he prosecuted some of his friends,

¹ 58 B.C.

ἐν ἐκείνοις τῆς Πομπηίου λαμβάνων δυνάμεως.
 7 τέλος δέ, προελθόντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινα δίκην, ἔχων ὑφ' αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀσελγείας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας μεστὸν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς ἐπιφανῆ τόπον καταστὰς ἐρωτήματα τοιαῦτα προὔβαλλε· “Τίς ἐστὶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀκόλαστος; τίς ἀνὴρ ἀνδρα ζητεῖ; τίς ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ κνᾶται τὴν κεφαλὴν;” οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ χορὸς εἰς ἀμοιβαῖα συγκεκροτημένοις, ἐκείνου τὴν τήβεννον ἀνασεύοντος ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μέγα βοῶντες ἀπεκρίναντο· “Πομπήϊος.”

XLIX. Ἡνία μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα Πομπηίου ἀήθη τοῦ κακῶς ἀκούειν ὄντα καὶ μάχης τοιαύτης ἄπειρον· ἤχθετο δὲ μᾶλλον αἰσθανόμενος τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιχαίρουσαν αὐτῷ προπηλακίζομένῳ καὶ
 2 διδόντι δίκην τῆς Κικέρωνος προδοσίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πληγὰς ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέχρι τραυμάτων συνέβη γενέσθαι, καὶ Κλωδίου τις οἰκέτης παραδυόμενος ἐν ὄχλῳ διὰ τῶν περιεστώτων πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου ἠλέγχθη ξίφος ἔχειν, ταῦτα ποιούμενος πρόφασιν, ἄλλως δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου τὴν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας δεδιώς, οὐκέτι προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἦρχε χρόνον, ἀλλ' οἰκουρῶν διετέλει καὶ σκεπτόμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὅπως ἂν ἐξα-
 3 κέσαιοτο τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργήν. Κουλλέωνι μὲν οὖν κελεύοντι τὴν Ἰουλίαν ἀφεῖναι καὶ μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος φιλίας οὐ προσ-
 ἔσχε, τοῖς δὲ Κικέρωνα καταγαγεῖν ἀξιούσιν, ἀνδρα καὶ Κλωδίῳ πολεμιώτατον καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προσφιλέστατον, ἐπείσθη· καὶ προαγαγὼν τὸν

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making a test of the power of Pompey by his proceedings against them. And finally, when Pompey appeared at a public trial,¹ Clodius, having at his beck and call a rabble of the lewdest and most arrogant ruffians, stationed himself in a conspicuous place and put to them such questions as these: "Who is a licentious imperator?" "What man seeks for a man?" "Who scratches his head with one finger?" And they, like a chorus trained in responsive song, as he shook his toga, would answer each question by shouting out "Pompey."

XLIX. Of course this also was annoying to Pompey, who was not accustomed to vilification and was inexperienced in this sort of warfare; but he was more distressed when he perceived that the senate was delighted to see him insulted and paying a penalty for his betrayal of Cicero. When, however, it had come to blows and even wounds in the forum, and a servant of Clodius, stealing along through the crowd of bystanders towards Pompey, was found to have a sword in his hand, Pompey made this his excuse, although he was also afraid of the insolent abuse of Clodius, and came no more into the forum as long as Clodius was tribune, but kept himself continually at home, where he was ever debating with his friends how he might appease the anger of the senate and the nobility against him. To Culleo, however, who urged him to divorce Julia and exchange the friendship of Caesar for that of the senate, he would not listen, but he yielded to the arguments of those who thought he ought to bring Cicero back, who was the greatest enemy of Clodius and most beloved in the senate, and he escorted

¹ The trial of Milo, in 56 B.C. Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxix. 19.

- ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ δεόμενον σὺν χειρὶ πολλῇ, τραυ-
μάτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ γενομένων καὶ τινων ἀναιρεθέν-
4 των, ἐκράτησε τοῦ Κλωδίου. καὶ νόμῳ κατελθὼν
ὁ Κικέρων τὴν τε βουλὴν εὐθύς τῷ Πομπηϊῷ
διήλλαττε, καὶ τῷ σιτικῷ νόμῳ συνηγορῶν τρόπῳ
τινὶ πάλιν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ὅσῃν ἐκέκτηντο
Ῥωμαῖοι, κύριον ἐποίει Πομπηϊον. ἐπ' αὐτῷ
γὰρ ἐγίνοντο λιμένες, ἐμπορία, καρπῶν διαθέσεις,
ἐνὶ λόγῳ, τὰ τῶν πλεόντων πράγματα, τὰ τῶν
5 γεωργούντων. Κλωδῖος δὲ ἤτιᾶτο μὴ γεγράφθαι
τὸν νόμον διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὁ νόμος
γραφείη γεγονέναι τὴν σιτοδείαν, ὥσπερ ἐκ λιπο-
θυμίας αὐτοῦ μαραινομένην τὴν δύναμιν ἀρχῇ
νέα πάλιν ἀναξωπυροῦντος καὶ ἀναλαμβάνοντος.
ἕτεροι δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου Σπινθήρος ἀποφαίνουσι
τοῦτο σόφισμα, κατακλείσαντος εἰς ἀρχὴν μεί-
ζονα Πομπηϊον, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐκπεμφθῇ Πτολε-
6 μαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ βοηθῶν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ
Κανίδιος εἰσήνεγκε δημαρχῶν νόμον, ἄνευ στρα-
τιᾶς Πομπηϊον ἔχοντα ῥαβδούχους δύο διαλλάτ-
τειν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ Πομπηϊος
μὲν ἐδόκει τῷ νόμῳ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, ἡ δὲ
σύγκλητος ἐξέβαλεν, εὐπρεπῶς σκηψαμένη δε-
διέναι περὶ τάνδρός. ἦν δὲ γράμμασιν ἐντυχεῖν
διερριμμένοις κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ παρὰ τὸ βουλευ-
τήριον ὡς δὴ Πτολεμαίου δεομένου Πομπηϊον
αὐτῷ στρατηγὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Σπινθήρος δοθῆναι.
7 Τιμαγένης δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τὸν Πτολεμαῖον οὐκ

¹ In 57 B C.

•The law made Pompey *Praefectus Annonae* for five years.

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Cicero's brother, who was a petitioner for his return, with a large force into the forum, where, though some were wounded and some killed, he nevertheless got the better of Clodius. And when Cicero returned to the city¹ by virtue of the law then passed, he immediately reconciled Pompey to the senate, and by his advocacy of the corn law he in a manner once more made Pompey master of all the land and sea in Roman possession. For under his direction were placed harbours, trading-places, distributions of crops,—in a word, navigation and agriculture.² Clodius alleged that the law had not been proposed on account of the scarcity of grain, but the scarcity of grain had arisen in order that the law might be proposed, a law whereby the power of Pompey, which was withering away, as it were, in consequence of his failing spirits, might be rekindled again and recovered in a new office. But others declare that this was a device of the consul Spinther, whose aim was to confine Pompey in a higher office, in order that he himself might be sent out to aid King Ptolemy.³ However, Canidius, as tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that Pompey, without an army, and with two lictors only, should go out as a mediator between the king and the people of Alexandria. Pompey was thought to regard the law with no disfavour, but the senate rejected it, on the plausible pretence that it feared for his safety. Besides, writings were to be found scattered about the forum and near the senate-house, stating that it was Ptolemy's wish to have Pompey given to him as a commander instead of Spinther. And Timagenes actually says that Ptolemy left home

³ Ptolemy had taken refuge from his dissatisfied subjects in Rome, and wished to be restored. Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxix. 12-17. He is referred to again in chapter lxxvi. 5.

οὔσης ἀνάγκης ἀπελθεῖν φησι, καὶ καταλιπεῖν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ Θεοφάνους πεισθέντα πράττοντος Πομπητῶ χρηματισμοὺς καὶ στρατηγίας καινῆς ὑπόθεσιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ οὕτως ἢ Θεοφάνους μοχθηρία πιθανὸν ὥς ἄπιστον ἢ Πομπητῶν ποιεῖ φύσις, οὐκ ἔχουσα κακότητες οὐδ' ἀνελεύθερον οὕτω τὸ φιλότιμον.

- L. Ἐπισταθεὶς δὲ τῇ περὶ τὸ σιτικὸν οἰκονομία καὶ πραγματεία, πολλαχοῦ μὲν ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς καὶ φίλους, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ Λιβύην ἡθροίζε σῖτον. ἀνάγεσθαι δὲ μέλλων πνεύματος μεγάλου κατὰ θάλατταν ὄντος καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν ὀκνούντων, πρῶτος ἐμβὰς καὶ κελεύσας τὴν ἄγκυραν αἶρειν ἀνεβόησε·
- 2 “Πλεῖν ἀνάγκη, ζῆν οὐκ ἀνάγκη.” τοιαύτῃ δὲ τόλμῃ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενος μετὰ τύχης ἀγαθῆς ἐνέπλησε σίτου τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ πλοίων τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώποις ἐπαρκέσαι τὴν περιουσίαν ἐκείνης τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ γενέσθαι καθάπερ ἐκ πηγῆς ἄφθονον ἀπορορὴν εἰς πάντας.

- LI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ μέγαν ἦσαν οἱ Κελτικοὶ πόλεμοι Καίσαρα· καὶ δοκῶν πορρωτάτῳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπειναι καὶ συνηρτησθαι Βέλγαις καὶ Σουήβοις καὶ Βρεττανοῖς, ἐλάνθανεν ὑπὸ δεινότητος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς κυριωτάτοις πράγμασι καταπολιτευόμενος τὸν Πομπητῶν.
- 2 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὥς σῶμα τὴν στρατιωτικὴν δύναμιν περικείμενος, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν θήραις καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀγῶσι γυμνάζων, διεπόνει, καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν ἄμαχον καὶ φοβερὰν, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ

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without sufficient reason and under no necessity, and that his abandonment of Egypt was owing to the persuasions of Theophanes, who was aiming to give Pompey profitable occupation in the holding of a new command. But this is not made credible by the baseness of Theophanes as much as it is made incredible by the nature of Pompey, in which ambition was not of such a mean and base order.

L. Having thus been set over the administration and management of the grain trade, Pompey sent out his agents and friends in various directions, while he himself sailed to Sicily, Sardinia and Africa, and collected grain. When he was about to set sail with it, there was a violent storm at sea, and the ship-captains hesitated to put out; but he led the way on board and ordered them to weigh anchor, crying with a loud voice: "To sail is necessary; to live is not." By this exercise of zeal and courage attended by good fortune, he filled the sea with ships and the markets with grain, so that the excess of what he had provided sufficed also for foreign peoples, and there was an abundant overflow, as from a spring, for all.

LI. Meanwhile, his Gallic wars raised Caesar to greatness; and though he was thought to be very far removed from Rome, and to be occupied with Belgae, Suevi, and Britanni, he secretly and cleverly contrived to thwart Pompey's designs in the heart of the city and in the most important matters. For he himself, with his military force clothing him as the body does the soul, was carefully training it, not against the Barbarians merely, nay, he used its combats with these only to give it exercise, as if in hunting and the chase,—and was making it invincible and terrible; but all the while he was

- τᾶλλα λάφυρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦτον τὸν ἐκ
πολέμων τοσούτων περιγινόμενον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
ἀποστέλλων, καὶ διαπειρῶν ταῖς δωροδοκίαις καὶ
συγχορηγῶν ἀγορανόμοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ
ὑπάτοις καὶ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν, ᾠκειοῦτο πολλούς·
3 ὥστε ὑπερβαλόντος αὐτοῦ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς καὶ δια-
χειμάζοντος ἐν Λούκῃ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν
καὶ γυναικῶν ἀμιλλωμένων καὶ φερομένων πολὺ
πλήθος γενέσθαι, συγκλητικούς δὲ διακοσίους, ἐν
οἷς καὶ Πομπηΐος ἦν καὶ Κράσσος, ἀνθυπάτων
δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ῥάβδους ἐπὶ
4 ταῖς Καίσαρος θύραις ὀφθῆναι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλ-
λους ἅπαντας ἐμπλήσας ἐλπίδων καὶ χρημάτων
ἀπέστειλλε, Κράσῳ δὲ καὶ Πομπηΐῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι, μετιέναι μὲν ὑπατείας ἐκεί-
νους καὶ Καίσαρα συλλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς, πέμπον-
τα τῶν στρατιωτῶν συχνούς ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον, ἐπὰν
δὲ αἰρεθῶσι τάχιστα, πράττειν μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπαρ-
χιῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας, Καίσαρι δὲ τὰς
5 οὐσας βεβαιοῦν εἰς ἄλλην πενταετίαν. ἐπὶ τού-
τοις ἐξενεχθεῖσιν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς χαλεπῶς
ἔφερον οἱ πρῶτοι· καὶ Μαρκελλῖνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ
καταστὰς ἀμφοῖν ἐναντίον ἠρώτησεν εἰ μετίασιν
ὑπατείαν. καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποκρίνασθαι κελ-
ευόντων, πρῶτος Πομπηΐος εἶπεν ὡς τάχα μὲν ἂν
μετέλθοι, τάχα δὲ οὐκ ἂν μετέλθοι· Κράσος δὲ
πολιτικώτερον· οὕτω γὰρ ἔφη πράξειν ὅποτέρως
6 ἂν οἴηται τῷ κοινῷ συνοίσειν. ἐπιφυομένου δὲ

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sending back to Rome gold and silver and the other spoils and the rest of the wealth which came to him in abundance from his numerous wars, and by tempting people with his bribes, and contributing to the expenses of aediles, praetors, consuls, and their wives, he was winning many to his side. Therefore when he crossed the Alps and spent the winter in Luca, a great crowd of ordinary men and women gathered there in eager haste to see him, while two hundred men of senatorial rank, among whom were Pompey and Crassus, and a hundred and twenty fasces of proconsuls and praetors were seen at Caesar's door.¹ Accordingly, he filled all the rest with hopes and loaded them with money, and sent them away; but between himself, Pompey, and Crassus the following compact was made: these two were to stand for the consulship, and Caesar was to assist their candidacy by sending large numbers of his soldiers home to vote for them; as soon as they were elected, they were to secure for themselves commands of provinces and armies, and to confirm Caesar's present provinces to him for another term of five years. When all this was publicly known, it gave displeasure to the chief men of the state, and Marcellinus rose in the assembly and asked Pompey and Crassus to their faces whether they were going to be candidates for the consulship. As the majority of the people bade them answer, Pompey did so first, and said that perhaps he would be a candidate, and perhaps he would not; but Crassus gave a more politic answer, for he said he would take whichever course he thought would be for the advantage of the commonwealth.² And when Marcellinus persisted in his

¹ This was in 56 B.C. Cf. the *Caesar*, chapter xxi.

² Cf. the *Crassus*, xv. 1 f.

Πομπητῶ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ σφοδρῶς λέγειν δοκ-
οῦντος, ὁ Πομπηῖος ἔφη πάντων ἀδικώτατον εἶναι
τὸν Μαρκελλίνον, ὃς χάριν οὐκ ἔχει λόγιος μὲν ἐξ
ἀφώνου δι' αὐτόν, ἐμετικὸς δὲ ἐκ πεινατικοῦ γενό-
μενος.

LII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστάντων
τοῦ παραγγέλλειν ὑπατείαν, Λεύκιον Δομέτιον
Κάτων ἔπεισε καὶ παρεθάρρυνε μὴ ἀπειπεῖν· οὐ
γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας εἶναι τὸν
ἀγῶνα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
Πομπηῖον φοβηθέντες τὸν τόνον τοῦ Κάτωνος, μὴ
τὴν βουλὴν ἔχων ἅπασαν ἀποσπάσῃ καὶ μετα-
βάλλῃ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ὑγιαῖνον, οὐκ εἴασαν εἰς ἀγο-
2 ρὰν κατελθεῖν τὸν Δομέτιον, ἀλλ' ἐπιπέμψαντες
ἐνόπλους ἄνδρας ἀπέκτειναν μὲν τὸν προηγούμενον
λυχνοφόρον, ἐτρέψαντο δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους· ἐσχατος
δὲ Κάτων ἀνεχώρησε, τρωθεὶς τὸν δεξιὸν πῆχυν
ἀμυνόμενος πρὸ τοῦ Δομετίου.

Τοιαύτη δὲ ὁδῷ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
οὐδὲ τᾶλλα κοσμιώτερον ἔπραττον. ἀλλὰ πρῶ-
τον μὲν τὸν Κάτωνα τοῦ δήμου στρατηγὸν αἰρου-
μένου καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέροντος, Πομπηῖος
ἔλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰωνοὺς αἰτιώμενος, ἀντὶ δὲ
Κάτωνος Βατίνιον ἀνηγόρευσαν, ἀργυρίῳ τὰς
3 φυλὰς διαφθείραντες. ἔπειτα νόμους διὰ Τρε-
βωνίου δημαρχοῦντος εἰσέφερον, Καίσαρι μὲν, 647
ὥσπερ ὠμολόγητο, δευτέραν ἐπιμετροῦντας πεντα-
ετίαν, Κράσσῳ δὲ Συρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους
στρατείαν διδόντας, αὐτῷ δὲ Πομπητῶ Λιβύην
ἅπασαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἑκατέραν καὶ τέσσαρα τάγ-
ματα στρατιωτῶν, ὧν ἐπέχρησε δύο Καίσαρι
4 δεηθέντι πρὸς τὸν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ πόλεμον. ἀλλὰ
Κράσσος μὲν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπαλ-

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attack upon Pompey and was thought to be making a strong speech, Pompey remarked that Marcellinus was of all men most unjust, since he was not grateful to him for making him eloquent instead of speechless, and full to vomiting instead of famished.

LII. However, though all the rest declined to be candidates for the consulship, Cato encouraged and persuaded Lucius Domitius not to desist, for the struggle with the tyrants, he said, was not for office, but for liberty. But Pompey and his partisans, seeing the firmness of Cato, and fearing lest, having all the senate with him, he should draw away and pervert the sound-minded among the people, would not suffer Domitius to go down into the forum, but sent armed men and slew the link-bearer who was leading his company, and put the rest to flight; Cato was the last to retire, after being wounded in the right arm while he was fighting to defend Domitius.

By such a path they made their way into the office they sought, nor even then did they behave more decently. But first of all, while the people were casting their votes for the election of Cato to the praetorship, Pompey dissolved the assembly, alleging an inauspicious omen, and after corrupting the tribes with money, they proclaimed Vatinius praetor instead of Cato. Then, by means of Trebonius, a tribune, they introduced laws which, according to the agreement, continued his provinces to Caesar for a second term of five years, gave Crassus Syria and the expedition against the Parthians, and to Pompey himself the whole of Africa, both Spains, and four legions; of these he lent two to Caesar, at his request, for the war in Gaul. But although Crassus went out to his province at the expiration of

λαγείς τῆς ὑπατείας, Πομπηῖος δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἀναδείξας ἀγῶνας ἤγε γυμνικούς καὶ μουσικούς ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει, καὶ θηρῶν ἀμίλλας ἐν οἷς πεντακόσιοι λέοντες ἀνηρέθησαν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν ἐλεφαντομαχίαν, ἐκπληκτικώτατον θέαμα, παρέσχευ.

- LIII. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ θαυμαστωθεὶς καὶ ἀγαπηθείς, αὐθις οὐκ ἐλάττονα φθόνον ἔσχευ, ὅτι πρεσβευταῖς φίλοις παραδοὺς τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας, αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡβητηρίοις, μετιῶν ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχόσε, μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς διήγεν, εἴτε ἐρῶν αὐτῆς, εἴτε ἐρώσαν οὐχ ὑπομένων ἀπολιπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο
- 2 λέγεται. καὶ περιβόητον ἦν τῆς κόρης τὸ φίλανδρον, οὐ καθ' ὥραν ποθούσης τὸν Πομπηῖον, ἀλλ' αἷτιον ἔοικεν ἢ τε σωφροσύνη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι μόνην γινώσκοντος τὴν γεγαμημένην, ἢ τε σεμνότης οὐκ ἄκρατον, ἀλλ' εὐχαριν ἔχουσα τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ μάλιστα γυναικῶν ἀγωγόν, εἰ δεῖ
- 3 μηδὲ Φλώραν ἀλῶναι τὴν ἐταίραν ψευδομαρτυριῶν. ἐν δ' οὖν ἀγορανομικοῖς ἀρχαιρεσίοις εἰς
- 4 χεῖράς τινων ἐλθόντων καὶ φονευθέντων περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀναπλησθεὶς αἵματος ἥλλαξε τὰ ἱμάτια. πολλοῦ δὲ θορύβου καὶ δρόμου πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν γενομένου τῶν κομιζόντων τὰ ἱμάτια θεραπόντων, ἔτυχεν μὲν ἡ κόρη κύνουσα, θεασαμένη δὲ καθημαγμένην τὴν τήβεννον ἐξέλιπε καὶ μόλις ἀνήνεγκεν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τοῦ
- πάθους ἀπήμβλωσεν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ οἱ μάλιστα μεμφόμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα Πομπηίου φιλίαν ἡτιῶντο τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς γυναικὸς. αὐθις μέντοι κινήσασα καὶ τεκούσα θῆλυ παιδίον ἐκ τῶν

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his consulship,¹ Pompey opened his theatre and held gymnastic and musical contests at its dedication, and furnished combats of wild beasts in which five hundred lions were killed, and above all, an elephant fight, a most terrifying spectacle.

LIII. All this won him admiration and affection ; but on the other hand he incurred a corresponding displeasure, because he handed over his provinces and his armies to legates who were his friends, while he himself spent his time with his wife among the pleasure-places of Italy, going from one to another, either because he loved her, or because she loved him so that he could not bear to leave her ; for this reason too is given. Indeed, the fondness of the young woman for her husband was notorious, although the mature age of Pompey did not invite such devotion. The reason for it, however, seems to have lain in the chaste restraint of her husband, who knew only his wedded wife, and in the dignity of his manners, which were not severe, but full of grace, and especially attractive to women, as even Flora the courtesan may be allowed to testify. It once happened that at an election of aediles people came to blows, and many were killed in the vicinity of Pompey and he was covered with their blood, so that he changed his garments. His servants carried these garments to his house with much confusion and haste, and his young wife, who chanced to be with child, at sight of the blood-stained toga, fainted away and with difficulty regained her senses, and in consequence of the shock and her sufferings, miscarried. Thus it came to pass that even those who found most fault with Pompey's friendship for Caesar could not blame him for the love he bore his wife. However, she conceived again and gave birth to a

¹ In 54 B.C.

ὠδίνων ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὸ παιδίον οὐ πολλὰς
 ἡμέρας ἐπέζησε. παρεσκευασμένου δὲ τοῦ Πομπη-
 πηίου τὸ σῶμα θάπτειν ἐν Ἀλβανῷ, βιασάμενος
 ὁ δῆμος εἰς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον κατήνεγκεν, οἴκτω
 τῆς κόρης μᾶλλον ἢ Πομπηίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι
 5 χαριζόμενος. αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων μείζον ἐδόκει
 μέρος ἀπόντι Καίσαρι νέμειν ὁ δῆμος ἢ Πομπηίῳ
 παρόντι τῆς τιμῆς. εὐθύς γὰρ ἐκύμαινεν ἡ πόλις,
 καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα σάλον εἶχε καὶ λόγους
 διαστατικούς, ὥς ἡ πρότερον παρακαλύπτουσα
 μᾶλλον ἢ κατείργουσα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν φιλαρχίαν
 6 οἰκειότης ἀνῆρηται. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος
 ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπολωλὼς ἡγγέλλετο· καὶ τοῦτο
 κῶλυμα ὃν μέγα τοῦ συμπεσεῖν τὸν ἐμφύλιον
 πόλεμον ἐκποδῶν ἐγεγόνει· δεδιότες γὰρ ἐκείνον
 ἀμφοτέροι τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμῶς γε πως
 ἐνέμενον δικαίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνείλεν ἡ τύχη τὸν
 ἔφεδρον τοῦ ἀγῶνος, εὐθύς ἦν εἰπεῖν τὸ κωμι-
 κόν, ὥς

ἄτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον
 ὑπαλείφεται τὼ χεῖρέ θ' ὑποκονίεται.

7 οὕτως ἡ τύχη μικρόν ἐστι πρὸς τὴν φύσιν. οὐ
 γὰρ ἀποπίμπλησιν αὐτῆς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ὅπου
 τοσοῦτον βάθος ἡγεμονίας καὶ μέγεθος εὐρυ-
 χωρίας δυοῖν ἀνδροῖν οὐκ ἐπέσχευ, ἀλλ' ἀκού-
 οντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες ὅτι “τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα
 δέδασται” τοῖς θεοῖς, “ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς,”

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female child, but died from the pains of travail, and the child survived her only a few days. Pompey made preparations to bury her body at his Alban villa, but the people took it by force and carried it down to the Campus Martius for burial, more out of pity for the young woman than as a favour to Pompey and Caesar. But of these two, it was thought that the people gave a larger share of the honour to Caesar, who was absent, than to Pompey, who was present. For the city became at once a tossing sea, and everywhere surging tumult and discordant speeches prevailed, since the marriage alliance which had hitherto veiled rather than restrained the ambition of the two men was now at an end. After a short time, too, tidings came that Crassus had lost his life in Parthia, and so what had been a great hindrance to the breaking out of civil war was removed; for through fear of him both Pompey and Caesar had somehow or other continued to treat one another fairly. But when fortune had removed the third champion who waited to compete with the victor in their struggle, at once the comic poet's words were apt, and

“each wrestler against the other
Anoints himself with oil and smears his hands
with dust.”¹

So slight a thing is fortune when compared with human nature; for she cannot satisfy its desires, since all that extent of empire and magnitude of wide-stretching domain could not suffice for two men. They had heard and read that the gods² “divided the universe into three parts, and each got his share of power,” and yet they did not think

¹ Cf. Kock, *Com. Graec. Frag.* iii. p. 484.

² Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto; *Iliad*, xv. 189.

ἑαυτοῖς οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἀρκεῖν δυσὶν οὖσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν.

- LIV. Καίτοι Πομπήϊος εἰπέ ποτε δημηγορῶν ὅτι πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν λάβοι πρότερον ἢ προσεδόκησε καὶ κατάθοιτο θάπτον ἢ προσεδοκήθη. καὶ νῆ 648 Δία μαρτυρούσας εἶχεν αἰὲ τὰς διαλύσεις τῶν στρατοπέδων. τότε δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα δοκῶν οὐ προήσεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐξήτει ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς ὀχυρὸς εἶναι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζεν, οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν, ἀλλ' 2 ὑπερορᾶν μᾶλλον καὶ καταφρονεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ἑώρα βραβευομένης, δεκαζομένων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀναρχίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει περιεῖδε γενομένην· καὶ λόγος εὐθύς ἐχώρει πολὺς ὑπὲρ δικτάτορος, ὃν πρῶτος εἰς μέσον ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησε Λουκίλλιος ὁ δῆμαρχος, τῷ δῆμῳ παραινῶν ἐλέσθαι δικτάτορα Πομπήϊον. ἐπιλαβομένου δὲ Κάτωνος οὗτος μὲν ἐκινδύνευσε τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ὑπὲρ δὲ Πομπηίου πολλοὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπελογοῦντο παριόντες ὥς οὐ δεομένου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης οὐδὲ βουλομένου.
- 3 Κάτωνος δὲ Πομπηίου ἐπαινέσαντος καὶ προτρεψαμένου τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι, τότε μὲν αἰδεσθεῖς ἐπεμελήθη, καὶ κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ Δομέτιος καὶ Μεσσάλας, ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν ἀναρχίας γινομένης καὶ πλειόνων ἤδη τὸν περὶ τοῦ δικτάτορος λόγον ἐγειρόντων ἰταμώτερον, φοβηθέντες οἱ περὶ Κάωνα μὴ βιασθῶσιν, ἔγνωσαν ἀρχὴν τινα τῷ Πομπηίῳ προέμενοι

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the Roman dominion enough for themselves, who were but two.

LIV. Still, Pompey once said in addressing the people that he had received every office earlier than he had expected, and had laid it down more quickly than others had expected. And in truth his disbanding of his armies was a perpetual witness to the truth of his words. But at this time he thought that Caesar was not going to dismiss his forces, and therefore sought to make himself strong against him by means of magistracies in the city. Beyond this, however, he attempted no revolutionary changes, nor did he wish to be thought to distrust Caesar, but rather to neglect and despise him. But when he saw that the magistracies were not bestowed according to his wishes, because the citizens were bribed, he suffered an anarchy to arise in the city;¹ and forthwith there was prevalent much talk in favour of a dictator, which Lucilius the popular tribune first ventured to make public, when he advised the people to elect Pompey dictator. But Cato attacked him, and Lucilius came near losing his tribunate, and many of Pompey's friends came forward in defence of him, declaring that he neither asked nor desired that office. And when Cato applauded Pompey and urged him to devote himself to the cause of law and order, for the time being he did so, out of shame, and Domitius and Messala were installed in the consulship²; but afterwards an anarchy arose again, and more people now agitated the question of a dictatorship more boldly. Therefore Cato and his party, fearing lest they should be overborne, determined to allow Pompey a certain

¹ That is, no consuls were elected.

² In 53 B.C., seven months after the regular time.

νόμιμον ἀποτρέψαι τῆς ἀκράτου καὶ τυραννικῆς
 4 ἐκείνης. καὶ Βύβλος ἐχθρὸς ὢν Πομπηΐῳ πρῶτος
 ἀπεφήνατο γνώμην ἐν συγκλήτῳ Πομπηΐου μόνον
 ἐλέσθαι ὑπατον· ἡ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς
 παρούσης τὴν πόλιν ἀκοσμίας, ἡ δουλεύσειν τῷ
 κρατίστῳ. φανέντος δὲ παραδόξου τοῦ λόγου
 διὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, Κάτων ἀναστὰς καὶ παρασχὼν
 δόκησιν ὡς ἀντιλέξοι, γενομένης σιωπῆς εἶπε
 τὴν προκειμένην γνώμην αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἰς-
 ενεγκεῖν, εἰσηνευγμένη δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρου πείθεσθαι
 κελεύειν, πᾶσαν μὲν ἀρχὴν μᾶλλον αἰρούμενος
 ἀναρχίας, Πομπηΐου δὲ μηδένα βέλτιον ἄρξειν
 5 ἐν ταραχαῖς τηλικαύταις νομίζων. δεξαμένης δὲ
 τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ ψηφισαμένης ὅπως ὑπατος
 αἰρεθεῖς ὁ Πομπηΐος ἄρχοι μόνος, εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς
 συνάρχοντος δεηθείη, μὴ θᾶπτον δυοῖν μηνοῖν
 δοκιμάσας ἔλοιτο, κατασταθεῖς οὕτως καὶ ἀπο-
 δειχθεῖς διὰ Σουλπικίου μεσοβασιλέως ὑπατος
 ἡσπάζετο φιλοφρόνως τὸν Κάτωνα, πολλὴν ὁμο-
 λογῶν χάριν ἔχειν καὶ παρακαλῶν γίνεσθαι
 6 σύμβουλον ἰδίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. Κάτων δὲ χάριν μὲν
 ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν Πομπηΐον οὐκ ἠξίου· δι' ἐκείνου
 γὰρ ὢν εἶπεν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, διὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν·
 ἔσεσθαι δὲ σύμβουλος ἰδίᾳ παρακαλούμενος, ἂν
 δὲ μὴ παρακαλῇται, δημοσίᾳ φράσειν τὸ φαινό-
 μενον. τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν Κάτων ἐν πᾶσι.

¹ In 52 B.C.

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legalized office, and so to divert him from the un-mixed tyranny of a dictatorship. Consequently, Bibulus, who was an enemy of Pompey, was first to propose in the senate that Pompey be chosen sole consul; for thus, he said, the city would either be set free from the prevailing disorder, or would become the slave of its strongest man. The proposal seemed strange, considering the man who made it; but Cato rose, leading everybody to think that he was going to speak against it, and when silence was made, said that he himself would not have introduced the proposed measure, but that since it had been introduced by another, he urged its adoption, because he preferred any government whatever to no government at all, and thought that no one would govern better than Pompey in a time of such disorder. The senate accepted the measure, and decreed that Pompey, if elected consul, should govern alone, but that if he himself desired a colleague, he might choose whom he thought fit after two months had fully expired. Having in this way been made consul¹ and so declared by Sulpicius, the Interrex,² Pompey addressed himself in a friendly manner to Cato, acknowledging that he was much indebted to him, and inviting him to give advice in a private capacity on the conduct of the government. But Cato would not admit that Pompey was indebted to him, declaring that none of his words had been spoken in the interests of Pompey, but in the interests of the city; and that he would give him advice in a private capacity if he were invited, and in case he should not be invited, would publicly make known his opinion. Such, indeed, was Cato in everything.

¹ One who held supreme power in the absence of regularly elected consuls.

- LV. Πομπήϊος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔγχευε Κορνηλίαν θυγατέρα Μετέλλου Σκηπίωνος, οὐ παρθένον, ἀλλὰ χήραν ἀπολελειμμένην νεωστὶ Ποπλίου τοῦ Κράσσου παιδός, ᾧ συνώκησεν ἐκ παρθενίας, ἐν Πάρθοις τεθνηκός. ἐνὴν δὲ τῇ κόρῃ πολλὰ φίλτρα δίχα τῶν ἀφ' ὥρας. καὶ γὰρ περὶ γράμματα καλῶς ἥσκητο καὶ περὶ λύραν καὶ γεωμετρίαν, καὶ λόγων φιλοσόφων εἵθιστο
- 2 χρησίμως ἀκούειν. καὶ προσῆν τούτοις ἦθος ἀηδίας καὶ περιεργίας καθαρὸν, ἃ δὴ νέαις προσ-
τρίβεται γυναιξὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα· πατήρ δὲ καὶ γένους ἔνεκα καὶ δόξης ἄμεμπτος. ἀλλ' ὁμως τοῦ γάμου τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἤρεσκε τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡλικίαν· νίῃ γὰρ αὐτοῦ συνοικεῖν ὦραν εἶχεν ἢ
- 3 Κορνηλία μᾶλλον· οἱ δὲ κομψότεροι τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῦντο παρεωρακεῖν τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐν τύχαις οὐσης, ὧν ἐκείνον ἱατρὸν ἥρηται καὶ μόνῳ παραδέδωκεν αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ στεφανοῦται καὶ θύει γάμους, αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπατείαν ὀφείλων ἡγεῖσθαι συμφοράν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω παρανόμως δοθεῖσαν 649
- 4 εὐτυχοῦσης τῆς πατρίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς δίκαις τῶν δωροδοκιῶν καὶ δεκασμῶν ἐπιστάς, καὶ νόμους γράψας καθ' οὗς αἱ κρίσεις ἐγίνοντο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σεμνῶς ἐβράβευε καὶ καθαρῶς, ἀσφάλειαν ἅμα καὶ κόσμον καὶ ἡσυχίαν αὐτοῦ προσκαθημένου μεθ' ὅπλων τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παρέχων, Σκηπίωνος δὲ τοῦ πενθεροῦ κρινομένου, μεταπεμφάμενος οἴκαδε τοὺς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους δικαστὰς ἐνέτυχε βοηθεῖν, ὁ δὲ κατήγορος ἀπέστη τῆς δίκης ἰδὼν τὸν Σκηπίωνα προπεμπόμενον 260

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LV. Pompey now entered the city, and married Cornelia, a daughter of Metellus Scipio. She was not a virgin, but had lately been left a widow by Publius, the son of Crassus, whose virgin bride she had been before his death in Parthia. The young woman had many charms apart from her youthful beauty. She was well versed in literature, in playing the lyre, and in geometry, and had been accustomed to listen to philosophical discourses with profit. In addition to this, she had a nature which was free from that unpleasant officiousness which such accomplishments are apt to impart to young women; and her father's lineage and reputation were above reproach. Nevertheless, the marriage was displeasing to some on account of the disparity in years; for Cornelia's youth made her a fitter match for a son of Pompey. Those, too, who were more critical, considered that Pompey was neglectful of the unhappy condition of the city, which had chosen him as her physician and put herself in his sole charge; whereas he was decking himself with garlands and celebrating nuptials, though he ought to have regarded his very consulship as a calamity, since it would not have been given him in such an illegal manner had his country been prosperous. Moreover, although he presided over the suits for corruption and bribery, and introduced laws for the conduct of the trials, and in all other cases acted as arbiter with dignity and fairness, making the court-rooms safe, orderly, and quiet by his presence there with an armed force, still, when Scipio, his father-in-law, was put on trial, he summoned the three hundred and sixty jurors to his house and solicited their support, and the prosecutor abandoned the case when he saw Scipio conducted from the

ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, πάλιν οὖν ἤκουε
 5 κακῶς, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτι λύσας νόμῳ τοὺς γινο-
 μένους περὶ τῶν κρινομένων ἐπαίνους, αὐτὸς
 εἰσῆλθε Πλάγκον ἐπαινεσόμενος. καὶ Κάτων
 (ἔτυχε γὰρ κρίνων) ἐπισχόμενος τὰ ὦτα ταῖς
 χερσὶν οὐκ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν
 6 νόμον ἀκούειν τῶν ἐπαίνων. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Κάτων
 ἀπεβλήθη πρὸ τοῦ φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον, ἐάλω δὲ
 ταῖς ἄλλαις ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ Πομ-
 πηίου. καὶ γὰρ ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις Ὑψαῖος,
 ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, δίκην φεύγων καὶ παραφυλάξας
 τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀπιόντα λελουμένον,
 ἰκέτευε τῶν γονάτων λαβόμενος. ὁ δὲ παρῆλθεν
 ὑπεροπτικῶς εἰπὼν διαφθείρειν τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτόν,
 ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν περαίνειν. οὕτως οὖν ἄνιστος εἶναι
 7 δοκῶν αἰτίας εἶχε. τὰ δ' ἄλλα καλῶς ἅπαντα
 κατέστησεν εἰς τάξιν, καὶ προσεείλετο συνάρχοντα
 τὸν πενθερὸν εἰς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους πέντε μῆνας.
 ἐψηφίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἔχειν εἰς ἄλλην
 τετραετίαν, καὶ χίλια τάλαντα λαμβάνειν καθ'
 ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, ἀφ' ὧν θρέψει καὶ διοικήσει
 τὸ στρατιωτικόν.

LVI. Οἱ δὲ Καίσαρος φίλοι ταύτην ἀρχὴν
 λαβόντες ἡξίουσαν τινὰ γενέσθαι καὶ Καίσαρος
 λόγον, ἀγωνιζομένου τοσούτους ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἡγεμονίας· ἡ γὰρ ὑπατείας ἄξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν
 ἐτέρας, ἡ προσλαβεῖν τῇ στρατείᾳ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ
 τῶν πεπονημένων οὐκ ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν ἀφαιρή-
 σεται τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄρξει καὶ τιμῆσεται
 2 καθ' ἡσυχίαν ὁ κατεργασάμενος. οὕσης δὲ περὶ

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forum by the jurors. Once more, therefore, Pompey was in ill repute, and this was still further increased because, although he had put a stop by law to encomiums on persons under trial, he himself came into court to pronounce an encomium on Plancus. Cato, who happened to be one of the jurors, clapped his hands to his ears and said it was not right for him, contrary to the law, to listen to encomiums. Cato was therefore set aside before he could cast his vote, but Plancus was convicted by the other votes, to the disgrace of Pompey. For, a few days afterwards, Hypsæus, a man of consular dignity, who was under prosecution, lay in wait for Pompey as he was returning from his bath for supper, clasped his knees, and supplicated his favour; but Pompey passed along contemptuously, telling him that, except for spoiling his supper, he was accomplishing nothing. In this way he got the reputation of being partial, and was blamed for it. Everything else, however, he succeeded in bringing into good order, and chose his father-in-law as his colleague for the remaining five months of the year. It was also decreed that he should retain his provinces for another four years, and receive a thousand talents yearly, out of which he was to feed and maintain his soldiers.

LVI. But the friends of Caesar took occasion from this to demand that some consideration be shewn for Caesar also, who was waging so many contests in behalf of the Roman supremacy; they said he deserved either another consulship, or the prolongation of his command, so that no one else might succeed to his labours and rob him of the glory of them, but that the one who had performed them might himself continue in power and enjoy his honours undisturbed. A debate arose on these matters, during

τούτων ἀμίλλης, ὥς δὴ παραιτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 Καίσαρος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τὸν φθόνον ὁ Πομπήϊος ἔφη
 γράμματα Καίσαρος ἔχειν βουλομένου λαβεῖν
 διάδοχον καὶ παύσασθαι τῆς στρατείας· ὑπατείας
 μέντοι καὶ μὴ παρόντι καλῶς ἔχειν αἰτήσιν αὐτῷ
 3 δοθῆναι. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐνισταμένων τῶν περὶ
 Κάτωνα καὶ κελευόντων ἰδιώτην γενόμενον καὶ
 τὰ ὄπλα καταθέμενον εὐρίσκεσθαί τι παρὰ τῶν
 πολιτῶν ἀγαθόν, οὐκ ἐξερίσας, ἀλλ' οἶον ἡττηθεὶς
 ὁ Πομπήϊος ὑποπτος ἦν μᾶλλον ὢν ἐφρόνει περὶ
 Καίσαρος. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπαιτῶν
 ἃς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ, τὰ Παρθικὰ ποιούμενος πρό-
 φασιν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ εἰδὼς ἐφ' οἷς ἀπητεῖτο τοὺς
 στρατιώτας, ἀπέπεμψε καλῶς δωρησάμενος.

LVII. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Πομπήϊος ἐν Νεαπόλει
 νοσήσας ἐπισφαλῶς ἀνέρρωσε, Πραξαγόρου δὲ
 πείσαντος τοὺς Νεαπολίτας ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 σωτήρια. μιμουμένων δὲ τούτους τῶν προσοίκων
 καὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὕτω περιϋόντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν
 πᾶσαν, καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη πόλεις ἐφ' ἡμέρας
 2 πολλὰς ἐώρταζε. τοὺς δὲ ἀπαντῶντας πανταχό-
 θεν οὐδεὶς ἐχώρει τόπος, ἀλλὰ ὁδοί τε κατεπίμ-
 πλαντο καὶ κῶμαι καὶ λιμένες εὐωχουμένων καὶ
 θυόντων. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ στεφανηφοροῦντες ὑπὸ
 λαμπάδων ἐδέχοντο καὶ παρέπεμπον ἀνθοβολού-
 μενον, ὥστε τὴν κομιδὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορείαν
 3 θέαμα κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ λαμπρότατον. οὐ-
 δενὸς μέντοι τοῦτο λέγεται τῶν ἀπεργασαμένων

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which Pompey, giving the impression that it was goodwill towards Caesar that led him to deprecate the odium in which Caesar stood, said he had letters from Caesar wherein he expressed a wish to have a successor and be relieved of his command; he thought it right, however, that he should be permitted to stand for the consulship even in his absence. Opposition to this was made by Cato and his party, who urged that Caesar must lay down his arms and become a private citizen before he could obtain any favour from his fellow-citizens; and since Pompey made no contention, but as it were accepted defeat, there was more suspicion about his sentiments towards Caesar. He also sent and asked back the troops which he had lent him,¹ making the Parthian war his pretext for doing so. And although Caesar knew the real reasons for asking back the soldiers, he sent them home with generous gifts.

LVII. After this Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples,² but recovered from it, and on the advice of Praxagoras the Neapolitans offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for his preservation. Their example was followed by the neighbouring peoples, and so the thing made its way throughout all Italy, and every city, small and great, held festival for many days. No place could contain those who came to greet him from all quarters, but roads and villages and ports were filled with sacrificing and feasting throngs. Many also with garlands on their heads and lighted torches in their hands welcomed and escorted him on his way, pelting him with flowers, so that his progress and return to Rome was a most beautiful and splendid sight. And yet this is said to have done more than anything else to bring about

¹ Cf. chapter lii. 3.

² In 50 B.C.

τὸν πόλεμον αἰτίων ἔλαττον γενέσθαι. φρόνημα γὰρ εἰσῆλθεν ὑπεραίρον ἅμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς χαρᾶς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων λογισμούς· καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ τὰ εὐτυχήματα καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ θεμένην εὐλάβειαν προέμενος εἰς ἄκρατον ἐξέπεσε θράσος καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως, ὥς οὔτε ὀπλων ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὔτε τινὸς ἐργώδους πραγματείας δεησόμενος, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ῥᾶον καθαιρήσων ἢ πρότερον ἠΰξησε
 4 τὸν ἄνδρα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀππίος ἀφίκετο κομίζων ἐκ Γαλατίας ἣν ἔχρησε Πομπήϊος Καίσαρι στρατιάν· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξεφλαύριζε τὰς ἐκεῖ πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐξέφερε βλασφήμους περὶ Καίσαρος, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήϊον ἀπείρως ἔχειν ἔλεγε τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης, ἐτέροις ὀπλοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα φραγνύμενον, ὃν αὐτοῖς κατεργάζεται τοῖς ἐκείνου στρατεύμασιν, ὅταν πρῶτον ὀφθῇ· τοσοῦτον καὶ μίσους πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ πόθου πρὸς Πομπήϊον ἐνυπάρχειν αὐτοῖς.
 5 αὐτῷ δ' οὖν ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐπήρθη, καὶ τοιαύτης καὶ τοσαύτης ὀλιγωρίας διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐγένετο μεστὸς ὥστε καὶ τῶν δεδιότων τὸν πόλεμον κατεγέλα, καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας ἂν ἐλαύνῃ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐχ ὁρᾷ δυνάμεις αἰς αὐτὸν ἀμυνοῦνται, μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διακεχυμένος ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν· “Ὅπου γὰρ ἂν,” ἔφη, “τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐγὼ κρούσω τῷ ποδὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀναδύσονται καὶ πεζικαὶ καὶ ἵππικαὶ δυνάμεις.”

LVIII. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ Καίσαρ ἐπεφύετο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐρρωμενέστερον, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκέτι μακρὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαίρων, εἰς δὲ τὴν πόλιν αἰεὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποστέλλων ἀρχαιρεσιά-

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the war. For while the public rejoicing was so great, a spirit of exaltation entered into the conclusions which Pompey drew from the progress of events, and, throwing to the winds that caution which had thus far always given security to his successful achievements, he indulged himself in unlimited confidence and contempt for Caesar's power, feeling that he would need neither an armed force to oppose him nor any irksome labour of preparation, but that he would pull him down much more easily than he had raised him up. Besides this, Appius came, bringing from Gaul the troops which Pompey had lent Caesar. He said much to belittle Caesar's achievements there, and gave out scandalous stories about Caesar. He also said that Pompey knew not his own power and reputation if he surrounded himself with other troops against Caesar, for he could put down Caesar with Caesar's own soldiers as soon as he appeared on the scene, so great was their hatred of Caesar and their warm affection for Pompey. In this way, then, Pompey was elated, and his confidence filled him with so great a contempt for his adversary that he mocked at those who were afraid of the war; and when some said that if Caesar should march upon the city, they did not see any forces with which to defend it from him, with a smiling countenance and calm mien he bade them be in no concern; "For," said he, "in whatever part of Italy I stamp upon the ground, there will spring up armies of foot and horse."

LVIII. And now, too, Caesar devoted himself to public affairs with greater vigour. He no longer kept himself far away from Italy, was always sending his soldiers back to the city to take part in the elections, and by means of his money was

- σοντας, χρήμασι δὲ πολλοὺς ὑποικουρῶν καὶ διαφθείρων ἄρχοντας· ὦν καὶ Παῦλος ἦν ὁ ὑπάτος ἐπὶ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ταλάντοις μεταβαλόμενος, καὶ Κουρίων ὁ δῆμαρχος ἀμηχάνων πλήθει δανείων ἐλευθερωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος διὰ φιλίαν Κουρίωνος ὦν
- 2 ὠφελεῖτο μετέχων. ἐλέχθη μὲν οὖν ὅτι τῶν ἀφιγμένων τις ἀπὸ Καίσαρος ταξιαρχῶν ἐστὼς παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ πυθόμενος ὡς οὐ δίδωσιν ἡ βουλὴ Καίσαρι χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἶπεν ἐπικρούων τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ξίφος, “Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δώσει.” καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ παρασκευαζόμενα ταύτην εἶχε τὴν διάνοιαν.
- 3 Αἱ μέντοι Κουρίωνος ἀξιώσεις καὶ παρακλήσεις ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐφαίνοντο δημοτικώτεραι. δυεῖν γὰρ ἡξίου θάτερον, ἢ καὶ Πομπήϊον ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ μηδὲ Καίσαρος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ στρατιωτικόν· ἢ γὰρ ἰδιώτας γενομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις ἢ μένοντας ἀντιπάλους ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀτρεμῆσαι· ὁ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον ἀσθενῆ ποιῶν ἦν φοβεῖται
- 4 δύναμιν διπλασιάζει. πρὸς ταῦτα Μαρκελλοῦ τοῦ ὑπάτου ληστὴν ἀποκαλοῦντος τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι πολέμιον κελεύοντος εἰ μὴ καταθήσεται τὰ ὅπλα, Κουρίων ὁμῶς ἴσχυσε μετὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Πείσωνος ἐξελέγξαι τὴν σύγκλητον. ἐκέλευσε γὰρ μεταστῆναι τοὺς Καίσαρα μόνον τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι κελεύοντας, Πομπήϊον δὲ
- 5 ἄρχειν· καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ πλείους. αὐθις δὲ μεταστῆναι κελεύσαντος ὅσοις ἀμφοτέρους ἀρέ-
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secretly working upon many of the magistrates and corrupting them. Among these was Paulus the consul, who was won over by a bribe of fifteen hundred talents; and Curio the popular tribune, whom Caesar set free from innumerable debts; and Mark Antony, whose friendship for Curio had involved him in Curio's obligations. It was said, indeed, that one of Caesar's centurions who had come back to Rome and was standing near the senate-house, when he heard that the senate would not give Caesar a prolongation of his term of office, struck his hand upon his sword and said: "But this will give it." And Caesar's intrigues and preparations had this purpose.

And yet the requests and demands which Curio made in behalf of Caesar seemed to be very popular in their character. For he demanded one of two things: either that Pompey also should be required to give up his soldiery, or else that Caesar's should not be taken away from him; for whether they became private persons on just and equal terms, or remained a match for each other with their present forces, they would make no disturbance; but he who weakened one of them doubled the power of which he stood in fear. To this Marcellus the consul replied by calling Caesar a robber, and urging that he be voted a public enemy unless he should lay down his arms; nevertheless, Curio, aided by Antony and Piso, prevailed so far as to have the opinion of the senate taken. He therefore moved that those should withdraw to one side who wished that Caesar only should lay down his arms and that Pompey should remain in command; and the majority withdrew. But when he moved again that all those should withdraw who wished both to lay down their

σκει τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον ἄρχειν, Πομπηίῳ μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο μόνον, Κουρίωνι δὲ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ προσέθεντο. καὶ κείνος μὲν ὡς νενικηκὼς λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ χαρᾶς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐξήλατο, κρότῳ καὶ βολαῖς στεφάνων καὶ ἀνθῶν δεξιούμενον αὐτόν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ Πομπηίου οὐ παρήν· οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες στρατοπέδων εἰς τὴν
6 πόλιν οὐκ εἰσίασι. Μάρκελλος δὲ ἀναστὰς οὐκ ἔφη λόγων ἀκροάσασθαι καθήμενος, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὑπερφαινόμενα τῶν Ἀλπεων ἤδη δέκα τάγματα βαδίζειν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψειν τὸν ἀντιταξόμενον αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.

LIX. Ἐκ τούτου τὰς ἐσθῆτας ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει μετεβάλλοντο. Μάρκελλος δὲ πρὸς Πομπηίου δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐβάδιζε τῆς βουλῆς ἐπομένης, καὶ κατα-
στὰς ἐναντίος, “Κελεύω σε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Πομπηίε, 651
βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς παρεσκευασμέναις δυνάμεσι καὶ καταλέγειν ἑτέρας.” τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ Λέντλος ἔλεγε, τῶν ἀποδε-
2 δειγμένων εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων ἄτερος. ἀρξα-
μένου δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου καταλέγειν οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ὀλίγοι δὲ γλίσχρως καὶ ἀπροθύμως συνήεσαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους διαλύσεις ἐβόων. καὶ γὰρ ἀνέγνω τινὰ Καίσαρος ἐπιστολὴν Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, βιασάμενος τὴν βουλήν, ἔχουσαν ἐπαγωγοὺς ὄχλου προκλήσεις. ἡξίου γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους ἐκβάντας τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ τὰς στρατιωτικὰς δυνάμεις ἀφέντας ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι
3 καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων εὐθύνας ὑποσχεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Λέντλον ὑπατεύοντες ἤδη βουλήν οὐ συνήγον· ἄρτι δὲ ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀφιγμένος Κικέρων ἐπραττε διαλλαγάς, ὅπως Καῖσαρ, ἐξελθὼν

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arms and neither to remain in command, only twenty-two favoured Pompey, while all the rest sided with Curio. Curio, therefore, felt that he had won the day, and with a joyful countenance rushed before the people, who clapped their hands in welcome and pelted him with garlands and flowers. Pompey was not present in the senate, since commanders of armies cannot enter the city; Marcellus, however, rose and declared that he would not sit there listening to speeches, but since he saw ten legions already looming up in their march over the Alps, he himself also would send forth a man who would oppose them in defence of his country.

LIX. Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in the presence of a public calamity; and Marcellus, followed by the senate, marched through the forum to meet Pompey, and standing before him said: "I bid thee, Pompey, to defend thy country, to employ the forces now in readiness, and to levy others." Lentulus also said the same, being one of the consuls elected for the coming year. But when Pompey began to levy recruits, some refused to obey the summons, and a few came together reluctantly and without zest, but the greater part cried out for a settlement of the controversy. For Antony, in defiance of the senate, had read before the people a letter of Caesar containing propositions which were attractive to the multitude. He asked, namely, that both Pompey and he should give up their provinces, disband their armies, put themselves in the hands of the people, and render an account of what they had done. But Lentulus, who was by this time consul, would not call the senate together; Cicero, however, who was just returned from Cilicia, tried to effect a settlement of the dispute on these terms, namely,

Γαλατίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἀφείλεις πᾶσαν, ἐπὶ δυσὶ τάγμασι καὶ τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ τὴν δευτέραν
 4 ὑπατείαν περιμένη. Πομπηίου δὲ δυσκολαίνοντος ἐπείσθησαν οἱ Καίσαρος φίλοι θάτερον ἀφείναι. Λέντλου δὲ ἀντικρούσαντος καὶ Κάτωνος αὐθις ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν Πομπηίου ἐξαπατῶμενον βοῶντος οὐκ ἔσχον αἱ διαλύσεις πέρας.

LX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλεται Καίσαρ Ἀρίμνον, πόλιν μεγάλην τῆς Ἰταλίας, κατειληφῶς καὶ βαδίζων ἀντικρυς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ψεῦδος. ἐβάδιζε γὰρ οὐ πλείονας ἔχων ἱππέων τριακοσίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐπέκεινα τῶν Ἀλπεων οὖσαν οὐ περιέμενεν, ἐμπεσεῖν ἄφνω τεταραγμένοις καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι βουλόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ χρόνον δούς ἐκ παρασκευῆς μάχε-
 2 σθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐλθὼν, ὃς ἀφώριζεν αὐτῷ τὴν δεδομένην ἐπαρχίαν, ἔστη σιωπῇ καὶ διεμέλλησεν, αὐτὸς ἄρα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συλλογιζόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμήματος. εἶτα, ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸς βάθος ἀφιέντες ἀχανὲς ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ τινος ἑαυτούς, μύσας τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ παρακαλυψάμενος πρὸς τὸ δεινόν, καὶ τοσοῦτον μόνον Ἑλληνιστὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἐκβοήσας, “Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος,” διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατόν.

3 Ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ἡ φήμη προσέπεσε καὶ κατέσχε τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ἐκπλήξεως θόρυβος καὶ φόβος οἶος οὐπω πρότερον, εὐθὺς μὲν ἡ βουλή φερομένη πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου συνέτρεχε καὶ παρήσαν αἱ
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that Caesar should renounce Gaul and dismiss the rest of his forces, but should retain two legions and Illyricum, and wait for his second consulship. And when Pompey was dissatisfied with this, the friends of Caesar conceded that he should dismiss one of the two legions; but since Lentulus still opposed, and Cato cried out that Pompey was blundering again in allowing himself to be deceived, the settlement came to naught.

LX. And now word was brought that Caesar had seized Ariminum,¹ a large city of Italy, and was marching directly upon Rome with all his forces. But this was false. For he was marching with no more than three hundred horsemen and five thousand men-at-arms; the rest of his forces were beyond the Alps, and he did not wait for them, since he wished to fall upon his enemies suddenly, when they were in confusion and did not expect him, rather than to give them time and fight them after they were prepared. And so, when he was come to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of the province allotted to him, he stood in silence and delayed to cross, reasoning with himself, of course, upon the magnitude of his adventure. Then, like one who casts himself from a precipice into a yawning abyss, he closed the eyes of reason and put a veil between them and his peril, and calling out in Greek to the bystanders these words only, "Let the die be cast," he set his army across.

As soon as the report of this came flying to Rome and the city was filled with tumult, consternation, and a fear that was beyond compare, the senate at once went in a body and in all haste to Pompey, and

¹ In January, 49 B.C. See the *Caesar*, chapter xxxii.

ἀρχαί, πυθόμενον δὲ τοῦ Τύλλου περὶ στρατιᾶς
καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου μετὰ τινος μελ-
λήσεως ἀθαρσῶς εἰπόντος ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ Καίσαρος
4 ἦκοντας ἐτοιμοὺς ἔχει, νομίζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατει-
λεγμένους πρότερον ἐν τάχει συνάξειν τρισμυρίους
ὄντας, ὁ μὲν Τύλλος ἀναβοήσας, “Ἐξηπάτηκας
ἡμᾶς, ὦ Πομπήϊε,” συνεβούλευεν ὡς Καίσαρα
πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλειν, Φαώνιος δέ τις, ἀνὴρ τᾶλ-
λα μὲν οὐ πονηρός, αὐθαδεΐα δὲ καὶ ὕβρει πολ-
λάκις τὴν Κάτωνος οἰόμενος ἀπομιμείσθαι παρ-
ρησίαν, ἐκέλευε τὸν Πομπήϊον τῷ ποδὶ τύπτειν
τὴν γῆν, ἃς ὑπισχνεῖτο δυνάμεις ἀνακαλούμενον.
5 ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἤνεγκε τὴν ἀκαιρίαν πράως· τοῦ
δὲ Κάτωνος ὑπομιμνήσκοντος ὧν ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ
Καίσαρος αὐτῷ προεῖπεν, ἀπεκρίνατο μαντικώ-
τερα μὲν εἶναι τὰ Κάτωνι λεχθέντα, φιλικώτερα
δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεπραῆχθαι.

LXI. Κάτων δὲ συνεβούλευεν αἰρεῖσθαι στρα-
τηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Πομπήϊον, ἐπειπὼν ὅτι τῶν
αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν.
οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Σικελίαν (ἔλαχε
γὰρ αὐτὴν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος
εἰς ἃς ἐκκληρώθη. τῆς δ’ Ἰταλίας σχεδὸν ὅλης
2 ἀνισταμένης ἀπορίαν εἶχε τὸ γινόμενον. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ἔξωθεν φερόμενοι φυγῇ πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν
Ῥώμην ἐνέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκοῦντες
ἐξέπιπτον αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀπέλειπον τὴν πόλιν, ἐν 652
χειμῶνι καὶ ταραχῇ τοσούτῳ τὸ μὲν χρήσιμον

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the magistrates came too. And when Tullus asked Pompey about an army and a military force, and Pompey, after some delay, said timidly that he had in readiness the soldiers who had come from Caesar, and thought that he could speedily assemble also those who had been previously levied, thirty thousand in number, Tullus cried aloud, "Thou hast deceived us, Pompey!" and advised sending envoys to Caesar; and a certain Favonius, a man otherwise of no bad character, but who often thought that his insolent presumption was an imitation of Cato's boldness of speech, ordered Pompey to stamp upon the ground and call up the forces which he used to promise. But Pompey bore this ill-timed raillery with meekness¹; and when Cato reminded him of what he had said to him at the outset about Caesar, he replied that what Cato had said was more prophetic, but what he himself had done was more friendly.

LXI. Cato now advised that Pompey should be elected general with unlimited powers, adding that the very men who caused great mischief must also put an end to it. Then he set out at once for Sicily, the province which had fallen to his lot, and the other senators likewise departed for the provinces which had severally been allotted to them. But since nearly all Italy was in commotion, the course of things was perplexing. For those who dwelt outside the city came rushing in hurried flight from all quarters into Rome, and those who dwelt in Rome were rushing out of it and abandoning the city, where, in such tempestuous confusion, the better element

¹ In Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 37, Pompey replies: "You will have them if you follow me, and do not think it a terrible thing to leave Rome, and Italy too, if it should be necessary."

ἀσθενὲς ἔχουσιν, τὸ δὲ ἀπειθὲς ἰσχυρὸν καὶ δυσ-
 μεταχείριστον τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν παῦσαι
 τὸν φόβον, οὐδὲ εἶασέ τις χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
 λογισμοῖς Πομπήϊον, ἀλλ' ὅ τις ἐνετύγχανε πά-
 θει, φοβηθεὶς ἢ λυπηθεὶς ἢ διαπορήσας, τούτῳ
 3 φέρων ἐκείνουν ἀνεπίμπλη· καὶ τὰναντία τῆς αὐ-
 τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκράτει βουλευματα, καὶ πυθέσθαι
 περὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲν ἦν ἀληθὲς αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ
 πολλοὺς ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅ τι τύχοιεν, εἶτα ἀπισ-
 τοῦντι χαλεπαίνειν. οὕτω δὲ ψηφισάμενος ταρα-
 χὴν ὁρᾶν καὶ κελεύσας ἅπαντας ἔπεσθαι αὐτῷ
 τοὺς ἀπὸ βουλῆς, καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι Καίσαρος
 ἡγήσεται τὸν ἀπολειφθέντα, περὶ δέϊλιν ὀψίαν
 4 ἀπέλιπε τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι μηδὲ θύσαντες
 ἂ νομίζεται πρὸ πολέμων ἔφυγον. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ'
 αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ ζηλωτὸς ἀνὴρ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
 εὐνοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι πολλῶν τὴν στρατη-
 γίαν μεμφομένων οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ μισῶν τὸν στρατη-
 γόν, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ἅν τις εὔρε τῶν διὰ τὴν
 ἐλευθερίαν φευγόντων τοὺς ἀπολιπεῖν Πομπήϊον
 μὴ δυναμένους.

LXII. Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις Καίσαρ
 εἰσελάσας καὶ κατασχὼν τὴν Ῥώμην τοῖς μὲν
 ἄλλοις ἐπιεικῶς ἐνέτυχε καὶ κατεπραῦνε, τῶν δὲ
 δημάρχων ἐνὶ Μετέλλῳ κωλύοντι χρήματα λαβεῖν
 αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου θάνατον ἡπέιλησε, καὶ
 προσέθηκε τῇ ἀπειλῇ τραχύτερον λόγον· ἔφη γὰρ
 ὥς τοῦτο φῆσαι χαλεπὸν ἦν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ

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was weak, and the insubordinate element strong and hard for the magistrates to manage. For it was impossible to check the reigning fear, nor would any one suffer Pompey to follow the dictates of his own judgement, but whatever feeling each one had, whether fear, or distress, or perplexity, he promptly infected Pompey's mind with this. Therefore opposite counsels prevailed in the same day, and it was impossible for Pompey to get any true information about the enemy, since many reported to him whatever they happened to hear, and then were vexed if he did not believe them. Under these circumstances he issued an edict in which he recognized a state of civil war, ordered all the senators to follow him, declared that he would regard as a partisan of Caesar any one who remained behind, and late in the evening left the city. The consuls also fled, without even making the sacrifices customary before a war. But even amid the actual terrors of the hour Pompey was a man to be envied for the universal good will felt towards him, because, though many blamed his generalship, there was no one who hated the general. Indeed, one would have found that those who fled the city for the sake of liberty were not so numerous as those who did so because they were unable to forsake Pompey.

LXII. A few days after this, Caesar entered and took possession of Rome. He treated everybody with kindness and calmed their fears, except that when Metellus, one of the tribunes, attempted to prevent him from taking money out of the public treasury, he threatened to kill him, and added to the threat a still harsher speech, namely, that it was easier for him to execute it than to utter it.¹ Having

¹ Cf. the *Caesar* xxxv. 4.

- 2 *πράξει. τρεψάμενος δὲ τὸν Μέτελλον οὕτω, καὶ λαβὼν ὧν ἔχρηξεν, ἐδίδωκε Πομπήϊον, ἐκβαλεῖν σπεύδων ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας αὐτῷ δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ τὸ Βρεντέσιον κατασχὼν καὶ πλοίων εὐπορήσας τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους εὐθὺς ἐμβιβάσας καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν σπείρας τριάκοντα προεξέπεμψεν εἰς Δυρράχιον, Σκηπίωνα δὲ τὸν πενθερὸν καὶ Γναῖον τὸν υἱὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπέστειλε ναυτικὸν κατασκευάσσοντας.*
- 3 *αὐτὸς δὲ φραξάμενος τὰς πύλας καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους στρατιώτας ἐπιστήσας, τοὺς δὲ Βρεντεσίνοὺς ἀτρεμεῖν κατ' οἰκίαν κελεύσας, ὅλην ἐντὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀνέσκαψε καὶ διετάφρευσε, καὶ σκολόπων ἐνέπλησε τοὺς στενωποὺς πλὴν δυεῖν, δι' ὧν ἐπὶ θάλατταν αὐτὸς κατήλθεν.*
- 4 *ἡμέρα δὲ τρίτη τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ὄχλον ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶχεν ἤδη καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐμβεβηκότα, τοῖς δὲ τὰ τεῖχη φυλάττουσιν ἐξαίφνης σημεῖον ἄρας καὶ καταδραμόντας ὀξέως ἀναλαβὼν ἀπεπέρασεν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς εἶδεν ἐκλελειμμένα τὰ τεῖχη, τὴν φυγὴν αἰσθόμενος μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησε διώκων τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀρύγμασι περιπετῆς γενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ Βρεντεσίνων φρασάντων φυλαττόμενος τὴν πόλιν καὶ κύκλῳ περιῶν ἀνηγμένους εὗρε πάντας πλὴν δυεῖν πλοίων στρατιώτας τινὰς οὐ πολλοὺς ἐχόντων.*

LXIII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸν ἀπόπλουν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τίθενται στρατηγήμασιν, αὐτὸς δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐθαύμαζεν ὅτι καὶ πόλιν

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thus driven away Metellus, he took what he wanted, and then set out in pursuit of Pompey, being anxious to drive him out of Italy before his forces came back from Spain. But Pompey, having taken possession of Brundisium, where he found plenty of transports, immediately embarked the consuls, and with them thirty cohorts of soldiers, and sent them before him to Dyrrachium; Scipio his father-in-law, however, and Gnaeus his son, he sent to Syria to raise a fleet. He himself, after barricading the gates and manning the walls with his lightest-armed soldiers, ordered the Brundisians to remain quietly in their houses, and then dug up all the ground inside the city into trenches, and filled the streets with sunken stakes,¹ all except two, by which he himself finally went down to the sea. Then on the third day, when he had already embarked the rest of his host at his leisure, he suddenly raised a signal for those who were still guarding the walls to run swiftly down to the sea, took them on board, and set them across to Dyrrachium. Caesar, however, when he saw the walls deserted, perceived that Pompey had fled, and in his pursuit of him came near getting entangled in the ditches and stakes; but since the Brundisians told him about them, he avoided the city,² and making a circuit round it, found that all the transports had put out to sea except two, which had only a few soldiers aboard.

LXIII. Other people, now, count this sailing away of Pompey among his best stratagems, but Caesar himself was astonished that when he was in

¹ Ditches were dug across the streets, sharpened stakes planted in the ditches, and the whole work lightly covered so as to look undisturbed. Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* I. xxvii.

² He had besieged it for nine days, and had also begun to close up the harbour (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* I. xxv.-xxvii.).

ἔχων ὀχυρὰν καὶ προσδοκῶν τὰς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας
δυνάμεις καὶ θαλασσοκρατῶν ἐξέλιπε καὶ προή-
κατο τὴν Ἰταλίαν. αἰτιᾶται καὶ Κικέρων ὅτι
τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους ἐμιμήσατο στρατηγίαν μᾶλλον
ἢ τὴν Περικλέους, τῶν πραγμάτων τούτοις
2 ὁμοίων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐκείνοις. ἐδήλωσε δὲ Καίσαρ
ἔργῳ σφόδρα φοβούμενος τὸν χρόνον. ἔλων γὰρ
Νουμέριον Πομπηίου φίλον ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Βρεν-
τέσιον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀξιῶν διαλλαγήναι. Νου-
μέριος δὲ Πομπηίῳ συνεξέπλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ
μὲν ἐν ἡμέραις¹ ἐξήκοντα κύριος γεγονὼς ἀναι-
μωτὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅλης ἐβούλετο μὲν εὐθὺς
Πομπηίου διώκειν, πλοίων δὲ μὴ παρόντων
ἀποστρέψας εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἤλαυνε, τὰς ἐκεῖ δυνά-
μεις προσαγαγέσθαι βουλόμενος.

LXIV. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ μεγάλη συνέστη
Πομπηίῳ δύναμις, ἥ μὲν ναυτικὴ καὶ παντελῶς 653
ἀνανταγώνιστος (ἦσαν γὰρ αἱ μάχιμοι πεντα-
κόσαιοι, λιβυρνίδων δὲ καὶ κατασκόπων ὑπερ-
βάλλων ἀριθμός), ἱππεῖς δέ, Ῥωμαίων καὶ
Ἰταλῶν τὸ ἀνθούν, ἑπτακισχίλιοι, γένεσι καὶ
πλούτῳ καὶ φρονήμασι διαφέροντες· τὴν δὲ πεζὴν
σύμμικτον οὖσαν καὶ μελέτης δεομένην ἐγύμναζεν
ἐν Βεροίᾳ καθήμενος οὐκ ἀργός, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
ἀκμάζοντι χρώμενος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια.
2 μεγάλη γὰρ ἦν ῥοπή πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν τοῖς ὁρώσι
Πομπηίου Μάγνον ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη дуεῖν λεί-
ποντα γεγεννημένον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀμιλλώμενον
πεζόν, εἰτα ἱππότην αὐθις ἐλκόμενόν τε τὸ ξίφος
ἀπραγμόνως θέοντι τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ κατακλείοντα
πάλιν εὐχερῶς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀκοντισμοῖς οὐ μόνον

¹ ἐν ἡμέραις Bekker, after Emperius: ἡμέραις.

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possession of a strong city and expected his forces from Spain and was master of the sea, he gave up and abandoned Italy. Cicero also blames him¹ for imitating the generalship of Themistocles rather than that of Pericles, although he was situated like Pericles, and not like Themistocles. Moreover, Caesar had shown by what he did that he greatly feared a protraction of the war. For after capturing Numerius, a friend of Pompey, he sent him to Brundisium with a request for a reconciliation on equal terms. But Numerius sailed away with Pompey. Then Caesar, who in sixty days had become master of all Italy without bloodshed, wished to pursue Pompey at once, but since he had no transports, he turned back and marched into Spain, desiring to win over to himself the forces there.

LXIV. In the meantime a great force was gathered by Pompey. His navy was simply irresistible, since he had five hundred ships of war, while the number of his light galleys and fast cruisers was immense; his cavalry numbered seven thousand, the flower of Rome and Italy, preëminent in lineage, wealth, and courage; and his infantry, which was a mixed multitude and in need of training, he exercised at Beroea, not sitting idly by, but taking part in their exercises himself, as if he had been in the flower of his age. And indeed it was a great incentive to confidence when they saw Pompey the Great, who was now sixty years of age less two, but who nevertheless competed in full armour as a foot-soldier, and then again, as a horseman, drew his sword without trouble while his horse was at a gallop and put it back in its sheath with ease; while in hurling the javelin he not only displayed accuracy,

¹ *Epist. ad Att.* vii. 11.

ἀκρίβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥώμην ἐπιδεικνύμενον εἰς
μῆκος, ὃ πολλοὶ τῶν νέων οὐχ ὑπερέβαλλον.
3 ἐπεφοίτων δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐθνῶν καὶ δυνάσται,
καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἡγεμονικῶν ἀριθμὸς ἦν
ἐντελοῦς βουλῆς περὶ αὐτόν. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ
Λαβιηνὸς¹ ἀπολιπὼν Καίσαρα φίλος γεγονὼς
καὶ συνεστρατευμένος ἐν Γαλατία, καὶ Βρούτος,
υἱὸς ὧν Βρούτου τοῦ περὶ Γαλατίαν σφαγέντος,
ἀνὴρ μεγαλόφρων καὶ μηδέποτε Πομπηίου προσ-
ειπὼν μηδὲ ἀσπασάμενος πρότερον ὥς φονέα
τοῦ πατρός, τότε δὲ ὥς ἐλευθεροῦντι τὴν Ῥώμην
4 ὑπέταξεν ἑαυτόν. Κικέρων δέ, καίπερ ἄλλα
γεγραφὼς καὶ βεβουλευμένος, ὅμως κατηδέσθη
μὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ προκινδυνεύοντος ἀριθμοῦ τῆς
πατρίδος. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Τίδιος Σέξτιος, ἐσχα-
τόγηρως ἀνὴρ θάτερον πεπηρωμένος σκέλος, εἰς
Μακεδονίαν· ὃν τῶν ἄλλων γελόντων καὶ χλευα-
ζόντων, ὁ Πομπηῖος ἰδὼν ἐξανέστη καὶ προσέ-
δραμε, μέγα νομίζων μαρτύριον εἶναι καὶ τοὺς
παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αἵρουμένους τὸν
μετ' αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας.

LXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βουλῆς γενομένης καὶ γνώμην
Κάτωνος εἰπόντος ἐψηφίσαντο μηδένα Ῥωμαίων
ἄνευ παρατάξεως ἀναιρεῖν μηδὲ διαρπάζειν πόλιν
ὑπήκοον Ῥωμαίοις, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ Πομπηίου μερὶς
ἡγαπήθη· καὶ γὰρ οἷς μηδὲν ἦν πρᾶγμα τοῦ
πολέμου πόρρω κατοικοῦσιν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν
ἀμελουμένοις, τῷ γε βούλεσθαι συγκατετιθεντο
καὶ τῷ λόγῳ συνεμάχουν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων,

¹ Λαβιηνὸς with Coraës and Bekker: Λαβεῶν.

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but also vigour in the length of his cast, which many of the young men could not surpass. There kept coming to him also kings of nations and potentates, and of the leading men from Rome there were enough about him to form a full senate. Labienus also came, having deserted Caesar, though he had been his friend and had served under him in Gaul; and Brutus, a son of the Brutus who had been put to death by Pompey in Gaul,¹ a man of lofty spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey nor even saluted him before, because he held him to be the murderer of his father, but now he put himself under his command, believing him to be a deliverer of Rome. Cicero, too, although he had advocated other measures in his writings and his speeches in the senate, nevertheless was ashamed not to be of the number of those who risked all for their country. There came also Tadius Sextius, a man of extreme old age and lame of one leg, into Macedonia. The rest laughed and jeered at him, but when Pompey saw him, he rose and ran to meet him, counting it a great testimony that men past the years and past the power of service should choose danger with him in preference to their safety.

LXV. When their senate convened and a decree was passed, on motion of Cato, that no Roman should be killed except on a field of battle, and that no city subject to Rome should be plundered, the party of Pompey was held in still greater favour. For those even who took no part in the war, either because they dwelt too far away, or were too weak to be regarded, attached themselves to it in their wishes at least, and, as far as their words went, fought with it in behalf of the right, considering

¹ Cf. chapter xvi. 3 f.; *Brutus*, iv. 1 f.

ηγούμενοι θεοὶς εἶναι καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐχθρὸν ὧ
μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐστὶ νικᾶν Πομπηίου.

- 2 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καῖσαρ εὐγνώμονα παρείχεν
ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν, ὃς καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τοῦ
Πομπηίου δυνάμεις ἐλὼν καὶ καταπολεμήσας
ἀφῆκε τοὺς στρατηγούς, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις
ἐχρήτο. καὶ πάλιν ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς Ἀλπεῖς καὶ
διαδραμὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἦκεν ἐν
- 3 τροπαῖς ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄντος· καὶ διαπεράσας
τὸ πέλαγος αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ὀρικὸν παρενέβαλεν,
Οὐιβούλλιον¹ δὲ τὸν Πομπηίου φίλον αἰχμάλω-
τον ἔχων σὺν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς Πομπηίου ἀνέστειλε,
προκαλούμενος εἰς ἐν συνελθόντας ἀμφοτέρους
ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ πάντα διαλύσαι τὰ στρατεύματα
καὶ γενομένους φίλους καὶ ὁμόσαντας ἐπανελθεῖν
- 4 εἰς Ἰταλίαν. ταῦτα Πομπηῖος αὐθις ἐνέδραν
ἡγείτο· καὶ καταβὰς ὀξέως ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέ-
λαβε χωρία καὶ τόπους ἔδρας τε τοῖς πεζοῖς
στρατοπέδοις ὑπεραλκεῖς ἔχοντα, καὶ ναύλοχα
καὶ κατάρσεις ἐπιφόρους τοῖς ἐπιφοιτῶσι διὰ
θαλάττης, ὥστε πάντα πνεῖν ἄνεμον Πομπηίῳ
σίτον ἢ στρατιὰν ἢ χρήματα κομίζοντα, Καῖσαρα
δὲ δυσχερεῖαις κατὰ γῆν ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
- 5 περιεχόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης φιλομαχεῖν, καὶ προσ-
βάλλοντα τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ προκαλούμενον
ἐκάστοτε τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα νικᾶν καὶ κρατεῖν τοῖς
ἀκροβολισμοῖς, ἅπαξ δὲ μικροῦ συντριβῆναι καὶ
τὴν στρατιὰν ἀποβαλεῖν, τοῦ Πομπηίου λαμπρῶς
ἀγωνισαμένου μέχρι τροπῆς ἀπάντων καὶ φόνου
δισχιλίων, βιάσασθαι δὲ καὶ συνεισπεσεῖν μὴ 654
δυνηθέντος ἢ φοβηθέντος, ὥστε εἰπεῖν Καῖσαρα

¹ Οὐιβούλλιον after Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 10 : 'Ιούβιον.

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him a foe to gods and men who did not wish Pompey to be victorious.

However, it is also true that Caesar showed himself merciful as a conqueror; after defeating and capturing the forces of Pompey in Spain, he sent away their commanders, and took the soldiers into his service.¹ Then he re-crossed the Alps, marched rapidly through Italy, and came to Brundisium shortly after the winter solstice.² Crossing the sea there, he himself put in at Oricum, but he dispatched Vibullius, the friend of Pompey, who was his prisoner of war, to Pompey, with a proposition that they should hold a conference, disband all their armies within three days, and after renewing their friendship under oath, return to Italy. This Pompey thought to be another snare, and marching swiftly down to the sea, he took possession of the posts, regions, and sites which offered strong positions for land forces, as well as of the naval stations and landing-places which were favourable for those who came by sea, so that every wind that blew brought Pompey grain, or troops, or money; while Caesar, on the other hand, reduced to straits by sea and land, was forced to seek a battle, attacking Pompey's defences and challenging him to come out all the while. In these skirmishes Caesar was for the most part victorious and carried the day; but once he narrowly escaped being utterly crushed and losing his army, for Pompey made a brilliant fight and at last routed Caesar's whole force and killed two thousand of them. He did not, however, force his way into their camp with the fugitives, either because he could not, or because he feared to do so, and this led Caesar to say to his friends: "To-day

¹ See Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* I. xli.-lxxxvii.

² Of 49 B.C.

πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὅτι Σήμερον ἂν ἡ νίκη παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦν, εἰ τὸν νικῶντα εἶχον.

- LXVI. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονήσαντες οἱ Πομπηίου διὰ μάχης ἔσπευδον κριθῆναι. Πομπηῖος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἔξω βασιλεῦσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ πόλεσιν ὡς νενικηκῶς ἔγραφε, τὸν δὲ τῆς μάχης κίνδυνον ὠρρώδει, τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ταῖς ἀπορίαις καταπολεμήσειν νομίζων ἄνδρας ἀμάχους μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ συνειθισμένους νικᾶν μετ' ἀλλή-
- 2 λων πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην στρατείαν καὶ πλάνας καὶ μεταβάσεις καὶ τάφρων ὀρύξεις καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας ἀπαγορεύοντας ὑπὸ γήρως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς χερσὶν ἐμφύναι τάχιστα καὶ συμπλακῆναι σπεύδοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἀμῶς γέ πως παρήγγε πείθων τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀτρεμεῖν ὁ Πομπηῖος· ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποριῶν ἀναστὰς ἐβάδιζε δι' Ἀθαμάνων εἰς Θετταλίαν, οὐκέτι
- 3 καθεκτὸν ἦν τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν Καίσαρα βοῶντες οἱ μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ διώκειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ διαβαίνειν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ θεράποντας εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ φίλους ἔπεμπον οἰκίας προκαταληψομένους ἐγγὺς ἀγορᾶς ὡς αὐτίκα μετιόντες ἀρχάς. ἐθέλονται δὲ πολλοὶ πρὸς Κορνηλίαν ἔπλεον εἰς Λέσβον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι πέρασ ἔχειν τὸν πόλεμον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπεξέπεμψεν ὁ Πομπηῖος.
- 4 Ἀθροισθείσης δὲ βουλῆς Ἀφράνιος μὲν ἀπεφαίνετο γνώμην ἔχεσθαι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ταύτην γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ μέγιστον ἄθλον, προστι-
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victory would have been with the enemy if they had had a victor in command."

LXVI. At this success the followers of Pompey were so elated that they were eager to have the issue decided by a battle. Pompey, however, although he wrote to distant kings and generals and cities in the tone of a victor, feared the risk of such a battle, thinking that by imposing delays and distresses upon them he would finally subdue men who were invincible in arms and had been accustomed to conquer together now for a long time, but who for the other duties of a campaign, such as long marches, changes of position, the digging of trenches, and the building of walls, were incapacitated by old age, and therefore eager to come to close quarters and fight hand to hand without delay. Notwithstanding their over-confidence, Pompey had hitherto somehow or other succeeded in inducing his followers to keep quiet; but when after the battle Caesar was compelled by his lack of supplies to break camp and march through Athamania into Thessaly, their spirits could no longer be restrained, but, crying out that Caesar was in flight, some of them were for following in pursuit of him, others for crossing over into Italy, and others were sending their attendants and friends to Rome in order to pre-occupy houses near the forum, purposing at once to become candidates for office. Many, too, of their own accord sailed to Cornelia in Lesbos with the glad tidings that the war was at an end; for Pompey had sent her there for safety.

A senate having been assembled, Afranius gave it as his opinion that they should make sure of Italy, for Italy was the greatest prize of the war, and

θέναι δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν εὐθὺς Σικελίαν, Σαρδόνα, Κύρνον, Ἰβηρίαν, Γαλατίαν ἄπασαν· ἥς τε δὴ πλείστος ὁ λόγος Πομπηίῳ πατρίδος ὀρεγούσης χεῖρας ἐγγύθεν, οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν περιορᾶν προπηλακιζομένην καὶ δουλεύουσιν οἰκέταις καὶ κόλαξι
 5 τυράννων. αὐτὸς δὲ Πομπηῖος οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν ἡγείτο καλὸν αὐτῷ δευτέραν φυγὴν φεύγειν Καίσαρα καὶ διώκεσθαι, τῆς τύχης διώκειν διδούσης, οὔτε ὅσιον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν Σκηπίωνα καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Θετταλίαν ἄνδρας ὑπατικούς, εὐθὺς ὑπὸ Καίσαρι γενησομένους μετὰ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεων μεγάλων, τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης μάλιστα κήδεσθαι τὸν ἀπωτάτω πολεμοῦντα περὶ αὐτῆς, ὅπως ἀπαθὴς κακῶν οὔσα καὶ ἀνήκοος περιμένη τὸν κρατοῦντα.

LXVII. Ταῦτα ψηφισάμενος ἐδίωκε Καίσαρα, μάχης μὲν ἐγνωκῶς ἀπέχεσθαι, πολιορκεῖν δὲ καὶ τρίβειν ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἐγγύθεν ἐπακολουθῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως ταῦτα συμφέρειν ἡγείτο, καὶ λόγος τις εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκεν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι φερόμενος, ὡς χρή τάχιστα τρεψαμένους Καίσαρα
 2 συγκαταλύειν κἀκείνον αὐτόν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κάτωνι μηδὲν ἄξιον σπουδῆς χρῆσασθαι Πομπηῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Καίσαρα πρὸς θαλάσση καταλιπεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, φοβηθέντα μὴ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος ἀναγκάσῃ κἀκείνον εὐθὺς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. οὕτω δὲ παρακολουθῶν ἀτρέμα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν αἰτίαις ἦν καὶ καταβοήσεσιν ὡς οὐ Καίσαρα καταστρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ

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would at once put also into the hands of her masters Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and all Gaul; and since his native land, which was of the greatest concern to Pompey, stretched out suppliant hands to him close by, it was not right to allow her to be enslaved and insulted by servants and flatterers of tyrants. Pompey himself, however, thought it neither well for his own reputation to run away a second time from Caesar and to be pursued by him, when fortune made him the pursuer, nor right before Heaven to abandon Scipio and the men of consular rank in Thessaly and Hellas, who would at once come into the power of Caesar together with their moneys and large forces; but that he cared most for Rome who fought for her at the farthest remove, in order that she might neither suffer nor hear about any evil, but quietly await her master.

LXVII. Having decided the matter in this way, Pompey set out in pursuit of Caesar, determined to avoid a battle, but to keep him under siege and harass him with lack of supplies by following close upon him. He had reasons for thinking this the best course, and besides, a saying current among the cavalry reached his ears, to the effect that as soon as they had routed Caesar they must put down Pompey himself also. And some say this was also the reason why Pompey called upon Cato for no service of any importance, but even when marching against Caesar left him at the coast in charge of the baggage, fearing lest, if Caesar should be taken off, he himself also might be forced by Cato to lay down his command at once. While he was thus quietly following the enemy he was loudly denounced, and charges were rife that he was directing his campaign, not against Caesar, but against his country and the

- τὴν βουλὴν, ὅπως διὰ παντὸς ἄρχῃ καὶ μηδέποτε
παύσῃται τοῖς ἀξιούσι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρχειν
3 χρώμενος ὑπηρέταις καὶ δορυφόροις. Δομέτιος
δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀγνόβαρβος Ἀγαμέμνονα καλῶν καὶ
Βασιλέα βασιλέων ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει. καὶ Φάω-
νιος οὐχ ἥττον ἢν ἀηδὴς τῶν παρρησιαζομένων
ἀκαίρως ἐν τῷ σκώπτειν, “Ἀνθρωποι,” βοῶν,
“οὐδὲ τῆτες ἔσται τῶν ἐν Τουσκλάνῳ σύκων
μεταλαβεῖν;” Λεύκιος δὲ Ἀφράνιος ὁ τὰς ἐν 655
Ἰβηρίᾳ δυνάμεις ἀποβαλὼν ἐν αἰτία προδοσίας
γεγονώς, τότε δὲ τὸν Πομπήϊον ὁρῶν φυγομαχ-
οῦντα, θαυμάζειν ἔλεγε τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτοῦ,
πῶς πρὸς τὸν ἔμπορον τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν οὐ μάχονται
προελθόντες.
- 4 Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ λέγοντες ἄνδρα
δόξης ἥττονα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους αἰδοῦς
τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐξεβιάσαντο καὶ συνεπεσπάσαντο
ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐλπίσι καὶ ὁρμαῖς ἐπακολουθῆσαι,
προέμενον τοὺς ἀρίστους λογισμούς, ὅπερ οὐδὲ
πλοίου κυβερνήτῃ, μήτιγε¹ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν καὶ
δυνάμεων αὐτοκράτορι στρατηγῷ παθεῖν ἦν προσ-
5 ἦκον. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱατρῶν τοὺς μηδέποτε
χαριζομένους ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπῆνεσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ
τῷ νοσοῦντι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐνέδωκε, δείσας ἐπὶ
σωτηρίᾳ λυπηρὸς γενέσθαι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις
φήσειεν ὑγιαίνειν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ
μὲν ὑπατείας ἤδη καὶ στρατηγίας ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ περινοστοῦντες ἐμνῶντο, Σπινθήρι δὲ καὶ
Δομετίῳ καὶ Σκηπίωνι περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχ-
ιερωσύνης ἔριδες ἦσαν καὶ φιλονεικίαι καὶ
6 δεξιώσεις; ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς Τιγράνου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου

¹ μήτιγε Bekker reads μήτοιγε, with C.

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senate, in order that he might always be in office and never cease to have for his attendants and guards men who claimed to rule the world. Domitius Ahenobarbus, too, by calling him Agamemnon, and King of Kings, made him odious. And Favonius was no less displeasing to him than those who used a bolder speech, when he bawled out his untimely jest: "O men, this year, also, shall we eat no figs of Tusculum?" And Lucius Afranius, who lay under a charge of treachery for having lost his forces in Spain,¹ on seeing Pompey now avoiding a battle with Caesar, said he was astonished that his accusers did not go forth and fight this trafficker in provinces.

With these and many similar speeches they forced Pompey from his settled purpose,—a man who was a slave to fame and loath to disappoint his friends,—and dragged him into following after their own hopes and impulses, abandoning his best laid plans, a thing which even in the master of a ship, to say nothing of a general in sole command of so many nations and armies, would have been unbecoming. Pompey himself approved of those physicians who never gratify the morbid desires of their patients, and yet he yielded to the diseased passion of his followers, for fear of offending if he tried to heal and save them. For how can one say that those men were sound and well, some of whom were already going about among the soldiers and canvassing for consulships and praetorships, while Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio were quarrelling, scheming, and conspiring over the pontificate of Caesar,² just as though Tigranes the Armenian were encamped over against

¹ He was accused of taking a bribe from Caesar for the surrender of the Spains (see the *Caesar*, xli. 2).

² Since 63 B.C., Caesar had been pontifex maximus. Cf. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 83.

παραστρατοπεδεύοντος ἡ τοῦ Ναβαταίων βασιλέως, ἀλλ' οὐ Καίσαρος ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἡ χιλίας μὲν ἡρήκει πόλεις κατὰ κράτος, ἔθνη δὲ πλείονα τριακοσίων ὑπῆκτο, Γερμανοῖς δὲ καὶ Γαλάταις μεμαχημένος ἀήττητος ὅσας οὐκ ἂν τις ἀριθμήσαι μάχας ἑκατὸν μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἔλαβεν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἀπέκτεινε τρεψάμενος ἐκ παρατάξεως.

LXVIII. Ἄλλ' ὁμως ἐγκείμενοι καὶ θορυβοῦντες, ἐπεὶ κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ Φαρσάλιον πεδῖον, ἠνάγκασαν βουλὴν προθεῖναι τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἐν ᾗ Λαβιηνὸς ὁ τῶν ἱππέων ἄρχων πρῶτος ἀναστὰς ὥμοσε μὴ ἀναχωρήσειν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, εἰ μὴ τρέψαιτο τοὺς πολεμίους· τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ πάντες ὤμνυσαν. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Πομπήϊος εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ κροτεῖν τὸν δῆμον, αὐτὸς δὲ κοσμεῖν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης νικηφόρου πολλοῖς λαφύροις. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐθάρρει, τὰ δὲ ὑπέθραπτεν αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις, δεδοικότα μὴ τῷ γένει τῷ Καίσαρος εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἀνῆκοντι δόξα καὶ λαμπρότης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται· καὶ πανικοὶ τινες θόρυβοι διαττοντες ἐξανέστησαν αὐτόν. ἐωθινῆς δὲ φυλακῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοπέδου πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντος ἐξέλαμψε μέγα φῶς, ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαμπὰς ἀρθείσα φλογοειδὴς ἐπὶ τὸ ¹ Πομπήϊου κατέσκηψε· καὶ τοῦτο ἰδεῖν φησι Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν τὰς φυλακάς. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Σκοτοῦσαν ἀναξενγνύειν καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καθαιρούντων καὶ προπεμπόντων ὑποζύγια καὶ θεράποντας, ἤκον οἱ σκοποὶ φράζοντες ὅπλα πολλὰ καθορᾶν ἐν τῷ

¹ ἐπὶ τὸ Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske : ἐπὶ.

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them, or the king of the Nabataeans, and not that Caesar, and that army, who had taken by storm a thousand cities, subdued more than three hundred nations, and fought unvanquished with Germans and Gauls in more battles than one could number, taking a hundred times ten thousand prisoners, and slaying as many, after routing them on the battle-field.

LXVIII. But notwithstanding, by their importunities and agitations, after they had gone down into the plain of Pharsalia, they forced Pompey to hold a council of war, where Labienus, the commander of the cavalry, rose first and took an oath that he would not come back from the battle unless he routed the enemy; then all likewise swore the same oath. That night Pompey dreamed that as he entered his theatre the people clapped their hands, and that he decorated a temple of Venus Victrix with many spoils. On some accounts he was encouraged, but on others depressed, by the dream; he feared lest the race of Caesar, which went back to Venus, was to receive glory and splendour through him; and certain panic tumults which went rushing through the camp roused him from sleep. Furthermore, during the morning watch a great light shone out above the camp of Caesar, which was perfectly quiet, and a flaming torch rose from it and darted down upon the camp of Pompey; Caesar himself says he saw this as he was visiting the watches.¹ At break of day, Caesar was about to decamp and move to Scotussa, and his soldiers were taking down their tents and sending on ahead the beasts of burden and servants, when the scouts came in with a report that they saw many shields moving to and fro in the

¹ Cf. the *Cæsar*, xliii. 3. It is not mentioned in the *Commentaries*.

χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων διαφερόμενα, καὶ κίνησιν
 εἶναι καὶ θόρυβον ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ μάχην ἐξιόντων.
 4 μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἕτεροι παρήσαν εἰς τάξιν ἤδη
 καθίστασθαι τοὺς πρώτους λέγοντες. ὁ μὲν οὖν
 Καῖσαρ εἰπὼν τὴν προσδοκωμένην ἤκειν ἡμέραν,
 ἐν ᾗ πρὸς ἄνδρας, οὐ πρὸς λιμὸν οὐδὲ πενίαν
 μαχοῦνται, κατὰ τάχος πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐκέλευσε
 προθεῖναι τὸν φοινικοῦν χιτῶνα· τοῦτο γὰρ
 5 μάχης Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ σύμβολον. οἱ δὲ στρα-
 τιῶται θεασάμενοι μετὰ βοῆς καὶ χαρᾶς τὰς
 σκηναὺς ἀφέντες ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ
 τῶν ταξιαρχῶν ἀγόντων εἰς ἣν ἔδει τάξιν, ἕκασ-
 τος, ὥσπερ χορός, ἄνευ θορύβου μεμελετημένως
 εἰς τάξιν¹ καὶ πράως καθίστατο.

LXIX. Πομπήϊος δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αὐτὸς ἔχων
 ἔμελλεν ἀνθίστασθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐν δὲ τῷ
 μέσῳ Σκηπίωνα τὸν πενθερὸν ἀντέταξε Καλβίνῳ
 Λευκίῳ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἶχε μὲν Λεύκιος Δομέ-
 2 τιος, ἐρρώσθη δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἱππέων. ἐνταῦθα
 γὰρ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπαντες ἐρρύησαν ὡς Καίσαρα 656
 βιασόμενοι καὶ τὸ δέκατον τάγμα διακόψοντες,
 οὐ πλεῖστος ἦν ὁ λόγος ὡς μαχιμωτάτου, καὶ
 Καῖσαρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ταπτόμενος εἰώθει μάχεσθαι.
 κατιδὼν δὲ πεφραγμένον ἵππῳ τοσαύτῃ τῶν
 πολεμίων τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν λαμ-
 πρότητα τοῦ ὀπλισμοῦ, μετεπέμψατο σπείρας ἐξ
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ κατέστησεν ὀπισθεν
 3 τοῦ δεκάτου, κελεύσας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἀδήλους
 τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντας· ὅταν δὲ προσελαύνωσιν οἱ
 ἱππεῖς, διὰ τῶν προμάχων ἐκδραμόντας μὴ προέ-
 σθαι τοὺς ὑσσοὺς, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ κράτιστοι

¹ εἰς τάξιν bracketed by Bekker.

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enemy's camp, and that there was a noisy movement there of men coming out to battle. After these, others came announcing that the foremost ranks were already forming in battle array. Caesar, therefore, after saying that the expected day had come, on which they would fight against men, and not against want and hunger, quickly ordered the purple tunic to be hung up in front of his tent, that being the Roman signal for battle. His soldiers, on seeing this, left their tents with shouts of joy, and hurried to arms. And when their officers led them to the proper place, each man, as if in a chorus, not tumultuously, but with the quiet ease which training gives, fell into line.

LXIX. Pompey himself, with the right wing, intended to oppose Antony; in the centre he stationed Scipio, his father-in-law, over against Lucius Calvinus; his left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and was supported by the main body of the cavalry.¹ For almost all the horsemen had crowded to this point, in order to overpower Caesar and cut to pieces the tenth legion; for this was generally said to fight better than any other, and in its ranks Caesar usually stood when he fought a battle. But Caesar, observing that the left wing of the enemy was enclosed by such a large body of horsemen, and alarmed at their brilliant array, sent for six cohorts from his reserves and stationed them behind the tenth legion, with orders to keep quiet and out of the enemy's sight; but whenever the cavalry charged, they were to run out through the front ranks, and were not to hurl their javelins, as

¹ Both Plutarch (not only here, but also in his *Caesar*, xlv. 1 f.) and Appian (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 76) differ in their accounts of the order of battle from that which Caesar himself gives (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 88 f.).

σπευδοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ξιφουλκίας, ἀλλὰ παίειν ἄνω συντιτρώσκοντας ὄμματα καὶ πρόσωπα τῶν πολεμίων· οὐ γὰρ μενεῖν τοὺς καλοὺς τούτους καὶ ἀνθηροὺς πυρριχιστὰς διὰ τὸν ὥραϊσμόν, οὐδὲ ἀντιβλέψειν πρὸς τὸν σίδηρον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς γινόμενον. ἐν τούτοις μὲν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν.

- 4 Ὁ δὲ Πομπηΐος ἀφ' ἵππου τὴν παράταξιν ἐπισκοπῶν, ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς μὲν ἀντιπάλους μεθ' ἡσυχίας τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τάξει προσμένοντας, τῆς δ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς τὸ πλεῖστον οὐκ ἀτρεμοῦν, ἀλλὰ κυμαῖνον ἀπειρία καὶ θορυβούμενον, ἔδεισε μὴ διασπασθῇ παντάπασιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης, καὶ παράγγελμα τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἔδωκεν ἐστῶτας ἐν προβολῇ καὶ μένοντας ἀραρότως δέ-
5 χεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αἰτιᾶται τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦτο· τῶν τε γὰρ πληγῶν τὸν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τόνον ἀμαυρῶσαι, καὶ τὴν μάλιστα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πληροῦσαν ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ φορᾶς ἀντεξόρμη-
σιν, ἅμα κραυγῇ καὶ δρόμῳ τὸν θυμὸν αὖξουσιν, ἀφελόντα πῆξαι καὶ καταψύξαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Καίσαρος δισχύλιοι πρὸς δισμυρίοις, οἱ δὲ μετὰ Πομπηίου βραχεῖ πλείονες ἢ διπλάσιοι τούτων.

LXX. Ἦδη δὲ συνθήματος διδομένου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἀρχομένης ἐγκε-

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the best soldiers usually did in their eagerness to draw their swords, but to strike upwards with them and wound the faces and eyes of the enemy; for these blooming and handsome war-dancers (he said) would not stand their ground for fear of having their youthful beauty marred, nor would they face the steel when it was right at their eyes. Caesar, then, was thus engaged.

But Pompey, who was surveying on horseback the battle array, when he saw that his antagonists were standing quietly in their ranks and awaiting the moment of attack, while the greater part of his own army was not at rest, but tossing about in waves of tumult, owing to its inexperience, was afraid that his array would be completely broken up at the beginning of the battle, and therefore ordered his front ranks to stand with their spears advanced, to remain fixed in their places, and so to receive the enemy's onset. Now, Caesar finds fault with these tactics¹; he says that Pompey thereby robbed the blows of his weapons of that impetus which a rapid charge would have given them; and as for that rushing counter-charge, which more than any thing else fills most soldiers with impetuous enthusiasm as they close with their enemies, and combines with their shouts and running to increase their courage, Pompey deprived his men of this, and so rooted them to the spot where they stood, and chilled their spirits. And yet Caesar's forces numbered twenty-two thousand, while those of Pompey were a little more than twice as many.

LXX. And now at last the signal was given on both sides and the trumpet began to call to the

¹ *Bell. Civ.* iii. 92. Appian (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 79) says Caesar does this in his letters.

- λεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύστασιν, τῶν μὲν πολλῶν ἕκαστος ἐσκόπει τὸ καθ' αὐτόν, ὀλίγοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ τινες Ἑλλήνων παρόντες ἔξω τῆς μάχης, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ δεινόν, ἐλογίζοντο τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλονεικίαν, ὅπου φέρουσα
- 2 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐξέθηκεν. ὅπλα γὰρ συγγενικά καὶ τάξεις ἀδελφαὶ καὶ κοινὰ σημεῖα καὶ μιᾶς πόλεως εὐανδρία τοσαύτη καὶ δύναμις αὐτὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συνέπιπτεν, ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ὡς ἐν πάθει γενομένη τυφλὸν ἐστὶ καὶ μανιώδες. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη καθ' ἡσυχίαν χρήζουσιν ἄρχειν καὶ ἀπολαύειν τῶν κατειργασμένων τὸ πλείστον καὶ κράτιστον ἀρετῇ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ὑπήκοον, ἣν δ' ἔτι τροπαίων καὶ θριαμβῶν ἔρωτι βουλομένους χαρίζεσθαι καὶ διψῶντας ἐμπίπλασθαι Παρθικῶν πολέμων ἢ Γερμανικῶν.
- 3 πολὺν δὲ καὶ Σκυθία λειπόμενον ἔργον καὶ Ἰνδοί, καὶ πρόφασιν οὐκ ἄδοξος ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῆς πλεονεξίας ἡμερῶσαι τὰ βαρβαρικά. τίς δ' ἂν ἢ Σκυθῶν ἵππος ἢ τοξεύματα Πάρθων ἢ πλοῦτος Ἰνδῶν ἐπέσχε μυριάδας ἐπτὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπερχομένας Πομπητοῦ καὶ Καίσαρος ἡγουμένων, ὧν ὄνομα πολὺν πρότερον ἤκουσαν ἢ τὸ Ῥωμαίων; οὕτως ἄμικτα καὶ ποικίλα καὶ θηριώδη φύλα
- 4 νικῶντες ἐπῆλθον. τότε δὲ ἀλλήλοις μαχοῦμενοι συνήεσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν, δι' ἣν τῆς πατρίδος ἠφείδουν, οἰκτείραντες, ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἀνικῆτων προσαγορευομένων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γενομένη συγγένεια καὶ τὰ Ἰουλίας φίλτρα καὶ γάμος ἐκεῖνος εὐθύς ἦν ἀπατηλὰ καὶ ὑποπτα κοινωρίας ἐπὶ χρεῖα συνισταμένης ὁμηρεύματα, φιλίας δ' ἀληθινῆς οὐ μετέσχευ.

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conflict, and of that great host every man sought to do his part; but a few Romans, the noblest, and some Greeks, men who were present without taking part in the battle, now that the dreadful crisis was near, began to reflect upon the pass to which contentiousness and greed had brought the sovereign Roman state. For with kindred arms, fraternal ranks, and common standards, the strong manhood and might of a single city in such numbers was turning its own hand against itself, showing how blind and frenzied a thing human nature is when passion reigns. For had they now been willing quietly to govern and enjoy what they had conquered, the greatest and best part of earth and sea was subject to them, and if they still desired to gratify their thirst for trophies and triumphs, they might have had their fill of wars with Parthians or Germans. Besides, a great task still remained in the subjugation of Scythia and India, and here their greed would have had no inglorious excuse in the civilization of barbarous peoples. And what Scythian horse or Parthian archery or Indian wealth could have checked seventy thousand Romans coming up in arms under the leadership of Pompey and Caesar, whose names those nations had heard of long before that of Rome, so remote and various and savage were the peoples which they had attacked and conquered. But now they were about to join battle with one another, nor were they moved even by a compassion for their own glory to spare their country, men who up to that day had been called invincible! For the family alliance which had been made between them, and the charms of Julia, and her marriage, were now seen to have been from the first suspicious and deceptive pledges of a partnership based on self-interest; there was no real friendship in it.

LXXI. Ὡς δ' οὖν τὸ Φαρσάλιον πεδίον ἀνδρῶν
καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ἀνεπέπληστο καὶ μάχης
ἦρθη παρ' ἀμφοτέρων σημεῖα, πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς
Καίσαρος φάλαγγος ἐξέδραμε Γάιος Κρασσιανός,
ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι λοχαγῶν, μεγάλην ἀποδι-
2 δούς ὑπόσχεσιν Καίσαρι. πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν 657
ἐξιὼν τοῦ χάρακος εἶδε, καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἤρετο
πῶς φρονοίη περὶ τῆς μάχης. ὁ δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν
προτείνας ἀνεβόησε· “Νικήσεις λαμπρῶς, ὦ
Καίσαρ· ἐμὲ δὲ ἢ ζῶντα τήμερον ἢ νεκρὸν ἐπαιné-
σεις.” τούτων τῶν λόγων μεμνημένος ἐξώρμησε
καὶ συνεπεσπάσατο πολλοὺς καὶ προσέβαλε
3 κατὰ μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ
ἀγῶνος εὐθὺς ἐν ξίφεσι καὶ πολλῶν φονευομένων,
βιαζόμενον πρόσω καὶ διακόπτοντα τοὺς πρώτους
ὑποστάς τις ὠθεῖ διὰ τοῦ στόματος τὸ ξίφος,
ὥστε τὴν αἰχμὴν περάσασαν ἀνασχεῖν κατὰ τὸ
ἰνίον.

Πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ Κρασσιανοῦ, κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν
ἦν ἰσόρροπος ἡ μάχη, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν ὁ Πομπήϊος οὐ
ταχέως ἐπήγεν, ἀλλὰ παπταίνων ἐπὶ θύτερα καὶ
4 τὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀναμένων ἔργον ἐνδιέτριβεν. ἤδη
δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς οὐλαμοὺς ἀνῆγον ὡς κυκλωσόμενοι
τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ τοὺς προτεταγμένους ἱππεῖς
ὀλίγους ὄντας ἐμβαλοῦντες εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα.
Καίσαρος δὲ σημεῖον ἄραντος, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς
ἐξανεχώρησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιτεταγμέναι σπεῖραι πρὸς
τὴν κύκλωσιν ἐκδραμοῦσαι, τρισχίλιοι ἄνδρες,

¹ The name is Crastinus in Caesar's own story of the battle
(*Bell. Civ.* iii. 91).

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LXXI. So then, when the Pharsalian plain was filled with men and horses and arms and the signals for battle had been lifted on both sides, the first to rush out from Caesar's lines was Caius Crassianus,¹ a centurion in command of one hundred and twenty men, who was thus redeeming a great promise made to Caesar. For he had been the first man whom Caesar saw as he issued from the camp, and addressing him, he had asked him what he thought about the battle. The centurion stretched forth his right hand and cried with a loud voice: "Thou wilt win a splendid victory, O Caesar; and I shall have thy praise to-day, whether I live or die." Mindful now of these words of his, he rushed forward, carrying many along with him, and threw himself into the midst of the enemy. The combatants at once took to their swords and many were slain, and as the centurion was forcing his way along and cutting down the men in the front ranks, one of them confronted him and drove his sword in at his mouth with such force that its point went through to the nape of his neck.²

After Crassianus had fallen, the battle was evenly contested at this point; Pompey, however, did not lead up his right wing swiftly, but kept looking anxiously towards the other parts of the field, and awaited the action of his cavalry on the left, thus losing time. These at last deployed their squadrons with a view to envelop Caesar, and to hurl back upon their supporting lines the horsemen whom he had stationed in front, only a few in number. But Caesar gave a signal, his cavalry retired, and the cohorts drawn up to oppose the enveloping movement ran out, three thousand men, and confronted

² Cf. Caesar, *op. cit.* iii. 99, where Caesar gives Crastinus that high praise for which he was willing to die.

ὑπαντιάζουσι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ παριστάμενοι
καθ' ἵππων, ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὑψηλοῖς ἐχρῶντο
5 τοῖς ὑσσοῖς, ἐφιεμένοι τῶν προσώπων. οἱ δέ, ἅτε
μάχης πάσης ἄπειροι, τοιαύτην δὲ μὴ προσδοκή-
σαντες μηδὲ προμαθόντες, οὐκ ἐτόλμων οὐδὲ ἡνεί-
χοντο τὰς πληγὰς ἐν ὄμμασι καὶ στόμασιν οὔσας,
ἀλλ' ἀποστρεφόμενοι καὶ προῖσχόμενοι τῶν
ὄψεων τὰς χεῖρας ἀκλεῶς ἐτράποντο. φευγόν-
των δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσαντες οἱ Καίσαρος ἐχώρου
ἐπὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς, ἧ μάλιστα τῶν ἱππέων τὸ κέρας
ἐψιλωμένον περιδρομὴν ἐδίδου καὶ κύκλωσιν.
6 ἅμα δὲ τούτων ἐκ πλαγίου προσπεσόντων καὶ
κατὰ στόμα τοῦ δεκάτου προσμίξαντος οὐχ
ὑπέμειναν οὐδὲ συνέστησαν, ὀρώντες ἐν ᾧ κυκλώ-
σεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἤλπιζον αὐτοὺς τοῦτο
πάσχοντας.

LXXII. Τραπεμένων δὲ τούτων, ὡς κατεῖδε
τὸν κονιορτὸν ὁ Πομπήϊος καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἱπ-
πέας πάθος εἵκασεν, ᾧ μὲν ἐχρήσατο λογισμῷ
χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅμοιος παράφρονι
καὶ παραπλήγι τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ μὴδ' ὅτι Μάγνος
ἐστὶ Πομπήϊος ἐννοοῦντι, μηδένα προσειπὼν
ἀπῆει βάδην εἰς τὸν χάρακα, πάνυ τοῖς ἔπεσι
πρέπων ἐκείνοις·

- 2 Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Αἴανθ' ὑψίζυγος ἐν φόβον ὤρσε·
 στῇ δὲ ταφῶν, ὅπιθεν δὲ σάκος βάλεν ἑπτα-
 βόειον,
 τρέσσε δὲ παπτήνας ἐφ' ὀμίλου.

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their enemies, and standing close by the horses, as they had been directed, they thrust their javelins upwards, aiming at the faces of the riders. These, since they were without experience in every kind of fighting, and did not expect or even know anything about such a kind as this, had neither courage nor endurance to meet the blows which were aimed at their mouths and eyes, but wheeling about and putting their hands before their faces, they ingloriously took to flight. Then Caesar's soldiers, suffering these to make their escape, advanced upon the enemy's infantry, attacking at just that point where the wing, left unprotected by the flight of the cavalry, could be surrounded and enclosed. And since this body attacked them on the flank, while at the same time the tenth legion fell upon their front, the enemy did not stand their ground nor even hold together, for they saw that while they were expecting to surround the enemy, they were themselves being surrounded.

LXXII. After his infantry was thus routed, and when, from the cloud of dust which he saw, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry, what thoughts passed through his mind it were difficult to say; but he was most like a man bereft of sense and crazed, who had utterly forgotten that he was Pompey the Great, and without a word to any one, he walked slowly off to his camp, exemplifying those verses of Homer¹:

But Zeus the father, throned on high, in Ajax
stirred up fear;

He stood confounded, and behind him cast his
shield of seven ox-hides,

And trembled as he peered around upon the throng.

¹ *Iliad*, xi. 544 ff., where Telamonian Ajax retires before Hector and his Trojans.

τοιούτος εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθὼν ἄφθογγος καθ-
ῆστο, μέχρι οὗ τοῖς φεύγουσι πολλοὶ διώκοντες
συνεισέπιπτον· τότε δὲ φωνὴν μίαν ἀφείς ταύτην,
“Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν;” ἄλλο δὲ
μηδὲν εἰπὼν, ἀναστὰς καὶ λαβὼν ἐσθήτα τῇ
3 παρούσῃ τύχῃ πρέπουσαν ὑπεξῆλθεν. ἔφυγε δὲ
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τάγματα, καὶ φόνος ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ πολὺς ἐγένετο σκηνοφυλάκων καὶ θεραπόν-
των· στρατιώτας δὲ μόνους ἐξακισχιλίους πεσεῖν
φησιν Ἀσίννιος Πολλίων, μεμαχημένος ἐκείνην
τὴν μάχην μετὰ Καίσαρος.

4 Αἰρούντες δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐθεῶντο τὴν ἄνοιαν
καὶ κουφότητα τῶν πολεμίων. πᾶσα γὰρ σκηνὴ
μυρσίαις κατέστεπτο καὶ στρωμαῖς ἀνθιναῖς
ἤσκητο καὶ τραπέζαις ἐκπωμάτων μεσταῖς· καὶ
κρατῆρες οἴνου προῦκειντο, καὶ παρασκευὴ καὶ
κόσμος ἦν τεθυκότων καὶ πανηγυριζόντων μᾶλλον
ἢ πρὸς μάχην ἐξοπλιζομένων. οὕτω ταῖς ἐλπίσι
διεφθαρμένοι καὶ γέμοντες ἀνοήτου θράσους ἐπὶ
τὸν πόλεμον ἐχώρουν.

LXXIII. Πόμπηϊος δὲ μικρὸν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος
προελθὼν τὸν μὲν ἵππον ἀφῆκεν, ὀλίγων δὲ κομι-
δῇ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐδίωκεν, ἀπῆει
καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἐν διαλογισμοῖς ὧν οἴους εἰκὸς
λαμβάνειν ἄνθρωπον ἔτη τέτταρα καὶ τριάκοντα
νικᾶν καὶ κρατεῖν ἀπάντων εἰθισμένον, ἥττης δὲ 658
καὶ φυγῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐν γήρᾳ λαμβάνοντα πεί-
ραν, ἐννοούμενον δὲ ἐξ ὅσων ἀγώνων καὶ πολέμων
ὑψηλὴν ἀποβαλὼν ὥρα μιᾷ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν,
2 ὁ¹ πρὸ μικροῦ τοσούτοις ὀπλοῖς καὶ ἵπποις καὶ

¹ δ Reiske's correction of ᾗ in the MSS., which Sintenis and Bekker delete.

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In such a state of mind he went to his tent and sat down speechless, until many pursuers burst into the camp with the fugitives; then he merely ejaculated: "What! even to my quarters?" and without another word rose up, took clothing suitable to his present fortune, and made his escape. The rest of his legions also fled, and there was a great slaughter in the camp of tent-guards and servants; but only six thousand soldiers fell,¹ according to Asinius Pollio, who fought in that battle on the side of Caesar.

When Caesar's troops captured the camp, they beheld the vanity and folly of the enemy. For every tent was wreathed with myrtle boughs and decked out with flowered couches and tables loaded with beakers; bowls of wine also were laid out, and preparation and adornment were those of men who had sacrificed and were holding festival rather than of men who were arming themselves for battle. With such infatuated hopes and such a store of foolish confidence did they go forth to war.²

LXXIII. But Pompey, when he had gone a little distance from the camp, gave his horse the rein, and with only a few followers, since no one pursued him, went quietly away, indulging in such reflections as a man would naturally make who for four and thirty years had been accustomed to conquer and get the mastery in everything, and who now for the first time, in his old age, got experience of defeat and flight; he thought how in a single hour he had lost the power and glory gained in so many wars and conflicts, he who a little while ago was guarded by

¹ Caesar says that fifteen thousand of Pompey's soldiers fell, and twenty-four thousand surrendered. His own losses he puts at two hundred soldiers and thirty centurions (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 99). ² Cf. Caesar, *op. cit.* iii. 96.

- στόλοις δορυφορούμενος ὑπέρχεται μικρὸς οὕτω
γεγονὼς καὶ συνεσταλμένος ὥστε λανθάνειν ζη-
τούντας τοὺς πολεμίους. παραμειψάμενος δὲ
Λάρισσαν, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Τέμπη, καταβαλὼν
ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα δεδιψηκῶς ἔπινε τοῦ ποταμοῦ,
καὶ πάλιν ἄναστὰς ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν, ἄχρι
3 οὐ κατήλθεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν. ἐκεῖ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ
λοιπὸν ἀναπαυσάμενος ἐν καλυβίῳ τινὶ σαγηνέων,
καὶ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιβάς ποταμίῳ πλοίου, καὶ
τῶν ἐπομένων τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀναλαβὼν, τοὺς δὲ
θεράποντας ὑπιέναι πρὸς Καίσαρα κελεύσας καὶ
μὴ δεδιέναι, παρὰ γῆν κομιζόμενος εἶδεν εὐμεγέθη
φορτηγὸν ἀνάγεσθαι μέλλουσαν, ἧς ἐναυκλήρει
Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ οὐ πάνυ Πομπητῶ συνήθης, γινώ-
σκων δὲ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ· Πετίκιος ἐπεκαλεῖτο.
4 τούτῳ συνεβεβήκει τῆς παρῳχημένης νυκτὸς ἰδεῖν
κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Πομπηῖον, οὐχ ὃν ἐωράκει
πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ ταπεινὸν καὶ κατηφῆ, προσδια-
λεγόμενον αὐτῷ. καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς συμπλέουσιν
ἐτύγχανε διηγούμενος, ὡς δὴ φιλεῖ περὶ πραγμά-
των τηλικούτων λόγον ἔχειν ἀνθρώπους σχολῇ
5 ἄγοντας. ἐξαίφνης δὲ τις τῶν ναυτῶν ἔφρασε
κατιδὼν ὅτι πλοῖον ποτάμιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐρέσ-
σεται καὶ κατασεύουσιν τινες ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἱμάτια
καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγουσι πρὸς αὐτοῦς. ἐπιστήσας
οὖν ὁ Πετίκιος εὐθύς ἔγνω τὸν Πομπηῖον, οἶον
ὄναρ εἶδε· καὶ πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκέλευσε
τοὺς ναύτας. τὸ ἐφόλκιον παραβαλεῖν, καὶ τὴν
δεξιὰν ἐξέτεινε καὶ προσεκάλει τὸν Πομπηῖον,
ἥδη συμφρονῶν τῷ σχήματι τὴν τύχην καὶ μετα-
6βολὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὅθεν οὔτε παράκλησιν ἀνα-
μείνας οὔτε λόγον, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβὼν ὅσους ἐκέλευσε
μετ' αὐτοῦ (Λέντουλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀμφοτέρω καὶ

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such an array of infantry and horse, but was now going away so insignificant and humbled as to escape the notice of the enemies who were in search of him. After passing by Larissa, he came to the Vale of Tempe, and there, being thirsty, he threw himself down on his face and drank of the river; then, rising up again, he went on his way through Tempe, and at last came down to the sea. There he rested for the remainder of the night in a fisherman's hut. At early dawn he went aboard a river-boat, taking with him such of his followers as were freemen, but bidding his servants to go back to Caesar and to have no fear. Then he coasted along until he saw a merchant-ship of goodly size about to put to sea, the master of which was a Roman who, though not intimately acquainted with Pompey, nevertheless knew him by sight; his name was Peticius. This man, as it happened, had dreamed the night before that Pompey, not as he had often seen him, but humble and downcast, was addressing him. He was just telling this dream to his shipmates, as men who are at leisure are wont to make much of such matters, when suddenly one of the sailors told him that he saw a river-boat rowing out from the shore, and some men in it waving their garments and stretching out their hands towards them. Peticius, accordingly, turned his attention in that direction, and at once recognised Pompey, as he had seen him in his dream; then, smiting his head, he ordered the sailors to bring the little boat alongside, and stretching out his hand, hailed Pompey, already comprehending from his garb the change of fortune which the man had suffered. Wherefore, without waiting for argument or entreaty, he took Pompey on board, and also all whom Pompey wished to have with him (these were the two Lentul

Φαώνιος) ἀνήχθη· καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἰδόντες ἀπὸ γῆς ἀμιλλώμενον Δηϊόταρον τὸν βασιλέα προσαναλαμβάνουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν δείπνου καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ὁ ναύκληρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ἰδὼν ὁ Φαώνιος οἰκετῶν ἀπορία τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀρχόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπολύειν προσέδραμε καὶ ὑπέ-
 7 λυσε καὶ συνήλειψε. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου περιέπων καὶ θεραπεύων ὅσα δεσπότης δοῦλοι, μέχρι νύφews ποδῶν καὶ δείπνου παρασκευῆς, διετέλεσεν, ὥστε τὴν ἐλευθεριότητα τῆς ὑπουργίας ἐκείνης θεασάμενον ἂν τινα καὶ τὸ ἀφελὲς καὶ ἄπλαστον εἶπειν·

Φεῦ τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἅπαν καλόν.

LXXIV. Οὕτω δὲ παραπλεύσας ἐπ' Ἀμφι-
 πόλεως ἐκείθεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἐπεραιουῦτο, βουλό-
 μενος τὴν Κορνηλίαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τὸν υἱόν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ προσέσχε τῇ νήσῳ κατ' αἰγιαλόν, ἔπεμ-
 ψεν εἰς πόλιν ἄγγελον, οὐχ ὡς ἡ Κορνηλία προσ-
 εδόκα τοῖς πρὸς χάριν ἀπαγγελλομένοις καὶ
 γραφομένοις, ἐλπίζουσα τοῦ πολέμου κεκριμένου
 περὶ Δυρράχιον ἔτι λοιπὸν ἔργον εἶναι Πομπηΐῳ
 2 τὴν Καίσαρος διώξιν. ἐν τούτοις οὖσαν αὐτὴν
 καταλαβὼν ὁ ἄγγελος ἀσπάσασθαι μὲν οὐχ ὑπέ-
 μεινε, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν τοῖς
 δάκρυσι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ φωνῇ φράσας σπεύδειν
 ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ βούλεται πως Πομπηΐον ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ
 νεὸς μιᾶς καὶ ἀλλοτρίας. ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα προ-
 ῆκατο μὲν αὐτὴν χαμᾶζε καὶ πολὺν χρόνον
 ἔκφρων καὶ ἀνανδὸς ἔκειτο, μόλις δὲ πως ἔμφρων
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and Favonius), and set sail; and shortly after, seeing Deiotarus the king hurrying out from shore, they took him on board also. Now, when it was time for supper and the master of the ship had made such provision for them as he could, Favonius, seeing that Pompey, for lack of servants, was beginning to take off his own shoes, ran to him and took off his shoes for him, and helped him to anoint himself. And from that time on he continued to give Pompey such ministry and service as slaves give their masters, even down to the washing of his feet and the preparation of his meals, so that any one who beheld the courtesy and the unfeigned simplicity of that service might have exclaimed:

“Ah, yes! to generous souls how noble every task!”¹

LXXIV. And so, after coasting along towards Amphipolis, he crossed over to Mitylene, desiring to take on board Cornelia and his son. And when he had reached the shore of the island, he sent a messenger to the city, not such a one as Cornelia was expecting in view of the joyful messages and letters she had received, for she was hoping that the war was ended at Dyrrachium, and that the only task left for Pompey was the pursuit of Caesar. The messenger, finding her in this mood, could not bring himself to salute her, but indicated to her the most and greatest of her misfortunes by his tears rather than by his speech, and merely bade her hasten if she had any wish to see Pompey with one ship only, and that not his own. When she heard this, she cast herself upon the ground and lay there a long time bereft of sense and speech. At last,

¹ The verse is assigned to Euripides in *Morals*, p. 85a (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag* ², p. 671).

γενομένη καὶ συννοήσασα τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ ὄντα
 θρήνων καὶ δακρύων, ἐξέδραμε διὰ τῆς πόλεως
 3 ἐπὶ θάλατταν. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου
 καὶ δεξαμένου ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτὴν ὑπερειπο-
 μένην καὶ περιπίπτουσιν, “Ὁρῶ σε,” εἶπεν,
 “ἄνερ, οὐ τῆς σῆς τύχης ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς, 659
 προσετρυμμένον ἐνὶ σκάφει τὸν πρὸ τῶν Κορ-
 νηλίας γάμων πεντακοσίαις ναυσὶ ταύτην περι-
 πλεύσαντα τὴν θάλασσαν. τί μ’ ἤλθες ἰδεῖν καὶ
 οὐκ ἀπέλιπες τῷ βαρεῖ δαίμονι τὴν καὶ σὲ δυστυ-
 χίας ἀναπλήσασαν τοσαύτης; ὥς εὐτυχῆς μὲν ἂν
 ἦμιν γυνὴ πρὸ τοῦ Πόπλιον ἐν Πάρθοις ἀκούσαι
 τὸν παρθένιον ἄνδρα κείμενον ἀποθανοῦσα, σώ-
 φρων δὲ καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων, ὥσπερ ὥρμησα, τὸν
 ἐμαυτῆς προεμένη βίον· ἐσωζόμεν δ’ ἄρα καὶ
 Πομπηίῳ Μάγνῳ συμφορὰ γενέσθαι.”

LXXV. Ταῦτα εἰπεῖν τὴν Κορνηλίαν λέγουσι,
 τὸν δὲ Πομπηῖον ἀποκρίνασθαι· “Μίαν ἄρα,
 Κορνηλία, τύχην ἦδεις τὴν ἀμείνονα, ἣ καὶ σὲ
 ἴσως ἐξηπάτησεν, ὅτι μοι χρόνον πλείονα τοῦ
 συνήθους παρέμεινεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δεῖ φέ-
 ρειν γενομένους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τῆς τύχης ἔτι
 πειρατέον. οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον ἐκ τούτων ἀνα-
 λαβεῖν ἐκεῖνα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐν τούτοις γενό-
 μενον.”

2 Ἡ μὲν οὖν γυνὴ μετεπέμπετο χρήματα καὶ
 θεραπείοντας ἐκ πόλεως· τῶν δὲ Μιτυληναίων
 τὸν Πομπηῖον ἀσπασαμένων καὶ παρακαλούντων
 εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐκεῖνους ἐκέλευσε τῷ κρατοῦντι πείθεσθαι καὶ
 θαρρεῖν· εὐγνώμονα γὰρ εἶναι Καίσαρα καὶ
 3 χρηστόν. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς Κράτιππον τραπόμενος
 τὸν φιλόσοφον (κατέβη γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως

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however, and with difficulty, she regained her senses, and perceiving that the occasion was not one for tears and lamentations, she ran out through the city to the sea. Pompey met her and caught her in his arms as she tottered and was falling. "I see thee," she cried, "husband, not by thy fortune, but by mine, reduced to one small vessel, thou who before thy marriage with Cornelia didst sail this sea with five hundred ships. Why hast thou come to see me, and why didst thou not leave to her cruel destiny one who has infected thee also with an evil fortune so great? What a happy woman I had been if I had died before hearing that Publius, whose virgin bride I was, was slain among the Parthians! And how wise if, even after his death, as I essayed to do, I had put an end to my own life! But I was spared, it seems, to bring ruin also upon Pompey the Great."

LXXV. So spake Cornelia, as we are told, and Pompey answered, saying: "It is true, Cornelia, thou hast known but one fortune to be mine, the better one, and this has perhaps deceived thee too, as well as me, in that it remained with me longer than is customary. But this reverse also we must bear, since we are mortals, and we must still put fortune to the test. For I can have some hope of rising again from this low estate to my former high estate, since I fell from that to this."

His wife, accordingly, sent for her goods and servants from the city; and though the Mitylenaeans gave Pompey a welcome and invited him to enter their city, he would not consent to do so, but bade them also to submit to the conqueror, and to be of good heart, for Caesar was humane and merciful. He himself, however, turning to Cratippus the philosopher, who had come down from the city to

ὀφόμενος αὐτόν), ἐμέμψατο καὶ συνδιηπόρησε βραχεία περὶ τῆς προνοίας, ὑποκατακλινομένου τοῦ Κρατίππου καὶ παράγοντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμείνωνας ἐλπίδας, ὅπως μὴ λυπηρὸς μηδὲ ἄκαιρος
 4 ἀντιλέγων εἶη. ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἐρέσθαι τὸν Πομπήϊον ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς προνοίας, τὸν δ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι ὅτι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἤδη μοναρχίας ἔδει διὰ τὴν κακοπολιτείαν· ἐρέσθαι δέ· “ Πῶς, ὦ Πομπήϊε, καὶ τίνι τεκμηρίῳ πεισθῶμεν ὅτι βέλτιον ἂν σὺ τῇ τύχῃ Καίσαρος ἐχρήσω κρατήσας ; ” ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἑατέον ὥσπερ ἔχει, τὰ τῶν θεῶν.

LXXVI. Ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐκομίζετο, προσίσχων ὄρμοις ἀναγκαίοις ὕδωρ ἢ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν. εἰς δὲ πόλιν εἰσῆλθε πρώτην Ἀττάλειαν τῆς Παμφυλίας. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τριήρεις τινὲς ἀπήντησαν ἐκ Κιλικίας καὶ στρατιῶται συνελέγοντο καὶ τῶν συγκλητι-
 2 κῶν πάλιν ἐξήκοντα περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἔτι συνεστάναι, καὶ Κάτωνα πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνειληφότα περαιοῦν εἰς Λιβύην, ὠδύρετο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, καταμεμφόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἐκβιασθέντα τῷ πεζῷ συμβαλεῖν, τῇ δὲ κρείττονι ἀδελφίτῳς δυνάμει πρὸς μηδὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι μηδὲ περιορμίσαι τὸ ναυτικόν, ὅπου κατὰ γῆν σφαλεῖς εὐθὺς ἂν εἶχεν ἀντίπαλον ἐκ θαλάττης παρεστῶσαν ἀλκὴν καὶ δύναμιν
 3 τοσαύτην. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀμάρτημα Πομπηίου μείζον οὐδὲ δεινότερον στρατήγημα Καίσαρος ἢ τὸ τὴν

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see him, complained and argued briefly with him about Providence, Cratippus yielding somewhat to his reasoning and trying to lead him on to better hopes, that he might not give him pain by arguing against him at such a time. For when Pompey raised questions about Providence, Cratippus might have answered that the state now required a monarchy because it was so badly administered ; and he might have asked Pompey : "How, O Pompey, and by what evidence, can we be persuaded that thou wouldst have made a better use of fortune than Caesar, hadst thou got the mastery?" But this matter of the divine ordering of events must be left without further discussion.¹

LXXVI. After taking on board his wife and his friends, Pompey went on his way, putting in at harbours only when he was compelled to get food or water there. The first city that he entered was Attaleia in Pamphylia ; there some triremes from Cilicia met him, soldiers were assembled for him, and he was surrounded again by senators, sixty of them. On hearing, too, that his fleet still held together, and that Cato had taken many soldiers aboard and was crossing the sea to Africa, he lamented to his friends, blaming himself for having been forced to do battle with his land forces, while he made no use of his navy, which was indisputably superior, and had not even stationed it at a point where, if defeated on land, he might have had this powerful force close at hand by sea to make him a match for his enemy. And, in truth, Pompey made no greater mistake, and Caesar showed no abler generalship,

¹ Sintenis² follows Amyot in including this last sentence with the words supposed to be spoken by Cratippus : "*But these matters must be left to the will of the gods.*"

μάχην οὕτω μακρὰν ἀποσπάσασθαι τῆς ναυτικῆς
 βοηθείας. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κρίνειν
 τι καὶ πράττειν ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις
 περιέπεμπε· τὰς δ' αὐτὸς περιπλέων ἦται χρή-
 ματα καὶ ναῦς ἐπλήρου. τὴν δ' ὀξύτητα τοῦ
 πολεμίου καὶ τὸ τάχος δεδοικώς, μὴ προαναρπάσῃ
 τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτὸν ἐπελθὼν, ἐσκόπει κατα-
 4 φυγὴν ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι καὶ ἀναχώρησιν. ἐπαρχία
 μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία φύξιμος ἐφαίνετο βουλευομένοις
 αὐτοῖς, τῶν δὲ βασιλειῶν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέφαινε
 τὴν Πάρθων ἰκανωτάτην οὔσαν ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι
 δέξασθαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν σφᾶς ἀσθενεῖς ὄντας,
 αὐθὶς τε ῥῶσαι καὶ προπέμψαι μετὰ πλείστης
 5 δυνάμεως· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν εἰς Λιβύην καὶ
 Ἰόβαν ἔτρεπον τὴν γνώμην, Θεοφάνει δὲ τῷ
 Λεσβίῳ μανικὸν ἐδόκει τριῶν ἡμερῶν πλοῦν
 ἀπέχουσιν Αἴγυπτον ἀπολιπόντα καὶ Πτολε-
 μαῖον, ἡλικίαν μὲν ἀντίπαιδα, φιλίας δὲ καὶ χά-
 ριτος πατρώας ὑπόχρεων, Πάρθοις ὑποβαλεῖν 660
 ἑαυτὸν, ἀπιστοτάτῳ γένει, καὶ Ῥωμαίῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ
 κηδεστῇ γενομένῳ τὰ δεύτερα λέγοντα πρῶτον
 εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων μὴ θέλειν μηδὲ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς
 6 ἐκείνου μετριότητος, Ἀρσάκην δὲ ποιεῖσθαι κύ-
 ριον ἑαυτοῦ τὸν μηδὲ Κράσσου δυνηθέντα ζῶντος·
 καὶ γυναῖκα νέαν οἴκου τοῦ Σκηπίωνος εἰς βαρ-
 βάρους κομίζειν ὕβρει καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 μετροῦντας, ἧ, κἂν μὴ πάθῃ, δόξῃ δὲ παθεῖν,

¹ His father was Ptolemy Auletes, mentioned in chapter xlix. 5. He had been restored to his throne in 55 B.C. through Pompey's influence. The son, Ptolemy Dionysius,

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than in removing the battle so far from naval assistance. However, since he was compelled to decide and act as best he could under the circumstances, he sent messengers round to the cities; to some also he sailed about in person, asking for money and manning ships. But fearing the quickness and speed of his enemy, who might come upon him and seize him before he was prepared, he began to look about for a temporary refuge and retreat. Accordingly, as he deliberated with his followers, there appeared to be no province to which they could safely fly, and as for the kingdoms, he himself expressed the opinion that the Parthian was best able for the present to receive and protect them in their weak condition, and later on to strengthen them and send them forth with a large force; of the rest, some turned their thoughts to Africa and Juba. But Theophanes the Lesbian thought it a crazy thing for Pompey to decide against Egypt, which was only three days' sail away, and Ptolemy, who was a mere youth and indebted to Pompey for friendship and kindness shown his father,¹ and put himself in the power of Parthians, a most treacherous race; to refuse to take the second place under a Roman who had been connected with him by marriage, and to be second to none other, nay, to refuse even to make trial of that Roman's moderation, but instead to make Arsaces his lord and master, a thing which even Crassus could not be made to do while he lived; and to carry a young wife, of the family of Scipio, among Barbarians who measure their power by their insolence and licentiousness, where, even if she suffer no harm, but now fifteen years of age, had been left joint ruler of Egypt with his sister, Cleopatra.

δεινόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιῆσαι δυναμένοις γενο-
 μένη. τοῦτο μόνον, ὥς φασιν, ἀπέτρεψε τῆς ἐπὶ
 τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁδοῦ Πομπηίου· εἰ δὴ τις ἔτι Πομ-
 πηίου λογισμός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δαίμων ἐκείνην ὑφη-
 γεῖτο τὴν ὁδόν.

- LXXVII. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐνίκα φεύγειν εἰς τὴν
 Αἴγυπτον, ἀναχθεὶς ἀπὸ Κύπρου Σελευκίδι τρι-
 ῆρει μετὰ τῆς γυναικός (τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐν
 μακραῖς ὁμοίως ναυσίν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀλκάσιν ἅμα
 συμπαρέπλεον), τὸ μὲν πέλαγος διεπέρασεν ἀσ-
 φαλῶς, πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐν Πη-
 λουσίῳ καθῆσθαι μετὰ στρατιᾶς, πολεμοῦντα
 πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἐκεῖ κατέσχε, προπέμψας τὸν
 2 φράσσοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ δεησόμενον. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν Πτολεμαῖος ἦν κομιδῇ νέος· ὁ δὲ πάντα
 διέπων τὰ πράγματα Ποθεινὸς ἤθροισε βουλὴν
 τῶν δυνατωτάτων· ἐδύναντο δὲ μέγιστον οὖς
 ἐκείνος ἐβούλετο· καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἦν ἔχει
 γνώμην ἕκαστος. ἦν οὖν δεινὸν περὶ Πομπηίου
 Μάγνου βουλευέσθαι Ποθεινὸν τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ
 Θεόδοτον τὸν Χίον, ἐπὶ μισθῷ ῥητορικῶν λόγων
 διδάσκαλον ἀνειλημμένον, καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον
 Ἀχιλλᾶν· κορυφαῖότατοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν κατευνα-
 σταῖς καὶ τιθηνοῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις οὗτοι σύμβουλοι.
 3 καὶ τοιούτου δικαστηρίου ψῆφον Πομπηίος ἐπ'
 ἀγκυρῶν πρόσω τῆς χώρας ἀποσαλεύων περιέ-
 μενεν, ὃν Καίσαρι σωτηρίας χάριν οὐκ ἦν ἄξιον
 ὀφείλειν.

- Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων τοσοῦτον αἰ γινώμαι διέ-
 στησαν ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἀπελαύνειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ
 4 καλεῖν καὶ δέχεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα· Θεόδοτος δὲ
 δεινότητα λόγου καὶ ῥητορείαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος

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is only thought to have suffered harm, her fate is a terrible one, since she has come into the power of those who are able to do her harm. This consideration alone, as we are told, diverted Pompey from journeying to the Euphrates, if indeed it was longer any calculation of Pompey's, and not rather an evil genius, that was guiding him on this last journey.

LXXVII. So when it was decided that he should fly to Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus on a Seleucian trireme with his wife (of the rest, some sailed along with him in ships of war like his own, and others in merchant vessels), and crossed the sea in safety; but on learning that Ptolemy was posted at Pelusium with an army, making war upon his sister, he put in there, and sent on a messenger to announce his arrival to the king and to ask his aid. Now, Ptolemy was quite young; but Potheinus, who managed all his affairs, assembled a council of the most influential men (and those were most influential whom he wished to be so), and bade each one give his opinion. It was certainly a dreadful thing that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be decided by Potheinus the eunuch, and Theodotus of Chios, who was a hired teacher of rhetoric, and Achillas the Egyptian; for these were the chief counsellors of the king among the chamberlains and tutors also gathered there. And it was such a tribunal's verdict which Pompey, tossing at anchor some distance off the shore, was waiting for, a man who would not deign to be under obligations to Caesar for his life.

The opinions of the other counsellors were so far divergent that some advised to drive Pompey away, and others to invite him in and receive him. But Theodotus, making a display of his powerful speech

οὐδέτερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀσφαλές, ἀλλὰ δεξαμένους μὲν ἔξειν Καίσαρα πολέμιον καὶ δεσπότην Πομπηϊόν, ἀπωσαμένους δὲ καὶ Πομπηϊῶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ὑπαιτίους ἔσεσθαι καὶ Καίσαρι τῆς διώξεως· κράτιστον οὖν εἶναι μεταπεμψαμένους ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνῳ χαριεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦτον οὐ φοβήσεσθαι. προσεπεῖπε δὲ διαμειδιάσας, ὥς φασιν, ὅτι νεκρὸς οὐ δάκνει.

- LXXVIII. Ταῦτα κυρώσαντες ἐπ' Ἀχιλλᾷ ποιοῦνται τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὁ δὲ Σεπτίμιόν τινα πάλαι γεγονότα Πομπηϊοῦ ταξίαρχον παραλαβών, καὶ Σάλβιον ἕτερον ἑκατοντάρχην καὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ὑπηρέτας, ἀνήχθη πρὸς τὴν Πομπηϊοῦ ναῦν. ἔτυχον δὲ πάντες εἰς αὐτὴν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συμπλεόντων ἐμβεβηκότες, ὅπως εἶδειεν τὸ
- 2 πρᾶττόμενον. ὥς οὖν εἶδον οὐ βασιλικὴν οὐδὲ λαμπρὰν οὐδὲ ταῖς Θεοφάνους ἐλπίσιν ὁμοίαν ὑποδοχὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἀλιάδος προσπλέοντας ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους, ὑπείδοντο τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν καὶ τῷ Πομπηϊῶ παρήνουν εἰς πέλαγος ἀνακρούεσθαι τὴν ναῦν, ἕως ἔξω βέλους εἰσίν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πελαζούσης τῆς ἀλιάδος φθάσας ὁ Σεπτίμιος
- 3 ἐξανέστη καὶ Ῥωμαῖστί τὸν Πομπηϊόν αὐτοκράτορα προσηγόρευσεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλᾶς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν Ἑλληνιστὶ παρεκάλει μετελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀλιάδα· τέναγος γὰρ εἶναι πολὺ, καὶ βάθος οὐκ ἔχειν πλοῖμον τριήρει τὴν θάλατταν ὑπόψαμνον οὔσαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ναῦς τινες ἐωρῶντο τῶν βασιλικῶν πληρούμεναι, καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ὀπλίται κατεῖχον, ὥστ' ἄφυκτα καὶ μεταβαλλομένοις ἐφαί-
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and rhetorical art, set forth that neither course was safe for them, but that if they received Pompey, they would have Caesar for an enemy and Pompey for a master; while if they rejected him, Pompey would blame them for casting him off, and Caesar for making him continue his pursuit; the best course, therefore, was to send for the man and put him to death, for by so doing they would gratify Caesar and have nothing to fear from Pompey. To this he smilingly added, we are told, "A dead man does not bite."

LXXVIII. Having determined upon this plan, they entrusted the execution of it to Achilles. So he took with him a certain Septimius, who had once been a tribune of Pompey's, and Salvius besides, a centurion, with three or four servants, and put out towards the ship of Pompey. Now, all the most distinguished of Pompey's fellow-voyagers had come aboard of her to see what was going on. Accordingly, when they saw a reception that was not royal, nor splendid, nor in accordance with the hopes of Theophanes, but a few men sailing up in a single fishing-boat, they viewed this lack of respect with suspicion, and advised Pompey to have his ship rowed back into the open sea, while they were beyond reach of missiles. But meanwhile the boat drew near, and first Septimius rose up and addressed Pompey in the Roman tongue as Imperator. Then Achilles saluted him in Greek, and invited him to come aboard the boat, telling him that the shallows were extensive, and that the sea, which had a sandy bottom, was not deep enough to float a trireme. At the same time some of the royal ships were seen to be taking their crews aboard, and men-at-arms were occupying the shore, so that there seemed to be no

νετο, καὶ προσῆν τὸ διδόναι τοῖς φονεῦσι τὴν
 4 ἀπιστίαν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀδικίας ἀπολογίαν. ἀσπασά-
 μενος οὖν τὴν Κορνηλίαν προαποθρηνοῦσαν αὐτοῦ 661
 τὸ τέλος, καὶ δύο ἑκατοντάρχας προεμβῆναι κε-
 λεύσας καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἓνα Φίλιππον καὶ
 θεράποντα Σκύθην ὄνομα, δεξιουμένων αὐτὸν ἤδη
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν ἐκ τῆς ἀλιάδος, μετα-
 στραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἶπε
 Σοφοκλέους ἱαμβεῖα·

“Οστις δὲ πρὸς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,
 κείνου ὅστις δοῦλος, καὶ ἐλεύθερος μὸλῃ.

LXXIX. Ταῦτα δ' ἔσχατα πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
 φθεγξάμενος ἐνέβη· καὶ συχνοῦ διαστήματος ὄντος
 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς τριήρους, ὡς οὐδεὶς παρὰ τῶν
 συμπλεόντων ἐγένετο λόγος φιλάνθρωπος πρὸς
 αὐτόν, ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν Σεπτίμιον, “Οὐ δὴ
 πού σε,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ γεγονότα συστρατιώτην
 2 ἐμὸν ἀμφιγνοῶ;” καὶ κείνος ἐπένευσε τῇ κεφαλῇ
 μόνον, οὐδὲν προσειπὼν οὐδὲ φιλοφρονηθεὶς. πολ-
 λῆς οὖν πάλιν οὔσης σιωπῆς ὁ Πομπήϊος ἔχων
 ἐν βιβλίῳ μικρῷ γεγραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον
 Ἑλληνικόν, ᾧ παρεσκεύαστο χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν
 3 Πτολεμαῖον, ἀνεγίνωσκεν. ὡς δὲ τῇ γῇ προσ-
 επέλαζον, ἡ μὲν Κορνηλία μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐκ τῆς
 τριήρους περιπαθῆς οὔσα τὸ μέλλον ἀπεσκοπεῖτο,
 καὶ θαρρεῖν ἤρχετο πολλοὺς ὀρώσα πρὸς τὴν
 ἀπόβασιν τῶν βασιλικῶν οἶον ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ δεξιῶ-
 σει συνερχομένους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὸν Πομπήϊον

POMPEY

escape even if they changed their minds; and besides, this very lack of confidence might give the murderers an excuse for their crime. Accordingly, after embracing Cornelia, who was bewailing his approaching death, he ordered two centurions to go into the boat before him, besides Philip, one of his freedmen, and a servant named Scythes, and while Achilles was already stretching out his hand to him from the boat, turned towards his wife and son and repeated the verses of Sophocles :—

Whatever man unto a tyrant takes his way,
His slave he is, even though a freeman when he
goes.¹

LXXIX. After these last words to his friends, he went into the boat. And since it was a long distance from the trireme to the land, and none of his companions in the boat had any friendly word for him, turning his eyes upon Septimius he said : “Surely I am not mistaken, and you are an old comrade of mine!” Septimius nodded merely, without saying anything to him or showing any friendliness. So then, as there was profound silence again, Pompey took a little roll containing a speech written by him in Greek, which he had prepared for his use in addressing Ptolemy, and began to read in it. Then, as they drew near the shore, Cornelia, together with his friends, stood on the trireme watching with great anxiety for the outcome, and began to take heart when she saw many of the king’s people assembling at the landing as if to give him an honourable welcome. But at this point,

¹ Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 316. The recitation of these verses is a feature common also to the accounts of the tragedy in Appian (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 84) and Dio Cassius (xlii. 4).

τῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου λαμβανόμενον χειρός, ὅπως ῥᾶον ἐξανασταίῃ, Σεπτίμιος ὀπισθεν τῷ ξίφει δι-
 λαύνει πρῶτος, εἶτα Σάλβιος μετ' ἐκείνον, εἶτα
 4 Ἀχιλλᾶς ἐσπάσαντο τὰς μαχαίρας. ὁ δὲ ταῖς
 χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τὴν τήβεννον ἐφελκυσάμενος
 κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου, μηδὲν εἰπὼν ἀνάξιον ἑαυτοῦ
 μηδὲ ποιήσας, ἀλλὰ στενάζας μόνον, ἐνεκαρτέρησε
 ταῖς πληγαῖς, ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἐνὸς δέοντα βεβιωκῶς
 ἔτη, μιᾷ δ' ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γενεθλίου τελευ-
 τήσας τὸν βίον.

LXXX. Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τὸν
 φόνον, οἰμωγὴν ἐξάκουστον ἄχρι τῆς γῆς ἐκχέ-
 αντες ἔφυγον, ἀράμενοι τὰς ἀγκύρας κατὰ τάχος.
 καὶ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐβοήθει πελαγίοις ὑπεκθέ-
 ουσιν, ὥστε βουλομένους διώκειν ἀποτραπέσθαι
 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους. τοῦ δὲ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν
 κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνουσι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα γυμνὸν
 ἐκβαλόντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλιάδος τοῖς δεομένοις τοιού-
 2 του θεάματος ἀπέλιπον. παρέμεινε δὲ αὐτῷ
 Φίλιππος, ἕως ἐγένοντο μεστοὶ τῆς ὀψεως· εἶτα
 περιλούσας τῇ θαλάσῃ τὸ σῶμα καὶ χιτωνίῳ
 τινὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ περιστείλας, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχων,
 ἀλλὰ περισκοπῶν τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εὗρε μικρᾶς ἀλιά-
 δος λείψανα, παλαιὰ μὲν, ἀρκοῦντα δὲ νεκρῷ
 γυμνῷ καὶ οὐδὲ ὄλῳ πυρκαϊᾶν ἀναγκαίαν παρα-
 3 σχεῖν. ταῦτα συγκομίζοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ συντι-
 θέντος ἐπιστάς ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος ἤδη γέρων, τὰς δὲ
 πρῶτας στρατείας ἔτι νέος Πομπηίῳ συνεστρατευ-
 μένος, “Τίς ὦν, ὦ ἄνθρωπε,” ἔφη, “θάπτειν
 διανοή Μάγνον Πομπήϊον;” ἐκείνου δὲ φήσαντος
 ὡς ἀπελεύθερος, “Ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον σοί,” ἔφη, “τοῦ-
 το τὸ καλὸν ὑπάρξει· καὶ μὲν δὲ ὥσπερ εὐρήματος

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while Pompey was clasping the hand of Philip that he might rise to his feet more easily, Septimius, from behind, ran him through the body with his sword, then Salvius next, and then Achilles, drew their daggers and stabbed him.¹ And Pompey, drawing his toga down over his face with both hands, without an act or a word that was unworthy of himself, but with a groan merely, submitted to their blows, being sixty years of age less one, and ending his life only one day after his birth-day.

LXXX. When the people on the ships beheld the murder, they uttered a wailing cry that could be heard as far as the shore, and weighing anchor quickly, took to flight. And a strong wind came to their aid as they ran out to sea, so that the Egyptians, though desirous of pursuing, turned back. But they cut off Pompey's head, and threw the rest of his body unclothed out of the boat, and left it for those who craved so pitiful a sight. Philip, however, stayed by the body, until such had taken their fill of gazing; then he washed it in sea-water, wrapped it in a tunic of his own, and since he had no other supply, sought along the coast until he found the remnants of a small fishing-boat, old stuff, indeed, but sufficient to furnish a funeral pyre that would answer for an unclothed corpse, and that too not entire. As he was gathering the wood and building the pyre, there came up a Roman who was now an old man, but who in his youth had served his first campaigns with Pompey, and said: "Who art thou, my man, that thinkest to give burial rites to Pompey the Great?" And when Philip said that he was his freedman, the man said: "But thou shalt not have this honour all to thyself; let me too share in a pious privilege thus

¹ Ibi ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 104).

εὐσεβοὺς δέξαι κοινωνόν, ὡς μὴ κατὰ πάντα μέμ-
φωμαι τὴν ἀποξένωσιν, ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀνιαρῶν
τοῦτο γοῦν εὐράμενος, ἄψασθαι καὶ περιστέλλαι
ταῖς ἐμαῖς χερσὶ τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοκράτορα Ῥω-
μαίων.” οὕτω μὲν ἐκηδεύετο Πομπήϊος. τῇ δ'
ὑστεραίᾳ Λεύκιος Λέντλος οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγ-
μένα, πλέων ἀπὸ Κύπρου καὶ παρὰ γῆν κομιζό-
μενος, ὡς εἶδε νεκροῦ πυρὰν καὶ παρεστῶτα τὸν
Φίλιππον, οὐπω καθορώμενος· “Τίς ἄρα,” ἔφη,
“τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐνταῦθα τελέσας ἀναπέπανται;”
καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν καὶ στενάζας, “Τάχα δέ,”
εἶπε, “σύ, Πομπήϊε Μάγνε.” καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν
ἀποβὰς καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἀπέθανε.

- 5 Τοῦτο Πομπηίου τέλος. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον 662
Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄγους τοσούτου
καταπεπλησμένην τὸν μὲν προσφέροντα τὴν κε-
φαλὴν ὡς παλαμναῖον ἀπεστράφη, τὴν δὲ σφρα-
γίδα τοῦ Πομπηίου δεξάμενος ἐδάκρυσεν· ἦν δὲ
γλυφὴ λέων ξιφήρης. Ἀχιλλᾶν δὲ καὶ Ποθεινὸν
ἀπέσφαξεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μάχῃ λειφθεὶς
6 περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἠφανίσθη. Θεόδοτον δὲ τὸν
σοφιστὴν ἡ μὲν ἐκ Καίσαρος δίκη παρήλθε·
φυγὼν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον ἐπλανᾶτο ταπεινὰ πράττων
καὶ μισούμενος· Βρούτος δὲ Μάρκος, ὅτε Καίσαρα
κτείνας ἐκράτησεν, ἐξευρὼν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ
πᾶσαν αἰκίαν αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. τὰ δὲ
λείψανα τοῦ Πομπηίου Κορνηλία δεξαμένη κο-
μισθέντα, περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ἔθηκεν.

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offered, that I may not altogether regret my sojourn in a foreign land, if in requital for many hardships I find this happiness at least, to touch with my hands and array for burial the greatest of Roman imperators." Such were the obsequies of Pompey. And on the following day Lucius Lentulus, as he came sailing from Cyprus and coasted along the shore not knowing what had happened, saw a funeral pyre and Philip standing beside it, and before he had been seen himself exclaimed: "Who, pray, rests here at the end of his allotted days?" Then, after a slight pause and with a groan he said: "But perhaps it is thou, Pompey the Great!" And after a little he went ashore, was seized, and put to death.

This was the end of Pompey. But not long afterwards Caesar came to Egypt, and found it filled with this great deed of abomination. From the man who brought him Pompey's head he turned away with loathing, as from an assassin; and on receiving Pompey's seal-ring, he burst into tears; the device was a lion holding a sword in his paws. But Achilles and Pothinus he put to death. The king himself, moreover, was defeated in battle along the river, and disappeared. Theodotus the sophist, however, escaped the vengeance of Caesar; for he fled out of Egypt and wandered about in wretchedness and hated of all men. But Marcus Brutus, after he had slain Caesar and come into power, discovered him in Asia, and put him to death with every possible torture. The remains of Pompey were taken to Cornelia, who gave them burial at his Alban villa.

ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

- Ι. Ἐκκειμένων οὖν τῶν βίων ἐπιδράμωμεν τῷ λόγῳ ταχέως τὰ ποιούντα τὰς διαφοράς, παρ' ἄλληλα συνάγοντες. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· πρῶτον, ὅτι Πομπήϊος ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου παρήλθεν εἰς δύναμιν καὶ δόξαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμηθεὶς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα Σύλλα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἐλευθεροῦντι συγκατεργασάμενος,
- 2 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδοξε λαβεῖν οὔτε τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ἄμεμπτος οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, κρίνας νοθείας Λεωτυχίδην, ὃν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ¹ ἀπέδειξεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς γνήσιον, τὸν δὲ χρησμὸν κατειρωνευσάμενος τὸν περὶ τῆς χωλότητος. δεύτερον, ὅτι Πομπήϊος Σύλλα καὶ ζῶντα τιμῶν διετέλεσε καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐκήδευσεν βιασάμενος Λέπιδον τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τῷ παιδί Φαύστῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα συνώκισεν, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ Λύσανδρον ἐκ τῆς τυχοῦσης προφάσεως ὑπεξέριψε καὶ καθύ-
- 3 βρισε. καίτοι Σύλλας μὲν οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἔτυχεν ἢ Πομπηίῳ παρέσχεν, Ἀγησίλαον δὲ Λύσανδρος καὶ τῆς Σπάρτης βασιλέα καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στρατηγὸν ἐποίησε. τρίτον δέ, αἱ περὶ τὰ πολιτικά τῶν δικαίων παραβάσεις Πομπηίῳ μὲν δι' οἰκειότητος ἐγένοντο· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα Καίσαρι καὶ Σκηπίωνι συνεξήμαρτε κηδεσταῖς οὖσιν.
- 4 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ Σφοδρίαν μὲν ἐφ' οἷς Ἀθηναίους ἠδίκησεν ἀποθανεῖν ὀφείλοντα τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι χαριζόμενος ἐξήρπασε, Φοιβίδα δὲ Θηβαίους

¹ αὐτοῦ bracketed by Sintenis³.

COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

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I. Now that their lives lie spread before us, let us briefly run over the points in which the two men differed, and bring these together side by side. They are as follows. In the first place, it was in the justest manner that Pompey came to fame and power, setting out on his career independently, and rendering many great services to Sulla when Sulla was freeing Italy from her tyrants; Agesilaüs, on the contrary, appeared to get his kingdom by sinning against both gods and men, since he brought Leoty-chides under condemnation for bastardy, although his brother had recognised him as his legitimate son, and made light of the oracle concerning his lameness. In the second place, Pompey not only continued to hold Sulla in honour while he lived, but also after his death gave his body funeral obsequies in despite of Lepidus, and bestowed upon his son Faustus his own daughter in marriage; whereas Agesilaüs cast out Lysander on the merest pretext, and heaped insult upon him. And yet Sulla got no less from Pompey than he gave him, while in the case of Agesilaüs, it was Lysander who made him king of Sparta and general of all Greece. And, thirdly, Pompey's transgressions of right and justice in his political life were due to his family connections, for he joined in most of the wrongdoings of Caesar and Scipio because they were his relations by marriage; but Agesilaüs snatched Sphodrias from the death which hung over him for wronging the Athenians, merely to gratify the love of his son, and when Phoe-bidas treacherously broke the peace with Thebes, he

παρασπονδήσαντι δῆλος ἦν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀδίκημα
προθύμως βοηθῶν. καθόλου δὲ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους
δι' αἰδῶ Πομπηΐος ἢ ἄγνοιαν αἰτίαν ἔσχε βλάψαι,
ταῦτα θυμῷ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίους
Ἀγησίλαος ἔβλαψε τὸν Βοιωτίον ἐκκαύσας πόλε-
μον.

II. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τύχην τινὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρου
τοῖς σφάλμασι προσοιστέον, ἀνέλπιστος μὲν ἦ
Πομπηΐου Ῥωμαίοις, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ Λακεδαι-
μονίους ἀκούοντας καὶ προειδότας οὐκ εἶασε φυλ-
άξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυρι-
άκις ἠλέγχθη Λεωτυχίδης ἀλλότριος εἶναι καὶ
νόθος, οὐκ ἂν ἠπόρησαν Εὐρυπωντίδαι γνήσιον
καὶ ἀρτίποδα τῇ Σπάρτῃ βασιλέα παρασχεῖν, εἰ
μὴ δι' Ἀγησίλαον ἐπεσκότησε τῷ χρησμῷ Λύ-
σανδρος.

- 2 Οἶον μέντοι τῇ περὶ τῶν τρεσάντων ἀπορία
προσήγαγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἴαμα μετὰ τὴν ἐν
Λεύκτροις ἀτυχίαν, κελεύσας τοὺς νόμους ἐκείνην
τὴν ἡμέραν καθεύδειν, οὐ γέγονεν ἄλλο σόφισμα
πολιτικόν, οὐδ' ἔχομέν τι τοῦ Πομπηΐου παρα-
πλήσιον, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον οὐδ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἐτίθει
νόμοις ᾤετο δεῖν ἐμμένειν, τὸ δύνασθαι μέγα τοῖς
φίλοις ἐνδεικνύμενος. ὁ δὲ εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστὰς
τοῦ λύσαι τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τῷ σῶσαι τοὺς πολί-
τας, ἐξεῦρε τρόπον ᾧ μῆτε ἐκείνους βλάψουσι
- 3 μῆτε ὅπως οὐ βλάβῃωσι λυθήσονται. τίθεμαι δὲ

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evidently made the crime itself a reason for zealously supporting him. In a word, whatever harm Pompey was accused of bringing upon the Romans out of deference to his friends or through ignorance, Agesilaüs brought as much upon the Lacedaemonians out of obstinacy and resentment when he kindled the Boeotian war.

II. Moreover, if we must assign to any ill-fortune of the two men the disasters which overtook them, that of Pompey could not have been anticipated by the Romans; but Agesilaüs would not permit the Lacedaemonians to guard against the "lame sovereignty," although they had heard and knew beforehand about it. For even if Leotychides had been ten thousand times convicted of being bastard and alien, the family of the Eurypontidae could easily have furnished Sparta with a king who was of legitimate birth and sound of limb, had not Lysander darkened the meaning of the oracle in the interests of Agesilaüs.

On the other hand, when we consider the remedy which Agesilaüs applied to the perplexity of the state in dealing with those who had played the coward, after the disaster at Leuctra, when he urged that the laws should slumber for that day, there was never another political device like it, nor can we find anything in Pompey's career to compare with it; on the contrary, he did not even think it incumbent upon him to abide by the laws which he himself had made, if he might only display the greatness of his power to his friends. But Agesilaüs, when he confronted the necessity of abrogating the laws in order to save his fellow-citizens, devised a way by which the citizens should not be harmed by the laws, nor the laws be abrogated to avoid such

κάκεινο τὸ ἀμίμητον ἔργον εἰς πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, τὸ δεξάμενον τὴν σκυτάλην ἀπολιπεῖν τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πράξεις. οὐ γάρ, ὥς Πομπηΐος, ἀφ' ὧν ἑαυτὸν ἐποίει μέγαν ὠφέλει τὸ κοινόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος σκοπῶν τηλικαύτην 663 ἀφῆκε δύνάμιν καὶ δόξαν ἡλικίην οὐδεὶς πρότερον οὐδὲ ὕστερον πλὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχεν.

III. Ἀπ' ἄλλης τοίνυν ἀρχῆς, ἐν ταῖς στρατηγίαις καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἀριθμῶ μὲν τροπαίων καὶ μεγέθει δυνάμεων ἃς ἐπηγάγετο Πομπηΐος, καὶ πλήθει παρατάξεων ἃς ἐνίκησεν, οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Ξενοφῶν μοι δοκεῖ παραβαλεῖν τὰς Ἀγησιλάου νίκας, ὧς διὰ τὰλλα καλὰ καθάπερ γέρας ἐξαίρετον δέδοται καὶ γράφειν ὃ βούλοιο καὶ λέγειν περὶ 2 τοῦ ἀνδρός. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιεικείᾳ διαφέρειν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδραποδίσασθαι Θήβας καὶ Μεσσήνην ἐξοικίσασθαι βουλόμενος, ἣν μὲν ὁμόκληρον τῆς πατρίδος, ἣν δὲ μητρόπολιν τοῦ γένους, παρ' οὐδὲν ἤλθε τὴν Σπάρτην ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀπέβαλε δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν πειρατῶν τοῖς μεταβαλομένοις πόλεις ἔδωκε, καὶ Τυγράνην τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα γενόμενον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ θριαμβεῦσαι σύμμαχον ἐποίησατο, φήσας ἡμέρας μιᾶς αἰῶνα προτιμᾶν.

3 Εἰ μέντοι τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ κυριωτάτοις εἰς τὰ ὄπλα πράγμασι καὶ λογισμοῖς προστίθεται πρωτεῖον ἀρετῆς ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμόνος, οὐ μικρὸν ὁ

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harm. Further, I attribute also to political virtue in Agesilaüs that inimitable act of his in abandoning his career in Asia on receipt of the dispatch-roll. For he did not, like Pompey, help the commonwealth only as he made himself great, but with an eye to the welfare of his country he renounced such great fame and power as no man won before or since his day, except Alexander.

III. And now from another point of view, that of their campaigns and achievements in war, the trophies of Pompey were so many, the forces led by him so vast, and the pitched battles in which he was victorious so innumerable, that not even Xenophon, I think, would compare the victories of Agesilaüs, although that historian, by reason of his other excellent qualities, is specially privileged, as it were, to say and write whatever he pleases about the man. I think also that in merciful behaviour towards their enemies the two men were different. For Agesilaüs was so bent on enslaving Thebes and depopulating Messenia, Thebes the mother-city of his royal line, and Messenia a sister colony to his country,¹ that he nearly lost Sparta, and did lose her supremacy in Greece; whereas Pompey gave cities to such of the pirates as changed their mode of life, and when it was in his power to lead Tigranes the king of Armenia in his triumphal procession, made him an ally instead, saying that he thought more of future time than of a single day.

If, however, it is the greatest and most far-reaching decisions and acts in war that are to determine preëminence in the virtues of leadership, then the

¹ Thebes was the birth-place of Heracles, from whom the Spartan kings were supposed to be descended; and Messenia, like Sparta, was settled by the Heracleidae.

Λάκων τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἀπολέλοιπε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ προήκατο τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἐξέλιπεν ἑπτὰ μυριάσι στρατοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐμβαλόντων, ὀλίγους ἔχων ὀπλίτας καὶ προνευικημένους ἐν
 4 Λεύκτροις· Πομπήϊος δέ, πεντακισχιλίοις μόνοις καὶ τριακοσίοις μίαν Καίσαρος πόλιν Ἰταλικὴν καταλαβόντος, ἐξέπεσε τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπὸ δέους, ἣ τοσούτοις εἷξας ἀγεννῶς ἢ πλείονας ψευδῶς εἰκάσας· καὶ συσκευασάμενος τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἐρήμους ἀπολιπὼν ἔφυγε, δέον ἢ κρατεῖν μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ δέχεσθαι διαλύσεις παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος· ἦν γὰρ πολίτης καὶ
 5 οἰκεῖος· νῦν δὲ ὧ στρατηγίας χρόνον ἐπιμετρήσαι καὶ ὑπατεῖαν ψηφίσασθαι δεινὸν ἡγείτο, τούτῳ παρέσχε λαβόντι τὴν πόλιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς Μέτελλον ὅτι κακεῖνον αἰχμάλωτον αὐτοῦ νομίζει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.

IV. Ὁ τοίνυν ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ στρατηγοῦ μάλιστα, κρείττονα μὲν ὄντα βιάσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους μάχεσθαι, λειπόμενον δὲ δυνάμει μὴ βιασθῆναι, τοῦτο ποιῶν Ἀγησίλαος αἰεὶ διεφύλαξεν ἑαυτὸν ἀνίκητον· Πομπήϊον δὲ Καίσαρ, οὐ μὲν ἦν ἐλάττων, διέφυγε μὴ βλαβῆναι, καθὸ δὲ κρείττων ἦν, ἠνάγκασεν ἀγωνισάμενον τῷ πεζῷ περὶ πάντων σφαλῆναι, καὶ κύριος εὐθύς ἦν χρημάτων καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ θαλάττης, ὑφ' ὧν διεπέ-
 2 πρακτο ἂν ἄνευ μάχης ἐκείνοις προσόντων. τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολόγημα μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἐγκλημα
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Lacedaemonian leaves the Roman far behind. For, in the first place, he did not desert nor abandon his city, though the enemy attacked it with an army of seventy thousand men, while he had only a few men-at-arms, and these had recently been vanquished at Leuctra ; but Pompey, after Caesar had occupied a single city of Italy with only fifty-three hundred men, hurried away from Rome in a panic, either yielding ignobly to so few, or conjecturing falsely that there were more ; and after conveying away with him his own wife and children, he left those of the other citizens defenceless and took to flight, when he ought either to have conquered in a battle for his country, or to have accepted terms from his conqueror, who was a fellow-citizen and a relation by marriage. But as it was, to the man for whom he thought it a terrible thing to prolong a term of military command or vote a consulship, to this man he gave the power of capturing the city and saying to Metellus that he considered him and all the rest of the citizens as his prisoners of war.

IV. Furthermore, the chief task of a good general is to force his enemies to give battle when he is superior to them, but not to be forced himself to do this when his forces are inferior, and by so doing Agesilaüs always kept himself unconquered ; whereas in Pompey's case, Caesar escaped injury at his hands when he was inferior to him, and forced him to stake the whole issue on a battle with his land forces, wherein Caesar was superior, thus defeating him and becoming at once master of treasures, provisions, and the sea,—advantages which would have brought his ruin without a battle had they remained in his enemy's control. And that which is urged as an excuse for this failure is really a very severe

- στρατηγοῦ τηλικούτου. νέον μὲν γὰρ ἄρχοντα
 θορύβοις καὶ καταβοήσεσιν εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ δει-
 λίαν ἐπιταραχθέντα τῶν ἀσφαλεστάτων ἐκπεσεῖν
 λογισμῶν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ καὶ συγγνωστόν· Πομπηίου
 δὲ Μάγνον, οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον
 πατρίδα, σύγκλητον δὲ τὴν σκηνήν, ἀποστάτας
 δὲ καὶ προδότας τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτευομένους
 καὶ στρατηγούοντας καὶ ὑπατεύοντας ἐκάλουν,
 3 ἀρχόμενον δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἔγνωσαν, πάσας δὲ
 αὐτοκράτορα στρατευσάμενον ἄριστα τὰς στρα-
 είας, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο τοῖς Φαωνίου σκώμμασι
 καὶ Δομετίου, καὶ ἵνα μὴ Ἀγαμέμνων λέγεται,
 παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἐκβιασθέντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμον-
 ίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον; ὃς εἰ
 μόνον ἐσκόπει τὸ παρ' ἡμέραν ἄδοξον, ὥφειλεν
 ἀντιστὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς Ῥώ-
 μης, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φυγὴν ἐκείνην ἀποφαίνων
 στρατήγημα Θεμιστόκλειον ὕστερον ἐν αἰσχυρῷ
 τίθεσθαι τὴν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πρὸ μάχης διατριβήν. 664
- 4 οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γε στάδιον αὐτοῖς καὶ θέατρον
 ἐναγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁ θεὸς ἀπέ-
 δειξε τὸ Φαρσάλιον πεδίον, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ κήρυκος
 ἐκαλεῖτο μάχεσθαι κατιῶν ἢ λιπεῖν ἐτέρῳ τὸν
 στέφανον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν πεδία μυρίας δὲ πό-
 λεις καὶ γῆν ἄπλετον ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν εὐπορία
 παρέσχε βουλομένῳ μιμῆσθαι Μάξιμον καὶ
 Μάριον καὶ Λεύκολλον καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀγησίλαον,
- 5 ὃς οὐκ ἐλάττονας μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ θορύβους ὑπέ-
 μεινε βουλομένων Θηβαίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας μά-
 χεσθαι, πολλὰς δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διαβολὰς καὶ κατη-
 γορίας καὶ ὑπονοίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἤνεγκεν ἡσυ-
 χίαν ἄγειν κελεύων, χρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις

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accusation against a general like him. For that a youthful commander should be frightened by tumults and outcries into cowardly weakness and abandon his safest plans, is natural and pardonable; but that Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and his tent their senate, while they gave the name of traitors and rebels to the consuls and praetors and other magistrates at Rome,—that he who was known to be under no one's command, but to have served all his campaigns most successfully as imperator, should be almost forced by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and by the fear of being called Agamemnon, to put to the hazard the supremacy and freedom of Rome, who could tolerate this? If he had regard only for the immediate infamy involved, then he ought to have made a stand at the first and to have fought to its finish the fight for Rome, instead of calling the flight which he then made a Themistoclean stratagem and afterwards counting it a disgraceful thing to delay before fighting in Thessaly. For surely Heaven had not appointed that Pharsalian plain to be the stadium and theatre of their struggle for the supremacy, nor was he summoned by voice of herald to go down thither and do battle or leave to another the victor's wreath; nay, there were many plains, ten thousand cities, and a whole earth which his great resources by sea afforded him had he wished to imitate Maximus, or Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaüs himself, who withstood no less tumults in Sparta when its citizens wished to fight with the Thebans in defence of their land, and in Egypt endured many calumnies and accusations and suspicions on the part of the king when he urged him to keep quiet; but he followed his own best counsels as he wished, and

- 6 ὥς ἐβούλετο λογισμοῖς, οὐ μόνον Αἰγυπτίους ἄκοντας ἔσωσεν, οὐδὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ἐν τοσοῦτῳ σεισμῷ μόνος ὀρθὴν αἰεὶ διεφύλαξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστησε κατὰ Θηβαίων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὸ νικῆσαι παρασχὼν αὐθις ἐκ τοῦ τότε μὴ προαπολέσθαι βιασαμένους. ὅθεν Ἀγησίλαος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βιασθέντων ὕστερον ἐπηνεῖτο σωθέντων, Πομπήϊος δὲ δι' ἄλλους ἀμαρτῶν, αὐτοὺς οἷς ἐπέ-
7 σθη κατηγοροὺς εἶχε. καίτοι φασὶ τινες ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ πενθεροῦ Σκηπίωνος ἐξηπατήθη· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τῶν χρημάτων ὧν ἐκόμιζεν ἐξ Ἀσίας βουλόμενον αὐτὸν νοσφίσασθαι καὶ ἀποκρύψαντα κατεπεῖξαι τὴν μάχην, ὥς οὐκέτι χρημάτων ὄντων. ὃ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν, παθεῖν οὐκ ὤφειλεν ὁ στρατηγός, οὐδὲ ῥαδίως οὕτω παραλογισθεὶς ἀποκινδυνεύσαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις οὕτως ἐκάτερον ἀποθεωροῦμεν.

V. Εἰς Αἴγυπτον δ' ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔπλευσε φεύγων, ὁ δὲ οὔτε καλῶς οὔτε ἀναγκαίως ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ὅπως ἔχη τοῖς Ἑλλησι πολεμεῖν ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐστρατήγησεν. εἶτα ἂν διὰ Πομπήϊον Αἰγυπτίοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν, ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι κατηγοροῦσιν Ἀγησιλάου. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡδίκηθη πιστεύσας, ὁ δὲ πιστευθεὶς ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ μετέστη πρὸς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας οἷς ἔπλευσε συμμαχήσων.

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not only saved the Egyptians against their wills, and by his sole efforts ever kept Sparta upright in the midst of so great a convulsion, but actually set up a trophy in the city for a victory over the Thebans, which victory he put his countrymen in the way of winning later, by keeping them then from the destruction into which they would have forced their way. Wherefore Agesilaüs was afterwards commended by those whom he had forced to take the path of safety, while Pompey, whom others had led into error, found accusers in the very ones to whom he had yielded. And yet some say that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who wished to appropriate to his own uses the greater part of the treasure which he had brought from Asia, and therefore hid it away, and then hastened on the battle, on the plea that there was no longer any money. But even if this were true, a general ought not to suffer himself to be so easily deceived, nor afterwards to put his greatest interests at hazard. In these matters, then, such is the way in which we regard each of the men.

V. And as to their voyages to Egypt, one went thither of necessity and in flight; the other for no honourable reason, nor of necessity, but for money, that what he got for serving the Barbarians as commander might enable him to make war upon the Greeks. Then again, as to the charges which we bring against the Egyptians for their treatment of Pompey, these the Egyptians lay at the door of Agesilaüs for his treatment of them. For Pompey trusted them and was wronged by them; while Agesilaüs was trusted by them and yet forsook them and went over to the enemies of those whom he had sailed to assist.

PELOPIDAS

ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΑΣ

- Ι. Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος πρὸς τινὰς ἐπαινοῦν-
τας ἄνθρωπον ἀλογίστως παράβολον καὶ τολ-
μηρὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς διαφέρειν ἔφη τὸ πολλοῦ
τινα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ πολλοῦ ἄξιον τὸ
ζῆν νομίζειν· ὀρθῶς ἀποφαινόμενος. ὁ γοῦν παρ'
Ἀντιγόνῳ στρατευόμενος ἰταμός, φαῦλος δὲ τὴν
ἔξιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα διεφθορώς, ἐρομένου τοῦ βασι-
λέως τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὥχρότητος ὡμολόγησέ τινα
2 νόσον τῶν ἀπορρήτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλοτιμηθεὶς ὁ
βασιλεὺς προσέταξε τοῖς ἰατροῖς, εἴαν τις ἢ βοή-
θεια, μηδὲν ἑλλιπεῖν τῆς ἄκρας ἐπιμελείας, οὕτω
θεραπευθεὶς ὁ γενναῖος ἐκείνος οὐκέτ' ἦν φιλοκί-
δυνος οὐδὲ ῥαγδαῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
Ἀντίγονον ἐγκαλεῖν καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν μετα-
βολήν. οὐ μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀπεκρύψατο τὸ 278
αἷτιον, ἀλλ' εἶπεν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, σύ με πεποίη-
κας ἀτολμότερον, ἀπαλλάξας ἐκείνων τῶν κακῶν
3 δι' ἃ τοῦ ζῆν ὠλιγώρουν.” πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ φαί-
νεται καὶ Συβαρίτης ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν Σπαρ-
τιατῶν ὡς οὐ μέγα ποιοῦσι θανατῶντες ἐν τοῖς
πολέμοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοσούτους πόνους καὶ τοιαύτην
ἀποφυγεῖν δίαιταν. ἀλλὰ Συβαρίταις μὲν ἐκ-
τετηκόσιν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ μαλακίας διὰ τὴν πρὸς
τὸ καλὸν ὁρμὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν εἰκότως ἐφαίνοντο
μισεῖν τὸν βίον οἱ μὴ φοβούμενοι τὸν θάνατον,
4 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ καὶ ζῆν ἡδέως καὶ θνήσκειν

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I. CATO THE ELDER, when certain persons praised a man who was inconsiderately rash and daring in war, told them there was a difference between a man's setting a high value on valour and his setting a low value on life; and his remark was just. At any rate, there was a soldier of Antigonus who was venturesome, but had miserable health and an impaired body. When the king asked him the reason for his pallor, the man admitted that it was a secret disease, whereupon the king took compassion on him and ordered his physicians, if there was any help for him, to employ their utmost skill and care. Thus the man was cured; but then the good fellow ceased to court danger and was no longer a furious fighter, so that even Antigonus rebuked him and expressed his wonder at the change. The man, however, made no secret of the reason, but said: "O King, it is thou who hast made me less daring, by freeing me from those ills which made me set little value on life." On these grounds, too, as it would seem, a man of Sybaris said it was no great thing for the Spartans to seek death in the wars in order to escape so many hardships and such a wretched life as theirs. But to the Sybarites, who were dissolved in effeminate luxury, men whom ambition and an eager quest of honour led to have no fear of death naturally seemed to hate life; whereas the virtues of the Lacedaemonians gave them

ἀμφοτέρα ἀρετὴ παρείχεν, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπικήδειον· οἷδε γάρ φησιν ἔθανον¹

οὐ τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι καλὸν οὐδὲ τὸ θνήσκειν,
'Αλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρ' ἐκτελέσαι.

οὔτε γὰρ φυγὴ θανάτου μεμπτόν, ἂν ὀρέγηται τις τοῦ βίου μὴ αἰσχροῦς, οὔτε ὑπομονὴ καλόν, εἰ
5 μετ' ὀλιγορίας γίνοιτο τοῦ ζῆν. ὅθεν Ὅμηρος μὲν αἰετοὺς θαρραλεωτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους ἄνδρας εὖ καὶ καλῶς ὥπλισμένους ἐξάγει πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νομοθέται τὸν ῥίψασπιν κολλάζουσιν, οὐ τὸν ξίφος οὐδὲ λόγχην προέμενον, διδάσκοντες ὅτι τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς πρότερον ἢ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκάστω μέλειν προσήκει, μάλιστα δὲ ἄρχοντι πόλεως ἢ στρατεύματος.

II. Εἰ γάρ, ὡς Ἰφικράτης διήρει, χερσὶ μὲν εἰκόσασιν οἱ ψιλοί, ποσὶ δὲ τὸ ἵππικόν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ φάλαγξ στέρνω καὶ θώρακι, κεφαλῇ δὲ ὁ στρατηγός, οὐχ αὐτοῦ δόξειεν ἂν ἀποκινδυνεύων παραμελεῖν καὶ θρασυνόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπάντων, οἷς ἡ σωτηρία γίνεται δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦναντίον. ὅθεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας, καίπερ ὦν τὰλλα μέγας, οὐκ εὖ πρὸς τὸν μάντιν εἶπε· δεομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ φυλάττεσθαι θάνατον, ὡς τῶν ἱερῶν προδηλούντων,
2 των, ἔφη μὴ παρ' ἓνα εἶναι τὰν Σπάρταν. μαχόμενος γὰρ εἰς ἦν καὶ πλέων καὶ στρατευόμενος ὁ Καλλικρατίδας, στρατηγῶν δὲ τὴν ἀπάντων εἶχε συλλαβὼν ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ὥστε οὐκ ἦν εἰς ᾧ τοσαῦτα συναπώλλυτο. βέλτιον δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ

¹ Οἱ θάνον οὐ τὸ ζῆν κτλ., attributed to Simonides (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii.⁴ p. 516).

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happiness alike in living or dying, as the following elegy testifies : These, it says, died,

“ not deeming either life or death honourable in themselves,

But only the accomplishment of them both with honour.”

For neither is a man to be blamed for shunning death, if he does not cling to life disgracefully, nor to be praised for boldly meeting death, if he does this with contempt of life. For this reason Homer always brings his boldest and most valiant heroes into battle well armed and equipped ; and the Greek lawgivers punish him who casts away his shield, not him who throws down his sword or spear, thus teaching that his own defence from harm, rather than the infliction of harm upon the enemy, should be every man's first care, and particularly if he governs a city or commands an army.

II. For if, as Iphicrates analyzed the matter, the light-armed troops are like the hands, the cavalry like the feet, the line of men-at-arms itself like chest and breastplate, and the general like the head, then he, in taking undue risks and being over bold, would seem to neglect not himself, but all, inasmuch as their safety depends on him, and their destruction too. Therefore Callicratidas, although otherwise he was a great man, did not make a good answer to the seer who begged him to be careful, since the sacrificial omens foretold his death ; “ Sparta,” said he, “ does not depend upon one man.” For when fighting, or sailing, or marching under orders, Callicratidas was “ one man ” ; but as general, he comprised in himself the strength and power of all, so that he was not “ one man,” when such numbers perished with him. Better was the speech of old Antigonas

- γέρων, ὅτε ναυμαχεῖν περὶ Ἀνδρον ἔμελλεν, εἰ-
πόντος τινὸς ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἱ τῶν πολεμίων
νῆες εἶεν, “Ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτόν,” ἔφη, “πρὸς πόσας
ἀντιστήσεις;” μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ ἐστίν,
ἀξίωμα ποιῶν μετὰ ἐμπειρίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ταπτό-
μενοι, ἧς πρῶτον ἔργον ἐστὶ σῶζειν τὸν ἅπαντα
3 τὰλλα σώζοντα. διὸ καλῶς ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἐπιδει-
κνυμένου ποτὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ Χάρητος ὠτει-
λὰς τινος ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα λόγχῃ
διακεκομμένην, “Ἐγὼ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὡς λίαν
ἡσχύνθην ὅτι μου πολιορκούντος Σάμον ἐγγὺς
ἔπεσε βέλος, ὡς μεираκιωδέστερον ἐμαυτῷ χρώ-
μενος ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα δυνάμεως
4 τοσαύτης.” ὅπου μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην
φέρει ῥοπήν ὁ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κίνδυνος, ἐνταῦθα
καὶ χειρὶ καὶ σώματι χρηστέον ἀφειδῶς, χαίρειν
φράσαντα τοῖς λέγουσιν ὡς χρή τὸν ἀγαθὸν
στρατηγὸν μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ γῆρως, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
γέροντα θνήσκειν· ὅπου δὲ μικρὸν τὸ περιγινώ-
μενον ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώματος, τὸ δὲ πᾶν συναπόλ-
λутαι σφαλέντος, οὐδεὶς ἀπαιτεῖ στρατιώτου
πρᾶξιν κινδύνῳ πραττομένην στρατηγοῦ.
5 Ταῦτα δέ μοι παρέστη προαναφωνῆσαι γρά-
φοντι τὸν Πελοπίδου βίον καὶ τὸν Μαρκέλλου,
μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν παραλόγως πεσόντων. καὶ γὰρ
χειρὶ χρῆσθαι μαχιμώτατοι γενόμενοι, καὶ στρα-
τηγίαις ἐπιφανεστάταις κοσμήσαντες ἀμφότεροι
τὰς πατρίδας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνταγωνι-
στῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἀήττητον ὄντα πρῶτος, ὡς 279
λέγεται, τρεψάμενος, ὁ δὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχον-
τας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ παρατάξεως νικήσας, ἠφεί-
δhsαν ἑαυτῶν, σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ προέμενοι τὸν
βίον ὀπηνίκα μάλιστα τοιούτων καιρὸς ἦν ἀνδρῶν

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as he was about to fight a sea-fight off Andros, and someone told him that the enemy's ships were far more numerous than his: "But what of myself," said he, "how many ships wilt thou count me?" implying that the worth of the commander is a great thing, as it is in fact, when allied with experience and valour, and his first duty is to save the one who saves everything else. Therefore Timotheus was right, when Chares was once showing the Athenians some wounds he had received, and his shield pierced by a spear, in saying: "But I, how greatly ashamed I was, at the siege of Samos, because a bolt fell near me; I thought I was behaving more like an impetuous youth than like a general in command of so large a force." For where the whole issue is greatly furthered by the general's exposing himself to danger, there he must employ hand and body unsparingly, ignoring those who say that a good general should die, if not of old age, at least in old age; but where the advantage to be derived from his success is small, and the whole cause perishes with him if he fails, no one demands that a general should risk his life in fighting like a common soldier.

Such is the preface I have thought fit to make for the Lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, great men who rashly fell in battle. For both were most valiant fighters, did honour to their countries in most illustrious campaigns, and what is more, had the most formidable adversaries, one being the first, as we are told, to rout Hannibal, who was before invincible, the other conquering in a pitched battle the Lacedaemonians, who were supreme on land and sea; and yet they were careless of their own lives, and recklessly threw them away at times when it was most important that such men should live and hold

σωζομένων καὶ ἀρχόντων. διόπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι ταῖς ὁμοιότησι παραλλήλους ἀνεγράψαμεν αὐτῶν τοὺς βίους.

- III. Πελοπίδα τῷ Ἰππόκλου γένος μὲν ἦν εὐδόκιμον ἐν Θήβαις ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, τραφεὶς δὲ ἐν οὐσίᾳ μεγάλη καὶ παραλαβὼν ἔτι νέος λαμπρὸν οἶκον ὥρμησε τῶν δεομένων τοῖς ἀξίοις βοηθεῖν, ἵνα κύριος ἀληθῶς φαίνοιτο χρημάτων γεγυνώς, ἀλλὰ μὴ δούλος. τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν, οἱ μὲν οὐ χρώνται τῷ πλούτῳ διὰ μικρολογίαν, οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται δι' ἀσωτίαν, καὶ δουλεύοντες οὗτοι μὲν αἰεὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς,
- 2 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ταῖς ἀσχολίαις, διατελοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ χάριν ἔχοντες ἐχρῶντο τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλευθεριότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, μόνον δὲ τῶν φίλων τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν οὐκ ἔπειθε τοῦ πλούτου μεταλαμβάνειν· αὐτὸς μέντοι μετεῖχε τῆς ἐκείνου πενίας, ἐσθῆτος ἀφελείᾳ καὶ τραπέζης λιτότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πόνοὺς ἀόκνῳ
- 3 καὶ κατὰ στρατείας ἀδόλῳ καλλωπιζόμενος, ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδου Καπανεύς, ᾧ “βίος μὲν ἦν πολὺς, ἥκιστα δὲ δι' ὄλβον γαῦρος ἦν,” αἰσχυνόμενος εἰ φανέται πλείοσι χρώμενος εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τὰ ἐλάχιστα κεκτημένου Θηβαίων. Ἐπαμεινώνδας μὲν οὖν συνήθη καὶ πατρῶαν οὔσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πενίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐζωνον καὶ κούφον ἐποίησε φιλοσοφῶν καὶ μονότροπον βίον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐλό-
- 4 μενος· Πελοπίδα δὲ ἦν μὲν γάμος λαμπρός, ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀμελῶν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ σχολάζων τῇ πόλει τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡλάττωσε τὴν οὐσίαν. τῶν δὲ φίλων νουθετούντων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἀναγκαίου πρά-

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command. These are the resemblances between them which have led me to write their lives in parallel.

III. Pelopidas the son of Hippoclus was of a highly honourable family in Thebes, as was Epaminondas, and having been reared in affluence, and having inherited in youth a splendid estate, he devoted himself to the assistance of worthy men who needed it, that he might be seen to be really master of his wealth, and not its slave. For most wealthy men, as Aristotle says,¹ either make no use of their wealth through avarice, or abuse it through prodigality, and so they are forever slaves, these to their pleasures, those to their business. The rest, accordingly, thankfully profited by the kindness and liberality of Pelopidas towards them; but Epaminondas was the only one of his friends whom he could not persuade to share his wealth. Pelopidas, however, shared the poverty of this friend, and gloried in modest attire, meagre diet, readiness to undergo hardships, and straightforward service as a soldier. Like the Capaneus of Euripides, he "had abundant wealth, but riches did not make him arrogant at all,"² and he was ashamed to let men think that he spent more upon his person than the poorest Theban. Now Epaminondas, whose poverty was hereditary and familiar, made it still more light and easy by philosophy, and by electing at the outset to lead a single life; Pelopidas, on the contrary, made a brilliant marriage, and had children too, but nevertheless he neglected his private interests to devote his whole time to the state, and so lessened his substance. And when his friends admonished him and told him that the possession of money, which

¹ Fragment 56 (Rose); cf. *Morals*, p. 527 a.

² *Supplices*, 863 f. (Kirchhoff, *ἡκιστα δ' ὕλβῃ*).

γματος ὀλιγωρεῖ, τοῦ χρήματα ἔχειν, “Ἄναγκαίου, νῆ Δία, Νικοδήμῳ τούτῳ,” ἔφη, δείξας τινα χωλὸν καὶ τυφλόν.

IV. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν πεφυκότες ὁμοίως, πλὴν ὅτι τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἔχαιρε Πελοπίδας, τῷ δὲ μανθάνειν Ἐπαμεινώνδας, καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν ὁ μὲν περὶ παλαίστρας καὶ κυνηγέσια, ὁ δὲ ἀκούων τι καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἐποίειτο. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀμφοτέροις πρὸς δόξαν, οὐδὲν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἡγοῦνται τηλικούτον ἡλίκον τὴν διὰ τοσούτων ἀγώνων καὶ στρατηγιῶν καὶ πολιτειῶν ἀνεξέλεγκτον εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς μέχρι
2 τέλους ἐμμείνασαν. εἰ γάρ τις ἀποβλέψας τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Κίμωνος καὶ Περικλέους καὶ Νικίου καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου πολιτείαν, ὅσων γέγονε μεστὴ διαφορῶν καὶ φθόνων καὶ ζηλοτυπιῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, σκέψαιτο πάλιν τὴν Πελοπίδου πρὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδαν εὐμένειαν καὶ τιμὴν, τούτους ἂν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως προσαγορεύσειε συνάρχοντας καὶ συστρατήγους ἢ ἐκείνους, οὐ μᾶλλον ἀλλήλων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι
3 περιεῖναι διετέλεσαν. αἰτία δὲ ἀληθινὴ μὲν ἦν ἡ ἀρετὴ, δι’ ἣν οὐ δόξαν, οὐ πλοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων μετιόντες, οἷς ὁ χαλεπὸς καὶ δύσερις ἐμφύεται φθόνος, ἀλλ’ ἔρωτα θεῖον ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἐρασθέντες ἀμφοτέροι τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα λαμπροτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἰδεῖν γενομένην, ὥσπερ ἰδίους ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο κατορθώμασιν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ οἷ γε πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφοδρὰν φιλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ γενέσθαι

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he scorned, was a necessary thing, "Yes indeed," he said, "necessary for this Nicodemus here," pointing to a man who was lame and blind.

IV. They were also fitted by nature for the pursuit of every excellence, and in like measure, except that Pelopidas delighted more in exercising the body, Epaminondas in storing the mind, so that the one devoted his leisure hours to bodily exercise and hunting, the other to lectures and philosophy. Both had many claims upon the world's esteem, but wise men consider none of these so great as the unquestioned good will and friendship which subsisted between them from first to last through all their struggles and campaigns and civil services. For if one regards the political careers of Themistocles and Aristides, or of Cimon and Pericles, or of Nicias and Alcibiades, which were so full of mutual dissensions, envyings, and jealousies, and then turns his eyes upon the honour and kindly favour which Pelopidas showed Epaminondas, he will rightly and justly call these men colleagues in government and command rather than those, who ever strove to get the better of one another rather than of the enemy. And the true reason for the superiority of the Thebans was their virtue, which led them not to aim in their actions at glory or wealth, which are naturally attended by bitter envying and strife; on the contrary, they were both filled from the beginning with a divine desire to see their country become most powerful and glorious in their day and by their efforts, and to this end they treated one another's successes as their own.

However, most people think that their ardent friendship dated from the campaign at Mantinea,¹

¹ In 418 B.C., when Athens gave assistance to Argos, Elis, and Mantinea against Sparta. See the *Alcibiades*, xv. 1.

στρατείας, ἣν συνεστρατεύσαντο Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔτι φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις οὖσι, πεμφθείσης ἐκ 280
Θηβῶν βοηθείας. τεταγμένοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλίταις
μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας,
ὥς ἐνέδωκε τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς κέρας τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων καὶ τροπὴ τῶν πολλῶν ἐγεγόνει, συνασπί-
5 σαντες ἡμύναντο τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. καὶ Πελο-
πίδας μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τραύματα λαβὼν ἐναντία πολλοῖς
ἐπικατερρῇ νεκροῖς ὁμοῦ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίοις,
Ἐπαμεινώνδας δέ, καίπερ ἀβιώτως ἔχειν αὐτὸν
ἡγούμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ὅπλων
ἔστη προελθὼν καὶ διεκινδύνευσε πρὸς πολλοὺς
μόνος, ἐγνωκὼς ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ Πελοπίδαν
ἀπολιπεῖν κείμενον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τούτου κακῶς
ἔχοντας, καὶ λόγῃ μὲν εἰς τὸ στήθος, ξίφει δὲ εἰς
τὸν βραχίονα τετρωμένου, προσεβοήθησεν ἀπὸ
θατέρου κέρως Ἀγησίπολις ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν
Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ περιεποίησεν ἀνελπίστως αὐ-
τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους.

V. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν λόγῳ μὲν
ὥς φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις προσφερομένων τοῖς
Θηβαίοις, ἔργῳ δὲ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν
δύναμιν ὑφορωμένων, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἰσμηνίου
καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδου μισούντων ἐταιρείαν, ἥς μετεῖ-
χεν ὁ Πελοπίδας, φιλελεύθερον ἅμα καὶ δημοτι-
2 κὴν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, Ἀρχίας καὶ Λεοντίδας καὶ
Φίλιππος, ἄνδρες ὀλιγαρχικοὶ καὶ πλούσιοι καὶ
μέτριον οὐδὲν φρονούντες, ἀναπείθουσι Φοιβίδαν
τὸν Λάκωνα μετὰ στρατιᾶς διαπορευόμενον ἐξαί-
φνης καταλαβεῖν τὴν Καδμείαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναν-
τιουμένους αὐτοῖς ἐκβαλόντα πρὸς τὸ Λακεδαι-
μονίων ὑπήκοον ἀρμόσασθαι δι' ὀλίγων τὴν πολι-
3 τείαν. πεισθέντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι

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where they fought on the side of the Lacedaemonians, who were still their friends and allies, and who received assistance from Thebes. For they stood side by side among the men-at-arms and fought against the Arcadians, and when the Lacedaemonian wing to which they belonged gave way and was routed for the most part, they locked their shields together and repelled their assailants. Pelopidas, after receiving seven wounds in front, sank down upon a great heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together; but Epaminondas, although he thought him lifeless, stood forth to defend his body and his arms, and fought desperately, single-handed against many, determined to die rather than leave Pelopidas lying there. And now he too was in a sorry plight, having been wounded in the breast with a spear and in the arm with a sword, when Agesipolis the Spartan king came to his aid from the other wing, and when all hope was lost, saved them both.

V. After this the Spartans ostensibly treated the Thebans as friends and allies, but they really looked with suspicion on the ambitious spirit and the power of the city, and above all they hated the party of Ismenias and Androcleides, to which Pelopidas belonged, and which was thought to be friendly to freedom and a popular form of government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, men of the oligarchical faction who were rich and immoderately ambitious, sought to persuade Phoebidas the Spartan, as he was marching past with an army, to take the Cadmeia by surprise, expel from the city the party opposed to them, and bring the government into subserviency to the Lacedaemonians by putting it in the hands of a few men. Phoebidas yielded to their

τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπιθεμένου Θεσμοφορίων ὄντων, καὶ τῆς ἄκρας κυριεύσαντος, Ἰσμηνίας μὲν συναρπασθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἀνηρέθη, Πελοπίδας δὲ καὶ Φερένικος καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας μετὰ συγχῶν ἄλλων φεύγοντες ἐξεκηρύχθησαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε τῷ καταφρονηθῆναι διὰ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ὡς ἀπράγμων, διὰ δὲ πενίαν ὡς ἀδύνατος.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Φοιβίδαν μὲν ἀφείλονται τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δέκα δραχμῶν μυριάσιν ἐξημίωσαν, τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν οὐδὲν ἦττον φρουρᾷ κατέσχον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ἀτοπίαν, εἰ τὸν μὲν πράξαντα κολάζουσι, τὴν δὲ πρᾶξιν δοκιμάζουσι, τοῖς δὲ Θηβαίοις τὴν πάτριον ἀποβεβληκόσι πολιτείαν καὶ καταδεδουλωμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Λεοντίδαν οὐδὲ ἐλπίσαι περιῆν ἀπαλλαγὴν τινα τῆς τυραννίδος, ἣν ἑώρων τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν δορυφορουμένην ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ καταλυθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην, εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα παύσειε κἀκείνους γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντας. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' οἱ περὶ Λεοντίδαν πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς φυγάδας Ἀθήνησι διατρίβειν τῷ τε πλήθει προσφιλεῖς ὄντας καὶ τιμὴν ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, ἐπεβούλευον αὐτοῖς κρύφα· καὶ πέμψαντες ἀνθρώπους ἀγνώτας Ἀνδροκλείδαν μὲν ἀποκτινύουσι δόλῳ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
3 διαμαρτάνουσιν. ἦκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων γράμματα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προστάσσοντα μὴ δεχέσθαι μηδὲ παρακινεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν τοὺς φυγάδας ὡς κοινούς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων

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persuasions, made his attack upon the Thebans when they did not expect it, since it was the festival of the Thesmophoria, and got possession of the citadel.¹ Then Ismenias was arrested, carried to Sparta, and after a little while put to death; while Pelopidas, Pherenicus, Androcleides and many others took to flight and were proclaimed outlaws. Epaminondas, however, was suffered to remain in the city, because his philosophy made him to be looked down upon as a recluse, and his poverty as impotent.

VI. But when the Lacedaemonians deprived Phoe-bidas of his command and fined him a hundred thousand drachmas, and yet held the Cadmeia with a garrison notwithstanding, all the rest of the Greeks were amazed at their inconsistency, since they punished the wrong-doer, but approved his deed. And as for the Thebans, they had lost their ancestral form of government and were enslaved by Archias and Leontidas, nor had they hopes of any deliverance from this tyranny, which they saw was guarded by the dominant military power of the Spartans and could not be pulled down unless those Spartans should somehow be deposed from their command of land and sea. Nevertheless, Leontidas and his associates, learning that the fugitive Thebans were living at Athens, where they were not only in favour with the common people but also honoured by the nobility, secretly plotted against their lives, and sending men who were unknown, they treacherously killed Androcleides, but failed in their designs upon the rest. There came also letters from the Lacedaemonians charging the Athenians not to harbour or encourage the exiles, but to expel them as men

¹ In the winter of 382 B.C. Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xxiii. 3-7.

4 ἀποδεδειγμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τῷ
 πάτριον αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμφυτον εἶναι τὸ φιλάνθρω-
 πον, ἀμειβόμενοι τοὺς Θηβαίους μάλιστα συναι-
 τίους γενομένους τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ κατελθεῖν, καὶ
 ψηφισαμένους, εἴαν τις Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράν-
 νους ὅπλα διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας κομίσῃ, μηδένα Βοιω-
 τὸν ἀκούειν μηδὲ ὁρᾶν, οὐδὲν ἡδίκησαν τοὺς
 Θηβαίους.

VII. Ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς νεωτά-
 τοις ὢν, ἰδίᾳ τε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξώρμα τῶν φυγά-
 δων, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐποιήσατο λόγους, ὥς 281
 οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ὄσιον εἶη¹ δουλεύουσιν τὴν
 πατρίδα καὶ φρουρουμένην περιορᾶν, αὐτοὺς δὲ
 μόνον τὸ σώζεσθαι καὶ διαζῆν ἀγαπῶντας ἐκκρέ-
 μασθαι τῶν Ἀθήνησι ψηφισμάτων καὶ θερα-
 पेῦειν ὑποπεπτωκότας αἰετὶ τοῖς λέγειν δυναμένοις
 2 καὶ πείθειν τὸν ὄχλον, ἀλλὰ κινδυνευτέον ὑπὲρ
 τῶν μεγίστων, παράδειγμα θεμένων τὴν Θρασυ-
 βούλου τόλμαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἵνα, ὥς ἐκεῖνος ἐκ
 Θηβῶν πρότερον ὀρμηθεὶς κατέλυσε τοὺς ἐν Ἀθή-
 ναις τυράννους, οὕτως αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
 προελθόντες ἐλευθερώσωσι τὰς Θήβας. ὥς οὖν
 ἔπεισε ταῦτα λέγων, πέμπουσιν εἰς Θήβας κρύφα
 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους τῶν φίλων τὰ δεδογ-
 3 μένα φράζοντες. οἱ δὲ συνεπήνουν· καὶ Χάρων
 μὲν, ὅσπερ ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος, ὡμολόγησε τὴν
 οἰκίαν παρέξειν, Φιλλίδας δὲ διεπράξατο τῶν
 περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον γραμματεὺς γενέσθαι
 πολεμαρχούντων. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ τοὺς νέους

¹ εἶη Coraës and Bekker, with most MSS.: εἶναι with A.

¹ In 403 B.C., when Thrasybulus set out from Thebes on his campaign against the Thirty Tyrants at Athens (Xenophon, *Hell.* ii. 4, 2).

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declared common enemies by the allied cities. The Athenians, however, not only yielding to their traditional and natural instincts of humanity, but also making a grateful return for the kindness of the Thebans, who had been most ready to aid them in restoring their democracy,¹ and had passed a decree that if any Athenians marched through Boeotia against the tyrants in Athens, no Boeotian should see or hear them, did no harm to the Thebans in their city.

VII. But Pelopidas, although he was one of the youngest of the exiles, kept inciting each man of them privately, and when they met together pleaded before them that it was neither right nor honourable for them to suffer their native city to be garrisoned and enslaved, and, content with mere life and safety, to hang upon the decrees of the Athenians, and to be always cringing and paying court to such orators as could persuade the people; nay, they must risk their lives for the highest good, and take Thrasybulus and his bold valour for their example, in order that, as he once sallied forth from Thebes¹ and overthrew the tyrants in Athens, so they in their turn might go forth from Athens and liberate Thebes. When, therefore, they had been persuaded by his appeals, they sent secretly to the friends they had left in Thebes, and told them what they purposed. These approved their plan; and Charon, a man of the highest distinction, agreed to put his house at their disposal, while Phillidas contrived to have himself appointed secretary to Archias and Philip, the polemarchs. Epaminondas,² too, had long since filled

¹ There is no mention either of Epaminondas or Pelopidas in Xenophon's account of these matters (*Hell.* v. 4, 1-12), and his story differs in many details from that of Plutarch.

πάλαι φρονήματος ἦν ἐμπεπληκώς· ἐκέλευε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παλαίειν, εἴτα ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεῖν καὶ περιεῖναι γαυρουμένους ἐπέπληττεν, ὥς αἰσχύνεσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς προσήκον, εἰ δουλεύουσι δι' ἀνανδρίαν ὧν τοσοῦτον ταῖς ῥώμαις διαφέρουσιν.

VIII. Ἡμέρας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὀρισθείσης, ἔδοξε τοῖς φυγάσι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους συναγαγόντα Φερένικον ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ περιμένειν, ὀλίγους δὲ τῶν νεωτάτων παραβαλέσθαι προεισελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δέ τι πάθωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὗτοι, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάντας ὅπως μήτε παῖδες αὐτῶν μήτε γονεῖς ἐνδεεῖς ἔσονται
2 τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ὑφίσταται δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν Πελοπίδας πρῶτος, εἴτα Μέλων καὶ Δαμοκλείδης καὶ Θεόπομπος, ἄνδρες οἰκῶν τε πρῶτων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἄλλα μὲν φιλικῶς καὶ πιστῶς, ὑπὲρ δὲ δόξης καὶ ἀνδρείας αἰεὶ φιλονείκως ἔχοντες. γενόμενοι δὲ οἱ σύμπαντες δώδεκα, καὶ τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους ἀσπασάμενοι, καὶ προπέμψαντες ἄγγελον τῷ Χάρωνι, προῆγον ἐν χλαμυδίῳ, σκύλακάς τε θηρατικὰς καὶ στάλικας ἔχοντες, ὥς μηδὲ εἰς ὑποπτεῦοι τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καθ' ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἀλύοντες ἄλλως πλανᾶσθαι καὶ κυνηγεῖν δοκοῖεν.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πεμφθεὶς παρ' αὐτῶν ἄγγελος ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Χάρωνα καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντας ἔφραζεν, αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Χάρων οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ πλησιάζοντος ἔτρεψέ τι τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ παρῆχε τὴν οἰκίαν, Ἱπποσθενίδας δέ τις, οὐ πονηρὸς μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόπατρις καὶ τοῖς φυγάσιν εὖνους ἄνθρωπος, ἐνδεὴς δὲ τόλμης

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the minds of the Theban youth with high thoughts ; for he kept urging them in the gymnastic schools to try the Lacedaemonians in wrestling, and when he saw them elated with victory and mastery, he would chide them, telling them they ought rather to be ashamed, since their cowardice made them the slaves of the men whom they so far surpassed in bodily powers.

VIII. A day for the enterprise having been fixed,¹ the exiles decided that Pherenicus, with the rest of the party under his command, should remain in the Thriasian plain, while a few of the youngest took the risk of going forward into the city ; and if anything happened to these at the hands of their enemies, the rest should all see to it that neither their children nor their parents came to any want. Pelopidas was first to undertake the enterprise, then Melon, Damocleides, and Theopompus, men of foremost families, and of mutual fidelity and friendship, although in the race for heroic achievement and glory they were constant rivals. When their number had reached twelve, they bade farewell to those who stayed behind, sent a messenger before them to Charon, and set out in short cloaks, taking hunting dogs and nets with them, that anyone who met them on the road might not suspect their purpose, but take them for hunters beating about the country.

When their messenger came to Charon and told him they were on the way, Charon himself did not change his mind at all even though the hour of peril drew nigh, but was a man of his word and prepared his house to receive them ; a certain Hipposthenidas, however, not a bad man, nay, both patriotic and well disposed towards the exiles, but lacking in that

¹ In the winter of 379 B.C.

τοσαύτης ὄσης ὃ τε καιρὸς ὀξὺς ὢν αἴ τε ὑποκείμεναι πράξεις ἀπήτουν, ὥσπερ ἱλιγγιάσας πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσὶ γενομένου, καὶ
 4 μόλις ποτὲ τῷ λογισμῷ συμφρονήσας ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σαλεύουσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν δυνάμεως ὑποβάλλονται κατά-
 λυσιν, πιστεύσαντες ἀπόροις καὶ φυγαδικαῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἀπελθὼν οἴκαδε σιωπῇ πέμπει τινὰ τῶν φίλων πρὸς Μέλωνα καὶ Πελοπίδαν, ἀναβαλέσθαι κελεύων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ περιμένειν βελτίονα καιρὸν αὐθις ἀπαλλαγέντας εἰς Ἀθήνας. Χλίδων ἦν ὄνομα τῷ πεμφθέντι, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν οἴκαδε πρὸς αὐτὸν τραπόμενος καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐξαγαγὼν
 5 ἤτει τὸν χαλινόν. ἀπορουμένης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς οὐκ εἶχε δοῦναι, καὶ χρήσαί τινι τῶν συνήθων λεγούσης, λοιδορίαι τὸ πρῶτον ἦσαν, εἶτα δυσφημίαι, τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπαρωμένης αὐτῷ τε κακὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς πέμπουσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Χλίδωνα πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀναλῶσαντα πρὸς τουτοῖς δι' ὀργήν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς οἰωνισάμενον, ἀφείναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλως καὶ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τραπέσθαι. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἦλθον 282 αἱ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν πράξεων εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ διαφυγεῖν τὸν καιρόν.

IX. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἐσθῆτας γεωργῶν μεταλαβόντες καὶ διελόντες αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς πόλεως παρεισήλθον ἔτι ἡμέρας οὔσης. ἦν δέ τι πνεῦμα καὶ νιφετὸς ἀρχομένου τρέπεσθαι τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔλαθον καταπεφευγότων ἤδη διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τῶν πλείστων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας. οἷς δὲ ἦν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ πραττόμενα γινώσκειν, ἀνελάμβανον τοὺς προσ-
 358 ερχομένους καὶ καθίστων εὐθύς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν

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degree of boldness which the sharp crisis and the projected enterprise demanded, was made dizzy, so to speak, by the magnitude of the struggle now so close at hand, and at last comprehended that, in undertaking to overthrow the armed force in the city, they were in a manner trying to shake the empire of the Lacedaemonians, and had placed their reliance on the hopes of men in exile and without resources. He therefore went quietly home, and sent one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, urging them to postpone the enterprise for the present, go back to Athens, and await a more favourable opportunity. Chlidon was the name of this messenger, and going to his own home in haste, he brought out his horse and asked for the bridle. His wife, however, was embarrassed because she could not give it to him, and said she had lent it to a neighbour. Words of abuse were followed by imprecations, and his wife prayed that the journey might prove fatal both to him and to those that sent him. Chlidon, therefore, after spending a great part of the day in this angry squabble, and after making up his mind, too, that what had happened was ominous, gave up his journey entirely and turned his thoughts to something else. So near can the greatest and fairest enterprises come, at the very outset, to missing their opportunity.

IX. But Pelopidas and his companions, after putting on the dress of peasants, and separating, entered the city at different points while it was yet day. There was some wind and snow as the weather began to change, and they were the more unobserved because most people had already taken refuge from the storm in their houses. Those, however, whose business it was to know what was going on, received the visitors as they came, and brought

τοῦ Χάρωνος· ἐγένοντο δὲ σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντες.

- 2 Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς τυράννους οὕτως εἶχε. Φιλλίδας ὁ γραμματεὺς συνέπραττε μέν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, πάντα καὶ συνῆδει τοῖς φυγάσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατηγγεγκῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν πότον τινὰ καὶ συνουσίαν καὶ γυναῖα τῶν ὑπάνδρων, ἔπραττεν ὅτι μάλιστα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκτελειμένους καὶ κατοίνους μεταχει-
- 3 ρίσασθαι παρέξειν τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. οὐπω δὲ πάνν πόρρω μέθης οὖσιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεσέ τις οὐ ψευδῆς μέν, ἀβέβαιος δὲ καὶ πολλὴν ἀσάφειαν ἔχουσα περὶ τῶν φυγάδων μήνυσις ὥς ἐν τῇ πόλει κρυπτομένων. τοῦ δὲ Φιλλίδου παραφέροντος τὸν λόγον, ὅμως Ἀρχίας ἔπεμφέ τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν πρὸς τὸν Χάρωνα, προστάσων εὐθὺς ἦκειν αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ ἐσπέρα, καὶ συνέταττον ἔνδον αὐτοὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν, ἥδη τεθωρακι-
- 4 σμένοι καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας ἀνελιφότες. ἐξαίφνης δὲ κοπτομένης τῆς θύρας προσδραμών τις, καὶ πυθόμενος τοῦ ὑπηρέτου Χάρωνα μετιέναι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων φάσκοντος, ἀπήγγειλεν εἰσω τεθορυβημένος, καὶ πᾶσιν εὐθὺς παρέστη τὴν τε πρᾶξιν ἐκμεμνηῦσθαι καὶ σφᾶς ἅπαντας ἀπολωλέναι, μηδὲ δράσαντάς τι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔδοξεν ὑπακοῦσαι τὸν Χάρωνα καὶ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν δεῖν ἀνυπόπτως τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἄλλως μὲν ἀνδρώδη καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα τῷ θαρρεῖν
- 5 παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ, τότε δὲ δι' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπληγμένον καὶ περιπαθοῦντα, μή τις ὑποψία προ-

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them at once to the house of Charon; and there were, counting the exiles, forty-eight of them.

With the tyrants, matters stood as follows. Philidas, their secretary, as I have said, was privy to the plans of the exiles and was co-operating fully with them, and some time before had proposed for that day that Archias and his friends should have a drinking-bout, at which a few married women should join them, his scheme being that when they were full of wine and completely relaxed in their pleasures, he would deliver them into the hands of their assailants. But before the party were very deep in their cups, some information was suddenly brought them, not false, indeed, but uncertain and very vague, that the exiles were concealed in the city. Although Phillidas tried to change the subject, Archias nevertheless sent one of his attendants to Charon, commanding him to come to him at once. It was evening, and Pelopidas and his companions in Charon's house were getting themselves ready for action, having already put on their breastplates and taken up their swords. Then there was a sudden knocking at the door. Someone ran to it, learned from the attendant that he was come from the polemarchs with a summons for Charon, and brought the news inside, much perturbed. All were at once convinced that their enterprise had been revealed, and that they themselves were all lost, before they had even done anything worthy of their valour. However, they decided that Charon must obey the summons and present himself boldly before the magistrates. Charon was generally an intrepid man and of a stern courage in the face of danger, but in this case he was much concerned and frightened on account of his friends, and feared that some

δοσίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔλθῃ τοσούτων ἅμα καὶ τοιούτων πολιτῶν ἀπολομένων. ὥς οὖν ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, παραλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος τὸν υἱόν, ἔτι μὲν ὄντα παῖδα, κάλλει δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος πρωτεύοντα τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν, ἐνεχείριζε τοῖς περὶ Πελοπίδαν, εἴ τινα δόλον καὶ προδοσίαν αὐτοῦ καταγοοῖεν, ὥς πολεμῶ χρήσθαι κελεύων
6 ἐκείνῳ καὶ μὴ φείδεσθαι. πολλοῖς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν δάκρυα πρὸς τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ Χάρωνος ἐξέπεσε, πάντες δὲ ἡγανάκτουν εἰ δειλὸν οὕτως εἶναί τινα δοκεῖ καὶ διεφθαρμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος, ὥστε ὑπονοεῖν ἐκείνον ἢ ὅλως αἰτιᾶσθαι· καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐδέοντο μὴ καταμιγνύνειν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκποδῶν θέσθαι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὅπως αὐτός γε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τιμωρὸς ὑποτρέφοιτο περισωθεὶς καὶ διαφυγὼν τοὺς τυράν-
7 νους. ὁ δὲ Χάρων τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἀπαλλάξειν οὐκ ἔφη· ποῖον γὰρ αὐτῷ βίον ὀρᾶν ἢ τίνα σωτηρίαν καλλίονα τῆς ὁμοῦ μετὰ πατρὸς καὶ φίλων τοσούτων ἀνυβρίστου τελευτῆς; ἐπευξάμενος δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πάντας ἀσπασάμενος καὶ παραθαρρύνας ἀπήει, προσέχων ἑαυτῷ καὶ ῥυθμίζων σχήματι προσώπου καὶ τόνῳ φωνῆς ἀνομοιότατος οἷς ἔπραττε φανῆναι.

Χ. Γενομένου δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, προήλθεν ὁ Ἀρχίας, καὶ Φιλλίδας,¹ καὶ εἶπεν· “ὦ Χάρων, τινὰς ἀκήκοα παρεληλυθότας ἐν τῇ πόλει κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ συμπράττειν αὐτοῖς ἐνίοις τῶν πολιτῶν.” καὶ ὁ Χάρων διαταραχθεὶς τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐρωτήσας τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ παρεληλυθότες καὶ τίνες οἱ κρύπτοντες αὐτούς, ὥς οὐδὲν ἑώρα

¹ Φιλλίδας with the MSS.: Φίλιππος, Bryan's correction (cf. *Morals*, p. 595 f.). Bekker brackets καὶ Φίλιππος.

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suspicion of treachery would fall upon him if so many and such excellent citizens now lost their lives. Accordingly, as he was about to depart, he brought his son from the women's apartments, a mere boy as yet, but in beauty and bodily strength surpassing those of his years, and put him in the hands of Pelopidas, telling him that if he found any guile or treachery in the father, he must treat the son as an enemy and show him no mercy. Many were moved to tears by the noble concern which Charon showed, and all were indignant that he should think any one of them so demoralized by the present peril and so mean-spirited as to suspect him or blame him in the least. They also begged him not to involve his son with them, but to put him out of harm's way, that he might escape the tyrants and live to become an avenger of his city and his friends. Charon, however, refused to take his son away, asking if any kind of life or any safety could be more honourable for him than a decorous death with his father and all these friends. Then he addressed the gods in prayer, and after embracing and encouraging them all, went his way, striving so to compose his countenance and modulate his voice as not to betray what he was really doing.

X. When he reached the door of the house, Archias came out to him, with Phillidas, and said: "Charon, I have heard that certain men have come and hid themselves in the city, and that some of the citizens are in collusion with them." Charon was disturbed at first, but on asking who the men were that had come and who were concealing them, he saw that Archias could give no clear account of the

- σαφές εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα τὸν Ἀρχίαν, ὑπονοήσας ἀπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπισταμένων γεγονέναι τὴν μήνυσιν, “Ὁρᾶτε τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “μὴ κενός τις ὑμᾶς δια-
 2 ταραττή λόγος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ σκέψομαι· δεῖ γὰρ ἴσως μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν.” ταῦτα καὶ Φιλλίδας παρὼν ἐπῆναι, καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἀπα-
 γαγὼν αὐθις εἰς ἄκρατον πολὺν κατέβαλε, καὶ ταῖς περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐλπίσι διεπαιδαγώγει τὸν πότον. ὥς δ' ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ Χάρων οἴκαδε καὶ διεσκευασμένους τοὺς ἄνδρας εὔρεν οὐχ ὥς ἂν τινα νίκην ἢ σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀποθανομένους λαμπρῶς καὶ μετὰ φόβου πολλοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, τὸ μὲν ἀληθές αὐτοῖς ἔφραζε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐψεύ-
 3 σατο λόγους τινὰς τοῦ Ἀρχίου περὶ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων πλασάμενος.
- Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ πρώτου παραφερομένου δεύτερον ἐπῆγεν ἡ τύχη χειμῶνα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἦκε γάρ τις ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ Ἀρχίου τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς Ἀρχίαν τὸν ὁμώνυμον, ξένον ὄντα καὶ φίλον, ἐπιστολὴν κομίζων οὐ κενὴν ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ πε-
 4 πλασμένην ὑπόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστα περὶ τῶν πρασσομένων φάσκουσιν, ὥς ὕστερον ἐπε-
 γνώσθη. τότε δὲ μεθύοντι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ προσ-
 αχθεὶς ὁ γραμματοφόρος καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπιδούς, “Ὁ ταύτην,” ἔφη, “πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀναγνῶναι· περὶ σπουδαίων γάρ τινων γεγράφθαι.” καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίας μειδιάσας, “Οὐκοῦν εἰς αὖριον,” ἔφη, “τὰ σπουδαῖα.” καὶ τὴν ἐπι-
 στολὴν δεξάμενος ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθη-
 κεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τῷ Φιλλίδᾳ περὶ ὧν ἐτύγχανον διαλεγόμενοι προσεῖχεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν λόγος οὗτος

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matter, and conjectured that his information had not come from any of those who were privy to the plot. He therefore said: "Do not, then, suffer any empty rumour to disturb you. However, I will look into the matter; for perhaps no story should be ignored." Phillidas, too, who stood by, approved of this, and after leading Archias back, got him to drink hard, and tried to protract the revel with hopes of a visit from the women. But Charon, when he got back home, and found the men there disposed, not to expect safety or victory at all, but to die gloriously after a great slaughter of their enemies, told the truth only to Pelopidas himself, while for the rest he concocted a false tale that Archias had talked with him about other matters.¹

Before this first storm had yet blown over, fortune brought a second down upon the men. For there came a messenger from Athens, from Archias the hierophant to his namesake Archias, who was his guest-friend, bearing a letter which contained no empty nor false suspicion, but stated clearly all the details of the scheme that was on foot, as was subsequently learned. At the time, however, Archias was drunk, and the bearer of the letter was brought to him and put it into his hands, saying: "The sender of this bade thee read it at once; for it is on serious business." Then Archias answered with a smile: "Serious business for the morrow"; and when he had received the letter he put it under his pillow, and resumed his casual conversation with Phillidas.

¹ According to Plutarch's lengthy version of this affair in his *Discourse concerning the Daemon of Socrates* (chapter 29, *Morals*, p. 595 f.), Charon hid the truth from no one.

ἐν παροιμίας τάξει περιφερόμενος μέχρι νῦν διασώζεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι.

XI. Τῆς δὲ πράξεως δοκούσης ἔχειν ἤδη τὸν οἰκεῖον καιρόν, ἐξώρμων δίχα διελόντες αὐτούς, οἱ μὲν περὶ Πελοπίδαν καὶ Δαμοκλείδαν ἐπὶ τὸν Λεοντίδαν καὶ τὸν Ὑπάτην ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων οἰκοῦντας, Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον, ἐσθῆτας ἐπενδεδυμένοι γυναικείας τοῖς θώραξι, καὶ δασεῖς στεφάνους ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης περικείμενοι κατασκιάζοντας τὰ πρόσ-
 2 ωπα. διὸ καὶ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ συμποσίου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιστάντες, κρότον ἐποίησαν καὶ θόρυβον οἰομένων ἄς πάλαι προσεδόκων γυναικας ἦκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιβλέψαντες ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ τῶν κατακεκλιμένων ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς κατα-
 3 μαθόντες ἐσπάσαντο τὰς μαχαίρας, καὶ φερόμενοι διὰ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον ἐφάνησαν οἵπερ ἦσαν, ὀλίγους μὲν ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν κατακειμένων ἔπεισεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀμύνεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πολε-
 4 μάρχων ἐπιχειροῦντας καὶ συνεξανισταμένους διὰ τὴν μέθην οὐ πάνυ χαλεπῶς ἀπέκτειναν.

Τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἐργωδέστερον ἀπήντα τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ νήφοντα καὶ δεινὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Λεοντίδαν ἐχώρουν, καὶ κεκλει-
 σμένην τὴν οἰκίαν εὗρον ἤδη καθεύδοντος, καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον κόπτουσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπήκουεν οὐδεὶς.
 4 μόλις δὲ ποτε τοῦ θεράποντος αἰσθομένου προΐ-
 όντος ἔνδοθεν καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἀφαιροῦντος, ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐνδοῦναι καὶ χαλάσαι τὰς θύρας ἐμπεσόντες ἄθροοι καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἀνατρέψαντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον ὥρμησαν. ὁ δὲ Λεοντίδας αὐτῷ τεκμαιρόμενος τῷ κτύπῳ καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ γινού-
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Wherefore these words of his are a current proverb to this day among the Greeks.

XI. Now that the fitting time for their undertaking seemed to have come, they sallied forth in two bands; one, under the lead of Pelopidas and Damocleidas, against Leontidas and Hypates, who lived near together; the other against Archias and Philip, under Charon and Melon, who had put on women's apparel over their breastplates, and wore thick garlands of pine and fir which shaded their faces. For this reason, when they stood at the door of the banquet-room, at first the company shouted and clapped their hands, supposing that the women whom they had long been expecting were come. But then, after surveying the banquet and carefully marking each of the reclining guests, the visitors drew their swords, and rushing through the midst of the tables at Archias and Philip, revealed who they were. A few of the guests were persuaded by Phillidas to remain quiet, but the rest, who, with the polemarchs, offered resistance and tried to defend themselves, were dispatched without any trouble, since they were drunk.

Pelopidas and his party, however, were confronted with a harder task; for Leontidas, against whom they were going, was a sober and formidable man, and they found his house closed, since he had already gone to bed. For a long time no one answered their knocking, but at last the attendant heard them and came out and drew back the bolt. As soon as the door yielded and gave way, they rushed in together, overturned the servant, and hastened towards the bed-chamber. But Leontidas, conjecturing what was happening by the very noise and trampling, rose from

5 μενον, ἐσπάσατο μὲν τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐξαναστάς, ἔλαθε δὲ αὐτὸν καταβαλεῖν τὰ λύχνα καὶ διὰ σκότους αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς περιπετεῖς ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἐν δὲ φωτὶ πολλῷ καθορώμενος, ὑπήντα πρὸς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῖς τοῦ θαλάμου, καὶ τὸν πρῶτον εἰσιόντα Κηφισόδωρον πατάξας κατέβαλε. πεσόντος δὲ τούτου δευτέρῳ συνεπλέκετο τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ· καὶ τὴν μάχην χαλεπὴν ἐποίει καὶ δύσεργον ἢ στενότης τῶν θυρῶν καὶ κείμενος 6 ἐμποδῶν ἤδη νεκρὸς ὁ Κηφισόδωρος. ἐκράτησε δ' οὖν ὁ Πελοπίδας, καὶ κατεργασάμενος τὸν 284 Λεοντίδαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑπάτην εὐθύς ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ παρeisέπεσον μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὁμοίως, αἰσθόμενον δὲ ταχέως καὶ καταφυγόντα πρὸς τοὺς γείτονας, ἐκ ποδῶν διώξαντες εἶλον καὶ διέφθειραν.

XII. Διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς περὶ Μέλωνα συμβαλόντες ἔπεμψαν μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους ἐκεῖ τῶν φυγάδων, ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας ὥπλιζον, ἀφαιροῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν στοῶν τὰ περικείμενα σκῦλα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐργαστήρια δορυξῶν καὶ μαχαι- 2 ροποιῶν ἀναρρηγνύντες. ἤκον δὲ βοηθοῦντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οἱ περὶ Ἐπαμεινῶνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν, συνειλοχότες οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς βελτίστους. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἤδη μὲν ἀνεπτόητο πᾶσα, καὶ πολὺς θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φῶτα περὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ διαδρομαὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐπω δὲ συνειστίηκε τὸ πλήθος, ἀλλ' ἐκπεπληγμένοι πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα καὶ σαφές 3 οὐδὲν εἰδότες ἡμέραν περιέμενον. ὅθεν ἀμαρτεῖν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἔδοξαν εὐθύς οὐκ ἐπι- 368

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bed and drew his dagger, but he forgot to overthrow the lamps and make the men fall foul of one another in the darkness. On the contrary, exposed to view by an abundance of light, he went to meet them at the door of his chamber, and struck down the first one that entered, Cephisodorus. When this assailant had fallen, he engaged Pelopidas next; and their conflict was rendered troublesome and difficult by the narrowness of the door and by Cephisodorus, whose body, now dead, lay in their way. But at last Pelopidas prevailed, and after dispatching Leontidas, he and his followers went at once to attack Hypates. They broke into his house as they had done into the other, but he promptly perceived their design and fled for refuge to his neighbours. Thither they closely followed him, and caught him, and slew him.

XII. These things accomplished, they joined Melon's party, and sent into Attica for the exiles they had left there.¹ They also summoned the citizens to fight for their freedom, and armed those who came, taking from the porticos the spoils suspended there, and breaking open the neighbouring workshops of spear-makers and sword-makers. Epaminondas and Gorgidas also came to their aid with an armed following, composed of many young men and the best of the older men. And now the city was all in a flutter of excitement, there was much noise, the houses had lights in them, and there was running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet assemble; they were terrified at what was going on, and had no clear knowledge of it, and were waiting for day. Wherefore the Spartan commanders were thought to have made a mistake in not attacking and engaging

¹ Cf. chapter viii. 1.

δραμόντες οὐδὲ συμβαλόντες, αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ φρουρὰ
 περὶ χιλίους πεντακοσίους ὄντες, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πόλεως
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολλῶν συντρεχόντων, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 βοήν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ καὶ τὸν ὄχλον χωροῦντα¹
 πανταχόθεν πολὺν φοβηθέντες ἡσύχαζον, αὐτὴν
 4 τὴν Καδμείαν κατέχοντες. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα παρ-
 ῆσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς οἱ φυγάδες ὀπλισμένοι,
 συνήθροιστο δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος.
 εἰσῆγον δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πελοπίδαν Ἐπαμεινώνδας
 καὶ Γοργίδας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων περιεχομένους
 στέμματα προτεινόντων καὶ παρακαλούντων τοὺς
 πολίτας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς βοηθεῖν. ἡ δ'
 ἐκκλησία ὀρθή πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν μετὰ κρότου καὶ
 βοῆς ἐξανέστη, δεχομένων τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς
 εὐεργέτας καὶ σωτῆρας.

XIII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου βοιωτάρχης αἰρεθεὶς μετὰ
 Μέλωνος καὶ Χάρωνος ὁ Πελοπίδας εὐθύς ἀπε-
 τείχιζε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο
 πανταχόθεν, ἐξελεῖν σπουδάζων τοὺς Λακεδαιμο-
 νίους καὶ τὴν Καδμείαν ἐλευθερώσαι πρὶν ἐκ
 2 Σπάρτης στρατὸν ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον
 ἔφθασεν ἀφείς ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς ἄνδρας ὅσον
 ἐν Μεγάροις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῆσαι Κλεόμ-
 βροτον ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας ἐλαύνοντα μετὰ μεγάλης
 δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιάται, τριῶν ἀρμοστῶν
 γενομένων ἐν Θήβαις, Ἡριππίδαν μὲν καὶ Ἀρ-
 κισσον ἀπέκτειναν κρίναντες, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Λυσ-
 νορίδας χρήμασι πολλοῖς ζημιωθείς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς
 Πελοποννήσου μετέστησε.

3 Ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ἀρεταῖς μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ
 κινδύνοις καὶ ἀγῶσι παραπλησίαν τῇ Θρασυ-

¹ χωροῦντα Coraës' correction of the MSS. ἀναχωροῦντα,
 adopted by Bekker.

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at once, since their garrison numbered about fifteen hundred men, and many ran to join them out of the city; but the shouting, the fires, and the great throngs in motion everywhere, terrified them, and they kept quiet, holding the citadel itself in their possession. At break of day the exiles came in from Attica under arms, and a general assembly of the people was convened. Then Epaminondas and Gorgidas brought before it Pelopidas and his companions, surrounded by the priests, holding forth garlands, and calling upon the citizens to come to the aid of their country and their gods. And the assembly, at the sight, rose to its feet with shouts and clapping of hands, and welcomed the men as deliverers and benefactors.

XIII. After this, having been elected boeotarch, or governor of Boeotia, together with Melon and Charon, Pelopidas at once blockaded the acropolis and assaulted it on every side, being anxious to drive out the Lacedaemonians and free the Cadmeia before an army came up from Sparta. And he succeeded by so narrow a margin that, when the men had surrendered conditionally and had been allowed to depart, they got no further than Megara before they were met by Cleombrotus marching against Thebes with a great force. Of the three men who had been harmosts, or governors, in Thebes, the Spartans condemned and executed Herippidas and Arcissus, and the third, Lysanoridas, was heavily fined and forsook the Peloponnesus.

This exploit, so like that of Thrasybulus in the valour, the perils, and the struggles of its heroes,

βούλου γενομένην, καὶ βραβευθεῖσαν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ἀδελφὴν ἐκείνης προσηγόρευον οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι ῥαδίως ἑτέρους εἰπεῖν οἱ πλείονων ἐλάττους καὶ δυνατότερον ἑρημότεροι τόλμῃ καὶ δεινότητι κρατήσαντες αἴτιοι μειζόνων
 4 ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πατρίσι κατέστησαν. ἐνδοξοτέραν δὲ ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἡ μεταβολὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ γὰρ καταλύσας τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα καὶ παύσας ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς γῆς τε καὶ θαλάττης πόλεμος ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐγένετο τῆς νυκτός, ἐν ᾗ Πελοπίδας οὐ φρούριον, οὐ τείχος, οὐκ ἀκρόπολιν καταλαβὼν, ἀλλ' εἰς οἰκίαν δωδέκατος κατελθὼν, εἰ δεῖ μεταφορᾷ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἔλυσε καὶ διέκοψε τοὺς δεσμοὺς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμονίας, ἀλύτους καὶ ἀρρήκτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας.

XIV. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλόντων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περίφοβοι γενόμενοι τὴν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπέιπαντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ τῶν βοιωτιαζόντων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον παραγαγόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀπέ- 285 κτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἐφυγάδευσαν, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσαν, ἐδόκει δὲ κακῶς ἔχειν τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων πράγματα μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦντος, ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ Πελοπίδας μετὰ Γοργίδου βοιωταρχῶν, ἐπιβουλευόντες δὲ συγκροῦσαι πάλιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιόνδε τι μηχανῶνται.
 2 Σφοδρίας, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης, εὐδόκιμος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς καὶ λαμπρός, ὑπόκουφος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνοήτου μεστός, ἀπελείφθη περὶ Θεσπιάς μετὰ δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀφισταμένους τῶν Θηβαίων δέχεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν. πρὸς τοῦτον ὑποπέμπουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἰδίᾳ ἔμπορόν τινα τῶν φίλων,

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and, like that, crowned with success by fortune, the Greeks were wont to call a sister to it. For it is not easy to mention other cases where men so few in number and so destitute have overcome enemies so much more numerous and powerful by the exercise of courage and sagacity, and have thereby become the authors of so great blessings for their countries. And yet the subsequent change in the political situation made this exploit the more glorious. For the war which broke down the pretensions of Sparta and put an end to her supremacy by land and sea, began from that night, in which Pelopidas, not by surprising any fort or castle or citadel, but by coming back into a private house with eleven others, loosed and broke in pieces, if the truth may be expressed in a metaphor, the fetters of the Lacedaemonian supremacy, which were thought indissoluble and not to be broken.

XIV. The Lacedaemonians now invaded Boeotia with a large army, and the Athenians, having become fearful, renounced their alliance with the Thebans, and prosecuting those in their city who favoured the Boeotian cause, put some of them to death, banished others, and others still they fined, so that the Thebans seemed to be in a desperate case with none to aid them. But Pelopidas and Gorgias, who were boeotarchs, plotted to embroil the Athenians again with the Lacedaemonians, and devised the following scheme. Sphodrias, a Spartan, who had a splendid reputation as a soldier, but was rather weak in judgement and full of vain hopes and senseless ambition, had been left at Thespieae with an armed force to receive and succour the renegade Thebans. To this man Pelopidas and Gorgidas privately sent one of their friends who was a merchant, with money,

χρηματα κομίζοντα καὶ λόγους, οἱ τῶν χρημάτων μᾶλλον ἀνέπεισαν αὐτὸν ὥς χρὴ πραγμάτων ἄψασθαι μεγάλων καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλαβεῖν, ἀπροσδόκητον ἐπιπεσόντα μὴ φυλαττομένοις τοῖς
 3 Ἀθηναίοις. Λακεδαιμονίοις τε γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι κεχαρισμένον ὥς λαβεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Θηβαίους τε χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ προ-
 δότας νομίζοντας οὐκ ἐπιβοηθήσειν. τέλος δὲ συμπεισθεὶς ὁ Σφοδρίας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν, νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ
 μέχρι μὲν Ἐλευσίνος προῆλθεν, ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδειλιασάντων φανερὸς γενόμενος, καὶ συνταράξας οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ ῥάδιον τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις πόλεμον, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Θεσπιάς.

XV. Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν προθυμώτατα Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις συνεμάχουν, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀντελαμβάνοντο, καὶ περιϊόντες ἐδέχοντο καὶ προσήγοντο τοὺς ἀποστατικῶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχοντας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐκά-
 στοτε, καὶ μαχόμενοι μάχας αὐτὰς μὲν οὐ μεγά-
 λας, μεγάλην δὲ τὴν μελέτην ἐχούσας καὶ τὴν
 2 ἄσκησιν, ἐξερριπίζοντο τοῖς θυμοῖς καὶ διεπο-
 νούντο τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐμπειρίαν ἅμα τῇ συνηθείᾳ καὶ φρόνημα προσλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων. διὸ καὶ φασιν Ἀνταλκίδα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, ὥς Ἀγησίλαος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ Βοιωτίας τετρωμένος, εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. “Ἡ καλὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ
 3 Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς
 πολεμεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι διδάξας.” ἦν δὲ ὥς

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and, what proved more persuasive than money with Sphodrias, this advice. He ought to put his hand to a large enterprise and seize the Piraeus, attacking it unexpectedly when the Athenians were off their guard; for nothing would gratify the Lacedaemonians so much as the capture of Athens, and the Thebans, who were now angry with the Athenians and held them to be traitors, would give them no aid. Sphodrias was finally persuaded, and taking his soldiers, invaded Attica by night. He advanced as far as Eleusis, but there the hearts of his soldiers failed them and his design was exposed, and after having thus stirred up a serious and difficult war against the Spartans, he withdrew to Thespieae.¹

XV. After this, the Athenians with the greatest eagerness renewed their alliance with the Thebans, and began hostile operations against Sparta by sea, sailing about and inviting and receiving the allegiance of those Greeks who were inclined to revolt. The Thebans, too, by always engaging singly in Boeotia with the Lacedaemonians, and by fighting battles which, though not important in themselves, nevertheless afforded them much practice and training, had their spirits roused and their bodies thoroughly inured to hardships, and gained experience and courage from their constant struggles. For this reason Antalcidas the Spartan, we are told, when Agesilaüs came back from Boeotia with a wound, said to him: "Indeed, this is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to war and fight when they did not wish to do it."² But, to tell the truth, it was not

¹ The attempt of Sphodrias on the Piraeus is more fully described in the *Agesilaüs*, xxiv. 3-6.

² Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xxvi. 2.

ἀληθῶς διδάσκαλος οὐκ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀλλ' οἱ σὺν καιρῷ καὶ μετὰ λογισμοῦ τοὺς Θηβαίους ὥσπερ σκύλακας ἐμπείρως προσβάλλοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἴτα γευσάμενους νίκης καὶ φρονήματος ἀσφαλῶς ἀπάγοντες· ὧν μεγίστην δόξαν εἶχεν ὁ Πελοπίδας. ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ εἴλοντο πρῶτον ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅπλων, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο καθ' ἑκάστου ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντα χειροτονοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον ἄγων ἢ τὰ πλείστα βοιωταρχῶν ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἔπραττεν.

- 4 Ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ Πλαταιᾶς καὶ Θεσπιάς ἡτται καὶ φυγαὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅπου καὶ Φοιβίδας ὁ τὴν Καδμείαν καταλαβὼν ἀπέθανε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Τανάγρα τρεψάμενος αὐτῶν καὶ Πανθοίδαν τὸν ἀρμυστήν ἀνεῖλεν. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν οἱ ἀγῶνες ὥσπερ τοὺς κρατοῦντας εἰς φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος προήγον, οὕτως τῶν ἡσσωμένων οὐ παντάπασιν ἐδουλοῦντο
- 5 τὴν γνώμην· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ παρατάξεως ἦσαν οὐδὲ μάχης ἐμφανῇ κατάστασιν ἐχούσης καὶ νόμιμον, ἐκδρομὰς δὲ προσκαίρους τιθέμενοι, καὶ φυγὰς ἢ διώξεις ἐπιχειροῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι κατῴρθουν.

- XVI. Ὁ δὲ περὶ Τεγύρας τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ Λευκτρικοῦ προάγων γενόμενος μέγαν ἤρε δόξην τὸν Πελοπίδαν, οὔτε πρὸς κατόρθωμα τοῖς συστρατήγοις ἀμφισβήτησιν οὔτε τῆς ἡττης πρόφασιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπών. τῇ γὰρ Ὀρχομενίων πόλει τὰ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐλομένη καὶ δύο δεδεγμένη μόρας αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας ἐπεβούλευε μὲν
- 2 αἰεὶ καὶ παρεφύλαττε καιρὸν, ὥς δὲ ἤκουσε τοῖς φρουροῖς εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα γεγενῆσθαι στρατείαν

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Agesilaüs who was their teacher, but those leaders of theirs who, at the right time and place, gave the Thebans, like young dogs in training, experience in attacking their enemies, and then, when they had got a taste of victory and its ardours, brought them safely off; and of these leaders Pelopidas was in greatest esteem. For after his countrymen had once chosen him their leader in arms, there was not a single year when they did not elect him to office, but either as leader of the sacred band, or, for the most part, as boeotarch, he continued active until his death.

Well, then, at Plataea the Lacedaemonians were defeated and put to flight, and at Thespieae, where, too, Phoebidas, who had seized the Cadmeia, was slain; and at Tanagra a large body of them was routed and Panthoidas the harmost was killed. But these combats, though they gave ardour and boldness to the victors, did not altogether break the spirits of the vanquished; for they were not pitched battles, nor was the fighting in open and regular array, but it was by making well-timed sallies, and by either retreating before the enemy or by pursuing and coming to close quarters with them that the Thebans won their successes.

XVI. But the conflict at Tegyra, which was a sort of prelude to that at Leuctra, raised high the reputation of Pelopidas; for it afforded his fellow commanders no rival claim in its success, and his enemies no excuse for their defeat. Against the city of Orchomenus, which had chosen the side of the Spartans and received two divisions of them for its protection, he was ever laying plans and watching his opportunity, and when he heard that its garrison had made an expedition into Locris, he hoped to find

ἐλπίσας ἔρημον αἰρήσειν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἐστρά-
τευσεν, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον καὶ
τῶν ἱππέων οὐ πολλούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
προσαγαγὼν εὗρεν ἤκουσαν ἐκ Σπάρτης διαδοχὴν
τῆς φρουρᾶς, ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν
διὰ Τεγυρῶν, ἧ μόνῃ βásiμον ἦν κύκλῳ παρὰ
3 τὴν ὑπώρειαν· τὴν γὰρ διὰ μέσου πᾶσαν ὁ Μέλας
ποταμὸς εὐθύς ἐκ πηγῶν εἰς ἑλὴ πλωτὰ καὶ
λίμνας διασπειρόμενος ἄπορον ἐποίει.

Μικρὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τὰ ἑλὴ νεὼς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος
Τεγυραίου καὶ μαντεῖον ἐκλειμμένον οὐ πάνυ
πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῶν Μηδικῶν ἤκμαζε,
τὴν προφητείαν Ἐχεκράτους ἔχοντος. ἐνταῦθα
μυθολογοῦσι τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλη-
σίον ὄρος Δῆλος καλεῖται, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ κατα-
4 λήγουσιν αἱ τοῦ Μέλανος διαχύσεις, ὀπίσω δὲ
τοῦ ναοῦ δύο ῥήγνυνται πηγαὶ γλυκύτητι καὶ
πλήθει καὶ ψυχρότητι θαυμαστοῦ νάματος, ὧν
τὸ μὲν Φοίνικα, τὸ δὲ Ἑλαίαν ἄχρι νῦν ὀνομά-
ζομεν, οὐ φυτῶν μεταξὺ δυεῖν, ἀλλὰ ῥείθρων τῆς
θεοῦ λοχευθείσης. καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πτῶον ἐγγύς,
ὅθεν αὐτὴν ἀναπτοθῆναι προφανέντος ἐξαίφνης
κάπρου λέγουσι, καὶ τὰ περὶ Πύθωνα καὶ Τιτυὸν
ὥσαύτως οἱ τόποι τῇ γενέσει τοῦ θεοῦ συνοικει-
5 οῦσι. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα παραλείπω τῶν τεκμη-
ρίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀθανάτοις
γενομένοις γεννητοῖς ὁ πάτριος λόγος τὸν θεὸν
τοῦτον ἀπολείπει δαίμοσιν, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλέα καὶ

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the city without defenders, and marched against it, having with him the sacred band and a few horsemen. But when, on approaching the city, he found that its garrison had been replaced with other troops from Sparta, he led his army back again through the district of Tegyra, that being the only way by which he could make a circuit along the foot of the mountains. For all the intervening plain was made impassable by the river Melas, which no sooner begins to flow than it spreads itself out into navigable marshes and lakes.

A little below the marshes stands the temple of Apollo Tegyraeus, with an oracle which had not been long abandoned, but was flourishing down to the Persian wars, when Echecrates was prophet-priest. Here, according to the story, the god was born; and the neighbouring mountain is called Delos, and at its base the river Melas ceases to be spread out, and behind the temple two springs burst forth with a wonderful flow of sweet, copious, and cool water. One of these we call Palm, the other Olive, to the present day, for it was not between two trees,¹ but between two fountains, that the goddess Leto was delivered of her children. Moreover, the Ptoüm² is near, from which, it is said, a boar suddenly came forth and frightened the goddess, and in like manner the stories of the Python³ and of Tityus³ are associated with the birth of Apollo in this locality. Most of the proofs, however, I shall pass over; for my native tradition removes this god from among those deities who were changed from mortals into im-

¹ As in the Delian story of the birth of Apollo and Artemis.

² A mountain at the south-eastern side of Lake Copais, on which was a celebrated sanctuary of Apollo.

³ A dragon and a giant, who were slain by Apollo and Artemis.

Διόνυσον, ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀρετῇ τὸ θνητὸν καὶ παθητὸν ἀποβαλόντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν αἰδίων καὶ ἀγεννήτων εἰς ἐστίν, εἰ δεῖ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φρονιμωτάτων καὶ παλαιοτάτων λεγομένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων.

XVII. Εἰς δ' οὖν Τεγύρας οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενίας ἀπιόντες καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνέπιπτον, ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀναξευγνύντες. ὥς δὲ πρῶτον ὤφθησαν τὰ στενὰ διεκβάλλοντες, καὶ τις εἶπε τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ προσδραμών· “Ἐμπεπτῶκαμεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους,” “Τί μᾶλλον,” εἶπεν,
 2 “ἢ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι;” καὶ τὴν μὲν ἵππον εὐθύς πᾶσαν ἐκέλευσε παρελαύνειν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς ὡς προεμβαλοῦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους ὄντας εἰς ὀλίγον συνήγαγεν, ἐλπίζων καθ' ὃ προσβάλῃ μάλιστα διακόψειν ὑπερβάλλοντας πλήθει τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦσαν δὲ δύο μόραι Λακεδαιμονίων, τὴν δὲ μόραν Ἐφορος μὲν ἄνδρας εἶναι πεντακοσίους φησί, Καλλισθένης δ' ἑπτακοσίους, ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ἑνακοσίους, ὧν Πολύβιός
 3 ἐστι. καὶ θαρροῦντες οἱ πολέμαρχοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν Γοργολέων καὶ Θεόπομπος ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. γενομένης δὲ πῶς μάλιστα τῆς ἐφόδου κατ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ βίας, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ πολέμαρχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ συρράξαντες
 4 ἔπεσον· ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους παιομένων καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἅπαν εἰς φόβον κατέστη τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ διέσχε μὲν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ὥς διεκπεσεῖν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν καὶ διεκδῦναι βουλομένοις, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν δεδομένην ὁ Πελοπίδας ἡγείτο πρὸς τοὺς συνεστῶτας καὶ

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mortals, like Heracles and Dionysus, whose virtues enabled them to cast off mortality and suffering ; but he is one of those deities who are unbegotten and eternal, if we may judge by what the most ancient and wisest men have said on such matters.

XVII. So, then, as the Thebans entered the district of Tegyra on their way back from Orchomenus, the Lacedaemonians also entered it at the same time, returning in the opposite direction from Locris, and met them. As soon as they were seen marching through the narrow pass, some one ran up to Pelopidas and said : " We have fallen into our enemies' hands ! " " Why any more," said he, " than they into ours ? " Then he at once ordered all his horsemen to ride up from the rear in order to charge, while he himself put his men-at-arms, three hundred in number, into close array, expecting that wherever they charged he would be most likely to cut his way through the enemy, who outnumbered him. Now, there were two divisions of the Lacedaemonians, the division consisting of five hundred men, according to Ephorus, of seven hundred, according to Callisthenes, of nine hundred, according to certain other writers, among whom is Polybius. Confident of victory, the polemarchs of the Spartans, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, advanced against the Thebans. The onset being made on both sides particularly where the commanders themselves stood, in the first place, the Lacedaemonian polemarchs clashed with Pelopidas and fell ; then, when those about them were being wounded and slain, their whole army was seized with fear and opened up a lane for the Thebans, imagining that they wished to force their way through to the opposite side and get away. But Pelopidas used the path thus opened to lead his men against those of

διεξήκει φονεύων, οὕτω πάντες προτροπάδην
 ἔφενγον. ἐγένετο δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν τόπον ἢ
 διώξεις· ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ ἐγγὺς ὄντας οἱ Θηβαῖοι
 τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν Λακε-
 5 δαιμονίων. ὅσον δὲ νικῆσαι κατὰ κράτος καὶ
 διεξελθεῖν διὰ παντὸς ἡσσωμένου τοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματος, ἐξεβιάσαντο· καὶ στήσαντες τρόπαιον 287
 καὶ νεκροὺς σκυλεύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου
 μέγα φρονούντες. ἐν γὰρ τοσούτοις, ὡς ἔοικε,
 πολέμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ βαρβαρικοῖς πρότερον
 οὐδέποτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείονες ὄντες ὑπ' ἐλατ-
 τόνων ἐκρατήθησαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους
 6 ἐκ παρατάξεως συμβαλόντες. ὅθεν ἦσαν ἀνυ-
 πόστατοι τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ κατα-
 πληττόμενοι τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους, οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς
 ἀξιούντας ἀπ' ἴσης δυνάμεως τὸ ἴσον φέρεσθαι
 Σπαρτιάταις, εἰς χεῖρας συνέστησαν. ἐκείνη δὲ
 ἡ μάχη πρώτη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδαξεν Ἑλ-
 ληνας ὡς οὐχ ὁ Εὐρώτας οὐδ' ὁ μεταξὺ Βαβύκας
 καὶ Κνακιῶνος τόπος ἄνδρας ἐκφέρει μαχητὰς
 καὶ πολεμικούς, ἀλλὰ παρ' οἷς ἂν αἰσχύνεσθαι
 τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ τολμᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἐθέλοντες
 ἐγγένωνται νέοι καὶ τοὺς ψόγους τῶν κινδύνων
 μᾶλλον φεύγοντες, οὗτοι φοβερώτατοι τοῖς ἐναν-
 τίοις εἰσὶ.

XVIII. Τὸν δ' ἱερὸν λόχον, ὡς φασι, συνετά-
 ξατο Γοργίδας πρῶτος ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων
 τριακοσίων, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἄσκησιν καὶ δίαιταν ἐν
 τῇ Καδμείᾳ στρατοπεδευομένοις παρεῖχε, καὶ διὰ
 τοῦθ' ὁ ἐκ πόλεως λόχος ἐκαλοῦντο· τὰς γὰρ
 ἀκροπόλεις ἐπιεικῶς οἱ τότε πόλεις ὠνόμαζον.
 ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐξ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων γενέσθαι
 2 τὸ σύστημα τοῦτο. καὶ Παμμένους ἀπομνημο-

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the enemy who still held together, and slew them as he went along, so that finally all turned and fled. The pursuit, however, was carried but a little way, for the Thebans feared the Orchomenians, who were near, and the relief force from Sparta. They had succeeded, however, in conquering their enemy outright and forcing their way victoriously through his whole army; so they erected a trophy, spoiled the dead, and retired homewards in high spirits. For in all their wars with Greeks and Barbarians, as it would seem, never before had Lacedaemonians in superior numbers been overpowered by an inferior force, nor, indeed, in a pitched battle where the forces were evenly matched. Hence they were of an irresistible courage, and when they came to close quarters their very reputation sufficed to terrify their opponents, who also, on their part, thought themselves no match for Spartans with an equal force. But this battle first taught the other Greeks also that it was not the Eurotas, nor the region between Babyce¹ and Cnacion,¹ which alone produced warlike fighting men, but that wheresoever young men are prone to be ashamed of baseness and courageous in a noble cause, shunning disgrace more than danger, these are most formidable to their foes.

XVIII. The sacred band, we are told, was first formed by Gorgidas, of three hundred chosen men, to whom the city furnished exercise and maintenance, and who encamped in the Cadmeia; for which reason, too, they were called the city band; for citadels in those days were properly called cities. But some say that this band was composed of lovers and beloved. And a pleasantry of Pammenes is cited, in which

¹ Probably names of small tributaries of the Eurotas near Sparta. Cf. the *Lycurgus*, vi. 1-3.

νεύεται τι μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰρημένον· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη
τακτικὸν εἶναι τὸν Ὅμηρον Νέστορα κελεύοντα
κατὰ φύλα καὶ φρήτρας συλλοχίζεσθαι τοὺς
Ἕλληνας,

- Ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφι ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοις,
δέον ἐραστὴν παρ' ἐρώμενον τάττειν. φυλέτας
μὲν γὰρ φυλετῶν καὶ φράτορας φρατόρων οὐ
πολλὸν λόγον ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἐρω-
τικῆς φιλίας συνηρμοσμένον στίφος ἀδιάλυτον
εἶναι καὶ ἄρρηκτον, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀγαπῶντες τοὺς
ἐρωμένους, οἱ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενοι τοὺς ἐρώντας
3 ἐμμένωσι τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοῦτο
θαυμαστὸν οὐκ ἔστιν, εἶγε δὴ καὶ μὴ παρόντας
αἰδοῦνται μᾶλλον ἐτέρων παρόντων, ὥς ἐκεῖνος
ὁ τοῦ πολεμίου κείμενον αὐτὸν ἐπισφάττει
μέλλοντος δεόμενος καὶ ἀντιβολῶν διὰ τοῦ στέρ-
νου διεῖναι τὸ ξίφος, “Ὅπως,” ἔφη, “μή με
νεκρὸν ὁ ἐρώμενος ὀρῶν κατὰ νώτου τετρωμένον
4 αἰσχυνθῇ.” λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰόλεω τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλέους ἐρώμενον ὄντα κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἄθλων καὶ
παρασπίζειν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν
ἔτι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἰόλεω τὰς κατα-
πιστώσεις ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐρωμένους καὶ τοὺς
ἐραστάς. εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ τὸν λόχον ἱερὸν προσα-
γορεύεσθαι, καθότι καὶ Πλάτων ἐνθεὸν φίλον
5 τὸν ἐραστὴν προσεῖπε. λέγεται δὲ διαμεῖναι
μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀήττητον· ὥς δὲ
μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶν τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁ Φίλιππος

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he said that Homer's Nestor was no tactician when he urged the Greeks to form in companies by clans and tribes,

"That clan might give assistance unto clan, and tribes to tribes,"¹

since he should have stationed lover by beloved. For tribesmen and clansmen make little account of tribesmen and clansmen in times of danger; whereas, a band that is held together by the friendship between lovers is indissoluble and not to be broken, since the lovers are ashamed to play the coward before their beloved, and the beloved before their lovers, and both stand firm in danger to protect each other. Nor is this a wonder, since men have more regard for their lovers even when absent than for others who are present, as was true of him who, when his enemy was about to slay him where he lay, earnestly besought him to run his sword through his breast, "in order," as he said, "that my beloved may not have to blush at sight of my body with a wound in the back." It is related, too, that Iolaüs, who shared the labours of Heracles and fought by his side, was beloved of him. And Aristotle says² that even down to his day the tomb of Iolaüs was a place where lovers and beloved plighted mutual faith. It was natural, then, that the band should also be called sacred, because even Plato calls the lover a friend "inspired of God."³ It is said, moreover, that the band was never beaten, until the battle of Chaeroneia;⁴ and when, after the battle, Philip was surveying the dead, and stopped at the

¹ *Iliad*, ii. 363. Cf. *Morals*, p. 761 b.

² Fragment 97 (Rose). Cf. *Morals*, p. 761 d.

³ *Symposium*, p. 179 a. ⁴ 338 B.C.

ἔστη κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ συνετύγχανε κείσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἐναντίους ἀπηντηκότας ταῖς σαρίσαις ἅπαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμεμιγμένους, θαυμάσαντα καὶ πυθόμενον ὡς ὁ τῶν ἐραστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων οὗτος εἴη λόχος, δακρύσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· “Ἀπόλοιντο κακῶς οἱ τούτους τι ποιεῖν ἢ πάσχειν αἰσχρὸν ὑπονοοῦντες.”

- XIX. “Ὡς δὲ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς συνηθείας οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, Θηβαίοις τὸ Λαίου πάθος ἀρχὴν παρέσχευ, ἀλλ' οἱ νομοθέται τὸ φύσει θυμοειδὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἄκρατον ἀνιέναι καὶ ἀνυγραίνειν εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων βουλόμενοι, πολλὴν μὲν ἀνεμίξαντο καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ παιδιᾷ πάσῃ τὸν αὐλόν, εἰς τιμὴν καὶ προεδρίαν ἄγοντες, λαμπρὸν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα ταῖς παλαιστραῖς ἐνεθρέψαντο, συγκεραννύντες τὰ ἥθη τῶν νέων.
- 2 ὁρθῶς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρεως καὶ 288 Ἀφροδίτης γεγενηναὶ λεγομένην θεὸν τῇ πόλει συνφκείωσαν, ὡς, ὅπου τὸ μαχητικὸν καὶ πολεμικὸν μάλιστα τῷ μετέχοντι πειθοῦς καὶ χαρίτων ὁμιλεῖ καὶ σύνεστιν, εἰς τὴν ἐμμελεστάτην καὶ κοσμιωτάτην πολιτείαν δι' ἀρμονίας καθισταμένων ἀπάντων.
- 3 Τὸν οὖν ἱερὸν λόχον τοῦτον ὁ μὲν Γοργίδας διαιρῶν εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ζυγὰ καὶ παρ' ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν προβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ δὴλον οὐκ ἐποίει τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐδ' ἐχρήτο τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς κοινὸν ἔργον, ἅτε δὴ διαλελυμένη καὶ πρὸς πολὺ μεμιγμένη τὸ φαυλότερον, ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας, ὡς ἐξέλαμψεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρετὴ περὶ Τεγύρας, καθαρῶς καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγωνισαμένων, οὐκ ἔτι διεΐλεν οὐδὲ διέσπασεν, ἀλλ'
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place where the three hundred were lying, all where they had faced the long spears of his phalanx, with their armour, and mingled one with another, he was amazed, and on learning that this was the band of lovers and beloved, burst into tears and said : "Perish miserably they who think that these men did or suffered aught disgraceful."

XIX. Speaking generally, however, it was not the passion of Laius that, as the poets say, first made this form of love customary among the Thebans;¹ but their law-givers, wishing to relax and mollify their strong and impetuous natures in earliest boyhood, gave the flute great prominence both in their work and in their play, bringing this instrument into pre-eminence and honour, and reared them to give love a conspicuous place in the life of the palaestra, thus tempering the dispositions of the young men. And with this in view, they did well to give the goddess who was said to have been born of Ares and Aphrodite a home in their city; for they felt that, where the force and courage of the warrior are most closely associated and united with the age which possesses grace and persuasiveness, there all the activities of civil life are brought by Harmony into the most perfect consonance and order.

Gorgidas, then, by distributing this sacred band among the front ranks of the whole phalanx of men-at-arms, made the high excellence of the men inconspicuous, and did not direct their strength upon a common object, since it was dissipated and blended with that of a large body of inferior troops; but Pelopidas, after their valour had shone out at Tegyra, where they fought by themselves and about his own person, never afterwards divided or scattered them,

¹ Laius was enamoured of Chrysippus, a young son of Pelops (Apollodorus, iii. 5, 5, 10).

ὥσπερ σώματι χρώμενος ὄλῳ προεκινδύνευε
 4 τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγῶσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι
 θᾶσσον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρμασιν ἢ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐλαυνό-
 μενοι θέουσιν, οὐχ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐμπίπτοντες
 ἐκβιάζονται τὸν αέρα τῷ πλήθει ῥηγνύμενον, ἀλλ'
 ὅτι συνεκκαίει τὸν θυμὸν ἢ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἄμιλλα
 καὶ τὸ φιλόνεικον, οὕτως ᾤετο τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ζῆλον
 ἀλλήλοις καλῶν ἔργων ἐνιέντας ὠφελιμωτάτους
 εἰς κοινὸν ἔργον εἶναι καὶ προθυμοτάτους.

XX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλη-
 σιν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι πρὸς μόνους Θηβαίους
 ἐξήνεγκαν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνεβεβλήκει δὲ Κλεόμ-
 βροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγων ὀπλίτας μυρίους, ἵππεῖς
 δὲ χιλίους, ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος οὐ περὶ ὧν πρότερον
 ἦν Θηβαίοις, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἀπειλὴ καὶ καταγ-
 γελία διοικισμοῦ, καὶ φόβος οἷος οὐπω τὴν Βοιω-
 τίαν κατεῖχεν, ἐξιῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁ Πελο-
 πίδας, καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τῷ προπέμπειν
 δακρυούσης καὶ παρακαλούσης σώζειν ἑαυτόν,
 2 “Ταῦτα,” εἶπεν, “ὦ γύναι, τοῖς ἰδιώταις χρή
 παραινεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσιν ὅπως τοὺς ἄλλους
 σώζωσιν.” ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τοὺς
 βοιωτάρχας καταλαβὼν οὐχ ὁμογνωμονοῦντας,
 πρῶτος Ἐπαμεινώνδα προσέθετο γνώμην ψηφι-
 ζομένῃ διὰ μάχης ἵεναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, βοιω-
 τάρχης μὲν οὐκ ἀποδεδειγμένος, ἄρχων δὲ τοῦ
 ἱεροῦ λόχου, καὶ πιστευόμενος, ὥς ἦν δίκαιον
 ἄνδρα τηλικαῦτα δεδωκότα τῇ πατρίδι σύμβολα
 εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

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but, treating them as a unit, put them into the forefront of the greatest conflicts. For just as horses run faster when yoked to a chariot than when men ride them singly, not because they cleave the air with more impetus owing to their united weight, but because their mutual rivalry and ambition inflame their spirits; so he thought that brave men were most ardent and serviceable in a common cause when they inspired one another with a zeal for high achievement.

XX. But now the Lacedaemonians made peace with all the other Greeks and directed the war against the Thebans alone;¹ Cleombrotus their king invaded Boeotia with a force of two thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horse; a new peril confronted the Thebans, since they were openly threatened with downright dispersion; and an unprecedented fear reigned in Boeotia. It was at this time that Pelopidas, on leaving his house, when his wife followed him on his way in tears and begging him not to lose his life, said: "This advice, my wife, should be given to private men; but men in authority should be told not to lose the lives of others." And when he reached the camp and found that the boeotarchs were not in accord, he was first to side with Epaminondas in voting to give the enemy battle. Now Pelopidas, although he had not been appointed boeotarch, was captain of the sacred band, and highly trusted, as it was right that a man should be who had given his country such tokens of his devotion to freedom.

¹ In 371 B.C.

- 3 Ὡς οὖν ἐδέδοκτο διακινδυνεύειν καὶ περὶ τὰ
Λεῦκτρα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀντεστρατοπέδουν,
ὅψιν εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ Πελοπίδας ἐν μάλα
διαταράξασαν αὐτόν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῷ Λευκτρικῷ
πεδίῳ τὰ σήματα τῶν τοῦ Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων,
ἃς Λευκτρίδας καλοῦσι διὰ τὸν τόπον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ
αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ξένων Σπαρτιατῶν βιασθείσαις συν-
4 ἔβη ταφῆναι. γενομένης δὲ χαλεπῆς οὕτω καὶ
παρανόμου πράξεως, ὁ μὲν πατήρ, ὡς οὐκ ἔτυχεν
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δίκης, ἀρὰς κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτια-
τῶν ἀρασάμενος ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις
τῶν παρθένων, χρησμοὶ δὲ καὶ λόγια τοῖς Σπαρ-
τιάταις αἰεὶ προῦφαινον εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάτ-
τεσθαι τὸ Λευκτρικὸν μῆνιμα, μὴ πάνυ τῶν
πολλῶν συνιέντων, ἀλλ' ἀμφιγνοούντων τὸν τό-
πον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πολίχνην πρὸς τῇ
θαλάσσῃ Λεῦκτρον ὀνομάζεται, καὶ πρὸς Μεγάλη
πόλει τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τόπος ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμος. τὸ
μὲν οὖν πάθος τοῦτο πολὺ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἦν
παλαιότερον.

- XXI. Ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
κατακοιμηθεὶς ἔδοξε τάς τε παῖδας ὁρᾶν περὶ
τὰ μνήματα θρηνούσας καὶ καταρωμένας τοῖς
Σπαρτιάταις, τὸν τε Σκέδασον κελεύοντα ταῖς
κόραις σφαγιάσαι παρθένον ξανθὴν, εἰ βούλοιτο
τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικρατῆσαι. δεινοῦ δὲ καὶ πα-
ρανόμου τοῦ προστάγματος αὐτῷ φανέντος ἐξ- 289
αναστὰς ἔκοινοῦτο τοῖς τε μάντεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄρ-
2 χουσιν. ὧν οἱ μὲν οὐκ εἶων παραμελεῖν οὐδ'
ἀπειθεῖν, τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν προφέροντες Μενοικέα
τὸν Κρέοντος καὶ Μακαρίαν τὴν Ἡρακλέους,
τῶν δ' ὕστερον Φερεκύδην τε τὸν σοφὸν ὑπὸ
Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν δорὰν αὐτοῦ

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Accordingly, it was decided to risk a battle, and at Leuctra they encamped over against the Lacedaemonians. Here Pelopidas had a dream which greatly disturbed him. Now, in the plain of Leuctra are the tombs of the daughters of Scedasus, who are called from the place Leuctridae, for they had been buried there, after having been ravished by Spartan strangers.¹ At the commission of such a grievous and lawless act, their father, since he could get no justice at Sparta, heaped curses upon the Spartans, and then slew himself upon the tombs of the maidens; and ever after, prophecies and oracles kept warning the Spartans to be on watchful guard against the Leuctrian wrath. Most of them, however, did not fully understand the matter, but were in doubt about the place, since in Laconia there is a little town near the sea which is called Leuctra, and near Megalopolis in Arcadia there is a place of the same name. This calamity, of course, occurred long before the battle of Leuctra.

XXI. After Pelopidas had lain down to sleep in the camp, he thought he saw these maidens weeping at their tombs, as they invoked curses upon the Spartans, and Scedasus bidding him sacrifice to his daughters a virgin with auburn hair, if he wished to win the victory over his enemies. The injunction seemed a lawless and dreadful one to him, but he rose up and made it known to the seers and the commanders. Some of these would not hear of the injunction being neglected or disobeyed, adducing as examples of such sacrifice among the ancients, Menoeceus, son of Creon, Macaria, daughter of Heracles; and, in later times, Pherecydes the wise man, who was put to death by the Lacedaemonians,

¹ The damsels, in shame, took their own lives. Cf. Pausanias, ix. 13, 3.

κατά τι λόγιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων φρουρουμένην,
 Λεωνίδα τε τῷ χρησμῷ τρόπον τινα προθυσά-
 3 μενον ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ
 Θемιστοκλέους σφαγιασθέντας ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ
 πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας· ἐκείνοις γὰρ
 ἐπιμαρτυρῆσαι τὰ κατορθώματα· τοῦτο δέ, ὡς
 Ἀγησίλαον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀγαμέμνονι τόπων
 ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς στρατευόμενον πολεμίους ἤτησε
 μὲν ἡ θεὸς τὴν θυγατέρα σφάγιον καὶ ταύτην
 εἶδε τὴν ὄψιν ἐν Αὐλίδι κοιμώμενος, ὃ δ' οὐκ
 ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀπομαλθακωθεὶς κατέλυσε τὴν
 4 στρατείαν ἄδοξον καὶ ἀτελῇ γενομένην. οἱ δὲ
 τοῦναντίον ἀπηγόρευον, ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων
 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀρεστὴν οὔσαν οὕτω βάρβαρον
 καὶ παράνομον θυσίαν· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς Τυφῶνας
 ἐκείνους οὐδὲ τοὺς Γίγαντας ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
 πάντων πατέρα θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων· δαίμονας
 δὲ χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων αἵματι καὶ φόνῳ πι-
 στεύειν μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ἀβέλτερον, ὄντων δὲ τοι-
 ούτων ἀμελητέον ὡς ἀδυνάτων· ἀσθενεία γὰρ καὶ
 μοχθηρία ψυχῆς ἐμφύεσθαι καὶ παραμένειν τὰς
 ἀτόπους καὶ χαλεπὰς ἐπιθυμίας.

XXII. Ἐν τοιούτοις οὖν διαλόγοις τῶν πρώτων
 ὄντων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίδου διαποροῦντος,
 ἵππων ἐξ ἀγέλης πῶλος ἀποφυγοῦσα καὶ φερο-
 μένη διὰ τῶν ὄπλων, ὡς ἦν θέουσα κατ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐκείνους, ἐπέστη· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις θέαν παρεί-
 χεν ἢ τε χροὰ στίλβουσα τῆς χαίτης πυρσότατον

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and whose skin was preserved by their kings, in accordance with some oracle; and Leonidas, who, in obedience to the oracle, sacrificed himself,¹ as it were, to save Greece; and, still further, the youths who were sacrificed by Themistocles to Dionysus Carnivorous before the sea fight at Salamis;² for the successes which followed these sacrifices proved them acceptable to the gods. Moreover, when Agesilaüs, who was setting out on an expedition from the same place as Agamemnon did, and against the same enemies, was asked by the goddess for his daughter in sacrifice, and had this vision as he lay asleep at Aulis, he was too tender-hearted to give her,³ and thereby brought his expedition to an unsuccessful and inglorious ending. Others, on the contrary, argued against it, declaring that such a lawless and barbarous sacrifice was not acceptable to any one of the superior beings above us, for it was not the fabled typhons and giants who governed the world, but the father of all gods and men; even to believe in the existence of divine beings who take delight in the slaughter and blood of men was perhaps a folly, but if such beings existed, they must be disregarded, as having no power; for only weakness and depravity of soul could produce or harbour such unnatural and cruel desires.

XXII. While, then, the chief men were thus disputing, and while Pelopidas in particular was in perplexity, a filly broke away from the herd of horses and sped through the camp, and when she came to the very place of their conference, stood still. The rest only admired the colour of her glossy mane, which was fiery red, her high mettle, and the

¹ At Thermopylae. Cf. Herodotus, vii. 220.

² Cf. the *Themistocles*, xiii. 2 f.

³ Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, vi. 4 ff.

ἡ τε γαυρότης καὶ τὸ σοβαρὸν καὶ τεθαρρηκὸς
 2 τῆς φωνῆς, Θεόκριτος δὲ ὁ μάντις συμφρονήσας
 ἀνεβόησε πρὸς τὸν Πελοπίδαν “Ἦκει σοι τὸ
 ἱερεῖον, ὦ δαιμόνιε, καὶ παρθένον ἄλλην μὴ περι-
 μένωμεν, ἀλλὰ χρῶ δεξάμενος ἦν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσιν.”
 ἐκ τούτου λαβόντες τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους
 ἤγον τῶν παρθένων, καὶ κατευξάμενοι καὶ κατα-
 στέψαντες ἐνέτεμον αὐτοί τε χαίροντες καὶ λόγον
 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον περὶ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ Πελο-
 πίδου καὶ τῆς θυσίας διδόντες.

XXIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου
 τὴν φάλαγγα λοξὴν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔλκοντας,
 ὅπως τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀπωτάτω γένηται
 τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον
 ἐξώση προσπεσὼν ἀθρόως κατὰ κέρας καὶ βιασά-
 μενος, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι καταμαθόντες τὸ γινόμενον
 2 ἤρξαντο μετακινεῖν τῇ τάξει σφᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ
 τὸ δεξιὸν ἀνέπτυσσον καὶ περιῆγον ὥς κυκλω-
 σόμενοι καὶ περιβαλοῦντες ὑπὸ πλήθους τὸν
 Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἐν τούτῳ προ-
 ἐξέδραμε, καὶ συστρέψας τοὺς τριακοσίους δρόμῳ
 φθάνει πρὶν ἀνατεῖναι τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ κέρας
 ἢ συναγαγεῖν πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συγκλείσαι
 τὴν τάξιν, οὐ καθεστῶσιν, ἀλλὰ θορυβουμένοις
 3 δι’ ἀλλήλων τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιβαλὼν. καί-
 τοι πάντων ἄκροι τεχνῖται καὶ σοφισταὶ τῶν
 πολεμικῶν ὄντες οἱ Σπαρτιαταὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν
 οὔτως ἐπαίδευον αὐτοὺς καὶ συνείθιζον, ὥς τὸ
 μὴ πλανᾶσθαι μηδὲ ταραττεσθαι τάξεως διαλυ-

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vehemence and boldness of her neighing; but Theocritus the seer, after taking thought, cried out to Pelopidas: "Thy sacrificial victim is come, good man; so let us not wait for any other virgin, but do thou accept and use the one which Heaven offers thee." So they took the mare and led her to the tombs of the maidens, upon which, after decking her with garlands and consecrating her with prayers, they sacrificed her, rejoicing themselves, and publishing through the camp an account of the vision of Pelopidas and of the sacrifice.

XXIII. In the battle, while Epaminondas was drawing his phalanx obliquely towards the left, in order that the right wing of the Spartans might be separated as far as possible from the rest of the Greeks, and that he might thrust back Cleombrotus by a fierce charge in column with all his men-at-arms, the enemy understood what he was doing and began to change their formation; they were opening up their right wing and making an encircling movement, in order to surround Epaminondas and envelop him with their numbers. But at this point Pelopidas darted forth from his position, and with his band of three hundred on the run, came up¹ before Cleombrotus had either extended his wing or brought it back again into its old position and closed up his line of battle, so that the Lacedaemonians were not standing in array, but moving confusedly about among each other when his onset reached them. And yet the Spartans, who were of all men past masters in the art of war, trained and accustomed themselves to nothing so much as not to straggle or get into

¹ There is only a hint of this strategy, and no mention either of Epaminondas or Pelopidas, in Xenophon's account of the battle (*Hell.* vi. 4, 9-15).

θείσης, ἀλλὰ χρώμενοι πᾶσι πάντες ἐπιστάταις
καὶ ζευγίταις, ὅποι ποτὲ καὶ συνίστησιν ὁ κίν-
δυνος, καταλαμβάνειν καὶ συναρμόττειν καὶ
4 μάχεσθαι παραπλησίως. τότε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἐπα-
μεινώνδου φάλαγξ ἐπιφερομένη μόνοις ἐκείνοις
καὶ παραλλάττουσα τοὺς ἄλλους, ὃ τε Πελοπίδας
μετὰ τάχους ἀπίστου καὶ τόλμης ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
γενόμενος, συνέχεον τὰ τε φρονήματα καὶ τὰς
ἐπιστήμας αὐτῶν οὕτως ὥστε φυγὴν καὶ φόνον
Σπαρτιατῶν ὅσον οὐπω πρότερον γενέσθαι. διὸ
τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ βοιωταρχοῦντι μὴ βοιωταρχῶν, 29
καὶ πάσης ἡγουμένῳ τῆς δυνάμεως μικροῦ μέρους
ἄρχων, ἴσον ἠνέγκατο δόξης τῆς νίκης ἐκείνης καὶ
τοῦ κατορθώματος.

XXIV. Εἰς μέντοι Πελοπόννησον ἀμφότεροι
βοιωταρχοῦντες ἐνέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ
πλείστα προσήγοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστή-
σαντες Ἡλιν, Ἄργος, Ἀρκαδίαν σύμπασαν,
αὐτῆς τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ πλείστα. καίτοι χει-
μῶνος μὲν ἦσαν αἱ περὶ τροπὰς ἀκμαί, μηνὸς δὲ
τοῦ τελευταίου φθίνοντος ὀλίγαι περιῆσαν ἡμέραι,
καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδει παραλαμβάνειν ἐτέρους εὐθύς
ἵσταμένου τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἡ θνήσκειν τοὺς μὴ
2 παραδιδόντας. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι βοιωτάρχαι καὶ τὸν
νόμον δεδιότες τοῦτον καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα φεύγοντες
ἀπάγειν ἔσπευδον ἐπ' οἴκου τὸ στράτευμα, Πελο-
πίδας δὲ πρῶτος Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ γενόμενος σύμ-
ψηφος καὶ συμπαρορμήσας τοὺς πολίτας ἤγεν
ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ διεβίβαζε τὸν Εὐρώταν.
καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἤρει πόλεις αὐτῶν, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν
χώραν ἐπόρθει μέχρι θαλάττης, ἡγούμενος ἑπτὰ
μυριάδων Ἑλληνικῆς στρατιᾶς, ἧς ἔλαττον ἡ

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confusion upon a change of formation, but to take anyone without exception as neighbour in rank or in file, and wheresoever danger actually threatened, to seize that point and form in close array and fight as well as ever. At this time, however, since the phalanx of Epaminondas bore down upon them alone and neglected the rest of their force, and since Pelopidas engaged them with incredible speed and boldness, their courage and skill were so confounded that there was a flight and slaughter of the Spartans such as had never before been seen. Therefore, although Epaminondas was boeotarch, Pelopidas, who was not boeotarch, and commanded only a small portion of the whole force, won as much glory for the success of that victory as he did.

XXIV. Both were boeotarchs, however, when they invaded Peloponnesus and won over most of its peoples, detaching from the Lacedaemonian confederacy Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and most of Laconia itself.¹ Still, the winter solstice was at hand, and only a few days of the latter part of the last month of the year remained, and as soon as the first month of the new year began other officials must succeed them, or those who would not surrender their office must die. The other boeotarchs, both because they feared this law, and because they wished to avoid the hardships of winter, were anxious to lead the army back home; but Pelopidas was first to add his vote to that of Epaminondas, and after inciting his countrymen to join them, led the army against Sparta and across the Eurotas. He took many of the enemy's cities, and ravaged all their territory as far as the sea, leading an army of seventy thousand Greeks, of which the Thebans themselves were less than a

¹ In 370 B.C.

- 3 δωδέκατον ἦσαν αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι μέρος. ἀλλ' ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄνευ δόγματος κοινοῦ καὶ ψηφίσματος ἐποίει τοὺς συμμάχους ἔπεισθαι σιωπῇ πάντας ἡγουμένοις ἐκείνοις. ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ κυριώτατος νόμος τῷ σώζεσθαι δεομένῳ τὸν σώζειν δυνάμενον ἄρχοντα κατὰ φύσιν ἀποδίδωσι· κἂν ὥσπερ οἱ πλείοντες εὐδίας οὔσης ἢ παρ' ἀκτὴν ὁρμοῦντες ἀσελγῶς προσενεχθῶσι τοῖς κυβερνήταις καὶ θρασέως, ἅμα τῷ χειμῶνα καὶ κίνδυνον καταλαμβάνειν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀποβλέπουσι καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν ἐκείνοις ἔχουσι.
- 4 καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις ἐρίζοντες καὶ διαφερόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ τοῖς ἐκείνων αὐθαιρέτως πειθόμενοι στρατηγοῖς ἠκολούθουν.
- 5 Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ πᾶσαν μὲν Ἀρκαδίαν εἰς μίαν δύναμιν συνέστησαν, τὴν δὲ Μεσσηνίαν χώραν νεμομένων Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποτεμόμενοι τοὺς παλαιοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐκάλουν καὶ κατήγον Ἰθώμην συνοικίσαντες, ἀπιόντες δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου διὰ Κεγχρεῶν Ἀθηναίους ἐνίκων ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀψιμαχεῖν περὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ κωλύειν τὴν πορείαν.

XXV. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὑπερηγάπων τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἐθαύμαζον, ὁ δὲ συγγενὴς καὶ πολιτικὸς φθόνος ἅμα τῇ δόξῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συναυξόμενος οὐ καλὰς οὐδὲ πρεπούσας ὑποδοχὰς παρεσκεύαζεν αὐτοῖς. θανάτου γὰρ ἀμφότεροι δίκας ἔφυγον ἐπανελθόντες, ὅτι τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μηνὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν βοιωταρχίαν ἐτέροις, ὃν Βουκάτιον ὀνομάζουσι, τέτταρας ὅλους προσεπε-



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twelfth part. But the reputation of the two men, without a general vote or decree, induced all the allies to follow their leadership without a murmur. For the first and paramount law, as it would seem, namely, that of nature, subjects him who desires to be saved to the command of the man who can save him; just as sailors, when the weather is fair or they are lying off shore at anchor, treat their captains with bold insolence, but as soon as a storm arises and danger threatens, look to them for guidance and place their hopes in them. And so Argives, Eleans, and Arcadians, who in their joint assemblies contended and strove with the Thebans for the supremacy, when battles were actually to be fought and perils to be faced, of their own will obeyed the Theban generals and followed them.

On this expedition they united all Arcadia into one power; rescued the country of Messenia from the hands of its Spartan masters and called back and restored the ancient Messenian inhabitants, with whom they settled Ithome; and on their way back homewards through Cenchreae, conquered the Athenians when they tried to hinder their passage by skirmishing with them in the passes.

XXV. In view of these achievements, all the rest of the Greeks were delighted with their valour and marvelled at their good fortune; but the envy of their own fellow-citizens, which was increasing with the men's fame, prepared them a reception that was not honourable or fitting. For both were tried for their lives when they came back, because they had not handed over to others their office of boeotarch, as the law commanded, in the first month of the new year (which they call Boukatios), but had added four

βάλοντο μῆνας, ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν διώκησαν.

- 2 Εἰσήχθη μὲν οὖν πρότερος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον Πελοπίδας, διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκινδύνευσεν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ ἀπελύθησαν. τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα καὶ τὴν πείραν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤνεγκε πράως, μέγα μέρος ἀνδρείας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνεξικακίαν ποιούμενος, Πελοπίδας δὲ καὶ φύσει θυμοειδέστερος ὢν, καὶ παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς,
- 3 ἐπελάβετο τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Μενεκλείδας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἦν μὲν εἰς τῶν μετὰ Πελοπίδου καὶ Μέλωνος εἰς τὴν Χάρωνος οἰκίαν συνελθόντων, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἴσων οὐκ ἤξιούτο παρὰ τοῖς Θηβαίοις, δεινότατος μὲν ὢν λέγειν, ἀκόλαστος δὲ καὶ κακοήθης τὸν 291 τρόπον, ἐχρήτο τῇ φύσει πρὸς τὸ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ διαβάλλειν τοὺς κρείττους, οὐδὲ μετὰ δίκην
- 4 ἐκείνην παυσάμενος. Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν οὖν ἐξέκρουσε τῆς βοιωταρχίας καὶ κατεπολιτεύσατο πολὺν χρόνον, Πελοπίδαν δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν δῆμον οὐκ ἴσχυσε διαβαλεῖν, ἐπεχείρει δὲ συγκροῦσαι τῷ Χάρωνι· καὶ κοινὴν τινα τοῦ φθόνου παραμυθίαν ἔχοντος, ἂν ὧν αὐτοὶ μὴ δύνανται βελτίους φανῆναι, τούτους ἀμῶς γέ πως ἐτέρων ἀποδείξωσι κακίους, πολὺς ἦν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὖξων τὰ τοῦ Χάρωνος ἔργα, καὶ τὰς στρατηγίας τὰς ἐκείνου
- 5 καὶ τὰς νίκας ἐγκωμιάζων. τῆς δὲ πρὸς Πλαταιὰς ἵππομαχίας, ἣν πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἐνίκησαν ἡγουμένου Χάρωνος, ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνάθημα τοιούδε ποιῆσαι. Ἀνδροκύδης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐκλαβὼν

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whole months to it, during which they conducted their campaign in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Well, then, Pelopidas was first brought to trial, and therefore ran the greater risk, but both were acquitted. Epaminondas bore patiently with this attempt to calumniate him, considering that forbearance under political injury was a large part of fortitude and magnanimity; but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a more fiery temper, and who was egged on by his friends to avenge himself upon his enemies, seized the following occasion. Menecleidas, the orator, was one of those who had gathered with Pelopidas and Melon at Charon's house, and since he did not receive as much honour among the Thebans as the others, being a most able speaker, but intemperate and malicious in his disposition, he gave his natural gifts employment in calumniating and slandering his superiors, and kept on doing so even after the trial. Accordingly, he succeeded in excluding Epaminondas from the office of boeotarch, and kept him out of political leadership for some time; but he had not weight enough to bring Pelopidas into disfavour with the people, and therefore tried to bring him into collision with Charon. And since it is quite generally a consolation to the envious, in the case of those whom they themselves cannot surpass in men's estimation, to show these forth as somehow or other inferior to others, he was constantly magnifying the achievements of Charon, in his speeches to the people, and extolling his campaigns and victories. Moreover, for the victory which the Theban cavalry won at Plataea, before the battle of Leuctra, under the command of Charon, he attempted to make the following public dedication. Androcydes of Cyzicus had received a commission

παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πίνακα γράφαι μάχης ἐτέρας, ἐπετέλει τὸ ἔργον ἐν Θήβαις· γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πολέμου συμπεσόντος, οὐ πολὺ τοῦ τέλους ἔχειν ἐλλείποντα τὸν πίνακα

6 παρ' ἑαυτοῖς οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατέσχον. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Μενεκλείδας ἔπεισεν ἀναθέντας ἐπιγράφαι τοῦνομα τοῦ Χάρωνος, ὡς ἀμαυρώσων τὴν Πελοπίδου καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου δόξαν. ἦν δὲ ἀβέλτερος ἢ φιλοτιμία, παρὰ τοσούτους καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας ἐνὸς ἔργου καὶ μιᾶς νίκης ἀγαπωμένης, ἐν ᾗ Γεράνδαν τινὰ τῶν ἀσῆμων Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσεῖν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν

7 μέγα πραχθῆναι λέγουσι. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα γράφεται Πελοπίδας παρανόμων, ἰσχυριζόμενος ὅτι Θηβαίοις οὐ πάτριον ἦν ἰδίᾳ κατ' ἄνδρα τιμᾶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι κοινῶς τὸ τῆς νίκης ὄνομα σώζειν. καὶ τὸν μὲν Χάρωνα παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην ἐγκωμιάζων ἀφθόνως διετέλεσε, τὸν δὲ Μενεκλείδαν βύσκανον καὶ πονηρὸν ἐξελέγχων, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐρωτῶν εἰ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς καλὸν πέπρακται, ὥστε¹ Μενεκλείδαν ζημιῶσαι χρήμασιν, ἃ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐκτίσαι διὰ πλῆθος, ὕστερον ἐπεχείρησε κινήσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου ἀποθεώρησιν.

XXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φερῶν τυράννου πολεμοῦντος μὲν ἐκ προδήλου πολλοῖς Θετταλῶν, ἐπιβουλευόντος δὲ πᾶσιν, ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θήβας αἱ πόλεις στρατηγὸν αἰτούμεναι καὶ δύναμιν, ὁρῶν ὁ Πελοπίδας τὸν Ἐπαμεινών-

¹ ὥστε Bryan's correction of the MSS. δ μὴ, which Sintenis and Bekker retain, assuming a lacuna in the text.

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from the city to make a picture of another battle, and was finishing the work at Thebes; but the city revolted from Sparta, and the war came on, before the picture was quite completed, and the Thebans now had it on their hands. This picture, then, Menecleidas persuaded them to dedicate with Charon's name inscribed thereon, hoping in this way to obscure the fame of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. But the ambitious scheme was a foolish one, when there were so many and such great conflicts, to bestow approval on one action and one victory, in which, we are told, a certain Gerandas, an obscure Spartan, and forty others were killed, but nothing else of importance was accomplished. This decree was attacked as unconstitutional by Pelopidas, who insisted that it was not a custom with the Thebans to honour any one man individually, but for the whole country to have the glory of a victory. And through the whole trial of the case he continued to heap generous praise upon Charon, while he showed Menecleidas to be a slanderous and worthless fellow, and asked the Thebans if they had done nothing noble themselves; the result was that Menecleidas was fined, and being unable to pay the fine because it was so heavy, he afterwards tried to effect a revolution in the government. This episode, then, has some bearing on the Life which I am writing.

XXVI. Now, since Alexander the tyrant of Phærae made open war on many of the Thessalians, and was plotting against them all, their cities sent ambassadors to Thebes asking for an armed force and a general. Pelopidas, therefore, seeing that Epami-

- δαν τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πράξεις διοικεῖν,¹ αὐτὸς
 ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδωκε καὶ προσένειμε τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς,
 μήτε τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιστήμην καὶ δύναμιν ἀργοῦσαν
 περιορᾶν ὑπομένων, μήτε ὅπου πάρεστιν Ἐπα-
 μεινώνδας ἐτέρου δεῖσθαι στρατηγοῦ νομίζων.
- 2 ὥς οὖν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν μετὰ δυνά-
 μεως, τὴν τε Λάρισσαν εὐθὺς παρέλαβε, καὶ τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλθόντα καὶ δεόμενον διαλλάττειν
 ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκ τυράννου πρᾶον ἄρχοντα
 τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς καὶ νόμιμον. ὥς δὲ ἦν ἀνήκεστος
 καὶ θηριώδης καὶ πολλὴ μὲν ὠμότης αὐτοῦ,
 πολλὴ δὲ ἀσέλγεια καὶ πλεονεξία κατηγορεῖτο,
 τραχυνομένου τοῦ Πελοπίδου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ
 χαλεπαίνοντος ἀποδρὰς ὥχετο μετὰ τῶν δορυ-
 φόρων.
- 3 ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἀδειάν τε πολλὴν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ τυράννου τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς ἀπολιπὼν καὶ πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν, αὐτὸς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπῆρε,
 Πτολεμαίου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι τῶν
 Μακεδόνων πολεμοῦντος, ἀμφοτέρων δὲ μεταπεμ-
 πομένων ἐκείνων ὥς διαλλακτὴν καὶ δικαστὴν καὶ
 σύμμαχον καὶ βοηθὸν τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἀδικεῖσθαι
- 4 γενησόμενον. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ διαλύσας τὰς δια-
 φορὰς καὶ καταγαγὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ὄμηρον
 ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Φίλιππον καὶ
 τριάκοντα παῖδας ἄλλους τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων, 292
 καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς Θήβας, ἐπιδειξάμενος τοῖς
 Ἕλλησιν ὥς πόρρῳ διήκει τὰ Θηβαίων πράγ-
 ματα τῇ δόξῃ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῇ πίστει τῆς
 δικαιοσύνης.
- 5 Οὗτος ἦν Φίλιππος ὁ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὕστερον
 πολεμήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τότε δὲ παῖς ὢν

¹ διοικεῖν Bekker has διοικούντα, after Coraës.

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nondas was busy with his work in Peloponnesus, offered and assigned himself to the Thessalians,¹ both because he could not suffer his own skill and ability to lie idle, and because he thought that wherever Epaminondas was there was no need of a second general. Accordingly, after marching into Thessaly with an armed force, he straightway took Larissa, and when Alexander came to him and begged for terms, he tried to make him, instead of a tyrant, one who would govern the Thessalians mildly and according to law. But since the man was incurably brutish and full of savageness, and since there was much denunciation of his licentiousness and greed, Pelopidas became harsh and severe with him, whereupon he ran away with his guards. Then Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in great security from the tyrant and in concord with one another, set out himself for Macedonia, where Ptolemy was at war with Alexander the king of the Macedonians. For both parties had invited him to come and be arbiter and judge between them, and ally and helper of the one that appeared to be wronged. After he had come, then, and had settled their differences and brought home the exiles, he received as hostages Philip, the king's brother, and thirty other sons of the most illustrious men, and brought them to live at Thebes, thus showing the Greeks what an advance the Theban state had made in the respect paid to its power and the trust placed in its justice.

This was the Philip who afterwards waged war to enslave the Greeks, but at this time he was a boy,

¹ In 369 B.C.

ἐν Θήβαις παρὰ Παμμένει δίαιταν εἶχεν. ἐκ δὲ
 τούτου καὶ ζηλωτῆς γεγονέναι ἔδοξεν¹ Ἐπαμει-
 νώνδου, τὸ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς στρατη-
 γίας δραστήριον ἴσως κατανοήσας,¹ ὃ μικρὸν ἦν
 τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς μῦριον, ἐγκρατείας δὲ καὶ
 δικαιοσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ πραότητος,
 οἷς ἦν ἀληθῶς μέγας ἐκεῖνος, οὐδὲν οὔτε φύσει
 Φίλιππος οὔτε μμήσει μετέσχε.

XXVII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν τῶν Θετταλῶν
 αἰτιωμένων τὸν Φεραῖον Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς δια-
 ταραττόντα τὰς πόλεις, ἀπεστάλη μετὰ Ἰσμηνίου
 πρεσβεύων ὁ Πελοπίδας· καὶ παρῆν οὔτε οἰκοθεν
 ἄγων δύναμιν οὔτε πόλεμον προσδοκήσας, αὐτοῖς
 δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς χρήσθαι πρὸς τὸ κατεπεῖγον
 2 τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκαζόμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
 πάλιν τῶν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ταραττομένων (ὃ
 γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνηρῇκει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν κατέσχευεν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἐκά-
 λουν τὸν Πελοπίδαν), βουλόμενος μὲν ἐπιφανῆναι
 τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἰδίους δὲ στρατιώτας οὐκ ἔχων,
 μισθοφόρους τινὰς αὐτόθεν προσλαβόμενος μετὰ
 3 τούτων εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον. ὡς
 δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους
 Πτολεμαῖος χρήμασι διαφθείρας ἔπεισεν ὡς αὐτὸν
 μεταστῆναι, τοῦ δὲ Πελοπίδου τὴν δόξαν αὐτὴν
 καὶ τοῦνομα δεδοικῶς ἀπήντησεν ὡς κρείσσονι,
 καὶ δεξιωσάμενος καὶ δεθθεὶς ὡμολόγησε τὴν μὲν
 ἀρχὴν τοῖς τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῖς διαφυλάξειν,
 Θηβαίοις δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔξειν καὶ φίλον·
 ὁμήρους δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν υἱὸν Φιλόξενον ἔδωκε
 4 καὶ πεντήκοντα τῶν ἐταίρων. τούτους μὲν οὖν

¹ ἔδοξεν . . . κατανοήσας Bekker has τισὶν ἔδοξεν . . . κατα-
 νοήσασιν (to some . . . who observed), after Coraëa.

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and lived in Thebes with Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have become a zealous follower of Epaminondas, perhaps because he comprehended his efficiency in wars and campaigns, which was only a small part of the man's high excellence; but in restraint, justice, magnanimity, and gentleness, wherein Epaminondas was truly great, Philip had no share, either naturally or as a result of imitation.

XXVII. After this, when the Thessalians again brought complaint against Alexander of Pherae as a disturber of their cities, Pelopidas was sent thither on an embassy with Ismenias;¹ and since he brought no force from home with him, and did not expect war, he was compelled to employ the Thessalians themselves for the emergency. At this time, too, Macedonian affairs were in confusion again, for Ptolemy had killed the king and now held the reins of government, and the friends of the dead king were calling upon Pelopidas. Wishing, therefore, to appear upon the scene, but having no soldiers of his own, he enlisted some mercenaries on the spot, and with these marched at once against Ptolemy. When, however, they were near each other, Ptolemy corrupted the mercenaries and bribed them to come over to his side; but since he feared the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he met him as his superior, and after welcoming him and supplicating his favour, agreed to be regent for the brothers of the dead king, and to make an alliance with the Thebans; moreover, to confirm this, he gave him his son Philoxenus and fifty of his companions as hostages.

¹ In 368 B.C.

ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Θήβας ὁ Πελοπίδας, αὐτὸς δὲ
 βαρέως φέρων τὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων προδοσίαν,
 καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὰ πλείστα τῶν χρημάτων
 αὐτοῖς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἀποκεῖσθαι περὶ
 Φάρσαλον, ὥστε τούτων κρατήσας ἱκανὴν δίκην
 ὦν καθύβρισται λήψεσθαι, συναγαγὼν τῶν Θεσ-
 5 σαλῶν τινὰς ἤκεν εἰς Φάρσαλον. ἀρτίως δ' αὐτοῦ
 παρεληλυθὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τύραννος ἐπεφαί-
 νετο μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ νομίσαντες οἱ περὶ
 τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἀπολογησόμενον ἤκειν ἐβάδιζον
 αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐξώλη μὲν ὄντα καὶ μισαιφόνον
 εἰδότες, διὰ δὲ τὰς Θήβας καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς
 ἀξίωμα καὶ δόξαν οὐδὲν ἂν παθεῖν προσδοκή-
 6 σαντες. ὁ δέ, ὡς εἶδεν ἀνόπλους καὶ μόνους προσ-
 ιόντας, ἐκείνους μὲν εὐθύς συνέλαβε, τὴν δὲ
 Φάρσαλον κατέσχε, φρίκην δὲ καὶ φόβον ἐνερ-
 γάσατο τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πᾶσιν ὥς γε μετὰ τὴν τηλι-
 καύτην ἀδικίαν καὶ τόλμαν ἀφειδήσων ἀπάντων,
 καὶ χρησόμενος οὕτω τοῖς παραπίπτουσιν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις καὶ πράγμασιν ὡς τότε γε κομιδῇ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 βίον ἀπεγνώκως.

XXVIII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα ἀκού-
 σαντες ἔφερον βαρέως καὶ στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπον
 εὐθύς, δι' ὀργὴν τινὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν
 ἐτέρους ἀποδείξαντες ἄρχοντας. τὸν δὲ Πελο-
 πίδαν εἰς τὰς Φερὰς ἀπαγαγὼν ὁ τύραννος τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον εἶα τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι,
 νομίζων ἐλεεινὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ταπεινὸν ὑπὸ τῆς
 2 συμφορᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν Φεραίους ὁ Πελο-
 πίδας ὀδυρομένους παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν, ὡς νῦν
 μάλιστα δώσοντος τοῦ τυράννου δίκην, πρὸς δὲ
 αὐτὸν ἐκείνους ἀποστείλας ἔλεγεν ὡς ἄτοπός ἐστι

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Thesè, then, Pelopidas sent off to Thebes; but he himself, being indignant at the treachery of his mercenaries, and learning that most of their goods, together with their wives and children, had been placed for safety at Pharsalus, so that by getting these into his power he would sufficiently punish them for their affront to him, he got together some of the Thessalians and came to Pharsalus. But just as he got there, Alexander the tyrant appeared before the city with his forces. Then Pelopidas and Ismenias, thinking that he was come to excuse himself for his conduct, went of their own accord to him, knowing, indeed, that he was an abandoned and blood-stained wretch, but expecting that because of Thebes and their own dignity and reputation they would suffer no harm. But the tyrant, when he saw them coming up unarmed and unattended, straightway seized them and took possession of Pharsalus. By this step he awoke in all his subjects a shuddering fear; they thought that after an act of such boldness and iniquity he would spare nobody, and in all his dealings with men and affairs would act as one who now utterly despaired of his own life.

XXVIII. The Thebans, then, on hearing of this, were indignant, and sent out an army at once, although, since Epaminondas had somehow incurred their displeasure, they appointed other commanders for it. As for Pelopidas, after the tyrant had brought him back to Pherae, at first he suffered all who desired it to converse with him, thinking that his calamity had made him a pitiful and contemptible object; but when Pelopidas exhorted the lamenting Pheraeans to be of good cheer, since now certainly the tyrant would meet with punishment, and when he sent a message to the tyrant himself, saying that

τοὺς μὲν ἀθλίους πολίτας καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικούντας
 ὁσημέραι στρεβλῶν καὶ φονεύων, αὐτοῦ δὲ φειδό-
 μενος, ὃν μάλιστα γινώσκει τιμωρησόμενον αὐτὸν
 3 ἄνπερ διαφύγη, θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν
 ἀδειαν αὐτοῦ, "Τί δέ," φησί, "σπεύδει Πελο- 293
 πίδας ἀποθανεῖν;" κακείνος ἀκούσας, "Ὅπως,"
 εἶπε, "σὺ τάχιον ἀπολῇ, μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν θεομισῆς
 γενόμενος." ἐκ τούτου διεκώλυσεν ἐντυγχάνειν
 αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκτός.

Ἡ δὲ Θήβη, θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἰάσονος οὔσα, γυνὴ
 δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, πυνθανομένη παρὰ τῶν φυλατ-
 τόντων Πελοπίδαν τὸ θαρραλέον αὐτοῦ καὶ γεν-
 ναῖον, ἐπεθύμησεν ἰδεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ προσεειπεῖν.
 4 ὥς δὲ ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἄτε δὴ γυνὴ τὸ μὲν
 μέγεθος τοῦ ἥθους οὐκ εὐθύς ἐν τοσαύτῃ συμφορᾷ
 κατεῖδε, κουρᾷ δὲ καὶ στολῇ καὶ διαίτῃ τεκμαιρο-
 μένη λυπρὰ καὶ μὴ πρέποντα τῇ δόξῃ πάσχειν
 αὐτὸν ἀπεδάκρυσε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγνοῶν ὁ
 Πελοπίδας τίς εἴη γυναικῶν, ἐθαύμαζεν, ὥς δὲ
 ἔγνω, προσηγόρευσε αὐτὴν πατρόθεν· ἦν γὰρ
 τῷ Ἰάσονι συνήθης καὶ φίλος. εἰπούσης δὲ
 ἐκείνης, "Ἐλεῶ σου τὴν γυναῖκα," "Καὶ γὰρ
 ἐγὼ σε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι ἄδετος οὔσα ὑπομένεις Ἀλέξ-
 5 ανδρον." οὗτος ἔθιγέ πως ὁ λόγος τῆς γυναικός·
 ἐβαρύνετο γὰρ τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν τοῦ
 τυράννου, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἀσελγείας καὶ τὸν
 νεώτατον αὐτῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν παιδικὰ πεποιη-
 μένου. διὸ καὶ συνεχῶς φοιτῶσα πρὸς τὸν
 Πελοπίδαν καὶ παρρησιαζομένη περὶ ὧν ἔπασχεν
 ὑπεπίμπλατο θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος καὶ δυσ-
 μενείας πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Θηβαίων
 εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν ἐμβαλόντες ἔπραξαν οὐδέν,

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it was absurd to torture and slay the wretched and innocent citizens day by day, while he spared him, a man most certain, as he knew, to take vengeance on him if he made his escape ; then the tyrant, amazed at his high spirit and his fearlessness, said : "And why is Pelopidas in haste to die ?" To which Pelopidas replied : "That thou mayest the sooner perish, by becoming more hateful to the gods than now." From that time the tyrant forbade those outside of his following to see the prisoner.

But Thebe, who was a daughter of Jason, and Alexander's wife, learned from the keepers of Pelopidas how courageous and noble the man was, and conceived a desire to see him and talk with him. But when she came to him, woman that she was, she could not at once recognize the greatness of his nature in such dire misfortune, but judging from his hair and garb and maintenance that he was suffering indignities which ill befitted a man of his reputation, she burst into tears. Pelopidas, not knowing at first what manner of woman she was, was amazed ; but when he understood, he addressed her as daughter of Jason ; for her father was a familiar friend of his. And when she said, "I pity thy wife," he replied, "And I thee, in that thou wearest no chains, and yet endurest Alexander." This speech deeply moved the woman, for she was oppressed by the savage insolence of the tyrant, who, in addition to his other debaucheries, had made her youngest brother his paramour. Therefore her continued visits to Pelopidas, in which she spoke freely of her sufferings, gradually filled her with wrath and fierce hatred towards Alexander.

XXIX. When the Theban generals had accomplished nothing by their invasion of Thessaly,

ἀλλὰ δι' ἀπειρίαν ἢ δυστυχίαν αἰσχρῶς ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἕκαστον ἢ πόλις μυρίαῖς δραγμαῖς ἐξημίωσεν, Ἐπαμεινώνδαν δὲ μετὰ
 2 δυνάμεως ἀπέστειλεν. εὐθὺς οὖν κίνησιν τις μεγάλη Θετταλῶν ἦν ἐπαιρομένων πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῦ τυράννου ῥοπῆς ἐδεῖτο μικρᾶς ἀπολωλέναι· τοσοῦτος ἐνεπεπτώκει φόβος τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις, τοσαύτη δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὁρμὴ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν εἶχε καὶ χαρὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὥς νῦν
 3 ἐποψομένους δίκην διδόντα τὸν τύραννον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν ὑστέρῳ τῆς Πελοπίδου σωτηρίας τιθέμενος, καὶ δεδοικῶς μὴ τῶν πραγμάτωναραχθέντων ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ὥσπερ θηρίον τράπηται πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἐπηωρεῖτο τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ περιῖων, τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῇ μελλήσει κατεσκεύαζε καὶ συνέστελλε τὸν τύραννον, ὥς μήτε
 4 ἀνεῖναι τὸ αὐθαδὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ θρασυνόμενον μήτε τὸ πικρὸν καὶ θυμοειδὲς ἐξερεθίσαι, πυνθανόμενος τὴν ὀμότητα καὶ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων, ὥς ζῶντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους κατώρυττεν, ἐτέροις δὲ δέρματα συῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων περιτιθεῖς καὶ τοὺς θηρατικούς ἐπάγων κύνας καὶ διέσπα καὶ κατηκόντιζε, παιδιᾷ ταύτῃ χρώμενος, Μελιβοῖα δὲ καὶ Σκοτούση, πόλεσιν ἐνσπόνδοις καὶ φίλαις, ἐκκλησιαζούσαις περιστήσας ἅμα τοὺς δορυφόρους ἡβηδὸν ἀπέσφαξε, τὴν δὲ λόγχην ἢ Πολύφρονα τὸν θεῖον ἀπέκτεινε καθιερώσας
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but owing to inexperience or ill fortune had retired disgracefully, the city fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and sent out Epaminondas with an armed force.¹ At once, then, there was a great stir among the Thessalians, who were filled with high hopes in view of the reputation of this general, and the cause of the tyrant was on the very verge of destruction; so great was the fear that fell upon his commanders and friends, and so great the inclination of his subjects to revolt, and their joy at what the future had in store, for they felt that now they should behold the tyrant under punishment. Epaminondas, however, less solicitous for his own glory than for the safety of Pelopidas, and fearing that if confusion reigned Alexander would get desperate and turn like a wild beast upon his prisoner, dallied with the war, and taking a roundabout course, kept the tyrant in suspense by his preparations and threatened movements, thus neither encouraging his audacity and boldness, nor rousing his malignity and passion. For he had learned how savage he was, and how little regard he had for right and justice, in that sometimes he buried men alive, and sometimes dressed them in the skins of wild boars or bears, and then set his hunting dogs upon them and either tore them in pieces or shot them down, making this his diversion; and at Meliboea and Scotussa, allied and friendly cities, when the people were in full assembly, he surrounded them with his body-guards and slaughtered them from the youth up; he also consecrated the spear with which he had slain his uncle Polyphron, decked it with garlands, and sacrificed to it

¹ 367 B.C.

- καὶ καταστέψας, ἔθνευ ὥσπερ θεῷ καὶ Τύχωνα
 5 προσηγόρευε. τραγῳδὸν δέ ποτε θεώμενος Εὐρι-
 πίδου Τρῳάδας ὑποκρινόμενον ὥχετο ἀπὼν ἐκ
 τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε
 θαρρεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἀγωνίζεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρον,
 οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονῶν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰσ-
 χυνόμενος τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ μηδένα πώποτε τῶν
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φονευομένων ἡλεηκῶς, ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑκάβης
 καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης κακοῖς ὀφθῆσεται δακρύων.
 6 οὗτος μέντοι τὴν δόξαν αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ
 τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς Ἐπαμεινώνδου στρατηγίας
 καταπλαγαίς,

ἔπτηξ' ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλος ὥς κλίνας πτερόν,

καὶ τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους ταχὺ πρὸς αὐτὸν 294
 ἔπεμπεν. ὁ δὲ συνθέσθαι μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν
 πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα Θηβαίοις οὐχ ὑπέμεινε,
 σπείσάμενος δὲ τριακονθημέρους ἀνοχὰς τοῦ
 πολέμου καὶ λαβὼν τὸν Πελοπίδαν καὶ τὸν
 Ἴσμηνίαν ἀνεχώρησεν.

XXX. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
 καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰσθόμενοι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν
 βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἀναβαίνοντας ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας,
 ἔπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πελοπίδαν, ἄριστα βουλευ-
 σάμενοι πρὸς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. πρῶτον μὲν
 γὰρ ἀνέβαινε διὰ τῶν βασιλέως ἐπαρχιῶν ὀνο-
 μαστὸς ὢν καὶ περιβόητος· οὐ γὰρ ἡρέμα διῆκτο
 τῆς Ἀσίας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἢ δόξα τῶν πρὸς
 2 Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγώνων, ἀλλ', ὥς πρῶτος περὶ
 τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἐξέδραμε λόγος, αἰεὶ τινος
 καινοῦ προστιθεμένου κατορθώματος αὐξανομένη

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as to a god, giving it the name of Tycho.¹ Once when he was seeing a tragedian act the "Trojan Women" of Euripides, he left the theatre abruptly, and sent a message to the actor bidding him be of good courage and not put forth any less effort because of his departure, for it was not out of contempt for his acting that he had gone away, but because he was ashamed to have the citizens see him, who had never taken pity on any man that he had murdered, weeping over the sorrows of Hecuba and Andromache. It was this tyrant, however, who, terrified at the name and fame and distinction of the generalship of Epaminondas,

"Crouched down, though warrior bird, like slave,
with drooping wings,"²

and speedily sent a deputation to him which should explain his conduct. But Epaminondas could not consent that the Thebans should make peace and friendship with such a man; he did, however, make a thirty days' truce with him, and after receiving Pelopidas and Ismenias, returned home.

XXX. Now, when the Thebans learned that ambassadors from Sparta and Athens were on their way to the Great King to secure an alliance, they also sent Pelopidas thither; and this was a most excellent plan, in view of his reputation. For, in the first place, he went up through the provinces of the king as a man of name and note; for the glory of his conflicts with the Lacedaemonians had not made its way slowly or to any slight extent through Asia, but, when once the report of the battle at Leuctra had sped abroad, it was ever increased by the addition

¹ That is, *Luck*.

² An iambic trimeter of unknown authorship; cf. the *Alcibiades*, iv. 3.

καὶ ἀναβαίνουσα πορρωτάτῳ κατέσχευ' ἔπειτα τοῖς ἐπὶ θύραις σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ὀφθεῖς θαῦμα καὶ λόγον παρέσχευ, ὥς οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἐστίν ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐκβαλὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ συστείλας ὑπὸ Ταῦγστον καὶ τὸν Εὐρώταν τὴν Σπάρτην τὴν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ Πέρσαις δι' Ἀγησιλάου τὸν περὶ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων ἐπαραμένην
 3 πόλεμον. ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἔχαιρε, καὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἐθαύμαζε ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ¹ καὶ μέγαν ἐποίει ταῖς τιμαῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι βουλόμενος δοκεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ εἶδε καὶ τοὺς λόγους κατενόησε, τῶν μὲν Ἀττικῶν βεβαιοτέρους, τῶν
 4 δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπλουστέρους ὄντας, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡγάπησε, καὶ πάθος βασιλικὸν παθὼν οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμὴν, οὐδ' ἔλαθε τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις πλεῖστον νέμων ἐκείνῳ. καίτοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀνταλκίδαν τιμῆσαι τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, ὅτι τὸν στέφανον, ὃν πίνων περιέκειτο, βάψας εἰς μύρον
 5 ἀπέστειλε. Πελοπίδα δὲ οὕτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐνετρήφησε, δῶρα δὲ λαμπρότατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν νομιζομένων ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τὰς ἀξιώσεις ἐπέκύρωσεν, αὐτονόμους μὲν εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἰκεῖσθαι δὲ Μεσσήνην, Θηβαίους δὲ πατρικοὺς φίλους νομίζεσθαι βασιλέως.

Ταύτας ἔχων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, τῶν δὲ δώρων οὐδὲν ὃ τι μὴ χάριτος ἦν σύμβολον καὶ φιλο-

¹ ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ Bekker, after Coraës : τῇ δόξῃ.

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of some new success, and prevailed to the farthest recesses of the interior; and, in the second place, when the satraps and generals and commanders at the King's court beheld him, they spoke of him with wonder, saying that this was the man who had expelled the Lacedaemonians from land and sea, and shut up between Taygetus and the Eurotas that Sparta which, a little while before, through Agesilaüs, had undertaken a war with the Great King and the Persians for the possession of Susa and Ecbatana. This pleased Artaxerxes, of course, and he admired Pelopidas for his high reputation, and loaded him with honours, being desirous to appear lauded and courted by the greatest men. But when he saw him face to face, and understood his proposals, which were more trustworthy than those of the Athenians, and simpler than those of the Lacedaemonians, he was yet more delighted with him, and, with all the assurance of a king, openly showed the esteem in which he held him, and allowed the other ambassadors to see that he made most account of him. And yet he is thought to have shown Antalcidas the Lacedaemonian more honour than any other Greek, in that he took the chaplet which he had worn at a banquet, dipped it in perfume, and sent it to him. To Pelopidas, indeed, he paid no such delicate compliment, but he sent him the greatest and most splendid of the customary gifts, and granted him his demands, namely, that the Greeks should be independent, Messene¹ inhabited, and the Thebans regarded as the king's hereditary friends.

With these answers, but without accepting any gifts except such as were mere tokens of kindness

¹ Messene was the new capital of Messenia, founded on the slopes of Mt. Ithome (cf. chapter xxiv. 5) by Epaminondas, in 369 B.C.

φροσύνης δεξάμενος, ἀνέζευξεν· ὁ καὶ μάλιστα
 6 τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις διέβαλε. Τιμαγόραν γοῦν
 Ἀθηναῖοι κρίναντες ἀπέκτειναν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ
 πλήθει τῶν δωρεῶν, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ
 μόνον χρυσίον οὐδὲ ἀργύριον ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 κλίνην πολυτελὴ καὶ στρώτας θεράποντας, ὡς
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐπισταμένων, ἔτι δὲ βούς
 ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ βουκόλους, ὡς δὴ πρὸς ἀρρωστίαν
 τινὰ γάλακτος βοείου δεόμενος, τέλος δὲ κατέ-
 βαινεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος, καὶ
 τέσσαρα τάλαντα τοῖς κομίζουσι μισθὸς ἐδόθη
 παρὰ βασιλέως· ἀλλ' ἔοικεν οὐχ ἡ δωροδοκία
 7 μάλιστα παροξύνει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἐπικρά-
 τους γοῦν ποτε τοῦ σακεσφόρου μήτε ἀρνούμενου
 δῶρα δέξασθαι παρὰ βασιλέως, ψήφισμά τε
 γράφειν φάσκοντος ἀντὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων
 χειροτονεῖσθαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐννέα πρέσβεις πρὸς
 βασιλέα τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ πενήτων, ὅπως λαμ-
 βάνοντες εὐπορώσιν, ἐγέλασεν ὁ δῆμος· ἀλλ' ὅτι
 Θηβαίοις ἐγεγόνει πάντα χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, οὐ
 λογιζόμενοι τὴν Πελοπίδου δόξαν, ὅσων ἦν ῥη-
 τορειῶν καὶ λόγων κρείττων παρ' ἀνθρώπῳ θερα-
 πεύοντι τοὺς τῶν ὅπλων ἀεὶ κρατοῦντας.

XXXI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρεσβεία τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ
 προσέθηκεν οὐ μικρὰν εὐνοίαν ἐπανελθόντι, διὰ 295
 τὸν Μεσσήνης συνοικισμὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων
 Ἑλλήνων αὐτονομίαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Φεραίου
 πάλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀναδραμόντος καὶ
 Θεσσαλῶν μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγας περικόπτοντος πόλεις,
 Φθιώτας δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ τὸ Μαγνή-

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and goodwill, he set out for home ; and this conduct of his, more than anything else, was the undoing of the other ambassadors. Timagoras, at any rate, was condemned and executed by the Athenians, and it this was because of the multitude of gifts which he took, it was right and just ; for he took not only gold and silver, but also an expensive couch and slaves to spread it, since, as he said, the Greeks did not know how ; and besides, eighty cows with their cow-herds, since, as he said, he wanted cows' milk for some ailment ; and, finally, he was carried down to the sea in a litter, and had a present of four talents from the King with which to pay his carriers. But it was not his taking of gifts, as it would seem, that most exasperated the Athenians. At any rate, Epicrates, his shield-bearer, once confessed that he had received gifts from the King, and talked of proposing a decree that instead of nine archons, nine ambassadors to the King should be elected annually from the poor and needy citizens, in order that they might take his gifts and be wealthy men, whereat the people only laughed. But they were incensed because the Thebans had things all their own way, not stopping to consider that the fame of Pelopidas was more potent than any number of rhetorical discourses with a man who ever paid deference to those who were mighty in arms.

XXXI. This embassy, then, added not a little to the goodwill felt towards Pelopidas, on his return home, because of the peopling of Messene and the independence of the other Greeks. But Alexander of Pherae had now resumed his old nature and was destroying not a few Thessalian cities ; he had also put garrisons over the Achaeans of Phthiotis and the

- των ἔθνος ἔμφρουρον πεποιημένον, πυνθανόμεναι
 Πελοπίδαν ἐπανήκειν αἱ πόλεις εὐθὺς ἐπρέσβευον
 εἰς Θήβας αἰτούμεναι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν
 2 ἐκείνον. ψηφισαμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων προ-
 θύμως, καὶ ταχὺ πάντων ἐτοίμων γενομένων καὶ
 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ περὶ ἔξοδον ὄντος, ὁ μὲν ἥλιος
 ἐξέλιπε καὶ σκότος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν,
 ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ὀρώων πρὸς τὸ φάσμα συντε-
 ταραγμένους ἅπαντας οὐκ ᾔετο δεῖν βιάζεσθαι
 καταφόβους καὶ δυσέλπιδας ὄντας, οὐδὲ ἀποκιν-
 3 δυνεύειν ἐπτακισχιλίοις πολίταις, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν
 μόνον τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς ἐπιδούς καὶ τριακοσίους
 τῶν ἱππέων ἐθελοντὰς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ξένους
 ἐξώρμησεν, οὔτε τῶν μάντεων ἐώντων οὔτε τῶν
 ἄλλων συμπροθυμουμένων πολιτῶν· μέγα γὰρ
 ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γεγο-
 νέναι σημεῖον. ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν καὶ δι' ὀργὴν ὦν
 καθύβριστο θερμότερος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἤλ-
 πιζε δὲ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ νοσοῦσαν ἤδη καὶ
 διεφθαρμένην εὐρήσειν ἐξ ὧν διείλεκτο τῇ Θήβῃ.
 4 μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν καὶ παρεκάλει τὸ τῆς πράξεως
 κάλλος, ἐπιθυμοῦντα καὶ φιλοτιμούμενον, ἐν οἷς
 χρόνοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας
 τυράννῳ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἄρμοστὰς ἔπεμπον,
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μισθοδότην Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον καὶ
 χαλκοῦν ἴστασαν ὡς εὐεργέτην, τότε τοῖς Ἑλλη-
 σιν ἐπιδείξαι Θηβαίους μόνους ὑπὲρ τῶν τυραν-
 νουμένων στρατευομένους καὶ καταλύοντας ἐν
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὰς παρανόμους καὶ βιαίους δυνα-
 στείας.

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people of Magnesia. When, therefore, the cities learned that Pelopidas was returned, they at once sent ambassadors to Thebes requesting an armed force and him for its commander. The Thebans readily decreed what they desired, and soon everything was in readiness and the commander about to set out, when the sun was eclipsed and the city was covered with darkness in the day-time.¹ So Pelopidas, seeing that all were confounded at this manifestation, did not think it meet to use compulsion with men who were apprehensive and fearful, nor to run extreme hazard with seven thousand citizens, but devoting himself alone to the Thesalians, and taking with him three hundred of the cavalry who were foreigners and who volunteered for the service, set out, although the seers forbade it, and the rest of the citizens disapproved; for the eclipse was thought to be a great sign from heaven, and to regard a conspicuous man. But his wrath at insults received made him very hot against Alexander, and, besides, his previous conversations with Thebe² led him to hope that he should find the tyrant's family already embroiled and disrupted. More than anything else, however, the glory of the achievement invited him on, for he was ardently desirous, at a time when the Lacedaemonians were sending generals and governors to aid Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and the Athenians were taking Alexander's pay and erecting a bronze statue of him as their benefactor, to show the Greeks that the Thebans alone were making expeditions for the relief of those whom tyrants oppressed, and were overthrowing in Greece those ruling houses which rested on violence and were contrary to the laws.

¹ July 13, 364 B.C.

² Cf. chapter xxviii. 3 ff.

XXXII. Ὡς οὖν εἰς Φάρσαλον ἐλθὼν ἡθροισε τὴν δύναμιν, εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ Θηβαίους μὲν ὀλίγους περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ὀρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλείους ἔχων ἢ διπλασίους ὀπλίτας τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἀπήντα πρὸς τὸ Θετίδειον. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ πολλοὺς ἔχοντα τὸν τύραννον ἐπέρχεσθαι, “Βέλτιον,” ἔφη, “πλείονας γὰρ νικήσομεν.”

- 2 Ἀνατεινόντων δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέσον κατὰ τὰς καλουμένας Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς λόφων περικλινῶν καὶ ὑψηλῶν, ὥρμησαν ἀμφοτέροι τούτους καταλαβεῖν τοῖς πεζοῖς. τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ὁ Πελοπίδας πολλοὺς καγαθοὺς ὄντας ἐφῆκε τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν πολεμίων. ὥς δὲ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκράτουν καὶ συνεξέπεσον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξ-
- 3 ἀνδρος ἔφθη τοὺς λόφους καταλαβών, τοῖς ὀπλίταις τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ὕστερον ἐπερχομένοις καὶ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ καὶ μετέωρα χωρία βιαζομένοις ἐμβαλὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς πρώτους, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πληγὰς λαβόντες οὐδὲν ἔπρασσον. κατιδὼν οὖν ὁ Πελοπίδας τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ συνεστηκὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συνέμιξε δρόμῳ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόφους
- 4 μαχομένοις εὐθὺς τὴν ἀσπίδα λαβών. καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀπισθεν ὠσάμενος εἰς τοὺς πρώτους τοσαύτην ἐνεποίησε ῥώμην καὶ προθυμίαν ἅπασιν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐτέρους δοκεῖν γεγονότας καὶ σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς ἐπέρχεσθαι. καὶ δύο μὲν ἢ τρεῖς ἀπεκρούσαντο προσβολάς, ὀρῶντες δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπιβαίνοντας εὐρώστως καὶ τὴν ἵππον ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀναστρέφουσιν εἰζαν, ἐπὶ σκέλος
- 5 ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας

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XXXII. Accordingly, when he was come to Pharsalus, he assembled his forces and marched at once against Alexander. Alexander, also, seeing that there were only a few Thebans with Pelopidas, while his own men-at-arms were more than twice as many as the Thessalians, advanced as far as the temple of Thetis to meet him. When Pelopidas was told that the tyrant was coming up against him with a large force, "All the better," he said, "for there will be more for us to conquer."

At the place called Cynoscephalae, steep and lofty hills jut out into the midst of the plain, and both leaders set out to occupy these with their infantry. His horsemen, however, who were numerous and brave, Pelopidas sent against the horsemen of the enemy, and they prevailed over them and chased them out into the plain. But Alexander got possession of the hills first, and when the Thessalian men-at-arms came up later and tried to storm difficult and lofty places, he attacked and killed the foremost of them, and the rest were so harassed with missiles that they could accomplish nothing. Accordingly, when Pelopidas saw this, he called back his horsemen and ordered them to charge upon the enemy's infantry where it still held together, while he himself seized his shield at once and ran to join those who were fighting on the hills. Through the rear ranks he forced his way to the front, and filled all his men with such vigour and ardour that the enemy also thought them changed men, advancing to the attack with other bodies and spirits. Two or three of their onsets the enemy repulsed, but, seeing that these too were now attacking with vigour, and that the cavalry was coming back from its pursuit, they gave way and retreated step by step. Then Pelopidas

ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων κατιδὼν ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον
 τῶν πολεμίων οὐπω μὲν εἰς φυγὴν τετραμμένον,
 ἤδη δὲ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀναπιμπλάμενον,
 ἔστη καὶ περιέβλεψεν αὐτόν¹ ζητῶν τὸν Ἀλέξ- 296
 ανδρον. ὥς δ' εἶδεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ παραθαρρύ-
 νοντα καὶ συντάττοντα τοὺς μισθοφόρους, οὐ
 6 κατέσχε τῷ λογισμῷ τὴν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν
 βλέψιν ἀναφλεχθεὶς καὶ τῷ θυμῷ παραδούς τὸ
 σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς πράξεως, πολὺ πρὸ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐξαλόμενος ἐφέρετο βοῶν καὶ προκα-
 λούμενος τὸν τύραννον. ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν οὐκ
 ἐδέξατο τὴν ὀρμὴν οὐδὲ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἀναφυγὼν
 πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐνέκρυψεν ἑαυτόν. τῶν
 δὲ μισθοφόρων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι συμβαλόντες εἰς
 7 καὶ πληγέντες ἐτελεύτησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τοῖς
 δόρασι πόρρωθεν διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τύπτοντες αὐτόν
 κατετραυμάτιζον, ἕως οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ περιπαθή-
 σαντες ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων δρόμῳ προσεβοήθησαν,
 ἤδη πεπτωκός, οἱ τε ἵππεῖς προσελάσαντες
 ὅλην ἐτρέψαντο τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διώξαντες ἐπὶ
 πλείστον ἐνέπλησαν νεκρῶν τὴν χώραν, πλεόν ἢ
 τρισχιλίους καταβαλόντες.

XXIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Θηβαίων τοὺς παρόντας
 ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Πελοπίδου τελευτῇ βαρέως φέρειν,
 πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ διδάσκαλον τῶν μεγίστων
 καὶ καλλίστων ἀγαθῶν ἀποκαλοῦντας ἐκείνον,
 οὐ πάνυ θαυμαστὸν ἦν· οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ
 σύμμαχοι πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην πρέπουσαν ἀρετῇ
 τιμὴν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ὑπερβαλόντες, ἔτι μάλ-

¹ περιέβλεψεν αὐτόν Sinenis' correction of the MSS. περιέ-
 στησεν αὐτόν; Bekker, after Coraës and Amyot, corrects to
 περιεσκόπησεν αὐτόν.

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pidas, looking down from the heights and seeing that the whole army of the enemy, though not yet put to flight, was already becoming full of tumult and confusion, stood and looked about him in search of Alexander. And when he saw him on the right wing, marshalling and encouraging his mercenaries, he could not subject his anger to his judgement, but, inflamed at the sight, and surrendering himself and his conduct of the enterprise to his passion, he sprang out far in front of the rest and rushed with challenging cries upon the tyrant. He, however, did not receive nor await the onset, but fled back to his guards and hid himself among them. The foremost of the mercenaries, coming to close quarters with Pelopidas, were beaten back by him; some also were smitten and slain; but most of them fought at longer range, thrusting their spears through his armour and covering him with wounds, until the Thessalians, in distress for his safety, ran down from the hills, when he had already fallen, and the cavalry, charging up, routed the entire phalanx of the enemy, and, following on a great distance in pursuit, filled the country with their dead bodies, slaying more than three thousand of them.

XXXIII. Now, that the Thebans who were present at the death of Pelopidas should be disconsolate, calling him their father and saviour and teacher of the greatest and fairest blessings, was not so much to be wondered at; but the Thessalians and allies also, after exceeding in their decrees every honour that can fitly be paid to human excellence, showed

- λον ἐπεδείξαντο τοῖς πάθεσι τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα
 2 χάριν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ παραγεγονότας τῷ ἔργῳ
 λέγουσι μήτε θώρακα θέσθαι μήτε ἵππον ἐκχαλι-
 νῶσαι μήτε τραῦμα δῆσασθαι πρότερον, ὥς
 ἐπύθοντο τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν
 ὀπλων θερμοὺς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὥσπερ
 αἰσθανόμενον, τὰ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ
 σῶμα σωρεύειν λάφυρα, κεῖραι δὲ ἵππους, κεί-
 3 ρασθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς, ἀπιόντας· ἰδὲ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ
 σκηναὺς μήτε πῦρ ἀνάψαι μήτε δεῖπνον ἐλέσθαι,
 σιγὴν δὲ καὶ κατήφειαν εἶναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 παντός, ὥσπερ οὐ νενικηκότων ἐπιφανεστάτην
 νίκην καὶ μεγίστην, ἀλλ' ἡττημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ
 4 τυράννου καὶ καταδεδουλωμένων. ἐκ δὲ τῶν
 πόλεων, ὥς ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα, παρήσαν αἱ τε
 ἀρχαὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔφηβοι καὶ παῖδες καὶ ἱερεῖς
 πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ σώματος, τρόπαια καὶ
 στεφάνους καὶ πανοπλίας χρυσᾶς ἐπιφέροντες.
 ὥς δὲ ἐμελλεν ἐκκομίζεσθαι τὸ σῶμα, προσελ-
 θόντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἡτοῦντο
 τοὺς Θεβαίους δι' αὐτῶν θάψαι τὸν νεκρὸν. εἰς
 δὲ αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν· “Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, χάριν
 αἰτοῦμεν παρ' ὑμῶν κόσμον ἡμῖν ἐπὶ ἀτυχίᾳ
 5 τοσαύτῃ καὶ παραμυθίαν φέρουσιν. οὐ γὰρ
 ζῶντα Θεσσαλοὶ Πελοπίδαν προπέμψουσιν, οὐδὲ
 αἰσθανομένῳ τὰς ἀξίας τιμὰς ἀποδώσουσιν, ἀλλ'
 εἰς ψαῦσαι τε τοῦ νεκροῦ τύχωμεν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν
 κοσμήσαι καὶ θάψαι τὸ σῶμα, δόξομεν ὑμῖν οὐκ
 ἀπιστεῖν ὅτι μείζων ἢ συμφορὰ γέγονε Θετταλοῖς
 ἢ Θεβαίοις· ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ
 μόνον, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τούτου καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
 στέρεσθαι συμβέβηκε. πῶς γὰρ ἔτι τολμήσομεν

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still more by their grief how grateful they were to him. For it is said that those who were in the action neither took off their breastplates nor unbridled their horses nor bound up their wounds, when they learned of his death, but, still heated and in full armour, came first to the body, and as if it still had life and sense, heaped round it the spoils of the enemy, sheared their horses' manes, and cut off their own hair; and when they had gone to their tents, many neither kindled a fire nor took supper, but silence and dejection reigned through all the camp, as if they had not won a great and most brilliant victory, but had been defeated by the tyrant and made his slaves. From the cities, too, when tidings of these things reached them, came the magistrates, accompanied by youths and boys and priests, to take up the body, and they brought trophies and wreaths and suits of golden armour. And when the body was to be carried forth for burial, the most reverend of the Thessalians came and begged the Thebans for the privilege of giving it burial themselves. And one of them said: "Friends and allies, we ask of you a favour which will be an honour to us in our great misfortune, and will give us consolation. We men of Thessaly can never again escort a living Pelopidas on his way, nor pay him worthy honours of which he can be sensible; but if we may be permitted to compose and adorn his body with our own hands and give it burial, you will believe, we are persuaded, that this calamity is a greater one for Thessaly than for Thebes. For you have lost only a good commander; but we both that and freedom. For how shall we

αἰτῆσαι στρατηγὸν ἄλλον παρ' ὑμῶν οὐκ ἀποδόντες Πελοπίδαν;" ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεχώρησαν.

- XXXIV. Ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ταφῶν οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἕτεραι λαμπρότεραι γενέσθαι τοῖς τὸ λαμπρὸν οὐκ ἐν ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ πορφύραις εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ὥσπερ Φίλιστος ὑμνῶν καὶ θαυμάζων τὴν Διονυσίου ταφήν, οἷον τραγωδίας μεγάλης τῆς
- 2 τυραννίδος ἐξόδιον θεατρικὸν γενομένην. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ μέγας Ἡφαιστίωνος ἀποθανόντος οὐ μόνον ἵππους ἔκειρε καὶ ἡμιόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀφείλε τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς ἂν δοκοῖεν αἱ πόλεις πενθεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν μορφῆς κούριμον σχῆμα καὶ ἄτιμον ἀναλαμβάνουσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προστάγματα δεσποτῶν ὄντα, καὶ μετὰ 297 πολλῆς ἀνάγκης περαινόμενα καὶ μετὰ φθόνου τῶν τυχόντων καὶ μίσους τῶν βιαζομένων, οὐδεμιᾶς χάριτος ἦν οὐδὲ τιμῆς, ὅγκου δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐπίδειξις, εἰς κενὰ καὶ
- 3 ἄζηλα τὴν περιουσίαν διατιθεμένων· ἀνὴρ δὲ δημοτικὸς ἐπὶ ξένης τεθνηκώς, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ παίδων, οὐ συγγενῶν παρόντων, οὐ δεομένου τινός, οὐκ ἀναγκάζοντος, ὑπὸ δῆμων τοσοῦτων καὶ πόλεων ἀμιλλωμένων προπεμπόμενος καὶ συνεκκομιζόμενος καὶ στεφανούμενος, εἰκότως ἐδόκει τὸν τελειότατον ἀπέχειν εὐδαιμονισμόν.
- 4 οὐ γάρ, ὡς Αἴσωπος ἔφασκε, χαλεπώτατός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων θάνατος, ἀλλὰ μακαριώτατος, εἰς ἀσφαλῆ χώραν τὰς εὐπραξίας κατατιθέμενος τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τύχην μεταβάλλεσθαι μὴ ἀπολείπων. διὸ βέλτιον ὁ Λάκων τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην Διαγόραν, ἐπιδόντα μὲν υἱοὺς στεφανουμένους

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have the courage to ask another general from you, when we have not returned Pelopidas?" This request the Thebans granted.

XXXIV. Those funeral rites were never surpassed in splendour, in the opinion of those who do not think splendour to consist in ivory, gold, and purple, like Philistus, who tells in wondering strains about the funeral of Dionysius, which formed the pompous conclusion of the great tragedy of his tyranny. Alexander the Great, too, when Hephaestion died, not only sheared the manes of his horses and mules, but actually took away the battlements of the city-walls, in order that the cities might seem to be in mourning, assuming a shorn and dishevelled appearance instead of their former beauty. These honours, however, were dictated by despots, were performed under strong compulsion, and were attended with envy of those who received them and hatred of those who enforced them; they were a manifestation of no gratitude or esteem whatever, but of barbaric pomp and luxury and vain-glory, on the part of men who lavished their superfluous wealth on vain and sorry practices. But that a man who was a commoner, dying in a strange country, in the absence of wife, children, and kinsmen, none asking and none compelling it, should be escorted and carried forth and crowned by so many peoples and cities eager to show him honour, rightly seemed to argue him supremely fortunate. For the death of men in the hour of their triumph is not, as Aesop used to say, most grievous, but most blessed, since it puts in safe keeping their enjoyment of their blessings and leaves no room for change of fortune. Therefore the Spartan's advice was better, who, when he greeted Diagoras, the Olympian victor, who had lived to see

Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐπιδόντα δ' υἱωνοὺς καὶ θυγατρί-
 δοὺς, ἀσπασάμενος, “Κάτθανε,” εἶπε, “Διαγώρα·
 5 οὐκ εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἀναβήσῃ.” τὰς δὲ Ὀλυμ-
 πιακὰς καὶ Πυθικὰς νίκας οὐκ ἄν, οἶμαί, τις εἰς
 τὸ αὐτὸ συνθεῖς ἀπάσας ἐνὶ τῶν Πελοπίδου
 παραβαλεῖν ἀγώνων ἀξιώσειεν, οὓς πολλοὺς
 ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ
 πλείστον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ βιώσας, τέλος ἐν τῇ
 τρισκαιδεκάτῃ βοιωταρχίᾳ, τυραννοκτονίᾳ μεμιγ-
 μένην ἀριστείαν ἀριστεύων, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Θεσ-
 σαλῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀπέθανεν.

XXXV. Ὁ δὲ θάνατος αὐτοῦ μέγала μὲν
 ἐλύπησε τοὺς συμμάχους, μείζονα δὲ ὠφέλησε.
 Θηβαῖοι γάρ, ὥς ἐπύθοντο τὴν τοῦ Πελοπίδου
 τελευτήν, οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενοι τῆς
 τιμωρίας κατὰ τάχος ἐστράτευσαν ὀπλίταις
 ἐπτακισχιλίοις, ἵππεύσι δ' ἐπτακοσίοις, ἡγουμέ-
 2 νου Μαλκίτου καὶ Διογεΐτονος. καταλαβόντες δὲ
 συνεσταλμένον καὶ περικεκομμένον τῆς δυνάμεως
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἠνάγκασαν Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν ἀποδοῦ-
 ναι τὰς πόλεις ἃς εἶχεν αὐτῶν, Μάγνητας δὲ καὶ
 Φθιώτας Ἀχαιοὺς ἀφεῖναι καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς
 ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὁμῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται Θη-
 βαῖοι καὶ κελεύσωσιν ἀκολουθήσειν. Θηβαῖοι μὲν
 οὖν τούτοις ἠρκέσθησαν· ἦν δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον τοῖς
 θεοῖς ὑπὲρ Πελοπίδου δίκην ἔδωκε διηγῆσομαι.

3 Θήβην τὴν συνοικοῦσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν, ὥς
 εἴρηται, Πελοπίδας ἐδίδαξε μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν
 ἔξω λαμπροτήτα καὶ παρασκευὴν τῆς τυραννίδος,
 ἐντὸς τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τῶν φυλάκων οὖσαν· ἔπειτα
 δὲ φοβούμενη τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μισοῦσα
 τὴν ὠμότητα, συνθεμένη μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν,
 τριῶν ὄντων, Τισιφόνου, Πυθολάου, Λυκόφρονος,

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his sons crowned at Olympia, yes, and the sons of his sons and daughters, said ; " Die now, Diagoras ; thou canst not ascend to Olympus." But one would not deign, I think, to compare all the Olympian and Pythian victories put together with one of the struggles of Pelopidas ; these were many, and he made them successfully, and after living most of his life in fame and honour, at last, while boeotarch for the thirteenth time, performing a deed of high valour which aimed at a tyrant's life, he died in defence of the freedom of Thessaly.

XXXV. The death of Pelopidas brought great grief to his allies, but even greater gain. For the Thebans, when they learned of it, delayed not their vengeance, but speedily made an expedition with seven thousand men-at-arms and seven hundred horsemen, under the command of Malcitas and Diogeiton. They found Alexander weakened and robbed of his forces, and compelled him to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, to withdraw his garrisons and set free the Magnesians and the Achaeans of Phthiotis, and to take oath that he would follow the lead of the Thebans against any enemies according to their bidding. The Thebans, then, were satisfied with this ; but the gods soon afterwards avenged Pelopidas, as I shall now relate.

To begin with, Thebe, the tyrant's wife, as I have said, had been taught by Pelopidas not to fear the outward splendour and array of Alexander, since these depended wholly on his armed guards ; and now, in her dread of his faithlessness and her hatred of his cruelty, she conspired with her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaüs, and Lycophron, and made an

- 4 ἐπεχείρει τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. τὴν μὲν ἄλλην οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννου κατεῖχον αἱ φυλακαὶ τῶν παρανυκτερευόντων, ὁ δὲ θάλαμος, ἐν ᾧ καθεύδειν εἰώθεσαν, ὑπερφῶς ἦν, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν εἶχε κύων δεδεμένος, πᾶσι φοβερός πλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ ἐνὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῷ τρέφοντι. καθ' ὃν οὖν ἔμελλε καιρὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἡ Θήβη, τοὺς μὲν ἀδελφούς ἀφ' ἡμέρας εἶχε πλησίον ἐν οἴκῳ τινὶ
- 5 κεκρυμμένους, εἰσελθοῦσα δέ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, μόνῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη καθεύδοντα καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν πάλιν προελθοῦσα, τῷ μὲν οἰκέτῃ προσέταξεν ἀπάγειν ἔξω τὸν κύνα· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἀναπαύεσθαι μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἐκείνον· αὐτὴ δὲ τὴν κλίμακα φοβουμένη μὴ κτύπον παράσχη τῶν νεανίσκων ἀναβαινόντων ἐρίοις κατεστόρεσεν·
- 6 εἶτα οὕτως ἀναγαγοῦσα τοὺς ἀδελφούς ξιφῆρεις καὶ στήσασα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν εἰσῆλθεν αὐτῇ, καὶ καθελοῦσα τὸ ξίφος ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς κρεμάμενον σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ κατέχεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καθεύδειν ἔδειξεν. ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων καὶ κατοκνούντων, κακίζουσα καὶ διομνυμένη μετ' ὀργῆς αὐτῇ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξεγείρασα μηνύσειν τὴν πρᾶξιν, αἰσχυνθέντας αὐτοὺς ἅμα καὶ φοβηθέντας εἰσῆγαγε καὶ περιέστησε τῇ κλίνῃ,
- 7 προσφέρονσα τὸν λύχνον. τῶν δὲ ὁ μὲν τοὺς πόδας κατεῖχε· πῖσας, ὁ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν λαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν ἀνέκλασεν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῷ ξίφει τύπτων αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, τῷ μὲν τάχει τῆς τελευτῆς πραότερον ἴσως ἢ προσῆκον ἦν ἀποθανόντα, τῷ δὲ μόνον ἢ πρῶτον τυράννων ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἰδίας ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τῇ μετὰ θάνατον αἰκία τοῦ σώματος ῥιφέντος καὶ πατηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Φεραιῶν, ἄξια πεπονθέναι δόξαντα τῶν παρανομημάτων.

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attempt upon his life, as follows. The rest of the tyrant's house was guarded by sentries at night, but the bed-chamber, where he and his wife were wont to sleep, was an upper room, and in front of it a chained dog kept guard, which would attack everyone except his master and mistress and the one servant who fed him. When, therefore, Thebe was about to make her attempt, she kept her brothers hidden all day in a room hard by, and at night, as she was wont, went in alone to Alexander. She found him already asleep, and after a little, coming out again, ordered the servant to take the dog outdoors, for his master wanted to sleep undisturbed; and to keep the stairs from creaking as the young men came up, she covered them with wool. Then, after bringing her brothers safely up, with their swords, and stationing them in front of the door, she went in herself, and taking down the sword that hung over her husband's head, showed it to them as a sign that he was fast asleep. Finding the young men terrified and reluctant, she upbraided them, and swore in a rage that she would wake Alexander herself and tell him of the plot, and so led them, ashamed and fearful too, inside, and placed them round the bed, to which she brought the lamp. Then one of them clutched the tyrant's feet and held them down, another dragged his head back by the hair, and the third ran him through with his sword. The swiftness of it made his death a milder one, perhaps, than was his due; but since he was the only, or the first, tyrant to die at the hands of his own wife, and since his body was outraged after death, being cast out and trodden under foot by the Pheraeans, he may be thought to have suffered what his lawless deeds deserved.



MARCELLUS

FF 2

ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΣ

Ι. Μάρκον δὲ Κλαύδιον τὸν πεντάκις ὑπατεύσαντα Ῥωμαίων Μάρκου μὲν υἱὸν γενέσθαι λέγουσι, κληθῆναι δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας πρῶτον Μάρκελλον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἀρήϊον, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος. ἦν γὰρ τῇ μὲν ἐμπειρίᾳ πολεμικός, τῷ δὲ σώματι ῥωμαλέος, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ πλήκτης, τῇ δὲ φύσει φιλοπόλεμος καὶ τούτῳ δὴ πολὺ τὸ γαῦρον
2 καὶ ἀγέρωχον ἐπιφαίνων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ σώφρων, φιλόανθρωπος, Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας καὶ λόγων ἄχρι τοῦ τιμᾶν καὶ θαυμάζειν τοὺς κατορθοῦντας ἐραστής, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν πρόθυμος ἀσκῆσαι καὶ μαθεῖν οὐκ ἐξικόμενος. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεός, ὥσπερ Ὁμηρος εἶρηκεν,

ἐκ νεότητος ἔδωκε καὶ εἰς γῆρας τολυπεύειν ἀργαλέους πολέμους,

3 καὶ τοῖς τότε πρωτεύουσι Ῥωμαίων, οἱ νέοι μὲν ὄντες περὶ Σικελίαν Καρχηδονίοις, ἀκμάζοντες δὲ Γαλάταις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπολέμουν, ἤδη δὲ γηρῶντες Ἀννίβα πάλιν συνέιχοντο καὶ Καρχηδονίοις, οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, διὰ γῆρας ἀνάπαυσιν στρατειῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ ἡγεμονίας κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀγόμενοι.

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I. MARCU CLAUDIUS, who was five times consul of the Romans, was a son of Marcus, as we are told, and, according to Poseidonius, was the first of his family to be called Marcellus, which means *Martial*. For he was by experience a man of war, of a sturdy body and a vigorous arm. He was naturally fond of war, and in its conflicts displayed great impetuosity and high temper; but otherwise he was modest, humane, and so far a lover of Greek learning and discipline as to honour and admire those who excelled therein, although he himself was prevented by his occupations from achieving a knowledge and proficiency here which corresponded to his desires. For if ever there were men to whom Heaven, as Homer says,¹

“From youth and to old age appointed the accomplishment of laborious wars,”

they were the chief Romans of that time, who, in their youth, waged war with the Carthaginians for Sicily; in their prime, with the Gauls to save Italy itself; and when they were now grown old, contended again with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and did not have, like most men, that respite from service in the field which old age brings, but were called by their high birth and valour to undertake leaderships and commands in war.

¹ *Iliad*, xiv. 86 f.

- II. Μάρκελλος δὲ πρὸς οὐδὲν μὲν ἦν μάχης εἶδος ἀργὸς οὐδὲ ἀνάσκητος, αὐτὸς δ' ἑαυτοῦ κράτιστος ἐν τῷ μονομαχεῖν γενόμενος οὐδεμίαν πρόκλησιν ἔφυγε, πάντας δὲ τοὺς προκαλεσάμενους ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν δὲ Σικελίᾳ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ὀτακίλιον κινδυνεύοντα διέσωσεν ὑπερασπίσας
- 2 καὶ ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. ἀνθ' ὧν ὄντι μὲν ἔτι νέῳ στέφανοι καὶ γέρα παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἦσαν, εὐδοκιμοῦντα δὲ μᾶλλον ἀγορανόμον μὲν ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἐπιφανεστέρας τάξεως ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς αὐγουρα. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἱερωσύνης εἶδος, ᾧ μάλιστα τὴν ἀπ' οἰωνῶν μαντικὴν ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ παραφυλάττειν νόμος δέδωκεν.
- 3 Ἦναγκάσθη δὲ ἀγορανομῶν δίκην ἀβούλητον εἰσενεγκεῖν. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ παῖς ὁμώνυμος ἐν ὥρᾳ, τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπρεπής, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ τῷ σωφρονεῖν καὶ πεπαιδεῦσθαι περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. τούτῳ Καπετωλῖνος ὁ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων, ἀσελγὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ θρασύς, ἐρῶν λόγους προσήνεγκε. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀποτριψαμένου τὴν πείραν, ὥς δὲ αὐθις ἐπεχείρησε κατειπόντος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, βαρέως ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Μάρκελλος προσήγγειλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸν
- 4 ἄνθρωπον. ὁ δὲ πολλὰς μὲν ἀποδράσεις καὶ 299 παραγραφὰς ἐμηχανᾶτο, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐπικαλούμενος, ἐκείνων δὲ μὴ προσδεχομένων τὴν ἐπὶ κλήσιν ἀρνήσει τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφυγε. καὶ μάρτυρος οὐδενὸς τῶν λόγων γεγονότος ἔδοξε μεταπέμπεσθαι τὸν παῖδα τῇ βουλῇ. παραγενομένου δ' ἰδόντες ἐρύθημα καὶ δάκρυον καὶ μεμιγμένον ἀπαύστῳ¹ τῷ θυμουμένῳ τὸ αἰδούμενον, οὐδενὸς

¹ ἀπαύστῳ Bekker corrects to ἀπλάστῳ (unfeigned), after Emperius.



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II. Marcellus was efficient and practised in every kind of fighting, but in single combat he surpassed himself, never declining a challenge, and always killing his challengers. In Sicily he saved his brother Otacilius from peril of his life, covering him with his shield and killing those who were setting upon him. Wherefore, although he was still a youth, he received garlands and prizes from his commanders, and since he grew in repute, the people appointed him *curule aedile*,¹ and the priests, *augur*. This is a species of priesthood, to which the law particularly assigns the observation and study of prophetic signs from the flight of birds.

During his aedileship, he was compelled to bring a disagreeable impeachment into the senate. He had a son, named Marcus like himself, who was in the flower of his boyish beauty, and not less admired by his countrymen for his modesty and good training. To this boy *Capitolinus*, the colleague of Marcellus, a bold and licentious man, made overtures of love. The boy at first repelled the attempt by himself, but when it was made again, told his father. Marcellus, highly indignant, denounced the man in the senate. The culprit devised many exceptions and ways of escape, appealing to the tribunes of the people, and when these rejected his appeal, he sought to escape the charge by denying it. There had been no witness of his proposals, and therefore the senate decided to summon the boy before them. When he appeared, and they beheld his blushes, tears, and shame mingled

¹ Literally, *aedile of the more illustrious class*, i.e. patrician, in distinction from plebeian, aedile.

ἄλλου δεσθέντες τεκμηρίου κατεψηφίσαντο καὶ χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσαν Καπετωλῖνον, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Μάρκελλος ἀργυρᾷ λοιβεῖα ποιησάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς καθιέρωσεν.

- III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Καρχηδονίων πολέμων ἔτει δευτέρῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ συναιρεθέντος ἀρχαὶ πάλιν Γαλατικῶν ἀγῶνων διεδέχοντο τὴν Ῥώμην, οἱ δὲ τὴν ὑπαλπίαν νεμόμενοι τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰνσομβρες, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος, μεγάλοι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὄντες, δυνάμεις ἐκάλουν, καὶ μετεπέμποντο Γαλατῶν τοὺς μισθοῦ στρατευομένους,
- 2 οἱ Γαισάται καλοῦνται, θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ τύχης ἀγαθῆς γενέσθαι τὸ μὴ συρραγῆναι τὸν Κελτικὸν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Λιβυκῷ πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐφεδρεῖαν εἰληφότες τοὺς Γαλάτας, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀτρεμήσαντας μαχομένων ἐκείνων, οὕτω τότε δὴ τοῖς νενικηκόσιν ἐπαποδύεσθαι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι σχολὴν ἄγοντας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μέγαν ἢ τε χώρα παρῆχε φόβον, διὰ τὴν γειτνίαςιν ὁμόρῳ καὶ προσοίκῳ πολέμῳ συνοισομένοις, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα τῶν Γαλατῶν, οὓς μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι δεῖσαι δοκοῦσιν, ἅτε δὴ
- 3 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποβαλόντες, ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ θέμενοι νόμον ἀτελεῖς εἶναι στρατείας τοὺς ἱερέας, πλὴν εἰ μὴ Γαλατικὸς πάλιν ἐπέλθοι πόλεμος. ἐδήλου δὲ καὶ τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν ἢ τε παρασκευὴ (μυριάδες γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ἅμα τοσαῦται Ῥωμαίων οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερον γενέσθαι λέγονται) καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας καινοτομού-

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with quenchless indignation, they wanted no further proof, but condemned Capitolinus, and set a fine upon him. With this money Marcellus had silver libation-bowls made, and dedicated them to the gods.

III. After the first Punic war had come to an end in its twenty-second year, Rome was called upon to renew her struggles with the Gauls.¹ The Insubrians, a people of Celtic stock inhabiting that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, and strong even by themselves, called out their forces, and summoned to their aid the mercenary Gauls called Gaesatae. It seemed a marvellous piece of good fortune that the Gallic war did not break out while the Punic war was raging, but that the Gauls, like a third champion sitting by and awaiting his turn with the victor, remained strictly quiet while the other two nations were fighting, and then only stripped for combat when the victors were at liberty to receive their challenge. Nevertheless, the Romans were greatly alarmed by the proximity of their country to the enemy, with whom they would wage war so near their own boundaries and homes, as well as by the ancient renown of the Gauls, whom the Romans seem to have feared more than any other people. For Rome had once been taken by them,² and from that time on a Roman priest was legally exempt from military service only in case no Gallic war occurred again. Their alarm was also shown by their preparations for the war (neither before nor since that time, we are told, were there so many thousands of Romans in arms at once), and by the extraordinary sacrifices which they made to the gods. For though

¹ The First Punic War lasted from 265 B.C. till 241 B.C., and the Insubrians invaded Italy in 225 B.C.

² In 390 B.C. See the *Camillus*, xix.-xxiii.

4 μενα· βαρβαρικὸν μὲν γὰρ¹ οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἔκφυλον ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα ταῖς δόξαις Ἑλληνικῶς διακείμενοι καὶ πρῶως πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, τότε τοῦ πολέμου συμπεσόντος ἠναγκάσθησαν εἶξαι λογίοις τισὶν ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων, καὶ δύο μὲν Ἑλληνας, ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα, δύο δὲ Γαλάτας ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ βοῶν ἀγορᾷ κατορύξαι ζῶντας, οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Νοεμβρίῳ μηνὶ δρῶσιν Ἑλλησι καὶ Γαλάταις ἀπορρήτους καὶ ἀθεάτους ἱερουργίας.

IV. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι τῶν ἀγώνων νίκας τε μεγάλας καὶ σφάλματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέγκαντες εἰς οὐδὲν ἐτελεύτησαν πέρας βέβαιον· Φλαμινίου δὲ καὶ Φουρίου τῶν ὑπάτων μεγάλαις ἐκστρατευσάντων δυνάμεσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνσομβρας, ὥφθη μὲν αἵματι ρέων ὁ διὰ τῆς Πικηνίδος χώρας ποταμός, ἐλέχθη δὲ τρεῖς σελήνας φανῆναι περὶ πόλιν 2 Ἀρίμινον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπατικάῃς ψηφοφορίαις παραφυλάττοντες οἰωνοὺς ἱερεῖς διεβεβαιοῦντο μοχθηρὰς καὶ δυσόρνηθας αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγορεύσεις. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔπεμψεν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον γράμματα καλοῦσα καὶ μεταπεμπομένη τοὺς ὑπάτους, ὅπως ἐπανελθόντες ἢ τάχιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπείπωνται καὶ μηδὲν ὥς ὑπατοὶ φθάσωσι πρᾶξαι πρὸς τοὺς 3 πολεμίους. ταῦτα δεξάμενος τὰ γράμματα Φλαμίνιος οὐ πρότερον ἔλυσεν ἢ μάχῃ συνάψας τρέψασθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιδραμεῖν. ὥς οὖν ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων, οὐκ ἀπήντησεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' ὅτι καλούμενος οὐκ εὐθὺς ὑπήκουσεν οὐδ' ἐπέισθη τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἀλλ' ἐνύβρισε καὶ κατεφρόνησε,

¹ μὲν γὰρ Bekker, after Coraës : μὲν.

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they have no barbarous or unnatural practices, but cherish towards their deities those mild and reverent sentiments which especially characterize Greek thought, at the time when this war burst upon them they were constrained to obey certain oracular commands from the Sibylline books, and to bury alive two Greeks, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, in the place called the "forum boarium," or cattle-market; and in memory of these victims, they still to this day, in the month of November, perform mysterious and secret ceremonies.

IV. The first conflicts of this war brought great victories and also great disasters to the Romans, and led to no sure and final conclusion; but at last Flaminius and Furius, the consuls, led forth large forces against the Insubrians. At the time of their departure, however, the river that flows through Picenum was seen to be running with blood, and it was reported that at Ariminum three moons had appeared in the heavens, and the priests who watched the flight of birds at the time of the consular elections insisted that when the consuls were proclaimed the omens were inauspicious and baleful for them. At once, therefore, the senate sent letters to the camp, summoning the consuls to return to the city with all speed and lay down their office, and forbidding them, while they were still consuls, to take any steps against the enemy. On receiving these letters, Flaminius would not open them before he had joined battle with the Barbarians, routed them, and overrun their country. Therefore, when he returned with much spoil, the people would not go out to meet him, but because he had not at once listened to his summons, and had disobeyed the letters, treating them with insolent contempt, they

μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἀποψηφίσασθαι τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτοῦ, θριαμβεύσαντα δὲ ἰδιώτην ἐποίησεν, ἀναγκάσας ἐξομόσασθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν μετὰ τοῦ συν- 300
 4 ἀρχοντος. οὕτω πάντα τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνήγετο, μαντειῶν δὲ καὶ πατρίων ὑπεροψίαν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις εὐπραξίαις ἀπεδέχοντο, μεῖζον ἡγούμενοι πρὸς σωτηρίαν πόλεως τὸ θαυμάζειν τὰ θεῖα τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων.

V. Τιβέριος οὖν Σεμπρώνιος, ἀνὴρ δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ καλοκαγαθίαν οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἀγαπηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέδειξε μὲν ὑπατεύων διαδόχους Σκηπίωνα Νασικᾶν καὶ Γάϊον Μάρκιον, ἥδη δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα, ἱερατικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχὼν εὖρεν ἡγνοημενον ὑφ' αὐτοῦ
 2 τι τῶν πατρίων. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον· ὅταν ἄρχων ἐπ' ὄρνισι καθεζόμενος ἔξω πόλεως οἶκον ἢ σκηνὴν μεμισθωμένος ὑπ' αἰτίας τινὸς ἀναγκασθῇ μῆπω γεγονότων σημείων βεβαίων ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς πόλιν, ἀφεῖναι χρῆν τὸ προμεμισθωμένον οἶκημα καὶ λαβεῖν ἕτερον, ἐξ οὗ ποιήσεται τὴν θέαν αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς. τοῦτο ἔλαθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ δις τῷ αὐτῷ χρησάμενος ἀπέδειξε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἄνδρας ὑπάτους. ὕστερον δὲ γνοὺς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνήνεγκε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον.
 3 ἡ δὲ οὐ κατεφρόνησε τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτως ἐλλείμματος, ἀλλ' ἔγραψε τοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ ἐκείνοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἀπολιπόντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς Ῥώμην ταχὺ καὶ κατέθεντο τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη· περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς

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came near refusing him his triumph, and after his triumph, they compelled him to renounce the consulship with his colleague, and made him a private citizen. To such a degree did the Romans make everything depend upon the will of the gods, and so intolerant were they of any neglect of omens and ancestral rites, even when attended by the greatest successes, considering it of more importance for the safety of the city that their magistrates should reverence religion than that they should overcome their enemies.

V. For example, Tiberius Sempronius, a man most highly esteemed by the Romans for his valour and probity, proclaimed Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his successors in the consulship, but when they had already taken command in their provinces, he came upon a book of religious observances wherein he found a certain ancient prescript of which he had been ignorant. It was this. Whenever a magistrate, sitting in a hired house or tent outside the city to take auspices from the flight of birds, is compelled for any reason to return to the city before sure signs have appeared, he must give up the house first hired and take another, and from this he must take his observations anew. Of this, it would seem, Tiberius was not aware, and had twice used the same house before proclaiming the men I have mentioned as consuls. But afterwards, discovering his error, he referred the matter to the senate. This body did not make light of so trifling an omission, but wrote to the consuls about it; and they, leaving their provinces, came back to Rome with speed, and laid down their offices. This, however, took place at a later time.¹ But at about the time of which I am

¹ Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, father of the two famous tribunes, was consul for the second time in 163 B.C.

ἐκείνους χρόνους καὶ δύο ἱερεῖς ἐπιφανέστατοι τὰς ἱερωσύνας ἀφηρέθησαν, Κορνήλιος μὲν Κέθηγος ὅτι τὰ σπλάγγνα τοῦ ἱερείου παρὰ τάξιν ἐπέδωκε,
 4 Κούϊντος δὲ Σουλπίκιος ἐπὶ τῷ θύοντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κορυφαῖον ἀπορρυῆναι τῆς κεφαλῆς πῖλον, ὃν οἱ καλούμενοι Φλαμίνιοι φοροῦσι. Μινουκίου δὲ δικτάτορος ἵππαρχον ἀποδείξαντος Γάϊον Φλαμίνιον, ἐπεὶ τρισμὸς ἠκούσθη μυδὸς ὃν σόρικα καλοῦσιν, ἀποψηφισάμενοι τούτους αὖθις ἑτέρους κατέστησαν. καὶ τὴν ἐν οὕτῳ μικροῖς ἀκρίβειαν φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίᾳ προσεμίγνυσαν δεισιδαίμονιά, τῷ μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν μηδὲ παρεκβαίνειν τῶν πατρίων.

VI. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐξωμόσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ περὶ τὸν Φλαμίνιον, διὰ τῶν καλουμένων μεσοβασιλέων ὑπατος ἀποδείκνυται Μάρκελλος. καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτῷ συνάρχοντα Γναῖον Κορνήλιον. ἐλέχθη μὲν οὖν ὥς πολλὰ συμβατικά τῶν Γαλατῶν λεγόντων, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εἰρηναῖα βουλομένης, ὃ Μάρκελλος ἐξε-
 2 τράχυνε τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον· οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης ἀνακαινίσαι τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Γαισάται δοκοῦσι, τὰς Ἀλπεις ὑπερβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς Ἰνσὸμβρους ἐπάραντες· τρισμῦριοι γὰρ ὄντες προσεγένοντο πολλαπλασίοις ἐκείνοις οὔσι, καὶ μέγα φρονούντες εὐθὺς ἐπ' Ἀκέρρας ὥρμησαν, πόλιν ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Πάδου ἀνφοκισμένην. ἐκείθεν δὲ μυρίους τῶν Γαισατῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Βριτό-

¹ Cf. the *Numa*, vii. 5.

² In 222 B.C. In republican times, an interrex was elected when there was a vacancy in the supreme power, held office for five days, and, if necessary, nominated his successor. Any number of interreges might be successively ap-

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speaking, two most illustrious priests were deposed from their priesthoods, Cornelius Cethegus, because he presented the entrails of his victim improperly, and Quintus Sulpicius, because, while he was sacrificing, the peaked cap which the priests called *flamens*¹ wear had fallen from his head. Moreover, because the squeak of a shrew-mouse (they call it "*sorex*") was heard just as Minucius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his master of horse, the people deposed these officials and put others in their places. And although they were punctilious in such trifling matters, they did not fall into any superstition, because they made no change or deviation in their ancient rites.

VI. But to resume the story, after Flaminius and his colleague had renounced their offices, Marcellus was appointed consul² by the so-called "*interreges*." He took the office, and appointed Gnaeus Cornelius his colleague. Now it has been said that, although the Gauls made many conciliatory proposals, and although the senate was peaceably inclined, Marcellus tried to provoke the people to continue the war. However, it would seem that even after peace was made the *Gaesatae* renewed the war; they crossed the Alps and stirred up the *Insubrians*. They numbered thirty thousand themselves, and the *Insubrians*, whom they joined, were much more numerous. With high confidence, therefore, they marched at once to *Acerrae*, a city situated to the north of the river *Po*.³ From thence *Britomartus* the king, taking with him

pointed, until the highest office was filled. Cf. the *Numa*, ii. 6 f.

³ According to Polybius (ii. 34), no peace was made, although the Gauls offered to submit, and the consuls marched into the territory of the *Insubrians* and laid siege to *Acerrae*.

- μαρτος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν περὶ Πάδον χώραν ἐπόρθει.
- 3 ταῦτα Μάρκελλος πυθόμενος τὸν μὲν συνάρχοντα πρὸς Ἀκέρραις ἀπέλιπε τὴν πεζὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν ἔχοντα δύναμιν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων μέρος τρίτον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τῶν ὀπλιτῶν περὶ ἑξακοσίους ἤλαυνεν, οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιείς τὸν δρόμον, ἕως ἐπέβαλε τοῖς μυρίοις Γαϊσάταις περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Κλαστίδιον, Γαλατικὴν κώμην οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοον
- 4 γεγεννημένην. ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ διαναπαῦσαι τὸν στρατὸν οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ· ταχὺ γὰρ αἰσθησιν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀφικόμενος παρέσχε, καὶ κατεφρονήθη πεζῶν μὲν ὀλίγων παντάπασιν. ὄντων σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τῶν Κελτῶν τιθεμένων. κράτιστοι γὰρ ὄντες ἵππομαχεῖν καὶ μάλιστα τούτῳ διαφέρειν δοκοῦντες, τότε καὶ πλήθει πολὺ τὸν Μάρκελλον ὑπερέβαλλον. εὐθύς οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι 301 μετὰ βίας πολλῆς· καὶ δεινῶν ἀπειλῶν ἐφέροντο,
- 5 τοῦ βασιλέως προῖππεύοντος. ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς μὴ φθαίειν αὐτὸν ἐγκυκλωσάμενοι καὶ περιχυθέντες ὀλιγοστὸν ὄντα, τὰς ἱλας ἤγε πόρρω τῶν ἱππέων καὶ περιήλαυνε, λεπτὸν ἐκτείνων τὸ κέρασ· ἄχρι οὐ μικρὸν ἀπέσχε τῶν πολεμίων. ἤδη δὲ πῶς εἰς ἐμβολὴν ἐπιστρέφοντος αὐτοῦ συντυγχάνει τὸν ἵππον πτυρέντα τῇ γαυρότητι τῶν πολεμίων ἀποτραπέσθαι καὶ βία φέρειν ὀπίσω
- 6 τὸν Μάρκελλον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο δέισας μὴ ταραχὴν ἐκ δεισιδαιμονίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεργάσεται, ταχὺ περισπᾶσας ἐφ' ἡνίαν τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ περιστρέψας τὸν ἵππον ἐναντίον τοῖς πολεμίοις, τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸς προσεκύνησεν, ὡς δὴ μὴ κατὰ τύχην,

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ten thousand of the Gaesatae, ravaged the country about the Po. When Marcellus learned of this, he left his colleague at Acerrae with all the heavy-armed infantry and a third part of the cavalry, while he himself, taking with him the rest of the cavalry and the most lightly equipped men-at-arms to the number of six hundred, marched, without halting in his course day or night, until he came upon the ten thousand Gaesatae near the place called Clastidium, a Gallic village which not long before had become subject to the Romans. There was no time for him to give his army rest and refreshment, for the Barbarians quickly learned of his arrival, and held in contempt the infantry with him, which were few in number all told, and, being Gauls, made no account of his cavalry. For they were most excellent fighters on horseback, and were thought to be specially superior as such, and, besides, at this time they far outnumbered Marcellus. Immediately, therefore, they charged upon him with great violence and dreadful threats, thinking to overwhelm him, their king riding in front of them. But Marcellus, that they might not succeed in enclosing and surrounding him and his few followers, led his troops of cavalry forward and tried to outflank them, extending his wing into a thin line, until he was not far from the enemy. And now, just as he was turning to make a charge, his horse, frightened by the ferocious aspect of the enemy, wheeled about and bore Marcellus forcibly back. But he, fearing lest this should be taken as a bad omen by the Romans and lead to confusion among them, quickly reined his horse round to the left and made him face the enemy, while he himself made adoration to the sun, implying that it was not

ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τούτου τῇ περιαγωγῇ χρησάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις προσκυνεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς περιστρεφόμενους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἤδη προσμυγνύντα τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσεύξασθαι τῷ φερετρίῳ Διὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅπλων καθιερώσειν.

- VII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατιδὼν ὁ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τεκμηράμενος ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων ἄρχοντα τοῦτον εἶναι, πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελάσας τὸν ἵππον ὑπηντίασεν, ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ προκλητικὸν ἐπαλαλάζων καὶ τὸ δόρυ κραδαίνων, ἀνὴρ μεγέθει τε σώματος ἑξοχος Γαλατῶν, καὶ πανοπλία ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ βαφαῖς καὶ πᾶσι ποικίλμασιν, ὥσπερ ἀστραπή, διαφέρων
- 2 στυλβούση. ὥς οὖν ἐπιβλέψαντι τὴν φάλαγγα τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ ταῦτα τῶν ὅπλων ἔδοξε κάλλιστα καὶ κατὰ τούτων ὑπέλαβε πεποιήσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὴν κατευχήν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τῷ δόρατι διακόψας τὸν θώρακα καὶ συνεπερείσας τῇ ῥύμῃ τοῦ ἵππου ζῶντα μὲν αὐτὸν περιέτρεψε, δευτέραν δὲ καὶ τρίτην πληγὴν ἐνέεις εὐθύς ἀπέ-
- 3 κτεινεν. ἀποπηδήσας δὲ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ νεκροῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐφαψάμενος, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· “ὦ μεγάλα στρατηγῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἐπιβλέπων ἐν πολέμοις καὶ μάχαις φερέτριάς σε Ζεῦ, μαρτύρομαί σε Ῥωμαίων τρίτος ἄρχων ἄρχοντα καὶ βασιλέα στρατηγὸς ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα κατεργασάμενος καὶ κτείνας σοι καθιεροῦν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν λαφύρων. σὺ δὲ δίδου τύχην ὁμοίαν ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου προτρεπομένοις.”
- 4 Ἐκ τούτου συνέμισγον οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐ διακεκρι-

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by chance, but for this purpose, that he had wheeled about; for it is the custom with the Romans to turn round in this way when they make adoration to the gods. And in the moment of closing with the enemy he is said to have vowed that he would consecrate to Jupiter Feretrius the most beautiful suit of armour among them.

VII. Meanwhile the king of the Gauls espied him, and judging from his insignia that he was the commander, rode far out in front of the rest and confronted him, shouting challenges and brandishing his spear. His stature exceeded that of the other Gauls, and he was conspicuous for a suit of armour which was set off with gold and silver and bright colours and all sorts of broideries; it gleamed like lightning. Accordingly, as Marcellus surveyed the ranks of the enemy, this seemed to him to be the most beautiful armour, and he concluded that it was this which he had vowed to the god. He therefore rushed upon the man, and by a thrust of his spear which pierced his adversary's breastplate, and by the impact of his horse in full career, threw him, still living, upon the ground, where, with a second and third blow, he promptly killed him. Then leaping from his horse and laying his hands upon the armour of the dead, he looked towards heaven and said: "O Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdest the great deeds and exploits of generals and commanders in wars and fightings, I call thee to witness that I have overpowered and slain this man with my own hand, being the third Roman ruler and general so to slay a ruler and king, and that I dedicate to thee the first and most beautiful of the spoils. Do thou therefore grant us a like fortune as we prosecute the rest of the war."

His prayer ended, the cavalry joined battle, fight-

μένοις τοῖς ἰππεύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πεζοὺς
 ὁμοῦ προσφερομένους μαχόμενοι, καὶ νικῶσι νίκην
 ἰδέα τε καὶ τρόπῳ περιττὴν καὶ παράδοξον·
 ἰππεῖς γὰρ ἰππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἅμα τοσούτοι
 τοσούτους οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερον νικῆσαι
 λέγονται. κτείνας δὲ τοὺς πλείστους καὶ κρατή-
 σας ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων ἐπανήλθε πρὸς τὸν
 συνάρχοντα μοχθηρῶς πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς περὶ
 πόλιν μεγίστην καὶ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Γα-
 5 λατικῶν. Μεδιόλανον καλεῖται, καὶ μητρόπολιν
 αὐτὴν οἱ τῇδε Κελτοὶ νομίζουσιν· ὅθεν ἐκθύμως
 μαχόμενοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀντεπολιόρκουν τὸν Κορνῆ-
 λιον. ἐπελθόντος δὲ Μαρκέλλου, καὶ τῶν Γαισα-
 τῶν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡτταν καὶ
 τελευτήν, ἀπελθόντων, τὸ μὲν Μεδιόλανον ἀλί-
 σκεται, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις αὐτοὶ παραδιδόασιν
 οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσι πάντα
 Ῥωμαίοις. καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἦν εἰρήνη μετρίων
 τυχοῦσι.

VIII. Ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου μόνῃ
 Μαρκέλλῳ θρίαμβον, εἰσήλαυνε τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ λαμ-
 πρότητι καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λαφύροις καὶ σώμασιν
 ὑπερφυέσιν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν ὀλίγοις θαυμαστός,
 ἥδιστον δὲ πάντων θέαμα καὶ καινότατον ἐπιδει-
 κνύμενος αὐτὸν κομίζοντα τῷ θεῷ τὴν τοῦ βαρ-
 2 βάρου πανοπλίαν. δρυὸς γὰρ εὐκτεάνου πρέμνον
 ὄρθιον καὶ μέγα τεμὼν καὶ ἀσκήσας ὥσπερ 302
 τρόπαιον ἀνεδήσατο καὶ κατήρτησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ
 λάφυρα, κόσμῳ διαθεῖς καὶ περιαρμόσας ἕκαστον.
 προῖούσης δὲ τῆς πομπῆς ἀράμενος αὐτὸς ἐπέβη

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ing, not with the enemy's horsemen alone, but also with their footmen who attacked them at the same time, and won a victory which, in its sort and kind, was remarkable and strange. For never before or since, as we are told, have so few horsemen conquered so many horsemen and footmen together. After slaying the greater part of the enemy and getting possession of their arms and baggage, Marcellus returned to his colleague, who was hard put to it in his war with the Gauls near their largest and most populous city.¹ Mediolanum was the city's name, and the Gauls considered it their metropolis; wherefore they fought eagerly in its defence, so that Cornelius was less besieger than besieged. But when Marcellus came up, and when the Gaesatae, on learning of the defeat and death of their king, withdrew, Mediolanum was taken, the Gauls themselves surrendered the rest of their cities, and put themselves entirely at the disposition of the Romans. They obtained peace on equitable terms.

VIII. The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus alone, and his triumphal procession was seldom equalled in its splendour and wealth and spoils and captives of gigantic size; but besides this, the most agreeable and the rarest spectacle of all was afforded when Marcellus himself carried to the god the armour of the barbarian king. He had cut the trunk of a slender oak, straight and tall, and fashioned it into the shape of a trophy; on this he bound and fastened the spoils, arranging and adjusting each piece in due order. When the procession began to move, he took the trophy himself and mounted the chariot, and

¹ Acerrae had, in the meantime, been taken by the Romans, who had then advanced and laid siege to Mediolanum (Milan). Cf. Polybius, ii. 34.

- τοῦ τεθρίππου, καὶ τροπαιοφόρον ἄγαλμα τῶν ἐκείνου κάλλιστον καὶ διαπρεπέστατον ἐπόμπευε διὰ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς εἶπετο καλλίστοις ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένος, ἄδων ἅμα πεποιημένα μέλη καὶ παιᾶνας ἐπινικίους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν
- 3 στρατηγόν. οὕτω δὲ προβάς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν νεὼν τοῦ φερετρίου Διός, ἀνέστησε καὶ καθιέρωσε, τρίτος καὶ τελευταῖος ἄχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς αἰῶνος. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἀνήνεγκε σκῦλα Ῥωμύλος ἀπὸ Ἀκρωνος τοῦ Καιρινήτου, δεύτερος δὲ Κόσσος Κορνήλιος ἀπὸ Τολουμνίου Τυρρηνοῦ, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μάρκελλος ἀπὸ Βριτομάрту, βασιλέως Γαλατῶν, μετὰ δὲ Μάρκελλον οὐδὲ εἰς.
- 4 καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ᾧ πέμπεται φερέτριος Ζεύς, ὡς μὲν ἐνιοὶ φασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ φερετρενομένου τροπαίου, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα γλῶσσαν ἔτι πολλὴν τότε συμμεμιγμένην τῇ Λατίνων, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, Διὸς ἐστὶν ἡ προσωνομία κεραυνοβολούντος. τὸ γὰρ τύπτειν φερίρε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου πληγὴν γεγενῆναι τοῦνομα λέγουσι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὅταν διώκωσι τοὺς πολεμίους, πυκνὸν τὸ φέρι, τουτέστι παῖε, παρεγγυῶσιν ἀλλήλοις. τὰ δὲ σκῦλα σπόλια μὲν κοινῶς, ἰδίως δὲ ὀπίμα
- 5 ταῦτα καλοῦσι. καίτοι φασὶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι Νομᾶν Πομπήλιον καὶ πρῶτων ὀπιμίων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων μνημονεύειν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ληφθέντα τῷ φερετρίῳ Διὶ κελεύοντα καθιεροῦν, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ τῷ Ἀρει, τὰ δὲ τρίτα τῷ Κυρίνῳ, καὶ λαμβάνειν γέρας ἀσσάρια τριακόσια τὸν

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thus a trophy-bearing figure more conspicuous and beautiful than any in his day passed in triumph through the city. The army followed, arrayed in most beautiful armour, singing odes composed for the occasion, together with paeans of victory in praise of the god and their general. Thus advancing and entering the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, he set up and consecrated his offering, being the third and last to do so, down to our time. The first was Romulus, who despoiled Acron the Caeninensian;¹ the second was Cornelius Cossus, who despoiled Tolumnius the Tuscan; and after them Marcellus, who despoiled Britomartus, king of the Gauls; but after Marcellus, no man. The god to whom the spoils were dedicated was called Jupiter Feretrius, as some say, because the trophy was carried on a "pheretron," or *car*; this is a Greek word, and many such were still mingled at that time with the Latin;² according to others, the epithet is given to Jupiter as wielder of the thunder-bolt, the Latin "*ferire*" meaning *to smite*. But others say the name is derived from the blow one gives an enemy, since even now in battles, when they are pursuing their enemies, they exhort one another with the word "*feri*," which means *smite*! Spoils in general they call "*spolia*," and these in particular, "*opima*." And yet they say that Numa Pompilius, in his commentaries, makes mention of three kinds of "*opima*," prescribing that when the first kind are taken, they shall be consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; also that the reward for the first shall be three hundred asses,³ for the second

¹ Cf. the *Romulus*, xvi. 4-7.

² Cf. the *Romulus*, xv. 3; *Numa*, vii. 5.

³ The Roman *as* corresponded nearly to the English penny.

πρῶτον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον διακόσια, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἑκατόν. ὁ μέντοι πολλὸς οὗτος ἐπικρατεῖ λόγος, ὥς ἐκείνων μόνων ὀπιμίῳ ὄντων, ὅσα καὶ παρατάξεως οὔσης καὶ πρῶτα καὶ στρατηγοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀνελόντος. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

- 6 Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν νίκην ἐκείνην καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν κατάλυσιν οὕτως ὑπερηγάπησαν ὥστε καὶ τῷ Πυθίῳ χρυσοῦν κρατῆρα ἀπὸ λιτρῶν¹. . . εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλαι χαριστήριον, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων ταῖς τε συμμαχίσι μεταδύναται πόλεσι λαμπρῶς, καὶ πρὸς Ἱέρωνα πολλὰ πέμψαι, τὸν Συρακουσίων βασιλέα, φίλον ὄντα καὶ σύμμαχον.

- IX. Ἀννίβου δὲ ἐμβαλόντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπέμφθη μὲν ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐπὶ Σικελίαν στόλον ἄγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ περὶ Κάννας ἀτυχία συνέπεσε καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ὀλίγαι μυριάδες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ σωθέντες εἰς Κανύσιον συνεπεφεύγεσαν, ἣν δὲ προσδοκία τὸν Ἀννίβαν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἔλᾶν, ὅπερ ἦν κράτιστον
- 2 τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνερηκότα, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Μάρκελλος ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἔπεμψε τῇ πόλει φυλακὴν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ἄνδρας, ἔπειτα δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς δεξάμενος εἰς Κανύσιον παρήλθε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ συνειλεγμένους παραλαβὼν ἐξήγαγε τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὥς οὐ προησόμενος τὴν χώραν. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν καὶ δυνατῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐτεθνήκεσαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, Φαβίου δὲ Μαξίμου τοῦ πλείστον ἔχοντος ἀξίωμα πίστεως καὶ συνέσεως, τὸ λίαν ἀπηκριβωμένον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν λογισμοῖς ὥς ἀργὸν ἐπὶ τὰς
- 3 πράξεις καὶ ἄτολμον ἡτιῶντο· καὶ νομίζοντες

¹ ἀπὸ λιτρῶν Sintenis¹, Coraës and Bekker : ἀπὸ λύτρων.

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two hundred, and for the third one hundred. However, the general and prevailing account is that only those spoils are "opima" which are taken first, in a pitched battle, where general slays general. So much, then, on this subject.

The Romans were so overjoyed at this victory and the ending of the war that they sent to the Pythian Apollo at Delphi a golden bowl¹ . . . as a thank-offering, gave a splendid share of the spoils to their allied cities, and sent many to Hiero, the king of Syracuse, who was their friend and ally.

IX. After Hannibal had invaded Italy,² Marcellus was sent to Sicily with a fleet. And when the disaster at Cannae came,³ and many thousands of Romans had been slain in the battle, and only a few had saved themselves by flying to Canusium, and it was expected that Hannibal would march at once against Rome, now that he had destroyed the flower of her forces, in the first place, Marcellus sent fifteen hundred men from his ships to protect the city; then, under orders from the senate, he went to Canusium, and taking the troops that had gathered there, led them out of the fortifications to show that he would not abandon the country. Most of the leaders and influential men among the Romans had fallen in battle; and as for Fabius Maximus, who was held in the greatest esteem for his sagacity and trustworthiness, his excessive care in planning to avoid losses was censured as cowardly inactivity. The people thought they had

¹ The indication of its source or value which follows in the Greek, is uncertain.

² 218 B.C.

³ 216 B.C. Cf. the *Fabius Maximus*, xv. f.

ἀποχρῶντα τοῦτον ἔχειν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, οὐ
 διαρκῆ δὲ πρὸς ἄμυναν στρατηγόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρ-
 κελλον ἀφεώρων,¹ καὶ τὸ θαρραλέον αὐτοῦ καὶ
 δραστήριον πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου κεραυνύντες καὶ
 ἀρμόττοντες εὐλάβειαν καὶ πρόνοιαν, ποτὲ μὲν
 ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα χειροτονοῦντες ὑπάτους, ποτὲ δὲ
 ἐν μέρει, τὸν μὲν ὑπάτον, τὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον, ἐξ-
 4 ἐπέμπον. ὁ δὲ Ποσειδώνιος φησι τὸν μὲν Φάβιον
 θυρεὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ξίφος. αὐτὸς 303
 δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Φάβιον ὡς παιδαγω-
 γὸν φοβεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ὡς ἀνταγωνι-
 στήν· ὑφ' οὗ μὲν γὰρ κωλύεσθαι κακόν τι ποιεῖν,
 ὑφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ πάσχειν.

X. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀνέσεως πολλῆς καὶ θρασύ-
 τητος ἐκ τοῦ κρατεῖν τὸν Ἀννίβαν τοῖς στρα-
 τιώταις ἐγγενομένης, τοὺς ἀποσκιδναμένους τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου καὶ κατατρέχοντας τὴν χώραν
 ἐπιτιθέμενος κατέκοπτε καὶ ὑπανήλiske τῆς
 δυνάμεως· ἔπειτα πρὸς Νέαν πόλιν καὶ Νῶλαν
 βοηθήσας Νεαπολίτας μὲν ἐπέρρωσεν αὐτοὺς
 καθ' ἑαυτοὺς βεβαίους ὄντας Ῥωμαίοις, εἰς δὲ
 Νῶλαν εἰσελθὼν στάσιν εὔρε, τῆς βουλῆς τὸν
 δῆμον ἀννιβίζοντα μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ καταρ-
 2 τίσαι μὴ δυναμένης. ἦν γάρ τις ἀνὴρ εὐγενεῖα
 τε πρωτεύων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κατ' ἀνδρείαν ἐπι-
 φανής, ὄνομα Βάνδιος· τοῦτον ἐν Κάνναις περι-
 ὀπτως ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντα
 τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τέλος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς
 εὔρεθέντα πολλῶν βελῶν κατάπλεων τὸ σῶμα,
 θαυμάσας ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐ μόνον ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ

¹ ἀφεώρων Coraës and Bekker have κατέφευγον (took refuge),
 after Stephanus.

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in him a general who sufficed for the defensive, but was inadequate for the offensive, and therefore turned their eyes upon Marcellus; and mingling and uniting his boldness and activity with the caution and forethought of Fabius, they sometimes elected both to be consuls together, and sometimes made them, by turns, consul and proconsul, and sent them into the field. Poseidonius says that Fabius was called a shield, and Marcellus a sword.¹ And Hannibal himself used to say that he feared Fabius as a tutor, but Marcellus as an adversary; for by the one he was prevented from doing any harm, while by the other he was actually harmed.

X. To begin with, then, since Hannibal's victory had made his soldiers very bold and careless, Marcellus set upon them as they straggled from their camp and overran the country, cut them down, and thus slowly diminished their forces; secondly, he brought aid to Neapolis and Nola. In Neapolis he merely confirmed the minds of the citizens, who were of their own choice steadfast friends of Rome; but on entering Nola, he found a state of discord, the senate being unable to regulate and manage the people, which favoured Hannibal. For there was a man in the city of the highest birth and of illustrious valour, whose name was Bantius. This man had fought with conspicuous bravery at Cannae, and had slain many of the Carthaginians, and when he was at last found among the dead with his body full of missiles, Hannibal was struck with admiration of him, and not only let him go without a ransom, but

¹ Cf. the *Fabius Maximus*, xix. 3.

λύτρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῶρα προσέθηκε καὶ φίλον
 3 ἐποίησατο καὶ ξένον. ἀμειβόμενος οὖν τὴν χάριν
 ὁ Βάνδιος εἰς ἣν τῶν ἀννιβιζόντων προθύμως, καὶ
 τὸν δῆμον ἰσχύων ἐξῆγε πρὸς ἀπόστασιν. ὁ δὲ
 Μάρκελλος ἀνελεῖν μὲν ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν οὕτω τὴν
 τύχην καὶ κεκοινωνηκότα τῶν μεγίστων Ῥω-
 μαίοις ἀγώνων οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγείτο, πρὸς δὲ τῷ
 φύσει φιλανθρωπῷ καὶ πιθανὸς ὢν ὁμίλια προσά-
 γεσθαι φιλότιμον ἦθος, ἀσπασαμένου ποτὲ τοῦ
 Βανδίου αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων εἴη,
 4 πάλαι μὲν εὖ εἰδώς, ἀρχὴν δὲ καὶ πρόφασιν ἐν-
 τεύξεως ζητῶν. ὥς γὰρ εἶπε, “Λεύκιος Βάνδιος,”
 οἶον ἡσθεῖς καὶ θαυμάσας ὁ Μάρκελλος, “Ἡ γὰρ
 ἐκείνος,” ἔφη, “σὺ Βάνδιος, οὐ πλείστος ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 λόγος τῶν ἐν Κάνναις ἀγωνισαμένων, ὥς μόνου
 Παύλου Αἰμίλιου τὸν ἄρχοντα μὴ προλιπόντος,
 ἀλλὰ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐκείνῳ φερομένων βελῶν
 5 ὑποστάντος τῷ σώματι καὶ ἀναδεξαμένου;” φή-
 σαντος δὲ τοῦ Βανδίου καὶ τι καὶ παραφήναντος
 αὐτῷ τῶν τραυμάτων, “Εἶτα,” ἔφη, “τηλικοῦτα
 γνωρίσματα φέρων τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίας οὐκ
 εὐθὺς προσήεις; ἢ κακοί σοι δοκοῦμεν ἀρετὴν
 ἀμείβεσθαι φίλων οἷς ἐστι τιμὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς
 πολεμίοις;” ταῦτα φιλοφρονηθεὶς καὶ δεξιω-
 σάμενος ἵππον τε δωρεῖται πολεμιστὴν αὐτῷ
 καὶ δραχμὰς ἀργυρίου πεντακοσίας.

XI. Ἐκ τούτου βεβαιότατος μὲν ἦν Μαρκέλλος
 παραστάτης καὶ σύμμαχος, δεινότατος δὲ μη-
 νυτῆς καὶ κατήγορος τῶν τὰναντία φρονούντων
 ὁ Βάνδιος. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοί, καὶ διεννοοῦντο τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων ἐπεξιόντων τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὶ διαρ-
 2 πάσαι τὰς ἀποσκευάς. διὸ συντάξας ὁ Μάρ-

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actually added gifts, and made him his friend and guest. In return for this favour, then, Bantius was one of those who eagerly favoured the cause of Hannibal, and was using his great influence to bring the people to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put to death a man so illustrious in his good fortune who had taken part with the Romans in their greatest conflicts, and, besides his natural kindliness, he had an address that was likely to win over a character whose ambition was for honour. One day, therefore, when Bantius saluted him, he asked him who he was, not that he had not known him for some time, but seeking occasion and excuse for conversation with him. For when he said, "I am Lucius Bantius," Marcellus, as if astonished and delighted, said: "What! are you that Bantius who is more talked of in Rome than any of those who fought at Cannae, as the only man who did not abandon Paulus Aemilius the consul, but encountered and received in his own body most of the missiles aimed at him?" And when Bantius assented and showed him some of his scars, "Why, then," said Marcellus, "when you bear such marks of your friendship towards us, did you not come to us at once? Can it be that you think us loath to requite valour in friends who are honoured even among our enemies?" These kindly greetings he followed up by making him presents of a war horse and five hundred drachmas in silver.

XI. After this Bantius was a most steadfast partisan and ally of Marcellus, and a most formidable denouncer and accuser of those who belonged to the opposite party.¹ These were many, and they purposed, when the Romans went out against the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Marcellus there-

¹ The story of Lucius Bantius is told by Livy also (xxiii. 15, 7—16, 1).

- κελλος τὴν δύναμιν ἐντὸς παρὰ τὰς πύλας ἔστησε τὰ σκευοφόρα, καὶ τοῖς Νωλανοῖς διὰ κηρύγματος ἀπέειπε πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσπελάζειν. ἦν οὖν ὅπλων ἑρμηία καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπεσπάσατο προσάγειν ἀτακτότερον, ὥς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραττομένων. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὴν καθ' αὐτὸν πύλην ἀναπετάσαι κελεύσας ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξήλασεν, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν ἱπποτῶν τοὺς λαμπροτάτους, καὶ προσπεσὼν κατὰ στόμα
- 3 συνέχετο τοῖς πολεμίοις. μετ' ὀλίγον δ' οἱ πεζοὶ καθ' ἑτέραν πύλην ἐχώρουν μετὰ δρόμου καὶ βοῆς· καὶ πρὸς τούτους αὐθις αὖ τοῦ Ἀννίβα μερίζοντος τὴν δύναμιν ἢ τρίτῃ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνεφύγνυτο, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἐξέθεον οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ προσέκειντο πανταχόθεν ἐκπεπληγμένοις τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καὶ κακῶς ἀμυνομένοις τοὺς ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη διὰ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐπιφερομένους. κἀνταῦθα πρῶτον οἱ σὺν Ἀννίβα Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέδωκαν, ὠθούμενοι φόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ τραύμασι
- 4 πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ πεντα- 304
κισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὐ πλείονας ἢ πεντακοσίους. ὁ δὲ Λίβιος οὕτω μὲν οὐ διαβεβαιοῦται γενέσθαι μεγάλην ἡτταν οὐδὲ πεσεῖν νεκροὺς τοσούτους τῶν πολεμίων, κλέος δὲ μέγα Μαρκέλλῳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ κακῶν θάρσος ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ὑπάρξαι θαυμαστόν, οὐχ ὥς πρὸς ἅμαχον οὐδὲ ἀήττητον, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ παθεῖν δυνάμενον διαγωνιζομένοις πολέμιον.

XII. Διὸ καὶ θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀποθανύντος

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fore drew up his forces inside the city, stationed his baggage-trains near the gates, and issued an edict forbidding the men of Nola to come near the city walls. Consequently there were no armed men to be seen, and Hannibal was thus induced to lead up his forces in some disorder, supposing the city to be in a tumult. But at this juncture Marcellus ordered the gate where he stood to be thrown open, and marched out, having with him the flower of his horsemen, and charging directly down upon the enemy joined battle with them. After a little his footmen also, by another gate, advanced to the attack on the run and with shouts. And still again, while Hannibal was dividing his forces to meet these, the third gate was thrown open, and through it the rest rushed forth and fell upon their enemies on every side. These were dismayed by the unexpected onset, and made a poor defence against those with whom they were already engaged because of those who charged upon them later. Here for the first time the soldiers of Hannibal gave way before the Romans, being beaten back to their camp with much slaughter and many wounds. For it is said that more than five thousand of them were slain, while they killed not more than five hundred of the Romans. Livy, however, will not affirm¹ that the victory was so great nor that so many of the enemy were slain, but says that this battle brought great renown to Marcellus, and to the Romans a wonderful courage after their disasters. They felt that they were contending, not against a resistless and unconquerable foe, but against one who was liable, like themselves, to defeat.

XII. For this reason, on the death of one of the

¹ *Vix equidem ausim adfirmare*, xxiii. 16, 15.

ἐκάλει Μάρκελλον ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀπόντα, καὶ βία τῶν ἀρχόντων ὑπερέθετο τὴν κατάστασιν ἕως ἐκεῖνος ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ πάσαις μὲν ἀπεδείχθη ταῖς ψήφοις ὕπατος, ἐπιβροντήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οὐκ αἴσιον τιθεμένων τὸ σημεῖον, ἐμφανῶς δὲ κωλύειν ὀκνούντων καὶ δεδιότων τὸν δῆμον,

2 αὐτὸς ἐξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ μέντοι τὴν στρατείαν ἔφυγεν, ἀλλ' ἀνθύπατος ἀναγορευθεὶς καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Νῶλαν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κακῶς ἐποίει τοὺς ἡρημένους τὰ τοῦ Φοίνικος. ὥς δὲ ὀξεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν θέμενος βοήθειαν ἐκεῖνος ἦκε, προκαλουμένῳ μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐκ ἡβουλήθη διαγωνίσασθαι, τρέψαντι δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μηκέτι προσδεχομένῳ μάχην ἐπεξῆλθε, διαδοὺς δόρατα τῶν ναυμάχων μεγάλα τοῖς πεζοῖς, καὶ διδάξας πόρρωθεν συνηροῦσι παίειν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀκοντιστὰς μὲν οὐκ ὄντας, αἰχμαῖς δὲ

3 χρωμένους ἐκ χειρὸς βραχείαις. διὸ καὶ δοκοῦσι τότε δεῖξαι τὰ νῶτα Ῥωμαίοις ὅσοι συνέβαλον καὶ φυγὴν ἀπροφάσιστον φυγεῖν, ἀποβαλόντες ἐξ ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς μὲν γενομένους πεντακισχιλίους, αἰχμαλώτους δὲ ἑξακοσίους,¹ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τέσσαρας μὲν πεσόντας, δύο δὲ ζωοὺς ἀλόντας. δ' δ' ἦν μέγιστον, ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἵππεῖς Ἰβήρων καὶ Νομάδων μιγάδες αὐτομολοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὕτω πρότερον Ἀννίβα τοῦτο παθόντος, ἀλλ' ἐκ ποικίλων καὶ πολυτρόπων συνηρμοσμένον ἔθνῶν βαρβαρι-

¹ αἰχμαλώτους δὲ ἑξακοσίους added to the text by Sintenis and Bekker, after Livy, xxiii. 46, 4.

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consuls,¹ the people called Marcellus home to succeed him, and, in spite of the magistrates, postponed the election until his return from the army. He was made consul by a unanimous vote, but there was a peal of thunder at the time, and since the augurs considered the omen unpropitious, but hesitated to make open opposition for fear of the people, he renounced the office of himself. He did not, however, lay aside his military command, but having been declared proconsul, he returned to his army at Nola and proceeded to punish those who had espoused the cause of the Carthaginian. And when Hannibal came swiftly to their aid against him, and challenged him to a pitched battle, Marcellus declined an engagement; but as soon as his adversary had set the greater part of his army to plundering and was no longer expecting a battle, he led his forces out against him. He had distributed long spears used in naval combats among his infantry, and taught them to watch their opportunity and smite the Carthaginians at long range; these were not javelineers, but used short spears in hand to hand fighting. This seems to have been the reason why at that time all the Carthaginians who were engaged turned their backs upon the Romans and took to unhesitating flight, losing five thousand of their number slain, and six hundred prisoners; four of their elephants also were killed, and two taken alive. But what was most important, on the third day after the battle, more than three hundred horsemen, composed of Spaniards and Numidians, deserted from them. Such a disaster had not happened before this to Hannibal, but a barbarian army made up of varied and dissimilar peoples had

¹ Lucius Postumius, who was utterly defeated and slain by the Gauls in 215 B.C. Cf. Livy, xxiii. 24.

κὸν στράτευμα πλείστον χρόνον ἐν μιᾷ γνώμῃ διαφυλάξαντος. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πιστοὶ παρέμειναν εἰς ἅπαν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν στρατηγοῖς.

- XIII. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπάτος τὸ τρίτον εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσεν. αἱ γὰρ Ἀννίβου περὶ τὸν πόλεμον εὐπραξίαι Καρχηδονίους ἐπήρην αὐθις ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς νήσου, μάλιστα τεταραγμένων τῶν περὶ τὰς Συρακούσας μετὰ τὴν Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ τυράννου τελευτῇ. διὸ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦν ἐκεῖ προαπεσταλμένη δύνα-
 2 μιν καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀππίος. ταύτην παραλαμβάνοντι τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ προσπίπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ συμφορᾷ κεχρημένοι τοιαύτῃ. τῶν περὶ Κάννας παραταξαμένων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν οἱ μὲν ἔφυγον, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἤλωσαν, τοσοῦτον πλήθος ὥς δοκεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ὑπολελείφθαι μηδὲ τοὺς τὰ
 3 τείχη διαφυλάξοντας. τοῖς δὲ ἄρα τοσοῦτο τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας περιῆν ὥστε τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐπὶ μικροῖς λύτροις ἀποδιδόντος Ἀννίβου μὴ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀποψηφίσασθαι καὶ περιῦδεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεθέντας, τοὺς δὲ πραθέν-
 4 τας ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, τῶν δὲ φυγῇ περιγενομένων τὸ πλήθος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποστεῖλαι, διακελευσα-
 μένους Ἰταλίας μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἕως πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. οὗτοι δὲ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ παρα-
 γενομένῳ προσπεσόντες ἄθρόοι, καὶ χαμαὶ καταβαλόντες αὐτούς, ἤτουν τάξιν ἐπιτίμου στρατείας μετὰ πολλῆς βοῆς καὶ δακρύων, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι δείξειν δι' ἔργων ἀτυχίαν τινὲ μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀναν-

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for a very long time been kept by him in perfect harmony. These deserters, then, remained entirely faithful both to Marcellus himself, and to the generals who succeeded him.¹

XIII. And now Marcellus, having been appointed consul for the third time,² sailed to Sicily. For Hannibal's successes in the war had encouraged the Carthaginians to attempt anew the conquest of the island, especially now that Syracuse was in confusion after the death of the tyrant Hieronymus. For this reason the Romans also had previously sent a force thither under the command of Appius. As Marcellus took over this force, he was beset by many Romans who were involved in a calamity now to be described. Of those who had been drawn up against Hannibal at Cannae, some had fled, and others had been taken alive, and in such numbers that it was thought the Romans had not even men enough left to defend the walls of their city. And yet so much of their high spirit and haughtiness remained that, although Hannibal offered to restore his prisoners of war for a slight ransom, they voted not to receive them, but suffered some of them to be put to death and others to be sold out of Italy; and as for the multitude who had saved themselves by flight, they sent them to Sicily, ordering them not to set foot in Italy as long as the war against Hannibal lasted.³ These were the men who, now that Marcellus was come, beset him in throngs, and throwing themselves on the ground before him, begged with many cries and tears for an assignment to honourable military service, promising to show by their actions that their

¹ Cf. Livy, xxiii. 46, 1-7.

² In 214 B.C. Fabius Maximus was his colleague.

³ Cf. Livy, xxiii. 25, 7.

δρίαν αὐτῶν τὴν τροπὴν ἐκείνην γενομένην. οἰκτείρας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάρκελλος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον αἰτούμενος ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ τῆς
 5 στρατιᾶς τὸ ἐπιλείπον ἀναπληροῦν. λόγων δὲ πολλῶν γενομένων ἐποιήσατο γνώμην ἢ βουλὴν μηδὲν εἰς δημόσια πράγματα δεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους ἀνθρώπων ἀνάνδρων· εἰ δὲ βούλεται χρῆσθαι Μάρκελλος αὐτοῖς ἴσως, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία νομιζομένων στεφάνων καὶ γερῶν τυχεῖν ὑπ' ἄρχοντος. τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα Μάρκελλον ἠνίασε, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεμον ἐπανελθὼν ἐμέμψατο τὴν βουλήν, ὡς ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων οὐ παρασχούσαν αὐτῷ τοσούτων δυστυχίαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι πολιτῶν.

XIV. Τότε δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ πρῶτον μὲν ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἱπποκράτους Συρακουσίων στρατηγοῦ, ὃς Καρχηδονίοις χαριζόμενος καὶ τυραννίδα κτῶμενος αὐτῷ πολλοὺς διέφθειρε Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Λεοντίνοις, εἶλε¹ τὴν τῶν Λεοντίνων πόλιν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ Λεοντίνους μὲν οὐκ ἠδίκησε, τῶν δὲ αὐτομόλων ὅσους ἔλαβε μαστιγώσας ἀπέκτεινε.
 2 τοῦ δ' Ἱπποκράτους πρῶτον μὲν λόγον εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας προπέμψαντος ὡς Λεοντίνους ἡβηδὸν ἀποσφάττει Μάρκελλος, ἔπειτα δὲ τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσόντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντος, ἄρας ὁ Μάρκελλος τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐχώρει. καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας πλησίον εἰσέπεμψε μὲν πρέσβεις περὶ τῶν ἐν Λεοντίνοις διδάξοντας, ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος μὴ πειθόμενων Συρακουσίων (ἐκράτουν γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν
 3 Ἱπποκράτην), προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο κατὰ γῆν ἅμα

¹ εἶλε with Reiske and Coraës : . . . καὶ εἶλε, the lacuna to be filled from Livy xxiv. 30, 1.

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former defeat had been due to some great misfortune rather than to cowardice. Marcellus, therefore, taking pity on them, wrote to the senate asking permission to fill up the deficiencies in his army from time to time with these men. But after much discussion the senate declared its opinion that the Roman commonwealth had no need of men who were cowards; if, however, as it appeared, Marcellus wished to use them, they were to receive from their commander none of the customary crowns or prizes for valour. This decree vexed Marcellus, and when he came back to Rome after the war in Sicily, he upbraided the senate for not permitting him, in return for his many great services, to redeem so many citizens from misfortune.

XIV. But in Sicily, at the time of which I speak, his first proceeding, after wrong had been done him by Hippocrates, the commander of the Syracusans (who, to gratify the Carthaginians and acquire the tyranny for himself, had killed many Romans at Leontini), was to take the city of Leontini by storm. He did no harm, however, to its citizens, but all the deserters whom he took he ordered to be beaten with rods and put to death. Hippocrates first sent a report to Syracuse that Marcellus was putting all the men of Leontini to the sword, and then, when the city was in a tumult at the news, fell suddenly upon it and made himself master of it. Upon this, Marcellus set out with his whole army and came to Syracuse. He encamped near by, and sent ambassadors into the city to tell the people what had really happened at Leontini; but when this was of no avail and the Syracusans would not listen to him, the power being now in the hands of Hippocrates, he proceeded to attack the city by land and sea,

- καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, Ἀππίου μὲν τὸν πεζὸν ἐπάγοντος στρατόν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεντήρεις ἔχων ἐξήκοντα παντοδαπῶν ὄπλων καὶ βελῶν πλήρεις. ὑπὲρ δὲ μεγάλου ζεύγματος νεῶν ὁκτὼ πρὸς ἀλλήλας συνδεδεμένων μηχανὴν ἄρας ἐπέπλει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν πεποιθώς· ἥς ἄρα λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν Ἀρχιμήδει καὶ τοῖς Ἀρχιμήδους
- 4 μηχανήμασιν. ὦν ὡς μὲν ἔργον ἄξιον σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ προὔθετο, γεωμετρίας δὲ παιζούσης ἐγεγόνει πάρεργα τὰ πλείστα, πρότερον φιλοτιμηθέντος Ἰέρωνος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πείσαντος Ἀρχιμήδη τρέψαι τι τῆς τέχνης ἀπὸ τῶν νοητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀμῶς γέ πως δι' αἰσθήσεως μίξαντα ταῖς χρεαίαις ἐμφανέστερον καταστήσαι τοῖς πολλοῖς.
- 5 Τὴν γὰρ ἀγαπωμένην ταύτην καὶ περιβόητον ὀργανικὴν ἤρξαντο μὲν κινεῖν οἱ περὶ Εὐδόξου καὶ Ἀρχύταν, ποικίλλοντες τῷ γλαφυρῷ γεωμετρίαν, καὶ λογικῆς καὶ γραμμικῆς ἀποδείξεως οὐκ εὐποροῦντα προβλήματα δι' αἰσθητῶν καὶ ὀργανικῶν παραδειγμάτων ὑπερείδοντες, ὡς τὸ περὶ δύο μέσας ἀνὰ λόγον πρόβλημα καὶ στοιχείου ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῶν γραφομένων ἀναγκαῖον εἰς ὀργανικὰς ἐξήγον ἀμφότεροι κατασκευάς, μεσογράφους τινὰς ἀπὸ καμπύλων γραμμῶν καὶ τμημάτων μεθαρμό-
- 6 ζοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ Πλάτων ἡγανάκτησε καὶ διετείνατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀπολλύντας καὶ διαφθείροντας τὸ γεωμετρίας ἀγαθόν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσωμάτων

¹ Non chapter xv. 3. According to Polybius (viii. 6), Marcellus had eight quinqueremes in pairs, and on each pair, lashed together, a "sambuca" (or *καρυ*) had been

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Appius leading up the land forces, and he himself having a fleet of sixty quinqueremes filled with all sorts of arms and missiles. Moreover, he had erected an engine of artillery on a huge platform supported by eight galleys fastened together,¹ and with this sailed up to the city wall, confidently relying on the extent and splendour of his equipment and his own great fame. But all this proved to be of no account in the eyes of Archimedes and in comparison with the engines of Archimedes. To these he had by no means devoted himself as work worthy of his serious effort, but most of them were mere accessories of a geometry practised for amusement, since in bygone days Hiero the king had eagerly desired and at last persuaded him to turn his art somewhat from abstract notions to material things, and by applying his philosophy somehow to the needs which make themselves felt, to render it more evident to the common mind.

For the art of mechanics, now so celebrated and admired, was first originated by Eudoxus and Archytas, who embellished geometry with its subtleties, and gave to problems incapable of proof by word and diagram, a support derived from mechanical illustrations that were patent to the senses. For instance, in solving the problem of finding two mean proportional lines, a necessary requisite for many geometrical figures, both mathematicians had recourse to mechanical arrangements, adapting to their purposes certain intermediate portions of curved lines and sections. But Plato was incensed at this, and inveighed against them as corrupters and destroyers of the pure excellence of geometry,

constructed. This was a pent-house for raising armed men on to the battlements of the besieged city.

καὶ νοητῶν ἀποδιδρασκούσης ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητά, καὶ προσχρωμένης αὐτῇς αὐτῶν σώμασι πολλῆς καὶ φορτικῆς βαναυσουργίας δεομένοις, οὕτω διεκρίθη γεωμετρίας ἐκπεσοῦσα μηχανικῇ, καὶ περιορῶμένη πολλὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας μία τῶν στρατιωτῶν τεχνῶν ἐγεγόνει.

- 7 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ Ἀρχιμήδης, Ἰέρωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ συγγενῆς ὢν καὶ φίλος, ἔγραψεν ὡς τῇ δοθείσῃ δυνάμει τὸ δοθὲν βάρος κινήσαι δυνατόν ἐστι· 306 καὶ νεανιενσάμενος, ὥς φασι, ῥώμῃ τῆς ἀποδείξεως εἶπεν ὡς, εἰ γῆν εἶχεν ἑτέρα, ἐκίνησεν αὖ
- 8 ταύτην μεταβάς εἰς ἐκείνην. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος, καὶ δεηθέντος εἰς ἔργον ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ δεῖξαι τι τῶν μεγάλων κινούμενων ὑπὸ σμικρᾶς δυνάμεως, ὁλκάδα τριάρμενον τῶν βασιλικῶν πόνῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ χειρὶ πολλῇ νεωλκηθεῖσαν, ἐμβαλὼν ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν συνήθη φόρτον, αὐτὸς ἄπωθεν καθήμενος, οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ ἡρέμα τῇ χειρὶ σείων ἀρχὴν τινα πολυσπάστου προσηγάγετο λείως καὶ ἀπταιί-
- 9 στως καὶ ὥσπερ διὰ θαλάττης ἐπιθέουσαν. ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ συννοήσας τῆς τέχνης τὴν δύναμιν, ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀρχιμήδην ὅπως αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἀμυνομένῳ, τὰ δ' ἐπιχειροῦντι μηχανήματα κατασκευάσῃ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πολιορκίας, οἷς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπόλεμον καὶ πανηγυρικὸν βιώσας, τότε δ' ὑπῆρχε τοῖς Συρακουσίοις εἰς δέον ἡ παρασκευὴ καὶ μετὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ὁ δημιουργός.

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which thus turned her back upon the incorporeal things of abstract thought and descended to the things of sense, making use, moreover, of objects which required much mean and manual labour. For this reason mechanics was made entirely distinct from geometry, and being for a long time ignored by philosophers, came to be regarded as one of the military arts.

And yet even Archimedes, who was a kinsman and friend of King Hiero, wrote to him that with any given force it was possible to move any given weight; and emboldened, as we are told, by the strength of his demonstration, he declared that, if there were another world, and he could go to it, he could move this. Hiero was astonished, and begged him to put his proposition into execution, and show him some great weight moved by a slight force. Archimedes therefore fixed upon a three-masted merchantman of the royal fleet, which had been dragged ashore by the great labours of many men, and after putting on board many passengers and the customary freight, he seated himself at a distance from her, and without any great effort, but quietly setting in motion with his hand a system of compound pulleys, drew her towards him smoothly and evenly, as though she were gliding through the water. Amazed at this, then, and comprehending the power of his art, the king persuaded Archimedes to prepare for him offensive and defensive engines to be used in every kind of siege warfare. These he had never used himself, because he spent the greater part of his life in freedom from war and amid the festal rites of peace; but at the present time his apparatus stood the Syracusans in good stead, and, with the apparatus, its fabricator.¹

¹ Cf. Polybius, viii. 5, 3-5; 9, 2; Livy, xxiv. 34.

- XV. Ὡς οὖν προσέβαλον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διχόθεν, ἔκπληξις ἦν τῶν Συρακουσίων καὶ σιγὴ διὰ δέος, μηδὲν ἂν ἀνθέξειν πρὸς βίαν καὶ δύναμιν οἰομένων τοσαύτην. σχάσαντος δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς τοῦ Ἀρχιμήδους ἅμα τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς ἀπὴντα τοξεύματά τε παντοδαπά καὶ λίθων ὑπέρογκα μεγέθη, ῥοίζω καὶ τάχει καταφερομένων ἀπίστω, καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως τὸ βρῖθος στέγοντος ἀθρόους ἀνατρεπόντων τοὺς ὑποπίπτοντας καὶ τὰς τάξεις συγχέοντων,
- 2 ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἄφνω ὑπεραιωρούμεναι κεραῖαι τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ βρῖθους στηρίζοντος ἄνωθεν ὠθοῦσαι κατέδυνον εἰς βυθόν, τὰς δὲ χερσὶ σιδηραῖς ἢ στόμασιν εἰκασμένοις γεράνων ἀνασπῶσαι πρῶραθεν ὀρθὰς ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἐβάπτιζον, ἢ δι' ἀντιτόνων ἔνδον ἐπιστρεφόμεναι καὶ περιηγόμεναι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος πεφυκóσι κρημνοῖς καὶ σκοπέλοις προσήρασσον, ἅμα φθόρῳ πολλῷ τῶν
- 3 ἐπιβατῶν συντριβομένων. πολλάκις δὲ μετέωρος ἐξαρθεῖσα ναὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε περιδινουμένη καὶ κρεμαμένη θέαμα φρικῶδες ἦν, μέχρι οὗ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπορριφέντων καὶ διασφενδονηθέντων κενὴ προσπέσοι τοῖς τείχεσιν ἢ περιολίσθοι τῆς λαβῆς ἀνείσης. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἀπὸ τοῦ ζεύγματος ἐπῆγε μηχανήν, σαμβύκη μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο δι' ὁμοιότητά τινα σχήματος πρὸς τὸ
- 4 μουσικὸν ὄργανον, ἔτι δὲ ἄπωθεν αὐτῆς προσφερομένης πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλατο λίθος δεκατά-

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XV. When, therefore, the Romans assaulted them by sea and land, the Syracusans were stricken dumb with terror ; they thought that nothing could withstand so furious an onset by such forces. But Archimedes began to ply his engines, and shot against the land forces of the assailants all sorts of missiles and immense masses of stones, which came down with incredible din and speed ; nothing whatever could ward off their weight, but they knocked down in heaps those who stood in their way, and threw their ranks into confusion. At the same time huge beams were suddenly projected over the ships from the walls, which sank some of them with great weights plunging down from on high ; others were seized at the prow by iron claws, or beaks like the beaks of cranes, drawn straight up into the air, and then plunged stern foremost into the depths, or were turned round and round by means of enginery within the city, and dashed upon the steep cliffs that jutted out beneath the wall of the city, with great destruction of the fighting men on board, who perished in the wrecks. Frequently, too, a ship would be lifted out of the water into mid-air, whirled hither and thither as it hung there, a dreadful spectacle, until its crew had been thrown out and hurled in all directions, when it would fall empty upon the walls, or slip away from the clutch that had held it. As for the engine which Marcellus was bringing up on the bridge of ships, and which was called "sambuca" from some resemblance it had to the musical instrument of that name,¹ while it was still some distance off in its approach to the wall, a stone of ten talents' weight² was discharged at it, then a

¹ See chapter xiv. 3.

² A talent's weight was something over fifty pounds.

λαντος ὀλκὴν, εἶτα ἕτερος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τρίτος, ὧν οἱ μὲν αὐτῇ¹ ἐμπεσόντες μεγάλῳ κτύπῳ καὶ κλύδωνι τῆς μηχανῆς τὴν τε βάσιν συνηλόησαν καὶ τὸ γόμφωμα διέσεισαν καὶ διέσπασαν τοῦ ζεύγματος, ὥστε² τὸν Μάρκελλον ἀπορούμενον αὐτὸν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀποπλεῖν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀναχώρησιν παρεγγυῆσαι.

- 5 Βουλευομένοις δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἔτι νυκτός, ἂν δύνωνται, προσμῖξαι τοῖς τείχεσι· τοὺς γὰρ τό-
νους, οἷς χρῆσθαι τὸν Ἀρχιμήδην, ῥύμην ἔχοντας
ὑπερπετεῖς ποιήσεσθαι τὰς τῶν βελῶν ἀφέσεις,
ἐγγύθεν δὲ καὶ τελέως ἀπράκτους εἶναι διάστημα
τῆς πληγῆς οὐκ ἐχούσης. ὁ δ' ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ
ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευασμένος ὄργανων τε συμμέ-
τρους πρὸς πᾶν διάστημα κινήσεις καὶ βέλη
βραχέα, καὶ διὰ τὸ τεῖχος³ οὐ μεγάλων, πολλῶν
δὲ καὶ συνεχῶν τρημάτων ὄντων,³ οἱ σκορπίοι
βραχύτονοι μὲν, ἐγγύθεν δὲ πλήξαι παρεστήκεσαν
ἀόρατοι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

XVI. Ὡς οὖν προσέμειξαν οἰόμενοι λανθάνειν,
αὐθις αὐτὸν βέλεσι πολλοῖς ἐντυγχάνοντες καὶ πλη-
γαῖς, πετρῶν μὲν ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς φερο-
μένων ὥσπερ πρὸς κάθετον, τοῦ δὲ τείχους τοξεύ- 307
ματα πανταχόθεν ἀναπέμποντος, ἀνεχώρουν ὀπί-

- 2 σω. κἀνταῦθα πάλιν αὐτῶν εἰς μῆκος ἐκτετα-
γμένων, βελῶν ἐκθεόντων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων
ἀπιδόντας ἐγένετο πολὺς μὲν αὐτῶν φθόρος, πολὺς
δὲ τῶν νεῶν συγκρουσμός, οὐδὲν ἀντιδρᾶσαι τοὺς
πολεμίους δυναμένων. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν ὀρ-

¹ αὐτῇ Bekker, after Coraës: αὐτῆς (of the engine itself).

² ὥστε before this word Sintenis² and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, comparing Polybius, viii. 7, *fn.*

³ τὸ τεῖχος, ὄντων added to the text by Sintenis, who compares Polybius viii. 7, 6.

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second and a third ; some of these, falling upon it with great din and surge of wave, crushed the foundation of the engine, shattered its frame-work, and dislodged it from the platform, so that Marcellus, in perplexity, ordered his ships to sail back as fast as they could, and his land forces to retire.

Then, in a council of war, it was decided to come up under the walls while it was still night, if they could ; for the ropes which Archimedes used in his engines, since they imparted great impetus to the missiles cast, would, they thought, send them flying over their heads, but would be ineffective at close quarters, where there was no space for the cast. Archimedes, however, as it seemed, had long before prepared for such an emergency engines with a range adapted to any interval and missiles of short flight, and through many small and contiguous openings in the wall short-range engines called scorpions could be brought to bear on objects close at hand without being seen by the enemy.

XVI. When, therefore, the Romans came up under the walls, thinking themselves unnoticed, once more they encountered a great storm of missiles ; huge stones came tumbling down upon them almost perpendicularly, and the wall shot out arrows at them from every point ; they therefore retired. And here again, when they were some distance off, missiles darted forth and fell upon them as they were going away, and there was a great slaughter among them ; many of their ships, too, were dashed together, and they could not retaliate in any way upon their foes. For Archimedes had built most of his engines close

γάνων ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσκευοποίητο τῷ Ἀρχιμήδει, καὶ θεομαχοῦσιν ἐώκεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, μυρίων αὐτοῖς κακῶν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἐπιχειομένων.

XVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Μάρκελλος ἀπέφυγέ τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἑαυτῷ σκώπτων τεχνίτας καὶ μηχανοποιούς ἔλεγεν· “Οὐ παυσόμεθα πρὸς τὸν γεωμετρικὸν τοῦτον Βριάρεων πολεμοῦντες, ὃς ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν¹ ἡμῶν κυαθίζει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, τὴν δὲ σαμβύκην ῥαπίζων¹ μετ' αἰσχύνῃς ἐκβέβληκε, τοὺς δὲ μυθικοὺς ἐκατόγχειρας ὑπεραίρει
2 τοσαῦτα βάλλων ἅμα βέλη καθ' ἡμῶν;” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ Συρακούσιοι σῶμα τῆς Ἀρχιμήδους παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ κινουσα πάντα καὶ στρέφουσα ψυχὴ μία, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὀπλων ἀτρέμα κειμένων, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνου τότε τῆς πόλεως χρωμένης καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν καὶ
3 πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. τέλος δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὕτω περιφόβους γεγονότας ὁρῶν ὁ Μάρκελλος ὥστ', εἰ καλῶδιον ἢ ξύλον ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους μικρὸν ὀφθείη προτεινόμενον, τοῦτο ἐκείνο, μηχανὴν τινα κινεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρχιμήδῃ βοῶντας ἀποτρέπεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν, ἀπέσχετο μάχης ἀπάσης καὶ προσβολῆς, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν πολιορκίαν θέμενος.

Τηλικούτον μέντοι φρόνημα καὶ βάθος ψυχῆς καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκέκτητο θεωρημάτων πλούτον Ἀρχιμήδης ὥστε, ἐφ' οἷς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἔσχε συνέσεως,
4 μηθὲν ἐθέλῃσαι σύγγραμμα περὶ τούτων ἀπολιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ μηχανικὰ πραγματεῖαν καὶ πᾶσαν ὅλως τέχνην χρείας ἐφαπτομένην

¹ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν . . . ῥαπίζων an early anonymous correction of the MSS. τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἡμῶν καθίζων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν παίζων, adopted by Bekker. Cf. Polybius, viii. 8, 6.

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behind the wall, and the Romans seemed to be fighting against the gods, now that countless mischiefs were poured out upon them from an invisible source.

XVII. However, Marcellus made his escape, and jesting with his own artificers and engineers, "Let us stop," said he, "fighting against this geometrical Briareus, who uses our ships like cups to ladle water from the sea, and has whipped and driven off in disgrace our sambuca, and with the many missiles which he shoots against us all at once, outdoes the hundred-handed monsters of mythology." For in reality all the rest of the Syracusans were but a body for the designs of Archimedes, and his the one soul moving and managing everything; for all other weapons lay idle, and his alone were then employed by the city both in offence and defence. At last the Romans became so fearful that, whenever they saw a bit of rope or a stick of timber projecting a little over the wall, "There it is," they cried, "Archimedes is training some engine upon us," and turned their backs and fled. Seeing this, Marcellus desisted from all fighting and assault, and thenceforth depended on a long siege.

And yet Archimedes possessed such a lofty spirit, so profound a soul, and such a wealth of scientific theory, that although his inventions had won for him a name and fame for superhuman sagacity, he would not consent to leave behind him any treatise on this subject, but regarding the work of an engineer and every art that ministers to the needs of life as ignoble and vulgar, he devoted his earnest

ἀγεννή καὶ βάνανσον ἡγησάμενος, εἰς ἐκεῖνα
καταθέσθαι μόνα τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλοτιμίαν οἷς τὸ
καλὸν καὶ περιττὸν ἀμυγῆς τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πρόσ-
εστιν, ἀσύγκριτα μὲν ὄντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἔριν δὲ
παρέχοντα πρὸς τὴν ὕλην τῇ ἀποδείξει, τῆς μὲν
τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος, τῆς δὲ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν
5 καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὑπερφυῇ παρεχομένης· οὐ γὰρ
ἔστιν ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ χαλεπωτέρας καὶ βαρυτέρας
ὑποθέσεις ἐν ἀπλουστέροις λαβεῖν καὶ καθαρω-
τέροις στοιχείοις γραφομένας. καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν
εὐφυῖα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προσάπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπερβολῇ
τινι πόνου νομίζουσιν ἀπόνως πεποιημένῳ καὶ
ῥαδίῳ ἕκαστον εἰκὸς γεγονέναι. ζητῶν μὲν γὰρ
οὐκ ἂν τις εὖροι δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἅμα δὲ
τῇ μαθήσει παρίσταται δόξα τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν
εὐρεῖν· οὕτω λείαν ὁδὸν ἄγει¹ καὶ ταχεῖαν ἐπὶ τὸ
6 δεικνύμενον. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἀπιστῆσαι τοῖς περὶ
αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις ἐστίν, ὥς ὑπ' οἰκείας δὴ τινος
καὶ συνόικου θελγόμενος αἰεὶ σειρήνος ἐλέληστο
καὶ σίτου² καὶ θεραπείας σώματος ἐξέλειπε, βία
δὲ πολλάκις ἐλκόμενος ἐπ' αἰμαίμα καὶ λουτρόν,
ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάραις ἔγραφε σχήματα τῶν γεωμετρι-
κῶν, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀληλιμμένου διῆγε τῷ
δακτύλῳ γραμμὰς, ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς μεγάλης κάτοχος
7 ὦν καὶ μουσὸληπτος ἀληθῶς. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ
καλῶν εὐρετῆς γεγονὼς λέγεται τῶν φίλων δεη-
θῆναι καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ὅπως αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν
τελευτὴν ἐπιστήσωσι τῷ τάφῳ τὸν περιλαμβάν-
οντα τὴν σφαῖραν ἐντὸς κύλινδρον, ἐπιγράψαντες
τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπεροχῆς τοῦ περιέχοντος στερεοῦ
πρὸς τὸ περιεχόμενον.

¹ ἄγει Bekker, after Bryan : ἄγειν.

² καὶ σίτου Bekker has πότου καὶ σίτου (food and drink), a suggestion of Coraës.

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efforts only to those studies the subtlety and charm of which are not affected by the claims of necessity. These studies, he thought, are not to be compared with any others; in them the subject matter vies with the demonstration, the former supplying grandeur and beauty, the latter precision and surpassing power. For it is not possible to find in geometry more profound and difficult questions treated in simpler and purer terms. Some attribute this success to his natural endowments; others think it due to excessive labour that everything he did seemed to have been performed without labour and with ease. For no one could by his own efforts discover the proof, and yet as soon as he learns it from him, he thinks he might have discovered it himself; so smooth and rapid is the path by which he leads one to the desired conclusion. And therefore we may not disbelieve the stories told about him, how, under the lasting charm of some familiar and domestic Siren, he forgot even his food and neglected the care of his person; and how, when he was dragged by main force, as he often was, to the place for bathing and anointing his body, he would trace geometrical figures in the ashes, and draw lines with his finger in the oil with which his body was anointed, being possessed by a great delight, and in very truth a captive of the Muses. And although he made many excellent discoveries, he is said to have asked his kinsmen and friends to place over the grave where he should be buried a cylinder enclosing a sphere, with an inscription giving the proportion by which the containing solid exceeds the contained.¹

¹ When Cicero was quaestor in Sicily (75 B.C.), he found this tomb, which had been neglected and forgotten by the Syracusans (*Tusc. Disp.* v. 64 ff.).

XVIII. Ἀρχιμήδης μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτος γενόμενος αἰτήτητον ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, διεφύλαξε. τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας διὰ μέσου Μάρκελλος εἶλε μὲν Μεγαρέας, πόλιν ἐν ταῖς παλαιοτάταις τῶν Σικελιωτίδων, εἶλε δὲ τὸ Ἰπποκράτους πρὸς Ἀκρίλλαις στρατόπεδον, καὶ κατέκτεινεν ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπιπεσῶν χάρακα βαλλομένοις, ἐπέδραμε δὲ πολλὴν τῆς Σικελίας καὶ πόλεις ἀπέστησε Καρχηδονίων καὶ μάχας ἐνίκησε πάσας τοὺς ἀντιταχθῆναι τολμήσαντας. χρόνῳ δὲ προϊόντι Δάμππὸν τινα Σπαρτιάτην ἐκ Συρακουσῶν λαβὼν ἐκπλέοντα αἰχμάλωτον, ἀξιούντων ἐπὶ λύτροις τῶν Συρακουσίων κομίσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τούτου διαλεγόμενος καὶ συντιθέμενος πύργον τινὰ κατεσκεύαστο φυλαττόμενον μὲν ἀμελῶς, ἄνδρας δὲ δυνάμενον δέξασθαι κρύφα, τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβατοῦ παρ' αὐτὸν ὄντος. ὥς οὖν τό τε ὕψος ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις προσιέναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πύργον εἰκάσθη καλῶς καὶ κλίμακες παρεσκευάσθησαν, ἑορτὴν Ἀρτέμιδι τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἄγοντας καὶ πρὸς οἶνον ὠρμημένους καὶ παιδιὰν παραφυλάξας, ἔλαθεν οὐ μόνον τὸν πύργον κατασχών, ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλῳ τὸ τεῖχος παρεμπλήσας ὅπλων πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ Ἐξάπυλα διακόψας. ἀρχομένων δὲ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ταραττεσθαι τῶν Συρακουσίων πρὸς τὴν αἴσθησιν, ἅμα πανταχόθεν ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρησθαι κελεύσας φυγὴν ἐποίησε πολλὴν καὶ φόβον, ὥς οὐδενὸς μέρους ἀναλώτου μένοντος. ἔμεινε δὲ

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XVIII. Such, then, was Archimedes, and, so far as he himself was concerned, he maintained himself and his city unconquered. But during the progress of the siege Marcellus captured Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily; he also captured the camp of Hippocrates at Acrillae and killed more than eight thousand men, having attacked them as they were throwing up entrenchments; furthermore, he overran a great part of Sicily, brought cities over from the Carthaginians, and was everywhere victorious over those who ventured to oppose him. Some time afterwards he made a prisoner of a certain Damippus, a Spartan who tried to sail away from Syracuse. The Syracusans sought to ransom this man back, and during the frequent meetings and conferences which he held with them about the matter, Marcellus noticed a certain tower that was carelessly guarded, into which men could be secretly introduced, since the wall near it was easy to surmount. When, therefore, in his frequent approaches to it for holding these conferences, the height of the tower had been carefully estimated, and ladders had been prepared, he seized his opportunity when the Syracusans were celebrating a festival in honour of Artemis and were given over to wine and sport, and before they knew of his attempt not only got possession of the tower, but also filled the wall round about with armed men, before the break of day, and cut his way through the Hexapyla. When the Syracusans perceived this and began to run about confusedly, he ordered the trumpets to sound on all sides at once and thus put them to flight in great terror, believing as they did that no part of the city remained uncaptured.¹ There remained, however,

¹ Cf. Polybius, viii. 37; Livy, xxv. 23 f.

τὸ καρτερώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον (Ἀχραδινὴ καλεῖται) διὰ τὸ τετειχίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἔξω πόλιν, ἧς τὸ μὲν Νέαν, τὸ δὲ Τύχην ὀνομάζουσι.

- XIX. Καὶ τούτων ἐχομένων ἅμα φάει διὰ τῶν Ἑξαπύλων ὁ Μάρκελλος κατῆι, μακαριζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγεμόνων. αὐτὸς μέντοι λέγεται κατιδὼν ἄνωθεν καὶ περισκεψάμενος τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐπὶ πολὺ δακρῦσαι τῷ μέλλοντι γίνεσθαι συμπαθήσας, ἐννοήσας οἶον ἐξ οἴου σχῆμα καὶ μορφὴν ἀμείψει μετὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διαφορηθεῖσα.
- 2 τῶν γὰρ ἡγεμόνων οὐδεὶς μὲν ἦν ὁ τολμῶν ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις αἰτουμένοις δι' ἀρπαγῆς ὠφεληθῆναι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πυρπολεῖν καὶ κατασκάπτειν ἐκέλευον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὐδὲ ὅλως προσήκατο τὸν λόγον ὁ Μάρκελλος, μάλα δὲ ἄκων βιασθεὶς ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ χρημάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὠφελεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρων σωμάτων ἀπείπεν ἄψασθαι, καὶ διεκελεύσατο μήτε ἀποκτεῖναί τινα μήτε αἰσχῦναι μήτε ἀνδραποδίσασθαι Συρακουσίων.
- 3 Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω μετριάσαι δόξας οἰκτρὰ πάσχειν ἡγείτο τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ συμπαθοῦν καὶ τὸ συναλγοῦν ὅμως ἐν τοσούτῳ μεγέθει χαρᾶς ἢ ψυχῇ διέφαινεν ὀρώντος ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πολλῆς καὶ λαμπρᾶς ἀφανισμὸν εὐδαιμονίας. λέγεται γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττονα τοῦτον ἢ τὸν ὕστερον ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνης διαφορηθέντα πλοῦτον γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν οὐ μετὰ

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the strongest, most beautiful, and largest part (called Achradina), because it had been fortified on the side towards the outer city, one part of which they call Neapolis, and another Tyche.

XIX. When these parts also were in his possession, at break of day Marcellus went down into the city through the Hexapyla, congratulated by the officers under him. He himself, however, as he looked down from the heights and surveyed the great and beautiful city, is said to have wept much in commiseration of its impending fate, bearing in mind how greatly its form and appearance would change in a little while, after his army had sacked it. For among his officers there was not a man who had the courage to oppose the soldiers' demand for a harvest of plunder, nay, many of them actually urged that the city should be burned and razed to the ground. This proposal, however, Marcellus would not tolerate at all, but much against his will, and under compulsion, he permitted booty to be made of property and slaves, although he forbade his men to lay hands on the free citizens, and strictly ordered them neither to kill nor outrage nor enslave any Syracusan.

However, although he seems to have acted with such moderation, he thought that the city suffered a lamentable fate, and amidst the great rejoicing of his followers his spirit nevertheless evinced its sympathy and commiseration when he saw a great and glorious prosperity vanishing in a brief time. For it is said that no less wealth was carried away from Syracuse now than at a later time from Carthage; for not long afterwards¹ the rest of the city

¹ In 212 B.C., the siege having lasted nearly three years. Cf. Livy, xxv. 24-31.

πολὺν χρόνον ἀλοῦσαν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐβιάσαντο
διαρπάσαι, πλὴν τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων·
ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐξηρέθη.

- 4 Μάλιστα δὲ τὸ Ἀρχιμήδους πάθος ἠνίασε
Μάρκελλον. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ αὐτός τι καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἀνασκοπῶν ἐπὶ διαγράμματος· καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ
δεδωκώς ἅμα τὴν τε διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν
οὐ προήσθετο τὴν καταδρομὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς πόλεως, ἄφνω δὲ ἐπιστάντος
αὐτῷ στρατιώτου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀκολουθεῖν
πρὸς Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐβούλετο πρὶν ἢ τελέσαι
τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ καταστήσαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπό-
5 δειξιν. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος
ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν. ἕτεροι μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν ἐπι-
στήναι μὲν εὐθύς ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντα ξιφῆρην τὸν
Ῥωμαῖον, ἐκείνους δ' ἰδόντα δεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντι- 309
βολεῖν ἀναμείναι βραχὺν χρόνον, ὡς μὴ κατα-
λίπη τὸ ζητούμενον ἀτελὲς καὶ ἀθεώρητον, τὸν δὲ
6 οὐ φροντίσαντα διαχρήσασθαι. καὶ τρίτος ἐστὶ
λόγος, ὡς κομίζοντι πρὸς Μάρκελλον αὐτῷ τῶν
μαθηματικῶν ὀργάνων σκιοθήρα καὶ σφαίρας καὶ
γωνίας, αἷς ἐναρμόττει τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος πρὸς
τὴν ὄψιν, στρατιῶται περιτυχόντες καὶ χρυσίον
ἐν τῷ τεύχει δόξαντες φέρειν ἀπέκτειναν. ὅτι
μέντοι Μάρκελλος ἤλγησε καὶ τὸν αὐτόχειρα
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπεστράφη καθάπερ ἐναγῆ, τοὺς δὲ
οἰκείους ἀνευρὼν ἐτίμησεν, ὁμολογεῖται.

XX. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώποις
δεινῶν μὲν εἶναι πόλεμον μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ
φοβερῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν νομιζομένων, εὐγνω-



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was betrayed and taken and subjected to pillage, excepting the royal treasure; this was converted into the public treasury.

But what most of all afflicted Marcellus was the death of Archimedes. For it chanced that he was by himself, working out some problem with the aid of a diagram, and having fixed his thoughts and his eyes as well upon the matter of his study, he was not aware of the incursion of the Romans or of the capture of the city. Suddenly a soldier came upon him and ordered him to go with him to Marcellus. This Archimedes refused to do until he had worked out his problem and established his demonstration, whereupon the soldier flew into a passion, drew his sword, and dispatched him. Others, however, say that the Roman came upon him with drawn sword threatening to kill him at once, and that Archimedes, when he saw him, earnestly besought him to wait a little while, that he might not leave the result that he was seeking incomplete and without demonstration; but the soldier paid no heed to him and made an end of him. There is also a third story, that as Archimedes was carrying to Marcellus some of his mathematical instruments, such as sun-dials and spheres and quadrants, by means of which he made the magnitude of the sun appreciable to the eye, some soldiers fell in with him, and thinking that he was carrying gold in the box, slew him. However, it is generally agreed that Marcellus was afflicted at his death, and turned away from his slayer as from a polluted person, and sought out the kindred of Archimedes and paid them honour.

XX. The Romans were considered by foreign peoples to be skilful in carrying on war and formidable fighters; but of gentleness and humanity

- μοσύνης δὲ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ὅλως πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ὑποδείγματα μὴ δεδωκότων, πρῶτος δοκεῖ τότε Μάρκελλος ὑποδείξαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι δικαιο-
2 τέρους Ῥωμαίους. οὕτω γὰρ ἐχρήτο τοῖς συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ πόλεις καὶ ιδιώτας εὐεργέτησεν ὥστε, εἴ τι περὶ Ἑνναν ἢ Μεγαρεῖς ἢ Συρακουσίους ἔργον ἦν εἰργασμένον οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς αὐτοῖς, τοῦτο τῶν πεπονθότων αἰτία μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πεποιηκότων δοκεῖν γεγονέναι. μνησθήσομαι δὲ ἑνὸς ἀπὸ πολλῶν. πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Σικελίας Ἐγγύιον οὐ μεγάλη, ἀρχαία δὲ πάνυ καὶ διὰ θεῶν
3 ἐπιφάνειαν ἔνδοξος, ἧς καλοῦσι ματέρας. Ἰδρυμα λέγεται Κρητῶν γενέσθαι τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ λόγχας τινὰς ἐδείκνυσαν καὶ κράνη χαλκᾶ, τὰ μὲν ἔχοντα Μηριόνου, τὰ δὲ Οὐλίξου, τουτέστιν Ὀδυσσέως, ἐπιγραφάς, ἀνατεθεικότων ταῖς θεαῖς. ταύτην προθυμότατα καρχηδονίζουσιν Νικίας, ἀνὴρ πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν, ἔπειθε μεταθέσθαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ἀναφανδὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παρρησιαζόμενος καὶ κακῶς φρονούντας ἐξελέγχων
4 τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. οἱ δὲ φοβούμενοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐβουλεύσαντο συναρπάσαι καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς Φοίνιξιν. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Νικίας ἤδη καὶ παραφυλαττόμενον ἀδήλως ἑαυτόν, ἐξέφερεν ἐν φανερῷ λόγους περὶ τῶν ματέρων ἀνεπιτηδεύους, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν νομιζομένην ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δόξαν ὡς ἀπιστῶν καὶ καταφρο-
5 νῶν ἔπραττεν, ἡδομένων τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅτι τὴν μεγίστην αἰτίαν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ὧν πείσεται
5 παρῆχε. γεγονότων δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν
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and, in a word, of civil virtues, they had given no proofs, and at this time Marcellus seems to have been the first to show the Greeks that the Romans were the more observant of justice. For such was his treatment of those who had to do with him, and so many were the benefits which he conferred both upon cities and private persons, that, if the people of Enna or Megara or Syracuse met with any indignities, the blame for these was thought to belong to the sufferers rather than to the perpetrators. And I will mention one instance out of many. There is a city of Sicily called Engyium, not large, but very ancient, and famous for the appearance there of goddesses, who are called Mothers.¹ The temple is said to have been built by Cretans, and certain spears were shown there, and bronze helmets; some of these bore the name of Meriones, and others that of Ulysses (that is, Odysseus), who had consecrated them to the goddesses. This city, which most ardently favoured the Carthaginian cause, Nicias, its leading citizen, tried to induce to go over to the Romans, speaking openly and boldly in the assemblies and arguing the un wisdom of his opponents. But they, fearing his influence and authority, planned to arrest him and deliver him up to the Carthaginians. Nicias, accordingly, becoming aware at once of their design and of their secret watch upon him, gave utterance in public to unbecoming speeches about the Mothers, and did much to show that he rejected and despised the prevalent belief in their manifestations, his enemies meanwhile rejoicing that he was making himself most to blame for his coming fate. But just as they were ready to arrest

¹ Magna Mater, the Cretan Rhæa, often confounded with the Phrygian Cybele. Cf. Diodorus, iv. 79, 5-7.

ετοίμων ἦν μὲν ἐκκλησία τῶν πολιτῶν, ὁ δὲ Νικίας μεταξύ τι λέγων καὶ συμβουλευῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐξαίφνης ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν, οἶον εἰκός, ἡσυχίας σὺν ἐκπλήξει γενομένης, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας καὶ περιενεγκῶν, ὑποτρόμφῳ φωνῇ καὶ βαρεῖα, κατὰ μικρὸν συντείνων καὶ παροξύνων τὸν ἦχον, ὥς ἑώρα φρίκη καὶ σιωπῇ κατεχόμενον τὸ θέατρον, ἀπορρίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὸν χιτωνίσκον, ἡμίγυμνος ἀναπηδήσας ἔθεε πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ θεάτρου, βοῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ματέρων ἐλαύνεσθαι. 6 μηδενὸς δὲ τολμῶντος ἄψασθαι μηδὲ ἀπαντῆσαι διὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτρεπομένων, ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐξέδραμεν, οὔτε φωνῆς τινος οὔτε κινήσεως πρεπούσης δαιμονῶντι καὶ παραφρονοῦντι φεισάμενος. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ συνειδυῖα καὶ συντεχνάζουσα τῷ ἀνδρί, λαβοῦσα τὰ παιδία πρῶτον μὲν ἰκέτις προσεκυλινδεῖτο τοῖς μεγάροις τῶν θεῶν, ἔπειτα πλανώμενον ἐκείνον προσποιουμένη ζητεῖν κωλύοντος οὐδενὸς ἀσφαλῶς ἀπῆλθεν 7 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ διεσώθησαν μὲν οὕτως εἰς Συρακούσας πρὸς Μάρκελλον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς Ἑγγυῖτους ὑβρίσαντας καὶ πλημμελήσαντας ἔλθων Μάρκελλος ἔδρασε πάντας ὡς τιμωρησόμενος, ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἐδάκρυσε παρεστώς, τέλος δὲ χειρῶν καὶ γονάτων ἀπτόμενος παρητεῖτο τοὺς πολίτας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀρξάμενος, ἐπικλασθεὶς 310 ἀφῆκε πάντας καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν ἡδίκησε, τῷ δὲ Νικίᾳ χώραν τε πολλὴν καὶ δωρεὰς πολλὰς ἔδωκε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ποσειδώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἰστόρησε.

XXI. Τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ἀνακαλουμένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγχώριον καὶ σύνοικον πόλεμον, ἐπανερχόμενος τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν

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him, an assembly of the citizens was held, and here Nicias, right in the midst of some advice that he was giving to the people, suddenly threw himself upon the ground, and after a little while, amid the silence and consternation which naturally prevailed, lifted his head, turned it about, and spoke in a low and trembling voice, little by little raising and sharpening its tones. And when he saw the whole audience struck dumb with horror, he tore off his mantle, rent his tunic, and leaping up half naked, ran towards the exit from the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by the Mothers. No man venturing to lay hands upon him or even to come in his way, out of superstitious fear, but all avoiding him, he ran out to the gate of the city, freely using all the cries and gestures that would become a man possessed and crazed. His wife also, who was privy to his scheme, taking her children with her, first prostrated herself in supplication before the temples of the gods, and then, pretending to seek her wandering husband, no man hindering her, went safely forth out of the city. Thus they all escaped to Marcellus at Syracuse. But when Marcellus, after many transgressions and insults on the part of the men of Engyium, came and put them all in chains in order to punish them, then Nicias, standing by, burst into tears, and finally, clasping the hands and knees of Marcellus, begged the lives of his fellow citizens, beginning with his enemies. Marcellus relented, set them all free, and did their city no harm; he also bestowed upon Nicias ample lands and many gifts. At any rate, this story is told by Poseidonius the philosopher.

XXI. When Marcellus was recalled by the Romans to the war in their home territories, he carried back with him the greater part and the most beautiful of

- Συρακούσαις ἐκίνησεν ἀναθημάτων, ὥς αὐτῷ τε πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον ὄψις εἴη καὶ τῇ πόλει κόσμος. οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐγίνωσκε πρότερον τῶν κομψῶν καὶ περιττῶν, οὐδὲ ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ χάριεν
- 2 τοῦτο καὶ γλαφυρὸν ἀγαπώμενον, ὅπλων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν καὶ λαφύρων ἐναίμων ἀνάπλεως οὔσα καὶ περιεστεφανωμένη θριάμβων ὑπομνήμασι καὶ τροπαίοις οὐχ ἱλαρὸν οὐδ' ἄφοβον οὐδὲ δειλῶν ἦν θέαμα καὶ τρυφώντων θεατῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδας τὸ Βοιωτικὸν πεδίων Ἄρεως ὀρχήστραν, Ξενοφῶν δὲ τὴν Ἐφεσον πολέμου ἐργαστήριον, οὕτως ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τις τότε τὴν Ῥώμην κατὰ Πίνδαρον “βαθυπτολέμῳ τέμενος Ἄρεως”
- 3 προσειπεῖν. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ μὲν τῷ δήμῳ Μάρκελλος ἡδονὴν ἐχούσαις καὶ χάριν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ πιθανότητα διαποικίλας ὄψεσι τὴν πόλιν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις Φάβιος Μάξιμος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκίνησε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Ταραντίνων πόλεως ἀλούσης, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐξεφόρησε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα μένειν εἴασεν, ἐπειπὼν τὸ
- 4 μνημονευόμενον· “Ἀπολείπωμεν,” γὰρ ἔφη, “τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους τοῖς Ταραντινοῖς κεχολωμένους.” Μάρκελλον δ' ἡτιῶντο πρῶτον μὲν ὥς ἐπίφθονον ποιοῦντα τὴν πόλιν, οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν οἶον αἰχμαλώτων ἀγομένων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πομπευομένων, ἔπειτα ὅτι τὸν δῆμον εἰθισμένον
- 5 πολεμεῖν ἢ γεωργεῖν, τρυφῆς δὲ καὶ ῥαθυμίας ἄπειρον ὄντα καὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδειον Ἡρακλέα,

Φαῦλον, ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστ' ἀγαθόν,¹

¹ μέγιστ' ἀγαθόν with Coraës, as in the *Cimon*, iv. 4: μέγιστά τε ἀγαθόν.

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the dedicatory offerings in Syracuse, that they might grace his triumph and adorn his city. For before this time Rome neither had nor knew about such elegant and exquisite productions, nor was there any love there for such graceful and subtle art; but filled full of barbaric arms and bloody spoils, and crowned round about with memorials and trophies of triumphs, she was not a gladdening or a reassuring sight, nor one for unwarlike and luxurious spectators. Indeed, as Epaminondas called the Boeotian plain a "dancing floor of Ares," and as Xenophon¹ speaks of Ephesus as a "work-shop of war," so, it seems to me, one might at that time have called Rome, in the language of Pindar, "a precinct of much-warring Ares."² Therefore with the common people Marcellus won more favour because he adorned the city with objects that had Hellenic grace and charm and fidelity; but with the elder citizens Fabius Maximus was more popular. For he neither disturbed nor brought away anything of this sort from Tarentum, when that city was taken, but while he carried off the money and the other valuables, he suffered the statues to remain in their places, adding the well-known saying: "Let us leave these gods in their anger for the Tarentines."³ And they blamed Marcellus, first, because he made the city odious, in that not only men, but even gods were led about in her triumphal processions like captives; and again, because, when the people was accustomed only to war or agriculture, and was inexperienced in luxury and ease, but, like the Heracles of Euripides, was "Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true,"⁴

¹ *Hell.* iii. 4, 17. ² *Pyth.* ii. 1 f.

³ Cf. the *Fabius Maximus*, xxii. 5.

⁴ A fragment of the lost *Licymnius* of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Græc. Frag.*³ p. 507).

σχολῆς ἐνέπλησε καὶ λαλιᾶς περὶ τεχνῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν, ἀστειζόμενον καὶ διατρίβοντα πρὸς τούτῳ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτοις ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς τὰ καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐπισταμένους τιμᾶν καὶ θαυμάζειν Ῥωμαίους διδάξας.

XXII. Ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πράξεις τινὲς ὑπολιπεῖς ἦσαν ἔτι περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ φθόνον εἶχεν ὁ τρίτος θρίαμβος, συνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς ¹ τὸν μὲν ἐντελῆ καὶ μέγαν εἰς τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ὄρος ἐξελάσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐλάττω καταγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὃν εὖαν Ἕλληνες, ὄβαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι
 2 καλοῦσι. πέμπει δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθρίππου βεβηκῶς οὐδὲ δάφνης ἔχων στέφανον οὐδὲ περισαλπίζόμενος, ἀλλὰ πεζὸς ἐν βλαύταις, ὑπ' αὐλητῶν μάλα πολλῶν, καὶ μυρρίνης στέφανον ἐπικείμενος, ὡς ἀπόλεμος καὶ ἡδὺς ὀφθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ καταπληκτικός. ὁ καὶ μέγιστον ἐμοὶ τεκμήριόν ἐστι τοῦ τρόπῳ πράξεως, ἀλλὰ μὴ μεγέθει,
 3 διωρίσθαι τοὺς θριάμβους τὸ παλαιόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ μάχης καὶ φόνου τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικρατήσαντες τὸν Ἀρήϊον ἐκείνον, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ φοβερὸν εἰσήγον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς καθαρμοῖς τῶν στρατοπέδων εἰώθεσαν, δάφνη πολλὴ καταστέψαντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, τοῖς δὲ πολέμου μὲν μὴ δεηθεῖσι στρατηγοῖς, ὁμιλίᾳ δὲ καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ διὰ λόγου πάντα θεμένοις καλῶς, οἷον ἐπι-

¹ αὐτὸς Coraëus and Bekker, following Stephanus, have αὐτοῖς (agreed with them).

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he made them idle and full of glib talk about arts and artists, so that they spent a great part of the day in such clever disputation. Notwithstanding such censure, Marcellus spoke of this with pride even to the Greeks, declaring that he had taught the ignorant Romans to admire and honour the wonderful and beautiful productions of Greece.

XXII. But when the enemies of Marcellus opposed his triumph, because something still remained to be done in Sicily and a third triumph would awaken jealousy, he consented of his own accord to conduct the complete and major triumph to the Alban mount, but to enter the city in the minor triumph; this is called "eua" by the Greeks, and "ova" by the Romans.¹ In conducting it the general does not mount upon a four-horse chariot, nor wear a wreath of laurel, nor have trumpets sounding about him; but he goes afoot with shoes on, accompanied by the sound of exceeding many flutes, and wearing a wreath of myrtle, so that his appearance is unwarlike and friendly rather than terrifying. And this is the strongest proof to my mind that in ancient times the two triumphs were distinguished, not by the magnitude, but by the manner, of the achievements which they celebrated. For those who won the mastery by fighting and slaying their enemies celebrated, as it would seem, that martial and terrible triumph, after wreathing their arms and their men with abundant laurel, just as they were wont to do when they purified their armies with lustral rites; while to those generals who had had no need of war, but had brought everything to a good issue by means of conference, persuasion, and argument, the law awarded

¹ Cf. the *Crassus*, xi. 8. The later Latin name was "ovatio."

παιανίσαι τὴν ἀπόλεμον ταύτην καὶ πανηγυρικὴν
 4 ἀπεδίδου πομπὴν ὁ νόμος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς
 εἰρήνης μέρος καὶ τὸ μύρτον Ἀφροδίτης φυτόν, ἢ
 μάλιστα θεῶν ἀπέχθεται βία καὶ πολέμοις. ὄβας
 δ' οὐ παρὰ τὸν εὐασμόν, ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν,
 ὁ θρίαμβος οὗτος ὀνομάζεται (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον
 ἐφευάζοντες καὶ ἄδοντες παραπέμπουσιν), ἀλλ' 311
 ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς παρῆκται
 τοῦνομα, πεπεισμένων ἅμα καὶ Διονύσῳ τι τῆς
 τιμῆς προσήκειν, ὃν Εὐϊὸν καὶ Θρίαμβον ὀνομά-
 ζομεν. οὐχ οὕτω δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν
 τῷ μεγάλῳ θρίαμβῳ βουθυτεῖν πάτριον ἦν τοῖς
 στρατηγοῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ πρόβατον ἔθουν. ὄβα
 δὲ τὰ πρόβατα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν· ἐκ τούτου καὶ
 5 τὸν θρίαμβον ὄβαν ὠνόμασαν. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὸν
 Λακωνικὸν ἀποθεωρῆσαι νομοθέτην ὑπεναντίως
 τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ τάξαντα τὰς θυσίας. θύει γὰρ ἐν
 Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἀποστρατήγων ὁ μὲν δι' ἀπάτης ἢ
 πειθοῦς ὃ βούλεται διαπραξάμενος βοῦν, ὃ δὲ διὰ
 μάχης ἀλεκτρυόνα. καίπερ γὰρ ὄντες πολεμικώ-
 τατοι μείζονα καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπῳ πρέπουσαν
 ἡγούντο τὴν διὰ λόγου καὶ συνέσεως πρᾶξιν ἢ
 τὴν μετὰ βίας καὶ ἀνδρείας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπως
 ἔχει σκοπεῖν πάρεστι.

XXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Μαρκέλλου τὸ τέταρτον ὑπα-
 τεύοντος οἱ ἐχθροὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀνέπεισαν
 εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικομένους κατηγορεῖν καὶ καταβοᾶν
 πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὥς δεινὰ καὶ παράσπονδα

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the privilege of conducting, like a paeon of thanksgiving, this unwarlike and festal procession. For the flute is an instrument of peace, and the myrtle is a plant of Aphrodite, who more than all the other gods abhors violence and wars. And this minor triumph is called "ova," not from the Greek "euasmos," as most think (since they conduct the major triumph also with songs and cries of "eua!"), but the name has been wrested by the Greeks into conformity with their speech, since they are persuaded that something of the honour has to do with Dionysus also, whom they call Euius and Thriambus. This, however, is not the true explanation; but it was the custom for commanders, in celebrating the major triumph, to sacrifice an ox, whereas in the minor triumph they sacrificed a sheep. Now, the Roman name for sheep is "ova," and from this circumstance the lesser triumph is called ova.¹ And it is worth our while to notice that the Spartan lawgiver appointed his sacrifices in a manner opposite to that of the Romans. For in Sparta a returning general who had accomplished his plans by cunning deception or persuasion, sacrificed an ox; he who had won by fighting, a cock. For although they were most warlike, they thought an exploit accomplished by means of argument and sagacity greater and more becoming to a man than one achieved by violence and valour. How the case really stands, I leave an open question.

XXIII. While Marcellus was serving as consul for the fourth time,² his enemies induced the Syracusans to come to Rome and accuse and denounce him before the senate for terrible wrongs which they

¹ It is hardly necessary to say that Plutarch's etymology, as often, is worthless. ² In 210 B.C.

- πεπονθότας· ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ θυσίαν
 τινὰ συντελῶν ὁ Μάρκελλος· ἔτι δὲ συγκαθεζο-
 μένη τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Συρακουσίων προσπεσόν-
 των καὶ δεομένων λόγου τυχεῖν καὶ δίκης, ὁ μὲν
 2 συνάρχων ἐξείργεν αὐτούς, ἀγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 Μαρκέλλου μὴ παρόντος, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος εὐθὺς
 ἦκεν ἀκούσας. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου
 καθίσας ὡς ὑπατος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἔπειτα, τῶν ἄλ-
 λων τέλος ἐχόντων, καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ
 καταστὰς ὥσπερ ἰδιώτης εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ
 λέγειν εἰώθασιν οἱ κρινόμενοι, τοῖς Συρακουσίοις
 3 ἐλέγχειν αὐτὸν παρείχεν. οἱ δὲ δεινῶς μὲν συνε-
 τaráχθησαν πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ πεποιθὸς τοῦ
 ἀνδρός, καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνυπόστατον ἔτι
 μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ περιπορφύρῳ φοβερὸν ἡγούντο καὶ
 δυσαντίβλεπτον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παραθαρρυ-
 νόντων αὐτούς τῶν διαφερομένων πρὸς τὸν Μάρ-
 κελλον ἤρξαντο τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ διεξῆλθον
 4 ὀλοφυρμῷ τινι μεμιγμένην δικαιολογίαν, ἧς ἦν
 τὸ κεφάλαιον ὅτι σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι Ῥωμαίοις
 ὄντες πεπόνθασιν ἅ πολλοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἕτεροι
 στρατηγοὶ μὴ παθεῖν ἐχαρίσαντο. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ
 Μάρκελλος ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὧν δεδράκασι
 Ῥωμαίους κακῶς οὐδὲν πεπόνθασι, πλὴν ἅ πολέ-
 μῳ καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἀλόντας ἀνθρώπους κωλύσαι
 παθεῖν οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν, οὕτω δὲ ἀλῶναι δι'
 αὐτούς, πολλὰ προκαλουμένῳ πεισθῆναι μὴ ἐθε-
 5 λήσαντας. οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων πολεμῆσαι
 βιασθέντας, ἀλλὰ κακείνους ἐπὶ τῷ πολεμεῖν
 ἐλέσθαι τυράννους.

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had suffered contrary to the terms of surrender. It chanced, then, that Marcellus was performing a sacrifice on the Capitol, but, the senate being still in session, the Syracusans hurried before it and begged that they might have a hearing and justice. The colleague of Marcellus tried to have them expelled, angrily explaining that Marcellus was not present; but Marcellus, when he heard of it, came at once. And first, sitting as consul in his curule chair, he transacted the routine business; then, when this was all ended, coming down from his curule chair and taking his stand as a private citizen in the place where men under accusation usually plead their cause, he gave the Syracusans opportunity to press their charge. But they were terribly confounded by his dignity and confidence, and thought him yet more formidable and hard to confront in his robe of purple than he had been irresistible in arms. However, being encouraged by the rivals of Marcellus, they began their denunciation and rehearsed their demands for justice, which were mingled with much lamentation. The gist of their plea was that, although they were allies and friends of the Romans, they had suffered at the hands of Marcellus what other generals allowed many of their enemies to escape. To this Marcellus made answer that in return for many injuries which they had done to the Romans, they had suffered nothing except what men whose city has been taken by storm in war cannot possibly be prevented from suffering; and that their city had been so taken was their own fault, because they had refused to listen to his many exhortations and persuasions. For it was not by their tyrants that they had been forced into war, nay, they had elected those very tyrants for the purpose of going to war.

Λεχθέντων δὲ τῶν λόγων καὶ μεθισταμένοις,
ὥσπερ εἶωθεν, ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς Συρακουσίοις
συνεξήλθε Μάρκελλος, ἐπὶ τῷ συνάρχοντι ποιη-
σάμενος τὴν σύγκλητον, καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ
βουλευτηρίου διέτριβεν, οὔτε φόβῳ διὰ τὴν δίκην
οὔτε θυμῷ πρὸς τοὺς Συρακουσίους τοῦ συνήθους
μεταβαλὼν καταστήματος, ἀλλὰ πρῶως πάνυ
6 καὶ κοσμίως τὸ τῆς δίκης τέλος ἐκδεχόμενος. ἐπεὶ
δὲ διηνέχθησαν αἱ γινώμαι καὶ νικῶν ἀπεδείχθη,
προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Συρακούσιοι, μετὰ δα-
κρύων δεόμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφείναι τοὺς
παρόντας, οἰκτεῖται δὲ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν μεμνη-
μένην ὧν ἔτυχεν αἰεὶ καὶ χάριν ἔχουσιν. ἐπικλα-
σθεὶς οὖν ὁ Μάρκελλος τούτοις τε διηλλάγη, καὶ
7 διετέλει. καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἣν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς,
καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῶν κτημάτων τὰ περιόντα
βέβαια παρέσχεν ἢ σύγκλητος. ἀνθ' ὧν ἄλλας
τε τιμὰς ὑπερφυεῖς ἔσχε παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ νόμον
ἔθεντο τοιοῦτον, ὁπόταν ἐπιβῇ Σικελίας Μάρκελ-
λος ἢ τῶν ἐκγόνων τις αὐτοῦ, στεφανηφορεῖν 312
Συρακουσίους καὶ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς.

XXIV. Τὸν τεύθεν ἤδη τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀννί-
βαν. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάτων καὶ ἡγεμόνων
σχεδὸν ἀπάντων μετὰ τὰ ἐν Κάνναις ἐνὶ στρατη-
γηματι τῷ φυγομαχεῖν χρωμένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα,
παρατάττεσθαι δὲ καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μηδενὸς
τολμῶντος, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὥρμησεν ὁδόν,
2 οἷόμενος τῷ δοκοῦντι καταλύειν Ἀννίβαν χρόνῳ
πρότερον ἐκτριβεῖσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνου¹ λήσεσθαι τὴν
Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὸν Φάβιον αἰεὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐχό-
μενον οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν¹ ἰᾶσθαι τὸ νόσημα τῆς

¹ ὑπ' ἐκείνου, ἔχειν bracketed by Bekker.

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When the speeches were ended, and the Syracusans, as the custom was, withdrew from the senate, Marcellus went forth with them, after giving to his colleague the presidency of the senate, and lingered before the doors of the senate-house, allowing no change in his accustomed demeanour either because he feared the sentence, or was angry with the Syracusans, but with complete gentleness and decorum awaiting the issue of the case. And when the votes had been cast, and he was proclaimed not guilty, the Syracusans fell at his feet, begging him with tears to remit his wrath against the embassy there present, and to take pity on the rest of the city, which always was mindful of favours conferred upon it and grateful for them. Marcellus, accordingly, relented, and was reconciled with the embassy, and to the rest of the Syracusans was ever afterwards constant in doing good. The freedom, also, which he had restored to them, as well as their laws and what was left of their possessions, the senate confirmed to them. Wherefore Marcellus received many surpassing honours from them, and particularly they made a law that whenever he or any one of his descendants should set foot in Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands and sacrifice to the gods.

XXIV. After this he moved at once against Hannibal. And although almost all the other consuls and commanders, after the disaster at Cannae, made the avoidance of all fighting their sole plan of campaign against this antagonist, and no one had the courage to engage in a pitched battle with him, Marcellus himself took the opposite course, thinking that before the time thought necessary for destroying Hannibal had elapsed, Italy would insensibly be worn out by him. He thought, too, that Fabius, by making safety his constant aim, was not taking the

πατρίδος, περιμένοντα τῇ Ῥώμῃ μαραινομένην
 συναποσβῆναι τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ ἰατρῶν τοὺς
 ἀτόλμους καὶ δειλοὺς πρὸς τὰ βοηθήματα, τῆς
 νόσου παρακμὴν τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως¹ ἐξανάλωσιν
 3 ἡγουμένους. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰς Σαυνιτικὰς
 πόλεις μεγάλας ἀφεστῶσας ἐλών, σίτον τε πολὺν
 ἀποκείμενον ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς
 φυλάσσοντας Ἀννίβου στρατιώτας τρισχιλίους
 ὄντας ἔλαβεν· ἔπειτα τοῦ Ἀννίβου Φούλβιον
 Γναῖον ἀνθύπατον ἐν Ἀπουλίᾳ κατακτείναντος
 μὲν αὐτὸν σὺν ἑνδεκα χιλιάρχοις, κατακόψαντος
 δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πλεῖστον, ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην
 γράμματα τοὺς πολίτας παρακαλῶν θαρρεῖν·
 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἤδη βαδίζειν ὡς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν χαρὰν
 4 Ἀννίβου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Λίβιος φησιν ἀνα-
 γνωσθέντα τὰ γράμματα μὴ τῆς λύπης ἀφελεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ τῷ φόβῳ προσθεῖναι, τῶν Ῥωμαίων μεῖζον
 ἡγουμένων τοῦ γεγονότος τὸ κινδυνεύμενον ὅσῳ
 Φουλβίου κρείττων ἦν Μάρκελλος· ὁ δέ, ὥσπερ
 ἔγραψεν, εὐθύς Ἀννίβαν διώκων εἰς τὴν Λευ-
 κανίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ περὶ πόλιν Νομίστρωνα
 καθήμενον ὑπὲρ λόφων ὀχυρῶν καταλαβὼν αὐτὸς
 5 ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσε. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
 πρότερος εἰς μάχην παρατάξας τὸ στράτευμα
 καταβάντος Ἀννίβου, συνέβαλε μάχην κρίσιν οὐ
 λαβοῦσαν, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ καὶ μεγάλην γενομένην·
 ἀπὸ γὰρ ὥρας τρίτης συμπεσόντες ἤδη σκότους
 μόλις διελύθησαν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ προαγαγὼν
 αὐθις τὸ στράτευμα παρέταξε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν

¹ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως Bekker, after Coraës : τῆς δυνάμεως.

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right course to heal the malady of the country, since the extinction of the war for which he waited would be coincident with the exhaustion of Rome, just as physicians who are timid and afraid to apply remedies, consider the consumption of the patient's powers to be the abatement of the disease. First, then, he took the large cities of the Samnites which had revolted, and got possession of great quantities of grain which had been stored in them, besides money, and the three thousand soldiers of Hannibal who were guarding them. Next, after Hannibal had slain the proconsul Gnaeus Fulvius himself in Apulia, together with eleven military tribunes, and had cut to pieces the greater part of his army, Marcellus sent letters to Rome bidding the citizens be of good courage, for that he himself was already on the march to rob Hannibal of his joy. Livy says¹ that when these letters were read, they did not take away the grief of the Romans, but added to their fear; for they thought their present danger as much greater than the past as Marcellus was superior to Fulvius. But Marcellus, as he had written, at once pursued Hannibal into Lucania, and came up with him, and as he found him occupying a secure position on heights about the city of Numistro, he himself encamped in the plain. On the following day he was first to array his forces when Hannibal came down into the plain, and fought a battle with him which, though indecisive, was desperate and long; for their engagement began at the third hour, and was with difficulty ended when it was already dark. But at daybreak Marcellus led his army forth again, put them in array among the dead bodies of the

¹ xxvii. 2.

καὶ προῦκαλεῖτο διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς νίκης
6 τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ ἐκείνου σκυλεύ-
σας τοὺς πολεμίους νεκροὺς καὶ θάψας τοὺς
φίλους ἐδίωκεν αὐτοὺς· καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ὑφέντος
ἐνέδρας οὐδεμῶ περιπεσών, ἐν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀκρο-
βολισμοῖς πλείον ἔχων ἐθαυμάζετο. διὸ καὶ τῶν
ἀρχαιρεσίων ἐπειγόντων ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ μᾶλλον
ἐκ Σικελίας τὸν ἕτερον ἀπάγειν ὑπατον ἢ Μάρ-
κελλον Ἀννίβα συνηρημένον κινεῖν, ἐλθόντα δ'
ἐκέλευεν εἰπεῖν δικτάτορα Κόϊντον Φούλβιον.

7 Ὁ γὰρ δικτάτωρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους
οὐδὲ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρετός, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τις ἢ
τῶν στρατηγῶν προελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὃν αὐτῷ
δοκεῖ λέγει δικτάτορα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δικτάτωρ ὁ
ῥηθεὶς καλεῖται· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν δίκηρε Ῥωμαῖοι
καλοῦσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν δικτάτορα τῷ μὴ προτι-
θέναι ψῆφον ἢ χειροτονίαν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ
δόξαντα προστάττειν καὶ λέγειν οὕτως ὠνομά-
σθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ διαγράμματα τῶν ἀρχόντων
Ἕλληνες μὲν διατάγματα, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἔδικτα
προσαγορεύουσιν.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας ὁ τοῦ
Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων ἕτερον ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν¹
δικτάτορα, καὶ βιασθῆναι παρὰ γνώμην μὴ βουλό-
μενος ἐξέπλευσε νυκτὸς εἰς Σικελίαν, οὕτως ὁ μὲν
δῆμος ὠνόμασε δικτάτορα Κόϊντον Φούλβιον, ἢ
βουλὴ δ' ἔγραψε Μαρκέλλῳ κελεύουσα τοῦτον
εἰπεῖν. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἀνείπε καὶ συνεπεκύρωσε
τοῦ δήμου τὴν γνώμην, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἀνθύπατος

¹ λαβεῖν Bekker has λέγειν, after Coraës.

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slain, and challenged Hannibal to fight it out with him for the victory. And when Hannibal withdrew his forces, Marcellus stripped the dead bodies of the enemy, buried those of his own men, and pursued him again. And though his adversary laid many ambushes for him, he escaped them all, and by getting the advantage of him in all the skirmishes, won admiration for himself. For this reason, too, when the consular elections drew near, the senate decided that it was better to recall the other consul from Sicily than to disturb Marcellus in his grappling with Hannibal, and when he was come, it bade him declare Quintus Fulvius dictator.

For a dictator cannot be chosen either by the people or by the senate, but one of the consuls or praetors comes before the assembled people and names as dictator the one whom he himself decides upon. And for this reason the one so named is called "dictator," from the Latin "*dicere*," to *name* or *declare*. Some, however, say that the dictator is so named because he puts no question to vote or show of hands, but ordains and declares of his own authority that which seems good to him; for the orders of magistrates, which the Greeks call "*diatagmata*," the Romans call "*edicta*."

XXV. But the colleague of Marcellus, who had come back from Sicily, wished to appoint another man as dictator, and being unwilling to have his opinion overborne by force, sailed off by night to Sicily. Under these circumstances the people named Quintus Fulvius as dictator, and the senate wrote to Marcellus bidding him confirm the nomination. He consented, proclaimed Quintus Fulvius dictator, and so confirmed the will of the people; he himself was

- 2 εἰς τοῦτιδον ἀπεδείχθη. συνθέμενος δὲ πρὸς
 Φάβιον Μάξιμον ὅπως ἐκείνος μὲν ἐπιχειρῇ Τα- 31
 ραντίνοις, αὐτὸς δὲ συμπλεκόμενος καὶ περιέλκων
 Ἀννίβαν ἐμποδῶν ἢ τοῦ βοηθεῖν πρὸς ἐκείνουν,
 ἐπέβαλε περὶ Κανύσιον, καὶ πολλὰς ἀλλάσσουντι
 στρατοπεδείας καὶ φυγομαχοῦντι πανταχόθεν
 ἐπεφαίνετο, τέλος δ' ἰδρυνθέντα προσκείμενος
 3 ἐξανίστη τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς. ὁρμήσαντος δὲ
 μάχεσθαι δεξάμενος ὑπὸ νυκτὸς διελύθη· καὶ μεθ'
 ἡμέραν αὐθις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐωρᾶτο τὸν στρατὸν
 ἔχων παρατεταγμένον, ὥστε τὸν Ἀννίβαν περι-
 αλγῇ γενόμενον τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀθροῖσαι καὶ
 δεηθῆναι τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ὑπὲρ πασῶν ἀγωνί-
 σασθαι τῶν ἔμπροσθεν. “Ὁρᾶτε γάρ,” εἶπεν,
 “ὡς οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῦσαι μετὰ νίκας τοσαύτας οὐδὲ
 σχολὴν ἄγειν κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτου
 ὠσαίμεθα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.”
 4 Ἐκ τούτου συμβαλόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ δοκεῖ
 παρὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀκαίρῳ στρατηγήματι χρώμενος
 ὁ Μάρκελλος σφαλῆναι. τοῖς γὰρ δεξιού πο-
 νούντος ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῶν ταγμάτων εἰς τοῦμ-
 προσθεν προελθεῖν· ἡ δὲ μετακίνησις αὕτη ταρα-
 ξασα τοὺς μαχομένους παρέδωκε τὸ νίκημα τοῖς
 πολεμίοις, ἐπτακοσίων ἐπὶ δισχιλίους Ῥωμαίων
 5 πεσόντων. ἀναχωρήσας δὲ ὁ Μάρκελλος εἰς τὸν
 χάρακα καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν στρατὸν, ὁρᾶν ἔφη
 Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα πολλὰ καὶ σώματα, Ῥωμαῖον δὲ
 μηδένα ὁρᾶν. αἰτουμένων δὲ συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔφη
 δίδοναι νενικημένοις, ἔαν δὲ νικήσωσι, δώσειν·

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appointed proconsul again for the ensuing year.¹ He then made an agreement with Fabius Maximus that, while Fabius should make an attempt upon Tarentum, he himself, by diverting Hannibal and engaging with him, should prevent him from coming to the relief of that place. He came up with Hannibal at Canusium, and as his adversary often shifted his camp and declined battle, he threatened him continually, and at last, by harassing him with his skirmishers, drew him out of his entrenchments. But though battle was offered and accepted, night parted the combatants, and next day Marcellus appeared again with his army drawn up in battle array ; so that Hannibal, in distress, called his Carthaginians together and besought them to make their fighting that day surpass all their previous struggles. "For you see," he said, "that we cannot even take breath after all our victories, nor have respite though we are in the mastery, unless we drive this man away."

After this they joined battle and fought. And it would seem that Marcellus made an unseasonable movement during the action, and so met with disaster. For when his right wing was hard pressed, he ordered one of his legions to move up to the front. This change of position threw his army into confusion and gave the victory to the enemy, who slew twenty-seven hundred of the Romans. Marcellus then withdrew to his camp, called his army together, and told them that he saw before him many Roman arms and Roman bodies, but not a single Roman. And when they asked for his pardon, he refused to give it while they were vanquished, but promised to do so if they should win a victory,

¹ 209 B.C.

αὐριον δὲ μαχεῖσθαι πάλιν, ὅπως οἱ πολῖται τὴν
 6 νίκην πρότερον ἢ τὴν φυγὴν ἀκούσωσι. διαλεχ-
 θεῖς δὲ ταῦτα, προσέταξε ταῖς ἡττημέναις σπεί-
 ραις ἀντὶ πυρῶν κριθᾶς μετρήσαι. δι' ἃ πολλῶν
 ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπικινδύνως καὶ πονήρως ἐχόντων
 οὐδένα φασὶν ὃν οἱ Μαρκέλλου λόγοι τῶν τραυ-
 μάτων οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἤλγυναν.

XXVI. "Ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα προὔκειτο μὲν ὁ φοι-
 κοὺς χιτῶν, ὡς εἴωθε, μάχης ἐσομένης σύμβολον,
 αἱ δὲ ἡτιμασμένοι σπεῖραι τὴν πρώτην αὐταὶ
 δεσθεῖσαι τάξιν ἐλάμβανον, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐξά-
 γοντες οἱ χιλιάρχοι στρατιὰν παρενέβαλλον.
 ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπε,
 "τί χρήσεται τις ἀνθρώπῳ μήτε τὴν χεῖρονα
 τύχην μήτε τὴν βελτίονα φέρειν εἰδότε; μόνος
 γὰρ οὗτος οὔτε νικῶν δίδωσιν ἀνάπαυσιν οὔτε
 λαμβάνει νικώμενος, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μαχησόμεθα πρὸς
 2 τοῦτον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ᾧ τοῦ τολμᾶν αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ
 θαρρεῖν εὐτυχοῦντι καὶ σφαλλομένῳ τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι
 πρόφασίς ἐστιν." ἐκ τούτου συνήεσαν αἱ δυνά-
 μεις· καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἴσα φερομένων ἐκέλευσεν
 Ἀννίβας τὰ θηρία καταστήσαντας εἰς πρώτην
 τάξιν ἐπάγειν τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ὠθισ-
 μοῦ δὲ μεγάλου καὶ ταραχῆς εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς πρῶ-
 τοις γενομένης, εἰς τῶν χιλιάρχων ὄνομα Φλάβιος
 ἀναρπάσας σημαίαν ὑπηντίαζε καὶ τῷ στύρακι
 3 τὸν πρῶτον ἐλέφαντα τύπτων ἀπέστρεφεν. ὁ δὲ
 ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸν ὀπίσω συνετάραξε καὶ τοῦτον
 καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. κατιδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Μάρ-
 κελλος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἐλαύνειν ἀνὰ κράτος

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assuring them that on the morrow they should fight again, in order that their countrymen might hear of their victory sooner than of their flight. At the close of his speech, moreover, he gave orders that rations of barley instead of wheat should be given to the cohorts that had been worsted. Therefore, though many were in a wretched and dangerous plight after the battle, there was not a man of them, they say, to whom the words of Marcellus did not give more pain than his wounds.¹

XXVI. At daybreak the scarlet tunic, the usual signal of impending battle, was displayed, the cohorts under disgrace begged and obtained for themselves the foremost position in the line, and the tribunes led forth the rest of the army and put them in array. On hearing of this Hannibal said: "O Hercules! what can be done with a man who knows not how to bear either his worse or his better fortune? For he is the only man who neither gives a respite when he is victorious, nor takes it when he is vanquished, but we shall always be fighting with him, as it seems, since both his courage in success and his shame in defeat are made reasons for bold undertaking". Then the forces engaged; and since the men fought with equal success, Hannibal ordered his elephants to be stationed in the van, and to be driven against the ranks of the Romans. A great press and much confusion at once arose among their foremost lines, but one of the tribunes, Flavius by name, snatched up a standard, confronted the elephants, smote the leader with the iron spike of the standard, and made him wheel about. The beast dashed into the one behind him and threw the whole onset into confusion. Observing this, Marcellus ordered his cavalry to charge at full speed

¹ Cf. Livy, xxvii. 12 and 13.

πρὸς τὸ θορυβούμενον καὶ ποιεῖν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς περιπετεῖς τοὺς πολεμίους. οὗτοί τε δὴ λαμπρῶς ἐμβαλόντες ἀνέκοπτον ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ κτεινόμενα καὶ πίπτοντα τὸν πλείστον αὐτῶν
 4 φόνον ἀπειργάζετο. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν. Ῥωμαίων δὲ νεκροὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο τρισχίλιοι, τραυματαῖαι δὲ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπαντες. καὶ τοῦτο παρέσχεν Ἀννίβα καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀναστάντι νυκτὸς ἄραι πορρωτάτῳ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου. διώκειν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸς ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν τετρωμένων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν εἰς Καμπανίαν ἀνέβη, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐν Σινοέσση διήγεν ἀναλαμβάνων τοὺς στρατιώτας.

XXVII. Ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὡς ἀπέρρηξεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, χρώμενος ὥσπερ λελυμένῳ τῷ 314 στρατεύματι, πᾶσαν ἀδεῶς ἐν κύκλῳ περιῶν ἔφλεγε τὴν Ἰταλίαν· καὶ κακῶς ἤκουσεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκελλος. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ Πουβλίκιον Βίβλον, ἓνα τῶν δημάρχων, ἀνέστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ, δεινὸν εἰπεῖν ἄνδρα καὶ βίαιον·
 2 ὃς πολλάκις συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον ἔπειθεν ἄλλῳ παραδοῦναι στρατηγῷ τὴν δύναμιν, “ἐπεὶ Μάρκελλος,” ἔφη, “μικρὰ τῷ πολέμῳ προσγεγυμνασμένος ὥσπερ ἐκ παλαιστρας ἐπὶ θερμὰ λουτρὰ θεραπεύσων ἑαυτὸν τέτραπται.” ταῦτα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολογησόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν.
 3 ἐκ δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν ἐκείνων δίκην εὔρε παρσκευασμένην ἐφ’ αὐτόν. ἡμέρας οὖν ὀρισθείσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος εἰς τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἵππό-

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upon the disordered mass and throw the enemy still more into confusion. The horsemen made a brilliant charge and cut the Carthaginians down as far as to their camp, and the greatest slaughter among them was caused by their killed and wounded elephants.¹ For more than eight thousand are said to have been slain ; and on the Roman side three thousand were killed, and almost all were wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to break camp quietly in the night and move to a great distance from Marcellus. For Marcellus was unable to pursue him, owing to the multitude of his wounded, but withdrew by easy marches into Campania, and spent the summer at Sinuessa recuperating his soldiers.

XXVII. But Hannibal, now that he had torn himself away from Marcellus, made free use of his army, and going fearlessly round about, wasted all Italy with fire. Meantime, at Rome, Marcellus was in ill repute, and his enemies incited Publicius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a powerful speaker and a man of violence, to bring a denunciation against him. This man held frequent assemblies of the people and tried to persuade them to put the forces of Marcellus in charge of another general, "since Marcellus," as he said, "after giving himself a little exercise in the war, has withdrawn from it as from a palaestra, and betaken himself to warm baths for refreshment." On learning of this, Marcellus left his legates in charge of his army, while he himself went up to Rome to make answer to the accusations against him. There he found an impeachment prepared against him which was drawn from these accusations. Accordingly, on a day set for the trial, when the people had come together in the Flaminian

¹ Five were killed, according to Livy, xxvii. 14.

δρομον, ὁ μὲν Βίβλος ἀναβὰς κατηγόρησεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἀπελογεῖτο, βραχέα μὲν καὶ ἀπλᾶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ λαμπρὰν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν πολιτῶν παρρησίαν ἤγον, παρακαλοῦντες μὴ χείρονας τοῦ πολεμίου κριτὰς φανῆναι δειλίαν Μαρκέλλου καταψηφισαμένους, ὃν μόνον φεύγει τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκείνος καὶ διατελεῖ τούτῳ μὴ μάχεσθαι στρατηγῶν, ὥς τοῖς ἄλλοις
 4 μάχεσθαι. ῥηθέντων δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων τοσούτον ἢ τῆς δίκης ἐλπίς ἐψεύσατο τὸν κατήγορον ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἀφεθῆναι τῶν αἰτιῶν τὸν Μάρκελλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πέμπτου ὕπατον ἀποδειχθῆναι.

XXVIII. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ μέγα κίνημα πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἔπαυσε καὶ κατεπραῦνεν ἐπελθὼν τὰς πόλεις· ἔπειτα ναὸν ἐκ τῶν Σικελικῶν λαφύρων ὠκοδομημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δόξης καὶ Ἀρετῆς καθιερῶσαι βουλόμενος, καὶ κωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων οὐκ ἀξιούντων ἐνὶ ναῷ δύο θεοὺς περιέχεσθαι, πάλιν ἤρξατο προσοικοδομεῖν ἕτερον, οὐ ῥαδίως φέρων τὴν γεγεννημένην ἀντίκρουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἰω-
 2 νιζόμενος. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα πολλὰ σημεῖα διετάραττεν αὐτόν, ἱερῶν τινων κεραυνώσεις καὶ μύες τὸν ἐν Διὸς χρυσὸν διαφαγόντες· ἐλέχθη δὲ καὶ βοῦν ἀνθρώπου φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι καὶ παιδίον ἔχον κεφαλὴν ἐλέφαντος γενέσθαι· καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐκθύσεις καὶ ἀποτροπὰς δυσιεροῦντες οἱ μάντις κατεῖχον αὐτόν ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπαργόντα καὶ φλεγόμενον. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔρωτα τοσοῦτον ἡράσθη πράγματος οὐδενὸς ὅσον οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ μάχη
 3 κριθῆναι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. τοῦτο καὶ νύκτωρ

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circus, Bibulus rose up and denounced him. Then Marcellus spoke briefly and simply in his own defence, and the leading and most reputable citizens, with great boldness of speech and in glowing terms, exhorted the people not to show themselves worse judges than the enemy by convicting Marcellus of cowardice, whom alone of their leaders Hannibal avoided, and continually contrived not to fight with him, that he might fight with the rest. When these speeches were ended, the accuser was so far disappointed in his hope of obtaining the verdict that Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charges against him, but actually appointed consul for the fifth time.¹

XXVIII. After assuming his office, he first quelled a great agitation for revolt in Etruria, and visited and pacified the cities there; next, he desired to dedicate to Honour and Virtue a temple that he had built out of his Sicilian spoils, but was prevented by the priests, who would not consent that two deities should occupy one temple; he therefore began to build another temple adjoining the first, although he resented the priests' opposition and regarded it as ominous. And indeed many other portents disturbed him: sundry temples were struck by lightning, and in that of Jupiter, mice had gnawed the gold; it was reported also that an ox had uttered human speech, and that a boy had been born with an elephant's head; moreover, in their expiatory rites and sacrifices, the seers received bad omens, and therefore detained him at Rome, though he was all on fire and impatient to be gone.² For no man ever had such a passion for any thing as he had for fighting a decisive battle with Hannibal. This was

¹ For 208 B.C. Cf. Livy, xxvii. 20.

² Cf. Livy, xxvii. 11; 25.

δνειρον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ φίλων καὶ συναρχόντων ἐν βούλευμα καὶ μία πρὸς θεοὺς φωνή, παρατατόμενον Ἀννίβαν λαβεῖν. ἥδιστα δ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τείχους ἑνὸς ἢ τινος χάρακος ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατεύμασι περιτεθέντος διαγωνίσασθαι, καὶ εἰ μὴ πολλῆς μὲν ἤδη μεστὸς ὑπῆρχε δόξης, πολλὴν δὲ πείραν παρεσχέκει τοῦ παρ' ὄντινούν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐμβριθῆς γεγονέναι καὶ φρόνιμος, εἶπον ἂν ὅτι μεираκιῶδες αὐτῷ προσπεπτώκει καὶ φιλοτιμότερον πάθος ἢ κατὰ πρεσβύτην τοσοῦτον. ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἐξήκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη τὸ πέμπτον ὑπάτευεν.

XXIX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ θυσιῶν καὶ καθαρμῶν ὧν ὑπηγόρευον οἱ μάντιες γενομένων ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πολλὰ μεταξὺ Βαντίας πόλεως καὶ Βενυσίας καθήμενον ἠρέθιζε τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ὁ δὲ εἰς μάχην μὲν οὐ κατέβαινεν, αἰσθόμενος δὲ πεμπομένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ἐπιζεφυρίους, κατὰ τὸν περὶ Πετηλίαν λόφον ὑφεῖς ἐνέδρας πεντα- 315
2 κοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἀπέκτεινε. τοῦτο Μάρκελλον ἐξέφερε τῷ θυμῷ πρὸς τὴν μάχην, καὶ προσῆγεν ἄρας ἐγγυτέρω τὴν δύναμιν.

Ἦν δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων λόφος ἐπιεικῶς μὲν εὐερκής, ὕλης δὲ παντοδαπῆς ἀνάπλεως· εἶχε δὲ καὶ σκοπὰς περικλινεῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, καὶ ναμάτων ὑπεφαίνοντο πηγαὶ καταρρεόντων. ἐθαύμαζον οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Ἀννίβαν ὅτι πρῶτος ἐλὼν εὐφυᾶ τόπον οὕτως οὐ κατέσχευεν, ἀλλ' ἀπέ-

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his dream at night, his one subject for deliberation with friends and colleagues, his one appeal to the gods, namely, that he might find Hannibal drawn up to meet him. And I think he would have been most pleased to have the struggle decided with both armies enclosed by a single wall or rampart; and if he had not been full already of abundant honour, and if he had not given abundant proof that he could be compared with any general whomsoever in solidity of judgement, I should have said that he had fallen a victim to a youthful ambition that ill became such a great age as his. For he had passed his sixtieth year when he entered upon his fifth consulship.¹

XXIX. However, after the ceremonies of sacrifice and purification which the seers prescribed had been performed, he set out with his colleague for the war, and gave much annoyance to Hannibal in his encampment between Bantia and Venusia. Hannibal would not give battle, but having been made aware that the Romans had sent some troops against Locri Epizephyrii, he set an ambush for them at the hill of Petelia, and slew twenty-five hundred of them. This filled Marcellus with mad desire for the battle, and breaking camp, he brought his forces nearer to the enemy.

Between the camps was a hill which could be made tolerably secure, and was full of all sorts of woody growth; it had also lookout-places that sloped in either direction, and streams of water showed themselves running down its sides. The Romans therefore wondered that Hannibal, who had come first to a place of natural advantages, had not occupied it, but left it in this way for his enemies.

¹ In 208 B.C.

- 3 λιπε τοῖς πολεμίοις. τῷ δὲ ἄρα καλὸν μὲν ἐν-
στρατοπεδεῦσαι τὸ χωρίον ἐφαίνετο, πολὺ δὲ
κρεῖττον ἐνεδρεῦσαι· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον
αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι βουλόμενος ἐνέπλησε τὴν ὕλην
καὶ τὰς κοιλάδας ἀκοντιστῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ
λογχοφόρων, πεπεισμένος ἐπάξεσθαι δι' εὐφυΐαν
4 αὐτὰ τὰ χωρία τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. οὐδὲ ἀπεψεύσθη
τῆς ἐλπίδος· εὐθύς γὰρ ἦν πολὺς ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λόγος ὡς χρὴ τὸ χωρίον
καταλαμβάνειν, καὶ διεστρατήγουν ὅσα πλεονε-
κτήσουσι τοὺς πολεμίους, μάλιστα μὲν ἐκεῖ
στρατοπεδεύσαντες, εἰ δὲ μή, τειχίσαντες τὸν
λόφον. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ μετ' ὀλίγων
ἵπποτων ἐπελάσαντι κατασκέψασθαι. καὶ λαβὼν
τὸν μάντιν ἐθύετο· καὶ τοῦ πρώτου πεσόντος
ἱερείου δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἦπαρ οὐκ ἔχον κεφαλὴν
5 ὁ μάντις. ἐπιθυσαμένου δὲ τὸ δευτέρου ἢ τε
κεφαλὴ μέγεθος ὑπερφυῆς ἀνέσχε καὶ τὰλλα
φαιδρὰ θαυμαστῶς διεφάνη, καὶ λύσιν ἔχειν ὁ
τῶν πρώτων φόβος ἔδοξεν. οἱ δὲ μάντις ταῦτα
μᾶλλον ἔφασαν δεδιέναι καὶ ταραττεσθαι· λαμ-
προτάτων γὰρ ἐπ' αἰσχίστοις καὶ σκυθρωποτά-
τοις ἱεροῖς γενομένων ὑποπτον εἶναι τῆς μετα-
βολῆς τὴν ἀτοπίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ

Τὸ πεπρωμένον οὐ πῦρ, οὐ σιδαροῦν σχήσει
τεῖχος,

- κατὰ Πίνδαρον, ἐξήκει τὸν τε συνάρχοντα Κρισπί-
νον παραλαβὼν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν χιλιαρχοῦντα καὶ
6 τοὺς σύμπαντας ἵππεῖς εἴκοσι καὶ διακοσίους. ὦν
Ῥωμαῖος οὐδεὶς ἦν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Τυρρηνοί,
τεσσαράκοντα δὲ Φρεγελλανοί, πείραν ἀρετῆς καὶ

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Now, to Hannibal the place did seem good for an encampment, but far better for an ambushade, and to this use he preferred to put it. He therefore filled its woods and hollows with a large force of javelineers and spearmen, convinced that the place of itself would attract the Romans by reason of its natural advantages. Nor was he deceived in his expectations; for straightway there was much talk in the Roman camp about the necessity of occupying the place, and they enumerated all the strategic advantages which they would gain over their enemies, particularly by encamping there, but if not that, by fortifying the hill. Marcellus accordingly decided to ride up to it with a few horsemen and inspect it. So he summoned his diviner and offered sacrifice, and when the first victim had been slain, the diviner showed him that the liver had no head. But on his sacrificing for the second time, the head of the liver was of extraordinary size and the other tokens appeared to be wonderfully propitious, and the fear which the first had inspired seemed to be dissipated. But the diviners declared that they were all the more afraid of these and troubled by them; for when very propitious omens succeeded those which were most inauspicious and threatening, the strangeness of the change was ground for suspicion. But since, as Pindar says,¹

“Allotted fate not fire, not wall of iron, will check,”

Marcellus set out, taking with him his colleague Crispinus, his son, who was a military tribune, and two hundred and twenty horsemen all told. Of these, not one was a Roman, but they were all Etruscans, except forty men of Fregellae, who had

¹ Fragment 232 (Bergk).

πίστεως αἰὲν τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ δεδοκότες. ὑλώδους δὲ τοῦ λόφου καὶ συνηρεφοῦς ὄντος ἀνὴρ καθή-
 μενος ἄνω σκοπὴν εἶχε τοῖς πολεμίοις, αὐτὸς
 οὐ συνωρώμενος, καθορῶν δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ
 7 στρατόπεδον. καὶ τὰ γινόμενα τούτου φράσαντος
 τοῖς λοχῶσι, προσελαύνοντα τὸν Μάρκελλον
 ἐάσαντες ἐγγὺς προσελθεῖν ἐξαίφνης ἀνέστησαν,
 καὶ περιχυθέντες ἅμα πανταχόθεν ἠκόντιζον,
 ἔπαιον, ἐδίωκον τοὺς φεύγοντας, συνεπλέκοντο
 τοῖς ὑφισταμένοις. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ τεσσαρά-
 8 κοντα Φρεγελλανοί. καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν εὐθύς ἐν
 ἀρχῇ διατρεσάντων αὐτοὶ συστραφέντες ἡμύνοντο
 πρὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἄχρι οὗ Κρισπῖνος μὲν ἀκοντί-
 σμασι δυσὶ βεβλημένος ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς φυγὴν
 τὸν ἵππον, Μάρκελλον δὲ τις λόγχη πλατεία διὰ
 τῶν πλευρῶν διήλασεν, ἣν λαγκίαν καλοῦσιν.
 οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν Φρεγελλανῶν οἱ περιόντες ὀλίγοι
 παντάπασιν αὐτὸν μὲν πεσόντα λείπουσι, τὸν δ'
 υἱὸν ἀρπάσαντες τετρωμένον φεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ
 9 στρατόπεδον. ἐγένοντο δὲ νεκροὶ μὲν οὐ πολλῶ
 τῶν τεσσαράκοντα πλείους, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ τῶν
 μὲν ῥαβδούχων πέντε, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων εἴκοσι δυεῖν
 δέοντες. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Κρισπῖνος ἐκ τῶν
 τραυμάτων οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπιβιώσας. καὶ
 πάθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις συνέπεσε πρότερον οὐ
 γεγονός, ἀμφοτέρους ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀγῶνος τοὺς ὑπάτους
 ἀποθανεῖν.

XXX. Ἀννίβα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐλάχιστος
 ἦν λόγος, Μάρκελλον δὲ πεπτωκέναι πυθόμενος
 αὐτὸς ἐξέδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ
 παραστάς καὶ πολὺν χρόνον τήν τε ῥώμην τοῦ
 σώματος καταμαθὼν καὶ τὸ εἶδος, οὔτε φωνήν

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given Marcellus constant proof of their valour and fidelity. Now, the crest of the hill was covered with woods, and on its summit a man had been stationed by the enemy to keep a lookout; he could not be seen himself, but kept the Roman camp in full view. This man, then, told those who lay in ambush what was going on, and they, after permitting Marcellus to ride close up to them, rose up on a sudden, and encompassing him on all sides, hurled their javelins, smote with their spears, pursued the fugitives, and grappled with those who made resistance. These were the forty men of Fregellae, who, though the Etruscans at the very outset took to flight, banded themselves together and fought in defence of the consuls, until Crispinus, smitten with two javelins, turned his horse and fled, and Marcellus was run through the side with a broad spear (the Latin name for which is "lancea"). Then the surviving men of Fregellae, few all told, left him where he lay dead, snatched up his son who was wounded, and fled to their camp. Hardly more than forty were slain, but five lictors were taken prisoners, and eighteen horsemen.¹ Crispinus also died of his wounds not many days after. Such a disaster as this had never happened to the Romans before: both their consuls were killed in a single action.

XXX. Hannibal made very little account of the rest, but when he learned that Marcellus had fallen, he ran out to the place himself, and after standing by the dead body and surveying for a long time its strength and mien, he uttered no boastful speech,

¹ Cf. Livy, xxvii. 26 and 27.

ἀφῆκεν ὑπερήφανον, οὔτε ἀπ' ὄψεως τὸ χαῖρον,
 ὥς ἂν τις ἐργώδη πολέμιον καὶ βαρὺν ἀπεκτονῶς,
 2 ἐξέφηεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθανμάσας τὸ παράλογον τῆς
 τελευτῆς τὸν μὲν δακτύλιον ἀφείλετο, τὸ δὲ σῶμα 318
 κοσμήσας πρέποντι κόσμῳ καὶ περιστείλας ἐντί-
 μως ἔκαυσε· καὶ τὰ λείψανα συνθεῖς εἰς κάλπιν
 ἀργυρᾶν, καὶ χρυσοῦν ἐμβαλὼν στέφανον, ἀπέ-
 στειλε πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. τῶν δὲ Νομάδων τινὲς περι-
 τυχόντες τοῖς κομίζουσιν ὥρμησαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
 τὸ τεῦχος, ἀντιλαμβανομένων δ' ἐκείνων ἐκβιαζό-
 3 μενοι καὶ μαχόμενοι διέρριψαν τὰ ὀσᾶ. πυθό-
 μενος δὲ Ἀννίβας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπὼν,
 "Οὐδὲν ἄρα δυνατὸν γενέσθαι ἄκοντος θεοῦ,"
 τοῖς μὲν Νομάσιν ἐπέθηκε δίκην, οὐκέτι δὲ κομιδῆς
 ἢ συλλογῆς τῶν λειψάνων ἐφρόντισεν, ὥς δὴ κατὰ
 θεόν τινα καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀταφίας παρα-
 4 λόγως οὕτω τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ γενομένης. ταῦτα μὲν
 οὖν οἱ περὶ Κορνήλιον Νέπωτα καὶ Οὐαλέριον
 Μάξιμον ἱστορήκασιν. Λίβιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ ὁ
 Σεβαστὸς κομισθῆναι τὴν ὑδρίαν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν
 εἰρήκασιν καὶ ταφῆναι λαμπρῶς.

Ἦν δὲ ἀνάθημα Μαρκέλλου δῖχα τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 γυμνάσιον μὲν ἐν Κατάνῃ τῆς Σικελίας, ἀνδριάντες
 δὲ καὶ πίνακες τῶν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν ἔν τε Σαμο-
 θράκῃ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, οὓς Καβεῖρους ὠνόμαζον,
 5 καὶ περὶ Λίνδον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἐκεῖ δὲ
 αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀνδριάντι τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιγεγραμμένον, ὥς
 Ποσειδώνιός φησι, τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

Οὗτός τοι Ῥώμης ὁ μέγας, ξένε, πατρίδος ἀστήρ,
 Μάρκελλος κλεινῶν Κλαύδιος ἐκ πατέρων,

¹ Of which he afterwards made fraudulent use (Livy, xxvii. 28).

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nor did he manifest his joy at the sight, as one might have done who had slain a bitter and troublesome foe ; but after wondering at the unexpectedness of his end, he took off his signet-ring, indeed,¹ but ordered the body to be honourably robed, suitably adorned, and burned. Then he collected the remains in a silver urn, placed a golden wreath upon it, and sent it back to his son. But some of the Numidians fell in with those who were carrying the urn and attempted to take it away from them, and when they resisted, fought with them, and in the fierce struggle scattered the bones far and wide. When Hannibal learned of this, he said to the bystanders : “ You see that nothing can be done against the will of God.” Then he punished the Numidians, but took no further care to collect and send back the remains, feeling that it was at some divine behest that Marcellus had died and been deprived of burial in this strange manner. Such, then, is the account given by Cornelius Nepos and Valerius Maximus ; but Livy² and Augustus Caesar state that the urn was brought to his son and buried with splendid rites.

Besides the dedications which Marcellus made in Rome, there was a gymnasium at Catana in Sicily, and statues and paintings from the treasures of Syracuse both at Samothrace, in the temple of the gods called Cabeiri, and at Lindus in the temple of Athena. There, too, there was a statue of him, according to Poseidonius, bearing this inscription :

“ This, O stranger, was the great star of his country, Rome,—Claudius Marcellus of illustrious line,

¹ According to Livy, xxvii. 28, Hannibal buried Marcellus on the hill where he was killed. Livy found many discordant accounts of the death of Marcellus (xxvii. 27 *fn.*).

ἐπτάκι τὰν ὑπάταν ἀρχὰν ἐν Ἀρχῇ φυλάξας,
τὸν πολὺν ἀντιπάλους ὃς κατέχευε φόνον.

τὴν γὰρ ἀνθύπατον ἀρχήν, ἣν δις ἤρξε, ταῖς πέντε
προσκατηρίθμυσεν ὑπατείαις ὃ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα
6 ποιήσας. γένος δ' αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἄχρι Μαρκέλ-
λου τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδοῦ διέτεινεν, ὃς Ὀκτα-
βίας ἦν τῆς Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς υἱὸς ἐκ Γαίου
Μαρκέλλου γεγονώς, ἀγορανομῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων
ἐτελεύτησε νυμφίος, Καίσαρος θυγατρὶ χρόνον οὐ
πολὺν συνοικήσας. εἰς δὲ τιμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμην
Ὀκταβία μὲν ἡ μήτηρ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην ἀνέθηκε,
Καῖσαρ δὲ θέατρον ἐπιγράψας Μαρκέλλου.

ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀναγραφῆς ἄξια
τῶν ἱστορημένων περὶ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Πελοπίδου,
ταῦτά ἐστι. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰ ἥθη
κοινοτήτων ὥσπερ ἐφαμίλλων οὐσῶν (καὶ γὰρ
ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ φιλόπονοι καὶ θυμοειδεῖς καὶ μεγα-
λόφρονες ἀμφοτέρωτεροι γεγόνασιν), ἐκείνο δόξειεν
ἂν διαφορὰν ἔχειν μόνον, ὅτι Μάρκελλος μὲν ἐν
πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ὑποχειρίοις γενομέναις σφαγὰς
ἐποίησεν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ καὶ Πελοπίδας οὐ-
δένα πώποτε κρατήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν οὐδὲ πό-
λεις ἡνδραποδίσαντο. λέγονται δὲ Θηβαῖοι μηδὲ
Ὀρχομενίους ἂν οὕτω μεταχειρίσασθαι παρόντων
ἐκείνων.

2 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι θαυμαστὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα
τοῦ Μαρκέλλου τὰ πρὸς Κελτούς, ὡσαμένου

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who seven times held the consular power in time of war, and poured much slaughter on his foes."

For the author of the inscription has added his two proconsulates to his five consulates. And his line maintained its splendour down to Marcellus the nephew of Augustus Caesar, who was a son of Caesar's sister Octavia by Caius Marcellus, and who died during his aedileship at Rome, having recently married a daughter of Caesar. In his honour and to his memory Octavia his mother dedicated the library, and Caesar the theatre, which bear his name.

COMPARISON OF PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

I. THIS is what I have thought worthy of record in what historians say about Marcellus and Pelopidas. In their natures and dispositions they were almost exactly alike, since both were valiant, laborious, passionate, and magnanimous; and there would seem to have been this difference only between them, that Marcellus committed slaughter in many cities which he reduced, while Epaminondas and Pelopidas never put any one to death after their victories, nor did they sell cities into slavery. And we are told that, had they been present, the Thebans would not have treated the Orchomenians as they did.

As for their achievements, those of Marcellus against the Gauls were great and astonishing, since

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27

- τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἰππέων ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζῶν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰππεῦσιν, ὃ ῥαδίως ὑφ' ἑτέρου στρατηγοῦ γεγονὸς οὐχ ἰστόρηται, καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἀνελόντος· ἐν ᾧ τρόπῳ Πελοπίδας ἔπταισεν ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ ταῦτά, προαναιρεθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ παθὼν πρότερον
- 3 ἢ δράσας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἔστι παραβαλεῖν τὰ Λευκτρα καὶ Τεγύρας, ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ μεγίστους ἀγώνων, κρυφαίαν δὲ σὺν λόχῳ κατωρθωμένην πράξιν οὐκ ἔχομεν τοῦ Μαρκέλλου παραβαλεῖν οἷς Πελοπίδας περὶ τὴν ἐκ φυγῆς κάθοδον καὶ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἐν Θήβαις τυράννων ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο πολὺ πάντων ἔοικε πρωτεύειν τῶν ὑπὸ σκότῳ καὶ δι' ἀπάτης γεγενημένων
- 4 τὸ ἔργον. Ἀννίβας φοβερὸς μὲν καὶ δεινὸς ἐνέκειτο Ῥωμαίοις,¹ ὥσπερ ἀμέλει Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε Θηβαίοις, ἐνδοῦναι δὲ τούτους μὲν Πελοπίδα καὶ περὶ Τεγύρας καὶ περὶ Λευκτρα βέβαιόν ἐστιν, 317 Ἀννίβαν δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὥς μὲν οἱ περὶ Πολύβιον λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ἐνίκησεν, ἀλλ' ἀήττητος ὁ
- 5 ἀνὴρ δοκεῖ διαγενέσθαι μέχρι Σκηπίωνος· ἡμεῖς δὲ Λιβίῳ, Καίσαρι καὶ Νέπωτι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰόβα πιστεύομεν, ἥττας τινὰς καὶ τροπὰς ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου τῶν σὺν Ἀννίβᾳ γενέσθαι· μεγάλην δὲ αὐταὶ ῥοπὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' ἔοικε ψευδόπτωμά τι γενέσθαι περὶ τὸν
- 6 Λίβυν ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς ἐκείναις. ὃ δὲ κατὰ λόγον καὶ προσηκόντως ἐθαυμάσθη, μετὰ τοσαύτας τροπὰς στρατοπέδων καὶ φόνους στρατηγῶν καὶ σύγχυσιν ὅλης ὁμοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας

¹ ἐνέκειτο Ῥωμαίοις Coraës and Bekker, after an early anonymous critic : ἐνέκειτο.

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he routed such a multitude of horse and foot with the few horsemen in his following (an action not easily found recorded of any other general), and slew the enemies' chieftain; whereas in this regard Pelopidas failed, for he set out to do the same thing, but suffered what he meant to inflict, and was slain first by the tyrant. However, with these exploits of Marcellus one may compare the battles of Leuctra and Tegyra, greatest and most illustrious of actions; and we have no exploit of Marcellus accomplished by stealth and ambuscade which we can compare with what Pelopidas did in coming back from exile and slaying the tyrants in Thebes, nay, that seems to rank far higher than any other achievement of secrecy and cunning. Hannibal was, it is true, a most formidable enemy for the Romans, but so, assuredly, were the Lacedaemonians in the time of Pelopidas for the Thebans, and that they were defeated by Pelopidas at Tegyra and Leuctra is an established fact; whereas Hannibal, according to Polybius,¹ was not even once defeated by Marcellus, but continued to be invincible until Scipio came. However, I believe, with Livy, Caesar, and Nepos, and, among Greek writers, with King Juba, that sundry defeats and routs were inflicted by Marcellus upon the troops of Hannibal, although these had no great influence upon the war; indeed, the Carthaginian would seem to have practised some ruse in these engagements. But that which reasonably and fittingly called for admiration was the fact that the Romans, after the rout of so many armies, the slaughter of so many generals, and the utter confusion of the whole empire, still had

¹ Cf. xv. 11, 7, where Hannibal makes this claim, in a speech to his men just before the battle of Zama (202 B.C.).

εἰς ἀντίπαλα τῷ θαρρεῖν καθισταμένων· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ πάλαι περιδεοῦς καὶ καταπεπληγὸς αὐθις ἐμβαλὼν τῷ στρατεύματι ζῆλον καὶ φιλο-
 7 νεικίαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως τῆς νίκης ὑφίεμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμφισβη-
 τοῦν τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμενον ἐπάρας καὶ θαρρύνας, εἰς ἀνὴρ ἦν, Μάρκελλος· εἰθισμένους γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, εἰ φεύγοντες ἐκφύγοιεν Ἀννίβαν, ἀγαπᾶν, ἐδίδαξεν αἰσχύνεσθαι σωζομένους μεθ' ἥττης, αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐνδόντας, ἀλγεῖν δὲ μὴ κρατήσαντας.

II. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν Πελοπίδας μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἡττήθη μάχην στρατηγῶν, Μάρκελλος δὲ πλείστας τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησε, δόξειεν ἂν ἴσως τῷ δυσνικήτῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀήττητον ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἐπανισοῦσθαι. καὶ μὴν οὗτος μὲν εἶλε Συρακούσας, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπέτυχεν. ἀλλ' οἶμαι μεῖζον εἶναι τοῦ καταλαβεῖν Σικελίαν τὸ τῇ Σπάρτῃ προσελθεῖν καὶ διαβῆναι
 2 πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων πολέμῳ τὸν Εὐρώταν, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία τοῦτο μὲν φήσει τις τὸ ἔργον Ἐπαμεινώνδα μᾶλλον ἢ Πελοπίδα προσήκειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ Λεῦκτρα, τῶν δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ διαπεπραγμένων ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι τὴν δόξαν. καὶ γὰρ Συρακούσας μόνος εἶλε, καὶ Κελτοὺς ἄνευ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐτρέψατο, καὶ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν μηδενὸς συλλαμβάνοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀποτρεπόντων, ἀντιταξάμενος καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ πολέμου πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν τοῦ τολμᾶν κατέστη.

III. Τὴν τοίνυν τελευτὴν ἐπαινῶ μὲν οὐδετέρου

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the courage to face their foes. For there was one man who filled his army again with ardour and ambition to contend with the enemy, instead of the great fear and consternation which had long oppressed them, inspiring and encouraging them not only to yield the victory reluctantly, but also to dispute it with all eagerness, and this man was Marcellus. For when their calamities had accustomed them to be satisfied whenever they escaped Hannibal by flight, he taught them to be ashamed to survive defeat, to be chagrined if they came within a little of yielding, and to be distressed if they did not win the day.

II. Since, then, Pelopidas was never defeated in a battle where he was in command, and Marcellus won more victories than any Roman of his day, it would seem, perhaps, that the multitude of his successes made the difficulty of conquering the one equal to the invincibility of the other. Marcellus, it is true, took Syracuse, while Pelopidas failed to take Sparta. But I think that to have reached Sparta, and to have been the first of men to cross the Eurotas in war, was a greater achievement than the conquest of Sicily; unless, indeed, it should be said that this exploit belongs rather to Epaminondas than to Pelopidas, as well as the victory at Leuctra, while Marcellus shared with no one the glory of his achievements. For he took Syracuse all alone, and routed the Gauls without his colleague, and when no one would undertake the struggle against Hannibal, but all declined it, he took the field against him, changed the aspect of the war, and was the first leader to show daring.

III. I cannot, indeed, applaud the death of either

- τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνιῶμαι καὶ ἀγανακτῶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ συμπτώματος· καὶ θαυμάζω μὲν ἐν μάχαις τοσαύταις ὅσαις ἀποκάμει τις ἂν κατ-
 αριθμῶν, μὴδὲ τρωθέντα τὸν Ἀντίβαν, ἄγαμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Παιδείᾳ Χρυσάνταν, ὃς διηρμένος κοπίδα καὶ παίειν μέλλων πολέμιον, ὡς ὑπεσῆ-
 μηνεν ἢ σάλπιγξ ἀνακλητικόν, ἀφείς τὸν ἄνδρα
 2 μάλα πράως καὶ κοσμίως ἀνεχώρησεν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ποιεῖ συγγνωστὸν ἅμα τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ παράθερμον ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἐκφέρων ὁ θυμός· ἄριστον μὲν γὰρ νικῶντα σώζεσθαι τὸν στρατηγόν, “εἰ δὲ θανεῖν, εἰς ἀρετὴν καταλύσαντα βίον,” ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησὶν.¹ οὕτω γὰρ οὐ πάθος, ἀλλὰ πράξις
 3 γίνεται τοῦ τελευτῶντος ὁ θάνατος. πρὸς δὲ τῷ θυμῷ τοῦ Πελοπίδου καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς νίκης ἐν τῷ πεσεῖν τὸν τύραννον ὁρῶμενον οὐ παντάπασιν ἀλόγως ἐπεσπάσατο τὴν ὁρμήν· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐτέρας οὕτω καλὴν καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐχούσης ὑπόθεσιν ἀριστείας ἐπιλαβέσθαι. Μάρκελλος δέ, μήτε χρεῖας μεγάλης ἐπικειμένης, μήτε τοῦ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ πολλάκις ἐξιστάντος τὸν λογισμὸν ἐν-
 θουσιασμοῦ παρεστῶτος, ὡσάμενος ἀπερισκέπτως εἰς κίνδυνον οὐ στρατηγοῦ πτώμα, προδρόμον δέ
 4 τινος ἢ κατασκόπου πέπτωκεν, ὑπατείας πέντε καὶ τρεῖς θριάμβους καὶ σκῦλα καὶ τροπαιοφορίας 318 ἀπὸ βασιλέων τοῖς προαποθνήσκουσι Καρχηδονίων Ἰβηρσι καὶ Νομάσις ὑποβαλὼν. ὥστε νεμεσῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ κατορθώ-

¹

Εἰ δὲ θανεῖν θέμις, ὧδε θανεῖν καλόν,
 εἰς ἀρετὴν καταλυσαμένους βίον

(Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 679). Cf. Plutarch, *Morals*, p. 24 d.

PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

of them, nay, I am distressed and indignant at their unreasonableness in the final disaster. And I admire Hannibal because, in battles so numerous that one would weary of counting them, he was not even wounded. I am delighted, too, with Chrysantes, in the "*Cyropaedeia*,"¹ who, though his blade was lifted on high and he was about to smite an enemy, when the trumpet sounded a retreat, let his man go, and retired with all gentleness and decorum. Pelopidas, however, was somewhat excusable, because, excited as he always was by an opportunity for battle, he was now carried away by a generous anger to seek revenge. For the best thing is that a general should be victorious and keep his life, "but if he must die," he should "conclude his life with valour," as Euripides says; for then he does not suffer death, but rather achieves it. And besides his anger, Pelopidas saw that the consummation of his victory would be the death of the tyrant, and this not altogether unreasonably invited his effort; for it would have been hard to find another deed of prowess with so fair and glorious a promise. But Marcellus, when no great need was pressing, and when he felt none of that ardour which in times of peril unseats the judgment, plunged heedlessly into danger, and died the death, not of a general, but of a mere skirmisher or scout, having cast his five consulates, his three triumphs, and the spoils and trophies which he had taken from kings, under the feet of Iberians and Numidians who had sold their lives to the Carthaginians. And so it came to pass that these very men were loath to accept their own success, when

¹ Xenophon, *Cyrop.* iv. 1, 3.

ματος, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἄριστον ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει μέγιστον καὶ δόξῃ λαμπρότατον ἐν τοῖς Φρεγελλανῶν προδιερευνηταῖς παραναλῶσθαι.

- 5 Χρὴ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ κατηγορίαν εἶναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν νομίζειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀγανάκτησίν τινα καὶ παρρησίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτῶν, εἰς ἣν τὰς ἄλλας κατανάλωσαν ἀρετὰς ἀφειδήσαντες τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥσπερ ἑαυτοῖς, οὐ ταῖς πατρίσι μᾶλλον καὶ φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις, ἀπολλυμένων.
- 6 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν θάνατον Πελοπίδας μὲν τοὺς συμμάχους ταφεῖς ἔσχεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπέθανε, Μάρκελλος δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπέθανε. ζηλωτὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκείνο καὶ μακάριον, κρεῖττον δὲ καὶ μεῖζον εὐνοίας χάριν ἀμειβομένης ἔχθρα λυποῦσαν ἀρετὴν θαυμάζουσα. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐνταῦθα τὴν τιμὴν ἔχει μόνον, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὸ λυσιτελὲς καὶ ἡ χρεία μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶται τῆς ἀρετῆς.

PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

a Roman who excelled all others in valour, and had the greatest influence and the most splendid fame, was uselessly sacrificed among the scouts of Fregellae.

This, however, must not be thought a denunciation of the men, but rather an indignant and outspoken protest in their own behalf against themselves and their valour, to which they uselessly sacrificed their other virtues, in that they were unsparing of their lives; as if their death affected themselves alone, and not rather their countries, friends, and allies.

After his death, Pelopidas received burial from his allies, in whose behalf he fell; Marcellus from his enemies, by whose hands he fell. An enviable and happy lot was the former, it is true; but better and greater than the goodwill which makes grateful return for favours done, is the hatred which admires a valour that was harassing. For in this case it is worth alone which receives honour; whereas in the other, personal interests and needs are more regarded than excellence.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Achillas, 317-325, one of the guardians of Ptolemy XII. (Dionysus), and commander of his troops when Caesar came to Egypt. According to *Bell. Alex.* iv., he was put to death by his sister Arsinoë.

Achradina, 485, the first extension on the mainland of the island city of Syracuse, stretching from the Great Harbour northwards to the sea.

Actium, 175, a promontory of Acarnania in northern Greece, at the entrance to the Ambraciot gulf.

Aesop, 429, a Greek writer of fables, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Fables bearing his name were popular at Athens in the time of Aristophanes.

Afranius, 205, 211, 217, 229, 287, 291, Lucius A., a warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius, as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. He was consul in 60 B.C. In 55 B.C. he was sent by Pompey with Petreius to hold Spain for him. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.).

Amanus, 217, a range of mountains branching off from the Taurus in Cilicia, and extending eastwards to Syria and the Euphrates.

Amsus, 213, 223, a city of Pontus, in Asia Minor, on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea.

Amphipolis, 309, an important town

in S.E. Macedonia, on the river Strymon, about three miles from the sea.

Androcydes of Cyzicus, 401, a celebrated painter, who flourished from 400 to 377 B.C. See Plutarch, *Morals*, p. 668 c.

Andros, 345, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, S. E. of Euboea.

Antalcidas, 63, 73, 87, 417, an able Spartan politician, and commander of the Spartan fleet in 388 B.C. The famous peace between Persia and the Greeks, concluded in 387 B.C., was called after him.

Antigonus, 341, 343, the general of Alexander who was afterwards king of Asia, surnamed the One-eyed.

Antioch, 219, the capital of the Greek kings of Syria, on the river Orontes, founded by Seleucus in 300 B.C.

Antipater, 41, regent of Macedonia and Greece during Alexander's absence in the East, and also after Alexander's death, until 319 B.C.

Apollophanes of Cyzicus, 33, known only in this connection.

Appius, 467, 471, Appius Claudius Pulcher, military tribune at Cannae (216 B.C.), praetor in Sicily 215 B.C., and legate of Marcellus there in 214. He was consul in 212, and died in the following year.

Arbela, 211, a town in Babylonia, near which Alexander inflicted final defeat upon Darius.

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- Archimedes, 471-477, the most famous of ancient mathematicians, lived 287-212 B.C.
- Archytas, 471, a Greek of Tarentum, philosopher, mathematician, general and statesman, flourished about 400 B.C.
- Ariminum, 273, 443, a city of Umbria, on the Adriatic, commanding the eastern coast of Italy and an entrance into Cisalpine Gaul.
- Arsaces, 315, Arsaces XIV. (or Orontes I.), king of Parthia 55-38 B.C.
- Arsis, 131, an error for Aesis, a river flowing between Umbria and Picenum, in N.E. Italy.
- Asculum, 123 f., a city in the interior of Picenum, taken by Strabo during the Marsic war (89 B.C.) and burnt.
- Athamania, 287, a district in northern Greece, between Thessaly and Epirus.
- Aulis, 15, a town on the Boeotian side of the straits of Euripus, reputed to have been the rendezvous for the Greek chieftains under Agamemnon.
- Auximum, 129, a city of Picenum, in N.E. Italy, just south of Ancona.

B

- Bantia, 515, a small town in Apulia, about thirteen miles south-east of Venusia.
- Beroea, 281, a town in Macedonia, west of the Thermaic gulf (Bay of Saloniki).
- Bibulus (1), 237-241, 259, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65, praetor in 62, and consul in 59 B.C., in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He was an aristocrat of moderate abilities. He died in 48 B.C.
- Bibulus (2), 511, 513, Publicius B., not otherwise known.
- Bosporus, 215, the territory on both sides of the strait between the Euxine Sea and the Maeotic Lake (Sea of Azov), and including the modern Crimea. The strait (p. 207) bears the same name.

- Briareus, 479, a monster of mythology, having a hundred arms and fifty heads, called by men Aegaeon (*Iliad*, l. 403 f.).
- Brundisium, 183 f., 279, 285, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.
- Brutus, 129, 153, 155, Marcus Junius B., father of the conspirator, tribune of the people in 83, and, in 77 B.C., general under Lepidus.

C

- Caenum, 213, the fortress mentioned without name in the preceding chapter. It was in Pontus, on the river Lycus, S.E. of Amisus.
- Caepio, 239, Servilius C., a supporter of Caesar against his colleague Bibulus in 59 B.C. (Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 21). Cf. the *Caesar*, xiv. 4.
- Calauria, 175, a small island off the S.E. coast of Argolis in Peloponnesus. Its temple was the final refuge of Demosthenes.
- Callicratidas, 343, the Spartan admiral who succeeded Lysander in 406 B.C., and lost his life in the battle of Arginusae. Cf. the *Lysander*, chapters v.-vii.
- Callipides, 59, cf. the *Alcibiades*, xxxii. 2.
- Callisthenes, 97, 381, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who accompanied Alexander the Great on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.C. Besides an account of Alexander's expedition, he wrote a history of Greece from 387 to 357 B.C.
- Calvinus, 295, see Domitius (3).
- Canusium, 457, 507, an ancient city of Apulia, about fifteen miles from the sea.
- Capitolinus, 439, Calus Scantillus C., colleague of Marcellus in the aedileship about 226 B.C.

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- Carbo**, 127-131, 137 f., Gnaeus Papirius C., a leader of the Marian party, consular colleague of Cinna in 85 and 84 B.C., put to death by Pompey in 82 B.C.
- Carinas** (or **Carrinas**), 129, Caius C., was defeated by Sulla in the following year (82 B.C.), captured and put to death.
- Catana**, 521, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Tauromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.
- Catulus**, 153, 157, 179, 181, 193, 197, Quintus Lutatius C., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65, a supporter of Cicero against Catiline in 63, died in 60 B.C.
- Caucasus Mountains**, 209, the great mountain system lying between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.
- Cenchreae**, 399, the eastern harbour-town of Corinth.
- Chabrias**, 105, a successful Athenian general, prominent from 392 till his gallant death at the siege of Chios in 357 B.C.
- Chaeroneia**, 47, a small town at the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, commanding an extensive plain on which many battles were fought in ancient times (cf. the *Marcellus*, xxi. 2). Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.C. It was Plutarch's native city.
- Chares**, 345, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.C. He was able, but untrustworthy and rapacious.
- Cinna**, 123-127, Lucius Cornelius C., leader of the popular party and consul during the years of Sulla's absence in the East (87-84 B.C.).
- Claros**, 175, a place in Ionian Asia Minor, near Colophon, where there was a temple of Apollo, and an oracle of great antiquity.
- Cleon**, of Halicarnassus, 55, a rhetorician who flourished at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C.
- Cloelius**, 129, an error for Coelius, Caius Coelius Caldus, tribune of the people in 107 B.C., consul in 94, a staunch supporter of the Marian party.
- Cnidus**, 47, a city at the S.W. extremity of Caria, in Asia Minor.
- Colchis**, 203, 207, a district of Western Asia, lying north of Armenia and east of the Euxine Sea.
- Commagene**, 231, a district of Syria, lying between Cilicia and the Euphrates.
- Conon**, 47, 63, a distinguished Athenian general. He escaped from Aegospotami in 405 B.C. (see the *Lysander*, xl. 5), and with aid from the Great King and Pharnabazus defeated the Spartan fleet off Cnidus in 394 B.C., and restored the Long Walls of Athens in 393 B.C.
- Cornelius**, 447, 453, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, consul with Marcellus in 222 B.C., afterwards (218 B.C.) legate of his brother Publius in Spain, where the two carried on war against the Carthaginians for eight years, and where both finally fell.
- Coroneia**, 41, 47, a town in N.W. Boeotia, the scene of many battles. Here reference is made to the victory of Agesilaus over the Thebans and their allies in 394 B.C. (*Agesilaus*, xviii.).
- Cratippus**, 311 f., of Mitylene, a Peripatetic philosopher highly regarded by Cicero, and by Cicero's son, whose teacher he was. Brutus attended his lectures at Athens (*Brutus*, xxiv. 1).
- Crispinus**, 517, 519, Titus Quinctius Pennus Capitolinus C., a trusted commander under Marcellus in Sicily, 214-212 B.C., and now (208) his colleague in the consulship. After the skirmish here described he was carried to Rome, where he died at the close of the year.
- Culleo**, 243, Quintus Terentius C., tribune of the people in 58 B.C., a friend of Cicero, whose banishment he tried to prevent, and whose recall he laboured to obtain.
- Curio**, 269 f., Caius Scribonius C.,

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an able orator, but reckless and profligate. He was tribune of the people in 50 B.C., and sold his support to Caesar, who made him praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence he crossed into Africa to attack the Pompeians there, but was defeated and slain (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, ii. 23-44).

Cynocephalae, 423, a range of hills in eastern Thessaly, so named from their supposed resemblance to the heads of dogs.

Cythera, 87, a large island directly south of Laconia in Peloponnesus.

Cyzicus, 401, a Greek city on the Propontis, in Mysia.

D

Damippus, 483, a Spartan at the court of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse. He tried to persuade the king not to abandon alliance with Rome. Marcellus gave him his liberty.

Delotarus, 309, tetrarch of Galatia in Asia Minor, and an old man in 54 B.C. (cf. the *Crassus*, xvii. 1 f.). He was a faithful friend of the Romans in their Asiatic wars, and was rewarded by the senate, in 63 B.C., with the title of King. Caesar could never be brought to pardon him for siding with Pompey.

Demaratus the Corinthian, 39, a guest-friend of Philip of Macedon (cf. the *Alexander*, ix. 6; lvi.).

Didyma, 175, in the territory of Miletus, the site of a famous temple of Apollo.

Dionysius, 429, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C.

Dioscorides, 99, a pupil of Isocrates, author of a treatise on the Spartan polity, writing in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. (cf. the *Lycurgus*, xl. 4).

Domitius (1), 137, 141, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son-in-law of Cinna, and a partisan of Marius. When Sulla obtained the supreme power in 82 B.C.,

Domitius fled to Africa, where he died in 81 B.C.

Domitius (2), 251, 291, 295, 335, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C. He was a son-in-law of Cato, and one of the ablest supporters of the aristocratic party. He opposed both Pompey and Caesar until they quarrelled, then sided with Pompey. Caesar spared his life at Corfinium, in 49 B.C. (cf. the *Caesar*, xxxiv. 3 f.). He met his death at Pharsalus.

Domitius (3), 257, 295, Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus (wrongly called Lucius Calvinus, p. 295), consul in 53 B.C. He was a supporter of Bibulus against Caesar in 59 B.C., but after 49 B.C. an active supporter of Caesar. After Pharsalus he was Caesar's lieutenant in Asia.

Duris, 7, of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, lived circa 350-280 B.C.

Dymé, 187, the most westerly of the twelve cities of Achaia in Peloponnesus. It had been destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C.

Dyrachium, 279, 309, a city on the coast of Illyricum, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

E

Ecbatana, 39, 417, an ancient city of Media, the residence of the Great King during the summer months.

Eleusis, 69, 375, the sacred city of the Athenian mysteries, some twelve miles west of Athens.

Engium, 489 f., a city in the interior of Sicily, the exact site of which is unknown.

Enna, 489, an ancient fortress-city nearly in the centre of Sicily.

Ephesus, 17, 23, 493, one of the twelve Ionian cities in Lydia of Asia Minor, near the mouth of the river Caystrus.

Ephorus, 381, of Cymé, pupil of

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G

- Isocrates, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.
- Epidauros, 175, a city on the east coast of Argolis in Peloponnesus, famous for its shrine and cult of Aesculapius.
- Erasistratus, 41, otherwise unknown.
- Eudoxus, 471, of Cnidus, a pupil of Archytas, most famous as a mathematician and astronomer, flourished about 360 B.C. He taught philosophy at Athens.
- Euryptoridae, 329, one of the two royal families at Sparta; the other was that of the Agidae.
- Gabinus, 177, 183, 241, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66, praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58 B.C., the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48 B.C.
- Geraestus, 15, a town and promontory at the south-western extremity of Euboea.
- Gordyene, 209, a rather indefinite district of Asia, lying south of Armenia and west of the river Tigris.

F

- Favonius, 275, 291, 309, 335, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," aedile in 52 and praetor in 49 B.C. He joined Pompey in the East in spite of personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus.
- Flaminius, 443, 447, Caius F., consul in 223 B.C., a violent opponent of senate and aristocrats. The Circus Flaminius and the Via Flaminia were constructed during his aedileship (220 B.C.). Cf. the *Marcellus*, xxvii. 3.
- Fregellae, 517 f., 531, a city in S.E. Latium, on the river Liris. It was severely punished by Hannibal in 211 B.C. for its fidelity to Rome.
- Fulvius (1), 503, Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, was praetor in 212 B.C., and received Apulia as his province, where, in 210 B.C., he was badly defeated (but not slain, as Plutarch says) by Hannibal. He had played the coward, and went into voluntary exile.
- Fulvius (2), 505, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, brother of Gnaeus, consul in 237, 224, 212, and 209 B.C. In 212 he captured Capua, which had gone over to Hannibal, and wreaked a dreadful vengeance upon the city.

H

- Hecatombaeon, 79, the first month of the Attic year, comprising parts of our June and July.
- Herennius, 159, Caius H., tribune of the people in 80 B.C. After the death of Sulla he joined Sertorius in Spain (76-72 B.C.).
- Hermagoras, 225, of Tenedos, a distinguished rhetorician in the times of Pompey and Cicero. He was a mere formalist.
- Hermione, 175, an ancient town at the south-eastern extremity of Argolis in Peloponnesus.
- Hexapyla, 483, 485, probably a section of the wall fortifying Epipolae, the triangular plateau to the west of Syracuse.
- Hlempsal, 145, king of Numidia after the Jugurthine war (111-106 B.C.), expelled from his throne by Gnaeus Domitius and restored to it by Pompey.
- Hiero, 457, 471 f., Hiero II., king of Syracuse 270-216 B.C., for nearly half a century a faithful friend and ally of Rome.
- Hieronimus (1), 37, of Rhodes, a disciple of Aristotle, flourishing about 300 B.C., frequently mentioned by Cicero.
- Hieronimus (2), king of Syracuse 216-215 B.C., successor to Hiero II., whose policy of friendship with Rome he forsook for alliance with Carthage.

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Himera, 139, a Greek city on the northern coast of Sicily.

Hippocrates, 469, 483, a Syracusan by birth, but educated at Carthage. He served under Hannibal in Spain and Italy. He persuaded Hieronymus, the young king of Syracuse, to abandon the Roman cause (216 B.C.).

Hydrieus the Carian, 37, otherwise unknown.

Hypsaeus, 263, Publius Plautius H., tribune of the people in 54 B.C., and candidate for the consulship. He was accused of corrupt practices, tried, and convicted. Pompey, whom he had devotedly served, forsook him in the hour of need.

Hyrcania, 207 f., a district of Asia lying south of the Caspian (Hyrcanian) Sea.

I

Iarbas (or Hiarbas), 143, a king of Numidia, set on the throne by Gnaeus Domitius, instead of Hiempsal.

Iphicrates, 61, 343, a famous Athenian general, who increased the effectiveness of light-armed troops and defeated a Spartan division of heavy-armed men at Corinth in 392 B.C. He was prominent until about 348 B.C.

Isthmus, 175, the Isthmus of Corinth.

Ithome, 399, see Messene.

J

Jason, 411, tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly, and active in Greek affairs from 377 to 370, the year of his death. He was succeeded by Alexander of Pherae.

Juba, 315, 525, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

L

Labienus, 293, Titus L., tribune of the people in 63 B.C., and devoted to Caesar's interests. He was an able and trusted legate of Caesar through most of the Gallic wars, but became jealous of his leader and deserted him for Pompey in 49 B.C. After Pharsalus he fled to Africa, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda and was slain (45 B.C.).

Lacinium, 175, a promontory on the east coast of Bruttium, in Italy, some six miles south of Crotona.

Larissa, 43 f., 307, 405, an important town in N.E. Thessaly, on the river Peneius.

Lauron, 159, a small town in the S.E. part of Spain, south of Valentia, near the sea.

Lentulus (1), 273, 325, Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, consul in 49 B.C. with Claudius Marcellus, and a bitter opponent of Caesar (cf. the *Caesar*, xxx. 3). He joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt.

Lentulus (2), 307, see Spinther.

Leontini, 469, a city of Sicily between Syracuse and Catana.

Lepidus, 151 f., 197, 327, Marcus Aemilius L., father of the triumvir, praetor in Sicily in 81, consul in 78 B.C.

Leucas, 175, an island in the Ionian Sea, lying close to the coast of Acarnania.

Leuctra, 79, 391, and often, a village in Boeotia, south-west of Thebes, between Thespieae and Plataea, for ever memorable as the scene of the utter defeat of the Spartans by the Thebans in 371 B.C.

Lindus, 521, an ancient and important town on the east coast of the island of Rhodes.

Locri Epizephyrii, 515, a celebrated Greek city on the eastern coast of Bruttium, in Italy, said to have been founded in 760 B.C.

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Luca (or **Lucca**), 249, a city of **Liguria**, N.E. of **Pisa**, a frontier-town of **Caesar's** province in good communication with **Rome**.

M

Macaria, 391, daughter of **Heracles** and **Defaneira**. She slew herself in order to give the **Athenians** victory over **Eurystheus**.

Maecotic Sea, 207, the modern **Sea of Azov**.

Magnesia, 421, 431, a district on the eastern coast of **Thessaly**.

Mantineia, 85, 93 f., 99, 349, a powerful city in the eastern part of central **Arcadia**, in **Peloponnesus**.

Marcellinus, 249 f., **Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus M.**, consul in 56 B.C., a friend and advocate of **Cicero**, and persistently opposed to **Pompey**, who was driven by his hostility into alliance with **Caesar**.

Marcellus, 269 f., **Caius Claudius M.**, consul in 50 B.C., a friend of **Cicero** and **Pompey**, and an uncompromising foe of **Caesar**. But after the outbreak of the civil war he remained quietly and timidly in **Italy**, and was finally pardoned by **Caesar**. He is not to be confounded with an uncle, **Marcus Claudius Marcellus**, consul in 51, or with a cousin, **Caius Claudius Marcellus**, consul in 49 B.C.

Marcius, 445, **Caius M. Figulus**, consul in 162 B.C., and again in 156 B.C.

Maximus, 521, **Valerius M.**, compiler of a large collection of historical anecdotes, in the time of **Augustus**.

Megara, 483, 489, a Greek city on the eastern coast of **Sicily**, between **Syracuse** and **Catana**. It was colonized from **Megara** in **Greece Proper**.

Meliboea, 413, an ancient town on the sea-coast of **Thessaly**.

Memmius, 141, **Caius M.**, after this, **Pompey's** quaestor in **Spain**, where he was killed in a battle with **Sertorius** (*Sertorius*, xxi.).

Mendes, 107 f., a prominent city in the north of **Egypt**.

Menecrates, 59, a **Syracusan** physician at the court of **Philip of Macedon** 359-336 B.C. According to **Aelian** (*Var. Hist.* xii. 51), it was from **Philip** that he got this answer.

Menoceus, 391, son of **Creon** the mythical king of **Thebes**. He sacrificed himself in order to give his city victory over the seven **Argive** chieftains.

Meriones, 489, a Cretan hero of the Trojan war, the companion and friend of **Idomeneus**.

Messala, 257, **Marcus Valerius M.**, secured his election to the consulship in 53 B.C. by bribery, but still had **Cicero's** support. In the civil war he sided actively with **Caesar**.

Messenia, **Messene**, 95, 99, 101, 331, 417 f., the south-western district in **Peloponnesus**, in earliest times conquered by the **Spartans**. Its stronghold, **Ithome**, was included in the capital city built by **Epaminondas** in 369 B.C. and named **Messene**. The names **Messenia** and **Messene** are sometimes interchanged.

Metellus (1), 121, (?) 187 f., **Quintus Caecilius M. Creticus**, consul in 69 B.C., and from 68 to 66 B.C. engaged in subduing **Crete**. On his return to **Rome** the partisans of **Pompey** prevented him from celebrating a triumph, for which he waited patiently outside of the city until 62 B.C.

Metellus (2), 277 f., 333, **Lucius Caecilius M. Creticus**, a nephew of the preceding **Metellus**, is little known apart from the incident here narrated.

Metellus (3), 133, 157 ff. 197, **Quintus Metellus Pius**, consul with **Sulla** in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After **Sulla's** death in 78 B.C., **Metellus** was sent as proconsul into **Spain**, to prosecute the war against **Sertorius**. He died about 63 B.C.

Minucius, 447, **Marcus M. Rufus**, consul in 221 B.C., and in 217 Master of Horse to the dictator

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Fabius Maximus (*Fab. Max.* iv.-xlii.). It is not known in what year Minucius was dictator. **Mithras**, 175, a Persian sun-deity, whose worship subsequently spread over the whole Roman Empire. **Mitylene**, 225, 309 f., the chief city of the island of Lesbos. **Mucia**, 225 f., Pompey's third wife (cf. the *Pompey*, ix.), and the mother by him of Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey. **Mutina**, 155, an important city of Cisalpine Gaul, south of the Po, the modern Modena.

N

Nabataeans, 293, a people occupying the northern part of the Arabian peninsula, between the Euphrates and the Arabian Gulf. **Neapolis** (1), an ancient city of Campania, the modern Naples. **Neapolis** (2), a portion of what Plutarch calls the "outer city" of Syracuse, lying between Epipolae and Achradina. **Nepos**, 521, 525, Cornelius N., a Roman biographer and historian, contemporary and friend of Cicero. **Nola**, 459, 463 f., an important city of Campania, about twenty miles S.E. of Capua.

O

Oppius, 139, Calus O., an intimate friend of Caesar (cf. the *Caesar*, xvii.), author (probably) of Lives of Marius, Pompey, and Caesar. **Orchomenus**, 47 f., 377, 381 f., 523, a city in northern Boeotia, near the Copaic Lake. **Oricum**, 285, a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Apollonia.

P

Paeonia, 221, a district in Thrace, north of Macedonia. **Paulus**, 269, Lucius Aemilius P.,

consul in 50 B.C. with **Claudius Marcellus**. He had been a violent opponent of Caesar.

Pelusium, 317, a strong frontier-town on the eastern branch of the Nile.

Perpenna, 137, 159, 163 f., **Marcus P. Vento**, a leading partisan of Marius. On the death of Sulla (78 B.C.) he joined Lepidus in his attempt to win the supreme power, and, failing here, retired to Spain, where he served under Sertorius.

Petelia, 515, an ancient city of Bruttium, north of Crotona.

Petra, 221, the capital city of the Nabataeans, about half way between the Dead Sea and the Arabian Gulf.

Pharnabazus, 21, 29, 33 f., 47, 63, satrap of the Persian provinces about the Hellespont from 412 to 393 B.C.

Pharsalus, **Pharsalia**, 45, 293, 301, 335, 409, 423, a city and plain in southern Thessaly.

Pherae, 403, 407 f., 419, 433, a city in south-eastern Thessaly.

Pherecydes, 391, possibly Pherecydes of Syros is meant, a semi-mythical philosopher of the sixth century B.C., about whose death many fantastic tales were told.

Philippus, 119, 157, **Lucius Marcius P.**, consul in 91 B.C., and a distinguished orator, a supporter of the popular party. He died before Pompey's return from Spain (71 B.C.).

Philiatus, 429, the Syracusan, an eye-witness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse (415-413 B.C.), which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.

Philius, **Phliasians**, 67, a city in N.E. Peloponnesus, south of Sicyon.

Phthiotis, 419, 431, a district in S.E. Thessaly.

Picenum, 443, a district in N.E. Italy.

Piso (1), **Calus Calpurnius P.**, consul in 67 B.C., a violent aristocrat, afterwards proconsul for the province of Gallia Narbonensis, which he plundered. He must

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- have died before the outbreak of civil war.
- Piso** (2), Lucius Calpurnius P. Caesarinus, consul in 58 B.C., through Caesar's influence, recalled from his province of Macedonia in 55 because of extortions, consul again in 50 B.C. at Caesar's request, and after Caesar's death a supporter of Antony.
- Plancus**, 263, Titus Minutius P. Bursa, accused of fomenting the disorders following the death of Clodius (52 B.C.), found guilty and exiled. Pompey, whose ardent supporter he was, deserted him in the hour of need. Caesar restored him to civic rights soon after 49 B.C.
- Plataea**, 377, 401, an ancient and celebrated city in S.W. Boeotia, near the confines of Attica, where the Persians under Mardonius were defeated by the allied Greeks in 489 B.C.
- Pollio**, 305, Calus Asinius P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.C.—4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Caesar (cf. the *Caesar*, xxxii. 5), fought under him in Spain and Africa, and after Caesar's death supported Octavian. After 29 B.C. he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works have come down to us.
- Polybius**, 381, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, born about 204 B.C., long resident in Rome, and an intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.
- Poseidonius**, 225, 437, 459, 491, 521, of Apameia, in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, a pupil of Panaetius at Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him.
- Pothinus**, 317, one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy. He plotted against Caesar when he came to Alexandria, and was put to death by him (cf. the *Caesar*, xlviii. f.).
- Ptolemy**, 405 f., assassinated King Alexander II. of Macedon in 367 B.C., held the supreme power for three years, and was then himself assassinated by the young king, Perdiccas III.
- Publius**, 261, 311, Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, son of Marcus Crassus the triumvir. He was Caesar's legate in Gaul 58–55 B.C., followed his father to the East in 54, and was killed by the Parthians near Carrhae (cf. the *Crassus*, xxv.).

R

- Roscius**, 181, Lucius R. Otho. As one of the tribunes of the people in 67 B.C., he introduced the unpopular law which gave the knights special seats in the theatre.
- Rullius**, 149, Quintus Fabius Maximus R., five times consul, the last time in 295 B.C., when he was victorious over Gauls, Etruscans, Samnites and Umbrians in the great battle of Sentinum.
- Rutlius**, 213, Publius R. Rufus, consul in 105 B.C., unjustly exiled in 92 B.C., retired to Smyrna, where he wrote a history of his own times.

S

- Samothrace**, 175, 521, a large island in the northern Aegean Sea, some twenty miles off the coast of Thrace, celebrated for its mysteries (cf. the *Alexander*, ii. 1).
- Sardis**, 25, the capital city of the ancient kingdom of Lydia, and, later, the residence of the Persian satraps of Asia Minor.
- Saturnalia**, 205, a festival of Saturn, held at this time on the nineteenth of December. See the *Sulla*, xviii. 5.
- Scipio** (1), 149, 315, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal. His con-

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- quest of Spain occupied the years 210-202 B.C.
- Scipio (2), Lucius Cornelius S. Asiaticus, belonged to the Marian party in the civil wars, and was consul in 83 B.C., the year when Sulla returned from the East. Cf. the *Sulla*, xxviii. 1-3. He was proscribed in 82, and fled to Massilia, where he died.
- Scipio (3), 261, 279, 289, 295, 327, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius and therefore called Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius S., or Metellus Scipio, was made Pompey's colleague in the consulship late in the year 52 B.C., and became a determined foe of Caesar. He was proconsul in Syria, joined Pompey in 48 B.C., commanded his centre at Pharsalus, fled to Africa, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.). Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and a son-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.
- Scipio (4), 445, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, celebrated as jurist and orator, consul in 162 B.C. (when he abdicated on account of faulty auspices), and again in 155 B.C.
- Scirophorion, 79, a month of the Attic year comprising portions of our May and June.
- Scotussa, 293, 413, a town in central Thessaly, N.E. of Pharsalus.
- Scythia, 221, a general term for the vast regions north of the Euxine Sea.
- Seleucia, 317, probably the Seleucia in Syria on the river Orontes.
- Sertorius, 155-167, 197, Quintus S., was born in a small Sabine village, began his military career in 105 B.C., was a consistent opponent of the aristocracy, retired to Spain in 82, where for ten years and until his death he was the last hope of the Marian party. See Plutarch's *Sertorius*.
- Servilius, 151, Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus, probably the consul of 79 B.C., who obtained a triumph over Cilicia in 74, and died in 44 B.C. His son, of the same name, was consul with Caesar in 48 B.C., though a member of the aristocratic party.
- Simonides, 3, of Ceos, the greatest lyric poet of Greece, 556-467 B.C.
- Sinope, 223, an important Greek city on the southern coast of the Euxine Sea, west of Amisus.
- Sinora (or Sinoria), a fortress-city on the frontier between Greater and Lesser Armenia.
- Soli, 187, an important town on the coast of Cilicia, not to be confounded with the Soli on the island of Cyprus. See Xenophon *Anab.* i. 2, 24.
- Sophene, 203, a district of western Armenia.
- Spartacus, 197, a Thracian gladiator, leader of the servile insurrection (73-71 B.C.). Cf. the *Crassus*, viii-xi.
- Spinther, 245, 291, 307, Publius Cornelius Lentulus S., consul in 57 B.C., took part against Caesar in 49, was captured by him at Corfinium, but released. He then joined Pompey, and after Pharsalus fled with him to Egypt.
- Strabo, 117, 123, Gnaeus Pompeius Sextus S., consul in 89 B.C., in which year he celebrated a triumph for his capture of Asculum. He tried to be neutral in the civil wars of Sulla and Marius. In 87 B.C. he was killed by lightning.
- Sucro, 159, a river in S.E. Spain, between Valentia and Lauron.
- Susa, 39, 417, an ancient city of Persia, residence of the Great King during the spring months.
- Sybaris, 341, a famous Greek city of Italy, on the west shore of the gulf of Tarentum, founded in 720 B.C., noted for its wealth and luxury.

T

Tachos, 101-107, king of Egypt for a short time during the latter part of the reign of Artaxerxes II. of Persia (405-362 B.C.). Deserted by his subjects and mercenaries,

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- he took refuge at the court of Artaxerxes III., where he died.
- Taenarum**, 175, a promontory at the southern extremity of Laconia, in Peloponnesus.
- Tanagra**, 377, a town in eastern Boeotia, between Thebes and Attica.
- Tarentum**, 493, 507, a Greek city in S.E. Italy. It surrendered to the Romans in 272 B.C., was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212, and recovered by Fabius Maximus in 209.
- Taurus**, 185, a range of mountains in Asia Minor, running eastward from Lycia to Cilicia.
- Taygetus**, 417, a lofty mountain range between Laconia and Messenia, in Peloponnesus.
- Tegea**, 95, an ancient and powerful city in S.E. Arcadia, in Peloponnesus.
- Tegyra**, 77, 377 ff., 387, 525, a village in northern Boeotia, near Orchomenus.
- Tempe**, Vale of, 307, the gorge between Mounts Olympus and Ossa in N.E. Thessaly, through which the river Peneius makes its way to the sea.
- Theodotus of Chios** (or Samos), 317, 325, brought to Caesar the head and signet-ring of Pompey.
- Theophanes**, 213, 225, 247, 315, 319, of Mitylene in Lesbos, a learned Greek who made Pompey's acquaintance during the Mithridatic war, and became his intimate friend and adviser. He wrote a eulogistic history of Pompey's campaigns. After Pompey's death he was pardoned by Caesar, and upon his own death (after 44 B.C.) received divine honours from the Lesbians.
- Theophrastus**, 5, 103, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.
- Theopompus**, 27, 87, 91, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C. and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336 B.C.
- Thermodon**, 209, a river of Pontus in Northern Asia Minor, emptying into the Euxine Sea.
- Thesmophoria**, 353, a festival in honour of Demeter as goddess of marriage, celebrated at Athens for three days in the middle of the month Pyanepsion (Oct.-Nov.).
- Thespiæ**, 67 f., 97, 373 ff., an ancient city in S.W. Boeotia, north of Plataea.
- Thetis**, 423, a sea-nymph, wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles.
- Thriasian plain**, 69, 357, a part of the plain about Eleusis, in S.W. Attica.
- Timagenes**, 245, a Greek historian, of the time of Augustus, originally a captive slave. The bitterness of his judgments brought him into disfavour.
- Timagoras**, 419, an ambassador from Athens to the Persian court in 387 B.C. He spent four years there, and took part with Pelopidas rather than with his own colleague, Leon. He revealed state secrets for pay, and it was this which cost him his life.
- Timotheus** (1), 345, son of Conon the great Athenian admiral. He was made general in 378 B.C., and about 360 was at the height of his popularity and glory.
- Timotheus** (2), 39, of Miletus, a famous musician and poet, 446-357 B.C. His exuberant and florid style conquered its way to great popularity.
- Tisaphernes**, 21 f., 27, Persian satrap of lower Asia Minor from 414 B.C., and also, after the death of Cyrus the Younger in 401, of maritime Asia Minor, till his death in 359 B.C.
- Tithraustes**, 27. After succeeding Tisaphernes in his satrapy, Tithraustes tried in vain to induce Agesilaüs to return to Greece, and then stirred up a war in Greece against Sparta, in consequence of which Agesilaüs was recalled.
- Trallians**, 43, no tribe of this name is now known to have lived in

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- Thrace, nor are they mentioned in Herodotus (vii. 110).
- Trebonius, 251, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and loaded with favours by him, but was one of the conspirators against his life.
- Tullus, 275, Lucius Volcatius T., consul in 66 B.C., a moderate, who took no part in the civil war.
- Tyche, 485, a portion of what Plutarch calls the "outer city" of Syracuse, lying between Epipolae and Achradina.

V

- Valentia, 159, an important town in S.E. Spain, south of Saguntum.
- Valerius, 147, Marcus V. Maximus, dictator in 494 B.C., defeated and triumphed over the Sabines.
- Vatinius, 251, Publius V., had been tribune of the people in 59 B.C., and was a paid creature of Caesar. He was one of Caesar's legates in the civil war, and, after Pharsalus, was entrusted by him with high command in the East.
- Venusia, 515, a prosperous city of Apulia, a stopping place for travellers on the Applan Way from Rome to Brundisium. It was the birthplace of the poet Horace.
- Vibullius, 285, Lucius V. Rufus, a senator, captured by Caesar at Corfinium, at the outbreak of the war, and again in Spain, but pardoned both times.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

VI

DION AND BRUTUS
TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS PAULUS



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of the one to the other, and any departure from both, have been indicated in the brief critical notes. An abridged account of the manuscripts and editions of Plutarch's *Lives* may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the *Lives* presented in this volume is contained in either of the two oldest and best manuscripts. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must still be referred to the major edition of the *Lives* by Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo). The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

PREFATORY NOTE

Some use has been made of the Siefert-Blass edition of the *Timoleon* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1879), and also of Holden's edition of the same *Life* (Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1889).

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the *Brutus* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

December, 1917.

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.....
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Δ

DION

VOL. VI.

F

ΔΙΩΝ

Ι. Ἄρά γε, ὥσπερ ὁ Σιμωνίδης φησίν, ὦ Paris
Edition,
a. 1624, p.
958
Σόσσιε Σενεκίων, τοῖς Κορινθίοις οὐ μηνίειν τὸ
Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεύσασι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι
κακείνοις οἱ περὶ Γλαῦκον ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κορίνθιοι
γεγονότες συνεμάχουν προθύμως, οὕτως εἰκὸς τῇ
Ἀκαδημείᾳ μήτε Ῥωμαίους μήτε Ἕλληνας ἐγκα-
λεῖν ἴσον φερομένους ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, ἣ
τόν τε Βρούτου περιέχει βίον καὶ τὸν Δίωνος, ὦν
ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ Πλάτῳ πλησιάσας, ὁ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις
ἐντραφεὶς τοῖς Πλάτωνος, ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ὥρμη-
σαν ἀμφότεροι παλαίστρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μεγίστους
2 ἀγῶνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅμοια πολλὰ καὶ ἀδελφὰ
πράξαντας μαρτυρῆσαι τῷ καθηγεμόνι τῆς ἀρε-
τῆς ὅτι δεῖ φρονήσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ δύναμιν ἐπὶ
τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τύχην συνελθεῖν, ἵνα κάλλος ἅμα
καὶ μέγεθος αἱ πολιτικαὶ πράξεις λάβωσιν, οὐ
θαυμαστόν ἐστιν. ὥς γὰρ Ἰππόμαχος ὁ ἀλεί-
πτης ἔλεγε τοὺς γεγυμνασμένους παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ
κρέας ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἰδὼν φέροντας ἐπιγινῶναι πόρρω-
θεν, οὕτω τὸν λόγον ἐστὶν εἰκὸς τῶν πεπαιδευ-
μένων ὁμοίως ἔπεσθαι ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἐμμέλειάν
τινα καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἐπιφέροντα μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος.

DION

I. If it be true, then, O Socius Senecio,¹ as Simonides says,² that Ilium "is not wroth with the Corinthians" for coming up against her with the Achaeans, because the Trojans also had Glaucus, who sprang from Corinth, as a zealous ally, so it is likely that neither Romans nor Greeks will quarrel with the Academy, since they fare alike in this treatise containing the lives of Dion and Brutus, for Dion was an immediate disciple of Plato, while Brutus was nourished on the doctrines of Plato. Both therefore set out from one training-school, as it were, to engage in the greatest struggles. And we need not wonder that, in the performance of actions that were often kindred and alike, they bore witness to the doctrine of their teacher in virtue, that wisdom and justice must be united with power and good fortune if public careers are to take on beauty as well as grandeur. For as Hippomachus the trainer used to declare that he could recognize his pupils from afar even though they were but carrying meat from the market-place, so it is natural that the principles of those who have been trained alike should permeate their actions, inducing in these a similar rhythm and harmony along with their propriety.

¹ One of the many friends whom Plutarch made during his residence at Rome. See on *Theseus*, i. 1.

² Fragment 50; Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.⁴ p. 412.

- II. Αἱ δὲ τύχαι, τοῖς συμπτώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς προαιρέσεσιν οὔσαι αἱ αὐτά, συνάγουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς βίους εἰς ὁμοιότητα. προανηρέθησαν γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι τοῦ τέλους, εἰς δὲ προὔθεντο τὰς πράξεις ἐκ πολλῶν· καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων καταθέσθαι μὴ δυνηθέντες. ὁ δὲ πάντων θαυμασιώτατον, ὅτι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀμφοτέροις ὑπεδήλωσε τὴν τελευτήν, ὁμοίως ἐκατέρω φάσμα-
 2 τος εἰς ὅψιν οὐκ εὐμένους παραγενομένου. καίτοι λόγος τίς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναιρούντων τὰ τοιαῦτα, μηδενὶ ἀν· νόῳ ἔχοντι προσπεσεῖν φάντασμα δαίμονος· μὴδὲ εἰδῶλον, ἀλλὰ παιδάρια καὶ γύναια καὶ παραφόρους δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ ψυχῇς ἢ δυσκρασίᾳ σώματος γενομένους δόξας ἐφέλκεσθαι κενὰς καὶ ἀλλοκότους· δαίμονα πονηρὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν δεισιδαι-
 3 μονίαν¹ ἔχοντας. εἰ δὲ Δίων καὶ Βρούτος, ἄνδρες ἐμβριθεῖς καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν ἀκροσφαλεῖς οὐδ' εὐάλωτοι πάθος, οὕτως ὑπὸ φάσματος διετέθησαν ὥστε καὶ φράσαι πρὸς ἑτέρους, οὐκ οἶδα μὴ τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν τὸν ἀτοπώτατον ἀναγκασθῶμεν προσδέχεσθαι λόγον, ὡς τὰ φαῦλα δαιμόνια καὶ βύσκανα, προσφθονοῦντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐνιστάμενα, ταραχὰς καὶ φόβους ἐπάγει, σείοντα καὶ σφάλ-
 4 λοντα τὴν ἀρετήν, ὡς μὴ διαμείναντες ἀπτῶτες ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀκέραιοι βελτίονος ἐκείνων μοίρας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τύχωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς ἄλλον ἀνακείσθω λόγον. ἐν τούτῳ δέ, ὡς δε-

¹ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν Coraës and Bekker, instead of the εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν of the MSS.: δεισιδαιμονίαν.

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II. Moreover, the fortunes of the two men, which were the same in what befell them rather than in what they elected to do, make their lives alike. For both were cut off untimely, without being able to achieve the objects to which they had determined to devote the fruits of their many and great struggles. But the most wonderful thing of all was that Heaven gave to both an intimation of their approaching death, by the visible appearance to each alike of an ill-boding spectre. And yet there are those who deny such things and say that no man in his right mind was ever visited by a spectre or an apparition from Heaven, but that little children and foolish women and men deranged by sickness, in some aberration of spirit or distemper of body, have indulged in empty and strange imaginings, because they had the evil genius of superstition in themselves. But if Dion and Brutus, men of solid understanding and philosophic training and not easily cast down or overpowered by anything that happened to them, were so affected by a spectre that they actually told others about it, I do not know but we shall be compelled to accept that most extraordinary doctrine of the oldest times, that mean and malignant spirits, in envy of good men and opposition to their noble deeds, try to confound and terrify them, causing their virtue to rock and totter, in order that they may not continue erect and inviolate in the path of honour and so attain a better portion after death than the spirits themselves. But this subject must be reserved for discussion elsewhere, and in this, the twelfth book¹

¹ The *Pericles* was part of the tenth "book" (chapter ii. 3), the *Demosthenes* part of the fifth (chapter iii. 1). The ordinary arrangement of the *Lives* is purely arbitrary.

κάτω τῶν παραλλήλων ὄντι βίων, τὸν τοῦ πρεσβύτερου προεισαγάγωμεν.

- III. Διονύσιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστὰς εὐθύς ἔγημε τὴν Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Συρακουσίου θυγατέρα. ταύτην, οὐπω τῆς τυραννίδος ἰδρυμένης βεβαίως, ἀποστάντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι δεινὰς καὶ παρανόμους ὕβρεις εἰς τὸ σῶμα καθύβρισαν, ἐφ' αἷς προήκατο τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως. 959
- 2 Διονύσιος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ κρατυνόμενος αὐτῆς ἄγεται δύο γυναῖκας ἅμα, τὴν μὲν ἐκ Λοκρῶν ὄνομα Δωρίδα, τὴν δὲ ἐπιχώριον Ἀριστομάχην, θυγατέρα Ἰππαρίνου, πρωτεύσαντος ἀνδρὸς Συρακουσίων καὶ Διονυσίῳ συνάρξαντος ὅτε πρῶτον αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἤρέθη στρατηγός. λέγεται δ' ἡμέρα μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἀγαγέσθαι μιᾷ καὶ μηδενὶ γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἀνθρώπων ὅποτέρᾳ προτέρα συνέλθοι, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἴσον νέμων ἑαυτὸν διατελεῖν ἑκατέρα, κοινῇ μὲν εἰθισμένων δειπνεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ, παρὰ 3 νύκτα δὲ ἐν μέρει συναναπαυομένων. καίτοι τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐβούλετο τὸ πλῆθος τὴν ἐγγενῇ πλείον ἔχειν τῆς ξένης· ἀλλὰ ἐκείνη προτέρα ὑπῆρχε τεκούσῃ τὸν πρεσβεύοντα τῆς Διονυσίου γενεᾶς υἱὸν αὐτῇ βοηθεῖν πρὸς τὸ γένος. ἡ δὲ Ἀριστομάχη πολὺν χρόνον ἅπαις συνώκει τῷ Διονυσίῳ καίπερ σπουδάζοντι περὶ τὴν ἐκ ταύτης τέκνωσιν, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς Λοκρίδος αἰτιασάμενος καταφαρμακεύειν τὴν Ἀριστομάχην ἀπέκτεινε.

IV. Ταύτης ἀδελφὸς ὢν ὁ Δίων ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εἶχε τιμὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ

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of my Parallel Lives, I shall begin with that of the elder man.

III. Dionysius the Elder, after assuming the reins of government,¹ at once married the daughter of Hermocrates the Syracusan. But she, since the tyranny was not yet securely established, was terribly and outrageously abused in her person by the seditious Syracusans, and in consequence put an end to her own life. Then Dionysius, after resuming the power and making himself strong again, married two wives at once, one from Locri, whose name was Doris, the other a native of the city, Aristomache, daughter of Hipparinus, who was a leading man in Syracuse, and had been a colleague of Dionysius when he was first chosen general with full powers for the war. It is said that he married both wives on one day, and that no man ever knew with which of the two he first consorted, but that ever after he continued to devote himself alike to each; it was their custom to sup with him together, and they shared his bed at night by turns. And yet the people of Syracuse wished that their countrywoman should be honoured above the stranger; but Doris had the good fortune to become a mother first, and by presenting Dionysius with his eldest son she atoned for her foreign birth. Aristomache, on the contrary, was for a long time a barren wife, although Dionysius was desirous to have children by her; at any rate, he accused the mother of his Locrian wife of giving Aristomache drugs to prevent conception, and put her to death.

IV. Now, Dion was a brother of Aristomache, and at first was honoured because of his sister; after-

¹ In 405 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- φρονεῖν διδούς πείραν, ἤδη καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγαπάτο
 παρὰ τῷ τυράννῳ. καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις
 εἶρητο τοῖς ταμίαις ὅ τι ἂν αἰτῇ Δίων διδόναι,
 δόντας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐθημερὸν φράζειν. ὦν δὲ
 καὶ πρότερον ὑψηλὸς τῷ ἥθει καὶ μεγαλόφρων
 καὶ ἀνδρώδης, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκε πρὸς ταῦτα
 θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ Πλάτωνος εἰς Σικελίαν παραβα-
 2 λόντος, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπινον· ἀλλὰ
 δαίμων τις, ὡς ἔοικε, πόρρωθεν ἀρχὴν ἐλευθερίας
 βαλλόμενος Συρακουσίοις, καὶ τυραννίδος κατὰ-
 λυσιν μηχανώμενος, ἐκόμισεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἰς
 Συρακούσας Πλάτωνα καὶ Δίωνα συνήγαγεν εἰς
 λόγους αὐτῷ, νέον μὲν ὄντα κομιδῇ, πολὺ δὲ εὐμα-
 θέστατον ἀπάντων τῶν Πλάτωνι συγγεγονότων
 καὶ ὀξύτατον ὑπακοῦσαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὡς αὐτὸς
 γέγραφε Πλάτων, καὶ τὰ πράγματα μαρτυρεῖ.
 3 τραφεῖς γὰρ ἐν ἡθεσιν ὑπὸ τυράννῳ ταπεινοῖς,
 καὶ βίου μὲν ἀνίσου καὶ καταφόβου, θεραπείας
 δὲ νεοπλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς ἀπειροκάλου καὶ
 διαίτης ἐν ἡδοναῖς καὶ πλεονεξίαις τιθεμένης τὸ
 καλὸν ἐθὺς καὶ μεστὸς γενόμενος, ὡς πρῶτον
 ἐγεύσατο λόγου καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἡγεμονικῆς πρὸς
 ἀρετὴν, ἀνεφλέχθη τὴν ψυχὴν ταχύ, καὶ τῇ περὶ
 αὐτὸν εὐπειθείᾳ τῶν καλῶν ἀκάκως πάνυ καὶ
 νεωτερικῶς προσδοκήσας ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων
 ὁμοια πείσεσθαι Διονύσιον, ἐσπούδασε καὶ διε-
 πράξατο ποιησάμενος σχολὴν αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν
 Πλάτωνι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.

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wards, however, he gave proof of his wisdom, and was presently beloved by the tyrant for his own sake. In addition to all his other favours, Dionysius ordered his treasurers to give Dion whatever he asked, although they were to tell Dionysius on the same day what they had given. But though Dion was even before of a lofty character, magnanimous, and manly, he advanced still more in these high qualities when, by some divine good fortune, Plato came to Sicily.¹ This was not of man's devising, but some heavenly power, as it would seem, laying far in advance of the time a foundation for the liberty of Syracuse, and devising a subversion of tyranny, brought Plato from Italy to Syracuse and made Dion his disciple. Dion was then quite young, but of all the companions of Plato he was by far the quickest to learn and the readiest to answer the call of virtue, as Plato himself has written,² and as events testify. For though he had been reared in habits of submission under a tyrant, and though he was fully accustomed to a life that was subservient and timorous, as well as to ostentatious service at court and vulgar luxury and a regimen that counts pleasures and excesses as the highest good, nevertheless, as soon as he got a taste of a rational philosophy which led the way to virtue, his soul was speedily on fire; and since he very artlessly and impulsively expected, from his own ready obedience to the call of higher things, that the same arguments would have a like persuasive force with Dionysius, he earnestly set to work and at last brought it to pass that the tyrant, in a leisure hour, should meet Plato and hear him discourse.

¹ About 388 B.C., if this first visit be not a myth.

² *Epist.* vii. p. 327.

- V. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς συνουσίας αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ὅλον περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς, πλείστων δὲ περὶ ἀνδρείας διαπορηθέντων, ὡς πάντας¹ μᾶλλον ὁ Πλάτων ἢ τοὺς τυράννους ἀπέφαινε ἀνδρείους, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραπόμενος περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐδίδασκεν ὡς μακάριος μὲν ὁ τῶν δικαίων, ἄθλιος δὲ ὁ τῶν ἀδίκων βίος, οὔτε τοὺς λόγους ἔφερεν ὁ τύραννος ὥσπερ ἐξελεγχόμενος, ἤχθετό τε τοῖς παροῦσι θαυμαστῶς ἀποδεχομένοις τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
- 2 κηλουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων. τέλος δὲ θυμωθεὶς καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὃ τι δὴ βουλόμενος εἰς Σικελίαν παραγένοιτο. τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα ζητεῖν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐκεῖνος, “Ἀλλὰ νῆ τοὺς θεούς,” εἶπε, “καὶ φαίνη μήπω τοιοῦτον εὔρηκώς.” οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Δίωνα τοῦτο τέλος ᾤοντο τῆς ὀργῆς γεγενέσθαι, 960 καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα σπεύδοντα συνεξέπεμπον ἐπὶ τριήρους, ἢ Πόλλιν ἐκόμιζεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν
- 3 Σπαρτιάτην· ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος κρύφα τοῦ Πόλλιδος ἐποίησατο δέησιν μάλιστα μὲν ἀποκτείνειν τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ πλοῦν, εἰ δὲ μή, πάντως ἀποδόσθαι βλαβήσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ εὐδαιμονήσκειν ὁμοίως, δίκαιον ὄντα, κἂν δούλος γένηται. διὸ καὶ λέγεται Πόλλις εἰς Αἰγίαν φέρων ἀποδόσθαι Πλάτωνα, πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὄντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ψηφίσματος ὅπως ὁ ληφθεὶς Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ πιπράσκηται.
- 4 Οὐ μὲν ὁ γε Δίων ἔλαττον εἶχε παρὰ τῷ Διονυσίῳ τιμῆς ἢ πίστεως, ἀλλὰ πρεσβείας τε τὰς μεγίστας διώκει καὶ πεμπόμενος πρὸς Καρ-

¹ πάντας Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske : πάντα.

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V. At this meeting the general subject was human virtue, and most of the discussion turned upon manliness. And when Plato set forth that tyrants least of all men had this quality, and then, treating of justice, maintained that the life of the just was blessed, while that of the unjust was wretched, the tyrant, as if convicted by his arguments, would not listen to them, and was vexed with the audience because they admired the speaker and were charmed by his utterances. At last he got exceedingly angry and asked the philosopher why he had come to Sicily. And when Plato said that he was come to seek a virtuous man, the tyrant answered and said: "Well, by the gods, it appears that you have not yet found such an one." Dion thought that this was the end of his anger, and as Plato was eager for it, sent him away upon a trireme, which was conveying Pollis the Spartan to Greece. But Dionysius privily requested Pollis to kill Plato on the voyage, if it were in any way possible, but if not, at all events to sell him into slavery; for he would take no harm, but would be quite as happy, being a just man, even if he should become a slave. Pollis, therefore, as we are told, carried Plato to Aegina and there sold him; for the Aeginetans were at war with the Athenians and had made a decree that any Athenian taken on the island should be put up for sale.

In spite of all this, Dion stood in no less honour and credit with Dionysius than before, but had the management of the most important embassies, as, for instance, when he was sent to Carthage and won

χρηδονίους ἐθαυμάσθη διαφερόντως· καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν ἔφερεν αὐτοῦ μόνου σχεδὸν ἀδεῶς λέγοντος τὸ παριστάμενον, ὡς καὶ τὴν περὶ Γέλωνος ἐπί-
 5 πληξιν. χλευαζομένης γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς Γέλωνος ἀρχῆς, αὐτόν τε τὸν Γέλωνα τοῦ Διονυσίου γέλωτα τῆς Σικελίας γεγρονέναι φήσαντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸ σκῶμμα προσεποιούντο θαυμάζειν, ὁ δὲ Δίων δυσχεράνας, “Καὶ μὴν,” ἔφη, “σὺ τυραννεῖς διὰ Γέλωνα πιστευθεῖς· διὰ σέ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος πιστευθήσεται.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι φαίνεται κάλλιστον μὲν Γέλων ἐπιδειξάμενος θέαμα μοναρχουμένην πόλιν, αἷσχιστον δὲ Διονύσιος.

VI. ὄντων δὲ Διονυσίῳ παίδων τριῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Λοκρίδος, τεττάρων δὲ ἐξ Ἀριστομάχης, ὧν δύο ἦσαν θυγατέρες, Σωφροσύνη καὶ Ἀρέτη, Σωφροσύνη μὲν Διονυσίῳ τῷ υἱῷ συνώκησεν, Ἀρέτη δὲ Θεαρίδῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Θεαρίδου Δίων ἔλαβε τὴν Ἀρέτην
 2 ἀδελφιδὴν οὖσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ νοσῶν ἔδοξεν ὁ Διονύσιος ἀβιώτως ἔχειν, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστομάχης τέκνων ὁ Δίων, οἱ δ' ἰατροὶ τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθαι χαριζόμενοι καιρὸν οὐ παρέσχον· ὡς δὲ Τίμαιός φησι, καὶ φάρμακον ὑπνωτικὸν αἰτοῦντι δόντες ἀφείλοντο τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ συνάψαντες τὸν ὕπνον.

3 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συλλόγου πρώτου τῶν φίλων γενομένου παρὰ τὸν νέον Διονύσιον οὕτω διελέχθη περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ὁ

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great admiration. The tyrant also bore with his freedom of speech, and Dion was almost the only one who spoke his mind fearlessly, as, for example, when he rebuked Dionysius for what he said about Gelon. The tyrant was ridiculing the government of Gelon,¹ and when he said that Gelon himself, true to his name, became the *laughing-stock* ("gelos") of Sicily, the rest of his hearers pretended to admire the joke, but Dion was disgusted and said: "Indeed, thou art now tyrant because men trusted thee for Gelon's sake; but no man hereafter will be trusted for thy sake." For, as a matter of fact, Gelon seems to have made a city under absolute rule a very fair thing to look upon, but Dionysius a very shameful thing.

VI. Dionysius had three children by his Locrian wife, and four by Aristomache, two of whom were daughters, Sophrosyne and Arete. Sophrosyne became the wife of his son Dionysius,² and Arete of his brother Thearides, but after the death of Thearides, Arete became the wife of Dion, her uncle. Now, when Dionysius was sick and seemed likely to die, Dion tried to confer with him in the interests of his children by Aristomache, but the physicians, who wished to ingratiate themselves with the heir apparent, would not permit it; moreover, according to Timaeus, when the sick man asked for a sleeping potion, they gave him one that robbed him of his senses and made death follow sleep.³

However, in the first conference held between the young Dionysius and his friends, Dion discoursed upon the needs of the situation in such a manner

¹ Gelon had been tyrant of Syracuse circa 485-478 B.C.

² Cf. chapter iii. 3. ³ In 367 B.C.

Δίων ὥστε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τῇ μὲν φρονήσει
 παῖδας ἀποδείξαι, τῇ δὲ παρρησίᾳ δούλους τῆς
 τυραννίδος ἀγεννῶς καὶ περιφόβως τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς
 4 χάριν τῷ μεираκίῳ συμβουλευοντας. μάλιστα
 δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξέπληξε τὸν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος κίνδυνον
 ἐπικρεμάμενον τῇ ἀρχῇ δεδοικότας, ὑποσχόμενος,
 εἰ μὲν εἰρήνης δέοιτο Διονύσιος, πλεύσας εὐθὺς
 εἰς Λιβύην ὡς ἄριστα διαθήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον,
 εἰ δὲ πολεμεῖν προθυμοῖτο, θρέψειν αὐτὸς ἰδίοις
 τέλεσι καὶ παρέξειν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ
 πεντήκοντα τριήρεις εὐ πλεούσας.¹

VII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Διονύσιος ὑπερφυνῶς τὴν
 μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν
 ἠγάπησεν· οἱ δὲ ἐλέγχεσθαι τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ
 ταπεινοῦσθαι τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Δίωνος οἰόμενοι,
 ταύτην εὐθὺς ἀρχὴν λαβόντες, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐφείδοντο
 φωνῆς ἢ τὸ μεираκίον ἐξαγριαίνειν ἔμελλον πρὸς
 αὐτόν, ὡς ὑπερχόμενον διὰ τῆς θαλάττης τυραν-
 νίδα καὶ περισπῶντα ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς
 τοὺς Ἀριστομάχης παῖδας, ἀδελφιδοὺς ὄντας
 2 αὐτῷ. φανερώταται δὲ καὶ μέγισται τῶν εἰς
 φθόνον καὶ μῖσος αἰτιῶν ὑπῆρχον ἢ τοῦ βίου
 διαφορὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς διαίτης ἄμικτον. οἱ μὲν γάρ,
 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς νέου τυράννου καὶ τεθραμμένου
 φαύλως ὁμιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ἡδοναῖς καὶ κολα-
 κείαις καταλαμβάνοντες, αἰεὶ τινὰς ἔρωτας καὶ
 διατριβὰς ἐμηχανῶντο ῥεμβώδεις περὶ πότους
 3 καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ παιδιὰς ἐτέρας ἀσχήμονας, ὑφ' 961
 ὧν ἢ τυραννίς, ὥσπερ σίδηρος, μαλασσομένη,
 τοῖς μὲν ἀρχομένοις ἐφάνη φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ
 λίαν ἀπάνθρωπον ὑπανήκεν, οὐκ ἐπιεικέα τινὶ

¹ εὐ πλεούσας van Herwerden : πλεούσας.

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that his wisdom made all the rest appear children, and his boldness of speech made them seem mere slaves of tyranny, who were wont to give their counsels timorously and ignobly to gratify the young man. But what most amazed them in their fear of the peril that threatened the realm from Carthage, was Dion's promise that, if Dionysius wanted peace, he would sail at once to Africa and put a stop to the war on the best terms possible; but if war was the king's desire, he himself would furnish him with fifty swift triremes for the war, and maintain them at his own costs.

VII. Dionysius, then, was greatly astonished at his magnanimity and delighted with his ardour; but the other courtiers, thinking themselves put out of countenance by Dion's generosity and humbled by his power, began hostilities forthwith, and said everything they could to embitter the young king against him, accusing him of stealing into the position of tyrant by means of his power on the sea, and of using his ships to divert the power into the hands of the children of Aristomache, who were his nephews and nieces. But the strongest and most apparent grounds for their envy and hatred of him lay in the difference between his way of life and theirs, and in his refusal to mingle with others. For from the very outset they obtained converse and intimacy with a tyrant who was young and had been badly reared by means of pleasures and flatteries, and were ever contriving for him sundry amours, idle amusements with wine and women, and other unseemly pastimes. In this way the tyranny, being softened, like iron in the fire, appeared to its subjects to be kindly, and gradually remitted its excessive

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

μᾶλλον ἢ ῥαθυμία τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀμβλυνομένη.
 ἐκ δὲ τούτου προϋούσα καὶ νεμομένη κατὰ μικρὸν
 ἢ περὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἄνεσις τοὺς ἀδαμαντίνους
 δεσμοὺς ἐκείνους, οἷς ὁ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος
 ἔφη δεδεμένην ἀπολείπειν τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἐξέτηξε
 4 καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἡμέρας γάρ, ὥς φασιν, ἐνενή-
 κοντα συνεχῶς ἔπινεν ἀρξάμενος, καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν
 ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ σπουδαίοις ἀνδράσι καὶ λόγοις
 ἄβατον καὶ ἀνείσοδον οὔσαν μέθαι καὶ σκώμ-
 ματα καὶ ψαλμοὶ καὶ ὀρχήσεις καὶ βωμολοχίαι
 κατεῖχον.

VIII. Ἦν οὖν, ὥς εἰκός, ὁ Δίων ἐπαχθὴς εἰς
 οὐδὲν ἡδὺ καὶ νεωτερικὸν ἐνδιδούς ἑαυτόν. διὸ
 καὶ πιθανὰ κακιῶν προσρήματα ταῖς ἀρεταῖς
 ἐπιφέρουντες αὐτοῦ διέβαλλον, ὑπεροψίαν τὴν
 σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐθάδειαν ἀποκα-
 λούντες· καὶ νουθετῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐδόκει καὶ μὴ
 2 συνεξαμαρτάνων καταφρονεῖν. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ
 φύσει τινὰ τὸ ἦθος ὄγκον εἶχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τραχύ-
 τητα δυσπρόσοδον ἐντεύξει καὶ δυσξύμβολον. οὐ
 γὰρ μόνον ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ διατεθρυμμένῳ τὰ ὦτα
 κολακείαις ἄχαρις ἦν συγγενέσθαι καὶ προσάντης,
 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πάννυ χρωμένων αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν
 ἀπλότητα καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ἀγαπώντων τοῦ τρό-
 που κατεμέμφοντο τῆς ὁμιλίας, ὥς ἀγροικότερον
 καὶ βαρύτερον πολιτικῶν χρειῶν τοῖς δεομένοις
 3 συναλλάσσοντα. περὶ ὧν καὶ Πλάτων ὕστερον
 ὥσπερ ἀποθεσπίζων ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξευ-

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cruelty, though its edge was blunted not so much by any clemency in the sovereign as by his love of ease. As a consequence, the laxity of the young king gained ground little by little, until at last those "adamantine bonds" with which the elder Dionysius said he had left the monarchy fastened, were melted and destroyed. For it is said that the young king once kept up a drinking bout for ninety consecutive days from its beginning, and that during this time his court gave no access or admission to men or matters of consequence, but drunkenness and raillery and music and dancing and buffoonery held full sway.

VIII. Dion, then, as was natural, was obnoxious to these men, since he indulged in no pleasure or youthful folly. And so they tried to calumniate him by actually giving to his virtues plausible names of vices; for instance, they called his dignity haughtiness, and his boldness of speech self-will. Even when he admonished, he was thought to denounce, and when he would not share men's sins, to despise. And in very truth his character had naturally a certain majesty, together with a harshness that repelled intercourse and was hard to deal with. For not only to a man who was young and whose ears had been corrupted by flattery was he an unpleasant and irksome associate, but many also who were intimate with him and who loved the simplicity and nobility of his disposition, were apt to find fault with the manner of his intercourse with men, on the ground that he dealt with those who sought his aid more rudely and harshly than was needful in public life. On this head Plato also afterwards wrote to him,¹ in a tone almost prophetic, that he should

¹ *Epist. iv. ad fin.*

λαβεῖσθαι τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὡς ἐρημία συνοικοῦσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε πλείστου δοκῶν ἄξιος ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὰ πράγματα καὶ μόνος ἢ μάλιστα τὴν τυραννίδα σαλεύουσιν ἀνορθοῦν καὶ διαφυλάττειν, ἐγίνωσκεν οὐ πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἄκοντος ὑπὸ χρείας τοῦ τυράννου πρῶτος ὢν καὶ μέγιστος.

- IX. Αἰτίαν δὲ τούτου τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν εἶναι νομίζων ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς διατριβὰς ἐλευθερίους ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο καὶ γεῦσαι λόγων καὶ μαθημάτων ἡθοποιῶν, ὡς ἀρετὴν τε παύσαιτο δεδιὼς καὶ
- 2 τοῖς καλοῖς χαίρειν ἐθισθεῖν. φύσει γὰρ οὐ γεγόνει τῶν φαυλοτάτων τυράννων ὁ Διονύσιος, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ, δεδοικὼς μὴ φρονήματος μεταλαβὼν καὶ συγγενόμενος νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιβουλεύσειεν αὐτῷ καὶ παρέλοιτο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐφφύρει κατάκλειστον οἶκοι, δι' ἐρημίαν ὁμιλίας ἐτέρας καὶ ἀπειρία πραγμάτων, ὡς φασιν, ἀμάξια καὶ λυχνίας καὶ δίφρους ξυλίνους καὶ τραπέζας
- 3 τεκταινόμενον. οὕτω γὰρ ἦν ἄπιστος καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὑποπτος καὶ προβεβλημένος διὰ φόβον ὁ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος ὥστε μηδὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας ἀφελεῖν¹ κουρικαῖς μαχαίραις, ἀλλὰ τῶν πλαστῶν τις ἐπιφοιτῶν ἄνθρακι τὴν κόμην περιέκαιεν. εἰσῆει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον οὔτε ἀδελφὸς οὔθ' υἱὸς ὡς ἔτυχεν ἡμφιεσμένος, ἀλλ' ἔδει πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν ἀποδύντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στολὴν ἕκαστον ἐτέραν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὁραθέντα γυμνὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλαττόν-
- 4 των. ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεπτίνης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ ποτε

¹ ἀφελεῖν Bekker, after Coraës, has ἀφαιρεῖν.

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be on his guard against self-will, which was a "companion of solitude."¹ However, at this time, though circumstances led men to think him of more value than any one else, and the only or the chief supporter and guardian of the storm-tossed tyranny, he knew that it was not out of goodwill, but against the wishes of the tyrant and owing to his needs, that he was first and greatest.

IX. Considering, then, that a reason for this lay in the tyrant's want of education, he sought to engage him in liberal studies, and to give him a taste of such literature and science as formed the character, in order that he might cease to be afraid of virtue, and become accustomed to take delight in what was high and noble. For by nature Dionysius did not belong to the worst class of tyrants, but his father, fearing that if he should get wisdom and associate with men of sense, he would plot against him and rob him of his power, used to keep him closely shut up at home, where, through lack of association with others and in ignorance of affairs, as we are told, he made little waggon and lampstands and wooden chairs and tables. For the elder Dionysius was so distrustful and suspicious towards every body, and his fear led him to be so much on his guard, that he would not even have his hair cut with barbers' scissors, but a hairdresser would come and singe his locks with a live coal. Neither his brother nor his son could visit him in his apartment wearing any clothes they pleased, but every one had to take off his own apparel before entering and put on another, after the guards had seen him stripped. And once, when his brother Leptines was describing to

¹ Cf. the *Coriolanus*, xv. 4.

χωρίου φύσιν ἐξηγούμενος λαβὼν λόγχην παρά
 τινος τῶν δορυφόρων ὑπέγραψε τὸν τόπον, ἐκείνῳ
 μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐχαλέπηνε, τὸν δὲ δόντα τὴν λόγχην
 ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς φίλους φυλάττεσθαι
 5 νοῦν ἔχοντας εἰδῶς καὶ βουλομένους μᾶλλον
 τυραννεῖν ἢ τυραννείσθαι. καὶ Μαρσύαν δέ τινα
 τῶν προηγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τεταγμένων ἐφ'
 ἡγεμονίας ἀνείλε δόξαντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους
 σφάττειν αὐτόν, ὥς ἀπ' ἐννοίας μεθημερινῆς καὶ 962
 διαλογισμοῦ τῆς ὄψεως ταύτης εἰς τὸν ὕπνον
 αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πλάτωνα θυμω-
 θεὶς ὅτι μὴ πάντων αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀνδρειότατον
 ὄντα ἀπέφηνεν, οὕτω περίφοβον καὶ τοσοῦτων
 ὑπὸ δειλίας κακῶν μεστὴν εἶχε τὴν ψυχὴν.

X. Τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηται, διαλε-
 λωβημένον ἀπαιδευσίᾳ καὶ συντετριμμένον τὸ
 ἦθος ὁ Δίων ὁρῶν παρεκάλει πρὸς παιδείαν
 τραπέσθαι καὶ δεθῆναι τοῦ πρώτου τῶν φιλοσό-
 2 φων πᾶσαν δέησιν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν· ἐλθόντι
 δὲ παρασχεῖν αὐτόν, ὅπως διακοσμηθεὶς τὸ ἦθος
 εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεϊότατον ἀφομοιω-
 θεὶς παράδειγμα τῶν ὄντων καὶ κάλλιστον, ᾧ τὸ
 πᾶν ἡγούμενον πειθόμενον ἐξ ἀκοσμίας κόσμος
 ἐστί, πολλὴν μὲν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐαυτῷ μηχανήσεται,
 πολλὴν δὲ τοῖς πολίταις, ὅσα νῦν ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ
 διοικοῦσι πρὸς ἀνάγκην τῆς ἀρχῆς, ταῦτα σωφρο-
 σύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη μετ' εὐμενείας πατρονομού-
 3 μενα παρασχὼν καὶ γενόμενος βασιλεὺς ἐκ τυράν-
 νου. τοὺς γὰρ ἄδαμαντίνους δεσμοὺς οὐχ, ὥσπερ ὁ

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him the nature of a place, and drew the plan of it on the ground with a spear which he took from one of his body-guards, he was extremely angry with him, and had the man who gave him the spear put to death. He used to say, too, that he was on his guard against his friends who were men of sense, because he knew that they would rather be tyrants than subjects of a tyrant. And he slew Marsyas, one of those whom he had advanced to positions of high command, for having dreamed that he killed him, declaring that this vision must have visited his sleep because in his waking hours he had purposed and planned such a deed. Yes, the man who was angry with Plato because he would not pronounce him the most valiant man alive, had a spirit as timorous as this, and so full of all the evils induced by cowardice.

X. This tyrant's son, as I have said, Dion saw to be dwarfed and deformed in character from his lack of education, and therefore exhorted him to apply himself to study, and to use every entreaty with the first of philosophers to come to Sicily, and, when he came, to become his disciple, in order that his character might be regulated by the principles of virtue, and that he might be conformed to that divinest and most beautiful model of all being, in obedience to whose direction the universe issues from disorder into order; in this way he would procure great happiness for himself, and great happiness for his people, and that obedience which they now rendered dejectedly and under the compulsion of his authority, this his moderation and justice would base upon goodwill and a filial spirit, and he would become a king instead of a tyrant. For the "adamantine bonds" of sovereignty were not, as his

πατήρ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦ, φόβον καὶ βίαν καὶ νεῶν
 πλήθος εἶναι καὶ βαρβάρων μυριάνδρον φυλακὴν,
 εὐνοίαν δὲ καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ χάριν ἐγγενομένην
 ὑπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἃ, καίπερ ὄντα
 μαλακώτερα τῶν συντόνων καὶ σκληρῶν ἐκείνων,
 ἰσχυρότερα πρὸς διαμονὴν ἡγεμονίας ὑπάρχειν.
 4 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἀφιλότιμον εἶναι καὶ ἄζηλον
 τὸν ἄρχοντα, τῷ μὲν σώματι περιττῶς ἀμπεχό-
 μενον καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν οἰκῆσιν ἀβρότῃ καὶ
 κατασκευῇ λαμπρυνόμενον, ὁμιλίᾳ δὲ καὶ λόγῳ
 μηδὲν ὄντα τοῦ προστυχόντος σεμνότερον, μηδὲ
 τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ βασιλείον ἀξιοῦντα κεκοσμημένον
 ἔχειν βασιλικῶς καὶ πρεπόντως.

XI. Ταῦτα πολλάκις τοῦ Δίωνος παραινούντος,
 καὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἔστιν οὐστinas ὑπο-
 σπείροντος, ἔσχεν ἔρως τὸν Διονύσιον ὀξὺς καὶ
 περιμανῆς τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τῆς συνουσίας τοῦ
 Πλάτωνος. εὐθύς οὖν Ἀθήναζε πολλὰ μὲν
 ἐφοίτα γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου, πολλὰ δ'
 ἐπισκῆψαι παρὰ τοῦ Δίωνος, ἄλλαι δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας
 παρὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν, διακελενομένων παρα-
 γενέσθαι καὶ νέας ψυχῆς ἐξουσία μεγάλη καὶ
 2 σχεῖν ἐμβριθεστέροις λογισμοῖς. Πλάτων μὲν
 οὖν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ἑαυτὸν αἰσχυνθεὶς μάλιστα,
 μὴ δόξειε λόγος εἶναι μόνον, ἔργου δ' ἐκὼν οὐδενὸς
 ἂν ἄψασθαι, καὶ προσδοκήσας δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς
 ὥσπερ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρους ἐκκαθαρθέντος ὅλην
 ἰατρεύσειν Σικελίαν νοσοῦσαν, ὑπήκουσεν.

Οἱ δὲ τῷ Δίῳ πολемоῦντες φοβούμενοι τὴν
 τοῦ Διονυσίου μεταβολὴν ἐπεισαν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς

DION

father used to say, fear and force and a multitude of ships and numberless barbarian body-guards, but goodwill and ardour and favour engendered by virtue and justice; these, though they were more flexible than the bonds of severity and harshness, were stronger to maintain a lasting leadership. And besides all this, it was mean and spiritless in a ruler, while his body was magnificently clothed and his habitation resplendent with luxurious furnishings, to be no more majestic in his intercourse and conversation than an ordinary man, and not to insist that the royal palace of his soul should be adorned in meet and royal fashion.

XI. Since Dion frequently gave him such advice, and artfully mingled with it some of Plato's doctrines, Dionysius was seized with a keen and even frenzied passion for the teachings and companionship of Plato. At once, then, many letters began to come to Athens from Dionysius, and many injunctions from Dion, as well as others from the Pythagorean philosophers of Italy, all of whom urged Plato to come and get control of a youthful soul now tossed about on a sea of great authority and power, and steady it by his weighty reasonings. Plato, accordingly, as he tells us himself,¹ out of shame more than any thing else, lest men should think him nothing but theory and unwilling to take any action; and further, because he expected that by the purification of one man, who was, as it were, a controlling factor, he would cure all Sicily of her distempers, yielded to these requests.

But the enemies of Dion, afraid of the alteration in Dionysius, persuaded him to recall from exile

¹ *Epist.* vii. p. 328.

φυγῆς μεταπέμπεσθαι Φίλιστον, ἄνδρα καὶ πε-
 παιδευμένον περὶ λόγους καὶ τυραννικῶν ἡθῶν
 ἐμπειρότατον, ὡς ἀντίταγμα πρὸς Πλάτωνα καὶ
 3 φιλοσοφίαν ἐκείνον ἔχοντες. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Φίλιστος
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε τῇ τυραννίδι καθισταμένη προθυμό-
 τατον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχε, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν διεφύλαξε
 φρουραρχῶν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. ἦν δὲ λόγος ὡς
 καὶ τῇ μητρὶ πλησιάζει τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Διονυ-
 σίου, τοῦ τυράννου μὴ παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦντος.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεπτίνης, ἐκ γυναικὸς ἦν διαφθείρας
 ἐτέρῳ συνοικουσαν ἔσχε γενομένων αὐτῷ δυεῖν
 θυγατέρων, τὴν ἐτέραν ἔδωκε Φιλίστῳ μηδὲ φρά-
 σας πρὸς Διονύσιον, ὀργισθεὶς ἐκείνος τὴν μὲν
 γυναῖκα τοῦ Λεπτίνου δῆσας ἐν πέδαις καθεῖρξε,
 4 τὸν δὲ Φίλιστον ἐξήλασε Σικελίας, φυγόντα παρὰ
 ξένους τινὰς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν, ὅπου καὶ δοκεῖ τὰ
 πλεῖστα συνθεῖναι τῆς ἱστορίας σχολάζων. οὐ
 γὰρ ἐπανῆλθε τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ζῶντος, ἀλλὰ
 μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, κατή- 963
 γαγεν αὐτὸν ὁ πρὸς Δίωνα τῶν ἄλλων φθόνος, ὡς
 αὐτοῖς τε μᾶλλον ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα καὶ τῇ τυραν-
 νίδι βεβαιότερον.

XII. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς κατελθὼν διεπεφύκει
 τῆς τυραννίδος· τῷ δὲ Δίῳ καὶ παρ' ἄλλων
 ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι διαβολαὶ καὶ κατηγορίαι πρὸς
 τὸν τύραννον, ὡς διειλεγμένῳ περὶ καταλύσεως
 τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς τε Θεοδότην καὶ πρὸς Ἑρα-
 κλείδην. ἤλπιζε μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ Πλάτωνος
 παραγενομένου τὸ δεσποτικὸν καὶ λίαν ἄκρατον
 ἀφελὼν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐμμελῆ τινα καὶ νόμιμον
 2 ἄρχοντα τὸν Διονύσιον καταστήσειν· εἰ δὲ ἀντι-

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Philistus, a man versed in letters and acquainted with the ways of tyrants, that they might have in him a counterpoise to Plato and philosophy. For Philistus at the outset had most zealously assisted in establishing the tyranny, and for a long time was commander of the garrison that guarded the citadel. There was a story, too, that he was very intimate with the mother of the elder Dionysius, and that the tyrant was not wholly ignorant of the fact. But when Leptines, who had two daughters by a woman whom he had corrupted when she was living with another man and then taken to wife, gave one of them to Philistus without so much as telling Dionysius, the tyrant was wroth, put the wife of Leptines into fetters and prison, and banished Philistus from Sicily. Philistus took refuge with some friends in Adria, and there, it would seem, in his leisure, composed the greater part of his history. For he did not return to Syracuse while the elder Dionysius was alive, but after his death, as I have said, the envy which the other courtiers felt towards Dion brought about his recall; they thought him a more suitable man for their purposes, and a stauncher friend of the tyranny.

XII. Philistus, then, as soon as he had returned, was in close touch with the tyranny; and there were others also who brought slanders and accusations against Dion to the tyrant, alleging that he had been in conference with Theodotes and Heracleides concerning a subversion of the government. For Dion had hopes, as it seems likely, that by means of the visit of Plato he could mitigate the arrogance and excessive severity of the tyranny, and convert Dionysius into a fit and lawful ruler; but if

βαίνοι καὶ μὴ μαλάσσοιτο, καταλύσας ἐκείνους
ἐγνώκει τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδιδόναι Συρακουσίοις,
οὐκ ἐπαινῶν μὲν δημοκρατίαν, πάντως δὲ βελτίω
τυραννίδος ἡγούμενος τοῖς διαμαρτάνουσιν ὑγαι-
νούσης ἀριστοκρατίας.

XIII. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμά-
των ὄντων Πλάτων εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφικόμενος περὶ
μὲν τὰς πρώτας ἀπαντήσεις θαυμαστῆς ἐτύγχανε
φιλοφροσύνης καὶ τιμῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἄρμα τῶν
βασιλικῶν αὐτῷ παρέστη κεκοσμημένον διαπρε-
πῶς ἀποβάντι τῆς τριήρους, καὶ θυσίαν ἔθυσεν ὁ
τύραννος ὡς εὐτυχήματος μεγάλου τῇ ἀρχῇ προσ-
2 γεγονότος. αἰδῶς δὲ συμποσίων καὶ σχημα-
τισμὸς αὐλῆς καὶ πραότης αὐτοῦ τοῦ τυράννου
περὶ ἕκαστα τῶν χρηματιζομένων θαυμαστὰς ἐνέ-
δωκεν ἐλπίδας μεταβολῆς τοῖς πολίταις. φορὰ
δὲ τις ἦν ἐπὶ λόγους καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπάντων,
καὶ τὸ τυραννεῖον, ὥς φασι, κονιορτὸς ὑπὸ πλή-
3 θους τῶν γεωμετρούντων κατεῖχεν. ἡμερῶν δὲ
ὀλίγων διαγενομένων θυσία μὲν ἦν πάτριος ἐν τοῖς
τυραννείοις· τοῦ δὲ κήρυκος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατευ-
ξαμένου διαμένειν τὴν τυραννίδα ἀσάλευτον πολ-
λοὺς χρόνους, ὁ Διονύσιος λέγεται παρεστώς,
“Οὐ παύση,” φάναι, “καταρώμενος ἡμῖν;” τοῦ-
το κομιδῇ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φίλιστον ἐλύπησεν,
ἅμαχόν τινα τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἡγουμένους ἔσεσθαι
χρόνῳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ τὴν δύναμιν, εἰ νῦν ἐκ συνου-
σίας ὀλίγης ἡλλοίωκεν οὕτω καὶ μεταβέβληκε
τὴν γνώμην τὸ μειράκιον.

DION

Dionysius should oppose his efforts and refuse to be softened, he had determined to depose him and restore the civil power to the Syracusan people; not that he approved of a democracy, but he thought it altogether better than a tyranny in lack of a sound and healthy aristocracy.

XIII. Such was the condition of affairs when Plato came to Sicily,¹ and in the first instances he met with astonishing friendliness and honour. For a royal chariot, magnificently adorned, awaited him as he left his trireme, and the tyrant offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the great blessing that had been bestowed upon his government. Moreover, the modesty that characterized his banquets, the decorum of the courtiers, and the mildness of the tyrant himself in all his dealings with the public, inspired the citizens with marvellous hopes of his reformation. There was also something like a general rush for letters and philosophy, and the palace was filled with dust, as they say, owing to the multitude of geometricians there.² After a few days had passed, there was one of the customary sacrifices of the country in the palace grounds; and when the herald, as was the custom, prayed that the tyranny might abide unshaken for many generations, it is said that Dionysius, who was standing near, cried: "Stop cursing us!" This quite vexed Philistus and his party, who thought that time and familiarity would render Plato's influence almost irresistible, if now, after a brief intimacy, he had so altered and transformed the sentiments of the youthful prince.

¹ Soon after 368 B.C.

² Geometrical figures were traced in loose sand strewn upon the floor.

- XIV. Οὐκέτ' οὖν καθ' ἓνα καὶ λαθραίως, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀναφανδὸν ἐλοιδόρουν τὸν Δίωνα, λέγοντες ὡς οὐ λέληθε κατεπάδων καὶ καταφαρμάσσω τῷ Πλάτωνος λόγῳ Διονύσιον, ὅπως ἀφέντος ἑκουσίως αὐτοῦ καὶ προεμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τοὺς Ἀριστομάχης περιστήσῃ παῖδας, ὧν θεϊὸς ἐστίν. ἔνιοι δὲ προσεποιοῦντο δυσχεραίνειν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ναυτικάς καὶ πεζικάς δυνάμεσι μεγάλαις δεῦρο πλεύσαντες ἀπώλοντο καὶ διεφθάρησαν πρότερον ἢ λαβεῖν
- 2 Συρακούσας, νυνὶ δὲ δι' ἑνὸς σοφιστοῦ καταλύουσι τὴν Διονυσίου τυραννίδα, συμπίσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν μυρίων δορυφόρων ἀποδράντα, καὶ καταλιπόντα τὰς τετρακοσίας τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς μυρίους ἵππεις καὶ τοὺς πολλάκις τοσούτους ὀπλίτας, ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ τὸ σιωπώμενον ἀγαθὸν ζητεῖν καὶ διὰ γεωμετρίας εὐδαίμονα γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τρυφαῖς εὐδαιμονίαν Δίῳνι καὶ τοῖς Δίῳνος ἀδελφίδοις προέμενον.
- 3 Ἐκ τούτων ὑποψίας πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ φανερωτέρας ὀργῆς καὶ διαφορᾶς γενομένης, ἐκομίσθη τις ἐπιστολὴ κρύφα πρὸς Διονύσιον, ἣν ἐγεγράφει Δίῳν πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίων ἐπιμελητὰς κελεύων, ὅταν Διονυσίῳ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης διαλέγωνται, μὴ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν, ὡς πάντα
- 4 θησομένους ἀμεταπτώτως δι' αὐτοῦ. ταύτην ἀναγνοὺς Διονύσιος Φιλίστῳ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου βουλευσάμενος, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, ὑπῆλθε τὸν Δίωνα πεπλασμέναις διαλύσεσι· καὶ μέτρια σκηψάμενος διαλλάττεσθαί τε φήσας, μόνον τε ἀπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πρὸς τὴν θάλασ-

DION

XIV. They therefore no longer abused Dion one by one and secretly, but all together and openly, saying that he was manifestly enchanting and bewitching Dionysius with Plato's doctrines, in order that the tyrant might of his own accord relinquish and give up the power, which Dion would then assume and devolve upon the children of Aristomache, whose uncle he was. And some pretended to be indignant that the Athenians, who in former times had sailed to Sicily with large land and sea forces, but had perished utterly without taking Syracuse, should now, by means of one sophist, overthrow the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss his ten thousand body-guards, and abandon his four hundred triremes and his ten thousand horsemen and his many times that number of men-at-arms, in order to seek in Academic philosophy for a mysterious good, and make geometry his guide to happiness, surrendering the happiness that was based on dominion and wealth and luxury to Dion and Dion's nephews and nieces.

As a consequence of all this, Dionysius became at first suspicious, and afterwards more openly angry and hostile, and just then a certain letter was secretly brought to him, which Dion had written to the Carthaginian officials, urging them, whenever they should treat with Dionysius for peace, not to hold their interview without including him, since he would help them to arrange everything securely. This letter Dionysius read to Philistus, and after consulting with him, according to Timaeus, he beguiled Dion by a feigned reconciliation. That is, after moderate protestations and a declaration that their quarrel was at an end, he led him off alone beneath the

σαν, ἔδειξε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ κατηγόρησεν ὡς
 συνισταμένου μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' αὐτόν.
 5 ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὲ βουλομένου τοῦ Δίωνος οὐκ
 ἀνασχόμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθύς, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐνθέμενος εἰς
 ἀκάτιον προσέταξε τοῖς ναύταις κομίζοντας αὐτὸν
 ἐκθεῖναι πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

XV. Γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ φανέντος ὤμου
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννου πέν-
 θος εἶχε διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν Συρα-
 κουσίων ἐπῆρτο πράγματα νεώτερα καὶ μεταβολὴν
 προσδεχομένη ταχεῖαν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Δίωνα θορύ-
 βου καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἀπιστίας τῶν
 2 ἄλλων. ἃ δὲ συνορῶν ὁ Διονύσιος καὶ δεδοικώς,
 τοὺς μὲν φίλους παρεμυθεῖτο καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς
 οὐ φυγῆς, ἀλλ' ἀποδημίας τῷ Δίῳι γεγεννημένης,
 ὡς μή τι χεῖρον ὀργῇ πρὸς τὴν αὐθάδειαν αὐτοῦ
 παρόντος ἀμαρτεῖν βιασθεῖη· δύο δὲ ναῦς παρα-
 δοὺς τοῖς Δίῳνος οἰκείοις ἐκέλευσεν ἐνθεμένοις ὅσα
 βούλονται τῶν ἐκείνου χρήματα καὶ θεραπείας
 3 ἀπάγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. ἦν δ'
 οὐσία μεγάλη τῷ Δίῳι καὶ σχεδόν τι τυραννικὴ
 πομπὴ καὶ κατασκευὴ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ἦν οἱ
 φίλοι συλλαβόντες ἐκόμιζον. ἄλλα δ' ἐπέμπετο
 πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων,
 ὥστε χρημάτων ἔνεκα καὶ πλούτου λαμπρὸν ἐν
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἶναι καὶ διαφανῆναι τῇ τοῦ φυγά-
 δος εὐπορίᾳ τὴν τῆς τυραννίδος δύναμιν.

XVI. Πλάτωνα δὲ Διονύσιος εὐθύς μὲν εἰς τὴν
 ἀκρόπολιν μετέστησεν, ἔντιμον αὐτῷ σχήματι

DION

acropolis down to the sea, and then showed him the letter and accused him of conspiring with the Carthaginians against him. And when Dion wished to defend himself, he would not suffer it, but at once placed him, just as he was, on board a small boat, and commanded the sailors in it to set him ashore in Italy.

XV. At this proceeding, which seemed to men a cruel one, the women in the household of the tyrant put on mourning, but the citizens of Syracuse were cheered by the expectation of a revolution and a speedy change in the government, since Dion's treatment caused such a commotion and the rest of the courtiers distrusted the tyrant. Dionysius saw this and was afraid, and sought to console the friends of Dion and the women by saying that he had not sent Dion into exile, but upon a journey, in order that his wrath at the man's self-will when at home might not drive him to do him some worse wrong. He also handed over two ships to the kinsmen of Dion and bade them to put on board whatever property and servants of Dion's they pleased and convey them to him in Peloponnesus. Now, Dion had great riches and an almost princely splendour of appointment in his way of living, and this his friends got together and conveyed to him. Besides, many other things were sent to him from the women of the court and from his adherents, so that, as far as wealth and riches went, he was a brilliant figure among the Greeks, to whom the affluence of the exile gave some idea of the power of the tyrant.

XVI. As for Plato, Dionysius at once removed him to the acropolis, where he contrived to give

- ξενίας φιλανθρώπου φρουρὰν μηχανησάμενος, ὥς μὴ συμπλέει Δίῳνι μάρτυς ὧν ἡδίκητο. χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ συνδιαιτῇσει, καθάπερ ψαύειν ἀνθρώπου θηρίον, ἔθισθεις ὑπομένειν τὴν τε¹ ὁμίλιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἡράσθη τυραννικὸν ἔρωτα, μόνος ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἀντερᾶσθαι καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι μάλιστα πάντων, ἔτοιμος ὧν ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα μὴ προτιμῶντι
- 2 τὴν πρὸς Δίῳνα φιλίαν τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦν οὖν τῷ Πλάτῳ συμφορὰ τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ τοῦτο, μαινομένου καθάπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ὀργὰς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, πολλὰς δὲ διαλλαγὰς καὶ δεήσεις ποιουμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀκροᾶσθαι δὲ τῶν λόγων καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῆς περὶ φιλοσοφίαν πραγματείας σπουδάζοντος μὲν ὑπερφυῶς, αἰδουμένου δὲ τοὺς ὑποτρέποντας ὡς διαφθαρησομένου.
- 3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολέμῳ τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος ἀποπέμπει τὸν Πλάτωνα, συνθέμενος εἰς ὥραν ἔτους μεταπέμψασθαι Δίῳνα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο, τὰς δὲ προσόδους τῶν κτημάτων ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτῷ, ἀξιῶν Πλάτωνα συγγνώμην περὶ τοῦ χρόνου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον· εἰρήνης γὰρ γενομένης τάχιστα μεταπέμψεσθαι τὸν Δίῳνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν αὐτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν μηδὲ βλασφημεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
- XVII. Ταῦτα ἐπειρᾶτο ποιεῖν Πλάτων, καὶ Δίῳνα τρέψας ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ συνεῖχεν. ὥκει μὲν οὖν ἐν ἄστει παρὰ Καλλίπῳ τινὶ τῶν γνωρίμων, ἀγρὸν δὲ διαγωγῆς

¹ ὑπομένειν τὴν τε Schenkl : ὑπομένειν τε τὴν.

DION

him a guard of honour under pretence of hospitable kindness, in order that he might not accompany Dion and bear witness to his wrongs. But after time and intercourse had accustomed Dionysius to tolerate his society and discourse, just as a wild beast learns to have dealings with men, he conceived a passion for him that was worthy of a tyrant, demanding that he alone should have his love returned by Plato and be admired beyond all others, and he was ready to entrust Plato with the administration of the tyranny if only he would not set his friendship for Dion above that which he had for him. Now, this passion of his was a calamity for Plato, for the tyrant was mad with jealousy, as desperate lovers are, and in a short space of time would often be angry with him and as often beg to be reconciled; for he was extravagantly eager to hear his doctrines and share in his philosophical pursuits, but he dreaded the censure of those who tried to divert him from this course as likely to corrupt him.

At this juncture, however, a war broke out, and he sent Plato away, promising him that in the summer he would summon Dion home. This promise, indeed, he immediately broke, but he kept sending to Dion the revenues from his property, and asked Plato to pardon his postponement of the time of Dion's recall, because of the war; as soon as peace was made he would summon Dion home, and he asked him to be quiet, and to attempt no revolution, and to say no evil of him to the Greeks.

XVII. This Plato tried to effect, and kept Dion with him in the Academy, where he turned his attention to philosophy. Dion dwelt in the upper city of Athens¹ with Callippus, one of his acquaint-

¹ The "upper city," as distinguished from the Piræus.

- χάριν ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τοῦτον ὕστερον εἰς Σικελίαν
 πλέων Σπευσίππῳ δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν, ᾧ μάλιστα
 τῶν Ἀθήνησι φίλων ἐχρήτο καὶ συνδιητάτο, βου-
 λομένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὁμιλία χάριν ἐχούσῃ καὶ
 παιδιᾷ ἐμμελοῦς κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπτομένη κεραννύ-
 2 μενον ἀφηδύνεσθαι τοῦ Δίωνος τὸ ἦθος. τοιοῦτος
 δέ τις ὁ Σπεύσιππος ἦν· ἥ καὶ σκῶψαι ἀγαθὸν
 αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ὁ Τίμων προσηγόρευσεν.
 αὐτῷ δὲ Πλάτωνι χορηγοῦντι παίδων χορῷ τὸν
 τε χορὸν ἥσκησεν ὁ Δίων καὶ τὸ δαπάνημα πᾶν
 ἐτέλεσε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, συγχωροῦντος τοῦ Πλάτωνος
 τὴν τοιαύτην φιλοτιμίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
 ὡς ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον εὖνοϊαν ἢ δόξαν αὐτῷ φέρουσιν. 965
- 3 Ἐπεφοίτα δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁ Δίων,
 καὶ συνεσχόλαξε καὶ συνεπανηγύριζε τοῖς ἀρί-
 στοις καὶ πολιτικωτάτοις ἀνδράσιν, οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ
 διαίτῃ σόλοικον ἐπιδεικνύμενος οὐδὲ τυραννικὸν
 οὐδὲ ἐπιτεθρυμμένον, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀρε-
 τὴν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περὶ λόγους καὶ περὶ φιλο-
 σοφίαν εὐσχήμονας διατριβάς. ἐφ' οἷς εὖνοια
 παρὰ πάντων ἐγένετο καὶ ζῆλος αὐτῷ τιμαί τε
 δημόσiai καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ τῶν πόλεων.
- 4 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιάτην αὐτὸν ἐποιή-
 σαντο, τῆς Διονυσίου καταφρονήσαντες ὀργῆς,
 καίπερ αὐτοῖς τότε προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους
 συμμαχοῦντος. λέγεται δέ ποτε τὸν Δίωνα τοῦ
 Μεγαρέως Πτοιοδώρου δεόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
 ἐλθεῖν· ἦν δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν πλουσίων τις καὶ
- 5 δυνατῶν ὁ Πτοιδώωρος· ὅχλον οὖν ἐπὶ θύραις
 ἰδὼν ὁ Δίων καὶ πλῆθος ἀσχολιῶν καὶ δυσέν-
 τευκτον αὐτὸν καὶ δυσπρόσοδον, ἀπιδὼν πρὸς
 τοὺς φίλους δυσχεραίνοντας καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας,

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ances, but for diversion he bought a country-place, and afterwards, when he sailed to Sicily, he gave this to Speusippus, who was his most intimate friend at Athens. For Plato desired that Dion's disposition should be tempered and sweetened by association with men of charming presence who indulged seasonably in graceful pleasantries. And such a man was Speusippus; wherefore Timon, in his "Silli," spoke of him as "good at a jest." And when Plato himself was called upon to furnish a chorus of boys, Dion had the chorus trained and defrayed all the expense of its maintenance, and Plato encouraged in him such an ambition to please the Athenians, on the ground that it would procure goodwill for Dion rather than fame for himself.

Dion used to visit the other cities also, where he shared the leisure and festal enjoyments of the noblest and most statesmanlike men, manifesting in his conduct with them nothing that was rude or arrogant or effeminate, but rather great moderation, virtue, and manliness, and a becoming devotion to letters and philosophy. This procured him the emulous goodwill of all men, and decrees of public honours from the cities. The Lacedaemonians even made him a citizen of Sparta, without any regard for the anger of Dionysius, although at that time the tyrant was their zealous ally against the Thebans. And it is related that Dion once went to pay a visit to Ptoeodorus the Megarian, upon his invitation. Now Ptoeodorus, it would seem, was one of the wealthy and influential men of the city; and when, therefore, Dion saw a crowd of people at his door, and a press of business, which made him difficult of access and hard to come at, he turned to his friends, who were

“Τί τοῦτον,” ἔφη, “μεμφόμεθα; καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ πάντως ἐν Συρακούσαις ὅμοια τούτοις ἐποιοῦμεν.”

XVIII. Χρόνου δὲ προΐοντος ὁ Διονύσιος ζηλο-
τυπῶν καὶ δεδοικῶς τοῦ Δίωνος τὴν παρὰ τοῖς
“Ελλησιν εὐνοίαν, ἐπαύσατο τὰς προσόδους ἀπο-
στέλλων καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν παρέδωκεν ἰδίῳ ἐπιτρό-
ποις. βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς φιλοσόφους
διὰ Πλάτωνα κακοδοξίαν ἀναμάχεσθαι, πολλοὺς
συνῆγε τῶν πεπαιδευθῆαι δοκούντων. φιλοτι-
μούμενος δὲ τῷ διαλέγεσθαι περιεῖναι πάντων,
ἠναγκάζετο τοῖς Πλάτωνος παρακούσμασι κακῶς
2 χρῆσθαι. καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνῳ ἐπόθει, καὶ κατεγί-
νωσκεν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ χρησάμενος παρόντι μηδὲ
διακούσας ὅσα καλῶς εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ τύραννος
ἔμπληκτος αἰεὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν
ὀξύρροπος σπουδὴν, εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πλά-
τωνα, καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν αἴρων, συνέπεισε τοὺς
περὶ Ἀρχύταν Πυθαγορικοὺς τῶν ὁμολογουμένων
ἀναδόχους γενομένους καλεῖν Πλάτωνα· δι’ ἐκεί-
νου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγόνει φιλία καὶ ξενία τὸ πρῶ-
3 τον. οἱ δ’ ἐπεμψαν Ἀρχέδημον παρ’ αὐτόν·
ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ Διονύσιος τριήρη καὶ φίλους
δεησομένους τοῦ Πλάτωνος· αὐτὸς τε σαφῶς καὶ
διαρρήδην ἔγραψεν ὥς οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο τῶν
μετρίων Δίῳ μὴ πεισθέντος Πλάτωνος ἐλθεῖν
εἰς Σικελίαν, πεισθέντος δὲ πάντα. πολλοὶ δ’
ἀφίκοντο πρὸς Δίωνα παρὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ
γυναικὸς ἐπισκήψεις, δεῖσθαι Πλάτωνος ὑπακού-
σαι Διονυσίῳ καὶ μὴ πρόφασιν παρασχεῖν. οὕτω

DION

vexed and indignant at it, and said: "Why should we blame this man? For we ourselves used to do just so in Syracuse."

XVIII. But as time went on, Dionysius became jealous of Dion and afraid of his popularity among the Greeks. He therefore stopped sending him his revenues, and handed his estate over to his own private stewards. However, with a desire to make head against the bad repute which he had also won among the philosophers on Plato's account, he assembled at his court many men with a reputation for learning. But he was ambitious to surpass them all in discussion, and was therefore driven to use inapty what he had imperfectly learned from Plato. So he yearned once more for that philosopher, and reproached himself for not having utilized his presence to learn all that he should have learned. And since, like a tyrant, he was always extravagant in his desires and headstrong in all that he undertook, he set out at once to secure Plato, and, leaving no stone unturned, persuaded Archytas and his fellow Pythagoreans to become sureties for his agreements, and to summon Plato; for it was through Plato, in the first place, that he had entered into friendly relations with these philosophers. So they sent Archdemus to Plato, and Dionysius also sent a trireme for him, and friends to entreat his return. He also wrote to him himself in clear and express terms, saying that no mercy should be shown to Dion unless Plato were persuaded to come to Sicily; but if he were persuaded, every mercy. Dion also received many injunctions from his wife and sister, that he should beg Plato to listen to Dionysius and not afford him an excuse for further severity. Thus it

μὲν δὴ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων ἐλθεῖν τὸ τρίτον εἰς τὸν πορθμὸν τὸν περὶ Σκύλλαν,¹

ὅφρ' ἔτι τὴν ὅλοην ἀναμετρήσειε Χάρυβδιν.

- XIX. Ἐλθὼν δὲ μεγάλης μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνέπλησε χαρᾶς, μεγάλης δὲ πάλιν ἐλπίδος Σικελίαν, συνευχομένην καὶ συμφιλοτιμουμένην Πλάτωνα μὲν Φιλίστου περιγενέσθαι, φιλοσοφίαν δὲ τυραννίδος. ἦν δὲ πολλή μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτόν, ἐξαίρετος δὲ παρὰ τῷ Διονυσίῳ πίστις, ἦν οὐδεὶς ἄλλος εἶχεν, ἀδιερεύνητον αὐτῷ
- 2 πλησιάζειν. δωρεὰς δὲ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ πολλάκις τοῦ μὲν διδόντος, τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεχομένου, παρὼν Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἀσφαλῶς ἔφη μεγάλῳ ψυχον εἶναι Διονύσιον· αὐτοῖς μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ δίδοναι πλειόνων δεομένοις, Πλάτωνι δὲ πολλὰ μηδὲν λαμβάνοντι.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς πρώτας φιλοφροσύνας, ἀρξαμένου Πλάτωνος ἐντυγχάνειν περὶ Δίωνος, ὑπερθέσει τὸ πρῶτον ἦσαν, εἶτα μέμψεις καὶ διαφοραὶ λανθάνουσai τοὺς ἐκτός, ἐπικρυπτομένου Διονυσίου καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὸν Πλάτωνα θεραπείαις καὶ 966 τιμαῖς πειρωμένου παράγειν ἀπὸ τῆς Δίωνος εὐνοίας, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἔν γε τοῖς πρώτοις χρόνοις ἀποκαλύπτοντα τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ψευδολογίαν,
- 4 ἀλλ' ἐγκαρτεροῦντα καὶ σχηματιζόμενον. οὕτω δὲ διακειμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ λανθάνειν

¹ Σκύλλαν as in Plato, *Erist.* vii. p. 346; Coraës retains the Σικελίαν of the MSS.

DION

was, then, that Plato, as he himself says, "came for the third time to the straits of Scylla,

That he might once more measure back his way to
fell Charybdis."¹

XIX. His arrival filled Dionysius with great joy, and the Sicilians again with great hope; they all prayed and laboured zealously that Plato might triumph over Philistus, and philosophy over tyranny. The women also were very earnest in his behalf, and Dionysius gave him a special token of his trust, which no one else had, in the privilege of coming into his presence without being searched. The tyrant offered him, too, presents of money, much money and many times, but Plato would not accept them. Whereupon Aristippus of Cyrene, who was present on one of these occasions, said that Dionysius was safely munificent; for he offered little to men like him, who wanted more, but much to Plato, who would take nothing.

After the first acts of kindness, however, Plato introduced the subject of Dion, and then there were postponements at first on the part of Dionysius, and afterwards faultfindings and disagreements. These were unnoticed by outsiders, since Dionysius tried to conceal them, and sought by the rest of his kind attentions and honourable treatment to draw Plato away from his goodwill towards Dion. And even Plato himself did not at first reveal the tyrant's perfidy and falsehood, but bore with it and dissembled his resentment. But while matters stood thus between them, and no one knew of it, as they

¹ *Odyssey*, xii. 428, with slight adaptation from the first person.

πάντας οιομένων, Ἐλίκων ὁ Κυζικηνὸς εἰς τῶν Πλάτωνος συνήθων ἡλίου προεῖπεν ἔκλειψιν· καὶ γενομένης ὡς προεῖπε, θαυμασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου δωρεὰν ἔλαβεν ἀργυρίου τάλαντον. Ἀριστιππος δὲ παίζων πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους ἔφη τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχειν τῶν παραδόξων προειπεῖν. ἐκείνων δὲ φράσαι δεομένων, “Προλέγω τοίνυν,” εἶπεν, “ὀλίγου χρόνου Πλάτωνα καὶ Διονύσιον
 5 ἐχθροὺς γενησομένους.” τέλος δὲ τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν τοῦ Δίωνος ὁ Διονύσιος ἐπώλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα κατεῖχε, Πλάτωνα δ’ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν κήπῳ διαιτῶμενον εἰς τοὺς μισθοφόρους μετέστησε πάλαι μισοῦντας αὐτὸν καὶ ζητοῦντας ἀνελεῖν ὡς πείθοντα Διονύσιον ἀφεῖναι τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ζῆν ἀδορυφόρητον.

XX. Ἐν τοιοῦτῳ δὲ κινδύνῳ γενομένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος οἱ περὶ Ἀρχύταν πυθόμενοι ταχὺ πέμπουσι πρεσβείαν καὶ τριακόντορον, ἀπαιτοῦντες τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ Διονυσίου καὶ λέγοντες ὡς αὐτοὺς λαβὼν ἀναδόχους τῆς ἀσφαλείας πλεύσειεν εἰς Συρακούσας. ἀπολεγόμενου δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου τὴν ἐχθραν ἐστιάσεσι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις
 2 περὶ τὴν προπομπήν, ἐν δέ τι προαχθέντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν· “Ἡ που, Πλάτων, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορήσεις ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς συμφιλοσοφοῦντας.” ὑπομειδιάσας ἐκείνος ἀπεκρίνατο· “Μὴ τοσαύτη λόγων ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ γένοιτο σπά-
 νις ὥστε σοῦ τινα μνημονεῦσαι.” τοιαύτην μὲν τὴν ἀποστολὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· οὐ μέντοι τὰ Πλάτωνος αὐτοῦ πάνν τούτοις συνάδει.

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supposed, Helicon of Cyzicus, one of Plato's intimates, predicted an eclipse of the sun. This took place as he had predicted, in consequence of which he was admired by the tyrant and presented with a talent of silver. Thereupon Aristippus, jesting with the rest of the philosophers, said that he himself also could predict something strange. And when they besought him to tell what it was, "Well, then," said he, "I predict that ere long Plato and Dionysius will become enemies." At last Dionysius sold the estate of Dion and appropriated the money, and removing Plato from his lodging in the palace garden, put him in charge of his mercenaries, who had long hated the philosopher and sought to kill him, on the ground that he was trying to persuade Dionysius to renounce the tyranny and live without a body-guard.

XX. Now when Archytas and his fellow Pythagoreans learned that Plato was in such peril, they quickly sent a galley with an embassy, demanding him from Dionysius and declaring that Plato had taken them for sureties of his safety when he sailed to Syracuse. Dionysius sought to disprove his enmity to Plato by giving banquets in his honour and making kind provisions for his journey, and went so far as to say something like this to him: "I suppose, Plato, thou wilt bring many dire accusations against me to the ears of your fellow philosophers." To this Plato answered with a smile: "Heaven forbid that there should be such a dearth of topics for discussion in the Academy that any one mention thee." Such, they say, was the dismissal of Plato; Plato's own words,¹ however, do not entirely agree with this account.

¹ *Epist.* vii. p. 349 f.

- XXI. Δίῳ δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐχαλέπαινε, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐξεπολεμώθη παντάπασι πυθόμενος τὸ περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, περὶ οὗ καὶ Πλάτων ἠνίξατο γράφων πρὸς Διονύσιον. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον. μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Δίῳνος ἀποπέμπων Πλάτωνα Διονύσιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ δι' ἀπορρήτων πυθέσθαι, μή τι κωλύοι τὴν γυναῖκα πρὸς γάμον ἐτέρῳ
 2 δοθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λόγος, εἴτ' ἀληθὴς εἴτε συντεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Δίῳνα μισούντων, ὥς οὐ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὁ γάμος εἴη Δίῳνι γεγονὼς οὐδ' εὐάρμοστος ἢ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συμβίωσις. ὥς οὖν ἦκεν ὁ Πλάτων Ἀθήναζε καὶ τῷ Δίῳνι περὶ πάντων ἐνέτυχε, γράφει πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἐπιστολὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σαφῶς πᾶσιν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο μόνῳ γνώριμον ἐκείνῳ φράζουσιν, ὥς διαλεχθεὶς Δίῳνι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνου καὶ σφόδρα δῆλος εἶη χαλεπαίνων, εἰ τοῦτο Διονύσιος ἐξεργάσαιτο.
 3 καὶ τότε μὲν ἔτι πολλῶν ἐλπίδων οὐσῶν πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις οὐδὲν ἔπραξε περὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν νεώτερον, ἀλλ' εἷα μένειν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ παιδίου τοῦ Δίῳνος οἰκοῦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντάπασιν ἀσυμβάτως εἶχε καὶ Πλάτων αὐθις ἐλθὼν ἀπέμψθη πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν, οὕτω τὴν Ἀρέτην ἄκουσαν ἐνὶ τῶν φίλων Τιμοκράτει δίδωσιν, οὐ μιμησάμενος τὴν κατὰ γε τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιείκειαν.
 4 Ἐγεγόνει γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ Πολύξενος ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχων αὐτοῦ Θέστην πολέμιος. ἀπο-

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XXI. But Dion was vexed by all this, and shortly afterwards became altogether hostile when he learned how his wife had been treated, on which matter Plato also spoke covertly in a letter to Dionysius. The case was as follows. After the expulsion of Dion, and when Dionysius was sending Plato back,¹ he bade him learn from Dion confidentially whether he would oppose his wife's marrying another man; for there was a report, whether true or concocted by Dion's enemies, that his marriage had not proved agreeable to him, and that he did not live harmoniously with his wife. Accordingly, after Plato came to Athens and had conferred with Dion about everything, he wrote a letter to the tyrant which spoke of other matters in a way that was clear to anybody, but of this particular matter in language that could be understood by Dionysius alone, saying that he had talked with Dion about that business, and that Dion would evidently be exceedingly angry if Dionysius should carry it through.² Now, as long as there were many hopes of a reconciliation, the tyrant took no violent measures with his sister, but suffered her to continue living with Dion's young son; when, however, the estrangement was complete, and Plato, who had come to Sicily a second time, had been sent away in enmity, then he gave Arete in marriage, against her will, to Timocrates, one of his friends. And in this action, at least, he did not imitate the reasonableness of his father.

For the elder tyrant also, as it would appear, had a sister, Theste, whose husband, Polyxenus, had become his enemy. When, therefore, Polyxenus was

¹ For the first time; cf. chapter xvi. 3.

² Cf. *Epist.* xiii. p. 362 *ad fin.*

δράντος οὖν αὐτοῦ διὰ φόβον καὶ φυγόντος ἐκ
 Σικελίας μεταπεμφάμενος ἡτιάτο τὴν ἀδελφὴν,
 5 πρὸς αὐτόν. ἡ δ' ἀνεκπλήκτως καὶ νῆ Δί' ἀφό-
 βως· "Εἰθ' οὕτω σοι δοκῶ, Διονύσιε, φαύλη γυνὴ
 γεγονέναι καὶ ἄνανδρος ὥστε προγνοῦσα τὴν
 φυγὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἂν συνεκπλεῦσαι καὶ μετα-
 σχεῖν τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης; ἀλλ' οὐ προέγνων· ἐπεὶ
 καλῶς εἶχέ μοι μᾶλλον Πολυξένου γυναῖκα φεύ- 967
 γοντος ἢ σοῦ τυραννοῦντος ἀδελφὴν λέγεσθαι."
 6 ταῦτα τῆς Θέστης παρρησιασαμένης θαυμάσαι
 λέγουσι τὸν τύραννον. ἐθαύμασαν δὲ καὶ οἱ
 Συρακούσιοι τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γυναικός, ὥστε καὶ
 μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκείνη τιμὴν
 καὶ θεραπείαν βασιλικὴν ὑπάρχειν, ἀποθανούσης
 δὲ δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν ἐπακολουθῆσαι τοὺς
 πολίτας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἔχει τὴν
 παρέκβασιν.

XXII. Ὁ δὲ Δίων ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τρέπεται πρὸς
 πόλεμον, αὐτοῦ μὲν Πλάτωνος ἐκποδὼν ἵσταμένου
 δι' αἰδῶ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον ξενίας καὶ γῆρας,
 Σπυεσίππου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων τῷ Δίῳ
 συλλαμβανόντων καὶ παρακελευομένων ἐλευθε-
 ροῦν Σικελίαν χεῖρας ὀρέγουσαν αὐτῷ καὶ προθύ-
 2 μως ὑποδεχομένην. ὅτε γὰρ ἐν Συρακούσαις
 Πλάτων διέτριβεν, οἱ περὶ Σπυεσίππου, ὡς ἔοικε,
 μᾶλλον ἀναμυγνύμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατεμάν-
 θανον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν παρρησίαν ὡς διάπειραν οὔσαν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, χρόνῳ δ' ἐπίστευσαν. ὁ γὰρ
 αὐτὸς ἦν παρὰ πάντων λόγος δεομένων καὶ παρα-
 κελευομένων ἐλθεῖν Δίῳνα μὴ ναῦς ἔχοντα μηδ'

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moved by fear to run away and go into exile from Sicily, the tyrant sent for his sister and upbraided her because she had been privy to her husband's flight and had not told her brother about it. But she, without consternation, and, indeed, without fear, replied: "Dost thou think me, Dionysius, such a mean and cowardly wife that, had I known beforehand of my husband's flight, I would not have sailed off with him and shared his fortunes? Indeed, I did not know about it; since it would have been well for me to be called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, rather than the sister of Dionysius the tyrant." The tyrant is said to have admired Theste for this bold speech. And the Syracusans also admired the virtue of the woman, so that even after the dissolution of the tyranny she retained the honours and services paid to royalty, and when she died, the citizens, by public consent, attended her funeral. This is a digression, it is true, but not a useless one.

XXII. From this time on Dion turned his thoughts to war. With this Plato himself would have nothing to do, out of respect for his tie of hospitality with Dionysius, and because of his age. But Speusippus and the rest of his companions co-operated with Dion and besought him to free Sicily, which stretched out her arms to him and eagerly awaited his coming. For when Plato was tarrying in Syracuse, Speusippus, as it would appear, mingled more with its people and learned to know their sentiments; and though at first they were afraid of his boldness of speech, thinking it a trap set for them by the tyrant, yet in time they came to trust him. For all now spoke in the same strain, begging and exhorting Dion to

ὀπλίτας μὴδ' ἵππους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν εἰς ὑπηρετικὸν
 ἐμβάντα χρῆσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τοῦνομα Σικελιώ-
 3 ταις ἐπὶ τὸν Διονύσιον. ταῦτα τῶν περὶ Σπεύ-
 σιππον ἀγγελλόντων ἐπιρρωσθεὶς ἐξενολόγει
 κρύφα καὶ δι' ἐτέρων ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὴν διά-
 νοιαν. συνέπραττον δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλοὶ
 καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὃ τε Κύπριος Εὐδήμος, εἰς δὲ
 'Αριστοτέλης ἀποθανόντα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς διά-
 4 λογον ἐποίησε, καὶ Τιμωνίδης ὁ Λευκάδιος. συν-
 ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ Μίλταν αὐτῷ τὸν Θεσσαλόν,
 ἄνδρα μάντιν καὶ μετεσχηκότα τῆς ἐν 'Ακαδημείᾳ
 διατριβῆς. τῶν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου πεφυγαδευ-
 μένων, οὐ μείον ἢ χιλίων ὄντων, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
 μόνοι τῆς στρατείας ἐκοινώνησαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
 5 προὔδοσαν ἀποδειλιάσαντες. ὀρμητήριον δ' ἦν
 ἡ Ζακυνθίων νῆσος, εἰς ἣν οἱ στρατιῶται συνελ-
 ἔγησαν ὀκτακοσίων ἐλάττους γενόμενοι, γνώριμοι
 δὲ πάντες ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων στρατειῶν, καὶ
 τοῖς σώμασιν ἡσκημένοι διαφερόντως, ἐμπειρία δὲ
 καὶ τόλμη πολὺ πάντων κράτιστοι, καὶ δυνάμενοι
 πλῆθος ὅσον ἤλπιζεν ἕξειν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Δίων ὑπεκ-
 καῦσαι καὶ συνεξορμῆσαι πρὸς ἀλκὴν.

XXIII. Οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀκούσαντες ἐπὶ
 Διονύσιον καὶ Σικελίαν αἵρεσθαι τὸν στόλον,
 ἐξεπλάγησαν καὶ κατέγνωσαν, ὡς ὀργῆς τινος
 παραφροσύνη καὶ μανία τοῦ Δίωνος ἡ χρηστῶν
 ἐλπίδων ἀπορία ῥιπτοῦντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀπεγνωσ-
 μένας πράξεις· καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἡγεμόσι καὶ
 ξενολόγοις ὠργίζοντο μὴ προειποῦσιν εὐθύς ἐξ
 2 ἀρχῆς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δίων τῷ λόγῳ τὰ
 σαθρὰ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπεξιὼν ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς οὐ

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come without ships, men-at-arms, or horses ; he was simply to come himself in a small boat, and lend the Sicilians his person and his name against Dionysius. Encouraged by this information from Speusippus, Dion collected mercenaries secretly and by the agency of others, concealing his purpose. He was assisted also by many statesmen and philosophers, such as Eudemus the Cyprian, on whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue "On the Soul," and Timonides the Leucadian. Furthermore, they enlisted on his side Miltas the Thessalian also, who was a seer and had studied in the Academy. But of those who had been banished by the tyrant, and there were not less than a thousand of them, only twenty-five took part in the expedition ; the rest played the coward and abandoned it. The rendezvous was the island of Zacynthus, and here the soldiers were assembled. They numbered fewer than eight hundred, but they were all well known in consequence of many great campaigns, their bodies were exceptionally well trained, while in experience and daring they had no equals in the world, and were capable of inciting and inflaming to share their prowess all the host which Dion expected to have in Sicily.

XXIII. At first, indeed, when these men heard that their expedition was directed against Dionysius and Sicily, they were full of consternation and denounced the enterprise, declaring that Dion, in a mad frenzy of anger, or in despair, was plunging into desperate undertakings ; they were also enraged at their own leaders and recruiting officers for not having told them at the very outset about the war. But when Dion addressed them, setting forth in detail the unsound condition of the tyranny, and

στρατιώτας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς κομίζοι Συρακουσίῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σικελιωτῶν πάλαι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἐτοίμων ὑπαρχόντων, μετὰ δὲ τὸν Δίωνα διαλεχθέντος αὐτοῖς Ἀλκιμένους, ὃς πρῶτος ὦν Ἀχαιῶν δόξῃ καὶ γένει συνεστράτευν, ἐπέισθησαν.

- 3 Ἦν μὲν οὖν θέρους ἀκμὴ καὶ κατεῖχον ἐτησίαι τὸ πέλαγος, ἡ δὲ σελήνη διχομηνίαν ἤγε. τῷ δ' Ἀπόλλωνι θυσίαν μεγαλοπρεπῇ παρασκευάσας ὁ Δίων ἐπόμπευσε μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεκοσμημένων ταῖς πανοπλίαις πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ τῶν Ζακυνθίων κατα-
- 4 κλιθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰστία, θαυμάζοντας ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ τραπεζῶν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἰδιωτικὸν πλοῦτον λαμπρότητα, καὶ λογιζομένους ὅτι παρηκμακῶς ἀνὴρ ἤδη καὶ τοσαύτης εὐπορίας κύριος οὐκ ἂν ἐπιχειροίη παραβόλοις 968 πράγμασι χωρὶς ἐλπίδος βεβαίου καὶ φίλων ἐνδιδόντων ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῷ τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας ἀφορμάς.

- XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας κατευχὰς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σελήνη. καὶ τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὸν Δίωνα θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἦν λογιζομένοις τὰς ἐκλειπτικὰς περιόδους καὶ τὴν γινομένην τοῦ σκιάσματος ἀπάντησιν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην καὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν ἀντίφραξιν πρὸς τὸν
- 2 ἥλιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις διαταραχθεῖσιν ἔδει τινὸς παρηγορίας, Μίλτας ὁ μάντις ἐν μέσῳ καταστὰς ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ προσδοκᾶν

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declaring that he was taking them, not as soldiers, but as commanders of the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilians, who had long been ready for a revolt; and when, after Dion, Alcimenes, who was an Achaean of the highest birth and reputation and a member of the expedition, had argued with them, they were persuaded.

It was now midsummer,¹ the Etesian winds² prevailed at sea, and the moon was at the full. Dion had prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and marched in solemn procession to the temple with his soldiers, who were arrayed in full armour. After the sacrifice, he gave them a banquet in the stadium of the Zacynthians, where, as they reclined on their couches, they wondered at the splendour of the gold and silver beakers, and of the tables, for it passed the limits set by a private man's fortune; they reasoned, too, that a man who was already past his prime and was master of such great affluence, would not engage in hazardous enterprises unless he had solid hopes of success, and friends over there who offered him unbounded resources.

XXIV. But after the libations and the customary prayers, the moon was eclipsed. Now, to Dion this was nothing astonishing, for he knew that eclipses recurred at regular intervals, and that the shadow projected on the moon was caused by the interposition of the earth between her and the sun. But since the soldiers, who were greatly disturbed, needed some encouragement, Miltas the seer stood up amongst them and bade them be of good cheer,

¹ 357 B.C.

² Winds blowing steadily from the North during the summer.

- τὰ κράτιστα· σημαίνειν γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἔκλειψίν τινος τῶν νῦν ἐπιφανῶν· ἐπιφανέστερον δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῆς Διονυσίου τυραννίδος, ἥς τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀποσβέσειν ἐκείνους εὐθύς ἀφαμένους
- 3 Σικελίας. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Μίλτας εἰς μέσον ἐξέθηκε πᾶσι· τὸ δὲ τῶν μελισσῶν, αἱ περὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῦ Δίωνος ὥφθησαν ἐσμὸν λαμβάνουσαι κατὰ πρύμναν, ἰδία πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔφραζε δεδιέναι μὴ καλαὶ μὲν αἱ πράξεις αὐτοῦ γένωνται, χρόνον δ' ὀλίγον ἀνθήσασαι μαρανθῶσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῷ Διονυσίῳ πολλὰ τερατώδη
- 4 παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου γενέσθαι σημεῖα. αἰετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀρπάσας δοράτιόν τινος τῶν δορυφόρων ἀράμενος ὑψοῦ καὶ φέρων ἀφήκεν εἰς τὸν βυθόν· ἡ δὲ προσκλύζουσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θάλασσα μίαν ἡμέραν τὸ ὕδωρ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον παρέσχεν, ὥστε γευσάμενοις πᾶσι κατάδηλον εἶναι. χοῖροι δ' ἐτέχθησαν αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ἐνδεεῖς μορίων, ὧτα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες.
- 5 ἀπεφαίνοντο δ' οἱ μάντις τοῦτο μὲν ἀποστάσεως καὶ ἀπειθείας εἶναι σημεῖον, ὥς οὐκέτι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκουσομένων τῆς τυραννίδος, τὴν δὲ γλυκύτητα τῆς θαλάσσης μεταβολὴν καιρῶν ἀνιαρῶν καὶ πονηρῶν εἰς πράγματα χρηστὰ φέρειν Συρακουσίοις. αἰετὸς δὲ θεράπων Διός, λόγῃ δὲ παράσημον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας· ἀφανισμὸν οὖν καὶ κατάλυσιν τῇ τυραννίδι βουλεύειν τὸν τῶν θεῶν μέγιστον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Θεόπομπος ἱστόρηκε.

XXV. Τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τοὺς Δίωνος ἐξεδέξαντο στρογγύλαι δύο ναῦς, τρίτον δὲ πλοῖον οὐ μέγα καὶ δύο τριακύντοροι παρηκολούθουν. ὅπλα

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and expect the best results; for the divine powers indicated an eclipse of something that was now resplendent; but nothing was more resplendent than the tyranny of Dionysius, and it was the radiance of this which they would extinguish as soon as they reached Sicily. This interpretation, then, Miltas made public for all to know; but that of the bees, which were seen settling in swarms upon the sterns of Dion's transports, he told privately to him and his friends, expressing a fear that his undertakings would thrive at the outset, but after a short season of flowering would wither away. It is said that Dionysius also had many portentous signs from Heaven. An eagle snatched a lance from one of his body-guards, carried it aloft, and then let it drop into the sea. Furthermore, the water of the sea which washed the base of the acropolis was sweet and potable for a whole day, as all who tasted it could see. Again, pigs were littered for him which were perfect in their other parts, but had no ears. This the seers declared to be a sign of disobedience and rebellion, since, as they said, the citizens would no longer listen to the commands of the tyrant; the sweetness of the sea-water indicated for the Syracusans a change from grievous and oppressive times to comfortable circumstances; an eagle, moreover, was servant of Zeus, and a spear, an emblem of authority and power, wherefore this prodigy showed that the greatest of the gods desired the utter dissolution of the tyranny. Such, at all events, is the account which Theopompus has given.

XXV. The soldiers of Dion filled two merchant-ships, and a third transport of small size, together with two thirty-oared galleys, accompanied these.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- δέ, χωρὶς ὧν εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται, δισχιλίας μὲν ἐκόμιζεν ἀσπίδας, βέλη δὲ καὶ δόρατα πολλά, καὶ πληθὺς ἐφοδίων ἄφθονον, ὅπως ἐπιλίπη μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ποντοποροῦντας, ἅτε δὴ τὸ σύμπαν ἐπὶ πνεύμασι καὶ θαλάσῃ πεποιημένους τὸν πλοῦν διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι Φίλιστον ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ ναυλοχοῦντα παραφυλάτ-
 2 τειν. ἀραιῶ δὲ καὶ μαλακῶ πνεύματι πλεύσαντες ἡμέρας δώδεκα, τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ Πάχυνον ἦσαν, ἄκραν τῆς Σικελίας. καὶ Πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κυβερνήτης κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποβαίνειν, ὥς, ἂν ἀποσπασθῶσι τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἐκόντες ἀφῶσι, πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἐν τῷ πελάγει τριβησομένους, ὥρα θέρους νότον περιμέ-
 3 νοντας. Δίῳ δὲ τὴν ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπό-
 βασιν δεδιὼς καὶ τῶν πρόσω μᾶλλον ἄψασθαι
 4 βουλόμενος παρέπλευσε τὸν Πάχυνον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραχὺς μὲν ἀπαρκτίας ἐπιπесῶν ἤλαυνε πολλῶ κλύδωνι τὰς ναῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας, ἀστραπαὶ δὲ καὶ βρονταὶ φανέντος Ἀρκτούρου συμπεσοῦσαι πολὺν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ χειμῶνα καὶ ῥαγδαῖον ὄμβρον ἐξέχεαν· ᾧ τῶν ναυτῶν συν-
 παραχθέντων καὶ πλάνης γενομένης καθορῶσι αἰφνίδιον ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος ὠθουμένας τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Λιβύη Κέρκιναν, ἥ μάλιστα κρημ-
 νώδης ἀπήντα καὶ τραχεῖα προσφερομένοις αὐ-
 4 τοῖς ἢ νήσος. μικρὸν οὖν δεήσαντες ἐκριφῆναι καὶ συντριβῆναι περὶ τὰς πέτρας ἐβιάζοντο πρὸς κοντὸν παραφερόμενοι μόλις, ἕως ὃ χειμῶν ἐλώ-

DION

Moreover, besides the arms which his soldiers had, Dion carried two thousand shields, missiles and spears in great numbers, and a boundless store of provisions, that they might suffer no lack as they traversed the high sea. For they put themselves entirely at the mercy of winds and sea during their voyage, because they were afraid of the coast, and learned that Philistus was watching for them with a fleet at Iapygia. After sailing with a light and gentle breeze for twelve days, on the thirteenth they reached Pachynus, a headland of Sicily. Here Protus their pilot urged them to disembark with all speed, since, if they should be forced away from the shore, and should relinquish the headland which they had gained, they would be tossed about on the high sea for many days and nights, awaiting a south wind in the summer season. But Dion, fearing to disembark near the enemy, and wishing to land farther along the coast, sailed past Pachynus. Thereupon a boisterous wind from the north rushed down upon them, raised a great sea, and drove the ships away from Sicily, while flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, now that Arcturus was just rising, conspired to pour down from the heavens a great storm of furious rain. The sailors were confounded by this and driven from their course, until on a sudden they saw that their ships were driving with the sea upon Cercina, off the coast of Africa, at a point where the island presented the roughest and most precipitous shore for their approach. Accordingly, after a narrow escape from being cast ashore and dashed to pieces on the rocks, they plied their punting-poles and forced their way along with great difficulty, until

φησε καὶ πλοῖω συντυχόντες ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς
καλουμέναις κεφαλαῖς τῆς μεγάλης Σύρτεως 969
ὄντες. ἀθυμοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν γαλήνην
καὶ διαφορομένοις αὖραν τινὰ κατέσπειρεν ἡ
χώρα νότιον, οὐ πάνυ προσδεχομένοις νότον οὐδὲ
5 πιστεύουσι τῇ μεταβολῇ. κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ ῥων-
νυμένου τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ μέγεθος λαμβάνοντος
ἐκτείναντες ὅσον ἦν ἰστίων, καὶ προσευξάμενοι
τοῖς θεοῖς, πελάγιοι πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν ἔφευγον
ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης· καὶ θέοντες ἐλαφρῶς πεμπταῖοι
κατὰ Μίνωαν ὠρμίσαντο, πολισμάτιον ἐν τῇ
Σικελίᾳ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐπικρατείας. ἔτυχε
δὲ παρὼν ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἄρχων Σύνναλος ἐν τῷ
6 χωρίῳ, ξένος ὢν καὶ φίλος Δίωνος. ἀγνοῶν δὲ
τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν στόλον, ἐπειρᾶτο
κώλυειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποβαίνοντας. οἱ δὲ
μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐκδραμόντες ἀπέκτειναν μὲν
οὐδένα, ἀπειρήκει γὰρ ὁ Δίων διὰ τὴν οὖσαν
αὐτῷ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, φεύγουσι δὲ
συνεισπεσόντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὥς δ' ἀπήν-
τησαν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ ἡσπᾶσαντο,
Δίων μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Συνάλῳ, οὐδὲν
ἀδικήσας, Σύνναλος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξένιζε
καὶ συμπαρεσκεύαζεν ὢν Δίων ἐδεῖτο.

XXVI. Μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐθάρρυνε τὸ συμ-
βεβηκὸς αὐτομάτως περὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ
Διονυσίου· νεωστὶ γὰρ ἐκπεπλευκῶς ἐτύγχανεν
ὀγδοήκοντα ναυσὶν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. διὸ καὶ τοῦ
Δίωνος παρακαλοῦντος ἐνταῦθα τοὺς στρατιώτας

DION

the storm abated, when they learned from a vessel which they spoke that they were at what were called the Heads of the Great Syrtis. And now they were disheartened by the calm in which they found themselves, and were drifting up and down, when a gentle southerly breeze was wafted to them from the land, although they were by no means expecting a south wind and could not believe in the change. Little by little, however, the wind freshened and grew strong, so that they spread all the sail they had, and praying to the gods, fled over the sea from Africa towards Sicily. For five days they ran swiftly on, and came to anchor at Minoa, a little town in that part of Sicily which the Carthaginians controlled. Now, it chanced that Sinalus, the Carthaginian commander, was in the place, and he was a guest-friend of Dion's. But not knowing of Dion's presence or of his expedition, he tried to prevent his soldiers from landing. These, however, rushed on shore with their arms, and although they killed no one, since Dion had forbidden it because of his friendship with the Carthaginian, they put their opponents to flight, dashed into the place with the fugitives, and captured it. But as soon as the two commanders had met and greeted one another, Dion restored the city to Sinalus, without doing it any harm, and Sinalus entertained the soldiers and supplied Dion with what he wanted.

XXVI. But what most of all encouraged them was the accidental absence of Dionysius from Syracuse; for it chanced that he had recently sailed with eighty ships to Italy. Therefore, even though Dion urged his soldiers to recruit themselves here

- ἀναλαμβάνειν· πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ
κεκακωμένους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν αὐτοὶ σπεύδοντες
ἀρπάσαι τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν
- 2 Δίωνα πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας. ἀποσκευασά-
μενος οὖν τὰ περιόντα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν φορ-
τίων ἐκεῖ, καὶ τοῦ Συνάλου δεηθείς, ὅταν ᾗ
καιρὸς, ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς
Συρακούσας. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν
'Ακραγαντίνων προσεχώρησαν ἱππεῖς διακόσιοι
τῶν περὶ τὸ Ἔκνομον οἰκούντων, μετὰ δὲ τούτους
Γελῶοι.
- 3 Ταχὺ δὲ τῆς φήμης διαδραμούσης εἰς Συρα-
κούσας Τιμοκράτης, ὁ τῇ Δίωνος γυναικὶ συνοικῶν,
Διονυσίου δ' ἀδελφῇ, τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῇ
πόλει φίλων προεστώς, ἐκπέμπει κατὰ τάχος
ἄγγελον τῷ Διονυσίῳ γράμματα κομίζοντα περὶ
τῆς Δίωνος ἀφίξεως. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν
πόλιν προσεῖχε θορύβοις καὶ κινήμασιν, ἐπηρ-
μένων μὲν πάντων, διὰ δ' ἀπιστίαν ἔτι καὶ φόβον
ἡσυχάζοντων. τῷ δὲ πεμφθέντι γραμματοφόρῳ
- 4 τύχη τις συμπίπτει παράλογος. διαπλεύσας
γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥηγίνην διελθὼν,
ἐπειγόμενος εἰς Καυλωνίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον ἀπήν-
τησέ τινα τῶν συνήθων ἱερεῖον νεωστὶ τεθυμένον
κομίζοντι· καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ μοῖραν τῶν
κρεῶν ἐχώρει σπουδῇ. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς μέρος
ὀδεύσας καὶ μικρὸν ἀποδαρθεῖν ὑπὸ κόπου
βιασθεῖς, ὥς εἶχε, παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ὕλῃ τινὶ
- 5 κατέκλινεν ἑαυτόν. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὁσμὴν λύκος
ἐπελθὼν, καὶ λαβόμενος τῶν κρεῶν ἀναδεδεμένων
ἐκ τῆς πήρας, ὥχετο φέρων ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν
πήραν, ἐν ᾗ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν.

DION

after their long hardships on the sea, they would not consent to it, so eager were they of themselves to seize their opportunity, but urged him to lead them towards Syracuse. Accordingly, he deposited his superfluous arms and baggage there, asked Syneus to send them to him as opportunity offered, and marched against Syracuse. As he was on his way thither, first he was joined by two hundred horsemen belonging to the Agrigentines who dwelt about Ennomum, and then by men of Gela.

But the report of his doings quickly flew to Syracuse, where Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, and who stood at the head of the tyrant's friends now left in the city, speedily sent off a messenger to Dionysius with letters announcing the arrival of Dion. He himself, moreover, took steps to prevent any disturbances or tumults in the city, where all were greatly excited, but as yet kept quiet owing to their distrust and fear. But a strange misfortune befell the man who had been sent with the letters. After he had crossed to Italy and passed through the territory of Rhegium, and as he was hastening on to Dionysius at Caulonia, he met one of his acquaintances who was carrying an animal that had been recently sacrificed, and after accepting from him a portion of the flesh, went on his way with all speed. But after travelling part of the night, he was compelled by weariness to take a little sleep, and lay down, just as he was, in a wood by the side of the road. Then a wolf came to the spot, attracted by the scent, and seizing the flesh which had been fastened to the wallet in which the man had his letters, went off with it and the wallet

ὥς δὲ διεγερθεὶς ἤσθετο καὶ πολλὰ μάτην πλανηθεὶς καὶ διώξας οὐχ εὗρεν, ἔγνω μὴ πορεύεσθαι δίχα τῶν γραμμάτων πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, ἀλλ' ἀποδρὰς ἐκποδῶν γενέσθαι.

- XXVII. Διονύσιος μὲν οὖν ὄψ' ἐ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων ἔμελλε πυνθάνεσθαι τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεμον, Δίῳνι δὲ πορευομένῳ Καμαριναῖοί τε προσέθεντο καὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγροὺς Συρακουσίων ἀνισταμένων ἐπέρρει πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ Τιμοκράτους τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς φυλάσσοντες Λεοντῖνοι καὶ Καμπανοί, λόγον ψευδῇ προσπέμφαντος εἰς αὐτοὺς τοῦ Δίῳνος ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις πρῶτον 970 τρέποιτο τὰς ἐκείνων, ἀπολιπόντες ὄχοντο τὸν
- 2 Τιμοκράτην τοῖς οἰκείοις βοηθήσοντες. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Δίῳνα περὶ τὰς Ἀκρας στρατοπεδεύοντα, νυκτὸς ἔτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναστήσας πρὸς τὸν Ἄναπον ποταμὸν ἦκεν, ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως δέκα σταδίου. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας ἐσφαγιάζετο πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἀνατέλλοντι τῷ ἡλίῳ προσευξάμενος; ἅμα δ' οἱ μάντις παρὰ τῶν θεῶν νίκην ἔφραζον αὐτῷ. καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Δίῳνα διὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐστεφανωμένον οἱ παρόντες ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὀρμῆς ἐστε-
- 3 φανοῦντο πάντες. ἦσαν δὲ πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους προσγεγονότες κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· ὥπλισμένοι δὲ φαύλως ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος ἀνεπλήρουν τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὴν τῆς παρασκευῆς ἔνδειαν, ὥστε κινήσαντος τοῦ Δίῳνος δρόμῳ χωρεῖν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλους παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

DION

too. When the man awoke and perceived what had happened, he wandered about a long time in search of what he had lost, but could not find it, and therefore determined not to go to the tyrant without the letters, but to run away and disappear.

XXVII. Dionysius, therefore, was destined to learn of the war in Sicily late and from other sources; but meanwhile, as Dion proceeded on his march, he was joined by the Camarinaeans, and no small multitude of the rural Syracusans revolted and swelled his ranks. Moreover, the Leontines and Campanians who were guarding Epipolae¹ with Timocrates, in consequence of a false report which Dion sent to them that he would attack their cities first, deserted Timocrates and went off to assist their own peoples. When news of this was brought to Dion as he lay encamped near Acrae, he roused up his soldiers while it was still night and came to the river Anapus, which is ten furlongs distant from the city. There he halted and sacrificed by the river, addressing his prayers to the rising sun, and on the instant the soothsayers declared that the gods promised him victory. When, too, the audience beheld Dion with a wreath on his head for the sacrifice, with one impulse they all crowned themselves with wreaths. No fewer than five thousand men had joined him on the march, and though they were wretchedly armed with such weapons as came to hand, their enthusiasm made up for their lack of equipment, so that when Dion gave the word they advanced on the run, exhorting one another with joyful shouts to win their liberty.

¹ The plateau west of the city of Syracuse. See the note on *Nicias*, xvii. 1.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XXVIII. Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει Συρακουσίων οἱ μὲν γνώριμοι καὶ χαρίεντες ἐσθήτα καθαρὰν ἔχοντες ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τοῖς τυράννου φίλοις ἐπετίθεντο καὶ συνήρπαζον τοὺς καλουμένους προσαγωγίδας, ἀνθρώπους ἀνοσίους καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρούς, οἱ περιενόστουν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Συρακουσίοις πολυπραγμονοῦντες καὶ διαγγέλλοντες τῷ τυράννῳ τὰς 2 τε διανοίας καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἐκάστων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι δίκην ἐδίδοσαν ὑπὸ τῶν προστυγχανόντων ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι. Τιμοκράτης δὲ συμμῖξαι τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἵππον λαβὼν διεξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ πάντα φεύγων ἐνέπλησε φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς, ἐπὶ 3 μεῖζον αἶρων τὰ τοῦ Δίωνος, ὥς μὴ δοκοίη μέτριόν τι δείσας ἀποβεβληκέναι τὴν πόλιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Δίων προσερχόμενος ἤδη καταφανὴς ἦν, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὠπλισμένος λαμπρῶς, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔνθεν μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Μεγακλῆς, ἔνθεν δὲ Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐστεφανωμένοι. τῶν δὲ ξένων ἑκατὸν μὲν εἶποντο φύλακες περὶ τὸν Δίωνα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἡγόν οἱ λοχαγοὶ διακεκοσμημένους, θεωμένων τῶν Συρακουσίων καὶ δεχομένων ὥσπερ ἱεράν τινα καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πομπὴν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δημοκρατίας δι' ἐτῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τετταράκοντα κατιούσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

XXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Δίων κατὰ τὰς Τεμενίτιδας πύλας, τῇ σάλπιγγι καταπαύσας τὸν θόρυβον, ἐκήρυξεν ὅτι Δίων καὶ Μεγακλῆς ἦκοντες ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς τυραννίδος ἐλευθεροῦσι Συρακουσίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Σικελιώτας ἀπὸ τοῦ τυράννου. βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ δι' 60

DION

XXVIII. As for the Syracusans in the city, the men of note and cultivation, in fresh apparel, went to meet them at the gates, while the multitude set upon the tyrant's friends and seized those called tale-bearers, wicked men whom the gods hated, who went up and down in the city busily mingling with the Syracusans and reporting to the tyrant the sentiments and utterances of every one. These, then, were the first to suffer retribution, being beaten to death by those who came upon them; but Timocrates, unable to join the garrison of the acropolis, took horse and dashed out of the city, and as he fled, filled everything with fear and confusion, exaggerating the strength of Dion, that he might not be thought to have abandoned the city through fear of any trivial danger. Meanwhile Dion drew near the city and was presently seen, leading the way himself in brilliant armour, with his brother Megacles on one side of him, and on the other, Callippus the Athenian, both crowned with garlands. A hundred of his mercenaries followed Dion as a body-guard, and his officers led the rest in good order, the Syracusans looking on and welcoming as it were a sacred religious procession for the return of liberty and democracy into the city, after an absence of forty-eight years.

XXIX. After Dion had entered the city by the Temenitid gate, he stopped the noise of the people by a blast of the trumpet, and made proclamation that Dion and Megacles, who were come to overthrow the tyranny, declared the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilians free from the tyrant. Then,

- ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεύσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνῆει διὰ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς, ἐκατέρωθεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν Συρακουσίων ἱερεῖα καὶ τραπέζας καὶ κρατῆρας ἰστάντων, καὶ καθ' οὓς γένοιτο προχύταις τε βαλλόντων καὶ προστρεπομένων ὥσπερ θεὸν
- 2 κατευχαῖς. ἦν δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ πεντάπυλα, Διονυσίου κατασκευάσαντος, ἡλιοτρόπιον καταφανὲς καὶ ὑψηλόν. ἐπὶ τοῦτο προβάς ἐδημηγόρησε καὶ παρώρμησε τοὺς πολίτας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας. οἱ δὲ χαίροντες καὶ φιλοφρονούμενοι κατέστησαν ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοκράτορας στρατηγούς, καὶ προσείλοντο, βουλομένων καὶ δεομένων ἐκείνων, αὐτοῖς συνάρχοντας εἴκοσιν, ὧν ἡμίσεις ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν μετὰ Δίωνος ἀπὸ
- 3 τῆς φυγῆς συγκατερχομένων. τοῖς δὲ μάντεσιν αὐθις ἐδόκει τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ πόδας λαβεῖν τὸν Δίωνα δημηγοροῦντα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦ τυράννου λαμπρὸν εἶναι σημεῖον· ὅτι δ' ἡλιοτρόπιον ἦν ἐφ' οὗ βεβηκὼς ἤρέθη στρατηγός, ὠρρώδουν μὴ τροπὴν τινα τῆς τύχης αἰ πράξεις ταχεῖαν λάβωσιν. ἐκ τούτου τὰς μὲν Ἐπιπολὰς ἐλὼν τοὺς καθειργμένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλυσε,
- 4 τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἀπετείχισεν. ἐβδόμη δ' ἡμέρα 971 Διονύσιος κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ Δίῳνι προσῆγον ἄμαξαι πανοπλίας ἅς Συνάλφω κατέλιπε. ταύτας διένειμε τοῖς πολίταις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἑαυτόν, ὥς δυνατὸν ἦν, ἐκόσμει καὶ παρεῖχεν ὀπλίτην πρόθυμον.

XXX. Διονύσιος δὲ πρῶτον ἰδίᾳ πρὸς Δίωνα πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ἀποπειρώμενος· ἔπειτα κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου διαλέγεσθαι κοινῇ Συρακουσίοις

DION

wishing to harangue the people himself, he went up through the Achradina,¹ while on either side of the street the Syracusans set out tables and sacrificial meats and mixing-bowls, and all, as he came to them, pelted him with flowers, and addressed him with vows and prayers as if he were a god. Now, there stood below the acropolis and the Pentapyla a tall and conspicuous sun-dial, which Dionysius had set up. Mounted upon this, Dion harangued the citizens and exhorted them to assert their liberty. And they, in their joy and affection, made Dion and Megacles generals with absolute powers, and besides, at their wish and entreaty, chose twenty colleagues to hold office with them, half of whom were of those who had come back from exile with Dion. To the soothsayers, moreover, it seemed a most happy omen, that Dion, when he harangued the people, had put under his feet the ambitious monument of the tyrant; but because it was a sun-dial upon which he stood when he was elected general, they feared that his enterprise might undergo some speedy change of fortune. After this, Dion captured Epipolae and set free the citizens who were imprisoned there; then he walled off the acropolis. On the seventh day Dionysius put in with his fleet and entered the acropolis, and waggons brought Dion the armour and weapons which he had left with Synalus. These he distributed among the citizens as far as they would go, and all the rest equipped themselves as best they could and zealously offered their services as men-at-arms.

XXX. At first, Dionysius sent envoys privately to Dion and tried to make terms with him; then, when Dion bade him confer publicly with the Syracusans,

¹ An extension of the city, covering the eastern part of the plateau of Epipolae.

- ὥς ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν, ἐγένοντο λόγοι διὰ τῶν πρέσβων παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου φιλάνθρωποι, φόρων ὑπισχνουμένου μετριότητα καὶ ῥαστώνῃν στρατειῶν, ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ σύμψηφοι γένωνται.
- 2 ταῦτα ἐχλεύαζον οἱ Συρακούσιοι. Δίων δ' ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς πρέσβεσι μὴ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Διονύσιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφήσιν· ἀφέντι δὲ συμπράξειν ἄδειαν αὐτός, κὰν ἄλλο τι τῶν μετρίων δύνηται, μεμνημένος τῆς οἰκειότητος. ταῦτα Διονύσιος ἐπῆνει, καὶ πάλιν ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις κελεύων ἥκειν τινὰς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Συρακουσίων, οἷς τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ πειθόμενος.
- 3 διαλέγεται περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων. ἐπέμψθησαν οὖν ἄνδρες πρὸς αὐτὸν οὗς Δίων ἔδοκίμασε. καὶ λόγος πολὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τοὺς Συρακουσίους κατῆι Διονύσιον ἀφήσειν τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσεσθαι¹ χάριν ἢ Δίωνος.
- Ἦν δὲ δόλος ἢ προσποίησις αὕτη τοῦ τυράννου καὶ σκευωρία κατὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐλθόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως συγκλείσας εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους πρὸς ὄρθρον ἐμπλήσας ἀκράτου δρόμῳ πρὸς τὸ περιτεί-
- 4 χισμα τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐφήκε· γενομένης δὲ τῆς προσβολῆς ἀνελπίστου καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων θράσει πολλῇ καὶ θορύβῳ καθαιρούντων τὸ διατείχισμα καὶ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἐπιφερομένων, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα μένων ἀμύνεσθαι, πλὴν τῶν ξένων τῶν Δίωνος, οἱ πρῶτον αἰσθόμενοι τὸν θόρυβον
- 5 ἐξεβοήθησαν. οὐδ' οὗτοι δὲ τῆς βοηθείας τὸν

¹ ποιήσεσθαι a correction by Sintenis of the MSS. ποιήσασθαι, which Coraës omits and Bekker brackets.

DION

on the ground that they were a free people, the envoys brought generous propositions from the tyrant, who promised such moderate taxes and easy military service as the people themselves should agree to by vote. These offers were derided by the Syracusans, and Dion made answer to the envoys that Dionysius was not to confer with them unless he renounced his sovereignty ; but on his renouncing this, Dion would himself procure immunity for him, and any other reasonable privilege that was in his power, mindful of the close relationship between them. These conditions Dionysius approved, and again sent envoys, bidding some of the Syracusans to come to the acropolis, where, both parties making concessions, he would confer with them concerning the common good. Accordingly, men were sent to him whom Dion approved. And frequent reports came to the Syracusans from the citadel that Dionysius would renounce the tyranny, and would do this to please himself rather than Dion.

But this was a treacherous pretence on the part of the tyrant, and a piece of knavery directed against the Syracusans. For he kept in close custody the deputation that came to him from the city, and towards morning plied his mercenaries with strong wine and sent them on a dash against the siege-wall about the acropolis. The attack was unexpected, and the Barbarians, with great boldness and loud tumult, began to tear down the cross-wall and attack the Syracusans, so that no one dared to stand on the defensive, except the mercenaries of Dion, who first noticed the disturbance and came to the rescue. And even these

τρόπον συνεφρόνουν οὐδ' εἰσήκουον ὑπὸ κραυγῆς
καὶ πλάνης τῶν φευγόντων Συρακουσίων ἀνα-
πεφυρμένων αὐτοῖς καὶ διεκθεόντων, πρὶν γε δὴ
Δίων, ἐπεὶ λέγοντος οὐδεὶς κατήκουεν, ἔργῳ τὸ
πρακτέον ὑφηγήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἐμβάλλει
6 πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους. καὶ γίνεται περὶ
αὐτὸν ὀξεῖα καὶ δεινὴ μάχη, γνωσκόμενον οὐχ
ἥττον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τῶν φίλων· ὥρμησαν
γὰρ ἅμα πάντες ἐμβοήσαντες. ὁ δ' ἦν μὲν ἤδη
βαρύτερος δι' ἡλικίαν ἢ κατὰ τοιούτους ἀγῶνας,
ἀλκῇ δὲ καὶ θυμῷ τοὺς¹ προσφερομένους ὑφιστά-
μενος καὶ ἀνακόπτων τιτρώσκεται λόγχῃ τὴν
χεῖρα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα βέλη καὶ τὰς ἐκ χειρὸς
πληγὰς μόλις ὁ θώραξ ἤρκεσε διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος
δόρασι πολλοῖς καὶ λόγχαις τυπτόμενος· ὧν
7 κατακλασθέντων κατέπεσεν ὁ Δίων. εἶτα ἀναρ-
πασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκείνοις μὲν ἡγε-
μόνα Τιμωνίδην ἐπέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν
ἵππῳ περιελαύνων τοὺς τε Συρακουσίους ἔπαυε
φυγῆς, καὶ τῶν ξένων τοὺς φυλάττοντας τὴν
Ἀχραδινὴν ἀναστήσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς βαρβάροις
ἀκμῆτας ἐκπεπονημένοις καὶ προθύμοις ἀπαυδῶ-
8 σιν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν πείραν. ἐλπίσαντες γὰρ ἅμα
τῇ πρώτῃ ρύμῃ τὴν πόλιν ἄπασαν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
καθέξειν, εἶτα παρὰ δόξαν ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀνδράσι
πλήκταις καὶ μαχίμοις ἀνεστέλλοντο πρὸς τὴν
ἀκρόπολιν. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον, ὥς ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπικει-
μένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τραπόμενοι κατεκλείσθησαν
εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἐβδομήκοντα μὲν καὶ τέσσαρας
ἀποκτείναντες τῶν μετὰ Δίωνος, ἑαυτῶν δὲ
πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες.

¹ τοὺς the article is suggested by Sintenis.

DION

knew not how to render aid, nor could they hear what was said to them, owing to the shouts and wild movements of the fugitive Syracusans, who mingled confusedly with them and broke through their ranks. But at last Dion, since no one could hear his orders, wishing to show by his example what should be done, charged foremost into the Barbarians. Then there arose about him a fierce and dreadful battle, since he was recognized by the enemy as well as by his friends, and all rushed towards him at the same time with loud shouts. He was now, by reason of his age, too unwieldy for such struggles, but he withstood and cut down his assailants with vigour and courage until he was wounded in the hand with a lance; besides, his breastplate hardly sufficed to resist the other missiles and hand-to-hand thrusts, and he was smitten through his shield by many spears and lances, and when these were broken off he fell to the ground. Then, after he had been snatched away by his soldiers, he put Timonides in command of these, while he himself, mounting a horse, rode about the city rallying the flying Syracusans, and bringing up a detachment of his mercenaries who were guarding Achradina, led them against the Barbarians,—fresh and eager reserves against a worn-out foe, and one that already despaired of his cause. For they had expected at their first onset to overrun and occupy the whole city, and now that they had unexpectedly encountered men who could smite and fight, they retired towards the acropolis. But as they gave ground, the Greeks pressed all the harder upon them, so that they turned their backs and were driven into the shelter of the citadel; they had slain seventy-four of Dion's men, and had lost many of their own number.

XXXI. Γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς τῆς νίκης οἱ μὲν Συρακούσιοι τοὺς ξένους ἑκατὸν μυαῖς ἐστεφάνωσαν, οἱ δὲ ξένοι Δίωνα χρυσῷ στεφάνω. κήρυκες δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου κατέβαινον 972 ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Δίωνα παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων γυναικῶν κομίζοντες. μία δ' ἦν ἔξωθεν ἐπιγεγραμμένη, "Τῷ πατρί, παρ' Ἰππαρίνου." τοῦτο γὰρ 2 ἦν ὄνομα τῷ Δίωνος υἱῷ. καίτοι φησὶ Τίμαιος Ἀρεταῖον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρέτης καλεῖσθαι. Τιμωνίδῃ δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς οἶομαι, περὶ γε τούτων πιστευτέον, ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ συστρατιώτῃ Δίωνος. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι τοῖς Συρακούσιοις ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐπιστολαὶ πολλὰς ἰκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ἔχουσαι παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἶναι δοκοῦσαν οὐκ ἐώντων φανερώς λυθῆναι βιασάμενος ὁ Δίων ἔλυσεν. ἦν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου, τοῖς μὲν γράμμασι πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασι πρὸς τοὺς Συρακούσιους διαλεγόμενου, σχῆμα μὲν ἔχουσα δεήσεως καὶ δικαιολογίας, συγκειμένη δὲ πρὸς διαβολὴν τοῦ 3 Δίωνος. ὑπομνήσεις τε γὰρ ἦσαν ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς τυραννίδος ἔπραξε προθύμως, καὶ κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπειλαὶ σωμάτων, ἀδελφῆς καὶ τέκνου καὶ γυναικός, ἐπισκῆψεις τε δειναὶ μετ' ὀλοφυρμῶν, καὶ τὸ μάλιστα κινήσαν αὐτόν, ἀξιούντος μὴ καθαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν τυραννίδα, μηδ' ἐλευθεροῦν μισούντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ μνησικακοῦντας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἄρχειν, παρέχοντα τοῖς φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

XXXII. Ἀναγινωσκομένων δὲ τούτων οὐχ, ὅπερ ἦν δίκαιον, εἰσῆει τοὺς Συρακούσιους ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν 68

DION

XXXI. The victory was a brilliant one, and the Syracusans rewarded Dion's mercenaries with a hundred minas, while the mercenaries honoured Dion with a wreath of gold. And now heralds came down from Dionysius bringing letters to Dion from the women of his family. There was also one addressed outside, "To his father, from Hipparinus"; for this was the name of Dion's son. Timaeus, it is true, says he was called Aretaeus, from his mother Arete; but on this point at least, in my opinion, Timonides is rather to be trusted, who was a friend and fellow-soldier of Dion's. Well, then, the rest of the letters were read aloud to the Syracusans, and contained many supplications and entreaties from the women; but that which purported to be from Dion's son, the people would not allow to be opened in public. Dion, however, insisted upon it, and opened the letter. It was from Dionysius, who nominally addressed himself to Dion, but really to the Syracusans; and it had the form of entreaty and justification, but was calculated to bring odium on Dion. For there were reminders of his zealous services in behalf of the tyranny, and threats against the persons of his dearest ones, his sister, children, and wife; there were also dire injunctions coupled with lamentations, and, what affected him most of all, a demand that he should not abolish, but assume, the tyranny; that he should not give liberty to men who hated him and would never forget their wrongs, but take the power himself, and thereby assure his friends and kindred of their safety.

XXXII. When all this had been read aloud, it did not occur to the Syracusans, as it should have done, to be astonished at the firmness and magnanimity of

τοῦ Δίωνος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀπισχυριζομένου πρὸς τοιαύτας οἰκειότητας, ἀλλ' ὑποψίας καὶ φόβου λαβόντες ἀρχήν, ὡς μεγάλης οὔσης ἀνάγκης ἐκείνῳ φείδεσθαι τοῦ τυράννου, πρὸς ἐτέρους ἤδη προστάτας ἀπέβλεπον· καὶ μάλιστα πυνθανόμενοι καταπλεῖν Ἑρακλείδην
 2 ἀνεπτοήθησαν. ἦν δὲ τῶν φυγάδων Ἑρακλείδης, στρατηγικὸς μὲν ἄνθρωπος καὶ γνώριμος ἀφ' ἡγεμονίας ἦν ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις, οὐκ ἀραρῶς δὲ τὴν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα κοῦφος, ἥκιστα δὲ βέβαιος ἐν κοινωνίᾳ πραγμάτων ἀρχὴν ἐχόντων καὶ δόξαν. οὗτος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πρὸς Δίωνα στασιάσας ἔγνω καθ' αὐτὸν ιδιόστολος πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, εἰς τε Συρακούσας ἀφικόμενος ἐπτά τριήρεσι καὶ τρισὶ πλοίοις Διονύσιον μὲν αὖθις εὔρε περιτετειχισμένον, ἐπηρμένους δὲ
 3 τοὺς Συρακουσίους. εὐθύς οὖν ὑπεδύετο τὴν τῶν πολλῶν χάριν, ἔχων μὲν τι καὶ φύσει πιθανὸν καὶ κινητικὸν ὄχλον θεραπεύεσθαι ζητοῦντος, ὑπολαμβάνων δὲ καὶ μετάγων ῥᾶον αὐτούς, οἳ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ Δίωνος ὡς βαρὺ καὶ δυσπολίτευτον ἀπεστρέφοντο διὰ τὴν γεγενημένην ἐκ τοῦ κρατεῖν ἄνεσιν καὶ θρασύτητα, πρὸ τοῦ δήμος εἶναι τὸ δημαγωγεῖσθαι θέλοντες.

XXXIII. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἐκκλήσιαν ἀφ' αὐτῶν συνδραμόντες εἶλοντο τὸν Ἑρακλείδην ναύαρχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δίων παρελθὼν ἡττιάτο τὴν ἐκείνῳ διδομένην ἀρχὴν ἀφαίρεσιν εἶναι τῆς πρότερον αὐτῷ δεδομένης, οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ

DION

Dion, who was resisting in behalf of honour and justice such strong claims of relationship, but they found occasion for suspecting and fearing him, on the ground that he was under a strong necessity of sparing Dionysius, and at once turned their eyes towards other leaders. And particularly, when they learned that Heracleides was putting in to the harbour, they were all excitement. Now, Heracleides was one of the exiles, a man of military capacity and well known for the commands which he had held under the tyrants, but irresolute, fickle, and least to be relied upon as partner in an enterprise involving power and glory. He had quarrelled with Dion in Peloponnesus, and had resolved to sail on his own account and with his own fleet against the tyrant; but when he reached Syracuse, with seven triremes and three transports, he found Dionysius once more beleaguered, and the Syracusans elated with victory. At once, then, he sought to win the favour of the multitude, having a certain natural gift of persuading and moving a populace that seeks to be courted, and winning them over to his following all the more easily because they were repelled by the gravity of Dion. This they resented as severe and out of place in a public man, because their power had given them license and boldness, and they wished to be flattered by popular leaders before they were really a people.

XXXIII. So, to begin with, they held an assembly of their own calling, and chose Heracleides admiral. But Dion came forward and protested that in giving this office to Heracleides, they had done away with that which they had before given to him, for he would no longer be general with absolute powers

- μένειν, ἂν ἄλλος ἡγήται τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἄκοντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι πάλιν ἀπεψηφίσαντο
 2 τὸν Ἡρακλείδην. γενομένων δὲ τούτων μετα-
 πεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Δίων οἴκαδε, καὶ μικρὰ
 μεμψάμενος, ὥς οὐ καλῶς οὐδὲ συμφερόντως ὑπὲρ
 δόξης στασιάζοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ ῥοπῆς
 ὀλίγης δεομένῳ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν, αὐθις ἐκκλησίαν
 αὐτὸς συναγαγὼν ναύαρχον ἀπέδειξε τὸν Ἡρα-
 κλείδην, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔπεισε φυλακὴν δοῦναι
 3 τοὺς πολίτας, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ τῷ μὲν
 λόγῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι τὸν Δίωνα θεραπεύων καὶ
 χάριν ὁμολογῶν ἔχειν παρηκολούθει ταπεινός, 973
 ὑπηρετῶν τὸ κελευόμενον, κρύφα δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς
 καὶ νεωτεριστὰς διαφθείρων καὶ ὑποκινῶν, θορύ-
 βους τὸν Δίωνα περιέβαλλεν, εἰς ἅπασαν ἀπορίαν
 4 καθιστάμενον. εἴτε γὰρ ἀφίεναι κελεύοι Διονύ-
 σιον ὑπόσπονδον ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας, διαβολὴν εἶχε
 φείδεσθαι καὶ περισώζειν ἐκείνον, εἴτε λυπεῖν μὴ
 βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἡσυχάζοι, δια-
 τηρεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν πόλεμον, ὥς μᾶλλον ἄρχοι καὶ
 καταπλήττειτο τοὺς πολίτας.

- XXXIV. Ἦν δέ τις Σῶσις, ἄνθρωπος ἐκ πονη-
 ρίας καὶ θρασύτητος εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ τοῖς Συρα-
 κουσίοις, περιουσίαν ἡγουμένοις ἐλευθερίας τὸ
 μέχρι τοιούτων ἀνείσθαι τὴν παρρησίαν. οὗτος
 ἐπιβουλευὼν Δίῳ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκκλησίας οὔσης
 ἀναστὰς πολλὰ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐλοιδόρησεν,
 εἰ μὴ συνιᾷσιν ὥς ἐμπλήκτου καὶ μεθυούσης
 ἀπηλλαγμένοι τυραννίδος ἐγρηγορότα καὶ νήφοντα
 2 δεσπότην εἰλήφασιν· ἔπειτα φανερόν τοῦ Δίωνος
 ἐχθρόν ἀναδείξας ἑαυτὸν τότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
 ἀπῆλθε, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ γυμνὸς ὦφθη διὰ τῆς

DION

if another should have command of the navy. Then the Syracusans reluctantly revoked the appointment of Heracleides. When this had been done, Dion summoned Heracleides to his house and gently reproached him, on the ground that he was not acting well or wisely in quarrelling with him for honours at a crisis where a slight impulse might ruin their cause. Then he himself called a fresh assembly and appointed Heracleides admiral, and persuaded the citizens to give him a body-guard, like his own. In word and mien, now, Heracleides paid court to Dion, acknowledged his thanks to him, and attended submissively upon him, performing his commands; but in secret he perverted and stirred up the multitude and the revolutionaries, and encompassed Dion with disturbances which reduced him to utter perplexity. For if he advised to let Dionysius leave the citadel under a truce, he would be charged with sparing and preserving him; and if, wishing to give no offence, he simply continued the siege, it would be said that he was protracting the war, in order that he might the longer be in command and overawe the citizens.

XXXIV. Now, there was a certain Sosis, a man whose baseness and impudence gave him renown in Syracuse, where it was thought that abundance of liberty could only be shown by such license of speech as his. This man, with hostile designs upon Dion, first rose in an assembly and roundly abused the Syracusans for not comprehending that they had merely exchanged a stupid and drunken tyrant for a watchful and sober master; and having thus declared himself an open enemy of Dion, he left the assembly. Next, on the following day he was seen running

πόλεως θέων ἀνάπλεως αἵματος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ
 τὸ πρόσωπον, ὥς δὴ τινὰς φεύγων διώκοντας.
 ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ
 τῶν ξένων τοῦ Δίωνος ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι, καὶ τὴν
 3 κεφαλὴν ἐπεδείκνυε τετρωμένην· καὶ πολλοὺς
 εἶχε τοὺς συναγανακτοῦντας καὶ συνισταμένους
 κατὰ τοῦ Δίωνος, ὥς δεινὰ καὶ τυραννικὰ πράτ-
 τοντος, εἰ φόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν
 ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν παρρησίαν. οὐ μὲν ἄλλὰ, καίπερ
 ἀκρίτου καὶ ταραχώδους ἐκκλησίας γενομένης,
 παρελθὼν ὁ Δίων ὑπελογεῖτο καὶ τὸν Σῶσιν
 ἀπέφαινε τῶν Διονυσίου δορυφόρων ἑνὸς ἀδελφὸν
 ὄντα καὶ δι' ἐκείνου πεπεισμένον στασιάσαι καὶ
 συνταράξαι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδεμιᾶς Διονυσίῳ σωτη-
 ρίας οὔσης, πλὴν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπιστίας καὶ δια-
 4 φορᾶς πρὸς αὐτούς. ἅμα δ' οἱ μὲν ἱατροὶ τοῦ
 Σώσιδος τὸ τραῦμα καταμανθάνοντες εὕρισκον
 ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς μᾶλλον ἢ καταφορᾶς γεγεννημένον.
 αἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ξίφους πληγαὶ μάλιστα τὸ μέσον
 ὑπὸ βάρους πιέζουσι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σώσιδος λεπτὸν
 ἦν διόλου καὶ πολλὰς εἶχεν ἀρχάς, ὥς εἰκός, ὑπ'
 5 ἀλγηδόνης ἀνιέντος, εἶτα αὐθις ἐπάγοντος. ἤκον
 δέ τινες τῶν γνωρίμων ξυρὸν κομίζοντες εἰς τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ διηγούμενοι βαδίζουσιν αὐτοῖς
 καθ' ὁδὸν ἀπαντῆσαι τὸν Σῶσιν ἡμαγμένον καὶ
 λέγοντα φεύγειν τοὺς Δίωνος ξένους ὥς ἀρτίως
 ὑπ' ἐκείνων τετρωμένος· εὐθύς οὖν διώκοντες
 ἄνθρωπον μὲν οὐδένα λαβεῖν, ὑπὸ πέτραν δὲ
 κοίλην κείμενον ἰδεῖν ξυρὸν, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ὤφθη
 προσερχόμενος.

XXXV. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἤδη μοχθηρὰ τὰ περὶ τὸν

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through the city almost naked, his head and face covered with blood, as though he were trying to escape pursuit. In this condition he dashed into the assembly and told the people there that he had been set upon by Dion's mercenaries, and showed them his head with its wounds. He found many to share his resentment and take sides with him against Dion, who, they said, was committing dire acts of tyranny, if by murder and peril of life he sought to rob the citizens of their free speech. However, although the assembly had become confused and tumultuous, Dion came forward and showed in his own defence that Sosis was a brother of one of the body-guards of Dionysius, and had been induced by him to raise confusion and faction among the citizens, since there was no safety for Dionysius except in their mutual distrust and dissension. At the same time, too, the physicians examined the wound of Sosis and discovered that it had been made by razure rather than by a downright blow. For the blows of a sword, by reason of its weight, make wounds that are deepest in the middle, but that of Sosis was shallow all along, and intermittent, as would be natural if he stopped his work on account of pain, and then began it again. Besides, certain well known persons brought a razor to the assembly, and stated that as they were walking along the street, Sosis met them, all bloody, and declaring that he was running away from Dion's mercenaries, by whom he had just been wounded; at once, then, they ran after them, and found no one, but saw a razor lying under a hollow rock in the quarter from which Sosis had been seen to come.

XXXV. Well, then, the case of Sosis was already

Σώσιν· προσγενομένων δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἐλέγχοις οἰκετῶν καταμαρτυρούντων ὥς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξέλθαι μόνος ἔχων τὸ ξυρόν, οἳ τε κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Δίωνος ὑπεχώρησαν ὃ τε δῆμος καταψηφισάμενος θάνατον τοῦ Σώσιδος διηλλάσσετο τῷ Δίῳνι.

- 2 Τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐν ὑποψίαις εἶχον, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πλείστων ἀγώνων πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἤδη γινομένων κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιστος ἤκεν ἐξ Ἰαπυγίας ἔχων πολλὰς τριήρεις Διονυσίῳ βοηθήσων, καὶ τῶν ξένων ὄντων ὀπλιτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἔτι χρήσιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κάκείνους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἔσεσθαι ναυβάταις οὔσι καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐκ τῶν
- 3 νεῶν κτωμένοις. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπῆρεν εὐτυχία τις γενομένη κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐν ἣ νικῆσαντες τὸν Φίλιστον ὡμῶς καὶ βαρβαρικῶς αὐτῷ προσηνέχθησαν. Ἐφορος μὲν οὖν φησιν ὡς ἀλίσκομένης τῆς νεῶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέλοι, Τιμωνίδης δὲ πραττομέναις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῖς πράξεσι ταύταις 974 μετὰ Δίωνος παραγενόμενος καὶ γράφων πρὸς Σπεύσιππον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἱστορεῖ ζῶντα λεφθῆναι τῆς τριήρους εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσούσης τὸν
- 4 Φίλιστον· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποδύσαντας αὐτοῦ τὸν θώρακα τοὺς Συρακουσίους καὶ γυμνὸν ἐπιδειξαμένους τὸ σῶμα προπηλακίζειν ὄντος ἤδη γέροντος· ἔπειτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ τοῖς παισὶ παραδοῦναι τὸ σῶμα, κελεύσαντας ἔλκειν διὰ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Λατο-
- 5 μίας. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφυβρίζων ὁ Τίμαιος ἐκ τοῦ σκέλους φησὶ τοῦ χωλοῦ τὰ παιδάρια τὸν νεκρὸν ἐφαψάμενα τοῦ Φιλίστου σύρειν διὰ τῆς πόλεως, χλευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακουσίων πάντων,

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desperate ; but when, in addition to these proofs, his servants testified that while it was still night he had left the house alone and carrying the razor, Dion's accusers withdrew, and the people, after condemning Sosis to death, were reconciled with Dion.

However, they were none the less suspicious of his mercenaries, and especially so, now that most of the struggles against the tyrant were carried on at sea, since Philistus had come from Iapygia with a large number of triremes to help Dionysius ; and since the mercenaries were men-at-arms, they thought them of no further use for the war, nay, they felt that even these troops were dependent for protection upon the citizens themselves, who were seamen, and derived their power from their fleet. And they were still more elated by a successful engagement at sea, in which they defeated Philistus, and then treated him in a barbarous and savage fashion. Ephorus, it is true, says that when his ship was captured, Philistus slew himself ; but Timonides, who was engaged with Dion in all the events of this war from the very first, in writing to Speusippus the philosopher, relates that Philistus was taken alive after his trireme had run aground, and that the Syracusans, to begin with, stripped off his breast-plate and exposed his body, almost naked, to insult and abuse, although he was now an old man ; then, that they cut off his head, and gave his body to the boys of the city, with orders to drag it through Achradina and throw it into the stone quarries. And Timaeus, enlarging upon these indignities, says that the boys tied a rope to the lame leg of the dead Philistus and dragged his body through the city, while all the Syracusans mocked and jeered as they saw drawn about by the

ὁρώντων τοῦ σκέλους ἐλκόμενον τὸν εἰπόντα μὴ δεῖν ἐκ τυραννίδος φεύγειν Διονύσιον ἵππῳ ταχεῖ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σκέλους ἐλκόμενον. καίτοι τοῦτο Φίλιστος, ὡς ὑφ' ἑτέρου λεχθέν, οὐχ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐξήγγελκεν.

XXXVI. Ἀλλὰ Τίμαιος οὐκ ἄδικον λαβὼν πρόφασιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς τυραννίδος τοῦ Φιλίστου σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν ἐμπίπλαται τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημιῶν, ὧς τοὺς μὲν ἀδικηθέντας τότε συγγνωστόν ἐστιν ἴσως ἄχρι τῆς εἰς ἀναίσθητον ὀργῆς χαλεποὺς γενέσθαι, τοὺς δ' ὕστερον συγγράφοντας τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ τῷ μὲν βίῳ μὴ λυπηθέντας αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ χρωμένους, ἡ δόξα παραιτεῖται μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως μηδὲ μετὰ βωμολοχίας ὀνειδίζειν τὰς συμφοράς, ὧν οὐδὲν ἀπέχει καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τύχης μετασχεῖν.

2 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' Ἐφορος ὑγιαίνει τὸν Φίλιστον ἐγκωμιάζων, ὅς, καίπερ ὧν δεινότατος ἀδίκους πράγμασι καὶ πονηροῖς ἤθεσιν εὐσχήμονας αἰτίας περιβαλεῖν καὶ λόγους ἔχοντας κόσμον ἐξευρεῖν, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν οὐ δύναται πάντα μηχανώμενος ἐξελέσθαι τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς οὐ φιλοτυραννότατος ἀνθρώπων γένοιτο καὶ μάλιστα πάντων αἰὲλ ζηλώσας καὶ θαυμάσας τρυφὴν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ πλούτους καὶ γάμους τοὺς τῶν τυράννων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Φιλίστου μὲν ὁ μήτε τὰς πράξεις ἐπαινῶν μήτε τὰς τύχας ὀνειδίζων ἐμμελέστατος.

XXXVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίστου τελευτὴν Διονύσιος ἔπεμπε πρὸς Δίωνα τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν ἐκείνῳ παραδιδούς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ πέντε μηνῶν ἐντελῇ τούτοις μισθόν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀξίων ὑπόσπονδος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπελθεῖν

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leg the man who had said to Dionysius that he must not run away from his tyranny on a swift horse, but wait until he was dragged from it by the leg. And yet Philistus has stated explicitly that this was said to Dionysius by another, and not by himself.

XXXVI. But Timaeus, finding a fair excuse for his animosity in the zeal and fidelity which Philistus showed in behalf of the tyranny, gluts himself with the slanders against him. Now, those who were wronged by Philistus while he lived may perhaps be pardoned for carrying their resentment to the length of maltreating his unconscious body; but those who in later times write histories of that period, and who were not harmed by his life, but avail themselves of his writings, owe it to his reputation not to reproach him, in insolent and scurrilous language, for calamities in which fortune may involve even the best of men. However, Ephorus also is unsound in heaping praises upon Philistus; for, although he is most skilful in furnishing unjust deeds and base natures with specious motives, and in discovering decorous names for them, still, even he, with all his artifice, cannot extricate himself from the charge of having been the greatest lover of tyrants alive, and more than any one else always an emulous admirer of luxury, power, wealth, and marriage alliances of tyrants. Verily, he who neither praises the conduct of Philistus, nor gloats insultingly over his misfortunes, takes the fittest course.

XXXVII. After the death of Philistus, Dionysius sent to Dion offering to surrender to him the acropolis, his munitions of war, and his mercenaries, with five months' full pay for these, and demanding for himself the privilege of retiring unmolested into

- κακεῖ κατοικῶν καρποῦσθαι τῆς Συρακουσίας τὸν καλούμενον Γύαρτα, πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν χώραν
- 2 ἀνήκουσαν ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον. οὐ προσδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος, ἀλλὰ δεῖσθαι τῶν Συρακουσίων κελεύσαντος, οἱ μὲν Συρακούσιοι ζῶντα λήψεσθαι τὸν Διονύσιον ἐλπίσαντες ἀπήλασαν τοὺς πρέσβεις, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν Ἀπολλοκράτει, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων, παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πνεῦμα τηρήσας ἐπίφορον καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐνθέμενος εἰς τὰς ναῦς λαθὼν τὸν ναυάρχον Ἡρακλείδην ἐξέπλευσεν.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ κακῶς ἀκούων καὶ θορυβούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν Ἰππωνά τινα τῶν δημαγωγῶν καθίησι προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμόν, ὥς ἐλευθερίας ἀρχὴν οὔσαν τὴν ἰσότητα, δουλείας δὲ τὴν πενίαν τοῖς ἀκτήμοσι. συνηγορῶν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Δίωνα καταστασιάζων ἐναντιούμενον ἔπεισε τοὺς Συρακουσίους ταῦτα ψηφίσασθαι καὶ τῶν ξένων τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερεῖν καὶ στρατηγούς ἐτέρους ἐλέσθαι, τῆς ἐκείνου βαρύτητος
- 4 ἀπαλλαγέντας. οἱ δ', ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀρρωστίας τῆς τυραννίδος εὐθύς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐξάνιστασθαι, καὶ πράττειν τὰ τῶν αὐτονομουμένων 975 παρὰ καιρόν, ἐσφάλλοντο μὲν αὐτοὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἐμίσουν δὲ τὸν Δίωνα βουλόμενον ὥσπερ ἱατρὸν ἐν ἀκριβεῖ καὶ σωφρονούσῃ διαίτῃ κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

XXXVIII. Ἐκκλησιάζουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ νέαις ἀρχαῖς, θέρους μεσοῦντος, ἐξαίσιοι βρονταὶ καὶ διοσημίαι πονηραὶ συνέβαινον ἐφ' ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε συνεχῶς, ἀνιστᾶσαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ δεισι-

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Italy, and of enjoying during his residence there the revenues of Gyarta, a large and rich tract in the territory of Syracuse, extending from the sea to the interior of the island. Dion, however, would not accept these terms, but bade him apply to the Syracusans, and these, hoping to take Dionysius alive, drove away his ambassadors. Upon this, the tyrant handed over the citadel to Apollocrates, his eldest son, while he himself, after watching for a favourable wind and putting on board his ships the persons and property that he held most dear, eluded the vigilance of Heracleides the admiral, and sailed off.

Heracleides was now stormily denounced by the citizens, whereupon he induced Hippo, one of their leaders, to make proposals to the people for a distribution of land, urging that liberty was based on equality, and slavery on the poverty of those who had naught. Supporting Hippo, and heading a faction which overwhelmed the opposition of Dion, Heracleides persuaded the Syracusans to vote this measure, to deprive the mercenaries of their pay, and to elect other generals, thus ridding themselves of the severities of Dion. So the people, attempting, as it were, to stand at once upon their feet after their long sickness of tyranny, and to act the part of independence out of season, stumbled in their undertakings, and yet hated Dion, who, like a physician, wished to subject the city to a strict and temperate regimen.

XXXVIII. As they met in assembly to assign new commands, the time being midsummer, extraordinary peals of thunder and evil portents from the heavens occurred for fifteen days together, and dispersed the

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- δαιμονίας κωλυόμενον ἐτέρους ἀποδείξαι στρατη-
 2 γούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φυλάξαντες εὐδίαν σταθερὰν οἱ
 δημαγωγοὶ συνετέλουν τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, βούς
 ἀμαξεύς οὐκ ἀθήης οὐδ' ἄπειρος ὄχλων, ἄλλως δέ
 πως τότε πρὸς τὸν ἐλαύνοντα θυμωθεὶς καὶ φυγὼν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ, δρόμῳ πρὸς τὸ θέατρον ὤρμησε·
 καὶ τὸν μὲν δῆμον εὐθύς ἀνέστησε καὶ διεσκέ-
 δασεν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ φεύγοντα, τῆς δ' ἄλλης
 πόλεως ἐπέδραμε σκιρτῶν καὶ ταραττῶν ὅσον
 ὕστερον οἱ πολέμοι κατέσχον. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ
 ταῦτα χαίρειν ἐάσαντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι πέντε
 καὶ εἴκοσι στρατηγούς ἐχειροτόνησαν, ὧν εἷς ἦν
 3 Ἡρακλείδης· καὶ τοὺς ξένους ὑποπέμποντες
 κρύφα τοῦ Δίωνος ἀφίστασαν καὶ μετεκάλουν
 πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ τῆς πολιτείας
 ἰσομοιρίαν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ προσεδέξαντο,
 τὸν δὲ Δίωνα πιστῶς καὶ προθύμως μετὰ τῶν
 ὀπλῶν ἀναλαβόντες καὶ συμφράξαντες ὑπῆγον ἐκ
 τῆς πόλεως, ἀδικοῦντες μὲν οὐδένα, πολλὰ δὲ
 τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ μοχθη-
 4 ρίαν ὀνειδίζοντες. οἱ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγότητος αὐτῶν
 καὶ τοῦ μὴ προεπιχειρεῖν καταφρονήσαντες, καὶ
 γενόμενοι πολὺ πλείους ἐκείνων, ἐφώρμησαν ὡς
 ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσουντες ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πάντας
 αὐτοὺς κατακτενοῦντες.

XXXIX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γεγονὼς ἀνάγκης καὶ
 τύχης ὁ Δίων ἢ μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις ἢ μετὰ
 τῶν ξένων ἀποθανεῖν, πολλὰ μὲν ἰκέτευεν ὀρέγων
 τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς Συρακουσίοις καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν

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people, whose superstitious fears prevented them from appointing other generals. And when, after waiting for settled fair weather, the popular leaders were proceeding to hold the elections, a draught-ox, who was quite accustomed to crowds, but now for some reason or other got angry at his driver and broke away from the yoke, made a dash for the theatre, and at once dispersed and scattered the people in disorderly flight; then he ran, plunging and throwing everything into confusion, over as much of the rest of the city as the enemy afterwards occupied. However, the Syracusans paid no heed to all this, but elected twenty-five generals, one of whom was Heraclides; they also sent secretly and without his knowledge to Dion's mercenaries, and tried to get them to leave his service and come over to their side, promising them even an equality of civic rights. They, however, would not listen to these proposals, but showing fidelity and zeal, took their weapons in their hands, put Dion in their midst, encompassed him about, and tried to conduct him out of the city, doing violence to no one, but roundly reviling those whom they encountered for their base ingratitude. Then the citizens, seeing that the mercenaries were few in number and did not offer to attack, despised them, and having become far more numerous than they, set upon them, thinking to overpower them easily before they got out of the city, and slay them all.

XXXIX. And now Dion, seeing that fortune compelled him either to fight against his fellow citizens or perish with his mercenaries, fervently besought the Syracusans, stretching out his hands to them,

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- περίπλεων πολεμίων οὔσαν ὑπερφαινομένων τὰ
 2 *τείχη καὶ τὰ γενόμενα καθορώντων ἐπιδεικνύ-
 μενος· ὡς δ' ἦν ἀπαραίτητος ἡ τῶν πολλῶν φορὰ
 καὶ κατεῖχεν ὥσπερ ἐν πελάγει τὸ τῶν δημαγω-
 γῶν πνεῦμα τὴν πόλιν, ἐμβολῆς μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι
 τοῖς ξένοις προσέταξεν, ὅσον δ' ἐπιδραμόντων
 μετὰ βοῆς καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις τιναξαμένων οὐδεὶς
 ἔμεινε τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἀλλ' ὄχοντο φεύγοντες
 ἀνὰ τὰς ἀγυίας, οὐδενὸς ἐπιδιώκοντος· εὐθύς γὰρ
 ἀπέστρέψεν ὁ Δίων τοὺς ξένους καὶ προῆγεν εἰς
 Λεοντίνους.*
- 3 *Οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τῶν Συρακουσίων καταγέλαστοι
 γεγονότες ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην
 ἀναλαβεῖν ζητοῦντες, αὐθις ὀπλίσαντες τοὺς
 πολίτας ἐδίωκον τὸν Δίωνα. καὶ κατέλαβον μὲν
 ἐπὶ διαβάσει τινὸς ποταμοῦ καὶ προσίππευσαν
 ἀψιμαχοῦντες· ὡς δ' ἑώρων οὐκέτι πρᾶως οὐδὲ
 πατρικῶς ὑπομένοντα τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ
 θυμῷ τοὺς ξένους ἐπιστρέφοντα καὶ παραταττό-
 μενον, αἰσχίονα φυγὴν τῆς προτέρας φυγόντες
 ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ πολλῶν ἀποθαν-
 όντων.*

- XL. Δίωνα δὲ Λεοντίνοι λαμπραῖς ἐδέχοντο
 τιμαῖς, καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀνελάμβανον μισθοῖς καὶ
 πολιτείαις· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπρέ-
 σβενον ἀξιοῦντες τὰ δίκαια τοῖς ξένοις ποιεῖν. οἱ
 δὲ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν κατηγορήσαντας Δίωνος*
- 2 *τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἀπάντων εἰς Λεοντίνους ἀθροί-
 σθέντων καὶ γενομένων λόγων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἔδοξαν
 ἀδικεῖν οἱ Συρακούσιοι· τοῖς δὲ κριθεῖσιν ὑπὸ
 τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τρυφῶντες ἤδη καὶ*

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and pointing out to them the acropolis, which was full of enemies peering over the walls and watching what was going on below ; but since no entreaties could stay the onset of the multitudes, and the city, like a ship at sea, was at the mercy of the blasts of its demagogues, he ordered his mercenaries not to make a charge, but simply to run towards their assailants with loud cries and brandishing of weapons ; which being done, not a Syracusan stood his ground, but all promptly took to flight along the streets, where none pursued them. For Dion immediately ordered his men to wheel about, and led them forth to Leontini.

But the leaders of the Syracusans, now that they were become a laughing-stock for the women, sought to redeem their disgrace, armed the citizens again, and pursued after Dion. They came upon him as he was crossing a river, and their horsemen rode up for a skirmish ; but when they saw that he no longer bore with their faults in a mild and paternal spirit, but was angrily wheeling his mercenaries about and putting them in battle array, they broke into a more disgraceful flight than before, and retired into the city, with the loss of a few men.

XL. The Leontines received Dion with splendid honours, took his mercenaries into their service, and gave them civic rights ; they also sent an embassy to the Syracusans with a demand that they should do the mercenaries justice. The Syracusans, however, sent envoys to denounce Dion. But when all the confederates had assembled at Leontini and discussed the matter, it was decided that the Syracusans were in the wrong. By this decision of their confederates, however, the Syracusans would not abide,

μεγαλοφρονούντες ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ
χρησθαι δουλεύουσι καὶ φοβουμένοις τὸν δῆμον
στρατηγοῖς.

- XLI. Ἐκ τούτου καταπλέουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
παρὰ Διονυσίου τριῆρεις Νύψιον ἄγουσαι τὸν 976
Νεαπολίτην, σῖτον καὶ χρήματα κομίζοντα τοῖς
πολιορκουμένοις. γενομένης δὲ ναυμαχίας ἐνίκων
μὲν οἱ Συρακούσιοι καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν τυραννικῶν
νεῶν ἔλαβον, ὑβρίσαντες δὲ τῇ νίκῃ, καὶ δι'
ἀναρχίαν τὸ χαῖρον εἰς πότους καὶ συνουσίας
μανικὰς τρέψαντες, οὕτω τῶν χρησίμων ἡμέλη-
σαν ὥστε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχειν δοκούντες ἤδη καὶ
2 τὴν πόλιν προσapéβαλον. ὁ γὰρ Νύψιος ὁρῶν
οὐδὲν ὑγιαῖνον ἐν τῇ πόλει μέρος, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν
ὄχλον αὐλήμασι καὶ μέθαις εἰς νύκτα βαθεῖαν
ἀφ' ἡμέρας κατεχόμενον, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς
ἐπιτερπομένους τε τούτῳ τῷ πανηγυρισμῷ καὶ
προσάγειν ἀνάγκην μεθύουσιν ἀνθρώποις ὀκνοῦν-
τας, ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος ἐπεχείρησε τῷ
τειχίσματι· καὶ κρατήσας καὶ διαθρύψας ἐφῆκε
τοὺς βαρβάρους, κελεύσας χρησθαι τοῖς προσ-
3 τυγχάνουσιν ὡς βούλονται καὶ δύνανται. ταχέως
μὲν οὖν οἱ Συρακούσιοι τὸ κακὸν ἤσθοντο, βραδέ-
ως δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς συνεβοήθουν ἐκπεπληγμένοι.
πόρθησις γὰρ ἦν τὰ γινόμενα τῆς πόλεως, τῶν
μὲν ἀνδρῶν φονευομένων, τῶν δὲ τειχῶν κατα-
σκαπτομένων, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ παίδων ἀγομένων
εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετ' οἰμωγῆς, ἀπεγνωκότων δὲ
τὰ πράγματα τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ χρησθαι μὴ
δυναμένων τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
ἀναπεφυρμένους καὶ συμμεμιγμένους αὐτοῖς
πανταχόθεν.

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being now insolent and full of pride because they were subject to no one, but had generals who were in slavish fear of the people.

XLI. After this, there put in at the city triremes from Dionysius, under the command of Nypsius the Neapolitan, who brought food and money for the beleaguered garrison of the acropolis. In a naval battle that ensued the Syracusans were indeed victorious, and captured four of the tyrant's ships, but they were made wanton by their victory, and in their utter lack of discipline turned their rejoicing into drinking-bouts and mad carousals, and were so neglectful of their real interests that, when they thought themselves already in possession of the acropolis, they actually lost both it and their city besides. For Nypsius, seeing no saving remnant in the city, but the multitude given over to music and revelry from dawn till midnight, and their generals delighted with this festivity and reluctant to use compulsion with men in their cups, made the best use of his opportunity and attacked their siege-works, and having mastered these and broken them down, he let his Barbarians loose upon the city, bidding them treat those whom they encountered as they could and would. Quickly, then, were the Syracusans aware of the mischief, but slowly and with difficulty did they rally to oppose it, so utterly distracted were they. For it was a sack of the city that was now going on, its men being slain, its walls torn down, and its women and children dragged shrieking to the acropolis, while its generals gave up all for lost and were unable to employ the citizens against the enemy, who were everywhere inextricably mingled with them.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- XLII. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου πρὸς τὴν Ἀχραδινὴν πλησιάζοντος, εἰς ὃν μόνον ἦν καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπερείσασθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα πάντες μὲν ἐφρόνουν, ἔλεγε δὲ οὐδεῖς, αἰσχυνόμενοι τὴν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀβουλίαν τὴν πρὸς Δίωνα. πλὴν γε δὴ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐκβιαζομένης παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ἱππέων γίνεται φωνὴ καλεῖν Δίωνα καὶ μεταπέμ-
 2 πεσθαι τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐκ Λεοντίνων. ὥς δὲ πρῶτον ἠκούσθη καὶ ἀπετολμήθη τοῦτο, κραυγὴ καὶ χαρὰ καὶ δάκρυα τοὺς Συρακουσίους κατεΐχεν εὐχομένους ἐπιφανῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ποθοῦντας τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεμνημένους τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ῥώμης καὶ προθυμίας, ὥς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἦν ἀνέκπληκτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνους παρεῖχε
 3 θαρροῦντας καὶ ἀδεῶς τοῖς πολεμίοις συμφερομέ-
 4 νους. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐκπέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων Ἀρχωνίδην καὶ Τελεσίδην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων πέντε τοὺς περὶ Ἑλλάνικον. οὗτοι διελάσαντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἵπποις ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ἦκον εἰς Λεοντίνους τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη καταφερομένης. ἀποπηδήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῷ Δίῳ πρῶτῳ προσπεσόντες δεδακρυμένοι τὰς
 4 συμφορὰς τῶν Συρακουσίων ἔφραζον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν Λεοντίνων τινὲς ἀπήντων καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἠθροίζοντο πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα πολλοί, τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπονοοῦντες εἶναι τι καινότερον. εὐθὺς οὖν ἠγείτο πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συνδραμόντων προθύμως οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρχωνίδην καὶ τὸν Ἑλλάνικον εἰσελθόντες ἐξήγγειλάν τε βραχέως τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν, καὶ παρεκάλουν τοὺς ξένους ἐπαμῦναι

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XLII. While the city was in this plight and the Achradina in imminent peril, all knew who was the only man left upon whom they could fasten their hopes, but no one spoke his name, because they were ashamed of their ingratitude and folly towards Dion. However, now that necessity constrained them, some of the allies and horsemen cried out that Dion and his Peloponnesians should be summoned from Leontini. As soon as this venture was made and the name heard, the Syracusans fell to shouting and weeping for joy; they prayed that Dion might appear upon the scene, and yearned for the sight of him, and called to mind his ardour and vigour in the presence of danger, remembering that he was not only undaunted himself, but made them also bold and fearless in engaging their enemies. Immediately, therefore, they sent a delegation to him, Archonides and Telesides from the allies, and Hellanicus with four others from the horsemen. These, sending their horses over the road at full gallop, came to Leontini just as the sun was setting. Then, leaping from their horses and throwing themselves at the feet of Dion first of all, with streaming eyes they told him the calamities of the Syracusans. Presently, too, some of the Leontines came up and many of the Peloponnesians gathered about Dion, conjecturing from the haste and suppliant address of the men that something quite extraordinary was the matter. At once, then, Dion led his visitors to the place of assembly, the people eagerly gathered there, Archonides and Hellanicus with their companions came before them, reported to them briefly the great disaster, and called upon the mercenaries to put away their feelings of resentment and come to the

τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, τὸ μνησικακεῖν ἀφέντας, ὡς μείζονα δίκην δεδωκότων αὐτῶν ἢ λαβεῖν ἂν οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἤξιωσαν.

XLIII. Πανσαμένων δὲ τούτων σιγὴ μὲν εἶχε πολλή τὸ θέατρον· ἀναστάντος δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος καὶ λέγειν ἀρξαμένου πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων ἐκπίπτουτα τὴν φωνὴν ἐπέσχε· οἱ δὲ ξένοι παρεκάλουν θαρρεῖν καὶ συνήχθοντο. μικρὸν οὖν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ἑαυτὸν ὁ Δίων, “Ἄνδρες,” ἔφη, “Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, βουλευσομένους 2 ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν συνήγαγον. ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ βουλευέσθαι καλῶς οὐκ ἔχει 977 Συρακουσῶν ἀπολλυμένων, ἀλλ’ εἰ σῶσαι μὴ δυναίμην, ἅπειμι τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ πτώματι τῆς πατρίδος ἐνταφισόμενος. ὑμεῖς δέ, βουλόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀβουλοτάτοις ἡμῖν καὶ δυστυχεστάτοις, ὑμέτερον ἔργον οὔσαν ὀρθοῦτε τὴν Συρακουσίῳ πόλιν· εἰ δὲ μεμφόμενοι Συρακουσίοις ὑπερόψεσθε, τῆς γε πρότερον ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας περὶ ἐμὲ χάριν ἀξίαν κομίζοισθε παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, μεμνημένοι Δίωνος, ὡς οὐθ’ ὑμᾶς ἀδικουμένους πρότερον οὐθ’ ὕστερον τοὺς πολίτας δυστυχούοντας ἐγκαταλιπόντος.”

3 Ἐτι δ’ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ξένοι μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀνεπήδησαν ἄγειν καὶ βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος κελεύοντες, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Συρακουσίων περιβαλόντες ἡσπάσαντο πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνῳ, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐχόμενοι.

DION

aid of the Syracusans, since those who had wronged them had suffered a heavier punishment than those who had been wronged would have thought it right to exact.

XLIII. When the messengers had made an end of speaking, there was a profound silence in the theatre; then Dion rose and began to speak, but copious tears checked his utterance; his mercenaries, however, sympathized with him and bade him take heart. Accordingly, after he had recovered a little from his grief, he said: "Men of Peloponnesus and allies, I have brought you together here to deliberate upon your own course of action. As for me, it is not meet that I should consult my own interests now that Syracuse is perishing, but if I cannot save her, I shall return to seek a grave amid the blazing ruins of my native city. But you, if you are willing even now, after all that has passed, to come to our help, who are the most foolish and the most unfortunate of men, pray restore the city of Syracuse and the work of your own hands.¹ If, however, in your displeasure at the Syracusans, you shall leave them to their fate, at least for your former bravery and zeal in my behalf may you obtain a worthy reward from the gods, and may you think of Dion as one who abandoned neither you when you were wronged, nor, afterwards, his fellow citizens when they were in distress."

While he was still speaking, the mercenaries sprang to their feet with shouts and bade him lead them speedily to the city's relief, while the Syracusan envoys embraced them passionately, invoking many blessings from the gods upon Dion, and many upon

¹ Syracuse was colonized from Corinth, in Peloponnesus.

καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου παρήγγειλεν ὁ Δίων εὐθὺς ἀπιόντας παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ δειπνήσαντας ἤκειν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον, ἐγνωκὼς διὰ νυκτὸς βοηθεῖν.

XLIV. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Συρακούσαις τῶν Διονυσίου στρατηγῶν, ἄχρι μὲν ἦν ἡμέρα, πολλὰ κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐργασαμένων, γενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς ἀναχωρησάντων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τινὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὀλίγους ἀποβαλόντων, ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπίσαντες ἀτρεμήσειν ἐπὶ τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις, παρεκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας αὐθις ἔαν Δίωνα, καὶ προσίῃ μετὰ τῶν ξένων, μὴ δέχεσθαι μηδὲ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνοις ὥς κρείττοσιν, ἀλλὰ σώξειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς δι' 2 ἑαυτῶν. πάλιν οὖν ἐπέμποντο πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα, παρὰ μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀποτρέποντες, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων πολιτῶν ἐπισπεύδοντες τὴν πορείαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βραδέως ἄμα καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν πορευόμενος προσήει. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς προελθούσης οἱ μὲν μισοῦντες τὸν Δίωνα κατεῖχον τὰς πύλας ὥς ἀποκλείουσιν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ Νύψιος, ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας αὐθις πολλῶ προθυμότερους γεγονότας καὶ πλείονας ἐφίεις τοὺς μισθοφόρους, τὸ μὲν προτείχισμα πᾶν εὐθὺς κατέσκαπτε, 3 τὴν δὲ πόλιν κατέτρεχε καὶ διήρπαζεν. ἦν δὲ φόνος μὲν οὐκέτι μόνον ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, ἄρπαγαὶ δ' ὀλίγαι, φθόρος δὲ πάντων πολὺς. ἀπεγνωκὸς γὰρ ἤδη τὰ πράγματα τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους δεινῶς μεμνηκός, ὥσπερ ἐνταφιάσαι τὴν τυραννίδα τῇ πόλει πίπτουσιν ἐβούλετο. καὶ τοῦ Δίωνος

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his mercenaries. And when the tumult was allayed, Dion ordered his men to go to their quarters and make themselves ready, and, after taking supper, to come with their arms to that very place, for he was determined to go to the rescue by night.

XLIV. But the soldiers of Dionysius at Syracuse, as long as it was day, did much mischief to the city; when night came, however, they retired to the acropolis, having lost some few of their number. Upon this, the popular leaders of the Syracusans plucked up courage, and in the hope that the enemy would rest content with what they had done, exhorted the citizens once more to ignore Dion, and if he should come up with his mercenaries, not to admit them, nor yield precedence to them as superior in point of bravery, but to save their city and their liberty by their own efforts. Accordingly, fresh messengers were sent to Dion, some from the generals forbidding his advance, but others from the horsemen and more reputable citizens urging him to hasten it. For this reason he came marching on now slowly, and now at top speed. As the night advanced the enemies of Dion took possession of the gates in order to shut him out, but Nysius, sending his mercenaries once more from the citadel in greater numbers and with more impetuosity than before, tore down at once the entire siege-wall, and overran and sacked the city. And now there was a slaughter not only of men, but also of women and children; there was little haling away of prisoners, but a great destruction of all alike. For since Dionysius now despaired of his cause and fiercely hated the Syracusans, he wished to make their city as it were a tomb for his falling tyranny. So his soldiers, fore-

προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπὶ τὸν ὀξύ-
 τατον διὰ πυρὸς πάντων ὀλεθρον καὶ ἀφανισμόν
 ἐχώρησαν, τὰ μὲν ἐγγὺς ἀπὸ χειρῶν δασὶ καὶ
 λαμπάσιν ὑποπιμπράντες, εἰς δὲ τὰ πρόσω δια-
 4 σπείροντες ἀπὸ τόξων πυροβόλους. φευγόντων δὲ
 τῶν Συρακουσίων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐφονεύοντο
 καταλαμβανόμενοι, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καταδύο-
 μενον αὐθις ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξέπιπτε, πολλῶν ἤδη
 φλεγομένων καὶ καταφερομένων ἐπὶ τοὺς διαθέ-
 οντας.

XLV. Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν
 ἀνέφξε Δίῳνι πάντων συμφωνησάντων. ἔτυχε
 μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτι σπουδῇ πορευόμενος, ὥς ἤκουσεν
 εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατακεκλείσθαι τοὺς πολε-
 μίους. προΐούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτον ἰππεῖς
 ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ τὴν δευτέραν κατάληψιν ἀπαγ-
 γέλλοντες· ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ὑπεναντιουμένων ἔνιοι
 2 παρῆσαν ἐπείγεσθαι δεόμενοι. συντείνοντος δὲ
 τοῦ κακοῦ μᾶλλον Ἡρακλείδης τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐξέ-
 πεμψεν, εἴτα Θεοδότην τὸν θεῖον, ἰκετεύων ἀρή-
 γειν, ὥς μηδενὸς ἀντέχοντος τοῖς πολεμίοις,
 αὐτοῦ δὲ τετρωμένου, τῆς δὲ πόλεως μικρὸν ἀπε-
 χούσης ἀνατετράφθαι καὶ καταπεπρῆσθαι. τοιού-
 των ἀγγελμάτων τῷ Δίῳνι προσπεσόντων ἔτι μὲν
 ἐξήκοντα σταδίους τῶν πυλῶν ἀπεῖχε· φράσας δὲ
 τὸν κίνδυνον τοῖς ξένοις καὶ παρακελευσάμενος
 οὐκέτι βιάδην ἦγεν, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ τὸ στράτευμα 978
 πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀντιαζόντων
 3 καὶ δεομένων ἐπείγεσθαι. χρησάμενος δὲ θαυ-
 μαστῷ τάχει καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῶν ξένων εἰσέβαλε
 διὰ τῶν πυλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑκατόμπεδον λεγομένην
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐλαφροὺς εὐθύς ἀφῆκεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς

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stalling the succour which Dion was bringing, resorted to the speediest destruction and annihilation of everything by burning, setting fire to what was near them with the brands and torches in their hands, and scattering fiery arrows from their bows among the remoter parts. As the Syracusans fled, some were overtaken and slain in the streets, and those who sought cover in their houses were driven out again by the fire, many buildings being now ablaze and falling upon those who were running about.

XLV. Owing to this disaster more than to any thing else, the city was thrown open to Dion by unanimous consent. For he was no longer marching in haste, since he had heard that the enemy had shut themselves up in the acropolis. But as the day advanced, first, horsemen met him with tidings of the second capture of the city; next, even some of his opponents came with entreaties that he would hasten his march. Moreover, as the mischief grew worse, Heracleides sent out his brother, and then Theodotes his uncle, begging Dion to help them, since no one now resisted the enemy, he himself was wounded, and the city was almost demolished and consumed by fire. When these amazing messages reached Dion, he was still sixty furlongs distant from the city gates; but after telling his mercenaries of the city's peril and exhorting them, he led his army towards the city, no longer in marching step, but on the run, while one messenger after another met him and begged him to hasten. His mercenaries advancing with astonishing speed and ardour, he burst through the gates into what was called the Hecatompodon, and at once sent his light-armed troops to charge upon the enemy, in order

τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἰδοῦσι θαρσῆσαι τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἐγγένοιτο, τοὺς δ' ὀπλίτας αὐτὸς συνέταττε καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ἐπιρρέοντας καὶ συνισταμένους, ὀρθίους λόχους ποιῶν καὶ διαιρῶν τὰς ἡγεμονίας, ὅπως πολλαχόθεν ἅμα προσφέροιτο φοβερώτερον.

XLVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα παρασκευασάμενος καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς προσευξάμενος ὤφθη διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, κραυγὴ καὶ χαρὰ καὶ πολὺς ἀλαλαγμὸς εὐχαῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ παρακλήσεσι μεμιγμένος ἐγένετο παρὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων, τὸν μὲν Δίωνα σωτήρα καὶ θεὸν ἀποκαλούντων, τοὺς
2 δὲ ξένους ἀδελφούς καὶ πολίτας. οὐδεὶς δὲ φίλαυτος οὕτως¹ ἦν καὶ φιλόψυχος παρὰ τὸν τότε καιρὸν ὃς οὐ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ μόνον Δίωνος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀγωνιῶν ἐφαίνετο, πρώτου πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον πορευομένου δι' αἵματος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ νεκρῶν πολλῶν κειμένων ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων φοβερά παντάπασιν ἀπηγριωμένων καὶ παρατεταγμένων παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα χαλεπὴν ἔχον καὶ δυσεκβίαστον τὴν προσοδὸν· ὁ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς κίνδυνος ἐτάραττε μᾶλλον τοὺς ξένους καὶ δύσεργον ἐποίει
3 τὴν πορείαν. κύκλῳ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς περιελάμποντο τὰς οἰκίας περινεμομένης· καὶ διαπύροις ἐπιβαίνοντες ἐρειπίοις καὶ καταφερομένοις ἀπορρήγμασι μεγάλοις ὑποτρέχοντες ἐπισφαλῶς, καὶ πολὺν ὁμοῦ καπνῷ διαπορευόμενοι κονιορτόν, ἐπειρῶντο συνέχειν καὶ μὴ διασπᾶν τὴν τάξιν. ὡς δὲ προσέμιξαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐν χερσὶ μὲν

¹ φίλαυτος οὕτως Coraës, after Reiske (οὕτως φίλαυτος Bekker): φίλαυτος.

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that the Syracusans might take courage at the sight ; he also marshalled his men-at-arms in person, together with those of the citizens who kept running up and forming with them, dividing his commands and forming companies in column, that he might make a more formidable attack from many points at once.

XLVI. When he had made these preparations and had prayed to the gods, and was seen leading his forces through the city against the enemy, shouts of joy and loud battle-cries mingled with prayers and supplications were raised by the Syracusans, who called Dion their saviour and god, and his mercenaries their brethren and fellow citizens. And no one was so fond of self or fond of life in that emergency as not to show himself more anxious about Dion alone than about all the rest, as he marched at their head to meet the danger, through blood and fire and the mass of dead bodies lying in the streets.

It was true, indeed, that the enemy presented a formidable appearance, for they had become altogether savage, and had drawn themselves up along the demolished siege-wall, which made the approach to them difficult and hard to force ; but the peril from the fire disturbed the mercenaries of Dion more, and made their progress arduous. For they were surrounded on all sides by glowing flames which were spreading among the houses ; they trod upon blazing ruins and ran at the risk of their lives under falling fragments of great size ; they made their way through clouds of dust and smoke ; and yet they tried to keep together and not break their ranks. Moreover, when they joined battle with the

ὀλίγων πρὸς ὀλίγους ἐγένετο μάχη διὰ τὴν στενότητα καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τοῦ τόπου, κραυγῇ δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐπιρρωσάντων
 4 ἐβιάσθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νύψιον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλείστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐγγὺς οὔσαν ἀναφεύγον ἐσώζετο· τοὺς δ' ἀπολειφθέντας ἔξω καὶ διασπαρέντας ἀνῆρουν οἱ ξένοι διώκοντες. ἀπόλαυσιν δὲ τῆς νίκης ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα καὶ χαρὰν καὶ περιβολὰς ἔργῳ τηλικούτῳ πρεπούσας οὐ παρέσχευ ὁ καιρός, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τραπομένων τῶν Συρακουσίων καὶ τὸ πῦρ μόλις ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κατασβεσάντων.

XLVII. Ἡμέρα δ' ὥς ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε δημαγωγῶν, ἀλλὰ καταγνόντες ἑαυτῶν ἔφυγον, Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Θεοδότης αὐτοὶ κομίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Δίῳνι παρέδωκαν, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ δεόμενοι βελτίονος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν ἢ γεγόνασιν αὐτοὶ περὶ ἐκείνον· πρέπειν δὲ Δίῳνι τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν ἀσύγκριτον ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν κρείττονι φανῆναι τῶν ἠγνωμονηκότων, οὐ περὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐστασίασαν πρὸς αὐτὸν νῦν ἤκουσιν ἠττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς
 2 ὁμολογοῦντες. ταῦτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην δεομένων οἱ μὲν φίλοι παρεκελεύοντο τῷ Δίῳνι μὴ φείδεσθαι κακῶν καὶ βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις χαρίσασθαι τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐξελεῖν δημοκοπίαν, ἐπιμανὲς νόσημα, τυραννίδος οὐκ ἔλαττον. ὁ δὲ Δίων παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὥς τοῖς

DION

enemy, only a few on each side could fight at close quarters, so narrow and uneven was the place; but the Syracusans encouraged them with eager shouts, and Nypsius and his men were overpowered. Most of them fled back into the acropolis, which was near, and so saved themselves; but those who were left outside and scattered hither and thither, were pursued and slain by the mercenaries. No immediate enjoyment of their victory, however, and none of the glad congratulations befitting so great an achievement were possible for the Syracusans in that emergency; they turned their attention to their burning houses, and only by toiling all night did they succeed in putting out the fire.

XLVII. When it was day, not one of the other popular leaders would remain in the city, but passed judgement on themselves by taking to flight; Heracleides and Theodotes, however, came of their own accord and surrendered themselves to Dion, acknowledging that they had done wrong, and begging him to treat them better than they had treated him; it was meet, they said, that Dion, who was their superior in every other virtue, should also show himself a better master of his anger than his ungrateful foes, who were now come confessing that in the very quality to which they had formerly disputed his claim, namely, virtue, they were his inferiors. Though Heracleides and Theodotes thus besought Dion, his friends exhorted him not to spare such base and envious men, but to give Heracleides over to the mercy of his soldiers, and to rid the commonwealth of the hunt for mob-favour, which, no less than tyranny, was a raging distemper. But Dion tried to soften their resentment, saying that while other

μὲν ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς πρὸς ὄπλα καὶ πόλεμον ἢ
 πλείστη τῆς ἀσκήσεώς ἐστιν, αὐτῷ δὲ πολλὸν
 χρόνον ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ μεμελέτῃται θυμοῦ περι-
 εῖναι καὶ φθόνου καὶ φιλονεικίας πάσης· ὧν ἐπί-
 δεξις ἐστιν οὐχ ἡ πρὸς φίλους καὶ χρηστοὺς
 μετριότης, ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀδικούμενος εὐπαραίτητος
 3 εἴη καὶ πρῶτος τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι· βούλεσθαι δ'
 Ἡρακλείδου μὴ τοσοῦτον δυνάμει καὶ φρονήσει 979
 κρατῶν ὅσον χρηστότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ φανῆναι·
 τὸ γὰρ ἀληθῶς βέλτιον ἐν τούτοις· αἱ δὲ τοῦ
 πολέμου κατορθώσεις, εἰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων μηδένα,
 τὴν γε τύχην διαμφισβητοῦσαν ἔχουσιν. εἰ δ'
 Ἡρακλείδης ἄπιστος καὶ κακὸς διὰ φθόνον, οὗ
 τοι καὶ Δίωνα δεῖν θυμῷ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ἀρετὴν·
 τὸ γὰρ ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι τοῦ προαδικεῖν νόμῳ
 δικαιότερον ὠρίσθαι, φύσει γινόμενον ἀπὸ μιᾶς
 4 ἀσθενείας. ἀνθρώπου δὲ κακίαν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπὸν
 ἐστιν, οὐχ οὕτως ἄγριον εἶναι παντάπασι καὶ
 δύσκολον ὥστε μὴ μεταβάλλειν χάριτι νικηθεῖσαν
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολλάκις εὖ ποιούντων.

XLVIII. Τοιούτοις χρησάμενος λογισμοῖς ὁ
 Δίων ἀφῆκε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην· τραπό-
 μενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ διατείχισμα, τῶν μὲν Συρα-
 κουσίων ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσεν ἓνα κόψαντα σταυρὸν
 ἐγγὺς καταβάλλειν, τοὺς δὲ ξένους ἐπιστήσας διὰ
 νυκτός, ἀναπαυομένων τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἔλαθεν
 ἀποσταυρώσας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὥστε μεθ' ἡμέραν
 τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν θεασαμένους ὁμοίως
 2 θαυμάζειν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. θά-
 ψας δὲ τοὺς τεθνηκότας τῶν Συρακουσίων καὶ
 λυσάμενος τοὺς ἐάλωκώτας, δισχιλίῳ οὐκ ἐλάτ-

DION

generals trained themselves mostly for arms and war, he himself had studied for a long time in the Academy how to conquer anger, envy, and all contentiousness; and it was no manifestation of such self-mastery, he said, when one was kind to friends and benefactors, but when one who had been wronged was merciful and mild towards the erring; besides, he wished men to see that he was superior to Heracleides, not so much in power and wisdom, as in goodness and justice; for therein lay real superiority; whereas successes in war, even though they had to be shared with no man, must at least be shared with fortune. Moreover, if envy led Heracleides to be faithless and base, surely anger must not drive Dion to sully his virtue; for although taking vengeance for a wrong was in the eyes of the law more just than the doing of the wrong unprovoked, by nature it sprang from one and the same weakness. Furthermore, baseness in a man, even though it be a grievous thing, was not so altogether savage and obstinate that it could not be conquered by frequent benefactions and altered by a sense of gratitude.

XLVIII. After using such arguments as these, Dion set Heracleides and Theodotes free. Then turning his attention to the siege-wall, he bade each one of the Syracusans to cut a stake and lay it down near the works, and setting his mercenaries to the task all night, while the Syracusans were resting, he succeeded in fencing off the acropolis, so that when day came the citizens and the enemy alike were amazed to see with what speed the work had been accomplished. He also buried the dead Syracusans, ransomed those who had been taken prisoners, although they were fully two thousand in number,

τοντας ὄντας, ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγε. καὶ παρελθὼν
 Ἡρακλείδης εἰσηγήσατο· γνώμην αὐτοκράτορα
 στρατηγὸν ἐλέσθαι Δίωνα· κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλασ-
 σαν. ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ χειρο-
 τουεῖν κελευόντων ἐθάρρῦβησεν ὁ ναυτικός ὄχλος
 καὶ βάναντος, ἀχθόμενος ἐκπίπτουσι τῆς ναυαρχίας
 τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ, καὶ νομίζων αὐτόν, εἰ καὶ
 τὰλλα μηδενὸς ἄξιός ἐστι, δημοτικώτερόν γε πάν-
 τως εἶναι τοῦ Δίωνος καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῖς
 3 πολλοῖς. ὁ δὲ Δίων τοῦτο μὲν ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ
 τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἡρα-
 κλείδῃ, πρὸς δὲ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν τὸν ἀνα-
 δασμὸν ὄρμημένοις ἐναντιωθείς καὶ τὰ πρότερον
 ψηφισθέντα περὶ τούτων ἀκυρώσας ἐλύπησεν.
 ὁ δὲ εὐθύς ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης
 τοὺς συνεκπλεύσαντας μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας
 καὶ ναύτας ἐν Μεσσήνῃ καθήμενος ἐδημαγωγεί
 καὶ παρώξυνε κατὰ τοῦ Δίωνος ὡς τυραννεῖν μέλ-
 4 λοντος· αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐποιεῖτο συνθή-
 κας κρύφα διὰ Φάρακος τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου. καὶ
 τοῦτο τῶν γνωριμωτάτων Συρακουσίων ὑπονοη-
 σάντων, στάσις ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ δι' αὐτὴν
 ἀπορία καὶ σπάνις ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις, ὥστε
 παντάπασιν ἀμηχανεῖν τὸν Δίωνα καὶ κακῶς
 ἀκούειν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων οὕτω δυσμεταχείριστον
 ἄνθρωπον καὶ διεφθαρμένον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ πονη-
 ρίας αὐξήσαντα καθ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην.

XLIX. Φάρακος δὲ πρὸς Νέα πόλει τῆς Ἀκ-
 ραγαντίνης στρατοπεδεύοντος, ἔξαγαγὼν τοὺς
 Συρακουσίους ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐν ἐτέρῳ καιρῷ διαγω-
 νίσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἡρακλείδου δὲ καὶ τῶν

DION

and then held an assembly. Here Heracleides came forward with a motion that Dion should be chosen general with absolute powers by land and sea. The aristocracy approved of this motion and urged the appointment; but the mob of sailors and day-labourers tumultuously opposed it, being vexed that Heracleides should lose his office of admiral, and considering him, even though good for nothing in other ways, at least altogether more a man of the people than Dion and more under the control of the multitude. This point Dion yielded to them, and restored the command by sea to Heracleides; but when they insisted upon the redistribution of land and houses, he opposed them and repealed their former decrees on this head, thereby winning their displeasure. Wherefore Heracleides at once renewed his machinations, and, when he was stationed at Messana, artfully tried to exasperate against Dion the soldiers and sailors who had sailed thither with him, declaring that Dion intended to make himself tyrant; but he himself was all the while making secret compacts with Dionysius through the agency of Pharax the Spartan. When this was suspected by the better class of Syracusans, there was dissension in the army, and therefore perplexity and want of provisions in Syracuse, so that Dion was altogether at a loss what to do, and was blamed by his friends for having strengthened against himself a man so perverse and so corrupted by envy and baseness as Heracleides was.

XLIX. Now, Pharax was encamped at Neapolis, in the territory of Agrigentum, and thither Dion led forth the Syracusans. Dion wished to settle the issue between them at a later opportunity, but

- ναυτῶν καταβοώντων ὥς οὐ βούλεται μάχη κρίναι
 τὸν πόλεμον Δίων, ἀλλ' αἰὲν μένοντος ἄρχειν,
 2 ἀναγκασθεὶς συνέβαλε καὶ ἡττήθη. γενομένης δὲ
 τῆς τροπῆς οὐ βαρείας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν
 καὶ τοῦ στασιάζειν ταραχθέντων, αὐθις ὁ Δίων
 παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι καὶ συνέταττε πείθων
 καὶ παραθαρρύνων. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης
 ἀγγέλλεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἄραντα τὸν
 στόλον πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακουσῶν, ἐγνωκότα τὴν
 πόλιν καταλαβεῖν καὶ κτείνειν ἀποκλείσαι μετὰ τοῦ
 3 στρατεύματος. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς δυνα-
 τωτάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους ἱππάσατο διὰ τῆς
 νυκτός· καὶ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας πρὸς
 ταῖς πύλαις ἦν, σταδίους κατηνυκῶς ἑπτακοσίους.
 Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ταῖς ναυσίν, ὥς ἀμιλλώμενος 980
 ὑστέρησεν, ἀποπλεύσας καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν ταῖς
 πράξεσιν ἀσκόπως ἐπιτυχᾶνει Γαισύλῳ τῷ
 Σπαρτιάτῃ, φάσκοντι πλεῖν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ Σικε-
 λιωτῶν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὥς πρότερόν ποτε
 4 Γύλιππος. ἄσμενος οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τοῦτον τὸν
 ἄνδρα καὶ περιψάμενος ὥσπερ ἀλεξιφάρμακον
 τοῦ Δίωνος ἐπεδείκνυτο τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ
 κήρυκα πέμπων εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐκέλευε δέ-
 χεσθαι τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἄρχοντα τοὺς πολίτας.
 ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος ὥς εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες
 ἱκανοὶ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, εἰ δὲ πάντως δέοι καὶ
 Σπαρτιάτου τοῖς πράγμασιν, αὐτὸς οὗτος εἶναι,
 5 κατὰ ποιήσιν γεγονὼς Σπαρτιάτης, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν
 ὁ Γαίσυλος ἀπέγνων, πλεύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα

DION

Heracleides and his sailors kept crying out against him, saying that his wish was not to decide the war by a battle, but to have it last forever, that he might remain in power. He was therefore forced into an engagement, and was worsted. Since, however, the defeat of his men was not severe, but due more to their own seditious disorders than to the enemy, Dion again prepared for battle and drew up his forces, persuading and encouraging them. But in the evening word was brought to him that Heracleides with his fleet was sailing for Syracuse, determined to occupy the city and shut Dion and his army out of it. Immediately, therefore, he took with him his most influential and zealous supporters and rode all night, and about nine o'clock next day was at the gates of the city, having covered seven hundred furlongs. But Heracleides, who, in spite of all his efforts, arrived too late with his ships, put out to sea again, and being without definite plans, fell in with Gaesylus the Spartan, who insisted that he was sailing from Sparta to take command of the Sicilians, as Gylippus had formerly done.¹ Heracleides, accordingly, gladly took up this man, attached him to himself like an amulet, as it were, against the influence of Dion, and showed him to his confederates; then, secretly sending a herald to Syracuse, he ordered the citizens to receive their Spartan commander. Dion, however, made answer that the Syracusans had commanders enough, and that if their situation absolutely required a Spartan also, he himself was the man, since he had been made a citizen of Sparta. Thereupon Gaesylus gave up his pretensions to the command, and sailing to

¹ See the *Nicias*, chapters xix. ff.

διήλλαξε τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὄρκους δόντα καὶ πίσ-
τεις τὰς μεγίστας, αἷς αὐτὸς ὁ Γαίσυλος ὤμοσε
τιμωρὸς ἔσεσθαι Δίῳνι καὶ κολαστῆς Ἡρακλείδου
κακοπραγμονούντος.

Λ. Ἐκ τούτου κατέλυσαν μὲν οἱ Συρακούσιοι
τὸ ναυτικόν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἔργον αὐτοῦ, μεγάλαι
δὲ δαπάναι τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ στάσεως ἀφορμαὶ
τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τὴν δὲ ἄκραν ἐπολιόρκουν ἐξοικο-
δομήσαντες τὸ περιτείχισμα. μηδενὸς δὲ τοῖς
πολιορκουμένοις βοηθοῦντος, ἐπὶ λιπόντος δὲ σί-
του, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων γινομένων πονηρῶν,
ἀπογνοὺς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰ πράγματα καὶ
σπείσάμενος πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα τὴν μὲν ἄκραν ἐκείνῳ
μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς παρέ-
2 δωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς
ἀναλαβὼν καὶ πέντε πληρωσάμενος τριήρεις ἐξέ-
πλει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, τοῦ Δίωνος ἀσφαλῶς μὲν
ἐκπέμποντος, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις
ἀπολείποντος ἐκείνην τὴν ὥσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μὴ
παρόντας ἐπιβωμμένων, ὅτι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην
καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐλευθέραις ἀνίσχοντα ταῖς Συρα-
3 κούσαις οὐκ ἐφορῶσιν. ὅπου γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τῶν
λεγομένων κατὰ τῆς τύχης παραδειγμάτων ἐμφα-
νέστατόν ἐστι καὶ μέγιστον ἡ Διονυσίου φυγή,
τίνα χρὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὴν τότε χαρὰν
γενέσθαι καὶ πηλίκον φρονῆσαι τοὺς τὴν μεγίστην
τῶν πώποτε τυραννίδων καθελόντας ἐλαχίσταις
ἀφορμαῖς;

ΛΙ. Ἐκπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλοκράτους,
καὶ τοῦ Δίωνος εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν βαδίζοντος, οὐκ
ἐκαρτέρησαν αἱ γυναῖκες οὐδ' ἀνέμειναν εἰσελθεῖν

DION

Dion, effected a reconciliation between him and Heracleides, who took oaths and made the most solemn pledges, in support of which Gaesylus himself swore that he would avenge Dion and punish Heracleides if he worked any more mischief.

L. After this the Syracusans discharged their fleet, since it was of no use, while it involved great outlays for the crews, and caused dissension among their commanders ; they also laid siege to the citadel after they had finished building the wall that enclosed it. No one came to the help of the besieged, provisions failed them, and the mercenaries became mutinous, so that the son of Dionysius gave up his cause for lost and made terms with Dion. The citadel he handed over to him together with the arms and other equipment there, while he himself, taking his mother and sisters and manning five triremes, sailed away to his father. Dion allowed him to depart in safety, and no one who was then in Syracuse missed that sight, nay, they called upon the absent ones also, pitying them because they could not behold this day and the rising of the sun upon a free Syracuse. For since, among the illustrations men give of the mutations of fortune, the expulsion of Dionysius is still to this day the strongest and plainest, what joy must we suppose those men themselves then felt, and how great a pride, who, with the fewest resources, overthrew the greatest tyranny that ever was !

LI. After Apollocrates had sailed away, and when Dion was on his way to the acropolis, the women could not restrain themselves nor await his entrance,

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἐξέδραμον, ἡ μὲν Ἀριστομάχη τὸν υἱὸν ἄγουσα τοῦ Δίωνος, ἡ δ' Ἀρέτη κατόπιν εἶπετο δακρύουσα, καὶ διαπορούσα πῶς ἀσπάζεται καὶ προσείπη τὸν ἄνδρα
 2 κοινωνίας αὐτῇ πρὸς ἕτερον γεγεννημένης. ἀσπασαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τὴν ἀδελφὴν, εἶτα τὸ παιδίον, ἡ Ἀριστομάχη προσαγαγούσα τὴν Ἀρέτην, “Ἡτυχοῦμεν, ὦ Δίον,” ἔφη, “σοῦ φεύγοντος· ἦκων δὲ καὶ νικῶν ἀφῆρηκας ἡμῶν πάντων τὰς κατηφείας, πλὴν μόνης ταύτης, ἣν ἐπέιδον ἡ δυστυχὴς ἐγὼ σοῦ ζῶντος ἐτέρῳ συνελθεῖν βιασθεῖσαν. ὅτε οὖν σὲ κύριον ἡμῶν ἡ τύχη πεποίηκε, πῶς αὐτῇ διαιτᾶς ἐκείνην τὴν ἀνάγκην; πότερον ὡς θεῖον ἢ καὶ ὡς ἄνδρα σε ἀσπάζεται;”
 3 τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἀριστομάχης λεγούσης ὁ Δίων ἐκδακρύσας προσηγάγετο φιλοστόργως τὴν γυναῖκα· καὶ παραδούς αὐτῇ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ βαδίζειν, ὅπου καὶ αὐτὸς διητᾶτο, τὴν ἄκραν ἐπὶ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ποιησάμενος.

LII. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκότων οὐδὲν ἀπολαῦσαι πρότερον ἠξίωσε τῆς παρουσίας εὐτυχίας ἢ τὸ καὶ φίλοις χάριτας καὶ συμμάχοις δωρεάς, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει συνήθεσι καὶ ξένοις ἀπονείμαί τινα φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τιμῆς μερίδα, τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τὴν δύναμιν
 2 ὑπερβαλλόμενος. ἑαυτὸν δὲ λιτῶς καὶ σωφρόνως ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων διώκει, θαυμαζόμενος ὅτι, μὴ μόνον Σικελίας τε καὶ Καρχηδόνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς 981 Ἑλλάδος ὅλης ἀποβλεπούσης πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐημεροῦντα, καὶ μηδὲν οὕτω μέγα τῶν τότε νομίζον-

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but ran out to the gates, Aristomache leading Dion's son, while Arete followed after them in tears, and at a loss how to greet and address her husband now that she had lived with another man. After Dion had greeted his sister first, and then his little son, Aristomache led Arete to him, and said : " We were unhappy, Dion, while thou wast in exile ; but now that thou art come and art victorious, thou hast taken away our sorrow from all of us, except from this woman alone, whom I was so unfortunate as to see forced to wed another while thou wast still alive. Since, then, fortune has made thee our lord and master, how wilt thou judge of the compulsion laid upon her ? Is it as her uncle or as her husband that she is to greet thee ? " So spake Aristomache, and Dion, bursting into tears, embraced his wife fondly, gave her his son, and bade her go to his own house ; and there he himself also dwelt, after he had put the citadel in charge of the Syracusans.

LII. And now that his enterprise had been so successful, he thought it not right to enjoy his present good fortune before distributing thanks to his friends, rewards to his allies, and particularly to his Athenian associates and to his mercenaries some mark of kindness and honour, his generosity leading him beyond his resources. But as for himself, he lived with simplicity and moderation on what he had, and men wondered at him because, while his successes drew upon him the eyes not only of Sicily and Carthage, but also of all Hellas, and while he was regarded by the people of that time as the

των, μηδ' ἐπιφανεστέρας περὶ ἄλλον ἡγεμόνα
 τόλμης καὶ τύχης γεγονέναι δοκούσης, οὕτω
 παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν ἐσθῆτι καὶ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τραπέξῃ
 μέτριον, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ συσσιτῶν μετὰ
 Πλάτωνος, οὐκ ἐν ξεναγοῖς καὶ μισθοφόροις διαι-
 τώμενος, οἷς αἱ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πλησμοναὶ
 καὶ ἀπολαύσεις παραμυθία τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν
 3 κινδύνων εἰσίν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν Πλάτων ἔγραφεν
 ὡς πρὸς ἓνα νῦν τῆς οἰκουμένης τοῦτον ἅπαντες
 ἀποβλέπουσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀφεώρα
 πρὸς ἓν χωρίον μιᾶς πόλεως, τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν,
 καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι καὶ θεατὰς καὶ δικαστὰς ἐγίνω-
 σκεν οὔτε πρᾶξιν οὔτε τόλμαν οὔτε νίκην τινὰ
 θαυμάζοντας, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰ κοσμίως καὶ σωφρό-
 νως τῇ τύχῃ χρήται καὶ παρέχει μέτριον ἑαυτὸν
 4 ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἀποσκοποῦντας. τοῦ μέν-
 τοι περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας ὄγκου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
 ἀτενοῦς ἐφιλονεῖκει μηδὲν ὑφελεῖν μηδὲ χαλάσαι,
 καίτοι τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ χάριτος ἐνδεῶν ὄν-
 των, καὶ Πλάτωνος ἐπιτιμῶντος, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν,
 καὶ γράφοντος ὅτι ἡ αὐθάδεια ἐρημία σύνοικός
 ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ φύσει τε φαίνεται πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν
 δυσκεράστῳ κεχρημένος, ἀντισπᾶν τε τοὺς Συρα-
 κουσίους ἄγαν ἀνειμένους καὶ διατεθρυμμένους
 προθυμούμενος.

LIII. Ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης αὐθις ἐπέκειτο· καὶ
 πρῶτον μὲν εἰς συνέδριον παρακαλούμενος οὐκ
 ἐβούλετο βαδίζειν· ιδιώτης γὰρ ὢν μετὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐκκλησιάζειν πολιτῶν. ἔπειτα κατηγόρει

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greatest of living men, and was thought to be blessed with courage and good fortune beyond any other commander, he was nevertheless so modest in his dress, his attendance, and his table, just as though he were messing with Plato in the Academy, and not living among captains of mercenaries and paid soldiers, who find in their daily feasting, and other enjoyments, a solace for their toils and perils. Plato, indeed, wrote to him¹ that the eyes of all the world were now fixed upon him alone, but Dion himself, as it would seem, kept his eyes fixed upon one spot in one city, namely, the Academy, and considered that his spectators and judges there admired neither great exploits nor boldness nor victories, but watched to see only whether he made a discreet and decorous use of his good fortune, and showed himself modest in his high estate. Nevertheless, he made it a point not to remit or relax at all the gravity of his manners or his haughtiness in dealing with the people, although his situation called for a gracious demeanour, and although Plato, as I have said,² wrote and warned him that self-will was "a companion of solitude." But he seems to have been of a temper naturally averse to graciousness, and, besides, he was ambitious to curb the Syracusans, who were given to excessive license and luxury.

LIII. For Heracleides once more set himself in opposition to him. To begin with, when he was invited by Dion to attend the council, he refused to come, saying that as a man in private station he would meet in assembly with the other citizens.

¹ *Epist.* iv. p. 320: ὥστε τοὺς ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰς ἓνα τόπον ἀποβλέπειν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα πρὸς σέ.

² In chapter viii. 3.

- τοῦ Δίωνος ὅτι τὴν ἄκραν οὐ κατέσκαψε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν Διονυσίου τάφον ὠρμημένῳ λῦσαι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκβαλεῖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε, μεταπέμπεται δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου συμβούλους καὶ συνάρχοντας,
- 2 ἀπαξιῶν τοὺς πολίτας. τῷ δ' ὄντι μετεπέμπετο τοὺς Κορινθίους ὁ Δίων, ἣν ἐπενόει πολιτεῖαν ῥᾶον ἐλπίζων καταστήσειν ἐκείνων παραγενομένων. ἐπενόει δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄκρατον δημοκρατίαν, ὡς οὐ πολιτεῖαν, ἀλλὰ παντοπώλιον οὖσαν πολιτειῶν, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, κωλύειν, Λακωνικὸν δέ τι καὶ Κρητικὸν σχῆμα μιξάμενος ἐκ δήμου καὶ βασιλείας, ἀριστοκρατίαν ἔχον τὴν ἐπιστατοῦσαν καὶ βραβεύουσαν τὰ μέγιστα, καθιστάναι καὶ κοσμεῖν, ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ὀλιγαρχικώτερόν τε πολιτευομένους καὶ μὴ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πράττοντας.
- 3 Ὡς οὖν μάλιστα πρὸς ταῦτα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἐναντιώσεσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ τᾶλλα ταραχώδης καὶ εὐμετάθετος καὶ στασιαστικὸς ἦν, οὓς πάλαι βουλομένους αὐτὸν ἐκώλυεν ἀνελεῖν, τούτοις ἐπέτρεψε τότε· καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
- 4 ἀποκτιννύουσιν αὐτόν. ἐλύπησε δὲ σφόδρα τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀποθανών. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος ταφάς τε λαμπρὰς παρασκευάσαντος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου προπέμψαντος τὸν νεκρὸν, εἴτα διαλεχθέντος αὐτοῖς, συνέγνωσαν ὡς οὐ δυνατόν ἦν ταρασσομένην παύσασθαι τὴν πόλιν Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Δίωνος ἅμα πολιτευομένων.

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Next, he publicly denounced Dion for not demolishing the citadel, and for checking the people when they set out to open the tomb of Dionysius and cast out his dead body, and for sending to Corinth for counsellors and colleagues in the government, thereby showing contempt for his fellow citizens. And in fact Dion did send for assistance to the Corinthians, hoping the more easily to establish the civil polity which he had in mind if they were at his side. And he had it in mind to put a curb upon unmixed democracy in Syracuse, regarding it as not a civil polity, but rather, in the words of Plato,¹ a "bazaar of polities"; also to establish and set in order a mixture of democracy and royalty, somewhat after the Spartan and Cretan fashion, wherein an aristocracy should preside, and administer the most important affairs; for he saw that the Corinthians had a polity which leaned towards oligarchy, and that they transacted little public business in their assembly of the people.

Accordingly, since he expected that these measures would find their chief opponent in Heracleides, and since the man was in every way turbulent, fickle, and seditious, he now yielded to those who had long wished to kill him, but whom he had hitherto restrained; so they made their way into the house of Heracleides and slew him. His death was keenly resented by the Syracusans; but nevertheless, when Dion gave him a splendid funeral, followed the body to its grave with his army, and then discoursed to them upon the matter, they came to see that it was impossible for the city to be free from tumults while Heracleides and Dion together conducted its affairs.

¹ *Republic*, viii. p. 557 d.

- LIV. Ἦν δέ τις ἐταῖρος τοῦ Δίωνος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, Κάλλιππος, ὃν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων οὐκ ἀπὸ παιδείας, ἀλλ' ἐκ μυσταγωγιῶν καὶ τῆς περιτρεχούσης ἐταιρείας γνῶριμον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ συνήθη, μετασχὼν δὲ τῆς στρατείας καὶ τιμώμενος, ὥστε καὶ συνεισελθεῖν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας πρῶτος τῶν ἐταίρων ἀπάντων, ἐστεφανωμένος καὶ
- 2 λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ διάσημος. ἐπεὶ δέ, τῶν πρώτων καὶ βελτίστων φίλων τοῦ Δίωνος ἀνηλωμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τεθνηκότος 982 Ἡρακλείδου, τὸν τε δῆμον ἑώρα τῶν Συρακουσίων ἔρημον ἡγεμόνος ὄντα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς μετὰ Δίωνος προσέχοντας αὐτῷ μάλιστα, μιαιώτατος ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ παντάπασιν ἐλπίσας Σικελίαν ἄθλον ἔξειν τῆς ξενοκτονίας, ὡς δέ φασιν ἔνιοι, καὶ τάλαντα προσλαβὼν εἴκοσι τοῦ φόνου μισθὸν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, διέφθειρε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε τινὰς τῶν ξένων ἐπὶ τὸν Δίωνα, κακοηθεστάτην ἀρχὴν καὶ πανουργοτάτην ποιη-
- 3 σάμενος. αἰὲ γάρ τινες φωνὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἢ λελεγμένας ἀληθῶς ἀναφέρων ἢ πεπλασμένας ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, τοιαύτην ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβε διὰ τὴν πίστιν ὥστ' ἐντυγχάνειν κρύφα καὶ διαλέγεσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας οἷς βούλοιτο κατὰ τοῦ Δίωνος, αὐτοῦ κελεύοντος, ἵνα μηδὲ εἰς λανθάνη
- 4 τῶν ὑπούλως καὶ δυσμενῶς ἐχόντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτων συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς καὶ νοσοῦντας εὐρίσκειν ταχὺ καὶ συνιστάναι τὸν Κάλλιππον, εἰ δέ τις ἀπωσάμενος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πείραν ἐξείποι πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα, μὴ ταράττεσθαι

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LIV. Now, there was a certain comrade of Dion's named Callippus, an Athenian, who, as Plato says,¹ had become intimately acquainted with him, not as a fellow pupil in philosophy, but in consequence of initiation into the mysteries and the recurrent comradeship which this brought. He took part in Dion's expedition and was held in honour by him, so that he even entered Syracuse with him at the head of all his comrades, with a garland on his head, after winning glorious distinction in battle. But now that the chief and noblest friends of Dion had been consumed away by the war, and Heracleides was dead, he saw that the people of Syracuse were without a leader, and that he himself was very much in favour with Dion's soldiers. Therefore, showing himself the vilest of men, and altogether expecting that he would have Sicily as a reward for murdering his friend, and, as some say, having received twenty talents from the enemy to pay him for doing the murder, he bribed some of Dion's mercenaries into a conspiracy against him, beginning his work in a most malicious and rascally manner. For he was always reporting to Dion various speeches of his soldiers against him, either actually uttered or fabricated by himself, and in this way won his confidence, and was authorized to meet secretly with whom he would and talk freely with them against Dion, in order that no lurking malcontents might remain undiscovered. By this means Callippus succeeded in quickly discovering and banding together the evil-minded and discontented citizens, and, whenever any one who had repulsed his overtures told Dion about them, Dion

¹ *Epist.* vi. p. 333.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

μηδὲ χαλεπαίνειν ἐκείνον, ὥς ἂ προσέταττε τοῦ Καλλίππου περαίνοντος.

LV. Συνισταμένης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φάσμα γίνεται τῷ Δίῳνι μέγα καὶ τερατῶδες. ἐτύχανε μὲν γὰρ ὁψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καθεζόμενος ἐν παστιάδι τῆς οἰκίας μόνος ὦν πρὸς ἑαυτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν· ἐξαίφνης δὲ ψόφου γενομένου πρὸς θατέρῳ πέρατι τῆς στοᾶς, ἀποβλέψας ἔτι φωτὸς ὄντος εἶδε γυναῖκα μεγάλην, στολῇ μὲν καὶ προσώπῳ μὴδὲν Ἐριννύος τραγικῆς παραλλάττουσαν, σαίρουσαν
2 δὲ καλλύντρῳ τινὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ δεινῶς καὶ περίφοβος γενόμενος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς φίλους καὶ διηγεῖτο τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῖς καὶ παραμένειν ἐδεῖτο καὶ συννυκτερεύειν, παντά-
πασιν ἐκστατικῶς ἔχων καὶ δεδοικῶς μὴ πάλιν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ μονωθέντι τὸ τέρας ἀφίκηται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐθις οὐ συνέπεσε. μεθ' ἡμέρας δ' ὀλίγας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἀντίπαις ὦν, ἔκ τινος λύπης καὶ ὀργῆς μικρὰν καὶ παιδικὴν ἀρχὴν λαβούσης, ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ διεφθάρη.

LVI. Ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος ὄντος, ὁ Κάλλιππος ἔτι μᾶλλον εἵχετο τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ λόγον εἰς τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐξέδωκεν ὥς ὁ Δίων, ἅπαις γεγωνώς, ἔγνωκε τὸν Διονυσίου καλεῖν Ἀπολλοκράτην καὶ ποιεῖσθαι διάδοχον, ἀδελφιδοῦν μὲν ὄντα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, θυγα-
τριδοῦν δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸν Δίωνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑπόνοια τῶν πραττομένων εἶχε,
2 καὶ μηνύσεις ἐγίγνοντο πανταχόθεν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Δίων, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἀχθόμενος, καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐκείνον, ὥς τινα τοῦ

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was not disturbed nor vexed, but assumed that Callippus was merely carrying out his injunctions.

LV. As the plot was ripening, Dion saw an apparition of great size and portentous aspect. He was sitting late in the day in the vestibule of his house, alone and lost in thought, when suddenly a noise was heard at the other end of the colonnade, and turning his gaze in that direction he saw (for it was not yet dark) a woman of lofty stature, in garb and countenance exactly like a tragic Fury, sweeping the house with a sort of broom. He was terribly shocked, and, becoming apprehensive, summoned his friends, told them what he had seen, and begged them to remain and spend the night with him, being altogether beside himself, and fearing that if he were left alone the portent would appear to him again. This, indeed, did not occur a second time. But a few days afterwards his son, who was hardly a boy any more, in a fit of angry displeasure caused by some trivial and childish grievance, threw himself headlong from the roof and was killed.

LVI. While Dion was thus heavily afflicted, Callippus was all the more intent upon his plot, and spread a report among the Syracusans that Dion, being now childless, had made up his mind to send for Apollocrates, the son of Dionysius, and make him his successor, since he was his wife's nephew and his sister's grandson. And presently both Dion and his wife and sister began to suspect what was going on, and information of the plot came to them from every quarter. But Dion, as it would seem, being in distress at the fate of Heracleides, and suffering continual vexation and depression at thought of the man's

βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῷ κηλῖδα περικειμένην, δυσχεραίνων αἰεὶ καὶ βαρυνόμενος, εἶπεν ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη θνήσκειν ἔτοιμός ἐστι καὶ παρέχειν τῷ βουλομένῳ σφάττειν αὐτόν, εἰ ζῆν δεήσει μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους φυλαττόμενον.

- 3 Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ὁρῶν ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐξεταζούσας ἀκριβῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ φοβηθείς, ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀρνούμενος καὶ δακρύων καὶ πίστιν ἦν βούλονται διδόναι βουλόμενος. αἱ δ' ἠξίουσαν αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι τὸν μέγαν ὄρκον. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος· καταβὰς εἰς τὸ τῶν Θεσμοφόρων τέμενος ὁ διδοὺς τὴν πίστιν, ἱερῶν τινων γενομένων, περιβάλλεται τὴν πορφυρίδα τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν δᾶδα καιο-
4 μένην ἀπόμνυσι. ταῦτα ποιήσας ὁ Κάλλιππος πάντα, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἀπομόσας, οὕτω κατεγέλασε τῶν θεῶν ὥστε περιμείνας τὴν ἐορτὴν ἧς ὤμοσε θεοῦ, δρᾷ τὸν φόνον ἐν τοῖς Κορείοις, οὐδὲν ἴσως τὸ περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς θεοῦ ποιησάμενος, ὥς ἀσεβουμένης πάντως, εἰ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἔσφαττε τὸν μύστην αὐτῆς ὁ μυσταγωγός.

LVII. Ὅντων δὲ πλειόνων ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς πράξεως, καθεζομένου Δίωνος ἐν οἰκῇματι κλίνας τινὰς ἔχοντι μετὰ τῶν φίλων, οἱ μὲν ἔξω τὴν 983 οἰκίαν περιέστησαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις τοῦ οἴκου καὶ ταῖς θυρίσιν ἦσαν. αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ προσφέρειν τὰς χεῖρας μέλλοντες Ζακύνθιοι παρῆλθον

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murder, which he regarded as a stain upon his life and actions, declared that he was ready now to die many deaths and to suffer any one who wished to slay him, if it was going to be necessary for him to live on his guard, not only against his enemies, but also against his friends.

But Callippus, seeing that the women were investigating the matter carefully, and taking alarm, came to them with denials and in tears and offering to give them whatever pledge of fidelity they desired. So they required him to swear the great oath. This was done in the following manner. The one who gives this pledge goes down into the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, where, after certain sacred rites have been performed, he puts on the purple vestment of the goddess, takes a blazing torch in his hand, and recites the oath. All this Callippus did, and recited the oath; but he made such a mockery of the gods as to wait for the festival of the goddess by whom he had sworn, the Coreia, and then to do the murder.¹ And yet it is possible that he took no account of the day, since he knew that the goddess would have been utterly outraged even if at another time her mystic were slain by his mystagogue.²

LVII. Many had conspired to do the deed, and as Dion was sitting with his friends in an apartment containing couches for entertainment, some of the conspirators invested the house outside, while others stood at the doors and windows of the apartment. The actual assassins, who were Zacynthians, came in

¹ 353 B.C.

² Implying that Callippus had himself initiated Dion into the mysteries of Demeter.

ἄνευ ξιφῶν ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσιν. ἅμα δ' οἱ μὲν ἔξω
 τὰς θύρας ἐπισπασάμενοι κατεῖχον, οἱ δὲ τῷ
 Δίῳ προσπεσόντες κατάγχειν ἐπειρῶντο καὶ
 2 συντρίβειν αὐτόν. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἦτον
 ξίφος· οὐδεὶς δ' ἐτόλμα τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι. συ-
 χνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἔνδον οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Δίῳ, ὧν
 ἕκαστος οἰόμενος, ἂν ἐκείνῳ πρόηται, διασώσῃ
 ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ἐτόλμα βοηθεῖν. διατριβῆς δὲ γε-
 νομένης Λύκων ὁ Συρακούσιος ὀρέγει τινὶ τῶν
 Ζακυνθίων διὰ τῆς θυρίδος ἐγχειρίδιον, ᾧ καθά-
 περ ἱερεῖον τὸν Δίῳ κρατούμενον πάλαι καὶ
 3 δεδιττόμενον ἀπέσφαξαν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν
 ἀδελφὴν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐγκύμονος οὔσης εἰς
 τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐνέβαλον. καὶ συνέβη τῇ γυναικὶ
 τλημονέστατα λοχευθεῖσθαι τεκεῖν ἐν τῷ δεσμο-
 τηρίῳ παιδάριον ἄρρεν· ὅπερ καὶ θρέφει μᾶλλον
 παρεβάλλοντο πείσασθαι τοὺς φύλακας, ἥδη τοῦ
 Καλλίππου θορυβουμένου τοῖς πράγμασιν.

LVIII. Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀποκτείνας τὸν
 Δίῳ λαμπρὸς ἦν καὶ κατεῖχε τὰς Συρακούσας·
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἔγραφε πόλιν, ἣν μά-
 λιστα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὤφειλεν αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ
 δεδιέναι τηλικούτου μύσους ἀψάμενος. ἀλλ'
 ἔοικεν ἀληθῶς λέγεσθαι τὸ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην
 φέρειν ἄνδρας ἀρετῇ τε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀρίστους
 καὶ κακίᾳ τοὺς φαύλους πονηροτάτους, καθάπερ
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ χώρα κάλλιστον μέλι καὶ κώνειον
 2 ὠκυμωρότατον ἀναδίδωσιν. οὐ μὲν πολὺν χρόνον
 ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐγκλημα τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν θεῶν
 περιῆν, ὥς περιωρώντων ἐξ ἀσεβήματος ἄνθρωπον
 τηλικούτου κτώμενον ἡγεμονίας καὶ πράγματα·
 ταχὺ δ' ἀξίαν δίκην ἔδωκεν. ὁρμήσας μὲν γὰρ

DION

unarmed and without their cloaks. Then at the same time those outside closed the doors and held them fast, while those inside fell upon Dion and tried to strangle and crush him. They made no headway, however, and called for a sword; but no one ventured to open the door. For Dion's companions inside were many in number; but each of them thought that by abandoning Dion to his fate he would save his own life, and so no one ventured to help him. After some delay, Lycon the Syracusan handed through the window to one of the Zacynthians a shortsword, and with this they cut Dion's throat as if he had been a victim at the altar; he had long since been overpowered and was quivering before the stroke. At once, too, they cast his sister into prison, together with his wife, who was big with child. His wife had a most wretched confinement, and gave birth in the prison to a male child, which the women ventured to rear, with the consent of their guards, and all the more because Callippus was already involved in great trouble.

LVIII. At the outset, indeed, after he had killed Dion, Callippus was a glorious personage, and had Syracuse in his power. He actually wrote a letter to the city of Athens, which, next to the gods, he ought to have held in awe and fear after setting his hands to so great a pollution. But it appears to be truly said of that city that the good men whom she breeds are of the highest excellence, and the bad men of the most despicable baseness, just as her soil produces sweetest honey and deadliest hemlock. However, Callippus did not long remain a scandal to fortune and the gods, as though they had no eyes for a man who won leadership and power by so great impiety, but speedily paid a fitting penalty. For on setting out to take

- Κατάνην λαβεῖν, εὐθὺς ἀπέβαλε τὰς Συρακούσας·
 ὅτε καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πόλιν ἀπολωλεκῶς
 3 τυρόκνηστιν εἴληφεν. ἐπιθέμενος δὲ Μεσσηνίοις
 καὶ τοὺς πλείστους στρατιώτας ἀπολέσας, ἐν οἷς
 ἦσαν οἱ Δίωνα κατακτείναντες, οὐδεμιᾶς δὲ πό-
 λεως αὐτὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προσδεχομένης, ἀλλὰ
 μισούντων ἀπάντων καὶ προβαλλομένων, Ῥήγιον
 κατέσχευεν. ἐκεῖ δὲ λυπρῶς πράττων καὶ κακῶς
 διατρέφων τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ὑπὸ Λεπτίνου καὶ
 Πολυπέρχοντος ἀνηρέθη, χρησαμένων ξιφιδίῳ
 κατὰ τύχην ᾧ καὶ Δίωνα πληγῆναί φασιν.
 ἐγνώσθη δὲ τῷ μεγέθει (βραχὺ γὰρ ἦν, ὥσπερ
 τὰ Λακωνικά) καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῆς τέχνης,
 4 εἰργασμένον γλαφυρῶς καὶ περιττῶς. τοιαύτην
 μὲν οὖν τίσιν Κάλλιππος ἔδωκε.

- Τὴν δ' Ἀριστομάχην καὶ τὴν Ἀρέτην, ὡς
 ἀφείθησαν ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς, ἀναλαβὼν Ἰκέτης ὁ
 Συρακούσιος, εἰς τῶν Δίωνος φίλων γεγονώς,
 ἔδοκει πιστῶς καὶ καλῶς περιέπειν. εἴτα συμ-
 πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Δίωνος ἐχθρῶν καὶ παρα-
 σκευάσας πλοῖον αὐταῖς, ὡς εἰς Πελοπόννησον
 ἀποσταλῆσομέναις, ἐκέλευσε κατὰ πλοῦν ἀπο-
 5 σφάξαντας ἐκβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ
 ζώσας ἔτι καταποντισθῆναι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ
 παιδίον μετ' αὐτῶν. περιῆλθε δὲ καὶ τοῦτον
 ἀξία ποινὴ τῶν τετολμημένων. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ
 ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος ἄλους ἀπέθανε, καὶ θυγατέρας
 δύο προσαπέκτειναν αὐτοῦ Δίῳ τιμωροῦντες οἱ
 Συρακούσιοι, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ Τιμολέοντος βίῳ
 καθ' ἕκαστα γέγραπται.

DION

Catana, he at once lost Syracuse; at which time, as they say, he remarked that he had lost a city and got a cheese-grater.¹ Then he attacked Messana and lost most of his soldiers, among whom were the murderers of Dion; and since no city in Sicily would receive him, but all hated and spurned him, he took possession of Rhegium. But there, being in straitened circumstances and unable to support his mercenaries properly, he was put to death by Leptines and Polyperchon, who, as fortune would have it, used the shortsword with which Dion also was said to have been smitten. And it was known by its size, which was short, after the Spartan fashion, and by the style of its workmanship, being delicately and cunningly wrought. Such, then, was the penalty which Callippus paid.

As for Andromache and Arete, when they were released from prison, they were taken up by Hicetas the Syracusan, who had been one of Dion's friends, and who was thought to be faithfully and honourably disposed towards them. Afterwards, having been persuaded by the enemies of Dion, he got a ship ready for them, pretending that they were to be sent into Peloponnesus, and ordered the sailors, during the voyage, to cut their throats and cast them into the sea. Others, however, say that they were thrown overboard alive, and the little boy with them. But Hicetas also met with a punishment worthy of his crimes. For he himself was captured by Timoleon and put to death, and the Syracusans, to avenge Dion, slew his two daughters also; of which things I have written at length in my *Life of Timoleon*.²

¹ Apparently the meaning, in Sicilian Greek, of the word Catana. Callippus maintained himself in Syracuse only thirteen months.

² Chapters xxxii. and xxxiii.

BRUTUS

ΒΡΟΥΤΟΣ

- I. Μάρκου δὲ Βρούτου πρόγονος ἦν Ἰούνιος 984
 Βρούτος, ὃν ἀνέστησαν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ χαλκοῦν
 οἱ πάλοι Ῥωμαῖοι μέσον τῶν βασιλέων, ἐспа-
 σμένον ξίφος, ὡς βεβαιότατα καταλύσαντα Ταρ-
 κυνίους. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν, ὥσπερ τὰ ψυχρήλατα
 τῶν ξιφῶν, σκληρὸν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ οὐ μαλακὸν
 2 κεῖλε τῷ θυμῷ τῷ κατὰ τῶν τυράννων, οὕτοσι
 δ', ὑπὲρ οὗ γράφεται ταῦτα, παιδεία καὶ λόγῳ
 διὰ φιλοσοφίας καταμίξας τὸ ἦθος, καὶ τὴν φύσιν
 ἐμβριθῆ καὶ πραεῖαν οὖσαν ἐπεγείρας ταῖς πρακ-
 τικαῖς ὁρμαῖς, ἐμμελέστατα δοκεῖ κραθῆναι πρὸς
 τὸ καλόν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀπεχθανομένους αὐτῷ
 διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνωμοσίαν, εἰ μὲν τι
 γενναῖον ἢ πρᾶξις ἤνεγκε, Βρούτῳ προσάπτειν,
 τὰ δυσχερέστερα δὲ τῶν γεγονότων τρέπειν εἰς
 Κάσσιον, οἰκείον μὲν ὄντα Βρούτου καὶ φίλον,
 ἀπλοῦν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ καθαρὸν οὐχ ὁμοίως.
 3 Σερβιλία δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἀνέφερε τὸ γένος εἰς Ἀάλαν¹
 Σερβίλιον, ὃς Μαιλίου Σπορίου τυραννίδα κατα-
 σκευαζομένου καὶ ταραττοντος τὸν δῆμον ἐγχει-
 ρίδιον λαβὼν ὑπὸ μάλης προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν
 καὶ παραστὰς τῷ ἀνδρὶ πλησίον, ὡς ἐντυγχάνειν

¹ Ἀάλαν Cobet : Ἀλαν.

BRUTUS

I. MARCUS BRUTUS was a descendant of that Junius Brutus whose bronze statue, with a drawn sword in its hand, was erected by the ancient Romans on the Capitol among those of their kings, in token that he was most resolute in dethroning the Tarquins. But that Brutus, like the tempered steel of swords, had a disposition which was hard by nature and not softened by letters, so that his wrath against the tyrants drove him upon the dreadful act of slaying his sons;¹ whereas this Brutus, of whom I now write, modified his disposition by means of the training and culture which philosophy gives, and stimulated a nature which was sedate and mild by active enterprises, and thus seems to have been most harmoniously attempered for the practice of virtue. As a consequence, even those who hated him on account of his conspiracy against Caesar ascribed whatever was noble in the undertaking to Brutus, but laid the more distressing features of what was done to the charge of Cassius, who was a kinsman of Brutus, indeed, and his friend, but not so simple and sincere in his character. Servilia, the mother of Brutus, traced her lineage back to Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Maelius was seditiously plotting to usurp absolute power, took a dagger under his arm, went into the forum, drew nigh the man, as if

¹ See the *Publicola*, chapter vi.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

τι μέλλων καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, προσνεύσαντα πατάξας ἀπέκτεινε.

- 4 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι· τὸ δὲ πατρῶον γένος οἱ διὰ τὸν Καίσαρος φόνον ἔχθραν τινὰ καὶ δυσμένειαν ἀποδεικνύμενοι πρὸς Βρούτου οὐ φασιν εἰς τὸν ἐκβαλόντα Ταρκυνίους ἀνήκειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκείνῳ λειφθῆναι γένος ἀνελόντι τοὺς υἱούς, ἀλλὰ δημότην τοῦτον, οἰκονόμου υἱὸν ὄντα Βρούτου, ἄρτι καὶ πρώην εἰς ἄρχοντα
5 προελθεῖν. Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος τοὺς μὲν ἐνγλίκους φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τοῦ Βρούτου παῖδας ὡς ἰστόρηται, τρίτον δὲ λειφθῆναι νήπιον, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ γένος ὠρμῆσθαι· καὶ τῶν γε καθ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας γεγονότων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναφέρειν ἐνίους πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Βρούτου τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς ἰδέας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τοσαῦτα.

- II. Σερβιλίας δὲ τῆς Βρούτου μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἦν Κάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὃν μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐξήλωσεν οὗτος θεῖον ὄντα καὶ πενθερὸν ὕστερον γενόμενον. τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν φιλοσόφων οὐδενὸς μὲν, ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀνήκοος ἦν οὐδὲ ἀλλότριος, διαφερόντως δ' ἐσπουδάκει πρὸς τοὺς
2 ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος. καὶ τὴν νέαν καὶ μέσσην λεγόμενην Ἀκαδήμειαν οὐ πάνυ προσιέμενος ἐξήρτητο τῆς παλαιᾶς, καὶ διετέλει θαυμάζων μὲν Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀσκαλωνίτην, φίλον δὲ καὶ συμβιωτὴν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον Ἀριστον, ἄνδρα τῇ μὲν ἐν λόγοις ἕξει πολλῶν φιλοσόφων λειπόμενον, εὐταξία δὲ καὶ πραότητι τοῖς πρώτοις
3 ἐνάμιλλον. ὁ δ' Ἐμπυλος οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς

BRUTUS

intending to confer privately with him, and when he inclined his head to listen, stabbed him to death.¹

This, at all events, is generally admitted; but as to the lineage of Brutus by his father's side, those who display great hatred and malevolence towards him because of the murder of Caesar deny that it goes back to that Brutus who expelled the Tarquins, since no offspring was left to him when he had slain his sons. The ancestor of Brutus, they say, was a plebeian, son of a steward by the name of Brutus, and had only recently risen to office. Poseidonius the philosopher, however, says that the two sons of Brutus who were of age perished according to the story, but that a third son was left, an infant, from whom the family descended. He says, moreover, that there were certainly illustrious men of this house in his own day, some of whom called attention to their likeness in form and features to the statue of Brutus. Thus much, then, on this head.

II. Servilia, the mother of Brutus, was a sister of Cato the philosopher, and Brutus had a higher esteem for him than for any other Roman, Cato being his uncle and afterwards becoming his father-in-law. There was practically no Greek philosopher with whom Brutus was unacquainted or unfamiliar, but he devoted himself particularly to the disciples of Plato. To the New and Middle Academy, as they are called, he was not very partial, but clung to the Old. He was therefore always an admirer of Antiochus of Ascalon, whose brother Aristus he had made his friend and housemate, a man who in learning was inferior to many philosophers, but who in good sense and gentleness vied with the foremost. Empylus also, who is often mentioned by Brutus himself in

¹ In 439 B.C. Cf. Livy, iv. 13 f.

ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ οἱ φίλοι μέμνηνται πολλάκις ὡς συμβιούντος αὐτῷ, ῥήτωρ ἦν καὶ καταλέλοιπε μικρὸν μὲν, οὐ φαῦλον δὲ σύγγραμμα περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀναιρέσεως, ὃ Βρούτος ἐπιγέγραπται.

Ῥωμαῖστὶ μὲν οὖν ἥσκητο πρὸς τὰς διεξόδους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἱκανῶς ὁ Βρούτος, Ἑλληνιστὶ 985 δὲ τὴν ἀποφθεγματικὴν καὶ Λακωνικὴν ἐπιτηδεύων βραχυλογίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνιαχοῦ 4 παράσημός ἐστιν. οἷον ἤδη καθεστηκῶς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον γράφει Περγαμηνοῖς. “Ἀκούω ὑμᾶς Δολοβέλλα δεδωκέναι χρήματα· ἂ εἰ μὲν ἐκόντες ἔδοτε, ὁμολογεῖτε ἀδικεῖν· εἰ δὲ ἄκοντες, ἀποδείξατε τῷ ἐμοὶ ἐκόντες δοῦναι.” πάλιν Σαμίοις. “Αἱ βουλαὶ ὑμῶν ὀλίγωροι, αἱ ὑπουργίαι βρα- 5 δεῖαι. τί τούτων τέλος ἐννοεῖσθε;” καὶ ἐτέραν. “Ξάνθιοι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπεριδόντες τάφον ἀπονοίας ἐσχήκασιν τὴν πατρίδα; Παταρεῖς δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπουσι διοικοῦντες τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἐξὸν οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ἢ τὴν Παταρέων κρίσιν ἢ τὴν Ξανθίων τύχην ἐλέσθαι.” τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν παρα- σήμων γένος ἐπιστολίων τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.

III. Ἔτι δὲ μεράκιον ὦν Κάτωνι τῷ θείῳ συναπεδήμησεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίων ἀποσταλέντι. Πτολεμαίου δὲ διαφθείραντος ἑαυτὸν ὁ Κάτων αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥόδῳ διατριβὴν ἔχων ἀναγκαίαν ἔτυχε μὲν ἤδη τινὰ τῶν φίλων Κανίδιον ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων φυλακὴν ἀπεσταλκῶς, δείσας δ’ ἐκείνῳ ὡς οὐκ ἀφεξόμενον κλοπῆς, ἔγραψε τῷ Βρούτῳ πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην εἰς Κύπρον ἐκ Παμφυλίας· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀναλαμβάνων ἔκ τινος 2 ἀσθενείας διήγεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μάλα ἄκων ἔπλευσε,

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his letters, and also by his friends, as a housemate of his, was a rhetorician, and has left a brief but excellent account of the assassination of Caesar, entitled "Brutus."

In Latin, now, Brutus was sufficiently trained for narrative or pleading; but in Greek he affected the brevity of the apophthegm and the Spartan, of which he sometimes gives a striking example in his letters. For instance, when he had already embarked upon the war, he wrote to the Pergamenians: "I hear that ye have given money to Dolabella; if ye gave it willingly confess that ye have wronged me; if unwillingly, prove it by giving willingly to me." Again, to the Samians: "Your counsels are paltry, your subsidies slow; what, think ye, will be the end of this?" And in another letter: "The Xanthians ignored my benefactions, and have made their country a grave for their madness; but the Patareans entrusted themselves to me, and now enjoy their freedom in all its fulness. It is in your power also to choose the decision of the Patareans or the fate of the Xanthians." Such, then, is the style of his remarkable letters.

III. While he was still a youth, he made a journey to Cyprus with his uncle Cato, who was sent out against Ptolemy.¹ And when Ptolemy made away with himself, Cato, who was himself obliged to tarry a while in Rhodes, had already dispatched one of his friends, Canidius, to take charge of the king's treasures; but fearing that he would not refrain from theft, he wrote to Brutus bidding him sail with all speed to Cyprus from Pamphylia, where he was recruiting his health after a severe sickness. Brutus set sail, but very much against his will, both because

¹ Cf. *Cato the Younger*, chapters xxxiv., xxxvi.

τόν τε Κανίδιον αἰδούμενος ὡς ἀτίμως ἀπερριμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος, καὶ ὅλως τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ διοίκησιν, ἅτε δὴ νέος καὶ σχολαστής, οὐκ ἐλευθέριον οὐδ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπηνέθη, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρισθείσης ἀναλαβὼν τὰ πλείστα τῶν χρημάτων εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπλευσεν.

- IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πράγματα διέστη Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐξενεγκαμένων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ταραχθείσης, ἐπίδοξος μὲν ἦν αἰρήσασθαι τὰ Καίσαρος· ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν Πομπηϊὸν ἐτεθνήκει πρότερον· ἀξιῶν δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ιδίων ἐπίπροσθεν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν Πομπηίου νομίζων ὑπόθεσιν βελτίονα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος¹ ἐκείνῳ προσέθετο.
- 2 καίτοι πρότερον ἀπαντήσας οὐδὲ προσεῖπε τὸν Πομπηϊὸν, ἄγος ἡγούμενος μέγα πατρὸς φονεῖ διαλέγεσθαι· τότε δ' ὡς ἄρχοντι τῆς πατρίδος ὑποτάξας ἑαυτὸν εἰς Κιλικίαν ἔπλευσε πρεσβευτῆς μετὰ Σηστιοῦ τοῦ λαχόντος τὴν ἐπαρχίαν.
- 3 ὡς δ' ἐκεῖ πράττειν οὐδὲν ἦν μέγα καὶ συνήεσαν εἰς ταὐτὸ ἤδη Πομπηϊὸς καὶ Καίσαρ ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, ἦκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐβελοντῆς τοῦ κινδύνου μεθέξων· ὅτε καὶ φασὶ Πομπηϊὸν ἡσθέντα καὶ θαυμάσαντα προσιόντος αὐτοῦ καθεζόμενον ἐξαναστῆναι καὶ περιβαλεῖν ὡς κρείττονα πάντων ὁρώντων. ἐν δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας

¹ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος Lentz : τοῦ Καίσαρος.

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he had regard for Canidius, whom he thought to have been ignominiously discarded by Cato, and because on general grounds he considered such painstaking attention to administrative affairs to be illiberal and unworthy of himself as a young man addicted to letters. However, he applied himself to this task also, and won Cato's praise, and after converting the king's property into money, took most of the treasure and set sail for Rome.

IV. Here, when the state was rent by factions, Pompey and Caesar appealing to arms and the supreme power being confounded, Brutus was expected to choose the side of Caesar, since his father had been put to death a while before at the instigation of Pompey;¹ but thinking it his duty to put the public good above his own, and holding that Pompey's grounds for going to war were better than Caesar's, he attached himself to Pompey. And yet before this he would not even speak to Pompey when he met him, considering it a great abomination to converse with the murderer of his father; now, however, looking upon him as his country's ruler, he put himself under his orders, and set sail for Cilicia as legate with Sestius, to whom the province had been allotted. But since there was nothing of importance for him to do there, and since Pompey and Caesar were now about to meet in a supreme struggle, he came of his own accord into Macedonia to share the danger. It was then, they say, that Pompey was so filled with delight and admiration that he rose from his seat as Brutus approached, and in the sight of all embraced him as a superior. During the campaign, for whatever part of the day he was not with

See the *Pompey*, chapter xvi.

ὅσα μὴ Πομπηΐω συνῆν περὶ λόγους καὶ βιβλία
διέτριβεν, οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
4 πρὸ τῆς μεγάλης μάχης. ἦν μὲν ἀκμὴ θέρους καὶ
καῦμα πολὺ πρὸς ἐλώδεσι χωρίοις ἐστρατοπεδεύ-
κότων, τῷ δὲ Βρούτῳ οὐ ταχέως ἦκον οἱ τὴν
σκηνὴν κομίζοντες. ἐκπονηθεὶς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα,
μεσημβρίας μόλις ἀλειψάμενος καὶ φαγὼν ὀλίγα,
τῶν ἄλλων ἢ καθευδόντων ἢ πρὸς ἐπινοία καὶ
φροντίδι τοῦ μέλλοντος ὄντων, αὐτὸς ἄχρι τῆς
ἐσπέρας ἔγραφε συντάττων ἐπιτομὴν Πολυβίου.

V. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ
ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγε-
μόσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ μὴ κτείνειν Βρούτον, ἀλλὰ
φείδεσθαι, καὶ παρασχόντα μὲν ἐκουσίως ἄγειν,
εἰ δὲ ἀπομάχοιτο πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν, εἶαν καὶ μὴ
βιάζεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Βρού-
2 του Σερβιλία χαριζόμενος. ἐγνώκει γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, 980
νεανίας ὢν ἔτι τὴν Σερβιλίαν ἐπιμανεῖσαν αὐτῷ,
καὶ καθ' οὓς μάλιστα χρόνους ὁ ἔρως ἐπέφλεγε
γενόμενον τὸν Βρούτον ἐπέπειστό πως ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
γεγονέναι. λέγεται δὲ τῶν περὶ Κατιλίαν πραγ-
μάτων μεγάλων ἐμπεπτωκότων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον,
ἃ μικρὸν ἐδέησεν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐστάναι
μὲν ὁμοῦ Κάτωνα καὶ Καίσαρα διαφερομένους
περὶ γνώμης, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γραμματιδίου μικροῦ
προσδοθέντος ἔξωθεν Καίσαρι, τὸν μὲν ἀναγινώ-
σκειν σιωπῇ, Κάτωνα δὲ βοᾶν ὥς δεινὰ ποιεῖ
Καῖσαρ ἐντεύξεις καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τῶν πολε-
3 μίων προσδεχόμενος. θορυβησάντων δὲ πολλῶν,

BRUTUS

Pompey, he busied himself with books and literature, not only the rest of the time, but even before the great battle.¹ It was the height of summer, the heat was great (since they had encamped in marshy regions), and they that carried the tent of Brutus were slow in coming. But though he was thus all worn out, and though it was almost noon before he anointed himself and took a little food, nevertheless, while the rest were either sleeping or occupied with anxious thoughts about the future, he himself was busy until evening in making and writing out a compend of Polybius.

V. It is said, moreover, that Caesar also was concerned for his safety, and ordered his officers not to kill Brutus in the battle, but to spare him, and take him prisoner if he gave himself up voluntarily, and if he persisted in fighting against capture, to let him alone and do him no violence; and that Caesar did this out of regard for Servilia, the mother of Brutus. For while he was still a young man, as it seems, Caesar had been intimate with Servilia, who was madly in love with him, and he had some grounds for believing that Brutus, who was born at about the time when her passion was in full blaze, was his own son. It is said also that when the great conspiracy of Catiline, which came near overthrowing the city, had come to the ears of the senate, Cato and Caesar, who were of different opinions about the matter, were standing side by side, and just then a little note was handed to Caesar from outside, which he read quietly. But Cato cried out that Caesar was outrageously receiving letters of instruction from the enemy. At this, a great tumult arose, and Caesar

¹ At Pharsalus in Thessaly, in August of 48 B.C.

καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸ δελτάριον, ὡς εἶχε, τῷ Κάτωνι προσδόντος, ἀναγνόντα Σερβιλίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀκόλαστον ἐπιστόλιον ἐκείνο μὲν ρίψαι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ εἰπεῖν “Κράτει, μέθυσε,” πρὸς δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τραπέσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἦν ὁ πρὸς Καίσαρα Σερβιλίας ἔρως περιβόητος.

VI. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἡττης καὶ Πομπηίου μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν διεκπεσόντος, πολιορκουμένου δὲ τοῦ χάρακος, ἔλαθεν ὁ Βρούτος κατὰ πύλας πρὸς τόπον ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὑδάτων καὶ καλάμου φερούσας ἐξελθὼν καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς
 2 ἀποσωθεῖς εἰς Λάρισσαν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ γράψαντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρ ἦσθη τε σωζομένῳ, καὶ κελεύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν οὐ μόνον ἀφήκε τῆς αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμώμενον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν. οὐδενὸς δ' ὅπη φεύγοι Πομπηίου εἰπεῖν ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας οὔσης, ὁδὸν τινα σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ βαδίζων μόνος ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῆς γνώμης. καὶ δόξαντος ἔκ τινων διαλογισμῶν ἄριστα περὶ τῆς Πομπηίου τεκμαίρεσθαι φυγῆς, ἀφείς τὰλλα
 3 τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου συνέτεινεν. Ἰὰλλὰ Πομπηίου μὲν, ὥσπερ εἶκασε Βρούτος, Αἰγύπτῳ προσβαλόντα τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐδέξατο, Καίσαρα δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κάσσιον ἐπράυνε Βρούτος. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ τῶν Λιβύων βασιλεῖ προηγορῶν μὲν ἡττᾶτο τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κατηγοριῶν, δεόμενος δὲ καὶ παραιτούμενος περὶ τούτου¹ πολλὴν αὐτῷ διέσωσε τῆς
 4 ἀρχῆς. λέγεται δὲ Καίσαρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἤκουσεν

¹ περὶ τούτου transposed by Bekker, after Vögelin, to the following sentence, between αὐτοῦ and λέγοντος (as soon as he heard him speaking in his behalf).

BRUTUS

gave the missive, just as it was, to Cato. Cato found, when he read it, that it was a wanton bit of writing from his sister Servilia, and throwing it to Caesar with the words "Take it, thou sot," turned again to the business under discussion.¹ So notorious was Servilia's passion for Caesar.

VI. After the defeat at Pharsalus, when Pompey had made his escape to the sea and his camp was besieged, Brutus went out unnoticed by a gate leading to a place that was marshy and full of water and reeds, and made his way safely by night to Larissa. From thence he wrote to Caesar, who was delighted at his safe escape, and bade him come to him, and not only pardoned him, but actually made him a highly honoured companion. Now, since no one could tell whither Pompey was fleeing, and all were in great perplexity, Caesar took a long walk with Brutus alone, and sounded him on the subject. Certain considerations advanced by Brutus made his opinion concerning Pompey's flight seem the best, and Caesar therefore renounced all other courses and hastened towards Egypt. But as for Pompey, he put in at Egypt, as Brutus conjectured, and there met his doom; as for Caesar, however, Brutus tried to soften him towards Cassius also. He also served as advocate for the king of Africa,² and though he lost the case, owing to the magnitude of the accusations against his client, still, by supplications and entreaties in his behalf he saved much of his kingdom for him. And it is said that Caesar, when he

¹ Cf. *Cato the Younger*, xxiv. 1 f.

² Probably an error, either of Plutarch's, or of the MSS. In 47 B.C. Brutus pleaded unsuccessfully before Caesar the cause of Deiotarus, king of Galatia. Coraëus would read Γαλατῶν for Λιβύων.

αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· “Οὗτος ὁ νεανίας οὐκ οἶδα μὲν ὃ βούλεται, πᾶν δ' ὃ βούλεται σφόδρα βούλεται.” τὸ γὰρ ἐμβριθὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως μηδὲ παντὸς ὑπήκουον τοῦ δεομένου πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ καὶ προαιρέσεως τῶν καλῶν πρακτικόν, ὅποι τρέψειεν, ἰσχυραῖς
 5 ἐχρήτο ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ τελεσιουργοῖς. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀδίκους δεήσεις ἀκολάκευτος ἦν, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναισχύντως λιπαρούντων ἦτταν, ἣν ἔνιοι δυσωπεῖσθαι καλοῦσιν, αἰσχίστην ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ ποιούμενος εἰώθει λέγειν ὡς οἱ μὴδὲν ἀρνεῖσθαι δυνάμενοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ μὴ καλῶς τὴν ὥραν διατεθεῖσθαι.

6 Μέλλων δὲ διαβαίνειν εἰς Λιβύην Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Κάτωνα καὶ Σκηπίωνα Βρούτῳ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἐπέτρεψεν εὐτυχία τινὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας· τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ὕβρει καὶ πλεονεξία τῶν πεπιστευμένων ὥσπερ αἰχμαλώτους διαφορούντων, ἐκείνοις καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀτυχημάτων παῦλα καὶ
 7 παραμυθία Βρούτος ἦν. καὶ τὴν χάριν εἰς Καίσαρα πάντων ἀνῆπτεν, ὡς αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον περιϊόντι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡδιστον θέαμα τὰς ὑπὸ Βρούτῳ πόλεις γενέσθαι, καὶ Βρούτον αὐτόν, αὔξοντα τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν καὶ συνόντα κεχαρισμένως.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείονων στρατηγιῶν οὐσῶν τὴν μέγιστον ἔχουσαν ἀξίωμα, καλουμένην δὲ πολιτικὴν, ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἢ Βρούτος ἢ Κασσιος, οἱ 087 μὲν αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν ἐξ αἰτιῶν προτέρων ἡσυχῇ διαφερομένους ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τούτου διαστασιάσαι, καίπερ οἰκείους ὄντας· Ἰουνία γάρ, ἀδελφῇ

BRUTUS

first heard Brutus speak in public, said to his friends: "I know not what this young man wants, but all that he wants he wants very much."¹ For the weight of his character, and the fact that no one found it easy to make him listen to appeals for favour, but that he accomplished his ends by reasoning and the adoption of noble principles, made his efforts, whithersoever directed, powerful and efficacious. No flattery could induce him to grant an unjust petition, and that inability to withstand shameless importunity, which some call timidity, he regarded as most disgraceful in a great man, and he was wont to say that those who were unable to refuse anything, in his opinion, must have been corrupted in their youth.

When Caesar was about to cross over into Africa against Cato and Scipio, he put Brutus in charge of Cisalpine Gaul, to the great good-fortune of the province; for while the other provinces, owing to the insolence and rapacity of their governors, were plundered as though they had been conquered in war, to the people of his province Brutus meant relief and consolation even for their former misfortunes. And he attached the gratitude of all to Caesar, so that, after Caesar's return, and as he traversed Italy, he found the cities under Brutus a most pleasing sight, as well as Brutus himself, who enhanced his honour and was a delightful companion.

VII. Now that there were several praetorships to be had, it was expected that the one of greatest dignity, that is, the praetorship of the city, would fall either to Brutus or to Cassius; and some say that the two men, who were already slightly at variance for other reasons, were still more estranged by this circumstance, although they were relatives, since

¹ Cf. Cicero *ad Att.* xiv. 1, 2.

- 2 Βρούτου, συνψέκει Κάσσιος· οἱ δὲ Καίσαρος ἔργον γενέσθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν ταύτην, ἑκατέρῳ κρύφα δι' ἐλπίδων ἐνδιδόντος ἑαυτόν, ἄχρι οὗ προαχθέντες οὕτω καὶ παροξυνθέντες εἰς ἀγῶνα κατέστησαν. ἡγωνίζετο δὲ Βρούτος εὐκλεία καὶ ἀρετῇ πρὸς πολλὰ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ λαμπρὰ τὰ Παρ-
3 θικὰ νεανιεύματα. Καίσαρ δ' ἀκούσας καὶ βουλευόμενος ἐν τοῖς φίλοις εἶπε· “Δικαιότερα μὲν λέγει Κάσσιος, Βρούτῳ δὲ τὴν πρώτην δοτέον.” ἀπεδείχθη δὲ Κάσσιος ἐφ' ἑτέρα στρατηγός, οὗ τοσοῦτον εὐνοίας ἔχων δι' ἣν ἔλαβεν ὅσον ὀργῆς ὦν ἀπέτυχε.
- 4 Βρούτος δὲ καὶ τὰλλα μετείχε τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως ὅσον ἐβούλετο. βουλομένῳ γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι τῶν φίλων πρώτῳ καὶ δύνασθαι πλεῖστον· ἀλλ' εἴλκεν αὐτόν ἢ περὶ Κάσσιον ἐταιρεία καὶ ἀπέστρεφεν, αὐτῷ μὲν οὕτω Κασσίῳ διηλλαγμένον ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἀκούοντα δὲ τῶν φίλων διακελευομένων μὴ περιορᾶν αὐτόν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μαλασσόμενον καὶ κηλούμενον, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν τὰς τυραννικὰς φιλοφροσύνας καὶ χάριτας, αἷς οὐ τιμῶντα τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' ἐκτέμνοντα τὴν ἀλκὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ὑπερείποντα χρῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν.

VIII. Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Καίσαρ ἀνύποπτος ἦν πάν-
παν οὐδ' ἀδιάβλητος πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐδεδίει τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐπίστευε δὲ τῷ ἥθει. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα λεγομένων νεωτερίζειν

BRUTUS

Cassius was the husband of Junia, a sister of Brutus. But others say that this rivalry was the work of Caesar, who secretly favoured the hopes of each until, thus induced and incited, they entered into competition with one another. Brutus, however, made the contest supported only by his fair fame and his virtue, as against many brilliant and spirited exploits of Cassius in the Parthian war.¹ But Caesar, after hearing the claims of each, said, in council with his friends: "Cassius makes the juster plea, but Brutus must have the first praetorship." So Cassius was appointed to another praetorship, but he was not so grateful for what he got as he was angry over what he had lost.

And in all other ways, too, Brutus had as large a share in Caesar's power as he wished. Indeed, had he wished it, he might have been first among Caesar's friends and exercised the greatest power; but the party of Cassius drew him away from such a course. Not that he was reconciled to Cassius himself as yet, after their struggle for honours, but he gave ear to the friends of Cassius, who urged him not to suffer himself to be charmed and softened by Caesar, but rather to flee the tyrant's kindnesses and favours, for these were shown to him, not to reward his virtue, but to root out his vigour and his haughty spirit.

VIII. However, even Caesar was not wholly without suspicion, nor free from the effects of accusations against Brutus, but, while he feared his high spirit, his great repute, and his friends, he had faith in his character. Once, when he was told that Antony and Dolabella were plotting revolution, he said it

¹ See the *Crassus*, xviii. ff.

οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς παχεῖς καὶ κομήτας ἐνοχλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὠχροὺς καὶ ἰσχνοὺς ἐκείνους· Βρούτον λέγων
 2 καὶ Κάσσιον· ἔπειτα τὸν Βρούτον τινῶν διαβαλόντων καὶ φυλάττεσθαι παρακελευομένων τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπτόμενος εἶπε· “Τί δέ; οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ Βρούτος ἀναμείναι τουτὶ τὸ σαρκίον;” ὥς οὐδενὶ προσῆκον ἄλλῳ μεθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἢ Βρούτῳ δύνασθαι τοσοῦτον. καὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἂν ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι βεβαίως, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀνασχόμενος Καίσαρι δευτερεῦσαι καὶ παρακμάσαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μαρανθῆναι
 3 τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐάσας δόξαν. ἀλλὰ Κάσσιος, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ μᾶλλον ἰδίᾳ μισοκαῖσαρ ἢ κοινῇ μισοτύραννος, ἐξέκαυσε καὶ κατήπειξε. λέγεται δὲ Βρούτος μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν βαρύνεσθαι, Κάσσιος δὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα μισεῖν, ἄλλα τε κατ’ αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος ἐγκλήματα καὶ λεόντων ἀφαίρεσιν, οὓς Κάσσιος μὲν ἀγορανομεῖν μέλλων παρεσκευάσατο, Καῖσαρ δὲ καταληφθέντας ἐν Μεγάροις, ὅθ’ ἡ πόλις ἦλω διὰ Καληνοῦ,
 4 κατέσχε. ταῦτα τὰ θηρία συμφορὰν λέγεται μεγάλην γενέσθαι Μεγαρεῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς πόλεως καταλαμβανομένης διέσπασαν τὰ κλεῖθρα καὶ τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀνήκαν, ὥς ἐμποδῶν εἶη τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, τὰ δ’ ὥρουσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ διαθέοντας ἀνόπλους ἥρπαζεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ὄψιν οἰκτρὰν γενέσθαι.

IX. Τῷ δ’ οὖν Κασσίῳ ταύτην μάλιστά φασιν αἰτίαν ὑπάρξαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς· οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγον-

BRUTUS

was not the fat and long-haired fellows that troubled him, but those pale and lean ones;¹ meaning Brutus and Cassius. And again, when certain ones were accusing Brutus to him, and urging him to be on his guard against him, he laid his hand upon his breast and said: "What? Think ye not that Brutus can wait for this poor flesh?" implying that no one besides Brutus was fit to succeed him in such great power. And verily it appears that Brutus might have been first in the city with none to dispute him, could he have endured for a little while to be second to Caesar, suffering his power to wane and the fame of his successes to wither. But Cassius, a man of violent temper, and rather a hater of Caesar on his own private account than a hater of tyranny on public grounds, fired him up and urged him on. Brutus, it is said, objected to the rule, but Cassius hated the ruler, and among other charges which he brought against him was that of taking away some lions which Cassius had provided when he was about to be aedile; the beasts had been left at Megara, and when the city was taken by Calenus,² Caesar appropriated them. And the beasts are said to have brought great calamity upon the Megarians. For these, just as their city was captured, drew back the bolts and loosened the fetters that confined the animals, in order that they might obstruct the oncoming foe, but they rushed among the unarmed citizens themselves and preyed upon them as they ran hither and thither, so that even to the enemy the sight was a pitiful one.

IX. In the case of Cassius, then, they say this was the chief reason for his plotting against Caesar;

¹ Cf. *Caesar*, lxii. 5.

² Cf. *Caesar*, xliii. 1.

- τες. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει τοῦ Κασσίου
 δυσμένειά τις καὶ χαλεπότης πρὸς τὸ γένος τῶν
 τυράννων, ὡς ἐδήλωσεν ἔτι παῖς ὢν βαδίζων εἰς
 ταὐτὸ τῷ τοῦ Σύλλα παιδί Φαύστῳ διδασκαλείον.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παισὶ μεγαληγορῶν τὴν τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἐπῆναι μοναρχίαν· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐπανα-
 2 στας κονδύλους ἐνέτριβεν αὐτῷ. βουλομένωνν δὲ
 τῶν ἐπιτρόπων τοῦ Φαύστου καὶ οἰκείων ἐπεξιέναι 988
 καὶ δικάζεσθαι Πομπηῖος ἐκώλυσε, καὶ συναγα-
 γὼν εἰς ταὐτὸ τοὺς παῖδας ἀμφοτέρους ἀνέκρινε
 περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται τὸν Κάσ-
 σιον εἰπεῖν· “Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Φαῦστε, τόλμησον ἐναν-
 τίον τούτου φθέγξασθαι τὸν λόγον ἐκείνῳ ἐφ’ ᾧ
 παρωξύνθην, ἵνα σου πάλιν ἐγὼ συντρίψω τὸ
 στόμα.”
- 3 Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος· Βρούτῳ δὲ πολλοὶ
 μὲν λόγοι παρὰ τῶν συνήθων, πολλαῖς δὲ φήμας
 καὶ γράμμασιν ἐξεκαλοῦντο καὶ παρώρμων ἐπὶ
 τὴν πράξιν οἱ πολῖται. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδριάντι
 τοῦ προπάτορος Βρούτου τοῦ καταλύσαντος τὴν
 τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχὴν ἐπέγραφον· “Εἶθε νῦν ἦς,
 Βρούτε” καὶ “ὦφελε ζῆν Βρούτος.” τὸ δ’ αὐ-
 τοῦ Βρούτου βῆμα στρατηγούντος εὕρισκετο μεθ’
 ἡμέραν ἀνάπλεων γραμμάτων τοιούτων· “Βρούτε,
 4 καθεύδεις;” καὶ “Οὐκ εἰ Βρούτος ἀληθῶς.” αἵτιοι
 δὲ τούτων οἱ Καίσαρος κόλακες ἄλλας τε τιμὰς
 ἐπιφθόνους ἀνευρίσκοντες αὐτῷ καὶ διαδήματα
 τοῖς ἀνδριάσι νύκτωρ ἐπιτιθέντες, ὡς τοὺς πολ-
 λούς ὑπαζόμενοι βασιλέα προσεῖπεῖν ἀντὶ δικτά-
 τορος. τούναντίον δ’ ἀπήντησεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ
 Καίσαρος ἀκριβῶς γέγραπται.

X. Κασσίῳ δὲ πειρῶντι τοὺς φίλους ἐπὶ Καί-

BRUTUS

but it is not so. For from the outset there was in the nature of Cassius great hostility and bitterness towards the whole race of tyrants, as he showed when he was still a boy and went to the same school with Faustus the son of Sulla. For when Faustus blustered among the boys and bragged about his father's absolute power, Cassius sprang up and gave him a thrashing. The guardians and relatives of Faustus wished to carry the matter into court, but Pompey forbade it, and after bringing the two boys together, questioned them both about the matter. Then, as the story goes, Cassius said: "Come now, Faustus, have the courage to utter in this man's presence that speech which angered me, and I will smash your face again."

Such was Cassius; but Brutus was exhorted and incited to the undertaking by many arguments from his comrades, and by many utterances and writings from his fellow citizens. For instance, on the statue of his ancestor, the Brutus who overthrew the power of the kings, there was written: "O that we had thee now, Brutus!" and "O that Brutus were alive!" Besides, the praetorial tribunal of Brutus himself was daily found covered with such writings as these: "Brutus, art thou asleep?" and "Thou art not really Brutus." These things were brought about by the flatterers of Caesar, who, among other invidious honours which they invented for him, actually put crowns upon his statues by night, hoping to induce the multitude to address him as king instead of dictator. But the contrary came to pass, as I have written fully in my *Life of Caesar*.¹

X. Moreover, when Cassius sought to induce his

¹ Chapter lxi.

- σαρα πάντες ὁμολόγουν, εἰ Βρούτος ἠγοίτο· δεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ χειρῶν οὐδὲ τόλμης τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλὰ δόξης ἀνδρὸς οἷος οὗτός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καταρχομένου καὶ βεβαιούντος αὐτῷ τῷ παρεῖναι τὸ δίκαιον· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ δρῶντας ἀθυμοτέρους ἔσεσθαι καὶ δράσαντας ὑποπτοτέρους· ὥς οὐκ αἰ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔργον, εἰ καλὴν αἰτίαν εἶχεν, ἀπειπα-
 2 μένου. ταῦτα συμφρονήσας ἐνέτυχε Βρούτῳ πρότερος ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐκείνης, καὶ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἠρώτησεν εἰ τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς ἔγνωκεν εἰς σύγκλητον παρεῖναι· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὡς λόγον ὑπὲρ βασιλείας Καίσαρος οἱ φίλοι τότε καθήσοιεν. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου μὴ παριέναι, “Τί οὖν,” εἶπεν ὁ Κάσσιος, “ἂν καλῶσιν ἡμᾶς;” “Ἐμὸν ἔργον,” ἔφη ὁ Βρούτος, “ἤδη τὸ μὴ σιωπᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἀμύνειν τῇ πατρίδι¹ καὶ προαποθνήσκειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.”
 3 καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπαρθείς, “Τίς δ’,” εἶπε, “Ῥωμαίων ἀνέξεται σοῦ προαποθνήσκοντος; ἄρα ἀγνοεῖς, ὦ Βρούτε, σεαυτόν; ἢ τὸ βῆμά σου δοκεῖς καταγράφειν τοὺς ὑφάντας καὶ τοὺς καπήλους, οὐχὶ τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ κρατίστους ταῦτα ποιεῖν, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἐπιδόσεις καὶ θέας καὶ μονομάχους, παρὰ σοῦ δὲ ὡς ὄφλημα πατρικὸν τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπαι-
 4 τοῦντας, αὐτοὺς δ’ ὑπὲρ σοῦ πάντα πᾶσχειν προθύμους ὄντας, οἷον ἀξιούσι καὶ προσδέχονται

¹ ἀμύνειν τῇ πατρίδι: Lentz, comparing Appian, *B.C.* ii. 113: ἀμύνειν.

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friends to conspire against Caesar, they all agreed to do so if Brutus took the lead, arguing that the undertaking demanded, not violence nor daring, but the reputation of a man like him, who should consecrate the victim, as it were, and ensure by the mere fact of his participation the justice of the sacrifice; otherwise they would be more timid in doing the deed and more suspected after they had done it, since men would say that Brutus would not have declined the task if the purpose of it had been honourable. After reflecting on this, Cassius made Brutus his first visit since the quarrel above mentioned,¹ and when they were again on a friendly footing, asked him whether he had made up his mind to attend the meeting of the senate on the Calends of March; for it had come to his ears, he said, that Caesar's friends would then move to have him made king. When Brutus answered that he should not attend, "What, then," said Cassius, "if we should be summoned?" "It would at once be my duty," said Brutus, "not to hold my peace, but to defend my country and die in behalf of liberty." Then Cassius, elated, said: "But what Roman will consent to have thee die in such defence? Dost thou not know thyself, Brutus? Or dost thou think that thy tribunal was covered with inscriptions by weavers and hucksters, and not by the foremost and most influential citizens? From their other praetors they demand gifts and spectacles and gladiatorial combats; but from thee, as a debt thou owest to thy lineage, the abolition of the tyranny; and they are ready and willing to suffer anything in thy behalf, if thou showest thyself to be what they ex-

¹ Chapter vii. 1-3.

φανέντος;" ἐκ τούτου περιβαλὼν τὸν Βροῦτον ἡσπάζετο, καὶ διαλυθέντες οὕτως ἐτρέποντο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους.

XI. Ἦν δέ τις Γαῖος Λιγάριος τῶν Πομπηίου φίλων, ὃν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορηθέντα Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσεν. οὗτος, οὐχ ἥς ἀφείθη δίκης χάριν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀρχὴν βαρυνόμενος, ἐχθρὸς ἦν Καίσαρι, τῶν δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα συνήθης. πρὸς τοῦτον ἀσθενοῦντα Βροῦτος εἰσελθὼν, "ὦ Λιγάριε," εἶπεν, "ἐν οἷφ καιρῷ νοσεῖς." κακεῖνος εὐθὺς εἰς ἀγκῶνα διαναστὰς καὶ λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς, "Ἄλλ' εἴ τι," φησὶν, "ὦ Βροῦτε, σεαυτοῦ φρονεῖς ἄξιον, ὑγιαίνω."

XII. Ἐκ τούτου διαπειρώμενοι κρύφα τῶν γνωρίμων οἷς ἐπίστευον ἀνεκοινοῦντο καὶ προσελάμβανον, οὐ μόνον τῶν συνήθων ποιούμενοι τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἠπίσταντο τολμητὰς ὄντας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ θανάτου καταφρονητὰς. διὸ καὶ Κικέρωνα, τοῦτο μὲν πίστεως, τοῦτο δὲ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα πρῶτον ὄντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀπεκρύψαντο, μὴ τῷ φύσει τόλμης ἐνδεὲς εἶναι προσειληφὼς ὑπὸ χρόνου γερωντικὴν εὐλάβειαν, εἶτα πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνάγων τοῖς λογισμοῖς εἰς ἄκραν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀμβλύνη τὴν ἀκμὴν αὐτῶν τῆς προ- 989
3 θυμίας τάχους δεομένην. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων ὁ Βροῦτος Στατίλιόν τε παρέλιπε τὸν Ἐπικούρειον καὶ Φάωνιον ἐραστὴν Κάτωνος, ὅτι πόρρωθεν αὐτοῖς τοιαύτην τινὰ κύκλῳ περιβαλόντος ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ συμφίλοσοφεῖν

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pect and demand." After this, he embraced Brutus and kissed him, and thus reconciled they betook themselves to their friends.

XI. There was a certain Caius Ligarius¹ among the friends of Pompey, who had been denounced as such, but pardoned by Caesar. This man, cherishing no gratitude for his pardon, but rather offended by the power which had put his life in jeopardy, was an enemy of Caesar, and one of the most familiar friends of Brutus. Once, when this man was sick, Brutus came to see him, and said: "O Ligarius, what a time this is to be sick!" Ligarius at once raised himself on his elbow, clasped Brutus by the hand, and said: "Nay, Brutus, if thou hast a purpose worthy of thyself, I am well."

XII. After this, they secretly tested the sentiments of well known men in whom they had confidence, selecting not only from their intimates, but all whom they knew to be bold, brave, and contemptuous of death. For this reason, too, they kept their plans a secret from Cicero, although he was foremost among them, not only for the confidence, but also for the good will which he inspired. They feared that the caution which time and old age had brought him, combined with his natural timidity, and further, his habit of calculating all the details of every enterprise so as to ensure the utmost safety, would blunt the edge of their ardour at a crisis which demanded speed. Besides, Brutus also passed by, among his other friends, Statilius the Epicurean and Favonius the devoted follower of Cato. The reason was that some time before he had put them to a very similar test by the round-about method of a philosophical

¹ He is called Quintus Ligarius in the *Cicero*, xxxix. 5.

πεῖραν, ὁ μὲν Φαώνιος ἀπεκρίνατο χειρόν εἶναι
 μοναρχίας παρανόμου πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, ὁ δὲ
 Στατίλιος ἔφη τῷ σοφῷ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι διὰ φαύ-
 λους καὶ ἀνοήτους κινδυνεύειν καὶ ταράττεσθαι
 μὴ καθήκειν. παρὼν δὲ Λαβεὼν ἀντεῖπεν ἀμφο-
 4 τέροις. καὶ ὁ Βρούτος τότε μὲν ὡς ἔχοντός τι
 τοῦ λόγου χαλεπὸν καὶ δύσκριτον ἀπεσιώπησεν,
 ὕστερον δὲ Λαβεῶνι κοινοῦται τὸ βούλευμα.
 δεξαμένου δὲ προθύμως, τὸν ἕτερον Βρούτον,
 ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀλβῖνον, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ὄντα ρέκτην
 οὐδὲ θαρραλέον, ἐρρωμένον δὲ πλήθει μονομάχων
 οὓς ἐπὶ θεῇ Ῥωμαίων ἔτρεφε, καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρι
 5 πιστευόμενον, ἐδόκει προσάγεσθαι. Κασσίου δὲ
 καὶ Λαβεῶνος αὐτῷ διαλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἀπεκρί-
 νατο, Βρούτῳ δ' αὐτὸς ἐντυχὼν ἰδίᾳ καὶ μαθὼν
 ὅτι τῆς πράξεως ἡγεμὼν ἐστιν, ὡμολόγησε συμ-
 πράξειν προθύμως. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τοὺς πλεί-
 στους καὶ ἀρίστους ἢ δόξα τοῦ Βρούτου προσήγετο.
 6 καὶ μὴθ' ὄρκον συνομόσαντες μήτε πίστιν καθ'
 ἱερῶν λαβόντες ἢ δόντες, οὕτως ἅπαντες ἔσχον ἐν
 ἑαυτοῖς καὶ κατεσιώπησαν καὶ συνδιήνεγκαν ὥστε
 μαντείαις καὶ φάσμασι καὶ ἱεροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν
 προδεικνυμένην ἄπιστον γενέσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν.

XIII. Ὁ δὲ Βρούτος, ἅτε δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς
 Ῥώμης φρονήματα καὶ γένη καὶ ἀρετὰς ἐξηρητη-
 μένος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περινοῶν πάντα τὸν κίνδυνον,
 ἔξω μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο κατέχειν παρ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ κατα-
 κοσμεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, οἵκοι δὲ καὶ νύκτωρ οὐκ ἦν
 ὁ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄκουτα τῶν ὕπνων αὐτὸν ἢ

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discussion, when Favonius had answered that civil war was worse than illegal monarchy; and Statilius had declared that it did not become a wise and sensible man to be thrown into turmoil and peril for the sake of feeble and foolish folk. Labeo, however, who was present, argued against them both. At that time, on the ground that the question was rather difficult and hard to decide, Brutus held his peace, but afterwards imparted his purpose to Labeo, who readily concurred in it. Then it was decided to bring over to their cause the other Brutus, surnamed Albinus;¹ in other ways he was not an enterprising nor even a courageous man, but the large number of gladiators whom he was maintaining for the Roman spectacles made him powerful, and he had Caesar's confidence. When Cassius and Labeo discussed the matter with him, he would make no answer; but he had a private interview by himself with Brutus, and on learning that he was leader of the enterprise, readily agreed to co-operate. The most and best of the rest also were won over by the reputation in which Brutus stood. And although they exchanged neither oaths nor sacred pledges, they all kept the undertaking so much to themselves and were so secret in carrying it out together that, although it was foretold by the gods in prophecies and oracles and sacrificial omens,² no one would believe in it.

XIII. Now Brutus, since he had made the foremost men of Rome for dignity, family, and virtue, dependent on himself, and since he understood all the danger involved, in public tried to keep his thoughts to himself and under control; but at home, and at night, he was not the same man. Sometimes, in spite

¹ Cf. *Caesar*, chapter lxiv. ² Cf. *Caesar*, chapter lxiii.

φροντὶς ἐξέφερε, τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνδυνόμενος τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ διατρίβων ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις οὐκ ἐλάνθανε τὴν γυναῖκα συναναπαυομένην, ὅτι μεστός ἐστι ταραχῆς ἀήθους καὶ κυκλεῖ τι παρ' ἑαυτῷ δύσφορον βούλευμα καὶ δυσεξέλικτον.

- 2 Ἡ δὲ Πορκία θυγάτηρ μὲν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Κάτωνος ἦν, εἶχε δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Βρούτος ἀνεψιὸς ὢν οὐκ ἐκ παρθενίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ προτέρου τελευτήσαντος ἀνδρὸς ἔλαβε κόρην οὔσαν ἔτι καὶ παιδίου ἔχουσαν ἐξ ἐκείνου μικρόν, ᾧ Βύβλος ἦν ὄνομα· καὶ τι βιβλίδιον μικρὸν ἀπομνημονευμάτων Βρούτου γεγραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διασώζεται.
- 3 φιλόστοργος δ' ἡ Πορκία καὶ φίλανδρος οὔσα καὶ μεστή φρονήματος νοῦν ἔχοντος, οὐ πρότερον ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνερέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα περὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἢ λαβεῖν ἑαυτῆς τοιαύτην διάπειραν. λαβοῦσα μαχαίριον ᾧ τοὺς ὄνυχας οἱ κουρεῖς ἀφαιροῦσι, καὶ πάσας ἐξελάσασα τοῦ θαλάμου τὰς ὀπαδοὺς, τομὴν ἐνέβαλε τῷ μηρῷ βαθεῖαν, ὥστε ῥύσιν αἵματος πολλὴν γενέσθαι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὀδύνας τε νεανικὰς καὶ φρικώδεις πυρετοὺς
- 4 ἐπιλαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος. ἀγωνιῶντος δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ δυσφοροῦντος ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἀλγηδόνης οὔσα διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως· “Ἐγώ, Βρούτε, Κάτωνος οὔσα θυγάτηρ εἰς τὸν σὸν ἐδόθην οἶκον οὐχ ὥσπερ αἱ παλλακευόμεναι, κοίτης μεθέξουσα καὶ τραπέζης μόνον, ἀλλὰ κοινωνὸς μὲν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι, κοινωνὸς δὲ ἀνιαρῶν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σὰ πάντα περὶ τὸν γάμον ἄμεμπτα· τῶν δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ τίς ἀπόδειξις ἢ χάρις, εἰ μήτε σοι πάθος ἀπόρρητον συνδιοίσω μήτε φροντίδα
- 5 πίστεως δεομένην; οἶδ' ὅτι γυναικεῖα φύσις

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of himself, his anxious thoughts would rouse him out of sleep, and sometimes, when he was more than ever immersed in calculation and beset with perplexities, his wife, who slept by his side, perceived that he was full of unwonted trouble, and was revolving in his mind some difficult and complicated plan.

Porcia, as has been said, was a daughter of Cato, and when Brutus, who was her cousin, took her to wife, she was not a virgin; she was, however, still very young, and had by her deceased husband¹ a little son whose name was Bibulus. A small book containing memoirs of Brutus was written by him, and is still extant. Porcia, being of an affectionate nature, fond of her husband, and full of sensible pride, did not try to question her husband about his secrets until she had put herself to the following test. She took a little knife, such as barbers use to cut the finger nails, and after banishing all her attendants from her chamber, made a deep gash in her thigh, so that there was a copious flow of blood, and after a little while violent pains and chills and fever followed from the wound. Seeing that Brutus was disturbed and greatly distressed, in the height of her anguish she spoke to him thus: "Brutus, I am Cato's daughter, and I was brought into thy house, not, like a mere concubine, to share thy bed and board merely, but to be a partner in thy joys, and a partner in thy troubles. Thou, indeed, art faultless as a husband; but how can I show thee any grateful service if I am to share neither thy secret suffering nor the anxiety which craves a loyal confidant? I know that woman's nature is thought too weak to

¹ Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, colleague of Caesar in the consulship of 59 B.C.

ἀσθενὴς δοκεῖ λόγον ἐνεγκεῖν ἀπόρρητον· ἀλλ' ἔστι τις, ὃ Βρούτε, καὶ τροφῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ ὁμιλίας χρηστῆς εἰς ἡθος ἰσχύς· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ Κάτωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τὸ Βρούτου γυναῖκα 990 πρόσσεστιν· οἷς πρότερον μὲν ἡττον ἐπεποιθεῖν, νῦν δ' ἐμαυτὴν ἔγνωκα καὶ πρὸς πόνον ἀήττητον εἶναι.” ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ διηγεῖται τὴν πείραν. ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέύξατο δοῦναι τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῷ κατορθοῦντι τὴν πράξιν ἀνδρὶ Πορκίας ἀξίῳ φανῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνελάμβανε τὴν γυναῖκα.

XIV. Προγραφείσης δὲ βουλῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀφίξεσθαι Καῖσαρ, ἔγνωσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἄθρόοι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀνυπόπτως ἔσσεσθαι τότε, καὶ πάντας ἔξειν ὁμοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ πρῶτους ἄνδρας, ἔργου μεγάλου πραχθέντος εὐ- 2 θύς ἀντιλαμβανομένους τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ τόπου θεῖον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν στοὰ γὰρ ἦν μία τῶν περὶ τὸ θέατρον, ἐξέδραν ἔχουσα ἐν ἣ Πομπηίου τις εἰκὼν εἰστήκει, τῆς πόλεως στησαμένης ὅτε ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ἐκόσμησεν. εἰς ταύτην οὖν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκαλεῖτο τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς μάλιστα μεσοῦντος (εἰδούς Μαρτίας τὴν ἡμέραν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν), ὥστε καὶ δαίμων τις ἐδόκει τὸν ἄνδρα τῇ Πομπηίου δίκῃ προσάξειν.

3 Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας Βρούτος μὲν ὑποζω- σάμενος ἐγχειρίδιον μόνῃς συνειδυίας τῆς γυναικὸς προῆλθεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πρὸς Κάσσιον ἀθροισθέντες τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ καλούμενον ἀνδρεῖον ἱμάτιον ἀναλαμβάνοντα κατήγον εἰς ἀγοράν. ἐκείθεν δὲ

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endure a secret; but good rearing and excellent companionship go far towards strengthening the character, and it is my happy lot to be both the daughter of Cato and the wife of Brutus. Before this I put less confidence in these advantages, but now I know that I am superior even to pain." Thus having spoken, she showed him her wound and explained her test; whereupon Brutus, amazed, and lifting his hands to heaven, prayed that he might succeed in his undertaking and thus show himself a worthy husband of Porcia. Then he sought to restore his wife.

XIV. A meeting of the senate having been called, to which it was expected that Caesar would come, they determined to make their attempt there; for they could then gather together in numbers without exciting suspicion, and would have all the best and foremost men in one place, who, once the great deed was done, would straightway espouse the cause of liberty. It was thought, too, that the place of meeting was providentially in their favour; for it was one of the porticoes about the theatre, containing a session-room in which stood a statue of Pompey. This statue the city had erected in his honour when he adorned that place with the porticoes and the theatre.¹ Hither, then, the senate was summoned about the middle of March² (the Romans call the day the Ides of March), so that some heavenly power seemed to be conducting Caesar to Pompey's vengeance.

When the day came, Brutus girt on a dagger, to the knowledge of his wife alone, and went forth, while the rest assembled at the house of Cassius and conducted his son, who was about to assume what was called the "toga virilis," down to the forum. Thence

¹ Cf. *Pompey*, xl. 5. ² March 15, 44 B.C.

πάντες εἰς τὴν Πομπηίου στοὰν ἐμβαλόντες διέ-
 τριβον, ὡς αὐτίκα Καίσαρος ἀφιζομένου πρὸς
 4 τὴν σύγκλητον. ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καθεστηκὸς ἐθαύ-
 μασεν ἂν τις εἰδῶς τὸ μέλλον, ὅτι πολλοῖς διὰ τὸ
 στρατηγεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι χρηματίζειν οὐ μόνον
 πρᾶως ἤκροῶντο τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ διαφερο-
 μένων ὥσπερ σχολάζοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις
 ἐκάστοις ἀκριβεῖς καὶ μετὰ γνώμης ἐδίδουσιν,
 5 ἐπιμελῶς προσέχοντες. ἐπεὶ δέ τις μὴ βουλό-
 μενος δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἐπεκαλεῖτο Καίσαρα καὶ
 πολὺς ἦν βοῶν καὶ μαρτυρόμενος, ἀποβλέψας ὁ
 Βρούτος εἰς τοὺς παρόντας, “Ἐμὲ Καίσαρ,”
 εἶπεν, “οὔτε κωλύει ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
 οὔτε κωλύσει.”

XV. Καίτοι πολλὰ θορυβώδη κατὰ τύχην
 αὐτοῖς προσέπεσε· πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα τὸ
 βραδύνειν τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς ἡμέρας προηκούσης
 καὶ δυσιερούντα κατέχεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς
 οἴκοι, κωλύεσθαι δὲ προελθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν μάντεων.
 2 δεύτερον δὲ Κάσκα τῶν συνειδόντων ἐνὶ προσελ-
 θῶν τις καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς, “Σὺ μὲν,”
 εἶπεν, “ἀπεκρύψω τὸ ἀπόρρητον, ὦ Κάσκα,
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Βρούτος δέ μοι πάντα μεμήνυκεν.”
 ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Κάσκα γελάσας ἐκείνος,
 “Πόθεν,” ἔφη, “ταχέως οὕτως, ὦ μακάριε, πε-
 πλούτηκας ὥστ’ εἰς ἀγορανομίαν ἀποδύεσθαι;”
 παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ὁ Κάσκας ἦλθε σφαλεῖς
 3 ἀμφιβολία προέσθαι τὸ ἀπόρρητον· αὐτὸν δὲ

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they all hastened to the portico of Pompey and waited there, expecting that Caesar would straightway come to the meeting of the senate. There any one who knew what was about to happen would have been above all things astonished at the indifference and composure of the men on the brink of this terrible crisis. Many of them were praetors and therefore obliged to perform the duties of their office, wherein they not only listened calmly to those who had petitions to offer or quarrels to compose, as if they had ample time, but also took pains to give their verdicts in every case with accuracy and judgment. And when a certain man who was unwilling to submit to the verdict of Brutus appealed to Caesar with loud cries and attestations, Brutus turned his gaze upon the bystanders and said: "Caesar does not prevent me from acting according to the laws, nor will he prevent me."

XV. And yet many things occurred to surprise and disturb them. First and foremost, though the day was advancing, Caesar delayed his coming, being detained at home by his wife because his omens were unpropitious,¹ and prevented from going forth by the soothsayers. In the second place, some one came up to Casca, one of the conspirators, took him by the hand, and said: "You hid the secret from us, Casca, but Brutus has told me everything." And when Casca was dumb with amazement, the man burst out laughing and said: "How did you get so rich on a sudden, my good fellow, as to stand for the aedileship?" So near did Casca come, in the mistake caused by the man's ambiguity, to disclosing the

¹ Cf. *Caesar*, lxiii. 5.

Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἀνὴρ βουλευτικὸς Ποπίλιος
Λαίνας ἀσπασάμενος προθυμότερον καὶ ψιθυρί-
σας ἡρέμα, “Συνεύχομαι,” φησὶν, “ὕμῖν ἐκτελεῖν
ἃ κατὰ νοῦν ἔχετε καὶ παρακελεύομαι μὴ βραδύ-
νειν· οὐ γὰρ σιωπᾶται τὸ πρᾶγμα.” καὶ ταῦτ’
εἰπὼν ἀπέστη πολλὴν ὑποψίαν ἐμβαλὼν τοῦ
πεπύσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν.

- Ἐν τούτῳ δέ τις οἰκοθεν ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Βρούτον
4 ἀγγέλλων αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα θνήσκειν. ἡ γὰρ
Πορκία πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐκπαθῆς οὔσα καὶ τὸ
μέγεθος μὴ φέρουσα τῆς φροντίδος ἑαυτὴν τε
μόλις οἶκοι κατεῖχε, καὶ πρὸς πάντα θόρυβον
καὶ βοήν, ὥσπερ αἱ κατάσχετοι τοῖς βακχικοῖς
πάθεσιν, ἐξάπτουσα τῶν μὲν εἰσιόντων ἀπ’
ἀγορᾶς ἕκαστον ἀνέκρινεν ὅ τι πράττοι Βρούτος,
5 ἐτέρους δὲ συνεχῶς ἐξέπεμπε. τέλος δὲ τοῦ χρό- 991
νου μῆκος λαμβάνοντος οὐκέτ’ ἀντεῖχεν ἡ τοῦ
σώματος δύναμις, ἀλλ’ ἐξελύθη καὶ κατεμαραί-
νετο τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλούσης διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν· καὶ
παρελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον οὐκ ἔφθη, περι-
ίστατο δ’ αὐτὴν, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανεν, ἐν μέσῳ καθε-
ζομένην λιποθυμία καὶ θάμβος ἀμήχανον, ἥ τε
χρόα μεταβολὴν ἐλάμβανε καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπέ-
6 σχητο παντάπασιν. αἱ δὲ θεραπείαι πρὸς τὴν
ὄψιν ἀνωλόλυξαν, καὶ τῶν γειτόνων συνδραμόν-
των ἐπὶ θύρας ταχὺ προῆλθε φήμη καὶ διεδόθη
λόγος ὡς τεθνηκυίας αὐτῆς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκείνην
μὲν ἀναλάμψασαν ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ παρ’ ἑαυτῇ
γενομένην αἱ γυναῖκες ἐθεράπευον· ὁ δὲ Βρούτος
ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ συνεταράχθη
μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, οὐ μὴν γε κατέλιπε τὸ κοινὸν οὐδ’
ἐρρύη πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους.

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secret. Moreover, Brutus and Cassius were greeted more warmly than usual by Popilius Laenas, a senator, who then whispered quietly to them: "I join you in praying for the accomplishment of what you have in mind, and exhort you not to delay, for the matter is on men's tongues." Having said this, he went away, leaving them full of suspicion that their undertaking had become known.

At this juncture, too, a messenger from his house came running to Brutus with the tidings that his wife was dead. For Porcia, being distressed about what was impending and unable to bear the weight of her anxiety, could with difficulty keep herself at home, and at every noise or cry, like women in the Bacchic frenzy, she would rush forth and ask every messenger who came in from the forum how Brutus was faring, and kept sending out others continually. Finally, as the time grew long, her bodily powers could no longer endure the strain, but were relaxed and enfeebled as her perplexities threatened to drive her mad. She had not time to go to her chamber, but just as she was, sitting in the midst of her servants, she was overwhelmed with faintness and helpless stupor, her colour fled, and her speech was utterly stayed. Her maids shrieked at the sight, and since the neighbours came running in a crowd to the door, a report speedily went forth and a story was spread abroad that she was dead. However, she revived in a short time, came to herself, and was cared for by her women; but Brutus, though he was confounded, naturally, by the startling tale, nevertheless did not abandon his public duty, nor was he driven by his affliction to dwell on his private concerns.

- XVI. Ἦδη δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀπηγγέλλετο προσιῶν ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀθυμῶν μηδὲν ἐπικυροῦν τότε τῶν μειζόνων, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλεσθαι σκηψάμενος ἀσθένειαν. ἐκβάντι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ φορείου προσρυεῖς Ποπίλιος Λαῖνας, ἐκεῖνος ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εὐξάμενος τοῖς περὶ Βροῦτον ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ κατορθοῦν, διελέγετο πλείω χρόνον ἐφισταμένῳ καὶ προσέχοντι
 2 τὸν νοῦν. οἱ δὲ συνωμόται (λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως) τῆς μὲν φωνῆς οὐκ ἐπαῖοντες αὐτοῦ, τεκμαιρόμενοι δ' ἀφ' ὧν ὑπενόουν μήνυσιν εἶναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὴν κοινολογίαν, ἀνέπεσόν τε ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔβλεψαν ἀνθομολογούμενοι διὰ τῶν προσώπων ὡς χρή μὴ περιμένειν σύλληψιν,
 3 ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀποθνήσκειν δι' αὐτῶν. Κασσίου δ' ἤδη καὶ τινων ἄλλων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβεβληκότων ταῖς λαβαῖς ὑπὸ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ σπωμένων τὰ ἐγχειρίδια, Βροῦτος ἐγκατιδὼν τῷ τοῦ Λαίνα σχήματι δεομένου σπουδῇ καὶ οὐχὶ κατηγοροῦντος, ἐφθέγγετο μὲν οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἀναμεμῖχθαι, φαιδρῷ δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ
 4 τοὺς περὶ Κάσσιον ἐθάρρυνε. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὁ Λαῖνας τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ Καίσαρος καταφιλήσας ἀπέστη, φανερὸς γενόμενος ὡς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ τινος διαφερόντων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἔντευξιν.

XVII. Τῆς δὲ βουλῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξέδραν προεισελθούσης οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸν δίφρον τοῦ Καίσαρος περιέστησαν ὡς ἐντυγχάνειν τι μέλλοντες αὐτῷ. καὶ Κάσσιον μὲν λέγεται τρέποντα τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Πομπηίου παρακαλεῖν ὥσπερ

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XVI. And now word was brought that Caesar was coming, borne on a litter. For in consequence of the dejection caused by his omens, he had determined not to sanction any important business at that time, but to postpone it, under pretext of indisposition. As he descended from his litter, Popilius Laenas, who, a little while before, had wished Brutus success in his enterprise, hurried up to him and conversed with him for some time, and Caesar stood and listened to him. The conspirators (for so they shall be called) could not hear what he said, but judging from their suspicions that what he told Caesar was a revelation of their plot, they were disconcerted in their plans, and mutually agreed by looks which passed between them that they must not await arrest, but at once dispatch themselves. Cassius and some others, indeed, had already grasped the handles of the daggers beneath their robes and were about to draw them, when Brutus observed from the mien of Laenas that he was asking eagerly for something and not denouncing anyone. Brutus said nothing, because many were about him who were not in the plot, but by the cheerfulness of his countenance gave courage to Cassius and his friends. And after a little while Laenas kissed Caesar's hand and withdrew. He had made it clear that it was in his own behalf and on something which closely concerned himself that he had consulted Caesar.

XVII. When the senate had preceded Caesar into the session-room, the rest of the conspirators stationed themselves about Caesar's chair, as if they intended to have some conference with him, and Cassius is said to have turned his face towards the statue of Pompey and to have invoked it, as if it had understanding;

αἰσθανόμενον, Τρεβώνιος δὲ περὶ τὰς θύρας Ἀντώνιον ἐπισπασάμενος καὶ προσομιλῶν ἔξω
 2 κατέσχε. Καίσαρι δὲ εἰσιόντι μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ὑπεξανέστη, καθεζόμενον δ' εὐθὺς ἐκείνοι περι-
 ἔσχον ἄθροοι, Τίλλιον Κίμβρον ἔξ ἑαυτῶν προ-
 βάλλοντες ὑπὲρ ἀδελφοῦ φυγάδος δεόμενον·
 καὶ συνεδέοντο πάντες, ἀπτόμενοί τε χειρῶν καὶ
 στέρνα καὶ κεφαλὴν κατεφίλουν. ἀποτριβομένου
 δὲ τὰς δεήσεις τὸ πρῶτον, εἶθ', ὥς οὐκ ἀνέεσαν,
 ἔξανισταμένου βία, Τίλλιος μὲν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς
 χερσὶν ἐκ τῶν ὤμων κατέσπασε τὸ ἱμάτιον,
 Κάσκας δὲ πρῶτος (εἰστήκει γὰρ ὀπισθεν)
 ἀνασπάσας τὸ ξίφος διελαύνει, οὐκ εἰς βάθος,
 3 παρὰ τὸν ὦμον. ἀντιλαμβανομένου δὲ τῆς λαβῆς
 τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ μέγα Ῥωμαῖστί ἀνακραγόντος,
 “Ἀνόσιε Κάσκα, τί ποιεῖς;” ἐκείνος Ἑλληνιστὶ
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσαγορεύσας ἐκέλευσε βοηθεῖν.
 ἤδη δὲ παιόμενος ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ κύκλῳ περι-
 βλέπων καὶ διώσασθαι βουλόμενος, ὥς εἶδε
 Βρούτον ἐλκόμενον ξίφος ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὴν χεῖρα
 τοῦ Κάσκα κρατῶν ἀφήκε, καὶ τῷ ἱματίῳ τὴν
 κεφαλὴν ἐγκαλυψάμενος παρέδωκε τὸ σῶμα ταῖς
 4 πληγαῖς. οἱ δ' ἀφειδῶς ἀναπεπλεγμένοι πολλοὶς
 περὶ τὸ σῶμα χρώμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀλλήλους
 ἐτίτρωσκον, ὥστε καὶ Βρούτον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα
 πληγὴν λαβεῖν τοῦ φόνου συνεφαπτόμενον, πύμ- 992
 πλασθαι δὲ τοῦ αἵματος ἅπαντας.

XVIII. Οὕτω δ' ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ Βρούτος
 μὲν εἰς μέσον προελθὼν ἐβούλετο λέγειν καὶ

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but Trebonius drew Antony into conversation at the door and kept him outside.¹ As Caesar entered, the senate rose in his honour, but as soon as he was seated the conspirators surrounded him in a body, putting forward Tullius Cimber of their number with a plea in behalf of his brother, who was in exile. The others all joined in his plea, and clasping Caesar's hands, kissed his breast and his head. At first, Caesar merely rejected their pleas, and then, when they would not desist, tried to free himself from them by force. At this, Tullius tore Caesar's robe from his shoulders with both hands, and Casca, who stood behind him, drew his dagger and gave him the first stab, not a deep one, near the shoulder. Caesar caught the handle of the dagger and cried out loudly in Latin: "Impious Casca, what doest thou?" Then Casca, addressing his brother in Greek, bade him come to his aid. And now Caesar had received many blows and was looking about and seeking to force his way through his assailants, when he saw Brutus setting upon him with drawn dagger. At this, he dropped the hand of Casca which he had seized, covered his head with his robe, and resigned himself to the dagger-strokes. The conspirators, crowding eagerly about the body, and plying their many daggers, wounded one another, so that Brutus also got a wound in the hand as he sought to take part in the murder, and all were covered with blood.

XVIII. Caesar thus slain, Brutus went out into the middle of the session-room and tried to speak, and

¹ In *Caesar*, lxvi. 3, Brutus Albinus is incorrectly said to have detained Antony in conversation. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* ii. 117, and Cicero's letter to Trebonius (*Epist.* x. 28).

- κατεῖχε θαρρύνων τὴν σύγκλητον· ἡ δ' ὑπὸ δέους ἔφευγεν ἀτάκτως, καὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας ὠθισμὸς ἦν καὶ τάραχος, οὐδενὸς διώκοντος οὐδὲ κατεπείγοντος. ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐδέδοκτο μηδένα κτείνειν ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακα-
- 2 λείσθαι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, ὀπηνίκα διεσκοποῦντο τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἤρεσκειν Ἀντώνιον ἐπισφάττειν Καίσαρι, μοναρχικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ὑβριστὴν, ἰσχύν τε πεποιημένον ὁμίλια καὶ συνηθείᾳ πρὸς τὸ στρατιωτικόν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τῷ φύσει σοβαρῶ καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονι προσειλήφει τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα τότε Καίσαρι συνάρχων. ἀλλὰ Βροῦτος ἐνέστη πρὸς τὸ βούλευμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυριζόμενος τῷ δικαίῳ, δεύτερον δ' ὑπο-
- 3 τιθεὶς ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἀπεγίνωσκειν εὐφυνὰ καὶ φιλότιμον ἄνδρα καὶ δόξης ἐραστὴν τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐκποδὼν Καίσαρος γενομένου, συνεφάψεσθαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἐπισπασθέντα τῷ ζήλῳ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντώνιον Βροῦτος περιεποίησεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε φόβῳ μεταβαλὼν ἐσθῆτα δημοτικὴν ἔφυγεν.
- 4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐχώρουν, ἡμαγμένοι τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τὰ ξίφη γυμνὰ δεικνύντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρεκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἦσαν ἀλαλαγμοί, καὶ διαδρομαὶ τῷ πάθει κατὰ τύχην ἐπιγινόμεναι πλείονα τὸν θόρυβον ἐποίησαν· ὥς δ' οὔτε φόνος ἄλλος οὔθ' ἀρπαγὴ τινος ἐγένετο τῶν κειμένων, θαρροῦντες ἀνέβαινον οἳ τε βουλευταὶ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ Καπε-

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would have detained the senators there with encouraging words; but they fled in terror and confusion, and there was a tumultuous crowding at the door, although no one pressed upon them in pursuit. For it had been firmly decided not to kill any one else, but to summon all to the enjoyment of liberty. All the rest of the conspirators, indeed, when they were discussing their enterprise, had been minded to kill Antony as well as Caesar, since he was a lawless man and in favour of a monarchy, and had acquired strength by familiar association with the soldiery; and particularly because to his natural arrogance and ambition he had added the dignity of the consulship, and was at that time a colleague of Caesar. But Brutus opposed the plan, insisting in the first place on a just course, and besides, holding out a hope of a change of heart in Antony. For he would not give up the belief that Antony, who was a man of good parts, ambitious, and a lover of fame, if once Caesar were out of the way, would assist his country in attaining her liberty, when their example had induced him to follow emulously the nobler course. Thus Antony's life was saved by Brutus; but in the fear which then reigned, he put on a plebeian dress and took to flight.

And now Brutus and his associates went up to the Capitol, their hands smeared with blood, and displaying their naked daggers they exhorted the citizens to assert their liberty. At first, then, there were cries of terror, and the tumult was increased by wild hurryings to and fro which succeeded the disaster; but since there were no further murders and no plundering of property, the senators and many of the common people took heart and went up to

- 5 τῶλιον. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους διελέχθη
 Βροῦτος ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πρέποντα τοῖς
 πεπραγμένοις. ἐπαινούντων δὲ καὶ κατιέναι
 βοώντων θαρροῦντες κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγοράν, οἱ
 μὲν ἄλλοι συνεπόμενοι μετ' ἀλλήλων, Βροῦτον
 δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν περιέποντες ἐν μέσῳ
 πάνυ λαμπρῶς κατήγον ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ
 6 κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων. πρὸς δὲ τὴν
 ὄψιν οἱ πολλοί, καίπερ μιγάδες ὄντες καὶ παρε-
 σκευασμένοι θορυβεῖν, διέτρεσαν καὶ τὸ μέλλον
 ἐδέχοντο κόσμῳ καὶ σιωπῇ. προελθόντος δ'
 αὐτοῦ πάντες ἡσυχίαν τῷ λόγῳ παρέσχον· ὅτι
 δ' οὐ πᾶσι πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐγεγόνει τὸ ἔργον, ἐδήλω-
 σαν ἀρξαμένου λέγειν Κίinna καὶ κατηγορεῖν
 Καίσαρος ἀναρρηγνύμενοι πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ κακῶς
 τὸν Κίinna λέγοντες, ὥστε πάλιν τοὺς ἄνδρας
 7 εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀπελθεῖν. ἔνθα δὲ δεδιὼς
 πολιορκίαν ὁ Βροῦτος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς ἀρίστους
 τῶν συναναβάντων, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τῆς αἰτίας μὴ
 μετέχοντας αὐτοὺς συνυποδύεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον.

- XIX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς βουλῆς
 συνελθούσης εἰς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν, Ἀντωνίου δὲ
 καὶ Πλάγκου καὶ Κικέρωνος εἰπόντων περὶ ἀμνη-
 στίας καὶ ὁμονοίας, ἔδοξε μὴ μόνον ἄδειαν εἶναι
 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ τιμῶν
 προθεῖναι τοὺς ὑπάτους. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιψηφισά-
 2 μενοι διελύθησαν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὸ
 Καπετώλιον ὁμηρεύοντα πέμψαντος κατήλθον
 οἱ περὶ Βροῦτον, ἀσπασμοί τε καὶ δεξιώσεις

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the men on the Capitol. When the multitude was assembled there, Brutus made a speech calculated to win the people and befitting the occasion. The audience applauding his words and crying out to him to come down from the Capitol, the conspirators took heart and went down into the forum. The rest of them followed along in one another's company, but Brutus was surrounded by many eminent citizens, escorted with great honour down from the citadel, and placed on the rostra. At sight of him the multitude, although it was a mixed rabble and prepared to raise a disturbance, was struck with awe, and awaited the issue in decorous silence. Also when he came forward to speak, all paid quiet attention to his words; but that all were not pleased with what had been done was made manifest when Cinna began to speak and to denounce Caesar. The multitude broke into a rage and reviled Cinna so bitterly that the conspirators withdrew again to the Capitol. There Brutus, who feared that they would be besieged, sent away the most eminent of those who had come up with them, not deeming it right that they should incur the danger too, since they had no share in the guilt.

XIX. However, on the following day the senate met in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero spoke in favour of amnesty and concord. It was then voted not only that the conspirators should have immunity, but also that the consuls should lay before the people a measure to pay them honours. After passing these votes, the senate broke up. Then, when Antony had sent his son to the Capitol as a hostage, Brutus and his associates came down, and there were salutations and greetings for

ἐγένοντο πάντων ἀναμιχθέντων. καὶ Κάσσιον
 μὲν Ἀντώνιος εἰστία παραλαβών, Βρούτον δὲ
 Λέπιδος, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, ὥς τις εἶχε πρὸς ἕκαστον
 3 ἢ συνηθείας ἢ φιλοφροσύνης. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα
 πάλιν συνελθόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ πρῶτον μὲν
 Ἀντωνίῳ τιμὰς ἔδοσαν ὡς καταπαύσαντι πολέ-
 μων ἐμφυλίων ἀρχήν· ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ Βρούτον
 ἦσαν ἔπαινοι τῶν παρόντων, καὶ τέλος ἐπαρχιῶν
 διανομαί. Βρούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐψηφίσαντο Κρήτην, 993
 Κασσίῳ δὲ Λιβύην, Τρεβωνίῳ δὲ Ἀσίαν καὶ
 Κίμβρῳ Βιθυνίαν, τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ Βρούτῳ τὴν περὶ
 τὸν Ἡριδανὸν Γαλατίαν.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν Καίσαρος δια-
 θηκῶν καὶ ταφῆς αὐτοῦ λόγων ἐμπεσόντων, καὶ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀξιούντων τάς τε δια-
 θήκας ἀναγνωσθῆναι καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐκφορὰν
 γενέσθαι μὴ κεκρυμμένην μηδ' ἄτιμον, ὡς μὴ καὶ
 τοῦτο παροξύνῃ τὸν δῆμον, Κάσσιος μὲν ἰσχυρῶς
 ἀντέλεγεν, εἶξε δὲ Βρούτος καὶ συνεχώρησε, δεύ-
 2 τερον ἀμαρτεῖν τοῦτο δόξας. καὶ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου
 φεισάμενος αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ἐπιτειχίσαι τῇ συνω-
 μοσίᾳ βαρὺν καὶ δύσμαχον πολέμιον, καὶ τὰ περὶ
 τὴν ταφὴν ὃν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἡξίου τρόπον ἐάσας
 γενέσθαι τοῦ παντὸς σφαλῆναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ
 ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις δεδομένων κατ' ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίοις
 πᾶσι δραχμῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κήπων ἀπολελειμμένων,
 οὗ νῦν ἐστὶ Τύχης ἱερόν, εὖνοια θαυμαστὴ καὶ
 3 πόθος αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολίτας εἶλεν· ἔπειτα τοῦ
 σώματος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κομισθέντος Ἀντώνιος
 ἔπαινον, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστί, διεξελθὼν, καὶ τὰ
 πλήθη κινούμενα πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὀρῶν, εἰς οἶκτον

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all without discrimination. Cassius was taken home and entertained by Antony, Brutus by Lepidus, and the rest by their several comrades or friends. Early next morning the senate assembled again. In the first place, they gave a vote of thanks to Antony for having stopped an incipient civil war; next, they passed a vote of commendation for the followers of Brutus who were present; and finally, they distributed the provinces. It was voted that Brutus should have Crete, Cassius Africa, Trebonius Asia, Cimber Bithynia, and the other Brutus Cisalpine Gaul.

XX. After this, the subjects of Caesar's will and of his burial came up for discussion. Antony demanded that the will should be read publicly, and that the body should be carried forth to burial, not secretly, nor without honours, lest this also should exasperate the people. Cassius, indeed, vehemently opposed these measures, but Brutus yielded and agreed to them, thus making a second mistake, as it was thought. For by sparing Antony's life as he had done he incurred the charge of raising up against the conspirators a bitter and formidable foe; and now, in allowing Caesar's funeral rites to be conducted as Antony demanded, he committed a fatal error. For, in the first place, when it was found that the will of Caesar gave to every single Roman seventy-five drachmas, and left to the people his gardens beyond the Tiber, where now stands a temple of Fortune, an astonishing kindness and yearning for Caesar seized the citizens; and in the second place, after Caesar's body had been brought to the forum, Antony pronounced the customary eulogy, and when he saw that the multitude were moved by his words, changed his tone to one of com-

- μετέβαλε, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν τὴν Καίσαρος ἡμαγμένην ἀνέπτυξεν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὰς διακοπὰς καὶ τῶν τραυμάτων τὸ πλήθος. ἦν οὖν
- 4 ἰδεῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι κόσμῳ γινόμενον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐβόων τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἀναιρεῖν, οἱ δ', ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κλωδίου τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ πρότερον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων τὰ βάθρα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ἀνασπῶντες καὶ συγκομίζοντες εἰς ταὐτὸ παμμεγέθη πυρὰν ἔνησαν· καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπιθέντες ἐν μέσῳ πολλῶν μὲν ἱερῶν, πολλῶν δ' ἀσύλων καὶ ἀβεβήλων τόπων καθήγιζον. ὥς δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐξέλαμψεν, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλος προσφερόμενος καὶ δαλοὺς ἀνασπῶντες ἡμιφλέκτους διέθεον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀνηρηκότων αὐτὸν ὥς ἐμπρήσουντες.
- 5 Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εὖ πεφραγμένοι πρότερον ἀπεκρούσαντο τὸν κίνδυνον· ἦν δέ τις Κίννας, ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ, οὐδὲν τῆς αἰτίας μετέχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλος Καίσαρος γεγονώς. οὗτος ὄναρ ᾤετο καλούμενος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀρνείσθαι, τὸν δὲ λιπαρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι, τέλος δ' ἄγειν λαβόμενον τῆς χειρὸς εἰς ἀχανῆ τόπον καὶ σκοτεινόν, αὐτὸν δ' ἄκοντα καὶ τεθαμβημένον ἔπεσθαι.
- 6 ταύτην ἰδόντι τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ συνέβη πυρέττειν διὰ νυκτός· ὅμως δ' ἔωθεν ἐκκομιζομένου τοῦ σώματος αἰδούμενος μὴ παρῆναι προῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἤδη διαγριαινόμενον. ὀφθεὶς δὲ καὶ δόξας οὐχ ὅσπερ ἦν Κίννας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ Καίσαρα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔναγχος λοιδορήσας, διεσπᾶσθη.

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passion, and taking the robe of Caesar, all bloody as it was, unfolded it to view, pointing out the many places in which it had been pierced and Caesar wounded. All further orderly procedure was at an end, of course; some cried out to kill the murderers, and others, as formerly in the case of Clodius the demagogue,¹ dragged from the shops the benches and tables, piled them upon one another, and thus erected a huge pyre; on this they placed Caesar's body, and in the midst of many sanctuaries, asylums, and holy places, burned it. Moreover, when the fire blazed up, people rushed up from all sides, snatched up half-burnt brands, and ran round to the houses of Caesar's slayers to set them on fire.

These men, indeed, having previously barricaded themselves well, repelled the danger; but there was a certain Cinna, a poet, who had no share in the crime, but was actually a friend of Caesar's. This man dreamed that he was invited to supper by Caesar and declined to go, but that Caesar besought and constrained him, and finally took him by the hand and led him into a yawning and darksome place, whither he followed unwilling and bewildered. After having this vision, he fell into a fever which lasted all night; but in the morning, nevertheless, when the funeral rites were held over Caesar's body, he was ashamed not to be present, and went out into the crowd when it was already becoming savage. He was seen, however, and being thought to be, not the Cinna that he really was, but the one who had recently reviled Caesar before the assembled people, he was torn in pieces.

¹ Clodius was killed in a street-brawl with Milo, 52 B.C. Cf. *Cicero*, xxv. 1.

XXI. Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος μάλιστα μετὰ γε τὴν Ἀντωνίου μεταβολὴν δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Βρούτον ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ διέτριβον ἐν Ἀντίῳ τὸ πρῶτον ὥς, ὅταν παρακμάσῃ καὶ μαρανθῇ τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, αὐθις εἰς Ῥώμην κατιόντες. ὁ ῥαδίως ἔσεσθαι προσεδόκων ἐν πλήθεσι φορὰς ἀσταθμήτους καὶ ταχείας φερομένοις, καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον εὖνουν ἔχοντες, ἡ τοὺς Κίνναν διασπασαμένους χαίρειν εὔσασα τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπελθόντας ἀνεξήτει καὶ
 2 συνελάμβανεν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀχθόμενος, Ἀντωνίου σχεδὸν εἰς μοναρχίαν καθισταμένου, Βρούτον ἐπόθει· καὶ προσεδοκᾶτο τὰς θέας ἄξειν παρὼν αὐτός, ἃς ὥφειλε στρατηγῶν παρασχεῖν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐστρατευμένων καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλεις παρ' ἐκείνου λαβόντων ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους παρεισρέοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος ἐθεᾶτο μὴ παρόντος ἐκείνου
 994 τὰς θέας, ἀφειδῶς πάνυ χορηγουμένας καὶ περι-
 3 τῶς. θηρία τε γὰρ πάμπολλα συνεωνημένος ἐκέλευσε μὴδὲν ἀποδόσθαι μὴδ' ὑπολιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καταχρήσασθαι, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν αὐτὸς εἰς Νέαυ πόλιν καταβὰς ἐνέτυχε πλείστοις· περὶ δὲ Κανουτίου τινὸς εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔγραφε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὅπως πείσαντες αὐτὸν εἰσαγάγωσιν· Ἑλλήνων γὰρ οὐδένα βιασθῆναι προσήκειν. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Κικέρωνι, πάντως παρατυχεῖν ταῖς θέαις δεόμενος.

BRUTUS

XXI. This incident more than anything else, except, perhaps, Antony's change of heart, frightened Brutus and his adherents, and they withdrew from the city. At first they spent some time in Antium, with the idea of returning to Rome when the people's wrath had passed its climax and subsided. This they thought would readily come to pass, since multitudes are fickle and impetuous, and, besides, they had the senate in their favour, which let those who tore Cinna to pieces go unpunished, and yet tried to seek out and arrest those who had assaulted the houses of the conspirators. Already, too, the people were disturbed because Antony was assuming almost absolute power, and they longed for Brutus; it was also expected that he would be present in person and conduct the spectacles which it was his duty as praetor to furnish. But Brutus learned that many of the veteran soldiers of Caesar who had received land and cities from their commander, were now plotting against his life and in small bands streaming into the city. He therefore had not the courage to come. The people, however, had their spectacles, in spite of his absence, and these were very lavishly and magnificently appointed. For Brutus had purchased a great number of wild beasts, and now gave orders that not one should be sold or left behind, but that all should be used; and he himself went down to Naples and conferred with a very large number of actors; and regarding Canutius, an actor who enjoyed great fame, he wrote to his friends that they should persuade him to go to Rome; for no Greek could properly be compelled to go. He wrote also to Cicero, begging him by all means to attend the spectacles.

XXII. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἑτέρα γίνεται μεταβολὴ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἐπελθόντος. οὗτος ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀδελφιδῆς Καίσαρος, γράμματι δὲ παῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 2 κληρονόμος ἀπολελειμμένος. ἐν δ' Ἀπολλωνία διέτριβεν ὅτε Καίσαρ ἀνηρέθη, σχολάζων περὶ λόγους κακεῖνον ἐπὶ Πάρθους ἐλαύνειν εὐθύς ἐγνωκότα προσμένων. ἅμα δὲ τῷ πυθέσθαι τὸ πάθος ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ δημαγωγίας ἀρχὴν τοῦνομα Καίσαρος θέμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ διανέμων τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἀργύριον τοῖς πολίταις Ἀντώνιον τε κατεστασίαζε καὶ χρήματα διαδιδούς συνίστη καὶ συνῆγε πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐστρατευ-
 3 μένων.¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων τῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μίσει τὰ Καίσαρος ἔπραττε, τούτῳ μὲν ὁ Βρούτος ἐπέπληττεν ἰσχυρῶς, γράφων ὥς οὐ δεσπότην βαρύνειτο Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ μισοῦντα δεσπότην φοβοῖτο, καὶ πολιτεύειτο δουλείας αἵρεσιν φιλανθρώπου γράφων καὶ λέγων ὥς χρηστός ἐστι Καίσαρ. “Οἱ δὲ πρόγονοι,” φησὶν, “ἡμῶν οὐδὲ
 4 πρᾶους δεσπότης ὑπέμενον.” αὐτῷ δ' εἰς τοῦτο καιροῦ μήτε πολεμεῖν βεβαίως δεδόχθαι μήτε ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνον εἶναι βεβουλευμένον, τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν· θαυμάζειν δὲ Κικέρωνος, εἰ πόλεμον μὲν ἐμφύλιον καὶ κινδυνώδη δέδοικεν, αἰσχρὰν δὲ καὶ ἄδοξον εἰρήνην οὐ φοβεῖται, τοῦ δ' Ἀντώνιον ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰτεῖ τὸ Καίσαρα καταστήσαι τύραννον.

XXIII. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρώταις ἐπιστολαῖς τοιοῦτος ὁ Βρούτος· ἤδη δὲ τῶν μὲν ὥς Καίσαρα, τῶν δ' ὥς Ἀντώνιον διίσταμένων, ὧνίων δὲ τῶν

¹ ἐστρατευμένων as in xxi. 2: στρατευομένων.

BRUTUS

XXII. Matters were at such a pass when a fresh turn was given to them by the arrival of the young Caesar. He was a son of Caesar's niece, but had been formally adopted by him, and left his heir. He was pursuing his studies at Apollonia when Caesar was killed, and had been awaiting him there after his determination to march at once against the Parthians. As soon as he learned of Caesar's fate, he came to Rome, and as a first step towards winning the favour of the people, assumed the name of Caesar and distributed to the citizens the money which had been left them by his will. Thus he deposed Antony from popular favour, and by a lavish use of money assembled and got together many of Caesar's veteran soldiers. When Cicero was led by his hatred of Antony to take the side of Octavius Caesar, Brutus rebuked him severely, writing that Cicero did not object to a despot as such, but only feared a despot who hated him, and that when he declared in his letters and speeches that Octavius was a worthy man, his policy meant the choice of a kindly slavery. "Our ancestors, however," said he, "could not endure even gentle despots." As for himself, he had not as yet definitely decided, he said, either for war or for peace, but on one thing only was he determined, and that was not to be a slave; and he was amazed, he said, that Cicero dreaded a civil war with all its perils, but was not afraid of a shameful and inglorious peace, and that, as a reward for driving Antony from the tyranny, he asked the privilege of making Octavius tyrant.

XXIII. Thus, then, did Brutus express himself in his first letters to Cicero. But already one faction was forming about Octavius, and another about

- στρατοπέδων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κήρυκι προστιθεμένων
τῷ πλέον διδόντι, παντάπασι καταγνοὺς τῶν
πραγμάτων ἔγνω καταλιπεῖν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πεζῇ
διὰ Λευκανίας εἰς Ἑλέαν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦκεν.
2 ὅθεν ἡ Πορκία μέλλουσα πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπο-
τραπέσθαι λανθάνειν μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο περιπαθῶς
ἔχουσα, γραφὴν δέ τις αὐτὴν προῦδωκε τᾶλλα
γενναίαν οὖσαν. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
~~Λιγυρίων~~ ^{δαθῆσις}, προπεμπόμενος Ἐκτωρ ὑπὸ Ἀνδρομά-
χης κομιζομένης παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ παιδίον, ἐκείνῳ δέ
3 προσβλεπούσης. ταῦτα θεωμένην τὴν Πορκίαν
ἢ τοῦ πάθους εἰκὼν ἐξέτηξεν εἰς δάκρυα· καὶ
πολλάκις φοιτῶσα τῆς ἡμέρας ἔκλαιεν. Ἀκιλίου
δέ τινος τῶν Βρούτου φίλων τὰ πρὸς Ἐκτορα
τῆς Ἀνδρομάχης ἔπη διελθόντος,

- Ἐκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια
μήτηρ
ἡδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης,
4 μειδιάσας ὁ Βρούτος, “Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἐμοί γ’,” εἶπε,
“πρὸς Πορκίαν ἔπεισι φάναι τὰ τοῦ Ἐκτορος,
ιστόν ἡλακάτην τε καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε·

σώματος γὰρ ἀπολείπεται φύσει τῶν ἴσων ἀνδρα-
γαθημάτων, γνώμη δ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὥσπερ
ἡμεῖς, ἀριστεύει.” ταῦτα μὲν ὁ τῆς Πορκίας υἱὸς
ιστόρηκε Βύβλος.

XXIV. Ἀναχθεῖς δ’ ὁ Βρούτος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπ’
Ἀθηνῶν ἔπλει. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου προθύ-
μως αὐτὸν εὐφημίαις καὶ ψηφίσμασι διητᾶτο μὲν
παρὰ ξένῳ τινί, Θεομνήστου δ’ ἀκροώμενος τοῦ
Ακαδημαικοῦ καὶ Κρατίππου τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ

BRUTUS

Antony, and the soldiers, as though for sale at auction, flocked to the highest bidder. Altogether despairing, therefore, of the state, Brutus determined to abandon Italy, and came by land through Lucania to Elea by the sea. As Porcia was about to return thence to Rome, she tried to conceal her distress, but a certain painting betrayed her, in spite of her noble spirit hitherto. Its subject was Greek,—Andromache bidding farewell to Hector; she was taking from his arms their little son, while her eyes were fixed upon her husband. When Porcia saw this, the image of her own sorrow presented by it caused her to burst into tears, and she would visit it many times a day and weep before it. And when Acilius, one of the friends of Brutus, recited the verses containing Andromache's words to Hector,

“ But, Hector, thou to me art father and honoured mother

And brother; my tender husband, too, art thou,”

Brutus smiled and said: “ But I, certainly, have no mind to address Porcia in the words of Hector,

‘ Ply loom and distaff and give orders to thy maids,’¹

for though her body is not strong enough to perform such heroic tasks as men do, still, in spirit she is valiant in defence of her country, just as we are.”

This story is told by Porcia's son, Bibulus.²

XXIV. From thence Brutus put to sea and sailed for Athens. Here the people welcomed him eagerly and extolled him in public decrees. He dwelt with a certain guest-friend, attended the lectures of Theonnestus the Academic and Cratippus the Peripatetic,

¹ *Iliad*, vi. 429 f.; 491. ² Cf. chapter xiii. 2.

- καὶ συμφιλοσοφῶν ἐδόκει παντάπασιν ἀργεῖν καὶ
 2 σχολάζειν. ἔπραττε δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον 995
 ἀνυπόπτως. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔπεμψεν
 Ἡρόστρατον οἰκειούμενος τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ
 στρατοπέδων, καὶ τοὺς σχολάζοντας ἀπὸ Ῥώμης
 ἐν ἄστει νέους ἀνελάμβανε καὶ συνείχεν. ὧν ἦν
 καὶ Κικέρωνος υἱός, ὃν ἐπαινεῖ διαφερόντως, καὶ
 φησιν, εἴτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἴτ' ἐνυπνιάζεται, θαυμά-
 ζειν οὕτω γενναῖον ὄντα καὶ μισοτύραννον.
 3 Ἀρξάμενος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφανδὸν
 ἄπτεσθαι, καὶ πυθόμενος πλοῖα Ῥωμαϊκὰ μεστὰ
 χρημάτων ἐξ Ἀσίας προσφέρεισθαι καὶ στρατη-
 γὸν ἐπιπλεῖν ἄνδρα χαρίεντα καὶ γνώριμον,
 ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ Κάρυστον· ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ
 πείσας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ πλοῖα λαμπροτέραν
 ὑποδοχὴν ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν
 4 ἐγεγόνει πρῶτον ὁ Βρούτος. ὥς οὖν ἐλθόντες εἰς
 τὸ πίνειν ἐπιχύσεις ἐποιοῦντο νίκης τε Βρούτου
 καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς
 ῥῶσαι βουλόμενος ἤτησε ποτήριον μείζον· καὶ
 λαβὼν, ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως ἀνεφώνησε τὸν
 στίχον τοῦτον·

ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὅλοη καὶ Λητοὺς ἔκτανεν υἱός.

- 5 ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἱστοροῦσιν, ὅτε τὴν
 τελευταίαν ἐν Φιλίπποις μαχοόμενος ἐξῆι μά-
 χην, σύνθημα παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις
 Ἀπόλλωνα δοθῆναι. διὸ καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς
 τίθενται σημεῖον ἐκείνην τὴν ἀναφώνησιν.

BRUTUS

discussed philosophy with them, and was thought to be wholly given up to literary pursuits. But without any one's suspecting it, he was getting ready for war. For he sent Herostratus into Macedonia, desiring to win over the commanders of the armies there, and he united in his service all the young Romans who were studying at Athens. One of these was Cicero's son, on whom he bestows high praise, declaring that whether awake or asleep and dreaming, he was amazed to find him of such a noble spirit and such a hater of tyranny.

Afterwards he began to act openly, and having learned that Roman transports full of treasure were approaching from Asia, and that an accomplished and well-known man was in command of them, he went to meet him at Carystus. After conferring with him and persuading him to hand over the transports, he prepared an entertainment of unusual splendour; for it was Brutus's birthday. Accordingly, when they were come to their wine, and were pledging "Victory to Brutus," and "Liberty to the Romans," wishing to animate them still more, Brutus called for a larger beaker, and then, when he had received it, without any ostensible reason, recited this verse:—

"But I am slain by baleful Fate and Leto's son."¹

And still further, in addition to this, historians tell us that when he was going out to fight his last battle at Philippi, the watchword which he gave out to his soldiers was "Apollo."¹ Therefore they conclude that when he recited that verse, it also was a presage of his calamity.

¹ Patroclus to Hector, *Iliad*, xvi. 849. Leto's son was Apollo, and the name was thought to mean *Destroyer*.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- XXV. Ἐκ τούτου πεντήκοντα μὲν αὐτῷ μυριά-
 δας Ἀντίστιος ἀφ' ὧν ἤγε καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ἱταλίαν
 χρημάτων δίδωσιν, ὅσοι δὲ περὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἔτι
 τῆς Πομπηίου στρατιᾶς ἐπλανῶντο συνέρρεον
 ἄσμένως πρὸς αὐτόν· ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους
 ἀφείλετο Κίinna πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν ἄγοντος εἰς
 2 Ἀσίαν. ἐπιπλεύσας τε τῇ Δημητριάδι, πολλῶν
 ὅπλων ἐξαγομένων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ᾧ Καίσαρος
 τοῦ προτέρου κελεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Παρθικὸν
 ἐποιήθη πόλεμον, ἐκράτησεν. Ὀρτησίου δὲ τοῦ
 στρατηγοῦ παραδόντος αὐτῷ Μακεδονίαν, καὶ
 τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν συνιστα-
 μένων καὶ προστιθεμένων, ἀγγέλλεται Γάιος, ὁ
 Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφός, ἐξ Ἱταλίας διαβεβηκὼς βα-
 δίζειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἃς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ
 3 καὶ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ Βατίνιος συνείχε. βουλόμενος
 οὖν φθάσαι καὶ προλαβεῖν ὁ Βρούτος ἐξαίφνης
 ἀναστήσας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ χωρίων χαλεπῶν
 νιφόμενος ἐπορεύετο· καὶ πολὺ προῆλθε τοὺς
 κομίζοντας τὸ ἄριστον. ἐγγὺς οὖν Ἐπιδάμνου
 γενόμενος διὰ κόπον καὶ ψυχὸς ἐβουλιμίασε.
 συμπίπτει δὲ μάλιστα τὸ πάθος χιόνος οὔσης
 4 πονοῦσι καὶ κτήνεσι καὶ ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε τοῦ
 θερμοῦ διὰ περίψυξιν καὶ πύκνωσιν, ὅταν ἐντὸς
 ἅπαν καθειρχθῇ, τὴν τροφήν ἀθρόως ἀναλίσκον-
 τος, εἴτε δριμεῖα καὶ λεπτὴ τῆς χιόνος διαλυο-
 μένης ἰοῦσα πνοὴ τέμνει τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαφθείρει
 τὸ θερμὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ θύραζε διασπειρόμενον. τὰς
 γὰρ ἐφιδρώσεις παρέχειν δοκεῖ τὸ θερμὸν ἅπαν-

BRUTUS

XXV. After this, Antistius¹ gave him five hundred thousand drachmas from the moneys which he was personally taking to Italy, and all Pompey's soldiers who were still wandering about Thessaly gladly flocked to his standard. He also took from Cinna five hundred horsemen that he was conducting to Dolabella in Asia. Then sailing to Demetrias, whence great quantities of arms, which the elder Caesar had ordered to be made for his Parthian war, were being conducted to Antony, he took possession of them. After Hortensius the praetor had delivered up Macedonia to him, and while all the surrounding kings and potentates were uniting on his side, word was brought that Caius, the brother of Antony, had crossed over from Italy and was marching directly to join the forces under Vatinius in Epidamnus and Apollonia. Wishing, therefore, to anticipate his arrival and capture these forces, Brutus suddenly set out with the forces under him and marched through regions difficult of passage, in snow storms, and far in advance of his provision-train. Accordingly, when he had nearly reached Epidamnus, fatigue and cold gave him the distemper called "boulimia." This attacks more especially men and beasts toiling through snow;² whether it is that the vital heat, being wholly shut up within the body by the cold that surrounds and thickens it, consumes its nourishment completely, or that a keen and subtle vapour arising from the melting snow pierces the body and destroys its heat as it issues forth. For the sweat of the body seems to be produced by its heat, and this is extinguished

¹ A mistake for Appuleius (Cicero, *Philippics*, x. 11; Appian, *B.C.* iii. 63), who was quaestor in Asia.

² As it did the "Ten Thousand" in Armenia (Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. 5, 7 f.).

τῶντι τῷ ψυχρῷ περὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν σβεννύμενον. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ἑτέροις μᾶλλον ἠπόρηται.

XXVI. Λιποθυμοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μηδὲν ἐδώδιμον, ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καταφυγεῖν· καὶ ταῖς πύλαις προσελθόντες ἄρτον ἤτουν τοὺς φύλακας. οἱ δὲ διακούσαντες τὸ σύμπτωμα τοῦ Βρούτου παρήσαν αὐτοὶ καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ κομίζοντες. ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ Βρούτος, ὥς τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβεν, οὐ μόνον τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι διὰ τούτους φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο.

- 2 Γάϊος δ' Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολλωνία προσβαλὼν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἐγγὺς ὄντας ἐκάλει στρατιώτας. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοί τε πρὸς Βρούτον ὄχοντο καὶ τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιάτας ἤσθετο τὰ Βρούτου φρονούντας, 996 ἐκλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν εἰς Βουθρωτὸν ἐβάδιζε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπόλλυσι τρεῖς σπείρας καθ' ὁδὸν ὑπὸ Βρούτου κατακοπέσας· ἔπειτα τοὺς περὶ τὴν Βυλλίδα τόπους προκαταληφθέντας ἐπιχειρῶν ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ μάχην συνάψας Κικέρωνι νικᾷ-
- 3 ται. τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Βρούτος ἐχρήτο στρατηγῷ καὶ πολλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ κατώρθωσε. λαβὼν δὲ τὸν Γάϊον ἐν χωρίοις ἐλώδεσι μακρὰν διεσπασμένον οὐκ εἶασεν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιίππευσε, φείδεσθαι κελεύων, ὥς μετὰ μικρὸν ἰδίων ἐσομένων. ὁ καὶ συνέβη. παρέδοσαν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν στρατηγόν, ὥστε μεγάλην ἤδη περὶ τὸν Βρούτον
- 4 δύναμιν εἶναι. χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολλὸν ἐν τιμῇ τὸν Γάϊον ἤγε καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἀφήρει, καίπερ, ὥς φασιν, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ

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by the cold which meets it at the surface. But I have discussed this matter more at length elsewhere.¹

XXVI. Now, since Brutus was faint, and since not one of his soldiers had anything in the shape of food, his attendants were obliged to have recourse to their enemies, and going down to the gate of the city they asked the sentinels for bread. These, when they heard of the mishap of Brutus, came to him themselves, bringing food and drink. Wherefore Brutus, when the city had surrendered to him, treated not only these men humanely, but also all the other citizens for their sake.

When Caius Antonius drew near Apollonia, he summoned the soldiers who were in the vicinity. These, however, went to Brutus, and Caius perceived also that the people of Apollonia favoured the cause of Brutus. He therefore left the city behind and set out for Buthrotum. To begin with, he lost three cohorts on the march, which were cut to pieces by Brutus; next, when he tried to force the positions near Byllis which his opponents had earlier occupied, and joined battle, he was defeated by Cicero. For Brutus employed this young man as general, and won many successes through him. When, however, he came upon Caius in marshy regions and with his forces widely scattered, Brutus would not permit his men to attack them, but rode about giving orders to spare them, in the belief that they would soon be his own. And this actually came to pass. For they surrendered themselves and their general, so that now Brutus had a large force about him. For a long time, then, he held Caius in honour, and would not deprive him of the insignia of his command, although, as we are

¹ Cf., for example, *Morals*, pp. 691 f.

Κικέρωνος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γραφόντων καὶ κελευόντων ἀναιρεῖν· ἀρξάμενον δὲ κρύφα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ποιήσαντα νεωτερισμὸν ἐνθέ-
 5 μενος εἰς ναῦν ἐφύλαττε. τῶν δὲ διαφθαρέντων στρατιωτῶν εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀποστάντων καὶ καλούντων ἐκεῖ τὸν Βρούτον, οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο πατριον εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα χρῆναι βαδίζοντας αὐτοὺς παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις ὀργήν. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ δεομένοις συγγνώμην ἔδωκε.

XXVII. Μέλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦκεν ἀγγελία περὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ μεταβολῆς. ὁ γὰρ νέος Καῖσαρ ἠϋξήθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον, ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκείνον αὐτὸς ἤδη φοβερός ἦν, ὑπατεῖαν τε μνώ-
 2 μεγάλα, τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν δεομένης. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὴν βουλήν βαρυνομένην καὶ πρὸς τὸν Βρούτον ἀφορώσαν ἔξω καὶ ψηφίζομένην ἐκείνῳ καὶ βεβαιούσαν τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ἔδεισε. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον πέμπων εἰς φιλίαν προῦκαλεῖτο, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις τῇ πόλει περιστήσας ὑπατεῖαν ἔλαβεν, οὐπω πάνυ μειράκιον ὢν, ἀλλ' εἰκοστὸν ἄγων ἔτος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν.
 3 εὐθὺς δὲ δίκας φόνου κατὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρούτον εἰσήγεν, ὡς ἄνδρα πρῶτον ἐν ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνερηκότων ἄκριτον· καὶ κατήγορον ἐπέστησε Βρούτου μὲν Λεύκιον Κορνιφίκιον, Κασσίου δὲ Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν. ὠφλίσκανον οὖν τὰς δίκας ἐρήμας ἀναγκαζομένων φέρειν ψῆφον
 4 τῶν δικαστῶν. λέγεται δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος, ὥσπερ

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told, Cicero and many others besides wrote to him from Rome and urged him to put the man to death. However, when Caius began to hold secret communications with the officers of Brutus, and incited a revolt, Brutus put him on board a ship and kept him under guard. And when the soldiers who had been corrupted by Caius withdrew to Apollonia and invited Brutus to come to them there, he told them this was not a Roman custom, but that they must come themselves to their commander and seek to avert his wrath at their transgressions. And when they came and asked his pardon, he granted it.

XXVII. But as he was about to cross into Asia, tidings came to him of the change that had taken place at Rome. For Octavius Caesar had been strengthened by the senate against Antony, and after ejecting his rival from Italy, was himself now an object of fear, soliciting the consulship illegally, and maintaining large armies, of which the city had no need. But when he saw that even the senate was displeased at this and turned their eyes abroad to Brutus, confirming him in command of his provinces by their vote, he became afraid. So he sent and invited Antony to become his friend, and then, stationing his forces about the city, secured the consulship, although he was still a mere youth, being in his twentieth year, as he himself has stated in his Commentaries. Straightway, then, he brought indictments for murder against Brutus and his associates, accusing them of having slain the first magistrate of the city without a trial. He appointed Lucius Cornificius to be prosecutor of Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa of Cassius. Accordingly, their cases went by default, the jurors voting under compulsion. And

εἶωθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τὸν Βρούτον ἐπὶ τὴν
 δίκην καλοῦντος, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπιδήλως στενά-
 ξαι, τοὺς δ' ἀρίστους κύψαντας εἰς γῆν ἡσυχίαν
 ἄγειν, Πόπλιον δὲ Σιλίκιον ὀφθῆναι δακρύσαντα,
 καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἓνα
 5 τῶν προγραφέντων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ γενέσθαι. μετὰ
 ταῦτα διαλλαγέντες οἱ τρεῖς, Καῖσαρ, Ἀντώνιος,
 Λέπιδος, διενείμαντο τὰς ἐπαρχίας σφαγὰς τε
 καὶ προγραφὰς ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων ἐποίησαν, ἐν
 οἷς καὶ Κικέρων ἀπέθανε.

XXVIII. Τούτων οὖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπαγ-
 γελθέντων ἐκβιασθεῖς ὁ Βρούτος ἔγραψεν Ὀρτη-
 σίῳ κτείνειν Γαῖον Ἀντώνιον, ὥς δὴ Βρούτῳ τε
 καὶ Κικέρωνι τιμωρῶν, τῷ μὲν ὄντι φίλῳ, τῷ δὲ
 καὶ κατὰ γένος προσήκοντι. διὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον
 Ἀντώνιος Ὀρτήσιον ἐν Φιλίπποις λαβὼν τῷ
 2 μνήματι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ προσέσφαξε. Βρούτος δὲ
 τῆς Κικέρωνος τελευτῆς τῇ αἰτίᾳ φησὶν αἰσχύ-
 νεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ πάθει συναλγεῖν, ἐγκαλεῖν
 δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλοις· δουλεύειν γὰρ αὐτῶν
 αἰτία μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τυραννούντων, καὶ καρτερεῖν
 ὀρώντας καὶ παρόντας ἢ μὴδ' ἀκούειν αὐτοῖς
 ἀνεκτὸν ἦν.

Περαιώσας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἤδη
 λαμπρὸν ὄντα, ναυτικὸν μὲν ἐξηρτύετο στόλον ἐν
 Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ περὶ Κύζικον, πεζῇ δ' αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν
 καθίστατο τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις ἐχρη-
 3 μάτιζε, καὶ πρὸς Κάσσιον ἔπεμπεν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπ'
 Αἰγύπτου μετακαλῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀρχὴν κτωμένους 997

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it is said that when the herald on the rostra pronounced the customary summons for Brutus to appear, the multitude groaned audibly, while the better classes bowed their heads in silence; and that Publius Silicius was seen to burst into tears, and was for this reason soon afterwards put on the list of the proscribed. After this, the three men, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, were reconciled with one another, distributed the provinces among themselves, and sentenced to death by proscription two hundred men. Among those put to death was Cicero.

XXVIII. Accordingly, when tidings of these events were brought to Macedonia, Brutus felt compelled to write to Hortensius commanding him to kill Caius Antonius, on the plea that he was thus avenging Cicero and Brutus Albinus, one of whom was his friend, and the other his kinsman. For this reason, at a later time, when Antony had captured Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, he slew him on the tomb of his brother. Brutus, however, says that he felt more shame at the cause of Cicero's death than grief at the event itself, and threw the blame upon his friends at Rome. He said their servitude was due to themselves rather than to their tyrants, and that they consented to be eyewitnesses of things of which they ought not even to hear.

He now crossed into Asia with his army,¹ which was already a splendid one, and equipped a fleet in Bithynia and at Cyzicus, while he himself, proceeding by land, settled the affairs of the cities and gave audiences to the potentates of the country. He also sent to Cassius in Syria, recalling him from his expedition to Egypt; for it was not to win empire

¹ About the middle of 43 B.C.

αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθεροῦντας τὴν πατρίδα τὴν δύναμιν, ἢ καταλύσουσι τοὺς τυράννους, συνάγοντας πλανᾶσθαι· δεῖν οὖν μεμνημένους καὶ φυλάττοντας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν μὴ μακρὰν ἀπηρτῆσθαι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε σπεύδειν καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς πολίταις.

- 4 Ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἀπὴντα· καὶ περὶ Σμύρναν ἀλλήλοις ἐνετύγχανον ἀφ' οὗ πρῶτον ἐν Πειραιεῖ χωρισθέντες ὥρμησαν ὁ μὲν εἰς Συρίαν, ὁ δὲ εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ἦν οὖν ἡδονὴ τε μεγάλη καὶ θάρσος αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ἐκατέρω δυνάμεως.
- 5 ὁρμήσαντες γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅμοια φυγάδων τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις ἀχρήματοι καὶ ἄνοπλοι, μὴ ναῦν ἐνῆρη, μὴ στρατιώτην ἓνα, μὴ πόλιν ἔχοντες, οὐ πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου διαγενομένου συνήλθον εἰς ταῦτό καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ χρήμασιν ἀξιόμαχοι διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ὄντες.

XXIX. Ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ἶσον ἔχειν τιμῆς καὶ παρέχειν ὁ Κάσσιος, ἔφθανε δ' ὁ Βρούτος ὡς τὰ πολλὰ φοιτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡλικία τε προὔχοντα καὶ σώματι πονεῖν ὁμοίως μὴ δυναμένῳ χρώμενον. ἦν δὲ δόξα Κάσσιον μὲν εἶναι δεινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ὀργῇ δὲ τραχὺν καὶ φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἄρχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ὑγρότερον

- 2 τῷ γελοίῳ καὶ φιλοσκώπτῃ· Βρούτον δὲ λέγουσι δι' ἀρετὴν φιλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἐρᾶσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων, μισεῖσθαι δὲ μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι πρᾶτος ὁ ἀνὴρ διαφερόντως καὶ μεγα-

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for themselves, he said, but to give liberty to their country, that they were wandering about and collecting forces with which to overthrow the tyrants; they must therefore keep their purpose carefully in mind and not get far removed from Italy, but rather hasten thither and give aid to their countrymen.

Cassius obeyed, and as he was returning, Brutus went to meet him. Their interview at Smyrna was the first they had had since they parted at Piraeus and set out, the one for Syria, the other for Macedonia. They therefore derived great pleasure and courage from the forces which each now had. For they had set out from Italy like the most wretched of exiles, without money, without arms, having not a ship equipped with oars, not a single soldier, not a city; but before very long they had met, having a fleet, an army of foot and horse, and money, which made them worthy antagonists in the struggle for supremacy at Rome.

XXIX. Now, Cassius was desirous that Brutus and he should have equal honour, but Brutus forestalled this by coming to him generally, since he was an older man and unable to endure the same amount of hardship. Cassius had the reputation of being an able soldier, but harsh in his anger, and with an authority based largely on fear, although with his familiars he was rather prone to laughter and fond of banter. But the virtues of Brutus, as we are told, made him beloved by the multitude, adored by his friends, admired by the nobility, and not hated even by his enemies. For he was remarkably gentle and

- λόφρων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὀργὴν καὶ ἡδονὴν καὶ
 πλεονεξίαν ἀπαθής, ὀρθιον δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ
 ἄκαμπτον ἐστῶσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου
 3 διαφυλάττων. καὶ μέγιστον ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ πρὸς
 εὐνοίαν καὶ δόξαν ἢ τῆς προαιρέσεως πίστις.
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας Πομπηΐος, εἰ Καίσαρα
 καθεῖλεν, ἡλπίζετο βεβαίως προήσεσθαι τοῖς
 νόμοις τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' αἰὲ τὰ πράγματα κατέ-
 ξειν, ὑπατείας ὀνόματι καὶ δικτατορίας ἢ τινος
 ἄλλης μαλακωτέρας ἀρχῆς παραμυθούμενος τὸν
 4 δῆμον· Κάσσιον δὲ τοῦτον, σφοδρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
 θυμοειδῆ καὶ πολλαχοῦ πρὸς τὸ κερδαλέον ἐκ-
 φερόμενον τοῦ δικαίου, παντὸς μᾶλλον ᾤοντο
 πολεμεῖν καὶ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν αὐτῷ
 τινα δυναστείαν κατασκευαζόμενον, οὐκ ἐλευ-
 θερίαν τοῖς πολίταις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τούτων
 πρεσβύτερα, Κίνναι καὶ Μάριοι καὶ Κάρβωνες,
 ἄθλον ἐν μέσῳ καὶ λείαν προθέμενοι τὴν πατρίδα,
 μονονουχὶ ῥητῶς ὑπὲρ τυραννίδος ἐπολέμησαν.
 5 Βρούτῳ δὲ λέγουσι μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προσβάλ-
 λειν τοιαύτην μεταβολήν, ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίου γε
 καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος ὡς μόνον οἶοιτο
 Βρούτον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι προαχθέντα τῇ λαμ-
 πρότητι καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως,
 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συστήναι μισοῦντας
 6 καὶ φθονοῦντας. ὅθεν Βρούτος οὐ τῇ δυνάμει
 τοσοῦτον ὅσον τῇ ἀρετῇ δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν γράφει
 πεποιθώς. γράφει δὲ πρὸς Ἀττικὸν ἤδη τῷ
 κινδύνῳ πλησιάζων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς τύχης

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large-minded, free from all anger, pleasurable indulgence, and greed, and kept his purpose erect and unbending in defence of what was honourable and just. And the strongest reason for the favour and fame which he achieved was the confidence felt in his principles. For no one had expected that Pompey the Great, if he overthrew Caesar, would insist on dismissing his forces in obedience to the laws, but all thought that he would continue to retain his power, appeasing the people by using the name of consulship or dictatorship or some other less obnoxious form of government. And now it was thought that Cassius, vehement and passionate man that he was, and often swept from the path of justice by his passion for gain, was incurring the perils of wars and wanderings principally to establish some great power for himself, and not liberty for his countrymen. For the men of a still earlier time than Pompey and Cassius, men like Cinna and Marius and Carbo, made their country the booty or prize round which they fought, and they all but confessed that they waged war to establish a tyranny. But Brutus, we are told, was not accused even by his enemies of such a departure from his principles; nay, Antony at least, in the hearing of many, declared that in his opinion Brutus was the only conspirator against Caesar who was impelled by the splendour and by what seemed to him the nobility of the enterprise, whereas the rest banded together against the man because they envied and hated him. Wherefore Brutus relied not so much on his armies as on his virtuous cause, as is clear from his letters. When he was already nearing the perilous crisis, he wrote to Atticus that his cause had the fairest outlook that fortune could bestow,

εἶναι τὰ καθ' αὐτόν· ἡ γὰρ νικήσας ἐλευθερώσειν
τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἢ δουλείας ἀποθανὼν ἀπαλ-
λαγήσεσθαι· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς
καὶ βεβαίως ἐχόντων ἐν ἄδηλον εἶναι, πότερον
7 βιώσονται μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἢ τεθνήξονται. Μάρ-
κον δ' Ἀντώνιον ἀξίαν φησὶ τῆς ἀνοίας διδόναι
δίκην, ὃς ἐν Βρούτοις καὶ Κασσίοις καὶ Κάτωσι
συναριθμῆσθαι δυνάμενος προσθήκην ἑαυτὸν
᾽Οκταβίῳ δέδωκε· καὶ μὴ νῦν ἡττηθῇ μετ' ἐκείνου,
μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐκείνῳ μαχεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
ἀποθεσπίσαι καλῶς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔοικεν.

XXX. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σμύρνῃ τότε τῶν χρημάτων, 998
ἃ πολλὰ συνειλόχει Κάσσιος, ἡξίου μεταλαβεῖν·
τὰ γὰρ ὄντα κατανηλωκέναί ναυπηγούμενος στό-
λον τοσοῦτον ᾧ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἔξουσι τὴν
ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. οὐκ εἶων μὲν οὖν τὸν Κάσσιον
οἱ φίλοι διδόναι, λέγοντες ὥς οὐ δίκαιον, ἃ σὺ
φειδόμενος διαφυλάττεις καὶ φθόνῳ συνάγεις,
ἐκείνον λαβόντα δημαγωγεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς
στρατιώταις· οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τρίτον
2 μέρος ἀπάντων. καὶ πάλιν διαστάντες ἐπὶ τὰς
προσηκούσας ἐκατέρῳ πράξεις, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐλὼν
Ῥόδον οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἐχρήτο τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ
ταῦτα περὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῖς προσαγορεύουσιν
αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ κύριον ἀποκρινάμενος· “Οὔτε
βασιλεὺς οὔτε κύριος, τοῦ δὲ κυρίου καὶ βασιλέως
φονεὺς καὶ κολαστής.” Βρούτος δὲ Λυκίους ἦτει
3 χρήματα καὶ στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ναυκράτης ὁ
δημαγωγὸς ἀνέπεισε τὰς πόλεις ἀφίστασθαι καὶ

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for he would either conquer and give liberty to the Roman people, or die and be freed from slavery; and that amid the general security and safety of their lot one thing only was uncertain, namely, whether they were to live as freemen or die. He says also that Mark Antony was paying a fitting penalty for his folly, since, when it was in his power to be numbered with such men as Brutus and Cassius and Cato, he had given himself to Octavius as a mere appendage; and that if he should not now be defeated with him, in a little while he would be fighting him. Herein, then, he seems to have been an excellent prophet.

XXX. At the time when they were in Smyrna, Brutus asked Cassius to give him a part of the large treasure which he had collected, since he had expended what he had himself in building a fleet large enough to give them control of all the Mediterranean. The friends of Cassius, then, tried to dissuade him from giving anything to Brutus, arguing that it was not right that what he was keeping by his frugality and getting together at the price of men's hatred should be taken by Brutus for the winning of popular favour and the gratification of his soldiers. However, Cassius gave him a third of the whole amount. Then they parted again for their respective undertakings. Cassius took Rhodes, but managed matters there with undue rigour, and that too though he had replied to those who hailed him, when he entered the city, as their lord and king, "Neither lord nor king, but chastiser and slayer of your lord and king." Brutus, on his part, demanded money and soldiers from the Lycians. But Naucrates, the popular leader, persuaded the cities to revolt, and

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λόφους τινὰς ὡς εἵρξοντες παρόδου τὸν Βρούτου κατελάβοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀριστοποιουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεμψεν ἱππεῖς, ὑφ' ὧν ἐξακόσιοι διεφθάρησαν, ἔπειτα τὰ χωρία καὶ πολίχνας λαμβάνων ἀπέλυεν ἄνευ λύτρων ἅπαντας ὡς προσαζόμενος
 4 εὐνοία τὸ ἔθνος. οἱ δ' ἦσαν αὐθάδεις, ἃ μὲν ἐβλάπτοντο πρὸς ὀργὴν τιθέμενοι, τῆς δ' ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καταφρονούντες, ἅχρι οὗ συνελάσας εἰς Ξάνθον αὐτῶν τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπολιόρκει. τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν παραρρέοντος ὑπονηχόμενοι διεδίδρασκον. ἡλίσκοντο δὲ δικτύων διὰ πόρου καθιεμένων εἰς βυθόν, ὧν τὰ ἄκρα κώδωσι προσηρτημένοις διε-
 5 σήμαινεν εὐθύς τὸν ἐνσχεθέντα. μηχαναῖς δέ τισι τῶν Ξανθίων νύκτωρ ἐπιδραμόντων καὶ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντων, ὡς ἀπεκλείσθησαν αἰσθομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἀνερρίπιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τὴν φλόγα τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκιῶν ἀντιλαμβανομένην, δείσας ὁ Βρούτος ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσε κατασβεννύναι καὶ βοηθεῖν.

XXXI. Τοὺς δὲ Λυκίους δεινὴ τις ἐξαίφνης πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὀρμὴ καὶ λόγου κρείσσων κατέσχευεν, ἣν ἂν τις ἔρωτι θανάτου μάλιστα προσεικάσειεν· οἳ γε μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους πρὸς τὴν φλόγα βοηθοῦντας ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔβαλλον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κάλαμον καὶ ξύλα καὶ πᾶν ὑπέκκαυμα προσφέροντες ἦγον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν

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the inhabitants occupied certain commanding hills in order to prevent the passage of Brutus. Brutus, therefore, in the first place, sent horsemen against them while they were at breakfast, and these slew six hundred of them; next, he took their strongholds and villages, but dismissed all his captives without ransom, in order that he might win the people over by kindness. They were obstinate, however, feeding their anger upon their injuries, and despising his clemency and kindness, until he drove the most warlike of them into Xanthus and laid siege to the city. They tried to escape by swimming under the surface of the river which flowed past the city. But they were caught in nets which were let down deep across the channel; the tops of these had bells attached to them which indicated at once when any one was entangled. Then the Xanthians made a sally by night and set fire to some of the siege-engines, but they were perceived by the Romans and driven back to their walls; and when a brisk wind fanned the flames back towards the battlements and some of the adjoining houses took fire, Brutus, fearing for the safety of the city, ordered his men to assist in putting out the fire.

XXXI. But the Lycians were suddenly possessed by a dreadful and indescribable impulse to madness, which can be likened best to a passion for death. At any rate, all ages of them, freemen and slaves with their wives and children, shot missiles from the walls at the enemy who were helping them to combat the flames, and with their own hands brought up reeds and wood and all manner of combustibles, and so spread the fire over the city, feeding it with

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- τὸ πῦρ, ὀρέγοντες αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ὕλην καὶ πάντα
 2 τρόπον ἐξερεθίζοντες καὶ συνεκτρέφοντες. ὥς δ'
 ἡ φλόξ ῥυεῖσα καὶ διαζώσασα πανταχόθεν τὴν
 πόλιν διέλαμψε πολλή, περιπαθῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 γινομένοις ὁ Βροῦτος ἔξωθεν παράπνευε προθυ-
 μούμενος βοηθεῖν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων τοῖς
 Ξανθίοις ἐδεῖτο φείδεσθαι καὶ σῶζειν τὴν πόλιν,
 οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντα τρόπον
 3 ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολλύντων, οὐ μόνον ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ
 γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ μικρὰ μετὰ
 κραυγῆς καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸ πῦρ
 ἤλλετο, τὰ δ' ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξετρα-
 χήλιζεν αὐτά, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσι τῶν πατέρων
 ὑπέβαλλε τὰς σφαγὰς γυμνοῦντα καὶ κελεύοντα
 παίειν. ὥφθη δὲ τῆς πόλεως διαφθαρείσης γυνὴ
 κρεμαμένη μὲν ἐξ ἀγχόνης, παιδίον δὲ νεκρὸν
 ἐξηρτημένη τοῦ τραχήλου, λαμπάδι δὲ καιομένη
 4 τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάπτουσα. καὶ τοῦ θεάματος τραγι-
 κοῦ φανέντος ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Βροῦτος,
 ἐδάκρυσε δὲ ἀκούσας· καὶ γέρας ἐκήρυξε τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν ὅστις ἂν δυνηθῇ Λύκιον ἄνδρα περι-
 σῶσαι. φασὶ δὲ μόνους ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα γενέ-
 5 σθαι τοὺς μὴ διαφυγόντας τὸ σωθῆναι. Ξάνθιοι
 μὲν οὖν διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων ὥσπερ εἰμαρμένην 999
 περίοδον διαφθορᾶς ἀποδιδόντες τὴν τῶν προ-
 γόνων ἀνενεώσαντο τῇ τόλμῃ τύχην· καὶ γὰρ
 ἐκεῖνοι τὴν πόλιν ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν
 κατακαύσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διέφθειραν.

XXXII. Βροῦτος δὲ τὴν Παταρέων πόλιν ὁρῶν
 ἀπισχυριζομένην πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥκνει μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖν
 καὶ διηπορεῖτο, τὴν αὐτὴν δεδιὼς ἀπόνοιαν, ἔχων

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all sorts of material and increasing its strength and fury in every way. When the flames had darted forth and encircled the city on all sides, and blazed out mightily, Brutus, distressed at what was going on, rode round outside the city in his eagerness to help, and with outstretched hands begged the Xanthians to spare and save their city. No one heeded him, however, but all sought in every way to destroy themselves, men and women alike; nay, even the little children with shouts and shrieks either leaped into the fire, or threw themselves headlong from the walls, or cast themselves beneath their fathers' swords, baring their throats and begging to be smitten. After the city had been thus destroyed, a woman was seen dangling in a noose; she had a dead child fastened to her neck, and with a blazing torch was trying to set fire to her dwelling. So tragic was the spectacle that Brutus could not bear to see it, and burst into tears on hearing of it; he also proclaimed a prize for any soldier who should succeed in saving the life of a Lycian. But there were only a hundred and fifty, we are told, who did not escape such preservation. So then the Xanthians, after long lapse of time, as though fulfilling a period set by fate for their destruction, had the boldness to renew the calamity of their ancestors; for these too, in the time of the Persian wars, had likewise burned down their city and destroyed themselves.¹

XXXII. When Brutus saw that the city of Patara was holding out strongly against him, he hesitated to attack it, and was in perplexity, fearing that it would be afflicted with the same madness; but as

¹ Cf. Herodotus, i. 176.

δὲ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους ἀφήκεν ἄνευ
 λύτρων. αἱ δ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πατέρων ἐπιφανῶν
 οὖσαι διηγούμεναι τὸν Βροῦτον, ὥς ἀνὴρ εἴη
 σωφρονέστατος καὶ δικαιοτάτος, ἔπεισαν εἴξαι
 2 καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ
 πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ προσεχώρησαν ἐπιτρέψαντες
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐκείνῳ, τυχόντες δὲ χρηστοῦ καὶ παρ'
 ἐλπίδας εὐγνώμονος, ὅς γε, Κασσίου Ῥοδίου ὑπὸ
 τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀναγκάσαντος ἰδίᾳ μὲν ὃν
 ἐκέκτηντο χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον εἰσενεγκεῖν ἅπαν-
 τας (ἐξ οὗ συνήχθη περὶ ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα),
 δημοσίᾳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἄλλοις πεντακοσίοις ζημιώ-
 σαντος, αὐτὸς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα
 Λυκίους πραξάμενος, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας,
 ἀνέξευξεν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας.

XXXIII. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης ἔργα καὶ
 τιμαῖς ἀπεδείξατο καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἀξίων· ὧ δ'
 αὐτὸς τε ἥσθη μάλιστα καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ κρά-
 τιστοι, τοῦτο διηγήσομαι. Πομπηίου Μάγνου
 προσβαλόντος Αἰγύπτῳ κατὰ Πηλούσιον, ὀπη-
 νίκα τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλὼν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος
 ἔφυγεν, οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος ἐπιτρο-
 πεύοντες ἐν βουλῇ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἦσαν, οὐ κατὰ
 2 ταῦτα ταῖς γνώμαις φερόμενοι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
 ἐδόκει δέχεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπωθεῖν Αἰγύπτου τὸν
 ἄνδρα. Θεόδοτος δέ τις Χίος, ἐπὶ μισθῷ ῥητορι-
 κῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος τῷ βασιλεῖ συνών, ἡξιω-
 μένος δὲ τότε τοῦ συνεδρίου δι' ἐρημίαν ἀνδρῶν
 βελτιόνων, ἀμφοτέρους διαμαρτάνοντας ἀπέ-
 φαινε, καὶ τοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀφεῖναι
 3 κελεύοντας τὸν Πομπήϊον· ἐν γὰρ εἶναι συμφέρον

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he held some of its women prisoners of war, he released them without ransom. They were the wives and daughters of prominent men, and by rehearsing the praises of Brutus, calling him a man of the greatest moderation and justice, they persuaded them to yield and surrender their city. Consequently all the rest of the Lycians came and entrusted themselves to him, and found that his goodness and kindness exceeded their hopes. For whereas Cassius, about the same time, compelled the Rhodians individually to pay in to him all the gold and silver they possessed (thus accumulating about eight hundred talents), and fined the city as a whole five hundred talents more, Brutus exacted only a hundred and fifty talents from the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, set out with his army for Ionia.

XXXIII. Many were his memorable achievements in meting out rewards or punishments to those who deserved them, but I shall here describe only that in which both he himself and the chief men of Rome took especial pleasure. When Pompey the Great, after he had been stripped of his great power by Caesar, put in as a fugitive at Pelusium in Egypt, the guardians of the boy king were holding a council with their friends, at which opinions differed. Some thought they should receive Pompey, others that they should repulse him from Egypt. But a certain Theodotus, of Chios, who was attached to the king as a paid teacher of rhetoric, and was at this time deemed worthy of a place in the council for lack of better men, declared that both were wrong, both those who would admit and those who would reject Pompey; for there was but one advantageous course

ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, δεξαμένους ἀποκτείνει. καὶ προσεπείπε τοῦ λόγου πανόμενος, ὅτι νεκρὸς οὐ δάκνει. προσθεμένου δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ συνεδρίου παράδειγμα τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτων ἔκειτο Πομπηΐος Μάγνος, τῆς Θεοδότου ῥητορείας καὶ δεινότητος ἔργον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ σοφιστὴς ἔλεγε
 4 μεγαλαυχούμενος. ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐπελθόντος Καίσαρος, οἱ μὲν δίκας τινύοντες ἀπώλλυντο κακοὶ κακῶς, Θεόδοτος δὲ παρὰ τῆς τύχης χρόνον εἰς ἄδοξον καὶ ἄπορον καὶ πλάνητα βίον ἐπιδανεισάμενος τότε Βρούτον ἐπιόντα τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἀναχθεὶς καὶ κολασθεὶς ὄνομα τοῦ θανάτου πλέον ἔσχευεν ἢ τοῦ βίου.

XXXIV. Κάσσιον δὲ Βρούτος εἰς Σάρδεις ἐκάλει, καὶ προσιόντι μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπήντησε· καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ὠπλισμένος αὐτοκράτορας ἀμφοτέρους προσηγόρευσεν. οἶα δ' ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ φίλοις πολλοῖς καὶ ἡγεμόσιν αἰτιῶν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγγενομένων καὶ διαβολῶν, πρὶν ἕτερόν τι ποιεῖν, εὐθὺς ἐκ πορείας καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν οἰκῇματι γενόμενοι κεκλεισμένων τῶν θυρῶν καὶ μηδενὸς παρόντος, ἐχρῶντο μέμψεσι
 2 πρῶτον, εἰτ' ἐλέγχους καὶ κατηγορίαις. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ παρρησίαν μετὰ πάθους ἐκφερομένων, θαυμάζοντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὸν τόνον, ἔδεισαν μὴ τι ἐκ τούτου γένηται· προσελθεῖν δὲ ἀπείρητο. Μάρκος δὲ Φαώνιος, ἐραστὴς γεγονὼς Κάτωνος, οὐ λόγῳ

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in view of the circumstances, and that was to receive him and put him to death. And he added, as he closed his speech, "A dead man does not bite." The council adopted his opinion, and Pompey the Great lay dead, an example of the unexpected and incredible in human life, and it was the work of Theodotus and his clever rhetoric, as that sophist himself was wont to say with boasting.¹ A little while afterwards, however, when Caesar came, the other wretches paid the penalty for their crime and perished wretchedly; as for Theodotus, after borrowing from Fortune enough time for a wandering, destitute, and inglorious life, he did not escape the notice of Brutus, who at this time traversed Asia, but was brought to him and punished, and won more fame for his death than for his life.

XXXIV. Brutus now summoned Cassius to Sardis,² and as he drew near, went to meet him with his friends; and the whole army, in full array, saluted them both as Imperators. But, as is wont to be the case in great undertakings where there are many friends and commanders, mutual charges and accusations had passed between them, and therefore, immediately after their march and before they did anything else, they met in a room by themselves. The doors were locked, and, with no one by, they indulged in fault-finding first, then in rebukes and denunciations. After this, they were swept along into passionate speeches and tears, and their friends, amazed at the harshness and intensity of their anger, feared some untoward result; they were, however, forbidden to approach. But Marcus Favonius, who had become a devotee of Cato, and was more impetuous and frenzied

¹ Cf. *Pompey*, chapters lxxvii.-lxxx.

² In the early part of 42 B.C.

μᾶλλον ἢ φορᾶ τινι καὶ πάθει μανικῶ φιλοσοφῶν,
 ἐβάδιζεν εἴσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
 3 οἰκετῶν. ἀλλ' ἔργον ἦν ἐπιλαβέσθαι Φαωνίου 1000
 πρὸς ὅτιοι ὁρούσαντος· σφοδρὸς γὰρ ἦν ἐν πᾶσι
 καὶ πρόχειρος. ἐπεὶ τό γε βουλευτὴν εἶναι
 Ῥωμαίων ἐαυτὸν οὐδενὸς ἄξιον ἡγεῖτο, τῷ δὲ
 κυνικῷ τῆς παρρησίας πολλάκις ἀφήρει τὴν
 χαλεπότητα, καὶ τὸ ἄκαιρον αὐτοῦ μετὰ παιδιᾶς
 δεχομένων. βία δὴ τότε τῶν παρόντων διωσά-
 μενος τὰς θύρας εἰσῆλθε, μετὰ πλάσματος φωνῆς
 ἔπη περαίνων οἷς τὸν Νέστορα χρώμενον Ὀμηρος
 πεποίηκεν·

ἀλλὰ πίθεσθ'· ἄμφω δὲ νεωτέρω ἐστὸν ἐμεῖο,
 4 καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἐγέλασεν, ὁ
 δὲ Βρούτος ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἀπλόκυνα καὶ ψευδό-
 κυνα προσαγορεύων. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τότε τοῦτο
 τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορᾶς ποιησάμενοι πέρας
 εὐθὺς διελύθησαν. καὶ Κασσίου δεῖπνον παρέ-
 χοντος ἐκάλει τοὺς φίλους Βρούτος. ἤδη δὲ
 κατακειμένων Φαώνιος ἦκε λελουμένος· μαρ-
 τυρομένου δὲ Βρούτου μὴ κεκλημένον αὐτὸν ἦκειν
 καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω κλίνην,
 βία παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν μέσσην κατεκλίθη· καὶ
 παιδιὰν ὁ πότος ἔσχευ οὐκ ἄχαριν οὐδ' ἀφιλό-
 σοφον.

XXXV. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Βρούτος ἄνδρα Ῥω-
 μαῖον ἐστρατηγηκότα καὶ πεπιστευμένον ὑπ'

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than reasonable in his pursuit of philosophy, tried to go in to them, and was prevented by their servants. It was no easy matter, however, to stop Favonius when he sprang to do anything, for he was always vehement and rash. The fact that he was a Roman senator was of no importance in his eyes, and by the "cynical" boldness of his speech he often took away its offensiveness, and therefore men put up with his impertinence as a joke. And so at this time he forced his way through the bystanders and entered the room, reciting in an affected voice the verses wherein Homer¹ represents Nestor as saying :—

"But do ye harken to me, for ye both are younger than I am,"

and so forth. At this Cassius burst out laughing; but Brutus drove Favonius out of the room, calling him a mere dog, and a counterfeit Cynic.² However, at the time, this incident put an end to their quarrel, and they separated at once. Furthermore, Cassius gave a supper, to which Brutus invited his friends. And as the guests were already taking their places at the feast, Favonius came, fresh from his bath. Brutus protested that he had come without an invitation, and ordered the servants to conduct him to the uppermost couch; but Favonius forced his way past them and reclined upon the central one. And over the wine mirth and jest abounded, seasoned with wit and philosophy.

XXXV. But on the following day Lucius Pella, a Roman who had been praetor and had enjoyed

¹ *Iliad*, i. 259.

² A follower of Antisthenes was called a "Cynic," or *dog-like*, probably from the coarse and brutal manners affected by the school.

αὐτοῦ, Λεύκιον Πέλλαν, Σαρδιανῶν κατηγορούν-
των ἐπὶ κλοπαῖς δημοσίᾳ καταγνοὺς ἠτίμωσε· καὶ
τὸ πρᾶγμα Κάσσιον οὐ μετρίως ἐλύπησεν. αὐτὸς
γὰρ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
ἐλεγχθέντας ἀδικήμασι δύο φίλους ἰδίᾳ νουθετή-
2 σας φανερῶς ἀφῆκε καὶ διετέλει χρώμενος. ὅθεν
ἠτιᾶτο τὸν Βρούτον ὡς ἄγαν ὄντα νόμιμον καὶ
δίκαιον ἐν καιρῷ πολιτείας δεομένῳ καὶ φιλαν-
θρωπίας. ὁ δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν τῶν Μαρτίων ἐκέλευεν
αὐτὸν μνημονεύειν ἐκείνων, ἐν αἷς Καίσαρα
ἔκτειναν, οὐκ αὐτὸν ἄγοντα καὶ φέροντα πάντας
ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων δύναμιν ὄντα ταῦτα
3 πρᾶσσόντων· ὥς, εἴ τις ἔστι πρόφασις καλὴ
μεθ' ἧς ἀμελεῖται τὸ δίκαιον, ἄμεινον ἦν τοὺς
Καίσαρος φίλους ὑπομένειν ἢ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν περιο-
ρᾶν ἀδικούντας. “Ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ἀνανδρίας,
ἀδικίας δὲ δόξα μετὰ κινδύνων ἡμῖν καὶ πόνων
πρόσεστι.” τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ Βρούτου προαί-
ρεσις ἦν.

XXXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβαίνειν ἐξ Ἀσίας ἔμελ-
λον, λέγεται τῷ Βρούτῳ μέγα σημεῖον γενέσθαι.
φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἐπεγρήγορος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν
ὑπνον εἰς ὀλίγου χρόνου μόριον ἀσκήσει καὶ
σωφροσύνη συνῆγεν, ἡμέρας μὲν οὐδέποτε κοιμώ-
μενος, νύκτωρ δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὔτε τι πράττειν
οὔτε τῷ διαλέγεσθαι, πάντων ἀναπαυομένων,
2 παρείχε. τότε δὲ τοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος ἐν
χερσὶν ἔχων τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων πράξεις, καὶ
τεταμένος τῇ φροντίδι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὀπηνίκα
πρῶτον ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἐπινυστάξειε τοῖς σιτίοις,
ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐχρήτο τῇ νυκτὶ πρὸς τὰ κατεπει-
γοντα τῶν πραγμάτων. εἰ δὲ συνέλοι καὶ κατοι-

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the confidence of Brutus, being denounced by the Sardians as an embezzler of the public moneys, was condemned by Brutus and disgraced ; and the matter vexed Cassius beyond measure. For a few days before, when two friends of his had been convicted of the same misdeeds, he had privately admonished them but publicly acquitted them, and continued to employ them. He therefore found fault with Brutus on the ground that he was too observant of law and justice at a time which demanded a policy of kindness. But Brutus bade him remember the Ides of March, on which they had slain Caesar, not because he was himself plundering everybody, but because he enabled others to do this ; since, if there is any good excuse for neglecting justice, it had been better for us to endure the friends of Caesar than to suffer our own to do wrong. "For in the one case," said he, "we should have had the reputation of cowardice merely ; but now, in addition to our toils and perils, we are deemed unjust." Such were the principles of Brutus.

XXXVI. When they were about to cross over from Asia, Brutus is said to have had a great sign. He was naturally wakeful, and by practice and self-restraint had reduced his hours of sleep to few, never lying down by day, and by night only when he could transact no business nor converse with any one, since all had gone to rest. At this time, however, when the war was begun and he had in his hands the conduct of a life and death struggle, and was anxiously forecasting the future, he would first doze a little in the evening after eating, and then would spend the rest of the night on urgent business. But whenever he had fully met the demands of such

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- κοινομήσειε τὴν περὶ ταῦτα χρεῖαν, ἀνεγίνωσκε βιβλίον μέχρι τρίτης φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν εἰώθεσαν ἑκατόνταρχοι καὶ χιλιάρχοι φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.
- 3 ὡς οὖν ἔμελλεν ἐξ Ἀσίας διαβιβάζειν τὸ στράτευμα, νύξ μὲν ἦν βαθυτάτη, φῶς δ' εἶχεν οὐ πάνυ λαμπρὸν ἢ σκηνή, πᾶν δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον σιωπῇ κατεῖχεν. ὁ δὲ συλλογιζόμενός τι καὶ σκοπῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔδοξεν αἰσθῆσθαι τινὸς εἰσιόντος. ἀποβλέψας δὲ πρὸς τὴν εἰσοδὸν ὁρᾷ δεινὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ὄψιν ἐκφύλου σώματος καὶ
- 4 φοβεροῦ, σιωπῇ παρεστῶτος αὐτῷ. τολμήσας δὲ ἐρέσθαι, "Τίς ποτ' ὦν," εἶπεν, "ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν, ἣ τί βουλόμενος ἦκεις ὡς ἡμᾶς;" Ἐποφθέγγεται δ' αὐτῷ τὸ φάσμα. "Ὁ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὄψει δέ με περὶ Φιλίππους." καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος οὐ διαταραχθεὶς, "Ὁψομαι," εἶπεν.

- XXXVII. Ἀφανισθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκάλει· μήτε δ' ἀκοῦσαί τινα φωνὴν μήτ' ἰδεῖν 1001 ὄψιν φασκόντων, τότε μὲν ἐπηγρύπνησεν· ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τραπόμενος πρὸς Κάσσιον ἔφραζε τὴν ὄψιν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς Ἐπικούρου λόγοις χρώμενος καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔθος ἔχων διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον, "Ἡμέτερος οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ὦ Βροῦτε, λόγος, ὡς οὐ πάντα πύσχομεν ἀληθῶς οὐδ' ὁρῶμεν, ἀλλ' ὑγρὸν μὲν τι χρῆμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ἢ αἰσθησις, ἔτι δ' ὀξυτέρα ἢ διάνοια κινεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ μεταβάλλειν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὑπάρχοντος ἐπὶ
- 2 πᾶσαν ιδέα. κηρῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν¹ ἡ τύπωσις, ψυχῇ δ' ἀνθρώπου, τὸ πλαττόμενον καὶ τὸ πλάττον ἐχούση τὸ αὐτό, ῥᾶστα ποικίλλειν αὐτήν

¹ ἔοικεν Bekker adopts the early anonymous correction to ἔωθεν (on wax the impression is outside, but the soul, etc.).

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business in shorter time, he would read a book until the third watch, at which hour the centurions and tribunes usually came to him. Once, accordingly, when he was about to take his army across from Asia, it was very late at night, his tent was dimly lighted, and all the camp was wrapped in silence. Then, as he was meditating and reflecting, he thought he heard some one coming into the tent. He turned his eyes towards the entrance and beheld a strange and dreadful apparition, a monstrous and fearful shape standing silently by his side. Plucking up courage to question it, "Who art thou," said he, "of gods or men, and what is thine errand with me?" Then the phantom answered: "I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi." And Brutus, undisturbed, said: "I shall see thee."¹

XXXVII. When the shape had disappeared, Brutus called his servants; but they declared that they had neither heard any words nor seen any apparition, and so he watched the night out. As soon as it was day, however, he sought out Cassius and told him of the apparition. Cassius, who belonged to the school of Epicurus, and was in the habit of taking issue on such topics with Brutus, said: "This is our doctrine, Brutus, that we do not really feel or see everything, but perception by the senses is a pliant and deceitful thing, and besides, the intelligence is very keen to change and transform the thing perceived into any and every shape from one which has no real existence. An impression on the senses is like wax, and the soul of man, in which the plastic material and the plastic power alike exist, can very easily shape

¹ Cf. *Caesar*, lxix. 5-7.

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καὶ σχηματίζειν δι' ἑαυτῆς ὑπάρχει. δηλοῦσι δὲ αἱ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τροπαὶ τῶν ὀνείρων, ἃς τρέπεται τὸ φανταστικὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς βραχείας παντοδαπὰ καὶ πάθη καὶ εἰδῶλα γινόμενον. κινεῖσθαι δ' αἰεὶ πέφυκε· κίνησις δ' αὐτῷ φαν-
 3 τασία τις ἢ νόησις. σοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ταλαιπωρούμενον φύσει τὴν διάνοιαν αἰωρεῖ καὶ παρατρέπει. δαίμονας δ' οὐτ' εἶναι πιθανὸν οὐτ' ὄντας ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν εἶδος ἢ φωνὴν ἢ δύναμιν εἰς ἡμᾶς διήκουσαν· ὥς ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐβουλόμην, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ναυσὶ τοσαύταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἀρωγαῖς ἐπεθαρροῦμεν, ὁσιωτά- των ἔργων καὶ καλλίστων ἡγεμόνες ὄντες." τοιούτοις μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπράυνε λόγοις τὸν Βροῦτον.

4 Ἐμβαινόντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας σημαίας ἀετοὶ δύο συγκατασκήψαντες ὁμοῦ συνδιεκομίζοντο, καὶ παρηκολούθουν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τρεφόμενοι μέχρι Φιλίππων. ἐκεῖ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὤχοντο ἀποπτάμενοι.

XXXVIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείστα τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ἔθνων ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Βροῦτος ὑπήκοα πεποιημένος. εἰ δέ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ δυνάστης παρεῖτο, τότε πάντας προσαγόμενοι μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Θάσον θαλάσσης προῆλθον. ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν περὶ Νορ- βανὸν ἐν τοῖς Στενοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ περὶ τὸ Σύμβολον στρατοπεδεύοντων, περιελθόντες αὐ- τοὺς ἠνάγκασαν ἀποστῆναι καὶ προέσθαι τὰ
 2 χωρία. μικροῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν ἐδέησαν, ὑπολειπομένου διὰ νόσον Καίσαρος, εἰ μὴ προσεβοήθησεν Ἀντώνιος ὁξύτητι θαυμαστῇ

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and embellish it at pleasure. This is clear from the transformations which occur in dreams, where slight initial material is transformed by the imagination into all sorts of emotions and shapes. The imagination is by nature in perpetual motion, and this motion which it has is fancy, or thought. In thy case, too, the body is worn with hardships and this condition naturally excites and perverts the intelligence. As for genii, it is incredible either that they exist, or, if they do exist, that they have the appearance or the speech of men, or a power that extends to us. For my part, I could wish it were so, in order that not only our men-at-arms, and horses, and ships, which are so numerous, but also the assistance of the gods might give us courage, conducting as we do the fairest and holiest enterprises." With such discourse did Cassius seek to calm Brutus.

Furthermore, as the soldiers were embarking, two eagles perched upon the foremost standards and were borne along with them, and they kept the army company, being fed by the soldiers, as far as Philippi. There, only one day before the battle, they flew away.

XXXVIII. Most of the peoples encountered on the march Brutus had already brought into subjection; and now, whatever city or potentate had been omitted, they won them all over, and advanced as far as the Thasian sea. There Norbanus and his army were encamped, at what were called The Narrows, and near Symbolum; but they surrounded him and compelled him to withdraw and abandon his positions. They almost captured his forces, too, since Octavius was delayed by sickness; and they would have done so had not Antony come to his aid with such

χρησάμενος, ὥστ' ἀπιστεῖν τοὺς περὶ Βρούτου. ἦλθε δὲ Καίσαρ ὕστερον ἡμέραις δέκα, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐναντίον Βρούτου, Κασσίου δὲ Ἀντώνιος.

- 3 Τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων πεδία Ῥωμαῖοι κάμπους Φιλίππους καλοῦσι· καὶ μέγιστα τότε Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις ἀλλήλαις συνεφέροντο. πλήθει μὲν οὖν οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλείποντο τῶν περὶ Καίσαρα, κόσμῳ δ' ὅπλων καὶ λαμπρότητι θαυμαστὸν ἐξεφάνη τὸ Βρούτου στράτευμα. χρυσὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πλείστα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἄργυρος ἀφειδῶς καταχορηγηθεὶς, καίπερ εἰς τὰλλα τοῦ Βρούτου σῶφρονι διαίτῃ καὶ κεκολασμένη χρῆσθαι
- 4 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐθίζοντος. τὸν δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα πλοῦτον ᾧτό τι καὶ φρονήματος παρέχειν τοῖς φιλοτιμοτέροις, τοὺς δὲ φιλοκερδεῖς καὶ μαχιμωτέρους ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ κτημάτων τῶν ὅπλων περιεχομένους.

- XXXIX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Καίσαρα καθαρμὸν ἐν τῷ χάρακι ποιησάμενοι, μικρὸν τι σίτου καὶ δραχμὰς κατ' ἄνδρα πέντε διένειμαν εἰς θυσίαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Βρούτου καταγνόντες αὐτῶν τῆς ἀπορίας ἢ μικρολογίας, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὸν στρατόν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐκάθηραν, ἔπειθ' ἱερείων πλήθη κατὰ λόχους καὶ δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ πεντήκοντα διαδόντες, εὐνοίᾳ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῆς δυνά-
- 2 μεως πλέον εἶχον. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ σημείον ἐν τῷ καθαρμῷ μοχθηρὸν ἔδοξε Κασσίῳ γενέσθαι. τὸν 1002 γὰρ στέφανον αὐτῷ κατεστραμμένον ὁ ῥαβδούχος προσήνεγκε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἐν θεᾷ τινὶ καὶ πομπῇ χρυσὴν Κασσίου Νίκην διαφορο-

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astonishing swiftness that Brutus could not believe in it. Octavius came, however, ten days later, and encamped over against Brutus, while Antony faced Cassius.

The plains between the armies the Romans call *Campi Philippi*, and Roman forces of such size had never before encountered one another. In numbers the army of Brutus was much inferior to that of Octavius, but in the splendid decoration of its arms it presented a wonderful sight. For most of their armour was covered with gold and silver, with which Brutus had lavishly supplied them, although in other matters he accustomed his officers to adopt a temperate and restricted regimen. But he thought that the wealth which they held in their hands and wore upon their persons gave additional spirit to the more ambitious, and made the covetous even more warlike, since they clung to their armour as so much treasure.

XXXIX. Octavius and Antony now made a lustration¹ of their armies in their camps, and then distributed a little meal and five drachmas to every man for a sacrifice; but Brutus and Cassius, despising their enemies' poverty or parsimony, first made lustration of their armies in the open field, as the custom is, and then distributed great numbers of cattle for sacrifice among their cohorts, and fifty drachmas to every soldier, and thus, in the goodwill and zeal of their forces, they were at an advantage. However, it was thought that Cassius had a baleful sign during the lustration; for the licitor brought him his wreath turned upside down. And it is said that before this, also, in a procession at some festival, a golden Victory belonging to Cassius, which was being borne along,

¹ A solemn review, with ceremonies of purification.

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- 3 μένην πεσεῖν, ὀλισθόντος τοῦ φέροντος. ἔτι δ' ὄρνεά τε σαρκοφάγα πολλὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπεφαίνετο τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μελισσῶν ὥφθησαν ἔσμοι συνιστάμενοι περὶ τόπον τινὰ τοῦ χάρακος ἐντός, ὃν ἐξέκλεισαν οἱ μάντεις ἀφοσιούμενοι τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀτρέμα καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον αὐτὸν ὑποφέρουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας παντάπασι δεδουλωμένην.
- 4 "Ὅθεν οὐδ' ἦν πρόθυμος διὰ μάχης ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενέσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ τρίβειν ἡξίου χρόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐρρωμένους χρήμασιν, ὀπλῶν δὲ καὶ σωμάτων πλήθει λειπομένους. Βρούτος δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἔσπευδε τῷ ταχίστῳ τῶν κινδύνων διακριθεὶς ἢ τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀναλαβεῖν ἢ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐνοχλουμένους δαπάναις καὶ στρατείαις καὶ προστάγμασιν
- 5 ἀπαλλάξαι κακῶν, καὶ τότε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς ὁρῶν ἐν τοῖς προάγωσι καὶ ταῖς ἀψιμαχίαις εὐημεροῦντας καὶ κρατοῦντας ἐξῆρτο τὸ φρόνημα· καὶ τινες αὐτομολίαι γενομένηαι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους καὶ διαβολαὶ καθ' ἐτέρων καὶ ὑπόνοιαι πολλοὺς τῶν Κασσίου φίλων μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ
- 6 συνεδρίῳ πρὸς Βρούτον. εἰς δὲ τῶν Βρούτου φίλων Ἀτίλλιος ἠναντιοῦτο, τὸν γε χειμῶνα περιμεῖναι κελεύων. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου τίνοι βελτίων ἔσεσθαι νομίζει μετ' ἐνιαυτόν, "Εἰ μὴδέν," εἶπεν, "ἄλλο, πλείω βιώσομαι χρόνον." πρὸς τοῦτο Κάσσιος ἐδυσχέρανε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προσέκρουσεν οὐ μετρίως ὁ Ἀτίλλιος. ἐδέδοκτο δὲ μάχεσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ.

XI. Καὶ Βρούτος μὲν ἐν ἐλπίσι καλαῖς καὶ

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fell to the ground, its bearer having slipped. And besides, many carrion birds hovered over the camp daily, and swarms of bees were seen clustering at a certain place inside the camp; this place the sooth-sayers shut off from the rest of the camp, in order to avert by their rites the superstitious fears which were gradually carrying even Cassius himself away from his Epicurean doctrines, and which had altogether subjugated his soldiers.

For these reasons Cassius was not eager to have the issue decided by battle at present, but thought it best to protract the war, since they were strong financially, although inferior in the number of their arms and men. Brutus, however, even before this had been anxious to have the issue decided by the speediest of hazards, that he might either restore freedom to his country, or relieve mankind of calamitous expenditures and requisitions for military service. At this time, too, he saw that his horsemen were successful and victorious in the preliminary skirmishes, and was therefore lifted up in spirit. Besides, sundry desertions to the enemy, and suspicions and assertions that others would follow, brought many of the friends of Cassius in the council over to the side of Brutus. But one of the friends of Brutus, Atillius, opposed his wishes, and urged delay till winter at least was past. And when Brutus asked him how he thought he would be better off another year, "If in no other way," said Atillius, "I shall have lived longer." At this answer Cassius was vexed, and the rest also were not a little annoyed by Atillius. So it was presently decided to give battle on the next day.

XL. Brutus was full of hopefulness at supper, and

- λογισμοῖς φιλοσόφοις γεγόμενος παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀνεπαύετο· Κάσσιον δὲ Μεσσάλας φησὶ δεῖπνεῖν τε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὀλίγους τῶν συνήθων παραλαβόντα, καὶ σύννουν ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ σιωπηλόν, οὐ φύσει τοιοῦτον ὄντα· παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ δεῖπνου λαβόμενον τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ σφόδρα τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει φιλοφρονούμενος, Ἑλληνικῇ
 2 φωνῇ· “Μαρτύρομαί σε, Μεσσάλα, ταῦτὰ Πομπηΐω Μάγνῳ πάσχειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος διὰ μιᾶς μάχης ἀναρρῖψαι τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος κύβον. ἀγαθὴν μέντοι ψυχὴν ἔχωμεν εἰς τὴν τύχην ἀφορῶντες, ἥ, κὰν βουλευσώμεθα κακῶς, ἀπιστεῖν οὐ δίκαιον.” ταῦτα εἰπόντα φησὶν ὁ Μεσσάλας τελευταῖα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Κάσσιον· εἶναι δὲ κεκλημένος εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον οὔσαν.
- 3 “Ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα προῦκειτο μὲν τῷ Βρούτου χάρακι καὶ τῷ Κάσσίου σύμβολον ἀγώνος φοινικοῦς χιτῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνήλθον εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ λέγει Κάσσιος· “Εἴη μὲν, ὦ Βρούτε, νικᾶν καὶ συνεῖναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀλλήλοις εὖ πράξαντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀδηλότατα, καὶ τῆς μάχης παρὰ γνώμην κριθείσης οὐ ῥάδιον αὐθις ἀλλήλους ἰδεῖν,
 4 τί γνώσκεις περὶ φυγῆς καὶ τελευτῆς;” καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ἀπεκρίνατο· “Νέος ὢν ἐγώ, Κάσσιε, καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λόγον ἀφήκα μέγαν. ἡττίαςάμην Κάτωνα διαχρησάμενον ἑαυτόν, ὥς οὐχ ὅσιον οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ὑποχωρεῖν τῷ δαίμονι καὶ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ
 5 συμπύπτον ἀδεῶς, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδράσκειν. νυνὶ δ'

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after engaging in philosophical discussion, went to rest; but Cassius, as Messala tells us, supped in private with a few of his intimates, and was seen to be silent and pensive, contrary to his usual nature. When supper was over, he grasped Messala's hand warmly, and, speaking in Greek, as was his custom when he would show affection, said: "I call thee to witness, Messala, that I am in the same plight as Pompey the Great, in that I am forced to hazard the fate of my country on the issue of a single battle. With good courage, however, let us fix our waiting eyes on Fortune, of whom, even though our counsels be infirm, it is not right that we should be distrustful." With these last words to him, Messala says, Cassius embraced him; and he had already invited him to supper on the following day, which was his birthday.

As soon as it was day, a scarlet tunic, the signal for battle, was displayed before the camps of Brutus and Cassius, and they themselves came together into the space between their armies. Here Cassius said: "May we be victorious, Brutus, and ever afterwards share a mutual prosperity; but since the most important of human affairs are most uncertain, and since, if the battle goes contrary to our wishes, we shall not easily see one another again, what is thy feeling about flight and death?" And Brutus made answer: "When I was a young man, Cassius, and without experience of the world, I was led, I know not how, to speak too rashly for a philosopher. I blamed Cato for making away with himself, on the ground that it was impious and unmanly to yield to one's evil genius, not accepting fearlessly whatever befalls, but running away. In my present fortunes,

ἄλλοιός ἐν ταῖς τύχαις γίνομαι· καὶ θεοῦ καλῶς τὰ παρόντα μὴ βραβεύσαντος οὐ δέομαι πάλιν ἄλλας ἐλπίδας ἐξελέγχειν καὶ παρασκευάς, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάξομαι τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν. Μαρτίαις¹ εἰδοῖς δούς τῇ πατρίδι τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ βίον ἄλλον ἔζησα δι' ἐκείνην ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἔνδοξον." ἐπὶ τούτοις Κάσσιος ἐμειδίασε καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἀσπα- 1003
σάμενος, "Ταῦτα," ἔφη, "φρονοῦντες ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἡ γὰρ νικήσομεν ἢ νικῶντας οὐ φοβηθησόμεθα."

- 6 Μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τάξεως αὐτοῖς λόγος ἐγένετο τῶν φίλων παρόντων. καὶ Βρούτος ῥητεῖτο Κάσσιον αὐτὸς ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος, ὃ δι' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἡλικίαν μᾶλλον ᾔοντο Κασσίῳ προσήκειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Κάσσιος ἔδωκε, καὶ τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ μαχιμώτατον ἔχοντα Μεσσάλαν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ καταστήναι. καὶ Βρούτος εὐθύς ἐξῆγε τοὺς ἵππεῖς κεκοσμημένους διαπρεπῶς, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν οὐ σχολαίτερον παρενέβαλλεν.

- XLI. Ἐτυχον δ' οἱ περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλῶν, οἷς περιστρατοπέδευον, ἐμβάλλοντες τάφρους εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁδοὺς τοῦ Κασσίου περικόπτοντες. ἐφήδρευε δὲ Καῖσαρ, οὐ παρὼν αὐτὸς δι' ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις, οὐ πάνυ μαχεῖσθαι προσδοκῶσα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκδρομαῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ βέλεσιν ἐλαφροῖς καὶ θορύβοις τοὺς 2 ὀρύσσοντας ἐπιταράσσειν· καὶ τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις οὐ προσέχοντες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν περὶ τὰς

¹ ἐπαινῶν. Μαρτίαις Coraës and Bekker have ἐπαινῶν ὅτι (because) Μαρτίαις κτλ., after Reiske.

BRUTUS

however, I am become of a different mind ; and if God does not decide the present issue in our favour, I do not ask once more to put fresh hopes and preparations to the test, but I will go hence with words of praise for Fortune ; on the Ides of March I gave my own life to my country, and since then, for her sake, I have lived another life of liberty and glory." At these words Cassius smiled, and after embracing Brutus, said : " Thus minded, let us go against the enemy ; for either we shall be victorious, or we shall not fear the victors."

After this, they conferred together about the order of battle in the presence of their friends. And Brutus asked Cassius that he might have command of the right wing himself, although his years and experience made this post seem more appropriate for Cassius. However, Cassius not only granted him this favour, but also ordered Messala with the most warlike of the legions to take position on the right. Brutus at once led out his horsemen magnificently equipped, and with no less promptness put his infantry also in array.

XLI. The soldiers of Antony were engaged in running trenches from the marshes, at which they were encamped, into the plain, thus cutting off Cassius from access to the sea. Octavius was quietly watching the course of events,—not being present in person, owing to sickness, but his forces for him ; they had no expectation at all that their enemies would give battle, but thought they would merely sally out against the works and with light missiles and clamorous cries try to disturb the workers in the trenches. So paying no attention to their opponents, they were amazed at the loud and confused

- τάφρους κραυγὴν ἄσημον οὔσαν καὶ πολλὴν προσφερομένην. ἐν τούτῳ γραμματείων τε παρὰ Βρούτου τοῖς ἡγεμόσι φοιτῶντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ σύνθημα γεγραμμένον, αὐτοῦ τε παρεξίοντος ἔππῳ τὰ τάγματα καὶ παραθαρρύνοντος, ὀλίγοι μὲν ἔφθασαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ σύνθημα παρεγγυώμενον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι μὴ προσμείναντες ὁρμῇ μιᾷ καὶ ἀλα-
 3 λαγμῷ προσεφέροντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. γενομένης δὲ δι' ἀταξίαν ταύτην ἀνωμαλίας καὶ διασπασμοῦ τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ Μεσσάλα πρῶτον, εἶτα τὰ συνεzeugμένα παρήλλαττε τὸ Καῖσαρος ἀριστερόν· καὶ βραχέα τῶν ἐσχάτων θιγόντες καὶ καταβαλόντες οὐ πολλούς, ἀλλ' ὑπερκεράσαντες,
 4 ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ Καῖσαρ μὲν, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἱστορεῖ, τῶν φίλων τινὸς Ἀρτωρίου Μάρκου καθ' ὕπνον ἰδόντος ὄψιν κελεύουσας ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρα καὶ μετελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἔφθασε μικρὸν ὑπεκκομισθεὶς ἔδοξε τε τεθνάναι. τὸ γὰρ φορεῖον κενὸν ἀκοντίοις καὶ ὕσσοις βάλλοντες διήλασαν. ἦν δὲ φόνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων, καὶ δισχίλιοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἤκοντες ἐπίκουροι νεωστὶ συγκατεκόπησαν.

- XLII. Οἱ δὲ μὴ κυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ συμπεσόντες, ῥαδίως μὲν ἀπετρέψαντο τεταραγμένους, καὶ διέφθειραν ἐν χερσὶν¹ τρία τάγματα, καὶ συνεισέπεσον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὑπὸ ῥύμης τοῦ κρατεῖν συνενεχθέντες, μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες τὸν Βρούτον· ὃ δ' οὐ συνείδον
 2 οἱ νικῶντες ἐδείκνυε τοῖς ἡττημένοις ὁ καιρὸς. εἰς

¹ χερσὶν conjectured by Sintenis and Bekker : χεροῖν.

BRUTUS

outcries which came to them from the trenches. At this point, while tickets with the watchword written upon them were being carried to his officers from Brutus, and while Brutus himself was riding along past the legions and encouraging them, few of his men succeeded in hearing the watchword as it was passed along, but most of them, without waiting for it, with one impulse and with one war-cry, rushed upon the enemy. This disorder threw the legions out of line and touch with one another, and first that of Messala, then those that had been drawn up with it, went beyond the left wing of Octavius; they had only a brief contact with its outermost lines, and slew only a few men, but outflanked it and burst into their camp. And Octavius, as he himself tells us in his Commentaries, in consequence of a vision which visited one of his friends, Marcus Artorius, and ordered that Octavius should rise up from his bed and depart from the camp, barely succeeded in having himself carried forth, and was thought to have been slain. For his litter, when empty, was pierced by the javelins and spears of his enemies. Those who were taken prisoners in the camp were slaughtered, and two thousand Lacedaemonians who had recently come as auxiliaries were cut to pieces along with them.

XLII. The legions of Brutus which had not outflanked the forces of Octavius, but engaged them in battle, easily routed them in their confusion and cut to pieces three legions at close quarters; then they dashed into their camp with the fugitives, borne on by the impetus of their victory and carrying Brutus with them. But here the vanquished saw an opportunity of which the victors were not aware; for they

- γὰρ τὰ γυμνὰ καὶ παραρρηγνύμενα τῆς ἐναντίας
 φάλαγγος, ἥ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀπεσπάσθη πρὸς τὴν δίω-
 ξιν, ὥσάμενοι τὸ μὲν μέσον οὐκ ἐξέωσαν, ἀλλ'
 ἀγωνίᾳ μεγάλῃ συνείχοντο, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον ἀταξία
 καὶ ἀγνοία τῶν γενομένων ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατα-
 διώξαντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα διεπόρθουν οὐδετέρου
 3 τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων παρόντος. Ἀντωνίος τε γάρ,
 ὥς φασιν, ἐκκλίνας ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν ἔφοδον εἰς τὸ
 ἔλος ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ Καίσαρ οὐδαμοῦ φανερός ἦν
 ἐκπεσῶν τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλὰ Βρούτῳ τινὲς ὡς
 ἀνηρηκότες αὐτὸν ἐπεδείκνυνον ἡμαγμένα τὰ ξίφη,
 φράζοντες ιδέαν ἦν εἶχε καὶ ἡλικίαν. ἤδη δὲ τὸ
 μέσον ἐξεώκει φόνῳ πολλῷ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους,
 καὶ παντελῶς ἐδόκει κρατεῖν ὁ Βρούτος, ὥσπερ ὁ
 4 Κάσσιος κρατεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτῶν
 διέφθειρε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν ὡς νικῶντι Κασ-
 σίῳ μὴ βοηθήσαντος, τοῦ δὲ Βρούτου ὡς ἀπολω-
 λότα μὴ περιμείναντος· ἐπεὶ τῆς γε νίκης ὄρον ὁ
 Μεσσάλας τίθεται τὸ τρεῖς αἰτούς καὶ πολλὰ
 1004 σήμεῖα λαβεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐκείνους δὲ μηδέν.
 Ἀναχωρῶν δ' ὁ Βρούτος ἤδη διαπεπορημένων
 τῶν Καίσαρος ἐθαύμασε τὸ Κασσίου στρατήγιον
 οὐχ ὁρῶν ὑψηλόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, περιφαινόμενον,
 οὐδὲ τάλλα κατὰ χώραν· ἐρήριπτο γὰρ εὐθύς τὰ
 πλεῖστα καὶ κατέσπαστο τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπεσόν-
 5 των. ἀλλ' οἱ δοκοῦντες ὀξύτερον βλέπειν τῶν
 ἐταίρων ἔφραζον αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁρᾶν κράνη
 λάμποντα, πολλοὺς δ' ἀργυροὺς θυρεοὺς ἐν τῷ
 χάρακι τοῦ Κασσίου διαφερομένους· οὐκ οὐκ δο-
 κεῖν αὐτοῖς οὐτ' ἀριθμὸν οὐθ' ὀπλισμὸν εἶναι τῶν
 ἀπολελειμμένων φυλάκων· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πλῆθος

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charged upon the broken and exposed parts of their opponents' line, from which the right wing had been drawn away in pursuit. The centre did not yield to them, but fought them vigorously; the left wing, however, owing to their disorder and ignorance of what had happened, they routed and pursued into their camp, which they sacked. Neither of the generals was with his men; for Antony, we are told, turned aside from the attack at the outset and withdrew into the marsh, and Octavius was nowhere to be seen after he had forsaken his camp; indeed, sundry soldiers declared that they had slain him, showing Brutus their bloody swords and describing his youthful appearance. But presently the centre drove back their opponents with great slaughter, and it appeared that Brutus was completely victorious, as Cassius was completely defeated. And one thing alone brought ruin to their cause, namely, that Brutus thought Cassius victorious and did not go to his aid, while Cassius thought Brutus dead and did not wait for his aid; since Messala considers it a certain proof of the victory that he captured three eagles and many standards from the enemy, while they took nothing.

As Brutus was returning from his victory, the camp of Caesar having been already destroyed, he was amazed not to see the tent of Cassius towering above the others, as usual, nor the other tents in their wonted place; for most of them had been demolished at once when the enemy burst in. But the sharper sighted among his companions told him they could see many helmets gleaming, and many silver breast-plates moving about in the camp of Cassius; they did not think that either the number or the armour was that of the garrison left behind; however, they

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐπέκεινα φαίνεσθαι νεκρῶν ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν νενικη-
 6 μένων κατὰ κράτος ταγμάτων τοσούτων. ταῦτα
 πρῶτον ἔννοϊαν κατέστησε τῷ Βρούτῳ τοῦ συμ-
 πτώματος· καὶ καταλιπὼν φρουρὰν ἐν τῷ στρα-
 τοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεκαλεῖτο τοὺς διώκοντας
 καὶ συνήγεν ὡς Κασσίῳ βοηθήσων.

XLIII. Ἐπέπρακτο δ' οὕτω τὰ κατ' αὐτόν.
 οὔτε τὴν πρώτην ἐκδρομὴν τῶν περὶ Βρούτον
 ἡδέως εἶδεν ἄνευ συνθήματος καὶ προστάγματος
 γενομένην, οὔθ' ὅτε κρατοῦντες εὐθὺς ὥρμησαν ἐφ'
 ἄρπαγὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν, τοῦ περιιέναι καὶ κυκλοῦ-
 σθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμελήσαντες, ἤρεσκεν αὐτῷ
 2 τὰ πραττόμενα. μελλήσει δέ τινι καὶ διατριβῇ
 μᾶλλον ἢ προθυμίᾳ καὶ λογισμῷ στρατηγῶν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολεμίων περιελαμβάνετο· καὶ
 τῶν ἱππέων εὐθὺς ἀπορραγόντων φυγῇ πρὸς τὴν
 θάλασσαν ὀρῶν καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνδιδόντας ἐπει-
 ρᾶτο κατέχειν καὶ παρακαλεῖν. ἐνὸς δὲ σημειο-
 φόρου φεύγοντος ἀφαρπάσας τὸ σημεῖον ἔπηξε
 πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν, μηδὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τετα-
 3 γμένων αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἔτι συμμενόντων. οὕτω
 δὴ βιασθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε μετ' ὀλίγων ἐπὶ λόφον
 ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ πεδίον σκοπᾶς. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν
 οὐδὲν κατεῖδεν ἢ μόλις τὸν χάρακα πορθούμενον,
 ἦν γὰρ ἀσθενὴς τὴν ὄψιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς
 ἐώρων πολλοὺς προσελαύνοντας, οὓς ὁ Βρούτος
 ἔπεμψεν. εἶκασε δ' ὁ Κάσσιος πολεμίους εἶναι
 καὶ διώκειν ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁμως δὲ τῶν παρόντων
 4 ἕνα Τιτίνιον ἀπέστειλε κατοψόμενον. οὗτος οὐκ
 ἔλαθε τοὺς ἱππέας προσιών, ἀλλ', ὡς εἶδον ἄνδρα
 φίλον καὶ Κασσίῳ πιστόν, ἀλαλάξαντες ὑφ' ἡδο-

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said, there were not so many dead bodies visible there as might have been expected if so many legions had been overwhelmed. This was what first made Brutus aware of the calamity ; and leaving a guard in the captured camp of the enemy, he called his men back from the pursuit and united his forces with the purpose of assisting Cassius.

XLIII. With Cassius matters had gone as follows. He had been disturbed to see the first sally of the troops of Brutus, which was made without watchword or command, and when, being victorious, they rushed at once after booty and spoil, with no thought for the envelopment of the enemy, he was vexed at the way things were going. Besides, exercising his command with hesitation and delay rather than with readiness and decision, he was enveloped by the enemy's right wing. His horsemen at once broke away in flight towards the sea, and seeing his infantry also giving ground, he tried to rally them. He snatched the standard from a standard-bearer who was in flight, and planted it in the ground before him, although not even his body-guard were inclined to hold together any more. Thus, then, under compulsion, he withdrew with a few followers to a hill overlooking the plain. But he himself could see nothing, or next to nothing, of the sacking of his camp, for his vision was weak ; the horsemen about him, however, saw a great troop riding up which Brutus had sent. But Cassius conjectured that they were enemies, and in pursuit of him. Nevertheless, he sent out one of those who were with him, Titinius, to reconnoitre. The horsemen spied this man as he came towards them, and when they saw that he was a trusted friend of Cassius, his in-

νῆς οἱ μὲν συνήθεις ἡσπάζοντό τε καὶ ἐδεξιούντο καταπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ περιελαύνοντες ἅμα παιᾶνι καὶ πατάγῳ διὰ χαρᾶς ἀμετρίαν τὸ μέγιστον ἀπειργάσαντο κακόν.

- 5 Ἔδοξε γὰρ ὁ Κάσσιος ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχεσθαι τὸν Τιτίνιον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ φήσας, “Φιλοψυχοῦντες ἀνεμείναμεν ἄνδρα φίλον ἀρπαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδεῖν,” ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τινα σκηνὴν ἔρημον, ἓνα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐφελκυσάμενος, Πίνδαρον, ὃν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Κράσ-
6 σον ἀτυχημάτων ἐπὶ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ἀνάγκην ὑφ’ αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένον. ἀλλὰ Πάρθους μὲν διέφυγε, τότε δὲ τὰς χλαμύδας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναγαγὼν καὶ γυμνώσας τὸν τράχηλον ἀποκόψαι παρέσχεν. εὐρέθη γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ δίχα τοῦ σώματος. τὸν δὲ Πίνδαρον οὐδεὶς εἶδεν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τὸν φόνον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ παρέσχεν ἐνίοις δόξαν
7 ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα μὴ κελευσθεῖς. ὀλίγῳ δ’ ὕστερον οἳ θ’ ἱππεῖς ἐγένοντο φανεροί, καὶ Τιτί-
νιος ἐστεφανωμένος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνῆει πρὸς Κάσσιον. ὥς δὲ κλαυθμῷ καὶ βοῇ τῶν φίλων ὀδυρομένων καὶ δυσφορούντων ἔγνω τὸ πάθος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, ἐσπίασατο τὸ ξίφος καὶ πολλὰ κακίσας τῆς βραδυτήτος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε.

XLIV. Βρούτος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἤτταν ἐγνωκὼς τοῦ Κασσίου προσήλαινε, τὸν δὲ θάνατον ἐγγὺς ἤδη τοῦ χάρακος ἤκουσε. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα περι- 1005
κλαύσας, καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἔσχατον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων τὸν Κάσσιον, ὥς οὐκ ἔτι τῇ πόλει τηλικούτου φρονήματος ἐγγενέσθαι δυναμένου,

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timates, shouting for joy, leaped from their horses and embraced him warmly, while the rest rode round him with shouts and clashing of arms, thus, in their boundless joy, working the greatest mischief.

For Cassius thought that Titinius was actually taken by the enemy, and with the words "My love of life has brought me to the pass of seeing a friend seized by the enemy," he withdrew into an empty tent, forcing along with him one of his freedmen, Pindarus, whom, after the disaster which befell Crassus,¹ he used to keep in readiness for this emergency. From the Parthians, indeed, he had made his escape; but now, drawing his robes up over his face and laying bare his neck, he offered it to the sword. For his head was found severed from his body. Pindarus, however, no man saw after the bloody deed, and therefore some have thought that he slew his master unbidden. A little later it became evident who the horsemen were, and Titinius, whom they had crowned with garlands, came up to report to Cassius. But when the lamentable cries of his distressed and weeping friends made known to him the grievous fate of his general and his error, he drew his sword, reproached himself bitterly for his slowness, and slew himself.

XLIV. When Brutus learned of the defeat of Cassius, he rode towards him, but heard of his death when he was already near his camp. He mourned over the body, and called Cassius "the last of the Romans," implying that such an exalted spirit could no longer arise in the city. Then he decked the

¹ Cassius had been quaestor for Crassus on the disastrous Parthian expedition in 53 B.C. (*Crassus*, xviii. 5).

- περιέστειλε καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Θάσον, ὥς μὴ
 2 σύγχυσιν αὐτόθι παράσχοι κηδεύομενον. αὐτὸς
 δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν παρεμυθήσατο·
 καὶ πάντων ὁρῶν ἀπεστερημένους τῶν ἀναγκαίων
 ὑπέσχετο κατ' ἄνδρα δισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἀντὶ
 τῶν ἀπολωλότων. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τε τοὺς λόγους
 ἀνεθάρρουν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐθαύμασαν
 τὸ μέγεθος· καὶ μετὰ βοῆς προὔπεμψαν ἀπιόντα,
 μεγαλύνοντες ὥς μόνον ἀήττητον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν
 3 τεσσάρων αὐτοκρατόρων γεγενημένον. ἐμαρτύρει
 δὲ τὸ ἔργον ὅτι τῇ μάχῃ περιέσεσθαι καλῶς
 ἐπίστευεν· ὀλίγοις γὰρ τάγμασιν ἅπαντας ἐτρέ-
 ψατο τοὺς ἀντιστάνας. εἰ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐχρήσατο
 πρὸς τὴν μάχην καὶ μὴ παρελθόντες οἱ πλείστοι
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμησαν,
 οὐδὲν ἂν ἐδόκει μέρος αὐτῶν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀήτ-
 τητον.

- XLV. Ἐπεσον δὲ τούτων μὲν ὀκτακισχίλιοι
 σὺν τοῖς στρατευομένοις οἰκέταις, οὓς Βρίγας ὁ
 Βρούτος ὠνόμαζε· τῶν δ' ἐναντίων Μεσσάλας
 φησὶν οἶεσθαι πλείους ἢ διπλασίους. διὸ καὶ
 μᾶλλον ἠθύμουν ἐκεῖνοι πρὶν ἢ Κασσίου θέρᾶπων
 ὄνομα Δημήτριος ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἐσπέ-
 ρας, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰς χλαμύδας λαβὼν
 2 καὶ τὸ ξίφος. ὧν κομισθέντων οὕτως ἐθάρρουν
 ὥστε ἅμ' ἡμέρα προάγειν ὥπλισμένην ἐπὶ μάχῃ
 τὴν δύναμιν. Βρούτῳ δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐκα-
 τέρου σαλεύοντος ἐπισφαλῶς (τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ
 καταπεπλησμένον αἰχμαλώτων ἐδεῖτο φυλακῆς
 ἀκριβοῦς, τὸ δὲ Κασσίου τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ
 ἄρχοντος οὐ ῥαδίως ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φθόνου

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body for burial and sent it to Thasos, in order that the funeral rites might not disturb the camp. He himself, however, assembled the soldiers of Cassius and comforted them; and seeing that they were deprived of all the necessities of life, he promised them two thousand drachmas the man, to make good what they had lost. They were encouraged by his words and amazed at the largeness of his gift; and they sent him on his way with shouts, exalting him as the only one of the four commanders who had not been defeated in the battle. And the results bore witness that his confidence in a victory in the battle was well grounded; for with a few legions he routed all those opposed to him. And if he had employed them all in fighting, and if the most of them had not passed by the enemy and set upon the enemy's possessions, it would seem that his victory must have been complete.

XLV. There fell on his side eight thousand men, including the camp servants whom Brutus called Briges;¹ but the enemy, in the opinion of Messala, lost more than twice as many. They were therefore the more dejected of the two, until an attendant of Cassius, named Demetrius, came to Antony in the evening, bringing the robes and the sword which he had taken at once from the dead body. This encouraged them so much that at break of day they led their forces out arrayed for battle. But both the camps over which Brutus had command were in dangerous straits. His own was filled with prisoners of war and required a heavy guard; while that of Cassius was dissatisfied with the change of commanders, and besides, as vanquished men, they were full of hatred

¹ The name of a Thracian tribe (Herodotus, vii. 73).

- τι καὶ μίσους ἡττημένοις ἐνὴν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ νενικηκός), ὀπλίσαι μὲν ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα, 3 μάχης δ' ἀπέσχετο. τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων τὸ μὲν δουρικὸν πλῆθος ἐνειλούμενον ὑπόπτως τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τῶν δ' ἐλευθέρων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυε φάσκων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μᾶλλον ἡλωκέναι αὐτοὺς¹ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις αἰχμαλώτους εἶναι καὶ δούλους, παρ' αὐτῷ δ' ἐλευθέρους καὶ πολίτας· ὥς δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἑώρα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχοντας, ἀποκρύπτων καὶ συνεκπέμπων ἔσωζεν.
- 4 Ἦν δέ τις Βολούμνιος μῖμος καὶ Σακουλίων γελωτοποιὸς ἡλωκότες, οὓς ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθεμένου τοῦ Βρούτου προσάγοντες οἱ φίλοι κατηγοροῦν ὥς οὐδὲ νῦν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ σκώπτειν πρὸς ὕβριν αὐτῶν ἀπεχομένους. ἐπεὶ δὲ Βρούτος μὲν ἐσίγα πρὸς ἐτέραις ὦν φροντίσι, Μεσσάλας δὲ Κορβίνος ἐδικαίου πληγαῖς κολασθέντας ἐπὶ σκηνῆς γυμνοὺς ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν πολεμίων, ὅπως εἰδῶσιν οἷων δέονται στρατευόμενοι συμ- 5 ποτῶν καὶ συνήθων, ἔνιοι μὲν τῶν παρόντων ἐγέλασαν, Πόπλιος δὲ Κάσκας, ὁ πρῶτος Καίσαρα πατάξας, “Οὐ καλῶς,” ἔφη, “τεθνηκότι Κασσίῳ παίζοντες καὶ γελωτοποιοῦντες ἐναγίζομεν· σὺ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Βρούτε, δείξεις ὅπως ἔχεις μνήμης πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ κολάσας ἢ φυλάξας τοὺς χλευασομένους καὶ κακῶς ἐρούντας 6 αὐτόν.” πρὸς τοῦτο Βρούτος εὖ μάλα δυσχεράνας, “Τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐμοῦ πυνθάνεσθε, Κάσκα, καὶ οὐ πράττετε τὸ δόξαν ὑμῖν;” ταύτην ἐκείνοι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν συγκατάθεσιν ποιησάμενοι κατὰ

¹ αὐτοὺς bracketed by Sintenis².

BRUTUS

and jealousy towards those who had been victorious Brutus therefore decided to put his army in array, but to refrain from battle. Moreover, the multitude of slaves among his captives were found suspiciously moving about among the men-at-arms, and he ordered them to be put to death; of the freemen, however, he released some, declaring that they had more truly been captured by his enemies, in whose hands they were prisoners and slaves, while with him they were freemen and citizens; and when he saw that his friends and officers were implacably hostile to them, he saved their lives by hiding them and helping them to escape.

Among the prisoners there was a certain Volumnius, an actor, and Saculio, a buffoon, to whom Brutus paid no attention; but the friends of Brutus brought them forward and denounced them for not refraining even now from insolent and mocking speeches to them. Brutus had nothing to say, being concerned about other matters, but Messala Corvinus gave his opinion that they should be publicly flogged and then sent back naked to the enemy's generals, in order to let these know what sort of boon companions they required on their campaigns. At this some of the bystanders burst out laughing, but Publius Casca, the one who first smote Caesar, said: "It is not meet for us to celebrate the funeral rites of Cassius with jests and mirth; and thou, Brutus, wilt show what esteem thou hast for the memory of that general according as thou punishest or shieldest those who will abuse and revile him." To this Brutus, in high dudgeon, said: "Why, then, do ye enquire of me, Casca, instead of doing what seems best to you?" This answer was taken to be a condemnation of the

τῶν ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων, διέφθειραν αὐτοὺς ἀπαγαγόντες.

- XLVI. Ἐκ τούτου τὴν δωρεὰν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ μικρὰ μεμψάμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ σύνθημα μὴ λαβόντας ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἀτακτότερον ἐναλέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὑπέσχετο καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένοις δύο πόλεις εἰς ἀρπαγὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἀνήσειν, Θεσσαλονίκην καὶ Λακε- 1006
- 2 δαίμονα. τοῦτο τῷ Βρούτου βίῳ μόνον ἔνεστι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀναπολόγητον, εἰ καὶ πολὺ τούτων δεινότερα νικητήρια τοῖς στρατευομένοις Ἀντώνιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτισαν, ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης Ἰταλίας τοὺς παλαιοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐξελάσαντες, ἵνα χώραν ἐκείνοι καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὴ
- 3 προσηκούσας λάβωσιν. ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν ὑπέκειτο τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, Βρούτῳ δὲ διὰ δόξαν ἀρετῆς οὔτε νικᾶν οὔτε σώζεσθαι συνεχωρεῖτο παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἢ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου, καὶ ταῦτα Κασσίου τεθνηκότος, ὃς αἰτίαν εἶχε καὶ Βρούτον ἐνάγειν εἰς ἓνια τῶν
- 4 βιαιωτέρων. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν πλῶ πηδαλίου συντριβέντος ἕτερα ξύλα προσηλοῦν καὶ προσαρμόττειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, οὐκ εὖ μὲν, ἀναγκαῖα δέ, μαχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν, οὕτω Βρούτος ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτῃ καὶ μετεώροις πράγμασιν οὐκ ἔχων ἰσορροποῦντα στρατηγὸν ἠναγκάζετο χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ πολλὰ πράσσειν καὶ
- 5 λέγειν τῶν ἐκείνοις δοκούντων. ἐδόκει δ' ὅσα τοὺς Κασσίου στρατιώτας ᾤοντο βελτίους παρέξειν· δυσμεταχείριστοι γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δι' ἀναρχίαν θρασυνόμενοι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ τὴν ἡτταν ἀποδειλιῶντες.

BRUTUS

poor wretches, and they were led off and put to death.

XLVI. After this, he gave the soldiers their promised rewards, and after gently chiding them for not getting the watchword and for rushing upon the enemy without command and in great disorder, he promised that if they now fought well, he would turn over to them two cities for plunder and booty, Thessalonica and Lacedaemon. This is the only accusation in the life of Brutus against which no defence can be made, even though Antony and Octavius practised far greater cruelty than this in rewarding their soldiers, and drove her ancient inhabitants out of almost the whole of Italy, in order that their followers might get land and cities to which they had no right. But in their minds conquest and dominion were the end and object of the war; whereas Brutus had such a reputation for virtue with the multitude that he was not permitted either to conquer or to gain safety except with honour and justice, especially now that Cassius was dead, who was accused of leading Brutus with him into some acts of violence. But just as sailors, when their rudder has been shattered, try to fit and fasten other timbers in its place, striving to meet their needs, not well, indeed, but as best they can, so Brutus, not having in his great army and dangerous plight a general who was equal to the emergency, was forced to employ such as he had, and to do and say many things which they approved. And so he decided to do whatever they thought would make the soldiers of Cassius better men. For these were very intractable; their lack of a leader made them bold in camp, while their defeat made them afraid to face the enemy.

- XLVII. Οὐδὲν δὲ βέλτιον εἶχε τὰ πράγματα τοῖς περὶ Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, ἀγορᾷ τε χρωμένοις ἀναγκαῖα καὶ διὰ κοιλότητα τοῦ στρατοπέδου χειμῶνα μοχθηρὸν προσδοκῶσιν. εἰλούμενοι γὰρ πρὸς ἔλεσι καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὄμβρων φθινοπωρινῶν ἐπιγενομένων πηλοῦ κατεπίμπλαντο τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ ὕδατος παραχρῆμα
- 2 πηγνυμένου διὰ ψῦχος. ἐν τούτῳ δ' οὐσιν αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἀγγελία περὶ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν γενομένης ἀτυχίας περὶ τὴν στρατιάν. ἐξ Ἰταλίας γὰρ πολλὴν κομιζομένην παρὰ Καίσαρος αἱ Βρούτου νῆες ἐπιπεσοῦσαι διέφθειραν, ὧν ὀλίγοι παντάπασι τοὺς πολεμίους διαφυγόντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῶν ἰστίων καὶ τῶν σχοινίων ἐσθίοντες διεγένοντο. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἔσπευδον διὰ μάχης κριθῆναι πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Βρούτον ὅσον αὐτῷ γέγονεν εὐτυχίας. καὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα μᾶ συνέβη τὸν τε κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ τὸν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶνα κριθῆναι.
- 3 τύχῃ δέ τινι μᾶλλον ἢ κακίᾳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἡγεμόνων ἡγνόησε τὸ κατόρθωμα Βρούτος ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι διαγενομένων. οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰς δευτέραν μάχην προῆλθε, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τῇ στρατιᾷ παρεσκευασμένος εἰς πολὺν χρόνον, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἰδρυμένος, ὥστε καὶ χειμῶνος ἀπαθὲς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δυσεκβίαστον ἔχειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, τῷ δὲ κρατεῖν βεβαίως τῆς θαλάττης καὶ νενικηκέναι πεζῇ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐλπίδων μεγάλων καὶ φρονήματος γεγυνώς.
- 4 Ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκέτι πολλοῖς ὄντων καθεκτῶν, ἀλλὰ μοναρχίας δεομένων, ὁ θεός, ἐξάγειν καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὸν μόνον ἐμποδῶν ὄντα τῷ κρατεῖν δυναμένῳ βουλόμενος,

BRUTUS

XLVII. But Octavius and Antony were no better off; they were scantily provisioned, and the low site of their camp made them expect a grievous winter. For they were huddled together on the edge of marshes, and the autumn rains which fell after the battle kept filling their tents with mud and water that froze at once, so cold was the weather. Moreover, while they were in this plight, word came to them of the disaster which had befallen them at sea. For a large force which was being brought from Italy by command of Octavius was attacked by the ships of Brutus and destroyed, and the small remnant of them that escaped their enemies were driven by hunger to subsist upon the sails and tackle of their ships. On hearing of this, they were eager to have the issue decided by battle before Brutus learned what great good fortune had come to him. For it happened that the conflicts on sea and land were decided on one and the same day. But by some chance, rather than by the fault of his naval commanders, Brutus was ignorant of their success until twenty days afterwards. Otherwise he would not have proceeded to a second battle, since his army was supplied with provisions for a long time, and he was posted in an advantageous position, so that his camp did not suffer from wintry weather, and on the side towards the enemy was almost impregnable, while his secure mastery of the sea and the victory of the land forces under his own command had put him in high hopes and spirits.

But since, as it would seem, the government of Rome could no longer be a democracy, and a monarchy was necessary, Heaven, wishing to remove from the scene the only man who stood in the way

ἀπέκοψε τὴν τύχην ἐκείνην, καίπερ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν τὸν Βρούτον ἀφικομένην, μέλλοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ μάχεσθαι πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὅψ' Ἐκλώδιος τις ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόμολος ἦκεν, ἀγγέλλων ὅτι διεφθαρμένον ἤσθημένοι τὸν στόλον οἱ
 5 περὶ Καίσαρα σπεύδουσι διαγωνίσασθαι. ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἶχε πίστιν οὐδ' εἰς ὄψιν ἦλθε τῷ Βρούτῳ, καταφρονηθεὶς παντάπασιν ὡς μηδὲν ἀκηκοὼς ὑγιᾶς ἢ τὰ ψευδῆ πρὸς χάριν ἀπαγγέλλων.

XLVIII. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ πάλιν φασὶν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τὸ φάσμα τῷ Βρούτῳ, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιδειξάμενον ὄψιν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷχεσθαι. Πόπλιος δὲ Βολούμνιος, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ συνεστρατευμένος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Βρούτῳ, τοῦτο μὲν οὐ λέγει τὸ σημεῖον, μελισσῶν δέ φησι
 1007 τὸν πρῶτον αἰτὸν ἀνάπλεων γενέσθαι· καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὸς ἀπ' αὐτομάτου τὸν βραχίονα μύρον ῥόδιον ἐξανθεῖν, καὶ πολλάκις ἐξαλείφοντας
 2 καὶ ἀπομάττοντας μηδὲν περαίνειν. καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης αὐτῆς αἰετοὺς δύο συμπεσόντας ἀλλήλοις ἐν μεταίχμῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων μάχεσθαι, καὶ σιγὴν ἄπιστον ἔχειν τὸ πεδίου θεωμένων ἀπάντων, εἶξαι δὲ καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν κατὰ Βρούτον. ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ περιβόητος γέγονεν ὁ τῆς πύλης ἀνοιχθείσης ἀπαντήσας τῷ φέροντι τὸν αἰτὸν καὶ κατακοπεὶς ταῖς μαχαίραις ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἰωνισαμένων.

XLIX. Προαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ καταστήσας ἐναντίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέιχε πολὺν χρόνον ὑποψῖαι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μηνύσεις κατὰ

BRUTUS

of him who was able to be sole master, cut off from Brutus the knowledge of that good fortune, although it very nearly reached him in time; for only one day before the battle which he was about to fight, late in the day, a certain Clodius deserted from the enemy, and brought word that Octavius had learned of the destruction of his fleet and was therefore eager for a decisive struggle. The man found no credence for his story, nor did he even come into the presence of Brutus, but was altogether despised; it was thought that either he had heard an idle tale, or was bringing false tidings in order to win favour.

XLVIII. On that night, they say, the phantom visited Brutus again,¹ manifesting the same appearance as before, but went away without a word. Publius Volumnius, however, a philosopher, and a companion of Brutus in all his campaigns, makes no mention of this omen, but says that the foremost standard was covered with bees; and that of its own accord the arm of one of the officers sweated oil of roses, and though they often rubbed and wiped it off, it was of no avail. He says also that just before the battle itself two eagles fought a pitched battle with one another in the space between the camps, and as all were gazing at them, while an incredible silence reigned over the plain, the eagle towards Brutus gave up the fight and fled. And the story of the Ethiopian is well known, who, as the gate of the camp was thrown open, met the standard-bearer, and was cut to pieces by the soldiers, who thought his appearance ominous.

XLIX. After Brutus had led out his forces in battle array and stationed them over against the enemy, he waited a long time; for as he was reviewing his

¹ See chapter xxxvi.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- τινων προσέπιπτον ἐπισκοποῦντι τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἑώρα μάχης ἄρχειν οὐ πάνυ προθύμους ὄντας, ἀλλ' αἰὲν προσμένοντας τὸ τῶν
2 πεζῶν ἔργον. εἴτ' ἐξαίφνης ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ τετιμημένος ἐπ' ἀνδρεία διαπρεπῶς παρὰ τὸν Βροῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξιππασάμενος μεταβάλλεται πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· Καμουλάτος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο. τοῦτον ἰδὼν ὁ Βροῦτος ἤλγησεν ἰσχυρῶς· καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ μείζονος μεταβολῆς καὶ προδοσίας εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤγεν, εἰς
3 ὥραν ἐνάτην τοῦ ἡλίου καταφερομένου. καὶ τῷ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐκράτησε μέρος καὶ προῆλθεν ὑποχωροῦντι τῷ ἀριστερῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγκείμενος· καὶ συνεπέρρωσαν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἅμα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐμβαλόντες τεταραγμένοις· τὸ δ' ἕτερον κέρας, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθείη, τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀντιπαρεξ-
4 ἀγόντων, πλήθει δὲ λειπομένων, διεσπᾶτο μέσον καὶ γιγνόμενον ἀσθενὲς οὐκ ἀντείχε τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἀλλ' ἔφυγε πρῶτον. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο διακόψαντες εὐθὺς ἐκυκλοῦντο τὸν Βροῦτον, αὐτὸν μὲν ὅσα καὶ στρατηγικῆς καὶ στρατιωτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ἀποδεικνύμενον, ᾧ δὲ πλέον ἔσχε τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ, τούτῳ βλαπτόμενον. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων τὸ νικηθὲν εὐθὺς ἀπολώλει τότε· τῶν δὲ Κασσίου τραπέντων ὀλίγοι διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ σωζόμενοι τῷ προηττηθῆναι περιδεεῖς ὄντες ἀνέ-
5 πλησαν ἀθυμίας καὶ ταραχῆς τὸ πλείστον τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μάρκος ὁ Κάτωνος

BRUTUS

troops he became suspicious of some of them, and heard them accused of treachery ; he saw, too, that his horsemen were not very eager to begin the battle, but always waited to see what the infantry did. Then, of a sudden, a man who was a good soldier and had been conspicuously honoured for his bravery by Brutus, rode out of the ranks and went over to the enemy ; his name was Camulatus. The sight of this gave Brutus great distress ; and partly from anger, partly because he was afraid of greater treachery and desertion, he led at once against the enemy, at about three o'clock in the afternoon. With the part under his own immediate command he was victorious, and advanced, pressing hard upon the retreating left wing of the enemy ; his cavalry, too, dashed forward along with the infantry and fell upon a disordered foe ; the other wing, however, which was extended by its commanders to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy, to whom they were inferior in numbers, was thus weakened in the centre and could not hold out against their opponents, but fled first. After cutting their way through this wing, the enemy at once enveloped Brutus. He himself displayed all the valour possible in a soldier and commander, contending with judgment and personal prowess for victory in the terrible crisis ; but that which was an advantage for him in the former battle was a detriment to him now. For in the former battle the conquered wing of the enemy had been at once destroyed, but when the soldiers of Cassius were routed, only few of them were slain, and those who then escaped, rendered fearful now by their former defeat, filled the greater part of his army with dejection and confusion. Here Marcus the son of Cato also, fighting

υἱὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ γενναιοτάτοις τῶν νέων
μαχόμενος καὶ καταπονούμενος οὐκ ἔφυγεν οὐδ'
εἶξεν, ἀλλὰ χρώμενός τε τῇ χειρὶ καὶ φράζων
ὅστις εἴη, καὶ πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων, ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ
πολλοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν πολεμίων. ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κράτιστοι τοῦ Βρούτου προκιν-
δυνεύοντες.

- L. Ἦν δέ τις Λουκίλλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ἐν τοῖς
ἐταίροις. οὗτος ὁρῶν βαρβάρους τινὰς ἱππέας
ἐν τῇ διώξει τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδένα ποιουμένους
λόγον, ἐλαύνοντας δὲ ῥύδην ἐπὶ τὸν Βρούτον,
ἔγνω παρακινδυνεύσας ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι.
καὶ μικρὸν ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτὸς ἔφη Βρούτος εἶναι
καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον δεόμενος ἄγειν
ἑαυτόν, ὥς Καίσαρα δεδοικώς, ἐκείνῳ δὲ θαρρῶν.
- 2 οἱ δ' ἀσπασάμενοι τὸ εὔρημα καὶ τύχῃ τινὶ
θαυμαστῇ κεχρῆσθαι νομίζοντες ἤγον τὸν ἄνδρα
σκότους ἤδη, προπέμψαντες ἐξ αὐτῶν τινὰς
ἀγγέλους παρὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. αὐτὸς τε οὖν
ἦσθεις ἀπήντα τοῖς ἄγουσι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ
πυνθανόμενοι ζῶντα Βρούτον κομίζεσθαι συνετρό-
χαζον, οἱ μὲν ἐλεεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τῆς τύχης, οἱ δὲ
τῆς δόξης ἀνάξιον, ἄγραν βαρβάρων ὑπὸ φιλο-
- 3 ψυχίας γενόμενον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν
Ἀντώνιος ὑπέστη, διαπορῶν ὅπως χρή δεῖξασθαι
τὸν Βρούτον, ὁ δὲ Λουκίλλιος προσαχθεὶς μάλα 1008
τεθαρρηκώς “Μάρκον μὲν,” εἶπεν, “Ἀντώνιε,
Βρούτον οὐδεὶς ἤρηκεν οὐδ' ἂν ἔλοι πολέμιος· μὴ
τοσοῦτον ἡ τύχῃ κρατήσῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἀλλ'
ἐκείνος εὐρεθήσεται ζῶν ἢ που καὶ νεκρὸς ἄξιως
- 4 κείμενος ἑαυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς σοὺς στρατιώτας

BRUTUS

among the bravest and noblest young men, was overpowered, but would not yield nor fly, but plying his sword, and declaring that he was Marcus Cato and Marcus Cato's son, fell dead upon the many enemies whom he had slain.¹ The bravest of the rest fell also, risking their lives in defence of Brutus.

L. Now, there was a certain Lucilius, a brave man, among the comrades of Brutus.² This man, seeing some barbarian horsemen ignoring all others in their pursuit and riding impetuously after Brutus, determined at the risk of his life to stop them. So falling behind a little, he told them that he was Brutus. The Barbarians believed him because he asked them to conduct him to Antony, pretending to be afraid of Octavius but to have no fear of Antony. They were delighted with their unexpected prize, and thinking themselves amazingly fortunate, led Lucilius along in the darkness which had now fallen, after sending ahead some messengers to Antony. Antony himself was pleased, of course, and set out to meet the escort, and all the rest also who learned that Brutus was being brought in alive flocked together, some thinking him to be pitied for his misfortune, others that he was unworthy of his fame in thus allowing his love of life to make him a prey of Barbarians. When they were near, however, Antony paused, at a loss to know how he ought to receive Brutus; but Lucilius, as he was brought forward, said with great boldness: "Marcus Brutus, O Antony, no foe has taken or can take; may fortune not so far prevail over virtue! Nay, he will be found living, or possibly even lying dead as becomes him. It is by cheating

¹ Cf. *Cato the Younger*, lxxiii. 3.

² Cf. *Antony*, lxix. 1.

παρακρουσάμενος ἤκω, παθεῖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ
 τῶν ἀνηκέστων παραιτούμενος.” ταῦτ' εἰπόντος
 τοῦ Λουκιλλίου καὶ πάντων ἐκπλαγέντων Ἀντώ-
 νιος πρὸς τοὺς κομίσαντας αὐτὸν ἀποβλέψας,
 “Ἦπου χαλεπῶς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ συστρατιῶται,
 5 φέρετε τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ περιυβρίσθαι δοκοῦντες. ἀλλ'
 εὖ ἴστε κρείττονα τῆς ζητουμένης ἄγρας ἡρηκότες.
 πολέμιον γὰρ ζητοῦντες ἤκετε φίλον ἡμῖν κομί-
 ζοντες· ὥς ἐγὼ Βρούτῳ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα μὰ τοὺς
 θεοὺς ὃ τι ἂν ἐχρησάμην ζῶντι, τοιούτων δ'
 ἀνδρῶν φίλων τυγχάνοιμι μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίων.”
 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν Λουκίλλιον ἀσπασάμενος
 τότε μὲν ἐνὶ τῶν φίλων συνέστησεν, ὕστερον δὲ
 χρώμενος εἰς πάντα πιστῷ καὶ βεβαίῳ διετέλεσε.

LI. Βρούτος δὲ διαβάς τι ρεῖθρον ὑλῶδες καὶ
 παράκρημνον ἤδη σκότους ὄντος οὐ πολὺ προῆλ-
 θεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ κοίλῳ καὶ πέτραν ἔχοντι
 μεγάλην προκειμένην καθίσας, ὀλίγων περὶ αὐτὸν
 ἡγεμόνων καὶ φίλων ὄντων, πρῶτα μὲν ἀποβλέ-
 ψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων ὄντα μεστὸν ἀνε-
 φθέγγατο δύο στίχους, ὧν τὸν ἕτερον Βολούμνιος
 ἀνέγραψε·

Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν·

2 τοῦ δ' ἐτέρου φησὶν ἐπιλαθέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ
 μικρὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεσόντων
 ἐταίρων ἕκαστον ὀνομάζων μάλιστα τῇ Φλαβίου
 μνήμῃ καὶ τῇ Λαβεῶνος ἐπεστέναξεν. ἦν δ'
 αὐτοῦ πρεσβευτῆς ὁ Λαβεῶν, ὁ δὲ Φλάβιος
 ἔπαρχος τῶν τεχνιτῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δέ τις αὐτός
 τε διψήσας καὶ τὸν Βρούτον ὁρῶν ὁμοίως ἔχοντα,

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these soldiers of thine that I am come, and I am ready to suffer for it any fatal penalty." When Lucilius had thus spoken and all were in amazement, Antony turned to his conductors and said: "I suppose, my fellow soldiers, you are vexed at your mistake and think that you have been flouted; but be assured that you have taken a better prey than that you sought. For you sought an enemy, but you come bringing me a friend. Since, by the gods, I know not how I could have treated Brutus, had he come into my hands alive; but such men as this I would have my friends rather than my enemies." With these words he embraced Lucilius, and for the time being put him in charge of one of his friends, but ever afterwards found in him a sure and trusty helper.

LI. But Brutus, after crossing a brook which ran among trees and had precipitous banks, would go no further, since it was already dark, but sat down in a hollow place with a great rock in front of it, having a few officers and friends about him. First, he turned his eyes to the heavens, which were studded with stars, and recited two verses, one of which Volumnius has recorded:—

"O Zeus, do not forget the author of these ills!"¹

the other Volumnius says he has forgotten. Then, after a little, he called the name of each of his comrades who had fallen in the battle to defend him, groaning most heavily at the mention of Flavius and Labeo. Labeo was his legate,² and Flavius his chief of engineers. At this point, someone who was thirsty himself and saw that Brutus was thirsty too, took a

¹ Euripides, *Medeia*, 334 (Kirchhoff).

² Cf. chapter xii. 3 ff.

λαβὼν κράνος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν κατέδραμε.
 3 ψόφου δὲ κατὰ θάτερα προσπεσόντος Βολού-
 μνιος προῆλθε κατοψόμενος, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ
 Δάρδανος ὁ ὑπασπιστής. ἐπανελθόντες δὲ μετὰ
 μικρὸν ἠρώτησαν περὶ τοῦ πώματος. ἠθικῶς δὲ
 σφόδρα μειδιάσας ὁ Βροῦτος πρὸς τὸν Βολού-
 μνιον “Ἐκπέποται,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ἕτερον ὑμῖν
 κομισθήσεται.” πεμφθεὶς δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκινδύνευσεν
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλῶναι καὶ μόλις ἐσώθη
 4 τετρωμένος. εἰκάζοντι δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ πολλοὺς ἐν
 τῇ μάχῃ τεθνάναι Στατύλλιος ὑπέστη διὰ τῶν
 πολεμίων ἐκπαισάμενος (ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἦν)
 κατόψεσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ πυρσὸν ἄρας
 ἄνπερ εὖρη τὰκεῖ σωζόμενα, πάλιν ἀφίξεσθαι
 πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πυρσὸς ἦρθη τοῦ Στατυλ-
 λίου παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς δ’ οὐκ
 ἐπανήει χρόνῳ πολλῷ Βροῦτος εἶπεν. “Ἄν ζῇ
 Στατύλλιος, ἀφίξεται.” συνέβη δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπανερ-
 χόμενον ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ δια-
 φθαρῆναι.

ΛΠ. Προϊούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλίνας, ὡς
 ἔτυχε καθεζόμενος, πρὸς οἰκέτην ἑαυτοῦ Κλείτου
 ἐλάλει. σιωπῶντος δὲ τοῦ Κλείτου καὶ δακρύ-
 οντος, αὐθις ἐπισπασάμενος τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν
 Δάρδανον ἰδίᾳ τινὰς αὐτῷ προσέφερε λόγους.
 τέλος δὲ τὸν Βολούμνιον αὐτὸν Ἑλληνιστὶ τῶν
 λόγων καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὑπεμίμνησκε· καὶ παρε-
 κάλει τῇ χειρὶ συνεφάσασθαι τοῦ ξίφους αὐτῷ
 2 καὶ συνεπερεῖσαι τὴν πληγὴν. τοῦ δὲ Βολου-
 μνίου διωσαμένου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως ἐχόντων,
 εἰπόντος δὲ τινος ὡς δεῖ μὴ μένειν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν,

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helmet and ran down to the river. Then a noise fell upon their ears from the opposite direction, and Volumnius went forth to reconnoitre, and with him Dardanus his shield-bearer. After a little while, however, they returned, and asked about the water to drink. Whereupon, with a very expressive smile, Brutus said to Volumnius: "It is drunk up; but another draught shall be fetched for you." Then the same man who had brought the first was sent for more, but he ran the risk of being captured by the enemy, was wounded, and with difficulty came off safe. Now, since Brutus conjectured that not many of his men had been killed in the battle, Statyllius¹ promised him that after cutting his way through the enemy (there was no other way), he would reconnoitre the camp, raise a blazing torch if he found things there in safety, and then come back to him. Accordingly, the blazing torch was raised, since Statyllius succeeded in reaching the camp; but after a long time had passed and he did not return, Brutus said: "If Statyllius is alive, he will come back." But it so happened that he fell in with the enemy on his way back, and was slain.

LII. As the night advanced, Brutus turned, just as he sat, towards his servant Cleitus, and talked with him. And when Cleitus wept and made no answer, Brutus next drew Dardanus his shield-bearer aside and had some private conversation with him. Finally, he spoke to Volumnius himself in Greek, reminding him of their student life, and begged him to grasp his sword with him and help him drive home the blow. And when Volumnius refused, and the rest likewise, and some one said they must not tarry

¹ Cf. *Cato the Younger*, lxxv. 4 f.; lxxiii. 4.

- ἐξαναστάς, “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “φευκτέον·
 ἀλλ’ οὐ διὰ τῶν ποδῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν.”
 ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐκάστω μάλα φαιδρὸς
 ἡδεσθαι μὲν ἔφη μεγάλην ἡδονὴν ὅτι τῶν φίλων
 αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐψεύσατο, τῇ τύχῃ δ’ ἐγκαλεῖν
 3 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· ἑαυτὸν δὲ τῶν νενικηκότων
 μακαριώτερον νομίζειν, οὐκ ἐχθὲς οὐδὲ πρῶην
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, ἀπολείποντα δόξαν ἀρετῆς, 1009
 ἦν οὐθ’ ὅπλοις οὔτε χρήμασιν ἀπολείψουσιν οἱ
 κεκρατηκότες, ὥς μὴ δοκεῖν ὅτι δικαίους ἀνδρας
 ἄδικοι καὶ κακοὶ χρηστοὺς ἀπολέσαντες οὐ προσ-
 4 ηκόντως ἄρχουσι. δεηθεῖς δὲ καὶ παρακαλέσας
 σῶζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπωτέρω μετὰ δυεῖν
 ἢ τριῶν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Στράτων ὁ ἀπὸ λόγων
 ῥητορικῶν γεγωνὼς αὐτῷ συνήθης. καὶ τοῦτον
 ἔγγιστα παραστησάμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸ ξίφος
 γυμνὸν ἐπὶ τῆς λαβῆς ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις
 5 ἐρείσας καὶ περιπεσὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ δὲ φασιν
 οὐκ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Στράτωνα, πολλὰ πάνυ τοῦ
 Βρούτου δεηθέντος, ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν ὄψιν ὑπο-
 στήσαι τὸ ξίφος· ἐκεῖνον δὲ ῥύμη προσβαλόντα
 τὸ στέρνον καὶ διώσαντα συντόμως ἀποθανεῖν.

LIII. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Στράτωνα Μεσσάλας ἐταῖ-
 ρος ὢν Βρούτῳ Καίσαρι διαλλαγεὶς ἐπὶ σχολῆς
 ποτε προσήγαγε, καὶ δακρύσας εἶπεν· “Οὗτός
 ἐστίν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὁ τῷ ἐμῷ Βρούτῳ τὴν
 τελευταίαν ὑπουργήσας χάριν.” ἀποδεξάμενος
 οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ἔν τε τοῖς πόνοις καὶ

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but fly, Brutus rose and said : " By all means must we fly ; not with our feet, however, but with our hands." Then, after clasping each by the hand, with a very cheerful countenance he said he rejoiced with exceeding joy that not one of his friends had proved false to him, and as for Fortune, he blamed her only for his country's sake ; himself he regarded as more to be envied than his conquerors, not yesterday and the day before merely, but even now, since he was leaving behind him a reputation for virtue, which those who surpassed in arms or wealth would not do ; since the world would believe that base and unjust men who put to death the good and just were unfit to rule. Then, after earnestly entreating them to save themselves, he withdrew a little way in the company of two or three friends, among whom was Strato, who had been his intimate since they studied rhetoric together. This man he placed nearest to himself, and then, grasping with both hands the hilt of his naked sword, he fell upon it and died. Some, however, say that it was not Brutus himself, but Strato, who at his very urgent request, and with averted eyes, held the sword in front of him, upon which he fell with such force that it passed quite through his breast and brought him instant death.¹

LIII. As for this Strato, Messala, the comrade of Brutus, after a reconciliation with Octavius, once found occasion to introduce him to his new master, and said, with a burst of tears : " This is the man, O Caesar, who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus." Accordingly, Strato was kindly received by Octavius, who, in his subsequent labours, and

¹ The battles at Philippi occurred in 42 B.C., and Brutus was forty-three years of age when he died.

- ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀκτιον ἀγῶσιν ἓνα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
 2 ἀγαθῶν γενομένων Ἑλλήνων. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Μεσ-
 σάλαν λέγουσιν ὕστερον ἐπαινούμενον ὑπὸ Καί-
 σαρτος ὅτι, καίπερ ἐν Φιλίπποις πολεμιώτατος
 αὐτοῖς γένόμενος διὰ Βρούτον, ἐν Ἀκτίῳ προθυ-
 μιώτατον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχε, “Ἐγὼ τοι,” φάναι, “ὦ
 Καῖσαρ, αἰεὶ τῆς βελτίονος καὶ δικαιοτέρας τιμῆς
 καὶ μερίδος ἐγενόμην.”
- 3 Τὸν δὲ Βρούτον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν τεθνηκότα
 τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῇ πολυτελεστάτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φοι-
 νικίδων περιβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν
 φοινικίδα κεκλεμμένην αἰσθόμενος ἀπέκτεινε τὸν
 ὑφελόμενον. τὰ δὲ λείψανα πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ
 4 Βρούτου Σερβιλίαν ἀπέπεμψε. Πορκίαν δὲ τὴν
 Βρούτου γυναῖκα Νικόλαος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἱστορεῖ
 καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μάξιμος βουλομένην ἀποθανεῖν,
 ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐπέτρεπε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ προσέκειντο
 καὶ παρεφύλαττον, ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναρπάσασαν
 ἄνθρακας καταπιεῖν καὶ τὸ στόμα συγκλείσασαν
 5 καὶ μύσασαν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι. καίτοι φέρεταιί
 τις ἐπιστολὴ Βρούτου πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐγκα-
 λούντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρομένου περὶ τῆς Πορ-
 κίας, ὥς ἀμεληθείσης ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ προελομένης
 διὰ νόσον καταλιπεῖν τὸν βίον. εἴκειν οὖν ὁ
 Νικόλαος ἡγνοηκέναι τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τό γε
 πάθος καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τὸν τρό-
 πον τῆς τελευτῆς ὑπονοῆσαι δίδωσι καὶ τὸ ἐπι-
 στόλιον, εἶπερ ἄρα τῶν γνησίων ἐστίν.

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especially at the battle of Actium, found him, as well as other Greeks, a brave partisan. And it is said that Messala himself was once praised by Octavius because, though at Philippi he had been most hostile to him and Antony for the sake of Brutus, at Actium he had been a most zealous adherent of his; whereupon Messala said: "Indeed, O Caesar, I have ever been on the better and juster side."

When Antony found Brutus lying dead, he ordered the body to be wrapped in the most costly of his own robes, and afterwards, on hearing that the robe had been stolen, put the thief to death. The ashes of Brutus he sent home to his mother Servilia.¹ As for Porcia, the wife of Brutus, Nicolaüs the philosopher, as well as Valerius Maximus,² relates that she now desired to die, but was opposed by all her friends, who kept strict watch upon her; wherefore she snatched up live coals from the fire, swallowed them, kept her mouth fast closed, and thus made away with herself. And yet there is extant a letter of Brutus to his friends in which he chides them with regard to Porcia and laments her fate, because she was neglected by them and therefore driven by illness to prefer death to life. It would seem, then, that Nicolaüs was mistaken in the time of her death, since her distemper, her love for Brutus, and the manner of her death, are also indicated in the letter, if, indeed, it is a genuine one.

¹ Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, 13) says that the head of Brutus was sent to Rome to be thrown at the feet of Caesar's statue. ² *De factis mem.* iv. 6, 5.

ΔΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΡΟΥΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Πολλῶν τοίνυν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπαρξάντων
 καλῶν, ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις δὲ τοῦ μεγίστους ἐλαχί-
 σταις ἀφορμαῖς γενέσθαι, τοῦτο τῷ Δίῳνι κάλλι-
 στὸν ἐστίν. οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τὸν ἀμφισβητοῦντα,
 καθάπερ ὁ Βρούτος Κάσσιον, ἄνδρα πρὸς μὲν
 ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀξιόπιστον, εἰς δὲ
 τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐλάττονας τόλμην καὶ δεινότητι
 καὶ πράξει συμβολὰς παρασχόμενον, ᾧ γε καὶ
 τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου προσποιούσιν ἔνιοι τὴν ἀρχήν,
 ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐπὶ Καίσαρα γνώμης τοῦτον ἀτρε-
 2 μούντι Βρούτῳ γενέσθαι λέγοντες. Δίῳν δ' ὥσπερ
 ὅπλα καὶ πλοῖα καὶ στρατιωτικὴν δύναμιν, οὕτω
 καὶ φίλους καὶ συνεργοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτὸς
 ἑαυτῷ φαίνεται κτησάμενος. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ὥς
 Βρούτος ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πολέ-
 μου πλούτον ἔσχε καὶ δύναμιν, οὕτω καὶ Δίῳν,
 ἀλλὰ τῷ πολέμῳ προεισήνεγκεν αὐτὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 πλούτον, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας τοῖς
 3 τῆς φυγῆς ἐφοδίους προκαταχρησάμενος. ἔτι δὲ 1010
 Βρούτος μὲν καὶ Κάσσιος, οὐκ ὄν ἀσφαλὲς ἡσυ-
 χίαν ἄγειν ἐκπεσοῦσι τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀλλ' ὠφληκόσι
 δίκην θανάτου καὶ διωκομένοις, ἀναγκαίως εἰς τὸν
 πόλεμον κατέφυγον· καὶ τὰ σώματα τοῖς ὅπλοις
 παρακαταθέμενοι διεκινδύνευσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὸ
 πλεον ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν, Δίῳν δ' ἀδεέστερον ἐν τῇ
 φυγῇ τοῦ φυγαδεύσαντος τυράννου καὶ ἥδιον διά-
 γων ἀνέρριψεν ἐκὼν κίνδυνον τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῷ
 σῶσαι Σικελίαν.

COMPARISON OF DION AND BRUTUS

I. WE see, therefore, that both men had many noble traits, and especially that they rose to the greatest heights from the most inconsiderable beginnings; but this is most to the credit of Dion. For he had no one to dispute his eminence, as Brutus had in Cassius, a man whose virtue and fame did not inspire confidence in like degree, but who, by reason of his boldness, ability, and efficiency, contributed no less than Brutus did to the war; indeed, some attribute to him the origin of the whole enterprise, declaring that he took the lead in the plot against Caesar when Brutus was passive. Dion, however, appears to have acquired by his own efforts, not only arms and vessels and a military force, but also friends and co-workers for his enterprise. However, Dion did not, like Brutus, win wealth and power from the course of the war itself, nay, he contributed his own wealth for the war, expending in behalf of the liberty of his countrymen those resources which supported him in his exile. And further, it was not safe for Brutus and Cassius to keep quiet after their banishment from Rome, but since they were condemned to death and pursued, it was of necessity that they resorted to war; and in committing their persons to the protection of their arms they incurred danger in their own behalf rather than in behalf of their countrymen; whereas Dion was living with greater confidence and pleasure in his banishment than the tyrant who banished him, and yet of his own accord he hazarded a peril so great in order to save Sicily.

II. Καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὅμοιον Διονυσίου Συρακουσίοις ἢ Καίσαρος ἀπαλλαγῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ¹ ἡρνεῖτο τύραννος εἶναι κακῶν τε μυρίων ἐμπεπλήκει Σικελίαν· ἡ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀρχὴ συνισταμένη μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα τοῖς ἐναντιούμενοις πράγματα παρέσχε, δεξαμένοις δὲ καὶ κρατηθείσιν ὄνομα καὶ δόκησις ἐφάνη μόνον, ἔργον δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ὥμὸν οὐδὲ τυραννικὸν ὑπῆρξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεομένοις ἔδοξε τοῖς πράγμασι μοναρχίας πραότατος ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαίμονος
 2 δεδόσθαι. διὸ Καίσαρα μὲν εὐθύς ἐπόθησεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὥστε χαλεπὸς γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπαραίτητος τοῖς ἀπεκτονόσι, Δίωνα δ' ἡ Διονυσίου πάρεσις ἐκ Συρακουσῶν καὶ τὸ μὴ κατασκάψαι τοῦ προτέρου τυράννου τὸν τάφον ἐπαίτιον μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐποίησεν.

III. Ἐν αὐταῖς τοίνυν ταῖς πολεμικαῖς πράξεσιν ὁ μὲν Δίων ἄμεμπτος γέγονε στρατηγός, ὡς ² μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβουλευέτο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄριστα χρώμενος, ἃ δ' ἐπταίσθη δι' ἐτέρους ἀναλαβὼν
 2 καὶ μεταστήσας ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον· ὁ δὲ Βρούτος τὸν ἔσχατον ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων οὐθ' ὑποστήναι δοκεῖ φρονίμως οὔτε σφαλεῖς ἐπανόρθωσιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπέειπε καὶ προεῖτο τὰς ἐλπίδας, οὐδ' ὅσον Πομπηῖος ἐπιτολμήσας τῇ τύχῃ· καὶ ταῦτα πολλῆς μὲν αὐτόθι λειπομένης ἐλπίδος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ κρατῶν πάσης βεβαίως τῆς θαλάσσης.

3 Ὁ δὲ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὧν ἐγκαλοῦσι Βρούτῳ, τὸ σωθέντα τῇ Καίσαρος χάριτι καὶ σώσαντα τῶν

¹ οὐδ' Bekker corrects to οὐτ'.

² ὡς with Coraës and Bekker: ὧν.

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II. And verily it was not a like thing for Syracuse to be rid of Dionysius and Rome of Caesar. For Dionysius was even an avowed tyrant, and filled Sicily with countless ills; whereas the rule of Caesar, although during its establishment it gave no little trouble to its opponents, still, after they had been overpowered and had accepted it, they saw that it was a tyranny only in name and appearance, and no cruel or tyrannical act was authorized by it; nay, it was plain that the ills of the state required a monarchy, and that Caesar, like a most gentle physician, had been assigned to them by Heaven itself. Therefore the Roman people felt at once a yearning for Caesar, and in consequence became harsh and implacable towards his murderers; whereas Dion, for letting Dionysius escape from Syracuse, and for not demolishing the tomb of the former tyrant, was held most culpable by his countrymen.

III. Next, as regards their actual military achievements, Dion was a consummate general; where he himself made the plans, he achieved the best results, and where failure was due to others, he restored and bettered the situation. Brutus, on the other hand, as it seems, was unwise in entering upon the last supreme struggle, and when he was defeated, could not find a way to restore his cause, but gave up and abandoned his hopes, not even facing adverse fortune with as much resolution as Pompey, and that too although on land he had much ground for confidence left in his troops, and with his fleet was secure master of all the sea.

Moreover, the gravest charge which is brought against Brutus, namely, that although his life was spared by the kindness of Caesar, together with the

συνεαλωκότων ὅσους ἐβούλετο καὶ φίλον νομιζό-
 μενον καὶ προτιμηθέντα πολλῶν αὐτόχειρα τοῦ
 σώσαντος γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἂν τις εἴποι κατὰ
 Δίωνα. ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, οἰκείος μὲν ὢν Διονυ-
 σίῳ καὶ φίλος ὄρθου τὰ πράγματα καὶ συνδιεφύ-
 λαττεν, ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀδικηθεὶς
 περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσας ἐκ
 προφανοῦς εἰς πόλεμον κατέστη νόμιμον καὶ δί-
 4 καιον. ἡ τοῦτ' ἀντιστρέφει πρῶτον; ὁ γὰρ εἰς
 ἔπαινον ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἀνδράσι μέγιστον, ἡ πρὸς
 τοὺς τυράννους ἀπέχθεια καὶ μισοπονηρία, τοῦτ'
 εἰλικρινές ἐστι τῷ Βρούτῳ καὶ καθαρὸν, ἰδίᾳ γὰρ
 οὐδὲν ἐγκαλῶν Καίσαρι τῆς κοινῆς προεκινδύνευεν
 5 ἐλευθερίας· ὁ δ' εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἔπαθεν αὐτός, οὐκ
 ἂν ἐπολέμησε. καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦται ταῖς Πλάτω-
 νος ἐπιστολαῖς, ἐξ ὧν δῆλός ἐστιν ὡς ἀποβληθεὶς
 τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἀποστάς, κατέλυσε Διονύσιον.
 ἔτι Βρούτον μὲν καὶ Πομπηίῳ φίλον ἐποίησεν,
 ἐχθρὸν ὄντα, καὶ πολέμιον Καίσαρι, τὸ κοινῇ
 συμφέρον, ὡς ἔχθρας ὄρω καὶ φιλίας ἐνὶ χρώμενον
 τῷ δικαίῳ. Δίων δὲ πρὸς χάριν ὄρθου πολλὰ
 Διονύσιον, ὅτ' ἦν βέβαιος αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν
 6 ἀπιστηθεὶς ἐπολέμησε. διὸ τούτῳ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ
 φίλοι πάντες ἐπίστευσαν, ὡς μεταστήσας Διονύ-
 σιον οὐκ ἂν βεβαιώσαιο τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ,
 πραοτέρῳ τυραννίδος ὀνόματι παραγαγὼν τοὺς
 πολίτας, περὶ δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἦε
 ἀκούειν ὅτι μόνος τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συναραμένων

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lives of all the fellow captives for whom he wished to intercede, and although Caesar held him a friend and honoured him above many, he struck down his preserver with his own hand,—this charge no one can bring against Dion. On the contrary, while he was a courtier and friend of Dionysius, he tried to set the state in order and help in preserving it; but when he had been banished from his country, wronged as a husband, and deprived of his property, he openly resorted to a war that was lawful and just. Or does this argument reverse itself at once? For that which redounds to the praise of both men is their hostility to tyrants and hatred of their baseness, and this is disinterested and sincere in the case of Brutus, since without any private grievance against Caesar he risked his life for the common liberty; whereas, had not Dion himself been mistreated, he would not have gone to war. And this is made manifest by the letters of Plato, from which it is clear that Dion did not revolt, but was cast out from the tyranny, and therefore overthrew Dionysius. Still further, it was the public good that made Brutus a friend even to Pompey, who was his foe, and an enemy to Caesar, since he determined both hatred and friendship by justice alone; Dion, on the other hand, gave Dionysius much support in order to win his favour, when he was secure in his confidence, and when he was discredited by him, it was to gratify anger that he went to war. Therefore Dion was not trusted even by all his friends, who felt that after removing Dionysius he might secure the government for himself, enticing his countrymen along by some milder name than that of tyranny; but the enemies of Brutus were wont to say that of all the conspirators against Caesar he

ἕνα προϋθετο σκοπὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους τὴν
πάτριον ἀποδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις πολιτείαν.

- IV. Ἄνευ γε μὴν τούτων ὁ πρὸς Διονύσιον 1011
ἀγὼν οὐχ ὅμοιος ἦν δήπου τῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα.
Διονυσίου μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν κατεφρό-
νησε τῶν συνήθων ἐν μέθαις καὶ κύβοις καὶ
γυναιξὶ τὰς πλείστας ποιουμένου διατριβάς·
τὸ δὲ τὴν Καίσαρος κατάλυσιν εἰς νοῦν ἐμ-
βαλέσθαι καὶ μὴ φοβηθῆναι τὴν δεινότητα καὶ
δύναμιν καὶ τύχην, οὐ καὶ τοῦνομα τοὺς Παρ-
θυαίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖς οὐκ εἶα καθεύδειν,
ὑπερφυοὺς ἦν ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς μῆθὲν ὑφίεσθαι
2 φόβῳ τοῦ φρονήματος δυναμένης. διὸ τῷ μὲν
ὀφθέντι μόνον ἐν Σικελίᾳ μυριάδες οὐκ ὀλίγαι
συνέστησαν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον· ἡ δὲ Καίσαρος δόξα
καὶ πεσόντος ὠρθοῦ τοὺς φίλους, καὶ τοῦνομα τὸν
χρησάμενον ἤρεν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀμυχάνου πρῶτον
εὐθύς εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, ὥς ἀλεξιφάρμακον τοῦτο
πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίου περιεψάμενον ἔχθραν καὶ
δύναμιν.
- 3 Εἰ δὲ φήσει τις ὅτι μεγάλοις μὲν ἀγῶσιν ὁ
Δίων ἐξέβαλε τὸν τύραννον, Καίσαρα δὲ Βρούτος
ἔκτεινε γυμνὸν καὶ ἀφύλακτον, αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεινό-
τητος ἄκρας καὶ στρατηγίας ἦν ἔργον, ἄνδρα
τοσαύτην περιβεβλημένον δύναμιν ἀφύλακτον
λαβεῖν καὶ γυμνόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξαίφνης οὐδὲ μόνος
ἢ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιπεσὼν ἀνείλεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ
συνθεὶς τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπιθέ-
μενος, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐψεύσατ' αὐτόν. ἡ γὰρ εὐθύς
ἔκρινε τοὺς ἰρίστους ἢ τῷ προκρίναι τοὺς πιστευ-
4 θέντας ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε. Δίων δὲ εἴτε κρίνας
κακῶς ἐπίστευσεν ἑαυτὸν πονηροῖς εἴτε χρώμενος

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alone had one aim from first to last, namely the restoration to the Romans of their ancient form of government.

IV. However, apart from these considerations, the struggle against Dionysius was surely unlike that against Caesar. For Dionysius must have been despised by every one of his associates, devoted as he was to wine, dice, and women; but to plan the overthrow of Caesar, and not to fear the ability, power, and good fortune of the man whose very name robbed the kings of Parthia and India of their sleep, betokened an extraordinary spirit, and one which fear could never induce to remit its lofty purposes. Therefore Dion had only to be seen in Sicily, and many thousands joined him in attacking Dionysius; whereas the fame of Caesar, even after he had fallen, supported his friends, and his name raised the helpless boy who adopted it to be at once the foremost Roman, and he wore it as a charm against the power and hatred of Antony.

But should it be objected that Dion cast out the tyrant only after great struggles, while Brutus slew Caesar unarmed and unguarded, this very circumstance was a result of the highest ability and generalship, namely, that a man enveloped in such great power should be taken unarmed and unguarded. For not on a sudden, nor alone, or with a few helpers only, did he fall upon him and slay him, nay, his plan was long in forming, and his attack was made with many helpers, not one of whom proved false to him. For either he chose out at once the best men, or his choice of them before others, and his confidence in them, made them good. But Dion either chose unwisely and entrusted himself to bad men,

ἐποίησεν ἐκ χρηστῶν πονηροῦς, οὐδέτερον παθεῖν ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ προσήκεν. ἐπιτιμᾷ δὲ καὶ Πλάτων αὐτῷ τοιοῦτους ἐλομένῳ φίλους, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπώλετο.

V. Καὶ Δίωνος μὲν τιμωρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη πεσόντος· ἀλλὰ Βρούτον καὶ τῶν πολεμίων Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἔθαψεν ἐνδόξως, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐτήρησεν. ἔστηκε δὲ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίας. τοῦτον ὕστερον ἰδὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰκονικὸν ὄντα καὶ χαριέντως εἰργασμένον παρήλθεν· εἰτ' ἐπιστὰς μετὰ μικρὸν ἀκροωμένων πολλῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκάλει, φάσκων ἔκσπονδον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰληφέναι
 2 πολέμιον ἔχουσιν παρ' αὐτῇ. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ὡς εἰκός, ἡρνοῦντο, καὶ τίνα λέγοι διαποροῦντες εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀπέβλεψαν. ὡς δ' ἐπιστρέψας ὁ Καῖσαρ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον, “Ἄλλ' οὐχ οὗτος,” ἔφη, “πολέμιος ὧν ἡμέτερος ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκεν;” ἔτι μᾶλλον καταπλαγέντες ἐσιώπησαν. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας ἐπήνεσέ τε τοὺς Γαλάτας ὡς τοῖς φίλοις καὶ παρὰ τὰς τύχας βεβαίους ὄντας, καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἐκέλευσε.

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or else treated the men of his choice so as to turn them from good to bad, neither of which mistakes a prudent man ought to make. And in fact Plato censures him for choosing such friends as proved his ruin.

V. Further, no one arose to avenge Dion's death ; but in the case of Brutus, Antony, an enemy, gave him illustrious burial, and Octavius, an enemy, actually took care to preserve his honours. For a bronze statue of him stood in Mediolanum in Cisalpine Gaul. This statue, at a later time, Octavius noticed as he passed by, for it was a good likeness and an artistic piece of work ; then stopping, after a little, in the hearing of many he summoned the magistrates and declared that he had caught their city violating its treaty and harbouring an enemy of his. At first, then, as was natural, they denied it, and looked at one another in perplexity, not knowing what he meant. Then Octavius, turning to the statue and knitting his brows, said : " Well, is not this an enemy of mine who stands here ? " At this, the magistrates were still more dumbfounded and held their peace. But Octavius, with a smile, praised the Gauls because they were true to their friends even in adversity, and gave orders that the statue should remain where it was.

TIMOLEON

ΤΙΜΟΛΕΩΝ

Ἔμοι¹ τῆς τῶν βίων ἄψασθαι μὲν γραφῆς 235
 συνέβη δι' ἑτέρους, ἐπιμένειν δὲ καὶ φιλοχωρεῖν
 ἤδη καὶ δι' ἑμαυτόν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ
 πειρώμενον ἀμῶς γέ πως κοσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν
 πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον. οὐδὲν γὰρ
 ἀλλ' ἢ συνδιαιτῆσει καὶ συμβιώσει τὸ γινόμενον
 ἔοικεν, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐπιξενούμενον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν
 ἐν μέρει διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ παρα-
 λαμβάνοντες ἀναθεωρῶμεν "ὅσος ἔην οἶός τε,"
 τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα πρὸς νυνῶσιν ἀπὸ
 τῶν πρῆξεων λαμβάνοντες.

- 2 Φεῦ, φεῦ· τί τούτου χάρμα μείζον ἂν λάβοις,
 καὶ² πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἡθῶν ἐνεργότερον; Δημό-
 κριτος μὲν γὰρ εὐχεσθαί φησι δεῖν ὅπως εὐλόγ-
 χων εἰδώλων τυγχάνωμεν καὶ τὰ σύμφυλα καὶ τὰ
 χρηστὰ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἢ τὰ
 φαῦλα καὶ τὰ σκαιὰ συμφέρηται, λόγον οὐτ'
 ἀληθῆ καὶ πρὸς ἀπεράντους ἐκφέροντα δεισιδαι-
 3 μονίας εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καταβάλλων· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ
 περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν διατριβῇ καὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῇ

¹ ἔμοι with Bekker, after Stephanus and Reiske: ἔμοι μὲν.

² καὶ supplied by Sintenis, after Schaefer; Bekker sup-
 plies ἢ.

TIMOLEON

I BEGAN the writing of my "Lives" for the sake of others, but I find that I am continuing the work and delighting in it now for my own sake also, using history as a mirror and endeavouring in a manner to fashion and adorn my life in conformity with the virtues therein depicted. For the result is like nothing else than daily living and associating together, when I receive and welcome each subject of my history in turn as my guest, so to speak, and observe carefully "how large he was and of what mien,"¹ and select from his career what is most important and most beautiful to know.

"And oh! what greater joy than this canst thou obtain,"²

and more efficacious for moral improvement? Democritus says we ought to pray that we may be visited by phantoms which are propitious, and that from out the circumambient air such only may encounter us as are agreeable to our natures and good, rather than those which are perverse and bad, thereby intruding into philosophy a doctrine which is not true, and which leads astray into boundless superstitions. But in my own case, the study of history and the familiarity with it which my writing produces,

¹ As Priam admired Achilles, *Iliad*, xxiv. 630.

² An iambic trimeter from the *Tympanistae* of Sophocles (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 270).

συνηθεία παρασκευάζομεν ἑαυτούς, τὰς τῶν ἀρί-
 στων καὶ δοκιμωτάτων μνήμας ὑποδεχομένους
 αἰὲν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εἴ τι φαῦλον ἢ κακότηες ἢ ἀγεν-
 νές αἱ τῶν συνόντων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁμιλίας προσ-
 βάλλουσιν, ἐκκρούειν καὶ διωθεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὰ
 κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἴλεω καὶ πράειαν
 4 ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν διάνοιαν. ὧν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 προκεχειρίσμεθά σοι τὸν Τιμολέοντος τοῦ Κοριν-
 θίου καὶ τὸν Αἰμιλίου Παύλου βίον, ἀνδρῶν οὐ
 μόνον ταῖς αἰρέσεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς τύχαις ἀγα-
 θαῖς ὁμοίως κεχρημένων ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ
 διαμφισβήτησιν παρεξόντων πότερον εὐποτμία
 μᾶλλον ἢ φρονήσει τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πεπραγμένων
 κατώρθωσαν.

I. Τὰ μὲν Συρακουσίων πράγματα πρὸ τῆς 236
 Τιμολέοντος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποστολῆς οὕτως εἶχεν.
 ἐπεὶ Δίων μὲν ἐξελάσας Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον
 εὐθύς ἀνηρέθη δόλῳ καὶ διέστησαν οἱ σὺν Δίῳ
 Συρακουσίους ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἄλλον
 ἐξ ἄλλου μεταβάλλουσα συνεχῶς τύραννον ὑπὸ
 πλήθους κακῶν μικρὸν ἀπέλειπεν ἔρημος εἶναι,
 τῆς δ' ἄλλης Σικελίας ἡ μὲν ἀνάστατος καὶ ἀπολις
 2 παντάπασιν ἤδη διὰ τοὺς πολέμους ὑπῆρχεν, αἱ
 δὲ πλείσται πόλεις ὑπὸ βαρβάρων μιγάδων καὶ
 στρατιωτῶν ἀμισθων κατεῖχοντο, ῥαδίως προσιε-
 μένων τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν δυναστειῶν, Διονύσιος
 ἔτει δεκάτῳ ξένους συναγαγὼν καὶ τὸν τότε κρα-
 τοῦντα τῶν Συρακουσίων Νυσαῖον ἐξελάσας,

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enables me, since I always cherish in my soul the records of the noblest and most estimable characters, to repel and put far from me whatever base, malicious, or ignoble suggestion my enforced associations may intrude upon me, calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts away from them to the fairest of my examples. Among these were Timoleon the Corinthian and Aemilius Paulus, whose Lives I have now undertaken to lay before my readers; the men were alike not only in the good principles which they adopted, but also in the good fortune which they enjoyed in their conduct of affairs, and they will make it hard for my readers to decide whether the greatest of their successful achievements were due to their good fortune or their wisdom.¹

I. The state of affairs in Syracuse, before the expedition of Timoleon into Sicily, was as follows. After Dion had driven out Dionysius the tyrant, he was at once treacherously slain,² and those who had helped him to free Syracuse were divided among themselves. The city, therefore, was continually exchanging one tyrant for another, and owing to a multitude of ills was almost abandoned, while as for the rest of Sicily, part of it was ruined and already wholly without inhabitants by reason of the wars, and most of the cities were occupied by Barbarians of mixed races and soldiers out of employment, who readily consented to the successive changes in the despotic power. At last Dionysius, in the tenth year of his exile,³ collected mercenaries, drove out Nisaeus, who was at that time master of Syracuse,

¹ In the MSS. this Introduction stands as the first chapter of the *Aemilius Paulus*.

² See the *Dion*, chapter lvii. This was in 354 B.C.

³ 346 B.C.

ἀνέλαβε τὰ πράγματα πάλιν καὶ καθειστήκει
 τύραννος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, παραλόγως μὲν ὑπὸ μικρᾶς
 δυνάμεως τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πώποτε τυραννίδων
 ἀπολέσας, παραλογώτερον δ' αὖθις ἐκ φυγάδος
 καὶ ταπεινοῦ τῶν ἐκβαλόντων κύριος γενόμενος.

- 3 οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Συρα-
 κουσίων ἐδούλευον οὐτ' ἄλλως ἐπιεικεῖ τυράννῳ
 καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἀπηγριω-
 μένῳ τὴν ψυχὴν, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι καὶ γνωριμώ-
 τατοι πρὸς Ἰκέτην τραπέντες τὸν δυναστεύοντα
 τῶν Λεοντίνων ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνῳ καὶ
 στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο τοῦ πολέμου, βελτίῳ μὲν οὐ-
 δενὸς ὄντα τῶν ὁμολογουμένως τυράννων, ἑτέραν
 δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀποστροφὴν, καὶ πιστεύσαντες
 Συρακουσίῳ τὸ γένος ὄντι καὶ κεκτημένῳ δύναμιν
 ἀξιόμαχον πρὸς τὸν τύραννον.

- II. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καρχηδονίων στόλῳ μεγάλῳ
 παραγενομένων εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν
 ἐπαιωρουμένων φοβηθέντες οἱ Σικελιώται πρε-
 σβείαν ἐβούλοντο πέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
 παρὰ Κορινθίων βοήθειαν αἰτεῖν, οὐ μόνον διὰ
 τὴν συγγένειαν οὐδ' ἀφ' ὧν ἤδη πολλάκις εὐεργέ-
 τηντο πιστεύοντες ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθόλου
 τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶντες φιλελεύθερον καὶ μισοτύραννον
 οὔσαν αἰεὶ, καὶ τῶν πολέμων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ
 μεγίστους πεπολεμηκυῖαν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας καὶ
 πλεονεξίας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευ-
 2 θερίας. ὁ δ' Ἰκέτης, ἅτε δὴ τῆς στρατηγίας
 ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τυραννίδα πεποιημένος, οὐ τὴν
 Συρακουσίων ἐλευθερίαν, κρύφα μὲν ἤδη πρὸς
 τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διείλεκτο, φανερώς δὲ τοὺς

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recovered the power again, and established himself as tyrant anew; he had been unaccountably deprived by a small force of the greatest tyranny that ever was, and now more unaccountably still he had become, from a lowly exile, master of those who drove him forth. Accordingly, those of the Syracusans who remained in the city were the slaves of a tyrant who at all times was unreasonable, and whose spirit at this time was rendered altogether savage by misfortunes, but the best and most distinguished of them had recourse to Hicetas the ruler of Leontini, put themselves under his protection, and chose him their general for the war; not that he was better than any acknowledged tyrant, but because they had no other refuge, and felt confidence in one who was a Syracusan by birth and possessed a force that was able to cope with that of Dionysius.

II. Meanwhile the Carthaginians came with a large armament to Sicily and were watching their opportunity, and the Sicilian Greeks, in their fright, wished to send an embassy to Greece and ask for assistance from the Corinthians, not only because they trusted them on account of their kinship¹ and in consequence of the many benefits they had already received from them, but also in general because they saw that the city was always a lover of freedom and a hater of tyrants, and had waged the most and greatest of her wars, not for supremacy and aggrandizement, but for the liberty of the Greeks. Hicetas, however, since he had made a tyranny for himself, and not the freedom of Syracuse, his sole object in taking the field, had already held secret conferences with the Carthaginians; yet openly he commended the plan of

¹ Syracuse was founded by Corinthians in 735 B.C.

Συρακουσίους ἐπήνει καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς Πελοπόννησον συνεξέπεμψεν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐλθεῖν συμμαχίαν ἐκείθεν, ἀλλ' ἑάν, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οἱ Κορίνθιοι διὰ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ταραχὰς καὶ ἀσχολίας ἀπείπωσι τὴν βοήθειαν, ἐλπίζων ῥᾶον ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὰ πράγματα μετάξειν καὶ χρήσεσθαι συμμάχοις καὶ συναγωνισταῖς ἐκείνοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἢ κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐξηλέγχθη.

III. Τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων παραγενομένων, οἱ Κορίνθιοι, κήδεσθαι μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν ἀποικίδων πόλεων καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Συρακουσίων εἰωθότες, οὐδενὸς 237 δ' αὐτοὺς τότε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν κατὰ τύχην παρενοχλοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ σχολῇ διάγοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο προθύμως βοηθεῖν. ζητουμένου δὲ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων γραφόντων καὶ προβαλλομένων τοὺς εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει σπουδάζοντας, εἰς ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀναστὰς ὠνόμασε Τιμολέοντα τὸν Τιμοδήμου, μήτε προσιόντα τοῖς κοινοῖς ἔτι μήτ' ἐλπίδος τοιαύτης γενόμενον ἢ 2 προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ τινος, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλόντος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοσαύτη καὶ περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν εὐθὺς ἔλαμψε τύχης εὐμένεια καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πράξεσιν ἐπηκολούθησε χάρις ἐπικοσμοῦσα τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν γονέων ἐπιφανῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, Τιμοδήμου καὶ Δημαρίστης, φιλόπατρις δὲ καὶ πρᾶος διαφερόντως ὅσα μὴ σφόδρα μισοτύραννος 3 εἶναι καὶ μισοπόνηρος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις οὕτω

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the Syracusans and joined them in sending the embassy to Peloponnesus, not because he wished that an allied force should come from there, but because he hoped that if, as was likely, the Corinthians should refuse their assistance because the disturbed condition of Greece kept them busy at home, he might more easily turn the control of affairs into the hands of the Carthaginians and use these invaders as allies and helpers in a struggle against the Syracusans or against Dionysius. This, then, was fully proved a little later.

III. But when the embassy arrived, the Corinthians, since they were wont to be ever solicitous for their colonial cities and for Syracuse in particular, and since by good fortune there was nothing in Greece at that time to disturb them, but they were enjoying peace and leisure, voted readily to give the assistance desired. And while they were seeking for a commander, and the magistrates were writing down the names of those in the city who were eager for the honour and proposing them for election, one of the common people rose to his feet and nominated Timoleon the son of Timodemus, although he no longer took part in public business, and had no expectation or purpose of doing so; but some god, as it would seem, put it into the man's mind to nominate him, such was the kindliness of Fortune that shone forth at once upon his election, and such the grace that attended his subsequent actions and adorned his virtues.

He was born of parents who were illustrious in the city, Timodemus and Demariste, and he was a lover of his country and exceedingly gentle, except as he was a hater of tyrants and of base men. As

καλῶς καὶ ὁμαλῶς ἐκέκρατο τὴν φύσιν ὥστε πολλήν μὲν ἐν νέῳ σύνεσιν, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ γηρῶντος ἀνδρείαν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι ταῖς πράξεσιν. ἀδελφὸν δ' εἶχε Τιμοφάνην, πρεσβύτερον, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσόμοιον, ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτον καὶ διεφθαρμένον ἔρωτι μοναρχίας ὑπὸ φίλων φαύλων καὶ ξένων στρατιωτικῶν ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, ἔχειν τι δοκοῦντα ῥαγδαῖον ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον.

4 ὧ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας προσαγόμενος ὡς ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ δραστήριος ἐφ' ἡγεμονιῶν ἐτάττετο. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα Τιμολέων αὐτῷ συνήργει, τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτήματα παντάπασιν ἀποκρύπτων ἢ μικρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιῶν, ἃ δ' ἡ φύσις ἐξέφερεν ἀστείᾳ κατακοσμῶν καὶ συναύξων.

IV. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους καὶ Κλεωναίους μάχῃ τῶν Κορινθίων ὁ μὲν Τιμολέων ἔτυχεν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλίταις τεταγμένος, τὸν δὲ Τιμοφάνην τῶν ἱππέων ἡγούμενον καταλαμβάνει κίνδυνος ὀξύς. ὁ γὰρ ἵππος αὐτὸν ἀπεσεύσατο πληγῇ περιπεσὼν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐσκορπίσθησαν φοβηθέντες, οἱ δὲ παραμείναντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀντεί-

2 χον. ὡς οὖν ὁ Τιμολέων κατεῖδε τὸ συμβεβηκός, δρόμῳ προσβοηθήσας καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοῦ Τιμοφάνους κειμένου προθέμενος, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀκοντίσματα, πολλὰς δὲ πληγὰς ἐκ χειρὸς ἀναδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, μόλις ἐώσατο τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διέσωσε τὸν ἀδελφόν.

Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεδιότες μὴ πάθοιεν οἷα καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποβαλόντες τὴν πόλιν, ἐψηφίσαντο τρέφειν ξένους τετρα-

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a soldier his nature was so well and evenly attempered that great sagacity was manifested in the exploits of his youth, and no less bravery in those of his old age. He had a brother Timophanes, older than he, and not at all like him, but headstrong and filled with a ruinous passion for absolute power by worthless friends and foreign military adventurers who were ever about him, and having the reputation of being rather impetuous and fond of danger in military service. Therefore he won followers among the citizens and as an efficient warrior was given posts of high command. And Timoleon aided him in obtaining these, trying to conceal his mistakes altogether or to make them seem trifling, and embellishing and enhancing his good natural qualities.

IV. In the battle fought by the Corinthians against the Argives and Cleonaeans,¹ Timoleon was stationed among the men-at-arms, and Timophanes, who commanded the cavalry, was overtaken by extreme peril. For his horse was wounded and threw him in among the enemy, and of his comrades, some scattered in panic flight, while the few who remained fought against great numbers and were with difficulty holding their ground. Accordingly, when Timoleon saw what had happened, he came running to the help of Timophanes and held his shield over him as he lay on the ground, and after receiving many javelins and many hand to hand blows upon his person and his armour, at last succeeded in repulsing the enemy and saving his brother.

After this, the Corinthians, fearing lest they should suffer a second loss of their city through the treachery of their allies,² voted to maintain four hundred mer-

¹ Perhaps between 368 and 366 B.C.

² As they had at the hands of the Argives in 393 B.C.

κοσίους καὶ τούτων ἄρχοντα Τιμοφάνην κατέστη-
 3 σαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ὑπεριδὼν εὐθὺς
 ἐπέβαινεν ἐξ ὧν ποιήσεται τὴν πόλιν ὑφ' αὐτῷ,
 καὶ συχνούς ἀνελὼν ἀκρίτους τῶν πρώτων πολι-
 τῶν ἀνέδειξεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τύραννον, βαρέως φέ-
 ρων ὁ Τιμολέων, καὶ συμφορὰν ποιούμενος ἑαυτοῦ
 τὴν ἐκείνου κακίαν, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν αὐτῷ διαλέ-
 γεσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀφέντα τὴν μανίαν καὶ
 δυστυχίαν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκείνης ζητεῖν τινα τῶν
 ἡμαρτημένων ἐπανόρθωσιν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας,
 4 ἀπωσαμένον δ' ἐκείνου καὶ καταφρονήσαντος,
 οὕτω παραλαβὼν τῶν μὲν οἰκείων Αἰσχύλον,
 ἀδελφὸν ὄντα τῆς Τιμοφάνους γυναικός, τῶν δὲ
 φίλων τὸν μάντιν ὃν Σάτυρον μὲν Θεόπομπος,
 Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος Ὀρθαγόραν ὀνομάζουσι,
 καὶ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας αὐθις ἀνέβη πρὸς
 τὸν ἀδελφόν· καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν οἱ τρεῖς
 καθικέτευν ἀλλὰ νῦν γε χρησάμενον λογισμῷ
 5 μεταβαλέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Τιμοφάνους πρῶτον μὲν
 αὐτῶν καταγελῶντος, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκφε-
 ρομένου καὶ χαλεπαίνοντος, ὁ μὲν Τιμολέων ἀπο-
 χωρήσας μικρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ συγκαλυψάμενος
 εἰστήκει δακρύων, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι
 ταχὺ διαφθεῖρουσιν αὐτόν.

V. Τῆς δὲ πράξεως διαβοηθείσης οἱ μὲν κρά- 238
 τιστοι τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπήνουν τὴν μισοπονηρίαν
 καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος, ὅτι χρηστὸς
 ὢν καὶ φιλοΐκειος ὅμως τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκίας
 καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον προετίμησε τοῦ συμ-

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cenaries, and put Timophanes in command of them ; but he, without regard for honour and justice, at once took measures to bring the city under his own power, and after putting to death without a trial great numbers of the leading citizens, declared himself tyrant. At this, Timoleon was greatly distressed, and considering his brother's baseness to be his own misfortune, he attempted to reason with him and exhort him to renounce that unfortunate and mad ambition of his and seek to make some amends for his transgressions against his fellow citizens. But when his brother rejected his appeals with scorn, he took his kinsman Aeschylus, who was a brother of the wife of Timophanes, and his friend the seer whose name, according to Theopompus, was Satyrus, but according to Ephorus and Timaeus, Orthagoras, and after waiting a few days went up again to his brother ; and the three, surrounding him, besought him even now to listen to reason and change his mind. But Timophanes first mocked them, and then lost his temper and was violent, whereupon Timoleon withdrew a little space from him and stood weeping with muffled head, while the other two, drawing their swords, speedily despatched him.¹

V. The deed having been noised abroad, the most influential Corinthians applauded Timoleon for his hatred of baseness and greatness of soul, in that, although a kindly man and fond of his family, he had nevertheless set his country before his family, and honour and justice before expediency ; for when

¹ Diodorus (xvi. 65, 4) says that Timoleon slew his brother with his own hand in the market place ; Nepos (*Timoleon*, i. 4) supports Plutarch's account, though with differing details.

φέροντος, ἀριστεύοντα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
 διασώσας τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐπιβουλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτῇ
 2 καὶ καταδουλωσάμενον ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ μὴ
 δυνάμενοι ζῆν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
 δυνάστας ἀποβλέπειν εἰωθότες τῷ μὲν θανάτῳ
 τοῦ τυράννου προσεποιοῦντο χαίρειν, τὸν δὲ Τιμο-
 λέοντα λοιδοροῦντες ὡς ἀσεβὲς ἐξειργασμένον καὶ
 μυσῶδες ἔργον εἰς ἀθυμίαν περιέστησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 καὶ τὴν μητέρα δυσφορεῖν πυθόμενος καὶ φωνάσ-
 τε δεινὰς καὶ κατάρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρᾶσθαι φρικώ-
 δεις ἐβάδιζε παραμυθησόμενος, ἡ δὲ προσιδεῖν
 3 οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέ-
 κλεισε, τότε δὴ παντάπασι περίλυπος γενόμενος
 καὶ συνταραχθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς
 διαφθερῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τροφῆς, τῶν δὲ
 φίλων οὐ περιιδόντων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν δέησιν καὶ
 πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην προσενεγκαμένων ἔγνω ζῆν καθ'
 ἑαυτόν, ἐκ μέσου γενόμενος· καὶ πολιτείαν μὲν
 ἅπασαν ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πρῶτους χρόνους οὐδὲ
 κατιῶν εἰς πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀθημονῶν καὶ πλανώμενος
 ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις τῶν ἀγρῶν διέτριβεν.

VI. Οὕτως αἱ κρίσεις, ἂν μὴ βεβαιότητα καὶ
 ῥώμην ἐκ λόγου καὶ φιλοσοφίας προσλάβωσιν
 ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις, σείονται καὶ παραφέρονται
 ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἐπαίνων καὶ ψόγων,
 ἐκκρουόμεναι τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν. δεῖ γὰρ οὐ
 μόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν πράξιν καλὴν εἶναι καὶ
 δικαίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἀφ' ἧς πράττεται,
 2 μόνιμον καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον, ἵνα πράττωμεν δοκι-
 μάσαντες, μῆδ' ὥσπερ οἱ λίχνοι τὰ πλῆσσια τῶν
 ἔδεσμάτων ὀξυτάτῃ διώκοντες ἐπιθυμίᾳ τάχιστα

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his brother was fighting valiantly for his country, Timoleon had saved his life, but after he had plotted against her and enslaved her, Timoleon had slain him. However, those who were unable to live in a democracy and were accustomed to pay court to men in power, while they pretended to rejoice at the death of the tyrant, still, by their abuse of Timoleon as the perpetrator of an impious and abominable deed, they drove him into despondency. And now he learned that his mother was angry with him and uttered dreadful reproaches and fearful imprecations against him, and went to plead his cause with her; but she could not endure to see his face, and closed her house against him. Then indeed he became altogether a prey to grief and disordered in mind, and determined to starve himself to death; but his friends would not suffer this, and brought all manner of entreaty and constraint to bear upon him, so that he made up his mind to live by himself, apart from the world. So he gave up all public life, and for a long while did not even return to the city, but spent his time wandering in great distress of mind among the most desolate parts of the country.

VI. So true is it that the purposes of men, unless they acquire firmness and strength from reason and philosophy for the activities of life, are unsettled and easily carried away by casual praise and blame, being forced out of their native reckonings. For it would seem that not only our action must be noble and just, but the conviction also from which our action springs must be abiding and unchangeable, in order that we may be satisfied with what we are about to do, and that mere weakness may not make us dejected over actions which have once been accomplished, when

δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐμπλησθέντες, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι συντελεσθείσαις ἀθυμῶμεν δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπομαραινομένης τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασίας. αἰσχροὺν γὰρ ἢ μετάνοια ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ καλῶς πεπραγμένον, ἢ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ὠρμημένη καὶ λογισμοῦ προαίρεσις οὐδ' ἂν πταίσωσιν αἱ πράξεις

3 μεταβάλλεται. διὸ Φωκίων μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τοῖς ὑπὸ Λεωσθένους πραττομένοις ἐναντιωθείς, ἐπειδὴ κατορθοῦν ἐκείνος ἐδόκει καὶ θύοντας ἑώρα καὶ μεγαλαυχουμένους τῇ νίκῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἶπεν ὡς ἐβούλετο ἂν αὐτῷ ταῦτα μὲν πραχθῆναι, βεβουλεῦσθαι δ' ἐκεῖνα· σφοδρότερον δ' Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λοκρός, εἰς ὧν τῶν Πλάτωνος ἐταίρων, αἰτοῦντος μὲν αὐτὸν γυναῖκα Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων, ἥδιον ἂν ἔφη νεκρὰν

4 ἰδεῖν τὴν κόρην ἢ τυράννῳ συνοικοῦσαν, ἀποκτείναντος δὲ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ πυθομένου πρὸς ὕβριν εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔτι γνώμην ἔχοι περὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τῶν θυγατέρων, ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς μὲν γεγενημένοις λυπεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' εἰρημένοις μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴσως μείζονος καὶ τελειότερας ἀρετῆς ἐστι.

VII. Τὸ δὲ Τιμολέοντος ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις πάθος, εἴτ' οἶκτος ἦν τοῦ τεθνηκότος εἴτε τῆς μητρὸς αἰδώς, οὕτω κατέκλασε καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ὥστ' εἴκοσι σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διαγενομένων μηδὲ μῖας ἐπιφανοῦς μηδὲ πολιτικῆς

2 ἄψασθαι πράξεως. ἀναγορευθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ,

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the fair vision of the Good fades away; just as gluttons who devour cloying viands with the keenest appetite are very soon sated and then disgusted with them. For repentance makes even the noble action base; whereas the choice which springs from a wise and understanding calculation does not change, even though its results are unsuccessful. For this reason Phocion the Athenian,¹ after having opposed the activities of Leosthenes, when Leosthenes was thought to be successful and the Athenians were seen sacrificing and exulting over the victory,² said he could have wished that the achievement were his own, but was glad that he counselled as he did. And with more force Aristides the Locrian, one of Plato's companions, when Dionysius the Elder asked him for one of his daughters in marriage, said he would be more pleased to see the maid dead than living with a tyrant; and when, after a little while, Dionysius put his children to death and then asked him insultingly whether he was still of the same mind about giving his daughters in marriage, answered that he was afflicted by what had been done, but did not repent him of what had been said. Such utterances as these, then, betoken perhaps a larger and more consummate virtue.

VII. But the grief of Timoleon over what had been done, whether it was due to pity for his dead brother or to reverence for his mother, so shattered and confounded his mental powers that almost twenty years passed without his setting his hand to a single conspicuous or public enterprise. Accordingly, when

¹ See the *Phocion*, xxiii. 4.

² Won by the allied Greeks under Leosthenes over Antipater of Macedonia, in 323 B.C. The victory was soon followed by the defeat of the Greeks at Crannon.

καὶ τοῦ δήμου προθύμως δεξαμένου καὶ χειρο-
τονήσαντος, ἀναστὰς Τηλεκλείδης ὁ τότε καὶ
δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ πρωτεύων ἐν τῇ πόλει, παρε-
κάλει τὸν Τιμολέοντα περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀγαθὸν
ἄνδρα εἶναι καὶ γενναῖον. “Ἄν μὲν γάρ,” ἔφη,
“καλῶς ἀγωνίσῃ, τύραννον ἀνηρηκέναι δόξομεν, 239
ἂν δὲ φαύλως, ἀδελφόν.”

- 3 Παρασκευαζομένου δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος τὸν
ἔκπλουν καὶ στρατιώτας συνάγοντος, ἐκομίσθη
γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους παρ’ Ἰκέτου
μηνύοντα τὴν μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ προδοσίαν.
ὥς γὰρ τάχιστα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε, τοῖς
Καρχηδονίοις προσθέμενος ἀναφανδὸν ἔπραττε
μετ’ ἐκείνων ὅπως Διονύσιον ἐκβαλὼν Συρακου-
4 σῶν αὐτὸς ἔσται τύραννος. καὶ δεδοικῶς μὴ
πρότερον ἐλθούσης ἐκ Κορίνθου δυνάμεως καὶ
στρατηγοῦ διαφύγωσιν αἱ πράξεις αὐτόν, ἔπεμ-
ψεν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις φράζουσαν ὥς
οὐδὲν δέον πράγματα καὶ δαπάνας ἔχειν αὐτοὺς
πλέοντας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, ἄλλως
τε καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ παρα-
φυλαττομένων ναυσὶ πολλαῖς τὸν στόλον, οὓς
αὐτὸς ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐκείνων βραδυνόντων ποιή-
5 σαιτο συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον. τούτων δὲ
τῶν γραμμάτων ἀναγνωσθέντων, εἰ καὶ τις ἡπίως
εἶχε πρότερον τῶν Κορινθίων πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν,
τότε πάντας ἢ πρὸς τὸν Ἰκέτην ὀργὴν παρώξυνεν,
ὥστε συγχωρηγῆσαι προθύμως τῷ Τιμολέοντι καὶ
συμπαρασκευάσαι τὸν ἔκπλουν.

VIII. Γενομένων δὲ τῶν νεῶν ἐτοιμῶν, καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις ὧν ἔδει πορισθέντων, αἱ μὲν ἱέρειαι
τῆς Κόρης ὄναρ ἔδοξαν ἰδεῖν τὰς θεὰς πρὸς
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he had been nominated general, and the people had readily approved of it and given him their votes, Telecleides, who was at that time the foremost man in the city for reputation and influence, rose up and exhorted Timoleon to be a noble and brave man in his enterprises. "For if," said he, "thou contendest successfully, we shall think of thee as a tyrannicide; but if poorly, as a fratricide."

But while Timoleon was getting ready for his voyage and collecting soldiers, a letter was brought to the Corinthians from Hicetas which disclosed his treacherous change of sides. For as soon as he had sent out the embassy, he openly attached himself to the Carthaginians and acted with them in order to expel Dionysius from Syracuse and become its tyrant himself. And fearing lest his opportunities for action should escape him if a general and an army came from Corinth in advance, he sent a letter to the Corinthians telling them that there was no need of their putting themselves to the trouble and expense of a voyage to Sicily with all its perils, especially since the Carthaginians, with whom their delay had forced him to make an alliance against the tyrant, forbade their expedition and were on the watch for it with a large fleet. When this letter had been read publicly, if any of the Corinthians had before been lukewarm towards the expedition, their wrath against Hicetas now incited them all, so that they eagerly joined in supplying Timoleon and helping him get ready for his voyage.

VIII. When the fleet was ready, and the soldiers provided with what they needed, the priestesses of Persephone fancied they saw in their dreams that goddess and her mother making ready for a journey,

- ἀποδημίαν τινὰ στελλομένας καὶ λεγούσας ὡς Τιμολέοντι μέλλουσι συμπλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν. διὸ καὶ τριήρη κατασκευάσαντες ἱερὰν οἱ Κορίνθιοι
 2 ταῖν θεαῖν ἐπωνόμασαν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς Δελφούς πορευθεὶς ἔθυσσε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον αὐτοῦ γίνεται σημεῖον. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν κρεμαμένων ἀναθημάτων ταινία τις ἀπορρυεῖσα καὶ φερομένη, στεφάνους ἔχουσα καὶ Νίκας ἐμπεποικιλμένας, περιέπεσε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος, ὡς δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφανούμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις προπέμπεσθαι.
- 3 Ναὺς δὲ Κορινθίας μὲν ἔχων ἐπτά, Κερκυραίας δὲ δύο, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην Λευκαδίων προσπαρασχόντων, ἀνήχθη. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ πνεύματι καλῷ χρώμενος ἔδοξεν αἰφνιδίως ῥαγέντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς νεῶς ἐκχεαί πολὺ καὶ περιφανές πῦρ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαμπὰς ἀρθείσα ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἐμφερῆς καὶ συμπαραθέουσα τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον, ἥ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπεΐχον οἱ κυβερνήται, κατέσκηψεν.
- 4 οἱ δὲ μάντις τὸ φάσμα τοῖς ὀνείρασι τῶν ἱερείων μαρτυρεῖν ἀπεφαίνοντο, καὶ τὰς θεὰς συνεφαπτομένας τῆς στρατείας προφαίνειν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σέλας· εἶναι γὰρ ἱερὰν τῆς Κόρης τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν αὐτόθι μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἀνακαλυπττήριον αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.

IX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὕτω τὸν στόλον ἐθάρρυνε· καὶ σπεύδοντες, ὡς¹ τὸ πέλαγος διαπλέοντες, ἐκομίζοντο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τὰ

¹ After this word, Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, in which other motives for haste were given.

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and heard them say that they were going to sail with Timoleon to Sicily. Therefore the Corinthians equipped a sacred trireme besides, and named it after the two goddesses. Furthermore, Timoleon himself journeyed to Delphi and sacrificed to the god, and as he descended into the place of the oracle, he received the following sign. From the votive offerings suspended there a fillet which had crowns and figures of Victory embroidered upon it slipped away and fell directly upon the head of Timoleon, so that it appeared as if he were being crowned by the god and thus sent forth upon his undertaking.

And now, with seven Corinthian ships, and two from Corcyra, and a tenth which the Leucadians furnished, he set sail.¹ And at night, after he had entered the open sea and was enjoying a favouring wind, the heavens seemed to burst open on a sudden above his ship, and to pour forth an abundant and conspicuous fire. From this a torch lifted itself on high, like those which the mystics bear, and running along with them on their course, darted down upon precisely that part of Italy towards which the pilots were steering. The soothsayers declared that the apparition bore witness to the dreams of the priestesses, and that the goddesses were taking part in the expedition and showing forth the light from heaven; for Sicily, they said, was sacred to Persephone, since mythology makes it the scene of her rape; and the island was given to her as a wedding present.

IX. Such, then, were the signs from Heaven which encouraged the expedition; and making haste, since they were crossing the open sea, they skirted the

¹ In 344 B.C.

δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας ἀγγελλόμενα πολλὴν ἀπο-
 2 τιώταις παρέιχεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἰκέτης μάχῃ νενικηκὼς
 Διονύσιον καὶ τὰ πλείστα μέρη τῶν Συρακουσῶν
 κατειληφὼς ἐκείνον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ
 τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον συνεσταλμένον αὐτὸς
 συνεπολιόρκει καὶ συμπεριετείχιζε, Καρχηδονίους
 δὲ φροντίζειν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιβήσοιτο
 Τιμολέων Σικελίας, ἀλλ' ἀπωσθέντων ἐκείνων
 αὐτοὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν διανεμοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 τὴν νῆσον. οἱ δὲ πέμπουσιν εἴκοσι τριῆρεις εἰς
 Ῥήγιον, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέπλεον πρεσβευταὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ
 3 πρὸς Τιμολέοντα κομίζοντες λόγους τοῖς πραττο-
 μένοις ὁμοίους. παραγωγαὶ γὰρ εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ
 προφάσεις ἦσαν ἐπὶ μοχθηροῖς βουλευμασιν,
 ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν μὲν, εἰ βούλοιτο, Τιμολέοντα
 σύμβουλον ἦκειν παρ' Ἰκέτην καὶ κοινωνὸν εὖ
 διαπεπραγμένων ἀπάντων, τὰς δὲ ναῦς καὶ τοὺς
 στρατιώτας ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὥς τοῦ
 πολέμου μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος συνηρῆσθαι, Καρ- 240
 χηδονίων δὲ κωλύειν τὴν διάβασιν καὶ μάχεσθαι
 4 πρὸς βιαζομένους ἐτοίμων ὄντων. ὥς οὖν κατα-
 πλεύσαντες εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοῖς τε
 πρεσβεύμασι τούτοις ἐνέτυχον καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας
 οὐ πρόσω ναυλοχοῦντας κατεῖδον, ἥχθοντο μὲν
 ὑβρισμένοι, καὶ παρίστατο πᾶσιν ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν
 Ἰκέτην καὶ δέος ὑπὲρ Σικελιωτῶν, οὓς σαφῶς
 ἐώρων ἄθλα λειπομένους καὶ μισθὸν Ἰκέτῃ μὲν
 προδοσίας, Καρχηδονίοις δὲ τυραννίδος, ἐδόκει
 δ' ἀμήχανον ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι τῶν
 βαρβάρων ναῦς διπλασίας ἐφορμούσας καὶ τὴν
 ἐκεῖ μεθ' Ἰκέτου δύναμιν, ἥ στρατηγήσοντες
 ἤκοιεν.

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coast of Italy. But the tidings from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon and disheartened his soldiers. For Hicetas, after defeating Dionysius in battle and occupying most of the outlying portions of Syracuse, had shut the tyrant up in the acropolis and what was called The Island, where he was himself helping to besiege and wall him in, while he ordered the Carthaginians to see to it that Timoleon should not land in Sicily, but that he and his forces should be repulsed, and that they themselves, at their leisure, should divide the island with one another. So the Carthaginians sent twenty triremes to Rhegium, on board of which were envoys from Hicetas to Timoleon carrying proposals which conformed to his proceedings. For they were specious and misleading suggestions covering base designs, the envoys demanding that Timoleon himself, if he wished, should come to Hicetas as counsellor and partner in all his successes, but that he should send his ships and his soldiers back to Corinth, since, as they claimed, the war was almost finished, and the Carthaginians were ready to prevent their passage and to fight them if they tried to force one. When, therefore, the Corinthians, after putting in at Rhegium, met these envoys, and saw the Carthaginians riding at anchor not far off, they were indignant at the insult put upon them, and were all of them filled with rage at Hicetas and fear for the Sicilian Greeks, who, as they clearly saw, were left to be a prize and reward, to Hicetas on the one hand for his treachery, and to the Carthaginians on the other for making him tyrant. Moreover, it seemed impossible to overcome both the ships of the Barbarians confronting them there with twice their numbers, and the force under Hicetas in Syracuse, where they had come to take command.

Χ. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Τιμολέων τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐντυχὼν ἐπιεικῶς ἔφη πείθεσθαι μὲν οἷς κελεύουσι (τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ περαίνειν ἀπειθῶν), ἐθέλειν δὲ ταῦτα πόλεως Ἑλληνίδος καὶ φίλης κοινῆς τῆς Ῥηγίνων ἐναντίον ἀκούσας καὶ εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν διαφέρειν, καὶ κείνους ἐμμενεῖν βεβαιότερον οἷς ἐπαγγέλλονται περὶ Συρακουσίων δῆμῳ μάρτυρι τὰς ὁμολογίας

2 παρακαταθεμένους. ταῦτα δ' ὑπέτεινεν αὐτοῖς ἀπάτην ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τεχνάζων, καὶ συνετέχναζον οἱ τῶν Ῥηγίνων στρατηγοί, πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐν Κορινθίοις τὰ πράγματα τῶν Σικελιωτῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων γειτνίασιν. διὸ συνῆγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, ὥς μὴ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ πλήθος ἐχρῶντο μήκει λόγων, ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ παραδιδούς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς οὐδὲν τέλος,

3 ἀλλὰ διάγοντες ἄλλως τὸν χρόνον, ἕως ἀναχθῶσιν αἱ τῶν Κορινθίων τριήρεις, καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέχοντες ἀνυπόπτως, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος παρόντος καὶ παρέχοντος δόκησιν ὅσον οὐπω πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀνίστασθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν. ὥς δ' ἀπήγγειλέ τις αὐτῷ κρύφα τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τριήρεις ἀνῆχθαι, μίαν δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου περιμένειν ὑπολελειμμένην, διεκδύς τὸν ὄχλον, ἅμα τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ῥηγίνων συνεπικρυπτόντων, καὶ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν

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X. However, after Timoleon had met the envoys of Hicetas and the commanders of the Carthaginians, he calmly said that he would obey their commands (for what would he accomplish by refusing?), but he wished that, before he went away, their proposals and his reply should be made in the presence of the people of Rhegium, a Greek city and a friend of both parties; for this would conduce to his own safety, and they, on their part, would abide more firmly by their promises regarding the Syracusans if they made a people witness to the agreements into which they entered. In making this overture to them he was contriving a deceit which should secure his safe passage across the strait, and the leaders of the Rhegians helped him contrive it, since they were all desirous that the affairs of the Sicilian Greeks should be in the hands of the Corinthians, and feared to have the Barbarians as neighbours. Therefore they convened an assembly and closed the gates, in order that the citizens might not engage in any other business; then they came forward and addressed the multitude in lengthy speeches, one handing over to another the same topic and coming to no conclusion, but protracting the time to no apparent purpose, until the Corinthian triremes should have put to sea, and keeping the Carthaginians in the assembly free from all suspicion, since Timoleon also was there and led them to think that he was on the point of rising to address the people. But when some one secretly brought him word that the other triremes had put to sea, and that one only, his own, had been left behind and was waiting for him, he slipped through the crowd unnoticed, with the connivance of the Rhegians about the bema, went down to the sea,

- 4 ἐξέπλευσε διὰ ταχέων. καὶ κατήχθησαν εἰς
 Ταυρομένιον τῆς Σικελίας, ὑποδεχομένου καὶ
 καλοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἔτι πάλαι προθύμως Ἀνδρο-
 μάχου τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντος καὶ δυναστεύοντος.
 οὗτος ἦν πατὴρ Τιμαίου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, καὶ πολὺ
 κράτιστος τῶν τότε δυναστεύοντων ἐν Σικελίᾳ
 γενόμενος τῶν τε ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἡγείτο νομίμως
 καὶ δικαίως, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φανερός ἦν
 5 αἰεὶ διακείμενος ἀπεχθῶς καὶ ἀλλοτρίως. διὸ καὶ
 Τιμολέοντι τότε τὴν πόλιν ὀρμητήριον παρέσχε,
 καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἔπεισε συναγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς
 Κορινθίοις καὶ συνελευθεροῦν τὴν Σικελίαν.

- XI. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦ Τιμο-
 λέοντος ἀνηγμένου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλυθείσης
 χαλεπῶς φέροντες, ἐν τῷ κατεστρατηγήσθαι δια-
 τριβὴν τοῖς Ῥηγίοις παρεῖχον, εἰ Φοίνικες ὄντες
 οὐκ ἀρέσκοιντο τοῖς δι' ἀπάτης πραττομένοις.
 2 πέμπουσι δ' οὖν εἰς τὸ Ταυρομένιον πρεσβευτὴν
 ἐπὶ τριήρους, ὃς πολλὰ διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Ἀνδρό-
 μαχον, ἐπαχθῶς καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἀνατεινόμενος
 εἰ μὴ τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλλει τοὺς Κορινθίους,
 τέλος ὑπτίαν τὴν χεῖρα δείξας, εἰτ' αὐθις κατα-
 στρέψας ἠπείλησε τοιαύτην οὔσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν
 τοιαύτην ποιήσειν. γελάσας δ' ὁ Ἀνδρόμαχος
 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, τὴν δὲ χεῖρα νῦν μὲν
 ὑπτίαν, ὥς ἐκείνος, νῦν δὲ πρηνῇ προτείνας ἐκέ-
 λευσεν ἀποπλεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο τὴν ναῦν
 ἀντὶ τοιαύτης γενέσθαι τοιαύτην.
 3 Ὁ δ' Ἰκέτης πυθόμενος τὴν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος
 διάβασιν καὶ φοβηθεὶς μετεπέμψατο πολλὰς
 τῶν Καρχηδονίων τριήρεις. ὅτε καὶ παντάπασι 241

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and sailed off with all speed. And they put in at Tauromenium in Sicily, whither they had been earnestly invited some time ago, and where they were now kindly received by Andromachus, the master and ruler of the city. Andromachus was father of Timaeus the historian, and after making himself by far the most powerful of the rulers in Sicily at that time, not only led his own citizens in the ways of law and justice, but was also known to be always averse and hostile to tyrants. Therefore at this time also he allowed Timoleon to make the city a base of operations, and persuaded his citizens to join the Corinthians in their struggle to set Sicily free.

XI. But the Carthaginians in Rhegium, after Timoleon had put to sea and the assembly had been dissolved, were indignant, and in their discomfiture afforded amusement to the Rhegians, seeing that, though Phoenicians, they were not pleased with what was effected by deceit. Nevertheless, they sent an envoy aboard a trireme to Tauromenium, who, after a long conversation with Andromachus, in which he menaced him in insolent barbaric fashion if he did not expel the Corinthians as soon as possible, finally showed him his hand with the palm up, and then turning it down, threatened that he would turn his city as completely upside down. Andromachus, however, with a laugh, made no further reply than to stretch out his hand, as the Barbarian had done, now palm up, and now palm down, and then order him to sail off, if he did not wish his ship to be turned upside down in the same fashion.

But Hicetas was afraid when he learned that Timoleon had crossed the strait, and sent for great numbers of the Carthaginian triremes. And now it

συνέβη τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀπογνῶναι τὴν σω-
τηρίαν, ὁρῶντας τοῦ μὲν λιμένος αὐτῶν Καρχη-
δονίους κρατοῦντας, τὴν δὲ πόλιν Ἰκέτην ἔχοντα,
τῆς δ' ἄκρας κυριεύοντα Διονύσιον, Τιμολέοντα
δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ κρασπέδου τινὸς λεπτοῦ τῆς Ταυρο-
μενιτῶν πολίχνης τῇ Σικελίᾳ προσηρτημένον ἐπ'
ἐλπίδος¹ ἀσθενοῦς καὶ βραχείας δυνάμεως· χιλί-
ων γὰρ αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τροφῆς τοῦτοις
4 ἀναγκαίᾳς πλέον οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν. οὐδ' ἐπίστευον
αἱ πόλεις διάπλεαι κακῶν οὔσαι καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν-
τας ἀπηγριωμένοι τοὺς ἡγουμένους στρατοπέδων,
μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Καλλίππου καὶ Φάρακος ἀπιστί-
αν, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἀθηναῖος ὢν, ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος,
ἀμφοτέρωι δὲ φάσκοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
ἦκειν καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς μονάρχους, χρυσὸν
ἀπέδειξαν² τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὰς ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι συμ-
φορὰς καὶ μακαριωτέρους δοκεῖν ἐποίησαν τοὺς
καταστρέψαντας ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν ἐπιδόντων
τὴν αὐτονομίαν.

XII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐκείνων βελτίονα τὸν Κορίνθιον
ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά πάλιν ἦκειν
πρὸς αὐτοὺς σοφίσματα καὶ δελεάσματα, μετ'
ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων ὑποσχέσεων
εἰς μεταβολὴν δεσπότης καινοῦ τιθασευομένους,
ὑπώπτενον καὶ διεκρούοντο τὰς τῶν Κορινθίων
2 προκλήσεις πλὴν Ἀδρανιτῶν, οἳ πόλιν μικρὰν
μὲν, ἱερὰν δ' οὔσαν Ἀδρανοῦ, θεοῦ τινος τιμω-
μένου διαφερόντως ἐν ὅλῃ Σικελίᾳ, κατοικοῦντες
ἑστασίασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἳ μὲν Ἰκέτην προσ-
αγόμενοι καὶ Καρχηδονίους, οἳ δὲ πρὸς Τιμολέοντα

¹ ἐπ' ἐλπίδος Bekker has ἀπ' ἐλπίδος, after Coraëx.

² ἀπέδειξαν Blass, after Hemsterhuis : ἔδειξαν.

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was that the Syracusans altogether despaired of their deliverance, seeing their harbour in the power of the Carthaginians, their city in the hands of Hicetas, and their citadel in the possession of Dionysius; while Timoleon had but a hold as it were on the fringe of Sicily in the little city of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and a small force to support him; for apart from a thousand soldiers and provisions barely sufficient for them, he had nothing. Nor did the cities feel confidence in him, over full of ills as they were and embittered against all leaders of armies, particularly by reason of the perfidy of Callippus¹ and Pharax,² one of whom was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedaemonian; but both of them, while declaring that they came to secure the freedom of Sicily and wished to overthrow its tyrants, made the calamities of Sicily under her tyrants seem as gold in comparison, and brought her people to think those more to be envied who had perished in slavery than those who had lived to see her independence.

XII. Expecting, therefore, that the Corinthian leader would be no whit better than those who had preceded him, but that the same sophistries and lures were come to them again, and that with fair hopes and kind promises they were to be made docile enough to receive a new master in place of an old one, they all suspected and repulsed the appeals of the Corinthians except the people of Adranum. These dwelt in a city that was small, but sacred to Adranus, a god highly honoured throughout all Sicily, and being at variance with one another, one party invited in Hicetas and the Carthaginians, while the

¹ The false friend of Dion (*Dion*, chapters liv-lvii.).

² Cf. the *Dion*, xlviii. 3: xlix. 1 f.

- διαπεμπόμενοι. καί πως ἀπ' αὐτομάτου συνέτυχε
 σπενδόντων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν ἀμφοτέροις
 3 γενέσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν. ἀλλ' Ἰκέτης μὲν ἦκε
 πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἔχων, Τιμολέοντι δὲ
 οἱ σύμπαντες ἦσαν οὐ πλείους χιλίων διακοσίων·
 οὓς ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ταυρομενίου, σταδίων πρὸς
 τὸ Ἀδρανὸν ὄντων τετταράκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων,
 τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν οὐ πολὺ μέρος τῆς
 ὁδοῦ προέλαβε καὶ κατηνύλισατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
 συντόνως ὁδεύσας καὶ χαλεπὰ χωρία διελθὼν
 ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας καταφερομένης ἤκουσεν ἄρτι
 προσμιγνύναι τὸν Ἰκέτην τῷ πολυχνίῳ καὶ κατα-
 4 στρατοπεδεύειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν λοχαγοὶ καὶ ταξίάρχοι
 τοὺς πρώτους ἐπέστησαν ὥς ἐμφαγούσι καὶ διανα-
 παυσάμενοις χρησόμενοι προθυμότεροις, ὁ δὲ
 Τιμολέων ἐπιπορευόμενος ἐδεῖτο ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν,
 ἀλλ' ἄγειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ συνάπτειν τοῖς πο-
 λεμίοις ἀσυντάκτοις οὓσιν, ὥς εἰκὸς ἄρτι πανο-
 μένους ὁδοιπορίας καὶ περὶ σκηνὰς καὶ δεῖπνον
 5 ἀσχόλους ὄντας. καὶ λέγων ἅμα ταῦτα, τὴν
 ἀσπίδα λαβὼν ἠγείτο πρῶτος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ νίκην
 πρόδηλον. οἱ δ' εἶποντο τεθαρρηκότες, ἔλαττον ἢ
 τριάκοντα σταδίους ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέχοντες.
 ὥς δὲ καὶ τούτους διῆλθον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς
 παραπεμπόμενοις καὶ φεύγουσιν ὥς πρῶτον ἦσθοντο
 προσιόντας, ὅθεν ἀνῆρέθησαν μὲν οὐ πολλῶ
 πλείους τριακοσίων, ἐάλωσαν δὲ δις τοσοῦτοι
 6 ζῶντες, ἐλήφθη δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δ' Ἀδρανί-
 ται τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες προσέθεντο τῷ Τιμο-
 λέοντι, μετὰ φρίκης καὶ θαύματος ἀπαγγέλλοντες
 ὥς ἐνισταμένης τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἱεροὶ τοῦ νεῶ

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other sent an invitation to Timoleon. And by some freak of fortune, both generals hastening to answer the summons, both arrived at one and the same time. But Hicetas came with five thousand soldiers, while Timoleon had no more than twelve hundred all told. Taking these with him from Tauromenium, he set out for Adranum, which was three hundred and forty furlongs off. The first day he advanced only a small part of the journey and bivouacked for the night; but on the second day he quickened his pace, and after traversing difficult regions, when day was already declining he heard that Hicetas was just arriving at the little city and pitching his camp. Accordingly, his captains and taxiarchs halted the van-guard, in order to give the men food and rest and so make them more ready to fight; but when Timoleon came up, he begged them not to do this, but to lead on with speed and engage the enemy while they were in disorder, as they were likely to be when just at the end of their march and busy with their tents and supper. And as he thus spoke, he took his shield, put himself at the head, and led the soldiers on as if to certain victory. And they followed, emboldened by his example, being now distant from the enemy less than thirty furlongs. And when they had traversed these too, they fell upon the enemy, who were confounded and took to flight as soon as they perceived them coming up; wherefore not many more than three hundred of them were slain, while twice as many were taken alive, and their camp was captured. Moreover, the people of Adranum threw open their gates and joined Timoleon, reporting to him with terror and amazement that at the beginning of the battle the sacred portals of

πυλῶνες αὐτόματοι διανοιχθεῖεν, ὀφθείη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μὲν δόρυ σειόμενον ἐκ τῆς αἰχμῆς ἄκρας, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ ρέομενον.

- XIII. Ταῦτα δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τὴν τότε νίκην ἐσήμαινε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεις, αἷς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀγὼν ἀρχὴν εὐτυχῇ παρέσχε. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις εὐθύς ἐπιπρεσβενόμεναι προσετίθεντο τῷ Τιμολέοντι, καὶ Μάμερκος ὁ Κατάνης τύραννος, πολεμιστῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ χρήμασιν ἐρρωμένος, ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς συμμαχίαν.
- 2 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτὸς Διονύσιος ἀπειρηκῶς ἤδη 242 ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ μικρὸν ἀπολείπων ἐκπολιορκεῖσθαι τοῦ μὲν Ἰκέτου κατεφρόνησεν αἰσchrῶς ἡττημένου, τὸν δὲ Τιμολέοντα θαυμάζων ἔπεμψεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Κορινθίοις παραδιδούς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. δεξάμενος δ' ὁ Τιμολέων τὴν ἀνέλπιστον εὐτυχίαν, ἀποστέλλει τοὺς περὶ Εὐκλείδην καὶ Τηλέμαχον, ἄνδρας Κορινθίους, εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ στρατιώτας τετρακοσίους, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντας οὐδὲ φανερώς, ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν ἐφορμούντων πολεμίῳ, ἀλλὰ κρύφα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους
- 3 παρεισπεσόντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται παρέλαβον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ τυραννεῖα μετὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῶν χρησίμων πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· ἵπποι τε γὰρ ἐνήσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ πᾶσα μηχανημάτων ἰδέα καὶ βελῶν πλήθος, ὅπλων δ' ἀπέκειντο μυριάδες ἑπτὰ τεθησαυρισμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ, στρατιῶται δὲ δισχίλιοι τῷ Διονυσίῳ παρήσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος, ὡς τᾶλλα, τῷ Τιμολέοντι παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ χρήματα λαβὼν καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐ πολλοὺς ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας τὸν Ἰκέτην.
- 4 καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος στρατό-

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their temple flew open of their own accord, and the spear of the god was seen to be trembling to the tip of its point, while copious sweat ran down his face.

XIII. These prodigies, as it would seem, were a sign not only of the victory which was then won, but also of the achievements succeeding them, to which that struggle afforded a propitious beginning. For cities at once sent envoys to Timoleon and espoused his cause, and particularly Mamercus, the tyrant of Catana, a warlike and wealthy man, presented himself as an ally. And what was most important, Dionysius himself, now grown desperate and almost forced to surrender, despised Hicetas for his shameful defeat, and in admiration of Timoleon sent to him and his Corinthians offering to surrender himself and the citadel to them. Timoleon accepted this unexpected good fortune, and sent Eucleides and Telemachus, men of Corinth, into the acropolis, and with them four hundred soldiers, not all at once, nor openly, for this was impossible when an enemy was blockading the harbour; but they made their way in secretly and in small companies. These soldiers, then, took over the acropolis and the castle of the tyrant, together with his equipment and stores for the war; for there were many horses there, all sorts of engines of war, and a great quantity of missiles, and armour for seventy thousand men had been stored up there for a long time. Dionysius also had with him two thousand soldiers; these, as well as the supplies, he turned over to Timoleon, while he himself, with his treasure and a few of his friends, sailed off without the knowledge of Hicetas. And after he had been conveyed to the

πέδον, τότε πρῶτον ιδιώτης καὶ ταπεινὸς ὄφθεις, ἐπὶ μᾶς νεὸς καὶ χρημάτων ὀλίγων εἰς Κόρινθον ἀπεστάλη, γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ τραφεὶς ἐν τυραννίδι τῇ πασῶν ἐπιφανεστάτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ, κατασχὼν δὲ ταύτην ἔτη δέκα, δώδεκα δ' ἄλλα μετὰ τὴν Δίωνος στρατεῖαν ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πολέμοις διαφορηθεὶς, ἃ δ' ἔπραξε τυραννῶν οἷς ἔπαθεν ὑπερ-
 5 βαλόμενος. καὶ γὰρ υἱὼν ἐνηλίκων θανάτους καὶ θυγατέρων καταπορνεύσεις παρθένων ἐπέιδε, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυναῖκα ζῶσαν μὲν εἰς τὸ σῶμα ταῖς ἀσελγεστάταις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἡδοναῖς παρανομηθεῖσαν, βία δ' ἀποθανοῦσαν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, καταποντισθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δίωνος ἀκριβῶς γέγραπται.

XIV. Τοῦ δὲ Διονυσίου καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Κόρινθον, οὐδεὶς ἦν Ἑλλήνων ὃς οὐχὶ θεάσασθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν ἐπόθησεν αὐτόν. ἀλλ' οἱ τε χαίροντες ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς διὰ μῖσος ἄσμενοι συνῆλθον οἷον ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πατή-
 2 σοντες, οἱ τε πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν τρεπόμενοι καὶ συμπαθοῦντες ἐθεῶντο πολλὴν ἐν ἀσθενέσι τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις καὶ προδήλοις τὴν τῶν ἀδήλων αἰ-
 τιών καὶ θείων δύναμιν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε φύσεως ὁ τότε καιρὸς οὔτε τέχνης ὅσον ἐκείνο τύχης ἔργον ἐπεδείξατο, τὸν Σικελίας ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν τύραννον ἐν Κορίνθῳ διατρίβοντα περὶ τὴν ὀψό-
 πωλιν ἢ καθήμενον ἐν μυροπωλίῳ, πίνοντα κεκρα-

¹ There is nothing in the *Dion* to justify this statement. The cruelties described were committed by the revolting people of Locri, to whom Dionysius had made himself odious

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camp of Timoleon, where for the first time he was seen as a private person and in humble garb, he was sent off to Corinth with a single ship and a small treasure, having been born and reared in a tyranny which was the greatest and most illustrious of all tyrannies, and having held this for ten years, and then for twelve other years, after the expedition of Dion, having been involved in harassing struggles and wars, and having surpassed in his sufferings all his acts of tyranny. For he lived to see the violent deaths of his grown-up sons and the violation of his maiden daughters, and the shameful abuse of the person of his wife, who was at the same time his sister, and who, while living, was subjected to the most wanton pleasures of his enemies, and after being murdered, together with her children, was cast into the sea. These things, then, have been fully described in my *Life of Dion*.¹

XIV. But as for Dionysius, after his arrival at Corinth there was no Greek who did not long to behold and speak to him. But those who rejoiced in his misfortunes were led by their hatred to come together gladly that they might trample, as it were, upon one who had been cast down by Fortune; while those who regarded rather the reversal of his fortune and sympathised with him, saw strong proof, amid the weakness of things that are human and seen, of the power of causes that are unseen and divine. For that age showed no work either of nature or of art that was comparable to this work of Fortune, namely, the recent tyrant of Sicily in Corinth, whiling his time away at a fishmonger's or sitting in a perfumer's

during his residence there from 356 to 346 B.C. Cf. *Athenaeus*. p. 541 c e.

μένον ἀπὸ τῶν καπηλείων καὶ διαπληκτιζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τοῖς ἀφ' ὧρας ἐργαζομένοις γυναίκοις, τὰς δὲ μουσουργοὺς ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς διδάσκοντα, καὶ περὶ θεατρικῶν ἁσμάτων ἐρίζειν σπουδάζοντα
 3 πρὸς ἐκείνας καὶ περὶ μέλους ἁρμονίας. ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἀλύνοντα καὶ φύσει ῥάθυμον ὄντα καὶ φιλακόλαστον ᾤοντο ποιεῖν τὸν Διονύσιον, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ φοβερὸν εἶναι τοῖς Κορινθίοις, μηδ' ὑποπτον ὡς βαρυνόμενον τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ πραγμάτων ἐφίεμενον, ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθαι παρὰ φύσιν, πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν.

XV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοι τινὲς αὐτοῦ μνημονεύονται, δι' ὧν ἐδόκει συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰς Λευκάδα καταχθεῖς, πόλιν ἀπωκισμένην ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ὥσπερ τὴν Συρακουσίων, ταῦτόν ἔφη πεπονθῆναι τοῖς ἐν ἀμαρτήμασι γενομένοις τῶν νεανίσκων· ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνοι τοῖς μὲν ἀδελφοῖς ἱλαρῶς συνδιατρίβουσι, τοὺς δὲ πατέρας αἰσχυρόμενοι φεύγουσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸς αἰδούμενος τὴν μητρόπολιν ἡδέως ἂν αὐτόθι μετ' ἐκείνων κατοί-
 2 κείν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ ξένου τινὸς ἀγροικό- 243
 τερον εἰς τὰς μετὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων διατριβάς, αἷς τυραννῶν ἔχαιρε, χλευάζοντος αὐτόν, καὶ τέλος ἐρωτῶντος τί δὴ τῆς Πλάτωνος ἀπολαύσειε σοφίας, “Οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “σοὶ δοκοῦμεν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ὠφελῆσθαι, τύχης μεταβολὴν οὕτω φέροντες;” πρὸς δὲ τὸν μουσικὸν Ἀριστόξενον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους πυνθανομένους ὁπόθεν αὐτῷ καὶ τίς

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shop, drinking diluted wine from the taverns and skirmishing in public with common prostitutes, or trying to teach music-girls in their singing, and earnestly contending with them about songs for the stage and melody in hymns. Some thought that Dionysius did these things as an aimless loiterer, and because he was naturally easy-going and fond of license; but others thought that it was in order to be held in contempt and not in fear by the Corinthians, nor under suspicion of being oppressed by the change in his life and of striving after power, that he engaged in these practices and played an unnatural part, making a display of great silliness in the way he amused himself.

XV. However, certain sayings of his are preserved, from which it would appear that he accommodated himself to his present circumstances not ignobly. Once, namely, when he landed at Leucadia,¹ a city which had been colonized by Corinthians, just like Syracuse, he said he had the same feelings as young men who have been guilty of misdemeanours; for just as these pass their time merrily with their brothers, but shun their fathers from a feeling of shame, so he was ashamed to live in their common mother-city, and would gladly dwell there with them. And again, in Corinth, when a stranger somewhat rudely derided him about his associations with philosophers, in which he used to take delight when he was a tyrant, and finally asked him what good Plato's wisdom did him now, "Dost thou think, said he, "that I have had no help from Plato, when I bear my change of fortune as I do?" Further, when Aristoxenus the musician and certain others inquired

¹ On his voyage from Syracuse to Corinth.

- 3 ἡ πρὸς Πλάτωνα γένοιτο μέμψις, πολλῶν ἔφη κακῶν τὴν τυραννίδα μεστὴν οὖσαν οὐδὲν ἔχειν τηλικούτον ἡλίκον τὸ μηδένα τῶν λεγομένων φίλων μετὰ παρρησίας διαλέγεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀποστερηθῆναι τῆς Πλάτωνος εὐνοίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν βουλομένων τις εὐφύῳν εἶναι σκώπτων τὸν Διονύσιον ἐξέσειε τὸ ἰμάτιον εἰσιῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δὴ πρὸς τύραννον, ἀντισκώπτων ἐκείνος ἐκέλευε τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὅταν ἐξίῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ, μή τι τῶν ἔνδον ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ.
- 4 Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδόνος παρὰ πότον τινὰ λόγον μετὰ εἰρωνείας ἐμβαλόντος περὶ τῶν μελῶν καὶ τῶν τραγωδιῶν ἃς ὁ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος κατέλιπε, καὶ προσποιουμένου διαπορεῖν ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐκείνος ἐσχόλαξεν, οὐ φαύλως ἀπήντησεν ὁ Διονύσιος εἰπών· “Ἐν ᾧ σὺ καὶ γὰρ καὶ πάντες οἱ μακάριοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι περὶ κῶθωνα διατρίβομεν.”
- 5 Πλάτων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπεῖδεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ Διονύσιον, ἀλλ' ἔτυχεν ἤδη τεθνηκώς, ὁ δὲ Σινωπεὺς Διογένης ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ πρῶτον, “Ὡς ἀναξίως,” ἔφη, “Διονύσιε, ζῆς.” ἐπιστάντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος· “Εὖ ποιεῖς, ὦ Διόγευε, συναχθόμενος ἡμῖν ἡτυχηκόσι,” “Τί γάρ;” εἶπεν ὁ Διογένης, “οἷε μέ σοι συναλγεῖν, οὐ διαγανακτεῖν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἀνδράποδον ὦν, καὶ τοῖς τυραννείοις, ὥσπερ ὁ πατήρ, ἐπιτήδειος ἐγγηράσας ἀποθανεῖν, ἐνταῦθα παίζων καὶ τρυφῶν διάγεις
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what his complaint against Plato was and what its origin, he told them that of the many ills with which tyranny abounded there was none so great as this, that not one of those reputed to be friends speaks frankly with the tyrant; for indeed it was by such friends that he himself had been deprived of Plato's good will. Again, when one of those who wish to be witty, in mockery of Dionysius shook out his robe on coming into his presence,¹ as if into the presence of a tyrant, Dionysius turned the jest upon him by bidding him do so when he went out from his presence, that he might not take anything in the house away with him. And when Philip of Macedon, at a banquet, began to talk in banter about the lyric poems and tragedies which Dionysius the Elder had left behind him, and pretended to wonder when that monarch found time for these compositions, Dionysius not inaptly replied by saying: "When thou and I and all those whom men call happy are busy at the bowl."

Now, Plato did not live to see Dionysius when he was in Corinth, but he was already dead;² Diogenes of Sinope, however, on meeting him for the first time, said: "How little thou deservest, Dionysius, thus to live!" Upon this, Dionysius stopped and said: "It is good of thee, O Diogenes, to sympathize with me in my misfortunes." "How is that?" said Diogenes; "Dost thou suppose that I am sympathizing with thee? Nay, I am indignant that such a slave as thou, and one so worthy to have grown old and died in the tyrant's estate, just as thy father did, should be

¹ To show that no weapon was concealed there.

² Plato died in 348 B.C.; Dionysius came to Corinth in 343 B.C.

6 μεθ' ἡμῶν;" ὥστε μοι παραβάλλοντι τούτοις τὰς Φιλίστου φωνάς, ἅς ἀφήσι περὶ τῶν Λεπτίνου θυγατέρων ὀλοφυρόμενος, ὡς ἐκ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς τυραννίδος εἰς ταπεινὴν ἀφιγμένων δίκαιαν, φαίνεσθαι θρήνους γυναικὸς ἀλαβάστους καὶ πορφύρας καὶ χρυσία ποθούσης.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀλλότρια τῆς τῶν βίων ἀναγραφῆς οὐδὲ ἄχρηστα δόξειν οἰόμεθα μὴ σπεύδουσι μηδὲ ἀσχολουμένοις ἀκροαταῖς.

XVI. Τῆς δὲ Διονυσίου δυστυχίας παραλόγου φανείσης οὐχ ἦττον ἢ Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχία τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἔσχεν. ἐπιβὰς γὰρ Σικελίας ἐν ἡμέραις πεντήκοντα τὴν τ' ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Συρακουσῶν παρέλαβε καὶ Διονύσιον εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐξέπεμψεν. ὅθεν ἐπιρρωσθέντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας καὶ δια-
2 κοσίους ἱππεῖς, οἱ κομισθέντες ἄχρι Θουρίων τὴν ἐκείθεν περαίωσιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων πολλαῖς ναυσὶ κατεχομένης τῆς θαλάττης ἄπορον ὁρῶντες, ὡς ἦν ἀνάγκη καιρὸν περιμένοντας ἀτρεμεῖν αὐτόθι, πρὸς κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀπεχρήσαντο τῇ σχολῇ. Θουρίων γὰρ ἐπὶ Βρεττίους στρατευόντων τὴν πόλιν παραλαβόντες ὥσπερ πατρίδα καθαρῶς καὶ πιστῶς διεφύλαξαν.

3 Ὁ δ' Ἰκέτης τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Συρακουσῶν ἐπολιόρκει καὶ σῖτον ἐκώλυεν εἰσπλεῖν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, Τιμολέοντι δὲ δύο ξένους παρασκευάσας δολοφονήσοντας αὐτὸν ὑπέπεμψεν εἰς Ἀδρανόν, οὔτε ἄλλως περὶ τὸ σῶμα συντεταγμένην

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living here with us in mirth and luxury." Wherefore, when I compare with these words the mournful utterances of Philistus about the daughters of Leptines, how from the great blessings of the tyranny they fell to a lowly life, they seem the lamentations of a woman who pines for her alabaster caskets and purple gowns and golden trinkets.

These details, then, will not seem foreign to my biography, I think, nor without usefulness, to readers who are not in haste, and are not occupied with other matters.

XVI. But though the misfortune of Dionysius seemed extraordinary, none the less did the good fortune of Timoleon have something marvellous about it. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily the acropolis of Syracuse was surrendered to him and Dionysius was sent off to Peloponnesus. Stimulated by this success, the Corinthians sent him two thousand men-at-arms and two hundred horsemen. These got as far as Thurii, but seeing that their passage thence was impracticable, since the sea was beset with many Carthaginian ships, they were compelled to remain there quietly and await their opportunity, and therefore turned their leisure to advantage in a most noble action. When the Thurians, namely, went on an expedition against the Bruttians, the Corinthians received their city in charge, and guarded it honestly and faithfully to the end, as though it were their own.

But Hicetas kept the acropolis of Syracuse under siege and prevented the importation of food for the Corinthians there; he also sent to Adranum two foreigners whom he had engaged to assassinate Timoleon; for Timoleon at no time kept a guard in array

ἔχοντι φυλακὴν, καὶ τότε παντάπασι διὰ τὸν
 θεὸν ἀνειμένως καὶ ἀνυπόπτως σχολάζοντι μετὰ
 τῶν Ἀδρανιτῶν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες κατὰ τύχην
 πυθόμενοι μέλλοντα θύειν αὐτόν, ἦκον εἰς τὸ
 ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱματίοις ἐγχειρίδια κομίζοντες, καὶ
 τοῖς περιεστῶσι τὸν βωμὸν ἀναμιχθέντες, ἐγγυ-
 4 τέρω κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπεχείρουν. καὶ ὅσον οὕτω 244
 παρακελευομένων ἀλλήλοις ἐνάρχεσθαι παίει τις
 αὐτῶν τὸν ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξίφει, καὶ
 πεσόντος οὐθ' ὁ παίσας ἔμεινεν οὐδ' ὁ μετὰ τοῦ
 πληγέντος ἦκων, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν, ὥσπερ εἶχε τὸ
 ξίφος, φεύγων πρὸς τινα πέτραν ὑψηλὴν ἀνεπή-
 δησεν, ἄτερος δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ λαβόμενος ἄδειαν
 ἡτέϊτο παρὰ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ἐπὶ τῷ πάντα μνηῦ-
 σαι. καὶ λαβὼν ἐμήνυσε καθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ
 τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὡς πεμφθεῖεν ἐκείνον ἀποκτεν-
 5 οῦντες. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας κατή-
 γον ἕτεροι, βοῶντα μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνρηκέναι
 δικαίως τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τεθνηκότος,
 δν ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκτονήκοι πρότερον ἐν Λεοντίνοις.
 καὶ μαρτυροῦντας εἶχεν ἐνίους τῶν παρόντων,
 θαυμάζοντας ἅμα τῆς τύχης τὴν εὐμηχανίαν, ὡς
 δι' ἐτέρων ἕτερα κινούσα καὶ συνάγουσα πάντα
 πόρρωθεν καὶ συγκαταπλέκουσα τοῖς πλεῖστον
 διαφέρειν δοκοῦσι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἄλληλα
 κοινὸν αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων χρήται καὶ τέλεσι καὶ
 ἀρχαῖς.

6 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπον ἐστεφάνωσαν οἱ Κορίν-

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about his person, and at this time in particular, owing to his trust in their god, he was altogether without anxiety or suspicion in his diversions with the people of Adranum. The men who had thus been sent learned, as chance would have it, that he was about to offer a sacrifice, and therefore came into the sacred precinct with daggers under their robes, mingled with those who stood around the altar, and gradually drew nearer their intended victim. And as they were just on the point of exhorting one another to begin their work, somebody smote one of them on the head with a sword and laid him low, whereupon neither he who had struck the blow nor the companion of him who had received it kept his place; but the one, with his sword still in his hand, fled to a lofty rock and sprang upon it, while the other laid hold of the altar and begged immunity from Timoleon on the condition of his revealing everything. And when he had obtained his request, he testified against himself and against his dead comrade that they had been sent to kill Timoleon. Meanwhile others brought down the man who had fled to the rock, who kept crying out that he had done no wrong, but had justly slain the man on behalf of his dead father, who had been murdered by him some time ago in Leontini. Some of the bystanders bore witness also to the truth of his words, and wondered, too, at the dexterity of Fortune, seeing how she makes some things lead up to others, brings all things together from afar, weaves together incidents which seem to be most divergent and to have nothing in common with one another, and so makes use of their reciprocal beginnings and endings.

To this man, then, the Corinthians gave a reward

θιοι δέκα μναῖς, ὅτι τῷ φυλάττοντι δαίμονι τὸν Τιμολέοντα πάθος ἔχρησε δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ παρόντα θυμὸν αὐτῷ πρότερον οὐ κατανώλεωσεν, ἀλλὰ μετ' αἰτίας ἰδίας πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου σωτηρίαν ἀπὸ τύχης διετήρησεν. ἡ δ' εἰς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν εὐτυχία καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπῆρεν ὀρώντας ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σὺν θεῷ τιμωρὸν ἦκοντα τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν Τιμολέοντα σέβεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν.

XVII. Ὡς δὲ ταύτης διήμαρτε τῆς πείρας ὁ Ἰκέτης καὶ πρὸς Τιμολέοντα πολλοὺς ἑώρα συνισταμένους, μεμψάμενος αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅτι τηλικαύτης παρούσης τῆς Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεως ὥσπερ αἰσχυνόμενος αὐτῇ κατὰ μικρὰ χρήται καὶ λάθρα, κλέπτων καὶ παρεισάγων τὴν συμμαχίαν, μετεπέμπετο Μάγωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν
 2 μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντός. ὁ δὲ εἰσέπλει φοβερὸς ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καταλαμβάνων τὸν λιμένα, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας ἐξ ἀποβιβάζων καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Συρακουσίων, ὥστε πάντας οἶεσθαι τὴν πάλαι λεγομένην καὶ προσδοκωμένην ἐκβαρβάρωσιν ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίαν. οὐδέποτε γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις ὑπῆρξε πρότερον μυρίους πολεμήσασι πολέμους ἐν Σικελίᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς Συρακούσας, ἀλλὰ τότε δεξαμένου
 3 τοῦ Ἰκέτου καὶ παραδόντος ἦν ὁρᾶν τὴν πόλιν στρατόπεδον βαρβάρων οὖσαν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Κορινθίων κατέχοντες ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ

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of ten minas, because he had put his just resentment at the service of the deity who was guarding Timoleon, and had not at an earlier time expended the wrath which had long been in his heart, but with a personal motive had reserved it, under Fortune's guidance, for the preservation of that general. Moreover, their good fortune in the present crisis raised their hopes for the future also, and they anticipated that men would revere and protect Timoleon, looking upon him as a sacred personage, and one who had come under divine guidance to avenge the wrongs of Sicily.¹

XVII. But when Hicetas had failed in this attempt and saw that many were now thronging to the support of Timoleon, he found fault with himself because, when so large a force of the Carthaginians was at hand, he was using it in small detachments and secretly, as though he were ashamed of it, bringing in his allied troops like a thief and by stealth; he therefore called in Mago their general together with his whole armament. Thus Mago, with a formidable fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, sailed in and occupied the harbour, disembarking also sixty thousand of his infantry and encamping them in the city of Syracuse, so that all men thought that the barbarization of Sicily, long talked of and expected, had come upon her. For never before in all their countless wars in Sicily had the Carthaginians succeeded in taking Syracuse; but now Hicetas admitted them and handed over to them the city, and men saw that it was a barbarian camp. But those of the Corinthians who held the acropolis were beset with difficulty

¹ The Greek of this sentence is obscure, and has thus far defied emendation.

χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττον, τροφῆς μὲν ἱκανῆς οὐκ ἔτι παρούσης, ἀλλ' ἐνδεόμενοι διὰ τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι τοὺς λιμένας, αἰεὶ δὲ ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ μάχαις περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ πρὸς πᾶν μηχανήμα καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ιδέαν πολιορκίας μερίζοντες αὐτούς.

- XVIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Τιμολέων παρεβοήθει σῖτον ἐκ Κατάνης μικραῖς ἀλίαισι καὶ λεπτοῖς ἀκατίοις ἀποστέλλων, ἃ μάλιστα χειμῶνι παραιο- ἐπιπτε διὰ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τριήρων ὑποπορευό- μενα, πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα καὶ τὸν σάλον ἐκείνων διίσταμένων. ἃ δὲ συνωρῶντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Μά- γωνα καὶ τὸν Ἰκέτην ἐβούλοντο τὴν Κατάνην ἐλεῖν, ἐξ ἧς εἰσέπλει¹ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς πολιορ- κουμένοις· καὶ λαβόντες τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν μαχι-
2 μωτάτην ἐξέπλευσαν ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν. ὁ δὲ Κορίνθιος Νέων (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ἄρχων τῶν πολιορ- κουμένων) κατιδὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας τοὺς ὑπολε- λειμμένους τῶν πολεμίων ἀργῶς καὶ ἀμελῶς φυλάττοντας ἐξαίφνης ἐπέπεσε διεσπαρμένοις αὐτοῖς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνελών, τοὺς δὲ τρεψάμενος, ἐκράτησε καὶ κατέσχε τὴν λεγομένην Ἀχραδινήν, 245
δὲ κράτιστον ἐδόκει καὶ ἀθραυστότατον ὑπάρχειν τῆς Συρακουσίων μέρος πόλεως, τρόπον τινὰ συγ- κειμένης καὶ συνηρμοσμένης ἐκ πλειόνων πόλεων.
3 εὐπορήσας δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀφῆκε τὸν τόπον, οὐδ' ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἀλλὰ φραξάμενος τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ συνάψας τοῖς ἐρύμασι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν διεφύλαττε. τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάγωνα καὶ τὸν Ἰκέτην ἐγγὺς ἤδη τῆς Κατάνης ὄντας ἰππεὺς ἐκ Συρακουσῶν καταλαβὼν ἀπήγγειλε τὴν ἄλωσιν

¹ εἰσέπλει Holden's conjecture : ἔπλει.

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and danger ; for they no longer had sufficient food, but suffered lack because the harbours were blockaded ; and they were forever dividing up their forces in skirmishes and battles around the walls, and in repelling all sorts of engines and every species of siege warfare.

XVIII. However, Timoleon came to their aid by sending them grain from Catana in small fishing boats and light skiffs ; these would make their way in, especially in stormy weather, by stealing along through the barbarian triremes, which lay at wide intervals from one another because of the roughness of the sea. This soon came to the notice of Mago and Hicetas, who therefore determined to take Catana, from which provisions came in by sea to the besieged ; so taking with them the best of their fighting men, they sailed forth from Syracuse. But Neon the Corinthian (for he it was who commanded the besieged), observing from the citadel that the enemy who had been left behind were keeping an easy and careless watch, fell suddenly upon them as they were scattered apart ; some he slew, others he put to flight, and then mastered and took possession of the quarter called Achradina. This seems to have been the strongest and least vulnerable part of the city of Syracuse, which was, in a manner, an assemblage and union of several cities. Having thus supplied himself with grain and money, he did not give up the place, nor did he go back again to the citadel, but fenced in the circumference of Achradina, united it by his fortifications with the acropolis, and guarded both. Mago and Hicetas were already near Catana, when a horseman from Syracuse overtook them and

τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς. καὶ συνταραχθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ ταχέων, οὔτε λαβόντες ἐφ' ἣν ἐξῆλθον οὔτε φυλάξαντες ἦν εἶχον.

XIX. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔτι τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ δίδωσί τινα πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀμφισβήτησιν· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις γενόμενον παντάπασιν ἔοικε συμβῆναι κατ' εὐτυχίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Θουρίοις διατρίβοντες στρατιῶται τῶν Κορινθίων ἅμα μὲν δεδιότες τὰς Καρχηδονίων τριήρεις, αἱ παρεφύλαττον αὐτοὺς μετὰ Ἀννωνος, ἅμα δ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἐξηγριωμένης ὑπὸ πνεύματος τῆς θαλάττης, πεζῇ διὰ Βρεττίων ὥρμησαν πορεύεσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν πείθοντες, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰς Ῥήγιον κατέβαινον ἔτι πολλὸν χειμῶνα τοῦ πελάγους ἔχοντος. 2 ὁ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος, ὡς οὐ προσεδόκα τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ μάτην ὤετο καθῆσθαι, πείσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν νενοηκέναι τι τῶν σοφῶν καὶ πανούργων πρὸς ἀπάτην, στεφανώσασθαι τοὺς ναύτας κελεύσας καὶ κοσμήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀσπίσιν Ἑλληνικαῖς καὶ φοινικίσιν, ἔπλει πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας. καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑκρόπολιν χρώμενος ῥοθίῳ μετὰ κρότου καὶ γέλωτος ἐβόα τοὺς Κορινθίους ἦκειν νενικηκῶς καὶ κεχειρωμένους, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ λαβὼν διαπλέοντας, ὡς δὴ τινα δυσθυμίαν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρέ- 3 ξων. ἐκείνου δὲ ταῦτα ληροῦντος καὶ φενακίζοντος ἐκ τῶν Βρεττίων καταβεβηκότες οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον, ὡς οὐδεὶς παρεφύλαττε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατεσβεσμένον παραλόγως ἀκύμονα τὸν πόρον

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told them of the capture of Achradina. They were confounded by the tidings and went back in haste, having neither taken the city against which they went forth, nor kept the one they had.

XIX. In these successes, then, foresight and valour might still dispute the claims of Fortune; but that which followed them would seem to have been wholly due to good fortune. The Corinthian soldiers, namely, who were tarrying at Thurii, partly because they feared the Carthaginian triremes which were lying in wait for them under Hanno, and partly because a storm of many days' duration had made the sea very rough and savage, set out to travel by land through Bruttium; and partly by persuading, partly by compelling the Barbarians, they made their way down to Rhegium while a great storm was still raging at sea. But the Carthaginian admiral, since he did not expect that the Corinthians would venture forth and thought his remaining there inactive an idle thing, after convincing himself that he had devised something clever and mischievous in the way of deceit, ordered his sailors to crown their heads with garlands, decorated his triremes with purple battle-flags and Greek shields, and sailed for Syracuse. And as he passed the acropolis at a dashing speed amid clapping of hands and laughter, he shouted that he was come from conquering and capturing the Corinthians, whom he had caught at sea as they were trying to cross the strait; supposing, indeed, that he would thus greatly dishearten the besieged. While he was thus babbling and playing the trickster, the Corinthians who had come down from Bruttium to Rhegium, since no one was lying in wait for them and the unexpected cessation of the storm had made

ἰδεῖν καὶ λεῖον παρῆχε, ταχὺ πληρώσαντες τὰ πορθμεῖα καὶ τὰς ἀλιάδας τὰς παρούσας ἀνήγοντο καὶ διεκομίζοντο πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς καὶ διὰ τοσαύτης γαλήνης ὥστε τοὺς ἵππους παρὰ τὰ πλοῖα παρανηχομένους ἐκ ῥυτῆρων ἐφέλκεσθαι.

XX. Περαιωθέντων δὲ πάντων ὁ Τιμολέων δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τὴν τε Μεσσήνην εὐθὺς εἶχε, καὶ συνταξάμενος ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας, οἷς εὐτύχει καὶ κατώρθου μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει πεποισθῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πλείους τετρακισχιλίων. ἀγγελλομένης δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου τῷ Μάγωνι θορυβούμενος καὶ δεδοικῶς ἔτι μᾶλλον
 2 εἰς ὑποψίαν ἦλθεν ἐκ τοιαύτης προφάσεως. ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν πόλιν τενάγεσι, πολὺ μὲν ἐκ κρηνῶν πότιμον ὕδωρ, πολὺ δ' ἐξ ἐλῶν καὶ ποταμῶν καταρρέοντων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν δεχομένοις, πλήθος ἐγχέλεων νέμεται, καὶ δαψίλεια τῆς ἄγρας τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀεὶ πάρεστι. ταύτας οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μισθοῦ στρατευόμενοι σχολῆς οὔσης καὶ ἀνοχῶν συνεθήρεον. οἷα δ' Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἔχοντες ἰδίων ἀπεχθειῶν πρόφασιν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις διεκινδύνεον εὐρώστως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς προσφοιτῶντες ἀλλή-
 3 λοις διελέγοντο. καὶ τότε κοινὸν περὶ τὴν ἀλιείαν ἔχοντες ἔργον ἐν λόγοις ἦσαν, θαυμάζοντες τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν εὐφυΐαν καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὴν κατασκευήν. καὶ τις εἶπε τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κορινθίοις στρατευομένων· “Τοσαύτην μέντοι πόλιν¹ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσούτοις ἐξησκημένην καλοῖς ὑμεῖς
 “Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐκβαρβαρῶσαι προθυμείσθε, τοὺς

¹ πόλιν Blass, after Coraës : τὴν πόλιν.

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the strait smooth and calm to look upon, speedily manned the ferry-boats and fishing craft which they found at hand, put off, and made their way across to Sicily, with such safety and in so great a calm that their horses also swam along by the side of the boats and were towed by the reins.

XX. When they had all crossed over, Timoleon took them and at once occupied Messana, then, uniting them with his other forces, marched against Syracuse, relying on the good fortune and success that attended his efforts rather than on the strength of his army; for his followers were not more than four thousand in number. But when Mago got tidings of his approach, disturbed and fearful as he was, he was made still more suspicious for the following reason. In the shoals about the city, which receive much fresh water from springs, and much from marshes and rivers emptying into the sea, great numbers of eels live, and there is always an abundance of this catch for anybody. These eels the mercenary soldiers on both sides, when they had leisure or a truce was on, used to hunt together. And since they were Greeks and had no reason for private hatred of one another, while in their battles they risked their lives bravely, in their times of truce they would visit and converse with one another. And so now, as they were busy together with their fishing, they conversed, expressing their admiration of the richness of the sea and the character of the adjacent lands. And one of those who were serving on the Corinthian side said: "Can it really be that you, who are Greeks, are eager to barbarize a city of such great size and furnished with such great advantages, thus settling Cartha-

κακίστους καὶ φονικωτάτους Καρχηδονίους ἐγγυ-
 τέρω κατοικίζοντες ἡμῶν, πρὸς οὓς ἔδει πολλὰς
 4 εὐχεσθαι Σικελίας προκείσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἥ 246
 δοκεῖτε τούτους στρατὸν ἀγείραντας ἀπὸ στηλῶν
 Ἑρακλείων καὶ τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς ἡκεῖν θαλάττης
 δεῦρο κινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰκέτου δυναστείας;
 ὃς εἰ λογισμὸν εἶχεν ἡγεμόνος, οὐκ ἂν ἐξέβαλλε
 τοὺς πατέρας οὐδ' ἐπῆγε τῇ πατρίδι τοὺς πολε-
 μίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἐτύγχανεν
 ὅσης πρέπει, Κορινθίους καὶ Τιμολέοντα πείσας.”
 τούτους τοὺς λόγους οἱ μισθοφόροι διεθρόνησαν ἐν
 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ παρέσχον ὑποψίαν τῷ Μά-
 γωνι προδίδοσθαι, χρήζοντι πάλαι προφάσεως.
 5 διὸ καὶ δεομένου τοῦ Ἰκέτου παραμένειν καὶ διδά-
 σκοντος ὅσῳ βελτιονέες εἰσι τῶν πολεμίων, μᾶλλον
 οἰόμενος ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ λείπεσθαι Τιμολέοντος ἢ
 πλήθει δυνάμεως ὑπερβάλλειν, ἄρας εὐθύς ἀπέ-
 πλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην, αἰσχρῶς κατ' οὐδένα логи-
 σμὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφείς Σικελίαν.

XXI. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία παρῆν ὁ Τιμολέων ἐπὶ
 μάχην συντεταγμένος. ὥς δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπυνθά-
 νοντο καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐώρων τῶν νεωρίων, γελᾶν
 αὐτοῖς ἐπῆει τὴν ἀνανδρίαν τοῦ Μάγωνος, καὶ
 περιϊόντες ἐκήρυττον ἐν τῇ πόλει μήνυτρα τῷ
 φράσαντι τὸν Καρχηδονίων στόλον ὅπῃ σφᾶς ἀπο-
 2 δέδρακεν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἰκέτου φιλομαχοῦν-
 τος ἔτι καὶ τὴν λαβὴν οὐ προῖεμένου τῆς πόλεως,
 ἀλλὰ ἐμπεφυκότος οἷς κατεῖχε μέρεσι καρτεροῖς

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ginians, who are the basest and bloodiest of men, nearer to us, when you ought to pray for many Sicilies to lie as a barrier between Greece and them? Or do you suppose that they have collected an army and are come hither from the pillars of Heracles and the Atlantic sea in order to risk their lives in behalf of the dynasty of Hicetas? He, if he reasoned like a true leader, would not be casting out his kindred people, nor would he be leading against his country her natural enemies, but would be enjoying a befitting amount of honour and power, with the consent of Timoleon and the Corinthians." Such speeches as these the mercenaries disseminated in their camp, and made Mago suspicious of treachery, though he had long wanted a pretext for going away. Therefore when Hicetas begged him to remain and tried to show him how much superior they were to their enemies, he thought rather that they were more inferior to Timoleon in bravery and good fortune than they surpassed him in the number of their forces, and weighing anchor at once, sailed off to Libya, thus letting Sicily slip out of his hands disgracefully and for no reason that man could suggest.

XXI. On the day after his departure, Timoleon came up with his forces arrayed for battle. But when they learned of Mago's flight and saw the docks empty of vessels, they could not help laughing at his cowardice, and went about the city proclaiming a reward for any one who told them whither the Carthaginian fleet had fled away from them. However, since Hicetas was still eager for battle and would not let go his hold upon the city, but clung to the parts of it in his possession, which were

οὔσι καὶ δυσπροσμάχοις, διελὼν ὁ Τιμολέων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἢ βιαιότατον ἦν παρὰ τὸ ρέιθρον τοῦ Ἀνάπου προσέβαλλεν, ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς ἐκέλευεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ὧν Ἰσίας ἡγεῖτο ὁ Κορίνθιος. τοὺς δὲ τρίτους ἐπήγον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς Δείναρχος καὶ Δημάρετος, οἱ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀγαγόντες ἐκ Κορίνθου βοήθειαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν τῆς ἐφόδου γενομένης καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰκέτην ἀνατραπέντων καὶ φευγόντων, τὸ μὲν ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἄκρας καὶ γενέσθαι ταχέως ὑποχείριον ἐκπεσόντων τῶν πολεμίων δίκαιον ἀναθεῖναι τῇ τῶν μαχομένων ἀνδραγαθίᾳ καὶ τῇ δεινότητι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν τινα μηδὲ τρωθῆναι τῶν Κορινθίων ἰδίου ἔργον αὐτῆς ἢ Τιμολέοντος ἐπεδείξατο τύχη, καθάπερ διαμιλλωμένη πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἵνα τῶν ἐπαινουμένων αὐτοῦ τὰ μακαριζόμενα μᾶλλον οἱ πυνθανόμενοι θαυμάζωσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον Σικελίαν πᾶσαν οὐδ' Ἰταλίαν εὐθύς ἢ φήμη κατέσχευεν, ἀλλ' ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἢ Ἑλλὰς διήχει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κατορθώματος, ὥστε τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων πόλιν ἀπιστοῦσαν εἰ διαπέπλευκεν ὁ στόλος, ὁμοῦ καὶ σεσσωσμένους καὶ νενικηκότας ἀκούειν τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὕτως εὐρόησαν αἱ πράξεις, καὶ τοσοῦτο τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἔργων τὸ τάχος ἢ τύχη προσέθηκεν.

XXII. Γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ἄκρας κύριος οὐκ ἔπαθε Δίῳνι ταῦτ' ὅτι πάθος, οὐδ' ἐφείσατο τοῦ τόπου διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνον διαβαλοῦσαν, εἴτ' ἀπολέσασαν ὑποψίαν φυλαξάμενος ἐκίρυξε τῶν Συρακουσίων

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strong and dangerous to attack, Timoleon divided his forces, he himself attacking along the river Anapus where the struggle was likely to be hottest, and ordering others, under the lead of Isias the Corinthian, to make their attempt from Achradina. The third division was led against Epipolæ by Deinarchus and Demaretus, who had brought the second reinforcement from Corinth. The attack was made in all three places at once, and the troops of Hicetas were overwhelmed and took to flight. That the city was taken by storm and fell quickly into their hands after the enemy had been driven out, it is right to ascribe to the bravery of the soldiers and the ability of their general; but that not one of the Corinthians was killed or even wounded, this the good fortune of Timoleon showed to be her own work, vying emulously, as it were, with his valour, in order that those who hear his story may wonder at his happy successes more than at his laudable efforts. For his fame not only filled at once all Sicily and Italy, but within a few days Greece echoed with his great success, so that the city of Corinth, which was in doubt whether his armament had got across the sea, heard at one and the same time that it had safely crossed, and that it was victorious. So prosperous was the course of his enterprises, and such was the speed with which Fortune crowned the beauty of his achievements.

XXII. When he had become master of the citadel, he did not repeat the experience of Dion,¹ nor did he spare the place on account of the beauty and great cost of its architecture, but guarding against the suspicions which had brought calumny and then destruction upon his predecessor, he made proclama-

¹ See the *Dion*, chapter liii. 1.

- τὸν βουλόμενον παρῆναι μετὰ σιδήρου καὶ συνεφ-
 άπτεσθαι κατασκαπτομένων τῶν τυραννικῶν
 2 ἐρυμάτων. ὥς δὲ πάντες ἀνέβησαν, ἀρχὴν ἐλευ-
 θερίας ποιησάμενοι βεβαιοτάτην τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ
 τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄκραν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ μνήματα τῶν τυράννων
 ἀνέτρεψαν καὶ κατέσκαψαν. εὐθύς δὲ τὸν τόπον
 συνομαλύνας ἐνφκοδόμησε τὰ δικαστήρια, χαρι-
 ζόμενος τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπερ-
 τέραν ποίῳν τὴν δημοκρατίαν.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔλῳν οὐκ εἶχε πολίτας,
 ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στάσεσι
 διαφθαρέντων, τῶν δὲ τὰς τυραννίδας φευγόντων,
 ἡ μὲν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἀγορὰ δι' ἐρημίαν οὕτως 247
 πολλὴν καὶ βαθεῖαν ἐξέφυσεν ὕλην ὥστε τοὺς
 ἵππους ἐν αὐτῇ κατανέμεσθαι, τῶν ἵπποκόμων ἐν
 τῇ χλῶῃ κατακειμένων, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις πλὴν
 παντελῶς ὀλίγων ἐλάφων ἐγένοντο μεστὰι καὶ
 συῶν ἀγρίων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς προαστείοις καὶ περὶ τὰ
 τεῖχη πολλάκις οἱ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐκυνηγέτουں,
- 4 ὑπήκουε δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ φρου-
 ρίοις κατοικούντων, οὐδὲ κατέβαινον εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
 ἀλλὰ φρίκη καὶ μῖσος εἶχε πάντας ἀγορᾶς καὶ
 πολιτείας καὶ βήματος, ἐξ ὧν ἀνέφυσαν αὐτοῖς
 οἱ πλείστοι τῶν τυράννων, ἔδοξε τῷ Τιμολέοντι
 καὶ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις γράψαι πρὸς τοὺς Κοριν-
 θίους ὅπως πέμψωσιν οἰκήτορας εἰς τὰς Συρα-
 5 κούσας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἥ τε γὰρ χώρα σχολά-
 ζειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πολὺν πόλεμον ἐκ Λιβύης
 προσεδέχοντο, πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους
 τοῦ μὲν Μάγωνος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος ἀνεσταυρω-
 κέναι τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὀργισθέντας,

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tion that all Syracusans who wished should come with implements of iron and help in the demolition of the tyrants' bulwarks. And when they had all come up, considering that day with its proclamation to be a most secure beginning of freedom, they overthrew and demolished, not only the citadel, but also the palaces and the tombs of the tyrants. Then, as soon as he had levelled off the place, Timoleon built the courts of justice there, thus gratifying the citizens by making their democracy triumphant over tyranny.

But the city which he had taken had not citizens enough, since some had perished in their wars and seditions, while others had gone into exile from tyrannical governments. Indeed, for lack of population the market place of Syracuse had produced such a quantity of dense herbage that horses were pastured in it, while their grooms lay down in the grass; and the other cities, with almost no exceptions, were full of deer and wild swine, while in their suburbs and around their walls those who had leisure for it went hunting, and not one of those who were established in fortresses and strongholds would hearken to any summons, or come down into the city, but fear and hatred kept all away from market place and civic life and public speaking, which had produced the most of their tyrants. Therefore Timoleon and the Syracusans decided to write to the Corinthians urging them to send settlers to Syracuse from Greece. For otherwise the land was likely to lie uncultivated, and they expected a great war from Africa, since they learned that the Carthaginians, after Mago's suicide, had impaled his dead body, in their rage at his conduct of the expedition, and that they were

αὐτοὺς δὲ συνάγειν μεγάλην δύναμιν ὥς ἔτους ὥρα διαβησομένους εἰς Σικελίαν.

- XXIII. Τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων τούτων παρὰ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος κομισθέντων, καὶ πρέσβων ἅμα παρόντων Συρακουσίων καὶ δεομένων ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς οἰκιστάς, οὐχ ἥρπασαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὴν πλεονεξίαν, οὐδὲ προσεποίησαν αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιόντες τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι¹ καὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πανηγύρεων ἀνηγόρευον ὑπὸ κηρύκων ὅτι Κορίνθιοι καταλευκότες τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις τυραννίδα, καὶ
 2 τὸν τύραννον ἐξεληλακότες, καλοῦσι Συρακουσίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σικελιωτῶν τὸν βουλούμενον οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους, ἐπ' ἴσοις καὶ δικαίοις τὴν χώραν διαλαχόντας· ἔπειτα διαπέμποντες ἀγγέλους εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους, ὅπου πλείστους ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν φυγάδων διεσπαρμένους κατοικεῖν, παρεκάλουν ἰέναι πάντας εἰς Κόρινθον, ὥς Κορινθίων ἀσφαλῆ πομπὴν καὶ πλοῖα καὶ στρατηγούς παρεξόντων
 3 ἰδίοις τέλεσιν εἰς Συρακούσας. κηρυττομένων δὲ τούτων ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸν δικαιοτάτον καὶ κάλλιστον ἀπελάμβανεν ἔπαινον καὶ ζῆλον, ἐλευθεροῦσα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων, σώζουσα δ' ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀποδιδούσα δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν χώραν.

Οἱ δὲ συνελθόντες εἰς Κόρινθον οὐκ ὄντες ἱκανοὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐδεήθησαν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος παραλαβεῖν συνοίκους· καὶ γενόμενοι μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους κατέπλευσαν εἰς

¹ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι with Coraës, Bekker, and Blass : Ἑλλάδι.

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assembling a great force with the intention of crossing into Sicily in the summer.

XXIII. When these letters from Timoleon had been delivered, and were accompanied by Syracusan envoys who begged them to take thought for their city and to become anew its founders, the Corinthians did not seize the opportunity for their own aggrandizement, nor did they appropriate the city for themselves, but, in the first place, they visited the sacred games in Greece and the greatest festival assemblages, and proclaimed by heralds that the Corinthians had overthrown the tyranny in Syracuse, and driven out the tyrant, and now invited Syracusans, and any other Sicilian Greeks who wished, to people the city with free and independent citizens, allotting the land among them on equal and just terms. In the second place, they sent messengers to Asia and the islands, where they learned that most of the scattered exiles were residing, and invited them all to come to Corinth, assuring them that the Corinthians, at their own expense, would furnish them with leaders and transports and a safe convoy to Syracuse. By these proclamations the city of Corinth earned the justest praise and the fairest glory; she was freeing the land from its tyrants, saving it from the Barbarians, and restoring it to its rightful citizens.

When these had assembled at Corinth, being too few in number, they begged that they might receive fellow colonists from Corinth and the rest of Greece; and after their numbers had risen to as many as ten

- 4 Συρακούσας. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας πολλοὶ τῷ Τιμολέοντι συνεληλύθεισαν· καὶ γενομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐξακισμυρίοις τὸ πλῆθος, ὥς Ἄθανις εἶρηκε, τὴν μὲν χώραν διένειμε, τὰς δὲ οἰκίας ἀπέδοτο χιλίων ταλάντων, ἅμα μὲν ὑπολειπόμενος τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Συρακουσίοις ἐξωνεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν, ἅμα δὲ χρημάτων εὐπορίαν τῷ δήμῳ μηχανώμενος οὕτως πενομένῳ καὶ πρὸς τὰλλα καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥστε καὶ
- 5 τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀποδόσθαι, ψήφου διαφερομένης ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου καὶ γινομένης κατηγορίας, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπων εὐθύνας διδόντων· ὅτε δὴ φασὶ τὸν Γέλωνος ἀνδριάντα τοῦ παλαιοῦ τυράννου διατηρῆσαι τοὺς Συρακουσίους, καταχειροτονοῦμένων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀγαμένους καὶ τιμῶντας τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς νίκης ἣν πρὸς Ἰμέρα Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησεν.

- XXIV. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀναζωπυρούσης καὶ πληρουμένης, ἐπιρρεόντων πανταχόθεν εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν πολιτῶν, βουλόμενος ὁ Τιμόλεων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλευθερῶσαι καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκκόψαι τῆς Σικελίας τὰς τυραννίδας, ἐπὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν στρατεύων Ἰκέτην μὲν ἠνάγκασεν ἀποστάντα Καρχηδονίων ὁμολογῆσαι τὰς ἀκροπόλεις κατασκάψειν καὶ βιοτεύσειν ἰδιώτην ἐν Λεον-
- 2 τίνοις, Λεπτίνου δὲ τοῦ τυραννοῦντος Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ συχρῶν ἄλλων πολιχνίων, ὥς ἐκινδύνευε κατὰ κράτος ἀλῶναι, παραδόντος αὐτὸν φεισάμενος εἰς Κόρινθον ἀπέστειλε, καλὸν ἡγούμενος ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τοὺς τῆς Σικελίας τυράννους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποθεωρεῖσθαι φυγαδικῶς

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thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. But by this time many also from Italy and Sicily had flocked to Timoleon; and when their numbers had risen to sixty thousand, as Athanis states, Timoleon divided the land among them, and sold the houses of the city for a thousand talents, thus at once reserving for the original Syracusans the power to purchase their own houses, and devising an abundance of money for the community; this had so little, both for other purposes, and especially for the war, that it actually sold its public statues at auction, a regular vote of condemnation being passed against each, as though they were men submitting their accounts. It was at this time, they say, that the statue of Gelon, their ancient tyrant, was preserved by the Syracusans, though they condemned the rest, because they admired and honoured him for the victory which he had won over the Carthaginians at Himera.¹

XXIV. Seeing the city thus beginning to revive and fill itself with people, since its citizens were streaming into it from all sides, Timoleon determined to set the other cities also free, and utterly to root out all tyrannies from Sicily. He therefore made an expedition into their territories and compelled Hicetas to forsake the cause of Carthage, and to agree to demolish his citadels and live as a private person in Leontini. And as for Leptines, who lorded it over Apollonia and numerous other strongholds, when he was in danger of being taken by main force, he surrendered himself; and Timoleon spared his life and sent him off to Corinth, considering it a fine thing to have the tyrants of Sicily in the mother city where the Greeks could observe them living.

¹ In 480 B.C., on the same day, it is said, as the victory at Salamis. Cf. Herodotus, vii. 166

3 καὶ ταπεινῶς ζῶντας. τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους
 βουλόμενος ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ
 σχολάζειν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπαν-
 ῆλθε τῇ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας προσέξων καὶ
 τοῖς ἤκουσιν ἐκ Κορίνθου νομοθέταις Κεφάλῳ
 καὶ Διονυσίῳ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα συν-
 4 διαθήσων, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Δείναρχον καὶ Δημάρετον
 εἰς τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπικράτειαν,
 οἱ πόλεις πολλὰς ἀφιστάντες τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ
 μόνον αὐτοὶ διῆγον ἐν ἀφθόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρή-
 ματα παρεσκεύαζον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἀλίσκομένων.

XXV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι καταπλέουσιν
 εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἄγοντες ἑπτὰ μυριάδας στρατοῦ
 καὶ τριῆρεις διακοσίας καὶ πλοῖα χίλια κομίζοντα
 μηχανὰς καὶ τέθριππα καὶ σῖτον ἄφθονον καὶ
 τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ὥς οὐκ ἔτι ποιησόμενοι
 κατὰ μέρος τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ πάσης Σι-
 κελίας ἐξελάσοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἦν γὰρ ἡ
 δύναμις ἐξαρκούσα καὶ μὴ νοσοῦντας μηδὲ διε-
 φθαρμένους ὑπ' ἀλλήλων συλλαβέσθαι Σικελιώ-
 2 τας. πυθόμενοι δὲ πορθεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπικράτειαν
 αὐτῶν, εὐθύς ὀργῇ πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐχώρουν
 Ἀσδρούβα τε καὶ Ἀμίλκα στρατηγούντων. τῆς
 δὲ ἀγγελίας ὀξέως εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφικομένης
 οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι πρὸς τὸ
 μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως ὥστε μόλις τῷ Τιμολέοντι
 τρισχιλίους ἀπὸ τοσούτων μυριάδων ὅπλα λα-
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the lowly life of exiles. Moreover, he wished that his mercenaries might get booty from the enemy's country and not remain idle. Accordingly, while he himself returned to Syracuse in order to apply himself to the establishment of the civil polity and to assist the lawgivers who had come from Corinth, Cephalus and Dionysius, in arranging its most important details in the most attractive way, he sent forth the troops under Deinarchus and Demaretus¹ into that part of the island which the Carthaginians controlled, where they brought many cities to revolt from the Barbarians, and not only lived in plenty themselves, but actually raised moneys for the war from the spoils they made.

XXV. Meanwhile the Carthaginians put in at Lilybaeum with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred triremes, and a thousand transports carrying engines of war, four-horse chariots, grain in abundance, and other requisite equipment. Their purpose was, not to carry on the war by piece-meal any more, but at one time to drive the invading Greeks out of all Sicily; for their force would have been sufficient to capture the native Greeks, even though they had not been politically weak and utterly ruined by one another. And on learning that the territory which they controlled was being ravaged by the Corinthians, they were furious, and straightway marched against them under the command of Hasdrubal and Hamilcar. Tidings of this coming quickly to Syracuse, the Syracusans were so terrified at the magnitude of the enemy's forces that only three thousand out of so many tens of thousands could with difficulty be brought to pluck up courage, take their arms, and go

¹ Cf. chapter xxii. 3.

- 3 βόντας τολμῆσαι συνεξελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τετρακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν· καὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς ὅσον χίλιοι καθ' ὁδὸν ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ὥς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντος τοῦ Τιμολέοντος, ἀλλὰ μαινομένου παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ πρὸς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας πολεμίων μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἵππῶν βαδίζοντος, καὶ διαρτῶντος ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ὀκτὼ τὴν δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν Συρακουσῶν, ὅθεν οὔτε σωθῆναι τοῖς φεύγουσιν οὔτε
- 4 ταφῆναι τοῖς πεσοῦσιν αὐτῶν ὑπάρξει. τούτους μὲν οὖν Τιμολέων κέρδος ἡγεῖτο πρὸ τῆς μάχης φανεροὺς γεγονότας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐπιρρώσας κατὰ τάχος ἦγε πρὸς τὸν Κρίμησον ποταμόν, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἤκουσε συνάπτειν.

XXVI. Ἀναβαίνοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς λόφον, ὃν ὑπερβαλόντες ἔμελλον κατόψεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἡμίονοι σέλινα κομίζοντες· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰσῆλθε πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον, ὅτι τὰ μνήματα τῶν νεκρῶν εἰώθαμεν ἐπιεικῶς στεφανοῦν σελίνοις· καὶ παροιμία τις ἐκ τούτου γέγονε, τὸν ἐπισφαλῶς νοσοῦντα δεῖσθαι σελίνου. βουλόμενος οὖν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ τὴν δυσελπιστείαν ἀφελεῖν ὁ Τιμολέων, ἐπιστήσας τὴν πορείαν ἄλλα τε πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ διελέχθη, καὶ τὸν στέφανον αὐτοῖς ἔφη πρὸ τῆς νίκης κομιζόμενον αὐτομάτως εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἦκειν, ᾧ Κορίνθιοι στεφανοῦσι τοὺς Ἰσθμια νικῶντας, ἱερὸν καὶ πάτριον τὸ στέμμα τοῦ σελίνου

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forth with Timoleon. Furthermore, the mercenaries were only four thousand in number; and of these, again, about a thousand played the coward on the march and went back to Syracuse, declaring that Timoleon was not in his right mind, but was more crazy than his years would lead one to expect, and was marching against seventy thousand of the enemy with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and was taking his force a march of eight days away from Syracuse, so that those of them who fled from the field would find no safety, and those who fell upon it would have no burial. As for these men, then, Timoleon counted it gain that they had shown what they were before the battle; the rest he encouraged and led them with all speed to the river Crimesus, where he heard that the Carthaginians also were concentrating.

XXVI. As he was marching up a hill, from the crest of which they expected to look down upon the camp and the forces of the enemy, there met them by chance some mules laden with parsley; and it occurred to the soldiers that the sign was a bad one, because we are generally accustomed to wreath the tombs of the dead with parsley; and this has given rise to a proverb, namely, that one who is dangerously sick "needs only parsley." Accordingly, wishing to free them from their superstitious fears and take away their despondency, Timoleon halted them on their march, and after discoursing otherwise as befitted the occasion, said also that the wreath for their victory had come into their hands in advance and of its own accord, the wreath with which Corinthians crown the victors at the Isthmian games, considering the garland of parsley to be tra-

νομίζοντες. ἔτι γὰρ τότε τῶν Ἰσθμίων, ὥσπερ
 νῦν τῶν Νεμείων, τὸ σέλινον ἦν στέφανος, οὐ
 3 πάλαι δὲ ἡ πίτυς γέγονεν. ἐντυχῶν οὖν ὁ Τιμο-
 λέων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ λαβῶν
 τῶν σελίνων κατεστέψατο πρῶτος αὐτός, εἶτα οἱ
 περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες καὶ τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ δὲ μάντεις
 κατιδόντες αἰετοὺς δύο προσφερομένους, ὧν ὁ μὲν
 δράκοντα τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἔφερε διαπεπαρμένον, ὁ δὲ
 ἵπτατο κεκλαγὼς μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, ἐπεδεί-
 κνυον τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ πρὸς εὐχὰς θεῶν καὶ 249
 ἀνακλήσεις ἐτράποντο πάντες.

XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔτος ἵσταμένου θέρους
 εἶχεν ὥραν, καὶ λήγοντι μηνὶ Θαρρηλιῶνι πρὸς
 τὰς τροπὰς ἤδη συνῆπτε τὸν καιρόν· ὁμίχλην δὲ
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλὴν ἀναδιδόντος πρῶτον μὲν
 ἀπεκρύπτετο ζόφῳ τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ σύνοπτον οὐδὲν
 ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πλὴν ἡχὴ τις ἄκριτος καὶ
 συμμιγῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐχώρει πρόσωθεν
 2 ἀνισταμένης στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης. ὥς δ' ἀναβάντες
 ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἕστησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ θέμενοι
 τὰς ἀσπίδας διανεπαύοντο, τοῦ ἡλίου περιφερο-
 μένου καὶ μετεωρίζοντος τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, ὁ μὲν
 θολερὸς ἀὴρ ἀθροιζόμενος πρὸς τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ
 συνιστάμενος κατενέφωσε τὰς ἀκρωρείας, τῶν δὲ
 ὑπὸ πόδας τόπων ἀνακαθαιρομένων ὅ τε Κρίμησος
 ἐξεφάνη καὶ διαβαίνοντες αὐτὸν ὥφθησαν οἱ
 πολέμιοι, πρῶτοις μὲν τοῖς τεθρίπποις ἐκπληκτι-
 κῶς πρὸς ἀγῶνα κατεσκευασμένοις, κατόπιν δὲ
 3 τούτων μυρίοις ὀπλίταις λευκάσπισι. τούτους
 ἐτεκμαίροντο Καρχηδονίους εἶναι τῇ λαμπρότητι
 τῆς σκευῆς καὶ τῇ βραδυτῇτι καὶ τάξει τῆς

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ditionally sacred in their country. For at that time parsley was still used for wreaths at the Isthmian, as it is now at the Nemean games, and it was not long ago that the pine came into use instead. Accordingly, when Timoleon had addressed his soldiers, as I have said, he took of the parsley and crowned himself with it first, and then the captains and the common soldiers about him did the same. Moreover, the soothsayers, observing two eagles coming up on the wing, one of which bore a serpent pierced with its talons, while the other flew with a loud and inspiring cry, pointed them out to the soldiers, and all betook themselves to invoking the gods with prayers.

XXVII. Now, the season of the year was early summer, the month of Thargelion was drawing to a close, and the summer solstice was near;¹ the river exhaled a thick mist which at first hid the plain in darkness, and nothing could be seen in the enemy's camp, only an inarticulate and confused noise made its way up to the hill, showing that the vast host was moving forward. But after the Corinthians had ascended the hill, where they stopped, laid down their shields, and rested themselves, the sun was passing the meridian and drawing the vapours on high, the thick haze moved in masses towards the heights and hung in clouds about the mountain summits, while the regions below cleared up, the Crimesus came into view, and the enemy were seen crossing it, in the van their four-horse chariots formidably arrayed for battle, and behind these ten thousand men-at-arms with white shields. These the Corinthians conjectured to be Carthaginians, from the splendour of their armour and the slowness

¹ It was early in June, 339 B.C.

πορείας. μετὰ δὲ τούτους τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιρρεόντων καὶ τὴν διάβασιν μετ' ὠθισμοῦ καὶ ταραχῆς ποιουμένων, συνιδὼν ὁ Τιμολέων τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοῖς ταμιεύοντα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολαβεῖν ὅσοις ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοὶ μάχεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καθορᾶν κελεύσας τὴν φάλαγγα τῇ ρείθρῳ διαλελυμένην καὶ τοὺς
 4 μὲν ἤδη διαβεβηκότας, τοὺς δὲ μέλλοντας, προσέταξε Δημαρέτῳ λαβόντι τοὺς ἵππεις ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καὶ συνταράξαι τὸν διάκοσμον αὐτῶν τῆς παρατάξεως οὕτω καθεστῶσης. αὐτὸς δὲ καταβὰς εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τὰ μὲν κέρατα τοῖς ἄλλοις Σικελιώταις ἀπέδωκεν, ἀναμίξας ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ξένων οὐ πολλούς, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν λαβὼν τοὺς Συρακουσίους καὶ τὸ μαχιμώτατον τῶν μισθοφόρων βραχὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέσχε
 5 τὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀποθεωρῶν ἔργον, ὥς δὲ ἐκείνους εἶδεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων πρὸ τῆς τάξεως διαθεόντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις οὐ δυναμένους, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ συνταραχθεῖεν ἀναγκαζομένους ἐξελίττειν συνεχῶς καὶ πυκνὰς ἐξ ἐπιστροφῆς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐπελάσεις, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ βοήσας ἔπεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἔδοξεν ὑπερφυεῖ φωνῇ καὶ μείζονι κεχρῆσθαι τῆς συνήθους, εἴτε τῷ πάθει παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν οὕτω διατεινόμενος, εἴτε δαιμονίου τινός, ὥς τοῖς πολλοῖς τότε παρέστη, συνεπι-
 6 φθεγξαμένου. ταχὺ δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν ἀνταποδόντων, καὶ παρεγγύωντων ἄγειν καὶ μὴ μέλλειν,

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and good order of their march. After these the other nations streamed on and were making the crossing in tumultuous confusion. Then Timoleon, noticing that the river was putting it in their power to cut off and engage with whatever numbers of the enemy they themselves desired, and bidding his soldiers observe that the phalanx of the enemy was sundered by the river, since some of them had already crossed, while others were about to do so, ordered Demaretus to take the horsemen and fall upon the Carthaginians and throw their ranks into confusion before their array was yet formed. Then he himself, descending into the plain, assigned the wings to the other Sicilian Greeks, uniting a few of his mercenaries with each wing, while he took the Syracusans and the best fighters among his mercenaries under his own command in the centre. Then he waited a little while, watching what his horsemen would do, and when he saw that they were unable to come to close quarters with the Carthaginians on account of the chariots which coursed up and down in front of their lines, but were forced to wheel about continually that their ranks might not be broken, and to make their charges in quick succession after facing about again, he took up his shield and shouted to his infantrymen to follow and be of good courage; and his voice seemed stronger than usual and more than human, whether it was from emotion that he made it so loud, in view of the struggle and the enthusiasm which it inspired, or whether, as most felt at the time, some deity joined in his utterance. Then, his men re-echoing his shout, and begging him to lead them on without delay, he signalled to

τοῖς μὲν ἵπποταῖς ἐσήμανεν ἔξω παρὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἀρμάτων παρελᾶσαι καὶ κατὰ κέρας προσφέρεισθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς προμάχους πυκνώσας τῷ συνασπισμῷ, καὶ τὴν σάλπιγγα κελεύσας ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι, προσέβαλε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.

- XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐπιδρομὴν ὑπέστησαν ἐρρωμένως, καὶ τῷ καταπεφράχθαι τὰ σώματα σιδηροῖς θώραξι καὶ χαλκοῖς κράνεσιν ἀσπίδας τε μεγάλας προβεβλήσθαι διεκρούοντο τὸν δορατισμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ξίφη συνῆλθεν ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ τέχνης οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ῥώμης ἐγεγόνει τὸ ἔργον, ἐξαίφνης ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν βρονταὶ τε φοβεραὶ κατερρήγνυντο καὶ πυρώδεις ἀστραπαὶ συνεξέ-
- 2 πιπτον. εἴτα ὁ περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ζόφος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην κατιών, ὄμβρῳ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ χαλᾶξη συμμεμιγμένος, τοῖς μὲν "Ἑλλησιν ἐξόπισθεν καὶ κατὰ νώτου περιεχεῖτο, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἔτυπτε τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ κατήσπραπτε τὰς ὄψεις, ἅμα λαίλαπος ὑγρᾶς καὶ φλογὸς συνεχοῦς ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν φερομένης. ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν ἦν τὰ λυποῦντα, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀπείρους, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ βλάψαι δοκοῦσιν αἱ βρονταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὁ πάταγος κοπτομένων ὕδατι ραγδαίῳ καὶ χαλᾶξη, κωλύων ἀκούεσθαι τὰ
- 3 προστάγματα τῶν ἡγεμόνων. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις οὐκ οὖσιν εὐζώνοις τὸν ὀπλισμόν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καταπεφραγμένοις, ὃ τε πηλὸς ἐμπόδιος ἦν οἷ τε κόλποι πληρούμενοι τῶν χιτῶνων ὕδατος, ὥσθ' αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα χρῆσθαι βαρεῖς ἦσαν καὶ δύσεργοι, ῥάδιοι δὲ τοῖς "Ἑλλησι περιτρέπεσθαι, καὶ πεσόντες ἀμήχανοι

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his horsemen to ride along outside and past the line of chariots and attack the enemy on the flank, while he himself made his vanguard lock their shields in close array, ordered the trumpet to sound the charge, and fell upon the Carthaginians.

XXVIII. But these withstood his first onset sturdily, and owing to the iron breastplates and bronze helmets with which their persons were protected, and the great shields which they held in front of them, repelled the spear thrusts. But when the struggle came to swords and the work required skill no less than strength, suddenly, from the hills, fearful peals of thunder crashed down, and vivid flashes of lightning darted forth with them. Then the darkness hovering over the hills and mountain summits came down to the field of battle, mingled with rain, wind, and hail. It enveloped the Greeks from behind and smote their backs, but it smote the Barbarians in the face and dazzled their eyes, a tempest of rain and continuous flames dashing from the clouds. In all this there was much that gave distress, and most of all to the inexperienced; and particularly, as it would seem, the peals of thunder worked harm, and the clatter of the armour smitten by the dashing rain and hail, which made it impossible to hear the commands of the leaders. Besides, since the Carthaginians were not lightly equipped, but, as I have said, encased in armour, both the mud and the bosoms of their tunics filled with water impeded them, so that they were unwieldy and ineffective in their fighting, and easily upset by the Greeks, and when they had once fallen it was impossible for them to rise again from

- 4 πάλιν ἐκ πηλοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναστῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κρίμησος ὑπὸ τῶν διαβαινόντων ἐκλύσθη μέγας ἤδη τοῖς ὄμβροις ἠϋξημένος, καὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολλὰς συναγκείας καὶ φάραγας ὑποκείμενον ἐπίμπλατο ῥευμάτων οὐ κατὰ πόρον φερομένων, οἷς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καλινδούμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττον. τέλος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπικειμένου, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν πρώτην τάξιν αὐτῶν, ἄνδρας τετρακοσίους, καταβαλόντων, ἐτράπη τὸ πλῆθος εἰς φυγὴν. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο, πολλοὺς δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοῖς ἔτι περαιουμένοις συμπίπτοντας ἐμβάλλων καὶ παραφέρων ἀπώλλυε, πλείστους δὲ τῶν λόφων ἐφιεμένους ἐπιθέοντες οἱ ψилоὶ κατειργάσαντο. λέγονται γοῦν ἐν μυρίοις νεκροῖς τρισχίλιοι Καρχηδονίων γενέσθαι, μέγα τῇ πόλει πένθος. οὔτε γὰρ γένεσιν οὔτε πλούτοις οὔτε δόξαις ἕτεροι βελτίονες ἦσαν ἐκείνων, οὔτ' ἀποθανόντας ποτὲ μιᾷ μάχῃ πρότερον ἐξ αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων τοσούτους μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ Λίβυσι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ Ἰβηρσι καὶ Νομάσι χρώμενοι πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἀλλοτρίαις βλάβαις ἀνεδέχοντο τὰς ἥττας.
- 6

XXIX. Ἐγνώσθη δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἡ δόξα τῶν πεσόντων ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων. ἐλάχιστος γὰρ ἦν χαλκῶν καὶ σιδηρῶν τοῖς σκυλεύουσι λόγος· οὕτως ἄφθονος μὲν ἦν ἄργυρος, ἄφθονος δὲ χρυσός. καὶ γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων διαβάντες ἔλαβον. τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεκλάπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἰς δὲ κοινὸν ἀπεδείχθησαν πεντακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος· ἦλω δὲ καὶ διακόσια τῶν

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the mud with their weapons. For the Crimesus, having been already greatly swollen by the rains, was forced over its banks by those who were crossing it, and the adjacent plain, into which many glens and ravines opened from the hills, was filled with streams that hurried along no fixed channels, and in these the Carthaginians wallowed about and were hard beset. Finally, the storm still assailing them, and the Greeks having overthrown their first rank of four hundred men, the main body was put to flight. Many were overtaken in the plain and cut to pieces, and many the river dashed upon and carried away to destruction as they encountered those who were still trying to cross, but most of them the light-armed Greeks ran upon and despatched as they were making for the hills. At any rate, it is said that among ten thousand dead bodies, three thousand were those of Carthaginians—a great affliction for the city. For no others were superior to these in birth or wealth or reputation, nor is it recorded that so many native Carthaginians ever perished in a single battle before, but they used Libyans for the most part and Iberians and Numidians for their battles, and thus sustained their defeats at the cost of other nations.

XXIX. The rank of those who had fallen was made known to the Greeks from the spoils. For those who stripped the bodies made very little account of bronze and iron; so abundant was silver, so abundant gold. For they crossed the river and seized the camp with its baggage-trains. As for the prisoners, most of them were stolen away and hidden by the soldiers, but as many as five thousand were delivered into the public stock; there were also

2 τεθρίππων. καλλίστην δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ὄψιν ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἐπεδείκνυτο σκηνὴν περισωρευθεῖσα παντοδαποῖς λαφύροις, ἐν οἷς χίλιοι μὲν θώρακες ἐργασία καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες, μύρια δὲ ἀσπίδες προετέθησαν. ὀλίγοι δὲ πολλοὺς σκυλεύοντες καὶ μεγάλαις ἐντυγχάνοντες ὠφελείαις τρίτῃ μόλις ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔστησαν τρόπαιον.

• Ἀμα δὲ τῇ φήμῃ τῆς νίκης ὁ Τιμόλεων εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπεμψε τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅπλων, βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα πᾶσιν
3 ἀνθρώποις ζηλωτὴν εἶναι, θεωμένοις ἐν ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ναοὺς οὐχ Ἑλληνικοῖς κεκοσμημένους λαφύροις οὐδ' ἀπὸ συγγενῶν φόνου καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἀναθημάτων μνήμας ἀτερπεῖς ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικὰ σκῦλα καλλίσταις ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντα μετὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῶν νενικηκότων τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τιμόλεων ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐλευθερώσαντες τοὺς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων χαριστήρια θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν.

XXX. Ἐκ τούτου καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἄγοντας καὶ φέροντας τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπικράτειαν, αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς Συρακούσας· καὶ τοὺς χιλίους μισθοφόρους ἐκείνους, ὑφ' ὧν ἐγκατελείφθη πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἐξεκήρυξε τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ πρὶν ἢ δύναι τὸν ἥλιον ἡνάγει
2 κασεν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν ἀπελθεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν διαπλεύσαντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπώλοντο παρασπονδηθέντες ὑπὸ Βρεττίων, καὶ δίκην ταύτην τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπέθηκε.

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captured two hundred of the four-horse chariots. But the most glorious and magnificent sight was presented by the tent of Timoleon, which was heaped about with all sorts of spoils, among which a thousand breast-plates of superior workmanship and beauty and ten thousand shields were exposed to view. And as there were but few to strip many, and the booty they came upon was great, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect their trophy.

Along with the report of his victory Timoleon sent to Corinth the most beautiful of the captured armour, wishing that his own native city should be envied of all men, when in her alone of Greek cities they saw the most conspicuous temples, not adorned with Greek spoils, nor possessed of joyless memorials in the shape of votive offerings from the slaughter of kinsmen and fellow citizens, but decked with barbarian spoils which set forth in fairest inscriptions the justice as well as the valour of the victors, declaring that Corinthians and Timoleon their general set the Greeks dwelling in Sicily free from Carthaginians, and thus dedicated thank-offerings to the gods.

XXX. After this, he left his mercenaries in the enemy's territory plundering the dominion of the Carthaginians, and went himself to Syracuse; there he ordered out of Sicily the thousand mercenaries by whom he had been deserted before the battle, and compelled them to depart from Syracuse before the sun went down. These, then, after crossing into Italy, were perfidiously slain by the Bruttians, thus receiving from the divine power a penalty for

τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάμερκον, τὸν Κατάνης τύραν- 251
νον, καὶ Ἰκέτην, εἴτε φθόνῳ τῶν κατορθουμένων
ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος, εἴτε φοβουμένων αὐτὸν ὡς
ἄπιστον καὶ ἄσπονδον πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους, συμ-
μαχίαν ποιησαμένων πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους
καὶ κελυσάντων πέμπειν δύναμιν καὶ στρατη-
γόν, εἰ μὴ παντάπασι βούλονται Σικελίας ἐκ-
3 πεσεῖν, ἔπλευσε Γέσκων ναῦς μὲν ἔχων ἑβδομή-
κοιντα, μισθοφόρους δὲ προσλαβὼν Ἕλληνας,
οὕτω πρότερον Ἕλλησι χρησαμένων Καρχη-
δονίων, ἀλλὰ τότε θαυμασάντων ὡς ἀνυπο-
στάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.
συστάντες δὲ κοινῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἅπαντες ἐν τῇ
Μεσσηνίᾳ τετρακοσίους τῶν παρὰ Τιμολέοντος
ξένων ἐπικούρους πεμφθέντας ἀπέκτειναν, ἐν
δὲ τῇ Καρχηδονίῳ ἐπικρατεία περὶ τὰς καλου-
μένας Ἰετὰς ἐνεδρεύσαντες τοὺς μετ' Εὐθύμου
4 τοῦ Λευκαδίου μισθοφόρους διέφθειραν. ἐξ ὧν
καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίαν συνέβη
γενέσθαι διώνυμον. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν
μετὰ Φιλομήλου τοῦ Φωκέως καὶ Ὀνομάρχου
Δελφούς καταλαβόντων καὶ μετασχόντων ἐκείνοις
τῆς ἱεροσυλίας. μισούντων δὲ πάντων αὐτοὺς
καὶ φυλαττομένων ἐπαράτους γεγονότας, πλανώ-
μενοι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος
ἐλήφθησαν ἐτέρων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ εὐποροῦντος.
5 ἀφικόμενοι δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν ὅσας μὲν ἐκείνῳ
συνηγωνίσαντο μάχας πάσας ἐνίκων, τῶν δὲ
πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγώνων τέλος ἐχόντων

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their treachery. Mamercus, however, the tyrant of Catana, and Hicetas, whether through envy of the successes won by Timoleon, or because they feared him as one who distrusted tyrants and would make no peace with them, formed an alliance with the Carthaginians and urged them to send a general with an army if they did not wish to be cast out of Sicily altogether. Accordingly, Gisco set sail¹ with a fleet of seventy ships, and added Greek mercenaries to his forces, although the Carthaginians had never before employed Greek soldiers; they did so at this time, however, because they had come to admire them as the best and most irresistible fighters in the world. After they had all united their forces in the territory of Messina, they slew four hundred of Timoleon's mercenaries who had been sent thither as auxiliaries, and in that part of the island belonging to the Carthaginians, near the place called Ietae, they set an ambush for the mercenaries under Euthymus the Leucadian and cut them to pieces. Herein even most of all did the good fortune of Timoleon become famous. For these were some of the men who, with Philomelus the Phocian and Onomarchus, had seized Delphi and shared in their spoliation of the sanctuary.² Then, since all mankind hated them and shunned them as men who had put themselves under a curse, they wandered about Peloponnesus, where they were enlisted in his service by Timoleon, in the dearth of other soldiers. And after coming into Sicily, they were victorious in all the battles which they fought under his leadership, but when the most and greatest of his

¹ In the spring of 338 B.C.

² This was at the beginning of the second so-called Sacred War, 356 B.C.

ἐκπεμπόμενοι πρὸς ἑτέρας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας ἀπώλοντο καὶ καταναλώθησαν, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρος, τῆς Δίκης αὐτοῖς ἀπολογουμένης τῇ Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπιτιθεμένης¹ ὅπως μηδεμία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κακῶν κολάσεως βλάβη γένηται. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Τιμολέοντα τῶν θεῶν εὐμένειαν οὐχ ἥττον ἐν αἷς προσέκρουσε πράξειςιν ἢ περὶ αὐς κατώρθου θαυμάζεσθαι συνέβαινε.

XXXI. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐχαλέπαινον ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων προπηλακίζόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάμερκος ἐπὶ τῷ ποιήματι γράφειν καὶ τραγωδίας μέγα φρονῶν ἐκόμπαζε νικῆσας τοὺς μισθοφόρους, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναθεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς ἐλεγείον ὑβριστικὸν ἐπέγραψε·

Τάσδ' ὅστρειογραφεῖς καὶ χρυσελεφαντηλέκτρος
ἀσπίδας ἀσπιδίοις εἴλομεν εὐτελέσι.

- 2 γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος εἰς Καλαυρίαν στρατεύσαντος, ὁ Ἰκέτης ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Συρακουσίαν λείαν τε συχνὴν ἔλαβε καὶ πολλὰ λυμηνάμενος καὶ καθυβρίσας ἀπηλλάττετο παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Καλαυρίαν, καταφρονῶν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ὀλίγους στρατιώτας ἔχοντος. ἐκεῖνος δὲ προλαβεῖν ἑάσας ἐδίωκεν ἱππεῖς ἔχων καὶ ψιλούς. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰκέτης τὸν Δαμυρίαν διαβεβηκῶς ὑπέστη παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀμυνόμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ θάρσος ἦ τε τοῦ πόρου χαλεπότης καὶ τὸ κρημνῶδες τῆς ἐκατέρω-
- 3 θεν ὄχθης παρείχε. τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος

¹ τῆς Δίκης . . . ἐπιτιθεμένης Sintenis, with the MSS. The corrupt passage is variously emended by different editors.

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struggles were over, they were sent out by him to the assistance of others, and then perished utterly, not all at one time, but little by little. And Justice thus punished them, while at the same time she sustained the good fortune of Timoleon, in order that no harm might come to the good from the chastisement of the wicked. So, then, the good will of the gods towards Timoleon was no less to be admired in his reverses than in his successes.

XXXI. But the people of Syracuse were vexed at the insults heaped upon them by the tyrants. For Mamercus, who valued himself highly as a writer of poems and tragedies, boasted of his victory over the mercenaries, and in dedicating their shields to the gods wrote the following insolent couplet:—

“These bucklers, purple-painted, decked with
ivory, gold, and amber,
We captured with our simple little shields.”

And after this, when Timoleon was on an expedition to Calauria, Hicetas burst into the territory of Syracuse, took much booty, wrought much wanton havoc, and was marching off past Calauria itself, despising Timoleon, who had but few soldiers. But Timoleon suffered him to pass on, and then pursued him with cavalry and light-armed troops. When Hicetas was aware of this, he crossed the river Damurias, and halted on the farther bank to defend himself; for the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of the banks on either side, gave him courage. Then

ἰλάρχαις ἔρις ἐμπεσοῦσα θαυμαστὴ καὶ φιλονεικία διατριβὴν ἐποίει τῆς μάχης. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ὁ βουλόμενος ἐτέρου διαβαίνειν ὕστερος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἡξίου πρωταγωνιστεῖν, καὶ κόσμον οὐκ εἶχεν ἢ διάβασις ἐξωθούντων καὶ παρατρεχόντων ἀλλήλους. βουλόμενος οὖν ὁ Τιμολέων κληρῶσαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔλαβε παρ' ἑκάστου δακτύλιον· ἐμβαλὼν δὲ πάντας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα καὶ μίξας ἔδειξε τὸν πρῶτον κατὰ τύχην γλυφὴν ἔχοντα τῆς σφραγίδος τρόπαιον. ὥς δὲ τοῦτον εἶδον οἱ νεανίσκοι, μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνακραγόντες οὐκ ἔτι τὸν ἄλλον ὑπέμειναν κληρον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχε τὸν ποταμὸν διεξελάσαντες ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὴν βίαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντες τῶν μὲν ὀπλῶν ἅπαντες ὁμαλῶς ἐστερήθησαν, χιλίους δὲ ἀπέβαλον πεσόντας.

XXXII. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν Λεοντίνων στρατεύσας ὁ Τιμολέων λαμβάνει τὸν Ἰκέτην ζῶντα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Εὐπόλεμον καὶ τὸν ἱππάρχην Εὐθυμον, ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνδεθέντας καὶ κομισθέντας πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰκέτης καὶ τὸ μεράκιον ὡς τύραννοι καὶ προδόται κολασθέντες ἀπέθνησκον, ὁ δ' Εὐθυμος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων, οὐκ ἔτυχεν οἴκτου διὰ βλασφημίαν τινὰ πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους κατηγορηθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι τῶν Κορινθίων ἐκστρατευσαμένων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς Λεοντίνοις οὐδὲν ἔφη γεγονέναι φοβερόν οὐδὲ δεινόν, εἰ

Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες ἐξῆλθον δόμων.

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among Timoleon's cavalry officers an astonishing strife and contention arose which delayed the battle. For not one of them was willing to cross the river against the enemy after another, but each demanded to begin the onset himself, and their crossing was likely to be without order if they crowded and tried to run past one another. Timoleon, therefore, wishing to decide their order by lot, took a seal-ring from each of the leaders, and after casting all the rings into his own cloak and mixing them up, he showed the first that came out, and it had by chance as the device of its seal a trophy of victory. When the young men saw it, they cried aloud for joy and would no longer wait for the rest of the lot, but all dashed through the river as fast as they could and closed with the enemy. These could not withstand the violence of their onset, but fled, all alike losing their arms, and a thousand being left dead on the field.

XXXII. Not long afterwards Timoleon made an expedition into the territory of Leontini and captured Hicetas alive, together with his son Eupolemus and his master of horse Euthymus, who were bound and brought to Timoleon by his soldiers. Hicetas, then, and his young son, were punished as tyrants and traitors and put to death, and Euthymus, though a brave man in action and of surpassing boldness, found no pity because of a certain insult to the Corinthians which was alleged against him. It is said, namely, that when the Corinthians had taken the field against them, Euthymus told the men of Leontini in a public harangue that it was nothing fearful or dreadful if

“Corinthian women came forth from their homes.”¹

An adaptation of Euripides, *Medeia*, 215 (Kirchhoff), where Medea speaks to the chorus in the first person.

οὕτως ὑπὸ λόγων μᾶλλον ἢ πράξεων πονηρῶν ἀνιᾶσθαι πεφύκασιν οἱ πολλοί· χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ὕβριν ἢ βλάβην φέρουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι δι' ἔργων ὡς ἀναγκαῖον δέδοται τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ βλασφημίαι περιουσία μίσους ἢ κακίας γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν.

XXXIII. Ἐπανελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος οἱ Συρακούσιοι τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰκέτην καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καταστήσαντες εἰς κρίσιν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τῶν Τιμολέοντος ἔργων ἀχαριστότατον γενέσθαι· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνου κωλύοντος οὕτως τὰς ἀνθρώπους
2 ἀποθανεῖν. δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ προ-
έσθαι τῷ θυμῷ τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην λαμβανόντων ὑπὲρ Δίωνος τοῦ Διονύσιον ἐκβαλόντος. Ἰκέτης γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Δίωνος Ἀρέτην καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀριστομάχην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔτι παῖδα καταποντίσας ζῶντας, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ Δίωνος γέγραπται βίῳ.

XXXIV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Μάμερκον εἰς Κατάνην καὶ περὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τὴν Ἀβολὸν ἐκ παρατάξεως ὑποστάντα νικήσας καὶ τρεψάμενος ὑπὲρ δισχιλίους ἀνεῖλεν, ὧν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Γέσκωνος ἐπικούροι Φοίνικες. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν εἰρήνην ἐποίησαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν δεηθέντες, ὥστε τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Λύκου χώραν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις¹ ἐξ αὐτῆς μετοικεῖν πρὸς Συρακούσιους χρήματα καὶ γενεὰς ἀποδιδόντες, καὶ τοῖς

¹ τοῖς βουλομένοις Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker, after Reiske (with AC): τοὺς βουλομένους. Coraës and Bekker bracket the preceding καί.

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So natural is it for most men to be more galled by bitter words than hostile acts; since insolence is harder for them to bear than injury. Besides, defensive acts are tolerated in an enemy as a necessary right, but insults are thought to spring from an excess of hatred or baseness.

XXXIII. After Timoleon had returned, the Syracusans brought the wives and daughters of Hicetas and his friends to public trial, and then put them to death. And this would seem to have been the most displeasing thing in Timoleon's career; for if he had opposed it, the women would not have been thus put to death. But apparently he neglected them and abandoned them to the wrath of the citizens, who were bent on taking vengeance in behalf of Dion, who drove out Dionysius. For Hicetas was the man who took Arete the wife of Dion, and Aristomache his sister, and his son, who was still a boy, and threw them into the sea alive, concerning which things I have written in my *Life of Dion*.¹

XXXIV. After this, Timoleon made an expedition against Mamercus to Catana, conquered and routed him in a pitched battle near the stream of the Abolus, and slew above two thousand of his soldiers, a large part of whom were the Carthaginians sent him as auxiliaries by Gisco. Thereupon the Carthaginians made a peace with him which they sought themselves; the terms were that they should keep the territory within the river Lycus, restoring their families and property to all who wished to change their homes from there to Syracuse, and renouncing

¹ Chapter lviii. 4.

- 2 τυράννοις ἀπειπάμενοι τὴν συμμαχίαν. Μάμερκος δὲ δυσθυμῶν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔπλει μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὥς Λευκανοὺς ἐπάξων Τιμολέοντι καὶ Συρακουσίοις, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποστρέψαντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ πλεύσαντες εἰς Σικελίαν τῷ Τιμολέοντι τὴν Κατάνην παρέδωκαν, ἀναγκασθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Μεσσήνην κατέφυγε πρὸς Ἴππωνα
- 3 τὸν τυραννοῦντα τῆς πόλεως. ἐπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιορκούντος ἕκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ὁ μὲν Ἴππων ἀποδιδράσκων ἐπὶ νεῶς ἦλω, καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλείων ὥς ἐπὶ θέαμα κάλλιστον τὴν τοῦ τυράννου τιμωρίαν ἀγαγόντες εἰς θέατρον, ἠκίσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν· ὁ δὲ Μάμερκος ἑαυτὸν Τιμολέοντι παρέδωκεν ἐπὶ τῷ δίκῃν ὑποσχεῖν ἐν Συρακουσίοις μὴ
- 4 κατηγοροῦντος Τιμολέοντος. ἀχθεὶς δὲ εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπεχειρεῖ μὲν τινα συγκείμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ λόγον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διεξιέναι, θορύβοις δὲ περιπίπτων καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὀρῶν ἀπαραίτητον ἔθει ρίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον διὰ μέσου τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ πρὸς τι τῶν βάθρων δρόμῳ φερόμενος συνέρρηξε τὴν κεφαλὴν ὥς ἀποθανούμενος. οὐ μὲν ἔτυχέ γε ταύτης τῆς τελευτῆς, ἀλλ' ἔτι ζῶν ἀπαχθεὶς ἦν περ οἱ ληστὰι δίκην ἔδωκε.

XXXV. Τὰς μὲν οὖν τυραννίδας ὁ Τιμολέων τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἔλυσεν· τὴν δὲ ὅλην νῆσον ἐξηγριωμένην ὑπὸ κακῶν καὶ διαμεμισσημένην ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων παραλαβὼν οὕτως ἐξημέρωσε καὶ ποθεινὴν ἐποίησε πᾶσιν ὥστε πλεῖν οἰκήσοντας ἐτέρους ὅθεν οἱ 253

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their alliance with the tyrants. Then Mamercus, despairing of success, took ship for Italy with the purpose of bringing the Lucanians against Timoleon and Syracuse; but his companions on the voyage turned their triremes back, sailed to Sicily, and handed Catana over to Timoleon, whereupon Mamercus himself also was compelled to seek refuge in Messana with Hippo the tyrant of that city. But Timoleon came up against them and besieged them by land and sea, and Hippo was caught as he was trying to steal away on board a ship. Then the Messanians took him into the theatre, brought their children thither from their schools to behold, as a glorious spectacle, the tyrant's punishment, and put him to torment and death. As for Mamercus, he gave himself up to Timoleon on condition that he should undergo trial at Syracuse, and that Timoleon should not denounce him. So he was brought to Syracuse, and when he came before the people, attempted to rehearse a speech composed by him a long time before; but being received with noise and clamour, and seeing that the assembly was inexorable, he flung away his mantle, ran right across the theatre, and dashed head foremost against one of the stone steps, hoping to kill himself. However, he was not so fortunate as to die in this way, but was taken away, still living, and crucified like a robber.

XXXV. In this manner, then, did Timoleon extirpate the tyrannies and put a stop to their wars. He found the whole island reduced to a savage state by its troubles and hated by its inhabitants, but he made it so civilized and so desirable in the eyes of all men that others came by sea to dwell in the

- 2 πολῖται πρότερον ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ γὰρ Ἀκρά-
γαντα καὶ Γέλαν, πόλεις μεγάλας μετὰ τὸν
Ἀττικὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἀναστάτους
γεγεννημένας, τότε κατώκισαν, τὴν μὲν οἱ περὶ
Μέγελλον καὶ Φέριστον ἐξ Ἑλέας, τὴν δὲ οἱ
περὶ Γόργον ἐκ Κέω πλεύσαντες καὶ συναγαγόντες
τοὺς ἀρχαίους πολίτας· οἷς οὐ μόνον ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ
πολέμου τοσούτου καὶ γαλήνην ἰδρυομένοις παρα-
σχών, ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευάσας καὶ συμ-
- 3 προθυμηθεὶς ὥσπερ οἰκιστὴς ἡγαπάτο. καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων δὲ διακειμένων ὁμοίως ἀπάντων πρὸς
αὐτόν, οὐ πολέμου τις λύσις, οὐ νόμων θέσις, οὐ
χώρας κατοικισμός, οὐ πολιτείας διάταξις ἐδόκει
καλῶς ἔχειν, ἥς ἐκεῖνος μὴ προσάψαιτο μηδὲ
κατακοσμήσειεν, ὥσπερ ἔργῳ συντελουμένῳ
δημιουργὸς ἐπιθεῖς τινα χάριν θεοφιλῇ καὶ
πρέπουσαν.

XXXVI. Πολλῶν γοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων
μεγάλων γενομένων καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασαμένων,
ὧν καὶ Τιμόθεος ἦν καὶ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ Πελο-
πίδας καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ζηλωθεὶς ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος
Ἐπαμεινώνδας, αἱ μὲν ἐκείνων πράξεις βία τινὶ
καὶ πόνῳ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐξενηνόχασι μεμιγμένον,
ὥστε καὶ μέμψιν ἐνίαις ἐπιγίνεσθαι καὶ μετάνοιαν,
τῶν δὲ Τιμολέοντος ἔργων, ἔξω λόγου θεμένοις
τὴν περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνάγκην, οὐδέν ἐστιν ὧ μὴ
τὰ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, ἐπιφωνεῖν
ἔπρεπεν·

ὦ θεοί, τίς ἄρα Κύπρις ἢ τίς ἡμερος
τοῦδε ξυνήψατο;

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places from which their own citizens used to run away before. Agrigentum and Gela, for instance, great cities which had been ruined and depopulated by the Carthaginians after the Attic war, were re-peopled at this time, one by Megellus and Pheristus from Velia, the other by Gorgus, who sailed from Ceos and brought with his company the old citizens. To these settlers Timoleon not only afforded safety and calm after so long a storm of war, but also supplied their further needs and zealously assisted them, so that he was revered by them as a founder. All the other inhabitants also cherished like feelings towards him, and no conclusion of war, no institution of laws, no settlement of territory, no arrangement of civil polity seemed satisfactory, unless he gave the finishing touches to it, like a master builder adding to a work that is drawing to completion some grace which pleases gods and men.

XXXVI. At any rate, though in his time Greece produced many men who were great and wrought great things, such as Timotheus, Agesilaüs, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas (whom Timoleon most emulated), still, the lustre of their achievements was tarnished by a certain degree of violence and laborious effort, so that some of them were followed by censure and repentance; whereas in the career of Timoleon, setting aside his necessary treatment of his brother, there is nothing to which it were not meet, as Timaeus says, to apply the words of Sophocles:—

“Ye Gods, pray tell what Cypris or what winning love

Was partner in this work?”¹

¹ Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 316.

- 2 καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἀντιμάχου ποίησις καὶ τὰ Διονυσίου ζωγραφήματα, τῶν Κολοφωνίων, ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα καὶ τόνον ἐκβεβιασμένοις καὶ καταπόνις ἔοικε, ταῖς δὲ Νικομάχου γραφαῖς καὶ τοῖς Ὀμήρου στίχοις μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως καὶ χάριτος πρόσσεστι τὸ δοκεῖν εὐχερῶς καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπειργάσθαι, οὕτως παρὰ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀγησιλάου, πολυπόνους γενομένας καὶ δυσάγωνα, ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἀντεξεταζομένη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ πολὺ τὸ ῥάδιον ἔχουσα, φαίνεται τοῖς εὖ καὶ δικαίως λογιζομένοις οὐ τύχης
- 3 ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς εὐτυχούσης. καίτοι πάντα γ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν τύχην ἀνῆπτε τὰ κατορθούμενα· καὶ γὰρ γράφων τοῖς οἴκοι φίλοις καὶ δημηγορῶν πρὸς τοὺς Συρακουσίους πολλάκις ἔφη τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὅτι βουλόμενος σῶσαι Σικελίαν ἐπεγράψατο τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος Αὐτοματίας ἔθυεν, αὐτὴν
- 4 δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἱερῷ δαίμονι καθιέρωσεν. ὥκει δὲ οἰκίαν ἦν ἐξεῖλον αὐτῷ στρατηγίας ἀριστεῖον οἱ Συρακούσιοι, καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν τὸν ἡδιστον καὶ κάλλιστον· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου κατεσχόλαξε, μεταπεμψάμενος οἴκοθεν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. οὐ γὰρ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον, οὐδὲ κατέμιξε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς θορύβοις ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ τῷ πολιτικῷ φθόνῳ παρέδωκεν, εἰς ὃν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπληστία τιμῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἐξοκέλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεμηχανημένοις ἀγαθοῖς χρώμενος· ὧν μέγιστον ἦν τὸ πόλεις τοσαύτας καὶ μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δι' ἑαυτὸν ἐφορᾶν εὐδαιμονούσας.

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For just as the poetry of Antimachus and the pictures of Dionysius, both Colophonians, for all their strength and vigour, seem forced and laboured, while the paintings of Nicomachus and the verses of Homer not only have power and grace besides, but also give the impression of having been executed readily and easily; so, if we compare the generalship of Epaminondas and Agesilaüs, which in both cases was full of toil and bitter struggles, with that of Timoleon, which was exercised with much ease as well as glory, it appears to men of just and careful reasoning a product, not of fortune, but of fortunate valour. And yet all his successes were ascribed by him to fortune; for in his letters to his friends at home and in his public addresses to the Syracusans he often said he was thankful to God, who, desiring to save Sicily, gave him the name and title of its saviour. Moreover, in his house he built a shrine for sacrifice to Automatia, or Chance, and the house itself he consecrated to man's sacred genius. And the house in which he dwelt was picked out for him by the Syracusans as a prize for his achievements in the field; they also gave him the pleasantest and most beautiful of their country estates, and at this he used to spend the greater part of his leisure time, after he had sent home for his wife and children. For he did not return to Corinth, nor did he take part in the disturbances of Greece or expose himself to the jealousy of his fellow citizens, the rock on which most generals, in their insatiable greed for honours and power, make shipwreck; but he remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings of his own creation, the greatest of which was the sight of so many cities and myriads of people whose happiness was due to him.

- XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ χρῆν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ μόνον πᾶσι κορυδαλλοῖς λόφον ἐγγίγνεσθαι, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσῃ δημοκρατίᾳ συκοφάντην, ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ Τιμολέοντι δύο τῶν δημαγωγῶν, Λαφύστιος καὶ Δημαίνετος. ὧν Λαφυστίου μὲν αὐτὸν πρὸς τινα δίκην κατεγγυῶντος οὐκ εἶα
 2 θορυβεῖν οὐδὲ κωλύειν τοὺς πολίτας· ἐκὼν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπομεῖναι τοσούτους πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις χρῆσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον Συρακουσίων· τοῦ δὲ Δημαινέτου πολλὰ κατη- 254
 γορήσαντος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς στρατηγίας, πρὸς ἐκείνον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἔφη χάριν ὀφείλειν, οἷς εὖξατο Συρακουσίους ἐπιδεῖν τῆς παρρησίας κυρίους γενομένους.
- 3 Μέγιστα δ' οὖν καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων ὁμολογουμένως διαπραξάμενος ἔργα, καὶ μόνος, ἐφ' ᾗς οἱ σοφισταὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν πανηγυρικῶν αἰεὶ παρεκάλουν πράξεις τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐν ταύταις ἀριστεύσας, καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτόθι κακῶν, ἃ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἑλλάδα κατέσχευεν, ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης προεκκομισθεὶς ἀναίμακτος καὶ καθα-
 4 ρός, ἐπιδειξάμενος δὲ δεινότητα μὲν καὶ ἀνδρείαν τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις, δικαιοσύνην δὲ καὶ πραότητα τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τρόπαια τῶν ἀγώνων ἀδάκρυτα καὶ ἀπενθῆ τοῖς πολίταις καταστήσας, καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ αἰδίων καὶ
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XXXVII. But since, as it would seem, not only all larks must grow a crest, as Simonides says, but also every democracy a false accuser, even Timoleon was attacked by two of the popular leaders at Syracuse, Laphystius and Demaenetus. Of these; Laphystius once tried to make him give surety that he would appear at a certain trial, and Timoleon would not suffer the citizens to stop the man by their turbulent disapproval; for he himself, he said, had of his own accord endured all his toils and dangers in order that any Syracusan who wished might avail himself of the laws. And when the other, Demaenetus, brought many denunciations in open assembly against his conduct in the field, to him, indeed, Timoleon made no answer, but said he owed thanks to the gods, for he had prayed them that he might live to see the Syracusans gain the right of free speech.

So, then, having by general confession performed the greatest and most glorious deeds of any Greek of his time, and having been the only one to succeed in those achievements to which the rhetoricians, in their speeches at the national assemblies, were ever exhorting the Greeks; having been removed betimes by a happy fortune, pure and unstained with blood, from the evils which were rife in the mother country, and having displayed ability and valour in his dealings with Barbarians and tyrants, as well as justice and gentleness in his dealings with the Greeks and his friends; having set up most of the trophies of his contests without causing his fellow citizens either tears or mourning, and having in even less than eight years¹ handed over to her inhabitants a

¹ 346-338 B.C.

συνοίκων κακῶν καὶ νοσημάτων παραδούς τοῖς
 5 κατοικοῦσιν, ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἀπημβλύνθη
 τὴν ὄψιν, εἶτα τελέως ἐπηρώθη μετ' ὀλίγον, οὔτε
 αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ πρόφασιν παρασχὼν οὔτε παροινη-
 θεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ συγγενικῆς τινος, ὡς
 ἔοικεν, αἰτίας καὶ καταβολῆς ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ συν-
 επιθεμένης· λέγονται γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν κατὰ
 γένος αὐτῷ προσηκόντων ὁμοίως ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν
 6 ὄψιν ὑπὸ γήρως ἀπομαρανθεῖσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἄθανις
 ἔτι συνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς Ἰππωνά πολέμου καὶ
 Μάμερκον, ἐν Μυλαῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου φησὶν
 ἀπογλαυκωθῆναι τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι φανε-
 ρὰν γενέσθαι τὴν πῆρωσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποστήναι διὰ
 τοῦτο τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀλλ' ἐμμεΐναντα τῷ πολέ-
 μῳ λαβεῖν τοὺς τυράννους· ὡς δὲ ἐπανήλθεν εἰς
 Συρακούσας, εὐθὺς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν καὶ
 παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς
 τὸ κάλλιστον ἡκόντων τέλος.

XXXVIII. Ἐκείνον μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὑπομείναντα
 τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλύπως ἤττον ἂν τις θαυμάσειε·
 τῶν δὲ Συρακουσίων ἄξιον ἄγασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν
 ἄνδρα τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἣν ἐπεδείξαντο πεπηρω-
 μένῳ, φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτοῖ καὶ τῶν ξένων
 τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ἄγοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ
 τὸ χωρίον, ὅπως θεάσαιντο τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτῶν,
 ἀγαλλόμενοι καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς
 εἴλετο καταζῆσαι τὸν βίον, οὕτω λαμπρᾶς ἐπανό-
 δου τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρεσκευασμένης αὐτῷ
 2 διὰ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καταφρονήσας. πολλῶν
 δὲ καὶ μεγάλων εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν γραφομένων
 καὶ πραττομένων οὐδενὸς ἤττον ἦν τὸ ψηφίσασθαι
 τὸν τῶν Συρακουσίων δῆμον, ὅσάκις συμπέσοι

TIMOLEON

Sicily purged of her perpetual intestine miseries and complaints; at last, being now advanced in years, he began to lose his sight, and then, after a little, became completely blind. He had done nothing himself to occasion this, nor was he therein the sport and mockery of Fortune, but suffered from some congenital disease, as it would seem, which came upon him with his years; for it is said that not a few of his kindred lost their sight in a similar way, when it was enfeebled by old age. But Athanis says that while the war against Hippo and Mamercus was still in progress, in his camp at Mylae, his vision was obscured by a cataract in the eye, and it was plain to all that he was getting blind; he did not, however, desist from the siege on this account, but persisted in the war and captured the tyrants; yet after his return to Syracuse, he at once laid aside the sole command and begged the citizens to excuse him from it, now that matters had reached the happiest conclusion.

XXXVIII. Well, then, that he himself should bear his misfortune without repining is less a matter for wonder; but the gratitude and honour which the Syracusans showed him in his blindness are worthy of admiration. They often went to visit him in person, and brought strangers who were sojourning in the city to his house and to his country seat to see their benefactor, exulting and proud that he chose to end his days among them and thus made light of the brilliant return to Greece which had been prepared for him by reason of his successes. And of the many great things decreed and done in his honour, nothing surpassed the vote passed by the people of Syracuse that whenever they went to war against alien peoples,

πόλεμος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἄλλοφύλους, Κορινθίῳ χρήσθαι στρατηγῷ. καλὴν δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας γινόμενον ὄψιν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ παρεῖχε· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα δι' αὐτῶν κρίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰς μείζονας
 3 διασκέψεις ἐκείνουν ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ κομιζόμενος δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ ζεύγους πρὸς τὸ θέατρον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῆς ἀπήνης, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε καθήμενος, εἰσαγομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἡσπάζετο μιᾷ φωνῇ προσαγορεύων αὐτόν, ὁ δ' ἀντασπασάμενος καὶ χρόνον τινὰ δούς ταῖς εὐφημίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, εἶτα διακούσας τὸ ζητούμενον, ἀπεφαίνετο γνώμην. ἐπιχειροτονηθείσης δὲ ταύτης οἱ μὲν ὑπηρεταὶ πάλιν ἀπήγον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου τὸ ζεῦγος, οἱ δὲ πολῖται βοῇ καὶ κρότῳ προπέμψαντες ἐκείνουν ἤδη τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δημοσίων καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐχρημάτιζον.

XXXIX. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ γηροτροφούμενος τιμῇ μετ' εὐνοίας, ὥσπερ πατήρ κοινός, ἐκ μικρᾶς προφάσεως τῷ χρόνῳ συνεφασαμένης ἐτελεύτησεν. ἡμερῶν δὲ δοθεισῶν τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις εἰς τὸ παρασκευάσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν, τοῖς δὲ περιόικοις καὶ ξένοις εἰς τὸ συνελθεῖν, τὰ τ' ἄλλα λαμπρᾶ χορηγίας ἔτυχε, καὶ τὸ λέχος οἱ ψήφῳ τῶν νεανίσκων προκριθέντες ἔφερον κεκοσμημένον διὰ τῶν Διονυσίου τυραννείων τότε κατεσκαμμένων.
 2 προὔπεμπον δὲ πολλὰι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ὧν ὄψις μὲν ἦν ἐορτῇ πρέπουσα, πάντων ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ καθαρὰς ἐσθῆτας φορούντων, φωναὶ δὲ καὶ δάκρυα συγκεκραμένα τῷ μακα-

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they would employ a Corinthian as their general. Moreover, the proceedings in their assemblies afforded a noble spectacle in his honour, since, while they decided other matters by themselves, for the more important deliberations they summoned him. Then he would proceed to the theatre carried through the market place on a mule-car; and when the vehicle in which he sat was brought in, the people would greet him with one voice and call him by name, and he, after returning their greetings and allowing some time for their felicitations and praises, would then listen carefully to the matter under debate and pronounce opinion. And when this opinion had been adopted, his retainers would conduct his car back again through the theatre, and the citizens, after sending him on his way with shouts of applause, would proceed at once to transact the rest of the public business by themselves.

XXXIX. Cherished in old age amid such honour and good will, like a common father, a slight cause co-operated with his great age to bring him to his end.¹ A number of days having been allowed in which the Syracusans might prepare for his funeral, while the country folk and strangers came together, the whole ceremony was conducted with great magnificence, and besides, young men selected by lot carried his bier with all its decorations through the precinct where the palace of Dionysius had stood before Timoleon destroyed it. The bier was escorted, too, by many thousands of men and women, whose appearance was one that became a festival, since all were crowned with garlands and wore white raiment; while cries and tears, mingled with benedictions

¹ In 337 or 336 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ρισμῷ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὐ τιμῆς ἀφοσιωσιν οὐδὲ λειτουργίαν ἐκ προβουλεύματος, ἀλλὰ πόθον δίκαιον ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ χάριν ἀληθινῆς εὐνοίας.
 3 τέλος δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν τεθείσης Δημήτριος, ὃς ἦν μεγαλοφωνότατος τῶν τότε κηρύκων, γεγραμμένον ἀνεῖπε κήρυγμα τοιοῦτον·

“Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Συρακουσίων Τιμολέοντα Τιμοδήμου Κορίνθιον τόνδε θάπτει μὲν διακοσίων μνῶν, ἐτίμησε δ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀγῶσι μουσικοῖς, ἵππικοῖς, γυμνικοῖς, ὅτι τοὺς τυράννους καταλύσας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπολεμήσας καὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν ἀναστάτων πόλεων οἰκίσας ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Σικελιώταις.”

4 Ἐποίησαντο δὲ τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ στοὰς ὕστερον περιβαλόντες καὶ παλαίστρας ἐνοικοδομήσαντες γυμνάσιον τοῖς νέοις ἀνῆκαν καὶ Τιμολεόντειον προσηγορευσαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ χρώμενοι πολιτείᾳ καὶ νόμοις οὓς ἐκεῖνος κατέστησεν, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδαιμονοῦντες διετέλεσαν.

TIMOLEON

upon the dead, betokened, not a formal tribute of respect, nor a service performed in obedience to public decree, but a just sorrow and a thankfulness arising from genuine good will. And finally, when the bier had been placed upon the funeral pyre, Demetrius, who had the loudest voice of any herald of the time, read from manuscript the following decree :—

“By the people of Syracuse, Timoleon, son of Timodemus, from Corinth, is here buried at a public cost of two hundred minas, and is honoured for all time with annual contests, musical, equestrian, and gymnastic, because he overthrew the tyrants, subdued the Barbarians, re-peopled the largest of the devastated cities, and then restored their laws to the Greeks of Sicily.”

Furthermore, they buried his ashes in the market place, and afterwards, when they had surrounded it with porticoes and built palaestras in it, they set it apart as a gymnasium for their young men, and named it Timoleonteum. And they themselves, using the civil polity and the laws which he had ordained, enjoyed a long course of unbroken prosperity and happiness.

AEMILIUS PAULUS

ΑΙΜΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ

- II. Τὸν Αἰμιλίων οἶκον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν εὐπατρι-
δῶν γεγονέναι καὶ παλαιῶν οἱ πλείστοι συγ-
γραφεῖς ὁμολογοῦσιν. ὅτι δ' ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν 256
καὶ τῷ γένει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπολιπὼν Μάμερκος
ἦν, Πυθαγόρου παῖς τοῦ σοφοῦ, δι' αἰμυλίαν
λόγου καὶ χάριν Αἰμίλιος προσαγορευθεὶς, εἰρή-
κασιν ἔνιοι τῶν Πυθαγόρα τὴν Νομᾶ τοῦ βασι-
2 λέως παίδευσιν ἀναθέντων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείστοι
τῶν εἰς δόξαν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης προελθόντων
δι' ἀρετὴν, ἣν ἐξήλωσαν, εὐτύχησαν, Λευκίου δὲ
Παύλου τὸ περὶ Κάννας ἀτύχημα τὴν τε φρόνησιν
ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἔδειξεν. ὥς γὰρ οὐκ ἔπεισε
τὸν συνάρχοντα κωλύων μάχεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν
ἀγῶνος ἅκων μετέσχευ αὐτῷ, τῆς δὲ φυγῆς οὐκ
ἐκοινώνησεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ συνάψαντος τὸν κίνδυνον
ἐγκαταλιπόντος αὐτὸς ἐστῶς καὶ μαχόμενος τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἐτελεύτησε.
- 3 Τούτου θυγάτηρ μὲν Αἰμιλία Σκηπίωνι τῷ
μεγάλῳ συνώκησεν, υἱὸς δὲ Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος,
περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφεται, γεγονὼς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ
καιρὸν ἀνθούντα δόξαις καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἐπιφανεστά-
των ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων, διέλαμψεν, οὐ ταῦτα

¹ The first chapter has been transposed to serve as Introduction to both the *Timoleon* and the *Aemilius Paulus*.

AEMILIUS PAULUS

II.¹ That the Aemilii were one of the ancient and patrician houses at Rome, most writers agree. And that the first of them, and the one who gave his surname to the family, was Mamercus, a son of Pythagoras the philosopher, who received the surname of Aemilius for the *grace*² and charm of his discourse, is the statement of some of those writers who hold that Pythagoras was the educator of Numa the king.³ Now, most of this family who rose to distinction by their cultivation of virtue, were blessed with good fortune; and in the case of Lucius Paulus, his misfortune at Cannae gave testimony alike to his wisdom and valour. For when he could not dissuade his colleague from giving battle, he took part with him in the struggle, though reluctantly, but would not be a partner in his flight; nay, though the one who had brought on the peril left him in the lurch, he himself kept his post and died fighting the enemy.⁴

This Paulus had a daughter, Aemilia, who was the wife of Scipio the Great, and a son, Aemilius Paulus, whose Life I now write. He came of age at a time which abounded in men of the greatest reputation and most illustrious virtue, and yet he was a con-

¹ Plutarch suggests the identity of the Latin Aemilius with the Greek αἰμίλιος (*winning*). Cf. *Odyssey*, i. 56.

² See the *Numa*, i. 2 f.

⁴ See the *Fabius Maximus*, chapters xiv. and xvi.

τοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσι τότε νέοις ἐπιτηδεύματα ζηλώ-
 σας, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πορευθεῖς.
 4 οὔτε γὰρ λόγον ἤσκει περὶ δίκας, ἀσπασμούς τε
 καὶ δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας, αἷς ὑποτρέχοντες
 οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκτῶντο θεραπευτικοὶ καὶ
 σπουδαῖοι γενόμενοι, παντάπασιν ἐξέλιπε, πρὸς
 οὐδέτερον ἀφυῶς ἔχων, ὥς δ' ἐκατέρου κρείττονα
 τὴν ἀπ' ἀνδρείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πίστεως
 δόξαν αὐτῷ περιποιούμενος, οἷς εὐθύς διέφερε τῶν
 καθ' ἡλικίαν.

III. Πρώτην γοῦν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀρχῶν ἀγορα-
 νομίαν μετελθὼν προεκρίθη δεκαδυοῖν ἀνδρῶν
 συναπογραψαμένων, οὓς ὕστερον ἅπαντας ὑπα-
 τεῦσαι λέγουσι. γενόμενος δ' ἱερεὺς τῶν Αὐ-
 γούρων προσαγορευομένων, οὓς τῆς ἀπ' ὀρνίθων
 καὶ διοσημειῶν ἀποδεικνύουσι Ῥωμαῖοι μαντικῆς
 2 ἐπισκόπους καὶ φύλακας, οὕτω προσέσχε τοῖς
 πατρώοις ἔθεσι καὶ κατενόησε τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν
 περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν ὥστε τιμὴν τινα δοκοῦ-
 σαν εἶναι καὶ ζηλουμένην ἄλλως ἔνεκα δόξης τὴν
 ἱερωσύνην τῶν ἀκροτάτων μίαν ἀποφῆναι τεχνῶν,
 καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ὅσοι τὴν εὐ-
 σέβειαν ὥρισαντο θεραπείας θεῶν ἐπιστήμην
 3 εἶναι. πάντα γὰρ ἐδρᾶτο μετ' ἐμπειρίας ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ καὶ σπουδῆς, σχολὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἄγοντος
 ὅτε γίγνοιτο πρὸς τούτῳ, καὶ παραλείποντος
 οὐδὲν οὐδὲ καινοτομοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς συνιε-

AEMILIUS PAULUS

spicuous figure, although he did not pursue the same studies as the young nobles of the time, nor set out on his career by the same path. For he did not practise pleading private cases in the courts, and refrained altogether from the salutations and greetings and friendly attentions to which most men cunningly resorted when they tried to win the favour of the people by becoming their zealous servants; not that he was naturally incapable of either, but he sought to acquire for himself what was better than both, namely, a reputation arising from valour, justice, and trustworthiness. In these virtues he at once surpassed his contemporaries.

III. At all events, when he sued for the first of the high offices in the state, the aedileship, he was elected over twelve competitors,¹ all of whom, we are told, afterwards became consuls. Moreover, when he was made one of the priests called Augurs, whom the Romans appoint as guardians and overseers of the art of divination from the flight of birds and from omens in the sky, he so carefully studied the ancestral customs of the city, and so thoroughly understood the religious ceremonial of the ancient Romans, that his priestly function, which men had thought to be a kind of honour, sought merely on account of the reputation which it gave, was made to appear one of the higher arts, and testified in favour of those philosophers who define religion as the science of the worship of the gods. For all the duties of this office were performed by him with skill and care, and he laid aside all other concerns when he was engaged in these, omitting nothing and adding nothing new, but ever contending even

¹ In 192 B.C.

ρεῦσιν αἰεὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν μικρῶν διαφερομένου, καὶ διδάσκοντος ὥς εἰ τὸ θεῖον εὐκόλόν τις ἡγείται καὶ ἀμεμφὲς εἶναι τῶν ἀμελειῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γε πόλει χαλεπὸν ἢ περὶ ταῦτα συγγνώμη καὶ παρόρασις· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς μεγάλῳ παρανομήματι κινεῖ πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν μειζόνων φρουρὰν καταλύουσιν οἱ προϊέμενοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς μικροῖς ἀκρίβειαν.

- 4 "Ὁμοιον δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἔθων τε καὶ πατρίων ἐξεταστὴν καὶ φύλακα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτόν, οὐ δημαγωγῶν ἐν τῷ στρατηγεῖν, οὐδ', ὥσπερ οἱ πλείστοι τότε, δευτέρας ἀρχὰς ταῖς πρώταις μνῶμενος διὰ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πρᾶος εἶναι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἱερεὺς ἄλλων ὀργίων δεινῶν, τῶν περὶ τὰς στρατείας ἔθων ἐξηγούμενος ἕκαστα, καὶ φοβερὸς ὦν τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι καὶ παραβαίνουσιν, ὥρθου τὴν πατρίδα, μικροῦ δεῖν πάρεργον ἡγούμενος τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους τοῦ παιδεύειν τοὺς πολίτας.

- IV. Συστάντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν πολέμου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν τετραμμένων πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἄλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἀνέστη πόλεμος, ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ κινημάτων μεγάλων γενομένων. ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐξεπέμφθη στρατηγός, οὐχ ἐξ ἔχων πελέκεις, ὅσους ἔχουσιν οἱ στρατηγοῦντες, ἀλλὰ προσλαβὼν ἐτέρους τοσοῦτους, ὥστε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπατικὸν
2 γενέσθαι τὸ ἀξίωμα. μάχῃ μὲν οὖν δις ἐκ παρα- 257
τάξεως ἐνίκησε τοὺς βαρβάρους, περὶ τρισμυρίους

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with his colleagues about the small details of ceremony, and explaining to them that, although the Deity was held to be good-natured and slow to censure acts of negligence, still, for the city at least it was a grievous thing to overlook and condone them; for no man begins at once with a great deed of lawlessness to disturb the civil polity, but those who remit their strictness in small matters break down also the guard that has been set over greater matters.

Furthermore, he showed a like severity in scrutinising and preserving his country's military customs and traditions also, not courting popular favour when he was in command, nor yet, as most men did at this time, courting a second command during his first by gratifying his soldiers and treating them with mildness; but, like a priest of other dread rites, he explained thoroughly all the details of military custom and was a terror to disobedient transgressors, and so restored his country to her former greatness, considering the conquest of his enemies hardly more than an accessory to the training of his fellow-citizens.

IV. After the Romans had gone to war with Antiochus the Great, and while their most experienced commanders were employed against him, another war arose in the West, and there were great commotions in Spain. For this war Aemilius was sent out as praetor,¹ not with the six lictors which praetors usually have, but adding other six to that number, so that his office had a consular dignity. Well, then, he defeated the Barbarians in two pitched battles, and slew about thirty thousand of them;

¹ In 191 B.C.

ἀνελών, καὶ δοκεῖ τὸ κατόρθωμα τῆς στρατηγίας περιφανῶς γενέσθαι, χωρίων εὐφυτὰ καὶ ποταμοῦ τινος διαβάσει ῥαστώνην παρασχόντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ νίκημα τοῖς στρατιώταις· πόλεις δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐχειρώσατο δεξαμένας
 8 αὐτὸν ἐκουσίως. εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ πίστει συνηρμοσμένην ἀπολιπὼν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐδὲ δραχμῇ μιᾷ γεγονὼς εὐπορώτερος ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας. ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰλλα χρηματιστὴς ἀργότερος, εὐδάπανος δὲ καὶ ἀφειδῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. οὐ πολλὰ δ' ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φερνῆς ὀφειλομένης τῇ γυναικὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ γλίσχρως ἐξήρκεσεν.

V. Ἐγῆμε δὲ Παπιρίαν, ἀνδρὸς ὑπατικοῦ Μάσωνος θυγατέρα, καὶ χρόνον συνοικήσας πολὺν ἀφῆκε τὸν γάμον, καίπερ ἐξ αὐτῆς καλλιτεκνότητος γενόμενος· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ τὸν κλεινότατον αὐτῷ Σκηπίωνα τεκοῦσα καὶ Μάξιμον Φάβιον. αἰτία δὲ γεγραμμένη τῆς διαστάσεως οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἀληθῆς τις εἶναι λόγος περὶ γάμου λύσεως γενόμενος, ὥς ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος ἀπέπεμπετο γυναῖκα, τῶν δὲ φίλων νουθετούντων
 2 αὐτόν, “ Οὐχὶ σώφρων; οὐκ εὐμορφος; οὐχὶ παιδοποιός; ” προτείνας τὸ ὑπόδημα (κύλτιον αὐτὸ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν) εἶπεν. “ Οὐκ εὐπρεπὴς οὗτος; οὐ νεουργής; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἰδείη τις ὑμῶν καθ' ὃ τι θλίβεται μέρος οὐμὸς πούς. ” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μεγάλαι μὲν ἁμαρτίαι καὶ ἀναπεπταμέναι γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἄλλας ἀπήλλαξαν, τὰ δ' ἐκ τινος ἀηδίας καὶ δυσαρμοστίας ἡθῶν μικρὰ καὶ πυκνὰ προσκρούσματα, λανθάνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀπ-

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and it would seem that his success was conspicuously due to his generalship, since by choosing favourable ground and by crossing a certain river he made victory easy for his soldiers; moreover, he made himself master of two hundred and fifty cities, which yielded to him of their own accord. He left the province in peace and bound by pledges of fidelity, and came back to Rome, nor was he richer by a single drachma from his expedition. And, indeed, in all other ways he was a rather indifferent money-maker, and spent generously and without stint of his substance. But this was not large; indeed, after his death it barely sufficed to meet the dowry due to his wife.

V. He married Papiria, a daughter of Maso, who was a man of consular dignity, and after he had lived with her a long time he divorced her, although she had made him father of most glorious sons; for she it was who bore him that most illustrious Scipio, and Fabius Maximus. No documentary grounds for the divorce have come down to us, but there would seem to be some truth in a story told about divorce, which runs as follows. A Roman once divorced his wife, and when his friends admonished him, saying: "Is she not discreet? is she not beautiful? is she not fruitful?" he held out his shoe (the Romans call it "calceus"), saying: "Is this not handsome? is it not new? but no one of you can tell me where it pinches my foot?" For, as a matter of fact, it is great and notorious faults that separate many wives from their husbands; but the slight and frequent frictions arising from some unpleasantness or incongruity of characters, unnoticed as they may be by everybody else, also produce

εργάζεται τὰς ἀνηκέστους ἐν ταῖς συμβιώσεσιν ἀλλοτριότητας.

- 3 Ὁ δ' οὖν Αἰμίλιος ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς Παπιρίας ἐτέραν ἡγάγετο· καὶ δύο παῖδας ἄρρενας τεκούσης τούτους μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ προτέρους εἰσεπόλησεν οἴκοις τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ γένεσι τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις, τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον τῷ Μαξίμου Φαβίου τοῦ πεντάκις ὑπατεύσαντος, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος υἱὸς ἀνεψιὸν
- 4 ὄντα θέμενος Σκηπίωια προσηγόρευσε. τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων τῶν Αἰμιλίου τὴν μὲν ὁ Κάτωνος υἱὸς ἔγημε, τὴν δ' Αἴλιος Τουβέρων, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα Ῥωμαίων πενία χρησάμενος. ἦσαν γὰρ ἑκατάδεκα συγγενεῖς, Αἴλιοι πάντες· οἰκίδιον δὲ πᾶν μικρὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ χωρίδιον ἐν ἥρκει πᾶσι, μίαν ἐστίαν νέμουσι μετὰ παίδων
- 5 πολλῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἐν αἷς καὶ ἡ Αἰμιλίου τοῦδε θυγὰτηρ ἦν δις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ δις θριαμβεύσαντος, οὐκ αἰσχυνομένη τὴν πενίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἣν πένης ἦν. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἂν μὴ κλίμασι καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ διατειχίσμασιν ὀρίσῃσι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐν μέσῳ λάβωσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐ παύονται διαφερόμενοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡ ἱστορία λογίζεσθαι καὶ παρεπισκοπεῖν δίδωσι τοῖς σώζεσθαι βουλομένοις.

VI. Ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος ὑπάτος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παραλπίους Λίγυας, οὓς ἔνιοι καὶ Λιγυστίνους ὀνομάζουσι, μάχιμον καὶ θυμοειδὲς

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incurable alienations in those whose lives are linked together.

So then Aemilius, having divorced Papiria, took another wife; and when she had borne him two sons he kept these at home, but the sons of his former wife he introduced into the greatest houses and the most illustrious families, the elder into that of Fabius Maximus, who was five times consul, while the younger was adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus, his cousin-german, who gave him the name of Scipio. Of the daughters of Aemilius, one became the wife of the son of Cato, and the other of Aelius Tubero, a man of the greatest excellence, and one who, more than any other Roman, combined the greatest dignity with poverty. For there were sixteen members of the family, all Aelii; and they had a very little house, and one little farm sufficed for all, where they maintained one home together with many wives and children. Among these wives lived also the daughter of that Aemilius who had twice been consul and twice had celebrated a triumph, and she was not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admired the virtue that kept him poor. Brethren and kinsmen of the present day, however, unless zones and rivers and walls divide their inheritances and wide tracts of land separate them from one another, are continually quarrelling. These, then, are considerations and examples which history presents to those who are willing to profit by them.

VI. Aemilius, then, having been appointed consul,¹ made an expedition against the Ligurians along the Alps, whom some call also Ligustines, a warlike

¹ In 182 B.C.

- ἔθνος, ἐμπείρως δὲ πολεμεῖν διδασκόμενον ὑπὸ
 Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν. τὰ γὰρ ἔσχατα τῆς
 Ἰταλίας καὶ καταλήγοντα πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεις αὐ-
 τῶν τε τῶν Ἀλπεων τὰ κλυζόμενα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ
 πελάγει καὶ πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην ἀνταίροντα νέ-
 μονται, μεμιγμένοι Γαλάταις καὶ τοῖς παραλίοις
 2 Ἰβήρων. τότε δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀψάμενοι
 σκάφεσι πειρατικοῖς ἀφηροῦντο καὶ περιέκοπτον
 τὰς ἐμπορίας, ἄχρι στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἀνα-
 πλέοντες. ἐπιόντος οὖν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου τετρακισ-
 μύριοι γενόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ὑπέστησαν· ὁ δὲ
 τοὺς σύμπαντας ὀκτακισχιλίους ἔχων πενταπλα-
 σίοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς συνέβαλε, καὶ τρεψάμενος καὶ
 κατακλείσας εἰς τὰ τεῖχη διέδωκε λόγον φιλάν-
 θρωπον καὶ συμβατικόν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν βουλομένοις 258
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παντάπασιν ἐκκόψαι τὸ Λιγύων
 ἔθνος, ὥσπερ ἔρκος ἢ πρόβολον ἐμποδῶν κείμενον
 τοῖς Γαλατικοῖς κινήμασιν ἐπαιωρουμένοις ἀεὶ
 3 περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. πιστεύσαντες οὖν τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ
 τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐνεχείρισαν. ὁ δὲ τὰς
 μὲν πόλεις οὐδὲν ἀδίκησας ἢ μόνον τὰ τεῖχη
 περιελὼν ἀπέδωκε, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀπάσας ἀφείλετο,
 καὶ πλοῖον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τρισκάλμου μεῖζον ἀπέ-
 λιπε· τοὺς δ' ἠλωκότας ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ γῆν ἢ
 κατὰ θάλατταν ἀνεσώσατο πολλοὺς καὶ ξένους
 καὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐρεθέντας. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ἡ
 ὑπατεία τὰς εἰρημένας πράξεις ἐπιφανεῖς ἔσχεν.
 4 Ὅστερον δὲ πολλάκις ποιήσας φανερόν αὐτὸν
 αὐθις ὑπατεῦσαι βουλόμενον καὶ ποτε καὶ παραγ-
 γείλας, ὥς ἀπέτυχε καὶ παρώφθη, τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἡσυχίαν εἶχε, τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ τοὺς

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and spirited folk, and one whose proximity to the Romans was teaching it skill in war. For they occupy the extremities of Italy that are bounded by the Alps, and those parts of the Alps themselves that are washed by the Tuscan sea and face Africa, and they are mingled with Gauls and the Iberians of the coast. At that time they had also laid hold of the sea with piratical craft, and were robbing and destroying merchandise, sailing out as far as the pillars of Hercules. Accordingly, when Aemilius came against them, they withstood him with a force of forty thousand men; but he, with eight thousand men all told, engaged their fivefold numbers, and after routing them and shutting them up in their walled towns, gave them humane and conciliatory terms; for it was not the wish of the Romans to extirpate altogether the Ligurian nation, since it lay like a barrier or bulwark against the movements of the Gauls, who were always threatening to descend upon Italy. Accordingly, putting faith in Aemilius, they delivered their ships and cities into his hands. Their cities he restored to them, either doing them no harm at all, or simply razing their walls; but he took away all their ships, and left them no boat that carried more than three oars; he also restored to safety those whom they had taken captive by land or sea, and these were found to be many, both Romans and foreigners. Such, then, were the conspicuous achievements of this first consulship.

Afterwards he often made it clear that he was desirous of a second consulship, and once actually announced his candidacy, but when he was passed by and not elected, he made no further efforts to obtain the office, giving his attention to his duties

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

παῖδας ἀσκῶν τὴν μὲν ἐπιχώριον παιδείαν καὶ
 πάτριον ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἥσκητο, τὴν δ' Ἑλληνικὴν
 5 φιλοτιμότερον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον γραμματικοὶ καὶ
 σοφισταὶ καὶ ῥήτορες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλάσται καὶ
 ζωγράφοι καὶ πώλων καὶ σκυλάκων ἐπιστάται
 καὶ διδάσκαλοι θήρας Ἕλληνες ἦσαν περὶ τοὺς
 νεανίσκους. ὁ δὲ πατήρ, εἰ μὴ τι δημόσιον ἐμπο-
 δῶν εἶη, παρὴν αἰεὶ μελετῶσι καὶ γυμναζομένοις,
 φιλοτεκνότατος Ῥωμαίων γενόμενος.

VII. Τῶν δὲ δημοσίων πράξεων καιρὸς ἦν
 ἐκεῖνος τότε καθ' ὃν Περσεὶ τῷ Μακεδόνων
 βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντες ἐν αἰτίαις τοὺς στρατηγούς
 εἶχον, ὥς δι' ἀπειρίαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν αἰσchrῶς καὶ
 καταγελάστως τοῖς πράγμασι χρωμένους καὶ πύ-
 2 σχοντας κακῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ποιούντας. ἄρτι μὲν
 γὰρ Ἀντίοχον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα μέγαν εἵξαντα
 τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας ὑπὲρ τὸν Ταῦρον ἐκβαλόντες
 καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς Συρίαν, ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ
 πεντακισχιλίοις ταλάντοις ἀγαπήσαντα τὰς
 διαλύσεις, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρόσθεν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ συν-
 τρίψαντες Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ
 Μακεδόνων ἐλευθερώσαντες, ὧς τε βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς
 παραβλητὸς εἰς τόλμαν ἢ δύναμιν, Ἀννίβαν
 3 καταπολεμήσαντες, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἡγοῦντο Περσεὶ
 καθάπερ ἀντιπάλῳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἶσον φερόμενοι
 συμπεπλέχθαι, πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν λει-
 ψάνων τῆς πατρῴας ἥττης πολεμοῦντι πρὸς
 αὐτούς, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι πολλῷ τὴν Μακεδόνων

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as augur, and training his sons, not only in the native and ancestral discipline in which he himself had been trained, but also, and with greater ardour, in that of the Greeks. For not only the grammarians and philosophers and rhetoricians, but also the modellers and painters, the overseers of horses and dogs, and the teachers of the art of hunting, by whom the young men were surrounded, were Greeks. And the father, unless some public business prevented, would always be present at their studies and exercises, for he was now become the fondest parent in Rome.

VII. As to public affairs, that was the period when the Romans were at war with Perseus,¹ the king of Macedonia, and were taking their generals to task because their inexperience and cowardice led them to conduct their campaigns ridiculously and disgracefully, and to suffer more harm than they inflicted. For the people which had just forced Antiochus, surnamed the Great, to retire from the rest of Asia, driven him over the Taurus mountains, and shut him up in Syria, where he had been content to buy terms with a payment of fifteen thousand talents; which had a little while before set the Greeks free from Macedonia by crushing Philip in Thessaly; and which had utterly subdued Hannibal, to whom no king was comparable for power or boldness; this people thought it unendurable that they should be compelled to contend with Perseus as though he were an even match for Rome, when for a long time already he had carried on his war against them with the poor remains of his father's routed army; for they were not aware that after his defeat Philip had

171-168 B.C.

B B

δύναμιν ἡττηθεὶς Φίλιππος ἔρρωμενεστέραν καὶ
μαχιμωτέραν ἐποίησε. περὶ ὧν δίειμι βραχέως
ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος.

- VIII. Ἀντίγονος μέγιστον δυνηθεὶς τῶν Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου διαδόχων καὶ στρατηγῶν, κτησάμενος
ἑαυτῷ καὶ γένει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προσηγορίαν,
υἱὸν ἔσχε Δημήτριον, οὗ παῖς Ἀντίγονος ἦν ὁ
Γονατᾶς ἐπονομασθεὶς· τούτου δὲ Δημήτριος, ὃς
αὐτός τε βασιλεύσας χρόνον οὐ πολὺν, υἱὸν τε
παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπολιπὼν Φίλιππον ἐτελεύ-
2 τησε. δείσαντες δὲ τὴν ἀναρχίαν οἱ πρῶτοι
Μακεδόνων Ἀντίγονον ἐπάγονται τοῦ τεθνηκότος
ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, καὶ συνοικίσαντες αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα
τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίτροπον καὶ στρα-
τηγόν, εἶτα πειρώμενοι μετρίου καὶ κοινωφελοῦς
βασιλέα προσηγόρευσαν. ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Δώσων
ὡς ἐπαγγελτικός, οὗ τελεσιουργὸς δὲ τῶν ὑπο-
3 σχέσεων. μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύσας ὁ Φίλιππος
ἠνθησεν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν βασιλέων ἔτι
μειράκιον ὢν, καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὡς ἀναστήσων
Μακεδονίαν εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ
πάντας ἤδη τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν αἰρομένην
καθέξων. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ μεγάλῃ μάχῃ περὶ Σκό-
τουςαν ὑπὸ Τίτου Φλαμινίνου τότε μὲν ἔπηξε
καὶ πάντα τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπέτρεψε Ῥωμαίοις,
4 καὶ τυχὼν ἐπιτιμῆσεως μετρίας ἠγάπησεν. ὕστε-
ρον δὲ βαρέως φέρων, καὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν χάριτι
Ῥωμαίων ἡγούμενος αἰχμαλώτου τρυφὴν ἀγαπῶν.

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made the Macedonian armies far more vigorous and warlike than before. This situation I will briefly explain from the beginning.

VIII. Antigonus, who was the most powerful of Alexander's generals and successors, and acquired for himself and his line the title of King, had a son Demetrius, and his son was Antigonus surnamed Gonatas. His son in turn was Demetrius, who, after reigning himself for a short time, died, leaving a son Philip still in his boyhood. The leading Macedonians, fearing the anarchy which might result, called in Antigonus, a cousin of the dead king, and married him to Philip's mother, calling him first regent and general, and then, finding his rule moderate and conducive to the general good, giving him the title of King. He received the surname of Doson, which implied that he was given to promising but did not perform his engagements. After him Philip succeeded to the throne, and, though still a youth, flowered out in the qualities which most distinguish kings, and led men to believe that he would restore Macedonia to her ancient dignity, and that he, and he alone, would check the power of Rome, which already extended over all the world. But after he was defeated in a great battle at Scotussa by Titus Flamininus,¹ for a time he took a humble posture, entrusted all his interests to the Romans, and was content to come off with a moderate fine. Afterwards, however, his condition oppressed him, and thinking that to reign by favour of the Romans was more the part of a captive

¹ In 197 B.C. The battle is usually named from a range of hills near Scotussa called Cynoscephalae. See the *Flamininus*, chapters iii. and iv.

- τος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ φρόνημα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχοντος 259
 ἀνδρός, ἐπεῖχε τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν γνώμην καὶ συνε-
 τάττετο λάθρα καὶ πανούργως. τῶν γὰρ πόλεων
 τὰς ἐνοδίους καὶ παραθαλαττίους ἀσθενεῖς γενο-
 μένας περιορῶν καὶ ὑπερήμους, ὡς καταφρονεῖ-
 5 σθαι, πολλὴν ἄνω συνήγε δύναμιν, καὶ τὰ μεσό-
 γεια χωρία καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις ὅπλων καὶ
 χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἀκμαζόντων
 ἐμπεπληκῶς ἐσωμάσκει τὸν πόλεμον καὶ συνεῖχεν
 ὥσπερ ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἀδήλως. ὅπλων μὲν γὰρ
 ἀργούντων ἀπέκειντο τρεῖς μυριάδες, ὀκτακόσiai
 δὲ σίτου μεδίμνων ἦσαν ἐγκαταφοδομημένου τοῖς
 τείχεσι, χρημάτων δὲ πλήθος ὅσον ἤρκει μισθο-
 φόρους ἔτη δέκα μυρίους τρέφειν προπολεμοῦντας
 τῆς χώρας.
- 6 Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐκ ἔφθη ταῦτα κινῆσαι καὶ
 προαγαγεῖν εἰς ἔργον, ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ δυσθυμίας
 προέμενος τὸν βίον· ἔγνω γὰρ ἀδίκως τὸν ἕτερον
 τῶν υἱῶν Δημήτριον ἐκ διαβολῆς τοῦ χείρονος
 ἀνηρηκῶς· ὁ δ' ἀπολειπόμενος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Περσεὺς
 ἅμα τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεδέξατο τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
 ἔχθραν, οὐκ ὦν ἐχέγγυος ἐνεγκεῖν διὰ μικρότητα
 καὶ μοχθηρίαν ἡθους, ἐν ᾧ παθῶν τε παντοδαπῶν
 καὶ νοσημάτων ἐνόντων ἐπρώτευνεν ἢ φιλαργυρία.
- 7 λέγεται δὲ μηδὲ γνήσιος φῦναι, λαβεῖν δ' αὐτὸν
 ἢ συνοικουῖσα τῷ Φιλίππῳ νεογνὸν ἀκεστρίας
 τινὸς Ἀργολικῆς Γναθαινίου τοῦνομα τεκούσης,
 καὶ λαβεῖν ὑποβαλομένη. δι' ὃ καὶ μάλιστα
- 314

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satisfied with meat and drink than of a man possessed of courage and spirit, he turned his thoughts to war, and made his arrangements for it in secrecy and with cunning. Thus, those of his cities which lay on the highroads and the seashore he suffered to become weak and rather desolate, so as to awaken contempt, while in the interior he was collecting a large force ; he also filled the fortresses, strongholds, and cities of the interior with an abundance of arms, money, and men fit for service, in this way preparing himself for the war, and yet keeping it hidden away, as it were, and concealed. Thus, he had arms to equip thirty thousand men laid up in reserve, eight million bushels of grain had been immured in his strongholds, and a sum of money sufficient to maintain for ten years ten thousand mercenaries fighting in defence of the country.

But Philip, before he could put these plans and preparations into effect, died of grief and anguish of mind¹ ; for he came to know that he had unjustly put to death one of his sons, Demetrius, on false charges made by the other, who was his inferior. The son, however, whom he left, Perseus, along with his father's kingdom, inherited his hatred of the Romans, but was not equal to the burden because of the littleness and baseness of his character, in which, among all sorts of passions and distempers, avarice was the chief trait. And it is said that he was not even a true-born son, but that Philip's wife took him at his birth from his mother, a certain sempstress, an Argive woman named Gnathaenion, and passed him off as her own. And this was the chief reason, as it would seem, why he feared Demetrius

¹ In 179 B.C.

δοκεῖ τὸν Δημήτριον φοβηθεῖς ἀποκτεῖναι, μὴ γνήσιον ἔχων ὁ οἶκος διάδοχον ἀποκαλύψῃ τὴν ἐκείνου νοθείαν.

- IX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, καίπερ ὦν ἀγεννῆς καὶ ταπεινός, ὑπὸ ῥώμης τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφερόμενος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔστη καὶ διηρείσατο πολὺν χρόνον, ἡγεμόνας τε Ῥωμαίων ὑπατικούς καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ στόλους μεγάλους ἀποτρι-
 2 ψάμενος, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ κρατήσας. Πόπλιόν τε γὰρ Δικίννιον ἐμβαλόντα πρῶτον εἰς Μακεδονίαν τρεψάμενος ἵππομαχίᾳ δισχιλίους πεντακοσίους ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ζῶντας ἄλλους ἑξακοσίους ἔλαβε, τοῦ τε ναυστάθμου περὶ Ὀρεὸν ὁρμούντος ἀπροσδόκητον ἐπίπλουν θέμενος εἴκοσι μὲν αὐτοφόρτους ὀλκάδας ἐχειρώσατο, τὰς δ' ἄλλας σίτου γεμούσας κατέδυσεν· ἐκράτησε δὲ
 3 καὶ πεντηρικὰ τέσσαρα. καὶ μάχην ἐπολέμησε τὸ δεύτερον, ἐν ᾗ τὸν ὑπατικὸν Ὀστίλιον ἀπεκρούσατο καταβιαζόμενον¹ κατὰ τὰς Ἑλιμίας· λάθρα δὲ διὰ Θεσσαλίας ἐμβαλόντα προκαλούμενος εἰς μάχην ἐφόβησε. πάρεργον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου στρατεῖαν ἐπὶ Δαρδανεῖς θέμενος, ὥς δὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπερορῶν καὶ σχολάζων, μυρίου τῶν βαρβάρων κατέκοψε καὶ λείαν ἡλάσατο
 4 πολλήν. ὑπεκίνει δὲ καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ὠκημένους, οἱ Βαστέρναι² καλοῦνται, στρατὸν ἵππότην καὶ μάχιμον, Ἰλλυριοὺς τε διὰ Γενθίου τοῦ βασιλέως παρεκάλει συνεφάψασθαι

¹ καταβιαζόμενον Coraës and Sintenis, after Bryan, for the καὶ βιαζόμενον of the MSS., where Bekker brackets καί.

² οἱ Βαστέρναι Coraës and Bekker, after Stephanus : Βαστέρναι.

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and compassed his death, lest the royal house, having a true-born heir to the throne, should uncover his own spurious birth.

IX. However, although he was ignoble and mean, the strength of his position led him to undertake the war, and he kept up the struggle for a long time, repulsing Roman commanders of consular rank with great armies and fleets, and actually conquering some of them. Publius Licinius, for example, who was the first that invaded Macedonia, he routed in a cavalry battle, slew twenty-five hundred good men, and took six hundred prisoners besides; then he made an unexpected attack upon the Roman fleet which was lying at anchor near Oreus, seized twenty ships of burden with their cargoes, and sank the rest together with the grain that filled them; he also made himself master of four quinqueremes. He fought a second battle, too, in which he repulsed the consul Hostilius as he was trying to force his way into Macedonia at Elimiae; and after Hostilius had broken into the country undetected by way of Thessaly, he gave him a challenge to battle which he was afraid to accept. Furthermore, as a side issue of the war, he made an expedition against the Dardanians, implying that he ignored the Romans and that time hung heavy on his hands; he cut to pieces ten thousand of the Barbarians and drove off much booty. He also secretly stirred up the Gauls settled along the Danube, who are called Bisternae, an equestrian host and warlike; and he invited the Illyrians, through Genthius their king, to take part with him

τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ λόγος κατέσχευ ὡς τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων μισθῷ πεπεισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς
 κάτω Γαλατίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς
 τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

- Χ. Ταῦτα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πυνθανομένοις ἐδόκει
 τὰς τῶν στρατηγιώντων χάριτας καὶ παραγγελίας
 ἐάσαντας αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἄνδρα
 νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι μεγάλοις
 ἐπιστάμενον. οὗτος ἦν Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος, ἡλικίας
 μὲν ἤδη πρόσω καὶ περὶ ἐξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη,
 ῥώμῃ δὲ σώματος ἀκμάζων, πεφραγμένος δὲ κηδε-
 σταῖς καὶ παισὶ νεανίαις καὶ φίλων πλήθει καὶ
 συγγενῶν μέγα δυναμένων, οἱ πάντες αὐτὸν ὑπα-
 κοῦσαι καλοῦντι τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν
 2 ἔπειθον. ὁ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐθρύπτετο πρὸς 260
 τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ διέκλινε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτῶν
 καὶ σπουδὴν, ὡς μὴ δεόμενος τοῦ ἄρχειν, φοιτῶν-
 των δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ προκαλουμέ-
 νων αὐτὸν εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ καταβοώντων ἐπείσθη·
 καὶ φανεῖς εὐθύς ἐν τοῖς μετιοῦσι τὴν ὑπατείαν
 ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἀρχὴν ληψόμενος, ἀλλὰ νίκην καὶ
 κράτος πολέμου κομίζων καὶ διδούς τοῖς πολίταις
 3 καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον· μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐλπί-
 δος καὶ προθυμίας ἐδέξαντο πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ
 κατέστησαν ὕπατον τὸ δεύτερον, οὐκ ἐάσαντες
 κλῆρον γενέσθαι, καθάπερ εἰώθει, περὶ τῶν
 ἐπαρχιῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐκείνῳ ψηφισάμενοι τοῦ
 Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. λέγεται δ'
 αὐτόν, ὡς ἀνηγορεύθη κατὰ τοῦ Περσέως στρατη-
 γός, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς οἵκαδε προπεμφθέντα
 λαμπρῶς εὔρεῖν τὸ θυγάτριον τὴν Τερτίαν δεδα-

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in the war. And a report prevailed that the Barbarians had been hired by him to pass through lower Gaul, along the coast of the Adriatic, and make an incursion into Italy.

X. When the Romans learned of these things, they decided that they would bid good-bye to the favours and promises of those who wanted to be generals, and themselves summon to the leadership a man of wisdom who understood how to manage great affairs. This man was Paulus Aemilius, now advanced in life and about sixty years of age, but in the prime of bodily vigour, and hedged about with youthful sons and sons-in-law, and with a host of friends and kinsmen of great influence, all of whom urged him to give ear to the people when it summoned him to the consulship. At first he was for declining the appeals of the multitude, and tried to avert their eager importunities, saying that he did not want office; but when they came daily to his house and called him forth into the forum and pressed him with their clamours, he yielded; and when he presented himself at once among the candidates for the consulship, he did not appear to come into the Campus in order to get office, but as one who brought victory and might in war and offered them to the citizens. With such eager hopes did all receive him, and they made him consul for the second time,¹ and did not permit a lot to be cast for the provinces, as was the custom, but at once voted him the conduct of the Macedonian war. And it is said that when he had been appointed general against Perseus, and had been escorted home in splendid fashion by the whole people, he found there his daughter Tertia, who was still a little child,

¹ In 168 B.C.

- 4 κρυμένην ἔτι παιδίον οὖσαν· ἀσπαζόμενον οὖν αὐτὴν ἐρωτᾶν ἐφ' ὅτῳ λελύπηται· τὴν δὲ περιβαλοῦσαν καὶ καταφιλοῦσαν, “Οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα;” εἶπεῖν, “ὦ πάτερ, ὅτι ἡμῖν ὁ Περσεὺς τέθνηκε;” λέγουσαν κυνίδιον σύντροφον οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον· καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον “Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ,” φάναι, “ὦ θύγατερ, καὶ δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνόν.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ μαντικῆς ἱστορήκεν.

- XI. Εἰωθότων δὲ τῶν ὑπατεῖαν λαβόντων οἶον ἀνθομολογεῖσθαί τινα χάριν καὶ προσαγορεύειν φιλοφρόνως τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, Αἰμίλιος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν μὲν προτέραν ὑπατεῖαν μετελθεῖν ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀρχῆς δεόμενος, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἐκείνων στρατηγού
2 δεομένων· δι' ὃ μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς χάριν ἔχειν, ἀλλ', εἰ νομίζουσι δι' ἑτέρου βέλτιον ἔξαι τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἰ δὲ πιστεύουσιν αὐτῷ, μὴ παραστρατηγεῖν μηδὲ λογοποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπουργεῖν σιωπῇ τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὥς, ἐὰν ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν ζητῶ-
3 στρατείαις ἐσομένους. ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων πολλὴν μὲν αἰδῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεποίησε τοῖς πολίταις, μεγάλην δὲ προσδοκίαν τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἡδομένων ἀπάντων ὅτι τοὺς κολακεύοντας παρελθόντες εἴλοντο παρρησίαν ἔχοντα καὶ φρόνημα στρατηγόν. οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεῖν καὶ μέγιστος εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ δούλος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος.

XII. Αἰμίλιον δὲ Παῦλον, ὥς ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ

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in tears. He took her in his arms, therefore, and asked her why she grieved. And she, embracing and kissing him, said: "Pray dost thou not know, Father, that our Perseus is dead?" meaning a little pet dog of that name. And Aemilius cried: "Good fortune! my daughter, I accept the omen." Such, then, is the story which Cicero the orator relates in his work "On Divination."¹

XI. It was the custom for those who obtained the consulship to return thanks, as it were, for the great favour in a friendly speech to the people from the rostra; but Aemilius, having gathered an assembly of the citizens, said he had sued for his first consulship because he himself wanted office, but for his second because they wanted a general; wherefore he was under no obligation to them; on the contrary, if they thought the war would be carried on better by another, he resigned the conduct of it; but if they had confidence in him they must not make themselves his colleagues in command, nor indulge in rhetoric about the war, but quietly furnish the necessary supplies for it, since, if they sought to command their commander, their campaigns would be still more ridiculous than they were already. By these words he inspired the citizens with great reverence for himself, and with great expectations of the future, and all were glad that they had passed by the flatterers and chosen a general who had resolution and frankness of speech. Thus was the Roman people, to the end that it might prevail and be greatest in the world, a servant of virtue and honour.

XII. Now, that Aemilius Paulus, after setting out

¹ Cicero, *De divinatione*, 46.

- στρατείαν, πλοῦ μὲν εὐτυχία καὶ ῥαστώνῃ χρή-
 σασθαι πορείας κατὰ δαίμονα τίθημι, σὺν τάχει
 καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κομισθέν-
 τα· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτοῦ
 τὸ μὲν τόλμης ὀξύτητι, τὸ δὲ βουλευμασι χρη-
 στοῖς, τὸ δὲ φίλων ἐκθύμοις ὑπηρεσίαις, τὸ δὲ τῷ
 παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ θαρρεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαι λογισμοῖς
 ἀραρόσιν ὁρῶν διαπεπραγμένον, οὐκ ἔχω τῇ
 λεγομένῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίᾳ λαμπρὸν ἀποδοῦναι
 καὶ διάσημον ἔργον οἷον ἐτέρων στρατηγῶν.
- 2 εἰ μὴ τις ἄρα τὴν Περσέως φιλαργυρίαν Αἰμιλίῳ
 τύχην ἀγαθὴν περὶ τὰ πράγματα γενέσθαι φησὶν,
 ἢ λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρθέντα
 ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὰ Μακεδόνων ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέ-
 βαλε, πρὸς ἀργύριον ἀποδειλιάσαντος. ἦκον μὲν
 γὰρ αὐτῷ δεηθέντι Βαστέρναι, μύριοι μὲν ἱππεῖς,
 μύριοι δὲ παραβάται, μισθοφόροι πάντες, ἄνδρες
 οὐ γεωργεῖν εἰδότες, οὐ πλεῖν, οὐκ ἀπὸ ποιμνίων
 ζῆν νέμοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργον καὶ μίαν τέχνην
 μελετῶντες αἰεὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντι-
 3 ταττομένων. ὥς δὲ περὶ τὴν Μαιδικὴν κατα-
 στρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐπεμίγνυντο τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ
 βασιλέως ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα, θαν-
 μαστοὶ δὲ τὰς μελέτας, μέγανυχτοι δὲ καὶ λαμ-
 προὶ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειλαῖς, θάρσος
 παρέστησαν τοῖς Μακέδοσι καὶ δόξαν ὥς τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων οὐχ ὑπομενούντων, ἀλλ' ἐκπλαγησο- 261
 μένων τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἔκφυλον
 4 οὔσαν καὶ δυσπρόσοπτον. οὕτω διαθείς τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ τοιούτων ἐμπλήσας
 ἐλπίδων, αἰτούμενος καθ' ἕκαστον ἡγεμόνα χιλί-

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upon his campaign, had a fortunate voyage and an easy passage and came speedily and safely to the Roman camp, I attribute to the favour of Heaven ; but when I see that the war under his command was brought to an end partly by his fierce courage, partly by his excellent plans, partly by the eager assistance of his friends, and partly by his resolute adoption of fitting conclusions in times of danger, I cannot assign his remarkable and brilliant success to his celebrated good fortune, as I can in the case of other generals. Unless, indeed, it be said that the avaricious conduct of Perseus was good fortune for Aemilius, since it utterly subverted the great and brilliant prospects of the Macedonians for the war (wherein their hopes ran high), because Perseus played the coward with his money. For there came to him from the Bisternae, at his request, ten thousand horsemen with ten thousand men to run at their sides, all professional soldiers, men who knew not how to plough or to sail the seas, who did not follow the life of herdsmen, but who were ever practising one business and one art, that of fighting and conquering their antagonists. And when these had encamped in Maedica and mingled with the soldiers of the king,—men of lofty stature, admirable in their discipline, great boasters, and loud in their threats against their enemies,—they inspired the Macedonians with courage and a belief that the Romans could not withstand them, but would be utterly terrified by their looks and movements, which were strange and repulsive. But after Perseus had disposed the feelings of his men in this way and filled them with so great hopes, upon being asked to pay each captain of the mercenaries a

ους, πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον τοῦ χρυσίου πλήθος
 ἰλιγγιάσας καὶ παραφρονήσας ὑπὸ μικρολογίας
 ἀπείπατο καὶ προήκατο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὥσπερ
 οἰκονομῶν, οὐ πολεμῶν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ λογισμὸν
 ἀποδώσων ἀκριβῆ τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον δαπάνης
 οἷς ἐπολέμει· καίτοι διδασκάλους εἶχεν ἐκείνους,
 οἷς ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς στρατιωτῶν δέκα
 μυριάδες ἦσαν ἠθροισμένοι καὶ παρεστῶσαι ταῖς
 5 χρεῖαις. ὁ δὲ πρὸς δύναμιν ἀνταίρων τηλικαύτην
 καὶ πόλεμον οὐ τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ παρατρεφόμενον,
 διεμέτρει καὶ παρεσημαίνετο τὸ χρυσίον, ἄψασθαι
 δεδιὼς ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν
 οὐ Λυδῶν τις οὐδὲ Φοινίκων γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ τῆς
 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου κατὰ συγγένειαν ἀρε-
 τῆς μεταποιούμενος, οἱ τῷ τὰ πράγματα τῶν
 χρημάτων ὠνητά, μὴ τὰ χρήματα τῶν πραγμάτων
 6 ἡγεῖσθαι πάντων ἐκρύτησαν. ἐρρέθη γοῦν ὅτι
 τὰς πόλεις αἰρεῖ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ Φίλιππος,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ Φιλίππου χρυσίον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς
 ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς στρατείας ἀπτόμενος, καὶ βαρὺν ὄρων
 καὶ δύσογκον ἤδη τὸν Περσικὸν ἐφέλκομένους
 πλοῦτον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, πρῶτας ὑπέπρησε τὰς
 βασιλικὰς ἀμάξας, εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεισε ταῦτό
 ποιήσαντας ἐλαφροὺς ἀναξεῦξαι πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
 7 μον ὥσπερ λελυμένους. Περσεὺς δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν
 αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνων καὶ βασιλείας κατα-
 χεάμενος οὐκ ἠθέλησε δι' ὀλίγων σωθῆναι χρη-
 μάτων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν κομισθεὶς ὁ πλούσιος

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thousand pieces, he was bewildered and crazed at the amount of gold required, and out of parsimony renounced and abandoned the alliance, as if he were a steward, rather than a foe, of the Romans, and was to give an exact account of his expenditures for the war to those against whom he waged it ; and yet he had his foes to give him lessons, for, apart from their other preparations, they had a hundred thousand men assembled and ready for their needs. But he, though contending against so large a force, and in a war where such large reserves were maintained, measured out his gold and sealed it up in bags, as afraid to touch it as if it had belonged to others. And this he did although he was no Lydian or Phoenician born, but laid claim to a share in the virtues of Alexander and Philip, whose descendant he was,—men who mastered the world through their belief that empire was to be bought with money, not money with empire. At all events, it was a common saying that the cities of Greece were taken, not by Philip, but by Philip's money. And Alexander, when he was starting on his expedition to India, and saw that his Macedonians were dragging along after them their Persian wealth, which was already burdensome and heavy, set fire to the royal baggage-waggons first, and then persuaded his followers to do the same with theirs, and to set out for the war in light marching order, like men released from bondage. But Perseus would not consent to pour out his gold upon himself, his children, and his kingdom, and thus purchase salvation with a small part of his treasures, but chose to be carried with many treasures as the wealthy captive, and to show the

αἰχμάλωτος ἐπιδείξασθαι Ῥωμαίοις ὅσα φεισάμενος ἐτήρησεν αὐτοῖς.

- XIII. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπέπεμψε τοὺς Γαλάτας ψευσάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Γένθιον ἐπάρας τὸν Ἴλλυριὸν ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις συνεφάψασθαι τοῦ πολέμου τὰ μὲν χρήματα τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσι προῦθηκεν ἡριθμημένα καὶ κατασημῆνασθαι παρέσχεν· ὥς δὲ πεισθεὶς ἔχειν ἂ ἤτησεν ὁ Γένθιος ἔργον ἀσεβὲς καὶ δεινὸν ἔδρασε (πρέσβεις γὰρ ἔλθόντας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν 2 συνέλαβε καὶ κατέδησεν), ἡγούμενος ὁ Περσεὺς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσθαι τῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐκπολέμωσιν, ἅλυστα τοῦ Γενθίου προδεδωκότος ἔχθρας ἐνέχυρα καὶ διὰ τηλικαύτης ἀδικίας ἐμβεβληκότος ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀπεστέρησε τὸν κακοδαίμονα τῶν τριακοσίων ταλάντων, καὶ περιεῖδεν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς ὥς ἀπὸ νεοττιᾶς ἀρθέντα τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ Λευκίου Ἀνικίου στρατηγοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως.
- 3 Ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον ἀντίπαλον ἔλθων ὁ Αἰμίλιος αὐτοῦ μὲν κατεφρόνει, τὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐθαύμαζεν. ἦσαν γὰρ ἱππεῖς μὲν τετρακισχίλιοι, πεζοὶ δ' εἰς φάλαγγα τετρακισμυρίων οὐ πολλοῖς ἀποδέοντες. ἰδρυμένος δὲ πρὸ τῆς θαλάττης παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν ὑπώρειαν ἐπὶ χωρίων οὐδαμόθεν προσαγωγὴν ἐχόντων καὶ πάντοθεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπεφραγμένων ἐρύμασι καὶ προτειχισμασι ξυλίνοις πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἤγεν, ἀποτρύσειν χρόνῳ καὶ χρημάτων 4 δαπάνῃ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἡγούμενος. ὁ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ μὲν ἦν ἐνεργὸς ἐπὶ πᾶν βούλευμα καὶ πᾶσαν τρεπόμενος πείραν, ὑπ' ἀδείας δὲ τῆς πρόσθεν

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Romans how much he had saved and watched for them.

XIII. For he not only sent away the Gauls after playing them false, but also, after inducing Genthius the Illyrian, on payment of three hundred talents, to assist him in the war, he showed to the king's messengers the money all counted out, and suffered them to put their seals upon the bags; then, when Genthius, convinced that he had the price he had asked, committed a dreadful and impious deed, arresting and imprisoning a Roman embassy that had been sent to him, Perseus, thinking that the money was no longer needed to make Genthius an enemy of Rome, since before getting it he had given a lasting earnest of his hatred and had involved himself in the war by the great wrong which he had done, deprived the poor wretch of the three hundred talents, and suffered him in a little while to be taken from his kingdom with his wife and children, as birds from their nest, by Lucius Anicius, a general sent against him with an army.

Aemilius, coming against such an adversary, scorned him indeed, but admired his preparations and his army. For Perseus had four thousand horsemen, and not much fewer than forty thousand heavy-armed footmen. And planting himself with the sea behind him, along the foot-hills of Mount Olympus, on ground which nowhere afforded an approach, and which had been fortified on all sides by him with bulwarks and outworks of wood, he lay in great security, thinking that by delay and expense he would wear out Aemilius. But Aemilius was a man who clung to his purpose, and tested every plan and method of attack; seeing, however, that his

τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶν δυσανασχετοῦντα καὶ λόγῳ
πολλὰ διαστρατηγοῦντα τῶν ἀπράκτων, ἐπετίμη-
σεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ παρήγγειλε μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν
μηδὲ φροντίζειν, ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
τὴν πανοπλίαν ἕκαστον ὅπως ἐνεργὸν παρέξει
καὶ χρήσεται Ῥωμαϊκῶς τῇ μαχαίρᾳ, τὸν καιρὸν
5 παραδόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς 262
ἐκέλευσε φυλακὰς ἄνευ λόγχης φυλάττειν, ὥς
μᾶλλον προσέξοντας καὶ διαμαχομένους πρὸς
τὸν ὕπνον, ἢ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ
δύνωνται προσιόντας.

XIV. Ἐνοχλουμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μά-
λιστα περὶ τὴν τοῦ ποτοῦ χρεῖαν (καὶ γὰρ ὀλίγον
καὶ πονηρὸν ἐπίδυνε καὶ συνελείβετο παρ' αὐτὴν
τὴν θάλατταν), ὁρῶν ὁ Αἰμίλιος μέγα καὶ κατη-
ρεφὲς δένδρεσιν ὄρος τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἐπικείμενον,
καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος τῇ χλωρότητι τῆς ὕλης ναμά-
των ἔχειν ἀρχὰς διὰ βάθους ὑποφερομένων,
ἀναπνοὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ φρέατα πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν
2 ὑπώρειαν ὥρυττε. τὰ δ' εὐθὺς ἐπίμπλατο ρευ-
μάτων καθαρῶν, ἐπισυνδιδόντων ὀλκῇ καὶ φορᾷ
τοῦ θλιβομένου πρὸς τὸ κενούμενον.

Καίτοι τινὲς οὐ φασιν ὑδάτων ἐτοίμων κεκρυμ-
μένων πηγὰς ἐναποκεῖσθαι τοῖς τόποις ἐξ ὧν
ῥέουσιν, οὐδ' ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδὲ ῥῆξιν εἶναι τὴν
ἐκβολὴν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ γένεσιν καὶ σύστασιν
ἐνταῦθα τῆς ὕλης ἐξυγραινομένης· ἐξυγραίνεσθαι
δὲ πυκνότητι καὶ ψυχρότητι τὴν νοτερὰν ἀνα-
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army, by reason of their former license, was impatient of delay, and inclined to dictate to their general many impracticable things, he rebuked them, and instructed them to take no thought or concern for anything, except how each man might keep himself and his armour in readiness for action, and ply his sword in Roman fashion, when their general gave them the opportunity. Furthermore, he ordered the night watchmen to keep watch without their spears, with the idea that they would be more on the alert and would struggle more successfully against sleep, if they were unable to defend themselves against their enemies when they approached.

XIV. But his men were annoyed especially by the lack of drinking water, since only a little of it issued forth and collected in pools at the very edge of the sea, and that was bad. Aemilius, therefore, seeing that the lofty and wooded mountain of Olympus lay near, and judging from the greenness of its trees that there were veins of water coursing under ground, dug a number of vents and wells for them along the foot of the mountain. These were at once filled with streams of pure water, which, under the weight and impulse of the pressure that was upon them, discharged themselves into the vacuum afforded.

And yet some deny that stores of ready water lie hidden away beneath the places from which springs flow, and that they merely come to light or force a passage when they issue forth; they hold rather that the water is generated and comes into existence then and there through the liquefaction of matter, and that moist vapour is liquefied by density and cold,

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θυμίασιν, ὅταν ἐν βάθει καταθλιβεῖσα ῥευστικὴ
 3 γένηται. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ μαστοὶ τῶν γυναικῶν
 οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖα πλήρεις εἰσὶν ἐπιρρέοντος
 ἐτοίμου γάλακτος, ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν
 τροφὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐργάζονται γάλα καὶ διηθοῦσιν,
 οὕτως οἱ περίψυκτοι καὶ πιδακώδεις τόποι τῆς
 γῆς ὕδωρ μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσι καλυπτόμενον, οὐδὲ
 κόλπους ῥεύματα καὶ βάθη ποταμῶν τοσοῦτων
 ἐξ ἐτοίμης καὶ ὑποκειμένης ἀφιέντας ἀρχῆς, τὸ
 δὲ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τῷ πιέζειν καὶ καταπυ-
 4 κνοῦν ἀποθλίβοντες εἰς ὕδωρ τρέπουσι. τὰ γοῦν
 ὀρυττόμενα τῶν χωρίων μᾶλλον ἀναπιδύει καὶ
 διανάει πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ψηλάφησιν, ὥσπερ
 οἱ μαστοὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πρὸς τὸν θηλασμόν,
 ἀννυγραίνοντα καὶ μαλάττοντα τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν·
 ὅσα δ' ἀργὰ τῆς γῆς συμπέφρακται, τυφλὰ πρὸς
 γένεσιν ὑδάτων ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐργαζομένην
 5 τὸ ὑγρὸν κίνησιν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπι-
 χειρεῖν δεδώκασι τοῖς ἀπορητικοῖς, ὥς οὐδὲ τὸ
 αἷμα τοῖς ζῴοις ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ γεννᾶται πρὸς τὰ
 τραύματα πνεύματός τινος ἢ σαρκῶν μεταβολῇ,
 ῥύσιν ἀπεργασαμένη καὶ σύντηξιν. ἐλέγχονται
 δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπονόμους καὶ τὰς μεταλλείας
 ἀπαντῶσιν εἰς βάθη ποταμοῖς, οὐ κατ' ὀλίγον
 συλλεγομένοις, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐστίν εἰ γένεσιν ἐκ
 τοῦ παραχρῆμα κινουμένης τῆς γῆς λαμβάνουσιν,
 ἀλλ' ἀθρόοις ἀναχεομένοις. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ πέτρας
 πληγῇ ῥαγείσης ἐξεπήδησε ῥεῦμα λάβρον ὕδατος,
 εἶτα ἐπέλιπε. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων.

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whenever, that is, it is compressed in the depths of earth and becomes fluid. For, they argue, just as the breasts of women are not, like vessels, full of ready milk which flows out, but by converting the nourishment that is in them produce milk and strain it out; so those places in the ground which are chilly and full of springs do not have hidden water, nor reservoirs which send forth the currents and deep waters of all our rivers from a source that is ready at hand, but by forcibly compressing and condensing vapour and air, they convert them into water. At all events, those places which are dug open gush and flow more freely in response to such manipulation, just as the breasts of women do in response to sucking, because they moisten and soften the vapours; whereas all places in the ground which are packed tight and unworked, are incapable of generating water, since they have not been subjected to the agitation which produces moisture. But those who hold this doctrine give the sceptical occasion to object that, on this reasoning, there is no blood in living creatures, but it is generated in response to wounds by a transformation of some vapour or flesh, which causes its liquefaction and flow. Moreover, they are refuted by the experience of men who dig mines, either for sieges or for metals, and in the depths encounter rivers of water, which are not gradually collected, as must naturally be the case if they come into existence at the instant that the earth is agitated, but pour fourth in a great mass. And again, when a mountain or rock is smitten asunder, a fierce torrent of water often gushes forth, and then ceases entirely. So much on this head.

XV. Ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἡρέμει, καὶ φασι μήποτε τηλικούτων στρατοπέδων ἐγγὺς οὕτω συνελθόντων ἡσυχίαν γενέσθαι τοσαύτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ κινῶν ἅπαντα καὶ πειρώμενος ἐπυνθάνετο μίαν εἰσβολὴν ἔτι μόνον ἄφρουρον ἀπολείπεσθαι, τὴν διὰ Περραιβίας παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὴν Πέτραν, τῇ μὴ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τόπον ἐλπίσας μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐφυλάττετο δυσχωρίαν καὶ 2 τραχύτητα δείσας ἐβουλεύετο. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος Σκηπίων, γαμβρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος, ὕστερον δὲ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυνηθεὶς, ὑπεδέξατο τῆς κυκλώσεως ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι. δεῦτερος δὲ Φάβιος Μάξιμος, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Αἰμιλίου παίδων, 3 ἔτι μεираάκιον ὢν, ἀνέστη προθυμούμενος. ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Αἰμίλιος δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὅσους Πολύβιος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλ' ὅσους αὐτὸς ὁ Νασικᾶς λαβεῖν φησι, γεγραφὼς περὶ τῶν πράξεων τούτων ἐπιστόλιον πρὸς τινὰ τῶν βασιλέων, οἱ μὲν ἐκτὸς τάξεως Ἰταλικοὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν, τὸ 4 δ' εὐώνυμον κέρας εἰς πεντακισχιλίους. τούτοις 263 προσλαβὼν ὁ Νασικᾶς ἱππεῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀρπάλῳ Θρακῶν καὶ Κρητῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων διακοσίους, ἐξώρμησε τῇ πρὸς θάλασσαν ὁδῷ, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὥς δὴ ταῖς ναυσὶ μέλλων ἐκπεριπλεῖν καὶ κυ- 5 κλοῦσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, τοῖς ἡγεμόσι φράσας τὸ ἀληθὲς ἦγε διὰ νυκτὸς

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XV. Aemilius kept still for several days, and they say that never was there such quiet when armies of such size had come so close together. But when, as he was trying and considering everything, he learned that there was one passage and one only that still remained unguarded, namely, the one through Per-rhaebia past the Pythium and Petra, he conceived more hope from the fact that the place was left unguarded than fear from the roughness and difficulty of it which caused it to be so left, and held a council of war upon the matter. Among those present at the council, Scipio, surnamed Nasica, a son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, and afterwards of the greatest influence in the senate, was first to offer himself as leader of the enveloping force. And second, Fabius Maximus, the eldest of the sons of Aemilius, though he was still a young man, eagerly volunteered. Aemilius, accordingly, delighted, gave them, not as many men as Polybius states,¹ but as many as Nasica himself says they took, in a short letter which he wrote concerning these exploits to one of the kings, that is, three thousand of his Italians who were not Romans, and his left wing numbering five thousand. In addition to these, Nasica took a hundred and twenty horsemen, besides two hundred of the mixed Thracians and Cretans with Harpalus, set out on the road towards the sea, and encamped by the Heracleum, as though he intended to sail round by sea and envelope the camp of the enemy. But when his soldiers had taken supper and darkness had come, he told his chief officers his real design, and then led his forces by night in the opposite direction, away from the sea,

¹ In a lost portion of Book XXIX.

τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀπὸ θαλάττης, καὶ καταλύσας ἀνέ-
παυε τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπὸ τὸ Πύθιον. ἐνταῦθα τοῦ
Ὀλύμπου τὸ ὕψος ἀνατείνει πλέον ἢ δέκα σταδί-
ους· σημαίνεται δὲ ἐπιγράμματι τοῦ μετρήσαντος
οὕτως·

- 6 Οὐλύμπου κορυφῆς ἔπι Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος
ἱερὸν ὕψος ἔχει, πρὸς κάθετον δὲ μέτρον,¹
πλήρη μὲν δεκάδα σταδίων μίαν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῇ
πλέθρον τετραπέδῳ λειπόμενον μεγέθει.
Εὐμήλου δέ μιν υἱὸς ἐθήκατο μέτρα κελεύθου
Ξεναγόρης· σὺ δ', ἄναξ, χαῖρε καὶ ἐσθλὰ
δίδου.

- 7 καίτοι λέγουσιν οἱ γεωμετρικοὶ μήτε ὄρους ὕψος
μήτε βάθος θαλάσσης ὑπερβάλλειν δέκα στα-
δίους. ὁ μέντοι Ξεναγόρας οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ
μεθόδῳ καὶ δι' ὀργάνων εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ τὴν
μέτρησιν.

- XVI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νασικᾶς ἐνταῦθα διενυκτέ-
ρευσε· τῷ δὲ Περσεῖ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἀτρεμοῦντα
κατὰ χώραν ὀρῶντι καὶ μὴ λογιζομένῳ τὸ γινό-
μενον ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ Κρῆς αὐτόμολος ἦκε
μηνύων τὴν περίοδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ὁ δὲ συν-
ταραχθεὶς τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐκίνησε,
μυρίους δὲ μισθοφόρους ξένους καὶ δισχιλίους
Μακεδόνας Μίλωνι παραδοὺς ἐξαπέστειλε, παρα-
κελευσάμενος ταχῆναι καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰς ὑπερ-
2 βολάς. τούτοις ὁ μὲν Πολύβιός φησιν ἔτι κοιμω-
μένοις ἐπιπσεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς

¹ πρὸς . . . μέτρον a correction suggested by Sintenis (and adopted by Bekker) of the unmetrical πρὸς τὴν κάθετον δ' ἐμετρήθη of the MSS.

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and halted below the Pythium, where he gave his army a rest. From this point Olympus rises to a height of more than ten furlongs, as is signified in an inscription by the man who measured it:—

“The sacred peak of Olympus, at Apollo’s Pythium, has a height, in perpendicular measurement, of ten full furlongs, and besides, a hundred feet lacking only four. It was the son of Eumelus who measured the distance, Xenagoras; so fare thee well, O King, and be propitious in thy gifts.”

And yet the geometricians say that no mountain has a height, and no sea a depth, of more than ten furlongs. It would seem, however, that Xenagoras took his measurement, not carelessly, but according to rule and with instruments.

XVI. Here, then, Nasica passed the night; but to Perseus, who did not infer what was going on because he saw Aemilius remaining quietly in his position, there came a Cretan deserter who had run away on the march, bringing him news of the circuit which the Romans had taken. Though Perseus was confounded at this, he did not move his camp, but sent out ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under Milo, with orders to make haste and occupy the passes. These men, according to Polybius,¹ were still asleep when the Romans fell upon them; but Nasica says that a

¹ In a lost portion of Book XXIX.

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ὁξὺν ἀγῶνα περὶ τοῖς ἄκροις γενέσθαι καὶ κίνδυνον, αὐτὸς δὲ Θρᾶκα μισθοφόρον εἰς χεῖρας συνδραμόντα τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τοῦ στήθους πατάξας καταβαλεῖν, ἐκβιασθέντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τοῦ Μίλωνος αἰσχιστα φεύγοντος ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν μονοχίτωνος, ἀσφαλῶς ἀκολουθεῖν, ἅμα καταβιβάζων εἰς τὴν χώραν τὸ στράτευμα.

- 3 Τούτων δὲ τῷ Περσεῖ προσπεσόντων κατὰ τάχος ἀναξεύξας ἤγεν ὀπίσω, περίφοβος γεγονῶς καὶ συγκεχυμένος ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. αὐτοῦ δ' ὁμως πρὸ τῆς Πύδνης ὑπομένοντα πειρᾶσθαι μάχης ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἣ τῷ στρατῷ σκεδασθέντι περὶ τὰς πόλεις δέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπεὶπερ ἅπαξ ἐμβέβηκε τῇ χώρᾳ, δίχα πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ
- 4 νεκρῶν ἐκπεσεῖν μὴ δυνάμενον. πλήθει μὲν οὖν ἀνδρῶν αὐτόθεν περιεῖναι, προθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν ὑπάρχειν ἀμυνομένοις περὶ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐφορῶντος ἕκαστα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ προκινδυνεύοντος. ἐκ τούτων ἐθάρσυνον οἱ φίλοι τὸν Περσέα· καὶ βαλόμενος στρατόπεδον συνετάττετο πρὸς μάχην, καὶ τὰ χωρία κατεσκοπεῖτο, καὶ διήρει τὰς ἡγεμονίας, ὥς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου τοῖς
- 5 Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντήσων. ὁ δὲ τόπος καὶ πεδίον ἦν τῇ φάλαγγι βάσεως ἐπιπέδου καὶ χωρίων ὁμαλῶν δεομένη, καὶ λόφοι συνεχεῖς ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλου τοῖς γυμνητεύουσι καὶ ψιλοῖς ἀναφυγὰς καὶ περιδρομὰς ἔχοντες. διὰ μέσου δὲ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες Αἴσων καὶ Λεῦκος οὐ μάλα βαθεῖς τότε (θέρους γὰρ ἦν

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sharp and perilous conflict took place for possession of the heights, and that he himself slew a Thracian mercenary, who engaged him, by striking him through the breast with his javelin, and that after the enemy had been driven away, and while Milo was flying most disgracefully without his armour or his cloak, he followed after them without danger, and brought his army with him down into the plain.

After this disaster, Perseus hastily broke camp and retired; he had become exceedingly fearful, and his hopes were shattered. But nevertheless he was under the necessity of standing his ground there in front of Pydna and risking a battle, or else of scattering his army about among the cities and so awaiting the issue of the war, which, now that it had once made its way into his country, could not be driven out without much bloodshed and slaughter. In the number of his men, then, he was superior where he was, and they would fight with great ardour in defence of their wives and children, and with their king beholding all their actions and risking life in their behalf. With such arguments his friends encouraged Perseus. So he pitched a camp and arranged his forces for battle, examining the field and distributing his commands, purposing to confront the Romans as soon as they came up. The place afforded a plain for his phalanx, which required firm standing and smooth ground, and there were hills succeeding one another continuously, which gave his skirmishers and light-armed troops opportunity for retreat and flank attack. Moreover, through the middle of it ran the rivers Aeson and Leucus, which were not very deep at that time (for it was the latter end of summer),

ώρα φθίνοντος) ἐδόκουν τινὰ δυσεργίαν ὁμως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρέξειν.

XVII. Ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος, ὡς εἰς ταῦτόν συνέμιξε τῷ Νασικᾷ, κατέβαινε συντεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὡς δ' εἶδε τὴν παράταξιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, θαυμάσας ἐπέστησε τὴν πορείαν, αὐτός τι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συλλογιζόμενος. οἱ δ' ἡγεμονικοὶ νεανίσκοι προθυμούμενοι μάχεσθαι παραλύνοντες ἐδέοντο μὴ μέλλειν, καὶ μάλιστα πάντων ὁ Νασικᾶς τῇ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον εὐτυχία 2 τεθαρρηκώς. ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος, μειδιάσας, "Εἰ γέ 264 τὴν σὴν," εἶπεν, "ἡλικίαν εἶχον· αἱ δὲ πολλάί με νῖκαι διδάσκουσαι τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων ἁμαρτήματα, κωλύουσιν ἐξ ὁδοῦ μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὸς φάλαγγα συντεταγμένην ἤδη καὶ συνεστῶσαν." ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ καταφανῆ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευσεν εἰς σπείρας καθιστάμενα ποιεῖν σχῆμα παρατάξεως, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' οὐρᾶς στραφέντας ἐν χώρᾳ χάρακα βαλέσθαι καὶ στρα- 3 τοπεδεύειν. οὕτω δὲ τῶν συνεχῶν τοῖς τελευταίοις καθ' ὑπαγωγὴν ἐξελιττομένων ἔλαθε τὴν παράταξιν ἀναλύσας καὶ καταστήσας ἀθορύβως εἰς τὸν χάρακα πάντας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ νύξ γέγονει καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐτράποντο πρὸς ὕπνον καὶ ἀνάπαισιν, αἰφνίδιον ἡ σελήνη πλήρης οὔσα καὶ μετέωρος ἐμελαίνετο καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀπολιπόντος αὐτὴν χροᾶς ἀμείψασα 4 παντοδαπὰς ἠφάνισθη. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ νενομισμένον, χαλκοῦ τε πατάγοις ἀνακαλουμένων τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ δαλοῖς καὶ δασὶν ἀνεχόντων πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὐδὲν ὁμοιον ἔπραττον οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ φρίκη καὶ

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but were likely, nevertheless, to give the Romans considerable trouble.

XVII. Aemilius, after effecting a junction with Nasica, came down in battle array against the enemy. But when he saw how they were drawn up, and in what numbers, he was amazed, and came to a halt, considering with himself. His young officers, however, who were eager for battle, rode up and begged him not to delay, especially Nasica, who was emboldened by his success at Mount Olympus. But Aemilius, with a smile, said to him: "Yes, if I had thy youth; but many victories teach me the mistakes of the vanquished, and forbid me to join battle, immediately after a march, with a phalanx which is already drawn up and completely formed." After this, he ordered his foremost troops, who were in sight of the enemy, to form into cohorts and give the appearance of a battle line, while the others, wheeling to the rear, dug trenches and marked out a camp. And in this way, the troops next to the last wheeling off in due succession, before the enemy knew it he had broken up his battle line and brought all his men without confusion into their intrenchments.

Now, when night had come, and the soldiers, after supper, were betaking themselves to rest and sleep, on a sudden the moon, which was full and high in the heavens, grew dark, lost its light, took on all sorts of colours in succession, and finally disappeared. The Romans, according to their custom, tried to call her light back by the clashing of bronze utensils and by holding up many blazing fire-brands and torches towards the heavens; the Macedonians, however, did nothing of this sort, but amazement

θάμβος τὸ στρατόπεδον κατείχε καὶ λόγος ἡσυχῇ
 διὰ πολλῶν ἐχώρει, βασιλέως τὸ φάσμα σημαί-
 5 νειν ἔκλειψιν. ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος οὐκ ἦν μὲν ἀνήκοος
 οὐδ' ἄπειρος παντάπασι τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν ἀνω-
 μαλιῶν, αἱ τὴν σελήνην περιφερομένην εἰς τὸ
 σκίασμα τῆς γῆς ἐμβάλλουσι τεταγμέναις περι-
 ὁδοῖς καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσιν, ἄχρι οὗ παρελθούσα
 τὴν ἐπισκοτουμένην χώραν πάλιν ἐπιλάμψη πρὸς
 τὸν ἥλιον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ πολὺν νέμων καὶ
 φιλοθύτης ὢν καὶ μαντικός, ὥς εἶδε πρῶτον τὴν
 σελήνην ἀποκαθαιρομένην, ἔνδεκα μόσχους αὐτῇ
 6 κατέθυσεν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ βουθυτῶν
 οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρι μέχρῃς εἴκοσι· τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ καὶ
 εἰκοστῷ παρῆν τὰ σημεία καὶ νίκην ἀμυνομένοις
 ἔφραζεν. εὐξάμενος οὖν κατὰ βοῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
 ἄγωνος ἱεροῦ τῷ θεῷ, προσέταξε διακοσμεῖν τοῖς
 ἡγεμόσι τὸν στρατὸν εἰς μάχην· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν
 ἀπόκλινσιν καὶ περιφορὰν ἀναμένων τοῦ φωτός,
 ὅπως μὴ κατὰ προσώπου μαχομένοις αὐτοῖς ἔωθεν
 ὁ ἥλιος ἀντιλάμποι, παρῆγε τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ
 σκηνῇ καθεζόμενος ἀναπεπταμένη πρὸς τὸ πεδίου
 καὶ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν τῶν πολεμίων.

XVIII. Περὶ δὲ δείλην οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ φασὶ τοῦ
 Αἰμιλίου τεχνάζοντος ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι
 τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἀχάλινον ἵππον ἐξελάσαντας
 ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοῦτον
 ἀρχὴν μάχης διωκόμενον παρασχεῖν· οἱ δὲ Ῥω-
 μαϊκῶν ὑποζυγίων χορτάσματα παρακομιζόντων
 ἄπτεσθαι Θράκας, ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος ἡγεῖτο, πρὸς

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and terror possessed their camp, and a rumour quietly spread among many of them that the portent signified an eclipse of a king. Now, Aemilius was not altogether without knowledge and experience of the irregularities of eclipses, which, at fixed periods, carry the moon in her course into the shadow of the earth and conceal her from sight, until she passes beyond the region of shadow and reflects again the light of the sun; however, since he was very devout and given to sacrifices and divination, as soon as he saw the moon beginning to emerge from the shadow, he sacrificed eleven heifers to her. And as soon as it was day, he sacrificed as many as twenty oxen to Hercules without getting favourable omens; but with the twenty-first victim the propitious signs appeared and indicated victory if they stood on the defensive. Accordingly, having vowed to the god a hecatomb and solemn games, he ordered his officers to put the army in array for battle; but he himself, waiting for the sun to pass to the west and decline, in order that its morning light might not shine in the faces of his men as they fought, passed the time sitting in his tent, which was open towards the plain and the enemy's encampment.

XVIII. Towards evening, Aemilius himself, as some say, devised a scheme for making the enemy begin the attack, and the Romans, pursuing a horse which they had driven forth without a bridle, came into collision with them, and the pursuit of this horse brought on a battle; others say that Thracians, under the command of Alexander, set upon Roman beasts of burden that were bringing in forage, and

δὲ τούτους ἐκδρομὴν ὀξεῖαν ἑπτακοσίων Λιγύων
γενέσθαι· παραβοηθούντων δὲ πλειόνων ἑκατέροις
2 οὕτω συνάπτεσθαι τὴν μάχην ἀμφοτέρων. ὁ μὲν
οὖν Αἰμίλιος ὥσπερ κυβερνήτης τῷ παρόντι σάλῳ
καὶ κινήματι τῶν στρατοπέδων τεκμαιρόμενος τὸ
μέγεθος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγῶνος, ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς
προῆλθε καὶ τὰ τάγματα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπιὼν
παρεθάρρυνεν, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς ἐξιππασάμενος πρὸς
τοὺς ἀκροβολιζομένους ὁρᾷ πάντα ὅσον οὐπὼ
τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν χερσὶν ὄντας.

3 Πρῶτοι δ' οἱ Θράκες ἐχώρουν, ὧν μάλιστα
φησιν ἐκπλαγῆναι τὴν ὄψιν, ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ τὰ
σώματα, λευκῷ καὶ περιλάμποντι θυρεῶν καὶ
περικνημίδων ὀπλισμῷ μέλανας ὑπενδεδυμένοι
χιτῶνας, ὀρθὰς δὲ ῥομφαίας βαρυσιδήρους ἀπὸ
τῶν δεξιῶν ὤμων ἐπισείοντες. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς
Θράκας οἱ μισθοφόροι παρενέβαλλον, ὧν σκευαί
τε παντοδαπαί, καὶ μεμιγμένοι Παῖονες ἦσαν·
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἄγῃμα τρίτον οἱ λογάδες, αὐτῶν
Μακεδόνων ἀρετῇ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ τὸ καθαρώτατον,
ἁστράπτοντες ἐπιχρύσοις ὅπλοις καὶ νεουργοῖς
4 φοινικίσιν. οἷς καθισταμένοις εἰς τάξιν αἱ τῶν 265
χαλκασπίδων ἐπανατέλλουσαι φάλαγγες ἐκ τοῦ
χάρακος ἐνέπλησαν αὐγῆς σιδήρου καὶ λαμπη-
δόνης χαλκοῦ τὸ πεδίον, κραυγῆς δὲ καὶ θορύβου
παρακελευομένων τὴν ὀρεινὴν. οὕτω δὲ θρασέως
καὶ μετὰ τάχους ἐπήεσαν ὥστε τοὺς πρῶτους
νεκροὺς ἀπὸ δυεῖν σταδίων τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ χάρα-
κος καταπεσεῖν.

XIX. Γιγνομένης δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου παρῆν ὁ Αἰμί-
λιος, καὶ κατελάμβανε ἤδη τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῆμασι
Μακεδόνας ἄκρας τὰς σαρίσας προσεληρκεύοντας

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that against these a sharp sally was made by seven hundred Ligurians, whereupon reinforcements were sent to either party, and thus the engagement became general. So then Aemilius, like a pilot, judging from the surging commotion in the armies the greatness of the coming storm, came forth from his tent and went along in front of his legionary troops encouraging them, and Nasica, after riding out to the skirmishers, saw that the whole force of the enemy was all but at close quarters.

First the Thracians advanced, whose appearance, Nasica says, was most terrible,—men of lofty stature, clad in tunics which showed black beneath the white and gleaming armour of their shields and greaves, and tossing high on their right shoulders battle-axes with heavy iron heads. Next to the Thracians, the mercenaries advanced to the attack; their equipment was of every variety, and Paeonians were mingled with them. Next to these came a third division, picked men, the flower of the Macedonians themselves for youthful strength and valour, gleaming with gilded armour and fresh scarlet coats. As these took their places in the line, they were illumined by the phalanx-lines of the Bronze-shields which issued from the camp behind them and filled the plain with the gleam of iron and the glitter of bronze, the hills, too, with the tumultuous shouts of their cheering. And with such boldness and swiftness did they advance that the first to be slain fell only two furlongs from the Roman camp.

XIX. As the attack began, Aemilius came up and found that the Macedonian battalions had already planted the tips of their long spears in the shields

- τοῖς θυρεοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μὴ προσιεμένους εἰς ἐφικτὸν αὐτῶν τὰς μαχαίρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τὰς τε πέλτας ἐξ ὤμου περισπασάντων καὶ ταῖς σαρίσαις ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος κλιθείσαις ὑποστάντων τοὺς θυρεοφόρους εἶδε τὴν τε ῥώμην τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς προβολῆς, ἔκπληξιν αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ δέος, ὥς οὐδὲν ἰδόντα πώποτε θέαμα φοβερώτερον·
- 2 καὶ πολλάκις ὕστερον ἐμέμνητο τοῦ πάθους ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς ὀψευς. τότε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔλεω καὶ παιδρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ κράνους καὶ θώρακος ἵππῳ παρήλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ὥς φησι Πολύβιος, τῆς μάχης ἀρχὴν λαμβανούσης ἀποδειλιάσας εἰς πόλιν ἀφιππάσατο, σκηψάμενος Ἡρακλεῖ θύειν, δειλὰ παρὰ δειλῶν ἱερὰ μὴ δεχομένῳ μῆδ' εὐχὰς
- 3 ἀθεμίτους ἐπιτελοῦντι. θεμιτὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τὸν μὴ βάλλοντα κατευστοχεῖν οὔτε τὸν μὴ μένοντα κρατεῖν οὔθ' ὅλως τὸν ἄπρακτον εὐπραγεῖν οὔτε τὸν κακὸν εὐδαιμονεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῖς Αἰμιλίου παρῇν εὐχαῖς ὁ θεός· εὐχετο γὰρ κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην δόρυ κρατῶν, καὶ μαχόμενος παρεκάλει σύμμαχον τὸν θεόν.
- 4 Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ Ποσειδώνιός τις ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι γεγονέναι λέγων, ἱστορίαν δὲ γεγραφὼς περὶ Περσέως ἐν πλείοσι βιβλίοις, φησὶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπὸ δειλίας οὐδὲ τὴν θυσίαν ποιησάμενον αἰτίαν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῇ προτέρᾳ τῆς μάχης τυχεῖν λελακτισμένον ὑφ'

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of the Romans, who were thus prevented from reaching them with their swords. And when he saw that the rest of the Macedonian troops also were drawing their targets from their shoulders round in front of them, and with long spears set at one level were withstanding his shield-bearing troops, and saw too the strength of their interlocked shields and the fierceness of their onset, amazement and fear took possession of him, and he felt that he had never seen a sight more fearful ; often in after times he used to speak of his emotions at that time and of what he saw. But then, showing to his soldiers a glad and cheerful countenance, he rode past them without helmet or breastplate. The king of the Macedonians, on the other hand, according to Polybius, as soon as the battle began, played the coward and rode back to the city, under pretence of sacrificing to Heracles, a god who does not accept cowardly sacrifices from cowards, nor accomplish their unnatural prayers. For it is not in the nature of things that he who makes no shot should hit the mark exactly, or that he who does not hold his ground should win the day, or, in a word, that he who does nothing should be successful in what he does, or that a wicked man should be prosperous. But the god listened to the prayers of Aemilius, who kept wielding his spear as he prayed for might and victory, and fought as he invited the god to fight with him.

However, a certain Poseidonius, who says he lived in those times and took part in those actions, and who has written a history of Perseus in several books, says it was not out of cowardice, nor with the excuse of the sacrifice, that the king went away, but because on the day before the battle a horse had

ἵππου τὸ σκέλος· ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ, καίπερ ἔχοντα
 δυσχρήστως καὶ κωλυόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων,
 ἵππον αὐτῷ κελεύσαι τῶν φορέων προσαγαγεῖν
 καὶ περιβάντα συμμῖξαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς φάλαγγος
 5 ἀθωράκιστον· φερομένων δὲ παντοδαπῶν ἑκατέ-
 ρωθεν βελῶν, παλτὸν ἐμπεσεῖν ὀλοσίδηρον αὐτῷ,
 καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀκμῇ μὴ θιγεῖν, ἀλλὰ πλάγιον παρὰ
 τὴν ἀριστερὰν πλευρὰν παραδραμεῖν, ῥύμη δὲ τῆς
 παρόδου τὸν τε χιτῶνα διακόψαι καὶ τὴν σάρκα
 φοινίξαι τυφλῷ μῶλωπι, πολὺν χρόνον διαφυ-
 λάξαντι τὸν τύπον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ Περσέως ἀπολογεῖται.

XX. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ὡς ἀντέστησαν τῇ φά-
 λαγγι, μὴ δυναμένων βιάζεσθαι, Σάλουιος ὁ τῶν
 Πελιγνῶν ἡγούμενος ἀρπάσας τὸ σημεῖον τῶν ὑφ'
 αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔρριψε. τῶν δὲ Πελι-
 γνῶν (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν Ἰταλοῖς θεμιτὸν οὐδ' ὅσιον
 ἐγκαταλιπεῖν σημεῖον) ἐπιδραμόντων πρὸς ἐκείνον
 τὸν τόπον ἔργα δεινὰ καὶ πάθη παρ' ἀμφοτέρων
 2 ἀπῆντα συμπεσόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκρούειν τε
 τοῖς ξίφεσι τὰς σαρίσας ἐπειρῶντο καὶ πιέζειν
 τοῖς θυρεοῖς καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς ἀντιλαμβανό-
 μενοι παραφέρειν, οἱ δὲ τὴν προβολὴν κρατυνά-
 μενοι δι' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τοὺς προσπίπτοντας
 αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις διελαύνοντες, οὔτε θυρεοῦ στέγοντος
 οὔτε θώρακος τὴν βίαν τῆς σαρίσης, ἀνερρίπτουν
 ὑπὲρ κεφαλὴν τὰ σώματα τῶν Πελιγνῶν καὶ
 Μαρρουκινῶν, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμόν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ
 θηριώδει, πρὸς ἐναντίας πληγὰς καὶ προῦπτου

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kicked him on the leg. He says further that in the battle, although he was in a wretched plight, and although his friends tried to deter him, the king ordered a pack-horse to be brought to him, mounted it, and joined his troops in the phalanx without a breastplate ; and that among the missiles of every sort which were flying on all sides, a javelin made entirely of iron smote him, not touching him with its point, indeed, but coursing along his left side with an oblique stroke, and the force of its passage was such that it tore his tunic and made a dark red bruise upon his flesh, the mark of which remained for a long time. This, then, is what Poseidonius says in defence of Perseus.

XX. The Romans, when they attacked the Macedonian phalanx, were unable to force a passage, and Salvius, the commander of the Pelignians, snatched the standard of his company and hurled it in among the enemy. Then the Pelignians, since among the Italians it is an unnatural and flagrant thing to abandon a standard, rushed on towards the place where it was, and dreadful losses were inflicted and suffered on both sides. For the Romans tried to thrust aside the long spears of their enemies with their swords, or to crowd them back with their shields, or to seize and put them by with their very hands ; while the Macedonians, holding them firmly advanced with both hands, and piercing those who fell upon them, armour and all, since neither shield nor breastplate could resist the force of the Macedonian long spear, hurled headlong back the Pelignians and Marrucinians, who, with no consideration but with animal fury rushed upon the strokes that

- 3 ὠθουμένων θάνατον. οὕτω δὲ τῶν προμάχων διαφθαρέντων ἀνεκόπησαν οἱ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτεταγμένοι· καὶ φυγὴ μὲν οὐκ ἦν, ἀναχώρησις δὲ πρὸς ὅρος τὸ καλούμενον Ὀλόκρον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν 266 Αἰμίλιον ἰδόντα φησὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος καταρρήξασθαι τὸν χιτῶνα, τούτων μὲν ἐνδιδόντων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων διατρεπομένων τὴν φάλαγγα προσβολὴν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ χαρακώματι τῷ πυκνώματι τῶν σαρισῶν ὑπαντιάζουσιν πάντοθεν ἀπρόσμαχον.
- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε χωρίων ἀνωμάτων ὄντων, καὶ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς παρατάξεως οὐ φυλαττούσης ἀραρότα τὸν συνασπισμόν, κατεῖδε τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων κλάσεις τε πολλὰς καὶ διασπασματα λαμβάνουσιν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς καὶ ποικίλαις ὁρμαῖς τῶν μαχομένων, τοῖς μὲν ἐκθλιβομένην μέρεσι, τοῖς δὲ προπίπτουσιν, ἐπιὼν ὀξέως καὶ διαιρῶν τὰς σπείρας ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὰ διαλείμματα καὶ κενώματα τῆς τῶν πολεμίων τάξεως παρεμπίπτοντας καὶ συμπλεκομένους μὴ μίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεμιγμένας
- 5 κατὰ μέρος τὰς μάχας τίθεσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦ μὲν Αἰμιλίου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων τοὺς στρατιώτας διδασκόντων, ὡς πρῶτον ὑπέδυσαν καὶ διέσχον εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ πλαγίου κατὰ γυμνὰ προσφερόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς περιδρομαῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες, ἡ μὲν ἰσχὺς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἔργον εὐθύς ἀπωλώλει τῆς φάλαγγος ἀναρρηγνυμένης, ἐν δὲ ταῖς καθ' ἓνα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους συστάσεσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες μικροῖς μὲν ἐγχειριδίοις στερεοὺς καὶ ποδήρεις θυρεοὺς νύσσοντες, ἐλα-

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met them, and a certain death. When the first line had thus been cut to pieces, those arrayed behind them were beaten back; and though there was no flight, still they retired towards the mountain called Olocrus, so that even Aemilius, as Poseidonius tells us, when he saw it, rent his garments. For this part of his army was retreating, and the rest of the Romans were turning aside from the phalanx, which gave them no access to it, but confronted them as it were with a dense barricade of long spears, and was everywhere unassailable.

But the ground was uneven, and the line of battle so long that shields could not be kept continuously locked together, and Aemilius therefore saw that the Macedonian phalanx was getting many clefts and intervals in it, as is natural when armies are large and the efforts of the combatants are diversified; portions of it were hard pressed, and other portions were dashing forward. Thereupon he came up swiftly, and dividing up his cohorts, ordered them to plunge quickly into the interstices and empty spaces in the enemy's line and thus come to close quarters, not fighting a single battle against them all, but many separate and successive battles. These instructions being given by Aemilius to his officers, and by his officers to the soldiers, as soon as they got between the ranks of the enemy and separated them, they attacked some of them in the flank where their armour did not shield them, and cut off others by falling upon their rear, and the strength and general efficiency of the phalanx was lost when it was thus broken up; and now that the Macedonians engaged man to man or in small detachments, they could only hack with their small daggers against the firm and

φροῖς δὲ πελταρίοις πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων μαχαίρας ὑπὸ βάρους καὶ καταφορᾶς διὰ παντὸς ὄπλου χωρούσας ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα, κακῶς ἀντέχοντες ἐτράποντο.

XXI. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ μέγας ἦν ἀγών. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ Κάτωνος υἱός, Αἰμιλίου δὲ γαμβρός, πᾶσαν ἀλκὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἀπέβαλε τὸ ξίφος. οἷα δὲ νεανίας ἐντεθραμμένος πλείστοις παιδεύμασι καὶ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ μεγάλῃς ἀρετῆς ἀποδείξεις ὀφείλων, οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι προεμένῳ σκῦλον αὐτοῦ ζῶντος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέδραμε τὴν μάχην, εἴ τινα που φίλον καὶ συνήθη κατίδοι, φράζων τὸ συμπεσὼν αὐτῷ καὶ δεόμενος
 2 βοηθεῖν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ διασχόντες ὀρμῇ μιᾷ τοὺς ἄλλους, περὶ αὐτὸν ὑψηγούμενον ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. μεγάλῳ δ' ἀγῶνι καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ τραύμασιν ὥσαντες ἐκ χώρας καὶ τόπον ἔρημον καὶ γυμνὸν κατασχόντες ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ἐτράποντο τοῦ ξίφους. ὥς δὲ μόλις ἐν πολλοῖς ὄπλοις καὶ πτώμασι νεκρῶν κεκρυμμένον ἀνευρέθη, περιχαρεῖς γενόμενος καὶ παιανίσαντες ἔτι λαμπρότερον ἐνέκειντο τοῖς συν-
 3 εστῶσιν ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ τέλος οἱ τρισχίλιοι λογάδες ἐν τάξει μένοντες καὶ μαχόμενοι κατεκόπησαν ἅπαντες· τῶν δ' ἄλλων φευγόντων πολὺς ἦν ὁ φόνος, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πεδίου καὶ τὴν ὑπώρειαν καταπεπλησθαι νεκρῶν, τοῦ δὲ Λεύκου ποταμοῦ τὸ ρεῦμα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῇ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἡμέρᾳ διελθεῖν ἔτι μεμιγμένον αἵματι.

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long shields of the Romans, and oppose light wicker targets to their swords, which, such was their weight and momentum, penetrated through all their armour to their bodies. They therefore made a poor resistance and at last were routed.

XXI. But the struggle between them was fierce. Here, too, Marcus, the son of Cato and the son-in-law of Aemilius, while displaying all possible prowess, lost his sword. Since he was a young man of the most generous education and owed to a great father proofs of great valour, he thought life not worth the living if he abandoned such spoil of his own person to the enemy, and ran along the ranks telling every friend and companion whom he saw of his mishap and begging them for aid. These made a goodly number of brave men, and making their way with one impulse through the rest, they put themselves under his lead and fell upon the enemy. With a great struggle, much slaughter, and many wounds, they drove them from the ground, and when they had won a free and empty place, they set themselves to looking for the sword. And when at last it was found hidden among great heaps of armour and fallen bodies, they were filled with exceeding joy, and raising songs of triumph fell yet more impetuously upon those of the enemy who still held together. Finally, the three thousand picked men of the Macedonians, who remained in order and kept on fighting, were all cut to pieces; and of the rest, who took to flight, the slaughter was great, so that the plain and the lower slopes of the hills were covered with dead bodies, and the waters of the river Leucus were still mingled with blood when the Romans crossed it on

λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους πεντακισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔπεσον, ὥς μὲν Ποσειδώνιός φησιν, ἑκατόν, ὥς δὲ Νασικᾶς, ὀγδοήκοντα.

- XXII. Καὶ κρίσιν μὲν ὀξυτάτην μέγιστος ἀγὼν οὗτος ἔσχεν· ἐνάτης γὰρ ὥρας ἀρξάμενοι μάχεσθαι πρὸ δεκάτης ἐνίκησαν· τῇ δὲ λειπομένῃ τῆς ἡμέρας χρησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν καὶ μέχρι σταδίων ἑκατόν καὶ εἴκοσι διώξαντες ἐσπέρας ἤδη βαθείας ἀπετράποντο. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οἱ θεράποντες ὑπὸ λαμπάδων ἀπαντῶντες μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἀπῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς σκηναὺς φωτὶ λαμπομένας καὶ κεκοσμημένας κιττοῦ καὶ δάφνης στεφάνοις· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν μέγα πένθος
- 2 εἶχε. δυεῖν γὰρ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ στρατευσάντων ὁ νεώτερος οὐδαμοῦ φανερός ἦν, ὃν ἐφίλει τε μά-
λιστα καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς ἀρετὴν φύσει προὔχοντα 267
τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑώρα. θυμοειδῇ δὲ καὶ φιλότιμον ὄντα τὴν ψυχὴν, ἔτι δ' ἀντίπαιδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, παντάπασιν ἀπολωλέναι κατεδόξαζεν, ὑπ' ἀπειρίας ἀναμιχθέντα τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχομένοις.
- 3 ἀπορουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ περιπαθούντος ἵσθετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες ἀνεπήδων καὶ διέθεον μετὰ λαμπάδων, πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου, πολλοὶ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις νεκροῖς ζητοῦντες. κατήφεια δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ κραυγὴ τὸ πεδίου κατεῖχεν ἀνακαλουμένων τὸν Σκηπίωνα. πᾶσι γὰρ ἀγαστὸς ἦν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν καὶ

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the day after the battle. For it is said that over twenty-five thousand of their enemies were slain; while of the Romans there fell, according to Poseidonius, a hundred, according to Nasica, eighty.

XXII. And this greatest of all struggles was most speedily decided; for the Romans began fighting at three o'clock in the afternoon, and were victorious within an hour; the rest of the day they spent in the pursuit, which they kept up for as many as a hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was already late in the evening when they returned. All the rest were met by their servants with torches and conducted with joyful shouts to their tents, which were ablaze with light and adorned with wreaths of ivy and laurel; but Aemilius their general was a prey to great sorrow. For of the two sons who were serving under him, the younger was nowhere to be found, and Aemilius loved him especially, and saw that he was by nature more prone to excellence than any of his brothers. But he was of a passionate and ambitious spirit, and was still hardly more than a boy in years, and his father concluded that he had certainly perished, when, for lack of experience, he had become entangled among the enemy as they fought. The whole army learned of the distress and anguish of their general, and springing up from their suppers, ran about with torches, many to the tent of Aemilius, and many in front of the ramparts, searching among the numerous dead bodies. Dejection reigned in the camp, and the plain was filled with the cries of men calling out the name of Scipio. For from the very outset he had been admired by everybody, since, beyond any other one of his family,

πολιτείαν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν συγγενῶν κεκρα-
μένος τὸ ἦθος.

- 4 Ὅψε δ' οὖν ἤδη σχεδὸν ἀπεγνωσμένος ἐκ τῆς
διώξεως προσήει μετὰ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἐταίρων,
αἵματος καὶ φόνου πολεμίων ἀνάπλεως, ὥσπερ
σκύλαξ γενναῖος, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀκρατῶς τῇ νίκῃ
συνεξενεχθεὶς. οὗτός ἐστι Σκηπίων ὁ τοῖς ἰκνου-
μένοις χρόνοις¹ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Νομαντίαν κατα-
σκάψας καὶ πολὺν πρῶτος ἀρετῇ τῶν τότε Ῥω-
μαίων γενόμενος καὶ δυνηθεὶς μέγιστον. Αἰμιλίου
μὲν οὖν τὴν τοῦ κατορθώματος νέμεσιν εἰς ἕτερον
ἢ τύχῃ καιρὸν ὑπερβαλλομένη τότε παντελῇ τὴν
ἡδονὴν ἀπεδίδου τῆς νίκης.

- XXIII. Περσεὺς δὲ φυγῇ μὲν ἐκ Πύδνης εἰς
Πέλλαν ἀπεχώρει, τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιεικῶς πάντων
ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διασεσωσμένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατα-
λαμβάνοντες οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὡς ἀνάνδρους
καὶ προδεδωκότας λοιδοροῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων
ᾧθουν καὶ πληγὰς ἐδίδοσαν, δέισας τὸν θόρυβον
ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρέκκλινε τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τὴν πορ-
φύραν, ὡς μὴ διάσημος εἶη, περισπάσας ἔθετο
πρόσθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ διάδημα διὰ χειρῶν εἶχεν.
- 2 ὡς δὲ καὶ προσδιαλέγοιτο τοῖς ἐταίροις ἅμα
βαδίζων, καταβὰς ἐφείλκετο τὸν ἵππον. τῶν δὲ
ὁ μὲν τις ὑπόδημα προσποιούμενος λελυμένον
συνάπτειν, ὁ δὲ ἵππον ἄρδειν, ὁ δὲ ποτοῦ χρήζειν,
ὑπολειπόμενοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπεδίδρασκον, οὐχ
οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς τὴν ἐκείνου χαλεπότητα
δεδοικότες. κεχαραγμένος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν

¹ χρόνοις supplied by Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske.

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he had a nature adapted for leadership in war and public service.

Well, then, when it was already late and he was almost despaired of, he came in from the pursuit with two or three comrades, covered with the blood of the enemies he had slain, having been, like a young hound of noble breed, carried away by the uncontrollable pleasure of the victory. This was that Scipio who, in after times,¹ destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and became by far the most noble and influential Roman of his day. Thus Fortune, postponing to another season her jealous displeasure at the great success of Aemilius, restored to him then in all completeness his pleasure in his victory.²

XXIII. But Perseus was away in flight from Pydna to Pella, since practically all his horsemen came safely off from the battle. But when his footmen overtook his horsemen, and, abusing them as cowards and traitors, tried to push them from their horses and fell to beating them, the king, afraid of the tumult, turned his horse out of the road, drew his purple robe round and held it in front of him, that he might not be conspicuous, and carried his diadem in his hands. And in order that he might also converse with his companions as he walked, he dismounted from his horse and led him along. But of these companions, one pretended that he must fasten a shoe that had become loose, another that he must water his horse, another that he himself wanted water to drink, and so they gradually lagged behind and ran away, because they had more fear of his cruelty than of the enemy. For he was lacerated

¹ In 146 and 133 B.C.

² The battle of Pydna is described by Livy in xliv. 36-41.

- εἰς πάντας ἐξήτει τρέπειν ἂφ' αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν
 3 τῆς ἥττης. ἐπεὶ δὲ νυκτὸς εἰς Πέλλαν εἰσελθὼν
 Εὐκτον καὶ Εὐλαιοι, τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ νομίματος,
 ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐγκαλοῦντας
 περὶ τῶν γεγονότων, τὰ δὲ παρρησιαζομένους
 ἀκαίρως καὶ συμβουλευοντας ὀργισθεὶς ἀπέκτει-
 νεν, αὐτὸς τῷ ξιφιδίῳ παίων ἀμφοτέρους, οὐδεὶς
 παρέμεινεν αὐτῷ πάρεξ Εὐάνδρου τε τοῦ Κρητὸς
 καὶ Ἀρχεδάμου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ καὶ τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ
 4 Νέωνος. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ
 Κρήτες, οὐ δι' εὐνοίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασι,
 ὥσπερ κηρίοις μέλιτται, προσλιπαροῦντες. πάμ-
 πολλα γὰρ ἐπήγετο, καὶ προὔθηκεν ἐξ αὐτῶν
 διαρπάσαι τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐκπώματα καὶ κρατήρας
 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κατασκευὴν
 5 εἰς πεντήκοντα ταλάντων λόγον. γενόμενος δ' ἐν
 Ἀμφιπόλει πρῶτον, εἴτ' ἐκείθεν ἐν Γαληψῷ, καὶ
 τοῦ φόβου μικρὸν ὑπανέντος, εἰς τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ
 πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν νοσημάτων, τὴν μικρο-
 λογίαν, αὐθις ὑπενεχθεὶς ὠδύρετο πρὸς τοὺς
 φίλους ὡς τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ μεγάλου χρυσο-
 μάτων ἔνια τοῖς Κρησὶ διερριφῶς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας,
 καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀντιβολῶν καὶ δα-
 6 κρύων ἀμείψασθαι πρὸς νόμισμα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν
 ἐπισταμένους ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔλαθε κρητίζων
 πρὸς Κρήτας, οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες καὶ ἀποδόντες
 ἀπεστερήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπέδωκε τὰργύριον, ἀλλὰ
 τριάκοντα τάλαντα κερδάνας ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων, ἃ
 μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔμελλον οἱ πολέμιοι λήψεσθαι,

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by his misfortunes, and sought to turn the responsibility for his defeat away from himself and upon everybody else. He entered Pella during the night, and when Euctus and Eulaeus, his treasurers, came to meet him, and, what with their censure for what had happened and their unseasonably bold speeches and counsels, enraged him, he slew them, smiting both of them himself with his small-sword. After this no one remained with him except Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Aetolian, and Neon the Boeotian. Of his soldiers, only the Cretans followed after him, not through good will, but because they were as devoted to his riches as bees to their honey-combs. For he was carrying along vast treasures, and had handed out from them for distribution among the Cretans drinking cups and mixing bowls and other furniture of gold and silver to a value of fifty talents. He arrived at Amphipolis first, and then from there at Galepsus, and now that his fear had abated a little, he relapsed into that congenital and oldest disease of his, namely, parsimony, and lamented to his friends that through ignorance he had suffered some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great to fall into the hands of the Cretans, and with tearful supplications he besought those who had it to exchange it for money. Now those that understood him accurately did not fail to see that he was playing the Cretan against Cretans; but those who listened to him, and gave back the plate, were cheated. For he did not pay them the money he had promised, but after craftily getting thirty talents from his friends, which his enemies were to get soon afterwards, he sailed across with them to

μετ' αὐτῶν διέπλευσεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην καὶ δια-
φεύγων ἐπὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἰκέτευσεν.

- XXIV. Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν λέγονται φιλοβασιλαιοὶ 268
Μακεδόνες, τότε δ' ὥς ἐρείσματι κεκλασμένῳ
πάντων ἅμα συμπεσόντων ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτοὺς
τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ δύο ἡμέραις ὅλης κύριον αὐτὸν κατέ-
στησαν Μακεδονίας. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖν
τοῖς εὐτυχίᾳ τινὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας γεγονέναι
φάσκουσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν σύμ-
πτωμα δαιμόνιον ἦν· ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει θύοντος τοῦ
Αἰμιλίου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐνηργμένων κεραυνὸς
ἐνσκήψας εἰς τὸν βωμὸν ἐπέφλεξε καὶ συγκα-
2 θήγισε τὴν ἱεουργίαν. ὑπερβάλλει δὲ θειότητι
πάντως καὶ τύχῃ τὰ τῆς φήμης. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
ἡμέρα τετάρτη νενικημένῳ Περσεῖ περὶ Πύδναν,
ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τοῦ δήμου θεωροῦντος ἵππικους
ἀγῶνας ἐξαίφνης ἐνέπεσε λόγος εἰς τὸ πρῶτον
τοῦ θεάτρου μέρος ὡς Αἰμίλιος μεγάλη μάχῃ νενι-
κηκῶς Περσέα καταστρέφοιτο σύμπασαν Μακε-
3 δονίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ταχὺ τῆς φήμης ἀναχεο-
μένης εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξέλαμψε χαρὰ μετὰ κρότου
καὶ βοῆς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην κατασχοῦσα τὴν
πόλιν. εἶτα, ὡς ὁ λόγος οὐκ εἶχεν εἰς ἀρχὴν
ἀνελθεῖν βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐφαίνετο
πλανώμενος, τότε μὲν ἐσκεδάσθη καὶ διερρήν τὰ
τῆς φήμης, ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις πυθόμενοι
σαφῶς ἐθαύμαζον τὴν προδραμοῦσαν ἀγγελίαν,
ὡς ἐν τῷ ψεύδει τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶχε.

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Samothrace, where he took refuge as a suppliant in the temple of the Dioscuri.

XXIV. Now, the Macedonians are always said to have been lovers of their kings, but at this time, feeling that their prop was shattered and all had fallen with it, they put themselves into the hands of Aemilius, and in two days made him master of all Macedonia. And this would seem to bear witness in favour of those who declare that these achievements of his were due to a rare good fortune. And still further, that which befell him at his sacrifice was a token of divine favour. When, namely, Aemilius was sacrificing in Amphipolis, and the sacred rites were begun, a thunderbolt darted down upon the altar, set it on fire, and consumed the sacrifice with it. But an altogether more signal instance of divine favour and good fortune is seen in the way the rumour of his victory spread. For it was only the fourth day after Perseus had been defeated at Pydna, and at Rome the people were watching equestrian contests, when suddenly a report sprang up at the entrance of the theatre that Aemilius had conquered Perseus in a great battle and reduced all Macedonia. After this the rumour spread quickly among the multitude, and joy burst forth, accompanied by shouts and clapping of hands, and prevailed in the city all that day. Then, since the story could not be traced to any sure source, but seemed to be current everywhere alike, for the time being the rumour vanished into thin air; but when, a few days afterwards, they were clearly informed of the matter, they were astonished at the tidings which had reached them first, seeing that in the fiction there was truth.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- XXV. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Σάγγρα ποταμῷ μάχης Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐθημερὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ λόγον γενέσθαι, καὶ Πλαταιᾶσι τῆς ἐν Μυκάλη πρὸς Μήδους. ἦν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ταρκυνίους μετὰ Λατίνων ἐπιστρατεύσαντας ἐνίκησαν, αὐτάγγελοι φράζοντες ὥφθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἄνδρες δύο καλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι. τούτους 2 εἶκασαν εἶναι Διοσκούρους. ὁ δ' ἐντυχὼν πρῶτος αὐτοῖς κατ' ἄγορὰν πρὸ τῆς κρήνης, ἀναψύχουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ περιρρεομένους, ἐθαύμαζε τὸν περὶ τῆς νίκης λόγον. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπιψαῦσαι λέγονται τῆς ὑπῆνης αὐτοῦ τοῖν χεροῖν ἀτρέμα μειδιῶντες· ἡ δ' εὐθὺς ἐκ μελαίνης τριχὸς εἰς πυρρὰν μεταβαλοῦσα τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πίστιν, τῷ δ' ἀνδρὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπὶ κλησιν τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ χαλκοπώγωνα. πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ 3 καθ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενον πίστιν παρέσχεν. ὅτε γὰρ Ἀντώνιος ἀπέστη Δομετιανοῦ καὶ πολὺς πόλεμος ἀπὸ Γερμανίας προσεδοκᾶτο, τῆς Ῥώμης ταρattoμένης ἄφνω καὶ αὐτομάτως ὁ δῆμος ἐξ αὐτοῦ φήμην ἀνέδωκε νίκης, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέδραμε λόγος αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματος ἡττημένου μηδὲν μέρος λελεῖφθαι. τοσαύτην δὲ λαμπρότητα καὶ ῥύμην ἡ πίστις ἔσχεν ὥστε καὶ θῦσαι τῶν ἐν τέλει 4 πολλούς. ζητουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου φράσαντος,

¹ A battle between the Locrians and Crotonians, at some time in the sixth century B.C.

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XXV. It is said also that a report of the battle fought by the Italian Greeks at the river Sagra¹ reached Peloponnesus on the same day, and so did that of the battle with the Medes at Mycale come on the same day to Plataea.² And when the Romans conquered the Tarquins, who had taken the field against them with the Latins, two tall and beautiful men were seen at Rome a little while after, who brought direct tidings from the army. These were conjectured to be the Dioscuri. The first man who met them in front of the spring in the forum, where they were cooling their horses, which were reeking with sweat, was amazed at their report of the victory.³ Then, we are told, they touched his beard with their hands, quietly smiling the while, and the hair of it was changed at once from black to red, a circumstance which gave credence to their story, and fixed upon the man the surname of Ahenobarbus, that is to say, *Bronze-beard*. And all this is made credible by that which has happened in our time. When, namely, Antonius was in revolt from Domitian,⁴ and a great war was expected from Germany, and Rome was in commotion, suddenly and spontaneously the people of their own accord spread abroad a report of a victory, and a story coursed through Rome that Antonius himself had been slain, and that of his defeated army not a portion was left alive. Belief in the story became so strong and distinct that many of the magistrates actually offered sacrifices. When, however, the author of the story was sought, none

¹ It was when the Greeks at Mycale were about to attack the Persians that a rumour came to them of the victory of the Greeks at Plataea over Mardonius (Herodotus, ix. 100).

² See the *Coriolanus*, iii. 4.

⁴ In 91 A.D.

ὥς οὐδεὶς ἦν, ἀλλ' ο λόγος εἰς ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου διωκόμενος ἀνέφευγε, καὶ τέλος καταδύς ὥσπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὸν ἄπειρον ὄχλον ἐφάνη μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχων βέβαιον, αὕτη μὲν ἡ φήμη ταχὺ τῆς πόλεως ἐξερρύη, πορευομένῳ δὲ τῷ Δομετιανῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἤδη καθ' ὁδὸν ἀγγελία καὶ γράμματα φράζοντα τὴν νίκην ἀπήντησεν. ἡ δ' αὐτοῦ¹ τοῦ κατορθώματος ἡμέρα καὶ τῆς φήμης ἐγένετο, ἐπὶ πλεον ἢ δισμυρίους σταδίους τῶν τόπων διεστώτων. ταῦτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς.

XXVI. Γναῖος δὲ Ὀκτάβιος ὁ ναυαρχῶν Αἰμιλίῳ προσορμισάμενος τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τὴν μὲν ἀσυλίαν παρεῖχε τῷ Περσεῖ διὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἔκπλου δὲ καὶ φυγῆς εἵργεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ λανθάνει πως ὁ Περσεὺς Ὀροάνδην τινὰ Κρήτα λέμβον ἔχοντα συμπίσας μετὰ χρημάτων ἀνα-
2 λαβεῖν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ κρητισμῷ χρησάμενος τὰ μὲν χρήματα νύκτωρ ἀνέλαβεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας νυκτὸς ἤκειν κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τῷ 269 Δημητρίῳ λιμένα μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ θεραπείας ἀναγκαίας, εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἀπέπλευσεν. ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς οἰκτρὰ μὲν ἔπασχε διὰ στενῆς θυρίδος παρὰ τὸ τείχος ἐκμηρυόμενος αὐτόν καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναῖκα πόνων καὶ πλάνης ἀπείρους, οἰκτρότατον δὲ στεναγμὸν ἀφῆκεν, ὥς τις αὐτῷ πλανωμένῳ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἤδη πελάγιον τὸν

¹ αὐτοῦ Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to αὐτή.

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could be found, but it eluded all pursuit from one man to another, and finally disappeared in the limitless throng, as in a yawning sea, and was seen to have no sure source. This rumour, then, quickly melted away in the city; but when Domitian was setting out with an army for the war and was already on the march, messages and letters announcing the victory came to meet him.¹ And the success itself was gained on the day when the rumour of it came to Rome, although the distance between the places was more than twenty thousand furlongs. These facts are known to every one of our time.

XXVI. But to resume, Gnaeus Octavius, the admiral of Aemilius, came to anchor off Samothrace, and while he allowed Perseus to enjoy asylum, out of respect to the gods, he took means to prevent him from escaping by sea. However, Perseus somehow succeeded in persuading a certain Cretan named Oroandes, the owner of a small skiff, to take him on board with his treasures. So Oroandes, true Cretan that he was, took the treasures aboard by night, and after bidding Perseus to come during the following night to the harbour adjoining the Demetrium, with his children and necessary attendants, as soon as evening fell sailed off. Now, Perseus suffered pitifully in letting himself down through a narrow window in the fortress, together with his wife and little children, who were unacquainted with wandering and hardships; but most pitiful of all was the groan he gave when some one told him, as he wandered along the shore, that he had seen Oroandes already out at sea and under full

¹ Antonius did not get the help he expected from German auxiliaries, and was defeated by Appius Norbanus.

- 3 Ὅροάνδην θέοντα κατιδὼν ἔφρασεν. ὑπέλαμπε γὰρ ἡμέρα, καὶ πάσης ἐλπίδος ἔρημος ὑπεχώρει φυγῇ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ λαθὼν μὲν, ὑποφθάσας δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μετὰ τῆς γυναικός. τὰ δὲ παῖδιά συλλαβὼν αὐτοῖς Ἰὼν ἐνεχείρισεν, ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἐρώμενος ἦν τοῦ Περσέως, τότε δὲ προδότης γενόμενος αἰτίαν παρέσχε τὴν μάλιστα συναναγκάσασαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς θηρίον ἀλίσκομένων τῶν τέκνων, εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἐκείνων κρατοῦσιν.
- 4 Ἐπίστευε μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τῷ Νασικᾷ, κακεῖνον ἐκάλει· μὴ παρόντος δὲ κατακλαύσας τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην περισκεψάμενος ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον τῷ Γναίῳ, τότε μάλιστα ποιήσας φανερόν ὅτι τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ τι κακὸν ἀγεννέστερον ἢ φιλοψυχία, δι' ἣν, ὃ μόνον ἢ τύχη τῶν ἐπταικότων οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται, τὸν
- 5 ἔλεον, ἀπεστέρησεν ἑαυτοῦ. δεηθεὶς γὰρ ἀχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, ὃ μὲν ὡς ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ πεπτωκότι πτώμα νεμεσητὸν καὶ δυστυχὲς ἐξαναστὰς ὑπήντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων δεδακρυμένος· ὃ δ', αἰσχιστον θέαμα, προβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ γονάτων δραξάμενος ἀνεβάλλετο φωνὰς ἀγεννεῖς
- 6 καὶ δεήσεις, ἃς οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν οὐδ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Αἰμίλιος, ἀλλὰ προσβλέψας αὐτὸν ἀλγοῦντι καὶ λελυπημένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ, “Τί τῆς τύχης,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ταλαίπωρε, τὸ μέγιστον ἀφαιρεῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ταῦτα πράττων ἀφ' ὧν δόξεις οὐ παρ' ἀξίαν ἀτυχεῖν, οὐδὲ τοῦ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πάλαι

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sail. For day was beginning to dawn, and so, bereft of every hope, he fled back to the fortress with his wife, before the Romans could prevent him, though they saw him. His children were seized and delivered to the Romans by Ion, who of old had been a favourite of Perseus, but now became his betrayer, and furnished the most compelling reason for his coming, as a wild beast will do when its young have been captured, and surrendering himself to those who had them in their power.

Accordingly, having most confidence in Nasica, he called for him; but since Nasica was not there, after bewailing his misfortune and carefully weighing the necessity under which he lay, he gave himself into the power of Gnaeus, thus making it most abundantly clear that his avarice was a less ignoble evil than the love of life that was in him, and that led him to deprive himself of the only thing which Fortune cannot take away from the fallen, namely, pity. For when at his request he was brought to Aemilius, Aemilius saw in him a great man whose fall was due to the resentment of the gods and his own evil fortune, and rose up and came to meet him, accompanied by his friends, and with tears in his eyes; but Perseus, a most shameful sight, after throwing himself prone before him and then clasping his knees, broke out into ignoble cries and supplications. These Aemilius could not abide and would not hear; but looking upon him with a distressed and sorrowful countenance, said: "Why, wretched man, dost thou free Fortune from thy strongest indictment against her, by conduct which will make men think that thy misfortunes are not undeserved, and that thy former prosperity,

δαίμονος ἀνάξιος γεγονέναι; τί δέ μου καταβάλλεις τὴν νίκην, καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα ποιεῖς μικρόν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἑαυτὸν οὐ γενναῖον οὐδὲ πρέποντα Ῥωμαίων ἀνταγωνιστήν; ἀρετὴ τοι δυστυχοῦσι μεγάλην ἔχει μοῖραν αἰδοῦς καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις, δειλία δὲ Ῥωμαίοις, κἂν εὐποτρῇ, πάντα ἀτιμότατον.”

- XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἀναστήσας καὶ δεξιωσάμενος Τουβέρωνι παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τοὺς γαμβροὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμονικῶν μάλιστα τοὺς νεωτέρους ἔσω τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπισπασάμενος πολὺν χρόνον ἦν πρὸς αὐτῷ σιωπῇ καθήμενος, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας. ὀρμήσας δὲ περὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διαλέγεσθαι πραγμάτων, “Ἄρά γε,” εἶπεν, “ἄξιον εὐπραγίας παρούσης ἀνθρωπον ὄντα θρασύνεσθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἔθνος ἢ πόλιν ἢ βασιλείαν
 2 καταστρεψάμενον, ἢ τὴν μεταβολὴν ταύτην τῆς τύχης, ἢ¹ παράδειγμα τῷ πολεμοῦντι κοινῆς ἀσθενείας προθεῖσα παιδεύει μηδὲν ὥς μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον διανοεῖσθαι; ποῖος γὰρ ἀνθρώποις τοῦ θαρρεῖν καιρός, ὅταν τὸ κρατεῖν ἐτέρων μάλιστα δεδοικέναι τὴν τύχην ἀναγκάξῃ, καὶ τῷ χαίρουντι δυσθυμίαν ἐπάγῃ τοσαύτην ὅ τῆς περιφερομένης καὶ προσισταμένης ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλοις
 3 εἰμαρμένης λογισμός; ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδοχὴν, ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤρθη δυνάμεως καὶ μέγιστον ἔσχε κράτος, ὥρας μιᾶς μορίῳ πεσοῦσαν ὑπὸ πόδας θέμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄρτι μυριάσι πεζῶν

¹ τῆς τύχης, ἢ so Sintenis¹, Coraës, and Bekker, with the MSS.: ἢ τύχῃ.

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rather than thy present lot, was beyond thy deserts? And why dost thou depreciate my victory, and make my success a meagre one, by showing thyself no noble or even fitting antagonist for Romans? Valour in the unfortunate obtains great reverence even among their enemies, but cowardice, in Roman eyes, even though it meet with success, is in every way a most dishonourable thing."

XXVII. Notwithstanding his displeasure, he raised Perseus up, gave him his hand, and put him in charge of Tubero, while he himself drew his sons, his sons-in-law, and of the other officers especially the younger men, into his tent, where for a long time he sat in silent communion with himself, so that all wondered. Then he began to discourse of Fortune and of human affairs, saying: "Is it, then, fitting that one who is mortal should be emboldened when success comes to him, and have high thoughts because he has subdued a nation, or a city, or a kingdom? or should his thoughts dwell rather on this reversal of fortune, which sets before the warrior an illustration of the weakness that is common to all men, and teaches him to regard nothing as stable or safe? For what occasion have men to be confident, when their conquest of others gives them most cogent reason to be in fear of Fortune, and when one who exults in success is thrown, as I am, into great dejection by reflecting upon the allotments of Fate, which take a circling course, and fall now upon some and now upon others? Or, when the succession of Alexander, who attained the highest pinnacle of power and won the greatest might, has fallen in the space of a single hour and has been put beneath your feet, or when you see kings who but just now

καὶ χιλιάσιν ἰππέων τοσαύταις ὅπλοφορουμένους
 βασιλεῖς ὀρώντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων χειρῶν ἐφή-
 μερα σιτία καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας, οἷεσθε τὰ
 καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔχειν τινὰ βεβαιότητα τύχης διαρκῆ
 4 πρὸς τὸν χρόνον; οὐ καταβαλόντες ὑμεῖς οἱ νέοι
 τὸ κενὸν φρύαγμα τοῦτο καὶ γαυρίαμα τῆς νίκης 270
 ταπεινοὶ καταπτήξετε πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, αἰὲ καρα-
 δοκοῦντες εἰς ὃ τι κατασκήψει τέλος ἐκάστω τὴν
 τῆς παρούσης εὐπραγίας ὁ δαίμων νέμεσιν;”
 τοιαυτὰ φασι πολλὰ διαλεχθέντα τὸν Αἰμίλιον
 ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς νέους εὐ μάλα τὸ καύχημα καὶ
 τὴν ὕβριν, ὥσπερ χαλινῶ, τῷ λόγῳ κόπτοντι
 κεκολασμένους.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν πρὸς
 ἀνάπausιν, αὐτὸν δὲ πρὸς θέαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἔτρεψε καὶ διαγωγὴν ἔνδοξον ἅμα καὶ φιλάνθρω-
 πον. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς δήμους καὶ
 τὰ πολιτεύματα καθίστατο, καὶ δωρεὰς ἐδίδου,
 ταῖς μὲν σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, ταῖς δ' ἔλαιον.
 τοσοῦτον γὰρ εὐρεθῆναί φασιν ἀποκείμενον ὥστε
 τοὺς λαμβάνοντας καὶ δεομένους ἐπιλιπεῖν πρό-
 2 τερον ἢ καταναλωθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εὐρεθέν-
 των. ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς ἰδὼν κίονα μέγαν τετράγωνον
 ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν συνηρμοσμένον, ἐφ' οὗ Περσέως
 ἔμελλε χρυσοῦς ἀνδριάς τίθεσθαι, προσέταξε τὸν
 αὐτοῦ τεθῆναι· τοὺς γὰρ ἡττημένους τοῖς νικῶσιν
 ἐξίστασθαι χώρας προσήκειν. ἐν δ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πολυθρύλητον ἐκείνιον ἀναφθέγγα-
 σθαί φασιν, ὡς τὸν Ὀμήρου Δία Φειδίας ἀπο-
 3 πλάσαιτο. τῶν δὲ δέκα πρέσβων ἐκ Ῥώμης
 ἀφικομένων Μακεδόσι μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὴν χώραν

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were surrounded by so many myriads of infantry and thousands of cavalry, receiving from their enemy's hands the food and drink requisite for the day, can you suppose that we ourselves have any guarantee from Fortune that will avail against the attacks of time? Abandon, then, young men, this empty insolence and pride of victory, and take a humble posture as you confront the future, always expectant of the time when the Deity shall at last launch against each one of you his jealous displeasure at your present prosperity." Many such words were uttered by Aemilius, we are told, and he sent the young men away with their vainglorious insolence and pride well curbed by his trenchant speech, as by a bridle.

XXVIII. After this, he gave his army a chance to rest, while he himself went about to see Greece, occupying himself in ways alike honourable and humane. For in his progress he restored the popular governments and established their civil polities; he also gave gifts to the cities, to some grain from the royal stores, to others oil. For it is said that so great stores were found laid up that petitioners and receivers failed before the abundance discovered was exhausted. At Delphi, he saw a tall square pillar composed of white marble stones, on which a golden statue of Perseus was intended to stand, and gave orders that his own statue should be set there, for it was meet that the conquered should make room for their conquerors. And at Olympia, as they say, he made that utterance which is now in every mouth, that Pheidias had moulded the Zeus of Homer. When the ten commissioners arrived from Rome, he restored to the Macedonians their country

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καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθέρας οἰκεῖν καὶ αὐτονόμους,
ἐκατὸν δὲ τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελεῖν, οὐ πλέον
ἢ διπλάσιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσέφερον. θέας δὲ
παντοδαπῶν ἀγώνων καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν τοῖς
θεοῖς ἐστιάσεις καὶ δεῖπνα προὔθετο, χορηγία
4 μὲν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀφθόνην χρώμενος, τάξιν
δὲ καὶ κόσμον καὶ κατακλίσεις καὶ δεξιώσεις καὶ
τὴν πρὸς ἑκάστον αὐτοῦ τῆς κατ' ἀξίαν τιμῆς
καὶ φιλοφροσύνης αἴσθησιν οὕτως ἀκριβῆ καὶ
πεφροντισμένην ἐνδεικνύμενος ὥστε θαυμάζειν
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰ μὴδὲ τὴν παιδιὰν ἄμοιρον
ἀπολείπει σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ τηλικαῦτα πράττων
ἀνὴρ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς τὸ πρέπον ἀπο-
5 δίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔχαιρεν, ὅτι πολλῶν
παρεσκευασμένων καὶ λαμπρῶν τὸ ἡδιστον αὐτὸς
ἦν ἀπόλαυσμα καὶ θέαμα τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔλεγε τῆς
αὐτῆς εἶναι ψυχῆς παρατάξεώς τε προστῆναι
καλῶς καὶ συμποσίου, τῆς μὲν, ὅπως φοβερωτάτη
τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοῦ δ', ὡς εὐχαριστότατον ἢ τοῖς
6 συνούσιν. οὐδενὸς δ' ἦττον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐλευθεριό-
τητα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπήνουν οἱ ἄνθρω-
ποι, πολὺ μὲν ἀργύριον, πολὺ δὲ χρυσίον ἐκ τῶν
βασιλικῶν ἡθροισμένον οὐδ' ἰδεῖν ἐβελήσαντος,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταμίαις εἰς τὸ δημόσιον παραδόντος.
μόνα τὰ βιβλία τοῦ βασιλέως φιλογραμματοῦσι
τοῖς υἱέσιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξελέσθαι, καὶ διανέμων
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and their cities for free and independent residence; they were also to pay the Romans a hundred talents in tribute, a sum less than half of what they used to pay to their kings. He also held all sorts of games and contests and performed sacrifices to the gods, at which he gave feasts and banquets, making liberal allowances therefor from the royal treasury, while in the arrangement and ordering of them, in saluting and seating his guests, and in paying to each one that degree of honour and kindly attention which was properly his due, he showed such nice and thoughtful perception that the Greeks were amazed, seeing that not even their pastimes were treated by him with neglect, but that, although he was a man of such great affairs, he gave even to trifling things their due attention. And he was also delighted to find that, though preparations for entertainment were ever so many and splendid, he himself was the pleasantest sight to his guests and gave them most enjoyment; and he used to say to those who wondered at his attention to details that the same spirit was required both in marshalling a line of battle and in presiding at a banquet well, the object being, in the one case, to cause most terror in the enemy, in the other, to give most pleasure to the company. But more than anything else men praised his freedom of spirit and his greatness of soul; for he would not consent even to look upon the quantities of silver and the quantities of gold that were gathered together from the royal treasuries, but handed them over to the quaestors for the public chest. It was only the books of the king that he allowed his sons, who were devoted to learning, to choose out for

ἀριστεία τῆς μάχης Αἰλίου Τουβέρωνι τῷ γαμβρῷ
 7 φιάλην ἔδωκε πέντε λιτρῶν ὀλκήν. οὗτός ἐστι
 Τουβέρων δν ἔφαμεν μετὰ συγγενῶν οἰκεῖν ἐκ-
 καιδέκατον, ἀπὸ γηδίου μικροῦ διατρεφόμενων
 ἀπάντων. καὶ πρῶτον ἄργυρον ἐκείνόν φασιν
 εἰς τὸν Αἰλίων οἶκον εἰσελθεῖν, ὑπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ
 τιμῆς εἰσαγόμενον, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον οὗτ'
 αὐτοὺς οὔτε τὰς γυναῖκας¹ ἀργυρίου χρήζειν ἢ
 χρυσοῦ.

XXIX. Διωκημένων δὲ πάντων αὐτῷ καλῶς
 ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ παρακαλέσας
 τοὺς Μακεδόνας μεμνήσθαι τῆς δεδομένης ὑπὸ
 Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας σώζοντας αὐτὴν δι' εὐνο-
 μίας καὶ ὁμονοίας, ἀνέξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑπειρον,
 ἔχων δόγμα συγκλήτου τοὺς συμμαχημένους
 αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Περσέα μάχην στρατιώτας ἀπὸ
 2 τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ὠφελῆσαι. βουλόμενος δὲ πᾶσιν
 ἅμα καὶ μηδενὸς προσδοκῶντος, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης
 ἐπιπεσεῖν, μετεπέμψατο τοὺς πρώτους ἐξ ἐκάστης 271
 πόλεως ἄνδρας δέκα, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσος
 ἀργυρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν οἰκίαις καὶ ἱεροῖς,
 ἡμέρα ῥητῇ καταφέρειν. ἐκάστοις δὲ συνέπεμψεν
 ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν καὶ
 ταξίαρχον. προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ παραλαμ-
 3 βάνειν τὸ χρυσίον. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας,
 ὑφ' ἑνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἅμα καιρὸν ὁρμήσαντες
 ἐτράποντο πρὸς καταδρομὴν καὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν
 πόλεων, ὥστε ὥρα μιᾷ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνθρώπων
 ἐξανδραποδισθῆναι μυριάδας, ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ
 πόλεις πορθηθῆναι, γενέσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοσαύτης
 φθορᾶς καὶ πανωλεθρίας ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ τὴν

¹ τὰς γυναῖκας Bekker, after Reiske : γυναῖκας.

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themselves, and when he was distributing rewards for valour in the battle, he gave Aelius Tubero, his son-in-law, a bowl of five pounds weight. This was the Tubero, who, as I have said,¹ dwelt with fifteen relations, and a paltry farm supported them all. And that is said to have been the first silver that ever entered the house of the Aelii, brought in as an honour bestowed upon valour, but up to that time neither they themselves nor their wives used either silver or gold.

XXIX. When he had put everything in good order, had bidden the Greeks farewell, and had exhorted the Macedonians to be mindful of the freedom bestowed upon them by the Romans and preserve it by good order and concord, he marched against Epirus, having an order from the senate to give the soldiers who had fought with him the battle against Perseus the privilege of pillaging the cities there. Wishing to set upon the inhabitants all at once and suddenly, when no one expected it, he sent for the ten principal men of each city, and ordered them to bring in on a fixed day whatever silver and gold they had in their houses and temples. He also sent with each of these bodies, as if for this very purpose, a guard of soldiers and an officer, who pretended to search for and receive the money. But when the appointed day came, at one and the same time these all set out to overrun and pillage the cities, so that in a single hour a hundred and fifty thousand persons were made slaves, and seventy cities were sacked; and yet from all this destruction and utter ruin each soldier received no more than

¹ Chapter v. 4.

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δόσιν οὐ μείζον ἔνδεκα δραχμῶν, φρίξαι δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, εἰς μικρὸν οὕτω τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον λῆμμα καὶ κέρδος ἔθνους ὅλου κατακερματισθέντος.

XXX. Αἰμίλιος μὲν οὖν τοῦτο πράξας μάλιστα παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐπιεικὴ καὶ χρηστὴν οὖσαν εἰς Ὀρικόν κατέβη· κακέϊθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων περαιωθεὶς ἀνέπλει τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐκκαιδεκῆρους κατεσκευασμένης εἰς κόσμον ὅπλοις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ φοινικίσι καὶ πορφύραις, ὥς καὶ πανηγυρίζειν ἔξωθεν καθάπερ εἰς τινα θριαμβικῆς θέαν πομπῆς καὶ προαπολαύειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τῷ ῥοθίῳ σχέδην ὑπάγοντι τὴν ναῦν ἀντιπαρεξάγοντας.

- 2 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν ἐποφθαλμίσαντες, ὥς οὐχ ὅσων ἡξίου ἐτυχον, ὠργίζοντο μὲν ἀδήλως διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχον πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, αἰτιώμενοι δὲ φανερώς ὅτι βαρὺς γένοιτο καὶ δεσποτικὸς αὐτοῖς ἄρχων, οὐ πάνυ προθύμως ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θριάμβου
- 3 σπουδὴν ἀπήντησαν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο Σέρβιος Γάλβας, ἐχθρὸς Αἰμιλίου, γεγονῶς δὲ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν χιλιάρχων, ἐθάρρησεν ἀναφανδὸν εἰπεῖν ὥς οὐ δοτέον εἶη τὸν θριάμβον. ἐνείς δὲ πολλὰς τῷ στρατιωτικῷ πλήθει διαβολὰς κατὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὴν οὖσαν ὀργὴν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξερεθίσας ἡτεῖτο παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἄλλην ἡμέραν· ἐκείνην γὰρ οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ,
- 4 τέσσαρας ἔτι λοιπὰς ὥρας ἔχουσιν. τῶν δὲ

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eleven drachmas as his share, and all men shuddered at the issue of the war, when the division of a whole nation's substance resulted in so slight a gain and profit for each soldier.

XXX. Aemilius, then, after executing a commission so contrary to his mild and generous nature, went down to Oricus. From there he crossed into Italy with his forces, and sailed up the river Tiber on the royal galley, which had sixteen banks of oars and was richly adorned with captured arms and cloths of scarlet and purple, so that the Romans actually came in throngs from out the city, as it were to some spectacle of triumphant progress whose pleasures they were enjoying in advance, and followed along the banks as the splashing oars sent the ship slowly up the stream.

But the soldiers, who had cast longing eyes upon the royal treasures, since they had not got as much as they thought they deserved, were secretly enraged on this account and bitterly disposed towards Aemilius, while openly they accused him of having been harsh and imperious in his command of them; they were therefore not very ready to second his eager desires for a triumph. And when Servius Galba, who was an enemy of Aemilius, although he had been one of his military tribunes, perceived this, he made bold to declare openly that the triumph ought not to be allowed him. He also sowed many calumnies against their general among the masses of the soldiery, and roused still further the resentment they already felt, and then asked the tribunes of the people for another day in which to bring his accusations, since that day was not sufficient, of which only four hours still remained. But when

δημάρχων λέγειν αὐτόν, εἴ τι βούλεται, κελευόντων, ἀρξάμενος μακρῶ καὶ βλασφημίας ἔχοντι παντοδαπὰς χρῆσθαι λόγῳ τὸν χρόνον ἀνήλωσε τῆς ἡμέρας· καὶ γενομένου σκότους οἱ μὲν δήμαρχοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφῆκαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν οἱ στρατιῶται συνέδραμον θρασύτεροι γεγονότες, καὶ συγκροτήσαντες αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον αὐθις καταλαμβάνονται τὸ Καπετώλιον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔμελλον ἄξειν.

- XXXI. " Ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα τῆς ψήφου δοθείσης ἡ τε πρώτη φυλὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἀπεψηφίζετο, καὶ τοῦ πράγματος αἰσθησὶς εἰς τὸν ἄλλον δῆμον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον κατῆι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑπεραλγοῦν τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐν φωναῖς ἦν ἀπράκτοις, οἱ δὲ γνωριμώτατοι τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ γινόμενον βοῶντες ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύτητος, ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφιξομένης ἄνομον ἔργον καὶ βίαιον, εἰ μὴδὲν ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς γένοιτο Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον ἀφελέ-
- 2 σθαι τῶν ἐπινικίων τιμῶν. ὥσάμενοι δὲ τὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἀναβάντες ἀθρόοι τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔλεγον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἄχρι ἂν διέλθωσιν ἃ βούλονται πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος. ἐπισχόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ γενομένης σιωπῆς ἀνελθὼν ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ πολεμίους εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς ἐκ προκλήσεως ἀννηρηκώς, Μάρκος Σερβίλιος, Αἰμίλιον μὲν ἔφη Παῦλον, ἡλίκος αὐτοκράτωρ γένοιτο, νῦν
- 3 μάλιστα γινώσκειν, ὁρῶν ὅσης ἀπειθείας γέμοντι καὶ κακίας στρατεύματι χρώμενος οὕτω καλὰς

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the tribunes ordered him to speak, if he had anything to say, he began a speech which was long and full of all sorts of injurious statements, and so consumed the time remaining in the day. When darkness came, the tribunes dissolved the assembly, but the soldiers, now grown bolder, flocked to Galba, formed themselves into a faction, and before it was light proceeded to take possession of the Capitol; for it was there that the tribunes proposed to hold the assembly.

XXXI. As soon as it was day the voting began, and the first tribe was voting against the triumph, when knowledge of the matter was brought down to the rest of the people and the senate. The multitude, deeply grieved at the indignity offered to Aemilius, could only cry out against it in vain; but the most prominent senators, with shouts against the ignominy of the thing, exhorted one another to attack the bold license of the soldiers, which would proceed to any and every deed of lawlessness and violence if nothing were done to prevent their depriving Aemilius Paulus of the honours of his victory. Then pushing their way through the throng and going up to the Capitol in a body, they told the tribunes to put a stop to the voting until they could finish what they wished to say to the people. All voting stopped, silence was made, and Marcus Servilius, a man of consular dignity, and one who had slain twenty-three foes in single combat, came forward and said that he knew now better than ever before how great a commander Aemilius Paulus was, when he saw how full of baseness and disobedience the army was which he had used in the successful accomplishment of such great and

κατώρθωσε καὶ μεγάλας πράξεις, θαυμάζειν δὲ 272
 τὸν δῆμον εἰ τοῖς ἀπ' Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Λιγύων
 ἀγαλλόμενος θριάμβοις αὐτῷ φθονεῖ τὸν Μα-
 κεδόνων βασιλέα ζῶντα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
 καὶ Φιλίππου δόξαν ἐπιδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων
 4 ὄπλοις ἀγομένην αἰχμάλωτον. “Πῶς γὰρ οὐ
 δεινόν,” εἶπεν, “εἰ, φήμης περὶ νίκης ἀβεβαίου
 πρότερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσοῦσης, ἐθύσατε τοῖς
 θεοῖς εὐχόμενοι τοῦ λόγου τούτου ταχέως ἀπολα-
 βεῖν τὴν ὄψιν, ἥκοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μετὰ
 τῆς ἀληθινῆς νίκης ἀφαιρεῖσθε τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν
 τιμὴν, αὐτῶν δὲ τὴν χαράν, ὡς φοβούμενοι θεά-
 σασθαι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἢ φειδό-
 μενοι τοῦ πολεμίου; καίτοι κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ πρὸς
 ἐκεῖνον ἐλέφ, μὴ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα φθόνῳ
 5 λυθῆναι τὸν θρίαμβον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοσαύτην,” ἔφη,
 “τὸ κακόηθες ἐξουσίαν προάγεται δι' ὑμῶν ὥστε
 περὶ στρατηγίας καὶ θριάμβου τολμᾷ λέγειν
 ἄνθρωπος ἄτρωτος καὶ τῷ σώματι στίλβων ὑπὸ
 λειότητος καὶ σκιατραφίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς τοσοῦ-
 τοις τραύμασι πεπαιδευμένους ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας
 κρίνειν στρατηγῶν.” ἅμα δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος δια-
 σχῶν ἐξέφηνε κατὰ τῶν στέρνων ὠτειλὰς ἀπίστους
 6 τὸ πλῆθος. εἰτα μεταστραφεὶς ἓνια τῶν οὐκ
 εὐπρεπῶς ἐν ὄχλῳ γυμνοῦσθαι δοκούντων τοῦ
 σώματος ἀνεκάλυψε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάλβαν ἐπι-
 στρέψας, “Σὺ μὲν,” ἔφη, “γελαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις,
 ἐγὼ δὲ σεμνύνομαι πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας· ὑπὲρ τού-
 των γὰρ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα συνεχῶς ἱππασάμενος
 ταῦτ' ἔσχον. ἀλλ' ἄγε λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν
 ψῆφον· ἐγὼ δὲ καταβάς παρακολουθήσω πᾶσι,
 καὶ γινώσκειν τοὺς κακοὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους καὶ

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fair exploits ; and he was amazed that the people, while exulting in triumphs over Illyrians and Ligurians, begrudged itself the sight of the king of Macedonia taken alive and the glory of Alexander and Philip made spoil by Roman arms. "For is it not a strange thing," said he, "that when an unsubstantial rumour of victory came suddenly and prematurely to the city, you sacrificed to the gods and prayed that this report might speedily be verified before your eyes ; but now that your general is come with his real victory, you rob the gods of their honour, and yourselves of your joy in it, as though afraid to behold the magnitude of his successes, or seeking to spare the feelings of your enemy ? And yet it were better that out of pity towards him, and not out of envy towards your general, the triumph should be done away with. But," said he, "to such great power is malice brought by you that a man without a wound to show, and whose person is sleek from delicate and cowardly effeminacy, dares to talk about the conduct of a general and his triumph to us who have been taught by all these wounds to judge the valour and the cowardice of generals." And with the words he parted his garment and displayed upon his breast an incredible number of wounds. Then wheeling about, he uncovered some parts of his person which it is thought unbecoming to have naked in a crowd, and turning to Galba, said : "Thou laughest at these scars, but I glory in them before my fellow-citizens, in whose defence I got them, riding night and day without ceasing. But come, take these people off to their voting ; and I will come down and follow along with them all, and will learn who are base and thankless

δημαγωγείσθαι μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἢ στρατηγεῖσθαι βουλομένους.”

- XXXII. Οὕτω φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀνακοπῆναι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὥστε πάσαις ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐπικυρωθῆναι τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ τὸν θρίαμβον. πεμφθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγουσιν. ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐν τε τοῖς ἵππικοῖς θεάτροις, ἃ Κίρκους καλοῦσι, περὶ τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἱκρία πηξάμενοι, καὶ τᾶλλα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καταλαβόντες, ὡς ἕκαστα παρῆχε τῆς πομπῆς ἔποψιν, ἐθεῶντο καθαραῖς ἐσθήσι κεκοσμημένοι.
- 2 πᾶς δὲ ναὸς ἀνέφκτο καὶ στεφάνων καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἦν πλήρης, ὑπηρέται τε πολλοὶ καὶ ῥαβδονόμοι τοὺς ἀτάκτως συρρέοντας εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ διαθέοντας ἐξείργοντες ἀναπεπταμένας τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ καθαρὰς παρῆχον. τῆς δὲ πομπῆς εἰς ἡμέρας τρεῖς νενεμημένης, ἡ μὲν πρώτη μόλις ἐξαρκέσασα τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνδριάσι καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ κολοσσοῖς ἐπὶ ζευγῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων
- 3 κομιζομένοις τούτων ἔσχε θέαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν Μακεδονικῶν ὄπλων ἐπέμπετο πολλαῖς ἀμάξαις, αὐτὰ τε μαρμαίροντα χαλκῷ νεοσμήκτῳ καὶ σιδήρῳ, τὴν τε θέσιν ἐκ τέχνης καὶ συναρμογῆς ὡς ἀν μάλιστα συμπεφορημένοις χύδην καὶ αὐτομάτως εἰκοὶ πεπονημένα, κράνη πρὸς ἀσπίσι καὶ θώ-
- 4 ρακες ἐπὶ κνημῖσι, καὶ Κρητικαὶ πέλται καὶ Θράκια γέρρα καὶ φαρέτραι μετὰ ἵππικῶν ἀναμειγμέναι χαλινῶν, καὶ ξίφη γυμνὰ διὰ τούτων παρανίσχοντα καὶ σάρισαι παραπεπηγυῖαι, σύμμετρον ἐχόντων χάλασμα τῶν ὄπλων, ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κρούσιν ἐν τῷ διαφέρεσθαι τραχὺ

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and prefer to be wheedled and flattered in war rather than commanded."

XXXII. This speech, they tell us, so rebuffed the soldiery and changed their minds that the triumph was voted to Aemilius by all the tribes. And it was conducted,¹ they say, after the following fashion. The people erected scaffoldings in the theatres for equestrian contests, which they call circuses, and round the forum, occupied the other parts of the city which afforded a view of the procession, and witnessed the spectacle arrayed in white garments. Every temple was open and filled with garlands and incense, while numerous servitors and lictors restrained the thronging and scurrying crowds and kept the streets open and clear. Three days were assigned for the triumphal procession. The first barely sufficed for the exhibition of the captured statues, paintings, and colossal figures, which were carried on two hundred and fifty chariots. On the second, the finest and richest of the Macedonian arms were borne along in many waggons. The arms themselves glittered with freshly polished bronze and steel, and were carefully and artfully arranged to look exactly as though they had been piled together in heaps and at random, helmets lying upon shields and breast-plates upon greaves, while Cretan targets and Thracian wicker shields and quivers were mixed up with horses' bridles, and through them projected naked swords and long Macedonian spears planted among them, all the arms being so loosely packed that they smote against each other as they were borne along and gave out a harsh and dreadful sound, and the sight of them, even though

¹ In November, 167 B.C.

καὶ φοβερὸν ὑπηχεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ νενικημένων ἄφο-
 5 βον εἶναι τὴν ὄψιν. μετὰ δὲ τὰς ὀπλοφόρους
 ἀμάξας ἄνδρες ἐπεπορεύοντο τρισχίλιοι νόμισμα
 φέροντες ἀργυροῦν ἐν ἀγγείοις ἑπτακοσίοις πεντή-
 κοντα τριταλάντοις, ὧν ἕκαστον ἀνὰ τέσσαρες
 ἐκόμιζον· ἄλλοι δὲ κρατήρας ἀργυροῦς καὶ κέρατα
 καὶ φιάλας καὶ κύλικας, εὖ διακεκοσμημένα πρὸς
 θέαν ἕκαστα καὶ περιττὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ
 παχύτητι τῆς τορείας.

XXXIII. Τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἡμέρας ἔωθεν μὲν
 εὐθύς ἐπορεύοντο σαλπικταὶ μέλος οὐ προσόδιον
 καὶ πομπικόν, ἀλλ' οἷον μαχομένους ἐποτρύνουσιν 273
 αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι, προσεγκελευόμενοι. μετὰ δὲ
 τούτους ἤγοντο χρυσόκερῳ τροφίαι βοῦς ἑκατὸν
 εἴκοσι, μίτραις ἡσκημένοι καὶ στέμμασιν. οἱ δ'
 ἄγοντες αὐτοὺς νεανίσκοι περιζώμασιν εὐπαρύφοις
 ἐσταλμένοι πρὸς ἱερουργίαν ἐχώρουν, καὶ παῖδες
 2 ἀργυρᾷ λοιβεῖα καὶ χρυσᾷ κομίζοντες. εἴτα
 μετὰ τούτους οἱ τὸ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα φέροντες,
 εἰς ἀγγεῖα τριταλαντιαῖα μεμερισμένον ὁμοίως
 τῷ ἀργυρίῳ. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν ἀγγείων
 ὀγδοήκοντα τριῶν δέοντα. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον
 οἳ τε τὴν ἱερὰν φιάλην ἀνέχοντες, ἦν ὁ Αἰμίλιος
 ἐκ χρυσοῦ δέκα ταλάντων διὰ λίθων κατεσκεύα-
 σεν, οἳ τε τὰς Ἀντιγονίδας καὶ Σελευκίδας καὶ
 3 Θηρικλείους καὶ ὅσα περὶ δεῖπνον χρυσώματα
 τοῦ Περσέως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλε
 τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ Περσέως καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὸ διά-
 δημα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπικείμενον. εἴτα μικροῦ δια-
 λείμματος ὄντος ἤδη τὰ τέκνα τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἤγετο δοῦλα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τροφένων καὶ διδα-

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they were spoils of a conquered enemy, was not without its terrors. After the waggons laden with armour there followed three thousand men carrying coined silver in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which contained three talents and was borne by four men, while still other men carried mixing-bowls of silver, drinking horns, bowls, and cups, all well arranged for show and excelling in size and in the depth of their carved ornaments.

XXXIII. On the third day, as soon as it was morning, trumpeters led the way, sounding out no marching or processional strain, but such a one as the Romans use to rouse themselves to battle. After these there were led along a hundred and twenty stall-fed oxen with gilded horns, bedecked with fillets and garlands. Those who led these victims to the sacrifice were young men wearing aprons with handsome borders, and boys attended them carrying gold and silver vessels of libation. Next, after these, came the carriers of the coined gold, which, like the silver, was portioned out into vessels containing three talents ; and the number of these vessels was eighty lacking three. After these followed the bearers of the consecrated bowl, which Aemilius had caused to be made of ten talents of gold and adorned with precious stones, and then those who displayed the bowls known as Antigonids and Seleucids and Thera-cleian,¹ together with all the gold plate of Perseus's table. These were followed by the chariot of Perseus, which bore his arms, and his diadem lying upon his arms. Then, at a little interval, came the children of the king, led along as slaves, and with them a throng of foster-parents, teachers, and tutors, all

¹ These last were named from a famous Corinthian artist.

σκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν δεδακρυμένων ὄχλος, αὐτῶν τε τὰς χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων εἰς τοὺς θεατὰς καὶ τὰ παῖδια δεῖσθαι καὶ λιτανεύειν διδασκόν-
 4 των. ἦν δ' ἄρρενα μὲν δύο, θήλυ δὲ ἓν, οὐ πάνυ συμφρονούντα τῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν· ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔλεεινὰ πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς ἀναισθησίας ἦν, ὥστε μικροῦ τὸν Περσέα βαδίζειν παρορώμενον· οὕτως ὑπ' οἴκτου τοῖς νηπίοις προσεῖχον τὰς ὄψεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ δάκρυα πολλοῖς ἐκβάλλειν συνέβη, πᾶσι δὲ μεμιγμένην ἀλγηδὸνι καὶ χάριτι τὴν θέαν εἶναι μέχρι οὐ τὰ παῖδια παρήλθεν.

XXXIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τέκνων ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὰ θεραπείας κατόπιν ἐπορεύετο, φαιὸν μὲν ἱμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ κρηπίδας ἔχων ἐπιχωρίους, ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους τῶν κακῶν πάντα θαμβοῦντι καὶ παραπεπληγμένῳ μάλιστα τὸν λογισμὸν ἐοικώς. καὶ τούτῳ δ' εἶπετο χορὸς φίλων καὶ συνήθων, βεβαρημένων τὰ πρόσωπα πένθει, καὶ τῷ πρὸς Περσέα βλέπειν ἀεὶ καὶ δακρύειν ἔννοιαν παριστάντων τοῖς θεωμένοις ὅτι τὴν ἐκείνου τύχην ὀλοφύρονται τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
 2 ἐλάχιστα φροντίζοντες. καίτοι προσέπεμψε τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ δεόμενος μὴ πομπευθῆναι καὶ παραιτούμενος τὸν θρίαμβον. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀνανδρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοψυχίας, ὡς ἔοικε, καταγελῶν, “ Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γ',” εἶπε, “ καὶ πρότερον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, ἂν βούληται.” δηλῶν τὸν πρὸ αἰσχύνης θάνατον, ὃν οὐχ ὑπομείνας ὁ δαίλαιος, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων τινῶν ἀπομαλακισθεὶς ἐγεγόνει μέρος τῶν αὐτοῦ λαφύρων.

3 Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐκομίζοντο χρυσοὶ στέφανοι

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in tears, stretching out their own hands to the spectators and teaching the children to beg and supplicate. There were two boys, and one girl, and they were not very conscious of the magnitude of their evils because of their tender age ; wherefore they evoked even more pity in view of the time when their unconsciousness would cease, so that Perseus walked along almost unheeded, while the Romans, moved by compassion, kept their eyes upon the children, and many of them shed tears, and for all of them the pleasure of the spectacle was mingled with pain, until the children had passed by.

XXXIV. Behind the children and their train of attendants walked Perseus himself, clad in a dark robe and wearing the high boots of his country, but the magnitude of his evils made him resemble one who is utterly dumbfounded and bewildered. He, too, was followed by a company of friends and intimates, whose faces were heavy with grief, and whose tearful gaze continually fixed upon Perseus gave the spectators to understand that it was his misfortune which they bewailed, and that their own fate least of all concerned them. And yet Perseus had sent to Aemilius begging not to be led in the procession and asking to be left out of the triumph. But Aemilius, in mockery, as it would seem, of the king's cowardice and love of life, had said : " But this at least was in his power before, and is so now, if he should wish it," signifying death in preference to disgrace ; for this, however, the coward had not the heart, but was made weak by no one knows what hopes, and became a part of his own spoils.

Next in order to these were carried wreaths of

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τετρακόσιοι τὸ πλῆθος, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἀριστεία τῆς νίκης τῷ Αἰμίλιῳ μετὰ πρεσβειῶν ἐπεμψαν. εἴτ' αὐτὸς ἐπέβαλλεν ἄρματι κεκοσμημένῳ διαπρεπῶς ἐπιβεβηκώς, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχα τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας ἀξιοθέατος, ἀλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ δάφνης κλῶνα τῇ δεξιᾷ προ-
 4 τείνων. ἐδαφνηφόρει δὲ καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατός, τῷ μὲν ἄρματι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατὰ λόχους καὶ τάξεις ἐπόμενος, ἄδων δὲ τὰ μὲν ᾠδὰς τινὰς πατρίους ἀναμεμιγμένας γέλωτι, τὰ δὲ παιᾶνας ἐπινικίους καὶ τῶν διαπεπραγμένων ἐπαίνους εἰς τὸν Αἰμίλιον περίβλεπτον ὄντα καὶ ζηλωτὸν ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπίφθονον· πλὴν εἴ τι δαιμόνιον ἄρα τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ὑπερόγκων εἵληχεν εὐτυχιῶν ἀπαρύτειν καὶ μιγνύναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ὅπως μηδενὶ κακῶν ἄκρατος εἴη καὶ καθάρως, ἀλλὰ καθ' Ὅμηρον ἄριστα δοκῶσι πρᾶττειν οἷς αἱ τύχαι τροπὴν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσιν.

XXXV. Ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τέσσαρες υἱοί, δύο μὲν εἰς ἐτέρας ἀπωκισμένοι συγγενείας, ὥς ἤδη 274 λέλεκται, Σκηπίων καὶ Φάβιος, δύο δὲ παῖδες ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας εἶχε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 2 γεγονότας ἐξ ἐτέρας γυναικός. ὦν ὁ μὲν ἡμέραις πέντε πρὸ τοῦ θριαμβεύειν τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐτελεύτησε τεσσαρεσκαίδεκέτης, ὁ δὲ δωδεκέτης μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας θριαμβεύσαντος ἐπαπέθανεν, ὥστε μηδένα γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων τοῦ πάθους ἀνάλγητον, ἀλλὰ φρίξαι τὴν ὁμότητα τῆς τύχης ἅπαντας, ὥς οὐκ ἠδέεσατο πένθος τοσοῦτον εἰς οἰκίαν ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ θυσιῶν γέμουσαν εἰσάγουσα, καὶ

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gold, four hundred in number, which the cities had sent with their embassies to Aemilius as prizes for his victory. Next, mounted on a chariot of magnificent adornment, came Aemilius himself, a man worthy to be looked upon even without such marks of power, wearing a purple robe interwoven with gold, and holding forth in his right hand a spray of laurel. The whole army also carried sprays of laurel, following the chariot of their general by companies and divisions, and singing, some of them divers songs intermingled with jesting, as the ancient custom was, and others paeans of victory and hymns in praise of the achievements of Aemilius, who was gazed upon and admired by all, and envied by no one that was good. But after all there is, as it seems, a divinity whose province it is to diminish whatever prosperity is inordinately great, and to mingle the affairs of human life, that no one may be without a taste of evil and wholly free from it, but that, as Homer says,¹ those may be thought to fare best whose fortunes incline now one way and now another.

XXXV. For Aemilius had four sons, of whom two, as I have already said,² had been adopted into other families, namely, Scipio and Fabius; and two sons still boys, the children of a second wife, whom he had in his own house. One of these, fourteen years of age, died five days before Aemilius celebrated his triumph, and the death of the other, who was twelve years of age, followed three days after the triumph, so that there was no Roman who did not share the father's grief; nay, they all shuddered at the cruelty of Fortune, seeing that she had not scrupled to bring such great sorrow into a house that was full of gratula-

¹ *Iliad*, xxiv. 525 ff.

² Cf. chapter v. 3.

καταμινγνύουσα θρήνους καὶ δάκρυα παιᾶσιν ἐπινικίοις καὶ θριάμβοις.

- XXXVI. Οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ὁ Αἰμίλιος ὀρθῶς λογιζόμενος ἀνδρείας καὶ θαρραλεότητος ἀνθρώποις οὐ πρὸς ὄπλα καὶ σαρίσας χρήσιν εἶναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὁμαλῶς τύχης ἀντίστασιν, οὕτως ἡρμόσατο καὶ κατεκόσμησε τὴν τῶν παρόντων σύγκρασιν ὥστε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὰ φαῦλα καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐναφανισθέντα μὴ ταπεινῶσαι τὸ μέγεθος μηδὲ καθυβρίσαι τὸ ἀξίωμα
- 2 τῆς νίκης. τὸν μὲν γε πρότερον τῶν παίδων ἀποθανόντα θάψας εὐθύς ἐθριάμβευσεν, ὡς λέλεκται τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον τελευτήσαντος συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἐχρήσατο λόγοις ἀνδρὸς οὐ δεομένου παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ παραμυθουμένου τοὺς πολίτας δυσπαθοῦντας ἐφ' οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐδυστύχησεν. ἔφη γὰρ ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε δέισας, τῶν δὲ θεῶν ὡς ἀπιστότατον καὶ ποικιλώτατον πρᾶγμα τὴν
- 3 τύχην αἰεὶ φοβηθεῖς, μάλιστα περὶ τοῦτον αὐτῆς τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ πνεύματος λαμπροῦ, ταῖς πράξεσι παρούσης, διατελοῖη μεταβολὴν τινα καὶ παλίνροιαν προσδεχόμενος. “Μιᾶ μὲν γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ἡμέρα τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου περάσας εἰς Κέρκυραν κατήχθην· πεμπταῖος δ' ἐκείθεν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῷ θεῷ θύσας, ἐτέραις αὖθις αὖ πέντε τὴν δύναμιν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρέλαβον, καὶ τὸν εἰωθότα συντελέσας καθαρμὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν πράξεων εὐθύς ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ἡμέραις ἄλλαις πεντεκαίδεκα τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπέθηκα τῷ πολέμῳ
- 4 τέλος. ἀπιστῶν δὲ τῇ τύχῃ διὰ τὴν εὐροίαν τῶν

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tions, joy, and sacrifices, or to mingle lamentations and tears with paeans of victory and triumphs.

XXXVI. Aemilius, notwithstanding, rightly considering that men have need of bravery and courage, not only against arms and long spears, but against every onset of Fortune as well, so adapted and adjusted the mingled circumstances of his lot that the bad was lost sight of in the good, and his private sorrow in the public welfare, thus neither lowering the grandeur nor sullyng the dignity of his victory. The first of his sons who died he buried, and immediately afterwards celebrated the triumph, as I have said; and when the second died, after the triumph, he gathered the Roman people into an assembly and spoke to them as a man who did not ask for comfort, but rather sought to comfort his fellow-citizens in their distress over his own misfortunes. He said, namely, that he had never dreaded any human agency, but among agencies that were divine he had ever feared Fortune, believing her to be a most untrustworthy and variable thing; and since in this war particularly she had attended his undertakings like a prosperous gale, as it were, he had never ceased to expect some change and some reversal of the current of affairs. "For in one day," said he, "I crossed the Ionian Sea from Brundisium and put in at Corcyra; thence, in five days, I came to Delphi and sacrificed to the god; and again, in other five days, I took command of the forces in Macedonia, and after the usual lustration and review of them I proceeded at once to action, and in other fifteen days brought the war to the most glorious issue. But I distrusted Fortune because the current of my affairs ran so smoothly, and

πραγμάτων, ὥς ἄδεια πολλή καὶ κίνδυνος οὐδεὶς ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, μάλιστα κατὰ πλοῦν ἔδεδίειν τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπ' εὐτυχία, τοσοῦτον στρατὸν νενικηκότα καὶ λάφυρα καὶ βασιλεῖς αἰχμαλώτους κομίζων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σωθεὶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν εὐφροσύνης καὶ ζήλου καὶ θυσιῶν γέμουσαν, ἔτι τὴν τύχην δι' ὑποψίας εἶχον, εἰδὼς οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς οὐδ' ἀνεμέσητον ἀνθρώποις τῶν μεγάλων χαρι-

5 ζομένην. καὶ τοῦτον οὐ πρότερον ἢ ψυχὴν τὸν φόβον ὠδίνουσα καὶ περισκοπούμενη τὸ μέλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀφῆκεν ἢ τηλικαύτῃ με προσπταῖσαι δυστυχία περὶ τὸν οἶκον, υἱῶν ἀρίστων, οὓς ἐμαυτῷ μόνους ἐλιπόμεν διαδόχους, ταφὰς ἐπαλλήλους ἐν ἡμέραις ἱεραῖς μεταχειρισάμενον.

6 νῦν οὖν ἀκίνδυνός εἰμι τὰ μέγιστα καὶ θαρρῶ, καὶ νομίζω τὴν τύχην ὑμῖν παραμενεῖν ἀβλαβὴ καὶ βέλαιον. ἱκανῶς γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἀποκέχρηται νέμεσιν, οὐκ ἠφανέστερον ἔχουσα παράδειγμα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας τοῦ θριαμβευομένου τὸν θριαμβεύοντα· πλὴν ὅτι Περσεὺς μὲν ἔχει καὶ νενικημένος τοὺς παῖδας, Αἰμίλιος δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ νικήσας ἀπέβαλεν."

XXXVII. Οὕτω μὲν εὐγενεῖς καὶ μεγάλους λόγους τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐξ ἀπλάστου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ φρονήματος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διαλεχθῆναι λέγουσι. τῷ δὲ Περσεῖ, καίπερ οἰκτείρας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ μάλα βοηθῆσαι προθυμηθεὶς, οὐδὲν εὖρετο πλὴν μεταστάσεως ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου κάρκερε παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τόπον καθαρὸν καὶ φιλανθρω-

2 ποτέραν δίαιταν, ὅπου φρουρούμενος, ὥς μὲν οἱ

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now that there was complete immunity and nothing to fear from hostile attacks, it was particularly during my voyage home that I feared the reversal of the Deity's favour after all my good fortune, since I was bringing home so large a victorious army, such spoils, and captured kings. Nay more, even when I had reached you safely and beheld the city full of delight and gratulation and sacrifices, I was still suspicious of Fortune, knowing that she bestows upon men no great boon that is without alloy or free from divine displeasure. Indeed, my soul was in travail with this fear and could not dismiss it and cease anxiously forecasting the city's future, until I was smitten with this great misfortune in my own house, and in days consecrated to rejoicing had carried two most noble sons, who alone remained to be my heirs, one after the other to their graves. Now, therefore, I am in no peril of what most concerned me, and am confident, and I think that Fortune will remain constant to our city and do her no harm. For that deity has sufficiently used me and my afflictions to satisfy the divine displeasure at our successes, and she makes the hero of the triumph as clear an example of human weakness as the victim of the triumph; except that Perseus, even though conquered, has his children, while Aemilius, though conqueror, has lost his."

XXXVII. With such noble and lofty words, we are told, did Aemilius, from an unfeigned and sincere spirit, address the people. But for Perseus, although he pitied him for his changed lot and was very eager to help him, he could obtain no other favour than a removal from the prison which the Romans called "carcer" to a clean place and kindlier treatment; and there, being closely watched, according to most

πλείστοι γεγράφασιν, ἀπεκαρτέρησεν, ἔνιοι δὲ τῆς 275
τελευτῆς ἰδίον τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον
ἱστοροῦσι. μεμψαμένους γάρ τι καὶ θυμωθέντας
αὐτῷ τοὺς περὶ τὸ σῶμα στρατιώτας, ὥς ἕτερον
οὐδὲν ἡδύναντο λυπεῖν καὶ κακοῦν αὐτόν, ἐξείρ-
γειν τῶν ὕπνων, καὶ προσέχοντας ἀκριβῶς ἐνί-
στασθαι ταῖς καταφοραῖς καὶ συνέχειν ἐγρηγορότα
πάσῃ μηχανῇ, μέχρι οὗ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκ-
3 πονηθεῖς ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ τῶν
παιδίων τὰ δύο. τὸν δὲ τρίτον, Ἀλέξανδρον,
εὐφῶ μὲν ἐν τῷ τορεῦειν καὶ λεπτουργεῖν γενέ-
σθαι φασίν, ἐκμαθόντα δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ γράμματα
καὶ τὴν διύλεκτον ὑπογραμματοτεῦειν τοῖς ἀρχου-
σιν, ἐπιδέξιον καὶ χαρίεντα περὶ ταύτην τὴν
ὑπηρεσίαν ἐξεταζόμενον.

XXXVIII. Ταῖς δὲ Μακεδονικαῖς πράξεσι τοῦ
Αἰμιλίου δημοτικωτάτην προσγράφουσι χάριν
ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν, ὥς τοσούτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον
τότε χρημάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεθέντων ὥστε μηκέτι
δεῆσαι τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν ἄχρι τῶν Ἰρτίου
καὶ Πάνσα χρόνων, οἱ περὶ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀντωνίου
2 καὶ Καίσαρος πόλεμον ὑπάτευσαν. κακῆϊνο δ'
ἴδιον καὶ περιττὸν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου, τὸ σπουδαζό-
μενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τιμώμενον διαφερόντως
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατικῆς μεῖναι προαιρέσεως, καὶ
μηδὲν εἰπεῖν μηδὲ πράξαι χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ κρατίστοις αἰεὶ συνεξετά-
ζεσθαι περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. ὃ καὶ χρόνοις ὕστε-
ρον Ἀππίος ὠνείδισεν Ἀφρικανῷ Σκηπίωνι.
3 μέγιστοι γὰρ ὄντες ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε τὴν τιμητι-
κὴν ἀρχὴν μετήρσαν, ὃ μὲν τὴν βουλὴν ἔχων καὶ

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writers the king starved himself to death. But some tell of a very unusual and peculiar way in which he died, as follows. The soldiers who guarded his person found some fault with him and got angry at him, and since they could not vex and injure him in any other way, they prevented him from sleeping, disturbing his repose by their assiduous attentions and keeping him awake by every possible artifice, until in this way he was worn out and died. Two of his children also died. But the third, Alexander, is said to have become expert in embossing and fine metal work; he also learned to write and speak the Roman language, and was secretary to the magistrates, in which office he proved himself to have skill and elegance.

XXXVIII. To the exploits of Aemilius in Macedonia is ascribed his most unbounded popularity with the people, since so much money was then brought into the public treasury by him that the people no longer needed to pay special taxes until the times of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls during the first war between Antony and Octavius Caesar.¹ And this, too, was peculiar and remarkable in Aemilius, that although he was admired and honoured by the people beyond measure, he remained a member of the aristocratic party, and neither said or did anything to win the favour of the multitude, but always sided in political matters with the leading and most powerful men. And this attitude of Aemilius was in after times cast in the teeth of Scipio Africanus by Appius. For these men, being then greatest in the city, were candidates for the censorship,² the one having the senate and the nobles to

¹ The so-called "War of Mutina," in 43 B.C.; cf. the *Cicero*, xlv. 3-5.

² In 142 B.C.

τοὺς ἀρίστους περὶ αὐτόν· αὕτη γὰρ Ἀππίοις ἡ πολιτεία πάτριος· ὁ δὲ μέγας μὲν ὦν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, μεγάλη δ' αἰὲς τῇ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου χάριτι καὶ σπουδῇ κεχρημένος. ὥς οὖν ἐμβάλλοντος εἰς ἀγορὰν τοῦ Σκηπίωνος κατείδε παρὰ πλευρὰν ὁ Ἀππίος ἀνθρώπους ἀγεννεῖς καὶ δεδουλευκότας, ἀγοραίους δὲ καὶ δυναμένους ὄχλον συναγαγεῖν καὶ σπουδαρχία καὶ κραυγῇ πάντα πράγματα

4 βιάσασθαι, μέγα βοήσας, “ὦ Παῦλε,” εἶπεν, “Αἰμίλιε, στέναξον ὑπὸ γῆς αἰσθόμενος ὅτι σου τὸν υἱὸν Αἰμίλιος ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ Λικίννιος Φιλό- νεικος ἐπὶ τιμητείαν κατὰγουσιν.” ἀλλὰ Σκηπίων μὲν αὖξων τὰ πλεῖστα τὸν δῆμον εὖνουν εἶχεν, Αἰμίλιος δέ, καίπερ ὦν ἀριστοκρατικός, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἡγαπάτο τοῦ μάλιστα δημαγωγεῖν καὶ πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς

5 δοκοῦντος. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τιμητείας αὐτὸν ἀξιώσαντες, ἧτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πασῶν ἱερωτάτη καὶ δυναμένη μέγα πρὸς τε τᾶλλα καὶ πρὸς ἐξέτασιν βίων. ἐκβαλεῖν τε γὰρ ἔξεστι συγκλήτου τὸν ἀπρεπῶς ζῶντα τοῖς τιμη- ταῖς, καὶ προγράψαι τὸν ἄριστον, ἵππου τ' ἀφαι- ρέσει τῶν νέων ἀτιμάσαι τὸν ἀκολασταίνοντα. καὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν οὗτοι τὰ τιμήματα καὶ τὰς ἀπο-

6 γραφὰς ἐπισκοποῦσιν. ἀπεγράψαντο μὲν οὖν κατ' αὐτὸν μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων τριάκοντα τρεῖς, ἔτι δ' ἑπτακισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι πεντήκοντα δύο, τῆς δὲ βουλῆς προέγραψε μὲν Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον, ἥδη τετράκις καρπούμενον ταύτην τὴν

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support him, for this was the hereditary policy of the Appii, while the other, although great on his own account, nevertheless always made use of the great favour and love of the people for him. When, therefore, Appius saw Scipio rushing into the forum attended by men who were of low birth and had lately been slaves, but who were frequenters of the forum and able to gather a mob and force all issues by means of solicitations and shouting, he cried with a loud voice and said: "O Paulus Aemilius, groan beneath the earth when thou learnest that thy son is escorted to the censorship by Aemilius the common crier and Licinius Philonicus." But Scipio had the good will of the people because he supported them in most things, while Aemilius, although he sided with the nobles, was no less loved by the multitude than the one who was thought to pay most court to the people and to seek their favour in his intercourse with them. And they made this manifest by conferring upon him, along with his other honours, that of the censorship,¹ which is of all offices most sacred, and of great influence, both in other ways, and especially because it examines into the lives and conduct of men. For it is in the power of the censors to expel any senator whose life is unbecoming, and to appoint the leader of the senate, and they can disgrace any young knight of loose habits by taking away his horse. They also take charge of the property assessments and the registry lists. Accordingly, the number of citizens registered under Aemilius was three hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-two; he also declared Marcus Aemilius Lepidus first senator, a man who had

¹ In 164 B.C.

προεδρίαν, ἐξέβαλε δὲ τρεῖς συγκλητικούς οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἱππέων ἐξέτασιν ὁμοίως ἐμετρίασεν αὐτός τε καὶ Μάρκιος Φίλιππος ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ.

- XXXIX. Διοικημένων δὲ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἐνόσησε νόσον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐπισφαλῇ, χρόνῳ δὲ ἀκίνδυνον, ἐργώδη δὲ καὶ δυσάπλλακτον γενομένην. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἑλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ διέτριβεν αὐτόθι πλείω χρόνον ἐν παραλίῳ ἀγροῖς καὶ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχουσιν, ἐπόθησαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ φωνὰς πολλάκις ἐν θεάτροις οἶον
- 2 εὐχόμενοι καὶ σπεύδοντες ἰδεῖν ἀφήκαν. οὔσης 276 δέ τινος ἱερουργίας ἀναγκαίας, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην. κακείνην μὲν ἔθυσσε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν θυσίαν ἱερέων, ἐπιφανῶς τοῦ δήμου περικεχυμένου καὶ χαίροντος· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία πάλιν ἔθυσεν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σωτήρια τοῖς θεοῖς.
- 3 καὶ συμπερανθείσης, ὡς προείρηται, τῆς θυσίας ὑποστρέψας οἴκαδε καὶ κατακλιθεὶς, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν μεταβολήν, ἐν ἐκστάσει καὶ παραφορᾷ τῆς διανοίας γενόμενος τριταῖος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῆς οὐδ' ἀτελὲς τῶν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν νενομισμένων γενόμενος. καὶ γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν πομπὴ θαυμασμὸν ἔσχε, καὶ ζῆλον ἐπικοσμοῦντα τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῖς
- 4 ἀρίστοις καὶ μακαριωτάτοις ἐνταφίοις. ταῦτα δ' ἦν οὐ χρυσὸς οὐδ' ἐλέφας οὐδ' ἡ λοιπὴ πολυτέλεια
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already held this presidency four times, and he expelled only three senators, men of no note, and in the muster of the knights a like moderation was observed both by himself and by Marcius Philippus his colleague.

XXXIX. After he had performed most of the more important duties of this office, he fell sick of a disease which at first was dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it was troublesome and hard to get rid of. Under the advice of his physicians he sailed to Velia in Italy, and there spent much time in country places lying by the sea and affording great quiet. Then the Romans longed for him, and often in the theatres gave utterance to eager desires and even prayers that they might see him. At last, when a certain religious ceremony made his presence necessary, and his health seemed to be sufficient for the journey, he returned to Rome. Here he offered the public sacrifice in company with the other priests,¹ while the people thronged about with manifest tokens of delight; and on the following day he sacrificed again to the gods privately in gratitude for his recovery. When the sacrifice had been duly performed, he returned to his house and lay down to rest, and then, before he could notice and be conscious of any change, he became delirious and deranged in mind, and on the third day after died.² He was fully blessed with everything that men think conducive to happiness. For his funeral procession called forth men's admiration, and showed a desire to adorn his virtue with the best and most enviable obsequies. This was manifest, not in gold or ivory or

¹ See chapter iii. 1-3.

² Seven years after his triumph, 160 B.C.

καὶ φιλοτιμία τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἀλλ' εὖνοια καὶ τιμὴ καὶ χάρις οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. ὅσοι γοῦν κατὰ τύχην παρήσαν Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Μακεδόνων, οἱ μὲν ἰσχυροὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ νέοι διαλαβόντες τὸ λέχος ὑπέδυσαν καὶ παρεκόμεζον, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι συνηκολούθουν ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν Αἰμίλιον
5 εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῶν πατρίδων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν οἷς ἐκράτησε καιροῖς ἡπίως πᾶσι καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀπηλλάγη χρησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον αἰεὶ τι πράττων ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κηδόμενος ὥσπερ οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν διετετέλεσε.

Τὴν δ' οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ μόλις ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδων γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ἧς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπέλιπε κληρονόμους, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Σκηπίων τῷ ἀδελφῷ πᾶσαν ἔχειν συνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς εἰς οἶκον εὐπορώτερον τὸν Ἀφρικανοῦ δεδομένος. οὗτος μὲν ὁ Παύλου Αἰμιλίου τρόπος καὶ βίος λέγεται γενέσθαι.

ΤΙΜΟΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΙΜΙΛΙΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Τοιούτων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ὄντων, δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἔχει πολλὰς διαφορὰς οὐδὲ ἀνομοιότητας ἢ σύγκρισις. οἳ τε γὰρ πόλεμοι πρὸς ἐνδόξους γεγονῶσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἀνταγωνιστάς, τῷ μὲν Μακεδόνας, τῷ δὲ Καρχηδονίους, αἳ τε νῆκαι περιβόητοι, τοῦ μὲν ἐλόντος Μακεδονίαν

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the other ambitious and expensive preparations for such rites, but in good will and honour and gratitude on the part, not only of his fellow citizens, but also of his enemies. At all events, out of all the Iberians and Ligurians and Macedonians who chanced to be present, those that were young and strong of body assisted by turns in carrying the bier, while the more elderly followed with the procession calling aloud upon Aemilius as benefactor and preserver of their countries. For not only at the times of his conquests had he treated them all with mildness and humanity, but also during all the rest of his life he was ever doing them some good and caring for them as though they had been kindred and relations.

His estate, we are told, hardly amounted to three hundred and seventy thousand drachmas, to which he left both his sons heirs; but the younger, Scipio, who had been adopted into the wealthier family of Africanus, allowed his brother to have it all. Such, as we are told, was the life and character of Paulus Aemilius.

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I. SUCH being the history of these men, it is clear that our comparison of them will have few points of difference or dissimilarity to show. For the wars which both conducted were against notable antagonists; in the one case against the Macedonians, in the other against the Carthaginians. Their victories, too, were far-famed: the one took Macedonia and

καὶ τὴν ἀπ' Ἀντιγόνου διαδοχὴν ἐν ἐβδόμῳ βασιλεῖ καταπαύσαντος, τοῦ δὲ τὰς τυραννίδας πάσας ἀνελόντος ἐκ Σικελίας καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐλευθερώσαντος· εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία βούλοιτό τις παρεγχειρεῖν ὡς Αἰμίλιος μὲν ἐρρωμένῳ Περσεῖ
 2 καὶ Ῥωμαίους νενικηκότι, Τιμολέων δὲ Διονυσίῳ παντάπασιν ἀπειρηκότι καὶ κατατετριμμένῳ συνέπεσε, καὶ πάλιν ὑπὲρ Τιμολέοντος, ὅτι πολλοὺς μὲν τυράννους, μεγάλην δὲ τὴν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῆς τυχούσης στρατιᾶς ἐνίκησεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ Αἰμίλιος ἀνδράσιν ἐμπειροπολέμοις καὶ μεμαθηκόσιν ἄρχεσθαι χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ μισθοφόροις οὔσι καὶ στρατιώταις ἀτάκτοις, πρὸς ἡδονὴν εἰθισμένοις στρατεύεσθαι. τὰ γὰρ ἀπ' οὐκ ἴσης παρασκευῆς ἴσα κατορθώματα τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν αἰτίαν περιτίθησι.

II. Καθαρῶν οὖν καὶ δικαίων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότων, Αἰμίλιος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὕτως ἔοικεν εὐθὺς ἀφικέσθαι παρεσκευασμένος, Τιμολέων δὲ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν παρέσχε. τούτου τεκμήριον ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὁμαλῶς ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πάντες ἦσαν εὐτακτοὶ καὶ ὑποχείριοι τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεδιότες καὶ τοὺς πολίτας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἡγεμὼν ἐστὶν οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς δς οὐ διεφθάρη τότε Σικελίας ἀψάμενος ἔξω
 2 Δίωνος. καίτοι Δίωνα πολλοὶ μοναρχίας ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ βασιλείαν τινὰ Λακωνικὴν ὀνειροπολεῖν ὑπενόουν. Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ Γύλιππον ἀκλεῶς 277 φησι καὶ ἀτίμως ἀποπέμψαι Συρακουσίους, φιλοπλουτίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπληστίαν ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ

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brought the royal line of Antigonus to an end in its seventh king; the other abolished all the tyrannies in Sicily and set the island free. One might, indeed, argue otherwise, and say that Perseus was strong and victorious over the Romans when Aemilius engaged him, while Dionysius, when Timoleon engaged him, was altogether crushed and desperate. And, again, it might be said in favour of Timoleon that he conquered many tyrants and the force of the Carthaginians, large as it was, with what soldiers he could get, not having at his service, as Aemilius had, men who were experienced in war and taught to obey orders, but men who were hirelings and disorderly soldiers, accustomed to consult their own pleasure in their campaigns. For when equal successes follow an unequal equipment, the greater credit accrues to the commander.

II. Further, in their administration of affairs both were just and incorruptible; but Aemilius, it would seem, was made so from the outset of his career by the laws and customs of his country, while Timoleon's great probity was due to himself. There is proof of this in the fact that the Romans in the time of Aemilius were, all alike, orderly in their lives, observant of usage, and wholesomely fearful of the laws and of their fellow citizens; whereas, of the Greek leaders and generals who took part in Sicilian affairs during the time of Timoleon, not one was free from corruption except Dion. And Dion was suspected by many of being ambitious for a monarchy and dreaming of a kingdom like that in Sparta. Furthermore, Timaeus says that even Gylippus was sent away in ignominy and dishonour by the Syracusans, because they found him guilty of avarice and greed while

- κατεγνωκότας. ἃ δὲ Φάραξ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης καὶ Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐλπίσαντες ἄρξιν Σικελίας παρενόμησαν καὶ παρεσπόνδησαν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀναγέγραπται. καίτοι τίνες ἢ πηλίκων κύριοι πραγμάτων ὄντες οὗτοι τοιαῦτα ἤλπισαν; ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐκπεπτωκότα Συρακουσῶν ἐθεράπευε Διονύσιον, Κάλλιππος δὲ εἰς ἣν τῶν περὶ Δίωνα ξεναγῶν. ἀλλὰ Τιμολέων αἰτησαμένοις καὶ δεηθείσιν αὐτοκράτωρ πεμφθεὶς Συρακουσίοις, καὶ δύναμιν οὐ ζητεῖν ἀλλ' ἔχειν ὀφείλων ἦν ἔλαβε βουλομένων καὶ διδόντων, πέρας ἐποίησατο τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατηγίας καὶ ἀρχῆς τὴν τῶν παρανόμων ἀρχόντων κατάλυσιν.
- 4 Ἐκείνο μέντοι τοῦ Αἰμίλιου θαυμαστόν, ὅτι τηλικαύτην βασιλείαν καταστρεφάμενος οὐδὲ δραχμῇ μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἤψατο τῶν χρημάτων, καίτοι πολλὰ δὸς ἑτέροις καὶ δωρησάμενος. οὐ λέγω δὲ ὅτι Τιμολέων μεμπτός ἐστιν οἰκίαν τε καλὴν λαβὼν καὶ χωρίον· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκ τοιούτων αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν κρεῖττον καὶ περιουσία τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐν οἷς ἕξεστιν ἐπιδεικνυμένης τὸ μὴ δεόμενον.
- 5 Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὥς σώματος ῥῖγος ἢ θάλπος φέρειν δυναμένου τὸ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας εὖ πεφυκὸς ὁμοῦ τὰς μεταβολὰς ῥωμαλεώτερον, οὕτω ψυχῆς ἄκρατος εὐρωστία καὶ ἰσχὺς, ἦν οὔτε τὸ εὐτυχεῖν ὑβρεὶ θρύπτει καὶ ἀνίησιν οὔτε συμφοραὶ ταπεινοῦσι, φαίνεται τελειότερος ὁ Αἰμίλιος, ἐν χαλεπῇ
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he was their general.¹ And how Pharax the Spartan and Callippus the Athenian violated laws and treaties in their hopes of ruling Sicily, has been told by many writers.² And yet who were these men, or of how large resources were they masters, that they entertained such hopes? One of them was a servile follower of Dionysius after he had been driven out of Syracuse, and Callippus was one of Dion's captains of mercenaries. But Timoleon, at the earnest request of the Syracusans, was sent to be their general, and needed not to seek power from them, but only to hold that which they had given him of their own free will, and yet he laid down his office and command when he had overthrown their unlawful rulers.

It is, however, worthy of admiration in Aemilius that, although he had subdued so great a kingdom, he did not add one drachma to his substance, nor would he touch or even look upon the conquered treasure; and yet he made many liberal gifts to others. Now, I do not say that Timoleon is to be blamed for accepting a fine house and country estate, for acceptance under such circumstances is not disgraceful; but not to accept is better, and that is a surpassing virtue which shows that it does not want what it might lawfully have.

Furthermore, a body that can endure only heat or cold is less powerful than one that is well adapted by nature to withstand both extremes alike. In like manner a spirit is absolutely vigorous and strong if it is neither spoiled and elated by the insolence which prosperity brings, nor humbled by adversity. The character of Aemilius, therefore, was manifestly more

¹ See the *Nicias*, xxviii. 2 f.

² See the *Timoleon*, xi. 4.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

τύχη καὶ πάθει μεγάλῳ τῷ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας
οὐδέν τι μικρότερος οὐδὲ ἀσεμνότερος ἢ διὰ τῶν
6 εὐτυχημάτων ὁραθεῖς· Τιμολέων δὲ γενναῖα πρά-
ξας περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἀντέσχε τῷ λογισμῷ
πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ μετανοία καὶ λύπη ταπει-
νωθεὶς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰδεῖν
οὐχ ὑπέμεινε. δεῖ δὲ τὰ αἰσχρὰ φεύγειν καὶ
αἰδεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀδοξίαν εὐλαβὲς
ἐπεικοῦς μὲν ἦθους καὶ ἀπαλοῦ, μέγεθος δὲ οὐκ
ἔχοντος.

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perfect, since in the grievous misfortune and great sorrow brought upon him by the death of his sons he was seen to have no less greatness and no less dignity than in the midst of his successes; whereas Timoleon, although he had acted in a noble way with regard to his brother, could not reason down his sorrow, but was prostrated with grief and repentance, and for twenty years could not endure the sight of bema or market-place. One should scrupulously shun disgraceful deeds; but the anxious fear of every kind of ill report among men argues a nature which is indeed kindly and sensitive, but has not greatness.

**A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES**

H H 2

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

- Achradina**, pp. 67, 77, 89, 305, 307, 313, the first extension on the main-land of the island city of Syracuse, stretching from the Great Harbour northwards to the sea.
- Acilius**, 177, Caius, not otherwise known.
- Acrae**, 59, a small city of Sicily about twenty miles west of Syracuse.
- Adranum**, 287, 289, 299, 301, a city of Sicily at the foot of the western slope of Mt. Aetna, founded by the elder Dionysius in 400 B.C.
- Adria**, 25, an ancient and famous city of Cisalpine Gaul, originally a sea-port between the mouths of the Po and the Adige, but now some fourteen miles inland. It gave its name to the Adriatic sea.
- Agrigentum**, 57, 345, one of the most powerful and celebrated of the Greek cities in Sicily, situated on the south-west coast of the island. It was colonised from Gela in 582 B.C.
- Agrippa**, 185, Marcus Vipsanius, a fellow-student of Octavius Cæsar at Apollonia, and a most intimate friend. He became one of the prominent and powerful men of the Augustan age. He lived 63-12 B.C.
- Alcimeues**, 49, not otherwise known.
- Amphipolis**, 47, 49, an important town in S.E. Macedonia, on the river Strymon, about three miles from the sea.
- Anicius**, Lucius, 387, Lucius Anicius Gallus, praetor in 168 B.C.,

- acted in concert with Appius Claudius against Gentilius the Illyrian, and was completely successful in a campaign of thirty days, for which he celebrated a triumph.
- Antigonus** (1), 373, 461, King of Asia, surnamed the One-eyed. Lived 382-301 B.C.
- Antigonus** (2), 373, surnamed Doson. On the death of Demetrius II. (229 B.C.) he was appointed guardian of his son Philip. He married the widow of Demetrius and assumed the crown in his own right. He supported Aratus and the Achaean League against Cleomenes of Sparta. He died in 220 B.C.
- Antigonus** (3), surnamed Gonatas, 373, a son of Demetrius Poliorcetes by Phila, and grandson of Antigonus King of Asia. He succeeded to the title of King of Macedonia on his father's death in 283 B.C., and gained possession of part of his realm in 277 B.C. He died in 239 B.C.
- Antimachus**, of Colophon, 347, a great epic and elegiac poet who flourished during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War (420-404 B.C.). See the *Lysander* xviii. 4f.
- Antiochus of Ascalon**, 129, called the founder of the Fifth Academy. He was a teacher of Cicero at Athens in 79-78 B.C., and Cicero speaks of him in the highest and most appreciative terms (*Brutus*, 91, 315).
- Antiochus the Great**, 363, 371, King of Syria 223-187 B.C. He was defeated by the Romans under Glabrio at Thermopylae in 191, and by Scipio near Magnesia in Asia in 190 B.C.

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- He made peace with Rome in 188 B.C., ceding all his dominions west of Mt. Taurus.
- Antium**, 173, an ancient and powerful city of Latium, on the coast, thirty-eight miles south of Rome, the modern Porto d'Anzo.
- Antonius**, Caius, 181-187, a brother of the triumvir, legate of Julius Caesar in 49 B.C., praetor urbanus in 44 B.C., receiving Macedonia as his province.
- Antonius**, 421, Lucius A. Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany under Domitian, raised a rebellion; but an inundation of the Rhine deprived him of the assistance of the Germans which had been promised him. Cf. Suetonius, *Domit.* 6.
- Appius**, 453, 455. Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 143 B.C., father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus. He lived in constant enmity with Scipio Africanus the Younger.
- Apollocrates**, 81, 107, 117, eldest son of Dionysius the Younger.
- Apollonia**, 319, a small city in the central and northern part of Sicily, mentioned last by Cicero (*in Verr.* iii. 43, 103.)
- Apollonia**, 175, 181-185, an ancient Greek city of Illyria, near the river Aolis and about eight miles from its mouth. Towards the end of the Roman republic it became a famous seat of learning.
- Archedamus** the Aetolian, 417. In 199-197 B.C. he acted with the Romans against Philip V. of Macedon. Later he was prominent in the war between the Aetolians and Rome, and joined Perseus in 169 B.C.
- Archedemus**, 37, apparently a disciple of Archytas.
- Archytas**, 37, 41, a Greek of Tarentum, distinguished as philosopher, mathematician, general, and statesman. He flourished about 400 B.C. and onwards. Cf. the *Marcellus*, xiv. 5.
- Arete**, 13, 43, 109, 121, 123, niece and wife of Dion.
- Aristides** the Locrian, 275, mentioned elsewhere (Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, xiv. 4) only as more grieved at the manner than at the fact of his death.
- Aristippus** of Cyrene, 39, 41, founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy, obnoxious to Xenophon and Plato on account of his luxurious ways of living.
- Aristomache**, 7, 14, 109, 121, 123, sister and mother-in-law of Dion.
- Aristoxenus** the musician, 205, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school. Only fragments of his musical treatises have come down to us.
- Aristus**, 129, brother of Antiochus of Ascalon, and a teacher of philosophy at Athens when Cicero was there in 51-50 B.C. (*ad Att.*, v. 10, 5). Cicero calls him "hospes et familiaris meus" in *Brutus*, 97, 332.
- Athanis**, 319, 351, of Syracuse, wrote a history of the events attending and following Dion's expedition. He was probably one of the generals elected by the Syracusans in Dion's place (*Dion*, xxxviii. 2).
- Attillius** (Atilius), 213, otherwise unknown.
- Atticus**, 191, Quintus Caecilius Pomponianus, surnamed Atticus on account of his long residence in Athens, where he took refuge from the storms of the civil wars in 85 B.C. He was Cicero's most intimate friend. He returned to Rome in 65, and died in 32 B.C., at the age of seventy-seven. He was a man of wealth, learning, and refinement.

B

- Basternae**, 377, 383, a powerful tribe of European Sarmatia (Russia). They were driven back across the Danube by the Romans in 30 B.C.
- Bibulus**, 153, 177, Lucius Calpurnius B., youngest son of the

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Bibulus who was Caesar's consular colleague in 59 B.C. He surrendered to Antony after the battle at Philippi (42 B.C.), was pardoned by him, and made commander of his fleet. He died shortly before the battle of Actium (31 B.C.).

Brundisium, 449, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 151, 169, 187, Decimus Junius Brutus, surnamed Albinus after his adoption by Aulus Postumius Albinus, the consul of 99 B.C. He was widely employed, highly esteemed, fully trusted, and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and yet joined his murderers. After Caesar's death he opposed Antony successfully, but fell a victim to the coalition between Antony and Octavius in 43 B.C.

Buthrotum, 183, a city on the western coast of Epirus, opposite Corcyra, celebrated by Vergil in *Aeneid*, lii. 293 ff.

C

Calauria, 337, a town of Sicily not mentioned elsewhere.

Calends (Kalends), 147, the Roman name for the first day of the month.

Callippus, 33, 61, 115-123, 463, of Athens, a disciple of Plato in common with Dion, to whom he came to have much the same relation as Brutus Albinus to Julius Caesar.

Camarina, 59, a famous Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily, about twenty miles east of Gela. It was colonized from Syracuse in 599 B.C.

Canidius, 131, 133, perhaps the Publius Canidius Crassus who was the friend and supporter of

Antony (Plutarch, *Antony*, xxxiv.-lxxi.).

Canutius, 173, mentioned only here.
Carbo, 191, Gnaeus Papirius C., a leader of the Marian party and consular colleague of Cinna in 85 and 84 B.C. He was put to death by Pompey in 82 B.C. (Plutarch, *Pompey*, x. 3f.).

Carystus, 179, an ancient city on the south coast of Euboea, famous for its marble.

Casca, 157, 163, 229, Publius Servilius C., tribune of the people in 44 B.C. He fled from Rome after Caesar's murder, and died soon after the battle at Philippi, in which he fought. His brother Calus was also one of Caesar's murderers (Plutarch, *Caesar*, lxi. 5).

Catana, 123, 291, 305, 335, 341, 343, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Taormenum, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.

Cato (1), 411, Marcus Porcius C. Licinianus, son of Cato the Elder by his first wife Licinia. It was after the battle of Pydna that he became the son-in-law of Aemilius Paulus. For his education, and his exploit at the battle of Pydna, see the *Cato Major*, chapter xx.

Cato (2), 237, 239, son of Cato the Younger. After the death of his father, Caesar pardoned him and allowed him the use of his patrimony. See the *Cato Minor*, chapter lxxiii.

Caulonia, 57, a Greek city on the eastern coast of Bruttium, conquered by the elder Dionysius in 389 B.C.

Ceos, 345, one of the Cyclades islands in the Aegean sea, about thirteen miles S.E. of Attica, most famous as the birthplace of the great lyric poet Simonides.

Cicero, 179, 183, Marcus Tullius, only son of the great orator, born in 65 B.C. He joined the army of Pompey in Greece when only sixteen years of age, and gained

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- credit as an officer of cavalry. After Pharsalus, he resided at Athens, where he fell into loose habits for a time. After Caesar's death, he served as military tribune under Brutus. After Philippi, he was taken up by Octavius, and became his consular colleague in 30 B.C. See the *Cicero*, xlix. 4.
- Cimber, 163, 169, Lucius Tullius, had been one of Caesar's warmest supporters, and rewarded by him with the province of Bithynia. After Caesar's murder he went to his province, raised a fleet, and co-operated effectually with Brutus and Cassius.
- Cinna (1), 191, Lucius Cornelius, leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87-84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85, and 84. He was killed in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he had hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla. See the *Pompey*, chapter v.
- Cinna (2), 167, 181, Lucius Cornelius, son of the preceding. He served under Lepidus and Sertorius (78-72 B.C.), but was restored from exile by Caesar and made praetor in 44 B.C. He would not join the murderers of Caesar, but approved of their deed.
- Cinna (3), 171, 173, Caius Helvius, a friend of Catullus, and probably the same person as the Helvius Cinna whom Valerius Maximus (ix. 9, 1), Appian (*B.C.* ii. 147), and Dion Cassius (xlv. 50) call a tribune of the people. Cf. Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 85; Plutarch, *Caesar*, lxxiii. 2f. Only fragments of his poems remain.
- Clodius (Claudius), 171, Publius Claudius Pulcher, youngest son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the *Sulla*, xxix. 3. He helped to demoralize the soldiers of Lucullus in Asia (*Lucullus*, chapter xxxiv.), became a venomous foe of Cicero, was notorious for incest and licentiousness (*Caesar*, chapters ix. and x.), and was at last killed in a street-brawl with Milo in 52 B.C. (*Cicero*, chapters xxviii.-xxxv.).
- Colophon, 347, one of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, situated on the river Hales, near the sea, north of Ephesus.
- Corcyra, 449, an island in the Ionian sea, opposite Epirus, the modern Corfu.
- Cornificius, Lucius, 185, afterwards an able supporter of Octavius in war on land and sea. He became consul in 35 B.C.
- Cratippus, the Peripatetic, 177, of Mitylene, a contemporary and intimate friend of Cicero, and a teacher of Cicero's son.
- Crimesus (Crimisus), 323, 325, 331, a river in the N.W. part of Sicily, near Segesta.
- Cyzicus, 187, a Greek city on the Propontis, in Mysia, wonderfully situated on the neck of a peninsula.

D

- Demetrias, 181, an important city in the S.E. part of Thessaly, at the head of the Pagasaeon gulf, founded by Demetrius Poliorcetes about 290 B.C.
- Demetrium, 423, of Samothrace, probably a sanctuary of Demeter connected with the mysteries and worship of the Cabeiri.
- Demetrius (1), 373, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus King of Asia, lived 337-283 B.C. See *Plutarch's Life*.
- Demetrius (2), 373, Demetrius II., son of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia 239-229 B.C.
- Demetrius (3), 375, younger, and only legitimate son of Philip V. of Macedonia, sent to Rome as hostage after the battle of Cynoscephalae (197 B.C.), where he won that favour of the Romans which roused the jealousy of his brother Perseus and brought about his death.
- Diogenes, of Sinope, 297, a Cynic philosopher, born 412 B.C. He

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became a pupil of Antisthenes the Socratic at Athens, and changed from a dissolute to a most austere life. He was sold into slavery at Corinth, where he acquired his freedom and passed his old age. He died in 323 B.C., according to Plutarch (*Morals*, p. 717 c) on the same day as Alexander the Great.

Dionysius, of Colophon 347, a painter contemporary with Polygnotus (latter half of the fifth century B.C.), of whom he was said to be an imitator. According to Aristotle, his work lacked idealism.

Dolabella, 131, 141, 181, the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero, lived 70-43 B.C. He took part with Caesar in 49 B.C., but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.

Domitian, 421, 423, Roman Emperor 81-96 A.D.

E

Ecnomum (Ecnomus), 57, a hill on the southern coast of Sicily, between Agrigentum and Gela.

Elea (Velia), 177, 345, 457, a Greek colony from Phocaea in Ionian Asia Minor, founded about 540 B.C. on the N.W. coast of Lucania in southern Italy (Herod. i. 164-167). It received the Roman franchise in 90 B.C., and was a noted health resort.

Empylus, 129, mentioned only here, unless he is the same person as the orator, Empylus Rhodius, mentioned by Quintilian (x. 6, 4).

Ephorus, 77, 79, 271, of Cymé, pupil of Isocrates, and author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epicurus, 207, founder of the philosophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C. He established his school at Athens in 306, was a man of pure and temperate habits, and bore suffering with cheerful fortitude.

Epidamnus, 181, the city on the coast of Illyria known in Roman history usually as Dyrrhachium. It was a free state, and sided consistently with the Romans.

Epipolae, 313, a triangular plateau rising gradually westwards from Syracuse, visible from the interior of the island city, and surrounded by precipitous cliffs. Cf. the *Nicias*, xvii. 1; xxi. 5-9.

Eudemus, the Cyprian, 47, a member of the Platonic circle and an intimate friend of Aristotle. Aristotle's dialogue entitled "Eudemus, or On the Soul," is preserved only in scanty fragments (cf. Plutarch, *Morals*, p. 175 b, and Cicero, *de Div.*, i. 25, 53). Eudemus fell in a battle between the friends of Dion and the traitor Callippus (Diodorus, xvi, 36, 5).

Evander, the Cretan, 417, mentioned only here.

F

Favonius, 149, 151, 201, 203, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," was aedile in 52, and praetor in 40 B.C. He joined Pompey in the East notwithstanding personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus (cf. the *Pompey*, lxxiii. 6 f.)

Flavius, 241, Calus F., an intimate friend of Brutus, and his praefectus fabrorum at Philippi.

G

Gaesylus, the Spartan, 105, 107, mentioned only here.

Galba, 435-439, Servius Sulpicius G., military tribune under Aemilius

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Paulus, praetor in 151, and famous for his faithless cruelty in his province of Spain. He was consul in 144 B.C. He was also an orator of power.

Galepsus, 417, a colony of Thasos on the coast of Thrace.

Gela, 57, 345, an important Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily, between Agrigentum and Camarina. It was colonized in 690 B.C. from Crete and Rhodes. The Carthaginians destroyed it in 405 B.C.

Gelon, 319, tyrant of Syracuse 485-478 B.C., and victor over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C.

Genthius, 387, King of Illyria. He graced the triumph of his conqueror, Lucius Anicius, in 167 B.C., and died in captivity.

H

Hanno, 307, had commanded successfully in the last war between the Carthaginians and Dionysius the Elder (368 B.C.). His failure to prevent the landing of Timoleon in 344 probably led to his recall and the substitution of Mago in his place. He was afterwards put to death for conspiracy.

Harpalus, 393, mentioned only here.

Helicon, of Cyzicus, 41, for some time a resident at the court of Dionysius the Younger. Suidas mentions a work of his on astrology.

Heracleides, 25, 71, 73, 81, 83, 95, 99, 101-107, 111-117, was commander of the mercenaries of Dionysius the Younger, and fled from Syracuse with Dion (Diodorus, xvi. 6, 4).

Hermocrates, 7, an eminent and nobly patriotic Syracusan at the time of the great Athenian expedition against the city (415-413 B.C.), and prominent in the narrative of Thucydides. After the destruction of the Athenian armament, he served his native

city ably as admiral in conjunction with the Spartan fleet, but was deposed in 409 B.C. by a rival political party, and was killed two years later in an attempt to gain possession of Syracuse by force.

Herostratus, 179, mentioned only here.

Hicetas, 123, 265, 277, 281, 283, 287-291, 299, 303, 305, 311, 313, 319, 335-341, during the disorders following the death of Dion succeeded in establishing himself as tyrant of Leontini.

Himera, 319, an important Greek city on the northern coast of Sicily, at the mouth of the river of the same name.

Hirtius, 453, Aulus H., a warm friend and supporter of Julius Caesar. He fell in gallantly leading an assault upon Antony's troops.

Hortensius, 181, 187, Quintus H.

Hortatus, a son of the great orator Hortensius, though apparently cast off by his father on account of dissolute habits. He joined Caesar in 49 B.C. and served him in important commands. In 44 B.C. he held the province of Macedonia, and Brutus was to succeed him.

Hostilius, 377, Aulus H. Mancinus, consul in 170, and pro-consul in Greece in 169 B.C., where he conducted a safe but inconclusive warfare against Perseus.

I

Iapygia, 53, the ancient (Greek) name for Calabria, the eastern peninsula of southern Italy. Probably the Iapygian promontory is here meant.

Ion, 425, a military officer of Perseus.

J

Junia, 141, Junia Tertia, a half-sister of Brutus. She lived till 22 A.D., and left large legacies to the leading men of Rome.

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L

- Labeo**, 151, 241, Quintus Antistius L., an eminent jurist, and father of a jurist more eminent still, who lived under Augustus. According to Applan (*B.C.* iv. 135), Labeo, unwilling to survive Brutus, had himself killed by a trusty slave and buried in his tent.
- Lacedaemon**, 231, apparently a town of Macedonia near Thessalonica.
- Laenas**, Popilius, 159, 161, a Roman senator, not otherwise mentioned (cf. Applan, *B.C.*, ii. 115 f.).
- Leontini**, 59, 85, 89, 301, 319, 339, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, between Syracuse and Catana, about eight miles inland.
- Lepidus**, 169, 187, 455, Marcus Aemilius L., triumvir with Octavius and Antony. He joined the party of Caesar in 49, and was praetor in Spain in 48 B.C., Caesar's magister equitum in 47 and 45, and his consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the triumvirate received Spain and Narbonese Gaul as his province, then, in 40, Africa, where he remained till 36 B.C., when he was deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.C.
- Leptines**, 123, 299, 319, a Syracusan, who aided Callippus in capturing Rhegium in 351 B.C. His exile by Timoleon was in 342 B.C.
- Leucadia** (Leucas), 295, an island in the Ionian sea, once a part of the mainland of Acarnania.
- Licinius**, Publius, 377, P. L. Crassus, consul in 171 B.C.
- Lilybaeum**, 321, a promontory and city at the extreme western end of Sicily.
- Lycón**, the Syracusan, 121, not otherwise mentioned.

M

- Maedica**, 383, the territory of the Maedi, a powerful tribe in western Thrace.

- Mago**, 303-315, commander of the Carthaginian fleet and army in Sicily in 344 B.C., succeeding Hanno.
- Mamercus** (1), 359, son of Pythagoras. Cf. the *Numa*, xlii. 9.
- Mamercus** (2), 291, 335-351, tyrant of Catana.
- Marrucinians**, 407, a warlike tribe of central Italy, generally sharing the fortunes of the neighbouring Marsi and Peligni, and after 304 B.C. faithful allies of Rome.
- Maso**, 365, Calus Papirius M., consul in 231, died in 213 B.C.
- Maximus** (1), Fabius, 393, 447, see Plutarch's *Life*.
- Maximus** (2), Valerius, 247, compiler of a large collection of anecdotes, in the time of Augustus.
- Mediolanum**, 257, the chief city of Cisalpine Gaul, the modern Milan.
- Messala**, 215-229, 245, 247, Marcus Valerius M. Corvinus, born about 70 B.C., educated at Athens, and a friend of Horace. He attached himself to Cassius after the death of Caesar, and fought ably at Philippi. After the death of Cassius he became a supporter of Antony, and then of Octavius (Augustus). He was also a poet, historian, grammarian, and orator. He wrote commentaries on the civil wars after Caesar's death.
- Messana**, 103, 123, 309, 335, 343, an important city of Sicily, on the strait between that island and Italy, nearly opposite Rhegium.
- Milo**, 395, 397, of Beroea, an officer in the army of Perseus. He had been successful against the Roman consul Licinius Crassus in 171 B.C. From Pydna he fled to Beroea, but soon surrendered the place to Aemilius.
- Miltas**, the Thessalian, 47-51, not otherwise mentioned.
- Mycalé**, 421, a promontory in Asia Minor, opposite the island of Samos, where the Athenians defeated the Persians in 479 B.C.
- Mylae**, 351, an ancient Greek city

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on the northern coast of Sicily, about thirty miles west of Messana, and generally dependent on that city.

N

- Nasica, see Scipio (2).
 Neon (1), the Corinthian, 305, mentioned only here.
 Neon (2), the Boeotian, 417, one of the principal authors of the alliance between the Boeotians and Perseus. After the battle of Pydna he fell into the hands of the Romans and was executed.
 Nicolaüs, the philosopher, 247, probably Nicolaus Damascenus, a famous historian and philosopher of the Augustan age.
 Nisaeus, 263, not otherwise mentioned.
 Norbanus, 209, an officer sent forward into Macedonia by Octavius and Antony (Appian, *B.C.*, ix. 87).
 Numantia, 415, a famous city in northern Spain.
 Nysius, 87, 93, 99, not otherwise mentioned.

O

- Octavius, Gnaeus, 423, 425, praetor in 168 B.C., consul in 165. He was assassinated in 162, while on an embassy in Syria.
 Oretüs, 377, formerly called Histiaea, an ancient and important town in northern Euboea.
 Oricus (Oricum), 435, a town and harbour of Illyria, a few miles south of Apollonia.

P

- Pachynus, 53, the south-eastern promontory of Sicily.
 Paeonians, 403, an ancient and powerful people of Upper Macedonia.
 Pansa, 453, Caius Vibius P., a devoted friend of Julius Caesar, who made him governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 46, and consul for 43 B.C. with Hirtius.

- Patara (Patareans), 131, 197, a flourishing city on the south-western coast of Lycia in Asia Minor, celebrated for its temple and cult of Apollo.
 Pelignians, 407, a warlike people in central Italy, neighbours to the Marsi and Samnites, and after 304 B.C. faithful allies of Rome.
 Pella, 415, 417, was made the capital of Macedonia by Philip II. and was the birthplace of Alexander the Great. It was some fifteen miles from the sea, west of the river Axios.
 Pella, Lucius, 203, mentioned only here.
 Pelusium, 199, a strong frontier-town on the eastern branch of the Nile.
 Perrhaebia, 393, a district in northern Thessaly.
 Pharax, 103, 287, 463, perhaps the same person as the envoy from Sparta to Athens mentioned by Xenophon in *Hell.* vi. 5, 33, and as the Pharax characterized by Theopompus as most un-Spartan in his mode of life (Athenaeus, p. 536 c).
 Philip, 371-375, Philip V. of Macedon, one of the ablest Macedonian monarchs, reigned 220-179 B.C.
 Philippus, Marcius, 457, Quintus M.P., consul in 186, and again in 169 B.C., in which year he conducted the war against Perseus, handing over his command to Aemilius Paulus in the following year. He was censor with Aemilius in 164 B.C.
 Philippi, 179, 187, 207-211, a city of Macedonia on the river Strymon, formerly called Crenides, but renamed by Philip II.
 Philistus, 25-29, 39, 53, 77, 79, 299, a Syracusan, an eye-witness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse in 415-413 B.C., which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.
 Plancus, 167, Lucius Munatius P., a friend and supporter of Julius Caesar, and after Caesar's death of Antony. He was consul in

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- 42 B.C., as Caesar had planned. He abandoned the cause of Antony in 32, and joined Octavius, whose favour he thenceforth enjoyed.
- Plataea, 421, the little city of Boeotia near which the allied Greeks defeated the Persians in 479 B.C.
- Pollis, the Spartan, 11, a Spartan naval commander in 376 B.C., defeated by Chabrias of Athens.
- Polybius, 135, 393, 395, 405, of Megalopolis in Arcadia, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, born about 204 B.C., long resident in Rome, and an intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he watched the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.
- Porcia, 153, 155, 247, wife of Marcus Brutus, daughter of Cato the Younger by his first wife. See the *Cato Minor*, lxxiii. 4.
- Posidonius, 129, 405-413, of Apameia in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Panaetius of Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him.
- Ptoeodorus, the Megarian, 35, mentioned only here.
- Pydna, 397, 415, 419, a town of southern Macedonia, on the Thermalic gulf.
- Pythagoras, the philosopher, 359, of Samos, flourished about 540-510 B.C. After extensive travels he settled in Crotona of southern Italy, and founded a numerous and mysterious sect.
- R
- Rhegium, 123, 281-285, 307, an important Greek city in the Bruttian peninsula of southern Italy, nearly opposite to Messina in Sicily.
- S
- Samothrace, 419, 423, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.
- Scipio (1), the Great, 359, 367, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major, conqueror of Hannibal. He lived 234-183 B.C.
- Scipio (2), 393, 395, 399, 403, 413, 425, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica Corculum, celebrated as jurist and orator, consul in 162, censor in 159, and consul a second time in 155 B.C. He appears to have written commentaries on this campaign under Aemilius, which is his first appearance in history.
- Scipio (3), 139, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica, adopted by Metellus Plus and therefore often called Metellus Scipio. He was Pompey's colleague in the consulship for part of the year 52 B.C., and became a determined foe of Caesar. He killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.).
- Scipio (4), 365, 413, 415, 447, 453, 455, 459, Publius Cornelius S. Aemilianus Africanus Minor, younger son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by Publius Scipio, the son of Scipio the Great, was born about 185, and died mysteriously in 129 B.C.
- Servilla, 127, 129, 135, 137, 247, after the death of her first husband, the father of Brutus, married Decimus Junius Silanus, who was consul in 62 B.C.
- Servilius, Marcus, 437, mentioned only here.
- Sestius, 133, Publius Sestius, a supporter of Cicero in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and active in securing Cicero's recall from exile. See Cicero's oration *pro Sestio*. In the civil war, he sided first with Pompey, and then with Caesar.
- Silicius, Publius, 187, called Siliclus Coronas by Dion Cassius (xlv. 49), a Roman senator, appointed one of the judges to try the murderers of Caesar. He ventured to vote for the acquittal of Brutus, and was therefore proscribed and put to death by the triumvirs.
- Simonides, 3, 349, of Ceos, the

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greatest lyric poet of Greece, 556-457 B.C.
 Speusippus, 35, 45, 47, 77, a distinguished disciple of Plato, whom he followed as head of the Academy (347-339 B.C.).
 Statilius, the Epicurean, 149, 151, mentioned only here.
 Strato, 245, mentioned only here.

T

Tauromenium, 285-289, a city on the north-eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Catana and Messana.
 Thasos, 227, an island in the northern part of the Aegean sea, off the coast of Thrace, half a day's sail from Amphipolis.
 Theomnestus, the Academic, 177, a brother of the Aristus mentioned in chapter II. 2, and apparently his successor as head of the Academy.
 Theopompus, 51, 271, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336 B.C.
 Thessalonica, 231, an important city at the head of the Thermaic gulf, capital of the Roman province of Macedonia.
 Thurii, 299, 307, a Greek city of Lower Italy, on the gulf of Tarentum, near the site of the ancient Sybaris. Its colonization in 444 B.C. was one of the great projects of Pericles. See the *Nicias*, v. 2.
 Timaeus, 13, 29, 69, 77, 79, 271, 285, 345, 461, of Tauromenium, lived between 350 and 250 B.C. During a long exile in Athens he wrote a voluminous history of his native island from earliest time down to 284 B.C.
 Timon, 35, of Philus, a philosopher of the Sceptic school, author of a famous satiric poem called *Silli*,

taught successfully at Chalcedon and Athens. He flourished about 280 B.C.
 Timonides, the Leucadian, 47, 67, 69, 77, accompanied Dion to Sicily and fought on his side.
 Timotheus, 345, son of Conon the great Athenian admiral. He was made general in 378 B.C., and about 360 was at the height of his popularity and glory.
 Titinius, 223, 225, a centurion. His story is told also in Appian (*B.C.* iv. 113) and Valerius Maximus (ix. 9, ext. 2).
 Trebonius, 163, 169, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the first triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul and was loaded with favours by him, but joined his murderers.
 Tubero, 367, 427, 433, Quintus Aelius T., son-in-law of Aemilius Paulus. Cf. Valerius Maximus, iv. 4 ext. 9.

V

Vatinus, 181, Publius V., tribune of the people in 59 B.C., and a paid creature of Caesar. After Pharsalus, Caesar gave him high command in the East. He was compelled to surrender his army to Brutus, but did not forfeit the favour of Octavius and Antony.
 Vella, 345, 457, see Elea.
 Volumnius, Publius, 235, 241, 243, mentioned only here.

X

Xanthus, 131, 195, 197, the largest and most prosperous city of Lycia in Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river of the same name.

Z

Zacynthus, 47, 49, 119, 121, an island off the western coast of Peloponnesus, the modern Zante.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

VII

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR



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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the *Lives* presented in this volume are contained in the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts—the Codex Sangermanensis (S^g) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), or in the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F^a). Their text therefore rests principally on the Paris manuscripts Nos. 1671, 1673, and 1674 (ACD), although in a few instances weight has been given to readings from the Codex Matritensis (M^a), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux and his editions of the *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a

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PREFATORY NOTE

full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the rather inaccessible text of the *Lives* by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (Vol. III., Fasc. I. was published in 1915). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including those of the *Cicero* and *Caesar* by Professor Long. And more or less use has been made of the following works: Graux, *Vie de Démosthène*, and *Vie de Cicéron*, Paris, 1883 and 1882; Holden, *Plutarch's Demosthenes*, Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1893; Gudeman, *Sources of Plutarch's Cicero*, Philadelphia, 1902; Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum*, New Haven, 1914, and *Annals of Caesar*, New York, 1911.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

November, 1918.

ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS
EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE
OF THE GREEK LIVES.

VOLUME I.

- (1) Theseus and Romulus.
Comparison.
- (2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
- (3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.

VOLUME II.

- (4) Themistocles and
Camillus.
- (9) Aristides and Cato the
Elder.
Comparison.
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VOLUME III.

- (5) Pericles and Fabius Max-
imus.
Comparison.
- (14) Nicias and Crassus.
Comparison.

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nus.
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Comparison.
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VOLUME VI.

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Caesar.

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Comparison.
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VOLUME IX.

- (21) Demetrius and Antony.
Comparison.
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VOLUME X.

- (19) Agis and Cleomenes, and
Tiberius and Caius
Gracchus.
Comparison.
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inius.
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- (24) Aratus.
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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE
PARALLEL LIVES.

- (1) Theseus and Romulus.
- (2) Lycurgus and Numa.
- (3) Solon and Publicola.
- (4) Themistocles and Camillus.
- (5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
- (6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
- (7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
- (8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
- (9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
- (10) Philopoemen and Flaminius.
- (11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
- (12) Lysander and Sulla.
- (13) Cimon and Lucullus.
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- (21) Demetrius and Antony.
- (22) Dion and Brutus.
• • • • •
- (23) Artaxerxes.
- (24) Aratus.
- (25) Galba.
- (26) Otho.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

I. Ὁ μὲν γράψας τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῆς Ὀλυμ-
 πίαςιν ἵπποδρομίας εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγκώμιον,
 εἴτ' Εὐριπίδης, ὡς ὁ πολὺς κρατεῖ λόγος, εἴθ'
 ἕτερός τις ἦν, Σόσσιε, φησὶ χρῆναι τῷ εὐδαίμονι
 πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι “ τὰν¹ πόλιν εὐδόκιμον.” ἐγὼ
 δὲ τῷ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι τὴν ἀληθινὴν
 εὐδαιμονίαν, ἧς ἐν ἡθελίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει τὸ πλεῖστον
 ἐστίν, οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι ἀδόξου καὶ ταπει-
 νῆς πατρίδος ἢ μητρὸς ἀμόρφου καὶ μικρᾶς γε-
 2 νέσθαι. γελοῖον γὰρ εἴ τις οἶοιτο τὴν Ἰουλίδαν,
 μέρος μικρὸν οὔσαν οὐ μεγάλης νήσου τῆς Κέως,
 καὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν, ἣν τῶν Ἀττικῶν τις ἐκέλευεν
 ὡς λήμην ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ὑποκριτὰς
 μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ποιητάς, ἄνδρα δ' οὐκ
 ἂν ποτε δύνασθαι, δίκαιον καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ νοῦν
 3 ἔχοντα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον προενεγκεῖν. τὰς γὰρ
 ἄλλας τέχνας εἰκὸς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἢ δόξαν
 συνισταμένας ἐν ταῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπειναῖς πό-
 λεσιν ἀπομαραίνεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν, ὥσπερ
 ἰσχυρὸν καὶ διαρκὲς φυτόν, ἐν ἅπαντι ῥιζοῦσθαι
 τόπῳ, φύσεώς τε χρηστῆς καὶ φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς
 ἐπιλαμβανομένην. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἡμεῖς, εἴ τι τοῦ

Paris
Edition,
B. 1624, p.

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¹ τὰν Sintenis¹, and Graux with M^a: τὴν.

DEMOSTHENES

I. THE author of the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia,¹ whether he was Euripides, as the prevailing report has it, or some other, says, Sosius,² that the first requisite to a man's happiness is birth in "a famous city"; but in my opinion, for a man who would enjoy true happiness, which depends for the most part on character and disposition, it is no disadvantage to belong to an obscure and mean city, any more than it is to be born of a mother who is of little stature and without beauty. For it were laughable to suppose that Iulis, which is a little part of the small island of Ceos, and Aegina, which a certain Athenian was urgent to have removed as an eye-sore of the Piræus,³ should breed good actors and poets,⁴ but should never be able to produce a man who is just, independent, wise, and magnanimous. The arts, indeed, since their object is to bring business or fame, naturally pine away in obscure and mean cities; but virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, takes root in any place, if she finds there a generous nature and a spirit that shuns no labour. Wherefore we also, if we fail to live

¹ See the *Alcibiades*, chapter xi.

² One of Plutarch's Roman friends. See the note on the *Theseus*, i. 1. ³ See the *Pericles*, viii. 5.

⁴ The great poet Simonides was of Ceos, and the great actor Polus of Aegina.

φρονεῖν ὥς δεῖ καὶ βιοῦν ἐλλείπομεν, τοῦτο τῇ σμικρότητι τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς δικαίως ἀναθήσομεν.

- II. Τῷ μέντοι σύνταξιν ὑποβεβλημένῳ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἐξ οὐ προχείρων οὐδ' οἰκείων, ἀλλὰ ξένων τε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ διεσπαρμένων ἐν ἑτέροις συνιοῦσαν ἀναγνωσμάτων, τῷ ὄντι χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν εὐδόκιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὥς βιβλίων τε παντοδαπῶν ἀφθονίαν ἔχων, καὶ ὅσα τοὺς γράφοντας διαφεύγοντα σωτηρία μνήμης ἐπιφανεστέραν εἵληφε πίστιν ὑπολαμβάνων ἀκοῇ καὶ διαπυνθανόμενος, μὴ πολλῶν μηδ' ἀναγκαίων
- 2 ἐνδεές ἀποδιδοίη τὸ ἔργον. ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιάζοντων, ὅψέ ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἡρξά-
- 3 μεθα Ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν. καὶ πρᾶγμα θαυμαστὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀληθές ἐπάσχομεν. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ πράγματα συνιέναι καὶ γνωρίζειν συνέβαινεν ἡμῖν, ὥς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμῶς γέ πως εἵχομεν ἐμπειρίαν ἐπακολουθεῖν δι' αὐτὰ¹ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι. κάλλους δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τάχους αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ μεταφορᾶς ὀνομάτων καὶ ἀρμονίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς ὁ λόγος ἀγάλλεται, χάριεν μὲν ἡγού-

¹ ἐμπειρίαν . . . δι' αὐτὰ with M^a and Graux : ἐμπειρίας . . . διὰ ταῦτα (Bekker, ὦν . . . ἐμπειρίας).

and think as we ought, will justly attribute this, not to the smallness of our native city, but to ourselves.

II. However, when one has undertaken to compose a history based upon readings which are not readily accessible or even found at home, but in foreign countries, for the most part, and scattered about among different owners, for him it is really necessary, first and above all things, that he should live in a city which is famous, friendly to the liberal arts, and populous, in order that he may have all sorts of books in plenty, and may by hearsay and enquiry come into possession of all those details which elude writers and are preserved with more conspicuous fidelity in the memories of men. He will thus be prevented from publishing a work which is deficient in many, and even in essential things. But as for me, I live in a small city, and I prefer to dwell there that it may not become smaller still; and during the time when I was in Rome and various parts of Italy I had no leisure to practise myself in the Roman language, owing to my public duties and the number of my pupils in philosophy. It was therefore late and when I was well on in years that I began to study Roman literature. And here my experience was an astonishing thing, but true. For it was not so much that by means of words I came to a complete understanding of things, as that from things I somehow had an experience which enabled me to follow the meaning of words. But to appreciate the beauty and quickness of the Roman style, the figures of speech, the rhythm, and the other embellishments of the language, while I think it

μεθα καὶ οὐκ ὑπερπές· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μελέτη καὶ ἄσκησις οὐκ εὐχερής, ἀλλ' οἷς τισι πλείων τε σχολὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ὥρας ἔτι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιχωρεῖ φιλοτιμίας.

III. Διὸ καὶ γράφοντες ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ, 847
τῶν παραλλήλων βίων ὄντι πέμπτῳ, περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐπισκεψόμεθα, τὸ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀντεξετάζειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι πότερος 2 ἡδίων ἢ δεινότερος εἰπεῖν, εἴσομεν. “Κακὴ γάρ,” ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἴων, “ἡ δελφίνος ἐν χέρσῳ βία,”¹ ἣν ὁ περιττὸς ἐν ἅπασιν Κεκίλιος ἀγνοήσας ἐνεανιεύσατο σύγκρισιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος ἐξευεγκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως, εἰ παντὸς ἦν τὸ “Γυνῶθι σαυτὸν” ἔχειν πρόχειρον, οὐκ ἂν εἰδόκει πρόσταγμα θεῖον εἶναι.

Δημοσθένην γὰρ καὶ Κικέρωνα τὸν αὐτὸν 3 εἴοικε πλάττων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ δαίμων πολλὰς μὲν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμοιοτήτων, ὥσπερ τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλελεύθερον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, πρὸς δὲ κινδύνους καὶ πολέμους ἄτολ-
μον, πολλὰ δ' ἀναμίξαι καὶ τῶν τυχερῶν. δύο γὰρ ἑτέρους οὐκ ἂν εὐρεθῆναι δοκῶ ῥήτορας ἐκ μὲν ἀδόξων καὶ μικρῶν ἰσχυροὺς καὶ μεγάλους γενομένους, προσκρούσαντας δὲ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις, θυγατέρας δ' ἀποβαλόντας, ἐκπεσόντας δὲ τῆς πατρίδος, κατελθόντας δὲ μετὰ τιμῆς,

¹ Κακὴ . . . βία an iambic trimeter (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 744), restored by Reiske: Κἀκεῖ . . . Ἴων, δελφίνος . . . βία (for in this attempt the dolphin's might would be on dry land).

a graceful accomplishment and one not without its pleasures, still, the careful practice necessary for attaining this is not easy for one like me, but appropriate for those who have more leisure and whose remaining years still suffice for such pursuits.

III. Therefore, in this fifth book¹ of my *Parallel Lives*, where I write about Demosthenes and Cicero, I shall examine their actions and their political careers to see how their natures and dispositions compare with one another, but I shall make no critical comparison of their speeches, nor try to show which was the more agreeable or the more powerful orator. "For useless," as Ion says, "is a dolphin's might upon dry ground," a maxim which Caecilius, who goes to excess in everything, forgot when he boldly ventured to put forth a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero. But really it is possible that, if the "Know thyself" of the oracle² were an easy thing for every man, it would not be held to be a divine injunction.

In the case of Demosthenes and Cicero, then, it would seem that the Deity originally fashioned them on the same plan, implanting in their natures many similarities, such as their love of distinction, their love of freedom in their political activities, and their lack of courage for wars and dangers, and uniting in them also many similarities of fortune. For in my opinion two other orators could not be found who, from small and obscure beginnings, became great and powerful; who came into conflict with kings and tyrants; who lost each a daughter; who were banished from their native cities and returned with honour; and who, after

¹ See the note on the *Dion*, ii. 4. ² At Delphi.

ἀποδράντας δ' αὖθις καὶ ληφθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων, ἅμα δὲ παυσαμένη τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν
4 ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν βίον συγκαταστρέψαντας· ὥστε,
εἰ γένοιτο τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καθάπερ τεχνί-
ταις ἅμιλλα, χαλεπῶς ἂν διακριθῇναι πότερον
αὕτη τοῖς τρόποις ἢ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκείνη τοὺς
ἄνδρας ὁμοιοτέρους ἀπείργασται. λεκτέον δὲ
περὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου πρότερον.

IV. Δημοσθένης ὁ πατὴρ Δημοσθένους ἦν μὲν
τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ
Θεόπομπος, ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ μαχαιοποιὸς ἐργα-
στήριον ἔχων μέγα καὶ δούλους τεχνίτας τοὺς
τοῦτο πράττοντας. ἃ δ' Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ εἶρηκε
περὶ τῆς μητρὸς, ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνός τινος ἐπ' αἰτία
προδοσίας φεύγοντος ἐξ ἄστεος γεγόνοι καὶ βαρ-
βάρου γυναικός, οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν εἴτ' ἀληθῶς
εἶρηκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καὶ καταψευδόμενος.
2 ἀπολειφθεὶς δ' ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἐπταέτης ἐν εὐπορίᾳ (μικρὸν γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν ἢ
σύμπασα τίμησις αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας πεντεκαίδεκα
ταλάντων) ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἡδίκηθη, τὰ μὲν
νοσφισαμένων, τὰ δ' ἀμελησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν
3 διδασκάλων αὐτοῦ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερηῆσαι. διὰ
τε δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐμμελῶν καὶ προσηκόντων ἐλευ-
θέρῳ παιδὶ μαθημάτων ἀπαίδευτος δοκεῖ γενέσθαι
καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν καὶ θρύψιν,
οὐ προῖεμένης τοῖς πόνοις τῆς μητρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδὲ
προσβιαζομένων τῶν παιδαγωγῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς κάτισχνος καὶ νοσώδης, καὶ τὴν λοιδορου-

taking to flight again and being captured by their enemies, ended their lives as soon as their countrymen ceased to be free. So that, if there should be a competition between nature and fortune, as between artists, it would be difficult to decide whether the one made the men more alike in their characters, or the other in the circumstances of their lives. But I must speak of the more ancient first.

IV. Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, belonged to the better class of citizens, as Theopompus tells us, and was surnamed Cutler, because he had a large factory and slaves who were skilled workmen in this business. But as for what Aeschines the orator says of the mother of Demosthenes,¹ namely, that she was a daughter of one Gylon, who was banished from the city on a charge of treason, and of a barbarian woman, I cannot say whether he speaks truly, or is uttering slander and lies. However, at the age of seven, Demosthenes was left by his father in affluence, since the total value of his estate fell little short of fifteen talents;² but he was wronged by his guardians, who appropriated some of his property to their own uses and neglected the rest, so that even his teachers were deprived of their pay. It was for this reason, as it seems, that he did not pursue the studies which were suitable and proper for a well-born boy, and also because of his bodily weakness and fragility, since his mother would not permit him to work hard in the palaestra, and his tutors would not force him to do so. For from the first he was lean and sickly, and his

¹ *On the Crown*, §§ 171 f.

² A talent was equivalent to about £235, or \$1,200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.

μένην ἐπωνυμίαν, τὸν Βάταλον, εἰς τὸ σῶμα λέγεται σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων λαβεῖν.
 4 ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάταλος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, αὐλητῆς τῶν κατεαγόντων, καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτο κωμῶδων αὐτὸν Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. ἔνιοι δέ τινες ὡς ποιητοῦ τρυφερὰ καὶ παροΐνια γράφοντος τοῦ Βατάλου μέμνηνται. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὐπρεπῶν τι λεχθῆναι τοῦ σώματος μορίων παρὰ
 5 τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τότε καλεῖσθαι βάταλος. ὁ δ' Ἀργᾶς (καὶ τοῦτο γάρ φασι τῷ Δημοσθένει γενέσθαι παρώνυμον) ἢ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὡς θηριώδη καὶ πικρὸν ἐτέθη· τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀργᾶν ὀνομάζουσιν· ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἀνιῶντα τοὺς ἀκρωμένους· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργας τοῦνομα ποιητῆς ἦν νόμων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀργαλέων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτη.¹

V. Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁρμῆς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ φασι τοιαύτην γενέσθαι. Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὴν περὶ Ὀρωποῦ κρίσιν ἐν 848 τῷ δικαστηρίῳ μέλλοντος ἦν προσδοκία τῆς δίκης μεγάλη διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμιν, ἀνθούντος τότε μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν οὖσαν
 2 περιβόητον. ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ τῶν παιδαγωγῶν συντιθεμένων τῇ δίκῃ παρατυχεῖν, ἔπεισε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν δεόμενος καὶ προθυμούμενος ὅπως αὐτὸν

¹ After these words Bekker retains the *κατὰ Πλάτωνα* which Coraës, Sintenis, and Graux, after Wyttenbach, reject as a gloss. Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, p. 220, c.

opprobrious surname of Batalus is said to have been given him by the boys in mockery of his physique. Now Batalus, as some say, was an effeminate flute-player, and Antiphanes wrote a farce in which he held him up to ridicule for this. But some speak of Batalus as a poet who wrote voluptuous verses and drinking songs. And it appears that one of the parts of the body which it is not decent to name was at that time called Batalus by the Athenians. But the name of Argas (for they tell us that Demosthenes had this nickname also) was given him either with reference to his manners, which were harsh and savage, the snake being called "argas" by some of the poets; or with reference to his way of speaking, which was distressing to his hearers, Argas being the name of a composer of vile and disagreeable songs. So much on this head.

V. The origin of his eager desire to be an orator, they tell us, was as follows. Callistratus the orator was going to make a plea in court on the question of Oropus,¹ and the trial was eagerly awaited, not only because of the ability of the orator, who was then at the very height of his reputation, but also because of the circumstances of the case, which was notorious. Accordingly, when Demosthenes heard the teachers and tutors agreeing among themselves to be present at the trial, with great importunity he persuaded his own tutor to

¹ In 366 B.C. Oropus, a town on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, was wrested from Athens by the Thebans. Subsequently there was a trial for treason at Athens, in which Callistratus the orator and Chabrias the general figured, but the details of the trial are obscure.

- ἀγάγοι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. ὁ δ' ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίους συνήθειαν, εὐπόρησε χώρας ἐν ἣ καθήμενος ὁ παῖς ἀδήλως
- 3 ἀκούσεται τῶν λεγομένων. εὐημερήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαυμασθέντος ὑπερφυνῶς, ἐκείνου μὲν ἐξήλωσε τὴν δόξαν, ὁρῶν προπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ μακαριζόμενον, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασε καὶ κατενόησε τὴν ἰσχὺν ὡς πάντα¹ χειροῦσθαι καὶ τιθασεύειν πεφυκότος. ὅθεν ἐύσας τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα καὶ τὰς παιδικὰς διατριβάς, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἥσκει καὶ διεπώνει ταῖς μελέταις, ὡς ἂν τῶν λεγόντων
- 4 ἐσόμενος καὶ αὐτός. ἐχρήσατο δὲ Ἰσαίῳ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὑφηγητῇ, καίπερ Ἰσοκράτους τότε σχολάζοντος, εἴτε, ὥς τινες λέγουσι, τὸν ὠρισμένον μισθὸν Ἰσοκράτει τελέσαι μὴ δυνάμενος, τὰς δέκα μνᾶς, διὰ τὴν ὀρφανίαν, εἴτε μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἰσαίου τὸν λόγον ὡς δραστήριον καὶ πανοῦρ-
- 5 γον ἐπὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀποδεχόμενος. Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν ἐν οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτῳ καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὠφελῆσθαι, Κτησιβίου δὲ μέμνηται λέγοντος παρὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων τὰς Ἰσοκράτους τέχνας καὶ τὰς Ἀλκιδάμαντος κρύφα λαβόντα τὸν Δημοσθένην καταμαθεῖν.

VI. Ὡς γοῦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ἤρξατο δικάζεσθαι καὶ λογογραφεῖν ἐπ'

¹ ὡς πάντα Graux with M^a: πάντα.

take him to the hearing. This tutor, having an acquaintance with the public officials who opened the courts, succeeded in procuring a place where the boy could sit unseen and listen to what was said. Callistratus won his case and was extravagantly admired, and Demosthenes conceived a desire to emulate his fame, seeing him escorted on his way by the multitude and congratulated by all; but he had a more wondering appreciation of the power of his oratory, which was naturally adapted to subdue and master all opposition. Wherefore, bidding farewell to his other studies and to the usual pursuits of boyhood, he practised himself laboriously in declamation, with the idea that he too was to be an orator. He also employed Isaeus as his guide to the art of speaking, although Isocrates was lecturing at the time; either, as some say, because he was an orphan and unable to pay Isocrates his stipulated fee of ten minas,¹ or because he preferred the style of Isaeus for its effectiveness and adaptability in actual use. But Hermippus says that he once came upon some anonymous memoirs in which it was recorded that Demosthenes was a pupil of Plato and got most help from him in his rhetorical studies. He also quotes Ctesibius as saying that from Callias the Syracusan and certain others Demosthenes secretly obtained the rhetorical systems of Isocrates and Alcidas and mastered them.

VI. However this may be, when Demosthenes came of age he began to bring suits against his guardians and to write speeches attacking them.

¹ Equivalent to about £40, or \$200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.

- αὐτοὺς πολλὰς διαδύσεις καὶ παλινδικίας εὐρίσκοντας, ἐγγυμασάμενος, κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην, ταῖς μελέταις οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀργῶς, κατευτυχήσας ἐκπράξαι μὲν οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν ἡδυνήθη μέρος τῶν πατρῶων, τόλμαν δὲ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν καὶ συνήθειαν ἱκανὴν λαβὼν καὶ γενεσάμενος τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας φιλοτιμίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπεχείρησεν εἰς μέσον παριέναι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν. καὶ καθάπερ Λαομέδοντα τὸν Ὀρχομένιον λέγουσι καχεξίαν τινὰ σπληνὸς ἀμυνόμενον δρόμοις μακροῖς χρῆσθαι τῶν ἱατρῶν κελευσάντων, εἴθ' οὕτως διαπονήσαντα τὴν ἔξιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄκρων γενέσθαι δολιχοδρόμων, οὕτως τῷ Δημοσθένει συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἰδίων ἀποδύντι πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, ἐκ τούτου κτησαμένῳ δεινότητι καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἤδη καθάπερ στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι πρωτεύειν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγωνιζομένων πολιτῶν.
- 3 Καίτοι τό γε πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τῷ δήμῳ θορύβοις περιέπιπτε καὶ κατεγελάτο δι' ἀήθειαν, τοῦ λόγου συγκεχύσθαι ταῖς περιόδοις καὶ βεβασανίσθαι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι πικρῶς ἄγαν καὶ κατακόρως δοκοῦντος. ἦν δέ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθένεια καὶ γλώττης ἀσάφεια καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης ἐπιταράττουσα τὸν νοῦν τῶν
- 4 λεγομένων τῷ διασπᾶσθαι τὰς περιόδους. τέλος δ' ἀποστάντα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ῥεμβόμενον ἐν Πει-

They devised many evasions and new trials, but Demosthenes, after practising himself in these exercises, as Thucydides says,¹ not without toil and danger, won his cause, although he was able to recover not even a small fraction of his patrimony. However, he acquired sufficient practice and confidence in speaking, and got a taste of the distinction and power that go with forensic contests, and therefore essayed to come forward and engage in public matters. And just as Laomedon the Orchomenian—so we are told—practised long-distance running by the advice of his physicians, to ward off some disease of the spleen, and then, after restoring his health in this way, entered the great games and became one of the best runners of the long course, so Demosthenes, after applying himself to oratory in the first place for the sake of recovering his private property, by this means acquired ability and power in speaking, and at last in public business, as it were in the great games, won the first place among the citizens who strove with one another on the bema.

And yet when he first addressed the people he was interrupted by their clamours and laughed at for his inexperience, since his discourse seemed to them confused by long periods and too harshly and immoderately tortured by formal arguments. He had also, as it would appear, a certain weakness of voice and indistinctness of speech and shortness of breath which disturbed the sense of what he said by disjoining his sentences. And finally, when he had forsaken the assembly and was wandering about

¹ Καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι (i. 18, 3 of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians).

ραιεῖ δι' ἄθυμίαν Εὐνόμος ὁ Θριάσιος ἤδη πάνυ γέρον θεασάμενος ἐπετίμησεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον ἔχων ὁμοιότατον τῷ Περικλέους προδίδωσιν ὑπ' ἀτολμίας καὶ μαλακίας ἑαυτόν, οὔτε τοὺς ὄχλους ὑφιστάμενος εὐθαρσῶς, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξαρτυόμενος, ἀλλὰ τρυφῇ περιορῶν μαραινόμενον.

VII. Πάλιν δέ ποτέ φασιν ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντος οἵκαδε συγκεχυμένου¹ καὶ βαρέως 849
 φέροντος ἐπακολουθῆσαι Σάτυρον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα καὶ συνελθεῖν. ὀδυρομένου δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι πάντων φιλοπονιώτατος ὢν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ μικροῦ δέων καταναλωκέναι τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀκμὴν εἰς τοῦτο χάριν οὐκ ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλὰ κραιπαλῶντες ἄνθρωποι ναῦται καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἀκούονται καὶ
 2 κατέχουσι τὸ βῆμα, παροράται δ' αὐτός, “Ἀληθῇ λέγεις, ὦ Δημόσθενες,” φάναι τὸν Σάτυρον, “ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὸ αἷτιον ἰάσομαι ταχέως, ἂν μοι τῶν Εὐριπίδου τινὰ ῥήσεων ἢ Σοφοκλέους ἐθελήσης εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ στόματος.” εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους μεταλαβόντα τὸν Σάτυρον οὕτω πλάσαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν ἐν ἥθει πρέποντι καὶ διαθέσει τὴν αὐτὴν ῥῆσιν ὥσθ' ὅλως ἑτέραν τῷ Δημοσθένει φανῆναι. πεισθέντα δ' ὅσον ἐκ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τῷ λόγῳ κόσμου καὶ χάριτος πρόσεστι, μικρὸν ἡγήσασθαι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τὴν ἄσκησιν ἀμελοῦντι τῆς προφορᾶς καὶ διαθέσεως τῶν λεγο-
 3 μένων. ἐκ τούτου κατάγειον μὲν οἰκοδομῆσαι

¹ συγκεχυμένου Graux with M^a: συγκεκαλυμμένου (*with muffled head*).

dejectedly in the Piraeus, Eunomus the Thriasian, who was already a very old man, caught sight of him and upbraided him because, although he had a style of speaking which was most like that of Pericles, he was throwing himself away out of weakness and lack of courage, neither facing the multitude with boldness, nor preparing his body for these forensic contests, but suffering it to wither away in slothful neglect.

VII. At another time, too, they say, when he had been rebuffed by the people and was going off homewards disconcerted and in great distress, Satyrus the actor, who was a familiar acquaintance of his, followed after and went indoors with him. Demosthenes lamented to him that although he was the most laborious of all the orators and had almost used up the vigour of his body in this calling, he had no favour with the people, but debauchees, sailors, and illiterate fellows were listened to and held the bema, while he himself was ignored. "You are right, Demosthenes," said Satyrus, "but I will quickly remedy the cause of all this, if you will consent to recite off-hand for me some narrative speech from Euripides or Sophocles." Demosthenes did so, whereupon Satyrus, taking up the same speech after him, gave it such a form and recited it with such appropriate sentiment and disposition that it appeared to Demosthenes to be quite another. Persuaded, now, how much of ornament and grace action lends to oratory, he considered it of little or no use for a man to practise declaiming if he neglected the delivery and disposition of his words. After this, we are told, he built a subterranean

μελετητήριον, ὃ δὴ διεσώζετο καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πάντως μὲν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας κατιόντα πλάττειν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ διαπονεῖν τὴν φωνήν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μῆνας ἐξῆς δύο καὶ τρεῖς συνάπτειν, ξυρούμενον τῆς κεφαλῆς θάτερον μέρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ βουλομένῳ πάνυ προελθεῖν ἐνδέχεσθαι δι' αἰσχύνην.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἐντεύξεις καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑποθέσεις ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀφορμὰς τοῦ φιλοπονεῖν. ἀπαλλαγεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν τάχιστα κατέβαινε εἰς τὸ μελετητήριον, καὶ διεξῆει τὰς τε πράξεις ἐφεξῆς
 2 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογισμούς. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς λόγους οἷς παρέτυχε λεγομένοις, ἀναλαμβάνων εἰς ἑαυτὸν εἰς γνῶμας ἀνῆγε καὶ περιόδους, ἐπανορθώσεις τε παντοδαπὰς καὶ μεταφράσεις ἐκαινοτόμει τῶν εἰρημένων ὑφ' ἑτέρου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν πρὸς ἄλλον. ἐκ τούτου δόξαν εἶχεν ὥς οὐκ εὐφυῆς ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πόνου συγκει-
 3 μένη δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος. ἐδόκει τε τούτου σημεῖον εἶναι μέγα τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀκουσαί τινα Δημοσθένους ἐπὶ καιροῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθήμενον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλάκις τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος ὀνομαστὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι πεφροντικῶς καὶ παρεσκευασμένος. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐχλεύαζον αὐτόν, καὶ Πυθέας ἐπισκώπτων ἐλλυχνίων ἔφη-

study, which, in fact, was preserved in our time,¹ and into this he would descend every day without exception in order to form his action and cultivate his voice, and he would often remain there even for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head in order that shame might keep him from going abroad even though he greatly wished to do so.

VIII. Nor was this all, but he would make his interviews, conversations, and business with those outside, the foundation and starting point for eager toil. For as soon as he parted from his associates, he would go down into his study, and there would go over his transactions with them in due order, and the arguments used in defence of each course. And still further, whatever speeches he chanced to hear delivered he would take up by himself and reduce to propositions and periods, and he would introduce all sorts of corrections and changes of expression into the speeches made by others against himself, or, contrariwise, by himself against others. Consequently it was thought that he was not a man of good natural parts, but that his ability and power were the product of toil. And there would seem to be strong proof of this in the fact that Demosthenes was rarely heard to speak on the spur of the moment, but though the people often called upon him by name as he sat in the assembly, he would not come forward unless he had given thought to the question and was prepared to speak upon it. For this, many of the popular leaders used to rail at him, and Pytheas, in particular, once told him scoffingly that his arguments smelt of lamp-

¹ An erroneous tradition identifies this with the choragic monument of Lysicrates (the "Lantern of Demosthenes").

- 4 σεν ὄξειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἡμεΐψατο πικρῶς ὁ Δημοσθένης· “Οὐ ταῦτὰ γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, ὦ Πυθέα, ὁ λύχνος σύννοιδε.” πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐ παντάπασιν ἦν ἔξαρνος, ἀλλ’ οὔτε γράψας οὔτ’ ἄγραφα κομιδῇ λέγειν ὠμολόγει. καὶ μέντοι δημοτικὸν ἀπέφαινε ἀνδρα τὸν λέγειν μελετῶντα· θερα-
 πείας γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτο δήμον παρασκευήν, τὸ δ’ ὅπως ἔξουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀφρον-
 τιστεῖν ὀλιγαρχικοῦ καὶ βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῖ
 5 προσέχοντος. τῆς δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀτολμίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται σημεῖον, ὅτι Δημάδης μὲν ἐκείνῳ θορυβηθέντι πολλάκις ἀναστὰς ἐκ προ-
 χείρου συνεῖπεν, ἐκεῖνος δ’ οὐδέποτε Δημάδῃ.

- IX. Πόθεν οὖν, φαίη τις ἄν, ὁ Αἰσχίνης πρὸς τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατον ἀπε-
 κάλει τὸν ἄνδρα; πῶς δὲ Πύθωνι τῷ Βυζαντίῳ θρασυνομένῳ καὶ ῥέοντι πολλῷ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἀναστὰς μόνος ἀντεῖπεν, ἡ Λαμάχου τοῦ Μυριναίου γεγραφότος ἐγκώμιον Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου τῶν βασιλέων, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ Θηβαίους
 2 καὶ Ὀλυνθίους εἰρήκει κακῶς, καὶ ἀναγινώσκον-
 τος Ὀλυμπίασι, παραστὰς καὶ διεξελθὼν μεθ’ ὧν ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως ὅσα Θηβαίοις καὶ Χαλ-
 κιδεῦσιν ὑπάρχει καλὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ

¹ See Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 152.

wicks. To him, then, Demosthenes made a sharp answer. "Indeed," said he, "thy lamp and mine, O Pytheas, are not privy to the same pursuits." To the rest, however, he made no denial at all, but confessed that his speeches were neither altogether unwritten, nor yet fully written out. Moreover, he used to declare that he who rehearsed his speeches was a true man of the people: for such preparation was a mark of deference to the people, whereas heedlessness of what the multitude will think of his speech marks a man of oligarchical spirit, and one who relies on force rather than on persuasion. Another circumstance, too, is made a proof of his lack of courage for an emergency, namely, that when he was interrupted by the clamours of the people, Demades often rose and spoke off-hand in his support, but he never rendered such a service to Demades.

IX. How, then, some one might say, could Aeschines call him a man of the most astonishing boldness in his speeches?¹ And how was it that, when Python of Byzantium² was inveighing with much boldness and a great torrent of words against the Athenians, Demosthenes alone rose up and spoke against him? Or how did it happen that, when Lamachus the Myrinaean had written an encomium on Kings Philip and Alexander, in which many injurious things were said of Thebes and Olynthus, and while he was reading it aloud at Olympia,³ Demosthenes came forward and rehearsed with historical proofs all the benefits which the peoples of Thebes and Chalcidice had conferred upon Greece, and, on the other

² An envoy of Philip to the Athenian assembly, in 343 B.C. See Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, § 136. ³ In 324 B.C.

πάλιν ὅσων αἵτιοι γεγόνασι κακῶν οἱ κολακεύοντες Μακεδόνας, οὕτως ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς παρόντας ὥστε δέισαντα τῷ θορύβῳ τὸν σοφιστὴν ὑπεκδύναι τῆς πανηγύρεως;

- 3 Ἄλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ Περικλέους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ περὶ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν, ὥσπερ ἐκ τούτων μεγάλου γεγονότος, ζηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος, οὐ πάνυ προσίεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ δόξαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τύχῃ πολλάκις ἐκὼν εἶναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ τόλμαν γε καὶ θάρσος οἱ λεχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τῶν γραφέντων μᾶλλον εἶχον, εἴ τι δεῖ πιστεύειν Ἑρατοσθένει καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. ὦν Ἑρατοσθένης μὲν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παράβακχον, ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς τὸν ἔμμετρον ἐκείνουν ὄρκον ὁμῶσαι ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα.
- 4

μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα.

- 5 τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ ῥωποπερπερήθραν, ὁ δὲ παρασκώπτων ὡς χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ φησὶν οὕτως.

A. ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν.

B. ἡγάπησεν ἂν
τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

¹ Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 128. From Plutarch's *Morals*, p. 845 b, it is to be inferred rather that this was a verse of Antiphanes ridiculing the perfervid manner of Demosthenes. ² Kock, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 461.

hand, all the evils of which the flatterers of the Macedonians had been the cause, and thereby so turned the minds of the audience that the sophist was terrified at the outcry against him and slunk away from the festival assemblage?

But although Demosthenes, as it would appear, did not regard the other characteristics of Pericles as suitable for himself, he admired¹ and sought to imitate the formality of his speech and bearing, as well as his refusal to speak suddenly or on every subject that might present itself, as if his greatness was due to these things; but he by no means sought the reputation which is won in a sudden emergency, nor did he often of his own free will stake his influence upon chance. However, those orations which were spoken off-hand by him had more courage and boldness than those which he wrote out, if we are to put any confidence in Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets. Of these, Eratosthenes says that often in his speeches Demosthenes was like one frenzied, and the Phalerean says that once, as if under inspiration, he swore the famous metrical oath to the people:—

“By earth, by springs, by rivers, and by streams.”¹

Of the comic poets, one calls him a “*rhopperperethras*,” or *trumpery-braggart*,² and another, ridiculing his use of the antithesis, says this:—

(First slave) “My master, as he took, retook.”

(Second slave (?)) “Demosthenes would have been delighted to take over this phrase.”³

³ Kock, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 80. A verse precedes which may be translated: “My master, on receiving all his patrimony,” and the point apparently is that the heir took what was a gift as his rightful due.

ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀλουνήσου λόγον ὃ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τουτὶ πέπαιχεν, ἦν Ἀθηναίοις Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου.

X. Πλὴν τὸν γε Δημάδην πάντες ὡμολόγουν τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνίκητον εἶναι, καὶ παραφέρειν αὐτοσχεδιῶντα τὰς τοῦ Δημοσθένους σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευάς. Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ Χῖος καὶ Θεοφρίστου τινὰ δόξαν ἱστόρηκε περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων. ἐρωτηθέντα γὰρ ὁποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ῥήτωρ ὁ Δημοσθένης, εἰπεῖν· “Ἀξιος τῆς πόλεως.”
 2 ὁποῖος δὲ Δημάδης, “Ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν.” ὁ δ' αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πολύευκτον ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σφήτιον, ἓνα τῶν τότε πολιτευομένων Ἀθήνησιν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι μέγιστον μὲν εἶναι ῥήτορα Δημοσθένην, δυνατώτατον δὲ εἰπεῖν Φωκίωνα· πλείστον γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῃ λέξει νοῦν ἐκφέρειν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην φασὶν αὐτόν, ὅσακις
 3 ἀν¹ ἀντερῶν αὐτῷ Φωκίων ἀναβαίνοι, λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις· “Ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπὴς ἀνίσταται.” τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἄδηλον εἴτε πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης εἴτε πρὸς τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπεπόνθει, πολλῶν πίνυ καὶ μακρῶν περιόδων ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα πίστιν ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου κυριώτερον ἡγούμενος.

XI. Τοῖς δὲ σωματικοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τοιαύτην ἐπήγεν ἄσκησιν, ὥς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἱστο-

¹ ἀν omitted by Bekker, after Coraës and Schaefer; also by Graux with M^a.

Unless, indeed, this, too, was a jest of Antiphanes upon the speech of Demosthenes concerning Halonnesus,¹ in which the orator counselled the Athenians not to take the island from Philip, but to re-take it.

X. Still, all men used to agree that Demades, in the exercise of his natural gifts, was invincible, and that when he spoke on the spur of the moment he surpassed the studied preparations of Demosthenes. And Ariston the Chian records an opinion which Theophrastus also passed upon the two orators. When he was asked, namely, what sort of an orator he thought Demosthenes was, he replied: "Worthy of the city"; and what Demades, "Too good for the city." And the same philosopher tells us that Polyæctus the Sphettian, one of the political leaders of that time at Athens, declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the most influential speaker; since he expressed most sense in fewest words. Indeed, we are told that even Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion mounted the bema to reply to him, would say to his intimates: "Here comes the chopper of my speeches." Now, it is not clear whether Demosthenes had this feeling towards Phocion because of his oratory, or because of his life and reputation, believing that a single word or nod from a man who is trusted has more power than very many long periods.

XI. For his bodily deficiencies he adopted the exercises which I shall describe, as Demetrius the Phalerian tells us, who says he heard about them from

¹ Or. vii., wrongly attributed to Demosthenes. There is in § 5 a phrase similar to the one under comment.

ρεῖ, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀκούειν πρεσβύ-
του γεγονότος, τὴν μὲν ἀσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα
τῆς γλώττης ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ διαρθροῦν εἰς τὸ
στόμα ψήφους λαμβάνοντα καὶ ῥήσεις ἅμα λέ-
2 γοντα, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις γυμνάζεσθαι
καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ σιμὰ προσβάσει διαλεγόμενον
καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἢ στίχους ἅμα τῷ πνεύματι
πυκνουμένῳ προφερόμενον· εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα
κάτοπτρον οἴκοι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἐξ
ἐναντίας ἰστάμενον περαίνειν.

Λέγεται δέ, ἀνθρώπου προσελθόντος δεομένου
συνηγορίας καὶ διεξιόντος ὡς ὑπὸ του λάβοι
πληγίας, “Ἄλλὰ σύ γε,” φάναι τὸν Δημοσθένην,
3 “τούτων ὧν λέγεις οὐδὲν πέπονθας.” ἐπιτείναν-
τος δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ βοῶντος
“Ἐγώ, Δημόσθενες, οὐδὲν πέπονθα;” “Νὴ Δία,”
φάναι, “νῦν ἀκούω φωνὴν ἀδικουμένου καὶ πε-
πονθότος.” οὕτως ὤρετο μέγα πρὸς πίστιν εἶναι
τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῶν λεγόντων. τοῖς
μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, 851
οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες ταπεινὸν ἡγούντο καὶ ἀγεννὲς
αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ μαλακόν, ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος
4 ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐστίν. Αἰσίωνα δέ φησιν Ἑρμιππος,
ἐρωτηθέντα περὶ τῶν πάλαι ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν
καθ' αὐτόν, εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀκούων μὲν ἂν τις ἐθαύ-
μασεν ἐκείνους εὐκόσμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ
δήμῳ διαλεγόμενους, ἀναγινωσκόμενοι δ' οἱ Δημο-
σθένους λόγοι πολὺ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει
διαφέρουσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν γεγραμμένοι τῶν λόγων

Demosthenes himself, now grown old. The indistinctness and lisping¹ in his speech he used to correct and drive away by taking pebbles in his mouth and then reciting speeches. His voice he used to exercise by discoursing while running or going up steep places, and by reciting speeches or verses at a single breath. Moreover, he had in his house a large looking-glass, and in front of this he used to stand and go through his exercises in declamation.

A story is told of a man coming to him and begging his services as advocate, and telling at great length how he had been assaulted and beaten by some one. "But certainly," said Demosthenes, "you got none of the hurts which you describe." Then the man raised his voice and shouted: "I, Demosthenes, no hurts?" "Now, indeed," said Demosthenes, "I hear the voice of one who is wronged and hurt." So important in winning credence did he consider the tone and action of the speaker. Accordingly, his own action in speaking was astonishingly pleasing to most men, but men of refinement, like Demetrius the Phalerian, thought his manner low, ignoble, and weak. And Hermippus tells us that Aesion,² when asked his opinion of the ancient orators as compared with those of his own time, said that one would have listened with admiration when the older orators discoursed to the people decorously and in the grand manner, but that the speeches of Demosthenes, when read aloud, were far superior in point of arrangement and power. Now, it is needless to remark that

¹ Strictly, an inability to pronounce the letter "r," giving instead the sound of "l." See the *Alcibiades*, i. 4.

² A contemporary of Demosthenes.

ὅτι τὸ αὐστηρὸν πολὺ καὶ πικρὸν ἔχουσι, τί ἂν
λέγοι τις; ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι ταῖς παρὰ τὸν
5 καιρὸν ἐχρήτο καὶ τῷ γελοίῳ. Δημάδου μὲν γὰρ
εἰπόντος “Ἐμέ Δημοσθένης, ἡ ὕς τὴν Ἀθηναίαν,”
“Αὕτη,” εἶπεν, “ἡ Ἀθηναῖα πρῶην ἐν Κολλυτῷ
μοιχεύουσα ἐλήφθη.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν κλέπτην ὃς
ἐπεκαλεῖτο Χαλκοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς ἀγρυ-
πνίας αὐτοῦ καὶ νυκτογραφίας πειρώμενόν τι
λέγειν, “Οἶδα,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχρον
6 καίων. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θαν-
μάζετε τὰς γινομένας κλοπὰς, ὅταν τοὺς μὲν
κλέπτας χαλκοῦς, τοὺς δὲ τοίχους πηλίνους
ἔχωμεν.” ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων καίπερ ἔτι πλείω
λέγειν ἔχοντες ἐνταῦθα παυσόμεθα· τὸν δ’ ἄλλον
αὐτοῦ τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ
τῆς πολιτείας θεωρεῖσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστιν.

XII. Ὁρμησε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ
κοινὰ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος, ὥς
αὐτός τέ φησι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλιπ-
πικῶν δημηγοριῶν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη διαπεπρα-
γμένων ἐκείνων γεγόνασιν, αἱ δὲ πρεσβύταται τῶν
ἔγγιστα πραγμάτων ἄπτονται. δῆλος δ’ ἐστὶ
καὶ τὴν κατὰ Μειδίου παρασκευασάμενος εἰπεῖν
δίκην δύο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη,
μηδέπω δ’ ἔχων ἰσχὺν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μηδὲ δόξαν.
2 ὁ καὶ μάλιστα μοι δοκεῖ δείσας ἐπ’ ἀργυρίῳ
καταθέσθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχθραν·

οὐ γάρ τι γλυκύθυμος ἀνὴρ ἦν οὐδ’ ἀγανόφρων,

¹ 357–346 B.C.

² *On the Crown*, § 18.

³ About 350 B.C. The speech “Against Meidias” (*Or.* xxi.) was never delivered. See § 154.

his written speeches have much in them that is harsh and bitter; but in his extempore rejoinders he was also humorous. For instance, when Demades said: "Demosthenes teach me! As well might the sow teach Athena." "It was this Athena," said Demosthenes, "that was lately found playing the harlot in Collytus." And to the thief nicknamed Brazen, who attempted to make fun of him for his late hours and his writing at night, "I know," he said, "that I annoy you with my lighted lamp. But you, men of Athens, must not wonder at the thefts that are committed, when we have thieves of brass, but house-walls of clay." However, though I have still more to say on this head, I shall stop here; the other traits of his character, and his disposition, should be surveyed in connection with his achievements as a statesman.

XII. Well, then, he set out to engage in public matters after the Phocian war¹ had broken out, as he himself says,² and as it is possible to gather from his Philippic harangues. For some of these were made after the Phocian war was already ended, and the earliest of them touch upon affairs which were closely connected with it. And it is clear that when he prepared himself to speak in the prosecution of Meidias³ he was thirty-two years old, but had as yet no power or reputation in the conduct of the city's affairs. And his fears on this score were the chief reason, in my opinion, why he compromised his case against the man he hated for a sum of money:

"For he was not at all a sweet-tempered man or of gentle mood,"⁴

⁴ *Iliad*, xx. 467, of Achilles.

ἀλλ' ἔντονος καὶ βίαιος περὶ τὰς ἀμύνας. ὁρῶν δ' οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἔργον ἄνδρα καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ φίλοις εὖ πεφραγμένον καθελεῖν, τὸν Μειδίαν, ἐνέδωκε τοῖς
3 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεομένοις. αἱ δὲ τρισχίλιαι καθ' ἑαυτὰς οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀμβλύναι πικρίαν, ἐλπίζοντος καὶ δυναμένου περιγενέσθαι.

Λαβὼν δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δικαιολογίαν, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀξίως, ταχὺ δόξαν ἔσχε καὶ περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἦρθη καὶ τῆς παρρησίας, ὥστε θαυμάζεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, θεραπεύεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως,
4 πλείστον δ' αὐτοῦ λόγον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν δημαγωγούντων, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπεχθανομένους ὅτι πρὸς ἔνδοξον αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ. καὶ γὰρ Αἰσχίνης καὶ Ὑπερείδης τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦντες εἰρήκασιν.

XIII. Ὅθεν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως παρέστη Θεοπόμπῳ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀβέβαιον τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονέναι καὶ μήτε πράγμασι μήτ' ἀνθρώποις πολὺν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν δυνάμενοι. φαίνεται γάρ, εἰς ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων μερίδα καὶ τάξιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτεία κατέστησε, ταύτην ἄχρι τέλους διαφυλάξας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ βίῳ μὴ μεταβαλλόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ
2 μεταβαλέσθαι προέμενος. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Δημάδης ἀπολογούμενος διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτεία μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν, αὐτῷ μὲν αὐτὸν τάναντία πολλάκις εἰρήκεναι, τῇ δὲ πόλει μηδέποτε, καὶ Μελάνωπος

but vehement and violent in his requitals. However, seeing that it was no mean task and one beyond his power to overthrow a man like Meidias, who was well hedged about with wealth, oratory and friends, he yielded to those who interceded in his behalf. For it does not seem to me that the three thousand drachmas of themselves could have dulled the bitter feelings of Demosthenes if he had expected or felt able to triumph over his adversary.

But when he had once taken as a noble basis for his political activity the defence of the Greeks against Philip, and was contending worthily here, he quickly won a reputation and was lifted into a conspicuous place by the boldness of his speeches, so that he was admired in Greece, and treated with deference by the Great King; Philip, too, made more account of him than of any other popular leader at Athens, and it was admitted even by those who hated him that they had to contend with a man of mark. For both Aeschines and Hypereides say thus much for him while denouncing him.

XIII. Wherefore I do not know how it occurred to Theopompus to say that Demosthenes was unstable in his character and unable to remain true for any length of time to the same policies or the same men. For it is apparent that after he had at the outset adopted a party and a line of policy in the conduct of the city's affairs, he maintained this to the end, and not only did not change his position while he lived, but actually gave up his life that he might not change it. For he was not like Demades, who apologised for his change of policy by saying that he often spoke at variance with himself, but never at variance with the interests of the

ἀντιπολιτευόμενος Καλλιστράτῳ καὶ πολλάκις 852
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρήμασι μετατιθέμενος εἰώθει λέγειν
 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον· “Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐχθρός, τὸ δὲ
 3 τῆς πόλεως νικάτω συμφέρον,” Νικόδημος δ' ὁ
 Μεσσήνιος Κασάνδρῳ προστιθέμενος πρότερον,
 εἰτ' αὖθις ὑπὲρ Δημητρίου πολιτευόμενος οὐκ ἔφη
 τάναντία λέγειν, αἰεὶ γὰρ εἶναι συμφέρον ἀκ-
 ροᾶσθαι τῶν κρατούντων, οὕτω καὶ περὶ Δη-
 μοσθένους ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν οἶον ἐκτρεπομένου καὶ
 πλαγιάζοντος ἢ φωνὴν ἢ πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
 ἀφ' ἐνὸς καὶ ἀμεταβλήτου διαγράμματος τῆς
 4 πολιτείας ἓνα τόνον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν αἰεὶ
 διετέλεσε. Παναίτιος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν
 λόγων αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτω γεγράφθαι τοὺς πλεί-
 στους ὡς μόνου τοῦ καλοῦ δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετοῦ ὄντος,
 τὸν περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου, τὸν κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους,
 τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, τοὺς Φιλιππικούς· ἐν οἷς
 πᾶσιν οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἡδιστον ἢ ῥᾶστον ἢ λυσιτελέ-
 στατον ἄγει τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ πολλαχοῦ τὴν
 ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν οἶεται δεῖν ἐν
 δευτέρᾳ τάξει τοῦ καλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρέ-
 ποντος, ὥς, εἶγε τῇ περὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις αὐτοῦ
 φιλοτιμία καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων εὐγενείᾳ παρῆν
 ἀνδρεία τε πολεμιστήριος καὶ τὸ καθαρῶς ἕκαστα
 πράττειν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοιροκλέα καὶ Πολύ-
 ευκτον καὶ Ὑπερείδην ἀριθμῷ τῶν ῥητόρων, ἀλλ'
 ἄνω μετὰ Κίμωνος καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους
 ἄξιός ἦν τίθесθαι.

city; nor like Melanopus, who, though opposed politically to Callistratus, was often bought over by him, and then would say to the people: "The man is my enemy, it is true, but the interests of the city shall prevail"; nor like Nicodemus the Messenian, who first attached himself to Cassander, and then again advocated the interests of Demetrius, but said that he was not contradicting himself, for it was always advantageous to listen to one's masters. We cannot say such things of Demosthenes also, as of one who is turned from his course and veers to and fro either in word or deed—nay, he followed one unchangeable scale, as it were, and ever held to one key in politics. And Panaetius the philosopher says that most of his speeches also are written in the conviction that the good alone is to be chosen for its own sake, as, for instance, the speech "On the Crown,"¹ the one "Against Aristocrates,"² that "For the Immunities,"³ and the *Philippics*;⁴ for in all these he does not try to lead his countrymen to do what is pleasantest or easiest or most profitable, but in many places thinks they ought to make their safety and preservation secondary to what is honourable and fitting, so that, if the loftiness of his principles and the nobility of his speeches had been accompanied by such bravery as becomes a warrior and by incorruptibility in all his dealings, he would have been worthy to be numbered, not with such orators as Moerocles, Polyeuctus, Hypereides, and their contemporaries, but high up with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

¹ *Or.* xviii. ² *Or.* xxiii.

³ *Or.* xx. (*Against Leptines*).

⁴ *Ors.* iv., vi., ix.

- XIV. Τῶν γοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Φωκίων οὐκ ἐπαι-
 νουμένης προϊστάμενος πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν
 μακεδονίζειν, ὅμως δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην
 οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ χείρων ἔδοξεν Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀρι-
 2 στείδου καὶ Κίμωνος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι. Δημοσθένης
 δ' οὐκ ὦν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀξιόπιστος, ὥς φησιν ὁ
 Δημήτριος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν παντάπασιν
 ἀπωχυρωμένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν παρὰ Φιλίππου
 καὶ Μακεδονίας ἀνάλωτος ὢν, τῷ δ' ἄνωθεν ἐκ
 Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων ἐπιβατὸς χρυσίῳ γεγωνὸς
 καὶ κατακεκλυσμένος, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ἱκανώτατος
 ἦν τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ, μιμήσασθαι δὲ οὐχ
 ὅμοιος. ἐπεὶ τοὺς γε καθ' αὐτὸν ῥήτορας (ἔξω δὲ
 λόγου τίθεμαι Φωκίωνα) καὶ τῷ βίῳ παρήλθε.
 3 φαίνεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας μάλιστα τῷ
 δήμῳ διαλεγόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν
 πολλῶν ἀντιτείνων καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν
 ἐπιφυόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν λόγων λαβεῖν ἔστιν.
 ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὅτι, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ
 τινα προβαλλομένων αὐτὸν κατηγορίαν, ὡς δ' οὐχ
 ὑπήκουε, θορυβούντων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· “Τμεῖς
 ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβούλῳ μὲν, καὶ μὴ
 θέλητε, χρήσεσθε· συκοφάντῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἂν θέλητε.”
 4 σφόδρα δ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν αὐτοῦ πολίτευμα καὶ
 τὸ περὶ Ἀντιφῶντος· ὃν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 ἀφεθέντα συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου

¹ Theopompus almost always displays hostility to Athens and her popular leaders.

XIV. At any rate, Phocion, among his contemporaries, though he took the lead in a policy which is not to be commended, and though he had the reputation of favouring Macedonia, nevertheless, by reason of his bravery and integrity, was held to be in no wise inferior to Ephialtes and Aristides and Cimon. Demosthenes, however, was not worthy of confidence when he bore arms, as Demetrius says, nor was he altogether inaccessible to bribes, but though he did not succumb to the gold which came from Philip and Macedonia, that which came down in streams from Susa and Ecbatana reached and overwhelmed him, and therefore while he was most capable of praising the virtues of earlier generations, he was not so good at imitating them. For certainly the orators of his own day (though I leave Phocion out of the account) were surpassed by him even in his life and conversation. And it is manifest that beyond them all he reasoned boldly with the people, opposed himself to the desires of the multitude, and persistently attacked their faults, as may be gathered from his speeches. And even Theopompus¹ tells us that, when the Athenians nominated him to conduct a certain impeachment, and, on his refusal, raised a tumult against him, he rose and said: "Men of Athens, I will serve you as a counsellor, even though you do not wish it; but not as a false accuser, even though you wish it." Moreover, the measures which he took in the case of Antiphon² were exceedingly aristocratic in their spirit. Antiphon had been acquitted by the assembly, but Demosthenes arrested him and brought him before the council of the Areio-

² See Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, §§ 132 f.

βουλὴν ἀνήγαγε, καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν τὸ προσκροῦσαι τῷ δήμῳ θέμενος ἤλεγξεν ὑπεςχημένον Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν· καὶ παραδοθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπέθανε. κατηγόρησε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἱερείας Θεωρίδος ὡς ἄλλα τε ῥαδιουργούσης πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐξαπατᾶν διδασκούσης· καὶ θανάτου τιμησάμενος ἀπέκτεινε.

XV. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν κατὰ Τιμοθέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λόγον, ᾧ χρησάμενος Ἀπολλόδωρος εἴλε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ὀφλήματος, Δημοσθένης γράψαι τῷ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ Στέφανον, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἠδόξησε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Φορμίων ἠγωνίζετο λόγῳ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον, ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς μαχαιροπωλίου τὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγχειρίδια
 2 πωλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδικοῖς. τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος καὶ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους ἑτέροις ἐγράφησαν, οὕτω τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθότος· δοκεῖ γὰρ δυεῖν ἢ 853
 τριῶν δέοντα ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἐξενεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους· τὸν δὲ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος αὐτὸς ἠγωνίσαστο, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, διὰ τὸν Χαβρίου παῖδα Κτήσιππον, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεανίσκου
 3 μνώμενος. οὐ μὲν ἔγημε ταύτην, ἀλλὰ Σαμία
 36

pagus, and making no account of the offence thus given to the people, convicted him of having promised Philip to set fire to the dockyards; and Antiphon was given up to justice by the council and suffered death. He also accused the priestess Theoris of many misdemeanours, and particularly of teaching the slaves to practise deceit; and by fixing the penalty at death he brought about her execution.

XV. It is said, too, that the speech which Apollodorus used in order to secure the conviction of Timotheus the general in an action for debt was written for him by Demosthenes, and likewise the speeches which Apollodorus used against Phormio and Stephanus, in which cases Demosthenes properly won discredit. For Phormio contended against Apollodorus with a speech which Demosthenes had written for him,¹ the orator thus simply selling to the disputants, as it were from one and the same cutlery-shop,² the knives with which to wound each other. Moreover, of his public orations, those against Androtion³ and Timocrates⁴ and Aristocrates⁵ were written for others to pronounce, before he had as yet entered public life; for it appears that these speeches were produced when he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. But he himself delivered the speech against Aristogeiton,⁶ as well as the one "On the Immunities,"⁷ at the instance, as he himself says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, but as some say, because he was wooing the mother of this young man. However, he did not marry this woman, but had a certain woman of Samos

¹ *Or.* xxxvi.

² See chapter iv. 1.

³ *Or.* xxii.

⁴ *Or.* xxiv.

⁵ *Or.* xxiii.

⁶ *Or.* xxv.

⁷ *Or.* xx.

τινὶ συνώκησεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων. ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἰσχίνου τῆς παραπρεσβείας ἄδηλον εἰ λέλεκται· καίτοι φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνας τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἀποφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔοικεν οὕτως ἔχειν τάληθές, εἰ δεῖ τοῖς περὶ στεφάνου γεγραμμένοις ἐκατέρων λόγοις τεκμαίρεσθαι. μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐναργῶς οὐδὲ τρανῶς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὡς ἄχρι δίκης προελθόντος. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἕτεροι διακρινούσι μᾶλλον.

XVI. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πολιτεία φανερά μὲν ἦν ἔτι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούσης, οὐδὲν ἐῶντος ἀνεπιτίμητον τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ταραττοντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ διακαίοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. διὸ καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ πλείστος ἦν λόγος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅτε πρεσβεύων δέκατος ἦκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἤκουσε μὲν πάντων Φίλιππος, ἀντεῖπε δὲ μετὰ
2 πλείστης ἐπιμελείας πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον. οὐ μὴν ἔν γε ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ὅμοιον αὐτὸν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρείχεν, ἀλλὰ προσήγετο τοὺς περὶ Αἰσχίνην καὶ Φιλοκράτην μᾶλλον. ὅθεν ἐπαινούντων ἐκείνων τὸν Φίλιππον ὡς καὶ λέγειν δυνατώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον ὀφθῆναι καὶ νῆ Δία συμπιεῖν ἱκανώτατον, ἠναγκάζετο βασκαίνων ἐπισκώπτειν ὡς τὸ μὲν σοφιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ γυναικός, τὸ δὲ σπογγιᾶς εἶη, βασιλέως δ' οὐδὲν ἐγκώμιον.

to wife, as Demetrius the Magnesian tells us in his work "On Persons of the Same Name." Whether the speech denouncing the treacherous embassy of Aeschines¹ was delivered or not, is uncertain; and yet Idomeneus says that Aeschines got off by only thirty votes. But this would seem to be untrue, if we are to judge by the written speeches of both orators "On the Crown."² For neither of them speaks clearly and distinctly of that contention as one which came to trial. This question, however, will have to be decided by others.

XVI. The political attitude of Demosthenes was manifest even while peace still lasted, for he would let no act of the Macedonian pass uncensured, but on every occasion kept rousing and inflaming the Athenians against him. Therefore Philip also made most account of him; and when Demosthenes came to Macedonia in an embassy of ten,³ Philip listened indeed to them all, but took most pains to answer his speech. As regards all other marks of honour and kindly attention, however, Philip did not treat Demosthenes as well as the others, but courted rather the party of Aeschines and Philocrates. And so when these lauded Philip as most powerful in speaking, most fair to look upon, and, indeed, as a most capable fellow-drinker, Demosthenes had to say in bitter raillery that the first encomium was appropriate for a sophist, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge, but none of them for a king.

¹ *Or.* xix.

² See the second note on xxiv. 1 f.

³ In 346 B.C. they obtained the so-called Peace of Philocrates.

- XVII. Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔρρεπε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν Φιλίππου μὴ δυναμένου τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐγειρομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἐξώρμησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταδεδουλωμένην ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων Φιλίππῳ καὶ διαβάντες, ἐκείνου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἐξήλασαν τοὺς Μακε-
2 δόνας. δεύτερον δὲ Βυζαντίοις ἐβοήθησε καὶ Περινθίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος πολεμουμένοις, πείσας τὸν δῆμον ἀφέντα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ τὸ μεμνηῆσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν ἡμαρτημένων ἐκατέροις πόλεμον ἀποστεῖλαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς,
3 ὑφ' ἧς ἐσώθησαν. ἔπειτα πρεσβεύων καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ παροξύνων συνέστησε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὥστε σύνταξιν γενέσθαι πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, ἵππέων δὲ δισχιλίων, ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, χρήματα δὲ καὶ μισθοὺς τοῖς ξένοις εἰσφέρεισθαι προθύμως. ὅτε καὶ φησι Θεόφραστος, ἀξιούντων τῶν συμμάχων ὀρισθῆναι τὰς εἰσφοράς, εἰπεῖν Κρωβύλον τὸν δημαγωγὸν ὡς οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται πόλεμος.
- 4 Ἐπληρμένης δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ συνισταμένων κατ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις Εὐβοέων, Ἀχαιῶν, Κορινθίων, Μεγαρέων, Λευκαδίων, Κερκυραίων, ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο τῷ Δημοσθένει τῶν ἀγώνων, Θηβαίους προσαγαγέσθαι τῇ συμ-

XVII. And when matters were inclining at last to war, since Philip was unable to keep quiet and the Athenians were being stirred up by Demosthenes, in the first place, he urged the Athenians to invade Euboea, which had been brought into subjection to Philip by its tyrants; and it was on his motion that they crossed over to the island and drove out the Macedonians. In the second place, he came to the aid of the citizens of Byzantium and Perinthus when the Macedonian was making war upon them, by persuading the Athenian people to remit their hatred and forget the wrongs committed by each of these cities in the Social War,¹ and to send them a force,—the force which saved them. Next, he went on an embassy to the Greek states, and by arguing with them and pricking them on brought almost all of them into a league against Philip, so that they raised a mercenary force of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, apart from the citizen soldiery, and readily contributed money to pay them. It was at this time, as Theophrastus says, when the allies were demanding that their contributions be fixed within limits, that Crobylus the popular leader said: "War has no fixed rations."²

Greece was now in suspense as it thought of the future, and its peoples and cities were leaguering themselves together, Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyraeans. But the most important struggle still remained for Demosthenes in bringing the Thebans to join

¹ At the outbreak of the Social War (357-355 B.C.) Byzantium and other allies of Athens had revolted from her.

² See the note on the *Crassus*, ii. 8.

μαχία, χώραν τε σύνορον τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ δύναμιν ἑναγώνιον ἔχοντας, καὶ μάλιστα τότε τῶν
 5 Ἑλλήνων εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἦν δ' οὐ ῥάδιον ἐπὶ προσφάτοις εὐεργετήμασι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον τετιθασευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου μεταστῆσαι τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀψιμαχίαις ἀναξαινομένων ἐκάστοτε τῶν πολεμικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλας διαφορῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

XVIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος ὑπὸ τῆς 854
 περὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσαν εὐτυχίας ἐπαιρόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἑλάτειαν ἐξαίφνης ἐνέπεσε καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα κατέσχευεν, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μηδὲ ἔχοντος ὃ τι χρὴ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας οὔσης ἐν μέσῳ καὶ σιωπῆς, παρελθὼν μόνος ὁ Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε τῶν Θηβαίων ἔχεσθαι καὶ τὰλλα παραθαρρύνας καὶ μετεωρίσας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἀπεστάλη πρεσβευτὴς
 2 μεθ' ἑτέρων εἰς Θήβας. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος, ὡς Μαρσύας φησὶν, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Κλέαρχον Μακεδόνας, Δάοχον δὲ Θεσσαλὸν καὶ Θρασυδαῖον ἀντεροῦντας.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν συμφέρον οὐ διέφευγε τοὺς τῶν Θηβαίων λογισμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄμμασιν ἕκαστος εἶχε τὰ τοῦ πολέμου δεινά, ἔτι τῶν Φωκικῶν
 3 τραυμάτων νεαρῶν παραμενόντων· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμις, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἐκριπίζουσα

¹ In 339 B.C., Philip was deputed by the Amphictyonic Council to punish the city of Amphiſſa, near Delphi, for sacrilege. Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, §§ 143 ff.

the alliance, for they had a territory bounding that of Attica and a force ready to take the field, and at that time were accounted the best soldiers in Greece. But it was no easy matter, in view of the recent benefits with which Philip had cultivated their favour during the Phocian war, to make the Thebans change sides, and especially because in the petty quarrels brought on by their proximity to Athens the differences which made for war between the two cities were all the while stirred up anew.

XVIII. Philip, however, elated by his good-fortune in the matter of Amphissa,¹ surprised Elateia and occupied Phocis. This step drove the Athenians out of their senses: no one ventured to ascend the bema and no one knew what ought to be said, but perplexity and silence reigned in the assembly. Then it was that Demosthenes, and he alone, came forward and advised the people to cling to Thebes; and after giving them courage in other ways and buoying them up with hopes, as he was wont to do, he was sent with others as ambassador to Thebes. Philip also, as Marsyas tells us, sent Amyntas and Clearchus of Macedonia, Daochus of Thessaly, and Thrasydaeus, to speak in opposition to the Athenians.

Well, then, the Thebans, in their calculations, were not blind to their own interests, but each of them had before his eyes the terrors of war, since their losses in the Phocian war² were still fresh; however, the power of the orator, as Theopompus says, fanned up their courage and inflamed

² The second so-called Sacred War (357-346 B.C.), in which Athens aided the Phocians, and Philip the Thebans.

τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διακαίονσα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπεσκοτήσῃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὥστε καὶ φόβον καὶ λογισμὸν καὶ χάριν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐνθουσιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλόν. οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργον ὥστε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι δεόμενον εἰρήνης, ὀρθὴν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενέσθαι
 4 καὶ συνεξαναστῆναι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὑπηρετεῖν δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγούς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιῶντας τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἥττον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θηβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων, ἀγαπωμένου παρ' ἡμφοτέροις καὶ δυναστεύοντος οὐκ ἀδίκως οὐδὲ παρ' ἀξίαν, ὥσπερ ἀποφαίνεται Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσηκόντως.

XIX. Τύχῃ δέ τις ἔοικε δαιμόνιος ἐν περιφορᾷ πραγμάτων, εἰς ἐκείνο καιροῦ συμπεραίνουσα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, καὶ πολλὰ σημεῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀναφαίνειν, ἐν οἷς ἢ τε Πυθία δεινὰ προῦφαινε μαντεύματα, καὶ χρησμὸς ἦδετο παλαιὸς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων·

τῆς ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχης ἀπάνευθε γενοίμην,
 αἰετὸς ἐν νεφέεσσι καὶ ἡέρι θηήσασθαι.
 κλαίει ὁ νικηθεὶς, ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλε.

2 Τὸν δὲ Θερμώδοντά φασιν εἶναι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ποτάμιον μικρὸν εἰς τὸν Κηφισὸν ἐμβάλλον. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν ῥευμάτων ἴσμεν ὀνομαζόμεον, εἰκάζομεν δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Αἴμινα Θερμώδοντα λέγεσθαι τότε·

their honourable ambition and obscured all other considerations, so that, casting away fear and calculation and feelings of obligation, they were rapt away by his words into the path of honour. And so great and glorious was the orator's success seen to be that Philip at once sent an embassy and asked for peace, while Greece was confident and up in arms to aid Demosthenes for the future; and not only did the Athenian generals assist him and do what he ordered, but also the Boeotarchs. He managed at this time all the assemblies of the Thebans no less than those of the Athenians; he was beloved by both peoples and exercised supreme power, not illegally nor unworthily, as Theopompus declares, but rather with perfect propriety.

XIX. But it would seem that some divinely ordered fortune in the revolution of affairs, which was putting an end at this time to the freedom of the Greeks, opposed their efforts, and showed forth many signs of what was to come. Among these were the dire prophecies which the Pythian priestess made known, and an ancient oracle which was recited from the Sibylline books:—

“From the battle on Thermodon may I be far removed,
To behold it like an eagle in clouds and upper air.
Tears are for the conquered there, and for the conqueror, death.”

Now, the Thermodon, they say, is in my native territory, in Chaeroneia, being a little river which empties into the Cephissus. But I know of no river bearing this name at the present time; I conjecture, however, that the stream now called Haemon then

καὶ γὰρ παραρρεῖ παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὅπου κατε-
στρατοπέδευον οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ τεκμαιρόμεθα
τῆς μάχης γενομένης αἵματος ἐμπλησθέντα καὶ
νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ταύτην διαλλάξαι τὴν προσ-
3 ηγορίαν. ὁ δὲ Δοῦρις οὐ ποταμὸν εἶναί φησι
τὸν Θερμώδοντα, ἀλλ' ἰστάντας τινὰς σκηνὴν
καὶ περιορύττοντας ἀνδριαντίσκον εὐρεῖν λίθινον,
ὑπὸ γραμμάτων τινῶν διασημαινόμενον ὡς εἴη
Θερμώδων, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις Ἀμαζόνα φέροντα
τετρωμένην. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ χρησμὸν ἄλλον
ἄδεσθαι λέγοντα·

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχην μένε, παμμέλαν
ὄρνι·

τηνεὶ τοι κρέα πολλὰ παρέσσεται ἀνθρώπεια.

XX. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπως ἔχει, διαιτῆσαι
χαλεπόν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης λέγεται τοῖς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ὅπλοις ἐκτεθαρρηκώς, καὶ λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ
ῥώμης καὶ προθυμίας ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων προκαλου-
μένων τοὺς πολεμίους αἰρόμενος, οὔτε χρησμοῖς
εἶναι προσέχειν οὔτε μαντείας ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν Πυθίαν ὑπονοεῖν ὡς φιλιππίζουσιν, ἀνα-
μιμνήσκων Ἐπαμινώνδου τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ
Περικλέους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τοιαῦτα 855
δειλίας ἡγούμενοι προφάσεις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λο-
2 γισμοῖς. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνὴρ ἦν ἀγαθός·
ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καλὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὁμολογούμενον

bore the name of Thermodon. For it flows past the Heracleum, where the Greeks had their camp; and I judge that after the battle the river was filled with *blood* and corpses and therefore received its present name in exchange.¹ Duris, however, says that this Thermodon was not a river, but that some soldiers who were pitching a tent and digging a trench about it, found a small stone figure, an inscription upon which signified that it was Thermodon,² carrying in its arms a wounded Amazon. They say also that in reference to this another oracle is recited as follows:—

“For the battle on Thermodon wait thou, all-black bird;
There thou shalt have in abundance the flesh of men.”

XX. How this matter really stands, then, it is difficult to decide; but as for Demosthenes, he is said to have had complete confidence in the Greek forces, and to have been lifted into a state of glowing excitement by the strength and ardour of so many men eager to engage the enemy, so that he would not suffer his countrymen to give heed to oracles or listen to prophecies; nay, he even suspected the Pythian priestess of being in sympathy with Philip, reminding the Thebans of Epaninondas and the Athenians of Pericles, and declaring that those great leaders regarded things of this kind as pretexts for cowardice, and therefore followed the dictates of reason. Up to this point, then, he was a brave man; but in the battle³ he displayed no con-

¹ Deriving *Αἷμα* from *αἷμα* (*blood*).

² *i.e.* the god of the river Thermodon, in Cappadocia, on the banks of which the Amazons were thought to dwell. Cf. the *Theseus*, xxvii. 6.

³ At Chaeroneia, 338 B.C.

ἔργον οἷς εἶπεν ἀποδειξάμενος ὥχεται λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν, ἀποδράς αἰσχιστα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψας, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀσπίδος, ὡς ἔλεγε Πυθέας, αἰσχυνοίς, ἐπιγεγραμμένης γράμμασι χρυσοῖς, Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

- 3 Παραυτίκα μὲν οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἐξυβρίσας, καὶ κωμίσας ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς μεθύων, ἦδε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψηφίσματος πρὸς πόδα διαιρῶν καὶ ὑποκρούων·

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς τάδ' εἶπεν·

- ἐκνήψας δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιστάντος αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος ἐν νῶ λαβὼν ἔφριττε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἐν μέρει μικρῷ μιᾷς ἡμέρας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
- 4 διῖκτο δ' ἡ δόξα μέχρι τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως· καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔπεμψε τοῖς σατράπαις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν γράμματα, χρήματα Δημοσθένει διδόναι κελεύων, καὶ προσέχειν ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς περισπᾶσαι δυναμένῳ καὶ κατασχεῖν ταῖς Ἑλλη-
- 5 νικαῖς ταραχαῖς τὸν Μακεδόνα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐφώρασεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐπιστολὰς τινὰς ἀνευρὼν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ γράμματα τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, δηλοῦντα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

XXI. Τότε δὲ τῆς ἀτυχίας τοῖς Ἑλλησι γεγεννημένης οἱ μὲν ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι ῥήτορες

duct that was honourable or consonant with his words, but forsook his post, cast away his arms, and ran away most disgracefully, nor was he ashamed to belie the inscription on his shield, as Pytheas said, whereon was written in letters of gold, "With good fortune."

Immediately after his victory, then, Philip waxed insolent for joy, and going forth in revel rout to see the bodies of the slain, and being in his cups, recited the beginning of the decree introduced by Demosthenes, dividing it into feet and marking off the time:—

"Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of Paeania, thus moves;"¹

but when he got sober and realized the magnitude of the struggle in which he had been involved, he shuddered at the power and the ability of the orator who had forced him to hazard his empire and his life in the brief span of a single day. And the fame of this orator penetrated even to the Persian king, who sent letters to his satraps on the coast, bidding them to offer money to Demosthenes, and to pay more attention to him than to any other Greek, since he was able to distract and detain the Macedonian² with the troubles which he raised in Greece. These things, now, were discovered at a later time by Alexander, who found at Sardis certain letters of Demosthenes and documents of the King's generals, which disclosed the amount of money they had given him.

XXI. At this time, however, when their disaster fell upon the Greeks, the orators of the opposing

¹ The Greek words form an iambic tetrameter catalectic.

² Philip was threatening the invasion of Asia.

- ἐπεμβαίνοντες τῷ Δημοσθένει κατεσκέυαζον εὐ-
θύνας καὶ γραφὰς ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐ μόνον
τούτων ἀπέλυεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν διετέλει καὶ
προκαλούμενος αὐθις ὡς εὖνουν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν,
2 ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὀστέων ἐκ Χαιρωνείας κομισθέντων
καὶ θαπτομένων τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔπαινον
εἰπεῖν ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ ταπεινῶς οὐδ' ἀγεννῶς φέρων
τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὡς γράφει καὶ τραγωδεῖ Θεό-
πομπος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμᾶν μάλιστα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν
σύμβουλον ἀποδεικνύμενος τὸ μὴ μεταμέλестαι
3 τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις. τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον εἶπεν
ὁ Δημοσθένης, τοῖς δὲ ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἑαυτόν,
ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον ἐπέγραφεν,
ἐξοιωνιζόμενος τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην,
ἕως αὐθις ἀνεθάρρησε Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος.
ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν εὐτυχίᾳ χρόνον
οὐ πολλὸν ἐπιβιώσας· καὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ τῷ τελευ-
ταίῳ τῶν ἐπῶν ὁ χρησμὸς ἀποθεσπίσαι·

κλαίει ὁ νικηθεὶς, ὁ δὲ νικῆσας ἀπόλωλεν.

XXII. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν κρύφα τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου
τελευτὴν ὁ Δημοσθένης, προκαταλαμβάνων δὲ
τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
προῆλθε φαιδρὸς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὡς ὄναρ ἑώρα-
κὼς ἀφ' οὗ τι μέγα προσδοκᾶν Ἀθηναίοις
ἀγαθόν· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆσαν οἱ τὸν Φιλίπ-

party assailed Demosthenes and prepared reckonings and indictments against him; but the people not only absolved him from these, nay, they actually continued to honour him and invited him again, as a loyal man, to take part in public affairs. Consequently, when the bones of those who had fallen at Chaeroneia were brought home for burial, they assigned to him the honour of pronouncing the eulogy over the men; nor did they show a base or ignoble spirit under the calamity which had befallen them, as Theopompus writes in his inflated style, but by the special honour and respect which they paid to their counsellor they made it manifest that they did not repent of the counsels he had given them. The oration, then, was pronounced by Demosthenes, but to the decrees which he proposed he would not put his own name, but rather those of his friends, one after the other, avoiding his own as inauspicious and unfortunate, until he once more took courage upon Philip's death. And Philip died, surviving his success at Chaeroneia only a short time;¹ and this, it would seem, was foretold by the last verse of the oracle:—

“Tears are for the conquered there, and for the conqueror, death.”

XXII. Now, Demosthenes had secret intelligence of Philip's death, and by way of inspiring the Athenians with courage for the future, he came forth to the council with a glad countenance, declaring that he had had a dream which led him to expect some great blessing for Athens; and not long afterwards the messengers came with tidings of

¹ Philip was assassinated by Pausanias, one of his royal bodyguard, in 336 B.C. See the *Alexander*, x. 4.

- που θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλοντες. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔθουον
 εὐαγγέλια καὶ στεφανοῦν ἐψηφίσαντο Πανσανίαν.
- 2 καὶ προῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔχων λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον
 ἐστεφανωμένος, ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς
 αὐτοῦ τεθνηκυίας, ὡς ὁ Αἰσχίνης φησὶ λοιδορῶν
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ μισοτεκνίαν,
 αὐτὸς ὦν ἀγεννὴς καὶ μαλακός, εἰ τὰ πένθη καὶ
 τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς ἡμέρου καὶ φιλοστοργίου ψυχῆς
 ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀλύπως φέρειν ταῦτα
 καὶ πράως ἀπεδοκίμαζεν.
- 3 Ἐγὼ δ', ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ βασιλέως ἡμέρως
 οὔτῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐν οἷς ἡντύχησε χρησα-
 μένου πταίσασιν αὐτοῖς στεφανηφορεῖν καλῶς
 εἶχε καὶ θύειν, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ
 νεμεσητῷ καὶ ἀγεννές, ζῶντα μὲν τιμᾶν καὶ
 ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, πεσόντος δ' ὑφ' ἑτέρου μὴ 856
 φέρειν τὴν χαρὰν μετρίως, ἀλλ' ἐπισκιρτᾶν τῷ
 νεκρῷ καὶ παιωνίζειν, ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς ἀνδρα-
- 4 γαθήσαντας· ὅτι μέντοι τὰς οἴκοι τύχας καὶ
 δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς ἀπολιπὼν ταῖς γυναιξίν ὁ
 Δημοσθένης, ἃ τῇ πόλει συμφέρειν ᾤετο, ταῦτ'
 ἔπραττεν, ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τίθεμαι πολιτικῆς καὶ
 ἀνδρώδους ψυχῆς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἰστάμενον
 καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη καὶ πράγματα τοῖς δημοσίοις
 ἐπανέχοντα τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ

Philip's death. At once, then, the Athenians proceeded to make thank-offerings for glad tidings and voted a crown for Pausanias. And Demosthenes came forth in public dressed in a splendid robe and wearing a garland on his head, although his daughter had died only six days before, as Aeschines says,¹ who rails at him for this and denounces him as an unnatural father. And yet Aeschines himself was of a weak and ungenerous nature, if he considered mournings and lamentations as the signs of an affectionate spirit, but condemned the bearing of such losses serenely and without repining.

For my own part, I cannot say that it was honourable in the Athenians to crown themselves with garlands and offer sacrifices to the gods on the death of a king who, in the midst of his successes, had treated them so mildly and humanely in their reverses; for besides provoking the indignation of the gods, it was also an ignoble thing to honour him while he was alive and make him a citizen of Athens, but when he had fallen by another's hand to set no bounds to their joy, nay, to leap, as it were, upon the dead, and sing paeans of victory, as if they themselves had wrought a deed of valour. However, for leaving his domestic misfortunes and tears and lamentations to the women and going about such business as he thought advantageous to the city, I commend Demosthenes, and I hold it to be the part of a statesmanlike and manly spirit to keep ever in view the good of the community, to find support for domestic sorrows and concerns in the public welfare, and to preserve one's dignity far more than actors

¹ *Against Ctesiphon* (or *On the Crown*), § 77.

τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τυραννικῶν προσώπων, οὓς ὁρῶμεν οὔτε κλαίοντας οὔτε γελῶντας ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ὡς αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπαιτεῖ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

- 5 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τὸν ἀτυχήσαντα μὴ περιορᾶν ἀπαρηγόρητον ἐν τῷ πάθει κείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις χρῆσθαι κουφίζουσι καὶ πρὸς ἡδίῳ πράγματα τρέπειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμιῶντας ἀπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ἀντιτύπων ἐπὶ τὰ χλωρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ χρώματα τὴν ὄψιν ἀπάγειν κελεύοντες, πόθεν ἄν τις ἐπαγάγοιτο βελτίῳ παρηγορίᾳ ἢ πατρίδος εὐτυχούσης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα σύγκρασιν ποριζόμενος τοῖς βελτίοσιν ἀφανίζουσιν τὰ χεῖρω; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν ὁρῶντες ἐπικλῶντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀποθηλύνοντα τὸν Αἰσχίνην τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πρὸς οἶκτον.

- XXIII. Αἱ δὲ πόλεις πάλιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀναρριπίζοντος αὐτὰς συνίσταντο. καὶ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἐπέθεντο τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνείλουν, ὅπλα τοῦ Δημοσθένους αὐτοῖς συμπαρασκευάσαντος, Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὡς πολεμήσοντες μετ' αὐτῶν
2 παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ τὸ βῆμα κατεῖχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ στρατηγοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ἔγραφε τὸν ἐκείθεν ἐπεγεύρων πόλεμον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παῖδα καὶ Μαργίτην ἀποκαλῶν αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν θέμενος παρὴν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν,

do when they take the parts of kings and tyrants; for these, as we see in the theatres, neither weep nor laugh according to their own inclinations, but as the subject of the action demands.

And apart from these considerations, if it is our duty not to allow the unfortunate to lie comfortless in his sorrow, but to address him with cheering words and turn his thoughts to pleasanter things (like those who tell people with sore eyes to withdraw their gaze from bright and hard colours and fix it upon those which are soft and green), how can a man obtain better consolation for his domestic griefs than by blending them with the general welfare of a prosperous country, thus making the better things obscure the worse? These things, then, I have been led to say on seeing that many have their hearts softened to effeminate pity by this discourse of Aeschines.

XXIII. The cities of Greece, under the incitations of Demosthenes, now formed themselves into a league again. The Thebans, whom Demosthenes had helped to provide with arms, fell upon their Macedonian garrison and slew many of them; while the Athenians made preparations to go to war along with them. Demosthenes reigned supreme in the assembly, and wrote letters to the King's generals in Asia stirring them up to make war upon Alexander, whom he called a boy and a Margites.¹ When, however, Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country and came in person with his forces into Boeotia, prone lay the courage

¹ *i.e.* *Silly Madman*. A mock heroic poem bearing this name was attributed to Homer. Cf. Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 160.

- ἐξεκέκοπτο μὲν ἡ θρασύτης τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀπεσβήκει, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἡγωνίσαντο καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν
- 3 πόλιν ἀπέβαλον. θορύβου δὲ μεγάλου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περιεστῶτος, ἀπεστάλη μὲν ὁ Δημοσθένης αἰρεθεὶς μεθ' ἐτέρων πρεσβευτῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δείσας δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀφήκεν. εὐθύς δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξήτει πέμπων τῶν δημαγωγῶν δέκα μὲν, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Δούρις εἰρήκασιν, ὀκτὼ δ', ὡς οἱ πλείστοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, τούσδε, Δημοσθένην, Πολύευκτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Λυκούργον, Μοιροκλέα, Δήμωνα, Καλλισθένην, Χαρίδημον.
- 4 "Ὅτε καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν προβάτων λόγον ὁ Δημοσθένης προσήψε τῷ δήμῳ, ἃ¹ τοῖς λύκοις τοὺς κύνας ἐξέδωκε, διηγησάμενος αὐτὸν μὲν εἶκασε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κυσὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Μακεδόνα μονόλυκον προσηγόρευσεν. ἔτι δ', "Ὡσπερ," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἐμπόρους ὀρώμεν, ὅταν ἐν τρυβλίῳ δεῖγμα περιφέρωσι, δι' ὀλίγων πυρῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πιπράσκοντας, οὕτως ἐν ἡμῖν λανθάνετε πάντας
- 5 αὐτοὺς συνεκιδιόντες." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἱστόρηκε.

Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ διαπορούντων, ὁ Δημάδης λαβὼν πέντε τάλαντα παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡμολόγησε πρεσβεύσειν καὶ δεή-

¹ προσήψε . . . & Graux with M^a : ὥς.

of the Athenians, and Demosthenes was extinguished, while the Thebans, betrayed by their allies, fought by themselves and lost their city.¹ Then, in the midst of the great confusion which reigned at Athens, Demosthenes was chosen and sent with others as an ambassador to Alexander, but fearing the wrath of the king he turned back at Cithaeron and abandoned the embassy.² Then straightway Alexander sent to Athens a demand for the surrender to him of ten of their popular leaders, according to Idomeneus and Duris, but according to the most and most reputable writers, only eight, namely, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Moerocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes told the Athenians the story of how the sheep surrendered their dogs to the wolves, comparing himself and his fellow-orators to dogs fighting in defence of the people, and calling Alexander "the Macedonian arch-wolf." Moreover, he said further: "Just as grain-merchants sell their whole stock by means of a few kernels of wheat which they carry about with them in a bowl as a sample, so in surrendering us you unwittingly surrender also yourselves, all of you." Such, then, is the account which Aristobulus of Cassandreia has given.

The Athenians were deliberating on this demand and were at a loss how to treat it, when Demades, for five talents which he had received from the men demanded, agreed to go on an embassy to

¹ In October, 335 B.C.

² Cf. Aeschines, *On the Crown*, § 161.

σεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἴτε τῇ φιλίας πιστεύων, εἴτε προσδοκῶν μεστὸν εὐρήσειν ὥσπερ λέοντα φόνου κεκορεσμένον. ἔπεισε δ' οὖν καὶ παρητήσατο τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Δημάδης, καὶ διήλλαξεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν.

XXIV. Ἀπελθόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλοι 857 μὲν ἦσαν οὗτοι, ταπεινὰ δ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Δημοσθένης. κινουμένῳ δὲ Ἀγιδι τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ βραχεία συνεκινήθη πάλιν, εἴτ' ἔπτηξε, τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων οὐ συνεξαναστάντων, τοῦ δ' Ἀγιδος πεσόντος καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συντριβέντων.

Εἰσήχθη δὲ τότε καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφὴ κατὰ Κτησιφώντος, γραφείσα μὲν ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῶν Χαιρωνι-
2 κῶν, κριθεῖσα δ' ὕστερον ἔτεσι δέκα ἐπ' Ἀριστοφώντος, γενομένη δὲ ὡς οὐδεμία τῶν δημοσίων περιβόητος διὰ τε τὴν δόξαν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαζόντων εὐγένειαν, οἱ τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι τὸν Δημοσθένην τότε πλείστον δυναμένοις καὶ μακεδονίζουσιν οὐ προήκαντο τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψήφον, ἀλλ' οὕτω λαμπρῶς ἀπέλυσαν ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων Αἰσχίνην μὴ μεταλαβεῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως

¹ From 333 B.C. to 330 B.C., Agis III., the king of Sparta, carried on war against Macedonia in conjunction with Persia. In the latter year he was defeated and slain by Antipater, Alexander's regent in Macedonia.

² In 336 B.C., Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes receive a golden crown for certain public services, and Aeschines indicted Ctesiphon for proposing an illegal measure. The document (*Demos. De Cor.* § 54), from which Plutarch takes

the king and entreat him in their behalf; either because he relied on the friendship of Alexander, or because he expected to find him sated, like a lion glutted with slaughter. At any rate, Demades persuaded the king to let the men off, and reconciled him with the city.

XXIV. So when Alexander went back to Macedonia, Demades and his associates were high in power, but Demosthenes acted a humble part. It is true that when Agis the Spartan was active in revolt Demosthenes once more made a feeble effort in his support, but then he cowered down, since the Athenians would not join in the uprising. Agis fell in battle, and the Lacedaemonians were crushed.¹

It was at this time that the indictment against Ctesiphon in the matter of the crown came on for trial. It had been prepared in the archonship of Chaerondas a little before the battle of Chaeroneia, but came on for trial ten years later² in the archonship of Aristophon. It became the most celebrated of all public causes, not only on account of the fame of the orators, but also because of the noble conduct of the judges, who, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then at the height of power and acting in the interests of Macedonia, would not vote against him, but acquitted him so decisively that Aeschines did not get a fifth part of their ballots.³ Consequently, Aeschines forsook the city at once, and spent the

the name of Chaerondas, the archon of 338, has been shown to be spurious. The case was tried in 330 B.C.

³ This made Aeschines liable to a fine of 1,000 drachmas, and made it impossible for him to bring any future action before an Athenian court.

ᾧχετ' ἀπιών, καὶ περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε.

- XXV. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' Ἀρπαλος ἦκεν ἐξ Ἀσίας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδρὰς Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτῷ τε πράγματα συνειδὼς πονηρὰ δι' ἀσωτίαν, κακείνον ἤδη χαλεπὸν ὄντα τοῖς φίλοις δεδοικώς. καταφυγόντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτὸν παραδιδόντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ῥήτορες εὐθὺς ἐποφθαλμιάσαντες πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνέπειθον τοὺς
- 2 Ἀθηναίους δέχεσθαι καὶ σώζειν τὸν ἰκέτην. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελαύνειν συνεβούλευε τὸν Ἀρπαλον, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς πόλεμον ἐξ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἀδίκου προφάσεως· ἡμέραις δ' ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἐξεταζομένων τῶν χρημάτων ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρπαλος ἡσθέντα βαρβαρικῇ κύλικι καὶ καταμανθάνοντα τὴν τορείαν καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐκέλευσε διαβαστάσαντα τὴν ὀλκὴν τοῦ χρυσίου σκέψασθαι.
- 3 θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ βάρος καὶ πυθομένου πόσον ἄγει, μειδιάσας ὁ Ἀρπαλος, “Ἀξει σοι,” φησὶν, “εἴκοσι τάλαντα” καὶ γενομένης τάχιστα τῆς νυκτὸς ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὴν κύλικα μετὰ τῶν εἴκοσι ταλάντων. ἦν δ' ἄρα δεινὸς ὁ Ἀρπαλος ἐρωτικοῦ πρὸς χρυσίον ἄνδρὸς ὅψει καὶ διαχύσει καὶ βολαῖς ὀμμάτων
- 4 ἀνευρεῖν ἠθός. οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης,

rest of his life as a teacher of rhetoric in Rhodes and Ionia.

XXV. Not long afterwards Harpalus¹ came out of Asia to Athens. He had run away from Alexander, because he was conscious that his prodigality had led him into criminal practices, and because he was afraid of his master, who was now become harsh to his friends. But after he had taken refuge with the Athenian people and put himself in their hands with his ships and his treasures, the other orators at once fixed their longing eyes upon his wealth, came to his aid, and tried to persuade the Athenians to receive and save the suppliant. But Demosthenes, in the beginning, counselled them to drive Harpalus away, and to beware lest they plunge the city into war upon an unnecessary and unjust ground; a few days afterwards, however, while they were making an inventory of the treasure, Harpalus saw that Demosthenes was eyeing with pleasure a cup of barbarian make, with a keen appreciation of its fashion and of the ornamental work upon it. He therefore bade him poise it in his hand and see how heavy the gold was. And when Demosthenes was amazed at its weight and asked how much it would amount to, Harpalus smiled and said, "For you it will amount to twenty talents;" and as soon as night was come he sent him the cup with the twenty talents. Now, Harpalus was skilful in detecting the character of a man who had a passion for gold, by means of the look that spread over his face and the glances of his eyes. For Demosthenes could not resist, but was overcome by the

¹ Alexander's treasurer. He came to Athens in 324 B.C

ἀλλὰ πληγείς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥσπερ παρα-
 δεδεγμένος φρουρὰν προσκεχωρήκει τῷ Ἀρπάλῳ.
 καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν εὖ καὶ καλῶς ἐρίοις καὶ ταινίαις
 κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου καθελιξάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκ-
 κλησίαν προῆλθε· καὶ κελευόντων ἀνίστασθαι
 καὶ λέγειν, διένευεν ὡς ἀποκεκομμένης αὐτῷ τῆς
 5 φωνῆς. οἱ δ' εὐφυεῖς χλευάζοντες οὐχ ὑπὸ
 συνάγχης ἔφραζον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀργυράγχης εἰλήφθαι
 νύκτωρ τὸν δημαγωγόν. ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ δήμου
 παντὸς αἰσθομένου τὴν δωροδοκίαν καὶ βουλό-
 μενον ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πείθειν οὐκ ἐῶντος, ἀλλὰ
 χαλεπαίνοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος, ἀναστάς τις
 ἔσκωψεν εἰπών· “Οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ τὴν κύλिका ἔχοντος;”

6 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸν
 Ἀρπαλον, δεδιότες δὲ μὴ λόγον ἀπαιτῶνται χρη-
 μάτων ὧν διηρπάκεσαν οἱ ῥήτορες, ζήτησιν ἐποι-
 οῦντο νεανικὴν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπιόντες ἠρεύνων,
 πλὴν τῆς Καλλικλέους τοῦ Ἀρρενίδου. μόνην
 γὰρ τὴν τούτου νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότος οὐκ εἶσαν
 ἐλεγχθῆναι, νύμφης ἔνδον οὔσης, ὡς ἱστορεῖ
 Θεόπομπος.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὁμόσε χωρῶν εἰσῆ-
 νεγκε ψήφισμα τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν
 ἐξετάσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνη δόξαντας
 ἀδικεῖν δοῦναι δίκην. ἐν δὲ πρώτοις αὐτοῦ τῆς
 Βουλῆς ἐκείνου καταψηφισαμένης, εἰσῆλθε μὲν

bribe, and now that he had, as it were, admitted a garrison into his house, promptly went over to the side of Harpalus. Next day, after swathing his neck carefully in woollen bandages, he went forth into the assembly; and when he was urged to rise and speak, he made signs that his voice was ruined. The wits, however, by way of raillery, declared that the orator had been seized overnight, not with an ordinary quinsy, but with a silver quinsy. And afterwards, when the whole people learned that he had been bribed, and would not permit him, when he wished it, to have a hearing and make his defence, but were angry and raised a tumult against him, someone rose and said jokingly: "Men of Athens, will you not listen to the man who holds the cup?"¹

At that time, then, they sent Harpalus away from the city, and fearing lest they should be called to account for the moneys which the orators had seized, they made a zealous search for it, and went round to their houses on the quest, except that of Callicles the son of Arrhenides. For his house was the only one which they would not allow to be searched, since he was newly married and his bride was within, as Theopompus relates.

XXVI. But Demosthenes put a bold face on the matter and introduced a bill providing that the case should be referred for investigation to the council of the Areiopagus, and that those should be brought to trial who were found guilty there. He was himself, however, among the first condemned by the council, and came before the court for trial,

¹ At feasts, the cup passed from guest to guest, and the one who held it had the right of uninterrupted speech or song.

- εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὁφλὼν δὲ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων δίκην καὶ παραδοθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον,
- 2 αἰσχύνῃ τῆς αἰτίας φησὶ¹ καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ 858 σώματος οὐ δυναμένου φέρειν τὸν εἰργμὸν ἀποδρᾶναι τοὺς μὲν λαθόντα, τῶν δὲ λαθεῖν ἐξουσίαν δόντων. λέγεται γοῦν ὥς οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ ἄστεος φεύγων αἰσθοιτό τινας τῶν διαφόρων αὐτῷ πολιτῶν ἐπιδιώκοντας, καὶ βούλοιτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπο-
- 3 κρύπτειν, ὥς δ' ἐκείνοι φθεγξάμενοι τοῦνομα καὶ προσελθόντες ἐγγὺς ἐδέοντο λαβεῖν ἐφόδια παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κομίζοντες ἀργύριον οἴκοθεν καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐπιδιώξαντες αὐτόν, ἅμα δὲ θαρρεῖν παρεκάλουν καὶ μὴ φέρειν ἀνιαρῶς τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀνακλαύσασθαι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ εἰπεῖν. “Πῶς δ' οὐ μέλλω φέρειν βαρέως ἀπολιπὼν πόλιν ἐχθροὺς τοιούτους ἔχουσιν οἷους ἐν ἑτέρᾳ φίλους εὑρεῖν οὐ ρᾶδιόν ἐστιν;”
- 4 Ἦνεγκε δὲ τὴν φυγὴν μαλακῶς, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Τροιζήνι καθεζόμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβλέπων δεδακρυμένος, ὥστε φωνὰς οὐκ εὐγνώμονας οὐδ' ὁμολογούσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ νεανιεύμασιν ἀπομνημονεύεσθαι. λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰπεῖν. “ὦ δέσποινα Πολιάς, τί δὴ τρισὶ τοῖς χαλεπώτατοις χαίρεις θηρίοις, γλαυκὶ καὶ δράκοντι καὶ

¹ φησὶ Reiske, and Graux with M^a: φασί.

where he was sentenced to a fine of fifty talents and delivered over to prison in default of payment. But out of shame at the charge under which he lay, as he says,¹ and owing to the weakness of his body, which could not endure confinement, he ran away, through the carelessness of some of his keepers and the connivance of others. At any rate, we are told that when he was in flight at a short distance from the city, he learned that some of the citizens who were his enemies were in pursuit of him, and therefore wished to hide himself; and when they called upon him loudly by name, and came up near to him, and begged him to accept from them provision for his journey, declaring that they were bringing money from home for this very purpose, and were pursuing him only in order to get it to him; and when at the same time they exhorted him to be of good courage and not to be pained at what had happened, Demosthenes broke out all the more into cries of grief, saying: "Surely I must be distressed to leave a city where my enemies are as generous as I can hardly find friends to be in another."

And he bore his exile without fortitude, taking up his quarters in Aegina and Troezen for the most part, and looking off towards Attica with tears in his eyes, so that utterances of his are on record which are not generous or consonant with his spirited efforts as a statesman. We are told, namely, that as he was leaving the city he lifted up his hands towards the acropolis and said: "O potent Guardian of the City, Athena, how, pray, canst thou take delight in those three most intractable beasts, the

¹ In the second of the letters which have come down to us under his name, § 17.

5 δῆμῳ; ” τοὺς δὲ προσιόντας αὐτῷ καὶ συνδιατρίβοντας νεανίσκους ἀπέτρεπε τῆς πολιτείας λέγων ὥς εἰ, δυεῖν προκειμένων ὁδῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τῆς δ’ ἀντικρυς εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον, ἐτύγχανε προειδῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν κακά, φόβους καὶ φθόνους καὶ διαβολὰς καὶ ἀγῶνας, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἂν ὀρμήσαι τὴν εὐθὺ τοῦ θανάτου τείνουσαν.

XXVII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι φεύγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρημένην φυγὴν Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε, τὰ δ’ Ἑλληνικὰ συνίσταντο πάλιν, Λεωσθένους ἀνδραγαθοῦντος καὶ περιτειχίζοντος Ἀντίπατρον
 2 ἐν Λαμῖα πολιορκούμενον. Πυθέας μὲν οὖν ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν φεύγοντες Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσεγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων καὶ πρέσβων περιϊόντες οὐκ εἶων ἀφίστασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲ προσέχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Δημοσθένης δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἄσπερος πρεσβεύουσι προσμίξας ἑαυτὸν ἡγωνίζετο καὶ συνέπραττεν ὅπως αἱ πόλεις συνεπιθήσονται τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ συνεκβαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἑλλά-
 3 δος. ἐν δ’ Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ λοιδορίαν τοῦ Πυθέου καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένους γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγοντος. λέγεται δὲ τὸν μὲν Πυθέαν εἰπεῖν ὅτι, καθάπερ οἰκίαν εἰς ἣν ὄνειον εἰσφέρεται γάλα, κακόν τι πάντως ἔχειν νομίζομεν, οὕτω καὶ πόλιν ἀνάγκη νοσεῖν εἰς ἣν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεῖα παρα-

owl, the serpent, and the people?" Moreover, when young men came to visit and converse with him, he would try to deter them from public life, saying that if two roads had been presented to him in the beginning, one leading to the bema and the assembly, and the other straight to destruction, and if he could have known beforehand the evils attendant on a public career, namely, fears, hatreds, calumnies and contentions, he would have taken that road which led directly to death.

XXVII. But while he was still undergoing the exile of which I have spoken, Alexander died,¹ and the Greek states proceeded to form a league again, while Leosthenes was displaying deeds of valour and walling Antipater up in Lamia, where he held him in siege. Accordingly, the orators Pytheas and Callimedon (called the Stag-beetle) fled from Athens and joined the party of Antipater, and travelling about with the regent's friends and ambassadors tried to prevent the Greeks from revolting or attaching themselves to Athens; but Demosthenes, joining himself to the ambassadors from Athens, used his utmost efforts in helping them to induce the cities to unite in attacking the Macedonians and expelling them from Greece. And Phylarchus states that in Arcadia Pytheas and Demosthenes actually fell to abusing one another in an assembly, the one speaking in behalf of the Macedonians, the other in behalf of the Greeks. Pytheas, we are told, said that just as we think that a house into which asses' milk is brought must certainly have some evil in it, so also a city must of necessity be diseased into which an Athenian embassy comes; whereupon

¹ At Babylon, in May, 323 B.C.

4 γίνεται· τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην στρέψαι τὸ παρά-
δειγμα, φήσαντα καὶ τὸ γάλα τὸ ὄνειον ἐφ' ὑγιείᾳ
καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παραγίνεσθαι
τῶν νοσούντων.

Ἐφ' οἷς ἡσθεῖς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ψηφί-
ζεται τῷ Δημοσθένει κάθοδον. τὸ μὲν οὖν
ψηφισμα Δήμων ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνεψιὸς ὢν Δη-
μοσθένους, εἰσήνεγκεν· ἐπέμφθη δὲ τριήρης ἐπ'
5 αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγιναν. ἐκ δὲ Πειραιῶς ἀνέβαιεν
οὔτε ἄρχοντας οὔτε ἱερέως ἀπολειφθέντος, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὁμοῦ πάντων ἀπαντών-
των καὶ δεχομένων προθύμως. ὅτε καὶ φησιν
αὐτὸν ὁ Μάγνης Δημήτριος ἀνατείναντα τὰς
χεῖρας μακαρίσαι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης αὐτόν, ὡς
βέλτιον Ἀλκιβιάδου κατιόντα· πεπεισμένους
γάρ, οὐ βεβιασμένους, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι τοὺς
6 πολίτας. τῆς δὲ χρηματικῆς ζημίας αὐτῷ μενού-
σης (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν χάριτι λῦσαι καταδίκην) ἐσοφί- 859
σαντο πρὸς τὸν νόμον. εἰωθότες γὰρ ἐν τῇ
θυσίᾳ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀργύριον τελεῖν
τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι καὶ κοσμοῦσι τὸν βωμόν,
ἐκείνῳ τότε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν πεντή-
κοντα ταλάντων ἐξέδωκαν, ὅσον ἦν τίμημα τῆς
καταδίκης.

XXVIII. Οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέλανε
τῆς πατρίδος κατελθών, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ τῶν Ἑλληνι-
κῶν πραγμάτων συντριβέντων Μεταγεινιῶνος
μὲν ἢ περὶ Κραννῶνα μάχῃ συνέπεσε, Βοηδρο-

Demosthenes turned the illustration against him by saying that asses' milk was given to restore health, and the Athenians came to bring salvation to the sick.

At this conduct the Athenian people were delighted, and voted that Demosthenes might return from exile. The decree was brought in by Demon of Paiania, who was a cousin of Demosthenes; and a trireme was sent to Aegina to fetch him home. When he set out to go up to the city from Piraeus, not an archon or a priest was missing, and all the rest of the people also met him in a body and welcomed him eagerly. It was at this time, too, as Demetrius the Magnesian says, that he lifted his hands towards heaven and blessed himself for that day, since he was coming home from exile more honourably than Alcibiades did; for he had persuaded, not forced, his fellow-citizens to welcome him. It is true that his pecuniary fine remained standing against him (for it was not lawful to remit an assessment by act of grace), but they found a device to evade the law. It was their custom, namely, in the case of a sacrifice to Zeus the Saviour, to pay a sum of money to those who prepared and adorned the altar, and they now gave Demosthenes the contract to make these preparations for fifty talents, which was just the amount of his assessment.

XXVIII. However, he did not enjoy his native city for long after his return from exile, but the cause of Greece was speedily crushed, and in the month of Metageitnion the battle at Crannon took place,¹ in that of Boëdromion the Macedonian

¹ August 6th, 322 B.C. In this battle Antipater and Craterus crushed the combined armies of the Greeks and concluded the so-called Lamian war.

μιῶνος δὲ παρήλθεν εἰς Μουνυχίαν ἢ φρουρά,
Πυανειῶνος δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀπέθανε τόνδε τὸν
τρόπον.

- 2 Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κρατερὸς ἡγγέλλοντο
προσιόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Δη-
μοσθένην φθάσαντες ὑπεξήλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως,
ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῶν θάνατον κατέγνω Δημάδου
γράψαντος. ἄλλων δὲ ἄλλαχού διασπαρέντων
ὁ Ἀντίπατρος περιέπεμπε τοὺς συλλαμβάνοντας,
ὧν ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἀρχίας ὁ κληθεὶς φυγαδοθήρας.
- 3 τοῦτον δὲ Θούριον ὄντα τῷ γένει λόγος ἔχει τρα-
γωδίας ὑποκρίνεσθαι ποτε, καὶ τὸν Αἰγινήτην
Πῶλον τὸν ὑπερβαλόντα τῇ τέχνῃ πάντας ἐκεί-
νου γεγονέναι μαθητὴν ἱστοροῦσιν. Ἑρμιππος
δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου τοῦ ῥήτορος
μαθηταῖς¹ ἀναγράφει· Δημήτριος δὲ τῆς Ἀναξιμέ-
4 νους διατριβῆς μετεσχηκέναι φησὶν αὐτόν. οὗτος
οὖν ὁ Ἀρχίας Ὑπερείδην μὲν τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ
Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Μαραθώνιον καὶ τὸν Δημητρίου
τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀδελφὸν Ἱμεραῖον ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κατα-
φυγόντας ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον ἀποσπάσας ἔπεμψεν
εἰς Κλεωνὰς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον· καὶ κεῖ διεφθά-
ρησαν, Ὑπερείδου δὲ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκτμη-
θῆναι λέγουσι.

XXIX. Τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην πυθόμενος ἰκέτην
ἐν Καλαυρία ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ποσειδῶνος καθέζεσθαι,
διαπλεύσας ὑπηρετικοῖς καὶ ἀποβὰς μετὰ Θρα-
κῶν δορυφόρων ἔπειθεν ἀναστάντα βαδίζειν μετ'
αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὡς δυσχερὲς πεισόμενον

¹ μαθηταῖς with Reiske, Coraës, Bekker, and M^a (Graux):
μαθητήν.

garrison entered Munychia, and in that of Pyanepsion Demosthenes died, in the following manner.

When Antipater and Craterus were reported to be advancing upon Athens, Demosthenes and his associates succeeded in escaping by stealth from the city, and the people, on motion of Demades, passed sentence of death upon them. Since they dispersed themselves to different places, Antipater sent his soldiers about to arrest them, under the command of Archias the so-called Exile-hunter. This man was a native of Thurii, and the story goes that he was once a tragic actor; indeed, it is recorded that Polus of Aegina, the best actor of his time, was a pupil of his. But Hermippus states that Archias was one of the pupils of Lacritus the rhetorician; while Demetrius says that he belonged to the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, then, finding that Hypereides the orator and Aristonicus of Marathon and Himeraeus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Aeacus at Aegina, haled them away and sent them to Antipater at Cleonae. There they were put to death, and Hypereides, it is said, also had his tongue cut out.

XXIX. Moreover, on learning that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Poseidon at Calauria, Archias sailed across to the island in small boats, and after landing with Thracian spearmen tried to persuade the fugitive to leave the temple and go with him to Antipater, assuring him that he would suffer no harsh treatment. But

- 2 οὐδέν. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐτύγχανεν ὄψιν ἑωρακῶς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλλόκοτον. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ τραγωδίαν ὑποκρινόμενος, εὐημερῶν δὲ καὶ κατέχων τὸ θέατρον ἐνδείᾳ παρασκευῆς καὶ χορηγίας κρατεῖσθαι. διὸ τοῦ Ἀρχίου πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθέντος ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἐτύγγατε καθήμενος, “ὦ Ἀρχία,” εἶπεν, “οὔτε ὑποκρινόμενός με ἔπεισας πώποτε οὔτε νῦν πεί-
3 σεις ἐπαγγελλόμενος.” ἀρξαμένου δ’ ἀπειλεῖν τοῦ Ἀρχίου μετ’ ὀργῆς, “Νῦν,” ἔφη, “λέγεις τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ τρίποδος, ἄρτι δ’ ὑπεκρίνου. μικρὸν οὖν ἐπίσχες, ὅπως ἐπιστείλω τι τοῖς οἴκοι.” καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐντὸς ἀνεχώρησε τοῦ ναοῦ· καὶ λαβὼν βιβλίον ὡς γράφειν μέλλων προσήνεγκε τῷ στόματι τὸν κύλαμον, καὶ δακῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ γράφειν εἰώθει, χρόνον τινὰ κατέσχευ, εἶτα συγκαλυψύμενος
4 ἀπέκλινε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὰς θύρας ἐστῶτες δορυφόροι κατεγέλων ὡς ἀποδειλιῶντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαλακὸν ἀπεκάλουν καὶ ἄνανδρον, ὁ δ’ Ἀρχίας προσελθὼν ἀνίστασθαι παρεκάλει, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν λόγους αὐθις ἐπηγγέλλετο διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. ἤδη δὲ συνησθημένος ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐμπεφυκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ κρατοῦντος ἐξεκαλύψατο· καὶ διαβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίαν,
5 “Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις,” εἶπεν, “ἤδη τὸν ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας ὑποκρινόμενος Κρέοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα

it chanced that Demosthenes, in his sleep the night before, had seen a strange vision. He dreamed, namely, that he was acting in a tragedy and contending with Archias for the prize, and that although he acquitted himself well and won the favour of the audience, his lack of stage decorations and costumes cost him the victory. Therefore, after Archias had said many kindly things to him, Demosthenes, just as he sat, looked steadfastly at him and said: "O Archias, thou didst never convince me by thine acting, nor wilt thou now convince me by thy promises." And when Archias began to threaten him angrily, "Now," said he, "thou utterest the language of the Macedonian oracle;¹ but a moment ago thou wert acting a part. Wait a little, then, that I may write a message to my family." With these words, he retired into the temple, and taking a scroll, as if about to write, he put his pen to his mouth and bit it, as he was wont to do when thinking what he should write, and kept it there some time, then covered and bent his head. The spear-men, then, who stood at the door, laughed at him for playing the coward, and called him weak and unmanly, but Archias came up and urged him to rise, and reiterating the same speeches as before, promised him a reconciliation with Antipater. But Demosthenes, now conscious that the poison was affecting and overpowering him, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon Archias, "Thou canst not be too soon now," said he, "in playing the part of Creon in the tragedy and casting this

¹ *i.e.* thy real sentiments, in obedience to Antipater.

τοῦτο ρίπτων ἄταφον. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ φίλε Πόσειδον, ἔτι ζῶν ἐξανισταμαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ· τῷ δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐδ' ὁ σὸς ναὸς καθαρὸς ἀπολέλειπται." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καὶ κελεύσας ὑπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἤδη τρέμοντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον, ἅμα τῷ προελθεῖν καὶ παραλλάξαι τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε καὶ στενάξας ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν.

- XXX. Τὸ δὲ φάρμακον Ἀρίστων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ 860
καλάμου λαβεῖν φησιν αὐτόν, ὡς εἴρηται· Πάπ-
πος δέ τις, οὗ τὴν ἱστορίαν Ἑρμιππος ἀνείληφε,
φησί, πεσόντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν μὲν τῷ
βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένην ἐπιστολῆς ἀρχὴν εὑρεθῆναι,
" Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ," καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο·
2 θαυμαζομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὀξύτητος
διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θύραις Θυρῆας ὡς ἕκ-
τινος ῥακίου λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα προσθοῖτο τῷ
στόματι καὶ καταπίοι τὸ φάρμακον· αὐτοὶ δ' ἄρα
χρυσὸν ᾤήθησαν εἶναι τὸ καταπινόμενον· ἢ δ'
ὑπηρετοῦσα παιδίσκη, πυνθανομένων τῶν περὶ
τὸν Ἀρχίαν, φαίη πολὺν εἶναι χρόνον ἐξ οὗ
φοροίη τὸν ἀπόδεσμον ἐκείνῳ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς
3 φυλακτήριον. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν
κρίκῳ φησί κοίλῳ τὸ φάρμακον φυλάσσειν· τὸν
δὲ κρίκον εἶναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ φόρημα περιβραχιό-
νιον. τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὅσοι γεγράφασι περὶ αὐτοῦ,
· πάμπολλοι δέ εἰσι, τὰς διαφορὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον
4 ἐπεξελθεῖν· πλὴν ὅτι Δημοχάρης ὁ τοῦ Δημο-

body out without burial.¹ But I, O beloved Poseidon, will depart from thy sanctuary while I am still alive; whereas Antipater and the Macedonians would not have left even thy temple undefiled." So speaking, and bidding someone support him, since he was now trembling and tottering, he had no sooner gone forth and passed by the altar than he fell, and with a groan gave up the ghost.

XXX. As for the poison, Ariston says he took it from the pen, as I have said; but a certain Pappus, from whom Hermippus took his story, says that when he had fallen by the side of the altar, there was found written in the scroll the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more; and that when men were amazed at the suddenness of his death the Thracians who had stood at the door told the story that he took the poison into his hand from a cloth and put it to his mouth and swallowed it; and that they themselves, strange to say, had supposed that what he swallowed was gold; and that the little maid who served him, when inquiries were made by Archias, said that Demosthenes had long worn that cloth girdle as a safeguard against his enemies. And even Eratosthenes himself says that Demosthenes kept the poison in a hollow bracelet, and that he wore this bracelet as an ornament upon his arm. But the divergent stories of all the others who have written about the matter, and they are very many, need not be recounted; except that Demochares the relative of Demosthenes says

¹ An allusion to the Creon in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, by whose edict the body of Polyneices was to be left unburied (vv. 26 ff., 191 ff.).

σθένους οἰκέϊος οἶεσθαί φησιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκου, θεῶν δὲ τιμῇ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ὠμότητος ἐξαρπαγῆναι, συντόμως καταστρέψαντα καὶ ἀλύπως. κατέστρεψε δὲ ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾗ τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραν ἄγουσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες.

- 5 Τούτῳ μὲν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἀξίαν ἀποδιδούς τιμὴν εἰκόνα τε χαλκῇν ἀνέστησε καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἐν Πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν ἔχειν. καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐπεγράφη τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος·

εἴπερ ἴσῃν ῥώμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, εἶχες,
οὐποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.

οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες ἐν Καλαυρία, μέλλοντα τὸ φάρμακον προσφέρεισθαι, κομιδῇ φλυαροῦσι.

- XXXI. Μικρὸν δὲ πρόσθεν ἢ παραβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς Ἀθήναζε λέγεται τι τοιόνδε συμβῆναι. στρατιώτης ἐπὶ κρίσιν τινὰ καλούμενος ὑφ' ἡγεμόνος, ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίδιον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐνέθηκε τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἔστηκε δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους συνέχων δι' ἀλλήλων, καὶ παραπέφυκεν οὐ μεγάλη
2 πλάτανος. ἀπὸ ταύτης πολλὰ τῶν φύλλων, εἴτε

¹ An annual festival in honour of Demeter and Persephone.

² This statue, the work of Polyectus, was erected in 280-279 B.C., on motion of Demochares, a nephew of Demos-

that in his opinion it was not due to poison, but to the honour and kindly favour shown him by the gods, that he was rescued from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and painless death. And he died on the sixteenth of the month Pyanepsion, the most gloomy day of the Thesmophoria,¹ which the women observe by fasting in the temple of the goddess.

It was to this man, a little while after his death, that the Athenian people paid worthy honour by erecting his statue² in bronze, and by decreeing that the eldest of his house should have public maintenance in the prytaneium. And this celebrated inscription was inscribed upon the pedestal of his statue :—

“ If thy strength had only been equal to thy purposes,
Demosthenes,
Never would the Greeks have been ruled by a
Macedonian Ares.”

Of course those who say that Demosthenes himself composed these lines in Calauria, as he was about to put the poison to his lips, talk utter nonsense.

XXXI. Now, a short time before I took up my abode in Athens, the following incident is said to have occurred. A soldier who had been called to an account by his commander, put what little gold he had into the hands of this statue of Demosthenes. It stood with its fingers interlaced, and hard by grew a small plane-tree. Many of the leaves from this tree, whether the wind accidentally

thenes. The well-known marble statue of Demosthenes in the Vatican is thought to be a copy of it. See Pausanias, i. 8, 2, with Frazer's notes.

πνεύματος ἐκ τύχης καταβαλόντος, εἴτ' αὐτὸς οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλυψε, περικείμενα καὶ συμπεσόντα λαθεῖν ἐποίησε τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον. ὥς δ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπανελθὼν ἀνεῦρε καὶ διεδόθη λόγος ὑπὲρ τούτου, πολλοὶ τῶν εὐφυνῶν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντες εἰς τὸ ἀδωροδόκητον τοῦ Δημοσθένους διημιλλῶντο τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι.

- 3 Δημάδην δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν ἀπολαύσαντα τῆς φυομένης δόξης ἢ Δημοσθένους δίκη κατήγαγεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, οὗς ἐκολάκευεν αἰσχρῶς, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξολούμενον δικαίως, ἐπαχθῇ μὲν ὄντα καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς, τότε δ' εἰς αἰτίαν ἄφυκτον ἐμπεσόντα. γράμματα γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παρεκάλει Περδίκκαν ἐπιχειρεῖν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ σώζειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὥς ἀπὸ σαπροῦ καὶ παλαιοῦ στήμονος (λέγων τὸν Ἀντί-
4 πατρον) ἡρτημένους. ἐφ' οἷς Δεινάρχου τοῦ Κοριθίου κατηγορήσαντος παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Κάσσανδρος ἐγκατέσφαξεν αὐτοῦ τῷ κόλπῳ τὸν υἱόν, εἶτα οὕτως ἐκείνον ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διδασκόμενον ἀτυχήμασιν ὅτι πρῶτους ἑαυτοὺς οἱ προδόται πωλοῦσιν, ὃ πολλάκις Δημοσθένους προαγορεύοντος οὐκ ἐπίστευσε.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν Δημοσθένους ἀπέχεις, Σόσσιε, βίον ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν ἢ διηκούσαμεν.

blew them thither, or whether the depositor himself took this way of concealing his treasure, lay clustering together about the gold and hid it for a long time. At last, however, the man came back, found his treasure intact, and an account of the matter was spread abroad, whereupon the wits of the city took for a theme the incorruptibility of Demosthenes and vied with one another in their epigrams.

As for Demades, he had not long enjoyed his growing reputation when vengeance for Demosthenes brought him into Macedonia, whose people he had disgracefully flattered, only to be by them justly put to death. He had been obnoxious to them even before this, but now fell under a charge from which there was no escape. A letter of his, namely, leaked out, in which he had urged Perdiccas to seize Macedonia and deliver the Greeks, who, he said, were fastened to it only by an old and rotten thread (meaning Antipater). And when Deinarchus the Corinthian denounced him for this, Cassander¹ flew into a rage and slew the son of Demades as he stood close by his father's side, and then ordered that Demades should be likewise killed. Demades was now learning amid his extremest misfortunes that traitors sell themselves first, a truth of which Demosthenes had often assured him, but which he would not believe.

And so, Sosius,² thou hast the promised Life of Demosthenes, drawn from such written or oral sources as I could find.

¹ The son of Antipater and, later, his successor.

² See the opening sentence of the *Life*.

ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ

- I. Κικέρωνος δὲ τὴν μὲν μητέρα λέγουσιν 861
 Ἑλβίαν καὶ γεγονέναι καλῶς καὶ βεβιωκέναι,
 περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν πυθέσθαι μέτριον.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν κναφείῳ τινὶ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ
 τραφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς Τύλλον
 Ἄττικον ἀνάγουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους, βασιλεύ-
 σαντα λαμπρῶς ἐν Οὐολούσκοις καὶ πολεμή-
 2 σαντα Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἀδυνάτως. ὁ μέντοι πρῶτος
 ἐκ τοῦ γένους Κικέρων ἐπονομασθεὶς ἄξιος λόγου
 δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, διὸ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν οὐκ ἀπέρριψαν
 οἱ μετ' αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἡσπάσαντο, καίπερ ὑπὸ
 πολλῶν χλευαζομένην. κίκερα γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι
 τὸν ἐρέβινθον καλοῦσι, κακείνος ἐν τῷ πέρατι
 τῆς ῥινὸς διαστολὴν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀμβλεῖαν εἶχεν
 ὥσπερ ἐρεβίνθου διαφυήν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκτῆσατο τὴν
 3 ἐπωνυμίαν. αὐτὸς γε μὴν Κικέρων, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε
 γέγραπται, τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν οἰομένων δεῖν, ὅτε
 πρῶτον ἀρχὴν μετῆει καὶ πολιτείας ἥπτετο,
 φυγεῖν τοῦνομα καὶ μεταθέσθαι, λέγεται νεανιεν-
 σάμενος εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀγωνιεῖται τὸν Κικέρωνα τῶν
 Σκαύρων καὶ τῶν Κάτλων ἐνδοξότερον ἀποδείξαι.
 4 ταμιεύων δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνάθημα
 ποιούμενος ἀργυροῦν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δύο τῶν
 ὀνομάτων ἐπέγραψε, τὸν τε Μάρκον καὶ τὸν

CICERO

I. It is said of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, that she was well born and lived an honourable life; but of his father nothing can be learned that does not go to an extreme. For some say that he was born and reared in a fuller's shop, while others trace the origin of his family to Tullus Attius,¹ an illustrious king of the Volscians, who waged war upon the Romans with great ability. However, the first member of the family who was surnamed Cicero seems to have been worthy of note, and for that reason his posterity did not reject the surname, but were fond of it, although many made it a matter of raillery. For "cicer" is the Latin name for *chick-pea*, and this ancestor of Cicero, as it would seem, had a faint dent in the end of his nose like the cleft of a chick-pea, from which he acquired his surname. Cicero himself, however, whose Life I now write, when he first entered public life and stood for office and his friends thought he ought to drop or change the name, is said to have replied with spirit that he would strive to make the name of Cicero more illustrious than such names as Scaurus or Catulus. Moreover, when he was quaestor in Sicily and was dedicating to the gods a piece of silver plate, he had his first two names inscribed thereon, the

¹ Called Tullus Aufidius in the *Coriolanus*, xxii. 1.

Τύλλιον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου σκώπτων ἐρέβινθον ἐκέλευσε παρὰ τὰ γράμματα τὸν τεχνίτην ἐντορεῦσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἱστῶνται.

II. Τεχθῆναι δὲ Κικέρωνα λέγουσιν ἀνωδύνως καὶ ἀπόνως λοχευθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ τῶν νέων Καλανδῶν, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οἱ ἄρχοντες εὖχονται καὶ θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τῇ δὲ τίτθῃ φάσμα δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν ὡς 2 ὄφελος μέγα πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκτρεφούσῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἄλλως ὀνειράτα καὶ φλύαρον εἶναι δοκοῦντα ταχέως αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξε μαντεῖαν ἀληθινὴν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ μανθάνειν γενόμενος, δι' εὐφυΐαν ἐκλάμψας καὶ λαβὼν ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἐν τοῖς παισίν, ὥστε τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ὅψει τε βουλομένους ἰδεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς μαθήσεις ὀξύτητα καὶ σύνεσιν ἱστορήσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀγροικότερους ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς υἱέσιν ὀρώντας ἐν ταῖς 3 ὁδοῖς τὸν Κικέρωνα μέσον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ λαμβάνοντας. γενόμενος δ', ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων ἀξιοῖ τὴν φιλομαθῇ καὶ φιλόσοφον φύσιν, οἷος ἀσπάζεσθαι πᾶν μάθημα καὶ μηδὲν λόγου μηδὲ παιδείας ἀτιμάζειν εἶδος, ἐρρῦη πῶς προθυμότερον ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ. καί τι καὶ ποιημάτιον ἔτι παιδὸς αὐτοῦ διασώζεται, Πόντιος Γλαῦκος, ἐν τετρα-

¹ January 3, 103 B.C. Plutarch follows the Greek method of reckoning from a fixed point in the month. Cicero says (ante diem) III. Nonas Januarias (*ad Att.* xiii. 42, 2), the

Marcus and the Tullius, but instead of the third, by way of jest, he ordered the artificer to engrave a chick-pea in due sequence. This, then, is what is told about his name.

II. It is said that Cicero was born, without travail or pain on the part of his mother, on the third day of the new Calends,¹ the day on which at the present time the magistrates offer sacrifices and prayers for the health of the emperor. It would seem also that a phantom appeared to his nurse and foretold that her charge would be a great blessing to all the Romans. And although these presages were thought to be mere dreams and idle fancies, he soon showed them to be true prophecy; for when he was of an age for taking lessons, his natural talent shone out clear and he won name and fame among the boys, so that their fathers used to visit the schools in order to see Cicero with their own eyes and observe the quickness and intelligence in his studies for which he was extolled, though the ruder ones among them were angry at their sons when they saw them walking with Cicero placed in their midst as a mark of honour. And although he showed himself, as Plato² thought a nature should do which was fond of learning and fond of wisdom, capable of welcoming all knowledge and incapable of slighting any kind of literature or training, he lent himself with somewhat greater ardour to the art of poetry. And a little poem which he wrote when a boy is still extant, called Pontius Glaucus, Nones being the fifth of January. Strictly speaking, only the first day of the month was called the Calends, but Plutarch seems to call the opening days of the new official year "the new Calends." ² *Republic*, p. 475 b.

μέτρῳ πεποιημένον. προῖὼν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ποικιλώτερον ἀπτόμενος τῆς περὶ ταῦτα μούσης, ἔδοξεν οὐ μόνον ῥήτωρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὴς ἄριστος
4 εἶναι Ῥωμαίων. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ δόξα μέχρι νῦν διαμένει, καίπερ οὐ μικρὰς γεγενημένης περὶ τοὺς λόγους καινοτομίας, τὴν δὲ ποιητικὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν εὐφυνῶν ἐπιγενομένων, παντάπασιν ἀκλεῖ καὶ ἄτιμον ἔρρειν συμβέβηκεν.

III. Ἀπαλλαγείς δὲ τῶν ἐν παισὶ διατριβῶν Φίλωνος ἤκουσε τοῦ ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας, ὃν μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Κλειτομάχου συνήθων καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον ἐθαύμασαν καὶ διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἠγάπησαν. ἅμα δὲ τοῖς περὶ Μούκιον ἀνδράσι συνὼν πολιτι- 862 κοῖς καὶ πρωτεύουσι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς ἐμπειρίαν τῶν νόμων ὠφελεῖτο· καὶ τινα χρόνον καὶ στρατείας μετέσχευ ὑπὸ Σύλλα περὶ τὸν Μαρσικὸν
2 πόλεμον. εἴθ' ὁρῶν εἰς στάσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς στάσεως εἰς ἄκρατον ἐμπίπτοντα τὰ πράγματα μοναρχίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν σχολαστὴν καὶ θεωρητικὸν ἐλθὼν βίον Ἑλλησι συνῆν φιλολόγοις καὶ προσεῖχε τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἄχρι οὗ Σύλλας ἐκράτησε καὶ κατάστασιν τινα λαμβάνειν ἔδοξεν ἢ πόλις.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ Χρυσόγονος ἀπελεύθερος Σύλλα προσαγγείλας τινὸς οὐσίαν ὥς ἐκ προγραφῆς ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο δισχι-
3 λίων δραχμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥώσκιος ὁ υἱὸς καὶ κληρονόμος τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἠγανάκτει καὶ τὴν

¹ 90-88 B.C. It was under Pompey, however, that Cicero served (*Phil.* xii. 11, 27). ² In 82 B.C.

and composed in tetrameter verse. Moreover, as he grew older and applied himself with greater versatility to such accomplishments, he got the name of being not only the best orator, but also the best poet among the Romans. His fame for oratory abides to this day, although there have been great innovations in style; but his poetry, since many gifted poets have followed him, has altogether fallen into neglect and disrepute.

III. After he had finished the studies of boyhood, he attended the lectures of Philon the Academic, whom, above all the other disciples of Cleitomachus, the Romans admired for his eloquence and loved for his character. At the same time he consorted with Mucius Scaevola, a statesman and leader of the senate, and was helped by him to an acquaintance with the law; and for a little while he also did military service under Sulla in the war against the Marsians.¹ Then, seeing that the commonwealth was hurrying into factions, and from factions into unlimited monarchy, he betook himself to a retired and contemplative life, associated with Greek scholars, and pursued his studies, until Sulla got the mastery and the state appeared to be somewhat settled.²

About this time Chrysogonus, a freedman of Sulla's, put up at public auction the estate of a man who, as it was said, had been put to death under proscription, and bought it in himself for two thousand drachmas.³ Then Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, was indignant and set

³ In translating Cicero's "duobus millibus nummum," Plutarch erroneously reckons in denarii (which were equivalent to drachmas, or francs) instead of in sestertii (worth only one-quarter as much).

οὐσίαν ἀπεδείκνυε πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων
 ταλάντων οὖσαν ἀξίαν, ὃ τε Σύλλας ἐλεγχόμενος
 ἐχαλέπαινε καὶ δίκην πατροκτονίας ἐπῆγε τῷ
 Ῥωσκίῳ, τοῦ Χρυσογόνου κατασκευάσαντος, ἐβο-
 ῆθει δ' οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀπετρέποντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν
 4 χαλεπότητα δεδοικότες, οὕτω δὲ δι' ἐρημίαν τοῦ
 μειρακίου τῷ Κικέρωνι προσφυγόντος οἱ φίλοι
 συμπαρῳρμων, ὥς οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ λαμπροτέραν
 αὖθις ἀρχὴν πρὸς δόξαν ἑτέραν οὐδὲ καλλίω
 γενησομένην. ἀναδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν συνηγορίαν
 καὶ κατορθώσας ἐθαυμάσθη· δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν Σύλ-
 λαν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διασπείρας
 λόγον ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ θεραπείας δεομένου.
 5 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ἰσχνὸς καὶ ἄσαρκος, ἀρρωστίᾳ
 στομάχου μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα μόγις ὀψὲ τῆς
 ὥρας προσφερόμενος· ἡ δὲ φωνὴ πολλὴ μὲν καὶ
 ἀγαθή, σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ ἄπλαστος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ
 λόγου σφοδρότητα καὶ πάθος ἔχοντος αἰεὶ διὰ τῶν
 ἄνω τόνων ἐῖ. αὐνομένη φόβον παρεῖχεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 σώματος.

IV. Ἀφικομενος δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντιόχου τοῦ
 Ἀσκαλωνίτου διήκουσε, τῇ μὲν εὐροίᾳ τῶν λόγων
 αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτι κηλούμενος, ἃ δ' ἐν τοῖς δόγμα-
 σιν ἐνεωτέριζεν οὐκ ἐπαινῶν. ἤδη γὰρ ἐξίστατο
 τῆς νέας λεγομένης Ἀκαδημείας ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ
 τὴν Καρνεάδου στάσιν ἐγκατέλειπεν, εἴτε καμ-
 πτόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναργείας καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων,
 εἴτε, ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ καὶ διαφορᾷ

forth clearly that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents, whereupon Sulla, enraged to have his actions called in question, indicted Roscius for the murder of his father, Chrysogonus having trumped up the evidence. No advocate would help Roscius, but all avoided him through their fear of Sulla's cruelty, and so at last, in his destitution, the young man had recourse to Cicero. Cicero's friends encouraged him to undertake the case, arguing that he would never again have a more brilliant or a more honourable opportunity to win fame. Accordingly, he undertook the defence of Roscius,¹ won his cause, and men admired him for it; but fearing Sulla, he made a journey to Greece, after spreading a report that his health needed attention. For in fact he was spare and lean, and owing to a weakness of the stomach could only with difficulty take a little light food late in the day; his voice, however, was full and strong, but harsh and unmodulated, and since, owing to the vehemence and passion of his oratory, it was always forced into the higher tones, it made men apprehensive for his health.

IV. On coming to Athens he attended the lectures of Antiochus of Ascalon, and was charmed by his fluency and grace of diction, although he disapproved of his innovations in doctrine. For Antiochus had already fallen away from what was called the New Academy and abandoned the sect of Carneades, either moved thereto by the clear evidence of the sense-perceptions,² or, as some say, led by a feeling of ambitious opposition to

¹ See the oration *pro Roscio Amerino*.

² This the New Academy refused to admit.

- πρὸς τοὺς Κλειτομάχου καὶ Φίλωνος συνήθεις
 τὸν Στωϊκὸν ἐκ μεταβολῆς θεραπεύων λόγον ἐν
 2 τοῖς πλείστοις. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐκεῖνα ἡγάπα
 καὶ κείνοις προσεῖχε μᾶλλον, διανοούμενος, εἰ
 παντάπασιν ἐκπέσοι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν,
 δεῦρο μετενεγκάμενος τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ
 τῆς πολιτείας ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μετὰ φιλοσοφίας
 καταζῆν.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ Σύλλας τε προσηγγέλθη τεθνη-
 κώς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀναρρωννύ-
 μενον εἰς ἕξιν ἐβάδιζε νεανικὴν, ἥ τε φωνὴ λαμβά-
 νουσα πλάσιν ἡδεῖα μὲν πρὸς ἀκοὴν ἐτέθραπτο,¹
 μετρίως δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἕξιν ἡρμοστο τοῦ σώματος,
 πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης φίλων γραφόντων
 καὶ δεομένων, πολλὰ δ' Ἀντιόχου παρακελευο-
 μένον τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν πράγμασιν, αὐθις
 ὥσπερ ὄργανον ἐξηρτύετο² τὸν ῥητορικὸν λόγον
 καὶ ἀνεκίνει τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸν τε
 ταῖς μελέταις διαπονῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους
- 4 μετιῶν ῥήτορας. ὅθεν εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ Ῥόδον
 ἔπλευσε, καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀσιανῶν ῥητόρων Ξενοκλεῖ
 τῷ Ἀδραμυττηνῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Μάγνητι καὶ
 Μενίππῳ τῷ Καρὶ συνεσχόλασεν, ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ
 ῥήτορι μὲν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Μόλωνος, φιλοσόφῳ
 δὲ Ποσειδωνίῳ. λέγεται δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐ
 συνιέντα τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον δεσθῆναι τοῦ
 Κικέρωνος Ἑλληνιστὶ μελετῆσαι· τὸν δ' ὑπακού-
 σαι προθύμως, οἴομενον οὕτως ἔσεσθαι βελτίονα

¹ ἐτέθραπτο the words καὶ πολλή (and full) which follow this verb in the MSS. are deleted by Gudeman as contradictory to iii. 5 and due to the double πολλά below.

² ἐξηρτύετο Graux, after Madvig: ἐξήρτυε.

the disciples of Cleitomachus and Philon to change his views and cultivate in most cases the doctrine of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the systems which Antiochus discarded and devoted himself the rather to them, purposing, in case he was altogether driven out of a public career, to change his home to Athens, away from the forum and the business of the state, and spend his life in the quiet pursuit of philosophy.

But word was now brought to him that Sulla was dead,¹ and since his body, strengthened by exercise, was taking on a vigorous habit, while his voice, acquiring modulation, had grown pleasant to the ear, and had been moderated into keeping with the habit of his body; and since, moreover, his friends at Rome earnestly besought him by letter and Antiochus strongly urged him to apply himself to public affairs, he once more sought to prepare for service therein his instrument, as it were, to wit his rhetorical style, and to rouse to action his political powers, diligently cultivating himself in declamation and taking lessons of the popular rhetoricians. With this end in view he made a voyage to Asia and Rhodes. In Asia, he studied oratory with Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus the Carian; in Rhodes, oratory with Apollonius the son of Molon, and philosophy with Poseidonius.² Apollonius, we are told, not understanding the Roman language, requested Cicero to declaim in Greek, with which request Cicero readily complied, thinking that in this way his faults could

¹ In 78 B.C.

² Cf. Cicero's *Brutus*, 91.

5 τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμελέτησε, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκπεπλήχθαι καὶ διαμιλλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον οὐτ' ἀκροώμενον αὐτοῦ διαχυθῆναι καὶ παυσαμένου σύννου καθέζεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀχθομένου δὲ 863 τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπεῖν· “Σὲ μὲν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐπαινῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος οἰκτείρω τὴν τύχην, ὁρῶν, ἃ μόνᾳ τῶν καλῶν ἡμῖν ὑπελείπετο, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις διὰ σοῦ προσγενόμενα, παιδεῖαν καὶ λόγον.”

V. Ὁ γοῦν Κικέρων ἐλπιδὼν μεστὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φερόμενος ὑπὸ χρησμοῦ τινος ἀπημβλύνθη τὴν ὁρμήν. ἐρομένῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν ὅπως ἂν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτο, προσέταξεν ἢ Πυθία τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, ἡγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ βίου.
2 καὶ τὸν γε πρῶτον ἐν Ῥώμῃ χρόνον εὐλαβῶς διῆγε καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὀκνηρῶς προσῆει καὶ παρημελεῖτο, ταῦτα δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς βαναυσοτάτοις πρόχειρα καὶ συνήθη ῥήματα, Γραικὸς καὶ σχολαστικὸς ἀκούων. ἐπεὶ δὲ φύσει φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὸ συνηγορεῖν ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ἡρέμα τῷ πρωτείῳ προσῆγεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξελαμψε τῇ δόξῃ καὶ διέφερε πολὺ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐπ' ἀγορᾷς.

3 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἥττον νοσήσας τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, τοῦτο μὲν

better be corrected. After he had declaimed, his other hearers were astounded and vied with one another in their praises, but Apollonius was not greatly moved while listening to him, and when he had ceased sat for a long time lost in thought; then, since Cicero was distressed at this, he said: "Thee, indeed, O Cicero, I admire and commend; but Greece I pity for her sad fortune, since I see that even the only glories which were left to us, culture and eloquence, are through thee to belong also to the Romans."

V. However, though Cicero, full of hope, was being borne on towards a political career, a certain oracle took the edge from his eager desire. When he inquired, namely, of the god at Delphi how he could become most illustrious, the Pythian priestess enjoined upon him to make his own nature, and not the opinion of the multitude, his guide in life. And so during the first part of his time at Rome¹ he conducted himself with caution, was reluctant to sue for office, and was therefore neglected, being called "Greek" and "Scholar," those names which the low and ignorant classes at Rome were wont to give so readily. But he was naturally ambitious and was urged on by his father and his friends, and so when he gave himself in earnest to the work of an advocate, he did not advance slowly to the primacy, but his fame shone forth at once, and he far surpassed those who strove with him for distinction in the forum.

But it is said that he too, no less than Demosthenes, was weak in his delivery, and therefore

¹ Cicero returned to Rome in 77 B.C., being in his thirtieth year.

Ῥωσκίῳ τῷ κωμῳδῳ, τοῦτο δ' Αἰσώπῳ τῷ τρα-
γωδῳ προσέχειν ἐπιμελῶς. τὸν δ' Αἰσῶπον
τοῦτον ἱστοροῦσιν ὑποκρινόμενον ἐν θειάτρῳ τὸν
περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τοῦ Θυέστου βουλευόμενον
Ἀτρέα, τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινος ἄφνω παραδρα-
μόντος, ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος
4 ὄντα τῷ σκῆπτρῳ πατάξαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν. οὐ
μικρὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ πείθειν ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκρί-
νεσθαι ῥοπή τῷ Κικέρωνι. καὶ τοὺς γε τῷ βοᾶν
μεγάλα χρωμένους¹ ῥήτορας ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγε
δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐπὶ τὴν κραυγὴν ὥσπερ χωλοὺς ἐφ'
ἵππον πηδᾶν. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα καὶ τὴν
παιδιὰν ταύτην εὐτραπέλεια δικανικὸν μὲν ἐδόκει
καὶ γλαφυρόν, χρώμενος δ' αὐτῇ κατακόρως πολ-
λοὺς ἐλύπει καὶ κακοθηθείας ἐλάμβανε δόξαν.

VI. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ ταμίας ἐν σιτοδεΐᾳ καὶ
λαχὼν Σικελίαν ἠνώχλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν
ἀρχῇ σίτον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν ἀναγκαζο-
μένοις. ὕστερον δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ δικαιοσύ-
νης καὶ πραότητος αὐτοῦ πείραν λαμβάνοντες ὥς
2 οὐδένα τῶν πώποθ' ἡγεμόνων ἐτίμησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης νέων ἑνδοξοὶ καὶ γεγονό-
τες καλῶς, αἰτίαν ἔχοντες ἀταξίας καὶ μαλακίας
περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν στρα-
τηγὸν τῆς Σικελίας, συνείπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κικέρων
ἐπιφανῶς καὶ περιεποίησεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν
μέγα φρονῶν εἰς Ῥώμην βαδίζων γελοῖόν τι
3 παθεῖν φησι. συντυχὼν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν

¹ μεγάλα χρωμένους MSS., Sintenis¹, and Bekker; Sintenis² adopts Cobet's μεγαλαυχουμένους (*boasting loudly of*); μεγάλα βοᾶν χρωμένους Graux with M^a.

sought with care to imitate now Roscius the comedian, and now Aesop the tragedian. This Aesop, they tell us, was once acting in a theatre the part of Atreus planning to take vengeance on Thyestes, when one of the assistants suddenly ran across the scene, and the actor, losing control of himself in the intensity of his passion, smote him with his sceptre and laid him dead. Now, Cicero's delivery contributed not a little to his persuasive power. Moreover, of those orators who were given to loud shouting he used to say jestingly that they were led by their weakness to resort to clamour as cripples were to mount upon a horse. And his readiness to indulge in such jests and pleasantries was thought indeed to be a pleasant characteristic of a pleader; but he carried it to excess and so annoyed many and got the reputation of being malicious.

VI. He was appointed quaestor¹ at a time when grain was scarce, and had the province of Sicily allotted to him, where he annoyed people at first by compelling them to send grain to Rome. But afterwards they found him careful, just, and mild, and honoured him beyond any governor they had ever had. Moreover, when large numbers of young men from Rome, of illustrious and noble families, were accused of lack of discipline and courage in the war and sent up for trial to the praetor of Sicily, Cicero pleaded their cause brilliantly and won the day. While he was journeying to Rome, then, highly elated over these successes, he had a laughable experience, as he tells us.² In Campania, namely, he

¹ In 75 B.C.

² *Or. pro Plancio*, 26. This was in the succeeding year (74 B.C.).

φίλῳ δοκοῦντι περὶ Καμπανίαν, ἐρέσθαι τίνα δὴ
 τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἔχουσι Ῥω-
 μαῖοι καὶ τί φρονοῦσιν, ὥς ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης
 τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐμπε-
 πληκῶς· τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν· “Ποῦ γὰρ ἦς, ὦ Κικέρων,
 4 τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον;” τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξαθυμῆσαι
 παντάπασιν, εἰ καθάπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὴν
 πόλιν ἐμπεσὼν ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐδὲν εἰς
 δόξαν ἐπίδηλον πεποίηκεν· ὕστερον δὲ λογισμὸν
 ἑαυτῷ διδούς πολὺ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑφείλεν, ὥς
 πρὸς ἀόριστον πρᾶγμα τὴν δόξαν ἀμιλλώμενος
 5 καὶ πέρας οὐκ ἐφικτὸν ἔχουσιν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ
 τό γε χαίρειν ἐπαινούμενον διαφερόντως καὶ πρὸς
 δόξαν ἐμπαθέστερον ἔχειν ἄχρι παντὸς αὐτῷ
 παρέμεινε καὶ πολλοὺς πολλάκις τῶν ὀρθῶν
 ἐπετάραξε λογισμῶν.

VII. Ἀπτόμενος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας προθυμό-
 τερον, αἰσχρὸν ἡγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν βαναύσους ὀργί-
 νοις χρωμένους καὶ σκεύεσιν ἀψύχοις μηδενὸς 864
 ἀγνοεῖν ὄνομα μηδὲ χώραν ἢ δύναμιν αὐτῶν, τὸν
 δὲ πολιτικόν, ὃ δι' ἀνθρώπων αἰ κοινὰ πράξεις
 περαίνονται, ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἔχειν περὶ τὴν
 2 τῶν πολιτῶν γινῶσιν. ὅθεν οὐ μόνον τῶν ὀνομά-
 των εἴθιζε μνημονεύειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπον ἐν
 ᾧ τῶν γνωρίμων ἕκαστος οἰκεῖ, καὶ χωρίον οὗ
 κέκτηται, καὶ φίλους οἷς τισι χρῆται, καὶ γείτονας
 ἐγίνωσκε· καὶ πᾶσαν ὁδὸν Ἰταλίας διαπορευο-
 μένῳ Κικέρωνι πρόχειρον ἦν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπιδείξαι
 τοὺς τῶν φίλων ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις.
 3 Οὐσίαν δὲ μικρὰν μὲν, ἱκανὴν δὲ καὶ ταῖς
 δαπάναις ἐπαρκῇ κεκτημένος ἐθαυμάζετο μήτε

fell in with an eminent man whom he deemed his friend, and asked him what the Romans were saying and thinking about his achievements, supposing that he had filled the whole city with the name and fame of them; but his friend said: "Where, pray, have you been, Cicero, all this while?" At that time, then, as he tells us, he was altogether disheartened, seeing that the story of his doings had sunk into the city as into a bottomless sea, without any visible effect upon his reputation; but afterwards he reasoned with himself and abated much of his ambition, convinced that the fame towards which he was emulously struggling was a thing that knew no bounds and had no tangible limit. However, his excessive delight in the praise of others and his too passionate desire for glory remained with him until the very end, and very often confounded his saner reasonings.

VII. And now that he was engaging in public life with greater ardour, he considered it a shameful thing that while craftsmen, using vessels and instruments that are lifeless, know the name and place and capacity of every one of them, the statesman, on the contrary, whose instruments for carrying out public measures are men, should be indifferent and careless about knowing his fellow-citizens. Wherefore he not only accustomed himself to remember their names, but also learned to know the quarter of the city in which every notable person dwelt, where he owned a country-place, what friends he had, and what neighbours; so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, it was easy for him to name and point out the estates and villas of his friends.

His property, though sufficient to meet his expenses, was nevertheless small, and therefore men

- μισθοὺς μήτε δῶρα προσιέμενος ἀπὸ τῆς συνηγορίας, μάλιστα δ' ὅτε τὴν κατὰ Βέρρου δίκην ἀνέλαβε. τοῦτον γὰρ στρατηγὸν γεγονότα τῆς Σικελίας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηρευμένον τῶν Σικελιωτῶν διωκόντων εἶλεν, οὐκ εἰπών, ἀλλ' ἐξ
- 4 αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ μὴ εἰπεῖν. τῶν γὰρ στρατηγῶν τῷ Βέρρῳ χαριζομένων καὶ τὴν δίκην ὑπερθέσει καὶ διακρούσει πολλαῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστάτην ἐκβαλλόντων, ὡς ἦν πρόδηλον ὅτι τοῖς λόγοις ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει χρόνος οὐδὲ λήψεται πέρας ἢ κρίσις, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐπαγαγὼν τοὺς μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπικρίνας ἐκέλευσε φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον τοὺς δικαστάς. ὅμως δὲ πολλὰ χαρίεντα διαμνημονεύ-
- 5 εται καὶ περὶ ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην. βέρρῳ γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκτετμημένον χοῖρον καλοῦσιν. ὡς οὖν ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔνοχος τῷ ἰουδαΐζειν, ὄνομα Κεκίλιος, ἐβούλετο παρωσάμενος τοὺς Σικελιώτας κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Βέρρου "Τί Ἰουδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον;" ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων. ἦν δὲ τῷ Βέρρῳ ἀντίπαις υἱός, οὐκ ἐλευθερίως δοκῶν προϊστασθαι τῆς ὥρας. λοιδορηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Κικέρων εἰς μαλακίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βέρρου, "Τοῖς υἱοῖς,"
- 6 εἶπεν, "ἐντὸς θυρῶν δεῖ λοιδορεῖσθαι." τοῦ δὲ ῥήτορος Ὁρτησίου τὴν μὲν εὐθείαν τῷ Βέρρῳ συνειπεῖν μὴ τολμήσαντος, ἐν δὲ τῷ τιμήματι πεισθέντος παραγενέσθαι καὶ λαβόντος ἐλεφαν-

¹ That is, the last day on which the case could be tried during that year. The city praetor already elected for the coming year (69 B C) favoured Verres, and Hortensius, the advocate of Verres, was to be consul in that year. He

wondered that he would accept neither fees nor gifts for his services as advocate, and above all when he undertook the prosecution of Verres. This man, who had been praetor of Sicily, and whom the Sicilians prosecuted for many villainous acts, Cicero convicted, not by speaking, but, in a way, by actually not speaking. For the praetors favoured Verres, and by many obstacles and delays had put off the case until the very last day,¹ since it was clear that a day's time would not be enough for the speeches of the advocates and so the trial would not be finished. But Cicero rose and said there was no need of speeches,² and then brought up and examined his witnesses and bade the jurors cast their votes. Nevertheless, many witty sayings of his in connection with this trial are on record. For instance, "verres" is the Roman word for a castrated *porker*; when, accordingly, a freedman named Caecilius, who was suspected of Jewish practices, wanted to thrust aside the Sicilian accusers and denounce Verres himself, Cicero said: "What has a Jew to do with a Verres?" Moreover, Verres had a young son, who had the name of lending himself to base practices. Accordingly, when Cicero was reviled by Verres for effeminacy, "You ought," said he, "to revile your sons at home." And again, the orator Hortensius did not venture to plead the cause of Verres directly, but was persuaded to appear for him at the assessment of the fine, and received an ivory

therefore used every artifice to delay the case. See Cicero, *in Verrem*, i. 10, 31 ff.

² Of the seven orations against Verres (including the *Divinatio in Caecilius*) only the first two were delivered; the others were compiled after the verdict had been pronounced.

τίνην Σφίγγα μισθόν, εἶπέ τι πλαγίως ὁ Κικέρων πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος αἰνιγμάτων λύσεως ἀπείρως ἔχειν, “Καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας,” ἔφη,¹ “τὴν Σφίγγα ἔχεις.”

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Βέρρου καταδικασθέντος, ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε μυριάδων τιμησάμενος τὴν δίκην ὁ Κικέρων διαβολὴν ἔσχευ ὡς ἐπ’ ἀργυρίῳ τὸ τίμημα καθυφειμένος. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ οἱ Σικελιώται χάριν εἰδότες ἀγορανομοῦντος αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου, πολλὰ δὲ φέροντες ἤκου, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐποιήσατο κέρδος, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐπευωνίσαι τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπεχρήσατο τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

- 2 Ἐκέκτετο δὲ χωρίον καλὸν ἐν Ἀρποῖς, καὶ περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἦν ἀγρὸς καὶ περὶ Πομπηίους ἕτερος, οὐ μεγάλοι· φερνὴ τε Τερεντίας τῆς γυναικὸς προσεγένετο μυριάδων δέκα, καὶ κληρονομία τις εἰς ἐννέα δηναρίων συναχθεῖσα μυριάδας. ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλευθερίως ἅμα καὶ σωφρόνως διῆγε μετὰ τῶν συμβιούντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων φιλολόγων, σπάνιον, εἴ ποτε, πρὸ δυσμῶν ἡλίου κατακλινόμενος, οὐχ οὕτω δι’ ἀσχολίαν, ὡς διὰ
- 3 τὸ σῶμα τῷ στομάχῳ μοχθηρῶς διακείμενον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείαν ἀκριβῆς καὶ περιττός, ὥστε καὶ τρίψεσι καὶ περιπάτοις ἀριθμῷ τεταγμένοις χρῆσθαι. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαπαιδαγωγῶν τὴν ἔξιν ἄνοσον καὶ διαρκῇ πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας καὶ πόνους συνείχευ. οἰκίαν δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρώαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ παρεχώρησεν, αὐτὸς δ’ ὥκει περὶ τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μακρὰν βαδίζοντας ἐνο-

¹ οἰκίας, ἔφη, τὴν Graux with M^a : οἰκίας τὴν.

sphinx as his reward; and when Cicero made some oblique reference to him and Hortensius declared that he had no skill in solving riddles, "And yet," said Cicero, "thou hast the Sphinx at thy house."

VIII. When Verres had thus been convicted, Cicero assessed his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand denarii,¹ and was therefore accused of having been bribed to make the fine a low one. The Sicilians, however, were grateful to him, and when he was aedile brought him from their island all sorts of live stock and produce; from these he derived no personal profit, but used the generosity of the islanders only to lower the price of provisions.

He owned a pleasant country-seat at Arpinum, and had a farm near Naples and another near Pompeii, both small. His wife Terentia brought him besides a dowry of a hundred thousand denarii, and he received a bequest which amounted to ninety thousand. From these he lived, in a generous and at the same time modest manner, with the Greek and Roman men of letters who were his associates. He rarely, if ever, came to table before sunset, not so much on account of business, as because his stomach kept him in poor health. In other ways, too, he was exact and over-scrupulous in the care of his body, so that he actually took a set number of rubbings and walks. By carefully managing his health in this way he kept it free from sickness and able to meet the demands of many great struggles and toils. The house which had been his father's he made over to his brother, and dwelt himself near the Palatine hill,² in order that those who came to pay their court to

¹ See the note on iii. 2.

² In a house purchased after his consulship (*ad fam.* v. 6, 2).

4 χλεῖσθαι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτόν. ἐθεράπευον
δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας φοιτῶντες οὐκ ἐλάτ- 865
τονες ἢ Κράσσον ἐπὶ πλούτῳ καὶ Πομπήϊον διὰ
τὴν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι δύναμιν, θαυμαζομένους
μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων καὶ μεγίστους ὄντας. Πομ-
πήϊος δὲ καὶ Κικέρωνα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ μεγάλα
πρὸς δύναμιν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἢ Κικέρωνος συνέ-
πραξε πολιτεία.

IX. Στρατηγίαν δὲ μετιόντων ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ
πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πρῶτος ἀπάντων ἀνηγορεύ-
θη· καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἔδοξε καθαρῶς καὶ καλῶς
βραβεύσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Δικίννιος Μάκερ,
ἀνὴρ καὶ καθ' αὐτόν ἰσχύων ἐν τῇ πόλει μεγα-
καὶ Κράσσῳ χρώμενος βοηθῷ, κρινόμενος κλοπῆς
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ,¹ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ σπουδῇ πεποιοῦς,
2 ἔτι τὴν ψήφον τῶν κριτῶν διαφερόντων ἀπαλ-
λαγείς οἵκαδε κείρασθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ
τάχος καὶ καθαρὸν ἱμάτιον ὡς νενικηκῶς λαβὼν
αὐθις εἰς ἀγορὰν προῖέναι· τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου περὶ
τὴν αὐλῆιον ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ φράσαντος
ὅτι πάσαις εἰλόσκε ταῖς ψήφοις, ἀναστρέψας καὶ
3 κατακλινεῖς ἀποθανεῖν. τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τῷ Κικέ-
ρωνι δόξαν ἠνεγκεν ὡς ἐπιμελῶς βραβεύσαντι τὸ
δικαστήριον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐατίνιος, ἀνὴρ ἔχων τι
τραχὺ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὀλίγωρον ἐν ταῖς
συνηγορίαις, χοιρίδων δὲ τὸν τράχηλον περί-
πλεως, ῥητεῖτό τι καταστὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος,

¹ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Cobet's correction of the MS. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, adopted
by Sintenis². So Graux with M^a.

him might not have the trouble of a long walk.¹ And men came to his house every day to pay him court, no fewer than came to Crassus for his wealth or to Pompey because of his influence with the soldiery, and these were the two greatest men among the Romans and the most admired. Nay, Pompey actually paid court to Cicero, and Cicero's political efforts contributed much towards Pompey's power and fame.

IX. Although many men of importance stood for the praetorship along with Cicero, he was appointed first of them all;² and men thought that he managed the cases which came before him with integrity and fairness. It is said, too, that Licinius Macer, a man who had great power in the city on his own account and also enjoyed the help of Crassus, was tried before Cicero for fraud, and that, relying upon his influence and the efforts made in his behalf, he went off home while the jurors were still voting, hastily trimmed his hair and put on a white toga in the belief that he had been acquitted, and was going forth again to the forum; but Crassus met him at the house-door and told him that he had been convicted unanimously, whereupon he turned back, lay down upon his bed, and died. And the case brought Cicero the reputation of having been a scrupulous presiding officer. Again, there was Vatinius, a man who had a harsh manner and one which showed contempt for the magistrates before whom he pleaded; his neck also was covered with swellings. As this man once stood at Cicero's tribunal and made some request of him,

¹ Cf. the *Marius*, xxxii. 1.

² In 66 B.C. Eight praetors were appointed, and the one who received most votes was made city praetor, or chief magistrate.

καὶ μὴ διδόντος, ἀλλὰ βουλευομένου πολὺν χρόνον, εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς διστάσειε περὶ τούτου στρατηγῶν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Κικέρων, “Ἄλλ’ ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἔχω τηλικούτον τράχηλον.”

- 4 “Ἐτι δ’ ἡμέρας δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ προσήγαγέ τις Μανίλιον εὐθύνων κλοπῆς. ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος οὗτος εὐνοίαν εἶχε καὶ σπουδὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δοκῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι διὰ Πομπηίου· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἦν φίλος. αἰτουμένου δ’ ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ μίαν ὁ Κικέρων μόνην τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔδωκε· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἠγανάκτησεν εἰθισμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν δέκα τοῦλάχιστον ἡμέρας διδόναι τοῖς κιν-
5 δυνεύουσι. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὐτὸν διαγαγόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ κατηγορούντων, ἀκουσθῆναι δεηθεὶς εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν αἰεὶ, καθ’ ὅσον οἱ νόμοι παρείκουσι, κεχρημένος ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως δεινὸν ἠγεῖτο τῷ Μανιλίῳ ταῦτα μὴ παρασχεῖν· ἥς οὖν ἔτι μόνης κύριος ἦν ἡμέρας στρατηγῶν, ταύτην ἐπίτηδες ὀρίσαι· τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλον ἄρχοντα τὴν κρίσιν ἐκβαλεῖν οὐκ
6 εἶναι βουλομένου βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα λεχθέντα θαυμαστὴν ἐποίησε τοῦ δήμου μεταβολήν· καὶ πολλὰ κατευφημοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐδέοντο τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μανιλίου συνηγορίαν ἀναλαβεῖν. ὁ δ’ ὑπέστη προθύμως, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ Πομπηίου ἀπόντα· καὶ καταστὰς πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐδημηγόρησε, νεανικῶς τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ φθονούντων καθαπτόμενος.

Χ. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐχ ἦττον ὑπὸ τῶν

Cicero did not grant it at once, but took a long time for deliberation, whereupon Vatinius said that he himself would not have stuck at the matter had he been praetor. At this Cicero turned upon him and said: "But I have not the neck that you have."

Two or three days before his term of office expired, Manilius was brought before him on a charge of fraudulent accounting. This Manilius had the good will and eager support of the people, since it was thought that he was prosecuted on Pompey's account, being a friend of his. On his demanding several days in which to make his defence, Cicero granted him only one, and that the next; and the people were indignant because it was customary for the praetor to grant ten days at least to the accused. And when the tribunes brought Cicero to the rostra and denounced him, he begged for a hearing, and then said that he had always treated defendants, so far as the laws allowed, with clemency and kindness, and thought it an unfortunate thing that Manilius should not have this advantage; wherefore, since only one day was left to his disposal as praetor, he had purposely set this day for the trial, and surely it was not the part of one who wished to help Manilius to defer it to another praetor's term. These words produced a wonderful change in the feelings of the people, and with many expressions of approval they begged Cicero to assume the defence of Manilius. This he willingly consented to do, chiefly for the sake of Pompey, who was absent, and once more mounting the rostra harangued the people anew, vigorously attacking the oligarchical party and those who were jealous of Pompey.

X. Yet he was advanced to the consulship no less

- ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἢ τῶν πολλῶν προήχθη διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτῷ τοιαύτης συναγωνισαμένων. τῆς ὑπὸ Σύλλα γενομένης μεταβολῆς περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀτόπου φανείσης, τότε δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας ἤδη τινὰ κατάστασιν ἔχειν οὐ φαύλην δοκούσης, ἦσαν οἱ τὰ παρόντα διασεῖσαι καὶ μεταθεῖναι ζητοῦντες ἰδίῳ ἐνεκα πλεονεξιῶν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον, Πομπηίου μὲν ἔτι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Ἀρμενίᾳ πολεμοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μηδεμιᾶς ὑφεστῶσης πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας ἀξιομάχου
- 2 δυνάμεως. οὗτοι κορυφαῖον εἶχον ἄνδρα τολμητὴν καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ ποικίλον τὸ ἦθος, Δεύκιον Κατιλίαν, ὃς αἰτίαν ποτὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι μέγαλοις ἔλαβε παρθένῳ συγγεγονέναι θυγατρί, κτείνειν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ 866 τούτῳ φοβούμενος ἔπεισε Σύλλαν ὥς ἔτι ζῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τοῖς ἀποθανουμένοις προγράψαι.
- 3 τοῦτον οὖν προστάτην οἱ πονηροὶ λαβόντες ἄλλας τε πίστεις ἀλλήλοις ἔδοσαν καὶ καταθύσαντες ἄνθρωπον ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν. διέφθαρτο δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει νεότητος, ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους καὶ γυναικῶν ἔρωτας ἀεὶ προξενούντος ἐκάστῳ καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἀφειδῶς παρασκευάζοντος. ἐπῆρτο δ' ἢ τε Τυρρηνία πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὅλη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς
- 4 ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίας. ἐπισφαλέστατα δ' ἢ Ῥώμῃ πρὸς μεταβολὴν εἶχε διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς

by the aristocrats than by the common people, and in the interests of the city, both parties seconding his efforts for the following reasons. The change which Sulla had made in the constitution at first appeared absurd, but now it seemed to the majority, owing to lapse of time and their familiarity with it, to afford at last a kind of settlement which was not to be despised. There were those, however, who sought to agitate and change the existing status for the sake of their own gain, and not for the best interests of the state, while Pompey was still carrying on war with the kings in Pontus and Armenia, and there was no power in Rome which was able to cope with the revolutionaries. These had for their chief a man of bold, enterprising, and versatile character, Lucius Catiline, who, in addition to other great crimes, had once been accused of deflowering his own daughter and of killing his own brother; and fearing prosecution for this murder, he persuaded Sulla to put his brother's name, as though he were still alive, in the list of those who were to be put to death under proscription.¹ Taking this man, then, as their leader, the miscreants gave various pledges to one another, one of which was the sacrifice of a man and the tasting of his flesh.² Moreover, Catiline had corrupted a large part of the young men in the city, supplying each of them continually with amusements, banquets, and amours, and furnishing without stint the money to spend on these things. Besides, all Etruria was roused to revolt, as well as most of Cisalpine Gaul. And Rome was most dangerously disposed towards change on account of the

¹ Cf. the *Sulla*, xxxii. 2.

² Cf. Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* xxxvii. 30, 3.

οὐσίαις ἀνωμαλίαν, τῶν μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ φρονήματι κατεπτωχευμένων εἰς θέατρα καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ φιλαρχίας καὶ οἰκοδομίας, τῶν δὲ πλούτων εἰς ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς συνερρηκότων ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς δεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ παντὸς εἶναι τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἐκστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς νοσοῦσαν.

XI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος ὁ Κατιλίνας ἰσχυρόν τι προκαταλαβεῖν ὀρμητήριον ὑπατείαν μετήει· καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὥς Γαῖω Ἀντωνίῳ συνυπατεύσων, ἀνδρὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν οὔτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἡγεμονικῶ, προσθήκη δ' ἄγοντος ἐτέρου δυνάμεως
2 ἐσομένῳ. ταῦτα δὴ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν οἱ πλείστοι προαισθόμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν· καὶ τοῦ δήμου δεξαμένου προθύμως ὁ μὲν Κατιλίνας ἐξέπεσε, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ Γάιος Ἀντώνιος ἡρέθησαν. καίτοι τῶν μετιόντων ὁ Κικέρων μόνος ἦν ἐξ ἱππικοῦ πατρός, οὐ βουλευτοῦ, γεγονώς.

XII. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Κατιλίαν ἐμελλεν εἶτι τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνοντα, προάγωνες δὲ μεγάλοι τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν ἐξεδέξαντο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ κεκωλυμένοι κατὰ τοὺς Σύλλα νόμους ἄρχειν, οὔτ' ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες οὔτ' ὀλίγοι, μετιόντες ἀρχὰς ἐδημαγώγουν, πολλὰ τῆς Σύλλα τυραννίδος ἀληθῆ μὲν καὶ δίκαια κατηγοροῦντες, οὐ μὴν ἐν δέοντι τὴν πολιτείαν οὐδὲ σὺν καιρῷ
2 κινοῦντες· τοῦτο δὲ νόμους εἰσήγον οἱ δήμαρχοι

irregularity in the distribution of property, since men of the highest reputation and spirit had beggared themselves on shows, feasts, pursuit of office, and buildings, and riches had streamed into the coffers of low-born and mean men, so that matters needed only a slight impulse to disturb them, and it was in the power of any bold man to overthrow the commonwealth, which of itself was in a diseased condition.

XI. However, Catiline wished to obtain first a strong base of operations, and therefore sued for the consulship; and he had bright hopes that he would share the consulship with Caius Antonius, a man who, of himself, would probably not take the lead either for good or for bad, but would add strength to another who took the lead. Most of the better class of citizens were aware of this, and therefore put forward Cicero for the consulship, and as the people readily accepted him, Catiline was defeated, and Cicero and Caius Antonius were elected.¹ And yet Cicero was the only one of the candidates who was the son, not of a senator, but of a knight.

XII. The schemes of Catiline were still to remain concealed from the multitude, but great preliminary struggles awaited the consulship of Cicero. For, in the first place, those who were prevented from holding office by the laws of Sulla, and they were neither few nor weak, sued for offices and tried to win the favour of the people, making many charges against the tyranny of Sulla which were just and true, indeed, but disturbing the government at an improper and unseasonable time; and, in the second place, the tribunes were introducing

¹ For the year 63 B.C.

- πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, δεκαδιρχίαν καθιστάν-
 τες αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἐφέιτο πάσης μὲν
 Ἰταλίας, πάσης δὲ Συρίας, καὶ ὅσα διὰ Πομπηίου
 νεωστὶ προσώριστο κυρίους ὄντας πωλεῖν τὰ
 δημόσια, κρίνειν οὓς δοκοίη, φυγάδας ἐκβάλλειν,
 συνοικίζειν πόλεις, χρήματα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ
 ταμείου, στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ καταλέγειν
 3 ὁπόσων δέοιντο. διὸ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσεῖχον
 ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ πρῶτος Ἀντώνιος ὁ
 τοῦ Κικέρωνος συνάρχων ὡς τῶν δέκα γενησό-
 μενος. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Κατιλίνα νεωτερισμὸν
 εἰδὼς οὐ δυσχεραίνειν ὑπὸ πλήθους δανείων· ὁ
 μάλιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβον παρεῖχε.
- 4 Καὶ τοῦτον πρῶτον θεραπεύων ὁ Κικερων
 ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Μακεδονίαν,
 αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν διδομένην παρητήσατο,
 καὶ κατειργάσατο τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον
 ὥσπερ ὑποκριτὴν ἔμμισθον αὐτῷ τὰ δεύτερα
 λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ὡς δ' οὗτος ἐαλώκει
 καὶ χειρολήθης ἐγεγόνει, μᾶλλον ἤδη θαρρῶν ὁ
- 5 Κικέρων ἐνίστατο πρὸς τοὺς καινοτομοῦντας. ἐν
 μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορίαν τινὰ τοῦ νόμου
 διατιθέμενος οὕτως ἐξέπληξεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς εἰσφέ-
 ροντας ὥστε μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐθις
 ἐπεχείρουν καὶ παρεσκευασμένοι προεκαλοῦντο
 τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, οὐδὲν ὑποδείσας ὁ
 Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ τὴν βουλήν ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας καὶ
 προελθὼν, οὐ μόνον ἐξέβαλε τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπογνῶναι τοὺς δημάρχους

laws to the same purpose, appointing a commission of ten men with unlimited powers, to whom was committed, as supreme masters of all Italy, of all Syria, and of all the territories which Pompey had lately added to the empire, the right to sell the public lands, to try whom they pleased, to send into exile, to settle cities, to take moneys from the public treasury, and to levy and maintain as many soldiers as they wanted. Therefore many of the prominent men also were in favour of the law, and foremost among them Antonius the colleague of Cicero, who expected to be one of the ten. It was thought also that he knew about the conspiracy of Catiline and was not averse to it, owing to the magnitude of his debts; and this was what gave most alarm to the nobles.

This alarm Cicero first sought to allay by getting the province of Macedonia voted to his colleague, while he himself declined the proffered province of Gaul; and by this favour he induced Antonius, like a hired actor, to play the second rôle to him in defence of their country. Then, as soon as Antonius had been caught and was tractable, Cicero opposed himself with more courage to the innovators. Accordingly, he denounced the proposed law in the senate at great length, and so terrified the very promoters of it that they had no reply to make to him. And when they made a second attempt and after full preparation summoned the consuls to appear before the people, Cicero had not the slightest fear, but bidding the senate follow him and leading the way, he not only got the law rejected, but also induced the tribunes to desist

ἐποίησε, παρὰ τοσοῦτον τῷ λόγῳ κρατηθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

- XIII. Μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπέδειξε 86
 Ῥωμαίοις ὅσον ἡδονῆς λόγος τῷ καλῷ προστί-
 θησι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ἀήττητόν ἐστιν ἂν ὀρθῶς
 λέγεται, καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἐμμελῶς πολιτευόμενον αἰεὶ
 τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τὸ καλὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ κολακεύοντος
 αἰρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τὸ λυποῦν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ
 2 συμφέροντος. δεῖγμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς περὶ τὸν λό-
 γον χάριτος καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θεάς ἐν τῇ ὑπατεία
 γενόμενον. τῶν γὰρ ἵππικῶν πρότερον ἐν τοῖς
 θεάτροις ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μετὰ
 τοῦ δήμου θεωμένων ὡς ἔτυχε, πρῶτος διέκρινεν
 ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοὺς ἵππείας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν
 Μάρκος Ὁθων στρατηγῶν, καὶ διένειμεν ἰδίαν
 ἐκείνοις θέαν, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐξαίρετον ἔχουσι.
 3 τοῦτο πρὸς ἀτιμίας ὁ δῆμος ἔλαβε, καὶ φανέντος
 ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ Ὁθωνος ἐφυβρίζων ἐσύριττεν, οἱ
 δ' ἵππεῖς ὑπέλαβον κρότῳ τὸν ἄνδρα λαμπρῶς.
 αὐθις δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐπέτεινε τὸν συριγμόν, εἴτα
 ἐκείνοι τὸν κρότον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραπόμενοι
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο λοιδορίαις, καὶ τὸ θέ-
 4 ατρον ἀκοσμία κατεῖχεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἦκε
 πυθόμενος καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκκαλέσας πρὸς τὸ τῆς
 Ἐννοῦς ἱερὸν ἐπετίμησε καὶ παρήνευσεν, ἀπελ-

¹ See the three orations *de Lege Agraria*, which have come down to us almost intact.

from the rest of their measures, so overpowered were they by his eloquence.¹

XIII. For this man beyond all others showed the Romans how great a charm eloquence adds to the right, and that justice is invincible if it is correctly put in words, and that it behooves the careful statesman always in his acts to choose the right instead of the agreeable, and in his words to take away all vexatious features from what is advantageous. A proof of the charm of his discourse may be found in an incident of his consulship connected with the public spectacles. In earlier times, it seems, the men of the equestrian order were mingled with the multitudes in the theatres and saw the spectacles along with the people, seated as chance would have it; Marcus Otho was the first to separate in point of honour the knights from the rest of the citizens, which he did when he was praetor,² and gave them a particular place of their own at the spectacles, which they still retain. The people took this as a mark of dishonour to themselves, and when Otho appeared in the theatre they hissed him insultingly, while the knights received him with loud applause. The people renewed and increased their hisses, and then the knights their applause. After this they turned upon one another with reviling words, and disorder reigned in the theatre. When Cicero heard of this he came and summoned the people to the temple of Bellona, where he rebuked

² It was in 67 B.C., four years before Cicero's consulship, that Lucius Roscius Otho, as tribune of the people, introduced his law giving the equites a special place at the spectacles, namely, the fourteen rows of seats next those of the senators. The law, however, had only recently been enacted.

θόντες αὖθις εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐκρότουν τὸν Ὅθωνα λαμπρῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱππέας ἄμιλλαν ἐποι-
οῦντο περὶ τιμῶν καὶ δόξης τοῦ ἀνδρός.

- XIV. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίαν συνωμοσία πτήξασα καὶ καταδείσασα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὖθις ἀνε-
θάρρει, καὶ συνήγον ἀλλήλους καὶ παρεκάλουν
εὐτολμότερον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων πρὶν
ἐπανελθεῖν Πομπήϊον ἤδη λεγόμενον ὑποστρέφειν
μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Κατιλίαν
ἐξηρέθιζον οἱ Σύλλα πάλαι στρατιῶται, διαπε-
φυκότες μὲν ὅλης τῆς Ἰταλίας, πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ
μαχιμώτατοι ταῖς Τυρρηνικαῖς ἐγκατεσπαρμένοι
πόλεσιν, ἀρπαγὰς πάλιν καὶ διαφορήσεις πλού-
2 των ἐτοίμων ὀνειροπολοῦντες. οὗτοι γὰρ ἡγεμόνα
Μάλλιον ἔχοντες, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶς ὑπὸ Σύλ-
λα στρατευσαμένων, συνίσταντο τῷ Κατιλίᾳ
καὶ παρήσαν εἰς Ῥώμην συναρχαιρεσιάζοντες.
ὑπατείαν γὰρ αὖθις μετήει, βεβουλευμένος ἀνε-
λεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν
3 τὸν θόρυβον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον προση-
μαίνειν τὰ πρασσόμενα σεισμοῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς
καὶ φάσμασιν. αἱ δ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων μηνύσεις
ἀληθεῖς μὲν ἦσαν, οὕτω δ' εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀποχρῶ-
σαι κατ' ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ δυναμένου μέγα τοῦ
Κατιλίνα. διὸ τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν
ὑπερθέμενος ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὸν Κατιλίαν εἰς
τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἀνέκρινεν.
4 ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς οἰόμενος εἶναι τοὺς πραγμάτων
καινῶν ἐφιεμένους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ἅμα τοῖς

and exhorted them, whereupon they went back again to the theatre and applauded Otho loudly, and vied with the knights in showing him honour and esteem.

XIV. But Catiline and his fellow-conspirators, who at first were cowed and terrified, began once more to take courage, and assembling themselves together exhorted one another to take matters in hand more boldly before Pompey came back, and he was said to be now returning with his army. It was the old soldiers of Sulla, however, who were most of all urging Catiline on to action. These were to be found in all parts of Italy, but the greatest numbers and the most warlike of them had been scattered among the cities of Etruria, and were again dreaming of robbing and plundering the wealth that lay ready to hand. These men, I say, with Manlius for a leader, one of the men who had served with distinction under Sulla, associated themselves with Catiline and came to Rome to take part in the consular elections. For Catiline was again a candidate for the consulship, and had determined to kill Cicero in the very tumult of the elections. Moreover, even the heavenly powers seemed, by earthquakes and thunderbolts and apparitions, to foreshow what was coming to pass. And there were also human testimonies which were true, indeed, but not sufficient for the conviction of a man of reputation and great power like Catiline. For this reason Cicero postponed the day of the elections, and summoning Catiline to the senate, examined him concerning what was reported. But Catiline, thinking that there were many in the senate who were desirous of a revolution, and at

συνωμόταις ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Κικέρωνι μανικὴν ἀπόκρισιν· “Τί γάρ,” ἔφη, “πράττω δεινόν, εἰ, δυεῖν σωμάτων ὄντων, τοῦ μὲν ἰσχυροῦ καὶ κατεφθινηκότος, ἔχοντος δὲ κεφαλὴν, τοῦ δ’ ἀκεφάλου μὲν, ἰσχυροῦ δὲ καὶ μεγάλου, τούτῳ
 5 κεφαλὴν αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθημι;” τούτων εἷς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἡνιγμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ὁ Κικέρων ἔδεισε, καὶ τεθωρακισμένον αὐτὸν οἷ τε δυνατοὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῶν νέων πολλοὶ κατήγαγον εἰς τὸ πεδίον. τοῦ δὲ θώρακος ἐπίτηδες ὑπέφαινε τι παραλύσας ἐκ τῶν ὤμων τοῦ χιτῶνος, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς ὁρώσι τὸν κίνδυνον.
 6 οἱ δ’ ἡγανάκτουν καὶ συνεστρέφοντο περὶ αὐτόν· καὶ τέλος ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις τὸν μὲν Κατιλίαν αὖθις ἐξέβαλον, εἵλοντο δὲ Σιλανὸν ὑπάτου καὶ Μουρήναν.

XV. Οὐ πολλῷ δ’ ὕστερον τούτων ἤδη τῷ Κατιλίᾳ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ συνερχομένων καὶ καταλοχιζομένων, καὶ τῆς ὠρισμένης πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἡμέρας ἐγγὺς οὔσης, ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν Κικέρωνος οἰκίαν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι Ῥωμαίων, Μάρκος τε Κράσσος καὶ Μάρκος Μάρκελλος καὶ Σκηπίων Μέτελλος·
 κόψαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας καὶ καλέσαντες τὸν θυρωρὸν ἐκέλευον ἐπεγεῖραι καὶ φράσαι Κικέρωνι
 2 τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε· τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ θυρωρός, ὑπὸ δὴ τινος ἀνθρώπου κομισθείσας ἀγνώστου, ἄλλας ἄλλοις ἐπιγεγραμμένας, αὐτῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ μίαν ἀδέσποτον. ἦν μόνην ἀναγνοῦς ὁ Κράσσος, ὡς ἔφραζε τὰ γράμματα φόνον γενη-

the same time making a display of himself to the conspirators, gave Cicero the answer of a madman: "What dreadful thing, pray," said he, "am I doing, if, when there are two bodies, one lean and wasted, but with a head,¹ and the other headless, but strong and large, I myself become a head for this?" Since this riddle of Catiline's referred to the senate and the people, Cicero was all the more alarmed, and he wore a breastplate when all the nobles and many of the young men escorted him from his house to the Campus Martius. Moreover, he purposely allowed the spectators to get a glimpse of his breastplate by loosing his tunic from his shoulders, thus showing them his peril. The people were incensed and rallied about him; and finally, when they voted, they rejected Catiline once more, and elected Silanus and Murena consuls.²

XV. Not long after this, when Catiline's soldiers in Etruria were already assembling and forming into companies, and when the day set for their attack was near, there came to the house of Cicero at midnight men who were the leading and most powerful Romans, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Scipio Metellus; and knocking at the door and summoning the doorkeeper, they bade him wake Cicero and tell him they were there. Their business was what I shall now relate. After Crassus had dined, his doorkeeper handed him some letters which an unknown man had brought; they were addressed to different persons, and one, which had no signature, was for Crassus himself. Crassus read this letter only, and since its contents told him that

¹ Unum debile, infirmo capite (Cicero, *pro Murena*, 25, 51).

² For the year 62 B.C.

σόμενον πολὺν διὰ Κατιλίνα, καὶ παρήγει τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξελεθῆναι, τὰς ἄλλας οὐκ ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἦκεν εὐθύς πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα, πληγείς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ, καὶ τι τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολυόμενος ἦν ἔσχε διὰ φιλίαν τοῦ Κατιλίνα.

- 3 Βουλευσάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων ἅμ' ἡμέρα βουλὴν συνήγαγε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίσας ἀπέδωκεν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπεσταλμένοι, κελεύσας φανερώς ἀναγνῶναι. πᾶσαι δ' ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπιβουλήν φράζουσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κόϊντος Ἄρριος, ἀνὴρ στρατηγικός, ἀπήγγελλε τοὺς ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ καταλοχισμούς, καὶ Μάλλιος ἀπηγγέλλετο σὺν χειρὶ μεγάλῃ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας αἰωρούμενος αἰεὶ
- 4 τι προσδοκᾶν καινὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, γίνεται δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς παρακατατίθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπᾶτοις τὰ πράγματα, δεξαμένους δ' ἐκείνους ὡς ἐπίστανται διοικεῖν καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' οὐ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὅταν τι μέγα δείσῃ, ποιεῖν εἴωθεν ἢ σύγκλητος.

XVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ Κικέρων τὰ μὲν ἔξω πράγματα Κοϊντῷ Μετέλλῳ διεπίστευσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἶχε διὰ χειρὸς καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν προΐει δορυφορούμενος ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολὺ μέρος κατέχειν ἐμβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς παραπέμποντας, οὐκέτι καρτερῶν τὴν μέλλησιν ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκπηδᾶν ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον

¹ See the *Crassus*, xiii. 3. Cicero's treatise on his consulship, there referred to, was written in Greek, and is not extant.

there was to be much bloodshed caused by Catiline, and advised him to escape secretly from the city, he did not open the rest, but came at once to Cicero, terrified by the danger, and seeking to free himself somewhat from charges that had been made against him on account of his friendship for Catiline.¹

Cicero, accordingly, after deliberation, convened the senate at break of day, and carrying the letters thither gave them to the persons to whom they had been sent, with orders to read them aloud. All the letters alike were found to tell of a plot. And when also Quintus Arrius, a man of praetorian dignity, brought word of the soldiers who were being mustered into companies in Etruria, and Manlius was reported to be hovering about the cities there with a large force, in constant expectation of some news from Rome, the senate passed a decree that matters should be put in the hands of the consuls, who were to accept the charge and manage as best they knew how for the preservation of the city.² Now, the senate is not wont to do this often, but only when it fears some great danger.

XVI. On receiving this power Cicero entrusted matters outside to Quintus Metellus, while he himself kept the city in hand and daily went forth attended by so large a bodyguard that a great part of the forum was occupied when he entered it with his escort. Thereupon Catiline, no longer able to endure the delay, resolved to hasten forth

² Dent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat (Sallust, *Catiline*, 29); decrevit quondam senatus ut L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet (Cicero, *in Catil.* i. 2, 4).

- 2 ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, Μάρκιον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐκέλευσε ξίφη λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἔωθεν ὡς ἄσπασομένους τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ διαχρήσθαι προσπεσόντας. τοῦτο Φουλβία, γυνὴ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐξαγγέλλει τῷ Κικέρωνι, νυκτὸς ἐλθούσα καὶ διακελευσαμένη φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κέθηγον. οἱ δ' ἤκον ἅμ' ἡμέρα, καὶ κωλυθέντες εἰσελθεῖν ἡγανάκτουν καὶ κατέβόων
- 3 ἐπὶ θύραις, ὥστε ὑποπτότεροι γενέσθαι. προελθὼν δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στησίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ὃν Στάτορα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλθόντος ὡς ἀπολογησόμενου, συγκαθίσει μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθρου μετήλθον. ἀρξάμενος δὲ λέγειν ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἀναστὰς ὁ Κικέρων προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν λόγοις, ἐκείνου δ' ὅπλοις πολιτευομένου μέσον εἶναι τὸ
- 4 τεῖχος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κατιλίνας εὐθύς ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων ὀπλοφόρων καὶ περιστησάμενος αὐτῷ ῥαβδουχίας ὡς ἄρχοντι καὶ πελέκει καὶ σημαίας ἐπαράμενος, πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει καὶ δισμυρίων ὁμοῦ τι συνηθροισμένων ἐπῆει τὰς πόλεις ἀναπείθων καὶ ἀφιστάς, ὥστε τοῦ πολέμου φανεροῦ γεγονότος τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποσταλῆναι διαμαχομένον.

¹ From Cicero's oration *pro Sulla* (6, 18) and Sallust's *Catiline* (28) it appears that the names of these would-be murderers were Caius Cornelius and Lucius Vargunteius.

to Manlius and his army, and ordered Marcius and Cethegus¹ to take their swords and go early in the morning to the house of Cicero on pretence of paying him their respects, and there to fall upon him and dispatch him. This scheme Fulvia, a woman of high rank, made known to Cicero, coming to him by night and urging him to be on his guard against Cethegus and his companion. The men came at break of day, and when they were prevented from entering, they were incensed and made an outcry at the door, which made them the more suspected. Then Cicero went forth and summoned the senate to the temple of Jupiter Stesius (or Stator, as the Romans say), which was situated at the beginning of the Via Sacra, as you go up to the Palatine hill. Thither Catiline also came with the rest in order to make his defence; no senator, however, would sit with him, but all moved away from the bench where he was. And when he began to speak he was interrupted by outcries, and at last Cicero rose and ordered him to depart from the city, saying that, since one of them did his work with words and the other with arms, the city-wall must needs lie between them.² Catiline, accordingly, left the city at once with three hundred armed followers, assumed the fasces and axes as though he were a magistrate, raised standards, and marched to join Manlius; and since about twenty thousand men altogether had been collected, he marched round to the various cities endeavouring to persuade them to revolt, so that there was now open war, and Antonius was sent off to fight it out.

² Cf. Cicero, in *Catil.* i. 5, 10.

- XVII. Τοὺς δ' ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα συνήγε καὶ παρεθάρρυνε Κορνήλιος Λέντλος Σούρας ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ἐνδόξου, βεβιωκὼς δὲ φαύλως καὶ δι' ἀσέλγειαν ἐξεληλαμένος τῆς βουλῆς πρότερον, τότε δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ δεύτερον, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνακτωμένοις τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀξίωμα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν Σούραν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σύλλαν χρόνοις ταμιεύων συχνὰ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, προελθὼν ὀλιγώρως πάνυ καὶ καταφρονητικῶς λόγον μὲν οὐκ ἔφη δίδόναι, παρέχειν δὲ τὴν κνήμην, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν οἱ παῖδες ὅταν ἐν τῷ σφαιρίζειν ἀμάρτωσιν. ἐκ τούτου Σούρας παρωνομάσθη· σούραν γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν κνήμην λέγουσι. πάλιν δὲ δίκην ἔχων καὶ διαφθείρας ἐνίους τῶν δικαστῶν, ἐπεὶ δυσὶ μόναις ἀπέφυγε ψήφοις, ἔφη παρανάλωμα γεγονέναι τὸ θατέρῳ κριτῇ δοθέν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ εἰ καὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ μόνον ἀπελύθη.
- 4 Τούτον ὄντα τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτον κεκινημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα προσδιέφθειραν ἐλπίσι κεναῖς ψευδομάντεις καὶ γόητες ἔπη πεπλασμένα καὶ χρησμοὺς ἄδοντες, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων, προδηλοῦντας εἰμαρμένους εἶναι τῇ Ῥώμῃ Κορνηλίους τρεῖς μονάρχους, ὧν δύο μὲν ἤδη πεπληρωκέναι τὸ χρεῶν, Κίνναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ

XVII. The creatures of Catiline who had been left behind in the city were brought together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of illustrious birth, but one who had led a low life and for his licentiousness had formerly been expelled from the senate, though now he was serving as praetor for the second time, as is the custom with those who have recovered their senatorial dignity. It is said too that he got his surname of Sura for the following reason. In Sulla's time he was quaestor and lost and wasted large amounts of the public moneys. Sulla was angry at this and demanded an accounting from him in the senate, whereupon Lentulus came forward with a very careless and contemptuous air and said that he would not give an account, but would offer his leg, as boys were accustomed to do when they were playing ball and made a miss. On this account he was surnamed Sura, for "sura" is the Roman word for *leg.* At another time, too, he was under prosecution and had bribed some of the jurors, and when he was acquitted by only two votes, he said that what he had given to the second juror was wasted money, since it would have sufficed if he had been acquitted by one vote only.

Such was the nature of this man who had been stirred up by Catiline, and he was further corrupted by vain hopes held out to him by false prophets and jugglers. These recited forged oracles in verse purporting to come from the Sibylline books,¹ which set forth that three Cornelii were fated to be monarchs in Rome, two of whom had already fulfilled their destiny, namely, Cinna and Sulla, and that now to

¹ Cf. Cicero, in *Catil.* iii. 4, 9.

λοιπῶ Κορνηλίῳ ἐκείνῳ φέροντα τὴν μοναρχίαν ἤκειν τὸν δαίμονα, καὶ δεῖν πάντως δέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ διαφθείρειν μέλλοντα τοὺς καιροὺς, ὥσπερ Κατιλίνας.

XVIII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπενόει μικρὸν ὁ Λέντλος ἢ ἄσημον, ἀλλ' ἐδέδοκτο τὴν βουλὴν ἅπασαν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν τ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσους δύναίτο, τὴν πόλιν δ' αὐτὴν καταπιμπράναι, φείδεσθαί τε μηδεὶν ἢ τῶν Πομπηίου τέκνων· ταῦτα δ' ἐξαρπασαμένους ἔχειν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλάττειν ὄμηρα τῶν πρὸς Πομπηίου διαλύσεων· ἤδη γὰρ ἐφοίτα πολὺς λόγος καὶ βέβαιος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατιόντος

2 ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης στρατείας. καὶ νύξ μὲν ὥριστο πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν μία τῶν Κρονιάδων, ξίφη δὲ καὶ στυππεῖα καὶ θεῖον εἰς τὴν Κεθήγου φέροντες οἰκίαν ἀπέκρυσαν. ἄνδρας δὲ τάξαντες ἑκατὸν καὶ μέρη τοσαῦτα τῆς Ῥώμης ἕκαστον ἐφ' ἑκάστω διεκλήρωσαν, ὥς δι' ὀλίγου πολλῶν ἀψάντων φλέγοιτο πανταχόθεν ἡ πόλις. ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἔμελλον ἐμφράξαντες ἀποσφάττειν τοὺς ὑδρευομένους.

3 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἔτυχον ἐπιδημοῦντες Ἀλλοβρίγων δύο πρέσβεις, ἔθνους μάλιστα δὴ τότε πονηρὰ πράττοντος καὶ βαρυνομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τούτους οἱ περὶ Λέντλον ὠφελίμους ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὸ κινῆσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐποιήσαντο συνωμότας. καὶ γράμματα μὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ βουλὴν, γράμματα δὲ πρὸς Κατιλίαν ἔδοσαν, τῇ μὲν ὑπισχνούμενοι

him, the third and remaining Cornelius, the heavenly powers were come with a proffer of the monarchy, which he must by all means accept, and not ruin his opportunities by delay, like Catiline.

XVIII. Accordingly, it was no trifling or insignificant plan which Lentulus was cherishing, nay, it was decided to kill all the senators and as many of the other citizens as they could, to burn down the city itself, and to spare no one except the children of Pompey; these they were to seize and hold in their own custody and keep as hostages for their reconciliation with Pompey; for already there was current a wide-spread and sure report of his coming back from his great expedition. A night had also been fixed for the attempt, a night of the Saturnalia,¹ and swords, tow, and brimstone had been carried to the house of Cethegus and hidden there. Moreover, they had appointed a hundred men and assigned by lot as many quarters of Rome to each one severally, in order that within a short time many might play the incendiary and the city be everywhere in a blaze. Others, too, were to stop up the aqueducts and kill those who tried to bring water.

But while this was going on, there chanced to be staying at Rome two ambassadors of the Allobroges, a nation which at that time was in a particularly evil plight and felt oppressed by the Roman sway. These men Lentulus and his partisans thought would be useful in stirring up Gaul to revolt, and therefore took them into the conspiracy. They also gave them letters to their senate, and letters to Catiline, making

¹ At the time of the conspiracy of Catiline the Saturnalia lasted only one day, December 19; in the time of Augustus three days were devoted to them (December 17-19). See the note on *Sulla*, xviii. 5.

τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὸν δὲ Κατιλίαν παρακαλοῦντες
 ἐλευθερώσαντα τοὺς δούλους ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην
 4 ἐλαύνειν. συναπέστειλλον δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς
 τὸν Κατιλίαν Τίτον τινὰ Κροτωνιάτην, κομί-
 ζοντα τὰς ἐπιστολάς. οἷα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀσταθ-
 μήτων καὶ μετ' οἴνου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν
 ἀλλήλοις ἐντυγχανόντων βουλευματα πόνῳ καὶ
 λογισμῷ νήφοντι καὶ συνέσει περιττῇ διώκων ὁ
 Κικέρων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχων ἔξωθεν ἐπισκο-
 ποῦντας τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ συνεξιχνεύοντας
 αὐτῷ, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν μετέχειν δοκούντων τῆς
 συνωμοσίας διαλεγόμενος κρύφα καὶ πιστεύων,
 5 ἔγνω τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους κοινολογίαν· καὶ
 νυκτὸς ἐνεδρεύσας ἔλαβε τὸν Κροτωνιάτην καὶ τὰ
 γράμματα, συνεργούντων ἀδήλως τῶν Ἄλλο-
 βρίγων.

XIX. "Ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα βουλὴν ἀθροίσας εἰς τὸ
 τῆς Ὀμονοίας ἱερὸν ἐξανέγνω τὰ γράμματα καὶ
 τῶν μηνυτῶν διήκουσεν. ἔφη δὲ καὶ Σιλανὸς
 Ἰούνιος ἀκηκοέναι τινὰς Κεθήγου λέγοντος ὡς
 ὑπατοί τε τρεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ τέτταρες ἀναιρεῖ-
 σθαι μέλλουσι. τοιαῦτα δ' ἕτερα καὶ Πείσων,
 2 ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, εἰσήγγειλε. Γάϊος δὲ Σουλπίκιος, 87
 εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν πεμφθεὶς τοῦ
 Κεθήγου πολλὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ βέλη καὶ ὅπλα,
 πλείστα δὲ ξίφη καὶ μαχαίρας εὗρε νεοθήκτους
 ἀπάσας. τέλος δὲ τῷ Κροτωνιάτῃ ψηφισαμένης
 ἄδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῆς βουλῆς ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὁ
 Λέντλος ἀπωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν (στρατηγῶν γὰρ
 ἐτύγχανε), καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
 καταθέμενος διήλλαξεν ἐσθῆτα τῇ συμφορᾷ πρέ-

the senate promises of freedom and urging Catiline to set the slaves free and march upon Rome. They also sent with them to Catiline a certain Titus of Croton, who was to carry the letters. But the conspirators were unbalanced men who seldom met together without wine and women, while Cicero was following their schemes industriously, with sober judgement and surpassing sagacity; he also had many men outside of their conspiracy who kept watch upon their doings and helped him track them down, and he conferred secretly and confidentially with many who were supposed to belong to the conspiracy; he therefore came to know of their conference with the strangers, and, laying an ambush by night, he seized the man of Croton and his letters with the secret co-operation of the Allobroges.¹

XIX. At break of day, then, he assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, read the letters aloud, and examined the informers. Silanus Junius also said that certain ones had heard Cethegus declare that three consuls and four praetors were going to be taken off. Piso, too, a man of consular dignity, brought in other reports of a like nature. Moreover, Caius Sulpicius, one of the praetors, on being sent to the house of Cethegus, found in it many missiles and weapons, and a huge quantity of swords and knives, all newly sharpened. And finally, after the senate had voted immunity to the man of Croton on condition that he gave information, Lentulus was convicted, resigned his office (he was then praetor), and laying aside his purple-bordered toga in the senate, assumed in its place a garment suitable to his

¹ Cf. Cicero, *in Catil.* iii. 2, 4-6.

πουσαν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ σὶν αὐτῷ παρεδόθησαν εἰς ἄδεσμον φυλακὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.

- 3 Ἦδη δ' ἐσπέρας οὔσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου περιμέ-
νοντος ἀθρόου, προελθὼν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ φράσας
τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ προπεμφθεῖς, παρ-
ῆλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου γειτνιῶντος, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἐκεί-
νου γυναῖκες κατεῖχον, ἱεροῖς ἀπορρήτοις ὀργιά-
ζουσαι θεὸν ἦν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Ἀγαθήν, Ἕλληνες δὲ
- 4 Γυναικείαν ὀνομάζουσι. θύεται δ' αὐτῇ κατ'
ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ ὑπάτου διὰ γυναικὸς ἡ
μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων παρου-
σῶν. εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καθ' αὐτόν,
ὀλίγων παντάπασιν αὐτῷ παρόντων, ἐφρόντιζεν
ὅπως χρήσαιτο τοῖς ἀνδράσι. τὴν τε γὰρ ἄκραν
καὶ προσήκουσαν ἀδικήμασι τηλικούτοις τιμω-
ρίαν ἐξευλαβεῖτο καὶ κατώκει δι' ἐπιείκειαν
ἡθους ἅμα καὶ ὥς μὴ δοκοίη τῆς ἐξουσίας ἄγαν
ἐμφορεῖσθαι καὶ πικρῶς ἐπεμβαίνειν ἀνδράσι γέ-
νει τε πρώτοις καὶ φίλους δυνατοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
κεκτημένοις· μαλακώτερόν τε χρησάμενος ὠρρώ-
5 δει τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσειν
μετριώτερόν τι θανάτου παθόντας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν
ἀναρραγήσεσθαι τόλμης, τῇ παλαιᾷ κακίᾳ νέαν
ὀργὴν προσλαβόντας· αὐτὸς τε δόξειν ἀνάνδρος
καὶ μαλακός, οὐδ' ἄλλως δοκῶν εὐτολμότατος
εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

XX. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος διαποροῦντος γί-

¹ i.e. for confinement under guard in their own houses (libera custodia).

predicament. He and his associates, therefore, were handed over to the praetors for custody without fetters.¹

It was now evening, and the people were waiting about the temple in throngs, when Cicero came forth and told his fellow-citizens what had been done.² They then escorted him to the house of a friend and neighbour, since his own was occupied by the women, who were celebrating mysterious rites to a goddess whom the Romans call Bona Dea, and the Greeks, Gynaecia. Sacrifice is offered to her annually in the house of the consul by his wife or his mother, in the presence of the Vestal Virgins. Cicero, then, having gone into his friend's house, began to deliberate with himself—and he had only very few companions—what he should do with the men.³ For he shrank from inflicting the extreme penalty, and the one befitting such great crimes, and he hesitated to do it because of the kindness of his nature, and at the same time that he might not appear to make an excessive use of his power and to trample ruthlessly upon men who were of the highest birth and had powerful friends in the city; and if he treated them with less severity, he was afraid of the peril into which they would bring the state. For if they suffered any milder penalty than death, he was sure they would not be satisfied, but would break out into every extreme of boldness, having added fresh rage to their old villainy: and he himself would be thought unmanly and weak, especially as the multitude already thought him very far from courageous.

XX. While Cicero was in this perplexity, a sign

² The third oration in *Catilinam*.

³ Cf. Sallust's *Catiline*, 46.

νεταί τι ταῖς γυναιξὶ σημεῖον θνούσαις. ὁ γὰρ βωμός, ἤδη τοῦ πυρὸς κατακεκοιμῆσθαι δοκοῦντος, ἐκ τῆς τέφρας καὶ τῶν κεκαυμένων φλοιῶν φλόγα πολλὴν ἀνῆκε καὶ λαμπράν. ὑφ' ἧς αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι διεπτοήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἱεραὶ παρθένοι τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἐκέλευσαν ἢ τάχος χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύειν οἷς ἔγνωκεν ἐγχειρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς μέγα πρὸς τε σωτηρίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοῦ φῶς
 2 διδοῦσης. ἡ δὲ Τερεντία (καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως ἦν πραεὶά τις οὐδ' ἄτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος γυνὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Κικέρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάιουσα παρ' ἐκείνου φροντίδων ἢ μεταδιδούσα τῶν οἰκιακῶν ἐκείνῳ) ταῦτά τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφρασε καὶ παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόϊντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἐταίρων Πόπλιος Νιγίδιος, ᾧ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἐχρήτο πράξεις.

3 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ γενομένων ἐν συγκλήτῳ λόγων περὶ τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Σιλανὸς εἶπε τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην δοῦναι προσήκειν ἀχθέντας εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον. καὶ προσετίθεντο τούτῳ πάντες ἐφεξῆς μέχρι Γαίου Καίσαρος τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα δικτάτορος γενομένου. τότε δὲ νέος ὢν ἔτι καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἔχων τῆς αὐξήσεως ἀρχάς, ἤδη δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμβεβηκὼς ἢ τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἰς μοναρχίαν μετέστησε πράγματα,

was given to the women who were sacrificing. The altar, it seems, although the fire was already thought to have gone out, sent forth from the ashes and burnt bark upon it a great bright blaze. The rest of the women were terrified at this, but the sacred virgins bade Terentia the wife of Cicero go with all speed to her husband and tell him to carry out his resolutions in behalf of the country, since the goddess was giving him a great light on this path to safety and glory. So Terentia, who was generally of no mild spirit nor without natural courage, but an ambitious woman, and, as Cicero himself tells us,¹ more inclined to make herself a partner in his political perplexities than to share with him her domestic concerns, gave him this message and incited him against the conspirators; so likewise did Quintus, his brother, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical companions, of whom he made the most and greatest use in his political undertakings.

On the following day the senate discussed the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, who was the first to be asked to give his opinion, said that they ought to be taken to prison and there suffer extremest punishment. All the senators acceded to his opinion one after the other, until it came to Caius Caesar,² who afterwards became dictator. At this time, however, he was a young man still and at the very beginning of his rise to power, but in his public policy and his hopes he had already entered upon that road by which he changed the Roman state into a monarchy. His

¹ In some passage no longer extant.

² Cf. Cicero, in *Catil.* iv. 4, 7.

4 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανε, τῷ δὲ Κικέρωνι πολλὰς μὲν ὑποψίας, λαβὴν δ' οὐδεμίαν εἰς ἔλεγχον παρέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγόντων ἦν ἐνίων ἀκούειν ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν ἀλῶναι διεκφυγεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα. τινὲς δὲ φασὶ παριδεῖν ἐκόντα καὶ παραλιπεῖν τὴν κατ' ἐκείνου μήνυσιν φόβῳ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως· παντὶ γὰρ εἶναι πρόδηλον ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκείνοι γένοιτο προσθήκη Καίσαρι σωτηρίας ἢ Καῖσαρ ἐκείνοις κολάσεως.

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XXI. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἡ γνώμη περιῆλθεν εἰς αὐτόν, ἀναστὰς ἀπεφώνησε μὴ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι δημοσίας, αὐτοὺς δ' ἀπαχθέντας εἰς πόλεις τῆς Ἰταλίας ἃς ἂν δοκῇ Κικέρωνι, τηρεῖσθαι δεδεμένους ἄχρι ἂν οὐ κατα-
2 πολεμηθῇ Κατιλίνας. οὐσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπικουρῶν καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος εἰπεῖν δυνατωτάτου, ῥοπήν ὁ Κικέρων προσέθηκεν οὐ μικράν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἀναστὰς ἐνεχείρησεν εἰς ἐκάτερον, τὰ μὲν τῇ προτέρᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ Καίσαρος συνειπών, οἳ τε φίλοι πάντες οἰόμενοι τῷ Κικέρωνι συμφέ-
3 ρειν τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην (ἦπτον γὰρ ἐν αἰτίαις ἔσεσθαι μὴ θανατώσαντα τοὺς ἄνδρας) ἡροῦντο τὴν δευτέραν μᾶλλον γνώμην, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Σιλανὸν αὖθις μεταβαλλόμενον παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἴποι θανατικὴν γνώμην· ἐσχάτην γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βουλευτῇ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι δίκην τὸ δεσμωτήριον. εἰρημένης δὲ τῆς γνώμης πρῶτος ἀντέκρουσεν αὐτῇ Κάτλος Λουτάτιος· εἶτα δεξάμενος Κάτων, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ σφοδρῶς

designs were still unnoticed by the rest, but to Cicero he had given many grounds for suspicion, and yet no hold which could lead to his conviction, although many were heard to say that he had come near being caught by Cicero, but had eluded him. Some, however, say that Cicero purposely overlooked and neglected the information against him through fear of his friends and his power, since it was clear to every one that the other conspirators would be included in Caesar's acquittal, rather than Caesar in their punishment.

XXI. When, then, it was Caesar's turn to give his opinion, he rose and declared it to be against putting the conspirators to death, but in favour of confiscating their property and removing them to whatever cities of Italy Cicero might deem best, there to be put in fetters and closely guarded until Catiline should be defeated. The proposal of Caesar was merciful and its author a very able speaker, and Cicero added no little weight to it. For when he rose to speak himself,¹ he handled the subject in both ways, now favouring the first proposal and now that of Caesar. All his friends, too, thinking that Caesar's proposal was an advantageous one for Cicero, who would be less subject to censure if he did not put the conspirators to death, chose the second proposal rather, so that Silanus also changed his position and excused himself by saying that even his proposal had not meant death: for "extremest punishment," in the case of a Roman senator, meant the prison. Lutatius Catulus was the first to oppose the opinion which Caesar had given; then Cato followed him, helping

¹ The fourth oration in *Catilinam*.

συνεπερείσας ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ὑπόνοιαν, ἐνέπλησε θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος τὴν σύγκλητον, ὥστε θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
 1 περὶ δὲ δημεύσεως χρημάτων ἐνίστατο Καίσαρ, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὰ φιλάνθρωπα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐκβαλόντας ἐνὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σκυθρωποτάτῳ. βιαζομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοὺς δημάρχους. οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων αὐτὸς ἐνδoὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν περὶ δημεύσεως γνώμην.

XXII. Ἐχώρει δὲ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὐκ ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ πάντες ἦσαν, ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἐφύλαττε τῶν στρατηγῶν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ Παλατίου παραλαβὼν τὸν Λέντλον ἤγε διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, τῶν μὲν ἡγεμονικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν κύκλῳ περιεσπειραμένων καὶ δορυφορούντων, τοῦ δὲ δήμου φρίττοντος τὰ δρώμενα καὶ παριόντος¹ σιωπῇ, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νέων, ὥσπερ ἱεροῖς τισι πατρίοις ἀριστοκρατικῆς τινος ἐξουσίας τελεῖσθαι μετὰ φόβου καὶ θάμβους
 2 λοκούντων. διελθὼν δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντλον τῷ δημίῳ καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν· εἴθ' ἐξῆς τὸν Κέθηγον, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον καταγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁρῶν δὲ πολλοὺς ἔτι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς² συνωμοσίας ἐν ἀγορᾷ συνεστῶτας ἀθρόους καὶ τὴν μὲν πρᾶξιν ἀγνοοῦντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα προσμένοντας, ὡς ἔτι ζώντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυναμένων ἐξαρπασθῆναι, φθεγξάμενος μέγα πρὸς αὐτούς, “Ἐξησαν,” εἶπεν. οὕτω δὲ Ῥω-

¹ παριόντος Bekker and Graux adopt the παριέντος (*acquiescing*) of Coraës.

² τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Graux with M^a: τῆς.

by the vehemence of his speech to fix suspicion upon Caesar, and filled the senate with angry resolution, so that a decree of death was passed upon the conspirators. As regarded the confiscation of their property, however, Caesar made opposition, deeming it wrong that the merciful part of his own proposal should be rejected and the one part that was most severe adopted. And when many of the senators insisted upon it, he invoked the aid of the tribunes, but they would not listen to his appeal; Cicero himself, however, yielded the point, and remitted that part of the vote which called for confiscation.

XXII. Then he went with the senate to fetch the conspirators. These were not all in the same place, but different praetors had different ones under guard. And first he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill and led him along the Via Sacra and through the middle of the forum, the men of highest authority surrounding him as a body-guard, and the people shuddering at what was being done and passing along in silence, and especially the young men, as though they thought they were being initiated with fear and trembling into some ancient mysteries of an aristocratic regime. When Cicero had passed through the forum and reached the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the public executioner with the order to put him to death. Then Cethegus in his turn, and so each one of the others, he brought down to the prison and had him executed. And seeing that many members of the conspiracy were still assembled in the forum in ignorance of what had been done and waiting for night to come, with the idea that the men were still living and might be rescued, he cried out to them with a loud voice and said: "They have

μαίων οἱ δυσφημεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι σημαίνουσιν.

- 3 Ἦδη δ' ἦν ἐσπέρα, καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀνέβαιναν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, οὐκέτι σιωπῇ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τάξει προπεμπόντων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φωναῖς καὶ κρότοις δεχομένων καθ' οὓς γένοιτο, σωτήρα καὶ κτίστην ἀνακαλούντων τῆς πατρίδος. τὰ δὲ φῶτα πολλὰ κατέλαμπε τοὺς στενωπούς, λαμπά-
4 δια καὶ δῶδας ἰστώντων ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῶν τεγῶν προὔφαινον ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ θεᾷ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὑπὸ πομπῇ τῶν ἀρίστων μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνιόντος· ὧν οἱ πλείστοι πολέμους τε κατειργασμένοι μεγάλους καὶ διὰ θριύμβων εἰσ-
εληλακότες καὶ προσκεκτημένοι γῆν καὶ θάλατ-
ταν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐβάδιζον ἀνομολογούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν τότε ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατηγῶν πλούτου καὶ λαφύρων καὶ δυνάμεως χάριν ὀφείλειν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον, ἀσφαλείας δὲ καὶ σωτηρίας ἐνὶ μόνῳ Κικέρωνι, τηλικούτον
5 ἀφελόντι καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ τὸ κωλύσαι τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ κολάσαι τοὺς πράττοντας ἐδόκει θαυμαστόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέγιστον 87: τῶν πώποτε νεωτερισμῶν οὗτος ἐλαχίστοις κακοῖς ἄνευ στάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς κατέσβεσε. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Κατιλίαν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν συρρηκόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον ἐγκαταλιπόντες ὥχοντο· καὶ μετὰ τῶν συμμεμενηκότων αὐτῷ διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XXIII. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Κικέρωνα παρσκευασμένοι καὶ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ

lived." For thus the Romans who wish to avoid words of ill omen indicate death.

It was now evening, and Cicero went up through the forum to his house, the citizens no longer escorting him on his way with silent decorum, but receiving him with cries and clapping of hands as he passed along, calling him the saviour and founder of his country. And many lights illuminated the streets, since people placed lamps and torches at their doors. The women, too, displayed lights upon the house-tops in honour of the man, and that they might see him going up to his home in great state under escort of the noblest citizens. Most of these had brought to an end great wars and entered the city in triumph, and had added to the Roman dominion no small extent of land and sea; but they now walked along confessing to one another that to many of the commanders and generals of the time the Roman people were indebted for wealth and spoils and power, but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had freed them from so peculiar and so great a peril. For it was not his preventing their schemes and punishing the schemers which seemed so wonderful, but his quenching the greatest of all revolutions with the fewest possible evils, without sedition and commotion. For most of those who had flocked to the standard of Catiline, as soon as they learned the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus, deserted him and went away; and Catiline, after a conflict with his remaining forces against Antonius, perished himself and his army with him.¹

XXIII. However, there were those who were ready to abuse Cicero for what he had done, and to

¹ Near the beginning of 62 B.C.

ποιεῖν κακῶς, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀρχόντων Καίσαρα μὲν στρατηγοῦντα, Μέτελλον δὲ καὶ Βηστιαν δημαρχοῦντας. οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες, ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἄρχοντος, οὐκ εἶων δημηγορεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων βάθρα θέντες οὐ παρίεσαν οὐδ' ἐπέτρεπον λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευον, εἰ βούλοιτο, μόνον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπομόσαντα καταβαίνειν.

- 2 κακείνος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς ὁμόσων προῆλθε· καὶ γενομένης αὐτῷ σιωπῆς ὤμνουν, οὐ τὸν πατριον, ἀλλ' ἴδιόν τινα καὶ καινὸν ὄρκον, ἧ μὴν σεσωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ διατετηρηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἐπώμνυε δὲ τὸν ὄρκον αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ δῆμος. ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον ὅ τε Καῖσαρ οἷ τε δήμαρχοι χαλεπαίνοντες ἄλλας τε τῷ Κικέρωνι ταραχὰς ἐμνηχανῶντο, καὶ νόμος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσήγετο καλεῖν Πομπηίου μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὡς δὴ καταλύ-
3 σοντα τὴν Κικέρωνος δυναστείαν. ἀλλ' ἦν ὄφελος μέγα τῷ Κικέρωνι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει δημαρχῶν τότε Κάτων καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων¹ πολυτεύμασιν ἀπ' ἴσης μὲν ἐξουσίας, μείζονος δὲ δόξης ἀντιτασσόμενος. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ῥαδίως ἔλυσε, καὶ τὴν Κικέρωνος ὑπατείαν οὕτως ἦρε τῷ λόγῳ μεγάλην δημηγορήσας ὥστε τιμὰς αὐτῷ τῶν πώποτε μεγίστας ψηφίσασθαι καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι πατέρα πατρίδος. πρώτῳ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ

¹ ἐκείνων Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander: ἐκείνου (referring to Caesar).

work him harm, and they had as leaders, among the magistrates-elect, Caesar as praetor, and Metellus and Bestia¹ as tribunes. When these assumed office, Cicero having still a few days of consular authority,² they would not permit him to harangue the people, but placing their benches so as to command the rostra, would not suffer or allow him to speak; instead, they ordered him, if he wished, merely to pronounce the oath usual on giving up office, and then come down. Cicero accepted these terms and came forward to pronounce his oath; and when he had obtained silence, he pronounced, not the usual oath, but one of his own and a new one, swearing that in very truth he had saved his country and maintained her supremacy. And all the people confirmed his oath for him. At this Caesar and the tribunes were still more vexed and contrived fresh troubles for Cicero. Among other things, a law was introduced by them for calling Pompey home with his army, in order, forsooth, that he might put down the arbitrary power of Cicero. But Cato, who was tribune at this time, was a great help to Cicero and to the whole state, and opposed the measures of the other tribunes with an authority equal to theirs and a greater good repute. For he easily put a stop to their other projects, and so highly extolled the "arbitrary power" of Cicero in a speech to the people, that they voted him the greatest honours ever conferred and called him the father of his country. For he was the first, as it seems, to receive this

¹ Bestia was tribune in 63 B.C., and could not have had any part in dictating the procedure of Cicero.

² Caesar, as praetor, assumed office January 1, 62 B.C., the day after Cicero laid down the consulship; but the new tribunes for the year 62 assumed office early in December of 63.

τοῦτο καθυπάρξαι, Κάτωνος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐν τῷ δήμῳ προσαγορεύσαντος.

- XXIV. Καὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἴσχυσεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπίφθονον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, τῷ δ' ἐπαινεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ μεγαλύνειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυσχεραίνόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ βουλὴν οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε δικαστήριον ἦν συνελθεῖν ἐν ᾧ μὴ Κατιλίαναν ἔδει
 2 θρυλούμενον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ Λέντλον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἐγκωμίων· καὶ τὸν λόγον ἡδιστον ὄντα καὶ χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην ἐπαχθῇ καὶ φορτικὸν ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις, ὥσπερ τινὸς αἰεὶ κηρὸς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀηδίας ταύτης προσοῦσης. ὅμως δέ, καίπερ οὕτως ἀκράτῳ φιλοτιμία συνών, ἀπήλλακτο τοῦ φθονεῖν ἑτέροις, ἀφθονώτατος ὢν ἐν τῷ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ἐγκωμιάζειν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων λαβεῖν
 3 ἔστι. πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύουσιν οἶον περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, ὅτι χρυσίου ποταμὸς εἷη ῥέοντος, καὶ περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων, ὡς τοῦ Διὸς, εἰ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν, οὕτω διαλεγόμενον. τὸν δὲ Θεόφραστον εἰώθει τρυφὴν ἰδίαν ἀποκαλεῖν. περὶ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα δοκοίη κάλλιστον εἶναι,
 4 τὸν μέγιστον εἶπε. καίτοι τινὲς τῶν προσποιουμένων δημοσθενίζειν ἐπιφύονται φωνῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἣν πρὸς τίνα τῶν ἐταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράψας, ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπονυστάζειν

¹ Cicero himself nowhere says this, nor does he mention Cato in connection with the title. In his oration *in Pisonem*,

title,¹ after Cato had given it to him before the people.

XXIV. So at this time Cicero had the greatest power in the state, but he made himself generally odious, not by any base action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself, which made him hateful to many. For there could be no session either of senate or assembly or court of justice in which one was not obliged to hear Catiline and Lentulus endlessly talked about. Nay, he even went so far as to fill his books and writings with these praises of himself; and he made his oratory, which was naturally very pleasant and had the greatest charm, irksome and tedious to his hearers, since this unpleasant practice clung to him like a fatality. But nevertheless, although he cherished so strong an ambition, he was free from envying others, since he was most ungrudging in his encomiums upon his predecessors and contemporaries, as may be gathered from his writings. There are also many sayings of his on record which prove this; for instance, he said of Aristotle that he was a river of liquid gold,² and of the dialogues of Plato that Jupiter, were it his nature to use human speech, would thus discourse.³ Theophrastus, too, he used to call his own special delight. And when he was asked which of the speeches of Demosthenes he thought the best, he replied, "the longest." And yet some of those who pretend to be imitators of Demosthenes dwell much upon an expression which Cicero used in a letter to one of his friends, to the effect that in some parts of

3, 6, he says that Quintus Catulus gave him the title in the Senate. ² *Acad. Prior.* ii. 38, 119.

³ *Brutus*, 31, 121 (si Græce loquatur).

τὸν Δημοσθένη· τῶν δὲ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐπαίνων οἷς πολλαχοῦ χρήται περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι περὶ οὗς μάλιστα τῶν ἰδίων ἐσπούδασε λόγων, τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου, Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψεν, ἀμνημονοῦσι.

- 5 Τῶν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδόξων ἀπὸ λόγου καὶ σοφίας οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὃν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐνδοξότερον ἢ λέγων ἢ γράφων εὐμενῶς περὶ ἐκάστου. Κρατίππῳ δὲ τῷ Περιπατητικῷ διεπράξατο μὲν 875
Ῥωμαίῳ γενέσθαι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄρχοντος ἤδη, διεπράξατο δὲ καὶ ¹ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν ψηφίσασθαι δεηθῆναι μένειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς νέοις ὡς κοσμοῦντα τὴν
6 πόλιν. ἐπιστολαὶ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰσὶ πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ἕτεραι δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἐγκελευομένου συμφιλοσοφεῖν Κρατίππῳ. Γοργίαν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα αἰτιώμενος εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους προάγειν τὸ μειράκιον ἀπελαύνει τῆς συνουσίας
7 αὐτοῦ. καὶ σχεδὸν αὕτη τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μία καὶ δευτέρα πρὸς Πέλοπα τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν ὀργῇ τινι γέγραπται, τὸν μὲν Γοργίαν αὐτοῦ προσηκόντως ἐπικόπτοντος, εἴπερ ἦν φαῦλος καὶ ἀκόλαστος, ἥπερ ἐδόκει, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πέλοπα μικρολογουμένου καὶ μεμψιμοιροῦντος ὥσπερ ἀμελήσαντα τιμὰς τινὰς αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ Βυζαντίων γενέσθαι.

XXV. Ταῦτά τε δὴ φιλότιμα, καὶ τὸ πολλάκις

¹ καὶ supplied here by Reiske, and deleted before δεηθῆναι by Sintenis¹ (in crit. notes). Graux simply transposes.

his speeches Demosthenes nods; but of the great and admirable praises which he often bestows upon him, and of the fact that those speeches of his own to which he devoted most labour, namely, the speeches against Antony, were entitled by him Philippics, they say nothing.

Moreover, of the men of his own time who were famous for eloquence or learning, there is not one whom he did not make more famous by what he said or wrote in favour of him. For Cratippus the Peripatetic he obtained the Roman citizenship from Caesar, now in power, and he also induced the council of the Areiopagus to pass a decree requesting him to remain at Athens and discourse with the young men, and thus be an ornament to the city. Furthermore, there are letters from Cicero to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he urges them to study philosophy with Cratippus.¹ But Gorgias the rhetorician he censured for leading the young man into pleasures and drinking parties, and banished him from his son's society.² This is almost the only one of his Greek letters (there is also a second, addressed to Pelops of Byzantium) which was written in a spirit of anger; and Gorgias he properly rebukes, if, as he was thought to be, he was worthless and intemperate; but towards Pelops he shows a mean and querulous spirit for having neglected to obtain for him certain honorary decrees from the Byzantians.

XXV. These complaints were characteristic of

¹ These letters are not extant.

² The younger Cicero, in a letter to Tiro (*ad fam.* xvi. 21, 6), says that he had found Gorgias useful as a teacher of declamation, but had dismissed him in obedience to his father's positive command.

ἐπαιρόμενον τοῦ λόγου τῇ δεινότητι τὸ πρέπον προῖσθαι. Μουνατίῳ μὲν γάρ ποτε συνηγορήσας, ὡς ἀποφυγῶν τὴν δίκην ἐκείνος ἐδίωκεν ἐταῖρον αὐτοῦ Σαβῖνον, οὕτω λέγεται προπεσεῖν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὁ Κικέρων ὥστ' εἰπεῖν. “Σὺ γὰρ ἐκείνην, ὦ Μουνάτιε, τὴν δίκην ἀπέφυγες διὰ σαυτόν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ πολὺ σκότος ἐν φωτὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ
 2 περιχέαντος;” Μάρκον δὲ Κράσσον ἐγκωμιάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐημέρησε, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας αὐθις ὀλίγας λοιδορῶν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκείνος εἶπεν “Οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πρόην αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπήνεις;” “Ναί,” φησι, “μελέτης ἕνεκεν γυμνάζων τὸν
 3 λόγον εἰς φαύλην ὑπόθεσιν.” εἰπόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ Κράσσου μηδένα Κράσσον ἐν Ῥώμῃ βεβιωκέναι μακρότερον ἐξηκονταετίας, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀρνούμενου καὶ λέγοντος, “Τί δ' ἂν ἐγὼ παθὼν τοῦτ' εἶπον;” “Ἥιδεις,” ἔφη, “Ῥωμαίους ἡδέως ἀκουσομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐδημαγώγεις.” ἀρέσκεσθαι δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς φήσαιτος, ὅτι πλούσιον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν,
 “Ὅρα μὴ μᾶλλον,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι πάντα τοῦ σοφοῦ
 4 λέγουσιν εἶναι.” διεβύλλετο δ' εἰς φιλαργυρίαν ὁ Κράσσος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τῶν παίδων ὁ ἕτερος Ἀξίῳ τινὶ δοκῶν ὅμοιος εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μητρὶ προστριβόμενος αἰσχροὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀξίῳ διαβολὴν εὐδοκίμησε λόγον ἐν βουλῇ διελθὼν, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Κικέρων τί φαίνεται αὐτῷ, “Ἀξίος,” εἶπε, “Κράσσου.”

ambition, as well as the fact that he was often led on by the cleverness of his speech to disregard propriety. For instance, he once served as advocate for Munatius, who was no sooner acquitted than he prosecuted a friend of Cicero's, Sabinus, whereupon, it is said, Cicero was so transported with anger as to say: "Was it, pray, on your own merits, Munatius, that you were acquitted, and not because I spread much darkness about the court when before there was light?" And again, he gained great applause by an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the rostra, and then a few days afterwards as publicly reviled him, whereupon Crassus said: "What, did you not stand there yourself a day or two ago and praise me?" "Yea," said Cicero, "exercising my eloquence by way of practice on a bad subject." Again, Crassus once said that no Crassus had lived in Rome to be older than sixty years, and then tried to deny it, exclaiming, "What could have led me to say this?" "You knew," said Cicero, "that the Romans would be delighted to hear it, and by that means you tried to court their favour." And when Crassus expressed his satisfaction with the Stoics because they represented the good man as rich, "Consider," said Cicero, "whether your satisfaction is not rather due to their declaration that all things belong to the wise." Now, Crassus was accused of covetousness. Again, one of the sons of Crassus who was thought to resemble a certain Axius, and on this account had brought his mother's name into scandalous connection with that of Axius, once made a successful speech in the senate, and when Cicero was asked what he thought of him, he answered with the Greek words "Axios Krassou."¹

¹ "Worthy of Crassus."

XXVI. Μέλλων δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Συρίαν ἀπαί-
 ρειν ἐβούλετο τὸν Κικέρωνα μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φίλον
 ἢ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι· καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἔφη βού-
 λεσθαι δειπνήσαι παρ' αὐτῷ· καὶ κείνος ὑπεδέξατο
 προθύμως. ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις περὶ
 Βατινίου φίλων τινῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὡς μνωμέ-
 νου διαλύσεις καὶ φιλίαν (ἦν γὰρ ἐχθρός), “Οὐ
 δήπου καὶ Βατίνιος,” εἶπε, “δειπνήσαι παρ' ἐμοὶ
 2 βούλεται;” πρὸς μὲν οὖν Κράσσον τοιοῦτος. αὐ-
 τὸν δὲ τὸν Βατίνιον ἔχοντα χοιράδας ἐν τῷ
 τραχήλῳ καὶ λέγοντα δίκην οἰδοῦντα ῥήτορα
 προσεῖπεν. ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τέθνηκεν, εἶτα μετὰ
 μικρὸν πυθόμενος σαφῶς ὅτι ζῇ, “Κακὸς τοίνυν
 3 ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς ὁ ψευδάμενος.” ἐπεὶ δὲ Καί-
 σари ψηφισαμένῳ τὴν ἐν Καμπανίᾳ χώραν
 κατανεμηθῆναι τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλοὶ μὲν
 ἐδυσχέραινον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, Λεύκιος δὲ Γέλλιος
 ὁμοῦ τι πρεσβύτατος ὢν εἶπεν ὡς οὐ γενήσεται
 τοῦτο ζῶντος αὐτοῦ, “Περιμείνωμεν,” εἶπεν ὁ
 Κικέρων, “μακρὰν γὰρ οὐκ αἰτεῖται Γέλλιος
 4 ὑπέρθεσιν.” ἦν δέ τις Ὀκταοῦϊος αἰτίαν ἔχων
 ἐκ Λιβύης γεγονέναι· πρὸς τοῦτον ἔν τινι δίκῃ
 λέγοντα τοῦ Κικέρωνος μὴ ἔξακούειν, “Καὶ μὴν
 οὐκ ἔχεις,” εἶπε, “τὸ οὖς ἀτρύπητον.” Μετέλλου
 δὲ Νέπωτος εἰπόντος ὅτι πλείονας καταμαρτυρῶν
 ἀνῆρηκεν ἢ συνηγορῶν σέσωκεν, “Ὁμολογῶ
 γάρ,” ἔφη, “πίστεως ἐν ἐμοὶ πλέον ἢ δεινότητος
 5 εἶναι.” νεανίσκου δέ τινος αἰτίαν ἔχοντος ἐν
 πλακοῦντι φάρμακον τῷ πατρὶ δεδωκέναι θρα-

XXVI. When Crassus was about to set out for Syria, wishing that Cicero should be a friend rather than an enemy, he said to him in a friendly manner that he wished to dine with him; and Cicero readily received him into his house. But a few days afterwards, when some friends interceded with him for Vatinius, saying that the man sought reconciliation and friendship (for he was an enemy), "It surely cannot be," said Cicero, "that Vatinius also wishes to dine with me." Such, then, was his treatment of Crassus. Now, Vatinius himself had swellings on his neck, and once when he was pleading a case Cicero called him a *tumid* orator. Again, after hearing that Vatinius was dead, and then after a little learning for a surety that he was alive, "Wretchedly perish, then," said Cicero, "the wretch who lied!" And again, Caesar once got a decree passed that the land in Campania should be divided among his soldiers, and many of the senators were dissatisfied, and Lucius Gellius, who was about the oldest of them, declared that it should never be done while he was alive; whereupon Cicero said: "Let us wait, since Gellius does not ask for a long postponement." There was a certain Octavius, too, who was reputed to be of African descent; to this man, who said at a certain trial that he could not hear Cicero, the orator replied: "And yet your ear is not without a perforation."¹ And when Metellus Nepos declared that Cicero had brought more men to death as a hostile witness than he had saved from it as an advocate, "Yes," said Cicero, "I admit that my credibility is greater than my eloquence." Again, when a certain young man who was accused of having given his father poison in

¹ Usually the mark of a slave.

συνομένου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι λοιδορήσει τὸν 874
 Κικέρωνα, “Τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “παρὰ σοῦ βούλομαι
 μᾶλλον ἢ πλακοῦντα.” Ποπλίου δὲ Σηστίου
 συνήγορον μὲν αὐτὸν ἔν τινι δίκη παραλαβόντος
 μεθ’ ἐτέρων, αὐτοῦ δὲ πάντα βουλομένου λέγειν
 καὶ μηδενὶ παριέντος εἰπεῖν, ὡς δῆλος ἦν ἀφιέ-
 μενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἤδη τῆς ψήφου φερομέ-
 νης, “Χρῶ σήμερον,” ἔφη, “τῷ καιρῷ, Σήστιε·
 6 μέλλεις γὰρ αὔριον ιδιώτης εἶναι.” Πόπλιον δὲ
 Κώνσταν νομικὸν εἶναι βουλόμενον, ὄντα δ’ ἀμα-
 θῇ καὶ ἀφυῇ, πρὸς τινα δίκην ἐκάλεσε μάρτυρα
 τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν εἰδέναι φάσκοντος, “Ἴσως,” ἔφη,
 “δοκεῖς περὶ τῶν νομικῶν ἐρωτᾶσθαι.” Μετέλ-
 λου δὲ Νέπωτος ἐν διαφορᾷ τινι πολλάκις λέ-
 γοντος “Τίς σοῦ πατήρ ἐστίν,” ὁ Κικέρων “Σοὶ
 ταύτην” ἔφη “τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἢ μήτηρ χαλεπω-
 7 τέραν ἐποίησεν.” ἐδόκει δ’ ἀκόλαστος ἢ μήτηρ
 εἶναι τοῦ Νέπωτος, αὐτὸς δὲ τις εὐμετάβολος.
 καί ποτε τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀπολιπὼν ἄφνω πρὸς
 Πομπήϊον ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Συρίαν, εἰτ’ ἐκεῖθεν
 ἐπανῆλθεν ἀλογώτερον. θάψας δὲ Φίλαγρον
 τὸν καθηγητὴν ἐπιμελέστερον ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῦ
 τῷ τάφῳ κόρακα λίθινον· καὶ ὁ Κικέρων “Τοῦτ’”
 ἔφη “σοφώτερον ἐποίησας· πέτεσθαι γάρ σε
 8 μᾶλλον ἢ λέγειν ἐδίδαξεν.” ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκος
 Ἀππίος ἔν τινι δίκη προοιμιαζόμενος εἶπε φίλον
 αὐτοῦ δεδεῆσθαι παρασχεῖν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ λο-
 γιότητα καὶ πίστιν, “Εἰθ’ οὕτως,” ἔφη, “σιδη-
 ροὺς γέγονας ἄνθρωπος ὥστε μηδὲν ἐκ τοσούτων
 ὧν ἡτήσαθ’ ὁ φίλος παρασχεῖν;”

a cake put on bold airs and threatened to cover Cicero with abuse, "That," said Cicero, "I would rather have from you than a cake." There was Publius Sextius, too, who retained Cicero as an advocate in a case, along with others, and then wanted to do all the speaking himself, and would allow no one else a word; when it was clear that he was going to be acquitted by the jurors and the vote was already being given, "Use your opportunity to-day, Sextius," said Cicero, "for to-morrow you are going to be a nobody." Publius Consta, too, who wanted to be a lawyer, but was ignorant and stupid, was once summoned by Cicero as witness in a case; and when he kept saying that he knew nothing, "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think you are being questioned on points of law." Again, in a dispute with Cicero, Metellus Nepos asked repeatedly "Who is your father?" "In your case," said Cicero, "your mother has made the answer to this question rather difficult." Now, the mother of Nepos was thought to be unchaste, and he himself a fickle sort of man. He once suddenly deserted his office of tribune and sailed off to join Pompey in Syria, and then came back from there with even less reason. Moreover, after burying his teacher Philagrus with more than usual ceremony, he set upon his tomb a raven in stone; whereupon Cicero remarked: "In this you have acted more wisely than is your wont, for he taught you to fly rather than to speak." And again, when Marcus Appius prefaced his speech in a case by saying that his friend had begged him to exhibit diligence, eloquence, and fidelity, "And then," said Cicero, "are you so hard-hearted as to exhibit none of those great qualities which your friend demanded?"

- XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἐχθροὺς ἡ ἀντιδίκους σκώμμασι χρῆσθαι πικροτέροις δοκεῖ ῥητορικὸν εἶναι· τὸ δ' οἷς ἔτυχε προσκρούειν ἕνεκα τοῦ γελοίου πολὺ συνῆγε μῖσος αὐτῷ. γράψω δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα. Μάρκον Ἀκυῖνιον ἔχοντα δύο
 2 γαμβροὺς φυγάδας Ἀδραστον ἐκάλει. Λευκίου δὲ Κόττα τιμητικὴν ἔχοντος ἀρχήν, φιλοειδοτάτου δ' ὄντος, ὑπατεῖαν μετιὼν ὁ Κικέρων ἐδίψησε, καὶ τῶν φίλων κύκλῳ περιστάντων ὡς ἔπινεν, “Ὁρθῶς φοβεῖσθε,” εἶπε, “μή μοι γένοιτο χαλ-
 επὸς ὁ τιμητὴς ὅτι ὕδωρ πίνω.” Βωκωνίῳ δ' ἀπαντήσας ἄγοντι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἀμορφοτάτας θυγατέρας ἀνεφθέγγατο·

“Φοίβου ποτ' οὐκ ἐῶντος ἔσπειρεν τέκνα.”

- 3 Μάρκου δὲ Γελλίου δοκοῦντος οὐκ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων γεγενῆσθαι, λαμπρᾷ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ γράμματα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξαναγνόντος, “Μὴ θαυμάζετε,” εἶπε, “καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναπεφωνηκότων.” ἐπεὶ δὲ Φαῦστος ὁ Σύλλα τοῦ μοναρχήσαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγράψαντος ἐν δανείοις γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τῆς οὐσίας διασπαθήσας ἀπάρτιον προέγραψε, ταύτην ἔφη μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τὴν προγραφὴν ἀρέσκειν ἢ τὴν πατρώαν.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτων ἐγένετο πολλοῖς ἐπαχθής· καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλωδίου συνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες. ἦν Κλώδιος ἀνὴρ εὐγενής, τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ νέος, τῷ δὲ φρονήματι

¹ Adrastus, mythical king of Argos, gave his two daughters in marriage to Tydeus and Polyneices, both of whom were fugitives from their native cities.

XXVII. Now, this use of very biting jests against enemies or legal opponents seems to be part of the orator's business; but his indiscriminate attacks for the sake of raising a laugh made many people hate Cicero. And I will give a few instances of this also. Marcus Aquinius, who had two sons-in-law in exile, he called Adrastus.¹ Again, Lucius Cotta, who held the office of censor, was very fond of wine, and Cicero, when canvassing for the consulship, was a-thirst, and as his friends stood about him while he drank, said: "You have good reason to fear that the censor will deal harshly with me—for drinking water." And when he met Voconius escorting three very ugly daughters, he cried out:—

"It was against the will of Phoebus that he begat children."²

Again, when Marcus Gellius, who was thought to be of servile birth, had read letters to the senate in a loud and clear voice, "Do not marvel," said Cicero, "he too is one of those who have cried aloud for their freedom."³ And when Faustus, the son of the Sulla who was dictator at Rome and placarded many people for death, got into debt, squandered much of his substance, and placarded his household goods for sale, Cicero said he liked this placarding better than his father's.

XXVIII. As a consequence of this he became odious to many; and besides, the partisans of Clodius combined against him on the following ground. Clodius was a man of noble birth, young in years, but bold

² An iambic trimeter from some lost tragedy, perhaps the *Oedipus* of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 911).

³ A play upon the phrase (used of a slave) "in libertatem reclamare."

- θρασὺς καὶ αὐθάδης. οὗτος ἐρῶν Πομπηΐας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παραιο-
 ἦλθε κρύφα, λαβὼν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλ-
 τρίας· ἔθνον γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες τὴν ἀπόρρητον
 ἐκείνην καὶ ἀθέατον ἀνδράσι θυσίαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ
 2 Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ, καὶ παρῆν ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς· ἀλλὰ
 μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι καὶ μήπω γενειῶν ὁ Κλώδιος
 ἤλπιζε λήσεσθαι διαδὺς πρὸς τὴν Πομπηΐαν
 μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. ὥς δ' εἰσῆλθε νυκτὸς εἰς
 οἰκίαν μεγάλην, ἠπορεῖτο τῶν διόδων· καὶ πλα-
 νώμενον αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσα Αὐρηλίας θεραπαινὶς τῆς
 Καίσαρος μητρός, ἤτησεν ὄνομα. φθέγγασθαι
 δ' ἀναγκασθέντος ἐκείνου καὶ φήσαντος ἀκόλου-
 θον Πομπηΐας ζητεῖν Ἀβραν τοῦνομα, συνεῖσα
 τὴν φωνὴν οὐ γυναικείαν οὔσαν ἀνέκραγε καὶ
 3 συνεκάλει τὰς γυναῖκας. αἱ δ' ἀποκλείσασαι
 τὰς θύρας καὶ πάντα διερευνῶμεναι λαμβάνουσι
 τὸν Κλώδιον εἰς οἶκημα παιδίσκης, ἣ συνεισῆλθε,
 καταπεφευγότα. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος περιβοήτου 875
 γενομένου Καῖσάρ τε τὴν Πομπηΐαν ἀφῆκε καὶ
 δίκην¹ ἀσεβείας ἀπεγράψατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

XXIX. Κικέρων δ' ἦν μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλος καὶ
 τῶν περὶ Κατιλίαν πραττομένων ἐχρῆτο προ-
 θυμοτάτῳ συνεργῷ καὶ φύλακι τοῦ σώματος,
 ἰσχυριζομένου δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔγκλημα τῷ μηδὲ
 γεγονέναι κατ' ἐκείνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ'
 ἐν τοῖς πορρωτάτῳ χωρίοις διατρίβειν, κατεμαρ-
 τύρησεν ὥς ἀφιγμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν οἶκαδε καὶ

¹ δίκην before this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, where once stood some such phrase as εἰς τῶν δημάρχων (Plutarch, *Caesar*, x. 5). So (substantially) Graux.

and presumptuous in spirit. This man, being in love with Pompeia, Caesar's wife, got into his house secretly, by assuming the dress and guise of a lute-player; for the women of Rome were celebrating in Caesar's house that mysterious rite which men were not allowed to witness,¹ and no man was there; but being still a beardless youth Clodius hoped without being noticed to slip through to Pompeia along with the women. But since he got in at night and the house was large, he lost his way in the passages; and as he was wandering about, a maid of Aurelia, Caesar's mother, caught sight of him and asked him his name. Being thus compelled to speak, he said that he was looking for an attendant of Pompeia named Abra, whereupon the maid, perceiving that his voice was not that of a woman, raised a cry and called the women together. These shut the doors, searched carefully all about, and found Clodius, who had taken refuge in the chamber of the girl with whom he came into the house. The affair having become noised abroad, Caesar divorced Pompeia and had an action for sacrilege brought against Clodius.

XXIX. Now, Cicero was a friend of Clodius, and in the affair of Catiline had found him a most eager co-worker and guardian of his person; but when Clodius replied to the charge against him by insisting that he had not even been in Rome at the time, but had been staying in places at the farthest remove from there, Cicero testified against him, declaring that Clodius had come to his house and

¹ Cf. chapter xix. 3.

- 2 διειλεγμένου περί τινων· ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές. οὐ μὴν ἐδόκει μαρτυρεῖν ὁ Κικέρων διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἀπολογούμενος. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον ἀπέχθεια διὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐκείνου Κλωδίαν, ὡς τῷ Κικέρωνι βουλομένην γαμηθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο διὰ Τύλλου τινὸς πράττουσαν, ὃς ἐταῖρος μὲν ἦν καὶ συνήθης ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνος, αἰὲ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Κλωδίαν φοιτῶν καὶ θεραπεύων ἐγγύς
- 3 οἰκοῦσαν ὑποψίαν τῇ Τερεντίᾳ παρέσχε. χαλεπὴ δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὔσα καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἄρχουσα παρώξυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεπιθέσθαι καὶ καταμαρτυρῆσαι. κατεμαρτύρουν δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολλοὶ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιουρκίας, ῥαδιουργίας, ὄχλων δεκασμούς, φθορὰς γυναικῶν. Λεύκουλλος δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδας παρεῖχεν ὡς συγγένοιτο τῇ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
- 4 ὁ Κλώδιος, ὅτε Λευκούλλῳ συνώκει. πολλὴ δ' ἦν δόξα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς πλησιάζειν τὸν Κλώδιον, ὧν Τερτίαν μὲν Μάρκιος ὁ Ῥήξ, Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν, ἦν Κουαδραντίαν¹ ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τῶν ἐραστῶν τις αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργύριον εἰσέπεμψε· τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κουαδράντην ἐκάλουν. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλώδιος.
- 5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς καταμαρτυροῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεστῶτας ἀντιταττομένου

¹ Κουαδραντίαν Sintenis with the MSS.; Κουαδρανταρίαν Bekker, after Xylander and Du Soul (cf. Cic. *pro Cael.* 26, 62, *mulier quadrantaria*).

consulted him on certain matters; which was true. However, it was thought that Cicero did not give his testimony for the truth's sake, but by way of defence against the charges of his own wife Terentia. For there was enmity between her and Clodius on account of his sister Clodia, whom Terentia thought to be desirous of marrying Cicero and to be contriving this with the aid of a certain Tullus; now, Tullus was a companion and an especial intimate of Cicero, and his constant visits and attentions to Clodia, who lived near by, made Terentia suspicious. So, being a woman of harsh nature, and having sway over Cicero, she incited him to join in the attack upon Clodius and give testimony against him. Moreover, many men of the better class bore witness against Clodius for perjury, recklessness, bribery of the multitude, and debauching of women. And Lucullus actually produced female slaves who testified that Clodius had commerce with his youngest sister when she was living with Lucullus as his wife. There was also a general belief that Clodius had intercourse with his other two sisters, of whom Tertia was the wife of Marcius Rex, and Clodia of Metellus Celer; the latter was called Quadrantia, because one of her lovers had put copper coins into a purse and sent them to her for silver, and the smallest copper coin was called "quadrans." It was with regard to this sister in particular that Clodius was in evil repute. However, since the people at this time set themselves against those who combined and testified against him, the jurors were

- φοβιθέντες οἱ δικασταὶ φυλακὴν περιεστήσαντο, καὶ τὰς δέλτους οἱ πλείστοι συγκεχυμένοις τοῖς γράμμασιν ἤνεγκαν. ὅμως δὲ πλείονες ἔδοξαν οἱ ἀπολύοντες γενέσθαι· καὶ τις ἐλέχθη καὶ δεκά-
6 σμός διελθεῖν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Κάτλος ἀπαντήσας τοῖς κριταῖς, “Ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας ἡγήσασθε τὴν φυλακὴν, φοβούμενοι μή τις ὑμῶν ἀφέληται τὸ ἀργύριον.” Κικέρων δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντος ὅτι μαρτυρῶν οὐκ ἔσχε πίστιν παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς, “Ἄλλ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “οἱ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν δικαστῶν ἐπίστευσαν· τοσοῦτοι γάρ σου κατεψηφίσαντο· σοὶ δὲ τριάκοντα οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν· οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἀπέλυσαν ἢ ἔλαβον τὸ ἀργύριον.”
7 ὁ μὲντοι Καῖσαρ οὐ κατεμαρτύρησε κληθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Κλώδιον, οὐδ’ ἔφη μοιχείαν κατεγνωκέναι τῆς γυναικός, ἀφεικέναι δ’ αὐτὴν ὅτι τὸν Καίσαρος ἔδει γάμον οὐ πράξεως αἰσχρᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φήμης καθαρὸν εἶναι.

- XXX. Διαφυγὼν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Κλώδιος καὶ δήμαρχος αἰρεθεὶς εὐθύς εἵχετο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, πάνθ’ ὁμοῦ πράγματα καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους συνάγων καὶ ταραττων ἐπ’ αὐτόν. τὸν τε γὰρ δῆμον ὠκειώσατο νόμοις φιλανθρώποις, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐκατέρω μεγάλας ἐπαρχίας ἐψηφίσατο, Πείσωνι μὲν Μακεδονίαν, Γαβινίῳ δὲ Συρίαν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων συνέτασεν εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα, καὶ δούλους ὠπλισμένους περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε.
2 τῶν δὲ πλείστον δυναμένων τότε τριῶν ἀνδρῶν,

¹ Cf. also the *Cuesar*, x. 7. Each juror was provided with three tablets, on one of which was marked A (absolvo); on a second C (condemno); and on a third N.L. (non liquet). The

frightened and surrounded themselves with a guard, and most of them cast their voting-tablets with the writing on them confused.¹ But nevertheless those who were for acquittal appeared to be in the majority; and some bribery also was said to have been used. This led Catulus to say, when he met the jurors, "It was indeed as a measure of safety that you asked for your guard; you were afraid that someone would take your money away from you."² And Cicero, when Clodius told him that as a witness he had found no credit with the jurors, said: "Nay, twenty-five of the jurors gave me credit, for so many voted against you; and thirty of them gave you no credit, for they did not vote to acquit you until they had got your money."³ Caesar, however, when summoned as a witness, gave no testimony against Clodius, and denied that he had condemned his wife for adultery, but said that he had put her away because Caesar's wife must be free not only from shameful conduct, but even from shameful report.

XXX. But Clodius, having escaped his peril, and having been chosen tribune,⁴ at once began to attack Cicero, arraying and stirring up against him all things and all men alike. He won the favour of the people by benevolent laws, got large provinces voted to each of the consuls (Macedonia to Piso, and Syria to Gabinius), brought many of the poorer class into organized political activity, and kept armed slaves about his person. Now, of the three men who at that time had most power,

jurors voted by placing one of these tablets in the urn. Plutarch must have misunderstood his source.

² Cf. Cicero, *ad Att.* i. 16, 5.

³ Cf. Cicero, *ibid.* 16, 10. ⁴ For the year 58 B.C.

- Κρίσσου μὲν ἄντικρυς Κικέρωνι πολεμοῦντος, Πομπηίου δὲ θρυπτομένου πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, Καίσαρος δὲ μέλλοντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξιέναι μετὰ στρατεύματος, ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑποδὺς ὁ Κικέρων, καίπερ οὐκ ὄντα φίλον, ἀλλ' ὑποπτον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Κατιλίαν, ἠξίωσε πρεσβευτῆς αὐτῷ συστρα- 876
- 3 τεύειν. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κλώδιος ὁρῶν ἐκφεύγοντα τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα προσεποιεῖτο συμβατικῶς ἔχειν, καὶ τῇ Τερεντίᾳ τὴν πλείστην ἀνατιθεὶς αἰτίαν, ἐκείνου δὲ μεμνημένος ἐπιεικῶς αἰεὶ καὶ λόγους εὐγνώμονας ἐνδιδούς, ὥς ἂν τις οὐ μισῶν οὐδὲ χαλεπαίνων, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλῶν μέτρια καὶ φιλικά, παντά-
 πασιν αὐτοῦ τὸν φόβον ἀνῆκεν, ὥστ' ἀπειπεῖν τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν πρεσβείαν καὶ πάλιν ἔχεσθαι τῆς
- 4 πολιτείας. ἐφ' ᾧ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν τε Κλώδιον ἐπέρρωσε καὶ Πομπηίου ἀπέστρεψε κομιδῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, αὐτὸς τε κατεμαρτύρησεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καλῶς μηδὲ νομίμως ἄνδρας ἀκρίτους ἀνηρῆσθαι τοὺς περὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ κατηγορία, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐκαλεῖτο. κινδυνεύων οὖν καὶ διωκόμενος ἐσθῆτα μετήλλαξε καὶ κόμης ἀνά-
- 5 πλεως περιϋὼν ἰκέτευε τὸν δῆμον. πανταχοῦ δ' ὁ Κλώδιος ἀπήντα κατὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, ἀνθρώπους ἔχων ὑβριστὰς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ θρασεῖς, οἱ πολλὰ μὲν χλευάζοντες ἀκολάστως εἰς τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, πολλαχοῦ

Crassus was an out-and-out foe of Cicero, Pompey was dallying with both, and Caesar was about to set out for Gaul with an army; into Caesar's favour, therefore, Cicero insinuated himself (although Caesar was not a friend, but an object of suspicion owing to the affair of Catiline), and asked to accompany him on his campaign as legate.¹ But no sooner had Caesar granted the request than Clodius, seeing that Cicero was thus escaping his tribunicial power, pretended to be desirous of a reconciliation, and by laying the chief blame upon Terentia, and always speaking of Cicero in friendly terms and using kindly expressions about him, as one who bore him no hatred or even ill-will, but had moderate complaints to make of him in a friendly way, he altogether took away his fear, so that he declined the office of legate under Caesar and again applied himself to public matters. But at this conduct Caesar was exasperated, and encouraged Clodius against Cicero, and completely alienated Pompey from him, while he himself testified before the people that he did not think it right or lawful that men should be put to death without a trial, as in the case of Lentulus, Cethegus, and their accomplices. For this was the denunciation made against Cicero, and to this he was summoned to make answer. And so, being in peril of prosecution, he changed his attire,² and with his hair untrimmed went about supplicating the people. But Clodius met him everywhere in the streets, with a band of bold and insolent men about him, who made many unbridled jests upon Cicero's change of attire,

¹ According to Cicero (*ad Att.* ii. 18, 3), it was Caesar who made the request.

² To a garb of mourning.

δὲ πηλῶ καὶ λίθοις βάλλοντες ἐνίσταντο ταῖς ἱκεσίαις.

- XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν σύμπαν τὸ τῶν ἱππικῶν πλῆθος συμμετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ δισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους νέων παρηκολούθουν κομώντες καὶ συνικετεύοντες· ἔπειτα τῆς βουλῆς συνελθούσης ὅπως ψηφίσαιτο τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθεσι μεταβαλεῖν τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐναντιωθέντων, Κλωδίου δὲ σιδηροφορουμένου περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐξέδραμον οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν βουλευτικῶν καταρ-
- 2 ρηγνύμενοι τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ βοῶντες. ὡς δ' ἦν οὐτ' οἶκτος οὔτε τις αἰδὼς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλ' ἔδει τὸν Κικέρωνα φεύγειν ἢ βία καὶ σιδήρῳ κριθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον, ἐδείτο Πομπηίου βοηθεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἐκποδῶν γεγονότος καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν ἀγροῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανόν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμψε Πείσωνα τὸν γαμβρὸν δεησόμενον·
- 3 ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Πομπήϊος οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, δεινὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰδὼς εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μεγάλους ἡγωνισμένον ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς χάριν ἐκείνῳ πεπολιτευμένον, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρι γαμβρὸς ὢν δεομένῳ προῦδωκε τὰς παλαιὰς χάριτας καὶ κατὰ θύρας ἄλλας ὑπεξελθὼν ἀπεδίδρασκε τὴν ἔντευξιν. οὕτω δὲ προδοθεὶς ὁ Κικέρων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονὼς ἔρημος ἐπὶ τοῖς
- 4 ὑπάτους κατέφυγε. καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἦν χαλεπὸς αἰεὶ, Πείσων δὲ διελέχθη πρᾶότερον αὐτῷ,

and often pelted him with mud and stones, and so interfered with his supplications to the people.

XXXI. However, in the first place, nearly the whole body of knights changed their attire with Cicero, and as many as twenty thousand young men escorted him with their hair untrimmed and joined in his suppliant entreaties to the people;¹ and besides, when the senate had met in order to pass a vote that the people should change their dress in token of public calamity, and the consuls had opposed it, and Clodius was in arms about the senate-house, not a few of the senators ran out, rending their garments and crying aloud. But since this sight awakened neither pity nor any mercy, but Cicero was obliged either to go into exile or to appeal to force and the sword against Clodius, he begged for aid from Pompey, who had purposely got out of the way and was staying at his country seat in the Alban hills. First Cicero sent Piso,² his son-in-law, to entreat for him; then he went up thither himself also. Pompey, however, on learning of his coming, could not endure to see him, for he felt a strong sense of shame towards the man who had made great struggles in his behalf and had often adopted a political course to please him; but since he was Caesar's son-in-law, at his request he proved false to his old obligations, slipped out by another door, and so ran away from the interview. Thus betrayed by him and left desolate, Cicero fled for refuge to the consuls. Gabinius was always severe with him, but Piso dealt

¹ Cf. Cicero's oration *post red. ad Quir.* 3, 8.

² Not the consul who is mentioned in xxx. 1 and below in § 4.

παραινῶν ἐκστήναι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ τοῦ Κλωδίου ῥύμῃ καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἐνεργεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν σωτῆρα τῆς πατρίδος ἐν στάσεσι καὶ κακοῖς δι' ἐκείνον οὔσης.

Τοιαύτης τυχὼν ἀποκρίσεως ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουλεύετο σὺν τοῖς φίλοις· καὶ Λεύκουλλος μὲν ἐκέλευε μένειν, ὥς περιεσόμενον, ἄλλοι δὲ φεύγειν, ὥς ταχὺ τοῦ δήμου ποθήσοντος αὐτόν, ὅταν ἐμπλησθῇ τῆς Κλωδίου μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας.
 5 ταύτ' ἔδοξε Κικέρωνι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ πολὺν χρόνον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἰδρυμένον ἐτίμα διαφερόντως, εἰς Καπιτώλιον κομίσας ἀνέθηκεν ἐπιγράψας “Ἀθηνᾶ Ῥώμης φύλακι,” πομποὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν φίλων λαβὼν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως καὶ πεζῇ διὰ Λευκανίας ἐπορεύετο, λαβέσθαι Σικελίας βουλόμενος.

XXXII. Ὡς δ' ἦν φανερὸς ἤδη πεφευγώς, ἐπήγαγεν αὐτῷ φυγῆς ψῆφον ὁ Κλώδιος, καὶ διάγραμμα προὔθηκεν εἶργειν πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μὴ παρέχειν στέγην ἐντὸς μιλίων 87' πεντακοσίων Ἰταλίας. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἐλάχιστος ἦν τοῦ διαγράμματος τούτου λόγος αἰδουμένοις τὸν Κικέρωνα, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύ-
 2 μενοι φιλοφροσύνην παρέπεμπον αὐτόν· ἐν δ' Ἰππωνίῳ, πόλει τῆς Λευκανίας, ἦν Οὐιβῶνα νῦν καλοῦσιν, Οὐίβιος, Σικελὸς ἀνὴρ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆς Κικέρωνος φιλίας ἀπολελανκῶς καὶ γεγωνῶς

with him more gently, advising him to stand aside and yield to the impetuous assaults of Clodius, to submit to the change in the times, and to become once more a saviour of his country when she was involved in seditions and misfortunes through Clodius.

After getting such answer to his appeal, Cicero took counsel with his friends: Lucullus urged him to remain in the city, believing that he would prevail; but others advised him to go into exile, believing that the people would quickly long for him when they were sated with the folly and madness of Clodius. This Cicero decided to do; so he took the statue of Minerva which had long stood in his house, and which he honoured exceedingly, carried it to the capitol,¹ and dedicated it there with the inscription "To Minerva, Guardian of Rome"; then, accepting an escort from his friends, about midnight he slipped out of the city, and set out on foot through Lucania, desiring to reach Sicily.

XXXII. But as soon as it was known that he had fled, Clodius caused a vote of banishment to be passed upon him, and issued an edict that all men should refuse him fire and water and that no man should give him shelter within five hundred miles of Italy. Now, most men paid not the slightest heed to this edict out of respect for Cicero, and escorted him on his way with every mark of kindness; but at Hipponium, a city of Lucania,² which is now called Vibo, Vibius, a Sicilian, who had profited much from Cicero's friendship and particularly by being made prefect of engineers during

¹ Cf. Cicero, *de leg.* ii. 17, 42; *ad fam.* xii. 25, 1.

² Rather Bruttium.

- ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ τεκτόνων ἑπαρχος, οἰκία μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τὸ χωρίον δὲ καταγράψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ Γάϊος Οὐεργίλιος, ὁ τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγός, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνι κεχρημένος,
- 3 ἔγραψεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς Σικελίας. ἐφ' οἷς ἀθυμίας ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, κακείθεν εἰς Δυρράχιον ἀνέμῳ φορῶ περαιούμενος, ἀντιπνεύσαντος πελαγίου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπαλινδρόμησεν, εἴτ' αὖθις ἀνήχθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Δυρράχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποβαίνειν σεισμόν τε τῆς γῆς καὶ σπασμόν ἅμα γενέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. ἀφ' ὧν συνέβαλον οἱ μαντικοὶ μὴ μόνιμον αὐτῷ τὴν φυγὴν ἔσεσθαι· μεταβολῆς γὰρ
- 4 εἶναι ταῦτα σημεῖα. πολλῶν δὲ φοιτῶντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διαμιλλωμένων πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς πρεσβείαις, ὅμως ἀθυμῶν καὶ περίλυπος διῆγε τὰ πολλά, πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες, ἀφορῶν, καὶ τῷ φρονήματι μικρὸς ἄγαν καὶ ταπεινὸς ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς γεγονὼς καὶ συνεσταλμένος, ὡς οὐκ ἄν τις ἄνδρα παιδεῖα συμβεβιωκότα τοσαύτη προσ-
- 5 ἐδόκησε. καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἡξίου τοὺς φίλους μὴ ῥήτορα καλεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφον· φιλοσοφίαν γὰρ ὡς ἔργον ἡρῆσθαι, ῥητορικῇ δ' ὀργάνῳ χρῆσθαι πολιτευόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας. ἀλλ' ἡ δόξα δεινὴ τὸν λόγον, ὥτ' περ βαφὴν, ἀποκλύσαι τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐνομόρξασθαι πάθη δι' ὁμιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν τοῖς

his consulship, would not receive him in his house, but sent him word that he would assign him his country-place for residence; and Caius Vergilius, the praetor of Sicily, who had been on most intimate terms with Cicero, wrote him to keep away from Sicily.¹ Disheartened at this treatment, he set out for Brundisium, and from there tried to cross to Dyrrhachium with a fair breeze, but since he met a counter-wind at sea he came back the next day, and then set sail again. It is said, too, that after he had put in at Dyrrhachium and was about to land, there was an earthquake accompanied by a violent convulsion of the sea. Wherefore the soothsayers conjectured that his exile would not be lasting, since these were signs of change. But although many people visited him out of goodwill, and the Greek cities vied with one another in sending him deputations, still, he passed his time for the most part in dejection and great grief,² looking off towards Italy like a disconsolate lover, while in his spirit he became very petty and mean by reason of his misfortune, and was more humbled than one would have expected in a man who had enjoyed so lofty a discipline as his. And yet he often asked his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had chosen philosophy as an occupation, but used oratory merely as an instrument for attaining the needful ends of a political career. But public opinion has great power to wash away reason, like a dye, from the soul of man, and by force of familiar association to impress the feelings of the vulgar on those who engage

¹ Cf. Cicero, *pro Plancio*, 40, 95 ff.

² As his letters to Atticus (iii. 8-21) show.

πολιτευομένοις, ἂν μή τις εὖ μάλα φυλαττόμενος οὕτω συμφέρηται τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὥς τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν, οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι παθῶν συμμεθέξων.

XXXIII. Ὁ δὲ Κλώδιος ἐξελάσας τὸν Κικέρωνα κατέπρησε μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, κατέπρησε δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸν Ἐλευθερίας ἐπωκοδόμησε· τὴν δ' ἄλλην οὐσίαν ἐπώλει καὶ διεκκήρυττε καθ' ἡμέραν, μηδὲν ὠνούμενου μηδενός. ἐκ δὲ τούτου φοβερὸς ὦν τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνειμένον εἰς ὕβριν πολλὴν καὶ θρασύτητα συνεφελκόμενος, ἐπεχείρει τῷ Πομπηΐῳ, τῶν διωκημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν
 2 στρατείαν ἔνια σπαράττων. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Πομπηΐος ἀδοξῶν ἐκάκιζεν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν προέμενος τὸν Κικέρωνα· καὶ πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς παντοῖος ἐγίνετο πράττων κάθοδον αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. ἐνισταμένου δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου συνέδοξε τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲν διὰ μέσου πρᾶγμα κυροῦν μηδὲ πράττειν δημό-
 3 σιον, εἰ μὴ Κικέρωνι κάθοδος γένοιτο. τῶν δὲ περὶ Λέντλον ὑπατευόντων καὶ τῆς στάσεως πρόσω βαδίζούσης, ὥστε τρωθῆναι μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ δημάρχους, Κόϊντον δὲ τὸν Κικέρωνος ἀδελφὸν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ὥς τεθνηκότα κείμενον διαλαθεῖν, ὃ τε δῆμος ἤρχετο τρέπεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων Ἄννιος Μίλων πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε τὸν Κλώδιον εἰς δίκην ἀπάγειν βιαίων, καὶ Πομπηΐῳ πολλοὶ συνῆλθον ἐκ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων. μεθ' ὧν προελθὼν καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον

in political life, unless one is right well on his guard when he engages himself in things external, and is resolved to participate only in the things themselves, and not in the feelings attendant upon them.

XXXIII. As for Clodius, after driving Cicero away he burned down his villas, and burned down his house, and erected on its site a temple to Liberty; the rest of his property he offered for sale and had it proclaimed daily, but nobody would buy anything. Being therefore formidable to the patricians, and dragging along with him the people, who indulged in great boldness and effrontery, he assailed Pompey, attacking fiercely some of the arrangements made by him on his expedition. The disgrace which this brought upon Pompey led him to reproach himself for his abandonment of Cicero; and changing front he used every effort to effect Cicero's return, and so did his friends. But since Clodius opposed himself to this, the senate decided to ratify no measure that came up in the mean time and to do no public business, unless Cicero should be permitted to return.¹ During the consulship of Lentulus,² however, when the disorder went on increasing, so that tribunes were wounded in the forum and Quintus the brother of Cicero lay unnoticed for dead among the slain,³ the people began to change their minds, and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, first ventured to prosecute Clodius for violence, and many joined themselves to Pompey both from the people and from the surrounding cities. With these Pompey came forth, drove

¹ Cf. Cicero, *pro Sest.* 31, 67 f.; Plutarch, *Pompey*, xlix. 1-3.

² 57 B.C.

³ Cf. Cicero, *pro Sest.* 35, 75 f.

ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκάλει
 4 τοὺς πολίτας. καὶ λέγεται μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἐκ
 τοσαύτης ὁμοφροσύνης ἐπιψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆ-
 μον. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμιλλωμένη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
 ἔγραψεν ἐπαινεθῆναι τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι τὸν Κικέ-
 ρωνα παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐθεράπευσαν, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις, ἃς Κλώδιος διεφθάρκει,
 τέλεσι δημοσίοις ἀνασταθῆναι.

5 Κατῆει δὲ Κικέρων ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν 878
 φυγὴν· καὶ τοσαύτη τὰς πόλεις χαρὰ καὶ σπουδὴ
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν εἶχεν ὥστε
 τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κικέρωνος ὕστερον ἐνδεέστερον εἶναι
 τῆς ἀληθείας. ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσενεγκεῖν.
 ὅπου καὶ Κράσσος, ἐχθρὸς ὢν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς
 φυγῆς, τότε προθύμως ἀπήντα καὶ διελύετο, τῷ
 παιδὶ Ποπλίῳ χαριζόμενος, ὡς ἔλεγε, ζηλωτῇ τοῦ
 Κικέρωνος ὄντι.

XXXIV. Χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν διαλιπὼν καὶ
 παραφυλάξας ἀποδημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἐπῆλθε
 μετὰ πολλῶν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ τὰς δημαρχικὰς
 δέλτους, ἐν αἷς ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν διωκημένων ἦσαν,
 ἀπέσπασε καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἐγκαλοῦντος δὲ περὶ
 τούτου τοῦ Κλωδίου, τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος
 ὡς παρανόμως ἐκ πατρικίων εἰς δημαρχίαν παρέλ-
 θοι, καὶ κύριον οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ'
 2 αὐτοῦ, Κάτων ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ἀντεῖπε, τὸν μὲν
 Κλώδιον οὐκ ἐπαινῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσχεραίνων τοῖς
 πεπολιτευμένοις, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ βίαιον ἀποφαίνων

¹ On the question of Cicero's recall.

² Cf. Cicero, in *Pisonem*, 22, 52.

³ Cf. Cicero, *post red. in sen.* 15, 39.

Clodius from the forum, and summoned the citizens to the vote.¹ And it is said that the people never passed any vote with such unanimity. The senate, too, vying with the people, wrote letters of thanks to all the cities which had ministered to Cicero during his exile, and decreed that his house and his villas, which Clodius had destroyed, should be restored at the public cost.²

Thus Cicero came home in the sixteenth month after his exile; and so great was the joy of the cities and the eagerness of men to meet him that what was said by Cicero afterwards fell short of the truth. He said, namely, that Italy had taken him on her shoulders and carried him into Rome.³ And there Crassus also, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily met him and was reconciled with him, to gratify his son Publius, as he said, who was an ardent admirer of Cicero.

XXXIV. After allowing only a short time to pass and watching for an opportunity when Clodius was absent from the city, Cicero went up with a great company to the capitol, and there tore away and destroyed the tablets of the tribunes, in which were the records of their administration. When Clodius brought charges against him for this and Cicero argued that it was illegal for Clodius to pass from the ranks of the patricians into the tribunate,⁴ and that therefore none of his acts was valid, Cato was indignant and spoke against Cicero; not that he approved of Clodius, nay, he was actually displeased at his political course, but he set forth that it was a

⁴ Clodius had secured an adoption into a plebeian family in order to become a candidate for the tribuneship. Cf. Cicero, *pro domo sua*, 29, 77.

ἀναίρεσιν ψηφίσασθαι δογμάτων καὶ πράξεων τοσούτων τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐν αἷς εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ Βυζάντιον διοίκησιν. ἐκ τούτου προσέκρουσεν ὁ Κικέρων αὐτῷ πρόσ- κρουσιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφανὲς προελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμαυρότερον.

XXXV. Μετὰ ταῦτα Κλώδιον μὲν ἀποκτίννυσσι Μίλων· καὶ διωκόμενος φόνου Κικέρωνα παρε- στήσατο συνήγορον. ἡ δὲ βουλή φοβηθεῖσα μὴ κινδυνεύοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ θυμοειδοῦς τοῦ Μίλωνος ταραχὴ γένηται περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπέ- τρεψε Πομπηίῳ ταύτην τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κρίσεις βραβεῦσαι, παρέχοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς δικα-
2 στηρίοις ἀσφάλειαν. ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων περιλαβόντος τοῖς στρατι-
ώταις, ὁ Μίλων τὸν Κικέρωνα δείσας μὴ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἀθρεία διαταραχθεὶς χεῖρον διαγωνί-
σηται, συνέπεισεν ἐν φορεῖῳ κομισθέντα πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡσυχάζειν, ἄχρι οὗ συνίασιν οἱ κριταὶ
3 καὶ πληροῦται τὸ δικαστήριον. ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν ὅπλοις ἀθαρσής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λέγειν μετὰ φόβου προσήει, καὶ μόλις ἂν ἐπαύσατο¹
παλλόμενος καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἀκμὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατάστασιν λαβόντος. Δικιννίῳ δὲ Μουρήνα φεύγοντι δίκην ὑπὸ Κάτωνος βοη-
θῶν, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος Ὀρτήσιον ὑπερβαλεῖν εὐημερήσαντα, μέρος οὐδὲν ἀνεπαύσατο τῆς νυ-
κτός, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα φροντίσαι καὶ διαγρυ-
πνήσαι κακωθεὶς ἐνδεέστερος αὐτοῦ φανῆναι.

¹ ἂν ἐπαύσατο Graux with D (ἀνεπαύσατο M^a): ἐπαύσατο.

strange and violent measure for the senate to vote the abrogation of so many acts and decrees, among which were those for his own administration in Cyprus and Byzantium. This led to an antagonism between him and Cicero which came to no open manifestation, but made their friendly treatment of one another less marked.

XXXV. After this Clodius was killed by Milo;¹ and Milo, being prosecuted for murder, engaged Cicero as his advocate. But the senate was afraid that at the trial of Milo, who was a man of repute and high spirit, there might be a disturbance in the city, and therefore intrusted the superintendence of this and the other trials to Pompey, who was to furnish security for the city and the courts of justice. So Pompey, while it was still night, posted his soldiers on the heights so as to command the forum, and Milo, fearing that Cicero might be disturbed at the unusual sight and conduct his case less successfully, persuaded him to be brought in a litter to the forum and to wait there quietly until the jurors assembled and the court-room was filled. Now Cicero, as it would seem, was not only without courage under arms, but also felt fear when he began to speak, and in many trials he hardly ceased quivering and trembling after his eloquence had become high and sustained. When he was to plead for Licinius Murena in a case brought against him by Cato, and was ambitious to surpass Hortensius, who had made a successful plea, he took no rest at all during the night before, so that his lack of sleep and his great anxiety did him harm, and he was thought inferior

¹ Early in 52 B.C. For this year Pompey had been made sole consul.

4 τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος δίκην ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν Πομπήϊον ἄνω καθεζόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ τὰ ὄπλα περιλάμποντα τὴν ἀγοράν, συνεχύθη καὶ μόλις ἐνήρξατο τοῦ λόγου, κραδαινόμενος τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐνισχόμενος, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μίλωνος εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως παρισταμένου τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ κόμην θρέψαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν ἀπαξιώσαντος· ὅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα δοκεῖ συναίτιον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς καταδίκης. ἀλλ' ὃ γε Κικέρων διὰ ταῦτα φιλέταιρος μᾶλλον ἢ δειλὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

XXXVI. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οὗς Αὔγου-
ρας Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἀντὶ Κράσσου τοῦ νέου
μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πάρθοις αὐτοῦ τελευτήν. εἶτα κλήρω
λαχὼν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Κιλικίαν καὶ στρατὸν ὀπλι-
τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων
ἑξακοσίων, ἔπλευσε, προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ
περὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀριοβαρζάνη τῷ βασιλεῖ
2 φίλα καὶ πειθήνια παρασχεῖν. ταῦτά τε δὴ παρ-
εστήσατο καὶ συνήρμοσεν ἀμέμπτως ἄτερ πολέ-
μου, τοὺς τε Κίλικας ὁρῶν πρὸς τὸ Παρθικὸν 879
πταῖσμα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ νεωτερισμὸν
ἐπηρεμένους κατεπράυνεν ἡμέρως ἄρχων. καὶ δῶρα
μὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων διδόντων ἔλαβε, δείπνων
δὲ τοὺς ἐπαρχικοὺς ἀνῆκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν
τοὺς χαρίεντας ἀνελάμβανεν ἐστιάσεις οὐ πολυ-
3 τελῶς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθερίως. ἡ δ' οἰκία θυρωρὸν οὐκ
εἶχεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὥφθη κατακείμενος ὑπ' οὐδενός,
ἀλλ' ἔωθεν ἐστὼς ἢ περιπατῶν πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου
τοὺς ἀσπαζομένους ἐδεξιοῦτο. λέγεται δὲ μήτε

to himself in his plea. And so at this time, when he came out of his litter to plead Milo's cause and saw Pompey stationed on the heights as in a camp, and arms flashing all around the forum, he was confounded and could scarcely begin his speech, for his body quivered and his voice faltered; whereas Milo showed the good courage of a brave man at the trial and had not deigned to let his hair go untrimmed or to change his attire to a dark one; and this seems most of all to have contributed to his condemnation. However, Cicero's behaviour led men to think him devoted to his friends rather than cowardly.

XXXVI. He became also one of the priests whom the Romans call Augurs, in place of the younger Crassus, who had died among the Parthians.¹ Then the lot gave him Cilicia as his province, with an army of twelve thousand men-at-arms and twenty-six hundred horsemen, and he set sail,² with instructions to keep Cappadocia friendly and obedient to King Ariobarzanes. This he accomplished and arranged satisfactorily without war, and seeing that the Cilicians, in view of the Parthian disaster to the Romans and the uprising in Syria, were in an agitated state, he pacified them by his mild government. Gifts he would not receive, not even when the kings offered them, and he relieved the provincials from the expense of entertainments; but he himself daily received men of pleasing accomplishments at banquets which were not expensive, although generous. His house, too, had no door-keeper, nor did anyone ever see him lying a-bed, but early in the morning he would stand or walk in front of his chamber and receive those who came to pay him their respects. It is

¹ In 53 B.C. See the *Crassus*, chapter xxv. ² In 51 B.C.

ῥάβδοις αἰκίσασθαί τινα μήτ' ἐσθῆτα περισχίσαι
 μήτε βλασφημίαν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἢ ζημίας προσβαλεῖν
 4 μεθ' ὕβρεων. ἀνευρὼν δὲ πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων
 κεκλεμμένα τὰς τε πόλεις εὐπόρους ἐποίησε, καὶ
 τοὺς ἀποτίνοντας οὐδὲν τούτου πλεῖον παθόντας
 ἐπιτίμους διεφύλαξεν. ἤψατο δὲ καὶ πολέμου,
 ληστὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀμανὸν οἰκούντων τρεψά-
 5 μενος· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
 μένου παρδάλεις αὐτῷ πρὸς τινα θέαν εἰς Ῥώμην
 ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀποστεῖλαι, καλλωπιζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πεπραγμένοις γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶναι παρ-
 δάλεις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ· πεφευγέναι γὰρ εἰς Καρίαν
 ἀγανακτούσας ὅτι μόναι πολεμοῦνται, πάντων
 εἰρήνην ἐχόντων. πλέων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας
 τοῦτο μὲν Ῥόδῳ προσέσχε, τοῦτο δ' Ἀθήναις
 ἐνδιέτριψεν ἄσμενος πόθῳ τῶν πάλαι διατριβῶν.
 6 ἀνδράσι δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις ἀπὸ παιδείας συγγενό-
 μενος καὶ τοὺς τότε φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀσπασά-
 μενος καὶ τὰ πρέποντα θαυμασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανῆλθεν, ἤδη τῶν πρα-
 γμάτων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς ἀφισταμένων ἐπὶ
 τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον.

XXXVII. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ βουλῇ ψηφιζομένων
 αὐτῷ θρίαμβον ἥδιον ἢ ἐφη παρακολουθῆσαι
 Καίσαρι θριαμβεύοντι συμβάσεων γενομένων·
 ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνεβούλευε πολλὰ μὲν Καίσαρι γράφων,

¹ Καιλίου Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander :
 Κεκιλίου.

said, moreover, that he never ordered any man to be chastised with rods or to have his raiment torn from him, and that he never inflicted angry abuse or contumelious punishments. He discovered that much of the public property had been embezzled, and by restoring it he made the cities well-to-do, and men who made restitution he maintained in their civil rights without further penalties. He engaged in war, too, and routed the robbers who made their homes on Mount Amanus;¹ and for this he was actually saluted by his soldiers as Imperator. When Caelius the orator asked Cicero to send him panthers from Cilicia for a certain spectacle at Rome, Cicero, pluming himself upon his exploits, wrote to him that there were no panthers in Cilicia; for they had fled to Caria in indignation because they alone were warred upon, while everything else enjoyed peace.² On his voyage back from his province he first touched at Rhodes, and then gladly spent some time at Athens in fond remembrance of his old pursuits in that place. Then, after associating with men who were foremost for their learning, and after greeting his old-time friends and intimates, and after receiving from Greece the tokens of admiration that were his due, he returned to Rome,³ where a violent inflammation, as it were, was already forcing matters on towards the civil war.

XXXVII. Accordingly, when the senators were voting him a triumph, he said he would more gladly follow in Caesar's triumphal procession if matters could be settled; and privately he gave much advice

* Cf. Cicero, *ad fam.* ii. 10, 2 f.

² *Ad fam.* ii. 11, 2.

³ January 4, 49 B.O. Cf. *ad fam.* xvi. 11, 2 f.

πολλὰ δ' αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου δεόμενος, πρᾶντων
 ἑκάτερον καὶ παραμυθούμενος. ὥς δ' ἦν ἀνίκηστα
 καὶ Καίσαρος ἐπερχομένου Πομπηίου οὐκ ἔμεινεν,
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν
 ἐξέλιπε, ταύτης μὲν ἀπελείφθη τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέ-
 2 ρων, ἔδοξε δὲ Καίσαρι προστίθεσθαι. καὶ δηλὸς
 ἐστὶ τῇ γνώμῃ πολλὰ ῥιπτασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα
 καὶ δυσπαθήσας. γράφει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς
 διαπορεῖν ποτέρωσε χρὴ τρέπεσθαι, Πομπηίου
 μὲν ἔνδοξον καὶ καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
 μον ἔχοντος, Καίσαρος δ' ἄμεινον τοῖς πράγμασι
 χρωμένου καὶ μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους
 σώζοντος, ὥστ' ἔχειν μὲν ὃν φύγη, μὴ ἔχειν δὲ
 3 πρὸς ὃν φύγη. Τρεβατίου δέ, τινὸς τῶν Καίσαρος
 ἐταίρων, γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν ὅτι Καῖσαρ οἶεται
 δεῖν μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐξετάζεσθαι μεθ' αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων μετέχειν, εἰ δ' ἀναδύεται διὰ
 γῆρας, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα βαδίζειν κακεῖ καθήμενον
 ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐκποδῶν ἀμφοτέροις γενόμενον,
 θαυμάσας ὁ Κικέρων ὅτι Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγρα-
 ψεν, ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς ὀργὴν ὥς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον
 πράξει τῶν πεπολιτευμένων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς
 ἐπιστολαῖς γεγραμμένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι.

XXXVIII. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἀπά-
 ραντος, εὐθύς ὥς Πομπηίου ἐπλευσε· καὶ τοῖς
 μὲν ἄλλοις ἀσμένους ὤφθη, Κάτων δ' αὐτὸν ἰδὼν
 ἰδίᾳ πολλὰ κατεμέμφετο Πομπηίῳ προσθέμενον·
 αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἦν

to Caesar by letter, and much to Pompey in person by way of personal entreaty, trying to mollify and pacify each of them. But when things were past healing, and Caesar was advancing upon the city, and Pompey did not stay there, but abandoned the city in the company of many good men, Cicero did not take part in this flight, and was thought to be attaching himself to Caesar. And it is clear that his judgment drew him strongly in both directions and that he was in distress. For he writes in his letters that he knew not which way he ought to turn, since Pompey had honourable and good grounds for going to war, while Caesar managed matters better and had more ability to save himself and his friends; he therefore knew from whom he should flee, but not to whom he should flee.¹ And when Trebatius, one of the companions of Caesar, wrote him a letter stating that Caesar thought he ought above all things to range himself on his side and share his hopes, but that if he declined to do this by reason of his age, he ought to go to Greece and take up a quiet life there out of the way of both, Cicero was amazed that Caesar himself did not write, and replied in a passion that he would do nothing unworthy of his political career. Such, then, is the purport of his letters.

XXXVIII. But when Caesar set out for Spain, Cicero at once sailed to Pompey.² The rest of Pompey's followers were glad to see him, but when Cato saw him, he privately blamed him much for attaching himself to Pompey. In his own case, Cato said, it was not honourable to abandon the

¹ Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo (*ad Att.* viii. 7, 2).

² In April, 49 B.C., Caesar set out for Spain, and in June Cicero sailed for Greece.

ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴλετο τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν, ἐκείνων δὲ χρησιμώτερον ὄντα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις εἰ μένων ἴσος ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβαῖνον ἡρμόζετο, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολέμιον γεγενῆναι Καίσαρι καὶ τοσοῦτον μεθέξοντα κινδύνου δεῦρ' ἦκειν.

- 2 Οὗτοί τε δὴ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνέστρεφον οἱ λόγοι 88
τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ μέγα μηδὲν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι Πομπηϊόν. αἴτιος δ' ἦν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀρνούμενος μεταμέλῃσθαι, φλαυρίζων δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰ βουλευόμενα δυσκολαίων ὑπούλως, καὶ τοῦ παρασκώπτειν τι καὶ λέγειν χαρίεν εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγέλαστος αἰὲν περιῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ σκυθρωπός, ἐτέροις δὲ παρέχων γέλωτα
- 3 μηδὲν δεομένοις. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ τούτων ὀλίγα παραθέσθαι. Δομιτίου τοίνυν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τάξιν ἡγεμονικὴν ἄγοντος οὐ πολὺν καὶ λέγοντος ὡς ἐπιεικὴς τὸν τρόπον ἐστὶ καὶ σώφρων, “Τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν τοῖς τέκνοις φυλάσ-
- 4 σεῖς;” ἐπαινούντων δὲ τινων Θεοφάνην τὸν Λέσβιον, ὃς ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τεκτόνων ἔπαρχος, ὡς εὖ παραμυθήσαιο Ῥοδίους τὸν στόλον ἀποβαλόντας, “Ἡλίκον,” εἶπεν, “ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τὸ Γραικὸν ἔχειν ἔπαρχον.” Καίσαρος δὲ κατορθοῦντος τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πολιορκούντος αὐτούς, Λέντλῳ μὲν εἰπόντι πυνθάνεσθαι

line of public policy which he had chosen from the beginning; but Cicero, though he was of more service to his country and his friends if he remained at home without taking sides and accommodated himself to the issue of events, without any reason and under no compulsion had made himself an enemy of Caesar, and had come thither to share in their great danger.

By these words the purpose of Cicero was upset, as well as by the fact that Pompey made no great use of him. But he was himself to blame for this, since he made no denial that he was sorry he had come, made light of Pompey's preparations and showed a lurking displeasure at his plans, and did not refrain from jests and witty remarks about his comrades in arms; nay, although he himself always went about in the camp without a smile and scowling, still he made others laugh in spite of themselves. And it will be well to give a few instances of this also. When Domitius, then, was advancing to a post of command a man who was no soldier, with the remark that he was gentle in his disposition and prudent, "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him as a guardian of your children?" And when certain ones were praising Theophanes the Lesbian, who was prefect of engineers in the camp, because he had given excellent consolation to the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "What a great blessing it is," said Cicero, "to have a Greek as prefect!" Again, when Caesar was successful for the most part and in a way was laying siege to them,¹ Lentulus said he had heard

¹ At Dyrrhachium. See the *Caesar*, xxxix.; Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 41-55.

στυγνούς εἶναι τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους, ἀπεκρί-
 5 νατο· “Λέγεις αὐτοὺς δυσνοεῖν Καίσαρι.” Μαρ-
 κίου δέ τινος ἤκοντος ἐξ Ἰταλίας νεωστὶ καὶ
 λέγοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ φήμην ἐπικρατεῖν ὡς πολιορ-
 κοῖτο Πομπηῖος, “Εἴτ’ ἐξέπλευσας,” εἶπεν, “ἵνα
 τοῦτο πιστεύσης αὐτὸς θεασάμενος;” μετὰ δὲ
 τὴν ἤτταν Νουνίου μὲν εἰπόντος ὅτι δεῖ χρηστὰς
 ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ἐπταὶ γὰρ αἰετοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατο-
 πέδῳ τοῦ Πομπηίου λελεῖφθαι, “Καλῶς ἄν,”
 6 ἔφη, “παρήνεις, εἰ κολοιοῖς ἐπολεμοῦμεν.” Λα-
 βινοῦ δὲ μαντείαις τισὶν ἰσχυριζομένου καὶ λέ-
 γοντος ὡς δεῖ περιγενέσθαι Πομπηῖον, “Οὐκοῦν,”
 ἔφη, “στρατηγῇματι τούτῳ χρώμενοι νῦν ἀποβε-
 βλήκαμεν τὸ στρατόπεδον.”

XXXIX. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ γενομένης τῆς κατὰ Φάρ-
 σαλον μάχης, ἧς οὐ μετέσχε δι’ ἀρρωστίαν, καὶ
 Πομπηίου φυγόντος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων καὶ στράτευμα
 συχνὸν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ καὶ στόλον ἔχων μέγαν
 ἐκείνῳ ἡξίου στρατηγεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ τὸ τῆς
 ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα προὔχοντα. διωθούμενος δὲ
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ὅλως φεύγων τὸ
 συστρατεῦεσθαι παρ’ οὐδὲν ἦλθεν ἀναιρεθῆναι,
 2 Πομπηίου τοῦ νέου καὶ τῶν φίλων προδότην
 ἀποκαλούντων καὶ τὰ ξίφη σπασαμένων, εἰ μὴ
 Κάτων ἐνστάς μόλις ἀφείλετο καὶ διῆκεν αὐτὸν
 ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. κατασχὼν δ’ εἰς Βρεντέ-
 σιον ἐνταῦθα διέτριβε, Καίσαρα περιμένων βρα-
 δύνοντα διὰ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον
 3 ἀσχολίας. ἐπεὶ δ’ εἰς Τάραντα καθωρμισμένος

that Caesar's friends were gloomy, to which Cicero replied: "You mean that they are ill-disposed to Caesar." And when a certain Marcius, who had recently come from Italy, spoke of a report which prevailed in Rome that Pompey was besieged, "And then," said Cicero, "did you sail off that you might see with your own eyes and believe?" Again, after the defeat, when Nonnius said they ought to have good hopes, since seven eagles were left in the camp of Pompey, "Your advice would be good," said Cicero, "if we were at war with jackdaws." And when Labienus, insisting on certain oracles, said that Pompey must prevail, "Yes," said Cicero, "this is the generalship that has now cost us our camp."

XXXIX. However, after the battle at Pharsalus,¹ in which Cicero took no part because of illness, had been fought, and Pompey was in flight, Cato, who had a considerable army and a large fleet at Dyrhachium, asked Cicero to take the command in accordance with custom and because of his superior consular rank. But Cicero rejected the command and was altogether averse to sharing in the campaign, whereupon he came near being killed; for the young Pompey and his friends called him a traitor and drew their swords upon him, and that would have been the end of him had not Cato interposed and with difficulty rescued him and sent him away from the camp.² So Cicero put in at Brundisium and tarried there, waiting for Caesar, who was delayed by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. But when word was brought that Caesar had landed at

¹ In August, 48 B.C.

² Cf. *Cato the Younger*, lv. 3.

ἀπηγγέλλετο καὶ πεζῇ περιϋὼν ἐκείθεν εἰς Βρεν-
 τέσιον, ὥρμησε πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ πάνυ μὲν ὦν
 δύσελπις, αἰδούμενος δὲ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνδρὸς
 ἐχθροῦ καὶ κρατοῦντος λαμβάνειν πείραν. οὐ
 μὴν ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ πράξαί τι παρ' ἄξίαν ἢ εἰπεῖν.
 4 ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀπαντῶντα, κατέβη καὶ ἡσπάσατο καὶ
 διαλεγόμενος μόνῳ συχνῶν σταδίων ὁδὸν προῆλ-
 θεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλει τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονού-
 μενος, ὥστε καὶ γράψαντι λόγον ἐγκώμιον Κά-
 τωνος ἀντιγράφων τὸν τε λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν
 βίον ὡς μάλιστα τῷ Περικλέους ἑοικότα καὶ
 5 Θηραμένους ἐπαινεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κικέρωνος
 λόγος Κάτων, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρος Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέ-
 γραπται.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κοῖντου Λιγαρίου δίκην φεύ-
 γοντος ὅτι τῶν Καίσαρος πολεμίων εἰς ἐγεγόνει,
 καὶ Κικέρωνος αὐτῷ βοηθοῦντος, εἰπεῖν τὸν
 Καῖσαρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· “Τί κωλύει διὰ
 χρόνου Κικέρωνος ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ἐπεὶ πάσαι
 6 κέκριται πονηρὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ¹ καὶ πολέμιος;” ἐπεὶ δ'
 ἀρξάμενος λέγειν ὁ Κικέρων ὑπερφυῶς ἐκίνει καὶ 881
 προὔβαιεν αὐτῷ πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι
 θαυμαστὸς ὁ λόγος, πολλὰς μὲν ἰέναι χροᾶς ἐπὶ
 τοῦ προσώπου τὸν Καῖσαρα, πάσας δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς
 τρεπόμενον τροπὰς κατάδηλον εἶναι, τέλος δὲ τῶν
 κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀψαμένου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγώνων
 ἐκπαθῇ γενόμενον τιναχθῆναι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῆς
 χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν ἔνια τῶν γραμματείων. τὸν
 γοῦν ἄνθρωπον ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας βεβιασμένος.

¹ ὁ ἀνὴρ Bekker, after Schaefer : ἀρήρ.

Tarentum¹ and was coming round by land from there to Brundisium, Cicero hastened to meet him, being not altogether despondent, but feeling shame to test in the presence of many witnesses the temper of a man who was an enemy and victorious. However, there was no need that he should do or say anything unworthy of himself. For Caesar, when he saw him approaching far in advance of the rest, got down and embraced him and journeyed on for many furlongs conversing with him alone. And after this he continued to show him honour and kindness, so that in his reply to the encomium upon Cato which Cicero wrote he praised Cicero's eloquence and his life, as most resembling that of Pericles and Theramenes. Now, the discourse of Cicero was entitled "Cato," and that of Caesar "Anti-Cato."

It is said also that when Quintus Ligarius was under prosecution because he had been one of the enemies of Caesar, and Cicero was his advocate, Caesar said to his friends: "What is to prevent our hearing a speech from Cicero after all this while, since Ligarius has long been adjudged a villain and an enemy?" But when Cicero had begun to speak and was moving his hearers beyond measure, and his speech, as it proceeded, showed varying pathos and amazing grace, Caesar's face often changed colour and it was manifest that all the emotions of his soul were stirred; and at last, when the orator touched upon the struggles at Pharsalus,² he was so greatly affected that his body shook and he dropped from his hand some of his documents. At any rate he acquitted Ligarius under compulsion.

¹ In September, 47 B.C. ² Cf. *pro Ligario*, 9, 27 f.

- XL. Ἐκ τούτου Κικέρων, εἰς μοναρχίαν τῆς πολιτείας μεθεστώσης, ἀφέμενος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἐσχόλαζε τοῖς βουλομένοις φιλοσοφεῖν τῶν νέων, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τούτους συνηθείας, εὐγενεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ὄντας, αὐτοῖς
- 2 ἴσχυεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον. αὐτῷ δ' ἔργον μὲν ἦν τὸ τοὺς φιλοσόφους συντελεῖν διαλόγους καὶ μεταφράζειν, καὶ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν ἢ φυσικῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὴν μεταβάλλειν διάλεκτον· ἐκείνος γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς φασιν, ὁ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν καὶ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐποχὴν καὶ τὴν κατὰληψιν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄτομον, τὸ ἀμερές, τὸ κενόν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξονομάσας πρῶτος ἢ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις, τὰ μὲν μεταφοραῖς, τὰ δ' οἰκειότησιν ἄλλαις γνώριμα
- 3 καὶ προσήγορα μηχανησάμενος. τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ποίησιν εὐκολία παίζων ἐχρήτο. λέγεται γάρ, ὀπηνίκα ῥυεῖη πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, τῆς νυκτὸς ἔπη ποιεῖν πεντακόσια.

- Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου τούτου περὶ Τοῦσκλον ἐν χωρίοις αὐτοῦ διάγων ἔγραφε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους Λαέρτου βίον ζῆν, εἴτε παίζων, ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν, εἴθ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας σπαργὼν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ἀδημονῶν τοῖς καθεστῶσι.
- 4 σπανίως δ' εἰς ἄστνυ θεραπείας ἔνεκα τοῦ Καίσαρος κατῆει, καὶ πρῶτος ἦν τῶν συναγορευόντων ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ λέγειν αἰεὶ τι καινὸν εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα φιλοτιμουμένων. οἷόν ἐστι

¹ In Latin, respectively, *visum* (conception), *assensio* (assent), *assensionis retentio* (withholding of assent), *comprehensio* (perception), *individuum* (atom), *vacuum* (void); “*ameres*”

XL. After this, when the government had been changed to a monarchy, Cicero abstained from public affairs and devoted his time to those of the young men who wished to study philosophy, and mainly from his intimacy with these, since they were of the highest birth and standing, he was once more very influential in the state. He made it his business also to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render into Latin the several terms of dialectics and natural philosophy; for he it was, as they say, who first, or principally, provided Latin names for "phantasia," "synkatathesis," "epokhe," and "katalepsis," as well as for "atomon," "ameres," "kenon,"¹ and many others like these, contriving partly by metaphors and partly by new and fitting terms to make them intelligible and familiar. His facility in verse-making, too, he employed to divert himself. It is said, indeed, that when he applied himself to such work, he would make five hundred verses in a night.

During this time, then, he lived for the most part at his country-seat in Tusculum, and he used to write to his friends that he was living the life of Laertes,² either jesting, as was his wont, or because his ambition filled him with a desire for public activity and made him dissatisfied with the turn things had taken. He rarely went down to the city, and then only to pay court to Caesar, and he was foremost among those who advocated Caesar's honours and were eager to be ever saying something new about him and his measures. Of this sort is

(*indivisible*), with its Latin equivalent, does not occur in the extant works of Cicero (Gudeman).

² Cf. *Odyssey*, i. 189 ff.

καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Πομπηίου λεχθὲν εἰκόνων, ἃς ἀνηρημένας καὶ καταβεβλημένας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταθῆναι· καὶ ἀνεστάθησαν. ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπία Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν Πομπηίου ἴστησι, τοὺς δ' αὐτοῦ πηγνυσιν ἀνδριαντας.

XLI. Διανοούμενος δ', ὡς λέγεται, τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν γραφῇ περιλαβεῖν καὶ πολλὰ συμμῖξαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὅλως τοὺς συνηγμένους λόγους αὐτῷ καὶ μύθους ἐνταῦθα τρέψαι, πολλοῖς μὲν δημοσίοις, πολλοῖς δ' ἰδίοις κατελήφθη πράγμασιν ἀβουλήτοις καὶ πάθεσιν, ὧν αὐθαίρετα
 2 δοκεῖ πλείστα συμβῆναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπέπεμψατο τὴν γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἀμεληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐφοδίων ἐνδεὴς ἀποσταλῆναι καὶ μὴδ' ὅτε κατῆρεν αὐθις εἰς Ἰταλίαν τυχεῖν εὐγνώμονος. αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦλθεν, ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ πολὺν χρόνον, ἐρχομένη δὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ, παιδίσκῃ νέα, τοσαύτην ὁδόν, οὐ πομπὴν πρέπουσαν, οὐ χορηγίαν παρέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πάντων ἔρημον καὶ κενὴν ἀπέδειξεν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὀφλήμασι καὶ μεγάλοις.
 3 αὗται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ λεγόμεναι τῆς διαστάσεως εὐπρεπέσταται προφάσεις. τῇ δὲ Τερεντία καὶ ταύτας ἀρνούμενη λαμπρὰν ἐποίησε τὴν ἀπολογία αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον γήμας παρθένον, ὡς μὲν ἡ Τερεντία κατεφήμιζεν, ἔρωτι τῆς ὥρας, ὡς δὲ Τίρων ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύ-

what he said about the statues of Pompey. These Caesar ordered to be set up again after they had been thrown down and taken away; and they were set up again. What Cicero said was that by this act of generosity Caesar did indeed set up the statues of Pompey, but firmly planted his own also.

XLI. He purposed, as we are told, to write a comprehensive history of his native country, combining with it many Greek details, and introducing there all the tales and myths which he had collected; but he was prevented by many public affairs which were contrary to his wishes, and by many private troubles, most of which seem to have been of his own choosing. For in the first place he divorced his wife Terentia because he had been neglected by her during the war, so that he set out in lack of the necessary means for his journey, and even when he came back again to Italy did not find her considerate of him. For she did not come to him herself, although he tarried a long time at Brundisium, and when her daughter, a young girl,¹ made the long journey thither, she supplied her with no fitting escort and with no means; nay, she actually stripped and emptied Cicero's house of all that it contained, besides incurring many large debts. These, indeed, are the most plausible reasons given for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied that these were the reasons, and Cicero himself made her defence a telling one by marrying shortly afterwards a maiden.² This he did, as Terentia asserted, out of love for her youthful beauty; but as Tiro, Cicero's freedman, has written,

¹ Tullia was old enough to have lost her first husband and married a second (§ 5). ² Publilia, of patrician family.

θερος γέγραφεν, εὐπορίας ἔνεκεν πρὸς διάλυσιν
 4 δανείων. ἦν γὰρ ἡ παῖς σφόδρα πλουσία, καὶ
 τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐν πίστει κληρονόμος
 ἀπολειφθεὶς διεφύλαττεν. ὀφείλων δὲ πολλὰς
 μυριάδας ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἐπείσθη τὴν
 παῖδα γῆμαι παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς 882
 ἀπαλλάξαι τοῖς ἐκείνης χρησάμενον. Ἀντώνιος
 δὲ τοῦ γάμου μνησθεὶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιπ-
 πικὸν ἀντιγραφαῖς ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτόν φησι γυναῖκα
 παρ' ἣ ἐγήρασε· χαριέντως ἅμα τὴν οἰκουρίαν ὥς
 ἀπράκτου καὶ ἀστρατεύτου παρασκώπτων τοῦ
 5 Κικέρωνος. γήμαντι δ' αὐτῷ μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρό-
 νον ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπέθανε τίκτουσα παρὰ Λέντλῳ·
 τούτῳ γὰρ ἐγαμήθη μετὰ τὴν Πείσωνος τοῦ προ-
 τέρου ἀνδρὸς τελευτήν. καὶ συνῆλθον μὲν ἐπὶ
 τὴν παραμυθίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι πανταχόθεν οἱ
 φίλοι.¹ βαρέως δ' ἄγαν ἤνεγκε τὸ συμβεβηκός,
 ὥστε καὶ τὴν γαμηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμψασθαι δόξασαν
 ἡσθῆναι τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς Τυλλίας.

XLII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατ' οἶκον οὕτως εἶχε τῷ
 Κικέρωνι. τῆς δ' ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνισταμένης
 πράξεως οὐ μετέσχε, καίπερ ὢν ἐταῖρος ἐν τοῖς
 μάλιστα Βρούτου καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τὰ παρόντα
 καὶ τὰ πάλαι ποθεῖν πράγματα δοκῶν ὥς ἕτερος
 οὐδεὶς. ἀλλ' ἔδεισαν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ τὴν τε
 φύσιν ὥς ἐνδεᾶ τόλμης, τὸν τε χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ
 ταῖς ἐρρωμενεστάταις φύσεσιν ἐπιλείπει τὸ θαρ-
 2 ρεῖν. ὥς δ' οὖν ἐπέπρακτο τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου καὶ
 Κάσσιον τὸ ἔργον καὶ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων συνι-
 σταμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐθις ἦν δέος ἐμφυλίοις
 πολέμοις περιπετῇ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀντώ-

¹ φίλοι Graux, after Volkmann : φιλόσοφοι.

to get means for the payment of his debts. For the girl was very wealthy, and Cicero had been left her trustee and had charge of her property. So since he owed many tens of thousands he was persuaded by his friends and relatives to marry the girl, old as he was, and to get rid of his creditors by using her money. But Antony, who spoke of the marriage in his replies to Cicero's Philippics, says that he cast out of doors the wife with whom he had grown old, and at the same time makes witty jibes upon the stay-at-home habits of Cicero, who was, he said, unfit for business or military service. Not long after Cicero's marriage his daughter died in child-birth at the house of Lentulus, to whom she had been married after the death of Piso, her former husband. His friends came together from all quarters to comfort Cicero; but his grief at his misfortune was excessive, so that he actually divorced the wife he had wedded, because she was thought to be pleased at the death of Tullia.

XLII. Such, then, were Cicero's domestic affairs. But in the design that was forming against Caesar he took no part, although he was one of the closest companions of Brutus and was thought to be distressed at the present and to long for the old state of affairs more than anybody else. But the conspirators feared his natural disposition as being deficient in daring, and his time of life, in which courage fails the strongest natures. And so, when the deed had been accomplished by the partisans of Brutus and Cassius,¹ and the friends of Caesar were combining against the perpetrators of it, and it was feared that the city would again be plunged into civil

¹ On the Ides of March, 44 B.C.

νιος μὲν ὑπατεύων τὴν βουλὴν συνήγαγε καὶ
 βραχέα διελέχθη περὶ ὁμονοίας, Κικέρων δὲ πολλὰ
 πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν οἰκείως διελθὼν ἔπεισε τὴν
 σύγκλητον Ἀθηναίους μιμησαμένην ἀμνηστίαν
 τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι ψηφίσασθαι, νεῖμαι δὲ τοῖς
 3 περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βρούτον ἐπαρχίας. ἔσχε δὲ
 τούτων τέλος οὐδέν. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς οἶκτον ἐξαχθεὶς ὥς εἶδε τὸν νεκρὸν
 ἐκκομιζόμενον δι' ἀγορᾶς, Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ τὴν
 ἐσθῆτα δείξαντος αὐτοῖς αἵματος κατάπλεων καὶ
 κεκομμένην πάντῃ τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἐκμανέντες ὑπ'
 ὀργῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
 καὶ πῦρ ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἔθεον ὥς ὑφά-
 ψοντες. οἱ δὲ τοῦτον μὲν τῷ προπεφυλάχθαι
 διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐτέρους δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ
 μεγάλους προσδοκῶντες ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν.

XLIII. Εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπῆρτο, καὶ
 πᾶσι μὲν ἦν φοβερός ὥς μοναρχήσων, τῷ δὲ
 Κικέρωνι φοβερώτατος. ἀναρρωννυμένην τε γὰρ
 αὐτῷ πάλιν ὀρῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 καὶ τοῖς περὶ Βρούτον ἐπιτήδειον εἰδὼς ἤχθετο
 παρόντι. καὶ πού τι καὶ προϋπῆρχεν ὑποψίας
 αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὴν τῶν βίων ἀνο-
 2 μοιότητα καὶ διαφοράν. ταῦτα δείσας ὁ Κικέρων
 πρῶτον μὲν ὥρμησε πρεσβευτῆς Δολοβέλλα
 συνεκπλεῦσαι εἰς Συρίαν· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μέλλοντες
 ὑπατεύειν μετ' Ἀντώνιον, Ἰρτιος καὶ Πάνσας,
 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ζηλωταὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐδέ-
 οντο μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ὑποδεχόμενοι καταλύ-

wars, Antony, as consul, convened the senate and said a few words about concord, while Cicero, after a lengthy speech appropriate to the occasion, persuaded the senate to imitate the Athenians¹ and decree an amnesty for the attack upon Caesar, and to assign provinces to Cassius and Brutus. But none of these things came to pass. For when the people, who of themselves were strongly moved to pity, saw Caesar's body carried through the forum, and when Antony showed them the garments drenched with blood and pierced everywhere with the swords, they went mad with rage and sought for the murderers in the forum, and ran to their houses with fire-brands in order to set them ablaze. For this danger the conspirators were prepared beforehand and so escaped it,² but expecting others many and great, they forsook the city.

XLIII. At once, then, Antony was highly elated, and all men were fearful that he would make himself sole ruler, and Cicero most fearful of all. For Antony saw that Cicero's power in the state was reviving, and knew that he was attached to Brutus and his party, and was therefore disturbed at his presence in the city. And besides, they had previously been somewhat suspicious of one another because of the marked difference in their lives. Fearing these things Cicero at first was inclined to sail to Syria with Dolabella, as his legate; but the consuls elect to succeed Antony,³ Hirtius and Pansa, who were good men and admirers of Cicero, begged him not to desert them, and undertook

¹ These declared a general amnesty after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus in 403 B.C.

² Cf. Plutarch's *Brutus*, chapter xx. ³ In 43 B.C.

- σειν Ἀντώνιον ἐκείνου παρόντος, ὁ δ' οὐτ' ἀπιστῶν παντάπασιν οὔτε πιστεύων Δολοβέλλαν μὲν εἶασε χαίρειν, ὁμολογήσας δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἴρτιον τὸ θέρος ἐν Ἀθήναις διάξειν, ὅταν δ' ἐκείνοι παραλάβωσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν, αὐτὸς
- 3 καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξέπλευσε. γενομένης δὲ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν διατριβῆς, καὶ λόγων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, οἷα φιλεῖ, καινῶν προσπεσόντων, μεταβεβλήσθαι μὲν Ἀντώνιον θαυμαστήν μεταβολὴν καὶ πάντα πράττειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐνδεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας τὰ πράγματα μὴ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχειν διάθεσιν, καταμεμψάμενος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀνέστρεφεν
- 4 αὐθις εἰς Ῥώμην. καὶ τῶν πρώτων οὐ διημέρτανε ἐλπίδων· τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ πόθου πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν ἐξεχύθη, καὶ σχεδὸν ἡμερήσιον ἀνήλωσαν χρόνον αἱ περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῦ δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ βουλὴν συναγαγόντος Ἀντωνίου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἦλθεν, 883 ἀλλὰ κατέκειτο μαλακῶς ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ κόπου σκη-
- 5 πτόμενος. ἐδόκει δὲ τάληθές ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι φόβος ἔκ τινος ὑποψίας καὶ μηνύσεως καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῷ προσπεσούσης. Ἀντώνιος δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαβολῇ καὶ στρατιώτας ἔπεμψεν ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἢ καταπρῆσαι τὴν οἰκίαν κελεύσας, ἐνστάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ δεηθέντων ἐνέχυρα
- 6 λαβὼν μόνον ἐπαύσατο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἀντιπαρεξιώντες ἀτρέμα καὶ φυλαττόμενοι διετέ-

to put down Antony if Cicero would remain at Rome. So Cicero, who neither distrusted nor trusted them altogether, let Dolabella go without him, and after agreeing with Hirtius and Pansa to spend the summer at Athens, and to come back again when they had assumed office, set off by himself. But there was some delay about his voyage, and, as is often the case, new and unexpected reports came from Rome, to the effect that Antony had undergone a wonderful change and was doing and administering everything to please the senate, and that matters needed only Cicero's presence to assume the best possible complexion; he therefore blamed himself for his excessive caution and turned back again to Rome. And in his first expectations he was not disappointed; for a great crowd of people, moved with joy and longing for him, poured forth to meet him, and almost a day's time was consumed in the friendly greetings given him at the gates and as he entered the city. On the following day, however, when Antony convened the senate and invited him to be present, Cicero did not come, but kept his bed, pretending to be indisposed from fatigue. The truth, however, seemed to be that he was afraid of a plot against him, in consequence of some suspicion and of information that had unexpectedly come to him on the road. But Antony was indignant at the implication and sent soldiers with orders to bring Cicero or burn down his house; but since many opposed this course and entreated him to desist, he did so, after merely taking sureties. And thenceforward they kept up this attitude, quietly ignoring one another and mutually on their guard,

λουν, ἄχρι οὗ Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας παραγενόμενος τὸν τε κλῆρον ἀνεδέξατο τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκείνου, καὶ περὶ τῶν δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἅς Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας κατεῖχεν, εἰς διαφορὰν κατέστη πρὸς αὐτόν.

- XLIV. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Φίλιππος ὁ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἔχων καὶ Μάρκελλος ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα συνέθεντο, Κικέρωνα μὲν ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας δύναμιν ἐν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρέχειν, ἐκείνον δὲ Κικέρωνι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀσφάλειαν. ἤδη γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσαμένων περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε τὸ
- 2 μειράκιον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ μείζων τις αἰτία γεγενεῖναι τοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα δέξασθαι προθύμως τὴν Καίσαρος φιλίαν. ἔτι γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, Πομπηίου ζῶντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ Κικέρων καλεῖν τινα τοὺς τῶν συγκλητικῶν παῖδας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὥς μέλλοντος ἐξ
- 3 αὐτῶν ἓνα τοῦ Διὸς ἀποδεικνύειν τῆς Ῥώμης ἡγεμόνα· τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑπὸ σπουδῆς θέοντας ἵστασθαι περὶ τὸν νεών, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ταῖς περιπορφύροις καθέζεσθαι σιωπὴν ἔχοντας. ἐξαίφνης δὲ τῶν θυρῶν ἀνοιχθεῖσων καθ' ἓνα τῶν παίδων ἀνισταμένων κύκλῳ παρὰ τὸν θεὸν παραπορεύεσθαι, τὸν δὲ πάντας ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ἀποπέμπειν ἀχθομένους. ὥς δ' οὗτος ἦν προσιὼν κατ' αὐτόν, ἐκτεῖναι τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ εἰπεῖν·
- 4 “ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πέρας ὑμῖν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων οὗτος ἡγεμὼν γενόμενος.” τοιοῦτόν φασιν ἐνύ-

until the young Caesar came from Apollonia,¹ assumed the inheritance of the elder Caesar, and engaged in a dispute with Antony concerning the twenty-five million drachmas which Antony was detaining from the estate.²

XLIV. After this, Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who had married the sister of the young Caesar, came with the young man to Cicero and made a compact that Cicero should give Caesar the influence derived from his eloquence and political position, both in the senate and before the people, and that Caesar should give Cicero the security to be derived from his wealth and his armed forces. For already the young man had about him many of the soldiers who had served under the elder Caesar. It was thought, too, that there was a stronger reason why Cicero readily accepted the young man's friendship. For it would appear that while Pompey and Caesar were still living Cicero dreamed that someone invited the sons of the senators to the Capitol, on the ground that Jupiter was going to appoint one of their number ruler of Rome; and that the citizens eagerly ran and stationed themselves about the temple, while the youths, in their purple-bordered togas, seated themselves there in silence. Suddenly the door of the temple opened, and one by one the youths rose and walked round past the god, who reviewed them all and sent them away sorrowing. But when this young Caesar advanced into his presence the god stretched out his hand and said: "O Romans, ye shall have an end of civil wars when this youth has become your ruler." By such a dream as

¹ Where he was studying.

² Caesar's widow had made Antony guardian of the estate.

πνιον ιδόντα τὸν Κικέρωνα τὴν μὲν ιδέαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκμεμάχθαι καὶ κατέχειν ἐναργῶς, αὐτὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἀρειον αὐτοῦ, τοὺς παῖδας ἤδη γεγυμνασμένους ἀπέρχεσθαι, κύκεινον ὀφθῆναι τῷ Κικέρωνι πρῶτον οἶος ὥφθη καθ' ὕπνον, ἐκπλαγέντα δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι τίνων εἶη
 5 γονέων. ἦν δὲ πατὴρ Ὀκταουτίου τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν, Ἀττίας δὲ μητρός, ἀδελφιδῆς Καίσαρος. ὅθεν Καίσαρ αὐτῷ παῖδας οὐκ ἔχων ἰδίους τὴν οὐσίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἔδωκεν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τῷ παιδί κατὰ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις ἐντυγχάνειν ἐπιμελῶς, κύκεινον οἰκείως δέχεσθαι τὰς φιλοφροσύνας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τύχης αὐτῷ γεγονέναι συμβεβήκει Κικέρωνος ὑπατεύοντος.

XLV. Αὗται μὲν οὖν προφάσεις ἦσαν αἱ λεγόμεναι.¹ τὸ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μῖσος Κικέρωνα πρῶτον, εἶτα ἡ φύσις ἥττων οὖσα τιμῆς προσεποίησε Καίσαρι νομίζοντα προσλαμβάνειν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν. οὕτω γὰρ ὑπῆει
 2 τορεύειν. ἐφ' ᾧ σφόδρα Βρούτος ἀγανακτῶν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀττικὸν ἐπιστολαῖς καθήψατο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὅτι διὰ φόβον Ἀντωνίου θεραπεύων τὸν Καίσαρα δηλὸς ἐστίν οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι πράττων, ἀλλὰ δεσπότην φιλόανθρωπον αὐτῷ μνώμενος. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὸν γε παῖδα

¹ αἱ λεγόμεναι Bekker, after Reiske : λεγόμεναι.

this, they say, Cicero had impressed upon him the appearance of the youth, and retained it distinctly, but did not know him.¹ The next day, however, as he was going down to the Campus Martius, the youths, who had just finished exercising there, were coming away, and the youth of his dream was seen by Cicero for the first time, and Cicero, amazed, inquired who his parents were. Now, his father was Octavius, a man of no great prominence, but his mother was Attia, a daughter of Caesar's sister. For this reason Caesar, who had no children of his own, willed his property and his family name to him. After this, it is said, Cicero took pains to converse with the youth when they met, and the youth welcomed his kind attentions; and indeed it happened that he was born during Cicero's consulship.

XLV. These, then, were the reasons that were mentioned; but it was Cicero's hatred for Antony in the first place, and then his natural craving for honour, that attached him to the young Caesar, since he thought to add Caesar's power to his own political influence. And indeed the young man carried his court to him so far as actually to call him father. At this Brutus was very angry, and in his letters to Atticus attacked Cicero, saying that in paying court to Caesar through fear of Antony he was plainly not obtaining liberty for his country, but wooing a kind master for himself.² However, Brutus took up

¹ According to Dion Cassius (xlv. 2) and Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, 94), Cicero dreamed that Octavius was let down from heaven by a chain of gold, and presented with a whip by Jupiter.

² Cicero, *ad Brutum*, i. 17, 5 (Brutus to Atticus).

- Κικέρωνος ὁ Βρούτος ἐν Ἀθήναις διατρίβοντα
 παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀναλαβὼν ἔσχεν ἐφ'
 ἡγεμονίας, καὶ πολλὰ χρώμενος αὐτῷ κατώρθου.
- 3 Τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἀκμὴν ἔσχεν ἡ δύναμις ἐν
 τῇ πόλει τότε μεγίστην, καὶ κρατῶν ὅσον ἐβού- 884
 λετο τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἐξέκρουσε καὶ κατε-
 στασίασε καὶ πολεμήσοντας αὐτῷ τοὺς δύο
 ὑπάτους, Ἰρτιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ἐξέπεμψε, Καίσαρι
 δὲ ῥαβδούχους καὶ στρατηγικὸν κόσμον, ὥς δὴ
 προπολεμοῦντι τῆς πατρίδος, ἔπεισε ψηφίσασθαι
- 4 τὴν σύγκλητον. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἤττητο,
 τῶν δ' ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀποθανόντων ἐκ τῆς
 μάχης πρὸς Καίσαρα συνέστησαν αἱ δυνάμεις,
 δείσασα δ' ἡ βουλὴ νέον ἄνδρα καὶ τύχην λαμπρὰ
 κεχρημένον ἐπειρᾶτο τιμαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀπο-
 καλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ περισπᾶν
 τὴν δύναμιν, ὥς μὴ δεομένη τῶν προπολεμούντων
- 5 Ἀντωνίου πεφευγότες, οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς
 ὑπέπεμπε τῷ Κικέρωνι τοὺς δεομένους καὶ πεί-
 θοντας ὑπατεῖαν μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοῦ πράττειν,
 χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἔγνωκε,
 παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον
 διοικεῖν ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης γλιχόμενον. ὡμο-
 λόγει δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ὥς δεδιὼς κατάλυσιν καὶ
 κινδυνεύων ἔρημος γενέσθαι χρήσαιο τῇ Κικέ-
 ρωνος ἐν δέοντι φιλαρχίᾳ, προτρεψάμενος αὐτὸν
 ὑπατεῖαν μετιέναι συμπράττοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
 συναρχαιρεσιάζοντος.

Cicero's son who was studying philosophy at Athens, gave him a command, and achieved many successes through his instrumentality.¹

Cicero's power in the city reached its greatest height at this time, and since he could do what he pleased, he raised a successful faction against Antony, drove him out of the city, and sent out the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, to wage war upon him, while he persuaded the senate to vote Caesar the lictors and insignia of a praetor, on the ground that he was fighting in defence of the country. But after Antony had been defeated,² and, both consuls having died after the battle, the forces had united under Caesar, the senate became afraid of a young man who had enjoyed such brilliant good fortune, and endeavoured by honours and gifts to call his troops away from him and to circumscribe his power, on the ground that there was no need of defensive armies now that Antony had taken to flight. Under these circumstances Caesar took alarm and secretly sent messengers to Cicero begging and urging him to obtain the consulship for them both, but to manage affairs as he himself thought best, after assuming the office, and to direct in all things a youthful colleague who only craved name and fame. And Caesar himself admitted afterwards that it was the fear of having his troops disbanded and the danger of finding himself left alone which led him to make use in an emergency of Cicero's love of power, by inducing him to sue for the consulship with his co-operation and assistance in the canvass.

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, xxiv. 2; xxvi. 3.

² Near Mutina, a city in Gallia Cispadana, early in the year 43 B.C. Octavius Caesar acted in conjunction with the two consuls. Cf. Appian, *B.C.*, iii. 71.

- XLVI. Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι μάλιστα Κικέρων ἐπαρθεὶς ὑπὸ νέου γέρον καὶ φενακισθεὶς καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάσας καὶ παρασχὼν αὐτῷ τὴν σύγκλητον εὐθύς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων αἰτίαν εἶχεν, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον αὐτὸν ἀπολωλεκῶς ᾗσθετο καὶ
- 2 τοῦ δήμου προέμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. αὐξηθεὶς γὰρ ὁ νεανίας καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν λαβὼν Κικέρωνα μὲν εἶασε χαίρειν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ φίλος γενόμενος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐνεγκών, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι κτῆμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐνείματο πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ κατεγράφησαν ἄνδρες οὓς ἔδει θνήσκεν, ὑπὲρ διακοσίους. πλείστην δὲ τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων αὐτοῖς ἔριν ἡ Κικέρωνος προγραφὴ παρέσχεν, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντος εἰ μὴ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ἀποθνήσκοι, Λεπίδου δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προστιθεμένου, Καίσαρος δὲ πρὸς
- 3 ἀμφοτέρους ἀντέχοντος. ἐγίνοντο δ' αἱ σύνοδοι μόνοις ἀπόρρητοι περὶ πόλιν Βονωνίαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ συνήεσαν εἰς τόπον τινὰ πρόσω τῶν στρατοπέδων ποταμῷ περιρρεόμενον. λέγεται δὲ τὰς πρῶτας ἡμέρας διαγωνισάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνδοῦναι τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ προέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως οὕτως
- 4 εἶχεν. ἔδει Κικέρωνος ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρα, Παύλου δὲ τὰδελφοῦ Λέπιδου, Λευκίου δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀντώνιον, ὃς ἦν θεῖος αὐτῷ πρὸς μητρός. οὕτως ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ λύσσης τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπέδειξαν ὥς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου θηρίου ἐστὶν ἀγριώτερον ἐξουσίαν πάθει προσλαβόντος.

XLVII. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων ἦν μὲν ἐν ἀγροῖς ἰδίῳις περὶ Τοῦσκλον, ἔχων τὸν

XLVI. Here, indeed, more than at any other time, Cicero was led on and cheated, an old man by a young man. He assisted Caesar in his canvass and induced the senate to favour him. For this he was blamed by his friends at the time, and shortly afterwards he perceived that he had ruined himself and betrayed the liberty of the people. For after the young man had waxed strong and obtained the consulship,¹ he gave Cicero the go-by, and after making friends with Antony and Lepidus and uniting his forces with theirs, he divided the sovereignty with them, like any other piece of property. And a list was made out by them of men who must be put to death, more than two hundred in number. The proscription of Cicero, however, caused most strife in their debates, Antony consenting to no terms unless Cicero should be the first man to be put to death, Lepidus siding with Antony, and Caesar holding out against them both. They held secret meetings by themselves near the city of Bononia for three days, coming together in a place at some distance from the camps and surrounded by a river. It is said that for the first two days Caesar kept up his struggle to save Cicero, but yielded on the third and gave him up. The terms of their mutual concessions were as follows. Caesar was to abandon Cicero, Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Antony Lucius Caesar, who was his uncle on the mother's side. So far did anger and fury lead them to renounce their human sentiments, or rather, they showed that no wild beast is more savage than man when his passion is supplemented by power.

XLVII. While this was going on, Cicero was at his own country-seat in Tusculum, having his brother with

¹ In August, 43 B.C., when only twenty years of age.

- ἀδελφὸν μεθ' αὐτοῦ· πυθόμενοι δὲ τὰς προγραφὰς ἔγνωσαν εἰς Ἑστυρί μεταβῆναι, χωρίον παράλιον τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πλεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πρὸς Βρούτον· ἥδη γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐφοίτα κρατοῦντος. ἐκομίζοντο δ' ἐν φορείοις ἀπειρηκότες ὑπὸ λύπης· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐφιστάμενοι καὶ τὰ φορεῖα παραβάλλοντες ἀλλήλοις προσωλο-
- 2 φύροντο. μᾶλλον δ' ὁ Κόϊντος ἠθύμει, καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσῆει τῆς ἀπορίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔφη λαβεῖν οἴκοθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι γλίσχρον ἦν ἐφόδιον ἄμεινον οὖν εἶναι τὸν μὲν Κικέρωνα προλαμβάνειν τῇ φυγῇ, αὐτὸν δὲ μεταθεῖν οἴκοθεν συσκευασάμενον. ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ περιλαβόντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνακλαυσάμενοι διελύθησαν.
- 3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κόϊντος οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν προδοθεὶς τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀνῆρέθη μετὰ τοῦ παιδός. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων εἰς Ἑστυρα κομισθεὶς καὶ πλοῖον εὐρὼν εὐθὺς ἐνέβη καὶ 885 παρέπλευσεν ἄχρι Κιρκαίου, πνεύματι χρώμενος. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ βουλομένων εὐθὺς αἶρειν τῶν κυβερνητῶν, εἴτε δείσας τὴν θάλασσαν εἴτ' οὐπω παντάπασιν τὴν Καίσαρος ἀπεγνωκὼς πίστιν, ἀπέβη καὶ παρήλθε πεζῇ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ὥς εἰς
- 4 Ῥώμην πορευόμενος. αὐθις δ' ἀλύων καὶ μεταβαλλόμενος κατῆει πρὸς θάλασσαν εἰς Ἑστυρα. κακεῖ διενεκτέρευσεν ἐπὶ δεινῶν καὶ ἀπόρων λογισμῶν, ὥστε καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος οἰκίαν διανοήθη κρύφα καὶ σφάξας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ

him; but when they learned of the proscriptions they determined to remove to Astura, a place of Cicero's on the sea-coast, and from there to sail to Brutus in Macedonia; for already a report was current that he was in force there. So they were carried along in litters, being worn out with grief; and on the way they would halt, and with their litters placed side by side would lament to one another. But Quintus was the more dejected and began to reflect upon his destitute condition; for he said that he had taken nothing from home, nay, Cicero too had scanty provision for the journey; it was better, then, he said, that Cicero should press on in his flight, but that he himself should get what he wanted from home and then hasten after him. This they decided to do, and after embracing one another and weeping aloud, they parted.

So then Quintus, not many days afterwards, was betrayed by his servants to those who were in search of him, and put to death, together with his son. But Cicero was brought to Astura, and finding a vessel there he embarked at once and coasted along as far as Circaeum, with the wind in his favour. From there his pilots wished to set sail at once, but Cicero, whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet altogether given up his trust in Caesar, went ashore and travelled along on foot a hundred furlongs in the direction of Rome. But again losing resolution and changing his mind, he went down to the sea at Astura. And there he spent the night in dreadful and desperate calculations; he actually made up his mind to enter Caesar's house by stealth, to slay himself upon the hearth, and so to fasten upon Caesar an

τῆς ἐστίας ἀλάστορα προσβαλεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀπέκρουσε τῆς ὁδοῦ δέος βασάνων· καὶ πολλὰ¹ ταραχώδη καὶ παλίντροπα βουλευματα τῆς γνώμης μεταλαμβάνων παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις ἑαυτὸν εἰς Καιήτην² κατὰ πλοῦν κομίζειν, ἔχων ἐκεῖ χωρία καὶ καταφυγὴν ὥρα θέρους φιλάνθρωπον, ὅταν ἡδιστον οἱ ἐτησῖαι καταπνέωσιν.

- 5 Ἐχει δ' ὁ τόπος καὶ ναὸν Ἀπόλλωνος μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης. ἐντεῦθεν ἀρθέντες ἀθρόοι κόρακες ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς προσεφέροντο τῷ πλοίῳ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ γῆν ἐρεσσομένῳ· καὶ καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν κεραίαν ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ μὲν ἐβόων, οἱ δ' ἔκοπτον τὰς τῶν μηρυμάτων ἀρχάς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι πονηρόν. ἀπέβη δ' οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἔπαυλιν
- 6 ὥς ἀναπαυσόμενος κατεκλίθη. τῶν δὲ κοράκων οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος διεκάθηντο φθεγγόμενοι θορυβῶδες, εἰς δὲ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ κλινίδιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένου τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπῆγε τῷ στόματι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ ἱμάτιον. οἱ δ' οἰκέται ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες, καὶ κακίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰ περιμένουσι τοῦ δεσπότου φονευομένου θεαταὶ γενέσθαι, θηρία δ' αὐτῷ βοηθεῖ καὶ προκήδεται παρ' ἀξίαν πρᾶττοντος, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀμύνουσι, τὰ μὲν δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ βία λαβόντες ἐκόμιζον ἐν τῷ φορείῳ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν.

XLVIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ σφαγεῖς ἐπῆλθον, ἑκατοντάρχης Ἐρένιος καὶ Ποπίλλιος χιλιάρχος,

¹ πολλὰ Graux, after Coraës : τᾶλλα.

² Καιήτη, Coraës and Bekker, after Wyttenbach ; Καιήτας Sintenis (in notes), and Graux ; Καπίτας MSS.

avenging daemon. But a fear of tortures drove him from this course also; then, revolving in his mind many confused and contradictory purposes, he put himself in the hands of his servants to be taken by sea to Caieta, where he had lands and an agreeable retreat in summer time, when the breath of the Etesian winds is most pleasant.

The place has also a temple of Apollo, a little above the sea. From thence a flock of crows flew with loud clamour towards the vessel of Cicero as it was rowed towards land; and alighting on either end of the sail-yard, some cawed, and others pecked at the ends of the ropes, and everybody thought that the omen was bad. Nevertheless Cicero landed, and going to his villa lay down to rest. Then most of the crows perched themselves about the window, cawing tumultuously, but one of them flew down upon the couch where Cicero lay with muffled head, and with its beak, little by little, tried to remove the garment from his face. The servants, on seeing this, rebuked themselves for waiting to be spectators of their master's murder, while wild beasts came to his help and cared for him in his undeserved misfortune, but they themselves did nothing in his defence. So partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they took him and carried him in his litter towards the sea.

XLVIII. But meantime his assassins came to the villa, Herennius a centurion, and Popillius a tribune,

- ὃ πατροκτονίας ποτὲ δίκην φεύγοντι συνείπεν ὁ Κικέρων, ἔχοντες ὑπηρέτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θύρας κεκλεισμένας εὐρόντες ἐξέκοψαν, οὐ φαινομένου τοῦ Κικέρωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἔνδον εἶδέναι φασκόντων,
- 2 λέγεται νεανίσκον τινὰ τεθραμμένον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐλευθερίοις καὶ μαθήμασιν, ἀπελεύθερον δὲ Κοῖντου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, Φιλόλογον τοῦνομα, φράσαι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ φορεῖον κομιζόμενον διὰ τῶν καταφύτων καὶ συσκίων περιπάτων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ μὲν οὖν χιλιάρχος ὀλίγους ἀναλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ περιέθει πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, τοῦ δ' Ἑρεννίου δρόμῳ φερομένου διὰ τῶν περιπάτων ὁ Κικέρων ἦσθετο, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐνταῦθα καταθέσθαι
- 3 τὸ φορεῖον. αὐτὸς δ', ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τῶν γενείων ἀπτόμενος ἀτενὲς ἐνεώρα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν, αὐχμοῦ καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλεως καὶ συντετηκῶς ὑπὸ φροντίδων τὸ πρόσωπον, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους ἐγκαλύψασθαι τοῦ Ἑρεννίου
- 4 σφάζοντος αὐτόν. ἐσφάγη δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προτείνας, ἔτος ἐκείνο γεγονῶς ἐξηκοστὸν καὶ τέταρτον. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος, αἷς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἔγραψεν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου λόγους Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψε καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰ βιβλία Φιλιππικοὶ καλοῦνται.

XLIX. Τῶν δ' ἀκρωτηρίων εἰς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων ἔτυχε μὲν ἀρχαιρεσίας τελῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνεβόησεν ὥς νῦν αἱ προγραφαὶ τέλος ἔχοιεν. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐπὶ τοῦ

who had once been prosecuted for parricide and defended by Cicero; and they had helpers. After they had broken in the door, which they found closed, Cicero was not to be seen, and the inmates said they knew not where he was. Then, we are told, a youth who had been liberally educated by Cicero, and who was a freedman of Cicero's brother Quintus, Philologus by name, told the tribune that the litter was being carried through the wooded and shady walks towards the sea. The tribune, accordingly, taking a few helpers with him, ran round towards the exit, but Herennius hastened on the run through the walks, and Cicero, perceiving him, ordered the servants to set the litter down where they were. Then he himself, clasping his chin with his left hand, as was his wont, looked steadfastly at his slayers, his head all squalid and unkempt, and his face wasted with anxiety, so that most of those that stood by covered their faces while Herennius was slaying him. For he stretched his neck forth from the litter and was slain, being then in his sixty-fourth year.¹ Herennius cut off his head, by Antony's command, and his hands—the hands with which he wrote the *Philippics*. For Cicero himself entitled his speeches against Antony "*Philippics*," and to this day the documents are called *Philippics*.

XLIX. When Cicero's extremities were brought to Rome, it chanced that Antony was conducting an election, but when he heard of their arrival and saw them, he cried out, "Now let our proscriptions have an end." Then he ordered the head and hands to be placed over the ships' beaks on the

¹ Cicero was murdered on the seventh of December, 43 B.C.

- βήματος θείναι, θέαμα Ῥωμαίοις φρικτόν, οὐ τὸ
Κικέρωνος ὄραν πρόσωπον οἰομένοις, ἀλλὰ τῆς
2 Ἀντωνίου ψυχῆς εἰκόνα. πλὴν ἔν γέ τι φρονή-
σας μέτριον ἐν τούτοις Πομπωνία τῇ Κοίντου
γυναικὶ τὸν Φιλόλογον παρέδωκεν. ἡ δὲ κυρία 886
γενομένη τοῦ σώματος ἄλλαις τε δειναῖς ἐχρήσατο
τιμωρίαις, καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἀποτέμνοντα τὰς αὐτοῦ
κατὰ μικρὸν ὀπτᾶν, εἰτ' ἐσθίειν ἠνάγκασεν. οὕτω
γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἱστορήκασιν· ὁ δ'
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπελεύθερος Τίρων τὸ
παράπαν οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς τοῦ Φιλολόγου
προδοσίας.
- 3 Πυνθάνομαι δὲ Καίσαρα χρόνοις πολλοῖς ὕστε-
ρον εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς ἓνα τῶν θυγατριδῶν· τὸν δὲ
βιβλίον ἔχοντα Κικέρωνος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐκ-
πλαγέντα τῷ ἱματίῳ περικαλύπτειν· ἰδόντα δὲ
Καίσαρα λαβεῖν καὶ διελθεῖν ἐστῶτα μέρος πολὺ
τοῦ βιβλίου, πάλιν δ' ἀποδιδόντα τῷ μεираκίῳ
φάναι· “ Λόγιος ἀνὴρ, ὦ παῖ, λόγιος καὶ φιλό-
4 πατρις.” ἐπεὶ μέντοι τάχιστα κατεπολέμησεν
Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύων αὐτὸς εἴλετο συνάρχοντα
τοῦ Κικέρωνος τὸν υἱόν, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς τ' εἰκόνας ἡ
βουλὴ καθείλεν Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἡκύρωσε
τιμὰς καὶ προσεψηφίσατο μηδενὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίων
ὄνομα Μάρκον εἶναι. οὕτω τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς τὸν
Κικέρωνος οἶκον ἐπανήνεγκε τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀντω-
νίου κολάσεως.

rostra, a sight that made the Romans shudder; for they thought they saw there, not the face of Cicero, but an image of the soul of Antony. However, he showed at least one sentiment of fair dealing in the case when he handed over Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. And she, having got the man into her power, besides other dreadful punishments which she inflicted upon him, forced him to cut off his own flesh bit by bit and roast it, and then to eat it. This, indeed, is what some of the historians say; but Cicero's own freedman, Tiro, makes no mention at all of the treachery of Philologus.

I learn that Caesar, a long time after this, paid a visit to one of his daughter's sons; and the boy, since he had in his hands a book of Cicero's, was terrified and sought to hide it in his gown; but Caesar saw it, and took the book, and read a great part of it as he stood, and then gave it back to the youth, saying: "A learned man, my child, a learned man and a lover of his country." Moreover, as soon as he had finally defeated Antony,¹ and when he was himself consul, he chose Cicero's son as his colleague in the office, and it was in his consulship that the senate took down the statues of Antony, made void the other honours that had been paid him, and decreed besides that no Antony should have the name of Marcus. Thus the heavenly powers devolved upon the family of Cicero the final steps in the punishment of Antony.

¹ At Alexandria, in 30 B.C. (see the *Antony*, lxxxi. 1 f.).

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝΟΣ
ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

- I. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος ἱστορουμένων εἰς τὴν ἡμέτεραν ἀφίεται γνώσιν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἀφεικῶς δὲ τὸ συγκρίνειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἕξιν αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκῶ μὴ παρήσειν ἄρρητον, ὅτι Δημοσθένης μὲν εἰς τὸ ῥητορικὸν ἐνέτεινε πᾶν ὅσον εἶχεν ἐκ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως λόγιον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἐναργείᾳ μὲν καὶ δεινότητι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ τῶν δικῶν συνεξεταζομένους, ὅγκῳ δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικούς, ἀκριβείᾳ δὲ καὶ τέχνῃ τοὺς σοφιστάς· Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ ποικίλος τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους σπουδῇ γενόμενος συντάξεις μὲν ἰδίας φιλοσόφους ἀπολέλοιπεν οὐκ ὀλίγας εἰς τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν τρόπον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὰς δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας γραφομένων λόγων δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ γραμμάτων παρεπιδείκνυσθαι βουλούμενος.
- 3 Ἔστι δέ τις καὶ τοῦ ἡθους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἑκατέρου δίωψις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθενικὸς ἕξω παντὸς ὠραϊσμοῦ καὶ παιδιᾶς εἰς δεινότητα καὶ σπουδὴν συνηγμένος οὐκ ἐλλυχνίων ὁδῶδεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Πυθέας ἔσκωπτεν, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίας καὶ φροντίδων καὶ τῆς λεγομένης πικρίας τοῦ τρόπου
- 4 καὶ στυγνότητος, Κικέρων δὲ πολλαχοῦ τῷ

COMPARISON OF DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

I. THESE, then, are the memorable incidents in the recorded careers of Demosthenes and Cicero which have come to our knowledge. And though I have renounced the comparison of their oratorical styles,¹ yet this, I think, ought not to be left unsaid, namely, that Demosthenes devoted to the rhetorical art all the powers of speech which he possessed by nature or acquired by practice, surpassing in force and effectiveness his rivals in forensic and judicial pleading, in pomp and majesty of utterance the professional declaimers, and in precision and skill the sophists; Cicero, on the other hand, became widely learned and had a variety of interest in the pursuit of letters, and left behind him not a few philosophical treatises of his own conforming to the fashion of the Academy; indeed, even in the speeches which he wrote for the forum and the courts he clearly desires to display by the way a considerable acquaintance with letters.

It is possible, too, to get a glimpse of the character of each in his style of speaking. For that of Demosthenes, which had no prettiness or pleasantry, and was condensed with a view to power and earnestness, did not smell of lamp-wicks, as Pytheas scoffingly said,² but of water-drinking and anxious thought, and of what men called the bitterness and sullenness of his disposition; whereas Cicero was often carried away by his love of jesting

¹ See the *Demosthenes*, iii. 1.

² Cf. the *Demosthenes*, viii. 3.

σκωπτικῶ πρὸς τὸ βωμολόχον ἐκφερόμενος καὶ πράγματα σπουδῆς ἄξια γέλωτι καὶ παιδιᾷ κατειρυνεόμενος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις εἰς τὸ χρεῖωδες ἡφείδει τοῦ πρέποντος, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Καιλίου¹ συνηγορίᾳ μηδὲν ἄτοπον ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ τρυφῇ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς χρώμενον· τὸ γὰρ ὦν ἔξεστι μὴ μετέχειν, μανικὸν εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἡδονῇ τὸ εὐδαιμον τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 5 φιλοσόφων τιθεμένων. λέγεται δὲ Κάτωνος Μουρῆναν διώκοντος ὑπατεύων ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν Κάτωνα κωμωδεῖν τὴν Στωϊκὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτοπίαις τῶν παραδόξων λεγομένων δογμάτων· γέλωτος δὲ λαμπροῦ κατιόντος ἐκ τῶν περιεστώτων πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ἡσυχῇ διαμειδιάσας ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τοὺς καθημένους εἰπεῖν· “Ὡς γελοῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔχομεν ὑπατον.”
 6 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γέλωτος οἰκεῖος ὁ Κικέρων γεγονέναι καὶ φιλοσκώπτῃς, τό τε πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ μειδίαμα καὶ γαλήνην παρεῖχε. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένους αἰεὶ τις ἐπὶ σπουδῇ, καὶ τὸ πεφροντικὸς τοῦτο καὶ σύννουν οὐ ῥαδίως ἀπέλειπεν.² ὅθεν καὶ δύσκολον αὐτὸν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ δύστροπον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν, ἀπεκάλουν.

II. Ἐτι τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι κατιδεῖν 88 ἔστι τὸν μὲν ἐμμελῶς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπτόμενον ἐγκωμίων, ὅτε τούτου δεῖσαι πρὸς ἕτερόν τι μείζον, τᾶλλα δ' εὐλαβῇ καὶ μέτριον· ἡ δὲ Κικέρωνος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀμετρία τῆς

¹ Καιλίου Coraës, Bekker, and Graux, after Wytttenbach : Κεκιλίου.

² ἀπέλειπεν with Graux and Bekker, after Coraës: ἀπέλειπεν.

into scurrility, and when, to gain his ends in his cases, he treated matters worthy of serious attention with ironical mirth and pleasantry, he was careless of propriety. Thus, in his defence of Caelius, he said that his client, surrounded as he was by great luxury and extravagance, did nothing out of the way when indulging in pleasures; for not to enjoy what is in one's possession was madness, he said, particularly when the most eminent philosophers assert that true happiness consists in pleasure.¹ And we are told that when Cato prosecuted Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, defended him, and because of Cato's beliefs made much fun of the Stoic sect, in view of the absurdities of their so-called paradoxes;² and when loud laughter spread from the audience to the jurors, Cato, with a quiet smile, said to those who sat by: "What a funny man we have, my friends, for consul!" And it would seem that Cicero was naturally prone to laughter and fond of jesting; his face, too, was smiling and peaceful. But in that of Demosthenes there was always a certain intense seriousness, and this look of thoughtfulness and anxiety he did not easily lay aside. For this reason his enemies, as he himself says,³ called him morose and ill-mannered.

II. Still further, then, in their writings it is possible to see that the one touches upon his own praises cautiously and so as not to give offence, when there was need of this for some weightier end, while on other occasions he is careful and moderate; whereas Cicero's immoderate boasting of

¹ Cf. Cicero, *pro Caelio*, 12, 28; but Plutarch's interpretation does Cicero great injustice. Cf. 17, 39 f.

² Cf. *pro Murena*, 29-31.

³ In *Phil.* ii. 30.

περιαντολογίας ἀκрасίαν τινὰ κατηγόρει πρὸς
 δόξαν, βοῶντος ὡς τὰ ὄπλα ἔδει τῇ τηβέννῳ καὶ
 2 τῇ γλώττῃ τὴν θριαμβικὴν ὑπεῖκειν δάφνην. τε-
 λευτῶν δ' οὐ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πράξεις μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς εἰρημένους ὑφ'
 αὐτοῦ¹ καὶ γεγραμμένους, ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτει καὶ
 Ἀναξιμένει τοῖς σοφισταῖς διαμειρακιευόμενος,
 οὐ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἄγειν ἀξιῶν καὶ ὀρθοῦν,

βριθύν, ὀπλιτοπάλαν, δαΐον ἀντιπάλοις.

3 ἰσχύειν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόγου τὸν πολιτευόμενον
 ἀναγκαῖον, ἀγαπᾶν δ' ἀγεννὲς καὶ λιχνεύειν τὴν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δόξαν. ὅθεν ἐμβριθέστερος ταύ-
 τη καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος² ὁ Δημοσθένης, τὴν
 μὲν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ πολλῆς δεομέ-
 νην τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀκροωμένων εὐνοίας ἀποφαινό-
 μενος, ἀνελευθέρους δὲ καὶ βαναύσους, ὥσπερ
 εἰσί, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ φυσωμένους ἡγούμενος.

III. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν καὶ πολιτεύ-
 εσθαι δύναμις ὁμαλῶς ἀμφοτέροις ὑπῆρξεν, ὥστε
 καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὄπλων καὶ στρατοπέδων κυρίου
 δεῖσθαι, Δημοσθένους μὲν Χάρητα καὶ Διοπείθην
 καὶ Λεωσθένην, Κικέρωνος δὲ Πομπήϊον καὶ Καί-
 σαρα τὸν νέον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς
 Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικίαν ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν.

¹ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ Graux with M^a: ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

² μεγαλοπρεπέστερος with Bekker, after Stephanus: μεγα-
 λοπρεπέστατος.

himself in his speeches proves that he had an intemperate desire for fame, his cry being that arms must give place to the toga and the laurel of triumph to the tongue.¹ And at last he praises not only his deeds and actions, but also his speeches, both those which he delivered himself and those which he committed to writing, as if he were impetuously vying with Isocrates and Anaximenes the sophists, instead of claiming the right to lead and instruct the Roman people,

“Steadfast, in heavy armour clad, destructive to foes.”²

It is necessary, indeed, that a political leader should prevail by reason of his eloquence, but ignoble for him to admire and crave the fame that springs from his eloquence. Wherefore in this regard Demosthenes is more stately and magnificent, since he declares that his ability in speaking was a mere matter of experience, depending greatly upon the goodwill of his hearers,³ and considers illiberal and vulgar, as they are, those who are puffed up at such success.

III. It is true that in haranguing and guiding the people both had equal power, so that even those who controlled armies and camps had need of their services; Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes needed Demosthenes, and Pompey and the young Caesar needed Cicero, as Caesar himself says in his Memoirs addressed to Agrippa and Maecenas.

¹ Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi (*in Pisonem*, 29, 72 ff.).

² The second verse of an elegiac distich attributed to Aeschylus in *Morals*, p. 334 d. Cf. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.⁴ p. 242. ³ Cf. *On the Crown*, 277.

- 2 ὁ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα καὶ λέγεται τρόπον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδεικνύναι καὶ βασανίζειν, ἐξουσία καὶ ἀρχὴ πᾶν πάθος κινοῦσα καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποκαλύπτουσα κακίαν, Δημοσθένει μὲν οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν, οὐδ' ἔδωκε τοιαύτην διάπειραν ἑαυτοῦ, μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄρξας, ὃς οὐδὲ τῆς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ συντεταγμένης ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ἐστρατήγησε δυνάμεως.
- 3 Κικέρων δὲ ταμίας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ ἀνθύπατος εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἀποσταλείς, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας ἀκμαζούσης, καὶ τῶν πεμπομένων στρατηγῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων, ὥς τοῦ κλέπτειν ἀγεννοῦς ὄντος, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρπάζειν τρεπομένων, οὐ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐδόκει δεινόν, ἀλλ' ὁ μετρίως τοῦτο ποιῶν ἡγαπᾶτο, πολλὴν μὲν ἐπιδείξιν ὑπεροφίας χρημάτων ἐποιήσατο, πολλὴν
- 4 δὲ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπάτος, ἐξουσίαν δὲ λαβὼν αὐτοκράτορας καὶ δικτάτορας ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Κατιλίαν, ἐμαρτύρησεν ἅμα τῷ Πλάτῳνι μαντευομένῳ παῦλαν ἔξειν κακῶν τὰς πόλεις, ὅταν εἰς ταῦτὸ δύναιμις τε μεγάλη καὶ φρόνησις ἔκτινος τύχης χρηστῆς ἀπαντήσῃ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης.
- 5 Χρηματίσασθαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Δημοσθένης μὲν ἐπιψόγως λέγεται, λογογραφῶν κρύφα τοῖς περὶ Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἀντιδίκους, καὶ διαβληθεὶς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν, ὀφλὼν δὲ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς γράφοντας (οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' εἰσὶν οὗτοι) ψεύδεσθαι

But what is thought and said most of all to reveal and test the character of a man, namely power and authority, which rouses every passion and uncovers every baseness, this Demosthenes did not have, nor did he give any such proof of himself, since he held no conspicuous office, nor did he even command the force which was raised by him against Philip; whereas Cicero was sent out as quaestor to Sicily, and as pro-consul to Cilicia and Cappadocia, at a time when the love of wealth was at its greatest height, and when those who were sent out as praetors and governors, feeling that theft was an ignoble thing, resorted to open plundering, so that the taking of property was not thought heinous, but he who did this in moderation was held in high esteem; and yet Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt for wealth, and many of his humanity and goodness. And when in Rome itself he was appointed consul in name, but really received the power of a dictator and sole ruler against Catiline and his conspirators, he bore witness to the truth of Plato's prophecy¹ that states would then have respite from evil, when in one and the same person, by some happy fortune, great power and wisdom should be conjoined with justice.

Moreover, it is said to the reproach of Demosthenes that he made money by his eloquence, since he secretly wrote speeches for Phormio and Apollodorus, who were adversaries in the same case, and since he was accused in the matter of the Great King's money, and condemned for taking that of Harpalus. And if we should say that those who write these things (and these writers are not few)

¹ *Republic*, p. 473 d.

6 φαίημεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε πρὸς δωρεὰς βασιλέων σὺν
 χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ διδομένας ἀντιβλέψαι Δημοσθέ-
 νης οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἦν τοῦτο ἔργον¹ ἀν-
 θρώπου δανείζοντος ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς, ἀμήχανον
 ἀντειπεῖν· περὶ δὲ Κικέρωνος, ὅτι καὶ Σικελιωτῶν
 ἀγορανομοῦντι καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν
 ἀνθυπατεύοντι καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων, ὅτ' ἐξέ-
 πιπτε τῆς πόλεως, δωρουμένων πολλὰ καὶ δεομέ-
 νων λαβεῖν ἀντέσχευ, εἴρηται.

IV. Καὶ μὴν ἢ γε φυγὴ τῷ μὲν αἰσυχρὰ κλοπῆς
 ἀλόντι συνέπεσε, τῷ δὲ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀνθρώ- 888
 πους ἀλιτηρίους ἐκκόψαντι τῆς πατρίδος. διὸ
 τοῦ μὲν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐκπίπτοντος, ἐφ' ᾧ δ' ἡ
 σύγκλητος ἐσθῆτά τε διήλλαξε καὶ πένθος ἔσχε
 καὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς εἰπεῖν ἐπέισθη πρό-
 2 τερον ἢ Κικέρωνι κάθοδον ψηφίσασθαι. τὴν
 μέντοι φυγὴν ἀργῶς ὁ Κικέρων διήνεγκεν ἐν
 Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενος, τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ ἡ
 φυγὴ μέγα μέρος τῆς πολιτείας γέγονε. συνα-
 γωνιζόμενος γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ
 τοὺς Μακεδόνων πρέσβεις ἐξελαύνων ἐπήρχετο
 τὰς πόλεις, πολὺν βελτίων Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ
 Ἀλκιβιάδου παρὰ τὰς αὐτὰς τύχας φανεὶς πολί-
 3 της· καὶ μέντοι κατελθὼν αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδωκεν
 εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην πολιτείαν, καὶ διετέλει πο-
 λεμῶν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Μακεδόνας. Κικέ-
 ρωνα δ' ὠνείδισεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λαίλιος αἰτουμένου

¹ τοῦτο ἔργον Bekker and Graux, after Reiske: τοῦτο τὸ
 ἔργον.

tell what is untrue, still, at least, that Demosthenes could not bring himself to look with indifference upon gifts which kings offered as marks of honour and favour, and that this was not to be expected of a man who lent money on bottomry, it is impossible to deny; whereas, in the case of Cicero, that the Sicilians when he was quaestor, and the king of Cappadocia when he was pro-consul, and his friends in Rome when he was going into exile, offered him large sums and begged him to take them, only to meet with his refusal, has been said.

IV. And surely in the matter of banishment, at least, for the one it was disgraceful, since he had been convicted of theft; but for the other it was a most honourable result, since he had rid his country of baleful men. Therefore no account was made of the one when he went into exile; but for the other the senate changed its garb and put on mourning and could not be induced to discuss any business until Cicero's return had been decreed. However, Cicero spent his exile idly, remaining quietly in Macedonia; but the exile of Demosthenes proved to be a great part of his service to the state. For he took part in the struggles of the Greeks, as has been said, and drove out the Macedonian envoys in the various cities which he visited, and so showed himself to be a far better citizen than Themistocles or Alcibiades when they were having the same fortune; and furthermore, when he returned from exile, he again devoted himself to this same public service, and steadfastly continued waging war upon Antipater and the Macedonians. Cicero, on the contrary, was reproached in the senate by Laelius for sitting silent

Καίσαρος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι παρὰ νόμον, οὕτω γενειῶντος, σιωπῇ καθήμενον. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐγκαλῶν ὥς μείζονα καὶ βαρυτέραν πεπαιδοτριβηκότι τυραννίδα τῆς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ καταλυθείσης.

V. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν μὲν οἰκτεῖραι τις ἄν, ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην δι' ἀγέννηιαν ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφερόμενον καὶ περιφεύγοντα τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενον τοὺς οὐ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φύσεως ἦκοντας ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἀποσφαγέντα· τοῦ δ', εἰ καὶ μικρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἰκετείαν ἐνέδωκεν, ἀγαστὴ μὲν ἢ παρασκευὴ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τήρησις, ἀγαστὴ δ' ἢ χρῆσις, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀσυλίαν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μείζονα βωμὸν καταφυγών, ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ὥχετο, τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου καταγελάσας ὠμότητος.

when Caesar asked leave to stand for the consulship, which was contrary to law, since he was still a beardless youth. And Brutus also, in one of his letters, accused him of having reared up a tyranny greater and more severe than that which the writer himself had overthrown.¹

V. And after all, the one is to be pitied for the manner of his death—an old man ignobly carried up and down by servants, trying to escape death, hiding himself from those who were coming after him not much in advance of nature's final summons, and then beheaded; whereas in that of the other, even though it had a slight touch of supplication, we must admire the preparation of the poison and its place of custody, must admire, too, the use he made of it, because, since the god would not afford him asylum, he took refuge at a greater altar, as it were, made his escape from arms and mercenaries, and laughed to scorn the cruelty of Antipater.

¹ Cicero, *ad Brutum*, i. 17, 2 (Brutus to Atticus).

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Ι. Τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως βίον καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑφ' οὗ κατελύθη Πομπήϊος, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ γράφοντες, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποκειμένων πράξεων οὐδὲν ἄλλο προερούμεν ἢ παραιτησόμεθα τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, εἰ μὴ πάντα μὴδὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξειργασμένως τι τῶν περιβοήτων ἀπαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνοντες
2 τὰ πλείεστα, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δῆλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ 665 παιδιὰ τις ἔμφασιν ἤθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται
3 καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὄψιν εἰδῶν, οἷς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἦθος, ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες, οὕτως ἡμῖν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον, εἰς αὐτὰς ἐτέροις τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας.

ΙΙ. Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι τῷ γένει πρὸς πατρός μὲν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης ἀπὸ Καράνου, πρὸς δὲ μητρός Αἰακίδης ἀπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τῶν πάνυ πεπιστευμένων ἐστί. λέγεται δὲ Φίλιππος ἐν Σαμο-

ALEXANDER

I. IT is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey, that I am writing in this book, and the multitude of the deeds to be treated is so great that I shall make no other preface than to entreat my readers, in case I do not tell of all the famous actions of these men, nor even speak exhaustively at all in each particular case, but in epitome for the most part, not to complain. For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities. Accordingly, just as painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but make very little account of the other parts of the body, so I must be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in men, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of their great contests.

II. As for the lineage of Alexander, on his father's side he was a descendant of Heracles through Caranus, and on his mother's side a descendant of Aeacus through Neoptolemus; this is accepted without any question. And we are told that Philip, after

- θράκη τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι συμμηθεὶς αὐτὸς τε μεϊράκιον ὦν ἔτι κακείνης παιδὸς ὀρφανῆς γονέων ἐρασθῆναι καὶ τὸν γάμον οὕτως ἀρμόσαι, πείσας
2 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Ἀρύμβαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν νύμφη, πρὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἧ συνείρχθησαν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον, ἔδοξε βροντῆς γενομένης ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτῆς τῇ γαστρὶ κεραυνόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς πολὺ πῦρ ἀναφθέν, εἶτα ῥηγνύμενον εἰς φλόγας πάντη φερομένας διαλυθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ὑστέρω χρόνῳ μετὰ τὸν γάμον εἶδεν ὄναρ αὐτὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα σφραγίδα τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικός· ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφρα-
3 γίδος, ὡς ᾤετο, λέοντος εἶχεν εἰκόνα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μάντεων ὑφορωμένων τὴν ὄψιν, ὡς ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακῆς δεομένων τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν γάμον, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ Τελμησσεὺς κύειν ἔφη τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀποσφραγίζεσθαι τῶν κενῶν, καὶ κύειν παῖδα θυμοειδῆ καὶ
4 λεοντώδη τὴν φύσιν. ὥφθη δέ ποτε καὶ δράκων κοιμωμένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ σώματι· καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς φιλοφροσύνας ἀμαυρῶσαι λέγουσιν, ὡς μηδὲ φοιτᾶν ἔτι πολλάκις παρ' αὐτὴν ἀναπαυσόμενον, εἴτε δείσαντά τινος μαγείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακα τῆς γυναικός, εἴτε τὴν ὁμιλίαν ὡς κρείττοσι συνούσης ἀφοσιούμενον.
- 5 Ἄλλος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ τῆδε γυναῖκες ἔνοχοι τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὔσαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ, Κλώδωνές τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες

being initiated into the mysteries of Samothrace at the same time with Olympias, he himself being still a youth and she an orphan child, fell in love with her and betrothed himself to her at once with the consent of her brother, Arymbas. Well, then, the night before that on which the marriage was consummated, the bride dreamed that there was a peal of thunder and that a thunder-bolt fell upon her womb, and that thereby much fire was kindled, which broke into flames that travelled all about, and then was extinguished. At a later time, too, after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he was putting a seal upon his wife's womb; and the device of the seal, as he thought, was the figure of a lion. The other seers, now, were led by the vision to suspect that Philip needed to put a closer watch upon his marriage relations; but Aristander of Telmessus said that the woman was pregnant, since no seal was put upon what was empty, and pregnant of a son whose nature would be bold and lion-like. Moreover, a serpent was once seen lying stretched out by the side of Olympias as she slept, and we are told that this, more than anything else, dulled the ardour of Philip's attentions to his wife, so that he no longer came often to sleep by her side, either because he feared that some spells and enchantments might be practised upon him by her, or because he shrank from her embraces in the conviction that she was the partner of a superior being.

But concerning these matters there is another story to this effect: all the women of these parts were addicted to the Orphic rites and the orgies of Dionysus from very ancient times (being called *Klodonēs* and *Mimallonēs*¹), and imitated in many

¹ Macedonian names for Bacchantes.

ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι, πολλὰ ταῖς Ἡδωνίσι καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν Αἶμον Θρήσσαις ὅμοια δρῶσιν, ἀφ' ὧν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ θρησκεύειν ὄνομα ταῖς κατακόροις
 6 γενέσθαι καὶ περιέργοις ἱερουργίαις, ἣ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον ὄφεις μεγάλους χειροήθεις ἐφείλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οὐ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκνων παραναδύόμενοι καὶ περιελιττόμενοι τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἄνδρας.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ μὲν, μετὰ τὸ φάσμα πέμψαντι Χαίρωνα τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην εἰς Δελφούς, χρησμὸν κομισθῆναι λέγουσι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελευοντος Ἀμμωνι θύειν καὶ σέβεσθαι μάλιστα τοῦτον τὸν θεόν· ἀποβαλεῖν δὲ τῶν ὄψεων αὐτὸν τὴν ἐτέραν, ἣν τῷ τῆς θύρας ἀρμῷ προσβαλὼν κατώπτευσεν ἐν μορφῇ δράκοντος
 2 συνευναζόμενον τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν θεόν. ἣ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησί, προπέμπουσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, καὶ φράσασα μόνῳ τὸ περὶ τὴν τέκνωσιν ἀπόρρητον, ἐκέλευεν ἄξια φρονεῖν τῆς γενέσεως. ἕτεροι δὲ φασιν αὐτὴν ἀφοσιοῦσθαι καὶ λέγειν· “Οὐ παύσεταιί με διαβάλλων Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν Ἥραν;”
 3 Ἐγεννήθη δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἰσταμένου μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ὃν Μακεδόνες Λῶον καλοῦσιν,

¹ Plutarch apparently derives this verb from *Θρήσσαι* (*Thracian women*).

² Sacred to Dionysus, and carried on the heads of the celebrants.

ways the practices of the Edonian women and the Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from whom, as it would seem, the word "threskeucin"¹ came to be applied to the celebration of extravagant and superstitious ceremonies. Now Olympias, who affected these divine possessions more zealously than other women, and carried out these divine inspirations in wilder fashion, used to provide the reveling companies with great tame serpents, which would often lift their heads from out the ivy and the mystic winnowing-baskets,² or coil themselves about the wands and garlands of the women, thus terrifying the men.

III However, after his vision, as we are told, Philip sent Chaeron of Megalopolis to Delphi, by whom an oracle was brought him from Apollo, who bade him sacrifice to Ammon and hold that god in greatest reverence, but told him he was to lose that one of his eyes which he had applied to the chink in the door when he espied the god, in the form of a serpent, sharing the couch of his wife. Moreover, Olympias, as Eratosthenes says, when she sent Alexander forth upon his great expedition, told him, and him alone, the secret of his begetting, and bade him have purposes worthy of his birth. Others, on the contrary, say that she repudiated the idea, and said: "Alexander must cease slandering me to Hera."³

Be that as it may, Alexander was born early in the month Hecatombaeon,⁴ the Macedonian name for

³ The lawful spouse of Zeus Ammon.

⁴ 356 B.C. The day of birth has probably been moved back two or three months for the sake of the coincidence mentioned below (§ 5). Hecatombaeon corresponds nearly to July.

ἔκτη, καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνεπρήσθη νεώς· ὃ γ' Ἡγησίας ὁ Μάγνης ἐπιπεφώνηκεν ἐπιφώνημα κατασβέσαι τὴν πυρκαϊὰν ἐκείνην ὑπὸ ψυχρίας δυνάμενον· εἰκότως γὰρ ἔφη καταφλεχθῆναι τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀσχολουμένης περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μαίωσιν.

- 4 ὅσοι δὲ τῶν μάγων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβοντες 666 ἔτυχον, τὸ περὶ τὸν νεὼν πάθος ἡγούμενοι πάθους ἑτέρου σημεῖον εἶναι, διέθεον τὰ πρόσωπα τυπτόμενοι καὶ βοῶντες ἅτην ἅμα καὶ συμφορὰν μεγάλην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τετοκέναι. Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἄρτι Ποτίδαιαν ἡρηκότι τρεῖς ἦκον
5 ἀγγελίαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον· ἡ μὲν Ἰλλυριοῦς ἠττᾶσθαι μάχῃ μεγάλη διὰ Παρμενίωνος, ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἵππῳ κέλῃτι νενικηκέναι, τρίτη δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενέσεως. ἐφ' οἷς ἡδόμενον, ὥς εἰκός, ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάντεις ἐπῆραν ἀποφαινόμενοι τὸν παῖδα τρισὶ νίκαις συγγεγεννημένον ἀνίκητον ἔσεσθαι.

IV. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος οἱ Λυσίππειοι μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὃς οὐ μόνου καὶ αὐτὸς ἡξίου πλάττεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ μάλισθ' ἂ πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ὕστερον καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπεμιμοῦντο, τὴν τε ἀνάτασιν τοῦ αὐχένος εἰς εὐώνυμον ἡσυχῇ κεκλιμένου καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῶν ὀμμάτων, διατετήρηκεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ τεχνίτης.

- 2 Ἀπελλῆς δὲ γράφων τὸν κεραυνοφόρον οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τὴν χροάν, ἀλλὰ φαιότερον καὶ πεπινωμένον ἐποίησεν. ἦν δὲ λευκός, ὥς φασιν· ἡ δὲ

which is Louïis, on the sixth day of the month, and on this day the temple of Ephesian Artemis was burnt. It was apropos of this that Hegesias the Magnesian made an utterance frigid enough to have extinguished that great conflagration. He said, namely, it was no wonder that the temple of Artemis was burned down, since the goddess was busy bringing Alexander into the world. But all the Magi who were then at Ephesus, looking upon the temple's disaster as a sign of further disaster, ran about beating their faces and crying aloud that woe and great calamity for Asia had that day been born. To Philip, however, who had just taken Potidaea, there came three messages at the same time: the first that Parmenio had conquered the Illyrians in a great battle, the second that his race-horse had won a victory at the Olympic games, while a third announced the birth of Alexander. These things delighted him, of course, and the seers raised his spirits still higher by declaring that the son whose birth coincided with three victories would be always victorious.

IV. The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippus made, and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. For those peculiarities which many of his successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed. Apelles, however, in painting him as wielder of the thunder-bolt, did not reproduce his complexion, but made it too dark and swarthy. Whereas he was of a fair colour, as they say, and his

λευκότης ἐπεφοίνισσεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ στήθος
 μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. ὅτι δὲ τοῦ χρωτὸς
 ἡδιστον ἀπέπνει καὶ τὸ στόμα κατεῖχεν εὐωδία
 καὶ τὴν σάρκα πᾶσαν, ὥστε πληροῦσθαι τοὺς
 χιτωνίσκους, ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστο-
 ξενείοις.

- 3 Αἰτία δὲ ἴσως ἢ τοῦ σώματος κρᾶσις πολύ-
 θερμος οὖσα καὶ πυρώδης· ἢ γὰρ εὐωδία γίνεται
 πέψει τῶν ὑγρῶν ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὡς οἶεται
 Θεόφραστος. ὅθεν οἱ ξηροὶ καὶ διάπυροι τόποι
 τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν
 ἰρωμάτων φέρουσιν· ἐξαιρεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος τὸ ὑγρὸν
 ὥσπερ ὕλην σηπεδόνος ἐπιπολάζον τοῖς σώμασιν.
 4 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἢ θερμότης τοῦ σώματος, ὡς
 ἔοικε, καὶ ποτικὸν καὶ θυμοειδῆ παρεῖχεν.

- Ἔτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ παιδὸς ἢ τε σωφροσύνη
 διεφαίνετο τῷ πρὸς τὰλλα ῥαγδαῖον ὄντα καὶ
 φερόμενον σφοδρῶς ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὸ
 σῶμα δυσκίνητον εἶναι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς πρᾶότη-
 5 τος ἄπτεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων, ἢ τε φιλοτιμία παρ'
 ἡλικίαν ἐμβριθὲς εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ μεγαλόψυ-
 χον. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὔτε πᾶσαν ἡγάπα
 δόξαν, ὡς Φίλιππος λόγου τε δεινότητι σοφι-
 στικῶς καλλωπιζόμενος καὶ τὰς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
 νίκας τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐγχαράττων τοῖς νομίσμασιν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποπειρωμένων εἰ
 βούλοιτ' ἂν Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἀγωνίσασθαι στάδιον,
 ἦν γὰρ ποδῶκης, “Εἰ γε,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῖς
 6 ἔμελλον ἔξειν ἀνταγωνιστάς.” φαίνεται δὲ καὶ
 καθόλου πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν γένος ἀλλοτριῶς
 ἔχων· πλείστους γέ τοι θεῖς ἀγῶνας οὐ μόνον

fairness passed into ruddiness on his breast particularly, and in his face. Moreover, that a very pleasant odour exhaled from his skin and that there was a fragrance about his mouth and all his flesh, so that his garments were filled with it, this we have read in the *Memoirs of Aristoxenus*.

Now, the cause of this, perhaps, was the temperament of his body, which was a very warm and fiery one; for fragrance is generated, as *Theophrastus* thinks, where moist humours are acted upon by heat. Wherefore the dry and parched regions of the world produce the most and best spices; for the sun draws away the moisture which, like material of corruption, abounds in vegetable bodies. And in *Alexander's* case, it was the heat of his body, as it would seem, which made him prone to drink, and choleric.

But while he was still a boy his self-restraint showed itself in the fact that, although he was impetuous and violent in other matters, the pleasures of the body had little hold upon him, and he indulged in them with great moderation, while his ambition kept his spirit serious and lofty in advance of his years. For it was neither every kind of fame nor fame from every source that he courted, as *Philip* did, who plumed himself like a sophist on the power of his oratory, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at *Olympia* engraved upon his coins; nay, when those about him inquired whether he would be willing to contend in the foot-race at the *Olympic games*, since he was swift of foot, "Yes," said he, "if I could have kings as my contestants." And in general, too, *Alexander* appears to have been averse to the whole race of athletes; at any rate, though he instituted very many contests, not only

τραγωδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρωδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαψωδῶν, θήρας τε παντοδαπῆς καὶ ῥαβδομαχίας, οὔτε πυγμῆς οὔτε παγκρατίου μετὰ τινος σπουδῆς ἔθηκεν ἄθλον.

- V. Τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἤκοντας ἀποδημοῦντος Φιλίππου ξενίζων καὶ γενόμενος συνήθης οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἐρώτημα παιδικὸν ἐρωτῆσαι μηδὲ μικρόν, ἀλλ' ὁδῶν τε μήκη καὶ πορείας τῆς ἄνω τρόπον ἐκπυνθάνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁποῖος εἴη πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, καὶ τίς ἢ Περσῶν ἀλκὴ καὶ δύναμις, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινότητα μηδὲν ἡγείσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ὁρμὴν
- 2 καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην. ὅσάκις γοῦν ἀπαγγελλεῖν Φίλιππος ἢ πόλιν ἐνδοξοῖν ἥρηκὼς ἢ μάχην τινὰ περιβόητον νενικηκώς, οὐ πάνυ φαιδρὸς ἦν ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἔλεγεν· “ὦ παῖδες, πάντα προλήψεται ὁ πατήρ· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπολείψει μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι μέγα
- 3 καὶ λαμπρόν.” οὐ γὰρ ἡδονὴν ζηλῶν οὐδὲ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἐνόμιζεν, ὅσῳ πλείονα λήψεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐλάττονα κατορθώσειν δι' ἑαυτοῦ. διὸ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐξομένοις καταναλίσκεσθαι τὰς πράξεις εἰς ἐκείνον ἡγούμενος, ἐβούλετο μὴ χρήματα μηδὲ τρυφὰς καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, ἀλλ' ἀγῶνας καὶ πολέμους καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν.
- 4 Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς εἰκός,

for tragic poets and players on the flute and players on the lyre, but also for rhapsodists, as well as for hunting of every sort and for fighting with staves, he took no interest in offering prizes either for boxing or for the pancratium.

V. He once entertained the envoys from the Persian king who came during Philip's absence, and associated with them freely. He won upon them by his friendliness, and by asking no childish or trivial questions, but by enquiring about the length of the roads and the character of the journey into the interior, about the king himself, what sort of a warrior he was, and what the prowess and might of the Persians. The envoys were therefore astonished and regarded the much-talked-of ability of Philip as nothing compared with his son's eager disposition to do great things. At all events, as often as tidings were brought that Philip had either taken a famous city or been victorious in some celebrated battle, Alexander was not very glad to hear them, but would say to his comrades: "Boys, my father will anticipate everything; and for me he will leave no great or brilliant achievement to be displayed to the world with your aid." For since he did not covet pleasure, nor even wealth, but excellence and fame, he considered that the more he should receive from his father the fewer would be the successes won by himself. Therefore, considering that increase in prosperity meant the squandering upon his father of opportunities for achievement, he preferred to receive from him a realm which afforded, not wealth nor luxury and enjoyment, but struggles and wars and ambitions.

In the work of caring for him, then, many persons,

ἦσαν αὐτοῦ τροφεῖς καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ διδάσκα-
λοι λεγόμενοι, πᾶσι δ' ἐφειστήκει Λεωνίδας, ἀνὴρ
τό τε ἦθος αὐστηρὸς καὶ συγγενὴς Ὀλυμπιάδος,
αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ φεύγων τὸ τῆς παιδαγωγίας ὄνομα
καλὸν ἔργον ἐχούσης καὶ λαμπρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
ἄλλων διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τροφεὺς
5 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ καθηγητῆς καλούμενος. ὁ δὲ
τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ καὶ τὴν προδηγορίαν
ὑποποιούμενος ἦν Λυσίμαχος, τῷ γένει Ἀκαρνάν,
ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἀστείον, ὅτι δ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν
ὠνόμαζε Φοίνικα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀχιλλέα,
Πηλέα δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἠγαπᾶτο καὶ δευτέραν
εἶχε χώραν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλονείκου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ τὸν
Βουκεφάλαν ἀγαγόντος ὄνιον τῷ Φιλίππῳ τρις-
καίδεκα ταλάντων κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον δοκι-
μάσοντας τὸν ἵππον, ἐδόκει τε χαλεπὸς εἶναι καὶ
κομιδῇ δύσχρηστος, οὔτε ἀναβάτην προσιέμενος
οὔτε φωνὴν ὑπομένων τινὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιπ-
πον, ἀλλ' ἀπάντων κατεξανιστάμενος, δυσχεραί-
2 νοντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγειν
ὥς παντάπασιν ἄγριον καὶ ἀκόλαστον, παρὼν
Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπεν “Ὅϊον ἵππον ἀπολλύουσι δι'
ἀπειρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι,”
τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Φίλιππος ἐσιώπησε· πολλὰ-
κίς δὲ αὐτοῦ παραφθεγγομένου καὶ περιπαθοῦν-
τος, “Ἐπιτιμᾶς σύ,” ἔφη, “πρεσβυτέροις ὥς τι
πλέον αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ἢ μᾶλλον ἵππῳ χρήσασθαι

as was natural, were appointed to be his nurturers, tutors, and teachers, but over them all stood Leonidas, a man of stern temperament and a kinsman of Olympias. Although he did not himself shun the title of tutor, since the office afforded an honourable and brilliant occupation, yet by other people, owing to his dignity and his relationship, he was called Alexander's foster-father and preceptor. The man, however, who assumed the character and the title of tutor was Lysimachus, a native of Acarnania, who had no general refinement, but because he called himself Phoenix,¹ Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus, was highly regarded and held a second place.

VI. Once upon a time Philoneicus the Thessalian brought Bucephalas, offering to sell him to Philip for thirteen talents,² and they went down into the plain to try the horse, who appeared to be savage and altogether intractable, neither allowing any one to mount him, nor heeding the voice of any of Philip's attendants, but rearing up against all of them. Then Philip was vexed and ordered the horse to be led away, believing him to be altogether wild and unbroken; but Alexander, who was near by, said: "What a horse they are losing, because, for lack of skill and courage, they cannot manage him!" At first, then, Philip held his peace; but as Alexander many times let fall such words and showed great distress, he said: "Dost thou find fault with thine elders in the belief that thou knowest more than they do or art better able to manage a horse?"

¹ The preceptor of Achilles.

² The talent was worth about £235, or \$1,200, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

- 3 δυνάμενος;" "Τούτῳ γοῦν," ἔφη, "χρησαίμην ἂν ἐτέρου βέλτιον." "Ἄν δὲ μὴ χρήσῃ, τίνα δίκην τῆς προπετείας ὑφέξεις;" "Ἐγώ, νῆ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἀποτίσω τοῦ ἵππου τὴν τιμὴν." γενομένου δὲ γέλωτος, εἶτα ὀρισμοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸ ἀργύριον, εὐθὺς προσδραμὼν τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡνίαν ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὴν σκιὰν προπίπτουσαν καὶ σαλευομένην ὀρῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ διαταράττειτο.
- 4 μικρὰ δὲ οὕτω παρακαλπάσας καὶ καταψήσας, ὡς ἑώρα πληρούμενον θυμοῦ καὶ πνεύματος, ἀπορρίψας ἡσυχῇ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ μετεωρίσας αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῶς περιέβη. καὶ μικρὰ μὲν περιλαβὼν ταῖς ἡνίαις τὸν χαλινὸν ἄνευ πληγῆς καὶ σπαραγμοῦ προσανέστειλεν.¹ ὡς δὲ ἑώρα τὸν ἵππον ἀφεικότα τὴν ἀπειλήν, ὀργῶντα δὲ πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, ἐφείς ἐδίδωκεν ἤδη φωνῇ θρασυτέρα καὶ ποδὸς κρούσει
- 5 χρώμενος. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἦν ἀγωνία καὶ σιγὴ τὸ πρῶτον· ὡς δὲ κάμψας ἐπέστρεψεν ὀρθῶς σοβαρὸς καὶ γεγηθώς, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἡλάλαξαν, ὁ δὲ πατήρ καὶ δακρυσαί τι λέγεται πρὸς τὴν χαράν, καὶ καταβάντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν φιλήσας, "ὦ παῖ," φάναι, "ζήτει σεαυτῷ βασιλείαν ἴσην· Μακεδονία γάρ σε οὐ χωρεῖ."

VII. Καθορῶν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ δυσκίνητον μὲν οὖσαν ἐρίσαντος μὴ βιασθῆναι, ῥαδίως δὲ ἀγομένην ὑπὸ λόγου πρὸς τὸ δέον, αὐτὸς τε πεί-

¹ προσανέστειλεν Bekker has προσέστειλεν, with inferior MSS.

"This horse, at any rate," said Alexander, "I could manage better than others have." "And if thou shouldst not, what penalty wilt thou undergo for thy rashness?" "Indeed," said Alexander, "I will forfeit the price of the horse." There was laughter at this, and then an agreement between father and son as to the forfeiture, and at once Alexander ran to the horse, took hold of his bridle-rein, and turned him towards the sun; for he had noticed, as it would seem, that the horse was greatly disturbed by the sight of his own shadow falling in front of him and dancing about. And after he had calmed the horse a little in this way, and had stroked him with his hand, when he saw that he was full of spirit and courage, he quietly cast aside his mantle and with a light spring safely bestrode him. Then, with a little pressure of the reins on the bit, and without striking him or tearing his mouth, he held him in hand;¹ but when he saw that the horse was rid of the fear that had beset him, and was impatient for the course, he gave him his head, and at last urged him on with sterner tone and thrust of foot. Philip and his company were speechless with anxiety at first; but when Alexander made the turn in proper fashion and came back towards them proud and exultant, all the rest broke into loud cries, but his father, as we are told, actually shed tears of joy, and when Alexander had dismounted, kissed him, saying: "My son, seek thee out a kingdom equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee."

VII. And since Philip saw that his son's nature was unyielding and that he resisted compulsion, but was easily led by reasoning into the path of duty,

¹ Amyot, "le remeit gentiment."

θειν ἐπειράτο μᾶλλον ἢ προστάττειν, καὶ τοῖς
περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια παιδευταῖς οὐ
πάνυ τι πιστεύων τὴν ἐπιστάσιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ
κατάρτισιν, ὥς μείζονος οὖσαν πραγματείας καὶ
κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα

πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργον οἰάκων θ' ἄμα,

- 2 μετεπέμψατο τῶν φιλοσόφων τὸν ἐνδοξότατον 668
καὶ λογιώτατον Ἀριστοτέλην, καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα
διδασκάλια τελέσας αὐτῷ. τὴν γὰρ Σταγειριτῶν
πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀνάστατον ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένην συνώκισε πάλιν, καὶ τοὺς δια-
φυγόντας ἢ δουλεύοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκατέ-
στησε.
- 3 Σχολὴν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διατριβὴν τὸ περὶ
Μίεξαν νυμφαῖον ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπου μέχρι νῦν
Ἀριστοτέλους ἔδρας τε λιθίνας καὶ ὑποσκίους
περιπάτους δεικνύουσιν. ἔοικε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος
οὐ μόνον τὸν ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν παραλαβεῖν
λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ βαθυτέρων
διδασκαλιῶν, ἃς οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροαματικὰς
καὶ ἐποπτικὰς προσαγορεύοντες οὐκ ἐξέφερον εἰς
- 4 πολλοὺς, μετασχεῖν. ἤδη γὰρ εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβε-
βηκώς, καὶ πυθόμενος λόγους τινὰς ἐν βιβλίοις
περὶ τούτων ὑπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐκδεδόσθαι, γρά-
φει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας παρρησιαζόμενος
ἐπιστολήν, ἧς ἀντίγραφόν ἐστιν. “Ἀλέξανδρος
Ἀριστοτέλει εὖ πράττειν. οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας
ἐκδοὺς τοὺς ἀκροαματικοὺς τῶν λόγων· τίνι γὰρ

he himself tried to persuade rather than to command him; and because he would not wholly entrust the direction and training of the boy to the ordinary teachers of poetry and the formal studies, feeling that it was a matter of too great importance, and, in the words of Sophocles,¹

“A task for many bits and rudder-sweeps as well,”

he sent for the most famous and learned of philosophers, Aristotle, and paid him a noble and appropriate tuition-fee. The city of Stageira, that is, of which Aristotle was a native, and which he had himself destroyed, he peopled again, and restored to it those of its citizens who were in exile or slavery.

Well, then, as a place where master and pupil could labour and study, he assigned them the precinct of the nymphs near Mieza, where to this day the visitor is shown the stone seats and shady walks of Aristotle. It would appear, moreover, that Alexander not only received from his master his ethical and political doctrines, but also participated in those secret and more profound teachings which philosophers designate by the special terms “acroamatic” and “epoptic,”² and do not impart to many. For after he had already crossed into Asia, and when he learned that certain treatises on these recondite matters had been published in books by Aristotle, he wrote him a letter on behalf of philosophy, and put it in plain language. And this is a copy of the letter. “Alexander, to Aristotle, greeting. Thou hast not done well to publish thy acroamatic

¹ Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 315.

² i.e., fit for oral teaching only, and for the initiated; “esoteric,” as opposed to “exoteric” doctrines.

δὴ διοίσομεν ἡμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καθ' οὓς ἐπαι-
 δεύθημεν λόγους, οὗτοι πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί;
 ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἄριστα ἐμπει-
 5 ρίαις ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσι διαφέρειν. ἔρρωσο." ταύ-
 την μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ παραμυθού-
 μενος Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπολογεῖται περὶ τῶν λόγων
 ἐκείνων, ὡς καὶ ἐκδεδομένων καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένων.
 ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἢ μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ πραγματεία πρὸς
 διδασκαλίαν καὶ μάθησιν οὐδὲν ἔχουσα χρήσιμον
 ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γέ-
 γραπται.

VIII. Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ φιλιατρεῖν Ἀλεξάν-
 δρῳ προστρίψασθαι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων Ἀριστοτέλης.
 οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν θεωρίαν ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 νοσοῦσιν ἐβοήθει τοῖς φίλοις καὶ συνέταπτε θερα-
 πείας τινὰς καὶ διαίτας, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
 λαβεῖν ἔστιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ φύσει φιλολόγος καὶ
 2 φιλαναγνώστης. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰλιάδα τῆς πολε-
 μικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὀνομάζων,
 ἔλαβε μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους διορθώσαντος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ
 νάρθηκος καλοῦσιν, εἶχε δὲ αἰετὸς μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειρι-
 δίου κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, ὡς Ὀνησί-
 κριτος ἰστόρηκε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βιβλίων οὐκ εὐ-
 πορῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις Ἀρπαλον ἐκέλευσε
 3 πέμψαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὰς τε Φιλί-
 στου βίβλους καὶ τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους
 καὶ Αἰσχύλου τραγωδιῶν συχνάς, καὶ Τελέστου
 καὶ Φιλοξένου διθυράμβους. Ἀριστοτέλην δὲ
 θαυμάζων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἀγαπῶν οὐχ ἥττον, ὡς
 αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, τοῦ πατρός, ὡς δι' ἐκείνον μὲν ζῶν,
 διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν, ὕστερον ὑποπτότερον

doctrines; for in what shall I surpass other men if those doctrines wherein I have been trained are to be all men's common property? But I had rather excel in my acquaintance with the best things than in my power. Farewell." Accordingly, in defending himself, Aristotle encourages this ambition of Alexander by saying that the doctrines of which he spoke were both published and not published; for in truth his treatise on metaphysics is of no use for those who would either teach or learn the science, but is written as a memorandum for those already trained therein.

VIII. Moreover, in my opinion Alexander's love of the art of healing was inculcated in him by Aristotle preeminently. For he was not only fond of the theory of medicine, but actually came to the aid of his friends when they were sick, and prescribed for them certain treatments and regimens, as one can gather from his letters. He was also by nature a lover of learning and a lover of reading. And since he thought and called the *Iliad* a viaticum of the military art, he took with him Aristotle's recension of the poem, called the *Iliad* of the Casket,¹ and always kept it lying with his dagger under his pillow, as Onesicritus informs us; and when he could find no other books in the interior of Asia, he ordered Harpalus to send him some. So Harpalus sent him the books of Philistus, a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, and the dithyrambic poems of Telestus and Philoxenus. Aristotle he admired at the first, and loved him, as he himself used to say, more than he did his father, for that the one had given him life, but the other had taught him a noble life; later, however,

¹ Cf. chapter xxvi. 1.

ἔσχευεν, οὐχ ὥστε ποιῆσαί τι κακόν, ἀλλ' αἱ φιλοφροσύναι τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐκείνῳ καὶ στερκτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριότητος ἐγένοντο τεκ-
 4 μήριον. ὁ μέντοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφυκὼς καὶ συντεθραμμένος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ζήλος καὶ πόθος οὐκ ἐξερρύνει τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἡ περὶ Ἀνάξαρχόν τε τιμὴ καὶ τὰ πεμφθέντα Ξενοκράτει πεντήκοντα τάλαντα καὶ Δύνδαμις καὶ Καλανὸς οὕτω σπουδασθέντες μαρτυροῦσι.

ΙΧ. Φιλίππου δὲ στρατεύοντος ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους, ἦν μὲν ἐκκαιδεκέτης Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπολειφθεὶς δὲ κύριος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς σφραγίδος, Μαίδων τε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας κατεστρέψατο, καὶ πόλιν ἐλὼν αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐξήλασε, συμμίκτους δὲ κατοικίσας Ἀλεξ-
 2 ανδρόπολιν προσηγόρευσεν. ἐν δὲ Χαιρωνείᾳ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας μάχης παρὼν μετέσχε, καὶ λέγεται πρῶτος ἐνσεῖσαι τῷ ἱερῷ λόχῳ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυτο παλαιὰ 66 παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλουμένη δρυς, πρὸς ἣν τότε κατεσκήνωσε, καὶ τὸ πολυάνδριον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐστίν.

3 Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων, ὡς εἰκός, Φίλιππος ὑπερηγάπα τὸν υἱόν, ὥστε καὶ χαίρειν τῶν Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν βασιλέα, Φίλιππον δὲ στρατηγὸν καλούντων. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταραχαί, διὰ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινα τῆς βασιλείας τῇ γυναικωνίτιδι συννοσούσης,

he held him in more or less of suspicion, not to the extent of doing him any harm, but his kindly attentions lacked their former ardour and affection towards him, and this was proof of estrangement. However, that eager yearning for philosophy which was imbedded in his nature and which ever grew with his growth, did not subside from his soul, as is testified by the honour in which he held Anaxarchus, by his gift of fifty talents to Xenocrates, and by the attentions which he so lavishly bestowed upon Dandamis and Calanus.¹

IX. While Philip was making an expedition against Byzantium,² Alexander, though only sixteen years of age, was left behind as regent in Macedonia and keeper of the royal seal, and during this time he subdued the rebellious Maedi, and after taking their city, drove out the Barbarians, settled there a mixed population, and named the city Alexandropolis. He was also present at Chaeroneia and took part in the battle against the Greeks,³ and he is said to have been the first to break the ranks of the Sacred Band of the Thebans. And even down to our day there was shown an ancient oak by the Cephissus, called Alexander's oak, near which at that time he pitched his tent; and the general sepulchre of the Macedonians is not far away.

In consequence of these exploits, then, as was natural, Philip was excessively fond of his son, so that he even rejoiced to hear the Macedonians call Alexander their king, but Philip their general. However, the disorders in his household, due to the fact that his marriages and amours carried into the kingdom the infection, as it were, which reigned in the

¹ See chapter lxxv.

² In 340 B.C.

³ In 338 B.C.

- πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ μεγάλας διαφορὰς παρείχον, ἃς ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος χαλεπότης, δυσζήλου καὶ βαρυθύμου γυναικός, ἔτι μείζονας ἐποίει, παροξυνούσης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐκφανεστάτην δὲ Ἄτταλος παρέσχεν ἐν τοῖς Κλεοπάτρας γάμοις, ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἡγάγετο παρθένον, ἐρασθεὶς παρ' ἡλικίαν τῆς κόρης. θεῖος γὰρ ὦν αὐτῆς ὁ Ἄτταλος ἐν τῷ πόντῳ μεθύων παρεκάλει τοὺς Μακεδόνας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ θεῶν γνήσιον ἐκ Φιλίππου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας γενέσθαι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἰπὼν, “Ἡμεῖς δέ σοι, κακὴ κεφαλὴ, νόθοι δοκοῦμεν;”
- 5 ἔβαλε σκύφον ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἐξανέστη σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος, εὐτυχία δὲ ἐκατέρου διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἔπεσε σφαλεῖς. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφυβρίζων, “Οὗτος μέντοι,” εἶπεν, “ἄνδρες, εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξ Εὐρώπης παρεσκευάζετο διαβαίνειν, ὃς ἐπὶ κλίνην ἀπὸ κλίνης διαβαίνων ἀνατέτραπται.” μετὰ ταύτην τὴν παροιμίαν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ καταστήσας εἰς Ἡπειρον αὐτὸς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς διέτριβεν.
- 6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ξένος ὦν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ παρρησίας μετέχων, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Φίλιππον. μετὰ δὲ τὰς πρώτας δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἐπερωτῶντος τοῦ Φιλίππου πῶς ἔχουσιν ὁμονοίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἕλληνες, “Πάνυ γοῦν,” ἔφη, “σοι προσήκει, Φίλιππε, κήδεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὃς τὸν οἶκον τὸν σεαυτοῦ

women's apartments, produced many grounds of offence and great quarrels between father and son, and these the bad temper of Olympias, who was a jealous and sullen woman, made still greater, since she spurred Alexander on. The most open quarrel was brought on by Attalus at the marriage of Cleopatra, a maiden whom Philip was taking to wife, having fallen in love with the girl when he was past the age for it.¹ Attalus, now, was the girl's uncle, and being in his cups, he called upon the Macedonians to ask of the gods that from Philip and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate successor to the kingdom. At this Alexander was exasperated, and with the words, "But what of me, base wretch? Dost thou take me for a bastard?" threw a cup at him. Then Philip rose up against him with drawn sword, but, fortunately for both, his anger and his wine made him trip and fall. Then Alexander, mocking over him, said: "Look now, men! here is one who was preparing to cross from Europe into Asia; and he is upset in trying to cross from couch to couch." After this drunken broil Alexander took Olympias and established her in Epirus, while he himself tarried in Illyria.

Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was a guest-friend of the house and a man of frank speech, came to see Philip. After the first greetings and welcomes were over, Philip asked him how the Greeks were agreeing with one another, and Demaratus replied: "It is surely very fitting, Philip, that thou shouldst be concerned about Greece, when thou hast filled thine own house with such great

¹ Amyot, "*hors d'age et de saison.*" In consequence of this passion Philip had divorced Olympias.

στάσεως τοσαύτης καὶ κακῶν ἐμπέπληκας." οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε καὶ κατήγαγε πείσας διὰ τοῦ Δημαράτου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

Χ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πιξώδαρος, ὁ Καρίας σατράπης, ὑποδυνόμενος δι' οἰκειότητος εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου συμμαχίαν, ἐβούλετο τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν θυγατέρων Ἀρριδαίῳ τῷ Φιλίππου γυναιῖκα δοῦναι καὶ περὶ τούτων Ἀριστόκριτον εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο λόγοι καὶ διαβογαὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς Ἀρριδαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Φιλίππου γάμοις λαμπροῖς καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις εἰσοικειοῦντος. ὑφ' ὧν διαταραχθεὶς πέμπει Θεσσαλὸν εἰς Καρίαν, τὸν τῶν τραγωδιῶν ὑποκριτὴν, Πιξωδάρῳ διαλεξόμενον ὡς χρὴ τὸν νόθον ἑάσαντα, καὶ οὐ φρενήρη, μεθαρμόσασθαι τὸ κῆδος εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Πιξωδάρῳ μὲν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων μᾶλλον ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος αἰσθόμενος, ἰὼν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δωμάτιον,¹ παραλαβὼν τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων
3 ἓνα, Φιλώταν τὸν Παρμενίωνος, ἐπετίμησεν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πικρῶς ἐλοιδόρησεν ὡς ἀγεννῆ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαθῶν ἀνάξιον, εἰ Καρὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ βαρβάρῳ βασιλεῖ δουλεύοντος ἀγαπᾷ γαμβρὸς γενέσθαι. τὸν δὲ Θεσσαλὸν ἔγραψε Κορινθίοις ὅπως ἀναπέμψωσιν ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένον. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐταίρων Ἀρπαλον καὶ

¹ ἰὼν . . . δωμάτιον an anonymous correction of the MSS. ὕντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, after Amyot; Sintenis and Bekker adopt ἰόντα, the correction of Stephanus (*learning that Alexander was coming*).

dissension and calamities." Thus brought to his senses, Philip sent and fetched Alexander home, having persuaded him to come through the agency of Demaratus.

X. But when Pixodarus, the satrap of Caria, trying by means of a tie of relationship to steal into a military alliance with Philip, wished to give his eldest daughter in marriage to Arrhidaeus the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus to Macedonia on this errand, once more slanderous stories kept coming to Alexander from his friends and his mother, who said that Philip, by means of a brilliant marriage and a great connexion, was trying to settle the kingdom upon Arrhidaeus. Greatly disturbed by these stories, Alexander sent Thessalus, the tragic actor, to Caria, to argue with Pixodarus that he ought to ignore the bastard brother, who was also a fool, and make Alexander his connexion by marriage. And this plan was vastly more pleasing to Pixodarus than the former. But Philip, becoming aware of this, went to Alexander's chamber, taking with him one of Alexander's friends and companions, Philotas the son of Parmenio, and upbraided his son severely, and bitterly reviled him as ignoble and unworthy of his high estate, in that he desired to become the son-in-law of a man who was a Carian and a slave to a barbarian king. And as for Thessalus, Philip wrote to the Corinthians that they should send him back to Macedonia in chains. Moreover, of the other companions of Alexander, he banished from Mace-

Νέαρχον, ἔτι δ' Ἐριγύιον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετέστησεν, οὓς ὕστερον Ἀλέξανδρος καταγαγὼν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἔσχε τιμαῖς.

- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Παυσανίας Ἀττάλου γνώμη καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ὑβρισθεὶς καὶ μὴ τυχὼν δίκης ἀνεῖλε Φίλιππον, τὸ μὲν πλείστον εἰς Ὀλυμπιάδα τῆς αἰτίας περιῆλθεν, ὥς θυμουμένῳ τῷ νεανίσκῳ προσεγκελευσαμένην καὶ παροξύνασαν, ἔθιγε δέ τις καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβολή. λέγεται γὰρ ἐντυχόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Πausανίου μετὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀποδυρομένου προενέγκασθαι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας ἱαμβεῖον· 67

τὸν δόντα καὶ γήμαντα καὶ γαμουμένην.

οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συναιτίους τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναζητήσας ἐκόλασε, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀποδημόντος αὐτοῦ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ὡμῶς μεταχειρισαμένης ἠγανάκτησε.

XI. Παρέλαβε μὲν οὖν ἔτη γεγονὼς εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν, φθόνους μεγάλους καὶ δεινὰ μίση καὶ κινδύνους πανταχόθεν ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ βάρβαρα καὶ πρόσοικα γένη τὴν δούλωσιν ἔφερε, ποθοῦντα τὰς πατρίους βασιλείας, οὔτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα κρατήσας τοῖς ὅπλοις ὁ Φίλιππος οἷον καταζεύξαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι χρόνον ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον

¹ The *Medeia* of Euripides, v. 289 (Kirchhoff). The context makes the verse suggest the murder of Attalus, Philip, and Cleopatra.

donia Harpalus and Nearchus, as well as Erigyius and Ptolemy, men whom Alexander afterwards recalled and had in the highest honours.

And so when Pausanias, who had been outrageously dealt with at the instance of Attalus and Cleopatra and could get no justice at Philip's hands, slew Philip, most of the blame devolved upon Olympias, on the ground that she had added her exhortations to the young man's anger and incited him to the deed; but a certain amount of accusation attached itself to Alexander also. For it is said that when Pausanias, after the outrage that he had suffered, met Alexander, and bewailed his fate, Alexander recited to him the iambic verse of the "Medeia"¹:—

"The giver of the bride, the bridegroom, and the bride."

However, he did seek out the participants in the plot and punished them, and was angry with Olympias for her savage treatment of Cleopatra during his absence.²

XI. Thus it was that at the age of twenty years Alexander received the kingdom, which was exposed to great jealousies, dire hatreds, and dangers on every hand. For the neighbouring tribes of Barbarians would not tolerate their servitude, and longed for their hereditary kingdoms; and as for Greece, although Philip had conquered her in the field, he had not had time enough to make her tame under his yoke, but had merely disturbed and changed the

² "After his death Olympias killed Philip's infant son, together with his mother Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, by dragging them over a bronze vessel filled with fire" (Pausanias, viii. 7, 5).

- μεταβαλὼν καὶ ταραξάς τὰ πράγματα πολὺν σάλον ἔχοντα καὶ κίνησιν ὑπὸ ἀηθείας ἀπέλιπε.
- 2 φοβουμένων δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸν καιρόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πάντως ἀφεῖναι καὶ μὴ προσβιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰομένων δεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀφισταμένους τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνακαλεῖσθαι πρῶως καὶ θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν, αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐναντίων λογισμῶν ὥρμησε τόλμη καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη κτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥς, κὰν ὅτιοῦν ὑφίεμενος ὀφθῇ τοῦ φρονήματος, ἐπιβησομένων
- 3 ἀπάντων. τὰ μὲν οὖν βαρβαρικὰ κινήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους κατέπαυσεν ὁξέως ἐπιδραμὼν στρατῷ μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἣ καὶ Σύρμον ἐνίκησε μάχῃ μεγάλῃ, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Τριβαλλῶν. Θηβαίους δὲ ἀφεστάναι πυθόμενος καὶ συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους, εὐθύς ἦγε διὰ Πυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν, εἰπὼν ὅτι Δημοσθένει παῖδα μὲν αὐτόν, ἕως ἦν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς, ἀποκαλοῦντι, μειράκιον δὲ περὶ Θετταλίαν γενόμενον, βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθηναίων τείχεσιν ἀνὴρ φανῆναι.
- 4 Προσμίξας δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις καὶ διδοὺς ἔτι τῶν πεπραγμένων μετάνοιαν ἐξήτει Φοίνικα καὶ Προθύτην, καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄδειαν ἐκήρυττε. τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἀντεξαιτούν-

¹ In September, 335 B.C. Plutarch makes no mention of a previous expedition of Alexander into Southern Greece, immediately after Philip's death, when he received the submis-

condition of affairs there, and then left them in a great surge and commotion, owing to the strangeness of the situation. The Macedonian counsellors of Alexander had fears of the crisis, and thought he should give up the Greek states altogether and use no more compulsion there, and that he should call the revolting Barbarians back to their allegiance by mild measures and try to arrest the first symptoms of their revolutions; but he himself set out from opposite principles to win security and safety for his realm by boldness and a lofty spirit, assured that, were he seen to abate his dignity even but a little, all his enemies would set upon him. Accordingly, he put a speedy stop to the disturbances and wars among the Barbarians by overrunning their territories with an army as far as to the river Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, the king of the Triballi, and defeated him; and on learning that the Thebans had revolted and that the Athenians were in sympathy with them, he immediately led his forces through the pass of Thermopylae, declaring that since Demosthenes had called him a boy while he was among the Illyrians and Triballians, and a stripling when he had reached Thessaly, he wished to show him that before the walls of Athens he was a man.

Arrived before Thebes,¹ and wishing to give her still a chance to repent of what she had done, he merely demanded the surrender of Phoenix and Prothytes, and proclaimed an amnesty for those who came over to his side. But the Thebans made

sion of all the Greek states except Sparta, and was made commander-in-chief of the expedition against Persia, in Philip's place. See Arrian, *Anab.* i. 1.

των μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ Φιλώταν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον, κηρυττόντων δὲ τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα βουλομένους συνελευθεροῦν τάττεσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν, οὕτως 5 ἔτρεψε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς πόλεμον. ἡγωνίσθη μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀρετῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων¹ πολλαπλασίοις οὔσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιταχθέντων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Καδμείαν ἀφέντες οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπέπιπτον αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν, κυκλωθέντες οἱ πλεῖστοι κατὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτὴν ἔπεσον, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἦλω καὶ διαρπασθεῖσα κατεσκάφη, τὸ μὲν ὅλον προσδοκήσαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκπλαγέντας πάθει τηλικούτῳ καὶ πτήξαντας ἀτρεμήσειν, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ καλλωπισαμένου χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων ἐγκλήμασι· καὶ γὰρ Φωκεῖς καὶ 6 Πλαταιεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγορήσαν. ὑπεξελόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ξένους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πινδάρου γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντιωθέντας τοῖς ψηφισαμένοις τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπέδοτο τοὺς ἄλλους περὶ τρισμυρίου γενομένους· οἱ δὲ ἀποθανόντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους ἦσαν.

XII. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς πάθεσι καὶ χαλεποῖς ἐκείνοις ἂν τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχε, Θρᾶκές τινες ἐκκόψαντες οἰκίαν Τιμοκλείας, γυναικὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ σώφρονος, αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ χρήματα διήρπαζον, ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος καὶ καταισχύνας, ἀνέκρινεν εἴ που χρυσίον ἔχοι κε- 2 κρυμμένον ἢ ἀργύριον. ἡ δὲ ἔχειν ὡμολόγησε,

¹ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων Coraës and Bekker, following Reiske: τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων.

a counter-demand that he should surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, and made a counter-proclamation that all who wished to help in setting Greece free should range themselves with them; and so Alexander set his Macedonians to the work of war. On the part of the Thebans, then, the struggle was carried on with a spirit and valour beyond their powers, since they were arrayed against an enemy who was many times more numerous than they; but when the Macedonian garrison also, leaving the citadel of the Cadmeia, fell upon them in the rear, most of them were surrounded, and fell in the battle itself, and their city was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. This was done, in the main, because Alexander expected that the Greeks would be terrified by so great a disaster and cower down in quiet, but apart from this, he also plumed himself on gratifying the complaints of his allies; for the Phocians and Plataeans had denounced the Thebans. So after separating out the priests, all who were guest-friends of the Macedonians, the descendants of Pindar,¹ and those who had voted against the revolt, he sold the rest into slavery, and they proved to be more than thirty thousand; those who had been slain were more than six thousand.

XII. Among the many and grievous calamities which thus possessed the city, some Thracians broke into the house of Timocleia, a woman of high repute and chastity, and while the rest were plundering her property, their leader shamefully violated her, and then asked her if she had gold or silver concealed anywhere. She admitted that she had, and after

¹ "And we are told that Alexander preserved the house of Pindar the poet, and the descendants of Pindar, out of regard for Pindar" (Arrian, *Anab.* i. 9, 10).

καὶ μόνον εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ δείξασα
φρέαρ, ἐνταῦθα ἔφη τῆς πόλεως ἀλISCOμένης 671
καταβαλεῖν αὐτὴ τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν χρημάτων.
ἐγκύπτουτος δὲ τοῦ Θρακὸς καὶ κατασκεπτομένου
τὸν τόπον, ἔωσεν αὐτὸν ἐξόπισθεν γενομένη, καὶ
τῶν λίθων ἐπεμβαλοῦσα πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.
3 ὥς δὲ ἀνήχθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν
δεδεμένη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς
βαδίσσεως ἐφάνη τις ἀξιωματικὴ καὶ μεγαλόφρων,
ἀνεκπλήκτως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπομένη τοῖς ἄγουσιν·
ἔπειτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτήσαντος ἥτις εἴη γυναι-
κῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο Θεαγένους ἀδελφὴ γεγονέναι,
τοῦ παραταξαμένου πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ πεσόντος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ
στρατηγούντος. θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐκέλευ-
σεν ἐλευθέραν ἀπιέναι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων.

XIII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ διηλλάγη, καίπερ οὐ μετ-
ρίως ἐνεγκοῦσι τὸ περὶ Θήβας δυστύχημα· καὶ
γὰρ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων ἑορτὴν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες
ὑπὸ πένθους ἀφῆκαν, καὶ τοῖς καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ¹
τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων μετεδίδοσαν τῶν φιλανθρώ-
2 πων. ἀλλ' εἴτε μεστὸς ὦν ἤδη τὸν θυμόν, ὥσπερ
οἱ λέοντες, εἴτε ἐπιεικὲς ἔργον ὠμοτάτῳ καὶ σκυ-
θρωποτάτῳ παραβαλεῖν βουλόμενος, οὐ μόνον
ἀφῆκεν αἰτίας πάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέχειν ἐκέ-
λευσε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν τὴν πόλιν, ὥς, εἴ
τι συμβαίῃ περὶ αὐτόν, ἄρξουσιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
ὕστερον μέντοι πολλάκις αὐτόν ἡ Θηβαίων ἀνι-
ᾶσαι συμφορὰ λέγεται καὶ πραότερον οὐκ ὀλίγοις
3 παρᾶσχέιν. ὅλως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Κλεῖτον ἔργον

¹ καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ Bekker corrects to φυγοῦσιν εἰς.

leading him by himself into the garden and showing him a well, told him that when the city was taken she had with her own hands cast in there her most valuable possessions. Then, as the Thracian was bending over and inspecting the place, she came behind him and pushed him in, cast many stones upon him, and killed him. And when the Thracians led her, with hands bound, to Alexander, she showed by her mien and gait that she was a person of great dignity and lofty spirit, so calmly and fearlessly did she follow her conductors; and when the king asked her who she was, she replied that she was a sister of Theagenes, who drew up the forces which fought Philip in behalf of the liberty of the Greeks, and fell in command at Chaeroneia. Amazed, therefore, at her reply and at what she had done, Alexander bade her depart in freedom with her children.

XIII. Furthermore, he was reconciled with the Athenians, although they showed exceeding sorrow at the misfortunes of Thebes; for although they had begun the festival of the mysteries, they gave it up in consequence of their grief,¹ and upon the Thebans who sought refuge in their city they bestowed every kindness. But notwithstanding this, whether his rage was now sated, as a lion's might be, or whether he wished to offset a deed of the most sullen savagery with one that was merciful, he not only remitted all his charges against the city, but even bade it give good heed to its affairs, since, if anything should happen to him, it would have the rule over Greece. In later times, moreover, as we are told, the calamity of the Thebans often gave him remorse, and made him milder towards many people. And certainly the

¹ According to Arrian (i. 10, 2), it was from panic fright.

ἐν οἴνῳ γενόμενον καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀποδειλίασιν, ὥσπερ ἀτελῇ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ προεμένων, εἰς μῆνιν ἀνήγε Διονύσου καὶ νέμεσιν. ἦν δὲ Θηβαίων οὐδεὶς τῶν περιγενομένων ὃς ἐντυχὼν τι καὶ δεηθεὶς ὕστερον οὐ διεπράξατο παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Θήβας.

XIV. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλεγέντων καὶ ψηφισαμένων ἐπὶ Πέρσας μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύειν ἡγεμὼν ἀνηγορεύθη. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀπηντηκώτων αὐτῷ καὶ συνηδομένων, ἤλπιζε καὶ Διογένην τὸν Σινωπέα ταῦτό ποιήσιν, διατρίβοντα
 2 περὶ Κόρινθον. ὥς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐλάχιστον Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγον ἔχων ἐν τῷ Κρανεῖῳ σχολὴν ἡγεν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔτυχε δὲ κατακείμενος ἐν ἡλίῳ. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν ἀνεκάθισεν, ἀνθρώπων τοσούτων ἐπερχομένων, καὶ διέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὥς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν ἠρώτησεν εἴ τινος τυγχάνει δεόμενος, “Μικρόν,” εἶπεν, “ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μετά-
 3 στηθι.” πρὸς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὕτω διατεθῆναι καὶ θαυμάσαι καταφρονηθέντα τὴν ὑπεροψίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥστε τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, ὡς ἀπῆσαν, διαγελόντων καὶ σκωπτόντων, “Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμην, Διογένης ἂν ἡμην.”

¹ See chapter li.

² See chapter lxii.

³ This god was said to have been born of Semele, daughter of Cadmus the founder of Thebes.

murder of Cleitus,¹ which he committed in his cups, and the cowardly refusal of his Macedonians to follow him against the Indians,² whereby they as it were robbed his expedition and his glory of their consummation, he was wont to attribute to the vengeful wrath of Dionysus.³ And there was not a Theban of those that survived who afterwards came to him with any request and did not get what he wanted from him. Thus much concerning Thebes.⁴

XIV. And now a general assembly of the Greeks was held at the Isthmus,⁵ where a vote was passed to make an expedition against Persia with Alexander, and he was proclaimed their leader. Thereupon many statesmen and philosophers came to him with their congratulations, and he expected that Diogenes of Sinope also, who was tarrying in Corinth, would do likewise. But since that philosopher took not the slightest notice of Alexander, and continued to enjoy his leisure in the suburb Craneion, Alexander went in person to see him; and he found him lying in the sun. Diogenes raised himself up a little when he saw so many persons coming towards him, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. And when that monarch addressed him with greetings, and asked if he wanted anything, "Yes," said Diogenes, "stand a little out of my sun." It is said that Alexander was so struck by this, and admired so much the haughtiness and grandeur of the man who had nothing but scorn for him, that he said to his followers, who were laughing and jesting about the philosopher as they went away, "But verily, if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes."

¹ For a full account of Alexander's capture and destruction of Thebes, see Arrian, *Anab.* i. 8 f.

⁵ See the note on xi. 5.

- 4 Βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ θεῷ χρήσασθαι περὶ τῆς στρατείας ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων οὐσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νενόμισται θεμιστεύειν, πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμπε παρακαλῶν τὴν πρόμαντιν. ὥς δὲ ἀρνούμενης καὶ προῖσχομένης τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς βία πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἷλκεν αὐτήν, ἣ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐξηττημένη τῆς σπουδῆς εἶπεν· “Ἀνίκητος εἶ, ὦ παῖ,” τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκέτι ἔφη χρήζειν ἐτέρου μαντεύματος, ἀλλ’ ἔχειν ὃν ἐβούλετο παρ’ αὐτῆς χρησμόν.
- 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἄλλα τε δοκεῖ σημεῖα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ Λεῖβηθρα τοῦ Ὀρφέως ξόανον (ἣν δὲ κυπαρίττινον) ἰδρῶτα πολὺν ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἀφῆκε. φοβουμένων δὲ πάντων τὸ σημεῖον, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν, ὥς ἀοιδίμους καὶ περιβοήτους κατεργασόμενον πράξεις, αἱ πολὺν 672 ἰδρῶτα καὶ πόνον ὕμνοῦσι ποιηταῖς καὶ μουσικοῖς παρέξουσιν.
- XV. Τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ μὲν ἐλάχιστον λέγοντες τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἱππεῖς, οἱ δὲ πλείστον πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους ἀναγράφουσιν. ἐφόδιον δὲ τούτοις οὐ πλεόν ἐβδομήκοντα ταλάντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος ἱστορεῖ, Δοῦρις δὲ τριάκοντα μόνον ἡμερῶν διατροφήν, Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ διακό-
- 2 σια τάλαντα προσοφείλειν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀπὸ μικρῶν καὶ στενῶν οὕτως ὀρμώμενος, οὐ πρότερον

¹ In the early spring of 334 B.C.

² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 11, 2.

And now, wishing to consult the god concerning the expedition against Asia, he went to Delphi; and since he chanced to come on one of the inauspicious days, when it is not lawful to deliver oracles, in the first place he sent a summons to the prophetess. And when she refused to perform her office and cited the law in her excuse, he went up himself and tried to drag her to the temple, whereupon, as if overcome by his ardour, she said: "Thou art invincible, my son!" On hearing this, Alexander said he desired no further prophecy, but had from her the oracle which he wanted.

Moreover, when he set out upon his expedition,¹ it appears that there were many signs from heaven, and, among them, the image of Orpheus at Leibethra (it was made of cypress-wood) sweated profusely at about that time. Most people feared the sign, but Aristander bade Alexander be of good cheer, assured that he was to perform deeds worthy of song and story, which would cost poets and musicians much toil and sweat to celebrate.²

XV. As to the number of his forces, those who put it at the smallest figure mention thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse; those who put it at the highest, forty-three thousand foot and five thousand horse.³ To provision these forces, Aristobulus says he had not more than seventy talents; Duris speaks of maintenance for only thirty days; and Onesicritus says he owed two hundred talents besides. But although he set out with such meagre and narrow resources, he would not set foot upon his ship until

³ "Not much more than thirty thousand foot, including light-armed troops and archers, and over five thousand horse" (Arrian, *Anab.* i. 11, 3).

- ἐπέβη τῆς νεὸς ἢ τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων πράγματα σκεψάμενος ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ μὲν ἀγρόν, τῷ δὲ κώμην, τῷ δὲ συνοικίας πρόσδοον ἢ λιμένος. ἤδη δὲ κατανηλωμένων καὶ διαγεγραμμένων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν βασιλικῶν ὁ Περδίκκας “Σεαυτῷ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τί καταλείπεις;” τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι τὰς ἐλπίδας, “Οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡμεῖς τούτων κοινωνήσομεν οἱ μετὰ σοῦ στρα-
 3 τεύόμενοι.” παραιτησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Περδίκκου τὴν διαγεγραμμένην κτῆσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἔνιοι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν. τοῖς δὲ λαμβάνουσι καὶ δεομένοις προθύμως ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διανέμων οὕτως κατηνάλωσε. τοιαύτη μὲν ὁρμῇ καὶ παρασκευῇ διανοίας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον διεπέρασεν.
- 4 Ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἔσπεισε. τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων συναναδραμὼν γυμνός, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστεφάνωσε, μακαρίσας αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ζῶν φίλου πιστοῦ καὶ
 5 τελευτήσας μεγάλου κήρυκος ἔτυχεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιῦναι καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτὸν εἰ βούλεται τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου λύραν ἰδεῖν, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζειν ἐκείνης ἔφη, τὴν δ’ Ἀχιλλέως ζητεῖν, ἣ τὰ κλέα καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὕμνει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνος.

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Δαρείου στρατηγῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἡθροικότων καὶ παρατεταγμένων ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Γρανικοῦ, μάχεσθαι μὲν

he had enquired into the circumstances of his companions and allotted to one a farm, to another a village, and to another the revenue from some hamlet or harbour. And when at last nearly all of the crown property had been expended or allotted, Perdiccas said to him: "But for thyself, O king, what art thou leaving?" And when the king answered, "My hopes," "In these, then," said Perdiccas, "we also will share who make the expedition with thee." Then he declined the possessions which had been allotted to him, and some of the other friends of Alexander did likewise. But upon those who wanted and would accept his favours Alexander bestowed them readily, and most of what he possessed in Macedonia was used up in these distributions. Such was the ardour and such the equipment with which he crossed the Hellespont.

Then, going up to Ilium, he sacrificed to Athena and poured libations to the heroes. Furthermore, the gravestone of Achilles he anointed with oil, ran a race by it with his companions, naked, as is the custom, and then crowned it with garlands, pronouncing the hero happy in having, while he lived, a faithful friend, and after death, a great herald of his fame. As he was going about and viewing the sights of the city, someone asked him if he wished to see the lyre of Paris. "For that lyre," said Alexander, "I care very little; but I would gladly see that of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glorious deeds of brave men."¹

XVI. Meanwhile the generals of Darius had assembled a large force and set it in array at the crossing of the river Granicus, so that it was prac-

¹ See the *Iliad*, ix. 185-191.

- ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν πύλαις τῆς Ἀσίας, περὶ τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἀρχῆς· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν πέραν ὄχθων, πρὸς οὓς ἔδει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀπό-
 βασιν μετὰ μάχης, τῶν πλείστων δεδιότων, ἐνίων
 2 δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν μῆνα νενομισμένον οἰομένων
 δεῖν φυλάξασθαι (Δαισίον γὰρ οὐκ εἰώθεισαν οἱ
 βασιλεῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιάν),
 τοῦτο μὲν ἐπληρωθῶσατο κελεύσας δεύτερον
 Ἀρτεμίσιον ἄγειν, τοῦ δὲ Παρμενίωνος, ὡς ὀψὲ
 τῆς ὥρας οὔσης, οὐκ ἔωντος ἀποκινδυνεύειν, εἰπὼν
 αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸν Ἑλλησποντον εἰ φοβήσεται τὸν
 Γρανικὸν διαβεβηκὼς ἐκείνον, ἐμβάλλει τῷ ρεύ-
 3 ματι σὺν ἵλαις ἱππέων τρισκαίδεκα. καὶ πρὸς
 ἐναντία βέλη καὶ τόπους ἀπορρώγας ὅπλοις
 καταπεφραγμένους καὶ ἵπποις ἐλαύνων, καὶ διὰ
 ρεύματος παραφέροντος καὶ περικλύζοντος, ἔδοξε
 μανικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ
 στρατηγεῖν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἐμφὺς τῇ διαβάσει καὶ
 κρατήσας τῶν τόπων χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, ὑγρῶν
 καὶ περισφαλῶν γενομένων διὰ τὸν πηλόν, εὐθὺς
 ἠναγκάζετο φύρδην μάχεσθαι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα
 συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, πρὶν εἰς τάξιν
 4 τινὰ καταστήναι τοὺς διαβαίνοντας. ἐνέκειντο
 γὰρ κραυγῇ, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραβάλλοντες
 τοῖς ἵπποις ἐχρῶντο δόρασι, καὶ ξίφεσι τῶν δορά-
 των συντριβέντων. ὡσαμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν (ἦν δὲ τῇ πέλτῃ καὶ τοῦ κράνους τῇ χαίτῃ
 διαπρεπής, ἧς ἐκατέρωθεν εἰστήκει πτερὸν λευκό-

tically necessary to fight, as it were at the gates of Asia, for entrance and dominion there. But most of the Macedonian officers were afraid of the depth of the river, and of the roughness and unevenness of the farther banks, up which they would have to climb while fighting. Some, too, thought they ought to observe carefully the customary practice in regard to the month (for in the month of Daesius the kings of Macedonia were not wont to take the field with an army). This objection Alexander removed by bidding them call the month a second Artemisius; and when Parmenio, on the ground that it was too late in the day, objected to their risking the passage, he declared that the Hellespont would blush for shame, if, after having crossed that strait, he should be afraid of the Granicus, and plunged into the stream with thirteen troops of horsemen. And since he was charging against hostile missiles and precipitous positions covered with infantry and cavalry, and through a stream that swept men off their feet and surged about them, he seemed to be acting like a frenzied and foolish commander rather than a wise one. However, he persisted in his attempt to cross, gained the opposite banks with difficulty and much ado, though they were moist and slippery with mud, and was at once compelled to fight pell-mell and engage his assailants man by man, before his troops who were crossing could form into any order. For the enemy pressed upon them with loud shouts, and matching horse with horse, plied their lances, and their swords when their lances were shattered. Many rushed upon Alexander, for he was conspicuous by his buckler and by his helmet's crest, on either side of which was fixed a plume of wonderful size and

- τητι καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστόν), ἀκοντισθεὶς μὲν
 ὑπὸ τὴν ὑποπτυχίδα τοῦ θώρακος οὐκ ἐτρώθη, 673
 Ῥοισάκου δὲ καὶ Σπιθριδάτου τῶν στρατηγῶν
 προσφερομένων ἅμα, τὸν μὲν ἐκκλίνας, Ῥοισάκη
 δὲ προεμβالὼν τεθωρακισμένῳ καὶ τὸ δόρυ κατα-
 5 κλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ὥρμησε. συμπεπτω-
 κότων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης ὑποστήσας ἐκ
 πλαγίων τὸν ἵππον καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς συνεξανα-
 στάς κοπίδι βαρβαρικῇ κατήνεγκε· καὶ τὸν μὲν
 λόφον ἀπέρραξε μετὰ θατέρου πτεροῦ, τὸ δὲ κρά-
 νος πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν ἀκριβῶς καὶ μόλις ἀντέ-
 σχεν, ὥστε τῶν πρώτων ψαῦσαι τριχῶν τὴν πτέ-
 ρυγα τῆς κοπίδος. ἑτέραν δὲ τὸν Σπιθριδάτην
 πάλιν ἐπαιρόμενον ἔφθασε Κλεῖτος ὁ μέλας τῷ
 ξυστῷ διελάσας μέσον. ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ Ῥοισάκης
 ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξίφει πληγείς.
 6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κινδύνου καὶ ἀγῶνος οὔσης τῆς
 ἵππομαχίας ἥ τε φάλαγξ διέβαινε τῶν Μακεδό-
 νων καὶ συνῆγον αἱ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις. οὐ μὴν ὑπέ-
 στησαν εὐρώστως οὐδὲ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον
 τραπόμενοι, πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων Ἑλλήνων.
 οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς τινι λόφῳ συστάντες ἦτουν τὰ
 7 πιστὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ
 λογισμῷ πρῶτος ἐμβالὼν τὸν τε ἵππον ἀποβάλ-
 λει ξίφει πληγέντα διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν (ἣν δὲ ἕτε-
 ρος, οὐχ ὁ Βουκεφάλας), καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν
 ἀποθανόντων καὶ τραυματισθέντων ἐκεῖ συνέβη
 κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ πεσεῖν, πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεγνω-
 κότας καὶ μαχίμους συμπλεκομένους.

whiteness. But although a javelin pierced the joint of his breastplate, he was not wounded; and when Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, made at him together, he avoided the one, and smote Rhoesaces, who wore a breastplate, with his spear; and when this weapon snapped in two with the blow, he took to his sword. Then, while he was thus engaged with Rhoesaces, Spithridates rode up from one side, raised himself up on his horse, and with all his might came down with a barbarian battle-axe upon Alexander's head. Alexander's crest was broken off, together with one of its plumes, and his helmet could barely and with difficulty resist the blow, so that the edge of the battle-axe touched the topmost hair of his head. But while Spithridates was raising his arm again for another stroke, Cleitus, "Black Cleitus," got the start of him and ran him through the body with his spear. At the same time Rhoesaces also fell, smitten by Alexander's sword.

While Alexander's cavalry were making such a dangerous and furious fight, the Macedonian phalanx crossed the river and the infantry forces on both sides engaged. The enemy, however, did not resist vigorously, nor for a long time, but fled in a rout, all except the Greek mercenaries. These made a stand at a certain eminence, and asked that Alexander should promise them quarter. But he, influenced by anger more than by reason, charged foremost upon them and lost his horse, which was smitten through the ribs with a sword (it was not Bucephalas, but another); and most of the Macedonians who were slain or wounded fought or fell there, since they came to close quarters with men who knew how to fight and were desperate.

Λέγονται δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἵππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστόβουλός φησι τέσσαρας καὶ τριάκοντα νεκροὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς
 8 πάντας, ὧν ἑννέα πεζοὺς εἶναι. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰκόνας ἀνασταθῆναι χαλκᾶς, ἃς Λύσιππος εἰργάσατο. κοινούμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔπεμψε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τριακοσίας ἀσπίδας, κοινῇ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιγράψαι φιλοτιμοτάτην ἐπιγραφὴν. “Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων.” ἐκπώματα δὲ καὶ πορφύρας, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῶν Περσικῶν ἔλαβε, πάντα τῇ μητρὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔπεμψεν.

XVII. Οὗτος ὁ ἄγων μεγάλην εὐθύς ἐποίησε τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥστε καὶ Σάρδεις, τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεμονίας, παραλαβεῖν καὶ τᾶλλα προστίθεσθαι. μόνη δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσὸς ἀντέστη καὶ Μίλητος, ἃς ἐλὼν κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς πάντα χειρωσάμενος ἀμφίβολος
 2 ἦν πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἔσπευδε Δαρεῖω συμπεσὼν ἀποκινδυνεύσαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πράγμασι καὶ χρήμασι διενοεῖτο πρῶτον οἶον ἐνασκήσας καὶ ῥώσας αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ’

¹ Diodorus (xvii. 21, 6) says that more than ten thousand Persian footmen fell, and not less than two thousand horsemen; while over twenty thousand were taken prisoners.

Of the Barbarians, we are told, twenty thousand footmen fell, and twenty-five hundred horsemen.¹ But on Alexander's side, Aristobulus says there were thirty-four dead in all, of whom nine were footmen. Of these, then, Alexander ordered statues to be set up in bronze, and Lysippus wrought them.² Moreover, desiring to make the Greeks partners in his victory, he sent to the Athenians in particular three hundred of the captured shields, and upon the rest of the spoils in general he ordered a most ambitious inscription to be wrought: "Alexander the son of Philip and all the Greeks except the Lacedaemonians from the Barbarians who dwell in Asia." But the drinking vessels and the purple robes and whatever things of this nature he took from the Persians, all these, except a few, he sent to his mother.

XVII. This contest at once made a great change in the situation to Alexander's advantage, so that he received the submission even of Sardis, the bulwark of the barbarian dominion on the sea-coast, and added the rest of the country to his conquests. Halicarnassus alone withstood him, and Miletus, which cities he took by storm³ and subdued all the territories about them. Then he was in doubt as to his future course. Many times he was eager to encounter Darius and put the whole issue to hazard, and many times he would make up his mind to practice himself first, as it were, and strengthen himself by acquiring the regions along the sea with their resources, and

² According to Arrian (*Anab.* i. 16, 4), about twenty-five of Alexander's companions, a select corps, fell at the first onset, and it was of these that Alexander ordered statues to be made by Lysippus.

³ The siege and capture of these cities occupied Alexander till the late autumn of 334 B.C.

- ἐκεῖνον. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Λυκίας κρήνη περὶ τὴν
 Ξανθίων πόλιν, ἣς τότε λέγουσιν αὐτομάτως
 περιτραπίσης καὶ ὑπερβαλούσης ἐκ βυθοῦ δέλ-
 τον ἐκπεσεῖν χαλκῇν τύπους ἔχουσαν ἀρχαίων
 γραμμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἐδηλοῦτο παύσεσθαι¹ τὴν
 Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καταλυθεῖσαν.
 3 τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖς ἠπείγετο τὴν παραλίαν ἀνα-
 καθήρασθαι μέχρι τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας. ἡ
 δὲ τῆς Παμφυλίας παραδρομὴ πολλοῖς γέγονε
 τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὑπόθεσις γραφικὴ πρὸς ἐκπληξιν
 καὶ ὄγκον, ὥς θεία τινὶ τύχῃ παραχωρήσασαν
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἄλλως αἰεὶ τραχείαν
 ἐκ πελάγους προσφερομένην, σπανίως δέ ποτε
 λεπτοὺς καὶ προσεχεῖς ὑπὸ τὰ κρημνώδη καὶ
 παρερρωγότα τῆς ὀρεινῆς πάγους διακαλύπτου-
 4 σαν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ
 παίζων πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον·

ὥς Ἀλεξανδρῶδες ἤδη τοῦτο· καὶ ζητῶ τινα,
 αὐτόματος οὗτος παρέσται· καὶ διελθεῖν δηλαδὴ 674
 διὰ θαλάσσης δέῃ τόπον τιν', οὗτος ἔσται μοι
 βατός.

αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐδὲν
 τοιοῦτον τερατευσάμενος ὁδοποιῆσαί φησι τὴν

¹ παύσεσθαι Sintenis², with C and Stephanus; παύσασθαι
 Sintenis¹ and Bekker.

¹ According to Arrian (*Anab.* i. 26, 1 f.), there is no route
 along this beach except when the north wind blows. "But
 at that time, after strong south winds, the north winds

then to go up against that monarch. Now, there is in Lycia, near the city of Xanthus, a spring, which at this time, as we are told, was of its own motion upheaved from its depths, and overflowed, and cast forth a bronze tablet bearing the prints of ancient letters, in which it was made known that the empire of the Persians would one day be destroyed by the Greeks and come to an end. Encouraged by this prophecy, Alexander hastened to clear up the sea-coast as far as Cilicia and Phoenicia. His rapid passage along the coasts of Pamphylia has afforded many historians material for bombastic and terrifying description. They imply that by some great and heaven-sent good fortune the sea retired to make way for Alexander, although at other times it always came rolling in with violence from the main, and scarcely ever revealed to sight the small rocks which lie close up under the precipitous and riven sides of the mountain.¹ And Menander, in one of his comedies,² evidently refers jestingly to this marvel :—

“ How Alexander-like, indeed, this is ; and if I seek
 some one,
 Spontaneous he'll present himself ; and if I clearly
 must
 Pass through some place by sea, this will lie open
 to my steps.”

Alexander himself, however, made no such prodigy out of it in his letters, but says that he marched by

blew, and rendered his passage easy and quick, not without the divine intervention, as both he and his followers interpreted.”

² Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 240.

λεγομένην Κλίμακα καὶ διελθεῖν ὁρμησας ἐκ
 5 Φασηλίδος. διὸ καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ πό-
 λει διέτριψεν· ἐν αἷς καὶ Θεοδέκτου τεθνηκότος
 (ἦν δὲ Φασηλίδης) ἰδὼν εἰκόνα ἀνακειμένην ἐν
 ἀγορᾷ, μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπεκώμασε μεθύων καὶ τῶν
 στεφάνων ἐπέρριψε πολλούς, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἐν
 παιδιᾷ ἀποδιδούς τιμὴν τῇ γενομένῃ δι' Ἀρι-
 στοτέλην καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμιλίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα.

XVIII. Μετὰ ταῦτα Πισιδῶν τε τοὺς ἀντι-
 στάντας ἦρει καὶ Φρυγίαν ἐχειροῦτο· καὶ Γόρδιον
 πόλιν, ἐστίαν Μίδου τοῦ παλαιοῦ γενέσθαι λεγο-
 μένην, παραλαβὼν, τὴν θρυλουμένην ἄμαξαν εἶδε
 φλοιῷ κρανίας ἐνδεδεμένην, καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῇ
 πιστευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκουσεν, ὡς τῷ
 λύσαντι τὸν δεσμὸν εἴμαρται βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι
 2 τῆς οἰκουμένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ φασι, τῶν
 δεσμῶν τυφλὰς ἐχόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δι' ἀλλή-
 λων πολλάκις σκολιοῖς ἐλιγμοῖς ὑποφερομένων,
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀμηχανοῦντα λύσαι διατεμεῖν
 τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸ σῆμα, καὶ πολλὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 κοπέντος ἀρχὰς φανῆναι. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ
 πάνυ λέγει ῥαδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν λύσιν γενέσθαι,
 ἐξελόντι τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸν ἔστορα καλούμενον, ᾧ
 συνείχετο τὸ ζυγὸδεσμον, εἶθ' οὕτως ὑφελκύσαντι
 τὸν ζυγόν.

3 Ἐντεῦθεν Παφλαγόνας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας
 προσαγαγόμενος, καὶ τὴν Μέμνονος ἀκούσας
 τελευτήν, ὃς τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Δαρείου στρατη-

way of the so-called Ladder, and passed through it, setting out from Phaselis. This was the reason for his spending several days in that city, during which he noticed that a statue of Theodectas, a deceased citizen of Phaselis, had been erected in the market-place. Once, therefore, after supper and in his cups, he led a band of revellers to the statue and crowned it with many of their garlands, thus in pleasantry returning no ungraceful honour for the past association with the man which he owed to Aristotle and philosophy.

XVIII. After this, he overpowered such of the Pisidians as had offered him resistance, and subdued Phrygia; and after he had taken the city of Gordium,¹ reputed to have been the home of the ancient Midas, he saw the much-talked-of waggon bound fast to its yoke with bark of the cornel-tree, and heard a story confidently told about it by the Barbarians, to the effect that whosoever loosed the fastening was destined to become king of the whole world. Well, then, most writers say that since the fastenings had their ends concealed, and were intertwined many times in crooked coils, Alexander was at a loss how to proceed, and finally loosened the knot by cutting it through with his sword, and that when it was thus smitten many ends were to be seen. But Aristobulus says that he undid it very easily, by simply taking out the so-called "hestor," or *pin*, of the waggon-pole, by which the yoke-fastening was held together, and then drawing away the yoke.²

Setting out from there, he subdued Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, and on hearing of the death of Memnon, one of the commanders of Dareius on the

¹ Early in 333 B.C. ² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 3.

γῶν ἐπίδοξος ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ πράγματα
καὶ μυρίας ἀντιλήψεις καὶ ἀσχολίας παρέξειν,
4 ἐπερρώσθη πρὸς τὴν ἄνω στρατείαν μᾶλλον. ἦδη
δὲ καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐκ Σούσων κατέβαινεν, ἐπαιρό-
μενός τε τῷ πλήθει τῆς δυνάμεως (ἐξήκοντα γὰρ
ἦγε μυριάδας στρατοῦ), καὶ τινος ὀνείρου θαρρύν-
οντος αὐτόν, ὃν οἱ μάγοι πρὸς χάριν ἐξηγοῦντο
μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. ἔδοξε γὰρ πυρὶ νέμε-
σθαι πολλῶ τὴν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα, τὸν δὲ
Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα στολὴν ἣν αὐτὸς ἐφόρει πρό-
τερον ἀστάνδης ὢν βασιλέως, ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ·
παρελθόντα δὲ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Βήλου τέμενος ἀφανῇ
5 γενέσθαι. διὰ τούτων, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὑπεδηλοῦτο
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρὰ μὲν γενήσεσθαι καὶ περι-
φανῇ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τῆς
μὲν Ἀσίας κρατήσειν, ὥσπερ ἐκράτησε Δαρεῖος
ἐξ ἀστάνδου βασιλεὺς γενόμενος, ταχὺ δὲ σὺν
δόξῃ τὸν βίον ἀπολείψειν.

XIX. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρησε καταγνοὺς
δειλίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου πολὺν χρόνον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ
διατρίψαντος. ἦν δὲ ἡ διατριβὴ διὰ νόσον, ἣν οἱ
μὲν ἐκ κόπων, οἱ δὲ λουσαμένῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύδνου
2 ρεύματι καταπαγέντι¹ προσπεσεῖν λέγουσι. τῶν
μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἱατρῶν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρει βοηθήσειν,
ἀλλὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἰόμενοι πάσης ἰσχυρότερον
εἶναι βοηθείας ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι
διαβολὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· Φίλιππος δ' ὁ

¹ καταπαγέντι Bekker reads καὶ καταπαγέντι (and got chilled).

sea-board, who was thought likely to give Alexander abundant trouble and infinite annoyance, he was all the more encouraged for his expedition into the interior. Moreover, Dareius was already coming down to the coast from Susa, exalted in spirit by the magnitude of his forces (for he was leading an army of six hundred thousand men), and also encouraged by a certain dream, which the Magi interpreted in a way to please him rather than as the probabilities demanded. For he dreamed that the Macedonian phalanx was all on fire, and that Alexander, attired in a robe which he himself formerly used to wear when he was a royal courier, was waiting upon him, after which service he passed into the temple of Belus and disappeared. By this means, as it would seem, it was suggested to Dareius from Heaven that the exploits of the Macedonians would be conspicuous and brilliant, that Alexander would be master of Asia, just as Dareius became its master when he was made king instead of royal courier, and would speedily end his life with glory.

XIX. Dareius was still more encouraged by Alexander's long delay in Cilicia, which he attributed to cowardice. The delay was due, however, to a sickness, which assailed him in consequence of fatigues, according to some,¹ but according to others, because he took a bath in the river Cydnus, whose waters were icy cold. Be that as it may, none of the other physicians had the courage to administer remedies, but thinking that the danger was too great to be overcome by any remedy whatever, they were afraid of the charges which would be made against them by the Macedonians in consequence of their failure;

¹ So Aristobulus (Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 4, 7).

- Ἀκαρνὰν μοχθηρὰ μὲν ἑώρα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, τῇ δὲ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, καὶ δεινὸν ἡγούμενος εἰ κινδυνεύοντι μὴ συγκινδυνεύσει μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης πείρας βοηθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ἐπεχείρησε φαρμακεία καὶ συνέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπομῆναι καὶ πιεῖν, σπεύδοντα ῥωσθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
- 3 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Παρμενίων ἐπεμφεν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, διακελευόμενος αὐτῷ φυλάσασθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ὡς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπεισμένον ἐπὶ δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις καὶ γάμῳ θυγατρὸς ἀνελεῖν 675 Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνοὺς καὶ μηδενὶ δείξας τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκεν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ παρόντος εἰσῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ φάρμακον ἐν κύλικι κομίζων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπέδωκε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ἐδέξατο προθύμως καὶ
- 4 ἀνυπόπτως, ὥστε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεατρικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, τοῦ μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντος, τοῦ δὲ πίνοντος, εἶτα ἅμα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλεπόντων οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διακεχυμένῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον εὐμένειαν καὶ πίστιν ἀποφαίνοντος, ἐκείνου δὲ πρὸς τὴν διαβολὴν ἐξισταμένου καὶ ποτὲ μὲν θεοκλυτοῦντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνοντος τὰς χεῖρας, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ περιπίπτοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
- 5 εὐθυμεῖν καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ. τὸ γὰρ φάρμακον ἐν ἀρχῇ κρατῆσαν τοῦ σώματος οἶον ἀπέωσε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς βάθος τὴν δύναμιν, ὥστε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀσαφὴ καὶ μικρὰ κομιδῇ γενέσθαι, λιποθυμίας ἐπιπεσούσης.

but Philip the Acarnanian, who saw that the king was in an evil plight, put confidence in his friendship, and thinking it a shameful thing not to share his peril by exhausting the resources of art in trying to help him even at great risk, prepared a medicine and persuaded him to drink it boldly, if he was anxious to regain his strength for the war. Meanwhile, however, Parmenio sent a letter to Alexander from the camp, urging him to be on his guard against Philip, for the reason that he had been persuaded by Dareius, with the promise of large gifts and a marriage with his daughter, to kill Alexander. Alexander read the letter and placed it under his pillow, without showing it to any one of his friends. When the time appointed was at hand, and Philip came in with the king's companions, carrying the medicine in a cup, Alexander handed him the letter, while he himself took the medicine from him with readiness and no sign of suspicion. It was an amazing sight, then, and one well worthy of the stage,—the one reading the letter, the other drinking the medicine, and then both together turning their eyes upon one another, but not with the same expression; for Alexander, by his glad and open countenance, showed his good will towards Philip and his trust in him, while Philip was beside himself at the calumny, now lifting up his hands towards heaven and calling upon the gods to witness his innocence, and now falling upon the couch on which Alexander lay and beseeching him to be of good courage and obey his physician. For at first the medicine mastered the patient, and as it were drove back and buried deep his bodily powers, so that his voice failed, he fell into a swoon, and became almost wholly unconscious. However, he

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀναληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ῥαίσας αὐτὸν ἐπέδειξε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀθυμοῦντες.

- XX. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Δαρείου στρατῷ πεφευγὼς ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν, Ἀμύντας, οὐκ ἄπειρος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως. οὗτος ὠρμημένον ἰδὼν Δαρεῖον εἶσω τῶν στενῶν βαδίζειν ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐδεῖτο κατὰ χώραν ὑπομένειν, ἐν πλάτος ἔχουσι πεδίοις καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις πρὸς ἐλάττονας πλήθει τοσούτῳ διαμαχοῦ-
- 2 μνον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ Δαρείου δεδιέναι μὴ φθάσωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποδράντες οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ διαφυγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, “Ἀλλὰ τούτου γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, χάριν θάρρει· βαδιέται γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη βαδίζει.” ταῦτα λέγων Ἀμύντας οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύετο Δαρεῖος εἰς Κιλικίαν, ἅμα δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς
- 3 Συρίαν ἐπ' ἐκείνον. ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ διαμαρτόντες ἀλλήλων αὖθις ἀνέστρεφον, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἠδόμενός τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ καὶ σπεύδων ἀπαντῆσαι περὶ τὰ στενά, Δαρεῖος δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀναλαβεῖν στρατοπεδείαν καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἐξελίξαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἤδη γὰρ ἐγνώκει παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἐμβεβληκὼς ἑαυτὸν εἰς χωρία θαλάττῃ καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμῷ διὰ μέσου ρέοντι τῷ Πινάρῳ δύσιππα, καὶ διεσπασμένα πολλαχοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τῆς ὀλιγότητος τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοντα τὴν θέσιν.
- 4 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον ἢ τύχῃ παρέσχεν,

was speedily restored to his senses by Philip, and when he had recovered strength he showed himself to the Macedonians, who refused to be comforted until they had seen Alexander.

XX. Now, there was in the army of Dareius a certain Macedonian who had fled from his country, Amyntas by name, and he was well acquainted with the nature of Alexander. This man, when he saw that Dareius was eager to attack Alexander within the narrow passes of the mountains, begged him to remain where he was, that he might fight a decisive battle with his vast forces against inferior numbers in plains that were broad and spacious. And when Dareius replied that he was afraid the enemy would run away before he could get at them, and Alexander thus escape him, "Indeed," said Amyntas, "on this point, O king, thou mayest be without fear; for he will march against thee, nay, at this very moment, probably, he is on the march." Dareius would not listen to these words of Amyntas, but broke camp and marched into Cilicia, and at the same time Alexander marched into Syria against him. But having missed one another in the night, they both turned back again, Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and eager to meet his enemy in the passes, while Dareius was as eager to extricate his forces from the passes and regain his former camping-ground. For he already saw that he had done wrong to throw himself into places which were rendered unfit for cavalry by sea and mountains and a river running through the middle (the Pinarus), which were broken up in many parts, and favoured the small numbers of his enemy. And not only was the place for the battle a gift of Fortune to Alexander, but

ἐστρατήγησε δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ὑπαρχόντων
 πρὸς τὸ νικῆσαι βέλτιον, ὅς γε τοσούτῳ πλήθει
 τῶν βαρβάρων λειπόμενος ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ παρ-
 ἔσχε κύκλωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον
 ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ κέρας φυγὴν
 ἐποίησε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βαρβάρων, ἐν πρώτοις
 ἀγωνιζόμενος, ὥστε τρωθῆναι ξίφει τὸν μηρόν, ὡς
 μὲν Χάρης φησὶν, ὑπὸ Δαρείου (συμπεσεῖν γὰρ
 5 αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας), Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ τῆς
 μάχης ἐπιστέλλων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον
 οὐκ εἴρηκεν ὅστις ἦν ὁ τρώσας, ὅτι δὲ τρωθείη
 τὸν μηρόν ἐγχειριδίῳ, δυσχερὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 τραύματος συμβαίη γέγραφε.

Νικήσας δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ καταβαλὼν ὑπὲρ
 ἑνδεκα μυριάδας τῶν πολεμίων, Δαρείου μὲν οὐχ
 εἶλε τέτταρας σταδίους ἢ πέντε προλαβόντα τῇ
 φυγῇ, τὸ δὲ ἄρμα καὶ τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν
 6 ἐπανῆλθε· καὶ κατέλαβε τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὸν μὲν
 ἄλλον πλοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοπέδου
 φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας ὑπερβάλλοντα πλήθει,
 καίπερ εὐζώνων πρὸς τὴν μάχην παραγενομένων
 καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐν Δαμασκῷ
 καταλιπόντων, τὴν δὲ Δαρείου σκηνὴν ἐξηρηκότας 676
 ἐκείνῳ, θεραπείας τε λαμπρᾶς καὶ παρασκευῆς
 7 καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν γέμουσαν. εὐθύς οὖν
 ἀποδυσάμενος τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ λουτρὸν ἐβάδιζεν,
 εἰπὼν· “Ἴωμεν ἀπολουσόμενοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μά-
 χης ἰδρῶτα τῷ Δαρείου λουτρῷ.” καὶ τις τῶν
 ἱταίρων “Μὰ τὸν Δία” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ τῷ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου· τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἡττωμένων εἶναί τε δεῖ
 8 καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ κρατοῦντος.” ὥς δὲ

his generalship was better than the provisions of Fortune for his victory. For since he was so vastly inferior in numbers to the Barbarians, he gave them no opportunity to encircle him, but, leading his right wing in person, extended it past the enemy's left, got on their flank, and routed the Barbarians who were opposed to him, fighting among the foremost, so that he got a sword-wound in the thigh. Chares says this wound was given him by Dareius, with whom he had a hand-to-hand combat, but Alexander, in a letter to Antipater about the battle, did not say who it was that gave him the wound; he wrote that he had been wounded in the thigh with a dagger, but that no serious harm resulted from the wound.

Although he won a brilliant victory and destroyed more than a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he did not capture Dareius, who got a start of four or five furlongs in his flight; but he did take the king's chariot, and his bow, before he came back from the pursuit. He found his Macedonians carrying off the wealth from the camp of the Barbarians, and the wealth was of surpassing abundance, although its owners had come to the battle in light marching order and had left most of their baggage in Damascus; he found, too, that his men had picked out for him the tent of Dareius, which was full to overflowing with gorgeous servitors and furniture, and many treasures. Straightway, then, Alexander put off his armour and went to the bath, saying: "Let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Dareius." "No, indeed," said one of his companions, "but rather in that of Alexander; for the property of the conquered must belong to the conqueror, and be called his." And when he

εἶδε μὲν ὄλκια καὶ κρωσσοὺς καὶ πνέλους καὶ ἀλαβύστρους, πάντα χρυσοῦ, ἡσκημένα περιττῶς, ὠδῶδαι δὲ θεσπέσιον οἶον ὑπὸ ἄρωμάτων καὶ μύρων ὁ οἶκος, ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρήλθεν εἰς σκηνὴν ὕψει τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ περὶ τὴν στρωμνὴν καὶ τραπέζας καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοῦ κόσμῳ θαύματος ἀξίαν, διαβλέψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους, “Τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν,” ἔφη, “τὸ βασιλεύειν.”

- XXI. Τρεπομένῳ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ φράζει τις ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀγομένας μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα Δαρείου καὶ θυγατέρας δύο παρθένους ἰδούσας τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ τόξα κόπτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν, ὡς ἀπολωλότες ἐκείνου. συχνὸν οὖν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων τύχαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐμπαθῆς γενόμενος, πέμπει Λεοννάτον, ἀπαγγεῖλαι κελεύσας ὡς οὔτε Δαρεῖος τέθνηκεν οὔτε Ἀλέξανδρον δεδιέναι χρή·
- 2 Δαρεῖω γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας πολεμεῖν, ἐκείναις δὲ πάντα ὑπάρξειν ὧν καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεύοντος ἡξιοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ λόγου ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἡμέρου καὶ χρηστοῦ φανέντος ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀπήντα φιλάνθρωπα. θάψαι γὰρ ὅσους ἐβούλοντο Περσῶν ἔδωκεν, ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ χρησάμεναις ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἦν εἶχον οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν ἀφείλε, συντάξεις δὲ καὶ μεί-
- 3 ζονας ἐκαρποῦντο τῶν προτέρων. ἡ δὲ καλλίστη καὶ βασιλικωτάτη χάρις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῦ γυναιξὶ γενναίαις γενομέναις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ σῶφροσι μήτε ἀκοῦσαί τι μήτε ὑπονοῆσαι μήτε προσδοκῆ-

saw the basins and pitchers and tubs and caskets, all of gold, and curiously wrought, while the apartment was marvellously fragrant with spices and unguents, and when he passed from this into a tent which was worthy of admiration for its size and height, and for the adornment of the couch and tables and banquet prepared for him, he turned his eyes upon his companions and said: "This, as it would seem, is to be a king."

XXI. As he was betaking himself to supper, someone told him that among the prisoners were the mother, wife, and two unmarried daughters of Dareius, and that at sight of his chariot and bow they beat their breasts and lamented, believing that he was dead. Accordingly, after a considerable pause, more affected by their affliction than by his own success, he sent Leonnatus, with orders to tell them that Dareius was not dead, and that they need have no fear of Alexander; for it was Dareius upon whom he was waging war for supremacy, but they should have everything which they used to think their due when Dareius was undisputed king. If this message was thought by the women to be mild and kindly, still more did the actions of Alexander prove to be humane. For he gave them permission to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to use for this purpose raiment and adornment from the spoils, and he abated not one jot of their honourable maintenance, nay, they enjoyed even larger allowances than before. But the most honourable and most princely favour which these noble and chaste women received from him in their captivity was that they neither heard, nor suspected, nor

σαι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ πολεμίῳν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἁγίοις φυλαττομένας παρθενῶσιν ἀπόρρητον ἔχειν καὶ ἄορατον ἐτέροις δίαιταν. καίτοι λέγεται γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα πολὺ πασῶν τῶν βασιλίδων εὐπρεπεστίτην γενέσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἀνδρῶν κάλλιστος καὶ μέγιστος, τὰς δὲ παῖδας εἰκέναι τοῖς γονεῦσιν.

- 4 Ἄλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλικώτερον ἡγούμενος, οὔτε τούτων ἔθιγεν οὔτε ἄλλην ἔγνω γυναῖκα πρὸ γάμου, πλὴν Βαρσίνης. αὕτη δέ, μετὰ τὴν Μέμνονος τελευτὴν χήρα γενομένη, περὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐλήφθη. πεπαιδευμένη δὲ παιδείαν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικῆς οὔσα καὶ πατρὸς Ἀρταβάζου γεγονότος ἐκ βασιλέως θυγατρός, ἐγνώσθη, Παρμενίωνος προτρεψαμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόβουλος, κα-
- 5 λῆς καὶ γενναίας ἄψασθαι γυναικός. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αἰχμαλώτους ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας ἔλεγε παίζων ὡς εἰσὶν ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων αἱ Περσίδες. ἀντεπιδεικνύμενος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ιδέαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, ὥσπερ ἀψύχους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων παρέπεμψεν.

XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλόξενος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ στρατηγὸς ἔγραψεν εἶναι παρ' αὐτῷ Θεόδωρόν τινα Ταραντῖνον ἔχοντα παῖδας ὠνίους δύο τὴν ὄψιν ὑπερφυεῖς, καὶ πυνθανόμενος εἰ πρίηται, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκὼν ἐβόα πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἐρωτῶν τί πώποτε Φιλόξενος αἰσχρὸν αὐτῷ

awaited anything that could disgrace them, but lived, as though guarded in sacred and inviolable virgins' chambers instead of in an enemy's camp, apart from the speech and sight of men. And yet it is said that the wife of Dareius was far the most comely of all royal women, just as Dareius himself also was handsomest and tallest of men, and the daughters resembled their parents.

But Alexander, as it would seem, considering the mastery of himself a more kingly thing than the conquest of his enemies, neither laid hands upon these women, nor did he know any other before marriage, except Barsiné. This woman, Memnon's widow, was taken prisoner at Damascus. And since she had received a Greek education, and was of an agreeable disposition, and since her father, Artabazus, was son of a king's daughter, Alexander determined (at Parmenio's instigation, as Aristobulus says) to attach himself to a woman of such high birth and beauty. But as for the other captive women, seeing that they were surpassingly stately and beautiful, he merely said jestingly that Persian women were torments to the eyes.¹ And displaying in rivalry with their fair looks the beauty of his own sobriety and self-control, he passed them by as though they were lifeless images for display.

XXII. Moreover, when Philoxenus, the commander of his forces on the sea-board, wrote that there was with him a certain Theodorus, of Tarentum, who had two boys of surpassing beauty to sell, and enquired whether Alexander would buy them, Alexander was incensed, and cried out many times to his friends, asking them what shameful thing Philoxenus had ever

¹ Cf. Herod. v. 18.

- συνεγνωκώς τοιαῦτα ὀνειδῆ προξενῶν κάθηται. τὸν δὲ Φιλόξενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πολλὰ λοιδορήσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις τὸν Θεόδωρον 677
- 2 εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀποστέλλειν. ἐπέπληξε δὲ καὶ "Αγνωνι γράψαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι Κρωβύλον εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ βούλεται πριάμενος ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. πυνθανόμενος δὲ μισθοφόρων τινῶν γύναια διεφθαρκεῖν Δάμωνα καὶ Τιμόθεον Μακεδόνας τῶν ὑπὸ Παρμενίῳ στρατευομένων, ἔγραψε Παρμενίῳ κελεύων, εἰς ἐλεγχθῶσιν, ὡς θηρία ἐπὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
- 3 γεγονότα τιμωρησάμενον ἀποκτείνειν. καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπεν. "Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι ἑώρακὼς ἂν εὗρεθείην τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα ἢ βεβουλημένος ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας αὐτῆς προσδεδεγμένος τὸν λόγον." ἔλεγε δὲ μάλιστα συνιέναι θνητὸς ὢν ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδειν καὶ συνουσιάζειν, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐγγινόμενον ἀσθενείας τῇ φύσει καὶ τὸ πονοῦν καὶ τὸ ἡδόμενον.
- 4 Ἦν δὲ καὶ γαστρὸς ἐγκρατέστατος, καὶ τοῦτο ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐδήλωσε καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἄδαν λεχθείσιν, ἣν ἐποιήσατο μητέρα καὶ Καρίας βασιλίσσαν ἀπέδειξεν. ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνη φιλοφρονουμένη πολλὰ μὲν ὄψα καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπέστελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ πέμματα, τέλος δὲ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι δεινοτάτους ὀψοποιούς καὶ ἀρτοποιούς, ἔφη τού-
- 5 των μηδεὶς δεῖσθαι. βελτίονας γὰρ ὀψοποιούς ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ Λεωνίδου δεδομένους

seen in him that he should spend his time in making such disgraceful proposals. And on Philoxenus himself he heaped much reproach in a letter, bidding him send Theodorus to perdition, merchandize and all. He severely rebuked Hagnon also for writing to him that he wanted to buy Crobylus, whose beauty was famous in Corinth, as a present for him. Furthermore, on learning that Damon and Timotheus, two Macedonian soldiers under Parmenio's command, had ruined the wives of certain mercenaries, he wrote to Parmenio ordering him, in case the men were convicted, to punish them and put them to death as wild beasts born for the destruction of mankind. In this letter he also wrote expressly concerning himself: "As for me, indeed, it will be found not only that I have not seen the wife of Dareius or desired to see her, but that I have not even allowed people to speak to me of her beauty." And he used to say that sleep and sexual intercourse, more than any thing else, made him conscious that he was mortal, implying that both weariness and pleasure arise from one and the same natural weakness.

He had also the most complete mastery over his appetite, and showed this both in many other ways, and especially by what he said to Ada, whom he honoured with the title of Mother and made queen of Caria.¹ When, namely, in the kindness of her heart, she used to send him day by day many viands and sweetmeats, and finally offered him bakers and cooks reputed to be very skilful, he said he wanted none of them, for he had better cooks which had been given him by his tutor, Leonidas; for his break-

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 23, 8.

αὐτῷ, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἄριστον, νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὀλιγαριστίαν. “Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπιὼν τὰ ἀγ-
γεία καὶ τῶν ἱματίων ἔλυνεν, ἐπισκοπῶν μή τί
μοι τρυφερὸν ἢ περισσὸν ἢ μήτηρ ἐντέθεικεν.”

XXIII. Ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς οἶνον ἡττον ἢ ἐδόκει
καταφερέης. ἔδοξε δὲ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ὃν οὐ πίνων
μᾶλλον ἢ λαλῶν εἵλκεν ἐφ’ ἐκάστης κύλικος, ἀει
μακρόν τινα λόγον διατιθέμενος, καὶ ταῦτα πολ-
λῆς σχολῆς οὔσης. ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τὰς πράξεις οὐκ
οἶνος ἐκείνῳ, οὐχ ὕπνος, οὐ παιδιὰ τις, οὐ γάμος,
οὐ θέα, καθάπερ ἄλλους στρατηγούς, ἐπέσχε.
2 δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ βίος, ὃν βιώσας βραχὺν παντάπασι,
πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων πράξεων ἐνέπλησεν. ἐν
δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἀναστὰς καὶ θύσας
τοῖς θεοῖς εὐθὺς ἡρίστα καθήμενος· ἔπειτα διημέ-
ρευε κυνηγῶν ἢ δικάζων ἢ συντάττων τι τῶν
πολεμικῶν ἢ ἀναγινώσκων. εἰ δὲ ὁδὸν βαδίζου
μὴ λίαν ἐπείγουσαν, ἐμάνθανεν ἅμα πορευόμενος
ἢ τοξεύειν ἢ ἐπιβαίνειν ἄρματος ἐλαυνομένου καὶ
3 ἀποβαίνειν. πολλάκις δὲ παίζων καὶ ἁλώπεκας
ἐθήρευε καὶ ὄρνιθας, ὡς ἔστι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐφη-
μερίδων. καταλύσας δὲ καὶ τρεπόμενος πρὸς
λουτρὸν ἢ ἄλειμμα, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν καὶ
μαγείρων ἀνέκρινεν εἰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον εὐτρε-
πῶς ἔχουσι. καὶ δειπνεῖν μὲν ὁψὲ καὶ σκότους
ἤδη κατακλινόμενος ἤρχετο, θαυμαστὴ δὲ ἦν ἡ
ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περίβλεψις ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ὅπως
μηδὲν ἀνίσως μηδὲ ὀλιγώρως διανέμοιτο· τὸν δὲ

fast, namely, a night march, and for his supper, a light breakfast. "And this same Leonidas," he said, "used to come and open my chests of bedding and clothing, to see that my mother did not hide there for me some luxury or superfluity."

XXIII. To the use of wine also he was less addicted than was generally believed. The belief arose from the time which he would spend over each cup, more in talking than in drinking, always holding some long discourse, and this too when he had abundant leisure. For in the stress of affairs he was not to be detained, as other commanders were, either by wine, or sleep, or any sport, or amour, or spectacle. This is proved by his life, which, though altogether brief, he filled to overflowing with the greatest exploits. In his times of leisure, however, after rising and sacrificing to the gods, he immediately took breakfast sitting; then, he would spend the day in hunting, or administering justice, or arranging his military affairs, or reading. If he were making a march which was not very urgent, he would practise, as he went along, either archery or mounting and dismounting from a chariot that was under way. Often, too, for diversion, he would hunt foxes or birds, as may be gathered from his journals. After he had taken quarters for the night, and while he was enjoying bath or anointing, he would enquire of his chief cooks and bakers whether the arrangements for his supper were duly made. When it was late and already dark, he would begin his supper, reclining on a couch, and marvellous was his care and circumspection at table, in order that everything might be served impartially and without stint; but

πότον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μακρὸν ὑπὸ ἀδολεσχίας
 4 ἐξέτεινε. καὶ τὰλλα πάντων ἡδιστος ὢν βα-
 σιλέων συνεῖναι καὶ χάριτος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀμοιρῶν,
 τότε ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις ἀηδὴς ἐγίνετο καὶ λίαν
 στρατιωτικός, αὐτὸς τε πρὸς τὸ κομπῶδες ὑπο-
 φερόμενος καὶ τοῖς κόλαξιν ἑαυτὸν ἀνεικῶς ἱππά-
 σιμον, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ χαριέστεροι τῶν παρόντων
 ἐπετρίβοντο, μήτε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι τοῖς κόλαξι μήτε
 λείπεσθαι βουλόμενοι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπαίνων. τὸ
 μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐδόκει, τὸ δὲ κίνδυνον ἔφερε.
 5 μετὰ δὲ τὸν πότον λουσάμενος ἐκάθειδε πολλάκις
 μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διημέρευεν 67
 ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν.

Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὄψων ἐγκρατὴς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ
 τὰ σπανιώτατα πολλάκις τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης
 αὐτῷ κομιζομένων ἀκροδρύων καὶ ἰχθύων ἐκάστω
 δ.απεμπόμενος τῶν ἐταίρων ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ μηδὲν
 6 καταλιπεῖν· τὸ μέντοι δείπνον ἦν αἰετὶ μεγαλο-
 πρεπές, καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι τῆς δαπάνης ἅμα
 συναυξομένης τέλος εἰς μυρίας δραχμὰς προῆλθεν.
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστη, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὠρίσθη τελεῖν
 τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Ἴσσω πέμ-
 ψας εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς
 ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν
 Περσῶν. καὶ πλείστα μὲν ὠφελήθησαν οἱ τῶν
 Θεσσαλῶν ἱππεῖς· τούτους γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς
 διαφερόντως ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένους ἔπεμψεν ἐπί-

over the wine, as I have said, he would sit long, for conversation's sake. And although in other ways he was of all princes most agreeable in his intercourse, and endowed with every grace, at this time his boastfulness would make him unpleasant and very like a common soldier. Not only was he himself carried away into blustering, but he suffered himself to be ridden by his flatterers. These were a great annoyance to the finer spirits in the company, who desired neither to vie with the flatterers, nor yet to fall behind them in praising Alexander. The one course they thought disgraceful, the other had its perils. After the drinking was over, he would take a bath and sleep, frequently until midday; and sometimes he would actually spend the entire day in sleep.

In the matter of delicacies, too, he himself, at all events, was master of his appetite, so that often, when the rarest fruits or fish were brought to him from the sea-coast, he would distribute them to each of his companions until he was the only one for whom nothing remained. His suppers, however, were always magnificent, and the outlay upon them increased with his successes until it reached the sum of ten thousand drachmas. There it stood, and that was the prescribed limit of expenditure for those who entertained Alexander.

XXIV. After the battle at Issus,¹ he sent to Damascus and seized the money and baggage of the Persians together with their wives and children. And most of all did the Thessalian horsemen enrich themselves, for they had shown themselves surpassingly brave in the battle, and Alexander sent them on this expedition purposely, wishing to have them enrich

¹ November, 333 B.C.

τῆδες ὠφελῆσθαι βουλόμενος· ἐνεπλήσθη δὲ καὶ
 2 τὸ λοιπὸν εὐπορίας στρατόπεδον. καὶ γευσά-
 μενοι τότε πρῶτον οἱ Μακεδόνες χρυσοῦ καὶ
 ἀργύρου καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ διαίτης βαρβαρικῆς,
 ὥσπερ κύνες ἔσπενδον ἀψάμενοι στίβου διώκειν
 καὶ ἀνιχνεύειν τὸν τῶν Περσῶν πλοῦτον.

Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρῶτον ἐδόκει κρατύ-
 νεσθαι τὰ πρὸς θαλάσση. Κύπρον μὲν οὖν
 εὐθύς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἦκον ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτῷ, καὶ
 3 Φοινίκην πλὴν Τύρου. Τύρον δὲ πολιορκῶν ἐπτά
 μῆνας χῶμασι καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ τριήρεσι δια-
 κοσίαις ἐκ θαλάττης, ὅναρ εἶδε τὸν Ἡρακλέα
 δεξιούμενον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ καλοῦντα.
 τῶν δὲ Τυρίων πολλοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἔδοξεν
 ὁ Ἀπόλλων λέγειν ὡς ἄπεισι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον·
 οὐ γὰρ ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα κατὰ τὴν
 4 πόλιν. ἄλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον αὐτο-
 μολοῦντα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπ' αὐτοφῶρῳ
 τὸν θεὸν εἰληφότες σειράς τε τῷ κολοσσῷ περιέ-
 βαλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καθήλουν πρὸς τὴν βίσιν,
 Ἀλεξανδριστὴν καλοῦντες. ἐτέραν δὲ ὄψιν
 5 Ἀλέξανδρος εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. Σάτυρος
 αὐτῷ φανείς ἐδόκει προσπαίξειν πόρρωθεν, εἶτα
 βουλομένου λαβεῖν ὑπεξέφευγε· τέλος δὲ πολλὰ
 λιπαρήσαντος καὶ περιδραμόντος ἦλθεν εἰς χει-
 ς. οἱ δὲ μάντις τοῦνομα διαιροῦντες οὐκ ἀπι-
 θάνως ἔφασαν αὐτῷ· “Σὴ γενήσεται Τύρος.”
 καὶ κρήνην δέ τινα δεικνύουσι, πρὸς ἣν κατὰ τοὺς
 ὕπνους ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε τὸν Σάτυρον.

6 Διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας
 τοὺς προσοικοῦντας τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ στρατεύσας

themselves. But the rest of the army also was filled with wealth. Then for the first time the Macedonians got a taste of gold and silver and women and barbaric luxury of life, and now that they had struck the trail, they were like dogs in their eagerness to pursue and track down the wealth of the Persians.

However, Alexander determined first to make himself master of the sea-coasts. As for Cyprus, then, its kings came at once and put the island in his hands, together with Phoenicia, with the exception of Tyre. But Tyre he besieged for seven months,¹ with moles, and engines-of-war, and two hundred triremes by sea. During this siege he had a dream in which he saw Heracles stretching out his hand to him from the wall and calling him. And many of the Tyrians dreamed that Apollo told them he was going away to Alexander, since he was displeased at what was going on in the city. Whereupon, as if the god had been a common deserter caught in the act of going over to the enemy, they encircled his colossal figure with cords and nailed it down to its pedestal, calling him an Alexandrist. In another dream, too, Alexander thought he saw a satyr who mocked him at a distance, and eluded his grasp when he tried to catch him, but finally, after much coaxing and chasing, surrendered. The seers, dividing the word "satyros" into two parts, said to him, plausibly enough, "Tyre is to be thine." And a spring is pointed out, near which Alexander dreamed he saw the satyr.

While the siege of the city was in progress, he made an expedition against the Arabians who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Mount Antilibanus. On

¹ January-August, 332 B.C.

ἐκινδύνευσεν διὰ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν Λυσίμαχον· ἐξη-
 κολουθήσῃ γὰρ αὐτῷ λέγων τοῦ Φοίνικος οὐκ
 εἶναι χείρων οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλη-
 σιάσας τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπολιπὼν
 πεζὸς ἐβάδιζεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πολὺ προῆλθον,
 7 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Λυσίμαχον, ἐσπέρας ἤδη καταλαμ-
 βανούσης καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπα-
 γορεύοντα καὶ βαρυνόμενον οὐχ ὑπομένων ἀπολι-
 πεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ παρακομίζων,
 ἔλαθε τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποσπασθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων
 καὶ σκότους ἅμα καὶ ῥίγους σφοδροῦ νυκτερεύων
 8 ἐν χωρίοις χαλεποῖς. εἶδεν οὖν πόρρῳ πυρὰ
 πολλὰ καίόμενα σποράδην τῶν πολεμίων. θαρ-
 ρῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῇ κουφότητι, καὶ τῷ πονεῖν
 αὐτὸς αἰὲν παραμυθούμενος τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν Μακε-
 δόνων, προσέδραμε τοῖς ἔγγιστα πῦρ καίουσι· καὶ
 περικαθημένους τῇ πυρᾷ δύο βαρβάρους πατάξας
 τῷ ἐγχειριδίῳ καὶ δαλὸν ἀρπάσας ἦκε πρὸς τοὺς
 ἑαυτοῦ κομίζων. ἐγκαύσαντες δὲ πῦρ πολὺ τοὺς
 μὲν εὐθὺς ἐφόβησαν ὥστε φυγεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἐπιόν-
 τας ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατηνλίσθησαν ἀκινδύνως.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Χάρης ἱστόρηκεν.

XXV. Ἡ δὲ πολιορκία τοιοῦτον ἔσχε πέρας.
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μὲν πολλὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνα-
 παύοντος ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν,
 ὀλίγους δὲ τινας, ὥς μὴ σχολάζοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, 679
 τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντος, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις
 ἐσφαγιάζετο· καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατιδὼν θρασύτερον

this expedition he risked his life to save his tutor, Lysimachus, who insisted on following him, declaring himself to be neither older nor weaker than Phoenix.¹ But when the force drew near the mountains, they abandoned their horses and proceeded on foot, and most of them got far on in advance. Alexander himself, however, would not consent to abandon the worn and weary Lysimachus, since evening was already coming on and the enemy were near, but sought to encourage him and carry him along. Before he was aware of it, therefore, he was separated from his army with a few followers, and had to spend a night of darkness and intense cold in a region that was rough and difficult. In this plight, he saw far off a number of scattered fires which the enemy were burning. So, since he was confident in his own agility, and was ever wont to cheer the Macedonians in their perplexities by sharing their toils, he ran to the nearest camp-fire. Two Barbarians who were sitting at the fire he despatched with his dagger, and snatching up a fire-brand, brought it to his own party. These kindled a great fire and at once frightened some of the enemy into flight, routed others who came up against them, and spent the night without further peril. Such, then, is the account we have from Chares.

XXV. The siege of the city had the following issue. While Alexander was giving the greater part of his forces a rest from the many struggles which they had undergone, and was leading up only a few men to attack the walls, in order that the enemy might have no respite, Aristander the seer made a sacrifice, and after taking the omens, declared very confidently

¹ Cf. chapter v. 5.

- διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μηνὶ
 2 πάντως ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. γενομένου δὲ
 χλευασμοῦ καὶ γέλωτος (ἦν γὰρ ἡ τελευταία τοῦ
 μηνὸς ἡμέρα), διηπορημένον αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ βασι-
 λεὺς καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενος αἰεὶ τοῖς μαντεύμασιν
 ἐκέλευε μηκέτι τριακάδα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην,
 ἀλλὰ τρίτην φθίνοντος ἀριθμεῖν· καὶ τῇ σάλ-
 πιγγι σημήνας ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν τειχῶν ἐρρωμενέ-
 στερον ἢ περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διανοήθη. γενομένης δὲ
 λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου
 καρτερούντων, ἀλλὰ συντρεχόντων καὶ προσβοη-
 θούντων, ἀπεῖπον οἱ Τύριοι· καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἴλε
 κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολιορκοῦντι Γάζαν αὐτῷ, τῆς
 Συρίας μεγίστην πόλιν, ἐμπίπτει βῶλος εἰς τὸν
 ὦμον ἀφεθείς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ ὄρνιθος. ὁ δὲ ὄρνις ἐφ'
 ἐν τῶν μηχανημάτων καθίσας ἔλαθεν ἐνσχεθεὶς
 τοῖς νευρίνοις κεκρυφάλοις, οἷς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιστρο-
 4 φὰς τῶν σχοινίων ἐχρῶντο. καὶ τὸ σημεῖον
 ἀπέβη κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστάνδρου πρόρρησιν· ἐτρώθη
 μὲν γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ὦμον, ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν
 πόλιν. ἀποστέλλων δὲ πολλὰ τῶν λαφύρων
 Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, κατέ-
 πεμψε καὶ Λεωνίδῃ τῷ παιδαγωγῷ τάλαντα
 λιβανωτοῦ πεντακόσια καὶ σμύρνης ἑκατόν, ἀνα-
 5 μνησθεὶς παιδικῆς ἐλπίδος. ὁ γὰρ Λεωνίδης, ὡς
 ἔοικεν, ἐν θυσίᾳ ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπι-
 δραξάμενον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ καθαγί-
 σαντα τοῦ θυμιάματος, “Ὅταν,” ἔφη, “τῆς

to the bystanders that the city would certainly be captured during that month. His words produced laughter and jesting, since it was then the last day of the month, and the king, seeing that he was perplexed, and being always eager to support his prophecies, gave orders to reckon that day, not as the thirtieth of the month, but as the twenty-eighth; and then, after the trumpet had sounded the signal, he attacked the walls with greater vigour than he had at first intended. The assault became fierce, and even those troops which had been left in camp could not restrain themselves, but ran in throngs to help the assailants, and the Tyrians gave up the fight. So Alexander took the city on that day.

After this, as he was giving siege to Gaza,¹ the principal city of Syria, a clod of earth, which had been dropped from on high by a bird, struck him on the shoulder. The bird alighted on one of the battering-engines, and was at once caught in the network of sinews which were used to give a twist to the ropes.² And the omen was fulfilled as Aristander predicted; for though Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, he took the city. Moreover, as he was dispatching great quantities of the spoils home to Olympias and Cleopatra and his friends, he sent also to Leonidas his tutor five hundred talents' weight of frankincense and a hundred of myrrh, in remembrance of the hope with which that teacher had inspired his boyhood. It would seem, namely, that Leonidas, as Alexander was one day sacrificing and taking incense with both hands to throw upon the altar-fire, said to him:—"Alexander,

¹ During September and October of 332 B.C.

² Cf. Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* iv. 6, 11 f.

ἄρωματοφόρου κρατήσης, Ἀλέξανδρε, πλουσίως οὕτως ἐπιθυμιάσεις· νῦν δὲ φειδομένως χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι.” τότε οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἀπεστάλκαμέν σοι λιβανωτὸν ἄφθονον καὶ σμύρναν, ὅπως παύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς μικρολογούμενος.”

- XXVI. Κιβωτίου δέ τινος αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντος, οὗ πολυτελέστερον οὐδὲν ἐφάνη τοῖς τὰ Δαρείου χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἡρώτα τοὺς φίλους ὃ τι δοκοίη μάλιστα τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς εἰς αὐτὸ καταθέσθαι· πολλὰ δὲ πολλῶν λεγόντων αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν Ἰλιάδα
- 2 φρουρήσειν ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μεμαρτυρήκασιν. εἰ δ', ὅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλείδῃ πιστεύοντες, ἀληθές ἐστιν, οὐκουν ἀργὸς οὐδὲ ἀσύμβολος αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν ἔοικεν Ὀμηρος. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσας ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τινα τόπον γνώμῃ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ὅσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῖτο
- 3 καὶ περιέβαλλεν. εἴτα νύκτωρ κοιμώμενος ὄψιν εἶδε θαυμαστήν· ἀνὴρ πολὺς εὖ μάλα τὴν κόμην καὶ γεραρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ παραστὰς λέγειν τὰ ἔπη τάδε·

Νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε· Φάρον δέ ἐ κικλήσκουσιν.

εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξαναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φάρον, ἣ τότε μὲν ἔτι νῆσος ἦν, τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος, νῦν δὲ διὰ χώματος ἀνείλη-

when thou hast conquered the spice-bearing regions thou canst be thus lavish with thine incense; now, however, use sparingly what thou hast." Accordingly, Alexander now wrote him: "I have sent thee myrrh and frankincense in abundance, that thou mayest stop dealing parsimoniously with the gods."

XXVI. When a small coffer was brought to him, which those in charge of the baggage and wealth of Dareius thought the most precious thing there, he asked his friends what valuable object they thought would most fittingly be deposited in it. And when many answered and there were many opinions, Alexander himself said he was going to deposit the *Iliad* there for safe keeping.¹ This is attested by many trustworthy authorities. And if what the Alexandrians tell us on the authority of Heracleides is true, then it would seem that Homer was no idle or unprofitable companion for him in his expedition. They say, namely, that after his conquest of Egypt he wished to found a large and populous Greek city which should bear his name, and by the advice of his architects was on the point of measuring off and enclosing a certain site for it. Then, in the night, as he lay asleep, he saw a wonderful vision. A man with very hoary locks and of a venerable aspect appeared to stand by his side and recite these verses:—

"Now, there is an island in the much-dashing sea,
In front of Egypt; Pharos is what men call it."²

Accordingly, he rose up at once and went to Pharos, which at that time was still an island, a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but now it has been

¹ Cf. chapter viii. 2.

² *Odysey*, iv. 354 f.

- 4 πται πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον. ὥς οὖν εἶδε τόπον
 εὐφυῖα διαφέροντα (ταινία γάρ ἐστιν ἰσθμῷ
 πλάτος ἔχοντι σύμμετρον ἐπιεικῶς διείργουσα
 λίμνην τε πολλὴν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν λιμένι
 μεγάλῳ τελευτῶσαν), εἰπὼν ὥς "Ὀμηρος ἦν ἄρα
 τά τε ἄλλα θαυμαστὸς καὶ σοφώτατος ἀρχιτέ-
 κτων, ἐκέλευσε διαγράψαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως
- 5 τῷ τόπῳ συναρμόττοντας. καὶ γῇ μὲν οὐ παρὴν
 λευκή, τῶν δὲ ἀλφίτων λαμβάνοντες ἐν πεδίῳ
 μελαγγεῖῳ κυκλοτερῇ κόλπον ἦγον, οὐ τὴν ἐντὸς
 περιφέρειαν εὐθεῖαι βάσεις ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων
 εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον, ἐξ ἴσου συνά-
 γουσαι τὸ μέγεθος. ἡσθέντος δὲ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ 680
 βασιλέως αἰφνίδιον ὄρνιθες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ
 τῆς λίμνης, πλήθει τε ἄπειροι καὶ κατὰ γένος
 παντοδαποὶ καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καταίρον-
 τες νέφεσιν ὁικότες οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑπέλιπον τῶν
 ἀλφίτων, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διαταρα-
 χθῆναι πρὸς τὸν οἰωνόν.
- 6 Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῶν μάντεων θαρρεῖν παραινούν-
 των (πολυαρκεστάτην γὰρ οἰκίζεσθαι πόλιν ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσομένην τρο-
 φόν) ἔργου κελεύσας ἔχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς
 αὐτὸς ὥρμησεν εἰς Ἀμμωνος, ὁδὸν μακρὰν καὶ
 πολλὰ μὲν ἔχουσιν ἐργώδη καὶ ταλαίπωρα, κινδύ-
 νους δὲ δύο, τὸν μὲν ἀννυδρίας, δι' ἣν ἔρημός ἐστιν
 οὐκ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, τὸν δέ, εἰ λάβρος ἐν ἄμμῳ
 βαθείᾳ καὶ ἀχανεῖ πορευομένοις ἐπιπέσοι νότος,

joined to the mainland by a causeway. And when he saw a site of surpassing natural advantages (for it is a strip of land like enough to a broad isthmus, extending between a great lagoon and a stretch of sea which terminates in a large harbour), he said he saw now that Homer was not only admirable in other ways, but also a very wise architect, and ordered the plan of the city to be drawn in conformity with this site. There was no chalk at hand, so they took barley-meal¹ and marked out with it on the dark soil a rounded area, to whose inner arc straight lines extended so as to produce the figure of a chlamys, or military cloak, the lines beginning from the skirts (as one may say), and narrowing the breadth of the area uniformly.² The king was delighted with the design; but suddenly birds from the river and the lagoon, infinite in number and of every sort and size, settled down upon the place like clouds and devoured every particle of the barley-meal, so that even Alexander was greatly disturbed at the omen.

However, the seers exhorted him to be of good cheer, since the city here founded by him would have most abundant and helpful resources and be a nursing mother for men of every nation, and so he ordered those in charge of the work to proceed with it, while he himself set out for the temple of Ammon. The journey thither was long, full of toils and hardships, and had two perils. One is the dearth of water, which leaves the traveller destitute of it for many days; the other arises when a fierce south wind smites men travelling in sand of boundless depth,

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 2, 1.

² See Tarbell, "The Form of the Chlamys," *Classical Philology*, 1906, p. 285.

ὥς που καὶ πάλαι λέγεται περὶ τὸν Καμβύσου
στρατόν, ἀναστήσας θίνα μεγάλην καὶ κυματώσας
τὸ πεδίον μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων πέντε καταχῶσαι
7 καὶ διαφθεῖραι. ταῦτα πάντα σχεδὸν πάντες
ἐλογίζοντο, χαλεπὸν δὲ ἦν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποτρέ-
ψαι πρὸς ὁτιοῦν ὠρμημένον. ἥ τε γὰρ τύχη ταῖς
ἐπιβολαῖς ὑπέϊκουσα τὴν γνώμην ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίει,
καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἄχρι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπεξέφερε
τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἀήττητον, οὐ μόνον πολεμίους,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπους καὶ καιροὺς καταβιαζομένην.

XXVII. Ἐν γοῦν τῇ τότε πορείᾳ τὰ συντυ-
χόντα ταῖς ἀπορίαις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθήματα
τῶν ὑστέρων χρησμῶν ἐπιστεύθη μᾶλλον· τρόπον
δέ τινα καὶ τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἡ πίστις ἐκ τούτων
ὑπῆρξε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ πολὺ
καὶ διαρκεῖς ὑετὶ γενόμενοι τὸν τε τῆς δίψης
φόβον ἔλυσαν, καὶ τὴν ξηρότητα κατασβέσαντες
τῆς ἄμμου, νοτερᾶς γενομένης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν
ξυμπεσοῦσης, εὐπνουν τὸν ἀέρα καὶ καθαρώτερον
2 παρέσχον. ἔπειτα τῶν ὄρων, οἵπερ ἦσαν τοῖς
ὁδηγοῖς, συγχυθέντων καὶ πλάνης οὔσης καὶ
διασπασμοῦ τῶν βαδιζόντων διὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν,
κόρακες ἐκφανέντες ὑπελάμβανον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
τῆς πορείας, ἐπομένων μὲν ἔμπροσθεν πετόμενοι
καὶ σπεύδοντες, ὑστεροῦντας δὲ καὶ βραδύνοντας
3 ἀναμένοντες· ὃ δὲ ἦν θαυμασιώτατον, ὥς Καλλι-
σθένης φησί, ταῖς φωναῖς ἀνακαλούμενοι τοὺς

¹ Cf. Herod. iii. 26.

² According to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, two serpents served Alexander's army as guides to the oracle and back again. "But Aristobulus, whose account is generally admitted to

as is said to have been the case with the army of Cambyses, long ago; the wind raised great billows of sand all over the plain and buried up fifty thousand men, to their utter destruction.¹ Almost all of Alexander's followers took all these things into consideration, but it was difficult to turn him aside from any course so ever when he had once set out upon it. For Fortune, by yielding to his onsets, was making his purpose obstinate, and the high spirit which he carried into his undertakings rendered his ambition finally invincible, so that it subdued not only enemies, but even times and places.

XXVII. At all events, during the journey which he made at this time, the assistance rendered him by Heaven in his perplexities met with more credence than the oracles which he afterwards received, nay, in a way, the oracles obtained credence in consequence of such assistance. For, to begin with, much rain from heaven and persistent showers removed all fear of thirst, quenched the dryness of the sand, so that it became moist and compact, and made the air purer and good to breathe. Again, when the marks for the guides became confused, and the travellers were separated and wandered about in ignorance of the route, ravens appeared and assumed direction of their march,² flying swiftly on in front of them when they followed, and waiting for them when they marched slowly and lagged behind. Moreover, what was most astonishing of all, Callisthenes tells us that the birds by their cries called back those who straggled away in the night,

be correct, says that two ravens flew in front of the army and acted as Alexander's guides" (Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 3, 5 f.).

πλανωμένους νύκτωρ καὶ κλάζοντες εἰς ἵχνος καθίστασαν τῆς πορείας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διεξελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον ἦκεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὁ μὲν προφήτης αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄμμωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαίρειν, ὡς ἀπὸ πατρός, προσεῖπεν· ὁ δὲ ἐπήρετο μή τις αὐτὸν εἴη διαπεφευγὼς τῶν τοῦ
 4 πατρὸς φονέων. εὐφημεῖν δὲ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι πατέρα θνητὸν αὐτῷ, μεταβαλὼν ἐπυνθάνετο, τοὺς Φιλίππου φονεῖς εἰ πάντας εἴη τετιμωρημένους· εἶτα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ πάντων αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπων κυρίῳ γενέσθαι. χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτο δίδοναι καὶ Φίλιππον ἀπέχειν ἔκπλεω τὴν δίκην, ἔδωρεῖτο τὸν θεὸν ἀναθήμασι λαμπροῖς καὶ χρήμασι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

5 Ταῦτα περὶ τῶν χρησμῶν οἱ πλείστοι γράφουσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φησὶ γεγονέναι τινὰς αὐτῷ μαντείας ἀπορρήτους, ἃς αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν φράσει πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ τὸν μὲν προφήτην Ἑλληνιστὶ βουλόμενον προσεῖπεῖν μετὰ τινος φιλοφροσύνης “ὦ παιδίον,” ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν φθόγγων ὑπὸ βαρβαρισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ σίγμα ἔξενεχθῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, “ὦ παιδίος,” ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦ τῷ σίγμα χρησάμενον, ἀσμένῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ σφάλμα τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι καὶ διαδοθῆναι λόγον ὡς παῖδα Διὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσειπόντος.

6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ψάμμωνος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου διακούσας ἀποδέξασθαι μάλιστα τῶν λεχθέντων, ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεύονται ὑπὸ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον ἐν ἐκάστῳ καὶ κρατοῦν

and cawed until they had set them in the track of the march.

When Alexander had passed through the desert and was come to the place of the oracle, the prophet of Ammon gave him salutation from the god as from a father; whereupon Alexander asked him whether any of the murderers of his father had escaped him. To this the prophet answered by bidding him be guarded in his speech, since his was not a mortal father. Alexander therefore changed the form of his question, and asked whether the murderers of Philip had all been punished; and then, regarding his own empire, he asked whether it was given to him to become lord and master of all mankind. The god gave answer that this was given to him, and that Philip was fully avenged. Then Alexander made splendid offerings to the god and gave his priests large gifts of money.

This is what most writers state regarding the oracular responses; but Alexander himself, in a letter to his mother, says that he received certain secret responses, which he would tell to her, and to her alone, on his return. And some say that the prophet, wishing to show his friendliness by addressing him with "*O paidion*," or *O my son*, in his foreign pronunciation ended the words with "s" instead of "n," and said, "*O paidios*," and that Alexander was pleased at the slip in pronunciation, and a story became current that the god had addressed him with "*O pai Dios*," or *O son of Zeus*. We are told, also, that he listened to the teachings of Psammon the philosopher in Egypt, and accepted most readily this utterance of his, namely, that all mankind are under the kingship of God, since in every case that

θεῖόν ἐστιν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς περὶ τούτων 68
φιλοσοφώτερον δοξάζειν καὶ λέγειν, ὥς πάντων
μὲν ὄντα κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα τὸν θεόν, ἰδί-
ους δὲ ποιούμενον ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους.

XXVIII. Καθόλου δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβά-
ρους σοβαρὸς ἦν καὶ σφόδρα πεπεισμένῳ περὶ
τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ γενέσεως καὶ τεκνώσεως ὅμοιος, τοῖς
δὲ Ἑλλησι μετρίως καὶ ὑποφειδομένως ἑαυτὸν
ἐξεθείαζε· πλὴν περὶ Σάμου γράφων Ἀθηναίοις,
“Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἄν,” φησὶν, “ὑμῖν ἐλευθέραν πό-
λιν ἔδωκα καὶ ἔνδοξον· ἔχετε δὲ αὐτὴν λαβόντες
παρὰ τοῦ τότε κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ προσαγο-
2 ρενομένου,” λέγων τὸν Φίλιππον. ὕστερον δὲ
πληγῇ περιπεσὼν ὑπὸ τοξεύματος καὶ περιαλγῆς
γενόμενος, “Τοῦτο μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ φίλοι, τὸ ρέον
αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ

ἰχώρ, οἷός πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.”

ἐπεὶ δὲ μεγάλης ποτὲ βροντῆς γενομένης καὶ
πάντων ἐκπλαγέντων Ἀνάξαρχος ὁ σοφιστῆς
παρὼν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν, “Μή τι σὺ τοιοῦτον ὁ
τοῦ Διός;” γελάσας ἐκείνος, “Οὐ βούλομαι γάρ,”
εἶπε, “φοβερὸς εἶναι τοῖς φίλοις, ὥσπερ σύ με
κελεύεις ὁ καταφαιδίζων μου τὸ δεῖπνον, ὅτι ταῖς
τραπέζαις ἰχθύας ὀρεῖς ἐπικειμένους, οὐ σατρα-
3 πῶν κεφαλάς.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι λέγεται τὸν Ἀνά-
ξαρχον ἰχθυοῦν Ἐφαιστίωνι πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ
τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν προειρημένον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι
λόγον, οἷον ἐξευτελίζοντα καὶ κατειρωνευόμενον

which gets the mastery and rules is divine. Still more philosophical, however, was his own opinion and utterance on this head, namely that although God was indeed a common father of all mankind, still, He made peculiarly His own the noblest and best of them.

XXVIII. In general, he bore himself haughtily towards the Barbarians, and like one fully persuaded of his divine birth and parentage, but with the Greeks it was within limits and somewhat rarely that he assumed his own divinity. However, in writing to the Athenians concerning Samos, he said: "I cannot have given you that free and illustrious city; for ye received it from him who was then your master and was called my father," meaning Philip. At a later time, however, when he had been hit by an arrow and was suffering great pain, he said: "This, my friends, that flows here, is blood, and not

'Ichor, such as flows from the veins of the blessed gods.'"¹

Once, too, there came a great peal of thunder, and all were terrified at it; whereupon Anaxarchus the sophist who was present said to Alexander: "Couldst thou, the son of Zeus, thunder like that?" At this, Alexander laughed and said: "Nay, I do not wish to cause fear in my friends, as thou wouldst have me do, thou who despisest my suppers because, as thou sayest, thou seest the tables furnished with fish, and not with satraps' heads."² For, in fact, we are told that Anaxarchus, on seeing a present of small fish which the king had sent to Hephaestion, had uttered the speech above mentioned, as though he were dis-

¹ *Iliad*, v. 340. ² Cf. Athenaeus, pp. 250 f.

τοὺς τὰ περίβλεπτα μεγάλοις πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις διώκοντας, ὥς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν ἐν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἀπολαύσεσι πλέον ἔχοντας τῶν ἄλλων. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων δηλὸς ἐστὶν αὐτὸς οὐδὲν πεπονθὼς οὐδὲ τετυφωμένος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄλλους καταδουλούμενος τῇ δόξῃ τῆς θειότητος.

- XXIX. Εἰς δὲ Φοινίκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πομπὰς ἐπετέλει καὶ χορῶν κυκλίων καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀμίλλαις λαμπροὺς γενομένους. ἐχορήγουν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ κληρούμενοι τὰς φυλάς, καὶ ἡγωνίζοντο θαυμαστῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μάλιστα δὲ Νικοκρέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος καὶ Πασικράτης ὁ Σόλιος διεφιλονείκησαν.
- 2 οὗτοι γὰρ ἔλαχον τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ὑποκριταῖς χορηγεῖν, Πασικράτης μὲν Ἀθηνοδόρῳ, Νικοκρέων δὲ Θεσσαλῷ, περὶ ὃν ἐσπουδάκει καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. οὐ μὴν διέφηνε τὴν σπουδὴν πρότερον ἢ ταῖς ψήφοις ἀναγορευθῆναι νικῶντα τὸν Ἀθηνόδωρον. τότε δέ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀπιὼν ἔφη τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς ἐπαινεῖν, αὐτὸς μέντοι μέρος ἂν ἡδέως προέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Θεσσαλὸν
- 3 ἰδεῖν νενικημένον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀθηνόδωρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Διονυσίων οὐκ ἀπῆντησεν, ἡξίου γράψαι περὶ

paraging and ridiculing those who undergo great toils and dangers in the pursuit of eminence and power, since in the way of enjoyments and pleasures they have little or nothing more than other men. From what has been said, then, it is clear that Alexander himself was not foolishly affected or puffed up by the belief in his divinity, but used it for the subjugation of others.

XXIX. When he had returned from Egypt into Phoenicia,¹ he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions, and held contests of dithyrambic choruses and tragedies which were made brilliant, not only by their furnishings, but also by the competitors who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were the choregi, or exhibitors, just like, at Athens, those chosen by lot from the tribes, and they competed against each other with amazing ambition. Most eager of all was the contention between Nicocreon of Salamis and Pasistrates of Soli. For the lot assigned to these exhibitors the most celebrated actors, to Pasistrates Athenodorus, and to Nicocreon Thessalus, in whose success Alexander himself was interested. He did not reveal this interest, however, until, by the votes of the judges, Athenodorus had been proclaimed victor. But then, as it would appear, on leaving the theatre, he said that he approved the decision of the judges, but would gladly have given up a part of his kingdom rather than to have seen Thessalus vanquished. And yet, when Athenodorus, who had been fined by the Athenians for not keeping his engagement in the dramatic contest of their Dionysiac festival, asked the king to write a letter to them in his behalf,

¹ Early in 331 B.C.

αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ἀπέστειλε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Λύκωνος δὲ τοῦ Σκαρφέως εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ στίχον εἰς τὴν κωμωδίαν ἐμβαλόντος αἴτησιν περιέχοντα δέκα ταλάντων, γελήσας ἔδωκε.

- 4 Δαρείου δὲ πέμψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φίλους δεομένους μύρια μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαλωκότων λαβεῖν τάλαντα, τὴν δὲ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἔχοντα καὶ γήμαντα μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, ἐκοινοῦτο τοῖς ἐταίροις· καὶ Παρμενίωνος εἰπόντος “Ἐγὼ μὲν, εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμην, ἔλαβον ἂν ταῦτα,” “Κὰγώ, νῆ Δία,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, “εἰ Παρμενίων.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔγραψεν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχῆσει τῶν φιλανθρωπῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἤδη πορεύεσθαι.

XXX. Ταχὺ μέντοι μετεμελήθη τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης ἐν ὠδίσι· καὶ φανερὸς ἦν 68 ἀνιώμενος· ὥς ἐπιδείξιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀφηρημένος χρηστότητος. ἔθαψεν οὖν τὴν ἄνθρωπον οὐδεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φειδόμενος. τῶν δὲ θαλαμηπόλων τις εὐνούχων, οἱ συνεαλώκεισαν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀποδράς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πρὸς Δαρεῖον ἀφιππασάμενος, Τείρεως ὄνομα, φράζει

- 2 τὸν θάνατον αὐτῇ τῆς γυναικός. ὥς δὲ πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀνακλαύσας “Φεῦ τοῦ Περσῶν” ἔφη “δαίμονος, εἰ τὴν βασιλέως γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν οὐ μόνον αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι

though he would not do this, he sent them the amount of the fine from his own purse. Furthermore, when Lycon of Scarpheia, who was acting successfully before Alexander, inserted into the comedy a verse containing a request for ten talents, Alexander laughed and gave them to him.¹

When Dareius sent to him a letter and friends,² begging him to accept ten thousand talents as ransom for the captives, to hold all the territory this side of the Euphrates, to take one of his daughters in marriage, and on these terms to be his ally and friend, Alexander imparted the matter to his companions. "If I were Alexander," said Parmenio, "I would accept these terms." "And so indeed would I," said Alexander, "were I Parmenio." But to Dareius he wrote: "Come to me, and thou shalt receive every courtesy; but otherwise I shall march at once against thee."³

XXX. Soon, however, he repented him of this answer, when the wife of Dareius died in childbirth, and it was evident that he was distressed at this loss of opportunity to show great kindness. Accordingly, he gave the woman a sumptuous burial. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber who had been captured with the women, Teireos by name, ran away from the camp, made his way on horseback to Dareius, and told him of the death of his wife. Then the king, beating upon his head and bursting into lamentation, said: "Alas for the evil genius of the Persians, if the sister and wife of their king

¹ Cf. *Morals*, pp. 334 f.

² This was during the siege of Tyre, according to Arrian (*Anab.* ii. 25. 1).

³ This was but the conclusion of an arrogant letter. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 25, 3.

- ζῶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἄμοιρον κείσθαι ταφῆς βασιλικῆς," ὑπολαβὼν ὁ θαλαμηπόλος, "Ἀλλὰ ταφῆς γε χάριν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος οὐδὲν ἔχεις
- 3 αἰτιάσασθαι τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα Περσῶν. οὔτε γὰρ ζώσῃ τῇ δεσποίνῃ Στατεΐρᾳ καὶ μητρὶ σῇ καὶ τέκνοις ἐνέδει τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἢ τὸ σὺν ὁρᾷν φῶς, ὃ πάλιν ἀναλάμψει λαμπρὸν ὁ κύριος Ὀρομάσδης, οὔτε ἀποθανοῦσα κόσμου τινὸς ἄμοιρος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμίων τετίμηται δάκρυσιν. οὔτω γὰρ ἔστι χρηστὸς κρατήσας Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥς δεινὸς μαχόμενος."
- 4 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Δαρεῖον ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐξέφερε πρὸς ὑποψίας ἀτόπους· καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐνδοτέρῳ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀπαγαγών, "Εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῆς Περσῶν," ἔφη, "τύχης μακεδονίζεις, ἀλλ' ἔτι σοι δεσπότης ἐγὼ Δαρεῖος, εἰπέ μοι σεβόμενος Μίθρου τε φῶς μέγα καὶ δεξιὰν βασίλειον, ἄρα μὴ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν Στατεΐρας κλαίω κακῶν, οἰκτρότερα δὲ ζώσης ἐπάσχομεν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐδυστυχοῦμεν ὡμῶ καὶ σκυθρωπῶ περιπεσόντες ἐχθρῶ; τί γὰρ εὐπρεπὲς ἀνδρὶ νέῳ πρὸς ἐχθροῦ γυναῖκα μέχρι¹ τιμῆς
- 5 τοσαύτης συμβόλαιον;" ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας Τείρεως αὐτὸν ἰκέτευεν εὐφημεῖν καὶ μήτε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀδικεῖν μήτε τὴν τεθνεῶσαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυναῖκα κατασχῆναι, μήτε αὐτοῦ τὴν μεγίστην ὦν ἔπταικεν

¹ μέχρι Coraës and Bekker : καὶ μέχρι.

must not only become a captive in her life, but also in her death be deprived of royal burial." "Nay, O King," answered the chamberlain, "as regards her burial, and her receiving every fitting honour, thou hast no charge to make against the evil genius of the Persians. For neither did my mistress Stateira, while she lived, or thy mother or thy children, lack any of their former great blessings except the light of thy countenance, which Lord Oromazdes will cause to shine again with lustre; nor after her death was she deprived of any funeral adornment, nay, she was honoured with the tears of enemies. For Alexander is as gentle after victory as he is terrible in battle."

When Dareius heard this, his agitation and grief swept him into absurd suspicions, and leading the eunuch away into a more secluded part of his tent, he said: "If thou also, together with the fortune of the Persians, dost not side with the Macedonians, and if I, Dareius, am still thy lord and master, tell me, as thou reverest the great light of Mithras and the right hand of thy king, is it not the least of Stateira's misfortunes that I am now lamenting? While she was alive did I not suffer more pitiful evils? And would not my wretched fortune have been more compatible with my honour if I had met with an angry and savage enemy? For what intercourse that is proper can a young man have with an enemy's wife when it leads to such marks of honour?" While the king was still speaking, Teireos threw himself down at his feet and besought him to hold his peace, and neither to wrong Alexander, nor shame his dead sister and wife, nor rob himself of the greatest consolation for his disasters,

ἀφαιρεῖσθαι παραμυθίαν, τὸ δοκεῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
 ἡττῆσθαι κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύ-
 σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς πλείονα
 ταῖς Περσῶν γυναιξὶ σωφροσύνην ἢ Πέρσαις
 6 ἀνδρείαν ἐπιδεδειγμένον. ἅμα δὲ ὅρκους τε φρι-
 κώδεις τοῦ θαλαμηπόλου κινουῦντος ὑπὲρ τούτων,
 καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας
 τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντος, ἐξελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐταίρους ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν
 οὐρανὸν ἐπεύξατο· “Θεοὶ γενέθλιοι καὶ βασιλῆες,
 μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ διδοίητε τὴν Περσῶν τύχην εἰς
 ὀρθὸν αὐθις σταθεῖσαν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐδεξάμην ἀγαθοῖς
 ἀπολιπεῖν, ἵνα κρατήσας ἀμείψωμαι τὰς Ἀλεξάν-
 δρου χάριτας ὧν εἰς τὰ φίλτατα πταίσας ἔτυχον·
 7 εἰ δ’ ἄρα τις οὗτος εἰμαρτὸς ἥκει χρόνος, ὀφειλό-
 μενος νεμέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ, παύσασθαι τὰ Περ-
 σῶν, μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων καθίσειεν εἰς τὸν
 Κύρου θρόνον πλήν Ἀλεξάνδρου.” ταῦτα μὲν
 οὕτω γενέσθαι τε καὶ λεχθῆναί φασιν οἱ πλείστοι
 τῶν συγγραφέων.

XXXI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφρά-
 του πᾶσαν ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ
 Δαρεῖον ἑκατὸν μυριάσι στρατοῦ καταβαίνοντα.
 καὶ τις αὐτῷ φράζει τῶν ἐταίρων, ὡς δὴ γέλωτος
 ἄξιον πρᾶγμα, τοὺς ἀκολούθους παίζοντας εἰς
 δύο μέρη διηρηκέναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὧν ἑκατέρου
 στρατηγὸν εἶναι καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξαν-
 δρον, τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν προσαγορευό-
 2 μενον· ἀρξαμένους δὲ βώλοις ἀκροβολίζεσθαι
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἶτα πυγμαῖς, τέλος ἐκκεκαῦσθαι
 τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ καὶ μέχρι λίθων καὶ ξύλων, πολ-

namely, the belief that he had been conquered by a man who was superior to human nature; nay, he should even admire Alexander for having shown greater self-restraint in dealing with Persian women than valour against Persian men. Then, while the eunuch was confirming his testimony with the most solemn oaths, and discoursing on the general self-mastery and magnanimity of Alexander, Darius went out to his companions, and lifting his hands towards heaven, prayed: "O ye gods of my race and kingdom, above all things else grant that I may leave the fortune of Persia reëstablished in the prosperity wherein I found it, in order that my victory may enable me to requite Alexander for the favours which I received at his hands when I had lost my dearest possessions; but if, then, a fated time has now come, due to divine jealousy and the vicissitudes of things, and the sway of the Persians must cease, grant that no other man may sit upon the throne of Cyrus but Alexander." That these things were thus done and said is the testimony of most historians.¹

XXXI. But to return to Alexander, when he had subdued all the country on this side of the Euphrates, he marched against Darius,² who was coming down to meet him with a million men. On this march one of his companions told him, as a matter worth laughing at, that the camp-followers, in sport, had divided themselves into two bands, and set a general and commander over each of them, one of whom they called Alexander, and the other Darius; and that they had begun by pelting one another with clods of earth, then had fought with their fists, and finally, heated with the desire of battle, had taken

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 20. ² In June or July of 331 B.C.

λους καὶ δυσκαταπαύστους γεγονότας. ταῦτα 68
ἀκούσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς μονομαχῆσαι τοὺς
ἡγεμόνας· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ὥπλισε,
τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον Φιλώτας. ἐθεᾶτο δὲ ὁ στρατός,
ἐν οἷον τι τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθέμενος τὸ γιγνό-
μενον. ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἐνίκησεν
ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ δωρεὰν ἔλαβε
δώδεκα κώμας καὶ στολῇ Περσικῇ χρῆσθαι.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐρατοσθένης ἱστορήκε.

- 3 Τὴν δὲ μεγάλην μάχην πρὸς Δαρεῖον οὐκ ἐν
Ἀρβήλοις, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν
Γαυγαμήλοις γενέσθαι συνέπεσε. σημαίνειν δέ
φασιν οἶκον καμήλου τὴν διάλεκτον, ἐπεὶ τῶν
πάλαι τις βασιλέων ἐκφυγὼν πολεμίους ἐπὶ
καμήλου δρομάδος ἐνταῦθα καθίδρυσεν αὐτήν,
ἀποτάξας τινὰς κώμας καὶ προσόδους εἰς τὴν
4 ἐπιμέλειαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν σελήνη τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος
ἐξέλιπε περὶ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθήνησιν
ἀρχήν, ἐνδεκάτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως νυκτὶ
τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν ὄψει γεγονότων, Δαρεῖος μὲν
ἐν ὅπλοις συνεῖχε τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὸ λαμπάδων
ἐπιπορευόμενος τὰς τάξεις, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν
Μακεδόνων ἀναπανομένων αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς σκη-
νῆς μετὰ τοῦ μάντεως Ἀριστάνδρου διέτριβεν,
ἱεουργίας τινὰς ἀπορρήτους ἱεουργούμενος καὶ
5 τῷ Φόβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι
τῶν ἐταίρων, καὶ μάλιστα Παρμενίων, ὥς τὸ μὲν
πεδίου τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Νιφάτου καὶ τῶν ὄρων
τῶν Γορδυαίων ἅπαν ἑωρᾶτο καταλαμπόμενον
τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς φέγγεσιν, ἀτέκμαρτος δέ τις
φωνὴ συμμεμιγμένη καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-

to stones and sticks, being now many and hard to quell. When he heard this, Alexander ordered the leaders themselves to fight in single combat; to the one called Alexander he himself gave armour, and to the one called Dareius, Philotas. The army were spectators of the combat, counting the issue as in some measure an omen of the future. After a strenuous battle, the one called Alexander was victorious, and received as a reward twelve villages and the right to wear Persian dress. This, at any rate, is what we are told by Eratosthenes.

Now, the great battle against Dareius was not fought at Arbela, as most writers state, but at Gaugamela.¹ The word signifies, we are told, "camel's house," since one of the ancient kings of the country, after escaping from his enemies on a swift camel, gave the animal a home here, assigning certain villages and revenues for its maintenance. It so happened that in the month Boëdromion the moon suffered an eclipse,² about the beginning of the Mysteries at Athens, and on the eleventh night after the eclipse, the armies being now in sight of one another, Dareius kept his forces under arms, and held a review of them by torch-light; but Alexander, while his Macedonians slept, himself passed the night in front of his tent with his seer Aristander, celebrating certain mysterious sacred rites and sacrificing to the god Fear. Meanwhile the older of his companions, and particularly Parmenio, when they saw the plain between the Niphates and the Gordyæan mountains all lighted up with the barbarian fires, while an indistinguishably mingled and tumultuous sound of voices arose from their camp as

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 8, 7. ² September 20, 331 B.C.

- πέδου καθάπερ ἐξ ἁχανοῦς προσήχει πελάγους,
 6 θαυμάσαντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 διαλεχθέντες ὡς μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον εἴη
 συμπεσόντας ἐκ προφανοῦς τοσοῦτον ὥσασθαι
 πόλεμον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένῳ τῷ βασιλεί
 προσελθόντες ἔπειθον αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρῆσαι νύκτωρ
 τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τῷ σκότῳ τὸ φοβερώτατον
 7 συγκαλύψαι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγῶνος. ὁ δὲ τὸ
 μνημονευόμενον εἰπὼν, “Οὐ κλέπτω τὴν νίκην,”
 ἐνίοις μὲν ἔδοξε μεираκιώδη καὶ κενὴν ἀπόκρισιν
 πεποιῆσθαι, παίζων πρὸς τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον,
 ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῷ παρόντι θαρρεῖν καὶ στοχάζεσθαι
 τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς, μὴ διδοὺς πρόφασιν ἡττη-
 θέντι Δαρείῳ πρὸς ἄλλην αὖθις ἀναθαρρῆσαι
 πείραν, αἰτιωμένῳ τούτων νύκτα καὶ σκότος,
 ὡς ὕρη καὶ στενὰ καὶ θάλασσαν τῶν προτέρων.
 8 οὐ γὰρ ὄπλων οὐδὲ σωμάτων ἀπορία παύσεσθαι
 πολεμοῦντα Δαρεῖον ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως
 καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης, ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἀφῇ τὸ φρόνημα
 καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, δι’ ἐμφανοῦς ἡττης κατὰ κράτος
 ἐξελεγχθεῖς.

XXXII. Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τούτων κατακλιθεὶς
 ὑπὸ σκηνὴν λέγεται τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς
 ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ κρατηθῆναι παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός, ὥστε
 θαυμάζειν ἐπελθόντα, ὀρθροῦ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ
 παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν παράγγελμα πρῶτον
 ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἔπειτα τοῦ
 καιροῦ κατεπείγοντος εἰσελθόντα Παρμενίωνα
 καὶ παραστάντα τῇ κλίνῃ δις ἢ τρίς αὐτοῦ φθέγ-
 ξασθαι τοῦνομα· καὶ διεγερθέντος οὕτως ἐρωτᾶν

if from a vast ocean, were astonished at their multitude and argued with one another that it was a great and grievous task to repel such a tide of war by engaging in broad day-light. They therefore waited upon the king when he had finished his sacrifices, and tried to persuade him to attack the enemy by night, and so to cover up with darkness the most fearful aspect of the coming struggle. But he gave them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal my victory"; whereupon some thought that he had made a vainglorious reply, and was jesting in the presence of so great a peril. Others, however, thought that he had confidence in the present situation and estimated the future correctly, not offering Darius in case of defeat an excuse to pluck up courage again for another attempt, by laying the blame this time upon darkness and night, as he had before upon mountains, defiles, and sea.¹ For Darius would not give up the war for lack of arms or men when he could draw from so great a host and so vast a territory, but only when he had lost courage and hope, under the conviction brought by a downright defeat in broad day-light.

XXXII. After the men were gone, Alexander lay down in his tent, and is said to have passed the rest of the night in a deeper sleep than usual, so that when his officers came to him in the early morning they were amazed, and on their own authority issued orders that the soldiers should first take breakfast. Then, since the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered the tent, and standing by his couch called Alexander twice or thrice by name; and when he

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 10, where it is Parmenio who advises a night attack.

- ὁ τι δὴ πεπονθὼς ὕπνον καθεύδοι νενικηκότος, οὐχὶ μέλλοντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν
 2 ἀγώνων. τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν διαμειδιάσαντα· “Τί γάρ; οὐκ ἤδη σοι νενικηκέναι δοκοῦμεν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ διώκειν ἐν πολλῇ καὶ κατεφθαρμένῃ φυγομαχοῦντα χώρα Δαρείου;” οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπεδείξατο μέγαν καὶ συνεστηκότα τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτόν.
 3 ἔσχε γὰρ ὁ ἀγὼν ὑποτροπὴν καὶ σάλον ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι κατὰ Παρμενίωνα, τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἵππου ῥόθῳ πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ βίας παρεμπεσούσης εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Μαζαίου δὲ περιπέμψαντος ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἱππεῖς τοῖς σκευοφυλακοῦσι προσβαλοῦντας. διὸ καὶ θορυβούμενος ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Παρμενίων ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγγέλους φράζοντας οἷχεσθαι τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος βοήθειαν ὀχυρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πέμψει τοῖς
 4 ὀπισθεν. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν κατ’ ἐκείνο καιροῦ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφόδου διδοὺς σημεῖον· ὥς δὲ ἤκουσε τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, οὐκ ἔφη σωφρονεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐντὸς εἶναι τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιλελῆσθαι ταραττόμενον ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν προσκτῆσονται καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἡττωμένοις δὲ φροντιστέον οὐ χρημάτων οὐδὲ ἀνδραπόδων, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀποθανοῦνται καλῶς καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενοι.
 5 Ταῦτα ἐπιστείλας Παρμενίωνι τὸ κράνος περιέθετο, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον ὀπλισμὸν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς

had thus roused him, he asked him how he could possibly sleep as if he were victorious, instead of being about to fight the greatest of all his battles. Then Alexander said with a smile: "What, pray? Dost thou not think that we are already victorious, now that we are relieved from wandering about in a vast and desolated country in pursuit of a Darius who avoids a battle?" And not only before the battle, but also in the very thick of the struggle did he show himself great, and firm in his confident calculations. For in the battle the left wing under Parmenio was thrown back and in distress, when the Bactrian cavalry fell upon the Macedonians with great impetuosity and violence, and when Mazaeus sent horsemen round outside the line of battle to attack those who were guarding the Macedonian baggage. Therefore, too, Parmenio, much disturbed by both occurrences, sent messengers to Alexander telling him that camp and baggage were gone, unless he speedily sent strong reinforcements from front to rear.¹ Now, it chanced that at that instant Alexander was about to give the signal for the onset to those under his command; but when he heard Parmenio's message, he declared that Parmenio was beside himself and had lost the use of his reason, and had forgotten in his distress that victors add the baggage of the enemy to their own, and that those who are vanquished must not think about their wealth or their slaves, but only how they may fight gloriously and die with honour.

After sending this message to Parmenio, he put on his helmet, but the rest of his armour he had on as

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 15, 1, where Parmenio's message recalls Alexander from the pursuit of Darius.

εἶχεν, ὑπένδυμα τῶν Σικελικῶν ζωστόν, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τούτῳ θώρακα διπλοῦν λινοῦν ἐκ τῶν ληφθέντων
 ἐν Ἰσῳ. τὸ δὲ κράνος ἦν μὲν σιδηροῦν, ἔστιλβε
 δὲ ὥσπερ ἄργυρος καθαρός, ἔργον Θεοφίλου,
 συνήρμοστο δὲ αὐτῷ περιτραχήλιον ὁμοίως σιδη-
 6 ροῦν, λιθοκόλλητον· μάχαιραν δὲ θαυμαστήν
 βαφῇ καὶ κουφότητι, δωρησαμένου τοῦ Κιτιέων
 βασιλέως, εἶχεν, ἡσκημένος τὰ πολλὰ χρῆσθαι
 μαχαίρᾳ παρὰ τὰς μάχας. ἐπιπόρπωμα δὲ ἐφόρει
 τῇ μὲν ἐργασίᾳ σοβαρώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον
 ὀπλισμόν· ἦν γὰρ ἔργον Ἑλικῶνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ,
 τιμὴ δὲ τῆς Ῥοδίων πόλεως, ὑφ' ἧς ἐδόθη δῶρον·
 7 ἐχρήτο δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ἄχρι
 μὲν οὖν συντάττων τι τῆς φύλαγγος ἢ παρα-
 κευδόμενος ἢ διδάσκων ἢ ἐφορῶν παρεξήλαυνεν,
 ἄλλον ἵππον εἶχε, τοῦ Βουκεφάλᾳ φειδόμενος ἥδη
 παρήλικος ὄντος· χωροῦντι δὲ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκείνος
 προσήγετο, καὶ μεταβὰς εὐθὺς ἦρχεν ἐφόδου.

XXXIII. Τότε δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς πλεῖστα
 διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ἐπέρρω-
 σαν αὐτὸν βοῶντες ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὸ
 ξυστόν εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν μεταβαλὼν τῇ δεξιᾷ
 παρεκάλει τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησὶν,
 ἐπευχόμενος, εἶπερ ὄντως Διόθεν ἐστὶ γεγωνός,
 2 ἀμύναι καὶ συνεπιρρῶσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὁ δὲ
 μάντις Ἀρίστανδρος χλανίδα λευκὴν ἔχων καὶ
 χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπεδείκνυτο παριππεύων ἀετὸν

he came from his tent, namely, a vest of Sicilian make girt about him, and over this a breastplate of two-ply linen from the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of iron, but gleamed like polished silver, a work of Theophilus; and there was fitted to this a gorget, likewise of iron, set with precious stones. He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Citieans, and he had trained himself to use a sword for the most part in his battles. He wore a belt also, which was too elaborate for the rest of his armour; for it was a work of Helicon the ancient, and a mark of honour from the city of Rhodes, which had given it to him; this also he was wont to wear in his battles. As long, then, as he was riding about and marshalling some part of his phalanx, or exhorting or instructing or reviewing his men, he spared Bucephalas, who was now past his prime, and used another horse; but whenever he was going into action, Bucephalas would be led up, and he would mount him and at once begin the attack.

XXXIII. On this occasion, he made a very long speech to the Thessalians and the other Greeks,¹ and when he saw that they encouraged him with shouts to lead them against the Barbarians, he shifted his lance into his left hand, and with his right appealed to the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, praying them, if he was really sprung from Zeus, to defend and strengthen the Greeks. Aristander the seer, too, wearing a white mantle and having a crown of gold upon his head, rode along the ranks pointing out to

¹ Sometimes the term "Hellenes" excludes, and sometimes it includes, the Macedonians. The context must decide. Cf. xlvii. 5.

- ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου συνεπαιωρούμενον καὶ κατευθύνοντα τῇ πτήσει ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥστε πολὺ μὲν θάρσος ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ὁρώσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θαρρεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀλλήλους δρόμῳ τοῖς ἵππευσιν ἰεμένοις ἐπὶ τοὺς
- 3 πολεμίους ἐπικυμαίνειν τὴν φύλαγγα. πρὶν δὲ συμμῖξαι τοὺς πρώτους ἐξέκλιναν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ διωγμὸς ἦν πολὺς, εἰς τὰ μέσα συνελαύνοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ νικώμενον, ὅπου Δαρεῖος ἦν. πόρρωθεν γὰρ αὐτὸν κατεῖδε διὰ τῶν προτεταγμένων ἐν βάθει τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴλης ἐκφανέντα, καλὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μέγαν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὑψηλοῦ βεβῶτα, πολλοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ λαμπροῖς καταπεφραγμένον εὖ μάλα συνεσπειραμένοις περὶ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ παρατεταγμένοις δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολε-
- 4 μίους. ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ὀφθεῖς ἐγγύθεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τοὺς μένοντας ἐξέπληξε καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ πλεῖστον. οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ γενναιότατοι πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φονευόμενοι καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων πίπτοντες ἐμποδὼν τῆς διώξεως ἦσαν, ἐμπλεκόμενοι καὶ περισπαίροντες αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵπποις.
- 5 Δαρεῖος δέ, τῶν δεινῶν ἀπάντων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντων καὶ τῶν προτεταγμένων δυνάμεων ἐρειπομένων εἰς αὐτόν, ὥς οὐκ ἦν ἀποστρέψαι τὸ ἄρμα καὶ διεξελάσαι ῥάδιον, ἀλλ' οἷ τε τροχοὶ συνέιχοντο πτώμασι πεφυρμένοι τοσούτοις οἷ τε ἵπποι κατα-

them an eagle which soared above the head of Alexander and directed his flight straight against the enemy, at which sight great courage filled the beholders, and after mutual encouragement and exhortation the cavalry charged at full speed upon the enemy and the phalanx rolled on after them like a flood. But before the foremost ranks were engaged the Barbarians gave way, and were hotly pursued, Alexander driving the conquered foe towards the centre of their array, where Dareius was.¹ For from afar he was seen by Alexander through the deep ranks of the royal squadron of horse drawn up in front of him, towering conspicuous, a fine-looking man and tall, standing on a lofty chariot, fenced about by a numerous and brilliant array of horsemen, who were densely massed around the chariot and drawn up to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander close at hand and terrible, and driving those who fled before him upon those who held their ground, they were smitten with fear and scattered, for the most part. The bravest and noblest of them, however, slain in front of their king and falling in heaps upon one another, obstructed the Macedonians in their pursuit, weaving and twining themselves in their last agonies about riders and horses.

But Dareius, now that all the terrors of the struggle were before his eyes, and now that the forces drawn up to protect him were crowded back upon him, since it was not an easy matter to turn his chariot about and drive it away, seeing that the wheels were obstructed and entangled in the great numbers of the fallen, while the horses, surrounded and hidden

¹ Alexander's tactics are minutely described by Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 14, 1-3).

λαμβανόμενοι καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν
 νεκρῶν ἐξήλλυντο καὶ συνετάραττον τὸν ἡνίοχον,
 ἀπολείπει μὲν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, θήλειαν δέ, 68
 6 ὥς φασι, νεοτόκον ἵππον περιβὰς ἔφυγεν. οὐ μὴν
 τότε ἂν ἐδόκει διαφυγεῖν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν ἦκον ἕτε-
 ροι παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἱππεῖς μετακαλοῦντες
 Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥς συνεστώσης ἔτι πολλῆς δυνάμεως
 ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐνδιδόντων. ὅλως γὰρ
 αἰτιῶνται Παρμενίωνα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην
 νωθρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ δύσεργον, εἴτε τοῦ γήρως
 ἤδη τι παραλύνοντος τῆς τόλμης, εἴτε τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ὥς Καλλισθένης φησί, τῆς Ἀλε-
 ξάνδρου δυνάμεως βαρυνόμενον καὶ προσφθο-
 7 ροῦντα. τότε δ' οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνισταθὲς τῇ
 μεταπέμψει τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις οὐκ ἔφρασε τὸ
 ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀνέχων τοῦ φονεύειν καὶ σκότους
 ὄντος ἀνάκλησιν ἐσήμανεν· ἐλαύνων δὲ πρὸς τὸ
 κινδυνεῦον μέρος ἤκουσε καθ' ὁδὸν ἠττηθῆσαι
 παντάπασιν καὶ φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

XXXIV. Τοῦτο τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης λαβούσης
 τὸ πέρας, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ παντάπασιν ἡ Περσῶν
 ἐδόκει καταλελύσθαι, βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνηγορευμένος ἔθνε τοῖς θεοῖς μεγα-
 λοπρεπῶς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδωρεῖτο πλούτους καὶ
 οἴκους καὶ ἡγεμονίας. φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ πρὸς
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔγραψε τὰς τυραννίδας πάσας
 καταλυθῆναι καὶ πολιτεύειν αὐτονόμους, ἰδίᾳ δὲ
 Πλαταιεῦσιν τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν, ὅτι τὴν
 χώραν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς

away by the multitude of dead bodies, were rearing up and frightening the charioteer, forsook his chariot and his armour, mounted a mare which, as they say, had newly foaled, and took to flight. However, it is thought that he would not then have made his escape, had not fresh horsemen come from Parmenio¹ summoning Alexander to his aid, on the ground that a large force of the enemy still held together there and would not give ground. For there is general complaint that in that battle Parmenio was sluggish and inefficient, either because old age was now impairing somewhat his courage, or because he was made envious and resentful by the arrogance and pomp, to use the words of Callisthenes, of Alexander's power. At the time, then, although he was annoyed by the summons, the king did not tell his soldiers the truth about it, but on the ground that it was dark and he would therefore remit further slaughter, sounded a recall; and as he rode towards the endangered portion of his army, he heard by the way that the enemy had been utterly defeated and was in flight.

XXXIV. The battle having had this issue, the empire of the Persians was thought to be utterly dissolved, and Alexander, proclaimed king of Asia, made magnificent sacrifices to the gods and rewarded his friends with wealth, estates, and provinces. And being desirous of honour among the Greeks, he wrote them that all their tyrannies were abolished and they might live under their own laws; moreover, he wrote the Plataeans specially that he would rebuild their city, because their ancestors had furnished their

¹ Arrian makes no mention of a second appeal for aid from Parmenio.

- 2 "Ελλησιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας παρέσχον. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κροτωνιάταις εἰς Ἱταλίαν μέρος τῶν λαφύρων, τὴν Φαῦλλου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ τιμῶν προθυμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ὃς περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἱταλιωτῶν ἀπεγνωκότων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ιδιόστολον ἔχων ναὺν ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, τοῦ κινδύνου τι μεθέξων. οὕτω τις εὐμενὴς ἦν πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων φύλαξ καὶ οἰκείος.

- XXXV. Ἐπιὼν δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἅπασαν εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ γενομένην ἐθαύμασε μάλιστα τότε χάσμα τοῦ πυρὸς ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς συνεχῶς ἀναφερομένου, καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ νάφθα λιμνάζοντος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ χάσματος, ὃς τὰλλα μὲν ἀσφάλτῳ προσέοικεν, οὕτω δὲ εὐπαθὴς πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶν ὥστε, πρὶν ἢ θιγεῖν τὴν φλόγα, δι' αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξαπτόμενος αὐγῆς τὸν
- 2 μεταξὺ πολλάκις ἀέρα συνεκκαίειν. ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄγοντα πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ βασιλέως στενωπὸν ἐλαφρῶ τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατεψέκασαν· εἶτα στάντες ἐπ' ἄκρῳ τοὺς λαμπτήρας τοῖς βεβρεγμένοις προσέθηκαν· ἤδη γὰρ συνεσκόταζε. τῶν δὲ πρώτων εὐθὺς ἀψαμένων οὐκ ἔσχεν ἡ νομὴ χρόνον αἰσθητόν, ἀλλ' αἶμα νοήματι δῖκτο πρὸς θάτερον πέρας καὶ πῦρ ἐγεγόνει συνεχὲς ὁ στενω-
- 3 πός. ἦν δέ τις Ἀθηνοφάνης Ἀθηναῖος τῶν περὶ ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν εἰωθότων τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμμελῶς ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ράθυμον. οὗτος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι τότε παιδαρίου τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρέ-

territory to the Greeks for the struggle in behalf of their freedom.¹ He sent also to the people of Croton in Italy a portion of the spoils, honouring the zeal and valour of their athlete Phayllus, who, in the Median wars, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy refused to help their brother Greeks, fitted out a ship at his own cost and sailed with it to Salamis, that he might have some share in the peril there.² So considerate was Alexander towards every form of valour, and such a friend and guardian of noble deeds.

XXXV. As he traversed all Babylonia, which at once submitted to him, he was most of all amazed at the chasm from which fire continually streamed forth as from a spring, and at the stream of naphtha, so abundant as to form a lake, not far from the chasm. This naphtha is in other ways like asphaltum, but is so sensitive to fire that, before the flame touches it, it is kindled by the very radiance about the flame and often sets fire also to the intervening air. To show its nature and power, the Barbarians sprinkled the street leading to Alexander's quarters with small quantities of the liquid; then, standing at the farther end of the street, they applied their torches to the moistened spots; for it was now getting dark. The first spots at once caught fire, and without an appreciable interval of time, but with the speed of thought, the flame darted to the other end, and the street was one continuous fire. Now, there was a certain Athenophanes, an Athenian, one of those who were accustomed to minister to the person of the king when he bathed and anointed himself, and to furnish suitable diversion for his thoughts. This man, one time when there was standing by Alexander

¹ In 479 B.C.

² Cf. Herodotus, viii. 47.

στῶτος εὐτελοῦς σφόδρα καὶ γελοίου τὴν ὄψιν, ἄδοντος δὲ χαριέντως, Στέφανος ἐκαλεῖτο, “Βούλει,” φησὶν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διάπειραν ἐν Στεφάνῳ τοῦ φαρμάκου λάβωμεν; ἂν γὰρ ἄψηται τούτου καὶ μὴ κατασβεσθῇ, παντάπασιν ἂν φαίην ἅμα-
 4 χον καὶ δεινὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν εἶναι.” προ-
 θύμως δέ πως καὶ τοῦ παιδαρίου διδόντος ἑαυτὸν
 πρὸς τὴν πείραν, ἅμα τῷ περιλαεῖψαι καὶ θιγεῖν
 ἐξήνθησε φλόγα τοσαύτην τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρὶ
 κατεσχέθη τὸ πᾶν ὥστε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς πᾶν
 ἀπορίας καὶ δέους ἐλθεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ τύχην
 πολλοὶ παρήσαν ἀγγεῖα πρὸς τὸ λουτρὸν ὕδατος
 5 τὴν ἐπινομήν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μόγις κατέσβησαν 686
 τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς δι’ ὅλου πῦρ γενόμενον, καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.

Εἰκότως οὖν ἔνιοι τὸν μῦθον ἀνασώζοντες πρὸς
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦτό φασιν εἶναι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας
 φάρμακον, ᾧ τὸν τραγωδούμενον στέφανον καὶ
 τὸν πέπλον ἔχρισεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων
 οὐδὲ ἀπ’ αὐτομάτου λάμψαι τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ φλο-
 γὸς ἐγγύθεν παρατεθείσης ὀξεῖαν ὀλκὴν καὶ συνα-
 6 φὴν ἄδηλον αἰσθήσει γενέσθαι. τὰς γὰρ ἀκτῖνας
 καὶ τὰ ρεύματα τοῦ πυρὸς ἄπωθεν ἐπερχόμενα
 τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σώμασι φῶς καὶ θερμότητα προσ-
 βάλλειν μόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ξηρότητα πνευματικὴν
 ἢ νοτίδα λιπαρὰν καὶ διαρκῇ κεκτημένοις ἀθροι-
 ζόμενα καὶ πυριμανοῦντα μεταβάλλειν ὀξέως τὴν
 ὕλην. παρεῖχε δὲ ἀπορίαν ἢ γένεσις . . . εἴτε

in the bath-room a youth who had a ridiculously plain countenance, but was a graceful singer (his name was Stephanus), said, "Wilt thou, O King, that we make a trial of the liquid upon Stephanus? For if it should lay hold of him and not be extinguished, I would certainly say that its power was invincible and terrible." The youth also, strangely enough, offered himself for the experiment, and as soon as he touched the liquid and began to anoint himself with it, his body broke out into so great a flame and was so wholly possessed by fire that Alexander fell into extreme perplexity and fear; and had it not been by chance that many were standing by holding vessels of water for the bath, the youth would have been consumed before aid reached him. Even as it was, they had great difficulty in putting out the fire, for it covered the boy's whole body, and after they had done so, he was in a sorry plight.

It is natural, then, that some who wish to bring fable into conformity with truth should say that this naphtha is the drug which Medeia used, when, in the tragedies, she anoints the crown and the robe. For it was not from these objects themselves, they say, nor of its own accord, that the fire shot up, but a flame was placed near them, which was then so swiftly drawn into conjunction with them that the senses could not take cognisance of it. For the rays and emanations of fire which come from a distance impart to some bodies merely light and warmth; but in those which are dry and porous, or which have sufficiently rich moisture, they collect themselves together, break into fierce flame, and transform the material. There has been much discussion about

- μᾶλλον ὑπέκκαυμα τῆς φλογὸς ὑπορρεῖ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φύσιν λιπαρὰν καὶ πυριγόνον ἐχούσης.
- 7 καὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Βαβυλωνία σφόδρα πυρώδης, ὥστε τὰς μὲν κριθὰς χαμόθεν ἐκπηδᾶν καὶ ἀποπάλλεσθαι πολλάκις, οἶον ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς τῶν τόπων σφυγμοὺς ἐχόντων, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ἐπ' ἰσκῶν πεπληρωμένων ὕδατος
- 8 καθεύδειν. Ἀρπαλος δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπιμελητῆς καὶ φιλοκαλῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς φυτεῖαις διακοσμῆσαι τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τοὺς περιπάτους, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐκράτησε, τὸν δὲ κιττὸν οὐκ ἔστεξεν ἡ γῆ μόνον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ διέφθειρεν οὐ φέροντα τὴν κρᾶσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πυρώδης, ὁ δὲ φιλόψυχρος. τῶν μὲν οὖν τοιούτων παρεκβάσεων, ἂν μέτρον ἔχωσιν, ἦττον ἴσως οἱ δύσκολοι κατηγορήσουσιν.

- XXXVI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Σούσων κυριεύσας παρέλαβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τετρακισμύρια τάλαντα νομίσματος, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἀδιήγητον. ὅπου φασὶ καὶ πορφύρας Ἑρμιονικῆς εὔρεθῆναι τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια, συγκειμένης μὲν ἐξ ἐτῶν δέκα δεόντων διακοσίων, πρόσφατον δὲ τὸ ἄνθος ἔτι καὶ νεαρὸν
- 2 φυλαττούσης. αἵτιον δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τὸ τὴν βαφὴν διὰ μέλιτος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀλουργῶν, δι' ἐλαίου δὲ λευκοῦ τῶν λευκῶν· καὶ γὰρ τούτων τὸν ἴσον χρόνον ἐχόντων τὴν λαμπρότητα καθαρὰν καὶ στίλβουσιν ὁρᾶσθαι. Δείνων δέ φησι καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ

the origin of¹ or whether rather the liquid substance that feeds the flame flows out from a soil which is rich and productive of fire. For the soil of Babylonia is very fiery, so that grains of barley often leap out of the ground and bound away, as if its inflammation made the ground throb; and the inhabitants, during the hot season, sleep on skins filled with water. Harpalus, moreover, when he was left as overseer of the country and was eager to adorn the royal gardens and walks with Hellenic plants, succeeded with all except ivy; this the soil would not support, but always killed it. The plant could not endure the temper of the soil, for the soil was fiery, while the plant was fond of coolness. However, if such digressions are kept within bounds, perhaps my impatient readers will find less fault with them.

XXXVI. On making himself master of Susa, Alexander came into possession of forty thousand talents of coined money in the palace, and of untold furniture and wealth besides.² Among this they say was found five thousand talents' weight of purple from Hermione, which, although it had been stored there for a hundred and ninety years, still kept its colours fresh and lively. The reason for this, they say, is that honey was used in the purple dyes, and white olive oil in the white dyes; for these substances, after the like space of time, are seen to have a brilliancy that is pure and lustrous. Moreover, Deinon says that the Persian kings had water also brought from the Nile and the Danube and stored

¹ "This naphtha," and the first "whether"-clause, have fallen out of the text.

² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 16, 7. A talent's weight was something over fifty pounds.

μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεταπεμπομένους εἰς τὴν γάζαν ἀποτίθесθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἷον ἐκβεβαιουμένους τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ κυριεύειν ἀπάντων.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ Περσίδος οὕσης διὰ τραχύτητα δυσεμβόλου καὶ φυλαττομένης ὑπὸ γενναιοτάτων Περσῶν (Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεφεύγει) γίγνεται τινος περιόδου κύκλον ἐχούσης οὐ πολὺν ἡγεμὼν αὐτῷ δίγλωσσος ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ πατρὸς Λυκίου, μητρὸς δὲ Περσίδος γεγονώς· ὃν φασιν, ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὴν Πυθίαν προειπεῖν, ὡς λύκος ἔσται καθηγεμὼν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς

2 ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορείας. φόνον μὲν οὖν ἐνταῖθα πολὺν τῶν ἀλισκομένων γενέσθαι συνέπεσε· γράφει γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡς νομίζων αὐτῷ τοῦτο λυσιτελεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· νομίματος δὲ εὐρεῖν πλῆθος ὅσον ἐν Σούσοις, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκκομισθῆναί φασι μυρίοις ὀρικοῖς ζεύγεσι καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καμήλοις.

3 Ξέρξου δὲ ἀνδριάντα μέγαν θεασάμενος ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν ὠθουμένων εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πλημμελῶς ἀνατετραμμένον ἐπέστη, καὶ καθάπερ ἔμψυχον προσαγορεύσας, “Πότερόν σε,” εἶπε, “διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας στρατείαν κείμενον παρέλθωμεν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐγείρωμεν;” τέλος δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος καὶ σιωπήσας παρῆλθε. βουλόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν

up among their treasures, as a sort of confirmation of the greatness of their empire and the universality of their sway.

XXXVII. Persis was difficult of access, owing to the roughness of the country, and was guarded by the noblest of the Persians (for Darius had taken to flight); but Alexander found a guide to conduct him thither by a circuit of no great extent. The man spoke two languages, since his father was a Lycian and his mother a Persian; and it was he, they say, whom the Pythian priestess had in mind when she prophesied, Alexander being yet a boy, that a "lycus," or *wolf*, would be Alexander's guide on his march against the Persians.¹ In this country, then, as it turned out, there was a great slaughter of the prisoners taken; for Alexander himself writes that he gave orders to have the inhabitants butchered, thinking that this would be to his advantage; and they say that as much coined money was found there² as at Susa, and that it took ten thousand pairs of mules and five thousand camels to carry away the other furniture and wealth there.

On beholding a great statue of Xerxes which had been carelessly overthrown by a throng that forced its way into the palace, Alexander stopped before it, and accosting it as if it had been alive, said: "Shall I pass on and leave thee lying there, because of thine expedition against the Hellenes, or, because of thy magnanimity and virtue in other ways, shall I set thee up again?" But finally, after communing with himself a long time in silence, he passed on. Wishing to refresh his soldiers (for it was winter

¹ Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 18, 1f.) speaks only of a forced march through the mountains.

² In Persepolis.

χειμῶνος ὥρα) τέσσαρας μῆνας αὐτόθι διήγαγε.
 4 λέγεται δὲ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τὸν 687
 χρυσοῦν οὐρανίσκον ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θρόνῳ τὸν
 Κορίνθιον Δημάρaton εὖνουν ὄντα ἄνδρα καὶ
 πατρῶον φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρου πρεσβυτικῶς ἐπι-
 δακρῦσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς μεγάλης ἡδονῆς στεροῖντο
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τεθνηκότες πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξαν-
 δρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον.

XXXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου μέλλων ἐξελαύνειν ἐπὶ
 Δαρεῖον ἔτυχε μὲν εἰς μέθην τινὰ καὶ παιδιὰν
 τοῖς ἐταίροις ἑαυτὸν δεδωκώς, ὥστε καὶ γυναῖα
 συμπίνειν ἐπὶ κῶμον ἤκοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἐραστάς.
 ἐν δὲ τούτοις εὐδοκιμοῦσα μάλιστα Θαῖς ἡ Πτο-
 λεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὕστερον ἐταῖρα, γένος
 Ἀττική, τὰ μὲν ἐμμελῶς ἐπαινοῦσα, τὰ δὲ παί-
 ζουσα πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἅμα τῇ μέθῃ λόγον
 εἰπεῖν προήχθη τῷ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ἡθεὶ πρέ-
 2 ποντα, μείζονα δὲ ἢ κατ' αὐτήν. ἔφη γὰρ ὦν
 πεπόνηκε πεπλανημένη τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπολαμβάνειν
 χάριν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐντρυφῶσα τοῖς ὑπερη-
 φάνοις Περσῶν βασιλείοις· ἔτι δ' ἂν ἥδιον ὑπο-
 πρῆσαι κωμάσασα τὸν Ξέρξου τοῦ κατακαύ-
 σαντος τὰς Ἀθήνας οἶκον, αὐτὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄψασα
 τοῦ βασιλέως ὀρώντος, ὡς ἂν λόγος ἔχῃ πρὸς
 ἀνθρώπους ὅτι τῶν ναυμάχων καὶ πεζομάχων
 ἐκείνων στρατηγῶν τὰ μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γυναῖα
 μείζονα δίκην ἐπέθηκε Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλά-
 3 δος. ἅμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ κρότου καὶ θορύβου
 γενομένου καὶ παρακελεύσεως τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ

time), he spent four months in that place. And it is said that when he took his seat for the first time under the golden canopy on the royal throne, Demaratus the Corinthian, a well-meaning man and a friend of Alexander's, as he had been of Alexander's father, burst into tears, as old men will, and declared that those Hellenes were deprived of great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius.

XXXVIII. After this, as he was about to march forth against Dareius, it chanced that he consented to take part in a merry drinking bout of his companions, at which women also came to meet their lovers and shared in their wine and revelry. The most famous among these women was Thaïs, an Athenian, the mistress of Ptolemy, who was afterwards king. She, partly in graceful praise of Alexander, and partly to make sport for him, as the drinking went on, was moved to utter a speech which befitted the character of her native country, but was too lofty for one of her kind. She said, namely, that for all her hardships in wandering over Asia she was being requited that day by thus reveling luxuriously in the splendid palace of the Persians; but it would be a still greater pleasure to go in revel rout and set fire to the house of the Xerxes who burned Athens, she herself kindling the fire under the eyes of Alexander, in order that a tradition might prevail among men that the women in the train of Alexander inflicted a greater punishment upon the Persians in behalf of Hellas than all her famous commanders by sea and land. As soon as she had thus spoken, tumultuous applause arose, and the companions of the king eagerly urged him on,

φιλοτιμίας, ἐπισπασθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀναπη-
 4 δήσας ἔχων στέφανον καὶ λαμπάδα προῆγεν. οἱ
 δὲ ἐπόμενοι κώμῳ καὶ βοῇ περιίσταντο τὰ βασί-
 λεια, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων οἱ πυνθανόμενοι
 συνέτρεχον μετὰ λαμπάδων χαίροντες. ἤλπιζον
 γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς οἴκοι προσέχοντός ἐστι τὸν νοῦν καὶ
 μὴ μέλλοντος ἐν βαρβάροις οἰκεῖν τὸ πιμπράναι
 τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διαφθείρειν. οἱ μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα
 γενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ γνώμης· ὅτι δ' οὖν
 μετενόησε ταχὺ καὶ κατασβέσαι προσέταξεν
 ὁμολογεῖται.

XXXIX. Φύσει δὲ ὢν μεγαλοδωρότατος ἔτι
 μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πραγμάτων αὐ-
 ξομένων· καὶ προσῆν ἡ φιλοφροσύνη, μεθ' ἧς
 μόνης ὡς ἀληθῶς οἱ διδόντες χαρίζονται. μνη-
 σθήσομαι δὲ ὀλίγων. Ἀρίστων ὁ τῶν Παιόνων
 ἡγούμενος ἀποκτείνας πολέμιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν
 κεφαλὴν ἐπιδειξάμενος αὐτῷ, “Τοῦτο,” εἶπεν,
 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ ἡμῖν ἐκπώματος χρυσοῦ τιμᾶ-
 2 ται τὸ δῶρον.” ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας,
 “Κενοῦ γε,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ δέ σοι μεστὸν ἀκράτου
 προπίομαι.” τῶν δὲ πολλῶν τις Μακεδόνων
 ἤλαυνεν ἡμίονον βασιλικὸν χρυσίον κομίζοντα·
 κάμνοντος δὲ τοῦ κτήνους αὐτὸς ἀράμενος ἐκόμιζε
 τὸ φορτίον. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς θλιβόμενον
 αὐτὸν σφόδρα καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, μέλ-
 λοντος κατατίθεσθαι, “Μὴ κάμης,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ

so that he yielded to their desires, and leaping to his feet, with a garland on his head and a torch in his hand, led them the way. The company followed with shouts and revelry and surrounded the palace, while the rest of the Macedonians who learned about it ran thither with torches and were full of joy. For they hoped that the burning and destruction of the palace was the act of one who had fixed his thoughts on home, and did not intend to dwell among Barbarians. This is the way the deed was done, according to some writers; but others say it was premeditated.¹ However, it is agreed that Alexander speedily repented and gave orders to put out the fire.

XXXIX. Alexander was naturally munificent, and became still more so as his wealth increased. His gifts, too, were accompanied by a kindly spirit, with which alone, to tell the truth, a giver confers a favour. I will mention a few instances. Ariston, the captain of the Paeonians, having slain an enemy, brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying: "In my country, O King, such a gift as this is rewarded with a golden beaker." "Yes," said Alexander with a laugh, "an empty one; but I will pledge thy health with one which is full of pure wine." Again, a common Macedonian was driving a mule laden with some of the royal gold, and when the beast gave out, took the load on his own shoulders and tried to carry it. The king, then, seeing the man in great distress and learning the facts of the case, said, as the man was about to lay his burden down, "Don't give out,

¹ So Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 18. 11 f., where there is none of Plutarch's romance. For this, cf. Diodorus, xvii. 72; Curtius, v. 7, 1-7.

- πρόσθες ἔτι τὴν λοιπὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἑαυ-
 3 τῷ¹ τοῦτο κομίσας.” ὅλως δὲ ἤχθετο τοῖς μὴ
 λαμβάνουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς αἰτούσι. καὶ Φωκί-
 ωνι μὲν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὥς οὐ χρησόμενος
 αὐτῷ φίλῳ τὸ λοιπόν, εἰ διωθοῖτο τὰς χάριτας.
 Σεραπίωνι δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σφαίρας τινὶ νεανίσκων
 οὐδὲν ἐδίδου διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αἰτεῖν. ὥς οὖν εἰς τὸ
 σφαιρίζειν παραγενόμενος ὁ Σεραπίων ἄλλοις
 ἔβαλλε τὴν σφαῖραν, εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως,
 “Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ δίδως;” “Οὐ γὰρ αἰτεῖς,” εἶπε,
 4 τούτῳ μὲν δὴ γελάσας πολλὰ ἔδωκε. Πρωτέα δέ
 τινι τῶν περὶ σκώμματα καὶ πότον οὐκ ἀμούσων
 ἔδοξε δι’ ὀργῆς γεγονέναι· τῶν δὲ φίλων δεομένων
 κακείνου δακρύοντος ἔφη διαλλάττεσθαι· κακεί-
 νος, “Οὐκοῦν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, δός τί μοι
 πιστὸν πρῶτον.” ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ πέντε τά-
 λαντα δοθῆναι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς 688
 σωματοφύλαξι νεμομένων πλούτων, ἡλίκον εἶχον
 ὄγκον, ἐμφαίνει δι’ ἐπιστολῆς Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣν
 5 ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν. “Ἄλλως,” φησὶν, “εὖ
 ποίει τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἄγε· νῦν δ’ ἰσο-
 βασιλέας πάντας ποιεῖς καὶ πολυφιλίας παρα-
 σκευάζεις αὐτοῖς, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐρημοῖς.” πολλάκις
 δὲ τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος γραφούσης ἐφύλατ-
 τεν ἀπόρρητα τὰ γράμματα, πλὴν ἅπαξ Ἡφαι-
 στίωνος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, λυθεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ
 συναναγινώσκοντος οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δα-

¹ ἑαυτῷ Sint., with the best MSS.; Coraës and Bekker have σεαυτῷ. Cf. § 5.

but finish your journey by taking this load to your own tent." Furthermore, he was generally more displeased with those who would not take his gifts than with those who asked for them. And so he wrote to Phocion in a letter that he would not treat him as a friend in future if he rejected his favours. Again, to Serapion, one of the youths who played at ball with him, he used to give nothing because he asked for nothing. Accordingly, whenever Serapion had the ball, he would throw it to others, until the king said: "Won't you give it to me?" "No," said Serapion, "because you don't ask for it," whereat the king burst out laughing and made him many presents. With Proteas, however, a clever wag and boon companion, he appeared to be angry; but when the man's friends begged his forgiveness, as did Proteas himself with tears, the king said that he was his friend again, whereat Proteas said: "In that case, O King, give me something to prove it first." Accordingly, the king ordered that five talents should be given him. What lofty airs his friends and bodyguards were wont to display over the wealth bestowed by him, is plain from a letter which Olympias wrote to him. She says: "I beg thee to find other ways of conferring favours on those thou lovest and holdest in honour; as it is, thou makest them all the equals of kings and providest them with an abundance of friends, whilst thyself thou strippest bare." Olympias often wrote him in like vein, but Alexander kept her writings secret, except once when Hephaestion, as was his wont, read with him a letter which had been opened; the king did not prevent him, but took the ring

κτύλιον ἀφελόμενος τὸν αὐτοῦ προσέθηκε τῷ ἐκει-
 6 νου στόματι τὴν σφραγίδα. Μαζαίου δὲ τοῦ
 μεγίστου παρὰ Δαρείῳ γενομένου παιδὶ σατρα-
 πείαν ἔχοντι δευτέραν προσετίθει μείζονα. παρ-
 αιτούμενος δὲ ἐκείνος εἶπεν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τότε
 μὲν ἦν εἷς Δαρεῖος, νῦν δὲ σὺ πολλοὺς πεποίηκας
 Ἀλεξάνδρους.” Παρμενίωνι μὲν οὖν τὸν Βαγῶου
 ἔδωκεν οἶκον τὸν περὶ Σοῦσα,¹ ἐν ᾧ λέγεται χιλίων
 ταλάντων εὔρεθῆναι ἱματισμόν. πρὸς δ’ Ἀντί-
 7 πατρον ἔγραψε κελεύων ἔχειν φύλακας τοῦ σώ-
 ματος ὡς ἐπιβουλευόμενον. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλὰ
 μὲν ἔδωρεῖτο καὶ κατέπεμπεν, οὐκ εἶα δὲ πολυ-
 πραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν· ἐγκαλούσης δὲ
 πρᾶως ἔφερε τὴν χαλεπότητα. πλὴν ἅπαξ ποτὲ
 Ἀντιπάτρου μακρὰν κατ’ αὐτῆς γράψαντος ἐπι-
 στολὴν ἀναγνοὺς ἀγνοεῖν εἶπεν Ἀντίπατρον ὅτι
 μυρίας ἐπιστολὰς ἐν δάκρυν ἀπαλείφει μητρός.

XI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑώρα παντά-
 πασιν ἐκτετρυφηκότας καὶ φορτικοὺς ταῖς διαί-
 ταις καὶ πολυτελείαις ὄντας, ὥστε Ἀγνωνα μὲν
 τὸν Τηϊοῦ ἀργυροῦς ἐν ταῖς κρηπίσιν ἡλούς
 φορεῖν, Λεονάτῳ δὲ πολλαῖς καμήλοις ἀπ’ Αἰ-
 γύπτου κόνιν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια παρακομίζεσθαι,
 Φιλώτῃ δὲ πρὸς θήρας σταδίων ἑκατὸν αὐλαίας
 γεγρονέναι, μύρῳ δὲ χρωμένους ἰέναι πρὸς ἰλειμμα
 καὶ λουτρὸν ὅσους οὐδὲ ἐλαίῳ, τρίπτας δὲ καὶ
 κατευναστὰς περιαγομένους, ἐπετίμησε πρᾶως
 2 καὶ φιλοσόφως, θαυμάζειν φάμενος εἰ τοσοῦτους
 ἡγωνισμένοι καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας οὐ μνη-
 μονεύουσιν ὅτι τῶν καταπονηθέντων οἱ καταπονή-

¹ οἶκον τὸν περὶ Σοῦσα, Coraës and Bekker: οἶκον, ἐν
 ᾧ λέγεται τῶν περὶ Σοῦσα κ.τ.λ.

from his own finger and applied its seal to the lips of Hephaestion. Again, though the son of Mazaeus, the most influential man at the court of Dareius, already had a province, Alexander gave him a second and a larger one. He, however, declined it, saying: "O King, formerly there was one Dareius, but now thou hast made many Alexanders." To Parmenio, moreover, Alexander gave the house of Bagoas at Susa, in which it is said there was found apparel worth a thousand talents. Again, he wrote to Antipater bidding him keep guards about his person, since plots were being laid against him. To his mother, also, he sent many presents, but would not suffer her to meddle in affairs nor interfere in his campaigns; and when she chided him for this, he bore her harshness patiently. Once, however, after reading a long letter which Antipater had written in denunciation of her, he said Antipater knew not that one tear of a mother effaced ten thousand letters.

XL. He saw that his favourites had grown altogether luxurious, and were vulgar in the extravagance of their ways of living. For instance, Hagnon the Teian used to wear silver nails in his boots; Leonatus had dust for his gymnastic exercises brought to him on many camels from Egypt; Philotas had hunting-nets a hundred furlongs long; when they took their exercise and their baths, more of them actually used myrrh than olive oil, and they had in their train rubbers and chamberlains. Alexander therefore chided them in gentle and reasonable fashion. He was amazed, he said, that after they had undergone so many and so great contests they did not remember that those who conquer by toil sleep more sweetly than those who are con-

σαντες ἥδιον καθεύδουσιν, οὐδὲ ὀρώσι τοῖς Περσῶν βίοις τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παραβάλλοντες, ὅτι δουλικώτατον μὲν ἔστι τὸ τρυφᾶν, βασιλικώτατον δὲ τὸ πονεῖν. “Καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις,” ἔφη, “δι’ ἑαυτοῦ θεραπεύσειεν ἵππον ἢ λόγχην ἀσκήσειεν ἢ κράνος, ἀπειθικῶς τοῦ φιλτάτου σώματος ἄπτε-
 3 σθαι τὰς χεῖρας;” “Οὐκ ἴστε,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι τοῦ κρατεῖν πέρας ἡμῖν ἔστι τὸ μὴ ταῦτ’ ἀποιεῖν τοῖς κεκρατημένοις;” ἐπέτεινεν οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίαις, κακοπαθὼν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ Λάκωνα πρεσβευτὴν παραγενόμενον αὐτῷ λέοντα καταβάλλοντι μέγαν εἰπεῖν. “Καλῶς γε, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἡγώνισαι περὶ τῆς βασι-
 4 λείας.” τοῦτο τὸ κυνήγιον Κρατερὸς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκεν, εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς ποιησάμενος τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τῶν κυνῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ λέοντι συνεστῶτος καὶ αὐτοῦ προσβοηθούντος, ὧν τὰ μὲν Λύσιππος ἔπλασε, τὰ δὲ Λεωχάρης.

XLI. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῶν ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παροξύνων πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκινδύνευεν· οἱ δὲ φίλοι διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ ὄγκον ἥδη τρυφᾶν βουλόμενοι καὶ σχολάζειν ἐβαρύνοντο τὰς πλάνας καὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω προῆλθον εἰς τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ κακῶς λέγειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάννυ πρῶως ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς ταῦτα διέκειτο, φάσκων βασιλικὸν εἶναι τὸ
 2 κακῶς ἀκούειν εὐ ποιοῦντα. καίτοι τὰ μικρότατα τῶν γενομένων τοῖς συνήθεσι παρ’ αὐτοῦ
 • σημεῖα μεγάλης ὑπῆρχεν εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς· ὧν ὀλίγα παραθήσομαι.

quered by their toil, and did not see, from a comparison of their own lives with those of the Persians, that it is a very servile thing to be luxurious, but a very royal thing to toil. "And yet," said he, "how can a man take care of his own horse or furbish up his spear and helmet, if he is unaccustomed to using his hands on his own dear person? Know ye not," said he, "that the end and object of conquest is to avoid doing the same thing as the conquered?" Accordingly, he exerted himself yet more strenuously in military and hunting expeditions, suffering distress and risking his life, so that a Spartan ambassador who came up with him as he was bringing down a great lion, said: "Nobly, indeed, Alexander, hast thou struggled with the lion to see which should be king." This hunting-scene Craterus dedicated at Delphi, with bronze figures of the lion, the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming to his assistance; some of the figures were moulded by Lysippus, and some by Leochares.

XLI. Alexander, then, in exercising himself and at the same time inciting others to deeds of valour, was wont to court danger; but his friends, whose wealth and magnificence now gave them a desire to live in luxury and idleness, were impatient of his long wanderings and military expeditions, and gradually went so far as to abuse him and speak ill of him. He, however, was very mildly disposed at first toward this treatment of himself, and used to say that it was the lot of a king to confer favours and be ill-spoken of therefor. And yet in the most trifling attentions which he paid his familiar friends there were marks of great good-will and esteem. I will instance a few of these.

Πευκέστα μὲν ἔγραψε μεμφόμενος ὅτι δηχθεὶς
 ὑπ' ἄρκτου τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔγραψεν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐκ
 ἐδήλωσεν. “Ἀλλὰ νῦν γε,” φησί, “γράφον πῶς 689
 ἔχεις, καὶ μή τινές σε τῶν συγκυνηγετούντων
 3 ἐγκατέλιπον, ἵνα δίκην δῶσι.” τοῖς δὲ περὶ
 Ἡφαιστίωνα διὰ πράξεις τινὰς ἀποῦσιν ἔγραψεν
 ὅτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἰχνεύμονα τῷ Περδίκ-
 κου δορατίῳ περιπεσὼν Κρατερὸς τοὺς μηροὺς
 ἐτρώθη. Πευκέστα δὲ σωθέντος ἔκ τινος ἀσθεν-
 είας ἔγραψε πρὸς Ἀλέξιππον τὸν ἱατρὸν εὐχαρι-
 στῶν. Κρατεροῦ δὲ νοσοῦντος ὄψιν ἰδὼν καθ’
 ὕπνον αὐτός τέ τινος θυσίας ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 4 καὶ κείνον θῦσαι ἐκέλευσεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Παν-
 σανίᾳ τῷ ἱατρῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν Κρατερὸν ἐλλε-
 βορίσαι, τὰ μὲν ἀγωνιῶν, τὰ δὲ παραινῶν ὅπως
 χρήσεται τῇ φαρμακείᾳ. τοὺς δὲ πρώτους τὴν
 Ἀρπάλου φυγὴν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν ἀπαγγέιλαντας
 ἔδησεν, Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Κίσσον, ὡς καταψευδο-
 5 μένους τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀσθενούντας
 αὐτοῦ καὶ γέροντας εἰς οἶκον ἀποστέλλοντος Εὐ-
 ρύλοχος Αἰγαῖος ἐνέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς
 νοσοῦντας, εἴτα φωραθεὶς ἔχων οὐδὲν κακὸν ὡμο-
 λόγησε Τελεσίππας ἐρᾶν καὶ συνεπακολουθεῖν
 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπιούσης ἐκείνης, ἡρώτησε τίνων
 ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τὸ γύναιον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι τῶν
 ἐλευθέρων ἐταῖρων, “Ἡμᾶς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Εὐ-
 ρύλοχε, συνερῶντας ἔχεις· ὅρα δὲ ὅπως πείθωμεν
 ἢ λόγοις ἢ δώροις τὴν Τελεσίππαν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ
 ἐλευθέρων ἐστί.”

He found fault with Peucestas by letter because, after being bitten by a bear, he wrote about it to the rest of his friends but did not tell him. "Now, however," said he, "write me how you are, and tell me whether any of your fellow-huntsmen left you in the lurch, that I may punish them." To Hephaestion, who was absent on some business, he wrote that while they were diverting themselves with hunting an ichneumon, Craterus encountered the lance of Perdicas and was wounded in the thighs. After Peucestas had safely recovered from an illness, Alexander wrote to the physician, Alexippus, expressing his thanks. While Craterus was sick, Alexander had a vision in his sleep, whereupon he offered certain sacrifices himself for the recovery of his friend, and bade him also sacrifice. He wrote also to Pausanias, the physician, who wished to administer hellebore to Craterus, partly expressing distress, and partly advising him how to use the medicine. Those who first brought word to him that Harpalus had absconded, namely, Ephialtes and Cissus, he put in fetters, on the ground that they were falsely accusing the man. When he was sending home his aged and infirm soldiers, Eurylochus of Aegae got himself enrolled among the sick, and then, when it was discovered that he had nothing the matter with him, confessed that he was in love with Telesippa, and was bent on following along with her on her journey to the sea-board. Alexander asked of what parentage the girl was, and on hearing that she was a free-born courtesan, said: "I will help you, O Eurylochus, in your amour; but see to it that we try to persuade Telesippa either by arguments or by gifts, since she is free-born."

- XLII. Θαυμάσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔστιν ὅτι καὶ μέχρι τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν τοῖς φίλοις ἐσχόλαζεν, οἷα γράφει παῖδα Σελεύκου εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀποδεδρακότα κελεύων ἀναζητῆσαι, καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐπαινῶν ὅτι Νίκωνα, Κρατεροῦ δοῦλον, συνέλαβε, καὶ Μεγαβύζω περὶ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζομένου, κελεύων αὐτόν, ἂν δύνηται, συλλαβεῖν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλεσάμενος, ἐν δὲ τῷ
- 2 ἱερῷ μὴ προσάπτεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δίκας διακρίνων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰς θανατικὰς τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ὧτων τῷ ἐτέρῳ προστιθέναι τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λέγοντος, ὅπως τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καθαρὸν φυλάττηται καὶ ἀδιάβλητον. ἀλλ' ὕστερόν γε αὐτὸν ἐξετράχυναν αἱ πολλαὶ διαβολαί, διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰ ψευδῇ λαβοῦσαι. καὶ μάλιστα κακῶς ἀκούων ἐξίστατο τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, ἅτε δὴ τὴν δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἠγαπηκῶς.
- 3 Τότε δὲ ἐξήλανεν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον ὡς πάλιν μαχοῦμενος· ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Βήσσου γενομένην αὐτοῦ σύλληψιν ἀπέλυσε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς οἵκαδε, δισχίλια τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἐπιμετρήσας ταῖς μισθοφοραῖς. πρὸς δὲ τὴν δίωξιν ἀργαλέαν καὶ μακρὰν γινομένην (ἔνδεκα γὰρ ἡμέραις ἱππασατο τρισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους) ἀπηγόρευσαν μὲν οἱ πλείστοι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ
- 4 τὴν ἀνυδρίαν. ἔνθα δὴ Μακεδόνες ἀπὴντησαν αὐτῷ τινες ὕδωρ ἐν ἀσκοῖς ἐφ' ἡμιόνων κομίζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξαν-

XLII. And it is astonishing that he had time to write so many letters for his friends. For instance, he wrote one giving orders to seek out a slave of Seleucus who had run away into Cilicia; and one in commendation of Peucestas for arresting Nikon, a servant of Craterus; and one to Megabyzus about an attendant who had taken refuge in a sanctuary, bidding him, if possible, entice the slave outside the sanctuary and then arrest him, but not to lay hands upon him in the sanctuary. It is said, too, that at first, when he was trying capital cases, he would put his hand over one of his ears while the accuser was speaking, that he might keep it free and unprejudiced for the accused. But afterwards the multitude of accusations which he heard rendered him harsh, and led him to believe the false because so many were true. And particularly when he was maligned he lost discretion and was cruel and inexorable, since he loved his reputation more than his life or his kingdom.

Now, however, he marched out against Dareius,¹ expecting to fight another battle; but when he heard that Dareius had been seized by Bessus, he sent his Thessalians home, after distributing among them a largess of two thousand talents over and above their pay. In consequence of the pursuit of Dareius, which was long and arduous (for in eleven days he rode thirty-three hundred furlongs), most of his horsemen gave out, and chiefly for lack of water. At this point some Macedonians met him who were carrying water from the river in skins upon their mules. And when they beheld Alexander, it being now midday, in a

¹ In the spring of 330 B.C.

δρον ἤδη μεσημβρίας οὔσης κακῶς ὑπὸ δίψους
 ἔχοντα ταχὺ πλησάμενοι κράνος προσήνεγκαν.
 πυθομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τίσι κομίζοιεν, “Υἱοῖς,”
 ἔφασαν, “ἰδίοις· ἀλλὰ σοῦ ζῶντος ἐτέρους ποιη-
 5 σόμεθα, κὰν ἐκείνους ἀπολέσωμεν.” ταῦτα ἀκού-
 σας ἔλαβεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸ κράνος· περιβλέψας
 δὲ καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς ἅπαντας
 ἐγκεκλικότας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποτὸν
 βλέποντας ἀπέδωκεν οὐ πιὼν, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινέσας
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, “Ἄν γὰρ αὐτός,” ἔφη, “πίω
 6 μόνος, ἀθυμήσουσιν οὗτοι.” θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν
 ἐγκράτειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν οἱ ἵππεῖς
 ἄγειν ἀνέκραγον θαρροῦντα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
 ἐμάστιζον· οὔτε γὰρ κάμνειν οὔτε διψᾶν οὔθ’
 ὅλως θνητοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν αὐτούς, ἕως ἂν ἔχωσι
 βασιλέα τοιοῦτον.

XLIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν προθυμία πάντων ἦν ὁμοία· 690
 μόνους δὲ φασιν ἐξήκοντα συνεισπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ
 στρατόπεδα τῶν πολεμίων. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺν μὲν
 ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐρριμμένον ὑπερβαίνοντες,
 πολλὰς δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἄρμαμάξας
 ἡνιόχων ἐρήμους διαφερομένας παρερχόμενοι,
 τοὺς πρώτους ἐδίωκον, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνοις Δαρεῖον
 ὄντα. μόλις δὲ εὐρίσκεται πολλῶν ἀκοντισμάτων
 κατάπλεως τὸ σῶμα κείμενος ἐν ἄρμαμάξῃ,
 2 μικρὸν ἀπολείπων τοῦ τελευτᾶν. ὅμως δὲ καὶ
 πιεῖν ἤτησε, καὶ πιὼν ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν εἶπε πρὸς
 τὸν δόντα Πολύστρατον· “ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τοῦτό
 μοι πέρας γέγοιτε δυστυχίας ἀπάσης, εὖ παθεῖν
 ἀμείψασθαι μὴ δυνάμενον· ἀλλ’ Ἀλέξανδρος
 ἀποδώσει σοι τὴν χάριν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ θεοὶ

wretched plight from thirst, they quickly filled a helmet and brought it to him. To his enquiry for whom they were carrying the water, they replied: "For our own sons; but if thou livest, we can get other sons, even if we lose these." On hearing this he took the helmet into his hands, but when he looked around and saw the horsemen about him all stretching out their heads and gazing at the water, he handed it back without drinking any, but with praises for the men who had brought it; "For," said he, "if I should drink of it alone, these horsemen of mine will be out of heart." But when they beheld his self-control and loftiness of spirit, they shouted out to him to lead them forward boldly, and began to goad their horses on, declaring that they would not regard themselves as weary, or thirsty, or as mortals at all, so long as they had such a king.

XLIII. So, then, all were alike ready and willing; but only sixty, they say, were with Alexander when he burst into the camp of the enemy. There, indeed, they rode over much gold and silver that was thrown away, passed by many waggons full of women and children which were coursing hither and thither without their drivers, and pursued those who were foremost in flight, thinking that Dareius was among them. But at last they found him lying in a waggon, his body all full of javelins, at the point of death. Nevertheless, he asked for something to drink, and when he had drunk some cold water which Polystratus gave him, he said to him: "My man, this is the extremity of all my ill-fortune, that I receive good at thy hands and am not able to return it; but Alexander will requite thee for thy good offices, and the gods will reward Alexander for his kindness to

- τῆς εἰς μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐμούς ἐπιεικείας, ὥς ταύτην δίδωμι τὴν δεξιὰν διὰ σοῦ.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Πολυστράτου
- 3 χειρὸς ἐξέλιπεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπήλθεν, ἀλγῶν τε τῷ πάθει φανερὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα λύσας ἐπέβαλε τῷ σώματι καὶ περιέστειλε. καὶ Βῆσσον μὲν ὕστερον εὐρὼν διεσφενδόνησεν, ὀρθίων δένδρων εἰς ταῦτὸ καμφθέντων ἑκατέρῳ μέρος προσαρτήσας τοῦ σώματος, εἴτα μεθεὶς ἑκάτερον, ὡς ὥρμητο ῥύμη φερόμενον, τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ μέρος νείμασθαι. τότε δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου τὸ μὲν σῶμα κεκοσμημένον βασιλικῶς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἀπέστειλε, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν Ἐξάθρην εἰς τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀνέλαβεν.

- XLIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀκμαιοτάτης δυνάμεως εἰς Ἑρκανίαν κατέβαινε· καὶ πελάγους ἰδὼν κόλπον οὐκ ἐλάττονα μὲν τοῦ Πόντου φανέντα, γλυκύτερον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης, σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσχε πυθέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ εἴκασε τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἀνακοπὴν εἶναι.
- 2 καίτοι τοὺς γε φυσικοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔλαθε τῶν ληθῆς, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἱστορήκασιν ὅτι τεσσάρων κόλπων εἰσεχόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης βορειότατος οὗτός ἐστι, τὸ Ἑρκάνιον πέλαγος καὶ Κάσπιον ὁμοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.

- Ἐνταῦθα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἀπροσδοκῆτως περιτυχόντες τοῖς ἄγουσι τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ τὸν
- 3 Βουκεφάλαν λαμβάνουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἠνεγκεν οὐ με-

¹ These details of the death of Darius are not to be found in Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 21 *fin.*), but in Curtius (v. 13, 28) and Diodorus (xvii. 73).

my mother, wife, and children; to him, through thee, I give this right hand." With these words he took the hand of Polystratus and then expired.¹ When Alexander came up, he was manifestly distressed by what had happened, and unfastening his own cloak threw it upon the body and covered it. And when, at a later time,² he found Bessus, he had him rent asunder. Two straight trees were bent together and a part of his body fastened to each; then when each was released and sprang vigorously back, the part of the body that was attached to it followed after. Now, however, he sent the body of Darius, laid out in royal state, to his mother,³ and admitted his brother, Exathres, into the number of his companions.

XLIV. He himself, however, with the flower of his army, marched on into Hyrcania. Here he saw a gulf of the open sea which appeared to be as large as the Euxine, but was sweeter than the Mediterranean. He could get no clear information about it, but conjectured that in all probability it was a stagnant overflow from the Palus Maeotis. And yet naturalists were well aware of the truth, and many years before Alexander's expedition they had set forth that this was the most northerly of four gulfs which stretch inland from the outer sea, and was called indifferently the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea.

Here some Barbarians unexpectedly fell in with those who were leading Alexander's horse, Bucephalas, and captured him. Alexander was angry

² In the spring of 329 B.C. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 30, 5; iv. 7, 3 ff.

³ "To Persepolis, with orders that it should be buried in the royal sepulchre" (Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 22, 1).

τρίως, ἀλλὰ κήρυκα πέμψας ἠπέιλησε πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ μὴ ἀναπέμψειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἄγοντες ἦκον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρίζοντες, ἐχρήσατο φιλανθρώπως πᾶσι καὶ τοῦ ἵππου λύτρα τοῖς λαβούσιν ἔδωκεν.

- XLV. Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν Παρθικὴν ἀναζεύξας καὶ σχολάζων πρῶτον ἐνεδύσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολήν, εἴτε βουλόμενος αὐτὸν συνοικεῖν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ὥς μέγα πρὸς ἐξημέρωσιν ἀνθρώπων τὸ σύννηθες καὶ ὁμόφυλον, εἴτ' ἀπόπειρά τις ὑφείτο τῆς προσκυνήσεως αὕτη τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν ἐκδιαί-
- 2 τησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐθιζομένοις. οὐ μὴν τὴν γε Μηδικὴν ἐκείνην προσήκατο παντάπασι βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὔσαν, οὐδὲ ἀναξυρίδας οὐδὲ κίνδυν οὐδὲ τιάραν ἔλαβειν, ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς μιζάνμενος εὖ πως, ἀτυφότεραν μὲν ἐκείνης, ταύτης δὲ σοβαρωτέραν οὔσαν. ἐχρήτο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις κατ' οἶκον, εἶτα τοῖς πολλοῖς οὕτως ἐξελαύνων καὶ
- 3 χρηματίζων ἐωρᾶτο. καὶ λυπηρὸν μὲν ἦν τοῖς Μακεδόσι τὸ θέαμα, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην αὐτοῦ θαυμάζοντες ἀρετὴν ᾧοντο δεῖν ἔνια τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἐπιχωρεῖν· ὅς γε πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑναγχος τύξευμα μὲν εἰς τὴν κνήμην

beyond measure, and sent a herald threatening to put them all to the sword, together with their wives and children, if they did not send him back his horse. But when they came with the horse and also put their cities into his hands, he treated them all kindly, and gave a ransom for his horse to those who had captured him.

XLV. From thence he marched into Parthia,¹ where, during a respite from fighting, he first put on the barbaric dress, either from a desire to adapt himself to the native customs, believing that community of race and custom goes far towards softening the hearts of men; or else this was an attempt to introduce the obeisance² among the Macedonians, by accustoming them little by little to put up with changes and alterations in his mode of life. However, he did not adopt the famous Median fashion of dress, which was altogether barbaric and strange, nor did he assume trousers, or sleeved vest, or tiara, but carefully devised a fashion which was midway between the Persian and the Median, more modest than the one and more stately than the other. At first he wore this only in intercourse with the Barbarians and with his companions at home, then people generally saw him riding forth or giving audience in this attire. The sight was offensive to the Macedonians, but they admired his other high qualities and thought they ought to yield to him in some things which made for his pleasure or his fame. For, in addition to all his other hardships, he had recently been shot by an arrow in the leg below the knee, so

¹ In the early autumn of 330 B.C.

² Prostration on the ground before a great personage, a peculiarly Persian custom.

λαβών, ὃς οὐ τὸ τῆς κερκίδος ὁστέον ἀποθραυσθὲν ἐξέπεσε, λίθῳ δὲ πληγεὶς πάλιν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον ὥστε καὶ ταῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀχλὺν ὑπο- 691
 4 δραμεῖν παραμείνασαν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπαύετο χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ὀρεξάρτην διαβὰς ποταμόν, ὃν αὐτὸς ὤρετο Τάναϊν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τρεψάμενος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ σταδίου ἑκατόν, ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ διαρροίας.

XLVI. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀμαζόνα οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ὣν καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐστὶ καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Ὀνησίκριτος καὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Ἰστρος· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀντικλείδης καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεύς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Ἐρετριεύς καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις ὁ 2 Σάμιος πλάσμα φασὶ γεγονέναι τοῦτο. καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔοικεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἀντιπάτρῳ γὰρ ἅπαντα γράφων ἀκριβῶς τὸν μὲν Σκύθην αὐτῷ φησι δίδόναι τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, Ἀμαζόνος δὲ οὐ μνημονεύει. λέγεται δὲ πολλοῖς χρόνοις Ὀνησίκριτος ὕστερον ἤδη βασιλεύοντι Λυσιμάχῳ τῶν βιβλίων τὸ τέταρτον ἀναγινώσκειν, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται περὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος· τὸν οὖν Λυσιμάχον ἀτρέμα μειδιάσαντα “Καὶ που,” φάναι, “τότε ἤμην ἐγώ;” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἂν τις οὔτε ἀπιστῶν ἤττον οὔτε πιστεύων μᾶλλον Ἀλέξανδρον θαυμάσειε.

XLVII. Φοβούμενος δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλήθος εἶασε κατὰ χώραν, τοὺς δὲ

that splinters of the larger bone came out; and at another time he was smitten in the neck with a stone so severely that his eye-sight was clouded and remained so for some time. Nevertheless, he did not cease exposing himself to dangers without stint, nay, he actually crossed the river Orexartes (which he himself supposed to be the Tanais), put the Scythians to rout, and pursued them for a hundred furlongs, although he was suffering all the while from a diarrhoea.

XLVI. Here the queen of the Amazons came to see him, as most writers say, among whom are Cleitarchus, Polycleitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister; but Aristobulus, Chares the royal usher, Ptolemy, Anticleides, Philo the Theban, and Philip of Theangela, besides Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris of Samos, say that this is a fiction. And it would seem that Alexander's testimony is in favour of their statement. For in a letter to Antipater which gives all the details minutely he says that the Scythian king offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes no mention of the Amazon. And the story is told that many years afterwards Onesicritus was reading aloud to Lysimachus, who was now king, the fourth book of his history, in which was the tale of the Amazon, at which Lysimachus smiled gently and said: "And where was I at the time?" However, our belief or disbelief of this story will neither increase nor diminish our admiration for Alexander.

XLVII. Fearing that his Macedonians might tire of the rest of his expedition, he left the greater part of them in quarters, and while he had the best of

- ἀρίστους ἔχων ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, δισμυρί-
 ους πεζοὺς καὶ τρισχιλίους ἵππεῖς, προσέβαλε,
 λέγων ὡς νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐνύπνιον τῶν βαρβάρων
 ὁρῶντων, ἂν δὲ μόνον ταράξαντες τὴν Ἀσίαν
 ἀπίωσιν, ἐπιθησομένων εὐθὺς ὥσπερ γυναιξίν.
- 2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι γε τοὺς βουλομένους ἐφῆκε,¹
 μαρτυράμενος ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῖς Μακεδόσι
 κτώμενος ἐγκαταλέλειπται μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ
 τῶν ἐθελόντων στρατεύειν. ταῦτα σχεδὸν αὐτοῖς
 ὀνόμασιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολῇ
 γέγραπται, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πάντες
 ἐξέκραγον ὅποι βούλεται τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄγειν.
 δεξαμένων δὲ τούτων τὴν πείραν οὐκέτι ἦν
 χαλεπὸν προαχθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως
 ἐπηκολούθησεν.
- 3 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁμοίου τε
 τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἑαυτόν, ἐκεῖνά τε προσῆγε τοῖς
 Μακεδονικοῖς ἔθεσιν, ἀνακράσει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ
 μᾶλλον δι' εὐνοίας καταστήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα
 νομίζων ἢ βία, μακρὰν ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ. διὸ
 καὶ τρισμυρίους παῖδας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε
 γράμματά τε μανθάνειν Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Μακεδονι-
 κοῖς ὅπλοις ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοὺς ἐπιστάτας
- 4 καταστήσας. καὶ τὰ περὶ Ῥωξάνην ἔρωτι μὲν
 ἐπράχθη, καλὴν καὶ ὠραίαν ἐν τινι χόρῳ παρὰ
 πότον ὀφθεῖσαν, ἔδοξε δὲ οὐκ ἀνάρμοστα τοῖς
 ὑποκειμένοις εἶναι πράγμασιν. ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ
 οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ γάμου, καὶ τὸν

¹ ἐφῆκε Coraës' correction of the ἐφη καὶ of the MSS.,
 adopted by Sint.; Bekker reads ἀπιέναι . . . ἐφη.

them with him in Hyrcania, twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, he addressed them, saying that at present they were seen by the Barbarians as in a dream, but that if they should merely throw Asia into confusion and then leave it they would be attacked by them as if they were women. However, he said, he allowed those who wished it to go away, calling them to witness that while he was winning the inhabited world for the Macedonians he had been left behind with his friends and those who were willing to continue the expedition. This is almost word for word what he wrote in his letter to Antipater, and he adds that after he had thus spoken all his hearers cried out to him to lead them to whatever part of the world he wished. After these had met his test of their loyalty, it was no longer a hard matter for the main body to be led along too, nay, they readily followed after.

Under these circumstances, too, he adapted his own mode of life still more to the customs of the country, and tried to bring these into closer agreement with Macedonian customs, thinking that by a mixture and community of practice which produced good will, rather than by force, his authority would be kept secure while he was far away. For this reason, too, he chose out thirty thousand boys and gave orders that they should learn the Greek language and be trained to use Macedonian weapons, appointing many instructors for this work. His marriage to Roxana, whom he saw in her youthful beauty taking part in a dance at a banquet, was a love affair, and yet it was thought to harmonize well with the matters which he had in hand. For the Barbarians were encouraged by the partnership into which the marriage brought them, and they were beyond

Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερηγάπησαν, ὅτι σωφρονέστατος περὶ ταῦτα γεγονὼς οὐδὲ ἧς μόνης ἡττήθη γυναικὸς ἄνευ νόμου θιγεῖν ὑπέμεινε.

- 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἑώρα τῶν μεγίστων Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ συμμετακοσμούμενον αὐτῷ, Κρατερὸν δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένοντα, δι' ἐκείνου μὲν ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς βαρβάροις, διὰ τούτου δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ ὅλως τὸν μὲν ἐφίλει μάλιστα, τὸν δὲ ἐτίμα, νομίζων καὶ λέγων αἰετὸν μὲν Ἡφαιστίωνα φιλάλεξανδρον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Κρατερὸν φιλοβασιλέα.
- 6 διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπούλως ἔχοντες συνέκρουον πολλάκις. ἅπαξ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐκατέρῳ παραβοηθούντων προσελάσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα φανερώς, ἔμπληκτον καλῶν καὶ μαινόμενον, εἰ μὴ συνήσιν ὤς, εἴν τις αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφέληται, 692 μηδέν ἐστιν· ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κρατεροῦ πικρῶς
- 7 καθήψατο. καὶ συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλλάξας ἐπώμοσε τὸν Ἀμμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς, ἡ μὴν μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐκείνους· ἂν δὲ πάλιν αἰσθῆται διαφερομένους, ἀποκτενεῖν ἀμφοτέρους, ἡ τὸν ἀρξάμενον. ὅθεν ὕστερον οὐδὲ παίζοντες εἰπεῖν τι οὐδὲ πρᾶξαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγονται.

XLVIII. Φιλώτας δὲ ὁ Παρμενίωνος ἀξίωμα μὲν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσι μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρείως ἐδόκει καὶ καρτερικὸς εἶναι, φιλόδωρος δὲ

measure fond of Alexander, because, most temperate of all men that he was in these matters, he would not consent to approach even the only woman who ever mastered his affections, without the sanction of law.

Moreover, when he saw that among his chiefest friends Hephaestion approved his course and joined him in changing his mode of life, while Craterus clung fast to his native ways, he employed the former in his business with the Barbarians, the latter in that with the Greeks and Macedonians. And in general he showed most affection for Hephaestion, but most esteem for Craterus, thinking, and constantly saying, that Hephaestion was a friend of Alexander, but Craterus a friend of the king. For this reason, too, the men cherished a secret grudge against one another and often came into open collision. And once, on the Indian expedition, they actually drew their swords and closed with one another, and as the friends of each were coming to his aid, Alexander rode up and abused Hephaestion publicly, calling him a fool and a madman for not knowing that without Alexander's favour he was nothing; and in private he also sharply reproved Craterus. Then he brought them together and reconciled them, taking an oath by Ammon and the rest of the gods that he loved them most of all men; but that if he heard of their quarrelling again, he would kill them both, or at least the one who began the quarrel. Wherefore after this they neither did nor said anything to harm one another, not even in jest.

XLVIII. Now, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had a high position among the Macedonians; for he was held to be valiant and able to endure hardship, and,

- οὕτω καὶ φιλέταιρος μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδεὶς. λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι τῶν συνήθων τινὸς αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι· φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μὴ ἔχειν, “Τί λέγεις;” εἶπεν,
- 2 “οὐδὲ ποτήριον ἔχεις οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον;” ὄγκῳ δὲ φρονήματος καὶ βάρει πλούτου καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεία καὶ διαίτῃ χρώμενος ἐπαχθέστερον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην, καὶ τότε δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν οὐκ ἐμμελῶς, ἀλλ' ἄνευ χαρίτων τῷ σολοϊκῷ καὶ παρασήμῳ μιμούμενος, ὑποψίαν καὶ φθόνον ἔσχεν, ὥστε καὶ Παρμενίωνά ποτε εἰπεῖν
- 3 πρὸς αὐτόν· “ὦ παῖ, χεῖρων μοι γίνου.” πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ πάντων πολλῶν χρόνων ἐτύγχανε διαβεβλημένος. ὅτε γὰρ τὰ περὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐάλω χρήματα Δαρείου νικηθέντος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, πολλῶν σωμάτων κομισθέντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐρέθη γύναιον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, τῷ μὲν γένει Πυδναῖον, εὐπρεπὲς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν·
- 4 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀντιγόνη. τοῦτο ἔσχεν ὁ Φιλώτας· οἶα δὲ νέος πρὸς ἐρωμένην καὶ σὺν οἴνῳ πολλὰ φιλότιμα καὶ στρατιωτικὰ παρρησιαζόμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀπέφαινε καὶ τοῦ πατρός, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ μειράκιον ἀπεκάλει δι'
- 5 αὐτοὺς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα καρπούμενον. ταῦτα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκφερούσης πρὸς τινα τῶν συνήθων, ἐκείνου δέ, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς ἕτερον, περιῆλθεν εἰς Κρατερόν ὁ λόγος· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ γύναιον εἰσήγαγε κρύφα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. ἀκούσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευσε φοιτᾶν εἰς ταῦτ' οὗτο Φιλώτα, καὶ πᾶν, ὃ τι ἂν ἐκπύθεται τούτου, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπαγγέλλειν βαδίζουσαν.

after Alexander himself, no one was so fond of giving and so fond of his comrades. At any rate, we are told that when one of his intimates asked him for some money, he ordered his steward to give it him, and when the steward said he had none to give, "What meanest thou?" cried Philotas, "hast thou not even plate or clothing?" However, he displayed a pride of spirit, an abundance of wealth, and a care of the person and mode of life which were too offensive for a private man, and at this time particularly his imitation of majesty and loftiness was not successful at all, but clumsy, spurious, and devoid of grace, so that he incurred suspicion and envy, and even Parmenio once said to him: "My son, pray be less of a personage." Moreover, for a very long time accusations against him had been brought to Alexander himself. For when Dareius had been defeated in Cilicia and the wealth of Damascus was taken, among the many prisoners brought into the camp there was found a young woman, born in Pydna, and comely to look upon; her name was Antigone. This woman Philotas got; and as a young man will often talk freely in vaunting and martial strain to his mistress and in his cups, he used to tell her that the greatest achievements were performed by himself and his father, and would call Alexander a stripling who through their efforts enjoyed the title of ruler. These words the woman would report to one of her acquaintances, and he, as was natural, to somebody else, until the story came round to Craterus, who took the girl and brought her secretly to Alexander. He, on hearing her story, ordered her to continue her meetings with Philotas and to come and report to him whatever she learned from her lover.

XLIX. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλώτας ἐπιβουλευόμενος οὕτως ἡγνόμεναι, καὶ συνῆν τῇ Ἀντιγόνῃ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ μεγαλαυχίαν ῥήματα καὶ λόγους
 2 κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεπιτηδεῖους προΐεμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, καίπερ καρτερᾶς ἐνδείξεως κατὰ τοῦ Φιλώτου προσπεσούσης, ἐκαρτέρησε σιωπῇ καὶ κατέσχευεν, εἴτε θαρρῶν τῇ Παρμενίωνος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴτε δεδιὼς τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ Μακεδῶν ὄνομα Λίμνος, ἐκ Χαλαίστρας, ἐπιβουλεύων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Νικόμαχόν τινα τῶν νέων, πρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς ἐρωτικῶς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς πράξεως
 3 παρεκάλει. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου, φράσαντος δὲ τὰδελφῷ Κεβαλίνῳ τὴν πεῖραν, ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος πρὸς Φιλώταν ἐκέλευσεν εἰσάγειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς περὶ ἀναγκαίων ἔχοντας ἐντυχεῖν καὶ μεγάλων. ὁ δὲ Φιλώτας, ὅς τι δὴ παθὼν (ἄδηλον γάρ ἐστιν), οὐ παρήγεν αὐτούς, ὡς πρὸς ἄλλοις μείζοσι γιγνομένον τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ
 4 τοῦτο δις ἐποίησεν. οἱ δὲ καθ' ὑποψίαν ἤδη τοῦ Φιλώτου τραπόμενοι πρὸς ἕτερον καὶ δι' ἐκείνου τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσαχθέντες πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τοῦ Λίμνου κατεῖπον, ἔπειτα παρεδήλωσαν ἡσυχὴν τὸν Φιλώταν, ὡς ἀμελήσειεν αὐτῶν δις ἐντυχόντων. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ σφόδρα παρώξυνε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν Λίμνον, ὡς ἡμύνετο συλλαμβανόμενος, ἀποκτείναντος αὐτόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον διεταράχθη, τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐκπεφευγέ-
 5 ναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς νομίζων. καὶ πικρῶς ἔχων 693

¹ In the late autumn of 330 B.C.

XLIX. Now, Philotas was ignorant of the plot thus laid against him, and in his frequent interviews with Antigone would utter many angry and boastful speeches and many improper words against the king. But Alexander, although strong testimony against Philotas came to his ears, endured in silence and restrained himself, either because he had confidence in Parmenio's good will towards him, or because he feared the reputation and power of father and son. Meanwhile, however, a Macedonian named Limnus, from Chalaestra, conspired against Alexander's life,¹ and invited Nicomachus, one of the young men, whose lover he was, to take part with him in the undertaking. Nicomachus would not accept the invitation, but told his brother Cebalinus of the attempt, and he, going to Philotas, ordered him to conduct them into the presence of Alexander, on the ground that there were matters of great importance about which they must see him. But Philotas, for whatever reason (and the reason is not known), would not conduct them in, alleging that the king was engaged on other matters of more importance. And he refused their request twice. They now became suspicious of Philotas and applied to someone else, by whom they were brought before Alexander. In the first place they told him about the plot of Limnus, and then threw out veiled insinuations against Philotas, on the ground that he had neglected their petitions on two occasions. This greatly incensed Alexander; and when he found that Limnus had defended himself against arrest and had therefore been killed by the man sent to fetch him, he was still more disturbed in mind, thinking that the proof of the plot had escaped him. And since

- πρὸς τὸν Φιλώταν ἐπεσπάσατο τοὺς πάλαι μισοῦντας αὐτόν, ἥδη φανερώς λέγοντας ὡς ῥαθυμία τοῦ βασιλέως εἶη Δίμνον οἰομένου, Χαλαιοστραῖον ἄνθρωπον, ἐπιχειρῆσαι τολμήματι τοσούτῳ καθ' αὐτόν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ὑπηρετήν εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὄργανον ἀπὸ μείζονος ἀρχῆς ἀφιέμενον, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ζητητέον οἷς μάλιστα ταῦτα λανθάνειν συνέφερε. τοιούτοις λόγοις καὶ ὑπονοίαις ἀναπετάσαντος τὰ ὥτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπῆγον ἥδη μυρίας κατὰ τοῦ Φιλώτου διαβολάς. ἐκ τούτου δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐφεστώτων ταῖς βασάνοις, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατακούοντος ἔξωθεν αὐλαίας παρατεταμένης· ὅτε δὴ καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, οἰκτρὰς καὶ ταπεινὰς τοῦ Φιλώτου φωνὰς καὶ δεήσεις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα προσφέροντος· “ Οὕτω δὴ μαλακὸς ὢν, ὦ Φιλῶτα, καὶ ἄνανδρος ἐπεχειρεῖς πράγμασι τηλικούτοις; ” ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλώτου καὶ Παρμενίωνα πέμψας εὐθύς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνεῖλεν, ἄνδρα πολλὰ μὲν Φιλίππῳ συγκατεργασάμενον, μόνον δὲ ἢ μάλιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φίλων Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξορμήσαντα διαβῆναι, τριῶν δὲ υἱῶν οὓς ἔσχεν, ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς δύο μὲν ἐπιδόντα πρότερον ἀποθανόντας, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ συναναίρεθέντα.
- 8 Ταῦτα πραχθέντα πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων φοβερὸν ἐποίησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ· καὶ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ἔπεμψε κρύφα πίστεις διδούς καὶ λαμβάνων. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρον Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ τὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἣν

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 26.

he felt bitter towards Philotas he drew to himself those who had long hated the man, and they now said openly that the king took things too easily when he supposed that Limnus, a man of Chalaestra, had set his hand to a deed of so great daring on his own account; nay, they said, he was only an assistant, or rather an instrument sent forth by a higher power, and enquiry into the plot should be made in those quarters where there was most interest in having it concealed. After the king had once given ear to such speeches and suspicions, the enemies of Philotas brought up countless accusations against him. Consequently he was arrested and put to the question, the companions of the king standing by at the torture, while Alexander himself listened behind a stretch of tapestry. Here, as we are told, on hearing Philotas beset Hephæstion with abject and pitiful cries and supplications, he said: "So faint-hearted as thou art, Philotas, and so unmanly, couldst thou have set hand to so great an undertaking?" After Philotas had been put to death, Alexander sent at once into Media and dispatched Parmenio also, a man whose achievements with Philip had been many, and who was the only one of Alexander's older friends, or the principal one, to urge his crossing into Asia, and who, of the three sons that were his, had seen two killed on the expedition before this, and was now put to death along with the third.¹

These actions made Alexander an object of fear to many of his friends, and particularly to Antipater, who sent secretly to the Aetolians and entered into an alliance with them. For the Aetolians also were in fear of Alexander, because they had destroyed the city of the Oeniadae, and because Alexander, on

πυθόμενος οὐκ Οἰνιαδῶν ἔφη παῖδας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐπιθήσειν δίκην Αἰτωλοῖς.

- L. Οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον συνηνέχθη καὶ τὰ περὶ Κλεῖτον, οὕτω μὲν ἀπλῶς πυθομένοις τῶν κατὰ Φιλώταν ἀγριώτερα· λόγῳ μέντοι συντιθέντες ἅμα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἀλλὰ δυστυχία τινὶ ταῦτα εὐρίσκομεν πεπραγμένα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὀργὴν καὶ μέθην πρόφασιν τῷ Κλεῖτου δαίμονι παρασχόντος.
- 2 ἐπράχθη δὲ οὕτως. ἦκόν τινες ὁπώραν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζοντες. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐκάλει τὸν Κλεῖτον, ἐπιδείξαι καὶ μεταδοῦναι βουλόμενος. ὁ δὲ θύων μὲν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀφείδεν δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐβάδιζε· καὶ τρία τῶν κατεσπεισμένων προβάτων
- 3 ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεκοινοῦτο τοῖς μάντεσιν Ἀριστάνδρῳ καὶ Κλεομάντει τῷ Λάκωνι. φησάντων δὲ πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκθύσασθαι κατὰ τάχος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κλεῖτου. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμέρα τρίτη κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἰδεῖν ὄψιν ἄτοπον· δόξαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Κλεῖτον μετὰ τῶν Παρμενίωνος νιῶν ἐν μέλασιν ἱματίοις καθέζεσθαι, τεθνηκότων ἀπάν-
- 4 των. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασεν ὁ Κλεῖτος ἐκθυσάμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἦκε, τεθυκότος τοῦ βασιλέως Διοσκούροις. πότου δὲ νεανικοῦ συρραγέντος ἤδeto ποιήματα Πρανίχου τινός, ὡς δὲ φασιν ἔνιοι, Πιερίωνος, εἰς τοὺς στρατηγεὺς πε-

learning of it, had said that it would not be the sons of the Oeneadae, but he himself who would punish the Aetolians.

L. Not long afterwards came the affair of Cleitus,¹ which those who simply learn the immediate circumstances will think more savage than that of Philotas; if we take into consideration, however, alike the cause and the time, we find that it did not happen of set purpose, but through some misfortune of the king, whose anger and intoxication furnished occasion for the evil genius of Cleitus. It happened on this wise. Some people came bringing Greek fruit to the king from the sea-board. He admired its perfection and beauty and called Cleitus, wishing to show it to him and share it with him. It chanced that Cleitus was sacrificing, but he gave up the sacrifice and came; and three of the sheep on which libations had already been poured came following after him. When the king learned of this circumstance, he imparted it to his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Lacedaemonian. Then, on their telling him that the omen was bad, he ordered them to sacrifice in all haste for the safety of Cleitus. For he himself, two days before this, had seen a strange vision in his sleep; he thought he saw Cleitus sitting with the sons of Parmenio in black robes, and all were dead. However, Cleitus did not finish his sacrifice, but came at once to the supper of the king, who had sacrificed to the Dioscuri. After boisterous drinking was under way, verses were sung which had been composed by a certain Pranichus, or, as some say, Pierio, to shame and ridicule the

¹ During the campaign of 328 B.C., at Samarkand, in Sogdiana. Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 8 f.

ποιημένα τοὺς ἑναγχος ἡττημένους ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
 5 βάρων ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ καὶ γέλωτι. τῶν δὲ πρε-
 σβυτέρων δυσχεραινόντων καὶ λοιδορούντων τὸν
 τε ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν ἄδοντα, τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου
 καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἀκροωμένων καὶ λέγειν
 κελευόντων, ὁ Κλεῖτος ἤδη μεθύων καὶ φύσει
 τραχὺς ὦν ὀργὴν καὶ αὐθάδης ἡγανάκτει μάλιστα,
 φάσκων οὐ καλῶς ἐν βαρβάροις καὶ πολεμίοις
 ὑβρίζεσθαι Μακεδόνας πολὺν βελτίονας τῶν γε-
 6 λώντων, εἰ καὶ δυστυχία κέχρηται. φήσαντος
 δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Κλεῖτον αὐτῷ συνηγορεῖν
 δυστυχίαν ἀποφαίνοντα τὴν δειλίαν, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ
 Κλεῖτος, “Αὖτῃ μέντοι σε,” εἶπεν, “ἡ δειλία τὸν
 ἐκ θεῶν ἤδη τῷ Σπιθριδάτου ξίφει τὸν νῶτον
 ἐκτρέποντα περιεποίησε, καὶ τῷ Μακεδόνων αἵ- 694
 ματι καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι τούτοις ἐγένου τηλικούτος
 ὥστε Ἀμμωνι σαντὸν εἰσποιεῖν ἀπειπάμενος
 Φίλιππον.”

ΛΙ. Παροξυνθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, “Ἡ ταῦ-
 τα,” εἶπεν, “ὦ κακὴ κεφαλὴ, σὺ περὶ ἡμῶν
 ἐκάστοτε λέγων καὶ διαστασιάζων Μακεδόνας
 χαιρήσειν νομίζεις;” “Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν,” ἔφη,
 “χαίρομεν, Ἀλέξανδρε, τοιαῦτα τέλη τῶν πόνων
 κομιζόμενοι, μακαρίζομεν δὲ τοὺς ἤδη τεθνηκότας
 πρὶν ἐπίδειν Μηδικαῖς ῥάβδοις ξαινομένους Μακε-
 δόνας, καὶ Περσῶν δεομένους ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ
 2 προσέλθωμεν.” τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κλεῖτου παρρησια-
 ζομένου καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντανισταμέ-
 νων καὶ λοιδορούντων αὐτόν, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι
 κατέχειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸν θόρυβον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξαν-
 δρος ἀποστραφεὶς πρὸς Ξενόδοχον τὸν Καρδιανὸν

generals who had lately been defeated by the Barbarians. The older guests were annoyed at this and railed at both the poet and the singer, but Alexander and those about him listened with delight and bade the singer go on. Then Cleitus, who was already drunk and naturally of a harsh temper and wilful, was more than ever vexed, and insisted that it was not well done, when among Barbarians and enemies, to insult Macedonians who were far better men than those who laughed at them, even though they had met with misfortune. And when Alexander declared that Cleitus was pleading his own cause when he gave cowardice the name of misfortune, Cleitus sprang to his feet and said: "It was this cowardice of mine, however, that saved thy life, god-born as thou art, when thou wast already turning thy back upon the spear of Spithridates;¹ and it is by the blood of Macedonians, and by these wounds, that thou art become so great as to disown Philip and make thyself son to Ammon."²

LI. Thoroughly incensed, then, Alexander said: "Base fellow, dost thou think to speak thus of me at all times, and to raise faction among Macedonians, with impunity?" "Nay," said Cleitus, "not even now do we enjoy impunity, since such are the rewards we get for our toils; and we pronounce those happy who are already dead, and did not live to see us Macedonians thrashed with Median rods, or begging Persians in order to get audience with our king." So spake Cleitus in all boldness, and those about Alexander sprang up to confront him and reviled him, while the elder men tried to quell the tumult. Then Alexander, turning to Xenodochus of Cardia

¹ Cf. chapter xvi. 5.² Cf. chapters xxvii. f.

- καὶ τὸν Κολοφωνιον Ἀρτέμιον, “Οὐ δοκοῦσιν,” εἶπεν, “ὕμιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὥσ-
 3 περ ἐν θηρίοις ἡμίθειοι περιπατεῖν;” τοῦ δὲ Κλεῖ-
 του μὴ εἰκοντος, ἀλλὰ εἰς μέσον ἃ βούλεται λέγειν
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύοντος, ἥ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ
 δεῖπνον ἄνδρας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρρησίαν ἔχον-
 τας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ζῆν καὶ ἀνδραπόδων,
 οἱ τὴν Περσικὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸν διάλευκον αὐτοῦ
 χιτῶνα προσκυνήσουσιν, οὐκέτι φέρων τὴν ὀργὴν
 Ἀλέξανδρος μῆλων παρακειμένων ἐνὶ βαλῶν
 4 ἔπαισεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐξήτει. τῶν δὲ
 σωματοφυλάκων ἐνὸς Ἀριστοφάνους φθάσαντος
 ὑφελέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περιεχόντων καὶ δεο-
 μένων, ἀναπηδήσας ἀνεβόα Μακεδονιστὶ καλῶν
 τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς (τοῦτο δὲ ἦν σύμβολον θορύβου
 μεγάλου), καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευσε σημαί-
 νειν, καὶ πύξ ἔπαισεν ὥς διατρίβοντα καὶ μὴ
 βουλόμενον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὕστερον εὐδοκίμησεν
 ὥς τοῦ μὴ συνταραχθῆναι τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰτιώ-
 τατος γενόμενος. τὸν δὲ Κλεῖτον οὐχ ὑφιέμενον
 οἱ φίλοι μόλις ἐξέωσαν τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος.
 5 Ὁ δὲ κατ’ ἄλλας θύρας αὐθις εἰσῆει, μάλα
 ὀλιγώρως καὶ θρασέως Εὐριπίδου τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρο-
 μάχης ἱαμβεῖα ταῦτα περαίνων·

οἵμοι, καθ’ Ἑλλάδ’ ὥς κακῶς νομίζεται.

- οὕτω δὲ λαβὼν παρά τινος τῶν δορυφόρων Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρος αἰχμὴν ἀπαντῶντα τὸν Κλεῖτον αὐτῷ
 καὶ παράγοντα τὸ πρὸ τῆς θύρας παρακάλυμμα
 6 διελαύνει. πεσόντος δὲ μετὰ στεναγμοῦ καὶ

¹ Verse 683 (Kirchhoff).

and Artemius of Colophon, said : " Do not the Greeks appear to you to walk about among Macedonians like demi-gods among wild beasts ? " Cleitus, however, would not yield, but called on Alexander to speak out freely what he wished to say, or else not to invite to supper men who were free and spoke their minds, but to live with Barbarians and slaves, who would do obeisance to his white tunic and Persian girdle. Then Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw one of the apples that lay on the table at Cleitus and hit him, and began looking about for his sword. But one of his body-guards, Aristophanes, conveyed it away before he could lay hands on it, and the rest surrounded him and begged him to desist, whereupon he sprang to his feet and called out in Macedonian speech a summons to his corps of guards (and this was a sign of great disturbance), and ordered the trumpeter to sound, and smote him with his fist because he hesitated and was unwilling to do so. This man, then, was afterwards held in high esteem on the ground that it was due to him more than to any one else that the camp was not thrown into commotion. But Cleitus would not give in, and with much ado his friends pushed him out of the banquet-hall.

He tried to come in again, however, by another door, very boldly and contemptuously reciting these iambs from the " *Andromache* " of Euripides ¹ :

" Alas ! in Hellas what an evil government ! "

And so, at last, Alexander seized a spear from one of his guards, met Cleitus as he was drawing aside the curtain before the door, and ran him through. No sooner had Cleitus fallen with a roar and a groan

βρυχήματος εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος παρ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἰδὼν ἀφώνους ἐστῶτας ἐλκύσασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἔφθασε, παῖσαι δ' ἑαυτόν ὀρμήσας παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπεσχέθη, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λαβόντων καὶ τὸ σῶμα βία παρενεγκόντων εἰς τὸν θάλαμον.

- LII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα κακῶς κλαίων διήνεγκε καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἤδη τῷ βοᾶν καὶ θρηνεῖν ἀπειρηκὼς ἀναυδος ἔκειτο, βαρεῖς ἀναφέρων στεναγμούς, δέισαντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν ἀποσιώπησιν εἰσῆλθον βία. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ προσίετο τοὺς λόγους, Ἀριστάνδρου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπομιμνήσκοντος αὐτόν τὴν τε ὄψιν ἣν εἶδε περὶ τοῦ Κλείτου, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὡς δὴ πάλοι καθειμαρμένων τούτων, ἔδοξεν ἐνδιδόναι.
- 2 διὸ Καλλισθένην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον παρεισήγαγον, Ἀριστοτέλους οἰκεῖον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην Ἀνάξαρχον. ὧν Καλλισθένης μὲν ἠθικῶς ἐπειράτο καὶ πράως, ὑποδυνόμενος τῷ λόγῳ καὶ περιϋὼν ἀλύπως, λαβέσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ Ἀνάξαρχος ἰδίαν τινὰ πορευόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδὸν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, καὶ δόξαν εἰληφὼς ὑπεροψίας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας τῶν συνήθων, εὐθὺς εἰσελθὼν ἀνεβό-
- 3 ησεν. “Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη νῦν ἀποβλέπει· ὁ δὲ ἔρριπται κλαίων ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδον, ἀνθρώπων νόμον καὶ ψόγον δεδοικώς, οἷς αὐτὸν προσήκει νόμον εἶναι καὶ ὄρον τῶν δικαίων, ἐπείπερ ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν νενίκηκεν, 695 ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλεύειν ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης κεκρατημένον.

than the king's anger departed from him. And when he was come to himself and beheld his friends standing speechless, he drew the spear from the dead body and would have dashed it into his own throat, had not his body-guards prevented this by seizing his hands and carrying him by force to his chamber.

LII. Here he spent the night and the following day in bitter lamentations, and at last lay speechless, worn out with his cries and wailing, heaving deep groans. Then his friends, alarmed at his silence, forced their way in. To what the others said he would pay no attention, but when Aristander the seer reminded him of the vision he had seen concerning Cleitus, and of the omen,¹ assuring him that all this had long ago been decreed by fate, he seemed to be less obdurate. Therefore they brought in to him Callisthenes the philosopher, who was a relative of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Of these, Callisthenes tried by considerate and gentle methods to alleviate the king's suffering, employing insinuation and circumlocution so as to avoid giving pain; but Anaxarchus, who had always taken a path of his own in philosophy, and had acquired a reputation for despising and slighting his associates, shouted out as soon as he came in: "Here is Alexander, to whom the whole world is now looking; but he lies on the floor weeping like a slave, in fear of the law and the censure of men, unto whom he himself should be a law and a measure of justice, since he has conquered the right to rule and mastery, instead of submitting like a slave to the mastery of a vain opinion. Knowest

¹ Cf. chapter I. 2 f.

4 οὐκ οἶσθα," εἶπεν, " ὅτι τὴν Δίκην ἔχει πάρεδρον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τὴν Θέμιν, ἵνα πᾶν τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεμιτὸν ᾖ καὶ δίκαιον;" τοιούτοις τισὶ λόγοις χρησάμενος ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκούφισε τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ δὲ ἦθος εἰς πολλὰ χαυνότερον καὶ παρανομώτερον ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ δαιμονίως ἐνήρμοσε, καὶ τοῦ Καλλισθέ-
νους τὴν ὁμιλίαν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἐπίχαριν διὰ τὸ αὐστηρὸν οὔσαν, προσδιέβαλε.

5 Λέγεται δέ ποτε παρὰ δεῖπνον ὑπὲρ ὥρων καὶ κράσεως τοῦ περιέχοντος λόγων ὄντων, τὸν Καλλισθένην, μετέχοντα δόξης τοῖς λέγουσι τᾷ κεῖ μᾶλλον εἶναι ψυχρὰ καὶ δυσχείμερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐναντιουμένου τοῦ Ἀναξάρχου καὶ φιλονεικοῦντος, εἰπεῖν· " Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνάγκη σοὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνων ὁμολογεῖν ψυχρότερα· σὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐν τρίβωνι διεχείμαζες, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τρεῖς ἐπιβεβλημένος δάπιδας κατὰκεισαι." τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀνάξαρχον καὶ τοῦτο προσπαρώξυνε.

LIII. Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους σοφιστὰς καὶ κόλακας ὁ Καλλισθένης ἐλύπει σπουδαζόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νέων διὰ τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀρέσκων διὰ τὸν βίον, εὐτακτον ὄντα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη, καὶ βεβαιοῦντα τὴν λεγομένην τῆς ἀποδημίας πρόφασιν, ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας καταγαγεῖν καὶ κατοικίσειν πάλιν τὴν πατρίδα
2 φιλοτιμούμενος ἀνέβη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. φθονούμενος δὲ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἔστιν ἃ καὶ καθ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς διαβάλλουσι παρείχε, τὰς τε κλήσεις τὰ

¹ Olynthus, which had been destroyed by Philip in 347 B.C.

thou not," said he, "that Zeus has Justice and Law seated beside him, in order that everything that is done by the master of the world may be lawful and just?" By using some such arguments as these Anaxarchus succeeded in lightening the suffering of the king, it is true, but rendered his disposition in many ways more vainglorious and lawless; he also made himself wonderfully liked by the king, and brought the intercourse of Callisthenes with him, which had always been unpleasant because of the man's austerity, into additional disfavour.

It is said that once at supper the conversation turned upon seasons and weather, and that Callisthenes, who held with those who maintain that it is more cold and wintry there than in Greece, was stoutly opposed by Anaxarchus, whereupon he said: "You surely must admit that it is colder here than there; for there you used to go about in winter in a cloak merely, but here you recline at table with three rugs thrown over you." Of course this also added to the irritation of Anaxarchus.

LIII. Moreover, the other sophists and flatterers in the train of Alexander were annoyed to see Callisthenes eagerly courted by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less pleasing to the older men on account of his mode of life, which was well-ordered, dignified, and independent, and confirmed the reason given for his sojourn abroad, namely, that he had gone to Alexander from an ardent desire to restore his fellow-citizens to their homes and re-people his native city.¹ And besides being envied on account of his reputation, he also at times by his own conduct furnished material for his detractors, rejecting invitations for the most

πολλὰ διωθόμενος, ἔν τε τῷ συνεῖναι βαρύτητι καὶ σιωπῇ δοκῶν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν οὐδὲ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ·

μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐδ' αὐτῷ σοφός.

- 3 Λέγεται δέ ποτε πολλῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπαινέσαι κελευσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου Μακεδόνας ὁ Καλλισθένης οὕτως εὐροῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὥστε ἀνισταμένους κροτεῖν καὶ βάλλειν τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' αὐτόν· εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι, κατ' Εὐριπίδην, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν λόγων

καλὰς ἀφορμὰς οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν·

- 4 “Ἄλλ' ἔνδειξαι,” φάναι, “τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἡμῖν κατηγορήσας Μακεδόνων, ἵνα καὶ βελτίους γένωνται μαθόντες ἂ πλημμελοῦσιν.” οὕτω δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὴν παλινωδίαν τραπόμενον πολλὰ παρρησιάσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν στάσιν αἰτίαν ἀποφήναντα τῆς γενομένης περὶ Φίλιππον αὐξήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως εἰπεῖν·

ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔλλαχε τιμῆς·

- 5 ἐφ' ᾧ πικρὸν καὶ βαρὺ ἐγγενέσθαι μῖσος τοῖς Μακεδόσι, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ὥς οὐ τῆς

¹ An iambic trimeter from an unknown play of Euripides (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 652).

part, and when he did go into company, by his gravity and silence making it appear that he disapproved or disliked what was going on, so that even Alexander said in allusion to him :—

“ I hate a wise man even to himself unwise.”¹

It is said, moreover, that once when a large company had been invited to the king's supper, Callisthenes was bidden, when the cup came to him, to speak in praise of the Macedonians, and was so successful on the theme that the guests rose up to applaud him and threw their garlands at him ; whereupon Alexander said that, in the language of Euripides, when a man has for his words

“ A noble subject, it is easy to speak well ; ”²

“ But show us the power of your eloquence,” said he, “ by a denunciation of the Macedonians, that they may become even better by learning their faults.” And so Callisthenes began his palinode, and spoke long and boldly in denunciation of the Macedonians, and after showing that faction among the Greeks was the cause of the increase of Philip's power, added :

“ But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour.”³

This gave the Macedonians a stern and bitter hatred of him, and Alexander declared that Callisthenes

² *Bacchae*, 260 (Kirchhoff).

³ A proverb in hexameter verse, sometimes attributed to Callimachus. Cf. the *Nicias*, xi. 3 ; *Morals*, p. 479 a.

δεινότητος ὁ Καλλισθένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς δυσμενείας Μακεδόσιν ἀπόδειξιν δέδωκε.

LIV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἑρμιππὸς φησι τὸν ἀναγνώστην τοῦ Καλλισθένους Στροῦβον Ἀριστοτέλει διηγείσθαι, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην συνέντα τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τοῦ βασιλέως δις ἢ τρὶς ἀπλέοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν

κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

- οὐ φαύλως οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔοικεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι Καλλισθένης λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δυνατὸς καὶ μέγας, 2
νοῦν δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν. ἀλλὰ τὴν γε προσκύνησιν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπώσάμενος καὶ φιλοσόφως, καὶ μόνος ἐν φανερῷ διελθὼν ἂν κρύφα πάντες οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡγανάκτουν, τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας αἰσχύνης ἀπήλλαξε μεγάλης, καὶ μείζονος Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀποτρέψας τὴν προσ- 69
κύνησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπώλεσεν, ἐκβιάσασθαι δοκῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα.
- 3 Χάρης δὲ ὁ Μιτυληναῖός φησι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πίνοντα φιάλην προτεῖναί τινα τῶν φίλων· τὸν δὲ δεξάμενον πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστήναι καὶ πίνοντα προσκυνῆσαι πρῶτον, εἴτα φιλῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ κατακλιθῆναι.
- 4 πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ποιούντων ἐφεξῆς τὸν Καλλισθένην λαβόντα τὴν φιάλην, οὐ προσέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ Ἑφαιστίωνι προσδιαλεγομένου, πίνοντα προσιέναι φιλήσοντα, Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ

¹ Achilles to Hector, *Iliad*, xxi. 107.

had given a proof, not of his eloquence, but of his ill-will towards the Macedonians.

LIV. This, then, according to Hermippus, is the story which Stroebus, the slave who read aloud for Callisthenes, told to Aristotle, and he says that when Callisthenes was aware of the alienation of the king, twice or thrice, as he was going away from him, he recited the verse :

“Dead is also Patroclus, a man far braver than thou art.”¹

What Aristotle said, then, would seem to have been no idle verdict, namely, that Callisthenes showed great ability as a speaker, but lacked common sense. But in the matter of the obeisance, at least, by refusing sturdily and like a philosopher to perform the act, and by standing forth alone and rehearsing in public the reasons for the indignation which all the oldest and best of the Macedonians cherished in secret, he delivered the Greeks from a great disgrace, and Alexander from a greater, by leading him not to insist upon the obeisance ; but he destroyed himself, because he was thought to use force rather than persuasion with the king.

Chares of Mitylene says that once at a banquet Alexander, after drinking, handed the cup to one of his friends, and he, on receiving it, rose up so as to face the household shrine, and when he had drunk, first made obeisance to Alexander, then kissed him, and then resumed his place upon the couch. As all the guests were doing this in turn, Callisthenes took the cup, the king not paying attention, but conversing with Hephaestion, and after he had drunk went towards the king to kiss him ; but

προσοινομαζομένου Φείδωνος εἰπόντος, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ φιλήσης· οὗτος γάρ σε μόνος οὐ προσεκύνησε,” διακλίνει τὸ φίλημα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένη μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν “Φιλήματι τοίνυν ἔλασσον ἔχων ἄπειμι.”

- LV. Τοιαύτης ὑπογενομένης ἀλλοτριότητος πρῶτον μὲν Ἡφαιστίων ἐπιστεύετο λέγων ὅτι συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλισθένης προσκυνῆσαι ψεύσαιοτο τὴν ὁμολογίαν· ἔπειτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Ἀγνωνες ἐπεφύοντο φάσκοντες περιῖεναι τὸν σοφιστὴν ὥς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τυραννίδος μέγα φρονούντα, καὶ συντρέχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ μερικάκια καὶ περιέπειν ὥς μόνον ἐλεύθερον ἐν τοσαύταις
 2 μυριάσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόλαον ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ φανερῶν γενομένων ἔδοξαν ἀληθέσιν ὅμοια κατηγορεῖν οἱ διαβάλλοντες, ὥς τῷ μὲν προβαλόντι πῶς ἂν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτο ἄνθρωπος, εἶπεν, “Ἄν ἀποκτείνῃ τὸν ἐνδοξότατον,” τὸν δὲ Ἑρμόλαον ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν παροξύνων ἐκέλευε μὴ δεδιέναι τὴν χρυσὴν κλίνην, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύειν ὅτι καὶ νοσοῦντι
 3 καὶ τιτρωσκομένῳ πρόσσεισιν ἄνθρώπῳ. καίτοι τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόλαον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης τοῦ Καλλισθένους κατεῖπεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς εὐθύς Κρατερῷ γράφων καὶ Ἀττάλῳ καὶ Ἀλκέτῃ φησὶ τοὺς παῖδας βασανιζομένους ὁμολογεῖν ὥς αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πράξειαν, ἄλλος δὲ οὐδεὶς συνειδείῃ. ὕστερον δὲ γράφων πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν Καλλισθένην συνεπ-

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 12.

² The conspiracy of the pages (Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 13).

Demetrius, surnamed Pheido, cried : " O King, do not accept his kiss, for he alone has not done thee obeisance." So Alexander declined the kiss, at which Callisthenes exclaimed in a loud voice : " Well, then, I'll go away the poorer by a kiss." ¹

LV. The king having been thus alienated, in the first place, Hephaestion found credence for his story that Callisthenes had promised him to make obeisance to the king and then had been false to his agreement. Again, men like Lysimachus and Hagnon persisted in saying that the sophist went about with lofty thoughts as if bent on abolishing a tyranny, and that the young men flocked to him and followed him about as if he were the only freeman among so many tens of thousands. For this reason also, when the conspiracy of Hermolaüs and his associates ² against Alexander was discovered, it was thought that the accusations of his detractors had an air of probability. They said, namely, that when Hermolaüs put the question to him how he might become a most illustrious man, Callisthenes said : " By killing the most illustrious ;" and that in inciting Hermolaüs to the deed he bade him have no fear of the golden couch, but remember that he was approaching a man who was subject to sickness and wounds. And yet not one of the accomplices of Hermolaüs, even in the last extremity, denounced Callisthenes. Nay, even Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote at once to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, says that the youths confessed under torture that they had made this attempt of themselves, and that no one else was privy to it. But in a letter written later to Antipater, wherein he accuses Callisthenes also of the crime, he says : " The

- 4 αιτιασάμενος, “Οἱ μὲν παῖδες,” φησὶν, “ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελεύσθησαν, τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν ἐγὼ κολάσω καὶ τοὺς ἐκπέμψαντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας,” ἄντικρυς ἔν γε τούτοις ἀποκαλυπτόμενος πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέθραπτο Καλλισθένης παρ’ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἐξ
- 5 Ἡροῦς γεγονώς, ἀνεψιᾶς Ἀριστοτέλους. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου κρεμασθέντα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένον καὶ νοσήσαντα, Χάρης δὲ μετὰ τὴν σύλληψιν ἑπτὰ μῆνας φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον, ὡς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κριθείη παρόντος Ἀριστοτέλους, ἐν αἷς δὲ ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτρώθη περὶ τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπέρπαχυν γενόμενον καὶ φθειριύσαντα.

LVI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη. Δημάρατος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐφιλοτιμήθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναβῆναι· καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν εἶπε μεγάλης ἡδονῆς ἔστερῆσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι τεθνήκασι πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον. οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον γε τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέλαυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀρρωστίας ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ τάφον ἔχωσεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τῇ περιμέτρῳ μέγαν, ὕψος δὲ πηχῶν ὀγδοήκοντα· τὰ δὲ λείψανα τέθριππον κεκοσμημένον λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατεκόμισε.

LVII. Μέλλων δὲ ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ὡς ἑώρα πλήθει λαφύρων τὴν στρατιὰν ἤδη

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 14, 3f., where other accounts still are mentioned.

youths were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but the sophist I will punish, together with those who sent him to me and those who harbour in their cities men who conspire against my life ;” and in these words, at least, he directly reveals a hostility to Aristotle, in whose house Callisthenes, on account of his relationship, had been reared, being a son of Hero, who was a niece of Aristotle. As to the death of Callisthenes, some say that he was hanged by Alexander’s orders, others that he was bound hand and foot and died of sickness, and Chares says that after his arrest he was kept in fetters seven months, that he might be tried before a full council when Aristotle was present, but that about the time when Alexander was wounded in India, he died from obesity and the disease of lice.¹

LVI. This, however, belongs to a later time.² Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was now well on in years, was eagerly desirous of going up to Alexander ; and when he had seen him, he said that those Greeks were deprived of a great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Darius.³ However, he did not long enjoy the king’s good will towards him, but died from debility. His obsequies were magnificent, and the army raised in his memory a mound of great circumference and eighty cubits in height. His ashes were carried down to the sea-board on a four-horse chariot splendidly adorned.

LVII. Alexander was now about to cross the mountains into India,⁴ and since he saw that his army was by this time cumbered with much booty

² The spring of 327 B.C.

³ Cf. chapter xxxvii. 4.

⁴ In the late spring of 327 B.C.

- βαρεῖαν καὶ δυσκίνητον οὖσαν, ἅμ' ἡμέρα συνε-
 σκευασμένων τῶν ἀμαξῶν, πρῶτας μὲν ὑπέπρησε 697
 τὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας
 ἐκέλευσε καὶ ταῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐνεῖναι πῦρ.
 καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ βούλευμα μείζον ἐφάνη
 2 καὶ δεινότερον ἢ τὸ ἔργον. ὀλίγους μὲν γὰρ
 ἠνίασεν, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι βοῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ μετὰ
 ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς δεομένοις
 μεταδιδόντες, τὰ δὲ περιόντα τῆς χρείας αὐτοὶ
 κατακαίοντες καὶ διαφθείροντες ὁρμῆς καὶ προ-
 θυμίας ἐνεπίμπλασαν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἤδη δὲ
 καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος κολαστὴς τῶν
 πλημμελούντων. καὶ γὰρ Μένανδρόν τινα τῶν
 ἐταίρων ἄρχοντα φρουρίου καταστήσας, ὥς οὐκ
 ἐβούλετο μένειν, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ἀποστάντων
 βαρβάρων Ὀρσοδάτην αὐτὸς κατετόξευσε.
 3 Προβάτου δὲ τεκόντος ἄρνα περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ
 σχῆμα καὶ χρῶμα τιάρας ἔχοντα καὶ διδύμους ἐκα-
 τέρωθεν αὐτοῦ, βδελυχθεὶς τὸ σημεῖον ἐκαθάρθη
 μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οὓς ἐξ ἔθους ἐπήγετο
 πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα· διελέχθη δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὥς
 οὐ δι' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνους ταράττοιο, μὴ τὸ
 κράτος εἰς ἀγεννῆ καὶ ἀναλκιν ἄνθρωπον ἐκλιπόν-
 τος αὐτοῦ περιστήσῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ
 βέλτιόν τι σημεῖον γενόμενον τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔλυσεν.
 4 ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν στρωματοφυλάκων τεταγμένος ἀνὴρ
 Μακεδών, ὄνομα Πρόξεινος, τῇ βασιλικῇ σκηνῇ

and hard to move, at break of day, after the baggage-waggons had been loaded, he burned first those which belonged to himself and his companions, and then gave orders to set fire to those of the Macedonians. And the planning of the thing turned out to be a larger and more formidable matter than its execution. For it gave annoyance to a few only of the soldiers, while the most of them, with rapturous shouts and war-cries, shared their necessities with those who were in need of them, and what was superfluous they burned and destroyed with their own hands, thus filling Alexander with zeal and eagerness. Besides, he was already greatly feared, and inexorable in the chastisement of a transgressor. For instance, when a certain Menander, one of his companions, who had been put in command of a garrison, refused to remain there, he put him to death; and Orsodates, a Barbarian who had revolted from him, he shot down with his own hand.

When a sheep yeaned a lamb which had upon its head what looked like a tiara in form and colour, with testicles on either side of it, Alexander was filled with loathing at the portent, and had himself purified by the Babylonians, whom he was accus- to take along with him for such purposes; and in conversation with his friends he said that he was not disturbed for his own sake, but for theirs, fearing lest after his death Heaven might devolve his power upon an ignoble and impotent man. However, a better portent occurred and put an end to his dejection. The Macedonian, namely, who was set over those in charge of the royal equipage, Proxenus by name, as he was digging a place for the

χώραν ὀρύττων παρὰ τὸν Ὀξον ποταμὸν ἀνεκά-
 λυψε πηγὴν ὑγροῦ λιπαροῦ καὶ πιμελώδους·
 ἀπαντλουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου καθαρὸν ἀνέβλυζεν
 ἦδη καὶ διαυγὲς ἔλαιον, οὔτε ὁσμὴ δοκοῦν οὔτε
 γεύσει ἐλαίου διαφέρειν, στιλπνότητά τε καὶ
 λιπαρότητα παντάπασιν ἀπαράλλακτον, καὶ
 5 ταῦτα τῆς χώρας μηδὲ ἐλαίας φερούσης. λέγεται
 μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Ὀξον αὐτὸν εἶναι μαλακώτατον
 ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὸ δέρμα τοῖς λουομένοις ἐπιλιπαί-
 νειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ θαυμαστῶς Ἀλέξανδρος
 ἡσθεὶς δηλὸς ἐστίν ἐξ ὧν γράφει πρὸς Ἀντί-
 πατρον, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τοῦτο τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 θεοῦ γεγονότων αὐτῷ τιθέμενος. οἱ δὲ μάντις
 ἐνδόξου μὲν στρατείας, ἐπιπόνου δὲ καὶ χαλεπῆς
 τὸ σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο· πόνων γὰρ ἄρωγὴν ἔλαιον
 ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεοῦ δεδόσθαι.

LVIII. Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς μάχας αὐτῷ
 κίνδυνοι συνέπεσον καὶ τραύμασι νεανικοῖς ἀπήν-
 τησε, τὴν δὲ πλείστην φθορὰν ἀπορίαι τῶν ἀναγ-
 καίων καὶ δυσκρασίαι τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀπειργά-
 σαντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ τόλμη τὴν τύχην
 ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀρετῇ φιλοτιμού-
 μενος, οὐδὲν ᾤετο τοῖς θαρροῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὐδὲ
 2 ὀχυρὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἀτόλμοις. λέγεται δὲ τὴν Σισι-
 μίθρου πολιορκῶν πέτραν ἄβατον οὔσαν καὶ ἀπό-
 τομον¹ ἀθυμούντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐρωτῆσαι
 τὸν Ὀξυάρτην ποῖός τις αὐτὸς εἶη τὴν ψυχὴν
 ὁ Σισιμίθρης. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀξυάρτου δει-
 λότατον ἀνθρώπων, “Λέγεις σύ γε,” φάναι, “τὴν

¹ ἀπότομον Coraës' correction of the MSS. ἀπρόσβατον, for which Bekker reads ἀπρόσμαχον, after Schaefer. Sintenis² suggests ἀπότομον καὶ ἀπρόσβατον.

king's tent along the river Oxus, uncovered a spring of liquid which was oily and fatty; but when the top of it was drawn off, there flowed at once a pure and clear oil, which appeared to differ from olive oil neither in odour nor in flavour, and in smoothness and lustre was altogether the same, and that too though the country produced no olive trees. It is said, indeed, that the Oxus itself also has a very soft water, which gives sleekness to the skin of those who bathe in it. However, that Alexander was marvellously pleased is clear from what he writes to Antipater, where he speaks of this as one of the greatest omens vouchsafed to him from Heaven. The seers, however, held that the omen foreshadowed an expedition which would be glorious, but difficult and toilsome; for oil, they said, was given to men by Heaven as an aid to toil.

LVIII. And so it proved; for he encountered many perils in the battles which he fought, and received very severe wounds; but the greatest losses which his army suffered were caused by lack of necessary provisions and severity of weather. Still, he was eager to overcome fortune by boldness and force by valour, and thought nothing invincible for the courageous, and nothing secure for the cowardly. It is said that when he was besieging the citadel of Sisimithres, which was steep and inaccessible, so that his soldiers were disheartened, he asked Oxyartes what sort of a man Sisimithres himself was in point of spirit. And when Oxyartes replied that he was most cowardly of men, "Thy words mean," said Alexander, "that we

πέτραν ἀλώσιμον ἡμῖν εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον αὐτῆς
 3 οὐκ ὀχυρόν ἐστι.” ταύτην μὲν οὖν ἐκφοβήσας τὸν
 Σισιμίθρην ἔλαβεν. ἑτέρα δὲ ὁμοίως ἀποτόμῳ
 προσβαλὼν τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν Μακεδόνων
 παρώρμα, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρόν τινα καλούμενον
 προσαγορεύσας, “Ἀλλὰ σοί γε,” εἶπεν, “ἀν-
 δραγαθεῖν προσήκει καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.” ἐπεὶ
 δὲ λαμπρῶς ὁ νεανίας ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπescen, οὐ
 4 μετρίως ἐδήχθη. τῇ δὲ καλουμένῃ Νύσῃ τῶν
 Μακεδόνων ὀκνούντων προσάγειν (καὶ γὰρ ποτα-
 μὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτῇ βαθὺς) ἐπιστάς, “Τί γάρ,” εἶπεν,
 “ὁ κάκιστος ἐγὼ νεῖν οὐκ ἔμαθον;” καὶ ἤδη ἔχων
 τὴν ἀσπίδα περᾶν ἠθέλησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπαύ-
 σαντος τὴν μάχην αὐτοῦ παρήσαν ἀπὸ τῶν
 πολιορκουμένων πόλεων πρέσβεις δεησόμενοι,
 πρῶτον μὲν ὀφθεῖς ἀθεράπευτος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
 ἐξέπληξεν αὐτοὺς· ἔπειτα προσκεφαλαίου τινὸς
 αὐτῷ κομισθέντος ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα καθίσαι τὸν
 5 πρεσβύτατον· Ἀκουφίς ἐκαλεῖτο. θαυμάσας οὖν 698
 τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ Ἀκουφίς
 ἡρώτα τί βούλεται ποιούντας αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φίλους.
 φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, “Σὲ μὲν ἄρχοντα
 καταστήσαντας αὐτῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς πέμψαντας
 ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους,” γελάσας ὁ Ἀκου-
 φίς, “Ἀλλὰ βέλτιον,” εἶπεν, “ἄρξω, βασιλεῦ,
 τοὺς κακίστους πρὸς σὲ πέμψας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς
 ἀρίστους.”

LIX. Ὁ δὲ Ταξίλης λέγεται μὲν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς
 ἔχειν μοῖραν οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν Αἰγύπτου τὸ μέγε-
 θος, εὐβοτον δὲ καὶ καλλίκαρπον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα,

can take the citadel, since he who commands it is a weak thing." And indeed he did take the citadel by frightening Sisimithres. Again, after attacking another citadel equally precipitous, he was urging on the younger Macedonians, and addressing one who bore the name of Alexander, said: "It behooves thee, at least, to be a brave man, even for thy name's sake." And when the young man, fighting gloriously, fell, the king was pained beyond measure. And at another time, when his Macedonians hesitated to advance upon the citadel called Nysa because there was a deep river in front of it, Alexander, halting on the bank, cried: "Most miserable man that I am, why, pray, have I not learned to swim?" and at once, carrying his shield, he would have tried to cross. And when, after he had put a stop to the fighting, ambassadors came from the beleaguered cities to beg for terms, they were amazed, to begin with, to see him in full armour and without an attendant; and besides, when a cushion was brought him for his use, he ordered the eldest of the ambassadors, Acuphis by name, to take it for his seat. Acuphis, accordingly, astonished at his magnanimity and courtesy, asked what he wished them to do in order to be his friends. "Thy countrymen," said Alexander, "must make thee their ruler, and send me a hundred of their best men." At this Acuphis laughed, and said: "Nay, O King, I shall rule better if I send to thee the worst men rather than the best."¹

LIX. Taxiles, we are told, had a realm in India as large as Egypt, with good pasturage, too, and in the highest degree productive of beautiful fruits. He

¹Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 2, 1-3.

- σοφὸς δέ τις ἀνὴρ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασάμενος, “Τί δεῖ πολέμων,” φάναι, “καὶ μάχης ἡμῖν, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτε ὕδωρ ἀφαιρησόμενος ἡμῶν ἀφῖξαι μήτε τροφήν ἀναγκαίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν μόνων ἀνάγκη διαμάχεσθαι
- 2 νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις; τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις χρήμασι καὶ κτήμασι λεγομένοις, εἰ μὲν εἰμι κρείττων, ἔτοιμος εὖ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἥττων, οὐ φεύγω χάριν ἔχειν εὖ παθών.” ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτόν, “Ἡ που νομίζεις,” ἔφη, “δίχα μάχης ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοιούτων λόγων καὶ φιλοφροσύνης; ἀλλ’ οὐδέν σοι πλεόν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς σέ καὶ διαμαχοῦμαι ταῖς χάρισιν, ὥς μου χρηστὸς ὧν
- 3 μὴ περιγένη.” λαβὼν δὲ δῶρα πολλὰ καὶ δοὺς πλείονα τέλος χίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προέπειν. ἐφ’ οἷς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἡμερωτέρως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν.
- Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μισθοφοροῦντες ἐπεφοίτων ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐρρωμένως ἀμύνοντες καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκακοποιοῦν, σπεισάμενος ἔν τινι πόλει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπιόντας
- 4 ἐν ὁδῷ λαβὼν ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἄλλα νομίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντος, ὥσπερ κηλὶς πρόσσεστιν. οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ τούτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι πράγματα παρέσχον αὐτῷ, τοὺς τε προστιθεμένους τῶν βασιλέων κακίζοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους δήμους ἀφιστάντες. διὸ καὶ τούτων πολλοὺς ἐκρέμασε.

was also a wise man in his way, and after he had greeted Alexander, said: "Why must we war and fight with one another, Alexander, if thou art not come to rob us of water or of necessary sustenance, the only things for which men of sense are obliged to fight obstinately? As for other wealth and possessions, so-called, if I am thy superior therein, I am ready to confer favours; but if thine inferior, I will not object to thanking you for favours conferred." At this Alexander was delighted, and clasping the king's hand, said: "Canst thou think, pray, that after such words of kindness our interview is to end without a battle? Nay, thou shalt not get the better of me; for I will contend against thee and fight to the last with my favours, that thou mayest not surpass me in generosity." So, after receiving many gifts and giving many more, at last he lavished upon him a thousand talents in coined money. This conduct greatly vexed Alexander's friends, but it made many of the Barbarians look upon him more kindly.

The best fighters among the Indians, however, were mercenaries, and they used to go about to the different cities and defend them sturdily, and wrought much harm to Alexander's cause. Therefore, after he had made a truce with them in a certain city and allowed them to depart, he fell upon them as they marched and slew them all. And this act adheres like a stain to his military career; in all other instances he waged war according to usage and like a king. The philosophers, too, no less than the mercenaries, gave him trouble, by abusing those of the native princes who attached themselves to his cause, and by inciting the free peoples to revolt. He therefore took many of these also and hanged them.

LX. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς Πῶρον αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὡς ἐπράχθη γέγραφε. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ῥέοντος ἀντιπόρους ἰστάντα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αἰεὶ τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν διάβασιν. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ θόρυβον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολύν, ἐθίζοντα τοὺς βαρβάρους
 2 μὴ φοβεῖσθαι· νυκτὸς δὲ χειμερίου καὶ ἀσελήνου λαβόντα τῶν πεζῶν μέρος, ἵππεῖς δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους, καὶ προελθόντα πόρρῳ τῶν πολεμίων διαπερᾶσαι πρὸς νῆσον οὐ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ῥαγδαίου μὲν ἐκχυθέντος ὄμβρου, πρηστήρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον φερομένων, ὅμως ὁρῶν ἀπολλυμένους τινὰς καὶ συμφλεγομένους ὑπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς νησίδος ἄρας προσφέρεσθαι ταῖς ἀντιπέρας ὄχ-
 3 θαις. τραχὺν δὲ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπιόντα καὶ μετέωρον, ἔκρηγμα ποιῆσαι μέγα, καὶ πολὺ μέρος ἐκείνη φέρεσθαι τοῦ ῥεύματος· αὐτοὺς δὲ δέξασθαι τὸ μέσον οὐ βεβαίως, ἅτε δὴ συνολισθάνον καὶ περιρρηγνύμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἰπεῖν φασιν αὐτόν· “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄρά γε πιστεύσατε ἂν ἡλίκους ὑπομένω κινδύνους ἕνεκα τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν εὐδοξίας;”
 4 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν Ὀνησίκριτος εἶρηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ φησι τὰς σχεδίας ἀφέντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων τὸ ἔκρηγμα διαβαίνειν ἄχρι μαστῶν βρεχομένους, διαβάς δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εἴκοσι σταδίου προῖππεῦσαι, λογιζόμενος, εἰ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς

LX. Of his campaign against Porus¹ he himself has given an account in his letters. He says, namely, that the river Hydaspes flowed between the two camps, and that Porus stationed his elephants on the opposite bank and kept continual watch of the crossing. He himself, accordingly, day by day caused a great din and tumult to be made in his camp, and thereby accustomed the Barbarians not to be alarmed. Then, on a dark and stormy night, he took a part of his infantry and the best of his horsemen, and after proceeding along the river to a distance from where the enemy lay, crossed over to a small island. Here rain fell in torrents, and many tornadoes and thunder-bolts dashed down upon his men; but nevertheless, although he saw that many of them were being burned to death by the thunder-bolts, he set out from the islet and made for the opposite banks. But the Hydaspes, made violent by the storm and dashing high against its bank, made a great breach in it, and a large part of the stream was setting in that direction; and the shore between the two currents gave his men no sure footing, since it was broken and slippery. And here it was that he is said to have cried: "O Athenians, can ye possibly believe what perils I am undergoing to win glory in your eyes?" This, however, is the story of Onesicritus; Alexander himself says that they left their rafts and crossed the breach with their armour on, wading breast-high in water, and that after he had crossed he led his horsemen twenty furlongs in advance of his infantry, calculating that, in case the enemy attacked with

¹ See Arrian, *Anab.* v. 9-19. It was in the spring of 326 B.C.

ἵπποις προσβάλοιεν, πολὺ κρατήσειν, εἰ δὲ κιν-
οῖεν τὴν φύλαγγα, φθήσεσθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς αὐτῷ 699
5 προσγενομένους· θάτερον δὲ συμβῆναι. τῶν γὰρ
ἵππέων χιλίους καὶ τῶν ἄρμάτων ἐξήκοντα συμ-
πεσόντα τρεψάμενος, τὰ μὲν ἄρματα λαβεῖν
ἅπαντα, τῶν δ' ἵππέων ἀνελεῖν τετρακοσίους.
οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσαντα τὸν Πῶρον ὡς αὐτὸς
εἶη διαβεβηκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπιέναι μετὰ πάσης
τῆς δυνάμεως, πλὴν ὅσον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς
διαβαίνουσι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέλιπε. φοβηθεὶς
δὲ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸς
μὲν ἐνσεῖσαι κατὰ θάτερον κέρας, Κοῖνον δὲ τῷ
6 δεξιῷ προσβαλεῖν κελεῦσαι. γενομένης δὲ τροπῆς
ἐκατέρωθεν ἀναχωρεῖν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία καὶ
συνειλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκβιαζομένους, ὅθεν ἤδη τὴν
μάχην ἀναμεμιγμένην εἶναι, καὶ μόλις ὀγδόης ὥρας
ἀπειπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ τῆς
μάχης ποιητῆς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἴρηκεν.

Οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων ὁμολογοῦσι
τὸν Πῶρον ὑπεραίροντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν σπιθα-
μῇ τὸ μῆκος ἵππότου μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν πρὸς τὸν
ἐλέφαντα συμμετρίᾳ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὄγκον
7 τοῦ σώματος. καίτοι μέγιστος ἦν ὁ ἐλέφας·
σύνεσιν δὲ θαυμαστὴν ἐπεδείξατο καὶ κηδεμονίαν
τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐρρωμένου μὲν ἔτι θυμῷ τοὺς
προσμαχομένους ἀμυνόμενος καὶ ἀνακόπτων, ὡς
δὲ ἥσθετο βελῶν πλήθει καὶ τραυμάτων κάμ-
νοντα, δείσας μὴ περιρρυῇ, τοῖς μὲν γόνασιν εἰς
γῆν ὑφῆκε πρᾶως ἑαυτόν, τῇ δὲ προνομαίᾳ λαμ-

their cavalry, he would be far superior to them, and in case they moved up their men-at-arms, his infantry would join him in good season. And one of these suppositions came to pass. For after routing a thousand of the enemy's horsemen and sixty of their chariots which engaged him, he captured all the chariots, and slew four hundred of the horsemen. And now Porus, thus led to believe that Alexander himself had crossed the river, advanced upon him with all his forces, except the part he left behind to impede the crossing of the remaining Macedonians. But Alexander, fearing the elephants and the great numbers of the enemy, himself assaulted their left wing, and ordered Coenus to attack their right. Both wings having been routed, the vanquished troops retired in every case upon the elephants in the centre, and were there crowded together with them, and from this point on the battle was waged at close quarters, and it was not until the eighth hour that the enemy gave up. Such then, is the account of the battle which the victor himself has given in his letters.

Most historians agree that Porus was four cubits and a span¹ high, and that the size and majesty of his body made his elephant seem as fitting a mount for him as a horse for a horseman. And yet his elephant was of the largest size; and it showed remarkable intelligence and solicitude for the king, bravely defending him and beating back his assailants while he was still in full vigour, and when it perceived that its master was worn out with a multitude of missiles and wounds, fearing lest he should fall off, it knelt softly on the ground, and with its proboscis

¹ Six feet and three inches.

8 βάνων ἀτρέμα τῶν δορατίων ἕκαστον ἐξήρει τοῦ σώματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ληφθέντα τὸν Πῶρον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡρώτα πῶς αὐτῷ χρήσεται, “Βασιλικῶς,” εἶπε· προσπυθομένου δὲ μή τι ἄλλο λέγει, “Πάντα,” εἶπεν, “ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῶς.” οὐ μόνον οὖν ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ὧν ἐβασίλευε, σατράπην καλούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέθηκε χώραν τοὺς¹ αὐτονόμους καταστρεψάμενος, ἐν ᾗ πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ἔθνη, πόλεις δὲ πεντακισχιλίας ἀξιολόγους, κώμας δὲ παμπόλλας εἶναί φασιν· ἄλλην δὲ τρὶς τοσαύτην ἥς Φίλιππόν τινα τῶν ἐταίρων σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν.

LXI. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς Πῶρον μάχης καὶ ὁ Βουκεφάλας ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκ εὐθύς, ἀλλ’ ὕστερον, ὥς οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τραυμάτων θεραπευόμενος, ὥς δὲ Ὀνησίκριτος, διὰ γῆρας ὑπέροπος γενόμενος· τριάκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. ἐδήχθη δ’ ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ συνήθη καὶ φίλον ἀποβεβληκέναι νομίζων· καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἐπ’ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην Βουκεφαλίαν προσηγόρευσε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ κύνα Περίταν ὄνομα τεθραμμένον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ στεργόμενον ἀποβαλὼν κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπώνυμον. τοῦτο δὲ Σωτίων φησὶ Ποτάμωνος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Λεσβίου.

LXII. Τοὺς μέντοι Μακεδόνας ὁ πρὸς Πῶρον ἀγὼν ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦ πρόσω τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔτι προελθεῖν ἐπέσχε. μόλις γὰρ ἐκείνουν

¹ τοὺς with Bekker, after Coraës : καὶ τοὺς.

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 19, 4 f.

² Alexander carried his conquests from the Indus to the

gently took each spear and drew it out of his body. Porus was taken prisoner, and when Alexander asked him how he would be treated, said: "Like a king"; and to another question from Alexander whether he had anything else to say, replied: "All things are included in my 'like a king.'" Accordingly, Alexander not only permitted him to govern his former kingdom, giving him the title of satrap, but also added to it the territory of the independent peoples whom he subdued, in which there are said to have been fifteen nations, five thousand cities of considerable size, and a great multitude of villages. He subdued other territory also thrice as large as this and appointed Philip, one of his companions, satrap over it.

LXI. After the battle with Porus, too, Bucephalas died,—not at once, but some time afterwards,—as most writers say, from wounds for which he was under treatment, but according to Onesicritus, from old age, having become quite worn out;¹ for he was thirty years old when he died. His death grieved Alexander mightily, who felt that he had lost nothing less than a comrade and friend; he also built a city in his memory on the banks of the Hydaspes and called it Bucephalia. It is said, too, that when he lost a dog also, named Peritas, which had been reared by him and was loved by him, he founded a city and gave it the dog's name. Sotion says he heard this from Potamon the Lesbian.

LXII. As for the Macedonians, however, their struggle with Porus blunted their courage and stayed their further advance into India.² For having had

Hyphasis (Arrian, *Anab.* v. 25), subduing the Punjab. It was now September, 326 B.C.

- ὡσάμενοι δισμυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ δισχιλίοις ἵππεῦσι παραταξάμενον, ἀντέστησαν ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βιαζομένῳ καὶ τὸν Γάγγην περᾶσαι ποταμόν, εὖρος μὲν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων εἶναι πυνθανόμενοι καὶ βάθος ὀργυιᾶς ἑκατόν, ἀντιπέρασ δὲ τὰς ὄχθας ἀποκεκρύφθαι πλήθεσιν
- 2 ὄπλων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων. ἐλέγοντο γὰρ ὀκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας ἵπποτῶν, εἴκοσι δὲ πεζῶν, ἄρματα δὲ ὀκτακισχίλια καὶ μαχίμους ἐλέφαντας ἑξακισχιλίους ἔχοντες οἱ Γανδαριτῶν καὶ Πραισίῳν βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν. καὶ κόμπος οὐκ ἦν περὶ ταῦτα. Ἀνδρόκοττος γὰρ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ βασιλεύσας Σελεύκῳ πεντακοσίους ἐλέφαντας ἔδωρήσατο, καὶ στρατοῦ μυριάσιν ἐξήκοντα τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπῆλθεν ἅπασαν καταστρεφόμενος.
- 3 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὑπὸ δυσθυμίας καὶ ὀργῆς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καθεύρξας ἔκειτο, χάριν 700 οὐδεμίαν εἰδὼς τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις εἰ μὴ περάσειε τὸν Γάγγην, ἀλλ' ἐξομολόγησιν ἡττης τιθέμενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ὥς δὲ οἱ τε φίλοι τὰ εἰκότα παρηγοροῦντες αὐτὸν οἱ τε στρατιῶται κλαυθμῷ καὶ βοῇ προσιστάμενοι ταῖς θύραις ἰκέτευον, ἐπικλασθεῖς ἀνεξεύγνυε, πολλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπα-
- 4 τηλὰ καὶ σοφιστικὰ μηχανώμενος. καὶ γὰρ ὄπλα μείζονα καὶ φάτνας ἵππων καὶ χαλινούς βαρυντέρους κατασκευάσας ἀπέλιπέ τε καὶ διέρριψεν ἰδρύσατο δὲ βωμούς θεῶν, οὓς μέχρι νῦν οἱ Πραισίῳν βασιλεῖς διαβαίνοντες σέβονται καὶ

all they could do to repulse an enemy who mustered only twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse, they violently opposed Alexander when he insisted on crossing the river Ganges also, the width of which, as they learned, was thirty-two furlongs, its depth a hundred fathoms, while its banks on the further side were covered with multitudes of men-at-arms and horsemen and elephants. For they were told that the kings of the Ganderites and Praesii were awaiting them with eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. And there was no boasting in these reports. For Androcottus, who reigned there not long afterwards, made a present to Seleucus of five hundred elephants, and with an army of six hundred thousand men overran and subdued all India.

At first, then, Alexander shut himself up in his tent from displeasure and wrath and lay there, feeling no gratitude for what he had already achieved unless he should cross the Ganges, nay, counting a retreat a confession of defeat. But his friends gave him fitting consolation, and his soldiers crowded about his door and besought him with loud cries and wailing, until at last he relented and began to break camp, resorting to many deceitful and fallacious devices for the enhancement of his fame. For instance, he had armour prepared that was larger than usual, and mangers for horses that were higher, and bits that were heavier than those in common use, and left them scattered up and down. Moreover, he erected altars for the gods, which down to the present time are revered by the kings of the Praesii when they cross the river, and on them they offer

θύουσιν Ἑλληνικὰς θυσίας. Ἀνδρόκοττος δὲ μεί-
 ράκιον ὢν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδε, καὶ λέγεται
 πολλάκις εἰπεῖν ὕστερον ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθε τὰ
 πράγματα λαβεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος, μισουμένου τε
 καὶ καταφρονουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μοχθη-
 ρίαν καὶ δυσγένειαν.

- LXIII. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν
 ἔξω θάλασσαν ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ πορθμεῖα
 κωπήρη καὶ σχεδίας πηξάμενος, ἐκομίζετο τοῖς
 ποταμοῖς ὑποφερόμενος σχολαίως. ὁ δὲ πλοῦς
 οὐκ ἀργὸς ἦν οὐδὲ ἀπόλεμος, προσβάλλων δὲ
 ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἀποβαίνων ἐχειροῦτο πάντα.
 πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καλουμένοις Μαλλοῖς, οὓς φασιν
 Ἰνδῶν μαχιμωτάτους γενέσθαι, μικρὸν ἐδέησε
 2 κατακοπήναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους βέλεσιν
 ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπεσκέδασε, πρῶτος δὲ διὰ
 κλίμακος τεθείσης ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἢ τε
 κλίμαξ συνετρίβη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφιστα-
 μένων παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλάμβανε πληγὰς κάτωθεν,
 ὀλιγοστός ὢν συστρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς μέσους ἀφῆκε
 τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὀρθὸς ἔστη.
 3 τιναξαμένου δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἔδοξαν οἱ βάρβαροι
 σέλας τι καὶ φάσμα πρὸ τοῦ σώματος φέρεσθαι.
 διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔφυγον καὶ διεσκεδάσθησαν·
 ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν μετὰ δυεῖν ὑπασπιστῶν, ἐπι-
 δραμόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασι διὰ
 τῶν ὅπλων συνετίτρωσκον ἀμυνόμενοι, εἰς δὲ
 μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω στὰς ἐφῆκεν ἀπὸ τόξου βέλος
 οὕτως εὐτονον καὶ βίαιον ὥστε τὸν θώρακα δια-
 κόψαν ἐμπαγῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν μασθὸν ὀστέοις.

¹ Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus (Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 1).

sacrifices in the Hellenic manner. Androcottus, when he was a stripling, saw Alexander himself, and we are told that he often said in later times that Alexander narrowly missed making himself master of the country, since its king was hated and despised on account of his baseness and low birth.

LXIII. From thence, being eager to behold the ocean, and having built many passage-boats equipped with oars, and many rafts, he was conveyed down the rivers¹ in a leisurely course. And yet his voyage was not made without effort nor even without war, but he would land and assault the cities on his route and subdue everything. However, in attacking the people called Malli, who are said to have been the most warlike of the Indians, he came within a little of being cut down. For after dispersing the inhabitants from the walls with missiles, he was the first to mount upon the wall by a scaling ladder, and since the ladder was broken to pieces and he was exposed to the missiles of the Barbarians who stood along the wall below, almost alone as he was, he crouched and threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and by good fortune alighted on his feet. Then, as he brandished his arms, the Barbarians thought that a shape of gleaming fire played in front of his person. Therefore at first they scattered and fled; but when they saw that he was accompanied by only two of his guards, they ran upon him, and some tried to wound him by thrusting their swords and spears through his armour as he defended himself, while one, standing a little further off, shot an arrow at him with such accuracy and force that it cut its way through his breastplate and fastened itself in his ribs at the breast. Such was

- 4 πρὸς δὲ τὴν πληγὴν ἐνδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα κάμψαντος, ὁ μὲν βαλὼν ἐπέδραμε βαρβαρικὴν μάχαιραν σπασάμενος, Πευκέστας δὲ καὶ Λιμναῖος προέστησαν· ὦν πληγέντων ἑκατέρων ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανε, Πευκέστας δὲ ἀντεῖχε, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπέκτεινεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τραύματα πολλὰ λαβὼν, τέλος δὲ πληγεὶς ὑπέρῳ κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου, προσήρεισε τῷ τείχει τὸ σῶμα, βλέπων
- 5 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων περιχυθέντων ἄρπασθεις ἀναίσθητος ἤδη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐκομίζετο. καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ὡς τεθνεῶτος ἦν λόγος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ πολυπόνως τὸν οἷστον ἐκπρισάντων ξύλινον ὄντα, καὶ τοῦ θώρακος οὕτω μόλις ἀπολυθέντος, περὶ τὴν ἐκκοπὴν ἐγίνοντο τῆς ἀκίδος ἐνδεδυκυίας ἐνὶ τῶν ὀστέων. λέγεται δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος τριῶν δακτύ-
- 6 λων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τεσσάρων. διὸ ταῖς λιποθυμίαις ἔγγιστα θανάτου συνελαυνόμενος ἐξαιρουμένης αὐτῆς, ὅμως ἀνέλαβε. καὶ διαφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔτι δὲ ἀσθενὴς ὦν καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν διαίτῃ καὶ θεραπείαις ἔχων αὐτόν, ἔξω θορυβούντας ὡς ἦσθετο ποθοῦντας αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, λαβὼν ἱμάτιον προῆλθε. καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς αὐθις ἀνήχθη καὶ παρεκομίζετο χώραν τε πολλὴν καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καταστρεφόμενος.

LXIV. Τῶν δὲ Γυμνοσοφιστῶν τοὺς μάλιστα τὸν Σάββαν ἀναπέισαντας ἀποστήναι καὶ κακὰ πλείστα τοῖς Μακεδόσι παρασχόντας λαβὼν δέκα, δεινοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις

¹ Leonnatus, according to Arrian, vi. 10, 2.

the force of the blow that Alexander recoiled and sank to his knees, whereupon his assailant ran at him with drawn scimitar, while Peucestas and Limnaeus¹ defended him. Both of them were wounded, and Limnaeus was killed; but Peucestas held out, and at last Alexander killed the Barbarian. But he himself received many wounds, and at last was smitten on the neck with a cudgel, and leaned against the wall, his eyes still fixed upon his foes. At this instant his Macedonians flocked about him, caught him up, already unconscious of what was going on about him, and carried him to his tent. And straightway a report that he was dead prevailed in the camp; but when with much difficulty and pains they had sawn off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and had thus succeeded at last in removing the king's breastplate, they came to the excision of the arrow-head, which was buried in one of the ribs. We are told, moreover, that it was three fingers broad and four long. Its removal, therefore, threw the king into swoons and brought him to death's door, but nevertheless he recovered. And after he was out of danger, though he was still weak and kept himself for a long time under regimen and treatment, perceiving from their tumult at his door that his Macedonians were yearning to see him, he took his cloak and went out to them. And after sacrificing to the gods he went on board ship again and dropped down the river, subduing much territory and great cities as he went.

LXIV. He captured ten of the Gymnosophists who had done most to get Sabbas to revolt, and had made the most trouble for the Macedonians. These philosophers were reputed to be clever and concise

- καὶ βραχυλόγους, ἐρωτήματα προὔβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἄπορα, φήσας ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρινόμενον πρῶτον, εἴτα ἐφεξῆς οὕτω τοὺς ἄλλους· 70
- 2 ἓνα δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐκέλευσε κρίνειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον οἶεται τοὺς ζῶντας εἶναι πλείονας ἢ τοὺς τεθνηκότας, ἔφη τοὺς ζῶντας· οὐκέτι γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τεθνηκότας. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὴν θάλατταν μείζονα τρέφειν θηρία, τὴν γῆν· ταύτης γὰρ μέρος εἶναι τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ποῖόν ἐστι ζῶον πανουργότατον, “Ὁ μέχρι νῦν,” εἶπεν,
- 3 “ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔγνωκεν.” ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ἀνακρινόμενος τίνι λογισμῷ τὸν Σάββαν ἀπέστησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο, “Καλῶς ζῆν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἢ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν.” ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον οἶεται τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ τὴν νύκτα προτέραν γεγονέναι, “Τὴν ἡμέραν,” εἶπεν, “ἡμέρα μιᾷ” καὶ προσεπεῖπεν οὗτος, θαυμάσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅτι τῶν ἀπόρων ἐρωτήσεων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς
- 4 ἀποκρίσεις ἀπόρους εἶναι. μεταβαλὼν οὖν τὸν ἕκτον ἠρώτα πῶς ἂν τις φιληθείη μάλιστα· “Ἄν κράτιστος ὢν,” ἔφη, “μὴ φοβερός ᾗ.” τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν ὁ μὲν ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένοιτο θεός, “Εἴ τι πράξειεν,” εἶπεν, “ὃ πρᾶξαι δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἔστιν.” ὁ δὲ περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, πότερον ἰσχυρότερον, ἀπε-
- 5 κρίνατο τὴν ζωὴν τοσαῦτα κακὰ φέρουσαν. ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος, μέχρι τίνος ἀνθρώπῳ καλῶς ἔχον ζῆν, “Μέχρι οὗ μὴ νομίζει τὸ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν ἁμεινον.” οὕτω δὲ τραπόμενος πρὸς τὸν δικαστὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ ἕτερον ἐτέρου χεῖρον εἰρηκέναι φήσαντος “Οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “σὺ

in answering questions, and Alexander therefore put difficult questions to them, declaring that he would put to death him who first made an incorrect answer, and then the rest, in an order determined in like manner; and he commanded one of them, the oldest, to be judge in the contest. The first one, accordingly, being asked which, in his opinion, were more numerous, the living or the dead, said that the living were, since the dead no longer existed. The second, being asked whether the earth or the sea produced larger animals, said the earth did, since the sea was but a part of the earth. The third, being asked what animal was most cunning, said: "That which up to this time man has not discovered." The fourth, when asked why he had induced Sabbas to revolt, replied: "Because I wished him either to live nobly or to die nobly." The fifth, being asked which, in his opinion, was older, day or night, replied: "Day, by one day"; and he added, upon the king expressing amazement, that hard questions must have hard answers. Passing on, then, to the sixth, Alexander asked how a man could be most loved; "If," said the philosopher, "he is most powerful, and yet does not inspire fear." Of the three remaining, he who was asked how one might become a god instead of man, replied: "By doing something which a man cannot do"; the one who was asked which was the stronger, life or death, answered: "Life, since it supports so many ills." And the last, asked how long it were well for a man to live, answered: "Until he does not regard death as better than life." So, then, turning to the judge, Alexander bade him give his opinion. The judge declared that they had answered one worse than another. "Well, then," said Alexander, "thou shalt

πρώτος ἀποθανῇ τοιαῦτα κρίνων.” “Οὐκ ἄν γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὴ σὺ ψεύδῃ φήσας πρῶτον ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν ἀποκρινάμενον κάκιστα.”

- LXV. Τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀφῆκε δωρησάμενος· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ζῶντας ἔπεμψεν Ὀνησίκριτον, ἀφικέσθαι δεόμενος πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Ὀνησίκριτος ἦν φιλόσοφος τῶν Διογέει τῷ Κυρικόω συνεσχολακόντων.
- 2 καὶ φησι τὸν μὲν Καλανὸν ὑβριστικῶς πάνυ καὶ τραχέως κελεύειν ἀποδύντα τὸν χιτῶνα γυμνὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν λόγων· ἄλλως δὲ οὐ διαλέξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδ’ εἰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἀφίκται· τὸν δὲ Δάνδαμιν πραότερον εἶναι, καὶ διακούσαντα περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Διογέους εἰπεῖν ὡς εὐφυνεῖς μὲν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, λίαν δὲ τοὺς νόμους αἰσχυνόμενοι βεβιω-
- 3 κέναι. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ τὸν Δάνδαμιν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἄλλ’ ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον· “Τίνος χάριν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁδὸν τοσαύτην δεῦρ’ ἦλθε;” τὸν μέντοι Καλανὸν ἔπεισεν ὁ Ταξίλης ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σφίνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ’ Ἰνδικὴν γλῶτταν τῷ Καλέ προσαγορεύων ἀντὶ τοῦ Χαίρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἡσπάζετο, Καλανὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὠνομάσθη. τοῦτον δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀλε-
- 4 ξάνδρῳ προθέσθαι. καταβαλὼν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ βύρσαν τινὰ ξηρὰν καὶ κατεσκληκυῖαν ἐπάτησε τὸ ἄκρον· ἡ δὲ εἰς ἐν πιεσθεῖσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπήρθη μέρεσι. καὶ τοῦτο περιῶν ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ πιέζων καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐδείκνυε γιγνόμενον, ἄχρι οὗ τὸ μέσον ἐπιστὰς κατέσχε καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἡρέ-

die first for giving such a verdict." "That cannot be, O King," said the judge, "unless thou falsely saidst that thou wouldst put to death first him who answered worst."

LXV. These philosophers, then, he dismissed with gifts; but to those who were in the highest repute and lived quietly by themselves he sent Onesicritus, asking them to pay him a visit. Now, Onesicritus was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes the Cynic. And he tells us that Calanus very harshly and insolently bade him strip off his tunic and listen naked to what he had to say, otherwise he would not converse with him, not even if he came from Zeus; but he says that Dandamis was gentler, and that after hearing fully about Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, he remarked that the men appeared to him to have been of good natural parts but to have passed their lives in too much awe of the laws. Others, however, say that the only words uttered by Dandamis were these: "Why did Alexander make such a long journey hither?" Calanus, nevertheless, was persuaded by Taxiles to pay a visit to Alexander. His real name was Sphines, but because he greeted those whom he met with "Cale," the Indian word of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. It was Calanus, as we are told, who laid before Alexander the famous illustration of government. It was this. He threw down upon the ground a dry and shrivelled hide, and set his foot upon the outer edge of it; the hide was pressed down in one place, but rose up in others. He went all round the hide and showed that this was the result wherever he pressed the edge down, and then at last he stood in the middle of it, and lo! it was all held down firm and still.

μησεν. ἐβούλετο δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ἔνδειξις εἶναι τοῦ τὰ μέσα δεῖν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς πιέζειν καὶ μὴ μακρὰν ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

- LXVI. Ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπαγωγὴ μηνῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀνάλωσεν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἀνέπλευσε πρὸς νῆσον ἣν Σκιλλοῦστιν αὐτὸς ὠνόμασεν, ἕτεροι δὲ Ψιλτοῦκιν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποβὰς ἔθνε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐπέειδε τοῦ πελαγους καὶ τῆς παραλίας ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἦν. εἴτα ἐπευξάμενος μηδένα μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερ-
 2 βῆναι τοὺς ὅρους τῆς στρατείας ἀνέστρεφε. καὶ 702
 τὰς μὲν ναὺς ἐκέλευσε περιπλεῖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐχούσας, ἡγεμόνα μὲν Νέαρχον ἀποδείξας, ἀρχικυβερνήτην δὲ Ὀνησίκριτον· αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ δι' Ὀρειτῶν πορευόμενος εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν προήχθη καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεσεν, ὥστε τῆς μαχίμου δυνάμεως μηδὲ τὸ τέταρτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀπαγαγεῖν. καίτοι δώδεκα μὲν μυριάδες ἦσαν οἱ πεζοί, τὸ δ' ἵππικὸν εἰς μυρίους
 3 καὶ πεντακισχιλίου. ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσοι χαλεπαὶ καὶ δίαται πονηραὶ καὶ καύματα ξηρὰ καὶ πλείστους ὁ λιμὸς διέφθειρεν, ἄσπορον χώραν ἐπιόντας ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων, ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννῇ πρόβατα κεκτημένων, ἃ τοὺς θαλαττίους ἰχθῦς εἰθισμένα προσφέρεσθαι σάρκα μοχθηρὰν εἶχε καὶ δυσώδη. μόλις οὖν ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα ταύτην διελθὼν καὶ τῆς Γεδρωσίας ἀψάμενος ἐν-
 θὺς ἐν ἀφθόνοισι ἦν πᾶσι, τῶν ἔγγιστα σατραπῶν καὶ βασιλέων παρασκευασάντων.

¹ In midsummer of 325 B.C.

² It is Cilluta in Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 19, 3).

The similitude was designed to show that Alexander ought to put most constraint upon the middle of his empire and not wander far away from it.

LXVI. His descent of the rivers to the sea consumed seven months' time. And after emerging with his fleet into the ocean,¹ he sailed out to an island to which he himself gave the name of Scyllustis, others that of Psiltucis.² Here he landed and sacrificed to the gods, and studied the nature of the sea and of all the sea-coast that was accessible. Then, after praying that no man after him might pass beyond the bounds of his expedition, he turned to go back. His fleet he ordered to go round by sea, keeping India on the right; Nearchus was appointed admiral of the fleet, Onesicritus its chief-pilot. But he himself proceeded by land through the country of the Oreites, where he was reduced to the direst straits and lost a multitude of men, so that not even the fourth part of his fighting force was brought back from India. And yet his infantry had once numbered a hundred and twenty thousand, and his cavalry fifteen thousand. But grievous diseases, wretched food, parching heats, and, worst of all, famine destroyed them, since they traversed an untilled country of men who dragged out a miserable existence, who possessed but few sheep and those of a miserable sort, since the sea-fish which they ate made their flesh unsavoury and rank. It was with difficulty, then, that Alexander passed through this country in sixty days; but as soon as he reached Gedrosia he had all things in abundance, for the nearest satraps and princes had provided them.

LXVII. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δύναμιν ἐξώρμησε κῶμῳ χρώμενος ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διὰ τῆς Καρμανίας. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ἵπποι σχέςδην ἐκόμιζον ὀκτώ, μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὑπὲρ θυμέλης ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ περιφανεῖ πλαισίῳ πεπηγυίας εὐωχούμενον συνεχῶς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός· ἄμαξαι δὲ παμπληθεῖς, αἱ μὲν ἀλουργοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις περιβολαίοις, αἱ δ' ὕλης αἰὲ προσφάτου καὶ χλωρᾶς σκιαζόμεναι κλάδοις, εἶποντο τοὺς ἄλλους ἄγουσαι φίλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ πίνοντας. εἶδες δ' ἂν οὐ πέλτην, οὐ κράνος, οὐ σάρισαν, ἀλλὰ φιάλαις καὶ ῥυτοῖς καὶ θηρικλείοις παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται βαπτίζοντες ἐκ πίθων μεγάλων καὶ κρατήρων ἀλλήλοις προέπινον, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ προάγειν ἅμα καὶ βαδίζειν, οἱ δὲ κατακείμενοι. πολλή δὲ μούσα συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ᾠδῆς τε καὶ ψαλμοῦ καὶ
 2
 3 βακχείας γυναικῶν κατεῖχε πάντα τόπον. τῷ δὲ ὑτάκτῳ καὶ πεπλανημένῳ τῆς πορείας παρείπετο καὶ παιδιὰ βακχικῆς ὕβρεως, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπαραπέμποντος τὸν κῶμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τῆς Γεδρωσίας εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, αὐ-
 4 θις ἀνελάμβανε τὴν στρατιὰν πανηγυρίζων. λέγεται δὲ μεθύοντα αὐτὸν θεωρεῖν ἀγῶνας χορῶν, τὸν δὲ ἐρώμενον Βαγῶαν χορεύοντα νικῆσαι καὶ κεκοσμημένον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου παρελθόντα καθίσαι παρ' αὐτόν· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας κροτεῖν καὶ βοᾶν φιλῆσαι κελεύοντας, ἄχρι οὗ περιβαλὼν κατεφίλησεν.

¹ According to Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 28, 1 f.), this bacchanalian procession through Carmania rests on no credible authority.

LXVII. Accordingly, after refreshing his forces here, he set out and marched for seven days through Carmania in a revelling rout. He himself was conveyed slowly along by eight horses, while he feasted day and night continuously with his companions on a dais built upon a lofty and conspicuous scaffolding of oblong shape; and waggons without number followed, some with purple and embroidered canopies, others protected from the sun by boughs of trees which were kept fresh and green, conveying the rest of his friends and commanders, who were all garlanded and drinking. Not a shield was to be seen, not a helmet, not a spear, but along the whole march with cups and drinking-horns and flagons the soldiers kept dipping wine from huge casks and mixing-bowls and pledging one another, some as they marched along, others lying down; while pipes and flutes, stringed instruments and song, and reveling cries of women, filled every place with abundant music. Then, upon this disordered and straggling procession there followed also the sports of bacchanalian license, as though Bacchus himself were present and conducting the revel.¹ Moreover, when he came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he once more gave his army time for rest and held high festival. We are told, too, that he was once viewing some contests in singing and dancing, being well heated with wine, and that his favourite, Bagoas, won the prize for song and dance, and then, all in his festal array, passed through the theatre and took his seat by Alexander's side; at sight of which the Macedonians clapped their hands and loudly bade the king kiss the victor, until at last he threw his arms about him and kissed him tenderly.

- LXVIII. Ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Νέαρχον ἀναβάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤσθεις καὶ διακούσας τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν, ὥρμησεν αὐτὸς πλεύσας κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην στόλῳ μεγάλῳ, εἴτα περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην παρακομισθεὶς διὰ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. καὶ πλοῖα παντοδαπὰ περὶ Θάψακον ἐπήγνυτο, καὶ συνήγοντο ναῦται καὶ κυβερνήται πανταχόθεν.
- 2 ἡ δὲ ἄνω στρατεία χαλεπὴ γενομένη καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαλλοὺς τραῦμα καὶ ἡ φθορὰ πολλὴ λεχθεῖσα τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπιστία τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τά τε ὑπήκοα πρὸς ἀποστάσεις ἐπήρε καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ σατράπαις ἀδικίαν¹ πολλὴν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ὕβριν ἐνεποίησε· καὶ ὅλως διέδραμε
- 3 σάλος ἀπάντων καὶ νεωτερισμός. ὅπου καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον Ὀλυμπιάς καὶ Κλεοπάτρα στασιάζασαι διείλοντο τὴν ἀρχήν, Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν Ἡπειρον, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Μακεδονίαν παραλαβοῦσα. καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος βέλτιον ἔφη βεβουλεύσθαι τὴν μητέρα· Μακεδόνας γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι βασιλευμένους ὑπὸ γυναικός.

Διὰ ταῦτα Νέαρχον μὲν αὖθις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔπεμψεν, ἐμπλῆσαι πολέμων ἅπασαν ἐγνωκὼς τὴν παραλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων ἐκόλαζε τοὺς 703

4 πονηροὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν. τῶν δὲ Ἀβουλήτου παίδων ἓνα μὲν Ὀξυάρτην αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε σαρίσῃ διελάσας, Ἀβουλήτου δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων παρασκευάσαντος, ἀλλ' ἢ τρισχίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντος, ἐκέ-

¹ ἀδικίαν Bekker reads ἀκηδίαν (indifference) with a Munich MS. (M.).

LXVIII. Here Nearchus came up to meet him, and Alexander was so delighted to hear of his voyage that he eagerly desired to sail down the Euphrates himself with a large fleet,¹ and then, after circumnavigating Arabia and Africa, to enter the Mediterranean by way of the pillars of Heracles. And vessels of every sort were built for him at Thapsacus, and sailors and pilots were assembled from all parts. But the increasing difficulties of his march back, his wound among the Malli, and the losses in his army, which were reported to be heavy, led men to doubt his safe return, inclined subject peoples to revolt, and bred great injustice, rapacity, and insolence in the generals and satraps whom he had appointed. In a word, restlessness and a desire for change spread everywhere. For even against Antipater, Olympias and Cleopatra had raised a faction, and had divided his realm between them, Olympias taking Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia. When he heard of this, Alexander said that his mother had made the better choice; for the Macedonians would not submit to be reigned over by a woman.

For these reasons he sent Nearchus back to the sea,² determined to fill all the regions along the sea with wars, while he himself, marching down from Upper Asia, chastised those of his commanders who had done wrong. One of the sons of Abuletes, Oxyartes, he slew with his own hand, running him through with a spear; and when Abuletes failed to furnish him with the necessary provisions, but brought him instead three thousand talents in coin, Alexander

¹ It was after his return to Persepolis that this desire seized him (Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 1, 1).

² Early in 324 B.C.

λευσε τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ἀργύριον παραβαλεῖν. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐγέοντο, φήσας, “Τί οὖν ὄφελος ἡμῖν τῆς σῆς παρασκευῆς;” καθεῖρξε τὸν Ἀβουλήτην.

LXIX. Ἐν δὲ Πέρσαις πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸ νόμισμα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὁσάκις εἰς Πέρσας ἀφίκοιντο, διδόναι χρυσοῦν ἐκάστη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασιν ἐνίους μὴ πολλάκις, Ὡχον δὲ μηδὲ ἄπαξ εἰς Πέρσας παραγενέσθαι, διὰ μικρολογίαν ἀποξενώσαντα τῆς πατρίδος ἑαυτόν. ἔπειτα τὸν Κύρου τάφον εὐρῶν διορωρυγμένον ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, καίτοι Πελλαῖος ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀσημοτάτων ὁ πλημμελήσας, ὄνομα Πολύμαχος. τὴν δὲ ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναγνοὺς ἐκέλευσεν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑποχαράξαι γράμμασιν. εἶχε δὲ οὕτως· “Ὡ ἄνθρωπε, ὅστις εἶ καὶ ὄθεν ἦκεις, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἤξεις, οἶδα, ἐγὼ Κῦρος εἰμὶ ὁ Πέρσαις κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. μὴ οὖν τῆς ὀλίγης μοι ταύτης γῆς φθονήσης ἢ τοῦμόν σῶμα περικαλύπτει.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐμπαθῇ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν, ἐν νῶ λαβόντα τὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μεταβολήν.

Ὁ δὲ Καλανὸς ἐνταῦθα χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν ὑπὸ κοιλίας ἐνοχληθεὶς ἠτήσατο πυρὰν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. καὶ κομισθεὶς ἵππῳ πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπείσας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος, ἀναβαίνων ἐδεξιούτο τοὺς παρόντας τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεί-

ordered the money to be thrown to his horses. And when they would not touch it, "Of what use to us, then," he cried, "is the provision you have made?" and threw Abuletes into prison.

LXIX. In Persia, to begin with, he distributed the money among the women, just as their kings were accustomed, as often as they came into Persia, to give each one of them a gold piece. And for this reason, it is said, some of their kings did not come often into Persia, and Ochus not even once, being so penurious as to expatriate himself. In the second place, having discovered that the tomb of Cyrus had been rifled, he put to death the perpetrator of the deed, although the culprit was a prominent Macedonian native of Pella, by name Polymachus. After reading the inscription upon this tomb, he ordered it to be repeated below in Greek letters. It ran thus: "O man, whosoever thou art and whencesoever thou comest, for I know that thou wilt come, I am Cyrus, and I won for the Persians their empire. Do not, therefore, begrudge me this little earth which covers my body." These words, then, deeply affected Alexander, who was reminded of the uncertainty and mutability of life.¹

In Persia, too, Calanus, who had suffered for a little while from intestinal disorder, asked that a funeral pyre might be prepared for him.² To this he came on horseback, and after offering prayers, sprinkling himself, and casting some of his hair upon the pyre, he ascended it, greeting the Macedonians who were present, and exhorting them to make that

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 29, 4-8.

² The self-sacrifice of Calanus is narrated by Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 3).

νην ἡδέως γενέσθαι καὶ μεθυσθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνον ἔφη μετ' ὀλίγον χρό-
 4 νον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ὄψεσθαι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν κατα-
 κλιθεὶς καὶ συγκαλυψάμενος οὐκ ἐκινήθη τοῦ
 πυρὸς πλησιάζοντος, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ κατεκλίθη σχή-
 ματι, τοῦτο διατηρῶν ἐκαλλιέρησεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ
 πατρίῳ νόμῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ σοφιστῶν. τοῦτο πολλοῖς
 ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἄλλος Ἰνδὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις Καίσαρι
 συνὼν ἐποίησε· καὶ δείκνυνται μέχρι νῦν τὸ μνη-
 μεῖον Ἰνδοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.

LXX. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς γενό-
 μενος, καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ
 τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἀγῶνα προῦθθηκε καὶ
 στέφανον ἀκρατοποσίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν πλείστον
 πιὼν Πρόμαχος ἄχρι χοῶν τεσσάρων προῆλθε·
 καὶ λαβὼν τὸ νικητήριον, στέφανον ταλαντιαῖον,
 ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπέζησε. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, ὡς Χάρης
 φησί, τετταράκοντα καὶ εἰς ἀπέθανον πιόντες,
 ἰσχυροῦ τῇ μέθῃ κρύους ἐπιγενομένου.

2 Ἰῶν δὲ ἐταίρων γάμον ἐν Σούσοις ἐπιτελῶν, καὶ
 λαμβάνων μὲν αὐτὸς γυναῖκα τὴν Δαρείου θυγα-
 τέρα Στάτειραν, διανέμων δὲ τὰς ἀρίστας τοῖς
 ἀρίστοις, κοινὸν δὲ τῶν ἤδη προγεγαμηκότων
 Μακεδόνων γάμον ἄλλον¹ ἐστιάσας, ἐν ᾧ φασιν
 ἐννακισχιλίων τῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖ-
 πνον ὄντων ἐκάστῳ χρυσὴν φιάλην πρὸς τὰς
 σπονδὰς δοθῆναι, τὰ τε ἄλλα θαυμαστῶς ἐλαμ-
 πρύνατο καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανείσασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ὀφειλόντων αὐτὸς διαλύσας, τοῦ παντὸς ἀναλώ-
 ματος ἐλάσσονος μυρίων ταλάντων ἑκατὸν τριά-

¹ ἄλλον Bekker, after Coraës: καλὸν with the MSS.

day one of pleasure and revelry with the king, whom, he declared, he should soon see in Babylon. After thus speaking, he lay down and covered his head, nor did he move as the fire approached him, but continued to lie in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself acceptably, as the wise men of his country had done from of old. The same thing was done many years afterwards by another Indian who was in the following of Caesar,¹ at Athens; and the "Indian's Tomb" is shown there to this day.

LXX. But Alexander, after returning from the funeral pyre and assembling many of his friends and officers for supper, proposed a contest in drinking neat wine, the victor to be crowned. Well, then, the one who drank the most, Promachus, got as far as four pitchers;² he took the prize, a crown of a talent's worth, but lived only three days afterwards. And of the rest, according to Chares, forty-one died of what they drank, a violent chill having set in after their debauch.

At Susa he brought to pass the marriage of his companions, took to wife himself the daughter of Dareius, Stateira, assigned the noblest women to his noblest men, and gave a general wedding feast for those of his Macedonians who had already contracted other marriages. At this feast, we are told, nine thousand guests reclined at supper, to each of whom a golden cup for the libations was given. All the other appointments too, were amazingly splendid, and the host paid himself the debts which his guests owed, the whole outlay amounting to nine thousand

¹ Augustus Caesar.

² The "chous," or *pitcher*, held about three quarts.

- 3 κοντα ταλάντοις γενομένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντιγένης ὁ ἑτερόφθαλμος ὡς ὀφείλων ἀπεγράψατο ψευδῶς, καὶ παραγαγὼν τινα φύσκοντα δεδανεικέναι πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν, ἀπέτισε τὸ ἀργύριον, εἴτα ἐφωράθη ψευδόμενος, ὀργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπήλασε τῆς αὐλῆς αὐτὸν καὶ παρείλετο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἦν δὲ λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὁ Ἀντιγένης. 704 καὶ ἔτι δὲ νέος ὢν, Φιλίππου πολιορκοῦντος Πέρινθον, ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ καταπελτικῷ βέλους εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, οὐ παρέσχε βουλομένοις ἐξελεῖν τὸ βέλος οὐδὲ ὑφήκατο πρὶν ὥσασθαι προσμαχόμενος καὶ κατακλείσαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς
- 4 τὸ τεῖχος. οὐ μετρίως οὖν τότε τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ δῆλος ἦν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ βαρυθυμίας διαχρησόμενος. καὶ τοῦτο δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔχειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν.

- LXXI. Τῶν δὲ παίδων τῶν τρισμυρίων, οὓς ἀσκουμένους καὶ μαθάνοντας ἀπέλιπε, τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀνδρείων φανέντων καὶ τοῖς εἵδεσιν εὐπρεπῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς μελέταις εὐχέριαν καὶ κουφότητα θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδειξαμένων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἦσθη, τοῖς δὲ Μακεδόσι δυσθυμία παρέστη καὶ δέος, ὡς ἦττον αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως προσέ-
- 2 ξοντος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ πεπηρωμένους αὐτοῦ καταπέμποντος ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὕβριν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ προπηλακισμόν, ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρησάμενον εἰς ἅπαντα νῦν ἀποτίθεσθαι σὺν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ προσρίπτειν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς

¹ Alexander also paid the debts of all his soldiers, amounting to 20,000 talents (Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 5, 1-3),

eight hundred and seventy talents.¹ Now Antigenes, the One-eyed, had got himself enrolled as a debtor fraudulently and, on producing somebody who affirmed that he had made a loan to him at the bank, the money was paid over; then his fraud was discovered, and the king, in anger, drove him from his court and deprived him of his command. Antigenes, however, was a splendid soldier, and while he was still a young man and Philip was besieging Perinthus, though a bolt from a catapult smote him in the eye, he would not consent to have the bolt taken out nor give up fighting until he had repelled the enemy and shut them up within their walls. Accordingly, he could not endure with any complacency the disgrace that now fell upon him, but was evidently going to make away with himself from grief and despondency. So the king, fearing this, put away his wrath and ordered him to keep the money.

LXXI. The thirty thousand boys whom he had left behind him under instruction and training² were now so vigorous in their bodies and so comely in their looks, and showed besides such admirable dexterity and agility in their exercises, that Alexander himself was delighted; his Macedonians, however, were filled with dejection and fear, thinking that their king would now pay less regard to them. Therefore when he also sent the weak and maimed among them down to the sea-board, they said it was insult and abuse, after using men up in every kind of service, now to put them away in disgrace and cast them back upon their native cities and their parents, no longer

unless this is the donation which Plutarch has here erroneously connected with the great wedding feast. Cf. Athenaeus, xii. pp. 538 ff.

² Cf. chapter xlvii. 3.

- γονεῦσιν, οὐ τοιούτους παραλαβόντα. πάντας οὖν ἐκέλευον ἀφιέναι καὶ πάντας ἀχρήστους νομίζειν Μακεδόνας, ἔχοντα τοὺς νέους τούτους πυρριχιστάς, σὺν οἷς ἐπιὼν κατακτήσεται τὴν
- 3 οἰκουμένην. πρὸς ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὀργήν, ἀπελάσας δὲ τὰς φυλακὰς παρέδωκε Πέρσαις καὶ κατέστησεν ἐκ τούτων δορυφόρους καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους, ὑφ' ὧν ὀρώντες αὐτὸν παραπεμπόμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπειργομένους καὶ προπηλακιζομένους, ἐταπεινοῦντο· καὶ διδόντες λόγον εὗρισκον αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου δεῖν μανέντας ὑπὸ ζηλο-
- 4 τυπίας καὶ ὀργῆς. τέλος δὲ συμφρονήσαντες ἐβάδιζον ἄνοπλοι καὶ μονοχίτωνες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ κλαυθμοῦ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ χρήσασθαι κελεύοντες ὡς κακοῖς καὶ ἀχαρίστοις. ὁ δ' οὐ προσίετο, καίπερ ἤδη μαλασσόμενος. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας δύο καὶ νύκτας οὕτω προσεστῶτες καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ κοίραν ἀνακαλοῦντες ἐκαρτέρησαν.
- 5 τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος οἰκτροὺς καὶ τεταπεινωμένους ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον· εἶτα μεμψάμενος μέτρια καὶ προσαγορεύσας φιλανθρώπως ἀπέλυσε τοὺς ἀχρήστους δωρησάμενος μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ γράψας πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὅπως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις προεδρίαν ἔχοντες ἐστεφανωμένοι καθέζονται. τῶν δὲ τεθνηκότων τοὺς παῖδας ὀρφανοὺς ὄντας ἐμμίσθους ἐποίησεν.

¹ The account of the quarrel between Alexander and the Macedonians in Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 8-11) differs materially from that of Plutarch.

the men they were when he took them. Accordingly, they bade him send them all away and hold all his Macedonians of no account, since he had these young war-dancers, with whom he could go on and conquer the world.¹ At these words of theirs Alexander was displeased, and heaped much abuse upon them in his anger, and drove them away, and committed his watches to Persians, and out of these constituted his body-guards and attendants. When the Macedonians saw him escorted by these, while they themselves were excluded from him and treated with contumely, they were humbled; and when they reasoned the matter out they found that they had been almost mad with jealousy and rage. So finally, after coming to their senses, they went to his tent, without their arms and wearing their tunics only, and with loud cries and lamentations put themselves at his mercy, bidding him deal with them as base and thankless men. But Alexander would not see them, although his heart was softening. And the men would not desist, but for two days and nights persisted in standing thus before his door, weeping and calling upon their master. So on the third day he came forth, and when he saw their piteous and humble plight, wept for some time; then, after chiding them gently and speaking kindly to them, he dismissed those who were past service with magnificent gifts, and wrote to Antipater that at all the public contests and in the theatres they should have the foremost seats and wear garlands. He also ordained that the orphan children of those who had lost their lives in his service should receive their father's pay.²

² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 12.

LXXII. Ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας καὶ διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ἅτε δὴ τρισχιλίων αὐτῷ τεχνιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφιγμένων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας Ἡφαιστίων πυρέσσω· οἷα δὲ νέος καὶ στρατιωτικὸς οὐ φέρων ἀκριβῇ δίαιταν, ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἱατρὸν Γλαῦκον ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ θέατρον περὶ ἄριστον γενόμενος καὶ καταφαγὼν ἀλεκτρύονα ἐφθὼν καὶ ψυκτῆρα μέγαν ἐκπιὼν οἴνου κακῶς ἔσχε καὶ μικρὸν δια-
2 λιπὼν ἀπέθανε. τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος Ἀλέξανδρος ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἵππους τε κεῖραι πάντας ἐπὶ πένθει καὶ ἡμιόνους ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἀφείλε τὰς ἐπάλξεις, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον ἱατρὸν ἀνεσταύρωσεν, αὐλοὺς δὲ κατέπαυσε καὶ μουσικὴν πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως ἔξ Ἀμμωνος ἦλθε μαντεῖα τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ θύειν ὡς ἡρωϊ παρακελεύ-
3 ουσα. τοῦ δὲ πένθους παρηγορία τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ κυνηγέσιον ἀνθρώπων ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ Κοσσαίων ἔθνος κατεστρέφετο, πάντας ἡβηδὸν ἀποσφάττων. τοῦτο δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐναγισμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο. τύμβον δὲ 70!
καὶ ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον ἀπὸ μυρίων ταλάντων ἐπιτελέσαι διανοούμενος, ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τῷ φιλοτέχνῳ καὶ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν δαπάνην, ἐπόθησε μάλιστα τῶν τεχνιτῶν Στασικράτην, μεγαλουργίαν τινὰ καὶ τόλμαν καὶ κόμπον ἐν ταῖς καινοτομίαις ἐπαγ-

LXXII. When he came to Ecbatana in Media and had transacted the business that was urgent, he was once more much occupied with theatres and festivals, since three thousand artists had come to him from Greece. But during this time it chanced that Hephaestion had a fever; and since, young man and soldier that he was, he could not submit to a strict regimen, as soon as Glaucus, his physician, had gone off to the theatre, he sat down to breakfast, ate a boiled fowl, drank a huge cooler of wine, fell sick, and in a little while died. Alexander's grief at this loss knew no bounds.¹ He immediately ordered that the manes and tails of all horses and mules should be shorn in token of mourning, and took away the battlements of the cities round about; he also crucified the wretched physician, and put a stop to the sound of flutes and every kind of music in the camp for a long time, until an oracular response from Ammon came bidding him honour Hephaestion as a hero and sacrifice to him. Moreover, making war a solace for his grief, he went forth to hunt and track down men, as it were, and overwhelmed the nation of the Cossaeans, slaughtering them all from the youth upwards. This was called an offering to the shade of Hephaestion. Upon a tomb and obsequies for his friend, and upon their embellishments, he purposed to expend ten thousand talents, and wished that the ingenuity and novelty of the construction should surpass the expense. He therefore longed for Stasicrates above all other artists, because in his innovations there was always promise of great

¹ Arrian finds great diversity in the accounts of Alexander's displays of grief at Hephaestion's death (*Anab.* vii. 14).

- 4 γελλόμενον. οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐντυχὼν ἔφη τῶν ὀρῶν μάλιστα τὸν Θράκιον Ἀθων διατύπωσιν ἀνδρείκελον δέχεσθαι καὶ διαμόρφωσιν· ἂν οὖν κελεύῃ, μονιμώτατον ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῷ καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξεργάσεσθαι τὸν Ἀθων, τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ περιλαμβάνοντα μυρίανδρον πόλιν οἰκουμένην, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ σπένδοντα ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα δαψιλές εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρέοντος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρητήσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἀτοπώτερα καὶ δαπανηρότερα τούτων σοφιζόμενος τότε καὶ συμμηχανώμενος τοῖς τεχνίταις διέτριβεν.

LXXIII. Εἰς δὲ Βαβυλῶνα προάγοντος αὐτοῦ Νέαρχος (ἀφίκετο γὰρ αὐθις εἰσπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην διὰ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης) ἔφη τινὰς ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ Χαλδαίους, παραινοῦντας ἀπέχεσθαι Βαβυλῶνος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο· καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσι γενόμενος ὁρᾷ κόρακας πολλοὺς διαφερομένους καὶ τύπτοντας ἀλλήλους, ὧν ἔνιοι κατέπεσον

2 παρ' αὐτόν. ἔπειτα μηνύσεως γενομένης κατὰ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὡς εἴη περὶ αὐτοῦ τεθυμένος, ἐκάλει Πυθαγόραν τὸν μάντιν. οὐκ ἀρνούμενον δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἠρώτησε τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν τρόπον. φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἦπαρ ἦν ἄλοβον, “Παπαί,” εἶπεν, “ἰσχυρὸν τὸ σημεῖον.” καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν. ἤχθετο δὲ μὴ πεισθεὶς τῷ Νεάρχῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἔξω κατασκηνῶν καὶ περιπλέων

magnificence, boldness, and ostentation. This man, indeed, had said to him at a former interview that of all mountains the Thracian Athos could most readily be given the form and shape of a man; if, therefore, Alexander should so order, he would make out of Mount Athos a most enduring and most conspicuous statue of the king, which in its left hand should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and with its right should pour forth a river running with generous current into the sea. This project, it is true, Alexander had declined; but now he was busy devising and contriving with his artists projects far more strange and expensive than this.

LXXIII. As he was on his way to enter Babylon, Nearchus (who had joined him again after sailing through the ocean into the Euphrates) told the king that certain Chaldaeans had met him and advised that Alexander should keep away from Babylon.¹ Alexander paid no heed to this, but continued on his march; and when he was arrived at the walls, he saw many ravens flying about and clawing one another, and some of them fell dead at his feet. Again, being informed that Apollodorus the commandant of Babylon had sacrificed to learn Alexander's fate, Alexander called Pythagoras the seer. Pythagoras did not deny the fact, whereupon Alexander asked him what was the character of the sacrifice. And when the seer told that the victim's liver had no lobe, "Ah me!" said Alexander, "a forcible omen!" and did Pythagoras no harm. He was sorry, too, that he had not obeyed Nearchus, and passed most of his time outside of Babylon, either

¹ According to Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 16, 5), the Chaldaeans besought Alexander in person to suspend his march to Babylon. It was in the spring of 323 B.C.

- 3 τὸν Εὐφράτην διέτριβεν. ἠνώχλει δ' αὐτὸν σημεῖα πολλά. καὶ γὰρ λέοντα τῶν τρεφομένων μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἡμερος ὄνος ἐπελθὼν καὶ λακτίσας ἀνεῖλεν. ἀποδυσασμένου δὲ πρὸς ἄλειμμα καὶ σφαῖραν αὐτοῦ παίζοντος οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ σφαιρίζοντες, ὥς ἔδει πάλιν λαβεῖν τὰ ἱμάτια, καθορῶσιν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ καθεζόμενον σιωπῇ, τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν περικεείμενον. οὗτος ἀνακρινόμενος ὅστις εἶη, πολὺν χρόνον ἄναυδος ἦν· μόλις δὲ συμφρονήσας Διονύσιος μὲν ἔφη καλεῖσθαι, Μεσσήνιος δὲ εἶναι τὸ γένος· ἐκ δέ τινος αἰτίας καὶ κατηγορίας ἐνταῦθα κομισθεὶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολὺν χρόνον γεγονέναι ἐν δεσμοῖς· ἄρτι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Σάραπιν ἐπιστάντα τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀνεῖναι καὶ προαγαγεῖν δεῦρο, καὶ κελεῦσαι λαβόντα τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸ διάδημα καθίσαι καὶ σιωπᾶν.
- 4

LXXIV. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντις, ἠφάνισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἠθύμει καὶ δύσελπις ἦν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὑποπτos. μάλιστα δὲ Ἀντίπατρον ἐφοβεῖτο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ὧν Ἰόλας μὲν ἀρχαιονοχός ἦν, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ἀφίκτο μὲν νεωστί, θεασάμενος δὲ βαρβάρους τινὰς προσκυνοῦντας, ἅτε δὴ τεθραμμένος Ἑλληνικῶς καὶ τοιοῦτο πρότερον μηδὲν ἑωρακώς,

2 ἐγέλασε προπετέστερον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὠργίσθη, καὶ δραξάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν τριχῶν σφόδρα

living in his tent, or sailing about on the Euphrates. And he was troubled by many omens. For instance, the largest and handsomest lion in his menagerie was attacked by a tame ass and kicked to death. Again, he once took off his clothes for exercise and was playing at ball, and when it was time to dress again, the young men who were playing with him beheld a man seated on the king's throne, in silence, wearing the royal diadem and robes. When the man was asked who he was, he was speechless for a long time; but at last he came to his senses and said that his name was Dionysius, and that he was a native of Messenia; in consequence of some charge brought against him, he said, he had been brought thither from the sea-board, and for a long time had been in chains; but just now the god Serapis had come to him and loosed his chains and brought him to this spot, bidding him put on the robe and diadem and sit on the throne and hold his peace.¹

LXXIV. On hearing of this, Alexander put the man out of the way, as the seers directed; but he began to be low-spirited, and was distrustful now of the favour of Heaven and suspicious of his friends. He was particularly afraid of Antipater and of his sons, one of whom, Iolas, was his chief cupbearer; the other, Cassander, had only recently come to Babylon, and when he saw some Barbarians doing obeisance to Alexander, since he had been reared as a Greek and had never seen such a sight as this before, he laughed boisterously. But Alexander was enraged, and clutching him fiercely by

¹ Other predictions of Alexander's death are given in Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 18, 22, and 24).

ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἔπαισε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς
 τὸν τοῖχον. αὐθις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας
 Ἀντιπάτρου λέγειν τι βουλούμενον τὸν Κάσαιδρον
 ἐκκρούων, “Τί λέγεις;” ἔφη, “τοσαύτην ὁδὸν
 ἀνθρώπους μηδὲν ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ συκοφαν-
 3 τούντας ἐλθεῖν;” φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κασάνδρου
 τοῦτο αὐτὸ σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν, ὅτι
 μακρὰν ἤκουσι τῶν ἐλέγχων, ἀναγελάσας ὁ Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρος, “Ταῦτα ἐκεῖνα,” ἔφη, “σοφίσματα τῶν 706
 Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς ἐκάτερον τὸν λόγον· οἰμωξομέ-
 νων,¹ ἂν καὶ μικρὸν ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 4 φανῇτε.” τὸ δὲ ὅλον οὕτω φασὶ δεινὸν ἐνδύναι
 καὶ δευσοποιὸν ἐγγενέσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ Κασάν-
 δρου τὸ δέος, ὥστε ὕστερον χρόνοις πολλοῖς, ἥδη
 Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντα καὶ κρατοῦντα τῆς Ἑλ-
 λάδος, ἐν Δελφοῖς περιπατοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον
 τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, εἰκόνας Ἀλεξάνδρου φανείσης,
 ἄφνω πληγέντα φρίξαι καὶ κραδανθῆναι τὸ σῶμα
 καὶ μόλις ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτόν, ἰλιγγιάσαντα πρὸς
 τὴν ὄψιν.

LXXV. Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐνέδωκε τότε
 πρὸς τὰ θεῖα ταραχώδης γενόμενος καὶ περίφοβος
 τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐδὲν ἦν μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν ἀήθων
 καὶ ἀτόπων ὃ μὴ τέρας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σημεῖον·
 ἀλλὰ θυομένων καὶ καθαιρόντων καὶ μαντευόν-
 2 των μεστὸν ἦν τὸ βασίλειον. οὕτως ἄρα δεινὸν
 μὲν ἢ ἀπιστία πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ καταφρόνησις
 αὐτῶν, δεινὴ δὲ αὐθις ἢ δεισιδαιμονία, ἥ,² δίκην
 ὕδατος αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινούμενον καταρρέοντος,²

¹ οἰμωξομένων Sint. with the best MSS.; οἰμωξομένου γε Coraës; οἰμῶξῃ μὲν οὖν Bekker.

² ἥ, καταρρέοντος supplied by Bekker, after Coraës.

the hair with both hands dashed his head against the wall. And at another time, when Cassander would have said something in opposition to those who were bringing charges against Antipater, Alexander interrupted him, saying: "What meanest thou? Would men come so long a journey if they had not been wronged and were making false charges?" And when Cassander declared that this very fact of their coming a long distance away from the proofs showed that they were making false charges, Alexander burst out laughing and said: "These are the famous sophisms of Aristotle's disciples for either side of the question; but ye shall rue the day if it appear that ye have done these men even a slight wrong." And in general, as we are told, Cassander's spirit was deeply penetrated and imbued with a dreadful fear of Alexander, so that many years afterwards, when he was now king of Macedonia and master of Greece, as he was walking about and surveying the statues at Delphi, the sight of an image of Alexander smote him suddenly with a shuddering and trembling from which he could scarcely recover, and made his head swim.

LXXV. Alexander, then, since he had now become sensitive to indications of the divine will and perturbed and apprehensive in his mind, converted every unusual and strange occurrence, were it never so insignificant, into a prodigy and portent; and sacrificers, purifiers, and diviners filled his palace. So, you see, while it is a dire thing to be incredulous towards indications of the divine will and to have contempt for them, superstition is likewise a dire thing, which, after the manner of water ever seeking the

- ἀνεπλήρου¹ ἀβελτερίας κατάφοβον² τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γενόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χρησμῶν γε τῶν περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐκ θεοῦ κομισθέντων ἀποθέμενος τὸ πένθος αὐθις ἦν ἐν θυσίαις καὶ
- 3 πότοις. ἐστιάσας δὲ λαμπρῶς τοὺς περὶ Νέαρχον, εἶτα λουσάμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει μέλλων καθεύδειν, Μηδίου δεηθέντος ὥχετο κωμασόμενος πρὸς αὐτόν· κακεῖ πιὼν ὅλην τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἤρξατο πυρέττειν, οὔτε σκύφον Ἡρακλέους ἐκπιὼν οὔτε ἄφνω διαλγῆς γενόμενος τὸ μετὰφρενον ὥσπερ λόγχῃ πεπληγώς, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά τινες ᾔοντο δεῖν γράφειν ὥσπερ δράματος μεγάλου τραγικὸν ἐξόδιον καὶ περιπαθὲς πλάσαντες.
- 4 Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν πυρέττοντα μανικῶς, διψήσαντα δὲ σφόδρα πιεῖν οἶνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ φρενιτιᾶσαι, καὶ τελευτῆσαι τριακάδι Δαισίου μηνός.

LXXVI. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτως γέγραπται τὰ περὶ τὴν νόσον. ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ Δαισίου μηνός ἐκάθευδεν ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι διὰ τὸ πυρέξαι. τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς λουσάμενος εἰς τὸν θάλαμον μετῆλθε, καὶ διημέρευε πρὸς Μήδιον κυβεύων. εἶτ' ὀψὲ λουσάμενος καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπι-

2 θεὶς ἐμφαγὼν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐπύρεξε. τῇ εἰκάδι λουσάμενος πάλιν ἔθυσσε τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν· καὶ κατακείμενος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι τοῖς περὶ Νέαρχ-

¹ ἀνεπλήρου Coraës' correction of the MSS. καὶ ἀναπληροῦν, adopted by Bekker.

² κατάφοβον Coraës' correction of the MSS. καὶ φόβου, adopted by Bekker.

lower levels, filled with folly the Alexander who was now become a prey to his fears. Notwithstanding, in consequence of oracular responses regarding Hephaestion which were brought him, he laid aside his grief and betook himself once more to sacrifices and drinking-bouts. He gave a splendid entertainment to Nearchus, and then, although he had taken his customary bath before going to bed, at the request of Medius he went to hold high revel with him;¹ and here, after drinking all the next day, he began to have a fever. This did not come upon him after he had quaffed a "bowl of Heracles," nor after he had been seized with a sudden pain in the back as though smitten with a spear; these particulars certain writers felt obliged to give, and so, as it were, invented in tragic fashion a moving finale for a great action. But Aristobulus says that he had a raging fever, and that when he got very thirsty he drank wine, whereupon he became delirious, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Daesius.

LXXVI. Moreover, in the court "Journals" there are recorded the following particulars regarding his sickness.² On the eighteenth of the month Daesius³ he slept in the bathing-room because he had a fever. On the following day, after his bath, he removed into his bed-chamber, and spent the day at dice with Medius. Then, when it was late, he took a bath, performed his sacrifices to the gods, ate a little, and had a fever through the night. On the twentieth, after bathing again, he performed his customary sacrifice; and lying in the bathing-room

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 25.

² They are given also by Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 25).

³ June 2, 323 B.C.

χον ἐσχόλαζεν, ἀκροώμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν
 καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. τῇ δεκάτῃ φθίνον-
 τος ταῦτὰ ποιήσας μᾶλλον ἀνεφλέχθη, καὶ τὴν
 νύκτα βαρέως ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν
 ἐπύρετε σφόδρα. καὶ μεταρθεὶς κατέκειτο παρὰ
 τὴν μεγάλην κολυμβήθραν, ὅτε δὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι
 διελέχθη περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων ἡγεμονίας τάξεων,
 3 ὅπως καταστήσωσι δοκιμάσαντες. ἐβδόμη σφό-
 δρα πυρέττων ἔθυσεν ἔξαρθεὶς πρὸς τὰ ἱερά· τῶν
 δὲ ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευε τοὺς μεγίστους διατρίβειν ἐν
 τῇ αὐλῇ, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχους ἔξω
 νυκτερεύειν. εἰς δὲ τὰ πέραν βασίλεια διακομι-
 σθεὶς τῇ ἕκτῃ μικρὸν ὑπνωσεν, ὁ δὲ πυρετὸς οὐκ
 ἀνῆκεν. ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἦν ἄφω-
 4 νος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν πέμπτην· διὸ καὶ τοῖς
 Μακεδόσιν ἔδοξε τεθνάναι, καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες
 ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ διηπειλοῦντο τοῖς ἐταίροις ἕως
 ἐβιάσαντο· καὶ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθειςῶν ἐν
 τοῖς χιτῶσι καθ' ἓνα πάντες παρὰ τὴν κλίνην
 παρεξῆλθον. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ περὶ Πύ-
 θωνα καὶ Σέλευκον εἰς τὸ Σαραπεῖον ἀποσταλ-
 έντες ἡρώτων εἰ κομίσωσιν ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον·
 ὁ δὲ θεὸς κατὰ χώραν ἔαν ἀνεῖλε. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ
 φθίνοντος πρὸς δέιλῃν ἀπέθανε.

LXXVII. Τούτων τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ λέξιν ἐν
 ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτω γέγραπται. φαρμακείας
 δὲ ὑποψίαν παραυτίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχε, ἕκτῃ δὲ 707
 434

he devoted himself to Nearchus, listening to his story of his voyage and of the great sea. The twenty-first he spent in the same way and was still more inflamed, and during the night he was in a grievous plight, and all the following day his fever was very high. So he had his bed removed and lay by the side of the great bath, where he conversed with his officers about the vacant posts in the army, and how they might be filled with experienced men. On the twenty-fourth his fever was violent and he had to be carried forth to perform his sacrifices; moreover, he ordered his principal officers to tarry in the court of the palace, and the commanders of divisions and companies to spend the night outside. He was carried to the palace on the other side of the river on the twenty-fifth, and got a little sleep, but his fever did not abate. And when his commanders came to his bedside, he was speechless, as he was also on the twenty-sixth; therefore the Macedonians made up their minds that he was dead, and came with loud shouts to the doors of the palace, and threatened his companions until all opposition was broken down; and when the doors had been thrown open to them, without cloak or armour, one by one, they all filed slowly past his couch. During this day, too, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis to enquire whether they should bring Alexander thither; and the god gave answer that they should leave him where he was. And on the twenty-eighth,¹ towards evening, he died.

LXXVII. Most of this account is word for word as written in the "Journals." And as for suspicions of poisoning, no one had any immediately, but five

¹ June 13, 323 B.C.

- ἔτει φασὶ μὲνύσεως γενομένης τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, ἐκρίψαι δὲ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Ἰόλα τεθνηκότος, ὥς τούτου τὸ φάρμακον ἐγγέ-
- 2 αντος. οἱ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλην φάσκοντες Ἀντιπάτρῳ σύμβουλον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς πράξεως, καὶ ὅλως δι' ἐκείνου πορισθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον, Ἀγνόθεμιν τινα διηγείσθαι λέγουσιν ὥς Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσαντα· τὸ δὲ φάρμακον ὕδωρ εἶναι ψυχρὸν καὶ παγετῶδες ἀπὸ πέτρας τινὸς ἐν Νωνάκριδι οὔσης, ἣν ὥσπερ δρόσον λεπτὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰς ὄνου χηλὴν ἀποτίθενται· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀγγεῖον στέγειν, ἀλλὰ διακό-
- 3 πτειν ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ δριμύτητος. οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τὸν λόγον ὅλως οἶονται πεπλάσθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας· καὶ τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι τῶν ἡγεμόνων στασιασάντων ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀθεράπευτον τὸ σῶμα κείμενον ἐν τόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πνιγώδεσιν οὐδὲν ἔσχε τοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε καθαρὸν καὶ πρόσφατον.
- 4 Ἡ δὲ Ῥωξάνη κύουσα μὲν ἐτύγχανε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμωμένη παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· δυσζήλως δὲ ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν ἐπιστολῇ τινι πεπλασμένῃ παραγενέσθαι, καὶ προσαγαγοῦσα μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ κατέβαλε καὶ συνέχωσεν, εἰδότος ταῦτα Περδίκκου καὶ συμπράτ-
- 5 τοντος. ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐθύς ἐν δυνάμει μεγίστη, τὸν Ἀρριδαῖον ὥσπερ δορυφόρημα τῆς βασιλείας ἐφελκόμενος, γεγονότα μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀδόξου καὶ κοινῆς Φιλίννης, ἀτελῇ δὲ τὸ φρονεῖν ὄντα

years afterwards, as we are told, upon information given, Olympias put many men to death, and scattered abroad the ashes of Iolas, alleging that he had administered the poison. But those who affirm that Aristotle counselled Antipater to do the deed,¹ and that it was entirely through his agency that the poison was provided, mention one Hagnothemis as their authority, who professed to have heard the story from Antigonus the king; and the poison was water, icy cold, from a certain cliff in Nonacris; this they gathered up like a delicate dew and stored it in an ass's hoof; for no other vessel would hold the water, but would all be eaten through by it, owing to its coldness and pungency. Most writers, however, think that the story of the poisoning is altogether a fabrication; and it is no slight evidence in their favour that during the dissensions of Alexander's commanders, which lasted many days, his body, although it lay without special care in places that were moist and stifling, showed no sign of such a destructive influence, but remained pure and fresh.

Now, Roxana was with child, and on this account was held in honour among the Macedonians; but she was jealous of Stateira, and therefore deceived her by a forged letter into coming where she was, and when she had got her there, slew her, together with her sister, threw their bodies into the well, and filled the well with earth, Perdiccas being privy to the deed and partner in it. For it was he who was at once in the greatest authority, dragging Arrhidaeus around after him to safe-guard, as it were, the royal power. Arrhidaeus was Philip's son by an obscure and common woman named Philinna, and

¹ Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 28.

διὰ σώματος νόσον οὐ φύσει προσπεσοῦσαν οὐδὲ
 αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνν φασὶ παιδὸς ὄντος
 αὐτοῦ διαφαίνεσθαι χάριεν ἦθος καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννές,
 εἶτα μέντοι φαρμάκοις ὑπὸ Ὀλυμπιάδος κακω-
 θέντα διαφθαρήναι τὴν διάνοιαν.

was deficient in intellect owing to bodily disease. This, however, did not come upon him in the course of nature or of its own accord, indeed, it is said that as a boy he displayed an exceedingly gifted and noble disposition: but afterwards Olympias gave him drugs which injured his body and ruined his mind.

Γ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ

- I. Τὴν Κίμμα τοῦ μοναρχήσαντος θυγατέρα Κορνηλίαν, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Σύλλας, οὔτε ἐλπίσιν οὔτε φόβῳ δυνηθεὶς ἀποσπάσαι Καίσαρος, ἐδήμευσε τὴν φερνὴν αὐτῆς. αἰτία δὲ Καίσαρι τῆς πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπεχθείας ἢ πρὸς Μάριον οἰκειότης ἦν. Ἰουλίᾳ γάρ, πατρὸς ἀδελφῇ Καίσαρος, ὁ πρεσβύτερος συνώκει Μάριος, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεγόνει
- 2 Μάριος ὁ νεώτερος, ἀνεψιὸς ὦν Καίσαρος. ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους φόνων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ δι' ἀσχολίας ὑπὸ Σύλλα παρορώμενος οὐκ ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ μετιῶν ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν δῆμον προῆλθεν οὔπω πάνυ μειράκιον ὦν, ταύτης μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπεναντιωθεὶς Σύλλας παρεσκεύασε, περὶ δὲ ἀναιρέσεως βουλευόμενος, ἐνίων λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔχοι λόγον ἀποκτινύναι παῖδα τηλικούτον, οὐκ ἔφη νοῦν ἔχειν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ παιδὶ
- 3 τοῦτῳ Μαρίους ἐνορῶσι. ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς ἀνεχθείσης πρὸς Καίσαρα συχνὸν μὲν τινα χρόνον πλανώμενος ἐν Σαβίνοις ἔκλεπτεν ἑαυτὸν· ἔπειτα δι' ἀρρωστίαν εἰς οἰκίαν ἐτέραν μετακομιζόμενος κατὰ νύκτα περιπίπτει στρατιώταις τοῦ Σύλλα

¹ Many think that opening paragraphs of this *Life*, describing the birth and boyhood of Caesar, have been lost.

² In 86 B.C., after the death of his colleague, Valerius Flaccus.

CAESAR

I. THE wife of Caesar ¹ was Cornelia, the daughter of the Cinna who had once held the sole power at Rome,² and when Sulla became master of affairs,³ he could not, either by promises or threats, induce Caesar to put her away, and therefore confiscated her dowry. Now, the reason for Caesar's hatred of Sulla was Caesar's relationship to Marius. For Julia, a sister of Caesar's father, was the wife of Marius the Elder, and the mother of Marius the Younger, who was therefore Caesar's cousin. Moreover, Caesar was not satisfied to be overlooked at first by Sulla, who was busy with a multitude of proscriptions, but he came before the people as candidate for a priesthood, although he was not yet much more than a stripling. To this candidacy Sulla secretly opposed himself, and took measures to make Caesar fail in it, and when he was deliberating about putting him to death and some said there was no reason for killing a mere boy like him, he declared that they had no sense if they did not see in this boy many Mariuses.⁴ When this speech was reported to Caesar, he hid himself for some time, wandering about in the country of the Sabines. Then, as he was changing his abode by night on account of sickness, he fell in with soldiers of Sulla who

³ In 82 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, ix. 1 f.

⁴ Nam Caesari multos Marios inesse (Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, i.).

διερευνωμένοις ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία καὶ τοὺς κεκρυμμένους συλλαμβάνουσιν. ὦν τὸν ἡγεμόνα Κορνήλιον πείσας δυσὶ ταλάντοις ἀφείθη, καὶ καταβὰς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν
 4 πρὸς Νικομήδην τὸν βασιλέα. παρ' ᾧ διατρίψας χρόνον οὐ πολὺν, εἴτα ἀποπλέων ἀλίσκεται περὶ τὴν Φαρμακοῦσσαν νῆσον ὑπὸ πειρατῶν ἥδη τότε στόλοις μεγάλοις καὶ σκάφεσιν ἀπλέτοις κατεχόντων τὴν θάλατταν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λύτρα εἴκοσι τάλαντα κατεγέλασεν ὥς οὐκ εἰδότες ὅν ἡρήκοιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡμολόγησε πεντήκοντα δώσειν· ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλον εἰς ἄλλην διαπέμψας πόλιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν χρημάτων πορισμὸν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις φονικωτάτοις Κίλιξι μεθ' ἑνὸς φίλου καὶ δυοῖν ἀκολουθοῖν ἀπολελειμμένος οὕτω καταφρονητικῶς εἶχεν ὥστε πέμπων ὁσάκις ἀνα-
 2 παύοιτο προσέταττεν αὐτοῖς σιωπᾶν. ἡμέραις δὲ τεσσαράκοντα δυεῖν δεοῦσαις, ὥσπερ οὐ φρουρούμενος, ἀλλὰ δορυφορούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἀδείας συνέπαιζε καὶ συνεγυμνάζετο. καὶ ποιήματα γράφων καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἀκροαταῖς ἐκείνοις ἐχρήτο, καὶ τοὺς μὴ θαυμάζοντας ἀντικρὺς ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ βαρβάρους ἀπεκάλει, καὶ σὺν γέλῳτι πολλάκις ἠπέιλησε κρεμᾶν αὐτούς.
 3 οἱ δὲ ἔχαιρον, ἀφελεία τινὲ καὶ παιδιᾷ τὴν παρρησίαν ταύτην νέμοντες. ὥς δὲ ἦκον ἐκ Μιλήτου τὰ λύτρα καὶ δοὺς ἀφείθη, πλοῖα πληρώσας εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ Μιλησίων λιμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς ληστὰς

¹ Caesar served under Marcus Thermus, praetor of Asia, in 81-80 B.C., being then nineteen years of age, and by him

were searching those regions and arresting the men in hiding there. Caesar gave their leader, Cornelius, two talents to set him free, and at once went down to the sea and sailed to King Nicomedes in Bithynia.¹ With him he tarried a short time, and then, on his voyage back,² was captured, near the island Pharmacusa, by pirates, who already at that time controlled the sea with large armaments and countless small vessels.

II. To begin with, then, when the pirates demanded twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them for not knowing who their captive was, and of his own accord agreed to give them fifty. In the next place, after he had sent various followers to various cities to procure the money and was left with one friend and two attendants among Cilicians, most murderous of men, he held them in such disdain that whenever he lay down to sleep he would send and order them to stop talking. For eight and thirty days, as if the men were not his watchers, but his royal body-guard, he shared in their sports and exercises with great unconcern. He also wrote poems and sundry speeches which he read aloud to them, and those who did not admire these he would call to their faces illiterate Barbarians, and often laughingly threatened to hang them all. The pirates were delighted at this, and attributed his boldness of speech to a certain simplicity and boyish mirth. But after his ransom had come from Miletus and he had paid it and was set free, he immediately manned vessels and put to sea from the harbour

was sent to Bithynia in order to raise a fleet to assist in the siege of Mitylene.

² According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 4), it was on a voyage from Rome to Rhodes (after 77 B.C.) that Caesar was captured by pirates.

ἀνήγετο· καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔτι πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ ναυ-
λοχοῦντας ἐκράτησε τῶν πλείστων. καὶ τὰ μὲν
χρήματα λείαν ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν
Περγάμῳ καταθέμενος εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτὸς
ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν διέποντα τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰούνιον,¹
ὥς ἐκείνῳ προσῆκον ὄντι στρατηγῷ κολάσαι τοὺς
4 ἐαλωκότας. ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπο-
φθαλμιῶντος (ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγα) καὶ περὶ τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων σκέψεσθαι φάσκοντος ἐπὶ σχολῆς,
χαίρειν ἑάσας αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς Πέργαμον
ᾤχετο, καὶ προαγαγὼν τοὺς ληστὰς ἅπαντας
ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς δοκῶν παίζειν ἐν τῇ
νήσῳ προειρήκει πολλάκις.

III. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῆς Σύλλα δυνάμεως ἤδη
μαραιομένης καὶ τῶν οἴκοι καλούντων αὐτὸν
ἐπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ σχολὴν πρὸς Ἀπολλώ-
νιον τὸν τοῦ Μόλωνος, οὗ καὶ Κικέρων ἠκρόατο,
σοφιστεύοντος ἐπιφανῶς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιει-
κοὺς εἶναι δοκοῦντος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ φῦναι πρὸς
λόγους πολιτικοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄριστα, καὶ δια-
πονῆσαι φιλοτιμότατα τὴν φύσιν, ὥς τὰ δευτερεῖα
μὲν ἀδηρίτως ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ πρωτεῖον, ὅπως τῇ
δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις πρῶτος εἴη μᾶλλον
2 ἀσχοληθεῖς, ἀφεῖναι, πρὸς ὃπερ ἡ φύσις ὑφηγεῖτο
τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν δεινότητος, ὑπὸ στρατειῶν καὶ
πολιτείας, ἣ κατεκτήσατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐκ
ἐξικόμενος. αὐτὸς δ' οὖν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ πρὸς
Κικέρωνα περὶ Κάτωνος ἀντιγραφῇ παραιτεῖται
μὴ στρατιωτικοῦ λόγον ἀνδρὸς ἀντεξετάζειν πρὸς

¹ Ἰουγκον Sintenis.

¹ According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 4), this voyage, on which he was captured by pirates, was undertaken after his

of Miletus against the robbers. He caught them, too, still lying at anchor off the island, and got most of them into his power. Their money he made his booty, but the men themselves he lodged in the prison at Pergamum, and then went in person to Junius, the governor of Asia, on the ground that it belonged to him, as praetor of the province, to punish the captives. But since the praetor cast longing eyes on their money, which was no small sum, and kept saying that he would consider the case of the captives at his leisure, Caesar left him to his own devices, went to Pergamum, took the robbers out of prison, and crucified them all, just as he had often warned them on the island that he would do, when they thought he was joking.

III. After this, Sulla's power being now on the wane, and Caesar's friends at home inviting him to return, Caesar sailed to Rhodes¹ to study under Apollonius the son of Molon, an illustrious rhetorician with the reputation of a worthy character, of whom Cicero also was a pupil. It is said, too, that Caesar had the greatest natural talent for political oratory, and cultivated his talent most ambitiously, so that he had an undisputed second rank; the first rank, however, he renounced, because he devoted his efforts to being first as a statesman and commander rather, and did not achieve that effectiveness in oratory to which his natural talent directed him, in consequence of his campaigns and of his political activities, by means of which he acquired the supremacy. And so it was that, at a later time, in his reply to Cicero's "Cato," he himself deprecated comparison between the diction of a soldier and the eloquence of an unsuccessful prosecution of Dolabella, mentioned in the next chapter. See the note on i. 4.

δεινότητα ῥήτορος εὐφυοῦς καὶ σχολὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πολλὴν ἄγοντος.

- IV. Ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς Ῥώμην Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινε κακώσεως ἐπαρχίας, καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων μαρτυρίας αὐτῷ παρέσχον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἀπέφυγε τὴν δίκην, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀμειβόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς προθυμίας συνηγόρευσεν αὐτῇ Πόπλιον Ἀντώνιον διωκούσῃ δωροδοκίας ἐπὶ Λευκούλλου τοῦ Μάρκου Μακεδονίας στρατηγοῦ. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ὥστε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς δημάρχους, σκηψάμενον οὐκ ἔχειν τὸ ἴσον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πρὸς Ἕλληνας. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πολλὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τὰς συνηγορίας αὐτοῦ χάρις ἐξέλαμπε, πολλὴ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ ὁμιλίας φιλοφροσύνης εὖνοια παρὰ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπήντα,
- 3 θεραπευτικοῦ παρ' ἡλικίαν ὄντος. ἦν δέ τις καὶ 70 ἀπὸ δειπνῶν καὶ τραπέζης καὶ ὅλως τῆς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν λαμπρότητος αὐξανομένη κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ δύναμις εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἦν τὸ πρῶτον οἱ φθοιοῦντες οἰόμενοι ταχὺ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐπιλιπόντων ἐξίτηλον ἔσεσθαι, περιεώρων ἀνθούσαν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς· ὁψὲ δὲ ἦσθοντο, μεγάλης καὶ δυσανατρέπτου γενομένης καὶ βαδιζούσης ἄντικρυς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων μεταβολήν, ὥς οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν πράγματος ἡγητέον¹ μικράν, ἣν οὐ ταχὺ ποιεῖ μεγάλην τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς ἐκ τοῦ κατα-
- 4 φρονηθῆναι τὸ μὴ κωλυθῆναι λαβοῦσαν. ὁ γοῦν πρῶτος ὑπιδέσθαι δοκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ φοβηθῆναι τῆς πολιτείας ὥσπερ θαλάττης τὰ διαγελῶντα

¹ ἡγητέον MSS. and Sint.²; ἡγητέον οὕτω Coraës, after Stephanus; οὕτω ἡγητέον Sint.¹; οὕτως ἡγητέον Bekker.

orator who was gifted by nature and had plenty of leisure to pursue his studies.

IV. After his return to Rome he impeached Dolabella¹ for maladministration of his province, and many of the cities of Greece supplied him with testimony. Dolabella, it is true, was acquitted, but Caesar, in return for the zealous efforts of the Greeks in his behalf, served as their advocate when they prosecuted Publius Antonius for corruption before Marcus Lucullus, the praetor of Macedonia. And he was so effective that Antonius appealed to the tribunes at Rome, alleging that he could not have a fair trial in Greece against Greeks. At Rome, moreover, Caesar won a great and brilliant popularity by his eloquence as an advocate, and much good will from the common people for the friendliness of his manners in intercourse with them, since he was ingratiating beyond his years. He had also a large and gradually increasing political influence in consequence of his lavish hospitality and the general splendour of his mode of life. At first his enemies thought this influence would quickly vanish when his expenditures ceased, and therefore suffered it to thrive among the common people ; but later on when it had become great and hard to subvert, and aimed directly at a complete revolution in the state, they perceived that no beginnings should be considered too small to be quickly made great by continuance, after contempt of them has left them unobstructed. At all events, the man who is thought to have been the first to see beneath the surface of Caesar's public policy and to fear it, as one might fear the smiling surface of the sea, and who com-

¹ In 77 B.C.

καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ ἰλαρῷ κεκρυμμένην δεινότητα τοῦ ἥθους καταμαθὼν Κικέρων ἔλεγε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπιβουλεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτεύμασι τυραννικὴν ἐνορᾶν διάνοιαν, “ Ἀλλ’ ὅταν,” ἔφη, “ τὴν κόμην οὕτω διακειμένην περιττῶς ἴδω κάκεινον ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ κνώμενον, οὐ μοι δοκεῖ πάλιν οὗτος ἄνθρωπος εἰς νοῦν ἂν ἐμβαλέσθαι τηλικούτον κακόν, ἀναίρεσιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

V. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου πρώτην μὲν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἔλαβεν ὅτε πρὸς Γάϊον Ποπίλιον ἐρίσας ὑπὲρ χιλιαρχίας πρότερος ἀνηγορεύθη· δευτέραν δὲ καὶ καταφανεστέραν ὅτε, τῆς Μαρίου γυναικὸς Ἰουλίας ἀποθανούσης, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὦν αὐτῆς ἐγκώμιόν τε λαμπρὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διῆλθε, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἐτόλμησεν εἰκόνας Μαρίου προθέσθαι, τότε πρῶτον ὀφθείσας μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Σύλλα πολιτείαν, πολεμίων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
2 κριθέντων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐνίων καταβοησάντων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ δῆμος ἀντήχησε λαμπρῶς, δεξάμενος κρότῳ καὶ θαυμάσας ὥσπερ ἐξ “Αἰδου διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἀνάγοντα τὰς Μαρίου τιμὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ γυναιξὶ πρεσβυτέραις λόγους ἐπιταφίους διεξιέναι πάτριον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, νέαις δὲ οὐκ ὄν ἐν ἔθει πρῶτος εἶπε Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης· καὶ τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ χάριν τινὰ καὶ συνεδημαγώγησε τῷ πάθει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥς ἡμερον ἄνδρα καὶ περίμεστον ἥθους ἀγαπᾶν.

prehended the powerful character hidden beneath his kindly and cheerful exterior, namely Cicero, said that in most of Caesar's political plans and projects he saw a tyrannical purpose; "On the other hand," said he, "when I look at his hair, which is arranged with so much nicety, and see him scratching his head with one finger, I cannot think that this man would ever conceive of so great a crime as the overthrow of the Roman constitution." This, it is true, belongs to a later period.

V. The first proof of the people's good will towards him he received when he competed against Caius Popilius for a military tribuneship and was elected over him; a second and more conspicuous proof he received when, as nephew of Julia the deceased wife of Marius, he pronounced a splendid encomium upon her in the forum,¹ and in her funeral procession ventured to display images of Marius, which were then seen for the first time since the administration of Sulla, because Marius and his friends had been pronounced public enemies. When, namely, some cried out against Caesar for this procedure, the people answered them with loud shouts, received Caesar with applause, and admired him for bringing back after so long a time, as it were from Hades, the honours of Marius into the city. Now, in the case of elderly women, it was ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations over them; but it was not customary in the case of young women, and Caesar was the first to do so when his own wife died.² This also brought him much favour, and worked upon the sympathies of the multitude, so that they were fond of him, as a man who was gentle and full of feeling.

¹ In 68 B.C.² In 68 B.C.

- 3 Θάψας δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα ταμίας εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐνὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Βέτερι συνεξήλθεν, ὃν αὐτόν τε τιμῶν αἰεὶ διετέλεσε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν πάλιν αὐτὸς ἄρχων ταμίαν ἐποίησε. γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης τρίτην ἡγάγετο γυναῖκα Πομπηΐαν, ἔχων ἐκ Κορνηλίας θυγατέρα τὴν ὕστερον Πομ-
4 πηΐῳ Μάγνῳ γαμηθεῖσαν. χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις ἀφειδῶς, καὶ δοκῶν μὲν ἐφήμερον καὶ βραχεῖαν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων δόξαν, ὠνούμενος δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις τὰ μέγιστα μικρῶν, λέγεται πρὶν εἰς ἀρχὴν τινα καθίστασθαι χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων γενέσθαι
5 χρεωφειλέτης ταλάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐπιμελητῆς πάμπολλα χρήματα προσανάλωσε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ ἀγορανομῶν ζεύγῃ μονομάχων τριακόσια καὶ εἴκοσι παρέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ θέατρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ δεῖπνα χορηγίαις καὶ πολυτελείαις τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατέκλυσε φιλοτιμίας, οὕτω διέ-
θηκε τὸν δῆμον ὥς καινὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς καινὰς δὲ τιμὰς ζητεῖν ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμείψαιντο.

VI. Δυεῖν δὲ οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στάσεων, τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Σύλλα μέγα δυναμένης, τῆς δὲ Μαριανῆς, ἥ τότε κατεπτήχει καὶ διέσπαστο κομιδῇ ταπεινὰ πράττουσα, ταύτην ἀναρρῶσαι καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι βουλούμενος ἐν ταῖς ἀγορανομικαῖς φιλοτιμί-

After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain¹ as quaestor under Vetus, one of the praetors, whom he never ceased to hold in high esteem, and whose son, in turn, when he himself was praetor, he made his quaestor. After he had served in this office, he married for his third wife² Pompeia, having already by Cornelia a daughter who was afterwards married to Pompey the Great. He was unsparing in his outlays of money, and was thought to be purchasing a transient and short-lived fame at a great price, though in reality he was buying things of the highest value at a small price. We are told, accordingly, that before he entered upon any public office he was thirteen hundred talents in debt. Again, being appointed curator of the Appian Way, he expended upon it vast sums of his own money; and again, during his aedileship,³ he furnished three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, and by lavish provision besides for theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets, he washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office. By these means he put the people in such a humour that every man of them was seeking out new offices and new honours with which to requite him.

VI. There were two parties in the city, that of Sulla, which had been all powerful since his day, and that of Marius, which at that time was in an altogether lowly state, being cowed and scattered. This party Caesar wished to revive and attach to himself, and therefore, when the ambitious efforts of his aedileship were at their height, he had images

² Caesar was first married to Cossutia, the daughter of a rich Roman knight.

³ In 66 B.C.

- αἰς ἀκμὴν ἐχούσαις εἰκόνας ἐποιήσατο Μαρίου
 κρύφα καὶ Νίκας τροπαιοφόρους, ἃς φέρων νυκτὸς 71
 2 εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέστησεν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ
 τοὺς θεασαμένους μαρμαίροντα πάντα χρυσῷ καὶ
 τέχνῃ κατεσκευασμένα περιπτῶς (διεδήλου δὲ
 γράμμασι τὰ Κιμβρικὰ κατορθώματα) θάμβος
 ἔσχε τῆς τόλμης τοῦ ἀναθέντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδη-
 λος), ταχὺ δὲ περιῦν ὁ λόγος ἤθροιζε πάντας
 3 ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν. ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐβόων
 τυραννίδα πολιτεύεσθαι Καίσαρα, νόμοις καὶ
 δόγμασι κατορωρυγμένας ἐπανιστάντα τιμάς, καὶ
 τοῦτο πείραν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον εἶναι προμαλαττό-
 μενον, εἰ τετιθάσενται ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὑπ' αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ δίδωσι παίζειν τοιαῦτα καὶ καινοτομεῖν,
 οἱ δὲ Μαριανοὶ παραθαρρύναντες ἀλλήλους πλή-
 θει τε θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι διεφάνησαν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ
 4 κρότῳ κατεῖχον τὸ Καπιτώλιον· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ
 δάκρυα τὴν Μαρίου θεωμένοις ὄψιν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
 ἐχώρει, καὶ μέγας ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγκωμίοις αἰρό-
 μενος, ὥς ἀντὶ πάντων ἄξιος εἶη ὁ¹ ἀνὴρ τῆς
 Μαρίου συγγενείας. συναχθείσης δὲ περὶ τού-
 των τῆς βουλῆς, Κάτλος Λουτάτιος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκι-
 μῶν τότε μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων, ἀναστὰς καὶ κατη-
 γορήσας Καίσαρος ἐπεφθέγγετο τὸ μνημονευό-
 μενον· “Οὐκέτι γὰρ ὑπονόμοις,” ἔφη, “Καῖσαρ,
 ἀλλ' ἤδη μηχαναῖς αἰρεῖ τὴν πολιτείαν.” ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἀπολογησάμενος πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ἔπεισε
 τὴν σύγκλητον, ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ θαυμάζοντες αὐτὸν

¹ εἶη ὁ bracketed by Sint.²

of Marius secretly made, together with trophy-bearing Victories, and these he ordered to be carried by night and set up on the Capitol. At day-break those who beheld all these objects glittering with gold and fashioned with the most exquisite art (and they bore inscriptions setting forth the Cimbrian successes of Marius¹) were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up (for it was evident who had done it), and the report of it quickly spreading brought everybody together for the sight. But some cried out that Caesar was scheming to usurp sole power in the state when he thus revived honours which had been buried by laws and decrees, and that this proceeding was a test of the people, whose feelings towards him he had previously softened, to see whether they had been made docile by his ambitious displays and would permit him to amuse himself with such innovations. The partisans of Marius, however, encouraged one another and showed themselves on a sudden in amazing numbers, and filled the Capitol with their applause. Many, too, were moved to tears of joy when they beheld the features of Marius, and Caesar was highly extolled by them, and regarded as above all others worthy of his kinship with Marius. But when the senate met to discuss these matters, Catulus Lutatius, a man of the highest repute at that time in Rome, rose up and denounced Caesar, uttering the memorable words: "No longer, indeed, by sapping and mining, Caesar, but with engines of war art thou capturing the government." Caesar, however, defended himself against this charge and convinced the senate, whereupon his admirers were still more

¹ See the *Marius*, chapters xi.-xxii.

ἐπὴρθησαν, καὶ παρεκελεύοντο μηδενὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφίεσθαι· πάντων γὰρ ἐκόντι τῷ δήμῳ περιέσεσθαι καὶ πρωτεύειν.

VII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Μετέλλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτήσαντος καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην περιμάχητον οὖσαν Ἰσαυρικοῦ καὶ Κάτλου μετιόντων, ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μέγιστον ἐν βουλῇ δυναμένων, οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ
2 καταβὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀντιπαρήγγελλεν. ἀγχωμάλου δὲ τῆς σπουδῆς φαινομένης, ὁ Κάτλος, ἀπὸ μείζονος ἀξίας μᾶλλον ὀρρωδῶν τὴν ἀδελότητα, προσέπεμψε πείθων ἀποστῆναι τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πλείω προσδανεισάμενος ἔφη διαγωνιεῖσθαι.

Τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ προπεμπούσης, ἀσπασάμενος αὐτήν, “ὦ μῆτερ,” εἶπε, “τήμερον
3 ἢ ἀρχιερέα τὸν υἱὸν ἢ φυγάδα ὄψει.” διενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς ψήφου καὶ γενομένης ἀμίλλης ἐκράτησε, καὶ παρέσχε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις φόβον ὥς ἐπὶ πᾶν θρασύτητος προάξων τὸν δῆμον. ὅθεν οἱ περὶ Πείσωνα καὶ Κάτλου ἡτιῶντο Κικέρωνα φεισάμενον Καίσαρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ
4 Κατιλίαν λαβὴν παρασχόντος. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Κατιλίνας οὐ μόνον τὴν πολιτείαν μεταβαλεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὅλην ἀνελεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέαι διανοήθεις αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξέπεσε,

¹ In 63 B.C.

elated and exhorted him not to lower his pretensions for any man, since the people would be glad to have him triumph over all opposition and be the first man in the state.

VII. At this time, too, Metellus, the pontifex maximus, or high priest, died,¹ and though Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was an object of great ambition, and though they were most illustrious men and of the greatest influence in the senate, Caesar would not give way to them, but presented himself to the people as a rival candidate. The favour of the electors appeared to be about equally divided, and therefore Catulus, who, as the worthier of Caesar's competitors, dreaded more the uncertainty of the issue, sent and tried to induce Caesar to desist from his ambitious project, offering him large sums of money. But Caesar declared that he would carry the contest through even though he had to borrow still larger sums.

The day for the election came, and as Caesar's mother accompanied him to the door in tears, he kissed her and said: "Mother, to-day thou shalt see thy son either pontifex maximus or an exile." The contest was sharp, but when the vote was taken Caesar prevailed, and thereby made the senate and nobles afraid that he would lead the people on to every extreme of recklessness. Therefore Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Caesar when, in the affair of Catiline, he gave his enemies a hold upon him. Catiline, namely, had purposed not only to subvert the constitution, but to destroy the whole government and throw everything into confusion. He himself, however, was expelled from the city,²

² In 63 B.C. Cf. the *Cicero*, chapters x.-xxii.

περιπταίσας ἐλάττοσιν ἐλέγχοις πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἐσχάτας αὐτοῦ βουλὰς ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, Λέντλον δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἐν τῇ πόλει διαδόχους ἀπέλιπε τῆς συνωμοσίας, οἷς εἰ μὲν κρύφα παρεῖχέ τι θάρσους καὶ δυνάμεως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄδηλόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐξελεγχθέντων καὶ Κικέρωνος τοῦ ὑπάτου γνώμας ἐρωτῶντος περὶ 5 κολάσεως ἕκαστον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι μέχρι Καίσαρος θανατοῦν ἐκέλευον, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀναστὰς λόγον διῆλθε πεφροντισμένον, ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἀκρίτους ἄνδρας ἀξιώματι καὶ γένει λαμπροὺς οὐ δοκεῖ πατριον οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι, μὴ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης, εἰ δὲ φρουροῖντο δεθέντες ἐν πόλεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἃς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔληται Κικέρων, μέχρι οὐ καταπολεμηθῇ Κατιλίνας, ὕστερον ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν περὶ ἐκάστου τῇ βουλῇ γινῶναι παρέξει.

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς γνώμης φιланθρώπου 711 φανείσης καὶ τοῦ λόγου δυνατῶς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ῥηθέντος οὐ μόνον οἱ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνιστάμενοι προσετίθεντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰρημένας γνώμας ἀπειπάμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου μετέστησαν, ἕως ἐπὶ Κάτωνα τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ Κάτλον περιῆλθε. τούτων δὲ νεανικῶς ἐναντιωθέντων, Κάτωνος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ συνεπερείσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ συγκατεξανα- 2 στάντος ἔρρωμένως, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἀποθανούμενοι παρεδόθησαν, Καίσαρι δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξιόντι

¹ Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxii. 4 f.

having been overwhelmed by proofs of lesser iniquities before his most far reaching plans were discovered; but he left Lentulus and Cethegus behind him in the city to promote the conspiracy in his place. Now, whether or not Caesar secretly gave these men any countenance and help, is uncertain; but after they had been overwhelmingly convicted in the senate, and Cicero the consul asked each senator to give his opinion on the manner of their punishment, the rest, down to Caesar, urged that they be put to death, but Caesar rose in his place and delivered a long and studied speech against this. He pleaded that to put to death without legal trial men of high rank and brilliant lineage was not, in his opinion, traditional or just, except under extremest necessity; but that if they should be bound and kept in custody, in such cities of Italy as Cicero himself might elect, until the war against Catiline had been brought to a successful end, the senate could afterwards, in a time of peace and at their leisure, vote upon the case of each one of them.

VIII. This opinion seemed so humane, and the speech in support of it was made with such power,¹ that not only those who rose to speak after Caesar sided with him, but many also of those who had preceded him took back the opinions which they had expressed and went over to his, until the question came round to Cato and Catulus. These warmly opposed Caesar's proposal, and Cato even helped to raise suspicion against Caesar by what he said.² As a result, the men were handed over to the executioner, and many of the young men who at that time formed a body-guard for Cicero ran together

² See the *Cato Minor*, chapter xxiii.

πολλοὶ τῶν Κικέρωνα φρουρούντων τότε νέων
 γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη συνδραμόντες ἐπέσχον. ἀλλὰ
 Κουρίων τε λέγεται τῇ τηβέννῳ περιβαλὼν ὑπεξ-
 αγαγεῖν, αὐτός τε ὁ Κικέρων, ὡς οἱ νεανίσκοι
 προσέβλεψαν, ἀνανεῦσαι, φοβηθεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἢ
 τὸν φόνον ὅλως ἄδικον καὶ παράνομον ἡγούμενος.

- 3 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ὁ Κικέρων, εἴπερ
 ἦν ἀληθές, ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὑπατείας οὐκ ἔγραψεν·
 αἰτίαν δὲ εἶχεν ὕστερον ὡς ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ τότε
 παρασχόντι κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος μὴ χρησάμενος,
 ἀλλ' ἀποδειλιάσας τὸν δῆμον ὑπερφυῶς περιεχό-
 μενον τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅς γε καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
 εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐν
 ὑποψίαις ἦν ἀπολογουμένου καὶ περιπίπτοντος
 θορύβοις πονηροῖς, ἐπειδὴ πλείων τοῦ συνήθους
 ἐγίγνετο τῇ βουλῇ καθεζομένη χρόνος, ἐπῆλθε
 μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ περιέστη τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀπαι-
 4 τῶν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύων ἀφεῖναι. διὸ καὶ
 Κάτων φοβηθεῖς μάλιστα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων
 νεωτερισμόν, οἱ τοῦ παντὸς ὑπέκκαυμα πλήθους
 ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ἔπεισε
 τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπονεῖμαι σιτηρέσιον αὐτοῖς ἔμ-
 μηνον, ἐξ οὗ δαπάνης μὲν ἐπτακόσiai πεντήκοντα
 μυριάδες ἐνιαύσιοι προσεγίνοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνα-
 λώμασι, τὸν μέντοι μέγαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φόβον
 ἔσβεσε περιφανῶς τὸ πολίτευμα τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ
 πλείστον ἀπέρρηξε τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως καὶ

with drawn swords and threatened Caesar as he was leaving the senate. But Curio, as we are told, threw his toga round Caesar and got him away, while Cicero himself, when the young men looked to him for a sign, shook his head, either through fear of the people, or because he thought the murder would be wholly contrary to law and justice.

Now, if this is true, I do not see why Cicero did not mention it in the treatise on his consulship;¹ however, he was afterwards blamed for not having improved that best of all opportunities for removing Caesar. Instead, he showed a cowardly fear of the people, who were extravagantly attached to Caesar; in fact, a few days afterward, when Caesar came into the senate and tried to defend himself in the matters wherein suspicion had been fixed upon him, and met with a tumult of disapproval, the people, seeing that the session of the senate was lasting a longer time than usual, came up with loud cries and surrounded the senate-house, demanding Caesar, and ordering the senate to let him go. It was for this reason, too, that Cato, fearing above all things a revolutionary movement set on foot by the poorer classes, who were setting the whole multitude on fire with the hopes which they fixed upon Caesar, persuaded the senate to assign them a monthly allowance of grain, in consequence of which an annual outlay of seven million five hundred thousand drachmas was added to the other expenditures of the state.² However, the great fear which prevailed at the time was manifestly quenched by this measure, and the greatest part of Caesar's power was broken down and dissi-

¹ No longer extant. ² Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxvi. 1.

διεσκέδασεν ἐν καιρῷ, στρατηγεῖν μέλλοντος καὶ φοβερωτέρου διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄντος.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἀπέβη τι ταραχῶδες ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχη τις ἄχαρις τῷ Καίσαρι συνηνέχθη περὶ τὸν οἶκον. Πόπλιος Κλώδιος ἦν ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν εὐπατρίδης καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ λαμπρός, ὕβρει δὲ καὶ θρασύτητι τῶν ἐπὶ βδελυρία
2 περιβοήτων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος. οὗτος ἦρα Πομπηίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἀκούσης. ἀλλὰ φυλακαί τε τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀκριβεῖς ἦσαν, ἥ τε μήτηρ τοῦ Καίσαρος Αὐρηλία, γυνὴ σώφρων, περιέπουσα τὴν νύμφην αἰὲ χαλεπὴν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένην αὐτοῖς ἐποίει τὴν ἔντευξιν.

3 Ἔστι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις θεὸς ἦν Ἀγαθὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες Γυναικείαν. καὶ Φρύγες μὲν οἰκειούμενοι Μίδα μητέρα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέσθαι φασί, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ νύμφην Δρυάδα Φαύνῳ συνοικήσασαν, Ἕλληνες δὲ τῶν Διονύσου μητέρων τὴν ἄρρητον. ὅθεν ἀμπελίνοις τε τὰς σκηναὺς κλήμασιν ἐορτάζουσιν κατερέφουσι, καὶ δράκων ἱερὸς παρακαθίδρυται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον. ἄνδρα δὲ προσελθεῖν οὐ θέμις οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὀργιαζομένων· αὐταὶ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὰς αἱ γυναῖκες πολλὰ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ὁμολογοῦντα δρᾶν λέγονται περὶ τὴν ἱεουργίαν.
4 ὅταν οὖν ὁ τῆς ἐορτῆς καθήκη χρόνος, ὑπατεύοντος ἢ στρατηγοῦντος ἀνδρός, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξί-

pated in the nick of time, since he was praetor elect,¹ and would be more formidable on account of his office.

IX. However, there were no disturbances in consequence of Caesar's praetorship, but an unpleasant incident happened in his family. Publius Clodius was a man of patrician birth, and conspicuous for wealth and eloquence, but in insolence and effrontery he surpassed all the notorious scoundrels of his time. This man was in love with Pompeia the wife of Caesar, and she was not unwilling. But close watch was kept upon the women's apartments, and Aurelia, Caesar's mother, a woman of discretion, would never let the young wife out of her sight, and made it difficult and dangerous for the lovers to have an interview.

Now, the Romans have a goddess whom they call Bona, corresponding to the Greek Gynaecia. The Phrygians claim this goddess as their own, and say that she was the mother of King Midas; the Romans say she was a Dryad nymph and the wife of Faunus; the Greeks that she was the unnameable one among the mothers of Dionysus. And this is the reason why the women cover their booths with vine-branches when they celebrate her festival, and why a sacred serpent is enthroned beside the goddess in conformity with the myth. It is not lawful for a man to attend the sacred ceremonies, nor even to be in the house when they are celebrated; but the women, apart by themselves, are said to perform many rites during their sacred service which are Orphic in their character. Accordingly, when the time for the festival is at hand, the consul or praetor at whose house it is to be held goes away, and every male with him,

¹ For the year 62 B.C.

σταται καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τὴν οἰκίαν παραλαβοῦσα διακοσμεῖ. καὶ τὰ μέγιστα νύκτωρ τελεῖται, παιδιᾶς ἀναμεμιγμένης ταῖς παννυχίσι καὶ μουσικῆς ἅμα πολλῆς παρούσης.

- Χ. Ταύτην τότε τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Πομπηίας ἐπιτελούσης, ὁ Κλώδιος οὐπω γενειῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λήσειν οἰόμενος ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλ- 71
 τρίας ἀναλαβὼν ἐχώρει, νέᾳ γυναικὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἐοικώς. καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐπιτυχὼν ἀνεωγμέναις εἰσῆχθη μὲν ἀδεῶς ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδυίας θεραπαινί-
 2 δος, ἐκείνης δὲ προδραμούσης ὡς τῇ Πομπηίᾳ φράσειε, καὶ γενομένης διατριβῆς, περιμένειν μὲν ὅπου κατελείφθη τῷ Κλωδίῳ μὴ καρτεροῦντι, πλανωμένῳ δ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ περιφεύγοντι τὰ φῶτα προσπεσοῦσα τῆς Αὐρηλίας ἀκόλουθος ὡς δὴ γυνὴ γυναῖκα παίζειν προῦκαλεῖτο, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς τὸ μέσον εἴλκε, καὶ τίς ἐστι καὶ
 3 πόθεν ἐπυνθάνετο. τοῦ δὲ Κλωδίου φήσαντος "Ἄβραν περιμένειν Πομπηίας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλουμένην, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ γενομένου καταφανοῦς, ἡ μὲν ἀκόλουθος εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδησε κραυγῇ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα καὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ἄνδρα πεφωρακέναι βοῶσα, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν διαπτοηθεισῶν ἡ Αὐρηλία τὰ μὲν ὄργια τῆς θεοῦ κατέπαυσε καὶ συνεκάλυψε, αὐτὴ δὲ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείσαι κελεύσασα περιήει τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπὸ λαμπάδων,
 4 ζητοῦσα τὸν Κλώδιον. εὕρίσκεται δ' εἰς οἴκημα παιδίσκης ἣ συνεισῆλθε καταπεφευγώς· καὶ γενόμενος φανερός ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξελαύνεται διὰ τῶν θυρῶν. τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα καὶ νυκτὸς εὐθὺς αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπιοῦσαι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐφφραζον

while his wife takes possession of the premises and puts them in due array. The most important rites are celebrated by night, when mirth attends the revels, and much music, too, is heard.

X. At the time of which I speak, Pompeia was celebrating this festival, and Clodius, who was still beardless and on this account thought to pass unnoticed, assumed the dress and implements of a lute-girl and went to the house, looking like a young woman. He found the door open, and was brought in safely by the maid-servant there, who was in the secret; but after she had run on ahead to tell Pompeia and some time had elapsed, Clodius had not the patience to wait where he had been left, and so, as he was wandering about in the house (a large one) and trying to avoid the lights, an attendant of Aurelia came upon him and asked him to play with her, as one woman would another, and when he refused, she dragged him forward and asked who he was and whence he came. Clodius answered that he was waiting for Pompeia's Abra (this was the very name by which the maid was called), and his voice betrayed him. The attendant of Aurelia at once sprang away with a scream to the lights and the throng, crying out that she had caught a man. The women were panic-stricken, and Aurelia put a stop to the mystic rites of the goddess and covered up the emblems. Then she ordered the doors to be closed and went about the house with torches, searching for Clodius. He was found where he had taken refuge, in the chamber of the girl who had let him into the house; and when they saw who he was, the women drove him out of doors. Then at once, and in the night, they went off and

ἀνδράσι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐχώρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως
 λόγος ὡς ἀθέσμοις ἐπικεχειρηκότος τοῦ Κλωδίου
 καὶ δίκην οὐ τοῖς ὑβρισμένοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 5 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφείλοντος. ἐγράψατο
 μὲν οὖν τὸν Κλώδιον εἰς τῶν δημάρχων ἀσεβείας,
 καὶ συνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν
 ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἅλλας τε δεινὰς ἀσελγείας
 καταμαρτυροῦντες καὶ μοιχείαν ἀδελφῆς, ἣ Λευ-
 κούλλῳ συνωκίηκει. πρὸς δὲ τὰς τούτων σπουδὰς
 ὁ δῆμος ἀντιτάξας ἑαυτὸν ἤμυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ, καὶ
 6 γμένους καὶ δεδοικότας τὸ πλῆθος. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ
 ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν Πομπηΐαν, μάρτυς δὲ
 πρὸς τὴν δίκην κληθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔφη τῶν λεγομένων
 κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου γινώσκειν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ λόγου
 παραδόξου φανέντος ὁ κατήγορος ἠρώτησε, “ Πῶς
 οὖν ἀπεπέμψω τὴν γυναῖκα; ” “ Ὅτι, ” ἔφη, “ τὴν
 ἐμὴν ἡξίουں μηδὲ ὑπονοηθῆναι. ”

Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν οὕτω φρονοῦντα τὸν Καίσαρα
 λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενον ὥρ-
 7 μημένῳ σώζειν τὸν Κλώδιον. ἀποφεύγει δ' οὖν
 τὸ ἔγκλημα τῶν πλείστων δικαστῶν συγκεχυ-
 μένοις τοῖς γράμμασι τὰς γνώμας ἀποδόντων,
 ὅπως μήτε παρακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς
 καταψηφισάμενοι μήτε ἀπολύσαντες ἀδοξήσωσι
 παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις.

XI. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας
 τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν λαβὼν, ὡς ἦν δυσδιά-

told the matter to their husbands, and when day came a report spread through the city that Clodius had committed sacrilege and owed satisfaction, not only to those whom he had insulted, but also to the city and to the gods. Accordingly, one of the tribunes of the people indicted Clodius for sacrilege, and the most influential senators leagued themselves together and bore witness against him that, among other shocking abominations, he had committed adultery with his sister, who was the wife of Lucullus. But against the eager efforts of these men the people arrayed themselves in defence of Clodius, and were of great assistance to him with the jurors in the case, who were terror-stricken and afraid of the multitude. Caesar divorced Pompeia at once, but when he was summoned to testify at the trial, he said he knew nothing about the matters with which Clodius was charged. His statement appeared strange, and the prosecutor therefore asked, "Why, then, didst thou divorce thy wife?" "Because," said Caesar, "I thought my wife ought not even to be under suspicion."

Some say that Caesar made this deposition honestly; but according to others it was made to gratify the people, who were determined to rescue Clodius. At any rate, Clodius was acquitted of the charge, the majority of the jurors giving their verdicts in illegible writing, in order that they might neither risk their lives with the populace by condemning him, nor get a bad name among the nobility by acquitting him.¹

XI. Immediately after his praetorship Caesar received Spain as his province, and since he found it

¹ The sacrilege and trial of Clodius are described at length also in the *Cicero*, chapters xxviii. and xxix.

θετον αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐξιόντι καὶ καταβοῶντας, ἐπὶ Κράσσον κατέφυγε πλουσιώτατον ὄντα Ῥωμαίων, δεόμενον δὲ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀκμῆς καὶ θερμότητος ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Πομπηϊὸν ἀντιπολιτείαν. ἀναδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου τοὺς μάλιστα χαλεποὺς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους τῶν δανειστῶν καὶ διεγγυήσαντος ὀκτακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα ταλάντων, οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν.

- 2 Λέγεται δέ, τὰς Ἀλπεις ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πολίχνιόν τι βαρβαρικὸν οἰκούμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν ὀλίγων καὶ λυπρὸν παρερχομένου, τοὺς ἐταίρους ἅμα γέλῳτι καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς “Ἡ που” φάναι “κάνταυθά τινές εἰσιν ὑπὲρ ἀρχῶν φιλοτιμίαι καὶ περὶ πρωτείων ἄμιλλαι καὶ φθόνοι τῶν δυνατῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους;” τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα σπουδάσαντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν, “Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μᾶλλον
3 πρῶτος ἢ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δεύτερος.” ὁμοίως δὲ πάλιν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ σχολῆς οὔσης ἀναγινώσκοντά τι τῶν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγραμμένων σφόδρα γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτῷ πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτα καὶ δα- 71.
κρῦσαι τῶν δὲ φίλων θαυμασάντων τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν· “Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν ἄξιον εἶναι λύπης, εἰ τηλικούτος μὲν ὢν Ἀλέξανδρος ἤδη τοσούτων ἐβασίλευεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὕτω πέπρακται;”

XII. Τῆς γοῦν Ἰβηρίας ἐπιβὰς εὐθύς ἦν ἐνεργός, ὥσθ' ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις δέκα σπείρας συναγαγεῖν πρὸς ταῖς πρότερον οὔσαις ἑκκοσι, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Καλλαϊκοὺς καὶ Λυσιτανοὺς κρα-

¹ Early in 61 B.C.

hard to arrange matters with his creditors, who obstructed his departure and were clamorous, he had recourse to Crassus, the richest of the Romans, who had need of Caesar's vigour and fire for his political campaign against Pompey. And it was only after Crassus had met the demands of the most importunate and inexorable of these creditors and given surety for eight hundred and thirty talents, that Caesar could go out to his province.¹

We are told that, as he was crossing the Alps and passing by a barbarian village which had very few inhabitants and was a sorry sight, his companions asked with mirth and laughter, "Can it be that here too there are ambitious strifes for office, struggles for primacy, and mutual jealousies of powerful men?" Whereupon Caesar said to them in all seriousness, "I would rather be first here than second at Rome." In like manner we are told again that, in Spain, when he was at leisure and was reading from the history of Alexander, he was lost in thought for a long time, and then burst into tears. His friends were astonished, and asked the reason for his tears. "Do you not think," said he, "it is matter for sorrow that while Alexander, at my age, was already king of so many peoples, I have as yet achieved no brilliant success?"²

XII. At any rate, as soon as he reached Spain he set himself to work, and in a few days raised ten cohorts in addition to the twenty which were there before. Then he led his army against the Callaici

² Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 7) and Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 52, 2) connect this anecdote more properly with Caesar's quaestorship in Spain (67 B.C.), when he was thirty-three years of age, the age at which Alexander died.

τῆσαι καὶ προελθεῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης τὰ μὴ πρότερον ὑπακούοντα Ῥωμαίοις ἔθνη καταστρεφόμενος. θέμενος δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς, οὐ χεῖρον ἐβράβευε τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὁμόνοιάν τε ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστάς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τῶν χρεωφειλετῶν καὶ δανειστῶν ἰώμενος διαφοράς.

2 ἔταξε γὰρ τῶν προσιόντων τοῖς ὀφείλουσι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν δύο μὲν μέρη τὸν δανειστὴν ἀναιρεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν δεσπότην, ἄχρι ἂν οὕτως ἐκλυθῇ τὸ δάνειον. ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐδοκιμῶν ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἐπαρχίας, αὐτὸς τε πλούσιος γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφεληκῶς ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν, καὶ προσηγορευμένος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν μνωμένους θρίαμβον ἔξω διατρίβειν ἔδει, τοὺς δὲ μετιόντας ὑπατείαν παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτο πράττειν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ γεγονὼς ἀντινομία καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἀφιγμένος ἀρχαιρεσίας ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον αἰτούμενος αὐτῷ δοθῆναι παραγγέλλειν εἰς ὑπατείαν ἀπόντι διὰ τῶν φίλων. Κάτωνος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυριζομένου τῷ νόμῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν, εἴτα, ὡς ἑώρα πολλοὺς τεθεραπευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐκκρούσαντος τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ λέγειν κατατρίψαντος, ἔγνω τὸν θρίαμβον ἀφείς ὁ Καῖσαρ

2 ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὑπατείας. καὶ παρελθὼν εὐθὺς ὑποδύεται πολίτευμά τι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐξαπατήσαν πλὴν Κάτωνος. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο διαλλαγὴ Πομπηίου καὶ Κράσσου τῶν μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναμένων· οὓς συναγαγὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς φιλίαν

and Lusitani, overpowered them, and marched on as far as the outer sea, subduing the tribes which before were not obedient to Rome. After bringing the war to a successful close, he was equally happy in adjusting the problems of peace, by establishing concord between the cities, and particularly by healing the dissensions between debtors and creditors. For he ordained that the creditor should annually take two thirds of his debtor's income, and that the owner of the property should use the rest, and so on until the debt was cancelled. In high repute for this administration he retired from the province; he had become wealthy himself, had enriched his soldiers from their campaigns, and had been saluted by them as Imperator.

XIII. Now, since those who sued for the privilege of a triumph must remain outside the city, while those who were candidates for the consulship must be present in the city, Caesar was in a great dilemma, and because he had reached home at the very time for the consular elections, he sent a request to the senate that he might be permitted to offer himself for the consulship *in absentia*, through the agency of his friends. But since Cato began by insisting upon the law in opposition to Caesar's request, and then, when he saw that many senators had been won over by Caesar's attentions, staved the matter off by consuming the day in speaking, Caesar decided to give up the triumph and try for the consulship. So as soon as he entered the city he assumed a policy which deceived everyone except Cato. This policy was to reconcile Pompey and Crassus, the most influential men in the city. These men Caesar brought together in friendship after their quarrel, and by

ἐκ διαφορᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν συνενεγκάμενος
 ἰσχὺν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ φιλάνθρωπον ἔχοντι προσ-
 3 ηγορίαν ἔλαθε μεταστήσας τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ
 γάρ, ὥς οἱ πλείστοι νομίζουσιν, ἡ Καίσαρος καὶ
 Πομπηίου διαφορὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους ἀπειργάσατο
 πολέμους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φιλία, συστάντων ἐπὶ
 καταλύσει τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα
 οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαστάντων. Κάτωνι
 δὲ πολλάκις τὰ μέλλοντα προθεσπίζοντι περιῆν
 δυσκόλου μὲν ἀνθρώπου τότε καὶ πολυπράγμονος,
 ὕστερον δὲ φρονίμου μὲν, οὐκ εὐτυχοῦς δὲ συμ-
 βούλου λαβεῖν δόξαν.

XIV. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς
 Κράσσου καὶ Πομπηίου φιλίας δορυφορούμενος
 ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν κατήχθη· καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀνα-
 γορευθεὶς μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Βύβλου καὶ κατα-
 στάς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθύς εἰσέφερε νόμους οὐχ
 ὑπάτῳ προσήκοντας, ἀλλὰ δημάρχῳ τινὶ θρασυ-
 τάτῳ, πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν πολλῶν κληρουχίας τινὰς
 2 χώρας καὶ διανομὰς εἰσηγούμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ
 βουλῇ τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀντικρουσάντων,
 πάλαι δεόμενος προφάσεως, ἀνακραγὼν καὶ μαρ-
 τυράμενος ὥς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἄκων ἐξελαύνοιτο
 θεραπεύσων ἐκείνῳ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὕβρει καὶ χαλε-
 πότητι τῆς βουλῆς, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ
 περιστησάμενος ἔνθεν μὲν Κράσσον, ἔνθεν δὲ
 Πομπηίον, ἠρώτησεν εἰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπαινοῖεν.
 3 ἐπαινεῖν δὲ φασκόντων, παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς ἐνίστασθαι μετὰ ξιφῶν ἀπειλοῦντας. ἐκείνοι

concentrating their united strength upon himself, succeeded, before men were aware of it, and by an act which could be called one of kindness, in changing the form of government. For it was not, as most men supposed, the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey that brought on the civil wars, but rather their friendship, since they worked together for the overthrow of the aristocracy in the first place, and then, when this had been accomplished, they quarrelled with one another. And Cato, who often foretold what was to come of their alliance, got the reputation of a morose and troublesome fellow at the time, but afterwards that of a wise, though unfortunate, counsellor.¹

XIV. Caesar, however, encompassed and protected by the friendship of Crassus and Pompey, entered the canvass for the consulship; and as soon as he had been triumphantly elected, along with Calpurnius Bibulus, and had entered upon his office,² he proposed laws which were becoming, not for a consul, but for a most radical tribune of the people; for to gratify the multitude he introduced sundry allotments and distributions of land. In the senate the opposition of men of the better sort gave him the pretext which he had long desired, and crying with loud adjurations that he was driven forth into the popular assembly against his wishes, and was compelled to court its favour by the insolence and obstinacy of the senate, he hastened before it, and stationing Crassus on one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them if they approved his laws. They declared that they did approve them, whereupon he urged them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, xlvii. 1-5.

² In 59 B.C.

δὲ ὑπισχνούντο· Πομπήϊος δὲ καὶ προσεπεῖπεν ὡς ἀφίξειτο πρὸς τὰ ξίφη μετὰ τοῦ ξίφους καὶ θυρεὸν κομίζων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοὺς μὲν ὑριστοκρατικούς ἡνίασεν, οὐκ ἀξίαν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν αἰδοῦς, οὐδὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εὐλαβείας πρέπουσαν, ἀλλὰ μανικὴν καὶ μεираκιώδη φωνὴν ἀκούσαντας, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἤσθη.

- 4 Καῖσαρ δὲ μειζόνως ἔτι τῆς Πομπηίου δυνάμεως 714
ὑποδραττόμενος, ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ Ἰουλία θυγάτηρ ἐγγεγνημένη Σερουίλιῳ Καιπίωνι, ταύτην ἐνεγύησε Πομπηίῳ, τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου τῷ Σερουίλιῳ δώσειν ἔφησεν, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν ἀνεγγυον οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ Φαύστῳ τῷ Σύλλα παιδί καθωμολογημένην.
- 5 ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Καῖσαρ ἡγάγετο Καλπουρνιαν θυγατέρα Πείσωνος, τὸν δὲ Πείσωνα κατέστησεν ὕπατον εἰς τὸ μέλλον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ σφόδρα μαρτυρομένου Κάτωνος καὶ βοῶντος οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι, γάμοις διαμαστροπευομένης τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ διὰ γυναιῶν εἰς ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ δυνάμεις ἀλλήλους ἀντεισαγόντων.
- 6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν συνάρχων τοῦ Καίσαρος Βύβλος, ἐπεὶ κωλύων τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινεν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευε μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διετέλεσε. Πομπήϊος δὲ γήμας εὐθύς ἐνέπλησε τὴν ἀγορὰν ὅπλων καὶ συνεπεκύρου τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, Καῖσαρι δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἅπασαν Κελτικὴν, προσθεὶς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν μετὰ ταγμάτων τεσσάρων εἰς πενταε-
- 7 τίαν. Κάτωνα μὲν οὖν ἐπιχειρήσαντα τούτοις ἀντιλέγειν ἀπῆγεν εἰς φυλακὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ, οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς δημάρχους· ἐκείνου δὲ

him with swords. They promised him such aid, and Pompey actually added that he would come up against swords with sword and buckler too. At this impulsive and mad speech, unworthy of the high esteem in which Pompey stood and unbecoming to the respect which was due to the senate, the nobility were distressed but the populace were delighted.

Moreover, Caesar tried to avail himself still more of the influence of Pompey. He had a daughter, Julia, who was betrothed to Servilius Caepio. This daughter he betrothed to Pompey, and said he would give Pompey's daughter in marriage to Servilius, although she too was not unbetrothed, but had been promised to Faustus, the son of Sulla. And a little while afterwards Caesar took Calpurnia to wife, a daughter of Piso, and got Piso made consul for the coming year, although here too Cato vehemently protested, and cried out that it was intolerable to have the supreme power prostituted by marriage alliances and to see men helping one another to powers and armies and provinces by means of women.

As for Caesar's colleague, Bibulus, since he availed nothing by obstructing Caesar's laws, but often ran the risk with Cato of being killed in the forum, he shut himself up at home for the remainder of his term of office. Pompey, however, immediately after his marriage, filled the forum with armed men and helped the people to enact Caesar's laws and give him as his consular province Gaul on both sides of the Alps for five years, together with Illyricum and four legions. Cato, of course, tried to speak against these measures, but Caesar had him led off to prison, supposing that he would appeal to the popular tribunes; but when Cato walked off without a word and Caesar

ἀφώνου βαδίζοντος ὁρῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς κρατίστους δυσφοροῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν αἰδοῖ τῆς Κάτωνος ἀρετῆς σιωπῇ καὶ μετὰ κατηφείας ἐπόμενον, αὐτὸς ἐδεήθη κρύφα τῶν δημάρχων ἑνὸς ἀφελέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.

- 8 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν ὀλίγοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ συνήεσαν εἰς βουλήν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκποδὼν ἦσαν. εἰπόντος δὲ Κονσιδίου τινὸς τῶν σφόδρα γερόντων ὡς φοβούμενοι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐ συνέρχονται, “Τί οὖν,” ἔφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, “οὐ καὶ σὺ ταῦτα δεδιὼς οἰκουρεῖς;” καὶ ὁ Κονσίδιος εἶπεν· “Ὅτι με ποιεῖ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ γῆρας· ὁ γὰρ ἔτι λειπόμενος βίος οὐ πολλῆς ὀλίγος ὦν δεῖται προνοίας.”
- 9 αἰσχιστον δὲ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἔδοξεν ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος ὑπατεΐᾳ δῆμαρχον αἰρεθῆναι Κλωδίον ἐκείνον, ὑφ’ οὗ τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήτους παρενομήθη παννυχίδας. ἡρέθη δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Κικέρωνος καταλύσει· καὶ Καῖσαρ οὐ πρότερον ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ καταστασιάζαι Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου καὶ συνεκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

- XV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν λέγεται γενέσθαι τὰ πρὸ τῶν Γαλατικῶν. ὁ δὲ τῶν πολέμων οὗς ἐπολέμησε μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν στρατειῶν αἷς ἡμερώσατο τὴν Κελτικήν, χρόνος, ὥσπερ ἄλλην ἀρχὴν λαβόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταστάντος εἰς ἑτέραν τινὰ βίου καὶ πραγμάτων καινῶν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτου τῶν μάλιστα τεθαυμασμένων ἐφ’ ἡγεμονία καὶ μεγίστων γεγονότων ἀπολείποντα
- 2 πολεμιστὴν καὶ στρατηλάτην ἀπέδειξεν αὐτόν,

saw not only that the most influential men were displeased, but also that the populace, out of respect for Cato's virtue, were following him in silence and with downcast looks, he himself secretly asked one of the tribunes to take Cato out of arrest.

Of the other senators, only a very few used to go with Caesar to the senate; the rest, in displeasure, stayed away. Considius, a very aged senator, once told Caesar that his colleagues did not come together because they were afraid of the armed soldiers. "Why, then," said Caesar, "dost thou too not stay at home out of the same fear?" To this Considius replied: "Because my old age makes me fearless; for the short span of life that is still left me does not require much anxious thought." But the most disgraceful public measure of the time was thought to be the election to the tribuneship, during Caesar's consulate, of the notorious Clodius, who had trespassed upon his rights as a husband, and upon the secret nocturnal vigils. He was elected, however, for the overthrow of Cicero; and Caesar did not go forth upon his campaign until, with the help of Clodius, he had raised a successful faction against Cicero and driven him out of Italy.¹

XV. Such, then, is said to have been the course of Caesar's life before his Gallic campaigns. But the period of the wars which he afterwards fought, and of the campaigns by which he subjugated Gaul, as if he had made another beginning and entered upon a different path of life and one of new achievements, proved him to be inferior as soldier and commander to no one soever of those who have won most admiration for leadership and shown themselves

¹ Cf. the *Cicero*, chapters xxx. and xxxi.

ἀλλ' εἴτε Φαβίους καὶ Σκηπίωνας καὶ Μετέλλους
καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἢ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ,
Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον ἀμφοτέρους τε Λευκούλλους
ἢ καὶ Πομπήϊον αὐτόν, οὗ κλέος ὑπουργάνιον ἦνθει
τότε παντοίας περὶ πόλεμον ἀρετῆς, παραβάλοι
τις, αἱ Καίσαρος ὑπερβάλλουσι πράξεις τὸν μὲν
χαλεπότητι τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐπολέμησε, τὸν δὲ μεγέ-
θει χώρας ἣν προσεκτήσατο, τὸν δὲ πλήθει καὶ
3 βία πολεμίων οὓς ἐνίκησε, τὸν δὲ ἀτοπiais καὶ
ἀπιστίαις ἡθῶν ἃ καθωμίλησε, τὸν δὲ ἐπιεικείᾳ
καὶ πραύτητι πρὸς τοὺς ἀλικομένους, τὸν δὲ
δώροις καὶ χάρισι πρὸς τοὺς συστρατευομένους,
πάντας δὲ τῷ πλείστας μεμαχῆσθαι μάχας καὶ
πλείστους ἀννηρκεῖναι τῶν ἀντιταχθέντων. ἔτη
γὰρ οὐδὲ δέκα πολεμήσας περὶ Γαλατίαν πόλεις
μὲν ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν, ἔθνη δὲ 715
ἐχειρώσατο τριακόσια, μυριάσι δὲ παραταξάμε-
νος κατὰ μέρος τριακοσίαις ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶ
διέφθειρεν, ἄλλας δὲ τοσαύτας ἐζώγρησεν.

XVI. Εὐνοία δὲ καὶ προθυμία στρατιωτῶν
ἐχρήσατο τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν ὥστε τοὺς ἐτέρων
μηδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις στρατείαις διαφέροντας
ἀμάχους καὶ ἀνυποστάτους φέρεσθαι πρὸς πᾶν
δεινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος δόξης. οἷος ἦν τοῦτο
μὲν Ἀκίλιος, ὃς ἐν τῇ περὶ Μασσαλίαν ναυμαχίᾳ
νεῶς πολεμίας ἐπιβεβηκὼς τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἀπε-
κόπη χεῖρα μαχαίρᾳ, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τὸν θυρεὸν οὐκ
ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλὰ τύπτων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τοὺς

greatest therein. Nay, if one compare him with such men as Fabius and Scipio and Metellus, and with the men of his own time or a little before him, like Sulla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even Pompey himself, whose fame for every sort of military excellence was at this time flowering out and reaching to the skies, Caesar will be found to surpass them all in his achievements. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the regions where he waged his wars; another in the great extent of country which he acquired; another in the multitude and might of the enemies over whom he was victorious; another in the savage manners and perfidious dispositions of the people whom he conciliated; another in his reasonableness and mildness towards his captives; another still in the gifts and favours which he bestowed upon his soldiers; and all in the fact that he fought the most battles and killed the most enemies. For although it was not full ten years that he waged war in Gaul, he took by storm more than eight hundred cities, subdued three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three million men, of whom he slew one million in hand to hand fighting and took as many more prisoners.

XVI. His soldiers showed such good will and zeal in his service that those who in their previous campaigns had been in no way superior to others were invincible and irresistible in confronting every danger to enhance Caesar's fame. Such a man, for instance, was Acilius, who, in the sea-fight at Massalia,¹ boarded a hostile ship and had his right hand cut off with a sword, but clung with the other hand to his shield, and dashing it into the faces of

¹ Described by Caesar in *Bell. Civ.* ii. 4-7.

- πολεμίους ἀπέστρεψε πάντας καὶ τοῦ σκίφους
 2 ἐπεκράτησε· τοῦτο δὲ Κάσσιος Σκεύας, ὃς ἐν τῇ
 περὶ Δυρράχιον μάχῃ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκοπεῖς
 τοξεύματι, τὸν δὲ ὦμον ὑσσῶ καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἐτέρῳ
 διεληλαμένος, τῷ δὲ θυρεῷ βελῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
 τριάκοντα πληγὰς ἀναδεδεγμένος, ἐκάλει τοὺς
 πολεμίους ὡς παραδώσων ἑαυτόν. δυεῖν δὲ
 προσιόντων, τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκοψε τὸν ὦμον τῇ
 μαχαίρᾳ, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου πατάξας
 ἀπέστρεψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διεσώθη τῶν οἰκείων περι-
 3 σχόντων. ἐν δὲ Βρεττανιᾷ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τόπον
 ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὑδάτων ἐμπεσοῦσι τοῖς πρώ-
 τοις ταξιάρχοις ἐπιθεμένων στρατιώτης, Καί-
 σαρὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶντος, ὥσάμενος εἰς
 μέσους καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περίοπτα τόλμης ἀποδει-
 ξάμενος ἔργα τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους ἔσωσε, τῶν
 βαρβάρων φυγόντων, αὐτὸς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι
 διαβαίνων ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ῥεύματα τελματώδη,
 καὶ μόλις ἄνευ τοῦ θυρεοῦ, τὰ μὲν νηχόμενος, τὰ
 4 δὲ βαδίζων, διεπέρασε. θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν
 περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κραυγῆς
 ἀπαντῶντων, αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα κατηφῆς καὶ δεδα-
 κρυμένος προσέπεσε τῷ Καίσαρι, συγγνώμην αἰ-
 τούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ προέσθαι τὸν θυρεόν. ἐν δὲ
 Λιβύῃ ναῦν ἐλόντες οἱ περὶ Σκηπίωνα Καίσαρος,
 ἐν ᾗ Γράνιος Πέτρων ἐπέπλει ταμίας ἀποδεδει-
 γμένος, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐποιοῦντο λείαν, τῷ δὲ
 ταμία διδόναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔφασαν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν
 ὅτι τοῖς Καίσαρος στρατιώταις οὐ λαμβάνειν,
 ἀλλὰ διδόναι σωτηρίαν ἔθος ἐστίν, ἑαυτὸν τῷ
 ξίφει πατάξας ἀνεῖλε.

his foes, routed them all and got possession of the vessel. Such a man, again, was Cassius Scaeva, who, in the battle at Dyrrhachium, had his eye struck out with an arrow, his shoulder transfixcd with one javelin and his thigh with another, and received on his shield the blows of one hundred and thirty missiles. In this plight, he called the enemy to him as though he would surrender. Two of them, accordingly, coming up, he lopped off the shoulder of one with his sword, smote the other in the face and put him to flight, and came off safely himself with the aid of his comrades.¹ Again, in Britain, when the enemy had fallen upon the foremost centurions, who had plunged into a watery marsh, a soldier, while Caesar in person was watching the battle, dashed into the midst of the fight, displayed many conspicuous deeds of daring, and rescued the centurions, after the Barbarians had been routed. Then he himself, making his way with difficulty after all the rest, plunged into the muddy current, and at last, without his shield, partly swimming and partly wading, got across. Caesar and his company were amazed and came to meet the soldier with cries of joy; but he, in great dejection, and with a burst of tears, cast himself at Caesar's feet, begging pardon for the loss of his shield. Again, in Africa, Scipio captured a ship of Caesar's in which Granius Petro, who had been appointed quaestor, was sailing. Of the rest of the passengers Scipio made booty, but told the quaestor that he offered him his life. Granius, however, remarking that it was the custom with Caesar's soldiers not to receive but to offer mercy, killed himself with a blow of his sword.

¹ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 53

- XVII. Τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα λήματα καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας αὐτὸς ἀνέθρεψε καὶ κατεσκεύασε Καῖσαρ, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν ἀφειδῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι τὸν πλούτον οὐκ εἰς τρυφὴν ἰδίαν οὐδέ τινας ἡδυπαθείας ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἀθροίζει, κοινὰ δὲ ἄθλα τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας παρ' αὐτῷ φυλασσόμενα ἀπόκειται, καὶ μέτεστιν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πλουτεῖν ὅσα τοῖς ἀξίοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν δίδωσιν· ἔπειτα τῷ πάντα μὲν κίνδυνον ἐκὼν ὑφίστασθαι, πρὸς μηδένα δὲ τῶν πόνων ἀπαγορεύειν.
- 2 τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλοκίνδυνον οὐκ ἐθαύμαζον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν· ἡ δὲ τῶν πόνων ὑπομονὴ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν δοκοῦντος ἐξέπληττεν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἔξιν ὧν ἰσχνὸς καὶ τὴν σάρκα λευκὸς καὶ ἀπαλὸς καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν νοσώδης καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιληπτικοῖς ἔνοχος, ἐν Κορδύβῃ πρῶτον αὐτῷ τοῦ πάθους, ὡς λέγεται, τούτου προσπεσόντος, οὐ μαλακίας
- 3 ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρρωστίαν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θεραπείαν τῆς ἀρρωστίας τὴν στρατείαν, ταῖς ἀτρύτοις ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς εὐτελέσι διαίταις καὶ τῷ θυραυλεῖν ἐνδελεχῶς καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἀπομαχόμενος τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ σῶμα τηρῶν δυσάλωτον. ἐκοιμᾶτο μὲν γε τοὺς πλείστους ὕπνους ἐν ὀχήμασιν ἢ φορείοις, εἰς πρᾶξιν τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν κατατιθέμενος, ὥχεϊτο δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς χάρακας, ἐνὸς αὐτῷ συγκαθημένου παιδὸς τῶν ὑπογράφειν ἅμα διώκοντος εἰθισμένων, ἐνὸς δ' ἐξόπισθεν ἐφεστη-
- 4 κότος στρατιώτου ξίφος ἔχοντος. συντόνως δὲ 716 ἤλαυνεν οὕτως ὥστε τὴν πρώτην ἔξοδον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ποιησάμενος ὀγδοαῖος ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ἐλθεῖν.

XVII. Such spirit and ambition Caesar himself created and cultivated in his men, in the first place, because he showed, by his unsparing bestowal of rewards and honours, that he was not amassing wealth from his wars for his own luxury or for any life of ease, but that he treasured it up carefully as a common prize for deeds of valour, and had no greater share in the wealth than he offered to the deserving among his soldiers; and in the second place, by willingly undergoing every danger and refusing no toil. Now, at his love of danger his men were not astonished, knowing his ambition; but that he should undergo toils beyond his body's apparent power of endurance amazed them, because he was of a spare habit, had a soft and white skin, suffered from distemper in the head, and was subject to epileptic fits, a trouble which first attacked him, we are told, in Corduba. Nevertheless, he did not make his feeble health an excuse for soft living, but rather his military service a cure for his feeble health, since by wearisome journeys, simple diet, continuously sleeping in the open air, and enduring hardships, he fought off his trouble and kept his body strong against its attacks. Most of his sleep, at least, he got in cars or litters, making his rest conduce to action, and in the day-time he would have himself conveyed to garrisons, cities, or camps, one slave who was accustomed to write from dictation as he travelled sitting by his side, and one soldier standing behind him with a sword. And he drove so rapidly that, on his first journey from Rome to Gaul, he reached the Rhone in seven days.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἱππεύειν ἐκ παιδὸς ἦν αὐτῷ ῥάδιον· εἵθιστο γὰρ εἰς τοῦπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ἀπάγων καὶ τῷ νώτῳ περιπλέκων ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνειν τὸν ἵππον. ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ προσεξήσκησεν ἱππαζόμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὑπαγορεύειν καὶ δυσὶν ὁμοῦ γράφουσιν ἐξαρκεῖν, ὥς δὲ Ὀππιός
 5 φησι, καὶ πλείοσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ διὰ γραμμάτων τοῖς φίλοις ὁμιλεῖν Καίσαρα πρῶτον μηχανήσασθαι, τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔντευξιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπειγόντων τοῦ καιροῦ διὰ τε πλῆθος ἀσχολιῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος μὴ περιμένοντος. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐκολίας κἀκείνο ποιοῦνται σημεῖον, ὅτι τοῦ δειπνίζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ ξένου Οὐαλλερίου Λέοντος παραθέντος ἀσπάραγον καὶ μύρον ἀντ' ἐλαίου καταχέαντος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφελῶς ἔφαγε, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις δυσχεραί-
 6 νουσιν ἐπέπληξεν. “Ἡρκει γάρ,” ἔφη, “τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπαρέσκουσιν· ὁ δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγροικίαν ἐξελέγχων αὐτός ἐστιν ἀγροικος.” ἐν ὁδῷ δέ ποτε συνελασθεὶς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς ἔπαυλιν ἀνθρώπου πένητος, ὥς οὐδὲν εὔρε πλεόν οἰκήματος ἐνὸς γλίσχρως ἕνα δέξασθαι δυναμένου, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐντίμων παραχωρητέον εἶη τοῖς κρατίστοις, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις, Ὀππιον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπαύσασθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τῷ προστεγίῳ τῆς θύρας ἐκάθειδεν.

XVIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτῷ τῶν Κελτικῶν πολέμων πρὸς Ἑλβηττίους συνέστη καὶ Τιγυρίνους, οἱ τὰς αὐτῶν δώδεκα πόλεις καὶ κώμας τετρακοσίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἐχώρουν πρόσω

Horsemanship, moreover, had been easy for him from boyhood; for he was wont to put his hands behind his back and, holding them closely there, to ride his horse at full speed. And in the Gallic campaigns he practised dictating letters on horseback and keeping two scribes at once busy, or, as Oppius says, even more. We are told, moreover, that Caesar was the first to devise intercourse with his friends by letter, since he could not wait for personal interviews on urgent matters owing to the multitude of his occupations and the great size of the city. Of his indifference in regard to his diet the following circumstance also is brought in proof. When the host who was entertaining him in Mediolanum, Valerius Leo, served up asparagus dressed with myrrh instead of olive oil, Caesar ate of it without ado, and rebuked his friends when they showed displeasure. "Surely," said he, "it were enough not to eat what you don't like; but he who finds fault with ill-breeding like this is ill-bred himself." Once, too, upon a journey, he and his followers were driven by a storm into a poor man's hut, and when he found that it consisted of one room only, and that one barely able to accommodate a single person, he said to his friends that honours must be yielded to the strongest, but necessities to the weakest, and bade Oppius lie down there, while he himself with the rest of his company slept in the porch.

XVIII. But to resume, the first of his Gallic wars was against the Helvetii and Tigurini,¹ who had set fire to their twelve cities and four hundred villages and were advancing through that part of Gaul which

¹ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 2-29.

- διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Γαλατίας, ὥσπερ πάλαι Κίμβροι καὶ Τεύτονες, οὔτε τόλμαν ἐκείνων ὑποδεέστεροι δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ πλήθος ὁμαλῶς τριάκοντα μὲν αἱ πᾶσαι μυριάδες ὄντες, εἴκοσι δὲ
- 2 αἱ μαχόμεναι μιᾶς δέουσαι. τούτων Τιγυρίνους μὲν οὐκ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ Λαβιηνὸς πεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἄραρα ποταμὸν συνέτριψεν, Ἑλβητιῶν δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τινα πόλιν φίλην ἄγοντι τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ὁδὸν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπιθεμένων φθάσας ἐπὶ χωρίον καρτερόν κατέφυγε. κῦκεί συναγαγὼν καὶ παρατάξας τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἵππος αὐτῷ προσήχθη, “Τούτῳ μὲν,” ἔφη, “νικήσας χρήσομαι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν, νῦν δὲ ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,” καὶ πεζὸς
- 3 ὁρμήσας ἐνέβαλε. χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ὥσάμενος τὸ μάχιμον περὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις καὶ τῷ χάρακι τὸν πλεῖστον ἔσχε πόνον, οὐκ αὐτῶν μόνων ὑφισταμένων ἐκεῖ καὶ μαχομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖδες αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκες ἀμυνόμενοι μέχρι θανάτου συγκατεκόπησαν, ὥστε τὴν μάχην μόλις
- 4 εἰς μέσας νύκτας τελευτῆσαι. καλῷ δὲ τῷ τῆς νίκης ἔργῳ κρεῖττον ἐπέθηκε τὸ συνοικίσαι τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῶν περιόντων βαρβάρων, καὶ καταναγκάσαι τὴν χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν ἣν ἀπέλιπον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἃς διέφθειραν, ὄντας ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο δεδιὼς μὴ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον γενομένην οἱ Γερμανοὶ διαβάντες κατάσχωσι.

XIX. Δεύτερον δὲ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ἄντικρυς ὑπὲρ Κελτῶν ἐπολέμησε, καίτοι τὸν βασιλέα πρότερον αὐτῶν Ἀριόβιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ σύμμαχον

was subject to the Romans, as once the Cimbri and Teutones had done. To these they were thought to be not inferior in courage and of equal numbers, being three hundred thousand in all, of whom one hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. The Tigurini were crushed at the river Arar, not by Caesar himself, but by Labienus, his deputy; the Helvetii, however, unexpectedly attacked Caesar himself on the march, as he was leading his forces towards a friendly city, but he succeeded in reaching a strong place of refuge. Here, after he had collected and arrayed his forces, a horse was brought to him. "This horse," said he, "I will use for the pursuit after my victory; but now let us go against the enemy," and accordingly led the charge on foot. After a long and hard struggle he routed the enemy's fighting men, but had the most trouble at their rampart of waggons, where not only did the men themselves make a stand and fight, but also their wives and children defended themselves to the death and were cut to pieces with the men. The battle was hardly over by midnight. To the noble work of victory Caesar added a nobler still, that of settling those of the Barbarians who had escaped alive from the battle (there were more than one hundred thousand of them), and compelling them to resume the territory which they had abandoned and the cities which they had destroyed. He did this because he feared that if the territory became vacant the Germans would cross the Rhine and occupy it.

XIX. His second war, directly in defence of the Gauls, was against the Germans,¹ although previously, in Rome, he had made their king Ariovistus

¹ Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* i. 30-53.

πεποιημένος· ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἀφόρητοι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις αὐτοῦ γείτονες, καὶ καιροῦ παραδόντος οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀτρεμήσειν, ἀλλ' 2 ἐπινεμήσεσθαι καὶ καθέξειν τὴν Γαλατίαν. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀποδειλιῶντας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ νέων αὐτῷ συνεξῆλθον ὡς δὴ τρυφῇ χρησόμενοι καὶ χρηματισμῷ τῇ μετὰ 717 Καίσαρος στρατείᾳ, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν παρὰ γνώμην οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καὶ μαλακῶς ἔχοντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη τὸ δέκατον τάγμα μόνον παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους πορεύσεσθαι, μήτε κρείττοσι μέλλων Κίμβρων μάχεσθαι πολεμίοις μήτε αὐτὸς 3 ὢν Μαρίου χείρων στρατηγός. ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν δέκατον τάγμα πρεσβευτὰς ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογοῦντες, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐκάκιζον ἡγεμόνας, ὁρμῆς δὲ καὶ προθυμίας γεινόμενοι πλήρεις ἅπαντες ἠκολούθουν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πολλῶν, ἕως ἐν διακοσίοις τῶν πολεμίων σταδίοις κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ὃ τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτὴν ἐτέθραυστο τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου. Γερμανοῖς γὰρ ἐπιθήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὧν ἐπερχομένων οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν ὑποστῆναι, μὴ προσδοκήσας ἐθαύμαζε τὴν Καίσαρος τόλμαν καὶ τὸν στρα- 4 τὸν ἑώρα τεταραγμένον. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἡμβλυνε τὰ μαντεύματα τῶν ἱερῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ ποταμῶν δίναις προσβλέπουσαι καὶ ρευμάτων ἐλιγμοῖς καὶ ψόφοις τεκμαιρόμεναι προεθέσπιζον,

an ally.¹ But they were intolerable neighbours of Caesar's subjects, and if an opportunity presented itself it was thought that they would not remain quietly in their present homes, but would encroach upon and occupy Gaul. Seeing that his officers were inclined to be afraid, and particularly all the young men of high rank who had come out intending to make the campaign with Caesar an opportunity for high living and money-making, he called them together² and bade them be off, since they were so unmanly and effeminate, and not force themselves to face danger; as for himself, he said he would take the tenth legion alone and march against the Barbarians; the enemy would be no better fighters than the Cimbri, and he himself was no worse a general than Marius. Upon this the tenth legion sent a deputation to him, expressing their gratitude, while the other legions reviled their own commanders, and all the army, now full of impetuous eagerness, followed Caesar on a march of many days, and at last encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Now, the very approach of Caesar somewhat shattered the purpose of Ariovistus. For he did not expect that the Romans would attack the Germans, whose onset he thought they could not withstand, and he was amazed at the boldness of Caesar; besides, he saw that his own army was disturbed. Still more, too, was the spirit of the Germans blunted by the prophecies of their holy women, who used to foretell the future by observing the eddies in the rivers and by finding signs in the whirlings and

¹ Acting as consul, in 59 B.C.

² Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* i. 40.

οὐκ ἔωσαι μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὶν ἐπιλάμψαι νέαν
σελήνην. ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι πυνθανομένῳ καὶ
τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἡσυχάζοντας ὁρῶντι καλῶς ἔχειν
ἔδοξεν ἀπροθύμοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν μάλ-
λον ἢ τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναμένοντα καιρὸν καθῆσθαι.
5 καὶ προσβολὰς ποιούμενος τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ
λόφοις ἐφ' ὧν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ἐξηγρίαινε καὶ
παρώξυνε καταβάντας πρὸς ὀργὴν διαγωνίσασθαι.
γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς τροπῆς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ σταδί-
ους τετρακοσίους ἄχρι τοῦ Ῥήνου διώξας κατέ-
πλησε τοῦτο πᾶν νεκρῶν τὸ πεδίον καὶ λαφύρων.
Ἀριόβιστος δὲ φθάσας μετ' ὀλίγων διεπέρασε
τὸν Ῥήνον· ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν μυριάδας ὀκτὼ
γενέσθαι λέγουσι.

XX. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος τὴν μὲν δύναμιν
ἐν Σηκουανοῖς ἀπέλιπε διαχειμάσουσαν, αὐτὸς
δὲ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ προσέχειν βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν
περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίαν κατέβη, τῆς αὐτῷ δεδο-
μένης ἐπαρχίας οὖσαν· ὁ γὰρ καλούμενος Ῥου-
βίκων ποταμὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ ταῖς Ἀλπεσι
2 Κελτικῆς ὀρίζει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. ἐνταῦθα
καθήμενος ἐδημαγώγει, πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφι-
κνουμένων, διδοὺς ὧν ἕκαστος δεηθείη, καὶ πάντας
ἀποπέμπων τὰ μὲν ἔχοντας ἤδη παρ' αὐτοῦ, τὰ
δὲ ἐλπίζοντας. καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον δὲ πάντα
τῆς στρατείας χρόνον ἐλάνθανε τὸν Πομπήϊον
ἐν μέρει νῦν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν
ὅπλοις καταστρεφόμενος, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων χρήμασιν αἱρῶν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ
χειρούμενος.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βέλγας ἤκουσε δυνατωτάτους Κελτῶν
καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἀπάσης τῆς Κελτικῆς νεμομένους

splashings of the waters, and now forbade joining battle before a new moon gave its light. When Caesar learned this, and saw that the Germans kept quiet, he decided that it was a good plan to engage them while they were out of heart, rather than to sit still and wait for their time. So, by attacking their entrenchments and the hills on which they were encamped, he irritated them and incited them to come down in anger and fight the issue out. They were signally routed, and Caesar pursued them a distance of four hundred furlongs, as far as the Rhine, and filled all the intervening plain with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus, with a few followers, succeeded in crossing the Rhine; his dead are said to have been eighty thousand in number.

XX. After this achievement, Caesar left his forces among the Sequani to spend the winter,¹ while he himself, desirous of giving attention to matters at Rome, came down to Gaul along the Po,² which was a part of the province assigned to him; for the river called Rubicon separates the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. Here he fixed his quarters and carried on his political schemes. Many came to see him, and he gave each one what he wanted, and sent all away in actual possession of some of his favours and hoping for more. And during all the rest of the time of his campaigns in Gaul, unnoticed by Pompey, he was alternately subduing the enemy with the arms of the citizens, or capturing and subduing the citizens with the money which he got from the enemy.

But when he heard that the Belgae, who were the most powerful of the Gauls and occupied the third

¹ The winter of 58-57 B.C.

² Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* i. 54: ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

ἀφεστάναι, πολλὰς δὴ τινὰς μυριάδας ἐνόπων
 ἀνδρῶν ἡθροικότας, ἐπιστρέψας εὐθὺς ἐχώρει
 τάχει πολλῶ· καὶ πορθοῦσι τοὺς συμμάχους
 Γαλάτας ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν
 ἀθρουστάτους καὶ πλείστους αἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνι-
 σαμένους τρεψάμενος διέφθειρεν, ὥστε καὶ λίμνας
 καὶ ποταμοὺς βαθεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις νεκρῶν
 4 πλήθει περατοὺς γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀποστάντων οἱ
 μὲν παρωκεάνιοι πάντες ἀμαχεὶ προσεχώρησαν·
 ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν
 τῆδε, Νερβίους, ἐστράτευσεν, ὅπῃ εἰς συμμιγεῖς
 δρυμοὺς κατωκήμενοι, γενεὰς δὲ καὶ κτήσεις ἔν-
 τιμι βυθῶ τῆς ὕλης ἀπωτάτω θέμενοι τῶν πολε-
 μίων, αὐτοὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ποιουμένῳ χάρακα καὶ
 μὴ προσδεχομένῳ τῆνικαὺτα τὴν μάχην ἑξακισμύ-
 ριοι τὸ πλήθος ὄντες αἰφνιδίως προσέπεσον, καὶ
 τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, τῶν δὲ ταγμάτων
 τὸ δωδέκατον καὶ τὸ ἑβδομον περισχόντες ἅπαν-
 5 τας ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ταξιάρχους. εἰ δὲ μὴ Καῖσαρ
 ἄρπασας τὸν θυρεὸν καὶ διασχὼν τοὺς πρὸ
 αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐνέβαλε τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ 71
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὸ δέκατον κινδυνεύοντος αὐτοῦ
 κατέδραμε καὶ διέκοψε τὰς τάξεις τῶν πολεμίων,
 οὐδεὶς ἂν δοκεῖ περιγενέσθαι· νῦν δὲ τῇ Καίσαρος
 τόλμῃ τὴν λεγομένην ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μάχην ἀγω-
 νισάμενοι τρέπονται μὲν οὐδ' ὥς τοὺς Νερβίους,
 κατακόπτουσι δὲ ἀμυνομένους· πεντακόσιοι γὰρ
 ἀπὸ μυριάδων ἑξ σωθῆναι λέγονται, βουλευταὶ
 δὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων.

part of all their country, had revolted, and had assembled unknown myriads of armed men, he turned back at once and marched thither with great speed.¹ He fell upon the enemy as they were plundering the Gauls that were in alliance with Rome, and so routed and destroyed the least scattered and most numerous of them, after a disgraceful struggle on their part, that the Romans could cross lakes and deep rivers for the multitude of dead bodies in them. All the rebels who dwelt along the ocean submitted without a battle; against the Nervii, however, the most savage and warlike of the people in these parts, Caesar led his forces. The Nervii, who dwelt in dense woods, and had placed their families and possessions in a recess of the forest at farthest remove from the enemy, at a time when Caesar was fortifying a camp and did not expect the battle, fell upon him suddenly, sixty thousand strong. They routed his cavalry, and surrounded the seventh and twelfth legions and slew all their centurions, and had not Caesar snatched a shield,² made his way through the combatants in front of him, and hurled himself upon the Barbarians; and had not the tenth legion, at sight of his peril, run down from the heights and cut the ranks of the enemy to pieces, not a Roman, it is thought, would have survived. As it was, however, owing to Caesar's daring, they fought beyond their powers, as the saying is, and even then did not rout the Nervii, but cut them down as they defended themselves; for out of sixty thousand only five hundred are said to have come off alive, and only three of their senators out of four hundred.

¹ Caesar's campaign against the Belgae, in 57 B.C., is described by himself in *B.G.* ii. 1-33.

² *Scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto* (*B.G.* ii. 25, 2).

- XXI. Ταῦτα ἡ σύγκλητος πυθομένη πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἐψηφίσατο θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ σχολάζειν ἑορτάζοντας, ὅσας ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ νίκη πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος ἐφάνη μέγας, ἔθνων ἅμα τοσούτων ἀναρραγέντων, καὶ τὸ νίκημα λαμπρότερον, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ἦν ὁ νικῶν, ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνους εὐνοία τῶν πολλῶν ἐποίει. Καῖσαρ δ' αὐτὸς¹ εὖ θέμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πάλιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πάδον χωρίοις διεχέιμαζε συσκευα-
 2 ζόμενος τὴν πόλιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς παραγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ χρώμενοι χορηγῶ καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου χρήμασι διαφθείροντες τὸν δῆμον ἀνηγορεύοντο, καὶ πᾶν ἔπραττον ὃ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν αὖξιν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων οἱ πλείστοι συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Λούκαν, Πομπηϊὸς τε καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀππίος ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνης ἡγεμὼν καὶ Νέπως ὁ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀνθύπατος, ὥστε ῥαβδούχους μὲν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι γενέσθαι, συγκλη-
 3 τικούς δὲ πλείονας ἢ διακοσίους. Βουλὴν δὲ θέμενοι διεκρίθησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις· ἔδει Πομπηϊὸν μὲν καὶ Κρίσσον ὑπάτους ἀποδει-
 χθῆναι, Καῖσαρι δὲ χρήματα καὶ πενταετίαν ἄλλην ἐπιμετρηθῆναι τῆς στρατηγίας, ὃ καὶ παραλογώ-
 4 ται ἐφαίνετο τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν. οἱ γὰρ τοσαῦτα χρήματα παρὰ Καίσαρος λαμβάνοντες ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντι διδόναι τὴν βουλὴν ἔπειθον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡνάγκαζον ἐπιστένουσαν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο, Κάτω-
 4 νος μὲν οὐ παρόντος, ἐπίτηδες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς

¹ Καῖσαρ δ' αὐτὸς Sint.²; αὐτὸς δ' Bekker; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς MSS., Sint.¹, and Coraës.

XXI. The Roman senate, on learning of these successes, decreed sacrifices to the gods and cessation from business, with festival, for fifteen days, a greater number than for any victory before.¹ For the danger was seen to have been great when so many nations at once had broken out in revolt, and because Caesar was the victor, the good will of the multitude towards him made his victory more splendid. Caesar himself, after settling matters in Gaul, again spent the winter² in the regions along the Po, carrying out his plans at Rome. For not only did the candidates for office there enjoy his assistance, and win their elections by corrupting the people with money from him, and do everything which was likely to enhance his power, but also most of the men of highest rank and greatest influence came to see him at Luca,³ including Pompey, Crassus, Appius the governor of Sardinia, and Nepos the proconsul of Spain, so that there were a hundred and twenty lictors in the place and more than two hundred senators.

They held a council and settled matters on the following basis. Pompey and Crassus were to be elected consuls for the ensuing year, and Caesar was to have money voted him, besides another five years in his provincial command. This seemed very strange to men of understanding. For those who were getting so much money from Caesar urged the senate to give him money as if he had none, nay rather, they forced it to do so, though it groaned over its own decrees. Cato, indeed, was not there, for he had purposely been sent out of the way on a

¹ Quod ante id tempus accidit nulli (Caesar, *B.G.* ii. 35, 4).

² 57-56 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, li. 3 f.

³ In April of 56 B.C.

Κύπρον ἀπεδιοπομπήσαντο, Φαωνίου δέ, ὃς ἦν ζηλωτὴς Κάτωνος, ὥς οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον ἀντιλέγων, ἐξαλλομένου διὰ θυρῶν καὶ βοῶντος εἰς τὸ πλῆθος. ἀλλὰ προσεῖχεν οὐδεὶς, τῶν μὲν Πομπηίου αἰδουμένων καὶ Κράσσου, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι Καίσαρι χαριζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' ἐκείνου ζῶντες ἐλπίδας ἡσύχαζον.

- XXII. Τραπόμενος δὲ αὐθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ δυνάμει πολλὴν καταλαμβάνει πόλεμον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, δύο Γερμανικῶν ἐθνῶν μεγάλων ἐπὶ κατακτήσει γῆς ἄρτι τὸν Ῥήνον διαβεβηκότων. Οὐσίπας καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐτέρους,
- 2 τοὺς δὲ Τεντερίτας. περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τούτους γενομένης μάχης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι γέγραπεν ὥς οἱ βάρβαροι διαπρεσβεύόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐπιθοῖντο καθ' ὁδόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρέψαιτο τοὺς αὐτοῦ πεντακισχιλίους ὄντας ἱππεῖς ὀκτακοσίους τοῖς ἐκείνων μὴ προσδοκῶντας· εἰτα πέμψειαν ἐτέρους πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐθις ἐξαπατῶντας, οὓς κατασχὼν ἐπαγάγοι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν πρὸς οὕτως ἀπίστους καὶ παρασπόνδους πίστιν εὐήθειαν ἡγούμενος.
- 3 Τανύσιος δὲ λέγει Κάτωνα, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ψηφισομένης ἐορτὰς καὶ θυσίας, ἀποφύνασθαι γνώμην ὥς ἐκδοτέον ἐστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀφοσιουμένους τὸ παρασπόνδημα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν εἰς τὸν αἴτιον τρέποντας.

Τῶν δὲ διαβάντων αἱ μὲν κατακοπεῖσαι τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς ἀπο-

¹ Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxxiv.

mission to Cyprus,¹ and Favonius, who was an ardent follower of Cato, finding himself unable to accomplish anything by his opposition, bounded out of doors and clamoured to the populace. But no one gave heed to him, for some were in awe of Pompey and Crassus, and most wanted to please Caesar, lived in hopes of his favours, and so kept quiet.

XXII. On returning to his forces in Gaul,² Caesar found a considerable war in the country, since two great German nations had just crossed the Rhine to possess the land, one called the Usipes,³ the other the Tenteritae.³ Concerning the battle which was fought with them Caesar says in his "Commentaries"⁴ that the Barbarians, while treating with him under a truce, attacked on their march and therefore routed his five thousand cavalry with their eight hundred, since his men were taken off their guard; that they then sent other envoys to him who tried to deceive him again, but he held them fast and led his army against the Barbarians, considering that good faith towards such faithless breakers of truces was folly. But Tanusius says that when the senate voted sacrifices of rejoicing over the victory, Cato pronounced the opinion that they ought to deliver up Caesar to the Barbarians, thus purging away the violation of the truce in behalf of the city, and turning the curse therefor on the guilty man.

Of those who had crossed the Rhine into Gaul four hundred thousand were cut to pieces, and the

² In 55 B.C. Plutarch passes over Caesar's campaign of 56 B.C. in Gaul, following the conference at Luca. Caesar describes it in *B.G.* iii.

³ Caesar calls them Usipetes and Teneteri (*B.G.* iv. 1).

⁴ *B.G.* iv. 13.

- περάσαντας αὖθις ὑπεδέξαντο Σούγαμβροι, Γερ-
 4 μανικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ ταύτην λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἐπ'
 αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἄλλως δὲ δόξης ἐφιέμενος καὶ
 τοῦ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων στρατῷ διαβῆναι τὸν
 Ῥήνον, ἐγεφύρου πλῆτος τε πολὺν ὄντα καὶ κατ'
 ἐκείνο τοῦ πόρου μάλιστα πλημμυροῦντα καὶ
 τραχὺν καὶ ῥοώδη καὶ τοῖς καταφερομένοις στε-
 λέχεσι καὶ ξύλοις πληγὰς καὶ σπαραγμοὺς
 ἐνδιδόντα κατὰ τῶν ἐρειδόντων τὴν γέφυραν. 71
 5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα προβόλοις ξύλων μεγάλων διὰ τοῦ
 πόρου καταπεπηγότων ἀναδεχόμενος, καὶ χαλι-
 νώσας τὸ προσπίπτον ῥεῦμα τῷ ζεύγματι, πίστεως
 πάσης θέαμα κρεῖττον ἐπεδείξατο τὴν γέφυραν
 ἡμέραις δέκα συντελεσθεῖσαν.

XXIII. Περαιώσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδενὸς
 ὑπαντῆσαι τολμήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονι-
 κωτάτων τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σούηβων εἰς βαθεῖς
 καὶ ὑλώδεις αὐλῶνας ἀνασκευασαμένων, πυρπο-
 λήσας μὲν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, θαρρύνας δὲ τοὺς
 αἰεὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀσπαζομένους, ἀνεχώρησεν αὖθις
 εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἴκοσι δυεῖν δεούσας ἡμέρας
 ἐν τῇ Γερμανικῇ διατετριφώς.

- 2 Ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατεία τὴν μὲν
 τόλμαν εἶχεν ὀνομαστήν· πρῶτος γὰρ εἰς τὸν
 ἐσπέριον Ὠκεανὸν ἐπέβη στόλῳ, καὶ διὰ τῆς
 Ἀτλαντικῆς θαλάττης στρατὸν ἐπὶ πόλεμον κο-
 μίζων ἔπλευσε· καὶ νῆσον ἀπιστουμένην ὑπὸ με-
 γέθους καὶ πολλὴν ἔριν παμπόλλοις συγγραφεῦσι
 παρασχούσαν, ὡς ὄνομα καὶ λόγος οὐ γενομένης
 οὐδὲ οὔσης πέπλασται, κατασχεῖν ἐπιθέμενος
 προήγαγεν ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν Ῥωμαίων

few who succeeded in making their way back were received by the Sugambri, a German nation. This action Caesar made a ground of complaint against the Sugambri, and besides, he coveted the fame of being the first man to cross the Rhine with an army. He therefore began to bridge the river,¹ although it was very broad, and at this point in its course especially swollen, rough, and impetuous, and with the trunks and branches of trees which it bore down stream kept smiting and tearing away the supports of his bridge. But Caesar caught up these trunks and branches with bulwarks of great timbers planted across the stream, and having thus bridled and yoked the dashing current, he brought his bridge—sight beyond all credence—to completion in ten days.

XXIII. He now threw his forces across the river. No one ventured to oppose him, but even the Suevi, who were the foremost nation of the Germans, bestowed themselves and their belongings in deep and woody defiles. Caesar ravaged the country of the enemy with fire, gave encouragement to the constant friends of Rome, and then retired again into Gaul, having spent eighteen days in Germany.

His expedition against the Britanni was celebrated for its daring. For he was the first to launch a fleet upon the western ocean and to sail through the Atlantic sea carrying an army to wage war. The island was of incredible magnitude, and furnished much matter of dispute to multitudes of writers, some of whom averred that its name and story had been fabricated, since it never had existed and did not then exist; and in his attempt to occupy it he carried the Roman supremacy beyond the confines of

¹ *B.G.* iv. 16-19.

3 ἡγεμονίαν. δις δὲ διαπλεύσας εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπέρας Γαλατίας, καὶ μάχαις πολλαῖς κακώσας τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἰδίους ὠφελήσας, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι καὶ λαβεῖν ἦν ἄξιον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων καὶ πενήτων, οὐχ οἷον ἐβούλετο τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ' ὁμήρους λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ταξάμενος φόρους ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς νήσου.

4 Καὶ καταλαμβάνει γράμματα μέλλοντα διαπλεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων, δηλοῦντα τὴν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τελευτήν· τελευτᾷ δὲ τίκτουσα παρὰ Πομπηΐω. καὶ μέγα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔσχε Πομπηΐον, μέγα δὲ Καίσαρα πένθος, οἱ δὲ φίλοι συνεταράχθησαν ὡς τῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τᾶλλα νοσοῦσαν τὴν πολιτείαν φυλαττούσης οἰκειότητος λελυμένης· καὶ γὰρ τὸ βρέφος εὐθύς οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν μητέρα διαζῆσαν ἐτελεύτησε. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἰουλίαν βία τῶν δημάρχων ἀράμειον τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸ Ἀρειοὺν ἤνεγκε πεδίον, κακεῖ κηδευθεῖσα κείται.

XXIV. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος μεγάλην ἤδη τὴν δύναμιν οὔσαν εἰς πολλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην χειμάδια διελόντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τραπομένου, πάντα μὲν αὐθις ἀνερρήγνυτο τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν, καὶ στρατοὶ μεγάλοι περιϊόντες ἐξέκοπτον τὰ χειμάδια καὶ προσεμάχοντο τοῖς χαρακώμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀποστάντων μετὰ Ἀβριόριγος Κότταν μὲν αὐτῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ Τιτύριον διέ-

¹ Once in 55 B.C. (*B.G.* iv. 20-36) ; again in 54 B.C. (*B.G.* v. 1-22).

the inhabited world. After twice¹ crossing to the island from the opposite coast of Gaul and in many battles damaging the enemy rather than enriching his own men—for there was nothing worth taking from men who lived in poverty and wretchedness—he brought the war to an end which was not to his liking, it is true; still, he took hostages from the king, imposed tributes, and then sailed away from the island.

In Gaul he found letters which were about to be sent across to him. They were from his friends in Rome, and advised him of his daughter's death; she died in child-birth at Pompey's house. Great was the grief of Pompey, and great the grief of Caesar, and their friends were greatly troubled too; they felt that the relationship which alone kept the dis-tempered state in harmony and concord was now dissolved. For the babe also died presently, after surviving its mother a few days. Now Julia, in spite of the tribunes, was carried by the people to the Campus Martius, where her funeral rites were held, and where she lies buried.²

XXIV. Caesar's forces were now so large that he was forced to distribute them in many winter-quarters, while he himself, as his custom was, turned his steps towards Italy. Then all Gaul once more broke out in revolt,³ and great armies went about attacking the entrenchments and trying to destroy the winter-quarters of the Romans. The most numerous and powerful of the rebels, under Abriorix,⁴ utterly destroyed Titurius and Cotta, together with

² Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter liii.

³ Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* v. 24-51.

⁴ Caesar calls him Ambiorix.

2 φθειραν, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ Κικέρωνι τάγμα μυριάσιν ἐξ
περισχόντες ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέλιπον
ἡρῆκεναι κατὰ κράτος, συντετρωμένων ἀπάντων
καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἀμυνομένων.

Ὡς δὲ ἡγγέλθη ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι μακρὰν
ὄντι, ταχέως ἐπιστρέψας καὶ συναγαγὼν ἑπτακισ-
χιλίους τοὺς σύμπαντας ἡπείγετο τὸν Κικέρωνα
τῆς πολιορκίας ἐξαιρησόμενος. τοὺς δὲ πολι-
ορκοῦντας οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἀπήντων ὡς ἀναρπα-
3 σόμενοι, τῆς ὀλιγότητος καταφρονήσαντες. κά-
κεινος ἐξαπατῶν ὑπέφευγεν αἰεὶ, καὶ χωρία λαβὼν
ἐπιτηδεύως ἔχοντα πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχομένῳ μετ'
ὀλίγων φράγνυται στρατόπεδον, καὶ μάχης ἔσχε
τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πάσης, ἀναγαγεῖν δὲ τὸν χάρακα καὶ
τὰς πύλας ἀνοικοδομεῖν ὡς δεδοικότας ἠνάγκαζε,
καταφρονηθῆναι στρατηγῶν, μέχρι οὗ σποράδην
ὑπὸ θράσους προσβάλλοντας ἐπεξελθὼν ἐτρέψατο
καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε.

XXV. Τοῦτο τὰς πολλὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν ἐν-
ταῦθα Γαλατῶν κατεστόρεσε, καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος
αὐτὸς ἐπιφοιτῶν τε πανταχόσε καὶ προσέχων
ὀξέως τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἦκεν ἐξ Ἰτα- 72
λίας ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ τρία τάγματα,
Πομπηίου μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ δύο χρήσαντος, ἐν
δὲ νεοσύλλεκτον ἐκ τῆς περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίας.
2 πόρρω δὲ τούτων αἱ πάλαι καταβεβλημένοι κρύ-
φαι καὶ νεμόμεναι διὰ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν

their army, while the legion under Cicero was surrounded and besieged by sixty thousand of them, and narrowly escaped having its camp taken by storm, although all were wounded and went beyond their powers in the ardour of their defence.

When tidings of these things reached Caesar, who was far on his journey, he turned back quickly, got together seven thousand men in all, and hurried on to extricate Cicero from the siege. But the besiegers became aware of his approach, and went to meet him with the purpose of cutting his forces off at once, despising their small numbers. Caesar deceived them by avoiding battle continually, and when he had found a place suitable for one who was fighting against many with few, fortified a camp, where he kept his men altogether from fighting and forced them to increase the height of their ramparts and the defences of their gates as though they were afraid. His strategy thus led the enemy to despise him, until at last, when their boldness led them to attack in scattered bands, he sallied out, routed them, and destroyed many of them.

XXV. The numerous revolts of the Gauls in those parts were quieted by this success, as well as by the fact that Caesar himself, during the winter, went about in all directions and kept close watch on the disturbers of the peace. For there had come from Italy three legions to replace the men that he had lost, Pompey having lent two of those under his command, and one having been newly levied in Gaul about the Po. But in remoter regions¹ the germs of the greatest and most dangerous of the wars waged in

¹ Plutarch here passes over the events of the year 53 B.C., described by Caesar in *B.G.* vi. The seventh book is wholly taken up with the war now to be described (52 B.C.).

ἐν τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις γένεσιν ἀρχαὶ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ κινδυνωδεστάτου τῶν ἐκεῖ πολέμων ἀνεφαίνοντο, ῥωσθεῖσαι πολλῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ πανταχόθεν ὅπλοις ἀθροισθείσῃ,¹ μεγάλοις δὲ πλούτοις εἰς ταὐτὸ συνενεχθεῖσιν, ἰσχυραῖς δὲ πόλεσι, 3 δυσεμβόλοις δὲ χώραις. τότε δὲ καὶ χειμῶνος ὥρα πάγοι ποταμῶν καὶ νιφετοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένοι δρυμοὶ καὶ πεδία χειμάρροις ἐπιλελιμνασμένα, καὶ πῇ μὲν ἀτέκμαρτοι βάθει χιόνος ἀτραποί, πῇ δὲ δι' ἐλῶν καὶ ρευμάτων παρατρεπομένων ἀσάφεια πολλὴ τῆς πορείας παντάπασιν ἐδόκουν ἀνεπιχείρητα Καίσαρι τὰ τῶν ἀφισταμένων ποιεῖν. ἀφειστήκει μὲν οὖν πολλὰ φύλα, πρόσχημα δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρβέρνοι καὶ Καρνουντίνοι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν αἰρεθεὶς κράτος εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου Οὐεργεντόριξ, οὗ τὸν πατέρα Γαλάται τυραννίδα δοκοῦντα πρῶτον ἀπέκτειναν.

XXVI. Οὗτος οὖν εἰς πολλὰ διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν μέρη καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιστήσας ἡγεμόνας ὥκει οὗτο τὴν πέριξ ἅπασαν ἄχρι τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀραρα κεκλιμένῳ, διανοούμενος ἤδη τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνισταμένων ἐπὶ Καίσαρα σύμπασαν ἐγείρειν τῷ πολέμῳ Γαλατίαν. ὅπερ εἰ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔπραξε, Καίσαρος εἰς τὸν ἐμφύλιον ἐμπεσόντος πόλεμον, οὐκ ἂν ἐλαφρότεροι τῶν Κιμβρικῶν ἐκείνων φόβοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατέσχον. 2 νυνὶ δὲ ὁ πᾶσι μὲν ἄριστα χρῆσθαι τοῖς πρὸς πόλεμον, μάλιστα δὲ καιρῷ πεφυκῶς Καῖσαρ ἅμα τῷ πυνθέσθαι τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἄρας ἐχῶρει ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁδοῖς ἅς

¹ ἀθροισθείσῃ Sint. with the MSS.; Coraës and Bekker read ἀθροισθεῖσι (*arms collected from all sides*) with the Aldine ed.

those parts began to show themselves. They had for a long time been secretly sown and cultivated by the most influential men among the most warlike tribes, and derived strength from large bodies of young men assembled from all sides in arms, from great riches brought together, from strong cities, and from countries which were hard to invade. At that season of winter, too, frozen rivers, forests buried in snow, plains converted into lakes by winter torrents, in some parts paths obliterated by deep snow, and in others the great uncertainty of a march through swamps and streams diverted from their courses, all seemed to make it wholly impossible for Caesar to oppose the plans of the rebels. Accordingly, many tribes had revolted, but the head and front of the revolt were the Arverni and Carnuntini,¹ and Ver-gentorix¹ was chosen to have the entire authority in the war. His father the Gauls had put to death because they thought he was aiming at a tyranny.

XXVI. This leader, then, after dividing his forces into many parts and putting many officers in command of them, was winning over all the country round about as far as the water-shed of the Arar. He purposed, now that there was a coalition at Rome against Caesar, at once to rouse all Gaul to war. If he had done this a little later, when Caesar was involved in the civil war, Italy would have been a prey to terrors no less acute than those aroused by the Cimbri of old. But as it was, the man endowed by nature to make the best use of all the arts of war, and particularly of its crucial moments, namely Caesar, as soon as he learned of the revolt, set out and marched by the same roads over which

¹ In Caesar's *B.G.* the names are Carnutes and Ver-cingetorix.

- διήλθε, καὶ βία καὶ τάχει τῆς πορείας διὰ τοσούτου χειμῶνος ἐπιδειξάμενος τοῖς βαρβάροις ὡς ἅμαχος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀήττητος ἔπεισι στρατός. ὅπου γὰρ ἄγγελον ἢ γραμματοφόρον διαδύναται τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἦν ἄπιστον, ἐνταῦθα μετὰ πάσης ἐωρᾶτο τῆς στρατιᾶς ἅμα χώρας λυμαινόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκκόπτων τὰ χωρία,
- 3 καταστρεφόμενος πόλεις, ἀναλαμβάνων τοὺς μετατιθεμένους, μέχρι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑδούων ἔθνος ἐξεπολεμώθη πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀδελφοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων καὶ τιμώμενοι διαπρεπῶς, τότε δὲ τοῖς ἀποστάταις προσγενόμενοι πολλὴν τῇ Καίσαρος στρατιᾷ περιέστησαν ἀθυμίαν. διόπερ καὶ κινήσας ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερέβαλε τὰ Λιγγονικά, βουλόμενος ἄψασθαι τῆς Σηκουανῶν φίλων ὄντων καὶ προκειμένων τῆς
- 4 Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Γαλατίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ περισχόντων μυριάσι πολλαῖς, ὁρμήσας διαγωνίσασθαι τοῖς μὲν ὅλοις καταπολεμῶν ἐκράτησε, χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ φόνῳ καταβιασάμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔδοξε δὲ κατ' ἀρχάς τι καὶ σφαλῆναι, καὶ δεικνύουσιν Ἀρβέρνοι ξιφίδιον πρὸς ἱερῷ κρεμάμενον, ὡς δὴ Καίσαρος λάφυρον. ὁ θεασάμενος αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἐμειδίασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων καθελεῖν κελυνόντων οὐκ εἶσεν, ἱερὸν ἡγούμενος.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τῶν διαφυγόντων οἱ πλεῖστοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πόλιν Ἀλησίαν συνέφυγον. καὶ πολιορκοῦντι ταύτην Καί-

he had previously come, and by the vigour and speed of his passage in so severe a winter showed the Barbarians that an unconquered and invincible army was coming against them. For where it was incredible that one of his messengers or letter-carriers could make his way in a long time, there he was seen with his whole army, at once ravaging their lands and destroying their strongholds, subduing cities, and receiving those who came over to his side, until the nation of the Aedui also entered the war against him. These up to this time had called themselves brethren of the Romans and had been conspicuously honoured, but now, by joining the rebels, they caused great dejection in Caesar's army. In consequence of this Caesar removed from those parts and passed across the territory of the Lingones, wishing to reach the country of the Sequani, who were friends, and stood as a bulwark between Italy and the rest of Gaul. There the enemy fell upon him and surrounded him with many tens of thousands, so that he essayed to fight a decisive battle. In the main he got the best of the struggle, and after a long time and much slaughter overpowered the Barbarians; but it appears that at first he met with some reverse, and the Arverni show a short-sword hanging in a temple, which they say was captured from Caesar. When Caesar himself saw it, at a later time, he smiled, and though his friends urged him to have it taken down, he would not permit it, considering it sacred.

XXVII. However, the most of the Barbarians who escaped at that time took refuge with their king in the city of Alesia. And while Caesar was besieging

- σαρι δοκοῦσαν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μεγέθει τε τειχῶν
καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀπομαχομένων ἐπιπίπτει παντὸς
2 λόγου μείζων κίνδυνος ἔξωθεν. ὁ γὰρ ἦν ἐν
Γαλατία κράτιστον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀθροισθέν, ἐν
ὅπλοις ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλησίαν τριάκοντα μυρι-
άδες· αἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν μαχομένων οὐκ ἐλάττονες
ἦσαν ἑπτακαίδεκα μυριάδων, ὥστε ἐν μέσῳ πολέ-
μου τοσούτου τὸν Καίσαρα κατειλημμένον καὶ
πολιορκούμενον ἀναγκασθῆναι διττὰ τείχη προ-
βαλέσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν 72
ἐπεληλυθότων, ὡς, εἰ συνέλθοιεν αἱ δυνάμεις,
κομιδῇ διαπεπραγμένων τῶν καθ' αὐτόν.
- 3 Διὰ πολλὰ μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ὁ πρὸς Ἀλησίαν
κίνδυνος ἔσχε δόξαν, ὡς ἔργα τόλμης καὶ δεινότη-
τος οἷα τῶν ἄλλων ἀγώνων οὐδεὶς παρασχόμενος,
μάλιστα δὲ ἂν τις θαυμάσειε τὸ λαθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ
πόλει Καίσαρα τοσαύταις μυριάσι ταῖς ἔξω συμ-
βαλόντα καὶ περιγενόμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων τοὺς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει τεῖχος φυλάτ-
4 τουτας. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἦσθοντο τὴν νίκην ἢ
κλαυθμὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλησίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ κοπετὸν
γυναικῶν ἀκουσθῆναι, θεασαμένων ἄρα κατὰ θά-
τερα μέρη πολλοὺς μὲν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκο-
σμημένους θυρεοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ αἵματι πεφυρ-
μένους θώρακας, ἔτι δ' ἐκπώματα καὶ σκηνὰς
Γαλατικὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
κομιζόμενας. οὕτως ὀξέως ἢ τοσαύτη δύναμις,
ὥσπερ εἶδωλον ἢ ὄνειρον, ἠφάνιστο καὶ διεπε-
5 φόρητο, τῶν πλείστων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων. οἱ
δὲ τὴν Ἀλησίαν ἔχοντες οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα
παρασχόντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ Καίσαρι τέλος παρέ-

this city, which was thought to be impregnable by reason of the great size of its walls and the number of their defenders, there fell upon him from outside the city a peril too great for words to depict. For all that was mightiest among the nations of Gaul assembled and came in arms to Alesia, three hundred thousand strong; and the number of fighting men inside the city was not less than a hundred and seventy thousand. Thus Caesar, caught between so large hostile forces and besieged there, was compelled to build two walls for his protection, one looking towards the city, and the other towards those who had come up to relieve it; he felt that if the two forces should unite his cause was wholly lost.

For many reasons, then, and naturally, Caesar's peril at Alesia was famous, since it produced more deeds of skill and daring than any of his other struggles; but one must be amazed above all that he engaged and conquered so many tens of thousands outside the city without the knowledge of those inside, nay more, without the knowledge even of the Romans who were guarding the wall that faced the city. For these did not learn of the victory until the wailing of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women were heard, as they beheld in the quarters of the enemy many shields adorned with gold and silver, many corselets smeared with blood, and also drinking cups and tents of Gallic fashion carried by the Romans into their camp. So quickly did so great a force, like a phantom or a dream, disperse and vanish out of sight, the greater part of them having fallen in the battle. Those who held Alesia, too, after giving themselves and Caesar no small trouble, finally surrendered.

δοσαν ἑαυτοὺς. ὁ δὲ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡγεμὼν πολέμου Οὐεργεντόριξ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὄπλων τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν ἵππον ἐξιππάσατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καθεζόμενον ἐλάσας, εἴτα ἀφαλόμενος τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μὲν πανοπλίαν ἀπέρριψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καθίσας ὑπὸ πόδας τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἄχρι οὗ παρεδόθη φρουρησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

- XXVIII. Καίσαρι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐδέδοκτο καταλύειν Πομπηϊον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει κἀκείνῳ τοῦτον· Κράσσου γὰρ ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπολωλότης, ὃς ἦν ἔφεδρος ἀμφοῖν, ἀπελείπετο τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι μεγίστῳ τὸν ὄντα καταλύειν, τῷ δέ, ἵνα
- 2 μὴ πάθῃ τοῦτο, προαναιρεῖν ὃν ἐδεδοίκει. τοῦτο δὲ Πομπηϊῷ μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγου φοβεῖσθαι παρέστη τέως ὑπερορῶντι Καίσαρος, ὥς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔργον ὃν αὐτὸς ἠϋΐση καταλυθῆναι πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Καίσαρ δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην πεποιημένος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστήσας μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς ἐγγυμνασάμενος πολέμοις ἐπήσκησε μὲν τὴν δύνα-
- 3 μιν, ἠϋΐση δὲ τὴν δόξαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰς ἀντίπαλον ἀρθεὶς τοῖς Πομπηϊοῦ κατορθώμασι, λαμβάνων προφάσεις τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ Πομπηϊοῦ, τὰς δὲ τῶν καιρῶν ἐνδιδόντων καὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κακοπολιτείας, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν ἀρχὰς μετιόντες ἐν μέσῳ θέμενοι τραπέζας ἐδέκαζον ἀναισχύντως τὰ πλήθη, κατῆει δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἔμμισθος, οὐ ψήφοις

And the leader of the whole war, Vergentorix, after putting on his most beautiful armour and decorating his horse, rode out through the gate. He made a circuit round Caesar, who remained seated, and then leaped down from his horse, stripped off his suit of armour, and seating himself at Caesar's feet remained motionless, until he was delivered up to be kept in custody for the triumph.

XXVIII. Now, Caesar had long ago decided to put down Pompey, just as, of course, Pompey also had decided to put Caesar down. For now that Crassus, who was only waiting for the issue of their struggle to engage the victor,¹ had perished among the Parthians, it remained for him who would be greatest to put down him who was, and for him who was greatest, if he would not be put down, to take off in time the man he feared. This fear had only recently come upon Pompey, who till then despised Caesar, feeling that it was no hard task to put down again the man whom he himself had raised on high. But Caesar had from the outset formed this design, and like an athlete had removed himself to a great distance from his antagonists, and by exercising himself in the Gallic wars had practised his troops and increased his fame, lifting himself by his achievements to a height where he could vie with the successes of Pompey. He laid hold of pretexts which were furnished partly by Pompey himself, and partly by the times and the evil state of government at Rome,² by reason of which candidates for office set up counting-tables in public and shamelessly bribed the multitudes, while the people went down into the forum under pay, contending in behalf of their

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, liii. 6. ² Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter liv.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεδωκότος, ἀλλὰ τόξοις καὶ ξίφεσι καὶ
 4 σφενδόναῖς ἀμιλλώμενος. αἷματι δὲ καὶ νεκροῖς
 πολλῆς αἰσχύνας τὸ βῆμα διεκρίθησαν, ἀναρ-
 χία τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ ἀκυβέρνητον ναῦν¹ ὑποφερο-
 μένην ἀπολιπόντες, ὥστε τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἀγα-
 πᾶν εἰ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς χεῖρον, ἀλλὰ μοναρχίαν
 ἐκ τοιαύτης παραφροσύνης καὶ τοσούτου κλύδω-
 νος ἐκπεσεῖται τὰ πράγματα. πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ
 καὶ λέγειν ἐν μέσῳ τολμῶντες ἤδη πλὴν ὑπὸ
 μοναρχίας ἀνῆκεστον εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸ
 φάρμακον τοῦτο χρῆναι τοῦ πραοτάτου τῶν ἰα-
 τρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι προσφέροντος, ὑποδηλοῦντες
 5 τὸν Πομπηίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνος λόγῳ παραιτεῖ-
 σθαι καλλωπιζόμενος ἔργῳ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐπέ-
 ραινεν ἐξ ὧν ἀναδειχθήσοιτο δικτάτωρ, συμφρο-
 νήσαντες οἱ περὶ Κάτωνος πείθουσι τὴν γερουσίαν
 ὑπάτον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαι μόνον, ὥς μὴ βιάσαιοτο
 δικτάτωρ γενέσθαι, νομιμωτέρα μοναρχία παρη-
 γορηθεῖς. οἱ δὲ καὶ χρόνον ἐπέψηφίσαντο τῶν
 ἐπαρχιῶν· δύο δὲ εἶχεν, Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Λιβύην
 σύμπασαν, ἃς διώκει πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλων
 καὶ στρατεύματα τρέφων, οἷς ἐλάμβανεν ἐκ τοῦ
 δημοσίου ταμείου χίλια τάλαντα καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἐνιαυτόν.

XXIX. Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ ὑπατείαν ἐμνᾶτο 722
 πέμπων, καὶ χρόνον ὁμοίως τῶν ἰδίων ἐπαρχιῶν.
 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον Πομπηίου σιωπῶντος οἱ περὶ
 Μάρκελλον καὶ Λέντλον ἠναντιοῦντο, μισοῦντες
 ἄλλως Καίσαρα καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις οὐκ ἀναγ-
 καῖα προστιθέντες εἰς ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προ-
 2 πηλακισμόν. Νεοκωμίτας γὰρ ἑναγχος ὑπὸ

¹ ναῦν supplied by Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske.

paymaster, not with votes, but with bows and arrows, swords, and slings. Often, too, they would defile the rostra with blood and corpses before they separated, leaving the city to anarchy like a ship drifting about without a steersman, so that men of understanding were content if matters issued in nothing worse for them than monarchy, after such madness and so great a tempest. And there were many who actually dared to say in public that nothing but monarchy could now cure the diseases of the state, and that this remedy ought to be adopted when offered by the gentlest of physicians, hinting at Pompey. And when even Pompey, although in words he affected to decline the honour, in fact did more than any one else to effect his appointment as dictator, Cato saw through his design and persuaded the senate to appoint him sole consul, solacing him with a more legal monarchy that he might not force his way to the dictatorship. They also voted him additional time in which to hold his provinces; and he had two, Spain and all Africa, which he managed by sending legates thither and maintaining armies there, for which he received from the public treasury a thousand talents annually.¹

XXIX. Consequently, Caesar canvassed by proxy for a consulship, and likewise for an extension of time in which to hold his own provinces. At first, then, Pompey held his peace, while Marcellus and Lentulus opposed these plans; they hated Caesar on other grounds, and went beyond all bounds in their efforts to bring dishonour and abuse upon him. For instance, the inhabitants of Novum Comum, a

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lv. 7.

- Καίσαρος ἐν Γαλατία κατῳκισμένους ἀφηροῦντο τῆς πολιτείας· καὶ Μάρκελλος ὑπατεύων ἓνα τῶν ἐκεῖ βουλευτῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενον ἤκιστο ῥάβδοις, ἐπιλέγων ὡς ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι παράσημα προστίθῃσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ δεικνύειν ἀπιόντα Καίσαρι ἐκέλευε.¹ μετὰ δὲ Μάρκελλον, ἥδη Καίσαρος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πλοῦτον ἀρύεσθαι ῥύδην ἀφεικότος πᾶσι τοῖς πολιτευομένοις, καὶ Κουρίωνα μὲν δημαρχοῦντα
- 3 πολλῶν ἐλευθερώσαντος δανείων, Παύλῳ δὲ ὑπατεύοντι χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δόντος, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκείνος, ὀνομαστὸν ἀνάθημα, τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσεκόσμησεν ἀντὶ τῆς Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν, οὕτω δὲ φοβηθεὶς τὴν σύστασιν ὁ Πομπηῖος ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἔπραττεν ἀποδειχθῆναι διύδοχον Καίσαρι τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ πέμπων ἀπῆτει τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Κελτικοὺς ἀγῶνας. ὁ δὲ ἀποπέμπει, δωρησάμενος ἕκαστον ἄνδρα πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις δραχ-
- 4 μαῖς. οἱ δὲ τούτους Πομπηῖῳ κομίσαντες εἰς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖς οὐδὲ χρηστοὺς κατέσπειραν λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπηῖον ἐλπίσι κεναῖς διέφθειραν, ὡς ποθοῦμενον ὑπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος στρατιᾶς καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνταῦθα διὰ φθόνον πολιτείας ὑπούλου μόλις ἔχοντα, τῆς δὲ ἐκεῖ δυνάμεως ἐτοίμης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ, καὶ μόνον ὑπερβάλωσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς ἐσομένης πρὸς ἐκείνον· οὕτως γεγενῆσθαι τὸν

¹ So Coraës and Bekker with the MSS.; Sint.² corrects to κελεύει.

colony recently established by Caesar in Gaul, were deprived of citizenship by them; and Marcellus, while he was consul, beat with rods a senator of Novum Comum who had come to Rome, telling him besides that he put these marks upon him to prove that he was not a Roman, and bade him go back and show them to Caesar. But after the consulship of Marcellus, Caesar having now sent his Gallic wealth for all those in public life to draw from in copious streams, and having freed Curio the tribune from many debts, and having given Paulus the consul fifteen hundred talents, out of which he adorned the forum with the Basilica,¹ a famous monument, erected in place of the Fulvia,—under these circumstances Pompey took fright at the coalition, and openly now, by his own efforts and those of his friends, tried to have a successor appointed to Caesar in his government, and sent a demand to him for the return of the soldiers whom he had lent him for his Gallic contests.² Caesar sent the soldiers back, after making a present to each man of two hundred and fifty drachmas. But the officers who brought these men to Pompey spread abroad among the multitude stories regarding Caesar which were neither reasonable nor true, and ruined Pompey himself with vain hopes. They told him that Caesar's army yearned for him, and that while he was with difficulty controlling affairs in the city owing to the disease of envy which festored in the body politic, the forces in Gaul were ready to serve him, and had but to cross into Italy when they would at once be on his side; so obnoxious to

¹ The Basilica Pauli Aemilii, called also Regia Pauli. It took the place of the Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia, erected in 179 B.C.

² See chapter xxv. 1

Καίσαρα πλήθει στρατειῶν λυπηρὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ
 5 φόβῳ μοναρχίας ὑποπτον. ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπηΐος ἐχαυνοῦτο· καὶ παρασκευῆς μὲν ἡμέλει στρατιωτῶν, ὡς μὴ δεδοικώς, λόγοις δὲ καὶ γνώμαις κατεπολιτεύετο τῷ δοκεῖν Καίσαρα, καταψηφιζόμενος ὧν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγεται τινα τῶν ἀφιγμένων παρ' αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχων ἐστῶτα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ πυθόμενον ὡς οὐ δίδωσιν ἢ γερουσία Καίσαρι χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς, “Ἄλλ' αὕτη” φάναι “δώσει,” κρούσαντα τῇ χειρὶ τὴν λαβὴν τῆς μαχαίρας.

XXX. Οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ἢ γε παρὰ Καίσαρος ἀξίωσις τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς δικαιολογίας λαμπρὸν εἶχεν. ἡξίου γὰρ αὐτός τε καταθέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ Πομπηίου ταῦτ' ὀφείλοντος ἀμφοτέρους ἰδιώτας γενομένους εὐρίσκεσθαι τι παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀγαθόν, ὡς τοὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀφαιρούμενους, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἦν εἶχε βεβαιοῦντας δύναμιν, ἕτερον διαβάλλοντας ἕτερον κατασκευάζειν τύραν-
 2 νον. ταῦτα προκαλούμενος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ Κουρίων ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐκροτεῖτο λαμπρῶς· οἱ δὲ καὶ στεφάνους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν ἀνθοβολοῦντες ἠφίεσαν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ δημαρχῶν Καίσαρος ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιστολὴν κομισθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξήνεγκε καὶ ἀνέγνω βία τῶν ὑπάτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ Σκηπίων μὲν ὁ Πομπηίου πενθερὸς

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lviii. 2.

them had Caesar become by reason of the multitude of his campaigns, and so suspicious of him were they made by their fear of a monarchy. All this fed Pompey's vanity, and he neglected to provide himself with soldiers, as though he had no fears; while with speeches and resolutions of the senate he was carrying the day against Caesar, as he supposed, although he was merely getting measures rejected about which Caesar cared naught. Nay, we are told that one of the centurions sent to Rome by Caesar, as he stood in front of the senate-house and learned that the senate would not give Caesar an extension of his term of command, slapped the handle of his sword and said: "But this will give it." ¹

XXX. However, the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking semblance of fairness. He demanded, namely, that if he himself laid down his arms, Pompey should do the same, and that both, thus become private men, should find what favour they could with their fellow citizens; arguing that if they took away his forces from him, but confirmed Pompey in the possession of his, they would be accusing one of seeking a tyranny and making the other a tyrant. When Curio laid these proposals before the people in behalf of Caesar, he was loudly applauded, and some actually cast garlands of flowers upon him as if he were a victorious athlete. Antony, too, who was a tribune, brought before the people a letter of Caesar's on these matters which he had received, and read it aloud, in defiance of the consuls. But in the senate, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey,² introduced a motion

² Pompey had married Cornelia, the young widow of Publius Crassus (*Pompey*, lv. 1).

εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην, ἂν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ μὴ κατάρθῃται τὰ ὄπλα Καίσαρ, ἀποδειχθῆναι πολέμιον
 3 αὐτόν. ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰ δοκεῖ Πομπήϊον ἀφεῖναι τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάλιν, εἰ δοκεῖ Καίσαρα, τῇ μὲν ὀλίγοι παντάπασιν, τῇ δὲ πάντες παρ' ὀλίγους προσέθεντο· τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἀντώνιον πάλιν ἀξιούντων ἀμφοτέρους τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι, πάντες ὁμαλῶς προσεχώρησαν. ἀλλὰ ἐκβιαζομένου Σκηπίωνος, καὶ Λέντλου τοῦ ὑπάτου βοῶντος ὅπλων δεῖν πρὸς ἄνδρα ληστήν, οὐ ψήφων, τότε μὲν διελύθησαν καὶ μετεβάλλοντο τὰς ἐσθήτας ἐπὶ πένθει διὰ τὴν στάσιν.

XXXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ Καίσαρος ἦκον ἐπι- 72
 στολαὶ μετριάξιν δοκοῦντος (ἡξίου γὰρ ἀφεῖς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν μετὰ δυεῖν ταγμάτων αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, μέχρι οὗ τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατείαν μέτεισι), καὶ Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ ἄρτι παρὼν ἐκ Κιλικίας καὶ διαλλαγὰς πράττων ἐμίλαττε τὸν Πομπήϊον, ὁ δὲ τὰλλα συγχωρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀφήρει. καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ἔπειθε τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους συνειδόντας ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἐπαρχίαις καὶ στρατιώταις μόνοις ἐξακισχιλίοις ποιείσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις,
 2 Πομπήϊου δὲ καμπτομένου καὶ διδόντος οἱ περὶ Λέντλον οὐκ εἶων ὑπατεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κουρίωνα προπηλακίσαντες ἐξήλασαν ἀτίμως, τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην Καίσαρι τῶν προφάσεων αὐτοὶ μηχανησάμενοι, καὶ δι' ἧς μάλιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρώξυνεν, ἐπι-

that if by a fixed day Caesar did not lay down his arms he should be declared a public enemy. And when the consuls put the question whether Pompey should dismiss his soldiers, and again whether Caesar should, very few senators voted for the first, and all but a few for the second; but when Antony again demanded that both should give up their commands, all with one accord assented. Scipio, however, made violent opposition, and Lentulus the consul cried out that against a robber there was need of arms, not votes; whereupon the senate broke up, and the senators put on the garb of mourning in view of the dissension.

XXXI. But presently letters came from Caesar in which he appeared to take a more moderate position, for he agreed to surrender everything else, but demanded that Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum together with two legions should be given him until he stood for his second consulship. Cicero the orator, too, who had just returned from Cilicia and was busy with a reconciliation, tried to mollify Pompey, who yielded everything else, but insisted on taking away Caesar's soldiers. Cicero also tried to persuade the friends of Caesar to compromise and come to a settlement on the basis of the provinces mentioned and only six thousand soldiers, and Pompey was ready to yield and grant so many. Lentulus the consul, however, would not let him, but actually heaped insults upon Antony and Curio and drove them disgracefully from the senate,¹ thus himself contriving for Caesar the most specious of his pretexts, and the one by means of which he most of all incited his soldiers, showing them men of repute

¹ January 7, 49 B.C.

δεικνύμενος ἄνδρας ἑλλογίμους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ μισθίων ζευγῶν πεφευγότας ἐν ἐσθήσιν οἰκετικάῃς. οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης σκευάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ φόβον ὑπεξήεσαν.

- XXXII. Ἦσαν μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλείους ἱππέων τριακοσίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν· τὸ γὰρ ἄλλο στράτευμα πέραν Ἀλπεων ἀπολελειμμένον ἔμελλον ἄξιν οἱ πεμφθέντες. ὁρῶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὧν ἐνίστατο πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον οὐ πολυχειρίας δεομένην ἐν τῷ παρόντι μᾶλλον ἢ θάμβει τε τόλμης καὶ τάχει καιροῦ
- 2 καταληπτέαν οὔσαν, ἐκπλήξιν γὰρ ἀπιστούμενος ῥᾶον ἢ βιάσασθαι μετὰ παρασκευῆς ἐπελθών, τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας καὶ ταξιάρχους ἐκέλευσε μαχαίρας ἔχοντας ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων κατασχεῖν Ἀρίμινον τῆς Κελτικῆς μεγάλην πόλιν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα φεισαμένους φόνου καὶ ταραχῆς, Ὀρτησίῳ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν παρέδωκεν.
- 3 Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διήγεन ἐν φανερῷ μονομάχοις ἐφeskτῶς γυμναζομένοις καὶ θεώμενος· μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ ἐσπέρας θεραπεύσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα καὶ συγγενόμενος βραχέα τοῖς παρακεκλημένοις ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἥδη συσκοτάζοντος ἑξάνεστη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους φιλοφρονηθεὶς καὶ κελεύσας περιμένειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπανελυσόμενον, ὀλίγοις δὲ τῶν φίλων προεῖρητο μὴ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλη διώκειν.
- 4 αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν μισθίων ζευγῶν ἐπιβὰς ἐνὸς ἤλαυνεν ἑτέραν τινὰ πρῶτον ὁδόν, εἶτα πρὸς τὸ Ἀρίμινον ἐπιστρέψας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν διορίζοντα τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας

and high office who had fled the city on hired carts and in the garb of slaves. For thus they had arrayed themselves in their fear and stolen out of Rome.

XXXII. Now, Caesar had with him not more than three hundred horsemen and five thousand legionaries ; for the rest of his army had been left beyond the Alps, and was to be brought up by those whom he had sent for the purpose. He saw, however, that the beginning of his enterprise and its initial step did not require a large force at present, but must take advantage of the golden moment by showing amazing boldness and speed, since he could strike terror into his enemies by an unexpected blow more easily than he could overwhelm them by an attack in full force. He therefore ordered his centurions and other officers, taking their swords only, and without the rest of their arms, to occupy Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, avoiding commotion and bloodshed as far as possible ; and he entrusted this force to Hortensius.

He himself spent the day in public, attending and watching the exercises of gladiators ; but a little before evening he bathed and dressed and went into the banqueting hall. Here he held brief converse with those who had been invited to supper, and just as it was getting dark rose and went away, after addressing courteously most of his guests and bidding them await his return. To a few of his friends, however, he had previously given directions to follow him, not all by the same route, but some by one way and some by another. He himself mounted one of his hired carts and drove at first along another road, then turned towards Ariminum. When he came to the river which separates Cisalpine Gaul from the

ποταμόν (Ρουβίκων καλεῖται), καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσῆι μᾶλλον ἐγγίζοντα τῷ δεινῷ καὶ περιφερόμενον τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τολμωμένων, 5 ἔσχετο δρόμου· καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διήνεγκε σιγῇ τὴν γνώμην ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα μεταλαμβάνων, καὶ τροπὰς ἔσχεν αὐτῷ τότε τὸ βούλευμα πλείστας· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος, συνδιηπόρησεν, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἡλίκων κακῶν ἄρξει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἢ διάβασις, ὅσον 6 τε λόγον αὐτῆς τοῖς αὐθις ἀπολείψουσι. τέλος δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ τινος ὥσπερ ἀφείς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαίνουσιν ἀπόρους καὶ τόλμας προοίμιον ὑπειπὼν, “Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος,” ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη χρώμενος εἰσέπεσε πρὸ ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ Ἀρίμινον καὶ κατέσχε. λέγεται δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ τῆς διαβάσεως ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔκθεσμον· ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ μίγνυσθαι τὴν ἄρρητον μῆξιν.

XXXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελήφθη τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ὥσπερ ἀνεωγμένου τοῦ πολέμου πλατείαις πύλαις ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ συγκεχυμένων ἅμα τοῖς ὅροις τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῶν νόμων τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἄνδρας ἂν τις ᾤηθη καὶ γυναῖκας, ὥσπερ ἄλλοτε, σὺν ἐκπλήξει διαφοιτᾶν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς πολεὺς αὐτὰς ἀνισταμένας 724

rest of Italy (it is called the Rubicon), and began to reflect, now that he drew nearer to the fearful step and was agitated by the magnitude of his ventures, he checked his speed. Then, halting in his course, he communed with himself a long time in silence as his resolution wavered back and forth, and his purpose then suffered change after change. For a long time, too, he discussed his perplexities with his friends who were present, among whom was Asinius Pollio, estimating the great evils for all mankind which would follow their passage of the river, and the wide fame of it which they would leave to posterity. But finally, with a sort of passion, as if abandoning calculation and casting himself upon the future, and uttering the phrase with which men usually prelude their plunge into desperate and daring fortunes, "Let the die be cast," he hastened to cross the river; and going at full speed now for the rest of the time, before daybreak he dashed into Ariminum and took possession of it.¹ It is said, moreover, that on the night before he crossed the river he had an unnatural dream; he thought, namely, that he was having incestuous intercourse with his own mother.²

XXXIII. After the seizure of Ariminum, as if the war had opened with broad gates to cover the whole earth and sea alike, and the laws of the state were confounded along with the boundaries of the province, one would not have thought that men and women, as at other times, were hurrying through Italy in consternation, but that the very cities had

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lx. 1-2.

² According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 7), Caesar had this dream while he was quacstor in Spain (67 B.C.). The interpreters of dreams told him that his *mother* meant the Earth, the universal parent, which was to become subject to him.

- 2 φυγῇ διαφέρεσθαι δι' ἀλλήλων, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ῥευμάτων πιμπλαμένην φυγαῖς τῶν περίξ δήμων καὶ μεταστάσεσιν, οὔτε ἄρχοντι πείσαι ῥαδίαν οὔσαν οὔτε λόγῳ καθεκτὴν, ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι καὶ σάλῳ μικρὸν ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς ἀνατετράφθαι. πάθῃ γὰρ ἀντίπαλα
- 3 καὶ βίαια κατεῖχε κινήματα πάντα τόπον. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ χαῖρον ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δεδοικότι καὶ λυπουμενῷ κατὰ πολλὰ συμπίπτον ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ θρασυνόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος δι' ἐρίδων ἦν, αὐτόν τε Πομπήϊον ἐκπεπληγμένον ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν ἐτάραττε, τοῖς μὲν, ὡς ἠϋΐησε Καίσαρα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εὐθύνας ὑπέχοντα, τῶν δέ, ὅτι παρείκοντα καὶ προτεινόμενον εὐγνώμονας διαλύσεις ἐφῆκε τοῖς περὶ
- 4 Λέντλον ὑβρίσαι, κατηγορούντων. Φάωνιος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε τῷ ποδὶ κτυπεῖν τὴν γῆν, ἐπεὶ μεγαληγορῶν ποτε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον οὐδὲν εἶα πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ φροντίζειν ἐκείνους τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς· αὐτὸς γάρ, ὅταν ἐπὶ κρούσας τὸ ἔδαφος τῷ ποδὶ στρατευμάτων ἐμπλήσειν τὴν Ἰταλίαν.
- 5 Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε πλήθει δυνάμεως ὑπερέβαλλεν ὁ Πομπήϊος τὴν Καίσαρος· εἶασε δ' οὐδεὶς τὸν ἄνδρα χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς, ἀλλὰ ὑπ' ἀγγελμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ φόβων, ὡς ἐφεστῶτος ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πάντα κατέχοντος, εἷξας καὶ συνεκκρουσθεὶς τῇ πάντων φορᾷ ψηφίζεται ταραχὴν ὁρᾶν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπε κεύσας ἔπεσθαι τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ μηδένα μένειν τῶν πρὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἡρημένων τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

risen up in flight and were rushing one through another; while Rome herself, deluged as it were by the inhabitants of the surrounding towns who were fleeing from their homes, neither readily obeying a magistrate nor listening to the voice of reason, in the surges of a mighty sea narrowly escaped being overturned by her own internal agitations. For conflicting emotions and violent disturbances prevailed everywhere. Those who rejoiced did not keep quiet, but in many places, as was natural in a great city, encountered those who were in fear and distress, and being filled with confidence as to the future came into strife with them; while Pompey himself, who was terror-stricken, was assailed on every side, being taken to task by some for having strengthened Caesar against himself and the supreme power of the state, and denounced by others for having permitted Lentulus to insult Caesar when he was ready to yield and was offering reasonable terms of settlement. Favonius bade him stamp on the ground; for once, in a boastful speech to the senate, he told them to take no trouble or anxious thought about preparations for the war, since when it came he had but to stamp upon the earth to fill Italy with armies.¹

However, even then Pompey's forces were more numerous than Caesar's; but no one would suffer him to exercise his own judgement; and so, under the influence of many false and terrifying reports, believing that the war was already close at hand and prevailed everywhere, he gave way, was swept along with the universal tide, issued an edict declaring a state of anarchy, and forsook the city, commanding the senate to follow, and forbidding any one to remain who preferred country and freedom to tyranny.

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lvii. 5.

- XXXIV. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπατοὶ μὴδὲ ἅ νόμος ἐστὶ πρὸ ἐξόδου θύσαντες ἔφυγον· ἔφευγον δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν οἱ πλείστοι, τρόπον τινὰ δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ιδίων ὃ τι τύχοιεν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων λαμβάνοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ σφόδρα τὰ Καίσαρος ἡρημένοι πρότερον ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ θάμβους τότε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ συμπαραηρέχθησαν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι τῷ ρεύματι τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνης. οἰκτρότατον δὲ τὸ θέαμα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἐπιφερομένου τοσούτου χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ νεὼς ὑπὸ κυβερνητῶν ἀπαγορευόντων πρὸς τὸ συντυχὸν ἐκπεσεῖν κομιζομένης. ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω τῆς μεταστάσεως οἰκτρᾶς οὔσης, τὴν μὲν φυγὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πατρίδα διὰ Πομπηίου ἡγοῦντο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον ἐξέλειπον· ὅπου καὶ Λαβιηνός, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλοις Καίσαρος καὶ πρεσβευτῆς γεγωνὼς καὶ συνηγωνισμένος ἐν πᾶσι προθυμώτατα τοῖς Κελτικοῖς πολέμοις, τότε ἐκείνον ἀποδρὰς ἀφίκετο πρὸς Πομπηίου.
- 3 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς ἀπέπεμψεν ὁ Καίσαρ· Δομετίῳ δὲ ἡγουμένῳ σπειρῶν τριάκοντα καὶ κατέχοντι Κορφίνιον ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπογνοὺς τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ᾗτησε τὸν ἰατρὸν οἰκέτην ὄντα φάρμακον· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δοθὲν ἔπιεν ὡς
- 4 τεθνηξόμενος. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Καίσαρα θαυμαστῇ τινι φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐαλωκότας, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεθρήνει καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ βουλευματος ἡτιᾶτο. τοῦ δ' ἰατροῦ θαρρύναντος αὐτόν, ὡς ὑπνωτικόν, οὐ θανάσιμον, πεπωκότα, περιχαρὴς ἀναστὰς ἀπῆει πρὸς Καί-

XXXIV. Accordingly, the consuls fled, without even making the sacrifices usual before departure; most of the senators also fled, after seizing, in a sort of robbery, whatever came to hand of their own possessions, as though it were the property of others. Some, too, who before this had vehemently espoused the cause of Caesar, were now frightened out of their wits, and were carried along, when there was no need of it, by the sweep of the great tide. But most pitiful was the sight of the city, now that so great a tempest was bearing down upon her, carried along like a ship abandoned of her helmsmen to dash against whatever lay in her path. Still, although their removal was so pitiful a thing, for the sake of Pompey men considered exile to be their country, and abandoned Rome with the feeling that it was Caesar's camp.¹ For even Labienus, one of Caesar's greatest friends, who had been his legate and had fought most zealously with him in all his Gallic wars, now ran away from him and came to Pompey.

But Caesar sent to Labienus his money and his baggage; against Domitius, however, who was holding Corfinium with thirty cohorts under his command, he marched, and pitched his camp near by. Domitius, despairing of his enterprise, asked his physician, who was a slave, for a poison; and taking what was given him, drank it, intending to die. But after a little, hearing that Caesar showed most wonderful clemency towards his prisoners, he bewailed his fate, and blamed the rashness of his purpose. Then his physician bade him be of good cheer, since what he had drunk was a sleeping-potion and not deadly; whereupon Domitius rose up overjoyed and went to Caesar,

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxi. 4.

σαρα, καὶ λαβὼν δεξιὰν αὐθις διεξέπεσε πρὸς Πομπήϊον. ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελλόμενα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡδίους ἐποίει, καὶ τινες φυγόντες ἀνέστρεψαν.

XXXV. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τὴν τε τοῦ Δομετίου στρατιὰν παρέλαβε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι Πομπηΐῳ στρατολογουμένους ἔφθασε καταλαβών. πολὺς δὲ γεγωνὼς ἤδη καὶ φοβερὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνε Πομπηΐον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' εἰς Βρεντέσιον φυγὼν τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους πρότερον ἔστειλε μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς Δυρράχιον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπελθόντος Καίσαρος ἐξέπλευσεν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφησομένοις τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον δηλωθήσεται.

2 Καίσαρι δὲ βουλομένῳ μὲν εὐθὺς διώκειν ἀπορία νεῶν ἦν· εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεψε, γεγωνὼς ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα πάσης ἀναιμωτὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας κύριος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὗρε μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδόκα καθεστῶσαν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐν αὐτῇ συχνούς, τούτοις μὲν ἐπιεικῇ καὶ δημοτικῶς διελέχθη, παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς Πομπηΐον ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ἐπὶ συμβάσεσι πρεπούσαις· ὑπήκουσε δ' οὐδεὶς, εἴτε φοβούμενοι Πομπηΐον ἐγκαταλελειμμένον, εἴτε μὴ νομίζοντες οὕτω Καίσαρα φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπείᾳ λόγων χρῆσθαι.

3 τοῦ δὲ δημάρχου Μετέλλου κωλύοντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων χρήματα λαμβάνειν καὶ νόμους τινὰς προφέροντος, οὐκ ἔφη τὸν αὐτὸν ὄπλων καὶ νόμων καιρὸν εἶναι. “Σὺ δὲ εἰ τοῖς πραττομένοις δυσκολαίνεις, νῦν μὲν ἐκποδὼν ἄπιθι· παρρησίας

the pledge of whose right hand he received, only to desert him and go back to Pompey. When tidings of these things came to Rome, men were made more cheerful, and some of the fugitives turned back.

XXXV. Caesar took over the troops of Domitius, as well as all the other levies of Pompey which he surprised in the various cities. Then, since his forces were already numerous and formidable, he marched against Pompey himself. Pompey, however, did not await his approach, but fled to Brundisium, sent the consuls before him with an army to Dyrrhachium, and shortly afterwards, as Caesar drew near, sailed off himself, as shall be set forth circumstantially in his Life.¹ Caesar wished to pursue him at once, but was destitute of ships; so he turned back to Rome, having in sixty days and without bloodshed become master of all Italy.

He found the city more tranquil than he was expecting, and many senators in it. With these, therefore, he conferred in a gentle and affable manner,² inviting them even to send a deputation to Pompey proposing suitable terms of agreement. But no one would listen to him, either because they feared Pompey, whom they had abandoned, or because they thought that Caesar did not mean what he said, but was indulging in specious talk. When the tribune Metellus tried to prevent Caesar's taking money from the reserve funds of the state, and cited certain laws, Caesar said that arms and laws had not the same season. "But if thou art displeased at what is going on, for the present get out

¹ Chapter lxii.

² Caesar gives a summary of his speech to the senators in *B.C.* i. 32.

γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλεμος· ὅταν δὲ κατάθωμαι τὰ ὄπλα συμβάσεων γενομένων, τότε παριὼν δημαγωγήσεις. καὶ ταῦτα,” ἔφη, “λέγω τῶν ἑμαντοῦ δικαίων ὑφίεμενος· ἐμὸς γὰρ εἰ καὶ σὺ καὶ πάντες ὅσους εἵληφα τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ στασιασάντων.”

- 4 ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον εἰπὼν ἐβύδιζε πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ ταμείου, μὴ φαινομένων δὲ τῶν κλειδῶν χαλκεῖς μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκκόπτειν ἐκέλευεν· αὐτῷ δὲ ἐνισταμένου τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τινῶν ἐπαινούντων, διατεινόμενος ἠπέιλησεν ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο παρενοχλῶν. “Καὶ τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “μειράκιον, οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς ὅτι μοι δυσκολώτερον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἢ πράξαι.” οὗτος ὁ λόγος τότε καὶ Μέτελλον ἀπελθεῖν ἐποίησε καταδείσαντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ῥαδίως αὐτῷ καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

XXXVI. Ἑστράτευσεν δ' εἰς Ἰβηρίαν πρότερον ἐγνωκῶς τοὺς περὶ Ἀφράνιον καὶ Βάρρωνα Πομπηίου πρεσβευτὰς ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιησάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Πομπηίου ἐλαύνειν, μηδένα κατὰ νότου τῶν πολεμίων ὑπολειπόμενος. κινδυνεύσας δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι πολλάκις κατ' ἐνέδρας καὶ τῷ στρατῷ μάλιστα διὰ λιμόν, οὐκ ἀνῆκε πρότερον διώκων καὶ προκαλούμενος καὶ περιταφρεύων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ κύριος βία γενέσθαι τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ὥχοντο πρὸς Πομπηίου φεύγοντες.

XXXVII. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην Καίσαρα Πείσων μὲν ὁ πενθερὸς παρεκάλει πρὸς Πομπηίου ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως,

of the way, since war has no use for free speech; when, however, I have come to terms and laid down my arms, then thou shalt come before the people with thy harangues. And in saying this I waive my own just rights; for thou art mine, thou and all of the faction hostile to me whom I have caught." After this speech to Metellus, Caesar walked towards the door of the treasury, and when the keys were not to be found, he sent for smiths and ordered them to break in the door. Metellus once more opposed him, and was commended by some for so doing; but Caesar, raising his voice, threatened to kill him if he did not cease his troublesome interference. "And thou surely knowest, young man," said he, "that it is more unpleasant for me to say this than to do it." Then Metellus, in consequence of this speech, went off in a fright, and henceforth everything was speedily and easily furnished to Caesar for the war.¹

XXXVI. So he made an expedition into Spain,² having resolved first to drive out from there Afranius and Varro, Pompey's legates, and bring their forces there and the provinces into his power, and then to march against Pompey, leaving not an enemy in his rear. And though his life was often in peril from ambuscades, and his army most of all from hunger, he did not cease from pursuing, challenging, and besieging the men until he had made himself by main force master of their camps and their forces. The leaders, however, made their escape to Pompey.

XXXVII. When Caesar came back to Rome, Piso, his father-in-law, urged him to send a deputation to Pompey with proposals for a settlement; but

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxii. 1. ² Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* i. 34-86.

Ἰσαυρικὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἀντεῖπεν. αἰρεθεῖς δὲ δικτάτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς φυγάδας τε κατήγαγε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα δυστυχησάντων τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιτίμους ἐποίησε, καὶ σεισαχθεία τινὶ τόκων ἐκούφιζε τοὺς χρεωφειλέτας, ἄλλων τε τοιούτων ἤψατο πολιτευμάτων οὐ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἑνδεκα τὴν μὲν μοναρχίαν ἀπειπάμενος, ὕπατον δὲ ἀναδείξας ἑαυτὸν καὶ Σερουτίλιον Ἰσαυρικόν, εἵχετο τῆς στρατείας.

- 2 Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας δυνάμεις καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπειγόμενος παρήλθεν, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἔχων λογάδας ἑξακοσίους καὶ πέντε τάγματα, χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαῖς ὄντος, ἱσταμένου Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς (οὗτος δ' ἂν εἴη Ποσειδεῶν Ἀθηναίοις) ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος· καὶ διαβαλὼν τὸν Ἰόνιον Ὠρικὸν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν αἰρεῖ, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα πάλιν ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστερήσαντας τῇ πορείᾳ
- 3 στρατιώτας. οἱ δὲ ἄχρι μὲν καθ' ὁδὸν ἦσαν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ παρηκμακότες ἤδη τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πρὸς τὰ πλήθη τῶν πολέμων ἀπειρηκότες, ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχον τὸν Καίσαρα· “Ποῖ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τί πέρας ἡμᾶς οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καταθήσεται περιφέρων καὶ χρώμενος ὥσπερ ἀτρύτοις καὶ ἀψύχοις ἡμῖν; καὶ σίδηρος ἐξέκαμε πληγαῖς, καὶ θυρεοῦ τίς ἐστι 72
- 4 φειδῶ ἐν χρόνῳ τοσούτῳ καὶ θώρακος. οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων ἄρα λογίζεται Καῖσαρ ὅτι θνητῶν μὲν ἄρχει, θνητὰ δὲ πεφύκαμεν πάσχειν καὶ ἀλγεῖν; ὥραν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ πνεύματος ἐν θαλάττῃ καιρὸν οὐδὲ θεῶ βιάζεσθαι δυνατόν· ἀλλ' οὗτος παραβάλλεται καθάπερ οὐ διώκων πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ φεύγων.” τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἐπορεύ-

Isauricus, to please Caesar, opposed the project. So, having been made dictator by the senate, he brought home exiles, restored to civic rights the children of those who had suffered in the time of Sulla, relieved the burdens of the debtor-class by a certain adjustment of interest, took in hand a few other public measures of like character, and within eleven days abdicated the sole power, had himself declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and entered upon his campaign.

The rest of his forces he passed by in a forced march, and with six hundred picked horsemen and five legions, at the time of the winter solstice, in the early part of January¹ (this month answers nearly to the Athenian Poseideon), put to sea, and after crossing the Ionian gulf took Oricum and Apollonia, and sent his transports back again to Brundisium for the soldiers who had been belated on their march. These, as long as they were on the road, since they were now past their physical prime and worn out with their multitudinous wars, murmured against Caesar. "Whither, pray, and to what end will this man bring us, hurrying us about and treating us like tireless and lifeless things? Even a sword gets tired out with smiting, and shield and breastplate are spared a little after so long a time of service. Will not even our wounds, then, convince Caesar that he commands mortal men, and that we are mortal in the endurance of pain and suffering? Surely the wintry season and the occasion of a storm at sea not even a god can constrain; yet this man takes risks as though he were not pursuing, but flying from, enemies." With such words as these they

¹ 48 B.C. The Roman calendar, at this time, was much in advance of the solar seasons.

- 5 οντο σχολαίως εἰς τὸ Βρεντέσιον. ὥς δὲ ἐλθόντες εὗρον ἀνηγμένον τὸν Καίσαρα, ταχὺ πάλιν αὐ μεταβαλόντες ἐκάκιζον ἑαυτοὺς προδότας ἀποκαλοῦντες τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐκάκιζον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὐκ ἐπιταχύναντας τὴν πορείαν. καθήμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὴν Ἥπειρον ἀπεσκόπουν τὰς ναῦς ἐφ' ὧν ἔμελλον περαιούσθαι πρὸς ἐκείνους.

- XXXVIII. Ἐν δὲ Ἀπολλωνία Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔχων ἀξιόμαχον τὴν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, βραδυνούσης δὲ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν, ἀπορούμενος καὶ περιπαθῶν, δεινὸν ἐβούλευσε βούλευμα, κρύφα πάντων εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβὰς τὸ μέγεθος δωδεκάσκαλμον ἀναχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, τηλικούτοις στόλοις περιεχομένου τοῦ πελάγους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.
- 2 νυκτὸς οὖν ἐσθῆτι θεράποντος ἐπικρυψάμενος ἐνέβη, καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ὥς τινα τῶν παρημελημένων ἡσύχαζε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀώου ποταμοῦ τὴν ναῦν ὑποφέροντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τὴν μὲν ἐωθινήν αὖραν, ἣ παρεῖχε τηνικαῦτα περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς γαλήνην ἀπωθοῦσα πόρρω τὸ κύμα, πολὺς πνεύσας πελάγιος διὰ νυκτὸς ἀπέσβεσε·
- 3 πρὸς δὲ τὴν πλημμύραν τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τὴν ἀντίβασιν τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀγριαίνων ὁ ποταμός, καὶ τραχὺς ἅμα καὶ κτύπῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ σκληραῖς ἀνακοπτόμενος δίνειαι, ἄπορος ἦν βιασθῆναι τῷ κυβερνήτῃ· καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ναύτας ὥς ἀποστρέψων τὸν πλοῦν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναδείκνυσιν ἑαυτόν, καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκπεπληγμένου πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, “Ἴθι,” ἔφη, “γειναῖε, τόλμα καὶ δέδιθι

marched in a leisurely way to Brundisium. But when they got there and found that Caesar had put to sea, they quickly changed their tone and reviled themselves as traitors to the Emperor; they reviled their officers, too, for not having quickened their march. Then, sitting on the cliffs, they looked off towards the open sea and Epirus, watching for the ships which were to carry them across to their commander.

XXXVIII. At Apollonia, since the force which he had with him was not a match for the enemy and the delay of his troops on the other side caused him perplexity and distress, Caesar conceived the dangerous plan of embarking in a twelve-oared boat, without any one's knowledge, and going over to Brundisium, though the sea was encompassed by such large armaments of the enemy. At night, accordingly, after disguising himself in the dress of a slave, he went on board, threw himself down as one of no account, and kept quiet. While the river Aoüs was carrying the boat down towards the sea, the early morning breeze, which at that time usually made the mouth of the river calm by driving back the waves, was quelled by a strong wind which blew from the sea during the night; the river therefore chafed against the inflow of the sea and the opposition of its billows, and was rough, being beaten back with a great din and violent eddies, so that it was impossible for the master of the boat to force his way along. He therefore ordered the sailors to come about in order to retrace his course. But Caesar, perceiving this, disclosed himself, took the master of the boat by the hand, who was terrified at sight of him, and said: "Come, good man, be bold

μηδέν· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην
 4 συμπλέουσιν.” ἐλάθοντο τοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ ναῦ-
 ται, καὶ ταῖς κώπαις ἐμφύντες ἐβιάζοντο πάσῃ
 προθυμίᾳ τὸν ποταμόν. ὥς δὲ ἦν ἄπορα, δεξά-
 μενος πολλὴν θάλατταν καὶ κινδυνεύσας ἐν τῷ
 στόματι συνεχώρησε μάλα ἄκων τῷ κυβερνήτῃ
 μεταβαλεῖν. ἀνιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ πλῆθος
 ἀπήντων οἱ στρατιῶται, πολλὰ μεμφόμενοι καὶ
 δυσπαθοῦντες εἰ μὴ πέπεισται καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς
 μόνοις ἱκανὸς εἶναι νικᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἄχθεται καὶ παρα-
 βάλλεται διὰ τοὺς ἀπόντας ὥς ἀπιστῶν τοῖς
 παροῦσιν.

XXXIX. Ἐκ τούτου κατέπλευσε μὲν Ἀντώ-
 νιος ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου τὰς δυνάμεις ἄγων· θαρρή-
 σας δὲ Καίσαρ προῦκαλεῖτο Πομπηίου ἰδρυμένον
 ἐν καλῷ καὶ χορηγούμενον ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάτ-
 τῃς ἀποχρώντως, αὐτὸς ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις διώγων
 κατ’ ἀρχάς, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ σφόδρα πιεσθεὶς
 ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἀλλὰ ρίζαν τινὰ κό-
 πτοντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ γάλακτι φυρῶντες
 2 προσεφέροντο. καὶ ποτε καὶ διαπλάσαντες ἐξ
 αὐτῆς ἄρτους καὶ ταῖς προφυλακαῖς τῶν πολε-
 μίων ἐπιδραμόντες ἔβαλλον εἴσω καὶ διερρίπτουν,
 ἐπιλέγοντες ὥς, ἄχρι ἂν ἡ γῆ τοιαύτας ἐκφέρῃ
 ρίζας, οὐ παύσονται πολιορκοῦντες Πομπηίου. ὁ
 μέντοι Πομπηῖος οὔτε τοὺς ἄρτους οὔτε τοὺς λό-
 γους εἶα τούτους ἐκφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος.
 ἡθύμουν γὰρ οἱ στρατιῶται, τὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ
 τὴν ἀπάθειαν τῶν πολεμίων ὥσπερ θηρίων ὀρ-
 ρωδοῦντες.

3 Ἀεὶ δέ τινες περὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασι τοῖς Πομπηίου
 μάχαι σποράδες ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ περιῆν πάσαις ὁ

and fear naught; thou carryest Caesar and Caesar's fortune in thy boat." ¹ The sailors forgot the storm, and laying to their oars, tried with all alacrity to force their way down the river. But since it was impossible, after taking much water and running great hazard at the mouth of the river, Caesar very reluctantly suffered the captain to put about. When he came back, his soldiers met him in throngs, finding much fault and sore displeased with him because he did not believe that even with them alone he was able to conquer, but was troubled, and risked his life for the sake of the absent as though distrusting those who were present.

XXXIX. After this, Antony put in from Brundisium with his forces, and Caesar was emboldened to challenge Pompey to battle. Pompey was well posted and drew ample supplies both from land and sea; while Caesar had no great abundance at first, and afterwards was actually hard pressed for want of provisions. But his soldiers dug up a certain root, mixed it with milk, and ate it. ² Once, too, they made loaves of it, and running up to the enemy's outposts, threw the loaves inside or tossed them to one another, adding by way of comment that as long as the earth produced such roots, they would not stop besieging Pompey. Pompey, however, would not allow either the loaves or these words to reach the main body of his army. For his soldiers were dejected, fearing the ferocity and hardness of their enemies, who were like wild beasts in their eyes.

There were constant skirmishings about the fortifications of Pompey, and in all of them Caesar got

¹ Cf. Dion Cassius, xli. 46, 3.

² Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 48.

- Καῖσαρ πλὴν μιᾶς, ἐν ᾗ τροπῆς μεγάλης γενο-
 μένης ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀπολέσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον. Πομπηίου γὰρ προσβάλλοντος οὐδείς ἔμεινεν, 72
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰφροι κατεπίμπλαντο κτεινομένων,
 καὶ περὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν χαρακώμασι καὶ περιτειχί-
 4 σμασιν ἔπιπτον ἐλαννόμενοι προτροπάδην. Καῖ-
 σαρ δὲ ὑπαντιάζων ἐπειράτο μὲν ἀναστρέφειν
 τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπέραινε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐπιλαμ-
 βανομένου τῶν σημείων ἀπερρίπτουν οἱ κομί-
 ζοντες, ὥστε δύο καὶ τριάκοντα λαβεῖν τοὺς
 πολεμίους. αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἀποθανεῖν.
 ἀνδρὶ γὰρ μεγάλῳ καὶ ῥωμαλέῳ φεύγοντι παρ'
 αὐτὸν ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα μένειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ
 στρέφεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· ὁ δὲ μεστὸς ὢν
 ταραχῆς παρὰ τὸ δεινὸν ἐπήρατο τὴν μάχαιραν
 ὡς καθιζόμενος, φθάνει δὲ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπασ-
 5 πιστῆς ἀποκόψας αὐτοῦ τὸν ὦμον. οὕτω δὲ
 ἀπέγνω τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ὥστε, ἐπεὶ Πομπηῖος ὑπ'
 εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἢ τύχης ἔργῳ μεγάλῳ τέλος οὐκ
 ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ καθεύξας εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς
 φεύγοντας ἀνεχώρησεν, εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς
 φίλους ἀπὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ, “ Σήμερον ἂν ἡ νίκη
 παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦν, εἰ τὸν νικῶντα εἶχον.”
 6 αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ κατακλι-
 θεὶς νύκτα πασῶν ἐκείνην ἀνιανοτάτην διήγαγεν
 ἐν ἀπόροις λογισμοῖς, ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκώς,
 ὅτι καὶ χώρας ἐπικειμένης βαθείας καὶ πόλεων
 εὐδαιμόνων τῶν Μακεδονικῶν καὶ Θετταλικῶν,
 εἰσας ἐκεῖ περισπάσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐνταῦθα
 καθέζοιτο πρὸς θαλάττην, ναυκρατούντων τῶν
 πολεμίων, πολιορκούμενος τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις μᾶλ-

the better except one, where there was a great rout of his men and he was in danger of losing his camp. For when Pompey attacked not one of Caesar's men stood his ground, but the moats were filled with the slain, and others were falling at their own ramparts and walls, whither they had been driven in headlong flight. And though Caesar met the fugitives and tried to turn them back, he availed nothing, nay, when he tried to lay hold of the standards the bearers threw them away, so that the enemy captured thirty-two of them. Caesar himself, too, narrowly escaped being killed. For as a tall and sturdy man was running away past him, he laid his hand upon him and bade him stay and face about upon the enemy; and the fellow, full of panic at the threatening danger, raised his sword to smite Caesar, but before he could do so Caesar's shield-bearer lopped off his arm at the shoulder. So completely had Caesar given up his cause for lost that, when Pompey, either from excessive caution or by some chance, did not follow up his great success, but withdrew after he had shut up the fugitives within their entrenchments, Caesar said to his friends as he left them: "To-day victory had been with the enemy, if they had had a victor in command."¹ Then going by himself to his tent and lying down, he spent that most distressful of all nights in vain reflections, convinced that he had shown bad generalship. For while a fertile country lay waiting for him, and the prosperous cities of Macedonia and Thessaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and had posted himself here by the sea, which his enemies controlled with their fleets, being thus held in siege by lack of

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxxv. 5.

7 λον ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις πολιορκῶν. οὕτω δὲ ῥίπτασθεις καὶ ἀδημονήσας πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ χαλεπότητα τῶν παρόντων ἀνίστη τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ Σκηπίωνα προάγειν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐγνωκώς· ἡ γὰρ ἐπισπάσσεσθαι Πομπηίου ὅπου μαχεῖται μὴ χορηγούμενος ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἡ περιέσεσθαι μεμονωμένου Σκηπίωνος.

XI. Τοῦτο τὴν Πομπηίου στρατιὰν ἐπῆρε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας ὡς ἡττημένου καὶ φεύγοντος ἔχεσθαι Καίσαρος. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ εὐλαβῶς εἶχε Πομπηίου ἀναρρῖψαι μάχην περὶ τηλικούτων, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἄριστα πᾶσι πρὸς τὸν χρόνον ἡξίου τρίβειν καὶ μαραίνειν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀκμὴν βραχείαν οὖσαν. τὸ γάρ τοι μαχιμώτατον τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως ἐμπειρίαν μὲν εἶχε καὶ τόλμαν ἀνυπόστατον πρὸς τοὺς
2 ἀγῶνας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πλάναις καὶ ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις καὶ τειχομαχοῦντες καὶ νυκτεγερτοῦντες ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ γήρως, καὶ βαρεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς σώμασι πρὸς τοὺς πόνους, δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν προθυμίαν. τότε δὲ καὶ τι νόσημα λοιμῶδες ἐλέχθη, τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς διαίτης ποιησάμενον ἀρχήν, ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ περιφέρεσθαι τῇ Καίσαρος. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὔτε χρήμασιν ἐρρωμένος οὔτε τροφῆς εὐπορῶν χρόνου βραχέος ἐδόκει περὶ αὐτῷ καταλυθῆσεσθαι.

XII. Διὰ ταῦτα Πομπηίου μαχεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενον μόνος ἐπῆνει Κίτων φειδοῖ τῶν πολιτῶν

provisions rather than besieging with his arms. Thus his despondent thoughts of the difficulty and perplexity of his situation kept him tossing upon his couch, and in the morning he broke camp, resolved to lead his army into Macedonia against Scipio; for he would then either draw Pompey after him to a place where he would give battle without drawing his supplies as he now did from the sea, or Scipio would be left alone and he would overwhelm him.

XL. This emboldened the soldiers of Pompey and the leaders by whom he was surrounded to keep close to Caesar, whom they thought defeated and in flight. For Pompey himself was cautious about hazarding a battle for so great a stake, and since he was most excellently provided with everything necessary for a long war, he thought it best to wear out and quench the vigour of the enemy, which must be short-lived. For the best fighting men in Caesar's army had experience, it is true, and a daring which was irresistible in combat; but what with their long marches and frequent encampments and siege-warfare and night-watches, they were beginning to give out by reason of age, and were too unwieldy for labour, having lost their ardour from weakness. At that time, too, a kind of pestilential disease, occasioned by the strangeness of their diet, was said to be prevalent in Caesar's army. And what was most important of all, since Caesar was neither strong in funds nor well supplied with provisions, it was thought that within a short time his army would break up of itself.

XLI. For these reasons Pompey did not wish to fight, but Cato was the only one to commend his course, and this from a desire to spare the lives

- ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς χιλίους τὸ πλῆθος γενομένους ἰδὼν ἀπῆλθεν ἐγκαλυψάμενος καὶ καταδακρύσας. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκάκιζον τὸν Πομπηϊὸν φυγομαχοῦντα, καὶ παρώξυνον Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ βασιλέα βασιλέων ἀποκαλοῦντες, ὥς δὴ μὴ βουλόμενον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαλλόμενον ἡγεμόνων τοσούτων ἐξηρητημένων αὐτοῦ καὶ φοι-
 2 τῶντων ἐπὶ σκηνήν. Φαώνιος δὲ τὴν Κάτωνος παρρησίαν ὑποποιούμενος, μανικῶς ἐσχετλίαζεν εἰ μὴδὲ τῆτες ἔσται τῶν περὶ Τουσκλάνου ἀπολαῦσαι σύκων διὰ τὴν Πομπηϊοῦ φιλαρχίαν. Ἀφράνιος δὲ (νεωστὶ γὰρ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀφίκτο κακῶς στρατηγήσας) διαβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ χρήμασι προδοῦναι τὸν στρατόν, ἡρώτα διὰ τί πρὸς 728 τὸν ἔμπορον οὐ μάχονται τὸν ἐωνημένον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπαρχίας. ἐκ τούτων ἀπάντων συνελαυνόμενος ἄκων εἰς μάχην ὁ Πομπηϊὸς ἐχώρει τὸν Καίσαρα διώκων.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πορείαν χαλεπῶς ἤνυσεν, οὐδενὸς παρέχοντος ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταφρονούντων διὰ τὴν ἑναγχος ἦτταν· ὥς δὲ εἶλε Γόμφους, Θεσσαλικὴν πόλιν, οὐ μόνον ἔθρεψε τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ νοσήματος ἀπήλλαξε παραλόγως. ἀφθόνῳ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον οἴνῳ, καὶ πιόντες ἀνέδην, εἴτα χρώμενοι κώμοις καὶ βακχεύοντες ἀνὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐκ μέθης διεκρούσαντο καὶ παρήλλαξαν τὸ πάθος, εἰς ἕξιν ἐτέραν τοῖς σώμασι μεταπεσόντες.

XLII. Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὴν Φαρσαλίαν ἐμβαλόντες ἀμφότεροι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν Πομπηϊὸς

of his fellow citizens; for when he saw even those of the enemy who had fallen in the battle, to the number of a thousand, he burst into tears, muffled up his head, and went away. All the rest, however, reviled Pompey for trying to avoid a battle, and sought to goad him on by calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings, implying that he did not wish to lay aside his sole authority, but plumed himself on having so many commanders dependent upon him and coming constantly to his tent. And Favonius, affecting Cato's boldness of speech, complained like a mad man because that year also they would be unable to enjoy the figs of Tusculum because of Pompey's love of command.¹ Afranius, too, who had lately come from Spain, where he had shown bad generalship, when accused of betraying his army for a bribe, asked why they did not fight with the merchant who had bought the provinces from him.¹ Driven on by all these importunities, Pompey reluctantly sought a battle and pursued Caesar.

Caesar accomplished most of his march with difficulty, since no one would sell him provisions, and everybody despised him on account of his recent defeat; but after he had taken Gomphi, a city of Thessaly, he not only provided food for his soldiers, but also relieved them of their disease unexpectedly. For they fell in with plenty of wine, and after drinking freely of it, and then revelling and rioting on their march, by means of their drunkenness they drove away and got rid of their trouble, since they brought their bodies into a different habit.

XLII. But when both armies entered the plain of Pharsalus and encamped there, Pompey's mind

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxvii. 3.

αὐθις εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀνεκρούετο λογισμὸν τὴν γνώμην, ἔτι καὶ φασμάτων οὐκ αἰσίων προσγενομένων καὶ καθ' ὕπνον ὄψεως. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὁρᾶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κροτούμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, . . .¹ οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω θρασεῖς ἦσαν καὶ τὸ νίκημα ταῖς ἐλπίσι προειληφότες ὥστε φιλοεικεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης Δομίτιον καὶ Σπινθῆρα καὶ Σκηπίωνα διαμιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις, πέμπειν δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην μισθουμένους καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας οἰκίας ὑπατεύουσιν καὶ στρατηγούσιν ἐπιτηδείους, ὡς εὐθὺς ἄρξοντες μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον. μάλιστα δὲ ἐσφάδαζον οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἡσκημένοι περιττῶς ὅπλων λαμπρότησι καὶ τροφαῖς ἵππων καὶ κάλλει σωμάτων, μέγα φρονούντες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπτακισχίλιοι πρὸς χιλίους τοὺς Καίσαρος ὄντες. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν πεζῶν πλῆθος οὐκ ἀγχώμαλον, ἀλλὰ τετρακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι παρετάττοντο δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις.

XLIH. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν, καὶ προειπὼν ὡς δύο μὲν αὐτῷ τάγματα Κορφίνιος ἄγων ἐγγύς ἐστιν, ἄλλαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα σπεῖραι μετὰ Καληνοῦ κάθηνται περὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἠρώτησεν εἴτε βούλονται περιμένειν ἐκείνους, εἴτε αὐτοὶ διακινδυνεύσαι καθ' ἑαυτούς. οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν δεόμενοι μὴ περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅπως τάχιστα συνίασιν εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις, τεχνάζεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν. ποιουμένῳ δὲ καθαρμὸν αὐτῷ τῆς δυνά-

¹ The substance of what has fallen from the text here may be found in the *Pompey*, lxviii. 2. Sintenis brackets the sentence as an intrusion here from marginal notes.

reverted again to its former reasoning, and besides, there befell him unlucky appearances and a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that he saw himself in his theatre applauded by the Romans, . . . Those about him, however, were so confident, and so hopefully anticipated the victory, that Domitius and Spinther and Scipio disputed earnestly with one another over Caesar's office of Pontifex Maximus, and many sent agents to Rome to hire and take possession of houses suitable for praetors and consuls, assuming that they would immediately hold these offices after the war.¹ And most of all were his cavalry impatient for the battle, since they had a splendid array of shining armour, well-fed horses, and handsome persons, and were in high spirits too on account of their numbers, which were seven thousand to Caesar's one thousand. The numbers of the infantry also were unequal, since forty-five thousand were arrayed against twenty-two thousand.

XLIII. Caesar called his soldiers together, and after telling them that Corfinius² was near with two legions for him, and that fifteen cohorts besides under Calenus were stationed at Athens and Megara, asked them whether they wished to wait for these troops, or to hazard the issue by themselves. Then the soldiers besought him with loud cries not to wait for the troops, but rather to contrive and manoeuvre to come to close quarters with the enemy as soon as possible. As he was holding a lustration

¹ Cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 82 f.; Plutarch, *Pompey*, lxxvii. 5.

² An error for Cornificius.

μεως καὶ θύσαντι τὸ πρῶτον ἱερεῖον εὐθύς ὁ μάντις ἔφραζε τριῶν ἡμερῶν μάχῃ κριθήσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους ἐνορᾷ τι τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὔσημον, “Αὐτὸς ἄν,” ἔφη, “σὺ τοῦτο βέλτιον ὑποκρίναιο σαυτῷ. μεγάλην γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ μετάπτωσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν καθεστώτων δηλοῦσιν, ὥστε εἰ μὲν εὖ πράττειν ἡγῇ σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι, τὴν χείρονα προσδόκα τύχην· εἰ δὲ κα-
 3 κῶς, τὴν ἀμείνονα.” τῇ δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης νυκτὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἐφοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ὥφθη λαμπὰς οὐρανίου πυρός, ἣν ὑπερενεχθεῖσαν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον λαμπρὰν καὶ φλογώδη γενομένην ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸ Πομπηίου καταπεσεῖν. ἐωθινήs δὲ φυλακῆς καὶ πανικὸν τάραχον ᾗσθοντο γιγνόμενον παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὐ μὴν μαχεῖσθαι γε κατ’ ἐκείνην προσεδόκα τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ ὥς ἐπὶ Σκοτούσης ὀδεύων ἀνεζεύγνυνεν.

XLIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν σκηνῶν ἤδη καταλελυμένων οἱ σκοποὶ προσίππευσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ μάχῃ καταβαίνειν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, περιχαρὲς γενόμενος καὶ προσευξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς παρέταττε τὴν φάλαγγα, τὴν τάξιν τριπλὴν ποιῶν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μέσοις ἐπέστησε Καλβίνου Δομίτιον, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν εἶχεν Ἀντώνιος, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ δεξιόν, ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τάγματι μέλλων
 2 μάχεσθαι. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς ἀντιπαραταττομένους ὀρῶν, καὶ δεδοικῶς τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης τάξεως ἀδήλως ἐκέλευσε περιελθεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ σπείρας καὶ κατόπιν ἔστησε τοῦ δεξιού, 729

and review of his forces and had sacrificed the first victim, the seer at once told him that within three days there would be a decisive battle with the enemy. And when Caesar asked him whether he also saw in the victims any favourable signs of the issue, "Thou thyself," said the seer, "canst better answer this question for thyself. For the gods indicate a great change and revolution of the present status to the opposite. Therefore, if thou thinkest thyself well off as matters stand, expect the worse fortune; if badly off, the better." Moreover, on the night before the battle, as Caesar was making the round of his sentries about midnight, a fiery torch was seen in the heavens, which seemed to be carried over his camp, blazing out brightly, and then to fall into Pompey's. And during the morning watch it was noticed that there was actually a panic confusion among the enemy.¹ However, Caesar did not expect to fight on that day,² but began to break camp for a march to Scotussa.

XLIV. But just as the tents had been struck, his scouts rode up to him with tidings that the enemy were coming down into the plain for battle. At this he was overjoyed, and after prayers and vows to the gods, drew up his legionaries in three divisions. Over the centre he put Domitius Calvinus, while of the wings Antony had one and he himself the right, where he intended to fight with the tenth legion. But seeing that the enemy's cavalry were arraying themselves over against this point, and fearing their brilliant appearance and their numbers, he ordered six cohorts from the furthestmost lines to come round to him unobserved, and stationed them behind his right

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxviii. 3.

² August 9, 48 B.C.

- διδάξας ἅ χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅταν οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἵπ-
 πεῖς προσφέρονται. Πομπήϊος δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς
 εἶχε τῶν κεράτων, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Δομίτιος, τοῦ
 3 δὲ μέσου Σκηπίων ἦρχεν ὁ πενθερός. οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς
 ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερόν ἔβρισαν ὡς τὸ δεξιὸν
 κυκλωσόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ λαμπρὰν περὶ
 αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα ποιησόμενοι τροπὴν· οὐδὲν γὰρ
 ἀνθέξειν βάθος ὀπλιτικῆς φάλαγγος, ἀλλὰ συν-
 τρίψεσθαι καὶ καταρράξεσθαι πάντα τοῖς ἐναν-
 τίοις ἐπιβολῆς ἅμα τοσοῦτων ἵππέων γενομένης.
- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ σημαίνειν ἔμελλον ἀμφοτέροι τὴν ἔφο-
 δον, Πομπήϊος μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐστῶτας
 ἐν προβολῇ καὶ μένοντας ἀραρότως δέχεσθαι τὴν
 ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολεμίων, μέχρι ἂν ὑσσοῦ βολῆς
 ἐντὸς γένωνται. Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διαμαρ-
 τεῖν φησιν αὐτόν, ἀγνοήσαντα τὴν μετὰ δρόμου
 καὶ φορᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένην σύρραξιν, ὡς ἐν τε
 ταῖς πληγαῖς βίαν προστίθῃσι καὶ συνεκκαίει τὸν
- 5 θυμὸν ἐκ πάντων ἀναρριπιζόμενον. αὐτὸς δὲ
 κινεῖν τὴν φάλαγγα μέλλων καὶ προῖὼν ἐπ' ἔργον
 ἤδη πρῶτον ὁρᾷ τῶν ταξιάρχων ἄνδρα πιστὸν
 αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμων ἔμπειρον, ἐπιθαρσύνοντα τοὺς
 ὑφ' αὐτῷ καὶ προκαλούμενον εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἀλκῆς.
 τοῦτον ὀνομαστὶ προσαγορεύσας, “Τί ἐλπίζομεν,”
 εἶπεν, “ὦ Γάϊε Κρασσίνιε, καὶ πῶς τι θάρσους
- 6 ἔχομεν;” ὁ δὲ Κρασσίνιος ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν
 καὶ μέγα βοήσας, “Νικήσομεν,” ἔφη, “λαμπρῶς,
 ὦ Καῖσαρ· ἐμὲ δὲ ἢ ζῶντα τήμερον ἢ τεθνηκότα
 ἐπαινέσεις.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν πρῶτος ἐμβάλλει τοῖς

wing, teaching them what they were to do when the enemy's horsemen attacked. Pompey had one of his wings himself, and Domitius the left, while Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, commanded the centre. But his horsemen all crowded to the left wing, intending to encircle the enemy's right and make a complete rout about the commander himself; for they thought that no legionary array, however deep, could resist them, but that when so many horsemen made an onset together the enemy would be utterly broken and crushed.¹

When both sides were about to sound the charge, Pompey ordered his legionaries to stand with arms at the ready and await in close array the onset of the enemy until they were within javelin cast. But Caesar says² that here too Pompey made a mistake, not knowing that the initial clash with all the impetus of running adds force to the blows and fires the courage, which everything then conspires to fan. As Caesar himself was about to move his lines of legionaries, and was already going forward into action, he saw first one of his centurions, a man experienced in war and faithful to him, encouraging his men and challenging them to vie with him in prowess. Him Caesar addressed by name and said: "Caius Crassinius,³ what are our hopes, and how does our confidence stand?" Then Crassinius, stretching forth his right hand, said with a loud voice: "We shall win a glorious victory, O Caesar, and thou shalt praise me to-day, whether I am alive or dead." So saying, he plunged foremost into the enemy at full

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxix. 1-3. ² *B.C.* iii. 92.

³ In Caesar's version of this episode (*B.C.* iii. 91 and 99), the name is Crastinus.

πολεμίοις δρόμῳ, συνεπισπασάμενος τοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στρατιώτας. διακόψας δὲ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ πρόσω χωρῶν φόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ βιαζόμενος ἀνακόπτεται ξίφει πληγαῖς διὰ τοῦ στόματος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν αἰχμὴν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἰνίον ἀνασχεῖν.

XLV. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πεζῶν κατὰ τὸ μέσον συρραγέντων καὶ μαχομένων, ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατος οἱ Πομπηίου ἱππεῖς σοβαρῶς ἐπήλαυνον εἰς κύκλωσιν τοῦ δεξιοῦ τὰς ἴλας ἀναχεόμενοι· καὶ πρὶν ἢ προσβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκτρέχουσιν αἱ σπεῖραι παρὰ Καίσαρος, οὐχ, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀκοντίσμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς ὑσσοῖς, οὐδὲ μηροὺς παίοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ κνήμας τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὄψεων ἐφίεμενοι καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα συντιτρώσκοντες, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δεδιδαγμένοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐλπίζοντος ἄνδρας οὐ πολλὰ πολέμοις οὐδὲ τραύμασιν ὠμιληκότας, νέους δὲ καὶ κομῶντας ἐπὶ κάλλει καὶ ὥρᾳ, μάλιστα τὰς τοιαύτας πληγὰς ὑπόψεσθαι καὶ μὴ μενεῖν, τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κίνδυνον ἅμα καὶ τὴν αὐθις αἰσχύνην

2 3 δεδοικότας. ὃ δὴ καὶ συνέβαινεν· οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο τῶν ὑσσῶν ἀναφερομένων, οὐδὲ ἐτόλμων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν σίδηρον ὀρῶντες, ἀλλ' ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ συνεκαλύπτοντο φειδόμενοι τῶν προσώπων· καὶ τέλος οὕτως ταραξάντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐτράποντο φεύγειν αἰσχιστα, λυμηνάμενοι τὸ σύμπαν. εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μὲν νενικηκότες τούτους ἐκυκλοῦντο τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ κατὰ νώτου προσπίπτοντες ἔκοπτον.

4 Πομπηίος δὲ ὡς κατείδεν ἀπὸ θατερου τοὺς

speed, carrying along with him the one hundred and twenty soldiers under his command. But after cutting his way through the first rank, and while he was forging onwards with great slaughter, he was beaten back by the thrust of a sword through his mouth, and the point of the sword actually came out at the back of his neck.¹

XLV. When the infantry had thus clashed together in the centre and were fighting, Pompey's cavalry rode proudly up from the wing and deployed their squadrons to envelope the enemy's right; and before they could attack, the cohorts ran out from where Caesar was posted, not hurling their javelins, as usual, nor yet stabbing the thighs and legs of their enemies with them, but aiming them at their eyes and wounding their faces. They had been instructed to do this by Caesar, who expected that men little conversant with wars or wounds, but young, and pluming themselves on their youthful beauty, would dread such wounds especially, and would not stand their ground, fearing not only their present danger, but also their future disfigurement. And this was what actually came to pass; for they could not endure the upward thrust of the javelins, nor did they even venture to look the weapon in the face, but turned their heads away and covered them up to spare their faces. And finally, having thus thrown themselves into confusion, they turned and fled most shamefully, thereby ruining everything. For the conquerors of the horsemen at once encircled the infantry, fell upon their rear, and began to cut them to pieces.

When Pompey, on the other wing, saw his horse-

Cf. the *Pompey*, lxxi. 1-3.

ἰππεῖς φυγῇ σκεδασθέντας, οὐκέτι ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς οὐδ' ἐμέμνητο Πομπηΐος ὢν Μάγνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ μάλιστα βλαπτομένῳ τὴν γνώμην ἑοικῶς ἄφθογγος ᾧχετο ἀπὼν ἐπὶ σκηνήν, καὶ καθεζόμενος ἐκαραδόκει τὸ μέλλον, ἄχρι οὗ τροπῆς ἀπάντων γενομένης ἐπέβαινον οἱ πολέμιοι τοῦ χάρακος καὶ διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς φυλάττοντας.

- 5 τότε δὲ ὥσπερ ἔννους γενόμενος, καὶ ταύτην μόνην, ὡς φασι, φωνὴν ἀφείς, “Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν;” ἀπεδύσατο μὲν τὴν ἐναγώνιον καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐσθῆτα, φεύγοντι δὲ πρέπουσαν μεταλαβὼν ὑπεξῆλθεν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οἴαις 73 ὕστερον χρησάμενος τύχαις ὅπως τε παραδοὺς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνδράσιν ἀνηρέθη, δηλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γράμμασιν.

- XLVI. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἐν τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Πομπηΐου γενόμενος τοὺς τε κειμένους νεκροὺς ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων εἶδε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι κτεινομένους, εἶπεν ἄρα στενάξας. “Τοῦτο ἐβουλήθησαν, εἰς τοῦτό με ἀνάγκης ὑπηγάγοντο, ἵνα Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ μεγίστους πολέμους κατορθώσας, εἰ προηκάμην 2 τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ κατεδικάσθην.” ταῦτά φησι Πολλίων Ἀσίννιος τὰ ῥήματα Ῥωμαῖστί μὲν ἀναφθέγγασθαι τὸν Καῖσαρα παρὰ τὸν τότε καιρόν, Ἑλληνιστί δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι. τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων τοὺς πλείστους οἰκέτας γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ χάρακος ἀναιρεθέντας, στρατιώτας δὲ μὴ πλείους ἑξακισχιλίων πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἀλόντων κατέμιξε τοὺς πλείστους ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὰ τάγματα. πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄδειαν ἔδωκεν, ὧν καὶ Βρούτος ἦν ὁ κτείνας αὐτὸν ὕστερον, ἐφ' ᾧ λέγεται μὴ φαινο-

men scattered in flight, he was no longer the same man, nor remembered that he was Pompey the Great, but more like one whom Heaven has robbed of his wits than anything else, he went off without a word to his tent, sat down there, and awaited what was to come, until his forces were all routed and the enemy were assailing his ramparts and fighting with their defenders. Then he came to his senses, as it were, and with this one ejaculation, as they say, "What, even to my quarters?" took off his fighting and general's dress, put on one suitable for a fugitive, and stole away. What his subsequent fortunes were, and how he delivered himself into the hands of the Egyptians and was murdered, I shall tell in his Life.¹

XLVI. But Caesar, when he reached Pompey's ramparts and saw those of the enemy who were already lying dead there and those who were still falling, said with a groan: "They would have it so; they brought me to such a pass that if I, Caius Caesar, after waging successfully the greatest wars, had dismissed my forces, I should have been condemned in their courts."² Asinius Pollio says that these words, which Caesar afterwards wrote down in Greek, were uttered by him in Latin at the time; he also says that most of the slain were servants who were killed at the taking of the camp, and that not more than six thousand soldiers fell. Most of those who were taken alive Caesar incorporated in his legions, and to many men of prominence he granted immunity. One of these was Brutus, who afterwards slew him. Caesar was distressed, we are told, when

¹ Chapters lxxvii.-lxxx.

² Hoc voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem (Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 30).

μένω μὲν ἀγωνιᾶσαι, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ παραγεον-
μένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθῆναι διαφερόντως.

XLVII. Σημείων δὲ πολλῶν γενομένων τῆς
νίκης ἐπιφανέστατον ἱστορεῖται τὸ περὶ Τράλλεις.
ἐν γὰρ ἱερῷ Νίκης ἀνδριᾶς εἰστήκει Καῖσαρος,
καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῷ χωρίον αὐτό τε στερεὸν φύσει
καὶ λίθῳ σκληρῷ κατεστρωμένον ἦν ἄνωθεν ἐκ
τούτου λέγουσιν ἀνατεῖλαι φοίνικα παρὰ τὴν
βάσιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος. ἐν δὲ Παταβίῳ Γαῖος
Κορνήλιος, ἀνὴρ εὐδόκιμος ἐπὶ μαντικῇ, Λιβίου
τοῦ συγγραφέως πολίτης καὶ γνώριμος, ἐτύγχανεν
2 ἐπ' οἰωνοῖς καθήμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ
πρῶτον μὲν, ὥς Λίβιος φησι, τὸν καιρὸν ἔγνω τῆς
μάχης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ δὴ
περαίνεται τὸ χρῆμα καὶ συνίασιν εἰς ἔργον οἱ
ἄνδρες. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τῇ θεᾷ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ
σημεῖα κατιδὼν ἀνήλατο μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ βοῶν,
“Νικᾶς, ὦ Καῖσαρ.” ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν
παρατυχόντων περιελὼν τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ἐνωμότως ἔφη μὴ πρὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι
πάλιν ἢ τῇ τέχνῃ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ὁ Λίβιος οὕτως γενέσθαι καταβεβαιοῦται.

XLVIII. Καῖσαρ δὲ τῷ Θετταλῶν ἔθνει τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν ἀναθεὶς νικητήριον ἐδῶκε Πομπήϊον·
ἀψάμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Κνιδίους τε Θεοπόμπῳ
τῷ συναγαγόντι τοὺς μύθους χαριζόμενος ἡλευ-
θέρωσε, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦσι
2 τὸ τρίτον τῶν φόρων ἀνῆκεν. εἰς δὲ Ἀλεξάν-
δρειαν ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ τεθνηκότι καταχθεὶς Θεό-
δοτον μὲν ἀπεστράφη τὴν Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν
προσφέροντα, τὴν δὲ σφραγίδα δεξάμενος τοῦ

Brutus was not to be found, but when he was brought into his presence safe and sound, was pleased beyond measure.

XLVII. There were many portents of the victory, but the most remarkable one on record is that which was seen at Tralles. In that city's temple of Victory there stood a statue of Caesar, and the ground around it was itself naturally firm, and was paved with hard stone; yet from this it is said that a palm-tree shot up at the base of the statue.¹ Moreover, at Patavium, Caius Cornelius, a man in repute as a seer, a fellow citizen and acquaintance of Livy the historian, chanced that day to be sitting in the place of augury. And to begin with, according to Livy, he discerned the time of the battle, and said to those present that even then the event was in progress and the men were going into action. And when he looked again and observed the signs, he sprang up in a rapture crying: "Thou art victorious, O Caesar!" The bystanders being amazed, he took the chaplet from his head and declared with an oath that he would not put it on again until the event had borne witness to his art. At any rate, Livy insists that this was so.²

XLVIII. Caesar gave the Thessalians their freedom, to commemorate his victory, and then pursued Pompey; when he reached Asia he made the Cnidian also free, to please Theopompus the collector of fables, and for all the inhabitants of Asia remitted a third of their taxes. Arriving at Alexandria just after Pompey's death, he turned away in horror from Theodotus as he presented the head of Pompey, but he accepted Pompey's seal-ring, and shed tears over

¹ Cf. Caesar *B.C.* iii 105 *ad fin.*

² In Book cxi, which is lost.

ἀνδρὸς κατεδάκρυσεν· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων πλανώμενοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐαλώ-
κεσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, πάντας εὐεργέτησε καὶ
προσηγάγετο. τοῖς δὲ φίλοις εἰς Ῥώμην ἔγραφεν
ὅτι τῆς νίκης ἀπολαύοι τοῦτο μέγιστον καὶ
ἡδιστον, τὸ σῶζειν τινὰς ἀεὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων
πολιτῶν αὐτῷ.

3 Τὸν δὲ αὐτόθι πόλεμον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον,
ἀλλ' ἔρωτι Κλεοπάτρας ἄδοξον αὐτῷ καὶ κινδυ-
νώδη γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς βασιλικούς
αἰτιῶνται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν εὐνοῦχον Ποθεινόν,
ὃς πλείστον δυνάμενος καὶ Πομπήϊον μὲν ἀνη-
ρηκῶς ἔναγχος, ἐκβεβληκῶς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν,
κρύφα μὲν ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό
φασιν αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενον ἔκτοτε διανυκτερεύειν ἐν
τοῖς πότοις ἔνεκα φυλακῆς τοῦ σώματος· φανερώς
δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἀνεκτὸς ἐπίφθονα πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς
ὕβριν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων καὶ πράττων.

4 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας τὸν κύκιστον μετρομέ-
νους καὶ παλαιότατον σῖτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνέχεσθαι
καὶ στέργειν, ἐσθίοντας τὰ ἀλλότρια, πρὸς δὲ τὰ
δεῖπνα σκεύεσιν ἐχρήτο ξυλίνοις καὶ κεραμεοῖς,
ὥς τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ πάντα Καίσαρος ἔχοντος 731
εἰς τι χρέος. ὥφειλε γὰρ ὁ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος
τότε πατὴρ Καίσαρι χιλίας ἐπτακοσίας πεντή-
κοντα μυριάδας, ὧν τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνῆκε τοῖς
παισὶν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, τὰς δὲ χιλίας

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lxxx. 5.

² See the *Pompey*, lxxvii. 2.

it.¹ Moreover, all the companions and intimates of Pompey who had been captured by the king as they wandered over the country, he treated with kindness and attached them to himself. And to his friends in Rome he wrote that this was the greatest and sweetest pleasure that he derived from his victory, namely, from time to time to save the lives of fellow citizens who had fought against him.

As for the war in Egypt, some say that it was not necessary, but due to Caesar's passion for Cleopatra, and that it was inglorious and full of peril for him. But others blame the king's party for it, and especially the eunuch Potheinus, who had most influence at court,² and had recently killed Pompey; he had also driven Cleopatra from the country, and was now secretly plotting against Caesar. On this account they say that from this time on Caesar passed whole nights at drinking parties in order to protect himself. But in his open acts also Potheinus was unbearable, since he said and did many things that were invidious and insulting to Caesar. For instance, when the soldiers had the oldest and worst grain measured out to them, he bade them put up with it and be content, since they were eating what belonged to others; and at the state suppers he used wooden and earthen dishes, on the ground that Caesar had taken all the gold and silver ware in payment of a debt. For the father of the present king owed Caesar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas,³ of which Caesar had formerly remitted a part to his children, but now demanded payment of ten millions for the

³ During Caesar's consulship (59 B.C.) Ptolemy Auletes was declared a friend and ally of the Romans. To secure this honour he both gave and promised money to the state.

- 5 ἡξίου τότε λαβὼν διαθρέψαι τὸ στράτευμα. τοῦ δὲ Ποθεινοῦ νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἔχεσθαι πραγμάτων κελεύοντος, ὕστερον δὲ κομιεῖσθαι μετὰ χάριτος, εἰπὼν ὡς Αἰγυπτίων ἐλάχιστα δέοιτο συμβούλων, κρύφα τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας μετεπέμπετο.

- XLIX. Κακείνῃ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν φίλων Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Σικελιώτην μόνον, εἰς ἀκάτιον μικρὸν ἐμβᾶσα τοῖς μὲν βασιλείοις προσέσχευ ἤδη συσκοτᾶζοντος· ἀπόρου δὲ τοῦ λαθεῖν ὄντος ἄλλως, ἣ μὲν εἰς στρωματόδεσμον ἐνδύσα προτείνει μακρὰν ἑαυτήν, ὃ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἰμάντι συνδήσας τὸν στρωματόδεσμον εἰσκομίζει διὰ
2 θυρῶν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. καὶ τούτῳ τε πρώτῳ λέγεται τῷ τεχνήματι τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αἰλῶναι, λαμυρᾶς φανείσης, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὁμιλίας καὶ χάριτος ἥττων γενόμενος διαλλάξαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς συμβασιλεύσουσαν. ἔπειτα δ' ἐν ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐστιωμένων ἀπάντων οἰκέτης Καίσαρος κουρεύς, διὰ δειλίαν, ἣ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέβαλεν, οὐδὲν ἑὼν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ὠτακουστῶν καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, συνῆκεν ἐπιβουλήν Καίσαρι πραττομένην ὑπ' Ἀχιλλᾶ τοῦ
3 στρατηγοῦ καὶ Ποθεινοῦ τοῦ εὐνούχου. φωράσας δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ φρουρὰν μὲν περιέστησε τῷ ἀνδρῶνι, τὸν δὲ Ποθεινὸν ἀνείλεν· ὃ δὲ Ἀχιλλᾶς φυγῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον περιῖστησιν αὐτῷ βαρὺν καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον πόλεμον, ὀλιγοστῷ τοσαύτην ἀμυνομένῳ πόλιν καὶ δύναμιν. ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκινδύνευsen ὕδατος ἀποκλεισθείς· αἱ γὰρ διώρυχες ἀπ' ἀποδομήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων· δεύτερον δὲ περικοπτόμενος τὸν στόλον ἠναγκάσθη

support of his army. When, however, Potheinus bade him go away now and attend to his great affairs, assuring him that later he would get his money with thanks, Caesar replied that he had no need whatever of Egyptians as advisers, and secretly sent for Cleopatra from the country.

XLIX. So Cleopatra, taking only Apollodorus the Sicilian from among her friends, embarked in a little skiff and landed at the palace when it was already getting dark; and as it was impossible to escape notice otherwise, she stretched herself at full length inside a bed-sack, while Apollodorus tied the bed-sack up with a cord and carried it indoors to Caesar. It was by this device of Cleopatra's, it is said, that Caesar was first captivated, for she showed herself to be a bold coquette, and succumbing to the charm of further intercourse with her, he reconciled her to her brother on the basis of a joint share with him in the royal power. Then, as everybody was feasting to celebrate the reconciliation, a slave of Caesar's, his barber, who left nothing unscrutinized, owing to a timidity in which he had no equal, but kept his ears open and was here, there, and everywhere, perceived that Achilles the general and Potheinus the eunuch were hatching a plot against Caesar. After Caesar had found them out, he set a guard about the banqueting-hall, and put Potheinus to death; Achilles, however, escaped to his camp, and raised about Caesar a war grievous and difficult for one who was defending himself with so few followers against so large a city and army. In this war, to begin with, Caesar encountered the peril of being shut off from water, since the canals were dammed up by the enemy; in the second place, when the enemy tried to cut off his fleet, he

διὰ πυρὸς ἀπώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃ καὶ τὴν
 μεγάλην βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπινεμό-
 4 μενον διέφθειρε· τρίτον δὲ περὶ τῇ Φάρῳ μάχης
 συνεστῶσης κατεπήδησε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος
 εἰς ἀκάτιον καὶ παρεβοήθει τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις,
 ἐπιπλέοντων δὲ πολλαχόθεν αὐτῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
 ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπενήξατο μόλις
 καὶ χαλεπῶς. ὅτε καὶ λέγεται βιβλίδια κρατῶν
 πολλὰ μὴ προέσθαι βαλλόμενος καὶ βαπτιζό-
 μενος, ἀλλ' ἀνέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ
 βιβλίδια τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ νήχεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἀκάτιον
 5 εὐθὺς ἐβυθίσθη. τέλος δέ, τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποχωρήσαντος, ἐπελθὼν καὶ
 συνάψας μάχην ἐνίκησε, πολλῶν πεσόντων αὐτοῦ
 τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφανοῦς γενομένου. καταλιπὼν
 δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν βασιλεύουσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ
 μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκοῦσαν υἱόν, ὃν Ἀλε-
 ξανδρεῖς Καισαρίωνα προσηγόρευον, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ
 Συρίας.

L. Κάκειθεν ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπυνθάνετο Δο-
 μίτιον μὲν ὑπὸ Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου παιδὸς
 ἡττημένον ἐκ Πόντου πεφευγέναι σὺν ὀλίγοις,
 Φαρνάκην δὲ τῇ νίκῃ χρώμενον ἀπλήστως καὶ
 Βιθυνίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Καππαδοκίαν Ἀρμενίας
 ἐφίεσθαι τῆς μικρᾶς καλουμένης, καὶ πάντας
 ἀνιστάναι τοὺς ταύτῃ βασιλεῖς καὶ τετράρχας.
 2 εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τρισὶν ἡλανε τάγμασι,
 καὶ περὶ πόλιν Ζήλαν μάχην μεγάλην συνάψας
 αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξέβαλε τοῦ Πόντου φεύγοντα, τὴν δὲ

¹ In the Museum, founded by the first Ptolemy (ob. 283 B.C.). The destruction of the library can have been only partial.

was forced to repel the danger by using fire, and this spread from the dockyards and destroyed the great library¹; and thirdly, when a battle arose at Pharos,² he sprang from the mole into a small boat and tried to go to the aid of his men in their struggle, but the Egyptians sailed up against him from every side, so that he threw himself into the sea and with great difficulty escaped by swimming. At this time, too, it is said that he was holding many papers in his hand and would not let them go, though missiles were flying at him and he was immersed in the sea, but held them above water with one hand and swam with the other; his little boat had been sunk at the outset.³ But finally, after the king had gone away to the enemy, he marched against him and conquered him in a battle where many fell and the king himself disappeared. Then, leaving Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt (a little later she had a son by him whom the Alexandrians called Caesarion), he set out for Syria.

L. On leaving that country and traversing Asia,⁴ he learned that Domitius had been defeated by Pharnaces the son of Mithridates and had fled from Pontus with a few followers; also that Pharnaces, using his victory without stint, and occupying Bithynia and Cappadocia, was aiming to secure the country called Lesser Armenia, and was rousing to revolt all the princes and tetrarchs there. At once, therefore, Caesar marched against him with three legions, fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela, drove him in flight out of Pontus, and

² An island off Alexandria, connected with the mainland by a mole, or causeway, which divided the harbour into two parts.

³ Cf. Dio Cassius, xlii. 40.

⁴ In July of 47 B.C.

στρατιὰν ἄρδην ἀνεῖλε. καὶ τῆς μάχης ταύτης τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀναγγέλλων εἰς Ῥώμην πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων Ἀμάντιον ἔγραψε τρεῖς λέξεις· “Ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα.” Ῥωμαῖστί δὲ αἱ λέξεις εἰς ὁμοιον ἀπολήγουσαι σχῆμα ῥήματος οὐκ ἀπίθανον τὴν βραχυλογίαν ἔχουσιν.

LI. Ἐκ τούτου διαβαλὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀνέβαι-
 νεν εἰς Ῥώμην, τοῦ μὲν ἐνιαυτοῦ καταστρέφοντος
 εἰς δὴ ἦρητο δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον, οὐδέποτε τῆς 732
 ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης πρότερον ἐνιαυσίου γενομένης· εἰς
 δὲ τοῦπιόν ὑπατος ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ κακῶς ἤκου-
 σεν ὅτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν στασιασάντων καὶ δύο
 στρατηγικοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνελόντων, Κοσκώνιον καὶ
 Γάλβαν, ἐπετίμησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον ὅσον
 ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν πολίτας προσαγορεῦσαι, χιλίας
 2 δὲ διένειμεν ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς καὶ χώραν τῆς Ἰτα-
 λίας ἀπεκλήρωσε πολλήν. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ διαβολὴ
 καὶ ἡ Δολοβέλλα μανία καὶ ἡ Ἀμαντίου φιλαρ-
 γυρία καὶ μεθύων Ἀντώνιος καὶ Κορφίνιος τὴν
 Πομπηίου σκευωρούμενος οἰκίαν καὶ μετοικοδο-
 μῶν ὡς ἱκανὴν οὐκ οὔσαν. ἐπὶ τούτοις γὰρ ἐδυς-
 φόρουν Ῥωμαῖοι. Καῖσαρ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν
 τῆς πολιτείας οὐκ ἀγνοῶν οὐδὲ βουλόμενος ἠναγ-
 κάζετο χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσι.

LII. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Κάτωνα καὶ Σκηπίωνα μετὰ
 τὴν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην εἰς Λιβύην φυγόντων
 κἀκεῖ, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰόβα βοηθοῦντος αὐτοῖς,
 ἡθροικῶτων δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους, ἔγνω στρατεύειν
 ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ περὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς

¹ Veni, vidi, vici. According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 37), the words were displayed in Caesar's Pontic triumph.

annihilated his army. In announcing the swiftness and fierceness of this battle to one of his friends at Rome, Amantius, Caesar wrote three words: "Came, saw, conquered."¹ In Latin, however, the words have the same inflectional ending, and so a brevity which is most impressive.

LI. After this, he crossed to Italy and went up to Rome, at the close of the year for which he had a second time been chosen dictator,² though that office had never before been for a whole year; then for the following year he was proclaimed consul. Men spoke ill of him because, after his soldiers had mutinied and killed two men of praetorian rank, Galba and Cosconius, he censured them only so far as to call them "citizens" when he addressed them, instead of "soldiers,"³ and then gave each man a thousand drachmas and much allotted land in Italy. He was also calumniated for the madness of Dolabella, the greed of Amantius, the drunkenness of Antony, and for the fact that Corfinius built over and refurnished the house of Pompey on the ground that it was not good enough for him. For at all these things the Romans were displeased. But owing to the political situation, though Caesar was not ignorant of these things and did not like them, he was compelled to make use of such assistants.

LII. After the battle at Pharsalus, Cato and Scipio made their escape to Africa, and there, with the aid of King Juba, collected considerable forces. Caesar therefore resolved to make an expedition against them. So, about the time of the winter solstice, he

² The senate named Caesar Dictator for the year 47 immediately after the battle at Pharsalus.

³ Cf. Appian, *B.C.* ii. 93.

διαβὰς εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ βουλόμενος εὐθὺς ἀπο-
κόψαι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων ἅπασαν ἐλπίδα
μελλήσεως καὶ διατριβῆς, ἐπὶ τοῦ κλύσματος
ἔπηξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν· καὶ γενομένου πνεύ-
ματος ἐμβὰς ἀνήχθη μετὰ τρισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ
2 ἱππέων ὀλίγων. ἀποβιβάσας δὲ τούτους λαθὼν
ἀνήχθη πάλιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς μείζονος ὀρρωδῶν δυνά-
μεως· καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν οὖσιν ἤδη προστυχῶν
κατήγαγεν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Πυνθανόμενος δὲ χρησμῷ τινι παλαιῷ θαρρεῖν
τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥς προσῆκον ἀεὶ τῷ Σκηπίωνων
γένει κρατεῖν ἐν Λιβύῃ, χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν εἴτε φλαυ-
ρίζων ἐν παιδιᾷ τινι τὸν Σκηπίωνα στρατηγοῦντα
3 τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε καὶ σπουδῇ τὸν οἰωνὸν οἰκειού-
μενος, ἦν γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τις ἄνθρωπος ἄλλως
μὲν εὐκαταφρόνητος καὶ παρημελημένος, οἰκίας
δὲ τῆς Ἀφρικανῶν (Σκηπίων ἐκαλεῖτο Σαλλου-
στίων), τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προέταττεν ὥσπερ
ἡγεμόνα τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀναγκαζόμενος πολλάκις
4 ἐξάπτεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φιλομαχεῖν. ἦν
γὰρ οὔτε σῖτος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἄφθονος οὔτε ὑπο-
ζυγίοις χιλός, ἀλλὰ βρύοις ἠναγκάζοντο θαλατ-
τίοις, ἀποπλυθείσης τῆς ἁλμυρίδος, ὀλίγην ἄγρω-
στιν ὥσπερ ἡδυσμα παραμιγνύντες ἐπάγειν τοὺς
ἵππους. οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες ἐπιφαινόμενοι πολλοὶ
καὶ ταχεῖς ἐκάστοτε κατεῖχον τὴν χώραν· καί
ποτε τῶν Καίσαρος ἱππέων σχολὴν ἀγόντων
5 (ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Λίβυς ἐπιδεικνύμενος
ὄρχησιν ἅμα καὶ μοναυλῶν θαύματος ἀξίως, οἱ δὲ
τερπόμενοι καθῆντο τοῖς παισὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐπι-
τρέψαντες), ἐξαίφνης περιελθόντες ἐμβάλλουσιν
οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ κτείνουσι, τοῖς δὲ

crossed into Sicily, and wishing to cut off at once in the minds of his officers all hope of delaying there and wasting time, he pitched his own tent on the sea-beach. When a favouring wind arose, he embarked and put to sea with three thousand infantry and a few horsemen. Then, after landing these unobserved, he put to sea again, being full of fears for the larger part of his force, and meeting them after they were already at sea, he conducted all into camp.

On learning that the enemy were emboldened by an ancient oracle to the effect that it was always the prerogative of the family of the Scipios to conquer in Africa, he either flouted in pleasantry the Scipio who commanded the enemy, or else tried in good earnest to appropriate to himself the omen, it is hard to say which. He had under him, namely, a man who otherwise was a contemptible nobody, but belonged to the family of the Africani, and was called Scipio Sallustio. This man Caesar put in the forefront of his battles as if commander of the army, being compelled to attack the enemy frequently and to force the fighting. For there was neither sufficient food for his men nor fodder for his beasts of burden, nay, they were forced to feed their horses on sea-weed, which they washed free of its salt and mixed with a little grass to sweeten it. For the Numidians showed themselves everywhere in great numbers and speedy, and controlled the country. Indeed, while Caesar's horsemen were once off duty (a Libyan was showing them how he could dance and play the flute at the same time in an astonishing manner, and they had committed their horses to the slaves and were sitting delighted on the ground), the enemy suddenly surrounded and attacked them, killed some of them,

εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον προτροπάδην ἐλαυνομένοις
 6 συνεισέπεσον. εἰ δὲ μὴ Καῖσαρ αὐτός, ἅμα δὲ
 Καίσαρι Πολλίων Ἀσίννιος βοηθοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ
 χάρακος ἔσχον τὴν φυγὴν, διεπέπρακτ' αὖν ὁ πό-
 λεμος. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ καθ' ἑτέραν μάχην ἐπλε-
 ονέκτησαν οἱ πολέμιοι συμπλοκῆς γενομένης, ἐν
 ᾗ Καῖσαρ τὸν ἀετοφόρον φεύγοντα λέγεται κατα-
 σχῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος ἀναστρέφαι καὶ εἰπεῖν·
 “Ἐνταῦθα εἰσὶν οἱ πολέμιοι.”

LIII. Τούτοις μέντοι τοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐπήρθη
 Σκηπίων μάχῃ κριθῆναι· καὶ καταλιπὼν χωρὶς
 μὲν Ἀφράνιον, χωρὶς δὲ Ἰόβαν δι' ὀλίγου στρατο-
 πεδεύοντας, αὐτὸς ἐτείχιζεν ὑπὲρ λίμνης ἔρυμα τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ περὶ πόλιν Θάψον, ὡς εἴη πᾶσιν ἐπὶ
 2 τὴν μάχην ὀρμητήριον καὶ καταφυγὴ. πονου-
 μένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ὑλῶδεις τόπους
 καὶ προσβολὰς ἀφράστους ἔχοντας ἀμηχάνῳ τά-
 χει διελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἐκυκλοῦτο, τοῖς δὲ προσέ-
 βαλλε κατὰ στόμα. τρεψάμενος δὲ τούτους
 ἐχρήτο τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς τύχης, ὑφ' ἧς 733
 αὐτοβοεὶ μὲν ἦρει τὸ Ἀφρανίου στρατόπεδον,
 αὐτοβοεὶ δὲ φεύγοντος Ἰόβα διεπόρθει τὸ τῶν
 Νομάδων· ἡμέρας δὲ μιᾶς μέρει μικρῷ τριῶν
 στρατοπέδων ἐγκρατὴς γεγονὼς καὶ πεντακισμυ-
 ρίους τῶν πολεμίων ἀνηρεκῶς οὐδὲ πεντήκοντα
 τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλεν.

3 Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ἀναγγέλ-
 λουσιν· οἱ δὲ οὐ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γενέσθαι,
 συντάττοντος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ διακοσμοῦντος
 ἄψασθαι τὸ σύνηθες νόσημα· τὸν δὲ εὐθύς αἰσθό-
 μενον ἀρχομένου, πρὶν ἐκταράττεσθαι καὶ κατα-

and followed hard upon the heels of the rest as they were driven headlong into camp. And if Caesar himself, and with him Asinius Pollio, had not come from the ramparts to their aid and checked their flight, the war would have been at an end. On one occasion, too, in another battle, the enemy got the advantage in the encounter, and here it is said that Caesar seized by the neck the fugitive standard-bearer, faced him about, and said: "Yonder is the enemy."

LIII. However, Scipio was encouraged by these advantages to hazard a decisive battle: so, leaving Afranius and Juba encamped separately at a short distance apart, he himself began fortifying a camp beyond a lake near the city of Thapsus, that it might serve the whole army as a place from which to sally out to the battle, and as a place of refuge. But while he was busy with this project, Caesar made his way with inconceivable speed through woody regions which afforded unknown access to the spot, outflanked some of the enemy, and attacked others in front. Then, after routing these, he took advantage of the favourable instant and of the impetus of fortune, and thereby captured the camp of Afranius at the first onset, and at the first onset sacked the camp of the Numidians, from which Juba fled. Thus in a brief portion of one day he made himself master of three camps and slew fifty thousand of the enemy, without losing as many as fifty of his own men.¹

This is the account which some give of the battle; others, however, say that Caesar himself was not in the action, but that, as he was marshalling and arraying his army, his usual sickness laid hold of him, and he, at once aware that it was beginning, before his

¹ In April of 46 B.O.

λαμβάνεσθαι παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τὴν αἴσθησιν ἤδη σειομένην, εἰς τινα τῶν πλησίον πύργων κομισθῆναι καὶ διαγαγεῖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. τῶν δὲ πεφευγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὑπατικῶν καὶ στρατηγικῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς διέφθειραν ἀλίσκόμενοι, συχνοὺς δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔκτεινεν ἀλόντας.

LIV. Κάτωνα δὲ λαβεῖν ζῶντα φιλοτιμούμενος ἔσπευδε πρὸς Ἰτύκην· ἐκείνην γὰρ παραφυλάττων τὴν πόλιν οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἀγῶνος. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ διεργάσαιοτο, δῆλος μὲν ἦν δηχθεὶς, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ ἄδηλον. εἶπε δ' οὖν· “ὦ Κάτων, φθονῶ σοι τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ σύ μοι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας.” ὁ μὲν οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Κάτωνα τεθνεῶτα λόγος οὐ δοκεῖ πρᾶως ἔχοντος οὐδὲ εὐδιαλλάκτως σημείον εἶναι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐφείσατο ζῶντος εἰς
2 ἀναίσθητον ἐκχέας ὀργὴν τοσαύτην; τῇ δὲ πρὸς Κικέρωνα καὶ Βρούτον αὐτοῦ καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους τῶν πεπολεμηκότων ἐπιεικεία τεκμαίρονται καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκείνον οὐκ ἐξ ἀπεχθείας, ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμία πολιτικῇ συντετάχθαι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ἔγραψε Κικέρων ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος, ὄνομα τῷ λόγῳ θέμενος Κάτωνα· καὶ πολλοῖς ὁ λόγος ἦν διὰ σπουδῆς, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοτάτου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς τὴν καλλίστην πεποιημένος ὑπόθε-
3 σιν. τοῦτο ἡνία Καίσαρα, κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ νομίζοντα τὸν τοῦ τεθνηκότος δι' αὐτὸν ἔπαινον. ἔγραψεν οὖν πολλὰς τινὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος αἰτίας συναγαγόν· τὸ δὲ βιβλίον Ἀντικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται. καὶ σπουδαστὰς ἔχει τῶν λόγων ἐκάτερος διὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Κάτωνα πολλούς.

already wavering senses were altogether confounded and overpowered by the malady, was carried to a neighbouring tower, where he stayed quietly during the battle. Of the men of consular and praetorial rank who escaped from the battle, some slew themselves at the moment of their capture, and others were put to death by Caesar after capture.

LIV. Being eager to take Cato alive, Caesar hastened towards Utica, for Cato was guarding that city, and took no part in the battle. But he learned that Cato had made away with himself,¹ and he was clearly annoyed, though for what reason is uncertain. At any rate, he said: "Cato, I begrudge thee thy death; for thou didst begrudge me the preservation of thy life." Now, the treatise which Caesar afterwards wrote against Cato when he was dead, does not seem to prove that he was in a gentle or reconcilable mood. For how could he have spared Cato alive, when he poured out against him after death so great a cup of wrath? And yet from his considerate treatment of Cicero and Brutus and thousands more who had fought against him, it is inferred that even this treatise was not composed out of hatred, but from political ambition, for reasons which follow. Cicero had written an encomium on Cato which he entitled "Cato"; and the discourse was eagerly read by many, as was natural, since it was composed by the ablest of orators on the noblest of themes. This annoyed Caesar, who thought that Cicero's praise of the dead Cato was a denunciation of Caesar himself. Accordingly, he wrote a treatise in which he got together countless charges against Cato; and the work is entitled "Anti-Cato." Both treatises have many eager readers, as well on account of Caesar as of Cato.

¹ See the *Cato Minor* lxv.

- LV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Λιβύης, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἐμεγαληγόρησε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τοσαύτην κεχειρωμένος χώραν ὅση παρέξει καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον σίτου μὲν εἴκοσι μυριάδας Ἀττικῶν μεδίμνων, ἐλαίου δὲ λιτρῶν μυριάδας τριακοσίας. ἔπειτα θριάμβους κατήγαγε τὸν Αἰγυπτιακόν, τὸν Ποντικόν, τὸν Λιβυκόν, οὐκ ἀπὸ Σκηπίωνος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Ἰόβα δῆθεν τοῦ βασιλέως.
- 2 τότε καὶ Ἰόβας υἱὸς ὧν ἐκείνου κομιδῇ νῆπιος ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παρήχθη, μακαριωτάτην ἀλοὺς ἄλωσιν, ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Νομάδος Ἑλλήνων τοῖς πολυμαθεστάτοις ἐναρίθμιος γενέσθαι συγγραφεῦσι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς θριάμβους στρατιώταις τε μεγάλας δωρεὰς ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμβανεν ἐστίασεσι καὶ θέαις, ἐστίασας μὲν ἐν δισμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις τρικλίνοις ὁμοῦ σύμπαντας, θέας δὲ καὶ μονομάχων καὶ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν παρασχὼν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἰουλίᾳ πάλαι τεθνεώση.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς θέας γενομένων τιμήσεων ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων δυεῖν καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἐξητάσθησαν αἱ πᾶσαι πεντεκαίδεκα. τηλικαύτην ἡ στάσις ἀπειργάσατο συμφορὰν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπανάλωσε τοῦ δήμου μέρος, ἔξω λόγου τιθεμένοις τὰ κατασχόντα τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἀτυχήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας.

LVI. Συντελεσθέντων δὲ τούτων ὕπατος ἀποδειχθεὶς τὸ τέταρτον εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐστράτευσεν

LV. But to resume, when Caesar came back to Rome from Africa, to begin with, he made a boastful speech to the people concerning his victory, asserting that he had subdued a country large enough to furnish annually for the public treasury two hundred thousand Attic bushels of grain, and three million pounds of olive oil. Next, he celebrated triumphs, an Egyptian, a Pontic, and an African, the last not for his victory over Scipio, but ostensibly over Juba the king. On this occasion, too, Juba, a son of the king, a mere infant, was carried along in the triumphal procession, the most fortunate captive ever taken, since from being a Barbarian and a Numidian, he came to be enrolled among the most learned historians of Hellas. After the triumphs, Caesar gave his soldiers large gifts and entertained the people with banquets and spectacles, feasting them all at one time on twenty thousand dining-couches, and furnishing spectacles of gladiatorial and naval combats in honour of his daughter Julia, long since dead.

After the spectacles, a census of the people was taken,¹ and instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of the preceding lists there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So great was the calamity which the civil wars had wrought, and so large a portion of the people of Rome had they consumed away, to say nothing of the misfortunes that possessed the rest of Italy and the provinces.

LVI. After these matters had been finished and he had been declared consul for the fourth time, Caesar made an expedition into Spain against the

¹ According to Suetonius (*Div. Jul.* 41), this was not a census of all the people, but a revision of the number of poorer citizens entitled to receive allowances of grain from the state.

- ἐπὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου παῖδας, νέους μὲν ὄντας ἔτι, θαυμαστὴν δὲ τῷ πλήθει στρατιὰν συνειλοχότας καὶ τόλμαν ἀποδεικνυμένους ἀξιοχρεῶν πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν, ὥστε κίνδυνον τῷ Καίσαρι περιστῆσαι 734
- 2 τὸν ἔσχατον. ἡ δὲ μεγάλη μάχη περὶ πόλιν συνέστη Μοῦνδαν, ἐν ἣ Καῖσαρ ἐκθλιβομένους ὀρώων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κακῶς ἀντέχοντας ἐβόα, διὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν τάξεων διαθέων, εἰ μὴδὲν αἰδοῦνται λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι τοῖς παιδαρίοις. μόλις δὲ προθυμία πολλῇ τοὺς πολεμίους ὠσάμενος ἐκείνων μὲν ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους διέφθειρε, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ χιλίους ἀπώλεσε τοὺς ἀρίστους.
- 3 ἀπὼν δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν ὡς πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ ψυχῆς. ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐνίκησε τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἐορτῇ, καθ' ἣν λέγεται καὶ Πομπηῖος Μάγνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξελθεῖν διὰ μέσου δὲ χρόνος ἐνιαυτῶν τεσσάρων διήλθε. τῶν δὲ Πομπηίου παίδων ὁ μὲν νεώτερος διέφυγε, τοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτέρου μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας Δεΐδιος ἀνήνεγκε τὴν κεφαλὴν.
- 4 Τοῦτον ἔσχατον Καῖσαρ ἐπολεμήσε τὸν πόλεμον· ὁ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταχθεὶς θρίαμβος ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο Ῥωμαίους ἠνίασεν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοφύλους ἡγεμόνας οὐδὲ βαρβάρους βασιλεῖς κατηγωνισμένον, ἀνδρὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων κρατίστου τύχαις κεχρημένου παῖδας καὶ γένος ἄρδην ἀνηρηκότα ταῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιπομπεῦειν συμφοραῖς οὐ καλῶς εἶχεν, ἀγαλλόμενον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὦν μία καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολογία τὸ μετ' ἀνάγκης πεπράχθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρότερον μήτε ἄγγελον μήτε γράμματα δημοσίᾳ πέμψαντα

sons of Pompey. These were still young, but had collected an army of amazing numbers and displayed a boldness which justified their claims to leadership, so that they beset Caesar with the greatest peril. The great battle was joined near the city of Munda, and here Caesar, seeing his own men hard pressed and making a feeble resistance, asked in a loud voice as he ran through the armed ranks whether they felt no shame to take him and put him in the hands of those boys. With difficulty and after much strenuous effort he repulsed the enemy and slew over thirty thousand of them, but he lost one thousand of his own men, and those the very best. As he was going away after the battle he said to his friends that he had often striven for victory, but now first for his life. He fought this victorious battle on the day of the festival of Bacchus,¹ on which day also it is said that Pompey the Great had gone forth to the war; a period of four years intervened. As for Pompey's sons, the younger made his escape, but after a few days the head of the elder was brought in by Deidius.

This was the last war that Caesar waged; and the triumph that was celebrated for it vexed the Romans as nothing else had done. For it commemorated no victory over foreign commanders or barbarian kings, but the utter annihilation of the sons and the family of the mightiest of the Romans, who had fallen upon misfortune; and it was not meet for Caesar to celebrate a triumph for the calamities of his country, priding himself upon actions which had no defence before gods or men except that they had been done under necessity, and that too although previously he had sent neither messenger nor letters to announce

¹ March 17, 45 B.C.

περὶ νίκης ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων, ἀλλ' ἀπωσάμενον αἰσχύνη τὴν δόξαν.

- LVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐγκεκλικότες καὶ δεδεγμένοι τὸν χαλινόν, καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἀναπνοὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν μοναρχίαν, δικτάτορα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξαν διὰ βίου· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὁμολογουμένη τυραννίς, τῷ ἀνυπευθύνῳ τῆς μοναρχίας τὸ ἀκατά-
- 2 παυστον προσλαβούσης· τιμὰς δὲ τὰς πρώτας Κικέρωνιος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν γράψαντος, ὧν ἀμῶς γέ πως ἀνθρώπινον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ἕτεροι προστιθέντες ὑπερβολὰς καὶ διαμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐξειργάσαντο καὶ τοῖς πραοτάτοις ἐπαχθῇ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λυπηρὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν ψηφιζομένων, οἷς οὐδὲν ἦττον οἴονται συναγωνίσασθαι τῶν κολακευόντων
- 3 Καῖσαρα τοὺς μισοῦντας, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστας κατ' αὐτοῦ προφάσεις ἔχωσι καὶ μετὰ μεγίστων ἐγκλημάτων ἐπιχειρεῖν δοκῶσιν. ἐπεὶ τά γε ἄλλα, τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτῷ πολέμων πέρας ἐσχηκότων, ἀνέγκλητον ἑαυτὸν¹ παρεῖχε· καὶ τό γε τῆς Ἐπιεικείας ἱερὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου δοκοῦσι χαριστήριον ἐπὶ τῇ πραότητι ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀφῆκε πολλοὺς τῶν πεπολεμηκότων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς, ὡς Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ, προσέθηκεν· ἐστρατήγουν γὰρ ἀμ-
- 4 φότεροι. καὶ τὰς Πομπηίου καταβεβλημένας εἰκόνας οὐ περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ' ἀνέστησεν, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ Κικέρων εἶπεν ὅτι Καῖσαρ τοὺς Πομπηίου στήσας ἀνδριάντας τοὺς ἰδίους ἔπηξε. τῶν δὲ φίλων

¹ ἀνέγκλητον ἑαυτὸν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske : ἀνέγκλητον.

to the people a victory in the civil wars, but had scrupulously put from him the fame arising therefrom.

LVII. However, the Romans gave way before the good fortune of the man and accepted the bit, and regarding the monarchy as a respite from the evils of the civil wars, they appointed him dictator for life. This was confessedly a tyranny, since the monarchy, besides the element of irresponsibility, now took on that of permanence. It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man; but others added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the enemies of Caesar no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life. For in all other ways, at least, after the civil wars were over, he showed himself blameless; and certainly it is thought not inappropriate that the temple of Clemency was decreed as a thank-offering in view of his mildness. For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some he even gave honours and offices besides, as to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom were now praetors. The statues of Pompey, too, which had been thrown down, he would not suffer to remain so, but set them up again, at which Cicero said that in setting up Pompey's statues Caesar firmly fixed his own.¹ When his friends thought it

¹ Cf. *Cicero*, xl. 4, p. 186.

ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἐπὶ
τοῦτο παρεχόντων ἑαυτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, εἰπὼν
ὡς βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ αἰεὶ προσδο-
5 κᾶν. τὴν δ' εὖνοϊαν ὡς κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ βε-
βαιότατον ἑαυτῷ περιβαλλόμενος φυλακτῆριον,
αὐθις ἀνελάμβανε τὸν δῆμον ἐστιάσει καὶ σιτη-
ρεσίοις, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἀποικίαις, ὧν ἐπι-
φανέσταται Καρχηδὼν καὶ Κόρινθος ἦσαν, αἷς
καὶ πρότερον τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τότε τὴν ἀνάληψιν
ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀμφοτέrais γενέ-
σθαι συνέτυχε.

LVIII. Τῶν δὲ δυνατῶν τοῖς μὲν ὑπατείας καὶ
στρατηγίας εἰς τοῦπιόν ἐπηγγέλλετο, τοὺς δ'
ἄλλαις τισὶν ἐξουσίαις καὶ τιμαῖς παρεμυθεῖτο,
πᾶσι δὲ ἐλπίζειν ἐνεδίδου, μνηστευόμενος ἄρχειν 735
ἐκόντων, ὡς καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ ὑπάτου τελευτή-
σαντος εἰς τὴν περιουσαν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς μίαν
ἡμέραν ὑπάτον ἀποδείξαι Κανίνιον Ρεβίλιον.
πρὸς ὃν, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλῶν δεξιώσασθαι καὶ προ-
πέμψαι βαδιζόντων ὁ Κικέρων, “Σπεύδωμεν,”
ἔφη, “πρὶν φθάσῃ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐξελθὼν ὁ ἄν-
θρωπος.”

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ φύσει μεγαλουργὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
φιλότιμον αἱ πολλαὶ κατορθώσεις οὐ πρὸς ἀπό-
λαυσιν ἔτρεπον τῶν πεπονημένων, ἀλλ' ὑπέκ-
καυμα καὶ θάρσος οὔσαι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα
μειζόνων ἐνέτικτον ἐπινοίας πραγμάτων καὶ
καινῆς ἔρωτα δόξης ὡς ἀποκεχρημένῳ τῇ
παρούσῃ, τὸ μὲν πάθος οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ ζῆλος
αὐτοῦ καθάπερ ἄλλου καὶ φιλονεικία τις ὑπὲρ
3 τῶν μελλόντων πρὸς τὰ πεπραγμένα, παρασκευῇ

best that he should have a body-guard, and many of them volunteered for this service, he would not consent, saying that it was better to die once for all than to be always expecting death. And in the effort to surround himself with men's good will as the fairest and at the same time the securest protection, he again courted the people with banquets and distributions of grain, and his soldiers with newly planted colonies, the most conspicuous of which were Carthage and Corinth. The earlier capture of both these cities, as well as their present restoration, chanced to fall at one and the same time.¹

LVIII. As for the nobles, to some of them he promised consulships and praetorships in the future, others he appeased with sundry other powers and honours, and in all he implanted hopes, since he ardently desired to rule over willing subjects. Therefore, when Maximus the consul died, he appointed Caninius Revilus consul for the one day still remaining of the term of office. To him, as we are told, many were going with congratulations and offers of escort, whereupon Cicero said: "Let us make haste, or else the man's consulship will have expired."

Caesar's many successes, however, did not divert his natural spirit of enterprise and ambition to the enjoyment of what he had laboriously achieved, but served as fuel and incentive for future achievements, and begat in him plans for greater deeds and a passion for fresh glory, as though he had used up what he already had. What he felt was therefore nothing else than emulation of himself, as if he had been another man, and a sort of rivalry between what he had done and what he purposed to do. For he

¹ Both cities were captured in 146 B.C., and both were restored in 44 B.C.

δὲ καὶ γνώμη στρατεύειν μὲν ἐπὶ Πάρθους, καταστρεψαμένῳ δὲ τούτους, καὶ δι' Ἑρκανίας παρὰ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Καύκασον ἐκπεριελθόντι τὸν Πόντον, εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὰ περὶ χώρα Γερμανοῖς καὶ Γερμανίαν αὐτὴν ἐπιδραμόντι διὰ Κελτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ συνάψαι τὸν κύκλον τοῦτον τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῷ πανταχόθεν Ὁκεανῷ περιορισθεί-
 4 σης. διὰ μέσου δε τῆς στρατείας τὸν τε Κορίνθιον Ἰσθμὸν ἐπεχειρεῖ διασκάπτειν, Ἀνιηρόν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προχειρισάμενος, καὶ τὸν Τίβεριν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολαβὼν διώρυχιν βαθεῖα καὶ περικλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ Κιρκαῖον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ταρρακίνη θάλατταν, ἀσφάλειαν ἅμα καὶ ῥαστώνην τοῖς δι' ἐμπορίας φοιτῶσιν εἰς Ῥώμην
 5 μηχανώμενος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν ἔλη τὰ περὶ Πωμεντίνου καὶ Σητίαν ἐκτρέψας πεδίον ἀποδεῖξαι πολλαῖς ἐνεργὸν ἀνθρώπων μυριάσι, τῇ δὲ ἔγγιστα τῆς Ῥώμης θαλάσση κλεῖθρα διὰ χωμάτων ἐπαγαγόν, καὶ τὰ τυφλὰ καὶ δύσorma τῆς Ὀστιανῆς ἡϊόνος ἀνακαθηράμενος, λιμένας ἐμποιήσασθαι καὶ ναύλοχα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀξιόπιστα ναυτιλίαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦν.

LIX. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἡμερολογίου διάθεσις καὶ διόρθωσις τῆς περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀνωμαλίας φιλοσοφηθεῖσα χαριέντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τέλος λαβοῦσα γλαφυρωτάτην παρέσχε χρεῖαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς πάνυ χρόνοις τεταραγμέναις ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς τῶν μηνῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν περιόδοις, ὥστε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑποφερομένας κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἐναντίας ἐκπεπτω-

planned and prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians; and after subduing these and marching around the Euxine by way of Hyrcania, the Caspian sea, and the Caucasus, to invade Scythia; and after overrunning the countries bordering on Germany and Germany itself, to come back by way of Gaul to Italy, and so to complete this circuit of his empire, which would then be bounded on all sides by the ocean. During this expedition, moreover, he intended to dig through the isthmus of Corinth, and had already put Anienus in charge of this work; he intended also to divert the Tiber just below the city into a deep channel, give it a bend towards Circeium, and make it empty into the sea at Terracina, thus contriving for merchantmen a safe as well as an easy passage to Rome; and besides this, to convert the marshes about Pomentinum and Setia into a plain which many thousands of men could cultivate; and further, to build moles which should barricade the sea where it was nearest to Rome, to clear away the hidden dangers on the shore of Ostia, and then construct harbours and roadsteads sufficient for the great fleets that would visit them. And all these things were in preparation.

LIX. The adjustment of the calendar, however, and the correction of the irregularity in the computation of time, were not only studied scientifically by him, but also brought to completion, and proved to be of the highest utility. For not only in very ancient times was the relation of the lunar to the solar year in great confusion among the Romans, so that the sacrificial feasts and festivals, diverging gradually, at last fell in opposite seasons of the year,

2 κέναι τοῖς χρόνοις ὥρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τότε οὔσαν ἡλιακὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παντάπασι τούτων ἀσυλλογίστως εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς μόνοι τὸν καιρὸν εἰδότες ἐξαίφνης καὶ προησθημένου μηδενὸς τὸν ἐμβόλιμον προσέγραφον μῆνα, Μερκεδόνιον ὀνομάζοντες, ὃν Νομάς ὁ βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐμβαλεῖν λέγεται, μικρὰν καὶ διατείνουσιν οὐ πόρρω βοήθειαν ἐξευρὼν τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀποκαταστάσεις πλημμελείας, ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

3 Καῖσαρ δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ μαθηματικῶν τὸ πρόβλημα προθεῖς ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἤδη μεθόδων ἔμιξεν ἰδίαν τινὰ καὶ διηκριβωμένην μᾶλλον ἐπανόρθωσιν, ἣ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι δοκοῦσιν ἥττον ἐτέρων σφάλεσθαι περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς βασκαίνουσι καὶ βαρυνόμενοις τὴν δύναμιν αἰτίας παρεῖχε. Κικέρων γοῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὥς ἔοικε, φήσαντός τινος αὔριον ἐπιτέλλειν Λύραν, “Ναί,” εἶπεν, “ἐκ διατάγματος,” ὥς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνάγκην τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεχομένων.

LX. Τὸ δὲ ἐμφανὲς μάλιστα μῖσος καὶ θανατηφόρον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς βασιλείας ἔρως ἐξεργάσατο, τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς αἰτία πρώτη, τοῖς δὲ ὑπούλοις πάλαι πρόφασις εὐπρεπεστάτη γενομένη. καίτοι καὶ λόγον τινὰ κατέσπειραν εἰς τὸν δῆμον οἱ ταύτην Καῖσαρι τὴν τιμὴν προξενούντες, ὥς ἐκ γραμμάτων Σιβυλλείων ἀλώσιμα 736 τὰ Πάρθων φαίνοιτο Ῥωμαίοις σὺν βασιλεῖ

but also at this time people generally had no way of computing the actual solar year;¹ the priests alone knew the proper time, and would suddenly and to everybody's surprise insert the intercalary month called Mercedonius. Numa the king is said to have been the first to intercalate this month, thus devising a slight and short-lived remedy for the error in regard to the sidereal and solar cycles, as I have said in his Life.² But Caesar laid the problem before the best philosophers and mathematicians, and out of the methods of correction which were already at hand compounded one of his own which was more accurate than any. This the Romans use down to the present time, and are thought to be less in error than other peoples as regards the inequality between the lunar and solar years. However, even this furnished occasion for blame to those who envied Caesar and disliked his power. At any rate, Cicero the orator, we are told, when some one remarked that Lyra would rise on the morrow, said: "Yes, by decree," implying that men were compelled to accept even this dispensation.

LX. But the most open and deadly hatred towards him was produced by his passion for the royal power. For the multitude this was a first cause of hatred, and for those who had long smothered their hate, a most specious pretext for it. And yet those who were advocating this honour for Caesar actually spread abroad among the people a report that from the Sibylline books it appeared that Parthia could be taken if the Romans went up against it with a king,

¹ At this time the Roman calendar was more than two months ahead of the solar year. Caesar's reform went into effect in 46 B.C.

² Chapter xviii.

στρατευομένοις ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἄλλως ἀνέφικτα ὄντα·
 2 καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἐξ Ἀλβης Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι βασιλέα.
 τοῦ δὲ δήμου διαταραχθέντος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐκεῖνος
 οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ
 γενομένης πρὸς τοῦτο πάντων σιωπῆς οὐ πάνυ
 3 φαιδρὸς οὐδ' εὐμενὴς παρήλθεν. ἐν δὲ συγκλήτῳ
 τιμὰς τινὰς ὑπερφυεῖς αὐτῷ ψηφισαμένων ἔτυχε
 μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμβόλων καθεζόμενος, προσιόντων
 δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ
 τῆς βουλῆς ἀπάσης ἐπομένης, οὐχ ὑπεξαναστάς,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἰδιώταις τισὶ χρηματίζων, ἀπεκρί-
 νατο συστολῆς μᾶλλον ἢ προσθέσεως τὰς τιμὰς
 δεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον ἠνίασε τὴν βουλὴν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δήμον, ὥς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τῆς πόλεως
 προπηλακιζομένης, καὶ μετὰ δεινῆς κατηφείας
 4 ἀπήλθον εὐθύς οἷς ἐξῆν μὴ παραμένειν, ὥστε κα-
 κείνον ἐννοήσαντα παραχρῆμα μὲν οἴκαδε τρα-
 πέσθαι καὶ βοᾶν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀπαγαγόντα
 τοῦ τραχήλου τὸ ἱμάτιον, ὥς ἔτοιμος εἶη τῷ βου-
 λομένῳ τὴν σφαγὴν παρέχειν, ὕστερον δὲ προφα-
 σίζεσθαι τὴν νόσον· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλειν τὴν αἰσθησιν
 ἀτρεμεῖν τῶν οὕτως ἐχόντων, ὅταν ἰστάμενοι δια-
 λέγωνται πρὸς ὄχλον, ἀλλὰ σειομένην ταχὺ καὶ
 περιφερομένην ἱλίγγους ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ κατα-
 5 λαμβάνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πάνυ βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπεξαναστῆναι τῇ βουλῇ
 λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν φίλων, μᾶλλον δὲ κολάκων,
 Κορνηλίου Βάλβου, κατασχεθῆναι φήσαντος·
 “Οὐ μεμνήσῃ Καίσαρ ὧν, οὐδὲ ἀξιώσεις ὥς
 κρεῖττονα θεραπεύεσθαι σεαυτόν;”

but otherwise could not be assailed ; and as Caesar was coming down from Alba into the city they ventured to hail him as king. But at this the people were confounded, and Caesar, disturbed in mind, said that his name was not King, but Caesar, and seeing that his words produced an universal silence, he passed on with no very cheerful or contented looks. Moreover, after sundry extravagant honours had been voted him in the senate, it chanced that he was sitting above the rostra, and as the praetors and consuls drew near, with the whole senate following them, he did not rise to receive them, but as if he were dealing with mere private persons, replied that his honours needed curtailment rather than enlargement. This vexed not only the senate, but also the people, who felt that in the persons of the senators the state was insulted, and in a terrible dejection they went away at once, all who were not obliged to remain, so that Caesar too, when he was aware of his mistake, immediately turned to go home, and drawing back his toga from his neck, cried in loud tones to his friends that he was ready to offer his throat to any one who wished to kill him. But afterwards he made his disease an excuse for his behaviour, saying that the senses of those who are thus afflicted do not usually remain steady when they address a multitude standing, but are speedily shaken and whirled about, bringing on giddiness and insensibility. However, what he said was not true ; on the contrary, he was very desirous of rising to receive the senate ; but one of his friends, as they say, or rather one of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus, restrained him, saying : " Remember that thou art Caesar, and permit thyself to be courted as a superior."

- LXI. Ἐπιγίνεται τούτοις τοῖς προσκρούσασιν ὁ τῶν δημάρχων προπηλακισμός. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Λουπερκαλίων ἑορτή, περὶ ἧς πολλοὶ γράφουσιν ὡς ποιμένων τὸ παλαιὸν εἶη, καὶ τι καὶ 2 προσήκει τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς Λυκαίοις. τῶν δ' εὐγενῶν νεανίσκων καὶ ἀρχόντων πολλοὶ διαθείουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν γυμνοί, σκύτεσι λασίοις τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ γέλῳτι παίοντες· πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει γυναικῶν ἐπίτηδες ὑπαντῶσαι παρέχουσιν ὥσπερ ἐν διδασκάλου τῷ χεῖρι ταῖς πληγαῖς, πεπεισμένοι πρὸς εὐτοκίαν κυοῦσαι, ἀγόνους δὲ πρὸς κύησιν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.
- 3 ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ἐθεᾶτο καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐπὶ δίφρου χρυσοῦ, θριαμβικῶ κόσμῳ κεκοσμημένος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν θεόντων τὸν ἱερὸν δρόμον εἰς ἦν· καὶ γὰρ ὑπάτευεν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ διέστη, φέρων διάδημα στεφάνῳ δάφνης περιπεπλεγμένον ὥρεξε τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ γίνεται κρότος οὐ λαμ-
- 4 πρὸς, ἀλλ' ὀλίγος ἐκ παρασκευῆς. ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἀνεκρότησεν· αὐθις δὲ προσφέροντος ὀλίγοι, καὶ μὴ δεξαμένου πάλιν ἅπαντες. οὕτω δὲ τῆς πείρας ἐξελεγχομένης Καῖσαρ μὲν ἀνίσταται, τὸν στέφανον εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀπενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὥφθησαν δὲ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ διαδήμασιν ἀναδεδεμένοι βασιλικοῖς. καὶ τῶν δημάρχων δύο, Φλαοῦϊος καὶ Μάρυλλος, ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσπασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασαμένους βασιλέα τὸν Καίσαρα πρῶ-
- 5 τους ἐξευρόντες ἀπήγον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος εἶπετο κροτῶν, καὶ Βρούτους ἀπεκάλει τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὅτι Βρούτος ἦν ὁ καταλύσας τὴν τῶν

LXI. There was added to these causes of offence his insult to the tribunes. It was, namely, the festival of the Lupercalia, of which many write that it was anciently celebrated by shepherds, and has also some connection with the Arcadian Lycaea. At this time many of the noble youths and of the magistrates run up and down through the city naked, for sport and laughter striking those they meet with shaggy thongs. And many women of rank also purposely get in their way, and like children at school present their hands to be struck, believing that the pregnant will thus be helped to an easy delivery, and the barren to pregnancy. These ceremonies Caesar was witnessing, seated upon the rostra on a golden throne, arrayed in triumphal attire. And Antony was one of the runners in the sacred race; for he was consul. Accordingly, after he had dashed into the forum and the crowd had made way for him, he carried a diadem, round which a wreath of laurel was tied, and held it out to Caesar. Then there was applause, not loud, but slight and preconcerted. But when Caesar pushed away the diadem, all the people applauded; and when Antony offered it again, few, and when Caesar declined it again, all, applauded. The experiment having thus failed, Caesar rose from his seat, after ordering the wreath to be carried up to the Capitol; but then his statues were seen to have been decked with royal diadems. So two of the tribunes, Flavius and Marcellus, went up to them and pulled off the diadems, and after discovering those who had first hailed Caesar as king, led them off to prison. Moreover, the people followed the tribunes with applause and called them Brutuses, because Brutus was the man who put

βασιλέων διαδοχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς βουλὴν καὶ δῆμον ἐκ μοναρχίας καταστήσας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ Καῖσαρ παροξυνθεὶς τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον, ἐν δὲ τῷ κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν ἅμα καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐφυβρίζων πολλάκις Βρούτους τε καὶ Κυμαίους ἀπεκάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας.

- LXII. Οὕτω δὴ τρέπονται πρὸς Μάρκον Βροῦτον οἱ πολλοί, γένος μὲν ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι δοκοῦντα πρὸς πατέρων, καὶ τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς δὲ ἀπὸ Σερουλίων, οἰκίας ἐτέρας ἐπιφανοῦς, γαμβρὸν δὲ καὶ ἀδελφιδοῦν Κάτωνος. τοῦτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ὀρμήσαι πρὸς κατάλυσιν τῆς μοναρχίας ἤμβλυνον αἱ παρὰ Καίσαρος τιμαὶ καὶ χάριτες. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐσώθη περὶ Φάρσαλον ἀπὸ τῆς Πομπηίου φυγῆς, οὐδὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔσωσεν ἐξαιτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστιν εἶχε μεγάλην παρ' αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατηγίαν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἔλαβεν, ὑπατεύειν δὲ ἔμελλεν εἰς τέταρτον ἔτος, ἐρίσαντος Κασσίου προτιμηθεὶς. λέγεται γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαιότερα μὲν λέγοι Κάσσιος, αὐτὸς μέντοι Βρούτον οὐκ ἂν παρέλθοι. καὶ ποτε καὶ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν τὸν ἄνδρα, πραττομένης ἤδη τῆς συνωμοσίας, οὐ προσέσχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σώματος τῇ χειρὶ θιγὼν ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας· “Ἀναμενεῖ τοῦτο τὸ δέρμα Βρούτος,” ὡς ἄξιον μὲν ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς δι' ἀρετὴν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀχάριστον καὶ πονηρὸν γενόμενον. οἱ δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς

¹ See the *Publicola*, i.-ix.

² The word “brutus” in Latin signified *stupid* (cf. the *Publicola*, iii. 4); and the people of Cymé, in Asia Minor, were celebrated for stupidity (Strabo, p. 622).

an end to the royal succession and brought the power into the hands of the senate and people instead of a sole ruler.¹ At this, Caesar was greatly vexed, and deprived Maryllus and Flavius of their office, while in his denunciation of them, although he at the same time insulted the people, he called them repeatedly Brutes² and Cymaeans.²

LXII. Under these circumstances the multitude turned their thoughts towards Marcus Brutus, who was thought to be a descendant of the elder Brutus on his father's side, on his mother's side belonged to the Servilii, another illustrious house, and was a son-in-law and nephew of Cato. The desires which Brutus felt to attempt of his own accord the abolition of the monarchy were blunted by the favours and honours that he had received from Caesar. For not only had his life been spared at Pharsalus after Pompey's flight, and the lives of many of his friends at his entreaty, but also he had great credit with Caesar. He had received the most honourable of the praetorships for the current year, and was to be consul three years later, having been preferred to Cassius, who was a rival candidate. For Caesar, as we are told, said that Cassius urged the juster claims to the office, but that for his own part he could not pass Brutus by.³ Once, too, when certain persons were actually accusing Brutus to him, the conspiracy being already on foot, Caesar would not heed them, but laying his hand upon his body said to the accusers: "Brutus will wait for this shrivelled skin,"⁴ implying that Brutus was worthy to rule because of his virtue, but that for the sake of ruling he would not become a thankless villain. Those, however, who

³ Cf. the *Brutus*, vii. 1-3.

⁴ Cf. the *Brutus* chapters viii., ix.

ἐφίεμενοι καὶ πρὸς μόνον ἐκείνον ἢ πρῶτον ἀπο-
 βλέποντες αὐτῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων διαλέγεσθαι,
 νύκτωρ δὲ κατεπίμπλασαν γραμμάτων τὸ βῆμα
 καὶ τὸν δίφρον ἐφ' οὗ στρατηγῶν ἐχρημάτιζεν.
 ὧν ἦν τὰ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα· “Καθεύδεις, ὦ Βρούτε,”
 καὶ “Οὐκ εἶ Βρούτος.” ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Κάσσιος αἰσθό-
 μενος διακινούμενον ἡσυχῇ τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ,
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐνέκειτο καὶ παρώξυνεν, αὐτὸς
 ἰδία τι καὶ μίσους ἔχων πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα δι'
 αἰτίας ἃς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου γεγραμμένοις
 5 δεδηλώκαμεν. εἶχε μέντοι καὶ δι' ὑποψίας ὁ
 Καῖσαρ αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν
 ποτε· “Τί φαίνεται βουλόμενος ὑμῖν Κάσσιος;
 ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ λίαν ἀρέσκει λίαν ὠχρὸς ὢν.”
 πάλιν δὲ λέγεται, περὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα
 διαβολῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς νεωτερίζοιεν, ἐλθούσης,
 “Οὐ πάννυ,” φάναι, “τούτους δέδοικα τοὺς παχεῖς
 καὶ κομήτας, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ὠχροὺς καὶ λεπτοὺς
 ἐκείνους.” Κάσσιον λέγων καὶ Βρούτον.

LXIII. Ἄλλ' ἔοικεν οὐχ οὕτως ἀπροσδόκητον
 ὡς ἀφύλακτον εἶναι τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 σημεῖα θαυμαστὰ καὶ φάσματα φανῆναι λέγουσι.
 σέλα μὲν οὖν οὐράνια καὶ κτύπους νύκτωρ πολ-
 λαχοῦ διαφερομένους καὶ καταίροντας εἰς ἀγορὰν
 ἐρήμους ὄρνιθας οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως ἐπὶ πάθει τηλι-
 2 κούτῳ μνημονεῦσαι. Στράβων δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος
 ἱστορεῖ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους διαπύρους ἐπι-
 φερομένους φανῆναι, στρατιώτου δὲ ἀνδρὸς οἰκέ-
 την ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκβαλεῖν πολλὴν φλόγα καὶ
 δοκεῖν καίεσθαι τοῖς ὀρώσιν, ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο,
 μηδὲν ἔχειν κακὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· αὐτῷ δὲ Καί-

were eager for the change, and fixed their eyes on Brutus alone, or on him first, did not venture to talk with him directly, but by night they covered his praetorial tribune and chair with writings, most of which were of this sort: "Thou art asleep, Brutus," or, "Thou art not Brutus."¹ When Cassius perceived that the ambition of Brutus was somewhat stirred by these things, he was more urgent with him than before, and pricked him on, having himself also some private grounds for hating Caesar; these I have mentioned in the *Life of Brutus*.¹ Moreover, Caesar actually suspected him, so that he once said to his friends: "What, think ye, doth Cassius want? I like him not over much, for he is much too pale." And again, we are told that when Antony and Dolabella were accused to him of plotting revolution, Caesar said: "I am not much in fear of these fat, long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale, thin ones," meaning Brutus and Cassius.¹

LXIII. But destiny, it would seem, is not so much unexpected as it is unavoidable, since they say that amazing signs and apparitions were seen. Now, as for lights in the heavens, crashing sounds borne all about by night, and birds of omen coming down into the forum, it is perhaps not worth while to mention these precursors of so great an event; but Strabo the philosopher says² that multitudes of men all on fire were seen rushing up, and a soldier's slave threw from his hand a copious flame and seemed to the spectators to be burning, but when the flame ceased the man was uninjured; he says, more-

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, chapters viii., ix.

² Probably in the "Historical Commentaries" cited in the *Lucullus*, xxviii. 7.

- σαρι θύοντι τὴν καρδίαν ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι τοῦ
 ἱερείου καὶ δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ τέρας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν φύσει
 3 γε συστήναι ζῶον ἀκάρδιον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα
 πολλῶν ἀκούσαι διεξιόντων, ὥς τις αὐτῷ μάντις
 ἡμέρα Μαρτίου μηνός, ἣν Εἰδοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι κα-
 λοῦσι, προείποι μέγαν φυλάττεσθαι κίνδυνον·
 ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας προῖων ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν
 σύγκλητον ἀσπασάμενος προσπαίξειε τῷ μάντει
 φάμενος· “Αἱ μὲν δὴ Μάρτιαι Εἰδοὶ πάρεισιν,” ὁ
 δὲ ἡσυχῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶποι· “Ναὶ πάρεισιν, ἀλλ’
 4 οὐ παρεληλύθασι.” πρὸ μιᾶς δὲ ἡμέρας Μάρκου
 Λεπίδου δειπνίζοντος αὐτὸν ἔτυχε μὲν ἐπιστολαῖς
 ὑπογράφων, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατακείμενος· ἐμπε-
 σόντος δὲ λόγου ποῖος ἄρα τῶν θανάτων ἄριστος,
 ἅπαντας φθάσας ἐξεβόησεν· “Ὁ ἀπροσδόκητος.”
 5 μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμώμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, παρὰ τῇ
 γυναικί, πασῶν ἅμα τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ δωματίου
 καὶ τῶν θυρίδων ἀναπεταννυμένων, διαταραχθεὶς
 ἅμα τῷ κτύπῳ καὶ τῷ φωτὶ καταλαμπούσης τῆς
 σελήνης, ἥσθετο τὴν Καλπουρνίαν βαθέως μὲν 738
 καθεύδουσαν, ἀσαφεῖς δὲ φωνὰς καὶ στεναγμοὺς
 ἀνάρθρους ἀναπέμπουσαν ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων· ἐδόκει
 δὲ ἄρα κλαίειν ἐκείνον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχουσα
 κατεσφαγμένον.
- 6 Οἱ δὲ οὐ φασι τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν
 ὄψιν· ἀλλὰ ἦν γάρ τι τῇ Καίσαρος οἰκία προσ-
 κείμενον οἶον ἐπὶ κόσμῳ καὶ σεμνότητι τῆς
 βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ἀκρωτήριον, ὥς Λίβιος
 ἱστορεῖ, τοῦτο ὄναρ ἢ Καλπουρνία θεασαμένη
 καταρρηγνύμενον ἔδοξε ποτνιαῖσθαι καὶ δακρύνειν.
 ἡμέρας δ’ οὖν γενομένης ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Καίσαρος,

over, that when Caesar himself was sacrificing, the heart of the victim was not to be found, and the prodigy caused fear, since in the course of nature, certainly, an animal without a heart could not exist. The following story, too, is told by many. A certain seer warned Caesar to be on his guard against a great peril on the day of the month of March which the Romans call the Ides; and when the day had come and Caesar was on his way to the senate-house, he greeted the seer with a jest and said: "Well, the Ides of March are come," and the seer said to him softly: "Aye, they are come, but they are not gone." Moreover, on the day before, when Marcus Lepidus was entertaining him at supper, Caesar chanced to be signing letters, as his custom was, while reclining at table, and the discourse turned suddenly upon the question what sort of death was the best; before any one else could answer Caesar cried out: "That which is unexpected." After this, while he was sleeping as usual by the side of his wife, all the windows and doors of the chamber flew open at once, and Caesar, confounded by the noise and the light of the moon shining down upon him, noticed that Calpurnia was in a deep slumber, but was uttering indistinct words and inarticulate groans in her sleep; for she dreamed, as it proved, that she was holding her murdered husband in her arms and bewailing him.

Some, however, say that this was not the vision which the woman had; but that there was attached to Caesar's house to give it adornment and distinction, by vote of the senate, a gable-ornament, as Livy says, and it was this which Calpurnia in her dreams saw torn down, and therefore, as she thought, wailed and wept. At all events, when day came, she begged Caesar,

εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε, μὴ προελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνης ὀνείρων ἐλάχιστα φροντίζει, σκέψασθαι διὰ μαντικῆς ἄλλης
 7 καὶ ἱερῶν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. εἶχε δέ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, κακείνον ὑποψία καὶ φόβος. οὐδένα γὰρ γυναικισμὸν ἐν δεισιδαιμονία πρότερον κατεγνώκει τῆς Καλπουρνίας, τότε δὲ ἑώρα περιπαθοῦσαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ πολλὰ καταθύσαντες οἱ μάντεις ἔφρασαν αὐτῷ δυσιερεῖν, ἔγνω πέμψας Ἀντώνιον ἀφεῖναι τὴν σύγκλητον.

LXIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δέκιμος Βροῦτος ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀλβῖνος, πιστευόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ὥστε καὶ δεύτερος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληρονόμος γεγράφθαι, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον τὸν ἕτερον καὶ Κάσσιον μετέχων τῆς συνωμοσίας, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διακρουσαμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔκπυστος ἢ πρᾶξις γένηται, τοὺς τε μάντεις ἐχλεύαζε καὶ καθήπτετο τοῦ Καίσαρος,
 2 ὡς αἰτίας καὶ διαβολὰς ἑαυτῷ κτωμένου πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐντρυφᾶσθαι δοκοῦσαν· ἦκειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου, καὶ προθύμους εἶναι ψηφίζεσθαι πάντας ὅπως τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰταλίας ἐπαρχιῶν βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύοιτο καὶ φοροίη διά-
 3 δημα τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιὼν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν· εἰ δὲ φράσει τις αὐτοῖς καθεζομένοις νῦν μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, παρεῖναι δὲ αὐθις ὅταν ἐντύχη βελτίοσιν ὀνείροις Καλπουρνία, τίνας ἔσεσθαι λόγους παρὰ τῶν φθονούντων; ἢ τίνα τῶν φίλων ἀνέξεσθαι διδασκόντων ὡς οὐχὶ δουλεία ταῦτα καὶ τυραννίς ἐστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ πάντως, ἔφη, τὴν ἡμέραν ἀφοσιώσασθαι, βέλτιον αὐτὸν παρελθόντα καὶ
 4 προσαγορεύσαντα τὴν βουλὴν ὑπερθέσθαι. ταῦθ'

if it was possible, not to go out, but to postpone the meeting of the senate ; if, however, he had no concern at all for her dreams, she besought him to enquire by other modes of divination and by sacrifices concerning the future. And Caesar also, as it would appear, was in some suspicion and fear. For never before had he perceived in Calpurnia any womanish superstition, but now he saw that she was in great distress. And when the seers also, after many sacrifices, told him that the omens were unfavourable, he resolved to send Antony and dismiss the senate.

LXIV. But at this juncture Decimus Brutus, sur-named Albinus, who was so trusted by Caesar that he was entered in his will as his second heir, but was partner in the conspiracy of the other Brutus and Cassius, fearing that if Caesar should elude that day, their undertaking would become known, ridiculed the seers and chided Caesar for laying himself open to malicious charges on the part of the senators, who would think themselves mocked at ; for they had met at his bidding, and were ready and willing to vote as one man that he should be declared king of the provinces outside of Italy, and might wear a diadem when he went anywhere else by land or sea ; but if some one should tell them at their session to be gone now, but to come back again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what speeches would be made by his enemies, or who would listen to his friends when they tried to show that this was not slavery and tyranny ? But if he was fully resolved (Albinus said) to regard the day as inauspicious, it was better that he should go in person and address the senate, and then postpone its business. While

ἅμα λέγων ὁ Βροῦτος ἤγε τῆς χειρὸς λαβόμενος τὸν Καίσαρα. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν αὐτῷ προελθόντι τῶν θυρῶν οἰκέτης ἀλλότριος ἐντυχεῖν προθυμούμενος, ὥς ἡττάτο τοῦ περὶ ἐκείνον ὠθισμοῦ καὶ πλήθους, βιασάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ Καλπουρνία, φυλάττειν κελεύσας ἄχρι ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ Καῖσαρ, ὥς ἔχων μεγάλα πράγματα κατειπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν.

- LXV. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ Κνίδιος τὸ γένος, Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων σοφιστὴς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γεγωνὸς ἐνίοις συνήθης τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον, ὥστε καὶ γινῶναι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραττομένων, ἦκε μὲν ἐν βιβλιδίῳ κομίζων ἄπερ ἔμελλε μηνύειν, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν βιβλιδίων ἕκαστον δεχόμενον καὶ παραδιδόντα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρέταις, ἐγγὺς σφόδρα προσελθὼν, “Τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “Καῖσαρ, ἀνάγνωθι μόνος καὶ ταχέως· γέγραπται γὰρ ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ σοι διαφερόντων.”
- 2 δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναγνῶναι μὲν ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐκωλύθη, καίπερ ὀρμήσας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ κατέχων καὶ φυλάττων μόνον ἐκείνο παρήλθεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον. ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασιν ἄλλον ἐπιδοῦναι τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, τὸν δ' Ἀρτεμίδωρον οὐδὲ ὅλως προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκθλιβῆναι παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν.

LXVI. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἤδη πού φέρεται καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον· ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος τὸν φόνον ἐκείνον καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χῶρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ σύγκλητος ἠθροίσθη τότε, Πομπηίου μὲν εἰκόνα κειμένην ἔχων, Πομπηίου δὲ ἀνάθημα γεγωνὸς τῶν προσκεκοσμη-

saying these things Brutus took Caesar by the hand and began to lead him along. And he had gone but a little way from his door when a slave belonging to some one else, eager to get at Caesar, but unable to do so for the press of numbers about him, forced his way into the house, gave himself into the hands of Calpurnia, and bade her keep him secure until Caesar came back, since he had important matters to report to him.

LXV. Furthermore, Artemidorus, a Cnidian by birth, a teacher of Greek philosophy, and on this account brought into intimacy with some of the followers of Brutus, so that he also knew most of what they were doing, came bringing to Caesar in a small roll the disclosures which he was going to make ; but seeing that Caesar took all such rolls and handed them to his attendants, he came quite near, and said: "Read this, Caesar, by thyself, and speedily; for it contains matters of importance and of concern to thee." Accordingly, Caesar took the roll and would have read it, but was prevented by the multitude of people who engaged his attention, although he set out to do so many times, and holding in his hand and retaining that roll alone, he passed on into the senate. Some, however, say that another person gave him this roll, and that Artemidorus did not get to him at all, but was crowded away all along the route.

LXVI. So far, perhaps, these things may have happened of their own accord; the place, however, which was the scene of that struggle and murder, and in which the senate was then assembled, since it contained a statue of Pompey and had been dedicated by Pompey as an additional ornament to his

- μένων τῷ θεάτρῳ, παντάπασιν ἀπέφαινε δαίμονός 739
 τινος ὑφηγουμένου καὶ καλοῦντος ἐκεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν
 2 ἔργον γεγονέναι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ λέγεται Κάσ-
 σιος εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸ τῆς
 ἐγχειρήσεως ἀποβλέπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι σιωπῇ,
 καίπερ οὐκ ἀλλότριος ὢν τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων·
 ἀλλ' ὁ καιρός, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤδη τοῦ δεινοῦ παρεστῶ-
 τος ἐνθουσιασμόν ἐνεποίει καὶ πάθος ἀντὶ τῶν
 προτέρων λογισμῶν.
- 3 Ἀντώνιον μὲν οὖν πιστὸν ὄντα Καίσαρι καὶ
 ῥωμαλέον ἔξω παρακατεῖχε Βροῦτος Ἀλβῖνος,
 ἐμβαλὼν ἐπίτηδες ὁμιλίαν μῆκος ἔχουσιν· εἰσι-
 ὄντος δὲ Καίσαρος ἡ βουλὴ μὲν ὑπεξανέστη
 θεραπεύουσα, τῶν δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον οἱ μὲν ἐξό-
 πισθεν τὸν δίφρον αὐτοῦ περιέστησαν, οἱ δὲ
 ἀπήντησαν, ὡς δὴ Τιλλίῳ Κίμβρῳ περὶ ἀδελφοῦ
 φυγάδος ἐντυγχάνοντι συνδεησόμενοι, καὶ συνε-
 4 δέοντο μέχρι τοῦ δίφρου παρακολουθοῦντες. ὡς
 δὲ καθίσας διεκρούετο τὰς δεήσεις καὶ προσκει-
 μένων βιαιότερον ἠγανάκτει πρὸς ἕκαστον, ὁ μὲν
 Τίλλιος τὴν τήβεννον αὐτοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέ-
 ραις συλλαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου κατήγεν· ὃπερ
 ἦν σύνθημα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. πρῶτος δὲ Κάσκας
 ξίφει παῖει παρὰ τὸν αὐχένα πληγὴν οὐ θανατη-
 φόρον οὐδὲ βαθεῖαν, ἀλλ', ὡς εἰκός, ἐν ἀρχῇ
 τολμήματος μεγάλου παραχθεὶς, ὥστε καὶ τὸν
 Καίσαρα μεταστραφέντα τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου λα-

¹ These discouraged belief in superhuman powers.

theatre, made it wholly clear that it was the work of some heavenly power which was calling and guiding the action thither. Indeed, it is also said that Cassius, turning his eyes toward the statue of Pompey before the attack began, invoked it silently, although he was much addicted to the doctrines of Epicurus;¹ but the crisis, as it would seem, when the dreadful attempt was now close at hand, replaced his former cool calculations with divinely inspired emotion.

Well, then, Antony, who was a friend of Caesar's and a robust man, was detained outside by Brutus Albinus,² who purposely engaged him in a lengthy conversation; but Caesar went in, and the senate rose in his honour. Some of the partisans of Brutus took their places round the back of Caesar's chair, while others went to meet him, as though they would support the petition which Tillius Cimber presented to Caesar in behalf of his exiled brother, and they joined their entreaties to his and accompanied Caesar up to his chair. But when, after taking his seat, Caesar continued to repulse their petitions, and, as they pressed upon him with greater importunity, began to show anger towards one and another of them, Tillius seized his toga with both hands and pulled it down from his neck. This was the signal for the assault. It was Casca who gave him the first blow with his dagger, in the neck, not a mortal wound, nor even a deep one, for which he was too much confused, as was natural at the beginning of a deed of great daring; so that Caesar turned about, grasped the knife, and held it fast.

² By Caius Trebonius, rather, as Plutarch says in the *Brutus*, xvii. 1. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* ii. 117; Cicero, *ad fam.* x. 28.

5 βέσθαι καὶ κατασχεῖν. ἄμα δέ πως ἐξεφώνησαν ὁ μὲν πληγεὶς Ῥωμαῖστί· “Μιαρῶτατε Κάσκα, τί ποιεῖς;” ὁ δὲ πλήξας Ἑλληνιστὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν· “Ἀδελφέ, βοήθει.”

Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν συνειδότας ἐκπληξῖς εἶχε καὶ φρίκη πρὸς τὰ δρώμενα, μήτε φεύγειν μήτε ἀμύνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐκβάλλειν τολμώντας. τῶν δὲ παρεσκευασμένων ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον ἐκάστου γυμνὸν ἀπο-
6 δείξαντος τὸ ξίφος, ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενος καὶ πρὸς ὃ τι τρέψειε τὴν ὄψιν πληγαῖς ἀπαντῶν καὶ σιδήρῳ φερομένῳ καὶ κατὰ προσώπου καὶ κατ’ ὀφθαλμῶν διελαυνόμενος ὥσπερ θηρίον ἐνείλετο ταῖς πάντων χερσίν· ἅπαντας γὰρ ἔδει κατάρξασθαι καὶ γεύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. διὸ καὶ Βρούτος αὐτῷ πληγὴν ἐνέβαλε μίαν εἰς τὸν βουβῶνα. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τινων ὡς ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπομαχόμενος καὶ διαφέρων δεῦρο κἀκεῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κεκραγώς, ὅτε Βρούτον εἶδεν ἐσπασμένον τὸ ξίφος, ἐφειλκύσατο κατὰ τῆς
7 κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ παρήκεν ἑαυτόν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε ὑπὸ τῶν κτεινόντων ἀπωσθείς, πρὸς τὴν βάσιν ἐφ’ ἧς ὁ Πομπηίου βέβηκεν ἀνδριάς. καὶ πολὺ καθήμαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ φόνος, ὡς δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ἐφεστάναι τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ πολεμίου Πομπηίου ὑπὸ πόδας κεκλιμένου καὶ περισπαίροντος ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων. εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ τρία λαβεῖν λέγεται· καὶ πολλοὶ κατετρώθησαν ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων, εἰς ἓν ἀπερειδόμενοι σῶμα πληγὰς τοσαύτας.

LXVII. Κατειργασμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ μὲν γερουσία, καίπερ εἰς μέσον ἐλθόντος Βρούτου ὥς

At almost the same instant both cried out, the smitten man in Latin: "Accursed Casca, what doest thou?" and the smiter, in Greek, to his brother: "Brother, help!"

So the affair began, and those who were not privy to the plot were filled with consternation and horror at what was going on; they dared not fly, nor go to Caesar's help, nay, nor even utter a word. But those who had prepared themselves for the murder bared each of them his dagger, and Caesar, hemmed in on all sides, whichever way he turned confronting blows of weapons aimed at his face and eyes, driven hither and thither like a wild beast, was entangled in the hands of all; for all had to take part in the sacrifice and taste of the slaughter. Therefore Brutus also gave him one blow in the groin. And it is said by some writers that although Caesar defended himself against the rest and darted this way and that and cried aloud, when he saw that Brutus had drawn his dagger, he pulled his toga down over his head and sank, either by chance or because pushed there by his murderers, against the pedestal on which the statue of Pompey stood. And the pedestal was drenched with his blood, so that one might have thought that Pompey himself was presiding over this vengeance upon his enemy, who now lay prostrate at his feet, quivering from a multitude of wounds. For it is said that he received twenty-three; and many of the conspirators were wounded by one another, as they struggled to plant all those blows in one body.

LXVII. Caesar thus done to death, the senators, although Brutus came forward as if to say something

- τι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐροῦντος, οὐκ ἀνασχο-
 μένη διὰ θυρῶν ἐξέπιπτε καὶ φεύγουσα κατέ-
 πλησε ταραχῆς καὶ δέους ἀπόρου τὸν δῆμον,
 ὥστε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας κλείειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολείπειν
 τραπέζας καὶ χρηματιστήρια, δρόμῳ δὲ χωρεῖν
 τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὀψομένους τὸ πάθος, τοὺς
 2 δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐωρακότας. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Λέπιδος
 οἱ μάλιστα φίλοι Καίσαρος ὑπεκδύντες εἰς οἰκίας
 ἐτέρας κατέφυγον. οἱ δὲ περὶ Βρούτου, ὥσπερ
 ἦσαν ἔτι θερμοὶ τῷ φόνῳ, γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη
 δεικνύντες, ἅμα πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου
 συστραφέντες ἐχώρουν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὐ
 φεύγουσιν ἐοικότες, ἀλλὰ μάλα φαιδροὶ καὶ θαρ-
 ραλεοί, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ
 πλῆθος καὶ προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν
 3 ἐντυγχανόντων. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ συνανέβαινον αὐ- 740
 τοῖς καὶ κατεμίγνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὥς μετεσχηκότες
 τοῦ ἔργου καὶ προσεποιούντο τὴν δόξαν, ὣν ἦν
 καὶ Γάϊος Ὀκταούϊος καὶ Λέντλος Σπινθήρ.
 οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀλαζονείας δίκην ἔδωκαν
 ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος
 ἀναιρεθέντες καὶ μηδὲ τῆς δόξης, δι' ἣν ἀπέθνη-
 σκον, ἀπολαύσαντες ἀπιστίας τῶν ἄλλων. οὐδὲ
 γὰρ οἱ κολλάζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς
 βουλήσεως τὴν δίκην ἔλαβον.
- 4 Μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τῶν περὶ Βρούτου κατελθόντων
 καὶ ποιησαμένων λόγους, ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὔτε δυσχε-
 ραίνων οὔτε ὥς ἐπαινῶν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς
 λεγομένοις προσεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεδήλου τῇ πολλῇ
 σιωπῇ Καίσαρα μὲν οἰκτεῖρων, αἰδούμενος δὲ
 Βρούτον, ἣ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀμνηστίας τινὰς καὶ

about what had been done, would not wait to hear him, but burst out of doors and fled, thus filling the people with confusion and helpless fear, so that some of them closed their houses, while others left their counters and places of business and ran, first to the place to see what had happened, then away from the place when they had seen. Antony and Lepidus, the chief friends of Caesar, stole away and took refuge in the houses of others. But Brutus and his partisans, just as they were, still warm from the slaughter, displaying their daggers bare, went all in a body out of the senate-house and marched to the Capitol, not like fugitives, but with glad faces and full of confidence, summoning the multitude to freedom, and welcoming into their ranks the most distinguished of those who met them. Some also joined their number and went up with them as though they had shared in the deed, and laid claim to the glory of it, of whom were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. These men, then, paid the penalty for their imposture later, when they were put to death by Antony and the young Caesar, without even enjoying the fame for the sake of which they died, owing to the disbelief of their fellow men. For even those who punished them did not exact a penalty for what they did, but for what they wished they had done.

On the next day Brutus came down and held a discourse, and the people listened to what was said without either expressing resentment at what had been done or appearing to approve of it; they showed, however, by their deep silence, that while they pitied Caesar, they respected Brutus. The senate, too, trying to make a general amnesty and

συμβάσεις πράττουσα πᾶσι Καίσαρα μὲν ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ κινεῖν μηδὲ τὸ μικρότατον ὦν ἐκείνος ἄρχων ἐβούλευσε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ Βρούτον ἐπαρχίας τε διένειμε καὶ τιμὰς ἀπέδωκε πρεπούσας, ὥστε πάντας οἶεσθαι τὰ πράγματα κατάστασιν ἔχειν καὶ σύγκρασιν ἀπειληφέναι τὴν ἀρίστην.

LXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνοιχθεισῶν εὐρέθη δεδομένη Ῥωμαίων ἐκάστῳ δόσις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα κομιζόμενον δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐθεάσαντο ταῖς πληγαῖς διαλελωβημένον, οὐκέτι κόσμον εἶχεν οὐδὲ τάξιν αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν νεκρῷ περισωρεύσαντες ἐξ ἀγορᾶς βάθρα καὶ κιγκλίδας καὶ τραπέζας ὑψήψαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέκαυσαν, ἀράμενοι δὲ δαλοὺς διαπύρους ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀνηρηκότων ὡς καταφλέξοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐφοίτων πανταχόσε τῆς πόλεως συλλαβεῖν καὶ διασπάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
 2 ζητοῦντες. οἷς ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπήντησεν, ἀλλὰ εὖ πεφραγμένοι πάντες ἦσαν. Κίννας δέ τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἐταίρων ἔτυχε μὲν, ὥς φασι, τῆς παρωχημένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἐωρακῶς ἄτοπον· ἐδόκει γὰρ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλεῖσθαι, παραιτούμενος δὲ ἄγεσθαι τῆς χειρὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὴ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀντιτείνων. ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸ σῶμα καίεσθαι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ, καίπερ ὑφορώμενός τε
 3 τὴν ὄψιν ἅμα καὶ πυρέττων. καὶ τις ὀφθέντος αὐτοῦ τῶν πολλῶν ἔφρασεν ἑτέρῳ τοῦνομα πυν-

reconciliation, voted to give Caesar divine honours and not to disturb even the most insignificant measure which he had adopted when in power; while to Brutus and his partisans it distributed provinces and gave suitable honours, so that everybody thought that matters were decided and settled in the best possible manner.

LXVIII. But when the will of Caesar was opened and it was found that he had given every Roman citizen a considerable gift, and when the multitude saw his body carried through the forum all disfigured with its wounds, they no longer kept themselves within the restraints of order and discipline, but after heaping round the body benches, railings, and tables from the forum, they set fire to them and burned it there; then, lifting blazing brands on high, they ran to the houses of the murderers with intent to burn them down, while others went every whither through the city seeking to seize the men themselves and tear them to pieces. Not one of these came in their way, but all were well barricaded. There was a certain Cinna, however, one of the friends of Caesar, who chanced, as they say, to have seen during the previous night a strange vision. He dreamed, that is, that he was invited to supper by Caesar, and that when he excused himself, Caesar led him along by the hand, although he did not wish to go, but resisted. Now, when he heard that they were burning the body of Caesar in the forum, he rose up and went thither out of respect, although he had misgivings arising from his vision, and was at the same time in a fever. At sight of him, one of the multitude told his name to another who asked him

θανομένῳ, καὶ κεῖνος ἄλλῳ, καὶ διὰ πάντων εὐθὺς ἦν ὡς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀννηρηκότων Καίσαρα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τις ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ Κίννας ἐν τοῖς συνομοσαμένοις, ὃν τοῦτον εἶναι προλαβόντες ὥρμησαν εὐθὺς καὶ διέσπασαν ἐν μέσῳ τὸν ἀν-
 4 θρωπον. τοῦτο μάλιστα δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κάσσιον οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἃ δὲ καὶ πράξαντες καὶ παθόντες ἐτελεύτησαν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου γέγραπται.

LXIX. Θνήσκει δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν πάντα γεγονώς ἔτη πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕξ, Πομπηίῳ δ' ἐπιβιώσας οὐ πολὺ πλεον ἐτῶν τεσσάρων, ἦν δὲ τῷ βίῳ παντὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν διὰ κινδύνων τοσοῦτων διώκων μόλις κατειργάσατο, ταύτης οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τοῦνομα μόνον καὶ τὴν ἐπίφθονον
 2 καρπωσάμενος δόξαν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ μὲντοι μέγας αὐτοῦ δαίμων, ᾧ παρὰ τὸν βίον ἐχρήσατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐπηκολούθησε τιμωρὸς τοῦ φόνου, διὰ τε γῆς πάσης καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαύνων καὶ ἀνιχνεύων ἄχρι τοῦ μηδένα λιπεῖν τῶν ἀπεκτονότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ὅτιοῦν ἡ χειρὶ τοῦ ἔργου θιγόντας ἢ γνώμης μετασχόντας ἐπέξελθεῖν.

3 Θαυμασιώτατον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ περὶ Κάσσιον· ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐκείνῳ τῷ ξιφιδίῳ διέφθειρεν ἑαυτὸν ᾧ κατὰ Καίσαρος ἐχρήσατο· τῶν δὲ θείων ὃ τε μέγας κομήτης (ἐφάνη γὰρ ἐπὶ νύκτας ἑπτὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος

what it was, and he to another, and at once word ran through the whole throng that this man was one of the murderers of Caesar. For there was among the conspirators a man who bore this same name of Cinna, and assuming that this man was he, the crowd rushed upon him and tore him in pieces among them.¹ This more than anything else made Brutus and Cassius afraid, and not many days afterwards they withdrew from the city. What they did and suffered before they died, has been told in the *Life of Brutus*.

LXIX. At the time of his death Caesar was fully fifty-six years old, but he had survived Pompey not much more than four years, while of the power and dominion which he had sought all his life at so great risks, and barely achieved at last, of this he had reaped no fruit but the name of it only, and a glory which had awakened envy on the part of his fellow citizens. However, the great guardian-genius of the man, whose help he had enjoyed through life, followed upon him even after death as an avenger of his murder, driving and tracking down his slayers over every land and sea until not one of them was left, but even those who in any way soever either put hand to the deed or took part in the plot were punished.

Among events of man's ordering, the most amazing was that which befell Cassius; for after his defeat at Philippi he slew himself with that very dagger which he had used against Caesar; and among events of divine ordering, there was the great comet, which showed itself in great splendour for seven nights

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, xx. 5 f.

- σφαγὴν διαπρεπῆς, εἶτα ἠφανίσθη) καὶ τὸ περὶ 741
- 4 τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαύρωμα τῆς αὐγῆς. ὅλον γὰρ ἐκεῖ-
νον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὥχρὸς μὲν ὁ κύκλος καὶ μαρμα-
ρυγὰς οὐκ ἔχων ἀνέτελλεν, ἀδρανὲς δὲ καὶ λεπτὸν
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατῆει τὸ θερμόν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἀέρα
δυοφερὸν καὶ βαρὺν ἀσθενεῖα τῆς διακρινοῦσης
αὐτὸν ἀλέας ἐπιφέρεισθαι, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς ἡμι-
πέπτους καὶ ἀτελεῖς ἀπανθῆσαι καὶ παρακμάσαι
- 5 διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τοῦ περιέχοντος. μάλιστα
δὲ τὸ Βρούτῳ γενόμενον φάσμα τὴν Καίσαρος ἐδή-
λωσε σφαγὴν οὐ γενομένην θεοῖς ἀρεστήν· ἦν δὲ
τοιόνδε. μέλλων τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου διαβι-
βάζειν εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν ἡπειρον ἀνεπαύετο νυκτός,
ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατὰ σκηνήν, οὐ καθεύδων, ἀλλὰ
φροντίζων περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος· λέγεται γὰρ οὗτος
ἀνὴρ ἥκιστα δὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπνώδης γενέ-
σθαι καὶ πλείστον ἑαυτῷ χρόνον ἐγρηγοροῦντι χρή-
- 6 σθαι πεφυκώς· ψόφου δέ τινος αἰσθῆσθαι περὶ
τὴν θύραν ἔδοξε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ λύχνου φῶς ἤδη
καταφερομένου σκεψάμενος ὄψιν εἶδε φοβερὰν
ἀνδρὸς ἐκφύλου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ χαλεποῦ τὸ εἶδος.
ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς ἑώρα μήτε πράττοντά
τι μήτε φθεγγόμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐστῶτα σιγῇ παρὰ
- 7 τὴν κλίνην, ἡρώτα ὅστις ἐστίν. ἀποκρίνεται δ'
αὐτῷ τὸ φάσμα· “Ὁ σός, ὦ Βρούτε, δαίμων
κακός· ὄψει δέ με περὶ Φιλίππους.” τότε μὲν
οὖν ὁ Βρούτος εὐθαρσῶς, “Ὀψομαι,” εἶπε· καὶ
τὸ δαιμόνιον εὐθὺς ἐκποδὼν ἀπήει. τῷ δ' ἰκνου-
μένῳ χρόνῳ περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους ἀντιταχθεὶς
Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρα-
τήσας τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐτρέψατο καὶ διεξήλασε
- 8 πορθῶν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον, τὴν δὲ δευτέ-

after Caesar's murder, and then disappeared ; also, the obscuration of the sun's rays. For during all that year its orb rose pale and without radiance, while the heat that came down from it was slight and ineffectual, so that the air in its circulation was dark and heavy owing to the feebleness of the warmth that penetrated it, and the fruits, imperfect and half ripe, withered away and shrivelled up on account of the coldness of the atmosphere. But more than anything else the phantom that appeared to Brutus showed that the murder of Caesar was not pleasing to the gods ; and it was on this wise. As he was about to take his army across from Abydos to the other continent, he was lying down at night, as his custom was, in his tent, not sleeping, but thinking of the future ; for it is said that of all generals Brutus was least given to sleep, and that he naturally remained awake a longer time than anybody else. And now he thought he heard a noise at the door, and looking towards the light of the lamp, which was slowly going out, he saw a fearful vision of a man of unnatural size and harsh aspect. At first he was terrified, but when he saw that the visitor neither did nor said anything, but stood in silence by his couch, he asked him who he was. Then the phantom answered him : " I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi." At the time, then, Brutus said courageously : " I shall see thee ;" and the heavenly visitor at once went away. Subsequently, however, when arrayed against Antony and Caesar at Philippi, in the first battle he conquered the enemy in his front, routed and scattered them, and sacked the camp of Caesar ; but as he was about to fight the second

ραν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι μέλλοντι φοιτᾷ τὸ αὐτὸ φά-
 σμα τῆς νυκτὸς αὐθις, οὐχ ὥστε τι προσειπεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ συνεῖς ὁ Βροῦτος τὸ πεπρωμένον ἔρριψε
 φέρων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον. οὐ μὲν ἔπεσεν
 ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς τροπῆς γενομένης ἀνα-
 φυγὼν πρὸς τι κρημνῶδες καὶ τῷ ξίφει γυμνῷ
 προσβαλὼν τὸ στέρνον, ἅμα καὶ φίλου τινός, ὥς
 φασι, συνεπιρρώσαντος τὴν πληγὴν, ἀπέθανεν.

battle, the same phantom visited him again at night, and though it said nothing to him, Brutus understood his fate, and plunged headlong into danger. He did not fall in battle, however, but after the rout retired to a crest of ground, put his naked sword to his breast (while a certain friend, as they say, helped to drive the blow home), and so died.¹

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, xxxvi.; xlviii.; lii.



A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES

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A

Achillas, 559, one of the guardians of Ptolemy XII. (Dionysus), and commander of his troops when Caesar came to Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxvii.-lxxx.

Afranius, 531, 543, 567, Lucius A., a warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius. as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. He was consul in 60 B.C. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.)

Agrippa, 215, Marcus Vipsanius A., fellow student of Octavius Caesar at Apollonia, and an intimate friend. He was one of the prominent and powerful men of the Augustan age. He lived 63-12 B.C.

Alcetas, 383, a brother of Perdiccas, whom he supported after Alexander's death. After the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C., Alcetas forsook Eumenes, and was joined by Attalus, the brother-in-law of Perdiccas. They were defeated by Antigonus in 320, and Alcetas slew himself rather than fall into the hands of his enemy.

Alcidamas, 13, of Elea in Asia Minor, a popular rhetorician of the school of Gorgias, who resided at Athens 431-411 B.C.

Anaxarchus, 245, 307, 375 f., of Abdera, a philosopher who accompanied Alexander on his

campaigns in Asia and won his favour by flattery. After the death of Alexander, Anaxarchus fell into the hands of Nicoreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, whom he had offended, and was cruelly put to death.

Anaximenes, 71, 215, of Lampsacus, a rhetorician and historian, who lived *circa* 390-320 B.C.

Androcottus, 401 f., or Sandro-cottus, an Indian prince who achieved the conquest of northern India after Alexander's death. Seleucus waged unsuccessful war upon him.

Anticleides, 357, of Athens, author of a history of Alexander about which nothing further is known.

Antigenes, 357, otherwise unknown.

Antigonus, 437, surnamed the One-eyed, king of Asia, and father of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Antiochus of Ascalon, 89 f., called the founder of the Fifth Academy. Cicero speaks of him in the highest and most appreciative terms (*Brutus*, 91, 315.)

Antipater, 67-79, 219-437, regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence, and of Alexander's empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. He died in 319.

Antiphanes, 11, 25, of Rhodes, a poet of the Middle Comedy, who began his career in 383 B.C.

Antonius, 109 f., 121, 137, Caius A., uncle of Mark Antony the triumvir. He served under Sulla

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in the Mithridatic war, and was expelled from the senate for plundering the allies and wasting his substance. After the events here described, he went to his province of Macedonia, and in 59 B.C. was convicted of extortion there, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.

Apollonia, 195, 533 f., an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic, it became a famous seat of learning.

Apollonius, 91 f., 447, son of Molon, and sometimes called Molon, a native of Alabanda in Caria, and a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 90, 312; 91, 316.

Aristander of Telmessus, 227, 261, 295 f., 317, 323, 369, 375, the chief soothsayer of Alexander, and probably the author of a work "On Prodigies" referred to by Pliny and Lucian.

Aristobulus, of Cassandreia, 57, 261, 269, 273, 285, 357, 433, accompanied Alexander on his expedition and wrote a history of his campaigns, of which we know most from Arrian's *Anabasis*.

Ariston, the Chian, 25, 75, a Stoic philosopher who flourished about 260 B.C.

Aristoxenus, 233, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school. Only fragments of his musical treatises have come down to us.

Arrhidaeus, 249, 437, a bastard son of Philip of Macedon. He was put to death by order of Olympus in 317 B.C.

Artemidorus, 595, of Cnidus, a teacher of rhetoric at Rome, and a friend of Caesar.

Artemisius, 265, see Daesius.

Attalus (1), 247, 251, one of Philip's generals. After Philip's death he was assassinated by order of Alexander.

Attalus (2), 383, one of Alexander's chief officers, and the brother-

in-law of Perdiccas. After the murder of Perdiccas, Attalus joined Alcetas, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Antigonus. See Alcetas.

B

Balbus, 583, Lucius Cornelius B., a native of Gades in Spain, who came to Rome at the end of the war with Sertorius (72 B.C.). He served under Caesar both in Gaul and during the civil war, and was the manager of Caesar's property. After Caesar's death Balbus was high in favour with Octavius. For the incident here noted, cf. Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 78.

Bessus, 349, 353, satrap of Bactria under Darius III., and commander of the Persian left wing at the battle of Arbela.

Bestia, 139, Lucius Calpurnius B., one of the conspirators with Catiline. Cicero was afterwards reconciled with him, and defended him unsuccessfully when accused of bribery in his candidacy for the praetorship in 57 B.C.

Bibulus, 473 f., Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.C., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He died in 48.

Boëdromion, 69, 317, the Attic month corresponding to parts of our September and October.

Brundisium, 181 f., 529, 533, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 593, 597, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus, was widely employed, highly esteemed, fully trusted, and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and

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yet joined his murderers. He was put to death by order of Antony in 43 B.C.

C

Caecilius, 7, Caecilius Calactinus, a native of Sicily, a distinguished rhetorician at Rome in the time of Augustus.

Calanus, 409, 417, one of the Indian philosophers called gymnosophists.

Calenus, 545, Quintus Fufius C., tribune of the people in 61 B.C., and praetor in 59 through Caesar's influence, whom he ever afterwards faithfully served, holding high commands under him in Gaul and during the civil war. He died in 41 B.C.

Callias the Syracusan, 13, otherwise unknown.

Callisthenes, 303, 323, 327, 375-385, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.C. Besides an account of Alexander's expedition, he wrote a history of Greece from 387 to 357 B.C.

Callistratus, 11, 13, 33, a distinguished orator and statesman at Athens, who flourished from about 380 to about 361 B.C., when he was condemned to death and fled the city.

Carneades, 89, of Cyrené, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.C. (when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and until his death in 129. See the *Cato Major*, xxii.

Casca, 597 f., Publius Servilius C., at this time tribune of the people. He fought in the battle of Philippi, and died soon afterwards. His brother, Caius Servilius Casca, had also been a friend of Caesar, and was a fellow conspirator.

Cassander, 33, 429, f., a son of

Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., when Demetrius Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297 B.C.

Catulus, Quintus Lutatius C., 83., 133, 157, 455 ff., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65, died in 60.

Chares (1), 215, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.C.

Chares (2), 281, 295, 357, 381, 385, 419, of Mitylené, court chamberlain of Alexander, and author of an anecdotal history of Alexander's campaigns.

Cicero, 503, Quintus Tullius C., younger brother of the orator, served as legate under Caesar in Gaul, but went over to Pompey in the civil war. He fell a victim to the proscription of the triumvirs in 43 B.C.

Cimber, 597, Lucius Tillius C., had been a warm supporter of Caesar and was rewarded by him with the province of Bithynia, to which he retired after Caesar's murder, and co-operated with Brutus and Cassius.

Cinna, 603 f., Caius Helvius C., see the *Brutus*, xx. 5 f., and the Dict. of Proper Names for Vol. vi.

Cithaeron, 57, the mountain range between Attica and Boeotia.

Citium, Citieans, 323, a city of Cyprus.

Cleitarchus, 357, a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a highly rhetorical account of it. He was the son of Deinon of Colophon, who was author of a history of Persia.

Cleitomachus, 87, 91, a Carthaginian by birth, and a teacher of philosophy at Athens from about 146 B.C. to about 111. In 129 he succeeded Carneades as head of the New Academy.

Cleitus, 259, 267, 369-375, was commander of one of the two

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- companies of the "companion" cavalry, and at the time of his death had been made satrap of Bactria by Alexander.
- Cleopatra (1), 247, 251, 297, 415, soon after this put to cruel death by Olympias, together with her infant child, who was regarded as a rival of Alexander.
- Cleopatra (2), 557 ff., queen of Egypt. See the *Antony*, xxv. ff.
- Clodius, 151-171, 463-467, Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, youngest son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the *Sulla*, xxix. 3. He helped to demoralise the soldiers of Lucullus (*Lucullus*, xxxiv.), and became a venomous foe of Cicero.
- Coenus, 397, son-in-law of Parmenio, and one of the ablest of Alexander's officers. He died shortly after the army had begun its return from India.
- Collytus, 29, an Attic deme, or township.
- Cornificius, 545 (Corfinius), Quintus C., a quaestor under Caesar in 48 B.C., and a friend of Cicero. In 45 Caesar made him governor of Syria, and in 44 he had the province of Africa, where he fought against the second triumvirate, and fell in battle.
- Craterus, 345-383, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and a man of noble character. He fell in battle against Eumenes in 321 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, v. ff.
- Cratippus, the Peripatetic, 143, of Mitylene, a contemporary and intimate friend of Cicero, and a teacher of Cicero's son. See the *Brutus*, xxiv. 1 f.
- Ctesibius, 13, perhaps the Cynic philosopher of Chalcis in Euboea, who was the instructor of Antigonus Doson, king of Macedonia (229-221 B.C.).
- Curio, 461, 515-519, Calus Scribonius C., an able orator, but reckless and profligate. He was tribune of the people in 50 B.C., and sold his support to Caesar,

who made him praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence he crossed into Africa to attack the Pompeians there, but was defeated and slain (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, ii, 23-44.)

D

- Daesius, 265, 433, a Macedonian month answering to the Attic Thargelion. *i.e.* May-June. It followed Artemisius.
- Dareius, 263 ff., Dareius III., surnamed Codomannus, came to the throne of Persia in 336 B.C.
- Deinon, 333, of Colophon, see Cleitarchus.
- Demaratus the Corinthian, 247 f., 337, 385, known only from these incidents.
- Demetrius (1), 33, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus (*cf.* Plutarch's *Demetrius*, ix.).
- Demetrius (2), the Phalerean, 23-27 35, 71, a celebrated rhetorician and orator (346-283 B.C.). He was guardian, or regent, of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.
- Demetrius (3), surnamed Pheido, 383, son of Pythonax, one of the "companion" cavalry (Arrian, *Anab.*, iv. 12, 5).
- Demetrius (4), the Magnesian, 39, 69, a Greek grammarian contemporary with Cicero.
- Diogenes of Sinopé, 259, 409, a Cynic philosopher, born 412 B.C. He became a pupil of Antisthenes the Socratic at Athens, and changed from a dissolute to a most austere life. He died at Corinth in 323, according to Plutarch (*Morals*, p. 717 c) on the same day as Alexander the Great.
- Dionysius of Magnesia, 91, a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91, 316.
- Diopceithes, 215, an Athenian general, father of the poet Menander. He was arraigned by the Macedonian party at

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Athens, and was defended by Demosthenes in the extant oration "On the Chersonese."

Dolabella, 191 f., 449, 563, 589, the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero, lived 70-43 B.C. He took part with Caesar in 49, but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.

Domitius (1), 179, 527 f., 545, 549, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C. He was Cato's son-in-law, and one of the ablest supporters of the aristocratic party. He opposed both Pompey and Caesar until their quarrel, then sided with Pompey. He met his death at Pharsalus.

Domitius (2), 547, 561, Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, consul in 53 B.C. He was a supporter of Bibulus against Caesar in 59, but after 49 an active supporter of Caesar. After the battle of Pharsalus he was Caesar's lieutenant in Asia.

Duris, 47, 57, 261, 357, of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant, of Samos, lived *circa* 350-280 B.C.

Dyrrhachium, 181, 529, a city on the coast of Illyricum, opposite to Brundisium, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

E

Eratosthenes, 23, 75, 229, 317, of Cyrené, librarian at Alexandria, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, a writer also on philosophy and ethics, 275-194 B.C.

Erigyus, 251, of Mitylené, an officer in Alexander's army. He fell in battle 328 B.C.

F

Favonius, 497, 525, 543, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," was aedile in 52 B.C., and praetor in 49. He joined Pompey in the East, notwithstanding personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus (cf. the *Pompey*, lxxiii. 6 f.). He was put to death by order of Octavius Caesar after the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.)

G

Gabinus, 157, 161, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.

Granicus, 263 f., a river in the Troad emptying into the Propontis.

H

Hagnon, the Teian, 343, 383, afterwards admiral under Antigonus.

Harpalus, 61 f., 243, 251, 333, 347, Alexander's faithless treasurer. Antipater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, who put him in prison, whence he escaped and went to Crete. Here he was assassinated.

Hecataeus, of Eretria, 357, known only from this citation.

Hegesias, the Magnesias, 231, a rhetorician and historian who flourished in the early part of the third century B.C., and was noted for his inane conceits.

Helicon, 323, son of Acesas, of Salamis in Cyprus. Father and son were famous weavers of embroidered textures, probably in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.

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Hephaestion, 307, 341, 343, 347, 361, 367, 381, 383, 425, 433, officer and beloved friend of Alexander.

Heraclides, 299, of Alexandria, a historian who flourished under Ptolemy IV. (222-205 B.C.)

Hermioné, 333, a city in southern Argolis.

Hermippus, 13, 27, 71, 75, 381, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and biographer who was active in the second half of the third century B.C.

Herodes, 143, probably the business manager of Cicero's friend Atticus. Cf. Cicero *ad Att.*, vi. 1, 25.

I

Idomeneus, 39, 57, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342-270 B.C.) author of biographical works entitled "The Socratics" and "The Demagogues."

Iolas, 429, 437, the time and manner of his death are unknown. He is last mentioned in connection with the marriage of his sister to Perdicas, in 322 B.C.

Ion, 7, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., and author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

Isaeus, 13, a professional writer of speeches for the law-courts 420-350 B.C., and numbered among the ten great Attic orators.

Isauricus, 457, 533, Publius Servilius Vatia L., deserted the aristocratic party to support Caesar, but after Caesar's death returned to his former allegiance. He tried with more or less success to hold a middle course as between Antony and Octavius Caesar.

Isocrates, 13, 215, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436-338 B.C.

Ister, 357, a slave, and afterwards a friend of Callimachus the Alexandrian grammarian and poet (250-220 B.C.), a voluminous writer, whose works are all lost.

L

Labienus, 181, 487, 527, fled to Africa after the battle of Pharsalus, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.), to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda, and was slain (45 B.C.).

Lacritus, the rhetorician, 71, of Phaselis in Pamphylia, a pupil of Isocrates about 350 B.C.

Laelius, 219, perhaps the Laelius Decimus who was prominent during the civil war as a partisan of Pompey, and held military command under him.

Lentulus (1), 513, 519, 525, Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, on the outbreak of civil war joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxx. 4.

Lentulus (2), 167, 179 (cf. Caesar, *B.C.* iii. 83), 545, 601, Lucius Cornelius L. Spinther, consul in 57 B.C. through Caesar's influence, but took the field for Pompey at the outbreak of civil war in 49. He also, like Lentulus Crus, fled with Pompey to Egypt, but got safe to Rhodes.

Lentulus (3), 123-127, 135 f., 141, 459, Publius Cornelius L., surnamed Sura, was consul in 71 B.C., but in the following year was expelled from the senate. This led him to join the conspirators with Catiline.

Lentulus (4), 189, the name by which Dolabella was sometimes called after his adoption into the plebeian family of Gneius Lentulus in order that he might

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become a candidate for the tribuneship. Dolabella was Tullia's third husband. See Tullia.

Leonnatus, 283, 343, 405, one of Alexander's most distinguished officers. He fell in 322 B.C., while attempting to relieve Antipater at Lamia.

Leosthenes, 67, 215, an Athenian, general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia.

Lepidus, 201, 591, 601, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.C., was Caesar's *magister equitum* in 47 and 45, and his consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the second triumvirate received Spain as his province, then, in 40, Africa. Here he remained till 36, when he was deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.C.

Lucullus, 449, Marcus Licinius L., younger brother of the great Lucullus, also called by adoption M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73 B.C., and afterwards a warm friend of Cicero. He died before the civil war.

Lysimachus, 357, 383, an officer of Alexander, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace. He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.C.

M

Maecenas, 215, Caius Cilnius M., the patron of poets and artists during the reign of Augustus, whose prime minister he was.

Marcellus, 195, 513 f., Caius Claudius M., consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar. But after the outbreak of the civil war he remained

quietly and timidly in Italy, and was finally pardoned by Caesar. As husband of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.C.

Marsyas 43, of Pella in Macedonia, author of a history of his own country from earliest times down to 332 B.C.

Mazaeus, 321, 343, a Persian officer under Darius III., afterwards made satrap of Babylon by Alexander.

Megabyzus, 349, probably a priest or keeper of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

Menippus, the Carian, 91, the most accomplished rhetorician of his time in Asia. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91. 315.

Metellus (1), 119, 155, Quintus Caecilius M. Celer, consul in 60 B.C., and an influential aristocrat. He was a violent opponent of Caesar during the latter's consulship in 59, in which year he died.

Metellus (2) 529 f., Lucius Caecilius M. Creticus, little known apart from the incident here narrated.

Metellus (3), 139, 147, f., Quintus M. Nepos, a brother of Metellus Celer, a partisan of Pompey, and for a time a violent opponent of Cicero. As consul, however, in 57 B.C., he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from banishment. He died in 55.

Metellus (4), 479, Quintus Metellus Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of Sulla's most successful generals. Against Sertorius in Spain he was less fortunate. He died about 63.

Murena, 117, 171, 213, Lucius Licinius M., had been quaestor, aedile, and praetor, and had served under Lucullus against Mithridates (*Lucullus*, xix. 7). He was accused of bribery in his canvass for the consulship, was defended by Hortensius and Cicero, and acquitted.

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N

- Nearchus, 251, 411, 415, 427, 433f., the trusted admiral of Alexander.
 Nicocreon, 309, king of Salamis in Cyprus. After the death of Alexander he took sides with Ptolemy of Egypt.
 Nonacris, 437, a town in Arcadia, near which the water of the river Styx descended from a cliff.

O

- Ochus, 417, Darius II., 424-404 B.C.
 Olympias, 227f., 237, 247, 251, 297, 341, 415, 437, 439, Alexander's mother. She was put to death in 316 B.C., by order of Cassander.
 Onesicritus, 243, 261, 357, 395, 399, 409, 411, a Greek who accompanied Alexander in Asia and wrote an account of his campaigns. His work contained valuable information, but was full of exaggerations and falsehoods.
 Oppius, 485, Caius O., an intimate friend of Caesar, and author (probably) of *Lives of Marius, Pompey, and Caesar*.
 Oricum, 533, a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Apollonia.
 Oxyartes, 389, a Bactrian prince, father of Roxana. Alexander made him satrap of northern India. He supported Eumenes until the death of that officer, and then came to terms with Antigonus.

P

- Panaetius, the philosopher, 33, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.C.
 Pappus, 75, otherwise unknown.
 Parmenio, 231, 249, 265, 277, 285f., 311, 317f., 327, 343, 361f., 369,

- an able and trusted commander under both Philip and Alexander.
 Pasocrates, 309, king of Soli in Cyprus.
 Patavium, 555, an ancient and important city of Venetia, the modern Padua.
 Paulus, 515, Lucius Aemilius P., consul in 50 B.C. with Claudius Marcellus. He had been a violent opponent of Caesar. Cf. the *Pompey*, lviii. 1.
 Pelops, of Byzantium, 143, not otherwise known.
 Perdicas, 79, 263, 347, 437, the officer to whom the dying Alexander is said to have given his signet-ring, and who was regent for the royal successors of Alexander till 321 B.C.
 Peucestas, 347f., 405, a distinguished officer of Alexander, and satrap of Persia. It was chiefly due to him that Eumenes met with disaster in 316 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, xiv. ff.
 Pharmacusa, 445, a small island off the coast of Caria, about 120 furlongs south of Miletus.
 Philip (1), 195, Lucius Marcus Philippus, consul in 56 B.C., married Atia, the widow of Caius Octavius, thus becoming the stepfather of Octavius Caesar. He remained neutral during the civil wars.
 Philip (2), 399, made satrap of India by Alexander in 327 B.C. In the following year he was assassinated by his mercenaries.
 Philip (3), the Chalcidian, 357, known only from this citation.
 Philip (4), of Theangela (in Caria), 357, author of a history of Caria which is cited by Athenaeus and Strabo.
 Philistus, 243, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.
 Philo, the Theban, 357, known only from this citation.
 Philon, the Academic, 87, 91, a native of Larissa in Thessaly,

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and a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens and Rome during Cicero's lifetime. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 89, 306.

Philotas, 249, 255, 317, 343, 361-369, the son of Parmenio.

Philoxenus, 243, of Cythera, one of the most distinguished dithyrambic poets of Greece (435-380 B.C.), resident at Athens and Syracuse.

Phylarchus, 67, an Athenian historian, author of a history of Greece from 272 to 220 B.C. Plutarch is heavily indebted to him in his *Agis and Cleomenes*, and *Pyrrhus*.

Piso (1), 127, 457, Caius Calpurnius P., consul in 67 B.C., and a violent aristocrat. As pro-consul he plundered his province of Gallia Narbonensis. He must have died before the civil war.

Piso (2), 157, 475, 531, Lucius Calpurnius P., father-in-law of Julius Caesar. He plundered his province of Macedonia shamelessly, and was recalled in 55 B.C. He is covered with invective in Cicero's oration *de Provinciis Consularibus*. He took no part in the civil war that followed.

Piso (3), 161, 189, Caius Calpurnius P. Frugi, married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63 B.C. He was quaestor in 58, and used every endeavour to secure the recall of Cicero from exile, but died before his father-in-law's return. Cicero mentions him often with gratitude.

Pollio, 523, 553, 567, Caius Asinius P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.C.-4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar, fought under him in Spain and Africa, and after Caesar's death supported Octavianus Caesar. After 29, he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works are extant.

Polycleitus, 357, of Larissa in Thessaly, one of the numerous

historians of Alexander, of uncertain date.

Poseidonius, 91, of Apameia in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Panaetius of Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him. Cf. Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, 1, 3, 6.

Potamon, the Lesbian, 399, a rhetorician who enjoyed the favour of the emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.), and was an authority on the career of Alexander.

Pothinus, 557f., one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt.

Ptolemy, 251, 337, 357, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and afterwards king of Egypt. He wrote a history of Alexander's campaigns which is the chief authority for Arrian.

Pyaneption, 71, 77, the Athenian month corresponding to parts of October and November.

Python (or Pithon), 435, son of Craterus, one of the seven select officers forming the immediate bodyguard of Alexander. After the death of Alexander he supported Perdiccas, but went over to Antigonus and Seleucus when they made war upon Eumenes.

R

Roxana, 359, 437, daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian prince. With her son by Alexander she was taken to Macedonia by Antipater. Mother and son were put to death in 311 B.C. by order of Cassander.

S

Samothrace, 227, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.

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- Scaurus, 83, Marcus Aemilius S. Father and son of this name were prominent in the Roman aristocracy from 126 to 52 B.C., the former having been consul in 115. Both were venal, but the first was often highly praised, and the second was defended, by Cicero.
- Scipio (1), 479, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal, 234-183 B.C.
- Scipio (2), 481, 517, 519, 541, 545, 549, 563f., 571, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius, and therefore often called Metellus Scipio, was Pompey's colleague in the consulship for the latter part of the year 52 B.C., and a determined foe of Caesar. He killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and a father-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.
- Seleucus, 349, 401, 435, founder of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria.
- Silanus, 117, 127, 131f., Decimus Junius S., stepfather of Marcus Brutus, had been aedile in 70 B.C.
- Sotion, 399, a native of Alexandria, who lived in the first part of the first century A.D.
- Stateira, 419, 437, daughter of Darius III., and wife of Alexander. Stateira was also her mother's name (pp. 311ff.).

T

- Tanusius, 497, Tanusius Geminus, a Roman historian of Cicero's time (probably), the nature and scope of whose work is uncertain.
- Telestes, 243, of Selinus in Sicily, won a dithyrambic victory at Athens in 401 B.C. A few of his verses are preserved in Athenaeus (pp. 616 and 617, 626a, 637a).
- Thapsacus, 415, an important town

- commanding a crossing of the Euphrates, east of Upper Syria.
- Theodectes, 273, a distinguished rhetorician and tragic poet, a pupil of Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and an imitator of Euripides. He flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon, and lived for the most part at Athens.
- Theodotus, 555, a rhetorician of Chios (or Samos), put to death by Brutus. See the *Pompey*, lxxvii. 2; lxxx. 6.
- Theophilus, 323, an artist in metal work, not otherwise known.
- Theophrastus, 25, 41, 141, 233, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.
- Theopompus, 9, 31, 35, 43, 51, 63, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336.
- Theramenes, 183, a brilliant Athenian naval commander who co-operated successfully with Alcibiades during the closing years of the Peloponnesian war. He was one of the Thirty Tyrants, and favoured a moderate course, but fell a victim to the jealousy and hatred of Critias.
- Thurii, 71, a colony of Athens in Lucania, Italy, founded under Pericles.
- Tralles, 555, a large and flourishing city in north-western Caria.
- Tullia, 189, daughter of Cicero and Terentia, married Calus Calpurnius Piso in 63 B.C., was a widow in 57, married Furius Crassipes in 56, from whom she was soon divorced. In 50 she married Dolabella (Lentulus) from whom she was divorced in 46. She bore him a son in 45, but died soon after at her father's house in Tusculum.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

V

Varro, 531, the most learned Roman scholar, the most voluminous Roman author, and yet no literary recluse. He held high command under Pompey in the war against the pirates, the Mithridatic war, and in Spain with Afranius. After the campaign in Spain he joined Pompey in Greece, but after the battle at Pharsalus threw himself on Caesar's mercy, was pardoned by him, and restored to literary

activity. He was at this time nearly seventy years old.

X

Xenocles, of Adramyttium, 91, a distinguished rhetorician, mentioned by Strabo (p. 614). Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 91, 316.

Xenocrates, 245, of Chalcedon, 396-314 B.C., an associate of Aeschines the Socratic and Plato, and head of the Academy at Athens for twenty-five years.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

VOLUME I.

THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.

VOLUME II.

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.

VOLUME III.

PERICLES AND FABIVS MAXIMVS.
NICIAS AND CRASSVS.

VOLUME IV.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANVS.
LYSANDER AND SULLA.

VOLUME V.

AGESILAÛS AND POMPEY.
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLVS.

VOLUME VI.

DION AND BRVTVS.
TIMOLEON AND AEMILIVS PAVLVS.

VOLUME VII.

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO.
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

**WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN**

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

VIII

**SERTORIUS AND EUMENES
PHOCION AND CATO THE YOUNGER**



**LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS**

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the *Lives* presented in this volume are contained in the two oldest and best manuscripts—the Codex Sangermanensis (S^s) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), or in the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F^a). Their text therefore rests principally on the Paris manuscripts Nos. 1671, 1673, and 1674 (ACD). No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the rather inaccessible text of the *Lives* by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner

PREFATORY NOTE

Library of Greek and Latin texts (Vol. III., Fasc. I. was published in 1915). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including those of the *Sertorius* and *Cato* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

October, 1919.

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OF THE GREEK LIVES.

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Comparison.
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Tiberius and Caius
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SERTORIUS

VOL. VIII.

B

ΣΕΡΤΩΡΙΟΣ

- I. Θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἴσως οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐν ἀπείρῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς τύχης ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ρεούσης, ἐπὶ ταῦτά συμπτώματα πολλάκις καταφέρεσθαι τὸ αὐτόματον. εἴτε γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὠρισμένον τὸ πλήθος, ἀφθονον ἔχει τῆς τῶν ἀποτελουμένων ὁμοιότητος χορηγὸν ἢ τύχη τὴν τῆς ὕλης εὐπορίαν, εἴτ' ἐκ τινων ὠρισμένων ἀριθμῷ συμπλέκεται τὰ πράγματα, πολλάκις ἀνάγκη ταῦτά γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν περαινό-
 2 μενα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγαπῶντες ἔνιοι τὰ τοιαῦτα συνάγουσιν ἱστορίᾳ καὶ ἀκοῇ τῶν κατὰ τύχην γεγονότων ὅσα λογισμοῦ καὶ προνοίας ἔργοις ἔοικεν, οἶον ὅτι δυεῖν Ἀττεων γενομένων ἐμφανῶν, τοῦ μὲν Σύρου, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρκάδος, ἐκάτερος ὑπὸ συνὸς ἀπώλετο, δυεῖν δὲ Ἀκταιῶνων, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐραστῶν διεσπάρθη, δυεῖν δὲ Σκηπιῶνων, ὑφ' οὗ μὲν ἐνικήθησαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρότερον, ὑφ' οὗ δὲ ὕστερον ἄρδην ἀνηρέθησαν,
 3 ἐάλω δὲ τὸ Ἴλιον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους διὰ τὰς Λαομέδοντος ἵππους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος διὰ τοῦ δουρείου προσαγορευθέντος ἵππου, τρίτον δ' ὑπὸ

¹ The story of a Lydian Attis who was killed by a wild boar is told by Pausanias, vii. 17, 5; that of the Arcadian Attis is unknown.

² The Actaeon, son of Aristaeus, who saw Artemis bathing,

SERTORIUS

I. It is perhaps not to be wondered at, since fortune is ever changing her course and time is infinite, that the same incidents should occur many times, spontaneously. For, if the multitude of elements is unlimited, fortune has in the abundance of her material an ample provider of coincidences; and if, on the other hand, there is a limited number of elements from which events are interwoven, the same things must happen many times, being brought to pass by the same agencies. Now, there are some who delight to collect, from reading and hearsay, such accidental happenings as look like works of calculation and forethought. They note, for example, that there were two celebrated persons called Attis, one a Syrian,¹ the other an Arcadian, and that both were killed by a wild boar; that there were two Actaeons, one of whom was torn in pieces by his dogs, the other by his lovers²; that there were two Scipios, by one of whom the Carthaginians were conquered in an earlier war, and by the other, in a later war, were destroyed root and branch; that Ilium was taken by Heracles on account of the horses of Laomedon, by Agamemnon by means of what is called the wooden

was changed by the goddess into a stag and devoured by his own dogs. An Actaeon, son of Melissus, was beloved by Archias of Corinth, who sought to take him away by violence. The friends of Actaeon resisted, and in the struggle Actaeon was torn to death (Plutarch, *Morals*, p. 772).

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Χαριδήμου, ταῖς πύλαις ἱππῶν τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος ἀποκλείσαι ταχὺ τῶν ἱλιέων μὴ δυνηθέντων, δυεῖν δὲ ὁμωνύμων ἑαυτῶν εὐωδιστατοῖς φυτοῖς πόλεων, Ἰου καὶ Σμύρνης, τὸν ποιητὴν Ὀμηρον ἐν
 4 ἥ μὲν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐν ἣ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν, φέρε καὶ τοῦτο προσθῶμεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ πολέμικώτατοι καὶ πλείστα δόλῳ κατεργασάμενοι μετὰ δεινότητος ἑτερόφθαλμοι γεγόνασι. Φίλιππος, Ἀντίγονος, Ἀννίβας καὶ περὶ οὗτοῦδε τὸ σύγγραμμα Σερτώριος, ὃν Φιλίππου μὲν ἂν τις ἀποφαίνοιτο σωφρονέστερον περὶ τὰς
 5 γυναικάς, Ἀντιγόνου δὲ πιστότερον περὶ φίλους, Ἀννίβου δὲ ἡμερώτερον πρὸς πολεμίους, λειπόμενον δὲ συνέσει μὲν οὐδενὸς τούτων, τύχῃ δὲ πάντων, ἥ πολὺ τῶν ἐμφανῶν πολεμίων χαλεπωτέρα περὶ πάντα χρησάμενος ἐπανίσωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐμπειρία μὲν τῇ Μετέλλου, τόλμῃ δὲ τῇ Πομπηίου, τύχῃ δὲ τῇ Σύλλα, δυνάμει δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, φυγὰς καὶ βαρβάρων ἔπηλυσ ἄρχων ἀντιταξάμενος.

6 Τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν Καρδιανὸν ὁμοιοῦμεν Εὐμένην· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἀρχικοί καὶ σὺν δόλῳ πολεμικοί, καὶ τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποξενωθέντες, ἡγησάμενοι δ' ἀλλοδαπῶν, τύχῃ δὲ χρησάμενοι βιαίῳ καὶ ἀδίκῳ περὶ τὴν τελευτήν· ἐπιβουλευθέντες γὰρ ἀμφότεροι, μεθ' ὧν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνίκων, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνηρέθησαν.

II. Κοίντῳ Σερτωρίῳ γένος ἦν οὐκ ἀσημότατον ἐν πόλει Νούσσοις τῆς Σαβίνων· τραφεὶς δὲ

SERTORIUS

horse, and a third time by Charidemus, because a horse fell in the gateway and prevented the Ilians from closing the gate quickly enough ; that there are two cities which have the same name as the most fragrant plants, Ios and Smyrna,¹ in one of which the poet Homer is said to have been born, and in the other to have died. I will therefore make this addition to their collection. The most warlike of generals, and those who achieved most by a mixture of craft and ability, have been one-eyed men,—Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and the subject of this Life, Sertorius ; of whom one might say that he was more continent with women than Philip, more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, more merciful towards his enemies than Hannibal, and inferior to none of them in understanding, though in fortune to them all. Fortune he ever found harder to deal with than his open foes, and yet he made himself her equal when he arrayed himself against the experience of Metellus, the daring of Pompey, the fortune of Sulla, and the power of Rome, though he was an exile and a stranger in command of Barbarians.

With him we may best compare, among the Greeks, Eumenes of Cardia. Both were born to command and given to wars of stratagem ; both were exiled from their own countries, commanded foreign soldiers, and in their deaths experienced a fortune that was harsh and unjust ; for both were the victims of plots, and were slain by the very men with whom they were conquering their foes.

II. Quintus Sertorius belonged to a family of some prominence in Nussa,² a city of the Sabines. Having

¹ *Violet and Myrrh.*

² Nursia, in Latin writers, and in Amyot.

κοσμίως ὑπὸ μητρὶ χήρᾳ πατρὸς ὀρφανὸς ὑπερφυνῶς δοκεῖ φιλομήτωρ γενέσθαι. ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς Ῥέαν λέγουσιν. ἤσκητο μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ δίκας ἱκανῶς, καὶ τινα καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πόλει μειράκιον ὧν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἔσχεν· αἱ δὲ 569 περὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ λαμπρότητες αὐτοῦ καὶ κατορθώσεις ἐνταῦθα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν μετέστησαν.

- III. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς Γαλατίαν στρατευόμενος ὑπὸ Καιπίωνι, κακῶς ἀγωνισαμένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τροπῆς γενομένης ἀποβεβληκὼς τὸν ἵππον καὶ κατατετρωμένος τὸ σῶμα τὸν Ῥοδανὸν διεπέρασεν, αὐτῷ τε τῷ θώρακι καὶ θυρεῷ πρὸς ἐναντίον ῥεῦμα πολὺ νηχόμενος· οὕτω τὸ σῶμα ῥωμαλέον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ διάπονον τῇ ἀσκήσει.
- 2 δεύτερον δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένων μυριάσι πολλαῖς καὶ δειναῖς ἀπειλαῖς, ὥστε καὶ τὸ μένειν ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἐν τάξει τότε καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ στρατηγῷ μέγα ἔργον εἶναι, Μάριος μὲν ἡγείτο, Σερτώριος δὲ κατασκοπὴν ὑπέστη τῶν πολεμίων. ἐσθῆτι δὲ Κελτικῇ σκευασάμενος καὶ τὰ κοινότατα τῆς διαλέκτου πρὸς ἔντευξιν ἐπὶ καιροῦ παραλαβών, ἀναμίγνυται τοῖς βαρβάροις· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἰδὼν, τὰ δ' ἀκοῇ πυθόμενος τῶν ἐπει-
- 3 γόντων ἐπανῆλθε πρὸς Μάριον. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀριστείων ἔτυχεν· ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ στρατείᾳ πολλὰ καὶ συνέσεως ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἀποδειξάμενος εἰς ὄνομα καὶ πίστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προήχθη, μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων πόλεμον ἐκπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Δειδίῳ στρατηγῷ χιλιάρχος ἐπὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῇ πόλει Καστλῶνι

SERTORIUS

lost his father, he was properly reared by a widowed mother, of whom he appears to have been excessively fond. His mother's name, we are told, was Rhea. As a result of his training he was sufficiently versed in judicial procedure, and acquired some influence also at Rome from his eloquence, although a mere youth; but his brilliant successes in war turned his ambition in this direction.

III. To begin with, when the Cimbri and Teutones invaded Gaul,¹ he served under Caepio, and after the Romans had been defeated and put to flight, though he had lost his horse and had been wounded in the body, he made his way across the Rhone, swimming, shield and breastplate and all, against a strongly adverse current; so sturdy was his body and so inured to hardships by training. In the next place, when the same enemies were coming up with many myriads of men and dreadful threats,² so that for a Roman even to hold his post at such a time and obey his general was a great matter, while Marius was in command, Sertorius undertook to spy out the enemy. So, putting on a Celtic dress and acquiring the commonest expressions of that language for such conversation as might be necessary, he mingled with the Barbarians; and after seeing or hearing what was of importance, he came back to Marius. At the time, then, he received a prize for valour; and since, during the rest of the campaign, he performed many deeds which showed both judgement and daring, he was advanced by his general to positions of honour and trust. After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent out as military tribune by Didius the praetor to Spain,³ and spent the winter in Castulo, a

¹ In 105 B.C.

² In 102 B.C.

³ In 97 B.C. Didius was then pro-consul.

- 4 παρεχίμαζε τῆς Κελτιβήρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις ὑβρίζοντων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μεθύοντων καταφρονήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι μετεπέμψαντο νυκτὸς ἐπικουρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ὀριτανῶν καὶ κατ' οἰκίας ἐπιόντες ἔκτεινον αὐτούς, ὑπεκδὺς ὁ Σερτώριος μετ' ὀλίγων καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας συναγαγὼν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν περιῆλθε· καὶ καθ' ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι πύλας ἔλαθον παρεισπεσόντες ἀνεωγμένας εὐρών, οὐ ταῦτ' ἐκείνοις ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ φρουρὰς ἐπιστήσας καὶ καταλαβὼν πανταχόθεν τὴν πόλιν ἔκτεινε
- 5 τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας. ὥς δὲ ἀνηρέθησαν, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στρατιώτας πάντας τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὄπλα καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα καταθέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνσκευασμένους ἔπεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην ἐξ ἧς ἀπεστάλησαν οἱ νύκτωρ ἐπιπεσόντες αὐτοῖς. ψευδάμενος δὲ τῇ τῶν ὀπλων ὄψει τοὺς βαρβάρους τάς τε πύλας ἀνεωγμένας εὗρε καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἔλαβεν οἰομένων ἀπαντᾶν εὖ πεπραχόσι φίλοις καὶ πολίταις. διὸ πλείστοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσφάττοντο περὶ τὰς πύλας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπράθησαν.

IV. Ἐκ τούτου Σερτώριος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ διεβοήθη· καὶ ὅτε πρῶτον ἐπανῆκεν εἰς Ῥώμην, ταμίας ἀποδείκνυται τῆς περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίας, ἐν δέοντι. τοῦ γὰρ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου συνισταμένου, στρατιώτας τε προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν καὶ ὄπλα ποιεῖσθαι, σπουδὴν καὶ τάχος

SERTORIUS

city of the Celtiberians. Here the soldiers shook off all discipline in the midst of plenty, and were drunk most of the time, so that the Barbarians came to despise them, and one night sent for aid from their neighbours, the Oritanians, and falling upon the Romans in their quarters began to kill them. But Sertorius with a few others slipped out, and assembled the soldiers who were making their escape, and surrounded the city. He found the gate open by which the Barbarians had stolen in, but did not repeat their mistake; instead, he set a guard there, and then, taking possession of all quarters of the city, slew all the men who were of age to bear arms. Then, when the slaughter was ended, he ordered all his soldiers to lay aside their own armour and clothing, to array themselves in those of the Barbarians, and then to follow him to the city from which the men came who had fallen upon them in the night. Having thus deceived the Barbarians by means of the armour which they saw, he found the gate of the city open, and caught a multitude of men who supposed they were coming forth to meet a successful party of friends and fellow citizens. Therefore most of the inhabitants were slaughtered by the Romans at the gate; the rest surrendered and were sold into slavery.

IV. In consequence of this exploit the name of Sertorius was noised abroad in Spain; and as soon as he returned to Rome he was appointed quaestor of Cisalpine Gaul, and at a critical time. For the Marsic war¹ was threatening, and he was ordered to levy troops and procure arms; to which task he brought such earnestness and celerity, as compared with the

¹ Or Social War, 90–88 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- προσθεὶς τῷ ἔργῳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων νέων
βραδυτῆτα καὶ μαλακίαν ἀνδρὸς ἐμπράκτως βιω-
- 2 σομένου δόξαν ἔσχεν. οὐ μὴν ὑφήκατο τῆς
στρατιωτικῆς τόλμης εἰς ἀξίωμα προεληλυθὼς
ἡγεμόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔργα
θαυμαστὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀφειδῶς
ἐπιδιδούς, τῶν ὧσεων ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἐτέραν ἐκ-
κοπείσαν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ καλλωπιζόμενος
ἀεὶ διетέλει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους οὐκ ἀεὶ τὰ
μαρτύρια τῶν ἀριστειῶν περιφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἀποτίθесθαι στρεπτὰ καὶ δόρατα καὶ στεφάνους,
αὐτῷ δὲ τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας παραμένειν τὰ γνωρί-
σματα, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἅμα καὶ
- 3 τῆς συμφορᾶς θεατάς. ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
αὐτῷ τιμὴν πρέπουσαν. εἰσελθόντα γὰρ εἰς θέα-
τρον ἐξεδέξαντό τε κρότῳ καὶ κατευφήμησαν, ὧν
οὐδὲ τοῖς πάνυ προήκουσιν ἡλικία τε καὶ δόξη
τυχεῖν ἦν ῥάδιον. δημαρχίαν μέντοι μετιὼν
Σύλλα καταστασιάσαντος αὐτὸν ἐξέπεσε· διὸ 570
- 4 καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι μισοσύλλας. ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάριος
μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα κρατηθεὶς ἔφευγε, Σύλλας δὲ
Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμήσων ἀπήρε, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων
Ὁκτάβιος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Σύλλα προαιρέσεως ἔμενε,
Κίννας δὲ νεωτερίζων ὑποφερομένην ἀνεκαλεῖτο
τὴν Μαρίου στάσιν, τούτῳ προσένειμεν αὐτὸν ὁ
Σερτώριος, ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸν Ὁκτάβιον ὁρῶν
αὐτὸν μὲν ἀμβλύτερον ὄντα, τοῖς δὲ Μαρίου
- 5 φίλοις ἀπιστοῦντα. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις

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slowness and indolence of the other young men, that he got the reputation of a man whose life would be one of great achievement. However, he did not remit the activities of a daring soldier after he had advanced to the dignity of a commander, but displayed astonishing deeds of prowess and exposed his person unsparingly in battle, in consequence of which he got a blow that cost him one of his eyes. But on this he actually prided himself at all times. Others, he said, could not always carry about with them the evidences of their brave deeds, but must lay aside their necklaces, spears, and wreaths; in his own case, on the contrary, the marks of his bravery remained with him, and when men saw what he had lost, they saw at the same time a proof of his valour. The people also paid him fitting honours. For, when he came into the theatre, they received him with clapping of hands and shouts of welcome, testimonials which even those who were far advanced in years and honours could not easily obtain. Notwithstanding this, when he stood for the tribuneship, Sulla formed a party against him, and he lost the election; for which reason, apparently, he became an opponent of Sulla. And so when Marius was overwhelmed by Sulla and went into exile,¹ and Sulla had set out to wage war against Mithridates,² and one of the consuls, Octavius, adhered to the party of Sulla, while the other, Cinna, who aimed at a revolution, tried to revive the drooping faction of Marius, Sertorius attached himself to Cinna, especially as he saw that Octavius was rather sluggish himself and distrustful of the friends of Marius. A great battle was fought in the

¹ In 88 B.C.

² In 87 B.C. Cf. the *Marius*, xli. 1.

ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάχης μεγάλης Ὀκτάβιος μὲν ἐκράτησε, Κίννας δὲ καὶ Σερτώριος οὐ πολλῶ ἑλάττους τῶν μυρίων ἀποβαλόντες ἔφυγον· καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔτι διεσπαρμένων στρατοπέδων προσαγόμενοι τὰ πλεῖστα πειθοὶ ταχὺ κατέστησαν ἀξιόμαχοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀκτάβιον.

- V. Μαρίου δὲ καταπλεύσαντος ἐκ Λιβύης καὶ τῷ Κίννα προστιθέντος ἑαυτὸν ὡς ιδιώτην ὑπάτῳ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐδόκει δέχεσθαι, Σερτώριος δὲ ἀπηγόρευεν, εἴτε τὸν Κίνναν ἤττον οἰόμενος ἑαυτῷ προσέξειν ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικωτέρου παρόντος, εἴτε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Μαρίου δεδοικώς, μὴ πάντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέῃ θυμῷ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχοντι, πέρα δίκης ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν προερχόμενος.
- 2 ἔλεγεν οὖν μικρὸν εἶναι τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἤδη κρατοῦσι, δεξαμένων δὲ τὸν Μάριον τὸ σύμπαν οἴσεσθαι τῆς δόξης ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, χαλεπὸν ὄντα πρὸς κοινωνίαν ἀρχῆς καὶ ἄπιστον. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Κίννα ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ὑπολογίζεσθαι τὸν Σερτώριον, αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ διαπορεῖν ὅπως ἀπώσεται τὸν Μάριον αὐτὸς ἐπὶ κοινωνία πραγμάτων κεκληκώς, ὑπο-
- 3 λαβὼν ὁ Σερτώριος εἶπεν· “Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ Μάριον ἤκειν νομίζων εἰς Ἰταλίαν τὸ συμφέρον ἐσκόπουν· σοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι καλῶς εἶχεν ἡκοντος ὃν αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν ἡξίωσας, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι καὶ δέχεσθαι, τῆς πί-

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forum between the consuls, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius took to flight, after losing almost ten thousand men ; and then, winning over to their side most of the troops still scattered about Italy, they soon made themselves able to cope with Octavius.¹

V. And when Marius sailed home from Libya ² and was proposing to serve under Cinna as a private citizen under a consul, the rest thought that his offer should be accepted, but Sertorius declared against it, either because he thought that Cinna would pay less attention to him when a man of greater military experience was at hand, or because he was afraid of the harshness of Marius, and feared that he would throw everything into confusion by a passion which knew no limits, and exceed the bounds of justice in the hour of victory. Accordingly, he said that little remained for them to do, now that they were already victorious, and that if they received Marius he would appropriate to himself all the glory and the power, since he found it hard to share authority and was not to be trusted. Cinna replied that these considerations of Sertorius were sound, but that for his part he had perplexing scruples about rejecting Marius after having himself invited him to join their cause. To this Sertorius answered : " Indeed, I for my part thought that Marius was come of his own accord into Italy, and so I was trying to discover what was advantageous in the matter ; but in thy case it was not well to deliberate at all after the arrival of one whom thou thyself didst ask to come ; nay, thou shouldst have received and employed him,

¹ In 87 B.C. Cf. the *Marius*, xli. 1.

² Cf. the *Marius*, xli. 2 ff.

στεως μηδενὶ λογισμῷ χώραν διδούσης.” οὕτως μεταπέμπεται τὸν Μάριον Κίννας· καὶ τριχῇ τῆς δυνάμεως διανεμηθείσης ἦρχον οἱ τρεῖς.

- 4 Διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐμφορουμένων ὕβρεώς τε καὶ πικρίας ἀπάσης, ὥστε χρυσὸν ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίοις τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κακά, Σερτώριος λέγεται μόνος οὔτε ἀποκτεῖναί τινα πρὸς ὀργὴν οὔτε ἐνυβρίσαι κρατῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Μαρῖῳ δυσχεραίνειν καὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἐντυγχάνων ἰδίᾳ καὶ
- 5 δεόμενος μετριώτερον ποιεῖν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δούλων, οὓς Μάριος συμμάχους μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δορυφόρους δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος ἔχων ἰσχυροὺς καὶ πλουσίους ἐποίησε, τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου διδόντος καὶ κελεύοντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ βία παρανομούντων εἰς τοὺς δεσπότας, σφαττόντων μὲν αὐτούς, ταῖς δὲ δεσποίναις πλησιαζόντων καὶ βιαζομένων τοὺς παῖδας, οὐκ ἀνασχετὰ ποιούμενος ὁ Σερτώριος ἅπαντας ἐν ταύτῳ στρατοπεδεύοντας κατηκόντισεν, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισχιλίων ὄντας.

- VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάριος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε καὶ Κίννας ἀνῆρέθη μικρὸν ὕστερον, ὁ δὲ νεανίας Μάριος ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπατεῖαν ἔλαβε, Κάρβωνες δὲ καὶ Νωρβανοὶ καὶ Σκηπίωνες ἐπιόντι Σύλλᾳ κακῶς ἐπολέμουν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνανδρία καὶ μαλακία τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐφθείρετο, τὰ δὲ οἱ
- 2 προδιδόντες ἀπώλλυσαν, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτοῦ παρόντος τοῖς πράγμασι μοχθηρῶς ὑποφερομένοις διὰ τὸ χεῖρον φρονεῖν τοὺς μᾶλλον δυναμέ-

¹ That is, when the party of Sulla and the senate ceased to resist and Rome had surrendered.

² Cf. the *Marius*, xliv. 6.

³ In 86 B.C.

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since a pledge leaves room for no discussion." So Cinna sent for Marius, the army was divided into three parts, and the three men held command.

When the war had been brought to an end,¹ Cinna and Marius were filled with insolence and all bitterness, and made the evils of war appear as gold to the Romans; Sertorius alone, as we are told, neither killed any one to gratify his anger, nor waxed insolent with victory, but actually rebuked Marius, and by private interviews and entreaties made Cinna more moderate. And finally, there were the slaves whom Marius had used as allies during the war and as body-guards of his tyranny. They had thus become powerful and rich, partly by the permission and under the orders of Marius, and partly through their lawless and violent treatment of their masters, whom they would slay, and then lie with their masters' wives, and outrage their masters' children. Such a state of things Sertorius felt to be unendurable, and therefore when the slaves were all encamped together he had them shot down with javelins, and they were as many as four thousand in number.²

VI. But presently Marius died ;³ and shortly afterwards Cinna was murdered ;⁴ and the younger Marius, against the wishes of Sertorius and contrary to the laws, assumed the consulship ;⁵ and such men as Carbo, Norbanus, and Scipio were unsuccessfully opposing Sulla's advance upon Rome ; and the cause of the popular party was being ruined and lost, partly through the cowardice and weakness of its generals, and partly by treachery ; and there was no reason why Sertorius should remain to see matters go from bad to worse owing to the inferior judgement of those

¹ In 84 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter v.

⁵ In 82 B.C.

νους, τέλος δὲ Σύλλας Σκηπίωνι παραστρατοπε-
δεύσας καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, ὡς εἰρήνης ἐσομένης,
διέφθειρε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ταῦτα προλέγων
Σκηπίωνι καὶ διδάσκων Σερτώριος οὐκ ἔπειθε,
παντάπασιν ἀπογνοὺς τὴν πόλιν ὥρμησεν εἰς
Ἰβηρίαν, ὡς, εἰ φθάσει τὴν ἐκεῖ κρατυνόμενος
ἀρχήν, καταφυγὴ τοῖς πταίουσιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν 571
φίλων ἐσόμενος.

- 3 Χειμῶσι δὲ χαλεποῖς χρησάμενος ἐν χωρίοις
ὀρεινοῖς ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἐπράττετο τέλη καὶ
μισθοὺς τοῦ παρελθεῖν τὴν ὁδόν. ἀγανακτούν-
των δὲ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ δεινολογουμένων εἰ
Ῥωμαίων ἀνθύπατος τέλη καταβαλεῖ βαρβάροις
ὀλέθροις, μικρὰ φροντίσας τοῦ δοκοῦντος αἰσχροῦ,
καὶ καιρὸν ὠνεῖσθαι φήσας, οὐ σπανιώτερον οὐ-
δὲν ἀνδρὶ μεγάλων ἐφιεμένῳ, τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους
ἐθεράπευσε χρήμασι, τὴν δ' Ἰβηρίαν ἐπειχθεὶς
- 4 κατέσχε. παραλαβὼν δὲ ἔθνη πλήθει μὲν καὶ
ἡλικίᾳ ἀκμάζοντα, πλεονεξία δὲ καὶ ὕβρει τῶν
πεμπομένων ἐκάστοτε στρατηγῶν πρὸς ὅλην
κακῶς διακεείμενα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀνελάμβανεν
ὁμιλία τε τοὺς δυνατοὺς καὶ φόρων ἀνέσει τοὺς
πολλοὺς. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐπισταθμῶν ἀπαλ-
λάξας ἡγαπήθη· τοὺς γὰρ στρατιώτας ἠνάγκαζεν
ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις χειμάδια πῆγνυσθαι, πρῶτος
- 5 αὐτὸς οὕτω κατασκηνῶν. οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
βαρβάρων εὐνοίᾳ τὸ πᾶν ἐποιήσατο, Ῥωμαίων δὲ

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who had superior power. And finally, Sulla encamped near Scipio and made friendly overtures, assuming that peace was to be made, and proceeded to corrupt his army.¹ Sertorius warned Scipio of this plainly, but could not persuade him. At last, therefore, altogether despairing of the city, he set out for Spain, in order that, in case he should succeed in firmly establishing his power there, he might afford a refuge to those of his friends who were worsted at Rome.

After encountering grievous storms in mountainous regions, he was asked by the Barbarians to pay them tribute and purchase his passage. His companions were indignant, and considered it a terrible thing for a Roman pro-consul to render tribute to pestilent Barbarians; but Sertorius made light of what they thought a disgrace, and with the remark that he was purchasing time, than which nothing is more precious to a man bent on great achievements, he pacified the Barbarians with money, and then hastened on and took possession of Spain. He found its peoples strong in numbers and in fighting men, and since the rapacity and insolence of the Roman officials sent thither from time to time had made them hostile to the empire in all its aspects, he tried to win them over, the chiefs by his personal intercourse with them, the masses by a remission of taxes. His greatest popularity, however, was won by ridding them of the necessity of furnishing quarters for soldiers; for he compelled his soldiers to fix their winter-quarters in the suburbs of the cities, and he himself was first to pitch his tent there. However, he did not rely wholly on the goodwill of the Barbarians, but he armed all the

¹ Cf. the *Sulla*, xxviii. 1-3.

τῶν αὐτόθι μετοικούντων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καθοπλίσας, μηχανάς τε παντοδαπὰς καὶ ναυπηγίας τριήρων ὑποβαλόμενος, διὰ χειρὸς εἶχε τὰς πόλεις, ἡμερος μὲν ὧν ἐν ταῖς εἰρηνικαῖς χρεαίαις, φοβερὸς δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων φαινόμενος.

- VII. Ὡς δὲ Σύλλαν μὲν ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς Ῥώμης κρατεῖν, ἔρρειν δὲ τὴν Μαρίου καὶ Κάρβωνος στάσιν, αὐτίκα προσδοκῶν στρατιὰν διαπολεμήσουσαν αὐτῷ μεθ' ἡγεμόνος ἀφίξεσθαι φράγγνται τὰ Πυρρηναῖα ὄρη διὰ Ἰουλίου Σαλινάτορος ἑξακισχιλίουσ ὀπλίτας ἔχοντος. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Γάιος Ἄννιος ἐκπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Σύλλα καὶ τὸν Ἰούλιον ἀπρόσμαχον ὀρῶν ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθῆστο
- 2 παρὰ ταῖς ὑπωρεῖαις. Καλπουρνίου δέ τινος ἐπὶ κλησιν Λαναρίου δολοφονήσαντος τὸν Ἰούλιον καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Πυρήνης ἐκλιπόντων, ὑπερβαλὼν Ἄννιος ἐπῆει χειρὶ μεγάλῃ τοὺς ἐμποδὼν ἀνιστάς. Σερτώριος δὲ οὐκ ὧν ἀξιόμαχος μετὰ τρισχιλίων εἰς Καρχηδόνα τὴν νέαν καταφυγών, κακείθεν ἐπιβὰς τῶν νεῶν καὶ διαπεράσας τὸ πέλαγος, Λιβύῃ κατὰ τὴν Μαυ-
- 3 ρουσίαν προσέσχευ. ἀφυλάκτοις δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑδρευομένοις τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιπεσόντων, συχνοὺς ἀποβαλὼν αὐθις εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἀπέπλει καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἀποκρούεται, Κιλισσῶν δὲ ληστρίδων αὐτῷ προσγενομένων Πιτυούσση νήσῳ προσέβαλε, καὶ ἀπέβη τὴν παρ' Ἀννίου φρουρὰν βιασάμενος. Ἄννιος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ναυσί

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Roman settlers of the country who were of military age, and by undertaking the construction of all sorts of engines of war and the building of triremes, kept the cities well in hand, being mild in the affairs of peace, but showing himself formidable by the preparations which he made against his enemies.

VII. When he learned that Sulla was master of Rome,¹ and that the party of Marius and Carbo was on the way to ruin, he expected that an army with a commander would come at once to fight the issue out with him. He therefore sent Julius Salinator with six thousand men-at-arms to bar the passage of the Pyrenees. And not long afterwards Caius Annius was sent out by Sulla, and seeing that Julius could not be assailed, he knew not what to do, and sat idly down at the base of the mountains. But a certain Calpurnius, surnamed Lanarius, treacherously killed Julius, whose soldiers then abandoned the heights of the Pyrenees; whereupon Annius crossed over and advanced with a large force, routing all opposition. Sertorius, not being able to cope with him, took refuge with three thousand men in New Carthage; there he embarked his forces, crossed the sea, and landed in the country of the Maurusii, in Africa. But while his soldiers were getting water and were off their guard, the Barbarians fell upon them, and after losing many men, Sertorius sailed back again to Spain. From this shore too he was repulsed, but after being joined by some Cilician piratical vessels he attacked the island of Pityussa, overpowered the guard which Annius had set there, and effected a landing. After a short time, however, Annius came

¹ In 82 B.C.

τε πολλαῖς καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις ὀπλίταις, πρὸς
 ὃν ἐπεχείρησε μὲν διαναυμαχεῖν, καίπερ ἑλαφροῖς
 καὶ πρὸς τάχος, οὐ πρὸς ἀλκὴν, πεποιημένοις
 4 σκάφεσι χρώμενος, ζεφύρῳ δὲ λαμπρῷ τοῦ πελά-
 γους ἀνισταμένου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τοῦ Σερ-
 τωρίου πλοίων ὑπὸ κουφότητος πλάγια ταῖς
 ῥαχίαις περιβάλλοντος, αὐτὸς ὀλίγαις ναυσὶ τῆς
 μὲν θαλάσσης ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰργόμενος, τῆς
 δὲ γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἡμέρας δέκα σαλεύων
 πρὸς ἐναντίον κύμα καὶ κλύδωνα τραχὺν ἐπιπό-
 νως διεκατέργασεν.

VIII. Ἐνδόντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος φερόμενος
 νήσοις τισὶν ἐναυλίζεται σποράσιν ἀνύδροις· κα-
 κείθεν ἄρας καὶ διεκβαλὼν τὸν Γαδειραῖον πορθ-
 μὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἐπιβάλλει τῆς Ἰβηρίας,
 μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ Βαίτιος ἐκβολῶν, ὃς εἰς τὴν
 Ἀτλαντικὴν ἐκφερόμενος θάλατταν ὄνομα τῇ
 περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰβηρίᾳ παρέσχευ.

- 2 Ἐνταῦθα ναῦταί τινες ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ
 νέον ἐκ τῶν Ἀτλαντικῶν νήσων ἀναπεπλευκότες,
 αἱ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ λεπτῷ παντάπασι πορθμῷ διαι-
 ρούμεναι, μυρίους δ' ἀπέχουσι Λιβύης σταδίου
 καὶ ὀνομάζονται Μακάρων. ὁμβροὶς δὲ χρώμεναι 572
 μετρίοις σπανίως, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα πνεύμασι μαλα-
 κοῖς καὶ δροσοβόλοις, οὐ μόνον ἀροῦν καὶ φυτεύειν
 παρέχουσιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πόνα χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 καρπὸν αὐτοφυῆ φέρουσιν ἀποχρῶντα πλήθει καὶ
 γλυκύτητι βόσκειν ἄνευ πόνων καὶ πραγματείας
 3 σχολάζοντα δῆμον. ἄῃρ δὲ ἄλυπος ὥρων τε κρά-

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with numerous ships and five thousand men-at-arms, and with him Sertorius attempted to fight a decisive naval battle, although the vessels which he had were light and built for speed rather than for fighting. But the sea ran high with a strong west wind, and the greater part of the vessels of Sertorius, owing to their lightness, were driven aslant upon the rocky shore, while he himself, with a few ships, excluded from the open sea by the storm, and from the land by the enemy, was tossed about for ten days in a battle with adverse waves and fierce surges, and with difficulty held his own.

VIII. But the wind subsided and he was borne along to certain scattered and waterless islands, where he spent the night; then, setting out from there, and passing through the strait of Cadiz, he kept the outer coast of Spain on the right and landed a little above the mouths of the river Baetis, which empties into the Atlantic sea and has given its name to the adjacent parts of Spain.

Here he fell in with some sailors who had recently come back from the Atlantic Islands.¹ These are two in number, separated by a very narrow strait; they are ten thousand furlongs distant from Africa, and are called the Islands of the Blest. They enjoy moderate rains at long intervals, and winds which for the most part are soft and precipitate dews, so that the islands not only have a rich soil which is excellent for plowing and planting, but also produce a natural fruit that is plentiful and wholesome enough to feed, without toil or trouble, a leisure folk. Moreover, an

¹ Perhaps Madeira and Porto Santo, though these are forty miles apart. Features of the Canary Islands have doubtless crept into the description.

σει καὶ μεταβολῆς μετριότητι κατέχει τὰς νήσους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθένδε τῆς γῆς ἀποπνέοντες ἕξω βορέαι καὶ ἀπηλιώται διὰ μῆκος ἐκπεσόντες εἰς τόπον ἀχανῆ διασπείρονται καὶ προαπολείπουσιν, πελάγιοι δὲ περιρρέοντες ἀργέσται καὶ ζέφυροι βληχροὺς μὲν ὑετοὺς καὶ σποράδας ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπάγοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ νοτεραῖς αἰθρίαις ἐπιψύχοντες ἡσυχῇ τρέφουσιν, ὥστε μέχρι τῶν βαρβάρων διίχθαι πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν αὐτόθι τὸ Ἠλύσιον εἶναι πεδίον καὶ τὴν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων οἴκησιν, ἦν Ὅμηρος ὕμνησε.

IX. Ταῦθ' ὁ Σερτώριος ἀκούσας ἔρωτα θαυμαστὸν ἔσχεν οἰκῆσαι τὰς νήσους καὶ ζῆν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγείς καὶ πολέμων ἀπαύστων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κίλικες, οὐθὲν εἰρήνης δεόμενοι καὶ σχολῆς, ἀλλὰ πλούτου καὶ λαφύρων, εἰς Λιβύην ἀπέπλευσαν, Ἄσκαλιν τὸν Ἴφθα κατὰ
 2 ζοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλείαν. οὐ μὴν ἀπέκαμεν ὁ Σερτώριος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἄσκαλιν διαπολεμοῦσιν ἔγνω βοηθεῖν, ὥς οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καινὴν τινα λαβόντες ἐλπίδων ἀρχὴν καὶ πράξεων ἐτέρων ὑπόθεσιν μὴ διαλυθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας. ἀσμένιοις δὲ τοῖς Μαυρουσίοις ἀφικό-
 3 Ἄσκαλιν ἐπολιόρκει. Σύλλα δὲ Πακκιανὸν ἐκπέμψαντος βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄσκαλιν μετὰ δυνάμεως, συμβαλὼν ὁ Σερτώριος τὸν μὲν Πακκιανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν κρατήσας

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air that is salubrious, owing to the climate and the moderate changes in the seasons, prevails on the islands. For the north and east winds which blow out from our part of the world plunge into fathomless space, and, owing to the distance, dissipate themselves and lose their power before they reach the islands; while the south and west winds that envelope the islands from the sea sometimes bring in their train soft and intermittent showers, but for the most part cool them with moist breezes and gently nourish the soil. Therefore a firm belief has made its way, even to the Barbarians, that here is the Elysian Field and the abode of the blessed, of which Homer sang.¹

IX. When Sertorius heard this tale, he was seized with an amazing desire to dwell in the islands and live in quiet, freed from tyranny and wars that would never end. The Cilicians, however, who did not want peace or leisure, but wealth and spoils, when they were aware of his desire, sailed away to Africa, to restore Ascalis the son of Iphtha to the throne of Maurusia. Nevertheless Sertorius did not despair, but resolved to go to the aid of those who were fighting against Ascalis, in order that his followers might get some fresh ground for hope and occasion for new enterprise, and so might remain together in spite of their difficulties. The Maurusians were glad to have him come, and he set himself to work, defeated Ascalis in battle, and laid siege to him. Moreover, when Sulla sent out Paccianus with an army to give aid to Ascalis, Sertorius joined battle with Paccianus and slew him, won over his soldiers after their defeat,

¹ *Odyssey*, iv. 563-568.

προσηγάγετο, καὶ τὴν Τίγγιν, εἰς ἣν ὁ Ἄσκαλις
συνέφυγε μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐξεπολιόρκησεν.

Ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἀνταῖον οἱ Λίβυες ἱστοροῦσι
κεῖσθαι· καὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτοῦ Σερτώριος διέ-
σκαψε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπιστῶν διὰ μέγεθος.
ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ σώματι πηχῶν ἐξήκοντα μῆκος,
ὥς φασι, κατεπλάγη, καὶ σφάγιον ἐντεμὼν συνέ-
χωσε τὸ μνήμα, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν τε καὶ
4 φήμην συνηύξησε. Τιγγίται δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν
Ἀνταίου τελευτήσαντος τὴν γυναῖκα Τίγγην
Ἡρακλεῖ συνελθεῖν, Σόφακα δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν γενό-
μενον βασιλεῦσαι τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον
τῆς μητρὸς ἀποδεῖξαι, Σόφακος δὲ παῖδα γενέσθαι
Διοδώρον, ᾧ πολλὰ τῶν Λιβυκῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπή-
κουσεν Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντι στράτευμα τῶν αὐτόθι
κατφκισμένων ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους Ὀλβιανῶν καὶ
5 Μυκηναίων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνακείσθω τῇ
Ἰόβα χάριτι, τοῦ πάντων ἱστορικωτάτου βασι-
λέων· ἐκείνου γὰρ ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς προγόνους
Διοδώρου καὶ Σόφακος ἀπογόνους εἶναι.

Σερτώριος δὲ πάντων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τοὺς
δεηθέντας αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστεύσαντας οὐκ ἡδίκησεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσα καλῶς εἶχε δεξάμενος δι-
δόντων.

X. Ἐντεῦθεν ὅποι χρὴ τραπέσθαι βουλευό-
μενον ἐκάλουν Λυσιτανοὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες
ἐφ' ἡγεμονία, πάντως μὲν ἀρχοντος ἀξίωμα μέγα
καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος δεόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ

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and forced to a surrender the city of Tingis, into which Ascalis and his brethen had fled for refuge.

In this city the Libyans say that Antaeus is buried ; and Sertorius had his tomb dug open, the great size of which made him disbelieve the Barbarians. But when he came upon the body and found it to be sixty cubits long, as they tell us, he was dumbfounded, and after performing a sacrifice filled up the tomb again, and joined in magnifying its traditions and honours. Now, the people of Tingis have a myth that after the death of Antaeus, his wife, Tinga, consorted with Heracles, and that Sophax was the fruit of this union, who became king of the country and named a city which he founded after his mother ; also that Sophax had a son, Diodorus, to whom many of the Libyan peoples became subject, since he had a Greek army composed of the Olbianians and Mycenaeans who were settled in those parts by Heracles. But this tale must be ascribed to a desire to gratify Juba, of all kings the most devoted to historical enquiry ; for his ancestors are said to have been descendants of Sophax and Diodorus.

Sertorius, then, having made himself master of the whole country, did no wrong to those who were his suppliants and put their trust in him, but restored to them both property and cities and government, receiving only what was right and fair in free gifts from them.

X. As he was deliberating whither to turn his efforts next, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors and invited him to be their leader. They were altogether lacking in a commander of great reputation and experience as they faced the terror of the Roman arms,

Ῥωμαίων φόβον, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστεύοντες αὐτοὺς
 μόνῳ πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ τῶν συγγεγονότων τὸ
 2 ἦθος αὐτοῦ. λέγεται δὲ¹ ὁ Σερτώριος οὔτε ὑφ'
 ἡδονῆς οὔτε ὑπὸ δέους εὐάλωτος γενέσθαι, φύσει
 δὲ ἀνέκπληκτος ὢν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ μέτριος εὐ-
 τυχίαν ἐνεγκεῖν· καὶ πρὸς μὲν εὐθυμαχίαν οὐδενὸς
 ἀτολμότερος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγεμόνων, ὅσα δὲ
 κλωπείας ἐν πολέμοις ἔργα καὶ πλεονεξίας περὶ
 τόπους ἔχυρους καὶ διαβάσεις τάχους δεομένας
 ἀπάτης τε καὶ ψευδῶν ἐν δέοντι, σοφιστῆς δεινό- 573
 3 τατος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων
 δαψιλῆς φαινόμενος, περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας ἐμετρίαζε
 τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. καίτοι δοκεῖ περὶ τὸν ἔσχα-
 τον αὐτοῦ βίον ὠμότητος καὶ βαρυθυμίας τὸ περὶ
 τοὺς ὁμήρους πραχθὲν ἔργον ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν φύσιν
 οὐκ οὔσαν ἡμερον, ἀλλ' ἐπαμπεχομένην λογισμῷ
 4 διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν μὲν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ
 κατὰ λόγον συνεστῶσαν οὐκ ἂν ποτε δοκεῖ τύχη
 τις ἐκστήσαι πρὸς τοῦναντίον, ἄλλως δὲ προαιρέ-
 σεις καὶ φύσεις χρηστὰς ὑπὸ συμφορῶν μεγάλων
 παρ' ἄξιαν κακωθείσας οὐκ ἀδύνατον τῷ δαίμονι
 συμμεταβαλεῖν τὸ ἦθος. ὃ καὶ Σερτώριον οἶμαι
 παθεῖν ἤδη τῆς τύχης αὐτὸν ἐπιλειπούσης, ἐκτρα-
 χυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γινομένων πονη-
 ρῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.

XI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε γε τῶν Λυσιτανῶν
 καλούντων ἀπήρεν ἐκ Λιβύης. καὶ τούτους συνέ-
 ταττεν εὐθύς αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός, καὶ τὴν
 ἐγγὺς Ἰβηρίαν ὑπήκοον ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν πλείστων

¹ δὲ Coraës and Bekker read γὰρ with one (inferior) MS.

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and they entrusted themselves to him, and to him alone, when they learned about his character from those who had been with him. And it is said that Sertorius was no easy victim either of pleasure or of fear, but that he was naturally unterrified in the face of danger, and bore prosperity with moderation ; in straightforward fighting he was as bold as any commander of his time, while in all military activities demanding stealth and the power to seize an advantage in securing strong positions or in crossing rivers, where speed, deceit, and, if necessary, falsehood are required, he was an expert of the highest ability. Moreover, while he showed himself generous in rewarding deeds of valour, he used moderation in punishing transgressions. And yet, in the last part of his life, the savage and vindictive treatment which he bestowed upon his hostages¹ would seem to show that his mildness was not natural to him, but was worn as a garment, from calculation, as necessity required. In my opinion, however, a virtue that is sincere and based upon reason can never by any fortune be converted into its opposite, although it is true that excellent principles and natures, when impaired by great and undeserved calamities, may possibly change their character as the guiding genius changes. And this, I think, was the case with Sertorius when fortune at last began to forsake him ; as his cause grew hopeless he became harsh toward those who did him wrong.

XI. However, at the time of which I speak he set out from Africa on the invitation of the Lusitanians. These he proceeded to organize at once, acting as their general with full powers, and he brought the neighbouring parts of Spain into subjection. Most

¹ See chapter xxv. 4.

ἐκουσίως προστιθεμένων, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸ πρᾶον αὐτοῦ καὶ δραστήριον, ἔστι δὲ ἂ καὶ σοφιστικῶς αὐτὸς εἰς ἀπάτην καὶ κήλησιν ἐμχανᾶτο. καὶ πρῶτόν γε πάντων τὸ περὶ τὴν ἔλαφον. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε.

- 2 Σπανὸς ἀνὴρ δημότης τῶν ἐπὶ χώρας βιούντων ἐλάφῳ νεοτόκῳ φευγούσῃ κυνηγέτας ἐπιτυχῶν αὐτῆς μὲν ἀπελείφθη, τὴν δὲ νεβρόν, ἐκπλαγείς τῇ καινότητι τῆς χροᾶς (λευκὴ γὰρ ἦν πᾶσα), λαμβάνει διώξας. κατὰ τύχην δὲ Σερτωρίου τοῖς τόποις ἐναυλισαμένου, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τις ἐξ ἄγρας ἢ γεωργίας ἦκοι κομίζων δῶρον ἀσμένως δεχομένου, καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἀμειβομένου τοὺς θεραπεύοντας,
- 3 ἐγχειρίζει φέρων αὐτῷ τὴν νεβρόν. ὁ δὲ δεξιόμενος αὐτίκα μὲν ἦσθη μετρίως· χρόνῳ δὲ ποιησάμενος τιθασὸν οὕτω καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ὥστε καὶ καλοῦντος ἀκούειν, καὶ βαδίζοντί ποι παρακολουθεῖν, ὄχλου τε καὶ θορύβου παντὸς ἀνέχεσθαι στρατιωτικοῦ, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεθείαζε φάσκων Ἀρτέμιδος δῶρον τὴν ἔλαφον εἶναι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐπεφήμιζεν αὐτῷ δηλοῦν, γινώσκων εὐάλωτον εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν εἶναι φύσει
- 4 τὸ βαρβαρικόν. ὁ δὲ καὶ προσετεχνᾶτο τοιαύδε· γνοὺς γὰρ ἂν κρύφα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμβεβληκότας ποι τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν χώρας ἢ πόλιν ἀφιστάντας, προσεποιεῖτο τὴν ἔλαφον αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους διειλέχθαι, κελεύουσιν ἐν ἐτοίμῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχειν. αὐθις δὲ νύκην τινὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατη-

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of the people joined him of their own accord, owing chiefly to his mildness and efficiency ; but sometimes he also betook himself to cunning devices of his own for deceiving and charming them. The chief one of these, certainly, was the device of the doe, which was as follows.

Spanus, a plebeian who lived in the country, came upon a doe which had newly yeaned and was trying to escape the hunters. The mother he could not overtake, but the fawn—and he was struck with its unusual colour, for it was entirely white—he pursued and caught. And since, as it chanced, Sertorius had taken up his quarters in that region, and gladly received everything in the way of game or produce that was brought him as a gift, and made kindly returns to those who did him such favours, Spanus brought the fawn and gave it to him. Sertorius accepted it, and at the moment felt only the ordinary pleasure in a gift ; but in time, after he had made the animal so tame and gentle that it obeyed his call, accompanied him on his walks, and did not mind the crowds and all the uproar of camp life, he gradually tried to give the doe a religious importance by declaring that she was a gift of Diana, and solemnly alleged that she revealed many hidden things to him, knowing that the Barbarians were naturally an easy prey to superstition. He also added such devices as these. Whenever he had secret intelligence that the enemy had made an incursion into the territory which he commanded, or were trying to bring a city to revolt from him, he would pretend that the doe had conversed with him in his dreams, bidding him hold his forces in readiness. Again, when he got tidings of some victory won by his generals, he would hide the

γῶν ἀκούσας τὸν μὲν ἄγγελον ἔκρυπτε, τὴν δὲ ἔλαφον ἐστεφανωμένην ἐπ' εὐαγγελίοις προῆγεν, εὐθυμείσθαι παρακαλῶν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν ὡς ἀγαθόν τι πευσομένους.

- XII. Οὕτω δὲ χειροῆθεις ποιησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐχρήτο πρὸς ἅπαντα μετριωτέροις, οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀλλοδαποῦ λογισμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ στρατηγεῖσθαι πειθομένοις, ἅμα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμαρτυρούντων τῷ παρὰ λόγον τὴν δύναμιν
- 2 αὐξάνεσθαι. δισχιλίοις γὰρ ἑξακοσίοις οὐς ὠνόμαζε Ῥωμαίους, συμμίκτοις δὲ ἑπτακοσίοις Λιβύων εἰς Λυσιτανίαν αὐτῷ συνδιαβᾶσι πελταστὰς τετρακισχιλίους Λυσιτανῶν καὶ ἱππεῖς ἑπτακοσίους προσλαβὼν ἐπολέμει τέτταρσι Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς, ὑφ' οἷς ἦσαν πεζῶν μὲν δώδεκα μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακισχίλιοι, τοξόται δὲ καὶ σφενδονῆται δισχίλιοι, πόλεις δὲ ἀναρίθμητοι τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸς εἴκοσι τὰς πάσας ἐν ἀρχῇ
- 3 κεκτημένος. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀσθενὴς οὕτω καὶ μικρὸς ἀρξάμενος οὐ μόνον ἐθνῶν ἐκράτησε μεγάλων καὶ πόλεις εἶλε πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀντιστρατηγῶν Κότταν μὲν ἐν τῷ περὶ τὴν Μελλαρίαν πορθμῷ κατεναυμάχησε, Φουφίδιον δὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς Βαιτικῆς περὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν ἐτρέψατο
- 574 δισχιλίους ἀποκτείνας Ῥωμαίων, Δομέτιον δὲ Λεύκιον¹ ἀνθύπατον ὄντα τῆς ἐτέρας Ἰβηρίας
- 4 διὰ τοῦ ταμίου καταγωνισάμενος, καὶ Θωράνιον, ἄλλον ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὑπὸ Μετέλλου πεμφθέντων μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἀνείλεν, αὐτόν τε τὸν Μέτελλον,

¹ Λεύκιον the conjecture of Sint.², after Amyot, for the MS. καὶ Λούσιον; Reiske, followed by Sint.¹ and Bekker, read Καλούσιον.

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messenger, and bring forth the doe wearing garlands for the receipt of glad tidings, exhorting his men to be of good cheer and to sacrifice to the gods, assured that they were to learn of some good fortune.

XII. By these devices he made the people tractable, and so found them more serviceable for all his plans ; they believed that they were led, not by the mortal wisdom of a foreigner, but by a god. At the same time events also brought witness to this belief by reason of the extraordinary growth of the power of Sertorius. For with the twenty-six hundred men whom he called Romans, and a motley band of seven hundred Libyans who crossed over into Lusitania with him, to whom he added four thousand Lusitanian targeteers and seven hundred horsemen, he waged war with four Roman generals, under whom were a hundred and twenty thousand footmen, six thousand horsemen, two thousand bowmen and slingers, and an untold number of cities, while he himself had at first only twenty all told. But nevertheless, from so weak and slender a beginning, he not only subdued great nations and took many cities, but was also victorious over the generals sent against him : Cotta he defeated in a sea-fight in the straits near Mellaria ; Fufidius, the governor of Baetica, he routed on the banks of the Baetis with the slaughter of two thousand Roman soldiers ; Lucius Domitius, who was pro-consul of the other Spain,¹ was defeated at the hands of his quaestor ; Thoranius, another of the commanders sent out by Metellus with an army, he slew ; and on Metellus himself, the greatest Roman

¹ Spain was divided into two provinces, Hispania Citerior (*Hither*) and Hispania Ulterior (*Further*), or Eastern and Western Spain. Fufidius was pro-consul of Western Spain.

ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς τότε μέγιστον καὶ δοκιμώτατον, οὐκ ὀλίγοις σφάλμασι περιβαλὼν εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν κατέστησεν ὥστε Λεύκιον μὲν Μάλλιον ἐκ τῆς περὶ Нарβῶνα Γαλατίας ἐλθεῖν αὐτῷ βοηθόν, Πομπήϊον δὲ Μάγνον ἐκ Ῥώμης κατὰ τάχος ἀποσταλῆναι μετὰ δυνάμεως.

- 5 Οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ὁ Μέτελλος ὃ τι χρήσαιτο προσπολεμῶν ἀνδρὶ τολμητῇ πάσης ἐξαναδυομένῳ φανερᾶς μάχης, πᾶσαν δὲ μεταβαλλομένῳ μεταβολὴν εὐσταλείᾳ καὶ κουφότητι τῆς Ἰβηρικῆς στρατιᾶς, αὐτὸς ὀπλιτικῶν καὶ νομίμων ἀσκητῆς γεγυνώς ἀγώνων καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐμβριθοῦς καὶ μονίμου φάλαγγος, ὥσασθαι μὲν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας πολεμίους καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἄριστα γεγυμνασμένης, ὀρειβατεῖν δὲ καὶ συνηρτῆσθαι διώξεσι καὶ φυγαῖς ἀπαύστοις ἀνθρώπων ὑπηνεμίων καὶ λιμὸν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ δίαιταν ἄπυρον καὶ ἄσκηνον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι, μὴ δυναμένης.

- XIII. Ἔτι δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ἦν καὶ τι καὶ πρὸς ἀνειμένην ἤδη καὶ τρυφερὰν δίαιταν ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μεγάλων ἐνδεδωκώς, τῷ δὲ Σερτωρίῳ συνειστήκει πνεύματος ἀκμαῖον γέμοντι καὶ κατεσκευασμένον ἔχοντι θαυμασίως
- 2 τὸ σῶμα ῥώμῃ καὶ τάχει καὶ λιτότητι. μέθης μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ῥαθυμῶν ἤπτετο, πόνους δὲ μεγάλους καὶ μακρὰς ὁδοιπορίας καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀγρυπνίας ὀλίγοις εἴθιστο καὶ φαύλοις ἀρκοῦμενος σιτίοις διαφέρειν, πλάνοις δὲ χρώμενος ἅει καὶ κυνηγεσίοις ὅποτε σχολάζοι, πάσης διεκδύσεως

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of the time and held in highest repute, he inflicted many defeats and reduced him to so great straits that Lucius Manlius came from Gallia Narbonensis to help him, and Pompey the Great was hurriedly dispatched from Rome with an army.

For Metellus was at his wits' end. He was carrying on war with a man of daring who evaded every kind of open fighting, and who made all manner of shifts and changes, owing to the light equipment and agility of his Iberian soldiers; whereas he himself had been trained in regular contests of heavy-armed troops, and was wont to command a ponderous and immobile phalanx,¹ which, for repelling and overpowering an enemy at close quarters, was most excellently trained, but for climbing mountains, for dealing with the incessant pursuits and flights of men as light as the winds, and for enduring hunger and a life without fire or tent, as their enemies did, it was worthless.

XIII. Besides this, Metellus was now getting on in years, and was somewhat inclined also, by this time, to an easy and luxurious mode of life after his many and great contests; whereas his opponent, Sertorius, was full of mature vigour, and had a body which was wonderfully constituted for strength, speed, and plain living. For in excessive drinking he would not indulge even in his hours of ease, and he was wont to endure great toils, long marches, and continuous wakefulness, content with meagre and indifferent food; moreover, since he was always wandering about or hunting when he had leisure for it, he obtained an acquaintance with every way

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, xvii. 2.

- φεύγοντι καὶ διώκοντι κυκλώσεως ἀβάτων τε καὶ βασίμων τόπων ἐμπειρίαν προσειλήφει. διὸ τῷ μὲν εἰργομένῳ μάχης ὅσα νικώμενοι πάσχουσιν ἄνθρωποι βλάπτεσθαι συνέβαινεν, ὁ δὲ τῷ φεύ-
 3 γειν εἶχε τὰ τῶν διωκόντων. καὶ γὰρ ὑδρείας ἀπέκοπτε καὶ σιτολογίας εἶργε, καὶ προϊόντι μὲν ἐκποδὼν ἦν, ἐκίνει δὲ ἰδρυνθέντα, πολιορκοῦντι δὲ ἄλλους ἐπιφαινόμενος ἀντεπολιόρκει ταῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορίαις, ὥστε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπαγορεύειν, καὶ τοῦ Σερτωρίου μονομαχήσαι προκαλουμένου τὸν Μέτελλον, βοᾶν καὶ κελεύειν μάχεσθαι στρατηγὸν στρατηγῷ καὶ Ῥωμαῖον
 4 Ῥωμαῖῳ, ἀναδύομενον δὲ χλευάζειν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν, εὖ ποιῶν, κατεγέλα· στρατηγοῦ γάρ, ὡς ἔφη Θεόφραστος, δεῖ θάνατον ἀποθνήσκειν τὸν στρατηγόν, οὐ πελταστοῦ τοῦ τυχόντος. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς Λαγγοβρίτας οὐ μικρὰ τῷ Σερτωρίῳ συλλαμβανομένους, δίψῃ δὲ ὄντας εὐαλώτους (ἐν γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς φρέαρ ἐν τῇ πόλει, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις καὶ παρὰ τὰ τείχη ναμάτων ὁ πολιορκῶν ἐπικρατεῖν ἔμελλεν), ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἡμέραις δυσὶ συναιρήσων τὴν πολιορκίαν, ὕδατος οὐκ ὄντος. διὸ καὶ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἐπιφέρεσθαι σιτία μόνον προεῖρητο τοῖς στρατιώταις.
 5 ὁ Σερτώριος δ' ὀξέως βοηθήσας ἐκέλευσε δισχιλίους ἀσκούς ὕδατος ἐμπλήσαι, καθ' ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν ἀργύριον συχνὸν τάξας. καὶ πολλῶν μὲν Ἰβήρων, πολλῶν δὲ Μαυρουσίων ὑφισταμένων τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας εὐρώστους ἅμα καὶ

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of escape for a fugitive, or of surrounding an enemy under pursuit, in places both accessible and inaccessible. The result was, therefore, that Metellus, by being kept from fighting, suffered all the harm which visits men who are defeated; while Sertorius, by flying, had the advantages of men who pursue. For he would cut off his opponent's supply of water and prevent his foraging; if the Romans advanced, he would get out of their way, and if they settled down in camp, he would harass them; if they besieged a place, he would come up and put them under siege in their turn by depriving them of supplies. At last the Roman soldiers were in despair, and when Sertorius challenged Metellus to single combat, they cried aloud and bade him fight, general with general, and Roman with Roman, and when he declined, they mocked at him. But Metellus laughed at all this, and he was right; for a general, as Theophrastus says, should die the death of a general, not that of a common targeteer. Then, seeing that the Langobritae were giving no slight assistance to Sertorius, and that their city could easily be taken for lack of water (since they had but one well in the city, and the streams in the suburbs and along the walls would be in the power of any besieger), Metellus came against the city, intending to complete the siege in two days, since there was no water there. On this account, too, he had given orders to his soldiers to take along provisions for only five days. But Sertorius quickly came to the rescue and ordered two thousand skins to be filled with water, offering for each skin a considerable sum of money. Many Iberians and many Maurusians volunteered for the work, and after selecting men who were both sturdy and swift of foot, he sent them

ποδώκεις ἔπεμψε διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς, κελεύσας, ὅταν
 παραδῶσι τοὺς ἀσκοὺς τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολει, τὸν
 ἄχρηστον ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ὄχλον, ὅπως ἐξαρκῇ τοῖς
 6 ἀμυνομένοις τὸ ποτόν. ἐκπύστου δὲ τούτου γενο-
 μένου πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον, ἤχθετο μὲν ἤδη τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπαναλωκότων, ἐξέ- 575
 πεμψε δὲ ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν Ἀκύνιον ἑξακισχιλίων
 ἡγούμενον. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Σερτώριος καὶ προ-
 λοχίσας τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπανερχομένῳ τῷ Ἀκύνῳ
 τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἔκ τινος συσκίου χαράδρας
 ἐπανίστησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ στόμα προσβαλὼν
 τρέπεται, καὶ τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρει, τοὺς δὲ λαμ-
 βάνει ζῶντας. Ἀκύνιον δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ
 τὸν ἵππον ἀποβεβληκότα δεξάμενος Μέτελλος
 αἰσχρῶς ἀπῆει, πολλὰ χλευαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
 Ἰβήρων.

XIV. Ἐκ τε δὴ τούτων θαυμαζόμενος ἡγαπᾶτο
 παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁ Σερτώριος, καὶ ὅτι Ῥω-
 μαϊκοῖς ὅπλισμοις καὶ τάξεσι καὶ συνθήμασιν
 ἀφαιρῶν τὸ μανικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες αὐτῶν τῆς
 ἀλκῆς ἀντὶ ληστηρίου μεγάλου στρατὸν ἐποιεῖτο
 2 τὴν δύναμιν. ἔτι δ' ἀργύρῳ χρώμενος ἀφειδῶς
 καὶ χρυσῷ κράνη τε κατεκόσμη καὶ θυρεοὺς
 αὐτῶν διεποίκιλλε, καὶ χλαμύσιν ἀνθηαῖς καὶ
 χιτῶσι χρῆσθαι διδάσκων καὶ χορηγῶν εἰς ταῦτα
 καὶ συμφιλοκαλῶν ἐδημαγώγει. μάλιστα δὲ
 εἶλεν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν παίδων. τοὺς γὰρ εὐγε-
 νεστάτους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν συναγαγὼν εἰς Ὀσκαν,
 πόλιν μεγάλην, διδασκάλους ἐπιστήσας Ἑλλη-

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by a route through the mountains, with orders that when they had delivered the skins to the people in the city, they should secretly convey away the unserviceable mass of the population, in order that the water might suffice for the actual defenders of the city. When Metellus learned that this had been done, he was annoyed, since his soldiers had already consumed their provisions, and sent out Aquinus, at the head of six thousand men, to forage. But Sertorius learned of this and set an ambush of three thousand men in the road by which Aquinus was to return. These sallied forth from a shady ravine and attacked Aquinus in the rear, while Sertorius himself assailed him in front, routed him, slew some of his men, and took some of them prisoners. Aquinus, after losing both his armour and his horse, got back to Metellus, who then retired disgracefully, much flouted by the Iberians.

XIV. In consequence of these successes Sertorius was admired and loved by the Barbarians, and especially because by introducing Roman arms and formations and signals he did away with their frenzied and furious displays of courage, and converted their forces into an army, instead of a huge band of robbers. Still further, he used gold and silver without stint for the decoration of their helmets and the ornamentation of their shields, and by teaching them to wear flowered cloaks and tunics, and furnishing them with the means to do this, and sharing their love of beautiful array, he won the hearts of all. But most of all were they captivated by what he did with their boys. Those of the highest birth, namely, he collected together from the various peoples, at Osca, a large city, and set over them teachers of Greek and

νικῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῶν μαθημάτων ἔργῳ μὲν
 ἐξωμηρεύσατο, λόγῳ δὲ ἐπαίδευεν, ὥς ἀνδράσι
 γενομένοις πολιτείας τε μεταδώσων καὶ ἀρχῆς.
 3 οἱ δὲ πατέρες ἤδοντο θαυμαστῶς τοὺς παῖδας ἐν
 περιπορφύροις ὀρώντες μάλα κοσμίως φοιτῶντας
 εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ τὸν Σερτώριον ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν μισθοὺς τελοῦντα, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδείξεις
 λαμβάνοντα, καὶ γέρα τοῖς ἀξίοις νέμοντα, καὶ
 τὰ χρυσᾶ περιδέραια δωρούμενον ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι
 4 βούλλας καλοῦσιν. ἔθους δ' ὄντος Ἰβηρικοῦ τοὺς
 περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τεταγμένους συναποθνήσκειν
 αὐτῷ πεσόντι, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἐκεῖ βαρβάρων
 κατάσπεισιν ὀνομαζόντων, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἡγε-
 μόσιν ὀλίγοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων,
 Σερτωρίῳ δὲ πολλὰ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων κατε-
 5 σπείκόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἠκολούθουν. λέγεται δὲ πρὸς
 τινι πόλει τροπῆς γενομένης καὶ τῶν πολεμίων
 ἐπικειμένων τοὺς Ἰβηρας ἀμελήσαντας αὐτῶν
 τὸν Σερτώριον σῶζειν καὶ τοῖς ὅμοις ἐπαραμένους
 ἄλλους πρὸ ἄλλων ἀνακουφίσαι πρὸς τὰ τείχη,
 γενομένου δ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, οὕτω
 τρέπεσθαι πρὸς φυγὴν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.

XV. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν ἦν ποθεινός,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας στρατευομένοις. Περ-
 πέννα γοῦν Οὐέντωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Σερτωρίῳ
 στάσεως εἰς Ἰβηρίαν παραγενομένου μετὰ χρη-
 μάτων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ
 καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκός πολεμεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μέτελ-
 λον, ἐδυσχέraitον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὺς ἦν
 τοῦ Σερτωρίου λόγος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸν
 Περπένναν ἀνιῶν εὐγενεῖα καὶ πλούτῳ τετυφω-
 2 μένον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ Πομπηῖος ἠγγέλλετο

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Roman learning ; thus in reality he made hostages of them, while ostensibly he was educating them, with the assurance that when they became men he would give them a share in administration and authority. So the fathers were wonderfully pleased to see their sons, in purple-bordered togas, very decorously going to their schools, and Sertorius paying their fees for them, holding frequent examinations, distributing prizes to the deserving, and presenting them with the golden necklaces which the Romans call "bullae." It was the custom among the Iberians for those who were stationed about their leader to die with him if he fell, and the Barbarians in those parts call this a "consecration." Now, the other commanders had few such shield-bearers and companions, but Sertorius was attended by many thousands of men who had thus consecrated themselves to death. And we are told that when his army had been defeated at a certain city and the enemy were pressing upon them, the Iberians, careless of themselves, rescued Sertorius, and taking him on their shoulders one after another, carried him to the walls, and only when their leader was in safety, did they betake themselves to flight, each man for himself.

XV. And not only were the Iberians eager to serve under him, but also the soldiers who came from Italy. At any rate, when Perpenna Vento, who belonged to the same party as Sertorius, came to Spain with much money and a large force, and was determined to wage war on his own account against Metellus, his soldiers were displeased, and there was much talk in the camp about Sertorius, to the annoyance of Perpenna, who was puffed up over his high birth and his wealth. However, when word

τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβάλλων, ἀναλαβόντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν τάξεων ἀναρπάσαντες κατεβόησαν τοῦ Περπέννα, κελεύοντες ὡς τὸν Σερτώριον ἄγειν αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, καταλιπόντες ἐκείνον ἡπείλουν αὐτοὶ βαδιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρα σῶζεσθαι καὶ σῶζειν δυνάμενον. συγχωρήσας δὲ ὁ Περπέννας ἤγαγεν αὐτούς, καὶ συνέμιξε τῷ Σερτωρίῳ πεντήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς ἔχων σπεύρας.

- XVI. Σερτώριος δέ, τῶν ἐντὸς Ἰβηρος αὐτῷ ποταμοῦ πάντων ὁμοῦ τι προστιθεμένων, πλήθει μὲν ἦν μέγας· ἐπέρρεον γὰρ αἰὲ καὶ συνεφέροντο πανταχόθεν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀταξία δὲ βαρβαρικῇ καὶ θρασύτητι ταραττόμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολέμοις βοώντων καὶ τὴν τριβὴν δυσανασχετούντων
- 2 ἐπειρᾶτο παραμυθεῖσθαι διὰ λόγων. ὡς δὲ ἑώρα χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ βιαζομένους ἀκαίρως, προήκατο καὶ περιεΐδε συμπλεκομένους τοῖς πολέμοις 576 ἐν οἷς οὐ παντελῶς συντριβέντας, ἀλλὰ πληγὰς λαβόντας ἤλπιζε πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ κατηκόους μᾶλλον ἔξειν. ὦν δὲ εἵκαζε γενομένων, ἐπιβοθήσας ἀνέλαβέ τε φεύγοντας αὐτούς καὶ κατέστησεν
- 3 ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἀφελεῖν, μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας πάνδημον ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας ἵππους εἰσήγαγε δύο, τὸν μὲν ἀσθενῆ τελέως καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἤδη, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον εὐμεγέθη μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰσχυρόν, θαυμαστὴν δὲ πυκνότητι καὶ κάλλει τριχῶν οὐρὰν ἔχοντα. παρειστήκει δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀσθενεῖ μέγας
- 40

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came that Pompey was crossing the Pyrenees, the soldiers caught up their arms and snatched up their standards and made an outcry against Perpenna, ordering him to lead them to Sertorius, and threatening, if he did not, to abandon him and go by themselves to a man who was able to save himself and save those under him. So Perpenna yielded and led them off, and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts.

XVI. Sertorius, then, since all the peoples within the river Ebro were unitedly taking up his cause, had an army of great numbers, for men were all the while coming to him in streams from every quarter; but he was troubled by their barbaric lack of discipline and their overconfidence, since they called loudly upon him to attack the enemy and were impatient at his delay, and he therefore tried to pacify them by arguments. But when he saw that they were impatient and inclined to force their wishes upon him unseasonably, he let them take their way and permitted them to have an engagement with the enemy in which he hoped that they would not be altogether crushed, but would be severely handled, and so made more obedient for the future. Matters turning out as he expected, he came to their aid, gave them refuge in their flight, and brought them safely back to their camp. And now he wished to take away their dejection. So after a few days he called a general assembly and introduced before it two horses, one utterly weak and already quite old, the other large-sized and strong, with a tail that was astonishing for the thickness and beauty of its hair. By the side of the feeble horse stood a

- ἀνὴρ καὶ ῥωμαλέος, τῷ δὲ ἰσχυρῷ μικρὸς ἕτερος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐκαταφρόνητος. σημεῖον δὲ δοθέντος αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν ἰσχυρὸς ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ ἵππου τὴν κέρκον ὡς ἀπορρήξων εἴλκε βίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἀσθενὴς τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ κατὰ
- 4 μίαν τῶν τριχῶν ἐξέτιλλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα μάτην ἑαυτῷ καὶ πολὺν γέλωτα τοῖς θεωμένοις παρασχὼν ἀπέειπεν, ὁ δὲ ἀσθενὴς ἀκαρεῖ καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ψιλὴν τριχῶν ἀπέδειξε τὴν οὐράν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Σερτώριος, “Ὁρᾶτε,” εἶπεν, “ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, τὴν ἐπιμονὴν ἀνυσιμωτέραν τῆς βίας οὖσαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀθρόως ἀλήπτων ἐνδιδόντα τῷ κατὰ μικρόν.
- 5 ἄμαχον γὰρ τὸ ἐνδελεχές, ᾧ πᾶσαν ἐπιὼν ὁ χρόνος αἰρεῖ καὶ κατεργάζεται δύναμιν, εὐμενὴς ὦν σύμμαχος τοῖς δεχομένοις λογισμῷ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ἀκαίρως ἐπειγομένοις πολεμιώτατος.” τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Σερτώριος ἐκάστοτε πλέκων παραμύθια τοῖς βαρβάροις διεπαιδαγώγει τὸν καιρόν.

XVII. Οὐδενὸς δὲ ἦττον αὐτοῦ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἑθαυμάσθη τὸ περὶ τοὺς λεγομένους Χαρακιτανούς. εἰσὶ δὲ δῆμος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ταγώνιον ποταμόν, οὐκ ἄστεσιν οὐδὲ κώμας ἐνοικούντες, ἀλλὰ λόφος ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ ὑψηλὸς ἄντρα καὶ κοιλώματα πετρῶν βλέποντα πρὸς βορέαν περιέχων. ἡ δ' ὑποκειμένη πᾶσα χώρα πηλὸν ἀργιλώδη καὶ γῆν ὑπὸ χυανότητος εὐθρυπτον

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man who was tall and robust, and by the side of the powerful horse another man, small and of a contemptible appearance. At a signal given them, the strong man seized the tail of his horse with both hands and tried to pull it towards him with all his might, as though he would tear it off; but the weak man began to pluck out the hairs in the tail of the strong horse one by one. The strong man gave himself no end of trouble to no purpose, made the spectators laugh a good deal, and then gave up his attempt; but the weak man, in a trice and with no trouble, stripped his horse's tail of its hair. Then Sertorius rose up and said: "Ye see, men of my allies, that perseverance is more efficacious than violence, and that many things which cannot be mastered when they stand together yield when one masters them little by little. For irresistible is the force of continuity, by virtue of which advancing Time subdues and captures every power; and Time is a kindly ally for all who judiciously accept the opportunities which he offers, but a most bitter enemy for all who urge matters on unseasonably."¹ By contriving from time to time such exhortations for the Barbarians, Sertorius taught them to watch for their opportunities.

XVII. But of all his military exploits that which he performed in dealing with the people called Characitani is admired as much as any. They are a people beyond the river Tagonius, and they do not dwell in cities or villages, but on a large and lofty hill containing caves and hollows in the cliffs which look towards the north. The whole country at the base of the hill abounds in white clay and a soil that

¹ The story is told also in Valerius Maximus, vii. 3, 6.

- ἀναδίδωσιν, οὔτε τοὺς ἐπιβαίνοντας ἀνέχεσθαι
καρτεράν, καὶ μικρὸν ἀψαμένων, ὥσπερ ἄσβεστον
2 ἡ τέφραν, ἐπὶ πολὺ διαχρομένην. τῶν οὖν βαρ-
βάρων, ὅσάκις φόβῳ πολέμου καταδύντες εἰς τὰ
σπήλαια καὶ τὴν λείαν εἴσω συναγαγόντες ἀτρε-
μοῖεν, ὄντων ἀλήπτων ὑπὸ βίας, τὸν δὲ Σερτώριον
τότε διακεκριμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ κατα-
στρατοπεδεύσαντα παρὰ τὸν λόφον ὑπερφρονούν-
των ὡς κεκρατημένον, εἴτε ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκεῖνος εἴτε
μὴ δοκεῖν φεύγειν βουλόμενος ἅμ' ἡμέρα προσε-
3 λάσας κατεσκέπτετο τὸν τόπον. οὐδαμῶθεν δὲ
προσβολὴν ἔχοντος, ἄλλως ἀλύων καὶ κεναῖς
χρῶμενος ἀπειλαῖς ὁρᾷ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης κονιορτὸν
ἄνω πολὺν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς φερόμενον.
τέτραπται μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, τὰ σπήλαια πρὸς
βορέαν, ὃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου πνέων¹ ἄνεμος,
Καικίαν ἔνιοι καλοῦσιν, ἐπέχει μάλιστα καὶ
πλείστός ἐστι τῶν ἐκεῖ πνευμάτων, ἐξ ὑγρῶν
πεδίων καὶ νιφοβόλων συμφυσώμενος ὀρῶν· τότε
δὲ καὶ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ἰσχύων καὶ τρεφόμενος
τῇ τῶν ὑπαρκτίων ἀνέσει πάγων ἡδιστος ἐπέπνει
καὶ κατεῖχεν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ βοτὰ δι' ἡμέρας ἀνα-
4 ψύχων. ταῦτα δὴ συλλογιζόμενος ὁ Σερτώριος
καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀκούων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς
στρατιώτας τῆς ἀραιᾶς καὶ τεφρώδους γῆς ἐκείνης
ἀποσπῶντας καὶ παραφέροντας καταντικρὺ τοῦ
λόφου θίνα ποιεῖν, ἣν οἱ βάρβαροι χώματος ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς εἶναι κατασκευὴν ὑπονοοῦντες ἐχλεύαζον.
5 τότε μὲν οὖν ἐργασαμένους τοὺς στρατιώτας ἄχρι

¹ πνέων Van Herwerden : ρέων.

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is porous and crumbly ; it is not firm enough to bear the tread of man, and spreads far about if only slightly stirred, like unslaked lime or ashes. These Barbarians, then, whenever they were afraid of war, would hide themselves in their caves, take all their plunder in with them, and keep quiet, for they could not be taken by force ; and at the time of which I speak, when Sertorius had retired before Metellus and encamped at the base of their hill, they thought scornfully of him as a vanquished man, and he, either out of anger, or because he did not wish to be thought a fugitive, at break of day rode up to the place and inspected it. There was no attacking it anywhere, but as he was wandering about to no purpose and indulging in empty threats, he saw that dust from the soil which I have described was being carried up against the Barbarians in great quantities by the wind. For the caves, as I have said, faced the north, and the wind which blows from that quarter (some call it *Caecias*) is the most prevalent and the strongest of the winds in that country, being a confluent of winds from watery plains and snow-covered mountains ; and at this time particularly, which was the height of summer, it was strong, was fed by the melting snows of northern regions, and blew most delightfully with continual refreshment for man and beast all day. So, reflecting on these things and getting information about them from the natives of the country, Sertorius ordered his soldiers to take some of the loose and ashy soil that I have described, carry it directly opposite the hill, and make a heap of it there. This the Barbarians conjectured to be a mound raised for assaulting them, and jeered at their enemy. On that day, then, the soldiers of Sertorius worked until night, and were

νυκτὸς ἀπήγαγεν· ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα πρῶτον μὲν αὔρα
 μαλακὴ προαπέπνει διακινούσα τῆς συμπεφορη-
 μένης γῆς τὸ λειότατον ὥσπερ ἄχνην σκιδνόμενον,
 ἔπειτα σοβαροῦ τοῦ Καικίου πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ-
 χεομένου καὶ τῶν λόφων κονιωμένων ἐπιστάντες 577
 οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν τε χοῦν ἀνέτρεπον διὰ βάθους
 καὶ τὸν σπῖλον ἔκοπτον, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
 ἄνω καὶ κάτω διεξήλασαν ἀνιστάντες τὸ χαύνωμα
 6 καὶ τῇ πνοῇ μετέωρον παραδιδόντες. ἡ δ' ὑπο-
 λαμβάνουσα πᾶν τὸ θρυπτόμενον καὶ κινούμενον
 ἄνω προσέβαλλε τοῖς οἰκήμασι τῶν βαρβάρων,
 κατὰ θύρας δεχομένοις τὸν Καικίαν. οἱ δέ, ἅτε
 δὴ τῶν σπηλαίων μίαν ἐκείνην ἀναπνοὴν ἔχόντων
 ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα προσέπιπτε, ταχὺ μὲν ἀπεσκοτοῦντο
 τὰς ὄψεις, ταχὺ δ' ἀνεπίμπλαντο πνιγώδους
 ἄσθματος, τραχὺν ἀέρα καὶ πολλῇ κόνει συμ-
 7 πεφυρμένον ἔλκοντες. ὅθεν ἡμέρας δύο μόλις
 ἀνασχόμενοι τῇ τρίτῃ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς, οὐ
 τοσοῦτον Σερτωρίῳ δυνάμεως ὅσον δόξης προσ-
 θέντες, ὡς τὰ δι' ὅπλων ἀνάλωτα σοφία κατεργα-
 σαμένῳ.

XVIII. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῖς περὶ Μέτελλον
 ἐπολέμει, τὰ πλείστα κατευτυχεῖν ἐδόκει, γῆρα
 καὶ φυσικῇ βραδυτῇ τοῦ Μετέλλου πρὸς ἄνδρα
 τολμητὴν καὶ ληστρικῆς μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιωτικῆς
 ἡγούμενον δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀναφέροντος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
 Πομπηίῳ τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβαλόντι παραστρατο-
 πεδεύσας, καὶ πᾶσαν ἅμα μὲν διδούς, ἅμα δὲ
 λαμβάνων στρατηγικῶν παλαισμάτων πείραν,
 ἀντιτεχνώμενός τε καὶ φυλαττόμενος πλείον εἶχε,
 κομιδῇ διεβοήθη μέχρι Ῥώμης ὡς δεινότατος ὢν

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then led back to camp. But when the next day came, at first a gentle breeze arose, stirring up the lightest portions of the gathered soil and scattering them like chaff; then, when Caecias was blowing strong with the mounting of the sun and covering the hills with dust, the soldiers came and stirred up the mound of earth to the bottom and broke up the lumps, while some actually drove their horses back and forth through it, throwing up the loosened earth and giving it to the wind to carry. Then the wind caught up all the earth thus broken and stirred and threw it up against the dwellings of the Barbarians, which opened so as to admit Caecias. And the Barbarians, since their caves had no other inlet for air than that against which the wind was dashing, were quickly blinded, and quickly choked, too, as they tried to inhale an air that was harsh and mingled with great quantities of dust. Therefore, after holding out with difficulty for two days, on the third day they surrendered, thereby adding not so much to the power as to the fame of Sertorius, since by his skill he had subdued what could not be taken by arms.

XVIII. Well, then, as long as he carried on the war with Metellus as his antagonist, he was thought to be successful for the most part because, owing to great age and natural slowness, Metellus could not cope with a man who was bold and headed a force composed of robbers rather than soldiers; but when Pompey also crossed the Pyrenees and became his antagonist,¹ and each of them had offered and accepted every test of a general's powers, and Sertorius had the advantage in counter-planning and watchfulness, then indeed it was noised abroad as far

¹ In 76 B.C.

- πόλεμον μεταχειρίσασθαι τῶν τότε στρατηγῶν.
- 2 οὐ γάρ τι μικρὸν ἦν τὸ Πομπηίου κλέος, ἀλλ' ἦνθι τότε μάλιστα πρὸς δόξαν ἐκ τῶν περὶ Σύλλαν ἀνδραγαθημάτων, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ Μάγνος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι μέγας, ἐπωνομάσθη τιμῶν τε θριαμβικῶν οὐπω γενειῶν ἔτυχεν. ὅθεν καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Σερτωρίῳ πόλεων ἀποβλέψασαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρμὴν μεταβολῆς ἔσχον, εἴτα ἐπαύσαντο, τοῦ περὶ Λαύρωνα πάθους παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα συμβάντος.
- 3 Σερτωρίου γὰρ πολιορκούντος αὐτοὺς ἦκε Πομπηῖος πανστρατιᾷ βοηθήσων· εἴτα ὁ μὲν λόφον εὖ δοκοῦντα πεφυκέναι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως προληψόμενος, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο κωλύσων ἠπείγετο. τοῦ δὲ Σερτωρίου φθάσαντος ἐπιστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Πομπηῖος ἔχαιρε τῇ συντυχίᾳ, νομίζων ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ἀπειλῆσθαι τὸν Σερτώριον· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λαυρωνίτας εἰσέπεμψε θαρρεῖν κελεύων καὶ καθῆσθαι περὶ τὰ
- 4 τείχη θεωμένους πολιορκούμενον Σερτώριον. ἐκεῖνος δ' ἀκούσας ἐγέλασε, καὶ τὸν Σύλλα μαθητὴν (οὕτω γὰρ τὸν Πομπηῖον ἐπισκώπτων προσηγόρευεν) αὐτὸς ἔφη διδάξειν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν κατόπιν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον βλέπειν. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἅμα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπεδείκνυν ἐξακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλελειμμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου χάρακος, ὅθεν ὁρμηθεὶς κατειλήφει τὸν λόφον, ὅπως ἐπὶ σφᾶς
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as Rome that he was the ablest general of his time in the conduct of a war. For the fame of Pompey was by no means inconsiderable, nay, at this time his reputation was in most vigorous flower in consequence of the valiant deeds which he performed in the cause of Sulla, deeds for which he was given the surname of "Magnus" (that is, *Great*) by Sulla, and received the honours of a triumph while he was still beardless. Therefore, too, many of the cities which were subject to Sertorius turned their eyes towards Pompey and felt inclined to change their allegiance; they ceased to do this, however, after the disaster at Lauron, which happened contrary to all expectation.

For Sertorius was besieging that city, and Pompey came to its assistance with all his forces. Now there was a hill which was thought to afford a good command of the city, and this hill Sertorius strove to seize in advance, while Pompey sought to prevent him. But Sertorius got there first, whereupon Pompey, taking position with his army, was delighted with the way things had turned out, believing that Sertorius was caught between the city and his adversary's forces; he also sent a messenger in to the people of Lauron bidding them be of good cheer and take seats along their walls for the spectacle of Sertorius undergoing siege. When Sertorius heard of this, he gave a laugh, and said that to Sulla's pupil (for thus he was wont to style Pompey in jest) he himself would give a lesson, namely, that a general must look behind him rather than in front of him. As he said this, he pointed out to his beleaguered troops six thousand men-at-arms whom he had left behind at their former camp, from which he had sallied forth to seize the hill; these, in case Pompey moved

5 *τρεπομένῳ τῷ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ νότου προσπέσοιεν.*
δ δὲ καὶ Πομπηῖος ὄψε μάλα συμφρονήσας ἐπι-
χειρεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρρει κύκλωσιν δεδοικώς, ἀπο-
λιπεῖν δὲ ἡσχύνετο κινδυνεύοντας ἀνθρώπους,
παρὼν δὲ καὶ καθήμενος ἠναγκάζετο ὁρᾶν ἀπολ-
λυμένους· ἀπέγνωσαν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι
6 *καὶ τῷ Σερτωρίῳ παρέδωκαν. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν σω-*
μάτων ἐφείσατο καὶ πάντας ἀφήκε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν
κατέπρησεν, οὐχ ὑπ' ὀργῆς οὐδ' ὠμότητος, ἐλά-
χιστα γὰρ δοκεῖ θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι τῶν στρατη-
γῶν οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αἰσχύνη καὶ κατηφεία
τῶν τεθναμακότων Πομπηίου, ἵνα ἡ λόγος ἐν τοῖς
βαρβάροις ὅτι παρὼν ἐγγὺς καὶ μονοноῦ θερμαι-
νόμενος τῷ πυρὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐ προσήμυνεν.

XIX. Ἦτται μὲν οὖν τῷ Σερτωρίῳ πλείονες
 συνέβαινον, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀήττητον αἰεὶ φυλάττοντι 578
 καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, θραυομένῳ δὲ περὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας· ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἐπηνωρθοῦτο τὰς
 ἤττας μᾶλλον ἐθαυμάζετο νικῶντων τῶν ἀντι-
 στρατήγων, οἷον ἐν τῇ περὶ Σούκρωνι μάχῃ πρὸς
 Πομπηίου, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Τουρίαν¹ πρὸς
 2 *τε τοῦτον ὁμοῦ καὶ Μέτελλον. ἡ μὲν οὖν περὶ*
Σούκρωνι μάχῃ λέγεται γενέσθαι τοῦ Πομπηίου
κατεπείξαντος, ὥς μὴ μετάσχοι τῆς νίκης Μέτελ-
λος. ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐβούλετο μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ,
πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Μέτελλον, διαγωνίσασθαι,
παραγαγὼν δὲ ἐσπέρας ἤδη συνέβαλεν, οἰόμενος
ξένοις οὔσι καὶ ἀπείροις τῶν χωρίων τοῖς πολε-
μίοις τὸ σκότος ἔσεσθαι καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐμπόδιον

¹ Τουρίαν Sintenis², after Ukert; Sintenis¹, Coraës and Bekker have Τουτρίαν. The MSS. reading is uncertain.

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against the occupants of the hill, were to fall upon his rear. Pompey also became aware of this all too late, and did not venture to attack Sertorius for fear of being surrounded, but he was ashamed to go away and leave the people of the city in their peril, and so was compelled to sit there quietly and see them ruined; for the Barbarians gave up all hope and surrendered to Sertorius. Sertorius spared their lives and let them all go, but he burned down their city,¹ not because he was angry or cruel, for he appears to have given way to passion less than any other general, but to put to shame and confusion the admirers of Pompey, in order that it might be said among the Barbarians that though he was near at hand and all but warming himself at the flames of an allied city, he did not come to its relief.

XIX. It is true that Sertorius suffered several defeats, and yet he always kept himself and his own forces undefeated, and got his crushing blows where other generals than he were in command; and from the way in which he repaired his defeats he was more admired than the victorious generals opposed to him, as, for instance, in the battle on the Sucro against Pompey, and, again, in the battle near Turia against both Pompey and Metellus. Now, the battle on the Sucro² is said to have been precipitated by Pompey, in order that Metellus might not share in the victory. Sertorius, too, wished to fight the issue out with Pompey before Metellus came up, and therefore drew out his forces when evening was already at hand, and began the engagement, thinking that, since his enemies were strangers and unacquainted with the region, darkness would be a hindrance to

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, xviii. 3.

² Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter xix.

- 3 καὶ διώκουσι. γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶν ἔτυχε μὲν οὐ πρὸς Πομπήϊον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀφράνιον ἐν ἀρχῇ συνεστηκώς ἔχοντα τὸ ἀριστερόν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένος. ἀκούσας δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τοὺς συνεστῶτας ὑποχωρεῖν ἐγκειμένῳ καὶ κρατεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐποιήσατο στρατηγοῖς, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνο τὸ
- 4 νικώμενον αὐτὸς ἐβοηδρόμει. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἤδη τρεπομένους τοὺς δὲ ἔτι μένοντας ἐν τάξει συναγαγὼν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνας, ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐνέβαλε τῷ Πομπηίῳ διώκοντι, καὶ φυγὴν ἐποιήσατο πολλήν, ὅτε καὶ Πομπηῖος ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τραυματισθεὶς παραλόγως διέφυγεν. οἱ γὰρ μετὰ Σερτωρίου Δίβυες, ὡς ἔλαβον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένον καὶ φαλάρων ἀνάπλεων πολυτελῶν, ἐν τῷ διανέμεσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς
- 5 ἀλλήλους προήκαντο τὴν δίωξιν. Ἀφράνιος δὲ τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ Σερτώριον ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ θάτερα βοηθοῦντα τρεψάμενος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατήραξε· καὶ συνεισπεσὼν ἐπὶ ὀρθῇ σκότους ἤδη ὄντος, μήτε τὴν Πομπηίου φυγὴν εἰδὼς μήτε τοὺς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἐπισχεῖν δυνάμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Σερτώριος ἀνέστρεψε τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν νενικηκώς· καὶ τοῖς Ἀφρανίου δι' ἀταξίαν ταρασσομένοις ἐπιπεσὼν πολλοὺς διέ-
- 6 φθειρε. πρῶτ' δὲ αὐθις ἐξοπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ μάχην κατέβαινεν, εἴτα Μέτελλον αἰσθόμενος ἐγγὺς εἶναι λύσας τὴν τάξιν ἀνέξευξεν, εἰπὼν· “Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον, εἰ μὴ παρήν ἢ γραῦς

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them either in flight or in pursuit. When the fighting was at close quarters, it happened that Sertorius was not himself engaged with Pompey at first, but with Afranius, who commanded Pompey's left, while Sertorius himself was stationed on the right. Hearing, however, that those of his men who were engaged with Pompey were yielding before his onset and being worsted, he put his right wing in command of other generals, and hastened himself to the help of the wing that was suffering defeat. Those of his men who were already in retreat he rallied, those who were still keeping their ranks he encouraged, then charged anew upon Pompey, who was pursuing, and put his men to a great rout, in which Pompey also came near being killed, was actually wounded, and had a marvellous escape. For the Libyans with Sertorius, after getting Pompey's horse, which had golden decorations and was covered with costly trappings, were so busy distributing the booty and quarrelling with one another over it, that they neglected the pursuit. Afranius, however, as soon as Sertorius had gone off to the other wing with aid and succour, routed his opponents and drove them headlong into their camp; and dashing in with the fugitives, it being now dark, he began to plunder, knowing nothing of Pompey's flight and having no power to keep his soldiers from their pillaging. But meanwhile Sertorius came back from his victory on the other wing, and falling upon the straggling and confused soldiers of Afranius, slew great numbers of them. In the morning, moreover, he armed his troops and came out for battle; then, learning that Metellus was near, he broke up his array and decamped, saying: "But as for this boy, if that old

ἐκείνη, πληγαῖς ἂν νουθετήσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπεστάλκειν.”

XX. Ἡθύμει δὲ δεινῶς διὰ τὸ μηδαμοῦ φανεράν τὴν ἔλαφον ἐκείνην εἶναι· μηχανῆς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐστέρητο θαυμαστῆς, τότε δὴ μάλιστα παραμυθίας δεομένους. εἶτα μέντοι νυκτὸς ἄλλως πλανώμενοί τινες ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν αὐτῇ, καὶ
2 γνωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς χροᾶς λαμβάνουσιν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Σερτώριος ἐκείνοις μὲν ὡμολόγησεν, ἂν μηδενὶ φράσωσι, χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν, ἀποκρύψας δὲ τὴν ἔλαφον καὶ διαλιπὼν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας προῆει μάλα φαιδρὸς ἀπ’ ὄψεως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, διηγούμενος τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς ἀγαθὸν τι μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ προμηνύοντος αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους· εἶτα ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τοῖς
3 ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐχρημάτιζεν. ἡ δὲ ἔλαφος ὑπὸ τῶν φυλαττόντων αὐτὴν ἐγγὺς ἀφεθείσα καὶ κατιδούσα τὸν Σερτώριον ἐχώρει δρόμῳ περιχαρῆς πρὸς τὸ βῆμα, καὶ παραστᾶσα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπέθηκε ταῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ στόματι τῆς δεξιᾶς ἔψαυεν, εἰθισμένη καὶ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἀντιφιλοφρονουμένου δὲ τοῦ Σερτωρίου πιθανῶς καὶ τι καὶ δακρύσαντος, ἔκπληξις εἶχε τοὺς παρόντας τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα κρότῳ καὶ βοῇ τὸν Σερτώριον ὡς δαιμόνιον ἄνδρα καὶ θεοῖς φίλον οἴκαδε προπέμψαντες ἐν εὐθυμίαις καὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἦσαν.

XXI. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τῶν Σαγουντίνων πεδίοις εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἀπορίας κατακεκλεικὼς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἡναγκάσθη συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς καταβαίνουσιν ἐφ’ ἄρπαγὴν καὶ σιτολογίαν. ἡγωνίσθη δὲ λαμπρῶς παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων. καὶ Μέμμιος μὲν ὁ

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woman had not come up, I should have given him a sound beating and sent him back to Rome."

XX. He was now greatly disheartened because that doe of his¹ was nowhere to be found; for he was thus deprived of a wonderful contrivance for influencing the Barbarians, who at this time particularly stood in need of encouragement. Soon, however, some men who were roaming about at night on other errands came upon the doe, recognized her by her colour, and caught her. When Sertorius heard of it he promised to give the men a large sum of money if they would tell no one of the capture, and after concealing the doe and allowing several days to pass, he came forth with a glad countenance and proceeded to the tribunal, telling the leaders of the Barbarians that the Deity was foretelling him in his dreams some great good fortune. Then he ascended the tribunal and began to deal with the applicants. And now the doe was released by her keepers at a point close by, spied Sertorius, and bounded joyfully towards the tribunal, and standing by his side put her head in his lap and licked his hand, as she had been wont to do before. Sertorius returned her caresses appropriately and even shed a few tears, whereupon the bystanders were struck with amazement at first, and then, convinced that Sertorius was a marvellous man and dear to the gods, escorted him with shouts and clapping of hands to his home, and were full of confidence and good hopes.

XXI. In the plains of Saguntum, after he had reduced his enemies to the greatest straits, he was forced to give them battle when they came out for plunder and forage. Both sides fought splendidly. Memmius, the most capable of Pompey's generals,

¹ Cf. chapter xi.

- τῶν ὑπὸ Πομπηίῳ στρατηγῶν ἡγεμονικώτατος
 ἐν τῷ καρτερωτάτῳ τῆς μάχης ἔπεσεν, ἐκράτει
 δὲ Σερτώριος καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν ἔτι συνεστώ-
 2 των ἐθθεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν Μέτελλον. ὁ δὲ παρ'
 ἡλικίαν ὑποστὰς καὶ περιφανῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος
 παίεται δόρατι. τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν ἰδόντας τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκούσαντας αἰδῶς ἔσχεν ἐγ-
 καταλιπεῖν τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καὶ θυμὸς ἅμα πρὸς
 τοὺς πολεμίους παρέστη. προθέμενοι δὲ τοὺς
 θυρεοὺς καὶ συνεξενεγκόντες εὐρώστως ἐξωθοῦσι
 3 τοὺς Ἰβήρας· καὶ γενομένης οὕτω παλιντρόπου
 τῆς νίκης, ὁ Σερτώριος ἐκείνοις τε φυγὰς ἀδεεῖς
 μηχανώμενος καὶ τεχνάζων ἐτέραν αὐτῷ δύναμιν
 συνελθεῖν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, εἰς πόλιν ὀρεινὴν καὶ
 καρτερὰν ἀναφυγὸν ἐφράγγυτο τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰς
 πύλας ὠχυροῦτο, πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ πολιορκίαν
 4 ὑπομένειν διανοούμενος. ἀλλ' ἐξηπάτα τοὺς πο-
 λεμίους· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ προσκαθεζόμενοι καὶ τὸ
 χωρίον οὐ χαλεπῶς λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶντες,
 τοὺς τε φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων προῖεντο καὶ
 τῆς ἀθροισμένης αὐθις τῷ Σερτωρίῳ δυνάμεως
 ἡμέλησαν. ἡθροίζετο δέ, πέμψαντος ἡγεμόνας
 ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ κελεύοντος ὅταν ἤδη
 πολλοὺς ἔχωσιν, ἄγγελον ἀποσπεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτόν.
 5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέσπειλαν, σὺν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ διεκπαισά-
 μενος τοὺς πολεμίους συνέμιξε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ
 πάλιν ἐπήει πολὺς γεγωνὼς καὶ περιέκοπτεν
 αὐτῶν τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εὐπορίαν ἐνέδραις καὶ
 κυκλώσεσι καὶ τῷ πανταχόσε φοιτᾶν ὄξυς ἐπιών,
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fell in the thickest of the battle, and Sertorius was carrying all before him, and, with great slaughter of the enemy who still held together, was forcing his way towards Metellus himself. Then Metellus, who was holding his ground with a vigour that belied his years, and fighting gloriously, was struck by a spear. All the Romans who saw or heard of this were seized with shame at the thought of deserting their commander, and at the same time were filled with rage against the enemy. So, after they had covered Metellus with their shields and carried him out of danger, they stoutly drove the Iberians back. Victory had now changed sides, and therefore Sertorius, contriving a safe retreat for his men and devising the quiet assembly of another force for himself, took refuge in a strong city among the mountains, and there began to repair the walls and strengthen the gates, although his purpose was anything rather than to stand a siege. But he completely deceived his enemies; for they sat down to invest him and expected to take the place without difficulty, and thus suffered the Barbarians who were in flight to escape, and took no heed of the force that was being collected anew for Sertorius. And collected it was, after Sertorius had sent officers to the cities, with orders that as soon as they had a large body of troops, they should send a messenger to him. Then, when the cities sent their messengers, he cut his way through the enemy with no trouble and effected a junction with his new troops; and so once more he advanced upon the enemy with large reinforcements and began to cut off their land supplies by means of ambuscades, flank movements, and swift marches in

τὰ δ' ἐκ θαλάττης ληστρικοῖς σκάφεσι κατέχων
τὴν παραλίαν, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ
διαλυθέντες ὁ μὲν εἰς Γαλατίαν ἀπελθεῖν, Πομ-
πήιος δὲ περὶ Βακκαίους διαχειμάσαι μοχθηρῶς
ὑπὸ ἀχρηματίας, γράφων πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον
ὥς ἀπάξει τὸν στρατόν, εἰ μὴ πέμποιεν ἀργύριον
αὐτῷ· καταναλωκέναι γὰρ ἤδη τὰ αὐτοῦ προ-
6 πολεμῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας. καὶ πολλὺς ἦν οὗτος ἐν
Ῥώμῃ λόγος, ὥς Πομπηίου πρότερος εἰς Ἰταλίαν
ἀφίξειτο Σερτώριος· εἰς τοσοῦτον τοὺς πρῶτους
καὶ δυνατωτάτους τῶν τότε στρατηγῶν ἡ Σερτω-
ρίου δεινότης κατέστησεν.

XXII. Ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἐκπεπληγ-
μένος τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μέγαν ἡγούμενος. ἐπεκέρυξε
γάρ, εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι Ῥωμαῖος, ἑκατὸν ἀργυ-
ρίου τάλαντα δώσειν καὶ πλέθρα δισμύρια γῆς·
εἰ δὲ φυγὰς, κάθοδον εἰς Ῥώμην, ὥς ἀπογνώσει
φανερᾶς ἀμύνης ὠνούμενος τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ προδο-
2 σίας. ἔτι δὲ νικήσας ποτὲ μάχῃ τὸν Σερτώριον
οὕτως ἐπῆρθη καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἡγάπησεν ὥστε
αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναγορευθῆναι, θυσίαις δ' αὐτὸν αἱ
πόλεις ἐπιφοιτῶντα καὶ βωμοῖς ἐδέχοντο. λέγε-
ται δὲ καὶ στεφάνων ἀναδέσεις προσίσθαι καὶ
δείπνων σοβαρωτέρων ὑποδοχάς, ἐν οἷς ἐσθῆτα
θριαμβικὴν ἔχων ἔπινε, καὶ Νίκαι πεποιημέναι δι'
ὀργάνων ἐπιδρόμων χρύσεια τρόπαια καὶ στεφά-
νους διαφέρουσαι κατήγοντο, καὶ χοροὶ παίδων
καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπινικίους ὕμνους ᾄδον εἰς αὐτόν.
3 ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἦν καταγέλαστος, εἰ δραπέτην

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every direction, and their maritime supplies by besetting the coast with piratical craft; so that the Roman generals were compelled to separate, Metellus retiring into Gaul, and Pompey spending the winter among the Vaccaei. Here he suffered much from lack of supplies, and wrote to the senate that he would bring his army home unless they sent him money, since he had already exhausted his own resources in his war for the defence of Italy.¹ Indeed, this story was prevalent in Rome, that Sertorius would come back to Italy before Pompey did. To such straits were the first and ablest generals of the time reduced by the skill of Sertorius.

XXII. And Metellus also made it clear that he was afraid of Sertorius and considered him a great leader. For he made proclamation that to any Roman who should kill Sertorius he would give a hundred talents of silver and twenty thousand acres of land, and to any exile, freedom to return to Rome; implying his despair of openly defeating the man by this attempt to purchase his betrayal. Moreover, after a victory which he once won over Sertorius he was so elated and delighted with his success that his soldiers saluted him as Imperator and the cities celebrated his visits to them with altars and sacrifices. Nay, it is said that he suffered wreaths to be bound upon his head and accepted invitations to stately banquets, at which he wore a triumphal robe as he drank his wine, while Victories, made to move by machinery, descended and distributed golden trophies and wreaths, and choirs of boys and women sang hymns of victory in his praise. For this it was natural that men should laugh at him, since, while calling

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, xx. 1.

Σύλλα καὶ λείψανον τῆς Κάρβωνος φυγῆς ἀποκαλῶν τὸν Σερτώριον οὕτω κεχαύνωται καὶ περιχαρὴς γέγονεν, ὑποχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ περιγενομένου.

- Μεγαλοφροσύνης δὲ τοῦ Σερτωρίου πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Ῥώμης βουλευτὰς καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ διατρίβοντας σύγκλητον ἀναγορεῦσαι,
- 4 ταμίας τε καὶ στρατηγούς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀποδεικνύναι, καὶ πάντα τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις τὰ τοιαῦτα κοσμεῖν· ἔπειτα τὸ χρώμενον ὅπλοις καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς Ἰβήρων μὴδ' ἄχρι λόγου τῆς ἄκρας ἐξουσίας ὑφίεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, Ῥω- 580
- μαίους δὲ καθιστάναι στρατηγούς καὶ ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, ὡς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνακτώμενον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,
- 5 οὐκ ἐκείνους αὖξοντα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀνὴρ φιλόπατρις καὶ πολλὴν ἔχων ἥμερον τοῦ κατελθεῖν· ἀλλὰ δυσπραγῶν μὲν ἠνδραγάθει καὶ ταπεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔπραττε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νίκαις διεπέμπετο πρὸς Μέτελλον καὶ πρὸς Πομπηϊὸν ἔτοιμος ὢν τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ βιοῦν ἰδιώτης καθόδου τυχών· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐθέλειν ἀσημότατος ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολίτης ἢ φεύγων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναγορεῦεσθαι.
- 6 Λέγεται δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖν διὰ τὴν μητέρα, τραφεὶς ὀρφανὸς ὑπ' αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἀνακείμενος ἐκείνῃ. καλούντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν φίλων αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ,
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Sertorius a runaway slave of Sulla and a remnant of the routed party of Carbo, he was so puffed up with pride and overjoyed merely because he had won an advantage over Sertorius and Sertorius had retired before him.

But the magnanimity of Sertorius showed itself, firstly, in his giving the name of senate to the senators who fled from Rome and joined his cause, appointing quaestors and praetors from their number, and making all such arrangements in accordance with the customs of his country ; and, secondly, in his using the arms, wealth, and cities of the Iberians without even pretending to yield to the Iberians themselves a portion of the supreme power, but selecting Roman generals and commanders over them, feeling that he was recovering freedom for the Romans, and not strengthening the inhabitants against the Romans. For he was a man who loved his country and had a strong desire to return home from exile. And yet in his misfortunes he played a brave man's part and would not humble himself at all before his enemies ; while as a victor he would send to Metellus and Pompey expressing his readiness to lay down his arms and lead the life of a private citizen if he could get the privilege of returning home, since, as he said, he preferred to live in Rome as her meanest citizen rather than to live in exile from his country and be called supreme ruler of all the rest of the world together.

We are told that his desire for his native country was due in large measure to his attachment to his mother, by whom he was reared after his father's death, and to whom he was entirely devoted.¹ When his friends in Spain were inviting him to take the

¹ Cf. chapter ii. 1.

πυθόμενος τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς μητρὸς ὀλίγον ἐδέ-
 ησεν ὑπὸ λύπης προέσθαι τὸν βίον. ἐπτα γὰρ
 ἡμέρας οὔτε σύνθημα δοὺς οὔτε ὀφθείς τινι τῶν
 φίλων ἔκειτο, καὶ μόλις οἱ συστράτηγοι καὶ ὁμό-
 τιμοι τὴν σκηνὴν περιστάντες ἠνάγκασαν αὐτὸν
 προελθόντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐντυχεῖν καὶ τῶν
 7 πραγμάτων εὖ φερομένων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. διὸ
 καὶ πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν ἡμερος ἀνὴρ φύσει γεγωνῶς
 καὶ πρὸς ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἐπιεικῶς δι' αἰτίας παρὰ
 γνώμην ταῖς στρατηγικαῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσθαι, καὶ
 μὴ τυγχάνων ἀδείας, ἀλλὰ συνελαυνόμενος ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰς τὰ ὄπλα φρουρὰν ἀναγκαίαν τοῦ
 σώματος περιβάλλεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον.

XXIII. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην αὐτοῦ
 πολιτεύματα μεγαλοφροσύνης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
 κατὰ Σύλλαν σφάλματος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὥσπερ
 εἰς πάλαισμα δεύτερον ἀνιστάμενος αὐθις ἐπεχεί-
 ρησε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, μέγα δὲ ἤδη τὸ Σερτωρίου κλέος
 ἐφοίτα πανταχόσε καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγων
 ὥσπερ φορτίων ξενικῶν οἱ πλείοντες ἀπὸ τῆς
 2 ἐσπέρας ἀναπεπλήκεσαν τὸν Πόντον, ὥρμητο
 διαπρεσβεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπηρμένος μάλιστα
 ταῖς τῶν κολάκων ἀλαζονείαις, οἱ τὸν μὲν Σερτώ-
 ριον Ἀννίβα, τὸν δὲ Μιθριδάτην Πύρρῳ παρεικά-
 ζοντες οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαίους πρὸς τηλικαύτας
 ὁμοῦ φύσεις τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιχειρουμένους
 διχόθεν ἀντισχεῖν, τοῦ δεινοτάτου στρατηγοῦ τῷ
 3 μεγίστῳ τῶν βασιλέων προσγενομένου. πέμπει
 δὴ πρέσβεις ὁ Μιθριδάτης εἰς Ἰβηρίαν γράμ-

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leadership there, he learned of the death of his mother, and almost died of grief. For seven days he lay prostrate in his tent without giving out a watchword or being seen by any of his friends, and it was only with difficulty that his fellow-generals and the men of like rank with him who surrounded his tent could force him to come forth and meet the soldiers and take part in their enterprises, which were moving on well. Therefore many people were led to think that he was a man of gentle temper and naturally disposed to a quiet life, but was practically forced against his wishes into the career of a soldier, where, not achieving safety, but being driven by his enemies to have recourse to arms, he encompassed himself with war as a necessary protection to his person.

XXIII. His negotiations with Mithridates also gave proof of his magnanimity. For Mithridates, after the fall which Sulla gave him, rose up, as it were, for another wrestling bout and tried once more to get the province of Asia into his power. At this time, too, the fame of Sertorius was already great and was travelling every whither, and sailors from the west had filled the kingdom of Pontus full of the tales about him, like so many foreign wares. Mithridates was therefore eager to send an embassy to him, and was incited thereto most of all by the foolish exaggerations of his flatterers. These likened Sertorius to Hannibal and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and declared that the Romans, attacked on both sides, could not hold out against two such natures and forces combined, when the ablest of generals was in alliance with the greatest of kings. So Mithridates sent envoys to Iberia carrying letters

ματα Σερτωρίῳ καὶ λόγους κομίζοντας, δι' ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο χρήματα καὶ ναῦς παρέξειν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπ' ἐκείνου δὲ ἡξίου τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦσθαι πᾶσαν, ἧς ὑπεχώρησε Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὰς πρὸς Σύλλαν γενομένας συν-
 4 θήκας. ἀθροίσαντος δὲ Σερτωρίου βουλὴν, ἣν σύγκλητον ὠνόμαζε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δέχεσθαι τὰς προκλήσεις καὶ ἀγαπᾶν κελευόντων (ὄνομα γὰρ καὶ γράμμα κενὸν αἰτουμένους περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀντὶ τούτων λαμβάνειν ὧν μάλιστα δεόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν), οὐκ ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σερτώριος, ἀλλὰ Βιθυνίαν μὲν ἔφη καὶ Καππαδοκίαν λαμβάνοντι Μιθριδάτῃ μὴ φθονεῖν, ἔθνη βασιλευόμενα καὶ μηδὲν προσήκοντα Ῥωμαίοις,
 5 ἣν δὲ τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τρόπῳ Ῥωμαίων κεκτημένων ἐπαρχίαν ἀφελόμενος καὶ κατασχὼν πολέμων μὲν ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Φιμβρίου, σπενδόμενος δὲ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀφῆκε, ταύτην οὐκ ἔφη περιόψεσθαι πάλιν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ γενομένην· δεῖν γὰρ αὔξεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατοῦντος, οὐκ ἐλαττώσει τῶν ἐκείνης κρατεῖν αὐτόν· γενναίῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ νικᾶν αἰρετόν, αἰσχρῶς δὲ οὐδὲ σώζεσθαι.

XXIV. Ταῦτα ἀπαγγελθέντα Μιθριδάτῃς διὰ 581 θάμβους ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ λέγεται μὲν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· “Τί δῆτα προστάξει Σερτώριος ἐν Παλατίῳ καθεζόμενος, εἰ νῦν εἰς τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν ἐξεωσμένος θάλασσαν ὄρους ἡμῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τίθῃσι καὶ πειρωμένοις Ἀσίας ἀπειλεῖ πόλεμον;”

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and oral propositions to Sertorius, the purport of which was that Mithridates for his part promised to furnish money and ships for the war, but demanded that Sertorius confirm him in the possession of the whole of Asia, which he had yielded to the Romans by virtue of the treaties made with Sulla. Sertorius assembled a council, which he called a senate, and here the rest urged him to accept the king's proposals and be well content with them; for they were asked to grant a name and an empty title to what was not in their possession, and would receive therefor that of which they stood most in need. Sertorius, however, would not consent to this. He said he had no objection to Mithridates taking Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries used to kings and of no concern whatever to the Romans; but a province which Mithridates had taken away and held when it belonged in the justest manner to the Romans, from which he had been driven by Fimbria in war, and which he had renounced by treaty with Sulla,—this province Sertorius said he would not suffer to become the king's again; for the Roman state must be increased by his exercise of power, and he must not exercise power at the expense of the state. For to a man of noble spirit victory is to be desired if it comes with honour, but with shame not even life + itself.

XXIV. When this was reported to Mithridates he acted like one amazed; and we are told that he said to his friends: "What terms, pray, will Sertorius impose when he is seated on the Palatine, if now, after he has been driven forth to the Atlantic sea, he sets bounds to our kingdom and threatens us with war if

- 2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γίνονται γε συνθήκαι καὶ ὄρκοι,
 Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἔχειν Μιθριδάτην
 Σερτωρίου στρατηγὸν αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιώτας πέμ-
 ποντος, Σερτώριον δὲ παρὰ Μιθριδάτου λαβεῖν
 3 τρισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς. πέμ-
 πεται δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸς εἰς Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ Σερτω-
 ρίου τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς πεφευγόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν
 Μάρκος Μάριος, ᾧ συνεξελὼν τινὰς πόλεις τῶν
 Ἀσιάδων ὁ Μιθριδάτης εἰσελαύνοντι μετὰ ῥά-
 βδων καὶ πελέκεων αὐτὸς εἶπετο δευτέραν τάξιν
 4 καὶ σχῆμα θεραπεύοντος ἐκουσίως ἀνειληφώς. ὁ
 δὲ τὰς μὲν ἡλευθέρου, ταῖς δὲ ἀτέλειαν γράφων
 χάριτι Σερτωρίου κατήγγελεν, ὥστε τὴν Ἀσίαν
 αὐθις ἐνοχλουμένην μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν, βα-
 ρυνομένην δὲ ταῖς πλεονεξίαις καὶ ὑπερηφανίαις
 τῶν ἐπισκῆνων, ἀναπτοηθῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα
 καὶ ποθεῖν τὴν προσδοκωμένην μεταβολὴν τῆς
 ἡγεμονίας.

- XXV. Ἐν δ' Ἰβηρίᾳ τῶν περὶ Σερτώριον συγ-
 κλητικῶν καὶ ἰσοτίμων, ὡς πρῶτον εἰς ἀντίπαλον
 ἐλπίδα κατέστησαν, ἐπανέντος τοῦ φόβου, φθό-
 νος ἤπτετο καὶ ζῆλος ἀνόητος τῆς ἐκείνου δυνά-
 μεως. ἐνῆγε δὲ Περπέννας δι' εὐγένειαν ἐπαιρό-
 μενος φρονήματι κενῷ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ
 λόγους μοχθηροὺς διεδίδου κρύφα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεί-
 2 οῖς. “Τίς ἄρα πονηρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπολαβὼν ἐκ κακῶν
 εἰς χεῖρονά φέρει δαίμων, οἱ Σύλλα μὲν ὁμοῦ τι
 συμπασης ἄρχοντι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ποιεῖν τὸ
 προσταττόμενον οὐκ ἡξιούμεν οἴκοι μένοντες,
 δεῦρο δὲ φθαρέντες ὡς ἐλεύθεροι βιωσόμενοι

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we try to get Asia?" However, a treaty was actually made and ratified with oaths. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, Sertorius sending him a general and soldiers, while Sertorius was to receive from Mithridates three thousand talents and forty ships. Accordingly, a general was sent to Asia by Sertorius, one of the senators who had taken refuge with him, Marcus Marius.¹ He was assisted by Mithridates in the capture of certain cities of Asia, and when he entered them with fasces and axes, Mithridates would follow him in person, voluntarily assuming second rank and the position of a vassal. Marius gave some of the cities their freedom, and wrote to others announcing their exemption from taxation by grace of Sertorius, so that Asia, which was once more harassed by the revenue-farmers and oppressed by the rapacity and arrogance of the soldiers quartered there, was all of a flutter with new hopes and yearned for the expected change of supremacy.

XXV. But in Spain, as soon as the senators and men of equal rank about Sertorius felt confident that they were a match for their enemies and dismissed their fears, they were seized with envy and foolish jealousy of their leader. They were encouraged in these feelings by Perpenna, whose high birth filled him with vain aspirations for the chief command, and he would hold malevolent discourses in secret among his associates: "What evil genius, pray, has seized us and is hurrying us from bad to worse? We would not consent to remain at home and do the bidding of Sulla when he was lord of all the earth and sea together, but we came to this land of destruction with the idea of living like freemen, and are now

¹ Cf. the *Lucullus*, viii. 5.

- δουλεύομεν ἐκουσίως τὴν Σερτωρίου δορυφο-
 ροῦντες φυγὴν, ὄνομα χλευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκου-
 όντων, σύγκλητος, όντες, ὕβρεις δὲ καὶ προσ-
 τάγματα καὶ πόνους οὐκ ἐλάττονας Ἰβήρων καὶ
 3 Λυσιτανῶν ὑπομένοντες;" τοιούτων ἀναπιμπλά-
 μενοι λόγων οἱ πολλοὶ φανερώς μὲν οὐκ ἀφί-
 σταντο, δεδοικότες αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, κρύφα δὲ
 τὰς τε πράξεις ἐλυμαίνοντο, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους
 ἐκάκουν κολάζοντες πικρῶς καὶ δασμολογοῦντες,
 ὡς Σερτωρίου κελεύοντος. ἐξ ὧν ἀποστάσεις
 4 ἐγίνοντο καὶ ταραχαὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δὲ
 πεμπόμενοι ταῦτα θεραπεύειν καὶ ἀποπραῦνειν
 ἐπανήρχοντο πλείονας ἐξειργασμένοι πολέμους
 καὶ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἠϋξηκότες ἀπειθείας, ὥστε
 τὸν Σερτώριον ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ἐπιεικείας καὶ
 πραότητος μεταβαλόντα περὶ τοὺς ἐν Ὀσκη
 τρεφομένους παρανομῆσαι παῖδας τῶν Ἰβήρων,
 τοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντα, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδόμενον.

- XXVI. Ὁ δ' οὖν Περπέννας πλείονας ἐνωμό-
 τους ἔχων πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν προσάγεται καὶ
 Μάλλιον, ἓνα τῶν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας. οὗτος ἐρῶν
 τινος τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ μειρακίου καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος
 πρὸς αὐτὸ φράζει τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, κελεύων ἀμελή-
 σαντα τῶν ἄλλων ἐραστῶν αὐτῷ μόνῳ προσέχειν
 ὡς ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων μεγάλῳ γενησομένῳ. τὸ
 δὲ μειράκιον ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐραστῶν Αὐφιδίῳ
 2 μᾶλλον προσπεπονθὸς ἐκφέρει τὸν λόγον. ἀκού-
 σας δὲ ὁ Αὐφίδιος ἐξεπλάγη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς
 μετεῖχε τῆς ἐπὶ Σερτώριον συνωμοσίας, οὐ μέντοι
 τὸν Μάλλιον ἐγίνωσκε μετέχοντα. Περπένναν
 δὲ καὶ Γρακῖνον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, ὧν αὐτὸς ἤδει

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voluntarily slaves in the body-guard of Sertorius the exile, being a senate, a name jeered at by all who hear it, and submitting to no lesser insults, injunctions, and toils than Iberians and Lusitanians." Most of his hearers, their minds infected with such sentiments as these, did not, indeed, openly desert Sertorius, because they were in fear of his power; but they secretly tried to vitiate his enterprises, and abused the Barbarians with severe punishments and exactions, on the plea that Sertorius thus ordered. Consequently there were revolts and disturbances among the cities. And those who were sent to assuage and cure these disorders brought more wars to pass before they returned, and increased the existing insubordination, so that Sertorius laid aside his former clemency and mildness and wrought injustice upon the sons of the Iberians who were being educated at Osca,¹ killing some, and selling others into slavery.

XXVI. Perpenna, accordingly, having now more accomplices in his attempt upon Sertorius, brought into their number Manlius also, one of those in high command. This Manlius was enamoured of a beautiful boy, and as a mark of his affection for him told him of the conspiracy, bidding him neglect his other lovers and devote himself to him alone, since within a few days he was to be a great personage. But the boy carried the tale to another one of his lovers, Aufidius, to whom he was more devoted. And Aufidius, on hearing the story, was astounded; for though he himself was a party to the conspiracy against Sertorius, he did not know that Manlius was. But since the boy mentioned by name Perpenna, Gracinus, and sundry others of those whom Aufidius knew to

¹ Cf. chapter xiv. 2 f.

- συνωμοτῶν, ὀνομάζοντος τοῦ μειρακίου, διαταραχθεὶς πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξεφλαύριζε τὸν λόγον, καὶ παρεκάλει τοῦ Μαλλίου καταφρονεῖν ὡς κενοῦ καὶ ἀλαζόνος, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Περπένηναν πορευθεὶς καὶ φράσας τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ καιροῦ
- 3 καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιχειρεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἄνθρωπον γράμματα κομίζοντα τῷ Σερτωρίῳ προσήγαγον. ἐδήλου δὲ τὰ γράμματα νίκην τινὸς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατηγῶν καὶ φόνον πολὺν τῶν πολεμίων. ἐφ' οἷς τοῦ Σερτωρίου περιχαροῦς ὄντος καὶ θύοντος εὐαγγέλια, Περπένηνας ἐστίασιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι φίλοις (οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας) ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ πολλὰ λιπαρήσας ἔπεισεν ἐλθεῖν.
- 4 Ἄει μὲν οὖν τὰ μετὰ Σερτωρίου δεῖπνα πολλὴν εἶχεν αἰδῶ καὶ κόσμον, οὔτε ὅραν τι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν οὔτε ἀκούειν ὑπομένοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνόντας εὐτάκτοις καὶ ἀνυβρίστοις παιδιαῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ἐθίζοντος· τότε δέ, τοῦ πότου μεσοῦντος, ἀρχὴν ἀψιμαχίας ζητοῦντες ἀναφανδὸν ἀκολάστοις ἐχρῶντο ῥήμασι, καὶ πολλὰ προσποιούμενοι μεθύειν ἠσέλγαινον ὡς
- 5 παροξυνοῦντες ἐκείνους. ὁ δὲ εἴτε δυσχεραίνων τὴν ἀκοσμίαν, εἴτε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν τῇ θρασυτητι τῆς λαλιᾶς καὶ τῇ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὀλιγωρίᾳ συμφρονήσας, μετέβαλε τὸ σχῆμα τῆς κλισίας, ὑπτίον ἀνείς ἑαυτόν, ὡς οὔτε προσέχων οὔτε κατακούων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Περπένηνας φιάλην τινὰ λαβὼν ἀκράτου μεταξὺ πίνων ἀφήκεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ψόφον ἐποίησεν, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς σύμ-

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be among the conspirators, Aufidius was confounded, and after making light of the story to the boy and exhorting him to despise Manlius as an empty braggart, he himself went to Perpenna, told him of the sharpness of the crisis and of their peril, and urged him to attempt the deed. The conspirators were persuaded, and after providing a man to act as the bearer of letters, they introduced him to Sertorius. His letters made known a victory of one of the generals serving under Sertorius, and a great slaughter of the enemy. At this Sertorius was overjoyed and offered a sacrifice of glad tidings, during which Perpenna proposed a banquet for him and his friends who were present (and these were of the conspiracy), and after much entreaty persuaded him to come.

Now, the suppers at which Sertorius was present were always marked by restraint and decorum, since he would not consent to see or hear anything that was disgraceful, but held his associates to the practice of indulging only in mirth and merriment that was decorous and restrained. On this occasion, however, when the drinking was well under way, the guests, seeking occasion for a quarrel, openly indulged in dissolute language, and, pretending to be drunk, committed many indecencies, with the hope of angering Sertorius. But he, either because he was vexed at their disorderly conduct, or because he had become aware of their purpose from the boldness of their talk and their unwonted contempt for his wishes, changed his posture on the couch and threw himself upon his back, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. But when Perpenna, after taking a cup of wine in his hands, dropped it as he was drinking and made a clatter with it, which was

βολον, Ἀντώνιος ὑπερκατακείμενος παίει τῷ
6 ξίφει τὸν Σερτώριον. ἀναστρέψαντος δὲ πρὸς
τὴν πληγὴν ἐκείνου καὶ συνεξανισταμένου, περι-
πεσὼν εἰς τὸ στῆθος κατέλαβε τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφο-
τέρας, ὥστε μὴδὲ ἀμυνόμενον πολλῶν παιόντων
ἀποθανεῖν.

XXVII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείστοι τῶν Ἰβήρων
εὐθὺς ὥχοντο καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιπρε-
σβευσάμενοι τοῖς περὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Μέτελλον·
τοὺς δὲ συμμείναντας ὁ Περπέννας ἀναλαβὼν
ἐπεχείρει τι πράττειν. χρησάμενος δὲ ταῖς Σερ-
τωρίου παρασκευαῖς ὅσον ἐνασχημονῆσαι καὶ
φανερὸς γενέσθαι μῆτε ἄρχειν μῆτε ἄρχεσθαι
2 πεφυκῶς, Πομπηίῳ προσέβαλε· καὶ ταχὺ συν-
τριβεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γενόμενος αἰχμάλωτος οὐδὲ
τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπέμεινε συμφορὰν ἡγεμονικῶς,
ἀλλὰ τῶν Σερτωρίου γραμμάτων κύριος γεγωνὼς
ὑπισχνεῖτο Πομπηίῳ δεῖξιν ὑπατικῶν ἀνδρῶν
καὶ μέγιστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυναμένων αὐτογράφους
ἐπιστολάς, καλούντων Σερτώριον εἰς Ἰταλίαν,
ὥς πολλῶν ποθούντων τὰ παρόντα κινῆσαι καὶ
3 μεταβαλεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔργον οὖν ὁ Πομπη-
ῖος οὐ νέας φρενός, ἀλλ' εὖ μάλα βεβηκυίας καὶ
κατηρτυμένης ἐργασάμενος μεγάλων ἀπήλλαξε
τὴν Ῥώμην φόβῳ καὶ νεωτερισμῶν. τὰς μὲν
γὰρ ἐπιστολάς ἐκείνας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῦ
Σερτωρίου συναγαγὼν ἅπαντα κατέκαυσεν οὔτε
αὐτὸς ἀναγνοὺς¹ οὔτε ἐάσας ἕτερον· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν
Περπένναν κατὰ τάχος ἀνείλε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῶν
ὀνομάτων ἐξενεχθέντων πρὸς τινὰς ἀποστάσεις
καὶ ταραχαὶ γένωνται.

¹ αὐτὸς ἀναγνοὺς Naber : ἀναγνοὺς.

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their signal, Antonius, who reclined above Sertorius on the couch, smote him with his sword. Sertorius turned at the blow and would have risen with his assailant, but Antonius fell upon his chest and seized both his hands, so that he could make no defence even, and died from the blows of many.

XXVII. Well, then, most of the Iberians immediately went away, sent ambassadors to Pompey and Metellus, and delivered themselves up to them; but those who remained Perpenna took under his command and attempted to do something. After using the materials provided by Sertorius just enough to cut a sorry figure and make it clear that he was fitted by nature neither to command nor to obey, he attacked Pompey; and having been quickly crushed by him and taken prisoner, he did not even endure this extreme misfortune as a leader should, but, being in possession of the papers of Sertorius, he promised to show Pompey autograph letters from men of consular rank and of the highest influence in Rome, in which they invited Sertorius to come to Italy, assuring him that there were many there who desired eagerly to stir up a revolution and change the constitution. Pompey, then, did not act in this emergency like a young man, but like one whose understanding was right well matured and disciplined, and so freed Rome from revolutionary terrors. For he got together those letters and all the papers of Sertorius and burned them, without reading them himself or suffering anyone else to do so; and Perpenna himself he speedily put to death, through fear that seditions and disturbances might arise if the names of the correspondents of Sertorius were communicated to anybody.¹

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, xx. 4.

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- 4 Τῶν δὲ τῷ Περπέννα συνομοσαμένων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Πομπηΐον ἀναχθέντες διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες εἰς Λιβύην ὑπὸ Μαυρουσίων κατηκοντίσθησαν. διέφυγε δ' οὐδεὶς πλὴν Αὐφίδιος ὁ τοῦ Μαλλίου ἀντεραστής· οὗτος δὲ ἢ λαθὼν ἢ παραμεληθεὶς ἐν τινὶ βαρβάρῳ κώμῃ πενόμενος καὶ μισούμενος κατεγήρασεν.

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Of Perpenna's fellow conspirators, some were brought to Pompey and put to death, others fled to Africa and fell victims to the spears of the Maurusians. Not one escaped, except Aufidius, the rival of Manlius; he, either because men did not notice him or because they did not heed him, came to old age in a barbarian village, a poor and hated man.

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ΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ

- I. Εὐμένη δὲ τὸν Καρδιανὸν ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις 583
 πατρὸς μὲν ἀμαξεύοντος ἐν Χερρονήσῳ διὰ πενίαν
 γενέσθαι, τραφῆναι δὲ ἐλευθερίως ἐν γράμμασι
 καὶ περὶ παλαίστραν· ἔτι δὲ παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ
 Φιλίππου παρεπιδημοῦντα καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντα
 τὰ τῶν Καρδιανῶν θεάσασθαι παγκράτια μειρα-
 κίων καὶ παλαίσματα παίδων, ἐν οἷς εὐημερή-
 σαντα τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ φανέντα συνετὸν καὶ ἀν-
 δρεῖον ἀρέσαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἀναληφθῆναι.
- 2 δοκοῦσι δὲ εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλον οἱ διὰ ξενίαν καὶ
 φιλίαν πατρῴαν τὸν Εὐμένη λέγοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Φιλίππου προαχθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου
 τελευτὴν οὔτε συνέσει τινὸς οὔτε πίσκει λείπε-
 σθαι δοκῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν
 ἀρχιγραμματεῖς, τιμῆς δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ μάλιστα
 φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις ἐτύγχανεν, ὥστε καὶ στρα-
 τηγὸς ἀποσταλῆναι κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ
 μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου παραλαβεῖν
 ἱππαρχίαν, ὅτε Περδίκκας, ἀποθανόντος Ἡφαι-
 3 στίωνος, εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου προῆλθε τάξιν. διὸ καὶ
 Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ ἀρχιπασπιστοῦ μετὰ τὴν
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I. EUMENES of Cardia, according to Duris, was the son of a man whom poverty drove to be a waggoner, in the Thracian Chersonesus, but received a liberal education in literature and athletics. While he was still a boy, Duris says further, Philip, who was sojourning in the place and had an hour of leisure, came to see the young men and boys of Cardia exercising in the pancratium¹ and in wrestling, among whom Eumenes had such success and gave such proofs of intelligence and bravery that he pleased Philip and was taken into his following. But in my opinion those historians tell a more probable story who say that a tie of guest-friendship with his father led Philip to give advancement to Eumenes. After Philip's death Eumenes was thought to be inferior to none of Alexander's followers in sagacity and fidelity, and though he had only the title of chief secretary, he was held in as much honour as the king's principal friends and intimates, so that on the Indian expedition he was actually sent out as general with a force under his own orders,² and received the command in the cavalry which Perdiccas had held, when Perdiccas, after Hephaestion's death, was advanced to that officer's position. Therefore when Neoptolemus, the commander of the Shield-bearers, after Alexander's

¹ A mixture of wrestling and boxing.

² Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 24, 6 f.

Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν λέγοντος ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἄσπίδα καὶ λόγχην, Εὐμένης δὲ γραφεῖον ἔχων καὶ πινακίδιον ἠκολούθει, κατεγέλων οἱ Μακεδόνες, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν γάμον οἰκειότητος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰδότες ἀξιοθέντα. Βαρσίνην γὰρ τὴν Ἀρταβάζου πρῶτην ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γνοὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐξ ἧς υἱὸν ἔσχεν Ἡρακλέα, τῶν ταύτης ἀδελφῶν Πτολεμαῖω μὲν Ἀπάμαν, Εὐμένει δὲ Βαρσίνην ἐξέδωκεν, ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Περσίδας διένειμε καὶ συνώκισε τοῖς ἐταίροις.

II. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέκρουσε πολλάκις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ παρεκινδύνευσεν δι' Ἡφαιστίωνα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Εὐτῷ τῷ αὐλητῇ τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος οἰκίαν κατανείμαντος ἦν οἱ παῖδες ἔτυχον τῷ Εὐμένει προκατειληφότες, ἐλθὼν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Εὐμένης ἐβόα μετὰ Μέντορος ὡς αὐλεῖν εἴη κράτιστον ἢ τραγωδεῖν τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψαντας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ συναγανακτεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ Ἡφαιστίωνι. ταχὺ μέντοι μεταπεσὼν αὐθις εἶχε τὸν Εὐμένη δι' ὀργῆς, ὡς ὕβρει μᾶλλον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα χρῆσάμενον.

Ἐπειτα Νέαρχον ἐκπέμπων μετὰ νεῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἤτει χρήματα τοὺς φίλους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ. τοῦ δ' Εὐμένους αἰτηθέντος μὲν τριακόσια τάλαντα, δόντος δὲ ἑκατὸν μόνα, καὶ ταῦτα γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις αὐτῷ συνειλέχθαι

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death, said that he had followed the king with shield and spear, but Eumenes with pen and paper, the Macedonians laughed him to scorn; they knew that, besides his other honours, Eumenes had been deemed worthy by the king of relationship in marriage. For Barsiné the daughter of Artabazus, the first woman whom Alexander knew in Asia, and by whom he had a son, Heracles, had two sisters; of these Alexander gave one, Apama, to Ptolemy, and the other, also called Barsiné,¹ to Eumenes. This was at the time when he distributed the other Persian women as consorts among his companions.²

II. However, Eumenes was often in collision with Alexander, and he got himself into danger through Hephaestion. In the first place, for instance, when Hephaestion assigned to Euius the flute-player the quarters which his servants had already taken up for Eumenes, Eumenes, accompanied by Mentor, came in a passion to Alexander and cried out that it was best for him to throw away his arms and be a flute-player or a tragic actor. The immediate result was that Alexander shared his indignation and heaped abuse upon Hephaestion. Soon, however, he changed his mind and was angry with Eumenes, feeling that he had indulged in insolence towards himself more than in bold words against Hephaestion.

Again, when Alexander was sending out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the outer sea, he asked money of his friends, since the royal treasury was empty. Eumenes was asked for three hundred talents, but gave only a hundred, and said that even these had been slowly and with difficulty collected for him by

¹ In Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 4, 6, the names of the sisters are Artacama and Artonis, respectively.

² Cf. the *Alexander*, lxx. 2.

- διὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων φάσκοντος, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλέσας οὐδὲ δεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς παῖδας κρύφα τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ Εὐμένους πῦρ ἐνεῖναι, βουλόμενος ἐκκομιζομένων τῶν χρημάτων λαβεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ
- 3 ψευδόμενον. ἔφθη δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ καταφλεχθεῖσα, καὶ μετενόησε τῶν γραμμάτων διαφθαρέντων ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. τὸ δὲ συγχυθὲν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνευρέθη πλείον ἢ χιλίων ταλάντων. ἔλαβε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράψας τοῖς πανταχοῦ σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἀντίγραφα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἀποστέλλειν πάντα 584 παραλαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Εὐμένη.
- 4 Πάλιν δὲ περὶ δωρεᾶς τινος εἰς διαφορὰν καταστάς πρὸς τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀκούσας κακῶς, πολλὰ δὲ εἰπών, τότε μὲν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔσχε· μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τελευτήσαντος Ἡφαιστίωνος περιπαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πᾶσιν οὗς ἐδόκει ζῶντι μὲν ἐκείνῳ φθονεῖν ἐπιχαίρειν δὲ τεθνηκότι τραχέως ὁμιλῶν καὶ χαλεπὸς ὢν, μάλιστα τὸν Εὐμένη δι' ὑποψίας εἶχε, καὶ προὔφερε
- 5 πολλάκις τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ λοιδορίας ἐκείνας. ὁ δὲ πανοῦργος ὢν καὶ πιθανὸς ἐπεχείρησεν οἷς ἀπώλλυτο σῶζειν ἑαυτόν. κατέφυγε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα φιλοτιμίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χάριν, ὑψηγούμενός τε τιμὰς αἰ μάλιστα κοσμεῖν ἔμελλον τὸν τεθνηκότα, καὶ χρήματα τελῶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ τάφου κατασκευὴν ἀφειδῶς καὶ προθύμως.
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his stewards. Alexander made no reproaches, nor did he take the money, but ordered his servants secretly to set fire to the tent of Eumenes, wishing to take its owner in a manifest lie when the treasure was carried out of it. But before that could be done the tent was consumed, and the destruction of his papers made Alexander repent him of his orders. Still, the gold and silver that was melted down by the fire was found to be more than a thousand talents' worth. Alexander took none of it, however, but actually wrote to his satraps and generals everywhere to send copies of the documents that had been destroyed, and ordered Eumenes to take them all in charge.

And still again, Eumenes had a quarrel with Hephaestion about a certain gift, and much abusive language passed between them. At the time, indeed, Eumenes was no less in favour than before ; but a little while afterwards Hephaestion died, and the king, in his bitter sorrow, dealt harshly and was severe with all who, as he thought, had been jealous of his favourite while he lived and now rejoiced at his death. Eumenes, in particular, he suspected of such feelings, and often reproached him for his former quarrels with Hephaestion and his abusive language towards him. But Eumenes, who was wily and persuasive, tried to make what threatened his ruin conduce to his salvation. He sought refuge, namely, in Alexander's ardent gratitude towards Hephaestion, suggesting honours which were most likely to adorn the memory of the deceased, and contributing money for the construction of his tomb lavishly and readily.

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- III. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος διεστῶσης πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους, τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ τούτοις προσένειμεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Εὐμένης, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ κοινός τις ἦν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ ἰδιώτης, ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον ξένῳ ὄντι πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐν ταῖς¹ Μακεδόνων διαφοραῖς. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀνασκευασμένων αὐτὸς ὑπολειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεπράυνε πολλοὺς τῶν πεζῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις ἡδίους ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναμιχθέντες ἀλλήλοις οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ταραχῶν διενέμοντο σατραπείας καὶ στρατηγίας, Εὐμένης λαμβάνει Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῇ Ποντικῇ θαλάττῃ μέχρι Τραπεζοῦντος, οὕτω τότε Μακεδόνων οὔσαν, Ἀριαράθης γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν, ἀλλ' ἔδει Λεοννάτον καὶ Ἀντίγονον χειρὶ μεγάλη τὸν Εὐμένη κατὰγοντας ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς χώρας σατράπην.
- 3 Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὖν οὐ προσέσχε τοῖς γραφεῖσιν ὑπὸ Περδίκκου, μετέωρος ὢν ἤδη καὶ περιφρονῶν ἀπάντων, Λεοννάτος δὲ κατέβη μὲν ἄνωθεν εἰς Φρυγίαν ἀναδεξόμενος Εὐμένει τὴν στρατείαν· Ἐκαταίου δὲ τοῦ Καρδιανῶν τυράννου συμμίξαν-

¹ ἐν ταῖς Bekker, after Coraës : ταῖς.

¹ June 13, 323 B.C.

² The quarrel was over the succession to Alexander's throne. The officers, supported by the cavalry, proposed that the crown be reserved for the child of Roxana by

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III. When Alexander was dead¹ and a quarrel had arisen between the Macedonian men-at-arms and his principal officers, or companions,² Eumenes sided with the latter in his opinions, but in what he said he was a kind of common friend to both and held himself aloof from the quarrel, on the ground that it was no business of his, since he was a stranger, to meddle in disputes of Macedonians. Moreover, when the rest of the principal officers had withdrawn from Babylon, he remained behind in the city and mollified many of the men-at-arms and made them more disposed towards a settlement of the quarrel. And when the officers, having conferred with one another, brought their first tumultuous proceedings to an end, and were distributing satrapies and commands, Eumenes received Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the southern coast of the Euxine sea as far as Trapezus. It is true that at the time this territory was not yet subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes held royal sway over it; but Leonnatus and Antigonus, with a great army, were to conduct Eumenes thither and declare him satrap of the country.

Now, Antigonus paid no heed to the edicts of Perdiccas, being already lifted up in his ambitions and scorning all his associates; but Leonnatus came down from the interior into Phrygia in order to undertake the expedition in behalf of Eumenes. Here, however, Hecataeus the tyrant of Cardia joined him and be-

Alexander, if it should be a son, and that Perdiccas should be regent in the meantime; the infantry demanded that Arrhidaeus, the bastard brother of Alexander, should at once be proclaimed king. In the end a compromise was effected, and Perdiccas became chief in command under Arrhidaeus, with whom Alexander's son, when born, was to be joint king. Cf. the *Alexander*, lxxvii. 5.

τος αὐτῷ καὶ δεομένου βοηθεῖν μᾶλλον Ἀντιπάτρω
καὶ Μακεδόνων τοῖς ἐν Λαμία πολιορκουμένοις,
ὥρμητο διαβαίνειν καὶ τὸν Εὐμένην παρεκάλει καὶ
4 διήλαττε πρὸς τὸν Ἑκαταῖον. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
πατρικὴ τις ἐκ πολιτικῶν διαφορῶν ὑποψία πρὸς
ἀλλήλους· καὶ πολλάκις ὁ Εὐμένης ἐγεγόνει φα-
νερὸς κατηγορῶν τοῦ Ἑκαταίου τυραννοῦντος καὶ
παρακαλῶν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Καρδια-
νοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. διὸ καὶ τότε τοῦ Εὐμένους
παραιτουμένου τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας στρατείαν,
καὶ δεδιέναι φάσκοντος Ἀντίπατρον, μήπως
Ἑκαταίῳ χαριζόμενος καὶ πάλαι μισῶν αὐτὸν
ἀνέλῃ, πιστεύσας ὁ Λεοννάτος οὐδὲν ὦν ἐφρόνει
5 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρύψατο. λόγος μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἡ
βοήθεια καὶ πρόφασις, ἐγνώκει δὲ διαβὰς εὐθὺς
ἀντιποιεῖσθαι Μακεδονίας· καὶ τινὰς ἐπιστολάς
ἔδειξε Κλεοπάτρας μεταπεμπομένης αὐτὸν εἰς
Πέλλαν ὡς γαμησομένης. ὁ δ' Εὐμένης, εἴτε τὸν
Ἀντίπατρον δεδοικῶς εἴτε τὸν Λεοννάτον ἔμπλη-
κτον ὄντα καὶ φορᾶς μεστὸν ἀβεβαίου καὶ ὀξείας
ἀπογνούς, νύκτωρ ἀνέξευξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λαβὼν
ἀποσκευήν. εἶχε δὲ τριακοσίους μὲν ἵππεῖς, δια-
κοσίους δὲ τῶν παιδῶν ὀπλοφόρους, ἐν δὲ χρυσοῖς
6 εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια. φυ-
γῶν δὲ οὕτως πρὸς Περδίκκαν καὶ τὰ Λεοννάτου
βουλευμάτα κατειπὼν εὐθὺς μὲν ἴσχυε μέγα παρ'
αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου μετεῖχε, ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστε-
ρον εἰς Καππαδοκίαν κατήχθη μετὰ δυνάμεως,

¹ On the death of Alexander the Greeks had revolted from Macedonia, and had driven Antipater and his army into Lamia, a city of southern Thessaly.

² The sister of Alexander, widow, since 326 B.C., of the

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sought him to go rather to the assistance of Antipater and the Macedonians besieged in Lamia.¹ Leonnatus therefore determined to cross over to Greece, invited Eumenes to go with him, and tried to reconcile him with Hecataeus. For they had a hereditary distrust of one another arising from political differences; and frequently Eumenes had been known to denounce Hecataeus as a tyrant and to exhort Alexander to restore its freedom to Cardia. Therefore at this time also Eumenes declined to go on the expedition against the Greeks, saying he was afraid that Antipater, who had long hated him, would kill him to please Hecataeus. Then Leonnatus took him into his confidence and revealed to him all his purposes. Assistance to Antipater, namely, was what he alleged as a pretext for his expedition, but he really meant, as soon as he had crossed into Europe, to lay claim to Macedonia; and he showed certain letters from Cleopatra² in which she invited him to come to Pella and promised to marry him. But Eumenes, either because he was afraid of Antipater, or because he despaired of Leonnatus as a capricious man full of uncertain and rash impulses, took his own equipment and decamped by night.³ And he had three hundred horsemen, two hundred armed camp-followers, and in gold what would amount to five thousand talents of money. With this equipment he fled to Perdiccas, and by telling him of the designs of Leonnatus at once enjoyed great influence with him and was made a member of his council. Moreover, a little while after he was conducted into Cappadocia with an army king of Epeirus. No less than six of Alexander's generals sought her hand in marriage.

³ According to Nepos (*Eumenes*, ii. 4), Leonnatus, failing to persuade Eumenes, tried to kill him.

αὐτοῦ Περδίκκου παρόντος καὶ στρατηγούντος. 585
 Ἀριαράθου δὲ ληφθέντος αἰχμαλώτου καὶ τῆς
 χώρας ὑποχειρίου γενομένης ἀποδείκνυται σατρά-
 7 πης. καὶ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις
 παρέδωκε, καὶ φρουράρχους ἐγκατέστησε καὶ δι-
 καστὰς ἀπέλιπε καὶ διοικητὰς οὓς ἐβούλετο, τοῦ
 Περδίκκου μηδὲν ἐν τούτοις πολυπραγμονούντος,
 αὐτὸς δὲ συνανέβευξεν ἐκείνόν τε θεραπεύων καὶ
 τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολείπεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος.

IV. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὁ Περδίκκας ἐφ' ἃ μὲν ὥρμητο
 πιστεύων δι' αὐτοῦ προσάξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὑπολειπό-
 μενα δεῖσθαι δραστηρίου τε καὶ πιστοῦ φύλακος
 οἶόμενος, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐκ Κιλικίας τὸν Εὐμένην,
 λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σατραπείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ
 τὴν ὁμορον Ἀρμενίαν τεταραγμένην ὑπὸ Νεοπτο-
 2 λέμου διὰ χειρὸς ἔξοντα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ Εὐ-
 μένης, καίπερ ὄγκῳ τινὶ καὶ φρονήματι κενῷ
 διεφθαρμένον, ἐπειρᾶτο ταῖς ὁμιλίαις κατέχειν·
 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπηρμένην
 καὶ θρασεῖαν εὐρών, ὥσπερ ἀντίταγμα κατεσκεύ-
 αζεν αὐτῇ δύναμιν ἱππικὴν, τῶν μὲν ἐγχωρίων
 τοῖς ἱππεύειν δυναμένοις ἀνεισφορίας διδοὺς καὶ
 3 ἀτελείας, τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν οἷς μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν
 ὠνητοὺς διανέμων ἵππους, φιλοτιμίαις τε καὶ δω-
 ραῖς τὰ φρονήματα παροξύνων καὶ τὰ σώματα
 κινήσει καὶ μελέταις διαπονῶν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν
 ἐκπλαγῆναι, τοὺς δὲ θαρρῆσαι τῶν Μακεδόνων,
 ὁρῶντας ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡθροισμένους

¹ Arrhidaeus and the infant son of Alexander, both under the guardianship of Perdiccas. Eumenes thus ranged himself with the legitimists.

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which Perdiccas commanded in person. There Ariathes was taken prisoner, the country was brought into subjection, and Eumenes was proclaimed satrap. He entrusted the cities of the country to his own friends, appointed commanders of garrisons, left behind him such judges and administrators as he wished, Perdiccas not at all interfering in these matters, and then marched away with Perdiccas, desiring to pay court to that general, and not wishing to be separated from the kings.¹

IV. However, Perdiccas felt confident of carrying out his projects by himself, and thought that the country they had left behind them needed an efficient and faithful guardian, and therefore sent Eumenes back from Cilicia, ostensibly to his own satrapy, but really to reduce to obedience the adjacent country of Armenia, which had been thrown into confusion by Neoptolemus.² Accordingly, although Neoptolemus was a victim of ostentation and empty pride, Eumenes tried to constrain him by personal intercourse; then, finding that the Macedonian men-at-arms were conceited and bold, he raised a force of cavalry as a counterpoise to them, by offering the natives of the country who were able to serve as horsemen immunity from contributions and tributes, and by distributing horses that he had bought among those of his followers in whom he placed most confidence; the spirits of these men, too, he incited by honours and gifts, and developed their bodies by exercise and discipline; so that a part of the Macedonians were amazed, and a part emboldened, when they saw that in a short time

² One of the principal officers of Alexander, to whom Armenia had been assigned as a province. Cf. chapter i. 3.

ἵππεῖς οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων.

- V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κρατερὸς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιγεγόμενοι διέβαινον εἰς Ἀσίαν τὴν Περδίκκου καταλύσοντες ἀρχήν, καὶ προσηγγέλλοντο μέλλοντες ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ὃ Περδίκκας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον στρατεύων ἀπέδειξε τὸν Εὐμένη τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ Καππαδοκίᾳ δυνάμεων αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγόν· καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολὰς ἔπεμψεν, Ἀλκέταν μὲν καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Εὐμένει προσέχειν κελεύσας, Εὐμένη δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἔγνωκεν. Ἀλκέτας μὲν οὖν ἄντικρυς ἀπείπατο τὴν στρατείαν, ὥς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ Μακεδόνων Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὲν αἰδουμένων μάχεσθαι, Κρατερὸν δὲ καὶ δέχεσθαι δι' εὐνοίαν ἐτοίμων ὄντων. Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἐπ' Εὐμένει προδοσίαν οὐκ ἔλαθε, καλούμενος δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλὰ
- 3 παρέταττε τὴν δύναμιν. ἔνθα πρῶτον ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπέλαυσε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προνοίας καὶ παρασκευῆς· ἡττώμενος γὰρ ἤδη κατὰ τὸ πεζὸν ἐτρέψατο τοῖς ἵππεύσι τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ φάλαγγι διεσπαρμένη περὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἄθρους ἐπελάσας ἠνάγκασε τὰ ὅπλα θέσθαι καὶ δόντας καὶ λαβόντας ὄρκους αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν.
- 4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νεοπτόλεμος ὀλίγους τινὰς συναγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἔφυγε πρὸς Κρατερὸν καὶ

¹ One of the ablest of Alexander's officers, who, in the division of the empire that followed Alexander's death, was made ruler, in common with Antipater, of Macedonia and Greece.

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he had assembled about him no fewer than sixty-three hundred horsemen.

V. And when Craterus¹ and Antipater, after overpowering the Greeks,² were crossing into Asia³ to overthrow the power of Perdiccas, and were reported to be planning an invasion of Cappadocia, Perdiccas, who was himself heading an expedition against Ptolemy,⁴ appointed Eumenes commander of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia with plenary powers. He also sent letters on the subject, in which he commanded Alcetas⁵ and Neoptolemus to look to Eumenes for orders, and Eumenes to manage matters as he thought best. Alcetas, then, flatly refused to serve in the campaign, on the ground that the Macedonians under him were ashamed to fight Antipater, and were so well disposed to Craterus that they were ready to receive him with open arms. Neoptolemus, however, plotting treachery against Eumenes, was detected, and when he was summoned would not obey, but drew up his forces in battle array. Here first did Eumenes reap the fruit of his forethought and preparation; for when his infantry had already been defeated, he routed Neoptolemus with his cavalry, and captured his baggage, and when the men-at-arms of Neoptolemus were scattered in pursuit of their enemies, charged upon them with his entire body of horse and compelled them to lay down their arms and make oath with him to serve under him.

Neoptolemus, then, collected a few of his men from the rout and fled to Craterus and Antipater.

² In the battle of Crannon, Aug. 7, 322, which put an end to the revolt of the Greeks and the war called the "Lamian" war.

³ In 321 B.C.

⁴ Now governor of Egypt.

⁵ A brother of Perdiccas.

Ἀντίπατρον. παρ' ἐκείνων δὲ ἀπέσταλτο πρεσβεία πρὸς Εὐμένη παρακαλοῦσα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, καρπούμενον μὲν ἄς εἶχε σατραπείας, προσλαβόντα δὲ στρατιὰν καὶ χώραν παρ' αὐτῶν, Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὲν ἀντ' ἐχθροῦ φίλον γενόμενον, Κρατερῷ δὲ μὴ γενόμενον ἐκ φίλου πολέμιον. ταῦτα ὁ Εὐμένης ἀκούσας Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παλαιὸς ὢν ἐχθρὸς νῦν γενέσθαι φίλος, ὅτε αὐτὸν ὁρᾷ τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ἐχθροῖς χρώμενον, Κρατερὸν δὲ Περδίκκα διαλλάττειν ἔτοιμος εἶναι καὶ συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ δικαίοις· ἄρχοντος δὲ πλεονεξίας τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ βοηθήσειν μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέῃ, καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ἢ τὴν πίστιν προήσεσθαι.

VI. Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον πυθόμενοι ταῦτα κατὰ σχολὴν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ὅλων, ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς αὐτούς τὴν τε μάχην ἀπήγγελλε καὶ παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοτέρους, πάντως δὲ Κρατερὸν· ποθεῖσθαι γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐκείνους ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ μόνον ἰδῶσι τὴν καυσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούσῃσι, μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἤξειν φερομένους. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ὄνομα τοῦ Κρατεροῦ μέγα, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν τοῦτον ἐπόθησαν οἱ πολλοί, μνημονεύοντες ὅτι καὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνεδέξατο πολλάκις ἀπεχθείας πολλάς, ὑποφερομένου πρὸς τὸν Περσικὸν ζῆλον ἀντιλαμβανόμενος, καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἀμύνων διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ ὄγκον ἤδη περιυβριζομένοις.

3 Τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Κρατερὸς τὸν μὲν Ἀντίπατρον

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But they had already sent an embassy to Eumenes inviting him to come over to their side ; he would enjoy possession of his present satrapies, would receive additional troops and territory from them, would become a friend to Antipater instead of an enemy, and would not become an enemy to Craterus instead of a friend. On hearing this proposition Eumenes replied that he had been Antipater's enemy from of old and could not now become his friend, when he saw him treating his friends as enemies, but that he was ready to reconcile Craterus with Perdikkas and bring the two together on just and equal terms ; if, however, either undertook to overreach the other he would give aid to the injured party as long as he had breath, and would rather lose his life than his honour.

VI. Craterus and Antipater, then, after getting this answer, were taking deliberate counsel about the whole situation, when Neoptolemus came to them after his flight, told them about the battle he had lost, and urged them to come to his aid, both of them if possible, but at any rate Craterus ; for the Macedonians longed for him exceedingly, and if they should only see his cap and hear his voice, they would come to him with a rush, arms and all. And indeed the name of Craterus was really great among them, and after the death of Alexander most of them had longed for him as their commander. They remembered that he had many times incurred the strong displeasure of Alexander himself in their behalf, by opposing his gradually increasing desire to adopt Persian customs, and by defending the manners of their country, which, thanks to the spread of luxury and pomp, were already being treated with contempt.

At the time of which I speak, then, Craterus sent

- εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναλαβὼν πολὺ μέρος ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐμένη μετὰ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου προῆγεν, οἰόμενος οὐ προσδεχομένῳ καὶ μετὰ πρόσφατον νίκην ἐν ἀταξία καὶ περὶ πότους ἔχοντι τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν προαισθέσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ προπαρασκευάσασθαι νηφούσης ἂν τις ἡγεμονίας, οὐ μὴν ἄκρας θείῃ δεινότητος· τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἀ μὴ καλῶς εἶχεν αἰσθέσθαι διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένους ἀγνοοῦντας ὧ μαχοῦνται προενσεῖσαι τῷ Κρατερῷ καὶ ἀποκρύψαι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον, ἴδιον δοκεῖ τούτου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἔργον γενέσθαι. διέδωκε μὲν οὖν λόγον ὡς Νεοπτόλεμος αὐθις ἐπλοῖο καὶ Πίγρης, ἔχοντες ἵππεῖς καὶ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Παφλαγόνων. νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναξεύξαι βουλόμενος,
- 5 εἶτα καταδαρθὼν ὄψιν εἶδεν ἀλλόκοτον. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁρᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρους δύο παρασκευαζομένους ἀλλήλοις μάχεσθαι, μιᾶς ἐκάτερον ἡγούμενον φάλαγγος· εἶτα τῷ μὲν τὴν Ἀθηνῶν, τῷ δὲ τὴν Δήμητραν βοηθοῦσαν ἐλθεῖν, γενομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ κρατηθῆναι τὸν μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τῷ δὲ νικῶντι σταχύων δρεπομένην τὴν Δήμητραν συμπλέκειν στέφανον.
- 6 Αὐτόθεν μὲν οὖν τὴν ὄψιν εἵκαζεν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, μαχομένου περὶ γῆς ἀρίστης καὶ τότε πολὺν καὶ καλὸν ἐχούσης ἐν κάλυκι στάχυν· ἅπαντα γὰρ κατέσπαοτο καὶ παρείχεν εἰρήνην

¹ Antipater, Craterus and Ptolemy had declared war against Perdiccas. The destruction of Perdiccas' ally, Eumenes, was a side issue. Perdiccas, taking with him Arrhidaeus and Roxana and her infant son, had already invaded

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Antipater into Cilicia,¹ while he himself with a large part of the forces advanced with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. He thought that he should fall upon him when he was off his guard, and when, after their recent victory, his soldiers were in revelry and disorder. Now, that Eumenes should learn beforehand of his approach and get himself ready for it in advance, one might consider a mark of sober generalship, though not of superlative ability; but that he should keep his enemies from getting any knowledge that would work him harm, and, besides this, that he should hurl his soldiers upon Craterus before they knew with whom they were fighting, and conceal from them the name of the opposing general, seems to me to have been an exploit peculiar to this commander. He gave out word, then, that Neoptolemus was once more coming against him, with Pigres, and that they had a force of Paphlagonian and Cappadocian cavalry. One night he was planning to decamp and then fell asleep and had a strange vision. He dreamed, namely, that he saw two Alexanders ready to give each other battle, each at the head of a phalanx; then Athena came to help the one, and Demeter the other, and after a fierce struggle the one who had Athena for a helper was beaten, and Demeter, culling ears of grain, wove them into a wreath for the victor.

At once, then, he conjectured that the vision was in his favour, since he was fighting for a country that was most fertile and had at that time an abundance of fine young grain in the ear; for the land had everywhere been sown and bespoke a time of peace,

Egypt in an attempt to destroy Ptolemy. Antipater was hastening to the aid of Ptolemy.

πρέπουσαν ὄψιν, ἀμφιλαφῶς τῶν πεδίων κομών-
των· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπερρώσθη πυθόμενος σύνθημα
τοῖς πολεμίοις Ἀθηναῖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι.
Δήμητραν δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδου σύνθημα καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀναδεῖσθαί τε πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ
καταστέφειν τὰ ὄπλα τῶν σταχύων λαμβάνοντας.
7 ὁρμήσας δὲ πολλάκις ἐξαγορεύσαι καὶ φράσαι
τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς πρὸς
ὃν ἔμελλεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μὴ μόνος ἐν αὐτῷ
θέμενος ἀποκρύψαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀπόρρητον
οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον, ὅμως ἐνέμεινε τοῖς λογισμοῖς
καὶ διεπίστευσε τῇ γνώμῃ τὸν κίνδυνον.

VII. Ἀντέταξε δὲ Κρατερῷ Μακεδόνων μὲν
οὐδένα, δύο δὲ ἱππαρχίας ξενικάς, ὧν Φαρνάβαζος
ὁ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Τενέδιος ἡγούντο,
διακελευσάμενος ὀφθέντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν
κατὰ τάχος καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι, μὴ διδόντας ἀνα-
στροφὴν μηδὲ φωνήν, μηδὲ κήρυκα πεμπόμενον
προσιεμένους. ἐδεδίει γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς Μακε-
δόνας, μὴ γνωρίσαντες τὸν Κρατερὸν οἴχωνται
2 μεταβαλόμενοι πρὸς ἐκείνον. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς
ἐρρωμενεστάτους ἱππεῖς τριακοσίους εἰς ἄγῃμα
συντάξας καὶ παρελάσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔμελλε
τοῖς περὶ Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπιχειρεῖν. ὥς δὲ τὸν ἐν
μέσῳ λόφον ὑπερβαλόντες ὤφθησαν ὀξεῖαν καὶ
μεθ' ὁρμῆς σφοδροτέρας ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔφοδον,
ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Κρατερὸς καὶ πολλὰ λοιδορήσας τὸν
Νεοπτόλεμον ὥς ἐξηπατημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ
τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων μεταβολῆς, ἐγκελευσάμενος 587
ἀνδραγαθεῖν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀντεξή-
λασε.

3 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς πρώτης συρράξεως βαρείας

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now that its plains were covered with a luxuriant growth ; and he was all the more strengthened in his belief when he learned that the enemy's watchword was "Athena and Alexander." Accordingly, he too gave out a watchword, namely, "Demeter and Alexander," and ordered all his men to crown themselves and wreath their arms with ears of grain. But though he often felt an impulse to speak out and tell his principal officers who it was against whom their struggle was to be, and not to keep hidden away in his own breast alone a secret so important, nevertheless he abode by his first resolution and made his judgment surety for the peril.

VII. However, he arrayed against Craterus not a single Macedonian, but two troops of foreign horse commanded by Pharnabazus the son of Artabazus and Phoenix of Tenedos, who had strict orders to charge at full speed when the enemy came into view and engage them at close quarters, without giving them a chance to withdraw or say anything, and without receiving any herald they might send. For he had strong fears that his Macedonians, if they recognized Craterus, would go over to him. He himself, with a division of his best horsemen, three hundred in number, rode along to the right wing, where he purposed to attack Neoptolemus. When the forces of Eumenes had crossed the intervening hill and were seen coming on to the attack with a swift and impetuous dash, Craterus was dumbfounded and heaped much abuse upon Neoptolemus for having deceived him about the Macedonians changing sides ; but he exhorted his officers to act like brave men, and charged upon the enemy.

The first collision was severe, the spears were

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- καὶ τῶν δοράτων ταχὺ συντριβέντων, τοῦ δὲ ἀγῶνος ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὄντος, οὐ καταισχύνας ὁ Κρατερὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μὲν καταβαλὼν, πολλάκις δὲ τρεψάμενος τοὺς ἀντι-
 τεταγμένους, τέλος δὲ πληγεῖς ὑπὸ Θρακὸς ἐκ
 4 πλαγίων προσελάσαντος ἀπερρύνῃ τοῦ ἵππου.
 πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρήλασαν ἀγνο-
 οῦντες, Γοργίας δὲ τῶν Εὐμένους στρατηγῶν ἔγνω
 τε καὶ καταβὰς περιέστησε φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι
 κακῶς ἤδη διακειμένου καὶ δυσθανατοῦντος. ἐν
 τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος Εὐμένει συνήρχετο.
 μισοῦντες γὰρ ἀλλήλους πάλαι καὶ δι' ὀργῆς
 ἔχοντες ἐν μὲν δυσὶν ἀναστροφαῖς οὐ κατεῖδον,
 ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ γνωρίσαντες εὐθύς ἤλαυνον,
 5 σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια καὶ βοῶντες. τῶν δ'
 ἵππων ἐξ ἐναντίας βία συμπεσόντων ὥσπερ
 τριήρων, τὰς ἡνίας ἀφέντες ἀλλήλων ἐπεδρά-
 ξαντο ταῖς χερσί, τὰ τε κράνη περισπῶντες καὶ
 περιρρηγνύντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπωμίδων τοὺς θώρακας.
 πρὸς δὲ τὸν σπαραγμὸν ὑπεκδραμόντων ἅμα τῶν
 ἵππων, ἀπορρυέντες εἰς γῆν καὶ περιπεσόντες
 6 ἀλλήλοις ἐν λαβαῖς ἦσαν καὶ διεπάλαιον. εἴτα ὁ
 μὲν Εὐμένης τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου προεξανισταμένου
 τὴν ἰγνύαν ὑπέκοψεν αὐτὸς εἰς ὀρθὸν φθάσας
 καταστῆναι, ὁ δὲ Νεοπτόλεμος εἰς θάτερον ἐρεισά-
 μενος γόνυ, θάτερον δὲ πεπηρωμένος, ἡμύνετο
 μὲν εὐρώστως κίτῳθεν, οὐ θανασίμους δὲ πληγὰς
 ὑποφέρων, πληγεῖς δὲ παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἔπεισε
 7 καὶ παρείθη. τοῦ δὲ Εὐμένους δι' ὀργὴν καὶ
 μῖσος παλαιὸν τὰ τε ὅπλα περισπῶντος αὐτοῦ

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quickly shattered, and the fighting was done with the swords. Here Craterus did not disgrace Alexander, but slew many foes, and frequently routed the opposing arrays. At last, however, he was wounded by a Thracian who attacked him from the side, and fell from his horse. As he lay prostrate there all his enemies rode past him, not knowing who he was, except Gorgias, one of the officers of Eumenes; he recognized him, dismounted from his horse, and stood guard over his body, for he was now in an evil plight and struggling with death. In the meantime Neoptolemus also was engaged with Eumenes. They had long hated one another with a deadly hatred, but in two onsets neither had caught sight of the other; in the third, however, they recognized each other, and at once drew their swords and with loud cries rode to the attack. Their horses dashed together with the violence of colliding triremes, and dropping the reins they clutched one another with their hands, each trying to tear off the other's helmet and strip the breastplate from his shoulders. While they were struggling, their horses ran from under them and they fell to the ground, where they closed with one another and wrestled for the mastery. Then Eumenes, as Neoptolemus sought to rise first, gave him an undercut in the ham, and himself got to his feet before his adversary did; but Neoptolemus, supporting himself on one knee, and wounded in the other, defended himself vigorously from underneath. He could not, however, inflict fatal wounds, but was himself wounded in the neck, fell to the ground, and lay there prostrate. His sword, however, he still retained, and while Eumenes, transported with rage and ancient hatred, was stripping off his armour and

καὶ κακῶς λέγοντος, ἔτι τὸ ξίφος ἔχων ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ τὸν θώρακα τρώσας, ἥ παρέψαυσε τοῦ βουβῶνος ἀποβάς. ἡ δὲ πληγὴ μᾶλλον ἐφόβησεν ἢ ἔβλαψε τὸν Εὐμένη, δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀμυδρὰ γενομένην.

Σκυλεύσας δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν εἶχε μὲν χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων μηροὺς καὶ βραχίονας διακεκομμένος, ὅμως δὲ ἀναβληθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐδίωκε πρὸς θάτερον κέρας, ὡς ἔτι συνεστῶτων τῶν
8 πολεμίων. πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Κρατεροῦ τελευτὴν καὶ προσελάσας, ὡς εἶδεν ἐμπνέοντα καὶ συνιέντα, καταβὰς ἀπεδάκρυσεν καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησε τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὤκτίσατο τῆς τύχης, αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς ἀνάγκης, δι' ἣν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ συνήθει ταῦτα πεισόμενος ἢ δράσων συνηνέχθη.

VIII. Ταύτην τὴν μάχην Εὐμένης ἡμέραις δέκα σχεδόν τι μετὰ τὴν προτέραν ἐνίκησε· καὶ δόξῃ μὲν ἤρθη μέγας ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς τὰ μὲν σοφία, τὰ δὲ ἀνδρεία κατειργασμένος, φθόνον δὲ πολὺν ἔσχε καὶ μῖσος ὁμαλῶς παρά τε τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς ἔπηλυσ ἀνὴρ καὶ ξένος ὄπλοις καὶ χερσὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν καὶ
2 δοκιμώτατον ἀννηρικῶς. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἔφθη Περδίκκας πυθόμενος τὴν Κρατεροῦ τελευτὴν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλος ἐπρώτευσεν Μακεδόνων· νυνὶ δὲ ἀννηρμένου Περδίκκου κατὰ στάσιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δυσὶν ἡμέραις πρότερον ἤκεν οὗτος ὁ περὶ τῆς μάχης

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reviling him, Neoptolemus surprised him with a wound under the breastplate, where it reaches the groin. But the blow gave Eumenes more fright than harm, since lack of strength made it feeble.

After stripping the dead body, weak as he was from wounds received in legs and arms, Eumenes nevertheless had himself put upon his horse and hastened to the other wing, supposing that the enemy were still resisting. But when he learned of the fate of Craterus and had ridden up to where he lay, and saw that he was still alive and conscious, he dismounted, wept bitterly, clasped his hand, and had many words of abuse for Neoptolemus, and many words of pity for Craterus in his evil fortune, and for himself in the necessity which had brought him into a conflict with a friend and comrade, where he must do or suffer this harm.¹

VIII. This battle was won by Eumenes about ten days after the former.² It lifted his reputation high, and he was thought to have accomplished his task alike with wisdom and bravery ; but it got him much envy and hatred as well among his allies as among his enemies. They felt that he, an alien and a stranger, had used the arms and might of the Macedonians for slaying the foremost and most approved of them. Now, if Perdiccas could have learned in time of the death of Craterus, no one else would have had chief place among Macedonians ; but as it was, he was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers in Egypt³ two days before this report of the battle

¹ According to Nepos (*Eumenes*, iv. 4), Eumenes gave Craterus worthy funeral rites, and sent his remains to his wife and children in Macedonia.

² Cf. chapter v. 3.

³ See the note on chapter vi. 3.

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λόγος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν εὐθύς οἱ Μακεδόνες θάνατον τοῦ Εὐμένους κατέγνωσαν. ἀπεδείχθη δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονος μετὰ Ἀντιπάτρου στρατηγός.

- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Εὐμένης τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἵπποφορβίοις περὶ τὴν Ἰδην νεμομένοις ἐπιτυχὼν καὶ λαβὼν ἵππους ἄσων ἔχρηξε τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς τὴν γραφὴν ἐπέμψέ, λέγεται γελάσαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι θαυμάζει τὸν Εὐμένη τῆς προνοίας, ἐλπίζοντα λόγον αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν τῶν βασιλικῶν ἢ λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. περὶ δὲ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐβούλετο μὲν ἱπποκρατῶν ὁ Εὐμένης τοῖς Λυδοῖς ἐναγωνίσασθαι πεδίοις, ἅμα καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ 588 τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδεῖξαι φιλοτιμούμενος· αὐτῆς δὲ ἐκείνης δεηθείσης (ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ αἰτίαν τινὰ λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον) ἐξήλασεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Φρυγίαν καὶ διεχεύμαζεν ἐν Κελαιναῖς· ὅπου τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν καὶ Πολέμονα καὶ Δόκιμον ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας διαφιλοτιμουμένων πρὸς αὐτόν, “Τοῦτο ἦν,” ἔφη, “τὸ λεγόμενον,
- 5 ‘Ὀλέθρου δ' οὐθεὶς λόγος.’” τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ὑποσχόμενος ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδώσειν ἐπίπρασκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπαύλεις καὶ τετραπυργίας σωμάτων καὶ βοσκημάτων γεμούσας. ὁ δὲ πριάμενος ἡγεμῶν τάγματος ἢ ξεναγὸς ὄργανα καὶ μηχανὰς τοῦ Εὐμένους παρέχοντος ἐξεπολιόρκει· καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν οἱ στρατιῶται διενέμοντο τῶν
- 6 ἀλίσκομένων ἕκαστον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν ὁ Εὐμένης ἠγαπᾶτο· καί ποτε γραμμάτων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φανέντων ἃ διέρριψαν οἱ τῶν πολε-

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came to his camp, and his Macedonians, in a rage, at once condemned Eumenes to death. Moreover, Antigonus was appointed to conduct the war against him, in conjunction with Antipater.

When Eumenes fell in with the royal herds of horse that were pasturing about Mount Ida, he took as many horses as he wanted and sent a written statement of the number to the overseers. At this, we are told, Antipater laughed and said that he admired Eumenes for his forethought, since he evidently expected to give an account of the royal properties to them, or to receive one from them. Because he was superior in cavalry, Eumenes wished to give battle in the plains of Lydia about Sardis, and at the same time he was ambitious to make a display of his forces before Cleopatra¹; but at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause for complaint, he marched away into upper Phrygia and wintered at Celaenae. Here Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus strove emulously with him for the chief command, whereupon he said: "This bears out the saying, 'Of perdition no account is made.' " Moreover, having promised to give his soldiers their pay within three days, he sold them the homesteads and castles about the country, which were full of slaves and flocks. Then every captain in the phalanx or commander of mercenaries who had bought a place was supplied by Eumenes with implements and engines of war and took it by siege; and thus every soldier received the pay that was due him, in a distribution of the captured properties. In consequence of this, Eumenes was again in high favour; and once when letters were found in his camp which the leaders of the enemy

¹ See the note on chapter iii. 5.

μίῳν ἡγεμόνες, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καὶ τιμὰς διδόντες τῷ κτείναντι τὸν Εὐμένην, σφόδρα παρωξύνθησαν οἱ Μακεδόνες, καὶ δόγμα ποιοῦνται χιλίους τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν περὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ δορυφοροῦντας εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν περιόδῳ καὶ παρανυκτερεύειν.

- 7 οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, καὶ τιμὰς ἡγάπων παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντες ἃς οἱ φίλοι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἔξῃν γὰρ Εὐμένει καὶ καυσίας ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χλαμύδας διανέμειν, ἧτις ἦν δωρεὰ βασιλικωτάτη παρὰ Μακεδόσι.

- IX. Τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐτυχεῖν καὶ τοὺς φύσει μικροὺς συνεπικουφίζει τοῖς φρονήμασιν, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τι μέγεθος περὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὄγκον ἐκ πραγμάτων ὑπερεχόντων ἀποβλεπομένους· ὁ δὲ ἀληθῶς μεγαλόφρων καὶ βέβαιος ἐν τοῖς σφάλμασι μᾶλλον καὶ ταῖς δυσημερίαις ἀναφέρων
- 2 γίνεται κατάδηλος, ὥσπερ Εὐμένης. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ὀρκυνίοις τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου διὰ προδοσίας καὶ διωκόμενος οὐ παρήκε τὸν προδότην ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διαπεσεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ συλλαβὼν ἐκρέμασε. φεύγων δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν τοῖς διώκουσι μετέβαλε λαθῶν, καὶ παραλλάξας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὐ τὴν μάχην συνέβη γενέσθαι, κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ κωμῶν τὰ θυρώματα κατασχίσας ἔκαυσεν ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἡγεμόνας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ πολυνᾶδρια χώσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν

¹ Early in 320 B.C.

² Antigonus had corrupted Apollonides, commander of a division of cavalry under Eumenes, and he went over to the

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had caused to be scattered there, wherein they offered a hundred talents and honours to any one who should kill Eumenes, his Macedonians were highly incensed and made a decree that a thousand of the leading soldiers should serve him continually as a body-guard, watching over him when he went abroad and spending the night at his door. These carried out the decree, and were delighted to receive from Eumenes such honours as kings bestow upon their friends. For he was empowered to distribute purple caps and military cloaks, and this was a special gift of royalty among Macedonians.

IX. Now, prosperity lifts even men of inferior natures to higher thoughts, so that they appear to be invested with a certain greatness and majesty as they look down from their lofty state; but the truly magnanimous and constant soul reveals itself rather in its behaviour under disasters and misfortunes. And so it was with Eumenes. For, to begin with, he was defeated by Antigonus¹ at Orcynii in Cappadocia through treachery,² and yet, though in flight, he did not suffer the traitor to make his escape out of the rout to the enemy, but seized and hanged him. Then, taking the opposite route in his flight to that of his pursuers, he changed his course before they knew it, and, passing along by them, came to the place where the battle had been fought. Here he encamped, collected the bodies of the dead, and burned them on pyres made from the doors of the neighbouring villages, which he had split into billets. He burned the bodies of the officers on one pyre, those of the common soldiers on another, heaped great mounds of earth over the ashes, and enemy in the midst of the battle, with his division. Cf. Diodorus, xviii. 40, 5-8.

Ἀντίγονον ὕστερον ἐπελθόντα θαυμάζειν τὸ θάρσος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐστάθειαν.

- 3 Ἐπειτα ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου περιπεσών, καὶ λαβεῖν ῥαδίως δυνάμενος πολλὰ μὲν ἐλεύθερα σώματα, πολλὴν δὲ θεραπείαν καὶ πλούτον ἐκ πολέμων τοσούτων καὶ λεηλασιῶν ἡθροισμένον, ἔδεισε μὴ καταπλησθέντες ὠφελείας καὶ λαφύρων οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ βαρεῖς γένωνται πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν, καὶ μαλακώτεροι τὰς πλάνας ὑπομένειν καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχεν, ὥς ἀποστρέψων τὸν Ἀντίγονον.
- 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄντικρυς χαλεπὸν ἦν ἀποτρέπειν Μακεδόνας χρημάτων ἐν ἐφικτῷ παρόντων, ἐκέλευσε θεραπεύσαντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις χιλὸν ἐμβαλόντας οὕτω βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. αὐτὸς δὲ πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῶν πολεμίων Μένανδρον, ὥς κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ φίλου γεγονότος καὶ συνήθους, φυλάξασθαι παραιῶν καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῶν ἐπιδρόμων καὶ ταπεινῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐγγὺς ὑπώρειαν ἄφιππον οὔσαν καὶ κυκλώσεις οὐκ ἔχουσαν.
- 5 τοῦ δὲ Μενάνδρου ταχὺ συμφρονήσαντος τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ ἀνασκευασμένου, κατασκόπους ἔπεμπεν ὁ Εὐμένης φανερώς, καὶ 589 παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις ὀπλίζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐγχαλινοῦν ὥς προσάξων τοῖς πολεμίοις. τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων ἀπαγγειλάντων ὅτι παντάπασιν ὁ Μένανδρος ἄληπτος εἶη καταπεφευγὼς εἰς τόπους χαλεπούς, ἄχθεσθαι προσποιούμενος ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπήγε τὴν στρατιάν.
- 6 λέγεται δέ, τοῦ Μενάνδρου ταῦτα μαρτυρήσαντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον, καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπαι-

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departed, so that even Antigonus, when he came up later, admired his boldness and constancy.

Again, when he came upon the baggage of Antigonus, and could easily have captured many free-men, many slaves, and wealth amassed from so many wars and plunderings, he was afraid that his men, if loaded down with booty and spoils, would become too heavy for flight, and too luxurious to endure wanderings and lapse of time. In lapse of time, however, he placed his chief hopes for ending the war, feeling that he could thus cause Antigonus to turn back. But since it was quite a difficult matter to deflect his Macedonians from good things which were within their reach, he ordered them to refresh themselves and bait their horses before advancing upon the enemy. He himself, however, sent a secret message to Menander, who was in charge of the enemy's baggage, implying that he was concerned for him as an old time friend and comrade, and advising him to be on his guard and withdraw as quickly as possible from his low-lying and accessible position to the foot-hills near by, which could not be reached by cavalry or surrounded. Menander speedily comprehended his peril and decamped, and then Eumenes openly sent out scouts and ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and bridle their horses, as he was going to lead them against the enemy. But when the scouts brought word that Menander was altogether safe from capture now that he had taken refuge in a difficult region, Eumenes pretended to be vexed, and led his forces away. And it is said that when Menander bore witness of these things to Antigonus, and the Macedonians began to praise Eumenes and felt more

νούντων τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον δια-
τεθέντων, ὅτι καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι
καὶ γυναῖκας αἰσχῦναι παρὸν ἐφείσατο καὶ παρή-
κεν, “ Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνός γε,” φάναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον,
“ οὐχ ὑμῶν, ὦ μακάριοι, κηδόμενος παρήκεν, ἀλλ’
αὐτῷ φεύγοντι δεδιὼς περιθεῖναι πέδας τοσαύ-
τας.”

Χ. Ἐκ τούτου πλανώμενος ὁ Εὐμένης καὶ
ὑποφεύγων ἔπεισε τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἀπελθεῖν, εἴτε κηδόμενος αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐφέλκεσθαι
μὴ βουλόμενος ἐλάττονας μὲν τοῦ μάχεσθαι,
πλείονας δὲ τοῦ λανθάνειν ὄντας. καταφυγὼν
δὲ εἰς Νῶρα, χωρίον ἐν μεθορίῳ Λυκαονίας καὶ
Καππαδοκίας, μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων καὶ
διακοσίων ὀπλιτῶν, κἀντεῦθεν αὖθις, ὅσοι τῶν
φίλων ἐδεήθησαν ἀφεθῆναι τοῦ χωρίου τὴν χαλε-
πότητα καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὴν ἀνάγκην οὐ φέροντες,
πάντας ἀσπασάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς ἀπέ-
2 πεμψεν. ὥς δὲ ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος εἰς λόγους
αὐτὸν ἐκάλει πρὸ τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀπεκρίνατο
πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντιγόνου φίλους καὶ μετὰ
Ἀντίγονον ἡγεμόνας, ὧν δὲ αὐτὸς προπολεμεῖ μη-
δένα λείπεσθαι μετ’ αὐτόν· ὁμήρους δὲ πέμπειν
ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ χρήζει διὰ λόγων αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.
τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου κελεύοντος ὡς κρείττονι λαλεῖν,
“ Οὐδένα,” εἶπεν, “ ἑμαυτοῦ κρείττονα νομίζω,
3 μέχρι ἂν ὦ τοῦ ξίφους κύριος.” ὅμως δὲ πέμ-
ψαντος τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Πτολε-
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kindly towards him, because, when it was in his power to enslave their children and outrage their wives, he had spared them and let them go, Antigonus said: "Nay, my good men, that fellow did not let them go out of regard for you, but because he was afraid to put such fetters on himself in his flight."

X. After this, as he wandered about and sought to elude his enemies, Eumenes persuaded most of his soldiers to leave him,¹ either out of regard for them, or because he was unwilling to trail after him a body of men too small to give battle, and too large to escape the enemy's notice. Moreover, after he had taken refuge in Nora, a stronghold on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with five hundred horsemen and two hundred men-at-arms, even there again, whatsoever friends asked to be dismissed because they could not endure the asperities of the place and the constraint in diet, all these he sent away, after bestowing upon them tokens of affection and kindness. And when Antigonus came up and invited him to a conference before the siege began, he replied that the friends of Antigonus and officers to succeed Antigonus in command were many, whereas those in whose behalf he was fighting had no one left to command them after him; and he bade Antigonus to send hostages if he wanted to have a conference with him. Moreover, when Antigonus demanded to be addressed by him as a superior, Eumenes replied: "I regard no man as my superior so long as I am master of my sword." Nevertheless, after Antigonus had sent his nephew Ptolemy

¹ Many deserted to Antigonus, according to Diodorus (xviii. 41, 1).

μαῖον εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ὥσπερ ἠξίωσεν ὁ Εὐμένης, κατέβη, καὶ περιβαλόντες ἀλλήλους ἡσπάσαντο φιλικῶς καὶ οἰκείως, ἅτε δὴ ἀλλήλοις κεχρημένοι πολλὰ καὶ συνήθεις γεγονότες. λόγων δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ Εὐμένους οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας μεμνημένου καὶ διαλύσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς σατραπείας ἀξιούντος αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦσθαι καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀποδίδοσθαι, θαῦμα τοὺς παρόντας εἶχε
 4 τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν εὐτολμίαν ἀγαμένους. ἅμα δὲ πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον τῶν Μακεδόνων ἰδεῖν ὅστις ἐστὶ τὸν Εὐμένην ποθοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ ἑτέρου λόγος ἦν τοσοῦτος ἐν τῷ στρατῷ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κρατεροῦ τελευτήν. δείσας δὲ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μή τι πάθῃ βίαιον, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπηγόρευε μὴ προσιέναι βοῶν, καὶ τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλε τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους, τέλος δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν Εὐμένην περιβαλὼν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἀπερύκων τοῖς δορυφόροις μόλις εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποκατέστησε.

XI. Τούντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν περιτειχίσας τὰ Νῶρα καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν ἀνέξευξεν· Εὐμένης δὲ πολιορκούμενος ἐγκρατῶς, τοῦ χωρίου σῖτον καὶ ὕδωρ ἄφθονον καὶ ἅλας καὶ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχοντος ἐδώδιμον μηδὲ ἡδυσμα πρὸς τὸν σῖτον, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὅμως κατεσκεύαζε τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἰλαρὰν τὴν δίαιταν, ἐν μέρει τε παραλαμβάνων πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν, καὶ τὸ συσσίτιον ὁμιλία
 2 χάριν ἐχούσῃ καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐφηδύνων. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἡδύς, οὐ πολεμικῇ καὶ τετριμμένῃ δι' ὅπλων ἐοικώς, ἀλλὰ γλαφυρὸς καὶ νεοπρεπής, καὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διηρθρωμένος ὥς ὑπὸ τέχνης ἀκριβῶς τοῖς μέλεσι θαυμαστὴν συμμετρίαν ἔχου-

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into the fortress, as Eumenes had demanded, Eumenes went down to meet him, and they embraced one another with greetings of friendship and affection, since they had formerly been close associates and intimate companions. A long conference was held, in which Eumenes made no mention of his own safety or of peace, but actually demanded that he should be confirmed in the possession of his satrapies, and that what was his by gift should be restored to him. At this the bystanders were amazed, and they admired his lofty spirit and confidence. But meanwhile many of the Macedonians came running together in their eagerness to see what sort of a man Eumenes was; for no one else had been so much talked about in the army since the death of Craterus. Then Antigonus, afraid that Eumenes might suffer some violence, first loudly forbade the soldiers to approach, and pelted with stones those who were hurrying up, but finally threw his arms about Eumenes and, keeping off the throng with his bodyguards, with much ado removed him to a place of safety.

XI. After this, Antigonus built a wall round Nora, left troops to guard it, and retired; Eumenes, however, although closely besieged in a stronghold which had grain, water in abundance, and salt, but no other edible, not even a relish to go with the grain, nevertheless, with what he had, managed to render the life of his associates cheerful, inviting them all by turns to his own table, and seasoning the meal thus shared with conversation which had charm and friendliness. For he had a pleasant face, not like that of a war-worn veteran, but delicate and youthful, and all his body had, as it were, artistic proportions, with limbs of astonishing symmetry; and

σιν, εἰπεῖν δὲ οὐ δεινός, αἰμύλος δὲ καὶ πιθανός, ὥς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν συμβάλλειν ἐστίν.

- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένους ἡ 590
στενοχωρία μάλιστα πάντων ἔβλαπτεν, ἐν οἰκή-
μασι μικροῖς καὶ τόπῳ δυοῖν σταδίῳ ἔχοντι τὴν
περίμετρον ἀναστρεφόμενους, τροφὴν δὲ ἀγυμνά-
στους μὲν αὐτοὺς λαμβάνοντας, ἀργοῖς δὲ τοῖς
ἵπποις προσφέροντας, οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄλυν αὐτῶν
ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπραξίας μαραινομένων ἀπαλλάξαι
βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν, εἰ παραπέσοι
4 καιρός, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἡσκημένοις χρήσασθαι, τοῖς
μὲν ἀνθρώποις οἶκον, ὃς ἦν μέγιστος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ,
δεκατεσσάρων πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος, ἀπέδειξε περίπα-
τον, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπιτείνειν τὴν κίνησιν κελεύων,
τῶν δ' ἵππων ἕκαστον ῥυτῇρσι μεγάλοις εἰς τὴν
ὄροφὴν ἀναδεδεμένοις ὑποζώσας ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν
αὐχένα μερῶν ἐμετεώριζε καὶ παρήγειρε διὰ
τροχιλίας, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν ὀπισθίοις σκέλεσιν ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς ἐρείδεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐμπροσθίοις ποσὶν
5 ἀκρωνύχους ἐπιψαύειν. οὕτω δ' ἀνηρτημένους
οἱ ἵπποκόμοι παρεστῶτες ἅμα ταῖς τε κραυγαῖς
καὶ ταῖς μαστιξίν ἐπηρέθιζον· οἱ δὲ πιμπλάμενοι
θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς τοῖς μὲν ὀπισθίοις ἐνήλλοντο
καὶ διεσκίρτων σκέλεσι, τοῖς δὲ μετεώροις ἐφίε-
μενοι στηρίσασθαι καὶ κροτοῦντες τὸ ἔδαφος
κατετείνοντο πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ πολὺν ἠφίεσαν
ιδρώτα καὶ σταλαγμόν, οὔτε πρὸς τάχος οὔτε
πρὸς ῥώμην γυμναζόμενοι κακῶς. τὰς δὲ κριθὰς
ἐνέβαλλον αὐτοῖς ἐπτισμένας, ἵνα κατεργάζωνται
θᾶπτον καὶ πέττωσι βέλτιον.

XII. Ἦδη δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας χρόνον λαμ-

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though he was not a powerful speaker, still he was insinuating and persuasive, as one may gather from his letters.

But most of all detrimental to his forces thus besieged was their narrow quarters, since their movements were confined to small houses and a place only two furlongs in circumference, so that neither men nor horses could get exercise before eating or being fed. Therefore, wishing to remove the weakness and languor with which their inactivity afflicted them, and, more than that, to have them somehow or other in training for flight, if opportunity should offer, he assigned the men a house, the largest in the place, fourteen cubits long, as a place to walk, ordering them little by little to increase their pace. And as for the horses, he had them all girt round the neck with great straps fastened to the roof, and raised them partly up into the air by means of pulleys, so that, while with their hind legs they rested firmly upon the ground, they just touched it with the tips of their fore hoofs. Then, while they were thus suspended, the grooms would stand at their sides and stir them up with shouts and strokes of the goad; and the horses, full of rage and fury, would dance and leap about on their hind legs, while with their swinging fore feet they would strike the ground and try to get a footing there, thus exerting their whole bodies and covering themselves with sweat and foam,—no bad exercise either for speed or strength.¹ Then their barley would be thrown to them boiled, that they might the sooner dispatch and the better digest it.

XII. But presently, as the siege dragged along,

¹ This device of Eumenes is described also in Diodorus, xviii. 42, 3 f., and in Nepos, *Eumenes*, v. 4 f.

- βανούσης Ἀντίγονος τεθνηκέναι πυνθανόμενος Ἀντίπατρον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, καὶ τεταράχθαι τὰ πράγματα Κασάνδρου καὶ Πολυσπέρχοντος διαφερομένων, οὐδὲν ἔτι μικρὸν ἐλπίζων, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν ὅλην περιβαλλόμενος ἡγεμονίαν, ἐβούλετο τὸν Εὐμένη φίλον ἔχειν καὶ συνεργὸν ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις. διὸ πέμψας Ἱερώνυμον ἐσπένδετο τῷ Εὐμένει, προτείνας ὄρκον, ὃν ὁ Εὐμένης διορθώσας ἐπέτρεψεν ἐπικρίναι τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν
- 2 αὐτὸν Μακεδόσι, πότερος εἶη δικαιότερος. Ἀντίγονος μὲν γὰρ ἀφοσιώσεως ἔνεκεν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμνησθεὶς τὸν λοιπὸν ὄρκον εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὥρκιζεν, Εὐμένης δὲ πρώτην μὲν ἐνέγραψε τοῖς ὄρκοις Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ἔπειτα ὥμνυεν οὐκ Ἀντιγόνῳ μόνον εὐνοήσειν οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔξειν καὶ φίλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. ὧν δικαιοτέρων φανέντων, οἱ Μακεδόνες ταῦτα ὀρκίσαντες τὸν Εὐμένη τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔλυσαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀπέστελλον, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδῶ τῷ Εὐμένει τὸν ὄρκον.
- 3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Εὐμένης ὅσους εἶχεν ἐν Νώροις τῶν Καππαδοκῶν ὁμήρους ἀπεδίδου, λαμβάνων ἵππους καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ σκηναὶς παρὰ τῶν κομιζομένων, καὶ συνῆγε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅσοι διασπαρέντες ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπλανῶντο κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὥστε περὶ αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς ὀλίγῃ τῶν χιλίων ἀποδέοντας γενέσθαι, μεθ' ὧν ἐξελάσας

¹ In 320 B.C. After the death of Perdiccas the supreme regency devolved upon Antipater, and he retired into Macedonia with the two kings. On his death he left the regency

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Antigonus learned that Antipater had died in Macedonia,¹ and that matters were in confusion owing to the dissension between Cassander and Polysperchon. He therefore cherished no longer an inferior hope, but embraced the whole empire in his scheme, and desired to have Eumenes as friend and helper in his undertakings. Accordingly, he sent Hieronymus to make a treaty with Eumenes, and proposed an oath for him to take. This oath Eumenes corrected and then submitted it to the Macedonians who were besieging him, requesting them to decide which was the juster form. Antigonus, namely, for form's sake, had mentioned the kings² at the beginning of the oath, and then had made the rest of it refer to himself; but Eumenes wrote at the head of the oath the names of Olympias and the kings,² and proposed to swear fealty, not to Antigonus alone, but also to Olympias and the kings, and to have the same enemies and friends as they. This was thought to be more just, and the Macedonians accordingly administered this oath to Eumenes, raised the siege, and sent to Antigonus, that he too, on his part, might take the oath to Eumenes.

Meanwhile, however, Eumenes gave back all the Cappadocian hostages whom he was holding in Nora, and received from those who came for them horses, beasts of burden, and tents. He also collected all the soldiers who had become scattered by his flight and were now wandering about the country, so that he had a force of almost a thousand horsemen. With

to Polysperchon, a distinguished officer of Alexander, to the exclusion of his own son Cassander.

² See the notes on chapter iii. 1 and 7. Olympias was the queen-mother, the widow of Philip, mother of Alexander.

ἔφυγεν, ὀρθῶς φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀντίγονον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐκείνον ἐκέλευσε πολιορκεῖν αὐτὸς περιτειχίσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι πικρῶς ἀντέγραψε δεξαμένοις τοῦ ὅρκου τὴν διόρθωσιν.

XIII. Φεύγοντι δὲ Εὐμένει γράμματα κομίζεται παρὰ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου δεδοκότεν αὖξιν, Ὀλυμπιάδος μὲν παρακαλούςης ἐλθόντα τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδίον παραλαβεῖν καὶ τρέφειν ὡς ἐπιβουλευόμενον, Πολυσπέρχοντος δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελευόντων Ἀντιγόνῳ πολεμεῖν τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ δυναμέως ἄρχοντα, καὶ τῶν ἐν Κουῖνδοις χρημάτων πεντακόσια μὲν τάλαντα λαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπανόρθωσιν, εἰς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον 2 ὅποσους βούλεται χρήσθαι. περὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀντιγένη καὶ Τευτάμῳ τοῖς τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγουμένοις ἐγεγράφεισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ λαβόντες 591 ἐκείνοι τὰ γράμματα τῷ μὲν λόγῳ φιλανθρώπως ἐδέξαντο τὸν Εὐμένην, φθόνου δὲ καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐφαίνοντο μεστοί, δευτερεύειν ἀπαξιούντες ἐκείνῳ, τὸν μὲν φθόνον ὁ Εὐμένης ἐθεράπευε τῷ τὰ 3 χρήματα μὴ λαβεῖν ὡς οὐδὲν δεόμενος, ταῖς δὲ φιλονεικίαις καὶ φιλαρχίαις αὐτῶν μήτε ἡγεῖσθαι δυναμένων μήτε ἔπυσθαι βουλομένων ἐπήγγει δεισιδαιμονίαν.

Ἐφη γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φανῆναι, καὶ δεῖξαί τινα σκηνὴν κατεσκευασμένην βασιλικῶς καὶ θρόνον ἐν αὐτῇ κείμενον· εἰτα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐνταῦθα συνεδρεύουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ χρηματίζουσιν αὐτὸς παρέσται καὶ συνεφάψεται

¹ Philip Arrhidaeus (see the note on chapter iii. 1).

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these he set out in flight, being rightly in fear of Antigonus. For Antigonus not only ordered his Macedonians to wall him in again and besiege him, but also wrote back bitter reproaches to them for accepting the correction of the oath.

XIII. While Eumenes was in flight, letters were brought to him from those in Macedonia who feared the growing power of Antigonus. Olympias invited him to come and take charge of Alexander's little son and rear him, feeling that plots were laid against his life; Polysperchon and Philip¹ the king ordered him, as commander of the forces in Cappadocia, to wage war upon Antigonus, to take five hundred talents of the treasure at Quinda² in reparation of his own losses, and to use as much of it as he wished for the war. They had also written concerning these matters to Antigenes and Teutamus, the commanders of the Silver-shields. These men, on receiving their letters, ostensibly treated Eumenes with friendliness, but were plainly full of envy and contentiousness, disdaining to be second to him. Eumenes therefore allayed their envy by not taking the money, alleging that he had no need of it; while upon their love of contention and love of command, seeing that they were as unable to lead as they were unwilling to follow, he brought superstition to bear.

He said, namely, that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, had shown him a tent arrayed in royal fashion with a throne standing in it, and had then said that if they held their councils and transacted their business there, he himself would be

² Or Cyinda, better known as Anazarbus, a stronghold in Cilicia, whither Antigenes and Teutamus had brought the royal treasure from Susa.

βουλῆς τε πάσης καὶ πράξεως ἀρχομένοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ῥαδίως ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀντιγένη καὶ τὸν Τεύταμον, οὔτε ἐκείνων βαδίζειν βουλομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἀξιῶν ἐπὶ θύραις ἐτέρων
 4 ὀράσθαι. καὶ τιθέντες οὕτω σκηνὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ θρόνον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καταπεφημισμένον ἐκεῖ συνεπορεύοντο βουλευόμενοι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊοῦσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν ὁ Πευκέστας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπῶν ἀπήντησε φίλος ὢν καὶ συνεμίξαντο τὰς δυνάμεις, πλήθει μὲν ὅπλων καὶ λαμπρότητι παρασκευῆς ἐπέρωσαν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνάγωγοι ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ μαλακοὶ ταῖς διαίταις γεγονότες
 5 μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν, καὶ φρονήματα τυραννικὰ καὶ τεθραμμένα βαρβαρικαῖς ἀλαζονείαις ἐπὶ ταῦτό συνενεγκάμενοι, πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους βαρεῖς ἦσαν καὶ δυσάρμοστοι, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας κολακεύοντες ἐκκεχυμένως καὶ καταχορηγοῦντες εἰς δεῖπνα καὶ θυσίας ὀλίγου χρόνου τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀσωτίας πανηγυριζούσης καταγωγίον ἐποίησαν καὶ δημαγωγούμενον ἐπὶ αἰρέσει στρατηγῶν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις.
 6 αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Εὐμένης αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλων μὲν καταφρονούντας, αὐτὸν δὲ φοβούμενους καὶ παραφυλάττοντας ἀνελεῖν, εἰ γένοιτο καιρὸς, ἐσκήψατο χρημάτων δεῖσθαι καὶ συνεδανείσατο τάλαντα πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν μάλιστα μισούντων αὐτόν, ἵνα καὶ πιστεύωσι καὶ ἀπέχωνται περὶ

¹ In 317 B.C., against Antigonos, who was in Mesopotamia. He had received the satrapy of Susiana.

² One of the most distinguished officers of Alexander,

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present and would assist them in every plan and enterprise which they undertook in his name. Eumenes easily convinced Antigenes and Teutamus that this was true. They were unwilling to go to him, and he himself thought it undignified to be seen at the doors of others. So they erected a royal tent, and a throne in it which they called the throne of Alexander, and there they met for deliberation on matters of highest importance.

And now, as they advanced into the interior of the country,¹ Peucestas,² who was a friend of Eumenes, met them with the other satraps, and they joined their forces, so that the number of their men and the splendour of their equipment raised the spirits of the Macedonians. But the leaders themselves had been made unmanageable by their exercise of power, and effeminate by their mode of life, after the death of Alexander, and they brought into collision spirits that were tyrannical and fed on barbaric arrogance, so that they were harsh towards one another and hard to reconcile. Moreover, by flattering the Macedonian soldiery extravagantly and lavishing money upon them for banquets and sacrifices, in a short time they made the camp a hostelry of festal prodigality, and the army a mob to be cajoled into the election of its generals, as in a democracy. Eumenes, however, perceiving that, while they despised one another, they feared him and were on the watch for an opportunity to kill him, pretended to be in need of money, and got together many talents by borrowing from those who hated him most, in order that they might put confidence in him and refrain from killing him out of regard for the money who had been made satrap of Persia during Alexander's lifetime.

τῶν δανείων ἀγωνιῶντες· ὥστε συνέβη τὸν ἀλλότριον πλούτου αὐτῷ φύλακα τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ σωτηρία διδόντων, μόνον ἐκ τοῦ λαβεῖν κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

- XIV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀδείας μὲν οὔσης ἐφθείροντο πρὸς τοὺς διδόντας, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων θύρας ἐθεράπευον, δορυφορουμένων καὶ στρατηγιώντων· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντίγονος αὐτοῖς παρεστρατοπέδευσε μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὰ πράγματα φωνὴν ἀφιέντα τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκάλει στρατηγόν, οὐ μόνον οἱ στρατευόμενοι τῷ Εὐμένει προσείχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τρυφῇ μεγάλων ἐκείνων ἕκαστος ἐνέδωκε καὶ παρέιχεν ἑαυτὸν σιωπῇ τὴν δοθεῖσαν φυλάττοντα
- 2 τάξιν. καὶ γάρ τοι περὶ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ποταμὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀντίγονον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παραφυλάττοντες οὐδὲ ἦσθοντο, μόνος δὲ Εὐμένης ὑπέστη, καὶ συνάψας μάχην πολλοὺς μὲν κατέβαλε καὶ νεκρῶν ἐνέπλησε τὸ ρεῖθρον, ἔλαβε δὲ τετρακισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτους. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ Μακεδόνες περὶ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἀρρωστίαν αὐτῷ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐστιᾶν λαμπρῶς καὶ πανηγυρίζειν, ἄρχειν δὲ καὶ πολεμεῖν δυνατὸν ἡγούμενοι μόνον ἐκείνου.
- 3 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πευκέστας ἐν τῇ Περσίδι λαμπρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐστιᾶσας καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα διαδοὺς ἱερεῖον εἰς θυσίαν ἤλπιζεν εἶναι μέγιστος· ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους βαδιζόντων, ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Εὐμένης ἐκ νόσου τινὸς ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος ἔξω τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διὰ τὰς ἀγρυπνίας.

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they had lent him. The consequence was that the wealth of others was his body-guard, and that, whereas men generally preserve their lives by giving, he alone won safety by receiving.

XIV. The Macedonians, however, while there was no danger, continued to take gifts from their corrupters, and hung about the doors of these men, who now had body-guards and wanted to be generals. But when Antigonus encamped near them with a large force and the situation called aloud for a real general, not only did the common soldiers attach themselves to Eumenes, but also those who were great only when peace and luxury prevailed, every man of them, gave in to him and consented without a murmur to hold the post which he gave them. And, indeed, when Antigonus tried to cross the river Pasitigris, none of the other commanders who were watching his movements was even aware of it, but Eumenes, and he alone, withstood him, joined battle with him, slew many of his men and filled the stream with dead bodies, and took four thousand prisoners. But most of all in connection with the sickness that befell him did the Macedonians make it clear that they considered the others able to feast them splendidly and hold high festival, but him alone capable of wielding command and waging war. For Peucestas, having feasted them splendidly in Persis, and having given every man a victim for sacrifice, was expecting to be chief in command; and a few days afterwards, as the soldiers were marching against the enemy, it chanced that Eumenes, in consequence of a dangerous illness, was being carried along in a litter outside the ranks, where it was quiet and his sleep would not be broken. But after they had

μικρὸν δὲ προελθούσιν αὐτοῖς ἄφνω λόφους τινὰς 592
 ὑπερβάλλοντες ἐξεφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, κατα-
 4 βαίνοντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. ὥς οὖν αἴ τε τῶν χρυ-
 σῶν ὄπλων αὐγαὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἐξέλαμψαν ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ ἀγήματος ἐν τάξει πορευομένων,
 καὶ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς πύργους ἄνω καὶ τὰς πορ-
 φύρας εἶδον, ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς κόσμος εἰς μάχην
 ἀγομένοις, ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν πορείαν
 ἐβόων Εὐμένη καλεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἂν προελθεῖν
 ἐκείνου μὴ στρατηγούντος, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὴν
 γῆν ἐρείσαντες ἀλλήλοις μένειν διεκελεύοντο, καὶ
 τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, καὶ χωρὶς Εὐμένους
 μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμί-
 5 ους. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Εὐμένης ἦκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 δρόμῳ τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐπιταχύνας, καὶ τοῦ
 φορείου τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν αὐλαίας ἀνακαλύψας
 προὔτεινε τὴν δεξιὰν γεγηθώς. οἱ δὲ ὥς εἶδον,
 εὐθὺς ἀσπασάμενοι Μακεδονιστὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὰς τε
 ἀσπίδας ἀνείλυντο καὶ ταῖς σαρίσαις ἐπιδουπή-
 σαντες ἡλάλαξαν, προκαλούμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους
 ὥς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος αὐτοῖς παρόντος.

XV. Ἀντίγονος δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀλισκομένων
 ἀκούων τὸν Εὐμένη νοσεῖν καὶ κομίζεσθαι κακῶς
 διακείμενον, οὐ μέγα ἔργον ἡγεῖτο συντρίψαι
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνου νοσοῦντος. διὸ καὶ σπεύ-
 2 δων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προσῆγεν. ὥς δὲ τῶν πολε-
 μίων εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένων παρελάσας κατείδε
 τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν διακόσμησιν, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπέστη
 πλείῳ χρόνον· εἶτα ὥφθη τὸ φορεῖον ἀπὸ θατέ-
 ρου κέρως ἐπὶ θάτερον διαφερόμενον. γελάσας
 οὖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, μέγα, καὶ πρὸς

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advanced a little way, suddenly the enemy were seen passing over some hills and descending into the plain. The gleams of their golden armour in the sun flashed down from the heights as they marched along in close formation, and on the backs of the elephants the towers and purple trappings were seen, which was their array when going into battle. Accordingly, the foremost Macedonians halted in their march and called with loud cries for Eumenes, declaring that they would not go forward unless he was in command of them ; and grounding their arms they passed word to one another to wait, and to their leaders to keep still, and without Eumenes not to give battle or run any hazard even with the enemy. When Eumenes heard of this, he quickened the pace of his bearers to a run and came to them, and lifting up the curtains of his litter on either side, stretched forth his hand in delight. And when the soldiers saw him, they hailed him at once in their Macedonian speech, caught up their shields, beat upon them with their spears, and raised their battle-cry, challenging the enemy to fight in the assurance that their leader was at hand.

XV. Now Antigonus, hearing from his prisoners that Eumenes was sick and in such wretched plight as to be borne along in a litter, thought it no great task to crush the other commanders if Eumenes was sick. He therefore hastened to lead his army to battle. But when, as the enemy were forming in battle order, he had ridden past their lines and observed their shape and disposition, he was amazed, and paused for some time ; then the litter was seen as it was carried from one wing to the other. At this, Antigonus gave a loud laugh, as was his wont,

τοὺς φίλους εἰπών, “Τοῦτο ἦν τὸ φορεῖον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ ἀντιπαραταττόμενον ἡμῖν,” εὐθὺς ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ὀπίσω καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.

- 3 Οἱ δὲ μικρὸν ἀναπνεύσαντες αὖθις ἐδημαγω-
γούντο, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντρυφῶντες σχεδὸν
ὅλην εἰς τὰ χειμάδια κατενείμαντο τὴν Γαβηνῶν,
ὥστε τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῶν πρώτων ἀποσκηνοῦν
ὁμοῦ τι χιλίους σταδίους. ταῦτα γνοὺς ὁ Ἀντί-
γονος ὥρμησεν ἐξαίφνης ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέψας
χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄνυδρον, σύντομον δὲ καὶ
βραχεῖαν, ἐλπίζων, εἰ διεσπαρμένοις ἐπιπέσοι
περὶ τὰ χειμάδια, μηδ’ ἂν συνελθεῖν ἔτι τὸ πλῆ-
θος ῥαδίως εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐμβα-
λόντι δὲ εἰς γῆν ἀοίκητον αὐτῷ πνεύματά τε
δεινὰ καὶ κρῦη μεγάλα διελυμαίνετο τὴν πορείαν
- 4 ἐνοχλούμενου τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἦν οὖν ἀναγ-
καία βοήθεια πυρὰ πολλὰ καίειν· ὅθεν οὐκ ἔλαθε
τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τὰ
βλέποντα πρὸς τὴν ἀοίκητον ὄρη νεμόμενοι
θαυμάσαντες τὸ τῶν πυρῶν πλῆθος ἔπεμψαν
ἵππαστρίαις καμήλοις ἀγγέλους πρὸς Πευκέσταν.
ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν, αὐτός τε παντάπασιν ἔκφρων
ὑπὸ δέους γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν ὁμοίως
ἔχοντας ὥρμητο φεύγειν, ἀναστήσας τοὺς καθ’
ὁδὸν ὄντας αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τῶν στρατιωτῶν.
- 5 Εὐμένης δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν ἀφήρει καὶ τὸν φόβον,
ὑπισχνούμενος ἐπιστήσειν τῶν πολεμίων τὸ
τάχος, ὥστε τρισὶν ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἢ προσδο-
κῶνται παραγενέσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν
ἅμα μὲν ἀγγέλους περιέπεμπε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ

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and after saying to his friends, "This litter, it would seem, is what is arrayed against us," immediately retired with his forces and pitched his camp.¹

But the Macedonians opposed to him, after getting a little respite, once more acted liked a capricious mob, and, mocking at their leaders, distributed themselves in winter quarters over almost the whole of Gabene, so that the rear was separated from the van by almost a thousand furlongs. When Antigonus became aware of this, he set out suddenly against them, taking this time a road that was difficult and without water, but direct and short, hoping that, in case he fell upon them when they were scattered about in their winter quarters, it would no longer be easy for the mass of them to join their generals. But after he had entered an uninhabited country, dire winds and severe frosts gave trouble to his army and impeded their march. The only help, therefore, was to burn many fires, and this was what revealed his presence to the enemy. For the Barbarians living on the mountains which overlooked the uninhabited tract, amazed at the number of fires, sent messengers on dromedaries to Peucestas. And he, when he heard the news, being himself quite out of his mind with fear and seeing that the other officers were in a like state, set out to fly, after rousing up those of their soldiers especially who were quartered along the route. But Eumenes tried to put a stop to their confusion and panic fear, by promising so to check the speed of the enemy that they would come up three days later than they were expected. And when his hearers were persuaded, he sent round

¹ These events are more fully and very differently described by Diodorus (xix. 24-32).

τῶν χειμαδίων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθροίζεσθαι κατὰ
τάχος κελεύων, ἅμα δὲ αὐτὸς ἐξιππασάμενος
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων, καὶ τόπον ἐξ ἀπόπτου
καταφανῇ τοῖς ὁδεύουσι τὴν ἔρημον περιβαλό-
μενος καὶ διαμετρήσας, ἐκέλευε πυρὰ πολλὰ
καίειν ἐν διαστήμασιν, ὥσπερ οἱ στρατοπεδεύ-
6 οντες. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν πυρῶν τοῖς
περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐκ τῆς ὀρεινῆς καταφανέντων,
ἄχθος ἔσχε καὶ δυσθυμία τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οἰόμενον
ἡσθημένους ἔκπαλαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπαντᾶν.
ἵν' οὖν μὴ κατάκοπος καὶ τετρυμένος ἐκ πορείας
ἀναγκάζεται μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐτοιμούς
καὶ καλῶς κεχειμακότας, προέμενος τὴν σύντομον 593
ἦγε διὰ κωμῶν καὶ πόλεων, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀνα-
7 λαμβάνων τὸ στράτευμα. μηδενὸς δὲ ἐμποδῶν
ὄντος, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν ἀντικαθημένων πολεμίων,
τῶν δὲ περιχώρων λεγόντων στράτευμα μηδὲν
ὠφθαι, πυρῶν δὲ κεκαυμένων μεστὸν εἶναι τὸν
τόπον, ἡσθετο κατεστρατηγημένος ὑπὸ Εὐμένους,
καὶ βαρέως φέρων προσῆγεν ὡς φανερᾷ μάχῃ
κριθησόμενος.

XVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως περὶ τὸν
Εὐμένην τὸ πλείστον ἠθροισμένον ἐθαύμαζε τὴν
σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μόνον ἐκέλευεν ἄρχειν· ἐφ'
ὧ λυπούμενοι καὶ φθονοῦντες οἱ τῶν ἀργυρασπί-
δων ἡγεμόνες, Ἀντιγένης καὶ Τεύταμος, ἐπεβού-
λευον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν τε σατραπῶν
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν συναγαγόντες ἐβουλεύοντο
πότε χρῆ καὶ πῶς τὸν Εὐμένην διαφθεῖραι.
2 συνδόξαν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀποχρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν
μάχην αὐτῷ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ἀνελεῖν

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messengers with orders that the forces in winter quarters and elsewhere should assemble with all speed ; at the same time, too, he himself rode forth with the other commanders, took possession of a place which could be seen at a distance by such as traversed the desert, measured it off, and ordered many fires to be made at intervals, as in an encampment. This was done, and when Antigonos saw these fires on the mountains, he was distressed and disheartened, supposing that his enemies had long been aware of his approach and were coming to meet him. In order, therefore, that he might not be forced to fight, when his men were worn and weary from their march, against those who had spent a comfortable winter and were ready for the conflict, he forsook the direct road and led his army through villages and cities, taking time to refresh it. But when no one tried to obstruct his progress, the thing which usually happens when enemies are facing one another, and when the people round about said they had seen no army, but that the place was full of lighted fires, Antigonos perceived that he had been outgeneraled by Eumenes, and in deep resentment led his forces forward to try the issue in open battle.

XVI. But meanwhile most of the forces with Eumenes had assembled, and, admiring his sagacity, demanded that he should be sole commander. At this, Antigones and Teutamus, the leaders of the Silver-shields, were filled with vexation and jealousy, so that they plotted against the life of Eumenes, and, assembling most of the satraps and generals, deliberated when and how they might put him out of the way. They were unanimous in the decision to make every use of him in the ensuing battle, and after the battle

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Εὐδαμος ὁ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἡγεμὼν καὶ Φαίδιμος ἐξαγγέλλουσι κρύφα τῷ Εὐμένει τὰ δεδογμένα, δι' εὐνοίαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἢ χάριν, εὐλαβούμενοι δὲ μὴ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ δεδανείκεσαν αὐτῷ, στερηθῶσιν. Εὐμένης δὲ τούτους μὲν ἐπήνεσεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπελθὼν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν ὥς ἐν πανηγύρει θηρίων ἀναστρέφοιτο, διαθήκας ἔγραψε καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα κατέσχισε καὶ διέφθειρεν, οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἀπορρήτων αἰτίας καὶ συκοφαντήματα

3 τοῖς γράψασι γενέσθαι. ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἐβουλευέτο τὴν νίκην παρεῖναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἢ φυγῶν διὰ Μηδίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν. οὐδὲν δὲ κυρώσας τῶν φίλων παρόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ πολυτρόπῳ παρὰ τὰς τύχας οὔσῃ κινήσας αὐτόν, ἐξέταττε τὴν δύναμιν, τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους παρορμῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων αὐτὸς παρακαλούμενος θαρρεῖν,

4 ὥς οὐ δεξομένων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥσπερ ἀθληταὶ πολέμων ἀήττητοι καὶ ἀπτῶτες εἰς ἐκεῖνο χρόνου, πολλοὶ μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες, νεώτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐξηκονταετοῦς. διὸ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπιόντες ἐβόων· “Ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἀμαρτάνετε, ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί.” καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐμπεσόντες ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα συνέτριψαν, οὐδενὸς ὑποστάντος αὐτούς, τῶν δὲ πλείστων ἐν χερσὶ διαφθαρέντων.

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to kill him at once. But Eudamus, the master of the elephants, and Phaedinus, secretly brought word to Eumenes of this decision ; not that they were moved by any goodwill or kindness, but because they were anxious not to lose the money they had lent him.¹ These men Eumenes commended, and then went off to his tent, where he said to his friends that he was living in a great herd of wild beasts. Then he made his will, and tore up and destroyed his papers ; he did not wish that after his death, in consequence of the secrets contained in these documents, accusations and calumnies should be brought against his correspondents. After this business had been finished, he deliberated whether to give over the victory to the enemy, or to take flight through Media and Armenia and invade Cappadocia. He came to no decision while his friends were with him, but after considering many expedients with a mind which was as versatile as his fortunes were changeable, he proceeded to draw up his forces, urging on the Greeks and the Barbarians, and himself exhorted by the phalanx and the Silver-shields to be of good courage, since, as they felt sure, the enemy would not withstand their attack. And indeed they were the oldest soldiers of Philip and Alexander, war's athletes as it were, without a defeat or a fall up to that time, many of them now seventy years old, and not a man younger than sixty. And so, when they charged upon the forces of Antigonus, they shouted : " It is against your fathers that ye sin, ye miscreants ; " and falling upon them in a rage they crushed their whole phalanx at once, not a man withstanding them, and most of their opponents being cut to pieces at close quarters.

¹ Cf. chapter xiii. 6.

5 Ταύτη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἡττᾶτο κατὰ
κράτος, τοῖς δ' ἵππεύσιν ἐπεκράτει· τοῦ δὲ Πεν-
κέστου παντάπασιν ἐκλελυμένως καὶ ἀγεννῶς
ἀγωνισαμένου καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔλαβε πᾶσαν,
αὐτῷ τε νήφοντι χρῆσάμενος παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ
6 τοῦ τόπου συνεργοῦντος. ἀχανὲς γὰρ ἦν τὸ
πεδῖον, οὔτε βαθύτερον οὔτε ἀπόκροτον καὶ
στερεόν, ἀλλὰ θινῶδες καὶ μεστὸν ἀλμυρίδος
αὐχμηρᾶς, ἥ τοσοῦτων μὲν ἵππων τοσοῦτων δὲ
ἀνθρώπων ξαινομένη δρόμοις ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς μάχης
καιρὸν ἐξήνθει κόνιν ὥσπερ ἄσβεστον, ἀπολευ-
καίνουσαν τὸν ἄερα καὶ τὰς ὄψεις διαθολοῦσαν.
ἦ καὶ ῥάδιον λαθῶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος τῆς ἀποσκευῆς
τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησε.

XVII. Πανσαμένης δὲ τῆς μάχης εὐθύς οἱ
περὶ τὸν Τεύταμον ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ τῆς ἀπο-
σκευῆς. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἀποδώσειν
ὑπισχνουμένου τοῖς ἀργυράσπισι καὶ τὰλλα
χρήσεσθαι φιλανθρώπως, εἰ παραλάβοι τὸν
Εὐμένη, βούλευμα δεινὸν οἱ ἀργυράσπιδες ἐβου-
λεύσαντο, ἐγχειρίσαι ζῶντα τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν
2 ἄνδρα. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνυπόπτως προσεπέλα-
ζον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεφύλαττον, οἱ μὲν ἀποδυρόμενοι
περὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, οἱ δὲ θαρρεῖν ὡς νενικηκότα
κελεύοντες, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων κατη-
γοροῦντες. ἔπειτα προσπεσόντες ἐξήρπασαν τὸ 594
ἐγχειρίδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ζώνῃ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπο-
στρέψαντες ἔδθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου
Νικάνωρ ἐπέμφθη παραληψόμενος αὐτόν, ἐδεῖτο
λόγου τυχεῖν ἀγόμενος διὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, οὐκ
εἰς δέησιν ἢ παραίτησιν, ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις
συμφερόντων διαλεξόμενος.

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At this point, then, Antigonus was defeated overwhelmingly, but with his cavalry he got the upper hand; for Peucestas fought in a way that was altogether lax and ignoble, and Antigonus captured all the baggage. He was a man who kept cool in the presence of danger, and he was aided by the ground. For the plain where they fought was vast, and its soil was neither deep nor trodden hard, but sandy and full of a dry and saline substance, which, loosened up by the trampling of so many horses and men during the battle, issued forth in a dust like lime, and this made the air all white and obscured the vision. Therefore it was easy for Antigonus to capture the enemy's baggage unobserved.

XVII. After the battle was over, Teutamus at once sent an embassy to treat for the baggage. And when Antigonus promised not only to give this back to the Silver-shields but also to treat them kindly in other ways, provided they would deliver up Eumenes to him, the Silver-shields formed a dire design to put the man alive into the hands of his enemies. So, to begin with, they drew near him, without awakening his suspicions, and kept him in ward, some making complaints about their baggage, others bidding him to be of good courage, since he was victorious, and others still denouncing the other commanders. Then they fell upon him, snatched his sword away from him, and tied his hands fast with his girdle. And when Nicanor had been sent by Antigonus to receive him and he was being led along through the Macedonians, he begged for leave to speak to them, not with a view to supplication or entreaty, but in order to set forth what was for their advantage.

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- 3 Γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς ἐν ὑψηλῷ τινι καταστάς
καὶ τὰς χεῖρας δεδεμένας προτείνας, “Ποῖον,”
εἶπεν, “ὦ κάκιστοι Μακεδόνων, τρόπαιον Ἀντι-
γονος ἐβελήσας ἂν ἔστησε καθ’ ὑμῶν, οἶον ὑμεῖς
καθ’ αὐτῶν ἀνίστατε τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰχμάλωτον
ἐκδιδόντες; οὐκ ἄρα δεινὸν ἦν κρατοῦντας ὑμᾶς
ἦτταν ἐξομολογεῖσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, ὥς ἐν
τοῖς χρήμασιν, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῦ κρατεῖν
ὄντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα πέμπετε λύτρον τῆς
4 ἀποσκευῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀήττητος ἄγομαι, νικῶν
τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπολλύμενος·
ὑμεῖς δέ, πρὸς Διὸς στρατίου καὶ θεῶν ὀρκίων,
ἐνταῦθά με δι’ αὐτῶν κτείνετε. πάντως κἀκεῖ
κτεινόμενος ὑμέτερον ἔργον εἰμί. μέμψεται δὲ
οὐδὲν Ἀντίγονος· νεκροῦ γὰρ Εὐμένους δεῖται καὶ
οὐ ζῶντος. εἰ δὲ φείδεσθε τῶν χειρῶν, ἀρκέσει
5 τῶν ἐμῶν ἢ ἑτέρα λυθεῖσα πρᾶξαι τὸ ἔργον. εἰ δὲ
οὐ πιστεύετε μοι ξίφος, ὑπορρίψατε τοῖς θηρίοις
δεδεμένον. καὶ ταῦτα πράξαντας ὑμᾶς ἀφήμι τῆς
ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ δίκης ὥς ἄνδρας ὁσιωτάτους καὶ δικαιο-
τάτους περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν γενομένους.”

XVIII. Ταῦτα τοῦ Εὐμένους λέγοντος τὸ μὲν
ἄλλο πλῆθος ἄχθει κατείχετο καὶ κλαυθμὸς ἦν,
οἱ δὲ ἀργυράσπιδες ἄγειν ἐβόων καὶ μὴ φλυα-
ροῦντι προσέχειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δεινὸν εἰ Χερρο-
νησίτης ὄλεθρος οἰμώζεται μυρίοις γυμνάσας
πολέμοις Μακεδόνας, ἀλλ’ εἰ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ Φιλίππου στρατιωτῶν οἱ κράτιστοι τοσαῦτα

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Silence was made, and standing on an eminence he stretched forth his hands, bound as they were, and said: "What trophy, O ye basest of Macedonians, could Antigonus have so much desired to set up over your defeat, as this which ye yourselves are now erecting by delivering up your general as a prisoner? It is not a dreadful thing, then, that in the hour of your victory ye should acknowledge yourselves defeated for the sake of your baggage, implying that victory lies in your possessions and not in your arms, but ye must also send your leader as a ransom for that baggage. As for me, then, ye lead me away undefeated, a victor over my enemies, a victim of my fellow-soldiers; but as for you, by Zeus the god of armies and by the gods who hallow oaths, I bid you slay me here with your own hands. Even should I be slain yonder, it will be wholly your work. Nor will Antigonus find any fault; for he wants a dead and not a living Eumenes. And if ye would spare your own hands, one of mine, if released, will suffice to do the business. And if ye cannot trust me with a sword, cast me to the wild beasts, all bound as I am. If ye do this, I will absolve you from your guilt towards me, holding that ye have shown yourselves most just and righteous in your dealings with your own general."

XVIII. As Eumenes said this, the rest of the throng was overwhelmed with sorrow, and some wept, but the Silver-shields shouted to lead him along and pay no attention to his babbling; for it was not so dreadful a thing, they said, that a pest from the Chersonesus should come to grief for having harassed Macedonians with infinite wars, as that the best of the soldiers of Philip and Alexander,

καμώντες ἐν γήρᾳ στέρονται τῶν ἐπάθλων καὶ τροφήν παρ' ἐτέρων λαμβάνουσιν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ἤδη τρίτην νύκτα τοῖς πολεμίοις συγκαθεύδουσιν. ἅμα δὲ ἤγον αὐτὸν ἐπιταχύνοντες.

- 2 Ἀντίγονος δὲ δέισας τὸν ὄχλον (ἀπελείφθη γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ) δέκα τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας ἐλέφαντας ἐξέπεμψε καὶ λογχοφόρους συχνοὺς Μήδους καὶ Παρθυαίους διακρουσόμενους τὸ πλῆθος. εἰτ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τὸν Εὐμένη διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν, πυνθανομένων δὲ τῶν παρειληφόντων τὸ σῶμα πῶς φυλάξουσιν, “Οὕτως,” εἶπεν,
- 3 “ὥς ἐλέφαντα ἢ ὥς λέοντα.” μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ συμπαθῆς γενόμενος τῶν τε δεσμῶν τοὺς βαρεῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφελεῖν καὶ παῖδα παραδέξασθαι τῶν συνήθων, ὅπως ἀλείψαιτο, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐφῆκε τῷ βουλομένῳ συνδιημερεύειν καὶ κομίζειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. βουλευόμενος δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ πλείονας ἡμέρας προσίετο καὶ λόγους καὶ ὑποσχέσεις, Νεάρχου τε τοῦ Κρητὸς καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ φιλοτιμουμένων τὸν Εὐμένη σῶσαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁμοῦ τι πάντων ἐνισταμένων καὶ κελευόντων ἀναιρεῖν.
- 4 Λέγεται δὲ τὸν Εὐμένη τοῦ φυλάσσοντος αὐτὸν Ὀνομάρχου πυθέσθαι τί δήποτε Ἀντίγονος ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πολέμιον λαβὼν ὑποχείριον οὔτε ἀποκτίννυσι ταχέως οὔτε εὐγενῶς ἀφήσιν· τοῦ δὲ Ὀνομάρχου πρὸς ὕβριν εἰπόντος ὥς οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης ἔδει πρὸς θάνατον ἔχειν εὐθαρσῶς, “Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία,” φάναι τὸν Εὐμένη, “καὶ τότε εἶχον· ἐροῦ δὲ τοὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας· ἀλλ' οὐδενὶ κρείττονι προστυχὼν οἶδα.” καὶ

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after all their toils, should in their old age be robbed of their rewards and get their support from others, and that their wives should be spending the third night now in the arms of their enemies. At the same time they led him along at a quickened pace.

But Antigonus, fearing their multitude (since no one had been left behind in the camp), sent out ten of his strongest elephants and a great number of Median and Parthian spearmen to drive away the throng. He himself could not endure to see Eumenes, by reason of their former intimate friendship, and when those who had received him asked how they should guard his person, he said: "Just as ye would an elephant or a lion." But after a little while he became compassionate and ordered the keepers to remove the prisoner's heavy fetters and admit one of his personal servants to anoint him, and permitted any one of his friends who wished to spend the day with him and bring him what he needed. Then he deliberated many days what to do with him, and considered various arguments and suggestions, Demetrius his son and Nearchus the Cretan being eager to save the life of Eumenes, while the rest, almost all of them, were insistent in urging that he be put to death.

We are told, also, that Eumenes asked his keeper, Onomarchus, why in the world Antigonus, now that he had got a hated enemy in his hands, neither killed him speedily nor generously set him free; and when Onomarchus insolently told him it was not now, but on the field of battle, that he should have faced death boldly, "Yea, by Zeus," said Eumenes, "then, too, I did so; ask the men who fought with me; I know that none I met was a

τὸν Ὀνόμαρχον, “Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ νῦν,” φάναι, “τὸν κρείττονα εὗρηκας, τί οὐκ ἀναμένεις τὸν ἐκείνου καιρὸν;”

XIX. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ τὸν Εὐ-
μένη κτείνειν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τροφήν ἀφε- 595
λεῖν. καὶ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἢ τρεῖς ἄσιτος οὕτω
προσήγετο πρὸς τὴν τελευτήν. αἰφνίδιον δὲ ἀνα-
ζυγῆς γενομένης εἰσπέμψαντες ἄνθρωπον ἀπο-
σφάττουσιν αὐτόν. τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῖς φίλοις
παραδοὺς ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐπέτρεψε καῦσαι καὶ τὰ
λείψανα συνθέντας εἰς ἀργυρᾶν ὑδρίαν κομίζειν,
ἀποδοθισόμενα τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισίν.

- 2 Οὕτω δὲ ἀποθανόντος Εὐμένους οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλω
τινὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐποίησατο τῶν προδόντων αὐ-
τὸν ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατιωτῶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀλλ'
αὐτὸς Ἀντίγονος προβαλλόμενος ὡς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ
θηριώδεις τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας παρέδωκε Σιβυρτίῳ
τῷ διοικοῦντι τὴν Ἀραχωσίαν, πάντα τρόπον
ἐκτρίψαι καὶ καταφθεῖραι κελεύσας, ὅπως μηδεὶς
αὐτῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἄπεισι μηδὲ ὄψεται τὴν
Ἑλληνικὴν θάλατταν.

ΣΕΡΤΩΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ταῦτα ἔστιν ἃ περὶ Εὐμένους καὶ Σερτωρίου
μνήμης ἄξια παρειλήφαμεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκρίσει
κοινὸν μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὑπάρχει τὸ ξένους καὶ
ἀλλοδαποὺς καὶ φυγάδας ὄντας ἐθνῶν τε παντο-

¹ According to Nepos (*Eumenes*, xii. 4), Eumenes was
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better man." "Well, then," said Onomarchus, "since now thou hast found thy better, why canst thou not bide his time?"

XIX. When, then, Antigonus had decided to kill Eumenes, he gave orders to deprive him of food. And so, after two or three days of fasting, the prisoner began to draw nigh his end. But camp was suddenly broken and a man was sent to dispatch him.¹ His body, however, was delivered to his friends by Antigonus, who permitted them to burn it and collect the ashes and place them in a silver urn, that they might be returned to his wife and children.

Eumenes thus slain, on no other man than Antigonus did Heaven devolve the punishment of the soldiers and commanders who betrayed him, but he himself, regarding the Silver-shields as impious and bestial men, put them into the service of Sibyrtilus the governor of Arachosia, ordering him to wear them out and destroy them in every possible way, that not a man of them might ever return to Macedonia or behold the Grecian sea.

COMPARISON OF SERTORIUS AND EUMENES

I. SUCH are the memorable things in the careers of Eumenes and Sertorius which have come down to us. And now, as we compare the men, we find this common to both, that although they were strangers, aliens, and exiles, they were continually strangled by his keepers, without the knowledge of Antigonus.

- δαπῶν καὶ στρατευμάτων μαχίμων τε καὶ μεγάλων¹ ἡγουμένους διατελεῖν, ἴδιον δὲ Σερτωρίῳ μὲν τὸ παρὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων δεδομένην ἔχειν διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὴν ἀρχήν, Εὐμένει δὲ τὸ πολλῶν διαφερομένων περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πράξεων λαμβάνειν τὸ πρωτεῖον· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρχεσθαι βουλόμενοι δικαίως εἶποντο, τῷ δὲ ἄρχειν μὴ δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ὑπήκουον.
- 2 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἰβήρων καὶ Λυσιτανῶν Ῥωμαῖος, ὁ δὲ Χερρονησίτης Μακεδόνων ἦρχεν, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔκπαλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐδούλευον, οἱ δὲ τότε πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐδουλοῦντο. καὶ Σερτώριος μὲν ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγίας θαυμαζόμενος, Εὐμένης δὲ διὰ τὴν γραμματείαν καταφρονούμενος ἐφ' ἡγεμονίαν προῆλθεν. οὐ μόνον τοίνυν ἐλάττωσι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφορμαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζοσι πρὸς
- 3 τὴν αὐξήσειν ἐχρήσατο κωλύμασιν Εὐμένης. καὶ γὰρ ἄντικρυς τοὺς ἐνισταμένους καὶ κρύφα τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἶχε πολλούς, οὐχ ὥσπερ τῷ ἐτέρῳ φανερώς μὲν οὐδεὶς, λάθρα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ὀλίγοι τῶν συμμάχων ἐπανέστησαν. διὸ τῷ μὲν ἦν πέρας τοῦ κινδυνεύειν τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους, τῷ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ νικᾶν ὁ κίνδυνος ὑπὸ τῶν φθονούντων.
- II. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐφάμιλλα καὶ παράλληλα· τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ φιλοπόλεμος μὲν ὁ Εὐμένης καὶ φιλόναικος, ἡσυχίας δὲ καὶ πραότητος οἰκεῖος ὁ Σερτώριος. ὁ μὲν γάρ, ἰσφα-

¹ μεγάλων with Bekker : μεγάλων δυνάμεων.

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in command of all sorts of peoples and of armies that were large and warlike ; but it was peculiar to Sertorius that he held a command which was given him by all his confederates because of his reputation, and to Eumenes that many contended with him for the leadership, and yet he took the highest place in consequence of his achievements. Furthermore, the one was followed by those who wished to be under a just command ; while the other was obeyed by those who were incapable of command and sought their own advantage. For the one, a Roman, commanded Iberians and Lusitanians, who had long been in subjection to Rome ; the other, a Chersonesian, commanded Macedonians, who at that time were holding the whole world in subjection. Besides, Sertorius rose to leadership when a career in senate and field had brought him admiration ; but Eumenes when his post as secretary had brought him contempt. Eumenes, therefore, not only had fewer advantages at the outset, but also greater hindrances as he advanced in his career. For there were many who directly opposed him and secretly plotted against him ; whereas Sertorius was openly opposed by no one, and secretly only in the latter part of his career, when a few of his confederates rose up against him. For this reason Sertorius could put an end to his peril by a victory over his enemies ; while Eumenes, in consequence of his victories, was in peril at the hands of those who envied him.

II. In their capacities as commanders, then, they were very much alike ; but in their general dispositions Eumenes was fond of war and fond of strife, while Sertorius was a lover of peace and tranquillity. For the one, though it was in his power to

λῶς καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς βιοῦν ἐξὸν ἐκποδῶν γενομένῳ
τοῖς πρώτοις, μαχόμενος καὶ κινδυνεύων διετε-
λεσε, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν δεομένῳ πραγμάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας πρὸς οὐκ ἔωντας
2 εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἦν ὁ πόλεμος. Εὐμένει μὲν γὰρ
Ἀντίγονος ἐκστάντι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρωτεύειν
ἀγώνων ἡδέως ἂν ἐχρήτο τὴν μετ' αὐτὸν ἀγα-
πῶντι τάξιν, Σερτωρίῳ δὲ οἱ περὶ Πομπήϊον οὐδὲ
ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως ἐπέτρεπον. διὸ τῷ μὲν ἔκοντὶ
συνέβαινε πολεμεῖν ἐπ' ἀρχῇ, τῷ δὲ ἀκουσίως
3 ἄρχειν διὰ τὸ πολεμεῖσθαι. φιλοπόλεμος μὲν
οὖν ὁ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν πλεονεξίαν προτιμῶν,
πολεμικὸς δὲ ὁ τῷ πολέμῳ κτώμενος τὴν ἀσφά-
λειαν.

Καὶ μὴν θανεῖν γε συνέβη τῷ μὲν οὐ προαισθο-
μένῳ, τῷ δὲ καὶ προσδεχομένῳ τὴν τελευτήν, ὣν
τὸ μὲν ἐπιεικείας, φίλοις γὰρ ἐδόκει πιστεύειν, τὸ
δὲ ἀσθeneίας, βουλόμενος γὰρ φυγεῖν συνελήφθη.
4 καὶ τοῦ μὲν οὐ κατήσχυνε τὸν βίον ὁ θάνατος,
πάσχοντος ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἃ τῶν πολεμίων
αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐποίησεν· ὁ δὲ φεύγειν μὲν πρὸ 596
αἰχμαλωσίας μὴ δυνηθεὶς, ζῆν δὲ μετ' αἰχμαλω-
σίαν βουλευθεὶς, οὔτε ἐφυλάξατο καλῶς τὴν τε-
λευτήν οὔθ' ὑπέμεινε, ἀλλὰ προσλιπαρῶν καὶ
δεόμενος τοῦ σώματος μόνου κρατεῖν δοκοῦντα τὸν
πολέμιον καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ κύριον ἐποίησεν.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED

live in safety and with honour if he kept out of the way of the leading Macedonians, was continually fighting them at the risk of his life ; whereas the other, though he craved no participation in affairs, had to wage war for his very life against those who would not suffer him to be at peace. For if Eumenes had stood aside from the struggles for the primacy and been satisfied with the second place, Antigonus would gladly have given him that ; whereas Sertorius could not get permission from Pompey to live, even though in retirement. Therefore the one was ever waging war of his own accord for the sake of power ; while the other held power against his wishes because war was waged upon him. Now, that man is fond of war who sets greed above safety ; but that man is warlike who by war wins safety.

And further, the one met his death when he had no anticipation of it, the other when he was expecting the end. In the one case, death resulted from the man's goodness of heart, since he appeared to trust his friends ; in the other, from weakness, since he wished to fly, but was arrested. Moreover, death brought no stain upon the life of Sertorius, since he suffered at the hands of confederates what none of his enemies could inflict upon him ; Eumenes, however, who was unable to fly before being taken prisoner, but was willing to live after being taken prisoner, neither took good precautions against death, nor faced it well, but by supplicating and entreating the foe who was known to have power over his body only, he made him lord and master of his spirit also.

PHOCION

ΦΩΚΙΩΝ

- Ι. Δημάδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἰσχύων μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις διὰ τὸ πρὸς χάριν πολιτεύεσθαι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου, πολλὰ δὲ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀναγκαζόμενος παρὰ τὸ ἄξιωμα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ ἦθος, ἔλεγε συγγνώμης ἄξιος εἶναι πολιτευόμενος τὰ ναύαγια τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ καὶ τῷ ῥήτορι θρασύτερον εἴρηται, δόξειεν ἂν ἀληθὲς εἶναι μετενεχθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Φωκίωνος πολιτείαν.
- 2 Δημάδης μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ναύαγιον τῆς πόλεως, οὕτως ἀσελγῶς βιώσας καὶ πολιτευσάμενος ὥστε Ἀντίπατρον εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, γέροντος ἤδη γεγονότος, ὅτι καθάπερ ἱερείου διαπεπραγμένου γλῶσσα καὶ κοιλία μόνον ἀπολείπεται· τὴν δὲ Φωκίωνος ἀρετὴν, ὥσπερ ἀνταγωνιστῇ βαρεῖ καὶ βιαίῳ καιρῷ συλλαχούσαν, αἱ τύχαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀμαυρὰν καὶ ἀλαμπῇ πρὸς δόξαν ἐποίησαν.
- 3 οὐ γὰρ Σοφοκλεῖ γε προσεκτέον ἀσθενῇ ποιοῦντι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν οἷς φησιν.¹ 742

Ἄλλ' οὐ γάρ, ὦναξ, οὐδ' ὅς ἂν βλάβστη μένει
νοῦς τοῖς κακῶς πράξασιν, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται·

τοσοῦτον δὲ τῇ τύχῃ δοτέον ἀντιπαττομένη πρὸς
τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἰσχύειν, ὅσον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀξίας
τιμῆς καὶ χάριτος ἐνίοις ψόγους πονηροὺς καὶ

¹ *Antigone*, 563 f. (οὐ γάρ ποτ', ὦναξ, κτλ.).

PHOCION

I. **DEMADES** the orator, who was powerful at Athens because he conducted affairs so as to please Antipater and the Macedonians, and was forced to propose and favour many measures which were at variance with the dignity and character of the city, used to say that he was excusable because he was in command of a shipwrecked state. This may have been too hardy an utterance for the orator, but it would seem to be true when transferred to the administration of Phocion. Demades, indeed, was himself but wreckage of the state, since his life and administration were so outrageous that Antipater said of him, when he was now grown old, that he was like a victim when the sacrifice was over—nothing left but tongue and guts. But the fame of Phocion's virtue, which may be said to have found an antagonist in a grievous and violent time, the fortunes of Greece rendered obscure and dim. Surely we must not follow Sophocles in making virtue weak, as when he says :—

“Indeed, O King, what reason nature may have
given

Abides not with the unfortunate, but goes astray”;

yet thus much power must be granted to Fortune in her conflicts with good men : instead of the honour and gratitude which are their due, she brings base

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

διαβολὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν τὴν πίστιν ἀσθενεστέραν ποιεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς.

II. Καίτοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ δῆμοι μᾶλλον εἰς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐξυβρίζειν ὅταν εὐτυχῶσιν, ὑπὸ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπαιρόμενοι· συμβαίνει δὲ τὸναντίον. αἱ γὰρ συμφοραὶ πικρὰ μὲν τὰ ἥθη καὶ μικρόλυπα καὶ ἀκροσφαλῇ πρὸς ὀργὰς ποιοῦσι, δύσκολον δὲ τὴν ἀκοήν καὶ τραχείαν, ὑπὸ παντὸς λόγου καὶ ῥήματος τόνον ἔχοντος ἐνοχλουμένην· ὁ δὲ ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς ἑξαρμαρτανόμενοις ἐξονειδίζει τὰ δυστυχήματα

2 δοκεῖ, καὶ καταφρονεῖν ὁ παρρησιαζόμενος. καὶ καθάπερ τὸ μέλι λυπεῖ τὰ τετρωμένα καὶ ἡλκωμένα μέρη τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως πολλάκις οἱ ἀληθινοὶ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες λόγοι δάκνουσι καὶ παροξύνουσι τοὺς κακῶς πράττοντας, ἐὰν μὴ προσηνεῖς ᾧσι καὶ συνείκοντες, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὸ ἥδὺ “μενοεικὲς” ὁ ποιητῆς κέκληκεν, ὥς τῷ ἡδομένῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπεῖκον καὶ μὴ μαχόμενον

3 μὴδ’ ἀντιτυποῦν. καὶ γὰρ ὄμμα φλεγμαῖνον ἥδιστα τοῖς σκιεροῖς καὶ ἀλαμπέσιν ἐνδιατρίβει χρώμασι, τὰ δὲ αὐγὴν ἔχοντα καὶ φῶς ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ πόλις ἐν τύχαις ἀβουλήτοις γενομένη ψοφοδεὲς καὶ τρυφερόν ἐστι δι’ ἀσθένειαν ἀνέχεσθαι παρρησίας, ὅτε μάλιστα δεῖται, τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφορὰν ἀμαρτήματος οὐκ ἐχόντων. διὸ πάντῃ σφαλερόν ἡ τοιαύτη πολιτεία· συν-

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censure and calumny upon some, and so weakens the world's confidence in their virtue.

II. And yet it is commonly held that a people is more apt to wreak its insolence upon good men when it is prosperous, being then lifted up by grandeur and power; but the reverse is often the case. For calamities make men's dispositions bitter, irritable, and prone to wrath, so that no one can say anything to please or soften them, but they are annoyed by every speech or word that has vigour. He who censures them for their transgressions is thought to abuse them for their misfortunes, and he who is outspoken with them, to despise them. And just as honey irritates wounded and ulcerated parts of the body, so often words of truth and soberness sting and exasperate those who are in an evil plight, unless uttered with kindness and complaisance; and therefore, doubtless, the poet calls that which is pleasant "*menoëikes*," on the ground that it *yields* to that part of the *soul* which experiences pleasure, and does not fight with it or resist it.¹ An eye that is inflamed dwells most gratefully on colours which are dark and lustreless, but shuns those which are radiant and bright; and so a city that has fallen on desperate fortunes is made by its weakness too sensitive and delicate to endure frank speaking, and that at a time when it needs it most of all, since the situation allows no shifting of the blame for the mistakes that have been made. Therefore the conduct of affairs in such a city is altogether dangerous; for

¹ As often, Plutarch's etymology is amiably wrong. Homer uses "*μενοεικές*" as a stock epithet of good things in such abundance as to be *spirit-suiting*, or *satisfying*.

απόλλυσι γὰρ τὸν πρὸς χάριν λέγοντα καὶ προ-
απόλλυσι τὸν μὴ χαριζόμενον.

- 4 "Ὡσπερ οὖν τὸν ἥλιον οἱ μαθηματικοὶ λέγουσι
μήτε τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ οὐρανῷ φερόμενον φορὰν μήτε
ἄντικρυς ἐναντίαν καὶ ἀντιβατικήν, ἀλλὰ λοξῶ
καὶ παρεγκεκλιμένῳ πορείας σχήματι χρώμενον
ὑγρὰν καὶ εὐκαμπῇ καὶ περιελιττομένην ἔλिका
ποιεῖν, ἣ σώζεται πάντα καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν
ἀρίστην κρᾶσιν, οὕτως ἄρα τῆς πολιτείας ὁ μὲν
ὀρθίος ἄγαν καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τοῖς δημοσίοις¹
ἀντιβαίνων τόνος ἀπηγῆς καὶ σκληρός, ὥσπερ αὖ
πάλιν ἐπισφαλὲς καὶ κάταντες τὸ συνεφελκό-
μενον οἷς ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ συνεπιρ-
5 ρέπον, ἣ δὲ ἀνθυπεΐκουσα πειθομένοις καὶ διδοῦσα
τὸ πρὸς χάριν, εἶτα ἀπαιτοῦσα τὸ συμφέρον ἐπι-
στασία καὶ κυβέρνησις ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ πράγας
καὶ χρησίμως ὑπουργούντων, εἰ μὴ πάντα δε-
σποτικῶς καὶ βιαίως ἄγουντο, σωτήριος, ἐργώδης
δὲ καὶ χαλεπὴ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἔχουσα τῷ ἐπιεικεῖ
δύσμικτον· ἐὰν δὲ μιχθῇ, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ πάντων
μὲν ῥυθμῶν, πασῶν δὲ ἁρμονιῶν ἐμμελεστάτη καὶ
μουσικωτάτη κρᾶσις, ἣ καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὁ θεὸς
λέγεται διοικεῖν, οὐ βιαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ πειθοῖ καὶ
λόγῳ παράγων τὴν ἀνάγκην.

III. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Κάτωνι τῷ νέῳ συνέβη.
καὶ γὰρ οὗτος οὐ πιθανὸν ἔσχεν οὐδὲ προσφιλες
ὄχλῳ τὸ ἦθος, οὐδὲ ἡνθησεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸς

¹ δημοσίοις Bekker has δήμοις, after Coraës.

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she brings to ruin with herself the man who speaks but to win her favour, and she brings to ruin before herself the man who will not court her favour.

Now, the sun, as mathematicians tell us, has neither the same motion as the heavens, nor one that is directly opposite and contrary, but takes a slanting course with a slight inclination,¹ and describes a winding spiral of soft and gentle curves, thus preserving all things and giving them the best temperature. And so in the administration of a city, the course which is too straight, and opposed in all things to the popular desires, is harsh and cruel, just as, on the other hand, it is highly dangerous to tolerate or yield perforce to the mistakes of the populace. But that wise guidance and government of men which yields to them in return for their obedience and grants them what will please them, and then demands from them in payment what will advantage the state,—and men will give docile and profitable service in many ways, provided they are not treated despotically and harshly all the time,—conduces to safety, although it is laborious and difficult and must have that mixture of austerity and reasonableness which is so hard to attain. But if the mixture be attained, that is the most concordant and musical blending of all rhythms and all harmonies; and this is the way, we are told, in which God regulates the universe, not using compulsion, but making persuasion and reason introduce that which must be.

III. These principles found an illustration in Cato the Younger also. For his manners were not winning, nor pleasing to the populace, nor was he eminent in

¹ *i.e.* to the plane of the ecliptic.

- χάριν· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κικέρων φησὶν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ
 ἐν τῇ Πλάτωνος πολιτεία καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμύλου
 πολιτευόμενον ὑποστάθμη τῆς ὑπατείας ἐκπεσεῖν,
 ἐμοὶ δὲ ταὐτὸ δοκεῖ παθεῖν τοῖς μὴ καθ' ὥραν
 2 ἐκφανείσι καρποῖς. ὥς γὰρ ἐκείνους ἡδέως ὀρών-
 τες καὶ θαυμάζοντες οὐ χρώνται, οὕτως ἡ Κάτω-
 νος ἀρχαιοτροπία διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἐπιγενομένη
 βίοις διεφθορόσι καὶ πονηροῖς ἔθεσι δόξαν μὲν
 εἶχε μεγάλην καὶ κλέος, οὐκ ἐνήρμοσε δὲ ταῖς
 3 χρείαις διὰ βάρος καὶ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσύμ-
 μετρον τοῖς καθεστῶσι καιροῖς. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς
 οὐ κεκλιμένης μὲν ἤδη τῆς πατρίδος, ὥσπερ ὁ 743
 Φωκίων, πολὺν δὲ χειμῶνα καὶ σάλον ἐχούσης,
 ὅσον ἰστίων καὶ κάλων ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ παρα-
 στῆναι τοῖς πλέον δυναμένοις πολιτευσάμενος,
 οἰάκων δὲ καὶ κυβερνήσεως ἀπωσθείς, ὅμως μέγαν
 ἀγῶνα τῇ τύχῃ περιέστησεν. εἶλε μὲν γὰρ καὶ
 κατέβαλε τὴν πολιτείαν δι' ἄλλους, μόλις δὲ καὶ
 βραδέως καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν
 ἐλθοῦσαν περιγενέσθαι διὰ Κάτωνα καὶ τὴν
 4 Κάτωνος ἀρετὴν· ἥ παραβάλλομεν τὴν Φωκίω-
 νος, οὐ κατὰ κοινὰς ὁμοιότητας, ὡς ἀγαθῶν καὶ
 πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἔστι γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνδρείας
 διαφορὰ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ὡς τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου πρὸς
 τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου, καὶ φρονήσεως πρὸς φρόνη-

¹ Cicero, *ad Att.* ii. 1, 8, where, however, there is no allusion to Cato's loss of the consulship. *Dicit enim*

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his public career for popularity. Indeed, Cicero says it was because he acted as if he lived in Plato's commonwealth, and not among the dregs of Romulus, that he was defeated when he stood for the consulship;¹ but I think he fared just as fruits do which make their appearance out of season. For, as we look upon these with delight and admiration, but do not use them, so the old-fashioned character of Cato, which, after a long lapse of time, made its appearance among lives that were corrupted and customs that were debased, enjoyed great repute and fame, but was not suited to the needs of men because of the weight and grandeur of its virtue, which were out of all proportion to the immediate times. For his native city was not already prostrate, like that of Phocion, but struggling with great tempest and surge, and though he could only serve her by putting hand to sails and ropes and by supporting men of greater influence, but was repulsed from rudder-sweeps and pilotage, he nevertheless gave Fortune a hard contest. She did, indeed, seize and overthrow the commonwealth by means of other men, but with difficulty, slowly, after a long time, and when it had almost won the day through Cato and the virtue of Cato. And with this virtue we compare that of Phocion, though not for their general resemblances, but on the ground that both were good men and devoted to the state. For there is surely a difference between the bravery of one man and that of another, as, for instance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; between the wisdom of one man and that of another, as,

tamquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tamquam in Romuli faece, sententiam.

σιν, ὡς τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους πρὸς τὴν Ἀριστείδου, καὶ δικαιοσύνης πρὸς δικαιοσύνην, ὡς τῆς Νομᾶ
 5 πρὸς τὴν Ἀγησιλάου. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ ἀρεταὶ μέχρι τῶν τελευταίων καὶ ἀτόμων διαφορῶν ἓνα χαρακτῆρα καὶ μορφήν καὶ χρῶμα κοινὸν ἤθους ἐγκεκραμένον ἐκφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ ἴσῳ μέτρῳ μεμιγμένον πρὸς τὸ αὐστηρὸν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ ἀνδρείου, καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄλλων μὲν κηδεμονίας, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δὲ ἀφοβίας, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ αἰσχρὸν εὐλαβείας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δίκαιον εὐτονίας συννηρμοσμένης ὁμοίως· ὥστε λεπτοῦ πάνυ λόγου δεῖσθαι καθάπερ ὀργάνου πρὸς διάκρισιν καὶ ἀνεύρεσιν τῶν διαφερόντων.

IV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Κάτωνος ὁμολόγηται γένος ἐκ λαμπρῶν ὑπάρχειν, ὡς λεχθήσεται· Φωκίωνα δὲ τεκμαίρομαι μὴ παντάπασιν εἶναι γένους ἀτίμου καὶ καταπεπτωκότος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς, δοιδυκοποιοῦ πατρός, οὐκ ἂν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ Γλαύκιππος ὁ Ὑπερείδου μυρία συνειλοχῶς καὶ εἰρηκῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν δυσγένειαν παρήκεν, οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐλευθερίου βίου καὶ σώφρονος παιδείας μετέσχεν ὥστε τῆς Πλάτωνος ἔτι μειράκιον ὦν, ὕστερον δὲ τῆς Ξενοκράτους διατριβῆς, ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ μετασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐξ
 2 ἀρχῆς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ζηλωτῆς γενέσθαι. Φωκίωνα γὰρ οὔτε γελάσαντά τις οὔτε κλαύσαντα ῥαδίως Ἀθηναίων εἶδεν, οὐδ' ἐν βαλανείῳ δημοσιεύοντι λουσάμενον, ὡς ἰστόρηκε Δοῦρις, οὐδὲ ἐκτὸς ἔχοντα τὴν χεῖρα τῆς περιβολῆς, ὅτε τύχοι περιβεβλημένος. ἐπεὶ κατὰ γε τὴν χώραν καὶ

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between that of Themistocles and that of Aristides; between the justice of one man and that of another, as, between that of Numa and that of Agesilaüs. But the virtues of these men, even down to their ultimate and minute differences, show that their natures had one and the same stamp, shape, and general colour; they were an equal blend, so to speak, of severity and kindness, of caution and bravery, of solicitude for others and fearlessness for themselves, of the careful avoidance of baseness and, in like degree, the eager pursuit of justice. Therefore we shall need a very subtle instrument of reasoning, as it were, for the discovery and determination of their differences.

IV. That Cato's lineage, then, was illustrious, is generally admitted, as will be said later; but Phocion's, as I judge, was not altogether ignoble or lowly. For had he been the son of a pestle-maker, as Idomeneus says, then Glaucippus the son of Hypereides, in the speech wherein he collected countless evil things to say against him, would not have omitted his mean birth; nor would Phocion have lived on so high a plane or enjoyed so sound an education as to have been a pupil of Plato when he was still a stripling, and later a pupil of Xenocrates, in the Academy, and to have cultivated the noblest behaviour from the very beginning. For hardly any Athenian ever saw Phocion in laughter or in tears, or making use of a public bath, as Duris tells us, or holding his hand outside his cloak,—when he wore a cloak. Since in the country, at least, and on his

τὰς στρατείας ἀνυπόδητος αἰεὶ καὶ γυμνὸς ἐβάδιζεν, εἰ μὴ ψῦχος ὑπερβάλλον εἴη καὶ δυσκαρτέρητον, ὥστε καὶ παίζοντας ἤδη τοὺς στρατευομένους σύμβολον μεγάλου ποιεῖσθαι χειμῶνος ἐνδεδυμένον Φωκίωνα.

- V. Τῷ δὲ ἤθει προσηνέστατος ὦν καὶ φιανθρωπότατος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου δυσξύμβολος ἐφαίνετο καὶ σκυθρωπός, ὥστε μὴ ῥαδίως ἂν τινα μόνον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀσυνήθων. διὸ καὶ Χάρητί ποτε πρὸς τὰς ὀφρῦς αὐτοῦ λέγοντι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιγελώντων, “Οὐδέν,” εἶπεν, “αὕτη ὑμᾶς λελύπηκεν ἡ ὀφρὺς· ὁ δὲ τούτων γέλως
- 2 πολλὰ κλαῦσαι τὴν πόλιν πεποίηκεν.” ὁμοίως δέ πως τοῦ Φωκίωνος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς εὐτυχήμασι καὶ διανοήμασι σωτήριος, προστακτικὴν τινα καὶ αὐστηρὰν καὶ ἀνῆδυντον ἔχων βραχυλογίαν. ὥς γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον εἰς νοῦν ἀποβάπτοντα προφέρεσθαι τὴν λέξιν, οὕτως ὁ Φωκίωνος λόγος πλείστον ἐν ἐλαχίστῃ λέξει νοῦν εἶχε. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔοικεν ἀπιδῶν ὁ Σφήττιος Πολύευκτος εἰπεῖν ὅτι ῥήτωρ μὲν ἄριστος εἴη Δημοσθένης,
- 3 εἰπεῖν δὲ δεινότατος ὁ Φωκίων. ὥς γὰρ ἡ τοῦ νομίσματος ἀξία πλείστην ἐν ὄγκῳ βραχυτάτῃ δύναμιν ἔχει, οὕτω λόγου δεινότης ἐδόκει πολλὰ σημαίνειν ἀπ’ ὀλίγων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ποτε τὸν Φωκίωνα φασὶ πληρουμένου τοῦ θεάτρου περιπατεῖν ὑπὸ σκηνὴν αὐτὸν ὄντα πρὸς 744
- ἑαυτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν· εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῶν φίλων, “Σκεπτομένῳ, Φωκίων, ἔοικας,” “Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία,” φάναι, “σκέπτομαι εἴ τι δύναμαι τοῦ λόγου ἀφελεῖν ὃν μέλλω λέγειν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.”

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campaigns, he always walked without shoes or outer garment, unless the cold was excessive and hard to bear, so that presently his soldiers used to say in jest that it was a sign of severe winter when Phocion wore a cloak.

V. Though his nature was most gentle and most kind, his countenance made him seem forbidding and sullen, so that hardly any one of those who were not on intimate terms cared to converse with him alone. Therefore, when Chares once made the Athenians laugh by speaking of Phocion's frowning brows, "No harm," said Phocion, "has come to you from this brow of mine; but these men's laughter has cost the city many a tear." And in like manner Phocion's language, also, was salutary in its excellent inventions and happy conceits, although it had a brevity which was rather imperious, severe, and unpleasant. For, as Zeno used to say that a philosopher should immerse his words in meaning before he utters them, so Phocion's language had most meaning in fewest words. And this is probably what Polyæctus the Sphettian had in mind when he said that Demosthenes was a most excellent orator, but Phocion a most powerful speaker. For, as a valuable coin has greatest worth in smallest bulk, so effective speech would seem to indicate much with few words. Indeed, it is said that once upon a time, when the theatre was filling up with people, Phocion himself was walking about behind the scenes lost in thought, and that when one of his friends remarked: "You seem to be considering, Phocion," he replied: "Yes, indeed, I am considering whether I can shorten the speech which I am to deliver to the Athenians." And

- 4 ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατεφρόνει πολὺ ῥητόρων, ἀνισταμένου δὲ Φωκίωνος εἰώθει λέγειν ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, “Ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπὶς πάρεστιν.” ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως πρὸς τὸ ἦθος ἀνοιστέον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα μόνον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ μυρίοις ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ περιόδοις ἀντίρροπον ἔχει πίστιν.

- VI. Νέος δὲ ὢν Χαβρία προσέμιξεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ παρείπετο, πολλὰ μὲν εἰς ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πολεμικῶν ὠφελούμενος, ἔστι δὲ ἐν οἷς ἐπανορθούμενος τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ἀνώμαλον οὔσαν καὶ ἄκρατον. νωθρὸς γὰρ ὢν ὁ Χαβρίας καὶ δυσκίνητος ἄλλως ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὥργα καὶ διεπυροῦτο τῷ θυμῷ καὶ συνεξέπιπτε τοῖς θρασυτάτοις παραβολώτερον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ἐν Χίῳ πρῶτος εἰσελάσας τῇ τριήρει καὶ βιαζόμενος πρὸς τὴν ἀπό-
 2 βασιν. ἀσφαλὲς οὖν ἅμα καὶ δραστήριος ὁ Φωκίων φαينόμενος τὴν τε μέλλησιν ἀνεθέρμαινε τοῦ Χαβρίου, καὶ πάλιν ἀφήρει τὴν ἄκαιρον ὀξύτητα τῆς ὀρμῆς. ὅθεν εὐμενὴς ὢν ὁ Χαβρίας καὶ χρηστός, ἡγάπα καὶ προῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πράξεις καὶ ἡγεμονίας, γνώριμον ποιῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ τὰ πλείστης ἀξία σπουδῆς ἐκείνῳ χρώμενος. κακὴ τῆς περὶ Νάξον ναυμαχίας ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν οὐ μικρὰν Φωκίῳ περιεποίησε· τοῦ γὰρ εὐωνύμου κέρως ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καθ’ ὃ καὶ τὴν μάχην ὀξεῖαν εἶχεν ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ κρίσιν
 3 ἐποίησε ταχεῖαν. πρώτην οὖν ἐκείνην ναυμαχίαν

¹ Cf. the *Demosthenes*, x. 2.

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Demosthenes, who held the other orators in great contempt, when Phocion rose to speak, was wont to say quietly to his friends: "Here comes the pruning-knife of my speeches."¹ But perhaps this must be referred to Phocion's character; since a word or a nod merely from a good man is of more convincing weight than any number of elaborate periods.

VI. When he was a young man, Phocion attached himself to Chabrias the general as a close follower, profiting much thereby in military experience, and sometimes also rectifying that general's temperament, which was uneven and violent. For though Chabrias was sluggish and hard to move at other times, in actual battle his spirit was excited and all on fire, and he would rush on with the boldest at too great a hazard, just as, without doubt, he actually threw away his life at Chios² by being the first to drive his trireme to shore and trying to force a landing. So then Phocion, who showed himself at once safe and active, would put ardour into Chabrias when he delayed, and again would take away the unseasonable intensity of his efforts. Wherefore Chabrias, who was a good-natured and worthy man, made much of him and advanced him to enterprises and commands, making him known to the Greeks, and employing him in most affairs of moment. Especially in the sea-fight off Naxos³ he conferred no little name and fame upon Phocion; for he gave him command of the left wing, and here the battle raged hotly and the issue was speedily decided. Accordingly, as this was the first sea-fight which the

¹ In 357 B.C. Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium had revolted from Athens.

² In 376 B.C. The Athenians defeated the Lacedaemonian fleet and regained the mastery of the sea.

ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἀγωνισαμένη τοῖς Ἑλλησι μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν, καὶ κατατυχοῦσα, τὸν τε Χαβρίαν ὑπερηγάπησε καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικοῦ λόγον ἔσχευ. ἐνίκων δὲ μεγάλοις μυστηρίοις· καὶ παρείχεν οἰνοχόημα Χαβρίας Ἀθηναίοις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τῇ ἔκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος.

VII. Ἐκ τούτου λέγεται πέμποντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς νησιωτικὰς συντάξεις τοῦ Χαβρίου καὶ ναῦς εἴκοσι διδόντος εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὲν ὡς πολεμήσων πέμποιτο, μείζονος δεῖν δυνάμεως, εἰ δὲ ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους, ἄρκεῖν ναῦν μίαν· καὶ πλεύσαντα τῇ αὐτοῦ τριήρει καὶ διαλεχθέντα ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ συγγενόμενον τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἀφελῶς καταπλεῦσαι μετὰ πολλῶν νεῶν, αἷς ἀπέστειλαν οἱ σύμμαχοι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κομισ-
 2 ζούσας. οὐ μόνον δὲ ζῶντα τὸν Χαβρίαν θεραπεύων διετέλει καὶ τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τῶν προσηκόντων καλῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο, καὶ τὸν παῖδα Κτήσιππον ἐβούλετο μὲν ἄνδρα ποιεῖν ἀγαθόν, ἔμπληκτον δὲ ὁρῶν καὶ ἀνάγωγον ὅμως οὐκ ἀπεῖπεν ἐπανορθούμενος καὶ ἀποκρύπτων τὰ αἰσχρὰ. πλὴν ἅπαξ λέγεται, παρενοχλοῦντος ἐν στρατείᾳ τινὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ κόπτοντος αὐτὸν ἐρωτήμασιν ἀκαίροις καὶ συμβουλίαις οἷον ἐπανορθουμένου καὶ παραστρατηγούντος, εἰπεῖν·
 “ὦ Χαβρία, Χαβρία, μεγάλην γέ σοι χάριν ἐκτίνω τῆς φιλίας ὑπομένων σου τὸν υἱόν.”

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Athenians had fought with the Greeks on their own account since the capture of their city,¹ and as it had succeeded, they made exceeding much of Chabrias, and came to look upon Phocion as a man fit for command. They won the victory during the celebration of the great mysteries; and therefore Chabrias used to furnish the Athenians with wine for the festival every year on the sixteenth of the month Boëdromion.

VII. Afterwards, we are told, when Chabrias sent him to get their contributions from the islanders and offered him twenty ships, Phocion said that if he was sent to wage war, he needed a larger force, but if to confer with allies, one ship was enough; and after sailing out with his own trireme and discussing matters with the cities and dealing with the magistrates considerably and in a straightforward manner, he returned with many ships, which the allies sent off with money for the Athenians. And not only while Chabrias was alive did Phocion continue to show him attention and honour, but also after his death he took good care of his relatives, and especially of his son Ctesippus, whom he wished to make a good man; and although he saw that the youth was capricious and intractable, he nevertheless persisted in correcting and covering up his disgraceful conduct. Once, however, we are told, when the young man was troublesome to him on an expedition, and plied him with unseasonable questions and advice, like one making corrections and sharing in the command, he cried: "O Chabrias, Chabrias, surely I make thee a large return for thy friendship in enduring thy son."

¹ At the close of the Peloponnesian war (404 B.C.).

- 3 Ὅρων δὲ τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ πράσσοντας τότε διη-
 ρημένους ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κλήρου τὸ στρατήγιον καὶ
 τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν λέγοντας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ
 γράφοντας μόνον, ὧν Εὐβουλος ἦν καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν
 καὶ Δημοσθένης καὶ Λυκούργος καὶ Ὑπερεΐδης,
 Διοπεΐθην δὲ καὶ Μενεσθέα καὶ Λεωσθένην καὶ
 Χάρητα τῷ στρατηγεῖν καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐξοντας
 ἑαυτούς, ἐβούλετο τὴν Περικλέους καὶ Ἀριστεΐ-
 δου καὶ Σόλωνος πολιτεῖαν ὥσπερ ὁλόκληρον
 καὶ διηρμωσμένην ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ἀπο-
 δοῦναι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἕκαστος 745
 ἐφαίνετο κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον,¹

Ἄμφοτερον, θεράπων μὲν Ἐνναλίιο θεοῖο,
 καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατᾶν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος·

καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐώρα πολεμικὴν τε ἅμα καὶ πολιτι-
 κὴν οὖσαν καὶ προσαγορευομένην.

- VIII. Οὕτω δὲ συντάξας ἑαυτὸν ἐπολιτεύετο
 μὲν αἰεὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ἡσυχίαν, ἐστρατήγησε
 δὲ πλείστας οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγίας, οὐ παραγγέλλων οὐδὲ
 μετιῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ φεύγων οὐδὲ ἀποδιδράσκων τῆς
 πόλεως καλούσης. ὁμολογεῖται γὰρ ὅτι πέντε
 καὶ τεσσαράκοντα στρατηγίας ἔλαβεν οὐδ' ἅπαξ
 ἀρχαιρεσίῳ παρατυχών, ἀλλ' ἀπόντα μεταπεμ-
 2 πομένῳ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ καὶ χειροτονούντων, ὥστε
 θαυμάζειν τοὺς οὐκ εὖ φρονούντας τὸν δῆμον ὅτι,
 πλείστα τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἀντικρούοντος αὐτῷ καὶ
 μηδὲν εἰπόντος πώποτε μηδὲ πράξαντος πρὸς
 χάριν, ὥσπερ ἀξιοῦσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοῖς κόλαξι

¹ Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.⁴, p. 383 (εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων
 . . . ἐρατόν).

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He saw that the public men of his day had distributed among themselves as if by lot the work of the general and the orator. Some of them merely spoke before the people and introduced measures,—men like Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hypereides; while such men as Diopeithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chabrias advanced themselves by holding the office of general and waging war. He therefore wished to resume and restore the public service rendered by Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, which was equally apportioned in both fields of action. For each of those men showed himself to be, in the words of Archilochus,

“As well a squire of Enyalios god of war,
As versed in the lovely Muses’ gifts.”

He also saw that the goddess Athena was a goddess of war as well as of statecraft, and was so addressed.

VIII. Having taken this stand, his civil policies were always in favour of peace and quiet; and yet he held the office of general more frequently than any man, and I speak not only of the men of his own time, but also of those who came before him. He did not seek the office or canvass for it; nor, on the other hand, did he flee or run away when his city called him. It is generally admitted, indeed, that he held the office of general forty-five times, although he was not even once present at the election, but was always absent when the people summoned and chose him. Therefore men of little understanding are amazed at the conduct of the Athenian people. For Phocion opposed them more than anybody else, and never said or did anything to win their favour; and yet, just as kings are

χρησθαι μετὰ τὸ κατὰ χειρὸς ὕδωρ, ἐχρήτο οὗτος τοῖς μὲν κομψοτέροις καὶ ἱλαροῖς ἐν παιδιᾷς μέρει δημαγωγοῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰὲ νήφων καὶ σπουδάζων τὸν αὐστηρότατον καὶ φρονιμώτατον ἐκάλει τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνον ἢ μᾶλλον ταῖς βουλήσεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁρμαῖς ἀντιτασσόμενον.

- 3 χρησμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀναγνωσθέντος ὅτι, τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ὁμοφρονούντων, εἰς ἀνὴρ ἐναντία φρονοίη τῇ πόλει, παρελθὼν ὁ Φωκίων ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὥς αὐτὸς ὦν ὁ ζητούμενος· μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀρέσκειν τῶν πραττομένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων ποτὲ γνώμην πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐδοκίμει καὶ πάντα ὁμαλῶς ἑώρα τὸν λόγον ἀποδεχομένους, ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν· “Οὐ δὴ πού τι κακὸν λέγων ἐμαυτὸν λέληθα;”

- IX. Πρὸς δὲ θυσίαν τινὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰτούντων ἐπιδόσεις, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιδιδόντων, κληθεὶς πολλάκις ἔφη· “Τούτους αἰτεῖτε τοὺς πλουσίους· ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν, εἰ τούτῳ μὴ ἀποδιδούς ὑμῖν ἐπιδοίην,” δείξας Καλλικλέα τὸν δανειστήν. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπαύοντο κεκραγότες καὶ
2 καταβοῶντες, λόγον εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον· “Ἀνὴρ δειλὸς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῆι, φθεγξαμένων δὲ κοράκων τὰ ὄπλα θεῖς ἡσύχαζεν· εἴτα ἀναλαβὼν αὐθις ἐξῆι, καὶ φθεγγομένων πάλιν ὑπέστη, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν· “Τμεῖς κεκράξεσθε μὲν μέγιστον ὥς

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supposed to listen to their flatterers after dinner has begun, so the Athenians made use of their more elegant and sprightly leaders by way of diversion, but when they wanted a commander they were always sober and serious, and called upon the severest and most sensible citizen, one who alone, or more than the rest, arrayed himself against their desires and impulses. Indeed, when an oracle from Delphi was read out in the assembly, declaring that when the rest of the Athenians were of like mind, one man had a mind at variance with the city, Phocion came forward and bade them seek no further, since he himself was the man in question; for there was no one but he who disliked everything they did. And when, as he was once delivering an opinion to the people, he met with their approval, and saw that all alike accepted his argument, he turned to his friends and said: "Can it possibly be that I am making a bad argument without knowing it?"

IX. The Athenians were once asking contributions¹ for a public sacrifice, and the rest were contributing, but Phocion, after being many times asked to give, said: "Ask from these rich men; for I should be ashamed to make a contribution to you before I have paid my debt to this man here," pointing to Callicles the money-lender. And once when his audience would not cease shouting and crying him down, he told them this fable. "A coward was going forth to war, but when some ravens croaked, he laid down his arms and kept quiet; then he picked them up and was going forth again, and when the ravens croaked once more, he stopped, and said at last: 'You may croak with all

¹ Cf. the *Alcibiades*, x. 1.

δυνατόν, ἐμοῦ δὲ οὐ γεύσεσθε.'” πάλιν δέ ποτε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κελευόντων, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐβούλετο, δειλὸν καὶ ἀνανδρον ἀποκαλούντων, “Οὔτε ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ἐμὲ δύνασθε ποιῆσαι θαρσαλέον οὔτε ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς
 3 δειλούς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσμεν ἀλλήλους.” ἐν δὲ καιροῖς ἐπισφαλέσι τραχυνομένου τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτὸν σφόδρα καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας εὐθύνας ὑπαιτουόντος, “Σωθείητε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ μακάριοι, πρῶτον.” ἐπεὶ δὲ πολεμοῦντες μὲν ἦσαν ταπεινοὶ καὶ περιδεεῖς, γενομένης δὲ εἰρήνης ἐθρασύνοντο καὶ κατεβόων τοῦ Φωκίωνος ὡς ἀφηρημένου τὴν νίκην αὐτῶν, “Εὐτυχεῖτε,” εἶπεν, “ἔχοντες στρατηγὸν εἰδότα ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ πάλαι ἂν ἀπωλώ-
 4 λειτε.” τοῖς δὲ Βοιωτοῖς οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν δικάζεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν, συνεβούλευε διὰ τῶν λόγων, ἐν οἷς εἰσι κρείττους, μὴ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων, ἐν οἷς εἰσιν ἥττους, μάχεσθαι. λέγοντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ προσιεμένων οὐδὲ ὑπομενόντων ἀκούειν, “Ἐμέ,” εἶπεν, “ὑμεῖς ἂ μὴ βούλομαι ποιεῖν βιάσασθαι δύνασθε, λέγειν δὲ ἂ μὴ
 5 δεῖ παρὰ γνώμην οὐκ ἀναγκάσετε.” τῶν δὲ ἀντιπολιτευομένων αὐτῷ ῥητόρων Δημοσθένους μὲν εἰπόντος, “Ἀποκτενοῦσί σε Ἀθηναῖοι, Φω- 746 κίων, ἂν μανῶσιν,” εἶπε· “Σὲ δέ, ἂν σωφρονῶσι.” Πολύευκτον δὲ τὸν Σφήττιον ὁρῶν ἐν καύματι συμβουλευόντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πολεμεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον, εἶτα ὑπ' ἄσθματος πολλοῦ καὶ ἰδρώ-
 τος, ἄτε δὴ καὶ ὑπέρπαχυν ὄντα, πολλάκις ἐπιρ-

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your might, but you shall not get a taste of me.'"
And at another time, when the Athenians urged him to lead forth against the enemy, and called him an unmanly coward because he did not wish to do so, he said: "Ye cannot make me bold, nor can I make you cowards. However, we know one another." And again, in a time of peril, when the people were behaving very harshly towards him and demanding that he render up accounts of his generalship, "My good friends," said he, "make sure of your safety first." Again, when they had been humble and timorous during a war, but then, after peace had been made, were getting bold and denouncing Phocion on the ground that he had robbed them of the victory, "Ye are fortunate," said he, "in having a general who knows you; since otherwise ye had long ago perished." Once, too, when the people were unwilling to adjudicate with the Boeotians a question of territory, but wanted to go to war about it, he counselled them to fight with words, in which they were superior, and not with arms, in which they were inferior. Again, when he was speaking and they would not heed or even consent to hear him, he said: "Ye can force me to act against my wishes, but ye shall not compel me to speak against my judgement." And when Demosthenes, one of the orators in opposition to him, said to him, "The Athenians will kill thee, Phocion, should they go crazy," he replied: "But they will kill thee, should they come to their senses." Again, when he saw Polyeuctus the Sphettian, on a hot day, counselling the Athenians to go to war with Philip, and then, from much panting and sweating, since he was really very corpulent, frequently gulp-

ροφούντα τοῦ ὕδατος “Ἀξιον,” ἔφη, “τούτῳ πιστεύσαντας ὑμᾶς ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ὃν τί οἴεσθε ποιήσῃεν ἐν τῷ θώρακι καὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ὅτε λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς
6 ἂ ἔσκεπται κινδυνεύει πνιγῆναι;” τοῦ δὲ Λυκούργου πολλὰ βλάβασφημα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ὅτι, δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξαιτούντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, συνεβούλευεν ἐκδοῦναι, εἶπε· “Πολλὰ ἐγὼ συμβεβούλευκα καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα τούτοις, ἀλλ’ οὐ πείθονται μοι.”

X. Ἦν δέ τις Ἀρχιβιάδης ἐπικαλούμενος Λακωνιστής, πώγωνά τε καθειμένος ὑπερφυῇ μεγέθει καὶ τρίβωνα φορῶν ἀεὶ καὶ σκυθρωπάζων· τοῦτον ἐν βουλῇ θορυβούμενος ὁ Φωκίων ἐπεκαλεῖτο τῷ λόγῳ μάρτυν ἅμα καὶ βοηθόν. ὥς δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐκείνος ἂ πρὸς χάριν ἦν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συνεβούλευεν, ἀψάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν γενείων· “ὦ Ἀρχιβιάδη,” εἶπε, “τί οὖν οὐκ ἀπεκείρω;”
2 Ἀριστογείτονος δὲ τοῦ συκοφάντου πολεμικοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ παροξύνοντος ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις τὸν δῆμον, ἐν δὲ τῷ καταλόγῳ προσελθόντος ἐπὶ βακτηρίᾳ τὸ σκέλη καταδεδεμένου, πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἰδὼν ὁ Φωκίων ἀνέκραγε· “Γράφε καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα χωλὸν καὶ πονηρόν.” ὥστε θαυμάζειν ὅπως καὶ ὁπόθεν τραχὺς οὕτως ἀνὴρ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἐκτήσατο τὴν τοῦ χρηστοῦ προσηγορίαν.

3 Ἔστι δέ, οἶμαι, χαλεπὸν, οὐ μὴν ἀδύνατον,

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ing down water, Phocion said: "It is meet that ye should be persuaded by this man to go to war; for what do ye think he would do under breastplate and shield, when the enemy were near, if, in making you a premeditated speech, he is in danger of choking to death?" At another time Lycurgus heaped much abuse upon him in the assembly, and above all because, when Alexander demanded ten of the citizens of Athens,¹ Phocion counselled their surrender; Phocion, however, merely said: "I have given this people much good and profitable counsel, but they will not listen to me."

X. There was a certain Archibiades, nicknamed Laconistes, because, in imitation of the Spartans, he let his beard grow to an extravagant size, always wore a short cloak, and had a scowl on his face. Phocion was once stormily interrupted in the council, and called upon this man for testimony and support in what he said. But when the man rose up and gave such counsel as was pleasing to the Athenians, Phocion seized him by the beard and said: "O Archibiades, why, then, didst thou not shave thyself?" Again, when Aristogeiton the public informer, who was always warlike in the assemblies and tried to urge the people on to action, came to the place of muster leaning on a staff and with both legs bandaged, Phocion spied him from the tribunal when he was afar off, and cried out: "Put down Aristogeiton, too, as lame and worthless." So that one might wonder how and why a man so harsh and stern got the surname of The Good.

But though it is difficult, it is not impossible, I

¹ Cf. chapter xvii. 2 f.

ὥσπερ οἶνον, καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸν αὐτὸν ἡδὺν ἅμα καὶ αὐστηρὸν εἶναι· καθάπερ ἕτεροι πάλιν, φαινόμενοι γλυκεῖς, ἀηδέστατοι τοῖς χρωμένοις εἰσὶ καὶ βλαβερώτατοι. καίτοι φασὶν Ὑπερείδην ποτὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε μόνον εἰ πικρός, ἀλλ’ εἰ προῖκά εἰμι πικρός,” ὥσπερ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ μόνον ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὐχὶ μᾶλλον, ὅσοι πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ φθόνον ἢ ὀργὴν ἢ φιλονεικίαν τινὰ χρῶνται τῷ δύνασθαι, τούτους δεδιότων καὶ προβαλλομένων τῶν πολλῶν. Φωκίων τοίνυν ἔχθρα μὲν οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν κακῶς ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ ἐνόμιζεν ἐχθρόν· ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἔδει μόνον τῶν ἐνισταμένων οἷς ἔπραττεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κατεξαναστῆναι τραχὺς ὢν καὶ δυσεκβίαστος καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, εἰς τὸν ἄλλον βίον εὐμενῇ πᾶσι καὶ κοινὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἑαυτὸν παρείχεν, ὥστε καὶ πταίσασι βοηθεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύουσι συνεξετάζεσθαι τοῖς διαφόροις. ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν φίλων ὅτι πονηρῶ τινι κρινομένῳ συνεῖπε, τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἔφη μὴ δεῖσθαι βοηθείας. Ἀριστογείτονος δὲ τοῦ συκοφάντου μετὰ τὴν καταδίκην πέμψαντος καὶ δεηθέντος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑπακούσας ἐβάδιζεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον· οὐκ ἐώντων δὲ τῶν φίλων, “Ἐάσατε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ μακάριοι· ποῦ γὰρ ἂν τις ἡδίων Ἀριστογείτοني συμβάλῃ;”

XI. Καὶ μὴν οἳ γε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἳ νησιῶται τοὺς Ἀθήνηθεν ἀποστόλους ἐτέρου μὲν ἐκπλέοντος στρατηγοῦ πολεμίους νομίζοντες ἐφράγγυνντο

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think, for the same man, like the same wine, to be at once pleasant and austere ; just as others, on the contrary, appear to be sweet, but are most unpleasant to those who use them, and most injurious. And yet we are told that Hypereides once said to the people : " Do not ask, men of Athens, merely whether I am bitter, but whether I am paid for being bitter," as if the multitude were led by their avarice to fear and attack those only who are troublesome and vexatious, and not rather all who use their power to gratify their insolence or envy or wrath or contentiousness. Phocion, then, wrought no injury to any one of his fellow citizens out of enmity, nor did he regard any one of them as his enemy ; but he was harsh, obstinate, and inexorable only so far as was necessary to struggle successfully against those who opposed his efforts in behalf of the country, and in other relations of life showed himself well-disposed to all, accessible, and humane, so that he even gave aid to his adversaries when they were in trouble or in danger of being brought to account. When his friends chided him for pleading the cause of some worthless man, he said that good men needed no aid. Again, when Aristogeiton the public informer, who was under condemnation, sent and asked him to come to him, he obeyed the summons and set out for the prison ; and when his friends sought to prevent him, he said : " Let me go, my good men ; for where could one take greater pleasure in meeting Aristogeiton ? "

XI. And certainly the allies and the islanders regarded envoys from Athens under the conduct of any other general as enemies, barricading their

τείχη καὶ λιμένας ἀπεχώννυσαν καὶ κατεκόμιζον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὰς πόλεις βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας· εἰ δὲ Φωκίων ἡγοῖτο, πόρρω ναυσὶν ἰδίαις ἀπαντῶντες ἔστεφανωμένοι καὶ χαίροντες ὡς αὐτοὺς κατῆγον.

XII. Παραδουμένου δὲ εἰς τὴν Εὐβοίαν τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Μακεδονίας διαβιβάζοντος καὶ τὰς πόλεις οἰκείουμένου διὰ τυράννων, Πλουτάρχου δὲ τοῦ Ἐρετριέως καλοῦντος τοὺς 747 Ἀθηναίους καὶ δεομένου τὴν νῆσον ἐξελέσθαι καταλαμβανομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνα, ἀπεστάλη στρατηγὸς ὁ Φωκίων ἔχων δύναμιν οὐ πολλήν, ὡς τῶν ἐκεῖ συστησομένων ἐτοίμως πρὸς αὐτόν.

2 εὐρὼν δὲ προδοτῶν ἅπαντα μεστὰ καὶ νοσοῦντα καὶ διορωρυγμένα δωροδοκίαις εἰς κίνδυνον μέγαν κατέστη· καὶ τινα λόφον χαράδρᾳ βαθείᾳ τῶν περὶ τὰς Ταμύνας ἐπιπέδων ἀποκρυπτόμενον καταλαβὼν συνείχεν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ συνεκράτει τὸ

3 μαχιμώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως. τῶν δὲ ἀτάκτων καὶ λάλων καὶ πονηρῶν διαδιδρασκόντων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἀποχωρούντων ἐκέλευσεν ἀμελεῖν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δυσχρήστους ὑπὸ ἀταξίας ἔσεσθαι καὶ βλαβεροὺς τοῖς μαχομένοις, κάκεῖ τοιαῦτα συνειδύτας αὐτοῖς ἦττον αὐτοῦ καταβοήσεσθαι καὶ μὴ πάννυ συκοφαντήσιν.

XIII. Ὡς δὲ ἐπήρσαν οἱ πολέμοι, κελεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀτρεμεῖν ἄχρι ἂν αὐτὸς σφαγιασῇται, πλείω διέτριβε χρόνον ἢ δυσιερῶν ἢ βουλόμενος ἐγγυτέρω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπισπᾶσθαι. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Πλουτάρχος οἰόμενος ἀποδειλιᾶν

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gates, obstructing their harbours, and bringing into their cities from the country their herds, slaves, women and children; but whenever Phocion was the leader, they went far out to meet him in their own ships, wearing garlands and rejoicing, and conducted him to their homes themselves.

XII. When Philip was stealing into Euboea and bringing a force across from Macedonia and making the cities his own by means of tyrants, and when Plutarch the Eretrian called upon the Athenians and begged them to rescue the island from its occupation by the Macedonian, Phocion was sent out as general with a small force,¹ in the belief that the people of the island would rally readily to his aid. But he found the whole island full of traitors, disaffected, and honeycombed with bribery, and was therefore in a position of great peril. So he took possession of a crest of ground which was separated by a deep ravine from the plains about Tamynae, and on this assembled and held together the best fighting men of his force. To the disorderly and worthless triflers who ran away from the camp and made their way home he bade his officers give no heed, for in the camp their lack of discipline would make them useless and harmful to the fighting men, while at home their accusing consciences would make them less liable to cry down their commander, and would keep them entirely from malicious accusations.

XIII. When the enemy came up against him, he ordered his men to remain quietly under arms until he should have finished sacrificing, and then waited a considerable time, either because the omens were bad, or because he wished to draw the enemy nearer. Therefore, to begin with, Plutarch, who

¹ In 350 B.C.

- καὶ κατοκνεῖν ἐκείνον ἐξέδραμε μετὰ τῶν ξένων· ἔπειτα τοῦτον ἰδόντες οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλ' ἤλαυνον εὐθὺς εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀσύντακτοι καὶ σποράδες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσφερό-
- 2 μνοι. νικωμένων δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἅπαντες ἐσκεδάσθησαν καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔφυγε· καὶ τῷ χάρακι προσμίξαντες ἔνιοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐκκόπτειν ἐπειρῶντο καὶ διασπᾶν ὥς ἀπάντων κεκρατηκότες. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένων, τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσπεσόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρέπουσι καὶ καταβάλλουσι τοὺς πλείστους περὶ τοῖς ἐρύμασι φεύγοντας, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα προσέταξεν ἐφεδρεύειν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἅμα καὶ προσδεχομένην τοὺς ἐν τῇ φυγῇ πρότερον διασπαρέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἔχων ἐνέβαλε τοῖς πολεμίοις.
- 3 καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης πάντες μὲν ἐκθύμως ἠγωνίσαντο καὶ ἀφειδῶς, Θάλλος δὲ ὁ Κινέου καὶ Γλαῦκος ὁ Πολυμήδους περὶ αὐτὸν τεταγμένοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἠρίστευσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Κλεοφάνης ἄξιον πλείστου παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ. τοὺς γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἀνακαλούμενος ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς καὶ βοῶν καὶ διακελευόμενος κινδυνεύοντι τῷ στρατηγῷ βοηθεῖν, ἐποίησεν ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπιρρῶσαι τὸ νίκημα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.
- 4 Ἐκ τούτου τὸν τε Πλούταρχον ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑρετρίας, καὶ Ζάρητρα φρούριον ἐλὼν ἐπικαιρότατον, ἧ μάλιστα συνελαύνεται τὸ πλάτος εἰς βραχὺ διάζωμα τῆς νήσου σφιγγομένης ἐκατέρωθεν ταῖς θαλάσσαις, ὅσους ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους Ἕλληνας ἀφῆκε, φοβηθεὶς τοὺς ῥήτορας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν τι βιάσωνται τὸν δῆμον ἀγνωμονῆσαι περὶ αὐτούς.

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thought that Phocion's delay was due to cowardice, sallied forth with his mercenaries. Next, the horsemen, catching sight of Plutarch, could not restrain themselves, but rode at once into the enemy, hurrying out of the camp in a disorderly and scattered fashion. The foremost of them were conquered, and then all of them dispersed and Plutarch took to flight, while some of the enemy gained the ramparts and tried to cut them away and destroy them, supposing themselves to be entirely victorious. But at this point the sacrifices were completed, and the Athenians, bursting out of their camp, routed their assailants and slew most of them as they fled among the entrenchments. Then Phocion ordered his phalanx to halt for the reception and support of the troops which had been scattered in the previous flight, while he himself with his picked men fell upon the main body of the enemy. A fierce battle ensued, in which all the Athenians fought with spirit and gallantry; but Thallus the son of Cineas and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, whose post was at their general's side, bore away the palm. However, Cleophanes also did most valuable service in that battle. For, by calling back the cavalry from their flight and exhorting them with loud cries to succour their general in his peril, he made them turn back and confirm the victory of the men-at-arms.

After this, Phocion expelled Plutarch from Eretria, took possession of Zaretra, a fortress most advantageously situated where the island is reduced to its narrowest width by the sea, which hems it in on both sides, and released all the Greeks whom he had taken prisoners. For he was afraid that the orators at Athens might drive the people, in some fit of anger, to treat them with cruelty.

- XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπε-
 πλευσεν ὁ Φωκίων, ταχὺ μὲν ἐπόθησαν οἱ σύμ-
 μαχοι τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ,
 ταχὺ δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ
 ῥώμην τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὁ γὰρ μετ' ἐκείνον ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ
 τὰ πράγματα Μολοσσὸς οὕτως ἐπολέμησεν ὥστε
 καὶ ζῶν αὐτὸς ὑποχείριος γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ μεγάλα ταῖς ἐλπίσι περινοῶν ὁ Φίλιππος
 εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ἦλθε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως,
 ὡς Χερρόνησον ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ Πέρινθον ἔξω καὶ
 Βυζάντιον, ὠρμημένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοηθεῖν
 οἱ ῥήτορες ἡγωνίσαντο τὸν Χάρητα στρατηγὸν
 ἀποσταλῆναι, καὶ πλεύσας ἐκείνος οὐδὲν ἄξιον
 τῆς δυνάμεως ἔπραττεν, οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις ἐδέχοντο
 τὸν στόλον, ἀλλ' ὑποπτος ὢν πᾶσιν ἐπλανᾶτο
 χρηματιζόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ κατα-
 3 φρονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὑπὸ
 τῶν ῥητόρων παροξυνόμενος ἡγανάκτει καὶ μετε- 748
 νόει τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πέμψας τὴν βοήθειαν, ἀνα-
 στας ὁ Φωκίων εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν
 ὀργίζεσθαι τῶν συμμάχων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπιστου-
 μένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν. "Οὔτοι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ποιοῦσι
 φοβεροὺς καὶ τοῖς χωρὶς ὑμῶν σώζεσθαι μὴ
 δυναμένοις."

Κινηθεὶς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ μετα-
 πεσὼν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἑτέραν προσλα-
 βόντα δύναμιν βοηθεῖν τοῖς συμμάχοις εἰς τὸν
 Ἑλλάσποντον· ὃ μεγίστην ῥοπήν ἐποίησε πρὸς

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XIV. After these things had been accomplished, Phocion sailed back home, and then the allies speedily felt the absence of his probity and justice, and speedily did the Athenians recognize the experience and vigour which had been shown by him. For his successor in command, Molossus, conducted the war in such a way as actually to fall alive into the hands of the enemy. And now Philip, cherishing great anticipations, went to the Hellespont with all his forces,¹ expecting to get the Chersonesus, and at the same time Perinthus and Byzantium, into his power. The Athenians were eager to give aid to their allies, but their orators strove successfully to have Chares sent out as commander, and he, after sailing thither, did nothing worthy of the force under his orders, nor would the cities even receive his armament into their harbours. On the contrary, he was held in suspicion by all of them, and wandered about exacting money from the allies and despised by the enemy, so that the people of Athens, instigated by their orators, were incensed at him, and repented of having sent aid to the Byzantians. Then Phocion rose in the assembly and declared that they must not be angry at their allies who showed distrust, but at their generals who were distrusted; "For these," said he, "make you to be feared even by those who can be saved only by your help."

Accordingly, moved by his words, the people changed their minds again and ordered him to take another force and go himself to the help of their allies on the Hellespont;² a commission which contributed more than anything else to the salvation of

¹ In 340 B.C.

² In 339 B.C.

- 4 τὸ σωθῆναι τὸ Βυζάντιον. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη
 μεγάλη δόξα τοῦ Φωκίωνος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Λέων,¹
 ἀνὴρ Βυζαντίων πρῶτος ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ Φωκίῳ
 γεγονὼς ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ συνήθης, ἀνεδέξατο τὴν
 πίστιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ εἴασαν
 ἔξω στρατοπεδεῦσαι βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀνοίξαντες
 τὰς πύλας ἐδέξαντο καὶ κατέμιξαν ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους, οὐ μόνον ἀνεγκλήτους ταῖς διαίταις
 καὶ σώφρονας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προθυμοτάτους ἐν τοῖς
 5 ἀγῶσι διὰ τὴν πίστιν γενομένους. οὕτω μὲν ὁ
 Φίλιππος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τότε καὶ
 κατεφρονήθη, δοκῶν ἅμαχός τις εἶναι καὶ ἀναντα-
 γώνιστος, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων καὶ ναῦς τινὰς εἶλεν
 αὐτοῦ καὶ φρουρουμένας πόλεις ἀνέλαβε, καὶ
 πολλαχόθι τῆς χώρας ἀποβάσεις ποιούμενος
 ἐπόρθει καὶ κατέτρεχε, μέχρι οὗ τραύματα λαβὼν
 ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοηθούντων ἀπέπλευσε.

XV. Τῶν δὲ Μεγαρέων ἐπικαλουμένων κρύφα,
 φοβούμενος ὁ Φωκίων τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς μὴ προαισ-
 θόμενοι φθάσωσι τὴν βοήθειαν, ἐκκλησίαν συνή-
 γαγεν ἔωθεν, καὶ προσαγγείλας τὰ παρὰ τῶν
 Μεγαρέων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς ἐπεψηφίσαντο, τῇ
 σάλπιγγι σημήνας εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 2 ἤγεν αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντας. δεξαμένων δὲ
 τῶν Μεγαρέων προθύμως τὴν τε Νίσαιαν ἐτεί-
 χισε, καὶ διὰ μέσου σκέλη δύο πρὸς τὸ ἐπίνειον

¹ καὶ Λέων Sintenis' correction of the MSS. Κλέων; Bekker
 has Λέων, the correction of Wachsmuth.

¹ See the *Nicias*, xxii. 3.

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Byzantium. For already Phocion was held in high repute there ; and when Leon¹ also, a man who was first among the Byzantians for virtue, and had been a familiar companion of Phocion in the Academy, went surety for him with the city, they would not suffer him to go into camp outside the city, as he wished, but threw open their gates and received the Athenians into close companionship with themselves. This mark of confidence caused the Athenians to be not only discreet and blameless in their general conduct, but also most spirited in the struggles for the city's defence. In this way Philip was expelled from the Hellespont at this time and brought into contempt, although men had thought there was no fighting or contending with him at all ; moreover, Phocion captured some of his ships and recovered cities which he had garrisoned. He also landed in many parts of Philip's territory and plundered and overran it, until he was wounded by those who rallied to its defence, and sailed back home.

XV. The people of Megara once made a secret appeal to Athens for help,² and Phocion, fearing that the Boeotians might get early knowledge of the appeal and anticipate Athens in sending help, called an assembly early in the morning and announced to the Athenians the message received from Megara. Then, as soon as the requisite decree had been passed, he ordered the trumpeter to give the signal and led them, under arms, directly from the assembly. The Megarians received him eagerly, and he enclosed Nisaea³ with a wall, built two long walls

² Against a faction in the city which would have delivered it into the power of Philip. The date of these events is uncertain (perhaps 344-343 B.C.).

³ The sea-port of Megara, about a mile away.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐνέβαλε, καὶ συνῆψε τῇ θαλάττῃ τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε τῶν κατὰ γῆν πολεμίων ὀλίγον ἤδη φροντίζουσιν ἐξηρτῆσθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

- XVI. Ἦδη δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐκπεπολεμωμένων παντάπασιν, καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐτοῦ μὴ παρόντος ἐτέρων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡρημένων, ὡς κατέπλευσεν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, πρῶτον μὲν ἔπειθε τὸν δῆμον εἰρηνικῶς ἔχοντος τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ φοβουμένου τὸν κίνδυνον ἰσχυρῶς δέχεσθαι τὰς
- 2 διαλύσεις· καὶ τινος ἀντικρουσάντος αὐτῷ τῶν εἰωθότων κυλινδεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν Ἡλιαίαν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, καὶ εἰπόντος, “Σὺ δὲ τολμᾶς, ὦ Φωκίων, ἀποτρέπειν Ἀθηναίους ἤδη τὰ ὄπλα διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντας;” “Ἐγωγε,” εἶπε, “καὶ ταῦτα εἰδὼς ὅτι πολέμου μὲν ὄντος ἐγὼ σοῦ, εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης σὺ ἐμοῦ ἄρξεις.” ὥς δ’ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐκράτει κελεύων ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς θέσθαι μάχην τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
- 3 “ὦ τᾶν,” ἔφη, “μὴ ποῦ μαχώμεθα σκοπῶμεν, ἀλλὰ πῶς νικήσωμεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται μακρὰν ὁ πόλεμος, ἡττωμένοις δὲ πᾶν αἰεὶ δεινὸν ἐγγὺς πάρεστι.” γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἡττης¹ καὶ τῶν θορυβοποιῶν καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἐν ἄστει² τὸν Χαρίδημον ἐλκόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀξιούντων, ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δεό-

¹ τῆς ἡττης Bekker, with CF^a: ἡττης.

² ἐν ἄστει Coraës and Bekker have τῶν ἐν ἄστει, after Stephanus.

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down to the sea-port from Megara, and thus united the city with the sea, so that she need now pay little heed to enemies on land and could be in close connection with Athens by sea.

XVI. Presently¹ the relations between Athens and Philip were altogether hostile, and, in Phocion's absence, other generals were chosen to conduct the war. But when Phocion returned with his fleet from the islands, to begin with, he tried to persuade the people, since Philip was peaceably inclined and greatly feared the peril of war, to accept the terms of settlement which he offered. And when one of those who haunted the law-courts in the capacity of public informer opposed him, and said, "Canst thou dare, O Phocion, to divert the Athenians from war when they are already under arms?" "I can," said he, "and that, too, though I know that while there is war thou wilt be under my orders, but when peace has been made I shall be under thine." When, however, he could not prevail, but Demosthenes carried the day and was urging the Athenians to join battle with Philip as far from Attica as possible, "My good Sir," said Phocion, "let us not ask where we can fight, but how we shall be victorious. For in that case the war will be at a long remove; but wherever men are defeated every terror is close at hand." But when the defeat came,² and the turbulent and revolutionary spirits in the city dragged Chari-demus to the tribunal and demanded that he be made general, the best citizens were filled with fear; and with the aid of the council of the Areiopagus in the assembly, by dint of entreaties and tears,

¹ In 340 B.C.

² In 338 B.C., at Chaeroneia, where Philip defeated the allied Greeks and put an end to their independence.

μενοι καὶ δακρύοντες μόλις ἔπεισαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ Φωκίῳ τὴν πόλιν.

- 4 Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τοῦ Φιλίππου πολιτείαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ᾤετο δεῖν προσδέχεσθαι. Δημάδου δὲ γράψαντος ὅπως ἡ πόλις μετέχοι τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐκ εἶα πρὸ τοῦ γνῶναι τίνα Φίλιππος αὐτῷ
5 γενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιώσῃ· κρατηθεὶς 749 δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ διὰ τὸν καιρόν, ὡς εὐθὺς ἑώρα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μεταμελομένους, ὅτι καὶ τριήρεις ἔδει παρέχειν τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἱππεῖς, "Ταῦτα," ἔφη, "φοβούμενος ἡναντιούμην· ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέθεσθε, δεῖ μὴ βαρέως φέρειν μηδὲ ἀθυμεῖν, μεμνημένους ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ποτὲ μὲν ἄρχοντες, ποτὲ δὲ ἀρχόμενοι, καλῶς δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔσωσαν καὶ τοὺς Ἕλ-
6 ληνας." Φιλίππου δὲ ἀποθανόντος εὐαγγέλια θύειν τὸν δῆμον οὐκ εἶα· καὶ γὰρ ἀγεννὲς εἶναι ἐπιχαίρειν, καὶ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ παραταξαμένην πρὸς αὐτοὺς δύναμιν ἐνὶ σώματι μόνον ἐλάττω γενέσθαι.

XVII. Δημοσθένους δὲ λοιδοροῦντος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη προσάγοντα ταῖς Θήβαις ἔφη·

"Σχέτλιε, τίπτ' ἐθέλεις ἐρεθιζέμεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα καὶ δόξης μεγάλης ὀρεγόμενον; ἢ βούλει πυρκαϊᾶς τηλικαύτης οὕσης ἐγγὺς ῥίπίσαι¹ τὴν πόλιν;

¹ ῥίπισαι Bryan's correction of the MSS. ῥίψαι (to hurl), which Coraës and Bekker retain.

¹ The congress of Greek states summoned by Philip to meet at Corinth. It voted for war against Persia under the leadership of Philip.

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they persuaded them at last to entrust the city to the guidance of Phocion.

In general, Phocion thought that the policy and kindly overtures of Philip should be accepted by the Athenians; but when Demades brought in a motion that the city should participate with the Greeks in the common peace and in the congress,¹ Phocion would not favour it before they found out what demands Philip was going to make upon the Greeks. His opinion did not prevail, owing to the crisis, and yet as soon as he saw that the Athenians were repenting of their course, because they were required to furnish Philip with triremes and horsemen, "This is what I feared," said he, "when I opposed your action; but since you agreed upon it, you must not repine or be dejected, remembering that our ancestors also were sometimes in command, and sometimes under command, but by doing well in both these positions saved both their city and the Greeks." And on the death of Philip,² he was opposed to the people's offering sacrifices of glad tidings; for it was an ignoble thing, he said, to rejoice thereat, and the force which had been arrayed against them at Chaeroneia was diminished by only one person.

XVII. Again, when Demosthenes was heaping abuse upon Alexander, who was already advancing against Thebes, Phocion said: "'Rash one, why dost thou seek to provoke a man who is savage,'³ and is reaching out after great glory? Canst thou wish, when so great a conflagration is near, to fan the city into flame? But I, who am bearing

¹ In 336 B.C. See the *Demosthenes*, chapter xxii.

² *Odyssey*, ix. 494, Odysseus, to a companion, of Polyphemus the Cyclops.

- ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἀπολέσθαι τούτοις
ἐπιτρέψομεν, οἱ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγεῖν ὑπομέ-
2 νοντες." ὥς δὲ ἀπωλώλειςαν αἱ Θῆβαι καὶ ὁ
'Αλέξανδρος ἐξητεῖτο τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ
Λυκούργον καὶ Ὑπερίδην καὶ Χαρίδημον, ἡ δὲ
ἐκκλησία πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπέβλεπεν, ὀνομαστὶ
πολλάκις καλούμενος ἀνέστη· καὶ τῶν φίλων
ἓνα παραστησάμενος, ᾧ μάλιστα χρώμενος διετέ-
λει καὶ πιστεύων καὶ ἀγαπῶν, "Εἰς τοιαῦτα,"
ἔφη, "τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι παραγνόχασιν ὥστ' ἔγωγε,
καὶ Νικοκλέα τις τοῦτον ἐξαιτῇ, διδόναι κελεύσω.
3 τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀπάντων ἀποθανεῖν
εὐτυχίαν ἂν ἑμαυτοῦ θείμην. ἐλεῶ δέ," εἶπεν,
"ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Θηβῶν δεῦρο
πεφευγότας, ἀρκεῖ δὲ τὰς Θήβας κλαίειν τοῖς
Ἑλλήσι. διὸ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν πείθειν
καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἢ μάχεσθαι."
4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ψήφισμα λέγεται τὸν
'Αλέξανδρον, ὥς ἔλαβε, ρίψαι καὶ φυγεῖν ἀπο-
στραφέντα τοὺς πρέσβεις· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐδέ-
ξατο, κομισθὲν ὑπὸ Φωκίωνος, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
ἀκούων ὅτι καὶ Φίλιππος ἐθαύμαζε τὸν ἄνδρα
τοῦτον· καὶ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἔντευξιν ὑπέμεινεν αὐ-
τοῦ καὶ τὴν δέησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμβουλευόντος
ἤκουσε. συνεβούλευε δ' ὁ Φωκίων, εἰ μὲν ἡσυ-
χίας ὀρέγεται, θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· εἰ δὲ δόξης,
μεταθέσθαι, πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλ-
5 λήνων τραπόμενον. καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν

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the burdens of command with this object in view, will not suffer these fellow citizens of mine to perish even if that is their desire." And when Thebes had been destroyed¹ and Alexander was demanding the surrender of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hypereides, Charidemus, and others, and the assembly turned their eyes upon Phocion and called upon him many times by name, he rose up, and drawing to his side one of his friends, whom he always cherished, trusted, and loved most of all, he said: "These men have brought the city to such a pass that I, for my part, even if this Nicocles should be demanded, would urge you to give him up. For if I might die myself in behalf of you all, I should deem it a piece of good fortune for me. And I feel pity," said he, "men of Athens, for those also who have fled hither from Thebes; but it is enough that the Greeks should have the fate of Thebes to mourn. Therefore it is better to supplicate and try to persuade the victors for both you and them, and not to fight."

Well, then, we are told that when Alexander got the first decree which the Athenians passed, he cast it from him and ran with averted face from the envoys; the second, however, he accepted, because it was brought by Phocion, and because he heard from the older Macedonians that Philip also used to admire this man. And he not only consented to meet Phocion and hear his petition, but actually listened to his counsels. And Phocion counselled him, if he sought quiet, to make an end of the war; but if glory, to transfer the war, and turn his arms away from Greece against the Barbarians. And

¹ In 335 B.C.

Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσιν καὶ βούλησιν εὐστόχως εἰπὼν οὕτω μετέβαλε καὶ κατεπράυνεν αὐτὸν ὥστε εἰπεῖν ὅπως προσέξουσιν τὸν νοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς, εἴ τι γένοιτο περὶ αὐτόν, ἐκείνοις ἄρχειν προσήκον. ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὸν Φωκίωνα ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ φίλον καὶ ξένον, εἰς τοσαύτην ἔθετο
 6 τιμὴν ὅσην εἶχον ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀεὶ συνόντων. ὁ γοῦν Δούρις εἴρηκεν ὡς μέγας γενόμενος καὶ Δαρείου κρατήσας ἀφείλε τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ χαίρειν πλὴν ἐν ὅσαις ἔγραφε Φωκίῳ· τοῦτον δὲ μόνον, ὥσπερ Ἀντίπατρον, μετὰ τοῦ χαίρειν προσηγόρευε. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Χάρης ἰστόρηκε.

XVIII. Τὸ μέντοι περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν, ὅτι δωρεὰν αὐτῷ κατέπεμψεν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. τούτων κομισθέντων εἰς Ἀθήνας, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Φωκίων τοὺς φέροντας τί δὴ ποτε πολλῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ μόνῳ τοσαῦτα δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. εἰπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, “Ὅτι σὲ κρίνει μόνον ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν,” “Οὐκοῦν,” εἶπεν ὁ Φωκίων, “ἐασάτω με καὶ
 2 δοκεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ εἶναι τοιοῦτον.” ὡς δὲ ἀκολουθήσαντες εἰς οἶκον αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἐώρων εὐτέλειαν, τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα μάπτουσιν, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων αὐτὸς ἀνιμήσας ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ἀπενίπτετο τοὺς πόδας, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἡγανάκτουν, 750 δεινὸν εἶναι λέγοντες εἰ φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως

¹ Cf. the *Alexander*, xiii. 2.

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by saying many things that suited well with Alexander's nature and desires he so far changed and softened his feelings that he advised the Athenians to give close attention to their affairs, since, if anything should happen to him, the leadership of Greece would properly fall to them.¹ In private, too, he made Phocion his friend and guest, and showed him greater honour than most of his constant associates enjoyed. At any rate, Duris writes that after Alexander had become great and had conquered Dareius, he dropped from his letters the word of salutation, "chairein," except whenever he was writing to Phocion; him alone, like Antipater, he used to address with the word "chairein." This is the testimony of Chares also.

XVIII. The story about the money, indeed, is generally admitted, namely, that Alexander sent him a present of a hundred talents.² When this was brought to Athens, Phocion asked the bearers why in the world, when there were so many Athenians, Alexander offered such a sum to him alone. They replied: "Because Alexander judges that thou alone art a man of honour and worth." "In that case," said Phocion, "let him suffer me to be and be thought such always." But when the messengers accompanied him to his home and saw there a great simplicity,—his wife kneading bread, while Phocion with his own hands drew water from the well and washed his feet,—they were indignant, and pressed the money upon him still more urgently, declaring it an intolerable thing that he, though a friend of

² The talent was equivalent to about £235, or \$1,200, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

οὕτω διαιτῆσεται πονηρῶς. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Φωκίων
 πένητα πρεσβύτην ἐν τριβωνίῳ ῥυπαρῷ πορευό-
 μενον, ἠρώτησεν εἰ τούτου χείρονα νομίζουσιν
 3 αὐτόν. εὐφημείν δὲ ἐκείνων δεομένων, "Καὶ μὴν
 οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων ἐμοῦ ζῇ καὶ ἀρκεί-
 ται. τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἢ μὴ χρώμενος," ἔφη, "μάτην
 ἔξω τοσοῦτον χρυσίον, ἢ χρώμενος ἐμαυτὸν ἅμα
 καὶ κείνον διαβαλῶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν." οὕτω μὲν
 ἐπανῆλθε πάλιν τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπιδεί-
 ξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλησι πλουσιώτερον τοῦ διδόντος
 4 τοσαῦτα τὸν μὴ δεόμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος
 ἠγανάκτησε καὶ πάλιν ἔγραψε τῷ Φωκίῳ φί-
 λους μὴ νομίζειν τοὺς μηδὲν αὐτοῦ δεομένους,
 χρήματα μὲν οὐδ' ὥς Φωκίων ἔλαβεν, ἀφεθῆναι
 δὲ ἠξίωσε τὸν σοφιστὴν Ἐχεκρατίδην καὶ τὸν
 Ἴμβριον Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Ῥοδίους δύο, Δημά-
 ρατον καὶ Σπάρτωνα, συνειλημμένους ἐπ' αἰτίαις
 5 τισὶ καὶ καθειργμένους ἐν Σάρδεσι. τούτους μὲν
 οὖν εὐθύς ἀπέλυσεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, Κρατερὸν δὲ
 ἀποστέλλων εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐκέλευσε τεττάρων
 πόλεων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, Κίου, Γεργίθου, Μυλάσων,
 Ἐλαίας, μίαν, ἣν ἂν αἰρήται, παραδοῦναι τῷ
 Φωκίῳ, διατεινόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὥς χαλεπανεῖ
 μὴ λαβόντος. ἀλλ' οὔτε Φωκίων ἔλαβεν, ὃ τε
 Ἀλέξανδρος ταχέως ἀπέθανεν. ἡ δὲ οἰκία τοῦ
 Φωκίωνος ἔτι νῦν ἐν Μελίτῃ δείκνυται, χαλκαῖς
 λεπίσι κεκοσμημένα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λιτὴ καὶ
 ἀφελής.

¹ In 324 B.C., when Craterus was commissioned to lead the veteran soldiers of Alexander back to Macedonia. See the *Alexander*, chapter lxxi.

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the king, should live in such poverty. Phocion, accordingly, seeing a poor old man walking the street in a dirty cloak, asked them if they considered him inferior to this man. "Heaven forbid!" they cried. "And yet this man," said Phocion, "has less to live upon than I, and finds it sufficient. And, in a word," said he, "if I make no use of this great sum of money, it will do me no good to have it; or, if I use it, I shall bring myself, and the king as well, under the calumnies of the citizens." So the treasure went back again from Athens, after it had showed the Greeks that the man who did not want so great a sum was richer than the man who offered it. Alexander was vexed and wrote back to Phocion that he could not regard as his friends those who wanted nothing of him. But not even then would Phocion take the money; he did, however, ask for the release of Echekratides the sophist, Athenodorus of Imbros, and two men of Rhodes, Demaratus and Sparton, who had been arrested upon sundry charges and imprisoned in Sardis. These men, then, Alexander set free at once, and at a later time,¹ when he sent Craterus back into Macedonia, he ordered him to turn over to Phocion the revenues from whichever one of four cities in Asia he might select,—either Cius, Gergithus, Mylasa, or Elaea,—insisting still more strongly than before that he would be angry if Phocion did not take them. But Phocion would not take them, and very soon Alexander died. And even to the present day Phocion's house is pointed out in Melité,² adorned with bronze disks, but otherwise plain and simple.

¹ A deme, or ward, in the S.W. part of Athens. See the *Themistocles*, xxii. 2.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XIX. Τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἃς ἔγχε, περὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐθὲν ἱστορεῖται, πλὴν ὅτι Κηφισόδοτος ἦν ὁ πλάστης ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀφελείᾳ λόγος ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἢ Φωκίωνος ἐπὶ 2 χρηστότητι. καὶ ποτε θεωμένων καινοὺς τραγῳδοὺς Ἀθηναίων, ὁ μὲν τραγῳδὸς εἰσιέναι μέλλων βασιλίδος πρόσωπον ἤτει κεκοσμημένας πολλὰς ὀπαδοὺς πολυτελῶς τὸν χορηγόν· καὶ μὴ παρέχοντος ἡγανάκτει καὶ κατεῖχε τὸ θέατρον οὐ βουλόμενος προελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ χορηγὸς Μελάνθιος ὠθῶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐβόα· “Τὴν Φωκίωνος οὐχ ὁρᾷς γυναῖκα προϊούσαν ἀεὶ μετὰ μιᾶς θεραπαινίδος, ἀλλ’ ἀλαζονεύῃ καὶ διαφθείρεις τὴν 3 γυναικωνίτιν;” ἑξακούστου δὲ τῆς φωνῆς γενομένης ἐδέξατο κρότῳ πολλῷ καὶ θορύβῳ τὸ θέατρον. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ γυνή, ξένης τινὸς Ἰωνικῆς ἐπιδειξαμένης χρυσοῦν καὶ λιθοκόλλητον κόσμον ἐν πλοκίοις καὶ περιδεραίοις, “Ἐμοὶ δέ,” ἔφη, “κόσμος ἐστὶ Φωκίων εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη στρατηγῶν Ἀθηναίων.”

XX. Φώκῳ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ βουλομένῳ ἀγωνίσασθαι Παναθηναίοις ἀποβάτην ἐφῆκεν,¹ οὐχὶ τῆς νίκης ὀρεγόμενος, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἐπιμεληθεὶς καὶ ἀσκήσας τὸ σῶμα βελτίων ἔσοιτο· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως φιλοπότης καὶ ἄτακτος ὁ νεανίσκος. νικήσαντος δὲ καὶ πολλῶν αἰτουμένων ἐστιᾶσαι τὰ νικητήρια, τοὺς ἄλλους Φωκίων παραιτησάμενος ἐνὶ τὴν 2 φιλοτιμίαν ταύτην συνεχώρησεν. ὥς δὲ ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἄλλην τε σοβαρὰν ἑώρα παρα-

¹ Φώκῳ . . . βουλομένῳ . . . ἐφῆκεν with Coraës, Sintenis¹, and Bekker, after F^a: Φῶκον . . . βουλόμενον . . . ἀφῆκεν.

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XIX. As for his wives, nothing is told us about the first, except that she was a sister of Cephisodotus the sculptor; but the reputation which the second had among the Athenians for sobriety and simplicity was not less than that of Phocion for probity. And once when the Athenians were witnessing an exhibition of new tragedies, the actor who was to take the part of a queen asked the choregus to furnish him with a great number of attendant women in expensive array; and when he could not get them, he was indignant, and kept the audience waiting by his refusal to come out. But the choregus, Melanthius, pushed him before the spectators, crying: "Dost thou not see that Phocion's wife always goes out with one maid-servant? Thy vanity will be the undoing of our women-folk." His words were plainly heard by the audience, and were received with tumultuous applause. And this very wife, when an Ionian woman who was her guest displayed ornaments of gold and precious stones worked into collars and necklaces, said: "My ornament is Phocion, who is now for the twentieth year a general of Athens."

XX. When Phocus his son wished to compete at the Panathenaic festival as a vaulting rider of horses, Phocion permitted it, not because he was ambitious for the victory, but in order that care and training of the body might make his son a better man; for in general the youth was fond of wine and irregular in his habits. The youth was victorious, and many asked him to their houses for the victor's banquet; but Phocion declined the other invitations and granted the coveted honour to one host only. And when he went to the banquet and saw the general

σκευὴν καὶ ποδανιπτήρας οἶνου δι' ἀρωμάτων προσφερομένους τοῖς εἰσιούσι, καλέσας τὸν υἱόν, “Οὐ παύσεις,” ἔφη, “τὸν ἐταῖρον, ὦ Φῶκε, διαφθείροντά σου τὴν νίκην;” βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ καθόλου μεταστῆσαι τὸ μεράκιον ἐκ τῆς διαίτης ἐκείνης, ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ κατέμιξε τοῖς ἀγομένοις τὴν λεγομένην ἀγωγὴν νεανίσκοις.
 3 καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐλύπησεν, ὡς ὑπερ-
 ορῶντος καὶ ὑπερφρονοῦντος τὰ οἰκεία τοῦ Φωκίω-
 νος. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δημάδου πρὸς αὐτόν, “Τί
 οὐ πείθομεν, ὦ Φωκίων, Ἀθηναίους τὴν Λακω- 751
 νικὴν προσδέξασθαι πολιτείαν; ἐὰν γὰρ σὺ κε-
 λεύης, ἐγὼ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἔτοιμός εἰμι,”
 “Πάνυ γοῦν,” ἔφη, “πρέψειεν ἄν σοι μύρου
 τοσοῦτον ὅζοντι καὶ χλανίδα τοιαύτην φοροῦντι
 συμβουλεύειν Ἀθηναίοις περὶ φιλιτίων καὶ τὸν
 Λυκούργον ἐπαινεῖν.”

XXI. Γράψαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ
 τριήρων, ὅπως ἀποστείλωσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ῥη-
 τῶρων ἐνισταμένων, τῆς δὲ βουλῆς τὸν Φωκίωνα
 λέγειν κελευούσης, “Λέγω τοίνυν ὑμῖν,” εἶπεν,
 “ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατεῖν ἢ τοῖς κρατοῦσι φίλους
 εἶναι.” πρὸς δὲ Πυθέαν ἀρχόμενον τότε πρῶτον
 ἐντυγχάνειν Ἀθηναίοις, ἥδη δὲ λάλον ὄντα καὶ
 θρασύν, “Οὐ σιωπήσεις,” ἔφη, “καὶ ταῦτα νεώ-
 2 νητος ὢν τῷ δήμῳ;” ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρπαλος μετὰ
 χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀποδρὰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῆς
 Ἀσίας τῇ Ἀττικῇ προσέβαλε, καὶ τῶν εἰωθότων
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magnificence of the preparations, and particularly the foot-basins of spiced wine that were brought to the guests as they entered, he called his son and said: "Phocus, do not let thy companion ruin thy victory." Moreover, wishing to remove the young man entirely from that style of living, he took him off to Sparta and put him among the youths who were following the course of discipline called "agoge."¹ This vexed the Athenians, who thought that Phocion despised and looked down upon the native customs. And once Demades said to him: "Phocion, why shouldn't we try to persuade the Athenians to adopt the Spartan polity? For if thou sayest the word, I am ready to introduce and support the requisite law." But Phocion replied: "Indeed it would very well become thee, with so strong a scent of ointment upon thee, and wearing such a mantle as thine, to recommend to the Athenians the public mess-halls of the Spartans, and to extol Lysurgus."

XXI. When Alexander wrote asking the Athenians to send him triremes, and the orators opposed the request, and the council bade Phocion speak upon the matter, "I tell you, then," he said, "either to be superior in arms or to be friends with those who are superior." To Pytheas, who at that time was just beginning to address the Athenians, but was already loquacious and bold, Phocion said: "Hold thy peace, thou who art but a newly bought slave of the people!" And when Harpalus, who had run away from Alexander out of Asia with great sums of money, landed in Attica,² and those who

¹ See the *Agésilæus*, i. 1.

² See the *Demosthenes*, chapter xxv.

ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος χρηματίζεσθαι δρόμος ἦν καὶ ἄμιλλα φθειρομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, τούτοις μὲν ἀπὸ πολλῶν μικρὰ δελεάζων προήκατο καὶ διέρριψε, τῷ δὲ Φωκίῳ προσέπεμψε διδοὺς ἐπτακόσια τάλαντα, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, καὶ μετὰ πάντων
 3 ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ¹ μόνῳ παρακατατιθέμενος. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τραχέως τοῦ Φωκίῳνος οἰμῶξεσθαι τὸν Ἄρπαλον, εἰ μὴ παύσεται διαφθείρων τὴν πόλιν, τότε μὲν συσταλὲς ἀπέστη, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ βουλευομένων Ἀθηναίων ἑώρα τοὺς μὲν εἰληφότας τὰ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ μεταβαλλομένους καὶ κατηγοροῦντας, ἵνα μὴ φανεροὶ γένωνται, Φωκίῳνα δὲ τὸν μηδὲν λαβόντα μετὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου σωτηρίαν ἔν
 4 τινι λόγῳ τιθέμενον. πάλιν οὖν ἐνεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ θεραπεύειν ἐκείνον, αὐτὸν μὲν ὡς ἔρυμα πανταχόθεν ἀνάλωτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρυσίου περιοδεύων ἑώρα, Χαρικλέα δὲ τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος συνήθη καὶ φίλον, ἀνέπλησε δόξης πονηρᾶς, πάντα πιστεύων καὶ πάντα χρώμενος ἐκείνῳ.

XXII. Καὶ δὴ καὶ Πυθονίκης τῆς ἐταίρας ἀποθανούσης, ἣν εἶχεν ὁ Ἄρπαλος ἑρῶν καὶ θυγατρίου πατὴρ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγόνει, μνημεῖον ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσαι θελήσας προσέ-
 2 ταξε τῷ Χαρικλεῖ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. οὖσαν δὲ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ταύτην ἀγεννῇ προσκατήσχυνεν ὁ τύφος συντέλεσθεὶς. διαμένει γὰρ ἔτι νῦν ἐν

¹ ἐκείνῳ with Coraës and Bekker : ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ.

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were wont to make merchandise of their influence as orators came running to him at breakneck speed, to these men he dropped and scattered small morsels of his wealth by way of bait; but he sent to Phocion and offered him seven hundred talents, and everything else that he had, and put himself with all his possessions at the sole disposition of Phocion. But Phocion answered sharply that Harpalus would rue it if he did not cease trying to corrupt the city, and for the time being the traitor was abashed and desisted from his efforts. After a little, however, when the Athenians were deliberating upon his case, he found that those who had taken money from him were changing sides and denouncing him, that they might not be discovered; while Phocion, who would take nothing, was now giving some consideration to the safety of Harpalus as well as to the public interests. Again, therefore, he was led to pay court to Phocion, but after all his efforts to bribe him found that he was impregnable on all sides like a fortress. Of Charicles, however, Phocion's son-in-law, Harpalus made an intimate associate and friend, trusting him in everything and using him in everything, and thus covered him with infamy.

XXII. For instance, on the death of Pythonicé the courtesan, who was the passionately loved mistress of Harpalus and had borne him a daughter, Harpalus resolved to build her a very expensive monument, and committed the care of the work to Charicles. This service was an ignoble one in itself, but it acquired additional disgrace from the completed tomb. For this is still to be seen in Hermus,

Ἑρμει,¹ ἣ βαδίζομεν ἐξ ἄστεος εἰς Ἐλευσίνα, μηδὲν ἔχων τῶν τριάκοντα ταλάντων ἄξιον, ὅσα τῷ Ἀρπάλῳ λογισθῆναι φασιν εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὑπὸ τοῦ Χαρικλέους. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ παιδάριον ὑπὸ τοῦ Χαρικλέους καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἀναληφθὲν ἐτύγχανε πάσης ἐπιμελείας.
3 κρινομένου μέντοι τοῦ Χαρικλέους ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρπαλείοις, καὶ δεομένου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Φωκίωνα καὶ συνεισελθεῖν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, εἰπὼν. “Ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Χαρίκλεις, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις γαμβρὸν ἐποιησάμην.”

Πρώτου δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Ἰππάρχου τεθνάναι προσαγγείλαντος Ἀλέξανδρον, ὁ μὲν Δημάδης ἐκέλευε μὴ προσέχειν· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ὅλην ὄξειν νεκροῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην· ὁ δὲ Φωκίων ἐπηρμένον ὁρῶν πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζειν τὸν δῆμον
4 ἐπειράτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ κατέχειν. ἀναπηδόντων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ βοώντων ἀληθῆ τὸν Ἀσκληπιάδην ἀπαγγέλλειν καὶ τεθνάναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, “Οὐκοῦν,” εἶπεν, “εἰ σήμερον τέθνηκε, καὶ αὔριον ἔσται καὶ εἰς τρίτην τεθνηκώς, ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ βουλευσασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ² μετὰ ἀσφαλείας.”

XXIII. Ὡς δὲ φέρων ἐνέσεισεν ὁ Λεωσθένης τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸν Λαμιακὸν³ πόλεμον, καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος δυσχεραίνοντος ἡρώτα καταγελῶν τί

¹ Ἑρμει Bekker, after Coraës : Ἑρμείφ.

² δὲ Bekker, after Coraës, corrects to καί.

³ Λαμιακὸν Coraës and Bekker, after Xylander : Ἑλληνικόν.

¹ See Pausanias, i. 37, 5, with Frazer's notes. Pausanias speaks of it as “the best worth seeing of all ancient Greek tombs.”

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on the road from Athens to Eleusis, and it has nothing worthy of the large sum of thirty talents which Charicles is said to have charged Harpalus for the work.¹ And yet after the death of Harpalus himself,² his daughter was taken up by Charicles and Phocion and educated with every care. However, when Charicles was brought to trial for his dealings with Harpalus, and begged Phocion to help him and go with him into the court-room, Phocion refused, saying: "I made thee my son-in-law, Charicles, for none but just purposes."

Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus was the first one to bring to the Athenians the tidings that Alexander was dead. Thereupon Demades urged them to pay no heed to the report, since, had it been true, the whole earth would long ago have been filled with the stench of the body. But Phocion, who saw that the people were bent on revolution, tried to dissuade them and restrain them. And when many of them sprang towards the bema, and shouted that the tidings brought by Asclepiades were true and that Alexander was dead, "Well, then," said Phocion, "if he is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow and the day after. Therefore we can deliberate in quiet, and with greater safety."

XXIII. Leosthenes, who had plunged the city into the Lamian war³ much to Phocion's displeasure, once asked him derisively what good he had done

² Antipater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, and Harpalus fled to Crete, where he was assassinated.

³ 323-322 B.C. So named because the confederate Greeks held Antipater and his forces for some time besieged in Lamia, a city of S.E. Thessaly (§ 4).

- πεποίηκεν ἀγαθὸν τὴν πόλιν ἔτη τοσαῦτα στρα-
τηγῶν, “Οὐ μικρόν,” ἔφη, “τὸ τοὺς πολίτας ἐν
2 τοῖς ἰδίοις μνήμασι θάπτεσθαι.” πολλὰ δὲ θρα- 752
συνομένου καὶ κομπάζοντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ Λεω-
σθένους, ὁ Φωκίων, “Οἱ λόγοι σου,” εἶπεν, “ὦ
μειράκιον, εἰκόασι κυπαρίττοις· μεγάλοι γὰρ
ὄντες καὶ ὑψηλοὶ καρποὺς οὐ φέρουσιν.” ὥς δὲ
ἐπαναστὰς ὁ Ὑπερείδης ἠρώτησε, “Πότε οὖν, ὦ
Φωκίων, συμβουλεύσεις πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίους;
“Ὅταν,” εἶπε, “τοὺς μὲν νέους ἴδω τὴν τάξιν
βουλομένους φυλάττειν, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους εἰσφέ-
ρειν, τοὺς δὲ ῥήτορας ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ κλέπτειν τὰ
δημόσια.”
- 3 Θαυμαζόντων δὲ πολλῶν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεω-
σθένους συνηγμένην δύναμιν, καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος
πυνθανομένων πῶς τι¹ παρεσκευάσθαι δοκοῦ-
σιν αὐτῷ, “Καλῶς,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τὸ στάδιον· τὸν
δὲ δόλιχον τοῦ πολέμου φοβοῦμαι, μήτε χρήματα
τῆς πόλεως ἕτερα μήτε ναῦς μήτε ὀπλίτας ἐχού-
4 σης.” ἐμαρτύρει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ ὁ Λεωσθένης λαμπρὸς ἦρθη ταῖς πράξεσι,
τῶν τε Βοιωτῶν μάχῃ κρατήσας καὶ τὸν Ἀντίπα-
τρον εἰς Λάμiam συνελάσας· ὅτε καὶ φασὶ τὴν
μὲν πόλιν ἐλπίδος² μεγάλης γενομένην ἐορτάζειν
εὐαγγέλια συνεχῶς καὶ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς, τὸν δὲ
Φωκίωνα πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχειν αὐτὸν οἰομένους,
καὶ πυνθανομένους εἰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν ἤθελεν αὐτῷ
πεπραῆχθαι, “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “βεβουλευ-
σθαι δὲ ἐκεῖνα.” καὶ πάλιν ἄλλων ἐπ’ ἄλλοις
εὐαγγελίων γραφομένων καὶ φερομένων ἀπὸ

¹ πῶς τι Bekker, after Coraës, corrects to πῶς.

² ἐλπίδος Bekker, after Coraës, corrects to ἐπ’ ἐλπίδος.

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the city during the many years in which he had been general. "No slight good," said Phocion, "in that its citizens are buried in their own sepulchres." Again, when Leosthenes was talking very boldly and boastfully in the assembly, Phocion said: "Thy speeches, young man, are like cypress-trees, which are large and towering, but bear no fruit." And when Hypereides confronted him with the question, "When, then, O Phocion, wilt thou counsel the Athenians to go to war?" "Whenever," said Phocion, "I see the young men willing to hold their places in the ranks, the rich to make contributions, and the orators to keep their thievish hands away from the public moneys."

When many were admiring the force got together by Leosthenes, and were asking Phocion what he thought of the city's preparations, "They are good," said he, "for the short course;¹ but it is the long course which I fear in the war, since the city has no other moneys, or ships, or men-at-arms." And events justified his fear. For at first Leosthenes achieved brilliant successes, conquering the Boeotians in battle, and driving Antipater into Lamia. Then, too, they say that the city came to cherish high hopes, and was continuously holding festivals and making sacrifices of glad tidings. Phocion, however, when men thought to convict him of error and asked him if he would not have been glad to have performed these exploits, replied: "By all means; but I am glad to have given the advice I did." And again, when glad tidings came in quick succession by letter and messenger from the

¹ The short course in the foot-races was straight away, the length of the stadium; the long course was ten times back and forth.

στρατοπέδου, “Πότε ἄρα,” φάναι, “παυσόμεθα νικῶντες;”

XXIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Λεωσθένους ἀποθανόντος οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Φωκίωνα, μὴ στρατηγὸς ἐκπεμφθεὶς καταλύσῃ τὸν πόλεμον, αἰθροπὸν τινα τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεσκεύασαν ἀναστάντα λέγειν ὅτι φίλος ὢν τοῦ Φωκίωνος καὶ συμπεφοιτηκῶς παραινεῖ φείδεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ φυλάσσειν, ὥς ἄλλον ὅμοιον οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἐκπέμπειν δὲ Ἀντίφιλον ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συνεδόκει, παρελθὼν ὁ Φωκίων ἔλεγε μήτε συμπεφοιτηκέναι ποτὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μήτε ἄλλως γεγονέναι γνώριμος ἢ συνή-
2 θης. “Ἀλλὰ νῦν,” εἶπεν, “ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ φίλον σε ποιούμαι καὶ οἰκεῖον· ἃ γὰρ ἦν ἐμοὶ συμφέροντα συμβεβούλευκας.”

Ὁρμημένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς στρατεύειν πρῶτον μὲν ἀντείχε· καὶ τῶν φίλων λεγόντων ὥς ἀποθανεῖται προσκρούων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, “Ἀδίκως,” εἶπεν, “ἂν ποιῶ τὸ συμ-
3 φέρον· ἂν δὲ παραβαίνω, δικαίως.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀρώων οὐκ ἀνιέντας, ἀλλὰ βοῶντας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἄχρι ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀφ’ ἧβης πέντε ἡμερῶν σιτία λαβόντας εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, θορύβου πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων βοῶντων καὶ ἀναπηδώντων, “Οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “δεινόν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔχων ἔτος ἔσομαι μεθ’ ὑμῶν.” καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως κατέπαυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ μετέβαλε.

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camp, "When, pray," said he, "will our victories cease?"

XXIV. But Leosthenes was killed, and then those who feared that Phocion, if he were sent out as general, would put a stop to the war, arranged with a certain obscure person to rise in the assembly and say that he was a friend and intimate associate of Phocion, and therefore advised the people to spare him and keep him in reserve, since they had none other like him, and to send out Antiphilus to the army. This course was approved by the Athenians, whereupon Phocion came forward and said that he had never been intimately associated with the person, nor in any way familiar or acquainted with him; "But now," said he, "from this very day I make thee a friend and close companion, for thou hast counselled what was for my advantage."

Again, when the Athenians were bent on making an expedition against the Boeotians, at first he opposed it; and when his friends told him that he would be put to death by the Athenians if he offended them, "That will be unjust," said he, "if I act for their advantage; but if I play them false, it will be just." Afterwards, however, seeing that they would not desist, but continued their clamour, he ordered the herald to make proclamation that every man in Athens under sixty years of age should take provisions for five days and follow him at once from the assembly. Thereupon a great tumult arose, the elderly men leaping to their feet and shouting their dissent. "It is no hardship," said Phocion, "for I who am to be your general am in my eightieth year." For the time being this checked them and changed their purpose.

- XXV. Πορθουμένης δὲ τῆς παραλίας ὑπὸ Μικίωνος συχνοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ μισθοφόροις ἀποβεβηκότος εἰς Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ κατατρέχοντος τὴν χώραν, ἐξήγαγε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ προστρέχοντες ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλος διεστρατήγουν καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτοῦ τὸν λόφον καταλαβεῖν, ἐκεῖ περιπέμψαι τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐνταῦθα παρεμβαλεῖν, “ὦ Ἡράκλεις,” εἶπεν, “ὥς πολλοὺς ὀρῶ στρατηγούς, ὀλίγους δὲ στρατιώτας.”
- 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ παρατάξαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀπλίτας εἰς πολὺν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων προῆλθεν, εἶτα δείσας ἀντιστάντος ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου πάλιν εἰς τὴν τάξιν ἀνεχώρησεν, “ὦ μεράκιον,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ αἰδῆ δύο τάξεις ἀπολελοιπώς, ἦν ἐτάχθης ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐφ' ἣν σεαυτὸν ἔταξας;” ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ κατὰ κράτος τρεψά- 753
- 3 ἀπέκτεινε. τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ στράτευμα, συμμίξαντος Ἀντιπάτρω Λεοννάτου καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἀσίας Μακεδόνων, ἐνίκα μαχόμενον· καὶ Λεοννάτος ἔπεσεν, ἡγουμένου τῆς μὲν φάλαγγος Ἀντιφίλου, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ Μένωνος.

XXVI. Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ Κρατεροῦ διαβάντος ἐξ Ἀσίας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ γενομένης πάλιν ἐν Κραννῶνι παρατάξεως, ἡττήθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἕλληνες οὔτε μεγάλην ἡτταν οὔτε πολλῶν πεσόντων, ἀπειθείᾳ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ νέους ὄντας, καὶ ἅμα τὰς πό-

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XXV. However, when their sea-coast was being devastated by Micion, who landed at Rhamnus with a horde of Macedonians and mercenaries and overran the adjacent territory, Phocion led the Athenians out against him. And as they marched, men would run up to their general from all sides and show him what to do. He was advised to seize a hill here, to send his horsemen around thither, or to make his attack upon the enemy there. "O Heracles," said Phocion, "how many generals I see, and how few soldiers!" Again, after he had drawn up his men-at-arms, one of them went out far in advance of the rest, and then was stricken with fear when an enemy advanced to meet him, and went back again to his post. "Shame on thee, young man," said Phocion, "for having abandoned two posts, the one which was given thee by thy general, and the one which thou didst give thyself." However, he attacked the enemy, routed them utterly, and slew Micion himself together with many others. The Greek army in Thessaly, also, although Leonnatus and his Macedonians from Asia had joined Antipater, was victorious in battle, and Leonnatus fell; the Greek men-at-arms were led by Antiphilus, their cavalry by Menon the Thessalian.

XXVI. But a short time afterwards Craterus crossed from Asia with a large force,¹ and there was another pitched battle at Crannon. Here the Greeks were defeated. Their defeat was not severe, nor did many of them fall, but owing to their lack of obedience to their commanders, who were young and soft-hearted, and because at the same time

¹ Cf. chapter xviii. 5.

- λεις αὐτῶν πειρῶντος Ἀντιπάτρου, διαρρύντες
 2 αἰσχιστα προήκαντο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. εὐθὺς οὖν
 ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄγοντος τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν
 δύναμιν οἱ μὲν περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Ὑπερείδην
 ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Δημάδης δέ, μηθὲν
 μέρος ὧν ὥφειλε χρημάτων ἐπὶ ταῖς καταδίκαις
 ἐκτίσαι τῇ πόλει δυνάμενος (ἡλώκει γὰρ ἑπτὰ
 γραφὰς παρανόμων καὶ γεγονῶς ἄτιμος ἐξείρ-
 γετο τοῦ λέγειν), ἄδειαν εὐρόμενος τότε, γράφει
 ψήφισμα ἐκπέμπειν¹ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὑπὲρ
 3 εἰρήνης πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας. φοβουμένου δὲ
 τοῦ δήμου καὶ καλοῦντος Φωκίωνα, καὶ μόνῳ
 πιστεύειν ἐκείνῳ λέγοντος, “Ἀλλ’ εἵγε ἐπιστευό-
 μην,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν νῦν
 ἐβουλευόμεθα περὶ πραγμάτων τοιούτων.” οὕτω
 δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐπικυρωθέντος ἀπεστάλη
 πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ στρατοπεδεύ-
 οντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττι-
 κὴν βαδίζειν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἤτει, τὸ μένοντα
 4 κατὰ χώραν ποιήσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις. τοῦ δὲ
 Κρατεροῦ λέγοντος ὡς οὐ δίκαια πείθει Φωκίων
 ἡμᾶς, τὴν τῶν συμμάχων καὶ φίλων καθημένους
 χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν δυναμένους ἐκ τῆς τῶν
 πολεμίων ὠφελείσθαι, λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς
 ὁ Ἀντίπατρος, “Δοτέον,” εἶπε, “Φωκίῳ ταύτην
 τὴν χάριν.” περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῖς
 ἐπιτρέπειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥσπερ ἐν Λαμίᾳ
 Λεωσθένης ἐκείνων.

¹ ἐκπέμπειν with Doehner; the MSS. have καὶ πέμπει, which Bekker retains: πέμπειν, after Coraës.

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Antipater made tempting overtures to their several cities, their army melted away and most shamefully abandoned the cause of freedom. At once, therefore, Antipater led his forces against Athens, and Demosthenes and Hypereides left the city. Demades, however, though he was unable to pay any portion of the fines which had been imposed upon him by the city (he had been seven times convicted of introducing illegal measures, had lost his civic rights, and was therefore debarred from speaking in the assembly), obtained immunity at this time, and brought in a bill for sending to Antipater ambassadors plenipotentiary to treat for peace. But the people were fearful, and called upon Phocion, declaring that he was the only man whom they could trust. "But if I had been trusted," said he, "when I gave you counsel, we should not now be deliberating on such matters." And when the bill had thus been passed, he was sent off to Antipater, who was encamped in the Cadmeia,¹ and was making preparations to march into Attica at once. And this was the first request that Phocion made, namely, that Antipater should remain where he was and make the treaty. And when Craterus declared that it was not fair in Phocion to try to persuade them to remain in the territory of their friends and allies and ravage it, when they had it in their power to get booty from that of their enemies, Antipater took him by the hand and said: "We must grant Phocion this favour." But as for the other terms of the peace, he ordered the Athenians to leave them to the conquerors, just as, at Lamia, he had been ordered to do by Leosthenes.

¹ The citadel of Thebes.

- XXVII. Ὡς οὖν ἐπανήλθεν ὁ Φωκίων εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ἔδοξεν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, αὐθις εἰς Θήβας ἐβάδιζε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβειων, Ξενοκράτην τὸν φιλόσοφον τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσελομένων. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ Ξενοκράτους καὶ δόξα καὶ λόγος παρὰ πᾶσιν ὥστε οἶεσθαι μήτε ἔβριν εἶναι μήτε ὠμότητα μήτε θυμὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ φύμενον, ᾧ Ξενοκράτους μόνον ὀφθέντος οὐκ ἂν αἰδοῦς
- 2 τι καὶ τιμῆς ἐγγένοιτο πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀπέβη δὲ τοῦναντίον ἀγνωμοσύνη τινὶ καὶ μισαγαθία τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἡσπάσατο τὸν Ξενοκράτην τοὺς ἄλλους δεξιωσάμενος· ἐφ' ᾧ φασιν εἰπεῖν ἐκείνουν ὡς Ἀντίπατρος καλῶς ποιεῖ μόνον αὐτὸν αἰσχυρόμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἀγνωμονεῖν μέλλει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν· ἔπειτα λέγειν ἀρξάμενον οὐχ ὑπομένων, ἀλλ' ἀντικρούων καὶ δυσκολαίνων
- 3 ἐποίησεν ἀποσιωπῆσαι. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα διαλεχθέντων ἀπεκρίνατο φιλίαν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐκδοῦσι μὲν τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Ὑπερίδην, πολιτευομένοις δὲ τὴν πατριὸν ἀπὸ τιμήματος¹ πολιτείαν, δεξαμένοις δὲ φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν Μουνυχίαν, ἔτι δὲ χρήματα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ζημίαν προσεκτίσασιν.
- 4 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἡγάπησαν ὡς φιλανθρώπους τὰς διαλύσεις, πλὴν τοῦ Ξενοκράτους· ἔφη γὰρ ὡς μὲν δούλοις μετρίως κεχρηῆσθαι

¹ ἀπὸ τιμήματος Coraës and Bekker, with most MSS.: ἀπὸ τιμημάτων.

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XXVII. Accordingly, Phocion returned to Athens with these demands, and the Athenians acceded to them, under the necessity that was upon them. Then Phocion went once more to Thebes, with the other ambassadors, to whom the Athenians had added Xenocrates the philosopher. For so high an estimate was set upon the virtue of Xenocrates, and so great was his reputation and fame in the eyes of all, that it was supposed the human heart could harbour no insolence or cruelty or wrath which the mere sight of the man would not infuse with reverence and a desire to do him honour. But the result in this case was the opposite, owing to a certain ruthlessness and hatred of goodness in Antipater. For, in the first place, he would not salute Xenocrates, although he greeted the other ambassadors; at which Xenocrates is said to have remarked: "Antipater does well to feel shame before me alone of his ruthless designs against our city." And again, when the philosopher began to speak, Antipater would not listen to him, but angrily contradicted him and forced him into silence. But when Phocion had made his plea, Antipater replied that the Athenians could be his friends and allies on condition that they delivered up Demosthenes and Hypereides, reverted to their earlier constitution with its basis of property qualification, received a garrison into Munychia,¹ and, in addition, paid the costs of the war and a fine.

The rest of the ambassadors were satisfied with these terms and considered them humane, with the exception of Xenocrates, who said that Antipater dealt with them moderately if he held them to be

¹ The acropolis of Peiræus.

τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὥς δὲ ἐλευθέροις βαρέως. τοῦ δὲ Φωκίωνος παραιτουμένου τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ δεομένου λέγεται τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰπεῖν “ὦ Φωκίων, ἡμεῖς πάντα σοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμεθα 754
 5 πλὴν τῶν καὶ σὲ ἀπολούντων καὶ ἡμᾶς.” οἱ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως φασίν, ἀλλὰ ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰ τὴν φρουρὰν ἀνέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Φωκίων ἐγγυᾶται τὴν πόλιν ἐμμενεῖν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ μηθὲν πολυπραγμονήσειν· σιωπῶντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ διαμέλλοντος, ἀναπηδήσαντα Καλλιμέδοντα τὸν Κάραβον, ἄνδρα θρασὺν καὶ μισόδημον, εἰπεῖν “Ἐὰν δὲ οὗτος, ὦ Ἀντίπατρε, φλυαρῇ, σὺ πιστεύσεις καὶ οὐ πράξεις ἂ διέγνωκας;”

XXVIII. Οὕτω μὲν ἐδέξαντο φρουρὰν Μακεδόνων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Μένυλλον ἡγεμόνα, τῶν ἐπιεικῶν τινα καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐπιτηδείων. ἐφάνη δὲ ὑπερήφανον τὸ πρόσταγμα, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξουσίας ὕβρει χρωμένης ἐπίδειξις ἢ πραγμάτων ἔνεκα γιγνομένη κατάληψις. οὐ μικρὸν δὲ τῷ πάθει προσέθηκεν ὁ καιρός. εἰκάδι γὰρ ἡ φρουρὰ Βοηδρομιῶνος εἰσέχθη, μυστηρίων ὄντων, ἣ τὸν Ἰακχον ἐξ ἄστεος Ἐλευσίνάδε πέμπουσιν, ὥστε τῆς τελετῆς συγχυθείσης ἀναλογίζεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα τῶν θείων καὶ
 2 τὰ πρόσφατα. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις¹ εὐτυχήμασι τὰς μυστικὰς ὄψεις καὶ φωνὰς παρα-

¹ ἀρίστοις Bekker adopts G. Hermann's conjecture of ἀπίστοις (incredible).

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slaves, but severely if he held them to be freemen. Phocion, however, besought Antipater to spare them the garrison, to which Antipater, as we are told, replied: "O Phocion, we wish to gratify thee in all things, except those which will ruin thee and us." But some tell a different story, and say that Antipater asked whether, in case he indulged the Athenians in the matter of the garrison, Phocion would go surety that his city would abide by the peace and stir up no trouble; and that when Phocion was silent and delayed his answer, Callimedon, surnamed Carabus,¹ an arrogant man and a hater of democracy, sprang to his feet and cried: "But even if the fellow should prate such nonsense, Antipater, wilt thou trust him and give up what thou hast planned to do?"

XXVIII. Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was under the command of Menyllus, an equitable man and a friend of Phocion. But the measure was held to be an arrogant one, and rather a display of power which delighted in insolence than an occupation due to stress of circumstance. And it came at a time which added not a little to the distress of the people. For the garrison was introduced on the twentieth of the month Boëdromion, while the celebration of the mysteries was in progress, on the day when the god Iacchus is conducted from the city to Eleusis, so that the disturbance of the sacred rite led most men to reflect upon the attitude of the heavenly powers in earlier times and at the present day. For of old the mystic shapes and voices were vouchsafed to them in the midst of their most glorious successes,

¹ *Stag-beetle.*

- γενέσθαι σὺν ἐκπλήξει καὶ θάμβει τῶν πολεμίων, νῦν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ δυσχερέστατα πάθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπισκοπεῖν τοὺς θεούς, καὶ καθυβρίζεσθαι τὸν ἀγιώτατον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἥδιστον αὐτοῖς, ἐπώνυμον τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν γενόμενον. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι χρησμὸν ἐξήνεγκαν αἱ Δωδωνίδες τῇ πόλει “τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος φυλάσσειν,” ὅπως ἄλλοι μὴ λάβωσι· τότε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας αἱ ταινίαι μὲν, αἷς περιελίττουσι τὰς μυστικὰς κοίτας, βαπτόμεναι θάψινον ἀντὶ φοινικοῦ χρώμα καὶ νεκρῶδες ἀνήνεγκαν· ὁ δὲ μείζον ἦν, τὰ παραβαπτόμενα τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πάντα τὸ προσήκον ἄνθος ἔσχε. μύστην δὲ λούοντα χοιρίδιον ἐν Κανθάρῳ λιμένι κῆτος συνέλαβε καὶ τὰ κάτω μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἄχρι τῆς κοιλίας κατέπιε, προδεικνύντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ προφανῶς ὅτι τῶν κάτω καὶ πρὸς θαλάσση στερηθέντες τὴν ἄνω πόλιν διαφυλάξουσιν.
- 4 Ἡ μὲν οὖν φρουρὰ διὰ Μένυλλον οὐδὲν ἡνίασε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· τῶν δὲ ἀποψηφισθέντων τοῦ πολιτεύματος διὰ πενίαν ὑπὲρ μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους γενομένων οἳ τε μένοντες ἐδόκουν σχέτλια καὶ ἄτιμα πάσχειν, οἳ τε διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ μεταστάντες εἰς Θυράκην, Ἀντιπά-

¹ See the *Themistocles*, xv. 1.

² Artemis was the patron goddess of Munychia.

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and brought consternation and affright upon their enemies;¹ but now, while the same sacred ceremonies were in progress, the gods looked down with indifference upon the most grievous woes of Hellas, and the profanation of the season which had been most sweet and holy in their eyes made it for the future give its name to their greatest evils. Indeed, a few years before this the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona bidding them "guard the summits of Artemis,"² that strangers might not seize them; and now, during the days of the festival, when the fillets with which they entwine the mystic chests were dyed, instead of purple they showed a sallow and deathly colour, and, what was more significant still, all the articles for common use which were dyed along with the fillets took the natural hue. Moreover, as a mystic initiate was washing a pig in the harbour of Cantharus,³ a great fish seized the offering⁴ which he held and devoured the lower parts of its body as far as the belly, by which Heaven clearly indicated to them in advance that they would be deprived of the lower parts of the city which adjoined the sea, but would retain the upper city.

Now, the garrison, owing to the influence of Menyllus, did no harm to the inhabitants; but the citizens who were deprived of their franchise because of their poverty numbered more than twelve thousand, and those of them who remained at home appeared to be suffering grievous and undeserved wrongs, while those who on this account forsook the city and migrated to Thrace, where Antipater

³ Part of the harbour of Peiræus.

⁴ Intended for Demeter, the chief divinity of the mysteries.

τρον γῆν καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντος, ἐκπεπολιορκημένοις ἐώκεσαν.

- XXIX. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐν Καλαυρία καὶ Ὑπερείδου πρὸς Κλεωναῖς θάνατος, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἄλλοις γέγραπται, μονονοῦκ ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον Ἀθηναίοις Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου παρίστη. καὶ τοῦτο¹ ὅπερ ὕστερον, ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῶν ἀνελόντων ἐκείνον ἀρξαμένων βιάζεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀνὴρ ἀγροικὸς ἐν Φρυγίᾳ χωρίον ὀρύττων πυθομένου τινός, “Τί ποιεῖς;” στενάξας, “Ἀντίγονον,” εἶπε, “ζητῶ.”
- 2 τοῦτο¹ πολλοῖς ἐπῆει λέγειν διαμνημονεύουσι τὸν ἐκείνων τῶν βασιλέων θυμόν, ὥς τὸ μέγα καὶ γενναῖον εὐπαραίτητον εἶχον, οὐχ ὥσπερ Ἀντίπατρος ἰδιώτου προσώπῳ καὶ φαυλότητι χλαμυδίου καὶ διαίτης εὐτελείᾳ κατειρωνευόμενος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπαχθέστερος ἦν τοῖς πάσχουσι κακῶς
- 3 δεσπότης καὶ τύραννος. ὁμῶς δ’ οὖν ὁ Φωκίων καὶ φυγῆς ἀπήλλαξε πολλοὺς δεθηθεὶς τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου, καὶ φεύγουσι διεπράξατο μὴ καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν μεθισταμένων ὑπὲρ τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη καὶ τὸν Ταίναρον ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κατοικεῖν, ὧν καὶ Ἀγνωνίδης ἦν ὁ
- 4 συκοφάντης. ἐπιμελόμενος δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πράως καὶ νομίμως τοὺς μὲν ἀστείους καὶ 755
χαρίεντας ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αἰεὶ συνέιχε, τοὺς δὲ πολυπράγμονας καὶ νεωτεριστάς, αὐτῷ τῷ μὴ

¹ τοῦτο retained in both places by Bekker; the first is deleted by Coraës, after Reiske; the second is corrected to τότε by Sintenis².

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furnished them with land and a city, were like men driven from a captured city.

XXIX. Moreover, the death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hypereides at Cleonae, about which I have written elsewhere,¹ made the Athenians yearn almost passionately for Philip and Alexander. At a later time, after Antigonus had been slain,² and those who slew him began to oppress and vex the people, a peasant in Phrygia who was digging on his farm was asked by someone what he was doing, and answered: "I am looking for Antigonus." So now many were moved to speak, as they called to mind how the greatness and generosity of those illustrious kings made their wrath easy to appease; whereas Antipater, although he tried to conceal his power under the mask of a common man of mean attire and simple mode of life, was really a more burdensome tyrant and master to those who were in trouble. But nevertheless Phocion successfully pleaded with Antipater for the exemption of many from exile, and for those who went into exile he obtained the privilege of residing in Peloponnesus, instead of being driven out of Hellas beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Taenarum like other men in banishment. Of this number was Hagnonides the public informer. Furthermore, by managing the affairs of the city with mildness and according to the laws, he kept the men of education and culture always in office, while the busybodies and innovators, who withered into insignificance from the very fact that they held no office and

¹ See the *Demosthenes*, chapters xxviii.-xxx.

² Antigonus was defeated by Seleucus and Lysimachus at Ipsus, in Phrygia, in 301 B.C., and fell in the battle.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἄρχειν μηδὲ θορυβεῖν ἀπομαραινομένους, ἐδίδασκε φιλοχωρεῖν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν γεωργοῦντας. ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Ξενοκράτην τελούντα τὸ μετοίκιον ἐβούλετο γράψαι πολίτην· ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπε, -φήσας οὐκ ἂν μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας περὶ ἧς ἐπρέσβευεν ἵνα μὴ γένηται.

XXX. Τοῦ δὲ Μενύλλου δωρεὰν αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα διδόντος, ἀπεκρίνατο μήτ' ἐκείνον Ἀλεξάνδρου βελτίονα εἶναι μήτε κρείττονα τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ' ἣ ῥήσεται νῦν ὁ τότε μὴ δεξάμενος. ἀλλὰ Φώκῳ γε τῷ παιδὶ λαβεῖν δεομένου τοῦ Μενύλλου, “Φώκῳ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ἐὰν μὲν σωφρονῇ μεταβαλόμενος, ἀρκέσει τὰ τοῦ πατρός· ὥς δ' ἔχει νῦν, οὐδὲν ἱκανόν ἐστιν.” Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ τραχύτερον ἀπεκρίνατο βουλομένῳ τι γενέσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ πρεπόντων· “Οὐ δύναται γάρ,” εἶπεν, “Ἀντίπατρος ἅμα μοι καὶ φίλῳ καὶ
2 κόλακι χρῆσθαι.” τὸν δὲ Ἀντίπατρον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν ὡς δυεῖν αὐτῷ φίλων Ἀθήνησιν ὄντων, Φωκίωνος καὶ Δημάδου, τὸν μὲν λαβεῖν οὐ πέπεικε, τὸν δὲ διδοὺς οὐκ ἐμπέπληκε. καὶ μέντοι Φωκίων μὲν ὡς ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν πενίαν, ἐν ἣ τοσαυτάκις Ἀθηναίων στρατηγήσας καὶ βασιλεῦσι φίλοις χρησάμενος ἐγκατεγήρασε, Δημάδης δὲ τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ παρανομῶν ἐκαλλω-
3 πίξετο. νόμου γὰρ ὄντος Ἀθήνησι τότε μὴ χορεύειν ξένον ἢ χιλίας ἀποτίνειν τὸν χορηγόν, ἅπαντας εἰσαγαγὼν ξένους τοὺς χορεύοντας

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raised no uproars, were taught by him to be fond of home and to delight in tilling the soil. When he saw that Xenocrates paid the resident alien tax, he offered to enrol him as a citizen; but the philosopher refused, saying that he could not take part in an administration for the prevention of which he had served on an embassy.¹

XXX. When Menyllus offered Phocion a gift of money, he replied that neither was Menyllus better than Alexander,² nor was there any stronger reason why the man who would not accept it then should take it now. Menyllus, however, begged him to take the money for his son Phocus at least, whereupon Phocion said: "For Phocus, should he be converted to sobriety of life, his patrimony will be enough; but as he is now, nothing is sufficient." Again, when Antipater desired him to do something that was not seemly, he gave him a sharper answer, saying: "Antipater cannot have from me the services of friend and flatterer at once." And Antipater himself once said, as we are told, that he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades; one he could never persuade to take anything, the other he could never satisfy with his gifts. And verily Phocion displayed as a virtue the poverty in which, though he had been so many times a general of Athens and had enjoyed the friendship of kings, he had come to old age; whereas Demades made a great parade of his wealth, even though he was violating the laws to do so. For instance, there was a law of Athens at this time forbidding a choregus to have a foreigner in his chorus, under penalty of a thousand drachmas; but Demades presented a chorus of a hundred members

¹ Cf. chapter xxvii.

² Cf. chapter xviii.

ἐκατὸν ὄντας ἅμα καὶ τὴν ζημίαν ἀνὰ χιλίας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου εἰσήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. Δημέα δὲ τῷ υἱῷ νύμφην ἀγόμενος, “Ἐμοῦ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ, τὴν σὴν μητέρα γαμοῦντος οὐδὲ ὁ γείτων ἦσθετο· τοῖς δὲ σοῖς γάμοις καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται συγχορηγοῦσιν.”

- 4 Ἐνοχλοῦντων δὲ τῷ Φωκίῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅπως ἀπαλλάξῃ τὴν φρουρὰν πείσας τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, εἴτε μὴ προσδοκῶν πείσειν εἴτε μᾶλλον ὁρῶν σωφρονοῦντα τὸν δῆμον καὶ πολιτευόμενον εὐτάκτως διὰ τὸν φόβον, ἐκείνην μὲν αἰεὶ διωθεῖτο τὴν πρεσβείαν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα μὴ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ μέλλειν καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἔπεισε. μεταβάντες οὖν Δημάδην παρεκάλουν.
- 5 ὁ δὲ προθύμως ὑπέστη καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔχων ἀπήρην εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ὑπὸ δαίμονός τινος, ὥς ἔοικεν, εἰς τοῦτο καιροῦ κομισθεὶς ἐν ᾧ κατείχετο μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἤδη νόσῳ, Κάσανδρος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γεγωνὼς εὗρεν ἐπιστολὴν Δημάδου γεγραμμένην πρὸς Ἀντίγονον εἰς Ἀσίαν, παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ σαπροῦ κρεμαμένοις στήμονος, τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὕτω
- 6 σκώψαντος. ὥς οὖν εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένον ὁ Κάσανδρος, συνέλαβε, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ἐγγὺς προσαγαγὼν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὥστε καταδέξασθαι τοῖς κόλποις τὸ αἷμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ καταπλησθῆναι τοῦ φόνου, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ εἰς ἀχαριστίαν αὐτὸν καὶ προδοσίαν πολλὰ λαιδορήσας καὶ καθυβρίσας ἀπέκτεινεν.

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all of whom were foreigners, and at the same time brought into the theatre his fine of a thousand drachmas for each one of them. Again, when he was bringing home a wife for his son Demeas, he said to him: "When I married thy mother, my son, not even a neighbour noticed it; but to thy nuptials kings and potentates are contributing."

When the Athenians importuned Phocion to go and persuade Antipater to remove the garrison, whether it was because he despaired of persuading him, or because he saw that the people were more sensible and conducted public affairs with more decorum when they were thus under the influence of fear, he continually rejected that mission; he did, however, persuade Antipater not to exact the moneys due from the city, but to delay, and postpone their payment. The people, accordingly, transferred their importunities to Demades. He readily undertook the mission, and taking his son with him set out for Macedonia. He arrived there, as some heavenly power, doubtless, would have it, precisely at the time when Antipater was already afflicted with sickness, and when Cassander, who had assumed control of affairs, had found a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, beseeching him to present himself suddenly in Greece and Macedonia, which hung by an old and rotten thread, as he facetiously called Antipater. When, therefore, Cassander saw Demades after his arrival, he arrested him, and first slaughtered his son, whom he had brought so near that the folds of his father's robe caught the blood of his murder and were filled with it, and then, after heaping much insult and abuse upon him for his ingratitude and treachery, slew the father too.

XXXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος ἀποδείξας Πολυ-
σπέρχοντα στρατηγόν, Κάσανδρον δὲ χιλίαρχον,
ἐξέλιπεν, εὐθύς διαναστὰς ὁ Κάσανδρος καὶ
προκαταλαμβάνων τὰ πράγματα πέμπει κατὰ
τάχος Νικάνορα τῷ Μενύλλῳ διάδοχον τῆς
φρουραρχίας, πρὶν ἔκδηλον τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου
θάνατον γενέσθαι κελεύσας τὴν Μουνυχίαν παρα-
2 λαβεῖν. γενομένου δὲ τούτου, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας
ὀλίγας πυθομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι τέθνηκεν ὁ
Ἀντίπατρος, ἐν αἰτίαις ὁ Φωκίων ἦν καὶ κακῶς 756
ἤκουεν ὡς προαισθόμενος καὶ κατασιωπήσας
χάριτι τοῦ Νικάνορος. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐκ
ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐντυγχάνων δὲ τῷ Νικάνορι καὶ δια-
λεγόμενος εἰς τε τὰλλα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πρᾶον
αὐτὸν καὶ κεχαρισμένον παρέιχε, καὶ φιλοτιμίας
τινὰς ἔπεισε καὶ δαπάνας ὑποστῆναι γερόμενον
ἀγωνοθέτην.

XXXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πολυσπέρχων, τὴν
τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχων ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ
καταπολιτευόμενος τὸν Κάσανδρον, ἔπεμψεν
ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς ἐν ἄστει γεγραμμένην, ὡς τοῦ
βασιλέως ἀποδιδόντος αὐτοῖς τὴν δημοκρατίαν
καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πάντα Ἀθη-
2 ναίους κελεύοντος. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦ Φωκίω-
νος ἐπιβουλὴ. συσκευαζόμενος γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτόν,
ὡς μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔδειξε τοῖς ἔργοις, ὁ Πολυσπέρ-
χων τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲν ἤλπιζε περαίνειν μὴ τοῦ
Φωκίωνος ἐκπεσόντος· ἐκπεσεῖσθαι δὲ ἐκείνου

¹ Not to be taken in its literal meaning of *commander of a thousand*, but in the general sense of *lieutenant-general*, second in command. Antipater vainly sought to deprive his son of the succession.

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XXXI. And when Antipater died, after appointing Polysperchon general-in-chief, and Cassander chiliarch,¹ Cassander at once became rebellious, promptly took the government into his own hands, and sent Nicanor with all speed to relieve Menyllus from the command of the garrison at Athens, bidding him take over Munychia before Antipater's death became known. This was done, and when, after a few days, the Athenians learned that Antipater was dead,² they blamed Phocion severely, alleging that he had known about it before and had held his peace as a favour to Nicanor. Phocion, however, paid no heed to these charges, but by interviews and discussions with Nicanor rendered him in general mild and gracious to the Athenians, and, in particular, persuaded him to undertake sundry expensive exhibitions as director of games.

XXXII. In the meantime, too, Polysperchon, who had the king³ in his own personal charge and was seeking to thwart the schemes of Cassander, sent a letter to the citizens of Athens, announcing that the king restored to them their democracy and ordered that all Athenians should take part in the administration of the city according to their earlier polity. This was a plot against Phocion. For Polysperchon was scheming (as he plainly showed a little later) to dispose the city in his own interests, and had no hope of succeeding unless Phocion was banished; he was sure, however, that Phocion would be banished if the

¹ In 319 B.C.

³ The imbecile Philip Arrhidaeus, half-brother of Alexander. The other king, the little son of Alexander by Roxana, was in Epeirus with Olympias, the mother of Alexander. See the *Eumenes*, iii. 1 and 7, with the notes.

ἅμα τῶν ἀπεψηφισμένων ἐπιχυθέντων τῇ πολιτεῖα καὶ πάλιν τὸ βῆμα δημαγωγῶν κατασχόντων καὶ συκοφαντῶν.

- 3 Ὑποκινουμένων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, βουλόμενος ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Νικάνωρ, ἐν Πειραιεῖ βουλῆς γενομένης, παρήλθε, τῷ Φωκίωνι ἐμπιστεύσας τὸ σῶμα. Δερκύλλου δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγοῦ συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν προαισθόμενος ἐξεπήδησε, καὶ φανερός ἦν εὐθὺς ἀμυνόμενος τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων ἐπὶ τῷ προέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν ἐγκαλούμενος ἔφη πιστεύειν μὲν τῷ Νικάνωρι καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσδοκᾶν δεινόν· εἰ δὲ μή, μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν ἀδικούμενος ἢ ἀδικῶν
- 4 φανερός γενέσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἄντινι σκοποῦντι δοκοίη καλοκαγαθικῶς λελέχθαι καὶ γενναίως· ὁ δὲ εἰς πατρίδος ἀποκινδυνεύων σωτηρίαν, καὶ ταῦτα στρατηγὸς καὶ ἄρχων, οὐκ οἶδα μὴ μεῖζόν τι παραβαίνει καὶ πρεσβύτερον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας δίκαιον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι φοβούμενος μὲν εἰς πόλεμον ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Φωκίων ἀπέσχετο τοῦ Νικάνωρος, ἄλλως δὲ προὔβάλλετο τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ὅπως αἰδούμενος ἐκεῖνος ἡσυχίαν
- 5 ἄγῃ καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικῇ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἀλλ' ὄντως ἔοικεν ἰσχυρά τις αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Νικάνωρος ἐγγενέσθαι πίστις, ὃν γε πολλῶν προδιαβαλλόντων

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disfranchised citizens overwhelmed the administration, and the tribunal was again at the mercy of demagogues and public informers.

Since the Athenians were somewhat stirred by these communications, Nicanor wished to address them,¹ and after a council had been convened in Peiraeus, he came before it, relying upon Phocion for the safety of his person. But Dercyllus, the Athenian general in command of the district, made an attempt to arrest him, whereupon Nicanor, who became aware of the attempt in time, dashed away, and was clearly about to inflict speedy punishment upon the city. Phocion, however, when assailed for letting Nicanor go and not detaining him, said that he had confidence in Nicanor and expected no evil at his hands; but in any case, he would rather be found suffering wrong than doing wrong. Now, such an utterance as this might seem honourable and noble in one who had regard to his own interests alone; but he who endangers his country's safety, and that, too, when he is her commanding general, transgresses, I suspect, a larger and more venerable obligation of justice towards his fellow citizens. For it cannot even be said that it was the fear of plunging the city into war which made Phocion refrain from seizing Nicanor, but that he sought to excuse himself on other grounds by protestations of good faith and justice, in order that Nicanor might respect these obligations and keep the peace and do the Athenians no wrong; nay, it would seem that he really had too strong a confidence in Nicanor. For though many gave warning against that officer and

¹ Nicanor, acting in the interests of Cassander, wished to expose to the Athenians the designs of Polysperchon.

καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ Πειραιεῖ καὶ διαβιβάζειν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα ξένους καὶ διαφθείρειν τινὰς τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ κατοικούντων, οὐ προσήκατο τὸν λόγον οὐδ' ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Φιλομήλου τοῦ Λαμπτρέως ψήφισμα γράψαντος Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ Φωκίῳ προσέχειν, ἡμέλησεν, ἄχρι οὗ προσάγων ὁ Νικάνωρ ἐκ τῆς Μουνυχίας τὰ ὅπλα τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιετάφρευσεν.

- XXXIII. Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Φωκίῳ ἐθορυβεῖτο καὶ κατεφρονεῖτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξάγειν βουλόμενος, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Πολυσπέρχοντος υἱὸς ἦκε μετὰ δυνάμεως, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Νικάνωρα τοῖς ἐν ἄστει βοηθήσων, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δύναίτο, καταληψόμενος αὐτὴν ἑαυτῇ
- 2 περιπετῇ γενομένην. οἳ τε γὰρ φυγάδες αὐτῷ συνεισβαλόντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ἐν ἄστει, καὶ τῶν ξένων ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἀτίμων πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰσδραμόντων ἐκκλησία παμμιγῆς ἡθροίσθη καὶ ἄτακτος, ἐν ᾗ τὸν Φωκίωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπολύσαντες ἐτέρους εἵλοντο στρατηγοὺς. εἰ δὲ μὴ συνιῶν εἰς λόγους ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ Νικάνωρι μόνος παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ὤφθη, καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες πολλάκις ὑποψίαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρέσχον, οὐκ ἂν ἡ
- 3 πόλις διέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀγνωνίδης ὁ ῥήτωρ εὐθὺς ἐπεφύετο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα 757 καὶ κατηγορεῖ προδοσίας, οἱ μὲν περὶ Καλλιμέδοντα καὶ Χαρικλέα φοβηθέντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Φωκίων καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων

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accused him of hostile designs against the Peiraeus, in that he was sending mercenaries across to Salamis, and tampering with some of the residents in Peiraeus, Phocion would not give heed to the story nor believe it at all. Indeed, even after Philomelus of Lamprae brought in a decree that all Athenians should stand under arms and await orders from Phocion their general, he paid no attention to the matter, until Nicanor led his troops forth from Munychia and began to run trenches around the Peiraeus.

XXXIII. In this state of affairs, Phocion, who now wished to lead the Athenians forth to battle, was stormed at and held in derision, and Alexander the son of Polysperchon came with an armed force. His ostensible design was to bring aid to the citizens against Nicanor, but he really wished to seize the city, if he could, now that she was ruinously divided against herself. For the exiles who had burst into the country with him were at once in the city, strangers and disfranchised citizens ran in to join them, and a motley and turbulent assembly was gathered together, in which Phocion was deposed from his command and other generals were chosen. And had not Alexander been seen in close conference with Nicanor near the walls, and had not their interview, which was often repeated, rendered the Athenians suspicious, the city would not have escaped its peril. Moreover, Hagnonides the orator¹ at once assailed Phocion and denounced him as a traitor, whereupon Callimedon and Charicles² took fright and left the city, while Phocion, and with him those

¹ The same as the public informer of xxix. 3.

² Prominent partisans of Antipater, who had transferred their allegiance to Cassander, the son of Antipater, rather than to Polysperchon, the successor of Antipater.

- οἱ παραμείναντες ὄχοντο πρὸς Πολυσπέρχοντα. καὶ συνεξήλθον αὐτοῖς χάριτι τοῦ Φωκίωνος ὁ Πλαταιεὺς Σόλων καὶ Δείναρχος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ἐπιτήδευοι τοῦ Πολυσπέρχοντος εἶναι δοκοῦντες
- 4 καὶ συνήθεις. ἄρρωστίᾳ δὲ χρησαμένου τοῦ Δεινάρχου συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Ἐλατεῖᾳ διέτριψαν, ἐν αἷς Ἀγνωνίδου πείσαντος, Ἀρχεστράτου δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἔπεμπε πρεσβείαν ὁ δῆμος κατηγορήσουσαν τοῦ Φωκίωνος. ἅμα δὲ καὶ συνέμιξαν ἀμφοτέροι τῷ Πολυσπέρχοντι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πορευομένων περὶ κώμην τινὰ τῆς Φωκίδος, Φαρύγας, κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ Ἀκρούριον ὄρος, ὃ νῦν Γαλάτην καλοῦσιν.
- 5 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ θεὸς ὁ Πολυσπέρχων τὸν χρυσοῦν οὐρανίσκον, καὶ καθίσας ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς φίλους, τὸν μὲν Δείναρχον εὐθύς ἐκ προόδου λαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ στρεβλώσαντας ἀποκτεῖναι, τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέδωκε λόγον. ὥς δὲ θόρυβον καὶ κραυγὴν ἐποίουν ἀντικατηγοροῦντες ἀλλήλων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἀγνωνίδης εἶπεν, “Ἀπαντας ἡμᾶς εἰς μίαν ἐμβαλόντες γαλεάγραν Ἀθηναίοις ἀναπέμψατε λόγον ὑφέξοντας,” ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐγέλασεν, οἱ δὲ περιεστῶτες τῷ συνεδρίῳ Μακεδόνες καὶ ξένοι σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐπεθύμουν ἀκούειν, καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις παρεκάλουν ἀπὸ νεύματος ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κατηγορίαν. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν ἴσον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν Φωκίῳι πολλάκις ἀντέκρουσεν ὁ Πολυσπέρχων λέγοντι, μέχρι οὗ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ

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of his friends who remained faithful, set out to go to Polysperchon. There went forth with them also, out of regard for Phocion, Solon of Plataea and Deinarchus of Corinth,¹ who were reputed to be intimate friends of Polysperchon. But Deinarchus fell sick, and the party therefore tarried many days in Elateia, during which time the people of Athens, in accordance with a decree brought in by Archestratus and supported by Hagnonides, sent an embassy to denounce Phocion. Both the parties fell in with Polysperchon at the same time, as he was marching with the king near Pharygae, a village of Phocis lying at the foot of Mount Acrurium, which is now called Galata.

Here, then, Polysperchon, after setting up the golden canopy and seating beneath it the king and his friends, as soon as Deinarchus came forward, ordered him to be seized, tortured, and put to death,² and then gave audience to the Athenians. But they raised a tumultuous shouting with their denunciations of one another in the council, and at last Hagnonides came forward and said: "Throw us all into one cage and send us back to Athens to render an account." At this, the king burst out laughing; but the Macedonians and foreigners who were gathered about the council, having nothing else to do, were eager to listen, and nodded to the ambassadors to make their denunciation there. But there was no fairness in the conduct of the case, since, when Phocion tried to speak, he was frequently interrupted by Polysperchon, and at last, smiting the ground with

¹ Antipater's chief agent in Peloponnesus.

² In order to maintain himself in power, Polysperchon was forced to treat Antipater's friends as his own enemies.

πατάξας τὴν γῆν ἀπέστη καὶ κατεσιώπησεν.
 7 Ἡγήμονος δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι μάρτυς αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς
 τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας Πολυσπέρχων ἐστί, καὶ τοῦ
 Πολυσπέρχοντος ἀποκριναμένου πρὸς ὀργήν,
 “Παῦσαί μου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καταψευδό-
 μενος,” ἀναπηδήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ὤρμησε λόγχῃ
 τὸν Ἡγήμονα πατάξαι. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ Πολυσπέρ-
 χοντος περιλαβόντος αὐτὸν οὕτω διελύθη τὸ
 συνέδριον.

XXXIV. Τὸν δὲ Φωκίωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ
 φυλακῆς περιεχούσης, ὅσοι τῶν ἐταίρων ἔτυχον
 οὐκ ἐγγὺς ἐστώτες, ὥς τοῦτο εἶδον, ἐγκαλυψά-
 μενοι καὶ διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. ἐκείνους δὲ
 2 Κλεῖτος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀνήγε λόγῳ μὲν κριθησομέ-
 νους, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν κατακεκριμένους. καὶ
 προσῆν τὸ σχῆμα τῇ κομιδῇ λυπηρόν, ἐφ’
 ἀμάξαις κομιζομένων αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ
 πρὸς τὸ θέατρον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς προσαγαγὼν ὁ
 Κλεῖτος συνείχεν, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπλή-
 ρωσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες, οὐ δοῦλον, οὐ ξένον, οὐκ
 ἄτιμον ἀποκρίναντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις
 ἀναπεπταμένον τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ θέατρον παρα-
 σχόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦ τ’ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἀνεγνώσθη, λέγοντος αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγνώσθαι προδό-
 τας γεγονέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐκείνοις δὲ διδόναι
 τὴν κρίσιν ἐλευθέροις· τε δὴ καὶ αὐτονόμοις οὖσι,
 καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Κλεῖτος εἰσήγαγεν, οἱ μὲν
 βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν ὀφθέντος τοῦ Φωκίωνος
 ἐνεκαλύψαντο καὶ κάτω κύψαντες ἐδάκρυον, εἰς

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his staff, he retired and held his peace. Moreover, when Hegemon¹ said that Polysperchon could bear witness to his good will towards the people, and Polysperchon replied in wrath, "Cease telling lies against me in the presence of the king," the king sprang to his feet and would have smitten Hegemon with a spear. But Polysperchon quickly threw his arms about the king, and thus the council was dissolved.

XXXIV. A guard was now placed about Phocion and his associates, and at sight of this all of his friends who were standing at some remove covered up their faces and sought safety in flight. Phocion and his party, however, were taken back to Athens by Cleitus, ostensibly to be tried, but really under sentence of death. And besides, the manner of their return to the city was shameful, for they were carried on waggons through the Cerameicus to the theatre. For thither Cleitus brought them and there he kept them, until the magistrates had made up an assembly, from which they excluded neither slave, foreigner, nor disfranchised person, but allowed all alike, both men and women, free access to theatre and tribunal. After the letter of the king had been read aloud, in which he said that according to his judgement the men were traitors, but that their fellow citizens, who were freemen and self-governing, should pronounce sentence upon them, Cleitus led the men in. Then the best of the citizens, at sight of Phocion, covered their faces, bent their heads, and wept. One of them, however, rose up

¹ One of Phocion's party, and, like him, under accusation of treachery, i.e. of favouring Cassander rather than Polysperchon.

δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι, τηλικαύτην κρίσιν ἐγκεχειρικότος τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, καλῶς ἔχει τοὺς δούλους καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπελ-
 4 θεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντων βάλλειν τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς καὶ μισοδήμους, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ἔξακουσθεὶς, "Πότερον," εἶπεν, "ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε ἡμᾶς;" ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τινῶν ὅτι δικαίως, 758
 "Καὶ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "πῶς γνώσεσθε μὴ ἀκούσαν-
 5 τες;" ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐθὲν μᾶλλον ἤκουον, ἐγγυτέρω προσελθὼν, "Ἐγὼ μὲν," εἶπεν, "ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ θανάτου τιμῶμαι τὰ πεπολιτευμένα ἑμαυτῷ· τούτους δέ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ τί ἀποκτενεῖτε μὴδὲν ἀδικούντας;" ἀποκριναμένων δὲ πολλῶν, "'Οτι σοὶ φίλοι εἰσὶν," ὁ μὲν Φωκίων ἀποστὰς ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγνωνίδης ψήφισμα γεγραμμένον ἔχων ἀνέγνω, καθ' ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἔδει χειροτονεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ἂν καταχειροτονηθῶσιν, ἀποθνήσκειν.

XXXV. Ἀναγνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἠξίουσαν τινὲς προσγράφειν ὅπως καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς Φωκίων ἀποθάνοι, καὶ τὸν τροχὸν εἰσφέρειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καλεῖν προσέταττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγνωνίδης καὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον ὁρῶν δυσχεραίνοντα καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι καὶ μιὰρὸν ἡγούμενος, "'Οταν," ἔφη, "Καλλιμέδοντα τὸν μαστι-

¹ In cases where the penalty was not fixed by law, the accuser proposed a penalty, and the accused had the right to

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and had the courage to say that, since the king had put a case of such importance into the hands of the people, it were well that slaves and foreigners should leave the assembly. This the multitude would not tolerate, but cried out to stone the oligarchs and haters of the people. Therefore no one else undertook to speak in behalf of Phocion, but he himself, with great difficulty, at last made himself heard, saying: "Do ye wish to put us to death unjustly or justly?" And when some answered, "Justly," he said: "And how will ye determine this without hearing me?" But they were not a whit more willing to hear him, and therefore, drawing nearer, he said: "I admit my own guilt, and I assign death as the penalty¹ for my political conduct; but these men with me, men of Athens, are not guilty at all, and why will ye put them to death?" "Because they are thy friends," answered many, whereat Phocion retired and held his peace. But Hagnonides read aloud an edict which he had prepared, in accordance with which the people were to vote by show of hands whether they thought the men to be guilty, and the men, if the show of hands was against them, were to be put to death.

XXXV. After the edict had been read aloud, some demanded an additional clause providing that Phocion should be tortured before he was put to death, and insisted that the rack should be brought in and the executioners summoned. But Hagnonides, who saw that Cleitus was displeased at this, and considered the measure abominable and barbarous, said: "Whenever we catch that rascally Callimedon, men of Athens, propose a counter-penalty. The court then chose between the two penalties. Phocion waived all the advantage of this right, as Socrates, in a different way, had done.

γίαν λάβωμεν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, στρεβλώσο-
μεν· περὶ δὲ Φωκίωνος οὐδὲν ἐγὼ γράφω τοιοῦ-
2 του.” ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐπεικῶν τις ὑπεφώνησεν·
“Ὅρθῶς γε σὺ ποιῶν· ἂν γὰρ Φωκίωνα βασανί-
σωμεν, σὲ τί ποιήσομεν;” ἐπικυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ
ψηφίσματος καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας ἀποδοθείσης,
οὐδεὶς καθήμενος, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐξαναστάντες, οἱ
δὲ πλείστοι καὶ στεφανωσάμενοι, κατεχειροτό-
νησαν αὐτῶν θάνατον. ἦσαν δὲ σὺν τῷ Φωκίῳ
Νικοκλῆς, Θούδιππος, Ἠγήμων, Πυθοκλῆς· Δη-
μητρίου δὲ τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ Καλλιμέδοντος καὶ
Χαρικλέους καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἀπόντων κατεψη-
φίσθη θάνατος.

XXXVI. Ὡς οὖν διαλύσαντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
ἦγον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ μὲν
ἄλλοι, περιπλεκομένων τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς καὶ
οἰκείων, ὀδυρόμενοι καὶ καταθρηνοῦντες ἐβάδιζον,
τὸ δὲ Φωκίωνος πρόσωπον οἶον ὅτε στρατηγῶν
ἀπ’ ἐκκλησίας προϋπέμπετο βλέποντες, ἐθαύ-
μαζον τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν τοῦ
2 ἀνδρός. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ κακῶς ἔλεγον παρατρέχον-
τες· εἰς δὲ καὶ προσέπτυσεν ἐξεναντίας προσελ-
θών. ὅτε καὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα λέγεται βλέψαντα
πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰπεῖν· “Οὐ παύσει τις
ἀσχημονοῦντα τοῦτον;” ἐπεὶ δὲ Θούδιππος ἐν
τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ γενόμενος καὶ τὸ κώνειον ὀρῶν
τριβόμενον ἡγανάκτει καὶ κατέκλαιε τὴν συμ-
φοράν, ὥς οὐ προσηκόντως τῷ Φωκίῳ συναπολ-
λύμενος, “Εἴτα οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι μετὰ
3 Φωκίωνος ἀποθνήσκεις;” ἐρομένου δὲ τινος τῶν
φίλων εἴ τι πρὸς Φῶκον λέγει τὸν υἱόν, “Πάνυ

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we will put him to the torture ; but I cannot make any such motion in the case of Phocion." Here some decent fellow called out in response : " Right thou art ; for if we should torture Phocion, what would be left for us to do to thee ? " So the form of the edict was approved, and when the show of hands was taken, no one keeping his seat, but all rising to their feet, and most of them wreathing themselves with garlands, they condemned the men to death. Now, there were with Phocion, Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles ; and Demetrius of Phalerum, Callimedon, Charicles, and sundry others, were condemned to death *in absentia*.

XXXVI. When, accordingly, the assembly had been dissolved and the men were being led to the prison, the rest of them, as their friends and relatives clung about them, walked along lamenting and shedding tears ; but the countenance of Phocion was the same as it used to be when he was escorted from the assembly as general, and when men saw it, they were amazed at the man's calmness and at his grandeur of spirit. His enemies, however, ran along by his side and reviled him ; and one of them actually came up and spat in his face. At this, as we are told, Phocion looked towards the magistrates and said : " Will not someone stop this fellow's unseemly behaviour ? " Again, when Thudippus, on entering the prison and seeing the executioner bruising the hemlock, grew angry and bewailed his hard fate, declaring it not fitting that he should perish with Phocion, " Is it no satisfaction to thee, then," said Phocion, " that thou art put to death in company with Phocion ? " And when one of his friends asked him if he had any message for his son Phocus,

μὲν οὖν," ἔφη· "λέγω μὴ μνησικακεῖν Ἀθηναίοις." τοῦ δὲ Νικοκλέους, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ πιστότατος τῶν φίλων, παρακαλοῦντος ὅπως αὐτὸν εἰσὶν τὸ φάρμακον πιεῖν πρότερον, "Βαρὺ μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Νικόκλεις, ἐμοὶ τὸ αἶτημα καὶ λυπηρόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδέποτε σοι παρὰ τὸν βίον οὐδὲν
 4 ἡχαρίστησα, καὶ τοῦτο συγχωρῶ." πεπωκότων δὲ ἤδη πάντων τὸ φάρμακον ἐπέλιπε, καὶ ὁ δημόσιος οὐκ ἔφη τρίψειν ἕτερον, εἰ μὴ λάβοι δώδεκα δραχμάς, ὅσου τὴν ὀλκὴν ὠνεῖται. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου καὶ διατριβῆς ὁ Φωκίων καλέσας τινὰ τῶν φίλων, καὶ εἰπὼν εἰ μὴδὲ ἀποθανεῖν Ἀθήνησι δωρεάν ἐστίν, ἐκέλευσε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δοῦναι τὸ κερμάτιον.

XXXVII. Ἦν δὲ ἡμέρα μηνὸς Μουνυχιῶνος ἐνάτη ἐπὶ δέκα, καὶ τῷ Διὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμποντες οἱ ἱππεῖς παρεξήεσαν· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀφείλοντο τοὺς στεφάνους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς θύρας δεδακρυμένοι τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀπέβλεψαν. ἐφάνη δὲ τοῖς μὴ παντάπασιν ὡμοῖς καὶ διεφθαρμένοις ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ φθόνου τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀνοσιώτατον γεγονέναι τὸ μὴδ' ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, μὴδὲ καθαρεῦ-
 2 σαι δημοσίου φόνου τὴν πόλιν ἐορτάζουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνδεέστερον ἡγωνισμένοις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔδοξε καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Φωκίῶνος ἐξορί- 759
 σαι καὶ μὴδὲ πῦρ ἐναῦσαι μὴδένα πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν Ἀθηναίων. διὸ φίλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἄψασθαι τοῦ σώματος, Κωνωπίων δὲ τις, ὑπουργεῖν εἰθισμένος τὰ τοιαῦτα μισθοῦ, κομισθέντα

PHOCION

“Certainly,” said he; “my message is that he cherish no resentment against the Athenians.” Again, when Nicocles, his most faithful friend, begged the privilege of drinking the drug first, “O Nicocles,” he said, “thy request is grievous to me and painful; but since I have never in all my life denied thee any other favour, I grant thee this one also.” But when all the rest had drunk of it, the drug ran short, and the executioner refused to bruise another portion unless he were paid twelve drachmas, which was the price of the weight required. However, after a delay of some length, Phocion called one of his friends, and, asking if a man could not even die at Athens without paying for the privilege, bade him give the executioner his money.

XXXVII. It was the nineteenth day of the month Munychion,¹ and the horsemen conducting the procession in honour of Zeus were passing by the prison. Some of them took off their garlands, and others gazed at the door of the prison with tears in their eyes. And it was thought by all those whose souls were not wholly savage and debauched by rage and jealousy, that an impious thing had been done in not waiting over that day, and so keeping the city pure from a public execution when it was holding festival. However, his enemies, as if their triumph were incomplete, got a decree passed that the body of Phocion should be carried beyond the boundary of the country, and that no Athenian should light a fire for his obsequies. Therefore no friend of his ventured to touch his body, but a certain Conopion, who was wont to perform such services for hire,

¹ Early in May, 318 B.C.

τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλευσίνα, πῦρ λαβὼν ἐκ
 3 τῆς Μεγαρικῆς, ἔκαυσεν. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ παρούσα
 μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων ἔχωσε μὲν αὐτόθι χῶμα
 κενὸν καὶ κατέσπεισεν, ἐνθεμένη δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τὰ
 ὀστᾶ καὶ κομίσασα νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατώ-
 ρυξε παρὰ τὴν ἐστίαν, εἰπούσα· “Σοί, ὦ φίλη
 ἐστία, παρακατατίθεμαι ταῦτα ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ
 λείψανα· σὺ δὲ αὐτὰ τοῖς πατράοις ἀπόδος
 ἡρίοις, ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι σωφρονήσωσι.”

XXXVIII. Καὶ μέντοι χρόνον βραχέος δια-
 γενομένου, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διδασκόντων οἶον
 ἐπιστάτην καὶ φύλακα σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύ-
 νης ὁ δῆμος ἀπώλεσεν, ἀνδριάντα μὲν αὐτοῦ
 χαλκοῦν ἀνέστησαν, ἔθαψαν δὲ δημοσίοις τέλεσι
 τὰ ὀστᾶ. τῶν δὲ κατηγορῶν Ἀγωνίδην μὲν αὐτοὶ
 θάνατον καταχειροτονήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, Ἐπί-
 κουρον δὲ καὶ Δημόφιλον ἀποδράντας ἐκ τῆς πό-
 λεως ἀνευρῶν ὁ τοῦ Φωκίωνος υἱὸς ἐτιμωρήσατο.

2 Τοῦτον οὔτε τᾶλλα σπουδαῖον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι
 φασί, καὶ παιδίσκης ἐρῶντα παρὰ πορνοβοσκῷ
 τρεφομένης κατὰ τύχην Θεοδώρῳ τῷ ἀθέῳ παρα-
 γενέσθαι λόγον ἐν Λυκείῳ διαλεγομένῳ τοιοῦτον·
 “Εἰ τὸ φίλον λύσασθαι μὴ αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, οὐδὲ
 τὸ φίλην ὁμοίως· εἰ δὲ μὴ τὸ ἐταῖρον, οὐδὲ τὸ
 ἐταῖραν” θέμενον οὖν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
 τὸν λόγον ὥς εὖ ἔχοντα, λύσασθαι τὴν ἐταῖραν.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φωκίωνα πραχθέντα τῶν
 περὶ Σωκράτην πάλιν ἀνέμνησε τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
 ὡς ὁμοιοτάτης ἐκείνῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ταύτης καὶ
 δυστυχίας τῇ πόλει γενομένης.

¹ Cf. chapter xix.

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carried the body beyond Eleusis, took fire from the Megarian territory, and burned it. The wife of Phocion,¹ however, who was present with her maid-servants, heaped up a cenotaph on the spot and poured libations upon it; then, putting the bones in her bosom and carrying them by night to her dwelling, she buried them by the hearth, saying: "To thee, dear Hearth, I entrust these remains of a noble man; but do thou restore them to the sepulchre of his fathers, when the Athenians shall have come to their senses."

XXXVIII. And indeed, after a short time had passed, and when the course of events was teaching them what a patron and guardian of moderation and justice the people had lost, they set up a statue of him in bronze, and gave his bones a public burial. Moreover, as regards his accusers, the people themselves condemned Hagnonides and put him to death; while Epicurus and Demophilus, who had run away from the city, were found out by Phocion's son and visited with his vengeance.

This son of Phocion,² we are told, turned out to be a man of no worth in general, and once, being enamoured of a girl who was kept in a brothel, chanced to hear Theodorus the Atheist discourse in the Lyceum as follows: "If there is no disgrace in ransoming a man beloved, the same is true of a woman loved; what is true of a comrade, is true also of a mistress." Accordingly, his passion leading him to think the argument sound, he ransomed his mistress.

But Phocion's fate reminded the Greeks anew of that of Socrates;³ they felt that the sin and misfortune of Athens were alike in both cases.

² Cf. chapters xx. and xxx. 1. ³ In 399 B.C.

CATO THE YOUNGER

ΚΑΤΩΝ

Ι. Κάτωνι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἀρχὴν ἐπιφανείας ἔλαβε καὶ δόξης ἀπὸ τοῦ προπάππου Κάτωνος, ἀνδρὸς ἐν δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων γενομένου δι' ἀρετὴν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, κατελείφθη δὲ γονέων ὀρφανὸς μετ' ἀδελφοῦ Καιπίωνος¹ καὶ Πορκίας ἀδελφῆς. ἦν δὲ καὶ Σερβιλία Κάτωνος ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφή. καὶ πάντες οὗτοι παρὰ Λιβίῳ Δρούσῳ τροφὴν καὶ δίαιταν εἶχον, θείῳ μὲν ὄντι πρὸς² μητρός, ἄγοντι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν τότε· καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν δεινότατος ἦν, καὶ τᾶλλα σώφρων ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, καὶ φρονήματος οὐδενὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑφιέμενος.

- 2 Λέγεται δὲ Κάτων εὐθύς ἐκ παιδίου τῇ τε φωνῇ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς διατριβαῖς ἥθος ὑποφαίνειν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ βέβαιον ἐν πᾶσιν. ἰσχύν τε γὰρ εἶχον αὐτοῦ παρ' ἡλικίαν τελεσιουργὸν αἱ ὁρμαί, καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσι τραχὺς ὦν καὶ προσάντης, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκράτει τῶν ἐκφοβούντων. ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς γέλωτα κομιδῇ δυσκίνητος, ἄχρι μειδιάματος σπανίως τῷ προσώπῳ διαχεόμενος, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν οὐ ταχὺς οὐδὲ ὀλισθηρὸς, ὀργισθεὶς δὲ δυσπαραίτητος.

¹ Καιπίωνος with Coraës and Bekker : Καπίωνος.

² πρὸς with Coraës and Bekker, after Xylander : τῆς

CATO THE YOUNGER

I. CATO's family got its first lustre and fame from his great-grandfather Cato (a man whose virtue gained him the greatest reputation and influence among the Romans, as has been written in his Life), but the death of both parents left him an orphan, together with his brother Caepio and his sister Porcia. Cato had also a half-sister, Servilia, the daughter of his mother.¹ All these children were brought up in the home of Livius Drusus, their uncle on the mother's side, who at that time was a leader in the conduct of public affairs; for he was a most powerful speaker, in general a man of the greatest discretion, and yielded to no Roman in dignity of purpose.

We are told that from his very childhood Cato displayed, in speech, in countenance, and in his childish sports, a nature that was inflexible, imperturbable, and altogether steadfast. He set out to accomplish his purposes with a vigour beyond his years, and while he was harsh and repellent to those who would flatter him, he was still more masterful towards those who tried to frighten him. It was altogether difficult to make him laugh, although once in a while he relaxed his features so far as to smile; and he was not quickly nor easily moved to anger, though once angered he was inexorable.

¹ By her second husband, Q. Servilius Caepio, who was also the father of Cato's half-brother Caepio.

- 3 Ὡς οὖν εἰς τὸ μαυθάνειν ἦκε, νωθρὸς ἦν ἀνα-
λαβεῖν καὶ βραδύς, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ κάτοχος καὶ
μνημονικός. ὁ δὲ καὶ πέφυκεν ἄλλως, τοὺς μὲν
εὐφυεῖς ἀναμνηστικούς μᾶλλον εἶναι, μνημονικούς 760
δὲ τοὺς μετὰ πόνου καὶ πραγματείας παραδεχο-
μένους· γίνεται γὰρ οἷον ἔγκαυμα τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν
4 μαθημάτων ἕκαστον. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὸ δύσπειστον
τῷ Κάτῳ ποιεῖν ἐργωδεστέραν τὴν μάθησιν·
πάσχειν γάρ τι τὸ μαυθάνειν ἀτεχνῶς ἐστὶ, καὶ
τὸ πείθεσθαι ταχὺ τοῖς ἡττον ἀντέχειν δυναμέ-
νοις συμβέβηκε. διὸ πείθονται μᾶλλον νέοι
γερόντων καὶ νοσοῦντες ὑγιαίνοντων, καὶ ὅλως ἐν
οἷς τὸ ἀποροῦν ἀσθενέστατόν ἐστὶ, ῥᾶστον τὸ
5 προστιθέμενον. τῷ μέντοι παιδαγωγῷ τὸν Κά-
τῳ πείθεσθαι μὲν λέγουσι καὶ ποιεῖν ἅπαν τὸ
προσταττόμενον, ἐκάστου δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπαιτεῖν
καὶ τὸ διὰ τί πυνθάνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν χαρίεις
ὁ παιδαγωγὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγον ἔχων τοῦ κονδύ-
λου προχειρότερον, ὄνομα Σαρπηδών.

II. Ἐτι δὲ παιδὸς τοῦ Κάτωνος ὄντος ἔπρατ-
τον οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅπως μεθέξουσιν
τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας· καὶ τις Πομπαιδῖος
Σίλλων, ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξί-
ωμα, τοῦ δὲ Δρούσου φίλος, κατέλυσε παρ' αὐτῷ
πλείονας ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς γεγωνὼς τοῖς παιδίοις
συνήθης, “Ἄγε,” εἶπεν, “ὅπως ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δεή-
σεσθε τοῦ θείου συναγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς πολι-
2 τείας.” ὁ μὲν οὖν Καιπίων διαμειδιάσας ἐπέ-
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When, accordingly, he came to study, he was sluggish of comprehension and slow, but what he comprehended he held fast in his memory. And this is generally the way of nature: those who are well endowed are more apt to recall things to mind, but those retain things in their memory who acquire them with toil and trouble;¹ for everything they learn becomes branded, as it were, upon their minds. It would appear, too, that Cato's reluctance to be persuaded made his learning anything more laborious. For, to learn is simply to allow something to be done to you, and to be quickly persuaded is natural for those who are less able to offer resistance. Therefore young men are more easily persuaded than old men, and sick folk, than those who are well, and, in a word, where the power to raise objections is weakest, the act of submission is easiest. However, we are told that Cato was obedient to his tutor, and did everything that was enjoined upon him, although in each case he demanded the reason and wanted to know the why and wherefore. And, indeed, his tutor was a man of culture, and more ready to reason with a pupil than to thrash him. His name was Sarpedon.

II. While Cato was still a boy, the Italian allies of the Romans were making efforts to obtain Roman citizenship. One of their number, Pompaedius Silo,² a man of experience in war and of the highest position, was a friend of Drusus, and lodged at his house for several days. During this time he became familiar with the children, and said to them once: "Come, beg your uncle to help us in our struggle for citizenship." Caepio, accordingly, consented with a

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *De Mem.* i. 1, 2, 24.

² Erroneously called Publius Silo in the *Marius*, xxxiii. 2.

- νευσε, τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένου καὶ βλέποντος εἰς τοὺς ξένους ἀτενὲς καὶ βλοσυρόν, ὁ Πομπαΐδιος, “Σὺ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ἡμῖν, ὦ νεανία, τί λέγεις; οὐχ οἷος εἰ τοῖς ξένοις συλλαμβάνε-
 3 σθαι πρὸς τὸν θεῖον, ὥσπερ ὁ ἀδελφός;” μὴ φθεγγομένου δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλὰ τῇ σιωπῇ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ δοκοῦντος ἀπολέγεσθαι τὴν δέησιν, ἀράμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπαΐδιος ὑπὲρ θυρίδος ὡς ἀφήσων ὁμολογεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἢ ρίψειν ἔφασκεν, ἅμα τῇ τε φωνῇ τραχυτέρᾳ χρώμενος καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀπηρητημένον τὸ σῶμα πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς
 4 θυρίδος κραδαίνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον οὕτω διεκαρτέρησεν ὁ Κάτων ἀνέκπληκτος καὶ ἀδεής, καταθέμενος αὐτὸν Πομπαΐδιος ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν· “Οἶον εὐτύχημα τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅτι παῖς οὗτός ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἦν, μίαν οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι ψῆφον ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γίνεσθαι.”
 5 Πάλιν δὲ συγγενοὺς τινος ἐν γενεθλίοις καλέσαντος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἄλλους τε παῖδας καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κάτωνα, σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐν τινι μέρει τῆς οἰκίας ἔπαιζον αὐτοὶ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναμεμιγμένοι νεώτεροι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, τὸ δὲ παιζόμενον ἦν δίκαι καὶ κατηγορίαι καὶ ἀγωγαὶ τῶν ἀλισκο-
 6 μένων. εἰς οὖν τῶν ἐαλωκότων παιδῶν εὐπρεπῆς τὴν ὄψιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέρου παιδὸς ἀχθεὶς εἰς τι δωμάτιον καὶ εἰρχθεὶς ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν Κάτωνα. ταχὺ δὲ τὸ γινόμενον συνεῖς ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ὁ Κάτων, καὶ διωσάμενος τοὺς προεστῶτας καὶ διακωλύοντας ἐξήγαγε τὸν παῖδα· καὶ μετ’ ὀργῆς

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smile, but Cato made no reply and gazed fixedly and fiercely upon the strangers. Then Pompaedius said: "But thou, young man, what sayest thou to us? Canst thou not take the part of the strangers with thy uncle, like thy brother?" And when Cato said not a word, but by his silence and the look on his face seemed to refuse the request, Pompaedius lifted him up through a window, as if he would cast him out, and ordered him to consent, or he would throw him down, at the same time making the tone of his voice harsher, and frequently shaking the boy as he held his body out at the window. But when Cato had endured this treatment for a long time without showing fright or fear, Pompaedius put him down, saying quietly to his friends: "What a piece of good fortune it is for Italy that he is a boy; for if he were a man, I do not think we could get a single vote among the people."¹

At another time a relation of his who was celebrating a birthday, invited Cato and other boys to supper, and the company were diverting themselves at play in a separate part of the house, older and younger together, their play being actions at law, accusations, and the conducting of the condemned persons to prison. Accordingly, one of those thus condemned, a boy of comely looks, was led off by an older boy and shut into a chamber, where he called upon Cato for help. Then Cato, when he understood what was going on, quickly came to the door, pushed aside the boys who stood before it and tried to stop him, led forth the prisoner, and went

¹ This incident must have happened, if at all, in 91 B.C., when Cato was four years old; but it need not be inferred that he had already formed an opinion on public affairs. The story is told also in Valerius Maximus, iii. 1, 2.

ἔχων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε, καὶ παῖδες ἕτεροι συνηκολούθησαν.

III. Οὕτω δ' ἦν περιβόητος ὥστ', ἐπειδὴ Σύλλας τὴν παιδικὴν καὶ ἱερὰν ἵπποδρομίαν, ἣν καλοῦσι Τροίαν, ἐπὶ θεᾷ διδάσκων καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς παῖδας ἀπέδειξεν ἡγεμόνας δύο, τὸν μὲν ἕτερον οἱ παῖδες ἐδέξαντο διὰ τὴν μητέρα (Μετέλλης γὰρ ἦν υἱός, τῆς Σύλλα γυναικός), τὸν δὲ ἕτερον, ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα Πομπηίου, Σέξτον, οὐκ εἶων οὐδὲ ἐβούλοντο μελετᾶν οὐδὲ ἔπescθαι, πυνθανομένου δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα τίνα βούλοιντο, πάντες ἐβόησαν "Κάτωνα," καὶ ὃ γε Σέξτος αὐτὸς εἷξας παρήκεν ὥς κρεῖττονι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν.

- 2 "Ετυχε δὲ καὶ φίλος ὢν ὁ Σύλλας πατρικὸς αὐτοῖς, καὶ ποτε καὶ προσηγάγετο καὶ προσωμίλησεν, ὀλίγοις πάνυ νέμων τὴν τοιαύτην φιλοφροσύνην, διὰ βάρος καὶ ὄγκον ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. μέγα δὲ ποιούμενος ὁ Σαρπηδῶν τοῦτο πρὸς τιμὴν ἅμα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, ἤγεν 761 ἀσπασόμενον τὸν Κάτωνα συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Σύλλα, μηδὲν τότε προσιδεῖν ἀσεβῶν χώρου διαφέρουσας, ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἀγομένων
- 3 καὶ στρεβλουμένων. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἔτος ἐκείνου τῷ Κάτωνα τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατον· ἰδὼν δὲ κεφαλὰς ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν λεγομένων ἐκκομιζόμενας, καὶ κρύφα τοὺς παρόντας ἐπιστένοντας, ἠρώτησε τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ὃ τι δὴ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδεὶς ἀποκτίννυσιν. εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκείνου, "Φοβοῦνται γὰρ αὐτόν, ὦ παῖ, μᾶλλον, ἢ μισοῦσι," "Τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐμοὶ ξίφος ἔδωκας, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀνελών

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off home with him in a passion, followed by other boys also.

III. He was so celebrated that, when Sulla was preparing for exhibition the sacred equestrian game for boys¹ which is called "Troja," and, after assembling the boys of good birth, appointed two leaders for them, the boys accepted one of them for his mother's sake (he was a son of Metella, Sulla's wife), but would not tolerate the other (who was a nephew of Pompey, named Sextus), and refused to rehearse under him or obey him; and when Sulla asked them whom they would have, they all cried "Cato," and Sextus himself gave way and yielded the honour to a confessed superior.

Now, Sulla was friendly to Cato and his brother² on their father's account, and sometimes actually asked them to see him and conversed with them, a kindness which he showed to very few, by reason of the weight and majesty of his authority and power. So Sarpedon, thinking that this conduced greatly to the honour and safety of his charge, was continually bringing Cato to wait upon Sulla at his house, which, at that time, looked exactly like an Inferno, owing to the multitude of those who were brought thither and put to torture. Now, Cato was in his fourteenth year; and when he saw heads of men reputed to be eminent carried forth, and heard the smothered groans of the bystanders, he asked his tutor why no one slew this man. "Because, my child," said the tutor, "men fear him more than they hate him." "Why, then," said Cato, "didst thou not give me a

¹ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, v. 553 ff.

² Both here, and in i. 1, Plutarch carelessly speaks as though Caepio were own brother, and not half-brother, of Cato.

4 ἀπήλλαξα δουλείας τὴν πατρίδα;" τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀκούσας ὁ Σαρπηδών, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πιμπλάμενον ὀργῆς καὶ μένους κατιδών, οὕτως ἔδεισεν ὥστε τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη προσέχειν ἀκριβῶς καὶ παραφυλάττειν, μή τι τολμήσῃ παραβολώτερον.

5 Ἔτι μὲν οὖν παιδάριον ὢν μικρόν, ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι τίνα φιλεῖ μάλιστα, τὸν ἀδελφόν· τίνα δεύτερον, ὁμοίως τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ τρίτον, ἔχρι οὐ πολλάκις λέγοντος ἀπεῖπεν ὁ ἐρωτῶν. γενόμενος δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μᾶλλον ἐβεβαίου τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὖνοϊαν. ἔτη γὰρ εἴκοσι γεγονὼς χωρὶς Καιπίωνος οὐκ ἐδείπνησεν, οὐκ ἀπεδή-

6 μησεν, εἰς ἀγορὰν οὐ προῆλθε. μύρον δ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνοντος αὐτὸς παρητεῖτο· καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἦν ἀκριβῆς καὶ σύντονος. ὁ γοῦν Καιπίων ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ μετριοτήτι θαυμαζόμενος ὡμολόγει τοιοῦτος εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξεταζόμενος, "Ἄλλ' ὅταν," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὸν Κάτωνος βίον παραβάλλω τὸν ἐμόν, οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ φαίνομαι Σιππίου διαφέρειν," τῶν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ τίνα καὶ μαλακίᾳ περιβοήτων ὀνομάσας.

IV. Ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔλαβε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, μετοικήσας καὶ νειμάμενος μοῖραν τῶν πατρῶων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ταλάντων γενομένην, τὴν μὲν δίαιταν ἔτι μᾶλλον συνέστειλεν, Ἀντίπατρον δὲ Τύριον τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλοσόφων προσεταιρισάμενος, τοῖς ἠθικοῖς μάλιστα καὶ πολιτικοῖς ἐνεφύετο δόγμασι, περὶ πᾶσαν μὲν ἀρετὴν ὥσπερ ἐπιπνοία τινὶ κατὰσχετος γεγονώς, διαφόρως δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν

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sword, that I might slay him and set my country free from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard this speech, and saw also the look on the boy's face, which was full of rage and fury, he was so frightened that in future he kept him under close watch and ward, lest he should venture on some rash deed.

When he was still a little boy, and was asked whom he loved most, he answered, "My brother"; and to the question whom he loved next, likewise, "My brother"; and so a third time, until, after many such answers from him, his questioner desisted. And when he came to maturity, he maintained all the more firmly this affection for his brother. Indeed, when he was twenty years old, without Caepio he would not take supper, or make a journey, or go out into the forum. But when his brother used perfume, Cato would decline it; and in his habits generally he was severe and strict. At any rate, when Caepio was admired and praised for his discretion and moderation, he would admit that he had those qualities when tested by reference to most men; "But when," he would say, "I compare my life with that of Cato, I seem to myself no better than Sippius,"—mentioning one of those who were celebrated for luxury and effeminacy.

IV. After Cato had been made priest of Apollo, he took a house apart, accepted his share of the patrimony, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents, and began to live yet more simply than before. He made a close companion of Antipater the Tyrian, a Stoic philosopher, and devoted himself especially to ethical and political doctrines. He was possessed, as it were, with a kind of inspiration for the pursuit of every virtue; but, above all, that

δικαιοσύνην ἀτενές, καὶ ἄκαμπτον εἰς ἐπιείκειαν
 2 ἢ χάριν, ὑπερηγαπηκώς. ἥσκει δὲ καὶ τὸν
 ὀργανικὸν εἰς πλήθη λόγον, ἀξιῶν ὥσπερ ἐν
 πόλει μεγάλη τῇ πολιτικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ μά-
 χιμον εἶναί τι παρατρεφόμενον. οὐ μέντοι μεθ'
 ἐτέρων ἐποιεῖτο τὰς μελέτας, οὐδ' ἠκροάσατο
 λέγοντος οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐταίρων
 εἰπόντα, “ Μέμφονται σου, Κάτων, οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 τὴν σιωπὴν,” “ Μόνον,” ἔφη, “ μὴ τὸν βίον.
 ἄρξομαι δὲ λέγειν, ὅταν μὴ μέλλω λέγειν ἄξια
 σιωπῆς.”

V. Ἡ δὲ καλουμένη Πορκία βασιλικὴ τιμη-
 τικὸν ἦν ἀνάθημα τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κάτωνος. εἰ-
 ωθότες οὖν ἐκεῖ χρηματίζειν οἱ δήμαρχοι, καὶ
 κίονος τοῖς δίφροις ἐμποδὼν εἶναι δοκοῦντος,
 ἔγνωσαν ὑφελεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ μεταστῆσαι. τοῦτο
 Κάτων αὖ πρῶτον εἰς ἀγορὰν ἄκοντα προήγαγεν·
 ἀντέστη γὰρ αὐτοῖς, καὶ πείραν ἅμα τοῦ λόγου
 2 καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος δοὺς ἐθαυμάσθη. καὶ γὰρ ὁ
 λόγος νεαρὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ κομψὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλ'
 ἦν ὀρθίος καὶ περιπληθὴς καὶ τραχύς. οὐ μὲν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ χάρις ἀγωγὸς ἀκοῆς ἐπέτρεχε τῇ τραχύ-
 τητι τῶν νοημάτων, καὶ τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ καταμι-
 γνύμενον ἡδονὴν τινὰ καὶ μειδίαμα τῷ σεμνῷ
 παρεῖχεν οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον. ἡ δὲ φωνὴ μεγέθει
 μὲν ἀποχρῶσα καὶ διαρκὴς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐξικέ-
 σθαι δῆμον, ἰσχὺν δὲ καὶ τόνον ἄρρηκτον εἶχε καὶ

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form of goodness which consists in rigid justice that will not bend to clemency or favour, was his great delight. He practised also the kind of speaking which is effective with a multitude, deeming it right that in political philosophy, as in a great city, a certain warlike element should also be maintained. However, he did not perform his exercises in company with others, nor did any one ever hear him rehearsing a speech. Indeed, to one of his companions who said, "Men find fault with thee, Cato, for thy silence," he replied: "Only let them not blame my life. I will begin to speak when I am not going to say what were better left unsaid."

V. The Basilica Porcia, as it was called, had been dedicated by the elder Cato while he was censor.¹ Here, then, the tribunes of the people were accustomed to transact their business; and as one of the pillars was thought to be in the way of their seats, they determined to take it down or move it to another place. This brought Cato for the first time, and against his wishes, into the forum; he opposed the tribunes, and was admired for the proof of eloquence and high character which he gave. For his speech had nothing about it that was juvenile or affected, but was straightforward, full of matter, and harsh. However, a charm that captivated the ear was diffused over the harshness of his sentiments, and the mingling of his character with them gave their austerity a smiling graciousness that won men's hearts. His voice was sufficiently loud and penetrating to reach the ears of so large a multitude, and it had a strength and tension which could not

¹ Cf. the *Cato Major*, xix. 2. This was in 182 B.C.

ἄτρυτον· ἡμέραν γὰρ ὅλην εἰπὼν πολλάκις οὐκ ἀπηγόρευσε.

- 3 Τότε δ' οὖν κρατήσας τῆς δίκης πάλιν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν συνέστειλε· καὶ 762 διεπώνει τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίοις ἐνεργοῖς, ἐθιζόμενος ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ καύματα καὶ νιφετὸν ἀκαλύπτῳ κεφαλῇ, καὶ βαδίζει ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς πᾶσαν ὥραν ἄτερ ὀχήματος. τῶν δὲ φίλων οἱ συνεκδημοῦντες ἵπποις ἐχρῶντο, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκάστῳ παρέβαλλον ὁ Κάτων ἐν μέρει προσδιαλεγόμενος, περιπατῶν αὐτὸς ὀχουμένων. θαυμαστῇ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς νόσους ὑπομονῇ μετ' ἐγκρατείας ἐχρήτο· πυρέττων γὰρ μόνος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ διημέρευε μηδένα προσιέμενος, ἄχρι οὗ βέβαιον αἰσθοῖτο ῥαστώνην καὶ μεταβολὴν τοῦ νοσήματος.

- VI. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις ἐκληροῦτο περὶ τῶν μερίδων· εἰ δὲ ἀπολάχοι, πρῶτον αἶρειν τῶν φίλων κελευόντων, ἔλεγε μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀκούσης τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἅπαξ ἐπιπίων τὸ δείπνον ἀνέλυε, προϊόντι δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα προσίετο τὸ πίνειν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν 2 οἴνῳ διάγειν εἰς ὄρθρον. αἰτίαν δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ φίλοι τούτου τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ δημόσια πράγματα, πρὸς οἷς ὅλας τὸν Κάτωνα τὰς ἡμέρας ὄντα, καὶ κωλυόμενον φιλολογεῖν, νύκτωρ καὶ παρὰ πότον συγγίνεσθαι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις. διὸ καὶ Μεμμίου τινὸς ἐν συλλόγῳ φήσαντος ὅλας τὸν Κάτωνα μεθύσκεσθαι τὰς νύκτας, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κικέρων, “Ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐ λέγεις,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ὅλας κυβεύει;”
- 3 Καθόλου δὲ τοῖς τότε βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύ-

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be broken or worn out; for he often spoke all day without getting tired.

At this time, then, after winning his case, he went back again to his silence and his discipline. He built up his body by vigorous exercises, accustoming himself to endure both heat and snow with uncovered head, and to journey on foot at all seasons, without a vehicle. Those of his friends who went abroad with him used horses, and Cato would often join each of them in turn and converse with him, although he walked and they rode. In sickness, he had wonderful patience, as well as self-control; for instance, if he had an ague, he would pass the day alone by himself, admitting no visitor, until he was conscious of lasting relief and the departure of the disease.

VI. At suppers, he would throw dice for the choice of portions; and if he lost, and his friends bade him choose first, he would say it was not right, since Venus¹ was unwilling. At first, also, he would drink once after supper and then leave the table; but as time went on he would allow himself to drink very generously, so that he often tarried at his wine till early morning. His friends used to say that the cause of this was his civic and public activities; he was occupied with these all day, and so prevented from literary pursuits, wherefore he would hold intercourse with the philosophers at night and over the cups. For this reason, too, when a certain Memmius remarked in company that Cato spent his entire nights in drinking, Cicero answered him by saying: "Thou shouldst add that he spends his entire days in throwing dice."

And, in general, Cato thought he ought to take a

¹ The highest throw at dice was called the "Venus-throw,"

μασιν ὁ Κάτων τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν οἰόμενος δεῖν
 βαδίζειν, ὥς οὔσι φαύλοις καὶ μεγάλης δεομένοις
 μεταβολῆς, ἐπεὶ πορφύραν ἐώρα τὴν κατακόρως
 ἐρυθρὰν καὶ ὀξείαν ἀγαπωμένην, αὐτὸς ἐφόρει
 τὴν μέλαιναν. πολλάκις δ' ἀνυπόδητος καὶ
 ἀχίτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον προῆι μετ' ἄριστον, οὐ
 δόξαν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς καινότητος θηρώμενος, ἀλλὰ
 ἐθίζων ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς αἰσχύνεσθαι
 4 μόνοις, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀδόξων καταφρονεῖν. καὶ
 κληρονομίαν δὲ αὐτῷ προσγενομένην ἀνεψιοῦ
 Κάτωνος ἑκατὸν ταλάντων εἰς ἀργύριον συναγα-
 γὼν παρείχεν ἄνευ τόκων χρῆσθαι τῷ δεομένῳ
 τῶν φίλων. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ χωρία καὶ θεράποντας
 αὐτοῦ διδόντος καὶ βεβαιουῦντος ὑπέθεντο πρὸς
 τὸ δημόσιον.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὦραν ᾤετο πρὸς γάμον ἔχειν, οὐ-
 δεμιᾷ γυναικὶ συνεληλυθώς, ἡρμόσατο Λεπίδαν,
 πρότερον μὲν ἐγγυηθεῖσαν Σκηπίωνι Μετέλλῳ,
 τότε δὲ ἀπειπαμένου τοῦ Σκηπίωνος καὶ τῆς ἐγ-
 γύης λυθείσης σχολάζουσιν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ πρὸ
 τοῦ γάμου μεταμεληθεὶς πάλιν ὁ Σκηπίων καὶ
 2 πάντα ποιήσας ἔλαβε τὴν κόρην. ὁ δὲ Κάτων
 σφόδρα παροξυνθεὶς καὶ διακαεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν
 ἐπεξελθεῖν διὰ δίκης, ὥς δὲ οἱ φίλοι τοῦτο ἐκώλυ-
 σαν, ὀργῇ καὶ νεότητι τρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἰάμβους
 πολλὰ τὸν Σκηπίωνα καθύβρισε, τῷ πικρῷ προσ-
 χρησάμενος τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου, τὸ δὲ ἀκόλαστον
 3 ἀφείς καὶ παιδαριῶδες. ἔγημε δὲ Ἀτιλίαν, Σερ-
 ρανοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον συνῆλθεν, οὐ

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course directly opposed to the life and practices of the time, feeling that these were bad and in need of great change. For instance, when he saw that a purple which was excessively red and vivid was much in vogue, he himself would wear the dark shade. Again, he would often go out into the streets after breakfast without shoes or tunic. He was not hunting for notoriety by this strange practice, but accustoming himself to be ashamed only of what was really shameful, and to ignore men's low opinion of other things. When an inheritance worth a hundred talents fell to him from his cousin Cato, he turned it into money, and allowed any friend who needed it to have the use of it without interest. And some of his friends actually pledged to the public treasury both lands and slaves which he offered for this purpose himself, and made good his offer.

VII. When he thought that he was old enough to marry,—and up to that time he had consorted with no woman,—he engaged himself to Lepida, who had formerly been betrothed to Metellus Scipio, but was now free, since Scipio had rejected her and the betrothal had been broken. However, before the marriage Scipio changed his mind again, and by dint of every effort got the maid. Cato was greatly exasperated and inflamed by this, and attempted to go to law about it; but his friends prevented this, and so, in his rage and youthful fervour, he betook himself to iambic verse, and heaped much scornful abuse upon Scipio, adopting the bitter tone of Archilochus, but avoiding his license and puerility. And he married Atilia, a daughter of Serranus. She was the first woman with whom he consorted, but not the only

μόνη δέ, καθάπερ Λαίλιος, ὁ Σκηπίωνος ἐταῖρος· ἀλλ' εὐτυχέστερος ἐκεῖνος, ἐν πολλοῖς οἷς ἐβίωσε χρόνοις μίαν ἦν ἔγημεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γνούς γυναῖκα.

VIII. Τοῦ δὲ δουλικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος, ὃν Σπαρτάκειον ἐκάλουν, Γέλλιος μὲν ἐστρατήγει, Κάτων δὲ τῆς στρατείας μετεῖχεν ἐθελοντής, διὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν· ἐχιλιάρχει γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Καιπίων. καὶ χρήσασθαι μὲν εἰς ὅσον ἐβούλετο τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀσκήσει τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ ὑπήρξεν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς στρατηγεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· ἄλλως δέ, παρὰ πολλὴν μαλακίαν καὶ τρυφὴν τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατευομένων ἐπιδεικνύμενος εὐταξίαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὸ θαρραλέον ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ξυνητόν, ἐδόκει μῆθὲν ἀποδεῖν τοῦ 763
2 παλαιοῦ Κάτωνος. ὁ δὲ Γέλλιος ἀριστεία καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῷ διαπρεπεῖς ἔγραψεν, ἃς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔλαβεν οὐδὲ προσήκατο, φήσας ἄξιον μῆθὲν εἰργάσθαι τιμῶν. ἔκ τε δὴ τούτων ἀλλόκοτος ἐδόκει, καὶ νόμου γραφέντος ὅπως τοῖς παραγγέλλουσιν εἰς ἀρχὴν ὀνοματολόγοι μὴ παρῶσι, χιλιαρχίαν μετιὼν μόνος ἐπείθετο τῷ νόμῳ· καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος ἔργον ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνεπαχθῆς ἦν τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὅσον μᾶλλον ἐνόουν τὸ καλὸν ὧν ἐπετήδευε, τὸ δυσμύμητον αὐτῶν βαρυνομένοις.

¹ In 73-71 B.C. Cf. the *Crassus*, viii. ff.

² Lucius Gellius Publicola, consul in 72 B.C. with Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus. Both consuls were defeated by Spartacus.

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one, as was true of Laelius, the friend of Scipio Africanus ; Laelius, indeed, was more fortunate, since in the course of his long life he knew but one woman, the wife of his youth.

VIII. When the servile war was in progress,¹ which was called the war of Spartacus, Gellius² was commander, while Cato took part in his campaign as a volunteer, for the sake of his brother ; for his brother Caepio was a military tribune. Here he had not the opportunity to employ as much as he wished his zeal and discipline in virtue, because the war was not well conducted ; but notwithstanding, amidst the great effeminacy and luxury of those who took part in that campaign, he displayed such good discipline, self-control, courage in all emergencies, and sagacity, that men thought him not one whit inferior to the elder Cato. Moreover, Gellius assigned to him prizes of valour and distinguished honours ; but Cato would not take them nor allow them, declaring that he had done nothing worthy of honours. And so, in consequence of this, he was thought to be a strange creature. For instance, a law was passed forbidding candidates for office to be attended by nomenclators,³ and in his canvass for the military tribuneship he was the only one who obeyed the law. He made it his business to salute and address without help from others those who met him on his rounds, but he did not avoid giving offence even to those who praised his course ; for the more clearly they saw the rectitude of his practice, the more distressed were they at the difficulty of imitating it.

² Attendants whose duty it was to tell the candidate the names of those whom he was going to meet, that he might appear to be acquainted with them.

IX. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ χιλιάρχος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπέμπετο πρὸς Ῥούβριον τὸν στρατηγόν. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται τῆς γυναικὸς ἀχθομένης καὶ δακρυούσης ἓνα τῶν φίλων τοῦ Κάτωνος Μουνάτιον εἰπεῖν. “ὦ Ἀτιλία, θάρσει· τοῦτον ἐγὼ σοι φυλάξω.” “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” φάναι τὸν Κάτωνα, καὶ προελθόντων μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὁδόν, εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον. “Ἄγε, ὅπως, ὦ Μουνάτιε, τῇ Ἀτιλίᾳ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐμπεδώσεις,¹ μήτε ἡμέρας 2 ἐμοῦ μήτε νυκτὸς ἀφιστάμενος.” ἐκ δὲ τούτου δύο κλίνας εἰς ταῦτὸ δωμάτιον ἐκέλευε τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Μουνάτιον οὕτως αἰεὶ καθεύδειν μετὰ παιδιᾶς φυλασσόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος.

Εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν οἰκέται, δύο δὲ ἀπελευθεροί, φίλοι δὲ τέσσαρες. ὧν ὀχουμένων ἵπποις αὐτὸς αἰεὶ περιπατῶν ἐκάστῳ παρέβαλλεν ἐν μέρει προσδιαλεγόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πλείονων ταγμάτων ὄντων, ἐνὸς ἄρχων ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τῆς μὲν ἰδίας ἀρετῆς, μιᾶς οὔσης, μικρὸν ἔργον ἡγεῖτο 3 καὶ οὐκ ἀνύσιμον² τὴν ἐπίδειξιν, αὐτῷ δὲ ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὁμοίους μάλιστα φιλοτιμούμενος οὐ τὸν φόβον ἀφείλε τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἀλλὰ προσέθηκε τὸν λόγον· ᾧ πείθων περὶ ἐκάστου καὶ διδάσκων, ἐπομένης τιμῆς καὶ κολάσεως, χαλεπὸν ἦν εἰπεῖν πότερον εἰρηνικοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμικοὺς καὶ προθυμοτέρους ἢ δικαιοτέρους παρεσκεύασε τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὕτως ἐφαίνοντο φοβεροὶ μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡμεροὶ δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἄτολ-

¹ ἐμπεδώσεις Sintenis², after Cobet; ἐμπεδώσης Sintenis¹, Coraës, Bekker.

² ἀνύσιμον Sintenis' correction of the MSS. βασιλικὸν (kingly), adopted by Bekker.

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IX. Appointed military tribune,¹ he was sent to Macedonia, to serve under Rubrius the praetor. At this time, we are told, his wife being full of grief and in tears, one of Cato's friends, Munatius, said to her : "Take heart, Atilia ; I will watch over thy husband." "Certainly he will," cried Cato, and after they had gone a day's journey on their way, immediately after supper, he said : "Come, Munatius, see that you keep your promise to Atilia, and forsake me neither by day nor by night." Then he gave orders that two couches be placed in the same chamber for them, and thus Munatius always slept—and that was the joke—watched over by Cato.

He had in his following fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four friends. These rode on horses, while he himself always went a-foot ; and yet he would join each of them in turn and converse with him.² And when he reached the camp, where there were several legions, and was appointed to the command of one of them by the general, he thought it a trifling and useless task to make a display of his own virtue, which was that of a single man, but was ambitious above all things to make the men under his command like unto himself. He did not, however, divest his power of the element which inspires fear, but called in the aid of reason ; with its help he persuaded and taught his men about everything, while rewards and punishments followed their acts. Consequently, it were hard to say whether he made his men more peaceful or more warlike, more zealous or more just ; to such a degree did they show themselves terrible to their enemies but gentle to their allies, without

¹ About 67 B.C.

² Cf. chapter v. 3.

μοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν, φιλότιμοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 4 ἐπαίνους. οὐ δὲ ἥκιστα Κάτων ἐπεμελήθη, τοῦτο
 πλεῖστον ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δόξα καὶ χάρις καὶ
 ὑπερβάλλουσα τιμὴ καὶ φιλοφροσύνη παρὰ τῶν
 στρατιωτῶν. ἃ γὰρ ἑτέροις ἐπέταττεν ἐκουσίως
 διαπονῶν, καὶ στολὴν μὲν καὶ δίαιταν καὶ πορείαν
 ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁμοιούμενος, ἤθει
 δὲ καὶ φρονήματι καὶ λόγῳ πάντας ὑπεραίρων
 τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγοὺς προσαγορευο-
 μένους, ἔλαθε διὰ τούτων ἅμα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 5 εὐνοίαν ἐνεργασάμενος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἀρετῆς γὰρ
 ἀληθινὸς οὐκ ἐγγίνεται ζήλος ἢ δι' ἄκρας τοῦ
 παραδιδόντος εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς· οἱ δὲ ἄνευ τοῦ
 φιλεῖν ἐπαινοῦντες τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αἰδοῦνται τὴν
 δόξαν αὐτῶν, οὐ θαυμάζουσι δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ
 μιμοῦνται.

X. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀθημόδωρον, τὸν ἐπικαλού-
 μενον Κορδυλίωνα, μεγάλην ἔξιν ἐν τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς
 λόγοις ἔχοντα, διατρίβειν περὶ Πέργαμον, ἥδη
 γηραιὸν ὄντα καὶ πάσαις ἐρρωμενέστατα ταῖς
 ἡγεμονικαῖς καὶ βασιλικάῖς συνηθείαις καὶ φιλί-
 αῖς διαμεμαχημένον, οὐδὲν ᾤετο πέμπων καὶ γρά-
 φων περαίνειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἔχων παρὰ τοῦ
 νόμου δεδομένην ἀποδημίαν δυεῖν μηνῶν ἔπλευσεν
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, πιστεύων τοῖς ἐν
 2 αὐτῷ καλοῖς μὴ ἀτυχήσειν τῆς ἄγρας. συγγενό-
 μενος δὲ καὶ καταγωνισάμενος καὶ μεταστήσας ἐκ
 τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτὸν ἤκεν ἄγων εἰς τὸ στρατό-
 πεδον, περιχαρὴς καὶ μεγαλοφρονῶν, ὥς τι κάλ-

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courage to do wrong but ambitious to win praise. Moreover, that to which Cato gave least thought was his in greatest measure, namely, esteem, favour, surpassing honour, and kindness, from his soldiers. For he willingly shared the tasks which he imposed upon others, and in his dress, way of living, and conduct on the march, made himself more like a soldier than a commander, while in character, dignity of purpose, and eloquence, he surpassed all those who bore the titles of Imperator and General. In this way, without knowing it, he produced in his men at the same time the feeling of good will towards himself. For a genuine desire to attain virtue arises only in consequence of perfect good will and respect for him who displays virtue; those, on the other hand, who praise good men without loving them may revere their reputation, but they do not admire their virtue or imitate it.

X. On learning that Athenodorus, surnamed Cordylion, who had a large acquaintance with the Stoic philosophy, was living at Pergamum, being now in his old age and having most sturdily resisted all intimacies and friendships with governors and kings, Cato thought it would be useless to send messengers or write letters to him. Instead of this, since he had a furlough of two months allowed him by law, he sailed to Asia to visit the man, relying upon his own good qualities to make him successful in the chase. He held converse with the philosopher, conquered his objections, drew him from his fixed purpose, and took him back to the camp with him. He was overjoyed and in high spirits, feeling that he had made a most noble capture, and one more

λιστον ἡρηκῶς καὶ λαμπρότερον ὦν Πομπηΐος τότε καὶ Λεύκολλος ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλειῶν κατεστρέφοντο σὺν ὅπλοις περιϊόντες.

- XI. Ἐτι δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν στρατείαν ὄντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. βαδίζων ἐνόησε περὶ Θράκην ἐν Αἰνῷ. καὶ γράμματα μὲν εὐθύς ἤκε 764 πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα· χειμῶνος δὲ πολλοῦ κατέχοντος τὴν θάλατταν καὶ νεῶς ἱκανῆς μεγέθει μὴ παρούσης, εἰς μικρὰν ὀλκάδα μόνον δύο φίλους καὶ τρεῖς οἰκέτας ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης
- 2 ἀνήχθη· καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθὼν καταποντωθῆναι, τύχη τινὶ παραλόγῳ σωθεὶς ἄρτι τεθνηκότος τοῦ Καιπίωνος, ἐμπαθέστερον ἔδοξεν ἢ φιλοσοφώτερον ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν, οὐ μόνον κλαυθμοῖς καὶ περιπτύξεσι τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ βαρύτητι λύπης, ἀλλὰ καὶ δαπάνῃ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν καὶ πραγματείαις θυμιαμάτων καὶ ἱματίων πολυτελῶν συγκατακαέντων καὶ μνήματος ξεστοῦ λίθων
- 3 ἐν τῇ Αἰνίῳ ἀγορᾷ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἔνιοι ἐσυκοφάντουν πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἀτυφίαν τοῦ Κάτωνος, οὐ καθορῶντες ὅσον ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ φόβους καὶ δεήσεις ἀναισχύντους ἀγνάμπτῳ καὶ στερρῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἡμερον ἐνῆν καὶ φιλόστοργον. εἰς δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ δυνάσται πολλὰ κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ τεθνεώτος ἔπεμπον, ὦν ἐκείνος χρήματα μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς ἐδέξατο, θυμιάματα δὲ καὶ κόσμον ἐλάμβανε, τὴν τιμὴν ¹ ἀποδιδούς τοῖς
- 4 πέμπουσι. τῆς δὲ κληρονομίας εἰς αὐτὸν τε καὶ θυγάτριον τοῦ Καιπίωνος ἡκούσης, οὐθὲν ὦν

¹ τὴν τιμὴν Bekker, after Reiske : τιμὴν.

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illustrious than the nations and kingdoms which Pompey and Lucullus at that time were subduing with their marching armies.

XI. While Cato was still in military service, his brother, who was on his way to Asia, fell sick at Aenus in Thrace, and a letter came at once to Cato advising him of this. A heavy storm was raging at sea and no ship of sufficient size was at hand, but nevertheless, taking only two friends and three servants with him in a small trading-vessel, he put to sea from Thessalonica. He narrowly escaped drowning, and by some unaccountable good fortune came safe to land, but Caepio had just died. In bearing this affliction Cato was thought to have shown more passion than philosophy, considering not only his lamentations, his embracings of the dead, and the heaviness of his grief, but also his expenditure upon the burial, and the pains that he took to have incense and costly raiment burned with the body, and a monument of polished Thasian marble costing eight talents constructed in the market-place of Aenus. For some people cavilled at these things as inconsistent with Cato's usual freedom from ostentation, not observing how much tenderness and affection was mingled with the man's inflexibility and firmness against pleasures, fears, and shameless entreaties. For the funeral rites, moreover, both cities and dynasts sent him many things for the honour of the dead, from none of whom would he accept money; he did, however, take incense and ornaments, and paid the value of them to the senders. Furthermore, when the inheritance fell to him and Caepio's young daughter, nothing

ἀνάλωσε περὶ τὸν τάφον ἀπήτησεν ἐν τῇ νεμήσει. καὶ ταῦτα πράξαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πράττοντος, ἦν ὁ γράψας ὅτι κοσκίνῳ τὴν τέφραν τοῦ νεκροῦ μετέβαλε καὶ διήθησε, χρυσίον ζητῶν κατακεκαυμένον. οὕτως οὐ τῷ ξίφει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ γραφείῳ τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον καὶ τὸ ἀνυπόδικον ἐπίστευσεν.

- XII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ στρατεία τῷ Κάτωνι, προεπέμφθη, οὐκ εὐχαῖς, ὁ κοινὸν ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἐπαίνους, ἀλλὰ δάκρυσι καὶ περιβολαῖς ἀπλήστοις, ὑποτιθέντων τὰ ἱμάτια τοῖς ποσὶν ἢ βαδίζοι καὶ καταφιλούντων τὰς χεῖρας, ἃ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ὀλίγοις μόλις ἐποιοῦν οἱ τότε
- 2 Ῥωμαῖοι. βουλευθεῖς δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεία προσελθεῖν ἅμα μὲν πλανηθῆναι καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ γενέσθαι θεατῆς ἡθῶν καὶ βίων καὶ δυνάμεως τῆς περὶ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν, ἅμα δὲ τῷ Γαλάτῃ Δηϊοτάρῳ διὰ ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν πατρῴαν δεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν μὴ ἀχαριστῆσαι, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποδημίαν. προὔπεμπεν ἅμ' ἡμέρα τὸν ἀρτοποιὸν καὶ τὸν μάγειρον
- 3 ὅπου καταλύσειν ἔμελλεν. οἱ δὲ πάνυ κοσμίως καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας εἰσελθόντες ἂν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μηδεὶς τύχοι τῷ Κάτωνι φίλος ὢν αὐτόθι πατρῷος ἢ γνώριμος, ἐν πανδοκείῳ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζον, ἐνοχλοῦντες οὐδενί· πανδοκείου δὲ μὴ ὄντος, οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τραπόμενοι ξενίαν ἐλάμβανον, ἀγαπῶντες τὴν
- 4 δοθεῖσαν. πολλάκις δὲ ἀπιστοῦμενοι καὶ περιορώ-

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that he had expended for the funeral was asked back by him in the distribution of the property. And although such was his conduct then and afterwards, there was one¹ who wrote that he passed the ashes of the dead through a sieve, in search of the gold that had been melted down. So confidently did the writer attribute, not only to his sword, but also to his pen, freedom from accountability and punishment.

XII. When the time of Cato's military service came to an end, he was sent on his way, not with blessings, as is common, nor yet with praises, but with tears and insatiable embraces, the soldiers casting their mantles down for him to walk upon, and kissing his hands, things which the Romans of that day rarely did, and only to a few of their imperators. But before applying himself to public affairs he desired to travel about in a study of Asia, and to see with his own eyes the customs and lives and military strength of each province; at the same time he wished to gratify Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been a guest-friend of his father, and now solicited a visit from him. He therefore arranged his journey as follows. At daybreak, he would send forward his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge. These would enter the city with great decorum and little stir, and if Cato had no family friend or acquaintance there, they would prepare a reception for him at an inn, without troubling anybody; or, in case there was no inn, they would apply to the magistrates for hospitality, and gladly accept what was given. But frequently they were distrusted and neglected, because they

¹ Julius Caesar, in his "Anti-Cato." See the *Caesar*, chapter liv.

μενοι διὰ τὸ μὴ θορύβῳ μηδὲ ἀπειλῇ ταῦτα
πράσσειν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος
ἄπρακτοι κατελαμβάνοντο, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς
ὀφθεῖς ὠλιγωρεῖτο, καὶ παρείχεν ἐπὶ τῶν φορτίων
σιωπῇ καθεζόμενος ὑπόνοιαν ἀνθρώπου ταπεινοῦ
5 καὶ περιδεοῦς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαλού-
μενος αὐτοὺς εἰώθει λέγειν· “ὦ μοχθηροί, μετα-
βάλεσθε ταύτης τῆς κακοξενίας. οὐ πάντες ὑμῖν
ἀφίξονται Κάτωνες. ἀμβλύνατε ταῖς φιλοφροσύ-
ναις τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δεομένων προφάσεως, ἵνα
βία λαμβάνωσιν, ὡς παρ’ ἐκόντων μὴ τυγχά-
νουντες.”

XIII. Ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ καὶ γελοῖόν τι λέγεται
παθεῖν. βαδίζων γὰρ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν εἶδε περὶ
τὰς πύλας ἔξω πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκατέρωθεν
τῆς ὁδοῦ παρακεκριμένων, ἐν οἷς ἔφηβοι μὲν
χωρὶς ἐν χλαμύσι¹ καὶ παῖδες ἐτέρωθεν κοσμίως
εἰστήκεσαν, ἐσθήτας δὲ καθαρὰς ἔνιοι καὶ στεφά- 765
νους εἶχον, ἱερεῖς θεῶν ὄντες ἢ ἄρχοντες. πάντων
οὖν μᾶλλον οἰηθεὶς ὁ Κάτων αὐτῷ τινα πράτ-
τεσθαι τιμὴν καὶ δεξιῶσιν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως,
ὠργίζετο μὲν τοῖς προπεμφθείσι τῶν ἰδίων, ὡς μὴ
κωλύσασιν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ καταβῆναι τοὺς φίλους,
2 καὶ πεζῇ προῆει μετ’ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ’ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ὁ
πάντα διακοσμῶν ἐκεῖνα καὶ τὸν ὄχλον εἰς τάξιν
καθιστάς, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος ἤδη, ῥάβδον ἐν τῇ
χειρὶ καὶ στέφανον κρατῶν, ἀπήντησε τῷ Κάτωνι
πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ μηδὲ ἀσπασάμενος ἡρώτα
ποῦ Δημήτριον ἀπολελοίπασιν καὶ πηνίκα παρέ-
σται. Πομπηίου δὲ ἦν γεγονῶς ὁ Δημήτριος

¹ χλαμύσι MSS. and most editors: χλανίσι (mantles), after Cobet.

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raised no tumult and made no threats in their dealings with the magistrates. In such a case Cato would find their work not done when he arrived, and he himself would be more despised than his servants when men saw him, and would awaken suspicion, as he sat upon the baggage without saying a word, that he was a man of low condition and very timid. However, he would then call the magistrates to him and say: "Ye miserable wretches, lay aside this inhospitality. Not all men who come to you will be Catos. Blunt by your kind attentions the power of those who only want an excuse for taking by force what they do not get with men's consent."

XIII. In Syria, too, as we are told, he had a laughable experience. As he was walking into Antioch, he saw at the gates outside a multitude of people drawn up on either side of the road, among whom stood, in one group, young men with military cloaks, and in another, boys with gala robes, while some had white raiment and crowns, being priests or magistrates. Cato, accordingly, thinking that this could only be some honourable reception which the city was preparing for him, was angry with his servants who had been sent on in advance, because they had not prevented it; but he ordered his friends to dismount, and went forward on foot with them. When, however, they were near the gate, he who was arranging all these ceremonies and marshalling the crowd, a man now well on in years, holding a wand and a crown in his hand, advanced to meet Cato, and without even greeting him asked where they had left Demetrius and when he would be there. Now, Demetrius had once been

οικέτης· τότε δὲ πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων εἰς Πομπήϊον ἀποβλεπόντων, ἐθεραπεύετο
 3 παρ' ἀξίαν, μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενος. τοῖς μὲν οὖν φίλοις τοῦ Κάτωνος γέλως ἐνέπεσε τοσοῦτος ὥστε ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο διὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἅμα βαδίζοντες, ὁ δὲ Κάτων τότε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς διατραπεῖς, “ὦ τῆς κακοδαίμονος,” ἔφη, “πόλεως,” ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφθέγγετο, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον εἰώθει γελᾶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ διηγούμενος καὶ μνημονεύων.

XIV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Πομπήϊος αὐτὸς ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτω πλημμελούντας εἰς τὸν Κάτωνα δι' ἄγνοιαν. ὥς γὰρ εἰς Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσπασόμενος πρεσβύτερον ὄντα, καὶ δόξῃ πολὺ προήκοντα, καὶ δυνάμεων τότε μεγίστων ἡγούμενον, ἰδὼν ὁ Πομπήϊος οὐκ ἔμεινεν, οὐδὲ εἶασε καθεζομένῳ προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥς τινι τῶν κρειττόνων ἀναθορῶν ἀπήντησε, καὶ
 2 τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐθύς ἐν τῷ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι παρόντα, πλείω δὲ ἔτι μεταστάντος ἐγκώμια διήλθεν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὥστε πάντας ἐπιστρεφομένους καὶ προσέχοντας ἤδη τῷ Κάτωνι, θαυμάζειν ἐξ ὧν πρότερον κατεφρονεῖτο, καὶ πράγματα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀναθεωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Πομπηίου σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάνθανε θεραπεύοντος οὔσα μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἔγνωσαν ὅτι θαυμάζει μὲν παρ-

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a slave of Pompey, but at this time, when all mankind, so to speak, had their eyes fixed upon Pompey, he was courted beyond his deserts, since he had great influence with Pompey. Cato's friends accordingly, were seized with such a fit of laughter that they could not recover themselves even when they were walking through the crowd; but Cato was greatly disturbed at the time, and said: "O the unhappy city!" and not a word besides. In after times, however, he was wont to laugh at the incident himself also, both when he told it and when he called it to mind.¹

XIV. However, Pompey himself put to shame the men who were thus neglectful of Cato through ignorance. For when Cato came to Ephesus and was proceeding to pay his respects to Pompey as an older man, one who was greatly his superior in reputation, and then in command of the greatest forces, Pompey caught sight of him and would not wait; nor would he suffer Cato to come to him as he sat, but sprang up as though to honour a superior, went to meet him, and gave him his hand. He also passed many encomiums upon his virtue even while he was present and receiving marks of kindness and affection, and still more after he had withdrawn. Therefore all men, being put to shame and now directing their attention to Cato, admired him for the traits which before had brought him scorn, and made a study of his mildness and magnanimity. And indeed it was no secret that Pompey's attentions to him were due to self-interest rather than to friendship; men knew that Pompey admired him when he was present, but was glad to have him go

¹ This story is told also in the *Pompey*, xl. 1-3.

3 όντα, χαίρει δὲ ἀπερχομένῳ. τοὺς γὰρ ἄλλους νέους, ὅσοι παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο, φιλοτιμούμενος κατείχε καὶ ποθῶν αὐτῷ συνεῖναι, τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος οὐδὲν ἐδεήθη τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχων ἐκείνου παρόντος ἐξέπεμψεν ἄσμενος, μόνῳ σχεδὸν ἐκείνῳ τῶν εἰς Ῥώμην πλεόντων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρακαταθέμενος, ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσήκοντα καὶ διὰ συγγένειαν.

Ἐκ τούτου δόξα καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ ἄμιλλα περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν τῶν πόλεων καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ κλήσεις, ἐν οἷς τοὺς φίλους ἐκέλευε προσέχειν αὐτῷ, μὴ λάθῃ
4 βεβαιώσας τὸν Κουρίωνος λόγον. ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων ἀχθόμενος τῷ αὐστηρῷ τοῦ Κάτωνος, φίλου καὶ συνήθους ὄντος, ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ πρόθυμός ἐστι μετὰ τὴν στρατείαν γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας θεατῆς. τοῦ δὲ καὶ πάνυ φήσαντος, “Εὖ λέγεις,” εἶπεν ὁ Κουρίων, “ἡδίων γὰρ ἐπανήξεις ἐκείθεν καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμέρος,” οὕτω πως καὶ τῷ ῥήματι χρυσάμενος.

XV. Δηϊόταρος δὲ ὁ Γαλάτης μετεπέμψατο μὲν τὸν Κάτωνα πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἤδη παραθέσθαι τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ βουλόμενος καὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἐλθόντι δὲ προσφέρων δῶρα παντοδαπὰ καὶ πειρῶν καὶ δεόμενος πάντα τρόπον οὕτω παρώξυνεν ὥστε, δείλῃς ἐλθόντα καὶ νυκτερεύσαντα, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
2 περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἀπαραι. προελθὼν μέντοι μᾶς

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away. For all the other young men who came to him were retained by Pompey, who showed an eager longing for their companionship; of Cato, on the contrary, he made no such request, but, as if he must render account of his command while Cato was there, he was glad to send him away. And yet Cato was almost the only person among those bound for Rome to whom Pompey commended his wife and children, although it is true that they were relatives of his.

As a consequence of all this, the cities eagerly vied with one another in showing Cato honour, and there were suppers and invitations, at which times he would urge his friends to keep close watch upon him, lest he should unawares confirm the saying of Curio. For Curio, annoyed at the severity of Cato, who was his intimate friend, had asked him whether he was desirous of seeing Asia after his term of service in the army. "Certainly I am," said Cato. "That's right," said Curio, "for you will come back from there a more agreeable man and more tame,"—that is about the meaning of the word he used.¹

XV. But Deiotarus the Galatian sent for Cato, being now an old man, and desiring to commend to his protection his children and his family. When Cato arrived, however, Deiotarus offered him gifts of every sort, and by tempting and entreating him in every way so exasperated him that, although he had arrived late in the day and merely spent the night, on the next day about the third hour he set off. However, after proceeding a day's journey, he found

¹ Plutarch is seeking a Greek equivalent for the Latin "mansuetior."

ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὗρεν ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι πλείονα τῶν ἐκεῖ δώρων αὐθις αὐτὸν ὑπομένοντα, καὶ γράμματα τοῦ Γαλάτου δεομένου, λαβεῖν αὐτὸς εἰ μὴ πρόθυμός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐᾶσαι, πάντως μὲν ἀξιούς ὄντας εὖ παθεῖν δι' ἐκείνων, οὐκ ὄντων δὲ τῶν ιδίων τοῦ Κάτωνος τοσούτων.

3 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐνέδωκεν ὁ Κάτων, καίπερ 766 ἐνίους τῶν φίλων μαλασσομένους καὶ ὑπομεμφομένους ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ φήσας ὅτι πᾶσα δωροδοκία προφάσεως ἂν εὐπορήσειεν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι μεθέξουσιν ὧν ἂν ἔχῃ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως κτησάμενος, ἀπέπεμψε τὰ δῶρα πρὸς τὸν Δηϊόταρον.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ᾤοντο δεῖν οἱ φίλοι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Καιπίωνος εἰς ἕτερον θέσθαι πλοῖον, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς μεθήσεται μᾶλλον ἢ τούτων, ἀνήχθη. καὶ μέντοι λέγεται κατὰ τύχην ἐπισφαλέστατα περᾶσαι, τῶν ἄλλων μετρίως κομιζομένων.

XVI. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον κατ' οἶκον Ἀθηνοδώρῳ συνών,¹ ἢ κατ' ἀγορὰν τοῖς φίλοις παριστάμενος διετέλεσεν. ἐπιβύλλουσαν δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ταμειυτικὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πρότερον μετῆλθεν ἢ τοὺς τε νόμους ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς ταμειυτικούς καὶ διαπυθέσθαι τῶν ἐμπείρων ἕκαστα καὶ τύπῳ τινὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν δύναμιν περιλαβεῖν. ὅθεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστὰς μεγάλῃ ἐποίησε μεταβολὴν τῶν περι

¹ συνών supplied by Sintenis².

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at Pessinus more gifts again awaiting him than those he had left behind him, and a letter from the Galatian begging him, if he did not desire to take them himself, at least to permit his friends to do so, since they were in every way worthy to receive benefits on his account, and Cato's private means would not reach so far. But not even to these solicitations did Cato yield, although he saw that some of his friends were beginning to weaken and were disposed to blame him; nay, he declared that every taking of gifts could find plenty of excuse, but that his friends should share in what he had acquired honourably and justly. Then he sent his gifts back to Deiotarus.

As he was about to set sail for Brundisium, his friends thought that the ashes of Caepio should be put aboard another vessel; but Cato declared that he would rather part with his life than with those ashes, and put to sea. And verily we are told that, as chance would have it, he had a very dangerous passage, although the rest made the journey with little trouble.

XVI. After his return to Rome, he spent most of his time at home in the company of Athenodorus,¹ or in the forum assisting his friends. And though the office of quaestor was open to him, he would not become a candidate for it until he had read the laws relating to the quaestorship, learned all the details of the office from those who had had experience in it, and formed a general idea of its power and scope. Therefore, as soon as he had been instated in the office,² he made a great change in the assistants and

¹ Cf. chapter x.

² In 65 B.C.

- τὸ ταμειῖον ὑπηρετῶν καὶ γραμματέων, οἱ διὰ
χειρὸς αἰεὶ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καὶ τοὺς νόμους
ἔχοντες, εἶτα νέους ἄρχοντας παραλαμβάνοντες δι'
ἀπειρίαν καὶ ἄγνοιαν ἀτεχνῶς διδασκάλων ἐτέ-
ρων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν δεομένους, οὐχ ὑφίεντο τῆς
ἐξουσίας ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ ἦσαν ἄρχοντες αὐτοί,
3 μέχρι οὗ Κάτων ἐπιστὰς τοῖς πράγμασι νεανι-
κῶς, οὐκ ὄνομα καὶ τιμὴν ἔχων ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ
καὶ νοῦν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ λόγον, ὑπηρέταις, ὅπερ
ἦσαν, ἡξίου χρῆσθαι τοῖς γραμματεῦσι, τὰ μὲν
ἐξελέγχων κακουργοῦντας αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ ἀμαρτά-
νοντας ἀπειρίᾳ διδάσκων. ὥς δὲ ἦσαν ἱταμοὶ καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους ἐθώπευον ὑποτρέχοντες, ἐκείνῳ δὲ
ἐπολέμουν, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν καταγνοὺς
περὶ πίστιν ἐν κληρονομίᾳ γεγονέναι πονηρὸν
ἀπήλασε τοῦ ταμειῖου, δευτέρῳ δέ τινι ῥαδιουρ-
4 γίας προϋθῆκε κρίσιν. ὃ Κάτλος Λουτάτιος ὁ
τιμητῆς ἀνέβη βοηθήσων, ἀνὴρ μέγα τὸ τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἔχων ἀξίωμα, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχων¹
μέγιστον, ὥς πάντων δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη
Ῥωμαίων διαφέρων. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος
ἐπαινέτης καὶ συνήθης διὰ τὸν βίον. ὥς οὖν
ἡττώμενος τοῖς δικαίοις ἐξηπείτο φανερώς τὸν
ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ εἶα ταῦτα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ Κάτων.
5 ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον προσλιπαροῦντος, “ Αἰσχρόν; ”
εἶπεν, “ ὦ Κάτλε, σὲ τὸν τιμητὴν καὶ τοὺς ἡμε-
τέρους βίους ὀφείλοντα δοκιμάζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμε-

¹ ἔχων bracketed by Bekker, after Coraëa.

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clerks connected with the treasury. These were fully conversant with the public accounts and the laws relative thereto, and so, when they received as their superior officers young men whose inexperience and ignorance made it really needful that others should teach and tutor them, they would not surrender any power to such superiors, but were superiors themselves. Now, however, Cato applied himself with energy to the business, not having merely the name and honour of a superior official, but also intelligence and rational judgement. He thought it best to treat the clerks as assistants, which they really were, sometimes convicting them of their evil practices, and sometimes teaching them if they erred from inexperience. But they were bold fellows, and tried to ingratiate themselves with the other quaestors, while they waged war upon Cato. Therefore the chief among them, whom he found guilty of a breach of trust in the matter of an inheritance, was expelled from the treasury by him, and a second was brought to trial for fraud. This person Catulus Lutatius the censor came forward to defend, a man who had great authority from his office, but most of all from his virtue, being thought to surpass all Romans in justice and discretion; he also commended Cato's way of living and was intimate with him. Accordingly, when Catulus had lost his case on its merits and began to beg openly for the acquittal of his client, Cato tried to stop him from doing this. And when Catulus was all the more importunate, Cato said: "It would be a shameful thing, Catulus, if thou, who art the censor, and shouldst scrutinize our lives, wert put out of

τέρων ὑπηρετῶν ἐκβάλλεσθαι.” ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἀφέντος τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὁ Κάτλος προσέβλεψε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀμειψόμενος, εἶπε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ εἶτε ὑπ’ ὀργῆς εἶτε ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης ἀπήλθε
 6 σιωπῇ διηπορημένος. οὐ μὲν ἦλω γε ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ τὰς ἀφειέσας ὑπερέβαλλον αἱ καθαιροῦσαι, καὶ Δόλλιος Μάρκος εἰς, συνάρχων τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ἀπελέλειπτο τῆς δίκης, πέμπει πρὸς τοῦτον ὁ Κάτλος δεόμενος βοηθήσαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· κακείνος ἐν φορέῳ κοιμισθεὶς μετὰ τὴν δίκην ἔθετο τὴν ἀπολύουσαν. οὐ μὲν ἐχρήσατό γε τῷ γραμματεῖ ὁ Κάτων, οὐδὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέδωκεν, οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐνάριστον τοῦ Δολλίου τὴν ψήφον ἔσχευ.

XVII. Οὕτω δὲ τοὺς γραμματεῖς ταπεινώσας καὶ ποιήσας ὑποχειρίους, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο χρώμενος, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὸ ταμεῖον ἀπέδειξε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σεμνότερον, ὡς καὶ λέγειν καὶ φρονεῖν ἅπαντας ὅτι Κάτων ὑπα-
 2 τείας ἀξίωμα τῇ ταμείᾳ περιέθηκε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εὐρὼν χρέα παλαιὰ τῷ δημοσίῳ πολλοὺς ὀφείλοντας καὶ πολλοῖς τὸ δημόσιον, ἅμα τὴν πόλιν ἔπαυσεν ἀδικουμένην καὶ ἀδικούσαν, τοὺς μὲν εὐτόνως καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ἀπαιτῶν, τοῖς δὲ ταχέως ἀποδιδούς καὶ προθύμως, ὥστε τὸν 767
 δῆμον αἰδεῖσθαι τοὺς μὲν οἰομένους ἀποστερήσειν ἐκτίνοντας ὀρώντα, τοὺς δὲ ἅ μὴ προσεδόκων
 3 ἀπολαμβάνοντας. ἔπειτα γράμματα πολλῶν οὐ προσηκόντως ἀναφερόντων, καὶ δόγματα ψευδῆ

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court by our bailiffs." When Cato had uttered these words, Catulus fixed his eyes upon him as if he would make reply ; he said nothing, however, but either from anger or from shame went off in silence, much perplexed. However, the man was not convicted, but when the votes for condemnation exceeded those for acquittal by a single ballot, and one Marcus Lollius, a colleague of Cato, was kept by sickness from attending the trial, Catulus sent to him and begged him to help the man. So Lollius was brought in a litter after the trial and cast the vote that acquitted. Notwithstanding this, Cato would not employ the clerk, or give him his pay, or in any way take the vote of Lollius into the reckoning.

XVII. By thus humbling the clerks and making them submissive, and by managing the business as he himself desired, in a little while he brought the quaestorship into greater respect than the senate, so that all men said and thought that Cato had invested the quaestorship with the dignity of the consulship. For, in the first place, when he found that many persons were owing debts of long standing to the public treasury and the treasury to many persons, he made an end at the same time of the state being wronged and wronging others ; from its debtors he rigorously and inexorably demanded payment, and to its creditors he promptly and readily made payment, so that the people were filled with respect as they saw men making payments who thought to defraud the state, and men receiving payments which they had ceased to expect. In the next place, though many used improper methods to get writings filed with the quaestors, and though

παραδέχεσθαι χάριτι καὶ δεήσει τῶν προτέρων
 εἰωθότων, οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἔλαθε γινόμενον τοιοῦτον,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἐνός ποτε δόγματος ἐνδοιάσας εἰ κύριον
 γέγονε, πολλῶν μαρτυρούντων οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν,
 οὐδὲ κατέταξε πρότερον ἢ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπομόσαι
 4 παραγενομένους. ὄντων δὲ πολλῶν οἷς Σύλλας
 ἐκείνος ἀποκτεῖνασιν ἄνδρας ἐκ προγραφῆς γέρας
 ἔδωκεν ἀνὰ μυρίας δισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἅπαντες
 μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐναγεῖς καὶ μιαροὺς ἐμίσουν,
 ἀμύνασθαι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα, Κάτων δὲ προσ-
 καλούμενος ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δημόσιον ἀργύριον
 ἀδίκως ἐξέπραττεν, ἅμα θυμῷ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ τῆς
 5 πράξεως ἀνόσιον καὶ παράνομον ἐξονειδίζων. οἱ
 δὲ τοῦτο παθόντες εὐθύς ἦσαν ἐνοχοὶ φόνῳ, καὶ
 τρόπον τινὰ προηλωκότες ἀπήγοντο πρὸς τοὺς
 δικαστὰς καὶ δίκας ἔτινον, ἡδομένων πάντων καὶ
 νομιζόντων συνεξαλείφεσθαι τὴν τότε τυραννίδα
 καὶ Σύλλαν αὐτὸν ἐφορᾶν κολαζόμενον.

XVIII. Ἦρει δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς
 αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἄτρυτον. οὔτε γὰρ
 πρότερός τις ἀνέβη τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς τὸ
 ταμιεῖον Κάτωνος οὔτε ὕστερος ἀπῆλθεν. ἐκ-
 κλησίαν δὲ καὶ βουλὴν οὐδεμίαν παρήκε, δεδιὼς
 καὶ παραφυλάττων τοὺς ἐτοίμως καὶ πρὸς χάριν
 ὀφλημάτων καὶ τελῶν ἀνέσεις ἢ δόσεις οἷς ἔτυχεν
 2 ἐπιψηφιζομένους. ἐπιδεικνύμενος δὲ τὸ ταμιεῖον

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previous quaestors had been accustomed to receive false decrees at the request of those whom they wished to please, nothing of this sort could be done now without Cato finding it out. Indeed, on one occasion when he was doubtful whether a certain decree had actually passed the senate, though many testified to the fact, he would not believe them, nor would he file the decree away until the consuls had come and taken oath to its validity. Again, there were many persons whom the famous Sulla had rewarded for killing men under proscription, at the rate of twelve thousand drachmas. All men hated them as accursed and polluted wretches, but no one had the courage to punish them. Cato, however, called each one of these to account for having public money in his possession by unjust means, and made him give it up, at the same time rebuking him with passionate eloquence for his illegal and unholy act. After this experience they were at once charged with murder, were brought before their judges condemned beforehand, one might say, and were punished. At this all men were delighted, and thought that with their deaths the tyranny of that former time was extinguished, and that Sulla himself was punished before men's eyes.

XVIII. Moreover, the multitude were captivated by his continuous and unwearied attention to his duties. For no one of his colleagues came up to the treasury earlier than Cato, and none left it later. Besides, no session of assembly or senate would he fail to attend, since he feared and kept close watch on those who were ready to gratify people by voting remissions of debts and taxes, or promiscuous gifts. And so by exhibiting a treasury which was inacces-

ἄβατόν τε καὶ καθαρὸν συκοφαντῶν, πλήρες δὲ χρημάτων, ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι τῇ πόλει πλουτεῖν ἔξεστι μὴ ἀδικούσῃ. κατ' ἀρχὰς δὲ τῶν συναρχόντων ἐνίοις ἐπαχθῆς καὶ χαλεπὸς φανεῖς ὕστερον ἠγαπᾶτο, ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι τὰ δημόσια μηδὲ κρίνειν κακῶς ἀπεχθείαις ὑποτιθεῖς ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ πάντων, καὶ πυρέχων ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους καὶ βιαζομένους ἐκείνους, ὡς ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν, ἄκοντος Κάτωνος.

- 3 Τῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν τῇ τελευταίᾳ σχεδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν προπεμφθεὶς εἰς οἶκον, ἤκουσεν ὅτι Μαρκέλλω πολλοὶ συνήθεις καὶ δυνατοὶ προσπεσόντες ἐν τῷ ταμείῳ καὶ περιέχοντες ἐκβιάζονται γράψαι τινὰ δόσιν χρημάτων ὀφειλομένων. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐκ παίδων φίλος τῷ Κάτωνι, καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ βέλτιστος ἄρχων, αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀγώγιμος ὑπ' αἰδοῦς τοῖς
- 4 δεομένοις, καὶ κατάντης πρὸς πᾶσαν χάριν. εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Κάτων ἐπιστρέψας καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον εὐρὼν ἐκβεβιασμένον γράψαι τὴν δόσιν, ᾗτησε τὰς δέλτους καὶ ἀπήλειψεν, αὐτοῦ παρεστῶτος σιωπῇ· καὶ τοῦτο πράξας κατήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς οἶκον, οὔτε τότε μεμφόμενον οὔτε ὕστερον, ἀλλ' ἐμμέναντα τῇ συνηθείᾳ καὶ φιλίᾳ μέχρι παντός.
- 5 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπαλλαγείς τῆς ταμείας ἀφῆκε τῆς φρουρᾶς ἔρημον τὸ ταμεῖον, ἀλλ' οἰκέται

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sible to public informers and free from their taint, but full of money, he taught men that a state can be rich without wronging its citizens. At first some of his colleagues thought him obnoxious and troublesome, but afterwards they were well pleased with him, since he took upon his own shoulders exclusively the burden of the hatreds arising from refusal to give away the public moneys or to make unjust decisions, and furnished them with a defence against people who tried to force requests upon them. They would say, namely, "It is impossible; Cato will not consent."

On the last day of his term of office, after he had been escorted to his house by almost the whole body of citizens, he heard that many friends of Marcellus and men of influence had closely beset him in the treasury, and were trying to force him to register some remission of moneys due. Now, Marcellus had been a friend of Cato from boyhood, and when associated with him had been a most excellent magistrate. When acting by himself, however, he was led by a feeling of deference to be complaisant towards suppliants, and was inclined to grant every favour. At once, then, Cato turned back, and when he found that Marcellus had been forced to register the remission, he asked for the tablets and erased the entry, while Marcellus himself stood by and said nothing. After this had been done, Cato conducted Marcellus away from the treasury and brought him to his house, and Marcellus had no word of blame for him either then or afterwards, but continued his intimate friendship up to the end.

However, not even after he had laid down the quaestorship did Cato leave the treasury destitute of

μὲν αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰς διοικήσεις παρήσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ βιβλία λόγους περιέχοντα δημοσίων οἰκονομιῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Σύλλα χρόνων εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ταμείαν ὠνησάμενος πέντε ταλάντων ἀεὶ διὰ χειρὸς εἶχεν.

- XIX. Εἰς δὲ συγκλητον εἰσῆει τε πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος ἀπηλλάττετο· πολλάκις δὲ τῶν ἄλλων σχολῇ συναγομένου καθεζόμενος ἀνεγίνωσκειν ἡσυχῇ, τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ βιβλίου προῖσχόμενος. ἀπεδήμησε δὲ οὐδέποτε βουλῆς γενομένης. 768
ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ περὶ Πομπηίου ἐώρων¹ αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς ἐσπούδαζον ἀδίκως ἀμετάπειστον καὶ δυσεκβίαστον ἀεὶ, διεμνηχανῶντο φιλικαῖς τισι συνηγορίαις ἢ διαίταις ἢ πραγματείαις ἔξω περισπᾶν. συνεῖς οὖν ταχὺ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀπέειπε πᾶσι καὶ παρετάξατο βουλῆς ἀγομένης μηδὲν
2 ἄλλο πράττειν. οὔτε γὰρ δόξης χάριν οὔτε πλεονεξίας οὔτε αὐτομάτως καὶ κατὰ τύχην, ὥσπερ ἕτεροί τινες, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὸ πράττειν τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὡς ἴδιον ἔργον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐλόμενος, μᾶλλον ᾤετο δεῖν προσέχειν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἢ τῷ κηρίῳ τὴν μέλιτταν, ὅς γε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν πράγματα καὶ δόγματα καὶ κρίσεις καὶ πράξεις τὰς μεγίστας ἔργον πεποίητο διὰ τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ξένων καὶ φίλων πέμπεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν.
3 Ἐυστὰς δέ ποτε Κλωδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ κινουντι καὶ ταραττοντι μεγάλων ἀρχᾶς νεωτερισμῶν καὶ διαβάλλοντι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερείας,

¹ ἐώρων Sintenis, with one Paris MS.; Coraës and Bekker have ὀρώντες, with the other MSS.

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his watchful care, but slaves of his were there every day copying the transactions, and he himself paid five talents for books containing accounts of the public business from the times of Sulla down to his own quaestorship, and always had them in hand.

XIX. He used to be the first to reach the senate and the last to leave it; and often, while the other senators were slowly assembling, he would sit and read quietly, holding his toga in front of the book. He never left the city when the senate was in session. But afterwards, when Pompey and his friends saw that he could never be prevailed upon or forced from his position in any unjust measures which they had at heart, they would contrive to draw him away by sundry legal advocacies for friends, or arbitrations, or business matters. Accordingly, Cato quickly perceived their design and refused all such applications, and made it a rule to have no other business on hand while the senate was in session. For it was neither for the sake of reputation, nor to gain riches, nor accidentally and by chance, like some others, that he threw himself into the management of civic affairs, but he chose a public career as the proper task for a good man, and thought that he ought to be more attentive to the common interests than the bee to its honey. And so he was careful to have the affairs of the provinces and decrees and trials and the most important measures sent to him by his connections and friends in every place.

At one time he opposed Clodius the demagogue, who was raising agitation and confusion as a prelude to great changes, and was calumniating to the people priests and priestesses, among whom Fabia, a sister of

ἐν οἷς καὶ Φαβία Τερεντίας ἀδελφή, τῆς Κικέ-
ρωνος γυναικός, ἐκινδύνευσε, τὸν μὲν Κλώδιον
αἰσχύνῃ περιβαλὼν ἠνάγκασεν ὑπεκστῆναι τῆς
πόλεως, τοῦ δὲ Κικέρωνος εὐχαριστοῦντος, τῇ
πόλει δεῖν ἔχειν ἔφη χάριν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκείνης
4 ἕνεκα πάντα ποιῶν καὶ πολιτευόμενος. ἐκ τού-
του μεγάλη δόξα περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, ὥστε ῥήτορα
μὲν, δίκη τινὶ μαρτυρίας μιᾶς φερομένης, εἰπεῖν
πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὡς ἐνὶ μαρτυροῦντι προσέ-
χειν, οὐδὲ Κάτωνι, καλῶς ἔχει, πολλοὺς δὲ ἤδη
περὶ τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ παραδόξων, ὥσπερ ἐν
παροιμία τινί, λέγειν ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ Κάτωνος
5 λέγοντος πιθανόν ἐστι. μοχθηροῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου
καὶ πολυτελοῦς λόγον ἐν συγκλήτῳ διαθεμένου
πρὸς εὐτέλειαν καὶ σωφρονισμόν ἐπαναστὰς
Ἀμναῖος, “ὦ ἄνθρωπε,” εἶπε, “τίς ἀνέξεταιί
σου δειπνοῦντος μὲν ὡς Λευκόλλου, οἰκοδομοῦν-
τος δὲ ὡς Κράσσου, δημηγοροῦντος δὲ ἡμῖν ὡς
Κάτωνος;” καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τοὺς φαύλους καὶ
ἀκολάστους, τοῖς λόγοις δὲ σεμνοὺς καὶ αὐστη-
ροὺς χλευάζοντες ἐκάλουν Κάτωνα.

XX. Πολλῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν καλούν-
των οὐκ ᾔετο καλῶς ἔχειν μεγάλης ἐξουσίας καὶ
ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ ἰσχυροῦ φαρμάκου, δύναμιν ἐν
πράγμασιν οὐκ ἀναγκαίοις ἐξαναλῶσαι. καὶ
ἅμα, σχολῆς οὔσης τῶν δημοσίων, παραλαβὼν
βιβλία καὶ φιλοσόφους ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Λευκανίαν,
ἀγροὺς αὐτόθι κεκτημένος ἔχοντας οὐκ ἀνελευ-
2 θέρους διατριβάς· εἶτα καθ’ ὁδὸν πολλοῖς τισιν
ὑποζυγίοις καὶ σκεύεσι καὶ ἀκολούθοις ἀπαντή-
σας καὶ πυθόμενος Νέπωτα Μέτελλον εἰς Ῥώμην
ἐπανέρχεσθαι δημαρχίαν μετιέναι παρεσκευα-

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Cicero's wife Terentia, was in danger of conviction. But Cato put Clodius to such shame that he was forced to steal away from the city; and when Cicero thanked him, Cato told him he ought to be thankful to the city, since it was for her sake that all his public work was done. In consequence of this he was held in high repute, so that an orator, at a trial where the testimony of a single witness was introduced, told the jurors that it was not right to give heed to a single witness, not even if he were Cato; and many already, when speaking of matters that were strange and incredible, would say, as though using a proverb, "This is not to be believed even though Cato says it." Again, when a corrupt and extravagant man was expatiating in the senate on frugality and self-restraint, Amnaeus sprang to his feet and said: "Who can endure it, my man, when you sup like Lucullus, build like Crassus, and yet harangue us like Cato?"¹ And other men also who were degraded and licentious in their lives, but lofty and severe in their speech, were mockingly called Catos.

XX. Though many invited him to become a tribune of the people he did not think it right to expend the force of a great and powerful magistracy, any more than that of a strong medicine, on matters that did not require it. And at the same time, being at leisure from his public duties, he took books and philosophers with him and set out for Lucania, where he owned lands affording no mean sojourn. Then, meeting on the road many beasts of burden with baggage and attendants, and learning that Metellus Nepos was on his way back to Rome prepared to sue for the tribuneship, he stopped without a word, and

¹ Cf. the *Lucullus*, xl. 3.

σμένον, ἐπέστη σιωπῇ, καὶ διαλιπὼν μικρὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστρέφειν ὀπίσω τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν δὲ φίλων θαυμασάντων, “Οὐκ ἴστε,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἐμπληξίας φοβερός ἐστι Μέτελλος, καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῆς Πομπηίου γνώμης ἀφιγμένος εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐμπεσεῖται δίκην
 3 σκηπτοῦ πάντα πράγματα ταραττων; οὐκ οὖν σχολῆς οὐδὲ ἀποδημίας καιρός, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κρατῆσαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἢ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζόμενον.” ὅμως δὲ τῶν φίλων παραινέσαντων ἀφίκετο πρῶτον εἰς τὰ χωρία καὶ διέτριψεν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον, εἴτα ἐπανῆκεν εἰς πόλιν. ἐσπέρας δὲ ἐλθὼν εὐθύς ἔωθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν κατέβαινε δημαρχίαν μετιών, ὥς ἀντιταξόμενος πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον. τὸ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν ἢ ἀρχὴ πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἔχει μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν· κἂν πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ παρ’ ἓνα ψηφίσωνται, τοῦ μὴ θέλοντος μηδὲ ἑῶντος τὸ κράτος ἐστί.

XXI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι περὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τῶν φίλων ἦσαν· φανερὰς δὲ τῆς γνώμης 769 αὐτοῦ γενομένης, ὀλίγου χρόνου πάντες οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ γνώριμοι συνέτρεχον καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ παρεθάρρυνον αὐτόν, ὥς οὐ λαμβάνοντα χάριν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μεγίστην διδόντα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι πολλάκις ἀπραγμόνως ἄρξαι παρὸν οὐ θελήσας, νῦν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ πολιτείας ἀγωνιούμενος
 2 οὐκ ἀκινδύνως κάτεισι. λέγεται δέ, πολλῶν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ὠθουμένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐν κινδύνῳ γενόμενος μόλις ἐξικέσθαι διὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ δήμαρχος

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after waiting a little while ordered his company to turn back. His friends were amazed at this, whereupon he said: "Do ye not know that even of himself Metellus is to be feared by reason of his infatuation? And now that he comes by the advice of Pompey he will fall upon the state like a thunderbolt and throw everything into confusion. It is no time, then, for a leisurely sojourn in the country, but we must overpower the man, or die honourably in a struggle for our liberties." Nevertheless, on the advice of his friends, he went first to his estates and tarried there a short time, and then returned to the city.¹ It was evening when he arrived, and as soon as day dawned he went down into the forum to sue for a tribuneship, that he might array himself against Metellus. For the strength of that office is negative rather than positive; and if all the tribunes save one should vote for a measure, the power lies with the one who will not give his consent or permission.

XXI. At first, then, Cato had only a few of his friends about him; but when his purpose became known, in a little while all the men of worth and note flocked to him with exhortations and encouragements. They felt that he was not receiving a favour, but conferring the greatest favour on his country and the most reputable of his fellow citizens; for he had often refused the office when he could have had it without trouble, and now sued for it at his peril that he might contend for the liberties of the state. It is said, moreover, that he was in peril from the many who crowded upon him in their zeal and affection, and could hardly make his way through the crowd into the forum. He was declared

¹ In 63 B.C.

- σὺν ἐτέροις, καὶ τῷ Μετέλλῳ, τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὁρῶν ὠνίους οὔσας, ἐπετίμησε τῷ δήμῳ· καὶ καταπαύων τὸν λόγον ἐπώμοσε τοῦ δόντος ἀργύριον, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ, κατηγορήσειν, ἓνα Σιλανὸν ὑπέξελόμενος δι' οἰκειότητα. Σερβιλίαν
- 3 γὰρ ἀδελφὴν Κάτωνος ὁ Σιλανὸς εἶχε. διὸ τοῦτον μὲν παρήκε, Λεύκιον δὲ Μουρήναν ἐδίωκεν ἀργυρίῳ διαπραξάμενον ἄρχοντα μετὰ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ γενέσθαι. νόμῳ δέ τινι τοῦ φεύγοντος αἰεὶ φύλακα τῷ κατηγορῶ διδόντος, ὥστε μὴ λαθεῖν ἂ συνάγει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν, ὁ τῷ Κάτωνι δοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μουρήνα παρακολουθῶν καὶ παραφυλάττων, ὡς ἑώρα
- 4 μὴθὲν ἐπιβούλως πράττοντα μὴδὲ ἀδίκως, ἀλλὰ γενναίως τε καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀπλήν τινα τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ δικαίαν ὁδὸν πορευόμενον, οὕτως ἐθαύμαζε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἦθος ὥστε κατ' ἀγορὰν προσιῶν καὶ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ Κάτωνος εἰ μέλλει τι σήμερον πραγματεῦσασθαι τῶν περὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ φαίη, πιστεύων ἀπῆει.
- 5 Τῆς δὲ δίκης λεγομένης ὁ Κικέρων, ὕπατος ὢν τότε καὶ τῷ Μουρήνᾳ συνδικῶν, πολλὰ διὰ τὸν Κάτωνα τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ παράδοξα καλούμενα δόγματα χλευάζων καὶ παρασκώπτων γέλωτα παρείχε τοῖς δικασταῖς.

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tribune with others¹ (including Metellus), and seeing that the consular elections were attended with bribery, he berated the people; and in concluding his speech he swore that he would prosecute the briber, whoever he might be, making an exception only of Silanus because of their relationship. For Silanus was the husband of Cato's sister Servilia. For this reason he let Silanus alone, but he prosecuted Lucius Murena on the charge of having secured his election to the consulship with Silanus by bribery.² Now, there was a law by which the defendant could set a man to watch the prosecutor, in order that there might be no secret about the material which he was collecting and preparing for the prosecution. Accordingly, the man appointed by Murena to watch Cato would follow him about and keep him under observation. When, however, he saw that Cato was doing nothing insidiously or unjustly, but was honourably and considerably following a straightforward and righteous course in the prosecution, he had such admiration for Cato's lofty spirit and noble character that he would come up to him in the forum or go to his house and ask him whether he intended that day to attend to any matters connected with the prosecution; and if Cato said no, the man would take his word and go away.

When the trial was held, Cicero, who was consul at that time and one of Murena's advocates, took advantage of Cato's fondness for the Stoics to rail and jest at length about those philosophers and what were called their "paradoxes," thus making

¹ At this time the number of the popular tribunes was ten.

² Silanus and Murena were consuls in 62 B.C.

τὸν οὖν Κάτωνά φασι διαμειδιάσαντα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπεῖν· “ὦ ἄνδρες, ὡς γελοῖον ὑπα-
 6 τον ἔχομεν.” ἀποφυγὼν δὲ ὁ Μουρήνας οὐ
 πονηροῦ πάθος οὐδὲ ἄφρονος ἔπαθεν ἀνθρώπου
 πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπατεύων ἐχρήτο
 συμβούλῳ τῶν μεγίστων, καὶ τὰλλα τιμῶν καὶ
 πιστεῦων διετέλεσεν. αἴτιος δὲ ἦν ὁ Κάτων αὐ-
 τός, ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου χαλεπὸς
 ὢν καὶ φοβερός ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, εἴτα πᾶσιν
 εὐνοϊκῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσφερόμενος.

XXII. Πρὶν δὲ εἰς τὴν δημαρχίαν καθίστα-
 σθαι, Κικέρωνος ὑπατεύοντος, ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς
 ἀγῶσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥρθωσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς περὶ
 Κατιλίαν πράξεσι μεγίσταις καὶ καλλίσταις
 γενομέναις τέλος ἐπέθηκεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ
 Κατιλίνας ὀλέθριόν τε καὶ παντελῇ μεταβολὴν
 ἐπάγων τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι καὶ στάσεις
 ὁμοῦ καὶ πολέμους ταραττων ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὑπὸ
 2 τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, Λέντλος δὲ καὶ
 Κέθηγος καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἕτεροι συχνοὶ δεξάμενοι
 τὴν συνωμοσίαν, καὶ τῷ Κατιλίᾳ δειλίαν καὶ
 μικρολογίαν τῶν τολμημάτων ἐπικαλοῦντες, αὐτοὶ
 διανοοῦντο τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀναιρεῖν πυρὶ καὶ
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐθνῶν ἀποστάσει καὶ πολέμοις
 3 ἀλλοφύλοις ἀνατρέπειν. φανεράς δὲ τῆς παρα-
 σκευῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης, καὶ Κικέρωνος¹ ἐν
 βουλῇ γνώμην προθέντος, ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν
 Σιλανὸς ἀπεφάνητο δοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ ἔσχατα
 παθεῖν χρῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ δὲ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἐφε-

¹ καὶ Κικέρωνος so Sintenis² for the corrupt MSS. ὡς ἐν
 τοῖς περὶ Κικέρωνος γέγραπται; Coraës and Bekker adopt the
 early anonymous correction καὶ Κικέρωνος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ
 ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

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the jurors laugh. Cato, accordingly, as we are told, said with a smile to the bystanders: "My friends, what a droll fellow our consul is!" And after Murena had been acquitted, he did not feel towards Cato as a base or senseless man might have done; for during his consulship he asked his advice in the most important matters, and in other ways constantly showed him honour and trust. And Cato himself was responsible for this; on the tribunal and in the senate he was severe and terrible in his defence of justice, but afterwards his manner towards all men was benevolent and kindly.

XXII. Before he entered upon his tribuneship, and during the consulship of Cicero,¹ he maintained the authority of that magistrate in many conflicts, and above all in the measures relating to Catiline, which proved the most important and most glorious of all, he brought matters to a successful issue. Catiline himself, namely, who was trying to bring about a complete and destructive change in the Roman state, and was stirring up alike seditions and wars, was convicted by Cicero and fled the city; but Lentulus and Cethegus and many others with them took over the conspiracy, and, charging Catiline with cowardice and pettiness in his designs, were themselves planning to destroy the city utterly with fire, and to subvert the empire with revolts of nations and foreign wars. But their schemes were discovered, and Cicero brought the matter before the senate for deliberation.² The first speaker, Silanus, expressed the opinion that the men ought to suffer the extremest fate, and those who followed him in

¹ 63 B.C.

² Cf. the *Caesar*, vii. 4-v ii. 2; and the *Cicero*, x. ff.

- 4 ξῆς ἠκολούθησαν, ἄχρι Καίσαρος. Καίσαρ δὲ ἀναστὰς, ἅτε δὴ καὶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει μεταβολὴν καὶ κίνησιν ὥσπερ ὕλην ὧν αὐτὸς διενоеῖτο βουλόμενος αὖξιν μᾶλλον ἢ σβευννυμένην περιορᾶν, ἐπαγωγὰ πολλὰ καὶ 770 φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθεὶς ἀποκτείνει μὲν ἀκρίτους οὐκ εἶα τοὺς ἄνδρας, εἰρχθέντας δὲ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, οὕτω δὲ τὰς γνώμας μετέστησε τῆς βουλῆς, φοβηθείσης τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε καὶ Σιλανὸν ἔξαρνον εἶναι καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἴποι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ εἰργμόν· ἔσχατον γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Ῥωμαίῳ τοῦτο κακῶν ἀπάντων.

- XXIII. Γενομένης δὲ τοιαύτης τῆς τροπῆς καὶ ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὸ πραότερον ῥυέντων καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον, ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἀναστὰς εὐθύς ἵετο τῷ λόγῳ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ πάθους, τόν τε Σιλανὸν κακίζων τῆς μεταβολῆς, καὶ καταπτόμενος τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς σχήματι δημοτικῷ καὶ 2 λόγῳ φιλανθρώπῳ τὴν πόλιν ἀνατρέποντος, καὶ δεδιττομένου τὴν βουλὴν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἔδει δεδιέναι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν εἰ τῶν γεγονότων ἀθῶος ἀπαλλάξει καὶ ἀνύποπτος, οὕτως περιφανῶς καὶ ἰταμῶς τοὺς κοινούς ἐξαρπάζων πολεμίους καὶ τὴν παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθοῦσαν ἀπολέσθαι πατρίδα τοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην ὁμολογῶν μὴ ἐλεεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐς ἔδει μὴ γενέσθαι μηδὲ φῦναι δακρύων καὶ ἀνακλαιόμενος, εἰ φόνων μεγάλων καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν ἀποθανόντες.
- 3 Τοῦτον μόνον ὧν Κάτων εἶπε διασώζεσθαι

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turn were of the same mind, until it came to Caesar. Caesar now rose, and since he was a powerful speaker and wished to increase every change and commotion in the state as so much stuff for his own designs, rather than to allow them to be quenched, he urged many persuasive and humane arguments. He would not hear of the men being put to death without a trial, but favoured their being kept in close custody, and he wrought such a change in the opinions of the senate, which was in fear of the people, that even Silanus recanted and said that he too had not meant death, but imprisonment; for to a Roman this was the "extremest" of all evils.

XXIII. After such a change as this had been wrought and all the senators had hastened to adopt the milder and more humane penalty, Cato rose to give his opinion, and launched at once into a passionate and angry speech, abusing Silanus for his change of opinion, and assailing Caesar. Caesar, he said, under a popular pretext and with humane words, was trying to subvert the state; he was seeking to frighten the senate in a case where he himself had much to fear; and he might be well content if he should come off guiltless of what had been done and free from suspicion, since he was so openly and recklessly trying to rescue the common enemies, while for his country, which had been on the brink of ruin, and was so good and great, he confessed that he had no pity; and yet for men who ought not to have lived or been born even, he was shedding tears and lamenting, although by their deaths they would free the state from great slaughter and perils.

This is the only speech of Cato which has been

φασι τὸν λόγον, Κικέρωνος τοῦ ὑπάτου τοὺς διαφέροντας ὀξύτητι τῶν γραφέων σημεία προδι-
δάξαντος ἐν μικροῖς καὶ βραχείσι τύποις πολλῶν
γραμμάτων ἔχοντα δύναμιν, εἴτα ἄλλον ἄλλα-
χόσε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σποράδην ἐμβαλόντος.
οὐπω γὰρ ἤσκουν οὐδ' ἐκέκτηντο τοὺς καλουμέ-
νους σημειογράφους, ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἔχνος
τι καταστήναι λέγουσιν. ἐκράτησε δ' οὖν ὁ
Κάτων καὶ μετέστησε τὰς γνώμας, ὥστε θάνατον
καταψηφίσασθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

- XXIV. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴδὲ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἡθῶν
σημεία παραλιπεῖν ὥσπερ εἰκόνα ψυχῆς ὑπο-
γραφομένους, λέγεται, τότε πολλὴν ἄμιλλαν καὶ
μέγαν ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τοῦ Καίσαρος
ἔχοντος καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς ἐκείνους ἀνηρτημένης,
δελτάριόν τι μικρὸν ἔξωθεν εἰσκομισθῆναι τῷ
Καίσαρι. τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος εἰς ὑποψίαν ἄγοντος
τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ διαβάλλοντος εἶναί τινας τοὺς
κινουμένους, καὶ κελεύοντος ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ
γεγραμμένα, τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ Κάτωνα προσδοῦναι
2 τὸ δελτάριον ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτι. τὸν δὲ ἀναγνόντα
Σερβιλίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπιστόλιον ἀκόλαστον
πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα γεγραμμένον, ἐρώσης καὶ
διεφθαρμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προσρίψαι τε τῷ Καί-
σαρι καὶ εἰπεῖν, “Κράτει, μέθυσέ,” καὶ πάλιν
οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγον τραπέσθαι.
3 Φαίνεται δὲ ὅλως ἀτύχημα γενέσθαι τοῦ
Κάτωνος ἢ γυναικωνίτις. αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ
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preserved, we are told, and its preservation was due to Cicero the consul, who had previously given to those clerks who excelled in rapid writing instruction in the use of signs, which, in small and short figures, comprised the force of many letters; these clerks he had then distributed in various parts of the senate-house. For up to that time the Romans did not employ or even possess what are called shorthand writers, but then for the first time, we are told, the first steps toward the practice were taken. Be that as it may, Cato carried the day and changed the opinions of the senators, so that they condemned the men to death.

XXIV. Now, since we must not pass over even the slight tokens of character when we are delineating as it were a likeness of the soul, the story goes that on this occasion, when Caesar was eagerly engaged in a great struggle with Cato and the attention of the senate was fixed upon the two men, a little note was brought in from outside to Caesar. Cato tried to fix suspicion upon the matter and alleged that it had something to do with the conspiracy,¹ and bade him read the writing aloud. Then Caesar handed the note to Cato, who stood near him. But when Cato had read the note, which was an unchaste letter from his sister Servilia to Caesar, with whom she was passionately and guiltily in love, he threw it to Caesar, saying, "Take it, thou sot," and then resumed his speech.

But as regards the women of his household Cato appears to have been wholly unfortunate. For this

¹ Plutarch's ambiguous words here must be interpreted by comparison with the *Brutus*, v. 2 f., where the same story is told.

Καίσαρι κακῶς ἤκουσε· τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας Σερβιλίας, ἀδελφῆς δὲ Κάτωνος, ἀσχημονέστερα. Λευκόλλῳ γὰρ γαμηθεῖσα, πρωτεύσαντι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ δόξαν ἀνδρί, καὶ τεκοῦσα παιδίον ἐξέπεσε τοῦ οἴκου δι' ἀκολασίαν. τὸ δὲ αἰσχιστον, οὐδ' ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Κάτωνος Ἀτιλία τοιούτων ἐκαθάρευσεν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐξ αὐτῆς δύο παιδιά πεποιημένους ἀνάγκην ἔσχεν ἐκβαλεῖν ἀσχημονοῦσαν.

- XXV. Εἴτα ἔγχευε θυγατέρα Φιλίππου, Μαρκίαν, ἐπιεικῇ δοκοῦσαν εἶναι γυναῖκα, περὶ ἧς ὁ πλείστος λόγος· καὶ καθάπερ¹ ἐν δράματι τῷ βίῳ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος προβληματῶδες γέγονε καὶ ἄπορον. ἐπράχθη δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θρασέας, εἰς Μουνάτιον, ἀνδρα Κάτωνος ἐταῖρον καὶ συμβιωτὴν, ἀναφέρων τὴν πίστιν.
- 2 ἐν πολλοῖς ἐρασταῖς καὶ θαυμασταῖς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἦσαν ἐτέρων ἕτεροι μᾶλλον ἐκδηλοὶ καὶ διαφανεῖς, ὧν καὶ Κόϊντος Ὀρτήσιος, ἀνὴρ ἀξιωματὸς τε λαμπροῦ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικῆς. ἐπιθυμῶν οὖν τῷ Κάτωνι μὴ συνήθης εἶναι μηδὲ ἐταῖρος μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀμῶς γέ πως εἰς οἰκειότητα καταμίξαι καὶ κοινωνίαν πάντα τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸ γένος, ἐπεχείρησε συμπεῖθειν ὅπως τὴν θυγατέρα Πορκίαν, Βύβλῳ συνοικοῦσαν καὶ πεποιημένην ἐκείνῳ δύο παῖδας, αὐτῷ πάλιν ὥσπερ εὐγενῇ
- 3 χώραν ἐντεκνώσασθαι παράσχη. δόξῃ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, φύσει δὲ καλὸν καὶ πολιτικόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀκμῇ γυναῖκα μήτε ἀργεῖν τὸ γόνιμον ἀποσβέσασαν, μήτε

¹ καὶ καθάπερ the καὶ is supplied by Sintenis; Bekker has καθάπερ γάρ, after Coraës.

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sister was in ill repute for her relations with Caesar ; and the conduct of the other Servilla, also a sister of Cato, was still more unseemly. She was the wife of Lucullus, a man of the highest repute in Rome, and had borne him a child, and yet she was banished from his house for unchastity.¹ And what was most disgraceful of all, even Cato's wife Atilia was not free from such transgressions, but although he had two children by her, he was forced to put her away because of her unseemly behaviour.

XXV. Then he married a daughter of Philippus, Marcia, a woman of reputed excellence, about whom there was the most abundant talk ; and this part of Cato's life, like a drama, has given rise to dispute and is hard to explain. However, the case was as follows, according to Thræsea, who refers to the authority of Munatius, Cato's companion and intimate associate. Among the many lovers and admirers of Cato there were some who were more conspicuous and illustrious than others. One of these was Quintus Hortensius, a man of splendid reputation and excellent character. This man, then, desiring to be more than a mere associate and companion of Cato, and in some way or other to bring his whole family and line into community of kinship with him, attempted to persuade Cato, whose daughter Porcia was the wife of Bibulus and had borne him two sons, to give her in turn to him as noble soil for the production of children. According to the opinion of men, he argued, such a course was absurd, but according to the law of nature it was honourable and good for the state that a woman in the prime of youth and beauty should neither quench her productive power and lie idle, nor yet, by bear-

¹ See the *Lucullus*, xxxviii. 1.

πλείονα τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐπιτίκτουσαν, ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ καταπτωχεύειν οὐδὲν δεόμενον,¹ κοινουμένους δὲ τὰς διαδοχὰς ἀξίοις ἀνδράσι τὴν τε ἀρετὴν ἄφθονον ποιεῖν καὶ πολύχυτον τοῖς γένεσι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνακερανύνναι ταῖς οἰκειότησιν. εἰ δὲ πάντως περιέχοιτο τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Βύβλος, ἀποδώσειν εὐθὺς τεκοῦσαν, οἰκειότερος αὐτῷ τε Βύβλῳ καὶ Κάτωνι κοινωνία παίδων γενόμενος.

- 4 Ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὡς Ὀρτήσιον μὲν ἀγαπᾷ καὶ δοκιμάζει κοινωνὸν οἰκειότητος, ἄτοπον δὲ ἡγεῖται ποιεῖσθαι λόγον περὶ γάμου θυγατρὸς ἐτέρῳ δεδομένης, μεταβαλὼν ἐκείνος οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἀποκαλυψάμενος αἰτεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Κάτωνος, νέαν μὲν οὖσαν ἔτι πρὸς τὸ τίκτειν, ἔχοντος δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀποχρῶσαν
- 5 διαδοχὴν. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς ταῦτα ἔπραττεν εἰδὼς οὐ προσέχοντα τῇ Μαρκίᾳ τὸν Κάτωνα· κύουσαν γὰρ αὐτὴν τότε τυγχάνειν λέγουσιν. ὁ δ' οὖν Κάτων ὁρῶν τὴν τοῦ Ὀρτησίου σπουδὴν καὶ προθυμίαν οὐκ ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἔφη δεῖν καὶ Φιλίππῳ ταῦτα συνδόξαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς Μαρκίας. ὥς οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐντευχθεὶς ἔγνω τὴν συγχώρησιν, οὐκ ἄλλως ἐνεγγύησε τὴν Μαρκίαν ἢ παρόντος τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεγγυῶντος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ χρόνοις ὕστερον ἐπράχθη, μνησθέντι μοι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν προλαβεῖν ἔδοξε.

¹ δεόμενον Coraës supplies οἶκον.

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ing more offspring than enough, burden and impoverish a husband who does not want them. Moreover, community in heirs among worthy men would make virtue abundant and widely diffused in their families, and the state would be closely cemented together by their family alliances. And if Bibulus were wholly devoted to his wife, Hortensius said he would give her back after she had borne him a child, and he would thus be more closely connected both with Bibulus himself and with Cato by a community of children.

Cato replied that he loved Hortensius and thought highly of a community of relationship with him, but considered it absurd for him to propose marriage with a daughter who had been given to another. Then Hortensius changed his tactics, threw off the mask, and boldly asked for the wife of Cato himself, since she was still young enough to bear children, and Cato had heirs enough. And it cannot be said that he did this because he knew that Cato neglected Marcia, for she was at that time with child by him, as we are told. However, seeing the earnestness and eager desire of Hortensius, Cato would not refuse, but said that Philippus also, Marcia's father, must approve of this step. Accordingly, Philippus was consulted and expressed his consent, but he would not give Marcia in marriage until Cato himself was present and joined in giving the bride away.¹ This incident occurred at a later time,² it is true, but since I had taken up the topic of the women of Cato's household I decided to anticipate it.

¹ It is plain that Cato divorced Marcia; otherwise her father could not have given her in marriage to Hortensius.

² Probably in 56 B.C.

- XXVI. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Λέντλον ἀναιρεθέντων, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος περὶ ὧν εἰσηγγέλθη καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸν δῆμον καταφυγόντος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ νοσοῦντα καὶ διεφθαρμένα τῆς πολιτείας μέρη ταραττοντος καὶ συνάγοντος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁ Κάτων φοβηθεὶς ἔπεισε τὴν βουλὴν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέμητον ὄχλον εἰς τὸ σιτηρέσιον, ἀναλώματος μὲν ὄντος ἑνιαυσίου χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων, περιφανῶς δὲ τῇ φιλάνθρωπία ταύτῃ καὶ χάριτι τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐκείνης
- 2 διαλυθείσης. ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν δημαρχίαν ἐμπεσὼν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐκκλησίας τε θορυβώδεις συνῆγε, καὶ νόμον ἔγραψε Πομπηϊὸν Μάγνον ἵεναι κατὰ τάχος μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ παραλαβόντα σώζειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ὑπὸ Κατιλίνα κινδυνεύουσιν. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο λόγος εὐπρεπής, ἔργον δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τέλος ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ πράγματα Πομπηϊῷ καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν
- 3 ἡγεμονίαν. γενομένης δὲ βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος οὐχ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τῷ Μετέλλῳ σφοδρῶς ἐμπεσόντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῇ πολλὰ καὶ μέτρια παραινέσαντος, τέλος δὲ καὶ πρὸς δεήσεις τραπομένου καὶ τὴν Μετέλλων οἰκίαν αἰεὶ γενομένην ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐπαινέσαντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξαρθεὶς καὶ καταφρονήσας ὁ Μέτελλος ὡς ἐνδιδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πτήσσοντος εἰς ὑπερηφάνους ἀπειλὰς καὶ λόγους θρασεῖς ἐξέπεσεν, ὥς βία πάντα τῆς
- 4 βουλῆς διαπραξόμενος. οὕτω δὲ μεταβαλὼν ὁ Κάτων καὶ σχῆμα καὶ φωνὴν καὶ λόγον, ἐπειπὼν δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις διατεταμένως ὅτι ζώντος

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XXVI. Lentulus and his associates were executed, and Caesar, in view of the charges and accusations made against him to the senate, took refuge with the people and was stirring up and attaching to himself the numerous diseased and corrupted elements in the commonwealth. Cato was therefore alarmed and persuaded the senate to conciliate the poor and landless multitude by including them in the distribution of grain, the annual expenditure for which was twelve hundred and fifty talents.¹ By this act of humanity and kindness the threatening danger was most successfully dissipated. Then Metellus, who hastened to take up the duties of his tribuneship, began to hold tumultuous assemblies of the people, and proposed a law that Pompey the Great should hasten with his forces to Italy² and undertake the preservation of the city, on the ground that it was imperilled by Catiline. Now, this was a specious proposition; but the end and aim of the law was to put matters in the hands of Pompey and hand over to him the supreme power. The senate met, and Cato did not, as was his custom, attack Metellus with vehemence, but gave him much fitting and moderate advice, and finally, resorting to entreaties, actually praised the family of Metellus for having always been aristocratic in sympathy. Metellus was therefore all the more emboldened, and, despising Cato as a yielding and timorous opponent, broke out in extravagant threats and bold speeches, intending to carry everything through in spite of the senate. So, then, Cato changed his looks and voice and words, and concluded a vehement speech with the declaration

¹ Cf. the *Caesar*, viii. 4.

² Pompey had just finished his conquest of Mithridates and was on the way home from Asia (62 B.C.).

αὐτοῦ Πομπηΐος οὐ παρέσται μεθ' ὅπλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκείνο τῇ βουλῇ παρέστησεν, ὥς οὐδέτερος μὲν καθέστηκεν οὐδὲ χρήται λογισμοῖς ἀσφαλῆσιν, ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν Μετέλλου πολιτεία μανία δι' ὑπερβολὴν κακίας φερομένη πρὸς ὄλεθρον καὶ σύγχυσιν ἀπάντων, ἡ δὲ Κάτωνος ἀρετῆς ἐνθουσιασμός ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀγωνιζομένης. 772

XXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ψῆφον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου φέρειν ὁ δῆμος ἔμελλε, Μετέλλῳ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ ξένοι καὶ μονομάχοι καὶ θεράποντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τεταγμένοι παρήσαν, καὶ τὸ ποθοῦν μεταβολῆς ἐλπίδι Πομπηΐον ὑπῆρχε τοῦ δήμου μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον, ἣν δὲ μεγάλη καὶ ἀπὸ Καί-
 2 σαρὸς ῥώμη στρατηγούντος τότε, Κάτωνι δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν πολιτῶν συνηγανάκτου καὶ συνηδικοῦντο μᾶλλον ἢ συνηγωνίζοντο, πολλὴ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατήφεια καὶ φόβος εἶχεν, ὥστε τῶν φίλων ἐνίους ἀσίτους διαγρυπνήσαι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀπόροις ὄντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λογισμοῖς, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὰς ποτνιωμένας καὶ δα-
 3 κρυνούσας. αὐτὸς δ' ἀδεῶς καὶ τεθαρρηκότως ἐντυχὼν πᾶσι καὶ παρηγορήσας, καὶ γενόμενος περὶ δεῖπνον, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ νυκτερεύσας, ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν συναρχόντων, Μινυκίου Θέρμου, βαθέως καθεύδων ἐπηγέρθη· καὶ κατέβησαν εἰς ἀγοράν, ὀλίγων μὲν αὐτοὺς προπεμπόντων, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπαντῶντων καὶ φυλάττεσθαι παρακελευομένων.
 4 ὥς οὖν ἐπιστὰς ὁ Κάτων κατεΐδε τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων ὅπλοις περιεχόμενον καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις φρουρουμένας ὑπὸ μονομάχων, αὐτὸν δὲ καθήμενον ἄνω μετὰ Καίσαρος τὸν Μέτελλον,

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that while he lived Pompey should not enter the city with an armed force. The senate was thus led to feel that neither man was in his right mind or using safe arguments, but that the policy of Metellus was madness, which, through excess of wickedness, was leading on to the destruction and confusion of all things, while that of Cato was a wild ebullition of virtue contending in behalf of right and justice.

XXVII. When the people were about to vote on the law, in favour of Metellus there were armed strangers and gladiators and servants drawn up in the forum, and that part of the people which longed for Pompey in their hope of a change was present in large numbers, and there was strong support also from Caesar, who was at that time praetor. In the case of Cato, however, the foremost citizens shared in his displeasure and sense of wrong more than they did in his struggle to resist, and great dejection and fear reigned in his household, so that some of his friends took no food and watched all night with one another in futile discussions on his behalf, while his wife and sisters wailed and wept. He himself, however, conversed fearlessly and confidently with all and comforted them, and after taking supper as usual and passing the night, was roused from a deep sleep by one of his colleagues, Minucius Thermius; and they went down into the forum, only few persons accompanying them, but many meeting them and exhorting them to be on their guard. Accordingly, when Cato paused in the forum and saw the temple of Castor and Pollux surrounded by armed men and its steps guarded by gladiators, and Metellus himself sitting at the top with Caesar, he turned to his friends

ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, “Ω θρασέος,”
εἶπεν, “ἀνθρώπου καὶ δειλοῦ, ὃς καθ’ ἑνὸς ἀνό-
πλου καὶ γυμνοῦ τοσοῦτους ἐστρατολόγησεν.”
5 ἅμα δ’ εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζε μετὰ τοῦ Θέρμου. καὶ διέ-
στησαν αὐτοῖς¹ οἱ τὰς ἀναβάσεις κατέχοντες,
ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα παρήκαν, ἥ μόλις ἐπισπάσας
τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Κάτων τὸν Μουνάτιον ἀνήγαγε· καὶ
βαδίζων εὐθὺς ὥς εἶχε καθίζει μέσον ἐμβαλὼν
ἑαυτὸν τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὥστε
6 διακόψαι τὴν κοινολογίαν. καὶ κεῖνοι μὲν διηπό-
ρησαν, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες θεασάμενοι καὶ θαυμά-
σαντες τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ
θάρσος τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐγγυτέρω προσήλθον, καὶ
βοῇ διεκελεύσαντο τῷ μὲν Κάτωνι θαρρεῖν,
μένειν δὲ ἀλλήλοις καὶ συστρέφεσθαι καὶ μὴ
προδιδόναι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
ἀγωνιζόμενον.

XXVIII. Ἐνθα δὴ τοῦ ὑπηρέτου τὸν νόμον
προχειρισαμένου, τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος οὐκ ἐῶντος
ἀναγινώσκειν, τοῦ δὲ Μετέλλου παραλαβόντος
αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων ἐξήρ-
πασε τὸ βιβλίον, ὁ δὲ Θέρμος ἀπὸ στόματος τοῦ
Μετελλου τὸν νόμον ἐπισταμένου καὶ λέγοντος
ἐπέσχε τῇ χειρὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀπέ-
2 κλεισεν, ἄχρι οὔ, ἅμαχον ὁρῶν ἀγῶνα τοὺς
ἄνδρας ὁ Μέτελλος ἀγωνιζομένους, καὶ τὸν δῆμον
ἡττώμενον πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τρεπόμενον,
ἐκέλευσεν ἄποθεν² ὀπλίτας μετὰ φόβου καὶ
κραυγῆς ἐπιτρέχειν. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ
πάντων διασκεδασθέντων ὑποστάντα μόνον τὸν

¹ αὐτοῖς followed in the MSS. by ἐκεῖνοι, which Coraës and Bekker delete; Sintenis corrects to ἐκεῖνοις.

² ἄποθεν Kaltwasser: οἴκοθεν (from his house).

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and said : " What a bold man, and what a coward, to levy such an army against a single unarmed and defenceless person ! " At the same time he walked straight on with Thermus. Those who were occupying the steps made way for them, but would allow no one else to pass, except that Cato with difficulty drew Munatius along by the hand and brought him up ; and walking straight onwards he threw himself just as he was into a seat between Metellus and Caesar, thus cutting off their communication. Caesar and Metellus were disconcerted, but the better citizens, seeing and admiring the countenance, lofty bearing, and courage of Cato, came nearer, and with shouts exhorted him to be of good heart, while they urged one another to stay and band themselves together and not betray their liberty and the man who was striving to defend it.

XXVIII. And now the clerk produced the law, but Cato would not suffer him to read it ; and when Metellus took it and began to read it, Cato snatched the document away from him. Then Metellus, who knew the law by heart, began to recite it, but Thermus clapped a hand upon his mouth and shut off his speech. At last, seeing that the men were making a struggle which he could not resist, and that the people were giving way and turning towards the better course, Metellus ordered men-at-arms, who were standing at a distance, to come running up with terrifying shouts. This was done, and all the people dispersed, leaving Cato standing his ground alone

Κάτωνα καὶ βαλλόμενον λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις
 ἄνωθεν οὐ περιεΐδε Μουρήνας ὁ τὴν δίκην φυγὼν
 3 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τήβεννον
 προῖσχύμενος καὶ βοῶν ἀνασχεῖν τοῖς βάλλουσι,
 καὶ τέλος αὐτὸν τὸν Κάτωνα πείθων καὶ περι-
 πτύσσω, εἰς τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀπήγαγεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεΐδεν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐρημίαν περὶ τὸ
 βῆμα καὶ φυγὴν δι' ἀγορᾶς τῶν ἐναντιουμένων,
 παντάπασι πεισθεὶς κρατεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι
 4 πάλιν τοὺς ὀπλοφόρους, καὶ προσελθὼν κοσμίως
 αὐτὸς ἐπεχειρεῖ πράττειν τὰ περὶ τὸν νόμον. οἱ
 δὲ ἐναντίοι ταχέως ἀναλαβόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τῆς
 τροπῆς ἐπήεσαν αὖθις ἐμβοήσαντες μέγα καὶ
 θαρραλέον, ὥστε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μέτελλον ἐμ-
 πεσεῖν ταραχὴν καὶ δέος οἰομένοις ὅπλων ποθὲν
 εὐπορήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπιφέρεισθαι, καὶ μηθένα
 μένειν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἅπαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος.
 5 οὕτω δὴ σκεδασθέντων ἐκείνων, τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος
 προσελθόντος καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπαινέσαντος, τὰ δ' 773
 ἐπIRRώσαντος τὸν δῆμον, οἳ τε πολλοὶ παρετά-
 ξαντο παντὶ τρόπῳ καταλῦσαι τὸν Μέτελλον, ἣ
 τε σύγκλητος ἀθροισθεῖσα παρήγγειλεν ἀρχῆθεν
 βοηθεῖν τῷ Κάτωνι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν
 νόμον, ὡς στάσιν ἐπείσάγοντα τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ
 πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον.

XXIX. Ὁ δὲ Μέτελλος αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν ἄτρεπτος
 καὶ θρασύς ἔτι, ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπε-
 πληγμένους κομιδῇ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ νομίζοντας
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and pelted with sticks and stones from above. Here Murena, who had been denounced and brought to trial by him,¹ came to his relief, and holding his toga before him, crying to those who were pelting him to stop, and finally persuading Cato himself and folding him in his arms, he led him away into the temple of Castor and Pollux.

When, however, Metellus saw the space about the tribunal² empty and his opponents in flight through the forum, being altogether persuaded that he had won the day, he ordered his armed men to go away again, and coming forward himself in orderly fashion attempted to have the law enacted. But his opponents, quickly recovering from their rout, advanced again upon him with loud and confident shouts, so that his partisans were overwhelmed with confusion and terror. They supposed that their enemies had provided themselves with arms from some place or other in order to assail them, and not a man stood his ground, but all fled away from the tribunal. So, then, when these had dispersed, and when Cato had come forward with commendation and encouragement for the people, the majority of them stood prepared to put down Metellus by any and every means, and the senate in full session announced anew that it would assist Cato and fight to the end against the law, convinced that it would introduce sedition and civil war into Rome.

XXIX. Metellus himself was still unyielding and bold, but since he saw that his followers were completely terrified before Cato and thought him utterly

¹ Cf. chapter xxi. 3-6.

² The steps of the temple of Castor led down to a platform, from which the people were often addressed.

ἄμαχον καὶ δυσεκβίαστον, αἰφνίδιον ἐξεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπίφθονα διῆλθε, καὶ φεύγειν τὴν τυραννίδα βοῶν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν κατὰ Πομπηίου συνωμοσίαν, ἐφ' ἣ μετανοήσκειν ταχὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀτιμάζουσιν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον, ὥρμησεν εὐθύς εἰς Ἀσίαν, ὡς ταῦτα πρὸς 2 ἐκείνους κατηγορήσων. ἦν οὖν δόξα μεγάλη τοῦ Κάτωνος ἄχθος οὐ μικρὸν ἀπεσκευασμένου τῆς δημαρχίας, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν Πομπηίου δύναμιν ἐν Μετέλλῳ καθηρηκότος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εὐδοκίμησε τὴν σύγκλητον ὥρμημένην ἀτιμοῦν καὶ ἀποψηφίζεσθαι τὸν Μέτελλον οὐκ ἐάσας, ἀλλ' ἐναντιωθεὶς καὶ παραιτησάμενος. οἳ τε γὰρ πολλοὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐποιοῦντο καὶ μετριότητος τὸ μὴ ἐπεμβῆναι τῷ ἐχθρῷ μηδὲ ἐνυβρίσαι κατὰ κράτος περιγενόμενον, τοῖς τε φρονίμοις ὀρθῶς ἐφαίνετο καὶ συμφερόντως μὴ παροξύναι Πομπηϊόν.

3 Ἐκ τούτου Λεύκολλος ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας, ἧς ἔδοξε τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀφηρῆσθαι Πομπηϊός, εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε τοῦ μὴ θριαμβεῦσαι, Γαῖου Μεμμίου καταστασιάζοντος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ δίκας ἐπάγοντος, εἰς τὴν Πομπηίου χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ἔχθος ἴδιον. ὁ δὲ Κάτων, οἰκειότητός τε πρὸς Λεύκολλον αὐτῷ γεγενημένης, ἔχοντα Σερβιλίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα δεινὸν ἡγούμενος, ἀντέστη τῷ Μεμμίῳ, καὶ πολλὰς ὑπέμεινε διαβολὰς καὶ

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invincible, he suddenly rushed off into the forum, assembled the people, and made a long and invidious speech against Cato; then, crying out that he was fleeing from Cato's tyranny and the conspiracy against Pompey, for which the city would speedily repent in that it was dishonouring so great a man, he set out at once for Asia, intending to lay these accusations before Pompey. Accordingly, Cato was in high repute for having relieved the tribunate of a great burden, and for having in a manner overthrown the power of Pompey in the person of Metellus. But he won still more esteem by not allowing the senate to carry out its purpose of degrading Metellus and deposing him from his office, which course Cato opposed, and brought the senate over to his views. For the multitude considered it a token of humanity and moderation not to trample on his enemy or insult him after prevailing completely over him, and prudent men thought it right and advantageous not to irritate Pompey.

After this, Lucullus, having come back from his expedition,¹ the consummation and glory of which Pompey was thought to have taken away from him, was in danger of losing his triumph, since Caius Memmius raised a successful faction against him among the people and brought legal accusations against him, more to gratify Pompey than out of private enmity. But Cato, being related to Lucullus, who had his sister Servilia to wife, and thinking the attempt a shameful one, opposed Memmius, and thereby exposed himself to many

¹ He came back in 66 B.C., and had to wait three years before being allowed to celebrate a triumph. Cf. the *Lucullus*, xxxvii.

4 κατηγορίας. τέλος δέ, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβαλλόμενος ὡς τυραννίδος, τοσοῦτον ἐκρίτησεν ὥστε τὸν Μέμμιον αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσαι τῶν δικῶν ἀποστήναι καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα. Λεύκολλος μὲν οὖν θριαμβεύσας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνεφύετο τῇ φιλίᾳ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἔχων ἔρυμα καὶ πρόβλημα μέγα πρὸς τὴν Πομπηίου δύναμιν.

XXX. Πομπηῖος δὲ μέγας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας ἐπανιών, καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς πεποιθὼς οὐδὲν ἂν δεηθεὶς ἀποτυχεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν, προὔπεμψεν ἀξιῶν τὰς ὑπατικάς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ὡς ἂν
2 αὐτὸς παρὼν Πείσωνι συναρχαιρεσιάζῃ. τῶν δὲ πλείστων ὑπείκόντων, οὐ τὴν ἀναβολὴν μέγιστον ὁ Κάτων ἡγούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν πείραν ἀποκόψαι καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ Πομπηίου βουλόμενος, ἀντεῖπε καὶ μετέστησε τὴν βουλήν, ὥστε ἀποψηφίσασθαι. τοῦτο τὸν Πομπηῖον οὐχ ἡσυχῇ διετάραξε· καὶ νομίζων οὐ μικρὰ προσπταίσειν τῷ Κάτωνι μὴ φίλῳ γενομένῳ, μετεπέμψατο Μουνάτιον, ἐταῖρον αὐτοῦ· καὶ δύο τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀδελφιδᾶς ἐπιγάμους ἔχοντος ἦται τὴν μὲν πρεσβυτέραν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν
3 τῷ υἱῷ. τινὲς δὲ φασιν οὐ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν θυγατέρων τὴν μνηστείαν γενέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μουνατίου ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς φράσαντος, αἱ μὲν ὑπερηγάπησαν τὴν οἰκειότητα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος

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slandrous accusations. Finally, however, though he was on the point of being ejected from his office on the ground that he exercised tyrannical power, he so far prevailed as to compel Memmius himself to desist from his accusations and shun the contest. Lucullus, accordingly, celebrated his triumph, and therefore clung still more closely to the friendship of Cato, finding in him a great bulwark of defence against the power of Pompey.

XXX. And now Pompey returned with great prestige from his expedition,¹ and since the splendour and warmth of his reception led him to believe that he could get whatever he wanted from his fellow citizens, he sent forward a demand that the senate postpone the consular elections, in order that he might be present in person and assist Piso in making his canvass. The majority of the senators were inclined to yield. Cato, however, who did not regard the postponement as the chief matter at issue, but wished to cut short the attempt and the expectations of Pompey, opposed the measure and changed the opinions of the senators, so that they rejected it. This disturbed Pompey not a little, and considering that Cato would be a great stumbling-block in his way unless he were made a friend, he sent for Munatius, Cato's companion, and asked the elder of Cato's two marriageable nieces to wife for himself, and the younger for his son. Some say, however, that it was not for Cato's nieces, but for his daughters, that the suit was made. When Munatius brought this proposal to Cato and his wife and sisters, the women were overjoyed at thought of the alliance, in view of the greatness and high repute of

¹ In 62 B.C.

καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁ δὲ Κάτων οὐτ' ἐπι-
 σχῶν οὔτε βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλὰ πληγείς εὐθύς
 4 εἶπε· “ Βάδιζε, Μουνάτιε, βάδιζε, καὶ λέγε πρὸς
 Πομπηϊὸν ὡς Κάτων οὐκ ἔστι διὰ τῆς γυναικω-
 νίτιδος ἀλώσιμος, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν εὖνοϊαν ἀγαπᾷ,
 καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντι φιλίαν παρέξει πάσης 774
 πιστοτέραν οἰκειότητος, ὅμηρα δὲ οὐ προήσεται
 τῇ Πομπηΐου δόξῃ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος.”

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἤχθοντο μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἡτιῶντο
 δὲ οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κάτωνος ὡς ἄγροικον ἅμα καὶ
 5 ὑπερήφανον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. εἶτα μέντοι πρᾶτ-
 των τινὲ τῶν φίλων ὑπατείαν ὁ Πομπηΐος ἀρ-
 γύριον εἰς τὰς φυλὰς ἔπεμπε, καὶ περιβόητος ὁ
 δεκασμὸς ἦν, ἐν κήποις ἐκείνου τῶν χρημάτων
 ἀριθμουμένων. εἰπόντος οὖν τοῦ Κάτωνος πρὸς
 τὰς γυναῖκας ὅτι τοιούτων ἦν κοινωνεῖν καὶ ἀνα-
 πίμπλασθαι πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη Πομπηΐῳ συνα-
 φθέντα δι' οἰκειότητος, ὁμολόγουν ἐκείναι κάλλιον
 6 αὐτὸν βεβουλευσθαι διακρουσάμενον. εἰ δὲ δεῖ
 πρὸς τὰ συμβάντα κρίνειν, τοῦ παντὸς ἔοικεν ὁ
 Κάτων ἀμαρτεῖν τὴν οἰκειότητα μὴ δεξάμενος,
 ἀλλ' ἐάσας πρὸς Καίσαρα τραπέσθαι καὶ γῆμαι
 γάμον ὃς τὴν Πομπηΐου δύναμιν καὶ Καίσαρος
 εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ συνενεγκὼν ὀλίγου τὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίων
 ἀνέτρεψε πράγματα, τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν ἀνείλεν,
 ὧν οὐθὲν ἂν ἴσως συνέπεσεν, εἰ μὴ Κάτων τὰ
 μικρὰ τοῦ Πομπηΐου φοβηθεὶς ἀμαρτήματα τὸ
 μέγιστον περιεΐδεν, αὐτὸν ἐτέρῳ δυνάμιν προσ-
 γεγόμενον.

XXXI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔμελλεν ἔτι, Λευκόλ-
 λου δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ διατάξεων στασιά-

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Pompey ; Cato, however, without pause or deliberation, but stung to the quick, said at once : "Go, Munatius, go, and tell Pompey that Cato is not to be captured by way of the women's apartments, although he highly prizes Pompey's good will, and if Pompey does justice will grant him a friendship more to be relied upon than any marriage connection ; but he will not give hostages for the glory of Pompey to the detriment of his country."

At these words the women were vexed, and Cato's friends blamed his answer as both rude and overbearing. Afterwards, however, in trying to secure the consulship for one of his friends,¹ Pompey sent money to the tribes, and the bribery was notorious, since the sums for it were counted out in his gardens. Accordingly, when Cato told the women that he must of necessity have shared in the disgrace of such transactions, had he been connected with Pompey by marriage, they admitted that he had taken better counsel in rejecting the alliance.² However, if we are to judge by the results, it would seem that Cato was wholly wrong in not accepting the marriage connection, instead of allowing Pompey to turn to Caesar and contract a marriage which united the power of the two men, nearly overthrew the Roman state, and destroyed the constitution. None of these things perhaps would have happened, had not Cato been so afraid of the slight transgressions of Pompey as to allow him to commit the greatest of all, and add his power to that of another.

XXXI. These things, however, were still in the future. Meanwhile Lucullus got into a contention

¹ Lucius Afranius, elected consul in 61 B.C. for the year 60 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, xliv. 3. ² Cf. the *Pompey*, xliv.

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- σαντος πρὸς Πομπήϊον (ἡξίου γὰρ ἰσχύειν ἐκάτερος τὰ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα), καὶ Λευκόλλῳ Κάτωνος ἀδικουμένῳ περιφανῶς προσαμύνοντος, ἐλαττούμενος ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ δημαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ νομὴν χώρας ἐκάλει τὸ στρατιω-
 2 τικόν. ὥς δὲ κἀνταῦθα Κάτων ἐνιστάμενος ἐξέκρουσε τὸν νόμον, οὕτω Κλωδίου τε περιείχετο, τοῦ τότε θρασυτάτου τῶν δημαγωγῶν, καὶ Καίσαρα προσήγετο, τρόπον τινὰ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ παρασχόντος ἀρχήν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατηγίας ἐπανήκων ἅμα μὲν ὑπατείαν ἐβούλετο παραγγέλλειν, ἅμα δὲ ἦται θρίαμβον.
 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ νόμον ἔδει τοὺς μὲν ἀρχὴν μετιόντας παρεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ μέλλοντας εἰσελαύνειν θρίαμβον ἔξω τείχους ὑπομένειν, ἡξίου παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῷ δοθῆναι δι' ἐτέρων αἰτεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. βουλομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἀντέλεγεν ὁ Κάτων· ὥς δὲ ἦσθετο χαριζομένους τῷ Καίσαρι, λέγων ὅλην κατανάλωσε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν οὕτως
 4 ἐξέκρουσε. χαίρειν οὖν ἑάσας τὸν θρίαμβον ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰσελθὼν εὐθύς εἶχετο Πομπηίου καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας. ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ ὑπατος τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν ἐνεγγύησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ συστάντες ἤδη μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ μὲν εἰσέφερε νόμους τοῖς πένησι κληρουχίαν καὶ νομὴν χώρας διδόντας, ὁ
 5 δὲ παρῆν τοῖς νόμοις βοηθῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεύκολλον καὶ Κικέρωνα Βύβλῳ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων συντάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀντέπραττον, μάλιστα

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with Pompey over the arrangements in Pontus (each of them, namely, demanded that his own proceedings should be confirmed), Cato came to the aid of Lucullus, who was manifestly wronged, and Pompey, worsted in the senate and seeking popular favour, invited the soldiery to a distribution of land.¹ But when Cato opposed him in this measure also, and frustrated the law, then Pompey attached himself to Clodius, at that time the boldest of the popular leaders, and won Caesar to his support, a result for which Cato himself was in a way responsible. For Caesar, on returning from his praetorship in Spain,² desired to be a candidate for the consulship, and at the same time asked for a triumph. But since by law candidates for a magistracy must be present in the city, while those who are going to celebrate a triumph must remain outside the walls, he asked permission from the senate to solicit the office by means of others. Many were willing to grant the request, but Cato opposed it; and when he saw that the senators were ready to gratify Caesar, he consumed the whole day in speaking and thus frustrated their desires. Accordingly, Caesar gave up his triumph, entered the city, and at once attached himself to Pompey and sought the consulship.³ After he had been elected consul, he gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey, and now that the two were united with one another against the state, the one would bring in laws offering allotment and distribution of land to the poor, and the other would be at hand with support for the laws. But the party of Lucullus and Cicero, ranging themselves with Bibulus, the other consul, opposed the measures,

¹ Cf. the *Lucullus*, xlii. 6; *Pompey*, xlv. 3 f.

² In the summer of 60 B.C. ³ Cf. the *Caesar*, xiii. 1 f.

δὲ Κάτων, ἥδη μὲν ὑφορώμενος τὴν Καίσαρος καὶ Πομπηίου φιλίαν καὶ σύστασιν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ δικαίῳ γεγεννημένην, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ φάσκων οὐ τὴν νομὴν τῆς χώρας, ἀλλ' ὃν ἀντὶ ταύτης ἀπαιτήσουσι μισθὸν οἱ χαριζόμενοι καὶ δελεάζοντες τὸ πλῆθος.

- XXXII. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα λέγων τὴν τε βουλήν ὁμόψηφον εἶχε, καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ὀλίγοι παρίσταντο δυσχεραίνοντες τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος· ἃ γὰρ οἱ θρασύτατοι δῆμαρχοι καὶ ὀλιγωρότατοι πρὸς χάριν ἐπολιτεύοντο τῶν πολλῶν, ταῦτα ἀπ' ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς, αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς ὑποδυόμενος τὸν δῆμον, ἔπραττε·
- 2 φοβηθέντες οὖν ἐχώρουν διὰ βίας, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Βύβλῳ καταβαίνοντι κοπρίων ἐπεσκεδάσθη κόφινος, ἔπειτα τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις προσπεσόντες αὐτοῦ κατέκλασαν τὰς ῥάβδους· τέλος δὲ καὶ βελῶν φερομένων καὶ πολλῶν συντιτρωσκομένων ἔφυγον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς δρόμῳ μὲν οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, ἔσχατος δὲ Κάτων ἀπῆει βάδην, μεταστρεφόμενος καὶ μαρτυρόμενος¹ τοὺς πολίτας.
- 3 οὐ μόνον οὖν τὴν διανομὴν ἐκύρωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 775 προσεψηφίσαντο τὴν σύγκλητον ὁμόσαι πᾶσαν ἢ μὴν ἐπιβεβαιώσῃ τὸν νόμον, καὶ βοηθήσῃ ἂν τις τὰναντία πράττῃ, μεγάλα τάξαντες ἐπιτίμια κατὰ τῶν μὴ ὁμοσάντων. ὤμνυσαν οὖν ἅπαντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης, τὸ Μετέλλου τοῦ παλαιοῦ πάθος ἐν νῷ λαμβάνοντες, ὃν εἰς νόμον ὅμοιον ὁμόσαι μὴ θελήσαντα περιεῖδεν ὁ δῆμος ἐκπεσόντα φυγῇ

¹ μαρτυρόμενος Bekker and Sintenis², after Emperius; Coraës and Sintenis¹ adhere to the MSS. καταρῶμενος (cursing).

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and above all Cato, who now suspected that the friendly alliance between Caesar and Pompey had been made for no just purpose, and declared that he was afraid, not of the distribution of land, but of the reward which would be paid for this to those who were enticing the people with such favours.

XXXII. By these utterances he brought the senate to unanimity, and many men outside the senate supported him out of displeasure at the strange conduct of Caesar; for whatever political schemes the boldest and most arrogant tribunes were wont to practise to win the favour of the multitude, these Caesar used with the support of consular power, in disgraceful and humiliating attempts to ingratiate himself with the people.¹ Accordingly, the opponents of Cato were alarmed and had recourse to violence. To begin with, upon Bibulus himself, as he was going down into the forum, a basket of ordure was scattered; then the crowd fell upon his lictors and broke their fasces; and finally missiles flew and many persons were wounded.² All the other senators fled from the forum at a run, but Cato went off last of all at a walk, turning about and protesting to the citizens. Accordingly, not only was the law for the distribution of lands passed, but also a clause was added requiring the whole senate to swear solemnly that it would uphold the law, and give its aid in case any one should act contrary to it, and heavy penalties were pronounced against such as would not take the oath.³ All took the oath, therefore, under compulsion, bearing in mind the fate of Metellus of old, whom the people suffered to be banished from Italy because

¹ Cf. the *Caesar*, xiv. 1. ² Cf. the *Pompey*, xlviii. 1.

³ Cf. the *Caesar*, xiv. 2 f.

- 4 τῆς Ἰταλίας. διὸ καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα πολλὰ μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες οἴκοι δακρύνουσαι καθικέτευον εἶξαι καὶ ὁμόσαι, πολλὰ δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις. ὁ δὲ μάλιστα συμπείσας καὶ ἀγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἦν Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ, παραινῶν καὶ διδάσκων ὡς τάχα μὲν οὐδὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις κοινῇ μόνον οἰεσθαι, δεῖν ἀπειθεῖν, ἐν δὲ ἀδυνάτῳ τῷ μεταστῆσαί τι τῶν γεγονότων ἀφειδεῖν ἑαυτοῦ
- 5 παντάπασιν ἀνόητον καὶ μανικόν· ἔσχατον δὲ κακῶν, εἰ δι' ἣν ἅπαντα πράττει πόλιν ἀφείς καὶ προέμενος τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ὥσπερ ἄσμενος ἀπαλλάσσεται τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγώνων· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ Κάτων τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀλλ' ἡ Ῥώμη δεῖται Κάτωνος, δέονται δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι πάντες· ὧν αὐτὸν εἶναι πρῶτον ὁ Κικέρων ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ Κλωδίου διὰ δημαρχίας ἀντι-
- 6 κρυς ἐπ' αὐτὸν βαδίζοντος. ὑπὸ τούτων φασὶ καὶ τοιούτων τὸν Κάτωνα λόγων καὶ δεήσεων μαλασσόμενον οἴκοι καὶ κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐκβιασθῆναι μόλις, καὶ προσελθεῖν πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον ἔσχατον ἀπάντων πλὴν ἐνὸς Φαωνίου τῶν φίλων καὶ συνήθων.

XXXIII. Ἐπαρθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄλλον εἰσέφερε νόμον, τὴν Καμπανίαν σχεδὸν ὅλην προσκατανέμοντα τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν. ἀντέλεγε δὲ οὐδεὶς πλὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος. καὶ τούτον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶλκεν εἰς δεσμωτήριον, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὑφιέμενον τῆς παρρησίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν ἅμα περὶ τοῦ νόμου δια-

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he would not swear to a similar law.¹ For this reason, also, did the women of Cato's family earnestly and with tears beseech him to yield and take the oath, earnestly, too, did his friends and intimates. But the one who was most successful in persuading and inducing him to take the oath was Cicero the orator, who advised and showed him that it was possibly even a wrong thing to think himself alone in duty bound to disobey the general will; and that his desperate conduct, where it was impossible to make any change in what had been done, was altogether senseless and mad; moreover, it would be the greatest of evils if he should abandon the city in behalf of which all his efforts had been made, hand her over to her enemies, and so, apparently with pleasure, get rid of his struggles in her defence; for even if Cato did not need Rome, still, Rome needed Cato, and so did all his friends; and among these Cicero said that he himself was foremost, since he was the object of the plots of Clodius, who was openly attacking him by means of the tribuneship. By these and similar arguments and entreaties, we are told, both at home and in the forum, Cato was softened and at last prevailed upon. He came forward to take the oath last of all, except Favonius, one of his friends and intimates.

XXXIII. Elated by this success, Caesar introduced another law, which provided that almost the whole of Campania be divided among the poor and needy. No one spoke against the law except Cato, and him Caesar ordered to be dragged from the rostra to prison. Cato did not any the more remit his bold utterances, but as he walked along discoursed about

¹ In 100 B.C. Cf. the *Marius*, xxix.

- λεγόμενον καὶ παραινοῦντα παύσασθαι τοιαῦτα
 2 πολυτενομένους. ἐπηκολούθει δὲ ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ
 κατηφείας, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ βέλτιστον ἀγανα-
 κτοῦν σιωπῇ καὶ ἀχθόμενον, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα
 μὴ λανθάνειν βαρέως φέροντας. ἀλλὰ φιλονει-
 κῶν καὶ περιμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν
 γενέσθαι καὶ δέησιν προῆγεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἦν
 δῆλος οὐδὲ μελλήσων τι ποιεῖν, ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ
 αἰσχύνης καὶ ἀδοξίας ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς τινα τῶν
 δημάρχων ὑφῆκε πείσας ἐξελέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.
 3 τοῖς μέντοι νόμοις ἐκείνοις καὶ ταῖς χάρισι τιθα-
 σεύσαντες τὸν ὄχλον, ἐψηφίσαντο Καίσαρι μὲν
 Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης καὶ τέσ-
 σαρα τάγματα στρατιᾶς εἰς πενταετίαν, προ-
 λέγοντος Κάτωνος ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν τὸν τύραννον
 αὐτοὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψήφοις ιδρύουσι, Πόπλιον δὲ
 Κλώδιον ἐκ πατρικίων εἰς δημοτικούς παρανόμως
 4 μεταστήσαντες ἀπέδειξαν δήμαρχον, ἐπὶ μισθῷ
 τῇ Κικέρωνος ἐξελάσει πάντα πρὸς χάριν ἐκείνοις
 πολυτενομένον, ὑπάτους δὲ Πείσωνα τε Καλ-
 πούρνιον, ὃς ἦν πατὴρ τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικός,
 καὶ Γαβίνιον Αὔλον, ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίου κόλπων
 ἄνθρωπον, ὥς φασιν οἱ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν
 βίον εἰδότες.

XXXIV. Ἄλλα καίπερ οὕτως τὰ πράγματα
 κατειληφότες ἐγκρατῶς, καὶ τὸ μὲν χάριτι τῆς
 πόλεως, τὸ δὲ φόβῳ μέρος ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔχοντες,
 ὁμως ἐφοβοῦντο τὸν Κάτωνα. καὶ γὰρ ἐν οἷς
 περιῆσαν αὐτοῦ τό γε χαλεπῶς καὶ μετὰ πόνων

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the law and advised the people to put a stop to such legislation. Moreover, the senate followed him with downcast looks, as well as the best part of the people in silence, though they looked annoyed and troubled, so that Caesar could not fail to see that they were displeased ; but he was obstinate, and expected that Cato would resort to appeal or entreaty, and therefore had him led along. However, when it was clear that Cato did not so much as think of doing anything of the sort, Caesar was overcome by the shame and infamy of his course, and by his own secret persuasions induced one of the tribunes of the people to rescue Cato. Nevertheless, by these laws and by other favours Caesar's party so cajoled the people as to get a vote passed giving to Caesar the government of Illyria and all Gaul, with an army of four legions, for five years, although Cato warned the people that they themselves by their own votes were establishing a tyrant in their citadel. They also unlawfully transferred Publius Clodius from patrician to plebeian rank and got him elected tribune of the people, a man who, in order to secure Cicero's banishment as his reward, was using all his political influence for the gratification of the people. For consuls, too, they secured the election¹ of Calpurnius Piso, who was Caesar's father-in-law, and Aulus Gabinius, a man from the lap of Pompey, as those say who knew his ways of life.

XXXIV. But although they had in this way usurped the power, and although one part of the citizens was made submissive to them by gratitude and the other part by fear, nevertheless they were afraid of Cato. For even when they did prevail against him, it was with difficulty and toil and not

¹ For the year 58 B.C.

- καὶ μὴ χωρὶς αἰσχύνης, ἀλλ' ἐλεγχομένους βια-
 2 ζεσθαι μόλις ἀνιάρων ἦν καὶ πρόσαντες. ὁ δὲ
 Κλώδιος οὐδὲ Κικέρωνα καταλύσειν ἤλπιζε Κά-
 τωνος παρόντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο διαμηχανώμενος
 πρῶτον, ὥς εἰς ἀρχὴν κατέστη, μετεπέμψατο τὸν
 Κάτωνα καὶ λόγους αὐτῷ προσήνεγκεν ὥς πάντων 776
 ἐκείνων ἡγούμενος ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων καθαρῶτατον
 ἔργῳ διδόναι πίστιν ἑτοιμός ἐστι· πολλῶν γὰρ
 αἰτουμένων τὴν ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον
 ἀρχὴν καὶ δεομένων ἀποσταλῆναι μόνον ἄξιον
 ἐκείνων ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ διδόναι τὴν χάριν ἡδέως.
 3 ἀνακραγόντος δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὥς ἐνέδρα τὸ
 πρᾶγμα καὶ προπηλακισμός, οὐ χάρις ἐστίν,
 ὑπερηφάνως ὁ Κλώδιος καὶ ὀλιγώρως, “Οὐκοῦν,”
 εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ χάριν ἔχεις, ἀνιώμενος πλεύσῃ,”
 καὶ προσελθὼν εὐθύς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐκύρωσε νόμφ
 τὴν ἔκπεμψιν τοῦ Κάτωνος. ἐξιόντι δὲ οὐ ναῦν,
 οὐ στρατιώτην, οὐχ ὑπηρέτην ἔδωκε πλὴν ἢ δύο
 γραμματεῖς μόνον, ὧν ὁ μὲν κλέπτῃ καὶ παμ-
 4 πόνηρος, ἄτερος δὲ Κλωδίου πελάτης. ὥς δὲ
 μικρὸν ἔργον αὐτῷ Κύπρον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον
 ἀναθεῖς, ἔτι καὶ Βυζαντίων φυγάδας κατάγειν
 προσέταξε, βουλόμενος ὅτι πλείστον χρόνον
 ἐκποδὼν ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα.

XXXV. Τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταληφθεὶς ἀνάγκῃ Κικέ-
 ρωνι μὲν ἐλαυνομένῳ παρήνευσε μὴ στασιάσαι
 μηδὲ εἰς ὅπλα καὶ φόρους τὴν πόλιν ἐμβαλεῖν,
 ἀλλ' ὑπεκστάντα τῷ καιρῷ πάλιν γενέσθαι

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without the shame of exposure that they forced their measures through at last, and this was annoying and vexatious to them. Clodius, too, could not even hope to overthrow Cicero while Cato was at Rome, but since he was scheming for this above all else, when he had come into office he sent for Cato and made proposals to him. He said that he regarded Cato as the purest man of all the Romans, and that he was ready to prove this by his acts. Therefore, though many were soliciting the commission to Cyprus and the court of Ptolemy¹ and begging to be sent upon it, he thought Cato alone worthy of it, and therefore gladly offered him this favour. But Cato cried out that the thing was a snare and an insult, not a favour, whereupon Clodius haughtily and contemptuously replied: "Well, then, if you don't think it a favour, you shall make the voyage as a punishment," and going at once before the people he got an edict passed sending Cato on the mission. Moreover, when Cato set out, Clodius gave him neither ship, soldier, nor assistant, except two clerks, of whom one was a thief and a rascal, and the other a client of Clodius. And as if he had put a slight task upon him in the mission to Cyprus and Ptolemy, Clodius enjoined upon him besides the restoration of the exiles of Byzantium, being desirous that Cato should be out of his way as long as possible while he was tribune.

XXXV. Subjected to such constraint as this, Cato advised Cicero, whose enemies were trying to banish him, not to raise a faction or plunge the city into war and bloodshed, but to yield to the necessities of the times, and so to become again a saviour of his

¹ A younger brother of Ptolemy Auletes the king of Egypt.

σωτήρα τῆς πατρίδος, Κανίδιον δέ τινα τῶν φίλων προπέμψας εἰς Κύπρον ἔπειθε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἄνευ μάχης εἶκειν, ὥς οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε τιμῆς ἐνδεᾶ βιωσόμενον· ἱερωσύνην γὰρ αὐτῷ
 2 τῆς ἐν Πάφῳ θεοῦ δώσειν τὸν δῆμον. αὐτὸς δὲ διέτριβεν ἐν Ῥόδῳ παρασκευαζόμενος ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένων.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ὑπ' ὀργῆς τινος καὶ διαφορᾶς πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἀπολελοιπὼς μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εἰς δὲ Ῥώμην πλέων, ὥς Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος αὐθις αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως καταξόντων, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Κάτῳ βουλευθεὶς προσέπεμψεν, ἐλπίζων ἐκείνῳ
 3 ὥς αὐτὸν ἤξει. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐτύγχανε μὲν ὦν τότε περὶ κοιλίας κάθαρσιν, ἤκειν δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, εἰ βούλοιτο, κελεύσας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς δὲ ἦλθεν, οὔτε ἀπαντήσας οὔτε ὑπεξαναστάς, ἀλλ' ὥς ἓνα τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀσπασάμενος καὶ καθίσαι κελεύσας, πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τούτοις διετάραξε, θαυμάζοντα πρὸς τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ λιτὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν ὑπεροψίαν καὶ βαρύτητα τοῦ
 4 ἥθους. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενος ἠκροάσατο λόγων νοῦν πολλὸν ἔχόντων καὶ παρρησίαν, ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ διδάσκοντος ὅσῃν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπολιπὼν ὅσαις ἑαυτὸν ὑποτίθησι λατρείαις καὶ πόνοις καὶ δωροδοκίαις καὶ πλεονεξίαις τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατῶν, οὓς μάλιστα ἐξαργυρισθεῖσαν ἐμπλήσειν Αἴγυπτον, συμβουλευόντος δὲ πλεῖν

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country. He also sent Canidius, one of his friends, to Cyprus in advance,¹ and tried to persuade Ptolemy to yield his kingdom without fighting, promising that his future life should not be without wealth and honour, since the Romans would give him a priesthood of the goddess in Paphos. He himself, however, tarried at Rhodes, making his preparations and awaiting his answers.

Meanwhile Ptolemy the king of Egypt, who had quarrelled with the citizens of Alexandria and forsaken the city in wrath, and was now on his way to Rome in the hope that Pompey and Caesar would restore him again with an armed force, wished to have an interview with Cato, and sent a messenger to him, expecting that Cato would come to him. But Cato, as it chanced, was taking a course of medicine at the time, and bade Ptolemy come to him if he wished to see him. And when Ptolemy had come, Cato neither went to meet him nor rose from his seat, but greeted him as he would any ordinary visitor and bade him be seated. At first Ptolemy was confounded by the reception itself, and was amazed at the contrast between the haughtiness and severity of Cato's manners and the plainness and simplicity of his outfit. But after he had begun to converse with Cato about his own situation, words of great wisdom and boldness fell upon his ears. For Cato censured his course, and showed him what great happiness he had forsaken, and to how much servility and hardship he was subjecting himself in dealing with the corruption and rapacity of the chief men at Rome, whom Egypt could scarcely glut if it were all turned into money. Cato also advised him

¹ Cf. the *Brutus*, iii. 1.

ὀπίσω καὶ διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις, αὐτοῦ
 δὲ καὶ συμπλεῖν καὶ συνδιαλλάττειν ἐτοίμως
 5 ἔχοντας, οἷον ἐκ μανίας τινὸς ἢ παρακοπῆς ὑπὸ
 τῶν λόγων ἔμφρων καθιστάμενος, καὶ κατανοῶν
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥρμησε
 μὲν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνου λογισμοῖς, ἀνατραπεῖς
 δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων αὐθις ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 γενέσθαι καὶ θύραις ἐνὸς ἄρχοντος προσελθεῖν
 ἕστενε τὴν αὐτοῦ κακοβουλίαν, ὥς οὐκ ἀνδρὸς
 ἀγαθοῦ λόγων, θεοῦ δὲ μαντείας καταφρο-
 νήσας.

XXXVI. Ὁ δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ Πτολεμαῖος εὐτυχία
 τινὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἑαυτὸν φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινε.
 πολλῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀπολελείφθαι λεγομένων,
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγνω πλεῖν εἰς Βυζαντίους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν
 Κύπρον ἐξέπεμψε τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Βρούτον, οὐ
 πάνυ τι πιστεύων τῷ Κανιδίῳ. τοὺς δὲ φυγάδας
 διαλλάξας καὶ καταλιπὼν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ τὸ Βυζάν-
 2 τιον, οὕτως εἰς Κύπρον ἔπλευσεν. οὔσης δὲ
 πολλῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐν ἐκπώμασι καὶ τραπέζαις
 καὶ λίθοις καὶ πορφύραις κατασκευῆς, ἣν ἔδει
 πραθεῖσαν ἐξαργυρισθῆναι, πάντα βουλόμενος 777
 ἐξακριβοῦν καὶ πάντα κατατείνειν εἰς ἄκραν τιμὴν
 καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς παρῆναι καὶ προσάγειν τὸν
 ἔσχατον ἐκλογισμόν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐθάσι τῆς ἀγορᾶς
 ἐπίστευεν, ἀλλὰ ὑπονοῶν ὁμοῦ πάντας, ὑπηρέτας,
 κήρυκας, ὠνητάς, φίλους, τέλος αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τοῖς
 ὠνούμενοις διαλεγόμενος καὶ προσβιβάζων ἕκα-
 3 στου, οὕτω τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀγορασμάτων ἐπώλει.
 διὸ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φίλοις ὥς ἀπιστῶν προσέ-
 κρουσε, καὶ τὸν συνηθέστατον ἀπάντων Μουνά-

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to sail back and be reconciled with his people, holding himself ready also to sail with him and help effect the reconciliation. Then the king, as if brought to his senses by Cato's words after a fit of madness or delirium, and recognizing the sincerity and sagacity of the speaker, determined to adopt his counsels; but he was turned back to his first purpose by his friends. However, as soon as he reached Rome and was approaching the door of a magistrate, he groaned over his own evil resolve, convinced that he had slighted, not the words of a good man, but the prophetic warning of a god.

XXXVI. But the Ptolemy in Cyprus, fortunately for Cato, poisoned himself to death. And since the king was said to have left much treasure, Cato determined, while sailing himself to Byzantium, to send his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, since he did not altogether trust Canidius. Then, after reconciling the exiles and citizens of Byzantium and leaving the city in concord, he sailed to Cyprus. Now, there were many furnishings of a princely sort, such as beakers, tables, precious stones, and purple vestments, which had to be sold and turned into money. So Cato, wishing to treat everything with the greatest exactness, and to force everything up to a high price, and to attend to everything himself, and to use the utmost calculation, would not trust even those who were accustomed to the market, but, suspecting all alike, assistants, criers, buyers, and friends, and at last talking privately himself with the purchasers and encouraging each one to bid, he thus succeeded in selling most of the merchandize. For this reason he gave offence to most of his friends, who thought that he distrusted them, and Munatius, the most

τιον εἰς ὀργὴν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀνήκεστον γενομένην ἐνέβαλεν, ὥστε καὶ Καίσαρι γράφοντι λόγον κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος πικροτάτην τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας διατριβὴν παρασχεῖν.

- XXXVII. Ὁ μέντοι Μουνάτιος οὐκ ἀπιστία τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν ὀλιγωρία πρὸς αὐτόν, αὐτοῦ δέ τιμι ζηλοτυπία πρὸς τὸν Κανίδιον ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ὀργήν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς σύγγραμμα περὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐξέδωκεν, ᾧ μά-
 2 λιστα Θρασέας ἐπηκολούθησε. λέγει δὲ ὕστερος μὲν εἰς Κύπρον ἀφικέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν παρημελη-
 μένην ξενίαν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπωσθῆναι, σκευωρουμένου τι τοῦ Κάτωνος οἴκοι σὺν τῷ Κανιδίῳ, μεμψάμενος δὲ μετρίως οὐ μετρίως
 τυχεῖν ἀποκρίσεως, ὅτι κινδυνεύει τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν, ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, αἴτιον τοῦ μισεῖν γίνεσθαι
 πολλάκις. “Ἐπεὶ καὶ σύ,” φάναι, “τῷ μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἦττον οἰόμενος ἢ προσήκει τιμᾶσθαι χαλε-
 3 παίνεις. Κανιδίῳ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐμπειρίαν χρῶμαι καὶ διὰ πίστιν ἐτέρων μᾶλλον, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἀφιγμένῳ, καθαρῷ δὲ φαινομένῳ.” ταῦτα μέντοι
 μόνον αὐτῷ μόνῳ διαλεχθέντα τὸν Κάτωνα πρὸς τὸν Κανίδιον ἐξενεγκεῖν. αἰσθόμενος οὖν αὐτὸς οὔτε ἐπὶ δειπνον ἔτι φοιτᾶν οὔτε σύμβουλος ὑπα-
 κούειν καλούμενος. ἀπειλοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι τῶν ἀπειθούντων, ἐνέχυρα λή-
 ψεσθαι, μηδὲν φροντίσας ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ πολὺν
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intimate of them all, he threw into a rage that was well nigh incurable. Hence Caesar also, when he wrote a discourse against Cato,¹ dwelt most bitterly on this part of his denunciation.

XXXVII. Munatius, however, states that his anger arose, not from Cato's distrust of him, but from his inconsiderate conduct towards him, and from a certain jealousy which Munatius himself felt towards Canidius. For Munatius himself also published a treatise about Cato, which Thræsea chiefly followed. Munatius says that he came to Cyprus after the others, and found that no provision had been made for his entertainment; he says, too, that on going to Cato's door he was repulsed, because Cato had some engagement inside with Canidius. He says, further, that his measured protest met with no measured reply, for Cato told him that excessive affection, according to Theophrastus, was likely to become a ground for hatred in many cases. "And so thou too," said Cato, "by reason of thine especial affection for me, art vexed to think thyself less honoured than is meet. Canidius I employ more than others both because I have made trial of him, and because I trust him; he came at the very first, and shows himself to be incorrupt." This private conversation, however, between himself and Cato, Munatius says was reported by Cato to Canidius, and that therefore, when he heard of it, he would no longer go to Cato's table, or visit him, or share his counsels, when he was invited. Further, Munatius says, when Cato threatened to take security from him, as the Romans do in the case of those who refuse to obey orders, he paid no attention to the threat, but sailed away,

¹ See chapter xi. 4, and note.

- 4 χρόνον ἐν ὀργῇ διατελεῖν· εἶτα τῆς Μαρκίας (ἔτι γὰρ συνῴκει τῷ Κάτῳ) διαλεχθείσης, τυχεῖν μὲν ὑπὸ Βάρκα κεκλημένους ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, εἰσελθόντα δὲ ὕστερον τὸν Κάτωνα, τῶν ἄλλων κατακειμένων, ἐρωτᾶν ὅπου κατακλιθεῖη. τοῦ δὲ Βάρκα κελεύσαντος ὅπου βούλεται, περιβλεψάμενον εἰπεῖν ὅτι παρὰ Μουνάτιον· καὶ περιελθόντα πλησίον αὐτοῦ κατακλιθῆναι, πλέον δὲ μηθὲν
- 5 φιλοφρονήσασθαι παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον. ἀλλὰ πάλιν τῆς Μαρκίας δεομένης τὸν μὲν Κάτωνα γράφαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς ἐντυχεῖν τι βουλόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἤκειν ἔωθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Μαρκίας κατασχεθῆναι μέχρι πάντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, οὕτω δὲ εἰσελθόντα τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ περιβαλόντα τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἦττον οἰόμενοι τῶν ὑπαίθρων καὶ μεγάλων πράξεων πρὸς ἔνδειξιν ἡθους καὶ κατανόησιν ἔχειν τινὰ σαφήνειαν ἐπὶ πλέον διήλθομεν.

XXXVIII. Τῷ δὲ Κάτῳ συνήχθη μὲν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα μικρὸν ἑπτακισχιλίων ἀποδέοντα, δεδιὼς δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ τὸ μῆκος ἀγγελία πολλὰ κατασκευάσας, ὧν ἕκαστον ἐχώρει δύο τάλαντα καὶ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας, καλῶδιον ἐκάστῳ μακρὸν προσήρτησεν, οὗ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσείχετο φελλὸς εὐμεγέθης, ὅπως, εἰ ῥαγείη τὸ πλοῖον, ἔχων διὰ

2 βυθοῦ τὸ ἄρτημα σημαῖνοι τὸν τόπον. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν ἀσφαλῶς διε-

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and for a long time continued to be angry with Cato. Then, Munatius says, Marcia, who was still living with Cato,¹ spoke with her husband about the matter; and when it chanced that both men were invited to supper by Barca, Cato, who came late and after the others had taken their places, asked where he should recline; and when Barca told him to recline where he pleased, Cato looked about the room and said: "I will take my place by Munatius." So he went round and reclined by his side, but made no further show of friendship during the supper. Marcia, however, made a second request in the matter, Munatius says, and Cato wrote to him, saying that he wished to confer with him about something. So Munatius went to Cato's house early in the morning, and was detained there by Marcia until all the other visitors had gone away. Then Cato came in, threw both arms about him, kissed him, and lavished kindness upon him. Such incidents, now, in my opinion, quite as much as deeds of greatness and publicity, shed considerable light upon the perception and manifestation of character, and I have therefore recounted them at greater length.

XXXVIII. Cato got together nearly seven thousand talents of silver, and fearing the long voyage home, he had many coffers provided, each one of which would hold two talents and five hundred drachmas, and attached to each of them a long rope, to the end of which a huge piece of cork was fastened. This, he thought, in case the vessel were wrecked, would hold to its deep mooring and indicate the place where the treasure lay. Well, then, the money, except a very little, was safely transported;

¹ Cf. chapter xxv. 5.

κομίσθη, λόγους δὲ πάντων ὧν διώκησε γεγραμμένους ἐπιμελῶς ἔχων ἐν δυσὶ βιβλίοις οὐδέτερον ἔσωσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ κομίζων ὄνομα Φιλάργυρος ἐκ Κεγχρεῶν ἀναχθεὶς ἀνετράπη καὶ συναπώλεσε τοῖς φορτίοις, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸς ἄχρι Κερκύρας φυλάξας ἐν ἀγορᾷ κατεσκήνωσε. 778

- 3 τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν πυρὰ πολλὰ καίωντων τῆς νυκτὸς ἦφθησαν αἱ σκηναὶ καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἠφανίσθη. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐχθροὺς καὶ συκοφάντας ἐπιστομεῖν ἡμελλον οἱ βασιλικοὶ διοικηταὶ παρόντες, ἄλλως δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι τὸ πρᾶγμα δηγμὸν ἤνεγκεν. οὐ γὰρ εἰς πίστιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκριβείας ἐξενεγκεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος ἐνεμνήσθη.

- XXXIX. Περαιωθεὶς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐκ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ πάντες μὲν ἄρχοντες καὶ ἱερεῖς, πᾶσα δὲ ἡ βουλή, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἀπήντων πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε τὰς ὄχθας ἀμφοτέρας ἀποκεκρύφθαι καὶ θριάμβου μῆδὲν ὄψει καὶ φιλοτιμία λείπεσθαι τὸν ἀνάπλου
- 2 αὐτοῦ. καίτοι σκαιὸν ἐνίοις τοῦτο ἐφαίνετο καὶ αὐθαδες, ὅτι τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων οὔτε ἀπέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐπέσχε τὸν πλοῦν, ἀλλὰ ῥοθίῳ τὴν ὄχθην παρεξελαύνων ἐπὶ νεῶς ἐξήρους βασιλικῆς οὐκ ἀνῆκε πρότερον
- 3 ἢ καθορμίσαι τὸν στόλον εἰς τὸ νεώριον. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῶν χρημάτων παρακομιζομένων δι' ἀγορᾶς ὃ τε δῆμος ἐθαύμαζε τὸ πλῆθος, ἢ τε βουλή

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but although he had the accounts of all his administration of the estate carefully written out in two books, neither of these was preserved. One of them a freedman of his, Philargyrus by name, had in charge, but after putting to sea from Cenchraeae he was capsized and lost it, together with his cargo; the other Cato himself had safely carried as far as Corcyra, where he pitched his tent in the market-place. But because it was so cold the sailors built many fires during the night, the tents caught fire, and the book disappeared. It is true that the royal stewards who were at hand were ready to stop the mouths of Cato's enemies and traducers, but nevertheless the matter gave him annoyance. For it was not as a proof of his own integrity, but as an example to others of scrupulous exactness that he was eager to produce his accounts, and he was therefore vexed.

XXXIX. The Romans did not fail to hear of his arrival¹ with his ships, and all the magistrates and priests, the whole senate, and a large part of the people went to the river to meet him, so that both banks of the stream were hidden from view, and his voyage up to the city had all the show and splendour of a triumph. Yet some thought it ungracious and stubborn that, although the consuls and praetors were at hand, he neither landed to greet them, nor checked his course, but on a royal galley of six banks of oars swept past the bank where they stood, and did not stop until he had brought his fleet to anchor in the dock-yard. However, when the treasure was carried through the forum, the people were amazed at the great amount of it, and the

¹ In 56 B.C.

συναχθεῖσα μετὰ τῶν προπόντων ἐπαίνων ἐψη-
 φίσατο τῷ Κάτωνι στρατηγίαν ἐξαίρετον δοθῆναι
 καὶ τὰς θεάς αὐτὸν ἐν ἐσθῇτι περιπορφύρῳ θεά-
 σασθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Κάτων παρητήσατο,
 Νικίαν δὲ τὸν οἰκονόμον τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐλεύθερον
 ἔπεισε τὴν βουλήν ἀφεῖναι, μαρτυρήσας ἐπιμέ-
 4 λειαν καὶ πίστιν. ὑπάτεψε δὲ Φίλιππος ὁ
 πατὴρ τῆς Μαρκίας, καὶ τρόπον τινα τὸ ἀξίωμα
 τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς Κάτωνα περιῆλθεν,
 οὐκ ἐλάττονα τοῦ συνάρχοντος δι' ἀρετὴν ἢ δι'
 οἰκειότητα τοῦ Φιλίππου τῷ Κάτωνι τιμὴν
 προστιθέντος.

XL. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, ἣν ἔφυγεν
 ὑπὸ Κλωδίου, κατελθὼν καὶ δυνάμενος μέγα τὰς
 δημαρχικὰς δέλτους, ἃς ὁ Κλώδιος ἔθηκεν ἀνα-
 γράφας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἀπέσπασε βίβλιν καὶ
 καθεῖλε τοῦ Κλωδίου μὴ παρόντος, ἐπὶ τούτοις
 δὲ βουλῆς ἀθροισθείσης καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου κατη-
 γοροῦντος ἔλεγε παρανόμως τῷ Κλωδίῳ τῆς
 δημαρχίας γενομένης ἀτελεῖ καὶ ἄκυρα δεῖν εἶναι
 2 τὰ τότε πραχθέντα καὶ γραφέντα, προσέκρουσεν
 ὁ Κάτων αὐτῷ λέγοντι, καὶ τέλος ἀναστὰς ἔφη
 τῆς μὲν Κλωδίου πολιτείας μηδὲν ὑγιὲς μηδὲ
 χρηστὸν ὅλως νομίζειν, εἰ δὲ ἀναιρεῖ τις ὅσα
 δημαρχῶν ἔπραξεν, ἀναιρεῖσθαι πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ
 τὴν περὶ Κύπρον πραγματείαν καὶ μὴ γεγονέναι
 τὴν ἀποστολὴν νόμιμον ἄρχοντος παρανόμου

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senate in special session voted, together with the appropriate praises, that an extraordinary praetorship should be given to Cato, and that when he witnessed the spectacles he might wear a purple-bordered robe. These honours, now, Cato declined, but he persuaded the senate to bestow freedom upon Nicias, the steward of the royal household, after bearing witness to his care and fidelity. Philippus, the father of Marcia, was consul at the time, and the dignity and power of his office devolved in a manner upon Cato; the colleague of Philippus, also, bestowed no less honour upon Cato for his virtue than Philippus did because of his relationship to him.

XL. But Cicero had now come back¹ from the exile into which he was driven by Clodius, and, relying on his great influence in the senate, had forcibly taken away and destroyed, in the absence of Clodius, the records of his tribuneship which Clodius had deposited on the Capitol. When the senate was convened to consider the matter, and Clodius made his denunciation, Cicero made a speech in which he said that, since Clodius had been made tribune illegally, all that had been done or recorded during his tribunate ought to be void and invalid. Cato contradicted Cicero while he was speaking, and finally rose and said that, although he was wholly of the opinion that there was nothing sound or good in the administration of Clodius, still, if everything which Clodius had done while tribune were to be rescinded, then all his own proceedings in Cyprus would be rescinded, and his mission there had not been legal, since an illegal magistrate had obtained it

¹ In 57 B.C., after an absence of sixteen months. Cf. the *Cicero*, chapters xxx.-xxxiii.

ψηφισαμένου· παρανόμως μὲν οὐ δῆμαρχον αἰρεθῆναι¹ τὸν Κλώδιον ἐκ πατρικίων μεταστάντα νόμον διδόντος εἰς δημοτικὸν οἶκον, εἰ δὲ μοχθηρός, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι, γέγονεν ἄρχων, αὐτὸν εὐθύνειν τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, μὴ λύειν τὴν συναδικηθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι προσήκον. ἐκ τούτου δι' ὀργῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἔσχε τὸν Κάτωνα, καὶ φίλῳ χρώμενος ἐπαύσατο χρόνον πολύν· εἶτα μέντοι διηλλάγησαν.

- XLII. Ἐκ τούτου Πομπήϊος καὶ Κράσσος ὑπερβαλόντι τὰς Ἀλπεῖς Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι γνώμην ἐποίησαντο κοινῇ δευτέραν ὑπατείαν μετιέναι, καὶ καταστάντες εἰς αὐτὴν Καίσαρι μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄλλον τοσοῦτον ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι χρόνον, αὐτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὰς μεγίστας καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιωτικὰς δυνάμεις. ὅπερ ἦν ἐπὶ νεμῆσει τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταλύσει τῆς
- 2 πολιτείας συνωμοσία. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μετιέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τότε παρασκευαζομένων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὀφθέντες ἐν ταῖς παραγγελίαις ἀπέτρεψαν, μόνον δὲ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον Πορκία συνοικούντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ Κάτων ἔπεισε μὴ ἐκστῆναι μηδὲ ὑφέσθαι, τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὐ περὶ ἀρχῆς ὄντος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας.
- 3 καὶ μέντοι καὶ λόγος ἐχώρει διὰ τοῦ σωφρονούν- 779
τος ἔτι τῆς πόλεως μέρους, ὡς οὐ περισπτόν, εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ τῆς Κράσσου καὶ Πομπηίου δυνάμεως συνελθούσης, παντάπασιν ὑπέρογκον καὶ βαρεῖαν τὴν ἀρχὴν γενομένην, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρετέον αὐτῆς τὸν

¹ μὲν οὐ δ. αἰρεθῆναι Sintenis, after Schaefer, for the MSS. μὲν οὖν δ. αἰρεθῆναι ; Bekker has μὲν οὖν μὴ δ. αἰρεθῆναι.

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for him ; but it had not been illegal, he maintained, for Clodius to be elected tribune after a transfer from patrician to plebeian rank which the law allowed,¹ and if he had been a bad magistrate, like others, it was fitting to call to an account the man who had done wrong, and not to vitiate the office which had suffered from his wrong doing. In consequence of this speech Cicero was angry with Cato, and for a long time ceased friendly intercourse with him ; afterwards, however, they were reconciled.²

XLI. After this, Pompey and Crassus had a meeting with Caesar,³ who had come across the Alps, in which they laid a plan to canvass jointly for a second consulship, and, after they were established in the office, to get a vote passed giving to Caesar another term in his command, of the same duration as the first, and to themselves the largest provinces, money and military forces. This was a conspiracy for the division of the supreme power and the abolition of the constitution. And although many honourable men were getting ready to canvass for the consulship at that time, they were all deterred by seeing Pompey and Crassus announce themselves as candidates, excepting only Lucius Domitius, the husband of Cato's sister Porcia. Him Cato persuaded not to withdraw from the canvass or give way, since the struggle was not for office, but for the liberty of the Romans. And indeed it was currently said among those citizens who still retained their good sense, that the consular power must not be suffered to become altogether overweening and oppressive by the union of the influence of Pompey and Crassus, but that one or the

¹ Cf. chapter xxxiii. 3. ² Cf. the *Cicero*, xxxiv.

³ At Luca, in 56 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, li.; the *Caesar*, xxi.

ἕτερον. καὶ συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Δομίτιον παρορμῶντες καὶ παραθαρρύνοντες ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι· πολλοὺς γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν σιωπῶντων διὰ δέος ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις ὑπάρξειν.

- 4 Τοῦτο δὴ δείσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον ὑφείσαν ἐνέδραν τῷ Δομιτίῳ καταβαίνοντι ὄρθριον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ὁ προφαίνων ἐπιστὰς τῷ Δομιτίῳ πληγεῖς καὶ πεσὼν ἀπέθανε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συντιτρωσκομένων ἐγένετο φυγὴ πλὴν
- 5 Κάτωνος καὶ Δομιτίου. κατεῖχε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάτων, καίπερ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν βραχίονα τετρωμένος, καὶ παρεκελεύετο μένειν καὶ μὴ προλιπεῖν, ἕως ἐμπνέωσι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους, οἳ τίνα τρόπον χρήσονται τῇ ἀρχῇ δηλοῦσι διὰ τηλικούτων ἀδικημάτων ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαδίζοντες.

- XLII. Οὐχ ὑποστάντος δὲ τοῦ Δομιτίου τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καταφυγόντος, ἤρέθησαν μὲν ὕπατοι Πομπήϊος καὶ Κράσσος, οὐκ ἀπέκαμε δὲ ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν στρατηγίαν μετῆει, βουλόμενος ὁρμητήριον ἔχειν τῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀγώνων καὶ πρὸς ἄρχοντας ἀντικαθίστασθαι μὴ ἰδιώτης. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δείσαντες, ὥς τῆς στρατηγίας ἀξιομάχου διὰ
- 2 Κάτωνα πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν γεννησομένης, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξαίφνης καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοούντων βουλὴν συναγαγόντες ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς αἰρεθέντας

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other of these men must be deprived of it. So they joined the party of Domitius, inciting and encouraging him to persist in his opposition ; for many, they said, who now held their peace through fear, would help him when it came to voting.

This was precisely what the partisans of Pompey feared, and so they set an ambush for Domitius as he was going down at early morning by torchlight into the Campus Martius. First of all the torch-bearer who stood in front of Domitius was smitten, fell, and died ; and after him the rest of the party were presently wounded, and all took to flight except Cato and Domitius. For Cato held Domitius back, although he himself had received a wound in the arm, and exhorted him to stand his ground, and not to abandon, while they had breath, the struggle in behalf of liberty which they were waging against the tyrants, who showed plainly how they would use the consular power by making their way to it through such crimes.

XLII. But Domitius would not face the peril, and fled to his house for refuge, whereupon Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls.¹ Cato, however, would not give up the fight, but came forward himself as candidate for a praetorship, wishing to have a vantage-point for his struggles against the men, and not to be a private citizen when he was opposing magistrates. But Pompey and Crassus feared this also, feeling that Cato would make the praetorship a match for the consulship. In the first place, therefore, they suddenly, and without the knowledge of the majority, got the senate together, and had a vote passed that the praetors elect should enter upon their office at

¹ For the year 55 B.C.

- στρατηγούς εὐθύς ἄρχειν καὶ μὴ διαλιπόντας
τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ δίκαι τοῖς δεκάσασι τὸν
δῆμον ἦσαν. ἔπειτα διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ διδόναι¹
ἀνυπεύθυνον κατασκευάσαντες ὑπηρέτας
αὐτῶν καὶ φίλους ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν προήγον,
αὐτοὶ μὲν διδόντες ἀργύριον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ταῖς ψή-
3 φοις φερομέναις ἐφεστῶτες. ὥς δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ
Κάτωνος ἀρετὴ καὶ δόξα περιῆν, ὑπ' αἰδοῦς τῶν
πολλῶν ἐν δεινῷ πολλῷ τιθεμένων ἀποδόσθαι
Κάτωνα ταῖς ψήφοις, ὃν καλῶς εἶχε πρίασθαι
τῇ πόλει στρατηγόν, ἥ τε πρώτη κληθεῖσα τῶν
φυλῶν ἐκεῖνον ἀπέδειξεν, ἐξαίφνης ὁ Πομπηῖος
βροντῆς ἀκκοεῖναι ψευσάμενος αἰσχιστα διέλυσε
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰθισμένων ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τὰ τοι-
αῦτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπικυροῦν διοσημίας γενομένης.
4 αὐθις δὲ πολλῷ χρησάμενοι τῷ δεκασμῷ, τοὺς
βελτίστους ὥσαντες ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου βία διεπρά-
ξαντο Βατίνιον ἀντὶ Κάτωνος αἰρεθῆναι στρα-
τηγόν. ἔνθα δὲ λέγεται τοὺς μὲν οὕτω παρανό-
μως καὶ ἀδίκως θεμένους τὴν ψῆφον εὐθύς ὥσπερ
ἀποδράντας οἴχεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις συνιστα-
μένοις καὶ ἀγανακτοῦσι δημάρχου τινὸς αὐτόθι
παρασχόντος ἐκκλησίαν καταστάντα τὸν Κάτωνα
ἅπαντα μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ θεῶν ἐπίπνουν τὰ μέλ-
5 λοντα τῇ πόλει προειπεῖν, παρορμηῆσαι δὲ τοὺς
πολίτας ἐπὶ Πομπηῖον καὶ Κράσσον ὥς τοιαῦτα
συνειδότας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοιαύτης ἀποτομένους
πολιτείας δι' ἣν ἔδεισαν Κάτωνα, μὴ στρατηγὸς
αὐτῶν περιγένηται. τέλος δὲ ἀπionτα εἰς τὴν
οἰκίαν προὔπεμψε πλήθος τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὐδὲ

¹ τὸ διδόναι Sintenis, after Schaefer, for the MSS. τὸ διδόναι
δικας; Coraës and Bekker delete also διδόναι.

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once, without waiting for the time prescribed by law to elapse, during which time those who had bribed the people were liable to prosecution. In the next place, now that by this vote they had freed bribery from responsibility, they brought forward henchmen and friends of their own as candidates for the praetorship, themselves offering money for votes, and themselves standing by when the votes were cast. But even to these measures the virtue and fame of Cato were superior, since shame made most of the people think it a terrible thing to sell Cato by their votes, when the city might well buy him into the praetorship; and therefore the first tribe called upon voted for him. Then on a sudden Pompey lyingly declared that he heard thunder, and most shamefully dissolved the assembly, since it was customary to regard such things as inauspicious, and not to ratify anything after a sign from heaven had been given. Then they resorted again to extensive bribery, ejected the best citizens from the Campus Martius, and so by force got Vatinius elected praetor instead of Cato. Then, indeed, it is said, those who had thus illegally and wrongfully cast their votes went off home at once like runaways, while the rest of the citizens, who were banding together and expressing their indignation, were formed into an assembly there by a tribune, and were addressed by Cato. As if inspired from heaven he foretold to the citizens all that would happen to their city, and tried to set them against Pompey and Crassus, who, he said, were privy to such a course and engaged in such a policy as made them afraid of Cato, lest, as praetor, he should get the better of them. And finally, when he went away home, he was escorted on his way by a greater

σύμπαντας ἅμα τοὺς ἀποδεδειγμένους στρατηγούς.

- XLIII. Γαίον δὲ Τρεβωνίου γράψαντος νόμον ὑπὲρ νομῆς ἐπαρχιῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Ἰβηρίαν ἔχοντα καὶ Λιβύην ὑφ' αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον, οἷς βούλιντο πολεμεῖν καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι ναυτικάς καὶ πεζικάς δυνάμεις ἐπιόντας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἀντίπραξιν καὶ κώλυσιν ἀπεγνωκότες ἐξέλιπον καὶ τὸ ἀντειπεῖν, Κάτωνι δὲ ἀναβάντι πρὸ τῆς ψηφοφορίας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ βουλομένῳ λέγειν μόλις ὥρων δυεῖν
- 2 λόγον ἔδωκαν. ὥς δὲ πολλὰ λέγων καὶ διδάσκων 780 καὶ προθεσπίζων κατανάλωσε τὸν χρόνον, οὐκέτι λέγειν αὐτὸν εἶων, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένοντα κατέσπασεν ὑπηρέτης προσελθὼν. ὥς δὲ καὶ κάτωθεν ἰστάμενος ἐβόα καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ συναγανακτοῦντας εἶχε, πάλιν ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἐπιλαβόμενος καὶ
- 3 ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατέστησε. καὶ οὐκ ἔφθη πρῶτον ἀφεθείς, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέψας ἴετο πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐγκελευόμενος τοῖς πολίταις ἀμύνειν. πολλάκις δὲ τούτου γενομένου περιπαθὼν ὁ Τρεβώνιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄγεσθαι· καὶ πλήθος ἐπηκολούθει λέγοντος ἅμα σὺν τῷ βαδίζειν ἀκροώμενον, ὥστε δείσαντα τὸν Τρεβώνιον ἀφεῖναι.
- 4 Κἀκείνην μὲν οὕτω τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ Κάτων κατανάλωσε· ταῖς δ' ἐφεξῆς οἷς μὲν δεδιξάμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, οἷς δὲ συσκευασάμενοι χάρισι καὶ δωροδοκίαις, ἓνα δὲ τῶν δημάρχων Ἀκύλλιον ὄπλοις εἵρξαντες ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κάτωνα βροντὴν γεγονέναι βοῶντα τῆς

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throng than accompanied all the elected praetors together.

XLIII. And now Caius Trebonius proposed a law for the assignment of provinces to the consuls, whereby one of them was to have Spain and Africa under him, the other Syria and Egypt, and both were to wage war on whom they pleased, and attack and subdue them with land and sea forces. The rest of the opposition were weary of their efforts to prevent such things, and forbore even to speak against the measure; but Cato mounted the rostra before the vote was taken, expressed a wish to speak, with difficulty gained permission, and spoke for two hours. After he had consumed this time in long arguments, expositions, and prophecies, he was not allowed to speak any longer, but an official went up to him as he sought to continue, and pulled him down from the rostra. But even from where he stood below the rostra he kept shouting, and found men to listen to him and share his indignation. So the official once more laid hands on him, led him away, and put him out of the forum. Then, the instant that he was released, he turned back and strove to reach the rostra, shouting, and commanding the citizens to help him. This was repeated several times, until Trebonius, in a passion, ordered him to be led to prison; but a crowd followed listening to what he said as he went along, so that Trebonius took fright and let him go.

In this manner Cato consumed that day; but during the days that followed his adversaries intimidated some of the citizens, won over others by bribes and favours, with armed men prevented one of the tribunes, Aquillius, from leaving the senate-chamber, cast Cato himself out of the forum when he cried out that there

ἀγορᾶς ἐκβαλόντες, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ τρώσαντες,
ἐνίων δὲ καὶ πεσόντων, βία τὸν νόμον ἐκύρωσαν,
ὥστε πολλοὺς συστραφέντας ὀργῇ τοὺς Πομπηίου
5 βάλλειν ἀνδριάντας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπελθὼν ὁ
Κάτων διεκώλυσε· τῷ δὲ Καίσαρι πάλιν νόμον
γραφομένου περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ τῶν στρατο-
πέδων, οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ
πρὸς αὐτὸν τραπόμενος Πομπηίου ἐμαρτύρατο καὶ
προὔλεγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τράχηλον ἀναλαμ-
βάνων Καίσαρα νῦν μὲν οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅταν δὲ ἄρχη-
ται βαρύνεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖσθαι μήτε ἀποθέσθαι
6 δυνάμενος μήτε φέρειν ὑπομένων, εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἐμπεσεῖται σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ μεμνήσεται τότε τῶν
Κάτωνος παραινέσεων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐν αὐταῖς
τὸ Πομπηίου συμφέρον ἐνῆν ἢ τὸ καλὸν καὶ
δίκαιον. ταῦτα πολλάκις ἀκούων ὁ Πομπηῖος
ἡμέλει καὶ παρέπεμπεν ἀπιστίᾳ τῆς Καίσαρος
μεταβολῆς διὰ πίστιν εὐτυχίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
δυνάμεως.

XLIV. Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἐξῆς ἔτος αἰρεθεὶς ὁ Κάτων
στρατηγὸς οὐδὲν ἔδοξε προστιθέναι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοσ-
οῦτον εἰς σεμνότητα καὶ μέγεθος ἄρχων καλῶς,
ὅσον ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ καταισχύνειν ἀνυπόδητος καὶ
ἀχίτων πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προερχόμενος καὶ
θανατικὰς δίκας ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν οὕτω βρα-
βεύων. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ μετ' ἄριστον οἶνον
πεπωκότα χρηματίζειν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀλη-
2 θῶς λέγεται. διαφθειρομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς
δωροδοκίαις ὑπὸ τῶν φιλαρχούντων καὶ χρωμέ-

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had been thunder, and after a few of the citizens had been wounded and some actually slain, forced the passage of the law. Consequently, many banded together and wrathfully pelted the statues of Pompey. But Cato came up and stopped this. However, when once more a law was introduced concerning Caesar's provinces and armies, Cato no longer addressed himself to the people, but to Pompey himself, solemnly assuring and warning him that he was now, without knowing it, taking Caesar upon his own shoulders, and that when he began to feel the burden and to be overcome by it, he would neither have the power to put it away nor the strength to bear it longer, and would therefore precipitate himself, burden and all, upon the city; then he would call to mind the exhortations of Cato, and see that they had sought no less the interests of Pompey than honour and justice. Pompey heard these counsels repeatedly, but ignored and put them by; he did not believe that Caesar would change, because he trusted in his own good fortune and power.

XLIV. For the next year¹ Cato was elected praetor, but it was thought that he did not add so much majesty and dignity to the office by a good administration as he took away from it by disgracing it. For he would often go forth to his tribunal without shoes or tunic, and in such attire would preside over capital cases involving prominent men. Some say, too, that even after the mid-day meal and when he had drunk wine, he would transact public business; but this is untruthfully said. However, seeing that the people were corrupted by the gifts which they received from men who were fond of office and plied the bribery of

¹ 54 B.C.

- νων τῷ δεκάζεσθαι καθάπερ ἐργασία συνήθει τῶν πολλῶν, βουλόμενος ἐκκόψαι παντάπασι τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως, ἔπεισε δόγμα θέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον ὅπως οἱ κατασταθέντες ἄρχοντες, εἰ μηδένα κατήγορον ἔχοιεν, αὐτοὶ παριόντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰς ἑνορκον δικαστήριον εὐθύνας διδῶσιν.
- 3 ἐπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπῶς μὲν ἔσχον οἱ μετιόντες ἀρχάς, ἔτι δὲ χαλεπώτερον ὁ μισθαρνῶν ὄχλος. ἔωθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τοῦ Κάτωνος προελθόντος ἰθρόοι προσπεσόντες ἐβόων, ἐβλασφήμουν, ἔβαλλον, ὥστε φεύγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἅπαντας, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνον ἐξωσθέντα τῷ πλήθει καὶ παραφερόμενον μόλις ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῶν ἐμβόλων.
- 4 ἔντεϋθεν ἀναστὰς τῷ μὲν ἰταμῷ καὶ θαρροῦντι τῆς ὄψεως εὐθύς ἐκράτησε τοῦ θορύβου καὶ τὴν κραυγὴν ἔπαυσεν, εἰπὼν δὲ τὰ πρέποντα καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἀκουσθεῖς παντάπασι διέλυσε τὴν ταραχήν. ἐπαινούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτόν, “Ἐγὼ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὕμᾱς οὐκ ἐπαινῶ κινδυνεύοντα στρατηγὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντας καὶ μὴ προσαμύναντας.”
- 5 Τῶν δὲ μετιόντων ἀρχὴν ἕκαστος ἀπόρῳ πάθει συνείχετο, φοβούμενος μὲν αὐτὸς δεκάζειν, φοβούμενος δὲ ἑτέρου τοῦτο πράξαντος ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς εἰς ταῦτό συνελθοῦσι 781 παραβαλέσθαι δραχμῶν ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου δεκαδύο ἡμισυ μυριάδας, εἰτα μετιέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν πάντας ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως· τὸν δὲ παραβάντα καὶ χρησάμενον δεκασμῷ στéρεσθαι τοῦ ἀργυρίου.
- 6 ταῦτα ὁμολογήσαντες αἰροῦνται φύλακα καὶ βραβευτὴν καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα φέροντες ἐκείνῳ παρετίθεντο· καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἐγράψαντο πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἀντὶ τῶν χρη-

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the masses as they would an ordinary business, he wished to eradicate altogether this disease from the state, and therefore persuaded the senate to make a decree that magistrates elect, in case they had no accuser, should be compelled of themselves to come before a sworn court and submit accounts of their election. At this the candidates for offices were sorely displeased, and still more sorely the hireling multitude. Early in the morning, therefore, when Cato had gone forth to his tribunal, crowds assailed him with shouts, abuse, and missiles, so that everybody fled from the tribunal, and Cato himself was pushed away from it and borne along by the throng, and with difficulty succeeded in laying hold of the rostra. There, rising to his feet, by the firmness and boldness of his demeanour he at once prevailed over the din, stopped the shouting, and after saying what was fitting and being listened to quietly, brought the disturbance completely to an end. When the senate was praising him for this, he said : " But I cannot praise you for leaving an imperilled praetor in the lurch and not coming to his aid."

Now, all the candidates for offices were at a loss what to do ; each one was afraid to use bribes himself, but was afraid of losing his office if another used them. They decided, therefore, to come together and deposit severally one hundred and twenty-five thousand drachmas in money, and that all should then sue for their offices in fair and just ways ; the one who transgressed and practised bribery forfeiting his money. Having made this agreement, they chose Cato as depositary, umpire, and witness, and bringing their money, offered to deposit it with him ; they even drew up their agreement in his presence. Cato

μάτων ἐγγυητὰς λαβόντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα μὴ δεξάμενον. ὥς δὲ ἦκεν ἡ κυρία τῆς ἀναδείξεως, παραστὰς ὁ Κάτων τῷ βραβεύοντι δημάρχῳ καὶ παραφυλάξας τὴν ψήφον, ἓνα τῶν παραβαλομένων ἀπέφηνε κακουργοῦντα καὶ προσέταξεν
7 ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀργύριον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀρθότητα καὶ θαυμάσαντες ἀνείλον τὸ πρόστιμον. ὥς ἱκανὴν δίκην ἔχοντες παρὰ τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐλύπησεν ὁ Κάτων καὶ φθόνον ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τούτου πλείστον, ὥς βουλῆς καὶ δικαστηρίων καὶ ἀρχόντων δύναμιν αὐτῷ περιποιησάμενος.

Οὐδεμῶς γὰρ ἀρετῆς δόξα καὶ πίστις ἐπιφθόνους ποιεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι καὶ δύναμις αὐτῇ καὶ πίστις ἔπεται μάλιστα παρὰ
8 τῶν πολλῶν. οὐ γὰρ τιμῶσι μόνον, ὥς τοὺς ἀνδρείους, οὐδὲ θαυμάζουσιν, ὥς τοὺς φρονίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοῦσι τοὺς δικαίους καὶ θαρροῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ πιστεύουσιν. ἐκείνων δὲ τοὺς μὲν φοβοῦνται, τοῖς δὲ ἀπιστοῦσι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐκείνους μὲν οἴονται φύσει μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ βούλεσθαι διαφέρειν, ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρόνησιν, τὴν μὲν ὀξύτητα τινα, τὴν δ' εὐρωστίαν ψυχῆς τιθέμενοι, δικαίῳ δὲ ὑπάρχοντος εὐθύς εἶναι τῷ βουλομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ἀδικίαν ὥς κακίαν ἀπροφάσιστον αἰσχύνονται.

XLV. Διὸ καὶ τῷ Κάτῳ πάντες οἱ μεγάλοι προσεπολέμουν ὥς ἐλεγχόμενοι. Πομπήϊος δὲ καὶ κατάλυσιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως τὴν ἐκείνου δόξαν ἡγούμενος αἰεὶ τινὰς προσέβαλλεν αὐτῷ λοιδορησομένους, ὧν καὶ Κλώδιος ἦν ὁ δημαγωγός, αὐθις εἰς Πομπήϊον ὑπορρυεῖς καὶ καταβοῶν τοῦ Κάτω-

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took pledges for their money, but would not accept the money itself. When the day appointed for the election came, Cato took his stand by the side of the presiding tribune, and after watching the vote, declared that one of the depositors was playing false, and ordered him to pay his money over to the others. But these, after admiring and praising Cato's uprightness, cancelled the penalty, feeling that they already had sufficient satisfaction from the wrong-doer. In the rest of the citizens, however, this conduct of Cato caused more vexation and odium than anything else; they felt that he was investing himself with the powers of senate, courts and magistrates.

For no virtue, by the fame and credit which it gives, creates more envy than justice, because both power and credit follow it chiefly among the common folk. These do not merely honour the just, as they do the brave, nor admire them merely, as they do the wise, but they actually love the just, and put confidence and trust in them. As for the brave and wise, however, they fear the one and distrust the other; and besides, they think that these excel by a natural gift rather than by their own volition, considering bravery to be a certain intensity, and wisdom a certain vigour, of soul, whereas any one who wishes can be just forthwith, and the greatest disgrace is visited upon injustice, as being inexcusable baseness.

XLV. For this reason all the great men were hostile to Cato, feeling that they were put to shame by him; and Pompey, who considered Cato's high repute as a dissolution of his own power, was always egging certain persons on to abuse him, among whom was Clodius the demagogue especially, who had again drifted into Pompey's following. He

νος, ὥς πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ Κύπρου χρήματα νοσφισα-
 μένου, Πομπηΐῳ δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἀπαξιώσαντι
 2 γάμον αὐτοῦ θυγατρός. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι
 χρήματα μὲν ἐκ Κύπρου τοσαῦτα τῇ πόλει συνα-
 γάγοι μήτε ἵππον ἓνα μήτε στρατιώτην λαβών,
 ὅσα Πομπηΐος ἐκ πολέμων τοσούτων καὶ θριάμ-
 βων τὴν οἰκουμένην κυκήσας οὐκ ἀνήνεγκε, κη-
 δεστήν δὲ μηδέποτε προελέσθαι Πομπηΐον, οὐκ
 ἀνάξιον ἡγούμενος, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 3 διαφοράν. “Αὐτὸς μὲν γάρ,” ἔφη, “διδομένης
 μοι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπαρχίας ἀπέστην, οὗ-
 τος δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔχει λαβών, τὰς δὲ δίδωσιν ἐτέροις·
 νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τέλος ἐξακισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν Καίσαρι
 κέχρηκεν εἰς Γαλατίαν· ὃ οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος ἤτησε παρ'
 ὑμῶν οὔτε οὗτος ἔδωκε μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις
 τηλικάυται καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἵπποι χάριτές εἰσιν
 4 ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀντιδόσεις. καλούμενος δὲ αὐτο-
 κράτωρ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἄλλοις τὰ στρατεύματα
 καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας παραδέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει
 παρακάθηται στάσεις ἀγνωστοῦ ἐν ταῖς παραγ-
 γελίαις καὶ θορύβους μηχανώμενος, ἐξ ὧν οὐ
 λέληθε δι' ἀναρχίας μοναρχίαν ἑαυτῷ μνηστεύο-
 μενος.”

XLVI. Οὕτως μὲν ἡμύνατο τὸν Πομπηΐον. ἦν
 δὲ Μάρκος Φαώνιος ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ καὶ ζηλωτής,
 οἷος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱστορεῖται περὶ
 Σωκράτην γενέσθαι τὸν παλαιόν, ἐμπαθὲς καὶ
 παρακεκινηκὼς πρὸς τὸν λόγον, οὐ σχέδην οὐδὲ
 πρᾶως, ἀλλ' ἄκρατον αὐτοῦ καταψάμενον ὥσπερ

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loudly denounced Cato for having appropriated much treasure from Cyprus, and for being hostile to Pompey because he had declined to marry his daughter. But Cato declared that, without taking a single horse or soldier, he had got together from Cyprus more treasure for the city than Pompey had brought back from all his wars and triumphs after stirring up the habitable world; and that he never chose Pompey for a marriage connection, not because he thought him unworthy of it, but because he saw the difference in their political tenets. "I, for my part," said Cato, "when a province was offered me after my praetorship, declined it, but this Pompey took provinces, some of which he holds himself, and some he offers to others; and now he has actually lent Caesar a body of six thousand legionaries for use in Gaul. This force neither did Caesar ask from you, nor did Pompey give it with your consent, but armies of this great size and arms and horses are now the mutual gifts of private persons. And though he has the titles of general and emperor, he has handed over to others his armies and his provinces, while he himself takes up his post near the city, managing factions at the elections as though he were directing games, and contriving disturbances, from which, as we clearly see, by way of anarchy, he is seeking to win for himself a monarchy."

XLVI. With such words did Cato defend himself against Pompey. But Marcus Favonius was a companion and ardent disciple of his, just as Apollodorus of Phalerum is said to have been of Socrates in olden time. Favonius was impulsive, and easily moved by argument, which did not affect him moderately or mildly, but like unmixed wine, and to the point of

- 2 οἶνον καὶ μανικώτερον. οὗτος ἀγορανομίαν μετ-
 ιὼν ἡττᾶτο, συμπαρὼν δὲ ὁ Κάτων προσέσχε
 ταῖς δέλτοις μιᾷ χειρὶ γεγραμμέναις· καὶ τὴν 782
 κακουργίαν ἐξελέγξας τότε μὲν ἐπικλήσει δημάρ-
 χων ἔλυσε τὴν ἀνάδειξιν, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Φαω-
 νίου κατασταθέντος ἀγορανόμου τά τε ἄλλα τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ τὰς θεάς διεῖπεν ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ, διδούς καὶ τοῖς θυμελικοῖς στεφάνους
 3 μὲν οὐ χρυσοῦς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κοτί-
 νων, δῶρα δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν πολυτελῶν τοῖς μὲν Ἑλ-
 λησι τεύτλα καὶ θρίδακας καὶ ραφανίδας καὶ
 ἀπίους, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις οἶνου κεράμια καὶ κρέα
 ὕεια καὶ σῦκα καὶ σικύους καὶ ξύλων ἀγκαλίδας,
 ὧν τὴν εὐτέλειαν οἱ μὲν ἐγέλων, οἱ δὲ ἡδούντο τοῦ
 Κάτωνος τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ κατεστυμμένον ὁρῶν-
 4 τες ἡσυχῇ μεταβάλλον εἰς διάχυσιν. τέλος δὲ ὁ
 Φαώνιος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἐμβالὼν ἑαυτὸν καὶ καθε-
 ζόμενος ἐν τοῖς θεαταῖς ἐκρότει τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ
 διδόναι τοῖς εὐημεροῦσι καὶ τιμᾶν ἐβόα, καὶ
 συμπαρακάλει τοὺς θεατάς, ὥς ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἐξου-
 σίαν παραδεδωκώς. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ θεάτρῳ
 Κουρίων ὁ Φαωνίου συνάρχων ἐχορήγει πολυ-
 τελῶς· ἀλλ' ἐκείνον ἀπολείποντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 μετέβαινον ἐνταῦθα, καὶ συνέπαιζον προθύμως
 ὑποκρινομένῳ τῷ Φαωνίῳ τὸν ἰδιώτην καὶ τῷ
 5 Κάτῳ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. ἔπραττε δὲ ταῦτα δια-
 σύρων τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ διδάσκων ὅτι παίζοντα
 δεῖ τῇ παιδιᾷ χρῆσθαι καὶ χάριτι παραπέμπειν
 ἀτύφῳ μᾶλλον ἢ παρασκευαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις,
 εἰς τὰ μηδενὸς ἄξια φροντίδας μεγάλας καὶ
 σπουδὰς κατατιθέμενον.

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frenzy. He was being defeated in a candidacy for the aedileship, but Cato, who was present, noticed that the voting tablets were all inscribed in one hand; and having exposed the foul play, at the time he stopped the election by an appeal to the tribunes. Afterwards, when Favonius had been appointed aedile, Cato both discharged the other duties of the office and managed the spectacles in the theatre. He gave to the actors crowns, not of gold, but of wild olive, as was done at Olympia, and inexpensive gifts,—to the Greeks, beets, lettuce, radishes, and pears; and to the Romans, jars of wine, pork, figs, melons, and faggots of wood. At the practical simplicity of these gifts some laughed, but others conceived respect for Cato when they saw his severe and solemn manner gradually relaxing to pleasant good-humour.¹ And at last Favonius, plunging into the crowd and taking a seat among the spectators, applauded Cato and called to him in a loud voice to give presents to the successful performers and to honour them, and helped him to exhort the spectators, as though he had delegated his powers to Cato. Now, in the other theatre, Curio, the colleague of Favonius, was managing things with a lavish hand; but the people left him and went over to the other place, and readily shared in a sport where Favonius was playing the part of a private citizen and Cato that of master of the games. But Cato did all this in disparagement of the usual practice, and with an effort to show that in sport one must adopt a sportive manner and conduct matters with unostentatious gladness rather than with elaborate and costly preparations, where one bestows upon trifling things great care and effort.

¹ Cf. chapter i. 2.

XLVII. Ἐπεὶ δέ, Σκηπίωνος καὶ Ὑψαίου καὶ Μίλωνος ὑπατεῖαν μετερχομένων οὐ μόνον ἐκείνοις τοῖς συντρόφοις ἤδη καὶ συμπολιτευομένοις ἀδικήμασι, δωροδοκίαις καὶ δεκασμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς δι' ὅπλων καὶ φύων εἰς ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὠθουμένων τόλμῃ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ, Πομπήϊον τινες ἡξίου ἐπιστῆναι ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Κάτων, οὐ τοῖς νόμοις ἐκ Πομπήϊου φάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων Πομπήϊῳ δεῖν ὑπάρ-
 2 χεῖν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ὥς δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἀναρχίας οὔσης καὶ τριῶν στρατοπέδων τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁσημέραι περιεχόντων ὀλίγον ἀπέλιπεν ἀνεπίσχετον γεγονέναι τὸ κακόν, ἔγνω τὰ πράγματα πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης εἰς Πομπήϊον ἐκουσίῳ χάριτι τῆς βουλῆς περιστῆσαι, καὶ τῷ μετριωτάτῳ τῶν παρανομημάτων χρησάμενος ἰάματι τῆς τῶν μεγίστων καταστάσεως τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ περιῖδεῖν τὴν στάσιν εἰς
 3 μοναρχίαν¹ τελευτῶσαν. εἶπεν οὖν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γνώμην Βύβλος οἰκείος ὦν Κάτωνος, ὥς χρὴ μόνον ἐλέσθαι Πομπήϊον ὑπάτον· ἡ γὰρ ἔξειν καλῶς τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνου καταστήσαντος, ἡ τῷ κρατίστῳ δουλεύσειν τὴν πόλιν. ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Κάτων οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος ἐπήνεσε τὴν γνώμην καὶ συνεβούλευσε πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀναρχίας κρείττονα, Πομπήϊον δὲ καὶ προσδοκᾶν ἄριστα τοῖς παροῦσι χρῆσασθαι πράγμασι καὶ φυλάξειν διαπιστευθέντα τὴν πόλιν.

XLVIII. Οὕτω δ' ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπάτος ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν

¹ μοναρχίαν Sintenis¹ and Coraës, with the MSS.; Sintenis² and Bekker adopt the ἀναρχίαν of Emperius.

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XLVII. But presently Scipio, Hypsaëus, and Milo sought the consulship.¹ They not only used those illegal means which were now a familiar feature in political life, namely, the giving of gifts and bribes, but were openly pressing on, by the use of arms and murder, into civil war, with daring and madness. Some therefore demanded that Pompey should preside over the elections. Cato opposed this at first, saying that the laws ought not to derive their security from Pompey, but Pompey from the laws. However, when there had been no regular government for a long time,¹ and three armies were occupying the forum daily, and the evil had well-nigh become past checking, he decided that matters ought to be put into the hands of Pompey by the voluntary gift of the senate, before the extreme necessity for it came, and that by employing the most moderate of unconstitutional measures as a healing remedy for the conservation of the greatest interests, they should themselves introduce the monarchy, rather than allow faction to issue in monarchy. Accordingly, Bibulus, a kinsman of Cato, moved in the senate that Pompey should be chosen sole consul; for either matters would be rectified by his settlement of them, or the state would be in subjection to its most powerful citizen. Then Cato rose up and, to everyone's surprise, approved the measure, advising any government as better than no government at all, and saying that he expected Pompey would handle the present situation in the best manner possible, and would guard the state when it was entrusted to him.

XLVIII. After Pompey had in this way been appointed consul, he begged Cato to come to him in the

¹ For the year 52 B.C. Riots in Rome prevented any election. Cf. the *Pompey*, chapter liv.

- εἰς τὸ προάστειον. ἐλθόντα δὲ δεξάμενος φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ δεξιώσεσι καὶ χάριν ὁμολογήσας παρεκάλει σύμβουλον αὐτῷ καὶ
- 2 πάρεδρον εἶναι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀπεκρίνατο μήτε τὰ πρῶτα πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν εἰπεῖν Πομπηίου μήτε ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ συμφέροντι πάντα τῆς πόλεως· ἰδίᾳ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ παρακαλοῦντι σύμβουλος ἔσεσθαι, δημοσίᾳ δέ, κἂν μὴ παρακαλῇται, πάντως ἐρεῖν τὸ φαινό-
- 3 μενον. καὶ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν ὡς εἶπε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας ἤδη τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτίμια καὶ δίκας μεγάλας τοῦ Πομπηίου νομοθετοῦντος ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευσε τῶν γεγονότων καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς μέλλουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ὅπου στήσεται τὸ τὰ προσημαρτημένα ζητεῖν ὀρίσαι ῥάδιον, ἐάν τε νεώτερα γράφηται τῶν ἀδικημάτων 783 ἐπιτίμια, δεινὰ πείσεσθαι τοὺς, ὃν οὐ παρέβαινον ὅτ' ἡδίκουν νόμον, κατὰ τοῦτον κολαζομένους.
- 4 ἔπειτα πολλῶν κρινομένων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ φίλων τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἰκείων, ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐνδιδόντα ἐν¹ πολλοῖς καὶ καμπτόμενον ἐπετίμα σφοδρῶς καὶ διηγείρεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμῳ τοὺς εἰωθότας λέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν κρινομένων ἐπαίνους αὐτὸς ἀφελῶν, Μουνατίῳ Πλάγκῳ συγγράφας ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἔδωκεν, ἐπισχόμενος ὁ Κάτων τὰ ὦτα ταῖς χερσίν (ἔτυχε γὰρ δικάζων) ἐκώλυεν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τὴν μαρ-
- 5 τυρίαν. ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἀπέλεξεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν

¹ ἐν Coraës and Bekker, with most MSS.: τοῖς, with M.

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suburbs. And when Cato was come, Pompey gave him a friendly welcome with salutations and hand-clasps, acknowledged his obligations to him, and invited him to be his counsellor and associate in the government. But Cato replied that he had neither spoken as he did at first out of enmity to Pompey, nor as he afterwards did to win his favour, but in every case in the interests of the state; in private, therefore, upon his invitation, he would be his counsellor, but in public, even without his invitation, he would certainly say what he thought was best. And he did this, as he said he would. In the first place, for instance, when Pompey was proposing to fix by law fresh penalties and heavy punishments for those who had already bribed the people, Cato urged him to ignore the past and give his attention to the future; for, he said, it would not be easy to fix the point at which the investigation of past transgressions should stop, and if penalties should be fixed subsequent to the crimes, those would be outrageously dealt with who were punished in conformity with a law which they were not transgressing when they committed their crime. In the second place, when many prominent men were on trial, some of whom were friends and relations of Pompey, Cato saw that Pompey was giving in and yielding in many cases, and therefore rebuked him sharply and tried to spur him on. Moreover, though Pompey himself had made illegal the customary panegyrics upon men under trial, he wrote a panegyric upon Munatius Plancus and handed it in at his trial; but Cato (who chanced to be one of the jurors) stopped his ears with his hands and prevented the reading of the testimony.¹ Plancus got

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, lv. 5.

δικαστῶν μετὰ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἤλω. καὶ ὅλως ἄπορον ἦν πρᾶγμα καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον ὁ Κάτων τοῖς φεύγουσι, μήτε βουλομένοις αὐτὸν ἀπολιπεῖν δικαστὴν μήτε ἀπολέγειν τολμῶσιν. ἤλωσαν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῷ Κάτωνα φεύγειν δόξαντες οὐ θαρρεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις· ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ προὔφερον οἱ λοιδοροῦντες ὡς ὄνειδος μέγα τὸ μὴ δέξασθαι κριτὴν Κάτωνα προτεινόμενον.

- XLIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρος αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐμπεφυκότος τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἐν Γαλατία καὶ τῶν ὀπλων ἐχομένου, δώροις δὲ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρωμένου δύναμιν, ἤδη μὲν αἱ Κάτωνος προαγορεύσεις ἀνέφερον τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐκ πολλῆς ἤδη τῆς πρόσθεν ἀπιστίας ὄνειροπολοῦντα τὸ δεινόν, ἔτι δὲ ἦν ὄκνου καὶ μελλήσεως ἀτόλμου πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπόπλεως, ὥρμησεν ὁ Κάτων ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλειν ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος εὐθύς τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ
- 2 Καῖσαρος ἢ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξελέγξων. οἱ δ' ἀντιπαραγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ χαρίεντες μὲν ἦσαν ἀμφοτέρω, Σουλπίκιος δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐν τῇ πόλει δόξης τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀπολελαυκῶς· οὐ μέτριον οὖν ἐδόκει πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν οὐδ' εὐχάριστον· οὐ μὲν ὅ γε Κάτων ἐνεκάλει·
- “Τί γάρ,” ἔφη, “θαυμαστὸν εἰ ὁ τις νομίζει τῶν
- 3 ἀγαθῶν μέγιστον ἐτέρῳ μὴ παρίησι;” πείσας δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς μετιόντας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὺς δεξιοῦσθαι τὸν δῆμον, δι' ἐτέρου δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν περιμόντος,

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him removed from the jury after the speeches were over, and was convicted none the less. And altogether Cato was a perplexing and unmanageable quantity for defendants; they neither wished to allow him to be a juror in their cases nor had the courage to challenge him. For not a few of them were convicted because their attempted rejection of Cato made it appear that they had no confidence in the justice of their cases; and some were bitterly assailed by their revilers for not accepting Cato as juror when he was proposed.

XLIX. But Caesar, though he devoted himself to his armies in Gaul and was busy with arms, nevertheless employed gifts, money, and above all friends, to increase his power in the city. Presently, therefore, the admonitions of Cato roused Pompey from the great incredulity which he had indulged in up to this time, so that he had forebodings of his peril. However, he was still given to hesitation and spiritless delay in checking or attacking the threatening evil, and therefore Cato determined to stand for the consulship, that he might at once deprive Caesar of his armed forces, or convict him of his hostile designs. But his competitors were both acceptable men, and Sulpicius had actually derived much benefit from Cato's repute and power in the city, and was therefore thought to be acting in an improper and even thankless manner. But Cato had no fault to find with him. "Pray, what wonder is it," said he, "if a man will not surrender to another what he regards as the greatest of all good things?" However, by persuading the senate to pass a decree that candidates for office should canvass the people in person, and not solicit nor confer with the citizens through the

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ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξηγρίανε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ λαβεῖν μισθόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διδόναι χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀφηρημένος ἄπορον καὶ ἄτιμον ὁμοῦ τὸν
 4 δῆμον πεποίηκε. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ μήτε αὐτὸς ἐντυχεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πιθανὸς ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἤθει τὸ τοῦ βίου μᾶλλον ἀξίωμα βουλόμενος φυλάσσειν ἢ προσλαβεῖν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ποιούμενος τὰς δεξιώσεις, μήτε τοὺς φίλους ἐάσας οἷς ὄχλος ἀλίσκεται καὶ θεραπεύεται ποιεῖν, ἀπέτυχε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

L. Φέροντος δὲ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνοις τοῖς ἀποτυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκείοις σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τινὶ κατήφειαν καὶ πένθος ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλάς, οὕτως ἤνεγκε ραθύμως τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὥστε ἀλειψάμενος μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σφαιρίσαι, μετ' ἄριστον δὲ πάλιν, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καταβὰς εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων περι-
 2 πατῆσαι μετὰ τῶν συνήθων. αἰτιᾶται δὲ Κικέρων ὅτι, τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρχοντας τοιούτου δεομένων, οὐκ ἐποίησατο σπουδὴν οὐδὲ ὑπῆλθεν ὁμιλία φιλανθρώπῳ τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξέκαμε καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε, καίτοι τὴν στρατηγίαν
 3 αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μετελθών. ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Κάτων ὅτι τῆς μὲν στρατηγίας οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ἐξέπεσε τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ βιασθέντων ἢ διαφθαρέντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑπατικάῃς ψήφοις μηδεμιᾶς κακουργίας γενομένης ἔγνω καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσκεκρουκῶς διὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον, ὃν οὔτε μεταθέσθαι πρὸς ἐτέρων χάριν οὔτε χρώμενον ὁμοίῳ πάλιν ὅμοια 784
 παθεῖν νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνδρός ἐστι.

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agency of another going about in their behalf, Cato still more exasperated the common folk, in that he deprived them, not only of getting money, but also of bestowing favour, and so made them at once poor and without honour. And besides this, he was not persuasive himself in canvassing for himself, but wished to preserve in his manners the dignity of his life, rather than to acquire that of the consulship by making the customary salutations; neither would he permit his friends to do the things by which the multitude is courted and captivated. He therefore failed to obtain the office.

L. Though the matter brought, not only to the unsuccessful candidates themselves, but also to their friends and relatives, dejection and sorrow tinged with considerable shame for many days, Cato bore so easily what had happened that he anointed himself and practised ball in the Campus Martius, and after the mid-day meal, again, as was his wont, went down into the forum without shoes or tunic and walked about there with his intimates. But Cicero finds fault with him because, when affairs demanded a man like him for office, he would not exert himself nor try to win the people by kindly intercourse with them, but for the future also ceased to make any effort and gave up the contest, although he had renewed his candidacy for the praetorship. Cato replied, accordingly, that he had lost the praetorship, not because the majority wished it to be so, but because they were constrained or corrupted; whereas, since there had been no foul play in the consular elections, he saw clearly that he had given offence to the people by his manners. These, he said, no man of sense would change to please others, nor, keeping them unchanged, would he again suffer a like disaster.

- LI. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἐμβαλόντος εἰς ἔθνη μά-
 χιμα καὶ παραβόλως κρατήσαντος, Γερμανοῖς δὲ
 καὶ σπονδῶν γενομένων δοκοῦντος ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ
 καταβαλεῖν τριάκοντα μυριάδας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸν
 δῆμον ἡξίουσαν εὐαγγέλια θύειν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐκέ-
 λευεν ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Καίσαρα τοῖς παρανομηθεῖσι
 καὶ μὴ τρέπειν εἰς αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸ
 2 ἄγος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. “Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
 θεοῖς,” ἔφη, “θύωμεν, ὅτι τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
 μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας τὴν δίκην εἰς τοὺς στρατιώ-
 τας οὐ τρέπουσιν, ἀλλὰ φείδονται τῆς πόλεως.”
 ἐκ τούτου Καίσαρ ἐπιστολὴν γράψας ἀπέστειλεν
 εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον· ὥς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη βλασφημίας
 πολλὰς ἔχουσα καὶ κατηγορίας τοῦ Κάτωνος,
 3 ἀναστὰς ἐκεῖνος οὐχ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς οὐδὲ φιλονεικίας,
 ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐκ λογισμοῦ καὶ παρασκευῆς τὰ μὲν
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκλήματα λοιδορίαις καὶ σκώμμασιν
 ὅμοια καὶ παιδιὰν τινα καὶ βωμολοχίαν τοῦ Καί-
 σαρος ἀπέδειξεν, ἀψάμενος δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου βου-
 λευμάτων ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν διά-
 νοιαν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ συνωμότης καὶ
 4 κοινωνός, ἐκκαλύψας, καὶ διδάξας ὥς οὐ Γερμα-
 νῶν οὐδὲ Κελτῶν παῖδας, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνον αὐτόν, εἰ
 σωφρονουσί, φοβητέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, οὕτως ἐπέ-
 στρεψε καὶ παρώξυνεν ὥς τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Καί-
 σαρος μετανοεῖν, ὅτι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνόντες ἐν
 τῇ βουλῇ καιρὸν τῷ Κάτῳ λόγων δικαίων καὶ
 κατηγοριῶν ἀληθῶν παρέσχον. ἐκυρώθη μὲν οὖν
 οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἐλέχθη μόνον ὅτι καλῶς ἔχει διάδοχον
 5 Καίσαρι δοθῆναι. τῶν δὲ φίλων ἀξιούντων καὶ
 Πομπηίου ἐξ ἴσου τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ ἀπο-

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LI. After Caesar had fallen upon warlike nations and at great hazards conquered them, and when it was believed that he had attacked the Germans even during a truce¹ and slain three hundred thousand of them, there was a general demand at Rome that the people should offer sacrifices of good tidings, but Cato urged them to surrender Caesar to those whom he had wronged, and not to turn upon themselves, or allow to fall upon their city, the pollution of his crime. "However," said he, "let us also sacrifice to the gods, because they do not turn the punishment for the general's folly and madness upon his soldiers, but spare the city." After this, Caesar wrote a letter and sent it to the senate; and when it was read, with its abundant insults and denunciations of Cato, Cato rose to his feet and showed, not in anger or contentiousness, but as if from calculation and due preparation, that the accusations against him bore the marks of abuse and scoffing, and were childishness and vulgarity on Caesar's part. Then, assailing Caesar's plans from the outset and revealing clearly all his purpose, as if he were his fellow conspirator and partner and not his enemy, he declared that it was not the sons of Germans or Celts whom they must fear, but Caesar himself, if they were in their right minds, and so moved and incited his hearers that the friends of Caesar were sorry that by having the letter read in the senate they had given Cato an opportunity for just arguments and true denunciations. However, nothing was done, but it was merely said that it were well to give Caesar a successor.² And when Caesar's friends demanded that Pompey also, as well as Caesar, should lay down his arms and give up his provinces,

¹ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 12-15; Plutarch, *Caesar*, xxii.

² Cf. the *Caesar*, xxx.; the *Pompey*, lviii.

δοῦναι τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἢ μηδὲ Καίσαρα, νῦν ἐκεῖνα
βοῶν ὁ Κάτων ἃ προὔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ἦκειν, καὶ
βιάζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη τῇ δυνά-
μει χρώμενον ἣν ἔσχευ ἑξαπατῶν καὶ φενακίζων
τὴν πόλιν, ἔξω μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε, τοῦ δήμου
θέλοντος αἰεὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μέγιστον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ
σύγκλητον εἶχε πειθομένην καὶ φοβουμένην τὸν
δήμον.

LII. Ὡς δὲ Ἀρίμνον κατείληπτο καὶ Καῖσαρ
κατηγγέλλετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν
πόλιν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάντες ἐπ' ἐκείνον ἀφεώρων, οἳ
τε πολλοὶ καὶ Πομπήϊος, ὡς μόνον μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
προαισθόμενον, πρῶτον δὲ φανερώς προειπόντα
2 τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Κάτων·
“Ἄλλὰ εἴ γε οἷς ἐγὼ προὔλεγον αἰεὶ καὶ συνε-
βούλευον ἐπείσθη τις ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες, οὗτ' ἂν ἓνα
ἐφοβεῖσθε νῦν οὔτε ἐν ἐνὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχετε.”
Πομπηίου δὲ εἰπόντος μαντικώτερα μὲν εἰρῆσθαι
Κάτωνι, φιλικώτερα δὲ αὐτῷ πεπρᾶχθαι, συνε-
βούλευεν ὁ Κάτων ἐνὶ Πομπηίῳ τὰ πράγματα
τὴν σύγκλητον ἐγχειρίσαι· τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἶναι
3 καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν. ὁ μὲν
οὖν Πομπήϊος οὔτε δύναμιν ἔχων ἐτοίμην οὔτε οὐδὲ
κατέλεγε τότε προθύμους ὁρῶν ἐξέλιπε τὴν Ῥώ-
μην, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἔπεσθαι καὶ συμφεύγειν ἐγνωκὼς
τὸν μὲν νεώτερον υἱὸν εἰς Βρεττίους ὑπεξέθετο
πρὸς Μουνάτιον, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον εἶχε σὺν
ἑαυτῷ. τῆς δὲ οἰκίας καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων κηδε-

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or else that Caesar should not do so either, "Now," shouted Cato, "those things are come to pass which I foretold to you, and the man is at last resorting to open compulsion, using the forces which he got by deceiving and cheating the state." Outside the senate-house, however, Cato could accomplish nothing, since the people wished all along that Caesar should have the chief power; and although Cato had the senate under his influence, it was afraid of the people.

LII. But when Ariminum was occupied¹ and Caesar was reported to be marching against the city with an army, then all eyes were turned upon Cato, both those of the common people and those of Pompey as well; they realised that he alone had from the outset foreseen, and first openly foretold, the designs of Caesar. Cato therefore said: "Nay, men, if any of you had heeded what I was ever foretelling and advising, ye would now neither be fearing a single man nor putting your hopes in a single man." Pompey acknowledged that Cato had spoken more like a prophet, while he himself had acted too much like a friend. Cato then advised the senate to put affairs into the hands of Pompey alone; for the same men who caused great evils, he said, should put a stop to them. Pompey, however, who had no forces in readiness, and saw that those which he was then enrolling were without zeal, forsook Rome; and Cato, who had determined to follow him and share his exile, sent his younger son to Munatius in Bruttium for safe keeping, but kept his elder son with himself. And since his household and his daughters needed someone to

¹ In 49 B.C. Cf. the *Caesar*, xxxii. *fn.*; the *Pompey*, lx. 1.

μόνος δεομένων ανέλαβε πάλιν τὴν Μαρκίαν
 χηρεύουσιν ἐπὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς· ὁ γὰρ Ὀρτή-
 4 σιος θνήσκων ἐκείνην ἀπέλιπε κληρονόμον. εἰς δὲ
 δὴ μάλιστα λοιδορούμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ Κάτωνι
 φιλοπλουτίαν προφέρει καὶ μισθαρνίαν ἐπὶ τῷ
 γάμῳ. τί γὰρ ἔδει παραχωρεῖν δεόμενον γυναι-
 κὸς ἢ τί μὴ δεόμενον αὐθις ἀναλαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ
 δέλεαρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑφείθη τὸ γύναιον Ὀρτησίῳ καὶ
 νέαν ἔχρησεν, ἵνα πλουσίαν ἀπολάβῃ; πρὸς μὲν
 οὖν ταῦτα μετρίως ἔχει τὸ Εὐριπίδειον ἐκεῖνο·

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τᾶρρητ'· ἐν ἀρρήτοισι γὰρ 785
 τὴν σὴν νομίζω δειλίαν, ὦ Ἡράκλεις·

5 ὁμοιον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μαλακίαν ὄνειδίζειν
 καὶ κατηγορεῖν αἰσχροκέρδειαν Κάτωνος. εἰ δὲ
 ἄλλη πη μὴ καλῶς πέπρακται τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον,
 ἐπισκεπτέον. ἐγγυησάμενος γὰρ τὴν Μαρκίαν ὁ
 Κάτων, καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιτρέψας ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὰς
 θυγατέρας, αὐτὸς ἐδίδωκε Πομπήϊον.

LIII. Ἀπ' ἐκείνης δὲ λέγεται τῆς ἡμέρας μήτε
 κεφαλὴν ἔτι κείρασθαι μήτε γένεια μήτε στέφανον
 ἐπιθέσθαι, πένθους δὲ καὶ κατηφείας καὶ βαρύτη-
 τος ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐν σχῆμα
 νικῶντων ὁμοίως καὶ νικωμένων ἄχρι τελευτῆς
 διαφυλάξαι. τότε δὲ κλήρῳ λαχὼν Σικελίαν
 διέβη μὲν εἰς Συρακούσας, πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀσίν-
 νιον Πολλίωνα παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφίχθαι μετὰ

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look after them, he took to wife again Marcia, now a widow with great wealth; for Hortensius, on his death,¹ had left her his heir. It was with reference to this that Caesar heaped most abuse upon Cato,² charging him with avarice and with trafficking in marriage. "For why," said Caesar, "should Cato give up his wife if he wanted her, or why, if he did not want her, should he take her back again? Unless it was true that the woman was at the first set as a bait for Hortensius, and lent by Cato when she was young that he might take her back when she was rich." To these charges, however, the well-known verses of Euripides³ apply very well:—

"First, then, the things not to be named; for in that class

I reckon, Heracles, all cowardice in thee;"

for to charge Cato with a sordid love of gain is like reproaching Heracles with cowardice. But whether on other grounds, perhaps, the marriage was improper, were matter for investigation. For no sooner had Cato espoused Marcia than he committed to her care his household and his daughters, and set out himself in pursuit of Pompey.

LIII. But from that day, as we are told, Cato neither cut his hair nor trimmed his beard nor put on a garland, but maintained the same mien of sorrow, dejection, and heaviness of spirit in view of the calamities of his country, alike in victory and in defeat, until the end. At the time, however, having had Sicily allotted to him as a province, he crossed over to Syracuse, and on learning that Asinius Pollio had come

¹ In 50 B.C. Cf. chapter xxv.

² In his treatise entitled "Anti-Cato." Cf. chapter xi. 4.

³ *Hercules Furens*, 173 f. (Kirchhoff).

δυνάμεως εἰς Μεσσήνην ἔπεμψε, λόγον ἀπαιτῶν
 2 παρ' αὐτοῦ τῆς διαβάσεως. ἀνταπαιτηθεὶς δὲ
 λόγον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῆς,
 καὶ Πομπηίου ἀκούσας ἐκλελοιπότα παντελῶς
 Ἰταλίαν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ στρατοπεδεύειν, πολὺν ἔφη
 περὶ τὰ θεῖα πλάνον εἶναι καὶ ἀσάφειαν, εἰ Πομ-
 πηίου ἐν οἷς ὑγιᾶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ δίκαιον ἔπραττεν
 ἀήττητον γενόμενον νῦν, ὅτε τὴν πατρίδα βού-
 λεται σώζειν καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπερμάχεται,
 3 προλέλοιπε τὸ εὐτυχεῖν. Ἀσίννιον μὲν οὖν ἔφη
 δυνατὸς εἶναι Σικελίας ἐκβαλεῖν, ἄλλης δὲ μεί-
 ζονος ἐπερχομένης δυνάμεως οὐ βούλεσθαι τὴν
 νῆσον ἐμπολεμῶν ἀπολέσαι, χωρεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὸ
 κρατοῦν καὶ σώζεσθαι παραινέσας Συρακουσίους
 ἐξέπλευσεν.

Ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς Πομπηίου αἰεὶ μὲν εἶχετο
 μιᾶς γνώμης, χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐλπίζων
 διαλύσεις καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος ἐν ἀγῶνι χεῖρῳ
 γενομένην τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς παθεῖν τὰ
 4 ἔσχατα, σιδήρῳ διακριθεῖσαν. ἄλλα δὲ τούτων
 ἀδελφὰ Πομπηίου ἔπεισε καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους ψη-
 φίσασθαι, μήτε πόλιν ὑπήκοον Ῥωμαίων διαρ-
 πάζειν μήτε ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἔξω παρατάξεως
 ἀναιρεῖν· ἃ καὶ δόξαν ἤνεγκε καὶ προσηγάγετο
 πολλοὺς τῇ Πομπηίου μερίδι, τὴν ἐπιείκειαν
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἡμερον ἀσπασαμένους.

LIV. Ἐκπεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἀσίαν, ὥς τοῖς ἐκεῖ
 συνάγουσι πλοῖα καὶ στρατιὰν ὠφέλιμος γένοιτο,
 Σερβιλίαν ἐπηγάγετο τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὸ Λευ-
 κούλλου παιδίον ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονός. ἠκολούθησε

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to Messina with a force from the enemy, he sent and demanded a reason for his coming. But having been asked by Pollio in turn a reason for the convulsion in the state, and hearing that Pompey had abandoned Italy altogether, and was encamped at Dyrrhachium, he remarked that there was much inconsistency and obscurity in the divine government, since Pompey had been invincible while his course was neither sound nor just, but now, when he wished to save his country and was fighting in defence of liberty, he had been deserted by his good fortune. As for Asinius, indeed, Cato said he was able to drive him out of Sicily; but since another and a larger force was coming to his aid, he did not wish to ruin the island by involving it in war, and therefore, after advising the Syracusans to seek safety by joining the victorious party, he sailed away.

After he had come to Pompey, he was ever of one mind, namely, to protract the war; for he looked with hope to a settlement of the controversy, and did not wish that the state should be worsted in a struggle and suffer at its own hands the extreme of disaster, in having its fate decided by the sword. Other measures, too, akin to this, he persuaded Pompey and his council to adopt, namely, not to plunder a city that was subject to Rome, and not to put a Roman to death except on the field of battle. This brought to the party of Pompey a good repute, and induced many to join it; they were delighted with his reasonableness and mildness.

LIV. When Cato was dispatched to Asia, that he might help those who were collecting transports and soldiers there, he took with him Servilia his sister and her young child by Lucullus. For Servilia had

γὰρ αὐτῷ χηρεύουσα, καὶ πολὺ τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀκό-
λαστον αὐτῆς διαβολῶν ἀφείλεν ὑποδύσα τὴν
2 ἐκουσίως. ἀλλ' ὃ γε Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ
βλασφημιῶν τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐφείσατο.

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰλλα τοῦ Κάτωνος οὐδέν, ὥς
ἔοικεν, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Πομπηίου στρατηγοί, Ῥο-
δίου δὲ πειθοῖ προσαγαγόμενος καὶ τὴν Σερβι-
λίαν αὐτόθι καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀπολιπὼν ἐπανήλθε
πρὸς Πομπήϊον, ἥδη πεζικῆς τε λαμπρᾶς καὶ
3 ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης. ἔνθα δὴ
καὶ μάλιστα τῆς γνώμης κατάφωρος ἔδοξε γεγο-
νέναι Πομπήϊος. ὥρμησε μὲν γὰρ ἐγχειρίσαι τῷ
Κάτωνι τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἡγεμονίαν· ἦσαν δὲ πεντα-
κοσίων μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους αἱ μάχιμοι, λιβυρρικὰ
δὲ καὶ κατασκοπικὰ καὶ ἄφρακτα παμπληθῆ·
4 ταχὺ δὲ ἐννοήσας ἢ διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων
ὥς ἔν ἐστι κεφάλαιον Κάτωνι πάσης πολιτείας
ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πατρίδα, κἂν γένηται κύριος
τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως, ἥς ἂν ἡμέρας καταγωνί-
σωνται Καῖσαρα, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἀξιώσει καὶ
Πομπήϊον τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις
ἔπεσθαι, μετέγνων, καίπερ ἥδη διειλεγμένος αὐτῷ,
5 καὶ Βύβλον ἀπέδειξε ναύαρχον. οὐ μὲν ἦσθετό
γε παρὰ τοῦτο τῆς προθυμίας τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀμ-
βλυτέρας· ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς τινα μάχην
πρὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου αὐτοῦ τε Πομπηίου παρορ- 786
μῶντος τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον
ἡγεμόνων εἰπεῖν τι καὶ προτρέψασθαι κελεύοντος,
ἀργῶς καὶ σιωπῇ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀκούειν, Κά-

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followed Cato, now that she was a widow, and had put an end to much of the evil report about her dissolute conduct¹ by submitting to Cato's guardianship and sharing his wanderings and his ways of life of her own accord. But Caesar² did not spare abuse of Cato even on the score of his relations with Servilia.

Now, in other ways, as it would seem, Pompey's commanders in Asia had no need of Cato, and therefore, after persuading Rhodes into allegiance, he left Servilia and her child there, and returned to Pompey, who now had a splendid naval and military force assembled. Here, indeed, and most clearly, Pompey was thought to have made his opinion of Cato manifest. For he determined to put the command of his fleet into the hands of Cato, and there were no less than five hundred fighting ships, besides Liburnian craft, look-out ships, and open boats in great numbers. But he soon perceived, or was shown by his friends, that the one chief object of Cato's public services was the liberty of his country, and that if he should be made master of so large a force, the very day of Caesar's defeat would find Cato demanding that Pompey also lay down his arms and obey the laws. Pompey therefore changed his mind, although he had already conferred with Cato about the matter, and appointed Bibulus admiral. Notwithstanding, he did not find that in consequence of this the zeal of Cato was blunted; nay, it is even said that when Pompey himself was trying to incite his forces to a battle before Dyrrhachium, and bidding each of the other commanders to say something to inspire the men, the soldiers listened to them sluggishly and in silence;

¹ Cf. chapter xxiv. 3.

² In his "Anti-Cato." Cf. chapter xi. 4.

τωνος δὲ μετὰ πάντας ὅσα καιρὸν εἶχε τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀκούειν λεγομένων περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ δόξης διελθόντος
 6 αὐτοπαθῶς, καὶ τελευτῶντα τρέψαντος τὸν λόγον εἰς θεῶν ἀνάκλησιν, ὡς παρόντων καὶ ἐφορώντων τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα, τηλικούτον ἀλαλαγμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ τοσοῦτον κίνημα τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπαρθείσης ὥστε πάντας ἐλπίδων μεστοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὀρμῆσαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. τρεψαμένων δὲ καὶ κρατησάντων ἀφείλετο τὴν παντελῆ νίκην ὁ Καῖσαρος δαίμων, τῇ Πομπηίου χρησάμενος εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ ἀπιστίᾳ περὶ τὸ εὐτύχημα.
 7 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πομπηίου γέγραπται. χαιρόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ μεγαλυνόντων τὸ ἔργον ὁ Κάτων ἀπεδάκρυε τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὴν ὀλέθριον καὶ κακοδαίμονα φιλαρχίαν ὠδύρετο, πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὁρῶν πολίτας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων πεπτωκότας.

LV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ διώκων Πομπηίους εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ἀνεξεύγνυε πολλὰ καταλιπὼν περὶ Δυρράχιον ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα συγγενῇ καὶ οἰκεῖα, πάντων ἀπέδειξεν ἡγεμόνα καὶ φύλακα τὸν Κάτωνα πεντεκαίδεκα σπείρας ἔχοντα στρατιωτῶν διὰ πίστιν ἅμα καὶ φόβον τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἡττωμένῳ μὲν γὰρ πάντων εἶναι βεβαιότατον ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ δὲ νικῶν, μὴ ἐπιτρέψειν παρόντα χρῆσασθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς προήρηται.
 2 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπερρίφθησαν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ μετὰ Κάτωνος.

Γενομένης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἥττης οὕτως ἔσθη τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὁ Κάτων ὥς, εἰ μὲν τεθνήκοι

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but that when Cato, after all the other speakers, had rehearsed with genuine emotion all the appropriate sentiments to be drawn from philosophy concerning freedom, virtue, death and fame, and finally passed into an invocation of the gods as eye-witnesses of their struggle in behalf of their country, there was such a shouting and so great a stir among the soldiers thus aroused that all the commanders were full of hope as they hastened to confront the peril. They overcame and routed their enemies, but were robbed of a complete and perfect victory by the good genius of Caesar, which took advantage of Pompey's caution and distrust of his good fortune. These details, however, have been given in the *Life of Pompey*.¹ But while all the rest were rejoicing and magnifying their achievement, Cato was weeping for his country, and bewailing the love of power that had brought such misfortune and destruction, as he saw that many brave citizens had fallen by one another's hands.

LV. When Pompey, in pursuit of Caesar, was breaking camp to march into Thessaly, he left behind him at Dyrrhachium a great quantity of arms and stores, and many kindred and friends, and over all these he appointed Cato commander and guardian, with fifteen cohorts of soldiers, because he both trusted and feared him. For in case of defeat, he thought that Cato would be his surest support, but in case of a victory, that he would not, if present, permit him to manage matters as he chose. Many prominent men were also ignored by Pompey and left behind at Dyrrhachium with Cato.

When the defeat at Pharsalus came, Cato resolved that, if Pompey were dead, he would take over to

¹ Chapter lxxv. Cf. the *Caesar*, xxxix.

Πομπήϊος, εἰς Ἰταλίαν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ περαιώ-
 σων, αὐτὸς δὲ πορρωτάτῳ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπὶ
 φυγῇ βιωσόμενος· εἰ δὲ σῴζοιτο, πάντως ἐκείνῳ
 3 διαφυλάξων τὴν δύναμιν. οὕτω δὲ διαβαλὼν εἰς
 Κέρκυραν, ὅπου τὸ ναυτικὸν ἦν, ἐξίστατο μὲν
 Κικέρωνι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς ὑπατικῷ στρατηγικός,
 οὐ δεξαμένου δὲ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ' ἀπαίροντος εἰς
 Ἰταλίαν, ἰδὼν τὸν Πομπήϊον ὑπ' αὐθαδείας καὶ
 φρονήματος ἀκαίρου βουλόμενον κολάζειν τοὺς
 ἀποπλέοντας, πρώτῳ δὲ μέλλοντα τῷ Κικέρωνι
 προσφέρειν τὰς χεῖρας, ἐνουθέτησεν ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατε-
 πράυνεν, ὥστε τὸν Κικέρωνα περισῶσαι σαφῶς
 ἐκ θανάτου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄδειαν παρασχεῖν.

LVI. Τεκμαιρόμενος δὲ Πομπήϊον Μάγνον εἰς
 Αἴγυπτον ἢ Λιβύην διεκπεσεῖσθαι καὶ σπεύδων
 πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀνήχθη μὲν ἔχων ἅπαντας, ἔπλει δὲ
 πρώτῳ ἀπιέναι διδοὺς καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι τοὺς οὐ
 προθύμως συστρατευομένους. ἀψάμενος δὲ Λι-
 βύης καὶ παραπλέων ἐντυγχάνει Σέξτῳ τῷ νεω-
 τέρῳ τῶν Πομπηίου παιδῶν ἀγγέλλοντι τὴν ἐπ'
 2 Αἰγύπτου τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν. πάντες μὲν οὖν
 βαρέως ἠνεγκαν, οὐδεὶς δὲ μετὰ Πομπήϊον ἡξίου
 Κάτωνος παρόντος οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ἄλλον ἡγεμόνα.
 διὸ καὶ Κάτων αἰδούμενος καὶ οἰκτείρων ἄνδρας
 ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πίστεως δεδωκότας πείραν ἐπὶ ξένης
 ἐρήμους καὶ ἀπόρους ἀπολιπεῖν, ὑπέστη τε τὴν
 ἀρχὴν καὶ παρήλθεν εἰς Κυρήνην· ἐδέξαντο γὰρ
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Italy those who were with him, but would himself live in exile as far as possible from the tyranny of Caesar; if, on the contrary, Pompey were alive, he would by all means keep his forces intact for him. Accordingly, having crossed over to Corcyra, where the fleet was, he offered to give up the command to Cicero, who was of consular rank, while he himself had been only a praetor. But Cicero would not accept the command, and set out for Italy. Then Cato, seeing that the younger Pompey¹ was led by his obstinacy and unseasonable pride into a desire to punish all those who were about to sail away, and was going to lay violent hands on Cicero first of all, admonished him in private and calmed him down, thus manifestly saving Cicero from death and procuring immunity for the rest.

LVI. Conjecturing, now, that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Libya, and being eager to join him, Cato put to sea with all his company and sailed away, after first giving those who had no eagerness for the expedition leave to depart and remain behind. After reaching Libya, and while sailing along its coast, he fell in with Sextus, the younger son of Pompey, who told him of his father's death in Egypt. All, of course, were deeply distressed, but no one, now that Pompey was gone, would even listen to any other commander while Cato was at hand. For this reason also Cato, who had compassion on men who were brave and had given proof of fidelity, and was ashamed to leave them helpless and destitute in a foreign land, undertook the command, and went along the coast to Cyrene, the people of which received him kindly,

¹ Gnaeus Pompey, the elder son of Pompey the Great. Cf. chapter lix. 5.

ἐκείνουν, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἔμπροσθεν ἀποκλείσαν-
 3 τες Λαβινόν. ἐνταῦθα πυνθανόμενος Σκηπίωνα
 τὸν Πομπηίου πενθερόν ὑπὸ Ἰόβα τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἀνελήφθαι, καὶ Οὔαρὸν Ἀττιον, ὃς ἦν ὑπὸ Πομ-
 πηίου Λιβύης ἀποδεδειγμένος ἡγεμών, εἶναι σὺν
 αὐτοῖς μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἐξώρμησε πεζῇ χειμῶνος 787
 ὥρα, πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους ὕδωρ κομίζοντας συναγα-
 γών, πολλὴν δὲ λείαν ἐλαύνων, ἔτι δὲ ἄρματα καὶ
 τοὺς καλουμένους Ψύλλους ἐπαγόμενος, οἱ τὰ τε
 δῆγματα τῶν θηρίων ἰῶνται τοῖς στόμασιν ἔλ-
 κοντες τὸν ἰόν, αὐτὰ τε τὰ θηρία κατεπάρδοντες
 4 ἀμβλύνουσι καὶ κηλοῦσιν. ἡμέρας δὲ συνεχῶς
 ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ γενομένης πρῶτος ἡγήσατο
 μήτε ἵππῳ μήτε ὑποζυγίῳ χρησάμενος. ἐδείπνει
 δὲ καθήμενος ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας τὴν κατὰ Φάρσαλον
 ἦτταν ἔγνω· καὶ τοῦτο τῷ λοιπῷ προσέθηκε πέν-
 θει, τὸ μὴ κατακλιθῆναι πλὴν καθεύδων. ἐν δὲ
 Λιβύῃ διαγαγὼν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐξήγαγε τὴν στρα-
 τιάν· ἦσαν δὲ μυρίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες.

LVII. Τὰ δὲ πράγματα κακῶς εἶχε τοῖς περὶ
 Σκηπίωνα καὶ Οὔαρὸν, ἐκ διαφορᾶς καὶ στάσεως
 ὑποδυσόμενοις καὶ θεραπεύουσι τὸν Ἰόβαν, οὐκ
 ἀνεκτὸν ὄντα βαρύτητι φρονήματος καὶ ὄγκῳ διὰ
 πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν· ὃς γε Κάτωνι πρῶτον ἐν-
 τυγχάνειν μέλλων μέσον ἔθηκε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον
 2 τοῦ Σκηπίωνος καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος. ὁ μὲντοι Κάτων

¹ Now a partisan of Pompey, and a fugitive from Pharsalus.
 Cf. the *Caesar*, xxxiv. 2. ² Cf. Herodotus, iv. 173.

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although a few days before they had closed their gates against Labienus.¹ There he learned that Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, had been well received by Juba the king, and that Attius Varus, who had been appointed governor of Libya by Pompey, was with them at the head of an army. Cato therefore set out thither by land in the winter season, having got together a great number of asses to carry water, and driving along with him many cattle. Besides, he took with him chariots, and the people called *Psylli*.² These cure the bites of serpents by sucking out the venom, and charm and deaden the serpents themselves by means of incantations. Though the march lasted for seven days consecutively, Cato led at the head of his force, without using either horse or beast of burden. Moreover, he used to sup in a sitting posture from the day when he learned of the defeat at Pharsalus; yes, this token of sorrow he added to others, and would not lie down except when sleeping. After finishing the winter in Libya, he led forth his army;³ and it numbered nearly ten thousand.

LVII. But matters were in a bad way with Scipio and Varus. Their dissension and quarrelling led them to pay court to Juba in efforts to win his favour, and the king was unendurable for the severity of his temper and for the arrogance which his wealth and power gave him. When he was going to have an interview with Cato for the first time, he placed his own seat between that of Scipio and that of Cato. Cato, however, when he saw the arrangement, took

¹ The text of this sentence is uncertain: Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna. Libya means here the Roman province of Africa.

ὥς εἶδεν, ἄρας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μετέθηκεν ἐπὶ θάτερα, μέσον λαμβάνων τὸν Σκηπίωνα, καίπερ ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ τι καὶ βιβλίον ἐκδεδωκότα βλασφημίας ἔχον τοῦ Κάτωνος. εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν εἰς οὐδένα τίθενται λόγον, εἰ δὲ Φιλόστρατον ἐν Σικελίᾳ μέσον εἶχε περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ φιλοσοφίας, ἐγκαλοῦσι. τότε δ' οὖν καὶ τὸν Ἰόβαν ἔπαυσε μονονουχὶ σατράπας πεπονημένον ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς
 3 περὶ τὸν Σκηπίωνα, κακείνους διήλλαξεν. ἀξιούντων δὲ πάντων ἄρχειν αὐτόν, καὶ πρώτων τῶν περὶ Σκηπίωνα καὶ Οὔαρον ἐξισταμένων καὶ παραδιδόντων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐκ ἔφη καταλύσειν τοὺς νόμους περὶ ὧν τῷ καταλύοντι πολεμοῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἑαυτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ὄντα παρόντος ἀνθυπάτου προτάξειν. ἀνθύπατος γὰρ ὁ Σκηπίων ἀπεδέδεικτο, καὶ θάρσος εἶχον οἱ πολλοὶ διὰ τοῦνομα, κατορθώσειν ἄρχοντος ἐν Λιβύῃ Σκηπίωνος.

LVIII. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Σκηπίων παραλαβὼν εὐθὺς ἐβούλετο Ἰόβα χαριζόμενος Ἱτυκαίους ἡβηδὸν ἀποκτείνειν καὶ κατασκάψαι τὴν πόλιν ὥς τὰ Καίσαρος φρονοῦσαν, οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ μαρτυρόμενος καὶ κεκραγὼς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ θεοκλυτῶν μόλις ἐξείλετο τῆς
 2 ὁμότητος αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν δεηθέντων, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος ἀξιούντος, ἀνεδέξατο φρουρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥς μήτε ἄκουσα μήτε ἐκούσα Καίσαρι προσγένοιτο. καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸ χωρίον ὠφέλιμον καὶ διαρκές

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up his own seat and moved it over to the other side, thus placing Scipio in the middle, although Scipio was an enemy, and had published a book which contained abuse of Cato. And yet there are those who give Cato no credit for this, although they censure him because, in Sicily, as he was walking about with Philostratus, he placed him in the middle, to show his respect for philosophy. But at the time of which I speak, Cato actually put a check upon Juba, who had all but made Scipio and Varus his satraps, and reconciled the two Romans. And though all thought it meet that he should have the command, especially Scipio and Varus, who resigned and tendered to him the leadership, he refused to break the laws to support which they were waging war with one who broke them, nor, when a pro-consul was present, would he put himself, who was only a propraetor, above him. For Scipio had been made pro-consul, and the greater part of the army were emboldened by his name; they thought that they would be successful if a Scipio had command in Africa.

LVIII. When Scipio, however, after assuming the command, straightway desired to gratify Juba by putting all the people of Utica to death and demolishing their city, on the ground that it favoured the cause of Caesar, Cato would not suffer it, but by adjurations and loud outcries in the council, and by invoking the gods, with difficulty rescued the people from this cruelty; and partly at the request of the people, and partly at the instance of Scipio, he undertook to watch over the city, that it might not, either willingly or unwillingly, attach itself to Caesar. For the place was in every way advantageous for

- τοῖς ἔχουσιν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐρρώσθη. καὶ γὰρ σῖτον εἰσήγαγεν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλήθει καὶ κατεσκευάζε τὰ τείχη πύργους ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ τάφρους ὀχυρὰς καὶ χαρακώματα πρὸ
- 3 τῆς πόλεως βαλλόμενος. Ἰτυκαίων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡβώντας ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν ἔταξεν οἰκεῖν, τὰ ὄπλα παραδόντας αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ πόλει συνείχεν, ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελούμενος μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι μηδὲ πάσχειν κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ὄπλα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον ἐξέπεμψε τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, καὶ ὅλως εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου
- 4 τὴν πόλιν ταμεῖον. ἃ δὲ Πομπηΐφ συνεβούλευε πρότερον καὶ τότε Σκηπίωνι, μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρα πολεμιστὴν καὶ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ χρῆσθαι πᾶσαν ἀκμὴν ἢ τυραννὶς ἰσχύει μαραίνοντι, τούτων ὁ Σκηπίων ὑπὸ αὐθαδείας κατεφρόνει· καὶ ποτε τῷ Κάτῳνι δειλίαν ὀνειδίζων ἔγραψεν, εἰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς ἀγαπᾷ καθήμενος ἐν πόλει καὶ τείχεσιν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐτέρους ἐὰ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν εὐθαρσῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς λογισμοῖς.
- 5 πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κάτων ἀντέγραψεν ὡς ἔτοιμός ἐστιν οὗς ἡγαγεν αὐτὸς εἰς Λιβύην ὀπλίτας καὶ ἵππεῖς παραλαβὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν περαιοῦν, καὶ Καίσαρα μεθιστάναι καὶ τρέπειν ἀπ' ἐκείνων 788 πρὸς αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ Σκηπίων κατεγέλα, πάνυ δῆλος ἦν ἀχθόμενος ὁ Κάτων τῇ παραχωρήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὔτε τῷ πολέμῳ καλῶς τὸν Σκηπίωνα χρησόμενον, οὔτε, ἂν παραλόγως εὐτυχήσῃ, μέτριον ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν πρὸς τοὺς

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those who held it, and fully capable of defence ; and it was still further strengthened by Cato. For he brought in a great abundance of grain, and perfected the walls by building towers and by running formidable trenches and palisades in front of the city. To the men of Utica who were of military age he assigned the palisades for quarters, and made them give up their arms to him ; the rest he kept together in the city, taking great pains that they should not be wronged or suffer harm at the hands of the Romans. Moreover, he sent out great quantities of arms and stores and grain to the Romans in their camp, and, in a word, made the city a store-house for the war. But as for the advice which he had given Pompey before and now gave Scipio, namely, not to give battle to a man who was versed in war and of formidable ability, but to trust to time, which withers away all the vigour which is the strength of tyranny, —this advice Scipio, out of obstinate self-will, despised. And once he wrote to Cato reproaching him with cowardice, seeing that he was not only well content to sit quietly in a walled city himself, but would not even allow others to carry out their plans with boldness as opportunity offered. To this Cato wrote in reply that he was ready to take the legionaries and the horsemen whom he himself had brought to Libya and cross the sea with them to Italy, thus forcing Caesar to change his plan of campaign, and turning him away from Scipio and Varus against himself. When Scipio mocked at this also, it was very clear that Cato was distressed at having declined the command, being convinced that Scipio would neither conduct the war well, nor, in case he should have unexpected good fortune behave with moder-

6 πολίτας ἐσόμενον. διὸ καὶ γνώμην εἶχεν ὁ Κάτων, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἔλεγεν, οὐ χρηστὰς μὲν ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου δι' ἀπειρίαν καὶ θρασύτητα τῶν ἡγεμόνων, εἰ δ' οὖν εὐτυχία τις γένοιτο καὶ καταλυθείη Καῖσαρ, οὐ μενεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, φεύξεσθαι δὲ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ πικρίαν τοῦ Σκηπίωνος, ἥδη τότε δεινὰς καὶ ὑπερηφάνους ποιομένους κατὰ πολλῶν ἀπειλάς.

7 Ἀπέβη δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδόκα· καὶ περὶ ἐσπέραν βαθείαν ἤκέ τις ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τριταῖος ἀγγέλλων ὅτι μάχης μεγάλης πρὸς Θάψφω γενομένης διέφθαρται παντάπασι τὰ πράγματα καὶ κρατεῖ Καῖσαρ τῶν στρατοπέδων, Σκηπίων δὲ καὶ Ἰόβας σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐκπεφύγασιν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη δύναμις ἀπόλωλε.

LIX. Τούτων προσπεσόντων ἡ μὲν πόλις, οἶον εἰκὸς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ πολέμῳ, πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἄγγελμα μικροῦ δεῖν ἔκφρων γενομένη μόλις ἑαυτὴν ἐντὸς τειχῶν κατεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων προελθὼν τότε μὲν, ὥς ἐκάστοις ἀπήντα διαθέουσι καὶ βοῶσιν, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος καὶ παραμυθούμενος ἀφήρει τοῦ δέους τὸ περιθαμβὲς καὶ ταραχῶδες, ὥς οὐ τηλικούτων ἴσως γεγονότων, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ μείζον αἰρομένων τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ κατέστησε τὸν θόρυβον· 2 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς τριακοσίους οἷς ἐχρήτο βουλῇ, Ῥωμαίους μὲν ὄντας, ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ πραγματευομέ-

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ation towards his fellow citizens in the hour of victory. Therefore Cato made up his mind, and said to his intimate friends, that there were no good hopes for the war owing to the inexperience and rashness of the commanders; but that if, then, by any good fortune, Caesar should be overthrown, he himself would not remain in Rome, but would fly from the harshness and cruelty of Scipio, who was even then making extravagant and dreadful threats against many.

But his fears were realized more fully than he expected; for late one evening there came a messenger from the camp who had been three days on the road, announcing that there had been a great battle at Thapsus, that their cause was utterly ruined, that Caesar was in possession of their camps,¹ that Scipio and Juba had escaped with a few followers, and that the rest of the force had perished.

LIX. These things coming suddenly upon the city, the people, as was natural at night and in time of war, were almost beside themselves at such tidings, and could with difficulty keep themselves within the walls. But Cato came forth, and for the present, whenever he met people running about and shouting, would lay hold of them one by one, and with encouraging words would take away the excessive wildness and confusion of their fear, saying that perhaps the defeat was not so bad as reported, but had been magnified in the telling, and thus he allayed the tumult; but as soon as it was day, he issued proclamation that the three hundred who made up his senate (they were Romans, and were doing business

¹ Scipio had separated from his allies and was encamped apart. Cf. the *Caesar*, liii.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

νους ἀπὸ ἐμπορίας καὶ δανεισμῶν, εἰς ἱερὸν Διὸς
 ἐκήρυττε συνιέναι, καὶ ὅσοι παρήσαν ἀπὸ συγ-
 κλήτου, καὶ παιῖδας αὐτῶν. ἔτι δὲ συλλεγομένων
 ἐκείνων προσελθὼν ἀθορύβως καὶ μετὰ εὐστα-
 θείας, ὥσπερ οὐδενὸς καινοῦ γεγονότος, βιβλίον
 ἔχων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀνεγίνωσκεν. ἦν δὲ ἀνα-
 γραφὴ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὀργάνων, ὅπλων,
 3 σίτου, τόξων, ὀπλιτῶν.¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον,
 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ διελθὼν πο-
 λὺν ἔπαινον τῆς προθυμίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως,
 ἦν ἐπεδείξαντο καὶ χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι καὶ
 βουλαῖς ὠφελιμώτατοι γενόμενοι, παρεκάλει μὴ
 διαλυθῆναι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἕκαστον αὐτῷ φυγὴν
 ἰδίαν ἢ ἀπόδρασιν τινα ποριζόμενον. ἂν γὰρ ἐν
 ταύτῳ συμμένωσι, καὶ πολεμούντων ἡττον κατα-
 φρονήσῃν Καίσαρα, καὶ φείσεσθαι μᾶλλον δεο-
 4 μένων. βουλευέσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν, οὐδέτερα μεμψόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τρέ-
 ποινο τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς τὴν τύχην, τῆς ἀνάγκης
 θησόμενος τὴν μεταβολήν· ἰσταμένων δὲ πρὸς τὰ
 δεινὰ καὶ δεχομένων τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
 κίνδυνον, οὐκ ἐπαινεσόμενος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 θαυμασόμενος τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ παρέξων ἑαυτὸν
 5 ἄρχοντα καὶ συναγωνιζόμενον, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν ἐσχά-
 την τύχην τῆς πατρίδος ἐξελέγξωσιν, ἦν οὐκ
 Ἰτύκην οὐδὲ Ἀδρούμητον οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ Ῥώμην,
 πολλάκις ἐκ χαλεπωτέρων σφαλμάτων ὑπὸ μεγέ-
 θους ἀναφέρεσθαι. πολλῶν δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς σωτη-
 ρίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ὑποκειμένων, καὶ μεγίστου
 πρὸς ἄνδρα πολεμεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰ τοῖς καιροῖς

¹ ὀπλιτῶν bracketed by Bekker.

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in Libya as merchants and money-lenders) should assemble in the temple of Jupiter, as well as all the senators from Rome who were present, with their children. And while they were still coming together, he advanced quietly and with a composed countenance, and as if nothing unusual had happened, with a book in his hands from which he was reading. This was a register of his military engines, arms, grain, and men-at-arms. After they had come together, beginning with the three hundred and commending at great length their zeal and fidelity, which they had manifested by making themselves most helpful with their means and persons and advice, he exhorted them not to ruin their good prospects by trying to procure for themselves severally some separate flight or escape. For if they should hold together, he said, Caesar would despise them less as foes, and show them more mercy as suppliants. Moreover, he urged them to deliberate upon their future course, declaring that he would have no fault to find with either decision which they might make. If they should turn their allegiance to the fortunate side, he would attribute their change to necessity; but if they should face the threatening evil and accept danger in defence of liberty, he would not only praise them, but would admire their valour and make himself their leader and fellow combatant, until they had fully tested the ultimate fortunes of their country; and this country was not Utica, nor Adrumetum, but Rome, and had many times by her greatness recovered from more grievous disasters. Besides, he said, many things favoured their salvation and security, and chiefly the fact that they were waging war against a man who was drawn in many opposing

- ἀνθελκόμενον, Ἰβηρίας τε πρὸς Πομπήϊον ἀφελ-
 6 στώσης τὸν νέον, αὐτῆς τε τῆς Ῥώμης οὐπω δι'
 ἀήθειαν παντάπασι δεδεγμένης τὸν χαλινόν, ἀλλ'
 ἀναξιοπαθούσης καὶ συνεξανισταμένης πρὸς πᾶ-
 σαν μεταβολήν, οὐδὲ τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι φευκτέον,
 ἀλλὰ ἔχειν διδάσκαλον τὸν πολέμιον ἀφειδοῦντα
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀδικίαις, οὐχ
 ὥσπερ ἑαυτοῖς εἰς τὸν εὐτυχέστατον βίον κατ-
 ορθοῦσιν ἢ πταίουσιν εἰς τὸν εὐκλεέστατον
 θάνατον τὴν ἀδηλόγητα τοῦ πολέμου τελευτᾶν.
 7 οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους γε δεῖν ἔφη βουλευέσθαι. 789
 καθ' ἑαυτούς, συνευχόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν
 ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα συνε-
 νεγκεῖν.

LX. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κάτωνος εἰπόντος, ἦσαν μὲν
 οἱ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀγόμενοι πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν, οἱ
 δὲ πλείστοι πρὸς τὸ ἀδεῆς καὶ γενναῖον αὐτοῦ
 καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐκλαθόμενοι τῶν
 παρόντων, ὡς μόνον ὄντα τοῦτον ἀήττητον ἡγε-
 μόνα καὶ πάσης κρείττονα τύχης, ἐδέοντο χρή-
 σθαι καὶ σώμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ὄπ-
 λοις, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἔγνωκε· κρείττον γὰρ ἐκείνῳ
 πειθομένους ἀποθανεῖν ἢ σώζεσθαι προδόντας
 ἀρετὴν τοσαύτην.

- 2 Εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὡς χρή ψηφίσασθαι δούλους
 ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τῶν πλείστων συνεπαινεσάντων,
 οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσῃν ὁ Κάτων· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι
 νόμιμον οὐδὲ δίκαιον, αὐτῶν μέντοι τῶν δεσποτῶν
 ἀφιέντων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ δέχεσθαι. γενομένων
 δὲ πολλῶν ὑποσχέσεων κελεύσας ἀπογράφεσθαι
 3 τὸν βουλόμενον ἀπηλλάττετο. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν

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directions by the exigencies of the times. For Spain had gone over to the younger Pompey, and Rome herself had not yet altogether accepted the bit to which she was so unaccustomed, but was impatient of her lot and ready to rise up unitedly at any change in the situation. Nor, he assured them, was danger a thing to be shunned, but they must learn a lesson from their enemy, who spared not his life in perpetrating the greatest wrongs, while in their own case, so different from his, the uncertainties of war would end in a most happy life, if they were successful, or in a most glorious death, if they failed. However, it was for them to deliberate by themselves, he said, and in return for their former bravery and zeal he joined them in praying that what they decided might be for their advantage.

LX. When Cato had thus spoken, there were some whom his words merely restored to confidence, but the majority, in view of his fearlessness, nobility, and generosity, almost forgot their present troubles in the conviction that he alone was an invincible leader and superior to every fortune, and they begged him to use their lives and property and arms as he himself judged best; for it was better to die as his willing followers than to save their lives by betraying such virtue as his.

And now someone proposed that they should pass a vote giving freedom to the slaves, and the majority approved; but Cato said he would not do this, since it was not lawful or right; if, however, the masters of their own accord gave up their slaves, those slaves who were of military age should be accepted. Many promises to do this were made, and after ordering a list to be made of all who were willing, Cato with-

ἤκεν αὐτῷ γράμματα παρὰ Ἰόβα καὶ Σκηπίωνος, Ἰόβα μὲν ἐν ὄρει κεκρυμμένου μετ' ὀλίγων ἔρω-
τῶντος ὃ τι πράττειν δέδοκται τῷ Κάτωνι· καὶ
γὰρ περιμενεῖν Ἰτύκην ἐκλιπόντα καὶ πολιορκου-
μένῳ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπιβοηθήσειν, Σκηπίωνος δὲ
πρὸς ἄκρα τινὶ ναυλοχοῦντος οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἰτύ-
κης ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς караδοκοῦντος.

- LXI. Ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κάτωνι τοὺς γραμματο-
φόρους ἐπισχεῖν, ἄχρι οὗ βεβαιώσῃ τὰ παρὰ τῶν
τριακοσίων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἦσαν πρό-
θυμοι, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας εὐθὺς ἀφιέντες ἐλευθέρους
ᾧπλιζον· τῶν δὲ τριακοσίων, ἅτε δὴ πλωτικῶν
καὶ δανειστικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν
τοῖς οἰκέταις τῆς οὐσίας ἐχόντων, οὐ πολὺν οἱ
Κάτωνος λόγοι χρόνον ἐμμείναντες ἐξερρήσαν·
- 2 καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μανὰ δέχεται
ῥαδίως τὴν θερμότητα καὶ πάλιν μεθίησι, τοῦ
πυρὸς ἀπαχθέντος ψυχούμενα, παραπλησίως
ἐκείνους ὁ μὲν Κάτων ὀρώμενος ἀνεξωπύρει καὶ
διεθέρμαινεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑαυτοῖς λόγον διδόντας
ὁ Καῖσαρος φόβος ἐξέκρουσε τῆς πρὸς Κάτωνα
καὶ τὸ καλὸν αἰδοῦς. “Τίνες γάρ,” ἔφασαν,
“ὄντες, τίνι τὸ προστασσόμενον ποιεῖν ἀπαξιού-
3 μεν; οὐχὶ Καῖσαρ μὲν οὗτος εἰς ὃν ἡ Ῥωμαίων
ἅπασα περιέστηκεν ἰσχὺς; ἡμῶν δὲ Σκηπίων
οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ Πομπηῖος οὐδὲ Κάτων. ἀλλὰ ἐν οἷς
καιροῖς πάντες ἀνθρώποι ταπεινότερα τῶν προσ-
ηγόντων διὰ φόβον φρονοῦσιν, ἐν τούτοις ἡμεῖς
ὑπερμαχοῦντες τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας πολε-
μοῦμεν ἐξ Ἰτύκης ὧς Κάτων μετὰ Πομπηίου
Μάγνου φεύγων ὑφείτο τῆς Ἰταλίας; καὶ δού-

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drew. After a little while there came to him letters from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who was hidden on a mountain with a few men, asked what Cato had decided to do; for if he abandoned Utica, Juba would wait for him, and if he underwent a siege, Juba would come to his aid with an army. Scipio, who was stationed with his fleet off a certain headland not far from Utica, awaited Cato's decision in the same way.

LXI. Accordingly, Cato decided to detain the bearers of the letters until he felt sure of the attitude of the three hundred. For the Romans of senatorial rank were eager in his cause, and after promptly manumitting their slaves, were arming them; but as for the three hundred, since they were men engaged in navigation and money-lending and had the greater part of their property in slaves, the words of Cato did not long abide in their minds, but lapsed away. For just as porous bodies readily receive heat and as readily yield it up again and grow cold when the fire is removed, in like manner these men, when they saw Cato, were filled with warmth and kindled into flame; but when they came to think matters over by themselves, their fear of Caesar drove away their regard for Cato and for honour. "Who, pray, are we," they said, "and who is he whose commands we are refusing to obey? Is he not Caesar, upon whom the whole power of Rome has devolved? And not one of us is a Scipio, or a Pompey, or a Cato. But at a time when all men are led by fear to think more humbly than they ought to think, at such a time shall we fight in defence of the liberty of Rome, and wage war in Utica against a man before whom Cato, with Pompey the Great, fled and gave up Italy? And

λους ἐλευθεροῦμεν κατὰ Καίσαρος, οἷς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίας, ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνος θέλῃ, μέτεστιν; ἀλλ' ἔτι νῦν, ὦ μοχθηροί, γνόντες ἑαυτοὺς παραιτῶμεθα τὸν κρατοῦντα καὶ πέμψωμεν τοὺς δεησομένους."

- 4 Ταῦτα οἱ μετριώτατοι τῶν τριακοσίων παρήνουν· οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ἐπεβούλευον, ὥς, εἰ τούτους συλλάβοιεν, ἱλασόμενοι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀργὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

- LXII. Ὁ δὲ Κάτων ὑπονοῶν τὴν μεταβολὴν οὐκ ἤλεγχε, τῷ μέντοι Σκηπίωνι καὶ τῷ Ἰόβα γράψας ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς Ἰτύκης ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν τριακοσίων ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς γραμματοφόρους. τῶν δὲ ἱππέων οἱ διαφυγόντες ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἀριθμὸς οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος, προσελάσαντες τῇ Ἰτύκῃ πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τρεῖς ἄνδρας οὐ τὴν
2 αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ πάντων ἔχοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπιέναι πρὸς Ἰόβαν, οἱ δὲ τῷ Κάτωνα προσχωρεῖν ὥρμητο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δέος εἶχεν εἰς Ἰτύκην παρίεναι. ταῦτα ὁ Κάτων ἀκούσας τοῖς μὲν τριακοσίοις ἐκέλευσε προσέχειν Μάρκον Ῥού- 790
βριον, ἀτρέμα τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐλευθερούντων
3 δεχόμενον καὶ μὴ προσβιαζόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς συγκλητικὸς ἀναλαβὼν προῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς Ἰτύκης, καὶ τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐνέτυχε δεόμενος μὴ προέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας ἀπὸ βουλῆς τοσούτους μηδὲ Ἰόβαν ἐλέσθαι στρατηγὸν ἀντὶ Κάτωνος, ἀλλὰ σώζεσθαι κοινῇ καὶ σώζειν, παρελθόντας εἰς πόλιν οὔτε κατὰ κράτος ἀλώσιμον εἰς

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shall we give our slaves freedom in opposition to Caesar, we who ourselves have only as much freedom as he may wish to give us? Nay, before it is too late, poor wretches, let us know ourselves, crave the conqueror's grace, and send men to entreat him."

This was the course which the more moderate of the three hundred advised; but the majority of them were laying a plot against the men of senatorial rank, in the hope that by seizing these they might mitigate Cæsar's wrath against themselves.

LXII. Cato suspected their change of heart, but would not tax them with it. However, he wrote to Scipio and Juba advising them to keep away from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be trusted, and sent away the letter-bearers. And now the horsemen who had escaped from the battle, in numbers quite considerable, rode up to Utica and sent three of their number to Cato. These men, however, did not bring the same proposition from the whole body. For one party among them was bent on going off to Juba, another wanted to join Cato, while a third was prevented by fear from entering Utica. On hearing their views, Cato ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the three hundred; he was to accept quietly the lists of those who gave freedom to their slaves, and was to use no compulsion. But Cato himself took the men of senatorial rank and went forth outside of Utica. Here he conferred with the leaders of the horsemen, entreating them not to abandon so great a number of Roman senators, and not to choose Juba as their commander instead of Cato, but to save others as well as save themselves by coming into a city which could not be taken by storm,

ἔτη τε πάμπολλα σῖτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρα-
 4 σκευὴν ἔχουσιν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν
 δεομένων καὶ δακρυόντων οἱ μὲν ἵππαρχοι διελέ-
 γοντο τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐπὶ χρώματός
 τινος καθίσας μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀνέμεινε
 τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

LXIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παρὴν ὁ Ῥούβριος σὺν
 ὀργῇ κατηγορῶν τῶν τριακοσίων ἀκοσμίαν πολ-
 λὴν καὶ θόρυβον, ὥς ἀφισταμένων καὶ διατα-
 ραττόντων τὴν πόλιν. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
 παντάπασιν ἀπογνόντες ἑαυτῶν εἰς δάκρυα καὶ
 ὀδυρμούς ἐξέπεσον, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐκείνους τε θαρ-
 σύειν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους ἔπεμψεν
 2 ἀναμείναι κελεύων. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἦκον
 οὐ μέτρια προστάττοντες· ἔφασαν γὰρ οὔτε Ἰόβα
 δεῖσθαι μισθοδοτοῦντος οὔτε Καίσαρα φοβεῖσθαι
 Κάτωνος αὐτῶν ἄρχοντος, Ἱτυκαίοις δέ, Φοίνιξιν
 ἀνθρώποις εὐμεταβόλοις, συγκαθείργυνσθαι δει-
 νὸν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ νῦν ἀτρεμοῦσιν, ὅταν
 Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ, συνεπιθήσεσθαι καὶ προδώσειν.
 3 εἴπερ οὖν δεῖται τις αὐτῶν συμπολεμούντων καὶ
 συμπαρόντων, ἐκβαλὼν ἅπαντας Ἱτυκαίους ἢ
 διαφθείρας, οὕτως εἰς πόλιν καθαρὰν πολεμίων
 καὶ βαρβάρων καλείτω. ταῦτα ὁ Κάτων ἄγρια
 μὲν δεινῶς ἡγεῖτο καὶ βάρβαρα, πράως δὲ ἀπε-
 κρίνατο βουλευέσθαι μετὰ τῶν τριακοσίων.
 4 Καὶ παρελθὼν αὐθις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐνετύγχανε
 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκέτι σκῆψεις οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς
 πλασσομένοις ὑπ' αἰδοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀντικρυς δὲ
 χαλεπαίνουσιν εἴ τις αὐτοὺς βιάζοιτο πολεμεῖν
 Καῖσαρι μὴ δυναμένους μηδὲ βουλομένους. ἔνιοι

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and had grain and other requisite provision for very many years. In these entreaties the senators also joined, and with tears; whereupon the leaders of the horsemen discussed the matter with the horsemen, while Cato sat down on a mound with the senators and awaited the answers.

LXIII. At this juncture Rubrius came up, wrathfully denouncing the three hundred for great disorder and tumult, inasmuch as they were falling away and throwing the city into confusion. Thereupon the other Romans altogether despaired of their case and burst into tears and lamentations; but Cato tried to encourage them, and sent to the three hundred bidding them await his coming. And now the spokesmen of the horsemen came with immoderate demands. They said they neither wanted Juba for a paymaster, nor feared Caesar if Cato were their leader, but that to be shut up with the people of Utica, a fickle Phoenician folk, was a fearful thing; for even though they were quiet now, whenever Caesar came up against them they would play the traitor and aid him in his attacks. If, therefore, any one wanted their aid in war and their presence, he must first drive out or destroy all the people of Utica, and then invite the horsemen into a city that was free from Barbarians and enemies. This proposal Cato regarded as excessively barbarous and cruel, but he returned a mild answer, saying that he would advise with the three hundred.

So he went back into the city, where he found the men no longer manufacturing pretexts or evasions out of regard for him, but downright angry that any one should try to force them to war with Caesar when they were neither able nor willing. And some of

δὲ καὶ παρεφθέγγοντο περὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ὥς
καθεκτέον ἐν τῇ πόλει Καίσαρος προσιόντος.
5 ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν¹ ὥς οὐκ ἀκούσας ὁ Κάτων παρ-
ῆκε· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὑποκωφότερος· ὥς δέ τις αὐτῷ
προσελθὼν ἀπήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς ἀπιέναι,
φοβηθεὶς μὴ παντάπασιν οἱ τριακόσιοι κατὰ τῶν
συγκλητικῶν ἀπονοηθῶσιν, ἐβάδιζε μετὰ τῶν
φίλων ἐξαναστάς· καὶ θεασάμενος ἤδη προκεχω-
6 ρηκότας ἵππον λαβὼν ἐδίωκε πρὸς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ
ιδόντες ἄσμενοι προσελαύνοντα καὶ ἐδέξαντο καὶ
παρεκάλουν σῶζεσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν. τότε καὶ δα-
κρῦσαι τὸν Κάτωνά φασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν συγκλητικῶν
δεόμενον καὶ προτείνοντα τὰς χεῖρας, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ
τοὺς ἵππους ἀναστρέφοντα καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀντι-
λαμβανόμενον, μέχρι οὐ κατειργάσατο τὴν γοῦν
ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐπιμείναντας ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς ἀν-
δράσι φυγὴν παρασχεῖν.

LXIV. Ὡς οὖν ἔχων αὐτοὺς ἀφίκετο καὶ τοὺς
μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέστησε, τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν
φυλάττειν παρέδωκεν, ἔδεισαν οἱ τριακόσιοι μὴ
δίκην δῶσι τῆς μεταβολῆς· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα
πέμποντες ἐδέοντο πάντως ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐ-
τούς. οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοὶ περιχυθέντες οὐκ εἶων,
οὐδὲ ἔφασαν προήσεσθαι τὸν κηδεμόνα καὶ σω-
2 τήρα τοῖς ἀπίστοις καὶ προδόταις. σαφεστάτη
γάρ, ὥς ἔοικεν, αἴσθησις τότε παρέστη καὶ πόθος
καὶ θαῦμα τῆς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀρετῆς πᾶσιν ὁμα-
λῶς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰτύκῃ γενομένοις, ὥς οὐδὲν ἄρα
κίβδηλον οὐδὲ ἀπατηλὸν ἐμέμικτο τοῖς πραττο-
μένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Πάλαι δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκὼς ἀνελεῖν

¹ μὲν bracketed by Coraës and Bekker.

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them actually muttered that the men of senatorial rank ought to be detained in the city while Caesar was approaching. But this Cato let pass, as though he had not heard it (and indeed he was somewhat deaf); when, however, men came to him with tidings that the horsemen were going away, he was afraid that the three hundred might become altogether desperate in their hostility to the senators, and therefore rose up and set out on foot with his friends; and when he perceived that the horsemen had already gone on, he took a horse and hastened after them. The horsemen were glad when they saw him riding up, and greeted him, and exhorted him to save himself with them. Then, it is said, Cato actually burst into tears as he begged with outstretched hands in behalf of the senators, even trying to turn back the horses of some of the horsemen and laying hold of their arms, until he prevailed upon them to remain there that day at least, and to make the flight of the senators safe.

LXIV. Accordingly, when he came to the city with them, stationed some of them at the gates, and committed the citadel to others to guard, the three hundred were afraid they might be punished for their change of allegiance, and sending to Cato they begged him by all means to come to them. But the senators crowded about him and would not let him go, declaring that they would not give up their saviour and guardian to treacherous and faithless men. For by that time all the inhabitants of Utica alike most clearly perceived and fondly admired the virtuous qualities of Cato, convinced that nothing deceitful or spurious entered into what he did.

But for a long time the man had determined to

δεινούς πόνους ἐπόνει καὶ φροντίδας καὶ ὠδῖνας
 εἶχεν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων, ὅπως εἰς ἀσφαλὲς καταστήσας
 3 ἅπαντας ἀπαλλάξαιτο τοῦ ζῆν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀδη- 791
 λος ἢ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ φορά, καίπερ οὐ
 φάσκοντος. ὑπήκουσεν οὖν τότε τοῖς τριακοσίοις
 παραμυθησάμενος τοὺς συγκλητικούς· καὶ μόνος
 ἦκε πρὸς αὐτοὺς χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ
 δεομένους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χρῆσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν, εἰ
 δὲ Κάτωνες οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ τὸ Κάτωνος φρόνημα
 4 χωροῦσιν, οἰκτεῖρειν τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν· ἐγνω-
 κότες δ' οὖν Καίσαρος δεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν πρὸς
 αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου μάλιστα καὶ πρώτου ποιήσε-
 σθαι δέησιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθοιεν, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς διδο-
 μένην δέξεσθαι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ἄχρι ἂν ἐμπνέωσι
 πολεμήσειν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κάτων ἐπαινέσας τὴν εὐνοίαν
 ἔφη χρῆναι τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἕνεκα πέμπειν
 5 κατὰ τάχος, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι· κεκρατη-
 μένων γὰρ εἶναι δέησιν καὶ ἀδικούντων παραί-
 τησιν· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀήττητος γεγονέναι
 παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νικᾶν ἐφ' ὅσον
 ἐβούλετο καὶ κρατεῖν Καίσαρος τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ
 δικαίοις· ἐκείνον δ' εἶναι τὸν ἐαλωκότα καὶ νενι-
 κημένον· ἃ γὰρ ἡρνεῖτο πράττων κατὰ τῆς πα-
 τρίδος πάλαι, νῦν ἐξηλέγχθαι καὶ πεφωρᾶσθαι.

LXV. Τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς τριακοσίοις
 ἀπηλλάττετο· καὶ πυθόμενος Καίσαρα πᾶσαν
 ἄγοντα τὴν στρατιὰν ἤδη καθ' ὁδὸν εἶναι, “Πα-
 παί,” εἶπεν, “ὥς ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἡμᾶς ἐκείνος.” καὶ
 τραπόμενος πρὸς τοὺς συγκλητικούς ἐκέλευε μὴ
 μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἕως παραμένουσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς σώζε-

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destroy himself, and he was undergoing dreadful toils and suffering anxiety and pain in behalf of others, that he might put them all in the way of safety before he took his leave of life. Indeed, there was no secret about his resolution to die, although he said nothing about it. Accordingly, after comforting the senators, he obeyed the call of the three hundred. He came alone to them, and they thanked him, and begged him in all other ways to trust and make use of them, but if they were not Catos and could not carry the large thoughts of Cato, to have pity on their weakness; and now that they had determined to send to Caesar and pray for his mercy, for Cato first of all they would make their prayers; and if they could not prevail with Caesar, they would not accept the grace which he might offer to them, but as long as they had breath would fight for Cato.

In reply to this, after praising their good will, Cato said that to secure their own safety they ought to send to Caesar with all speed, but they must make no prayer for him; prayer belonged to the conquered, and the craving of grace to those who had done wrong; but for his part he had not only been unvanquished all his life, but was actually a victor now as far as he chose to be, and a conqueror of Caesar in all that was honourable and just; Caesar was the one who was vanquished and taken; for the hostile acts against his country which he had long denied, were now detected and proven.

LXV. After this discourse to the three hundred, he withdrew; and on learning that Caesar with all his army was already on the march, "Aha!" he said, "he thinks we are men!" Then turning to the senators he bade them not delay, but save themselves

- σθαι. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπέκλεισε θύρας, μιᾷ δὲ τῇ πρὸς θάλασσαν φερούσῃ¹ τὰ τε πλοῖα τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν διένειμε καὶ τάξεως ἐπεμελεῖτο, παύων τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ διαλύων τοὺς θορύβους, καὶ τοὺς
- 2 ἀπόρως ἔχοντας ἐφοδιάζων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκος Ὀκτάβιος ἄγων δύο τάγματα πλησίον κατεστρατοπέδευσε καὶ πέμπων ἡξίου τὸν Κάτωνα περὶ ἀρχῆς διορίσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐθὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν. “Εἴτα θαυμάζομεν ὅπως ἀπόλωλε τὰ πράγματα, τὴν φιλαρχίαν ὀρώντες ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ βεβηκόσι παραμένουσιν;”
- 3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀκούσας ἀπionτας ἤδη φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν τὰ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων ὥσπερ λάφυρα, δρόμῳ συνέτεινε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐντυχὼν ἀφηρεῖτο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἔφθανε ῥίπτων καὶ κατατιθέμενος, πάντες δὲ ὑπ' αἰσχύνης σιωπῇ καὶ κάτω βλέποντες ἀπήεσαν. ὁ δὲ Κάτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς Ἰτυκαίους συναγαγὼν ἐδεῖτο περὶ τῶν τριακοσίων, μὴ παροξύναι Καίσαρα κατ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
- 4 κοινῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν πράττειν ἀλλήλοις. εἴτα πάλιν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἐπεσκόπει τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας, καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ ξένων ὅσους ἔπεισεν ἡσπάζετο καὶ προὔπεμπε. τὸν δὲ λῶν οὐκ ἔπεισε λαβεῖν πλοῖον, οὐδὲ ᾤετο δεῖν ἀποτρέπειν περιεχόμενον τοῦ πατρός. ἦν δὲ τις Στατύλλιος, ἀνὴρ τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ νέος, ἰσχυρὸς δὲ τῇ

¹ φερούσῃ after this word one Paris MS. (C) has ἐχρήτο πρὸς ἔξοδον (he used as an exit). Bekker adopts what other editors regard as a gloss, adding also καί; Sintenis³ assumes a lacuna.

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while the horsemen were still there. He also closed the other gates of the city, and stationing himself at the one leading to the sea, he assigned transports to those under his command, and tried to keep things in order, stopping deeds of wrong, quelling tumults, and supplying stores to those who were destitute. And when Marcus Octavius with two legions encamped near by and sent to Cato demanding that he come to terms with him about the command in the province, Cato would make no reply to him, but said to his friends: "Can we then wonder that our cause is lost, when we see that the love of command abides with us though we are standing on the brink of destruction?"

At this juncture, hearing that the horsemen, as they went away, were already plundering the people of Utica as though their property was booty, he ran to them as fast as he could; from the first whom he met he took away their plunder, but the rest, every man of them, made haste to lay down or throw away what they had, and all felt so ashamed that they went off in silence and with downcast looks. Then Cato, after calling the people of Utica together into the city, begged them not to embitter Caesar against the three hundred, but to unite with one another in securing safety for all. Next, he betook himself again to the sea and superintended the embarkation there, embracing and escorting on their way all the friends and acquaintances whom he could persuade to go. His son, however, he could not persuade to take ship, nor did he think it his duty to try to turn the young man from his purpose of clinging to his father. But there was one Statyllius, a man who was young in years, but minded

γνώμη βουλόμενος εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπομι-
 5 μείσθαι τὴν ἀπάθειαν. τοῦτον ἡξίου πλεῖν·
 καὶ γὰρ ἦν καταφανὴς μισοκαῖσαρ· ὥς δὲ οὐκ
 ἠθέλεν, Ἀπολλωνίδῃ τῷ Στωϊκῷ καὶ Δημη-
 τρίῳ τῷ Περιπατητικῷ προσβλέψας ὁ Κάτων,
 “Ἕμέτερον,” εἶπεν, “ἔργον οἰδοῦντα τοῦτον
 μαλάξαι καὶ καταρτίσαι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.”
 αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς συνεκπέμπων καὶ χρημα-
 τίζων τοῖς δεομένοις τὴν τε νύκτα διέτριβε περὶ
 ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖστον
 μέρος.

LXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεύκιος Καῖσαρ, οἰκείος μὲν
 ὦν Καῖσαρος ἐκείνου, μέλλων δὲ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ
 τῶν τριακοσίων, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάτωνα λόγον
 αὐτῷ συνυποθέσθαι πιθανὸν ᾧ χρήσεται περὶ
 ἐκείνων, “ὑπὲρ σοῦ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ χειρῶν
 ἐμοὶ καλὸν ἄψασθαι καὶ γόνασι προσπεσεῖν
 Καῖσαρος,” οὐκ εἶα ταῦτα ποιεῖν ὁ Κάτων αὐτόν. 792
 2 “Ἐμοὶ γάρ,” εἶπεν, “εἰ σῶζεσθαι χάριτι Καί-
 σαρος ἐβουλόμην, αὐτῷ βαδιστέον ἦν πρὸς ἐκεῖ-
 νον μόνον. οὐ βούλομαι δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ χάριν
 ἔχειν ὑπὲρ ὧν παρανομεῖ. παρανομεῖ δὲ σῶζων
 ὥς κύριος ὧν αὐτῷ δεσπόζειν οὐδὲν προσῆκεν.
 ὅπως μέντοι παραιτήσῃ τοὺς τριακοσίους κοινῇ
 3 σκοπῶμεν, εἰ βούλει.” γενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ
 μετὰ τοῦ Λευκίου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ συνέστησε καὶ
 τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀπιόντι· καὶ προπέμψας ἐκείνον
 καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν οἴκαδε, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
 καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ διε-
 λέχθη καὶ πολιτείας ἀπέειπεν ἄψασθαι τῷ μεира-
 κίῳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀξίως Κάτωνος οὐκέτι τὰ πρά-

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to be strong in purpose and to imitate Cato's calmness. This man Cato insisted should take ship ; for he was a notorious hater of Caesar. But when Statyllius would not consent, Cato turned his eyes upon Apollonides the Stoic and Demetrius the Peripatetic, saying : " It is your task to reduce this man's swollen pride and restore him to conformity with his best interests." He himself, however, continued to assist the rest in getting off, and to supply the needy with ways and means, and was thus engaged all through the night and the greater part of the following day.

LXVI. Lucius Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, was about to go on an embassy to him in behalf of the three hundred, and requested Cato to suggest to him a convincing speech which he might employ in the case ; " for," said he, " in thine own behalf it were well for me to fall down at Caesar's knees and clasp his hands." But Cato would not suffer him to do this. " For if," said he, " I were willing to be saved by grace of Caesar, I ought to go to him in person and see him alone ; but I am unwilling to be under obligations to the tyrant for his illegal acts. And he acts illegally in saving, as if their master, those over whom he has no right at all to be the lord. However, if it is thy wish, let us consider jointly how thou mayest obtain mercy for the three hundred." After his conference with Lucius on this matter, he presented his son and his companions to him as he was going away ; and after escorting him on his way and bidding him farewell, he came back home, called together his son and his friends, and discoursed with them on many subjects. In particular, he forbade the young man to engage in political matters ; for to do so worthily of a Cato was no longer possible, as

γματα δέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλως αἰσχρὸν εἶναι. καὶ
περὶ ἐσπέραν ἤδη τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ βαλανεῖον.

- 4 Ἐν δὲ τῷ λούεσθαι τοῦ Στατύλλιου μνησθεὶς
καὶ μέγα φθεγξάμενος, “Ἐξέπεμψας,” εἶπεν, “ὦ
Ἀπολλωνίδη, τὸν Στατύλλιον ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονή-
ματος ἐκείνου καθελών; καὶ πέπλευκεν ὁ ἀνὴρ
μηδὲ ἀσπασάμενος ἡμᾶς;” “Πόθεν;” εἶπεν ὁ
Ἀπολλωνίδης· “καίτοι πολλὰ διελέχθημεν· ἀλλὰ
ὑψηλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄτρεπτος, καὶ μένειν φησὶ καὶ
πράττειν ὃ τι ἂν σὺ πράττης.” πρὸς ταῦτά φασι
τὸν Κάτωνα μειδιᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· “Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
μὲν ἀντίκα φανείται.”

- LXVII. Λουσάμενος δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐδείπνει
καθήμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει μετὰ τὴν μάχην· οὐ
γὰρ κατεκλίθη πλὴν καθεύδων· συνεδείπνουσι δὲ
πάντες οἱ ἐταῖροι καὶ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων οἱ ἄρχοντες.
καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ὁ πότος ἔσχε μούσαν πολλήν
καὶ χάριν, ἄλλων ἐπ’ ἄλλοις λόγων φιλοσόφων
κυκλοῦντων, ἄχρι οὗ περιῆλθεν ἡ ζήτησις εἰς
ταῦτα δὴ τὰ παράδοξα καλούμενα τῶν Στωϊκῶν,
τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐλεύθερον, δούλους δὲ
2 τοὺς φαύλους ἅπαντας. ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ὡς εἰκός,
ἀντιβάντος τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ, σφοδρὸς ἐμπεσὼν
ὁ Κάτων καὶ τόνον προσθεὶς καὶ τραχύτητα
φωνῆς ἀπέτεινε πορρωτάτω τὸν λόγον, ἀγῶνι
θαυμαστῷ χρησάμενος, ὥστε μηδένα λαθεῖν ὅτι
τῷ βίῳ πέρας ἔγνωκεν ἐπιθεὶς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι
τῶν παρόντων. διὸ καὶ μετὰ τὸν λόγον σιωπῆς
καὶ κατηφείας γενομένης ἐν πᾶσιν, ἀναλαμβάνων
αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπάγων τῆς ὑποψίας ὁ Κάτων αὖθις
ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ἐνέβαλλεν ἐρωτήματα καὶ

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things were going, and to do so otherwise would be disgraceful. And presently, towards evening, he betook himself to the bath.

But while he was bathing he bethought himself of Statyllius, and called out in loud tones, saying: "Apollonides, didst thou send off Statyllius? And didst thou bring him down from that lofty purpose of his? And has the man set sail without even bidding me good-bye?" "By no means," said Apollonides; "although we reasoned much with him; but he is lofty and unbending, and says he will remain and do whatever thou doest." At this, we are told, Cato smiled, and said: "Well, we shall see about that presently."

LXVII. After his bath, he took supper with a large company, sitting at table, as was his wont after Pharsalus; indeed, he lay down only when he slept;¹ and there were at supper with him all his companions, and the magistrates of Utica. After supper, there was much literary and genial discourse over the wine, and one philosophical tenet after another made the rounds, until there came up the enquiry into what were called the "paradoxes" of the Stoics, namely, that the good man alone is free, and that the bad are all slaves. Here, as was to be expected, the Peripatetic made objections, whereupon Cato broke in with vehemence, and in loud and harsh tones maintained his argument at greatest length and with astonishing earnestness, so that everyone perceived that he had made up his mind to put an end to his life and free himself from his present troubles. Therefore, as all were dejected and silent after his discourse, Cato tried to revive their spirits and remove their suspicions by once more putting questions and expressing anxiety about what was going on, implying that he feared for those

¹ Cf. chapter lvi. 4.

φροντίδας, ὡς δεδιὼς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλεόντων, δεδιὼς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀδεούντων ἐρημίαν ἀνυδρον καὶ βάρβαρον.

- LXVIII. Οὕτω δὲ διαλύσας τὸ σύνδειπνον, καὶ περιπατήσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὸν συνήθη μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον περίπατον, καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν φυλάκων ἃ καιρὸς ἦν προστάξας, ἀπὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἤδη, τὸν τε παῖδα καὶ τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον εἰώθει προσαγαγόμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεῖς, πάλιν ὑποψίαν παρέσχε
- 2 τοῦ μέλλοντος. εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ κατακλιθεὶς ἔλαβεν εἰς χεῖρας τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς· καὶ διελθὼν τοῦ βιβλίου τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ ἀναβλέψας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ὡς οὐκ εἶδε κρεμάμενον τὸ ξίφος (ὑφῆρητο γὰρ ὁ παῖς ἔτι δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ), καλέσας οἰκέτην ἠρώτησεν ὅστις λάβοι τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον. σιωπῶντος δὲ ἐκείνου
- 3 πάλιν ἦν πρὸς τῷ βιβλίῳ· καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν, ὥσπερ οὐ σπεύδων οὐδὲ ἐπειγόμενος, ἄλλως δὲ τὸ ξίφος ἐπιζητῶν, ἐκέλευσε κομίσαι. διατριβῆς δὲ γινομένης καὶ μηδενὸς κομίζοντος, ἔξαναγνοὺς τὸ βιβλίον αὐθις ἐκάλει καθ' ἓνα τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνέτεινε τὴν φωνὴν τὸ ξίφος ἀπαιτῶν·
- 4 ἐνὸς δὲ καὶ πύξ τὸ στόμα πατάξας ἤμαξε τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, χαλεπαίνων καὶ βοῶν ἤδη μέγα παραδίδοσθαι τῷ πολεμίῳ γυμνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἄχρι οὗ κλαίων ὁ υἱὸς εἰσέδραμε μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιπεσὼν ὠδύρετο
- καὶ καθικέτευεν. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἔξαναστὰς ἐνέβλεψέ τε δεινὸν καὶ “Πότε,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ καὶ ποῦ λέληθα παρανοίας ἡλωκῶς, ὅτι διδάσκει μὲν

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who were going away by sea, and feared, too, for those whose path lay through a barbarous and waterless desert.

LXVIII. Thus the supper came to an end, and after walking about with his friends as he usually did after supper, he gave the officers of the watch the proper orders, and then retired to his chamber, but not until he had embraced his son and each of his friends with more than his wonted kindness, and thus awakened anew their suspicions of what was to come. After entering his chamber and lying down, he took up Plato's dialogue "On the Soul,"¹ and when he had gone through the greater part of the treatise, he looked up above his head, and not seeing his sword hanging there (for his son had taken it away while Cato was still at supper), called a servant and asked him who had taken the weapon. The servant made no answer, and Cato returned to his book; and a little while after, as if in no haste or hurry, but merely looking for his sword, he bade the servant fetch it. But as there was some delay, and no one brought the weapon, he finished reading his book, and this time called his servants one by one and in louder tones demanded his sword. One of them he smote on the mouth with his fist, and bruised his own hand, angrily crying now in loud tones that his son and his servants were betraying him into the hands of the enemy without arms. At last his son ran in weeping, together with his friends, and after embracing him, betook himself to lamentations and entreaties. But Cato, rising to his feet, took on a solemn look, and said: "When and where, without my knowledge, have I been adjudged a madman, that no

¹ The *Phaedo*.

οὐδείς οὐδὲ μεταπίθεται περὶ ὧν δοκῶ κακῶς βεβουλευ-
 λεῦσθαι, κωλύομαι δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ
 λογισμοῖς καὶ παροπλίζομαι; τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ
 συνδεῖς, ὦ γενναῖε, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας
 ἀποστρέφεις, μέχρι ἂν ἔλθῃ Καῖσαρ εὖρη με
 5 μηδὲ ἀμύνασθαι δυνάμενον; οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἑμαυτόν
 γε δέομαι ξίφους, ὅπου καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα βραχὺν
 χρόνον ἐπισχόντα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἅπαξ πατά-
 ξαντα πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἀποθανεῖν ἔνεστι."

LXIX. Ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν μεираάκιον
 ἐξῆλθε μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποί· τῷ
 δὲ Δημητρίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίδῃ μόνοις ὑπο-
 λειφθεῖσι πρῶτον ἤδη λαλῶν, "Ἡ πον καὶ
 ὑμῖν," ἔφη, "δέδοκται βία κατέχειν ἄνδρα τοσοῦ-
 τον ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ καθημένους αὐτοῦ
 σιωπῇ παραφυλάσσειν, ἢ λόγον ἤκετε κομίζοντες
 ὥς οὐ δεινὸν οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν ἀποροῦντα
 σωτηρίας ἑτέρας Κάτωνα τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου
 2 περιμένειν; τί οὖν οὐ λέγετε πείθοντες ἡμᾶς
 ταῦτα καὶ μεταδιδάσκοντες, ἵνα τὰς προτέρας
 δόξας ἐκείνας καὶ λόγους, οἷς συμβεβιώκαμεν,
 ἐκβαλόντες καὶ γενόμενοι διὰ Καίσαρα σοφώτεροι
 μείζονα χάριν εἰδῶμεν αὐτῷ; καίτοι βεβούλευμαι
 μὲν οὐθὲν ἔγωγε περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ· δεῖ δέ με βουλευ-
 3 σάμενον εἶναι κύριον οἷς ἔγνωκα χρῆσθαι. βου-
 λεύσομαι δὲ τρόπον τινὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν, βουλευόμενος
 μετὰ τῶν λόγων οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς φιλοσοφοῦντες
 χρῆσθε. θαρροῦντες οὖν ἅπιτε, καὶ κελεύετε τὸν
 υἱὸν ἃ μὴ δύναται τὸν πατέρα πείθειν μὴ βιά-
 ζεσθαι."

LXX. Πρὸς ταῦτα μὴθὲν ἀντειπόντες οἱ περὶ
 τὸν Δημήτριον, ἀλλὰ δακρύσαντες ὑπεξῆλθον.

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one instructs or tries to convert me in matters wherein I am thought to have made bad decisions, but I am prevented from using my own judgement, and have my arms taken from me? Why, generous boy, dost thou not also tie thy father's hands behind his back, that Caesar may find me unable to defend myself when he comes? Surely, to kill myself I have no need of a sword, when I have only to hold my breath a little while, or dash my head against the wall, and death will come."

LXIX. As Cato said these words the young man went out sobbing, and all the rest also, except Demetrius and Apollonides. These alone remained, and with these Cato began to talk, now in gentler tones. "I suppose," said he, "that ye also have decided to detain in life by force a man as old as I am, and to sit by him in silence and keep watch of him: or are ye come with the plea that it is neither shameful nor dreadful for Cato, when he has no other way of salvation, to await salvation at the hands of his enemy? Why, then, do ye not speak persuasively and convert me to this doctrine, that we may cast away those good old opinions and arguments which have been part of our very lives, be made wiser through Caesar's efforts, and therefore be more grateful to him? And yet I, certainly, have come to no resolve about myself; but when I have come to a resolve, I must be master of the course which I decide to take. And I shall come to a resolve with your aid, as I might say, since I shall reach it with the aid of those doctrines which ye also adopt as philosophers. So go away with a good courage, and bid my son not to try force with his father when he cannot persuade him."

LXX. Without making any reply to this, but bursting into tears, Demetrius and Apollonides slowly

- εἰσπέμπεται δὲ διὰ παιδίου μικροῦ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον· καὶ λαβὼν ἐσπάσατο καὶ κατενόησεν. ὥς δὲ εἶδεν ἐστῶτα τὸν ἀθέρα καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν διαμένουσαν, εἰπὼν, “Νῦν ἐμός εἰμι,” τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἔθηκε, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον αὐθις ἀνεγίνωσκε, καὶ λέγεται δις
- 2 ὅλον διεξελθεῖν. εἴτα κοιμηθεὶς ὕπνον βαθύν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐκτὸς αἰσθέσθαι, περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐκάλει τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Κλεάνθην τὸν ἱατρὸν καὶ Βούταν, ᾧ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις ἐχρήτο. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως σκεψάμενος εἰ πάντες ἀνηγμένοι τυγχάνουσι, φράσοι πρὸς αὐτόν· τῷ δὲ ἱατρῷ τὴν χεῖρα φλεγμαίνουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἣν ἐπληξε
- 3 τὸν οἰκέτην, ἐπιδῆσαι παρέσχε. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐποίησεν ἡδίους ἅπαντας, ὥς ζωτικῶς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ. μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ παρῆν ὁ Βούτας ἀπαγγέλλων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνῆχθαι, Κράσσον δὲ λείπεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀσχολίας τινός, ὅσον δὲ οὐπω καὶ τοῦτον ἐμβαίνειν, πολὺν δὲ χειμῶνα καὶ μέγα πνεῦμα κατέχειν τὴν θάλατταν. τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Κάτων ἐστέναξεν οἰκτῶ τῶν πλεόντων, καὶ πάλιν ἔπεμψε τὸν Βούταν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, εἴ τις ἄρα παλινδρομήσας δέοιτό τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀπαγγελοῦντα πρὸς αὐτόν.
- 4 Ἦδη δὲ ὄρνιθες ἦδον, καὶ μικρὸν αὐθις κατηνέχθη πρὸς ὕπνον. ἐπανελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Βούτα καὶ φράσαντος πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν περὶ τοὺς λιμένας εἶναι, προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τὴν θύραν κλεῖσαι, καὶ καθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ κλινίδιον ὥς τὸ λοιπὸν
- 5 ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσόμενος. ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Βούτα σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἔωσε μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ

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withdrew. Then the sword was sent in, carried by a little child, and Cato took it, drew it from its sheath, and examined it. And when he saw that its point was keen and its edge still sharp, he said : " Now I am my own master." Then he laid down the sword and resumed his book, and he is said to have read it through twice. Afterwards he fell into so deep a sleep that those outside the chamber heard him. But about midnight he called two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas, who was his chief agent in public matters. Butas he sent down to the sea, to find out whether all had set sail successfully, and bring him word ; while to the physician he gave his hand to bandage, since it was inflamed by the blow that he had given the slave. This made everybody more cheerful, since they thought he had a mind to live. In a little while Butas came with tidings that all had set sail except Crassus, who was detained by some business or other, and he too was on the point of embarking ; Butas reported also that a heavy storm and a high wind prevailed at sea. On hearing this, Cato groaned with pity for those in peril on the sea, and sent Butas down again, to find out whether anyone had been driven back by the storm and wanted any necessaries, and to report to him.

And now the birds were already beginning to sing, when he fell asleep again for a little while. And when Butas came and told him that the harbours were very quiet, he ordered him to close the door, throwing himself down upon his couch as if he were going to rest there for what still remained of the night. But when Butas had gone out, Cato drew his sword from its sheath and stabbed himself below

στήθος, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ κουφότερον διὰ τὴν φλεγμονὴν
 χρησάμενος οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπῆλλαξεν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ
 δυσθανατῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς κλίνης καὶ ψόφον ἐποί-
 ησε, καταβαλὼν ἀβάκιόν τι τῶν γεωμετρικῶν
 παρακείμενον, ὥστε τοὺς θεράποντας αἰσθομένους
 ἀναβοῆσαι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτίκα καὶ τοὺς φίλους 794
 6 ἐπεισελθεῖν. ἰδόντες δὲ πεφυρμένον αἷματι καὶ
 τῶν ἐντέρων τὰ πολλὰ προπεπτωκότα, ζῶντα δ'
 αὐτὸν ἔτι καὶ βλέποντα, δεινῶς μὲν ἅπαντες
 ἔσχον, ὁ δὲ ἰατρὸς προσελθὼν ἐπειράτο τῶν ἐν-
 τέρων ἀτρώτων διαμεινάντων ταῦτά τε καθιστάναι
 καὶ τὸ τραῦμα διαρράπτειν. ὥς οὖν ἀνῆνεγκεν ὁ
 Κάτων καὶ συνεφρόνησε, τὸν μὲν ἰατρὸν ἀπεώ-
 σατο, ταῖς χερσὶ δὲ τὰ ἔντερα σπαράξας καὶ τὸ
 τραῦμα ἐπαναρρήξας ἀπέθανεν.

LXXI. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὐκ ἂν τις ᾤετο χρόνῳ τοὺς
 κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν πάντας ἡσθῆσθαι τὸ πάθος, ἐπὶ
 ταῖς θύραις ἦσαν οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστε-
 ρον ὁ δῆμος ἡθροιστο τῶν Ἰτυκαίων, μιᾷ φωνῇ
 τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ μόνον ἐλεύθερον
 2 καὶ μόνον ἀήττητον καλοῦντων. καὶ ταῦτα ἔπρατ-
 τον ἀγγελλομένου προσιέναι Καίσαρος· ἀλλ' οὔτε
 φόβος αὐτοὺς οὔτε κολακεία τοῦ κρατοῦντος οὔτε
 ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰ καὶ στάσις ἀμβλυτέ-
 ρους ἐποίησε τῆς πρὸς Κάτωνα τιμῆς. κοσμή-
 σαντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα λαμπρῶς καὶ πομπὴν ἐπιφανῇ
 παρασχόντες καὶ θάψαντες παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν,
 οὐκ οὖν ἀνδριάς ἐφέστηκεν αὐτοῦ ξιφῆρης, οὕτως
 ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὸ σῶζειν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν.

LXXII. Καίσαρ δὲ πυνθανόμενος παρὰ τῶν
 ἀφικνουμένων ὑπομένειν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ τὸν Κάτωνα
 μηδὲ φεύγειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄλλους προπέμπειν,

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the breast. His thrust, however, was somewhat feeble, owing to the inflammation in his hand, and so he did not at once dispatch himself, but in his death struggle fell from the couch and made a loud noise by overturning a geometrical abacus that stood near. His servants heard the noise and cried out, and his son at once ran in, together with his friends. They saw that he was smeared with blood, and that most of his bowels were protruding, but that he still had his eyes open and was alive; and they were terribly shocked. But the physician went to him and tried to replace his bowels, which remained uninjured, and to sew up the wound. Accordingly, when Cato recovered and became aware of this, he pushed the physician away, tore his bowels with his hands, rent the wound still more, and so died.

LXXI. Before one would have thought that all in the house could learn of the event, the three hundred were at the door, and a little later the people of Utica had assembled. With one voice they called Cato their saviour and benefactor, the only man who was free, the only one unvanquished. And this they continued to do even when word was brought that Caesar was approaching. But neither fear of the conqueror, nor a desire to flatter him, nor their mutual strife and dissension, could blunt their desire to honour Cato. They decked his body in splendid fashion, gave it an illustrious escort, and buried it near the sea, where a statue of him now stands, sword in hand. Then they turned their thoughts to their own salvation and that of their city.

LXXII. When Caesar learned from people who came to him that Cato was remaining in Utica and not trying to escape, but that he was sending off the

αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀδεῶς ἀναστρέφεσθαι, δυστέκμαρτον ἡγεῖτο τὴν γνώμην τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἅτε δὲ τὸν πλείστον λόγον ἔχων ἐκείνου προσήγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπειγόμενος.
 2 ὥς δὲ ἤκουσε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, λέγεται τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν· “ὦ Κάτων, φθονῶ σοι τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τῆς σαυτοῦ σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι σωθῆναι Κάτων ἀνασχομένος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος οὐκ ἂν οὕτω δοκεῖ καταισχύναι τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ὥς κοσμήσαι τὴν ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ πραχθὲν ἂν ἄδηλον· εἰκάζεται δὲ τὰ χρηστότερα παρὰ Καίσαρος.

LXXIII. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κάτων ἔτη δυεῖν δέοντα πεντήκοντα βεβιωκώς. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μὲν οὐδὲν ἡδικήθη· λέγεται δὲ ῥάθυμος γενέσθαι καὶ περὶ γυναῖκας οὐκ ἀνεπίληπτος. ἐν δὲ Καππαδοκίᾳ ξένῳ τινὶ χρησόμενος Μαρφαδάτῃ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἔχοντι γύναιον εὐπρεπές, καὶ πλείονα παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἢ καλῶς εἶχε
 2 διατρίβων χρόνον, ἐσκώπτετο τοιαῦτα γραφόντων εἰς αὐτόν·

αὔριον Κάτων βαδίζει μετὰ τριάκονθ’ ἡμέρας· καί,

Πόρκιος καὶ Μαρφαδάτης, δύο φίλοι, ψυχὴ μία. Ψυχὴ γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τοῦ Μαρφαδάτου τὸ γύναιον. καὶ ἔτι,

εὐγενὴς καὶ λαμπρὸς ὁ Κάτων· βασιλικὴν ψυχὴν ἔχει.

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rest, while he himself, his companions, and his son, were fearlessly going up and down, he thought it difficult to discern the purpose of the man, but since he made the greatest account of him, he came on with his army in all haste. When, however, he heard of his death, he said thus much only, as we are told: "O Cato, I begrudge thee thy death; for thou didst begrudge me the sparing of thy life." For, in reality, if Cato could have consented to have his life spared by Caesar, he would not be thought to have defiled his own fair fame, but rather to have adorned that of Caesar. However, what would have happened is uncertain; though the milder course is to be conjectured on the part of Caesar.

LXXIII. When Cato died,¹ he was forty-eight years old. His son received no harm at the hands of Caesar, but he was of an easy disposition, as we are told, and in his relations with women not blameless. In Cappadocia he enjoyed the hospitality of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a comely wife; and since young Cato spent more time with them than was seemly, he was satirized in such writings as these:

"On the morrow Cato journeys,—after a good round thirty days;"
and,

"Marphadates and Porcius, two friends with but a single Soul."

For the wife of Marphadates was named Psyche (*soul*). And again:

"Nobly born, illustrious, our Cato hath a royal Soul."

¹ In 46 B.C. A single letter of his to Cicero is extant (*ad div.* xv. 5): cf. chapter xxiii. 3.

- 3 ἀλλὰ πᾶσάν γε τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξήλειψε καὶ ἠφάνισε τῷ θανάτῳ δύσκειαν. ἀγωνιζόμενος γὰρ ἐν Φιλίπποις πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ κλινομένης τῆς φάλαγγος οὔτε φυγεῖν οὔτε λαθεῖν ἀξιώσας, ἀλλὰ προκαλούμενος τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμπροσθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐμφανίζων καὶ συνεξορμῶν τοὺς συμμένοντας ἔπεσε, θαῦμα τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρασχών.
- 4 Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Κάτωνος οὔτε σωφροσύνης οὔτε ἀνδρείας ἀπολειφθεῖσα (Βρούτῳ γὰρ συνώκει τῷ κτείναντι Καίσαρα) αὐτῆς τε τῆς συνωμοσίας μετέσχε, καὶ προήκατο τὸν βίον ἀξίως τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ ἀρετῆς, ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βρούτου γέγραπται. Στατύλλιος δὲ φήσας μμεῖσθαι Κάτωνα τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐκωλύθη βουλόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ Βρούτῳ πιστότατον ἑαυτὸν παρασχών καὶ χρησιμώτατον ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀπέθανεν.

CATO THE YOUNGER

But all such ill-report was blotted out and removed by the manner of his death. For he fought at Philippi against Caesar and Antony, in behalf of liberty; and when his line of battle was giving way, he deigned not either to fly or to hide himself, but challenged the enemy, displayed himself in front of them, cheered on those who held their ground with him, and so fell, after amazing his foes by his valour.

And still more true is it that the daughter of Cato was deficient neither in prudence nor courage. She was the wife of the Brutus who slew Caesar, was privy to the conspiracy itself, and gave up her life in a manner worthy of her noble birth and her lofty character, as is told in the *Life of Brutus*.¹ Statyllius, too, who declared that he would follow Cato's example,² was prevented at the time by the philosophers from destroying himself, as he wished to do, but afterwards gave most faithful and efficient service to Brutus, and died at Philippi.³

¹ Chapters xiii. and liii. ² Cf. above, chapter lxvi. 4.

³ Cf. the *Brutus*, li. 4.

**A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES**

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

- Adrumetum** (or **Hadrumetum**), 381, a Phœnician sea-port on the coast of northern Africa, a few miles south of Carthage.
- Afranius**, 53, **Lucius A.**, a warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius, as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. In 55 B.C. he was sent by Pompey with Petreius, to hold Spain for him. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.).
- Annius**, 19, **Caius A. Luscus**, had served under Metellus Numidicus in the Jugurthine war (108 B.C.).
- Antæus**, 25, a fabled Libyan giant and wrestler, son of Poseidon, whose strength was invincible as long as he remained in contact with his mother Earth. Heracles discovered his secret and slew him.
- Antigonus**, 5, 85, 211, 215, surnamed the One-eyed, a general of Alexander who received the provinces of Phrygia, Lycia and Pamphylia in the division of Alexander's empire, and succeeded in making himself king of all Asia. He fell in the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.).
- Antipater the Tyrian**, 245, died shortly before 44 B.C., according to Cicero (*de off.* ii. 86).
- Antipater**, 87, 91-95, 145, 185, 197, 201-217, regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence in the East, and of Alexander's empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. He died in 319.
- Antiphilus**, 199, 201, an Athenian general known only from these events of the Lamian war.
- Antonius**, 73, known only from this incident.
- Apollonides the Stoic**, 397, 399, 403, known only from these incidents.
- Aquinus**, 37, known only from these incidents.
- Archilochus**, 161, 251, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.
- Ariminum**, 361, an important city of Umbria, on the sea-coast, about nine miles south of the Rubicon.
- Aristophon**, 161, of the Athenian deme Colyttus, a prominent orator and politician contemporary with Demosthenes.
- Athenodorus** (1), of Imbros, 187, an Athenian of Imbrian family, and a mercenary captain in the East, who attained political power in Thrace in 359 B.C. He was a supporter of Persia against Alexander, by whom he was captured at Sardis in 334.
- Athenodorus** (2), surnamed Cordylion, 257, 269, a Stoic philosopher, born at Tarsus. He was keeper of the library at Pergamum, whence he removed to Rome in 70 B.C., and lived there with Cato.

B

- Bætica**, 21, 31, the southern district of Spain, traversed by the great river Bætis.
- Barca**, 327, not otherwise known.

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Bibulus, 293, 295, 311, 313, 351, 367, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.C., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He died in 48.

Boëdromion, 207, the Attic month corresponding to parts of our September and October.

Butas, 405, known also as an author from the *Romulus*. xxv 3.

C

Caepio (1), 7, Quintus Servilius C., consul in 106 B.C., and pro-consul in Gallia Narbonensis for the following year. Ten years after his defeat by the Cimbri (*Camillus*, xix. 7) he was brought to trial for misconduct of the war, condemned, and thrown into prison.

Caepio (2), 237, 239, 243, 245, 253, Quintus Servilius C., half-brother of Cato.

Caesar, 397, Lucius, not otherwise known.

Callimедon, 221, 227, 229, surnamed the Crab, one of the Athenian orators who favoured the Macedonian interest.

Canidius, 321-325, not otherwise known.

Carbo, 15, 19, 61, Gnaeus Papirius C., one of the leaders of the Marian party. After his flight to Libya (*Sulla*, xxix. 8) he was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put to death (*Pompey*, chapter x.).

Cardia, 79, 85, 87, one of the chief towns of the Thracian Chersonese.

Cassander, 215, 217, a son of Antipater the regent of Macedonia, to whom his father refused the succession. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., and died in 297.

Castulo, 7, an important city in the southern part of Hispania Tarraconensis, on the upper waters of the Baetis.

Catiline, 287, Lucius Sergius, the famous conspirator in the consulship of Cicero (63 B.C.). See the *Cicero*, chapters x.-xxii.

Catulus, 271, 273, Quintus Lutatius C., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65, died in 60.

Cenchraeae, 329, the eastern harbour-town of Corinth.

Cephisodotus, 189, a celebrated Athenian sculptor. In 371 B.C. he executed for the Athenians a group of Peace holding Pylus the god of riches in her arms.

Ceraunian Mountains, 211, sometimes called Acroceraunian, a range in the northern part of Epirus.

Chabrias, 157-161, an able and successful Athenian general, prominent from 392 B.C. till his gallant death at the siege of Chios in 357.

Chaeroneia, 181, a town commanding the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, celebrated for the number of important battles fought in its neighbourhood. Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.C.

Chares (1), 155, 175, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.C.

Chares (2), 185, of Mitylene, court chamberlain of Alexander, and author of an anecdotal history of Alexander's campaigns.

Charicles, 193, 195, 221, 229, known only from these incidents.

Charidemus, 5, 179, 183, an Athenian general and a roving soldier of fortune, prominent from 367 to 349 B.C.

Cinna, 11-15, Lucius Cornelius C., leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87-84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85, and 84. He was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla. See the *Pompey*, v. 1.

Cleanthes, 405, known only from this passage.

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Cleitus, 225, 227, successfully commanded the fleet of Antipater in the Lamian war (323 B.C.), and later (318) that of Polysperchon at Byzantium, but was surprised by Antigonus, defeated, and slain.

Clodius, 279, 281, 311, 315-319, 331, 333, 345. Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, youngest son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the *Sulla*, xxix. 3. He helped to demoralise the soldiers of Lucullus (*Lucullus*, xxxiv.), and became a venomous foe of Cicero.

Corcyra, 329, 371, an island in the Ionian sea, opposite Epirus; the modern Corfu.

Cotta, 31, possibly the Marcus Aurelius Cotta who became consul with Lucullus in 74 B.C. now a legate under Caius Annus (pp. 19 f.).

Crassus, 405, not otherwise known.

Craterus, 91-95, 187, 201, 203, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and a man of noble character. He fell in battle against Eumenes in 321 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, v. ff.

Ctesippus, 159, not otherwise known.

Curio, 267, 349, probably the Calus Scribonius Curio who was consul in 76 B.C. He was a steadfast opponent of Julius Caesar, and a friend of Cicero and Cato. He was pontifex maximus in 57, and died in 53.

Cyrene, 371, the most important Greek colony on the northern coast of Africa, almost directly south of Crete. It was founded in 631 B.C.

D

Delotarus the Galatian, 261, 267, 289, tetrarch of Galatia in Asia Minor, and an old man in 54 B.C. (*Crassus*, xvii. 1 f.). He was a faithful friend of the Romans in

their Asiatic wars, and in 63 was rewarded by the senate with the title of King. Caesar could never be brought to pardon him for siding with Pompey.

Demades, 145, 181, 191, 195, 213, 215, an Athenian politician and orator of Macedonian sympathies, and bitterly hostile to Demosthenes.

Demetrius the Peripatetic, 397, 403, not definitely known.

Demetrius of Phalerum, a celebrated rhetorician and orator (346-283 B.C.). He was regent of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.

Demophilus, 233, not otherwise known.

Didius, 7, Titus Didius, consul in 98 B.C. He fell in battle during the Marsic war (89 B.C.).

Diopelthes, 161, an Athenian general, father of the poet Menander. He was arraigned by the Macedonian party at Athens, and was defended by Demosthenes in the extant oration "On the Chersonese."

Dodona, 209, a town in Epirus, famous in earlier times for its oracle of Zeus, the influence of which among the Greek states was later assumed by the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

Domitius (1), 31, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, known only from this defeat, in which he was killed.

Domitius (2), 333, 335, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C. He was one of the ablest supporters of the aristocratic party. He opposed both Pompey and Caesar until their quarrel, then sided with Pompey. He met his death at Pharsalus.

Drusus, 237, 239, Marcus Livius D., at first an able and ardent supporter of the aristocratic party and the senate, but afterwards an agitator like the Gracchi. He was assassinated in 91 B.C.

Duris, 79, 153, 185, the Samian, a

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pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, lived *circa* 350–280 B.C.

Dyrrhachium, 365–369, a city on the coast of Illyricum, opposite to Brundisium, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

E

Ebro (Iberus), 41, a large river the basin of which forms the north-eastern part of the peninsula of Spain.

Echecratides the sophist, 187, not otherwise known.

Elateia, 223, a city of Phocis in a plain commanding passes into southern Greece.

Epicurus, 233, not otherwise known.

Eubulus, 161, a leading Athenian orator and statesman, highly successful as a minister of finance. He was of the party opposed to Demosthenes.

F

Favonius, 315, 347, 349, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," was aedile in 52 B.C. and praetor in 49. He joined Pompey in the East, notwithstanding personal enmity towards him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus (cf. the *Pompey*, lxxiii. 6 f.). He was put to death by order of Octavius Caesar after the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.).

Fimbria, 65, Caius Flavius F., a partisan of Marius. He won important successes against Mithridates in 85 B.C., but was defeated and brought to death by Sulla in 84. See the *Sulla*, xxiii.–xxv.

Fufidius, 31, a creature of Sulla, mentioned also in the *Sulla*, xxxi. 3.

G

Gabinus, 317, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was in exile. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.

Glaucippus, 153, not otherwise known.

Gracinus, 69, not otherwise known.

H

Hagnonides (or Agnonides), 211, 221, 223, 227, 233, an Athenian sycophant and demagogue, whose career is known mostly from this *Life*.

Harpalus, 191–195, the faithless treasurer of Alexander. Antipater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, who put him in prison. Thence he escaped and went to Crete, where he was assassinated.

Hegemon, 225, 229, a minor Athenian orator of the time of Demosthenes, who supported the interests of Macedon.

Hephaestion, 29, 81, 83, officer and beloved friend of Alexander.

Hortensius, 293, 295, 363, the great oratorical rival of Cicero, a man of high character, brilliant parts, and great wealth. He died in 50 B.C.

Hyperides, 153, 161, 169, 183, 197, 203, 205, 211, a great Athenian orator, who stood with Demosthenes at the head of the anti-Macedonian party.

Hypsaeus, 351, Publius Plautius H., tribune of the people in 54 B.C., and candidate for the consulship two years later. He was accused of corrupt practices, tried, and convicted. Pompey, whom he had devotedly served, forsook him in the hour of need.

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I

Iberians, 69 and *passim*, a general name for the original peoples of the Spanish peninsula.

Ios, 5, an island in the eastern Aegean sea, one of the Sporades, south of Naxos.

J

Juba (1), 373-379, 385-389, Juba I., king of Numidia, and a supporter of Pompey, to whom he owed his throne. He followed Cato's example and put an end to his own life.

Juba (2), 25, Juba II., king of Mauretania, son of the preceding. After his father's death in 46 B.C., he was taken as a child to Rome by Caesar, where he was educated. He became a learned and voluminous writer, and among his works was a History of Rome.

L

Labienus, 373, though a trusted officer of Caesar in Gaul, he went over to Pompey in the Civil War, fled to Africa after the battle of Pharsalus, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda, and was slain (45 B.C.).

Laelius, 253, Caius L., a brilliant commander and statesman, whose deeds are inseparably interwoven with those of his friend and companion, the elder Scipio. He died about 170 B.C.

Laomedon, 3, a mythical king of Troy, the father of Priam.

Lauron, 49, a small town in the S.E. part of Spain, south of Valentia, near the sea.

Leonnatus, 85, 87, 201, one of Alexander's most distinguished officers.

Leosthenes, 161, 195-203, an Athenian, general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander.

Lollius, 273, Marcus L., not further known.

Lusitanians, 25-31, 69, the people of the western district or province of Spain.

Lycurgus (1), 191, the great Spartan lawgiver.

Lycurgus (2), 161, 167, 183, an able Athenian orator and a highly successful minister of finance (396-323 B.C.), one of the noblest specimens of old Attic integrity and virtue in a degenerate age.

M

Manlius (1), 33, Lucius M., pro-consul in Narbonese Gaul in 78 B.C. He was badly defeated by one of the generals of Sertorius.

Manlius (2), 69, 71, 75, not otherwise known.

Marcellus, 277, perhaps the Caius Claudius Marcellus who was consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar.

Marius, 15, an adopted son of the elder Marius. He became consul at the age of twenty-seven, and was as merciless and cruel as his father. His death by his own hands is noted in the *Sulla*, xxxii. 1.

Mellaria, 31, a small town on the southern coast of Spain.

Memmius (1), 55, Caius M., a brother-in-law of Pompey, and his quaestor in Spain. Cf. the *Pompey*, xl. 2.

Memmius (2), 305, 307, Caius M. Gemellus, tribune of the people at this time (66 B.C.), and two years later an unsuccessful candidate for the consulship. He left Rome under impeachment for

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- corrupt practices, and spent the rest of his life in Mitylene.
- Menestheus**, 161, a son of the famous Athenian general Iphicrates by a Thracian princess. He was distinguished for his military skill, and was prominent with his father in the Social War (356 B.C.). Nothing is heard of him after 325 B.C.
- Menon** the Thessalian, 201, a citizen of Pharsalus, and a man of great influence and reputation. His cavalry bore themselves well in the battle of Crannon. In 321 he was defeated and slain by Polysperchon.
- Mentor**, 81, not further known.
- Menyllus**, 207, 209, 213, 217, known only from these passages.
- Metellus** (1), 5, 31-61, 73, **Quintus Caecilius M. Pius**, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla's death in 78 Metellus was sent to Spain as pro-consul to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63.
- Metellus** (2), 281-285, 297-305, **Quintus M. Nepos**, a partisan of Pompey, and for a time a violent opponent of Cicero. As consul, however, in 57 B.C., he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from exile. He died in 55.
- Metellus** (3), 313, **Quintus Caecilius M. Numidicus**, victor over Jugurtha in 109 B.C., but supplanted by Marius. He was censor in 102, was unjustly expelled from the senate, and went into exile, from which he was recalled in 99 B.C., largely through the efforts of his son, Metellus Pius.
- Micion**, 201, known only from this passage.
- Milo**, 351, **Titus Annius Papianus**, a ruffian and swashbuckler, tribune of the people in 57 B.C., and from that time on involved in a fierce quarrel with Clodius, which ended with the murder of Clodius. Milo was impeached for the crime, defended by Cicero in an extant oration, condemned, and sent into exile. Attempting to return by force in 48, he was slain.
- Mithridates**, 11, 63-67, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly called the Great, 120-63 B.C., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.
- Molossus**, 175, not otherwise known.
- Munatius**, 255, 293, 301, 307, 309, 323-327, 361, the bosom friend of Cato.
- Murena**, 285, 287, 303, **Lucius Licinius M.**, had served under Lucullus (*Lucullus*, xix. 7). On his trial he was defended by Hortensius and Cicero (in an extant oration), and acquitted.

N

- Nearchus**, 81, the able and trusted admiral of Alexander.
- Neoptolemus**, 79, 89-101, an officer of Alexander.
- New Carthage**, 19, a famous colony of Carthage on the south-eastern coast of Spain.
- Nicanor**, 217-221, held the Peiraeus for Cassander, and afterwards served him successfully as naval commander in the Hellespont, but awakened his jealousy and was put to death by him.
- Nicocles**, 183, 229, 231, not otherwise known.
- Norbanus**, 15, **Caius N.**, consul in 83 B.C. After his defeats by Sulla and Metellus, he fled to Rhodes, where he put an end to his own life.

O

- Octavius** (1), 11, 13, **Gnaeus O.**, consul with Cinna in 87 B.C. His death is described in the *Marius*, xiii.

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Octavius (2), 395, Marcus O., consul in 54 B.C., and a supporter of Pompey in the Civil War. He fled to Africa in 47. He is last heard of as serving under Antony at the battle of Actium in 31.

Osca, 37, 69, a Roman colony in north-eastern Spain.

P

- Paccianus, 23, not otherwise known.
- Pella, 87, the capital city of Macedonia.
- Perdiccas, 79, 85, 89-93, the officer to whom the dying Alexander is said to have given his signet-ring, and regent for the royal successors of Alexander till 321 B.C.
- Perpenna, 39, 41, 67-75, Marcus P. Vento, a leading partisan of Marius. On the death of Sulla (78 B.C.) he joined Lepidus in his attempt to win the supreme power, and failing here, retired to Spain and served under Sertorius.
- Pessinus, 269, an important town in the west of Galatia, famous for its cult of Cybele.
- Pharsalus, 369, 373, an ancient town in southern Thessaly, near which Caesar finally defeated Pompey.
- Philip, 5, 79, Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander.
- Philippi, 411, a city of Macedonia on the river Strymon, formerly called Crenides, but renamed by Philip II.
- Philippus, 293, 295, 331, Lucius Marcius P., consul in 56 B.C., and step-father of Octavius Caesar. He remained neutral in the civil wars, and lived to see his step-son master of the world.
- Philostratus, 375, the Aegyptian, a professed but degenerate follower of the Academy, afterwards associated with Antony and Cleopatra (*Antony*, lxxx. 2).
- Phocus, 189, 191, 213, 229, 233, the son of Phocion, not otherwise known.
- Pigres, 95, an officer not otherwise known.
- Piso, 307, 317, Lucius Calpurnius P., father-in-law of Julius Caesar. He plundered his province of Macedonia shamelessly, and was recalled in 55 B.C. He is covered with invective in Cicero's oration *de Provinc. Cons.* He took no part in the Civil War.
- Pityussa, 19, the name of two islands (often spoken of as one) lying off the southern coast of Spain.
- Plancus, 353, Titus Munatius P. Bursa, tribune of the people in 52 B.C. and largely responsible for the riots of that year, for complicity in which he was tried and condemned. He was restored to civil rights by Julius Caesar, and served under Antony.
- Plutarch the Eretrian, 171, 173, sought the aid of the Athenians against his rival, the tyrant of Chalcis, who had allied himself with Philip of Macedon.
- Pollio, 363, 365, Caius Asinius P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.C.-4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar, fought under him in Africa and Spain, and after Caesar's death supported Octavius Caesar. After 29, he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works are extant.
- Polyeuctus the Sphettian, 165, an Athenian of the deme Sphettus, a political friend of Demosthenes, and an orator of some note.
- Polysperchon, 217, 221-225, a distinguished officer of Alexander, appointed by Antipater to succeed him in the regency. He connived at some of the worst crimes of Cassander.
- Pompeius (1), 371 ("the younger Pompey"), Gnaeus P., the elder son of the triumvir by his third

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S

- wife, put to death by the troops of Caesar after the battle of Munda in Spain (45 B.C.).
- Pompeius (2), 371, 383, Sextus P., the younger son of the triumvir by his third wife, escaped after the battle of Munda and was active against the triumvirate until his death in 35 B.C.
- Porcia (1), 333, Cato's own sister, died in 46 B.C., ten years after her husband.
- Porcia (2), 293, 411, Cato's daughter, married first to Bibulus, Caesar's consular colleague, in 59 B.C. Bibulus died in 48, and in 45 Porcia married Brutus the conspirator.
- Ptolemy (1), 81, 91, Ptolemy Lagus, the most far-sighted and successful of the officers of Alexander, afterwards Ptolemy I. of Egypt.
- Ptolemy (2), 321, Ptolemy XI. of Egypt, commonly known as Ptolemy Auletes. After many disappointments he was at last restored to his throne in 55 B.C., through the influence of Pompey, but never regained the goodwill of his people.
- Ptolemy (3), 319, 321, younger brother of Ptolemy Auletes, and king of Cyprus. He incurred the enmity of Clodius, who, as tribune of the Roman people, brought in a decree depriving him of his kingdom.
- Pytheas, 191, an Athenian orator chiefly known for his unreasoning hatred of Demosthenes. He was a man of no fixed character, and in the Lamian War became a renegade from Athens. See the *Demosthenes*, xxxii.
- Pythocles, 229, not otherwise known.
- R
- Rubrius (1), 255, known only from this allusion.
- Rubrius (2), Marcus R., not otherwise known.
- Saguntum, 55, a rich commercial city on the east coast of Spain, near the sea.
- Salinator, 19, Julius, not otherwise known.
- Scipio (1), 3, 253, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major (234-183 B.C.), the conqueror of Hannibal.
- Scipio (2), 3, Publius Cornelius S. Aemilianus Africanus Minor (185-129 B.C.), the destroyer of Carthage.
- Scipio (3), 15, 17, Lucius Cornelius S. Asiaticus, belonged to the Marian party in the civil wars, and was consul in 83 B.C., the year when Sulla returned from the East (cf. the *Sulla*, xxviii. 1-3). He was proscribed in 82, and fled to Massilla, where he died.
- Scipio (4), 251, 351, 375-379, 385, 387, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius and therefore called Metellus Scipio, was made Pompey's colleague in the consulship late in the year 52 B.C., and became a determined foe of Caesar. He commanded Pompey's centre at Pharsalus, fled to Africa, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.). Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and the father-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.
- Serranus, 251, probably the Sextus Atilius S. Gavianus, who was quaestor in 63 B.C. and favoured by Cicero, but as tribune of the people in 57 opposed the recall of Cicero from exile.
- Servilia (1), 285, 291, half-sister of Cato, and faithless wife of Silanus.
- Servilia (2), 293, 305, 365 f., another half-sister of Cato, the faithless wife of Lucullus.
- Silanus, 285-289, Decimus Junius S., consul in 64 and 62 B.C.
- Silo, 239, 241, Pompaedius S., leader of the Marsi in the Social

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War, and confederate. with Drusus. He displayed great military ability in the war, but was finally defeated by Metellus Pius in 88 B.C., and died in battle.

Statyllius, 395-399, 411, known only from these passages.

Sucro, 51, a river in south-eastern Spain, between Valentia and Lauron.

Sulpicius, 355, Servius S. Lemonia Rufus, a friend and fellow-student of Cato, and a successful competitor against him for the consulship in 51 B.C. He supported the cause of Caesar, and died in 43.

Thrasea, 293, 325, Publius T. Paetus, a noble Roman who fell a victim to the hatred of Nero in 66 A.D. In his youth he was devoted to the Stoic philosophy, and wrote a study of the life of Cato the Younger.

Thudippus, 229, not otherwise known.

Trebonius, 339, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and was loaded with favours by him, but was one of the conspirators against his life.

Turia, 51, a small town near the upper waters of the Sucro, in south-eastern Spain.

T

Taenarum, 211, the promontory at the extreme south of Laconia.

Tagonius, 43, a tributary of the river Tagus, in south-western Spain.

Thapsus, 379, a maritime city of northern Africa, south of Carthage.

Theodorus the Athelst, 233, a philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, banished from his native city of Cyrene, and resident at Athens during the regency of Demetrius the Phalerian (318-307 B.C.).

Theophrastus, 35, 325, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Thermus, 299, 301, Minucius, not otherwise definitely known.

Thessalonica, 259, the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia, situated at the head of the Thermaic gulf.

Thoranius, 31, not otherwise known.

U

Utica, 375-407, a Phoenician colony from Tyre, older than Carthage, on the northern coast of Africa twenty-seven miles north-west of Carthage.

V

Vaccæi, 59, an important people in the interior of Hispania Tarraconensis, or north-eastern Spain.

Varus, 373-377, Publius Attius V., a zealous partisan of Pompey. When Pompey forsook Italy in 49 B.C., Varus took possession of Africa, where he had formerly been pro-prætor. In conjunction with King Juba he crushed Curio, the legate of Caesar. He fell in the battle of Munda (45).

Vatinius, 337, Publius V., a leading partisan of Caesar, prætor in 55 B.C., after which he served Caesar as legate in Gaul, and in important commands during the Civil War. He is last heard of in 43.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

X

Xenocrates, the philosopher, 205, 213, a native of Chalcedon in Bithynia, and a disciple at Athens of Aeschines the Socratic. He lived 396-314 B.C.

Z

Zeno, 155, probably the Stoic philosopher is meant, who taught at Athens in the third century B.C., and wrote on law and government.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

IX

DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY
PYRRHUS AND CAIUS MARIUS



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important deviation from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. Of the *Lives* presented in this volume, the last part of the *Antony* (from chapter lxxvii.), and the *Pyrrhus* and *Marius* are contained in the Codex Sangermanensis (S^s), but none in the Codex Seitenstetensis (S). These are the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts. The readings of the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F^a) are not accessible for any of them. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the new text of the *Lives* by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (now

PREFATORY NOTE

half published). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

The Siefert-Blass edition of the *Pyrrhus*, in the Teubner series of annotated Greek and Latin texts, has been of great service.

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including those of the *Antony* and *Marius* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

June, 1920.

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DEMETRIUS

VOL. IX.

B

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ

- I. Οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς τέχνας εἰκέναι ταῖς αἰσθή-
 σεσιν ὑπολαβόντες οὐχ ἥκιστα μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν
 περὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτῶν κατανοῆσαι δύναμιν, ἥ
 τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμοίως ἐν ἑκατέρῳ¹ γένει πεφύ-
 καμεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐταῖς
 κοινόν ἐστι· τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὰ τέλη τῶν κρινομένων
 2 ἀναφορᾷ διαλλάττουσιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἴσθησις
 οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ λευκῶν ἢ μελάνων διαγνώ-
 σει γέγονεν, οὐδὲ γλυκέων ἢ πικρῶν, οὐδὲ μαλα-
 κῶν καὶ εἰκόντων ἢ σκληρῶν καὶ ἀντιτύπων, ἀλλ'
 ἔργον αὐτῆς ἐκάστοις ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὑπὸ πάν-
 των τε κινεῖσθαι καὶ κινουμένην πρὸς τὸ φρονοῦν
 ἀναφέρειν ὡς πέπονθεν. αἱ δὲ τέχναι μετὰ λόγου
 συνεστῶσαι πρὸς αἵρεσιν καὶ λήψιν οἰκείου τινός,
 φυγὴν δὲ καὶ διάκρουσιν ἄλλοτρίου, τὰ μὲν ἀφ'
 αὐτῶν προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι
 3 κατὰ συμβεβηκός ἐπιθεωροῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ἰατρικῇ
 τὸ νοσερὸν καὶ ἀρμονικῇ τὸ ἐκμελές, ὅπως ἔχει,
 σκοπεῖν συμβέβηκε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπερ-
 γασίαν, αἷ τε πασῶν τελειόταται τεχνῶν, σωφ-
 ροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις, οὐ καλῶν

¹ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske : ἑκατέρῳ.

DEMETRIUS:

I. THOSE who first assumed that the arts are like the bodily senses, seem to me to have perceived very clearly the power of making distinctions which, both possess, by which power we are enabled to apprehend opposites, as well in the one case as in the other. For the arts and the senses have this power in common; though in the use to which we put the distinctions made, they differ. For our sense-perception has no greater facility in distinguishing white objects than black, or sweet things than bitter, or soft and yielding substances than hard and resisting ones, but its function is to receive impressions from all objects alike, and having received them, to report the resulting sensation to the understanding. The arts, on the other hand, which proceed by the use of reason to the selection and adoption of what is appropriate, and to the avoidance and rejection of what is alien to themselves, contemplate the one class of objects with direct intent and by preference, and yet incidentally contemplate the other class also, and in order to avoid them. For instance, the art of healing has incidentally studied the nature of disease, and the art of harmony the nature of discord, in order to produce their opposites; and the most consummate arts of all, namely, temperance, justice, and wisdom, since their function is to distinguish, not only what is good and just

- μόνον καὶ δικαίων καὶ ὠφελίμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλα- 881
 βερῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν· καὶ ἀδίκων κρίσεις οὔσαι,
 τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων καλλωπιζομένην ἀκακίαν
 οὐκ ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀβελτερίαν ἡγοῦνται καὶ
 ἄγνοίαν ὧν μάλιστα γινώσκειν προσήκει τοὺς
 4 ὀρθῶς βιβισκομένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ Σπαρ-
 τιᾶται τοὺς ἐλλώτας ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς πολὺν ἀναγ-
 κάζοντες πίνειν ἄκρατον εἰσῆγον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια,
 τοῖς νέοις οἷόν ἐστι τὸ μεθύειν ἐπιδεικνύντες·
 ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐτέρων ἐπανόρ-
 θωσιν οὐ πάνυ φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲ πολιτικὴν
 5 ἡγοῦμεθα, τῶν δὲ κεχρημένων ἀσκεπτότερον αὐ-
 τοῖς καὶ γεγονότων ἐν ἐξουσίαις καὶ πράγμασι
 μεγάλοις ἐπιφανῶν εἰς κακίαν, οὐ χεῖρον ἴσως
 ἐστὶ συζυγίαν μίαν ἢ δύο παρεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰ
 παραδείγματα τῶν βίων, οὐκ ἐφ' ἡδονῇ, μὰ Δία,
 καὶ διαγωγῇ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ποικίλλοντας
 6 τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ Θηβαῖος
 ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ
 τοὺς κακῶς αὐλοῦντας εἰώθει λέγειν, "Οὕτως
 αὐλεῖν δεῖ," καὶ πάλιν, "Οὕτως αὐλεῖν οὐ δεῖ,"
 ὁ δ' Ἀντιγενίδας καὶ ἥδιον ᾤετο τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 ἀκροᾶσθαι τοὺς νέους αὐλητῶν ἢ καὶ τῶν
 φαύλων πείραν λαμβάνωσιν, οὕτω μοι δοκοῦμεν
 καὶ ἡμεῖς προθυμότεροι τῶν βελτιόνων ἔσεσθαι
 καὶ θεαταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ βίων εἰ μὴδὲ τῶν φαύλων
 καὶ ψεγομένων ἀνιστορήτως ἔχοιμεν.
 7 Περιέξει δὴ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον τὸν Δημητρίου
 τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ βίον καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ αὐτο-
 κράτορος, ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα δὴ τῷ Πλάτῳ
 μαρτυρησάντων ὅτι καὶ κακίας μεγάλας, ὥσπερ

DEMETRIUS

and expedient, but also what is bad and unjust and disgraceful, have no praises for a guilelessness which plumes itself on its inexperience of evil, nay, they consider it to be foolishness, and ignorance of what ought especially to be known by men who would live aright. Accordingly, the ancient Spartans would put compulsion upon their helots at the festivals to drink much unmixed wine, and would then bring them into the public messes, in order to show their young men what it was to be drunk. And though I do not think that the perverting of some to secure the setting right of others is very humane, or a good civil policy, still, when men have led reckless lives, and have become conspicuous, in the exercise of power or in great undertakings, for badness, perhaps it will not be much amiss for me to introduce a pair or two of them into my biographies, though not that I may merely divert and amuse my readers by giving variety to my writing. Ismenias the Theban used to exhibit both good and bad players to his pupils on the flute and say, "you must play like this one," or again, "you must not play like this one"; and Antigenidas used to think that young men would listen with more pleasure to good flute-players if they were given an experience of bad ones also. So, I think, we also shall be more eager to observe and imitate the better lives if we are not left without narratives of the blameworthy and the bad.

This book will therefore contain the Lives of Demetrius the City-besieger and Antony the Emperor, men who bore most ample testimony to the truth of Plato's saying¹ that great natures exhibit

¹ It is uncertain what passage in Plato is meant.

ἀρετάς, αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις ἐκφέρουσι. γενόμενοι δ' ὁμοίως ἐρωτικοί, ποτικοί, στρατιωτικοί, μεγαλόδωροι, πολυτελεῖς, ὕβρισταί, καὶ τὰς κατὰ
8 τύχην ὁμοιότητος ἀκολουθοὺς ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ μεγάλα μὲν κατορθοῦντες, μεγάλα δὲ σφαλλόμενοι, πλείστων δὲ ἐπικρατοῦντες, πλείστα δὲ ἀποβάλλοντες, ἀπροσδοκῆτως δὲ πταίοντες, ἀνελπίστως δὲ πάλιν ἀναφέροντες διετέλεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέστρεψαν, ὁ μὲν ἄλους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ ἔγγιστα τοῦ παθεῖν τοῦτο γενόμενος.

II. Ἀντιγόνῳ τοίνυν δυεῖν υἱῶν ἐκ Στρατονίκης τῆς Κορράγου γενομένων, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Δημήτριον, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Φίλιππον ὠνόμασεν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πλείστων λόγος. ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον οὐχ υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἀδελφιδοῦν γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου λέγουσιν· ἐπὶ νηπίῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ παντάπασι τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος, εἴτα τῆς μητρὸς εὐθὺς τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ γαμηθείσης,
2 υἱὸν ἐκείνου νομισθῆναι. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φίλιππον οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τοῦ Δημητρίου νεώτερον ὄντα συνέβη τελευτῆσαι· Δημήτριος δὲ μεγέθει μὲν ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλάττων, καίπερ ὦν μέγας, ἰδέα δὲ καὶ κάλλει προσώπου θαυμαστός καὶ περιττός, ὥστε τῶν πλαττόντων καὶ γραφόντων μῆθένα τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἐφικέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ χάριν καὶ βάρος καὶ φόβον καὶ ὥραν εἶχε, καὶ συνεκράτο τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἰταμῷ δυσμίμητος ἡρωϊκῇ
3 τις ἐπιφάνεια καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης. οὕτω δὲ πως καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐπεφύκει πρὸς ἐκπληξιν ἀνθρώπων ἅμα καὶ χάριν. ἥδιστος γὰρ ὦν συγγενέσθαι, σχολάζων τε περὶ πότους καὶ τρυφὰς

DEMETRIUS

great vices also, as well as great virtues. Both alike were amorous, bibulous, warlike, munificent, extravagant, and domineering, and they had corresponding resemblances in their fortunes. For not only were they all through their lives winning great successes, but meeting with great reverses ; making innumerable conquests, but suffering innumerable losses ; unexpectedly falling low, but unexpectedly recovering themselves again ; but they also came to their end, the one in captivity to his enemies, and the other on the verge of this calamity.

II. To begin, then, Antigonus had two sons by Stratonice the daughter of Corrhagus, one of whom he named Demetrius, after his brother, and the other Philip, after his father. This is what the majority of writers say. But some have it that Demetrius was not the son, but the nephew of Antigonus ; for his own father died when the boy was quite young, and then his mother immediately married Antigonus, so that Demetrius was considered to be his son. Well then, Philip, who was a few years younger than Demetrius, died. Demetrius, the surviving son, had not the height of his father, though he was a tall man, but he had features of rare and astonishing beauty, so that no painter or sculptor ever achieved a likeness of him. They had at once grace and strength, dignity and beauty, and there was blended with their youthful eagerness a certain heroic look and a kingly majesty that were hard to imitate. And in like manner his disposition also was fitted to inspire in men both fear and favour. For while he was a most agreeable companion, and most dainty of princes in the leisure devoted to drinking and

καὶ διαίτας ἀβροβιώτατος βασιλέων, ἐνεργότατον αὐτὸν πάλιν καὶ σφοδρότατον τὸ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐνδελεχὲς εἶχε καὶ δραστήριον· ἥ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν ἐξήλου τὸν Διόνυσον, ὡς πολέμῳ τε χρῆσθαι δεινότατον, εἰρήνην τε αὐτῷ ἐκ πολέμου τρέψαι πρὸς εὐφροσύνην καὶ χάριν ἐμμελέστατον.

III. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ φιλοπάτωρ διαφερόντως· τῇ δὲ περὶ τὴν μητέρα σπουδῇ καὶ τὸν πατέρα 890
τιμῶν ἐφαίνετο δι' εὐνοίαν ἀληθινὴν μᾶλλον ἢ
θεραπείαν τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ποτε πρεσβεῖα
τινὶ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου σχολάζοντος ἀπὸ θήρας ὁ
Δημήτριος ἐπέστη· καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ
φιλήσας, ὥσπερ εἶχε τὰς βολίδας, ἐκάθισε παρ'
2 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἀπιδόντας ἤδη τοὺς πρέ-
σβεις ἔχοντας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μεγάλῃ φωνῇ
προσαγορεύσας, “Καὶ τοῦτο,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἄνδρες,
ἀπαγγέλλετε περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕ-
τως ἔχομεν,” ὡς ἰσχύειν τινα πραγμάτων βασιλι-
κῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιδείξιν οὖσαν τὴν πρὸς υἱὸν
3 ὁμόνοιαν καὶ πίστιν. οὕτως ἄρα πάντῃ δυσκοινώ-
νητον ἢ ἀρχή, καὶ μεστὸν ἀπιστίας καὶ δυσνοίας,
ὥστε ἀγάλλεσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
διαδόχων καὶ πρεσβύτατον ὅτι μὴ φοβεῖται τὸν
υἱόν, ἀλλὰ προσίεται τὴν λόγχην ἔχοντα τοῦ
σώματος πλησίον. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος, ὡς
εἰπεῖν, ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ἐπὶ πλείστας διαδοχὰς
τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἐκαθάρευσεν, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς
μόνος τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππος ἀνεῖλεν υἱόν.

DEMETRIUS

luxurious ways of living, on the other hand he had a most energetic and eager persistency and efficiency in action. Wherefore he used to make Dionysus his pattern, more than any other deity, since this god was most terrible in waging war, and on the other hand most skilful, when war was over, in making peace minister to joy and pleasure.

III. Moreover, Demetrius was also exceedingly fond of his father; and from his devotion to his mother it was apparent that he honoured his father also from genuine affection rather than out of deference to his power. On one occasion, when Antigonus was busy with an embassy, Demetrius came home from hunting; he went up to his father and kissed him, and then sat down by his side just as he was, javelins in hand. Then Antigonus, as the ambassadors were now going away with their answers, called out to them in a loud voice and said: "O men, carry back this report also about us, that this is the way we feel towards one another," implying that no slight vigour in the royal estate and proof of its power were to be seen in his harmonious and trustful relations with his son. So utterly unsociable a thing, it seems, is empire, and so full of ill-will and distrust, that the oldest and greatest of the successors of Alexander could make it a thing to glory in that he was not afraid of his son, but allowed him near his person lance in hand. However, this house was almost the only one which kept itself pure from crimes of this nature for very many generations, or, to speak more definitely, Philip was the only one of the descendants of Antigonus who put a son to death.¹

¹ Philip V., King of Macedonia. Cf. the *Aemilius Paulus*, viii. 6.

4 αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι σχεδὸν ἅπασαι διαδοχαὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἔχουσι παίδων, πολλῶν δὲ μητέρων φόνους καὶ γυναικῶν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς ἀναιρεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι τὰ αἰτήματα λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτω συνεχωρεῖτο κοινόν τι νομιζόμενον αἷτημα καὶ βασιλικὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας.

IV. Τοῦ μέντοι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον φύσει καὶ φιλεταῖρον γεγονέναι τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν ἀρχῇ παράδειγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν. Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνου παῖς ἐταῖρος ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν¹ συνήθης, ἐθεράπευε δὲ Ἀντίγονον, οὔτε ὦν οὔτε δοκῶν πονηρός, ἐκ δὲ ἐνυπνίου τινὸς
2 ὑποψίαν Ἀντιγόνῳ παρέσχευ. ἐδόκει γὰρ μέγα καὶ καλὸν πεδίον ἐπιῶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ψῆγμά τι² χρυσοῦ κατασπείρειν· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑποφύεσθαι θέρος χρυσοῦν, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐπ' ανελθὼν ἰδεῖν οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τετμημένην καλάμην. λυπούμενος δὲ καὶ περιπαθὼν ἀκούσαι τινων λεγόντων ὡς ἄρα Μιθριδάτης εἰς Πόντον Εὐξείνιον οἴχεται, τὸ χρυσοῦν θέρος ἐξαμνησάμενος.
3 ἐκ τούτου διαταραχθεὶς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὀρκώσας σιωπήσειν, ἔφρασε τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι πάντως τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖρειν ἔγνωκεν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος ἠχθέσθη σφόδρα, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου, καθάπερ εἰώθει, γενομένου παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ συνόντος ἐπὶ σχολῆς, φθέγγασθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδὲ τῇ φωνῇ κατεπεῖν διὰ τὸν ὄρκον, ὑπαγαγὼν δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων, ὡς ἐγεγόνεσαν μόνοι καθ' αὐτούς, τῷ στύρακι τῆς λόγχης κατέγραφεν εἰς

¹ καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν Ziegler : καθ' ἡλικίαν καί.

² ψῆγμά τι Ziegler : ψήγματι.

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But almost all the other lines afford many examples of men who killed their sons, and of many who killed their mothers and wives; and as for men killing their brothers, just as geometricians assume their postulates, so this crime came to be a common and recognized postulate in the plans of princes to secure their own safety.

IV. In proof that in the beginning Demetrius was naturally humane and fond of his companions, the following illustration may be given. Mithridates the son of Ariobarzanes was a companion of his, and an intimate of the same age. He was one of the courtiers of Antigonus, and though he neither was nor was held to be a base fellow, still, in consequence of a dream, Antigonus conceived a suspicion of him. Antigonus dreamed, namely, that he was traversing a large and fair field and sowing gold-dust. From this, to begin with, there sprang up a golden crop, but when he came back after a little while, he could see nothing but stubble. In his vexation and distress, he heard in his dream sundry voices saying that Mithridates had reaped the golden crop for himself and gone off to the Euxine Sea. Antigonus was much disturbed by this vision, and after he had put his son under oath of silence, told it to him, adding that he had fully determined to destroy Mithridates and put him out of the way. On hearing this, Demetrius was exceedingly distressed, and when the young man, as was his wont, came to share his diversions with him, though he did not venture to open his lips on the matter or to warn him orally, because of his oath, he gradually drew him away from his friends, and when they were by themselves, with the sharp butt of his lance he wrote on the

τὴν γῆν ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ, “Φεῦγε, Μιθριδάτα.”
 4 συνεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδρα νυκτὸς εἰς Καππαδοκίαν.
 καὶ ταχὺ τὴν Ἀντιγόνῳ γενομένην ὄψιν ὕπαρ
 αὐτῷ συνετέλει τὸ χρεών. πολλῆς γὰρ καὶ ἀγα-
 θῆς ἐκράτησε χώρας, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ποντικῶν βασι-
 λέων γένος ὀγδόῃ που διαδοχῇ παυσάμενον ὑπὸ
 Ῥωμαίων ἐκεῖνος παρέσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εὐ-
 φυίας δείγματα τοῦ Δημητρίου πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν
 καὶ δικαιοσύνην.

V. Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἐμπεδοκλέους
 στοιχείοις διὰ τὸ νεῖκος καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἔνεστι
 διαφορὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ πόλεμος, μᾶλλον δὲ
 τοῖς ἀλλήλων ἀπτομένοις καὶ πελάζουσιν, οὕτω
 τὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχοις πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λους ὄντα συνεχῇ πόλεμον αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων
 καὶ τῶν τύπων συνάφειαι πρὸς ἐνίους ἐποίουν
 ἐπιφανέστερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέκλον, ὥσπερ Ἀντι-
 2 γόνῳ τότε πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀντίγονος
 ἐν Φρυγίᾳ διέτριβε, Πτολεμαῖον δ' ἀκούων ἐκ 891
 Κύπρου διαβάντα πορθεῖν Συρίαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις
 ἀπάγειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι, κατέπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν Δη-
 μήτριον, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἑτῶν ὄντα καὶ στρατείας
 τότε πρῶτον αὐτοτελῶς ἐπὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις
 ἀπτόμενον. οἷα δὲ νέος καὶ ἄπειρος ἀνδρὶ συμ-
 πεσὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παλαίστρας ἠθληκότη
 πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους καθ' αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας, ἐσφά-
 λη περὶ πόλιν Γάζαν ἡττηθείς, ὀκτακισχιλίων
 3 ἀλόντων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἀποθανόντων. ἀπέ-

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ground so that he could see it, "Fly, Mithridates." Mithridates understood, and ran away by night to Cappadocia. And soon the vision of Antigonus was accomplished for him by fate. For Mithridates made himself master of a large and fair territory, and founded the line of Pontic kings, which, in the eighth generation, was brought to an end by the Romans.¹ This, then, is an illustration of the strong natural bent of Demetrius towards kindness and justice.

V. But just as among the elements of the universe, according to Empedocles, love and hate produce mutual dissension and war, particularly among those elements which touch or lie near one another, so the continuous wars which the successors of Alexander waged against one another were aggravated and more inflamed in some cases by the close proximity of interests and territories, as at this time in the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus himself was tarrying in Phrygia, and hearing there that Ptolemy had crossed over from Cyprus and was ravaging Syria and reducing or turning from their allegiance its cities, he sent against him his son Demetrius, who was only twenty-two years of age, and was then for the first time engaging with sole command in an expedition where great interests were at stake. But since he was young and inexperienced, and had for his adversary a man trained in the training-school of Alexander who had independently waged many great contests, he met with utter defeat near the city of Gaza,² where eight thousand of his men were taken prisoners and five thousand were slain. He

¹ In 63 B.C., when Pompey conquered Mithridates VI. and dismembered his kingdom. ² In the spring of 312 B.C.

βαλε δὲ καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὅλως σύμ-
 πασαν τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
 μὲν αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέπεμψε μετὰ τῶν φίλων,
 εὐγνώμονα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀνειπὼν λόγον, ὡς
 οὐ περὶ πάντων ἅμα, περὶ δόξης δὲ καὶ ἀρχῆς
 πολεμητέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. Δημήτριος δὲ δεξά-
 μενος εὖξατο τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ὀφειλέ-
 την γενέσθαι Πτολεμαίῳ χάριτος, ἀλλὰ ταχέως
 4 ἀμείψασθαι διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων. καὶ πάθος οὐ
 μειρακίου παθὼν ἐν ἀρχῇ πράξεως ἀνατραπέντος,
 ἀλλ' ἐμβριθοὺς στρατηγοῦ κεχρημένου πραγμά-
 των μεταβολαῖς, ἀνδρῶν τε συλλογῆς καὶ κατα-
 σκευῆς ὅπλων ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ
 χειρὸς εἶχε καὶ τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους ἐγύμναζεν.

VI. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τὴν μάχην πυθόμενος Πτολε-
 μαῖον μὲν ἀγενεῖους νενικηκότα ἔφη νῦν αὖθις
 διαγωνιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ τὸ φρό-
 νημα καθελεῖν καὶ κολουῖσαι μὴ βουλόμενος οὐκ
 ἐνέστη πάλιν αἰτουμένῳ μάχεσθαι καθ' αὐτόν,
 ἀλλ' ἀφῆκε. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀφίκτο
 Κίλλης, Πτολεμαίου στρατηγός, μετὰ λαμπρᾶς
 δυνάμεως, ὡς ἐξελάσων Συρίας Δημήτριον ἀπά-
 2 σης, τῷ προητητῆσθαι καταφρονούμενον. ὁ δ'
 ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν οὐ προαισθομένῳ καὶ φοβήσας
 ἔλαβεν αὐτῷ στρατηγῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον· καὶ
 στρατιώτας μὲν ἑπτακισχιλίους ζῶντας εἶλε,
 χρημάτων δὲ παμπόλλων ἐκυρίευσεν. ἔχαιρε
 δὲ νικήσας οὐχ οἷς ἔξειν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἀποδώσειν

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lost also his tent, his money, and in a word, all his personal effects. But Ptolemy sent these back to him, together with his friends, accompanying them with the considerate and humane message that their warfare must not be waged for all things alike, but only for glory and dominion. Demetrius accepted the kindness, and prayed the gods that he might not long be indebted to Ptolemy for it, but might speedily make him a like return. And he took his disaster, not like a stripling thwarted at the outset of an undertaking, but like a sensible general acquainted with reverses of fortune, and busied himself with the levying of men and the preparation of arms, while he kept the cities well in hand and practised his new recruits.

VI. When Antigonus learned of the battle, he said that Ptolemy had conquered beardless youths, but must now fight with men;¹ however, not wishing to humble or curtail the spirit of his son, he did not oppose his request that he might fight again on his own account, but suffered him to do it. And not long after, up came Ciltes, a general of Ptolemy, with a splendid army, intending to drive Demetrius out of all Syria, and looking down upon him because of his previous defeat. But Demetrius fell upon him suddenly and took him by surprise, put him to rout, and captured his camp, general and all; he also took seven thousand of his soldiers prisoners, and made himself master of vast treasures. However, he rejoiced to have won the day, not by reason of what he was going to have, but of what he could

¹ The competitors at the great games were divided into three classes: boys, beardless youths, and men (Plato, *Laws*, 833 c).

ἔμελλε, καὶ τῆς νίκης οὐ τὸν πλούτον οὕτως οὐδὲ τὴν δόξαν, ὥς τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ φιλανθρωπευ-
 3 ματος ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν χάριν ἠγάπησεν. οὐ μὴν αὐτογνωμόνως ταῦτα ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἔγραψε τῷ πατρί. δόντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ κελεύσαντος δν βούλεται πᾶσι χρήσασθαι τρόπον, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Κίλλην καὶ φίλους αὐτοῦ δωρησάμενος ἀφθόνως ἀπέπεμψε. τοῦτο τὸ πάθος Συρίας ἐξήλασε Πτολεμαῖον, Ἀντίγονον δὲ κατήγαγεν ἐκ Κελαι-
 νῶν χαίροντα τῇ νίκῃ καὶ ποθοῦντα θεάσασθαι τὸν υἱόν.

VII. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων τοὺς καλου-
 μένους Ναβαταίους ὑπαγαγέσθαι πεμφθεὶς ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκινδύνευσεν μὲν εἰς τόπους ἀνύδρους ἐμπεισῶν, τῷ δὲ μὴ διαταραχθῆναι μηδ' ἐκπλα-
 γῆναι καταπληξάμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους, λείαν τε λαβὼν πολλὴν καὶ καμήλους ἑπτακοσίας παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησεν.

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σέλευκος, ἐκπεισῶν μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ κρατῶν, ἀνέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως, τὰ συνοροῦντα τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἔθνη καὶ τὰς περὶ Καύκασον ἐπαρχίας προσαζόμενος, ἐλπίζων Δημήτριος ἔρημον εὐρήσειν τὴν Μεσο-
 ποταμίαν καὶ περάσας ἄφνω τὸν Εὐφράτην εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν παρειαπέσων ἔφθη, καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἄκρας (δύο γὰρ ἦσαν) ἐκκρούσας τὴν τοῦ Σελεύκου φρουρὰν καὶ κρατήσας ἰδίους ἐγκατ-
 3 ἔστησεν ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας. ἐκ δὲ τῆς

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restore, and was delighted, not so much with the wealth and glory which his victory brought, as with the power it gave him to recompense the kindness and return the favour of Ptolemy. And yet he did not do this on his own responsibility, but first wrote to his father about it. And when his father gave him permission and bade him dispose of everything as he liked, he sent back to Ptolemy both Cilles himself and his friends, after loading them with gifts. This reverse drove Ptolemy out of Syria, and brought Antigonus down from Celaenae; he rejoiced at the victory and yearned to get sight of the son who had won it.

VII. After this, Demetrius was sent to bring into subjection the Arabs known as Nabataean, and incurred great peril by getting into regions which had no water; but he was neither terrified nor greatly disturbed, and his demeanour overawed the Barbarians, so that he took much booty and seven hundred camels from them and returned.

And now Seleucus, who had once been expelled from Babylonia by Antigonus, but had afterwards succeeded in recovering the realm and was now wielding the power there, went up with an army, designing to annex the tribes on the confines of India and the provinces about Mount Caucasus. Demetrius, accordingly, expecting that he would find Mesopotamia unprotected, suddenly crossed the Euphrates and invaded Babylonia before Seleucus could stop him. He expelled from one of its citadels (there were two of them) the garrison left there by Seleucus, got it into his power and established in it seven thousand of his own men. But

χώρας ὅσα φέρειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡδύναντο τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσας, ἐπανήλθεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν βεβαιωτέραν Σελεύκῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολιπὼν ἐξίστασθαι γὰρ ἐδόκει τῷ κακοῦν ὥς μηκέτι προσήκουσαν αὐτοῖς. Πτολεμαίου μέντοι πολιορκοῦντος Ἀλικαρνασὸν ὁξέως βοηθήσας ἐξήρπασε τὴν πόλιν.

VIII. Ἐνδόξον δὲ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ταύτης γενομένης, ὁρμὴ παρέστη θαυμάσιος αὐτοῖς ἐλευθεροῦν 892 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου καὶ Πτολεμαίου καταδεδουλωμένην. τούτου πόλεμον οὐδεὶς ἐπολέμησε τῶν βασιλέων καλλίῳ καὶ δικαιότερον· ἅς γὰρ ἅμα τοὺς βαρβάρους ταπεινοῦντες εὐπορίας συνήγαγον, εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας 2 καὶ τιμῆς ἀνήλiskon. ὥς δὲ πρῶτον ἐδόκει πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν φίλων εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὅτι δεῖ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἂν ἔλῃσι, κατέχειν δι' αὐτῶν, ἐπιβάθραν τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὔσαν, οὐ προσέσχευεν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάθραν μὲν ἔφη καλὴν καὶ ἀσάλευτον εἶναι τὴν εὐνοίαν, τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνας, ὥσπερ σκοπὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ταχὺ τῇ δόξῃ διαπυρσεύειν εἰς ἅπαντας 3 ἀνθρώπους τὰς πράξεις. ἔπλει δὲ Δημήτριος ἔχων ἀργυρίου πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στόλον νεῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν ἄστυ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως Κασάνδρῳ διοικούντος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ φρουρᾷς καθεστῶσης. εὐτυχία δὲ ἅμα καὶ προνοία χρησάμενος ἐπεφαίνετο τῷ Πειραιεῖ πέμπτη

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after ordering his soldiers to take and make booty of everything which they could carry or drive from the country, he returned to the sea-coast, leaving Seleucus more confirmed than before in his possession of the realm; for by ravaging the country Demetrius was thought to admit that it no longer belonged to his father. However, while Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus, Demetrius came swiftly to the aid of the city and rescued it.

VIII. The glory won by this noble deed inspired father and son with a wonderful eagerness to give freedom to all Greece, which had been reduced to subjection by Cassander and Ptolemy. No nobler or juster war than this was waged by any one of the kings; for the vast wealth which they together had amassed by subduing the Barbarians, was now lavishly spent upon the Greeks, to win glory and honour. As soon as father and son had determined to sail against Athens, one of his friends said to Antigonus that they must keep that city, if they took it, in their own hands, since it was a gangway to Greece. But Antigonus would not hear of it; he said that the goodwill of a people was a noble gangway which no waves could shake, and that Athens, the beacon-tower of the whole world, would speedily flash the glory of their deeds to all mankind. - So Demetrius sailed, with five thousand talents of money and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, against Athens, where Demetrius the Phalerean was administering the affairs of the city for Cassander and a garrison was set in Munychia. By virtue of forethought combined with good fortune, he appeared off Piræus on the twenty-sixth of the

- 4 φθίνοντος Θαρρηγιώνος, προαισθημένου μὲν οὐδενός, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὤφθη πλησίον ὁ στόλος, ἀπάντων ὡς Πτολεμαϊκὰς τὰς ναῦς ὑποδέχεσθαι παρασκευαζομένων, ὃς συμφρονήσαντες ἐβοήθουν οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν ἀπροσδοκῇ πολεμίους ἀποβαίνοντας ἀναγκαζομένων ἀμύνεσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ στόμασι τῶν λιμένων ἀκλείστοις ἐπιτυχὼν ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ διεξελάσας ἐντὸς ἦν ἤδη καταφανὴς πᾶσι, καὶ διεσήμηνεν ἀπὸ τῆς νεὸς αἴτησιν ἡσυχίας καὶ σιωπῆς
- 5 γενομένου δὲ τούτου κήρυκα παραστησάμενος ἀνείπεν ὅτι πέμψειεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους¹ ἐλευθερώσοντα καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλοῦντα καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πατριὸν ἀποδώσοντα πολιτείαν.

IX. Ἀναρρηθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ παραχρῆμα τὰς ἀσπίδας θέμενοι πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἀνεκρότησαν καὶ βοῶντες ἐκέλευον ἀποβαίνειν τὸν Δημήτριον, εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα προσαγορεύοντες· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαληρέα πάντως μὲν ᾤοντο δεῖν δέχεσθαι τὸν κρατοῦντα, καὶ μὴδὲν ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται μέλλῃ βεβαιοῦν, ὅμως δὲ πρέσβεις δεομένους² ἀπέστειλαν, οἷς ὁ Δημήτριος ἐντυχὼν φιλανθρώπως συνέπεμψε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν πα-

2 τρώων φίλων τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀριστόδημον. τοῦ δὲ Φαληρέως διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς πολιτείας μᾶλλον τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους δεδοικότος, οὐκ ἡμέλησεν ὁ Δημήτριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν

¹ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Sintenis and Ziegler: Ἀθηναίους.

² δεομένους Bekker has δεησομένους, after Coraës.

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month Thargelion.¹ Nobody knew beforehand of his approach, but as soon as his fleet was seen in the vicinity, everybody thought that the ships belonged to Ptolemy and prepared to receive them. At last, however, the generals discovered their mistake and came to the rescue, and there was confusion, as is natural when men are compelled to defend themselves against enemies who are making an unexpected landing. For Demetrius, finding the entrances to the harbours open and sailing through them, was presently inside and in view of all, and signalled from his ship a demand for quiet and silence. When this was secured, he proclaimed by voice of herald at his side that he had been sent by his father on what he prayed might be a happy errand, to set Athens free, and to expel her garrison, and to restore to the people their laws and their ancient form of government.

IX. On hearing this proclamation, most of the people at once threw their shields down in front of them, and with clapping of hands and loud cries urged Demetrius to land, hailing him as their saviour and benefactor. The party of Demetrius the Phalerean also thought they must by all means receive the conqueror, even though he should confirm none of his promises, but nevertheless sent ambassadors to supplicate his mercy. These Demetrius met in a friendly spirit, and sent back with them one of his father's friends, Aristodemus of Miletus. Now the Phalerean, owing to the change of government, was more afraid of his fellow-citizens than of the enemy. Demetrius, however, was not unmindful of him, but out of regard for the man's

¹ May-June, 307 B.C.

αἰδεσθεῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς Θήβας αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο, μετὰ ἀσφαλείας συνεξέπεμψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν, οὐκ ἂν ἔφη, καίπερ ἐπιθυμῶν, ἰδεῖν πρότερον ἢ παντάπασιν ἐλευθερώσαι τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀπαλλάξας· τῇ δὲ Μουνυχία χαράκωμα καὶ τάφρον περιβαλὼν διὰ μέσου, Μεγάρους ἐπέπλευσεν ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου φρουρουμένοις.

- 3 Πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος γενομένην γυναῖκα Κρατησίπολιν ἐν Πάτραις διατρίβουσαν οὐκ ἂν ἀηδῶς γενέσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ, περιβόητον οὔσαν ἐπὶ κάλλει, καταλιπὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ προῆλθεν εὐζώνους τινὰς ἔχων σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἀποστρέψας ἀπεσκήνωσε χωρὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν τὴν
- 4 γυναῖκα συνελθοῦσαν αὐτῷ. τοῦτό τινες αἰσθόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐξαίφνης κατέδραμον ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν χλαμύδιον εὐτελὲς δρόμῳ φεύγων ἐξέφυγεν, ὀλίγου δεήσας αἰσχίστην ἄλωσιν ἐξ ἀκрасίας ἄλῶναι. τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ὄχοντο λαβόντες οἱ πολέμοι.
- 5 Τῶν δὲ Μεγάρων ἀλόντων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 893 ἐφ' ἄρπαγὴν τραπομένων Ἀθηναῖοι παρητήσαντο πολλῇ δεήσει τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς· καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκβαλὼν ἡλευθέρωσε τὴν πόλιν. ἔτι δὲ τοῦτο πράττων τοῦ φιλοσόφου Στίλπωνος ἐμνήσθη, δόξαν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς ἡρημένου πως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καταβιῶναι. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν αὐτὸν ἡρώτα μή τις εἴληφέ τι τῶν ἐκείνου. καὶ ὁ Στίλπων, “Οὐδεὶς,” εἶπεν· “οὐδένα γὰρ εἶδον
- 6 ἐπιστάμαν ἀποφέροντα.” τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων

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good reputation and excellence, sent him and his friends under safe conduct to Thebes, as he desired. As for himself, he declared that, although he desired to see the city, he would not do so before he had completed its liberation by ridding it of its garrison; meanwhile, after running a trench and a palisade round Munychia, he sailed against Megara, where a garrison had been stationed by Cassander.

But on learning that Cratesipolis, who had been the wife of Polyperchon's son Alexander, was tarrying at Patrae, and would be very glad to make him a visit (and she was a famous beauty), he left his forces in the territory of Megara and set forth, taking a few light-armed attendants with him. And turning aside from these also, he pitched his tent apart, that the woman might pay her visit to him unobserved. Some of his enemies learned of this, and made a sudden descent upon him. Then, in a fright, he donned a shabby cloak and ran for his life and got away, narrowly escaping a most shameful capture in consequence of his rash ardour. His tent, together with his belongings, was carried off by his enemies.

Megara, however, was captured, and the soldiers would have plundered it had not the Athenians made strong intercession for its citizens; Demetrius also expelled its garrison and gave the city its freedom. While he was still engaged in this, he bethought himself of Stilpo the philosopher, who was famous for his election of a life of tranquillity. Accordingly, Demetrius summoned him and asked him whether any one had robbed him of anything. "No one," said Stilpo, "for I saw nobody carrying away knowledge." But nearly all the servants in

σχεδὸν ἀπάντων διακλαπέντων, ἐπεὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο καὶ τέλος ἀπαλλαττόμενος εἶπεν· “Ἐλευθέραν ὑμῶν, ὦ Στίλπων, ἀπολείπω τὴν πόλιν,” “Ὁρθῶς,” ἔφη, “λέγεις· οὐδένα γὰρ ἁμῶν δοῦλον ἀπολέλοιπας.”

- X. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὴν Μου-
 νυχίαν καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας ἐξέκοψε τὴν φρουρὰν
 καὶ κατέσκαψε τὸ φρούριον, οὕτως ἤδη τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων δεχομένων καὶ καλούντων παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ
 ἄστυ καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον ἀπέδωκε τὴν
 πάτριον πολιτείαν· καὶ προσυνέσχετο παρὰ τοῦ
 πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἀφίξεσθαι σίτου πεντεκαίδεκα
 μυριάδας μεδίμνων καὶ ξύλων ναυπηγησίων
 2 πλήθος εἰς ἑκατὸν τριῆρεις. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπο-
 λαβόντες τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ,
 τὸν δὲ μέσον χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν Λαμιακῶν καὶ τῆς
 περὶ Κραννῶνα μάχης λόγῳ μὲν ὀλιγαρχικῆς,
 ἔργῳ δὲ μοναρχικῆς καταστάσεως γενομένης διὰ
 τὴν τοῦ Φαληρέως δύναμιν, οὕτω λαμπρὸν ἐν
 ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις καὶ μέγαν φανέντα τὸν Δημή-
 τριον ἐπαχθῇ καὶ βαρὺν ἐποίησαν τῶν τιμῶν
 3 ταῖς ἀμετρίαις ἃς ἐψηφίσαντο. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τὸν Δημήτριον καὶ Ἀντί-
 γονον βασιλεῖς ἀνηγόρευσαν, ἄλλως ἀφοσιουμέ-
 νους τοῦνομα, καὶ τοῦτο¹ δὴ μόνον τῶν βασιλι-
 κῶν ἔτι τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου
 περιεῖναι δοκοῦν ἄθικτον ἑτέροις καὶ ἀκοινώνητον·

¹ καὶ τοῦτο Coraës and Ziegler delete the καί; Bekker corrects to ὡς, after Schaefer.

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the city were stolen away, and when Demetrius once more tried to deal kindly with the philosopher, and finally, on going away, said: "Your city, Stilpo, I leave in freedom," "Thou sayest truly," replied Stilpo, "for thou hast not left a single one of our slaves."

X. Coming back again to Munychia and encamping before it, he drove out the garrison and demolished the fortress, and this accomplished, at last, on the urgent invitation of the Athenians, he made his entry into the upper city, where he assembled the people and gave them back their ancient form of government. He also promised that they should receive from his father a hundred and fifty thousand bushels of grain, and enough ship timber to build a hundred triremes. It was fourteen years since the Athenians had lost their democratic form of government, and during the period which followed the Lamian war and the battle at Crannon¹ their government had been administered, nominally as an oligarchy, but really as a monarchy, owing to the great influence of the Phalerean. And now that Demetrius had shown himself great and splendid in his benefactions, the Athenians rendered him odious and obnoxious by the extravagance of the honours which they voted him. For instance, they were the first people in the world to give Demetrius and Antigonos the title of King, although both had up to that time shrunk from using the word, and although this was the only royal prerogative still left to the descendants of Philip and Alexander which it was thought that others could not assume or share ;

¹ 323-322 B.C. See the *Phocion*, xxiii.; xxvi. 1.

μόνοι δὲ σωτήρας ἀνέγραψαν θεούς, καὶ τὸν ἐπώ-
 νυμον καὶ πάτριον ἄρχοντα καταπαύσαντες ἱερέα
 σωτήρων ἐχειροτόνουν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν·
 καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ τῶν συμβο-
 4 λαίων προέγραφον. ἐνυφαίνεσθαι δὲ τῷ πέπλῳ
 μετὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο· καὶ τὸν τό-
 πον ὅπου πρῶτον ἀπέβη τοῦ ἄρματος, καθιερώ-
 σαντες καὶ βωμὸν ἐπιθέντες Δημητρίου Καται-
 βάτου προσηγόρευσαν· ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς δύο προσέ-
 θεσαν, Δημητριάδα καὶ Ἀντιγονίδα, καὶ τὴν
 βουλὴν τῶν πεντακοσίων πρότερον ἑξακοσίων
 ἐποίησαν, ἅτε δὴ φυλῆς ἐκάστης πεντήκοντα
 βουλευτὰς παρεχομένης.

XI. Τὸ δὲ ὑπερφυέστατον ἐνθύμημα τοῦ
 Στρατοκλέους (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τῶν σοφῶν τού-
 των καὶ περιττῶν καινουργὸς ἀρεσκευμάτων),
 ἔγραψεν ὅπως οἱ πεμπόμενοι κατὰ ψήφισμα
 δημοσίᾳ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἢ Δημήτριον ἀντὶ πρε-
 σβευτῶν θεωροὶ λέγοιντο, καθάπερ οἱ Πυθοὶ καὶ
 Ὀλυμπίαζε τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν πό-
 2 λεων ἀνάγοντες ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἑορταῖς. ἦν
 δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα παράτολμος ὁ Στρατοκλῆς, καὶ
 βεβιωκῶς ἀσελγῶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κλέ-
 ωνος ἀπομιμεῖσθαι δοκῶν βωμολοχίαν καὶ βδε-
 λυρίαν τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐχερεία. ἔσχε δὲ τὴν
 ἐταίραν Φυλάκιον ἀνειληφώς· καί ποτε αὐτῷ

¹ Every fifth year, at the Panathenaic festival, a sacred robe was carried in solemn procession and deposited with

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moreover, the Athenians were the only people to give them the appellation of Saviour-gods, and they put a stop to the ancient custom of designating the year with the name of the annual archon, and elected every year a priest of the Saviour-gods, whose name they prefixed to their public edicts and private contracts. They also decreed that the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus should be woven into the sacred robe,¹ along with those of the gods; and the spot where Demetrius first alighted from his chariot they consecrated and covered with an altar, which they styled the altar of Demetrius Alighter; they also created two new tribes, Demetrias and Antigonis; and they increased the number of the senators, which had been five hundred, to six hundred, since each of the tribes must furnish fifty senators.

XI. But the most monstrous thing that came into the head of Stratocles (he it was who invented these elegant and clever bits of obsequiousness) was his motion that envoys sent by public decree and at public expense to Antigonus or Demetrius should be called sacred deputies, instead of ambassadors, like those who conducted to Delphi and Olympia the ancient sacrifices in behalf of the cities at the great Hellenic festivals. In all other ways also Stratocles was an audacious fellow; he lived an abandoned life, and was thought to imitate the scurrility and buffoonery of the ancient Cleon in his familiarities with the people. He had taken up with a mistress named Phylacion; and one day when she had bought

the goddess Athena on the Acropolis. On it were represented the exploits of the goddess, particularly in the Battle of the Giants.

πρὸς δειπνον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς πριαμένης ἐγκεφάλους
καὶ τραχήλους, “Παπαί,” εἶπε, “τοιαυτὰ γε
ὠψώνηκας οἷς σφαιρίζομεν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι.”
3 τῆς δὲ περὶ Ἀμοργὸν ἥττης τῶν νεῶν συμβάσης
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, φθάσας τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας
εἰσήλασεν ἐστεφανωμένος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ,
καὶ προσαγγείλας ὅτι νενικήκασιν, εὐαγγέλια
θύειν ἔγραψε καὶ κρεωδαισίαν τινὰ κατὰ φυλὴν
ἐποίησεν. ὀλίγῳ δ’ ὕστερον τῶν τὰ ναύαγια κο- 894
μιζόντων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης παραγενομένων καὶ τοῦ
δήμου πρὸς ὀργὴν καλοῦντος αὐτόν, ἰταμῶς ὑπο-
στάς τὸν θόρυβον, “Εἴτα,” ἔφη, “τί πεπόνθατε
δεινόν, εἰ δύο ἡμέρας ἡδέως γεγόνατε;” τοιαύτη
μὲν ἡ τοῦ Στρατοκλέους θρασυτήs.

XII. Ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ πυρὸς ἕτερα θερμότερα
κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη. γράφει γάρ τις ἄλλος
ὑπερβαλλόμενός ἀνελευθερίᾳ τὸν Στρατοκλέα,
δέχεσθαι Δημήτριον, ὅσάκις ἂν ἀφίκεται, τοῖς
Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου ξενισμοῖς, τῷ δ’ ὑπερ-
βαλλομένῳ λαμπρότητι καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τὴν
ὑποδοχὴν ἀργύριον εἰς ἀνάθημα δημοσίᾳ δίδο-
2 σθαι. τέλος δὲ τῶν τε μηνῶν τὸν Μουνυχιῶνα
Δημητριῶνα καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὴν ἔννην καὶ νέαν
Δημητριάδα προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰ
Διονύσια μετωνόμασαν Δημήτρια. ἐπεσήμηνε
δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις τὸ θεῖον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πέπλος,
ᾧ περ ἐψηφίσαντο μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
προσενυφῆναι Δημήτριον καὶ Ἀντίγονον, πεμ-
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in the market-place for his supper some brains and neck-bones, "Aha!" he cried, "thou hast bought just such delicacies for me as we statesmen used to play ball with." Again, when the Athenians suffered their naval defeat near Amorgus,¹ before the tidings of the disaster could reach the city he put a garland on his head and drove through the Cerameicus, and after announcing that the Athenians were victorious, moved a sacrifice of glad tidings and made a generous distribution of meat to the people by tribes. Then, a little later, when the wrecks were brought home from the battle and the people in their wrath called him out, he faced the tumult recklessly and said: "What harm have I done you, pray, if for two days ye have been happy?" Such was the effrontery of Stratocles.

XII. But there are things hotter even than fire, as Aristophanes puts it.² For some one else, out-doing Stratocles in servility, proposed that whenever Demetrius visited the city he should be received with the hospitable honours paid to Demeter and Dionysus, and that to the citizen who surpassed all others in the splendour and costliness of his reception, a sum of money should be granted from the public treasury for a dedicatory offering. And finally, they changed the name of the month Mounychion to Demetrian, and that of the last day of a month, the "Old and New," to Demetrias, and to the festival called Dionysia they gave the new name of Demetria. Most of these innovations were marked with the divine displeasure. The sacred robe, for instance, in which they had decreed that the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus should be woven along with those of Zeus and

¹ In 322 B.C. A Macedonian fleet was victorious.

² *Knights*, 382.

3 πόμενος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ μέσος ἐρράγη θυέ-
 λης ἐμπεσοῦσης· περὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἐκεί-
 νων ἐξήνθησεν ἡ γῆ κύκλῳ πολὺ κώνειον, ἄλλως
 μηδὲ τῆς χώρας πολλαχοῦ φυόμενον· τῇ δὲ
 ἡμέρᾳ ἣ τὰ τῶν Διουνσίων ἐγίνετο, τὴν πομπὴν
 κατέλυσαν ἰσχυρῶν πάγων γενομένων παρ' ὧραν.
 καὶ πάχνης βαθείας ἐπιπεσοῦσης οὐ μόνον ἀμπέ-
 λους καὶ συκᾶς ἀπάσας ἀπέκαυσέ τὸ ψύχος,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ σίτου τὸν πλεῖστον κατέφθειρεν
 4 ἐν χλόῃ. διὸ καὶ Φιλιππίδης ἐχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ
 Στρατοκλέους ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποίησε
 ταῦτα·

δι' ὃν ἀπέκαυσεν ἡ πάχνη τὰς ἀμπέλους,
 δι' ὃν ἀσεβοῦνθ' ὁ πέπλος ἐρράγη μέσος,
 τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ποιοῦντ' ἀνθρωπίνας.
 ταῦτα καταλύει δῆμον, οὐ κωμῳδία.

5 Ἦν δὲ ὁ Φιλιππίδης Λυσιμάχου φίλος, καὶ
 πολλὰ δι' αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος εὖ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 βασιλέως. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ πρὸς πρᾶξιν αὐτῷ καὶ
 πρὸς στρατείαν εὐσύμβολος ἀπαντήσας εἶναι
 καὶ ὀφθεῖς. ἄλλως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἦθος εὐδοκίμει,
 μηθὲν ἐνοχλῶν μηδ' αὐλικῆς περιεργίας ἀνα-
 πιμπλάμενος. φιλοφρονουμένου δέ ποτε τοῦ
 Λυσιμάχου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, “ὦ Φιλιπ-
 πίδη, τίνος σοι τῶν ἐμῶν μεταδῶ;” “Μόνον,”
 ἔφη, “ βασιλεῦ, μὴ τῶν ἀπορρήτων.” τοῦτον μὲν

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Athena, as it was being carried in procession through the midst of the Cerameicus, was rent by a hurricane which smote it;¹ again, all around the altars of those Saviour-gods the soil teemed with hemlock, a plant which did not grow in many other parts of the country at all; and on the day for the celebration of the Dionysia, the sacred procession had to be omitted on account of severe cold weather that came out of season. And a heavy frost followed, which not only blasted all the vines and fig-trees with its cold, but also destroyed most of the grain in the blade. Therefore Philippides, who was an enemy of Stratocles, assailed him in a comedy with these verses²:—

“Through him it was that hoar-frost blasted all the vines,

Through his impiety the robe was rent in twain,
Because he gave the gods' own honours unto men.
Such work undoes a people, not its comedy.”

Philippides was a friend of Lysimachus, and for his sake the king bestowed many favours on the Athenian people. Moreover, when he was about to undertake anything or make an expedition, he thought it a good omen to meet or catch sight of Philippides. And in general the character of Philippides gave him a good repute, since he was no busybody, and had none of the officious ways of a courtier. On one occasion Lysimachus wished to do him a kindness, and said: “Philippides, what have I that I can share with thee?” “O King,” said Philippides, “anything but one of thy state secrets.”

¹ The “peplos” was spread like a sail on the mast of the sacred Panathenaic ship.

² Cf. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 308.

οὖν ἐπίτηδες ἐκείνῳ παρεθήκαμεν, τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θυμέλης.

XIII. Ὁ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν τιμῶν ὑπερφυῆς ἦν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον, ἔγραψε Δρομοκλείδης ὁ Σφήττιος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀναθέσεως εἰς Δελφοὺς παρὰ Δημητρίου λαβεῖν χρησμόν. αὐτὴν δὲ παραγράψω τὴν λέξιν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οὕτως
2 ἔχουσιν. “Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ἓνα ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, ὅστις ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ καλλιερησάμενος ἐπερωτήσῃ τὸν Σωτῆρα πῶς ἂν εὖσεβέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ὁ δῆμος τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ποιήσῃ τῶν ἀναθημάτων· ὃ τι δ’ ἂν χρήσῃ, ταῦτα πράττειν τὸν δῆμον.” οὕτω καταμωκώμενοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσδιέφθειραν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ὑγιαίνοντα τὴν διάνοιαν.

XIV. Ἀλλ’ ἐν γὰρ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τότε σχολάζων ἡγάγετο χηρεύουσιν Εὐρυδίκη, ἡ Μιλτιάδου μὲν ἦν ἀπόγονος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, συνοικήσασα δὲ Ὀφέλα¹ τῷ Κυρήνης ἄρξαντι μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν
2 ἀφίκετο πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον εἰς χάριν ἔθεντο καὶ τιμὴν τῆς πόλεως· ἄλλως δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εὐχερὴς τις ἦν περὶ γάμους, καὶ πολλαῖς ἅμα συνῆν γυναιξίν, ὧν ἀξίωμα μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ τιμὴν Φίλα δι’ Ἀντίπατρον τὸν πατέρα καὶ διὰ τὸ προσυνωκηκέναι Κρατερῷ, τῷ πλείστῃ εὖνοιαν

¹ Ὀφέλα Ziegler, after Wilamowitz: Ὀφέλα.

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Such a man, then, I purposely compare with Stratoctes, the man of the stage with the man of the bema.

XIII. But there was one honour proposed for Demetrius which was more strange and monstrous than any other. Dromocleides the Sphettian moved, when the dedication of certain shields at Delphi was in question, that the Athenians should get an oracle from Demetrius. And I will transcribe his very words from the decree; they run thus: "May it be for the best.¹ Decreed by the people that the people elect one man from the Athenians, who shall go to the Saviour-god, and, after a sacrifice with good omens, shall enquire of the Saviour-god in what most speedy, decorous, and reverent manner the people may accomplish the restoration to their places of the dedicatory offerings; and that whatever answer he shall give, the people shall act according thereunto." With such mockery of adulation they finally perverted the man's mind, which even before was not wholly sound.

XIV. Furthermore, while he lingered in Athens at this time, Demetrius took to wife Eurydicé, a widow. She was a descendant of the ancient Miltiades, had married Ophelas the ruler of Cyrené, and after his death had come back to Athens. The Athenians, accordingly, took this marriage as a graceful compliment to their city; but in general Demetrius made a rather light matter of marriages, and had many wives at the same time, of whom Phila enjoyed the greatest esteem and honour, both because of her father, Antipater, and because she had been the wife of Craterus, the one of all the successors of Alexander

¹ A pious formula prefixed to important documents.

αὐτοῦ παρὰ Μακεδόσι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἀπολιπόντι. ταύτην, ὡς ἔοικε, κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα τὸν Δημήτριον ἔπειθεν ὁ πατήρ, οὐκ οὔσαν αὐτῷ
 3 καθ' ὥραν, ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέραν, λαβεῖν· ἀπροθύμως δ' ἔχοντι λέγεται πρὸς τὸ οὖς τὸ Εὐριπίδειον εἰπεῖν·

ὅπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον,¹

ὁμοιόπτωτόν τι τῷ δουλευτέον εὐθυρρημονήσας. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἦν ἡ τοῦ Δημητρίου τιμὴ πρὸς τε Φίλαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γαμετάς ὥστε πολλαῖς μὲν ἀνέδην ἐταίραις, πολλαῖς δὲ ἐλευθέραις συνείναι γυναιξί, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ περὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ταύτην κακῶς ἀκούσαι τῶν τότε βασιλέων.

XV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλει Πτολεμαῖον περὶ Κύπρου πολεμήσοντα, πείθεσθαι μὲν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, ἀχθόμενος δὲ ὅτι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεμον, ὄντα καλλίω καὶ λαμπρότερον, ἀπολείπει, προσέπεμψε Κλεωνίδην τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ στρατηγῷ φρουροῦντι Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον χρήματα προτείνων, ὥστε ἐλευθέρας ἀφεῖναι τὰς
 2 πόλεις. οὐ προσδεξαμένον δὲ ἐκείνου, διὰ ταχέων ἀναχθεῖς καὶ προσλαβὼν δύναμιν ἐπέπλευσε Κύπρῳ. καὶ Μενέλαον μὲν, ἀδελφὸν Πτολεμαίου, μάχην συνάψας εὐθὺς ἐνίκησεν· αὐτοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου μετὰ δυνάμεως πεζικῆς ἅμα καὶ ναυτικῆς μεγάλῃς ἐπιφανέντος, ἐγένοντο μὲν ἀπειλαὶ τινες καὶ διάλογοι κομπώδεις, τοῦ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν Δη-

¹ ἄλλ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος παρὰ φύσιν δουλευτέον, *Phoenissae*, 396 (Kirchhoff).

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who left behind him the most goodwill among the Macedonians. This woman, as it would appear, his father had persuaded Demetrius to marry when he was quite young, although she was not of his age, but older; and when his son was disinclined to the match, it is said that Antigonus whispered in his ear the verse of Euripides:

“Where there is gain, 'gainst nature's dictates must one wed,”

substituting off-hand “must one wed” for the similar inflection “must one serve.” However, so slight was the respect which Demetrius paid to Phila and to the rest of his wives, that he consorted freely with many courtesans, as well as with many women of free birth, and as regards this indulgence he had the worst reputation of all the kings of his time.

XV. And now his father summoned him to wage war against Ptolemy for the possession of Cyprus. He must needs obey the summons, but was loth to abandon the war for the liberation of Greece, which was a nobler and more glorious war, and therefore sent to Cleonides, the general of Ptolemy who was occupying Sicyon and Corinth with a garrison, and offered him money to set the cities free. Cleonides, however, would not accept the bribe, and Demetrius therefore put to sea in haste, and taking additional forces, sailed against Cyprus.¹ There he joined battle with Menelaüs, a brother of Ptolemy, and promptly defeated him; but Ptolemy himself appeared on the scene with a large land and naval force combined, and there were sundry interchanges of threats and boasts, Ptolemy ordering Demetrius to

¹ In 306 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- μήτριον κελεύοντος πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως πάσης ἀθροισθείσης καταπατηθῆναι, Δημητρίου δὲ ἐκείνον ἀφεῖναι φάσκοντος, ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ Σικυνῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἀπαλλάξειν τῆς φρουρᾶς.
- 3 ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι δυνάσταις πολλὴν εἶχε προσδοκίαν τῆς ἐπικρεμαμένης ἀδελότητος, ὥς οὐ Κύπρον οὐδὲ Συρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγιστον εὐθὺς εἶναι πάντων τῷ κρατοῦντι τῆς νίκης προστιθείσης.

- XVI. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπέπλει πενήτηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἔχων, ἐκ δὲ Σαλαμῖνος ἐκέλευσε Μενέλαον ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν, ὅταν μάλιστα σύστασιν ὁ ἀγὼν ἔχῃ, προσφερόμενον τὰς Δημητρίου κόπτειν ἐξόπισθεν καὶ διαταράττειν τὴν τάξιν. Δημήτριος δὲ ταῖς μὲν ἐξήκοντα ταύταις ἀντέταξε δέκα ναῦς (τοσαῦται γὰρ ἦρκουν στενὸν ὄντα τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι τὸν ἐκπλοῦν),
- 2 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἐκτάξας καὶ τοῖς ἀνατείνουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκρωτηρίοις περιχεάμενος, οὕτως ἀνήχθη ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα· προσμίξας δὲ ῥώμῃ καὶ βίᾳ πολλῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐτρέψατο τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸν μὲν, ὥς ἐνικῆθη, διὰ ταχέων φυγόντα ναυσὶν ὀκτὼ μόναίς (τοσαῦται γὰρ ἐκ πασῶν περιεσώθησαν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ διεφθάρησαν, ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ
- 3 ἤλωσαν αὐτάνδρῳ), τοῦ δὲ ἐν ὀλκάσι παρορμούντος ὄχλου θεραπόντων καὶ φίλων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἔτι δὲ ὄπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ μηχανημάτων ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν ἐξέφυγε τὸν Δημήτριον, ἀλλ' ἔλαβε πάντα καὶ κατήγαγεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἡ περιβόητος ἦν Λάμια, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν σπουδασθεῖσα διὰ τὴν τέχνην (ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐλεῖν

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sail away before the entire force should assemble and crush him, and Demetrius offering to let Ptolemy go if he would agree to withdraw his garrisons from Sicyon and Corinth. And not only Demetrius and Ptolemy themselves, but also all the other potentates, awaited with great expectancy the uncertain issue of the impending struggle ; they felt that not Cyprus, nor yet Syria, but the absolute supremacy would at once be the prize of the victor.

XVI. Well, then, Ptolemy himself sailed to the attack with a hundred and fifty ships, and ordered Menelaüs to put out from Salamis with sixty ships, and when the struggle was fiercest, to assail the ships of Demetrius in the rear, and throw them into confusion. But to these sixty ships Demetrius opposed only ten ships (for that small number sufficed to block the narrow exit from the harbour), while he himself, after first drawing out his land forces and encompassing the headlands that extended into the sea, put out to battle with a hundred and eighty ships. He made his onset with great impetus and force, and utterly routed Ptolemy. Ptolemy himself, after his defeat, fled swiftly with eight ships only (for that small number were left from his whole fleet ; of the rest, some had been destroyed in the sea-fight, and seventy had been captured, crews and all), but of the throng of attendants, friends, and women which lay in ships of burden close at hand, and further, of all Ptolemy's arms, money, and engines of war, absolutely nothing escaped Demetrius, but he took everything and brought it safely into his camp. Among this booty was the celebrated Lamia, originally held in esteem for her artistic skill (she was thought to play the flute quite admirably),

οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτως), ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτι-
 4 κοῖς λαμπρὰ γενομένη. τότε γοῦν ἤδη λήγουσα
 τῆς ὥρας καὶ πολὺ νεώτερον ἑαυτῆς λαβοῦσα τὸν
 Δημήτριον ἐκράτησε τῇ χάριτι καὶ κατέσχευεν,
 ὥστε ἐκείνης εἶναι μόνης ἐραστὴν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
 ἐρώμενον γυναικῶν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὐδὲ ὁ Μενέλαος
 ἀντέσχευεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε Σαλαμίνα παρέδωκε τῷ
 Δημητρίῳ καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ πεζόν, ἵππεις τε 896
 χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους καὶ μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους
 ὀπλίτας.

XVII. Οὕτω δὲ λαμπρὰν καὶ καλὴν τὴν νίκην
 γενομένην ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπικοσμῶν ὁ Δημήτριος
 εὐγνωμοσύνη καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοὺς νεκροὺς τῶν
 πολεμίων ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμα-
 λώτους ἀφῆκεν. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ χιλίας καὶ δια-
 κοσίας ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων ἐδωρήσατο πανοπλίας.
 2 Αὐτάγγελον δὲ τῆς νίκης τῷ πατρὶ τὸν Μιλή-
 σιον Ἀριστόδημον ἔπεμψε, πρωτεύοντα κολακείᾳ
 τῶν αὐλικῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ τότε παρεσκευασμένον,
 ὥς ἔοικε, τῶν κολακευμάτων τὸ μέγιστον ἐπενεγ-
 κεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν. ὥς γὰρ ἐπέραςεν ἀπὸ τῆς
 Κύπρου, προσέχειν μὲν οὐκ εἶασε τῇ γῇ τὸ πλοῖον,
 ἀγκύρας δ' ἀφείναι κελεύσας καὶ κατὰ ναῦν ἔχειν
 3 ἀτρέμα πάντα, αὐτὸς ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ ἐφόλκιον ἐξῆλθε
 μόνος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀνέβαινε, μετέωρον
 ὄντα τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῆς μάχης καὶ διακεῖμενον
 ὥς εἰκὸς ἐστι διακεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ πραγμάτων
 τηλικούτων ἀγωνιῶντας. τότε γε μὴν ἀκούσας
 ἐκείνου ἦκειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἔσχε ταρα-
 χωδῶς, καὶ μόλις μὲν αὐτὸν οἶκοι κατεῖχεν,
 ἄλλους δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπευ ὑπηρέτας καὶ

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but afterwards becoming illustrious in the annals of love also. At this time, at any rate, although she was past her prime and found Demetrius much younger than herself, she so mastered and swayed him by her charms that he was a lover for her alone, but a beloved for all other women.

After the sea-fight, Menelaüs also made no further resistance, but handed over Salamis to Demetrius, together with his fleet, and his land forces, which comprised twelve hundred horsemen and twelve thousand men-at-arms.

XVII. This victory, which was so fair and brilliant, Demetrius adorned still more by his humanity and kindness of heart. He gave the enemy's dead a magnificent burial, and set his captives free; moreover, upon the Athenians he bestowed twelve hundred suits of armour from the spoils.

As his special messenger to carry word of the victory to his father, Demetrius sent Aristodemus of Miletus, the arch-flatterer among all his courtiers, and ready now, as it would seem, to crown the achievement with the grossest of his flatteries. For when he had crossed over from Cyprus, he would not suffer his vessel to come to land, but ordered the crew to cast anchor and remain quietly on board, all of them, while he himself got into the ship's small boat, landed alone, and proceeded towards Antigonus, who was anxiously awaiting news of the battle, and was disposed as men are apt to be, disposed who are struggling for so high a stake. And now, indeed, when he heard that Aristodemus was coming, he was more disturbed than before, and, with difficulty keeping himself indoors, sent servants and friends,

φίλους πευσομένους τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου περὶ τῶν
 4 γεγονότων. ἀποκρινομένου δὲ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδενί,
 βάδην δὲ καὶ συνεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ μετὰ
 πολλῆς σιωπῆς προσίοντος, ἐκπλαγεῖς κομδῇ
 καὶ μηκέτι καρτερῶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐπὶ τὰς θύ-
 ρας ἀπήντησε, πολλοῦ παραπέμποντος ἤδη τὸν
 5 βασιλείον. ὥς οὖν ἐγγὺς ἦλθεν, ἐκτείνας τὴν
 δεξιὰν ἀνεβόησε μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ “Χαῖρε, βασι-
 λεῦ Ἀντίγονε, νικῶμεν Πτολεμαῖον ναυμαχία καὶ
 Κύπρον ἔχομεν καὶ στρατιώτας αἰχμαλώτους
 μυρίους ἑξακισχιλίους ὀκτακοσίους.” ὁ δὲ Ἀντί-
 γονος, “Καὶ σύ, νῆ Δία, χαῖρε,” εἶπεν. “οὕτω
 δὲ ἡμᾶς βασανίσας δίκην ὑφέξεις· βράδιον γὰρ
 ἀπολήψῃ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.”

XVIII. Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον ἀνεφώνησε τὸ
 πλῆθος Ἀντίγονον καὶ Δημήτριον βασιλέας.
 Ἀντίγονον μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀνέδησαν οἱ φίλοι,
 Δημητρίῳ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἔπεμψε διάδημα καὶ
 γράφων ἐπιστολὴν βασιλέα προσεῖπεν. οἱ δ' ἐν
 Αἰγύπτῳ τούτων ἀπαγγελλομένων καὶ αὐτοὶ
 βασιλέα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀνηγόρευσαν, ὥς μὴ
 δοκεῖν τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφίεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἡτταν.
 2 ἐπενείματο δὲ οὕτως τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ ζήλῳ τοῦς
 διαδόχους. καὶ γὰρ Ἄνυσίμαχος ἤρξατο φορεῖν
 διάδημα, καὶ Σέλευκος ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς Ἑλλη-
 σιν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε βαρβάροις πρότερον οὗτος ὡς
 βασιλεὺς ἐχρήματιζε. Κάσανδρος δέ, τῶν ἄλλων
 αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ γραφόντων καὶ καλούντων,
 αὐτός, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰώθει, τὰς ἐπιστολάς
 ἔγραφε.

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one after the other, to learn from Aristodemus what had happened. Aristodemus, however, would make no answer to anybody, but step by step and with a solemn face drew near in perfect silence. Antigonus, therefore, thoroughly frightened, and no longer able to restrain himself, came to the door to meet Aristodemus, who was now escorted by a large throng which was hurrying to the palace. Accordingly, when he had come near, he stretched out his hand and cried with a loud voice: "Hail, King Antigonus, we have conquered Ptolemy in a sea-fight, and now hold Cyprus, with twelve thousand eight hundred soldiers as prisoners of war." To this Antigonus replied: "Hail to thee also, by Heaven! but for torturing us in this way, thou shalt undergo punishment; the reward for thy good tidings thou shalt be some time in getting."

XVIII. Upon this, the multitude for the first time saluted Antigonus and Demetrius as kings. Antigonus, accordingly, was immediately crowned by his friends, and Demetrius received a diadem from his father, with a letter in which he was addressed as King. The followers of Ptolemy in Egypt on their part also, when these things were reported to them, gave him the title of King, that they might not appear to lose spirit on account of their defeat. And thus their emulation carried the practice among the other successors of Alexander. For Lysimachus began to wear a diadem, and Seleucus also in his interviews with the Greeks; with the Barbarians he had before this dealt as king. Cassander, however, although the others gave him the royal title in their letters and addresses, wrote his letters in his own untitled name, as he had been wont to do.

- 3 Τοῦτο δὲ οὐ προσθήκην ὀνόματος καὶ σχήματος
ἐξαλλαγὴν εἶχε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρονήματα
τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκίνησε καὶ τὰς γνώμας ἐπῆρε καὶ
τοῖς βίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις αὐτῶν ὄγκον ἐνεποίησε
καὶ βαρύτητα, καθάπερ τραγικῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἅμα
τῇ σκευῇ συµμεταβαλλόντων καὶ βάδισμα καὶ
4 φωνὴν καὶ κατάκλισιν καὶ προσαγόρευσιν. ἐκ
δὲ τούτων ἐγένοντο καὶ περὶ τὰς δικαιοῦσαις
βιαιότεροι, τὴν εἰς πολλὰ παρέχουσιν αὐτοὺς
ἐλαφροτέρους καὶ μαλακωτέρους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
πρότερον εἰρωνεῖαν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφελόντες. το-
σοῦτον ἴσχυσε κόλακος φωνὴ μία καὶ τοσαύτης
ἐνέπλησε τὴν οἰκουμένην μεταβολῆς.

- XIX. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ
Δημητρίου περὶ Κύπρον ἐπαρθεὶς εὐθύς ἐστρά-
τευσεν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἄγων πεζῇ
τὴν δύναμιν, Δημητρίου δὲ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ συμ-
παραπλέοντος. ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἔμελλε κρίνεσθαι
τὰ πράγματα, Μήδιος, Ἀντιγόνου φίλος, ὅψιν
2 εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἀντί- 897
γονον ἀγωνίζεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπάσης
διάυλον εὐρώστως καὶ ταχὺ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα κατὰ
μικρὸν ἐνδιδόναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ· καὶ τέλος,
ὥς ἔκαμψεν, ἀσθενῆ γενόμενον καὶ μεστὸν ἄσθμα-
τος οὐ ῥαδίως ἀναφέρειν. αὐτὸς τε οὖν ἐντυχὼν
κατὰ γῆν πολλαῖς ἀπορίαις, καὶ Δημητρίου
χειμῶνι μεγάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι κινδυνεύσαντος
εἰς τόπους ἀλιμένους καὶ χαλεποὺς ἐκριφῆναι,
πολλὰς δὲ τῶν νεῶν ἀπολέσαντος, ἐπανήλθεν
ἄπρακτος.
- 3 Ἦν δὲ τότε μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα γεγωνὼς ἔτη

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Now, this practice did not mean the addition of a name or a change of fashion merely, but it stirred the spirits of the men, lifted their thoughts high, and introduced into their lives and dealings with others pomposity and ostentation, just as tragic actors adapt to their costumes their gait, voice, posture at table, and manner of addressing others. Consequently they became harsher in their judicial decisions also; they laid aside that dissemblance of power which formerly had often made them more lenient and gentle with their subjects. So great influence had a flatterer's single word, and with so great a change did it fill the whole world.

XIX. Antigonus, elated by the achievements of Demetrius at Cyprus, at once¹ made an expedition against Ptolemy; he himself led his forces by land, while Demetrius with a great fleet coöperated with him by sea. How the enterprise was to issue, Medius, a friend of Antigonus, was warned by a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that Antigonus himself, with his whole army, was competing in a race over the course and back; he ran vigorously and swiftly at first, then, little by little, his strength failed him; and at last, after he had made the turn, he became weak, breathed heavily, and with difficulty made the finish. And conformably to the vision, Antigonus himself encountered many difficulties by land, and since Demetrius also encountered a great storm and a heavy sea and was cast upon a rough coast which had no harbours, losing many of his ships, he returned without accomplishing anything.

Antigonus was at this time almost eighty years

¹ During the same year, namely, 306 B.C.

- ὀγδοήκοντα,¹ μεγέθει δὲ καὶ βαρύτητι σώματος μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας γεγυνώς δυσπαρακόμιστος ἐχρήτο τῷ παιδί καὶ δι' ἐντυχίαν καὶ δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἤδη τὰ μέγιστα καλῶς διοικοῦντι, τρυφὰς δὲ καὶ πολυτελείας καὶ πότους αὐτοῦ μὴ βαρυνόμενος. εἰρήνης γὰρ οὔσης ἀφύβριζεν εἰς ταῦτα καὶ σχολάζων ἐχρήτο πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀναιμύνως αὐτῷ καὶ κατακόρως, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ὡς οἱ φύσει σῶφρονες ἔνηφε.
- 4 λέγεται δὲ τῆς Λαμίας ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη κρατούσης, τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημητρίου καταφιλούμενον ἤκοντος ἀπὸ ξένης εἰπεῖν ἅμα γελῶντα, “Δοκεῖς ΛαμIAN, ὦ παῖ, καταφιλεῖν.” πάλιν δέ ποτε πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν πότοις γενομένου, καὶ πρόφασιν λέγοντος ὡς ῥεῦμα διοχλήσειεν αὐτόν, “Ἐπυθόμην,” φάναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, “ἀλλὰ πότε-
- 5 ρον Θάσιον ἢ Χίον ἦν τὸ ῥεῦμα;” πυθόμενος δὲ αὐθις ἀσθενῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐβάδιζεν ὀψόμενος, καὶ τῶν καλῶν τινι περὶ θύρας ἀπήντησεν· εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ καθίσας παρ’ αὐτὸν ἠψατο τῆς χειρός· ἐκείνου δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι νῦν ὁ πυρετὸς ἀποκεχώρηκεν, “Ἀμέλει, παιδίον,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν
- 6 περὶ θύρας ἀπιὼν ἀπήντηκε.” ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω πράως ἔφερε τοῦ Δημητρίου διὰ τὴν ἄλλην πρᾶξιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σκύθαι πίνοντες καὶ μεθυσκόμενοι παραψάλλουσι τὰς νεურὰς τῶν τόξων, οἷον ἐκλνύμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀνακαλούμενοι

¹ ὀγδοήκοντα MSS. and most editors : τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα.

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old, and his great size and weight, even more than his old age, made it difficult for him to conduct expeditions. He therefore made use of his son instead, whose good fortune and experience now enabled him to conduct the greatest affairs successfully, and whose luxuries, extravagances, and revelries gave his father no concern. For although in time of peace Demetrius plunged deep into these excesses and devoted his leisure to his pleasures without restraint and intemperately, yet in time of war he was as sober as those who were abstemious by nature. And we are told that once, after Lamia was known of all men to be in complete control of Demetrius, he came home from abroad and greeted his father with a kiss, whereupon Antigonus said with a laugh, "One would think, my son, that thou wert kissing Lamia." Again, on another occasion, when Demetrius had been at his revels for several days, and excused his absence by saying that he was troubled with a flux, "So I learned," said Antigonus, "but was it Thasian or Chian wine that flowed?" And again, learning that his son was sick, Antigonus was going to see him, and met a certain beauty at his door; he went in, however, sat down by his son, and felt his pulse. "The fever has left me now," said Demetrius. "No doubt, my boy," said Antigonus, "I met it just now at the door as it was going away." These failings of Demetrius were treated with such lenity by his father because the young man was so efficient otherwise. The Scythians, in the midst of their drinking and carousing, twang their bow-strings, as though summoning back their courage when it is dissolved in pleasure; but

τὸν θυμόν, ἐκείνος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡδονῇ διδοὺς ἀπλῶς ἑαυτόν, τὰ δὲ σπουδῇ, καὶ θάτερα τῶν ἐτέρων ἄκρατα μεταχειριζόμενος, οὐχ ἥττον ἢ δεινὸς ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευαῖς.

- XX. Ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι δύναμιν ἢ χρήσασθαι βελτίων ἐδόκει στρατηγὸς εἶναι, πάντα μὲν ἐκ περιουσίας ὑπάρχειν βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας, τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα μεγαλουργίας καὶ καθ' ἡδονὴν τινα τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἀπλήστως ἔχων. εὐφυῆς γὰρ ὢν καὶ θεωρητικὸς οὐκ εἰς παιδιὰς οὐδ' εἰς διαγωγὰς ἀχρήστους ἔτρεψε τὸ φιλότεχνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς αὐλοῦντες καὶ ζωγραφοῦντες καὶ τορεύοντες.
- 2 Ἀέροπος γὰρ ὁ Μακεδὼν τραπέζια μικρὰ καὶ λυχνίδια τεκταινόμενος, ὁπότε σχολάζοι, διήγεν. Ἀτταλος δὲ ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐκήπευε τὰς φαρμακώδεις βοτάνας, οὐ μόνον ὑοσκύαμον καὶ ἐλλέβορον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κώνειον καὶ ἀκόνιτον καὶ δορύκνιον, αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις σπεύρων καὶ φυτεύων, ὁπούς τε καὶ καρπὸν αὐτῶν ἔργον πεποιημένος εἰδέναι καὶ κομίζεσθαι καθ' ὥραν. οἱ δὲ Πάρθων βασιλεῖς ἐσεμνύνοντο τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν χαράττοντες αὐτοὶ καὶ παραθήγοντες.
- 3 ἀλλὰ μὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τὸ βάνανσον ἦν βασιλικόν, καὶ μέγεθος ἢ μέθοδος εἶχεν, ἅμα τῷ περιττῷ καὶ φιλοτέχνῳ τῶν ἔργων ὕψος τι διανοίας καὶ φρονήματος συνεκφερόντων, ὥστε μὴ μόνον γνώμης καὶ περιουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρὸς ἄξια φαίνεσθαι βασιλικῆς. μεγέθει μὲν γὰρ ἐξέπληττε καὶ τοὺς φίλους, κάλλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτερπε. τοῦτο δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀληθῶς ἢ κομψῶς

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Demetrius, giving himself up completely, now to pleasure, and now to duty, and keeping the one completely separate from the other, was no less formidable in his preparations for war.

XX. Nay, he was actually thought to be a better general in preparing than in employing a force, for he wished everything to be at hand in abundance for his needs, and could never be satisfied with the largeness of his undertakings in building ships and engines of war, or in gazing at them with great delight. For he had good natural parts and was given to speculation, and did not apply his ingenuity to things that would afford useless pleasure or diversion, like other kings who played on the flute, or painted, or chased metals. Aeropus the Macedonian, for instance, used to spend his leisure time in making little tables or lamp-stands. And Attalus Philometor used to grow poisonous plants, not only henbane and hellebore, but also hemlock, aconite, and doryenium, sowing and planting them himself in the royal gardens, and making it his business to know their juices and fruits, and to collect these at the proper season. And the kings of the Parthians used to take pride in notching and sharpening with their own hands the points of their missiles. But with Demetrius, even the work of his hands was kingly, and his method had grandeur about it, since what he produced displayed loftiness of purpose and spirit combined with elegance and ingenuity, so that men thought it worthy, not only to be designed and paid for by a king, but actually to be wrought by his hand. For its magnitude terrified even his friends, and its beauty delighted even his enemies. And this has still more truth in it than elegance of

4 εἴρηται. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκκαίδεκῆρεις αὐτοῦ καὶ
 τὰς πεντεκαίδεκῆρεις ἐθαύμαζον ἐστῶτες οἱ 898
 πολέμιοι παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πλεούσας, αἱ δ'
 ἐλεπόλεις ὡς θέαμα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἦσαν,
 ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα μαρτυρεῖ. Λυσίμαχος
 μὲν γάρ, ἔχθιστος ὢν Δημητρίῳ τῶν βασιλέων
 καὶ πολιορκοῦντι Σόλους τοὺς Κιλικίους ἀντιτε-
 ταγμένος, ἔπεμψε παρακαλῶν ἐπιδείξαι τὰς μη-
 χανὰς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλεούσας· ἐπιδείξαντος
 5 δὲ θαυμάσας ἀπῆλθε. Ῥόδιοι δὲ πολὺν χρόνου
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιορκηθέντες, ἐπεὶ κατελύσαντο τὸν
 πόλεμον, ἡτήσαντο τῶν μηχανῶν ἐνίας, ὅπως
 ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως ἅμα καὶ τῆς αὐ-
 τῶν ἀνδραγαθίας ἔχωσιν.

XXI. Ἐπολέμησε δὲ Ῥοδίοις Πτολεμαίου συμ-
 μάχοις οὖσι, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ἐλέπολιν τοῖς τεί-
 χεσι προσήγαγεν, ἥς ἔδρα μὲν ἦν τετράγωνος,
 ἐκάστην ἔχουσα τοῦ κάτω πλαισίου πλευρὰν
 ὀκτῶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν, ἕξ δὲ καὶ ἑξή-
 κοντα πηχῶν ὕψος εἶχεν, εἰς κορυφὴν συννεύουσα
 2 ταῖς ἄνω πλευραῖς στενωτέραν τῆς βάσεως. ἔν-
 δοθεν μὲν οὖν στέγαις διεπέφρακτο καὶ χώραις
 πολλαῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτῆς μέτω-
 πον ἀνέφκτο καθ' ἐκάστην στέγην θυρίσιν, καὶ
 διὰ τούτων ἐξέπιπτε βέλη παντοδαπά· μεστὴ γὰρ
 ἦν ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων πᾶσαν ιδέα μᾶχης. καὶ
 τὸ μὴ κραδαινόμενον αὐτῆς μηδὲ κλινόμενον ἐν
 ταῖς κινήσεσιν, ἀλλ' ὀρθὸν ἐν ἔδρᾳ καὶ ἀσάλευτον,
 ἰσορρόπως ἅμα ῥοίζῳ καὶ τόνῳ πολλῷ προχω-
 ροῦν, θάμβος ἅμα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ χάριν τινα τῇ
 ὄψει τῶν θεωμένων παρείχε.

3 Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ θώρακες

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diction. His enemies would stand on shore and admire his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars as they sailed along past, and his "city-takers" were a spectacle to those whom he was besieging, as the actual facts testify. For Lysimachus, although he was the bitterest enemy Demetrius had among the kings, and had arrayed himself against him when he was besieging Soli in Cilicia, sent and asked Demetrius to show him his engines of war, and his ships in full career; and when Demetrius had shown them, Lysimachus expressed his admiration and went away. The Rhodians also, after they had been for a long time besieged by Demetrius and had come to terms with him, asked him for some of his engines of war, that they might keep them as a reminder of his power as well as of their own bravery.

XXI. Now, he made war upon the Rhodians¹ because they were allies of Ptolemy, and brought up against their walls his greatest "city-taker." Its base was square, and each of its sides measured at the bottom forty-eight cubits. It rose to a height of sixty-six cubits, and tapered from base to summit. Within, it was divided off into many storeys and chambers, and the side of it which faced the enemy had windows opening out of every storey, and out through these issued missiles of every sort; for it was full of men who fought in every style of fighting. Moreover, it did not totter or lean when it moved, but remained firm and erect on its base, advancing evenly with much noise and great impetus, and this astounded the minds and at the same time greatly charmed the eyes of those who beheld it.

For his use in this war there were brought to

¹ In 305-304 B.C. The siege lasted about a year.

ἐκομίσθησαν ἐκ Κύπρου δύο σιδηροῖ, μνῶν ὀλκῆς ἐκάτερος τεσσαράκοντα. δυσπάθειαν δὲ καὶ ῥώμην αὐτῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὁ τεχνίτης Ζωῖλος ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ εἴκοσι βημάτων ἀφεῖναι καταπελτικὸν βέλος, οὐ προσπεσόντος ἀρραγῆς διέμεινεν ὁ σίδηρος, ἀμυχὴν δὲ μόλις ἔσχεν ἀμβλεῖαν, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ 4 γραφείου. τοῦτον αὐτὸς ἐφόρει· τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἄλκιμος ὁ Ἡπειρώτης, ἀνὴρ πολεμικώτατος τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατος, ὃς μόνος ἐχρήτο διταλάντῳ πανοπλίᾳ, τῶν ἄλλων χρωμένων ταλαντιαίᾳ· καὶ μαχόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ τὸ θέατρον ἔπεσεν.

XXII. Εὐρώστως δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀμυνομένων, οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου πράττων ὁ Δημήτριος ὁμῶς ἐθυμομάχει πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι, Φίλας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ γράμματα καὶ στρώματα καὶ ἱμάτια πεμψάσης, λαβόντες τὸ πλοῖον, ὥσπερ εἶχε, πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐμιμήσαντο φιλανθρωπίαν, οἱ Φιλίππου πολεμοῦντος αὐτοῖς γραμματοφόρους ἐλόντες τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνέγνωσαν ἐπιστολάς, μύνην δὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδος οὐκ ἔλυσαν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἦν κατα- 2 σεσημασμένη, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπέστειλαν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλά, καίπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφόδρα δηχθεὶς ὁ Δημήτριος, εὐθὺς παρασχόντας λαβὴν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἀντιλυπῆσαι τοὺς Ῥοδίους. ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Καύνιος Πρωτογένης γράφων τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἰάλυσον διάθεσιν, καὶ τὸν πίνακα μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα

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Demetrius from Cyprus two iron coats of mail, each of which weighed only forty pounds. Wishing to show their strength and power of resistance, Zoilus their maker gave orders that a catapult's missile should be shot at one of them from a distance of twenty paces, and in the place where it struck the iron remained intact, although it did get a faint scratch, such as might be made by a graver. This coat of mail Demetrius wore himself; the other was worn by Alcimus the Epeirot, the sturdiest and most warlike of all the men under him, and the only one whose suit of armour weighed a hundred pounds (the rest used suits of fifty pounds weight); he fell in battle at Rhodes near the theatre.

XXII. But the Rhodians on their part made a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius, although he was accomplishing nothing worthy of mention, nevertheless kept up the fight against them in a rage, because, when Phila his wife sent him letters, bedding, and clothing, the Rhodians had captured the vessel containing them, and had sent it, just as it was, to Ptolemy. In this they did not imitate the considerate kindness of the Athenians, who, having captured Philip's letter-carriers when he was making war upon them, read all the other letters, indeed, but one of them, which was from Olympias, they would not open; instead, they sent it back to the king with its seal unbroken. However, although Demetrius was exceedingly exasperated by this, when the Rhodians soon after gave him a chance to retaliate, he would not allow himself to do so. It happened, namely, that Protogenes the Caunian had been making a painting for them which illustrated the story of Ialysus, and this picture, nearly finished,

τοῦ τέλος ἔχειν ἔν τινι τῶν προαστείων ἔλαβεν ὁ Δημήτριος. πεμψάντων δὲ κήρυκα τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ δεομένων φείσασθαι καὶ μὴ διαφθεῖραι τὸ ἔργον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνας ἂν
 3 ἐμπρῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης πόνον τοσοῦτον. ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἔτεσι λέγεται συντελέσαι τὴν γραφὴν ὁ Πρωτογένης. καὶ φησιν ὁ Ἀπελλῆς οὕτως ἐκπλαγῆναι θεασάμενος τὸ ἔργον ὥστε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ὃψὲ δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι “Μέγας ὁ πόνος καὶ θαυμαστὸν τὸ ἔργον,” οὐ μὴν ἔχειν γε χάριτας δι’ ἃς οὐρανοῦ ψαύειν τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γραφόμενα.
 4 ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ταῦτό ταῖς ἄλλαις συνωσθείσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ πῦρ ἐπενείματο. τῶν δὲ Ῥοδίων κατεξανισταμένων τοῦ πολέμου, 899 δεόμενον προφάσεως τὸν Δημήτριον Ἀθηναῖοι παραγενόμενοι διήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχεῖν Ῥοδίους Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ πλὴν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον.

XXIII. Ἐκάλουν δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Κασάνδρον τὸ ἄστυ πολιορκούντος. ὁ δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας τριακοσίαις τριάκοντα καὶ πολλοῖς ὀπλίταις, οὐ μόνον ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὸν Κάσανδρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγοντα μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν διώξας καὶ τρεψάμενος, Ἡράκλειαν ἔλαβεν, ἐκουσίως αὐτῷ προσθεμένην, καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἑξακισχιλίους μεταβαλομένους πρὸς
 2 αὐτόν. ἐπανιὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐντὸς Πυλῶν Ἕλληνας ἤλευθέρου, καὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἐποιήσατο συμμαχούς,

¹ When Strabo wrote, during the reign of Augustus, the painting was still at Rhodes, where it had been seen and admired by Cicero (*Orat.* 2, 5); when the elder Pliny wrote,

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had been captured by Demetrius in one of the suburbs of the city. The Rhodians sent a herald and begged Demetrius to spare and not destroy the work, whereupon he replied that he would rather burn the likenesses of his father than so great a labour of art. For we are told that it took Protogenes seven years to complete the painting. And Apelles says he was so smitten with amazement on beholding the work that his voice actually failed him, and that when at last he had recovered it, he cried, "Great is the toil and astonishing the work," remarking, however, that it had not the graces which made the fame of his own paintings touch the heavens. This painting, then, crowded into the same place with the rest at Rome, the fire destroyed.¹ As for the Rhodians, they continued their strenuous resistance in the war until Demetrius, who wanted a pretext for abandoning it, was induced to make terms with them by a deputation of Athenians, on condition that the Rhodians should be allies of Antigonus and Demetrius, except in a war against Ptolemy.

XXIII. And now the Athenians called upon Demetrius because Cassander was besieging their city. So Demetrius sailed to their help with three hundred and thirty ships and a great number of men-at-arms, and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but actually pursued him in his headlong flight as far as Thermopylae, and then took Heracleia, which joined him of its own accord, and six thousand Macedonians, who also came over to him. On his return, he gave their freedom to the Greeks on this side of Thermopylae, made the Boeotians his allies, a generation or two later, it had been carried to Rome and placed in the temple of Peace (cf. Strabo, xiv. p. 652; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 10, 36).

καὶ Κεγχρέας εἶλε· καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Πάνακτον, ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου φρουρούμενα, καταστρεψάμενος ἀπέδωκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐκκεχυμένοι πρότερον εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ κατακεχρημένοι πᾶσαν φιλοτιμίαν, ἐξεύρον ὁμως καὶ τότε πρόσφατοι καὶ καινοὶ ταῖς
 3 κολακείαις φανῆναι. τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ κατάλυσιν· κακεῖ δίαιταν εἶχε, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτόν, ὃ πάνν κόσμιον ξένον οὐδὲ
 4 ὡς παρθένῳ πρῶως ἐπισταθμεύοντα. καίτοι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον αἰσθόμενός ποτε ὁ πατήρ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καταλύοντα τρεῖς ἐχούσῃ νέας γυναῖκας, πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν ἐφθέγγετο, παρόντος δὲ ἐκείνου, τὸν σταθμοδότην μεταπεμψάμενος, “Οὗτος,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἐξάξεις μου τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς στενοχωρίας;”

XXIV. Δημήτριος δέ, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, εἰ δι’ ἄλλο μηδέν, ὥς γε πρεσβυτέραν ἀδελφὴν αἰσχύνεσθαι (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι), τοσαύτην ὕβριν εἰς παῖδας ἐλευθέρους καὶ γυναῖκας ἀστὰς κατεσκέδασε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὥστε δοκεῖν τότε μάλιστα καθαρεύειν τὸν τόπον, ὅτε Χρυσίδι καὶ Λαμῖα καὶ Δημοῖ καὶ Ἀντικύρα, ταῖς πόρναις ἐκείναις, συνακολασταῖνοι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σαφῶς ἀπαγγέλλειν οὐ πρέπει διὰ τὴν πόλιν, τὴν δὲ Δημοκλέους ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἄξιόν ἐστι μὴ παρελθεῖν. ἐκείνος γὰρ ἦν ἔτι παῖς ἄνηβος, οὐκ ἔλαθε δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον ἔχων τῆς εὐμορφίας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν κατή-

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and captured Ceirichrae ; he also reduced Phyle and Panactum, fortresses of Attica in which Cassander had garrisons, and gave them back to the Athenians. And they, although before this they had used up and exhausted all the honours that could be bestowed upon him, nevertheless devised a way to show themselves then also the authors of new and fresh flatteries. For instance, they assigned him the rear chamber of the Parthenon for his quarters ; and there he lived, and there it was said that Athena received and entertained him, although he was no very orderly guest and did not occupy his quarters with the decorum due to a virgin. And yet on one occasion when his father understood that his brother Philip was quartered in a house occupied by three young women, he said not a word to Philip himself, but in his presence said to the quartermaster whom he had summoned, "See here, wilt thou not remove my son from his narrow quarters?"

XXIV. But Demetrius, who ought to have revered Athena, if for no other reason, at least because she was his elder sister (for this was what he liked to have her called¹), filled the acropolis with such wanton treatment of free-born youth and native Athenian women that the place was then thought to be particularly pure when he shared his dissolute life there with Chrysis and Lamia and Demo and Anticyra, the well-known prostitutes.

Now, to give all the particulars plainly would disgrace the fair fame of the city, but I may not pass over the modesty and virtue of Democles. He was still a young boy, and it did not escape the notice of Demetrius that he had a surname which indicated

¹ Since the Athenians had made him a "Saviour-god."

- γορον· ἐκαλεῖτο γὰρ Δημοκλῆς ὁ καλός. ὥς δὲ πολλὰ πειρώντων καὶ διδόντων καὶ φοβούντων ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἡλίσκετο, τέλος δὲ φεύγων τὰς παλαιάστρας καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον εἰς τι βαλανεῖον ἰδιωτικὸν ἐφοῖτα λουσόμενος, ἐπιτηρήσας τὸν και-
 3 ρὸν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐπεισῆλθεν αὐτῷ μόνῳ. καὶ ὁ παῖς, ὥς συνέιδε τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἀφελὼν τὸ πῶμα τοῦ χαλκώματος εἰς ζέον ὕδωρ ἐνήλατο καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτόν, ἀνάξια μὲν παθὼν, ἄξια δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ κάλλους φρονήσας, οὐχ ὥς Κλεαίνετός ὁ Κλεομέδοντος, ὃς ὠφληκότι τῷ πατρὶ δίκην πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ἀφεθῆναι διαπραξάμενος καὶ γράμματα παρὰ Δημητρίου κομίσας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν κατήσχυεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνε-
 4 τάραξε. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κλεομέδοντα τῆς δίκης ἀφῆκαν, ἐγράφη δὲ ψήφισμα μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Δημητρίου κομίζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως, ἀλλ' ἠγανάκτησε, δείσαντες αὖθις οὐ μόνον τὸ ψήφισμα καθεῖλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰσηγησαμένων καὶ συνειπόντων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσαν, ἔτι δὲ προσεψηφίσαντο δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πᾶν, ὃ τι ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος κελεύσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσιον καὶ πρὸς
 5 ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δίκαιον. εἰπόντος δὲ τίνος τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μαίνεσθαι τὸν Στρατοκλέα τοιαῦτα γράφοντα, Δημοχάρης ὁ Λευκονοεὺς “Μαίνοιτο μέντ' ἄν,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο.”

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his comeliness; for he was called Democles the Beautiful. But he yielded to none of the many who sought to win him by prayers or gifts or threats, and finally, shunning the palaestras and the gymnasium, used to go for his bath to a private bathing-room. Here Demetrius, who had watched his opportunity, came upon him when he was alone. And the boy, when he saw that he was quite alone and in dire straits, took off the lid of the cauldron and jumped into the boiling water, thus destroying himself, and suffering a fate that was unworthy of him, but showing a spirit that was worthy of his country and of his beauty. Not so Cleaenetus the son of Cleomedon, who, in order to obtain a letter from Demetrius to the people and therewith to secure the remission of a fine of fifty talents which had been imposed upon his father, not only disgraced himself, but also got the city into trouble. For the people released Cleomedon from his sentence, but they passed an edict that no citizen should bring a letter from Demetrius before the assembly. However, when Demetrius heard of it and was beyond measure incensed thereat, they took fright again, and not only rescinded the decree, but actually put to death some of those who had introduced and spoken in favour of it, and drove others into exile; furthermore, they voted besides that it was the pleasure of the Athenian people that whatsoever King Demetrius should ordain in future, this should be held righteous towards the gods and just towards men. And when one of the better class of citizens declared that Stratocles was mad to introduce such a motion, Demochares of Leuconoë said: "He would indeed be mad not to be

πολλὰ γὰρ ὁ Στρατοκλῆς ὠφελεῖτο διὰ τὴν κολα-
κείαν. ὁ δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐπὶ τούτῳ διαβληθεὶς
ἐφυγαδεύθη. τοιαῦτα ἔπραττον Ἀθηναῖοι φρου-
ρᾶς ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχειν δο-
κοῦντες.

- XXV. Δημήτριος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Πελοπόν-
νησον, οὐδενὸς ὑφισταμένου τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ
φευγόντων καὶ προῖεμένων τὰς πόλεις, προση-
γάγετο τὴν τε καλουμένην Ἀκτὴν καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν,
πλήν Μαντινείας, καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ
Κόρινθον ἐλύσατο τάλαντα δούς ἑκατὸν τοῖς
2 φρουροῦσιν. ἐν Ἄργει μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν Ἑραίων
ἐορτῆς καθηκούσης, ἀγωνοθετῶν καὶ συμπανη-
γυρίζων τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἔγῃμε τὴν Αἰακίδου θυγα-
τέρα, τοῦ Μολοττῶν βασιλέως, ἀδελφὴν δὲ
Πύρρου, Δηϊδάμειαν. Σικωνιῶν δὲ φήσας παρὰ
τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισεν οὐ νῦν οἰκοῦσι
μετοικίσασθαι· τῷ δὲ τόπῳ καὶ τοῦνομα τὴν
πόλιν συµμεταβαλοῦσαν ἀντὶ Σικυῶνος Δημη-
3 τριάδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ κοινοῦ
συνεδρίου γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων συν-
ελθόντων, ἡγεμὼν ἀνηγορεύθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὥς
πρότερον οἱ περὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον· ὧν
ἐκεῖνος οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι
βελτίονα, τῇ τύχῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει
τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπαιρόμενος. Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν
οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀπεστέρησε τῆς
ὁμωνυμίας, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ἀνεῖπε βασιλέων βασιλέα,

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mad." For Stratoles reaped much advantage from his flatteries. Demochares, however, was brought under accusation for this and sent into exile. So fared it with the Athenians, who imagined that because they were rid of their garrison they therefore had their freedom.

XXV. And now Demetrius proceeded into Peloponnesus,¹ where not one of his enemies opposed him, but all abandoned their cities and fled. He received into allegiance Acte, as it is called, and Arcadia (except Mantinea), and freed Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth by paying their garrisons a hundred talents. At Argos, then, where there was a celebration of the festival of Hera, he presided at the games and attended the solemn assemblies with the Greeks, and married Deïdameia,² the daughter of Aeacides king of the Molossians, and the sister of Pyrrhus. As for the Sicyonians, he told them their city was in the wrong place, and persuaded them to change its site to that which it now has; moreover, with the site he also changed the name of the city, calling it Demetrias instead of Sicyon. And at the Isthmus of Corinth, where a general assembly was held and throngs of people came together, he was proclaimed Commander-in-chief of the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been proclaimed before him; and to these he considered himself in no slight measure superior, lifted up as he was by the good fortune and power which he then enjoyed. And certainly King Alexander never refused to bestow the royal title upon other kings, nor did he proclaim himself King of Kings, although many

¹ Early in 303 B. C.

² Although both Eurydice and Phila were still living.

καίτοι πολλοῖς τὸ καλεῖσθαι καὶ εἶναι βασιλέας
 4 αὐτὸς δεδοκώς· ἐκεῖνος δὲ χλευάζων καὶ γελῶν
 τοὺς ἄλλον τινὰ πλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ
 βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντας, ἡδέως ἤκουε τῶν παρὸ
 πότον ἐπιχύσεις λαμβανόντων Δημητρίου βασι-
 λέως, Σελεύκου δὲ ἐλεφαντάρχου, Πτολεμαίου δὲ
 ναυάρχου, Λύσιμάχου δὲ γαζοφύλακος, Ἀγαθο-
 5 κλέους δὲ τοῦ Σικελιώτου νησιάρχου. τούτων δὲ
 πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκφερομένων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
 βασιλεῖς κατεγέλων, Λυσίμαχος δ' ἠγανάκτει
 μόνος εἰ σπάδοντα νομίζει Δημήτριος αὐτόν·
 ἐπεικῶς γὰρ εἰώθεισαν εὐνούχους ἔχειν γαζο-
 6 φύλακας. ἦν δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεχθέστατος ὁ
 Λυσίμαχος αὐτῷ, καὶ λοιδορῶν εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα
 τῆς Λαμίας ἔλεγε νῦν πρῶτον ἑωρακέναι πόρνην
 προερχομένην ἐκ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος
 ἔφη τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόρνην σωφρονεστέραν εἶναι τῆς
 ἐκείνου Πηνελόπης.

XXVI. Τότε δ' οὖν ἀναζευγνύων εἰς τὰς Ἀθή-
 νας ἔγραψεν ὅτι βούλεται παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς
 μνηθῆναι καὶ τὴν τελετὴν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ τῶν
 μικρῶν ἄχρι τῶν ἐποπτικῶν παραλαβεῖν. τοῦτο
 δὲ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν οὐδὲ γεγονὸς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ
 τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἐτελοῦντο, τὰ δὲ
 μεγάλα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος· ἐπώπτευον δὲ τοῦ-
 λάχιστον ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐνιαυτὸν διαλείποντες.
 2 ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων μόνος ἐτόλ-
 μησεν ἀντειπεῖν Πυθόδωρος ὁ δαδοῦχος, ἐπέρανε
 δὲ οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ Στρατοκλέους γνώμην εἰπόντος

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kings received their position and title from him ; whereas Demetrius used to rail and mock at those who gave the title of King to any one except his father and himself, and was well pleased to hear revellers pledge Demetrius as King, but Seleucus as Master of the Elephants, Ptolemy as Admiral, Lysimachus as Treasurer, and Agathocles as Island Governor of Sicily. When this was reported to these kings, they all laughed at Demetrius, except Lysimachus ; he was incensed that Demetrius considered him a eunuch (it was the general practice to have eunuchs for treasurers). And of all the kings Lysimachus had most hatred for Demetrius. He was once reviling the man's passion for Lamia, and said that this was the first time he had ever seen a harlot coming forward to play a great tragic part ; Demetrius, however, declared that his own harlot was more chaste than the Penelope of Lysimachus.

XXVI. But to resume the story, when Demetrius was getting ready to return to Athens, he wrote letters to the people saying that he wished to be initiated into the mysteries as soon as he arrived, and to pass through all the grades in the ceremony, from the lowest to the highest (the "epoptica"). Now, this was not lawful, and had not been done before, but the lesser rites were performed in the month Anthesterion, the great rites in Boëdromion ; and the supreme rites (the "epoptica") were celebrated after an interval of at least a year from the great rites. And yet when the letter of Demetrius was read, no one ventured to oppose the proposition except Pythodorus the Torch-bearer, and he accomplished nothing ; instead, on motion of Stratocles, it was voted to call the current month, which was

Ἀνθεστηριῶνα τὸν Μουνυχιῶνα ψηφισαμένους
καλεῖν καὶ νομίζειν, ἐτέλουν τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ
πρὸς Ἀγραν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐξ Ἀν-
θεστηριῶνος ὁ Μουνυχιῶν γενόμενος Βοηδρομιῶν
ἐδέξατο τὴν λοιπὴν τελετὴν, ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐπο-
3 πτεῖαν τοῦ Δημητρίου προσεπιλαβόντος. διὸ καὶ
Φιλιππίδης τὸν Στρατοκλέα λαιδορῶν ἐποίησεν·

ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συντεμὼν εἰς μῆν' ἕνα,
καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι κατασκηνώσεως·
ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πανδοκεῖον ὑπολαβὼν
καὶ τὰς ἐταῖρας εἰσαγαγὼν τῇ παρθένῳ.

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XXVII. Πολλῶν δὲ γενομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει
τότε πλημμελημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ἐκείνῳ
μάλιστα λέγεται λυπῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι
διακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πορίσαι ταχὺ
καὶ δοῦναι προσταχθὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς εἰσπρά-
ξεως συντόνου καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου γενομένης, ἰδὼν
ἡθροισμένον τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε Λαμία καὶ ταῖς
περὶ αὐτὴν ἐταῖραις εἰς σμῆγμα δοθῆναι. ἡ γὰρ
αἰσχύνῃ τῆς ζημίας καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ πράγματος
2 μᾶλλον ἠνώχλησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο
Θετταλοῖς, οὐκ Ἀθηναίοις, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συμβῆναι
λέγουσι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ
Λάμια τῷ βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζουσα δεῖπνον
ἡργυρολόγησε πολλούς. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον οὕτως

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Munychion, Anthesterion, and so to regard it, and the lesser rites at Agra were performed for Demetrius; after which Munychion was again changed and became Boëdromion instead of Anthesterion, Demetrius received the remaining rites of initiation, and at the same time was also admitted to the highest grade of "epoptos." Hence Philippides, in his abuse of Stratocles, wrote ¹ :—

"Who abridged the whole year into a single month,"
and with reference to the quartering of Demetrius
in the Parthenon :—

"Who took the acropolis for a caravansery,
And introduced to its virgin goddess his court-
esans."

XXVII. But among the many lawless and shocking things done by Demetrius in the city at this time, this is said to have given the Athenians most displeasure, namely, that after he had ordered them to procure speedily two hundred and fifty talents for his use, and after they had levied the money rigorously and inexorably, when he saw the sum that had been collected, he commanded that it should be given to Lamia and her fellow courtesans to buy soap with. For the shame they felt was more intolerable to the people than their loss, and the words which accompanied it than the deed itself. But some say that those who received this treatment were Thessalians, not Athenians. Apart from this incident, however, Lamia, when she was preparing a supper for the king, exacted money on her own account from many citizens. And the costliness

¹ Part of the fragment cited at xii. 4.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἤνθησε τῇ δόξῃ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν ὥστε ὑπὸ Λυγκέως τοῦ Σαμίου συγγεγράφθαι. διὸ καὶ τῶν κωμικῶν τις οὐ φαύλως τὴν Λάμιαν Ἑλέπολιν ἀληθῶς προσεῖπε. Δημοχάρης δ' ὁ Σόλιος τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτὸν ἐκάλει Μῦθον· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ Λάμιαν.

- 3 Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῖς γαμεταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ Δημητρίου ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον εὐημεροῦσα καὶ στεργομένη παρείχεν. ἀφίκοντο γοῦν τινες παρ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρεσβείαν πρὸς Λυσίμαχον, οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἄγων σχολὴν ἐπέδειξεν ἔν τε τοῖς μηροῖς καὶ τοῖς βραχίουσιν ὠτειλὰς βαθείας ὀνύχων λεοντείων· καὶ διηγεῖτο τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς τὸ θηρίον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου συγκαθειρχθέντι τοῦ βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ γελῶντες ἔφασαν καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα δεινοῦ θηρίου
- 4 δῆγματα φέρειν ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ, Λαμίας. ἦν δὲ θαυμαστὸν ὅτι τῆς Φίλας ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡλικίαν δυσχεραίνων, ἥττητο τῆς Λαμίας, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦρα χρόνον, ἥδη παρηκμακυίας. Δημῷ γοῦν, ἡ ἐπικαλουμένη Μανία, παρὰ δεῖπνον αὐλούσης τῆς Λαμίας καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου πυθομένου, “Τί σοι δοκεῖ;” “Γραῦς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ.” πάλιν δὲ τραγημάτων παρατεθέντων κἀκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰπόντος, “Ὁρᾷς ὅσα μοι Λάμια πέμπει;” “Πλείονα,” ἔφη, “πεμφθήσεται σοι παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς μητρός, ἐὰν θέλῃς καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς
- 5 καθεύδειν.” ἀπομνημονεύεται δὲ τῆς Λαμίας καὶ

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of this supper gave it so wide a renown that it was described in full by Lynceus the Samian. Hence also a comic poet not inaptly called Lamia "a veritable City-taker."¹ And Demochares of Soli called Demetrius himself "Fable," because he too, like Fable, had a Lamia.²

And not only among the wives of Demetrius, but also among his friends, did the favour and affection which he bestowed on Lamia awaken envy and jealousy. At all events, some ambassadors from him once came to Lysimachus, and Lysimachus, in an hour of leisure, showed them on his thighs and shoulders deep scars of wounds made by a lion's claws; he also told them about the battle he had fought against the beast, with which he had been caged by Alexander the king. Then they laughingly told him that their own king also carried, on his neck, the bites of a dreadful wild beast,—a Lamia. And it was astonishing that while in the beginning he was displeased at Phila's disparity in years, he was vanquished by Lamia, and loved her so long, although she was already past her prime. At all events, when Lamia was playing on the flute at a supper, and Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed Mania, what she thought of her, "O King," said Mania, "I think her an old woman." And at another time, when some sweetmeats were served up, and Demetrius said to Mania, "Dost thou see how many presents I get from Lamia?" "My mother," said Mania, "will send thee more, if thou wilt make her also thy mistress." And there is on record also Lamia's

¹ See chapter xx. 4.

² The name of a fabulous monster reputed to eat men's flesh.

πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην Βοκχώρεως κρίσιν ἀντίρρη-
 σις. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τις ἐρῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῆς ἐταίρας
 Θώνιδος ἡτέτο συχνὸν χρυσίου, εἶτα κατὰ τοὺς
 ὕπνους δόξας αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας
 ἐπαύσατο, δίκην ἔλαχεν ἡ Θωνὶς αὐτῷ τοῦ μθώ-
 6 ματος. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν λόγον ὁ Βόκχωρις ἐκέ-
 λευσε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅσον ἡτήθη χρυσίου ἡριθμη-
 μένον ἐν τῷ ἀγγεῖῳ διαφέρειν δεῦρο καὶ κεῖσε τῇ
 χειρί, τὴν δὲ ἐταίραν ἔχεσθαι τῆς σκιᾶς, ὡς τὴν
 δόξαν τῆς ἀληθείας σκιὰν οὖσαν. οὐκ ᾔετο
 ταύτην εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν ἢ Λάμια δικαίαν· οὐ γὰρ
 ἀπέλυσεν ἡ σκιὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ ἀργυρίου τὴν
 ἐταίραν, τὸ δὲ ὄναρ ἔπαυσεν ἐρῶντα τὸν νεανίσκον.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ Λαμίας.

XXVIII. Τὴν δὲ διήγησιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ κωμικῆς
 σκηνῆς, πάλιν εἰς τραγικὴν μετέγουσιν αἱ τύχαι
 καὶ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃν διηγοῦμεθα. τῶν
 γὰρ ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀπάντων συνισταμένων
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ συμφερόντων εἰς ταὐτὸ
 τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀπῆρεν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλά-
 δος, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συμμίξας φιλοτιμουμένῳ παρ'
 ἡλικίαν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς
 2 ἐπερρώσθη. καίτοι δοκεῖ γε Ἀντίγονος, εἰ μι-
 κρῶν τινων ὑφεῖτο καὶ τῆς ἄγαν φιλαρχίας ἐχά-
 λασε, μέχρι παντὸς ἂν αὐτῷ διαφυλάξαι καὶ κείνῳ
 καταλιπεῖν τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι. φύσει δὲ βαρὺς ὢν
 καὶ ὑπερόπτης, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις οὐχ ἥττον ἢ τοῖς
 πράγμασι τραχύς, πολλοὺς καὶ νέους καὶ δυνα-
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξηγρίαινε καὶ παρώξυνε· καὶ τὴν 902

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comment on the famous judgment of Bocchoris. There was, namely, a certain Egyptian who was in love with Thonis the courtesan, and offered a great sum of money for her favours; then he dreamed that he enjoyed those favours, and ceased from his desires. Thereupon Thonis brought an action against him for payment due, and Bocchoris, on hearing the case, ordered the man to bring into court in its coffer the sum total demanded of him, and to move it hither and thither with his hand, and the courtesan was to grasp its shadow, since the thing imagined is a shadow of the reality. This judgment Lamia thought to be unjust; for though the dream put an end to the young man's passion, the shadow of the money did not set the courtesan free from her desire for it. So much, then, for Lamia.

XXVIII. But the fortunes and achievements of the man whose Life I am narrating, brings my narrative back, as it were, from the comic to the tragic stage. For all the other kings leagued themselves together against Antigonus and united their forces, and so Demetrius set forth from Greece,¹ and finding his father eager beyond his years for the war, he was himself still more encouraged. And yet it would seem that if Antigonus had made some trifling concessions and had slackened his excessive passion for dominion, he might have always retained the supremacy for himself and have left it to his son. But he was naturally stern and haughty, and was harsh in what he said no less than in what he did, and therefore exasperated and incited against himself many young and powerful men; and their

¹ Late in 302 B.C.

γε τότε σύστασιν καὶ κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν ὥσπερ ὀρνίθων σπερμολόγων συνδρομὴν ἐνὶ λίθῳ καὶ ψόφῳ συνδιαταράζειν.

- 3 Ἦγε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν ἑπτακισμυρίων πλείους, ἵππεῖς δὲ μυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχόντων πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους τῶν ἐκείνου πλείονας, ἐλέφαντας δὲ τετρακοσίους, ἄρματα δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. γενομένην δ' ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν τροπὴν ἔσχεν ἡ διάνοια τῆς
- 4 ἐλπίδος μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς γνώμης. ὑψηλὸς γὰρ εἶναι καὶ γαῦρος εἰώθως ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ χρώμενος φωνῇ τε μεγάλῃ καὶ λόγοις σοβαροῖς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῷ παρασκῶψαί τι καὶ γελοῖον εἰπεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐστάθειαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν, τότε συννοῦς ἐωρᾶτο καὶ σιωπηλὸς τὰ πολλά, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέδειξε τῷ πλήθει καὶ συνέστησε διάδοχον.
- 5 ὃ δὲ μάλιστα πάντες ἐθαύμασαν, ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ μόνος διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκ εἰθισμένος ἔχειν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀπορρήτους κοινολογίας, ἀλλὰ ἴδιος ὢν γνώμη, εἶτα προστάττων φανερώς καὶ χρώμενος οἷς βουλευσάιτο καθ' ἑαυτόν. λέγεται γοῦν μεираκιον ἔτι ὄντα τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι πότε μέλλουσιν ἀναξευγνύειν τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὀργήν· “Ἀγωνιᾶς μὴ μόνος σὺ τῆς σάλπιγγος οὐκ ἀκούσης;”

XXIX. Τότε μέντοι καὶ σημεῖα μοχθηρὰ κατεδουλοῦτο τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν. Δημήτριος μὲν γὰρ ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Ἀλέξανδρον ὥπλισμένον λαμπρῶς ἐρωτᾶν ὁποῖόν τι σύνθημα διδό-

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combination and partnership at this time he said he would scatter asunder with a single stone and a single shout, as if they were a flock of granivorous birds.

He took the field with more than seventy thousand infantry, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants; while his adversaries had sixty-four thousand infantry, five hundred more horse than he, four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty chariots. After he had drawn near them, the cast of his expectations rather than of his purposes underwent a change. For he was wont to be lofty and boastful as he engaged in his conflicts, making pompous speeches in a loud voice, and many times also by the utterance of a casual jest or joke when the enemy was close at hand he would show the firmness of his own spirit and his contempt for them; but now he was observed to be thoughtful and silent for the most part, and he presented his son to the army and pronounced him his successor. But what more than anything else astonished everybody was his conversing alone in his tent with his son, although it was not his custom to have secret conferences even with him; instead, he made his own plans, followed his own counsels, and then gave his orders openly. At all events, we are told that Demetrius, when he was still a stripling, asked his father when they were going to break camp; and that Antigonus replied in anger: "Art thou in distress lest thou alone shouldst not hear the trumpet?"

XXIX. At this time, moreover, bad omens also subdued their spirits. For Demetrius dreamed that Alexander, in brilliant array of armour, asked him what watchword they were going to give for the

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- ναι πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέλλουσιν· αὐτοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, “Δία καὶ Νίκην” “Ἀπειμι τοίνυν,” φάναι,” πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ με
- 2 παραλαμβάνουσιν.” Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραταττομένης ἤδη τῆς φάλαγγος ἐξίων προσέπταισεν, ὥστε πεσεῖν ὅλως ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ διατεθῆναι χαλεπῶς· ἀναστὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ᾗτήσατο νίκην παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἢ θάνατον ἀναίσθητον πρὸ τῆς ἥττης.
- 3 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶ Δημήτριος ἔχων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ κρατίστους τῶν ἱππέων Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Σελεύκου συνέπεσε, καὶ μέχρι τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐν τῇ διώξει σοβαρᾷ καὶ φιλοτίμῳ παρὰ καιρὸν γενομένη τὴν νίκην διέφθειρεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔσχε πάλιν ἀναστρέψας συμμίξαι τοῖς πεζοῖς τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐν μέσῳ γενομένων, τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα γυμνὴν ἱππέων κατιδόντες οἱ περὶ Σέλευκον οὐκ ἐνέβαλον μὲν, ὥς δὲ ἐμβαλοῦντες ἐφόβουν καὶ περιήλαντον, μεταβάλλεσθαι δι-
- 4 δόντες αὐτοῖς· ὃ καὶ συνέβη. πολὺ γὰρ μέρος ἀπορραγὲν ἐκουσίως μετεχώρησε πρὸς ἐκείνους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔτράπη. φερομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τινος τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, “Ἐπὶ σέ οὗτοι, βασιλεῦ,” “Τίνα γάρ,” εἶπε, “πλὴν ἐμοῦ σκοπὸν ἔχουσιν; ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος
- 5 ἀφίξεται βοηθῶν.” καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι παντὸς ἐλπίζων καὶ περισκοπῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἅμα πολλῶν

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battle; and when he replied, "Zeus and Victory," Alexander said: "Then I will go away and join your adversaries; they surely will receive me."¹ Moreover, Antigonus, when his phalanx was already forming and he was leaving his tent, stumbled and fell prone upon his face, injuring himself severely; but he rose to his feet, and stretching out his hands towards heaven prayed that the gods would grant him victory, or a painless death before his defeat.

After the armies had engaged,² Demetrius, with the largest and best part of the cavalry, clashed with Antiochus, the son of Seleucus; he fought brilliantly and routed his enemy, but by pursuing him too fiercely and eagerly he threw away the victory. For he himself was not able to turn back and rejoin his infantry, since the enemy's elephants were thrown in his way; and Seleucus, observing that his opponents' phalanx was unprotected by cavalry, took measures accordingly. He did not actually charge upon them, but kept them in fear of a charge by continually riding around them, thus giving them an opportunity to come over to his side. And this was what actually came to pass. For a large body of them, detached from the rest, came over to him of their own accord, and the rest were routed. Then, as throngs of his enemies bore down upon him and one of his followers said, "They are making at thee, O King," "Who else, pray," said Antigonus, "should be their mark? But Demetrius will come to my aid." This was his hope to the last, and to the last he kept watching eagerly for his son; then a whole cloud of javelins

¹ The watchword should have been "Alexander and Victory."

² Near the village of Ipsus, in Phrygia, 301 B.C.

ἀκοντισμάτων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντων ἔπεσε· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολιπόντων ὀπαδῶν καὶ φίλων μόνος παρέμεινε τῷ νεκρῷ Θώραξ ὁ Λαρισσαῖος.

- XXX. Οὕτω δὲ κριθείσης τῆς μάχης, οἱ μὲν νενικηκότες βασιλεῖς τὴν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ μέγα σῶμα κατακόπτοντες ἐλάμβανον μερίδας, καὶ προσδιενείμαντο τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπαρχίας αἷς εἶχον αὐτοὶ πρότερον. Δημήτριος δὲ μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ἵππεων φεύγων καὶ συντόνως ἐλάσας εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἰομένων ἀπάντων ἀποροῦντα χρημάτων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀφέξεσθαι τοῦ
- 2 ἱεροῦ, φοβηθεὶς τοὺς στρατιώτας μὴ τοῦτο ποιή- 903
σωσιν, ἀνέστη διὰ ταχέων, καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐλπίδων ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχων τὰς μεγίστας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ναῦς¹ ἐκεῖ καὶ χρήματα καὶ γυναῖκα Δηϊδάμειαν ἐτύγγχανε καταλελοιπώς, καὶ βεβαιότεραν οὐκ ἐνόμιζε καταφυγὴν εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς
- 3 Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίας. ὅθεν ἐπεὶ γενομένῳ περὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας αὐτῷ πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀπήντησαν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς πόλεως παρακαλοῦντες, ὥς ἐψηφισμένου τοῦ δήμου μηδένα δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν βασιλέων, τὴν δὲ Δηϊδάμειαν εἰς Μέγαρα ἐξέπεμψαν μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ πομπῆς πρεπούσης, τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐξέστη δι' ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ἐνηνοχῶς ῥᾶστα τὴν ἄλλην ἀτυχίαν καὶ γεγονώς ἐν τοιαύτῃ μεταβολῇ πραγμάτων οὐ
- 4 ταπεινὸς οὐδ' ἀγεννής. ἀλλὰ τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα διεψεύσθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν δοκοῦσαν εὐνοίαν ἐξεληλέγχθαι τοῖς πράγμασι κενὴν καὶ πεπλασμένην οὖσαν ὁδυνηρὸν ἦν αὐτῷ.

¹ καὶ ναῦς Ziegler, with all the MSS. but one : ναῦς.

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were let fly at him and he fell. The rest of his friends and attendants abandoned him, and one only remained by his dead body, Thorax of Larissa.

XXX. The battle having been decided in this manner, the victorious kings carved up the entire domain which had been subject to Antigonos and Demetrius, as if it had been a great carcass, and took each his portion, adding thus to the provinces which the victors already had, those of the vanquished kings. But Demetrius, with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, came in unbroken flight to Ephesus. Here everybody thought that his lack of resources would lead him to lay hands upon the temple¹; but he, fearing lest his soldiers might do this, departed speedily, and sailed for Greece, putting his chief remaining hopes in Athens. For he had left ships there, and moneys, and his wife Deïdameia, and he thought that in his evil plight no refuge could be more secure than the goodwill of Athens. Therefore when, as he drew near the Cyclades islands, an embassy from Athens met him with a request to keep away from the city, on the ground that the people had passed a vote to admit none of the kings, and informing him that Deïdameia had been sent to Megara with fitting escort and honour, his wrath drove him beyond all proper bounds, although he had borne his other misfortunes very easily, and in so great a reversal of his situation had shown himself neither mean-spirited nor ignoble. But that the Athenians should disappoint his hopes and play him false, and that their apparent goodwill should prove on trial to be false and empty, was painful to him.

¹ The rich temple of Artemis (Diana).

Τὸ γὰρ φαυλότατον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐνοίας ὄχλων
 βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις τεκμήριόν ἐστιν ὑπερ-
 βολὴ τιμῶν, ἧς ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν ἀποδιδόν-
 των ἐχούσης τὸ καλὸν ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν πίστιν ὁ
 φόβος· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ δεδιότες ψηφίζονται καὶ
 5 φιλοῦντες. διόπερ οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες οὐκ εἰς ἀν-
 δριάντας οὐδὲ γραφὰς οὐδὲ ἀποθεώσεις, ἀλλὰ
 μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν
 ἀποβλέποντες ἢ πιστεύουσιν, ὡς τιμαῖς, ἢ ἀπι-
 στοῦσιν, ὡς ἀνάγκαις· ὡς οἳ γε δῆμοι πολλάκις
 ἐν αὐταῖς μάλιστα ταῖς τιμαῖς μισοῦσι τοὺς ἀμέ-
 τρως καὶ ὑπερόγκως καὶ παρ' ἀκόντων λαμβά-
 νοντας.

- XXXI. Ὁ γοῦν Δημήτριος τότε δεινὰ μὲν
 * ἡγούμενος πάσχειν, ἀδύνατος δὲ ὢν ἀμύνασθαι,
 προσέπεμψε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγκαλῶν μετρίως,
 ἀξιῶν δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολαβεῖν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ
 τρισκαιδεκῆρης. κομισάμενος δὲ παρέπλευσεν
 εἰς Ἴσθμόν, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ κακῶς
 ἐχόντων (ἐξέπιπτον γὰρ ἐκασταχόθεν αἱ φρουραὶ
 καὶ μεθίστατο πάντα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους)
 2 ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Πύρρον αὐτὸς ἄρας
 ἐπὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον ἔπλευσε· καὶ κακῶς ἅμα
 ποιῶν Λυσίμαχον ὠφέλει καὶ συνεῖχε τὴν περὶ
 αὐτὸν δύναμιν, ἀρχομένην ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ γί-
 νεσθαι πάλιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον. ὁ δὲ Λυσί-
 μαχος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἡμελείτο, μηδὲν

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And verily the least cogent proof, as it would seem, of a people's goodwill towards a king or potentate is an extravagant bestowal of honours; for the beauty of such honours lies in the purpose of those who bestow them, and fear robs them of their worth (for the same decrees may be passed out of fear and out of affection). Therefore men of sense look first of all at their own acts and achievements, and then estimate the value of the statues, paintings, or deifications offered to them, putting faith in these as genuine honours, or refusing to do so on the ground that they are compulsory; since it is certainly true that a people will often, in the very act of conferring its honours, have most hatred for those who accept such honours immoderately, ostentatiously, and from unwilling givers.

XXXI. Be that as it may, in this case Demetrius thought himself grievously wronged; but since he was unable to avenge himself, he sent a message to the Athenians in which he mildly expostulated with them, and asked that his ships be given back to him, among which was also the one having thirteen banks of oars. These he obtained, and then coasted along to the Isthmus, where he found his affairs in a sorry state. For his garrisons were everywhere being expelled, and there was a general defection to his enemies. He therefore left Pyrrhus in charge of Greece, while he himself put to sea and sailed to the Chersonesus.¹ Here he ravaged the territory of Lysimachus, thereby enriching and holding together his own forces, which were beginning to recover their spirit and to show themselves formidable again. Nor did the other kings try to help Lysimachus;

¹ The Thracian Chersonesus, the modern Gallipoli.

ἐπιεικέστερος ἐκείνου δοκῶν εἶναι, τῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰσχύειν καὶ φοβερώτερος.

- 3 Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Σέλευκος ἐμνᾶτο πέμπων τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ Φίλας θυγατέρα Στρατονίκην, ἔχων μὲν ἐξ Ἀπάμας τῆς Περσίδος υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, οἴομενος δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαδόχοις ἀρκεῖν πλείοσι, καὶ δεῖσθαι τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον οἰκειότητος, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχον ἑώρα τῶν Πτολεμαίου θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἀγα-
4 θοκλεῖ τῷ υἱῷ λαμβάνοντα. Δημητρίῳ δ' ἦν ἀνέλπιστος εὐτυχία κηδεῦσαι Σελεύκῳ. καὶ τὴν κόρην ἀναλαβὼν ἔπλει ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις εἰς Συρίαν, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ γῇ προσέχων ἀναγκαίως καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας ἀπτόμενος, ἦν Πλείσταρχος εἶχε μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μάχην ἐξαίρετον αὐτῷ δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων· ἦν δὲ Κασάνδρου
5 Πλείσταρχος ἀδελφός. ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ νομίζων ὑπὸ Δημητρίου κατὰ τὰς ἀποβάσεις, καὶ μέμψασθαι βουλόμενος τὸν Σέλευκον ὅτι τῷ κοινῷ διαλλάττεται πολεμῖφ δίχα τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτόν.

XXXII. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο Δημήτριος ὥρμησεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ Κυτνδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων εὐρὼν ἔτι λοιπὰ χίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα, ταῦτα συσκευασάμενος καὶ φθάσας ἐμβαλέσθαι διὰ ταχέων ἀνήχθη. καὶ παρούσης ἤδη Φίλας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ περὶ Ῥωσσὸν ἀπὴν- 904

- 2 τησε Σέλευκος. καὶ τὴν ἔντευξιν εὐθὺς ἄδολον καὶ ἀνύποπτον καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐποιοῦντο, πρό-

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they thought that he was no less objectionable than Demetrius, and that because he had more power he was even more to be feared.

Not long afterwards, however, Seleucus sent and asked the hand of Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius and Phila, in marriage. He had already, by Apama the Persian, a son Antiochus; but he thought that his realms would suffice for more successors than one, and that he needed this alliance with Demetrius, since he saw that Lysimachus also was taking one of Ptolemy's daughters for himself, and the other for Agathocles his son. Now, to Demetrius, a marriage alliance with Seleucus was an unexpected piece of good fortune. So he took his daughter and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. He was obliged to touch at several places along the coast, and made landings in Cilicia, which country had been allotted by the kings to Pleistarchus, after their battle with Antigonos, and was now held by him. Pleistarchus was a brother of Cassander. He thought his territories outraged by these descents of Demetrius upon them, and besides, he wished to upbraid Seleucus for making an alliance with the common enemy independently of the other kings. So he went up to see him.

XXXII. On learning of this, Demetrius set out from the sea-coast for the city of Quinda; and finding twelve hundred talents of its treasure still left, he packed them up, got them safely on board ship, and put to sea with all speed. His wife Phila was already with him, and at Rhosus he was met by Seleucus. Their intercourse was at once put on a royal footing, and knew neither guile nor

- τερον μὲν Σέλευκος ἐστιάσας ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Δημήτριον, αὐθις δὲ Δημήτριος ἐκείνῳ ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκῇρὶ δεξάμενος. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ σχολαὶ καὶ κοινολογίαι καὶ συνδιημερεύσεις ἀφροῦρων καὶ ἀνόπλων, ἄχρι οὗ Σέλευκος τὴν Στρατονίκην ἀναλαβὼν λαμπρῶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν
- 3 ἀνέβη. Δημήτριος δὲ Κιλικίαν κατέσχε, καὶ Φίλαν τὴν γυναῖκα πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἔπεμψε τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἀπολυσομένην τὰς Πλειστάρχου κατηγορίας. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δηϊδάμεια πλεύσασα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ συγγενομένη χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν ἐξ ἀρρωστίας τινὸς ἐτελεύτησε. γενομένης δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον διὰ Σελεύκου φιλίας αὐτῷ, ὠμολογήθη Πτολεμαῖδα τὴν Πτολεμαίου θυγατέρα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν γυναῖκα.
- 4 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀστεῖα τοῦ Σελεύκου. Κιλικίαν δὲ ἀξιῶν χρήματα λαβόντα παραδοῦναι Δημήτριον, ὥς οὐκ ἔπειθε, Σιδῶνα καὶ Τύρον ἀπαιτῶν πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐδόκει βίαιος εἶναι καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖν, εἰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν ἄχρι τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν θαλάσσης ἅπασαν ὑφ' αὐτῷ πεποιημένος οὕτως ἐνδεὴς ἐστὶν ἔτι πραγμάτων καὶ πτωχὸς ὥς ὑπὲρ δυεῖν πόλεων ἄνδρα κηδεστήν καὶ μεταβολῇ
- 5 τύχης κεχρημένον ἐλαύνειν, λαμπρὰν τῷ Πλάτωνι μαρτυρίαν διδοὺς διακελευομένῳ μὴ τὴν οὐσίαν πλείω, τὴν δὲ ἀπληστίαν ποιεῖν ἐλάσσω τὸν γε βουλόμενον ὥς ἀληθῶς εἶναι πλούσιον, ὥς ὁ γε μὴ παύων φιλοπλουτίαν, οὗτος οὔτε πενίας οὔτε ἀπορίας ἀπήλλακται.

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suspicion. First, Seleucus entertained Demetrius at his tent in the camp, then Demetrius in his turn received Seleucus on board the ship with thirteen banks of oars. There were also amusements, long conferences with one another and whole days spent together, all without guards or arms; until at length Seleucus took Stratonice and went up in great state to Antioch. But Demetrius took possession of Cilicia, and sent Phila his wife to Cassander, who was her brother, that she might bring to naught the denunciations of Pleistarchus. In the meantime, Deidameia came by sea from Greece to join Demetrius, and after being with him a short time, succumbed to some disease. Then, by the intervention of Seleucus, friendship was made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, and it was agreed that Demetrius should take to wife Ptolemais the daughter of Ptolemy.

So far all was courtesy on the part of Seleucus. But presently he asked Demetrius to cede Cilicia to him for a sum of money, and when Demetrius would not consent, angrily demanded Tyre and Sidon from him. It seemed a violent and outrageous proceeding that one who had possessed himself of the whole domain from India to the Syrian sea should be so needy still and so beggarly in spirit as for the sake of two cities to harass a man who was his relative by marriage and had suffered a reverse of fortune. Moreover, he bore splendid testimony to the wisdom of Plato¹ in urging the man who would be truly rich, not to make his possessions greater, but his inordinate desires fewer; since he who puts no end to his greed, this man is never rid of poverty and want.

¹ The passage cannot be determined.

- XXXIII. Οὐ μὴν ὑπέπτηξε Δημήτριος, ἀλλὰ φήσας οὐδ' ἂν μυριάκις ἡττηθῇ μάχας ἄλλας ἐν Ἰψῳ γαμβρὸν ἀγαπήσειν ἐπὶ μισθῷ Σέλευκον, τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἐκρατύνατο φρουραῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος Λαχάρη στασιάζουσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιθέμενον τυραννεῖν, ἤλπιζε ῥαδίως ἐπιφανεῖς λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πέλαγος ἀσφαλῶς διεπεραιώθη μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραπλέων ἐχειμάσθη καὶ τὰς πλείστας ἀπέβαλε τῶν νεῶν, καὶ συνδιεφθάρη πλήθος ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ὀλίγον. αὐτὸς δὲ σωθεὶς ἤψατο μὲν τινος πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε, πέμψας ναυτικὸν αὐθις ἀθροίσοντας αὐτὸς εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρήλθε καὶ Μεσσήνην ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ προσμαχόμενος τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκινδύνευσε, καταπελτικοῦ βέλους εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ στόμα διὰ τῆς σιαγόνος ἐμπεσόντος. ἀναληφθεὶς δὲ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἀφεστώσας προσαγαγόμενος πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ κρατήσας Ἐλευσίνος καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντος ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν, καὶ ναῦν τινα λαβὼν ἔχουσιν σίτον καὶ εἰσάγουσαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκρέμασε τὸν ἔμπορον καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὥστε τῶν ἄλλων ἀποτρεπομένων διὰ φόβον σύντονον λιμὸν ἐν ἄστει γενέσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπορίαν. ἄλῳ γοῦν μέδιμνον ὠνοῦντο τετταράκοντα δραχμῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν μόδιος ὧνιος ἦν τριακοσίων. μικρὰν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀναπνοὴν παρέσχον ἑκατὸν πεντή-
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XXXIII. Demetrius, however, was not cowed, but declared that not even if he should lose ten thousand battles like that at Ipsus would he consent to pay for the privilege of having Seleucus as a son-in-law. Then he strengthened his cities with garrisons, while he himself, learning that Lachares had usurped sovereign power over the Athenians in consequence of their dissensions, thought to appear upon the scene and make an easy capture of the city. So he crossed the sea in safety with a great fleet,¹ but as he was sailing along the coast of Attica he encountered a storm in which most of his ships were lost and a great number of men perished with them. He himself, however, escaped alive, and began a petty war against the Athenians. But since he could accomplish nothing, he sent men to collect another fleet for him, while he himself passed on into Peloponnesus and laid siege to Messene. Here, in an attack upon the walls, he came near losing his life; for a missile from a catapult struck him in the face and passed through his jaw into his mouth. But he recovered, and after restoring to their allegiance certain cities which had revolted from him, he invaded Attica again, got Eleusis and Rhamnus into his power, and ravaged the country. He also seized a ship laden with grain for Athens, and hung its supercargo and its master. All other ships were thus frightened into turning back, and famine became acute in the city, where, besides lack of food, there was dearth also of other things. At any rate, a bushel of salt sold there for forty drachmas, and a peck of wheat was worth three hundred. A slight respite was afforded the Athenians

¹ In 297 B.C.

κοντα νῆες φανείσαι περὶ Αἴγιναν, ἃς ἔπεμψεν ἐπικούρους αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαῖος. εἶτα Δημητρίῳ πολλῶν μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Κύπρου νεῶν παραγενομένων, ὥστε συμπάσας ἀθροισθῆναι τριακοσίας, ἔφυγον ἄραυτες οἱ Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Λαχάρης ὁ τύραννος ἀπέδρα προέμενος τὴν πόλιν.

- XXXIV. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, καίπερ ψηφισάμενοι θάνατον εἰ μνησθεῖη τις εἰρήνης καὶ διαλλαγῆς πρὸς Δημήτριον, εὐθύς ἀνεφύγνυσαν τὰς ἐγγὺς πύλας καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνου χρηστὸν προσδοκῶντες, ἐκβιαζομένης
- 2 δὲ τῆς ἀπορίας, ἐν ᾗ δυσχερῶν πολλῶν συμπεσόντων λέγεται τι καὶ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι· πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ἐν οἰκῇματι καθέζεσθαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεγνωκότας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὀροφῆς μὴν νεκρὸν ἐκπεσεῖν, τοὺς δέ, ὡς εἶδον, ἀναπηδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρους διαμάχεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τότε καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἐπίκουρον ἱστοροῦσι διαθρέψαι τοὺς συνήθεις κυάμους πρὸς ἀριθμὸν μετ' αὐτῶν διανεμόμενον.
- 3 Οὕτως οὖν τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης εἰσελθὼν ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ κελεύσας εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀθροισθῆναι πάντας, ὅπλοις μὲν συνέφραξε τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ δορυφόροις τὸ λογεῖον περιέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς, ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοί, διὰ τῶν ἄνω παρόδων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου πέρας ἐποιήσατο τοῦ δέους
- 4 αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ τόνου φωνῆς καὶ ῥημάτων

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by the appearance off Aegina of a hundred and fifty ships which Ptolemy sent to assist them. Then numerous ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus, and many from Cyprus, so that his entire assemblage numbered three hundred, in consequence of which the ships of Ptolemy put off to sea in flight, and Lachares the tyrant abandoned the city and ran away.

XXXIV. Then the Athenians, although they had decreed death to anyone who should so much as mention peace and reconciliation with Demetrius, straightway threw open the nearest gates and sent ambassadors to him. They did not expect any kindly treatment from him, but were driven to the step by their destitution, in which, among many other grievous things, the following also is said to have occurred. A father and a son were sitting in a room and had abandoned all hope. Then a dead mouse fell from the ceiling, and the two, when they saw it, sprang up and fought with one another for it. At this time also, we are told, the philosopher Epicurus sustained the lives of his associates with beans, which he counted out and distributed among them.

Such, then, was the plight of the city when Demetrius made his entry and ordered all the people to assemble in the theatre. He fenced the stage-buildings round with armed men, and encompassed the stage itself with his body-guards, while he himself, like the tragic actors, came down into view through one of the upper side-entrances. The Athenians were more than ever frightened now; but with the first words that he uttered Demetrius put an end to their fears. For avoiding all harshness of tone and

πικρίας φεισάμενος, ἐλαφρῶς δὲ καὶ φιλικῶς
 μεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς διηλλάσσετο, καὶ δέκα μυ-
 ριάδας σίτου μεδίμνων ἐπέδωκε, καὶ κατέστησεν
 ἀρχὰς αἱ μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν.
 συνιδὼν δὲ Δρομοκλείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς τὸν
 δῆμον ἐν τε φωναῖς ὄντα παντοδαπαῖς καὶ τοὺς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπαίνους τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀμιλ-
 λώμενον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, γνώμην ἔγραψε Δημη-
 τρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Πειραιᾶ παραδοθῆναι καὶ
 5 τὴν Μουνυχίαν. ἐπιψηφισθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ
 Δημήτριος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσενέβαλε φρου-
 ρὰν εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον, ὥς μὴ πάλιν ἀναχαιτίσαντα
 τὸν δῆμον ἀσχολίας αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων
 παρασχεῖν.

XXXV. Ἐχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν εὐθύς ἐπε-
 βούλεψε τῇ Λακεδαίμονι. καὶ περὶ Μαντίνειαν
 Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ
 νικήσας μάχῃ καὶ τρεψάμενος εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν
 ἐνέβαλε. καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Σπάρτῃ πάλιν ἐκ
 παρατάξεως ἔλὼν πεντακοσίους καὶ διαφθείρας
 διακοσίους, ὅσον οὐπω τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν ἐδόκει
 2 μέχρι τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀνάλωτον οὔσαν. ἀλλ'
 ἡ τύχῃ περὶ οὐδένα τῶν βασιλέων ἔοικεν οὕτω
 τροπᾶς λαβεῖν μεγάλας καὶ ταχείας, οὐδ' ἐν
 ἐτέροις πράγμασι τοσαυτάκις μικρὰ καὶ πάλιν
 μεγάλη καὶ ταπεινὴ μὲν ἐκ λαμπρᾶς, ἰσχυρὰ δὲ
 αὐθις ἐκ φαύλης γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν
 ἐν ταῖς χείροσι μεταβολαῖς πρὸς τὴν τύχην
 ἀναφθέγγεσθαι τὸ Αἰσχύλειον·

σύ τοί με φυσᾶς, σύ με καταίθειν μοι¹ δοκεῖς.

¹ μοι δοκεῖς Ziegler, with some MSS.: δοκεῖς.

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bitterness of speech, he merely chided them lightly and in a friendly manner, and then declared himself reconciled, gave them besides a hundred thousand bushels of grain, and established the magistrates who were most acceptable to the people. So Dromocleides the orator, seeing that the people, in their joy, were shouting all sorts of proposals, and were eager to outdo the customary eulogies of the public speakers on the bema, brought in a motion that Piraeus and Munychia should be handed over to Demetrius the king. This was voted, and Demetrius on his own account put a garrison into the Museum¹ also, that the people might not again shake off the yoke and give him further trouble.

XXXV. And now that he was in possession of Athens, he at once laid plans against Sparta. Near Mantinea, where Archidamus the king confronted him, he conquered and routed his foe, and then invaded Laconia. And after he had fought a second pitched battle hard by Sparta itself, where he captured five hundred men and slew two hundred, it was thought that he as good as had the city in his power, although up to this time it had never been taken. But with none of the kings does Fortune appear to have taken so great and sudden turns, and in the career of no other did she so many times show herself now small and now great, now resplendent and now abased, now insignificant and now all powerful. For this reason, too, we are told that in his worst reverses Demetrius would apostrophise Fortune in the words of Aeschylus :—

“My flame thou fannest, indeed, and thou seemest to quench me, too.”²

¹ A hill S.W. of the Acropolis.

² Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* ² p. 107 (μ' ἔφυσας).

- 3 Καὶ γὰρ τότε τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως εὐπόρῳ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐπιδιδόντων ἀγγέλλεται Λυσίμαχος μὲν πρῶτος ἀφηρημένος αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, Κύπρον δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἡρῆκως ἄνευ μιᾶς πόλεως Σαλαμῖνος, ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι πολιορκῶν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα
4 κατειλημμένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τύχη, καθάπερ ἡ παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ γυνὴ τῇ μὲν ὕδωρ ἐφόρει δολοφρονέουσα χειρί, τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ πῦρ, δεινοῖς αὐτὸν οὕτω καὶ φοβεροῖς ἀγγέλμασιν ἀποστήσασα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, εὐθύς ἑτέρας πραγμάτων καινῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐπήνεγκεν ἐλπίδας ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

- XXXVI. Ἐπεὶ Κασάνδρου τελευτήσαντος ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων Φίλιππος οὐ πολὺν χρόνον βασιλεύσας Μακεδόνων ἀπέθανεν, οἱ λοιποὶ δύο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον, θατέρου δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν μητέρα Θεσσαλονίκην φονεύσαντος, ἄτερος ἐκάλει βοηθοὺς ἐκ μὲν Ἠπείρου Πύρρον, ἐκ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Δη-
2 μήτριον. ἔφθασε δὲ Πύρρος ἐλθὼν, καὶ πολὺ μέρος Μακεδονίας ἀποτεμώμενος τῆς βοηθείας 906 μισθὸν φοβερὸς μὲν ἦν ἤδη παροικῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Δημητρίου δέ, ὡς ἐδέξατο τὰ γράμματα, μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προσιόντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ νεανίας τοῦτον φοβηθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ Δίον, ἀσπαζόμενος μὲν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, οὐδὲν δὲ φάσκων ἔτι τῆς ἐκείνου δεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα παρουσίας.
3 ἦσαν οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὑποψίαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς, καὶ βαδίζοντι Δημητρίῳ πρὸς δεῖπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου παρακεκλημένῳ μηνύει τις ἐπι-
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And so at this time, when events so generously favoured the increase of his dominion and power, word was brought to him, first, that Lysimachus had deprived him of his cities in Asia, and next, that Ptolemy had taken Cyprus, with the exception of the single city of Salamis, and had shut up in Salamis under siege his children and his mother. However, even Fortune, who, like the woman in Archilochus, "in one deceitful hand bore water, and in the other fire,"¹ while by tidings so dreadful and terrifying she drew him away from Sparta, at once inspired him with other hopes of new and great achievements, and on this wise.

XXXVI. After Cassander's death, the eldest of his sons, Philip, reigned for a short time over the Macedonians and then died, and the two remaining brothers quarrelled with one another over the succession. One of them, Antipater, murdered his mother, Thessalonice, and the other, Alexander, summoned to his help Pyrrhus from Epeirus, and Demetrius from Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus was first to answer the summons, and after cutting off a large part of Macedonia as a reward for his assistance, was already a neighbour whom Alexander feared. But Demetrius, who, when he received Alexander's letters, had set out with his forces to join him, inspired the young man with still more fear because of his high position and reputation, and he therefore met Demetrius at Diium, and gave him a friendly welcome, but declared that the situation no longer demanded his presence. Owing to these circumstances, then, the men were suspicious of one another, and besides, as Demetrius was on his way to supper at the young man's invi-

¹ Fragment 93 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.⁴ p. 410).

βουλὴν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πότῳ μελλόντων αὐτὸν
 ἀνελεῖν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν διαταραχθεὶς, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν
 ὑφείς τῆς πορείας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἐν
 τοῖς ὅπλοις τὴν στρατιὰν ἔχειν, ἀκολουθούς δὲ
 καὶ παῖδας, ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν (ἦσαν δὲ πολὺ
 4 πλείους τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου), συνεισελθεῖν εἰς τὸν
 ἀνδρῶνα καὶ παραμένειν ἄχρι ἂν ἐξαναστῇ. τοῦ-
 το δέισαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐτόλ-
 μησαν ἐπιχειρῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος οὐκ
 ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ποτικῶς σκηψάμενος διὰ
 ταχέων ἀπῆλθε· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ ἀναζυγὴν
 εἶχε, πράγματα νεώτερα προσπεπτωκέναι φά-
 μενος αὐτῷ, καὶ παρητεῖτο συγγνώμην ἔχειν τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ τάχιον ἀπαίρει· συνέσεσθαι γὰρ
 αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἄλλοτε σχολάζων. ἔχαιρεν οὖν ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἔχθραν, ἀλλ' ἐκουσίως
 ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ προέπεμπεν
 5 ἄχρι Θετταλίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Λάρισσαν ἦκον,
 αὐθις ἀλλήλοις ἐπήγγελλον ἐστιάσεις ἀντεπι-
 βουλεύοντες· ὃ δὲ μάλιστα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
 ὑποχείριον ἐποίησε τῷ Δημητρίῳ. φυλάττεσθαι
 γὰρ ὀκνῶν, ὡς μὴ κακῆινον ἀντιφυλάττεσθαι
 διδάξῃ, παθὼν ἔφθασε (δρᾶν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ μὴ
 διαφυγεῖν ἐκείνον) ὃ ἐμηχανᾶτο. κληθεὶς γὰρ
 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον. ὡς δὲ
 ἐκείνος ἐξανέστη μεταξὺ δειπνῶν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος συνεξανέστη καὶ κατὰ πόδας αὐτῷ

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tation, some one told him of a plot to kill him in the very midst of the drinking. Demetrius was not at all disturbed, but delayed his coming a little, and ordered his officers to have their troops under arms, and all the attendants and servants in his train (and they were far more numerous than the retinue of Alexander) to go with him into the banqueting-hall and to remain there until he rose from the table. This frightened Alexander, and he did not venture to attempt anything. Demetrius also made the excuse that he was not in condition to take wine, and went away very soon. On the following day he busied himself with preparations for departure, telling Alexander that unexpected troubles had arisen, which demanded his attention, asking his pardon for leaving so quickly, and assuring him that he would pay him a longer visit at another time when his affairs permitted it. Alexander was therefore well pleased, convinced that Demetrius was leaving his territories, not in hostility, but of his own free will, and escorted him on his way as far as Thessaly. But when they came to Larissa, once more invitations to entertainments passed between them, and each plotted against the life of the other. This, more than anything else, put Alexander into the power of Demetrius. For he hesitated to take measures of precaution, that he might not thereby teach Demetrius also to take counter-measures, and he was forestalled by meeting the doom he was himself devising (since he delayed measures to prevent the other from escaping out of his hands).¹ And so, when Demetrius rose up from table before supper was over, Alexander, filled with fear, rose up also and followed close upon his heels

¹ The Greek of the parenthesis is hopelessly corrupt.

6 πρὸς τὰς θύρας συνηκολούθει. γενόμενος οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος πρὸς ταῖς θύραις κατὰ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δορυφόρους καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἰπὼν, “Κόπτε τὸν ἐπόμενον,” αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπ’ ἐκείνων κατεκόπη καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ προσβοηθοῦντες, ὧν ἓνα λέγουσι σφαττόμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡμέρα μιᾷ φθάσειεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος.

XXXVII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν νύξ οἷον εἰκὸς θόρυβον ἔσχεν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα ταραττομένοις τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ φοβουμένοις τῇ τοῦ Δημητρίου δύναμιν, ὡς ἐπῆει μὲν οὐδεὶς φοβερός, ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἔπεμπε βουλόμενος ἐντυχεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολογήσασθαι, θαρρεῖν παρέστη
2 καὶ δέχεσθαι φιλανθρώπως αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν, οὐ μακρῶν ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ λόγων, ἀλλὰ τῷ μισεῖν μὲν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, φονέα μητρὸς ὄντα, βελτίονος δὲ ἀπορεῖν, ἐκείνον ἀνηγόρευσαν βασιλέα Μακεδόνων, καὶ παραλαβόντες εὐθύς κατήγον εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἴκοι Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἀκούσιος ἡ μεταβολή, μεμνημένοις αἰεὶ καὶ μισοῦσιν ἅ Κάσανδρος εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνηκότα
3 παρηνόμησεν. εἰ δέ τις ἔτι μνήμη τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ μετριότητος ὑπελείπετο, καὶ ταύτην Δημήτριος ἐκαρπούτο Φίλα συνοικῶν καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνης υἱὸν ἔχων διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἥδη τότε μεираάκιον ὄντα καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενον.

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towards the door. Demetrius, then, on reaching the door where his own body-guards stood, said merely, "Smite any one who follows me," and quietly went out himself; but Alexander was cut down by the guards, together with those of his friends who came to his aid. One of these, we are told, as he was smitten, said that Demetrius had got one day's start of them.

XXXVII. That night, then, naturally, was full of tumult. But with the day the Macedonians, who were in confusion and afraid of the forces of Demetrius, found that no enemy came against them, but that Demetrius sent to them a request for an interview and for an opportunity to explain what had been done. They therefore took heart and promised to receive him in a friendly spirit. When he came to them, there was no need of his making long speeches, but owing to their hatred of Antipater, who was a matricide, and to their lack of a better man, they proclaimed Demetrius king of the Macedonians, and at once went down with him into Macedonia.¹ Furthermore, to the Macedonians at home the change was not unwelcome, for they ever remembered with hatred the crimes which Cassander had committed against the posterity of Alexander the Great. And if there still remained any kindly memories of the elder Antipater's moderation and justice, of these also Demetrius reaped the benefit, since he was the husband of Phila, Antipater's daughter, and had a son by her to be his successor in the realm, a son who was already quite a youth, and was serving in the army under his father.

¹ In 294 B.C.

- XXXVIII. Οὕτω δὲ λαμπρᾷ κεκρημένος εὐ-
 τυχία πυνθάνεται μὲν περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς
 μητρὸς ὡς μεθείνται, δῶρα καὶ τιμὰς Πτολεμαίου
 προσθέντος αὐτοῖς, πυνθάνεται δὲ περὶ τῆς
 Σελεύκῃ γαμηθείσης θυγατρὸς ὡς Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ
 Σελεύκου συνοικεῖ καὶ βασίλισσα τῶν ἄνω βαρ-
 2 βάρων ἀνηγόρευται. συνέβη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν
 Ἀντίοχον ἐρασθέντα τῆς Στρατονίκης νέας οὐσης, 907
 ἤδη δὲ παιδίον ἐχούσης ἐκ τοῦ Σελεύκου, διακεί-
 σθαι κακῶς καὶ πολλὰ ποιεῖν τῷ πάθει διαμαχό-
 μενον, τέλος δ' ἑαυτοῦ καταγνόντα δεινῶν μὲν
 ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀνήκεστα δὲ νοσεῖν, κεκρατῆσθαι δὲ
 τῷ λογισμῷ, τρόπον ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου ζητεῖν
 καὶ παραλύειν ἀτρέμα καὶ θεραπείας ἀμελεία
 καὶ τροφῆς ἀποχῇ τὸ σῶμα, νοσεῖν τινα νόσον
 3 σκηπτόμενον. Ἐρασίστρατον δὲ τὸν ἱατρὸν αἰ-
 σθέσθαι μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐρῶντος αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ
 οὔτινος ἐρᾷ δυστόπαστον ὃν ἐξανευρεῖν βουλό-
 μενον αἰεὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ διημερεύειν, εἰ δέ
 τις εἰσίοι τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ μεираκίων ἢ γυναικῶν,
 ἐγκαθορᾷ τε τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὰ
 συμπάσχειν μάλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ τρεπομένη πεφυ-
 κότα μέρη καὶ κινήματα τοῦ σώματος ἐπισκοπεῖν.
 4 ὥς οὖν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εἰσιόντων ὁμοίως εἶχε, τῆς
 δὲ Στρατονίκης καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ
 Σελεύκου φοιτώσης πολλάκις ἐγένετο τὰ τῆς
 Σαπφούς ἐκεῖνα περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα, φωνῆς ἐπί-
 σχεσις, ἐρύθημα πυρῶδες, ὄψεων ὑπολείψεις,
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XXXVIII. While Demetrius was enjoying a good fortune so illustrious as this, he had tidings concerning his children and his mother, namely, that they had been set free, and that Ptolemy had given them gifts and honours besides; he had tidings also concerning his daughter who was wedded to Seleucus, namely, that she was now the wife of Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and had the title of Queen of Upper Asia. For it came to pass, as it would seem, that Antiochus fell in love with Stratonice, who was young, and was already mother of a little boy by Seleucus. Antiochus was distressed, and resorted to many means of fighting down his passion, but at last, condemning himself for his inordinate desires, for his incurable malady, and for the subjugation of his reason, he determined to seek a way of escape from life, and to destroy himself gradually by neglecting his person and abstaining from food, under pretence of having some disease. But Erasistratus, his physician, perceived quite easily that he was in love, and wishing to discover who was the object of his passion (a matter not so easy to decide), he would spend day after day in the young man's chamber, and if any of the beauties of the court came in, male or female, he would study the countenance of Antiochus, and watch those parts and movements of his person which nature has made to sympathize most with the inclinations of the soul. Accordingly, when any one else came in, Antiochus showed no change; but whenever Stratonice came to see him, as she often did, either alone, or with Seleucus, lo, those tell-tale signs of which Sappho sings¹ were all there in him,—stammering speech, fiery flushes, darkened vision,

¹ Fragment 2 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.⁴ pp. 88 ff.).

- ιδρώτες ὀξεῖς, ἀταξία καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τοῖς σφυγμοῖς, τέλος δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένης¹
- 5 ἀπορία καὶ θάμβος καὶ ὠχρίασις, ἐπὶ τούτοις προσλογιζόμενον τὸν Ἑρασίστρατον κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρας ἐρῶν βασιλέως υἱὸς ἐνεκαρτέρει τῷ σιωπᾶν μέχρι θανάτου, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ φράσαι ταῦτα καὶ κατεπειν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πιστεύοντα τῇ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ Σελεύκου παρακινδυνεύσαι ποτε, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἔρως μὲν εἴη τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πάθος, ἔρως δὲ
- 6 ἀδύνατος καὶ ἀνίατος. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ πυθομένου πῶς ἀνίατος, “Ὅτι νῆ Δία,” φάναι τὸν Ἑρασίστρατον, “ἐρᾷ τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικός.” “Εἴτα οὐκ ἂν,” εἰπεῖν τὸν Σέλευκον, “ἐπιδόιης, Ἑρασίστρατε, τῷ ἐμῷ παιδὶ φίλος ὦν τὸν γάμον, καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ σαλεύοντας;” “Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν σύ,” φάναι, “τοῦτο πατὴρ ὦν ἐποίησας, εἰ Στρατονίκης Ἀντίοχος
- 7 ἐπεθύμησε.” καὶ τὸν Σέλευκον “Εἶθε γάρ, ἐταῖρε,” εἰπεῖν, “ταχὺ μεταστρέψαι τις ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ μεταβάλῃ θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πάθος· ὡς ἐμοὶ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφεῖναι καλὸν Ἀντιόχου περιεχομένῳ.” ταῦτα ἐμπαθῶς σφόδρα τοῦ Σελεύκου μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων λέγοντος, ἐμβalόντα τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρασίστρατον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδὲν Ἑρασιστράτου δέοιτο· καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ καὶ ἀνὴρ ὦν καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς
- 8 ἅμα καὶ ἱατρὸς εἴη τῆς οἰκίας ἄριστος. ἐκ τούτου τὸν Σέλευκον ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσαντα πάνδημον εἰπεῖν ὅτι βούλεται καὶ διέγνωκε τῶν ἄνω πάντων τόπων Ἀντίοχον ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα καὶ

¹ ἡττημένης Ziegler, with two MSS.: ἡττωμένης.

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sudden sweats, irregular palpitations of the heart, and finally, as his soul was taken by storm, helplessness, stupor, and pallor. And besides all this, Erasistratus reasoned further that in all probability the king's son, had he loved any other woman, would not have persisted to the death in refusing to speak about it. He thought it a difficult matter to explain the case fully to Seleucus, but nevertheless, relying on the father's kindly feelings towards his son, he took the risk one day, and told him that love was the young man's trouble, a love that could neither be satisfied nor cured. The king was amazed, and asked why his son's love could not be satisfied. "Because, indeed," said Erasistratus, "he is in love with my wife." "Then canst thou not, O Erasistratus," said Seleucus, "since thou art my son's friend, give him thy wife in addition to thy friendship, especially when thou seest that he is the only anchor of our storm-tossed house?" "Thou art his father," said Erasistratus, "and yet thou wouldst not have done so if Antiochus had set his affections on Stratonice." "My friend," said Seleucus, "would that someone in heaven or on earth might speedily convert and turn his passion in this direction; since I would gladly let my kingdom also go, if I might keep Antiochus." So spake Seleucus with deep emotion and many tears, whereupon Erasistratus clasped him by the hand and told him he had no need of Erasistratus; for as father, husband, and king, he was himself at the same time the best physician also for his household. Consequently Seleucus called an assembly of the entire people and declared it to be his wish and purpose to make Antiochus king of all Upper Asia, and Stratonice his queen,

Στρατονίκην βασιλίδα, ἀλλήλοις συνοικούντας· οἶεσθαι δὲ τὸν μὲν υἱὸν εἰθισμένον ἅπαντα πείθεσθαι καὶ κατήκοον ὄντα μὴθὲν ἀντὶρεῖν αὐτῷ
9 πρὸς τὸν γάμον· εἰ δ' ἡ γυνὴ τῷ μὴ νενομισμένῳ δυσκολαῖνοι, παρακαλεῖν τοὺς φίλους ὅπως διδάσκωσιν αὐτὴν καὶ πείθωσι καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τὰ δοκοῦντα βασιλεῖ μετὰ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἡγεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀντιόχου καὶ Στρατονίκης γάμον ἐκ τοιαύτης γενέσθαι προφάσεως λέγουσι.

XXXIX. Δημήτριος δὲ μετὰ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θετταλίαν ἦν παρειληφώς. ἔχων δὲ καὶ Πελοποννήσου τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ Μέγαρα καὶ Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἐστράτευσε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένοντο συμβάσεις μέτραι περὶ φιλίας πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔπειτα Κλεωνύμου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου παραβαλόντος εἰς Θήβας μετὰ στρατιᾶς, ἐπαρθέντες οἱ Βοιωτοί, καὶ Πίσιδος ἄμα τοῦ Θεσπιέως, ὃς ἐπρώτευε δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει τότε,
2 συμπαρορμῶντος αὐτούς, ἀπέστησαν. ὥς δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις ἐπαγαγὼν τὰς μηχανὰς ὁ Δημήτριος 908 ἐπολιόρκει καὶ φοβηθεὶς ὑπεξῆλθεν ὁ Κλεώνυμος, καταπλαγέντες οἱ Βοιωτοὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς. ὁ δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐμβαλὼν φρουρὰν καὶ πρᾶξι-μενος πολλὰ χρήματα, καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ ἄρμοστὴν Ἰερώνυμον τὸν ἱστορικόν, ἔδοξεν ἡπίως κεχρῆσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ Πίσιν. ἐλὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαγορεύσας καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς
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the two being husband and wife ; he also declared it to be his opinion that his son, accustomed as he was to be submissive and obedient in all things, would not oppose his father in this marriage ; and that if his wife were reluctant to take this extraordinary step, he called upon his friends to teach and persuade her to regard as just and honourable whatever seemed good to the king and conducive to the general welfare. On this wise, then, we are told, Antiochus and Stratonice became husband and wife.

XXXIX. As for Demetrius, after Macedonia he became master of Thessaly also. And now that he had most of Peloponnesus, and, on this side the Isthmus, Megara and Athens, he turned his arms against the Boeotians. These at first made friendly agreements with him on reasonable terms ; afterwards, however, when Cleonymus the Spartan made his way into Thebes with an army, the Boeotians were lifted up in spirit, and since at the same time Pisis of Thespieae, who was their leading man at this time in reputation and influence, added his instigations to the step, they revolted. But when Demetrius brought up his engines-of-war against Thebes and laid siege to the city, Cleonymus took fright and stole away, and the Boeotians, in terror, surrendered.¹ Demetrius put garrisons in their cities, exacted large sums of money from them, and left as their overseer and governor Hieronymus the historian, thereby getting a reputation for clemency, and particularly by his treatment of Pisis. For after capturing him Demetrius did him no harm, but actually greeted him, showed him kindness, and

¹ In 293 B.C.

3 πολέμαρχον ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἀπέδειξεν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἀλίσκεται Λυσίμαχος ὑπὸ Δρομιχαίου· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Δημητρίου κατὰ τάχος ἐξορμήσαντος ἐπὶ Θράκην, ὥσπερ ἔρημα¹ καταληψομένου, πάλιν ἀπέστησαν οἱ Βοιωτοί, καὶ Λυσίμαχος ἅμα διειμένος ἀπηγγέλλετο. ταχέως οὖν καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀναστρέψας ὁ Δημήτριος εὗρεν ἡττημένους ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιγόνου μάχῃ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, καὶ τὰς Θήβας αὐθις ἐπολιόρκει.

XL. Πύρρου δὲ Θεσσαλίαν κατατρέχοντος καὶ μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν παραφανέντος, Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς ὥρμησεν ἐπ' ἐκείνους. ὀξέως δὲ φυγόντος, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καταστήσας μυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ χιλίους ἵππεῖς, αὐθις ἐνέκειτο ταῖς Θήβαις καὶ προσῆγε τὴν λεγομένην ἐλέπολιν, πολυπόνως καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ μεγέθους μοχλευομένην, ὡς μόλις
2 ἐν δυσὶ μῆσι δύο σταδίους προελθεῖν. τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν ἔρρωμένως ἀμυνομένων καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου πολλάκις φιλονεικίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ χρείας μάχεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναγκάζοντος, ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος πίπτοντας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ περιπαθῶν, “Τί, ὦ πάτερ,” ἔφη, “παραναλισκομένους οὐκ ἀναγκαίως τούτους περιορῶμεν;” ὁ δὲ παροξυνθεὶς, “Σὺ δέ,” ἔφη, “τί δυσχεραίνεις; ἢ διάμετρον ὀφείλεις τοῖς
3 ἀποθνήσκουσιν;” οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλόμενός γε μὴ δοκεῖν ἐτέρων ἀφειδεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

¹ ἔρημα Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to εἶρημα (treasure-trove).

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appointed him polemarch in Thespieae. Not long afterwards, however, Lysimachus was taken prisoner by Dromichaetes, and in view of this Demetrius set out with all speed for Thrace, thinking to occupy a region destitute of defenders. Thereupon the Boeotians revolted again, and at the same time word was brought that Lysimachus had been set free. Quickly, therefore, and in wrath, Demetrius turned back, and finding that the Boeotians had been defeated in battle by his son Antigonus, once more laid siege to Thebes.

XL. But Pyrrhus now overran Thessaly and was seen as far south as Thermopylae; Demetrius therefore left Antigonus to conduct the siege of Thebes, and himself set out against this new foe. Pyrrhus, however, made a swift retreat, whereupon Demetrius stationed ten thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen in Thessaly and once more devoted himself to Thebes. Here he brought up against the city his famous City-taker,¹ but this was so laboriously and slowly propelled, owing to its weight and great size, that in the space of two months it hardly advanced two furlongs. Besides, the Boeotians made a stout resistance, and Demetrius many times, out of contumacy rather than from need, forced his soldiers to risk their lives in battle. Antigonus saw that they were falling in great numbers, and in great concern said: "Why, my father, should we suffer these lives to be squandered without any necessity for it?" But Demetrius was incensed, and said: "Why, pray, art thou disturbed at this? Are rations due from thee to the dead?" However, wishing not to be thought reckless of other lives

¹ Cf. chapter xxi. 1.

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συγκινδυνεύειν τοῖς μαχομένοις, διελαύνεται τὸν τράχηλον ὀξυβελεῖ. καὶ δεινῶς μὲν ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλὰ εἶλε τὰς Θήβας πάλιν. καὶ παρελθὼν ἀνάτασιν μὲν καὶ φόβον ὥς τὰ δεινότατα πεισομένοις παρέσχεν, ἀνελὼν δὲ τρισκαίδεκα καὶ μεταστήσας τινὰς ἀφῆκε τοὺς ἄλλους.

4 ταῖς μὲν οὖν Θήβαις οὐπὼ δέκατον οἰκουμέναις ἔτος ἀλῶναι δις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ συνέπεσε.

Τῶν δὲ Πυθίων καθηκόντων πρᾶγμα καινότατον ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ Δημήτριος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ τὰ περὶ Δελφούς στενὰ κατεΐχον, ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐτὸς ἤγε τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν, ὥς δὴ προσῆκον αὐτόθι μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τὸν θεόν, ὃς καὶ πατρῷός ἐστι καὶ λέγεται τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγός.

XLI. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ μήτε αὐτὸς ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν πεφυκὼς τοὺς τε ἄλλους ὁρῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις μᾶλλον αὐτῷ προσέχοντας, οἴκοι δὲ ταραχώδεις καὶ πολυπράγμονας ὄντας, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰτωλοὺς· καὶ τὴν χώραν κακώσας καὶ Πάνταυχον ἐν αὐτῇ μέρος ἔχοντα τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ Πύρρον αὐτὸς ἐχώρει καὶ Πύρρος ἐπ' ἐκείνον.

2 ἀλλήλων δὲ διαμαρτόντες, ὁ μὲν ἐπόρθει τὴν Ἕπειρον, ὁ δὲ Πανταύχῳ περιπεσὼν καὶ μάχην συνάψας αὐτὸν μὲν ἄχρι τοῦ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν

¹ In 290 B.C. The siege lasted nearly a year.

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only, but also to share the perils of battle, he was pierced through the neck by a catapult-bolt. And yet, sore wounded as he was, he did not give up, but took Thebes again.¹ His entry into the city filled the citizens with acute fear; they thought they were to suffer the most dreadful punishments; but he put to death only thirteen of them, banished a few, and pardoned the rest. And so it was the fate of Thebes, which had been occupied less than ten years,² to be captured twice during this time.

Furthermore, the time for the Pythian games being now at hand, Demetrius ventured upon a most unheard of proceeding. Since, namely, the Aetolians occupied the passes about Delphi, he conducted the games and the festival in person at Athens, declaring it to be especially fitting that Apollo should be honoured there, since he was a patron deity of the Athenians and was said to have been the founder of their race.

XLI. From Athens Demetrius returned to Macedonia, and since he was himself not prone by nature to keep quiet, and since he saw that his followers were more devoted to him when they were on a campaign, but at home were turbulent and meddlesome, he made an expedition against the Aetolians. After ravaging the country, he left Pantauchus there with a large part of his forces, while he himself moved against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus also moved against him, but they missed one another on the march. Demetrius therefore plundered Epeirus, but Pyrrhus fell upon Pantauchus, and after a battle in which the two commanders came to close quarters and

¹ Cassander began the restoration of the city (after its utter annihilation by Alexander in 335 B.C.) in 315 B.C.

πληγὴν ἐν χερσὶ ἡγεύμενον ἐτρέψατο, τῶν δὲ
 ἄλλων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐξώγησε δὲ
 3 πεντακισχιλίας. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα Δημήτριον
 ἐκάκωσεν· οὐ γάρ οὕτω μισηθεὶς ὁ Πύρρος ἀφ'
 ὧν ἔπραξεν ὥς θαυμασθεὶς διὰ τὸ πλείστα τῇ
 χειρὶ κατεργάσασθαι, μέγα τε καὶ λαμπρὸν
 ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ὄνομα παρὰ τοῖς
 Μακεδόσι καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπῆει λέγειν τῶν Μακε- 909
 δόνων, ὥς ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ τῶν βασιλέων εἰδῶλον
 ἐνόρητο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τόλμης, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι,
 καὶ μάλιστα Δημήτριος, ὥς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ βάρος
 4 ὑποκρίνοιντο καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἦν δὲ
 ὥς ἀληθῶς τραγῳδία μεγάλη περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον,
 οὐ μόνον ἀμπεχόμενον καὶ διαδούμενον περιττῶς
 καυσίαις διμίτροις καὶ χρυσοπαρύφοις ἀλουργί-
 σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκ πορφύρας
 ἀκράτου συμπεπιλημένης χρυσοβαφεῖς πεποιη-
 μένον ἐμβάδας. ἦν δέ τις ὑφαινομένη χλανὶς
 αὐτῷ πολὺν χρόνον, ἔργον ὑπερήφανον, εἴκασμα
 5 τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινομένων· ὃ
 κατελείφθη μὲν ἡμιτελὲς ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν
 πραγμάτων, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐτόλμησεν αὐτῇ χρήσα-
 σθαι, καίπερ οὐκ ὀλίγων ὕστερον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ
 σοβαρῶν γενομένων βασιλέων.

XLII. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτοις τοῖς θεάμασιν ἐλύ-
 πει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀήθεις ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρυ-
 φὴν καὶ δίαιταν ἐβαρύνοντο· καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ
 δυσόμιλον αὐτοῦ καὶ δυσπρόσοδον. ἡ γὰρ οὐ
 παρεῖχε καιρὸν ἐντυχεῖν, ἡ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ τραχὺς
 ἐντυγχάνουσιν. Ἀθηναίων μὲν γάρ, περὶ οὗς
 ἐσπουδάκει μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτη δύο πρε-
 σβεῖαν κατέσχευ· ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος δὲ ἐνὸς πρε-

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wounded each other, routed him, took five thousand of his men prisoners, and slew many of the rest. This wrought the greatest harm to the cause of Demetrius. For Pyrrhus, who was not so much hated for what he had done as he was admired for making most of his conquests in person, acquired from this battle a great and splendid name among the Macedonians, and many of them were moved to say that in him alone of all the kings could they see an image of the great Alexander's daring; whereas the others, and particularly Demetrius, did but assume Alexander's majesty and pomp, like actors on a stage. And there was in truth much of the theatrical about Demetrius, who not only had an extravagant array of cloakings and head-gear—double-mitred broad-brimmed hats and purple robes shot with gold, but also equipped his feet with gold-embroidered shoes of the richest purple felt. And there was one cloak which was long in the weaving for him, a magnificent work, on which was represented the world and the heavenly bodies; this was left behind half-finished when the reversal of his fortunes came, and no succeeding king of Macedonia ventured to use it, although not a few of them were given to pomp and luxury.

XLII. And not only by such displays did he vex his subjects, who were unused to them, but his luxurious ways of living were also offensive, and above all else the difficulty of getting access to him or conversing with him. For either he would give no audience at all, or he was stern and harsh with his auditors. For instance, he kept an embassy from the Athenians, for whose favour he was more solicitous than for that of any other Greeks, two years in waiting; and when a single envoy came to him from

- σβευτοῦ παραγενομένου καταφρονεῖσθαι δοκῶν
 2 ἡγανάκτησεν. ἀστείως μέντοι καὶ Λακωνικῶς
 ἐκεῖνος, εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ “Τί σὺ λέγεις ; ἓνα Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψαν ;” “Ναί,” εἶπεν,
 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, πρὸς ἓνα.” δόξαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε
 δημοτικώτερον ἐξελαύνειν, καὶ πρὸς ἔντευξιν ἔχειν
 οὐκ ἀηδῶς, συνέδραμόν τινες ἐγγράφους ἀξιῶσεις
 ἀναδιδόντες. δεξαμένου δὲ πάσας καὶ τῇ χλαμύ-
 δι συλλαβόντος ἤσθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ παρη-
 κολουθουν· ὥς δὲ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ γέ-
 φυραν, ἀναπτύξας τὴν χλαμύδα πάσας εἰς τὸν
 3 ποταμὸν ἐξέριψε. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ δεινῶς ἠνίασε
 τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὑβρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας, οὐ βασι-
 λεύεσθαι, καὶ Φιλίππου μνημονεύοντας, ἣ τῶν
 μνημονευόντων ἀκούοντας, ὥς μέτριος ἦν περὶ
 ταῦτα καὶ κοινός. καί ποτε πρεσβυτέρου γυναιίου
 κόπτοντος αὐτὸν ἐν παρόδῳ τινὶ καὶ δεομένου
 πολλάκις ἀκουσθῆναι, φήσας μὴ σχολάζειν, ἐγ-
 κραγόντος ἐκείνου καὶ “Μὴ βασίλευε” εἰπόντος,
 4 δηχθεὶς σφόδρα καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ γενόμενος ἀνέ-
 στρεψεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ πάντα ποιησάμενος
 ὕστερα, τοῖς ἐντυχεῖν βουλομένοις, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ
 τῆς πρεσβύτιδος ἐκείνης, ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας
 ἐσχόλασεν.
- 5 Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως βασιλεῖ προσῆκον ὥς τὸ τῆς
 δίκης ἔργον. Ἄρης μὲν γὰρ τύραννος, ὥς φησι
 Τιμόθεος, νόμος δὲ πάντων βασιλεὺς κατὰ Πίν-
 δαρόν ἐστι· καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ὀμηρός φησιν οὐχ

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Sparta, he thought himself despised, and was incensed. However, when he cried, "What meanest thou? Have the Spartans sent but one envoy?" he got the neat and laconic reply, "Yea, O king, to one man." On one occasion, when he was thought to be riding abroad in a more affable mood than usual, and seemed to encounter his subjects without displeasure, there was a large concourse of people who presented him with written petitions. He received them all and folded them away in his cloak, whereupon the people were delighted and escorted him on his way; but when he came to the bridge over the Axius, he shook out the folds of his cloak and cast all the petitions into the river. This was a great vexation to the Macedonians, who thought themselves insulted, not ruled, and they called to mind, or listened to those who called to mind, how reasonable Philip used to be in such matters, and how accessible. An old woman once assailed Demetrius as he was passing by, and demanded many times that he give her a hearing. "I have no time," said Demetrius. "Then don't be king," screamed the old woman. Demetrius was stung to the quick, and after thinking upon the matter, went back to his house, and postponing every thing else, for several days devoted himself entirely to those who wished audience of him, beginning with the old woman who had rebuked him.

And surely nothing so befits a king as the work of justice. For "Ares is tyrant," in the words of Timotheus,¹ but "Law is king of all things," according to Pindar;² and Homer speaks of kings as

¹ Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii. 4 p. 622. Cf. the *Agésilais*, xiv. 2. ² Bergk, *op. cit.* i. 4 p. 439.

ἐλεπόλεις οὐδὲ ναῦς χαλκήρεις, ἀλλὰ θέμιστας
 παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς λαμβάνοντας ρύεσθαι καὶ φυλάσ-
 σειν, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς οὐ τὸν πολεμικώτατον οὐδὲ τὸν
 ἀδικώτατον καὶ φονικώτατον τῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλὰ
 τὸν δικαιοτάτον ὁριστὴν καὶ μαθητὴν προσηγό-
 6 ρευκεν. ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος ἔχαιρε τῷ βασιλεῖ
 τῶν θεῶν ἀνομοιοτάτην ἐπιγραφόμενος προσω-
 νυμίαν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πολιεὺς καὶ Πολιοῦχος, ὁ δὲ
 Πολιορκητὴς ἐπὶ κλησιν ἔσχευ. οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν
 τοῦ καλοῦ χώραν τὸ αἰσχρὸν ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ἀμα-
 θοὺς ἐπελθὼν συνφκείωσε τῇ δόξῃ τὴν ἀδικίαν.

XLIII. Ὁ δ' οὖν Δημήτριος ἐπισφαλέστατα
 νοσήσας ἐν Πέλλῃ μικροῦ τότε Μακεδονίαν ἀπέ-
 βαλε, καταδραμόντος ὀξέως Πύρρου καὶ μέχρις
 Ἐδέσσης προελθόντος. ἅμα δὲ τῷ κουφότερος
 γενέσθαι πάνν ῥαδίως ἐξελάσας αὐτὸν ἐποίησά το
 τινας ὁμολογίας, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐμποδῶν ὄντι
 συνεχῶς προσπταίων καὶ τοπομαχῶν ἥττον εἶναι
 2 πρὸς οἷς διενοεῖτο. διενοεῖτο δὲ οὐθὲν ὀλίγον, 910
 ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ
 γενομένην ἀρχήν. καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος ταύτης καὶ
 τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐκ ἀπελείπετο τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς,
 ἀλλὰ στρατιᾶς μὲν ἤδη συνετέτακτο πεζῆς μυριά-
 δας δέκα δισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσας, καὶ
 χωρὶς ἱππέας ὀλίγῳ δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάτ-
 3 τους. στόλον δὲ νεῶν ἅμα πεντακοσίων κατα-
 βαλλόμενος τὰς μὲν ἐν Πειραιεῖ τρόπεις ἔθετο,
 τὰς δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐν Χαλκίδι, τὰς δὲ
 περὶ Πέλλαν, αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν ἐκασταχόσε καὶ διδά-
 σκων ἃ χρὴ καὶ συντεχνώμενος, ἐκπληττομένων
 ἀπάντων οὐ τὰ πλήθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη
 4 τῶν ἔργων. οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἶδεν ἀνθρώπων οὔτε

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receiving from Zeus for protection and safe-keeping, not city-takers nor bronze-beaked ships, but "ordinances of justice";¹ and he calls a disciple and "confidant" of Zeus, not the most warlike or unjust or murderous of kings, but the most just.² Demetrius, on the contrary, was delighted to receive a surname most unlike those given to the king of the gods; for Zeus is surnamed City-guardian, or City-protector; but Demetrius, City-besieger. Thus a power devoid of wisdom advances evil to the place of good, and makes injustice co-dweller with fame.

XLIII. But while Demetrius lay most dangerously sick at Pella, he almost lost Macedonia; for Pyrrhus swiftly overran it and advanced as far as Edessa. As soon, however, as Demetrius had somewhat recovered his strength he easily drove Pyrrhus out of the country, and then came to a kind of agreement with him, being unwilling that continual collisions and local conflicts with this opponent should defeat his set purpose. And his purpose was nothing less than the recovery of all the realm that had been subject to his father. Moreover, his preparations were fully commensurate with his hopes and undertakings. He had already gathered an army which numbered ninety-eight thousand foot, and besides, nearly twelve thousand horsemen. At the same time, moreover, he had laid the keels for a fleet of five hundred ships, some of which were in Piraeus, some at Corinth, some at Chalcis, and some at Pella. And he would visit all these places in person, showing what was to be done and aiding in the plans, while all men wondered, not only at the multitude, but also at the magnitude of the works. Up to this time no man had seen a ship of

¹ *Iliad*, i. 238 f.

² Minos, *Odyssey*, xix. 179.

πεντεκαιδεκῆρη ναῦν πρότερον οὔτε ἑκκαϊδεκῆρη, ἀλλ' ὕστερον τεσσαρακοντῆρη Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ἐναυπηγήσατο, μῆκος διακοσίων ὀγδοήκοντα πηχῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἕως ἀκροστολίου πεντήκοντα δυεῖν δεόντων, ναύταις δὲ χωρὶς ἐρετῶν ἐξηρτυμένην τετρακοσίοις, ἐρέταις δὲ τετρακισχιλίοις, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὀπλίτας δεχομένην ἐπὶ τε τῶν παρόδων καὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀλίγῳ
5 τρισχιλίων ἀποδέοντας. ἀλλὰ θέαν μόνην ἐκείνη παρέσχε· καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον διαφέρουσα τῶν μονίμων οἰκοδομημάτων, φανῆναι πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, οὐ χρεῖαν, ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ δυσέργως ἐκινήθη. τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου νεῶν οὐκ ἦν τὸ καλὸν ἀναγώνιστον, οὐδὲ τῷ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν χρεῖαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιοθεατότερον τοῦ μεγέθους παρεῖχον.

XLIV. Αἰρομένης οὖν τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὄσῃ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδεὶς ἔσχε πρότερον, οἱ τρεῖς συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Δημήτριον, Σέλευκος, Πτολεμαῖος, Λυσίμαχος· ἔπειτα κοινῇ πρὸς Πύρρον ἀποστείλαντες ἐκέλευον ἐξάπτεσθαι Μακεδονίας καὶ μὴ νομίζειν σπονδὰς αἰς Δημήτριον οὐκ ἐκείνῳ τὸ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰληφεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ πολεμεῖν οἷς βούλεται πρότερον.
2 δεξαμένου δὲ Πύρρου πολὺς περιέστη πόλεμος ἔτι μέλλοντα Δημήτριον. ἅμα γὰρ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα πλεύσας στόλῳ μεγάλῳ Πτολεμαῖος ἀφίστη, Μακεδονίαν δὲ Λυσίμαχος ἐκ Θράκης, ἐκ δὲ
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fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. At a later time, it is true, Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty banks of oars, which had a length of two hundred and eighty cubits, and a height, to the top of her stern, of forty-eight; she was manned by four hundred sailors, who did no rowing, and by four thousand rowers, and besides these she had room, on her gangways and decks, for nearly three thousand men-at-arms. But this ship was merely for show; and since she differed little from a stationary edifice on land, being meant for exhibition and not for use, she was moved only with difficulty and danger. However, in the ships of Demetrius their beauty did not mar their fighting qualities, nor did the magnificence of their equipment rob them of their usefulness, but they had a speed and effectiveness which was more remarkable than their great size.

XLIV. Accordingly, while this great force, the like of which no man had possessed since Alexander, was getting under way against Asia, the three kings, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, formed a league against Demetrius. Next, they sent a joint embassy to Pyrrhus, urging him to attack Macedonia, and not to regard a truce by which Demetrius had not given him the privilege of having no war made upon him, but had taken for himself the privilege of making war first on the enemy of his choice. Pyrrhus granted their requests, and a great war encompassed Demetrius before his preparations were completed. For at one and the same time¹ Ptolemy sailed to Greece with a great fleet and tried to bring it to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus from the neighbouring

¹ In the spring of 287 B.C.

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- τῆς ὁμόρου Πύρρος ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτουν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ βοηθῶν Μακεδονίᾳ πρῶτον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχον. ἀγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Πύρρος ἡρηκῶς πόλιν Βέροϊαν. καὶ τοῦ λόγου ταχέως εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐμπεσόντος οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ Δημητρίῳ κατὰ κόσμον εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ δακρύων καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ὀργῆς καὶ βλασφημιῶν μεστὸν ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ συμμένειν οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι, 3 τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς τὸν Λυσιμάχον. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Δημητρίῳ Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἀποστῆναι πορρωτάτῳ, πρὸς δὲ Πύρρον τρέπεσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὁμόφυλον εἶναι καὶ πολλοῖς συνήθη δι' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἔπηλυν δὲ καὶ ξένον ἄνδρα τὸν Πύρρον οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῦ προτιμῆσαι Μακεδόνας. τούτων μέντοι 5 πολὺ διεψεύσθη τῶν λογισμῶν· ὥς γὰρ ἐγγυὺς ἐλθὼν τῷ Πύρρῳ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν, αἰεὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις λαμπρότητα θαυμάζοντες, ἔκ τε τοῦ παλαιοτάτου καὶ βασιλικώτατον¹ εἰθισμένοι νομίζειν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κράτιστον, τότε δὲ καὶ πράως κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀλίσκομένοις πυνθανόμενοι, πάντως δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ Δημητρίου ζητοῦντες, ἀπεχώρουν λάθρα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους τό γε πρῶτον, εἴτα φανερώς ἅπαν εἶχε κίνησιν καὶ ταραχὴν τὸ στρατόπεδον, τέλος δὲ τῷ 6 Δημητρίῳ τολμήσαντές τινες προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι καὶ σῶζειν αὐτόν· ἀπειρηκέναι γὰρ ἤδη

¹ καὶ βασιλικώτατον Coraës and Sintenis, with the best MSS.; Bekker omits the καί.

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Epeirus, and both plundered the land. But Demetrius left his son in charge of Greece, while he himself, hastening to the rescue of Macedonia, set out first against Lysimachus. But tidings came to him that Pyrrhus had taken Beroea. The report quickly came to the ears of the Macedonians, and then Demetrius could no longer maintain discipline, but his camp was full of lamentations and tears, coupled with wrathful execrations against himself, and the soldiers would not hold together, but insisted on going away, ostensibly to their homes, but in reality to Lysimachus. Demetrius therefore determined to put as much distance as possible between himself and Lysimachus, and to turn his arms against Pyrrhus; for Lysimachus, as he thought, was a fellow-countryman and congenial to many of the Macedonians because of Alexander; while Pyrrhus was a new-comer and a foreigner, and would not be preferred by them before himself. In these calculations, however, he was greatly deceived. For he drew nigh and pitched his camp by that of Pyrrhus; but his soldiers had always admired that leader's brilliant exploits in arms, and from of old they had been wont to consider the man who was mightiest in arms as also the most kingly; besides this, they now learned that Pyrrhus treated his prisoners of war with mildness, and since they were seeking to be rid of Demetrius whether it took them to Pyrrhus or to another, they kept deserting him, at first secretly and in small companies. Then the whole camp was in open agitation and disorder, and at last some of the soldiers ventured to go to Demetrius, bidding him to go away and save himself; for the Macedonians, they said, were tired of

Μακεδόνας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου τρυφῆς πολεμοῦντας. 911
οὗτοι μετριώτατοι τῶν λόγων ἐφαίνοντο τῷ Δημη-
τρίῳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τραχύτητα· καὶ παρ-
ελθὼν ἐπὶ σκηνὴν, ὥσπερ οὐ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ὑπο-
κριτής, μεταμφιέννυται χλαμύδα φαιὰν ἀντὶ τῆς
τραγικῆς ἐκείνης, καὶ διαλαθὼν ὑπεχώρησεν.
7 ὁρμησάντων δὲ τῶν πλείστων εὐθὺς ἐφ' ἄρπαγὴν
καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμαχομένων καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
διασπώντων, ἐπιφανείς ὁ Πύρρος ἐκράτησεν αὐ-
τοβοεὶ καὶ κατέσχε τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ γίνεται
πρὸς Λυσίμαχον αὐτῷ συμπάσης Μακεδονίας
νέμησις, ἐπταετίαν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου βεβαίως ἀρχ-
θείσης.

XLV. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου τῶν πραγμάτων
ἐκπεσόντος καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς Κασάνδρειαν,
ἡ γυνὴ Φίλα περιπαθῆς γενομένη προσιδεῖν μὲν
οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν αὐθις ἰδιώτην καὶ φυγάδα τὸν
τλημονέστατον βασιλέων Δημήτριον, ἀπειπαμένη
δὲ πάσαν ἐλπίδα καὶ μισήσασα τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ
βεβαιότεραν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς οὖσαν ἢ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς,
πιούσα φάρμακον ἀπέθανε. Δημήτριος δὲ ἔτι
τῶν λοιπῶν ναυαγίων ἔχεσθαι διανοηθεὶς ἀπῆρεν
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ στρατηγούς καὶ
φίλους συνῆγεν.

2 Ἦν οὖν ὁ Σοφοκλέους Μενέλαος εἰκόνα ταῖς
αὐτοῦ τύχαις παρατίθῃσιν,

ἀλλ' οὐμὸς αἰὲ πότμος ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ
τροχῷ κυκλεῖται καὶ μεταλλάσσει φύσιν,
ὥσπερ σελήνης δ' ὄψις εὐφρόνας¹ δύο
στήναι δύναιτ' ἂν οὐποτ' ἐν μορφῇ μιᾷ,

¹ εὐφρόνας Sintenis with Nauck, after Brunck ; Coraës and Bekker retain the εὐφρόναις of the MSS.

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waging war in support of his luxurious way of living. Demetrius thought this very moderate language compared with the harshness of the rest; so he went to his tent, and, as if he had been an actor and not a real king, put on a dark cloak in place of his stage-robcs of royalty, and stole away unnoticed. Most of the soldiers at once fell to pillaging and tearing down his tent, and fought with one another for the spoils; but Pyrrhus came up, mastered the camp without a blow, and took possession of it. And all Macedonia was divided between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, after Demetrius had reigned over it securely for seven years.¹

XLV. When Demetrius thus lost his power and fled for refuge to Cassandreia, his wife Phila was full of grief and could not endure to see her husband, that most afflicted of kings, once more in private station and in exile; she gave up all hope, and in hatred of his fortune, which was more secure in adversity than in prosperity, she drank poison and died. But Demetrius, determined to cling still to what was left of his wrecked fortunes, went off to Greece, and tried to assemble his friends and generals who were there.

The Menelaüs of Sophocles² applies this simile to his own fortunes :—

“ But my fate on the swiftly turning wheel of God
Goes whirling round forever and ever changes
shape,
Just as the moon's appearance for two kindly
nights
Could never be identical and show no change,

¹ From 304 to 287 B.C.

² Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 315.

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ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδήλου πρῶτον ἔρχεται νέα
 πρόσωπα καλλύνουσα καὶ πληρουμένη,
 χῶτανπερ αὐτῆς εὐγενεστάτη φανῇ,
 πάλιν διαρρεῖ κεῖς τὸ μηδὲν ἔρχεται,

- 3 ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἅν τις ἀπεικάσαι τὰ Δημητρίου
 πράγματα καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν αὐξήσεις καὶ φθί-
 σεις καὶ ἀναπληρώσεις καὶ ταπεινότητος, οὗ γε
 καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἀπολείπειν καὶ κατασβέν-
 νυσθαι δοκούντος ἀνέλαμπεν αὐθις ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ
 δυνάμεις τινὲς ἐπιρρέουσai κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνεπλή-
 ρουν τὴν ἐλπίδα. καὶ τό γε¹ πρῶτον ἰδιώτης
 καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν κοσμίῳ ἔρημος ἐπεφοίτα
 ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἐν Θήβαις τοιοῦτον
 θεασάμενος ἐχρήσατο τοῖς Εὐριπίδου στίχοις οὐκ
 ἀηδῶς·

μορφὴν ἀμείψας ἐκ θεοῦ βροτησίαν
 πάρεστι Δίρκης νάματ' Ἴσμηνοῦ θ' ὕδωρ.

XLVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ὥσπερ εἰς ὁδὸν βασιλικὴν
 τὴν ἐλπίδα κατέστη καὶ συνίστατο πάλιν σῶμα
 καὶ σχῆμα περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρχῆς, Θηβαίοις μὲν ἀπέ-
 δωκε τὴν πολιτείαν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέστησαν αὐ-
 τοῦ. καὶ τόν τε Δίφιλον, ὃς ἦν ἱερεὺς τῶν Σωτή-
 ρων ἀναγεγραμμένος, ἐκ τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀνείλον,
 ἄρχοντας αἰρεῖσθαι πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἦν πάτριον,
 ψηφισάμενοι, τόν τε Πύρρον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετε-

¹ τό γε Sintenis : Coraës and Bekker retain the τότε of the MSS.

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But out of darkness first she comes forth young
and new,
With face that ever grows more beautiful and full,
And when she reaches largest and most generous
phase,
Again she vanisheth away and comes to naught."

This simile might be better used of the fortunes of Demetrius, now waxing and now waning, now full-orbed and now diminished, since even at this time, when his power seemed to fail altogether and suffer extinction, it shot forth new rays of light, and sundry accessions of strength little by little filled out the measure of his hopes. At first he went about visiting the cities in the garb of a private man and without the insignia of a king, and one who saw him thus at Thebes applied to him, not inaptly, the verses of Euripides¹ :—

"Exchanging now the form of god for that of man,
He visits Dirce's rivulets and Ismenus' flood."

XLVI. But as soon as he had entered upon the path of hope, as upon a royal highway, and had gathered about himself a body and form of sovereignty, he restored to the Thebans their ancient form of government; the Athenians, however, revolted from him. They voted to elect archons, as had been their custom of old, and took away from Diphilus, who had been appointed priest of the Saviour-gods, the privilege of giving his name to the current year;² and when they saw that Demetrius had more strength than they expected, they sum-

¹ *Bacchae*, 4 f., with adaptation from the first person.

² See chapter x. 3.

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- πέμποντο, μάλλον ἢ προσεδόκησαν ισχύοντα τὸν
- 2 Δημήτριον ὀρώντες. ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ μὲν ἐπήλθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιορκίαν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ συνεστήσατο καρτεράν, Κράτητος δὲ τοῦ φιλοσόφου πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ δυνατοῦ, τὰ μὲν οἷς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐδεῖτο πεισθεῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἐδίδασκε περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων νοήσας ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ συναγαγὼν ὅσαι νῆες ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ χιλίους σὺν ἱππεύσιν ἐμβιβάσας, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔπλει, Λυσιμάχου Καρίαν καὶ Λυδίαν ἀποστήσων.
- 3 Δέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Εὐρυδίκη περὶ Μίλητον, ἀδελφὴ Φίλας, ἀγούσα τῶν αὐτῆς καὶ Πτολεμαίου θυγατέρων Πτολεμαῖδα καθωμολογημένην 912 ἐκείνῳ πρότερον διὰ Σελεύκου. ταύτην γαμεῖ Δημήτριος Εὐρυδίκης ἐκδιδούσης. καὶ μετὰ τὸν γάμον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τρέπεται, πολλῶν μὲν ἐκουσίως προστιθεμένων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ βι-
- 4 αζόμενος. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Σάρδεις· καὶ τινες τῶν Λυσιμάχου στρατηγῶν ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν κομίζοντες. ἐπερχομένου δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Λυσιμάχου μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Φρυγίαν, ἐγνωκώς, ἄνπερ Ἀρμενίας ἐπιλάβηται, Μηδίαν κινεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄνω πραγμάτων ἔχεσθαι, πολλὰς ἐξωθουμένῳ περιφυγὰς καὶ
- 5 ἀναχωρήσεις ἐχόντων. ἐπομένου δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς περιῆν, ἐπισιτισμοῦ δὲ

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moned Pyrrhus to their aid from Macedonia. Demetrius came up against them in a rage, and began a strenuous siege of the city. But the people sent to him Crates the philosopher, a man of great repute and influence, and Demetrius, partly because he was induced to grant the ambassador's appeals in behalf of the Athenians, and partly because he was convinced when the philosopher showed him what would be an advantageous course, raised the siege, and after assembling all the ships he had,¹ and putting on board eleven thousand soldiers, together with his cavalry, he sailed for Asia, to wrest Caria and Lydia from Lysimachus.

He was met at Miletus by Eurydicé, a sister of Phila, who brought with her one of her daughters by Ptolemy, Ptolemaïs, who had been betrothed to Demetrius before this² through the agency of Seleucus. Demetrius married her now, and Eurydicé gave the bride away. After the marriage Demetrius at once turned his arms against the cities, many of which attached themselves to him of their own accord, and many also he forced into submission. He took Sardis also; and some of the generals of Lysimachus came over to him bringing money and troops. But when Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, came against him with an army, Demetrius retired into Phrygia; he had determined, if once he could reach Armenia, to bring Media to revolt and attempt the upper provinces, which afforded an ejected commander many refuges and retreats. Agathocles followed him, and though Demetrius had the advantage in their engagements,

¹ See chapter xliii. 3.

² As early as 301 B.C. Cf. chapter xxxii. 3.

καὶ προνομῶν εἰργόμενος ἡπορεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις δι' ὑποψίας ἦν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Μηδίαν ἐκτοπίζων. ἅμα δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ λιμὸς ἐπέτεινε, καὶ διαμαρτία τις γενομένη περὶ τὴν τοῦ Λύκου διάβασιν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀρπασθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀπώλεσεν. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ σκώπτειν οὐκ ἀπείχοντο· προγράφει δὲ τις αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τὴν τοῦ Οἰδίποδος¹ ἀρχὴν μικρὸν παραλλάξας·

τέκνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνου· τίνας
χώρους ἀφίγμεθα ;

- XLVII. Τέλος δὲ καὶ νόσου τῷ λιμῷ συνεπιτι-
• θεμένης, ὥσπερ εἶωθεν, ἐπὶ βρώσεις ἀναγκαίας
τρεπομένων, τοὺς πάντας οὐκ ἐλάσσονας ὀκτακισ-
χιλίων ἀποβαλὼν ἀνῆγεν ὀπίσω τοὺς λοιπούς·
καὶ καταβάς εἰς Ταρσὸν ἐβούλετο μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι
τῆς χώρας, οὔσης ὑπὸ Σελεύκῳ τότε, καὶ πρό-
2 φασιν ἐκείνῳ μηδεμίαν παρασχεῖν, ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀμή-
χανον, ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ὄντων ἀπορίαις τῶν
στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου τὰς ὑπερβολὰς
Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἀπετείχισε, γράφει πρὸς Σέλευκον
ἐπιστολὴν μακρόν τινα τῆς αὐτοῦ τύχης ὀδυρμόν,
εἶτα πολλὴν ἰκεσίαν καὶ δέησιν ἔχουσιν ἀνδρὸς
οἰκείου λαβεῖν οἶκτον, ἄξια καὶ πολεμίοις συναλ-
γῆσαι πεπονθότος.

- Ἐπικλασθέντος δὲ πῶς Σελεύκου, καὶ γρά-
ψαντος τοῖς ἐκεῖ στρατηγοῖς ὅπως αὐτῷ τε τῷ
Δημητρίῳ χορηγίαν βασιλικὴν καὶ τῇ δυνάμει
3 τροφὴν ἀφθονον παρέχωσιν, ἐπελθὼν Πατροκλῆς,

¹ Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1 f. (Ἀντιγόνη).

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he was shut off from getting provisions and forage, and was in great straits; besides, his soldiers were suspicious that he was trying to make his way towards Armenia and Media. And not only did famine press them harder, but also some mistake was made in crossing the river Lycus, and a large number of men were carried away by the current and lost. But nevertheless they would have their pleasantries; and one of them wrote up in front of the tent of Demetrius the opening words of the "Oedipus," slightly changed:—

"O child of blind and aged Antigonus, what are
These regions whither we are come?"

XLVII. But at last sickness assailed them as well as famine, which is wont to happen when men have recourse to foods which they must eat to save their lives, and after losing no less than eight thousand men in all, Demetrius retraced his steps with the rest and came down to Tarsus. Here he would gladly have spared the country, which was then under Seleucus, and so have given its ruler no ground of complaint; but this was impossible, for his soldiers were suffering extreme privations, and Agathocles had fortified the passes of the Taurus against him. He therefore wrote a very long letter to Seleucus, bewailing his own misfortunes, and then begging and beseeching him to take pity on a man who was allied to him by marriage, and had suffered enough to win sympathy even from his enemies.

Seleucus was somewhat softened by this appeal, and wrote to his generals in that province that they should furnish Demetrius himself with royal maintenance, and his troops with abundant supplies. But

ἀνὴρ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν καὶ Σελεύκῳ φίλος
πιστός, οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἔφη πλεῖστον εἶναι
τῶν Δημητρίου στρατιωτῶν τρεφομένων, ἀλλ'
ἐνδιατρίβοντα τῇ χώρᾳ Δημήτριον οὐ καλῶς
περιορᾶν αὐτόν, ὃς αἰεὶ βιαιότατος ὢν καὶ μεγαλο-
πραγμονέστατος βασιλέων νῦν ἐν τύχαις γέγονεν
αἰ καὶ τοὺς φύσει μετρίους ἐξάγουσι τολμᾶν καὶ
4 ἀδικεῖν. ἐκ τούτου παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Σέλευκος ἐξώρ-
μησεν εἰς Κιλικίαν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ
δὲ Δημήτριος ἐκπλαγεὶς τῇ δι' ὀλίγου μεταβολῇ
τοῦ Σελεύκου καὶ φοβηθεὶς, ὑπέστειλε τοῖς ὀχυρω-
τάτοις τοῦ Ταύρου, καὶ διαπεμπόμενος ἡξίου μά-
λιστα μὲν αὐτὸν περιῖδεῖν τῶν αὐτόνομων τινὰ
βαρβάρων κτησάμενον ἀρχήν, ἐν ἣ καταβιώσεται
πλάνης καὶ φυγῆς παυσάμενος, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸν
χειμῶνα διαθρέψαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτόθι, καὶ μὴ
πάντων ἐνδεᾶ καὶ γυμνὸν ἐξελαύνειν καὶ προβάλ-
λειν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

XLVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σέλευκος ταῦτα πάντα ὑπο-
πτεύων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, εἰ βούλεται, δύο μῆνας
ἐν τῇ Καταονίᾳ χειμάσαι, δόντα τοὺς πρῶτους
τῶν φίλων ὁμήρους, ἅμα δὲ τὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἀπετεί-
χιζεν ὑπερβολάς, ἐγκλειόμενος, ὥσπερ θηρίον, ὃ
Δημήτριος κύκλῳ καὶ περιβαλλόμενος, ὑπ' ἀν-
άγκης τρέπεται πρὸς ἀλκὴν, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν
κατέτρεχε καὶ τῷ Σελεύκῳ προσβάλλοντι συμ-
2 πλεκόμενος αἰεὶ πλεόν εἶχε. καὶ ποτε τῶν δρε- 913
πανηφόρων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφειθέντων ὑποστάς τροπὴν

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Patrocles, a man in repute for wisdom, and a trusted friend of Seleucus, came to him and told him that the expense of maintaining the soldiers of Demetrius was a very small matter, but that it was unwise for him to allow Demetrius to remain in the country, since he had always been the most violent of the kings, and the most given to grand designs, and was now in a state of fortune where even naturally moderate men are led to commit deeds of daring and injustice. Incited by this advice, Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a large force. Then Demetrius, filled with amazement and alarm at the sudden change of attitude in Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest fastnesses of the Taurus, and sending messengers to Seleucus, asked that above all things he might be permitted to acquire a petty empire among the independent Barbarians, in which he might end his days without further wanderings and flights; but if this might not be, he begged him to give his troops food for the winter there, and not to drive him forth, stripped and destitute of all things, and cast him into the hands of his enemies.

XLVIII. But Seleucus was suspicious of all this, and told Demetrius that he might, if he wished, spend two months in winter quarters in Cataonia, provided he gave the chief among his friends as hostages; and at the same time he fortified the passes into Syria against him. Then Demetrius, like a wild beast, hemmed in and attacked on all sides, was driven to defend himself; he overran the country, and when Seleucus attacked him, engaged with him and always had the advantage. Once in particular, when the scythe-bearing chariots were dashing down upon him, he avoided the charge, routed his

ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τῶν εἰς Συρίαν ὑπερβολῶν τοὺς ἀποτεριχίζοντας ἐξελάσας ἐκράτησε. καὶ ὅλως ἐπῆρτο τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνατεταρρηκότας ὁρῶν παρεσκευάζετο διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἄθλοις, ἡπορη-
 3 μένον ἤδη καὶ αὐτόν. ἀπέστρεψε μὲν γὰρ τὴν παρὰ Λυσιμάχου βοήθειαν ἀπιστῶν καὶ φοβούμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὥκνει τῷ Δημητρίῳ συνάψαι, δεδιὼς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰ μεταβολὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀποριῶν τὰς μεγίστας εὐτυχίας ἐπιφέρουσιν.

Νόσος μέντοι βαρεῖα τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν τούτῳ καταλαβοῦσα τό τε σῶμα δεινῶς ἐκάκωσε καὶ τὰ πράγματα παντάπασι διέφθειρεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δὲ διερρύ-
 4 ησαν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. μόλις δὲ ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ῥάϊσας καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἀναλαβὼν, καὶ ὁρμήσας, ὅσον ἰδεῖν καὶ δοξάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπὶ Κιλικίας, εἶτα νυκτὸς ἄνευ σάλπιγγος ἄρας ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ τὸν Ἀμανὸν ὑπερβαλὼν ἐπόρθει τὴν κάτω χώραν ἄχρι τῆς Κυρηστικῆς.

XLIX. Ἐπιφανέντος δὲ τοῦ Σελεύκου καὶ ποιουμένου τὰς καταλύσεις ἐγγύς, ἀναστήσας ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ στράτευμα νυκτὸς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγνοοῦντα μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ κοιμώμενον. αὐτομόλων δὲ τινων παραγενομένων καὶ φρασάντων τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐκπλαγεῖς καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν, ἅμα τὰς κρηπίδας ὑποδοῦ-
 μένος καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους ὡς θηρίῳ δεινῷ συμπέπλεκται. Δημήτριος δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ τῶν πολεμίων αἰσθόμενος ὅτι μεμήνυται, κατὰ

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assailants, drove away those who were fortifying the passes into Syria, and made himself master of them. And now he was completely lifted up in spirit, and seeing that his soldiers had recovered their courage, he made ready to fight to the finish with Seleucus for the supreme prizes. Seleucus himself was already in perplexity. For he had refused the assistance offered by Lysimachus, whom he distrusted and feared; and by himself he hesitated to join battle with Demetrius, fearing the man's desperation and the perpetual change which brought him from the extremest destitution to the greatest affluence.

However, a grievous sickness seized Demetrius at this juncture; it wrought terrible harm to his body, and utterly ruined his cause. For some of his soldiers went over to the enemy, and others dispersed. But at last, after forty days, he recovered strength, and taking the soldiers that remained, set out, so far as his enemies could see or conjecture, for Cilicia; then, in the night and without signal by trumpet, he set out in the opposite direction, crossed the range of Amanus, and plundered the lower country as far as Cyrrhestica.

XLIX. When Seleucus made his appearance there and encamped near by, Demetrius set his army in motion by night and advanced against him. Seleucus was ignorant of his approach for a long time, and lay sleeping. But when some deserters came and told him of his peril, he was astounded, and leaping up ordered the trumpets to be sounded, at the same time pulling on his boots and shouting to his companions that a terrible wild beast was upon them. But Demetrius, perceiving from the noise which his enemies made that they had been informed

- 2 τάχος ἀπήγεν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα προσκειμένου τοῦ
Σελεύκου, πέμψας τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θά-
τερον κέρας ἐποίησέ τινα τροπὴν τῶν ἐναντίων.
εἶτα μέντοι Σέλευκος αὐτὸς ἀφείλ τὸν ἵππον καὶ
τὸ κράνος ἀποθέμενος καὶ λαβὼν πέλτην ἀπήντα
τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτὸν καὶ μετα-
βαλέσθαι παρακαλῶν, ἥδη ποτὲ συμφρονήσαντας
ὅτι φειδόμενος ἐκείνων, οὐ Δημητρίῳ, χρόνον
3 πολὺν διατετέλεκεν. ἐκ τούτου πάντες ἀσπαζό-
μενοι καὶ βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντες μεθίσταντο.

Δημήτριος δὲ πολλῶν μεταβολῶν αἰσθόμενος
ἐσχάτην ἐκείνην ἤκουσαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐκκλίνας ἐπὶ
τὰς Ἀμανίδας ἔφυγε πύλας, καὶ καταβαλὼν εἰς
ὕλην τινὰ συνηρεφῇ μετὰ φίλων τινῶν καὶ
ἀκολουθῶν ὀλίγων παντάπασιν ὄντων προσέμενε
τὴν νύκτα, βουλόμενος, εἰ δύναίτο, τῆς ἐπὶ Καῦ-
νον ὁδοῦ λαβέσθαι καὶ διεκπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασ-
4 σαν, οὐ τὸν ναύσταθμον εὐρήσειν ἠλπίζεν. ὥς
δὲ ἔγνω μηδὲ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐφόδιον ἔχοντας
αὐτοὺς, ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐγένετο λογισμῶν. εἶτα μέν-
τοι Σωσιγένης ἐπῆλθεν, ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ, χρυσοῦς
τετρακοσίους ὑπεζωσμένος· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλπί-
ζοντες ἄχρι θαλάσσης διαγενήσεσθαι, πρὸς τὰς
ὑπερβολὰς ἐχώρουν σκοταῖοι. πυρῶν δὲ καιομέ-
νων πρὸς αὐταῖς πολεμίων ἀπογνόντες ἐκείνην
τὴν ὁδὸν αὐθις ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον,
οὔτε πάντες (ἐνιοὶ γὰρ ἀπέδρασαν) οὔτε ὁμοίως
5 οἱ παραμένοντες πρόθυμοι· τολμήσαντος δέ τινος
εἰπεῖν τι, ὥς Σελεύκῳ χρὴ τὸ σῶμα παραδοῦναι

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of his approach, drew off his troops with all speed. When day came, however, Seleucus was pressing him hard, so he sent one of his officers to the other wing, and partially routed the enemy. But at this point Seleucus himself, quitting his horse, doffing his helmet, and taking a light shield, went to meet the mercenaries of Demetrius, showing them who he was, and exhorting them to come over to him, since they must for some time have been aware that his long forbearance had them in view, and not Demetrius. Consequently they all welcomed him, hailed him as king, and went over to him.

Then Demetrius, perceiving that the last of many reversals of fortune was now come upon him, left the field and fled to the passes of Amanus, where he plunged into a dense forest along with sundry friends and followers, few all told, and waited for the night. He wished, if possible, to take the road to Caunus and make his way through to the sea, where he expected to find his fleet. But when he learned that the party had not provisions enough even for the coming day, he tried to think of other plans. At this point, however, Sosigenes came up, a companion of his, with four hundred pieces of gold in his belt; so hoping that with this money they could make their way through to the sea, the party set out towards the passes, in the darkness of night. In the passes, however, the enemy were burning fires, so the fugitives despaired of this road and once more returned to their place in the forest—not all of them, for some had run away; nor was the remnant as willing as before. And when one of them ventured to speak out boldly and say that Demetrius ought to

Δημήτριον, ὥρμησε μὲν τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἀνελεῖν ἑαυτόν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι περιστάντες καὶ παραμυθούμενοι συνέπεισαν οὕτω ποιῆσαι. καὶ πέμπει πρὸς Σέλευκον ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν.

Λ. Ἀκούσας δὲ Σέλευκος οὐκ ἔφη τῇ Δημητρίου τύχῃ σώζεσθαι Δημήτριον, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτοῦ, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν αὐτῷ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν διδούσῃ. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς σκηνὴν τε πηγνύναι βασιλικὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ παρασκευάζειν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν καὶ θεραπείαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς. 914

2 ἦν δέ τις Ἀπολλωνίδης παρὰ τῷ Σελεύκῳ, τοῦ Δημητρίου γεγωνὸς συνήθης· τοῦτον εὐθύς ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπως ἡδίων γένηται καὶ θαρρῶν ὥς πρὸς οἰκεῖον ἄνδρα καὶ κηδεστὴν ἀπαντᾶν. Φανεράς δὲ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ γενομένης ὀλίγοι τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα οἱ πλείστοι τῶν φίλων ἐξεπήδων παρὰ τὸν Δημήτριον, ἀμυλλώμενοι καὶ φθάνοντες ἀλλήλους· ἡλπίζετο γὰρ εὐθύς παρὰ τῷ Σελεύκῳ μέγιστος ἔσεσθαι.

3 Τοῦτο δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν εἰς φθόνον μετέβαλε τὸν ἔλεον, τοῖς δὲ κακοήθεσι καὶ βασκάνοις παρέσχευ ἀποτρέψαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκφοβήσασιν αὐτόν, ὥς οὐκ εἰς ἀναβολάς, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ὀφθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα, μεγάλων ἐσομένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νεωτερισ-
4 μῶν. ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἀφιγμένου περιχαροῦς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

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surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword and would have killed himself; but his friends encompassed him, and with encouraging words persuaded him to do as the man had said. So he sent to Seleucus and put himself at his disposal.

L. When Seleucus heard of it, he declared that it was not the good fortune of Demetrius that brought him safety, but his own, which, in addition to her other blessings, gave him an opportunity to show generosity and kindness. Then he called his overseers and bade them pitch a royal tent, and to make all other arrangements and preparations for a magnificent reception and entertainment. There was also with Seleucus a certain Apollonides, who had been an intimate friend of Demetrius; this man was at once sent to him by Seleucus, to give him cheerfulness and confidence by reminders that he was coming into the presence of a man who was a friend and relative. When this purpose of Seleucus became evident, first a few of his friends, then the greater part of them, went off hot foot to Demetrius, vying with one another in their efforts to reach him first; for it was expected that he would at once be a very great personage at the court of Seleucus.

But this behaviour of his friends turned the king's pity into jealousy, and gave malicious and mischievous persons an opportunity to thwart and put an end to his generosity. They frightened him by their insinuations that without any delay, but at the first sight of Demetrius, there would be a great revolution in the camp. And so it came to pass that at the very time when Apollonides had come to Demetrius with a joyful countenance, and while the other courtiers

ἐπερχομένων καὶ λόγους θαυμαστοὺς ἀπαγγελλόντων περὶ τοῦ Σελεύκου, καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου μετὰ τηλικαύτην δυστυχίαν καὶ κακοπραγίαν, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἐδόκει τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ σώματος αἰσχρὰν πεποιῆσθαι, τότε μετεγνωκότος διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ πιστεύειν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἦλθε Πανσανίας ἔχων στρατιώτας ὁμοῦ πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεῖς
 5 περὶ χιλίους. καὶ τούτοις περισχὼν τὸν Δημήτριον ἄφνω, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀποστήσας, Σελεύκῳ μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς ὄψιν οὐ κατέστησεν, εἰς δὲ Χερρόνησον τὴν Συριακὴν ἀπήγαγεν, ὅπου τὸ λοιπὸν ἰσχυρὰς φυλακῆς ἐπισταθείσης θεραπεία μὲν ἤκεν ἱκανὴ παρὰ Σελεύκου καὶ χρήματα καὶ δῖαιτα παρεσκευάζετο καθ' ἡμέραν οὐ μεμπτή, δρόμοι δὲ καὶ περίπατοι βασιλικοὶ καὶ παράδεισοι θήρας
 6 ἔχοντες ἀπεδείχθησαν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν συμφυγόντων τῷ βουλομένῳ συνεῖναι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν¹ τινες ὁμῶς ἐπιφοιτῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου ἦκον κομίζοντες ἐπικεικῆς λόγους καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλοῦντες, ὥς, ὅταν πρῶτον Ἀντίοχος ἀφίκεται σὺν Στρατονίκη, διεθυσόμενον.

LI. Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τύχῃ γεγονῶς ἐπέστειλε τοῖς περὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Κόρινθον ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις² μήτε γράμμασιν αὐτοῦ μήτε σφραγίδι πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τεθνηκότος Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰς πόλεις καὶ
 2 τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα διαφυλάττειν. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σύλληψιν πυθόμενος καὶ βαρέ-

¹ παρ' αὐτὸν Coraës and Bekker, with the MSS.; Sintenis corrects to παρ' αὐτοῦ and deletes ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου.

² τοῖς . . . φίλοις Sintenis, with the best MSS. and Stephanus; Coraës and Bekker retain πρὸς . . . φίλους.

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were coming up and telling him wonderful tales about Seleucus and his generosity, and when Demetrius, after all his disasters and misfortunes, even if he had once thought his surrender a disgraceful act, had now changed his mind as a result of his courage and hopefulness, up came Pausanias at the head of a thousand soldiers, foot and horse together. With these he surrounded Demetrius on a sudden, and after sending off everybody else, conducted him, not into the presence of Seleucus, but away to the Syrian Chersonese. Here, for the rest of his life, a strong guard was set over him, a sufficient number of attendants came to him from Seleucus, while money and maintenance was provided for him day by day which was not to be despised, nay, royal courses for riding and walking, and parks with wild game in them, were set apart for his use; any friend also who shared his exile and wished to visit him could do so, and notwithstanding his captivity sundry people kept coming to him from Seleucus bringing kindly messages and exhorting him to be of good cheer, since as soon as Antiochus came with Stratonice, he was to be set at liberty.

LI. Demetrius, however, finding himself in this plight, sent word to his son and the friends and commanders who were at Athens and Corinth, bidding them put no trust in letters or seal purporting to be his, but to treat him as dead, and to preserve for Antigonus his cities and the rest of his power. When Antigonus learned of his father's capture, he

ως ἐνεγκὼν καὶ πενθίμην ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθήτα πρὸς
τε τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς ἔγραψε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
Σέλευκον, δεόμενος, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι λοιπὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς
παραδιδούς, καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ὁμηρεῦειν ἔτοιμος ὢν
αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός. καὶ συνεδέοντο ταῦτα
πόλεις τε πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάσται πλην Λυσιμάχου.

- 3 Λυσιμάχος δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ πέμπων ὑπισ-
χνεῖτο Σελεύκῳ κτείναντι Δημήτριον. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ-
νον μὲν καὶ ἄλλως προβαλλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἐπὶ τούτῳ μιὰρὸν ἡγεῖτο καὶ βάρβαρον, Ἀντιόχῳ
δὲ τῷ παιδί καὶ Στρατονίκη φυλάττων Δημή-
τριον, ὡς ἐκείνων ἡ χάρις γένοιτο, παρήγγε τὸν
χρόνον.

- LII. Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος, ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν τύχην
προσπεσοῦσαν ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ῥᾶον ἤδη φέρειν εἰθί-
ζετο τὰ παρόντα, πρῶτον μὲν ἁμῶς γέ πως ἐκίνει
τὸ σῶμα, θήρας, ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν, καὶ δρόμων ἀπτό-
μενος, ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν ὄκνου πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ
νωθείας ἐπίμπλατο, καὶ φέρων ἑαυτὸν εἰς πότους
καὶ κύβους κατέβαλε καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὸν πλεῖ-
2 στον ἐν τούτοις διῆγεν, εἴτε τοὺς ἐν τῷ νήφειν
ἀναλογισμοὺς τῶν παρόντων ἀποδιδράσκων καὶ
παρακαλυπτόμενος τῇ μέθῃ τὴν διάνοιαν, εἴτε
συγγνοὺς ἑαυτῷ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν βίον, ὃν ἔκπαλαι
ποθῶν καὶ διώκων ἄλλως ὑπ' ἀνοίας καὶ κενῆς
δόξης ἐπλάζετο καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἑαυτῷ, πολλὰ
δὲ ἑτέροις πράγματα παρείχεν, ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ
στόλοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν ζητῶν, 915
ὃ νῦν ἐν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ καὶ σχολῇ καὶ ἀνα-

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was deeply distressed, put on mourning apparel, and wrote to the other kings and especially to Seleucus himself, supplicating him, and offering to surrender to him whatever was left of his own and his father's possessions, and above everything else volunteering to be a hostage himself for his father. Many cities also and many rulers joined in these supplications. But Lysimachus did not; he sent to Seleucus the promise of a large sum of money if he killed Demetrius. But Seleucus, who had always had a feeling of aversion for Lysimachus, all the more for this proposal thought him abominable and barbarous, and continued to keep Demetrius under watch and ward for Antiochus his son and Stratonice, that the favour of his release might come from them.

LII. But Demetrius, who in the beginning bore up under the misfortune that had come upon him, and presently grew accustomed to it and endured his situation with a better grace, at first, in one way or another, exercised his body, resorting to hunting, so far as he could, or riding; then, little by little, he came to have the greatest indifference and aversion to these sports, took eagerly to drinking and dice, and spent most of his time at these. This was either because he sought escape from the thoughts on his present condition which tormented him when he was sober, and tried to smother his reflections in drunkenness; or because he had convinced himself that this was the real life, which he had long desired and striven to attain, but had foolishly missed it through folly and empty ambition, thereby bringing many troubles upon himself, and many upon others; he had sought in arms and fleets and armies to find the highest good, but now, to his surprise, had discovered

3 παύσει μὴ προσδοκήσας ἀνεύρηκε. τί γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων πέρας ἐστὶ τοῖς φαύλοις βασιλεῦσι, κακῶς καὶ ἀνοήτως διακειμένοις, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τρυφὴν καὶ ἡδονὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ διώκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴδὲ ἡδεσθαι μὴδὲ τρυφᾶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἴσασιν;

Ὁ δ' οὖν Δημήτριος ἔτος τρίτον ἐν τῇ Χερρονήσῳ καθειργμένος ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ πλησμονῆς καὶ οἴνου νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν, ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ 4 πεντήκοντα βεβιωκώς. καὶ Σέλευκος ἤκουσέ τε κακῶς καὶ μετενόησεν οὐ μετρίως ἐν ὑποψία τὸν Δημήτριον θέμενος τότε, καὶ μὴδὲ Δρομιχαίτην, ἄνδρα βάρβαρον Θρᾷκα, μιμησάμενος οὕτω φιλανθρώπως καὶ βασιλικῶς ἀλόντι Λυσιμάχῳ χρυσάμενον.

LIII. Ἔσχε μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ τραγικὴν τινα καὶ θεατρικὴν διάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἀντίγονος, ὡς ἦσθετο τὰ λείψανα κομιζόμενα, πάσαις ἀναχθεῖς ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπὶ νήσων ἀπήντησε· καὶ δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ναυαρχίδων ἔθετο τὴν ὑδρίαν χρυσή- 2 λατον οὖσαν. αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἰς προσεείχον, τοῦτο μὲν στεφάνους ἐπέφερον τῇ ὑδρίᾳ, τοῦτο δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν σχήματι πενθίμῳ συνθάψοντας καὶ συμπαραπέμψοντας ἀπέστελλον. εἰς δὲ Κόρινθον τοῦ στόλου καταπλέοντος ἢ τε κάλπις ἐκ πρύμνης περιφανῆς ἐωρᾶτο πορφύρα βασιλικὴ καὶ διαδήματι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ παρειστήκεισαν ἐν ὅπλοις νεανίσκοι δορυφοροῦντες. ὁ δὲ τῶν τότε αὐλητῶν ἐλλογιμώτατος Ξενοφάντος ἐγγυὺς καθε-

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it in idleness and leisure and repose. For what other end than this can worthless kings seek to attain by their wars and perils? Wicked and foolish indeed are they, not only because they seek after luxury and pleasure instead of virtue and honour, but also because they do not even know how to enjoy real pleasure or true luxury.

So, then, Demetrius, after an imprisonment of three years¹ in the Syrian Chersonese, through inactivity and surfeit of food and wine, fell sick and died, in the fifty-fifth year of his life. Seleucus was in ill repute for this, and repented him bitterly for having cherished such suspicions against Demetrius, and for allowing himself to be outdone even by Dromichaetes, a barbarous Thracian, who had given Lysimachus,² his captive, a treatment so humane and royal.

LIII. Moreover, there was something dramatic and theatrical even in the funeral ceremonies of Demetrius. For his son Antigonus, when he learned that his remains had been sent home, put to sea with his entire fleet and met them off the islands. They were given to him in a golden urn, and he placed them in the largest of his admiral's ships. Of the cities where the fleet touched in its passage, some brought garlands to adorn the urn, others sent men in funeral attire to assist in escorting it home and burying it. When the fleet put in at Corinth, the cinerary vase was conspicuous on the vessel's poop, adorned with royal purple and a king's diadem, and young men stood about it in arms as a body-guard. Moreover, the most celebrated flute-player then living, Xenophantus, sat near, and with the

¹ From 386 to 383 B.C.

² Cf. chapter xxxix. 3.

3 ζόμενος προσηύλει τῶν μελῶν τὸ ἱερώτατον· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀναφερομένης μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ τινος, ἀπήντα ψόφος, ὥσπερ ἐν κοπετῷ, ταῖς τῶν αὐλημάτων περιόδοις· τὸν δὲ πλείστον οἶκτον καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντίγονος τοῖς ἡθροισμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὀφθεῖς ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος παρέσχεν. ἐπενεχθεῖσῶν δὲ τιμῶν καὶ στεφάνων περὶ Κόρινθον εἰς Δημητριάδα κομίσας ἔθηκε τὰ λείψανα, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἐκείνου, συνοικισθεῖσαν ἐκ μικρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰωλκὸν πολιχνίων.

4 Ἀπέλιπε δὲ γενεὰν ὁ Δημήτριος Ἀντίγονον μὲν ἐκ Φίλας καὶ Στρατονίκην, δύο δὲ Δημητρίους, τὸν μὲν Λεπτόν, ἐξ Ἰλλυρίδος γυναικός, τὸν δὲ ἄρξαντα Κυρήνης ἐκ Πτολεμαῖδος, ἐκ δὲ Δηϊδαμείας Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατεβίωσε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κόρραγον υἱὸν ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. κατέβη δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ βασιλεῦον εἰς Περσέα τελευταῖον, ἐφ' οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι Μακεδονίαν ὑπηγάγοντο.

Διηγωνισμένου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ δράματος ὥρα τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐπεισαγαγεῖν.

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most solemn melody upon his flute accompanied the rowers ; to this melody the oars kept perfect time, and their splashing, like funereal beatings of the breast, answered to the cadences of the flute-tones. But the most pity and lamentation among those who had come in throngs to the sea-shore was awakened by the sight of Antigonus himself, who was bowed down and in tears. After garlands and other honours had been bestowed upon the remains at Corinth, they were brought by Antigonus to Demetrias for burial, a city named after his father, who had settled it from the small villages about Iolcus.¹

The children left by Demetrius were these : Antigonus and Stratonice, by Phila ; two named Demetrius, one who was surnamed the Thin, by a woman of Illyria, and one who ruled Cyrené, by Ptolemaïs ; and, by Deïdameia, Alexander, who lived and died in Egypt. It is said also that he had a son named Corrhagus, by Eurydicé. His line came down in a succession of kings to Perseus, the last, in whose reign the Romans subdued Macedonia.

And now that the Macedonian play has been performed, let us introduce the Roman.

¹ Cf. chapter xxv. 2.

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ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ

I. Ἀντωνίου πάππος μὲν ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ Ἀντώνιος, ὃν τῆς Σύλλα γενόμενον στάσεως Μάριος ἀπέκτεινε, πατὴρ δὲ ὁ Κρητικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς Ἀντώνιος, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν εὐδόκιμος ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ λαμπρός, εὐγνώμων δὲ καὶ χρηστός, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταδόσεις ἐλευθέριος, ὥς ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἂν τις ἔργου καταμάθοι.

- 2 κεκτημένος γὰρ οὐ πολλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ 916
φιλανθρωπία χρῆσθαι κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ἐπεὶ τις ἀφίκετο τῶν συνήθων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀργυρίου δεόμενος, ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, παιδαρίῳ δὲ προσέταξεν εἰς ἀργυροῦν σκύφον ὕδωρ ἐμβαλόντι κομίσαι· καὶ κομίσαντος, ὥς ξύρεσθαι
- 3 μέλλων κατέβρεχε τὰ γένηα. τοῦ δὲ παιδαρίου καθ' ἑτέραν πρόφασιν ἐκποδὼν γενομένου, τὸν μὲν σκύφον ἔδωκε τῷ φίλῳ χρῆσθαι κελεύσας, ζητήσεως δὲ πολλῆς ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις οὔσης ὁρῶν χαλεπαίνουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ βουλομένην καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξετάζειν ὡμολόγησε, συγγνώμην ἔχειν δεηθείς.

II. Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ Ἰουλία τοῦ Καισάρων οἴκου, ταῖς ἀρίσταις τότε καὶ σωφρονεστάταις ἐνάμιλλος. ὑπὸ ταύτης ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντώνιος ἐτράφη μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Κορνηλίῳ Λέντλῳ

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I. ANTONY's grandfather was the orator Antonius, who joined the party of Sulla and was put to death by Marius;¹ his father was Antonius surnamed Creticus, a man of no great repute in public life, nor illustrious, but kindly and honest, and particularly a liberal giver, as one may see from a single instance. He had not much property himself, and therefore was prevented by his wife from indulging his kindly feelings. When, accordingly, one of his intimates came to him with a request for money, money he had not, but he ordered a young slave to put water into a silver bowl and bring it to him, and when it was brought, he moistened his chin, as though about to shave. The slave was then sent away on another errand improvised for the occasion, whereupon Antonius gave the bowl to his friend and bade him dispose of it. Later, when a careful search was made for it among the slaves, seeing that his wife was angry and proposed to put them to the torture one by one, Antonius confessed what he had done, and by his entreaties gained her pardon.

II. His wife was Julia, of the house of the Caesars, and she could vie with the noblest and most discreet women of her time. By this mother her son Antony was reared, after the death of whose father she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero

¹ Cf. the *Marius*, xliv. 1-4.

- γαμηθείσης, ὃν Κικέρων ἀπέκτεινε τῶν Κατιλίνα
 συνωμοτῶν γενόμενον. αὕτη δοκεῖ τῆς σφοδρᾶς
 2 καὶ ἀρχῇ γενέσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν Ἀντώνιος οὐδὲ
 τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθῆναι τοῦ Λέντλου
 πρότερον ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Κικέρωνος τὴν
 μητέρα δεσθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁμολογουμένως
 ψεῦδός ἐστιν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἶρχθη ταφῆς τῶν τότε
 3 κολασθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος· Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ
 λαμπρῷ καθ' ὥραν γενομένῳ τὴν Κουρίωνος
 φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ὥσπερ τινὰ κῆρα προσπε-
 σεῖν λέγουσιν, αὐτοῦ τε περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπαιδεύ-
 του γενομένου, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὡς μᾶλλον εἶη
 χειροθήης, εἰς πότους καὶ γύναια καὶ δαπάνας
 πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἀκολάστους ἐμβάλλοντος. ἐξ ὧν
 4 πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων. τοῦτο πᾶν
 ἐγγυησαμένου τοῦ Κουρίωνος ὁ πατὴρ αἰσθόμενος
 ἐξήλασε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δὲ
 βραχὺν μὲν τινα χρόνον τῇ Κλωδίου τοῦ θρασυ-
 τάτου καὶ βδελυρωτάτου τῶν τότε δημαγωγῶν
 φορᾷ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ταραττούσῃ προσέ-
 μιξεν ἑαυτόν· ταχὺ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας μεστὸς
 γεόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τοὺς συνισταμένους ἐπὶ
 τὸν Κλώδιον, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διέτριβε τό τε σῶμα γυμνάζων πρὸς
 τοὺς στρατιωτικούς ἀγῶνας καὶ λέγειν μελετῶν.
 5 ἐχρήτο δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ μὲν Ἀσιανῷ ζήλῳ τῶν
 λόγων, ἀνθούντι μάλιστα κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον,
 ἔχοντι δὲ πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ,
 κομπῶδη καὶ φρυαγματίαν ὄντα καὶ κενοῦ γαν-
 ριάματος καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνωμάλου μεστόν.

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put to death for joining the conspiracy of Catiline.¹ This would seem to have been the origin and ground of the violent hatred which Antony felt towards Cicero. At any rate, Antony says that not even the dead body of Lentulus was given up to them until his mother had begged it from the wife of Cicero. This, however, is admittedly false; for no one of those who were punished at that time by Cicero was deprived of burial. Antony gave brilliant promise in his youth, they say, until his intimate friendship with Curio fell upon him like a pest. For Curio himself was unrestrained in his pleasures, and in order to make Antony more manageable, engaged him in drinking bouts, and with women, and in immoderate and extravagant expenditures. This involved Antony in a heavy debt and one that was excessive for his years—a debt of two hundred and fifty talents.² For this whole sum Curio went surety, but his father heard of it and banished Antony from his house. Then Antony allied himself for a short time with Clodius, the most audacious and low-lived demagogue of his time, in the violent courses which were convulsing the state; but he soon became sated with that miscreant's madness, and fearing the party which was forming against him, left Italy for Greece, where he spent some time in military exercises and the study of oratory. He adopted what was called the Asiatic style of oratory, which was at the height of its popularity in those days and bore a strong resemblance to his own life, which was swashbuckling and boastful, full of empty exultation and distorted ambition.

¹ Cf. the *Cicero*, xxii.

² An equivalent, roughly, of £60,000, or \$300,000, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Γαβίνιος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς εἰς Συρίαν πλέων ἀνέπειθεν αὐτὸν ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ιδιώτης μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη συνεξελθεῖν, ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἄρχων συνεστράτευε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ' Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίους ἀφιστάντα πεμφθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπέβη τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἐρυμάτων πρῶτος, ἐκείνους δὲ πάντων ἐξήλασεν· εἶτα μάχην συνάψας καὶ τρεψάμενος ὀλίγοις τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκείνου πολλαπλασίους ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀριστόβουλος ἦλω.

- 2 Μετὰ ταῦτα Γαβίνιον ἐπὶ μυρίοις ταλάντοις Πτολεμαίου πείθοντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἅμα συνεμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν, οἱ μὲν πλείστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἠγαντιοῦντο, καὶ Γαβίνιον δὲ ὄκνος τις εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου, καίπερ ἐξηνδραποδισμένον κομιδῇ τοῖς μυρίοις ταλάντοις, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ἐφιέμενος καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ χαριζόμενος δεομένῳ συνέπεισε μὲν καὶ συνεξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν τὸν
- 3 Γαβίνιον, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁδόν, ἅτε δὴ διὰ ψάμμου βαθείας καὶ ἀνύδρου παρὰ τὸ Ἑκρηγμα καὶ τὰ 917 τῆς Σερβωνίδος ἔλη γινομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πορείας, ἃς Τυφῶνος μὲν ἐκπνοᾶς Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι, τῆς δ' ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὑπονόστησις εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ διήθησις, ἣ βραχυτάτῳ διορίζεται πρὸς τὴν
- 4 ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἰσθμῷ, πεμφθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἱπ-

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III. When Gabinius, a man of consular dignity, was sailing for Syria, he tried to persuade Antony to join the expedition. Antony refused to go out with him in a private capacity, but on being appointed commander of the horse, accompanied him on the campaign.¹ And first, having been sent against Aristobulus, who was bringing the Jews to a revolt,² he was himself the first man to mount the highest of the fortifications, and drove Aristobulus from all of them; then he joined battle with him, routed his many times more numerous forces with his own small band, and slew all but a few of them. Aristobulus himself was captured, together with his son.

After this, Ptolemy tried to persuade Gabinius by a bribe of ten thousand talents to join him in an invasion of Egypt and recover the kingdom for him.³ But the greater part of the officers were opposed to the plan, and Gabinius himself felt a certain dread of the war, although he was completely captivated by the ten thousand talents. Antony, however, who was ambitious of great exploits and eager to gratify the request of Ptolemy, joined the king in persuading and inciting Gabinius to the expedition. But more than the war the march to Pelusium was feared, since their route lay through deep sand, where there was no water, as far as the Ecregma and the Serbonian marshes. These the Egyptians call the blasts of Typhon,⁴ although they appear to be a residual arm of the Red Sea, helped by infiltration, where the isthmus between them and the Mediterranean is at its narrowest. Antony was therefore

¹ In 58 B.C. ² Cf. the *Pompey*, xxxix. 2.

³ Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxxv.; the *Pompey*, xlix. 5 ff.

⁴ The evil deity of the Egyptians, buried under the Serbonian marshes (Herodotus, iii. 5).

πέων ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐ μόνον τὰ στενὰ κατέσχευε, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πηλοῦσιον ἐλών, πόλιν μεγάλην, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρῶν κρατήσας, ἅμα καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐποίησε τῷ στρατηγῷ βέβαιον. ἀπέλαυσαν δὲ τῆς φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι. Πτολεμαίου γὰρ ἅμα τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ Πηλοῦσιον ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ μίσους ὥρμημένου φονεύειν 5 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῖς ἀγῶσι μεγάλοις καὶ συχνοῖς γενομέναις πολλὰ καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ προνοίας ἡγεμονικῆς ἀποδειξάμενος, ἐμφανέστατα δὲ τῷ κυκλώσασθαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν κατόπιν τοὺς πολέμους τὴν νίκην τοῖς κατὰ στόμα παρασχών, ἀριστεία καὶ τιμὰς ἔλαβε πρεπούσας. οὐ διέλαθε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐδὲ ἡ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον 6 αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότα φιλανθρωπία· γεγονὼς γὰρ αὐτῷ συνήθης καὶ ξένος ἐπολέμει μὲν ἀναγκαίως ζῶντι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πεσόντος ἐξευρὼν καὶ κοσμήσας βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἀλεξανδρεῦσί τε πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ λόγον κατέλιπε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀνὴρ ἔδοξε λαμπρότατος εἶναι.

IV. Προσὴν δὲ καὶ μορφῆς ἐλευθέριον ἀξίωμα, καὶ πῶγων τις οὐκ ἀγεννῆς καὶ πλάτος μετώπου καὶ γρυπότης μυκτῆρος ἐδόκει τοῖς γραφομένοις καὶ πλαττομένοις Ἡρακλέους προσώποις ἐμφερὲς ἔχειν τὸ ἀρρενωπόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λόγος παλαιὸς

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sent with the cavalry, and he not only occupied the narrow pass, but actually took Pelusium, a large city, and got its garrison into his power, thus rendering its march safer for the main army and giving its general assured hope of victory. And even the enemy reaped advantage from Antony's love of distinction. For Ptolemy, as soon as he entered Pelusium, was led by wrath and hatred to institute a massacre of the Egyptians; but Antony intervened and prevented him. Moreover, in the ensuing battles and contests, which were many and great, he displayed many deeds of daring and sagacious leadership, the most conspicuous of which was his rendering the van of the army victorious by outflanking the enemy and enveloping them from the rear. For all this he received rewards of valour and fitting honours. Nor did the multitude fail to observe his humane treatment of the dead Archelaüs,¹ for after waging war upon him of necessity while he was living, although he had been a comrade and friend, when he had fallen, Antony found his body and gave it royal adornment and burial. Thus he left among the people of Alexandria a very high reputation, and was thought by the Romans on the expedition to be a most illustrious man.

IV. He had also a noble dignity of form; and a shapely beard, a broad forehead, and an aquiline nose were thought to show the virile qualities peculiar to the portraits and statues of Heracles. Moreover, there was an ancient tradition that the

¹ The pretended son of Mithridates, who had married Berenicé, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, and queen of Egypt after the expulsion of her father. His death occurred in 55 B.C.

- Ἡρακλείδας εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντωνίους, ἀπ' Ἀντωνος,
 2 παιδὸς Ἡρακλέους, γεγονότας. καὶ τοῦτον ᾤετο
 τὸν λόγον τῇ τε μορφῇ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ
 εἴρηται, καὶ τῇ στολῇ βεβαιοῦν. ἀεὶ γάρ, ὅτε
 μέλλοι πλείοσιν ὁρᾶσθαι, χιτῶνα εἰς μηρὸν
 ἔξωστο, καὶ μάχαιρα μεγάλη παρήρτητο, καὶ
 σάγος περιέκειτο τῶν στερεῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις φορτικὰ δοκοῦντα, μεγαλαυχία
 καὶ σκῶμμά καὶ κώθων ἐμφανῆς καὶ καθίσαι
 παρὰ τὸν ἐσθίουντα καὶ φαγεῖν ἐπιστάντα τρα-
 πέξῃ στρατιωτικῇ, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον εὐνοίας καὶ
 3 πόθου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεποίει τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἦν
 δέ πῃ καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς ἐδημαγώγει, συμπράττων τε
 τοῖς ἐρῶσι καὶ σκωπτόμενος οὐκ ἀηδῶς εἰς τοὺς
 ἰδίους ἔρωτας.

- Ἡ δ' ἐλευθεριότης καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ὀλίγῃ χειρὶ
 μηδὲ φειδομένη χαρίζεσθαι στρατιώταις καὶ
 φίλοις ἀρχὴν τε λαμπρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ ἰσχύειν αὐτῷ
 παρέσχε, καὶ μεγάλου γενομένου τὴν δύναμιν
 ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπῆρεν, ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμαρτη-
 μάτων ἀνατρεπομένην. ἐν δέ τι τοῦ μεγαλοδώρου
 4 παράδειγμα διηγῆσομαι. τῶν φίλων τινὶ μυριά-
 δας ἐκέλευσε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δοθῆναι· τοῦτο
 Ῥωμαῖοι δεκίης καλοῦσι. τοῦ δ' ἐπιτρόπου θαυ-
 μάσαντος καὶ ἵνα δείξῃ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ κατα-
 βαλόντος ἐν μέσῳ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἠρώτησε παριῶν
 ὅ τι δὴ τοῦτο εἶη. τοῦ δ' ἐπιτρόπου φήσαντος ὡς

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Antonii were Heracleidae, being descendants of Anton, a son of Heracles. And this tradition Antony thought that he confirmed, both by the shape of his body, as has been said, and by his attire. For whenever he was going to be seen by many people, he always wore his tunic girt up to his thigh, a large sword hung at his side, and a heavy cloak enveloped him. However, even what others thought offensive, namely, his jesting and boastfulness, his drinking-horn in evidence, his sitting by a comrade who was eating, or his standing to eat at a soldier's table,—it is astonishing how much goodwill and affection for him all this produced in his soldiers. And somehow even his conduct in the field of love was not without its charm, nay, it actually won for him the favour of many; for he assisted them in their love affairs, and submitted pleasantly to their jests upon his own amours.

Further, his liberality, and his bestowal of favours upon friends and soldiers with no scant or sparing hand, laid a splendid foundation for his growing strength, and when he had become great, lifted his power to yet greater heights, although it was hindered by countless faults besides. One illustration of his lavish giving I will relate. To one of his friends he ordered that two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas should be given (a sum which the Romans call "decies"¹). His steward was amazed, and in order to show Antony the magnitude of the sum, deposited the money in full view. Antony, passing by, asked what that was; and when

¹ That is *ten times* 100,000 sesterces, or 250,000 denarii. For the Roman denarius Plutarch regularly uses the nearly equivalent Greek drachma (which had about the value of the French franc).

ὁ κελεύσειε δοθῆναι, συμβαλὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν κακοθή-
θειαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, “Ἐγὼ πλείον ὄμην,” ἔφη,
“τὸ δεκίης εἶναι τοῦτο δὲ μικρόν ἐστιν ὥστε
ἄλλο πρόσθες αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον.”

- V. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Ῥω-
μαίων πράγματα διέστη, τῶν μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῶν
Πομπηΐω παρόντι προσθεμένων, τῶν δὲ δημοτι-
κῶν Καίσαρα καλούντων ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐν τοῖς
ὄπλοις ὄντα, Κουρίων ὁ Ἀντωνίου φίλος ἐκ μετα-
βολῆς θεραπεύων τὰ Καίσαρος Ἀντώνιον προση-
γάγετο, καὶ μεγάλην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς
πολλοῖς ἔχων ἰσχύν, χρώμενος δὲ καὶ δαπάναις
ἀφειδῶς ἀφ’ ὧν Καῖσαρ ἐχορήγει, δήμαρχον ἀπέ-
δειξε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, εἴτα τῶν ἐπ’ οἰωνοῖς ἱερέων,
2 οὓς Αὔγουρας καλοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ εὐθύς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν 918
παρελθὼν οὐ μικρόν ἦν ὄφελος τοῖς πολιτευο-
μένοις ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν Μαρ-
κέλλου τοῦ ὑπάτου Πομπηΐω τούς τε συνειλεγ-
μένους ἤδη στρατιώτας παρεγγυῶντος καὶ κατα-
λέγειν ἐτέρους διδόντος ἐμποδὼν ἔσται, διάταγμα
γράψας ὅπως ἡ μὲν ἡθροισμένη δύναμις εἰς
Συρίαν πλὴν καὶ Βύβλω βοηθῇ πολεμοῦντι Πάρ-
θοις, οὓς δὲ Πομπηΐος καταλέγει, μὴ προσέχωσιν
3 αὐτῷ· δεύτερον δὲ τὰς Καίσαρος ἐπιστολὰς οὐ
προσιεμένων οὐδὲ ἐόντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τῶν
συγκλητικῶν, αὐτὸς ἰσχύων διὰ τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνέγνω,
καὶ πολλοὺς μετέστησε τῇ γνώμῃ, δίκαια καὶ
μέτρια Καίσαρος ἀξιούν ἀφ’ ὧν ἔγραψε δόξαντος.
4 τέλος δὲ δυεῖν ἐρωτήσεων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων,

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his steward told him it was the gift which he had ordered, he divined the man's malice and said: "I thought the decies was more; this is a trifle; therefore add as much more to it."

V. This, however, was at a later time. But when matters at Rome came to a crisis, the aristocratic party attaching itself to Pompey, who was in the city, and the popular party summoning Caesar from Gaul, where he was in arms, then Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides and was now favouring the cause of Caesar, brought Antony over to it. Curio had great influence with the multitude from his eloquence, and made lavish use of money supplied by Caesar, and so got Antony elected tribune of the people,¹ and afterwards one of the priests, called augurs, who observe the flight of birds. As soon as Antony entered upon his office he was of great assistance to those who were managing affairs in the interests of Caesar. In the first place, when Marcellus the consul proposed to put under Pompey's control the soldiers already collected, and to give him power to levy others, Antony opposed him by introducing a decree that the forces already assembled should sail for Syria and give aid to Bibulus, who was carrying on war with the Parthians, and that the troops which Pompey was then levying should not belong to him. In the second place, when the senate would not receive Caesar's letters nor allow them to be read, Antony, whose office gave him power, read them himself, and thereby changed the opinion of many, who judged from Caesar's letters that he was making only reasonable and just demands. And finally, when two questions were

¹ In 50 B.C.

τῆς μὲν εἰ δοκεῖ Πομπήϊον ἀφεῖναι τὰ στρατεύματα, τῆς δὲ εἰ Καίσαρα, καὶ Πομπήϊον μὲν ὀλίγων τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι, Καίσαρα δὲ πάντων παρ' ὀλίγους κελεύοντων, ἀναστὰς Ἀντώνιος ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ καὶ Πομπήϊον ὁμοῦ καὶ Καίσαρα τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀφεῖναι. ταύτην ἐδέξαντο λαμπρῶς τὴν γνώμην ἅπαντες, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡξίου ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι. μὴ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, αὐθις ἐτέρας οἱ Καίσαρος φίλοι προὔτειναν ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι δοκούσας ἀξιώσεις, αἷς ὃ τε Κάτων ἀντέπιπτε καὶ Λέντλος ὑπατεύων ἐξέβαλε τῆς βουλῆς τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξιὼν ἐπηράσατο, λαβὼν δὲ θεράποντος ἐσθῆτα καὶ μισθωσάμενος μετὰ Κασσίου Κοῖντου ζεύγος, ἐξώρμησε πρὸς Καίσαρα· καὶ κατεβόων εὐθύς ὀφθέντες ὥς οὐδένα κόσμον ἔτι τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πραγμάτων ἐχόντων, ὅτε μὴδὲ δημάρχους παρρησίας μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἐλαύνεται καὶ κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ φθεγξάμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων.

VI. Ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐνέβαλε. διὸ καὶ Κικέρων ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς ἔγραψε τοῦ μὲν Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου τὴν Ἑλένην, τοῦ δ' ἐμφυλίου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀρχὴν
2 γενέσθαι, περιφανῶς ψευδόμενος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐχερῆς ἦν οὐδὲ ῥάδιος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκπεσεῖν τῶν λογισμῶν Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὥστε, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα πάλαι ἔγνωστο πράττειν, οὕτως ἂν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τὸν κατὰ

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before the senate, one, whether Pompey should dismiss his forces, and the other, whether Caesar should do so, and only a few were for having Pompey lay down his arms, and all but a few were for having Caesar do so, then Antony rose and asked whether it was the opinion of the senate that Pompey and Caesar alike should lay down their arms and dismiss their forces. This proposal all accepted with alacrity, and with shouts of praise for Antony they demanded that the question be put to vote. But the consuls would not consent to this, and again the friends of Caesar put forward fresh demands which were thought to be reasonable. These Cato opposed, and Lentulus, in his capacity of consul, drove Antony from the senate. Antony went forth heaping many imprecations upon them, and putting on the dress of a slave, and hiring a car in company with Quintus Cassius, he set out to join Caesar. As soon as they came into Caesar's presence they cried loudly that everything was now at loose ends in Rome, since even tribunes of the people had no freedom of speech, but everyone who raised his voice in behalf of justice was persecuted and ran risk of his life.¹

VI. Upon this, Caesar took his army and invaded Italy. Therefore Cicero, in his "Philippics," wrote that as Helen was the cause of the Trojan war, so Antony was the cause of the civil war.² But this is manifestly false. For Caius Caesar was not a pliable man, nor easily led by anger to act on impulse. Therefore, had he not long ago determined upon his course, he would not thus, on the spur of the moment,

¹ For the events narrated in this chapter, cf. also the *Pompey*, lviii. f.; the *Caesar*, xxx. f.

² *Phil.* ii. 22, 55: ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exitii fuit.

τῆς πατρίδος ἐξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον, ὅτι φαύλως ἡμφιεσμένον εἶδεν Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κάσσιον ἐπὶ
 3 ζεύγους μισθίου πεφευγότας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
 ταῦτα πάλαι δεομένῳ προφάσεως σχῆμα καὶ
 λόγον εὐπρεπῇ τοῦ πολέμου παρέσχευ. ἦγε δὲ
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἃ καὶ πρότερον
 Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ πάλαι Κῦρον, ἔρως ἀπαρηγόρη-
 τος ἀρχῆς καὶ περιμανῆς ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πρῶτον
 εἶναι καὶ μέγιστον· ὧν τυχεῖν οὐκ ἦν μὴ Πομ-
 πηίου καταλυθέντος.

4 Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπελθὼν ἐκράτησε τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ
 Πομπηίου ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν
 Ἰβηρίᾳ Πομπηίου δυνάμεις ἐπιστρέφειν ἔγνω
 πρότερον, εἴτα οὕτως παρασκευασάμενος στόλον
 ἐπὶ Πομπηίου διαβαίνειν, Λεπίδῳ μὲν στρατη-
 γοῦντι τὴν Ῥώμην, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ δημαρχοῦντι τὰ
 5 στρατεύματα καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. ὁ δὲ
 τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις εὐθὺς προσφιλῆς ἦν συγ-
 γυμναζόμενος καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ
 δωρούμενος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις
 ἐπαχθής. καὶ γὰρ ἀδικουμένων ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας
 ὠλιγῶρει, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἠκροῶτο τῶν ἐντυγ-
 χανόντων καὶ κακῶς ἐπὶ γυναιξίν ἀλλοτρίαις
 6 ἤκουε. καὶ ὅλως τὴν Καίσαρος ἀρχήν, πάντα
 μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννίδα δι' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον φανείσαν,
 οἱ φίλοι διέβαλλον, ὧν Ἀντώνιος ἀπ' ἐξουσίας
 μεγίστης ἀμαρτάνειν μέγιστα δόξας τὴν πλείστην
 αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν.

VII. Οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐπανελθὼν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκ τῆς
 Ἰβηρίας τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα παρείδεν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς
 δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ἐνεργῶ καὶ ἀνδρείῳ καὶ ἡγεμο- 919

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have made war upon his country, just because he saw that Antony, meanly clad, with Cassius, on a hired car, had come in flight to him; nay, this merely afforded a cloak and a specious reason for war to a man who had long wanted a pretext for it. And that which led him to war against all mankind, as it had led Alexander before him, and Cyrus of old, was an insatiable love of power and a mad desire to be first and greatest; this he could not achieve if Pompey were not put down.

And so he came up against Rome and got it into his power, and drove Pompey out of Italy; and determining first to turn his efforts against the forces of Pompey which were in Spain, and afterwards, when he had got ready a fleet, to cross the sea against Pompey himself, he entrusted Rome to Lepidus, who was praetor, and Italy and the troops to Antony, who was tribune of the people. Antony at once gained the favour of the soldiers by sharing their exercises, living with them for the most part, and making them presents as generously as he could; but to everybody else he was odious. For his easy disposition led him to neglect the wronged, he listened angrily to those who consulted him, and he was in ill repute for his relations with other men's wives. In a word, Caesar's power, which proved to be anything rather than a tyranny so far as his own course was concerned, was brought into odium by his friends; and of these Antony, who had the greatest power and was thought to be the greatest transgressor, incurred the most blame.

VII. However, when Caesar came back from Spain, he ignored the charges against Antony, and since in the war he found him energetic, brave, and a

- νικῶ χρώμενος οὐδαμῇ διήμαρτεν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν μετ' ὀλίγων. ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου διαπεράσας τὸν Ἴονιον ἔπεμφεν ὀπίσω τὰ πλοῖα, Γαβινίῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐμβιβάζειν καὶ περαιοῦν
- 2 κατὰ τάχος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιστείλας. Γαβινίου δὲ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν χαλεπὸν ὄντα χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ καταδειλιάσαντος καὶ πεζῇ μακρὰν ὁδὸν περιάγοντος τὸν στρατόν, Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπειλημμένοις πολεμίοις φοβηθεὶς Λίβωνα μὲν ἐφορμοῦντα τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀπεκρούσατο, πολλὰ τῶν λεπτῶν ἀκατίων ταῖς τριήρεσιν αὐτοῦ περιστήσας, ἐμβιβάσας δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἵππεῖς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δισμυρίους
- 3 ὀπλίτας ἀνήχθη. καὶ γενόμενος καταφανῆς τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν ἐκ τούτων κίνδυνον διέφυγε, λαμπροῦ νότου κύμα μέγα καὶ κοίλῃν θάλατταν ταῖς τριήρεσιν αὐτῶν περιστήσαντος, ἐκφερόμενος δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς κρημνοὺς καὶ φάραγγας ἀγχιβαθεῖς οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας εἶχεν.
- 4 ἄφνω δὲ τοῦ κόλπου πολὺν ἐκπνεύσαντος λίβα, καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος διαχεομένου, μεταβαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ πλέων σοβαρῶς ὥρᾳ ναυαγίων περίπλεων τὸν αἰγιαλόν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐξέβαλε τὸ πνεῦμα τὰς διωκούσας αὐτὸν τριήρεις, καὶ διεφθάρησαν οὐκ ὀλίγαι· καὶ σωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἐκράτησεν Ἀντώνιος, καὶ Λίσσον εἶλε, καὶ μέγα Καίσαρι παρέσχε θάρσος ἐν καιρῷ μετὰ τηλικαύτης ἀφικόμενος δυνάμεως.

VIII. Πολλῶν δὲ γινομένων καὶ συνεχῶν ἀγῶνων ἐν πᾶσι μὲν ἦν διαπρεπής, δις δὲ φεύγοντας προτροπάδην τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀπαντήσας ἀνέ-

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capable leader, he made no mistake. Caesar himself, then, after crossing the Ionian sea from Brundisium with a few soldiers,¹ sent back his transports with orders to Gabinius and Antony to embark their forces and come with all speed into Macedonia. But Gabinius was afraid to make the voyage, which was difficult in the winter time, and started to lead his army a long way round by land. Antony, therefore, fearing for Caesar, who was hemmed in among numerous enemies, beat off Libo, who was blockading the harbour of Brundisium, by surrounding his galleys with a great number of small skiffs, and then, embarking eight hundred horsemen and twenty thousand legionaries, put to sea. Being discovered by the enemy and pursued, he escaped the danger from them, since a violent south wind brought a heavy swell and put their galleys in the trough of the sea; but he was carried with his own ships towards a precipitous and craggy shore, and had no hope of escape. Suddenly, however, there blew from the bay a strong south-west wind, and the swell began to run from the land out to sea, so that he was able to reverse his course, and, as he sailed gallantly along, he saw the shore covered with wrecks. For there the wind had cast up the galleys which were in pursuit of him, and many of them had been destroyed. Antony took many prisoners and much booty, captured Lissus, and inspired Caesar with great confidence by arriving in the nick of time with so large a force.

VIII. The struggles which followed were many and continuous, and in all of them Antony distinguished himself. Twice, when Caesar's men were

¹ Early in 48 B.C. Cf. the *Caesar*, xxxvii. 2.

- στρεψε καὶ στήναι καὶ συμβαλεῖν αὐθις τοῖς διώ-
 कुσιν ἀναγκάσας ἐνίκησεν. ἦν οὖν αὐτοῦ μετὰ
 2 Καίσαρα πλείστος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λόγος· ἐδή-
 λωσε δὲ Καίσαρ ἦν ἔχει περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν. ἐπεὶ
 γὰρ ἔμελλε τὴν τελευταίαν καὶ τὰ ὅλα κρίνασαν
 ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην μάχεσθαι, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν
 αὐτὸς εἶχε κέρας, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 Ἀντωνίῳ παρέδωκεν, ὡς πολεμικωτάτῳ τῶν ὑφ'
 3 ἑαυτῷ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην δικτάτωρ ἀναγορευθεὶς
 αὐτὸς μὲν ἐδίωκε Πομπήϊον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ ἱπ-
 παρχον ἐλόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ
 ἀρχὴ δευτέρα τοῦ δικτάτορος παρόντος· ἂν δὲ μὴ
 παρῇ, πρώτη καὶ μόνη σχεδόν· ἡ γὰρ δημαρχία
 διαμένει, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας καταλύουσι πάσας δικτά-
 τορος αἰρεθέντος.

- IX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε δημαρχῶν Δολοβέλλας,
 νέος ἀνὴρ καὶ νέων πραγμάτων ὀρεγόμενος, εἰση-
 γεῖτο χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτῷ
 τε φίλον ὄντα καὶ βουλόμενον αἰεὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς
 ἀρέσκειν ἔπειθε συμπράττειν καὶ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ
 πολιτεύματος. Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Τρεβελλίου τὰ-
 ναντία παρακαλούντων ὑπόνοια δεινὴ κατὰ τύχην
 τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσέπεσεν ὡς ἀδικουμένῳ περὶ τὸν
 2 γάμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα
 βαρέως ἐνεγκὼν τὴν τε γυναῖκα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξή-
 λασεν ἀνεψιὰν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ (θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἦν
 Γαίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Κικέρωνι συνυπατεύσαντος),
 καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀσίνιον δεξάμενος ἐπολέμει τῷ
 Δολοβέλλᾳ. κατέλαβε γὰρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκείνος
 ὡς βία κύρώσων τὸν νόμον. Ἀντώνιος δέ, καὶ
 τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ὅπλων δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν

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in headlong flight, he met them, turned them back, forced them to stand and engage again their pursuers, and won the victory. Accordingly, next to Caesar, he was the man most talked about in the camp. And Caesar showed plainly what opinion he had of him. For when he was about to fight the last and all-decisive battle at Pharsalus, he himself took the right wing, but he gave the command of the left to Antony, as the most capable officer under him. And after the victory, when he had been proclaimed dictator, he himself pursued Pompey, but he chose Antony as his Master of Horse and sent him to Rome. This office is second in rank when the dictator is in the city; but when he is absent, it is the first and almost the only one. For only the tribuneship continues when a dictator has been chosen; all the other offices are abolished.

IX. However, Dolabella, who was tribune at this time—a newcomer in politics who aimed at a new order of things, introduced a law for the abolition of debts, and tried to persuade Antony, who was his friend and always sought to please the multitude, to take common action with him in the measure. But Asinius and Trebellius advised Antony to the contrary, and, as chance would have it, a dire suspicion fell upon him that he was wronged as a husband by Dolabella. Antony took the matter much to heart, drove his wife from his house (she was his cousin, being a daughter of the Caius Antonius who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship), made common cause with Asinius and Trebellius, and waged war upon Dolabella. For Dolabella had occupied the forum in order to force the passage of his law; so Antony, after the senate had voted that arms

- Δολοβέλλαν, ἐπελθὼν καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἀπέ-
κτεινέ τέ τινας τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ιδίων ἀπέ-
3 βαλε. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἀπηχθά-
νετο, τοῖς δὲ χρηστοῖς καὶ σώφροσι διὰ τὸν ἄλλον
βίον οὐκ ἦν ἄρεστός, ὥς Κικέρων φησὶν, ἀλλ'
ἐμισεῖτο, βδελυττομένων αὐτοῦ μέθας ἁώρους καὶ
δαπάνας ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ κυλινδήσεις ἐν γυναίοις, 920
καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ὕπνους καὶ περιπάτους ἀλύ-
οντος καὶ κραιπαλῶντος, νύκτωρ δὲ κώμους καὶ
θέατρα καὶ διατριβὰς ἐν γάμοις μίμων καὶ γελω-
4 τοποιῶν. λέγεται γοῦν, ὥς ἐν Ἰππίου ποτὲ τοῦ
μίμου γάμοις ἐστιαθεὶς καὶ πιὼν διὰ νυκτός, εἶτα
πρωτὶ τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθὼν
ἔτι τροφῆς μεστὸς ἐμέσειε, τῶν φίλων τινὸς ὑπο-
σχόντος τὸ ἱμάτιον. ἦν δὲ καὶ Σέργιος ὁ μῖμος
τῶν μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυναμένων, καὶ Κυθηρὶς
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς παλαίστρας γύναιον ἀγαπώμενον,
ὃ δὴ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐν φορείῳ περιήγετο,
καὶ τὸ φορεῖον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐ-
5 τοῦ περιέποντες ἠκολούθουν. ἐλύπουν δὲ καὶ
χρυσῶν ἐκπωμάτων ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς ταῖς ἀπο-
δημίαις διαφερομένων ὄψεις, καὶ στάσεις ἐνόδιοι
σκηνῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἄλσεσι καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀρίστων
πολυτελῶν διαθέσεις, καὶ λέοντες ἄρμασιν ὑπε-
ζευγμένοι, καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν
οἰκίαι χαμαιτύπαις καὶ σαμβυκιστρίαις ἐπισταθ-
6 μενόμεναι. δεινὸν γὰρ ἐποιοῦντο Καίσαρα μὲν
αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας θυραυλεῖν, τὰ περιόντα

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must be employed against Dolabella, came up against him, joined battle, slew some of his men, and lost some of his own. This course naturally made him odious to the multitude, and to men of worth and uprightness he was not acceptable because of his life in general, as Cicero says,¹ nay, he was hated by them. They loathed his ill-timed drunkenness, his heavy expenditures, his debauches with women, his spending the days in sleep or in wandering about with crazed and aching head, the nights in revelry or at shows, or in attendance at the nuptial feasts of mimes and jesters. We are told, at any rate, that he once feasted at the nuptials of Hippias the mime, drank all night, and then, early in the morning, when the people summoned him to the forum, came before them still surfeited with food and vomited into his toga, which one of his friends held at his service. Sergius the mime also was one of those who had the greatest influence with him, and Cytheris, a woman from the same school of acting, a great favourite, whom he took about with him in a litter on his visits to the cities, and her litter was followed by as many attendants as that of his mother. Moreover, people were vexed at the sight of golden beakers borne about on his excursions from the city as in sacred processions, at the pitching of tents when he travelled, at the laying out of costly repasts near groves and rivers, at chariots drawn by lions, and at the use of honest men and women's houses as quarters for harlots and psaltery-players. For it was thought a monstrous thing that, while Caesar himself was lodging under the skies outside of Italy

¹ The second *Philippic* pictures Antony's excesses.

τοῦ πολέμου μεγάλοις πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἀνακαθαιρόμενον, ἑτέρους δὲ δι' ἐκείνον τρυφᾶν τοῖς πολίταις ἐνυβρίζοντας.

- Χ. Ταῦτα καὶ τὴν στάσιν αὐξήσαι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς ὕβρεις δεινὰς καὶ πλεονεξίας ἀνεῖναι. διὸ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐπανελθὼν Δολοβέλλα τε συγγνώμην ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ τρίτον αἰρεθεὶς ὕπατος οὐκ Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ Λέπιδον εἴλετο συνάρχοντα. τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου πωλουμένην οἰκίαν ὤνήσατο μὲν Ἀντώνιος, ἀπαιτούμενος δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ἡγανάκτει· καὶ φησιν αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ μετασχεῖν Καίσαρι τῆς εἰς Λιβύην στρατείας, ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις κατορθώμασιν οὐ τυχὼν ἀμοιβῆς. ἔοικε μέντοι τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀβελτερίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσωτίας ἀφελεῖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἀναισθήτως
- 3 τὰ πλημμελήματα δεξάμενος. ἀπαλλαγεῖς γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου γάμφῳ προσέσχε, Φουλβίαν ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Κλωδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ συνοικήσασαν, οὐ ταλασίαν οὐδὲ οἰκουρίαν φρονοῦν γύναιον, οὐδὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου κρατεῖν ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν καὶ στρατηγούντος στρατηγεῖν βουλομένον, ὥστε Κλεοπάτραν διδασκάλια Φουλβία τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικοκρατίας ὀφείλειν, πάνυ χειροθήη καὶ πεπαιδαγωγημένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀκροᾶσθαι γυναικῶν παραλαβοῦσαν αὐτόν.
- 4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καέκεινην ἐπειράτο προσπαίξων καὶ μεираκιενόμενος ἱλαρωτέραν ποιεῖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· οἶον ὅτε, Καίσαρι πολλῶν ἀπαντῶντων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ νίκην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξῆλθεν. εἶτα

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and clearing away the remnants of the war at great toil and peril, his adherents, by virtue of his efforts, should revel in luxury and mock at their fellow citizens.

X. These things are also thought to have augmented the discord, and to have incited the soldiery to deeds of violence and rapacity. For this reason, too, when Caesar came back, he pardoned Dolabella, and, on being chosen consul for the third time, selected Lepidus as his colleague, and not Antony. The house of Pompey, when put up for sale, was bought by Antony; but when he was asked to pay the price for it, he was indignant. And he says himself that this was the reason why he did not go with Caesar on his African campaign, since he got no recompense for his previous successes. However, it would seem that Caesar cured him of most of his prodigality and folly by not allowing his errors to pass unnoticed. For Antony put away his reprehensible way of living, and turned his thoughts to marriage, taking to wife Fulvia, the widow of Clodius the demagogue. She was a woman who took no thought for spinning or housekeeping, nor would she deign to bear sway over a man of private station, but she wished to rule a ruler and command a commander. Therefore Cleopatra was indebted to Fulvia for teaching Antony to endure a woman's sway, since she took him over quite tamed, and schooled at the outset to obey women.

However, Antony tried, by sportive ways and youthful sallies, to make even Fulvia more light-hearted. For instance, when many were going out to meet Caesar after his victory in Spain, Antony himself went forth. Then, on a sudden, a report

ἄφνω φήμης εἰς τὴν Ἱταλίαν ἐμπεσούσης ὥς ἐπ-
 ίασιν οἱ πολέμιοι Καῖσαρος τεθνηκότος, ἀνέστρε-
 ψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. λαβὼν δὲ θεράποντος ἐσθήτα
 νύκτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἦλθε, καὶ φήσας ἐπιστολὴν
 Φουλβία παρ' Ἀντωνίου κομίζειν εἰσῆχθη πρὸς
 5 αὐτὴν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος. εἶτα ἡ μὲν ἐκπαθῆς οὔσα,
 πρὶν ἢ τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν ἠρώτησεν εἰ ζῇ ὁ
 Ἀντώνιος· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σιωπῇ προτείνας
 ἀρξαμένην λύειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν περιβαλὼν
 κατεφίλησε.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγα πολλῶν ὄντων ἔνεκα δείγ-
 ματος ἐξενηνόχαμεν.

XI. Ἐκ δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐπανιόντι Καίσαρι πάντες
 μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπῆντων,
 ἐτιμήθη δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐκπρεπῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. κομι-
 ζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ ζεύγους διὰ τῆς Ἱταλίας Ἀντώ-
 νιον εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συνοχούμενον, ὅπισθεν δὲ
 Βρούτον Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς υἱὸν
 Ὁκταουϊανόν, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ὠνομάσθη 921
 2 καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἤρξε πλείστον χρόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ
 πέμπτον ἀπεδείχθη Καῖσαρ ὕπατος, προσείλετο
 μὲν εὐθὺς συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐβούλετο
 δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπάμενος Δολοβέλλα παρεγ-
 γυῆσαι· καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξή-
 νεγκεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ τραχέως ἀντιπεσόντος καὶ
 πολλὰ μὲν εἰπόντος κακὰ Δολοβέλλαν, οὐκ
 ἐλάττονα δὲ ἀκούσαντος, τότε μὲν αἰσχυνθεὶς τὴν
 3 ἀκοσμίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπηλλάγη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 προελθὼν ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν Δολοβέλλαν, Ἀν-
 τωνίου τοὺς οἰωνοὺς ἐναντιοῦσθαι βοῶντος, εἶξε
 καὶ προήκατο Δολοβέλλαν ἀχθόμενον. ἐδόκει

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burst upon Italy that Caesar was dead and his enemies advancing upon the country, and Antony turned back to Rome. He took the dress of a slave and came by night to his house, and on saying that he was the bearer of a letter to Fulvia from Antony, was admitted to her presence, his face all muffled. Then Fulvia, in great distress, before taking the letter, asked whether Antony was still alive; and he, after handing her the letter without a word, as she began to open and read it, threw his arms about her and kissed her.

These few details, then, out of many, I have adduced by way of illustration.

XI. When Caesar returned from Spain,¹ all the principal men went many days' journey to meet him, but it was Antony who was conspicuously honoured by him. For as he journeyed through Italy he had Antony in the same car with himself, but behind him Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, his niece's son, who was afterwards named Caesar and ruled Rome for a very long time. Moreover, when Caesar had for the fifth time been appointed consul, he immediately chose Antony as his colleague. It was his purpose also to resign his own office and make it over to Dolabella; and he proposed this to the senate. But since Antony vehemently opposed the plan, heaped much abuse upon Dolabella, and received as much in return, for the time being Caesar desisted, being ashamed of their unseemly conduct. And afterwards, when Caesar came before the people to proclaim Dolabella, Antony shouted that the omens were opposed. Caesar therefore yielded, and gave up Dolabella, who was much annoyed. And it

¹ In 45 B.C.

δὲ κακείνουν οὐδὲν ἤττον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βδελύττεσθαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς, ἀμφοτέρους τινὸς ὁμοῦ διαβάλλοντος πρὸς αὐτόν, εἶποι, μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς παχεῖς τούτους καὶ κομήτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὠχροὺς καὶ λεπτοὺς ἐκείνους; Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἀποδεικνύμενος,¹ ὃν ἔμελλεν ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀναιρεῖσθαι.

XII. Κακείνοις δὲ τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην πρόφασιν ἄκων παρεσχεν Ἀντώνιος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Λυκαίων ἐορτὴ Ῥωμαίοις, ἦν Λουπερκάλια καλοῦσι, Καῖσαρ δὲ κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι θριαμβικῇ καὶ καθήμενος ὑπὲρ βήματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοὺς διαθέοντας ἐθεᾶτο· διαθέουσι δὲ τῶν εὐγενῶν νέοι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀληλιμμένοι λίπα, σκύτεσι λασίοις καθικνούμενοι μετὰ παι-
² διᾶς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων. ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἀντώνιος διαθέων τὰ μὲν πάτρια χαίρειν εἶασε, διάδημα δὲ δάφνης στεφάνῳ περιελίξας προσέδραμε τῷ βήματι, καὶ συνεξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συνθέοντων ἐπέθηκε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡς δὴ βασιλεύειν αὐτῷ προσῆκον. ἐκείνου δὲ θρυπτομένου καὶ διακλίνοντος ἡσθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἀνεκρό-
³ τησε· καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπήγε, καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνος ἀπετρίβετο. καὶ πολὺν χρόνον οὕτω διαμαχομένων Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ὀλίγοι τῶν φίλων βιαζομένων, Καίσαρι δὲ ἀρνούμενῳ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκρότει μετὰ βοῆς· ὃ καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἦν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ τῶν βασιλευμένων ὑπομένοντες τοῦνομα τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς κατάλυσιν τῆς ἐλευ-

¹ ἀποδεικνύμενος Coraës and Sintenis, after the Aldine edition; Bekker omits, with the MSS. In the *Morals*, p. 206 F, Plutarch has δείξας.

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would seem that Caesar abominated Dolabella also no less than he did Antony. For we are told that when a certain man was accusing both of them to him, he said he had no fear of those fat and long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale and thin ones, indicating Brutus and Cassius, by whom he was to be conspired against and slain.¹

XII. And it was Antony who also unwittingly supplied the conspirators with their most specious pretext. For at the festival of the Lycaea, which the Romans call Lupercalia, Caesar, arrayed in a triumphal robe and seated in the forum upon the rostra, was viewing the runners to and fro. Now, the runners to and fro are many noble youths and many of the magistrates, anointed with oil, and with leathern thongs they strike in sport those whom they meet. Antony was one of these runners, but he gave the ancient usages the go-by, and twining a wreath of laurel round a diadem, he ran with it to the rostra, where he was lifted on high by his fellow runners and put it on the head of Caesar, thus intimating that he ought to be king. When Caesar with affected modesty declined the diadem, the people were delighted and clapped their hands. Again Antony tried to put the diadem on Caesar's head, and again Caesar pushed it away. This contest went on for some time, a few of Antony's friends applauding his efforts to force the diadem upon Caesar, but all the people applauding with loud cries when Caesar refused it. And this was strange, too, that while the people were willing to conduct themselves like the subjects of a king, they shunned the name of king as though it meant the abolition of

¹ Cf. the *Caesar*, lxii. 5; the *Brutus*, viii. 1.

4 *θερίας ἔφευγον. ἀνέστη μὲν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀχθεσθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπάγων ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου τῷ βουλομένῳ παρέχειν τὴν σφαγὴν ἐβόα. τὸν δὲ στέφανον ἐνὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων αὐτοῦ περιτεθέντα δήμαρχοί τινες κατέσπασαν, οὓς ὁ δῆμος εὐφημῶν μετὰ κρότου παρείπετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν.*

XIII. Ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσιον ἐπέρρωσε· καὶ τῶν φίλων τοὺς πιστοὺς καταλέγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐσκέπτοντο περὶ Ἀντωνίου. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων προσιεμένων τὸν ἄνδρα Τρεβώνιος ἀντεῖπεν· ἔφη γὰρ ὑφ' ὃν χρόνον ἀπήντων ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπανιόντι Καίσαρι, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συσκηνοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνοδεύοντος, ἄψασθαι τῆς γνώμης ἀτρέμα πως καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας, τὸν δὲ νοῆσαι μὲν, οὐ δέξασθαι δὲ τὴν πείραν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατειπεῖν,
2 ἀλλὰ πιστῶς κατασιωπῆσαι τὸν λόγον. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἐβουλεύοντο Καίσαρα κτείναντες ἐπισφάττειν Ἀντώνιον· ἐκώλυσε δὲ Βρούτος, ἀξιῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τολμωμένην πρᾶξιν εἰλικρινῇ καὶ καθαρὰν ἀδικίας εἶναι. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν τε ῥώμην τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα, τάττουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐνίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας, ὅπως, ὅταν εἰσὶν Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ μέλλῃ δράσθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἔξω διαλεγόμενοί τι καὶ σπουδάζοντες κατέχωσιν αὐτόν.

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their freedom. At last Caesar rose from the rostra in displeasure, and pulling back the toga from his throat cried out that any one who pleased might smite him there. The wreath, which had been hung upon one of his statues, certain tribunes of the people tore down. These men the people greeted with favouring cries and clapping of hands; but Caesar deprived them of their office.¹

XIII. This incident strengthened the party of Brutus and Cassius; and when they were taking count of the friends whom they could trust for their enterprise, they raised a question about Antony. The rest were for making him one of them, but Trebonius opposed it. For, he said, while people were going out to meet Caesar on his return from Spain, Antony had travelled with him and shared his tent, and he had sounded him quietly and cautiously; Antony had understood him, he said, but had not responded to his advances; Antony had not, however, reported the conversation to Caesar, but had faithfully kept silence about it. Upon this, the conspirators again took counsel to kill Antony after they had slain Caesar; but Brutus prevented this, urging that the deed adventured in behalf of law and justice must be pure and free from injustice. But the conspirators were afraid of Antony's strength, and of the consideration which his office gave him, and therefore appointed some of their number to look out for him, in order that, when Caesar entered the senate-chamber and their deed was about to be done, they might engage Antony outside in conversation about some urgent matter and detain him there.

¹ Cf. the *Caesar*, chapter lxi.

- XIV. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ὡς συνετέθη, καὶ πεσόντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εὐθύς μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐσθήτα θεράποντος μεταλαβὼν ἔκρυψεν αὐτόν. ὡς δ' ἔγνω τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιχειροῦντας μὲν οὐδενί, συνηθροισμένους δὲ εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἔπεισε καταβῆναι λαβόντας ὄμηρον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν· καὶ Κάσσιον μὲν αὐτὸς 922
2 ἐδείπνισε, Βρούτον δὲ Λέπιδος. συναγαγὼν δὲ βουλὴν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμνηστίας εἶπε καὶ διανομῆς ἐπαρχιῶν τοῖς περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βρούτον, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐκύρωσε ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος γεγονότων ἐψηφίσαντο μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν. ἐξῆι δὲ τῆς βουλῆς λαμπρότατος ἀνθρώπων ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀννηρκέαι δοκῶν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καὶ πράγμασι δυσκολίας ἔχουσι καὶ ταραχὰς οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας ἐμφρονέστατα κεχρηῆσθαι καὶ πολιτικώτατα.
- 3 Τούτων μέντοι ταχὺ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐξέσεισεν αὐτόν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ὄχλων δόξα, πρῶτον ἐλπίσαντα βεβαίως ἔσεσθαι Βρούτου καταλυθέντος. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν ἐκκομιζομένου Καίσαρος, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ διεξιὼν ἐγκώμιον· ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὑπερφυῶς ἀγόμενον καὶ κηλούμενον ἐνέμιξε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις οἶκτον ἅμα καὶ δείνωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τελευτῶντι¹ τοὺς τε χιτωνίσκους τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἤμαγμένους καὶ διακεκομ-
4 μένους τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀνασειῶν, καὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους ταῦτα καλῶν παλαμναίους καὶ ἀνδροφόνους, τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὥστε τὸ

¹ τῷ λόγῳ τελευτῶντι Sintenis, after Bryan; τελευτῶν Bekker, with the MSS., bracketing τῷ λόγῳ; καὶ τῶν λόγων τελευτῶν Coraës; καὶ τῷ λόγῳ. Τελευτῶν τε τοὺς χιτωνίσκους κτλ. Stephanus.

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XIV. This was done as planned, and Caesar fell in the senate-chamber. At once, then, Antony put on the dress of a slave and hid himself. But when he learned that the conspirators were laying hands upon nobody, but were merely assembled together on the Capitol, he persuaded them to come down by giving them his son as hostage; moreover, he himself entertained Cassius, and Lepidus entertained Brutus. Besides, he called the senate together and spoke in favour of amnesty and a distribution of provinces among Brutus and Cassius and their partisans, and the senate ratified this proposal, and voted that no change should be made in what Caesar had done.¹ So Antony went out of the senate the most illustrious of men; for he was thought to have put an end to civil war, and to have handled matters involving great difficulty and extraordinary confusion in a most prudent and statesmanlike manner.

From such considerations as these, however, he was soon shaken by the repute in which he stood with the multitude, and he had hopes that he would surely be first in the state if Brutus were overthrown. Now, it happened that when Caesar's body was carried forth for burial, Antony pronounced the customary eulogy over it in the forum. And when he saw that the people were mightily swayed and charmed by his words, he mingled with his praises sorrow and indignation over the dreadful deed, and at the close of his speech shook on high the garments of the dead, all bloody and tattered by the swords as they were, called those who had wrought such work villains and murderers, and inspired his hearers with

¹ Cf. the *Caesar*, lxvii, 4; the *Brutus*, xix. 3.

μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθαγίσαι, συνενεγκαμένους τὰ βάθρα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας, ἀρπάζοντας δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς δαλοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας θεῖν τῶν ἀπεκτονότων καὶ προσμάχεσθαι.

XV. Διὰ ταῦτα τῶν περὶ Βρούτου ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθόντων οἳ τε φίλοι τοῦ Καίσαρος συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἥ τε γυνὴ Καλπουρνία πιστεύσασα τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πλείστα κατέθετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, εἰς λόγον τὰ σύμπαντα τετρακισχιλίων ταλάντων.
 2 ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐν οἷς ὑπομνήματα τῶν κεκριμένων καὶ δεδογμένων ἦν ἀναγεγραμμένα· καὶ τούτοις παρεγγράφων οὖς ἐβούλετο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυε, πολλοὺς δὲ βουλευτάς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ κατῆγε πεφύγαδευμένους καὶ καθειργμένους ἔλυνε, ὡς
 3 δὴ ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι δόξαντα. διὸ τούτους ἅπαντας ἐπισκώπτοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Χαρωνίτας ἐκάλουν· ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ εἰς τοὺς τοῦ νεκροῦ κατέφευγον ὑπομνηματισμούς. καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ ἔπραττεν αὐτοκρατορικῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπατεύων, τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἔχων συνάρχοντας, Γάϊον μὲν στρατηγόν, Λεύκιον δὲ δήμαρχον.

XVI. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ὁ νέος ἀφικνεῖται Καῖσαρ εἰς Ῥώμην, ἀδελφιδῆς μὲν ὦν τοῦ τεθνηκότος υἱός, ὡς εἴρηται, κληρονόμος δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπολελειμμένος, ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ δὲ διατρίβων ὑφ' ὃν χρόνον ἀνῆρτο Καῖσαρ. οὗτος εὐθύς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς δὴ πατρῶον φίλον, ἀσπασάμενος τῶν παρακαταθηκῶν ἐμέμνητο. καὶ γὰρ ὥφειλε Ῥωμαίων ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς

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such rage that they heaped together benches and tables and burned Caesar's body in the forum, and then, snatching the blazing faggots from the pyre, ran to the houses of the assassins and assaulted them.¹

XV. On account of these things Brutus and his associates left the city, the friends of Caesar united in support of Antony, and Caesar's wife, Calpurnia, putting confidence in Antony, took most of the treasure from Caesar's house and put it in his charge; it amounted in all to four thousand talents. Antony received also the papers of Caesar, in which there were written memoranda of his decisions and decrees; and making insertions in these, he appointed many magistrates and many senators according to his own wishes. He also brought some men back from exile, and released others from prison, as though Caesar had decided upon all this. Wherefore the Romans in mockery called all such men *Charonitæ*; ² for when put to the test they appealed to the memoranda of the dead. And Antony managed everything else in autocratic fashion, being consul himself, and having his brothers in office at the same time, Caius as praetor, and Lucius as tribune of the people.

XVI. At this state of affairs the young Caesar came to Rome, a son of the dead Caesar's niece, as has been said,³ who had been left heir to his property. He had been staying at Apollonia when Caesar was assassinated. The young man greeted Antony as his father's friend, and reminded him of the moneys deposited with him. For he was under obligation to

¹ Cf. the *Cicero*, xlii. 2 ff.; the *Brutus*, xx. 3.

² In Latin, *Orcini*, from *Orcus*, the god of the lower world, to whom the Greek *Charon* is made to correspond.

³ Chapter xi. 1.

ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε δοῦναι, Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς
 2 διαθήκαις γράψαντος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ὡς μεираκίου καταφρονῶν ἔλεγεν οὐχ
 ὑγιαίνειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρενῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ
 φίλων ἔρημον ὄντα φορτίον ἀβάστακτον αἰρεσθαι
 τὴν Καίσαρος διαδοχὴν· μὴ πειθομένου δὲ
 τούτοις, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτοῦντος τὰ χρήματα, πολλὰ
 καὶ λέγων πρὸς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ πράττων διετέλει.
 δημαρχίαν τε γὰρ ἐνέστη μετιόντι, καὶ δίφρον
 χρυσοῦν τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο, τιθέντος
 ἠπείλησεν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπάξειν, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο
 3 δημαγωγῶν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι Κικέρωνι δούς ἑαυτὸν ὁ
 νεανίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον
 ἐμίσουν, δι' ἐκείνων μὲν ᾠκειοῦτο τὴν βουλὴν,
 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς στρα-
 τιώτας ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικιῶν συνῆγε, δείσας ὁ
 Ἀντώνιος εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνήλθεν ἐν Καπι-
 τωλίῳ, καὶ διηλλάγησαν.

Εἶτα κοιμώμενος ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ὄψιν εἶδεν
 ἄτοπον ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν
 4 χεῖρα βεβληῆσθαι κεραυνῷ. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας
 ὀλίγας ἐνέπεσε λόγος ὡς ἐπιβουλευοὶ Καίσαρ 923
 αὐτῷ. Καίσαρ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν, οὐκ ἔπειθε δέ·
 καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐνεργὸς ἢ ἔχθρα, καὶ περιθέοντες
 ἀμφότεροι τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ μὲν ἰδρυμένον ἐν ταῖς
 κατοικίαις ἤδη τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ μεγάλοις
 ἀνίστασαν μισθοῖς, τὸ δ' ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτι τεταγμένον
 ὑποφθάνοντες ἀλλήλους προσήγοντο.

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give every Roman seventy-five drachmas, according to the terms of Caesar's will. But Antony, at first despising him as a mere stripling, told him he was out of his senses, and that in his utter lack of good judgment and of friends he was taking up a crushing burden in the succession of Caesar. And when the young man refused to listen to this, and demanded the moneys, Antony kept saying and doing many things to insult him. For instance, he opposed him in his canvass for a tribuneship, and when he attempted to dedicate a golden chair in honour of his father by adoption, according to a decree of the senate, Antony threatened to hale him off to prison unless he stopped trying to win popular favour. When, however, the young man made common cause with Cicero and all the other haters of Antony, and with their aid won the support of the senate, while he himself got the goodwill of the people and assembled the soldiers of Caesar from their colonies, then Antony was struck with fear and came to a conference with him on the Capitol, and they were reconciled.

Afterwards, as he lay asleep that night, Antony had a strange vision. He thought, namely, that his right hand was smitten by a thunder-bolt. And after a few days a report fell upon his ears that the young Caesar was plotting against him. Caesar tried to make explanations, but did not succeed in convincing Antony. So once more their hatred was in full career, and both were hurrying about Italy trying to bring into the field by large pay that part of the soldiery which was already settled in their colonies, and to get the start of one another in winning the support of that part which was still arrayed in arms.

- XVII. Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει Κικέρων μέγιστον
 δυνάμενος, καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον
 ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, τέλος ἔπεισε τὴν βουλήν
 ἐκείνον μὲν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι, Καίσαρι δὲ
 ῥαβδουχίαν πέμψαι καὶ στρατηγικὰ κόσμια,
 Πάνσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰρτιον ἀποστέλλειν ἐξελῶντας
 Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπατοὶ
 τότε· καὶ συμβαλόντες Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ πόλιν
 Μυτίνην, Καίσαρος παρόντος καὶ συμμαχομένου,
 τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἐνίκων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπέθανον.
 2 φεύγοντι δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ πολλὰ συνέπιπτε τῶν
 ἀπόρων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἀπορώτατον. ἀλλὰ φύσει
 παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας ἐγένετο βέλτιστος ἑαυτοῦ
 καὶ δυστυχῶν ὁμοιότατος ἦν ἀγαθῷ, κοινοῦ μὲν
 ὄντος τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῖς δι'
 ἀπορίαν τινὰ σφαλλομένοις, οὐ μὴν ἀπάντων ἃ
 ζηλοῦσι μιμεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγειν ἃ δυσχεραίνουσιν
 ἐρρωμένων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον
 ἐνίων τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδιδόντων ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας καὶ
 3 θραυνομένων τὸν λογισμόν. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος
 τότε θαυμαστὸν ἦν παράδειγμα τοῖς στρατιώταις,
 ἀπὸ τρυφῆς τοσαύτης καὶ πολυτελείας ὕδωρ
 τε πίνων διεφθαρμένον εὐκόλως, καὶ καρποὺς
 ἀγρίους καὶ ρίζας προσφερόμενος. ἐβρώθη δὲ καὶ
 φλοιός, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ ζώων ἀγεύστων πρότερον
 ἤψαντο τὰς Ἀλπεὶς ὑπερβάλλοντες.
- XVIII. Ἦν δὲ ὁρμὴ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα στρατεύ-
 μασι ἐντυχεῖν, ὧν Λέπιδος ἦρχε, φίλος εἶναι
 δοκῶν Ἀντωνίου καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Καίσαρος φιλίας
 ἀπολελευκέναι δι' αὐτόν. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ παρα-
 στρατοπεδεύσας πλησίον, ὡς οὐθὲν ἀπήντα

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XVII. But Cicero, who was the most influential man in the city, and was trying to incite everybody against Antony, persuaded the senate to vote him a public enemy, to send to Caesar the fasces and other insignia of a praetor, and to dispatch Pansa and Hirtius to drive Antony out of Italy. These men were consuls at that time, and in an engagement with Antony near the city of Mutina, at which Octavius Caesar was present and fought on their side, they conquered the enemy, but fell themselves.¹ Many difficulties befell Antony in his flight, the greatest of which was famine. But it was his nature to rise to his highest level when in an evil plight, and he was most like a good and true man when he was unfortunate. For it is a common trait in those whom some difficulty has laid low, that they perceive plainly what virtue is, but all have not the strength amid reverses to imitate what they admire and shun what they hate, nay, some are then even more prone to yield to their habits through weakness, and to let their judgment be shattered. Antony, however, was at this time an amazing example to his soldiers, after such a life of luxury and extravagance as he had led drinking foul water contentedly and eating wild fruits and roots. Bark also was eaten, we are told, and animals never tasted before were food for them as they crossed the Alps.

XVIII. They were eager to fall in with the troops in those parts which Lepidus commanded, for he was thought to be a friend of Antony, and through him had reaped much advantage from Caesar's friendship. But when Antony came and encamped near by, he met with no tokens of friendliness, and therefore de-

¹ In 43 B.C. Cf. the *Cicero*, xlv. 3.

- φιλάνθρωπον, ἔγνω παραβαλέσθαι. καὶ κόμη
 μὲν ἀτημελὴς καὶ βαθὺς πώγων μετὰ τὴν ἡτταν
 εὐθύς ἦν αὐτῷ καθειμένος, λαβὼν δὲ φαιδὸν
 ἱμάτιον ἐγγὺς προσῆγε τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Λεπίδου
 2 καὶ λέγειν ἤρξατο. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν
 ἐπικλωμένων καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀγομένων, δείσας ὁ
 Λέπιδος τὰς σάλπιγγας ἐκέλευσε συνηχούσας
 ἀφελέσθαι τὸ κατακούεσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἱ
 δὲ στρατιῶται μᾶλλον ὤκτειραν καὶ διελέγοντο
 κρύφα, Λαίλιον καὶ Κλώδιον ἀποστείλαντες
 πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐσθῆτας λαβόντας ἐταιρευομένων
 γυναικῶν, οἱ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκέλευον ἐπιχειρεῖν
 θαρροῦντα τῷ χάρακι· πολλοὺς γὰρ εἶναι δεξο-
 μένους¹ καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον, εἰ βούλοιο, κτενοῦντας.
 3 Ἀντώνιος δὲ Λεπίδου μὲν οὐκ εἶασεν ἄψασθαι,
 μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἀπεπειρᾶτο τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐμβὰς ἐπορεύετο
 πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην, ὁρῶν ἤδη πολλοὺς
 τῶν Λεπίδου στρατιωτῶν τὰς τε χεῖρας ὀρέγοντας
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χάρακα διασπῶντας. εἰσελθὼν δὲ
 καὶ κρατήσας ἀπάντων ἡμερώτατα Λεπίδῳ προσ-
 ηνέχθη. πατέρα γὰρ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν
 ἀσπασάμενος· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πάντων αὐτὸς
 ἦν κύριος, ἐκείνῳ δ' ὄνομα καὶ τιμὴν αὐτοκράτορος
 4 διετέλει φυλάττων. τοῦτο καὶ Πλάγκον αὐτῷ
 Μουνάτιον ἐποίησε προσθέσθαι, καθήμενον οὐ
 πρόσω μετὰ συχνῆς δυνάμεως. οὕτω δὲ μέγας
 ἀρθεὶς αὐθις ὑπερέβαλε τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, εἰς τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν ἄγων ἑπτακαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν σὺν αὐτῷ
 καὶ μυρίους ἵππεῖς· χωρὶς δὲ φρουρὰν Γαλατίας

¹ τοὺς δεξομένους Cornäs and Bekker, after Reiske: δεξο-
 μένους with the MSS.

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terminated upon a bold stroke. His hair was unkempt, and his beard had been allowed to grow long ever since his defeat, and putting on a dark garment he came up to the camp of Lepidus and began to speak. Many of the soldiers were melted at his appearance and moved by his words, so that Lepidus was alarmed and ordered the trumpets to sound all at once in order to prevent Antony from being heard. But the soldiers felt all the more pity for Antony, and held a secret parley with him, sending Laelius and Clodius to him in the garb of women of the camp. These urged Antony to attack their camp boldly; for there were many, they said, who would welcome him and kill Lepidus, if he wished. But Antony would not permit them to lay hands on Lepidus, and next day began to cross the river with his army. He himself was first to plunge in, and made his way towards the opposite bank, seeing already that many of the soldiers of Lepidus were stretching out their hands to him and tearing down their ramparts. After entering the camp and making himself master of everything, he treated Lepidus with the greatest kindness. Indeed, he embraced him and called him father; and though in fact he was in full control himself, still he did not cease to preserve for Lepidus the name and the honour of imperator. This induced Munacius Plancus also to join him, who was encamped at no great distance with a considerable force. Thus raised again to great power, he crossed the Alps and led into Italy with him seventeen legions of infantry and ten thousand horse. And besides these, he left to

ἐξ τάγματα λελοίπει μετὰ Οὐαρίου τινὸς τῶν
συνήθων καὶ συμποτῶν, ὃν Κοτύλωνα προσ-
ηγόρευον.

XIX. Καῖσαρ δὲ Κικέρωνι μὲν οὐκέτι προσεῖχε,
τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀρῶν περιεχόμενον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ
προὔκαλεῖτο διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς διαλύσεις. καὶ 924
συνελθόντες οἱ τρεῖς εἰς νησίδα ποταμῷ περιρρο-
μένην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συνήδρυσαν. καὶ τὰλλα
μὲν ἐπιεικῶς ὡμολογεῖτο, καὶ διενείμαντο τὴν
σύμπασαν ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ οὐσίαν πατρώαν ἀλλή-
λοις, ἣ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπολουμένων ἀνδρῶν
ἀμφισβήτησις αὐτοῖς πλεῖστα πράγματα παρέ-
σχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἀνελεῖν ἐκάστου, σῶσαι
2 δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀξιούντος. τέλος δὲ τῇ
πρὸς τοὺς μισουμένους ὀργῇ καὶ συγγενῶν τιμῇ
καὶ φίλων εὐνοίαν προέμενοι, Κικέρωνος μὲν
Ἀντωνίῳ Καῖσαρ ἐξέστη, τούτῳ δὲ Ἀντώνιος
Λευκίου Καίσαρος, ὃς ἦν θεῖος αὐτῷ πρὸς μητρός·
ἐδόθη δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ Παῦλον ἀνελεῖν τὸν
ἀδελφόν· οἱ δὲ φασιν ἐκστήναι τοῦ Παύλου τὸν
Λέπιδον ἐκείνοις ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν αἰτησαμένοις.
3 οὐδὲν ὠμότερον οὐδὲ ἀγριώτερον τῆς διαμείψεως
ταύτης δοκῶ γενέσθαι. φόνων γὰρ ἀντικατα-
λασσόμενοι φόνους ὁμοίως μὲν οἷς ἐλάμβανον
ἀνῆρουν οὓς ἐδίδουσαν, ἀδικώτεροι δὲ περὶ τοὺς
φίλους ἦσαν, οὓς ἀπεκτίννυσαν μηδὲ μισοῦντες.

XX. Ἐπὶ δ' οὖν ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ταύταις οἱ
στρατιῶται περιστάντες ἡξίουσαν καὶ γάμψιν

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guard Gaul six legions with Varius, one of his intimates and boon companions, who was surnamed Cotylon.

XIX. Now, Octavius Caesar no longer held with Cicero, because he saw that Cicero was devoted to liberty, and he sent his friends to Antony with an invitation to come to terms. So the three men came together on a small island in the midst of a river,¹ and there held conference for three days. All other matters were easily agreed upon, and they divided up the whole empire among themselves as though it were an ancestral inheritance; but the dispute about the men who were to be put to death gave them the greatest trouble. Each demanded the privilege of slaying his enemies and saving his kinsmen. But at last their wrath against those whom they hated led them to abandon both the honour due to their kinsmen and the goodwill due to their friends, and Caesar gave up Cicero to Antony, while Antony gave up to him Lucius Caesar, who was Antony's uncle on the mother's side. Lepidus also was permitted to put to death Paulus his brother; although some say that Lepidus gave up Paulus to Antony and Caesar, who demanded his death. Nothing, in my opinion, could be more savage or cruel than this exchange. For by this barter of murder for murder they put to death those whom they surrendered just as truly as those whom they seized; but their injustice was greater towards their friends, whom they slew without so much as hating them.

XX. To complete this reconciliation, then, the soldiers surrounded them and demanded that Caesar

¹ Cf. the *Cicero*, xlv. 3.

τὴν φιλίαν συνάψαι Καίσαρα, λαβόντα τὴν Φουλβίας τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικὸς θυγατέρα Κλωδίαν. ὁμολογηθέντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τριακόσιοι μὲν ἐκ προγραφῆς ἐθανατώθησαν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν· Κικέρωνος δὲ σφαγέντος ἐκέλευσεν Ἀντώνιος τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν, ἣ τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ἔγραψε. καὶ κομισθέντων ἐθεῖατο γεγηθὼς καὶ ἀνακαγχάζων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς πολλάκις· εἵτα ἐμπλησθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βήματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τεθῆναι, καθάπερ εἰς τὸν νεκρὸν ὑβρίζων, οὐχ αὐτὸν ἐνυβρίζοντα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ κατασχύνοντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος. ὁ δὲ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ ζητούμενος καὶ διωκόμενος κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφήν. ἡ δέ, τῶν σφαγέων ἐπιστάντων καὶ βιαζομένων εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτῆς, ἐν ταῖς θύραις στᾶσα καὶ διασχούσα τὰς χεῖρας ἐβόα πολλάκις· “Οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε Καίσαρα Λεύκιον, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε τὴν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τεκοῦσαν.” ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη γενομένη διέκλεψε καὶ διέσωσε τὸν ἀδελφόν.

XXI. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαχθῆς ἡ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχή· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῆς αἰτίας εἶχε, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὢν Καῖσαρος, Λεπίδου δὲ δυνατώτερος, εἰς δὲ τὸν βίον ἐκείνων αὐθις τὸν ἡδυπαθῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ὥς πρῶτον ἀνεχαίτισε τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐκκεχυμένος. προσῆν δὲ τῇ κοινῇ κακοδοξία τὸ διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ μικρὸν μῖσος, ἣν ᾤκει, Πομπηίου τοῦ Μεγάλου γενομένην, ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ἡττον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τῷ τεταγμένως καὶ δημοτικῶς διαιτᾶσθαι θαν-

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should also cement the friendship by a marriage, and should take to wife Clodia, a daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia. After this also had been agreed upon, three hundred men were proscribed and put to death by them; moreover, after Cicero had been butchered, Antony ordered his head to be cut off, and that right hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against him.¹ When they were brought to him, he gazed upon them exultantly, laughing aloud for joy many times; then, when he was sated, he ordered them to be placed on the rostra in the forum, just as though he were putting insult upon the dead, and not rather making a display of his own insolence in good fortune and abuse of power. His uncle, Lucius Caesar, being sought for and pursued, took refuge with his sister. She, when the executioners were at hand and trying to force their way into her chamber, stood in the doorway, spread out her arms, and cried repeatedly: "Ye shall not slay Lucius Caesar unless ye first slay me, the mother of your imperator." By such behaviour, then, she got her brother out of the way and saved his life.

XXI. Now, for the most part, the government of the triumvirate was odious to the Romans; and Antony bore most of the blame, since he was older than Caesar, more powerful than Lepidus, and threw himself once more into his old life of pleasure and dissipation as soon as he had shaken off some of his troubles. And to his general ill-repute there was added the great hatred caused by the house in which he dwelt. It had been that of Pompey the Great, a man no less admired for sobriety and for the orderly and democratic disposition of his life than because of

¹ Cf. the *Cicero*, xlvi. 4.

μασθέντος ἢ διὰ τοὺς τρεῖς θριάμβους. ἤχθοντο γὰρ ὀρώντες αὐτὴν τὰ πολλὰ κεκλεισμένην μὲν ἡγεμόσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ πρέσβεσιν, ὠθούμενοις πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν, μεστὴν δὲ μίμων καὶ θαυματοποιῶν καὶ κολάκων κραιπαλῶντων, εἰς οὗς τὰ πλεῖστα κατανηλίσκετο τῶν χρημάτων τῷ βιαιοτάτῳ καὶ χαλεπωτάτῳ τρόπῳ
 3 ποριζομένων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπώλουν οὐσίας τῶν φονευομένων, ἐπισυκοφαντοῦντες οἰκείους καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τελῶν πᾶν ἐκίνησαν γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς Ἑστιάσι πυθόμενοι παρθένους παρακαταθήκας τινὰς κεῖσθαι καὶ ξένων
 4 καὶ πολιτῶν ἔλαβον ἐπελθόντες. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν ἱκανὸν Ἀντωνίῳ, Καίσαρ ἠξίωσε νείμασθαι τὰ χρήματα πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐνείμαντο δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κάσσιον εἰς Μακεδονίαν στρατεύοντες ἀμφοτέροι, Λεπίδῳ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέτρεψαν. 925

XXII. Ὡς μέντοι διαβάντες ἦσαντο πολέμου καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένου Κασσίου, Βρούτῳ δὲ Καίσαρος, οὐθὲν ἔργον ἐφάνη μέγα τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιος ἦν ὁ νικῶν πάντα καὶ κατορθῶν.
 2 τῇ μὲν γε προτέρα μάχῃ Καίσαρ ὑπὸ Βρούτου κατὰ κράτος ἡττηθεὶς ἀπέβαλε τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μικρὸν ἔφθη τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπεκφυγών· ὥς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφε, τῶν φίλων τινὸς ὄναρ ἰδόντος ἀνεχώρησε πρὸ τῆς μάχης.
 3 Ἀντώνιος δὲ Κάσσιον ἐνίκησε· καίτοι γεγράφασιν ἔνιοι μὴ παραγενέσθαι τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ προσγενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἤδη διώ-

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his three triumphs. Men were distressed, therefore, to see the house closed for the most part against commanders, magistrates, and ambassadors, who were thrust with insolence from its doors, and filled instead with mimes, jugglers, and drunken flatterers, on whom were squandered the greater part of the moneys got in the most violent and cruel manner. For the triumvirate not only sold the properties of those whom they slew, bringing false charges against their wives and kindred, while they set on foot every kind of taxation, but learning that there were deposits with the Vestal Virgins made by both strangers and citizens, they went and took them. And since nothing was sufficient for Antony, Caesar demanded to share the moneys with him. They shared the army also, and both led their forces into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius, entrusting Rome to Lepidus.

XXII. However, after they had crossed the sea, taken up war, and encamped near the enemy, Antony being opposed to Cassius, and Caesar to Brutus, no great achievements were performed by Caesar, but it was Antony who was everywhere victorious and successful. In the first battle, at least, Caesar was overwhelmingly defeated by Brutus, lost his camp, and narrowly escaped his pursuers by secret flight; although he himself says in his Memoirs that he withdrew before the battle in consequence of a friend's dream. But Antony conquered Cassius; although some write that Antony was not present in the battle; but came up after the battle when his

κουσι. Κάσσιον δὲ Πίνδαρος τῶν πιστῶν τις ἀπελευθέρων αὐτοῦ δεομένου καὶ κελεύοντος ἔσφα-
 4 ξεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω νενικηκότα Βρούτου. ὀλίγων δὲ ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων πάλιν ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ Βρούτος μὲν ἡττηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῆς νίκης ἠνέγκατο τῇ δόξῃ τὸ πλεῖστον, ἅτε δὴ καὶ νοσοῦντος τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἐπιστὰς δὲ τῷ Βρούτου νεκρῷ μικρὰ μὲν ὠνείδισεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τελευτῆς (ἀνῆρήκει γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ὁ Βρούτος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Κικέρωνι τιμωρῶν), φήσας δὲ μᾶλλον Ὀρτήσιον ἢ Βρούτον αἰτιᾶσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σφαγῆς Ὀρτήσιον μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπισφάζαι τῷ μνήματι, Βρούτῳ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φοινικίδα πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀξίαν οὔσαν ἐπέρριψε, καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξε τῆς ταφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι. τοῦτον ὕστερον γνοὺς οὐ συγκατακαύσαντα τὴν φοινικίδα τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πολλὰ τῆς εἰς τὴν ταφὴν δαπάνης ὑψηρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν.

XXIII. Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκομίζετο, δοκῶν οὐ περιέσεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας, Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὰς πρὸς ἑω πάσας ἐπαρχίας ἀργυρολογήσων διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων· ὑπешχημένοι γὰρ ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας ἐδέοντο συντονωτέρου χρηματισμοῦ καὶ δασμολο-
 2 γίας. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἑλλήσιν οὐκ ἄτοπος οὐδὲ φορτικὸς συνηνέχθη τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παίζον αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀκροάσεις φιλολόγων καὶ θεὰς ἀγώνων καὶ μῦθους ἔτρεπε, καὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἦν ἐπιεικής, καὶ φιλέλλην ἀκούων ἔχαιρεν, ἔτι δὲ

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men were already in pursuit. Cassius, at his own request and command, was killed by Pindar, one of his trusty freedmen; for Cassius was not aware that Brutus was victorious. After a few days had intervened, a second battle was fought, and Brutus, being defeated, slew himself; but Antony won the greater credit for the victory, since, indeed, Caesar was sick. And as he stood beside the dead body of Brutus, Antony chided him a little for the death of his brother Caius, whom Brutus had executed in Macedonia to avenge Cicero, and declaring that Hortensius was more to blame than Brutus for his brother's murder, he ordered Hortensius to be slaughtered on his brother's tomb; but over Brutus he cast his own purple cloak, which was of great value, and ordered one of his own freedmen to see to the burial of the body. And learning afterwards that this fellow had not burned the purple cloak with the body of Brutus, and had purloined much of what had been devoted to the burial, he put him to death.

XXIII. After this, Caesar repaired to Rome, since it was thought that he would not live long in consequence of his illness; but Antony, that he might levy money in all the eastern provinces, made his way into Greece with a large army; for since the triumvirate had promised every one of their soldiers five hundred drachmas, they required a more vigorous policy in raising money and collecting tributes. Toward the Greeks, then, Antony conducted himself without rudeness or offence, at least in the beginning, nay, he indulged his fondness for amusement by listening to literary discussions and by witnessing games and religious rites. In his judicial decisions also he was reasonable, and delighted to be called a

μᾶλλον φιλαθῆναιος προσαγορευόμενος, καὶ τῇ
 3 πόλει πλείστας δωρεὰς ἔδωκε. βουλομένων δέ τι
 καὶ Μεγαρέων καλὸν ἀντεπιδείξασθαι ταῖς Ἀθή-
 ναις καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιωσάντων
 ἀναβὰς καὶ θεασάμενος, ὥς ἐπυνθάνοντο τί δο-
 κοίη, “Μικρὸν μὲν,” ἔφη, “σαπρὸν δέ.” καὶ τὸν
 τοῦ Πυθίου νεῶν κατεμέτρησεν ὥς συντελέσων·
 τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπέσχετο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον.

XXIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεύκιον Κηνησωρίνον ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος καταλιπὼν εἰς Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ τῶν
 ἐκεῖ πλούτων ἤψατο, καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ θύρας
 ἐφοίτων καὶ βασιλέων γυναῖκες ἀμιλλώμεναι δω-
 ρεαῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ κάλλεσιν ἐφθείροντο
 πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ Καίσαρος στάσεσι καὶ
 πολέμοις ἀποτρυχομένου πολλὴν αὐτὸς ἄγων σχο-
 λὴν καὶ εἰρήνην ἀνεκυκλεῖτο τοῖς πάθεσιν εἰς τὸν
 2 συνήθη βίον, Ἀναξήνορες δὲ κιθαρῳδοὶ καὶ Ξου-
 θοὶ χοραῦλαι καὶ Μητρόδωρός τις ὀρχηστὴς καὶ
 τοιοῦτος ἄλλος Ἀσιανῶν ἀκροαμάτων θίασος,
 ὑπερβαλλομένων λαμυρία καὶ βωμολοχία τὰς ἀπὸ
 τῆς Ἰταλίας κῆρας, εἰσερρύη καὶ διώκει τὴν αὐ-
 λήν, οὐδὲν ἦν ἀνεκτόν, εἰς ταῦτα φορουμένων
 3 ἀπάντων. ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πᾶσα, καθάπερ ἡ Σοφό- 926
 κλειος ἐκείνη πόλις, ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων ἔγεμεν,

ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων.

εἰς γοῦν Ἐφεσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς
 Βάκχας, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ

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Philhellene, and still more to be addressed as Philathenian, and he gave the city very many gifts. But when the Megarians wished to show him something fine to rival Athens, and thought that he ought to see their senate-house, he went up and took a view of it; and when they asked him what he thought of it, "It is small," he said, "but rotten." He also had measurements taken of the temple of Pythian Apollo, with the purpose of completing it; indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

XXIV. But presently he left Lucius Censorinus in charge of Greece, and crossing over into Asia¹ laid hands on the wealth that was there. Kings would come often to his doors, and wives of kings, vying with one another in their gifts and their beauty, would yield up their honour for his pleasure; and while at Rome Caesar was wearing himself out in civil strifes and wars, Antony himself was enjoying abundant peace and leisure, and was swept back by his passions into his wonted mode of life. Lute-players like Anaxenor, flute-players like Xanthus, one Metrodorus, a dancer, and such other rabble of Asiatic performers, who surpassed in impudence and effrontery the pests from Italy, poured like a flood into his quarters and held sway there. It was past all endurance that everything was devoted to these extravagances. For all Asia, like the famous city of Sophocles,² "was filled alike with incense-offerings,

Alike with paeans, too, and voice of heavy groans."

At any rate, when Antony made his entry into Ephesus, women arrayed like Bacchus, and men and

¹ In 41 B.C.

² Thebes, in the *Oedipus Rex*, 4.

Πᾶνας ἡγοῦντο διεσκευασμένοι, κιττοῦ δὲ καὶ θύρ-
 σων καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἢ
 πόλιν ἦν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων
 4 χαριδότην καὶ μειλίχιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος
 ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὠμωστῆς καὶ ἀγριώνιος.
 ἀφηρεῖτο γὰρ εὐγενεῖς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὄντα μαστι-
 γαῖαι καὶ κόλαξι χαριζόμενος. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ
 ζώντων ὡς τεθνηκότων αἰτησάμενοί τινες οὐσίας
 ἔλαβον. ἀνδρὸς δὲ Μάγνητος οἶκον ἐδωρήσατο
 μαγείρῳ περὶ ἓν, ὡς λέγεται, δεῖπνον εὐδοκιμή-
 5 σαντι. τέλος δέ, ταῖς πόλεσι δεῦτερον ἐπιβάλ-
 λοντος φόρον, ἐτόλμησεν Ἑβρέας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας
 λέγων εἰπεῖν ἀγοραίως μὲν ἐκεῖνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀντωνίου ζῆλον οὐκ ἀηδῶς, “Εἰ δύνασαι δις
 λαβεῖν ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ φόρον, δύνασαι καὶ δις ἡμῖν
 ποιήσασθαι θέρος καὶ δις ὁπώραν,” πρακτικῶς δὲ
 καὶ παραβόλως συναγαγὼν ὅτι μυριάδας εἴκοσι
 ταλάντων ἢ Ἀσία δέδωκε, “ταῦτα,” εἶπεν, “εἰ
 μὲν οὐκ εἴληφας, ἀπαίτει παρὰ τῶν λαβόντων· εἰ
 6 δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἔχεις, ἀπολώλαμεν.” ἐτρέψατο
 τούτῳ δεινῶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ἡγνόει γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ
 τῶν γιγνομένων, οὐχ οὕτω ῥάθυμος ὢν, ὡς δι’
 ἀπλότητα πιστεύων τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν.

Ἐνὴν γὰρ ἀπλότης τῷ ἥθει καὶ βραδεῖα μὲν
 αἰσθησις, αἰσθανομένῳ δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων
 ἰσχυρὰ μετάνοια καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξομολόγησις
 τοὺς ἀγνωμονηθέντας, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς
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boys like Satyrs and Pans, led the way before him, and the city was full of ivy and thyrsus-wands and harps and pipes and flutes, the people hailing him as Dionysus Giver of Joy and Beneficent. For he was such, undoubtedly, to some; but to the greater part he was Dionysus Carnivorous and Savage. For he took their property from well-born men and bestowed it on flatterers and scoundrels. From many, too, who were actually alive, men got their property by asking him for it on the plea that the owners were dead. The house of a man of Magnesia he gave to a cook, who, as we are told, had won reputation by a single supper. But finally, when he was imposing a second contribution on the cities, Hybreas, speaking in behalf of Asia, plucked up courage to say this: "If thou canst take a contribution twice in one year, thou hast power also to make summer for us twice, and harvest-time twice." These words were rhetorical, it is true, and not unpleasant for the high spirit of Antony; but the speaker added in plain and bold words that Asia had given him two hundred thousand talents; "If," said he, "thou hast not received this money, demand it from those who took it; but if thou didst receive it, and hast it not, we are undone." This speech made a powerful impression upon Antony; for he was ignorant of most that was going on, not so much because he was of an easy disposition, as because he was simple enough to trust those about him.

For there was simplicity in his nature, and slowness of perception, though when he did perceive his errors he showed keen repentance, and made full acknowledgement to the very men who had been unfairly dealt with, and there was largeness both in

ἀμοιβὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας. μᾶλλον γε μὴν
 ἐδόκει χαριζόμενος ἢ κολάζων ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ μέ-
 7 τριον. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπισκῶψεις
 ὕβρις ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φάρμακον εἶχεν. ἀντισκῶψαι
 γὰρ ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνθυβρίσαι, καὶ γελώμενος οὐχ ἦτ-
 τον ἢ γελῶν ἔχαιρε. καὶ τοῦτο διελυμήνατο τὰ
 πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τῷ παίζειν
 παρρησιαζομένους οὐκ ἂν οἰηθείς σπουδάζοντας
 8 κολακεύειν αὐτὸν ἠλίσκετο ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαί-
 νων, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὴν παρρησίαν τινὲς ὡς ὑποστῦ-
 φον ἡδυσμα τῇ κολακείᾳ παραμιγνύντες ἀφήρουν
 τὸ πλήσμιον, τῇ παρὰ τὴν κύλικα θρασύτητι καὶ
 λαλιᾷ διαμηχανώμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
 ὕφεςιν καὶ συγκατάθεσιν μὴ πρὸς χάριν ὁμι-
 λούντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν ἡττωμένων φαίνεσθαι.

XXV. Τοιοῦτῳ δ' οὖν ὄντι τὴν φύσιν Ἀντωνίῳ
 τελευταῖον κακὸν ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωσ ἐπιγενό-
 μενος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἔτι κρυπτομένων ἐν αὐτῷ
 καὶ ἀτρεμούντων παθῶν ἐγείρας καὶ ἀναβακχεύ-
 σας, εἴ τι χρηστὸν ἢ σωτήριον ὅμως ἀντεῖχεν,
 ἠφάνισε καὶ προσδιέφθειρεν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ τοῦ-
 τον τὸν τρόπον. ἀπτόμενος τοῦ Παρθικοῦ πολέ-
 μου ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτήν, κελεύων εἰς Κιλικίαν
 ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον ὑφέξουσάν ὧν ἐνεκαλείτο τοῖς
 2 περὶ Κίσσιον δοῦναι πολλὰ καὶ συμβαλέσθαι
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς Δέλλιος, ὡς
 εἶδε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ κατέμαθε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
 δεινότητα καὶ πανουργίαν, εὐθὺς αἰσθόμενος ὅτι

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his restitution to the wronged and in his punishment of the wrong-doers. Yet he was thought to exceed due bounds more in conferring favours than in inflicting punishments. And his wantonness in mirth and jest carried its own remedy with it. For a man might pay back his jests and insolence, and he delighted in being laughed at no less than in laughing at others. And this vitiated most of his undertakings. For he could not believe that those who used bold speech in jest could flatter him in earnest, and so was easily captivated by their praises, not knowing that some men would mingle bold speech, like a piquant sauce, with flattery, and thus would take away from flattery its cloying character. Such men would use their bold babbling over the cups to make their submissive yielding in matters of business seem to be the way, not of those who associate with a man merely to please him, but of those who are vanquished by superior wisdom.

XXV. Such, then, was the nature of Antony, where now as a crowning evil his love for Cleopatra supervened, roused and drove to frenzy many of the passions that were still hidden and quiescent in him, and dissipated and destroyed whatever good and saving qualities still offered resistance. And he was taken captive in this manner. As he was getting ready for the Parthian war, he sent to Cleopatra, ordering her to meet him in Cilicia in order to make answer to the charges made against her of raising and giving to Cassius much money for the war. But Dellius, Antony's messenger, when he saw how Cleopatra looked, and noticed her subtlety and cleverness in conversation, at once

κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲ μελλήσει τι ποιεῖν γυναῖκα τοιαύ-
την Ἀντώνιος, ἔσται δὲ μεγίστη παρ' αὐτῷ, τρέ-
πεται πρὸς τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προτρέπεσθαι τὴν
Αἰγυπτίαν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν, ἐλθεῖν εἰς
Κιλικίαν εὐ ἐντύνασαν ἔαυτὴν καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι
τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἡδιστον ἡγεμόνων ὄντα καὶ φιλ-
3 ανθρωπότατον. ἡ δὲ καὶ Δελλίῳ πεισθεῖσα, καὶ
τοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Γναῖον τὸν Πομπηίου
παῖδα πρότερον αὐτῇ γενομένοις ἀφ' ὧρας συμ-
βολαίοις τεκμαιρομένη, ῥᾶον ἤλπιζεν ὑπάξεσθαι
τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔτι κόρην
καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἔγνωσαν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον 927
ἔμελλε φοιτήσῃ ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καιροῦ γυναῖκες
ὥραν τε λαμπροτάτην ἔχουσι καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν
4 ἀκμάζουσι. διὸ πολλὰ μὲν συνεσκευάσατο δῶρα
καὶ χρήματα καὶ κόσμον οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπὸ πραγ-
μάτων μεγάλων καὶ βασιλείας εὐδαίμονος κομί-
ζειν, τὰς δὲ πλείστας ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ τοῖς περὶ
αὐτὴν μαγγανεύμασι καὶ φίλτροις ἐλπίδας θεμένη
παρεγένετο.

XXVI. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ
τῶν φίλων δεχομένη γράμματα καλούντων, οὕτω
κατεφρόνησε καὶ κατεγέλασε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥστε
πλεῖν ἀνὰ τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν ἐν πορθμείῳ χρυ-
σοπρύμνῳ, τῶν μὲν ἰστίων ἀλουργῶν ἐκπεπετασ-
μένων, τῆς δὲ εἰρεσίας ἀργυραῖς κώπαις ἀναφερο-
μένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα σύριγξι καὶ κιθάραις συν-
2 ηρμοσμένον. αὐτὴ δὲ κατέκειτο μὲν ὑπὸ σκιαδί
χρυσοπάστῳ κεκοσμημένη γραφικῶς ὥσπερ
Ἀφροδίτῃ, παῖδες δὲ τοῖς γραφικοῖς Ἑρῳσιν εἰ-
κασμένοι παρ' ἑκάτερον ἐστῶτες ἐρρίπιζον. ὁμοίως

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perceived that Antony would not so much as think of doing such a woman any harm, but that she would have the greatest influence with him. He therefore resorted to flattery and tried to induce the Egyptian to go to Cilicia "decked out in fine array"¹ (as Homer would say), and not to be afraid of Antony, who was the most agreeable and humane of commanders. She was persuaded by Delliuss, and judging by the proofs which she had had before this of the effect of her beauty upon Caius Caesar and Gnaeus the son of Pompey, she had hopes that she would more easily bring Antony to her feet. For Caesar and Pompey had known her when she was still a girl and inexperienced in affairs, but she was going to visit Antony at the very time when women have most brilliant beauty and are at the acme of intellectual power. Therefore she provided herself with many gifts, much money, and such ornaments as her high position and prosperous kingdom made it natural for her to take; but she went putting her greatest confidence in herself, and in the charms and sorceries of her own person.

XXVI. Though she received many letters of summons both from Antony himself and from his friends, she so despised and laughed the man to scorn as to sail up the river Cydnus in a barge with gilded poop, its sails spread purple, its rowers urging it on with silver oars to the sound of the flute blended with pipes and lutes. She herself reclined beneath a canopy spangled with gold, adorned like Venus in a painting, while boys like Loves in paintings stood on either side and fanned her. Likewise also the

¹ *Iliad*, xiv. 162, of Hera, decking herself for a meeting with Zeus.

δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδες αἱ καλλιστεύουσαι Νηρηίδων
 ἔχουσαι καὶ Χαρίτων στολάς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς οἶαξιν,
 αἱ δὲ πρὸς κάλοις ἦσαν. ὁδμαὶ δὲ θαυμασταὶ
 τὰς ὄχθας ἀπὸ θυμαμάτων πολλῶν κατεῖχον.
 3 τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 παρωμάρτουν ἐκατέρωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως
 κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ἐκχεομένου δὲ τοῦ
 κατὰ τὴν ὑγορὰν ὄχλου τέλος αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος
 ἐπὶ βήματος καθεζόμενος ἀπελείφθη μόνος. καὶ
 τις λόγος ἔχῳρει διὰ πάντων ὡς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη
 κωμάζοι παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς
 Ἀσίας.

Ἐπεμψε μὲν οὖν καλῶν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον·
 ἡ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ ἡξίου πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἦκειν.
 4 εὐθύς οὖν τινὰ βουλόμενος εὐκολίαν ἐπιδείκνυ-
 σθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ὑπήκουσε καὶ ἦλθεν. ἐντυ-
 χὼν δὲ παρασκευῇ λόγου κρείττονι μάλιστα τῶν
 φώτων τὸ πλῆθος ἐξεπλάγη. τοσαῦτα γὰρ λέ-
 γεται καθίεσθαι καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι πανταχόθεν
 ἅμα, καὶ τοιαύταις πρὸς ἄλληλα κλίσεσι καὶ
 θέσεσι διακεκοσμημένα καὶ συντεταγμένα παι-
 σίων καὶ περιφερῶν τρόπῳ, ὥστε τῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις
 αξιοθεάτων καὶ καλῶν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν.

XXVII. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία πάλιν ἀνθεστιῶν αὐ-
 τὴν ἐφιλοτιμήθη μὲν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν λαμπρό-
 τητα καὶ τὴν ἐμμέλειαν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ λειπόμενος,
 καὶ κρατούμενος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις, πρῶτος ἔσχω-
 πτεν εἰς αὐχμὸν καὶ ἀγροικίαν τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ.
 πολὺν δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ τοῖς σκώμμασι τοῦ
 Ἀντωνίου τὸν στρατιώτην ἐνορῶσα καὶ βάνανυσον,
 ἐχρήτο καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνειμένως ἤδη καὶ
 2 κατατεθαρρηκότεως. καὶ γὰρ ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν,

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fairest of her serving-maidens, attired like Nereïds and Graces, were stationed, some at the rudder-sweeps, and others at the reefing-ropes. Wondrous odours from countless incense-offerings diffused themselves along the river-banks. Of the inhabitants, some accompanied her on either bank of the river from its very mouth, while others went down from the city to behold the sight. The throng in the market-place gradually streamed away, until at last Antony himself, seated on his tribunal, was left alone. And a rumour spread on every hand that Venus was come to revel with Bacchus for the good of Asia.

Antony sent, therefore, and invited her to supper ; but she thought it meet that he should rather come to her. At once, then, wishing to display his complacency and friendly feelings, Antony obeyed and went. He found there a preparation that beggared description, but was most amazed at the multitude of lights. For, as we are told, so many of these were let down and displayed on all sides at once, and they were arranged and ordered with so many inclinations and adjustments to each other in the form of rectangles and circles, that few sights were so beautiful or so worthy to be seen as this.

XXVII. On the following day Antony feasted her in his turn, and was ambitious to surpass her splendour and elegance, but in both regards he was left behind, and vanquished in these very points, and was first to rail at the meagreness and rusticity of his own arrangements. Cleopatra observed in the jests of Antony much of the soldier and the common man, and adopted this manner also towards him, without restraint now, and boldly. For her beauty, as we are

αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς οὐ πάνν
 δυσπαράβλητον, οὐδὲ οἶον ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς ἰδόντας,
 ἀφὴν δ' εἶχεν ἡ συνδιαίτησις ἄφυκτον, ἥ τε μορφή
 μετὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι πιθανότητος καὶ τοῦ
 περιθέοντος ἅμα πως περὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἤθους ἀνέ-
 3 φερέ τι κέντρον. ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ φθεγγομένης ἐπὶ τὴν
 τῷ ἡχῷ· καὶ τὴν γλώτταν, ὥσπερ ὄργανόν τι
 πολύχορδον, εὐπετῶς τρέπουσα καθ' ἣν βούλοιτο
 διάλεκτον ὀλίγοις παντάπασιν δι' ἑρμηνέως ἐνε-
 τύγχανε βαρβάροις, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις αὐτῇ δι'
 αὐτῆς ἀπεδίδου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οἶον Αἰθίοψι,
 Τρωγλοδύταις, Ἑβραίοις, Ἀραψι, Σύροις, Μή-
 4 δοις, Παρθυαίοις. πολλῶν δὲ λέγεται καὶ ἄλλων
 ἐκμαθεῖν γλώττας, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς βασιλέων
 οὐδὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἀνασχομένων παραλαβεῖν
 διάλεκτον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ μακεδονίζειν ἐκλι-
 πόντων.

XXVIII. Οὕτω δ' οὖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἥρπασεν
 ὥστε, πολεμούσης μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι Φουλ-
 βίας τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων,
 αἰωρουμένης δὲ Παρθικῆς στρατιᾶς περὶ τὴν Μεσο-
 ποταμίαν, ἥς Λαβιηνὸν οἱ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς
 Παρθικὸν ἀναγορεύσαντες αὐτοκράτορα Συρίας 928
 ἐπιβατεύσειν ἔμελλον, οἷχεσθαι φερόμενον ὑπ'
 αὐτῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ μεираκίου σχολὴν
 ἄγοντος διατριβαῖς καὶ παιδιαῖς χρώμενον ἀνα-
 λίσκειν καὶ καθηδυπαθεῖν τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ὥς
 2 Ἀντιφῶν εἶπεν, ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον. ἦν γάρ
 τις αὐτοῖς σύνοδος ἀμιμητοβίων λεγομένη· καὶ
 καθ' ἡμέραν εἰστίων ἀλλήλους, ἄπιστόν τινα
 ποιούμενοι τῶν ἀναλισκομένων ἀμετρίαν. διη-

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told, was in itself not altogether incomparable, nor such as to strike those who saw her; but converse with her had an irresistible charm, and her presence, combined with the persuasiveness of her discourse and the character which was somehow diffused about her behaviour towards others, had something stimulating about it. There was sweetness also in the tones of her voice; and her tongue, like an instrument of many strings, she could readily turn to whatever language she pleased, so that in her interviews with Barbarians she very seldom had need of an interpreter, but made her replies to most of them herself and unassisted, whether they were Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes or Parthians. Nay, it is said that she knew the speech of many other peoples also, although the kings of Egypt before her had not even made an effort to learn the native language, and some actually gave up their Macedonian dialect.

XXVIII. Accordingly, she made such booty of Antony that, while Fulvia his wife was carrying on war at Rome with Caesar in defence of her husband's interests, and while a Parthian army was hovering about Mesopotamia (over this country the generals of the king had appointed Labienus Parthian commander-in-chief, and were about to invade Syria), he suffered her to hurry him off to Alexandria. There, indulging in the sports and diversions of a young man of leisure, he squandered and spent upon pleasures that which Antiphon calls the most costly outlay, namely, time. For they had an association called The Inimitable Livers, and every day they feasted one another, making their expenditures of incredible profusion. At any rate, Philotas, the

γείτο γοῦν ἡμῶν τῷ πάππῳ Λαμπρία Φιλώτας ὁ
 Ἀμφισσεὺς ἰατρὸς εἶναι μὲν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ
 τότε, μανθάνων τὴν τέχνην, γενόμενος δέ τιμι τῶν
 βασιλικῶν ὀψοποιῶν συνήθης ἀναπεισθῆναι νέος
 ὢν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὴν παρα-
 3 σκευὴν τοῦ δείπνου θεάσασθαι. παρειαχθεὶς οὖν
 εἰς τοῦπτανεῖον, ὡς τά τε ἄλλα πάμπολλα ἑώρα
 καὶ σὺς ἀγρίους ὀπτωμένους ὀκτώ, θαυμάσαι τὸ
 πλήθος τῶν δειπνούντων. τὸν δὲ ὀψοποιὸν γελά-
 σαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ δει-
 πνούντες, ἀλλὰ περὶ δώδεκα· δεῖ δ' ἀκμὴν ἔχειν
 τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἕκαστον, ἣν ἀκαρὲς ὥρας μα-
 ραίνει. καὶ γὰρ αὐτίκα γένοιτ' ἂν Ἀντωνίου
 δείπνου δεσθῆναι καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, ἂν δὲ οὕτω
 τύχῃ, παραγαγεῖν αἰτήσαντα ποτήριον ἢ λόγου
 4 τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος. ὅθεν οὐχ ἔν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ,
 φάναι, δείπνα συντέτακται· δυσστόχαστος γὰρ ὁ
 καιρὸς. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ Φιλώτας ἔλεγε, καὶ χρόνου
 προϊόντος ἐν τοῖς θεραπεύουσι γενέσθαι τὸν πρε-
 σβύτατον τῶν Ἀντωνίου παίδων, ὃν ἐκ Φουλβίας
 εἶχε, καὶ συνδειπνεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἐταίρων ἐπιεικῶς, ὅποτε μὴ δειπνοίῃ μετὰ τοῦ
 5 πατρός. ἰατρὸν οὖν ποτε θρασυνόμενον καὶ πρά-
 γματα πολλὰ παρέχοντα δειπνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
 στομίσαι τοιοῦτῳ σοφίσματι· “Τῷ πως πυρετ-
 τονται δοτέον ψυχρόν· πᾶς δὲ ὁ πυρέττων πως
 πυρέττει· παντὶ ἄρα πυρέττοντι δοτέον ψυχρόν.”
 πληγέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ σιωπήσαντος,

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physician of Amphissa, used to tell my grandfather, Lamprias, that he was in Alexandria at this time, studying his profession, and that having got well acquainted with one of the royal cooks, he was easily persuaded by him (young man that he was) to take a view of the extravagant preparations for a royal supper. Accordingly, he was introduced into the kitchen, and when he saw all the other provisions in great abundance, and eight wild boars a-roasting, he expressed his amazement at what must be the number of the guests. But the cook burst out laughing and said: "The guests are not many, only about twelve; but everything that is set before them must be at perfection, and this an instant of time reduces. For it might happen that Antony would ask for supper immediately, and after a little while, perhaps, would postpone it and call for a cup of wine, or engage in conversation with some one. Wherefore," he said, "not one, but many suppers are arranged; for the precise time is hard to hit." This tale, then, Philotas used to tell; and he said also that as time went on he became one of the medical attendants of Antony's oldest son, whom he had of Fulvia, and that he usually supped with him at his house in company with the rest of his comrades, when the young man did not sup with his father. Accordingly, on one occasion, as a physician was making too bold and giving much annoyance to them as they supped, Philotas stopped his mouth with some such sophism as this: "To the patient who is somewhat feverish cold water must be given; but everyone who has a fever is somewhat feverish; therefore to everyone who has a fever cold water should be given." The fellow was confounded and put to silence, whereat

ἡσθέντα τὸν παῖδα γελάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, “Ταῦτα, ὦ Φιλῶτα, χαρίζομαι πάντα σοι,” δείξαντα πολλῶν τινων καὶ μεγάλων ἐκπωμάτων μεστήν τρά-
 6 πεζαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν ἀποδεξα-
 μένου, πόρρω δ’ ὄντος τοῦ νομίζειν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι
 παιδὶ τηλικούτῳ δωρεῖσθαι τοσαῦτα, μετὰ μικρὸν
 ἀψάμενόν τινα τῶν παίδων ἐν ἀγγεῖφ τὰ ἐκπώ-
 ματα προσφέρειν καὶ σημήνασθαι κελεύειν. ἀφο-
 σιουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ δεδοικότος λαβεῖν, “Τί,
 ὦ πόνηρε,” φάναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, “ὁκνεῖς; οὐκ
 οἶδας ὡς ὁ διδοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖς ἐστίν, ᾧ τοσαῦ-
 7 τα πάρεστι χρυσᾷ χαρίσασθαι; ἐμοὶ μέντοι
 πειθόμενος πάντα διάμενψαι πρὸς ἀργύριον ἡμῖν·
 ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καὶ ποθήσειεν ὁ πατὴρ ἓνα τῶν
 παλαιῶν ὄντα καὶ σπουδαζομένων κατὰ τὴν τέχ-
 νην ἔργων.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἔλεγεν ὁ πάππος
 ἐκάστοτε διηγείσθαι τὸν Φιλῶταν.

XXIX. Ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν κολακείαν οὐχ,
 ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων φησί, τετραχῇ, πολλαχῇ δὲ
 διελούσα, καὶ σπουδῆς ἀπτομένῳ καὶ παιδιᾷς αἰεὶ
 τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσα καὶ χάριν, διε-
 παιδαγώγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέ-
 ρας ἀνιείσα. καὶ γὰρ συνεκύβευε καὶ συνέπινε
 καὶ συνεθήρευε καὶ γυμναζόμενον ἐν ὅπλοις ἐθεᾶ-
 το, καὶ νύκτωρ προσισταμένῳ θύραις καὶ θυρίσι
 δημοτῶν καὶ σκώπτουσι τοὺς ἔνδον συνεπλανᾶτο
 καὶ συνήλυε θεραπαινιδίου στολὴν λαμβάνουσα.
 2 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐπειράτο σκευάζειν ἑαυτόν.
 ὅθεν αἰεὶ σκωμμάτων, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πληγῶν

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Antony's son was delighted and said with a laugh : " All this I bestow upon thee, Philotas," pointing to a table covered with a great many large beakers. Philotas acknowledged his good intentions, but was far from supposing that a boy so young had the power to give away so much. After a little while, however, one of the slaves brought the beakers to him in a sack, and bade him put his seal upon it. And when Philotas protested and was afraid to take them, " You miserable man," said the fellow, " why hesitate? Don't you know that the giver is the son of Antony, and that he has the right to bestow so many golden vessels? However, take my advice and exchange them all with us for money ; since perchance the boy's father might miss some of the vessels, which are of ancient workmanship and highly valued for their art." Such details, then, my grandfather used to tell me, Philotas would recount at every opportunity.

XXIX. But Cleopatra, distributing her flattery, not into the four forms of which Plato speaks,¹ but into many, and ever contributing some fresh delight and charm to Antony's hours of seriousness or mirth, kept him in constant tutelage, and released him neither night nor day. She played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and watched him as he exercised himself in arms ; and when by night he would station himself at the doors or windows of the common folk and scoff at those within, she would go with him on his round of mad follies, wearing the garb of a serving maiden. For Antony also would try to array himself like a servant. Therefore he always reaped a harvest of abuse, and often of blows, before coming back

¹ *Gorgias*, p. 464.

ἀπολαύσας ἐπανήρχετο· τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις ἦν δι' ὑπονοίας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσέχαιρον αὐτοῦ τῇ βωμολοχίᾳ καὶ συνέπαιζον οὐκ ἀρρύθμως οὐδὲ ἀμούσως οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ἀγαπῶντες καὶ λέγοντες ὥς τῷ τραγικῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους χρήται προσώπῳ, τῷ δὲ κωμικῷ πρὸς αὐτούς.

- 3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παιζομένων 929
διηγέσθαι πολὺς ἂν εἴη φλύαρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλιεύων
ποτὲ καὶ δυσαγρῶν ἤχθετο παρούσης τῆς Κλεοπά-
τρας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀλιεῖς ὑπονηξαμένους κρύφα
τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ περικαθάπτειν ἰχθῦς τῶν προεαλω-
κότων, καὶ δις ἢ τρὶς ἀνασπάσας οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν
Αἰγυπτίαν. προσποιουμένη δὲ θαυμάζειν τοῖς
φίλοις διηγέιτο, καὶ παρεκάλει τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ γενέ-
4 σθαι θεατάς. ἐμβάντων δὲ πολλῶν εἰς τὰς ἀλιά-
δας καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὴν ὀρμιὰν καθέντος,
ἐκέλευσέ τινα τῶν αὐτῆς ὑποφθάσαντα καὶ προσ-
νηξάμενον τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ περιπεῖραι Ποντικὸν τά-
ριχος. ὥς δὲ ἔχειν πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνεῖλκε,
γέλωτος, οἶον εἰκός, γενομένου, “Παράδος ἡμῖν,”
ἔφη, “τὸν κάλαμον, αὐτόκρατορ, τοῖς Φαρίταις
καὶ Κανωβίταις ἀλιεῦσιν.¹ ἡ δὲ σὴ θήρα πόλεις
εἰσὶ καὶ βασιλεῖαι καὶ ἥπειροι.”

XXX. Τοιαῦτα ληροῦντα καὶ μεираκιευόμενον
τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀγγελίαι δύο καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἡ
μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, Λεύκιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
Φουλβίαν τὴν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἀλλήλοισι στασιά-
σαντας, εἶτα Καίσαρι πολεμήσαντας, ἀποβεβλη-

¹ ἀλιεῦσιν Bekker, after Hüllman : βασιλεῦσιν.

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home ; though most people suspected who he was. However, the Alexandrians took delight in his coarse wit, and joined in his amusements in their graceful and cultivated way ; they liked him, and said that he used the tragic mask with the Romans, but the comic mask with them.

Now, to recount the greater part of his boyish pranks would be great nonsense. One instance will suffice. He was fishing once, and had bad luck, and was vexed at it because Cleopatra was there to see. He therefore ordered his fishermen to dive down and secretly fasten to his hook some fish that had been previously caught, and pulled up two or three of them. But the Egyptian saw through the trick, and pretending to admire her lover's skill, told her friends about it, and invited them to be spectators of it on the following day. So great numbers of them got into the fishing boats, and when Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her own attendants to get the start of him by swimming to his hook and fastening on it a salted Pontic herring. Antony thought he had caught something, and pulled it up, whereupon there was great laughter, as was natural, and Cleopatra said : " Imperator, hand over thy fishing-rod to the fishermen of Pharos and Canopus ; thy sport is the hunting of cities, realms, and continents."

XXX. While Antony was indulging in such trifles and youthful follies, he was surprised by reports from two quarters: one from Rome, that Lucius his brother and Fulvia his wife had first quarrelled with one another, and then had waged war with Octavius Caesar, but had lost their cause

κέναι τὰ πράγματα καὶ φεύγειν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ἐτέρα δὲ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἐπιεικεστέρα, Λαβινηνὸν ἐπάγοντα Πάρθους τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καὶ Συρίας ἄχρι Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν κατα-
 2 στρέφεσθαι. μόλις οὖν ὥσπερ ἐξυπνισθεὶς καὶ ἀποκραιπαλήσας ὥρμησε μὲν Πάρθοις ἐνίστασθαι καὶ μέχρι Φοινίκης προῆλθε, Φουλβίας δὲ γράμματα θρήνων μεστὰ πεμπούσης ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἄγων ναῦς διακοσίας. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ κατὰ πλοῦν τῶν φίλων τοὺς πεφευγότας ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν Φουλβίαν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι, φύσει μὲν οὖσαν πολυπράγμονα καὶ θρασεῖαν, ἐλπίζουσαν δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀπάξειν τὸν Ἀντωνίων εἴ τι γένοιτο
 3 κίνημα περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. συμβαίνει δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ Φουλβίαν πλέουσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν Σικυῶνι νόσφ' τελευτῆσαι· διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ πρὸς Καίσαρα διαλλαγὰι καιρὸν ἔσχον. ὥς γὰρ προσέμιξε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Καίσαρ ἦν φανερὸς ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐθὲν ἐγκαλῶν, αὐτὸς δ' ὦν ἐνεκαλεῖτο τὰς αἰτίας τῇ Φουλβίᾳ προστριβόμενος, οὐκ εἶων
 4 ἐξελέγχειν οἱ φίλοι τὴν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ διέλυνον ἀμφοτέρους καὶ διήρουν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὅρον ποιούμενοι τὸν Ἰόνιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐῷα νέμοντες Ἀντωνίῳ, τὰ δ' ἐσπέρια Καίσαρι, Λέπιδον δὲ Λιβύην ἔχειν ἐῶντες, ὑπατεύειν δὲ τάξαντες, ὅτε μὴ δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, φίλους ἐκατέρων παρὰ μέρος.

XXXI. Ταῦτα ἔχειν καλῶς δοκοῦντα πίστει εὐδεῖτο σφοδροτέρας, ἣν ἡ τύχη παρέσχεν. Ὀκταουία γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὴ πρεσβυτέρα μὲν, οὐχ ὁμο-

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and were in flight from Italy; and another, not a whit more agreeable than this, that Labienus at the head of the Parthians was subduing Asia from the Euphrates and Syria as far as Lydia and Ionia. At last, then, like a man roused from sleep after a deep debauch, he set out to oppose the Parthians, and advanced as far as Phoenicia;¹ but on receiving from Fulvia a letter full of lamentations, he turned his course towards Italy, at the head of two hundred ships. On the voyage, however, he picked up his friends who were in flight from Italy, and learned from them that Fulvia had been to blame for the war, being naturally a meddlesome and headstrong woman, and hoping to draw Antony away from Cleopatra in case there should be a disturbance in Italy. It happened, too, that Fulvia, who was sailing to meet him, fell sick and died at Sicyon. Therefore there was even more opportunity for a reconciliation with Caesar. For when Antony reached Italy, and Caesar manifestly intended to make no charges against him, and Antony himself was ready to put upon Fulvia the blame for whatever was charged against himself, the friends of the two men would not permit any examination of the proffered excuse, but reconciled them, and divided up the empire, making the Ionian sea a boundary, and assigning the East to Antony, and the West to Caesar; they also permitted Lepidus to have Africa, and arranged that, when they did not wish for the office themselves, the friends of each should have the consulship by turns.

XXXI. These arrangements were thought to be fair, but they needed a stronger security, and this security Fortune offered. Octavia was a sister of Caesar, older than he, though not by the same

¹ Towards the end of the year 40 B.C.

μητρία δὲ Καίσαρι· ἐγεγόνει γὰρ ἐξ Ἀγχαρίας, ὃ δὲ ὕστερον ἐξ Ἀτίας. ἔστεργε δ' ὑπερφύως τὴν ἀδελφὴν, χρῆμα θαυμαστόν, ὡς λέγεται, γυναικὸς 2 γενομένην. αὕτη, Γαίου Μαρκέλλου τοῦ γήμαντος αὐτὴν οὐ πάσαι τεθνηκότος, ἐχέρειεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ Φουλβίας ἀποικομένης χηρεύειν Ἀντώνιος, ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἀρνούμενος Κλεοπάτραν, γάμφ δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογῶν, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ περὶ γε τούτου πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς Αἰγυπτίας μαχόμενος. τοῦτον ἅπαντες εἰσηγοῦντο τὸν γάμον, ἐλπίζοντες τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἐπὶ κάλλει τοσοῦτῳ σεμνότητι καὶ νοῦν ἔχουσαν, εἰς ταῦτόν τῳ Ἀντωνίῳ παραγενομένην καὶ στερχθεῖσαν, ὡς εἰκὸς τοιαύτην γυναῖκα, πάντων πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν 3 ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύγκρασιν. ὡς οὖν ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέροισι, ἀναβάντες εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπετέλουν τὸν Ὀκταουίας γάμον, οὐκ ἐῶντος μὲν νόμου πρὸ δέκα μηνῶν ἀνδρὸς τελευτήσαντος γαμείσθαι, τῆς 930 δὲ συγκλήτου δόγματι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνοις ἀνείσης.

XXXII. Σέξτου δὲ Πομπηίου Σικελίαν μὲν ἔχοντος, Ἰταλίαν δὲ πορθοῦντος, ληστρίσι δὲ ναυσὶ πολλαῖς, ὧν Μηνᾶς ὁ πειρατὴς καὶ Μενεκράτης ἦρχον, ἅπλουν τὴν θάλασσαν πεποικηκός, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ κεχρησθαι δοκοῦντος φιλανθρώπως (ὑπεδέξατο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα τῇ Φουλβίᾳ συνεκπεσοῦσαν), ἔδοξε καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον διαλυ- 2 θῆναι. καὶ συνήλθον εἰς ταῦτόν κατὰ τὴν ἐν Μισσηνοῖς ἄκραν καὶ τὸ χῶμα, Πομπηίῳ μὲν τοῦ στόλου παρορμοῦντος, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι τῶν πεζῶν παρακεκριμένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέθεντο Πομπηίου ἔχοντα Σαρδόνα καὶ Σικελίαν καθαρὰν 206

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mother; for she was the child of Ancharia, but he, by a later marriage, of Atia. Caesar was exceedingly fond of his sister, who was, as the saying is, a wonder of a woman. Her husband, Caius Marcellus, had died a short time before, and she was a widow. Antony, too, now that Fulvia was gone, was held to be a widower, although he did not deny his relations with Cleopatra; he would not admit, however, that she was his wife, and in this matter his reason was still battling with his love for the Egyptian. Everybody tried to bring about this marriage. For they hoped that Octavia, who, besides her great beauty, had intelligence and dignity, when united to Antony and beloved by him, as such a woman naturally must be, would restore harmony and be their complete salvation. Accordingly, when both men were agreed, they went up to Rome and celebrated Octavia's marriage, although the law did not permit a woman to marry before her husband had been dead ten months. In this case, however, the senate passed a decree remitting the restriction in time.

XXXII. Now, Sextus Pompeius was holding Sicily, was ravaging Italy, and, with his numerous piratical ships under the command of Menas the corsair and Menecrates, had made the sea unsafe for sailors. But he was thought to be kindly disposed towards Antony, since he had given refuge to Antony's mother when she fled from Rome with Fulvia, and so it was decided to make terms with him. The men met at the promontory and mole of Misenum, near which Pompey's fleet lay at anchor and the forces of Antony and Caesar were drawn up. After it had been agreed that Pompey should have

- τε ληστηρίων παρέχειν τὴν θάλατταν καὶ σίτου
 τι τεταγμένον ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐκάλουν
 3 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀλλήλους. κληρουμένων δὲ πρῶτος
 ἐστὶαν αὐτοὺς ἔλαχε Πομπηΐος. ἐρομένου δὲ
 αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου, ποῦ δειπνήσουσιν, “Ἐνταῦθα,”
 ἔφη, δείξας τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν οὖσαν ἐξήρη
 “πατρῶος γὰρ οἶκος αὕτη Πομπηΐῳ λέλειπται.”
 ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὀνειδίζων ἔλεγεν, ἐπεὶ
 τὴν Πομπηΐου τοῦ πατρὸς γενομένην οἰκίαν ἐκεῖ-
 νος εἶχεν. ὀρμίσας δὲ τὴν ναῦν ἐπ’ ἀγκυρῶν καὶ
 4 διάβασίν τινα γεφυρώσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἀνελάμ-
 βανεν αὐτοὺς προθύμως. ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς
 συνουσίας καὶ τῶν εἰς Κλεοπάτραν καὶ Ἀντώνιον
 ἀνθούτων σκωμμάτων, Μηνᾶς ὁ πειρατῆς τῷ
 Πομπηΐῳ προσελθὼν ὥς μὴ κατακούειν ἐκείνους,
 “Βούλει,” φησί, “τὰς ἀγκύρας τῆς νεὸς ὑποτέμω
 καὶ ποιήσω σε μὴ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδόνης, ἀλλὰ
 5 τῆς Ῥωμαίων κύριον ἡγεμονίας;” ὁ δὲ Πομπηΐος
 ἀκούσας καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος βραχὺν χρό-
 νον, “Ἐδει σε,” φησὶν, “ὦ Μηνᾶ, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ μὴ
 προειπόντα ποιῆσαι· νυνὶ δὲ τὰ παρόντα στέρ-
 γωμεν· ἐπιорκεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐμόν.” οὗτος μὲν οὖν
 πάλιν ἀνθεστιαθεὶς ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὴν Σικε-
 λίαν ἀπέπλευσεν.

XXXIII. Ἀντώνιος δὲ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις
 Οὐεντίδιον μὲν εἰς Ἀσίαν προὔπεμπε Πάρθοις
 ἐμποδὼν ἐσόμενον τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ
 Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἱερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ προ-
 τέρου Καίσαρος· καὶ τὰλλα κοινῶς καὶ φιλικῶς
 ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις ἔπραττον. αἱ δὲ
 περὶ τὰς παιδίας ἄμιλλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλύπουν

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Sardinia and Sicily, should keep the sea clear of robbers, and should send up to Rome a stipulated amount of grain, they invited one another to supper. Lots were cast, and it was the lot of Pompey to entertain the others first. And when Antony asked him where the supper would be held, "There," said he, pointing to his admiral's ship with its six banks of oars, "for this is the ancestral house that is left to Pompey." This he said by way of reproach to Antony, who was now occupying the house which had belonged to the elder Pompey. So he brought his ship to anchor, made a sort of bridge on which to cross to it from the headland, and gave his guests a hearty welcome on board. When their good fellowship was at its height and the jokes about Antony and Cleopatra were in full career, Menas the pirate came up to Pompey and said, so that the others could not hear, "Shall I cut the ship's cables and make thee master, not of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire?" Pompey, on hearing this, communed with himself a little while, and then said: "Menas, you ought to have done this without speaking to me about it beforehand; but now let us be satisfied with things as they are; for perjury is not my way." Pompey, then, after being feasted in his turn by Antony and Caesar, sailed back to Sicily.

XXXIII. After this settlement, Antony sent Ventidius on ahead into Asia to oppose the further progress of the Parthians, while he himself, as a favour to Caesar, was appointed to the priesthood of the elder Caesar;¹ everything else also of the most important political nature they transacted together and in a friendly spirit. But their competitive diversions gave

¹ That is, he was made Pontifex Maximus.

2 αὖ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλαττον φερόμενον. ἦν γάρ
 τις ἀνὴρ σὺν αὐτῷ μαντικὸς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τῶν
 τὰς γενέσεις ἐπισκοπούντων, ὃς εἶτε Κλεοπάτρα
 χαριζόμενος εἶτε χρώμενος ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον ἐπαρρησιάζετο, λέγων τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ
 λαμπροτάτην οὖσαν καὶ μεγίστην ὑπὸ τῆς Καί-
 σαρος ἀμαυροῦσθαι, καὶ συνεβούλευε πορρωτάτω
 τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιεῖν ἑαυτόν. “Ὁ γὰρ σός,”
 ἔφη, “δαίμων τὸν τούτου φοβεῖται· καὶ γαῦρος
 ὢν καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὅταν ἦ καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὑπ' ἐκείνου
 γίνεται ταπεινότερος ἐγγίσαντος καὶ ἀγεννέστε-
 3 ρος.” καὶ μέντοι τὰ γινόμενα τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ
 μαρτυρεῖν ἐδόκει. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι κληρουμένων
 μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐφ' ὅτῳ τύχοιεν ἐκάστοτε καὶ
 κυβευόντων ἔλαττον ἔχων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπῆε.
 πολλάκις δὲ συμβαλόντων ἀλεκτρυόνας, πολλά-
 κισ δὲ μαχίμους ὀρτυγας, ἐνίκων οἱ Καίσαρος.

Ἐφ' οἷς ἀνιῶμενος ἀδήλως ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ
 μᾶλλον τι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ προσέχων, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ
 τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐγχειρίσας Καίσαρι τὰ οἰκεία· τὴν
 δὲ Ὀκταουίαν ἄχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπήγετο θυ-
 4 γατρίου γεγονότος αὐτοῖς. διαχειμάζοντι δὲ
 αὐτῷ περὶ Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγέλλεται τὰ πρῶτα τῶν
 Οὐεντιδίου κατορθωμάτων, ὅτι μάχῃ τοὺς Πάρ-
 θους κρατήσας Λαβινὸν ἀπεκτόνοι καὶ Φαρνα-
 πάτην ἡγεμονικώτατον τῶν Ὑρώδου βασιλέως
 στρατηγῶν. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰστία τοὺς Ἕλληνας, 931
 ἐγυμνασιάρχει δὲ Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 παράσημα καταλιπὼν οἶκοι μετὰ τῶν γυμνασιαρ-
 χικῶν ῥάβδων ἐν ἱματίῳ καὶ φαικασίοις προῆει
 καὶ διαλαμβάνων τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐτραχήλιζεν.

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Antony annoyance, because he always came off with less than Caesar. Now, there was with him a seer from Egypt, one of those who cast nativities. This man, either as a favour to Cleopatra, or dealing truly with Antony, used frank language with him, saying that his fortune, though most great and splendid, was obscured by that of Caesar; and he advised Antony to put as much distance as possible between himself and that young man. "For thy guardian genius," said he, "is afraid of his; and though it has a spirited and lofty mien when it is by itself, when his comes near, thine is cowed and humbled by it." And indeed events seemed to testify in favour of the Egyptian. For we are told that whenever, by way of diversion, lots were cast or dice thrown to decide matters in which they were engaged, Antony came off worsted. They would often match cocks, and often fighting quails, and Caesar's would always be victorious.

At all this Antony was annoyed, though he did not show it, and giving rather more heed now to the Egyptian, he departed from Italy, after putting his private affairs in the hands of Caesar; and he took Octavia with him as far as Greece (she had borne him a daughter). It was while he was spending the winter at Athens that word was brought to him of the first successes of Ventidius, who had conquered the Parthians in battle and slain Labienus, as well as Pharnapates, the most capable general of King Hyrodes. To celebrate this victory Antony feasted the Greeks, and acted as gymnasiarch for the Athenians. He left at home the insignia of his command, and went forth carrying the wands of a gymnasiarch, in a Greek robe and white shoes, and he would take the young combatants by the neck and part them.

- XXXIV. Ἐξίεναι δὲ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας στέφανον ἔλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τι λόγιον ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας ὕδατος ἐμπλησάμενος ἀγγεῖον ἐκόμιζεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πάκορον τὸν βασιλέως παῖδα, μεγάλῳ στρατῷ Πάρθων αὐθις ἐπὶ Συρίαν ἐλαύνοντα, συμπεσὼν Οὐεντίδιος ἐν τῇ Κυρρηστικῇ τρέπεται, καὶ διαφθείρει παμπόλλους, ἐν πρώτοις Πακόρου πεσόντος.
- 2 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐν τοῖς ἀοιδιμωτάτοις γενόμενον Ῥωμαίοις τε τῶν κατὰ Κράσσον ἀτυχημάτων ἔκπλεω ποινὴν παρέσχε, καὶ Πάρθους αὐθις εἰσω Μηδίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας συνέστειλε, τρισὶ μάχαις ἐφεξῆς κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένους. Οὐεντίδιος δὲ Πάρθους μὲν προσωτέρω διώκειν ἀπέγνω, φθόνον Ἀντωνίου δείσας, τοὺς δὲ ἀφεστῶτας ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο καὶ τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν Ἀντί-
- 3 οχον ἐν πόλει Σαμοσάτοις ἐπολιόρκει. δεόμενου δὲ χίλια τάλαντα δοῦναι καὶ ποιεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἐκέλευε πέμπειν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ἤδη γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἦν ἐπιὼν, καὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον οὐκ εἶα σπένδεσθαι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, βουλόμενος ἔν γε τοῦτο τῶν ἔργων ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ
- 4 πάντα διὰ Οὐεντιδίου κατορθοῦσθαι. τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης καὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ὡς ἀπέγνωσαν τὰς διαλύσεις, πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπομένων, πρᾶττων οὐδέν, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δὲ καὶ μεταγνώσει γενόμενος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις σπένδε-

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XXXIV. When he was about to go forth to the war, he took a wreath from the sacred olive-tree,¹ and, in obedience to a certain oracle, filled a vessel with water from the Clepsydra² and carried it with him. In the meantime Pacorus, the king's son, advanced again with a large army of Parthians against Syria; but Ventidius engaged and routed him in Cyrrhestica, and slew great numbers of his men.³ Pacorus fell among the first. This exploit, which became one of the most celebrated, gave the Romans full satisfaction for the disaster under Crassus, and shut the Parthians up again within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia, after they had been utterly defeated in three successive battles. Ventidius, however, decided not to pursue the Parthians further, because he feared the jealousy of Antony; but he attacked and subdued the peoples which had revolted from Rome, and besieged Antiochus of Commagené in the city of Samosata. When Antiochus proposed to pay a thousand talents and obey the behests of Antony, Ventidius ordered him to send his proposal to Antony, who had now advanced into the neighbourhood, and would not permit Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus. He insisted that this one exploit at least should bear his own name, and that not all the successes should be due to Ventidius. But the siege was protracted, and the besieged, since they despaired of coming to terms, betook themselves to a vigorous defence. Antony could therefore accomplish nothing, and feeling ashamed and repentant, was glad to make peace with

¹ In the Erechtheum, on the Acropolis.

² A sacred spring just below the ancient portal of the Acropolis (Pausanias, i. 28, 4).

³ In 38 B.C. See the *Crassus*, xxxiii. 5, with the note.

ται ταλάντοις πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἐν Συρία καταστησάμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον οἷς ἔπρεπε τιμήσας ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

- 5 Οὗτος ἀπὸ Πάρθων ἄχρι δεῦρο τεθριάμβευκε μόνος, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν ἀφανής, ἀπολαύσας δὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίου φιλίας τὸ λαβεῖν ἀφορμὰς πράξεων μεγάλων, αἷς κάλλιστα χρησάμενος ἐβεβαίωσε τὸν περὶ Ἀντωνίου λεγόμενον καὶ Καίσαρος λόγον, ὡς εὐτυχέστεροι δι' ἐτέρων ἦσαν ἢ δι' αὐτῶν
- 6 στρατηγεῖν. καὶ γὰρ Σόσσιος Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸς ἐν Συρία πολλὰ διεπράττετο, καὶ Κανίδιος ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀρμενίαν τούτους τε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν βασιλέας ἄχρι τοῦ Καυκάσου προῆλθεν. ἀφ' ὧν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄνομα καὶ κλέος ἠϋξέτο τῆς Ἀντωνίου δυνάμεως.

- XXXV. Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἔκ τινων διαβολῶν παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς Καίσαρα ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις ἔπλει πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν· οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Βρεντεσινῶν τὸν στόλον εἰς Τάραντα περιώρμισεν. ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ὀκταουίαν (συνέπλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῇ) δεηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἔγκουν μὲν οὔσαν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον
- 2 ἐξ αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον ἔχουσαν. ἡ δὲ ἀπαντήσασα καθ' ὁδὸν Καίσαρι, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικῆναν, ἐνετύγχανε πολλὰ ποτνιωμένη καὶ πολλὰ δεομένη μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκ μακαριωτάτης γυναικὸς ἀθλιωτάτην γενομένην. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέπειν αὐτοκρατόρων δυεῖν, τοῦ
- 3 μὲν γυναιῖκα, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὔσαν· “ εἰ δὲ τὰ

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Antiochus on his payment of three hundred talents. After settling some trivial matters in Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius home, with becoming honours, to enjoy his triumph.

Ventidius is the only man up to the present time who ever celebrated a triumph over the Parthians. He was a man of lowly birth, but his friendship with Antony bore fruit for him in opportunities to perform great deeds. Of these opportunities he made the best use, and so confirmed what was generally said of Antony and Caesar, namely, that they were more successful in campaigns conducted by others than by themselves. For Sossius, Antony's general, effected much in Syria, and Canidius, who was left by Antony in Armenia, conquered that people, as well as the kings of the Iberians and Albanians, and advanced as far as the Caucasus. Consequently the name and fame of Antony's power waxed great among the Barbarians.

XXXV. But Antony himself, once more irritated against Caesar by certain calumnies, sailed with three hundred ships for Italy; and when the people of Brundisium would not receive his armament, he coasted along to Tarentum. Here he sent Octavia, who had sailed with him from Greece, at her own request, to her brother. She was with child, and had already borne Antony two daughters. Octavia met Caesar on the way, and after winning over his friends Agrippa and Maecenas, urged him with many prayers and many entreaties not to permit her, after being a most happy, to become a most wretched woman. For now, she said, the eyes of all men were drawn to her as the wife of one imperator and the sister of another: "But if," she said, "the worse

χείρῳ κρατήσειεν," ἔφη, " καὶ γένοιτο πόλεμος, ὑμῶν μὲν ἄδηλον ὅτῳ κρατεῖν ἢ κρατεῖσθαι πέ-
 πρωται, τὰ ἑμὰ δ' ἀμφοτέρως ἄθλια." τοῦτοις
 ἐπικλασθεῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤκεν εἰρηνικῶς εἰς Τάραν-
 τα, καὶ θέαμα κύλλιστον οἱ παρόντες ἐθεῶντο,
 πολὺν μὲν ἐκ γῆς στρατὸν ἡσυχάζοντα, πολλὰς
 δὲ ναῦς ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἐχούσας, αὐ-
 τῶν δὲ καὶ φίλων ἀπαντήσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας.
 4 εἰστία δὲ Ἀντώνιος πρότερος, καὶ τοῦτο τῇ ἀδελ-
 φῇ Καίσαρος δόντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡμολόγητο Καί-
 σαρα μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ δοῦναι δύο τάγματα πρὸς τὸν 932
 Παρθικὸν πόλεμον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ Καίσαρι χαλκ-
 εμβόλους ἑκατόν, Ὀκταουία τῶν ὡμολογημένων
 χωρὶς ἡτήσατο τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 εἴκοσι μυοπάρωνας, τῷ δ' ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελ-
 5 φοῦ στρατιώτας χιλίους. οὕτω δὲ ἀλλήλων
 διακριθέντες ὁ μὲν εὐθύς εἶχετο τοῦ πρὸς Πομ-
 πηίου πολέμου, Σικελίας ἐφιέμενος, Ἀντώνιος δὲ
 Ὀκταουίαν μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ἐκ
 Φουλβίας παῖδας αὐτῷ παρακαταθέμενος εἰς τὴν
 Ἀσίαν ἀπεπέρασεν.

XXXVI. Εὐδουσα δ' ἡ δεινὴ συμφορὰ χρόνον
 πολὺν, ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρως, δοκῶν κατευνάσθαι
 καὶ κατακεκληῆσθαι τοῖς βελτίοσι λογισμοῖς,
 αὐθις ἀνέλαμπε καὶ ἀνεθάρρει Συρία πλησιά-
 ζοντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τέλος, ὥσπερ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων
 τὸ δυσπειθὲς καὶ ἀκόλαστον τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποζύ-
 γιον, ἀπολακτίσας τὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια πάντα
 Καπίτωνα Φοντήιον ἔπεμψεν ἄξοντα Κλεοπάτραν
 2 εἰς Συρίαν. ἐλθούσῃ δὲ χαρίζεται καὶ προστί-
 θησι μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ Φοινίκην,

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should prevail and there should be war between you, one of you, it is uncertain which, is destined to conquer, and one to be conquered, but my lot in either case will be one of misery." Caesar was overcome by these words, and came in a peaceful manner to Tarentum. Then the inhabitants beheld a most noble spectacle—a large army on land inactive, and many ships lying quietly off shore, while the commanders and their friends met one another with friendly greetings. Antony entertained Caesar first, who consented to it for his sister's sake. And after it had been agreed that Caesar should give to Antony two legions for his Parthian war, and Antony to Caesar one hundred bronze-beaked galleys, Octavia, independently of this agreement, obtained twenty light sailing craft from her husband for her brother, and one thousand soldiers from her brother for her husband. Thus they separated, and Caesar at once engaged in the war against Pompey, being ambitious to get Sicily, while Antony, after putting Octavia in Caesar's charge, together with his children by her and Fulvia, crossed over into Asia.

XXXVI. But the dire evil which had been slumbering for a long time, namely, his passion for Cleopatra, which men thought had been charmed away and lulled to rest by better considerations, blazed up again with renewed power as he drew near to Syria. And finally, like the stubborn and unmanageable beast of the soul, of which Plato speaks,¹ he spurned away all saving and noble counsels and sent Fontèius Capito to bring Cleopatra to Syria. And when she was come, he made her a present of no slight or insignificant addition to her dominions, namely,

¹ Cf. *Phaedrus*, 254 A.

κοίλην Συρίαν, Κύπρον, Κιλικίας πολλήν· ἔτι δὲ τῆς τε Ἰουδαίων τὴν τὸ βάλσαμον φέρουσιν καὶ τῆς Ναβαταίων Ἀραβίας ὁση πρὸς τὴν ἐκτὸς ἀποκλίνει θάλασσαν. αὐταὶ μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖους ἠνίασαν αἱ δωρεαί. καίτοι πολλοὺς ἐχαρίζετο τετραρχίας καὶ βασιλείας ἐθνῶν μεγάλων, ἰδιώταις οὖσι, πολλοὺς δ' ἀφηρεῖτο βασιλείας, ὡς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον, ὃν καὶ προαγαγὼν ἐπελέκισεν, οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἐτέρου βασιλεως

3 οὕτω κολασθέντος. ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἦν τῶν Κλεοπάτρας τιμῶν ἀνιαιρότατον. ἠύξησε δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς διδύμους ἀνελόμενος, καὶ προσαγορεύσας τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν δὲ Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἥλιον, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἔλεγε τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας οὐ δι' ὧν λαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς χαρίζονται φαίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος· διαδοχαῖς δὲ καὶ τεκνώσει πολλῶν βασιλέων πλατύνεσθαι

4 τὰς εὐγενείας. οὕτω γοῦν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους τεκνωθῆναι τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ γαστρὶ θεμένου τὴν διαδοχὴν οὐδὲ νόμους Σολωνεῖους καὶ κυήσεως εὐθύνας δεδοικότος, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει πολλὰς γενῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ καταβολὰς ἀπολιπεῖν ἐφ' ἑνός.

XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φραάτου κτείναντος Ἱρῶ-
δην τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντος
ἄλλοι τε Πάρθων ἀπεδίδρασκον οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ
Μοναΐσης, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ δυνατός, ἦκε φεύ-

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Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Cyprus, and a large part of Cilicia; and still further, the balsam-producing part of Judaea, and all that part of Arabia Nabataea which slopes toward the outer sea. These gifts particularly annoyed the Romans. And yet he made presents to many private persons of tetrarchies and realms of great peoples, and he deprived many monarchs of their kingdoms, as, for instance, Antigonus the Jew, whom he brought forth and beheaded, though no other king before him had been so punished. But the shamefulness of the honours conferred upon Cleopatra gave most offence. And he heightened the scandal by acknowledging his two children by her, and calling one Alexander and the other Cleopatra, with the surname for the first of Sun, and for the other of Moon. However, since he was an adept at putting a good face upon shameful deeds, he used to say that the greatness of the Roman empire was made manifest, not by what the Romans received, but by what they bestowed; and that noble families were extended by the successive begettings of many kings. In this way, at any rate, he said, his own progenitor was begotten by Heracles, who did not confine his succession to a single womb, nor stand in awe of laws like Solon's for the regulation of conception, but gave free course to nature, and left behind him the beginnings and foundations of many families.

XXXVII. And now Phraates put Hyrodes his father to death and took possession of his kingdom,¹ other Parthians ran away in great numbers, and particularly Monaeses, a man of distinction and power,

¹ In 36 B.C. Cf. the *Crassus*, xxxiii. 5.

- γων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, τὰς μὲν ἐκείνου τύχας ταῖς
Θεμίστοκλέους εἰκάσας, περιουσίαν δὲ τὴν ἑαυ-
τοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι
παραβαλὼν, ἐδωρήσατο τρεῖς πόλεις αὐτῷ, Λά-
ρισσαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν, ἣν
2 Βαμβύκην πρότερον ἐκάλουν. τοῦ δὲ Πάρθων
βασιλέως τῷ Μοναίῳ δεξιὰν καταπέμψαντος,
ἄσμενος αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἔξαπατᾶν
μὲν ἐγνωκῶς τὸν Φραάτην, ὡς εἰρήνης ἔσομένης,
ἀξιῶν δὲ τὰς ἀλούσας ἐπὶ Κράσσου σημαίας καὶ
τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς περιόντας. αὐτὸς δὲ
Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποπέμψας ἐχώρει δι'
3 Ἀραβίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας, ὅπου συνελθούσης αὐτῇ
τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βασιλέων (πάμ-
πολλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, μέγιστος δὲ πάντων ὁ τῆς
Ἀρμενίας Ἀρταουάσδης, ἑξακισχιλίου. ἵππεῖς
καὶ πεζοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους παρέχων) ἐξήτασε τὸν
στρατόν. ἦσαν δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτῶν ἑξακισ-
μύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις συντεταγμένον
ἵππικόν, Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν μύριοι, τῶν δὲ
ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἐγένοντο τρεῖς μυριάδες σὺν ἱππεύ-
σιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ψιλοῖς.
- 4 Τοσαύτην μέντοι παρασκευὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ἥ
καὶ τοὺς πέραν Βάκτρων Ἰνδοὺς ἐφόβησε καὶ
πᾶσαν ἐκράδαυε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀνόνητον αὐτῷ διὰ 933
Κλεοπάτραν γενέσθαι λέγουσι. σπεύδοντα γὰρ
ἐκείνῃ συνδιαχειμάσαι, τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν
πρὸ καιροῦ καὶ πᾶσι χρήσασθαι τεταραγμένως,
οὐκ ὄντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ¹
φαρμάκων τινῶν ἢ γοητείας παπταίνοντα πρὸς

¹ ὡς ὑπὸ Naber : ὑπό.

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who came in flight to Antony. Antony likened the fortunes of the fugitive to those of Themistocles,¹ compared his own abundant resources and magnanimity to those of the Persian kings, and gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which used to be called Bambycé. But when the Parthian king made an offer of friendship to Monaeses, Antony gladly sent Monaeses back to him, determined to deceive Phraates with a prospect of peace, and demanding back the standards captured in the campaign of Crassus, together with such of his men as still survived. Antony himself, however, after sending Cleopatra back to Egypt, proceeded through Arabia and Armenia to the place where his forces were assembled, together with those of the allied kings. These kings were very many in number, but the greatest of them all was Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who furnished six thousand horse and seven thousand foot. Here Antony reviewed his army. There were, of the Romans themselves, sixty thousand foot-soldiers, together with the cavalry classed as Roman, namely, ten thousand Iberians and Celts; of the other nations there were thirty thousand, counting alike horsemen and light-armed troops.

And yet we are told that all this preparation and power, which terrified even the Indians beyond Bactria and made all Asia quiver, was made of no avail to Antony by reason of Cleopatra. For so eager was he to spend the winter with her that he began the war before the proper time, and managed everything confusedly. He was not master of his own faculties, but, as if he were under the influence of certain drugs or of magic rites, was ever looking

¹ See the *Themistocles*, xxix. 7.

ἐκείνην αἰεί, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τάχιον ἐπανελθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενον.

XXXVIII. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ δέον ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διαχειμάσαι καὶ διαναπαῦσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὀκτακισχιλίων σταδίων ἀποτετρυμένον πορείᾳ, καὶ πρὶν ἢ κινεῖν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων Πάρθους ἕαρος ἀρχῇ Μηδίαν καταλαβεῖν, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ λαβὼν Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ τῆς Ἀτροπατηνῆς ἀψά-
 2 μενος ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν. ἔπειτα μηχανημάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἀναγκαίων τριακοσίαις ἀμάξαις παραπεμπομένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ κριὸς ἦν ὀγδοήκοντα ποδῶν μῆκος, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐνεχώρει διαφθαρὲν ἐπὶ καιροῦ πάλιν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἄνω χώραν πᾶν ξύλον ἀγεννὲς εἰς μῆκος καὶ μαλθακὸν ἐκφέρειν, ἐπειγόμενος ὥς ἐμπόδια τοῦ ταχύνειν ἀπέλιπε, φυλακὴν τινα καὶ Στατιανὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἀμαξῶν ἐπιστήσας, αὐτὸς δὲ Φραάτα μεγάλην πόλιν, ἐν ἣ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν τοῦ τῆς Μηδίας βασιλέως, ἐπο-
 3 λιόρκει. τῆς δὲ χρείας εὐθὺς ὅσον ἡμαρτε τὰς μηχανὰς ἀπολιπὼν ἐξελεγχούσης, ὁμόσε χωρῶν ἔχου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν χῶμα σχολῇ καὶ πολυπόνως ἀνιστάμενον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καταβαίνων στρατιᾷ μεγάλη Φραάτης, ὡς ἤκουσε τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν μηχανοφόρων ἀμαξῶν, ἔπεμψε τῶν ἱππέων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτάς, ὑφ' ὧν περιληφθεὶς ὁ Στατιανὸς ἀποθνήσκει μὲν αὐτός, ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ μύριοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ. τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἐλόντες οἱ

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eagerly towards her, and thinking more of his speedy return than of conquering the enemy.

XXXVIII. In the first place, then, though he ought to have spent the winter in Armenia and to have given his army rest, worn out as it was by a march of eight thousand furlongs, and to have occupied Media at the opening of spring, before the Parthians had left their winter quarters, he could not hold out that length of time, but led his army on, taking Armenia on his left, and skirting Atropatené, which country he ravaged. Secondly, his engines necessary for siege operations were carried along on three hundred waggons, and among them was a battering ram eighty feet long. Not one of these, if destroyed, could be replaced in time to be of use, because the upper country produced only wood of insufficient length and hardness. Nevertheless, in his haste, he left these behind him, on the ground that they retarded his speed, setting a considerable guard under the command of Statianus over the waggons, while he himself laid siege to Phraata, a large city, in which were the wives and children of the king of Media. But the exigencies of the case at once proved what a mistake he had made in leaving behind him his engines, and coming to close quarters he began to build a mound against the city, which rose slowly and with much labour. In the meantime, however, Phraates came down with a great army, and when he heard that the waggons carrying the engines had been left behind, he sent a large number of his horsemen against them. By these Statianus was surrounded and slain himself, and ten thousand of his men were slain with him. Moreover, the Barbarians captured the engines and

βάρβαροι διέφθειραν. εἶλον δὲ παμπόλλους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Πολέμων ἦν ὁ βασιλεύς.

XXXIX. Τοῦτο πάντα μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἠνίασε τοὺς περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἀνελπίστως ἐν ἀρχῇ πληγέντας· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος Ἀρταουάσδης ἀπογνοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ᾤχετο τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀναλαβών, καίπερ αἰτιώτατος τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος.

- 2 ἐπιφανέντων δὲ λαμπρῶς τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χρωμένων ἀπειλαῖς πρὸς ὕβριν, οὐ βουλόμενος Ἀντώνιος ἡσυχάζοντι τῷ στρατῷ τὸ δυσθυμοῦν καὶ καταπεπληγμένον ἐμμένειν καὶ αὔξεσθαι, δέκα τάγματα λαβὼν καὶ τρεῖς στρατηγίδας σπείρας ὀπλιτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ἅπαντας, ἐξήγαγε πρὸς σιτολογίαν, οἴομενος οὕτως ἂν ἐπισπασθέντων μάλιστα τῶν πολεμίων
- 3 ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχην γενέσθαι. προελθὼν δὲ μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς Πάρθους κύκλῳ περιχεομένους καὶ προσπесεῖν καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῷ ζητοῦντας, ἐξέθηκε μὲν τὸ τῆς μάχης σύμβολον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καθελὼν δὲ τὰς σκηνάς ὡς οὐ μαχησόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπάξων, παρημέιβετο τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν τάξιν οὖσαν μηνοειδῇ, κελεύσας, ὅταν οἱ πρῶτοι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐν ἐφικτῷ δοκῶσιν
- 4 εἶναι, τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐναντίους εἰσελαύνειν. τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις παρακεκριμένοις λόγου κρείττων ἢ τάξις ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κατεθεῶντο παρεξιώντας ἐν διαστήμασιν ἴσοις ἀθορύβως καὶ σιωπῇ τοὺς ὕσσοις κραδαίνοντας. ὡς δὲ τὸ σημεῖον ἦρθη καὶ προσεφέροντο μετὰ κραυγῆς

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destroyed them. They also took a great number of prisoners, among whom was Polemon the king.

XXXIX. This calamity naturally distressed all the followers of Antony, for they had received an unexpected blow at the outset; besides, Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, despairing of the Roman cause, took his own forces and went off, although he had been the chief cause of the war. And now the Parthians presented themselves to the besiegers in brilliant array, and threatened them insultingly. Antony, therefore, not wishing that the inactivity of his army should confirm and increase among them consternation and dejection, took ten legions and three praetorian cohorts of men-at-arms, together with all his cavalry, and led them out to forage, thinking that in this way the enemy would best be drawn into a pitched battle. After advancing a single day's march, he saw that the Parthians were enveloping him and seeking to attack him on the march. He therefore displayed the signal for battle in his camp, and after taking down his tents, as though his purpose was not to fight but to withdraw, he marched along past the line of the Barbarians, which was crescent-shaped. But he had given orders that when the first ranks of the enemy should appear to be within reach of his legionaries, the cavalry should charge upon them. To the Parthians in their parallel array, the discipline of the Romans seemed to beggar description, and they watched them marching past at equal distances from one another, without confusion, and in silence, brandishing their javelins. But when the signal was given, and the Roman horsemen wheeled about and rode down

ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ ἵππεῖς, τούτους μὲν ἡμύνοντο δεξάμενοι, καίπερ εὐθὺς ἐντὸς τοξεύματος γενομένους, τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν συναπτόντων ἅμα βοῇ καὶ πατάγῳ τῶν ὄπλων, οἳ τε ἵπποι τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐξίσταντο тарβούντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφευγον.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐνέκειτο τῇ διώξει, καὶ 934
μεγάλας εἶχεν ἐλπίδας ὥς τοῦ πολέμου τὸ
σύμπαν ἢ τὸ πλείστον ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ διαπεπραγ-
μένος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης τοῖς μὲν
πεζοῖς ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια, τοῖς δὲ ἵππεύσιν
ἐπὶ τρεῖς τοσαῦτα, τοὺς πεπτωκότας τῶν πολεμίων
καὶ τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπισκοποῦντες εὗρον αἰχ-
μαλώτους μὲν τριάκοντα, νεκροὺς δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα
μόνους, ἀπορία καὶ δυσθυμία πᾶσι παρέστη,
δεινὸν εἶναι λογιζομένοις εἰ νικῶντες μὲν οὕτως
ὀλίγους κτείνουσιν, ἡττώμενοι δὲ στερήσονται
τοσούτων ὅσους ἀπέβαλον περὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις.
- 6 τῇ δ' ὑστεραία συσκευασάμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ Φραάτων
καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προῆγον. ἐντυχόντες δὲ
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγοις τῶν πολεμίων,
ἔπειτα πλείοσι, τέλος δὲ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἀηττήτοις
καὶ νεαλέσι προκαλουμένοις καὶ προσβάλλουσι
πανταχόθεν, μοχθηρῶς καὶ πολυπόνως ἀπε-
- 7 σώθησαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῶν δὲ Μήδων
ἐκδρομὴν τινα ποιησαμένων ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα καὶ
τοὺς προμαχομένους φοβησάντων, ὀργισθεὶς ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ἐχρήσατο τῇ λεγομένῃ δεκατεία πρὸς
τοὺς ἀποδειλιάσαντας. διελὼν γὰρ εἰς δεκάδας
τὸ πλῆθος ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἓνα τὸν λαχόντα κλήρω
διέφθειρε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀντὶ πυρῶν ἐκέλευε
κριθὰς μετρεῖσθαι.

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upon them with loud shouts, they did indeed receive their onset and repel them, although their foes were at once too close for them to use their arrows; when, however, the legionaries joined in the charge, with shouts and clashing of weapons, the horses of the Parthians took fright and gave way, and the Parthians fled without coming to close quarters.

Antony pressed hard upon them in pursuit, and had great hopes that he had finished the whole war, or the greater part of it, in that one battle. His infantry kept up the pursuit for fifty furlongs, and his cavalry for thrice that distance; and yet when he took count of those of the enemy who had fallen or had been captured, he found only thirty prisoners and eighty dead bodies. Despondency and despair therefore fell upon all; they thought it a terrible thing that when victorious they had killed so few, and when vanquished they were to be robbed of so many men as they had lost at the waggons. On the following day they packed up and started on the road to Phraata and their camp. As they marched they met, first a few of the enemy, then more of them, and finally the whole body, which, as though unconquered and fresh, challenged and attacked them from every side; but at last, with difficulty and much labour, they got safely to their camp. Then the Medes made a sally against their mound and put its defenders to flight. At this Antony was enraged, and visited those who had played the coward with what is called decimation. That is, he divided the whole number of them into tens, and put to death that one from each ten upon whom the lot fell.¹ For the rest he ordered rations of barley instead of wheat.

¹ See the *Crassus*, x. 2.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XL. Χαλεπὸς δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ τὰ μέλλον αὐτοῦ φοβερώτερον, Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν προσδοκῶντι λιμὸν· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ τραυμάτων καὶ νεκρῶν πολλῶν ἐπισιτίσασθαι· Φραάτης δὲ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπιστάμενος πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ χειμῶνος ἔξω προσταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ θυραυλεῖν δυναμένους, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγκαρτερούντων καὶ παραμενόντων ἀπολίπωσιν αὐτόν, ἤδη τοῦ ἀέρος συνισταμένου μετὰ φθινοπωρινήν
2 ἰσημερίαν. δόλον οὖν συντίθησι τοιόνδε. Πάρθων οἱ γνωριμώτατοι περὶ τὰς σιτολογίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπαντήσεις μαλακώτερον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεφέροντο, λαμβάνειν τε παριέντες αὐτοῖς ἔνια καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινοῦντες ὡς πολεμικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ θαυμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ
3 σφετέρου βασιλέως δικαίως. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσελαύνοντες ἐγγυτέρω καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀτρέμα παραβάλλοντες ἐλοιδόρουν τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὅτι βουλομένῳ Φραάτῃ διαλλαγῆναι καὶ φείσασθαι τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοσούτων ἀφορμῆν οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χαλεποὺς καὶ μεγάλους κάθηται πολεμίους ἀναμένων, λιμὸν καὶ χειμῶνα, δι' ὧν ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ προπεμπομένους ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἀποφεύγειν. πολλῶν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀναφερόντων, μαλασσόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὅμως οὐ πρότερον ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον ἢ πυθέσθαι τῶν φιλοφρονουμένων ἐκείνων βαρβάρων εἰ τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα φρο-
4 νούντος διαλέγοιντο. φασκόντων δὲ καὶ παρακαλούντων μὴ δεδιέναι μηδὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ἔπεμψε τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων πάλιν τὰς σημαίας ἀξίων

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XL. The war was full of hardship for both sides, and its future course was still more to be dreaded. Antony expected a famine; for it was no longer possible to get provisions without having many men wounded and killed. Phraates, too, knew that his Parthians were able to do anything rather than to undergo hardships and encamp in the open during winter, and he was afraid that if the Romans persisted and remained, his men would desert him, since already the air was getting sharp after the summer equinox. He therefore contrived the following stratagem. Those of the Parthians who were most acquainted with the Romans attacked them less vigorously in their forays for provisions and other encounters, allowing them to take some things, praising their valour, and declaring that they were capital fighting men and justly admired by their own king. After this, they would ride up nearer, and quietly putting their horses alongside the Romans, would revile Antony because, when Phraates wished to come to terms and spare so many and such excellent men, Antony would not give him an opportunity, but sat there awaiting those grievous and powerful enemies, famine and winter, which would make it difficult for them to escape even though the Parthians should escort them on their way. Many persons reported this to Antony, but though his hope inclined him to yield, he did not send heralds to the Parthians until he had inquired of the Barbarians who were showing such kindness whether what they said represented the mind of their king. They assured him that it did, and urged him to have no fear or distrust, whereupon he sent some of his companions with a renewed demand for the return of the standards

ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ὥς δὴ μὴ
παντάπασιν ἀγαπᾶν τὸ σωθῆναι καὶ διαφυγεῖν
νομισθείη. τοῦ δὲ Πάρθου ταῦτα μὲν ἔαν
κελεύοντος, ἀπιόντι δὲ εὐθὺς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀσφά-
λειαν εἶναι φήσαντος, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις συσκευα-
5 σάμενος ἀνεξεύγνυνεν. ὦν δὲ καὶ δῆμῳ πιθανὸς
ἐντυχεῖν καὶ στρατὸν ἄγειν διὰ λόγου παρ'
όντινούν· τῶν τότε πεφυκώς, ἐξέλιπεν αὐτὸς
αἰσχύνῃ καὶ κατηφεία τὸ παραθαρρῦναι τὸ
πλήθος, Δομίτιον δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἐκέλευε τοῦτο
ποιῆσαι. καὶ τινες μὲν ἡγανάκτησαν ὡς ὑπερορώ-
μενοι, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐπεκλάσθη καὶ συνεφρόνησε
τὴν αἰτίαν· διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀνταιδεῖ-
σθαι καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ στρατηγῷ.

XLI. Μέλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν
ἄγειν ὀπίσω πεδινὴν καὶ ἄδενδρον οὖσαν, ἀνὴρ
τῷ γένει Μάρδος, πολλὰ τοῖς Πάρθων ἤθεσιν .
ἐνωμιληκώς, ἤδη δὲ Ῥωμαίοις πιστὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ 935
τῇ περὶ τὰς μηχανὰς γεγονώς, Ἀντωνίῳ προσ-
ελθὼν ἐκέλευε φεύγειν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν ὁρῶν
ἐπιλαβόμενον, καὶ μὴ στρατὸν ὀπλίτην καὶ
βαρὺν ἐν δρόμοις γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις
2 ὑποβαλεῖν ἵππῳ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τοξεύμασιν, ὃ δὴ
τεχνώμενον τὸν Φραάτην ἀναστῆσαι τῆς πολιορ-
κίας αὐτὸν ὁμολογίαις φιλανθρώποις· ἔσεσθαι δὲ
αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ὁδοῦ βραχυτέρας καὶ μᾶλλον
εὐπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐχούσης.

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and the captives,¹ that he might not be thought altogether satisfied with an escape in safety. But the Parthian told him not to urge this matter, and assured him of peace and safety as soon as he started to go away; whereupon, within a few days Antony packed up his baggage and broke camp. But though he was persuasive in addressing a popular audience and was better endowed by nature than any man of his time for leading an army by force of eloquence, he could not prevail upon himself, for shame and dejection of spirits, to make the usual speech of encouragement to the army, but ordered Domitius Ahenobarbus to do it. Some of the soldiers were incensed at this, and felt that he had held them in contempt; but the majority of them were moved to the heart as they comprehended the reason. Therefore they thought they ought to show all the more respect and obedience to their commander.

XLI. As he was about to lead his army back by the road over which it had come, which ran through a level country without trees, a man of the Mardian race, who had great familiarity with the Parthian habits, and had already shown himself faithful to the Romans in the battle over the engines of war,² came to Antony and urged him in his flight to keep close to the hills upon his right, and not to expose an encumbered army of legionaries to so large a force of mounted archers, in bare and extended tracts; this was the very thing, he said, which Phraates had designed when he induced him by friendly conferences to raise the siege; he himself, he said, would conduct the army by a way that was shorter and furnished a greater abundance of provisions.

¹ See chapter xxxvii. 2.

² See chapter xxxviii. 3.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ Πάρθοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν μετὰ σπονδάς, τὴν δὲ συντομίαν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὸ παρὰ κώμας οἰκουμένας ἔσεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐπαινῶν

3 πίστιν ἥτει τὸν Μάρδον. ὁ δὲ δῆσαι παρείχεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι οὗ καταστήσῃ τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ δεθεὶς ἡγείτο δύο ἡμέρας καθ' ἡσυχίαν. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ παντάπασι τοὺς Πάρθους ἀπεγνωκότος Ἀντωνίου καὶ βαδίζοντος ἀνειμένως διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἰδὼν ὁ Μάρδος ἀπόχωσιν ἐμβολῆς ποταμοῦ νεωστὶ διεσπασμένην καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα πολὺ

4 πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, ἥ πορευτέον ἦν, ἐκχεόμενον, συνήκεν ὅτι τῶν Πάρθων ἔργον εἴη τοῦτο δυσκολίας ἔνεκα καὶ διατριβῆς ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποταμὸν τιθεμένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε καὶ προσέχειν, ὥς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων. ἄρτι δὲ αὐτοῦ καθιστάντος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις ἐκδρομὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασκευάζοντος, ἐπεφάνησαν οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ περιήλαυνον ὥς κυκλωσόμενοι καὶ συνταράζοντες πανταχόθεν τὸν στρατόν.

5 ἐκδραμόντων δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, πολλὰς μὲν διδόντες ἀπὸ τόξων, οὐκ ἐλάττονας δὲ ταῖς μολυβδίσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις πληγὰς λαμβάνοντες ἀνεχώρουν· εἶτα ἐπήγον αὐθις, ἄχρι οὗ συστρέψαντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐνέβαλον καὶ διεσκέδασαν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δειγμα γενομένους.

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On hearing this, Antony took counsel with himself. He did not wish to have the appearance of distrusting the Parthians, now that a truce had been made, but since he approved of the shorter road and of having their march take them past inhabited villages, he asked the Mardian for a pledge of his good faith. The Mardian offered to let himself be put in fetters until he should bring the army safely into Armenia, and he was put in fetters, and led them for two days without their encountering trouble. But on the third day, when Antony had put the Parthians entirely out of his thoughts, and was marching along in loose order because of his confidence, the Mardian noticed that a dike of the river had been recently torn away, and that the stream was flowing out in great volume towards the road over which their march must be made. He comprehended that this was the work of the Parthians, throwing the river in their way to obstruct and delay the Roman march, and urged Antony to look out and be on his guard, as the enemy were near. And just as Antony was setting his legionaries in array and arranging to have his javelineers and slingers make a sally through them against the enemy, the Parthians came into view and began to ride around the army in order to envelope and throw it into confusion on all sides. Whenever the Roman light-armed troops sallied out against them, the Parthians would inflict many wounds with their arrows, but sustain yet more from the leaden bullets and javelins of the Romans, and therefore withdraw. Then they would come up again, until the Celts, massing their horses together, made a charge upon them and scattered them, so that they showed themselves no more that day.

XLII. Ἐκ τούτου μαθὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ ποιεῖν ἔδει, πολλοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις οὐ μόνον τὴν οὐραγίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς ἐκατέρως στομώσας ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἤγε, καὶ τοῖς ἱππόταις εἴρητο προσβάλλοντας τρέπεσθαι, τρεψαμένους δὲ μὴ πόρρῳ διώκειν, ὥστε τοὺς Πάρθους τὰς ἐφεξῆς τέσσαρας ἡμέρας οὐθὲν πλεον δράσαντας ἢ παθόντας ἀμβλυτέρους γεγονέναι καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ποιουμένους πρόφασιν ἀπιέναι διανοεῖσθαι.

- 2 Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ Φλαοῦιος Γάλλος, ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ δραστήριος ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένος, ἤτησεν Ἀντώνιον προσελθὼν πλείονας ψιλούς ἀπ' οὐράς, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππέων τινὰς ὡς μέγα κατόρθωμα ποιήσων. δόντος δὲ προσβάλλοντας ἀνέκοπτε τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐχ, ὡς πρότερον, ὑπάγων ἅμα πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἀναχωρῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑφιστάμενος καὶ συμπλεκόμενος
- 3 παραβολώτερον. ὁρῶντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς οὐραγίας ἡγεμόνες ἀπορρηγνύμενον ἐκάλουν πέμποντες· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο. Τίτιον δὲ φασὶ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τῶν σημαιῶν ἐπιλαβόμενον στρέφειν ὀπίσω καὶ λοιδορεῖν τὸν Γάλλον ὡς ἀπολλύντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας. ἀντιλοιδοροῦντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ διακελευομένου τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν μένειν, ὁ μὲν Τίτιος ἀπεχώρει· τὸν δὲ Γάλλον ὠθοῦμενον εἰς τοὺς κατὰ στόμα λανθάνουσι πολλοὶ
- 4 περισχόντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν. βαλλόμενος δὲ πανταχόθεν ἐκάλει πέμπων ἀρωγὴν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἄγοντες, ὧν καὶ Κανίδιος ἦν, ἀνὴρ παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ δυνάμενος μέγιστον, οὐ μικρὰ δοκοῦσι διαμαρτεῖν. δέον γὰρ ἀθρόαν ἐπιστρέψαι τὴν

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XLII. Having thus learned what he ought to do, Antony covered not only his rear, but also both his flanks, with numerous javelineers and slingers, led his army in the form of a hollow square, and gave orders to his horsemen to rout the enemy when they attacked, but after routing them not to pursue them further. Consequently the Parthians, during four successive days, suffered greater loss than they inflicted, became less eager, and made the winter an excuse for thoughts of going away.

On the fifth day, however, Flavius Gallus, an efficient and able soldier in high command, came to Antony and asked him for more light-armed troops from the rear, and for some of the horsemen from the van, confident that he would achieve a great success. Antony gave him the troops, and when the enemy attacked, Gallus beat them back, not withdrawing and leading them on towards the legionaries, as before, but resisting and engaging them more hazardously. The leaders of the rear guard, seeing that he was being cut off from them, sent and called him back; but he would not listen to them. Then, they say, Titius the quaestor laid hold of his standards and tried to turn them back, abusing Gallus for throwing away the lives of so many brave men. But Gallus gave back the abuse and exhorted his men to stand firm, whereupon Titius withdrew. Then Gallus forced his way among the enemy in front of him, without noticing that great numbers of them were enveloping him in the rear. But when missiles began to fall upon him from all sides, he sent and asked for help. Then the leaders of the legionaries, among whom was Canidius, a man of the greatest influence with Antony, are thought to have made no slight mistake. For when

φάλαγγα, πέμποντες κατ' ὀλίγους ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, καὶ πάλιν ἡττωμένων τούτων ἑτέρους ἀποστέλλοντες, ἔλαθον ὀλίγου δεῖν ἡττης καὶ φυγῆς ὅλον ἀναπλήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ μὲν αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἦκεν ὑπαντιάζων, ταχὺ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τάγμα διὰ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσάμενον ἔσχε τοῦ πρόσω διώκειν.

XLIII. Ἀπέθανον δὲ τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ἐκομίσθησαν δὲ ἐπὶ σκηναὺς τραυματαῖαι πεντακισχίλιοι· καὶ Γάλλος ἦν ἐν τούτοις, τέτταρσιν ἐναντίοις διαπεπαρμένος τοξεύμασιν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων οὐκ ἀνῆνέγκε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους περιῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεσκόπει καὶ παρεθάρρυνε δεδακρυμένος καὶ περικαθήμενος. οἱ δὲ φαιδροὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαμβανόμενοι παρεκάλουν ἀπιόντα θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κακοπαθεῖν, αὐτοκράτορα καλοῦντες, καὶ σώζεσθαι λέγοντες ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὑγιαίνει. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλκαῖς οὔτε ὑπομοναῖς οὔτε ἡλικία λαμπρότερον ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ στρατὸν ἐκείνου δοκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις· ἢ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰδῶς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πειθαρχία μετ' εὐνοίας, καὶ τὸ πάντας ὁμαλῶς, ἐνδόξους, ἀδόξους, ἄρχοντας, ἰδιώτας, τὴν παρὰ Ἀντωνίου τιμὴν τε καὶ χάριν μᾶλλον αἰρεῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας, οὐδὲ τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέλιπεν ὑπερβολήν. τούτου δὲ αἰτίαι πλείονες ἦσαν, ὥς προειρήκαμεν· εὐγένεια, λόγου δύναμις, ἀπλότης,

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they ought to have wheeled their entire line against the enemy, they sent only a few men at a time to help Gallus, and again, when one detachment had been overcome, sent out others, and so, before they were aware of it, they came near plunging the whole army into defeat and flight. But Antony himself speedily came with his legionaries from the van to confront the fugitives, and the third legion speedily pushed its way through them against the enemy and checked his further pursuit.

XLIII. There fell no fewer than three thousand, and there were carried to their tents five thousand wounded men, among whom was Gallus, who was pierced in front by four arrows. Gallus, indeed, did not recover from his wounds, but Antony went to see all the others and tried to encourage them, with tears of sympathy in his eyes. The wounded men, however, with cheerful faces, seized his hand and exhorted him to go away and take care of himself, and not to be distressed. They called him Imperator, and said that they were safe if only he were unharmed. For, to put it briefly, no other imperator of that day appears to have assembled an army more conspicuous for prowess, endurance, or youthful vigour. Nay, the respect which his soldiers felt for him as their leader, their obedience and goodwill, and the degree to which all of them alike—men of good repute or men of no repute, commanders or private soldiers—preferred honour and favour from Antony to life and safety, left even the ancient Romans nothing to surpass. And the reasons for this were many, as I have said before: his high birth, his eloquence, his simplicity of manners, his love of

τὸ φιλόδωρον καὶ μεγαλόδωρον, ἡ περὶ τὰς παι-
 διὰς καὶ τὰς ὀμιλίας εὐτραπελία. τότε δὲ καὶ
 συμπονῶν καὶ συναλγῶν τοῖς κακοπαθοῦσι, καὶ
 μεταδιδούς οὐ τις δεηθείη, προθυμοτέρους τῶν
 ἔρρωμένων τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ τετρωμένους
 ἐποίησε.

XLIV. Τοὺς μέντοι πολεμίους ἀπαγορεύοντας
 ἤδη καὶ κάμνοντας οὕτως ἐπῆρεν ἡ νίκη καὶ
 τοσοῦτον τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεφρόνησαν ὥστε καὶ
 νυκτὸς ἐπαυλίσασθαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, προσδο-
 κῶντας αὐτίκα μάλα σκηναὺς ἐρήμους καὶ χρή-
 2 ματα διαρπάσειν ἀποδιδρασκόντων. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα
 πολὺ πλείονες ἐπηθροίζοντο, καὶ λέγονται τε-
 τρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττονες ἰππόται γενέσθαι,
 βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν αἰὲ τεταγμένους
 ὡς ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ βεβαίῳ κατορθώματι πέμψαν-
 τος· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμιᾷ μάχῃ παρέτυχεν.
 Ἀντώνιος δὲ βουλόμενος προσαγορεύσαι τοὺς
 στρατιώτας ἤτησε φαιδὸν ἱμάτιον, ὡς οἰκτρότερος
 ὀφθείη. τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐναντιωθέντων ἐν τῇ
 στρατηγικῇ φοινικίδι προελθὼν ἐδημηγόρησε, τοὺς
 μὲν νευικηκότας ἐπαινῶν, ὀνειδίζων δὲ τοὺς φυγ-
 3 ὄντας. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν παρεκελεύοντο θαρρεῖν, οἱ
 δὲ ἀπολογούμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρείχον, εἴτε
 βούλοιο δεκατεύειν, εἴτε ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ κολάζειν·
 μόνον παύσασθαι δυσφοροῦντα καὶ λυπούμενον
 ἐδέοντο. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας ἐπεύ-
 ξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἴ τις ἄρα νέμεσις τὰς πρόσθεν
 εὐτυχίας αὐτοῦ μέτεισιν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τῷ δ'
 ἄλλῳ στρατῷ σωτηρίαν διδόναι καὶ νίκην.

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giving and the largeness of his giving, his complaisance in affairs of pleasure or social intercourse. And so at this time, by sharing in the toils and distresses of the unfortunate and bestowing upon them whatever they wanted, he made the sick and wounded more eager in his service than the well and strong.

XLIV. The enemy, however, who had been already worn out and inclined to abandon their task, were so elated by their victory, and so despised the Romans, that they even bivouacked for the night near their camp, expecting very soon to be plundering the empty tents and the baggage of runaways. At day-break, too, they gathered for attack in far greater numbers, and there are said to have been no fewer than forty thousand horsemen, since their king had sent even those who were always arrayed about his person, assured that it was to manifest and assured success; for the king himself was never present at a battle. Then Antony, wishing to harangue his soldiers, called for a dark robe, that he might be more pitiful in their eyes. But his friends opposed him in this, and he therefore came forward in the purple robe of a general and made his harangue, praising those who had been victorious, and reproaching those who had fled. The former exhorted him to be of good courage, and the latter, by way of apology for their conduct, offered themselves to him for decimation,¹ if he wished, or for any other kind of punishment; only they begged him to cease being distressed and vexed. In reply, Antony lifted up his hands and prayed the gods that if, then, any retribution were to follow his former successes, it might fall upon him alone, and that the rest of the army might be granted victory and safety.

¹ See chapter xxxix. 7.

- XLV. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ φραξάμενοι βέλτιον προῆγον· καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπιχειροῦσι πολλὸς ἀπὴντα παράλογος. οἰόμενοι γὰρ ἐφ' ἄρπαγὴν καὶ λεηλασίαν, οὐ μάχην, ἐλαύνειν, εἴτα πολλοὺς βέλεσιν ἐντυγχάνοντες, ἐρρωμένους δὲ καὶ νεαλεῖς
- 2 ταῖς προθυμίαις ὁρῶντες, αὐθις ἐξέκαμνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ λόφων τινῶν ἐπικλινῶν ἐπέθεντο καὶ βραδέως ὑπεξάγοντας ἔβαλλον, ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ θυρεοφόροι συνέκλεισαν εἴσω τῶν ὄπλων τοὺς ψιλοὺς, αὐτοὶ δὲ καθέντες εἰς γόνυ προὔβαλον τοὺς θυρεοὺς· οἱ δὲ ὀπισθεν ὑπερέσχον αὐτῶν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ κύνων ὁμοίως ἕτεροι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα παραπλήσιον ἐρέψει γινόμενον ὄψιν 937
- 3 τε θεατρικὴν παρέχει, καὶ τῶν προβλημάτων στεγανώτατόν ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς οἰστοὺς ἀπολισθαίνοντας. οἱ μὲντοι Πάρθοι τὴν εἰς γόνυ κλίσιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπαγόρευσιν ἡγούμενοι καὶ κάματον εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τόξα κατέθεντο, τοὺς δὲ κοντοὺς διαλαβόντες ἐγγὺς προσέμιξαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συναλαλάξαντες ἐξαίφνης ἀνέθορον, καὶ τοῖς ὕσσοις παίοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἔκτεινάν τε τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ τροπὴν ἔθεντο τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἀννούντων τῆς ὁδοῦ.
- 4 Καὶ λιμὸς ἤπτετο τοῦ στρατοῦ σῖτόν τε βραχὺν καὶ διὰ μάχης ποριζομένου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἄλετον σκευῶν οὐκ εὐποροῦντος. τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ κατελείπετο, τῶν μὲν ἀποθνησκόντων ὑποζυγίων, τῶν δὲ τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ τραυματίας φερόντων.

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XLV. On the following day they went forward under better protection ; and the Parthians met with a great surprise when they attacked them. For they thought they were riding up for plunder and booty, not battle, and when they encountered many missiles and saw that the Romans were fresh and vigorous and eager for the fray, they were once more tired of the struggle. However, as the Romans were descending some steep hills, the Parthians attacked them and shot at them as they slowly moved along. Then the shield-bearers wheeled about, enclosing the lighter armed troops within their ranks, while they themselves dropped on one knee and held their shields out before them. The second rank held their shields out over the heads of the first, and the next rank likewise. The resulting appearance is very like that of a roof,¹ affords a striking spectacle, and is the most effective of protections against arrows, which glide off from it. The Parthians, however, thinking that the Romans dropping on one knee was a sign of fatigue and exhaustion, laid aside their bows, grasped their spears by the middle and came to close quarters. But the Romans, with a full battle cry, suddenly sprang up, and thrusting with their javelins slew the foremost of the Parthians and put all the rest to rout. This happened also on the following days as the Romans, little by little, proceeded on their way.

Famine also attacked the army, which could provide itself with little grain even by fighting, and was not well furnished with implements for grinding. These had been abandoned, for the most part, since some of the beasts of burden died, and the others

¹ It was the *testudo*, described in Dio Cassius, xlix. 3.

λέγεται δὲ χοῖνιξ Ἀττικὴ πυρῶν πεντήκοντα
 δραχμῶν ὧνιός γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ κριθίνους ἄρ-
 5 τοὺς πρὸς ἀργύριον ἰστάντες ἀπεδίδοντο. τραπό-
 μενοι δὲ πρὸς λάχανα καὶ ῥίζας ὀλίγοις μὲν
 ἐνετύγχανον τῶν συνήθων, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ πει-
 ρᾶσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀγεύστων πρότερον ἤψαντό· τινος
 πόας ἐπὶ θάνατον διὰ μανίας ἀγούσης. ὁ γὰρ
 φαγὼν οὐδὲν ἐμέμνητο τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲ ἐγίνωσκεν,
 ἐν δ' ἔργον εἶχε, κινεῖν καὶ στρέφειν πάντα λίθον,
 ὥς τι μεγάλης σπουδῆς ἄξιον διαπραττόμενος.
 6 ἦν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ πεδῖον κεκυφῶτων χαμᾶζε καὶ
 τοὺς λίθους περιορυττόντων καὶ μεθιστάντων·
 τέλος δὲ χολὴν ἐμοῦντες ἔθνησκον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ
 μόνον ἀντιπαθές, οἶνος, ἐξέλιπε. φθειρομένων δὲ
 πολλῶν καὶ τῶν Πάρθων οὐκ ἀφισταμένων πολ-
 λάκις ἀναφθέγξασθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἱστοροῦσιν,
 “ὦ μύριοι,” θαυμάζοντα τοὺς μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος,
 ὅτι καὶ πλείονα καταβαίνοντες ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυ-
 λωνίας καὶ πολλαπλασίοις μαχόμενοι πολεμίοις
 ἀπεσώθησαν.

XLVI. Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαπλέξαι μὲν οὐ δυνά-
 μενοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐδὲ διασπάσαι τὴν τάξιν, ἥδη
 δὲ πολλάκις ἡττημένοι καὶ πεφευγότες, αὖθις
 εἰρηνικῶς ἀνεμίγνυντο τοῖς ἐπὶ χιλὸν ἢ σῖτον
 προερχομένοις, καὶ τῶν τόξων τὰς νευρὰς ἐπιδει-
 κνύντες ἀνειμένας, ἔλεγον ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπίασιν
 ὀπίσω καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται πέρας ἀμύνης, ὀλίγοι
 δὲ Μήδων ἀκολουθήσουσιν ἔτι μιᾶς ἢ δευτέρας
 2 ἀπωτέρω κώμας φυλάττοντες. τούτοις τοῖς λό-
 γοις ἀσπασμοὶ τε καὶ φιλοφροσύναι προσήσαν,

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had to carry the sick and wounded. It is said that one attic choenix¹ of wheat brought fifty drachmas; and loaves of barley bread were sold for their weight in silver. Resorting, therefore, to vegetables and roots, they could find few to which they were accustomed, and were compelled to make trial of some never tasted before. Thus it was that they partook of an herb which produced madness, and then death. He who ate of it had no memory, and no thought for anything else than the one task of moving or turning every stone, as if he were accomplishing something of great importance. The plain was full of men stooping to the ground and digging around the stones or removing them; and finally they would vomit bile and die, since the only remedy, wine, was not to be had. Many perished thus, and the Parthians would not desist, and Antony, as we are told, would often cry: "O the Ten Thousand!" thereby expressing his admiration of Xenophon's army, which made an even longer march to the sea from Babylon, and fought with many times as many enemies, and yet came off safe.

XLVI. And now the Parthians, unable to throw the army into confusion or break up its array, but many times already defeated and put to flight, began once more to mingle peaceably with the men who went out in search of fodder or grain, and pointing to their unstrung bows would say that they themselves were going back, and that this was the end of their retaliation, although a few Medes would still follow the Romans one or two days' march, not molesting them at all, but merely protecting the more outlying villages. To these words they added greetings and acts of friendliness, so that once more

¹ About a quart.

ὥστε πάλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐθαρσεῖς γενέσθαι
καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀκούσαντα τῶν πεδίων ἐφίε-
σθαι μᾶλλον, ἀνύδρου λεγομένης εἶναι τῆς διὰ τῶν
ὀρῶν. οὕτω δὲ ποιεῖν μέλλοντος ἦκεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ
τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ὄνομα Μιθρι-
δάτης, ἀνεψιὸς Μοναίσου τοῦ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ
γενομένου καὶ τὰς τρεῖς πόλεις δωρεὰν λαβόντος.
ἡξίου δὲ αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν τινα τῶν Παρθιστῶν
3 διαλεχθῆναι δυναμένων ἢ Συριστί. καὶ προσελ-
θόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀντιοχέως, ὃς ἦν Ἀν-
τωνίῳ συνήθης, ὑπειπὼν ὃς εἶη, καὶ Μοναίση τὴν
χάριν ἀνάπτων, ἠρώτησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰ λό-
φους συνεχεῖς καὶ ὑψηλοὺς ὀρᾶ πρόσωθεν. φή-
σαντος δὲ ὀρᾶν, “Ὑπ' ἐκείνοις,” ἔφη “πανστρα-
4 τιᾷ Πάρθοι λοχῶσιν ὑμᾶς. τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα
πεδία τῶν λόφων τούτων ἐξήρτηται, καὶ προσδο-
κῶσιν ὑμᾶς ἐξηπατημένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα
τρέψεσθαι, τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀπολιπόντας. ἐκείνη
μὲν οὖν ἔχει δίψος καὶ πόνον ὑμῖν συνήθη, ταύτῃ
δὲ χωρῶν Ἀντώνιος ἴστω τὰς Κράσσου τύχας
αὐτὸν ἐκδεχομένης.”

XLVII. Ὁ μὲν οὕτω φράσας ἀπῆλθεν. Ἀντώ-
νιος δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ διαταραχθεὶς συνεκάλει τοὺς
φίλους καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ Μάρδον οὐδὲ
αὐτὸν ἄλλως φρονοῦντα. καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ πολεμίων 938
ἐγίνωσκε τὰς διὰ τῶν πεδίων ἀνοδίας καὶ πλάνας
χαλεπὰς καὶ δυστεκμάρτους οὔσας, τὴν δὲ τρα-
χείαν ἀπέφαινε οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυσχ εἰς ἡμῶν

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the Romans became full of courage, and Antony, when he heard about it, was more inclined to seek the plains, since the way through the mountains was said to be waterless. But as he was about to do this, there came a man to the camp from the enemy, Mithridates by name, a cousin of the Monaeses who had been with Antony and had received the three cities as a gift.¹ Mithridates asked that someone should come to him who could speak the Parthian or Syrian language. So Alexander of Antioch came to him, being a close friend of Antony, whereupon Mithridates, after explaining who he was, and attributing to Monaeses the favour now to be shown, asked Alexander if he saw a range of lofty hills on beyond. Alexander said he did see them. "Under those hills," said Mithridates, "the Parthians with all their forces are lying in ambush for you. For the great plains adjoin these hills, and they expect that you will be beguiled by them into turning in that direction and leaving the road through the mountains. That road, it is true, involves thirst and hard labour, to which you are now accustomed; but if Antony proceeds by way of the plains, let him know that the fate of Crassus awaits him."

XLVII. After giving this information the man went away, and Antony, who was much troubled by what he now heard, called together his friends and his Mardian guide, who was himself of the same opinion as their visitor. For he knew that even were there no enemy the lack of roads through the plains would involve them in blind and grievous wanderings, and he showed them that the rough road through the mountains had no other annoyance

¹ Cf. chapter xxxvii. l.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

2 ἡμέρας ἀνδρίαν ἔχουσιν. οὕτω δὲ τραπόμενος ταύτην ἦγε νυκτός, ὕδωρ ἐπιφέρεισθαι κελεύσας. ἀγγείων δὲ ἦν ἀπορία τοῖς πολλοῖς· διὸ καὶ τὰ κράνη πιμπλάντες ὕδατος ἐκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ διφθέραις ὑπολαμβάνοντες.

Ἦδη δὲ προχωρῶν ἀγγέλλεται τοῖς Πάρθοις καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐδίωκον. ἡλίου δὲ ἀνίσχοντος ἤπτοντο τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνῳ κακῶς διακειμένων· τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ καὶ διακοσίους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ σταδίου κατηνύκεισαν· καὶ τὸ μὴ προσδοκῶσιν οὕτω ταχέως ἐπελθεῖν

3 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθυμίαν παρεῖχε. καὶ τὸ δίψος ἐπέτεινεν ὁ ἀγών· ἀμυνόμενοι γὰρ ἅμα προῆγον. οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι βαδίζοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι ποταμῷ ψυχρὸν μὲν ἔχοντι καὶ διαυγές, ἀλμυρὸν δὲ καὶ φαρμακῶδες ὕδωρ, ὃ ποθὲν εὐθύς ὁδύνας ἐλκομένης τῆς κοιλίας καὶ τοῦ δίψους ἀναφλεγόμενου παρ ἤχε. καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Μάρδου προλέγοντος οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐκβιαζόμενοι τοὺς ἀνείργοντας ἔπινον.

4 Ἀντώνιος δὲ περιϋὼν ἐδεῖτο βραχὺν ἐγκαρτερῆσαι χρόνον· ἕτερον γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ποταμὸν εἶναι πότιμον, εἶτα τὴν λοιπὴν ἄφιππον καὶ τραχεῖαν, ὥστε παντάπασιν ἀποστρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ κατὰζευξιν ἐσήμαινεν, ὥς σκιᾶς γοῦν μεταλάβοιεν οἱ στρατιῶται.

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than lack of water for a single day. Accordingly, Antony took this route and led his army along by night, after ordering his men to carry water with them. The greater part of them, however, had no vessels, and therefore some actually filled their helmets with water and carried them, while others took it in skins.

But word was at once brought to the Parthians that Antony was advancing, and contrary to their custom they set out in pursuit while it was yet night. Just as the sun was rising they came up with the rear-guard of the Romans, which was foredone with sleeplessness and toil; for they had accomplished two hundred and forty furlongs in the night. Moreover, they did not expect that the enemy would come upon them so quickly, and were therefore disheartened. Besides, their contest intensified their thirst; for they had to ward off the enemy and make their way forward at the same time. Those who marched in the van came to a river, the water of which was clear and cold, but had a salty taste and was poisonous. This water, as soon as one drank it, caused pains, accompanied by cramping of the bowels and an inflammation of one's thirst. Of this too the Mardian had warned them, but none the less the soldiers forced aside those who tried to turn them back, and drank. Antony went round and begged the men to hold out a little while; for not far ahead, he said, there was another river which was potable, and then the rest of the way was too rough for cavalry, so that the enemy must certainly turn back. At the same time, too, he called his men back from fighting and gave the signal for pitching the tents, that the soldiers might at least enjoy the shade a little.

- XLVIII. Πηγνυμένων οὖν τῶν σκηνῶν, καὶ τῶν Πάρθων εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν, ἀπαλλαττομένων, ἦκεν αὐθις ὁ Μιθριδάτης, καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου προσελθόντος παρήνει μικρὸν ἡσυχάσαντα τὸν στρατὸν ἀνιστάναι καὶ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὡς οὐ διαβησομένων Πάρθων, ἄχρι δὲ ἐκείνου διωξόντων. ταῦτα ἀπαγγείλας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκφέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ χρυσᾶ ποτήρια πάμπολλα καὶ φιάλας, ὧν ἐκεῖνος, ὅσα τῇ ἐσθῇτι κατακρύψαι δυνατὸς ἦν, λαβὼν ἀπή-
2 λαινευεν. ἔτι δὲ ἡμέρας οὔσης ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο, τῶν πολεμίων οὐ παρενοχλούντων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑαυτοῖς νύκτα χαλεπωτάτην πασῶν ἐκείνην καὶ φοβερωτάτην ἀπεργασάμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντας ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἀποκτινύντες ἐσύλων καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀφήρπαζον· τέλος δὲ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου σκευοφόροις ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἐκπώματα καὶ τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς κατέκοπτον καὶ διενέμοντο.
- 3 Θορύβου δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ πλάνου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐπέχοντος (ῥοντο γὰρ ἐπιπεπτωκότων τῶν πολεμίων τροπὴν γεγονέναι καὶ διασπασμόν) Ἀντώνιος ἕνα καλέσας τῶν δορυφορούντων αὐτὸν ἀπελευθέρων, ὄνομα Ῥάμνον, ὥρκωσεν, ὅταν κελεύσῃ, τὸ ξίφος αὐτοῦ διεῖναι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, ὡς μήτε ἀλφῆ ζῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
4 μήτε γνωσθεῖη τεθνηκώς. ἐκδακρυσάντων δὲ τῶν φίλων ὁ Μάρδος ἐθάρρυνε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὔρα τις
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XLVIII. Accordingly, the Romans went to pitching their tents, and the Parthians, as their custom was, at once began to withdraw. At this point Mithridates came again, and after Alexander had joined him he advised Antony to let the army rest only a little while, and then to get it under way and hasten to the river, assuring him that the Parthians would not cross it, but would continue the pursuit until they reached it. This message was carried to Antony by Alexander, who then brought out from Antony golden drinking-cups in great numbers, as well as bowls. Mithridates took as many of these as he could hide in his garments and rode off. Then, while it was still day, they broke camp and proceeded on their march. The enemy did not molest them, but they themselves made that night of all other nights the most grievous and fearful for themselves. For those who had gold or silver were slain and robbed of it, and the goods were plundered from the beasts of burden; and finally the baggage-carriers of Antony were attacked, and beakers and costly tables were cut to pieces or distributed about.

And now, since there was great confusion and straggling throughout the whole army (for they thought that the enemy had fallen upon them and routed and dispersed them), Antony called one of the freedmen in his body-guard, Rhamnus by name, and made him take oath that, at the word of command, he would thrust his sword through him and cut off his head, that he might neither be taken alive by the enemy nor recognized when he was dead. Antony's friends burst into tears, but the Mardian tried to encourage him, declaring that the river was near;

ἀπορρέουσα νοτερὰ καὶ ψυχρότερος ἤνρ ἀπαντῶν
 ἡδῖω τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἔφη
 τῆς πορείας οὕτω συμπεραίνειν τὸ μέτρον· οὐκ ἐτι
 5 γὰρ ἦν πολὺ τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς νυκτός. ἅμα δ'
 ἀπήγγελλον ἕτεροι τὸν θόρυβον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐ-
 τοὺς ἀδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας εἶναι. διὸ καὶ κατα-
 στησαι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν ἐκ τῆς πλάνης καὶ
 τοῦ διασπασμοῦ βουλόμενος ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν
 κατὰ ζευξιν.

XLIX. Ἦδη δ' ὑπέλαμπεν ἡμέρα, καὶ τοῦ
 στρατοῦ κόσμον ἀρχομένου τινὰ λαμβάνειν καὶ
 ἡσυχίαν προσέπιπτε τοῖς τελευταίοις τὰ τῶν
 Πάρθων τοξεύματα, καὶ μάχης σημεῖον ἐδόθη 939
 τοῖς ψιλοῖς. οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται πάλιν ὁμοίως κατε-
 ρέψαντες ἀλλήλους τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑπέμενον τοὺς
 βάλλοντας ἐγγὺς οὐ τολμῶντας συνελθεῖν.
 2 ὑπαγόντων δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν πρώτων
 ὁ ποταμὸς ἐφάνη· καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 παρατάξας Ἀντώνιος ἐναντίους τοῖς πολεμίοις
 διεβίβαζε τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς πρότους. ἤδη δὲ καὶ
 τοῖς μαχομένοις ἄδεια καὶ ῥαστώνη τοῦ πιεῖν ἦν.
 ὥς γὰρ εἶδον οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν ποταμόν, τὰς τε
 νευρὰς ἀνῆκαν καὶ θαρροῦντας ἐκέλευον διαπερᾶν
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πολλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐγκω-
 3 μιᾶζοντες. διαβάντες οὖν καθ' ἡσυχίαν αὐτοὺς
 ἀνελάμβανον, εἰτα ὤδενον, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς
 Πάρθοις πιστεύοντες. ἕκτη δ' ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν
 τελευταίαν μάχην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ἦκον,
 ὀρίζοντα Μηδίαν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ

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for a breeze blowing from it was moist, and a cooler air in their faces made their breathing pleasanter. He said also that the time during which they had been marching made his estimate of the distance conclusive; for little of the night was now left. At the same time, too, others brought word that the tumult was a result of their own iniquitous and rapacious treatment of one another. Therefore, wishing to bring the throng into order after their wandering and distraction, Antony ordered the signal to be given for encampment.

XLIX. Day was already dawning, and the army was beginning to assume a certain order and tranquillity, when the arrows of the Parthians fell upon the rear ranks, and the light-armed troops were ordered by signal to engage. The men-at-arms, too, again covered each other over with their shields, as they had done before, and so withstood their assailants, who did not venture to come to close quarters. The front ranks advanced little by little in this manner, and the river came in sight. On its bank Antony drew up his horsemen to confront the enemy, and set his sick and disabled soldiers across first. And presently even those who were fighting had a chance to drink at their ease; for when the Parthians saw the river, they unstrung their bows and bade the Romans cross over with good courage, bestowing much praise also upon their valour. So they crossed without being disturbed and recruited themselves, and then resumed their march, putting no confidence at all in the Parthians. And on the sixth day after their last battle with them they came to the river Araxes, which forms the boundary between Media and Armenia. Its depth and violence

βάθει καὶ τραχύτητι χαλεπός· καὶ λόγος διήλθεν ἐνεδρεύνοντας αὐτόθι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιθήσεσθαι
 4 διαβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς διαπεράσαντες ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὥσπερ ἄρτι γῆν ἐκείνην ἰδόντες ἐκ πελάγους, προσεκύνου καὶ πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ περιβολὰς ἀλλήλων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐτρέποντο. προΐοντες δὲ διὰ χώρας εὐδαίμονος καὶ χρώμενοι πᾶσιν ἀνέδην ἐκ πολλῆς ἀπορίας, ὑδερικοῖς καὶ κοιλιακοῖς περιέπιπτον ἀρρωστήμασιν.

L. Ἐνταῦθα ποιησάμενος ἐξέτασιν αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος εὔρε δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἵππεῖς ἀπολωλότας, οὐ πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεις νοσήσαντας. ὤδευσαν μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Φραάτων ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, μάχαις δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα Πάρθους ἐνίκησαν, αἱ δὲ νῖκαι κράτος οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲ βεβαιότητα μικρὰς ποιουμένων καὶ ἀτελεῖς τὰς
 2 διώξεις. ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα κατάδηλος ἦν Ἀρταουάσδης ὁ Ἀρμένιος Ἀντώνιον ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος ἀφελόμενος. εἰ γὰρ οὓς ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Μηδίας ἵππεῖς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους παρήσαν, ἐσκευασμένοι παραπλησίως Πάρθοις καὶ συνήθεις μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, Ῥωμαίων μὲν τοὺς μαχομένους τρεπομένων, ἐκείνων δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας αἰρούντων, οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἡττωμένοις ἀναφέρειν καὶ ἀνατολμᾶν τοσαυτάκις.
 3 ἅπαντες οὖν ὀργῇ παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος οὔτε ἐμέμψατο τὴν προδοσίαν οὔτε ἀφεῖλε τῆς συνήθους φιλοφροσύνης καὶ τιμῆς

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made it seem difficult of passage; and a report was rife that the enemy were lying in ambush there and would attack them as they tried to cross. But after they were safely on the other side and had set foot in Armenia, as if they had just caught sight of that land from the sea, they saluted it and fell to weeping and embracing one another for joy. But as they advanced through the country, which was prosperous, and enjoyed all things in abundance after great scarcity, they fell sick with dropsies and dysenteries.

L. There Antony held a review of his troops and found that twenty thousand of the infantry and four thousand of the cavalry had perished, not all at the hands of the enemy, but more than half by disease. They had, indeed, marched twenty-seven days from Phraata, and had defeated the Parthians in eighteen battles, but their victories were not complete or lasting because the pursuits which they made were short and ineffectual. And this more than all else made it plain that it was Artavasdes the Armenian who had robbed Antony of the power to bring that war to an end. For if the sixteen thousand horsemen who were led back from Media by him had been on hand, equipped as they were like the Parthians and accustomed to fighting with them, and if they, when the Romans routed the fighting enemy, had taken off the fugitives, it would not have been in the enemy's power to recover themselves from defeat and to venture again so often. Accordingly, all the army, in their anger, tried to incite Antony to take vengeance on the Armenian. But Antony, as a measure of prudence, neither reproached him with his treachery nor abated the friendliness and respect usually shown to him,

πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀσθενὴς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἄπορος
 4 γεγονώς. ὕστερον μέντοι πάλιν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς
 Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ προ-
 κλήσεσι πείσας αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς χεῖρας,
 συνέλαβε, καὶ δέσμιον καταγαγὼν εἰς Ἀλεξάν-
 δρειαν, ἐθριάμβευσεν. ᾧ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους
 ἐλύπησεν, ὡς τὰ καλὰ καὶ σεμνὰ τῆς πατρίδος
 Αἰγυπτίοις διὰ Κλεοπάτραν χαριζόμενος. ταῦτα
 μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη.

LI. Τότε δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος ἤδη καὶ
 νιφετῶν ἀπαύστων ἐπειγόμενος ὀκτακισχιλίους
 ἀπέβαλε καθ' ὁδόν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς ὀλιγοστός
 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐν χωρίῳ τινὶ μεταξύ Βηρυτοῦ
 κειμένῳ καὶ Σιδῶνος, Λευκὴ κώμη καλεῖται,
 Κλεοπάτραν περιέμενε· καὶ βραδυνοῦσης ἀδη-
 μονῶν ἤλυε, ταχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ πίνειν καὶ μεθύ-
 2 σκεσθαι διδούς ἑαυτόν, οὐ καρτερῶν δὲ κατα-
 κείμενος, ἀλλὰ μεταξύ πινόντων ἀνιστάμενος
 καὶ ἀναπηδῶν πολλάκις ἐπισκοπεῖν, ἕως ἐκείνη
 κατέπλευσεν, ἐσθῆτα πολλὴν καὶ χρήματα κομί-
 ζουσα τοῖς στρατιώταις. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι
 τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα παρ' ἐκείνης λαβὼν, τὸ δὲ
 ἀργύριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἑαυτοῦ, διένειμεν ὡς
 ἐκείνης διδούσης.

LII. Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν Μήδων γίνεται
 διαφορὰ πρὸς Φραόρτην τὸν Πάρθον, ἀρξαμένη 940
 μέν, ὥς φασιν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν λαφύρων,
 ὑπόνοιαν δὲ τῷ Μήδῳ καὶ φόβον ἀφαιρέσεως τῆς
 ἀρχῆς παρασχούσα. διὸ καὶ πέμπων ἐκάλει τὸν
 2 Ἀντώνιον, ἐπαγγελλλόμενος συμπολεμήσειν μετὰ
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως. γενόμενος οὖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδος

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being now weak in numbers and in want of supplies. But afterwards, when he once more invaded Armenia,¹ and by many invitations and promises induced Artavasdes to come to him, Antony seized him, and took him in chains down to Alexandria, where he celebrated a triumph. And herein particularly did he give offence to the Romans, since he bestowed the honourable and solemn rites of his native country upon the Egyptians for Cleopatra's sake. This, however, took place at a later time.

LI. But now, hastening on through much wintry weather, which was already at hand, and incessant snow-storms, he lost eight thousand men on the march. He himself, however, went down with a small company to the sea, and in a little place between Berytus and Sidon, called White Village, he waited for Cleopatra to come; and since she was slow in coming he was beside himself with distress, promptly resorting to drinking and intoxication, although he could not hold out long at table, but in the midst of the drinking would often rise or spring up to look out, until she put into port, bringing an abundance of clothing and money for the soldiers. There are some, however, who say that he received the clothing from Cleopatra, but took the money from his own private funds, and distributed it as a gift from her.

LII. And now the king of the Medes had a quarrel with Phraortes the Parthian; it arose, as they say, over the Roman spoils, but it made the Mede suspicious and fearful that his dominion would be taken away from him. For this reason he sent and invited Antony to come, promising to join him in the war with his own forces. Antony, accordingly,

¹ In 34 B.C. Cf. chapter liii. 6.

μεγάλης ὁ Ἀντώνιος (ὃ γὰρ ἐδόκει μόνῳ τοῦ κατειργάσθαι Πάρθους ἀπολιπεῖν, ἱππέων πολλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐνδεῆς ἐλθόν, τοῦτο ἑώρα προσγινόμενον αὐτῷ χαριζομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δεομένῳ) παρεσκευάζετο δι' Ἀρμενίας αὐθις ἀναβαίνειν καὶ συγγενόμενος τῷ Μήδῳ περὶ ποταμὸν Ἀράξην οὕτω κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον.

- LIII. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ βουλομένης Ὀκταουίας πλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπέτρεψε Καῖσαρ, ὡς οἱ πλείους λέγουσιν, οὐκ ἐκείνη χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως περιυβρισθεῖσα καὶ καταμεληθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αἰτίαν εὐπρεπῇ παράσχοι. γενομένη δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐδέξατο γράμματα παρὰ Ἀντωνίου κελεύοντος αὐτόθι προσμένειν καὶ τὰ
- 2 περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν δηλοῦντος. ἡ δέ, καίπερ ἀχθομένη καὶ νοοῦσα τὴν πρόφασιν, ὅμως ἔγραψε πυνθανομένη ποῖ κελεύει πεμφθῆναι τὰ κομιζόμενα πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐκόμιζε δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα στρατιωτικὴν, πολλὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ χρήματα καὶ δῶρα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις· ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων στρατιώτας ἐπιλέκτους δισχιλίους εἰς στρατηγικὰς σπείρας κεκοσμημένους ἐκπρεπέσι πανοπλίαις. ταῦτα Νίγρος τις Ἀντωνίου φίλος ἀποσταλεὶς παρ' αὐτῆς ἔφραζε, καὶ προσετίθει τοὺς ἀξιούς καὶ πρέποντας ἐπαίνους.
- 3 Αἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὁμόσε χωροῦσαν αὐτῇ, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ τρόπου τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος δυνάμει προσκτησαμένη τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ

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was in high hopes. For the one thing which he thought had prevented his subjugation of the Parthians, namely, his lack of a large number of horsemen and archers on his expedition, this he now saw supplied for him, and he would be granting and not asking a favour. He therefore made preparations to go up again through Armenia, effect a junction with the Mede at the river Araxes, and then prosecute the war.

LIII. But at Rome Octavia was desirous of sailing to Antony, and Caesar gave her permission to do so, as the majority say, not as a favour to her, but in order that, in case she were neglected and treated with scorn, he might have plausible ground for war. When Octavia arrived at Athens,¹ she received letters from Antony in which he bade her remain there and told her of his expedition. Octavia, although she saw through the pretext and was distressed, nevertheless wrote to Antony asking whither he would have the things sent which she was bringing to him. For she was bringing a great quantity of clothing for his soldiers, many beasts of burden, and money and gifts for the officers and friends about him; and besides this, two thousand picked soldiers equipped as praetorian cohorts with splendid armour. These things were announced to Antony by a certain Niger, a friend of his who had been sent from Octavia, and he added such praises of her as was fitting and deserved.

But Cleopatra perceived that Octavia was coming into a contest at close quarters with her, and feared lest, if she added to the dignity of her character and the power of Caesar her pleasurable society and

¹ In 35 B. C.

θεραπεύειν Ἀντώνιον ἄμαχος γένηται καὶ κρα-
 τήσῃ παντάπασι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἔρᾳν αὐτὴ προσε-
 ποιεῖτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὸ σῶμα λεπταῖς
 καθήρει διαίταις· τὸ δὲ βλέμμα προσιόντος
 ἐκπεπληγμένον, ἀπερχομένου δὲ τηκόμενον καὶ
 4 ταπεινούμενον ὑπεφαίνετο. πραγματενομένη δὲ
 πολλάκις ὀφθῆναι δακρύουσα ταχὺ τῶν δακρύων
 ἀφήρει καὶ ἀπέκρυπτεν, ὥς δὴ βουλομένη λανθά-
 νειν ἐκείνον. ἐπράττετο δὲ ταῦτα μέλλοντος τοῦ
 ἀνδρός ἐκ Συρίας ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον.
 οἱ δὲ κόλακες σπουδάζοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐλοι-
 δόρουν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥς σκληρὸν καὶ ἀπαθὴ καὶ
 παραπολλύντα γύναιον εἰς ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἐκείνον
 5 ἀνῆρτημένον. Ὀκταουίαν μὲν γὰρ πραγμάτων
 ἕνεκα διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνελθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς
 γαμετῆς ὄνομα καρποῦσθαι· Κλεοπάτραν δὲ
 τοσοῦτων ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύουσιν ἐρωμένην
 Ἀντωνίου καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο μὴ
 φεύγειν μῆδ' ἀπαξιοῦν, ἕως ὅρᾳν ἐκείνον ἔξεστι
 καὶ συζῆν· ἀπελαυνομένην δὲ τούτου μὴ περι-
 6 βιώσεσθαι. τέλος δ' οὖν οὕτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 ἐξέτηξαν καὶ ἀπεθήλυναν, ὥστε δείσαντα μὴ
 Κλεοπάτρα πρόηται τὸν βίον, εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
 ἐπανελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ Μῆδον εἰς ὥραν ἔτους ἀνα-
 βαλέσθαι, καίπερ ἐν στάσει τῶν Παρθικῶν εἶναι
 λεγομένων. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἀναβάς
 αὐτῆς εἰς φιλίαν προσηγάγετο, καὶ λαβὼν ἐνὶ
 τῶν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας υἱῶν γυναῖκα· μίαν αὐτοῦ
 τῶν θυγατέρων ἔτι μικρὰν οὔσαν ἐγγυήσας
 ἐπανῆλθεν, ἥδη πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον
 τετραμμένος.

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her assiduous attentions to Antony, she would become invincible and get complete control over her husband. She therefore pretended to be passionately in love with Antony herself, and reduced her body by slender diet; she put on a look of rapture when Antony drew near, and one of faintness and melancholy when he went away. She would contrive to be often seen in tears, and then would quickly wipe the tears away and try to hide them, as if she would not have Antony notice them. And she practised these arts while Antony was intending to go up from Syria to join the Mede. Her flatterers, too, were industrious in her behalf, and used to revile Antony as hard-hearted and unfeeling, and as the destroyer of a mistress who was devoted to him and him alone. For Octavia, they said, had married him as a matter of public policy and for the sake of her brother, and enjoyed the name of wedded wife; but Cleopatra, who was queen of so many people, was called Antony's beloved, and she did not shun this name nor disdain it, as long as she could see him and live with him; but if she were driven away from him she would not survive it. At last, then, they so melted and enervated the man that he became fearful lest Cleopatra should throw away her life, and went back to Alexandria, putting off the Mede until the summer season, although Parthia was said to be suffering from internal dissensions. However, he went up and brought the king once more into friendly relations, and after betrothing to one of his sons by Cleopatra one of the king's daughters who was still small, he returned, his thoughts being now directed towards the civil war.

- LIV. Ὀκταουίαν δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑβρίσθαι δοκοῦσαν, ὡς ἐπανήλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐκέλευσε καθ' αὐτὴν οἰκεῖν. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τὸν οἶκον ἀπολείψειν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνον αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἑτέρας αἰτίας ἔγνωκε πολεμεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ, παρεκάλει τὰ καθ' αὐτὴν ἔαν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι καλόν, εἰ τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοκρατόρων ὁ μὲν δι' ἔρωτα γυναικός, ὁ δὲ διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν εἰς ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον Ῥωμαίους κατέστησε. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα μᾶλλον 941 ἐβεβαίον δι' ἔργων. καὶ γὰρ ᾤκει τὴν οἰκίαν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ παρόντος ἐκείνου, καὶ τῶν τέκνων οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ Φουλβίας γεγονότων, καλῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο· καὶ τοὺς πεμπομένους ἐπὶ ἀρχάς τινας ἢ πράγματα τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων ὑποδεχομένη συνέπραττεν ὧν παρὰ Καῖσαρος δεηθεῖεν. ἄκουσα δὲ ἔβλαπτε διὰ τούτων Ἀντώνιον· ἐμισεῖτο γὰρ 3 ἀδικῶν γυναῖκα τοιαύτην. ἐμισήθη δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν διανέμησιν ἣν ἐποίησατο τοῖς τέκνοις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τραγικὴν καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ μισορρώμαιον φανείσαν. ἐμπλήσας γὰρ ὄχλου τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ βήματος ἀργυροῦ δύο θρόνους χρυσοῦς, τὸν μὲν αὐτῷ, τὸν δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἑτέρους ταπεινότερους, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν 4 βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ κοίλης Συρίας, συμβασιλεύοντος αὐτῇ Καίσαριωνος, ὃς ἐκ Καῖσαρος ἐδόκει τοῦ προτέρου γεγενῆναι Κλεοπάτραν ἔγκυν καταλιπόντος· 260

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LIV. As for Octavia, she was thought to have been treated with scorn, and when she came back from Athens Caesar ordered her to dwell in her own house. But she refused to leave the house of her husband, nay, she even entreated Caesar himself, unless on other grounds he had determined to make war upon Antony, to ignore Antony's treatment of her, since it was an infamous thing even to have it said that the two greatest imperators in the world plunged the Romans into civil war, the one out of passion for, and the other out of resentment in behalf of, a woman. These were her words, and she confirmed them by her deeds. For she dwelt in her husband's house, just as if he were at home, and she cared for his children, not only those whom she herself, but also those whom Fulvia had borne him, in a noble and magnificent manner; she also received such friends of Antony as were sent to Rome in quest of office or on business, and helped them to obtain from Caesar what they wanted. Without meaning it, however, she was damaging Antony by this conduct of hers; for he was hated for wronging such a woman. He was hated, too, for the distribution which he made to his children in Alexandria; it was seen to be theatrical and arrogant, and to evince hatred of Rome. For after filling the gymnasium with a throng and placing on a tribunal of silver two thrones of gold, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra, and other lower thrones for his sons, in the first place he declared Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele Syria, and she was to share her throne with Caesarion. Caesarion was believed to be a son of the former Caesar, by whom Cleopatra was left

- δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας υἱοὺς βασιλεῖς βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπένειμε καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τὰ Πάρθων, ὅταν ὑπαγάγηται, Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ Φοινίκην καὶ 5 Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ προήγαγε τῶν παίδων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ τιάραν καὶ κίταριν ὀρθὴν ἐχούσῃ, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ κρηπίσι καὶ χλανίδι καὶ καυσία διαδηματοφόρῳ κεκοσμημένον. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν σκευὴ τῶν ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέων, ἐκείνη δὲ Μήδων καὶ Ἀρμενίων.
- 6 ἀσπασαμένων δὲ τῶν παίδων τοὺς γονεῖς, τὸν μὲν Ἀρμενίων φυλακὴν περιῖστατο, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνων. Κλεοπάτρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰς πληθὺς ἐξιούσα στολὴν ἱερὰν Ἰσιδος ἐλάμβανε καὶ νέα Ἰσις ἐχρημάτιζε.

- LV. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰς σύγκλητον ἐκφέρων Καῖσαρ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορῶν παρώξυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίου ἀντεγκαλῶν ἐκείνῳ. μέγιστα δ' ἦν ὧν ἐνεκάλει, πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι Πομπηίου Σικελίαν ἀφελόμενος οὐκ ἔνειμε μέρος αὐτῷ τῆς νήσου· δεύτερον, ὅτι χρησάμενος ναῦς παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεστέρησε· τρίτον, ὅτι τὸν συνάρχοντα Λέπιδον ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ποιήσας ἄτιμον αὐτὸς ἔχει στρατὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ προσό-
- 2 δους τὰς ἐκείνῳ προσνεμηθείσας· ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατιώταις ἅπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν Ἰταλίαν κατακεκληρούχηκε, μηδὲν λιπὼν τοῖς ἐκείνου. πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ἀπελογεῖτο Λέπιδον

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pregnant. In the second place, he proclaimed his own sons by Cleopatra Kings of Kings, and to Alexander he allotted Armenia, Media and Parthia (when he should have subdued it), to Ptolemy Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time he also produced his sons, Alexander arrayed in Median garb, which included a tiara and upright head-dress, Ptolemy in boots, short cloak, and broad-brimmed hat surmounted by a diadem. For the latter was the dress of the kings who followed Alexander, the former that of Medes and Armenians. And when the boys had embraced their parents, one was given a bodyguard of Armenians, the other of Macedonians. Cleopatra, indeed, both then and at other times when she appeared in public, assumed a robe sacred to Isis, and was addressed as the New Isis.

LV. By reporting these things to the senate and by frequent denunciations before the people Caesar tried to inflame the multitude against Antony. Antony, too, kept sending counter-accusations against Caesar. The chief accusations which he made were, in the first place, that after taking Sicily away from Pompey, Caesar had not assigned a part of the island to him; in the second place, that after borrowing ships from him for the war he had kept them for himself; thirdly, that after ejecting his colleague Lepidus from office and degrading him, he was keeping for himself the army, the territory, and the revenues which had been assigned to Lepidus: finally that he had distributed almost all Italy in allotments, to his own soldiers, and had left nothing for the soldiers of Antony. To these charges Caesar replied by saying that he had deposed Lepidus from office

μὲν ὑβρίζοντα καταπαῦσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἃ δὲ ἔσχηκε πολεμήσας, νεμήσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὅταν κάκεῖνος Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις Ἰταλίας μὴ μετεῖναι· Μηδίαν γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ Παρθίαν αὐτούς, ἃς προσεκτήσαντο Ῥωμαίοις καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

- LVI. Ταῦτα ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διατρίβων Ἀντώνιος ἤκουσε· καὶ Κανίδιον εὐθύς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκκαίδεκα τέλη λαβόντα καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν. αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Ἑφεσον ἦκε. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκεῖ συνῆει πανταχόθεν, ὀκτακόσiai σὺν ὀλκάσι νῆες, ὧν Κλεοπάτρα παρεῖχε διακοσίας καὶ τέλαντα δισμύρια καὶ τροφήν τῷ
- 2 στρατῷ παντὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ Δομιτίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐκέλευε Κλεοπάτραν πλεῖν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου κάκεῖ διακαρδοκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον. ἥ δὲ φοβουμένη τὰς δι' Ὀκταουίας πάλιν αὐτοῦ διαλύσεις ἔπεισε πολλοῖς Κανίδιον χρήμασιν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς, ὥς οὔτε δίκαιον ἀπελαύνεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου γυναῖκα συμβολὰς τηλικαύτας διδοῦσαν,
- 3 οὔτε συμφέρον ἀθυμοτέρους ποιεῖν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους μέγα μέρος τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ὄντας· ἄλλως δὲ μηδὲ ὁρᾶν οὔτινος τῶν συστρατευόντων βασιλέων ἀπολείποιτο τὸ φρονεῖν Κλεοπάτρα, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον δι' αὐτῆς κυβερνῶσα βασιλείαν τοσαύτην, πολὺν δὲ ἐκείνῳ συνοῦσα καὶ μανθάνουσα χρῆσθαι πράγμασι μεγάλοις. ταῦτα (ἔδει γὰρ εἰς Καίσαρα πάντα περιελθεῖν) ἐνῖκα καὶ συνιουσῶν τῶν δυνάμεων πλεύσαντες εἰς

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because he was abusing it, and as for what he had acquired in war, he would share it with Antony whenever Antony, on his part, should share Armenia with him; and Antony's soldiers had no claim upon Italy, since they had Media and Parthia, which countries they had added to the Roman dominion by their noble struggles under their imperator.

LVI. Antony heard of this while he was tarrying in Armenia; and at once he ordered Canidius to take sixteen legions and go down to the sea. But he himself took Cleopatra with him and came to Ephesus. It was there that his naval force was coming together from all quarters, eight hundred ships of war with merchant vessels, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred, besides twenty thousand talents, and supplies for the whole army during the war. But Antony, listening to the advice of Domitius and sundry others, ordered Cleopatra to sail to Egypt and there await the result of the war. Cleopatra, however, fearing that Octavia would again succeed in putting a stop to the war, persuaded Canidius by large bribes to plead her cause with Antony, and to say that it was neither just to drive away from the war a woman whose contributions to it were so large, nor was it for the interest of Antony to dispirit the Egyptians, who formed a large part of his naval force; and besides, it was not easy to see how Cleopatra was inferior in intelligence to anyone of the princes who took part in the expedition, she who for a long time had governed so large a kingdom by herself, and by long association with Antony had learned to manage large affairs. These arguments (since it was destined that everything should come into Caesar's hands) prevailed; and with united forces

- 4 Σάμον ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἦσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τετράρχαις ἔθνεσι τε καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις ταῖς μεταξὺ Συρίας καὶ Μαιώτιδος καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν προεῖρητο πέμπειν καὶ κομίζειν τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάς, οὕτω πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις ἐπάναναγκες ἦν εἰς Σάμον ἀπαντᾶν· καὶ τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης οἰκουμένης περιθρηνουμένης καὶ περιστεναζομένης, μία νῆσος ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς κατηυλεῖτο καὶ κατεψάλλετο πληρουμένων θεάτρων καὶ χορῶν ἀγωνιζομένων.
- 5 συνέθνε δὲ καὶ πόλις πᾶσα βοῦν πέμπουσα, καὶ βασιλεῖς διημιλλῶντο ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὥστε καὶ λόγος διήκει, τίνες ἔσονται κρατήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις οἱ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς παρασκευὰς οὕτω πολυτελῶς ἐορτάζοντες.

- LVII. Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις Πριήνην ἔδωκεν οἰκητήριον, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἀθήνας πάλιν ἐν παιδιαῖς ἦν καὶ θεάτροις. ζηλοτυπούσα δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς Ὀκταουίας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς (ἡγαπήθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ Ὀκταουία μάλιστα) πολλαῖς ἀνελάμβανε φιλοτιμίαις τὸν
- 2 δῆμον. οἱ δὲ τιμὰς αὐτῇ ψηφισάμενοι πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ ψήφισμα κομίζοντας, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἀντώνιος, ὡς δὴ πολίτης Ἀθηναίων· καὶ δὴ καταστὰς ἐπ' αὐτῆς λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως διεξῆλθεν. εἰς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐπεμψε τοὺς
- 3 Ὀκταουίαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβαλόντας. ἀπελθεῖν δέ φασιν αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν τέκνα πάντα Ἀντωνίου μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσαν ἀνευ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν

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they sailed to Samos and there made merry. For just as all the kings, dynasts, tetrarchs, nations, and cities between Syria, the Maeotic Lake, Armenia, and Illyria had been ordered to send or bring their equipment for the war, so all the dramatic artists were compelled to put in an appearance at Samos; and while almost all the world around was filled with groans and lamentations, a single island for many days resounded with flutes and stringed instruments; theatres there were filled, and choral bands were competing with one another. Every city also sent an ox for the general sacrifice, and kings vied with one another in their mutual entertainments and gifts. And so men everywhere began to ask : "How will the conquerors celebrate their victories if their preparations for the war are marked by festivals so costly?"

LVII. When these festivities were over, Antony gave the dramatic artists Priene as a place for them to dwell, and sailed himself to Athens, where sports and theatres again engaged him. Cleopatra, too, jealous of Octavia's honours in the city (for Octavia was especially beloved by the Athenians), tried by many splendid gifts to win the favour of the people. So the people voted honours to her, and sent a deputation to her house carrying the vote, of whom Antony was one, for was he not a citizen of Athens? And standing in her presence he delivered a speech in behalf of the city. To Rome, however, he sent men who had orders to eject Octavia from his house. And we are told that she left it taking all his children with her except his eldest son by Fulvia, who

ἐκ Φουλβίας (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν παρὰ τῷ πατρί),
κλαίουσαν δὲ καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν εἰ δόξει μία τῶν
αἰτιῶν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ αὐτὴ γεγονέναι. Ῥωμαῖοι
δὲ ὥκτειρον οὐκ ἐκείνην, ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιον, καὶ
μᾶλλον οἱ Κλεοπάτραν ἑωρακότες οὔτε κάλλει
τῆς Ὀκταουίας οὔτε ὥρα διαφέρουσιν.

- LVIII. Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος
τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀκούσας ἐθоруβήθη, μὴ τοῦ
θέρους ἐκείνου διαπολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ. καὶ γὰρ
ἐνέδει πολλά, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύπουν αἱ
τῶν χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις· ἀναγκαζόμενοι γὰρ οἱ
μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ τέταρτα τῶν καρπῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευ-
θερικοὶ τῶν κτημάτων αὐτῶν τὰς ὀγδόας ἀπο-
φέρειν κατεβῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταραχαὶ κατεῖχον
2 ἐκ τούτων ἅπασαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς
μεγίστοις ἀμαρτήμασιν Ἀντωνίου τὴν ἀναβολὴν
τοῦ πολέμου τίθενται. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευάσασθαι
χρόνον ἔδωκε Καῖσαρι καὶ τὰς ταραχὰς τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἐξέλυσε. πραττόμενοι γὰρ ἡγριαί-
νοντο, πραχθέντες δὲ καὶ δόντες ἡσύχαζον. Τί-
τιος δὲ καὶ Πλάγκος, Ἀντωνίου φίλοι τῶν ὑπα-
τικῶν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προπηλακιζόμενοι (πλεῖ-
στα γὰρ ἠναντιώθησαν αὐτῇ περὶ τοῦ συστρα-
τεύειν) ἀποδράντες ὥχοντο πρὸς Καῖσαρα, καὶ
περὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίου διαθηκῶν ἐγένοντο μηνυταί,
3 τὰ γεγραμμένα συνειδότες. ἀπέκειντο δ' αὐταὶ
παρὰ ταῖς Ἑστιάσι παρθένοις, καὶ Καῖσαρος
αἰτοῦντος οὐκ ἔδωκαν· εἰ δὲ βούλοιτο λαμβάνειν,
ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον. ἔλαβεν οὖν ἐλθὼν· καὶ
πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὰ γεγραμμένα διῆλθε,
καὶ παρεσημήνατο τόπους τινὰς εὐκατηγορήτους· 943

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was with his father; she was in tears of distress that she herself also would be regarded as one of the causes of the war. But the Romans felt pity for Antony, not for her, and especially those who had seen Cleopatra and knew that neither in youthfulness nor beauty was she superior to Octavia.

LVIII. When Caesar heard of the rapidity and extent of Antony's preparations, he was much disturbed, fearing lest he should be forced to settle the issue of the war during that summer.¹ For he was lacking in many things, and people were vexed by the exactions of taxes. The citizens generally were compelled to pay one fourth of their income, and the freedmen one eighth of their property, and both classes cried out against Caesar, and disturbances arising from these causes prevailed throughout all Italy. Wherefore, among the greatest mistakes of Antony men reckon his postponement of the war. For it gave Caesar time to make preparations and put an end to the disturbances among the people. For while money was being exacted from them, they were angry, but when it had been exacted and they had paid it, they were calm. Moreover, Titius and Plancus, friends of Antony and men of consular rank, being abused by Cleopatra (for they had been most opposed to her accompanying the expedition) ran away to Caesar, and they gave him information about Antony's will, the contents of which they knew. This will was on deposit with the Vestal Virgins, and when Caesar asked for it, they would not give it to him; but if he wanted to take it, they told him to come and do so. So he went and took it; and to begin with, he read its contents through by himself, and marked certain reprehensible passages; then

¹ The summer of 32 B.C.

- ἔπειτα τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίσας ἀνεγίνωσκε, τῶν
 4 πλείστων ἀηδῶς ἔχόντων. ἀλλόκοτον γὰρ ἔδοξεν
 εἶναι καὶ δεινόν, εὐθύνας τινὰ διδόναι ζῶντα περὶ
 ὧν ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. ἐπε-
 φύετο δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων μάλιστα τῷ περὶ τῆς
 ταφῆς. ἐκέλευε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν
 Ῥώμῃ τελευτήσῃ, δι' ἀγορᾶς πομπευθὲν εἰς
 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὡς Κλεοπάτραν ἀποσταλῆναι.
 5 Καλοῦσις δὲ Καίσαρος ἐταῖρος ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα
 τῶν εἰς Κλεοπάτραν ἐγκλημάτων Ἀντωνίῳ
 προῦφερε· χαρίσασθαι μὲν αὐτῇ τὰς ἐκ Περ-
 γάμου βιβλιοθήκας, ἐν αἷς εἴκοσι μυριάδες
 βιβλίων ἀπλῶν ἦσαν· ἐν δὲ συνδείπνῳ πολλῶν
 παρόντων ἀναστάντα τρίβειν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας
 ἐκ τινος ὀρισμοῦ καὶ συνθήκης γενομένης· Ἐφε-
 σίους δὲ ἀνασχέσθαι παρόντος αὐτοῦ κυρίαν τὴν
 6 Κλεοπάτραν ἀσπασαμένους· δικάζοντα δὲ πολ-
 λάκις τετράρχαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ βήματος
 δελτάρια τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ὀνύχινά καὶ κρυστάλλινα
 δέχεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν· Φουρ-
 νίου δὲ λέγοντος, ὃς ἦν ἀξιώματος μεγάλου καὶ
 δεινότατος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν μὲν Κλεοπάτραν
 ἐν φορείῳ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κομίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ
 Ἀντώνιον, ὡς εἶδεν, ἀναπηδήσαντα τὴν μὲν
 δίκην ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐκκρεμαννύμενον δὲ τοῦ φορείου
 παραπέμπειν ἐκείνην.

LIX. Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἐδόκει τὰ πλείεστα
 καταφεύδεσθαι Καλοῦσις· οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ
 Ἀντωνίου περιϊόντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν δῆμον ἰκέ-
 τευον, ἕνα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔπεμψαν Γεμίσιον δεόμενοι
 τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα

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he assembled the senate and read it aloud to them, although most of them were displeased to hear him do so. For they thought it a strange and grievous matter that a man should be called to account while alive for what he wished to have done after his death. Caesar laid most stress on the clause in the will relating to Antony's burial. For it directed that Antony's body, even if he should die in Rome, should be borne in state through the forum and then sent away to Cleopatra in Egypt. Again, Calvisius, who was a companion of Caesar, brought forward against Antony the following charges also regarding his behaviour towards Cleopatra: he had bestowed upon her the libraries from Pergamum in which there were two hundred thousand volumes; at a banquet where there were many guests he had stood up and rubbed her feet, in compliance with some agreement and compact which they had made; he had consented to have the Ephesians in his presence salute Cleopatra as mistress; many times, while he was seated on his tribunal and dispensing justice to tetrarchs and kings, he would receive love-billets from her in tablets of onyx or crystal, and read them; and once when Furnius was speaking, a man of great worth and the ablest orator in Rome, Cleopatra was carried through the forum on a litter, and Antony, when he saw her, sprang up from his tribunal and forsook the trial, and hanging on to Cleopatra's litter escorted her on her way.

LIX. However, most of the charges thus brought by Calvisius were thought to be falsehoods; but the friends of Antony went about in Rome beseeching the people in his behalf, and they sent one of their number, Gemini^{us}, with entreaties that Antony

- τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολέμιον Ῥωμαίων ἀναγορευθέντα.
- 2 Γεμίσιος δὲ πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἦν ὑποπτος, ὥς ὑπὲρ Ὀκταούιας πράττων, σκωπτόμενος δὲ παρὰ δεῖπνον ἀεὶ καὶ κλισίαις ἀτίμοις προπηλακιζόμενος ἠνείχετο καιρὸν ἐντεύξεως ἀναμένων· κελευσθεὶς δὲ λέγειν ἐφ' οἷς ἦκει παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἔφη νήφοντος εἶναι διάλεξιν, ἐν δὲ καὶ νήφων ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μεθύων, ὅτι καλῶς ἔξει πάντα Κλεοπάτρας εἰς
- 3 Αἴγυπτον ἀπαλλαγείσης. πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου χαλεπήναντος ἡ Κλεοπάτρα “Καλῶς,” ἔφη, “πεποίηκας, ὦ Γεμίσιε, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνευ βασάνων ἐξομολογησάμενος.” Γεμίσιος μὲν οὖν μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀποδρὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ὄχθητο. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων οἱ Κλεοπάτρας κόλακες ἐξέβαλον τὰς παροιρίας καὶ βωμολοχίας
- 4 οὐχ ὑπομένοντας, ὧν καὶ Μάρκος ἦν Σιλανὸς καὶ Δέλλιος ὁ ἱστορικός. οὗτος δὲ καὶ δεῖσαί φησιν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας, Γλαύκου τοῦ ἱατροῦ φράσαντος αὐτῷ. προσέκρουσε δὲ Κλεοπάτρα παρὰ δεῖπνον εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς μὲν ὀξύνην ἐγχεῖσθαι, Σάρμεντον δὲ πίνειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Φαλερίνον. ὁ δὲ Σάρμεντος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος παιγνίων παιδάριον, ἃ δηλίκια Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.

LX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο Καῖσαρ ἱκανῶς, ψηφίζεται Κλεοπάτρα πολεμεῖν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντώνιον ἧς ἐξέστη γυναικί. καὶ προσεπέειπε Καῖσαρ ὥς Ἀντώνιος μὲν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ κρατοίη, πολεμοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς

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would not suffer himself to be voted out of his office and proclaimed an enemy of Rome. But Geminus, after his voyage to Greece, was an object of suspicion to Cleopatra, who thought that he was acting in the interests of Octavia; he was always put upon with jokes at supper and insulted with places of no honour at table, but he endured all this and waited for an opportunity to confer with Antony. Once, however, at a supper, being bidden to tell the reasons for his coming, he replied that the rest of his communication required a sober head, but one thing he knew, whether he was drunk or sober, and that was that all would be well if Cleopatra was sent off to Egypt. At this, Antony was wroth, and Cleopatra said: "Thou hast done well, Geminus, to confess the truth without being put to the torture." Geminus, accordingly, after a few days, ran away to Rome. And Cleopatra's flatterers drove away many of the other friends of Antony also who could not endure their drunken tricks and scurrilities. Among these were Marcus Silanus and Dellius the historian. And Dellius says that he was also afraid of a plot against him by Cleopatra, of which Glaucus the physician had told him. For he had offended Cleopatra at supper by saying that while sour wine was served to them, Sarmenus, at Rome, was drinking Falernian. Now, Sarmenus was one of the youthful favourites of Caesar, such as the Romans call "*deliciae*."

LX. When Caesar had made sufficient preparations, a vote was passed to wage war against Cleopatra, and to take away from Antony the authority which he had surrendered to a woman. And Caesar said in addition that Antony had been drugged and was not even master of himself, and that the Romans

Μαρδίων ὁ εὐνούχος καὶ Ποθεινὸς καὶ Εἰράς
ἢ Κλεοπάτρας κουρεύτρια καὶ Χάρμιον, ὑφ' ὧν
τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖται τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

- 2 Σημεῖα δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τάδε γενέσθαι
λέγεται. Πείσαυρα μὲν, Ἀντωνίου πόλις κλη-
ρουχία, ὥκισμένη παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, χασμάτων
ὑπορραγέντων κατεπόθη. τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἄλβαν
Ἀντωνίου λιθίνων ἀνδριάντων ἑνὸς ἰδρῶς ἀνεπί-
δυεν ἡμέρας πολλὰς, ἀποματτόντων τινῶν οὐ
πανύμενος. ἐν δὲ Πάτραις διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ
κεραυνοῖς ἐνεπρήσθη τὸ Ἡράκλειον καὶ τῆς 944
Ἀθήνησι γιγαντομαχίας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ὁ Διό-
νυσος ἐκσεισθεὶς εἰς τὸ θέατρον κατηνέχθη.
3 προσφκείου δὲ ἑαυτὸν Ἀντώνιος Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ
γένος καὶ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ βίου ζῆλον,
ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Διόνυσος νέος προσαγορευόμενος.
ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ θύελλα καὶ τοὺς Εὐμενοὺς καὶ
Ἀττάλου κολοσσοὺς ἐπιγεγραμμένους Ἀντω-
νείους Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπεσοῦσα μόνους ἐκ πολλῶν
ἀνέτρεψε. ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας ναυαρχὸς ἐκαλεῖτο
μὲν Ἀντωνιάς, σημεῖον δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν δεινὸν
ἐφάνη· χελιδόνες γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν πρύμναν ἐνεότ-
τευσαν· ἕτεραι δὲ ἐπελθοῦσαι καὶ ταύτας ἐξή-
λασαν καὶ τὰ νεόττια διέφθειραν.

LXI. Συνιόντων δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον Ἀντωνίῳ
μὲν ἦσαν αἱ μάχιμοι νῆες οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντα-
κοσίων, ἐν αἷς ὀκτῆρεις πολλαὶ καὶ δεκῆρεις
κεκοσμημέναι σοβαρῶς καὶ πανηγυρικῶς, στρατοῦ

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were carrying on war with Mardion the eunuch, and Potheinus, and Iras, and the tire-woman of Cleopatra, and Charmion, by whom the principal affairs of the government were managed.

The following signs are said to have been given before the war. Pisaurum, a city colonized by Antony situated near the Adriatic, was swallowed up by chasms in the earth. From one of the marble statues of Antony near Alba sweat oozed for many days, and though it was wiped away it did not cease. In Patrae, while Antony was staying there, the Heracleium was destroyed by lightning; and at Athens the Dionysus in the Battle of the Giants¹ was dislodged by the winds and carried down into the theatre. Now, Antony associated himself with Hercules in lineage, and with Dionysus in the mode of life which he adopted, as I have said,² and he was called the New Dionysus.³ The same tempest fell upon the colossal figures of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens, on which the name of Antony had been inscribed, and prostrated them, and them alone out of many. Moreover the admiral's ship of Cleopatra was called Antonius, and a dire sign was given with regard to it. Some swallows, namely, made their nest under its stern; but other swallows attacked these, drove them out and destroyed their nestlings.

LXI. When the forces came together for the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred fighting ships, among which were many vessels of eight and ten banks of oars, arrayed in pompous and

¹ One of the groups of figures at the south wall of the Acropolis dedicated by Attalus I. of Pergamum. See Pausanias, i. 25, 2, with Frazer's notes.

² Chapters iv. 1 f. and xxiv. 3.

³ As Cleopatra was called the New Isis (liv. 6).

δὲ μυριάδες δέκα, δισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεις ἐπὶ μυρίοις. βασιλεῖς δὲ ὑπήκοοι συνεμάχουν Βόκχος ὁ Λιβύων καὶ Ταρκόνδημος ὁ τῆς ἄνω Κιλικίας, καὶ Καππαδοκίας μὲν Ἀρχέλαος, Παφλαγονίας δὲ Φιλάδελφος, Κομμαγενῆς δὲ Μιθριδάτης, 2 Σαδάλας δὲ Θράκης. οὗτοι μὲν αὐτοὶ παρήσαν, ἐκ δὲ Πόντου Πολέμων στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, καὶ Μάλχος ἐξ Ἀραβίας καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀμύντας ὁ Λυκαόνων καὶ Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς· ἦν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένη βοήθεια. Καίσαρι δὲ νῆες ἦσαν πρὸς ἀλκὴν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι, στρατοῦ δὲ ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, ἵππεις δὲ παραπλήσιοι τὸ 3 πλήθος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἤρχον δὲ Ἀντώνιος μὲν τῆς ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καὶ Ἀρμενίας μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ Ἰλλυριούς, Καίσαρ δὲ ἀπ' Ἰλλυριῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν καθηκούσης καὶ τῆς ἀπ' ὠκεανοῦ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος. Λιβύης δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν μέχρι στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἀντιπαρήκουσαν εἶχε Καίσαρ· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ Κυρήνης μέχρις Αἰθιοπίας Ἀντώνιος.

LXII. Οὕτω δὲ ἄρα προσθήκη τῆς γυναικὸς ἦν ὥστε τῷ πεζῷ πολὺ διαφέρων ἐβούλετο τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ κράτος εἶναι διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, καὶ ταῦτα πληρωμάτων ἀπορία συναρπαζομένους ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τριηραρχῶν ἐκ τῆς πολλὰ δὴ τλάσης Ἑλλάδος ὁδοιπόρους, ὀνηλάτας, θεριστάς, ἐφήβους, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτω πληρουμένας τὰς ναῦς, ἀλλὰ τὰς πλείστας ἀποδεεῖς καὶ μοχθηρῶς πλεούσας. 2 Καίσαρ δὲ οὐ πρὸς ὕψος οὐδὲ ὄγκον ἐπίδεικτικῶς

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festal fashion; he also had one hundred thousand infantry soldiers and twelve thousand horsemen. Of subject kings who fought with him, there were Bocchus the king of Libya, Tarcondemus the king of Upper Cilicia, Archelaüs of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Sadalas of Thrace. These were with him, while from Pontus Polemon sent an army, and Malchus from Arabia, and Herod the Jew, besides Amyntas the king of Lycaonia and Galatia; the king of the Medes also sent an auxiliary force. Caesar had two hundred and fifty ships of war, eighty thousand infantry, and about as many horsemen as his enemies. Antony's authority extended over the country from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian sea and Illyria; Caesar's over the country reaching from Illyria to the Western Ocean and from the ocean back to the Tuscan and Sicilian seas. Of Libya, the part extending opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Iberia as far as the pillars of Hercules, belonged to Caesar; the part extending from Cyrene as far as Armenia, to Antony.

LXII. But to such an extent, now, was Antony an appendage of the woman that although he was far superior on land, he wished the decision to rest with his navy, to please Cleopatra, and that too when he saw that for lack of crews his trierarchs were haling together out of long-suffering Greece wayfarers, mule-drivers, harvesters, and ephebi,¹ and that even then their ships were not fully manned, but most of them were deficient and sailed wretchedly. Caesar's fleet, on the other hand, was perfectly equipped, and

¹ Young men approaching full military age, enrolled for preliminary training and service.

πεπηγυίαις ναυσίν, εὐστρόφοις δὲ καὶ ταχείαις
καὶ πεπληρωμέναις ἀκριβῶς ἐξηρτυμένον ἐν
Τάραντι καὶ Βρεντεσίῳ συνέχων τὸ ναυτικόν,
ἔπεμπε πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶν μὴ διατρίβειν τὸν
χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἔρχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων·
αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ μὲν στόλῳ παρέξειν ὄρμους ἀκωλύ-
τους καὶ λιμένας, ὑποχωρήσειν δὲ τῷ πεζῷ τῆς
παραλίας¹ ἵππου δρόμον ἀπὸ θαλάττης, μέχρι
3 ἀν ἀσφαλῶς ἀποβῇ καὶ στρατοπεδεύσῃται. τού-
τοις ἀντικομπάζων Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς
μονομαχίαν προὔκαλεῖτο, καίπερ ὢν πρεσβύ-
τερος· εἰ δὲ φεύγοι τοῦτο, περὶ Φάρσαλον ἡξίου
τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ὡς πάλαι Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομ-
πήιος, διαγωνίσασθαι. φθάνει δὲ Καῖσαρ, Ἀντω-
νίου περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον ὀρμοῦντος, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ νῦν
ἡ Νικόπολις ἱδρύται, διαβαλὼν τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ
τῆς Ἠπείρου χωρίον ὃ Τορύνη καλεῖται κατα-
σχών· θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον
(ὑστέρει γὰρ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτοῖς) ἡ μὲν Κλεοπάτρα
σκώπτουσα, “Τί δεινόν,” ἔλεγεν, “εἰ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ
τορύνῃ κάθηται;”

LXIII. Ἀντώνιος δέ, ἅμα ἡμέρα τῶν πολεμίων
ἐπιπλεόντων, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ἐρήμους
ἔλωσι τὰς ναῦς, τοὺς μὲν ἐρέτας ὀπλίσας ἐπὶ τῶν
καταστρωμάτων παρέταξεν ὄψεως ἕνεκα, τοὺς δὲ 945
ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ἐγείρας καὶ πτερώσας ἐκατέ-
ρωθεν ἐν τῷ στόματι περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον ἀντιπρόρους
συνεῖχεν, ὡς ἐνήρεις καὶ παρεσκευασμένας ἀμύ-
2 νεσθαι. καὶ Καῖσαρ μὲν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεὶς
ἀπεχώρησεν. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εὐμηχάνως

¹ παραλίας Xylander's correction of the MSS. Ἰταλίας, adopted by both Sintenis and Bekker.

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consisted of ships which had not been built for a display of height or mass, but were easily steered, swift, and fully manned. This fleet Caesar kept assembled at Tarentum and Brundisium, and he sent to Antony a demand to waste no time, but to come with his forces; Caesar himself would furnish his armament with unobstructed roadsteads and harbours, and would withdraw with his land forces a day's journey for a horseman from the sea-shore, until Antony should have safely landed and fixed his camp. This boastful language Antony matched by challenging Caesar to single combat, although he was an older man than Caesar; and if Caesar declined this, Antony demanded that they should fight out the issue at Pharsalus, as Caesar and Pompey had once done. But while Antony was lying at anchor off Actium, where now Nicopolis stands, Caesar got the start of him by crossing the Ionian sea and occupying a place in Epeirus called Toruné (that is, ladle); and when Antony and his friends were disturbed by this, since their infantry forces were belated, Cleopatra, jesting, said: "What is there dreadful in Caesar's sitting at a ladle?"

LXIII. But Antony, when the enemy sailed against him at daybreak, was afraid lest they should capture his ships while they had no fighting crews, and therefore armed the rowers and drew them up on the decks so as to make a show; then he grouped his ships at the mouth of the gulf near Actium, their ranks of oars on either side lifted and poised for the stroke, and their prows towards the enemy, as if they were fully manned and prepared to fight. Caesar, thus outwitted and deceived, withdrew. Antony was also thought to have shown great skill in enclosing

ἐρύμασί τισιν ἐμπεριλαβὼν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ χωρίων ὀλίγον καὶ πονηρὸν ἐχόντων. εὐγνωμόνως δὲ καὶ Δομίτιῳ προσηνέχθη παρὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας γνώμην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἤδη πυρέττων εἰς μικρὸν ἐμβὰς ἀκάτιον πρὸς Καίσαρα μετέστη, βαρέως ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Ἀυτώνιος ὁμως πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπέπεμψε.

3 καὶ Δομίτιος μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λαθεῖν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προδοσίαν μεταβαλλόμενος, εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν.

Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βασιλεων ἀποστασεις, Ἀμύντου καὶ Δηϊοτάρου, πρὸς Καίσαρα. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἐν παντὶ δυσπραγοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ὑστερίζον βοήθειαν αὐθις ἠνάγκαζε τῷ πεζῷ προσέχειν τὸν Ἀυτώνιον. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ Κανίδιον τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ πεζοῦ μεταβολὴ γνώμης παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ συνεβούλευε Κλεοπάτραν μὲν ἀποπέμπειν, ἀναχωρήσαντα δὲ εἰς Θράκην ἢ

4 Μακεδονίαν πεζομαχίᾳ κρῖναι. καὶ γὰρ Δικόμης ὁ Γετῶν βασιλεὺς ὑπισχνεῖτο πολλῇ στρατιᾷ βοηθήσειν· οὐκ εἶναι δὲ αἰσχρὸν εἰ Καίσαρι γεγυμνασμένῳ περὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον ἐκστήσονται τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν εἰ τῶν πεζῶν ἀγώνων ἐμπειρότατος ὢν Ἀυτώνιος οὐ χρήσεται ῥώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ τοσούτων ὀπλιτῶν, εἰς ναῦς διανεμῶν καὶ καταναλίσκων τὴν δύναμιν.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἐξενίκησε Κλεοπάτρα διὰ τῶν νεῶν κριθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον, ἤδη πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρώσα, καὶ τιθεμένη τὰ καθ' ἑαυτήν, οὐχ ὅπου πρὸς

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the potable water within certain barriers and thus depriving the enemy of it, since the places round about afforded little, and that of bad quality. He also behaved with magnanimity towards Domitius, contrary to the judgment of Cleopatra. For when Domitius, who was already in a fever, got into a small boat and went over to Caesar, Antony, though deeply chagrined, nevertheless, sent off to him all his baggage, together with his friends and servants. And Domitius, as if repenting when his faithlessness and treachery became known, straightway died.

There were also defections among the kings, and Amyntas and Deiotarus went over to Caesar. Besides, since his navy was unlucky in everything and always too late to be of any assistance, Antony was again compelled to turn his attention to his land forces. Canidius also, the commander of the land forces, changed his mind in presence of the danger, and advised Antony to send Cleopatra away, to withdraw into Thrace or Macedonia, and there to decide the issue by a land battle. For Dicomus the king of the Getae promised to come to their aid with a large force; and it would be no disgrace, Canidius urged, for them to give up the sea to Caesar, who had practised himself there in the Sicilian war; but it would be a strange thing for Antony, who was most experienced in land conflicts, not to avail himself of the strength and equipment of his numerous legionary soldiers, but to distribute his forces among ships and so fritter them away.

However, Cleopatra prevailed with her opinion that the war should be decided by the ships, although she was already contemplating flight, and was disposing her own forces, not where they would be

τὸ νικᾶν ἔσται χρήσιμος, ἀλλ' ὅθεν ἄπεισι ῥᾶστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολλυμένων. ἦν δὲ μακρὰ σκέλη κατατείνοντα πρὸς τὸν ναύσταθμον τῆς στρατοπεδείας, δι' ὧν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰώθει παριέναι
 6 μηδὲν ὑφορώμενος. οἰκέτου δὲ Καίσαρι φράσαντος ὡς δυνατόν εἴη κατιόντα διὰ τῶν σκελῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἐνεδρεύοντας. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον ὥστε συναρπάσαι τὸν προηγούμενον αὐτοῦ προεξαναστάντες· αὐτὸς δὲ δρόμῳ μόλις ὑπεξέφυγεν.

LXIV. Ὡς δὲ ναυμαχεῖν ἐδέδοκτο, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐνέπρησε ναῦς πλὴν ἐξήκοντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὰς δὲ ἀρίστας καὶ μεγίστας ἀπὸ τρίηρους μέχρι δεκήρους ἐπλήρου, δισφυρίους ἐμβιβάζων ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας. ἔνθα πεζομάχον ἄνδρα τῶν ταξιαρχῶν λέγουσι, παμπόλλους ἡγωνισμένον ἀγῶνας Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ κατατετριμμένον τὸ σῶμα, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρι-
 2 ὄντος ἀνακλαύσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· “ὦ αὐτόκρατορ, τί τῶν τραυμάτων τούτων ἢ τοῦ ξίφους καταγνοὺς ἐν ξύλοις πονηροῖς ἔχεις τὰς ἐλπίδας; Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἐν θαλάσῃ μαχέσθωσαν, ἡμῖν δὲ γῆν δός, ἐφ' ἧς εἰώθαμεν ἐστῶτες ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους.” πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος, ἀλλὰ τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ μόνον οἶον ἐγκελευσάμενος τὸν ἄνδρα θαρρεῖν, παρῆλθεν, οὐ χρηστὰς ἔχων ἐλπίδας, ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς κυβερνήτας τὰ ἰστία βουλομένους ἀπολιπεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ἐμβαλέσθαι καὶ κομίζειν, λέγων ὅτι δεῖ μηδένα φεύγοντα τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν.

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helpful in winning the victory, but where they could most easily get away if the cause was lost. Moreover, there were two long walls extending down to the naval station from the camp, and between these Antony was wont to pass without suspecting any danger. But a slave told Caesar that it was possible to seize Antony as he went down between the walls, and Caesar sent men to lie in ambush for him. These men came near accomplishing their purpose, but seized only the man who was advancing in front of Antony, since they sprang up too soon; Antony himself escaped with difficulty by running.

LXIV. When it had been decided to deliver a sea battle, Antony burned all the Egyptian ships except sixty; but the largest and best, from those having three to those having ten banks of oars, he manned, putting on board twenty thousand heavy-armed soldiers and two thousand archers. It was on this occasion, we are told, that an infantry centurion, a man who had fought many a battle for Antony and was covered with scars, burst into laments as Antony was passing by, and said: "Imperator, why dost thou distrust these wounds and this sword and put thy hopes in miserable logs of wood? Let Egyptians and Phoenicians do their fighting at sea, but give us land, on which we are accustomed to stand and either conquer our enemies or die." To this Antony made no reply, but merely encouraged the man by a gesture and a look to be of good heart, and passed on. And he had no good hopes himself, since, when the masters of his ships wished to leave their sails behind, he compelled them to put them on board and carry them, saying that not one fugitive of the enemy should be allowed to make his escape.

- LXV. Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τρεῖς τὰς ἐφεξῆς μεγάλῳ πνεύματι κυμανθέν τὸ πέλαγος τὴν μάχην ἐπέσχε, πέμπτη δὲ νηνεμίας καὶ γαλήνης ἀκλύστου γενομένης συνήεσαν, Ἀντώνιος μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων καὶ Ποπλικόλας, Κοίλιος δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ Μάρκος
- 2 Ὀκτάβιος καὶ Μάρκος Ἰνστήιος. Καῖσαρ δ' 946 ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τάξας Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ τὸ δεξιὸν κατέλιπε. τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνίου Κανίδιος, τὸν δὲ Καῖσαρος Ταῦρος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης παρατάξαντες ἡσύχαζον. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐπεφοίτα πανταχόσε κοπήρει, τοὺς στρατιώτας παρακαλῶν ὑπὸ βρίθους τῶν νεῶν ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἐδραίους μάχε-
- 3 σθαι, τοῖς δὲ κυβερνήταις διακελευόμενος ὥσπερ ὀρμούσαις ἀτρέμα ταῖς ναυσὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν περὶ τὸ στόμα δυσχωρίαν φυλάττοντας. Καῖσαρι δὲ λέγεται μὲν ἔτι σκότους ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κύκλῳ περιϊόντι πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἄνθρωπος ἐλαύνων ὄνον ἀπαντῆσαι, πυθομένῳ δὲ τοῦνομα γνωρίσας αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν. “Ἐμοὶ μὲν Εὐτυχος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ ὄνῳ Νίκων.” διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν ὕστερον
- 4 ἔστησε χαλκοῦν ὄνον καὶ ἄνθρωπον. ἐπιδὼν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην παράταξιν, ἐν πλοίῳ πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν κομισθεὶς ἐθαύμασεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἡ γὰρ ὄψις ἦν τῶν νεῶν ἐπ’ ἀγκύραις ὀρμουσῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι πολλοῦ πεπεισμένος ἀνείχε τὰς ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὀκτὼ στάδια

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LXV. During that day, then, and the three following days the sea was tossed up by a strong wind and prevented the battle ; but on the fifth,¹ the weather becoming fine and the sea calm, they came to an engagement. Antony had the right wing, with Publicola, Coelius the left, and in the centre were Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteius. Caesar posted Agrippa on the left, and reserved the right wing for himself. Of the land forces, that of Antony was commanded by Canidius, that of Caesar by Taurus, who drew them up along the sea and remained quiet. As for the leaders themselves, Antony visited all his ships in a row-boat, exhorting the soldiers, owing to the weight of their ships, to fight without changing their position, as if they were on land ; he also ordered the masters of the ships to receive the attacks of the enemy as if their ships were lying quietly at anchor, and to maintain their position at the mouth of the gulf, which was narrow and difficult. Caesar, we are told, who had left his tent while it was yet dark and was going round to visit his ships, was met by a man driving an ass. Caesar asked the man his name, and he, recognizing Caesar, replied : " My name is Prosper, and my ass's name is Victor." Therefore, when Caesar afterwards decorated the place with the beaks of ships, he set up bronze figures of an ass and a man. After surveying the rest of his line of battle, he was carried in a small boat to his right wing, and there was astonished to see the enemy lying motionless in the narrows ; indeed, their ships had the appearance of riding at anchor. For a long time he was convinced that this was really the case, and kept his own ships at a distance of about eight furlongs from the

¹ Sept. 2, 31 B.C.

τῶν ἐναντίων ἀφεστώσας. ἕκτη δὲ ἦν ὥρα, καὶ πνεύματος αἰρομένου πελαγίου δυσανασχετοῦντες οἱ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς τὴν διατριβήν, καὶ τοῖς ὕψεσι καὶ μεγέθεσι τῶν οἰκείων νεῶν πεποιοῦντες ὥς
 5 ἀπροσμάχοις, τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐκίνησαν· ἰδὼν δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦσθη καὶ πρύμναν ἐκρούσατο τῷ δεξιῷ, βουλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν στευνῶν ἔξω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπισπάσασθαι, καὶ περιπλέων εὐήρεσι σκάφεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς ναῦς ὑπ' ὄγκου καὶ πληρωμάτων ὀλιγότητος ἀργὰς καὶ βραδείας.

LXVI. Ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι, ἐμβολαὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἀναρρήξεις νεῶν, τῶν μὲν Ἀντωνίου διὰ βάρος ῥύμην οὐκ ἔχουσῶν, ἡ μάλιστα ποιεῖ τὰς τῶν ἐμβόλων πληγὰς ἐνεργούς, τῶν δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ μόνον ἀντιπρώρων συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκώματα στέρεα καὶ τραχέα φυλασσομένων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατὰ
 2 πλευρὰν ἐμβολὰς διδόναι θαρρουσῶν. ἀπεθραύοντο γὰρ τὰ ἔμβολα ῥαδίως ἢ προσπέσοιε σκάφεσι τετραγώνων ξύλων μεγάλων σιδήρῳ συνηρμοσμένων πρὸς ἀλληλα δεδεμένοις. ἦν οὖν πεζομαχία προσφερῆς ὁ ἀγών· τὸ δὲ ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, τειχομαχία. τρεῖς γὰρ ἄμα καὶ τέσσαρες περὶ μίαν τῶν Ἀντωνίου συνέχοντο, γέρροις καὶ δόρασι καὶ κοντοῖς χρωμένων καὶ πυροβολοῖς· οἱ δὲ Ἀντωνίου καὶ καταπέλταις ἀπὸ ξυλίνων πύργων ἔβαλλον.

3 Ἀγρίππου δὲ θάτερον κέρας εἰς κύκλωσιν ἐκτείνοντος, ἀντανάγειν Ποπλικόλας ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀπερρήγνυτο τῶν μέσων. θορυβουμένων δὲ

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enemy. But it was now the sixth hour, and since a wind was rising from the sea, the soldiers of Antony became impatient at the delay, and, relying on the height and size of their own ships as making them unassailable, they put their left wing in motion. When Caesar saw this he was delighted, and ordered his right wing to row backwards, wishing to draw the enemy still farther out from the gulf and the narrows, and then to surround them with his own agile vessels and come to close quarters with ships which, owing to their great size and the smallness of their crews, were slow and ineffective.

LXVI. Though the struggle was beginning to be at close range, the ships did not ram or crush one another at all, since Antony's, owing to their weight, had no impetus, which chiefly gives effect to the blows of the beaks, while Caesar's not only avoided dashing front to front against rough and hard bronze armour, but did not even venture to ram the enemy's ships in the side. For their beaks would easily have been broken off by impact against vessels constructed of huge square timbers fastened together with iron. The struggle was therefore like a land battle; or, to speak more truly, like the storming of a walled town. For three or four of Caesar's vessels were engaged at the same time about one of Antony's, and the crews fought with wicker shields and spears and punting-poles and fiery missiles; the soldiers of Antony also shot with catapults from wooden towers.

And now, as Agrippa was extending the left wing with a view to encircling the enemy, Publicola was forced to advance against him, and so was separated from the centre. The centre falling into confusion

τούτων καὶ συμπλεκομένων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρρού-
τιον, ἀκρίτου δὲ καὶ κοινῆς ἔτι τῆς ναυμαχίας συνε-
στώσης, αἰφνίδιον αἱ Κλεοπάτρας ἐξήκοντα νῆες
ᾤφθησαν αἰρόμεναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν τὰ ἰστία καὶ
διὰ μέσου φεύγουσαι τῶν μαχομένων· ἦσαν γὰρ
ὀπίσω τεταγμένοι τῶν μεγάλων, καὶ διεκπίπ-
4 τουσαι ταραχὴν ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι θαυμά-
ζοντες ἐθεῶντο, τῷ πνεύματι χρωμένας ὀρώντες
καὶ ἐπεχούσας πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἔνθα δὴ
φανερὸν αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐποίησεν οὔτε ἄρχοντος
οὔτε ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ὅλως ἰδίοις λογισμοῖς διοικού-
μενον, ἀλλ' ὅπερ τις παίζων εἶπε, τὴν ψυχὴν
τοῦ ἐρώντος ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ σώματι ζῆν, ἐλκόμενος
ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὥσπερ συμπεφυκὼς καὶ συμ-
5 μεταφερόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη τὴν ἐκείνης ἰδὼν
ναῦν ἀποπλέουσαν, καὶ πάντων ἐκλαθόμενος καὶ
προδοὺς καὶ ἀποδράς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους
καὶ θνήσκοντας, εἰς πεντήρην μετεμβάς, Ἀλεξᾶ 947
τοῦ Σύρου καὶ Σκελλίου μόνων αὐτῷ συνεμ-
βάντων, ἐδίωκε τὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν ἤδη καὶ
προσαπολούσαν αὐτόν.

LXVII. Ἐκείνη δὲ γνωρίσασα σημεῖον ἀπὸ
τῆς νεῶς ἀνέσχε· καὶ προσενεχθεὶς οὕτω καὶ
ἀναληφθεὶς ἐκείνην μὲν οὔτε εἶδεν οὔτε ᾤφθη,
παρελθὼν δὲ μόνος εἰς πρῶραν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καθήστο
σιωπῇ, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἐχόμενος τῆς
2 κεφαλῆς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ λιβυρινίδες ᾤφθησαν
διώκουσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος· ὁ δὲ ἀντίπρῳρον
ἐπιστρέφειν τὴν ναῦν κελεύσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας
ἀνέστειλεν, Εὐρυκλῆς δ' ὁ Λάκων ἐνέκειτο σο-
βαρῶς, λόγχην τινὰ κριδαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ κατα-

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and engaging with Arruntius,¹ although the sea-fight was still undecided and equally favourable to both sides, suddenly the sixty ships of Cleopatra were seen hoisting their sails for flight and making off through the midst of the combatants; for they had been posted in the rear of the large vessels, and threw them into confusion as they plunged through. The enemy looked on with amazement, seeing that they took advantage of the wind and made for Peloponnesus. Here, indeed, Antony made it clear to all the world that he was swayed by the sentiments neither of a commander nor of a brave man, nor even by his own, but, as someone in pleasantry said that the soul of the lover dwells in another's body, he was dragged along by the woman as if he had become incorporate with her and must go where she did. For no sooner did he see her ship sailing off than he forgot everything else, betrayed and ran away from those who were fighting and dying in his cause, got into a five-oared galley, where Alexas the Syrian and Scellius were his only companions, and hastened after the woman who had already ruined him and would make his ruin still more complete.

LXVII. Cleopatra recognized him and raised a signal on her ship; so Antony came up and was taken on board, but he neither saw her nor was seen by her. Instead, he went forward alone to the prow and sat down by himself in silence, holding his head in both hands. At this point, Liburnian ships were seen pursuing them from Caesar's fleet; but Antony ordered the ship's prow turned to face them, and so kept them all off, except the ship of Eurycles the Laconian, who attacked vigorously, and brandished a

¹ The commander of Caesar's centre, as Plutarch should have stated at lxx. 1.

- στρώματος ὡς ἀφήσων ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἐπιστάντος δὲ τῇ πρώρᾳ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ "Τίς οὗτος," εἰπόντος, "ὁ διώκων Ἀντώνιον;" "Ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ Λαχάρους, τῇ Καίσαρος
- 3 τύχῃ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκδικῶν θάνατον." ὁ δὲ Λαχάρης ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου ληστείας αἰτία περιπεσὼν ἐπελεκίσθη. πλὴν οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν ὁ Εὐρυκλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου ναῦν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ναυαρχίδων (δύο γὰρ ἦσαν) τῷ χαλκῳματι πατάξας περιερρόμβησε, καὶ ταύτην τε πλαγίαν περιπεσοῦσαν εἴλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν, ἐν ᾗ
- 4 πολυτελεῖς σκευαὶ τῶν περὶ δίαιταν ἦσαν. ἀπαλλαγέντος δὲ τούτου πάλιν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα καθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε· καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν πρώρᾳ διαιτηθείς, εἴθ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς, εἴτ' αἰδούμενος ἐκείνην, Ταινάρῳ προσέσχεν. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοὺς αἱ συνήβεις γυναῖκες πρῶτον μὲν εἰς λόγους ἀλλήλοις συνήγαγον, εἶτα συνδειπνεῖν καὶ συγκαθεύδειν ἔπεισαν.
- 5 Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν στρογγύλων πλοίων οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν φίλων τινὲς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἠθροίζοντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀγγέλλοντες ἀπολωλέναι τὸ ναυτικόν, οἶεσθαι δὲ τὸ πεζὸν συνεστάναι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρὸς μὲν Κανίδιον ἀγγέλους ἔπεμπεν, ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ Μακεδονίας εἰς Ἀσίαν τῷ στρατῷ
- 6 κατὰ τάχος κελεύων, αὐτὸς δὲ μέλλων ἀπὸ Ταινάρου πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην διαίρειν, ὁλκάδα μίαν, πολὺ μὲν νόμισμα, πολλοῦ δὲ ἀξίας ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κατασκευὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν κομίζουσαν, ἐξελόμενος τοῖς φίλοις ἐπέδωκε κοινῇ, νείμασθαι καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς κελεύσας. ἀρνούμενους δὲ καὶ κλαίοντας εὐμενῶς πάννυ

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spear on the deck as though he would cast it at Antony. And when Antony, standing at the prow, asked, "Who is this that pursues Antony?" the answer was, "I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, whom the fortune of Caesar enables to avenge the death of his father." Now, Lachares had been beheaded by Antony because he was involved in a charge of robbery. However, Eurycles did not hit Antony's ship, but smote the other admiral's ship (for there were two of them) with his bronze beak and whirled her round, and as she swung round sideways he captured her, and one of the other ships also, which contained costly equipment for household use. When Eurycles was gone, Antony threw himself down again in the same posture and did not stir. He spent three days by himself at the prow, either because he was angry with Cleopatra, or ashamed to see her, and then put in at Taenarum. Here the women in Cleopatra's company at first brought them into a parley, and then persuaded them to eat and sleep together.

Presently not a few of their heavy transport ships and some of their friends began to gather about them after the defeat, bringing word that the fleet was destroyed, but that, in their opinion, the land forces still held together. So Antony sent messengers to Canidius, ordering him to retire with his army as fast as he could through Macedonia into Asia; he himself, however, since he purposed to cross from Taenarum to Libya, selected one of the transport ships which carried much coined money and very valuable royal utensils in silver and gold, and made a present of it to his friends, bidding them divide up the treasure and look out for their own safety. They refused his gift

καὶ φιλοφρόνως παραμυθησάμενος καὶ δε-
 7 θεὶς ἀπέστειλε, γράψας πρὸς Θεόφιλον τὸν ἐν
 Κορίνθῳ διοικητὴν ὅπως ἀσφάλειαν ἐκπορίσῃ
 καὶ ἀποκρύψῃ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἄχρι ἂν ἰλάσασθαι
 Καίσαρα δυνηθῶσιν. οὗτος ἦν Θεόφιλος Ἰπ-
 πάρχου πατὴρ τοῦ πλείστον παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ
 δυνηθέντος, πρώτου δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν ἀπε-
 λευθέρων μεταβαλομένου καὶ κατοικήσαντος
 ὕστερον ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

LXVIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντώ-
 νιον. ἐν Ἀκτίῳ δὲ πολὺν ὁ στόλος ἀντισχῶν
 Καίσαρι χρόνον, καὶ μέγιστον βλαβεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 κλύδωνος ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ πρῶραν ἵσταμένου, μόλις
 ὥρας δεκάτης ἀπεῖπε. καὶ νεκροὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους
 ἐγένοντο πεντακισχιλίων, ἐάλωσαν δὲ τριακόσια
 2 νῆες, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀνέγραψε Καίσαρ. ἦσθοντο δὲ
 οὐ πολλοὶ πεφευγότες Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τοῖς πυθο-
 μένοις τὸ πρῶτον ἄπιστος ἦν ὁ λόγος, εἰ δέκα καὶ
 ἐννέα τάγματα πεζῶν ἀηττήτων καὶ δισχιλίους
 ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἵππεις ἀπολιπὼν οἷχεται, καθάπερ
 οὐ πολλάκις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τῇ τύχῃ κεχρημένος
 οὐδὲ μυρίων ἀγώνων καὶ πολέμων μεταβολαῖς
 3 ἐγγεγυμνασμένος. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καὶ πόθον
 τινὰ καὶ προσδοκίαν εἶχον ὥς αὐτίκα ποθὲν
 ἐπιφανησομένου· καὶ τοσαύτην ἐπεδείξαντο
 πίστιν καὶ ἀρετὴν ὥστε καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτοῦ
 φανερᾶς γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ συμμεῖναι, περιο-
 ρῶντες ἐπιπρεσβευόμενον αὐτοῖς Καίσαρα. τέλος 948
 δέ, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κανιδίου νύκτωρ ἀποδράντος
 καὶ καταλιπόντος τὸ στρατόπεδον, γενόμενοι πάν-
 των ἔρημοι καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων,
 τῷ κρατοῦντι προσεχώρησαν.

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and were in tears, but he comforted them and besought them with great kindness and affection, and finally sent them away, after writing to Theophilus, his steward in Corinth, that he should keep the men in safe hiding until they could make their peace with Caesar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who had the greatest influence with Antony, was the first of Antony's freedmen to go over to Caesar, and afterwards lived in Corinth.

LXVIII. This, then, was the situation of Antony. But at Actium his fleet held out for a long time against Caesar, and only after it had been most severely damaged by the high sea which rose against it did it reluctantly, and at the tenth hour, give up the struggle. There were not more than five thousand dead, but three hundred ships were captured, as Caesar himself has written. Only a few were aware that Antony had fled, and to those who heard of it the story was at first an incredible one, that he had gone off and left nineteen legions of undefeated men-at-arms and twelve thousand horsemen, as if he had not many times experienced both kinds of fortune and were not exercised by the reverses of countless wars and fightings. His soldiers, too, had a great longing for him, and expected that he would presently make his appearance from some quarter or other; and they displayed so much fidelity and bravery that even after his flight had become evident they held together for seven days, paying no heed to the messages which Caesar sent them. But at last, after Canidius their general had run away by night and forsaken the camp, being now destitute of all things and betrayed by their commanders, they went over to the conqueror.

- 4 Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε, καὶ διαλλαγεῖς τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν περιόντα σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διένειμε ταῖς πόλεσι πραττούσαις ἀθλίως καὶ περικεκομμέναις χρημάτων, ἀνδραπόδων, ὑπόζυγιων. ὁ γοῦν πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Νίκαρχος διηγεῖτο τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοῖς ὤμοις καταφέρειν μέτρομα πυρῶν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίκυραν θάλασσαν,
- 5 ὑπὸ μαστίγων ἐπιταχυνομένους· καὶ μίαν μὲν οὕτω φορὰν ἐνεγκεῖν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἤδη μεμετρημένοις καὶ μέλλουσιν αἵρεσθαι νενικημένον Ἀντώνιον ἀγγελῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο διασῶσαι τὴν πόλιν· εὐθὺς γὰρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου διοικητῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν φυγόντων διανείμασθαι τὸν σῖτον αὐτούς.

- LXIX. Ἀντώνιος δὲ Λιβύης ἀψάμενος καὶ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Παραιτονίου προπέμψας αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυνεν ἐρημίας ἀφθόνου, σὺν δυσὶ φίλοις ἀλύων καὶ πλανώμενος, Ἑλληνι μὲν Ἀριστοκράτει ῥητορικῶ, Ῥωμαίῳ δὲ Λουκιλλίῳ, περὶ οὗ δι' ἐτέρων γεγράφαμεν ὡς ἐν Φιλίπποις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν Βροῦτον, αὐτὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δὴ Βροῦτος ὢν, ἐνεχείρισε τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ διασωθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου διὰ τοῦτο, πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ βέβαιος ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων καιρῶν παρέμεινεν.
- 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ δύναμιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος ἀπέστησεν, ὀρμήσας ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν καὶ διακωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εὔρε Κλεοπάτραν ἐπιτολμῶσαν

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In consequence of this, Caesar sailed to Athens, and after making a settlement with the Greeks, he distributed the grain which remained over after the war among their cities; these were in a wretched plight, and had been stripped of money, slaves, and beasts of burden. At any rate, my great-grandfather Nicarchus used to tell how all his fellow-citizens were compelled to carry on their shoulders a stipulated measure of wheat down to the sea at Anticyra, and how their pace was quickened by the whip; they had carried one load in this way, he said, the second was already measured out, and they were just about to set forth, when word was brought that Antony had been defeated, and this was the salvation of the city; for immediately the stewards and soldiers of Antony took to flight, and the citizens divided the grain among themselves.

LXIX. After Antony had reached the coast of Libya and sent Cleopatra forward into Egypt from Paraetionium, he had the benefit of solitude without end, roaming and wandering about with two friends, one a Greek, Aristocrates a rhetorician, and the other a Roman, Lucilius, about whom I have told a story elsewhere.¹ He was at Philippi, and in order that Brutus might make his escape, pretended to be Brutus and surrendered himself to his pursuers. His life was spared by Antony on this account, and he remained faithful to him and steadfast up to the last crucial times. When the general to whom his forces in Libya had been entrusted brought about their defection, Antony tried to kill himself, but was prevented by his friends and brought to Alexandria. Here he found Cleopatra venturing upon a hazardous

¹ See the *Brutus*, chapter 1.

ἔργῳ παραβόλῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ. τοῦ γὰρ εἵργοντος
 ἰσθμοῦ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον θα-
 λάσσης καὶ δοκοῦντος Ἀσίαν καὶ Λιβύην ὀρίζειν,
 ἣ σφίγγεται μάλιστα τοῖς πελάγεσι καὶ βραχύ-
 τatos εὐρὸς ἐστὶ, τριακοσίων σταδίων ὄντων,
 3 ἐνεχείρησεν ἄρασα τὸν στόλον ὑπερνεωλκῆσαι, καὶ
 καθεῖσα τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν κόλπον μετὰ
 χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἔξω κατοικεῖν,
 ἀποφυγοῦσα δουλείαν καὶ πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς
 πρώτας ἀνελκομένας τῶν νεῶν οἱ περὶ τὴν Πέ-
 τραν Ἀραβες κατέκαυσαν, ἔτι δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὸν
 ἐν Ἀκτίῳ στρατὸν ὥτεο συμμένειν, ἐπαύσατο,
 4 καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἐφύλαττεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν
 πόλιν ἐκλιπὼν καὶ τὰς μετὰ τῶν φίλων δια-
 τριβάς, οἰκησιν ἔναλον κατεσκεύαζεν αὐτῷ περὶ
 τὴν Φάρον, εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν χῶμα προβαλὼν·
 καὶ διῆγεν αὐτόθι φυγὰς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸν
 Τίμωνος ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ζηλοῦν βίον ἔφασκεν, ὡς
 δὴ πεπονθὼς ὅμοια· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ
 φίλων καὶ ἀχαριστηθεὶς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν καὶ δυσχεραίνειν.

LXX. Ὁ δὲ Τίμων ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ γέγονεν
 ἡλικία μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πό-
 λεμον, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Πλάτωνος
 δραμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι. κωμωδεῖται γὰρ ἐν ἐκεί-
 νοις ὡς δυσμενὴς καὶ μισάνθρωπος· ἐκκλίνων δὲ
 καὶ διωθούμενος ἅπασαν ἔντευξιν, Ἀλκιβιάδην,
 νέον ὄντα καὶ θρασύν, ἡσπάζετο καὶ κατεφίλει
 προθύμως. Ἀπημάντου δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ πυ-

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and great undertaking. The isthmus, namely, which separates the Red Sea¹ from the Mediterranean Sea off Egypt and is considered to be the boundary between Asia and Libya, in the part where it is most constricted by the two seas and has the least width, measures three hundred furlongs. Here Cleopatra undertook to raise her fleet out of water and drag the ships across, and after launching them in the Arabian Gulf¹ with much money and a large force, to settle in parts outside of Egypt, thus escaping war and servitude. But since the Arabians about Petra burned the first ships that were drawn up, and Antony still thought that his land forces at Actium were holding together, she desisted, and guarded the approaches to the country. And now Antony forsook the city and the society of his friends, and built for himself a dwelling in the sea at Pharos, by throwing a mole out into the water. Here he lived an exile from men, and declared that he was contentedly imitating the life of Timon, since, indeed, his experiences had been like Timon's; for he himself also had been wronged and treated with ingratitude by his friends, and therefore hated and distrusted all mankind.

LXX. Now, Timon was an Athenian, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian War, as may be gathered from the plays of Aristophanes and Plato. For he is represented in their comedies as peevish and misanthropical; but though he avoided and repelled all intercourse with men, he was glad to see Alcibiades, who was then young and headstrong, and showered kisses upon him. And when Apemantus

¹ By Red Sea Plutarch here means the upper part of the Arabian Gulf.

- θομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, φιλεῖν ἔφη τὸν νεανίσκον
εἰδὼς ὅτι πολλῶν Ἀθηναίοις κακῶν αἴτιος ἔσοιτο.
- 2 τὸν δὲ Ἀπήμαντον μόνον ὡς ὅμοιον αὐτῷ καὶ
ζηλοῦντα τὴν δίαιταν ἔστιν ὅτε προσίετο· καὶ
ποτε τῆς τῶν Χοῶν οὔσης ἐορτῆς εἰστιῶντο καθ'
αὐτοὺς οἱ δύο, τοῦ δ' Ἀπημάντου φήσαντος, “Ὡς
καλόν, ὦ Τίμων, τὸ συμπόσιον ἡμῶν,” “Εἵγε
σύ,” ἔφη, “μὴ παρῆς.” λέγεται δὲ Ἀθηναίων
ἐκκλησιαζόντων ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ποιῆσαι
σιωπὴν καὶ προσδοκίαν μεγάλην διὰ τὸ παρά-
3 δοξον· εἶτα εἰπεῖν· “Ἔστι μοι μικρὸν οἰκόπεδον, 949
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ συκὴ τις ἐν αὐτῷ πέ-
φυκεν, ἐξ ἧς ἤδη συχνοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγξαντο.
μέλλων οὖν οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐβουλήθην
δημοσίᾳ προειπεῖν, ἵνα, ἂν ἄρα τινὲς ἐθέλωσιν
ὑμῶν, πρὶν ἐκκοπῆναι τὴν συκὴν, ἀπάγξωνται.”
τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφέντος Ἀλῆσι
παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὤλισθε τὰ προὔχοντα τοῦ
αἰγιαλοῦ, καὶ τὸ κύμα περιελθὼν ἄβατον καὶ
ἀπροσπέλαστον ἄνθρωπῳ πεποίηκε τὸν τάφον.
- 4 ἦν δ' ἐπιγεγραμμένον·

ἐνθάδ' ἀπορρήξας ψυχὴν βαρυδαίμονα κείμει.
τοῦνομα δ' οὐ πεύσεσθε, κακοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἀπό-
λοισθε.

καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῶντα πεποιηκέναι

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was amazed at this and asked the reason for it, Timon said he loved the youth because he knew that he would be a cause of many ills to Athens. This Apemantus alone of all men Timon would sometimes admit into his company, since Apemantus was like him and tried sometimes to imitate his mode of life; and once, at the festival of The Pitchers,¹ the two were feasting by themselves, and Apemantus said: "Timon, what a fine symposium ours is!" "It would be," said Timon, "if thou wert not here." We are told also that once when the Athenians were holding an assembly, he ascended the bema, and the strangeness of the thing caused deep silence and great expectancy; then he said: "I have a small building lot, men of Athens, and a fig-tree is growing in it, from which many of my fellow citizens have already hanged themselves. Accordingly, as I intend to build a house there, I wanted to give public notice to that effect, in order that all of you who desire to do so may hang yourselves before the fig-tree is cut down." After he had died and been buried at Halae near the sea, the shore in front of the tomb slipped away, and the water surrounded it and made it completely inaccessible to man. The inscription on the tomb was:

"Here, after snapping the thread of a wretched life,
I lie.

Ye shall not learn my name, but my curses shall
follow you."

This inscription he is said to have composed

¹ *Choes*-day, the second day of the great festival in honour of Dionysus called Anthesteria. It was a day of libations to the dead.

λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ περιφερόμενον Καλλιμάχειόν
ἐστι·

Τίμων μισάνθρωπος ἐνοικέω. ἀλλὰ παρέλθε,
οἰμῶζειν εἶπας πολλὰ παρέλθε μόνον.

LXXI. Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Τίμωνος ἀπὸ πολλῶν
ὀλίγα. τῷ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ Κανιδίῳ τε τῆς ἀπο-
βολῆς τῶν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ δυνάμεων αὐτάγγελος ἦλθε,
καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον Ἡρώδην ἔχοντά τινα τάγματα καὶ
σπείρας ἤκουσε Καίσαρι προσκεχωρηκέναι, καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμοίως δυνάστας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ
2 μηδὲν ἔτι συμμένειν τῶν ἐκτός. οὐ μὲν διετάραξέ
τι τούτων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἄσμενος τὸ ἐλπί-
ζειν ἀποτεθειμένος, ἵνα καὶ τὸ φροντίζειν, τὴν
μὲν ἔναλον ἐκείνην δίαιταν, ἣν Τιμώνειον ὠνό-
μαζεν, ἐξέλιπεν, ἀναληφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεο-
πάτρας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πρὸς δεῖπνα καὶ πότους
καὶ διανομὰς ἔτρεψε τὴν πόλιν, ἐγγράφῃ μὲν εἰς
ἐφήβους τὸν Κλεοπάτρας παῖδα καὶ Καίσαρος,
3 τὸ δὲ ἀπόρφυρον καὶ τέλειον ἱμάτιον Ἀντύλλῳ
τῷ ἐκ Φουλβίας περιτιθείς, ἐφ' οἷς ἡμέρας πολλὰς
συμπόσια καὶ κῶμοι καὶ θαλῖαι τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
δρειαν κατεῖχον. αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀμιμη-
τοβίων ἐκείνην σύνοδον κατέλυσαν, ἐτέραν δὲ
συνέταξαν οὐδέν τι λειπομένην ἐκείνης ἀβρότητι
καὶ τρυφαίς καὶ πολυτελείαις, ἣν συναποθανου-
μένων ἐκάλουν. ἀπεγράφοντο γὰρ οἱ φίλοι συν-
αποθανομένους ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ διῆγον εὐπαθοῦντες
4 ἐν δείπνων περιόδοις. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ φαρ-

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himself, but that in general circulation, is by Callimachus :

“ Timon, hater of men, dwells here ; so pass along ;
Heap many curses on me, if thou wilt, only pass
along.”

LXXI. These are a few things out of many concerning Timon. As for Antony, Canidius in person brought him word of the loss of his forces at Actium, and he heard that Herod the Jew, with sundry legions and cohorts, had gone over to Caesar, and that the other dynasts in like manner were deserting him and nothing longer remained of his power outside of Egypt. However, none of these things greatly disturbed him, but, as if he gladly laid aside his hopes, that so he might lay aside his anxieties also, he forsook that dwelling of his in the sea, which he called Timoneum, and after he had been received into the palace by Cleopatra, turned the city to the enjoyment of suppers and drinking-bouts and distributions of gifts, inscribing in the list of ephebi¹ the son of Cleopatra and Caesar, and bestowing upon Antyllus the son of Fulvia the toga virilis without purple hem, in celebration of which, for many days, banquets and revels and feastings occupied Alexandria. Cleopatra and Antony now dissolved their famous society of Inimitable Livers,² and founded another, not at all inferior to that in daintiness and luxury and extravagant outlay, which they called the society of Partners in Death. For their friends enrolled themselves as those who would die together, and passed the time delightfully in a round of suppers. Moreover, Cleopatra was getting together collections

¹ See the note on lxii. 1. Caesarion was to be educated as a Greek, Antyllus as a Roman. ² Cf. chapter xxviii. 2.

μάκων θανασίμων συνήγε παντοδαπὰς δυνάμεις, ὧν ἐκάστης τὸ ἀνώδυνον ἐλέγχουσα προὔβαλλε τοῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ φρουρουμένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὰς μὲν ὠκυμόρους τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ θανάτου δι' ὀδύνης ἐπιφερούσας, τὰς δὲ πραοτέρας τάχος οὐκ ἐχούσας, τῶν θηρίων ἀπεπειράτο, θεωμένης αὐτῆς
 5 ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ προσφερόντων. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο καθ' ἡμέραν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσι μόνον εὔρισκε τὸ δῆγμα τῆς ἀσπίδος ἄνευ σπασμοῦ καὶ στεναγμοῦ κáρον ὑπνώδη καὶ καταφορὰν ἐφελκόμενον, ἰδρῶτι μαλακῷ τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀμαυρώσει παραλυομένων ῥαδίως καὶ δυσχεραίνοντων πρὸς τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις καὶ ἀνακλίσεις, ὥσπερ οἱ βαθέως καθεύδοντες.

LXXII. Ἀμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον. εἰς Ἀσίαν, ἥ μὲν αἰτουμένη τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῖς παισὶν ἀρχήν, ὃ δὲ ἀξιῶν Ἀθήνησιν, εἰ μὴ δοκοίη περὶ Αἰγυπτου, ἰδιώτης καταβιῶναι. φίλων δὲ ἀπορία καὶ ἀπιστία διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας ὃ τῶν παιδῶν διδάσκαλος ἐπέμφθη πρεσβεύων
 2 Εὐφρόνιος. καὶ γὰρ Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ Λαοδικεύς, γνωρισθεὶς μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ Τιμαγένους καὶ πλείστον Ἑλλήνων δυνηθεὶς, γενόμενος δὲ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον ὀργάνων τὸ βιαιότατον καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ Ὀκταουίας ἱσταμένων ἐν αὐτῷ λογισμῶν ἀνατροπεύς, ἐπέμφθη μὲν Ἡρώδην τὸν βασιλέα 950
 3 τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐφέξων, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταμείνας καὶ προδοὺς Ἀντώνιον ἐτόλμησεν εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν Καίσαρος, Ἡρώδην πεποιθώς. ὤνησε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν Ἡρώδης, ἀλλ' εὐθύς εἰρχθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς

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of all sorts of deadly poisons, and she tested the painless working of each of them by giving them to prisoners under sentence of death. But when she saw that the speedy poisons enhanced the sharpness of death by the pain they caused, while the milder poisons were not quick, she made trial of venomous animals, watching with her own eyes as they were set one upon another. She did this daily, and tried them almost all ; and she found that the bite of the asp alone induced a sleepy torpor and sinking, where there was no spasm or groan, but a gentle perspiration on the face, while the perceptive faculties were easily relaxed and dimmed, and resisted all attempts to rouse and restore them, as is the case with those who are soundly asleep.

LXXII. At the same time they also sent an embassy to Caesar in Asia, Cleopatra asking the realm of Egypt for her children, and Antony requesting that he might live as a private person at Athens, if he could not do so in Egypt. But owing to their lack of friends and the distrust which they felt on account of desertions, Euphronius, the teacher of the children, was sent on the embassy. For Alexas the Laodicean, who had been made known to Antony in Rome through Timagenes and had more influence with him than any other Greek, who had also been Cleopatra's most effective instrument against Antony and had overthrown the considerations arising in his mind in favour of Octavia, had been sent to keep Herod the king from apostasy ; but after remaining there and betraying Antony he had the audacity to come into Caesar's presence, relying on Herod. Herod, however, could not help him, but the traitor was at once confined and carried in fetters to his own

εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα δέσμιος ἐκεῖ Καίσαρος κελεύσαντος ἀνηρέθη. τοιαύτην μὲν Ἀλεξᾶς ἔτι ζῶντι δίκην Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς ἀπιστίας ἐξέτισε.

- LXXIII. Καίσαρ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. Κλεοπάτραν δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μηδενὸς ἀμαρτήσεσθαι τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνελοῦσαν Ἀντώνιον ἢ ἐκβαλοῦσαν. συνέπεμψε δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Θύρσον, οὐκ ἀνόητον ἄνθρωπον οὐδὲ ἀπιθάνως ἀν' ἀφ' ἡγεμόνος νέου διαλεχθέντα πρὸς γυναῖκα σοβαρὰν καὶ θαυμαστὸν ὅσον ἐπὶ κάλλει φρονοῦσαν.
- 2 οὗτος ἐντυγχάνων αὐτῇ μακρότερα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τιμώμενος διαφερόντως ὑπόνοιαν τῇ Ἀντωνίῳ παρέσχε, καὶ συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐμαστίγωσεν, εἶτα ἀφῆκε πρὸς Καίσαρα γράψας ὡς ἐντρυφῶν καὶ περιφρονῶν παροξύνειεν αὐτόν, εὐπαρόξυντον ὑπὸ κακῶν ὄντα. “Σὺ δὲ εἰ μὴ φέρεις τὸ πρᾶγμα,” ἔφη, “μετρίως, ἔχεις ἐμὸν ἀπελεύθερον Ἰππαρχον. τοῦτον κρεμάσας μαστίγωσον, ἵνα ἴσον ἔχωμεν.”
- 3 ἐκ τούτου Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἀπολυομένη τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ὑπονοίας ἐθεράπευεν αὐτὸν περιττῶς· καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς γενέθλιον ταπεινῶς διαγαγοῦσα καὶ ταῖς τύχαις πρεπόντως, τὴν ἐκείνου πᾶσαν ὑπερβαλλομένη λαμπρότητα καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐώρτασεν, ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν κεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον πένητας ἐλθόντας ἀπελθεῖν πλουσίους. Καίσαρα δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἀνεκαλεῖτο πολλάκις ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γράφων ὡς τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ποθούντων.

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country, where he was put to death by Caesar's orders. Such was the penalty for his treachery which Alexas paid to Antony while Antony was yet alive.

LXXIII. Caesar would not listen to the proposals for Antony, but he sent back word to Cleopatra that she would receive all reasonable treatment if she either put Antony to death or cast him out. He also sent with the messengers one of his own freedmen, Thyrsus, a man of no mean parts, and one who would persuasively convey messages from a young general to a woman who was haughty and astonishingly proud in the matter of beauty. This man had longer interviews with Cleopatra than the rest, and was conspicuously honoured by her, so that he roused suspicion in Antony, who seized him and gave him a flogging, and then sent him back to Caesar with a written message stating that Thyrsus, by his insolent and haughty airs, had irritated him, at a time when misfortunes made him easily irritated. "But if thou dost not like the thing," he said, "thou hast my freedman Hipparchus¹; hang him up and give him a flogging, and we shall be quits." After this, Cleopatra tried to dissipate his causes of complaint and his suspicions by paying extravagant court to him; her own birthday she kept modestly and in a manner becoming to her circumstances, but she celebrated his with an excess of all kinds of splendour and costliness, so that many of those who were bidden to the supper came poor and went away rich. Meanwhile Caesar was being called home by Agrippa, who frequently wrote him from Rome that matters there greatly needed his presence.

¹ See chapter lxvii. 7.

LXXIV. Ἔσχεν οὖν ἀναβολὴν ὁ πόλεμος τότε τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παρελθόντος αὐθις ἐπῆει διὰ Συρίας, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ διὰ Λιβύης. αἰώντος δὲ Πηλουσίου λόγος ἦν ἐνδοῦναι Σέλευκον οὐκ ἀκούσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας. ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μὲν γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας Ἀντωνίῳ κτείνειν παρείχεν, αὐτὴ δὲ θήκας ἔχουσα καὶ μνήματα κατεσκευασμένα περιπτῶς εἰς τε κάλλος καὶ ὕψος, ἃ
 2 προσφκοδόμησε τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἰσιδος, ἐνταῦθα τῶν βασιλικῶν συνεφέρει τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς, χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, σμάραγδον, μαργαρίτην, ἔβενον, ἐλέφαντα, κινάμωμον· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ δᾶδα πολλὴν καὶ στυππεῖον, ὥστε δείσαντα περὶ τῶν χρημάτων Καίσαρα, μὴ τραπομένη πρὸς ἀπόγνωσιν ἢ γυνὴ διαφθεῖρη καὶ καταφλέξῃ τὸν πλοῦτον, αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτῇ φιλανθρώπους προσπέμπειν ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν
 3 πόλιν. ἰδρυθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν ἵππόδρομον, Ἀντώνιος ἐπεξελθὼν ἡγωνίσαστο λαμπρῶς καὶ τροπὴν τῶν Καίσαρος ἵππέων ἐποίησε, καὶ κατεδίωξεν ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου. μεγαλυνόμενος δὲ τῇ νίκῃ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν κατεφίλησεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν ἡγωνισμένον προθυμότατα τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνέστησεν. ἡ δὲ ἀριστεῖον αὐτῷ θώρακα χρυσοῦν καὶ κράνος ἔδωκεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος λαβὼν ταῦτα διὰ νυκτὸς ἠὲ τομόλησε πρὸς Καίσαρα.

LXXV. Πάλιν δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε Καίσαρα μονομαχεῖν προκαλούμενος. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου πολλὰς ὁδοὺς Ἀντωνίῳ παρεῖναι θανάτων,

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LXXIV. Accordingly, the war was suspended for the time being; but when the winter was over, Caesar again marched against his enemy through Syria, and his generals through Libya. When Pelusium was taken there was a rumour that Seleucus had given it up, and not without the consent of Cleopatra; but Cleopatra allowed Antony to put to death the wife and children of Seleucus, and she herself, now that she had a tomb and monument built surpassingly lofty and beautiful, which she had erected near the temple of Isis, collected there the most valuable of the royal treasures, gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon; and besides all this she put there great quantities of torch-wood and tow, so that Caesar was anxious about the treasure, and fearing lest the woman might become desperate and burn up and destroy this wealth, kept sending on to her vague hopes of kindly treatment from him, at the same time that he advanced with his army against the city. But when Caesar had taken up position near the hippodrome, Antony sallied forth against him and fought brilliantly and routed his cavalry, and pursued them as far as their camp. Then, exalted by his victory, he went into the palace, kissed Cleopatra, all armed as he was, and presented to her the one of his soldiers who had fought most spiritedly. Cleopatra gave the man as a reward of valour a golden breastplate and a helmet. The man took them, of course,—and in the night deserted to Caesar.

LXXV. And now Antony once more sent Caesar a challenge to single combat.¹ But Caesar answered that Antony had many ways of dying. Then Antony,

¹ Cf. chapter lxii. 3.

- συμφρονήσας ὅτι τοῦ διὰ μάχης οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ
 βελτίων θάνατος, ἔγνω καὶ κατὰ γῆν ἄμα καὶ
 θάλατταν ἐπιχειρεῖν. καὶ παρὰ δειπνον, ὡς
 λέγεται, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ὑποχεῖν καὶ
 2 προθυμότερον εὐωχεῖν αὐτόν· ἄδηλον γάρ, εἰ
 τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν αὖριον ἢ δεσπόταις ἑτέροις
 ὑπηρετήσουσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ κείσεται σκελετὸς καὶ
 τὸ μηδὲν γενόμενος. τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐπὶ τούτοις
 δακρύνοντας ὁρῶν ἔφη μὴ προὔξειν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην,
 ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ θάνατον εὐκλεᾶ μάλλον ἢ σωτηρίαν
 ζητεῖν καὶ νίκην.
- 3 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ λέγεται, μεσοῦσης σχεδόν, 951
 ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ κατηφείᾳ τῆς πόλεως διὰ φόβον
 καὶ προσδοκίαν τοῦ μέλλοντος οὔσης, αἰφνίδιον
 ὀργάνων τε παντοδαπῶν ἐμμελεῖς τινας φωνὰς
 ἀκουσθῆναι καὶ βοὴν ὄχλου μετὰ εὐασμῶν καὶ
 πηδήσεων σατυρικῶν, ὥσπερ θιάσου τινὸς οὐκ
 4 ἀθορύβως ἐξελαύνοντος· εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁμοῦ
 τι διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἔξω τὴν
 τετραμμένην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν
 θόρυβον ἐκπεσεῖν πλείστον γενόμενον. ἐδόκει δὲ
 τοῖς ἀναλογιζομένοις τὸ σημεῖον ἀπολείπειν ὁ
 θεὸς Ἀντώνιον, ᾧ μάλιστα συνεξομοιῶν καὶ
 συνοικειῶν ἑαυτὸν διετέλεσεν.

LXXVI. Ἄμα δὲ ἡμέρα τὸν πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
 τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως λόφων ἰδρύσας ἐθεᾶτο τὰς
 ναῦς ἀνηγμένας καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων προσφερο-
 μένας· καὶ περιμένων ἔργον τι παρ' ἐκείνων ἰδεῖν
 ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ταῖς κώπαις

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conscious that there was no better death for him than that by battle, determined to attack by land and sea at once. And at supper, we are told, he bade the slaves pour out for him and feast him more generously; for it was uncertain, he said, whether they would be doing this on the morrow, or whether they would be serving other masters, while he himself would be lying dead, a mummy and a nothing. Then, seeing that his friends were weeping at these words, he declared that he would not lead them out to battle, since from it he sought an honourable death for himself rather than safety and victory.

During this night, it is said, about the middle of it, while the city was quiet and depressed through fear and expectation of what was coming, suddenly certain harmonious sounds from all sorts of instruments were heard, and the shouting of a throng, accompanied by cries of Bacchic revelry and satyric leapings, as if a troop of revellers, making a great tumult, were going forth from the city; and their course seemed to lie about through the middle of the city toward the outer gate which faced the enemy, at which point the tumult became loudest and then dashed out. Those who sought the meaning of the sign were of the opinion that the god to whom Antony always most likened and attached himself was now deserting him.

LXXVI. At daybreak,¹ Antony in person posted his infantry on the hills in front of the city, and watched his ships as they put out and attacked those of the enemy; and as he expected to see something great accomplished by them, he remained quiet. But the crews of his ships, as soon as they were near,

¹ Aug. 1, 30 B.C.

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- ἡσπάσαντο τοὺς Καίσαρος, ἐκείνων τε ἀντασπασμένων μετεβάλοντο, καὶ πάσαις ἅμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁ στόλος εἰς γενόμενος ἐπέπλει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀντίπρωρος. τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν ἀπελείφθη μὲν εὐθύς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων μεταβαλομένων, ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προδεδόσθαι βοῶν οἷς δι' ἐκείνην ἐπολέμησεν. ἡ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν εἰς τὸν τάφον κατέφυγε καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἀφήκε κλείθροις καὶ μοχλοῖς καρτεροὺς ὄντας· πρὸς δὲ Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὅτι τέθνηκε. πιστεύσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, “Τί ἔτι μέλλεις, Ἀντώνιε; τὴν μόνην ἢ τύχην καὶ λοιπὴν ἀφήρηκε τοῦ φιλοψυχεῖν πρόφασιν,” εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, καὶ τὸν θώρακα παραλύων καὶ διαστέλλων, “ὦ Κλεοπάτρα,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἄχθομαί σου στερούμενος· αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰς ταῦτόν ἀφίξομαι· ἀλλ' ὅτι γυναικὸς ὁ τηλικούτος αὐτοκράτωρ εὐψυχία πεφώραμαι λειπόμενος.”
- 4 Ἦν δέ τις οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ πιστὸς Ἔρωσ ὄνομα. τοῦτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρακεκληκώς, εἰ δεήσειεν, ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, ἀπῆτει τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ὁ δὲ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀνέσχε μὲν ὡς παίσων ἐκείνον, ἀποστρέψας δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ὁ Ἀντώνιος “Εὖγε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἔρωσ, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν ὃ δεῖ διδάσκεις.” καὶ παίσας διὰ τῆς
- 5 κοιλίας ἑαυτὸν ἀφήκεν εἰς τὸ κλινίδιον. ἦν δὲ οὐκ εὐθυθάνατος ἢ πληγῇ. διὸ καὶ τῆς φορᾶς τοῦ αἵματος, ἐπεὶ κατεκλίθη, παυσαμένης,

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saluted Caesar's crews with their oars, and on their returning the salute changed sides, and so all the ships, now united into one fleet, sailed up towards the city prows on. No sooner had Antony seen this than he was deserted by his cavalry, which went over to the enemy, and after being defeated with his infantry he retired into the city, crying out that he had been betrayed by Cleopatra to those with whom he waged war for her sake. But she, fearing his anger and his madness, fled for refuge into her tomb and let fall the drop-doors, which were made strong with bolts and bars; then she sent messengers to tell Antony that she was dead. Antony believed the message, and saying to himself, "Why dost thou longer delay, Antony? Fortune has taken away thy sole remaining excuse for clinging to life," he went into his chamber. Here, as he unfastened his breast-plate and laid it aside, he said; "O Cleopatra, I am not grieved to be bereft of thee, for I shall straight-way join thee; but I am grieved that such an imperator as I am has been found to be inferior to a woman in courage."

Now, Antony had a trusty slave named Eros. Him Antony had long before engaged, in case of need, to kill him, and now demanded the fulfilment of his promise. So Eros drew his sword and held it up as though he would smite his master, but then turned his face away and slew himself. And as he fell at his master's feet Antony said: "Well done, Eros! though thou wast not able to do it thyself, thou teachest me what I must do"; and running himself through the belly he dropped upon the couch. But the wound did not bring a speedy death. Therefore, as the blood ceased flowing after he had lain down, he

ἀναλαβὼν ἐδεῖτο τῶν παρόντων ἐπισφάττειν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἔφευγον ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου βοῶντος καὶ σφαδάζοντος, ἄχρι οὗ παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας ἤκε Διομήδης ὁ γραμματεὺς, κομίζειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκείνη εἰς τὸν τάφον κελευσθεῖς.

LXXVII. Γνοὺς οὖν ὅτι ζῇ, προθύμως ἐκέλευσεν ἄρασθαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν προσεκόμεσθαι ταῖς θύραις τοῦ οἰκήματος. ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς μὲν θύρας οὐκ ἀνέφωξεν, ἐκ δὲ θυρίδων τινῶν φανείσα σειρὰς καὶ καλῶδια καθίει. καὶ τούτοις ἐναψάντων τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεῖλκεν αὐτὴ καὶ δύο γυναῖκες, ἃς μόνας ἐδέξατο
 2 μεθ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν τάφον. οὐδὲν ἐκείνου λέγουσιν οἰκτρότερον γενέσθαι οἱ παραγενόμενοι θέαμα. πεφυρμένος γὰρ αἵματι καὶ δυσθανατῶν εἴλκετο, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων εἰς ἐκείνην καὶ παραιωρούμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν γυναιξὶ ῥάδιον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μόλις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ταῖν χεροῖν ἐμπεφυκυῖα καὶ κατατεινομένη τῷ προσώπῳ τὸν δεσμὸν ἀνελάμβανεν, ἐπικελευομένων τῶν κάτωθεν αὐτῇ καὶ
 3 συναγωνιώντων. δεξαμένη δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτως καὶ κατακλίναςα περιερρήξατο τε τοὺς πέπλους ἐπ' 952 αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένη καὶ σπαράττουσα ταῖς χερσί, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ αἵματος ἀναματτομένη, δεσπότην ἐκάλει καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα· καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐπιλέληστο τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν οἰκτῶ τῶν ἐκείνου. καταπαύσας δὲ τὸν θρήνον αὐτῆς Ἀντώνιος ᾗτησε πιεῖν οἶνον, εἴτε διψῶν,
 4 εἴτε συντομώτερον ἐλπίζων ἀπολυθῆσθαι. πινὼν δὲ παρήνευσεν αὐτῇ τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῆς, ἂν ἡ μὴ μετ' αἰσχύνῃς, σωτήρια τίθεσθαι, μάλιστα τῶν Καίσαρος ἐταίρων Προκλήτῳ πιστεύουσαν, αὐτὸν

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came to himself and besought the bystanders to give him the finishing stroke. But they fled from the chamber, and he lay writhing and crying out, until Diomedes the secretary came from Cleopatra with orders to bring him to her in the tomb.

LXXVII. Having learned, then, that Cleopatra was alive, Antony eagerly ordered his servants to raise him up, and he was carried in their arms to the doors of her tomb. Cleopatra, however, would not open the doors, but showed herself at a window, from which she let down ropes and cords. To these Antony was fastened, and she drew him up herself, with the aid of the two women whom alone she had admitted with her into the tomb. Never, as those who were present tell us, was there a more piteous sight. Smeared with blood and struggling with death he was drawn up, stretching out his hands to her even as he dangled in the air. For the task was not an easy one for women, and scarcely could Cleopatra, with clinging hands and strained face, pull up the rope, while those below called out encouragement to her and shared her agony. And when she had thus got him in and laid him down, she rent her garments over him, beat and tore her breasts with her hands, wiped off some of his blood upon her face, and called him master, husband, and imperator; indeed, she almost forgot her own ills in her pity for his. But Antony stopped her lamentations and asked for a drink of wine, either because he was thirsty, or in the hope of a speedier release. When he had drunk, he advised her to consult her own safety, if she could do it without disgrace, and among all the companions of Caesar to put most confidence in

δὲ μὴ θρηνεῖν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑστάταις μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μακαρίζειν ὧν ἔτυχε καλῶν, ἐπιφανέστατος ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσχύσας καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς Ῥωμαῖος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίου κρατηθείς.

LXXVIII. Ὅσον δὲ ἀπολιπόντος αὐτοῦ Προκλήϊος ἦκε παρὰ Καίσαρος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν πατάξας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὥχετο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν κομιζόμενος, Δερκεταῖός τις τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκρύψας ὑπεξήλθε, καὶ δραμὼν πρὸς Καίσαρα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλε τὴν Ἀντωνίου τελευτήν, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἔδειξεν ἡμαγ-
 2 μένων. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἐνδοτέρῳ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀποστάς ἀπεδάκρυσεν ἄνδρα κηδεστὴν γενόμενον καὶ συνάρχοντα καὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων κοινωνόν. εἶτα τὰς ἐπιστολάς λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας ἀνεγίνωσκεν ὡς εὐγνώμονα γράφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δίκαια φορτικὸς ἦν καὶ
 3 ὑπερήφανος αἰεὶ περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐκείνος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν Προκλήϊον ἔπεμψε κελεύσας, ἣν δύνηται, μάλιστα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ζωῆς κρατῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ μέγα πρὸς δόξαν ἡγείτο τοῦ θριάμβου καταγαγεῖν ἐκείνην. εἰς μὲν οὖν χεῖρας τῷ Προκλήϊῳ
 4 συνελθεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν· ἐγίνοντο δὲ λόγοι τῷ οἰκήματι προσελθόντος ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ κατὰ θύρας ἐπιπέδους, ἀποκεκλειμένας μὲν ὀχυρῶς, φωνῇ δὲ διεξοδὸν ἐχούσας. καὶ διελέχθησαν ἡ μὲν αἰτου-

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Proculeius, and not to lament him for his last reverses, but to count him happy for the good things that had been his, since he had become most illustrious of men, had won greatest power, and now had been not ignobly conquered, a Roman by a Roman.

LXXVIII. Scarcely was he dead, when Proculeius came from Caesar. For after Antony had smitten himself and while he was being carried to Cleopatra, Dercetaeus, one of his body-guard, seized Antony's sword, concealed it, and stole away with it; and running to Caesar, he was the first to tell him of Antony's death, and showed him the sword all smeared with blood. When Caesar heard these tidings, he retired within his tent and wept for a man who had been his relation by marriage, his colleague in office and command, and his partner in many undertakings and struggles. Then he took the letters which had passed between them, called in his friends, and read the letters aloud, showing how reasonably and justly he had written, and how rude and overbearing Antony had always been in his replies. After this, he sent Proculeius, bidding him, if possible, above all things to get Cleopatra into his power alive; for he was fearful about the treasures in her funeral pyre, and he thought it would add greatly to the glory of his triumph if she were led in the procession. Into the hands of Proculeius, however, Cleopatra would not put herself; but she conferred with him after he had come close to the tomb and stationed himself outside at a door which was on a level with the ground. The door was strongly fastened with bolts and bars, but allowed a passage for the voice. So they conversed, Cleopatra

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μένη τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν καὶ πάντα πιστεῦειν Καίσαρι κελεύων.

LXXIX. Ὡς δὲ κατιδὼν τὸν τόπον ἀπήγγειλε Καίσαρι, Γάλλος μὲν ἐπέμφθη πάλιν ἐντευξόμενος αὐτῇ· καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἐλθὼν ἐπίτηδες ἐμήκυνε τὸν λόγον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Προκλήϊος κλίμακος προστεθείσης διὰ τῆς θυρίδος εἰσῆλθεν ἢ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αἱ γυναῖκες ἐδέξαντο. καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς¹ εὐθύς, αἷς ἡ Κλεοπάτρα παρῆσθήκει προσέχουσα τῷ Γάλλῳ, κατέβαινε νύη² τας ἔχων δύο μεθ' αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ συγκαθειργμένων τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ γυναικῶν τῆς ἐτέρας ἀνακραγούσης, “Τάλαινά Κλεοπάτρα, ζωγρεῖ,” μεταστραφεῖσα καὶ θεασαμένη τὸν Προκλήϊον ὥρμησε μὲν αὐτὴν πατάξαι· παρεξωσμένη γὰρ ἐτύγχανέ τι τῶν ληστρικῶν ξιφιδίων· προσδραμὼν δὲ ταχὺ καὶ περισχὼν αὐτὴν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ὁ Προκλήϊος, “Ἀδικεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Κλεοπάτρα, καὶ σεαυτὴν καὶ Καίσαρα, μεγάλην ἀφαιρουμένη χρηστότητος ἐπιδείξιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διαβάλλουσα τὸν πραότατον ἡγεμόνων ὡς ἄπιστον καὶ ἀδιάλ-
3 λακτον.” ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ξίφος αὐτῆς παρείλετο, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, μὴ κρύπτοι τι φάρμακον, ἐξέσεισεν. ἐπέμφθη δὲ καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ᾧ προσετέτακτο ζῶσαν αὐτὴν φυλάττειν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελόμενον, τᾶλλα δὲ² πρὸς τὸ ῥᾶστον ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ἡδιστον.

LXXX. Αὐτὸς δὲ Καίσαρ εἰσήλανε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Ἀρείῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ προσδιαλεγόμενος καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνδεδικώς, ἵνα εὐθύς ἐν τοῖς πολί-

¹ αὐτὰς bracketed by Bekker.

² τᾶλλα δὲ Bekker, after Solanus : τᾶλλα.

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asking that her children might have her kingdom, and Proculeius bidding her be of good cheer and trust Caesar in everything.

LXXIX. After Proculeius had surveyed the place, he brought back word to Caesar, and Gallus was sent to have another interview with the queen; and coming up to the door he purposely prolonged the conversation. Meanwhile Proculeius applied a ladder and went in through the window by which the women had taken Antony inside. Then he went down at once to the very door at which Cleopatra was standing and listening to Gallus, and he had two servants with him. One of the women imprisoned with Cleopatra cried out, "Wretched Cleopatra, thou art taken alive," whereupon the queen turned about, saw Proculeius, and tried to stab herself; for she had at her girdle a dagger such as robbers wear. But Proculeius ran swiftly to her, threw both his arms about her, and said: "O Cleopatra, thou art wronging both thyself and Caesar, by trying to rob him of an opportunity to show great kindness, and by fixing upon the gentlest of commanders the stigma of faithlessness and implacability." At the same time he took away her weapon, and shook out her clothing, to see whether she was concealing any poison. And there was also sent from Caesar one of his freedmen, Epaphroditus, with injunctions to keep the queen alive by the strictest vigilance, but otherwise to make any concession that would promote her ease and pleasure.

LXXX. And now Caesar himself drove into the city, and he was conversing with Areius the philosopher, to whom he had given his right hand, in order that Areius might at once be conspicuous among the citizens, and

ταῖς περίβλεπτος εἶη καὶ θαυμάζοιτο τιμώμενος
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπρεπῶς. εἰς δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον εἰς-
 ελθὼν καὶ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ βῆμά τι πεποιημένον, ἐκ
 πεπληγμένων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ προσ-
 πιπτόντων, ἀναστῆναι κελεύσας ἔφη πάσης αἰ- 953
 τίας τὸν δῆμον ἀφιέναι, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸν
 κτίστην Ἀλέξανδρον· δεύτερον δὲ τῆς πόλεως
 θαυμάζων τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· τρίτον δὲ
 2 Ἀρείῳ τῷ ἐταίρῳ χαριζόμενος. ταύτης δὴ τῆς
 τιμῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ Καῖσαρος Ἀρειος, καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐξητήσατο συχνούς· ὧν ἦν καὶ Φιλό-
 στρατος, ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν μὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν πώ-
 ποτε σοφιστῶν ἱκανώτατος, εἰσποίων δὲ μὴ προσ-
 ηκόντως ἑαυτὸν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ. διὸ καὶ Καῖσαρ
 αὐτοῦ βδελυττόμενος τὸν τρόπον οὐ προσίετο τὰς
 3 δεήσεις. ὁ δὲ πώγωνα πολλὸν καθεὶς καὶ φαῖον
 ἱμάτιον περιβαλόμενος ἐξόπισθεν Ἀρείῳ παρη-
 κολούθει, τοῦτον αἰεὶ τὸν στίχον ἀναφθεγγόμενος·

σοφοὶ σοφοὺς σώζουσιν, ἂν ὦσιν σοφοί.

πυθόμενος δὲ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοῦ φθόνου μᾶλλον
 Ἀρειον ἢ τοῦ δέους Φιλόστρατον ἀπαλλάξαι
 βουλόμενος, διήκε.

LXXXI. Τῶν δὲ Ἀντωνίου παίδων ὁ μὲν ἐκ
 Φουλβίας Ἀντυλλος ὑπὸ Θεοδώρου τοῦ παιδα-
 γωγοῦ παραδοθεὶς ἀπέθανε· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐ-
 τοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποτεμόντων, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς
 ἀφελὼν ὃν ἐφώρει περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ πολυτιμό-
 τατον λίθον εἰς τὴν ζώνην κατέρραψεν· ἀρνησά-
 2 μενος δὲ καὶ φωραθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη. τὰ δὲ
 Κλεοπάτρας παιδία φρουρούμενα μετὰ τῶν τρε-
 φόντων ἐλευθέριον εἶχε δίαιταν. Καισαρίωνα δὲ

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be admired because of the marked honour shown him by Caesar. After he had entered the gymnasium and ascended a tribunal there made for him, the people were beside themselves with fear and prostrated themselves before him, but he bade them rise up, and said that he acquitted the people of all blame, first, because of Alexander, their founder; second, because he admired the great size and beauty of the city; and third, to gratify his companion, Areius. This honour Caesar bestowed upon Areius, and pardoned many other persons also at his request. Among these was Philostratus, a man more competent to speak extempore than any sophist that ever lived, but he improperly represented himself as belonging to the school of the Academy. Therefore Caesar, abominating his ways, would not listen to his entreaties. So Philostratus, having a long white beard and wearing a dark robe, would follow behind Areius, ever declaiming this verse:—

“A wise man will a wise man save, if wise he be.”¹

When Caesar learned of this, he pardoned him, wishing rather to free Areius from odium than Philostratus from fear.

LXXXI. As for the children of Antony, Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, was betrayed by Theodorus his tutor and put to death; and after the soldiers had cut off his head, his tutor took away the exceeding precious stone which the boy wore about his neck and sewed it into his own girdle; and though he denied the deed, he was convicted of it and crucified. Cleopatra's children, together with their attendants, were kept under guard and had generous treatment.

¹ An iambic trimeter from an unknown poet (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 921).

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τὸν ἐκ Καίσαρος γεγονέναι λεγόμενον ἢ μὲν μήτηρ ἐξέπεμψε μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δι' Αἰθιοπίας, ἕτερος δὲ παιδαγωγὸς ὅμοιος Θεοδώρῳ Ῥόδῳ ἀνέπεισεν ἐπανελθεῖν, ὡς Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καλοῦντος. βουλευομένου δὲ Καίσαρος Ἄρειον εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν·

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη.¹

LXXXII. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας τελευτὴν. Ἀντώνιον δὲ πολλῶν αἰτουμένων θάψαι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἀφείλετο Κλεοπάτρας τὸ σῶμα Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ ἐθάπτετο ταῖς ἐκείνης χερσὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς, πᾶσιν ὡς ἐβούλετο χρῆσθαι λαβούσης. ἐκ δὲ λύπης ἄμα τοσαύτης καὶ ὀδύνης (ἀνεφλέγμηνε γὰρ αὐτῆς τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένης καὶ ἥλκωτο) πυρετῶν ἐπιλαβόντων ἠγάπησε τὴν πρόφασιν, ὡς ἀφεξομένη τροφῆς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παραλύσουσα
2 τοῦ ζῆν ἀκωλύτως ἑαυτήν. ἦν δὲ ἰατρὸς αὐτῇ συνήθης Ὀλυμπος, ᾧ φράσασα τάληθές ἐχρήτο συμβούλῃ καὶ συνεργῷ τῆς καθαιρέσεως, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀλυμπος εἴρηκεν ἱστορίαν τινὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἐκδεδωκώς. ὑπονοήσας δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀπειλὰς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῇ καὶ φόβους περὶ τῶν τέκνων προσέβαλλεν, οἷς ἐκείνη καθάπερ μηχανήμασιν ὑπηρείπετο καὶ παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν καὶ τρέφειν τοῖς χρήζουσιν.

LXXXIII. Ἦκε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διαλιπὼν ἐντευξόμενος αὐτῇ καὶ παρηγορήσων. ἡ δὲ ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν στιβάδι κατακειμένη ταπεινῶς,

¹ An adaptation of οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη (*the rule of many*), *Iliad*, ii. 204.

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But Caesarion, who was said to be Cléopatra's son by Julius Caesar, was sent by his mother, with much treasure, into India, by way of Ethiopia. There Rhodon, another tutor like Theodorus, persuaded him to go back, on the ground that Caesar invited him to take the kingdom. But while Caesar was deliberating on the matter, we are told that Areius said :—

“Not a good thing were a Caesar too many.”

LXXXII. As for Caesarion, then, he was afterwards put to death by Caesar,—after the death of Cleopatra; but as for Antony, though many generals and kings asked for his body that they might give it burial, Caesar would not take it away from Cleopatra, and it was buried by her hands in sumptuous and royal fashion, such things being granted her for the purpose as she desired. But in consequence of so much grief as well as pain (for her breasts were wounded and inflamed by the blows she gave them) a fever assailed her, and she welcomed it as an excuse for abstaining from food and so releasing herself from life without hindrance. Moreover, there was a physician in her company of intimates, Olympus, to whom she told the truth, and she had his counsel and assistance in compassing her death, as Olympus himself testifies in a history of these events which he published. But Caesar was suspicious, and plied her with threats and fears regarding her children, by which she was laid low, as by engines of war, and surrendered her body for such care and nourishment as was desired.

LXXXIII. After a few days Caesar himself came to talk with her and give her comfort. She was lying on a mean pallet-bed, clad only in her tunic,

- εἰσιόντι δ' αὐτῷ μονοχίτων ἀναπηδήσασα προσ-
πίπτει, δεινῶς μὲν ἐξηγριωμένη κεφαλὴν καὶ
πρόσωπον, ὑπότρομος δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συντε-
τηκυῖα ταῖς ὄψεσιν. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ
τὸ στέρνον αἰκίας καταφανῇ· καὶ ὅλως οὐθὲν
2 ἐδόκει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχειν βέλτιον. ἡ
μέντοι χάρις ἐκείνη καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἰταμὸν οὐ
κατέσβεστο παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως
διακειμένης ἔνδοθεν ποθεν ἐξέλαμπε καὶ συνεπ-
εφαίνετο τοῖς κινήμασι τοῦ προσώπου. κελεύ-
σαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὴν κατακλιθῆναι καὶ
πλησίον αὐτοῦ καθίσαντος, ἠψάτο μὲν τινος
δικαιολογίας εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον Ἀντωνίου
τὰ πεπραγμένα τρεπούσης, ἐνισταμένου δὲ πρὸς
ἕκαστον αὐτῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξελεγχομένη ταχὺ
πρὸς οἶκτον μεθρημόσατο καὶ δέησιν, ὥς δὴ τις ἂν
3 μάλιστα τοῦ ζῆν περιεχομένη. τέλος δὲ τοῦ
πλήθους τῶν χρημάτων ἀναγραφὴν ἔχουσα προσέ-
δωκεν αὐτῷ· Σελεύκου δὲ τινος τῶν ἐπιτρόπων
ἐλέγχοντος ὥς ἔνια κρύπτουσιν καὶ διακλέπτου-
σαν, ἀναπηδήσασα καὶ τῶν τριχῶν αὐτοῦ λαβο-
4 μένη πολλὰς ἐνεφόρει τῷ προσώπῳ πληγὰς. τοῦ 954
δὲ Καίσαρος μειδιῶντος καὶ καταπαύοντος αὐτήν,
“Ἄλλ' οὐ δεινόν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Καίσαρ, εἰ σὺ μὲν
ἠξιώσας ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ προσειπεῖν οὕτω
πράττουσαν, οἱ δὲ δοῦλοί μου κατηγοροῦσιν εἴ τι
τῶν γυναικείων ἀπεθέμην, οὐκ ἐμαυτῇ δῆπουθεν,
ἢ τάλαινα, κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὅπως Ὀκταουῖα καὶ
Λιβία τῇ σῇ μικρὰ δοῦσα δι' ἐκείνων ἴλεώ σου
5 τύχοιμι καὶ πραοτέρου;” τούτοις ὁ Καίσαρ ἤδετο,
παντάπασιν αὐτὴν φιλοψυχεῖν οἰόμενος. εἰπὼν
οὖν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπει καὶ τὰλλα πάσης

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but sprang up as he entered and threw herself at his feet; her hair and face were in terrible disarray, her voice trembled, and her eyes were sunken. There were also visible many marks of the cruel blows upon her bosom; in a word, her body seemed to be no better off than her spirit. Nevertheless, the charm for which she was famous and the boldness of her beauty were not altogether extinguished, but, although she was in such a sorry plight, they shone forth from within and made themselves manifest in the play of her features. After Caesar had bidden her to lie down and had seated himself near her, she began a sort of justification of her course, ascribing it to necessity and fear of Antony; but as Caesar opposed and refuted her on every point, she quickly changed her tone and sought to move his pity by prayers, as one who above all things clung to life. And finally she gave him a list which she had of all her treasures; and when Seleucus, one of her stewards, showed conclusively that she was stealing away and hiding some of them, she sprang up, seized him by the hair, and showered blows upon his face. And when Caesar, with a smile, stopped her, she said: "But is it not a monstrous thing, O Caesar, that when thou hast deigned to come to me and speak to me though I am in this wretched plight, my slaves denounce me for reserving some women's adornments, —not for myself, indeed, unhappy woman that I am, —but that I may make trifling gifts to Octavia and thy Livia, and through their intercession find thee merciful and more gentle?" Caesar was pleased with this speech, being altogether of the opinion that she desired to live. He told her, therefore, that he left these matters for her to manage, and that in all

ἐλπίδος αὐτῇ χρήσεται λαμπρότερον, ὥχετο ἀπιών, ἐξηπατηκέναι μὲν οἰόμενος, ἐξηπατημένος δὲ μᾶλλον.

- LXXXIV. Ἦν δὲ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας ἐπιφανὴς νεανίσκος ἐν τοῖς Καίσαρος ἐταίροις. οὗτος εἶχε πρὸς τὴν Κλεοπάτραν οὐκ ἀηδῶς· καὶ τότε χαριζόμενος αὐτῇ δεηθείση κρύφα πέμψας ἐξήγγειλεν ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναζεύγνυσι πεζῇ διὰ Συρίας, ἐκείνην δὲ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων
- 2 ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔγνωκεν. ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος ὅπως αὐτὴν εὐση χοὰς ἐπενεγκεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ· καὶ συγχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον κομισθεῖσα καὶ περιπεσοῦσα τῇ σορῶ μετὰ τῶν συνήθων γυναικῶν, “ὦ φίλε Ἀντώνιε,” εἶπεν, “ἔθαπτον μὲν σε πρῶην ἔτι χερσὶν ἐλευθέrais, σπένδω δὲ νῦν αἰχμάλωτος οὔσα, καὶ φρουρουμένη μήτε κοπετοῖς μήτε θρήνοις αἰκίσασθαι τὸ δοῦλον τοῦτο σῶμα καὶ τηρούμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ σοῦ θριάμβους.
- 3 ἄλλας δὲ μὴ προσδέχου τιμὰς ἢ χοάς· ἀλλ’ αὐταί σοι τελευταῖαι Κλεοπάτρας ἀγομένης. ζῶντας μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐθὲν ἀλλήλων διέστησε, κινδυνεύομεν δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ διαμείψασθαι τοὺς τόπους· σὺ μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐνταῦθα κείμενος, ἐγὼ δ’ ἡ δύστηνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοσοῦτο τῆς σῆς
- 4 μεταλαβοῦσα χώρας μόνον. ἀλλ’ εἰ δὴ τις τῶν ἐκεῖ θεῶν ἀλκὴ καὶ δύναμις (οἱ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα προὔδωκαν ἡμᾶς), μὴ πρὴν ζῶσαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, μηδ’ ἐν ἐμοὶ περιῖδης θριαμβευόμενον

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other ways he would give her more splendid treatment than she could possibly expect. Then he went off, supposing that he had deceived her, but the rather deceived by her.

LXXXIV. Now, there was a young man of rank among Caesar's companions, named Cornelius Dolabella. This man was not without a certain tenderness for Cleopatra; and so now, in response to her request, he secretly sent word to her that Caesar himself was preparing to march with his land forces through Syria, and had resolved to send off her and her children within three days. After Cleopatra had heard this, in the first place, she begged Caesar that she might be permitted to pour libations for Antony; and when the request was granted, she had herself carried to the tomb, and embracing the urn which held his ashes, in company with the women usually about her, she said: "Dear Antony, I buried thee but lately with hands still free; now, however, I pour libations for thee as a captive, and so carefully guarded that I cannot either with blows or tears disfigure this body of mine, which is a slave's body, and closely watched that it may grace the triumph over thee. Do not expect other honours or libations; these are the last that Cleopatra can bring thee. For though in life nothing could part us from each other, in death we are likely to change places; thou, the Roman, lying buried here, while I, the hapless woman, lie in Italy, and get only so much of thy country as my portion. But if indeed there is any might or power in the gods of that country (for the gods of this country have betrayed us), do not abandon thine own wife while she lives, nor permit a

σεαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθά με κρίψον μετὰ σεαυτοῦ καὶ σύνθαψον, ὥς ἐμοὶ μυρίων κακῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν οὕτω μέγα καὶ δεινόν ἐστιν ὥς ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος χρόνος ὃν σοῦ χωρὶς ἔζηκα."

LXXXV. Τοιαῦτα ὀλοφυραμένη καὶ στέψασα καὶ κατασπασαμένη τὴν σορὸν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ λουτρὸν γενέσθαι. λουσαμένη δὲ καὶ κατακλιθεῖσα λαμπρὸν ἄριστον ἤρίστα. καί τις ἦκεν ἀπ' ἀγροῦ κίστην τινὰ κομίζων· τῶν δὲ φυλάκων ὃ τι φέροι πυνθανομένων ἀνοίξας καὶ ἀφελὼν τὰ
2 θρία σύκων ἐπίπλεον τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἔδειξε. θαυμασάντων δὲ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος μειδιάσας παρεκάλει λαβεῖν· οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἐκέλευον εἰσενεγκεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἄριστον ἡ Κλεοπάτρα δέλτον ἔχουσα γεγραμμένην καὶ κατασεσημασμένην ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκποδῶν ποιησαμένη πλὴν τῶν δυεῖν ἐκείνων γυναικῶν τὰς θύρας ἔκλεισε.

3 Καῖσαρ δὲ λύσας τὴν δέλτον, ὥς ἐνέτυχε λιταῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρμοῖς δεομένης αὐτὴν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ θάψαι, ταχὺ συνῆκε τὸ πεπραγμένον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ὥρμησε βοηθεῖν, ἔπειτα τοὺς σκεψομένους κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψεν. ἐγεγόνει δ' ὄξυ· τὸ πάθος. δρόμῳ γὰρ ἐλθόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν φυλάττοντας οὐδὲν ἡσθημένους καταλαβόντες, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἀνοίξαντες, εὗρον αὐτὴν τεθνηκυῖαν ἐν χρυσῇ κατακειμένην κλίνῃ, κεκοσμημένην βασιλικῶς.
4 τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἡ μὲν Εἰρὰς λεγομένη πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀπέθνησκεν, ἡ δὲ Χάρμιον ἤδη σφαλλομένη

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triumph to be celebrated over thyself in my person, but hide and bury me here with thyself, since out of all my innumerable ills not one is so great and dreadful as this short time that I have lived apart from thee."

LXXXV. After such lamentations, she wreathed and kissed the urn, and then ordered a bath to be prepared for herself. After her bath, she reclined at table and was making a sumptuous meal. And there came a man from the country carrying a basket; and when the guards asked him what he was bringing there, he opened the basket, took away the leaves, and showed them that the dish inside was full of figs. The guards were amazed at the great size and beauty of the figs, whereupon the man smiled and asked them to take some; so they felt no mistrust and bade him take them in. After her meal, however, Cleopatra took a tablet which was already written upon and sealed, and sent it to Caesar, and then, sending away all the rest of the company except her two faithful women, she closed the doors.

But Caesar opened the tablet, and when he found there lamentations and supplications of one who begged that he would bury her with Antony, he quickly knew what had happened. At first he was minded to go himself and give aid; then he ordered messengers to go with all speed and investigate. But the mischief had been swift. For though his messengers came on the run and found the guards as yet aware of nothing, when they opened the doors they found Cleopatra lying dead upon a golden couch, arrayed in royal state. And of her two women, the one called Iras was dying at her feet, while Charmion, already tottering and heavy-headed, was

καὶ καρηβαροῦσα κατεκόσμει τὸ διάδημα τὸ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς. εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὀργῇ· “Καλὰ ταῦτα, Χάρμιον.” “Κάλλιστα μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “καὶ πρέποντα τῇ τοσοῦτων ἀπογόνῳ βασιλέων.” πλέον δὲ οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν κλίνην ἔπεσε.

- LXXXVI. Λέγεται δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα κομισθῆναι σὺν τοῖς σύκοις ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς θρίοις ἄνωθεν ἐπικαλυφθεῖσαν, οὕτω γὰρ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν 955 κελεῦσαι, μηδὲ αὐτῆς ἐπισταμένης τῷ σώματι προσπεσεῖν τὸ θηρίον· ὥς δὲ ἀφαιροῦσα τῶν σύκων εἶδεν, εἰπεῖν· “Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἄρα τοῦτο” καὶ τὸν βραχίονα παρασχεῖν τῷ δῆγματι 2 γυμνώσασαν. οἱ δὲ τηρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐν ὑδρίᾳ τὴν ἀσπίδα καθειργμένην φάσκουσιν, ἡλακάτῃ δέ τινι χρυσῇ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐκκαλουμένης αὐτὴν καὶ διαγριαίνουσης ὀρμήσασαν ἐμφῦναι τῷ βραχίονι. τὸ δὲ ἀληθές οὐδεὶς οἶδεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ φάρμακον αὐτὴν ἐλέχθη φορεῖν ἐν κνηστίδι κοίλῃ, τὴν δὲ κνηστίδα κρύπτειν τῇ κόμῃ· πλὴν οὔτε κηλὶς ἐξήνθησε τοῦ σώματος οὔτε ἄλλο φαρμάκου 3 σημεῖον. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ θηρίον ἐντὸς ὤφθη, συρμούς δέ τινας αὐτοῦ παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἢ τὸ δωμάτιον ἀφεώρα καὶ θυρίδες ἦσαν, ἰδεῖν ἔφασκον. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ὀφθῆναι δύο νυγμὰς ἔχοντα λεπτὰς καὶ ἀμυδράς· οἷς ἔοικε πιστεῦσαι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ. ἐν γὰρ τῷ θριάμβῳ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτῆς εἰδῶλον ἐκομίζετο καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐμπεφυκυίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.
- 4 Καῖσαρ δέ, καίπερ ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς γυναικός, ἐθαύμασε τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτῆς· 328

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trying to arrange the diadem which encircled the queen's brow. Then somebody said in anger: "A fine deed, this, Charmion!" "It is indeed most fine," she said, "and befitting the descendant of so many kings." Not a word more did she speak, but fell there by the side of the couch.

LXXXVI. It is said that the asp was brought with those figs and leaves and lay hidden beneath them, for thus Cleopatra had given orders, that the reptile might fasten itself upon her body without her being aware of it. But when she took away some of the figs and saw it, she said: "There it is, you see," and baring her arm she held it out for the bite. But others say that the asp was kept carefully shut up in a water jar, and that while Cleopatra was stirring it up and irritating it with a golden distaff it sprang and fastened itself upon her arm. But the truth of the matter no one knows; for it was also said that she carried about poison in a hollow comb and kept the comb hidden in her hair; and yet neither spot nor other sign of poison broke out upon her body. Moreover, not even was the reptile seen within the chamber, though people said they saw some traces of it near the sea, where the chamber looked out upon it with its windows. And some also say that Cleopatra's arm was seen to have two slight and indistinct punctures; and this Caesar also seems to have believed. For in his triumph an image of Cleopatra herself with the asp clinging to her was carried in the procession. These, then, are the various accounts of what happened.

But Caesar, although vexed at the death of the woman, admired her lofty spirit; and he gave orders

καὶ ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ λαμπρῶς
καὶ βασιλικῶς ἐκέλευσεν. ἐντίμου δὲ καὶ τὰ
γύναια κηδείας ἔτυχεν αὐτοῦ προστάξαντος.
ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἐνὸς δέοντα
τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βιώσασα, καὶ τούτων δύο καὶ
εἴκοσι βασιλεύσασα, συνάρξασα δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ
5 πλείῳ τῶν δεκατεσσάρων. Ἀντώνιον δὲ οἱ μὲν
ἕξ, οἱ δὲ τρισὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ὑπερβαλεῖν φασιν.
αἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου καθηρέθησαν εἰκόνες, αἱ δὲ
Κλεοπάτρας κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν, Ἀρχιβίου
τινὸς τῶν φίλων αὐτῆς δισχίλια τάλαντα Καίσαρι
δόντος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου πάθωσιν.

LXXXVII. Ἀντωνίου δὲ γενεὰν ἀπολιπόντος
ἐκ τριῶν γυναικῶν ἑπτὰ παῖδας, ὁ πρεσβύτατος
Ἀντυλλος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἀνῆρέθη μόνος· τοὺς
λοιποὺς δὲ Ὀκταουία παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ τῶν ἑξ
ἑαυτῆς ἔθρεψε. καὶ Κλεοπάτραν μὲν τὴν ἐκ
Κλεοπάτρας Ἰόβα τῷ χαριεστάτῳ βασιλέων
συνώκισεν, Ἀντώνιον δὲ τὸν ἐκ Φουλβίας οὕτω
μέγαν ἐποίησεν ὥστε τὴν πρώτην παρὰ Καίσαρι
τιμὴν Ἀγρίππου, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῶν Λιβίας
παίδων ἔχόντων, τρίτον εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν
2 Ἀντώνιον. ἐκ δὲ Μαρκέλλου δυεῖν αὐτῇ θυγα-
τέρων οὐσῶν, ἐνὸς δὲ υἱοῦ Μαρκέλλου, τοῦτον
μὲν ἅμα παῖδα καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποίησατο Καῖσαρ,
τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων Ἀγρίππα τὴν ἑτέραν ἔδωκεν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἐτελεύτησε κομιδῇ νεόγαμος
καὶ Καίσαρι γαμβρὸν ἔχοντα πίστιν οὐκ εὖπορον
ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἐλέσθαι, λόγον ἢ
Ὀκταουία προσήνεγκεν ὥς χρὴ τὴν Καίσαρος
θυγατέρα λαβεῖν Ἀγρίππαν, ἀφέντα τὴν ἑαυτῆς.
3 πεισθέντος δὲ Καίσαρος πρώτον, εἶτα Ἀγρίππου,

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that her body should be buried with that of Antony in splendid and regal fashion. Her women also received honourable interment by his orders. When Cleopatra died she was forty years of age save one, had been queen for two and twenty of these, and had shared her power with Antony more than fourteen. Antony was fifty-six years of age, according to some, according to others, fifty-three. Now, the statues of Antony were torn down, but those of Cleopatra were left standing, because Archibius, one of her friends, gave Caesar two thousand talents, in order that they might not suffer the same fate as Antony's.

LXXXVII. Antony left seven children by his three wives, of whom Antyllus, the eldest, was the only one who was put to death by Caesar; the rest were taken up by Octavia and reared with her own children. Cleopatra, the daughter of Cleopatra, Octavia gave in marriage to Juba, the most accomplished of kings, and Antony, the son of Fulvia, she raised so high that, while Agrippa held the first place in Caesar's estimation, and the sons of Livia the second, Antony was thought to be and really was third. By Marcellus Octavia had two daughters, and one son, Marcellus, whom Caesar made both his son and his son-in-law, and he gave one of the daughters to Agrippa. But since Marcellus died very soon after his marriage and it was not easy for Caesar to select from among his other friends a son-in-law whom he could trust, Octavia proposed that Agrippa should take Caesar's daughter to wife, and put away her own. First Caesar was persuaded by her, then Agrippa, where-

τὴν μὲν αὐτῆς ἀπολαβοῦσα συνώκισεν Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἔγημεν. ἀπολειπομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ὀκταουίας δυεῖν θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ἔλαβε, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ κάλλει περιβόητον Ἀντωνίαν Δροῦσος, ὁ Λιβίας υἱός, πρόγονος δὲ Καίσαρος. ἐκ τούτων ἐγένετο Γερμανικὸς καὶ
 4 Κλαύδιος· ὃν Κλαύδιος μὲν ὕστερον ἤρξε, τῶν δὲ Γερμανικοῦ παίδων Γάϊος μὲν ἄρξας ἐπιφανῶς οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀνηρέθη μετὰ τέκνου καὶ γυναικός, Ἀγριππίνα δὲ υἱὸν ἐξ Ἀηνοβάμβου Λεύκιον Δομίτιον ἔχουσα Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι συνώκησε. καὶ θέμενος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς Κλαύδιος Νέρωνα Γερμανικὸν προσωνόμασεν. οὗτος ἄρξας ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀπέκτεινε τὴν. μητέρα καὶ μικρὸν ἐδέησεν ὑπὸ ἐμπληξίας καὶ παραφροσύνης ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, πέμπτος ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου κατ' ἀριθμὸν διαδοχῆς γενόμενος.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν μεγάλοι περὶ ἀμφοτέρους γεγό- 956
 νασι μεταβολαί, πρῶτον τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας σκοπῶμεν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἦν πατρῷα καὶ προκατειργασμένα, μέγιστον ἰσχύσαντος Ἀντιγόνου τῶν διαδόχων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Δημήτριου ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενέσθαι τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπελ-
 2 θόντος καὶ κρατήσαντος· Ἀντώνιος δὲ χαρίεντος μὲν ἄλλως, ἀπολέμου δὲ καὶ μέγα μηδὲν εἰς δόξαν αὐτῷ καταλιπόντος γενόμενος πατρός, ἐπὶ τὴν

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upon she took back her own daughter and married her to young Antony, while Agrippa married Caesar's daughter. Antony left two daughters by Octavia, of whom one was taken to wife by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the other, Antonia, famous for her beauty and discretion, was married to Drusus, who was the son of Livia and the step-son of Caesar. From this marriage sprang Germanicus and Claudius; of these, Claudius afterwards came to the throne, and of the children of Germanicus, Caius reigned with distinction, but for a short time only, and was then put to death with his wife and child, and Agrippina, who had a son by Ahenobarbus, Lucius Domitius, became the wife of Claudius Caesar. And Claudius, having adopted Agrippina's son, gave him the name of Nero Germanicus. This Nero came to the throne in my time. He killed his mother, and by his folly and madness came near subverting the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

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I. SINCE, then, both these men experienced great reversals of fortune, let us first observe, with regard to their power and fame, that in the one case these were acquired for him by his father and inherited, since Antigonus became the strongest of Alexander's successors, and before Demetrius came of age had attacked and mastered the greater part of Asia; Antony, on the contrary, was the son of a man who, though otherwise gifted, was yet no warrior, and could leave him no great legacy of reputation; and

Καίσαρος ἐτόλμησεν ἀρχήν, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν, ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῳ προπονημένοις αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποίησε διάδοχον. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἰσχυσεν, ἐκ μόνων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπαρχόντων ὁρμώμενος, ὥστε δύο μοίρας τὰ σύμπαντα ποιησάμενος τὴν ἐτέραν ἐλέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιφανεστέραν, ἀπὼν δὲ αὐτὸς ὑπηρέταις τε καὶ ὑποστρατήγοις Πάρθους τε νικῆσαι πολλάκις καὶ τὰ περὶ Καύκασον ἔθνη βάρβαρα
 3 μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας ὥσασθαι θαλάσσης. μαρτύρια δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῷ καὶ δι' ἃ κακῶς ἀκούει. Δημητρίῳ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἠγάπησε τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου Φίλαν ὡς κρείττονα συνοικῆσαι παρ' ἡλικίαν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Κλεοπάτρας γάμος ὄνειδος ἦν, γυναικὸς ὑπερβαλομένης δυνάμει καὶ λαμπρότητι πάντας πλὴν Ἀρσάκου τοὺς καθ' αὐτὴν βασιλεῖς. ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐποίησε μέγαν ἑαυτὸν ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοις μειζόνων ἢ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἄξιος.

II. Ἡ μέντοι προαίρεσις, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκτήσαντο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄμεμπτος ἐπὶ¹ τοῦ Δημητρίου, κρατεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν ἀνθρώπων εἰθισμένων κρατεῖσθαι καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι ζητούντος, ἡ δ' Ἀντωνίου χαλεπή καὶ τυραννική, καταδουλουμένου τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἄρτι διαφυγόντα τὴν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι μοναρχίαν.
 2 ὁ δ' οὖν μέγιστον αὐτῷ καὶ λαμπρότατόν ἐστι τῶν εἰργασμένων, ὁ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βρούτον πόλεμος, ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπολεμήθη. Δημήτριος δέ, καὶ² πρὶν εἰς τύχας ἐλθεῖν ἀναγ-

¹ ἐπὶ Bekker reads ἡ, with a single MS.

² καὶ deleted by Bekker, after Schaefer.

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yet Antony had the courage to seek the power of Caesar, to which his birth gave him no claim, and to all that Caesar had wrought out before him he made himself the rightful successor. And so great strength did he attain, in reliance upon his own resources alone, that, after forcing a division of the empire into two parts, he chose one, and took the more splendid one of the two; and though absent himself, through his assistants and lieutenant-generals he defeated the Parthians many times, and drove the barbarous tribes about the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea. Moreover, even the things that brought him ill-repute bear witness to his greatness. For Antigonus was well pleased to have his son Demetrius marry Phila, the daughter of Antipater, in spite of her disparity in years, because he thought her a greater personage; whereas Antony's marriage to Cleopatra was a disgrace to him, although she was a woman who surpassed in power and splendour all the royalties of her time except Arsaces. But he made himself so great that men thought him worthy of greater things than he desired.

II. As regards their resolution to win empire, this was blameless in the case of Demetrius, who sought to subdue and reign as king over men who were accustomed to subjection and kings; but in the case of Antony it was harsh and tyrannical, since he tried to enslave the Roman people when it had just escaped from the sole rule of Caesar. Moreover, as regards the greatest and most brilliant of his achievements, namely, the war against Cassius and Brutus, it was to deprive his country and his fellow citizens of their liberty that the war was waged. But Demetrius, even before he felt the constraints of adversity, kept on

καίας, ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν πόλεων
ἐξελαύνων τὰς φρουρὰς διετέλεσεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ
Ἀντώνιος, ὅτι τοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντας τὴν Ῥώμην
3 ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, σεμνυνόμενος. ἐν τοί-
νυν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων Ἀντωνίου, τὸ φιλό-
δωρον καὶ μεγαλόδωρον, ἐν ᾧ τοσοῦτον ὑπεραίρει
Δημήτριος ὥστε χαρίσασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅσα
τοῖς φίλοις οὐκ ἔδωκεν Ἀντώνιος. καίτοι ταφῆναί
γε καὶ περισταλῆναι κελεύσας Βροῦτον ἐκείνος
εὐδοκίμησεν· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τῶν
πολεμίων πάντας ἐκήδευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας
Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ χρημάτων καὶ δωρεῶν ἀπέ-
πεμψεν.

III. Ὑβριστὰι μὲν εὐτυχοῦντες ἀμφότεροι, καὶ
πρὸς τρυφᾶς ἀνειμένοι καὶ ἀπολαύσεις. οὐκ ἂν
εἴποι δέ τις ὡς Δημήτριον ἐν εὐπαθείαις καὶ
συνουσίαις ὄντα πράξεων καιρὸς ἐξέφυγεν, ἀλλὰ
τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς σχολῆς ἐπεισῆγε τὰς ἡδονάς,
καὶ τὴν Λάμιαν ὥσπερ τὴν μυθικὴν ἀτεχνῶς
2 παίζων καὶ νυστάζων ἐποιεῖτο διαγωγὴν. ἐν δὲ
ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευαῖς οὐκ εἶχεν αὐτοῦ
τὸ δόρυ κιττόν, οὐδὲ μύρων ὠδῶδει τὸ κράνος,
οὐδὲ γεγανωμένος καὶ ἀνθηρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας
ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος προΐει, κοιμίζων δὲ τοὺς
θιάσους καὶ τὰ βακχεῖα καταπαύων ἀμφίπολος
Ἄρεος ἀνιέρου, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἐγίνετο, καὶ
δι' ἡδονὴν ἢ ῥαθυμίαν οὐθὲν ἀπλῶς ἔπταισεν.
3 Ἀντώνιον δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ὁρώμεν
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὴν Ὀμφάλην ὑφαιρούσαν τὸ
ρόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντὴν ἀποδύουσαν, οὕτω
πολλάκις Κλεοπάτρα παροπλίσασα καὶ κατα-

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liberating Greece and expelling their garrisons from her cities, unlike Antony, whose boast was that he had slain in Macedonia the men who had given liberty to Rome. And besides, as regards their love of giving and the largeness of their gifts, one of the things for which Antony is lauded, Demetrius far surpassed in this, and bestowed more upon his enemies than Antony ever gave to his friends. It is true that for ordering the body of Brutus to be robbed and buried Antony won a good name; but Demetrius gave obsequies to all his enemy's dead, and sent his prisoners back to Ptolemy with money and gifts.¹

III. Both were insolent in prosperity, and abandoned themselves to luxury and enjoyment. But it cannot be said that Demetrius, for all his pleasures and amours, ever let slip the time for action, nay, it was only when his leisure was abundant that he introduced his pleasures; and his Lamia, like the creature of fable, he made his pastime only when he was sportive or drowsy. But when he got ready for war, his spear was not tipped with ivy, nor did his helmet smell of myrrh, nor did he go forth to his battles from the women's chamber, sleek and blooming, but quieting down and stopping the revels and orgies of Bacchus, he became, in the words of Euripides,² a "minister of unhallowed Ares," and got not a single slip or fall because of his indolence or pleasures.

Antony, on the contrary, like Heracles in paintings where Omphalé is seen taking away his club and stripping off his lion's skin, was often disarmed by Cleopatra, subdued by her spells, and persuaded to

¹ See the *Demetrius*, xvii. 1.

² Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*² p. 679.

θέλξασα συνέπεισεν ἀφέντα μεγάλας πράξεις ἐκ
τῶν χειρῶν καὶ στρατείας ἀναγκαίας ἐν ταῖς περὶ 957
Κάνωβον καὶ Ταφόσιριν ἀκταῖς ἀλύειν καὶ παί-
4 ζειν μετ' αὐτῆς. τέλος δέ, ὡς ὁ Πάρις, ἐκ τῆς
μάχης ἀποδρὰς εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνης κατεδύετο κόλ-
πους· μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ μὲν Πάρις ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν εἰς
τὸν θάλαμον, Ἀντώνιος δὲ Κλεοπάτραν διώκων
ἔφυγε καὶ προήκατο τὴν νίκην.

IV. Ἔτι Δημήτριος μὲν, οὐ κεκωλυμένον, ἀλλ'
ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονὸς ἐν ἔθει
τοῖς Μακεδόνων βασιλεῦσιν, ἐγάμει γάμους πλεί-
ονας, ὥσπερ Λυσίμαχος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, ἔσχε δὲ
διὰ τιμῆς ὅσας ἔγνημεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρῶτον
μὲν ὁμοῦ δύο γυναῖκας ἡγάγετο, πρᾶγμα μηδενὶ
Ῥωμαίῳ τετολμημένον, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀστὴν καὶ
δικαίως γαμηθεῖσαν ἐξήλασε τῇ ξένῃ καὶ μὴ κατὰ
νόμους συνούσῃ χαριζόμενος· ὅθεν ἐκ γάμου τῷ
μὲν οὐθέν, τῷ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἀπήν-
τησεν.

- 2 Ἀσέβημα μέντοι τοσοῦτον δι' ἀσέλγειαν οὐθέν
ταῖς Ἀντωνίου πράξεσιν ὅσον ταῖς Δημητρίου
πρόσεστιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱστορικοὶ φασὶ καὶ τῆς
ἀκροπόλεως ὅλης εἶργεσθαι τὰς κύνας, διὰ τὸ τὴν
μῖξιν ἐμφανῆ μάλιστα τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι τὸ ζῶον·
ὁ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Παρθενῶνι ταῖς τε πόρναις
3 συνῆν καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν κατεπόρνευσε πολλὰς· καὶ
οὐ τις ἂν ἦκιστα τὰς τοιαύτας τρυφὰς καὶ ἀπο-
λαύσεις οἶοιτο μετέχειν κακοῦ, τῆς ὁμότητος,
τοῦτο ἔνεστι τῇ Δημητρίου φιληδονίᾳ, περιιδόντος,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκάσαντος, οἰκτρῶς ἀποθανεῖν τὸν
κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον Ἀθηναίων, φεύ-
γοντα τὸ καθυβρισθῆναι. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν,

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drop from his hands great undertakings and necessary campaigns, only to roam about and play with her on the sea-shores by Canopus and Taphosiris. And at last, like Paris, he ran away from the battle and sank upon her bosom; although, more truly stated, Paris ran away to Helen's chamber after he had been defeated; but Antony ran away in chase of Cleopatra, and thereby threw away the victory.

IV. Further, Demetrius, in making several marriages, did not do what was prohibited, but what had been made customary for the kings of Macedonia by Philip and Alexander; he did just what Lysimachus and Ptolemy did, and held all his wives in honour. Antony, on the contrary, in marrying two wives at once, in the first place did what no Roman had ever dared to do; and in the second place, he drove away his Roman and lawfully wedded wife, in order to gratify the foreigner, with whom he was living contrary to law. Hence marriage brought no harm to Demetrius, but to Antony the greatest of his evils.

On the other hand, the lascivious practices of Antony are marked by no such sacrilege as are those of Demetrius. For historians tell us that dogs are excluded from the entire acropolis, because these animals couple without the least concealment; but the very Parthenon itself saw Demetrius cohabiting with harlots and debauching many Athenian women. And that vice which one would think least associated with such wanton enjoyments, namely, the vice of cruelty, this enters into Demetrius' pursuit of pleasure, since he suffered, or rather compelled, the lamentable death of the most beautiful and the most chaste of Athenians, who thus sought to escape his shameful treatment. In a word, Antony wronged

Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὴν ἀκрасίαν, Δημήτριος δὲ ἄλλους ἠδίκησε.

V. Πρὸς μέντοι γονεῖς ἄμεμπτον ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἅπαντα παρέσχευεν ὁ Δημήτριος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἐξέδωκεν ἐπὶ τῷ Κικέρωνᾳ ἀποκτεῖναι, πρᾶγμα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μιαρὸν καὶ ὠμόν, ὥς μόλις ἂν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' αὐτῷ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, εἰ σωτηρίας τοῦ θεοῦ μισθὸς ἦν ὁ Κικέρωνος θάνατος.

- 2 Ἄ τοῖνυν ἐπιώρκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ παρеспόνδησαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτάβαζον συλλαβὼν, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποκτείνας, Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἔχει τὴν πρόφασιν ὁμολογουμένην· ἀπελείφθη γὰρ ἐν Μήδοις ὑπὸ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ προεδόθη· Δημήτριον δὲ πολλοὶ λέγουσι ψευδεῖς αἰτίας, ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασε, πλασάμενον κατηγορεῖν ἀδικηθέντα, οὐκ ἀδικήσαντα ἀμύνασθαι.

Πάλιν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατορθωμάτων αὐτουργὸς ὁ Δημήτριος γέγονε· καὶ τοῦναντίον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐν οἷς οὐ παρῆν, καλλίστας καὶ μεγίστας διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνηρεῖτο νίκας.

VI. Ἐξέπεσον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμφότεροι μὲν δι' αὐτούς, οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς, ἀπέστησαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνες, ὁ δὲ ἐγκαταλιπὼν, ἔφυγε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύοντας· ὥστε τοῦ μὲν ἔγκλημα εἶναι τὸ δυσμενεῖς οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεργάσασθαι τοὺς μαχομένους, τοῦ δὲ τὸ παρεσκευασμένην εὐνοίαν τοιαύτην καὶ πίστιν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν.

- 2 Τὸν δὲ θάνατον οὐδετέρου μὲν ἔστιν ἐπαινέσαι, ψεκτὸς δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου μᾶλλον. αἰχμάλωτός τε γὰρ ὑπέμεινε γενέσθαι, καὶ καθειρχθεὶς ἠγάπησεν

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himself by his excesses, while Demetrius wronged others.

V. Again, towards his parents Demetrius was in all respects blameless; whereas Antony surrendered his mother's brother for the privilege of killing Cicero, a deed in itself so abominable and cruel that Antony would hardly have been forgiven had Cicero's death been the price of his uncle's safety.

Further, as regards violations of oaths and treaties by both, in the seizure of Artabazus by the one, and the killing of Alexander by the other, for Antony there is the excuse which men admit to be valid, namely, that he had been deserted in Media by Artabazus and betrayed; but Demetrius, as many say, invented false accusations, upon which he acted, and denounced one who had been wronged by him; the murder was not retaliation for wrongs done to him.

And again, Demetrius was himself the author of his successes; Antony, on the contrary, won his greatest and fairest victories through his generals, on fields where he was not present.

VI. But the downfall of both was due to themselves, though the manner of it differed. Demetrius was deserted by others, for the Macedonians went away from him; whereas Antony deserted others, for he ran away from those who were risking their lives for him. Demetrius may therefore be blamed for making his soldiers so hostile to him, and Antony for abandoning a goodwill and confidence which was so much in evidence.

As for their deaths, neither is to be commended, but that of Demetrius is the more to be censured. For he suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐπικερδᾶναι τριετίαν, οἶνφ καὶ γαστρὶ καθάπερ
τὰ ζῷα χειροήθης γενόμενος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ δειλῶς
μὲν καὶ οἰκτρῶς καὶ ἀτίμως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρό γε
τοῦ κύριον γενέσθαι τὸν πολέμιον τοῦ σώματος
ἐαυτὸν ἐξήγαγεν.

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was well content to add to his life three years of imprisonment. He was tamed, like a wild beast, by way of his belly and by wine. Whereas Antony took himself off,—in a cowardly, pitiful, and ignoble way, it is true, but at least before his enemy became master of his person.

PYRRHUS

ΠΥΡΡΟΣ

I. Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Μολοσσῶν μετὰ τὸν κατα- 383
 κλυσμὸν ἱστοροῦσι Φαέθοντα βασιλεῦσαι πρῶ-
 τον, ἓνα τῶν μετὰ Πελασγοῦ παραγενομένων εἰς
 τὴν Ἑπειρον· ἔνιοι δὲ Δευκαλίωνα καὶ Πύρραν
 εἰσαμένους τὸ περὶ Δωδώνην ἱερὸν αὐτόθι κατοι-
 2 κεῖν ἐν Μολοσσοῖς. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Νεοπτό-
 λεμος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως λαὸν ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸς τε τὴν
 χώραν κατέσχε καὶ διαδοχὴν βασιλέων ἀφ' αὐ-
 τοῦ κατέλιπε, Πυρρίδας ἐπικαλουμένους· καὶ γὰρ
 αὐτῷ Πύρρος ἦν παιδικὸν ἐπωνύμιον, καὶ τῶν
 γνησίων παίδων ἐκ Λανάσσης τῆς Κλεοδαίου
 τοῦ Ἑλλου γενομένων ἓνα Πύρρον ὠνόμασεν. ἐκ
 τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ τιμὰς ἰσοθέ-
 3 οους ἔσχεν, Ἀσπετος ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ προσα-
 γορευόμενος. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους, τῶν διὰ
 μέσου βασιλέων ἐκβαρβαρωθέντων καὶ γενομέ-
 νων τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς βίοις ἀμαυροτέρων,
 Θαρρύπαν πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσι
 καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιλανθρώποις διακόσ-
 μήσαντα τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι. Θαρρύ-
 4 που δὲ Ἀλκέτας υἱὸς ἦν, Ἀλκέτα δ' Ἀρύβας,
 Ἀρύβου δὲ καὶ Τρωάδος Αἰακίδης. οὗτος ἔγχε
 τὴν Μένωνος τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ θυγατέρα Φθίαν,
 ἀνδρὸς εὐδοκίμου περὶ τὸν Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον
 γενομένου καὶ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τῶν συμμάχων

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I. HISTORIANS tell us that the first king of the Thesprotians and Molossians after the flood was Phaethon, one of those who came into Epeirus with Pelasgus ; but some say that Deucalion and Pyrrha established the sanctuary at Dodona and dwelt there among the Molossians. In after time, however, Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, bringing a people with him, got possession of the country for himself, and left a line of kings descending from him. These were called after him Pyrrhidæ ; for he had the surname of Pyrrhus in his boyhood, and of his legitimate children by Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodæus the son of Hyllus, one was named by him Pyrrhus. Consequently Achilles also obtained divine honours in Epeirus, under the native name of Aspetus. But the kings who followed in this line soon lapsed into barbarism and became quite obscure, both in their power and in their lives, and it was Tharrhypas, historians say, who first introduced Greek customs and letters and regulated his cities by humane laws, thereby acquiring for himself a name. Alcetas was a son of Tharrhypas, Arybas of Alcetas, and of Arybas and Troas, Aeacides. He married Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Thesalian, a man who won high repute at the time of the Lamian war¹ and acquired the highest authority

¹ 323-322 B.C. See the *Demosthenes*, xxvii. 1.

μετὰ Λεωσθένην λαβόντος. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Φθίας τῷ Αἰακίδῃ γίνονται θυγατέρες Δηιδάμεια καὶ Τρωάς, υἱὸς δὲ Πύρρος.

- II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ στασιάσαντες οἱ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ τὸν Αἰακίδην ἐκβαλόντες ἐπηγάγοντο τοὺς Νεοπτολέμου παῖδας, οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοῦ Αἰακίδου διεφθάρησαν καταληφθέντες, τὸν δὲ Πύρρον ἔτι νήπιον ὄντα καὶ ζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκκλέψαντες οἱ περὶ Ἀνδροκλείδην καὶ Ἀγγελὸν ἔφευγον, οἰκέτας ὀλίγους καὶ γυναῖα τιθηνούμενα
- 2 τὸ παιδίον ἀναγκαίως ἐφελκόμενοι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς φυγῆς αὐτοῖς γινομένης δυσέργου καὶ βραδείας καταλαμβανόμενοι τὸ μὲν παιδίον ἐγχειρίζουσιν Ἀνδροκλείῳ καὶ Ἰππία καὶ Νεάνδρῳ, νεανίσκοις οὔσι πιστοῖς καὶ ῥωμαλέοις, ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν καὶ Μεγάρων ἔχεσθαι χωρίου Μακεδονικοῦ προστάξαντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἀπομαχόμενοι τοῖς διώκουσιν
- 3 ἐμποδῶν ἦσαν ἄχρι δειλῆς ὀψίας. ἀποτραπομένων δὲ μόλις ἐκείνων μετέθεον τοὺς τὸν Πύρρον κομίζοντας. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου καταδεδυκότος ἐγγὺς γενόμενοι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐξαίφνης ἀπεκόπησαν, ἐντυχόντες τῷ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν παραρέοντι ποταμῷ, χαλεπῷ μὲν ὀφθῆναι καὶ ἀγρίῳ, πειρωμένοις δὲ διαβαίνειν παντάπασιν ἀπορωτάτῳ. πολὺ τε γὰρ ἐξέπιπτε ρεῦμα καὶ θολερὸν ὄμβρων ἐπιγενομένων, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐποίει πάντα
- 4 φοβερώτερα. καθ' αὐτοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπέγνωσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν παιδίον φερόμενοι καὶ γυναῖα τὰ τρέφοντα τὸ παιδίον, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰς ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐστῶτας ἐδέοντο συλλαβέσθαι 384

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among the confederates after Leosthenes. Phthia bore to Aeacides two daughters, Deïdameia and Troas, and a son, Pyrrhus.

II. But factions arose among the Molossians, and expelling Aeacides they brought into power the sons of Neoptolemus.¹ The friends of Aeacides were then seized and put to death, but Pyrrhus, who was still a babe and was sought for by the enemy, was stolen away by Androcleides and Angelus, who took to flight. However, they were obliged to take along with them a few servants, and women for the nursing of the child, and on this account their flight was laborious and slow and they were overtaken. They therefore entrusted the child to Androcleion, Hippias, and Neander, sturdy and trusty young men, with orders to fly with all their might and make for Megara, a Macedonian town; while they themselves, partly by entreaties and partly by fighting, stayed the course of the pursuers until late in the evening. After these had at last been driven back, they hastened to join the men who were carrying Pyrrhus. The sun had already set and they were near their hoped-for refuge, when suddenly they found themselves cut off from it by the river which flowed past the city. This had a forbidding and savage look, and when they tried to cross it, proved altogether impassable. For its current was greatly swollen and violent from rains that had fallen, and the darkness made everything more formidable. Accordingly, they gave up trying to cross unaided, since they were carrying the child and the women who cared for the child; and perceiving some of the people of the country standing on the further bank, they

A brother of Arybas, and therefore uncle of Aeacides.

πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἀνεδείκνυσαν
 βοῶντες καὶ ἱκετεύοντες. οἱ δὲ οὐ κατήκουον διὰ
 5 τραχύτητα καὶ πάταγον τοῦ ρεύματος, ἀλλ' ἦν
 διατριβὴ τῶν μὲν βοῶντων, τῶν δὲ μὴ συνιέντων,
 ἄχρι τις ἐννοήσας καὶ περιελὼν δρυὸς φλοιὸν
 ἐνέγραψε πόρπη γράμματα φράζοντα τὴν τε
 χρεῖαν καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ παιδός, εἶτα λίθῳ τὸν
 φλοιὸν περιελίξας καὶ χρησάμενος οἶον ἔρματι
 τῆς βολῆς ἀφήκεν εἰς τὸ πέραν· ἔνιοι δέ φασι
 6 σαυνίῳ περιπήξαντας ἀκοντίσαι τὸν φλοιόν. ὥς
 δ' οὖν ἀνέγνωσαν οἱ πέραν τὰ γράμματα καὶ
 συνεῖδον τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ καιροῦ, κόπτοντες ξύλα
 καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλα συνδέοντες ἐπέραιουντο. καὶ
 κατὰ τύχην ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν περαιωθεὶς Ἀχιλ-
 λεὺς τοῦνομα τὸν Πύρρον ἐδέξατο· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
 ὥς ἔτυχον ἄλλοι διεκόμιζον.

III. Οὕτω δὲ σωθέντες καὶ φθάσαντες τὴν
 δίωξιν εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς παρεγένοντο πρὸς Γλαυκίαν
 τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ καθεζόμενον εὐρόντες οἱκοι
 μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν μέσῳ τὸ παιδίον ἐπὶ τῆς
 γῆς κατέθεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ γνῶμης, Κάσανδρον
 δεδοικῶς ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τοῦ Αἰακίδου, καὶ σιωπὴν
 2 εἶχε πολὺν χρόνον βουλευόμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
 ὁ Πύρρος ἀπ' αὐτομάτου προσερπύσας καὶ λαβό-
 μενος τοῦ ἱματίου ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ προσεξαναστάς
 πρὸς τὰ γόνατα τοῦ Γλαυκίου γέλῳτα πρῶτον,
 εἶτα οἶκτον παρέσχεν, ὥσπερ τις ἰκέτης ἐχό-
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besought their help in crossing, and showed them Pyrrhus, with loud cries and supplications. But the people on the other side could not hear them for the turbulence and splashing of the stream, and so there was delay, one party shouting what the other could not understand, until some one bethought himself of a better way. He stripped off a piece of bark from a tree and wrote thereon with a buckle-pin a message telling their need and the fortune of the child; then he wrapped the bark about a stone, which he used to give force to his cast, and threw it to the other side. Some say, however, that it was a javelin about which he wrapped the bark, and that he shot it across. Accordingly, when those on the other side had read the message and saw that no time was to be lost, they cut down trees, lashed them together, and made their way across. As chance would have it, the first of them to make his way across was named Achilles; he took Pyrrhus in his arms, and the rest of the fugitives were conveyed across by others in one way or another.

III. Having thus outstripped their pursuers and reached a place of safety, the fugitives betook themselves to Glaucias the king of the Illyrians; and finding him sitting at home with his wife, they put the little child down on the floor before them. Then the king began to reflect. He was in fear of Cassander, who was an enemy of Aeacides, and held his peace a long time as he took counsel with himself. Meanwhile Pyrrhus, of his own accord, crept along the floor, clutched the king's robe, and pulled himself on to his feet at the knees of Glaucias, who was moved at first to laughter, then to pity, as he saw the child clinging to his knees and weeping like a formal

- μενος καὶ δακρύων. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν οὐ τῷ
 Γλαυκίᾳ προσπεσεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ βωμοῦ θεῶν
 προσαψάμενον ἐστάναι πρὸς αὐτὸν περιβαλόντα
 τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ θεῖον
 3 φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ παραυτίκα τὸν Πύρρον ἐνε-
 χείρισε τῇ γυναικί, κελεύσας ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις
 τρέφεσθαι, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξαιτουμένων τῶν
 πολεμίων, Κασάνδρου δὲ καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα
 διδόντας, οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γενόμενον δυο-
 καίδεκα ἐτῶν καταγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑπειρον μετὰ
 δυνάμεως βασιλέα κατέστησεν.
- 4 Ἦν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τῇ μὲν ιδέα τοῦ προσώπου
 φοβερώτερον ἔχων ἢ σεμνότερον τὸ βασιλικόν,
 πολλοὺς δὲ ὀδόντας οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὀστέον
 συνεχὲς ἦν ἄνωθεν, οἷον λεπταῖς ἀμυχαῖς τὰς
 διαφυὰς ὑπογεγραμμένον τῶν ὀδόντων. τοῖς δὲ
 σπληνιῶσιν ἐδόκει βοηθεῖν, ἀλεκτρυόνα θύων
 λευκόν, ὑπτίων τε κατακειμένων τῷ δεξιῷ ποδὶ
 πιέζων ἀτρέμα τὸ σπλάγχχον. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἦν
 πένης οὐδὲ ἄδοξος οὕτως ὥστε μὴ τυχεῖν τῆς
 5 ἰατρείας δεηθεῖς. ἐλάμβανε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀλε-
 κτρυόνα θύσας, καὶ τὸ γέρας τοῦτο ἥδιστον ἦν
 αὐτῷ. λέγεται δὲ τοῦ ποδὸς ἐκείνου τὸν μείζονα
 δάκτυλον ἔχειν δύναμιν θεῖαν, ὥστε μετὰ τὴν
 τελευτὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος κατακαέντος
 ἀπαθῇ καὶ ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς εὐρεθῆναι.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

IV. Γενομένῳ δὲ περὶ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη καὶ
 δοκοῦντι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν βεβαίως ἀποδημία τις

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suppliant. Some say, however, that the child did not supplicate Glaucias, but caught hold of an altar of the gods and stood there with his arms thrown round it, and that Glaucias thought this a sign from Heaven. Therefore he at once put Pyrrhus in the arms of his wife, bidding her rear him along with their children; and a little while after, when the child's enemies demanded his surrender, and Cassander offered two hundred talents for him, Glaucias would not give him up, but after he had reached the age of twelve years, actually conducted him back into Epeirus with an armed force and set him upon the throne there.

In the aspect of his countenance Pyrrhus had more of the terror than of the majesty of kingly power. He had not many teeth, but his upper jaw was one continuous bone, on which the usual intervals between the teeth were indicated by slight depressions. People of a splenetic habit believed that he cured their ailment; he would sacrifice a white cock, and, while the patient lay flat upon his back, would press gently with his right foot against the spleen. Nor was any one so obscure or poor as not to get this healing service from him if he asked it. The king would also accept the cock after he had sacrificed it, and this honorarium was most pleasing to him. It is said, further, that the great toe of his right foot had a divine virtue, so that after the rest of his body had been consumed, this was found to be untouched and unharmed by the fire. These things, however, belong to a later period.

IV. When he had reached the age of seventeen years¹ and was thought to be firmly seated on his

¹ In 302 B.C.

- συνέτυχε, τῶν Γλαυκίου παίδων ενός, οἷς συνετέ-
 θραπτο, γυναῖκα λαμβάνοντος. πάλιν οὖν οἱ
 Μολοττοὶ συστάντες ἐξέβαλον τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν καὶ Νεοπτολέμῳ
 2 παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος οὕτω τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλὼν καὶ γενόμενος πάντων ἔρρημος
 Δημητρίῳ τῷ Ἀντιγόνου προσέμιξεν ἑαυτόν,
 ἔχοντι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Δηϊδάμειαν, ἣν ἔτι
 μὲν οὖσαν κόρην ὠνόμαζον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
 Ῥωξάνης γυναῖκα, τῶν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους δυστυχη-
 θέντων ὥραν ἔχουσαν αὐτὴν ἔγχευεν ὁ Δημήτριος.
 3 τῆς δὲ μεγάλης μάχης ἦν ἐν Ἰψῷ πάντες οἱ
 βασιλεῖς ἡγωνίσαντο, παρὼν ὁ Πύρρος τοῖς περὶ
 Δημήτριον συμμετείχε μειράκιον ὦν ἔτι, καὶ τοὺς
 καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐτρέψατο, καὶ διεφάνη λαμπρὸς ἐν 385
 τοῖς μαχομένοις. πταίσαντα δὲ Δημήτριον οὐκ
 ἐγκατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεις
 πιστευθεὶς διεφύλαξε, καὶ συμβάσεων αὐτῷ
 γενομένων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἔπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυ-
 4 πτον ὁμηρεύσων. καὶ Πτολεμαῖῳ μὲν ἐν τε
 θήραις καὶ γυμνασίοις ἐπιδείξιν ἀλκῆς καὶ καρ-
 τερίας παρείχε, τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην ὁρῶν μέγιστον
 δυναμένην καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει
 τῶν Πτολεμαίου γυναικῶν, ἐθεράπευε μάλιστα·
 καὶ δεινὸς ὦν ὑπελθεῖν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοὺς κρείτ-
 τουας, ὥσπερ ὑπερόπτης τῶν ταπεινοτέρων,
 κόσμιος δὲ καὶ σώφρων περὶ δίαιταν, ἐκ πολλῶν

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throne, it came to pass that he went on a journey, when one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been reared, was married. Once more, then, the Molossians banded together, drove out his friends, plundered his property, and put themselves under Neoptolemus.¹ Pyrrhus, thus stripped of his realm and rendered destitute of all things, joined himself to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who had his sister Deïdameia to wife. She, while she was still a girl, had been nominally given in marriage to Alexander, Roxana's son; but their affairs miscarried, and when she was of age Demetrius married her.² In the great battle which all the kings fought at Ipsus³ Pyrrhus was present, and took part with Demetrius, though still a stripling. He routed the enemy opposed to him, and made a brilliant display of valour among the combatants. Moreover, though Demetrius lost the day, Pyrrhus did not abandon him, but kept guard over his cities in Greece which were entrusted to him,⁴ and when Demetrius made peace with Ptolemy, sailed to Egypt as hostage for him. Here, both in hunting and in bodily exercises, he gave Ptolemy proof of his prowess and endurance, and seeing that among the wives of Ptolemy it was Berenicé who had the greatest influence and was foremost in virtue and understanding, he paid especial court to her. He was adept at turning to his own advantage the favour of his superiors, just as he was inclined to look down upon his inferiors, and since he was orderly and restrained in his ways of living, he was selected from among many young

¹ A grandson of the Neoptolemus mentioned in chapter ii. 1.

² See the *Demetrius*, xxv. 2.

³ In 301 B.C. - Cf. the *Demetrius*, chapters xxviii. f.

⁴ Cf. the *Demetrius*, xxxi. 2.

νέων ἡγεμονικῶν προεκρίθη λαβεῖν Ἀντιγόνην γυναῖκα τῶν Βερενίκης θυγατέρων, ἣν ἔσχευ ἐκ Φιλίππου πρὶν ἢ Πτολεμαίῳ συνοικεῖν.

V. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν γάμον τοῦτον ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμῶν, καὶ γυναικὸς ἀγαθῆς τῆς Ἀντιγόνης περὶ αὐτὸν οὐσης, διεπράξατο χρήματα λαβὼν καὶ δύναμιν εἰς Ἡπειρον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποσταλῆναι. καὶ παρὴν οὐκ ἄκουσι τοῖς πολλοῖς¹ διὰ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου χαλεπῶς καὶ βιαίως ἄρχοντος. πλὴν ἀλλὰ δείσας μὴ πρὸς τινα τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος τράπηται, διαλύσεις ἔθετο καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς.
 2 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἦσαν οἱ παροξύνοντες αὐτοὺς κρύφα καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐμποιοῦντες ὑποψίας. ἡ μέντοι μάλιστα κινήσασα τὸν Πύρρον αἰτία λέγεται τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν.

Εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρῶνι, χωρὶς τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες ὀρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἡπειρώταις καὶ ὀρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν
 3 διαφυλάξαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐδρᾶτο ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων παρόντων, καὶ συνῆσαν ἀλλήλοις μετὰ τῶν φίλων, δῶρα πολλὰ τὰ μὲν δίδόντες, τὰ δὲ λαμβάνοντες. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Γέλων, ἀνὴρ πιστὸς Νεοπτολέμῳ, δεξιωσάμενος φιλοφρόνως τὸν Πύρρον ἐδωρήσατο βοῶν ἀροτήρων δυσὶ ζεύγεσι. ταῦτα Μυρτίλος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου παρὼν ἤτει τὸν Πύρρον· ἐκείνου δὲ μὴ δίδόντος, ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκῶν ὁ Μυρτίλος οὐκ
 4 ἔλαθε τὸν Γέλωνα. καλέσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ

¹ τοῖς πολλοῖς with Coraës and Blass : πολλοῖς.

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princes as a husband for Antigone, one of the daughters of Berenicé, whom she had by Philip¹ before her marriage with Ptolemy.

V. After this marriage he was held in still greater esteem, and since Antigone was an excellent wife to him, he brought it to pass that he was sent into Epeirus with money and an army to regain his kingdom. Most people there were glad to see him come, owing to their hatred of Neoptolemus, who was a stern and arbitrary ruler. However, fearing lest Neoptolemus should have recourse to one of the other kings, he came to terms and made friendship with him on the basis of a joint exercise of the royal power. But as time went on there were people who secretly exasperated them against one another and filled them with mutual suspicions. The chief ground, however, for action on the part of Pyrrhus is said to have had its origin as follows.

It was customary for the kings, after sacrificing to Zeus Areius at Passaro, a place in the Molossian land, to exchange solemn oaths with the Epeirots, the kings swearing to rule according to the laws, and the people to maintain the kingdom according to the laws. Accordingly, this was now done; both the kings were present, and associated with one another, together with their friends, and many gifts were interchanged. Here Gelon, a man devoted to Neoptolemus, greeted Pyrrhus in a friendly manner and made him a present of two yoke of oxen for ploughing. Pyrrhus was asked for these by Myrtilus, his cup-bearer; and when Pyrrhus would not give them to him, but gave them to another, Myrtilus was deeply resentful. This did not escape the notice of

¹ An obscure Macedonian.

- δείπνον, ὡς δέ φασιν ἔνιοι, καὶ χρησάμενος παρ' οἷνον ὥραν ἔχοντι, λόγους προσήνεγκε παρακαλῶν ἐλέσθαι τὰ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ φαρμάκοις διαφθεῖραι τὸν Πύρρον. ὁ δὲ Μυρτίλος ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν πείραν ὡς ἐπαινῶν καὶ συμπεπεισμένος, ἐμήνυσε δὲ τῷ Πύρρῳ· καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου τὸν ἀρχιοινοχόον Ἀλεξικράτην τῷ Γέλωνι συνέστησεν, ὡς δὴ μεθέξοντα τῆς πράξεως αὐτοῖς· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐν πλείοσιν ὁ Πύρρος τὸν ἔλεγχον γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀδικήματος.
- 5 οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐξαπατωμένου συνεξαπατῶμενος ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος, καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁδῶ βαδίζειν οἰόμενος οὐ κατείχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους. καὶ ποτε κωμάσας παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καδμείαν ἐχρήτο λαλιᾷ περὶ τούτων, οὐδένα συνακούειν οἰόμενος· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν πλησίον ἄλλος ἢ Φαιναρέτη γυνὴ Σάμωνος τοῦ τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰ βουκόλια τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ διοικοῦντος, αὕτη δὲ ἀπεστραμμένη πρὸς τὸν τοῖ-
- 6 χον¹ ἐπὶ κλίνης τινὸς ἐδόκει καθεύδειν. συνήκοος δὲ πάντων γενομένη καὶ λαθοῦσα μεθ' ἡμέραν ἦκε πρὸς Ἀντιγόνην τὴν Πύρρου γυναῖκα, καὶ πάντα κατεῖπεν ὅσα τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἤκουσε λέγοντος. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἐκεῖ μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἤγειν, ἐν δὲ θυσίᾳ καλέσας ἐπὶ
- 7 δείπνον τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ἀπέκτεινεν, αἰσθόμενος τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν τοὺς κρατίστους προσέχοντας αὐτῷ, καὶ παρακελευομένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, καὶ μὴ μερίδα μικρὰν ἔχοντα 386 βασιλείας ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει χρήσασθαι

¹ τὸν τοῖχον with Coraës, Blass, and C : τοῖχον.

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Gelon, who therefore invited Myrtilus to supper, and even, as some say, enjoyed his youthful beauty as they drank ; then he reasoned with him and urged him to become an adherent of Neoptolemus and to destroy Pyrrhus by poison. Myrtilus accepted the proposal, pretending to approve of it and to be persuaded, but informed Pyrrhus. He also, by the king's orders, presented Alexicrates, the king's chief cup-bearer, to Gelon, assuring him that he would take part in their enterprise ; for Pyrrhus wished to have several persons who could testify to the intended crime. Thus Gelon was thoroughly deceived, and Neoptolemus as well, and as thoroughly, who, supposing that the plot was duly progressing, could not keep it to himself, but in his joy would talk about it to his friends. Once, in particular, after a revel at the house of his sister Cadmeia, he fell to prattling about the matter, supposing that no one would hear the conversation but themselves ; for no one else was near except Phaenarete, the wife of Samon, a man who managed the flocks and herds of Neoptolemus, and Phaenarete was lying on a couch with her face to the wall and seemed to be asleep. But she heard everything, and next day went unobserved to Antigone the wife of Pyrrhus, and told her all that she had heard Neoptolemus say to his sister. When Pyrrhus learned of it, he kept quiet for a time, but on a day of sacrifice invited Neoptolemus to supper and killed him. For he was aware that the chief men among the Epeirots were devoted to himself and were eager to see him rid himself of Neoptolemus ; also that they wished him not to content himself with having a small share of the kingdom, but to follow his natural bent and

μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβανόμενον, καί τινος ὑποψίας ἅμα προσγενομένης τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον φθάσας¹ ἀνελεῖν.

VI. Μεμνημένος δὲ Βερενίκης καὶ Πτολεμαίου παιδίον μὲν αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης Πτολεμαῖον ὠνόμασεν, οἰκίσας δὲ πόλιν ἐν τῇ χερρονήσῳ τῆς Ἠπείρου Βερονικίδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν περινοῶν καὶ μεγάλα τῇ γνώμῃ, ταῖς δὲ ἐλπίσι μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τῶν πλησίον, εὗρεν ἐμφῦναι τοῖς Μακεδόνων πράγμασιν ἐκ τοιαῦσδέ τινος προφάσεως.

- 2 Τῶν Κασάνδρου παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀντίπατρος τὴν τε μητέρα Θεσσαλονίκην ἀνείλε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τε Δημήτριον ἔπεμψε δεόμενος βοηθεῖν καὶ Πύρρον ἐκάλει. Δημητρίου δὲ ὑπὸ ἀσχολιῶν βραδύνοντος ἐπελθὼν ὁ Πύρρος ἤτησε μισθὸν τῆς συμμαχίας τὴν τε Στυμφαίαν καὶ τὴν Παραναίαν τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ τῶν ἐπικτήτων ἐθνῶν Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἀκαρνανίαν, Ἀμφιλοχίαν.
- 3 προεμένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου ταῦτα μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχε φρουραῖς καταλαβών, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κτώμενος ἐκείνῳ περιέκοπτε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. Λυσίμαχος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν ἐν ἀσχολίαις προθυμούμενος Ἀντιπάτρῳ βοηθεῖν, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Πύρρον οὐδὲν ἀχαριστεῖν οὐδὲ ἀρνεῖσθαι Πτολεμαίῳ βουλούμενον ἔπεμψε πλαστὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς Πτολεμαίου κελεύοντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῆς στρατείας τριακόσια τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ
- 4 Ἀντιπάτρου λαβόντα. λύσας δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν

¹ φθάσας Coraës and Blass, with most MSS.: φθάσαι.

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attempt greater things, and, now that some suspicion had added its weight to other motives for the deed, to anticipate Neoptolemus by taking him off first.

VI. And now, in honour of Berenicé and Ptolemy, he gave the name of Ptolemy to his infant son by Antigone, and called the city which he had built on the peninsula of Epeirus, Bereniceis. After this, he began to revolve many large projects in his mind; but his hopes were fixed first and more especially on undertakings close at hand, and he found a way to take direct part in Macedonian affairs, on grounds something like the following.

Of Cassander's sons, the elder, Antipater, killed his mother Thessalonicé and drove away his brother Alexander.¹ Alexander sent to Demetrius begging for help, and also called upon Pyrrhus. Demetrius was delayed by matters that he had in hand; but Pyrrhus came, and demanded as a reward for his alliance Stymphaea and Parauaea in Macedonia, and, of the countries won by the allies, Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. The youthful Alexander gave way to his demands, and Pyrrhus took possession of these countries and held them for himself with garrisons; he also proceeded to strip from Antipater the remaining parts of his kingdom and turn them over to Alexander. Now Lysimachus the king, who was eager to give aid to Antipater, was fully occupied himself and could not come in person; but knowing that Pyrrhus was desirous to do Ptolemy every favour and refuse him nothing, he sent a forged letter to him which stated that Ptolemy urged him to give up his expedition on payment of three hundred talents from Antipater. As soon as Pyrrhus opened the

¹ Cf. the *Demetrius*, xxxvi. 1 f.

ὁ Πύρρος εὐθύς τὸ ῥαδιούργημα τοῦ Λυσιμάχου
 συνεῖδεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἡ συνήθης γεγραμμένη
 προσαγόρευσις, “Ὁ πατὴρ τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν.”
 ἀλλὰ, “Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεῖ Πύρρῳ
 χαίρειν.” λαιδορήσας δὲ τὸν Λυσίμαχον ὅμως
 ἐποιεῖτο τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ συνήεσαν ὥς κατὰ
 5 σφαγίων ὀρκωμοτήσοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύρου καὶ
 κάπρου καὶ κριοῦ προσαχθέντος ὁ κριὸς αὐτο-
 μάτως ἀπέθανε, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις γελᾶν ἐπήει, τὸν
 δὲ Πύρρον ὁ μάντις Θεόδωτος ὁμόσαι διεκώλυσε,
 φήσας τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐνὶ προσημαίνειν τῶν τριῶν
 βασιλέων θάνατον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύρρος οὕτως
 ἀπέστη τῆς εἰρήνης.

VII. Τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἤδη
 κατάστασιν ἐχόντων ὅμως ὁ Δημήτριος ἀφίκετο·
 καὶ δῆλος μὲν ἦν εὐθύς ἦκων μὴ δεομένῳ, καὶ
 φόβον παρείχεν, ὀλίγας δ' ἡμέρας συγγενόμενοι
 δι' ἀπιστίας ἐπεβούλευσαν ἀλλήλοις ἀμφοτέροι.
 καιρῷ δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ φθάσας ἀποκτίννυσιν ὁ
 Δημήτριος τὸ μεράκιον, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη
 2 Μακεδονίας. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ
 πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐγκλήματα, καὶ καταδρομαὶ τῆς
 Θεσσαλίας ἐγεγόνεισαν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ
 σύμφυτον νόσημα ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονεξία,
 τὴν γειννῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπίφοβον καὶ ἄπιστον
 παρείχε, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι μετὰ τὴν τῆς Δηϊδαμείας
 τελευτήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ κατασχόντες ἀμφοτέροι
 Μακεδονίας συνέπιπτον εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ μείζονας
 3 ἐλάμβανε προφάσεις ἢ διαφορά, Δημήτριος μὲν

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letter he perceived the fraud of Lysimachus; for the letter did not have the customary address, "The father, to the son, health and happiness," but instead, "King Ptolemy, to King Pyrrhus, health and happiness." Pyrrhus reviled Lysimachus for the fraud, but nevertheless made the desired peace, and they all met to ratify it with sacrificial oaths. However, after a bull, a boar, and a ram had been brought up for sacrifice, of its own accord the ram fell down dead. The rest of the spectators were moved to laughter, but Theodotus the seer prevented Pyrrhus from taking the oath by declaring that Heaven thus betokened in advance the death of one of the three kings. In this way, then, Pyrrhus was led to renounce the peace.

VII. Thus Alexander's affairs were already settled with the help of Pyrrhus, but nevertheless Demetrius came to him; and as soon as he arrived it was plain that he was not wanted, and he inspired only fear; and after they had been together a few days their mutual distrust led them to plot against each other. But Demetrius, taking advantage of his opportunity, got beforehand with the young prince and slew him, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.¹ Now, even before this there had been differences between him and Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus had overrun Thessaly;² and greed for power, the natural disease of dynasties, made them formidable and suspicious neighbours, and all the more after the death of Deidameia. And now that both of them had occupied part of Macedonia, they came into collision, and their quarrel was furnished with stronger grounds. Demetrius there-

¹ Cf. the *Demetrius*, xxxvi. 2-6, xxxvii.

² Cf. the *Demetrius*, xl. i

- ἐπ' Αἰτωλοὺς στρατευσάμενος καὶ κρατήσας, Πάνταυχον αὐτόθι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ Πύρρον, καὶ Πύρρος ἐπ' ἐκείνους, ὡς ᾔσθετο. γενομένης δὲ διαμαρτίας καθ' ὁδὸν ἀλλήλους παρήλλαξαν· καὶ Δημήτριος μὲν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἑπειρον ἐλεηλάτει, Πύρρος δὲ
- 4 Πανταύχῳ περιπεσὼν εἰς μάχην κατέστη. καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συμπεσόντων δεινὸς ἦν καὶ μέγας ἀγὼν, μάλιστα κατὰ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. ὃ τε γὰρ Πάνταυχος ἀνδρεία καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος ἀριστος ὢν ὁμολογουμένως τῶν περὶ Δημήτριον στρατηγῶν, καὶ θάρσος ἔχων καὶ φρόνημα, προῦκαλεῖτο τὸν Πύρρον εἰς χεῖρας, ὃ τε Πύρρος οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων ὑφιεμένος ἀλκῆς καὶ τόλμης, καὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως δόξαν αὐτῷ δι' ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γένος συνοικειοῦν βουλόμενος, ἐναντίος ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν προμάχων ἐπὶ τὸν
- 5 Πάνταυχον. ἦν δὲ δορατισμὸς τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα 387 ἐν χεροῖν γενόμενοι μετὰ τέχνης ἅμα καὶ βίας ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ξίφεσι. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἐν τραῦμα, δούς δὲ δύο, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν μηρὸν, τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον, ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατέβαλε τὸν Πάνταυχον· οὐ μὴν ἀνεῖλεν, ἀνηρπάγη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων. οἱ δὲ Ἑπειῶται τῇ νικῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαρθέντες καὶ θαυμάσαντες τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐβιάσαντο καὶ διέκοψαν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ φεύγοντας διώκοντες ἀπέκτεινάν τε πολλοὺς καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ζῶντας εἶλον.
- VIII. Ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὗτος οὐ τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ὢν ἔπαθον οὐδὲ μίσους ἐνέπλησε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον, ὅσῃν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ θαῦμα

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fore made an expedition against the Aetolians and conquered them, and then, leaving Pantauchus there with a large force, he himself moved against Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus, when he heard of it, against him. Owing to a mistake in the way, however, they passed by one another, and Demetrius, throwing his forces into Epeirus, plundered the country, while Pyrrhus, encountering Pantauchus, joined battle with him.¹ There was a sharp and terrible conflict between the soldiers who engaged, and especially also between the leaders. For Pantauchus, who was confessedly the best of the generals of Demetrius for bravery, dexterity, and vigour of body, and had both courage and a lofty spirit, challenged Pyrrhus to a hand-to-hand combat; and Pyrrhus, who yielded to none of the kings in daring and prowess, and wished that the glory of Achilles should belong to him by right of valour rather than of blood alone, advanced through the foremost fighters to confront Pantauchus. At first they hurled their spears, then, coming to close quarters, they plied their swords with might and skill. Pyrrhus got one wound, but gave Pantauchus two, one in the thigh, and one along the neck, and put him to flight and overthrew him; he did not kill him, however, for his friends haled him away. Then the Epeirots, exalted by the victory of their king and admiring his valour, overwhelmed and cut to pieces the phalanx of the Macedonians, pursued them as they fled, slew many of them, and took five thousand of them alive.²

VIII. This conflict did not fill the Macedonians with wrath and hate towards Pyrrhus for their losses, rather it led those who beheld his exploits

¹ Cf. the *Demetrius*, xli. 1 f. ² Cf. the *Demetrius*, xli. 2.

τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ λόγον ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς ἰδοῦσι τὰ ἔργα καὶ συνενεχθεῖσι κατὰ τὴν μάχην. καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ᾤοντο καὶ τάχος εἰκέναι καὶ κίνημα τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνου καὶ βίας παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τούτῳ σκιάς τινας ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ μιμήματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἐν πορφύραις καὶ δορυφόροις καὶ κλίσει τραχήλου καὶ τῷ μείζον διαλέγεσθαι, μόνου δὲ Πύρρου τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

- 2 Τῆς δὲ περὶ τάξεις καὶ στρατηγίας ἐπιστήμης αὐτοῦ καὶ δεινότητος ἔνεστι δείγματα λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ περὶ τούτων ἀποδέλοιπε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἄριστος τῶν στρατηγῶν, φάναι, “ Πύρρος, ἂν γηράσῃ,” περὶ τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀποφηνάμενος μόνον. Ἀννίβας δὲ συμπάντων ἀπέφηνε τῶν στρατηγῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμπειρία καὶ δεινότητι Πύρρον, Σκηπίωνα δὲ δεύτερον, ἑαυτὸν δὲ τρίτον, ὡς ἐν
- 3 τοῖς περὶ Σκηπίωνος γέγραπται. καὶ ὅλως τοῦτο μελετῶν ἔοικε καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἀεὶ διατελεῖν ὁ Πύρρος, ὡς μαθημάτων βασιλικώτατον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας γλαφυρίας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τίθεσθαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐν τινι πότῳ, πότερον αὐτῷ φαίνεται Πύθων ἀνλητῆς ἀμείνων ἢ Καφισίας, εἰπεῖν ὅτι Πολυσπέρχων στρατηγός, ὡς ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ζητεῖν υἷονα καὶ γινώσκειν προσήκον.

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and engaged him in the battle to esteem him highly and admire his bravery and talk much about him. For they likened his aspect and his swiftness and all his motions to those of the great Alexander, and thought they saw in him shadows, as it were, and imitations of that leader's impetuosity and might in conflicts.¹ The other kings, they said, represented Alexander with their purple robes, their body-guards, the inclination of their necks,² and their louder tones in conversation; but Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus alone, in arms and action.

Of his knowledge and ability in the field of military tactics and leadership one may get proofs from the writings on these subjects which he left. It is said also that Antigonus, when asked who was the best general, replied, "Pyrrhus, if he lives to be old." This verdict of Antigonus applied only to his contemporaries. Hannibal, however, declared that the foremost of all generals in experience and ability was Pyrrhus, that Scipio was second, and he himself third, as I have written in my *Life of Scipio*.³ And in a word, Pyrrhus would seem to have been always and continually studying and meditating upon this one subject, regarding it as the most kingly branch of learning; the rest he regarded as mere accomplishments and held them in no esteem. For instance, we are told that when he was asked at a drinking-party whether he thought Python or Caphisias the better flute-player, he replied that Polysperchon was a good general, implying that it became a king to investigate and understand such matters only.

¹ Cf. the *Demetrius*, xli. 3. ² See the *Alexander*, iv. 1.

³ The "book" containing the Lives of Epaminondas and Scipio Africanus the Elder has been lost.

- 4 Ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἐπικεικῆς καὶ
 πρᾶος ὀργήν, σφοδρὸς δὲ καὶ πρόθυμος ἐν ταῖς
 χάρισιν. Ἀερόπου γοῦν ἀποθανόντος οὐκ ἤνεγκε
 μετρίως, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα πεπονθέναι
 φάσκων, ἑαυτὸν δὲ μεμφόμενος καὶ κακίζων ὅτι
 μέλλων αἰεὶ καὶ βραδύνων χάριν οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν
 αὐτῷ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ χρέα καὶ κληρονόμοις ἐστὶν
 ἀποδοῦναι τῶν δανεισάντων, αἱ δὲ τῶν χαρίτων
 ἀμοιβαὶ μὴ γενόμεναι πρὸς αἰσθανομένους ἀνιῶσι
 5 τὸν χρηστὸν καὶ δίκαιον. ἐν δὲ Ἀμβρακίᾳ
 κακολόγον τινὰ καὶ βλάσφημον ἄνθρωπον οἰο-
 μένων δεῖν μεταστῆσαι τὸν Πύρρον “Αὐτοῦ
 μένων,” ἔφη, “μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἐν ὀλίγοις ἢ περιῶν
 πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους κακῶς λεγέτω.” καὶ
 τοὺς παρ’ οἶνον αὐτὸν λοιδορήσαντας, εἶτα ἐλεγ-
 χομένους ἠρώτησεν εἰ ταῦτα εἶπον· ἀποκρίνα-
 μένου δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων ἑνός, “Ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ·
 πλείονα δ’ ἂν ἔτι τούτων εἰρήκειμεν, εἰ πλείων
 παρὴν οἶνος ἡμῖν,” γελάσας ἀφῆκε.

IX. Γυναῖκας δὲ πραγμάτων ἔνεκα καὶ δυνά-
 μεως πλείονας ἔγημε μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνης τε-
 λευτήν. καὶ γὰρ Αὐτολέοντος τοῦ Παιόνων
 βασιλέως ἔλαβε θυγατέρα, καὶ Βιρκένναν τὴν
 Βαρδύλλιος τοῦ Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ Λάνασσαν τὴν
 Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Συρακουσίου, προῖκα προσ-
 φερομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Κερκυραίων πόλιν ἡλωκυῖαν
 ὑπὸ Ἀγαθοκλέους. ἐκ μὲν οὖν Ἀντιγόνης

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He was also kind towards his familiar friends, and mild in temper, but eager and impetuous in returning favours. At any rate, when Aeropus died, he was distressed beyond measure, declaring that Aeropus had indeed only suffered what was common to humanity, but that he blamed and reviled himself because he had always delayed and moved slowly in the matter and so had not returned his friend's favour. For the debts due to one's creditors can be paid back to their heirs; but if the favours received from friends are not returned while those friends can be sensible of the act, it is an affliction to a just and good man. Again, in Ambracia there was a fellow who denounced and reviled him, and people thought that Pyrrhus ought to banish him. "Let him remain here," said Pyrrhus, "and speak ill of us among a few, rather than carry his slanders round to all mankind." And again, some young fellows indulged in abuse of him over their cups, and were brought to task for it. Pyrrhus asked them if they had said such things, and when one of them replied, "We did, O King; and we should have said still more than this if we had had more wine." Pyrrhus laughed and dismissed them.¹

IX. In order to enlarge his interests and power he married several wives after the death of Antigone. He took to wife, namely, a daughter of Autoleon, king of the Paeonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis the Illyrian; and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who brought him as her dowry the city of Corcyra, which had been captured by Agathocles. By Antigone he had a son Ptolemy,

¹ The story is found also in Plutarch's *Morals*, p. 184 d, and in Val. Max. 5, 1, ext. 3.

Πτολεμαῖον υἱὸν ἔσχευ, ἐκ δὲ Λανάσσης Ἀλεξανδρον, Ἐλενον δὲ τὸν νεώτατον ἐκ Βιρκέννης. 388
2 καὶ πάντα ἀγαθοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐθρέψατο καὶ διαπύρους, εὐθύς ἐκ γενετῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο θηγομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑφ' ἐνὸς αὐτῶν ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, τίνι καταλείψει τὴν βασιλείαν, εἶπεν, “Ὅς ἂν ὑμῶν τὴν μάχαιραν ἡξυτάτην¹ ἔχῃ.” τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποδεῖ τῆς τραγικῆς ἀρᾶς ἐκείνης. “Θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν” τοὺς ἀδελφούς. οὕτως ἄμικτός ἐστι καὶ θηριώδης ἡ τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑπόθεσις.

X. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ταύτην ὁ Πύρρος ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ φρονήματος ἔχαιρε· καὶ Ἀετὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν προσαγορευόμενος, “Δι’ ὑμᾶς,” ἔλεγεν, “ἀετὸς εἰμι· πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλω, τοῖς ὑμετέροις ὅπλοις ὥσπερ ὠκυπτέροις ἐπαιρόμενος;” ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον πυθόμενος νοσεῖν τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπισφαλῶς ἐνέβαλε μὲν ἐξαίφνης εἰς Μακεδονίαν ὡς ἐπιδρομὴν τινα καὶ λεηλασίαν ποιησόμενος, 2 παρ’ ὀλίγον δὲ ἦλθε πάντων ὁμοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀμαχεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐλάσας ἄχρι Ἐδέσσης μηδενὸς ἀμυνομένου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ προστιθεμένων καὶ συστρατευόντων. αὐτὸν τε δὴ τὸν Δημήτριον ὁ κίνδυνος ἐξανέστησε παρὰ δύναμιν, οἳ τε φίλοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλοὺς ἀθροίσαντες ἐρρωμένως καὶ προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον ὥρμησαν. ὁ δὲ ληστρικώτερον ἀφιγμένος οὐκ ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ φεύγων μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλε καθ’ ὁδὸν ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Μακεδόνων.

¹ ὡξυτάτην with Blass : ὡξυτέραν.

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Alexander by Lanassa, and Helenus, his youngest son, by Bircenna. He brought them all up to be brave in arms and fiery, and he whetted them for this from their very birth. It is said, for instance, that when he was asked by one of them, who was still a boy, to whom he would leave his kingdom, he replied: "To that one of you who keeps his sword the sharpest." This, however, meant nothing less than the famous curse of Oedipus in the tragedy;¹ that "with whetted sword," and not by lot, the brothers should "divide the house." So savage and ferocious is the nature of rapacity.

X. After this battle Pyrrhus returned to his home rejoicing in the splendour which his fame and lofty spirit had brought him; and when he was given the surname of "Eagle" by the Epeirots, "Through you," he said, "am I an eagle; why, pray, should I not be? It is by your arms that I am borne aloft as by swift pinions." But a little while after, learning that Demetrius was dangerously sick, he suddenly threw an army into Macedonia, intending merely to overrun and plunder some parts of it. Yet he came within a little of mastering the whole country and getting the kingdom without a battle; for he marched on as far as Edessa without opposition from anyone, and many actually joined his forces and shared his expedition. And now Demetrius himself was roused by the peril to act beyond his strength, while his friends and commanders in a short time collected many soldiers and set out with zeal and vigour against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, however, had come more for plunder than anything else, and would not stand his ground, but fled, losing a part of his army on the march, under the attacks of the Macedonians.

¹ Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 68.

- 3 Οὐ μὴν ὅτι ῥαδίως καὶ ταχὺ τὸν Πύρρον ἐξέβαλε τῆς χώρας ὁ Δημήτριος ἡμέλησεν, ἐγνωκὼς δὲ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβά-
νεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτᾶσθαι δέκα μυριάσι στρατοῦ καὶ ναυσὶ πεντακοσίαις οὐκ ἐβούλετο τῷ Πύρρῳ προσπταῖσαι, οὐδὲ ἀπο-
λιπεῖν Μακεδόσι πάροικον ἐργώδη καὶ χαλεπὸν, ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐσχόλαζε πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, διαλυθεὶς καὶ θέμενος εἰρήνην οὕτως ἐπὶ τοὺς
- 4 ἄλλους βασιλεῖς τραπέσθαι. γενομένων δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἅμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐκφανείσης τοῦ Δημη-
τρίου, φοβηθέντες οἱ βασιλεῖς διεπέμποντο πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἀγγέλους καὶ γράμματα, θαυμάζειν φάσκοντες εἰ τὸν αὐτοῦ προέμενος καιρόν, ἐν τῷ Δημητρίου πολεμῆσαι περιμένει, καὶ δυνάμενος Μακεδονίας ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν πολλὰ πράττοντα καὶ ταραττόμενον, ἐκδέχεται καὶ σχολάζοντι καὶ μεγάλῳ γενομένῳ περὶ τῶν ἐν Μολοσσοῖς ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων διαγωνίσασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα Κέρκυραν ἔναγχος ἀφηρημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς γυναι-
- 5 κός. ἡ γὰρ Λάνασσα μεμψαμένη τὸν Πύρρον ὡς μᾶλλον προσέχοντα ταῖς βαρβάροις γυναιξὶν εἰς Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε, καὶ δεομένη γάμων βασιλικῶν ἐκάλει Δημήτριον, ἐπισταμένη μά-
λιστα τῶν βασιλέων εὐκόλως ἔχοντα πρὸς γάμους γυναικῶν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ πλεύσας τῇ τε Λανάσῃ συνῆλθε καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπε.

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However, because Demetrius had easily and speedily driven Pyrrhus out of the country, he did not leave him to his own devices, but now that he had determined to undertake a great enterprise and to recover his father's realm with a hundred thousand soldiers and five hundred ships, he did not wish to have collisions with Pyrrhus, nor yet to leave behind in him an enterprising and troublesome neighbour for the Macedonians. He wished, rather, since he had no time to wage war against Pyrrhus, to come to terms and make peace with him, and then turn his arms against the other kings. But after an agreement had been made between them for these reasons, the purpose of Demetrius became apparent, as well as the magnitude of his preparations, and the kings, in alarm, kept sending to Pyrrhus messengers and letters,¹ expressing their amazement that he should let slip his own opportunity for making war and wait for Demetrius to seize his; and that when he was able to drive Demetrius out of Macedonia, since he was now much occupied and disturbed, he should await the time when his adversary, at his leisure and after he had become great, could wage a decisive struggle with him for the sanctuaries and tombs of the Molossian land, an adversary who had just robbed him of Corcyra, and his wife besides. For Lanassa, who found fault with Pyrrhus for being more devoted to his barbarian wives than to her, had retired to Corcyra, whither, since she desired a royal marriage, she invited Demetrius, understanding that he, of all the kings, was most readily disposed to marry wives. So Demetrius sailed thither, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city.

¹ Cf. the *Demetrius*, xliv. 1.

- XI. Ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον οἱ βασιλεῖς γρά-
 φοντες ἅμα καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἔτι μέλλοντα καὶ
 παρασκευαζόμενον τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκίνουν. Πτο-
 λεμαῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐπιπλεύσας μεγάλῳ στόλῳ τὰς
 Ἑλληνίδας ἀφίστη πόλεις, Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὴν
 ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἐμβαλὼν ἐπόρθει.
 Πύρρος δὲ τούτοις ἅμα συνεξαναστὰς ἐπὶ Βέροϊαν
 ἦλानε, προσδοκῶν, ὅπερ συνέβη, Δημήτριον
 ὑπαντιάζοντα Λυσιμάχῳ τὴν κάτω χώραν ἀπο-
 2 λείψειν ἔρημον. ἐκείνης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔδοξε
 κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καλεῖσθαι τοῦ
 μεγάλου, καὶ παραγενόμενος κλινήρῃ μὲν αὐτὸν
 ἰδεῖν, λόγων δὲ χρηστῶν τυχεῖν καὶ φιλοφροσύ-
 νης ἐπαγγελλομένου προθύμως βοηθήσειν. αὐτοῦ
 δὲ τολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, “Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 νοσῶν δυνατὸς εἴης ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν;” αὐτῷ φάναι τῷ 389
 ὀνόματι, καὶ περιβάντα Νισαῖον ἵππον ἡγεῖσθαι.
- 3 Ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν ὄψιν ἐπερρώσθη· τάχει δὲ
 χρησάμενος καὶ διαδραμὼν τὰ μεταξὺ κατα-
 λαμβάνει τὴν Βέροϊαν· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτόθι
 τῆς στρατιᾶς ἰδρύσας τὰ λοιπὰ προσήγετο διὰ
 τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐπεὶ ταῦτα
 ἤκουσε καὶ πονηρὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θόρυβον
 ᾗσθετο τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἔδεισε πορρωτέρω προ-
 αγαγεῖν, μὴ πλησίον γενόμενοι βασιλέως Μακεδό-
 νος καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντος μεταβάλωνται πρὸς αὐτόν.
- 4 ὅθεν ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἦγεν ὡς ξένον
 καὶ μισούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 παρεστρατοπέδευσεν αὐτόθι, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς

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XI. Such letters the kings kept sending to Pyrrhus, and at the same time on their own part they assailed Demetrius while he was still waiting to complete his preparations. Ptolemy sailed up with a great fleet and tried to bring the Greek cities to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded upper Macedonia from Thrace and ravaged the country. So Pyrrhus, taking the field at the same time with these, marched against Beroea, expecting, as proved to be the case, that Demetrius would go to confront Lysimachus, and thus leave the lower country unprotected. That night Pyrrhus dreamed that he was called by Alexander the Great, and that when he answered the call he found the king lying on a couch, but met with kindly speech and friendly treatment from him, and received a promise of his ready aid and help. "And how, O King," Pyrrhus ventured to ask, "when thou art sick, canst thou give me aid and help?" "My name itself will give it," said the king, and mounting a Nisaeon horse he led the way.

This vision gave Pyrrhus great assurance, and leading his army with all speed through the intervening districts he took possession of Beroea; then, stationing the greater part of his forces there, he proceeded to subdue the rest of the country through his generals. When Demetrius heard of this, and became aware of a pernicious uproar in his camp on the part of the Macedonians, he was afraid to lead them farther on, lest on coming into the neighbourhood of a Macedonian king of great renown they should go over to him. Therefore he turned back and led them against Pyrrhus, with the idea that he was a foreigner and hated by the Macedonians. But after he had pitched his camp over against Pyrrhus, many

Βεροίας ἀφικνούμενοι τὸν Πύρρον ἐνεκωμίαζον, ὡς ἄμαχον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ λαμπρὸν ἄνδρα, πρῶως δὲ καὶ φιλανθρώπως τοῖς ἡλωκόσι χρώμενον. ἦσαν δὲ τινες οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐγκαθίει προσποιουμένους εἶναι Μακεδόνας, καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι νῦν καιρὸς ἐστὶ τῆς Δημητρίου βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι, πρὸς ἄνδρα δημοτικὸν καὶ φιλοστρατιώτην μεταβαλομένους τὸν Πύρρον.
 5 ἐκ τούτου τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνηρέθιστο τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἐζήτουν περισκοποῦντες. ἔτυχε γὰρ ἀφηρημένος τὸ κράνος, ἄχρι οὗ συμφρονήσας καὶ πάλιν¹ περιθέμενος ἐγνώσθη τῷ τε λόφῳ διαπρέποντι καὶ τοῖς τραγικοῖς κέρασιν, ὥστε τοὺς Μακεδόνας σύνθημα προστρέχοντας αἰτεῖν, ἄλλους δὲ κλάδους δρυὸς ἀναστέφεισθαι διὰ τὸ
 6 καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνον ἐστεφανωμένους ὁρᾶν· ἤδη δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν τὸν Δημήτριον ὡς ὑπεκστὰς καὶ προέμενος τὰ πράγματα καλῶς δόξει βεβουλεῦσθαι. τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ὅμοιον ὁρῶν τὸ κίνημα τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ φοβηθεὶς κρύφα διεξέπεσε, καυσία τινὶ καὶ λιτῷ χλαμυδίῳ περιστείλας ἑαυτόν. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη Μακεδόνων.

XII. Ἐπιφανέντος δὲ Λυσιμάχου καὶ κοινὸν ἔργον ἀμφοῖν ποιουμένου τὴν Δημητρίου κατάλυσιν καὶ νέμεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀξιούντος, οὐπω πάνυ βεβαίως τοῖς Μακεδόσι πιστεύων ὁ Πύρρος, ἀλλ' ἀμφίβολος ὢν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐδέξατο τοῦ Λυσιμάχου τὴν πρόκλησιν, καὶ διενείμαντο

¹ Before περιθέμενος, with Blass: πάλιν συμφρονήσας.

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Beroeans came thither with loud praises of Pyrrhus ; they said he was invincible in arms and a brilliant hero, and treated his captives with mildness and humanity. There were some also whom Pyrrhus himself sent into the camp ; they pretended to be Macedonians, and said that now was the favourable time to rid themselves of Demetrius and his severity, by going over to Pyrrhus, a man who was gracious to the common folk and fond of his soldiers. In consequence of this, the greater part of the army was all excitement, and went about looking for Pyrrhus ; for it chanced that he had taken off his helmet, and he was not recognised until he bethought himself and put it on again, when its towering crest and its goat's horns made him known to all. Some of the Macedonians therefore ran to him and asked him for his watchword, and others put garlands of oaken boughs about their heads because they saw the soldiers about him garlanded. And presently even to Demetrius himself certain persons ventured to say that if he quietly withdrew and renounced his undertakings men would think that he had taken wise counsel. He saw that this advice tallied with the agitation in the camp, and was frightened, and secretly stole away, after putting on a broad-brimmed hat and a simple soldier's cloak. So Pyrrhus came up, took the camp without a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

XII. But now Lysimachus made his appearance, claimed that the overthrow of Demetrius had been the joint work of both, and demanded a division of the kingdom. So Pyrrhus, who did not yet feel entire confidence in the Macedonians, but was still doubtful about them, accepted the proposition of

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
- 2 τοῦτο δὲ ὦνησε μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ κατέπαυσε
τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔγνωσαν
οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔχθρας, ἀλλ' ἐγκλημάτων καὶ
διαφορᾶς ἀρχὴν πεποιημένοι τὴν νέμῃσιν. οἷς
γὰρ οὐ πέλαγος, οὐκ ὄρος, οὐκ ἀοίκητος ἐρημία
πέρας ἐστὶ πλεονεξίας, οὐδ' οἱ διαιροῦντες Εὐρώ-
πην καὶ Ἀσίαν τέρμονες ὀρίζουσι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας,
πῶς ἂν ἀπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ἀλλήλων ἀτρε-
3 μοίεν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι μὴ ἀδικοῦντες, οὐκ ἔστιν
εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολεμοῦσι μὲν αἰεὶ, τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν
καὶ φθονεῖν ἔμφυτον ἔχοντες, дуεῖν δὲ ὀνομάτων,
ὥσπερ νομισμάτων, πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνης, τῷ
παρατυχόντι χρῶνται πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, οὐ πρὸς
τὸ δίκαιον, ἐπεὶ βελτίους γε πολεμεῖν ὁμολογοῦν-
τές εἰσιν ἢ τῆς ἀδικίας τὸ ἀργοῦν καὶ σχολάζον
4 δικαιοσύνην καὶ φιλίαν ὀνομάζοντες. ἐδήλωσε δὲ
ὁ Πύρρος· ἐμποδὼν γὰρ αὐξομένῳ τῷ Δημητρίῳ
πάλιν ἰστάμενος, καὶ κωλύων τὴν δύναμιν ὥσπερ
ἐξ ἀρρωστίας μεγάλης ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἐβοήθει
τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.
ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ θύσας τῇ θεῷ
καὶ καταβὰς αὐθημερὸν ἀγαπᾶν μὲν ἔφησε τοῦ
δήμου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν καὶ πίστιν, ἂν
μέντοι σωφρονῶσι μηδένα τῶν βασιλέων ἔτι
παρήσειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὰς πύλας
5 ἀνοίξειν· ἐκ τούτου καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον εἰρήνην
ἐποιήσατο, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον, εἰς Ἀσίαν 390
- 378

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Lysimachus, and they divided the cities and the territory with one another. This availed for the present, and prevented war between them, but shortly afterward they perceived that the distribution which they had made did not put an end to their enmity, but gave occasion for complaints and quarrels. "For how men to whose rapacity neither sea nor mountain nor uninhabitable desert sets a limit, men to whose inordinate desires the boundaries which separate Europe and Asia put no stop, can remain content with what they have and do one another no wrong when they are in close touch, it is impossible to say." Nay, they are perpetually at war, because plots and jealousies are parts of their natures, and they treat the two words, war and peace, like current coins, using whichever happens to be for their advantage, regardless of justice; for surely they are better men when they wage war openly than when they give the names of justice and friendship to the times of inactivity and leisure which interrupt their work of injustice. And Pyrrhus made this plain; for, setting himself to hinder the growing power of Demetrius, and trying to prevent its recovery, so to speak, from a serious illness, he went to the help of the Greeks and entered Athens. Here he went up to the acropolis and sacrificed to the goddess, then came down again on the same day, and told the people he was well pleased with the confidence and goodwill which they had shown him, but that in future, if they were wise, they would not admit any one of the kings into their city nor open their gates to him. After this, he actually made peace with Demetrius, but in a little while, when Demetrius had

ἀπάραντος αὐτοῦ, πάλιν πεισθεῖς ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου
Θετταλίαν ἀφίστη καὶ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς φρουραῖς
προσεπολέμει, βελτίοσι χρώμενος τοῖς Μακεδόσι
στρατευομένοις ἢ σχολάζουσι, καὶ ὅλως αὐτὸς
οὐκ εὖ πρὸς ἡσυχίαν πεφυκώς.

Τέλος δὲ Δημητρίου καταπολεμηθέντος ἐν
Συρίᾳ Λυσιμάχος ἐπ' ἀδείας γενόμενος καὶ σχο-
6 λάζων εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον ὤρμησε. καὶ
καθημένου περὶ τὴν Ἑδεσσαν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς
κομιζομέναις ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ κρατήσας ἀπορίαν
πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιέστησεν, εἶτα γράμμασι καὶ
λόγοις διέφθειρε τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν Μακεδόνων,
ὄνειδίζων εἰ ξένον ἄνδρα καὶ προγόνων αἰεὶ δεδου-
λευκόντων Μακεδόσι δεσπότην ἐλόμενοι τοὺς
Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀπωθοῦσι
7 Μακεδονίας. ἀναπειθομένων δὲ πολλῶν δείσας ὁ
Πύρρος ἀπηλλάγη μετὰ τῆς Ἑπειρωτικῆς καὶ
συμμαχικῆς δυνάμεως, ἀποβαλὼν Μακεδονίαν ὧ
τρόπῳ παρέλαβεν. ὅθεν οὐδ' αἰτιάσθαι τοὺς
πολλοὺς ἔχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς μετατιθεμένους
πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον· ἐκείνους γὰρ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα
μιμῶνται ποιῶντες, ἀπιστίας καὶ προδοσίας
διδασκάλους ὄντας, καὶ πλείστα νομίζοντας ὠφε-
λεῖσθαι τὸν ἐλάχιστον τῷ δικαίῳ χρώμενον.

XIII. Τότε δ' οὖν εἰς Ἑπειρον ἐκπεσόντι τῷ
Πύρρῳ καὶ προεμένῳ Μακεδονίαν ἡ μὲν τύχη
παρεῖχε χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπραγμόνως καὶ

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set out for Asia, he once more took the advice of Lysimachus and tried to bring Thessaly to revolt, besides waging war upon the garrisons of Demetrius in the Greek cities. For he found that the Macedonians were better disposed when they were on a campaign than when they were unoccupied, and he himself was by nature entirely averse to keeping quiet.

But at last, after Demetrius had been wholly overthrown in Syria,¹ Lysimachus, who now felt himself secure, and had nothing on his hands, at once set out against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was in camp at Edessa, where Lysimachus fell upon his provision trains and mastered them, thus bringing him to straits; then, by letters and conferences he corrupted the leading Macedonians, upbraiding them because they had chosen as lord and master a man who was a foreigner, whose ancestors had always been subject to Macedonia, and were thrusting the friends and familiars of Alexander out of the country. After many had thus been won over, Pyrrhus took alarm and departed with his Epeirots and allied forces, thus losing Macedonia precisely as he got it.² Whence we see that kings have no reason to find fault with popular bodies for changing sides as suits their interests; for in doing this they are but imitating the kings themselves, who are their teachers in unfaithfulness and treachery, and think him most advantaged who least observes justice.

XIII. At this time, then, when Pyrrhus had been driven back into Epeirus and had given up Macedonia, Fortune put it into his power to enjoy what he had without molestation, to live in peace, and to

¹ At the battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C. Cf. the *Demetrius*, chapter xlv. ² Cf. chapter xi.

ζῆν ἐν εἰρήνῃ βασιλεύοντα τῶν οἰκείων· ὁ δὲ τὸ μὴ παρέχειν ἑτέροις κακὰ μηδὲ ἔχειν ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἄλυν τινα ναυτιώδη νομίζων, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν σχολήν,

ἀλλὰ φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ
αὐθι μένων, ποθέεσκε δ' αὐτὴν τε πτόλεμόν τε.

δεόμενος δ' οὖν ἔλαβε πραγμάτων καινῶν τοιαύ-
2 τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Ῥωμαῖοι Ταραντίνοις ἐπολέμουν· οἱ δὲ μήτε φέρειν τὸν πόλεμον δυνάμενοι μήτε θέσθαι θρασύτητι καὶ μοχθηρίᾳ δημαγωγῶν, ἐβουλευόντο ποιεῖσθαι Πύρρον ἡγεμόνα καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς σχολὴν ἄγοντα πλείστην τῶν βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγὸν ὄντα δεινότατον. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων πολιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἀντικρυς ἐνιστάμενοι πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἐξέπιπτον ὑπὸ κραυγῆς καὶ βίας τῶν πολεμοποιῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὀρώντες
3 ἀπέλειπον τὰς ἐκκλησίας. εἰς δὲ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικής, Μέτων ὄνομα, τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ἧ τὸ δόγμα κυροῦν ἔμελλον ἐνστάσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου καθεζομένου, λαβὼν στέφανον τῶν ἐώλων καὶ λαμπάδιον, ὥσπερ οἱ μεθύοντες, αὐλητρίδος ὑψηγουμένης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκώμαζεν. οἷα δὲ ἐν ὄχλῳ δημοκρατίας κόσμον οὐκ ἐχούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκρότουν ἰδόντες, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλων, ἐκώλυε δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γύναιον αὐλεῖν κακέεινον ἄδειν ἐκέλευον εἰς μέσον¹ προελθόντα·² καὶ τοῦτο
4 ποιήσων ἐπίδοξος ἦν. γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς

¹ εἰς μέσον with Blass and most MSS : μέσον.
προελθόντα Blass, after Reiske : προσελθόντα.

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reign over his own people. But he thought it tedious to the point of nausea if he were not inflicting mischief on others or suffering it at others' hands, and like Achilles could not endure idleness,

"but ate his heart away
Remaining there, and pined for war-cry and battle."¹

Filled with such desires, then, he found ground for fresh undertakings in the following circumstances. The Romans were at war with the people of Tarentum, who, being able neither to carry on the war, nor yet, owing to the rashness and villainy of their popular leaders, to put an end to it, wished to make Pyrrhus their leader and summon him to the war, believing him to be most at leisure of all the kings, and a most formidable general. Of the elderly and sensible citizens, some who were directly opposed to this plan were overborne by the clamour and violence of the war party, and others, seeing this, absented themselves from the assembly. But there was a certain worthy man, Meton by name, who, when the day on which the decree was to be ratified was at hand and the people were taking their seats in the assembly, took a withered garland and a torch, after the way of revellers, and came dancing in behind a flute-girl who led the way for him. Then, as will happen in a throng of free people not given to decorum, some clapped their hands at sight of him, and others laughed, but none tried to stop him; nay, they bade the woman play on her flute and called upon Meton to come forward and give them a song; and it was expected that he would do so. But when silence had been made,

¹ *Iliad*, i. 491 f.

“Ἄνδρες,” ἔφη, “Ταραντῖνοι, καλῶς ποιεῖτε παίζεин καὶ κωμάζειν, ἕως ἔξεστι, τοῖς βουλομένοις μὴ φθονοῦντες. εἰ δὲ σωφρονῆτε, καὶ πάντες ἀπολαύσετε ἐτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὥς ἕτερα πράγματα καὶ βίον καὶ δίαιταν ἔχοντες ὅταν Πύρρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγένηται.” ταῦτα ῥηθέντα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔπεισε τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ θροῦς διέδραμε τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὥς εὖ λεγο-
 5 μένων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δεδιότες, μὴ γενομένης εἰρήνης ἐκδοθῶσι, τὸν τε δῆμον ἐλοιδοροῦν εἰ φέρει πράως ἐπικωμαζόμενος οὕτως ἀσελγῶς καὶ παροινούμενος, τὸν τε Μέτωνα συστραφέντες ἐξέβαλον.

Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ δόγματος κυρίου γενομένου πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἥπειρον, οὐχ αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν, δῶρα τῷ Πύρρῳ κομίζοντας καὶ λέγοντας ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἔμφρονος
 6 δέονται καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντος, δυνάμεις δὲ αὐτόθεν ὑπάρξουσιν μεγάλαι παρά τε Λευκανῶν καὶ Μεσσαπίων καὶ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Ταραντίνων εἰς δισμυρίους ἱππεῖς, πεζῶν δὲ ὁμοῦ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας. ταῦτα οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπῆρε τὸν Πύρρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἥπειρώταις προθυμίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ὁρμὴν τῆς στρατείας.

XIV. Ἦν δέ τις Κινέας, Θεσσαλὸς ἀνὴρ, τῷ μὲν φρονεῖν δοκῶν ἱκανὸς εἶναι, Δημοσθένους δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀκηκοὺς ἐδόκει μόνος εὖ μάλιστα¹ τῶν τότε λεγόντων οἷον ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως καὶ δεινότητος ἀναμιμνήσκων τοὺς

¹ μόνος εὖ μάλιστα Sintenis, with Sg; Bekker corrects εἰς to ἡ (alone or most), after Bryan and Reiske, and is followed by Blass; AC have μάλιστα εὖ μόνος.

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he said: "Men of Tarentum, ye do well not to frown upon those who wish to sport and revel, while they can. And if ye are wise, ye will all also get some enjoyment still out of your freedom, assured that ye will have other business and a different life and diet when Pyrrhus has come into the city." These words brought conviction to most of the Tarentines, and a murmur of applause ran through the assembly. But those who were afraid that if peace were made they would be given up to the Romans, reviled the people for tamely submitting to such shameless treatment from a drunken reveller, and banding together they cast Meton out:¹

And so the decree was ratified, and the people sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus,² not only from their own number, but also from the Italian Greeks. These brought gifts to Pyrrhus, and told him they wanted a leader of reputation and prudence, and that he would find there large forces gathered from Lucania, Messapia, Samnium, and Tarentum, amounting to twenty thousand horse and three hundred and fifty thousand foot all told. This not only exalted Pyrrhus himself, but also inspired the Epeirots with eagerness to undertake the expedition.

XIV. Now, there was a certain Cineas, a man of Thessaly, with a reputation for great wisdom, who had been a pupil of Demosthenes the orator, and was quite the only public speaker of his day who was thought to remind his hearers, as a statue might, of that great orator's power and ability. Associating

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal., *Excerpta ex lib. xix.*, 8.

² In the summer of 281 B.C.

ἀκούοντας. συνὼν δὲ τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ πεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐβεβαίον τὸ Εὐριπίδειον,¹ ὅτι “πᾶν ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος

ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν.”

- 2 ὁ γοῦν Πύρρος ἔλεγε πλείονας πόλεις ὑπὸ Κινέου τοῖς λόγοις ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ προσήχθαι καὶ διετέλει τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ χρώμενος. οὗτος οὖν τὸν Πύρρον ὠρμημένον τότε ὀρών ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰς λόγους ἐπηγάγετο τοιούτους, ἰδὼν σχολάζοντα. “Πολεμισταὶ μὲν, ὦ Πύρρε, Ῥωμαῖοι λέγονται καὶ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν μαχίμων ἄρχοντες· εἰ δὲ δοίῃ θεὸς περιγενέσθαι
- 3 τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τί χρησόμεθα τῇ νίκῃ;” καὶ ὁ Πύρρος, “Ἐρωτᾶς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Κινέα, πρᾶγμα φαινόμενον· οὔτε βάρβαρος ἡμῖν ἐκεῖ πόλις οὔτε Ἑλληνὶς ἀξιόμαχος Ῥωμαίων κρατηθέντων, ἀλλ’ ἐξομεν εὐθύς Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν, ἧς μέγεθος καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλῃ πού τιμι μᾶλλον ἀγνοεῖν ἢ σοὶ προσήκει.” μικρὸν οὖν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Κινέας, “Ἰταλίαν δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, λαβόντες, τί
- 4 ποιήσομεν;” καὶ ὁ Πύρρος οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καθορῶν, “Ἐγγύς,” εἶπεν, “ἡ Σικελία χεῖρας ὀρέγει, νῆσος εὐδαίμων καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἀλῶναι δὲ ῥάστη· στάσις γάρ, ὦ Κινέα, πάντα νῦν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀναρχία πόλεων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ὀξύτης Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐκλελοιπότης.” “Εἰκότα,” ἔφη, “λέγεις,” ὁ Κινέας· “ἀλλ’ ἢ τοῦτο πέρας
- 5 ἡμῖν τῆς στρατείας, λαβεῖν Σικελίαν;” “Θεός,”

¹

πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος

ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν.

(Phoenissae, 517 f., Kirchhoff.)

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himself with Pyrrhus, and sent by him as ambassador to the cities, he confirmed the saying of Euripides, to wit, "all can be won by eloquence

That even the sword of warring enemies might gain."

At any rate, Pyrrhus used to say that more cities had been won for him by the eloquence of Cineas than by his own arms; and he continued to hold Cineas in especial honour and to demand his services. It was this Cineas, then, who, seeing that Pyrrhus was eagerly preparing an expedition at this time to Italy, and finding him at leisure for the moment, drew him into the following discourse. "The Romans, O Pyrrhus, are said to be good fighters, and to be rulers of many warlike nations; if, then, Heaven should permit us to conquer these men, how should we use our victory?" And Pyrrhus said: "Thy question, O Cineas, really needs no answer; the Romans once conquered, there is neither barbarian nor Greek city there which is a match for us, but we shall at once possess all Italy, the great size and richness and importance of which no man should know better than thyself." After a little pause, then, Cineas said: "And after taking Italy, O King, what are we to do?" And Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his intention, replied: "Sicily is near, and holds out her hands to us, an island abounding in wealth and men, and very easy to capture, for all is faction there, her cities have no government, and demagogues are rampant now that Agathocles is gone." "What thou sayest," replied Cineas, "is probably true; but will our expedition stop with the taking of Sicily?" "Heaven grant us," said Pyrrhus,

- ἔφη ὁ Πύρρος, “νικᾶν διδῶν καὶ κατορθοῦν·
τούτοις δὲ προάγωσι χρησόμεθα πραγμάτων
μεγάλων. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀπόσχοιτο Λιβύης καὶ
Καρχηδόνος ἐν ἐφικτῷ γενομένης, ἣν Ἀγαθοκλῆς
ἀποδράς ἐκ Συρακουσῶν κρύφα καὶ περάσας
ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις λαβεῖν παρ’ οὐδὲν ἦλθεν; ὅτι δὲ
τουτων κρατήσασιν ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς ἀντιστήσεται τῶν
νῦν ὑβριζόντων πολεμίων, τί ἂν λέγοι τις;”
- 6 “Οὐδέν,” ὁ Κινέας εἶπε· “δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ
Μακεδονίαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν
ὑπάρξει βεβαίως ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως.
γενομένων δὲ πάντων ὑφ’ ἡμῖν, τί ποιήσομεν;”
καὶ ὁ Πύρρος ἐπιγελάσας, “Σχολήν,” ἔφη,
“ἄξομεν πολλήν, καὶ κώθων, ὧ μακάριε, καθη-
μερινὸς ἔσται, καὶ διὰ λόγων συνόντες ἀλλήλους
7 εὐφρανοῦμεν.” ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν λόγων καταστήσας
τὸν Πύρρον ὁ Κινέας, “Εἴτα,” ἔφη, “τί νῦν
ἐμποδῶν ἔστιν ἡμῖν βουλομένοις κώθωνι χρῆσθαι
καὶ σχολάζειν μετ’ ἀλλήλων, εἰ ταῦτα ἔχομεν
ἤδη καὶ πάρεστιν ἀπραγμόνως ἐφ’ ἃ δι’ αἵματος
καὶ πόνων μεγάλων καὶ κινδύνων μέλλομεν ἀφί-
ξεσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ δράσαντες ἐτέρους κακὰ καὶ
παθόντες;”
- 8 Τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἠνίασε μᾶλλον ἢ μετέθηκε
τὸν Πύρρον ὁ Κινέας, νοήσαντα μὲν ὅσῃν ἀπέ-
λειπεν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὧν δὲ ὠρέγετο τὰς ἐλπίδας
ἀφείναι μὴ δυνάμενον.

XV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπέστειλε τὸν Κινεάν
τοῖς Ταραντίνοις στρατιώτας ἄγοντα τρισχιλίους·

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"victory and success so far; and we will make these contests but the preliminaries of great enterprises. For who could keep his hands off Libya, or Carthage, when that city got within his reach, a city which Agathocles, slipping stealthily out of Syracuse and crossing the sea with a few ships, narrowly missed taking? And when we have become masters here, no one of the enemies who now treat us with scorn will offer further resistance; there is no need of saying that." "None whatever," said Cineas, "for it is plain that with so great a power we shall be able to recover Macedonia and rule Greece securely. But when we have got everything subject to us, what are we going to do?" Then Pyrrhus smiled upon him and said: "We shall be much at ease, and we'll drink bumpers, my good man, every day, and we'll gladden one another's hearts with confidential talks." And now that Cineas had brought Pyrrhus to this point in the argument, he said: "Then what stands in our way now if we want to drink bumpers and while away the time with one another? Surely this privilege is ours already, and we have at hand, without taking any trouble, those things to which we hope to attain by bloodshed and great toils and perils, after doing much harm to others and suffering much ourselves."

By this reasoning of Cineas Pyrrhus was more troubled than he was converted; he saw plainly what great happiness he was leaving behind him, but was unable to renounce his hopes of what he eagerly desired.

XV. First, then, he sent Cineas to Tarentum with three thousand soldiers; next, after numerous

ἔπειτα πολλῶν ἱππηγῶν καὶ καταφράκτων καὶ πορθμείων παντοδαπῶν ἐκ Τάραντος κομισθέντων ἐνεβίβαζεν ἐλέφαντας εἴκοσι καὶ τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς, πεζοὺς δὲ δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας πεντακοσίους. γενομένων δὲ πάντων ἐτοιμῶν ἀναχθεὶς ἔπλει· καὶ μέσον ἔχων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀρπάζεται βορέα ἀνέμῳ
 2 παρ' ὧραν ἐκραγέντι. καὶ βιασθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀρετῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ ναυτῶν καὶ κυβερνητῶν ἐξανέφερε καὶ προσανήγε τῇ γῇ πολυπόνως καὶ παράβολως, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου στόλου συγχυθέντος καὶ τῶν νεῶν σκεδασθεισῶν αἱ μὲν ἀποσφαλεῖσαι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος, τὰς δὲ ὑπερβαλεῖν μὴ δυνηθείσας ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν νύξ τε κατελάμβανε, καὶ πολλὴ καὶ χαλεπὴ θάλασσα παίουσα πρὸς χωρία δύσορμα καὶ τυφλὰ πάσας διέφθειρε πλὴν
 3 τῆς βασιλικῆς. αὕτη δὲ πλαγίου¹ μὲν ἔτι ὄντος τοῦ κύματος ἡμύνετο καὶ διέφευγε μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς θαλάσσης· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιελθὼν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀπῆντα τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κίνδυνον εἶχεν ἢ ναῦς ἀντίπρωρος ἰσταμένη πρὸς κλύδωνα πολλὴν διαρραγῆναι, τὸ δὲ ἐφέντας αὐθις ἡγριωμένῳ πελάγει καὶ πνεύματι τροπὰς λαμβάνοντι παντοδαπὰς φέρεσθαι φοβερώτερον ἐφαίνετο τῶν παρόντων κακῶν, ἄρας ὁ Πύρρος αὐτὸν
 4 ἀφῆκεν εἰς θάλασσαν, καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων εὐθὺς ἦν ἄμιλλα καὶ προθυμία περὶ αὐτόν. ἡ δὲ νύξ καὶ τὸ κύμα μετὰ ψόφου μεγάλου καὶ τραχείας ἀνακοπῆς χαλεπὴν ἐποίει τὴν βοήθειαν, ὥστε μόλις ἡμέρας ἧδη

¹ πλαγίου with Sintenis¹, Blass, and the MSS.: πελαγίου.

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cavalry-transports, decked vessels, and passage-boats of every sort had been brought over from Tarentum, he put on board of them twenty elephants and three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers. When all was ready, he put out and set sail ; but when he was half way across the Ionian sea he was swept away by a north wind that burst forth out of all season. In spite of its violence he himself, through the bravery and ardour of his seamen and captains, held out and made the land, though with great toil and danger ; but the rest of the fleet was thrown into confusion and the ships were scattered. Some of them missed Italy and were driven off into the Libyan and Sicilian sea ; others, unable to round the Iapygian promontory, were overtaken by night, and a heavy and violent sea, which drove them upon harbourless and uncertain shores, and destroyed them all except the royal galley. She, as long as the waves drove upon her side, held her own, and was saved by her great size and strength from the blows of the water ; but soon the wind veered round and met her from the shore, and the ship was in danger of being crushed by the heavy surges if she stood prow on against them. However, to allow her again to be tossed about by an angry open sea and by blasts of wind that came from all directions, was thought to be more fearful than their present straits. Pyrrhus therefore sprang up and threw himself into the sea, and his friends and bodyguards were at once emulously eager to help him. But night and the billows with their heavy crashing and violent recoil made assistance difficult, so that it was not until day

μαραινομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
τὴν γῆν, τῷ μὲν σώματι παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτως
ἔχοντα, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνταίροντα
5 πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἅμα δὲ οἱ τε Μεσσάπιοι,
καθ' οὓς ἐξεβράσθη, συνέθεον βοηθοῦντες ἐκ τῶν
παρόντων προθύμως, καὶ προσεφέροντο τῶν
σωζομένων ἔναι νεῶν, ἐν αἷς ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν
ὀλίγοι παντάπασι, πεζοὶ δὲ δισχιλίῳν ἐλάττους,
ἐλέφαντες δὲ δύο.

XVI. Τούτους ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Πύρρος ἐβάδιζεν
εἰς Τάραντα. καὶ τοῦ Κινέου προαγαγόντος εἰς
ἀπάντησιν, ὡς ἦσθετο, τοὺς στρατιώτας, παρελ-
θὼν οὐδὲν ἀκόντων οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν ἔπραττε τῶν
Ταραντίνων, ἕως ἀνεσώθησαν αἱ νῆες ἐκ τῆς
θαλάττης καὶ συνῆλθεν ἡ πλείστη τῆς δυνάμεως.
2 τηνικαῦτα δὲ ὁρῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἄνευ μεγάλης
ἀνάγκης μήτε σώζεσθαι δυνάμενον μήτε σώζειν,
ἀλλ' οἷον ἐκείνου προπολεμοῦντος οἴκοι καθῆσθαι
περὶ λουτρὰ καὶ συνουσίας γενομένον, ἀπέκλεισε
μὲν τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τοὺς περιπάτους, ἐν οἷς
ἀλύοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων λόγῳ διεστρατή-
γουν, πότους δὲ καὶ κώμους καὶ θαλίας ἀκαίρους
ἀνεῖλεν, ἐκάλει δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ περὶ τοὺς
καταλόγους τῶν στρατευομένων ἀπαραίτητος
ἦν καὶ λυπηρός, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
ἀπελθεῖν ἀθηεῖα τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι δουλείαν τὸ μὴ
πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζῆν καλοῦντας.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λαιβίνος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπατος
ἡγγέλλετο πολλῇ στρατιᾷ χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἅμα

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had already come and the wind was dying away that he succeeded in gaining the shore, in body altogether powerless, but with boldness and strength of spirit still making head against his distress. The Messapians, among whom he had been cast forth, ran together with eager offers to assist as well as they could, and at the same time some of his ships that had escaped the storm came up; in these there were but a few horsemen all told, less than two thousand footmen, and two elephants.

XVI. With these Pyrrhus set out for Tarentum, where Cineas, on learning of his approach, led out his soldiers to meet him. Entering the city, he did nothing that was against the wishes of the Tarentines, nor did he put any compulsion upon them, until his ships came back in safety from the sea and the greater part of his forces were assembled. Then, however, seeing that the multitude were incapable, unless under strong constraint, of either saving themselves or saving others, but were inclined to let him do their fighting for them while they remained at home in the enjoyment of their baths and social festivities, he closed up the gymnasia and the public walks, where, as they strolled about, they fought out their country's battles in talk; he also put a stop to drinking-bouts, revels, and festivals, as unseasonable, called the men to arms, and was stern and inexorable in his enrolment of them for military service. Many therefore left the city, since they were not accustomed to being under orders, and called it servitude not to live as they pleased.

And now word was brought to Pyrrhus that Laevinus the Roman consul was coming against him

τὴν Λευκανίαν διαπορθῶν, οὐδέπω μὲν οἱ σύμ-
 μαχοι παρήσαν αὐτῷ, δεινὸν δὲ ποιούμενος
 ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ περιιδεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγυ-
 τέρῳ προϊόντας ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, προ-
 πέμψας κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰ φίλον
 ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς πρὸ πολέμου δίκας λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν
 Ἰταλιωτῶν, αὐτῷ δικαστῇ καὶ διαλλακτῇ χρησα-
 4 μένους. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Λαιβίνου μήτε
 διαλλακτὴν Πύρρον αἰρεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους μήτε
 δεδοικέναι πολέμιον, προελθὼν κατεστρατο-
 πέδευσεν ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ πεδίῳ Πανδοσίας πόλεως
 καὶ Ἡρακλείας. πυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
 ἐγγὺς εἶναι καὶ πέραν τοῦ Σίριος ποταμοῦ κατα-
 στρατοπεδεύειν, προσίππευσε τῷ ποταμῷ θέας
 393 ἔνεκα· καὶ κατιδὼν τάξιν τε καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ
 κόσμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς στρατοπεδείας
 5 ἐθαύμασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων προσαγορεύσας τὸν
 ἐγγυτάτῳ, “Τάξις μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Μεγάκλεις,
 αὕτη τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ βάρβαρος, τὸ δὲ ἔργον
 εἰσόμεθα.” καὶ διὰ φροντίδος ἔχων ἤδη τὸ
 μέλλον ἔγνω τοὺς συμμάχους ἀναμένειν, τοῖς δὲ
 Ῥωμαίοις, ἂν πρότερον ἐπιχειρῶσι διαβαίνειν,
 ἐπέστησε φυλακὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν
 6 εἵρξουσιν. οἱ δέ, ἅπερ ἐκείνος ἔγνω περιμένειν,
 φθῆναι σπεύδοντες, ἐνεχείρουν τῇ διαβάσει, κατὰ
 πόρον μὲν οἱ πεζοί, πολλαχόθεν δὲ οἱ ἰππεῖς
 διεξελαύνοντες τὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε δείσαντας τὴν
 κύκλωσιν ἀναχωρεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, αἰσθόμενον
 δὲ τὸν Πύρρον καὶ διαταραχθέντα τοῖς μὲν
 ἡγεμόσι τοῦ πεζοῦ παρεγγυᾶν εὐθύς εἰς τάξιν
 καθίστασθαι καὶ περιμένειν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, αὐτὸν

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with a large army and plundering Lucania as he came. Pyrrhus had not yet been joined by his allies, but thinking it an intolerable thing to hold back and suffer his enemies to advance any nearer, he took the field with his forces, having first sent a herald to the Romans with the enquiry whether it was their pleasure, before waging war, to receive satisfaction from the Italian Greeks, employing him as arbiter and mediator. But Laevinus made answer that the Romans neither chose Pyrrhus as a mediator nor feared him as a foe. Pyrrhus therefore went forward and pitched his camp in the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heracleia. When he learned that the Romans were near and lay encamped on the further side of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to get a view of them; and when he had observed their discipline, the appointment of their watches, their order, and the general arrangement of their camp, he was amazed, and said to the friend who was nearest him: "The discipline of these Barbarians is not barbarous; but the result will show us what it amounts to." He was now less confident of the issue, and determined to wait for his allies; but he stationed a guard on the bank of the river to check the Romans if, in the meantime, they should attempt to cross it. The Romans, however, anxious to anticipate the coming of the forces which Pyrrhus had decided to await, attempted the passage, their infantry crossing the river by a ford, and their cavalry dashing through the water at many points, so that the Greeks on guard, fearing that they would be surrounded, withdrew. When Pyrrhus saw this, he was greatly disturbed, and charging his infantry officers to form in line of battle at once and stand

δὲ τοῖς ἵππεῦσι παρεξελάσαι τρισχιλίοις οὖσιν,
 ἐλπίζοντα διαβαίνοντας ἔτι καὶ διεσπασμένους
 7 ἀτάκτους λήψεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· ἐπεὶ δ'
 ἑώρα θυρεοὺς τε πολλοὺς ὑπερφαινομένους τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἐπελαύνοντας ἐν τάξει,
 συστρέψας ἐνέβαλε πρῶτος, αὐτόθεν τε περίοπτος
 ὦν ὅπλων κάλλει καὶ λαμπρότητι κεκοσμημένων
 περιττῶς, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔργοις οὐκ
 ἀποδέουσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς· μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι τὰς
 χεῖρας καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρέχων τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ τοὺς
 καθ' αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενος ἐρρωμένως οὐ συνεχεῖτο
 8 τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδὲ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἐξέπιπτεν, ἀλλ'
 ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν ἐφορῶν διεκυβέρνηα τὸν πόλεμον,
 αὐτὸς μεταθέων ἐκασταχόσε καὶ παραβοηθῶν
 τοῖς ἐκβιάζεσθαι δοκοῦσιν.

Ἐνθα δὴ Λεοννάτος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἄνδρα κατιδὼν
 Ἰταλὸν ἐπέχοντα τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ τὸν ἵππον
 ἀντιπαρεξάγοντα καὶ συμμαθιστάμενον αἰεὶ καὶ
 συγκινούμενον, “Ὁρᾶς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν
 βάρβαρον ἐκείνου, ὃν ὁ μέλας ἵππος ὁ λευκόπους
 φέρει; μέγα τι βουλευομένῳ καὶ δεινὸν ὁμοίος
 9 ἔστι. σοὶ γὰρ ἐνορᾷ καὶ πρὸς σὲ τέταται
 πνεύματος μεστὸς ὢν καὶ θυμοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
 ἑᾷ χαίρειν. ἀλλὰ σὺ φυλάττου τὸν ἄνδρα.”
 καὶ ὁ Πύρρος ἀπεκρίνατο, “Τὸ μὲν εἰμαρμένον, ὦ
 Λεοννάτε, διαφυγεῖν ἀδύνατον· χαίρων δὲ οὔτε
 οὔτος οὔτ' ἄλλος τις Ἰταλῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἡμῖν
 σύνεισιν.” ἔτι ταῦτα προσδιαλεγομένων ὁ
 Ἰταλὸς διαλαβὼν τὸ δόρυ καὶ συστρέψας τὸν

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under arms, he himself rode out with his three thousand horsemen, hoping to come upon the Romans while they were still crossing, and to find them scattered and in disorder. But when he saw a multitude of shields gleaming on the bank of the river and the cavalry advancing upon him in good order, he formed his men in close array and led them to the attack. He was conspicuous at once for the beauty and splendour of his richly ornamented armour, and showed by his deeds that his valour did not belie his fame; and this most of all because, while actively participating in the fight and vigorously repelling his assailants, he did not become confused in his calculations nor lose his presence of mind, but directed the battle as if he were surveying it from a distance, darting hither and thither himself and bringing aid to those whom he thought to be overwhelmed.

Here Leonnatus the Macedonian, observing that an Italian was intent upon Pyrrhus, and was riding out against him and following him in every movement from place to place, said: "Seest thou, O King, that Barbarian yonder, riding the black horse with white feet? He looks like a man who has some great and terrible design in mind. For he keeps his eyes fixed upon thee, and is intent to reach thee with all his might and main, and pays no heed to anybody else. So be on thy guard against the man." To him Pyrrhus made reply: "What is fated, O Leonnatus, it is impossible to escape; but with impunity neither he nor any other Italian shall come to close quarters with me." While they were still conversing thus, the Italian levelled his spear, wheeled his horse, and

- 10 ἵππον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον. εἶτα ἅμα παίει μὲν αὐτὸς τῷ δόρατι τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἵππον, παίει δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου παραβαλὼν ὁ Λεοννάτος. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ἵππων πεσόντων τὸν μὲν Πύρρον οἱ φίλοι περισχόντες ἀνήρπασαν, τὸν δὲ Ἰταλὸν μαχόμενον διέφθειραν. ἦν δὲ τῷ γένει Φρεντανός, ἱλῆς ἡγεμών, Ὀπλακος ὄνομα.

- XVII. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐδίδαξε τὸν Πύρρον μᾶλλον φυλάττεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ὁρῶν ἐνδιδόντας μετεπέμπετο τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ παρέταττεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα παραδούς ἐνὶ τῶν ἐταίρων Μεγακλεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ἐκείνου τρόπον τινὰ κατακρίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπήγε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. δεξαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ συμβαλόντων χρόνου τε πολὺν εἰστήκει τὰ τῆς μάχης ἄκριτα, καὶ τροπὰς ἐπτὰ λέγεται φευγόντων ἀνάπαλιν καὶ
 2 διωκόντων γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ διάμειψις τῶν ὀπλων ἐν καιρῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ γεγονυῖα τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἀνατρέψαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν νίκην. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐφιεμένων τοῦ Μεγακλέους, ὁ πρῶτος πατάξας καὶ καταβαλὼν αὐτόν, ὄνομα Δεξόος, ἀφαρπάσας τὸ κράνος καὶ τὴν χλαμύδα τῷ Λαιβίνῳ προσίππευσεν ἀναδεικνύων ἅμα καὶ βοῶν ἀνῆρη-
 3 κέναι τὸν Πύρρον. ἦν οὖν παρὰ τὰς τάξεις τῶν λαφύρων παραφερομένων καὶ ἀναδεικνυμένων τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις χαρὰ μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀθυμία καὶ κατάπληξις, ἄχρι οὗ μαθὼν ὁ Πύρρος τὸ γινόμενον παρήλαυε γυμνῷ τῷ 394 προσώπῳ τὴν τε δεξιὰν ὀρέγων τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ τῇ φωνῇ σημαίνων ἑαυτόν. τέλος δὲ τῶν

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charged upon Pyrrhus. Then at the same instant the Barbarian's spear smote the king's horse, and his own horse was smitten by the spear of Leonnatus. Both horses fell, but while Pyrrhus was seized and rescued by his friends, the Italian, fighting to the last, was killed. He was a Frentanian by race, captain of a troop of horse, Oplax by name.¹

XVII. This taught Pyrrhus to be more on his guard; and seeing that his cavalry were giving way, he called up his phalanx and put it in array, while he himself, after giving his cloak and armour to one of his companions, Megacles, and hiding himself after a fashion behind his men, charged with them upon the Romans. But they received and engaged him, and for a long time the issue of the battle remained undecided; it is said that there were seven turns of fortune, as each side either fled back or pursued. And indeed the exchange of armour which the king had made, although it was opportune for the safety of his person, came near overthrowing his cause and losing him the victory. For many of the enemy assailed Megacles, and the foremost of them, Dexoüs by name, smote him and laid him low, and then, snatching away his helmet and cloak, rode up to Laevinus, displaying them, and shouting as he did so that he had killed Pyrrhus. Accordingly, as the spoils were carried along the ranks and displayed, there was joy and shouting among the Romans, and among the Greeks consternation and dejection, until Pyrrhus, learning what was the matter, rode along his line with his face bare, stretching out his hand to the combatants and giving them to know him by his voice. At last, when the Romans were more than

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal., *Excerpta ex lib. xix.*, 12.

θηρίων ἐκβιαζομένων μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τῶν ἵππων, πρὶν ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι, δυσανασχετούντων καὶ παραφερόντων τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν Θετταλικὴν ἵππον αὐτοῖς ταρασσομένοις ἐτρέψατο πολλῷ φόνῳ.

- 4 Διονύσιος μὲν οὖν ὀλίγῳ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάσσονας πεσεῖν ἱστορεῖ Ῥωμαίων, Ἱερώννυμος δὲ μόνους ἐπτακισχιλίους, τῶν δὲ περὶ Πύρρον ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Ἱερώννυμος ἐλάττονας τῶν τετρακισχιλίων· κράτιστοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι· καὶ τῶν φίλων ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἷς μάλιστα χρώ-
- 5 μενος διετέλει καὶ πιστεύων ἀπέβαλεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλαβε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκλιπόντων, καὶ πόλεις συμμαχίδας αὐτῶν προσηγάγετο, καὶ χώραν πολλὴν διεπόρθησε, καὶ προῆλθεν ὅσον μὴ πλεόν σταδίων τριακοσίῳ ἀποσχεῖν τῆς Ῥώμης. ἀφίκοντο δὲ αὐτῷ Λευκανῶν τε πολλοὶ καὶ Σαννιτῶν μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οὓς ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὑστερήσαντας, ἦν δὲ δῆλος ἡδόμενος καὶ μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι μόνοις τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ταραντίνους ἐκράτησε τῆς μεγάλης Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως.

XVIII. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Λαιβῖνον μὲν οὐκ ἀπήλλαξαν τῆς ἀρχῆς. καίτοι λέγεται Γάϊον Φαβρίκιον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ Ἠπειρώται Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ Πύρρος νενικήκοι Λαιβῖνον, οἰόμενοι οὐ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς στρατηγίας γεγονέναι τὴν ἡτταν· ἀναπληροῦντες δὲ τὰς τάξεις καὶ συντάττοντες ἐτέρας προθύμως, καὶ λόγους ἀδεεῖς καὶ σοβαροὺς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου λέγοντες, ἐκπληξιν τῷ Πύρρῳ

2 παρείχον. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πέμψαντι πρότερον

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ever crowded back by the elephants, and their horses, before they got near the animals, were terrified and ran away with their riders, Pyrrhus brought his Thessalian cavalry upon them while they were in confusion and routed them with great slaughter.

Dionysius states that nearly fifteen thousand of the Romans fell, but Hieronymus says only seven thousand; on the side of Pyrrhus, thirteen thousand fell, according to Dionysius, but according to Hieronymus less than four thousand. These, however, were his best troops; and besides, Pyrrhus lost the friends and generals whom he always used and trusted most. However, he took the camp of the Romans after they had abandoned it, and won over to his side some of their allied cities; he also wasted much territory, and advanced until he was within three hundred furlongs' distance from Rome. And now, after the battle, there came to him many of the Lucanians and Samnites. These he censured for being late, but it was clear that he was pleased and proud because with his own troops and the Tarantines alone he had conquered the great force of the Romans.

XVIII. The Romans did not depose Laevinus from his consular office; and yet we are told that Caius Fabricius declared that it was not the Epeirots who had conquered the Romans, but Pyrrhus who had conquered Laevinus, Fabricius being of the opinion that the Roman defeat was not due to their army, but to its general; but they lost no time in filling up their depleted legions and raising others, used fearless and vehement language about the war, and thus filled Pyrrhus with consternation. He decided, therefore, to send to them first and find out whether they were

- διάπειραν λαβεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰ συμβατικῶς ἔχοιεν, ἡγουμένῳ τὸ μὲν ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κρατῆσαι παντάπασιν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον οὐδὲ τῆς παρούσης δυνάμεως εἶναι, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις κάλλιστα ἔχειν πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῷ μετὰ νίκην. πεμφθεὶς οὖν ὁ Κινέας ἐνετύγχανε τοῖς δυνατοῖς, καὶ δῶρα παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ γυναιξὶν
- 3 ἔπεμψε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔλαβε δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίναντο πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι ὅτι δημοσίᾳ σπονδῶν γενομένων καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρξει πρόθυμα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ κεχαρισμένα. πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ Κινέου πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθέντος, ἄσμενοι μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐτοίμως ἐδέχοντο, καίπερ ἄνδρας τε τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ δίχα λύτρων ἀφιέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ συγκατεργάσασθαι τὴν
- 4 Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγγελλομένου, φιλίαν δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἄδειαν, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν αἰτουμένου. δῆλοί γε μὴν ἦσαν ἐνδιδόντες οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην, ἡττημένοι τε μεγάλη μάχῃ καὶ προσδοκῶντες ἑτέραν ἀπὸ μείζονος δυνάμεως, τῶν Ἰταλικῶν τῷ Πύρρῳ προσγεγονό-
- 5 των. ἔνθα δὴ Κλαύδιος Ἀππίος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, ὑπὸ δὲ γήρως ἅμα καὶ πηρώσεως ὁμμάτων ἀπειρηκῶς πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ πεπαυμένος, ἀπαγγελλομένων τότε τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λόγου κατασχόντος ὥς μέλλει ψηφίζεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις ἢ σύγκλητος, οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεράποντας ἄρασθαι κελεύσας αὐτὸν ἐκομίζετο πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐν φορείῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς.
- 6 γενόμενον δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἅμα τοῖς γαμβροῖς ὑπολαβόντες καὶ περισχόντες

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disposed to come to terms, for he regarded the capture of their city and their complete conquest as a large task and one that was beyond his present force, whereas a friendly settlement with them after a victory would greatly enhance his reputation. Accordingly, Cineas was sent to Rome, where he had conferences with the men in authority, and sent their wives and children gifts in the name of his king. No one, however, would accept the gifts, but all replied, men and women alike, that if a peace were publicly concluded they also, on their part, would show goodwill and kindness to the king. Moreover, though Cineas made many kind and alluring proposals to the senate, not one of them was received there with alacrity or pleasure, although Pyrrhus offered to restore without a ransom their men who had been captured in the battle, and promised to assist them in the subjugation of Italy, and in return for these favours asked only friendship for himself, immunity for the Tarentines, and nothing else. Nevertheless, most of the senators were plainly inclined towards peace, since they had been defeated in one great battle, and expected another with a larger army, now that the Italian Greeks had joined Pyrrhus. At this point Appius Claudius, a man of distinction, but one whom old age and blindness had forced to give up all public activities, now that the message from the king had come and a report was rife that the senate was going to vote for the proposed cessation of hostilities, could not restrain himself, but ordered his attendants to take him up and had himself carried on a litter through the forum to the senate-house. When he had reached the door, his sons and sons-in-law took him up in their arms and brought

εἰσῆγον, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ σιωπὴν αἰδουμένη τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ τιμῆς ἔσχεν.

- XIX. Ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν καταστάς, “Πρότερον μὲν,” ἔφη, “τὴν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα τύχην ἀνιαρῶς ἔφερον, ὧ Ῥωμαῖοι, νῦν δὲ ἄχθομαι πρὸς τῷ τυφλὸς εἶναι μὴ καὶ κωφὸς ὢν, ἀλλ’ ἀκούων αἰσχυρὰ βουλευμάτων καὶ δόγματα ὑμῶν ἀνατρέποντα τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ κλέος. ποῦ γὰρ ὑμῶν ὁ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους θρυλούμενος αἰεὶ λόγος, 395 ὥς, εἰ παρὴν ἐκείνος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὁ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ συνηνέχθη νέοις ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἀκμάζουσιν, οὐκ ἂν ὑμνεῖτο νῦν ἀνίκητος, ἀλλ’ ἡ φυγὼν ἂν ἢ που πεσὼν ἐνταῦθα
- 2 τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνδοξοτέραν ἀπέλιπε; ταῦτα μέντοι κενὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ κόμπον ἀποδείκνυτε, Χάονας καὶ Μολοσσούς, τὴν αἰεὶ Μακεδόνων λείαν, δεδιότες, καὶ τρέμοντες Πύρρον, ὃς τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρων ἓνα γοῦν αἰεὶ περιέπων καὶ θεραπεύων διατετέλεκε, καὶ νῦν οὐ βοηθῶν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα μᾶλλον Ἑλλησιν ἢ φεύγων τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολεμίους πλανᾶται περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἡμῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως ἢ μέρος μικρὸν αὐτῷ Μακεδονίας οὐκ
- 3 ἤρκεσε διαφυλάξαι. μὴ τοῦτον οὖν ἀπαλλάξει νομίζετε ποιησάμενοι φίλον, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνους ἐπάξασθαι καταφρονήσαντας ὑμῶν ὥς πᾶσιν εὐκατεργάστων, εἰ Πύρρος ἄπεισι μὴ δοὺς δίκην ὧν

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him inside, and the senators, out of regard for the man, kept respectful silence.

XIX. Then Appius raised himself up where he was and said: "Up to this time, O Romans, I have regarded the misfortune to my eyes as an affliction, but it now distresses me that I am not deaf as well as blind, that I might not hear the shameful resolutions and decrees of yours which bring low the glory of Rome. For what becomes of the words that ye are ever reiterating to all the world, namely, that if the great Alexander of renown had come to Italy and had come into conflict with us, when we were young men, and with our fathers, when they were in their prime, he would not now be celebrated as invincible, but would either have fled, or, perhaps, have fallen there, and so have left Rome more glorious still? Surely ye are proving that this was boasting and empty bluster, since ye are afraid of Chaonians and Molossians, who were ever the prey of the Macedonians, and ye tremble before Pyrrhus, who has ever been a minister and servitor to one at least of Alexander's bodyguards,¹ and now comes wandering over Italy, not so much to help the Greeks who dwell here, as to escape his enemies at home, promising to win for us the supremacy here with that army which could not avail to preserve for him a small portion of Macedonia. Do not suppose that ye will rid yourselves of this fellow by making him your friend; nay, ye will bring against you others, and they will despise you as men whom anybody can easily subdue, if Pyrrhus goes away without having been punished for his insults, but

¹ Referring sarcastically to his relations with Ptolemy and Demetrius.

ὑβρισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαβὼν μισθὸν τὸ¹ ἐπεγγελάσαι Ῥωμαίοις Ταραντίνους καὶ Σαννίτας.”

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀππίου διαλεχθέντος ὁρμὴ παρέστη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν Κινέαν ἀποπέμπουσιν ἀποκρινάμενοι Πύρρον ἐξελθόντα
4 τῆς Ἰταλίας, οὕτως, εἰ δέοιτο, περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλέγεσθαι, μέχρι δὲ οὐ πάρεστιν ἐν ὅπλοις, πολεμήσειν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους κατὰ κράτος, καὶ μυρίους ἔτι Λαιβίνους τρέψῃται μαχόμενος. λέγεται δὲ Κινέαν, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ἅμα ποιησάμενον ἔργον καὶ σπουδάσαντα τῶν τε βίων γενέσθαι θεατὴν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρετὴν
5 κατανοῆσαι, καὶ διὰ λόγων ἐλθόντα τοῖς ἀρίστοις τά τε ἄλλα τῷ Πύρρῳ φράσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτῷ βασιλέων πολλῶν συνέδριον φανείη, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους δεδιέναι, μὴ πρὸς τινα φανῶσι Λερναίαν ὕδραν μαχόμενοι· διπλασίους γὰρ ἤδη τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῶν παρατεταγμένων πρότερον ἠθροῖσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις εἶναι τοσούτους ἔτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα φέρειν δυναμένους.

XX. Ἐκ τούτου πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ περὶ Γάϊον Φαβρίκιον, οὐ πλείστον ἔφη Ῥωμαίους λόγον ἔχειν ὁ Κινέας ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολεμικοῦ, πένητος δὲ ἰσχυρῶς. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Πύρρος ἰδίᾳ φιλοφρονούμενος ἔπειθε λαβεῖν χρυσίον, ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ δῆθεν αἰσχυρῷ, φιλίας δέ τι καὶ ξενίας ἐπονομάζων τοῦτο σύμ-
2 βολον. ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Φαβρικίου τότε μὲν

¹ τὸ with Blass : τοῦ.

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actually rewarded for them in having enabled Tarantines and Samnites to mock at Romans."

After Appius had thus spoken, his hearers were seized with eagerness to prosecute the war, and Cineas was sent back with the reply that Pyrrhus must first depart out of Italy, and then, if he wished, the Romans would talk about friendship and alliance; but as long as he was there in arms, they would fight him with all their might, even though he should rout in battle ten thousand men like Laevinus. It is said, too, that Cineas, while he was on this mission, made it his earnest business at the same time to observe the life and manners of the Romans, and to understand the excellences of their form of government; he also conversed with their best men, and had many things to tell Pyrrhus, among which was the declaration that the senate impressed him as a council of many kings, and that, as for the people, he was afraid it might prove to be a Lernaean hydra for them to fight against, since the consul already had twice as many soldiers collected as those who faced their enemies before, and there were many times as many Romans still who were capable of bearing arms.

XX. After this, an embassy came from the Romans to treat about the prisoners that had been taken. The embassy was headed by Caius Fabricius, who, as Cineas reported, was held in highest esteem at Rome as an honourable man and good soldier, but was inordinately poor. To this man, then, Pyrrhus privately showed kindness and tried to induce him to accept gold, not for any base purpose, indeed, but calling it a mark of friendship and hospitality. But Fabricius rejected the gold, and for that day Pyrrhus

ἡσύχασε, τῇ δ' ὑστεραία βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἐκ-
 πληῆσαι μήπω θεατὴν ἐλέφαντος γεγεννημένον,
 ἐκέλευσε τῶν θηρίων τὸ μέγιστον ἐξόπισθεν
 αὐτοῖς παραστήσαι κοινολογουμένοις, αὐλαίαν
 παρατείναντας. ἐγένετο δὴ ταῦτα· καὶ σημείου
 δοθέντος ἡ μὲν αὐλαία παρήχθη, τὸ δὲ θηρίον
 ἄφνω τὴν τε προνομαίαν ἀράμενον ὑπερέσχε τῆς
 κεφαλῆς τοῦ Φαβρικίου καὶ φωνὴν ἀφῆκε φοβερὰν
 3 καὶ τραχεῖαν. ὁ δὲ ἡρέμα μεταστραφεὶς καὶ
 διαμειδιάσας πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον εἶπεν· “Οὔτε χθές
 με τὸ χρυσίον ἐκίνησεν οὔτε σήμερον τὸ θηρίον.”
 ἐν δὲ τῷ δεῖπνῳ λόγων παντοδαπῶν γενομένων,
 πλείστων δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν φιλοσο-
 φούντων, ἔτυχέ πως ὁ Κινέας ἐπιμνησθεὶς τοῦ
 Ἐπικούρου, καὶ διήλθεν ἃ λέγουσι περὶ θεῶν καὶ
 πολιτείας καὶ τέλους, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἡδονῇ τιθέμενοι,
 πολιτείαν δὲ φεύγοντες ὡς βλάβην καὶ σύγχυσιν
 τοῦ μακαρίου, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀπωτάτω χάριτος
 καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ τοῦ μέλειν ἡμῶν εἰς ἀπράγμονα
 4 βίον καὶ μεστὸν εὐπαθειῶν ἀποικίζοντες. ἔτι
 δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνακραγῶν ὁ Φαβρίκιος,
 “ὦ Ἡράκλεις,” εἶπε, “Πύρρῳ τὰ δόγματα
 μέλοι ταῦτα καὶ Σαυνίταις, ἕως πολεμοῦσι πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς.”

Οὕτω δὲ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ
 τὸ ἦθος ὁ Πύρρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠρέγετο φιλίαν
 ἀντὶ πολέμου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι·
 396 κακεῖνον ἰδίᾳ παρεκάλει ποιησάμενον τὰς δια-
 λύσεις ἔπεσθαι καὶ συζῆν μετ' αὐτοῦ, πρῶτον
 ὄντα πάντων τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ
 δὲ ἡσυχῇ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, “Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ

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let him alone; on the following day, however, wishing to frighten a man who had not yet seen an elephant, he ordered the largest of these animals to be stationed behind a hanging in front of which they stood conversing together. This was done; and at a given signal the hanging was drawn aside, and the animal suddenly raised his trunk, held it over the head of Fabricius, and emitted a harsh and frightful cry. But Fabricius calmly turned and said with a smile to Pyrrhus: "Your gold made no impression on me yesterday, neither does your beast to-day." Again, at supper, where all sorts of topics were discussed, and particularly that of Greece and her philosophers, Cineas happened somehow to mention Epicurus, and set forth the doctrines of that school concerning the gods, civil government, and the highest good, explaining that they made pleasure the highest good, but would have nothing to do with civil government on the ground that it was injurious and the ruin of felicity, and that they removed the Deity as far as possible from feelings of kindness or anger or concern for us, into a life that knew no care and was filled with ease and comfort. But before Cineas was done, Fabricius cried out and said: "O Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites cherish these doctrines, as long as they are at war with us."

Thus Pyrrhus was led to admire the high spirit and character of the man, and was all the more eager to have friendship with his city instead of waging war against it; he even privately invited him, in case he brought about the settlement, to follow his fortunes and share his life as the first and foremost of all his companions and generals. But Fabricius, as we are told, said quietly to him: "Nay, O King, this

σοὶ τοῦτο, βασιλεῦ, λυσιτελές ἐστίν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ νῦν σε τιμῶντες καὶ θαυμάζοντες, ἂν ἐμοῦ πείραν λάβωσιν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθελήσουσιν ἢ
 5 σου βασιλεύεσθαι.” τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Φαβρίκιος. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος οὐ πρὸς ὀργὴν οὐδὲ τυραννικῶς ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἀπήγγειλε τοῦ Φαβρικίου τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ διεπίστευσεν, ὅπως, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσαιτο τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ σύγκλητος, ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς προσήκοντας καὶ τὰ Κρόνια διεορτάσαντες ἀποπεμφθεῖεν πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν, τῷ ὑπολειφθέντι τῆς βουλῆς ζημίαν θάνατον ψηφισαμένης.

XXI. Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Φαβρικίου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος ἤκεν ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζων, ἣν ἔγραψεν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἰατρὸς ἐπαγγελλόμενος φαρμάκοις ἀναιρήσειν τὸν Πύρρον, εἰ χάρις αὐτῷ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁμολογηθεῖν λύσαντι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκινδύνως. ὁ δὲ Φαβρίκιος δυσχεράνας πρὸς τὴν ἀδικίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα διαθεῖς ὁμοίως, ἔπεμψε γράμματα πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον κατὰ τάχος
 2 φυλάττεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κελεύων. εἶχε δὲ οὕτως τὰ γεγραμμένα· “Γάϊος Φαβρίκιος καὶ Κόϊντος Αἰμίλιος ὑπατοὶ Ῥωμαίων Πύρρῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. οὔτε φίλων εὐτυχῆς ἔοικας εἶναι κριτῆς οὔτε πολεμίων. γνώση δὲ τὴν πεμφθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνούς, ὅτι χρηστοῖς

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would not be to thy advantage; for the very men who now admire and honour thee, if they should become acquainted with me, would prefer to have me as their king rather than thee." Such a man was Fabricius. And Pyrrhus did not receive the speech with anger or like a tyrant, but actually reported to his friends the magnanimity of Fabricius, and entrusted his prisoners of war to him alone, on condition that, in case the senate should not vote for the peace, they should be sent back again to him, though they might first greet their relatives and celebrate the festival of Saturn. And they were so sent back after the festival, the senate having voted a penalty of death for any that stayed behind.

XXI. After this, and when Fabricius had assumed the consulship,¹ a man came into his camp with a letter for him. The letter had been written by the physician of Pyrrhus, who promised that he would take the king off by poison, provided that the Romans would agree to reward him for putting an end to the war without further hazard on their part. But Fabricius, who was indignant at the iniquity of the man, and had disposed his colleague to feel likewise, sent a letter to Pyrrhus with all speed urging him to be on his guard against the plot. The letter ran as follows: "Caius Fabricius and Quintus Aemilius, consuls of Rome, to King Pyrrhus, health and happiness. It would appear that thou art a good judge neither of friends nor of enemies. Thou wilt see, when thou hast read the letter which we send, that the men with whom thou art at war are

¹ The chronology of the story is at fault here. Fabricius and Aemilius were consuls in 278, the year after the battle at Asculum described in §§ 5 ff.

- καὶ δικάοις ἀνδράσι πολεμεῖς, ἀδίκοις δὲ καὶ
 3 κακοῖς πιστεύεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα σῇ χάριτι
 μνηύομεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ τὸ σὸν πάθος ἡμῖν
 διαβολὴν ἐνέγκῃ καὶ δόλφ δόξωμεν, ὥς ἀρετῇ μὴ
 δυνάμενοι, κατεργάσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον.” ἐν-
 τυχὼν τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τὴν
 ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξελέγξας τὸν μὲν ἰατρὸν ἐκόλασε,
 Φαβρικήφ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀμοιβὴν ἐδώρειτο
 4 προῖκα τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ πάλιν ἔπεμψε τὸν
 Κινέαν διαπραξόμενον αὐτῷ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ δὲ
 Ῥωμαῖοι, μήτε εἰ χάρις ἐστὶ παρὰ πολεμίου, μήτε
 εἰ μισθὸς τοῦ μὴ ἀδικηθῆναι, λαβεῖν προῖκα τοὺς
 ἄνδρας ἀξιώσαντες ἴσους ἀπέλυσαν αὐτῷ Ταραν-
 τίνων καὶ Σαυνιτῶν, περὶ δὲ φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης
 οὐδὲν εἶων διαλέγεσθαι πρὶν ἀράμενος τὰ ὅπλα
 καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αἰς ἡλθε ναυσὶν
 ἀποπλεύσῃ πάλιν εἰς Ἡπειρον.
 5 Ἐκ τούτου μάχης ἄλλης τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ
 δεομένων ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐχώρει, καὶ
 περὶ Ἀσκλον πόλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνάψας καὶ
 βιαζόμενος πρὸς χωρία δύσιππα καὶ ποταμὸν
 ὑλώδη καὶ τραχύν, ἔφοδον τῶν θηρίων οὐ λαβόν-
 των ὥστε προσμῖξαι τῇ φάλαγγι, τραυμάτων
 πολλῶν γενομένων καὶ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, τότε
 6 μὲν διεκρίθη μέχρι νυκτὸς ἀγωνισάμενος. τῇ δ'
 ὑστεραίᾳ στρατηγῶν δι' ὀμαλοῦ τὴν μάχην θέσθαι
 καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις γενέσθαι τῶν

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honourable and just, but that those whom thou trustest are unjust and base. And indeed we do not give thee this information out of regard for thee, but in order that thy ruin may not bring infamy upon us, and that men may not say of us that we brought the war to an end by treachery because we were unable to do so by valour." When Pyrrhus had read this letter and got proof of the plot against his life, he punished the physician, and as a requital to Fabricius and the Romans made them a present of his prisoners of war, and once more sent Cineas to negotiate a peace for him. But the Romans would not consent to receive the men for nothing, either as a favour from an enemy, or as a reward for not committing iniquity against him, and therefore released for Pyrrhus an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites whom they had taken; on the subject of friendship and peace, however, they declared they would allow nothing to be said until Pyrrhus had taken his arms and his army out of Italy and sailed back to Epeirus on the ships that brought him.

Consequently, Pyrrhus found himself obliged to fight another battle, and after recuperating his army he marched to the city of Asculum, where he engaged the Romans. Here, however, he was forced into regions where his cavalry could not operate, and upon a river with swift current and wooded banks, so that his elephants could not charge and engage the enemy's phalanx. Therefore, after many had been wounded and slain, for the time being the struggle was ended by the coming of night. But on the next day, designing to fight the battle on level ground, and to bring his elephants to bear upon the ranks of the enemy, Pyrrhus occupied betimes the

- πολεμίων, προέλαβε τὰς δυσχωρίας φυλακῇ, καὶ πολλὰ καταμίξας ἀκοντίσματα καὶ τοξεύματα τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπήγε μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ βίας πυκνὴν καὶ συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς διακλίσεις καὶ τὰς ἀντιπαραγωγὰς τὰς πρότερον οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἐξ ἐπιπέδου συνεφέροντο κατὰ στόμα· καὶ σπεύδοντες ὥσασθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι τὰ θηρία, δεινούς περὶ τὰς σαρίσας τῶν ξιφῶν ἀγῶνας εἶχον, ἀφειδοῦντες ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὸ τρῶσαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ὀρώντες, τὸ δὲ παθεῖν
- 7 εἰς οὐδὲν τιθέμενοι. χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ λέγεται μὲν 397 ἀρχὴ τροπῆς κατ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Πύρρον ἐπερείσαντα τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἄλκῃ καὶ βίᾳ τῶν ἐλεφάντων κατειργάσατο, χρῆσασθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ πρὸς τὴν μάχην τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐφόδῳ κύματος ἢ σεισμοῦ κατερείποντος οἰομένων δεῖν ἐξίστασθαι, μὴδὲ ὑπομένειν ἀπράκτους ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐν τῷ μὴδὲν ὠφελεῖν πάντα πάσχοντας τὰ χαλεπώτατα.
- 8 Τῆς δὲ φυγῆς οὐ μακρᾶς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον γενομένης ἐξακισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν φησι τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἰερώνυμος, τῶν δὲ περὶ Πύρρον ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἀνενεχθῆναι τρισχιλίους
- 9 πεντακοσίους καὶ πέντε τεθνηκότας. ὁ μέντοι Διονύσιος οὔτε δύο περὶ Ἀσκλον μάχας οὔτε ὁμολογουμένην ἦτταν ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων, ἅπαξ δὲ μέχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου μαχεσαμένους μόλις ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τοῦ Πύρρου τρωθέντος ὑσσῶ τὸν βραχίονα καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅμα Δαυνίων¹

¹ Δαυνίων with Blass, in agreement with Dionys. Hal. xx. 3: Σαμνιτῶν.

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unfavourable parts of the field with a detachment of his troops; then he put great numbers of slingers and archers in the spaces between the elephants and led his forces to the attack in dense array and with a mighty impetus. So the Romans, having no opportunity for sidelong shifts and counter-movements, as on the previous day, were obliged to engage on level ground and front to front; and being anxious to repulse the enemy's men-at-arms before their elephants came up, they fought fiercely with their swords against the Macedonian spears, reckless of their lives and thinking only of wounding and slaying, while caring naught for what they suffered. After a long time, however, as we are told, they began to be driven back at the point where Pyrrhus himself was pressing hard upon his opponents; but the greatest havoc was wrought by the furious strength of the elephants, since the valour of the Romans was of no avail in fighting them, but they felt that they must yield before them as before an onrushing billow or a crashing earthquake, and not stand their ground only to die in vain, or suffer all that is most grievous without doing any good at all.

After a short flight the Romans reached their camp, with a loss of six thousand men, according to Hieronymus, who also says that on the side of Pyrrhus, according to the king's own commentaries, thirty-five hundred and five were killed. Dionysius, however, makes no mention of two battles at Asculum, nor of an admitted defeat of the Romans, but says that the two armies fought once for all until sunset and then at last separated; Pyrrhus, he says, was wounded in the arm by a javelin, and also had his baggage

διαρπασάντων, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ Πύρρου καὶ
Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους
ἐκατέρων.

Διελύθησαν δὲ ἀμφότεροι· καὶ λέγεται τὸν
Πύρρον εἰπεῖν πρὸς τινα τῶν συνηδομένων αὐτῷ,
“Ἄν ἔτι μίαν μάχην Ῥωμαίους νικήσωμεν, ἀπο-
10 λούμεθα παντελῶς.” πολὺ μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλώλει
μέρος ἧς ἄγων ἦκε δυνάμεως, φίλοι δὲ καὶ στρα-
τηγοὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντες, μεταπέμπεσθαι δὲ
οὐκ ἦσαν ἕτεροι, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι συμμάχους
ἀμβλυτέρους ἐώρα, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὥσπερ ἐκ
πηγῆς οἰκοθεν ἐπιρρεοῦσης ἀναπληρούμενον εὐπό-
ρως καὶ ταχὺ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ταῖς ἡτταῖς
οὐκ ἀποβάλλοντας τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥώμην
καὶ φιλονεικίαν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον προσ-
λαμβάνοντας.

XXII. Ἐν τοιαύταις δὲ ὧν ἀπορίαις εἰς ἐλπίδας
αὐτὸς πάλιν καινὰς ἐνέπεσε καὶ πράγματα διχοστα-
σίαν ἔχοντα τῆς γνώμης. ἅμα γὰρ ἦκον ἐκ μὲν
Σικελίας ἄνδρες Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Συρακούσας καὶ
Λεοντίνους ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτῷ, καὶ δεόμενοι Καρ-
χηδονίους τε συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ τῶν τυράννων
ἀπαλλάξαι τὴν νῆσον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγγέλ-
λοντες ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κεραυνὸς ἀπόλωλε
συμπεσὼν Γαλάταις μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ νῦν
ἂν ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα δεομένοις βασιλέως Μακε-
2 δόσι παραγένοιτο. πολλὰ δὲ τὴν τύχην μεμφά-
μενος ὅτι πράξεων μεγάλων ὑποθέσεις εἰς ἓνα

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plundered by the Daunians;¹ and there fell, on the side of Pyrrhus and on that of the Romans, over fifteen thousand men.

The two armies separated; and we are told that Pyrrhus said to one who was congratulating him on his victory, "If we are victorious in one more battle with the Romans, we shall be utterly ruined." For he had lost a great part of the forces with which he came, and all his friends and generals except a few; moreover, he had no others whom he could summon from home, and he saw that his allies in Italy were becoming indifferent, while the army of the Romans, as if from a fountain gushing forth indoors, was easily and speedily filled up again, and they did not lose courage in defeat, nay, their wrath gave them all the more vigour and determination for the war.

XXII. But while he was involved in such perplexities, new hopes once more inspired him, and projects which divided his purposes. For at one and the same time there came to him from Sicily men who offered to put into his hands the cities of Agrigentum, Syracuse, and Leontini, and begged him to help them to drive out the Carthaginians and rid the island of its tyrants; and from Greece, men with tidings that Ptolemy Ceraunus² with his army had perished at the hands of the Gauls, and that now was the time of all times for him to be in Macedonia, where they wanted a king. Pyrrhus rated Fortune soundly because occasions for two great undertakings had come to him at one time,

¹ Auxiliaries of the Romans from Arpinum in Apulia.

² The son of Ptolemy I. of Egypt. In 280 B.C. he had basely assassinated Seleucus, and made himself king of Macedonia.

- καιρὸν αὐτῷ συνήνεγκε, καὶ νομίζων ὡς ἀμφοτέρων
 ὑπαρχόντων ἀπολλύναι θάτερον, διηνέχθη τοῖς
 λογισμοῖς πολὺν χρόνον. εἶτα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς
 3 μειζόνων ὑποκείσθαι πραγμάτων δοκούντων, Λι-
 βύης ἐγγὺς εἶναι δοκούσης, ἐπὶ ταῦτα τρέψας
 Κινέαν μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψε προδιαλεξόμενον,
 ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ταῖς πόλεσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ταρ-
 αντίνοις δυσανασχετοῦσιν ἐμβαλὼν φρουράν, καὶ
 ἀξιούσιν ἢ παρέχειν ἐφ' οἷς ἦκε, συμπολεμοῦντα
 Ῥωμαίοις, ἢ τὴν χώραν προέμενον αὐτῶν ἀπο-
 λιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν οἷαν παρέλαβε, μηδὲν ἐπιεικὲς
 ἀποκρινάμενος, ἀλλὰ προστάξας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν
 καὶ περιμένειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καιρὸν, ἐξέπλευσεν.
- 4 Ἀψαμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ Σικελίας ἃ μὲν ἠλπισεν
 εὐθὺς ἀπὴντα βέβαια, καὶ παρείχον αἱ πόλεις
 ἑαυτὰς προθύμως, τῶν δὲ ἀγῶνος καὶ βίας δεη-
 θέντων οὐδὲν ἀντεῖχε τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τρισμυρίους
 πεζοῖς καὶ δισχιλίους πεντακοσίοις ἰππεῦσι καὶ
 διακοσίαις ναυσὶν ἐπιὼν τοὺς τε Φοῖνικας ἐξήρει
 καὶ κατεστρέφετο τὴν ἐπικράτειαν αὐτῶν. τοῦ δ'
 Ἐρυκος ἐχυρωτάτου τῶν χωρίων ὄντος καὶ πολ-
 λούς ἀμυνομένους ἔχοντος ἔγνω βιάζεσθαι πρὸς
 5 τὰ τείχη. καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς γενομένης ἐτοίμης
 ἐνεδύσατο τὴν πανοπλίαν, καὶ προελθὼν¹ εὗξατο
 τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ποιήσῃν ἀγῶνα καὶ θυσίαν ἀριστεῖον, 398
 ἂν τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἄξιον ἀγωνι-
 στὴν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσιν
 Ἕλλησι· τῇ δὲ σάλπιγγι σημήνας καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι
 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνασκεδάσας καὶ τὰς κλίμακας
 6 προσαγαγὼν πρῶτος ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους. ἀντι-

¹ προελθὼν with Blass: προσελθὼν.

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and thinking that the presence of both meant the loss of one, he wavered in his calculations for a long time. Then Sicily appeared to offer opportunities for greater achievements, since Libya was felt to be near, and he turned in this direction, and forthwith sent out Cineas to hold preliminary conferences with the cities, as was his wont, while he himself threw a garrison into Tarentum. The Tarentines were much displeased at this, and demanded that he either apply himself to the task for which he had come, namely to help them in their war with Rome, or else abandon their territory and leave them their city as he had found it. To this demand he made no very gracious reply, but ordering them to keep quiet and await his convenience, he sailed off.

On reaching Sicily,¹ his hopes were at once realized securely; the cities readily gave themselves up to him, and wherever force and conflict were necessary nothing held out against him at first, but advancing with thirty thousand foot, twenty-five hundred horse, and two hundred ships, he put the Phoenicians to rout and subdued the territory under their control. Then he determined to storm the walls of Eryx, which was the strongest of their fortresses and had numerous defenders. So when his army was ready, he put on his armour, went out to battle, and made a vow to Heracles that he would institute games and a sacrifice in his honour, if the god would render him in the sight of the Sicilian Greeks an antagonist worthy of his lineage and resources; then he ordered the trumpets to sound, scattered the Barbarians with his missiles, brought up his scaling-ladders, and was the first to mount

¹ Early in the year 278 B.C.

στάντων δὲ πολλῶν ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσε τοῦ τείχους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα καὶ κατέβαλε, πλείστους δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν τῷ ξίφει χρώμενος ἐσώρευσε νεκρούς. ἔπαθε δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσιδεῖν δεινὸς ἐφάνη τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἔδειξεν ὀρθῶς καὶ μετὰ ἐμπειρίας ἀποφαίνοντα τῶν ἀρετῶν μόνην τὴν ἀνδρείαν φορὰς πολλάκις ἐνθουσιώδεις καὶ μανικὰς φερομένην. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔθυσέ τε τῷ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ θέας ἀγώνων παντοδαπῶν παρέσχε.

XXIII. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Μεσσήνην βαρβάρων, Μαιερτίνων δὲ καλουμένων, πολλὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐνοχλούντων, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ φόρου πεποιημένων ὑποτελεῖς, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μαχίμων ὄντων, διὸ καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν Ἀρήιοι γλώσση τῇ Λατίνων, τοὺς μὲν φορολόγους συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ νικήσας μάχῃ πολλὰ τῶν φρουρίων
2 ἐξέκοψε. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ συμβατικῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ χρήματα βουλομένοις τελεῖν, εἰ γένοιτο φιλία, καὶ ναῦς ἀποστέλλειν, ἀπεκρίνατο πλειόνων ἐφιέμενος μίαν εἶναι διάλυσιν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ πᾶσαν ἐκλιπόντες Σικελίαν ὄρῳ χρῶντο τῇ Λι-
3 βυκῇ θαλάσῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. εὐτυχία δὲ καὶ ῥώμη τῶν παρόντων ἐπαιρόμενος, καὶ διώκων τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐφ' αἷς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔπλευσε, πρώτης δὲ Λιβύης ἐφιέμενος καὶ ναῦς ἔχων πολλὰς πλη-

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the wall. Many were the foes against whom he strove ; some of them he pushed from the wall on either side and hurled them to the ground, but most he laid dead in heaps about him with the strokes of his sword. He himself suffered no harm, but was a terrible sight for his enemies to look upon, and proved that Homer was right and fully justified in saying that valour, alone of the virtues, often displays transports due to divine possession and frenzy. After the capture of the city, he sacrificed to the god in magnificent fashion and furnished spectacles of all sorts of contests.

XXIII. The Barbarians about Messana, called Mamertines, were giving much annoyance to the Greeks, and had even laid some of them under contribution. They were numerous and warlike, and therefore had been given a name which, in the Latin tongue, signifies *martial*. Pyrrhus seized their collectors of tribute and put them to death, then conquered the people themselves in battle and destroyed many of their strongholds. Moreover, when the Carthaginians were inclined to come to terms and were willing to pay him money and send him ships in case friendly relations were established, he replied to them (his heart being set upon greater things) that there could be no settlement or friendship between himself and them unless they abandoned all Sicily and made the Libyan Sea a boundary between themselves and the Greeks. But now, lifted up by his good fortune and by the strength of his resources, and pursuing the hopes with which he had sailed from home in the beginning, he set his heart upon Libya first ; and since many of the ships

¹ As in *Iliad*, v. 185 ; vi. 101 ; ix. 238.

ρωμάτων ἐπιδεεῖς ἤγειρεν ἐρέτας, οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἐντυγχάνων οὐδὲ πρῶως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῶς καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν βιαζόμενος καὶ κολλάζων, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὦν οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτέρων τῷ πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλεῖν καὶ πάντα πιστεύειν καὶ μηδὲν ἔροχλεῖν ὑπαγόμενος, εἴτα γινόμενος ἐκ δημαγωγοῦ τύραννος ἀχαριστίας τῇ χαλεπότητι καὶ ἀπιστίας προσωφλίσκανε δόξαν.

- 4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἀναγκαῖα συνεχώρουν, καίπερ δυσφοροῦντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ Θοίνωνα καὶ Σωσίστρατον, ἄνδρας ἡγεμονικοὺς ἐν Συρακούσαις, οἱ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἔπεισαν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἐλθόντι δὲ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ πλείστα συγκατεργάσαντο τῶν Σικελικῶν, μήτε ἄγειν σὺν αὐτῷ μήτε ἀπολείπειν βουλόμενος ἐν ὑποψίαις εἶχε, καὶ Σωσίστρατος μὲν ἀπέστη
- 5 φοβηθεὶς, Θοίνωνα δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονεῖν αἰτιασάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ κατὰ μικρὸν οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν αὐτῷ μεθίστατο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ δεινοῦ τινος μίσους ἐγγενομένου ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ μὲν προσετίθεντο Καρχηδονίοις, αἱ δὲ ἐπήγοντο Μαμερτίνοις. ἀποστάσεις δὲ ὁρῶν ἅπαντα καὶ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ σύστασιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐφ' αὐτόν, ἐδέξατο γράμματα Σαινιτῶν καὶ Ταραντίνων μόλις ἀντεχόντων ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς πρὸς τὸν

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that he had were insufficiently manned, he began to collect oarsmen, not dealing with the cities in an acceptable or gentle manner, but in a lordly way, angrily putting compulsion and penalties upon them. He had not behaved in this way at the very beginning, but had even gone beyond others in trying to win men's hearts by gracious intercourse with them, by trusting everybody, and by doing nobody any harm. But now he ceased to be a popular leader and became a tyrant, and added to his name for severity a name for ingratitude and faithlessness.

Nevertheless the Sicilians put up with these things as necessary, although they were exasperated; but then came his dealings with Thoenon and Sosistratus. These were leading men in Syracuse, and had been first to persuade Pyrrhus to come into Sicily. Moreover, after he had come, they immediately put their city into his hands and assisted him in most of what he had accomplished in Sicily. And yet he was willing neither to take them with him nor to leave them behind, and held them in suspicion. Sosistratus took the alarm and withdrew; but Thoenon was accused by Pyrrhus of complicity with Sosistratus and put to death.¹ With this, the situation of Pyrrhus was suddenly and entirely changed. A terrible hatred arose against him in the cities, some of which joined the Carthaginians, while others called in the Mamertines. And now, as he saw everywhere secessions and revolutionary designs and a strong faction opposed to him, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who had been excluded from all their territories, could with difficulty maintain the war

¹ Cf. Dionysius Hal., *Excerpta ex lib. xx.*, 8.

πόλεμον, εἰργομένων δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης καὶ
 6 δεομένων βοηθεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν εὐπρέπεια μὴ
 φυγὴν εἶναι μηδὲ ἀπόγνωσιν τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῶν
 αὐτόθι πραγμάτων· τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς οὐ δυνάμενος
 κρατεῖν Σικελίας ὥσπερ νεὼς ταραχθείσης, ἀλλ'
 ἔκβασιν ζητῶν, αὐθις ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.
 λέγεται δ' ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἤδη πρὸς τὴν νῆσον
 ἀπιδὼν εἰπεῖν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· “Οἶαν ἀπολεί-
 πομεν, ὦ φίλοι, Καρχηδονίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παλ-
 αίστραν.” καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκάσθη, μετ' οὐ
 πολὺν χρόνον ἐγένετο.

XXIV. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων συστάντων ἐπ' αὐ-
 τὸν ἀποπλέοντα, Καρχηδονίοις μὲν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ
 ναυμαχήσας ἀπέβαλε τῶν νεῶν πολλὰς, ταῖς δ' 399
 ἄλλαις κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Μαμερτῖνοι
 δὲ μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους προδιαβάντες ἀντιτάξα-
 σθαι μὲν ἐφοβήθησαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις
 ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἅπαν τὸ στρά-
 τευμα συνετάραξαν. ἔπεσε δὲ δύο θηρία καὶ
 συχνοὶ τῶν ὀπισθοφυλακούντων ἀπέθνησκον.
 2 αὐτὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος παρελάσας ἡμύνετο
 καὶ διεκινδύνευε πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡσκημένους μάχεσ-
 θαι καὶ θυμοειδεῖς. πληγεῖς δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ξίφει
 καὶ μικρὸν ἐκ τῶν μαχομένων ἀποστὰς ἔτι μᾶλλον
 ἐπῆρε τοὺς πολεμίους. εἰς δὲ καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐπιδραμών, ἀνὴρ τῷ τε σώματι μέγας καὶ
 τοῖς ὅπλοις λαμπρὸς, ἐχρήτο τῇ φωνῇ θρασυτέρα
 3 καὶ προελθεῖν ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν, εἰ ζῇ. παροξυνθεὶς
 δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἐπέστρεψε βία τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, καὶ

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even in their cities, and begged for his assistance. This gave him a fair pretext for his sailing away, without its being called a flight or despair of his cause in the island; but in truth it was because he could not master Sicily, which was like a storm-tossed ship, but desired to get out of her, that he once more threw himself into Italy. And it is said that at the time of his departure he looked back at the island and said to those about him: "My friends, what a wrestling ground for Carthaginians and Romans we are leaving behind us!" And this conjecture of his was soon afterwards confirmed.

XXIV. But the Barbarians combined against him as he was setting sail. With the Carthaginians he fought a sea-fight in the strait and lost many of his ships, but escaped with the rest to Italy; and here the Mamertines, more than ten thousand of whom had crossed in advance of him, though they were afraid to match forces with him, yet threw his whole army into confusion by setting upon him and assailing him in difficult regions. Two of his elephants fell, and great numbers of his rearguard were slain. Accordingly, riding up in person from the van, he sought to ward off the enemy, and ran great risks in contending with men who were trained to fight and were inspired with high courage. And when he was wounded on the head with a sword and withdrew a little from the combatants, the enemy were all the more elated. One of them ran forth far in advance of the rest, a man who was huge in body and resplendent in armour, and in a bold voice challenged Pyrrhus to come out, if he were still alive. This angered Pyrrhus, and wheeling round in spite of his guards, he pushed

μετ' ὀργῆς αἵματι πεφυρμένος καὶ δεινὸς ὀφθῆναι
 τὸ πρόσωπον ὡσάμενος δι' αὐτῶν καὶ φθάσας τὸν
 βάρβαρον ἔπληξε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῷ ξίφει
 πληγὴν ῥώμῃ τε τῆς χειρὸς ἅμα καὶ βαφῆς ἀρετῇ
 τοῦ σιδήρου μέχρι τῶν κάτω διαδραμοῦσαν, ὥστε
 ἐνὶ χρόνῳ περιπεσεῖν ἐκατέρωσε τὰ μέρη τοῦ
 4 σώματος διχοτομηθέντος. τοῦτο τοὺς βαρβάρους
 ἐπέσχε τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν, ὥς τινα τῶν κραιπτό-
 νων θαυμάσαντας καὶ καταπλαγέντας τὸν Πύρ-
 ρον. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἀδεῶς διεξελθὼν ἦκεν
 εἰς Τάραντα, δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τρισχιλίους
 ἵππεῖς κομίζων. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τῶν Ταραντίνων
 τοὺς κρατίστους, εὐθύς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἦγεν ἐν τῇ
 Σαυνίτιδι στρατοπεδεύοντας.

XXV. Τῶν δὲ Σαυνιτῶν τά τε πράγματα διέ-
 φθαρτο, καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφεῖντο, κεκρατη-
 μένοι μάχαις πολλαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ἐνῆν
 δέ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ὀργῆς διὰ τὸν εἰς
 Σικελίαν πλοῦν· ὅθεν οὐ πολλοὶ τούτων αὐτῷ
 συνῆλθον. πάντας δὲ νείμας δίχα τοὺς μὲν εἰς
 τὴν Λευκανίαν ἔπεμψεν ἀντιληφσόμενους τοῦ ἐτέ-
 2 ρου τῶν ὑπάτων, ὡς μὴ βοηθοίη, τοὺς δὲ ἦγεν
 αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Μάνιον Κούριον περὶ πόλιν Βενεουεντὸν
 ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ περιμένοντα τὴν ἐκ τῆς
 Λευκανίας βοήθειαν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ μάντεων αὐ-
 τὸν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς ἀποτρεπόντων ἡσύχαζε.
 σπεύδων οὖν ὁ Πύρρος ἐπιθέσθαι τούτοις, πρὶν
 ἐκείνους ἐπελθεῖν, ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ
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his way through them—full of wrath, smeared with blood, and with a countenance terrible to look upon, and before the Barbarian could strike dealt him such a blow on the head with his sword that, what with the might of his arm and the excellent temper of his steel, it cleaved its way down through, so that at one instant the parts of the sundered body fell to either side. This checked the Barbarians from any further advance, for they were amazed and confounded at Pyrrhus, and thought him some superior being. So he accomplished the rest of his march unmolested and came to Tarentum,¹ bringing twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Then, adding to his force the best troops of the Tarentines, he forthwith led them against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

XXV. But the power of the Samnites had been shattered, and their spirits were broken, in consequence of many defeats at the hands of the Romans. They also cherished considerable resentment against Pyrrhus because of his expedition to Sicily; hence not many of them came to join him. Pyrrhus, however, divided his army into two parts, sent one of them into Lucania to attack the other consul, that he might not come to the help of his colleague, and led the other part himself against Manius Curius, who was safely encamped near the city of Beneventum and was awaiting assistance from Lucania; in part also it was because his soothsayers had dissuaded him with unfavourable omens and sacrifices that he kept quiet. Pyrrhus, accordingly, hastening to attack this consul before the other one came up, took his best men and his most

¹ In the autumn of 276 B.C.

τῶν θηρίων τὰ μαχιμώτατα λαβὼν νυκτὸς ὥρμη-
 3 σεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. περιϊόντι δὲ αὐτῷ μακ-
 ρὰν καὶ δασεΐαν ὕλαις ὁδὸν οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὰ φῶτα,
 καὶ πλάναι τοῖς στρατιώταις συνέτυχον· καὶ περὶ
 ταῦτα γινομένης διατριβῆς ἥ τε νύξ ἐπέλιπε καὶ
 καταφανῆς ἦν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπερχό-
 μενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ὥστε θόρυβον πολὺν καὶ
 κίνησιν παρασχεῖν.

Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τῷ Μανίῳ γενομένων,
 καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ βοηθεῖν ἀναγκάζοντος, ἐξελθὼν
 ἐνέβαλε τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τρεψάμενος ἐφόβησε
 πάντας, ὥστε καὶ πεσεῖν οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν
 4 ἐλεφάντων τινὰς ἀλῶναι καταλειφθέντας. αὕτη
 τὸν Μάνιον ἡ νίκη κατήγαγε μαχοῦμενον εἰς τὸ
 πεδίον· καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐκ προδήλου τὸ μὲν ἐτρέ-
 ψατο τῶν πολεμίων, ἔστι δ' ἡ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
 θηρίων καὶ συσταλεὶς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς
 φύλακας ἐκάλει συχνοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τῷ χάρακι
 5 μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀκμῆτας. οἱ δὲ ἐπιφανέντες
 ἐκ τόπων ὀχυρῶν καὶ τὰ θηρία βάλλοντες ἠνάγ-
 κασαν ἀποστρέφεσθαι καὶ φυγῇ χωροῦντα διὰ
 τῶν συμμάχων ὀπίσω ταραχὴν ἀπεργάσασθαι
 καὶ σύγχυσιν, ἣ τὸ νίκημα παρέδωκε τοῖς Ῥω-
 μαίοις, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ
 γὰρ φρόνημα καὶ δύναμιν καὶ δόξαν ὥς ἄμαχοι
 προσλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν
 ἀγώνων Ἰταλίαν μὲν εὐθύς, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον
 Σικελίαν κατέσχον.

XXVI. Οὕτω μὲν ἐξέπεσε τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ 400
 Σικελικῶν ὁ Πύρρος ἐλπίδων, ἐξαετῇ χρόνον ἀνα-
 λώσας περὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους, καὶ τοῖς¹ πρᾶγ-

¹ τοῖς Coraë's and Bekker have τοῖς μὲν, after Muretus.

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warlike elephants and set out by night against his camp. But since he took a long circuit through a densely wooded country, his lights did not hold out, and his soldiers lost their way and straggled. This caused delay, so that the night passed, and at day-break he was in full view of the enemy as he advanced upon them from the heights, and caused much tumult and agitation among them.

Manius, however, since the sacrifices were propitious and the crisis forced action upon him, led his forces out and attacked the foremost of the enemy, and after routing these, put their whole army to flight, so that many of them fell and some of their elephants were left behind and captured. This victory brought Manius down into the plain to give battle; here, after an engagement in the open, he routed the enemy at some points, but at one was overwhelmed by the elephants and driven back upon his camp, where he was obliged to call upon the guards, who were standing on the parapets in great numbers, all in arms, and full of fresh vigour. Down they came from their strong places, and hurling their javelins at the elephants compelled them to wheel about and run back through the ranks of their own men, thus causing disorder and confusion there. This gave the victory to the Romans, and at the same time the advantage also in the struggle for supremacy. For having acquired high courage and power and a reputation for invincibility from their valour in these struggles, they at once got control of Italy, and soon afterwards of Sicily.

XXVI. Thus Pyrrhus was excluded from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after squandering six years' time in his wars there, and after being worsted in his

μασιν ἐλαττωθείς, τὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖον ἀνίκητον ἐν ταῖς ἡτταῖς διαφυλάξας· καὶ νομισθεὶς ἐμπειρία μὲν πολεμικῇ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ τόλμῃ πολὺ πρῶτος εἶναι τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων, ἃ δὲ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐκτᾶτο ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀπολλύναι, δι' ἔρωτα τῶν ἀπόντων οὐδὲν εἰς ὃ δεῖ θέσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
2 φθάσας. ὅθεν ἀπείκαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντίγονος κυβευτῇ πολλὰ βάλλοντι καὶ καλὰ, χρῆσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένῳ τοῖς πεσοῦσι.

Κομίσας δὲ εἰς Ἡπειρον ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ πεντακοσίους ἵππεῖς, χρήματα δὴ οὐκ ἔχων ἐξήτει πόλεμον ᾧ θρέψει τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τινων Γαλατῶν αὐτῷ προσγενομένων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν Ἀντιγόῳ τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύ-
3 οντος ὡς ἄρπαγῇ καὶ λεηλασίᾳ χρησόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐλάμβανε συχνὰς καὶ στρατιῶται δισχίλιοι μετέστησαν ὡς αὐτόν, ἐλπίσας τι πλεονῶρμῃσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ περὶ τὰ στενὰ προσπεσῶν συνετάραξε τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας τοῦ Ἀντιγόῳ τεταγμένοι Γαλάται, συχνοὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ὑπέστησαν εὐρώστως· καὶ καρτερᾶς μάχης γενομένης τούτων μὲν οἱ πλείστοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἡγεμόνες ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενοι παρέδωκαν
4 ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰ θηρία πάντα. προσλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τηλικαῦτα, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς λογισμοῖς χρώμενος, ἐπῆγε τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναπεπλησμένη ταραχῆς καὶ φόβου διὰ τὴν ἡτταν. ὅθεν ἐμβολῆς μὲν ἔσχοντο καὶ

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undertakings, but he kept his brave spirit unconquered in the midst of his defeats; and men believed that in military experience, personal prowess, and daring, he was by far the first of the kings of his time, but that what he won by his exploits he lost by indulging in vain hopes, since through passionate desire for what he had not he always failed to establish securely what he had. For this reason Antigonus used to liken him to a player with dice who makes many fine throws but does not understand how to use them when they are made.

He returned to Epeirus¹ with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, and since he had no money he sought for a war by which he could maintain his army. Some Gauls joined him, and he thereupon made an incursion into Macedonia, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius was reigning, designing to strip and plunder the country. But after he had taken a great number of cities and two thousand Macedonian soldiers had come over to him, he began to hope for greater things, and set out to attack Antigonus, and falling upon him in a narrow pass, threw his whole army into confusion. The Gauls who formed the rearguard of Antigonus, a numerous body, made a sturdy resistance; but after a fierce battle most of these were cut to pieces, while those who had charge of the elephants were hemmed in and surrendered themselves and all their animals. Then Pyrrhus, thus greatly strengthened, and consulting his good fortune rather than his judgment, advanced upon the phalanx of the Macedonians, which was filled with confusion and fear because of their previous defeat. For this

¹ Late in the year 274 B.C.

μάχης πρὸς αὐτόν, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ ταξιάρχους ἀνακαλούμενος, ἅπαντας ὁμαλῶς ἀπέστησε τοὺς πεζοὺς τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου.
 5 ~~καὶ~~ ^{καὶ} κἄκεῖνος μὲν ὑποφεύγων ἅμα ~~τῶν~~ ^{τῶν} ἱππέων ὀλίγοις¹ τῶν παραλίων τινὰς πόλεων κατέσχευεν, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἐν εὐτυχήμασι τοσούτοις μέγιστον αὐτῷ πρὸς δόξαν οἰόμενος διαπεπραῆχθαι τὸ περὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα τῶν λαφύρων ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτωνίδος Ἀθηνᾶς, τότε τὸ ἐλεγείον ἐπιγράψας·

Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰτωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθάνᾳ
 Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,
 πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν· οὐ μέγα
 θαῦμα·

✠ ^ἔχμηται καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι.

6 μετὰ τὴν μάχην δὲ εὐθύς ἀνελάμβανε τὰς πόλεις. τῶν δὲ Αἰγαιῶν κρατήσας τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ φρουρὰν Γαλατικὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπε τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένων. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται γένος ἀπληστότατον χρημάτων ὄντες ἐπέθεντο τῶν βασιλέων αὐτόθι κεκηδευμένων τοὺς τάφους ὀρύττειν, καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα διήρπασαν, τὰ δὲ ὅσα πρὸς ὕβριν διέριψαν.
 7 τοῦτο κούφως ἔδοξε καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐνεγκεῖν ὁ Πύρρος, ἢ δι' ἀσχολίας τινὰς ὑπερθέμενος ἢ παρὲς ὅλως διὰ φόβον τὸ κολάσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· ὅθεν ἤκουσε κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων. οὐπω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ βεβαιότητα καὶ σύστασιν ἐχόντων μόνιμον, ἠωρεῖτο τῇ γνώμῃ

¹ τῶν ἱππέων ὀλίγοις supplied by Blass, in conformity with the translation of Amyot : ἅμα τῶν παραλίων.

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reason they refrained from engagement or battle with him, whereupon Pyrrhus, stretching out his right hand and calling upon the generals and captains, brought over to him all the infantry of Antigonos in a body. So Antigonos took to flight with a few of his horsemen, and occupied some of the seaboard cities; while Pyrrhus, thinking that amid so many successes his achievement against the Gauls conducted most to his glory, dedicated the most beautiful and splendid of the spoils in the temple of Athena Itonis, with the following elegiac inscription :

“These shields, now suspended here as a gift to Athena Itonis, Pyrrhus the Molossian took from valiant Gauls, after defeating the entire army of Antigonos; which is no great wonder; for now, as well as in olden time, the Aeacidae are brave spearmen.”

After the battle, however, he at once proceeded to occupy the cities. And after getting Aegae into his power, besides other severities exercised upon its inhabitants he left as a garrison in the city some of the Gauls who were making the campaign with him. But the Gauls, a race insatiable of wealth, set themselves to digging up the tombs of the kings who had been buried there; the treasure they plundered, the bones they insolently cast to the four winds. This outrage Pyrrhus treated with lightness and indifference, as it was thought; he either postponed punishment because he had some business on hand, or remitted it altogether because he was afraid to chastise the Barbarians; and on this account he was censured by the Macedonians. Moreover, before his affairs were securely and firmly established, his thoughts swung

παλιν πρὸς ἐτέρας ἐλπίδας. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀντίγονον ἐφυβρίζων ἀναίσχυντον ἐκάλει μὴ λαμβάνοντα θοίματιον, ἀλλ' ἔτι τὴν πορφύραν φοροῦντα. Κλεωνύμου δὲ τοῦ Σπαρτιατοῦ παραγενομένου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ὑπήκουσεν.

- 8 Ὁ δὲ Κλεώνυμος ἦν μὲν γένους βασιλικοῦ, δοκῶν δὲ βίαιος εἶναι καὶ μοναρχικὸς οὐτ' εὖνοιαν οὔτε πίστιν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' Ἄρεως ἐβασίλευε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν ἡν κοινὸν ἔγκλημα καὶ πρεσβύτερον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας· γυναῖκα δὲ καλὴν καὶ 401 γένους βασιλικοῦ Χιλωνίδα τὴν Λεωτυχίδου πρεσβύτερος ὦν ἔγημεν ὁ Κλεώνυμος. ἡ δὲ Ἀκροτάτῳ τῷ Ἄρεως ἐπιμανεῖσα, μεираκίῳ καθ' ὧραν ἀκμάζοντι, λυπηρὸν ἐρῶντι τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ καὶ ἄδοξον ὁμοῦ παρεῖχε τὸν γάμον· οὐδένα γὰρ ἐλάνθανε Σπαρτιατῶν καταφρονούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς
- 9 γυναικός. οὕτω δὲ τῶν κατ' οἶκον ἀνιαρῶν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς προσγενομένων ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἐπῆγε τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν Πύρρον, ἔχοντα δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζούς, δισχιλίους δ' ἵππεῖς, ἐλέφαντας δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρας, ὥστε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς παρασκευῆς εὐθὺς εἶναι κατάδηλον οὐ Κλεωνύμῳ τὴν Σπάρτην, ἀλλὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἑαυτῷ κτώμενον, ἐπεὶ τῷ γε λόγῳ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕξαρνος ἦν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρεσβεύ-
- 10 σαντας εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν. ἔφη γὰρ ἐλευθερώσων τὰς ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνῳ πόλεις ἀφίχθαι, καὶ νῆ Δία

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again towards new hopes. He railed at Antigonus and called him a shameless man for not laying aside the purple and wearing a common robe ; and when Cleonymus the Spartan came and invited him to come to Lacedaemon, he readily listened to him.

Now, Cleonymus was of royal lineage, but because he was thought to be of a violent and arbitrary temper, he enjoyed neither goodwill nor confidence at home, but Areus was king there. This was one general ground of complaint which he had against his fellow citizens, and it was of long standing. Besides, Cleonymus in his later years had married Chilonis the daughter of Leotychides, a beautiful woman of royal lineage ; but she had fallen desperately in love with Acrotatus the son of Areus, a young man in the flower of his age, and thus rendered his marriage distressing to Cleonymus, since he loved her, and at the same time disgraceful ; for every Spartan was well aware that the husband was despised by his wife. Thus his domestic vexations added themselves to his political disappointment, and in indignation and wrath he brought Pyrrhus against Sparta.¹ Pyrrhus had twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand horse, besides twenty-four elephants, so that the magnitude of his preparations made it clear at once that he was not aiming to acquire Sparta for Cleonymus, but the Peloponnesus for himself. And yet his professions were all to the contrary, and particularly those which he made to the Lacedaemonian ambassadors themselves when they met him at Megalopolis. He told them he had come to set free the cities which were subject to Antigonus, yes, and that he was going to

¹ In 272 B.C.

τοὺς νεωτέρους παῖδας εἰς Σπάρτην, εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, πέμψων ἐντραφησομένους τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἔθεσιν, ὥς τούτῳ πλέον ἔχοιεν ἤδη τῶν πάντων βασιλέων. ταῦτα πλαττόμενος καὶ παράγων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτῷ καθ' ὁδόν, ὥς πρῶτον ἤψατο τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀρπαγὴν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ λεηλασιαν·

- 11 ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβειων, ὅτι μὴ καταγείλας πόλεμον ἐξενήνοχε πρὸς αὐτούς, “ Ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὑμᾶς,” ἔφη, “ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἴσμεν ὅ τι ἂν μέλλητε ποιεῖν ἐτέροις προλέγοντας.” εἰς δὲ τῶν παρόντων, ὄνομα Μανδροκλείδας, εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ λακωνίζων· “ Αἱ μὲν ἐσσι τυ γε θεός, οὐδὲν μὴ πάθωμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικεῦμεν· αἱ δ’ ἄνθρωπος, ἔσσεται καὶ τεῦ κάρρων ἄλλος.”

- XXVII. Ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα· καὶ τοῦ Κλεωνύμου κελεύοντος ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλεῖν φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πύρρος, ὥς λέγεται, μὴ διαρπάσωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν πόλιν ἐν νυκτὶ προσπεσόντες, ἐπέσχεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτὸ ποιήσουσι μεθ’ ἡμέραν. αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἦσαν ὀλίγοι καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι διὰ τὸ αἰφνίδιον, ὃ τε Ἄρευσ οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλ’ ἐν Κρήτῃ Γορτυνίοις πολεμουμένοις βοηθῶν· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔσωσε δι’ ἐρημίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν κατα-
- 2 φρονηθεῖσαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πύρρος οὐδένα μαχεῖσθαι νομίζων κατηυλίσατο, τοῦ δὲ Κλεωνύμου τὴν οἰκίαν οἳ τε φίλοι καὶ εἰλωτες οὕτως ἐκόσμησαν

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send his younger sons to Sparta, if nothing prevented, to be brought up in the Lacedaemonian customs, that so they might presently have the advantage over all other princes. With these fictions he beguiled those who came to meet him on his march, but as soon as he reached Laconian territory he began to ravage and plunder it. And when the Spartan ambassadors upbraided him for making war upon them without previous declaration, he said: "Yet we know that you Spartans also do not tell others beforehand what you are going to do." Whereupon one of those who were present, Mandrocleidas by name, said to him in the broad Spartan dialect: "If thou art a god, we shall suffer no harm at thy hands; for we have done thee no wrong; but if a man, another will be found who is even stronger than thou."

XXVII. After this, he marched down against the city of Sparta. Cleonymus urged him to make the assault as soon as he arrived, but Pyrrhus was afraid, as we are told, that his soldiers would plunder the city if they fell upon it at night, and therefore restrained them, saying that they would accomplish just as much by day. For there were but few men in the city, and they were unprepared, owing to the suddenness of the peril; and Areus was not at home, but in Crete, whither he was bringing military aid for the Gortynians. And this, indeed, more than anything else, proved the salvation of the city, which its weakness and lack of defenders caused to be despised. For Pyrrhus, thinking that no one would give him battle, bivouacked for the night, and the friends and Helot slaves of Cleonymus adorned and furnished his house in the expectation

καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ὥς δειπνήσοντος τοῦ Πύρρου παρ' αὐτῷ.

- Γενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐβουλευσάντο τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς Κρήτην ἀποστέλλειν, αἱ δὲ ἀντέστησαν. Ἀρχιδαμία δὲ καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἦλθεν ἐγκαλοῦσα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ ζῇν αὐτὰς
- 3 ἀξιούσι τῆς Σπάρτης ἀπολομένης. ἔπειτα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων παράλληλον ἔγνωσαν ἐμβαλόντες τάφρον ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτῆς στήσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, μέχρι τοῦ μέσου τῶν τροχῶν καταχώσαντες, ὅπως ἔδραν ἔχουσαι δυσεκβίαστον ἐμποδὼν ὥσι τοῖς θηρίοις. ἀρχομένοις δὲ ταῦτα πράττειν ἤκουσαν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν αἱ μὲν ἐν ἱματίοις, καταζωσάμεναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους, αἱ δὲ μονοχίτωνες, συνεργασόμεναι τοῖς
- 4 πρεσβυτέροις. τοὺς δὲ μάχεσθαι μέλλοντας ἐκέλευον ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ λαβοῦσαι μέτρον αὐταὶ καθ' αὐτὰς ἐξεργάσαντο τῆς τάφρου τὸ τρίτον μέρος. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος αὐτῆς πήχεων ἑξ, τὸ δὲ βάθος τεττάρων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀκτάπλεθρον, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος, ὥς δ' Ἱερώνυμος, ἔλαττον.
- 5 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ κινουμένων τῶν πολεμίων τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς νέοις ὀρέγουσαι καὶ παραδιδούσαι τὴν τάφρον ἀμύνειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐκέλευον, ὥς ἡδὺ μὲν νικᾶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, εὐκλεές δὲ θνήσκειν ἐν χερσὶ μητέρων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀξίως 402 τῆς Σπάρτης πεσόντας. ἡ δὲ Χιλωνίς, ἐκποδὼν οὐσα καθ' ἑαυτήν, βρόχον εἶχεν ἐνημμένον, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ μὴ γένοιτο τῆς πόλεως ἀλούσης.

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that Pyrrhus would take supper there with its owner.

When night had come, the Lacedaemonians at first took counsel to send their women off to Crete, but the women were opposed to this; and Archidamia came with a sword in her hand to the senators and up-braided them in behalf of the women for thinking it meet that they should live after Sparta had perished. Next, it was decided to run a trench parallel with the camp of the enemy, and at either end of it to set their waggons, sinking them to the wheel-hubs in the ground, in order that, thus firmly planted, they might impede the advance of the elephants. When they began to carry out this project, there came to them the women and maidens, some of them in their robes, with tunics girt close, and others in their tunics only, to help the elderly men in the work. The men who were going to do the fighting the women ordered to keep quiet, and assuming their share of the task they completed with their own hands a third of the trench. The width of the trench was six cubits, its depth four, and its length eight hundred feet, according to Phylarchus; according to Hieronymus, less than this. When day came and the enemy were putting themselves in motion, these women handed the young men their armour, put the trench in their charge, and told them to guard and defend it, assured that it was sweet to conquer before the eyes of their fatherland, and glorious to die in the arms of their mothers and wives, after a fall that was worthy of Sparta. As for Chilonis, she withdrew from the rest, and kept a halter about her neck, that she might not come into the power of Cleonymus if the city were taken.

- XXVIII. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Πύρρος ἐβιάζετο κατὰ στόμα τοῖς ὀπλίταις πρὸς ἀσπίδας πολλὰς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀντιπαρατεταγμένας, καὶ τάφρον οὐ περατὴν οὐδὲ βάσιν ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς μαχομένοις παρέχουσαν ὑπὸ χαυνότητος. ὁ δὲ παῖς Πτολεμαῖος, ἔχων δισχιλίους Γαλάτας καὶ Χαόνων λογάδας, ἐξελίξας τὴν τάφρον ἐπειράτο κατὰ τὰς ἀμάξας ὑπερβαίνειν. αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ πυκνότητος οὐ μόνον τούτοις τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δύσεργον ἐποιοῦν τὴν βοήθειαν.
- 2 ἀνασπώντων δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν τοὺς τροχοὺς καὶ ὑποσυρόντων τὰς ἀμάξας εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, κατιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ νεανίας Ἀκρότατος καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαδραμὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων περιήλθε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, οὐ συνορώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τινὰς συγκλινίας, ἕως προσέβαλε τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἠνάγκασε μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὠθυμένους ὑπ' ἀλλήλων εἰς τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ περὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις πίπτοντας, ἄχρι οὗ φόνω πολλῶ
- 3 μολὶς ἀνεκόπησαν. ἐθεῶντο δὲ οἳ τε πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀριστεύοντα τὸν Ἀκρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆει πάλιν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, αἵματος κατάπλεως καὶ γαῦρος, ὑπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐπηρμένος, καὶ μείζων ἔδοξε γεγονέναι καὶ καλλίων ταῖς Λακαῖναις, καὶ τὴν Χιλωνίδα τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐξήλουν. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τινὲς ἐπηκολούθουν βοῶντες. “Οἶχε, Ἀκρότατε, καὶ οἶφε τὰν Χιλωνίδα· μόνον παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς τῇ Σπάρτᾳ ποίει.”
- 4 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πύρρον αὐτὸν ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης συνεστῶσης ἄλλοι τε λαμπρῶς ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ

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XXVIII. Pyrrhus himself, then, with his men-at-arms, tried to force his way directly against the many shields of the Spartans which confronted him, and over a trench which was impassable and afforded his soldiers no firm footing owing to the freshly turned earth. But his son Ptolemy, with two thousand Gauls and picked Chaonians, went round the trench and tried to force a passage where the waggons were. These, however, being so deeply planted in the earth and so close together, made not only his onset, but also the counter-efforts of the Lacedaemonians, a difficult matter. The Gauls pulled the wheels up and were dragging the waggons down into the river; but the young Acrotatus saw the danger, and running through the city with three hundred men got round behind Ptolemy without being seen by him, owing to some depressions in the ground, and at last fell upon his rear ranks and forced them to turn about and fight with him. And now the Barbarians crowded one another into the trench and fell among the waggons, and finally, after great slaughter, were successfully driven back. The elderly men and the host of women watched the brilliant exploit of Acrotatus. And when he went back again through the city to his allotted post, covered with blood and triumphant, elated with his victory, the Spartan women thought that he had become taller and more beautiful than ever, and envied Chilonis her lover. Moreover, some of the elderly men accompanied him on his way, crying: "Go, Acrotatus, and take to thyself Chilonis; only, see that thou begettest brave sons for Sparta."

A fierce battle was also waged where Pyrrhus himself led, and many Spartans made a splendid

Φύλλιος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντισχὼν καὶ πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τῶν βιαζομένων, ὥς ἦσθετο τραυμάτων πλήθει παραλυόμενον ἑαυτόν, ἐκστάς τινα τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῆς χώρας ἔπεσεν ἐντὸς τῶν ὀπλων, ὥστε μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις.

XXIX. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἡ μάχη διεκρίθη· καὶ κοιμώμενος ὁ Πύρρος ὄψιν εἶδε τοιαύτην. ἐδόκει βάλλεσθαι κεραυνοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ φλέγεσθαι πᾶσαν, αὐτὸν δὲ χαίρειν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς χαρᾶς ἐξεγρόμενος τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας ἐκέλευεν ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις διηγέιτο τὸν ὄνειρον ὡς ληψόμενος κατὰ κράτος
2 τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι θαυμασιῶς ἐπέιθοντο, Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ οὐκ ἤρεσκεν ἡ ὄψις, ἀλλ' ἔφη δεδιέναι μὴ, καθάπερ τὰ βαλλόμενα τοῖς κεραυνοῖς ἀνέμβατα μένει χωρία, καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ προσημαίνει τὸ θεῖον ἀνείσοδον ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ πυλαϊκῆς ὀχλαγωγίας καὶ ἀσοφίαν ἔχοντα πολλήν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δεῖ τὰ ὄπλα διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντας ὑποβάλλειν ἑαυτοῖς,

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ Πύρρου,

ἐξανέστη καὶ προσῆγεν ἅμ' ἡμέρα τὸν στρατόν.
3 Ἡμύνοντο δὲ προθυμῶς καὶ ἀρετῇ παρὰ δύναμιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· καὶ παρήσαν αἱ γυναῖκες ὀρέγ-

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fight, but particularly Phyllius, who surpassed all in the tenacity of his resistance and the numbers of the on-rushing enemy whom he slew ; and when he perceived that his powers were failing from the multitude of the wounds he had received, he made way for one of his comrades in the line, and fell inside the ranks, that his dead body might not come into the hands of the enemy.

XXIX. Night put an end to the battle ; and Pyrrhus, as he slept, had the following vision. He dreamed that Sparta was smitten with thunderbolts from his hand and was all ablaze, and that he was filled with joy. His joy waked him from sleep, and he commanded his officers to get the army ready for action, and narrated his dream to his friends, convinced that he was going to take the city by storm. Most of them, then, were fully persuaded that he was right, but Lysimachus was not pleased with the vision ; he said he was afraid lest, as places smitten by thunderbolts are kept free from the tread of men, the Deity might be indicating in advance to Pyrrhus also that the city was not to be entered by him. But Pyrrhus declared that this was nonsense intended for the crowd, and great folly, and calling upon his hearers to take their arms in their hands and act upon the belief that

“One is the best of all omens, to fight in defence of Pyrrhus,”¹

rose up, and at day-break led forth his army.

But the Lacedaemonians defended themselves with an alacrity and bravery beyond their strength ; the

¹ An adaptation of *Iliad*, xii. 243, by substituting “Pyrrhus” for “one’s country” (Πύρρον for πατρίς).

- ουσαι βέλη, καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρουσαι, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσαι τοὺς τιτρωσκομένους. τὴν τε τάφρον οἱ Μακεδόνες χοῦν ἐπειρῶντο, πολλὴν συμφοροῦντες ὕλην, ὑφ' ἧς ὄπλα καὶ σώματα νεκρῶν ἐπιχειομένης ἀπεκρύ-
- 4 πτετο. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθούντων ὥφθη παρὰ τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ὁ Πύρρος ἵππῳ βιαζόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. κραυγῆς δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένων γενομένης καὶ δρόμου καὶ ὀλολυγμοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἥδη διεξελαύνοντι τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ προσκειμένῳ τοῖς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐξήλατο Κρητικῷ βέλει πληγείς ὁ ἵππος ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ κατέβαλε δυσθανατῶν τὸν Πύρρον εἰς τόπους ὀλισθηροὺς καὶ 403
- 5 κατάντεις. θορυβουμένων δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπέδραμον οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς βέλεσιν ἐξέωσαν ἅπαντας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μάχην ἔπαυεν, οἴομενος ἐνδώσειν οἱ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους σχεδὸν ἀπάντων κατατετρωμένων αὐτοῖς, πεπτωκότων δὲ πολλῶν. ἡ δ' ἀγαθὴ τύχη τῆς πόλεως, εἴτε πείραν ἀρετῆς λαμβάνουσα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἴθ' ἑαυτῆς, ὅσῃ ἐν ἀπόροις
- 6 ἔχει δύναμιν, ἀπόδειξιν διδοῦσα, μοχθηρὰς ἤδη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχόντων τὰς ἐλπίδας Ἀμεινίαν τε Φωκέα, τῶν Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγῶν, ἐκ Κορίνθου βοηθήσοντα παρεισήγαγε μετὰ ξένων, καὶ τοῦτον ἄρτι δεδεγμένων ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς Ἀρεὺς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης δισχιλίους στρατιώτας κομίζων. αἱ τε δὴ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας

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women, too, were at hand, proffering missiles, distributing food and drink to those who needed them, and taking up the wounded. The Macedonians tried to fill up the trench, collecting and throwing into it great quantities of materials, beneath which the arms and dead bodies were hidden away. And when the Lacedaemonians tried to put a stop to this, Pyrrhus was seen forcing his way on horseback past the trench and the waggons into the city. But the men stationed at this point raised a shout, and there was a concourse and shrieking of the women, and just as Pyrrhus was riding through the waggons and attacking the men in front of him, his horse was wounded in the belly by a Cretan javelin and leaped to one side, and in his death agony threw Pyrrhus upon steep and slippery ground. His companions were thrown into confusion around him, and the Spartans, running upon them and making good use of their missiles, drove them all off. After this, Pyrrhus brought the fighting to a stop at other points also, thinking that the Spartans would make some concessions, now that almost all of them were wounded and many had fallen. But now the good fortune of the city, either because she was satisfied with the bravery of its men, or because she would show forth the great power which she herself has in desperate crises, brought to their aid from Corinth, when the hopes of the Spartans were already sorry, Ameinias the Phocian, one of the generals of Antigonos, with mercenary troops; and no sooner had he been received into the city than Areus the Spartan king came from Crete, bringing with him two thousand soldiers. So the women at once dispersed to their

ἐσκεδάσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀξιούσαι τῶν πολεμικῶν, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης γενομένους ἀφέντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἔταξαν.

- XXX. Τὸν δὲ Πύρρον ἔσχε μὲν τις ἀλκὴ καὶ φιλοτιμία μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς προσγεγονότας κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως· ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε, πληγὰς λαβὼν ἀπέστη καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει διανοούμενος αὐτόθι χειμάσαι. τὸ δὲ χρεὼν ἦν ἄφυκτον. ἐν γὰρ Ἄργει στάσις ἦν Ἀριστέου πρὸς Ἀρίστιππον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ἐδόκει χρῆσθαι φίλῳ τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ, φθίσας ὁ Ἀριστέας ἐκάλει τὸν
- 2 Πύρρον εἰς τὸ Ἄργος. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας ἐξ ἐλπίδων αἰὲ κυλίνδων, καὶ ταῖς μὲν εὐτυχίαις ἐπ' ἄλλας χρώμενος ἀφορμαῖς, ἃ δὲ ἔπταιεν ἐτέροις βουλούμενος ἀναπληροῦν πράγμασιν, οὔτε ἤτταν οὔτε νίκην ὄρον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ταραττέσθαι καὶ ταραττεῖν. εὐθύς οὖν ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος. ὁ δὲ Ἄρευσ ἐνέδρας τε πολλὰς ὑφεῖς καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῆς ὁδοῦ περιέκοπτε τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ τοὺς Μολοσσοὺς ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντας.
- 3 Τῷ δὲ Πύρρῳ προεῖρητο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀλόβων γενομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ μάντεως ἀποβολὴ τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων, παρὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τότε τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ τῷ κινήματι τὸν λογισμὸν ἐκκρουσθεὶς ἐκέλευσε τὸν υἱὸν Πτολεμαῖον λαβόντα τοὺς ἐταίρους παραβοηθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ θάττον ἐκ τῶν στενῶν
- 4 ἐφέλκόμενος τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπῆγεν. ὀξείας δὲ περὶ

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homes, since they no longer thought it meet to busy themselves with the work of war, and the men, after dismissing from their ranks those of unmilitary age whom necessity had brought there, arrayed themselves for battle.

XXX. Pyrrhus, too, was more than ever possessed by a fierce ambition to become master of the city, now that reinforcements had come to it; but since he could accomplish nothing, and met with fresh losses, he went away, and fell to ravaging the country, purposing to spend the winter there. But Fate was not to be escaped. For at Argos there was a feud between Aristetas and Aristippus; and since Aristippus was thought to enjoy the friendship of Antigonus, Aristetas hastened to invite Pyrrhus into Argos. Pyrrhus was always entertaining one hope after another, and since he made one success but the starting point for a new one, while he was determined to make good each disaster by a fresh undertaking, he suffered neither defeat nor victory to put a limit to his troubling himself and troubling others. At once, therefore, he broke camp and set out for Argos. But Areus, by setting frequent ambushes and occupying the most difficult points on the march, kept cutting off the Gauls and Molossians who brought up the rear for Pyrrhus.

Now, it had been foretold to Pyrrhus by his seer, in consequence of sacrifices where no liver could be found, that he was to lose one of his kindred; but here, unhappily, owing to the agitation and tumult among his rear-guard, he forgot himself, and ordered his son Ptolemy with his comrades to go to the rescue, while he himself drew his army more quickly out of the narrow pass and led them forward. A

- τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μάχης γενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
λέκτων Λακεδαιμονίων, ὧν Εὐάλκος ἡγείτο, τοῖς
μαχομένοις πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπλεκομένων, ἀνὴρ
πλήκτης καὶ δραμεῖν ὀξύς, Ὅρουστος ὄνομα, Κρής
Ἀπτεραῖος, ἐκ πλαγίου παραδραμὼν ἀγωνιζό-
μενον ἐκθύμως τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπάταξε καὶ κατέ-
5 βαλε. πεσόντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τροπῆς γενομένης
τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διώκοντες καὶ
κρατοῦντες ἔλαθον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον συνεμβαλόντες
καὶ ἀποληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ
Πύρρος ἄρτι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ παιδὸς ἀκηκοὺς
καὶ περιπαθὼν ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς ἱππεῖς τῶν
Μολοσσῶν. καὶ πρῶτος εἰσελάσας ἐνεπίμπλατο
φόνου τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, αἰὲ μὲν τις ἄμαχος καὶ
δεινὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις φαινόμενος, τότε δὲ ὑπερ-
βάλλων τόλμῃ καὶ βίᾳ τοὺς προτέρους ἀγῶνας.
6 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέβαλε τῷ Εὐάλκῳ τὸν ἵππον, ὁ μὲν ἐκ
πλαγίου παραστὰς μικρὸν ἐδέησε τῷ ξίφει τὴν
ἐπὶ τῆς ἡνίας χεῖρα διακόψαι τοῦ Πύρρου, τὴν δὲ
ἡνίαν πατάξας ἀπέκοψεν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἅμα τῇ
πληγῇ τοῦ δόρατος διελάσας ἐκείνον ἀπερρύνῃ τοῦ
ἵππου, καὶ πεζὸς ἤδη πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐάλκῳ
μαχομένους ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς λογάδας. καὶ μέγα
τοῦτο τῇ Σπάρτῃ παρανάλωμα τοῦ πολέμου πέ-
ρας ἔχοντος ἐποίησεν ἡ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἀρχόντων.
- XXXI. Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ὥσπερ ἐναγισμὸν τινα
τῷ παιδὶ τελέσας καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγωνι-
σάμενος, καὶ πολὺ τῆς λύπης ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους ἀφείς θυμῷ, προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος.
καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἤδη πυνθανόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν 404
ἄκρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου καθῆσθαι, περὶ τὴν Ναυ-

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fierce battle raged where Ptolemy was, and while a band of picked Spartans under the command of Evalcus engaged the soldiers who were fighting in front of him, a man of stout arm and swift foot, Oryssus by name, of Aptera in Crete, ran up on one side of the young prince as he was fighting spiritedly, smote him, and laid him low. Upon Ptolemy's fall and the rout of his company, the Spartans pursued, carrying all before them, and before they were aware of it had dashed out into the plain and were cut off by the infantry of Pyrrhus. Against this band of Spartans Pyrrhus, who had just heard of the death of his son and was in anguish, turned his Molossian horsemen. He himself charged at their head, and sated himself with Spartan blood. He had always shown himself invincible and terrible in arms, but now his daring and might surpassed all previous displays. When he set his horse upon Evalcus, the Spartan stepped aside and had almost cut off with his sword the bridle-hand of Pyrrhus; as it was he hit the rein and severed it. Pyrrhus transfixed the Spartan with a thrust of his spear, and at the same instant fell off his horse, and fighting on foot, at once proceeded to slay all the picked band which was fighting over the body of Evalcus. This great additional loss to Sparta when the war was already at an end was due to the ambition of the commanders.

XXXI. So Pyrrhus, after accomplishing as it were an expiation for his son and celebrating his obsequies with a brilliant contest, having also vented much of his grief in his fury against the enemy, led his army on towards Argos. And when he learned that Antigonus was already posted on the heights com-

πλίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσε. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία κήρυκα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἔπεμψε, λυμεῶνά τε καλῶν καὶ προκαλούμενος εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καταβάντα δια-
 2 γωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν οὐχ ὅπλων μᾶλλον ἢ καιρῶν εἶναι, τῷ δὲ Πύρρῳ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς ἀνεφ-
 γέναι πρὸς θάνατον, εἰ ζῆν μὴ σχολάζει. πρὸς δὲ ἀμφοτέρους πρέσβεις ἦκον ἐξ Ἀργούς, ἀπαλλάτ-
 τεσθαι δεόμενοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔαν μηδετέρου γενομένην, εὖνουν δὲ οὖσαν ἀμφοτέροις. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίγονος ἐπέιθετο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐδίδου τοῖς Ἀργείοις ὁμηρον, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ὡμολόγει μὲν ἀπαλ-
 λαγήσεσθαι, μὴ παρέχων δὲ πίστιν ὑποπτότερος ἦν.

3 Γίνεται δὲ σημεῖον αὐτῷ τε τῷ Πύρρῳ μέγα, τῶν γὰρ βοῶν τεθυμένων αἱ κεφαλαὶ κείμεναι χω-
 ρὶς ἤδη τὰς τε γλώττας ὥφθησαν προβάλλουσαι καὶ περιλιχμώμεναι τὸν ἑαυτῶν φόνον, ἔν τε τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἢ τοῦ Λυκείου προφήτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἐξέδραμε βοῶσα νεκρῶν ὄραν καὶ φόνου κατάπλεω τὴν πόλιν, τὸν δ' αἰτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωροῦντα, εἶτα φροῦδον εἶναι.

XXXII. Σκότους δὲ πολλοῦ προσμίξας ὁ Πύρρος τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ πύλην εὐρὴν ἦν Διαμπερὲς καλοῦσιν ἀνεφγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστέου αὐτοῖς, ἄχρι μὲν τοῦ παρειαπείν τοὺς Γαλάτας τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καταλαβεῖν ἐλάνθανε· τῆς δὲ πύλης τοὺς ἐλέφαντας οὐ δεχομένης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς πύργους αὐτῶν ἀφαιρούντων, εἶτα πάλιν ἐν σκότει καὶ θορύβῳ περιτιθέντων καὶ γενομένης διατριβῆς, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι συναισθόμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ἀσπίδα καὶ τοὺς ὀχυροὺς τόπους

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manding the plain, he pitched his camp near Nauplia. On the following day he sent a herald to Antigonos, calling him a robber, and challenging him to come down into the plain and fight with him for the kingdom. But Antigonos replied that in conducting a campaign he relied more upon opportunities than upon arms, and that many roads to death lay open to Pyrrhus if he was tired of life. And now to both kings came ambassadors from Argos, entreating them to go away and allow the city to be neutral, but well-disposed towards both. Antigonos, accordingly, consented, and gave his son to the Argives as a hostage; Pyrrhus also agreed to go away, but since he gave no pledge, he remained under suspicion.

Moreover, Pyrrhus himself had a significant portent; for the heads of his sacrificed cattle, though they already lay apart from the bodies, were seen to put out their tongues and lick up their own gore. And besides this, in the city of Argos the priestess of Apollo Lyceius ran forth from the temple crying that she saw the city full of corpses and slaughter, and that the eagle which visited the scene of combat presently vanished away.

XXXII. At dead of night Pyrrhus came up to the walls of the city, and finding that the gate called Diamperes had been thrown open for them by Aristneas, was undiscovered long enough for his Gauls to enter the city and take possession of the market-place. But the gate would not admit his elephants, and therefore the towers had to be taken off their backs and put on again when the animals were inside, in darkness and confusion. This caused delay, and the Argives, taking the alarm, ran up to the Aspis and other strong places of the city, and sending

- ἀνέθεον, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐκάλουν πέμποντες.
- 2 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐγγὺς προσελάσας ἐφήδρευε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰσέπεμψε συχνὴν βοήθειαν ἄγοντας. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Ἄρευσ ἔχων χιλίους Κρήτας καὶ Σπαρτιάτας τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους. καὶ πάντες ἅμα τοῖς Γαλάταις προσβαλόντες εἰς πολὺν θόρυβον κατέστησαν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος εἰσιὼν μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βοῆς παρὰ τὴν Κυλάραβιν, ὡς οἱ Γαλάται τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀντηλάλαξαν οὐκ ἰταμὸν οὐδὲ θαρραλέον, εἵκασε ταραττομένων εἶναι τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πονούντων.
- 3 ἐπῆγεν οὖν θάπτον, ὥθων τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἱππέων δυσοδοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὀχετοῖς, ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ μεστή, καὶ κινδυνεύοντας. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀσάφεια πολλὴ τῶν δρωμένων καὶ παραγγελλομένων ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ, καὶ πλάναι καὶ διασπασμοὶ περὶ τοὺς στενωπούς, καὶ στρατηγίας οὐδὲν ἔργον ὑπὸ σκότους καὶ βοῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ στενότητος, ἀλλὰ διέτριβον ἄλλως περιμένοντες ἀμφοτέρωι τὴν ἡμέραν.
- 4 Ἦδη δὲ διαλάμποντος ἥ τε Ἀσπίς ὅπλων περίπλεως πολεμίων ὀφθεῖσα τὸν Πύρρον διετάραξε, καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασι κατιδὼν λύκον χαλκοῦν καὶ ταῦρον οἷον εἰς μάχην ἀλλήλοισι συνιόντας ἐξεπλάγη, χρησμόν τινα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκὼν παλαιόν, ὡς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ πεπρωμένον ὅταν λύκον ἴδῃ ταύρῳ μαχόμενον.
- 5 ταῦτα δὲ Ἀργεῖοι πάθους ὑπομνήματα παλαιοῦ

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to Antigonus called upon him for help. Antigonus marched up close to the city, and lying in wait there himself, sent his generals and his son inside with a considerable relief-force. Areus also came, with a thousand Cretans and Spartans (the most lightly armed). All these troops united in an assault upon the Gauls and threw them into great confusion. And Pyrrhus, who now entered the city with shouts and cries by way of Cylarabis,¹ noticed that the Gauls did not answer his men with any vigour or courage, and therefore conjectured that their response was that of men confounded and in distress. Accordingly, he led on faster, pushing along the horsemen in front of him, who were making their way with difficulty among the water-conduits, of which the city is full, and were in peril of their lives from them. And now, in this night-battle, there was great uncertainty as to what commands were given and how the commands were carried out; men straggled and lost their way among the narrow streets, and generalship was of no avail owing to the darkness, confused shouting, and confined spaces; both parties therefore were unable to accomplish anything and waited for the day.

But when at last it began to grow light, the sight of the Aspis filled with armed enemies greatly disturbed Pyrrhus; moreover, among the numerous votive-offerings in the market-place he caught sight of a wolf and bull in bronze, represented as closing with one another in battle, and he was dumbfounded, for he called to mind an ancient oracle regarding himself which declared that it was fated for him to die when he saw a wolf fighting with a bull. Now, the Argives say that these figures were set up in

¹ A gymnasium just outside the city towards the East.

γενενησθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι. Δαναῶ γάρ, ὅτε
 πρῶτον ἐπέβη τῆς χώρας κατὰ τὰ Πυράμια τῆς
 Θυρεάτιδος, εἰς Ἄργος πορευομένῳ λύκον φανῆναι
 ταύρῳ μαχόμενον· θέμενον δὲ τὸν Δαναὸν ὡς ὁ
 λύκος εἶη πρὸς αὐτοῦ (ξένον γὰρ ὄντα τοῖς ἐγγω-
 ρίοις ἐπιτίθεται καθάπερ αὐτόν), ἐφορᾶν τὴν
 μάχην, καὶ τοῦ λύκου κρατήσαντος Ἀπόλλωνι
 Λυκείῳ προσευξάμενον ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ περι-
 γενέσθαι, στάσει Γελάνορος, ὃς τότε τῶν Ἀργείων
 ἐβασίλευεν, ἐκπεσόντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα 405
 τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν λόγον.

XXXIII. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ὁ Πύρρος ἄμα καὶ
 τῷ μηδὲν ὦν ἤλπιζε¹ προχωρεῖν ἀθυμῶν ἀναστρέ-
 φειν διανοεῖτο· τὰς δὲ πύλας στενὰς οὖσας φο-
 βούμενος ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Ἑλενον μετὰ τῆς
 πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἔξω καταλελειμμένον, κελεύων
 τοῦ τείχους διασκάπτειν καὶ δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἐκπίπ-
 2 τοντας, ἂν ἐνοχλῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ
 θορύβῳ τοῦ πεμφθέντος οὐδὲν σαφὲς ἀπαγγέλλον-
 τος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαμαρτίας γενομένης, τῶν θηρίων τὰ
 λοιπὰ καὶ στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους
 ὁ νεανίσκος εἴσω διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐχώρει τῷ πατρὶ
 βοηθήσων. ἔτυχε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἀναστρέφων ἤδη. καὶ
 μέχρι μὲν ἡ ἀγορὰ παρείχεν ὑπεξάγοντι χώραν καὶ
 μαχομένῳ, ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἡμύνετο τοὺς ἐπιφερο-
 3 μένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς τὸν στενωπὸν
 ἐξωσθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἀνήκοντα συνέπιπτε
 τοῖς ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσφερομένοις, οἱ

¹ ἤλπιζε Coraës, Bekker, and Blass, with the MSS.: ἤλπισε.

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their market-place as memorials of an ancient event. Namely, when Danaüs first landed in the country, near Pyramia in the district of Thyreatis, and was on his way to Argos, he saw a wolf fighting with a bull; and conceiving that he himself was represented by the wolf (since both were strangers and were attacking the natives), he watched the battle to its end, and when the wolf had prevailed, paid his vows to Apollo Lyceiüs (the wolf-god), attacked the city, and was victorious, after Gelanor, who was at that time king of Argos, had been driven out by a faction. This, then, was the significance of the dedication.¹

XXXIII. Dejected at this sight, as well as because none of his hopes were being realized, Pyrrhus purposed to retreat; but fearing the narrowness of the gates he sent to his son Helenus, who had been left outside the city with the greater part of the forces, ordering him to tear down part of the wall and succour those who rushed out through the breach, in case the enemy molested them. Owing to the haste and tumult, however, the messenger brought no clear orders, but actually made a mistake, and the young prince, taking the rest of the elephants and the best of his soldiers, marched through the gate into the city to help his father. But Pyrrhus was already on the retreat. And as long as the market-place afforded him room for withdrawing and fighting, he would turn and repel his assailants; but after he had been driven out of the market-place into the narrow street which led up to the gate, and encountered those who were rushing to his aid from the opposite direction, some of these could not hear

¹ Cf. Pausanias, ii. 19, 3.

μὲν οὐχ ὑπήκουον ὑποχωρεῖν βοῶντος αὐτοῦ, τοὺς
 δὲ καὶ πάννυ προθύμους ὄντας εἶργον οἱ κατόπιν
 4 ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης ἐπιχεόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μέγιστος
 ἐλέφας ἐν τῇ πύλῃ πλάγιος παραπесὼν καὶ βρυ-
 χώμενος ἐμποδὼν ἔκειτο τοῖς ἀποτρεπομένοις, καὶ
 τῶν προεισεληλυθότων ἕτερος, ᾧ Νίκων ὄνομα ἦν,
 ἀπορρυέντα τὸν ἐπιστάτην ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ζητῶν
 ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ φερόμενος πρὸς τούναντίον τοῖς
 ὑπεξάγουσιν, ἀνέμιξε φίλους ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμίους
 5 ὠθομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ περιέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις,
 ἕως εὐρὼν νεκρὸν ἀνείλετο τῇ προβοσκίδι, καὶ
 τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις ὑπολαβὼν ἀνέστρεφε
 πάλιν ὥσπερ ἐμμανής, ἀνατρέπων καὶ διαφθείρων
 τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οὕτω δὲ θλιβομένων καὶ
 συμπιλουμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ
 καθ' ἓνα χρῆσθαι δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν
 σῶμα συγγεγομφωμένον ἑαυτῷ τὸ πᾶν πλήθος
 ἐλάμβανε πολλὰς ἀποκλίσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπ'
 6 ἀμφοτέρα. καὶ μάχαι μὲν ἦσαν ὀλίγαι πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐναπολαμβανομένους αἰεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ προσ-
 κειμένους ὅπισθεν, πλεῖστα δὲ ἑαυτοὺς εἰργά-
 ζοντο κακί. σπασάμενον γὰρ τὸ ξίφος ἢ κλίναντα
 λόγχην οὐκ ἦν ἀναλαβεῖν οὐδὲ καταθέσθαι πάλιν,
 ἀλλ' ἐχώρει δι' ὧν ἔτυχε τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, καὶ
 περιπίπτοντες ἀλλήλοις ἔθνησκον.

XXXIV. Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἐφορῶν τὸν περιέχοντα
 χειμῶνα καὶ κλύδωνα, τὴν μὲν στεφάνην, ἣ διὰ-
 σημον ἦν τὸ κράνος, ἀφελὼν ἔδωκέ τινι τῶν ἐταί-
 ρων, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ πεποιθῶς εἰς τοὺς

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him when he called out to them to withdraw, and those who did, even though they were very ready to obey him, were kept from doing so by those who were pouring in behind them from the gate. For the largest of the elephants had fallen athwart the gateway¹ and lay there roaring, in the way of those who would have turned back; and another elephant, one of those which had gone on into the city, Nicon by name, seeking to recover his rider, who had fallen from his back in consequence of wounds, and dashing in the face of those who were trying to get out, crowded friends and foes alike together in a promiscuous throng, until, having found the body of his master, he took it up with his proboscis, laid it across his two tusks, and turned back as if crazed, overthrowing and killing those who came in his way. Thus crushed and matted together not a man of them could act at all for himself, but the whole multitude, bolted together, as it were, into one body, kept rolling and swaying this way and that. Little fighting could be done against those of the enemy who were continually being caught up into their ranks or attacking them from the rear, and they wrought most harm to themselves. For when a man had drawn his sword or poised his spear, he could not recover or sheathe his weapon again, but it would pass through those who stood in its way, and so they died from one another's blows.

XXXIV. But Pyrrhus, seeing the stormy sea that surged about him, took off the coronal, with which his helmet was distinguished, and gave it to one of his companions; then, relying on his horse, he plunged in among the enemy who were pursuing

¹ "De travers tout au beau milieu de la porte" (Amyot).

- ἐπομένους τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δόρατι πληγεὶς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος οὐ καιρίαν πληγὴν οὐδὲ μεγάλην ἐπέστρεψε κατὰ τοῦ πατάξαντος, ὃς ἦν Ἀργεῖος, οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ πενιχρᾶς καὶ
- 2 πρεσβυτέρας υἱὸς γυναικός. αὕτη τότε θεωμένη τὴν μάχην ὥσπερ αἱ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους, ὡς ἐπέγνω συνεστῶτα τῷ Πύρρῳ τὸν υἱόν, ἐκπαθὴς γενομένη πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἄρασα κεραμίδα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἀφήκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον. ἐμπεσούσης δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους, καὶ τῶν σφονδύλων πρὸς τὴν βάσιν τοῦ τραχήλου συντριβέντων, αἷ τε ὄψεις συνεχύθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προήκαντο τὰς ἡνίας αἱ χεῖρες. αὐτὸς δὲ κατενεχθεὶς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Λικυμνίου σηκὸν
- 3 ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοούμενος. Ζώπυρος δὲ τις τῶν παρὰ Ἀντιγόνῳ στρατευομένων καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἕτεροι προσδραμόντες καὶ κατανόησαντες εἰς τινα θυρῶνα παρείλκυσαν αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέρεσθαι. σπασαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ζωπύρου μάχαιραν Ἰλλυρικὴν ὡς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμοῦντος ἐνέβλεψε δεινόν, ὥστε τὸν Ζωπυρον περίφοβον γενόμενον, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρέμοντα ταῖς χερσί, τὰ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντα, θορύβου δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς μεστὸν ὄντα, μὴ κατ' ὀρθόν, ἀλλὰ
- 4 δέως καὶ μόλις ἀποσπᾶσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἤδη δὲ σύνδηλον ἦν τὸ γεγονὸς πλείοσι, καὶ προσδραμὼν ὁ Ἀλκυονεὺς ἤτησε τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἂν κατανόησιν. λαβὼν δὲ ἀφίππευσε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ καθεζομένῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων προσέβαλε. θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ γνοὺς ὁ Ἀντίγονος τὸν μὲν υἱόν

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him. Here he was wounded by a spear which pierced his breastplate—not a mortal, nor even a severe wound—and turned upon the man who had struck him, who was an Argive, not of illustrious birth, but the son of a poor old woman. His mother, like the rest of the women, was at this moment watching the battle from the house-top, and when she saw that her son was engaged in conflict with Pyrrhus, she was filled with distress in view of the danger to him, and lifting up a tile with both her hands threw it at Pyrrhus. It fell upon his head below his helmet and crushed the vertebrae at the base of his neck, so that his sight was blurred and his hands dropped the reins. Then he sank down from his horse and fell near the tomb of Licymnius,¹ unrecognised by most who saw him. But a certain Zopyrus, who was serving under Antigonus, and two or three others, ran up to him, saw who he was, and dragged him into a door-way just as he was beginning to recover from the blow. And when Zopyrus drew an Illyrian short-sword with which to cut off his head, Pyrrhus gave him a terrible look, so that Zopyrus was frightened; his hands trembled, and yet he essayed the deed; but being full of alarm and confusion his blow did not fall true, but along the mouth and chin, so that it was only slowly and with difficulty that he severed the head. Presently what had happened was known to many, and Alcioneus, running to the spot, asked for the head as if he would see whose it was. But when he had got it he rode away to his father, and cast it down before him as he sat among his friends. Antigonus, however, when he saw and recognised the head, drove his son

¹ Cf. Pausanias, ii. 22, 8.

ἀπήλασε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ παίων καὶ καλῶν ἐναγῇ καὶ βάρβαρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα προθέμενος τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐδάκρυσεν, Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ πάππου μνησθεὶς καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ πατρός, οἰκείων παραδειγμάτων εἰς τύχης μεταβολήν.

- 5 Τὴν μὲν οὖν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Πύρρου κοσμήσας ἔκαυσεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀλκυονεὺς τῷ Ἑλένῳ περιτυχὼν ταπεινῷ καὶ χλαμύδιον λιτὸν ἀμπεχομένῳ φιλανθρώπως ἐνέτυχε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ προσήγαγεν, ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος “Βελτίονα μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ, ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων,¹ ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ νῦν ὀρθῶς τῷ μὴ περιελεῖν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην, ἣ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς καταισχύνει τοὺς κρατεῖν δοκοῦντας.”
- 6 ἐκ τούτου φιλοφρονησάμενος καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν Ἑλενον ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἡπειρον, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ Πύρρου πρῶως ἐνετύγχανε τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως πάσης κύριος γενόμενος.

¹ προτέρων Bekker adopts the πρότερον of Muretus.

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away, smiting him with his staff and calling him impious and barbarous ; then, covering his face with his cloak he burst into tears, calling to mind Antigonus his grandfather and Demetrius his father, who were examples in his own family of a reversal of fortune.

The head and body of Pyrrhus, then, Antigonus caused to be adorned for burial and burned ; and when Alcyoneus found Helenus in an abject state and wearing a paltry cloak, and spoke to him kindly and brought him into the presence of his father, Antigonus was pleased with his conduct, and said : " This is better, my son, than what thou didst before ; but not even now hast thou done well in allowing this clothing to remain, which is a disgrace the rather to us who are held to be the victors." Then, after showing kindness to Helenus and adorning his person, he sent him back to Epeirus, and he dealt mildly with the friends of Pyrrhus when he became master of their camp and of their whole force.

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ΓΑΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΟΣ

- Ι. Γαίου Μαρίου τρίτον οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν ὄνομα, καθάπερ οὐδὲ Κοῖντου Σερτωρίου τοῦ κατασχόντος Ἰβηρίαν, οὐδὲ Λευκίου Μομμίου -οῦ Κόρινθον ἐλόντος· ὁ γὰρ Ἀχαικὸς τούτῳ γε τῆς πράξεως ἐπώνυμον γέγονεν, ὡς ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς
- 2 Σκηπίωνι καὶ ὁ Μακεδονικὸς Μετέλλῳ. ἐξ οὗ καὶ μάλιστα Ποσειδώνιος ἐλέγχειν οἶεται τοὺς τὸ τρίτον ὄνομα Ῥωμαίοις κύριον εἶναι νομίζοντας, οἶον τὸν Κάμιλλον καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα· γίνεσθαι γὰρ ἂν ἀνωνύμους¹ τοὺς ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν δυεῖν προσαγορευομένους. λανθάνει δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὅτι τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἀνωνύμους ποιεῖ² τὰς γυναῖκας· οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ γυναικὶ τίθεται τῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ πρῶτον, ὅπερ οἶεται κυρίως ὄνομα Ῥωμαίοις ὑπάρχειν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος.
- 3 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ἀπὸ συγγενείας, τοὺς Πομπηίους καὶ τοὺς Μαλλίους καὶ τοὺς Κορνηλίους (ὥσπερ ἂν Ἡρακλείδας τις εἴποι καὶ Πελοπίδας), τοῦτο δὲ προσηγορικὸν ἐξ ἐπιθέτου πρὸς τὰς φύσεις ἢ τὰς πράξεις ἢ τὰ τοῦ σώματος εἶδη καὶ πάθη τίθεσθαι, τὸν Μακρίνον καὶ τὸν Τουρκουᾶτον καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν (οἶόν ἐστιν ὁ Μνήμων ἢ ὁ Γρυπὸς ἢ ὁ Καλλίνικος). εἰς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα

¹ ἂν ἀνωνύμους Ziegler, after Schaefer : ἀνωνύμους.

² ποιεῖ Bekker and Ziegler, after Coraës : ποιεῖται.

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I. OF a third name for Caius Marius we are ignorant, as we are in the case of Quintus Sertorius the subduer of Spain, and of Lucius Mummius the captor of Corinth ; for Mummius received the surname of Achaicus from his great exploit, as Scipio received that of Africanus, and Metellus that of Macedonicus. From this circumstance particularly Poseidonius thinks to confute those who hold that the third name is the Roman proper name, as, for instance, Camillus, Marcellus, or Cato ; for if that were so, he says, then those with only two names would have had no proper name at all. But it escapes his notice that his own line of reasoning, if extended to women, robs them of their proper names ; for no woman is given the first name, which Poseidonius thinks was the proper name among the Romans. Moreover, of the other two names, one was common to the whole family, as in the case of the Pompeii, the Manlii, or the Corneli (just as a Greek might speak of the Heracleidae or the Pelopidae), and the other was a cognomen or epithet, given with reference to their natures or their actions, or to their bodily appearances or defects, Macrinus, for example, or Torquatus, or Sulla (like the Greek Mnemon, Grypus, or Callinicus).¹ However,

¹ The full name of a Roman citizen consisted of a *praenomen* (the "given," or "proper" name), a *nomen* designating his family or *gens*, and a *cognomen*, which was also hereditary. Women rarely had a *praenomen*, or "proper" name, but bore the family name only.

πολλὰς δίδωσιν ἐπιχειρήσεις ἢ τῆς συνηθείας ἀνωμαλία.

- II. Τῆς δὲ ὄψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθίνην εἰκόνα κειμένην ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμεθα πάντῃ τῇ λεγομένη περὶ τὸ ἦθος στρυφνότητι καὶ πικρία πρέπουσαν. ἀνδρώδης γὰρ φύσει καὶ πολεμικὸς γενόμενος, καὶ στρατιωτικῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτικῆς παιδείας μεταλαβὼν, ἄκρατον ἐν ταῖς
- 2 ἐξουσίαις τὸν θυμὸν ἔσχε. λέγεται δὲ μήτε γράμματα μαθεῖν Ἑλληνικὰ μήτε γλώττῃ πρὸς μηδὲν Ἑλληνίδι χρῆσθαι τῶν σπουδῆς ἐχομένων, ὥς γελοῖον γράμματα μανθάνειν ὧν οἱ διδάσκαλοι δουλεύοιεν ἐτέροις· μετὰ δὲ τὸν δεύτερον θρίαμβον ἐπὶ ναοῦ τινος καθιερώσει θεάς Ἑλληνικὰς παρέχων, εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἔλθων καὶ μόνον καθίσας 407
- 3 εὐθὺς ἀπαλλαγῆναι. ὥσπερ οὖν Ξενοκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ σκυθρωποτέρῳ δοκοῦντι τὸ ἦθος εἶναι πολλάκις εἰώθει λέγειν ὁ Πλάτων, “ὦ μακάριε Ξενοκράτες, θύε ταῖς Χάρισιν,” οὕτως εἴ τις ἔπεισε Μάριον θύειν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς Μούσαις καὶ Χάρισιν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκπρεπεστάταις στρατηγίαις καὶ πολιτείαις ἀμορφοτάτην ἐπέθηκε κορωνίδα, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλαρχίας ἁώρου καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἀπαρηγορήτων εἰς ὠμότατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον γῆρας ἐξοκείλας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν εὐθὺς θεωρήσθω.

III. Γενόμενος δὲ γονέων παντάπασιν ἁδόξων, αὐτουργῶν δὲ καὶ πενήτων, πατρὸς μὲν ὁμωνύμου, μητρὸς δὲ Φουλκινίας, ὅψέ ποτε πόλιν εἶδε καὶ

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in these matters the irregularity of custom furnishes many topics for discussion.

II. As for the personal appearance of Marius, we have seen a marble statue of him at Ravenna in Gaul, and it very well portrays the harshness and bitterness of character which are ascribed to him. For since he was naturally virile and fond of war, and since he received a training in military rather than in civil life, his temper was fierce when he came to exercise authority. Moreover, we are told that he never studied Greek literature, and never used the Greek language for any matter of real importance, thinking it ridiculous to study a literature the teachers of which were the subjects of another people ; and when, after his second triumph and at the consecration of some temple, he furnished the public with Greek spectacles, though he came into the theatre, he merely sat down, and at once went away. Accordingly, just as Plato was wont to say often to Xenocrates the philosopher, who had the reputation of being rather morose in his disposition, " My good Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces," so if Marius could have been persuaded to sacrifice to the Greek Muses and Graces, he would not have put the ugliest possible crown upon a most illustrious career in field and forum, nor have been driven by the blasts of passion, ill-timed ambition, and insatiable greed upon the shore of a most cruel and savage old age. However, his actual career shall at once bring this into clear view.

III. Born of parents who were altogether obscure—poor people who lived by the labour of their own hands (Marius was his father's name, Fulcinia that of his mother), it was not till late that he saw the city

- τῶν ἐν πόλει διατριβῶν ἐγεύσατο, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν κώμῃ Κιρραιάτωνι τῆς Ἀρπίνης δίαιταν εἶχε, πρὸς μὲν ἀστεῖον καὶ γλαφυρὸν βίον ἀγροικοτέραν, σώφρονα δὲ καὶ ταῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίων
- 2 τροφαῖς ἐοικυῖαν. πρώτην δὲ στρατείαν στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Κελτίβηρας, ὅτε Σκηπίων Ἀφρικανὸς Νομαντίαν ἐπολιόρκει, τὸν στρατηγὸν οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν ἀνδρεία τῶν ἄλλων νέων διαφέρων καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς διαίτης, ἣν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας διεφθαρμένοις ἐπῆγε τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὁ Σκηπίων, εὐκολώτατα προσδεχόμενος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολέμιον ἄνδρα συστὰς κατα-
- 3 βαλεῖν ἐν ὄψει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. διὸ ταῖς τε ἄλλαις προήγετο τιμαῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποτε λόγου μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐμπεσόντος ὑπὲρ στρατηγῶν, καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐνὸς εἴτε ἀληθῶς διαπορήσαντος εἴτε πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐρομένου τὸν Σκηπίωνα τίνα δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔξει μετ' ἐκείνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ προστάτην ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὑπερκατακειμένου τοῦ Μαρίου τῇ χειρὶ τὸν ὦμον ἡρέμα πατάξας ὁ Σκηπίων, "Τάχα δὲ τοῦτον," εἶπεν. οὕτως εὐφύῃς ἦν ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειρακίου φανῆναι μέγας, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ τέλος νοῆσαι.

IV. Τὸν δ' οὖν Μάριον ὑπὸ ταύτης λέγεται μάλιστα τῆς φωνῆς, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θείας κληδόνας, ἐπαρθέντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τυχεῖν δημαρχίας Κεκιλίου Μετέλλου

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or got a taste of city ways. In the meantime he lived at Cirrhaeton,¹ a village in the territory of Arpinum, in a manner that was quite rude when compared with the polished life of a city, but temperate, and in harmony with the rearing which the ancient Romans gave their children. His first service as a soldier was in a campaign against the Celtiberians, when Scipio Africanus was besieging Numantia,² and he attracted the notice of his general by excelling the other young men in bravery, and by his very cheerful acceptance of the changed regimen which Scipio introduced into his army when it was spoiled by luxury and extravagance. It is said, too, that he encountered and laid low an enemy in the sight of his general. Therefore he was advanced by his commander to many honours; and once, when the talk after supper had to do with generals, and one of the company (either because he really wished to know or merely sought to please) asked Scipio where the Roman people would find any such chieftain and leader to follow him, Scipio, gently tapping Marius on the shoulder as he reclined next him, said: "Here, perhaps." So gifted by nature were both men; the one in showing himself great while still a young man, and the other in discerning the end from the beginning.

IV. So, then, Marius, filled with high hopes, we are told, by this speech of Scipio in particular, as if it were a divine utterance in prophecy, set out upon a political career, and was made tribune of the people³ with the assistance of Caecilius Metellus, of

¹ Probably a corruption for Cereatae.

² 134-133 B.C.

³ In 119 B.C., at the age of thirty-eight.

- σπουδάσαντος, οὐ τὸν οἶκον ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ πατρό-
 2 θεν ἐθεράπευεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ νόμον τινα
 περὶ ψηφοφορίας γράφοντος αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντα τῶν
 δυνατῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἰσχύν,
 ἐνιστάμενος Κόττας ὁ ὕπατος συνέπεισε τὴν βου-
 λὴν τῷ μὲν νόμῳ μάχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Μάριον καλεῖν
 λόγον ὑφέξοντα. καὶ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου γρα-
 φέντος εἰσελθὼν ἐκείνος οὐκ ἔπαθε νέου πάθος ἀπὸ
 μηδενὸς λαμπροῦ προεληλυθότος ἄρτι πρὸς τὴν
 πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς ἤδη φρονεῖν ἡλικίαν
 αἱ μετέπειτα πράξεις ἔδωκαν, ἠπείλησε τὸν Κότ-
 3 ταν ἀπάγειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, εἰ μὴ διαγράψει
 τὸ δόγμα. τοῦ δὲ πρὸς Μέτελλον τραπομένου καὶ
 γνώμην ἐρωτῶντος, Μέτελλος μὲν ἀναστὰς συν-
 ηγόρει τῷ ὑπάτῳ, Μάριος δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν μετα-
 πεμφάμενος ἔξωθεν ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν τὸν
 Μέτελλον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἐπικαλουμένου δημάρχους ἐβοήθει μὲν
 οὐδεὶς, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος εἴξασα προήκατο τὸ δόγμα.
 καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐξελάσας ὁ Μάριος εἰς τὸ πλῆθος
 ἐκύρωσε τὸν νόμον, δόξας ἄκαμptos μὲν εἶναι
 πρὸς φόβον, ἄτρεπτος δὲ ὑπ' αἰδοῦς, δεινὸς δὲ
 κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνίστασθαι χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν
 4 δημαγωγῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν ταχέως
 μετέστησεν ἐτέρῳ πολιτεύματι τὴν δόξαν. νόμου
 γὰρ εἰσφερομένου περὶ σίτου διανομῆς τοῖς πολί-
 ταις ἐναντιωθεὶς ἐρρωμενέστατα καὶ κρατήσας,
 εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἑαυτὸν κατέστησε τῇ τιμῇ πρὸς 408
 ἀμφοτέρους ὡς μηδετέροις παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον
 χαριζόμενος.

V. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀγορανομίαν τὴν
 μείζονα παρήγγειλε. δύο γάρ εἰσι τάξεις ἀγο-

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whose house he had always been an hereditary adherent. While serving as tribune he introduced a law concerning the mode of voting, which, as it was thought, would lessen the power of the nobles in judicial cases; whereupon Cotta the consul opposed him and persuaded the senate to contest the law, and to summon Marius before it to explain his procedure. The senate voted to do this, and Marius appeared before it. He did not, however, behave like a young man who had just entered political life without any brilliant services behind him, but assumed at once the assurance which his subsequent achievements gave him, and threatened to hale Cotta off to prison unless he had the vote rescinded. Cotta then turned to Metellus and asked him to express his opinion, and Metellus, rising in his place, concurred with the consul; but Marius called in the officer and ordered him to conduct Metellus himself to prison. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but none of them came to his support, so the senate gave way and rescinded its vote. Marius therefore came forth in triumph to the people and got them to ratify his law. Men now thought him superior to fear, unmoved by respect of persons, and a formidable champion of the people in opposition to the senate. However, this opinion was quickly modified by another political procedure of his. For when a law was introduced providing for the distribution of grain to the citizens, he opposed it most strenuously and carried the day, thereby winning for himself an equal place in the esteem of both parties as a man who favoured neither at the expense of the general good.

V. After his tribuneship, he became a candidate for the higher aedileship. For there are two classes

- ρανομιῶν, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων τῶν ἀγκυλοπόδων, ἐφ' ὧν καθεζόμενοι χρηματίζουσιν, ἔχουσα τοῦνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὴν δ' ὑποδεεστέραν δημοτικὴν καλοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ τοὺς ἐντιμοτέρους ἔλονται περὶ τῶν ἐτέρων πάλιν τὴν ψῆφον λαμβάνουσιν. ὡς οὖν ὁ Μάριος φανερὸς ἦν λειπόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ, ταχὺ μεταστὰς αὐθις ἤτει τὴν ἐτέραν. δόξας δὲ θρασὺς εἶναι καὶ αὐθάδης ἀπέτυχε· καὶ δυσὶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν περιπεσὼν ἀποτεύξεσιν, ὃ μηδεὶς ἔπαθεν ἄλλος, οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑφήκατο τοῦ φρονήματος, ὕστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ στρατηγίαν μετελθὼν ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἐκπεσεῖν, ἔσχατος δὲ πάντων ἀναγορευθεὶς δίκην ἔσχε δεκάσμου.
- 3 Μάλιστα δὲ ὑποψίαν παρέσχε Κασσίου Σαβάκωνος οἰκέτης ὁφθεὶς ἐντὸς τῶν δρυφάκτων ἀναμεμυγμένος τοῖς φέρουσι τὰς ψήφους· ὁ γὰρ Σαβάκων ἦν ἐταῖρος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Μαρίου. κληθεὶς οὖν οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἔφη διὰ τὸ καῦμα διψήσας ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν αἰτῆσαι καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἔχοντα ποτήριον εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν,
- 4 εἰτ' εὐθὺς οἷχεσθαι πiónτος. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι παθεῖν τοῦτο δόξας ἢ διὰ τὴν ψευδομαρτυρίαν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μάριον καὶ Γάϊος Ἐρέννιος μάρτυς εἰσαχθεὶς οὐκ ἔφη πάτριον εἶναι καταμαρτυρεῖν πελατῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νόμον ἀφιέναι ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης τοὺς πάτρωνας (οὕτως γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς προστάτας
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of aediles, one taking its name of "curule" from the chairs with curving feet on which the magistrates sit in the exercise of their functions, the other, and the inferior, being called "plebeian." When the superior aediles have been elected, the people cast a second vote for the others. Accordingly, when it was clear that Marius was losing his election to the higher office, he immediately changed his tactics and applied for the other. But men thought him bold and obstinate, and he was defeated; nevertheless, although he had met with two failures in one day, a thing which had never happened to any candidate before, he did not lower his assurance in the least, but not long afterwards became a candidate for the praetorship¹ and narrowly missed defeat; he was returned last of all, and was prosecuted for bribery.

Suspicion was chiefly aroused by the sight of a servant of Cassius Sabaco inside the palings among the voters; for Sabaco was an especial friend of Marius. Sabaco was therefore summoned before the court, and testified that the heat had made him so thirsty that he had called for cold water, and that his servant had come in to him with a cup, and had then at once gone away after his master had drunk. Sabaco, however, was expelled from the senate by the censors of the next year, and it was thought that he deserved this punishment, either because he had given false testimony, or because of his intemperance. But Caius Herennius also was brought in as a witness against Marius, and pleaded that it was contrary to established usage for patrons (the Roman term for our representatives at law) to bear witness against clients, and that the law relieved them of this necessity; and

¹ In 115 B.C.

καλουῦσι), τοῦ δ' Ἑρεννίων οἴκου τοὺς Μαρίου
γονεῖς καὶ Μάριον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγονέναι
5 πελάτας. ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τὴν ἀπόρρησιν τῆς
μαρτυρίας τῶν δικαστῶν αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Μάριος
πρὸς τὸν Ἑρέννιον ὡς, ὅτε πρῶτον ἄρχων ἀνη-
γορεύθη, τὸν πελάτην ἐκβεβηκώς· ὅπερ ἦν οὐ
παντάπασιν ἀληθές. ἀρχὴ γὰρ οὐ πᾶσα τοῦ
νέμειν προστάτην ἀπαλλάσσει τοὺς τυχόντας
αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν ἀγκυλόποδα δίφρον
ὁ νόμος δίδωσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέ-
ραις ἐν τῇ δίκῃ κακῶς πράττων ὁ Μάριος καὶ
χαλεποῖς χρώμενος τοῖς δικασταῖς, τῇ τελευταίᾳ
παραλόγως ἀπέφυγεν ἴσων τῶν ψήφων γενο-
μένων.

VI. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μετρίως ἐπαι-
νούμενον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατη-
γίαν κλήρῳ λαβὼν τὴν ἐκτὸς Ἰβηρίαν λέγεται
καθᾶραι ληστηρίων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀνήμερον οὔσαν
ἔτι τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς καὶ θηριώδῃ, καὶ τὸ ληστεύειν
οὐπω τότε τῶν Ἰβήρων οὐχὶ κάλλιστον ἡγου-
μένων. ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ γενόμενος οὐκ εἶχεν
οὔτε πλούτον οὔτε λόγον, οἷς ἦγον οἱ τότε μάλιστα
2 τιμώμενοι τὸν δῆμον. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἀνάτασιν τοῦ
φρονήματος καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς πόνους ἐνδελεχές
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν τῆς διαίτης ἐν τινι σπουδῇ
τιθεμένων τῶν πολιτῶν ηὔξανετο τῇ τιμῇ πρὸς
δύναμιν, ὥστε καὶ γάμον γῆμαι λαμπρὸν οἰκίας
ἐπιφανοὺς τῆς Καισάρων Ἰουλίαν, ἧς ἦν ἀδελ-
φιδοῦς Καῖσαρ ὁ χρόνοις ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων μέγι-
στος γενόμενος καὶ τι κατ' οἰκειότητα ζηλώσας
Μάριον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

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not only the parents of Marius but Marius himself had originally been clients of the house of the Herennii. The jurors accepted this plea in avoidance of testimony, but Marius himself contradicted Herennius, declaring that as soon as he had been elected to his magistracy he had ceased to be a client; which was not altogether true. For it is not every magistracy that frees its occupants (as well as their posterity) from their relations to a patron, but only that to which the law assigns the curule chair. However, although during the first days of the trial Marius fared badly and found the jurors severe towards him, on the last day, contrary to all expectation, there was a tie vote and he was acquitted.

VI. Well, then, for his praetorship Marius got only moderate commendation. After his praetorship, however, the province of Farther Spain was allotted to him, and here he is said to have cleared away the robbers, although the province was still uncivilized in its customs and in a savage state, and robbery was at that time still considered a most honourable occupation by the Spaniards. But when he returned to political life, he had neither wealth nor eloquence, with which the magnates of the time used to influence the people. Still, the very intensity of his assurance, his indefatigable labours, and his plain and simple way of living, won him a certain popularity among his fellow citizens, and his honours brought him increasing influence, so that he married into the illustrious family of the Caesars and became the husband of Julia, who was the aunt of that Caesar who in after times became greatest among the Romans, and in some degree, because of his relationship, made Marius his example, as I have stated in his Life.¹

¹ See the *Caesar*, v. 1 f.

3 Τῷ δὲ Μαρίῳ καὶ σωφροσύνην μαρτυροῦσι καὶ καρτερίαν, ἧς δεῖγμα καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν χειρουργίαν ἐστίν. ἱξιῶν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, μεγάλων ἀνάπλεως ἄμφω τὰ σκέλη γεγωνὸς καὶ τὴν ἀμορφίαν δυσχεραίνων ἔγνω παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἱατρῷ· καὶ παρέσχευ ἄδετος θάτερον σκέλος, οὐδὲν κινήθεις οὐδὲ στενάξας, ἀλλὰ καθεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ μετὰ σιωπῆς ὑπερβολὰς τινὰς ἀλγηδόνων ἐν ταῖς τομαῖς ἀνασχόμενος. τοῦ δ' ἱατροῦ μετιόντος ἐπὶ θάτερον οὐκέτι παρέσχε, φήσας ὁρᾶν τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα τῆς ἀλγηδόνης οὐκ ἄξιον.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κεκίλιος Μέτελλος ἀποδειχθεὶς 409 ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Ἰουγούρθα πόλεμον ὑπατος στρατηγὸς εἰς Λιβύην ἐπηγάγετο πρεσβευτὴν Μάριον, ἐνταῦθα πράξεων μεγάλων καὶ λαμπρῶν ἀγώνων ἐπιλαβόμενος τὸ μὲν αὔξειν τὸν Μέτελλον, ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποί, καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εἴασε χαίρειν· ἱξιῶν δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ Μετέλλου κεκληῖσθαι πρεσβευτῆς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τύχης εἰς εὐφύεστατον καιρὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγιστον εἰσάγεσθαι πράξεων 2 θέατρον, ἐπεδείκνυτο πᾶσαν ἀνδραγαθίαν. καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου δυσχερῆ φέροντος οὔτε τῶν μεγάλων τινὰ πόνων ὑποτρέσας οὔτε τῶν μικρῶν ἀπαξιώσας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὁμοτίμους εὐβουλία καὶ προνοία τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑπερβαλλόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ εὐτελείας καὶ καρτερίας διαμιλλώμενος εὖνοϊαν ἔσχε πολλὴν 3 παρ' αὐτοῖς. ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τοῦ κάμνειν

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There is testimony both to the temperance of Marius, and also to his fortitude, of which his behaviour under a surgical operation is a proof. He was afflicted in both legs, as it would appear, with varicose veins, and as he disliked the deformity, he resolved to put himself into the physician's hands. Refusing to be bound, he presented to him one leg, and then, without a motion or a groan, but with a steadfast countenance and in silence, endured incredible pain under the knife. When, however, the physician was proceeding to treat the other leg, Marius would suffer him no further, declaring that he saw the cure to be not worth the pain.

VII. When Caecilius Metellus the consul was appointed commander-in-chief for the war against Jugurtha,¹ he took Marius with him to Africa in the capacity of legate. Here, in essaying great exploits and brilliant struggles, Marius was not careful, like the rest, to enhance the glory of Metellus and conduct himself in his interests; and deeming that he had not so much been called by Metellus to the office of legate as he was being introduced by Fortune into a most favourable opportunity as well as a most spacious theatre for exploits, he made a display of every sort of bravery. And though the war brought many hardships, he neither shunned any great labour, nor disdained any that were small, but surpassed the officers of his own rank in giving good counsel and foreseeing what was advantageous, and vied with the common soldiers in frugality and endurance, thereby winning much goodwill among them. For as a general thing it would seem that every man finds

¹ In 109 B.C.

ἐκάστω παραμυθία τὸ συγκάμνον ἐκουσίως εἶναι·
δοκεῖ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖν τὴν ἀνάγκην· ἥδιστον δὲ
Ῥωμαίῳ θέαμα στρατιώτῃ στρατηγὸς ἐσθίων ἐν
ὄψει κοινὸν ἄρτον ἢ κατακείμενος ἐπὶ στιβάδος
εὐτελοῦς ἢ περὶ ταφρεῖαν τινὰ καὶ χαράκωσιν
ἔργου συνεφαπτόμενος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως τοὺς τιμῆς
καὶ χρημάτων μεταδιδόντας ὥς τοὺς πόνου καὶ
κινδύνου μεταλαμβάνοντας ἡγεμόνας θαυμάζουσιν,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσι τῶν ῥαθυμείν ἐπιτρεπόν-
των τοὺς συμπονεῖν ἐθέλοντας,

- 4 Ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ὁ Μάριος καὶ διὰ τούτων
τοὺς στρατιώτας δημαγωγῶν ταχὺ μὲν ἐνέπλησε
τὴν Λιβύην, ταχὺ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην, ὀνόματος καὶ
δόξης, τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τοῖς οἴκοι γραφόν-
των ὥς οὐκ ἔστι πέρας οὐδὲ ἀπαλλαγὴ τοῦ πρὸς
τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμου μὴ Γαίῳ Μάριον ἐλομένοις
ὑπατον.

- VIII. Ἐφ' οἷς δῆλος ἦν ὁ Μέτελλος ἀχθόμενος.
μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἠνίασε τὸ περὶ Τουρπίλλιον.
οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν μὲν ἐκ πατέρων ξένος τῷ
Μετέλλῳ καὶ τότε τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τεκτόνων ἔχων
ἀρχὴν συνεστράτευε· φρουρῶν δὲ Βάγαν, πόλιν
μεγάλην, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐνοικούντας,
ἀλλὰ πρῶως καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς προσ-
φέρεσθαι πιστεύων, ἔλαθεν ὑποχείριος τοῖς πολε-
μίοις γενόμενος. παρεδέξαντο γὰρ τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν,
τὸν δὲ Τουρπίλλιον οὐδὲν ἠδίκησαν, ἀλλὰ σῶον
2 ἐξαιτησάμενοι διῆκαν. ἔσχεν οὖν αἰτίαν προ-
δοσίας· καὶ παρὼν ὁ Μάριος τῇ κρίσει σύμβουλος

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solace for his labours in seeing another voluntarily share those labours; this seems to take away the element of compulsion; and it is a most agreeable spectacle for a Roman soldier when he sees a general eating common bread in public, or sleeping on a simple pallet, or taking a hand in the construction of some trench or palisade. For they have not so much admiration for those leaders who share honour and riches with them as for those who take part in their toils and dangers, but have more affection for those who are willing to join in their toils than for those who permit them to lead an easy life.

By doing all these things and thereby winning the hearts of the soldiers, Marius soon filled Africa, and soon filled Rome, with his name and fame, and men in the camp wrote to those at home that there would be no end or cessation of the war against the Barbarian unless they chose Caius Marius consul.

VIII. At all this Metellus was evidently displeased. But it was the affair of Turpillius that most vexed him. This Turpillius was an hereditary guest-friend of Metellus, and at this time was serving in his army as chief of engineers. But he was put in charge of Vaga, a large city, and because he relied for safety on his doing the inhabitants no wrong, but rather treating them with kindness and humanity, he unawares came into the power of the enemy; for they admitted Jugurtha into their city. Still, they did Turpillius no harm, but obtained his release and sent him away safe and sound. Accordingly, a charge of treachery was brought against him; and Marius, who was a member of the council which tried the case,

αὐτός τέ οἱ πικρὸς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρώξυνε τοὺς πλείστους, ὥστε ἄκοντα τὸν Μέτελλον ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ καταψηφίσασθαι θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς αἰτίας ψευδοῦς φανείσης, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνήχθοντο τῷ Μετέλλῳ βαρέως φέροντι, Μάριος δὲ χαίρων καὶ ποιούμενος ἴδιον τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἡσχύνετο λέγειν περιῶν ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη προστετριμμένος ἀλάστορα τῷ Μετέλλῳ ξενοκτόνον.

- 3 Ἐκ τούτου φανερώς ἀπηχθάνοντο· καὶ λέγεται ποτε τοῦ Μαρίου παρόντος οἶον ἐφνυβρίζων ὁ Μέτελλος εἰπεῖν, “Σὺ δὴ καταλιπὼν ἡμᾶς, ὦ γενναῖε, πλεῖν ἐπ’ οἴκου διανοῇ καὶ παραγγέλλειν ὑπατεῖαν; οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσεις, ἂν τῷ μὲν παιδὶ τούτῳ συνυπατεύσης;” ἦν δὲ ὁ παῖς τότε τοῦ
- 4 Μετέλλου παντάπασι μειράκιον. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῦ Μαρίου σπουδάζοντος ἀφεθῆναι, πολλὰς ἀναβολὰς ποιησάμενος, ἔτι δώδεκα λειπομένων ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνάδειξιν, ἀφήκεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πολλὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν εἰς Ἰτύκην ὁδὸν ἡμέραις δυσὶ καὶ μιᾷ νυκτὶ συνελὼν ἔθυε πρὸ τοῦ πλοῦ. καὶ λέγεται τὸν μάντιν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀπίστους τινὰς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κρείττονας ἐλπίδος ἀπάσης εὐπραξίας προ-
- 5 φαίνοι τῷ Μαρίῳ τὸ δαιμόνιον. ὁ δὲ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς ἀνήχθη. καὶ τὸ πέλαγος τεταρταῖος 410 οὐρίῳ πνεύματι περάσας αὐτίκα τε τῷ δήμῳ ποθεινὸς ὤφθη, καὶ προαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν δημάρχων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ πολλαῖς κατὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου διαβολαῖς ἡτεῖτο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὑπισχνούμενος ἢ κτενεῖν ἢ ζῶντα λήψεσθαι τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν.

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was himself bitter, and exasperated most of the others against the accused, so that Metellus was reluctantly forced to pass sentence of death upon him. After a short time, however, the charge was found to be false, and almost everybody sympathized with Metellus in his grief; but Marius, full of joy and claiming the condemnation as his own work, was not ashamed to go about saying that he had fastened upon the path of Metellus a daemon who would avenge the murder of a guest-friend.

In consequence of this there was open enmity between the two men; and we are told that on one occasion when Marius was present Metellus said to him as if in mockery: "Dost thou purpose to leave us, my good Sir, and sail for home, and stand for the consulship? Pray will it not satisfy thee to be fellow-consul with this my son?" Now the son of Metellus was at this time a mere stripling. However, Marius was eager to be dismissed, and so, after making many postponements, and when only twelve days remained before the election of consuls, Metellus dismissed him. Marius accomplished the long journey from the camp to Utica and the sea in two days and one night, and offered sacrifice before he sailed. And the seer is said to have told him that the Deity revealed for Marius successes that were of incredible magnitude and beyond his every expectation. Elated by this prophecy he put to sea. In three days he crossed the sea with a favouring wind, and was at once welcomed gladly by the populace, and after being introduced to the assembly by one of the tribunes, he first made many slanderous charges against Metellus, and then asked for the consulship, promising that he would either kill Jugurtha or take him alive.

- IX. Ἀναγορευθεὶς δὲ λαμπρῶς εὐθὺς ἔστρα-
τολόγει, παρὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν πολὺν
τὸν ἄπορον καὶ φαῦλον¹ καταγραφῶν, τῶν πρό-
σθεν ἡγεμόνων οὐ προσδεχομένων τοὺς τοιούτους,
ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν καλῶν, τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ
τιμῆς τοῖς ἀξίοις νεμόντων, ἐνέχυρον τὴν οὐσίαν.
- 2 ἐκάστου τιθέναι δοκοῦντός. οὐ μὴν ταῦτά γε
μάλιστα διέβαλε τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ' οἱ λόγοι
θρασεῖς ὄντες ὑπεροψία καὶ ὕβρει τοὺς πρώτους
ἐλύπουν, σκυλὸν τε βοῶντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπατείαν
φέρεισθαι τῆς τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ πλουσίων μαλακίας,
καὶ τραύμασιν οἰκείοις πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, οὐ μνήμασι
νεκρῶν οὐδὲ ἀλλοτρίαις εἰκόσι νεανιεύεσθαι.
- 3 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀτυχήσαντας ἐν Λιβύῃ
στρατηγούς, τοῦτο μὲν Βηστιάν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀλ-
βῖνον, ἀνθρώπους οἰκῶν μὲν ἐπιφανῶν, αὐτοὺς δὲ
τύχῃ σφαλέντας, ἀπολέμους καὶ δι' ἀπειρίαν
πταίσαντας ὀνομάζων, ἐπυιθάνετο τῶν παρόντων
εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων οἴονται προγόνους αὐτῷ
μᾶλλον ἂν εὐξασθαι παραπλησίους ἐκγόνους ἀπο-
λιπεῖν, ἅτε δὴ μὴδὲ αὐτοὺς δι' εὐγένειαν, ἀλλ' ὑπ'
ἀρετῆς καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐνδόξους γενομένους.
- 4 ταῦτα δὲ οὐ κενῶς οὐδὲ ἀλαζονικῶς ἔλεγεν οὐδὲ
μάτην ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς δυνατοῖς βουλόμενος,
ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος αὐτόν, ἡδόμενός τε τῇ βουλῇ προ-
πηλακιζομένη καὶ λόγου κόμπῳ μετρῶν ἀεὶ φρο-
νήματος μέγεθος, ἐξεκούφιζε, καὶ συνεξώρμα μὴ

¹ φαῦλον van Herwerden : δοῦλον.

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IX. He was triumphantly elected,¹ and at once began to levy troops. Contrary to law and custom he enlisted many a poor and insignificant man, although former commanders had not accepted such persons, but bestowed arms, just as they would any other honour, only on those whose property assessment made them worthy to receive these, each soldier being supposed to put his substance in pledge to the state. It was not this, however, that brought most odium upon Marius, but the boldly insolent and arrogant speeches with which he vexed the nobles, crying out that he had carried off the consulship as spoil from the effeminacy of the rich and well-born, and that he had wounds upon his own person with which to vaunt himself before the people, not monuments of the dead nor likenesses of other men. Often, too, he would mention by name the generals in Africa who had been unsuccessful, now Bestia, and now Albinus, men of illustrious houses indeed, but unfortunate themselves, and unwarlike, who had met with disaster through lack of experience; and he would ask his audience if they did not think that the ancestors of these men would have much preferred to leave descendants like himself, since they themselves had been made illustrious, not by their noble birth, but by their valour and noble deeds. Such talk was not mere empty boasting, nor was his desire to make himself hated by the nobility without purpose; indeed the people, who were delighted to have the senate insulted and always measured the greatness of a man's spirit by the boastfulness of his speech, encouraged him, and incited him not to spare

¹ For the year 107 B.C., at the age of fifty.

φείδεσθαι τῶν ἀξιολόγων, χαριζόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Χ. Ὡς δὲ διέπλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην, Μέτελλος μὲν ἦττων τοῦ φθόνου γενόμενος, καὶ περιπαθὼν ὅτι, κατειργασμένου τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἢ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰουγούρθα λαβεῖν ἔχοντος, ἤκει Μάριος ἐπὶ τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀχαριστίας ἠϋξημένος, οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέξεχώρησε, Ῥουτίλιος δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Μαρίῳ παρέδωκε, πρεσβευτῆς γεγωνὼς
2 τοῦ Μετέλλου. καὶ περιῆλθέ τις νέμεσις ἐν τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων Μάριον· ἀφηρέθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα τὴν τοῦ κατορθώματος δόξαν, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου Μέτελλος· ὃν τρόπον δέ, ἀφηγήσομαι βραχέως, ἐπεὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σύλλα γέγραπται.

Βόκχος ὁ τῶν ἄνω βαρβάρων βασιλεὺς ἦν πενθερὸς Ἰουγούρθα, καὶ πολεμοῦντι μὲν οὐ πάνυ τι συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόκει, προβαλλόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν
3 ἀπιστίαν, καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν δεδοικώς· ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγων καὶ πλανώμενος ἐκείνον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἔθετο τῶν ἐλπίδων τελευταῖον καὶ κατῆρε πρὸς αὐτόν, αἰσχύνῃ μᾶλλον ὥς ἰκέτην ἢ δι' εὐνοίαν ὑποδεξάμενος διὰ χειρὸς εἶχε, φανερώς μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παραιτούμενος Μάριον καὶ γράφων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκδώῃ καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος, κρύφα δὲ βουλεύων προδοσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος Λεύκιον Σύλλαν, ταμίαν μὲν ὄντα Μαρίου, χρήσιμον δὲ τῷ Βόκχῳ γεγεννημένον ἐπὶ στρατείας.
4 ὡς δὲ πιστεύσας ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ Σύλλας,

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men of high repute if he wished to please the multitude.

X. When he had crossed to Africa, Metellus, now become a victim of jealousy, and vexed because, after he had brought the war to an end and had nothing further to do except to seize the person of Jugurtha, Marius was coming to enjoy the crown and the triumph,—a man whose ingratitude towards his benefactor had raised him to power,—would not consent to meet him, but privately left the country while Rutilius, who had become his legate, handed over the army to Marius. And in the end a retribution fell upon Marius; for Sulla robbed him of the glory of his success, as Marius had robbed Metellus. How this came to pass, I will narrate briefly, since the details are given more at length in my *Life of Sulla*.¹

Bocchus, the king of the Barbarians in the interior, was a son-in-law of Jugurtha, and apparently gave him little or no assistance in his war, alleging his faithlessness as an excuse, and fearing the growth of his power. But when Jugurtha in his flight and wandering felt compelled to make him his last hope and sought haven with him, Bocchus received him, more out of regard for his position as a suppliant than from goodwill, and kept him in his hands. So far as his open acts were concerned, Bocchus entreated Marius in behalf of his father-in-law, writing that he would not give him up and assuming a bold tone; but secretly he planned to betray him, and sent for Lucius Sulla, who was quaestor for Marius and had been of some service to Bocchus during the campaign. But when Sulla had come to him in all confidence,

¹ Chapter iii.

ἔσχε μὲν τις τροπὴ γνώμης καὶ μετάνοια τὸν
βάρβαρον, ἡμέρας τε συχνὰς διηνέχθη τῷ λογισμῷ,
βουλευόμενος ἢ παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν ἢ
μηδὲ τὸν Σύλλα ἀφεῖναι· τέλος δὲ τὴν προτέραν
κυρώσας προδοσίαν, ἐνεχείρισε τῷ Σύλλα ζῶντα
τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν.

- 5 Καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς σπέρμα τῆς
ἀνηκέστου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἐκείνης στάσεως, ἣ μικ-
ρὸν ἐδέησεν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην. πολλοὶ γὰρ 411
ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ ἔργον εἶναι τῷ Μαρίῳ
φθονοῦντες, αὐτός τε Σύλλας σφραγίδα ποιησά-
μενος ἐφόρει γλυφὴν ἔχουσαν ἐγχειριζόμενον ὑπὸ
6 τοῦ Βόκχου τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ ταύτῃ
χρῶμενος αἰεὶ διετέλει φιλότιμον ἄνδρα καὶ πρὸς
κοινωνίαν δόξης ἀγνώμονα καὶ δύσεριν ἐρεθίζων
τὸν Μάριον, ἐναγόντων μάλιστα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν
ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
μέγιστα τῷ Μετέλλῳ, τὰ δ' ἔσχατα καὶ τὸ πέρας
αὐτοῦ Σύλλα προστιθέντων, ὡς παύσαιτο θαυ-
μάζων καὶ προσέχων ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα πάντων ὁ
δῆμος.

- XI. Ταχὺ μέντοι τὸν φθόνον τοῦτον καὶ τὰ
μίσση καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπεσκέδασε τοῦ Μαρίου
καὶ μετέστησεν ὁ κατασχὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐσπέρας κίνδυνος, ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν χρειᾷ μεγάλου
στρατηγοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ περισκέψασθαι τὴν πόλιν
ᾧ χρωμένη κυβερνήτῃ διαφευξέται κλύδωνα πολέ-
μου τοσοῦτον, οὐδενὸς ἀνασχόμενου τῶν ἀπὸ
γένους μεγάλων ἢ πλουσίων οἰκῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπα-
τικὰς κατιόντων ἀρχαιρεσίας, ἀλλ' ἀπόντα τὸν
2 Μάριον ἀναγορευσάντων. ἄρτι γὰρ ἀπηγγελμένης
αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἰουγούρθα συλλήψεως αἱ περὶ Τευ-

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the Barbarian experienced a change of heart and felt repentant, and for many days wavered in his plans, deliberating whether to surrender Jugurtha or to hold Sulla also a prisoner. Finally however, he decided upon his first plan of treachery, and put Jugurtha alive into the hands of Sulla.

This was the first seed of that bitter and incurable hatred between Marius and Sulla, which nearly brought Rome to ruin. For many wished Sulla to have the glory of the affair because they hated Marius, and Sulla himself had a seal-ring made, which he used to wear, on which was engraved the surrender of Jugurtha to him by Bocchus. By constantly using this ring Sulla provoked Marius, who was an ambitious man, loath to share his glory with another, and quarrelsome. And the enemies of Marius gave Sulla most encouragement, by attributing the first and greatest successes of the war to Metellus, but the last, and the termination of it, to Sulla, that so the people might cease admiring Marius and giving him their chief allegiance.

XI. Soon, however, all this envy and hatred and slander of Marius was removed and dissipated by the peril which threatened Italy from the west, as soon as the state felt the need of a great general and looked about for a helmsman whom she might employ to save her from so great a deluge of war. Then the people would have nothing to do with any one of high birth or of a wealthy house who offered himself at the consular elections, but proclaimed Marius consul¹ in spite of his absence from the city. For no sooner had word been brought to the people of the capture of Jugurtha than the

¹ For the year 104 B.C.

- τόνων καὶ Κίμβρων φῆμαι προσέπιπτον, ἀπιστίαν
 μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ παρασχούσαι πλήθους τε καὶ ῥώμης
 τῶν ἐπερχομένων στρατῶν, ὕστερον δὲ τῆς ἀλη-
 θείας ὑποδεέστεραι φανείσαι. μυριάδες μὲν γὰρ
 αἱ μάχιμοι τριάκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ἐχώρουν, ὄχλοι
 δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐλέγοντο πολλῶ πλείους
 συμπεριάγεσθαι, γῆς χρήζοντες ἢ θρέψει τοσοῦ-
 τον πλήθος, καὶ πόλεων ἐν αἷς ἰδρυθέντες βιώσου-
 νται, καθάπερ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπυνθάνοντο Κελτοὺς
 τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν ἀρίστην κατασχεῖν Τυρρηνῶν
 3 ἀφελομένους. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀμύξια τῇ πρὸς
 ἑτέρους, μήκει τε χώρας ἢν ἐπῆλθον, ἡγνοοῦντο,
 τίνες ὄντες ἀνθρώπων ἢ πόθεν ὀρμηθέντες ὥσπερ
 νέφος ἐμπέσοιεν Γαλατία καὶ Ἰταλία. καὶ μάλιστα
 μὲν εἰκάζοντο Γερμανικὰ γένη τῶν καθηκόντων ἐπὶ
 τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν εἶναι τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν
 σωμάτων καὶ τῇ χαροπότητι τῶν ὀμμάτων, καὶ ὅτι
 Κίμβρους ἐπονομάζουσι Γερμανοὶ τοὺς ληστάς.
- 4 Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν Κελτικὴν διὰ βάθος χώρας καὶ
 μέγεθος ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξω θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν ὑπαρκτίων
 κλιμάτων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα κατὰ τὴν
 Μαιῶτιν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἀπτεσθαι τῆς Ποντικῆς
 Σκυθίας λέγουσι, κῦκεῖθεν τὰ γένη μεμῖχθαι.
 τούτους ἐξαναστάντας οὐκ ἐκ μιᾶς ὁρμῆς οὐδὲ
 συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ ἔτους ὥρα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν
 εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν αἰὲν χωροῦντας πολέμῳ χρόνοις
 5 πολλοῖς ἐπελθεῖν τὴν ἡπειρον. διὸ καὶ πολλὰς
 κατὰ μέρος ἐπικλήσεις ἐχόντων κοινῇ Κελτοσκύ-
 θας τὸν στρατὸν ὠνόμαζον.

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reports about the Teutones and Cimbri fell upon their ears. What these reports said about the numbers and strength of the invading hosts was disbelieved at first, but afterwards it was found to be short of the truth. For three hundred thousand armed fighting men were advancing, and much larger hordes of women and children were said to accompany them, in quest of land to support so vast a multitude, and of cities in which to settle and live, just as the Gauls before them, as they learned, had wrested the best part of Italy from the Tyrrhenians and now occupied it. They themselves, indeed, had not had intercourse with other peoples, and had traversed a great stretch of country, so that it could not be ascertained what people it was nor whence they had set out, thus to descend upon Gaul and Italy like a cloud. The most prevalent conjecture was that they were some of the German peoples which extended as far as the northern ocean, a conjecture based on their great stature, their light-blue eyes, and the fact that the Germans call robbers Cimbri.

But there are some who say that Gaul was wide and large enough to reach from the outer sea and the subarctic regions to the Maeotic Lake on the east, where it bordered on Pontic Scythia, and that from that point on Gauls and Scythians were mingled. These mixed Gauls and Scythians had left their homes and moved westward, not in a single march, nor even continuously, but with each recurring spring they had gone forward, fighting their way, and in the course of time had crossed the continent. Therefore, while they had many names for different detachments, they called their whole army by the general name of Galloscythians.

- Ἄλλοι δέ φασι Κιμμερίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων τῶν πάλαι γνωσθὲν οὐ μέγα γενέσθαι τοῦ παντὸς μόριον, ἀλλὰ φυγὴν ἢ στάσιν τινα βιασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μαιώτιδος διαπερᾶσαι. Λυγδάμιος ἡγουμένου, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν καὶ μαχιμώτατον ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦν· παρὰ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν γῆν μὲν νέμεσθαι σύσκιον καὶ ὑλώδη καὶ δυσήλιον πάντη διὰ βάθος 6 καὶ πυκνότητα δρυμῶν, οὓς μέχρι τῶν Ἑρκυνίων εἴσω διήκειν, οὐρανοῦ δὲ εἰληχέναι καθ' ὃ δοκεῖ μέγα λαμβάνων ὁ πόλος ἕξαρμα διὰ τὴν ἔγκλισιν τῶν παραλλήλων ὀλίγον ἀπολείπειν τοῦ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἰσταμένου σημείου πρὸς τὴν οἴκησιν, αἷτε ἡμέραι βραχύτητι καὶ μήκει πρὸς τὰς νύκτας ἴσαι κατανέμεσθαι τὸν χρόνον· διὸ καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ μυθεύματος Ὀμήρῳ γενέσθαι πρὸς 7 τὴν νεκυίαν. ἔνθεν οὖν τὴν ἔφοδον εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Κιμμερίων μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ Κίμβρων οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου προσαγορευομένων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰκασμῷ μᾶλλον 412 ἢ κατὰ βέβαιον ἱστορίαν λέγεται.
- 8 Τὸ δὲ πλήθος οὐκ ἔλαττον, ἀλλὰ πλεόν εἶναι τοῦ λεχθέντος ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἱστόρηται. θυμὸν δὲ καὶ τόλμαν ἀνυπόστατοι καὶ χειρῶν ἔργα παρὰ τὰς μάχας ὀξύτητι καὶ βίᾳ πυρὸς ἐοικότες ἐπῆσαν, οὐδενὸς ἀντέχοντος αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντων μὲν, ὅσους ἐπῆλθον, ἐν λόγῳ λείας ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ στρατηγῶν, ὅσοι προεκάθηντο τῆς ἐκτὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίας, ἀνηρ- 9 πασμένων ἀκλεῶς· οἱ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν φορὰν

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Others, however, say that the Cimmerians who were first known to the ancient Greeks were not a large part of the entire people, but merely a body of exiles or a faction which was driven away by the Scythians and passed from the Maeotic Lake into Asia under the lead of Lygdamis; whereas the largest and most warlike part of the people dwelt at the confines of the earth along the outer sea, occupying a land that is shaded, wooded, and wholly sunless by reason of the height and thickness of the trees, which reach inland as far as the Hercynii; and as regards the heavens, they are under that portion of them where the pole gets a great elevation by reason of the declination of the parallels, and appears to have a position not far removed from the spectator's zenith, and a day and a night divide the year into two equal parts; which was of advantage to Homer in his story of Odysseus consulting the shades of the dead.¹ From these regions, then, these Barbarians sallied forth against Italy, being called at first Cimmerians, and then, not inappropriately, Cimbri. But all this is based on conjecture rather than on sure historical evidence.

Their numbers, however, are given by many writers as not less, but more, than the figure mentioned above. Moreover, their courage and daring made them irresistible, and when they engaged in battle they came on with the swiftness and force of fire, so that no one could withstand their onset, but all who came in their way became their prey and booty, and even many large Roman armies, with their commanders, who had been stationed to protect Transalpine Gaul, were destroyed ingloriously; indeed,

¹ *Odyssey*, Book XI. See vv. 14 ff., describing the Cimmerians.

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αὐτῶν κακῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπεσπάσαντο. νικήσαντες γὰρ οἷς ἐνέτυχον, καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν κρατήσαντες, ἔγνωσαν μηδαμοῦ γῆς ἑαυτοὺς ἰδρύειν, πρὶν ἀνατρέψωσι τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ διαπορθήσωσι τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

XII. Ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι πολλαχόθεν, ἐκάλουν Μάριον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν. καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπάτος ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ μὲν νόμου κωλύοντος ἀπόντα καὶ μὴ διαλιπόντα χρόνον ὠρισμένον αὐθις αἰρεῖσθαι, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐκβαλόντος. ἡγοῦντο γὰρ οὔτε νῦν πρῶτον εἶξιν τῷ συμφέροντι τὸν νόμον, οὔτε ἀλογωτέρα εἶναι τὴν παροῦσαν αἰτίαν ἐκείνης δι' ἣν τὸν Σκηπίωνα παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπάτον ἀπέδειξαν, οὐ φοβούμενοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀνελεῖν.

2 ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ Μάριος ἐκ Λιβύης μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος διακομισθεὶς αὐταῖς Καλάνδαις Ἰανουαρίαις, ἣν ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν τε ὑπατείαν ἀνέλαβε καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον εἰσήλασεν, ἄπιστον ἐπιδειξάμενος θέαμα Ῥωμαίοις Ἰουγούρθαν αἰχμάλωτον, οὐ ζώντος οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἥλπισε πολεμίων κρατῆσαι· οὕτω τις ἦν ποικίλος ἀνὴρ τύχαις ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ πανουργία πολλῇ

3 μεμιγμένον ἔχων τὸ θυμοειδές. ἀλλ' ἐξέστη γε

¹ See chapter xi. 1. Marius was still in Africa.

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by their feeble resistance they were mainly instrumental in drawing the on-rushing Barbarians down upon Rome. For when the invaders had conquered those who opposed them, and had got abundance of booty, they determined not to settle themselves anywhere until they had destroyed Rome and ravaged Italy.

XII. Learning of these things from many quarters, the Romans summoned Marius to the command. And he was appointed consul for the second time,¹ although the law forbade that a man in his absence and before the lapse of a specified time should be elected again; still, the people would not listen to those who opposed the election. For they considered that this would not be the first time that the law had given way before the demands of the general good, and that the present occasion demanded it no less imperatively than when they had made Scipio consul contrary to the laws,² although at that time they were not fearful of losing their own city, but desirous of destroying that of the Carthaginians. This course was adopted, Marius came across the sea from Africa with his army, and on the very Calends of January, which with the Romans is the first day of the year, assumed the consulship and celebrated his triumph, exhibiting to the Romans Jugurtha in chains. This was a sight which they had despaired of beholding, nor could any one have expected, while Jugurtha was alive, to conquer the enemy; so versatile was he in adapting himself to the turns of fortune, and so great craft did he combine with his courage. But we are told that when he had

² In 147 B.C., when Scipio had not reached the age required by law.

πομπευθείς, ὡς λέγουσι, τότε τοῦ φρονεῖν· καὶ μετὰ τὸν θριάμβον εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον ἐμπεσών, ὡς οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ βία περιέρρηξαν τὸν χιτωνίσκον, οἱ δὲ σπεύδοντες ἀφελέσθαι βία τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐλλόβιον ἅμα τὸν λοβὸν συναπέρρηξαν, ὥσθεις δὲ γυμνὸς εἰς τὸ βάραθρον κατεβλήθη, μεστὸς ὦν ταραχῆς καὶ διασσεηρώς, “Ἡράκλεις,” εἶπεν,
 4 “ὥς ψυχρὸν ὑμῶν τὸ βαλανεῖον.” ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἐξ ἡμέραις ζυγομαχήσαντα τῷ λιμῷ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ὥρας ἐκκρεμασθέντα τῆς τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμίας εἶχεν ἀξία δίκη τῶν ἀσεβημάτων.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ θριάμβῳ κομισθῆναι λέγουσι χρυσοῦ μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τρισχιλίας λίτρας, ἀργύρου δὲ ἀσήμου πεντακισχιλίας ἑπτακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, νομίσματος δὲ δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας ἐπὶ μυριάσιν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πομπὴν ὁ Μάριος σύγκλητον ἤθροισεν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ· καὶ παρήλθε μὲν εἶτε λαθὼν αὐτὸν εἶτε τῇ τύχῃ χρώμενος ἀγροικότερον ἐν τῇ θριαμβικῇ κατασκευῇ, ταχὺ δὲ τὴν βουλήν ἀχθεσθεῖσαν αἰσθόμενος ἐξανέστη καὶ μεταλαβὼν τὴν περιπόρφυρον αὐθις ἦλθεν.

XIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ τὴν δύναμιν διεπώνει καθ’ ὁδὸν ἐξασκῶν δρόμοις τε παντοδαποῖς καὶ μακραῖς ὁδοιπορίαις, ἑαυτῷ δὲ ἀχθοφορεῖν ἀναγκάζων καὶ αὐτουργεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν, ὥστε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς φιλοπόνους καὶ σιωπῇ μετ’ εὐκολίας τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιοῦντας ἡμιόνους Μαριανοὺς καλεῖσθαι. καίτοι τινὲς αἰτίαν ἐτέραν
 2 τοῦ λόγου τούτου νομίζουσι. Σκηπίωνος γάρ, ὅτε Νομαντίαν ἐπολιόρκει, βουληθέντος ἐπιδεῖν μὴ

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been led in triumph he lost his reason ; and that when, after the triumph, he was cast into prison, where some tore his tunic from his body, and others were so eager to snatch away his golden ear-ring that they tore off with it the lobe of his ear, and when he had been thrust down naked into the dungeon pit, in utter bewilderment and with a grin on his lips he said : "Hercules ! How cold this Roman bath is !" But the wretch, after struggling with hunger for six days and up to the last moment clinging to the desire of life, paid the penalty which his crimes deserved.

In the triumphal procession there were carried, we are told, three thousand and seven pounds of gold, of uncoined silver five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and in coined money two hundred and eighty-seven thousand drachmas.

After the procession was over, Marius called the senate into session on the Capitol, and made his entry, either through inadvertence or with a vulgar display of his good fortune, in his triumphal robes ; but perceiving quickly that the senators were offended at this, he rose and went out, changed to the usual robe with purple border, and then came back.

XIII. Setting out on the expedition, he laboured to perfect his army as it went along, practising the men in all kinds of running and in long marches, and compelling them to carry their own baggage and to prepare their own food. Hence, in after times, men who were fond of toil and did whatever was enjoined upon them contentedly and without a murmur, were called Marian mules. Some, however, think that this name had a different origin. Namely, when Scipio was besieging Numantia,¹ he wished to inspect

¹ Cf. chapter iii. 2.

μόνον τὰ ὄπλα μηδὲ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὄρεῖς καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας, ὅπως ἐκάστοις ἐξησκήμένα καὶ παρεσκευασμένα τυγχάνοι, προαγαγεῖν τὸν Μάριον ἵππον τε κάλλιστα τεθραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμίονον εὐεξία καὶ πραότητι καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέροντα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων· ἡσθέντος οὖν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς τοῦ Μαρίου θρέμμασι 413 καὶ πολλὰκις αὐτῶν μνησθέντος, οὕτως ἄρα τοὺς σκώπτοντας ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τὸν ἐνδελεχῆ καὶ τλήμονα καὶ φιλόπονον Μαρριανὸν ἡμίονον προσαγορεύειν.

XIV. Εὐτύχημα δὲ δοκεῖ τῷ Μαρίῳ μέγα γενέσθαι. τῶν γὰρ βαρβάρων ὥσπερ τινὰ παλίρροισιν τῆς ὁρμῆς λαβόντων καὶ ῥνέντων πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, χρόνον ἔσχε καὶ τὰ σώματα γυμνάσαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν ἀναρρῶσαι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτὸς ὅλος ἦν 2 κατανοηθῆναι. τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ σκυθρωπὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας δυσμεῖλικτον ἐθισθεῖσι μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ἀπειθεῖν ἅμα τῷ δικαίῳ σωτήριον ἐφαίνετο, τὴν τε τοῦ θυμοῦ σφοδρότητα καὶ τὸ τραχὺ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ ὑγριωπὸν τοῦ προσώπου συντρεφόμενον κατὰ μικρὸν οὐχ αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον εἶναι φοβερόν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. 3 μάλιστα δὲ ἡ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὀρθότης αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἤρεσκεν· ἥς καὶ τοιόνδε τι δεῖγμα λέγεται.

Γαίος Λούσιος ἀδελφιδοὺς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένος ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας ἐστρατεύετο, τὰλλα μὲν ἀνὴρ οὐ δοκῶν εἶναι πονηρός, ἥττων δὲ μεираκίων καλῶν. οὗτος ἦρα νεανίσκου τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ στρατευομένων,

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not only the arms and the horses, but also the mules and the waggons, that every man might have them in readiness and good order. Marius, accordingly, brought out for inspection both a horse that had been most excellently taken care of by him, and a mule that for health, docility, and strength far surpassed all the rest. The commanding officer was naturally well pleased with the beasts of Marius and often spoke about them, so that in time those who wanted to bestow facetious praise on a persevering, patient, laborious man would call him a Marian mule.

XIV. And now, as it would seem, a great piece of good fortune befell Marius. For the Barbarians had a reflux, as it were, in their course, and streamed first into Spain. This gave Marius time to exercise the bodies of his men, to raise their spirits to a sturdier courage, and, what was most important of all, to let them find out what sort of a man he was. For his sternness in the exercise of authority and his inflexibility in the infliction of punishment appeared to them, when they became accustomed to obedience and good behaviour, salutary as well as just, and they regarded the fierceness of his temper, the harshness of his voice, and that ferocity of his countenance which gradually became familiar, as fearful to their enemies rather than to themselves. But it was above all things the uprightness of his judicial decisions that pleased the soldiers; and of this the following illustration is given.

Caius Lusius, a nephew of his, had a command under him in the army. In other respects he was a man of good reputation, but he had a weakness for beautiful youths. This officer was enamoured of one of the young men who served under him, by name

- ὄνομα Τρεβωνίου, καὶ πολλάκις πειρῶν οὐκ
 4 ἐτύγγανε· τέλος δὲ νύκτωρ ὑπηρέτην ἀποστείλας
 μετεπέμπετο τὸν Τρεβώνιον· ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἦκε
 μὲν, ἀντεπεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔξῃν καλούμενον, εἰσαχ-
 θείς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα
 βιάζεσθαι σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκτεινε. ταῦτα
 ἐπράχθη τοῦ Μαρίου μὴ παρόντος· ἐπανελθὼν
 5 δὲ προῦθθηκε τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ κρίσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν
 κατηγορούντων, οὐδενὸς δὲ συνηγορούντος, αὐτὸς
 εὐθαρσῶς καταστάς διηγήσατο τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ
 μάρτυρας ἔσχεν ὅτι πειρῶντι πολλάκις ἀντεῖπε
 τῷ Λουσίῳ καὶ μεγάλων διδομένων ἐπ' οὐδενὶ
 προήκατο τὸ σῶμα, θαυμάσας ὁ Μάριος καὶ
 ἡσθεὶς ἐκέλευσε τὸν πατριὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀριστεταῖς
 στέφανον κομισθῆναι, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐστεφά-
 νωσε τὸν Τρεβώνιον ὡς κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐν καιρῷ
 παραδειγμάτων δεομένῳ καλῶν ἀποδεδειγμένον.
 6 Τοῦτο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα
 τῷ Μαρίῳ συνέπραξε τὴν τρίτην ὑπατείαν· ἅμα
 δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτους ὥρα προσδοκίμων
 ὄντων ἐβούλοντο μετὰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου στρατηγοῦ
 κινδυνεύσαι πρὸς αὐτούς. οὐ μὲν ἦκον ὡς προσ-
 εδοκῶντο ταχέως, ἀλλὰ πάλιν διήλθε τῷ Μαρίῳ
 7 ὁ τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνος. ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρ-
 χαιρεσιῶν καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος αὐτοῦ τελευτή-
 σαντος, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων Μάνιον
 Ἀκύλλιον αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς Ῥώμην. μετιόντων δὲ
 πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὴν ὑπατείαν, Λούκιος

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Trebonius, and had often made unsuccessful attempts to seduce him. But finally, at night, he sent a servant with a summons for Trebonius. The young man came, since he could not refuse to obey a summons, but when he had been introduced into the tent and Caius attempted violence upon him, he drew his sword and slew him. Marius was not with the army when this happened; but on his return he brought Trebonius to trial. Here there were many accusers, but not a single advocate, wherefore Trebonius himself courageously took the stand and told all about the matter, bringing witnesses to show that he had often refused the solicitations of Lusius and that in spite of large offers he had never prostituted himself to anyone. Then Marius, filled with delight and admiration, ordered the customary crown for brave exploits to be brought, and with his own hands placed it on the head of Trebonius, declaring that at a time which called for noble examples he had displayed most noble conduct.

Tidings of this were brought to Rome and helped in no small degree to secure for Marius his third consulship;¹ at the same time, too, the Barbarians were expected in the spring, and the Romans were unwilling to risk battle with them under any other general. However, the Barbarians did not come as soon as they were expected, and once more the period of Marius's consulship expired. As the consular elections were at hand, and as his colleague in the office had died, Marius left Manius Aquillius in charge of the forces and came himself to Rome. Here many men of great merit were candidates for the consulship, but Lucius Saturninus, who had more

¹ For the year 103 B.C.

Σατορνίνος ὁ μάλιστα τῶν δημάρχων ἄγων τὸ πλῆθος, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρίου τεθεραπευμένος ἐδημηγόρει, κελεύων ἐκείνον ὑπατον αἰρεῖσθαι. θρυπτομένου δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν φάσκοντος ὥς δὴ μὴ δεομένου, προδύτην αὐτὸν ὁ Σατορνίνος ἀπεκάλει τῆς πατρίδος
 8 ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσούτῳ φεύγοντα τὸ στρατηγεῖν. καὶ φανερός μὲν ἦν ἀπιθάνως συνυποκρινόμενος τὸ προσποίημα τῷ Μαρίῳ, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ὀρώντες οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δεινότητος ἅμα καὶ τύχης δεόμενον ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν τετάρτην ὑπατείαν, καὶ συνάρχοντα Κάτλον αὐτῷ Λουτάτιον κατέστησαν, ἄνδρα καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐκ ἐπαχθῇ.

XV. Πυνθανόμενος δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Μάριος ἐγγὺς εἶναι διὰ ταχέων ὑπερέβαλε τὰς Ἄλπει· καὶ τειχίσας στρατόπεδον παρὰ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ ποταμῷ συνῆγεν εἰς αὐτὸ χορηγίαν ἄφθονόν, ὥς μηδέποτε παρὰ τὸν τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμόν ἐκβιασθεῖη δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς μάχην
 2 καταστῆναι. τὴν δὲ κομιδὴν ὣν ἔδει¹ τῷ στρα- 414 τεύματι μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ πρότερον οὖσαν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτὸς εἰργάσατο ῥαδίαν καὶ ταχεῖαν. τὰ γὰρ στόματα τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, πρὸς τὰς ἀνακοπὰς τῆς θαλάττης, ἰλύν τε πολλὴν λαμβάνοντα καὶ θίνα πηλῷ βαθεῖ συμπεπιλημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος, χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐπίπονον καὶ βραδύπορον τοῖς σιταγωγοῖς ἐποίει τὸν εἰσπλουν.
 3 ὁ δὲ τρέψας ἐνταῦθα τὸν στρατὸν σχολάζοντα τάφρον μεγάλην ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταύτῃ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεταστήσας περιήγαγεν εἰς ἐπιτή-

¹ ἔδει Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Reiske; ἔδειτο.

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influence with the people than any other tribune, was won over by the flattering attentions of Marius, and in his harangues urged the people to elect Marius consul. Marius affected to decline the office and declared that he did not want it, but Saturninus called him a traitor to his country for refusing to command her armies at a time of so great peril. Now, it was clear that Saturninus was playing his part at the instigation of Marius, and playing it badly, too, but the multitude, seeing that the occasion required the ability as well as the good fortune of Marius, voted for his fourth consulship,¹ and made Catulus Lutatius his colleague, a man who was esteemed by the nobility and not disliked by the common people.

XV. Learning that the enemy were near, Marius rapidly crossed the Alps, and built a fortified camp along the river Rhone. Into this he brought together an abundance of stores, that he might never be forced by lack of provisions to give battle contrary to his better judgment. The conveyance of what was needful for his army, which had previously been a long and costly process where it was by sea, he rendered easy and speedy. That is, the mouths of the Rhone, encountering the sea, took up great quantities of mud and sand packed close with clay by the action of the billows, and made the entrance of the river difficult, laborious, and slow for vessels carrying supplies. So Marius brought his army to the place, since the men had nothing else to do, and ran a great canal. Into this he diverted a great part of the river and brought it round to a suitable place

¹ 102 B.C.

δειον αἰγιαλόν, βαθὺ μὲν καὶ ναυσὶ μεγάλαις ἔποχον, λείον δὲ καὶ ἄκλυστον στόμα λαβοῦσαν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἔτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν φυλάττει.

- 4 Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων διελόντων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς δίχα Κίμβροι μὲν ἔλαχον διὰ Νωρικῶν ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ Κάτλον χωρεῖν καὶ τὴν πάροδον ἐκείνην βιάζεσθαι, Τεύτονες δὲ καὶ Ἀμβρωνες διὰ Λιγύων ἐπὶ
- 5 Μάριον παρὰ θάλατταν. καὶ Κίμβροις μὲν ἐγίνετο πλείων ἢ διατριβὴ καὶ μέλλησις, Τεύτονες δὲ καὶ Ἀμβρωνες ἄραντες εὐθύς καὶ διελθόντες τὴν ἐν μέσῳ χώραν ἐφαίνοντο πλήθει τε ἄπειροι καὶ δυσπρόσοπτοι τὰ εἶδη, φθόγγον τε καὶ θόρυβον οὐχ ἑτέροις ὅμοιοι. περιβαλόμενοι δὲ τοῦ πεδίου μέγα μέρος¹ καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντες προῦκαλοῦντο τὸν Μάριον εἰς μάχην.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ χάρακι τοὺς στρατιώτας συνεῖχε, καὶ καθήπτετο πικρῶς τῶν θρασυνομένων, καὶ τοὺς προπίπτοντας ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ μάχεσθαι βουλομένους προδότας ἀπεκάλει τῆς πατρίδος. οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ θριάμβων τὴν φιλοτιμίαν εἶναι καὶ τροπαίων, ἀλλ' ὅπως νέφος τοσοῦτον πολέμου καὶ σκηπτὸν

2 ὥσάμενοι διασώσουσι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς ὁμοτίμους ἔλεγε, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ χάρακος ἰστάς ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ θεᾶσθαι κελεύων εἴθιζε τὴν μορφὴν ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὑπομένειν

¹ μέγα μέρος Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske : μέγα.

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on the coast, a deep bay where large ships could float, and where the water could flow out smoothly and without waves to the sea. This canal, indeed, still bears the name of Marius.¹

The Barbarians divided themselves into two bands, and it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to proceed through Noricum in the interior of the country against Catulus, and force a passage there, while the Teutones and Ambrones were to march through Liguria along the sea-coast against Marius. On the part of the Cimbri there was considerable delay and loss of time, but the Teutones and Ambrones set out at once, passed through the intervening country, and made their appearance before Marius. Their numbers were limitless, they were hideous in their aspect, and their speech and cries were unlike those of other peoples. They covered a large part of the plain, and after pitching their camp challenged Marius to battle.

XVI. Marius, however, paid no heed to them, but kept his soldiers inside their fortifications, bitterly rebuking those who would have made a display of their courage, and calling those whose high spirit made them wish to rush forth and give battle traitors to their country. For it was not, he said, triumphs or trophies that should now be the object of their ambition, but how they might ward off so great a cloud and thunder-bolt of war and secure the safety of Italy. This was his language in private to his officers and equals; but he would station his soldiers on the fortifications by detachments, bidding them to observe the enemy, and in this way accustomed them not to fear their shape or dread their cries,

¹ Cf. Strabo, iv. 8 (p. 183).

- ὅλως οὖσαν ἀλλόκοτον καὶ θηριώδη, σκευήν τε καὶ κίνησιν αὐτῶν καταμανθάνειν, ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ φαινόμενα δεινὰ ποιουμένους τῇ διανοίᾳ χειροήθη διὰ τῆς ὄψεως· ἡγείτο γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιψεύδεσθαι τῶν οὐ προσόντων τὴν καινότητα τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνηθείᾳ καὶ τὰ τῇ φύσει δεινὰ
- 3 τὴν ἐκπληξιν ἀποβάλλειν. τῶν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν ὄψις ἀφήρει τι τοῦ θάμβους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλὰς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν κόμπου οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ὄντα θυμὸς αὐτοῖς παριστάμενος ἐξεθέρμαινε καὶ διέφλεγε τὰς ψυχὰς, οὐ μόνον ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων τὰ πέριξ ἅπαντα τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χάρακι ποιουμένων προσβολὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύτητος, ὥστε φωνὰς καὶ διαγανακτήσεις τῶν
- 4 στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον ἐκφέρεσθαι. “Τίνα δὴ καταγνοὺς ἀνανδρίαν ἡμῶν Μάριος εἶργει μάχης ὥσπερ γυναικας ὑπὸ κλεισὶ καὶ θυρωροῖς; φέρε, παθόντες ἀνδρῶν πάθος ἐλευθέρων ἐρώμεθα πότερον ἄλλους ἀναμένει μαχουμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἡμῖν δὲ λειτουργοῖς χρήσεται διὰ παντός, ὅταν δέηται τάφρους ὀρύσσειν καὶ πηλὸν
- 5 ἐκκαθαίρειν καὶ ποταμούς τινας παρατρέπειν; ἐπὶ ταῦτα γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἥσκει τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις ἡμᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ὑπατειῶν ἀποδειξάμενος ἔργα τοῖς πολίταις ἐπάνεισιν. ἢ τὰ Κάρβωνος αὐτὸν φοβεῖ καὶ Καιπίωνος, οὓς ἐνίκησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, πολὺ μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς Μαρίου δόξης καὶ

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which were altogether strange and ferocious; and to make themselves acquainted with their equipment and movements, thus in course of time rendering what was only apparently formidable familiar to their minds from observation. For he considered that their novelty falsely imparts to terrifying objects many qualities which they do not possess, but that with familiarity even those things which are really dreadful lose their power to affright. And so in the case of his soldiers, not only did the daily sight of the enemy lessen somewhat their amazement at them, but also, when they heard the threats and the intolerable boasting of the Barbarians, their anger rose and warmed and set on fire their spirits; for the enemy were ravaging and plundering all the country round, and besides, often attacked the Roman fortifications with great temerity and shamelessness, so that indignant speeches of his soldiers reached the ears of Marius. "What cowardice, pray, has Marius discovered in us that he keeps us out of battle like women under lock and key? Come, let us act like freemen and ask him if he is waiting for other soldiers to fight in defence of Italy, and will use us as workmen all the time, whenever there is need of digging ditches and clearing out mud and diverting a river or two. For it was to this end, as it would seem, that he exercised us in those many toils,¹ and these are the achievements of his consulships which he will exhibit to his fellow-citizens on his return to Rome. Or does he fear the fate of Carbo and Caepio, whom the enemy defeated?² But they were far behind Marius in reputation and excellence, and

¹ Cf. chapter xiii. 1.

² Carbo in 113 B.C., Caepio in 105 B.C. See the Dictionary of Proper Names.

ἀρετῆς ἀποδέοντας, πολὺ δὲ χείρονα στρατὸν ἄγοντας; ἀλλὰ καὶ παθεῖν τι δρῶντας, ὥς ἐκεῖνοι, κάλλιον ἢ καθῆσθαι πορθουμένων τῶν συμμάχων θεατάς.”

XVII. Ταῦτ' ἀκούων ὁ Μάριος ἤδετο, καὶ κατε-
 πράυνεν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνοις ἀπιστῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ
 τινων λογίων τὸν τῆς νίκης ἅμα καιρὸν καὶ τόπον 415
 ἐκδεχόμενος. καὶ γὰρ τινὰ Σύραν γυναῖκα, Μάρ-
 θαν ὄνομα, μαντεύεσθαι λεγομένην ἐν φορείῳ
 κατακειμένην σεμνῶς περιήγετο, καὶ θυσίας ἔθνευ
 ἐκείνης κελευούσης. ἦν πρότερον μὲν ἀπήλασεν
 ἡ σύγκλητος ἐντυχεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτων βουλομένην
 2 καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προθεσπίζουσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς
 τὰς γυναῖκας εἰσιούσα διάπειραν ἐδίδου καὶ μάλι-
 στα τῇ Μαρίου παρακαθίζουσα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας
 τῶν μονομάχων ἐπιτυχῶς προηγόρευε τὸν μέλ-
 λοντα νικᾶν, ἀναπεμφθεῖσα πρὸς Μάριον ὑπ'
 ἐκείνης ἐθαυμάζετο. καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν φορείῳ
 παρεκομίζετο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς θυσίας κατῆι φοι-
 νικίδα διπλὴν ἐμπεπορπημένη καὶ λόγχην ἀναδε-
 3 δεμένην ταινίαις καὶ στεφανώμασι φέρουσα. τοῦτο
 μὲν οὖν τὸ δρᾶμα πολλοῖς ἀμφισβήτησιν παρεῖχεν,
 εἴτε πεπεισμένος ὡς ἀληθῶς εἴτε πλαττόμενος καὶ
 συνυποκρινόμενος ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν ἀνθρωπον.

Τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς γῦπας θαύματος ἄξιον Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρος ὁ Μύνδιος ἱστόρηκε. δύο γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο
 πρὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων αἰεὶ περὶ τὰς στρατείας
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led an army that was far inferior to his. Surely it is better to do something, even if we perish as they did, rather than to sit here and enjoy the spectacle of our allies being plundered."

XVII. Marius was delighted to hear of such expressions, and tried to calm the soldiers down by telling them that he did not distrust them, but in consequence of certain oracles was awaiting a fit time and place for his victory. And indeed he used to carry about ceremoniously in a litter a certain Syrian woman, named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy, and he would make sacrifices at her bidding. She had previously been rejected by the senate when she wished to appear before them with reference to these matters and predicted future events. Then she got audience of the women and gave them proofs of her skill, and particularly the wife of Marius, at whose feet she sat when some gladiators were fighting and successfully foretold which one was going to be victorious. In consequence of this she was sent to Marius by his wife, and was admired by him. As a general thing she was carried along with the army in a litter, but she attended the sacrifices clothed in a double purple robe that was fastened with a clasp, and carrying a spear that was wreathed with fillets and chaplets. Such a performance as this caused many to doubt whether Marius, in exhibiting the woman, really believed in her, or was pretending to do so and merely acted a part with her.

The affair of the vultures, however, which Alexander of Myndus relates, is certainly wonderful. Two vultures were always seen hovering about the armies of Marius before their victories, and accompanied

καὶ παρηκολούθουν γνωριζόμενοι χαλκοῖς περιδεραιοῖς· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται συλλαβόντες αὐτοὺς περιῆψαν, εἶτα ἀφῆκαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γνωρίζοντες ἡσπάζοντο αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται¹ καὶ φανέντων ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξόδοις ἔχαιρον ὥς ἀγαθόν τι πράζοντες.

- 4 Πολλῶν δὲ σημείων προφαινομένων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαρακτῆρα κοινὸν εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀμερίας καὶ Τουδέρτου, πόλεων Ἰταλικῶν, ἀπηγγέλθη νυκτὸς ὥφθαι κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν αἰχμὰς τε φλογοειδεῖς καὶ θυρεοὺς διαφερομένους τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα συμπίπτοντας. ἀλλήλοις καὶ σχήματα καὶ κινήματα λαμβάνοντας οἷα γίνεται μαχομένων ἀνδρῶν, τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐνδιδόντων, τῶν δ' ἐπιφερομένων,
- 5 πάντας ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ῥυῆναι. περὶ τοῦτον δέ πως τὸν χρόνον ἀφίκετο καὶ Βατάκης ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος ὁ τῆς μεγάλης μητρὸς ἱερεὺς, ἀπαγγέλλων ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ὑπάρχειν. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου προσεμένης καὶ τῇ θεῷ ναὸν ἐπινίκιον ἰδρύσασθαι ψηφισαμένης, τὸν Βατάκην εἰς τὸν δῆμον προελθόντα καὶ ταῦτα βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐκώλυσε δημαρχῶν Αὐλὸς Πομπήϊος, ἀγύρτην ἀποκαλῶν καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπελαύνων τοῦ βή-
- 6 ματος. ὃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πίστιν παρέσχεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας λυθείσης ὁ Αὐλὸς εἰς οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ πυρετὸς ἐξήνθησεν αὐτῷ τοσοῦτος ὥστε πᾶσι καταφανῇ γενόμενον καὶ περιβόητον ἐντὸς ἐβδόμης ἡμέρας ἀποθανεῖν.

¹ αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται with Reiske : τοὺς στρατιώτας, which Bekker and Ziegler bracket.

them on their journeys, being recognized by bronze rings on their necks; for the soldiers had caught them, put these rings on, and let them go again; and after this, on recognizing the birds, the soldiers greeted them, and they were glad to see them when they set out upon a march, feeling sure in such cases that they would be successful.

Many signs also appeared, most of which were of the ordinary kind; but from Ameria and Tuder, cities of Italy, it was reported that at night there had been seen in the heavens flaming spears, and shields which at first moved in different directions, and then clashed together, assuming the formations and movements of men in battle, and finally some of them would give way, while others pressed on in pursuit, and all streamed away to the westward. Moreover, about this time Bataces, the priest of the Great Mother,¹ came from Pessinus announcing that the goddess had declared to him from her shrine that the Romans were to be victorious and triumphant in war. The senate gave credence to the story and voted that a temple should be built for the goddess in commemoration of the victory; but when Bataces came before the assembly and desired to tell the story, Aulus Pompeius, a tribune of the people, prevented him, calling him an impostor, and driving him with insults from the rostra. And lo, this did more than anything else to gain credence for the man's story. For hardly had Aulus gone back to his house after the assembly was dissolved, when he broke out with so violent a fever that he died within a week, and everybody knew and talked about it.

¹ Cybelé, Mother of the Gods.

- XVIII. Οἱ δὲ Τεύτονες ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν ἡσυχάζοντος τοῦ Μαρίου πολιορκεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον, βέλεσι δὲ πολλοῖς ἐντυχόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος φερομένοις καὶ τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβαλόντες ἔγνωσαν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν χωρεῖν ὥς ὑπερβαλοῦντες ἀδεῶς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς· καὶ συσκευασάμενοι παρήμειβον τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τότε δὴ μάλιστα παμπληθεῖς μήκει καὶ χρόνῳ τῆς παρόδου φανέντες· ἡμέραις γὰρ ἐξ λέγονται τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Μαρίου παραμείψασθαι 2 συνεχῶς ὁδεύοντες. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐγγύς, πυνθανόμενοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ γέλωτος εἴ τι πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιστέλλοιεν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι ταχέως παρ' αὐταῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλαξαν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ προήεσαν, ἄρας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει σχέδην, ἐγγὺς μὲν αἰεὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἰδρυνόμενος, ὀχυραῖς δὲ χρώμενος στρατοπεδείαις καὶ χωρία καρτερὰ προβαλλόμενος, ὥστε 3 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ νυκτερεύειν. οὕτω δὴ προϊόντες ἐγένοντο πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις ὕδασι Σεξιτίοις, ὅθεν ἔδει πορευθέντας οὐ πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν εἶναι. διὸ δὴ καὶ Μάριος ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι, καὶ κατέλαβε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τόπον ἰσχυρὸν μὲν, ὕδωρ δὲ ἄφθονον οὐκ ἔχοντα, βουλόμενος, ὥς φασι, καὶ τοῦτ' 416 4 παροξύνει τοὺς στρατιώτας. πολλῶν γέ τοι δυσχεραίνοντων καὶ διψήσεων λεγόντων, δείξας τῇ χειρὶ ποταμόν τινα ῥέοντα πλησίον τοῦ βαρβάρικου χάρακος, ἐκείθεν αὐτοῖς ἔφησεν εἶναι 510

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XVIII. But the Teutones, since Marius kept quiet, attempted to take his camp by storm ; many missiles, however, were hurled against them from the fortifications, and they lost some of their men. They therefore decided to march forward, expecting to cross the Alps without molestation. So they packed up their baggage and began to march past the camp of the Romans. Then, indeed, the immensity of their numbers was made specially evident by the length of their line and the time required for their passage ; for it is said they were six days in passing the fortifications of Marius, although they moved continuously. And they marched close to the camp, inquiring with laughter whether the Romans had any messages for their wives ; “for,” said they, “we shall soon be with them.” But when the Barbarians had passed by and were going on their way, Marius also broke camp and followed close upon them, always halting near by and at their very side, but strongly fortifying his camps and keeping strong positions in his front, so that he could pass the night in safety. Thus the two armies went on until they came to the place called *Aquae Sextiae*, from which they had to march only a short distance and they would be in the Alps. For this reason, indeed, Marius made preparations to give battle here, and he occupied for his camp a position that was strong, but poorly supplied with water, wishing, as they say, by this circumstance also to incite his soldiers to fight. At any rate, when many of them were dissatisfied and said they would be thirsty there, he pointed to a river that ran near the barbarian fortifications, and told them they could get water there, but the

ποτὸν ὄνιον αἵματος. “Τί οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “οὐκ εὐθύς· ἡμᾶς ἄγεις ἐπ’ αὐτούς, ἕως ὑγρὸν τὸ αἷμα ἔχομεν;” κακεῖνος ἡρέμα τῇ φωνῇ, “Πρότερον,” εἶπεν, “ὀχυρωτέον ἡμῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.”

XIX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται καίπερ ἀσχάλλοντες ἐπείθοντο τῆς δὲ θεραπείας τὸ πλῆθος οὐτ’ αὐτοὶ ποτὸν οὐθ’ ὑποζυγίοις ἔχοντες ἀθρόοι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, οἱ μὲν ἀξίνας, οἱ δὲ πελέκεις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἅμα τοῖς ὑδρίοις ἀναλαβόντες, ὥς καὶ διὰ μάχης ὕδρευσόμενοι. τούτοις τὸ πρῶτον ὀλίγοι προσεμάχοντο τῶν πολεμίων· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἀριστῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ

2 μετὰ λουτρόν, οἱ δὲ ἐλούοντο. ῥήγνυσι γὰρ αὐτόθι ναμάτων θερμῶν πηγὰς ὁ χῶρος· καὶ μέρος τι περὶ ταῦτα τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐπαθοῦντας καὶ πανηγυρίζοντας ἡδονῇ καὶ θαύματι τοῦ τόπου κατέλαβον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν πλειόνων συντρεχόντων τῷ τε Μαρίῳ χαλεπὸν ἦν ἔτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπισχεῖν περὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν δεδιότας, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ μαχιμώτατον μέρος, ὑφ’ οὗ προήττηντο Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ Μαλ-
λίου καὶ Καιπίωνος πρότερον (Ἀμβρωνες ὠνομάζοντο καὶ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους αὐτοὶ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἦσαν), ἀναΐξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς πανοπλίας

3 ἐχώρουν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σώματα πλησμονῇ βεβαρημένοι, τοῖς δὲ φρονήμασι γαῦροι καὶ διακεχυμένοι πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον, οὐκ ἀτάκτοις οὐδὲ μανιώδεσι φερόμενοι δρόμοις οὐδὲ ἀναρθρον ἀλαλαγμὸν ἰέντες, ἀλλὰ κρούοντες ῥυθμῷ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ συναλ-

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price of it was blood. "Why, then," they said, "dost thou not lead us at once against the enemy, while our blood is still moist?" To which Marius calmly replied: "We must first make our camp strong."

XIX. His soldiers, accordingly, though reluctant, obeyed; but the throng of camp-servants, who had no water either for themselves or their beasts, went down in a body to the river, some taking hatchets, some axes, and some also swords and lances along with their water-jars, determined to get water even if they had to fight for it. With these only a few of the enemy at first engaged, since the main body were taking their meal after bathing, and some were still bathing. For streams of warm water burst from the ground in this place, and at these the Romans surprised a number of the Barbarians, who were enjoying themselves and making merry in this wonderfully pleasant place. Their cries brought more of the Barbarians to the spot, and Marius had difficulty in longer restraining his soldiers, since they had fears now for their servants. Besides, the most warlike division of the enemy, by whom at an earlier time the Romans under Manlius and Caepio had been defeated¹ (they were called Ambrones and of themselves numbered more than thirty thousand), had sprung up from their meal and were running to get their arms. However, though their bodies were surfeited and weighed down with food and their spirits excited and disordered with strong wine, they did not rush on in a disorderly or frantic course, nor raise an inarticulate battle-cry, but rhythmically clashing their arms and leaping to the sound they

¹ Cf. chapter xvi. 5.

- **λόμενοι πάντες ἅμα τὴν αὐτῶν ἐφθέγγοντο**
πολλάκις προσηγορίαν Ἀμβρωνες, εἴτε ἀνα-
καλούμενοι σφᾶς αὐτούς, εἴτε τοὺς πολεμίους τῇ
4 προδηλώσει προεκφοβοῦντες. τῶν δὲ Ἰταλικῶν
πρῶτοι καταβαίνοντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Λίγυες, ὡς
ἤκουσαν βοῶντων καὶ συνῆκαν, ἀντεφώνουν καὶ
αὐτοὶ τὴν πάτριον ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτῶν εἶναι· σφᾶς
γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὕτως κατὰ γένος ὀνομάζουσι Λίγυες.
πυκνὸν οὖν καὶ παράλληλον ἀντήχει πρὶν εἰς
χεῖρας συνελθεῖν τὸ ἀναφώνημα· καὶ τῶν στρατῶν
ἐκατέροις ἀνὰ μέρος συναναφθεγγομένων καὶ
φιλοτιμουμένων πρῶτον ἀλλήλους τῷ μεγέθει
τῆς βοῆς ὑπερβαλέσθαι, παρώξυνε καὶ διηρέθιζε
τὸν θυμὸν ἢ κραυγή.
- 5 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἀμβρωνας διέσπασε τὸ ρεῖθρον·**
οὐ γὰρ ἐφθασαν εἰς τάξιν καταστήναι διαβάντες,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρῶτοις εὐθὺς μετὰ δρόμου τῶν Λι-
γύων προσπεσόντων ἐν χερσὶν ἦν ἡ μάχη· τοῖς
δὲ Λίγυσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβοηθούντων καὶ
φερομένων ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους βιασθέν-
6 τες ἐτράποντο. καὶ πλείστοι μὲν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ
ρεῖθρον ὠθούμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπαίοντο καὶ
κατεπίμπλασαν φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμόν,
τοὺς δὲ διαβάντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ τολμώντας ἀνα-
στρέφειν ἔκτεινον ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῶν
7 ἁμαξῶν φεύγοντας. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπ-
αντῶσαι μετὰ ξιφῶν καὶ πελέκεων δεινὸν τετρι-
γυῖαι καὶ περιθυμον ἡμύνοντο τοὺς φεύγοντας
ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς διώκοντας, τοὺς μὲν ὡς προδότας,
τοὺς δὲ ὡς πολεμίους, ἀναπεφυρμέναι μαχομένοις
καὶ χερσὶ γυμναῖς τοὺς τε θυρεοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων

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would frequently shout out all together their tribal name Ambrones, either to encourage one another, or to terrify their enemies in advance by the declaration. The first of the Italians to go down against them were the Ligurians, and when they heard and understood what the Barbarians were shouting, they themselves shouted back the word, claiming it as their own ancestral appellation; for the Ligurians call themselves Ambrones by descent. Often, then, did the shout echo and reecho from either side before they came to close quarters; and since the hosts back of each party took up the cry by turns and strove each to outdo the other first in the magnitude of their shout, their cries roused and fired the spirit of the combatants.

Well, then, the Ambrones became separated by the stream; for they did not all succeed in getting across and forming an array, but upon the foremost of them the Ligurians at once fell with a rush, and the fighting was hand-to-hand. Then the Romans came to the aid of the Ligurians, and charging down from the heights upon the Barbarians overwhelmed and turned them back. Most of the Ambrones were cut down there in the stream where they were all crowded together, and the river was filled with their blood and their dead bodies; the rest, after the Romans had crossed, did not dare to face about, and the Romans kept slaying them until they came in their flight to their camp and waggons. Here the women met them, swords and axes in their hands, and with hideous shrieks of rage tried to drive back fugitives and pursuers alike, the fugitives as traitors, and the pursuers as foes; they mixed themselves up with the combatants, with bare hands tore

ἀποσπῶσαι καὶ τῶν ξιφῶν ἐπιλαμβανόμεναι, καὶ τραύματα καὶ διακοπὰς σωμάτων ὑπομένουσai, μέχρι τελευτῆς ἀήττητοι τοῖς θυμοῖς. τὴν μὲν οὖν παραποτάμιον μάχην οὕτω κατὰ τύχην μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.

- XX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀμβρώνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαφθείραντες ἀνεχώρησαν ὀπίσω καὶ σκότος ἐπέσχευ, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπ' εὐτυχίματι τοσοῦτῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδέξαντο παῖανες ἐπινίκιοι καὶ πότοι κατὰ σκηναὺς καὶ φιλοφροσύναι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ τὸ πάντων ἡδιστον ἀνδράσιν εὐτυχῶς 417 μεμαχημένοις, ὕπνος ἥπιος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην μάλιστα 2 τὴν νύκτα φοβερὰν καὶ ταραχώδη διήγαγον. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀχαράκωτον τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀτείχιστον, ἀπελείποντο ¹ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀήττητοι, καὶ συμμεμιγμένων τούτοις ὅσοι διαπεφεύγεσαν τῶν Ἀμβρώνων, ὀδυρμὸς ἦν διὰ νυκτός, οὐ κλαυθοῖς οὐδὲ στεναγμοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐοικώς, ἀλλὰ θηρομιγῆς τις ὠρυγὴ καὶ βρύχημα μεμιγμένον ἀπειλαῖς καὶ θρήνοις ἀναπεμπόμενον ἐκ πλήθους τοσοῦτου τά τε πέριξ 3 ὄρη καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιεφώνει. καὶ κατεῖχε φρικώδης ἡχος τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους δέος, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μάριον ἔκπληξιν ἄκοσμόν τινα καὶ ταραχώδη νυκτομαχίαν προσδεχόμενον. οὐ μὲν ἐπῆλθον οὔτε νυκτός οὔτε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ συντάττοντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι διετέλουν.
- 4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μάριος, ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκ κεφαλῆς τῶν βαρβάρων νάπαι περικλινεῖς καὶ κατὰσκιαι

¹ ἀπελείποντο, Bekker adopts Coraës' correction to ὑπελείποντο.

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away the shields of the Romans or grasped their swords, and endured wounds and mutilations, their fierce spirits unvanquished to the end. So, then, as we are told, the battle at the river was brought on by accident rather than by the intention of the commander.

XX. After destroying many of the Ambrones the Romans withdrew and night came on ; but in spite of so great a success the army did not indulge in paeans of victory, or drinking in the tents, or friendly converse over suppers, or that sweetest of all delights for men who have fought and won a battle, gentle sleep, but that night more than any other was spent in fears and commotions. For their camp was still without palisade or wall, and there were still left many myriads of the Barbarians who had met with no defeat. These had been joined by all the Ambrones who survived the battle, and there was lamentation among them all night long, not like the wailings and groans of men, but howlings and bellowings with a strain of the wild beast in them, mingled with threats and cries of grief, went up from this vast multitude and echoed among the surrounding hills and over the river valley. The whole plain was filled with an awful din, the Romans with fear, and even Marius himself with consternation as he awaited some disorderly and confused night-battle. However, the Barbarians made no attack either during that night or the following day, but spent the time in marshalling their forces and making preparations.

Meanwhile, since the position of the Barbarians was commanded by sloping glens and ravines that were

δρυμοῖς αὐλῶνες, ἐνταῦθα Κλαύδιον Μάρκελλον
ἐκπέμπει μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν, ἐνεδρεῦσαι
κελεύσας κρύφα καὶ μαχομένοις ἐξόπισθεν ἐπι-
φανῆναι. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους δειπνήσαντας ἐν ὥρᾳ
καὶ κοιμηθέντας ἅμ' ἡμέρα συνέταττε πρὸ τοῦ
χάρακος ἀγαγών, καὶ προέξέπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας
5 εἰς τὸ πεδίον. θεασάμενοι δὲ οἱ Τεύτονες οὐκ
ἠνέσχοντο καταβαίνοντας αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου δια-
γωνίζεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ σὺν τάχει καὶ
δι' ὀργῆς ὀπλισάμενοι τῷ λόφῳ προσέβαλον. ὁ
δὲ Μάριος ἐκασταχοῦ διαπέμπων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας
ἐστάναι καὶ καρτερεῖν παρεκάλει, πελασάντων δὲ
εἰς ἐφικτὸν ἐξακοντίσαι τοὺς ὑσσοὺς, εἰτα χρη-
σθαι ταῖς μαχαίραις καὶ τοῖς θυρεοῖς ἀντερείσαν-
6 τας βιάζεσθαι. τῶν γὰρ τόπων ἐπισφαλῶν ὄντων
ἐκείνοις οὔτε τόνον ἔξειν τὰς πληγὰς οὔτε ῥώμην
τὸν συνασπισμόν, ἐν περιτροπῇ καὶ σάλῳ τῶν
σωμάτων ὄντων διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. ταῦτα ἅμα
παρήνει καὶ δρῶν ἐωρᾶτο πρῶτος· οὐδενὸς γὰρ
ἤσκητο χεῖρον τὸ σῶμα, καὶ πάντας πολὺ τῇ
τόλμῃ παρήλλαττεν.

XXI. Ὡς οὖν ἀντιστάντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
καὶ συμπεσόντες ἔσχον ἄνω φερομένους, ἐκθλι-
βόμενοι κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ πεδίον·
καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἤδη καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν ἐν
τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις βοή καὶ διασπασμὸς ἦν περὶ τοὺς
ὀπισθεν. ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Μάρκελλον,
ἀλλὰ τῆς κραυγῆς ὑπὲρ τοὺς λόφους ἄνω φερο-
μένης ἀναστήσας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ καὶ

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shaded by trees, Marius sent Claudius Marcellus thither with three thousand men-at-arms, under orders to lie concealed in ambush until the battle was on, and then to show themselves in the enemy's rear. The rest of his soldiers, who had taken supper in good season and then got a night's sleep, he led out at day-break and drew up in front of the camp, and sent out his cavalry into the plain. The Teutones, seeing this, could not wait for the Romans to come down and fight with them on equal terms, but quickly and wrathfully armed themselves and charged up the hill. But Marius, sending his officers to all parts of the line, exhorted the soldiers to stand firmly in their lines, and when the enemy had got within reach to hurl their javelins, then take to their swords and crowd the Barbarians back with their shields; for since the enemy were on precarious ground their blows would have no force and the locking of their shields no strength, but the unevenness of the ground would keep them turning and tossing about. This was the advice he gave his men, and they saw that he was first to act accordingly; for he was in better training than any of them, and in daring far surpassed them all.

XXI. Accordingly, the Romans awaited the enemy's onset, then closed with them and checked their upward rush, and at last, crowding them back little by little, forced them into the plain. Here, while the Barbarians in front were at last forming in line on level ground, there was shouting and commotion in their rear. For Marcellus had watched his opportunity, and when the cries of battle were borne up over the hills he put his men upon the run and

- ἀλαλαγμῷ προσέπιπτε κατὰ νώτου, κτείνων τοὺς
 2 ἐσχάτους. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπισπώμενοι
 ταχὺ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ταραχῆς ἐνέπλησαν, οὐ
 πολὺν τε χρόνον ἡνέσχοντο παιόμενοι διχόθεν,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν τάξιν λύσαντες ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι
 διώκοντες αὐτῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας ἢ ζῶντας
 εἶλον ἢ κατέβαλον, σκηνῶν δὲ καὶ ἀμαξῶν καὶ
 χρημάτων κρατήσαντες, ὅσα μὴ διεκλάπη, Μάριον
 λαβεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ δωρεᾶς ταύτης λαμπρο-
 τάτης τυχῶν οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἔχειν ὧν ἐστρα-
 τήγησεν ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος.
- 3 "Ἐτεροι δὲ περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῶν λαφύρων οὐχ
 ὁμολογοῦσιν, οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πεσόν-
 των. Μασσαλήτας μέντοι λέγουσι τοῖς ὁστέοις
 περιθριγκῶσαι τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας, τὴν δὲ γῆν, τῶν
 νεκρῶν καταναλωθέντων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος
 ὄμβρων ἐπιπεσόντων, οὕτως ἐκλιπανθῆναι καὶ
 γενέσθαι διὰ βάθους περίπλεω τῆς σηπεδόνος
 ἐνδύσης ὥστε καρπῶν ὑπερβάλλον εἰς ὥρας
 πλήθος ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ 418
 λέγοντι πιαίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ τοιοῦτου τὰς ἀρούρας.
- 4 ἐπικεικῶς δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις μάχαις ἐξαισίους
 ὑετοὺς ἐπικαταρρήγνυσθαι λέγουσιν, εἴτε δαι-
 μονίου τινὸς τὴν γῆν καθαροῖς καὶ διῷπετέσιν
 ἀγνίζοντος ὕδασι καὶ κατακλύζοντος, εἴτε τοῦ
 φόνου καὶ τῆς σηπεδόνος ἐξανιείσης ὑγρὰν καὶ
 βαρεῖαν ἀναθυμίασιν, ἢ τὸν ἀέρα συνίστησιν
 εὐτρεπτον ὄντα καὶ ῥάδιον μεταβάλλειν ἀπὸ
 σμικροτάτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρχῆς.

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fell with loud shouts upon the enemy's rear, where he cut down the hindmost of them. Those in the rear forced along those who were in front of them, and quickly plunged the whole army into confusion, and under this double attack they could not hold out long, but broke ranks and fled. The Romans pursued them and either slew or took alive over a hundred thousand of them, besides making themselves masters of their tents, waggons, and property, all of which, with the exception of what was pilfered, was given to Marius by vote of the soldiers. And though the gift that he received was so splendid, it was thought to be wholly unworthy of his services in the campaign, where the danger that threatened had been so great.

There are some writers, however, who give a different account of the division of the spoils, and also of the number of the slain. Nevertheless, it is said that the people of Massalia fenced their vineyards round with the bones of the fallen, and that the soil, after the bodies had wasted away in it and the rains had fallen all winter upon it, grew so rich and became so full to its depths of the putrefied matter that sank into it, that it produced an exceeding great harvest in after years, and confirmed the saying of Archilochus¹ that "fields are fattened" by such a process. And it is said that extraordinary rains generally dash down after great battles, whether it is that some divine power drenches and hallows the ground with purifying waters from Heaven, or that the blood and putrefying matter send up a moist and heavy vapour which condenses the air, this being easily moved and readily changed to the highest degree by the slightest cause.

¹ Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.⁴ pp. 428 f.

XXII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Μάριος τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ὄπλων καὶ λαφύρων τὰ μὲν ἐκπρεπῆ καὶ ὀλόκληρα καὶ πομπικὴν ὄψιν τῷ θριάμβῳ δυνάμενα παρασχεῖν ἐπέλεξε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπὶ πυρᾶς μεγάλης κατασφωρεύσας τὸ πλῆθος ἔθυσεν
 2 θυσίαν μεγαλοπρεπῆ. καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρεστῶτος ἐν ὅπλοις ἐστεφανωμένου περιζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν περιπόρφυρον καὶ λαβὼν δᾶδα καιομένην καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν ἀνασχὼν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλεν ὑφῆσειν τῇ πυρᾷ· καὶ προσελαύνοντες ἵπποις ἐωρῶντο φίλοι σὺν τάχει πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε πολλὴν γενέσθαι σιωπὴν καὶ προσδοκίαν
 3 ἀπάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἀποπηδήσαντες ἐδεξιούντο τὸν Μάριον, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸ πέμπτον αὐτὸν ὑπατον ἡρῆσθαι, καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων ἀπέδωκαν. μεγάλης οὖν χαρᾶς τοῖς ἐπινικίοις προσγενομένης ὃ τε στρατὸς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐνοπλίῳ τινὶ κρότῳ καὶ πατάγῳ συνηλάαξαν, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὸν Μάριον αὐθις ἀναδούντων δάφνης στεφάνοις ἐνήψε τὴν πυρὰν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετελείωσεν.

XXIII. Ἡ δὲ μηθὲν ἐῶσα τῶν μεγάλων εὐτυχημάτων ἄκρατον εἰς ἡδονὴν καὶ καθαρὸν, ἀλλὰ μίξει κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ποικίλλουσα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἢ τύχῃ τις ἢ νέμεσις ἢ πραγμάτων ἀναγκαία φύσις οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπήγαγε τῷ Μαρίῳ τὴν περὶ Κάτλου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀγγελίαν, ὥσπερ ἐν εὐδία καὶ γαλήνῃ νέφος, αὐθις ἕτερον φόβον καὶ χειμῶνα τῇ Ῥώμῃ
 2 περιστήσασα. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Κάτλος ἀντικαθήμενος τοῖς Κίμβροις τὰς μὲν ὑπερβολὰς τῶν Ἀλπεων

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XXII. After the battle, Marius collected such of the arms and spoils of the Barbarians as were handsome, entire, and fitted to make a show in his triumphal procession; all the rest he heaped up on a huge pyre and set on foot a magnificent sacrifice. The soldiers had taken their stand about the pyre in arms, with chaplets on their heads, and Marius himself, having put on his purple-bordered robe and girt it about him, as the custom was, had taken a lighted torch, held it up towards heaven with both hands, and was just about to set fire to the pyre, when some friends were seen riding swiftly towards him, and there was deep silence and expectancy on the part of all. But when the horsemen were near, they leaped to the ground and greeted Marius, bringing him the glad news that he had been elected consul for the fifth time,¹ and giving him letters to that effect. This great cause for rejoicing having been added to the celebration of their victory, the soldiers, transported with delight, sent forth a universal shout, accompanied by the clash and clatter of their arms, and after his officers had crowned Marius afresh with wreaths of bay, he set fire to the pyre and completed the sacrifice.

XXIII. However, that power which permits no great successes to bring a pure and unmixed enjoyment, but diversifies human life with a blending of evil and of good—be it Fortune, or Nemesis, or Inevitable Necessity, within a few days brought to Marius tidings of his colleague Catulus, which, like a cloud in a calm and serene sky, involved Rome in another tempest of fear. For Catulus, who was facing the Cimbri, gave up trying to guard the passes of the

¹ For the year 101 B.C.

- ἀπέγνω φυλάσσειν, μὴ κατὰ πολλὰ τὴν δύναμιν
 μέρη διαιρεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀσθενὴς γένοιτο,
 καταβὰς δ' εὐθύς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀτι-
 σῶνα ποταμὸν λαβὼν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ φραζάμενος
 πρὸς τὰς διαβάσεις ἐκατέρωθεν ἰσχυροῖς χαρα-
 κώμασιν, ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον, ὡς ἐπιβοηθεῖν εἴη τοῖς
 3 στενῶν οἱ βάρβαροι. τοῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον περιῆν
 ὑπεροψίας καὶ θράσους κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥστε
 ῥώμην καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ πράτ-
 τουντές τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων γυμνοὶ μὲν ἡνείχοντο
 νιφόμενοι καὶ διὰ πάγων καὶ χιόνος βαθείας τοῖς
 ἄκροις προσέβαινον, ἄνωθεν δὲ τοὺς θυρεοὺς
 πλατεῖς ὑποτιθέντες τοῖς σώμασιν, εἴτα ἀφιέντες
 αὐτοὺς ὑπεφέροντο κατὰ κρημνῶν ὀλισθήματα
 4 καὶ λισσάδας ἀχανεῖς ἐχόντων. ὡς δὲ παρα-
 στρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐγγὺς καὶ κατασκεψάμενοι
 τὸν πόρον ἤρξαντο χοῦν, καὶ τοὺς πέριξ λόφους
 ἀναρρηγνύντες, ὥσπερ οἱ γίγαντες, ἅμα δένδρα
 πρόρριζα καὶ κρημνῶν σπαράγματα καὶ γῆς
 κολωνοὺς ἐφόρουν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐκθλίβοντες
 τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ τοῖς ἐρείδουσι τὰ ζεύγματα βάθροις
 ἐφίεντες βάρη μεγάλα συρόμενα κατὰ ῥοὺν καὶ
 τινάττοντα ταῖς πληγαῖς τὴν γέφυραν, ἀποδει-
 λιάσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέλιπον
 τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀνεχώρουν.
- 5 Ἐνθα δὴ Κάτλος ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ χρῆ
 τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τέλειον ἄρχοντα, τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν
 ἐν ὑστέρω τῶν πολιτῶν τιθέμενον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ
 ἔπειθε τοὺς στρατιώτας μένειν, ἀλλ' ἑώρα περι-
 δεῶς ἀναζευγνύντας, ἄρασθαι κελεύσας τὸν αἰτὸν 41!

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Alps, lest he should be weakened by the necessity of dividing his forces into many parts, and at once descended into the plains of Italy. Here he put the river Atiso between himself and the enemy, built strong fortifications on both banks of it to prevent their crossing, and threw a bridge across the stream, that he might be able to go to the help of the people on the other side in case the Barbarians made their way through the passes and attacked the fortresses. But these Barbarians were so contemptuous and bold in following their enemies that, more by way of displaying their strength and daring than because it was necessary at all, they endured the snow-storms without any clothing, made their way through ice and deep snow to the summits, and from there, putting their broad shields under them and then letting themselves go, slid down the smooth and deeply fissured cliffs. After they had encamped near the stream and examined the passage, they began to dam it up, tearing away the neighbouring hills, like the giants of old, carrying into the river whole trees with their roots, fragments of cliffs, and mounds of earth, and crowding the current out of its course; they also sent whirling down the stream against the piles of the bridge heavy masses which made the bridge quiver with their blows, until at last the greater part of the Roman soldiers played the coward, abandoned their main camp, and began to retreat.

And now Catulus, like a consummately good commander, showed that he had less regard for his own reputation than for that of his countrymen. For finding that he could not persuade his soldiers to remain, and seeing that they were making off in terror, he ordered his standard to be taken up, ran to the

εἰς τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν ἀπερχομένων ὥρμησε δρόμῳ
καὶ πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο, βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰσχρὸν,
ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς πατρίδος γενέσθαι, καὶ δοκεῖν μὴ
φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ ποιεῖ-
6 σθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν
πέραν τοῦ Ἀτισῶνος φρούριον ἐπελθόντες ἔλαβον,
καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι Ῥωμαίους ἀνδρῶν κρατίστους
γενομένους καὶ προκινδυνεύσαντας ἀξίως τῆς
πατρίδος θαυμάσαντες ὑποσπόνδους ἀφήκαν,
ὁμόσαντες τὸν χαλκοῦν ταῦρον, ὃν ὕστερον ἀλόντα
μετὰ τὴν μάχην εἰς τὴν Κάτλου φασὶν οἰκίαν
ὥσπερ ἀκροθίνιον τῆς νίκης κομισθῆναι. τὴν δὲ
χώραν ἔρημον βοηθείας ἐπιχυθέντες ἐπόρθουν.

XXIV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκαλεῖτο Μάριος εἰς τὴν
· Ῥώμην· καὶ παραγενόμενος, πάντων αὐτὸν οἰο-
μένων θριαμβεύσειν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς προθύμως
ψηφισαμένης, οὐκ ἡξίωσεν, εἴτε τοὺς στρατιώτας
καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἀποστερῆσαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας
μὴ βουλόμενος, εἴτε πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θαρρύνων
τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τῇ τύχῃ τῆς πόλεως παρακατατι-
θέμενος τὴν τῶν πρῶτων κατορθωμάτων δόξαν ἐν
τοῖς δευτέροις λαμπροτέραν ἀποδοθησομένην.
2 διαλεχθεῖς δὲ τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ καὶ πρὸς
τὸν Κάτλον ἐξορμήσας, τοῦτόν τε παρεθάρρυνε
καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ μετεπέμπετο στρατιώτας ἐκ
Γαλατίας. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, διαβὰς τὸν Ἡριδανὸν
εἰργεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο τῆς ἐντὸς Ἰταλίας τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους. οἱ δὲ τοὺς Τεύτονας ἐκδέχεσθαι καὶ

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foremost of the retiring troops, and put himself at their head, wishing that the disgrace should attach to himself and not to his country, and that his soldiers, in making their retreat, should not appear to be running away, but following their general. The Barbarians attacked and captured the fortress on the further side of the Atiso, and they so much admired the Romans there, who showed themselves bravest of men and fought worthily of their country, that they let them go on parole, making them take oath upon the bronze bull. This was subsequently captured, after the battle, and was carried, we are told, to the house of Catulus as the chief prize of the victory. But the country was now destitute of defenders, and the Barbarians inundated and ravaged it.

XXIV. In view of these things Marius was summoned to Rome. When he had arrived there, it was the general expectation that he would celebrate the triumph which the senate had readily voted him. But he refused to do so, either because he did not wish to deprive his soldiers and comrades-in-arms of their due honours, or because he would encourage the multitude in view of the present crisis by entrusting the glory of his first success to the fortune of the state, in the hope that it would be returned to him enhanced by a second. Having said what was suitable to the occasion, he set out to join Catulus, whom he tried to encourage, while at the same time he summoned his own soldiers from Gaul. When these had come, he crossed the Po and tried to keep the Barbarians out of the part of Italy lying this side of the river. But the Barbarians declined battle, alleging that they were waiting for

θαυμάζειν ὡς βραδυνόντων φάσκοντες ἀνεβάλ-
 λοντο τὴν μάχην, εἴτε ἀγνοοῦντες ὄντως τὴν
 ἐκείνων φθοράν, εἴτε βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν.
 3 καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγγέλλοντας ἠκίζοντο δεινῶς, καὶ τὸν
 Μάριον ᾗτουν πέμψαντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀδελ-
 φοῖς χώραν καὶ πόλεις ἱκανὰς ἐνοικεῖν. ἐρομένου
 δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου τοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν,
 κακείνων ὀνομασάντων τοὺς Τεύτονας, οἱ μὲν
 ἄλλοι πάντες ἐγέλασαν, ὁ δὲ Μάριος ἔσκωψεν
 εἰπών· “Ἐὰτε τοίνυν τοὺς ἀδελφούς· ἔχουσι γὰρ
 γῆν ἐκείνοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἔξουσι παρ’ ἡμῶν
 4 λαβόντες.” οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν συνέντες
 ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν ὡς δίκην ὑφέξοντα, Κίμβροις
 μὲν αὐτίκα, Τεύτοσι δὲ ὅταν παραγένωνται. “Καὶ
 μὴν πάρεισιν,” ἔφη ὁ Μάριος, “καὶ οὐχ ἔξει
 καλῶς ὑμῖν ἀπαλλαγῆναι πρότερον ἢ τοὺς ἀδελ-
 φούς ἀσπάσασθαι.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσε
 τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Τευτόνων προαχθῆναι δεδε-
 μένους· ἐάλωσαν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι φεύγοντες
 ὑπὸ Σηκουανῶν.

XXV. Ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα τοῖς Κίμβροις,
 αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάριον ἡσυχά-
 ζοντα καὶ διαφυλάττοντα τὸ στρατόπεδον. λέγεται
 δὲ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην πρῶτον ὑπὸ Μαρίου
 καινοτομηθῆναι τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὑσσούς. τὸ γὰρ εἰς
 τὸν σίδηρον ἔμβλημα τοῦ ξύλου πρότερον μὲν ἦν
 δυσὶ περόναις κατειλημμένον σιδηραῖς, τότε δὲ ὁ
 Μάριος τὴν μὲν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, εἶασε, τὴν δ’ ἐτέραν
 ἐξελὼν ξύλινον ἤλον εὐθραυστον ἀντ’ αὐτῆς

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their brethren the Teutones and wondered why they were so long in coming; this was either because they were really ignorant of their destruction, or because they wished to have the appearance of disbelieving it. For they terribly mishandled those who brought tidings of it, and sent to Marius demanding territory for themselves and their brethren and enough cities for them to dwell in. When Marius asked their ambassadors whom they meant by their brethren, they said they meant the Teutones. At this, all the other Romans who heard them burst out laughing, and Marius scoffingly said: "Then don't trouble yourselves about your brethren, for they have land, and they will have it forever—land which we have given them." The ambassadors understood his sarcasm and fell to abusing him, declaring that he should be punished for it, by the Cimbri at once, and by the Teutones when they came. "Verily," said Marius, "they are here, and it will not be right for you to go away before you have embraced your brethren." Saying this, he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be produced in fetters; for they had been captured among the Alps, where they were fugitives, by the Sequani.

XXV. When these things had been reported to the Cimbri, they once more advanced against Marius, who kept quiet and carefully guarded his camp. And it is said that it was in preparation for this battle that Marius introduced an innovation in the structure of the javelin. Up to this time, it seems, that part of the shaft which was let into the iron head was fastened there by two iron nails; but now, leaving one of these as it was, Marius removed the other, and put in its place a wooden pin that could easily

2 ἐνέβαλε, τεχνάζων προσπεσόντα τὸν ὕσσον τῷ
θυρεῷ τοῦ πολεμίου μὴ μένειν ὀρθόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
ξυλίνου κλασθέντος ἤλου καμπὴν γίνεσθαι περὶ
τὸν σίδηρον καὶ παρέλκεσθαι τὸ δόρυ, διὰ τὴν
στρεβλότητα τῆς αἰχμῆς ἐνεχόμενον.

Βοιωρὶξ δὲ ὁ τῶν Κίμβρων βασιλεὺς ὀλιγοστὸς
προσιππεύσας τῷ στρατοπέδῳ προὔκαλεῖτο τὸν
Μάριον, ἡμέραν ὀρίσαντα καὶ τόπον, προελθεῖν
3 καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας. τοῦ δὲ
Μαρίου φήσαντος οὐδέποτε Ῥωμαίους συμβού-
λοις κεχρῆσθαι περὶ μάχης τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καὶ χαριεῖσθαι τοῦτο Κίμβροις, ἡμέραν μὲν
ἔθεντο τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τρίτην, χώραν δὲ τὸ πε-
δῖον τὸ περὶ Βερκέλλας, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐπιτήδειον
ἐνιππάσασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἀνάχυσιν τῷ πλήθει
παρασχεῖν.

4. Τηρήσαντες οὖν τὸν ὠρισμένον χρόνον ἀντι-
παρετάσσοντο, Κάτλος μὲν ἔχων δισμυρίους καὶ 420
τριακοσίους στρατιώτας, οἱ δὲ Μαρίου δισχίλιοι
μὲν ἐπὶ τρισμυρίοις ἐγένοντο, περιέσχον δὲ τὸν
Κάτλον ἐν μέσῳ νεμηθέντες εἰς ἐκάτερον κέρας,
ὡς Σύλλας, ἡγωνισμένος ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην,
5 γέγραφε. καὶ φησι τὸν Μάριον ἐλπίσαντα τοῖς
ἄκροις μάλιστα καὶ κατὰ κέρας συμπεσεῖν τὰς
φάλαγγας, ὅπως ἴδιος ἢ νίκη τῶν ἐκείνου στρα-
τιωτῶν γένοιτο καὶ μὴ μετάσχοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὁ
Κάτλος μηδὲ προσμίξειε τοῖς πολεμίοις, κόλπωμα
τῶν μέσων, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις μετώποις,
λαμβάνόντων, οὕτω διαστήσαι τὰς δυνάμεις.

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be broken. His design was that the javelin, after striking the enemy's shield, should not stand straight out, but that the wooden peg should break, thus allowing the shaft to bend in the iron head and trail along the ground, being held fast by the twist at the point of the weapon.

And now Boeorix the king of the Cimbri, with a small retinue, rode up towards the camp and challenged Marius to set a day and a place and come out and fight for the ownership of the country. Marius replied that the Romans never allowed their enemies to give them advice about fighting, but that he would nevertheless gratify the Cimbri in this matter. Accordingly, they decided that the day should be the third following, and the place the plain of Vercellae, which was suitable for the operations of the Roman cavalry, and would give the Cimbri room to deploy their numbers.

When, therefore, the appointed time had come, the Romans drew up their forces for battle. Catulus had twenty thousand three hundred soldiers, while those of Marius amounted to thirty-two thousand, which were divided between both wings and had Catulus between them in the centre, as Sulla, who fought in this battle, has stated.¹ He says also that Marius hoped that the two lines would engage at their extremities chiefly and on the wings, in order that his soldiers might have the whole credit for the victory and that Catulus might not participate in the struggle nor even engage the enemy (since the centre, as is usual in battle-fronts of great extent, would be folded back); and therefore arranged the

¹ In his *Memoirs*; cf. the *Sulla*, iv. 3.

ὅμοια δὲ καὶ τὸν Κάτλον αὐτὸν ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι, πολλὴν κατηγοροῦντα τοῦ Μαρίου κακοήθειαν πρὸς αὐτόν.

Τοῖς δὲ Κίμβροις τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων καθ' ἡσυχίαν προῆει, βάθος ἶσον τῷ μετώπῳ ποιούμενον. ἐκάστη γὰρ ἐπέσχε πλευρὰ σταδίου
 7 τριάκοντα τῆς παρατάξεως· οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ἐξήλασαν λαμπροί, κράνη μὲν εἰκασμένα θηρίων φοβερῶν χάσμασι καὶ προτομαῖς ἰδιομόρφοις ἔχοντες, ἃς ἐπαιρόμενοι λόφοις πτερωτοῖς εἰς ὕψος ἐφαίνοντο μείζους, θώραξι δὲ κεκοσμημένοι σιδηροῖς, θυρεοῖς δὲ λευκοῖς στίλβοντες. ἀκόντισμα δὲ ἦν ἐκάστῳ διβολία· συμπεσόντες δὲ μεγάλαις ἐχρῶντο καὶ βαρεῖαις μαχαίραις.

XXVI. Τότε δὲ οὐχὶ κατὰ στόμα προσεφέροντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' ἐκκλίνοντες ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ὑπήγον αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρόν, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς παρατεταγμένων. καὶ συνείδον μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ τὸν δόλον, ἐπισχεῖν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ ἔφθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς ἐκβοήσαντος ὅτι φεύγου
 2 σιν οἱ πολέμιοι, πάντες ὥρμησαν διώκειν. καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπῆει καθάπερ πέλαγος ἀχανὲς κινούμενον. ἐνταῦθα νιψάμενος ὁ Μάριος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχὼν εὐξάτο τοῖς θεοῖς κατὰ ἐκατόμβης. εὐξάτο δὲ καὶ Κάτλος ὁμοίως ἀνασχὼν τὰς χεῖρας καθιερώσειν τὴν τύχην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης. τὸν δὲ Μάριον καὶ θύσαντα λέγεται τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτῷ δειχθέντων μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν· “Ἐμὴ ἡ νίκη.”

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forces in this manner. And we are told that Catulus himself also made a similar statement in defence of his conduct in the battle, and accused Marius of great malice in his treatment of him.

As for the Cimbri, their foot-soldiers advanced slowly from their defences, with a depth equal to their front, for each side of their formation had an extent of thirty furlongs; and their horsemen, fifteen thousand strong, rode out in splendid style, with helmets made to resemble the maws of frightful wild beasts or the heads of strange animals, which, with their towering crests of feathers, made their wearers appear taller than they really were; they were also equipped with breastplates of iron, and carried gleaming white shields. For hurling, each man had two lances; and at close quarters they used large, heavy swords.

XXVI. At this time, however, they did not charge directly upon the Romans, but swerved to the right and tried to draw them along gradually until they got them between themselves and their infantry, which was drawn up on their left. The Roman commanders perceived the crafty design, but did not succeed in holding their soldiers back; for one of them shouted that the enemy was taking to flight, and then all set out to pursue them. Meanwhile the infantry of the Barbarians came on to the attack like a vast sea in motion. Then Marius, after washing his hands, lifted them to heaven and vowed a hecatomb to the gods; Catulus also in like manner lifted his hands and vowed that he would consecrate the fortune of that day. It is said, too, that Marius offered sacrifice, and that when the victims had been shown to him, he cried with a loud voice: "Mine is the victory."

- 3 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου πρᾶγμα νεμεσητὸν παθεῖν τὸν Μάριον οἱ περὶ Σύλλαν ἱστοροῦσι. κονιορτοῦ γὰρ ἄρθέντος, οἶον εἰκός, ἀπλέτου καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀποκεκρυμμένων, ἐκείνον μὲν, ὥς τὸ πρῶτον ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπισπασάμενον τὴν δύναμιν ἀστοχῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρενεχθέντα τῆς φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διαφέρεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον, τῷ δὲ Κάτλῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τύχης συρραγῆναι, καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα κατ' ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου μάλιστα στρατιώτας, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας τετάχθαι
- 4 φησί· συναγωνίσασθαι δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ καῦμα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀντιλάμποντα τοῖς Κίμβροις. δεινοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ὑπομεῖναι κρῦη, καὶ τόποις ἐντεθραμμένοι σκιεροῖς, ὥς λέλεκται, καὶ ψυχροῖς, ἀνετρέποντο πρὸς τὸ θάλπος, ἰδρῶτά τε μετὰ ἄσθματος πολὺν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἀφιέντες καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς προβαλλόμενοι πρὸ τῶν προσώπων, ἅτε δὴ καὶ μετὰ τροπὰς θέρους τῆς μάχης γενομένης, ἃς ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς νουμηνίας τοῦ νῦν μὲν Αὐγούστου, τότε δὲ
- 5 Σεξιτιλίου μηνός. ὤνησε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν ὁ κονιορτὸς ἀποκρύψας τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ γὰρ κατείδον ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι προσμίζαντες ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως μὴ προεκφοβηθέντες. οὕτω δ' ἦσαν διάπονοι τὰ σώματα καὶ κατηθληκότες ὥς μήτε ἰδρῶντά τινα μήτε ἀσθμαίνοντα Ῥωμαίων ὀφθῆναι διὰ πνίγους τοσούτου καὶ μετὰ δρόμου

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After the attack had begun, however, an experience befell Marius which signified the divine displeasure, according to Sulla. For an immense cloud of dust was raised, as was to be expected, and the two armies were hidden from one another by it, so that Marius, when he first led his forces to the attack, missed the enemy, passed by their lines of battle, and moved aimlessly up and down the plain for some time. Meanwhile, as chance would have it, the Barbarians engaged fiercely with Catulus, and he and his soldiers, among whom Sulla says he himself was posted, bore the brunt of the struggle. The Romans were favoured in the struggle, Sulla says, by the heat, and by the sun, which shone in the faces of the Cimbri. For the Barbarians were well able to endure cold, and had been brought up in shady and chilly regions, as I have said.¹ They were therefore undone by the heat; they sweated profusely, breathed with difficulty, and were forced to hold their shields before their faces. For the battle was fought after the summer solstice, which falls, by Roman reckoning, three days before the new moon of the month now called August,² but then Sextilis. Moreover, the dust, by hiding the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For they could not see from afar the great numbers of the foe, but each one of them fell at a run upon the man just over against him, and fought him hand to hand, without having been terrified by the sight of the rest of the host. And their bodies were so inured to toil and so thoroughly trained that not a Roman was observed to sweat or pant, in spite of the great heat and the run with which they

¹ Chapter xi. 5 f.

² a.d. III. Kalendas Augusti.

τῆς συρράξεως γενομένης, ὥς τὸν Κάτλον αὐτὸν 421
 ἱστορεῖν λέγουσι μεγαλύνοντα τοὺς στρατιώτας.

- XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον μέρος καὶ μαχι-
 μώτατον τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ κατεκόπη· καὶ γὰρ
 ἦσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διασπᾶσθαι τὴν τάξιν οἱ
 πρόμαχοι μακραῖς ἀλύσεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνε-
 χόμενοι διὰ τῶν ζωστήρων ἀναδεδεμέναις· τοὺς δὲ
 2 φεύγοντας ὥσαντες πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα τραγικῶ-
 2 τάτοις ἐνετύγχανον πάθεισιν. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν μελανεῖμονες ἐφειστώσαι τοὺς τε
 φεύγοντας ἔκτεινον, αἱ μὲν ἄνδρας, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφούς,
 αἱ δὲ πατέρας, καὶ τὰ νήπια τῶν τέκνων ἀπάγ-
 χουσαι ταῖς χερσὶν ἐρρίπτουν ὑπὸ τοὺς τροχοὺς
 καὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ὑποζυγίων, αὐτὰς δὲ ἀπέσφατ-
 τον. μίαν δὲ φασιν ἐξ ἄκρου ῥυμοῦ κρεμαμένην
 τὰ παιδιὰ τῶν αὐτῆς σφυρῶν ἀφηγμένα βρόχοις
 3 ἐκατέρωθεν ἡρτήσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἀπορία
 δένδρων τοῖς κέρασι τῶν βοῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς
 σκέλεσι προσδεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν τραχήλους, εἴτα
 κέντρα προσφέροντας ἐξαλλομένων τῶν βοῶν
 ἐφελκομένους καὶ πατουμένους ἀπόλλυσθαι. πλὴν
 καίπερ οὕτως αὐτῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐάλωσαν ὑπὲρ
 4 ἐξ μυριάδας· αἱ δὲ τῶν πεσόντων ἐλέγοντο δις
 τοσαῦται γενέσθαι.
- 4 Τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα διήρπασαν οἱ Μαρίου
 στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα καὶ τὰς σημαίας καὶ
 τὰς σάλπιγγας εἰς τὸ Κάτλου στρατόπεδον ἀνε-
 νεχθῆναι λέγουσιν· ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα τεκμηρίῳ
 χρῆσθαι τὸν Κάτλον ὥς κατ' αὐτὸν ἡ νίκη γένοιτο.
 καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐμπε-
 σούσης ἔριδος, ἡρέθησαν οἶον διαιτηταὶ πρέσβεις

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came to the encounter. This is what Catulus himself is said to have written¹ in extolling his soldiers.

XXVII. The greatest number and the best fighters of the enemy were cut to pieces on the spot; for to prevent their ranks from being broken, those who fought in front were bound fast to one another with long chains which were passed through their belts. The fugitives, however, were driven back to their entrenchments, where the Romans beheld a most tragic spectacle. The women, in black garments, stood at the waggons and slew the fugitives—their husbands or brothers or fathers, then strangled their little children and cast them beneath the wheels of the waggons or the feet of the cattle, and then cut their own throats. It is said that one woman hung dangling from the tip of a waggon-pole, with her children tied to either ankle; while the men, for lack of trees, fastened themselves by the neck to the horns of the cattle, or to their legs, then plied the goad, and were dragged or trampled to death as the cattle dashed away. Nevertheless, in spite of such self-destruction, more than sixty thousand were taken prisoners; and those who fell were said to have been twice that number.

Now, the enemy's property became the booty of the soldiers of Marius, but the spoils of battle, the standards, and the trumpets, were brought, we are told, to the camp of Catulus; and Catulus relied chiefly upon this as a proof that the victory was won by his men. Furthermore, a dispute for the honour of the victory arose among the soldiers, as was natural, and the members of an embassy from Parma were

¹ Catulus wrote a history of his consulship, of which Cicero speaks in terms of high praise (*Brutus*, 35, 132 ff.).

Παρμιτῶν παρόντες, οὓς οἱ Κάτλου διὰ τῶν
πολεμίων νεκρῶν ἄγοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο τοῖς ἑαυ-
τῶν ὑσσοῖς διαπεπαρμένους· γνώριμοι δ' ἦσαν ὑπὸ
γραμμάτων, τοῦνομα τοῦ Κάτλου παρὰ τὸ ξύλον
5 αὐτῶν ἐγχαράξαντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ Μαρίῳ
προσετίθετο σύμπαν τὸ ἔργον ἢ τε προτέρα νίκη
καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἀρχῆς. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ
πολλοὶ κτίστην τε Ῥώμης τρίτον ἐκείνον ἀνηγό-
ρευον, ὡς οὐχ ἦττονα τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τοῦτον ἀπεω-
σμένον τὸν κίνδυνον, εὐθυμούμενοί τε μετὰ παίδων
καὶ γυναικῶν ἕκαστοι κατ' οἶκον ἅμα τοῖς θεοῖς
καὶ Μαρίῳ δειπνοῦ καὶ λουβῆς ἀπήρχοντο, καὶ
θριαμβεύειν μόνον ἠξίουں ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς θριάμ-
6 βους. οὐ μὴν ἐθριάμβευσεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ
τοῦ Κάτλου, μέτριον ἐπὶ τηλικαύταις εὐτυχίαις
βουλόμενος παρέχειν ἑαυτόν· ἔστι δὲ ὃ τι καὶ
τοὺς στρατιώτας φοβηθεὶς παρατεταγμένους, εἰ
Κάτλος ἀπείργοιτο τῆς τιμῆς, μηδὲ ἐκείνον ἔαν
θριαμβεύειν.

XXVIII. Πέμπτην μὲν οὖν ὑπατείαν διεῖπε·
τῆς δὲ ἕκτης ὡς οὐδὲ εἰς πρώτης ὠρέγετο, θερα-
πείαις τὸν δῆμον ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ πρὸς χάριν
ἐνδιδούς τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐ μόνον παρὰ τὸν ὄγκον
καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ
τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ὑγρὸς τις εἶναι βουλόμενος καὶ
2 δημοτικός, ἠκιστα τοιοῦτος πεφυκώς. ἀλλ' ἦν,
ὡς λέγουσι, πρὸς πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὄχλοις

¹ Marius was consul still, while Catulus had not been re-
elected, and was only pro-consul.

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chosen to act as arbitrators. These men the soldiers of Catulus conducted among the dead bodies of the enemy, which were clearly seen to have been pierced by their javelins; for these could be known by the name of Catulus which had been cut into the shaft. However, the entire success was attributed to Marius, both on account of his former victory and of his superior rank.¹ Above all, the people hailed him as the third founder of Rome,² on the ground that the peril which he had averted from the city was not less than that of the Gallic invasion; and all of them, as they made merry at home with their wives and children, would bring ceremonial offerings of food and libations of wine to Marius as well as to the gods, and they were insistent that he alone should celebrate both triumphs. Marius, however, would not do this, but celebrated his triumph with Catulus, wishing to show himself a man of moderation after a course of so great good fortune. Perhaps, too, he was afraid of the soldiers, who were drawn up and ready, in case Catulus were deprived of his honour, to prevent Marius also from celebrating a triumph.

XXVIII. Thus, then, his fifth consulship was coming to an end; but he was as eager for a sixth as another would have been for his first. He tried to win over the people by obsequious attentions, and yielded to the multitude in order to gain its favour, thus doing violence, not only to the dignity and majesty of his high office, but also to his own nature, since he wished to be a compliant man of the people when he was naturally at farthest remove from this. In confronting a political crisis or the tumultuous

¹ With Romulus and Camillus. See the *Camillus*, xxxi. 2.

- θορύβους ὑπὸ φιλοδοξίας ἀτολμότατος, καὶ τὸ
 παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἀνέκπληκτον καὶ στάσιμον
 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν
 τυχόντων ἐπαίνων καὶ ψόγων ἐξιστάμενον.
 καίτοι λέγεται Καμερίνων ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ χιλίους
 διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνισαμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δωρη-
 σάμενος πολιτείᾳ, δοκοῦντος εἶναι τούτου παρα-
 νόμου καὶ τινων ἐγκαλούντων, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦ
 νόμου διὰ τὸν τῶν ὄπλων ψόφον οὐ κατακούσειεν.
 3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐκπλήσσεσθαι καὶ
 δεδιέναι τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κραυγὴν. ἐν μέν
 γε τοῖς ὄπλοις ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν εἶχε διὰ τὴν
 χρείαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ περικοπτόμενος τὰ
 πρωτεῖα κατέφευγεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὐνοίαν
 καὶ χάριν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγιστος γενέσθαι τὸ βέλ-
 4 τιστος εἶναι προῖεμένος. πᾶσι μὲν οὖν προσέκρουε
 τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ ὀρρωδῶν τὸν
 Μέτελλον ἡχαριστημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσει δι' 422
 ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ πολεμοῦντα τοῖς οὐ κατὰ τὸ βέλ-
 τιστον ὑποδνομένοις τὰ πλήθη καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν
 δημαγωγοῦσιν, ἐπεβούλευε τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν
 5 τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Γλαυκίαν καὶ Σατορ-
 νῖνον, ἀνθρώπους θρασυτάτους καὶ πλήθος ἄπορον
 καὶ θορυβοποιὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντας, οἰκειωσάμενος
 εἰσέφερε νόμους δι' αὐτῶν· καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν
 ἐπάρας κατεμίγνυε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ κατεστα-
 σίαζε τὸν Μέτελλον. ὥς δὲ Ῥουτίλιος ἱστορεῖ,

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throng, we are told, his ambition made him most timorous, and that undaunted firmness which he showed in battle forsook him when he faced the popular assemblies, so that he was disconcerted by the most ordinary praise or blame. And yet we are told that when he had bestowed citizenship upon as many as a thousand men of Camerinum for conspicuous bravery in the war, the act was held to be illegal and was impeached by some; to whom he replied that the clash of arms had prevented his hearing the voice of the law. However, he appeared to be in greater fear and terror of the shouting in the popular assemblies. At any rate, while in war he had authority and power because his services were needed, yet in civil life his leadership was more abridged, and he therefore had recourse to the goodwill and favour of the multitude, not caring to be the best man if only he could be the greatest. The consequence was that he came into collision with all the aristocrats. It was Metellus, however, whom he especially feared, a man who had experienced his ingratitude, and one whose genuine excellence made him the natural enemy of those who tried to insinuate themselves by devious methods into popular favour and sought to control the masses by pleasing them. Accordingly, he schemed to banish Metellus from the city. For this purpose he allied himself with Saturninus and Glaucia, men of the greatest effrontery, who had a rabble of needy and noisy fellows at their beck and call, and with their assistance would introduce laws. He also stirred up the soldiery, got them to mingle with the citizens in the assemblies, and thus controlled a faction which could overpower Metellus. Then, according to Rutilius, who is generally a lover

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τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλαλήθης ἀνὴρ καὶ χρηστός, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ προσκεκρουκώς, καὶ τῆς ἑκτῆς ἔτυχεν ὑπατείας ἀργύριον εἰς τὰς φυλάς καταβαλὼν πολὺ καὶ πριάμενος τὸ Μέτελλον ἐκκρούσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, Οὐαλλέριον δὲ Φλάκκον ὑπηρέτην μάλλον ἢ συνάρχοντα τῆς ὑπατείας λαβεῖν.
 6 οὐδενὶ μέντοι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλὴν μόνῳ Κορβίνῳ Οὐαλλερίῳ τοσαύτας ὑπατείας ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν ἔτη πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Μᾶριος δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην τὰς πέντε ῥύμη μιᾷ τύχης διέδραμε.

XXIX. Καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐφθονεῖτο, πολλὰ συνεξαμαρτάνων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σατορνίνον. ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ Νωνίου φόνος, ὃν ἀντι- παραγγέλλοντα δημαρχίαν ἀπέσφαξεν ὁ Σατορνίνος. εἶτα δημαρχῶν ἐπῆγε τὸν περὶ τῆς χώρας νόμον, ᾧ προσεγέγραπτο τὴν σύγκλητον ὁμόσαι προσελθοῦσαν, ἢ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν οἷς ἂν ὁ δῆμος ψηφίσαιτο καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὑπεναντιώσεσθαι.
 2 τοῦτο τοῦ νόμου τὸ μέρος προσποιούμενος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διώκειν ὁ Μᾶριος οὐκ ἔφη δέξεσθαι¹ τὸν ὄρκον, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οἶεσθαι σωφρονούντα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ μοχθηρὸς ἦν ὁ νόμος, ὕβριν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν βουλὴν διδόναι βιαζομένην, ἀλλὰ μὴ πειθοῖ μηδὲ ἐκούσαν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ οὕτως φρονῶν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Μετέλλῳ ἀπάτην περιτιθεὶς ἄφυκτον.

¹ δέξεσθαι Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Reiske δέξασθαι.

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of truth and an honest man, but had a private quarrel with Marius, he actually got his sixth consulship by paying down large sums of money among the tribes, and by buying votes made Metellus lose his election to the office, and obtained as his colleague in the consulship Valerius Flaccus, who was more a servant than a colleague. And yet the people had never bestowed so many consulships upon any other man except Corvinus Valerius. In the case of Corvinus, however, forty-five years are said to have elapsed between his first and his last consulship; whereas Marius, after his first consulship, ran through the other five without a break.

XXIX. In this last consulship¹ particularly did Marius make himself hated, because he took part with Saturninus in many of his misdeeds. One of these was the murder of Nonius, whom Saturninus slew because he was a rival candidate for the tribuneship. Then, as tribune, Saturninus introduced his agrarian law, to which was added a clause providing that the senators should come forward and take oath that they would abide by whatsoever the people might vote and make no opposition to it. In the senate Marius made pretence of opposing this part of the law, and declared that he would not take the oath, and that he thought no other sensible man would; for even if the law were not a bad one, it was an insult to the senate that it should be compelled to make such concessions, instead of making them under persuasion and of its own free will. He said this, however, not because it was his real mind, but that he might catch Metellus in the toils of a fatal

¹ 100 B.C.

- 3 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀρετῆς καὶ δεινότητος μερίδα τὸ ψεύσασθαι τιθέμενος λόγον οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὠμολογημένων ἔξειν ἔμελλε, τὸν δὲ Μέτελλον εἰδὼς βέβαιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν “ αλήθειαν ἀρχὴν μεγάλης ἀρετῆς ” κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἡγούμενον ἐβούλετο τῇ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀρνήσει προληφθέντα καὶ μὴ δεξάμενον τὸν ὄρκον εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἔχθραν. ὁ καὶ συνέβη.
- 4 Τοῦ γὰρ Μετέλλου φήσαντος μὴ ὁμόσειν, τότε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ διελύθη, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τοῦ Σατορνίνου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα τοὺς συγκλητικούς ἀνακαλουμένου καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ὁμνύειν ἀναγκάζοντος ὁ Μάριος παρελθὼν, γενομένης σιωπῆς καὶ πάντων εἰς ἐκείνου ἀνηρτημένων, μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ νεανιευθεῖσιν ἀπὸ φωνῆς, οὐχ οὕτω πλατὺν ἔφη φορεῖν τὸν τράχηλον ὥς προαποφαίνεσθαι καθάπαξ εἰς πρᾶγμα τηλικούτου, ἀλλ’ ὁμείσθαι καὶ τῷ νόμῳ πειθαρχήσειν, εἴπερ ἔστι νόμος· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προσέθηκε τὸ
- 5 σοφὸν ὥσπερ παρακάλυμμα τῆς αἰσχύνης. ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἡσθεὶς ὁμόσαντος ἀνεκρότησε καὶ κατευφύμησε, τοὺς δὲ ἀρίστους κατήφεια δεινὴ καὶ μῖσος ἔσχε τοῦ Μαρίου τῆς μεταβολῆς. ὤμνυσαν οὖν ἅπαντες ἐφεξῆς δεδιότες τὸν δῆμον ἄχρι Μετέλλου· Μέτελλος δέ, καίπερ ἀντιβολουμένων καὶ δεομένων τῶν φίλων ὁμόσαι καὶ μὴ περιβαλεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτιμίαις ἀνηκέστοις, ἀ κατὰ τῶν μὴ ὁμνούντων ὁ Σατορνῖνος εἰσέφερεν, οὐχ ὑφή-

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trick. For he himself regarded lying as part of a man's excellence and ability, made no account of his agreements with the senators, and did not intend to keep them; whereas he knew that Metellus was a steadfast man, who thought with Pindar that "truth is the foundation of great excellence,"¹ and he therefore wished to bind him beforehand by a statement to the senate that he would not take the oath, and then have his refusal to do so plunge him into a hatred on the part of the people that could never be removed. And this was what came to pass.

For Metellus declared that he would not take the oath, and the senate broke up for a while; but after a few days Saturninus summoned the senators to the rostra and tried to force them to take the oath. When Marius came forward there was silence, and the eyes of all were fastened upon him. Then, bidding a long farewell to all his boastful and insincere expressions in the senate, he said his throat was not broad enough to pronounce an opinion once for all upon so important a matter, but that he would take the oath, and obey the law, if it was a law; adding this bit of sophistry as a cloak for his shame. The people, then, delighted at his taking the oath, clapped their hands in applause, but the nobles were terribly dejected and hated Marius for his change of front. Accordingly, all the senators took the oath in order, through fear of the people, until the turn of Metellus came; but Metellus, although his friends earnestly entreated him to take the oath and not subject himself to the irreparable punishments which Saturninus proposed for those who should

¹ Fragment 221 (Boeckh).

- 6 κατο τοῦ φρονήματος οὐδὲ ὤμοσεν, ἀλλ' ἐμμένων
τῷ ἤθει καὶ πᾶν παθεῖν δεινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ μῆθην
αἰσχρὸν ἐργάσασθαι· παρεσκευασμένος ἀπῆλθεν
ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, διαλεγόμενος τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς 423
τὸ κακὸν τι πράξει φαῦλον εἶη, τὸ δὲ καλὸν μὲν,
ἀκινδύνως δέ, κοινόν, ἴδιον δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸ
7 μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ πράσσειν. ἐκ τούτου
ψηφίζεται Σατορνῖνος ἐπικηρῦξαι τοὺς ὑπάτους
ὅπως πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ στέγης εἴργηται
Μέτελλος· καὶ τὸ φαυλότατον αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλή-
θους παρῆν ἔτοιμον ἀποκτινύναι τὸν ἄνδρα. τῶν
δὲ βελτίστων περιπαθούντων καὶ συντρεχόντων
πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον οὐκ εἶα στασιάζειν δι' αὐτόν,
ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔμφρονι λογισμῷ
8 χρησάμενος. “Ἡ γὰρ ἀμεινόνων,” ἔφη, “τῶν
πραγμάτων γενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου μετανοή-
σαντος ἀφίξομαι παρακαλούμενος, ἢ μενόντων
ὁμοίων ἀπηλλάχθαι κράτιστον.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅσης
μὲν ἀπέλαυσεν εὐνοίας παρὰ τὴν φύγην καὶ τιμῆς
Μέτελλος, ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἐν Ῥόδῳ φιλοσοφῶν
διητήθη, βέλτιον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφομένοις
εἰρήσεται.

XXX. Μάριος δὲ τὸν Σατορνῖνον ἀντὶ τῆς
ὑπουργίας ταύτης ἐπὶ πᾶν προιόντα τόλμης καὶ
δυνάμεως περιορᾶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἔλαθεν οὐκ
ἀνεκτὸν ἀπεργασάμενος κακόν, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς
ὅπλοις καὶ σφαγαῖς ἐπὶ τυραννίδα καὶ πολιτείας
ἀνατροπὴν πορευόμενον. αἰδούμενος δὲ τοὺς κρα-
τίστους, θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλούς, ἔργον ἀνε-
λεύθερον ἐσχάτως ὑπέμεινε καὶ παλίμβολον.
2 ἐλθόντων γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν πρώτων

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refuse, would not swerve from his purpose or take the oath, but, adhering to his principles and prepared to suffer any evil rather than do a shameful deed, he left the forum, saying to those about him that to do a wrong thing was mean, and to do the right thing when there was no danger was any man's way, but that to act honourably when it involved dangers was peculiarly the part of a good and true man. Upon this, Saturninus got a vote passed that the consuls should proclaim Metellus interdicted from fire, water, and shelter; and the meanest part of the populace supported them and was ready to put the man to death. The best citizens, however, sympathised with Metellus and crowded hastily about him, but he would not allow a faction to be raised on his account, and departed from the city, following the dictates of prudence. "For," said he, "either matters will mend and the people will change their minds and I shall return at their invitation, or, if matters remain as they are, it is best that I should be away." But what great goodwill and esteem Metellus enjoyed during his exile, and how he spent his time in philosophical studies at Rhodes, will be better told in his Life.¹

XXX. And now Marius, who was forced, in return for this assistance, to look on quietly while Saturninus ran to extremes of daring and power, brought about unawares a mischief that was not to be cured, but made its way by arms and slaughter directly towards tyranny and subversion of the government. And since he stood in awe of the nobles, while he courted the favour of the multitude, he was led to commit an act of the utmost meanness and duplicity. For when the leading men had come to him by night

¹ No such Life is extant.

- ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐπὶ τὸν Σατορνῖνον, ἐτέραις θύραις ἐκείνον ὑπεδέξατο τούτων ἀγνοούντων. εἶτα πρόφασιν λέγων πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους κοιλίας διάρροϊαν, νῦν μὲν ὡς τούτους, νῦν δὲ ὡς ἐκείνον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀνὰ μέρος διατρέχων
- 3 συνέκρουε καὶ παρώξυνεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων συνισταμένων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ καταδιωχθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον εἶλε δίψει· τοὺς γὰρ ὀχετοὺς ἀπέκοψεν, οἱ δ' ἀπειπόντες ἐκείνον ἐκάλουν καὶ παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς λεγομένης δημοσίας πίστεως.
- 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ παντοῖος γενόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐδὲν ᾤνησεν, ἀλλὰ κατιόντες εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀνῆρέθησαν, ἐκ τούτου τοῖς τε δυνατοῖς ἅμα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσκεκρουκῶς, τιμητείας παραπεσοῦσης ἐπίδοξος ὧν οὐ μετῆλθεν, ἀλλ' εἶασεν ἐτέρους ὑποδεεστέρους αἰρεθῆναι, δεδιὼς ἀποτυχεῖν. ἄλλως δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκαλλωπίζετο πολλοὺς μὴ θέλειν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἥθη πικρῶς ἐξετάζων.

XXXI. Δόγματος δὲ εἰσφερομένου Μέτελλον ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ διὰ λόγων καὶ δι' ἔργων μάτην ἐναντιωθεὶς τέλος ἀπεῖπε· καὶ δεξαμένου τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δήμου προθύμως, οὐχ ὑπομένων κατερχόμενον ἐπιδεῖν τὸν Μέτελλον ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν, λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδώσων ἃς εὔξατο τῇ

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and were trying to incite him against Saturninus, without their knowledge he introduced Saturninus into the house by another door; then, pretending to both parties that he had a diarrhoea, he would run backwards and forwards in the house, now to the nobles and now to Saturninus, trying to irritate and bring them into collision. However, when the senate and the knights began to combine and give utterance to their indignation, he led his soldiers into the forum, forced the insurgents to take refuge on the Capitol, and compelled them to surrender for lack of water. For he cut off the water-conduits; whereupon they gave up the struggle, called Marius, and surrendered themselves on what was called the public faith. Marius did all he could to save the men, but it was of no avail, and when they came down into the forum they were put to death. This affair made Marius obnoxious alike to the nobles and to the people, and when the time for electing censors came he did not present himself as a candidate, although everyone expected that he would, but allowed other and inferior men to be elected, for fear that he would be defeated. However, he tried to put a good face upon his conduct by saying that he was unwilling to incur the hatred of many citizens by a severe examination into their lives and manners.

XXXI. When a decree was introduced recalling Metellus from exile, Marius opposed it strongly both by word and deed, but finding his efforts vain, at last desisted; and after the people had adopted the measure with alacrity, unable to endure the sight of Metellus returning, he set sail for Cappadocia and Galatia,¹ ostensibly to make the sacrifices which he

μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν θυσίας, ἑτέραν δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας
 2 ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν λανθάνουσαν τοὺς πολλούς. ἀφυῆς
 γὰρ ὦν πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀπολίτευτος, ἠϋξημένος
 δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν αὐθις ὑπὸ
 ἀργίας καὶ ἡσυχίας ἀπομαραίνεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δόξαν οἰόμενος, ἐξήτει καινῶν
 πραγμάτων ἀρχάς. ἤλπιζε γὰρ τοὺς βασιλεῖς
 συνταράξας καὶ Μιθριδάτην ἐπίδοξον ὄντα πολε-
 μῆσειν ἀναστήσας καὶ παροξύνας, εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 ἡγεμῶν αἰρεθήσεσθαι καὶ νέων μὲν τὴν πόλιν
 θριάμβων, σκύλων δὲ Ποντικῶν καὶ πλούτου
 3 βασιλικοῦ τὸν οἶκον ἐμπλήσειν. διὸ καὶ Μιθ-
 ριδάτου πάσῃ χρησαμένου θεραπείᾳ καὶ τιμῇ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν οὐ καμφθεὶς οὐδὲ ὑπέξας, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, “Ἡ
 μείζων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πειρῶ δύνασθαι Ῥωμαίων, ἣ
 ποίει σιωπῇ τὸ προστασσύμενον,” ἐξέπληξεν αὐ-
 τόν, ὥς φωνῆς μὲν πολλάκις, παρρησίας δὲ τότε
 πρῶτον ἀκούσαντα Ῥωμαϊκῆς.

XXXII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην οἰκίαν ἐδεί-
 ματο τῆς ἀγορᾶς πλησίον, εἶτε, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε,
 τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖσθαι μὴ βουλό- 424
 μενος μακρὰν βαδίζοντας, εἶτε τοῦτο αἷτιον οἰό-
 μενος εἶναι τοῦ μὴ πλείονας ἄλλων ἐπὶ θύρας
 αὐτοῦ φοιτᾶν. τὸ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἄρα τοιοῦτον· ἀλλ'
 ὁμιλίας χάριτι καὶ πολιτικαῖς χρεῖαις ἐτέρων
 λειπόμενος ὥσπερ ὄργανον πολεμικὸν ἐπ' εἰρή-
 2 νης παρημελεῖτο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἡττον
 ἤχθετο παρευδοκιμούμενος, σφόδρα δὲ αὐτὸν ἡνία
 Σύλλας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνον αὐξανόμενος φθόνου

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had vowed to the Mother of the Gods, but really having another reason for his journey which the people did not suspect. He had, that is, no natural aptitude for peace or civil life, but had reached his eminence by arms. And now, thinking that his influence and reputation were gradually fading away because of his inactivity and quietude, he sought occasions for new enterprises. For he hoped that if he stirred up the kings of Asia and incited Mithridates to action, who was expected to make war upon Rome, he would at once be chosen to lead the Roman armies against him, and would fill the city with new triumphs, and his own house with Pontic spoils and royal wealth. For this reason, though Mithridates treated him with all deference and respect, he would not bend or yield, but said: "O King, either strive to be stronger than Rome, or do her bidding without a word." This speech startled the king, who had often heard the Roman speech, but then for the first time in all its boldness.

XXXII. On returning to Rome, he built a house for himself near the forum, either, as he himself said, because he was unwilling that those who paid their respects to him should have the trouble of coming a long distance, or because he thought that distance was the reason why he did not have larger crowds at his door than others. The reason, however, was not of this nature; it was rather his inferiority to others in the graces of intercourse and in political helpfulness, which caused him to be neglected, like an instrument of war in time of peace. Of all those who eclipsed him in popular esteem he was most vexed and annoyed by Sulla, whose rise to power was due to the jealousy which the nobles felt towards Marius,

τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνους διαφορὰς ἀρχὴν πολιτείας ποιούμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Βόκχος ὁ Νομὰς σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων ἀναγεγραμμένος ἔστησεν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ Νίκας τροπαιοφόρους καὶ παρ' αὐταῖς ἐν εἰκόσι χρυσαῖς Ἰουγούρθαν ἐγχειριζόμενον ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ Σύλλα, τοῦτο ἐξέστησεν ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ Μάριον, ὥς Σύλλα περισπῶντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο
 3 βία τὰ ἀναθήματα καταβάλλειν. ἀντεφιλονεῖκει δὲ Σύλλας, καὶ τὴν στάσιν ὅσον οὐπω φερομένην εἰς μέσον ἐπέσχευ ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναρραγείς. τὰ γὰρ μαχιμώτατα τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πολυανθρωπότατα κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης συνέστησαν καὶ μικρὸν ἐδέησαν συγχέαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐ μόνον ὄπλοις ἐρρωμένα καὶ σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόλμας στρατηγῶν καὶ δεινότησι χρησάμενα θαυμασταῖς καὶ ἀντιπάλοις.

XXXIII. Οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς πάθεσι ποικίλος γενόμενος καὶ ταῖς τύχαις πολυτροπώτατος ὅσον Σύλλα προσέθηκε δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, τοσοῦτον ἀφείλε Μαρίου. βραδὺς γὰρ ἐφάνη ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ὅκνου τε περὶ πάντα καὶ μελλήσεως ὑπόπλεως, εἴτε τοῦ γήρως τὸ δραστήριον ἐκείνο καὶ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κατασβευννύντος (ἐξήκοστον γὰρ ἤδη καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ὑπερέβαλλεν), εἴτε, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, περὶ νεῦρα γεγονῶς νοσώδης καὶ σώματι δύσεργος ὧν ὑπέμενε παρὰ δύναμιν
 2 αἰσχύνῃ τὰς στρατείας. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μάχῃ τε μεγάλη νικήσας ἑξακισχιλίους ἀνείλε τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ λαβὴν οὐδαμῇ παρέσχευ αὐ-

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and who was making his quarrels with Marius the basis of his political activity. And when Bocchus the Numidian, who had been designated an ally of the Romans, set up trophy-bearing Victories on the Capitol, and by their side gilded figures representing Jugurtha surrendered by him to Sulla, Marius was transported with rage and fury to see Sulla thus appropriating to himself the glory of his achievements, and was making preparations to tear down the votive offerings. But Sulla too was furious, and civil dissension was just on the point of breaking out, when it was stopped by the Social War, which suddenly burst upon the city.¹ That is, the most warlike and most numerous of the Italian peoples combined against Rome, and came within a little of destroying her supremacy, since they were not only strong in arms and men, but also had generals whose daring and ability were amazing and made them a match for the Romans.

XXXIII. This war, which was varied in its events and most changeful in its fortunes, added much to Sulla's reputation and power, but took away as much from Marius. For he was slow in making his attacks, and always given to hesitation and delay, whether it was that old age had quenched his wonted energy and fire (for he was now past his sixty-sixth year), or that, as he himself said, a feeling of shame led him to go beyond his powers in trying to endure the hardships of the campaign when his nerves were diseased and his body unfit for work. However, even then he won a great victory in which he slew six thousand of the enemy; and he never allowed them to get a grip upon him, but even when he was

¹ 90-89 B.C. See the *Sulla*, vi. 1 f.

τοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιταφρευόμενος ἡνέσχετο καὶ χλευαζόμενος καὶ καλούμενος οὐ παρωξύνθη. λέγεται δὲ Ποπλίου Σίλωνος, ὃς μέγιστον εἶχε τῶν πολεμίων ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν, εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτόν, “Εἰ μέγας εἶ στρατηγός, ὦ Μάριε, διαγωνισαὶ καταβάς,” ἀποκρίνασθαι, “Σὺ μὲν οὖν, εἰ μέγας εἶ στρατηγός, ἀνάγκασόν με διαγωνίσασθαι
 3 μὴ βουλόμενον.” πάλιν δέ ποτε τῶν μὲν πολεμίων καιρὸν ἐπιχειρήσεως παραδόντων, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδειλιασάντων, ὡς ἀνεχώρησαν ἀμφοτέροι, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας, “Ἀπορῶ,” φησί, “πότερον εἴπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνανδροτέρους ἢ ὑμᾶς· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνοι τὸν νῶτον ὑμῶν οὔτε ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων τὸ ἰνίον ἰδεῖν ἐδυνήθητε.” τέλος δὲ ἀφῆκε τὴν στρατηγίαν ὡς ἐξαδυνατῶν τῷ σώματι διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

XXXIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐγκεκλικότων ἐμνηστεύοντο πολλοὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα Σουλπίκιος δήμαρχος, ἀνὴρ θρασύτατος, παραγαγὼν Μάριον ἀπεδείκνυεν ἀνθύπατον στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ. καὶ ὁ δῆμος διέεστη, τῶν μὲν αἰρουμένων τὰ Μαρίου, τῶν δὲ Σύλλαν καλούντων καὶ τὸν Μάριον ἐπὶ θερμὰ κελευόντων εἰς Βαῖας βαδίζειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν ὑπὸ τε γήρως καὶ ρευμάτων ἀπειρη-
 2 κός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖ περὶ Μισσηνοὺς τῷ Μαρίῳ πολυτελὲς οἰκία, τρυφὰς ἔχουσα

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hemmed about with trenches bided his time, and was not unduly irritated by their insults and challenges. We are told that Publius Silo,¹ who had the greatest authority and power among the enemy, once said to him, "If thou art a great general, Marius, come down and fight it out with us"; to which Marius answered, "Nay, but do thou, if thou art a great general, force me to fight it out with you against my will." And at another time, when the enemy had given him an opportunity to attack them, but the Romans had played the coward, and both sides had withdrawn, he called an assembly of his soldiers and said to them: "I do not know whether to call the enemy or you the greater cowards; for they were not able to see your backs, nor you their napes." At last, however, he gave up his command, on the ground that his infirmities made him quite incapable of exercising it.

XXXIV. But when the Italians had at last made their submission, and many persons at Rome were suing for the command in the Mithridatic war, with the aid of the popular leaders, contrary to all expectation the tribune Sulpicius, a most audacious man, brought Marius forward and proposed to make him pro-consul in command against Mithridates. The people were divided in opinion, some preferring Marius, and others calling for Sulla and bidding Marius go to the warm baths at Baiae and look out for his health, since he was worn out with old age and rheums, as he himself said. For at Baiae, near Cape Misenum, Marius owned an expensive house, which had appointments more luxurious and effeminate

¹ Pompaedius Silo, leader of the Marsi. Cf. the *Cato Minor*, ii. 1-4.

καὶ διαίτας θηλυτέρας ἢ κατ' ἄνδρα πολέμων
 τοσούτων καὶ στρατειῶν αὐτουργόν. ταύτην λέ-
 γεται μυριάδων ἑπτὰ ἡμίους Κορνηλία πρί-
 ασθαι· χρόνου δ' οὐ πάνυ πολλοῦ γενομένου
 Λεύκιος Λεύκολλος ὠνεῖται μυριάδων πεντήκοντα 425
 καὶ διακοσίων· οὕτως ταχέως ἀνέδραμεν ἡ πολυ-
 τέλεια καὶ τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν τὰ πράγματα πρὸς
 3 τρυφὴν ἔλαβεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Μάριος φιλοτίμως
 πάνυ καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἀποτριβόμενος τὸ γῆρας
 καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὁσημέραι κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ
 πεδίον, καὶ μετὰ τῶν νεανίσκων γυμναζόμενος
 ἐπεδείκνυε τὸ σῶμα κοῦφον μὲν ὄπλοις, ἔποχον
 δὲ ταῖς ἵππασίαις, καίπερ οὐκ εὐσταλὴς γεγονὼς
 ἐν γῆρᾳ τὸν ὄγκον, ἀλλ' εἰς σάρκα περιπληθῆ
 καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐνδεδωκώς.

4 Ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα πράττων, καὶ
 κατιόντες ἐθεῶντο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς
 ἀμίλλας, τοῖς δὲ βελτίστοις ὁρῶσιν οἰκτερεῖν
 ἐπῆει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοδοξίαν, ὅτι
 πλουσιώτατος ἐκ πένητος καὶ μέγιστος ἐκ μικροῦ
 γεγονὼς ὄρον οὐκ οἶδεν εὐτυχίας, οὐδὲ θαυμαζόμε-
 νος ἀγαπᾷ καὶ ἀπολαύων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν παρ-
 5 ὄντων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνδεὴς ἀπάντων εἰς Καππα-
 δοκίαν καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἄρας ἐκ θριάμβων
 καὶ δόξης ἐκφέρει τοσοῦτον γῆρας, Ἀρχελάφ καὶ
 Νεοπτολέμῳ τοῖς Μιθριδάτου σατράπαις διαμα-
 χούμενος. αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Μαρίου δικαι-
 ολογαίαι παντάπασιν ἐφαίνοντο ληρώδεις· ἔφη γὰρ
 ἐθέλειν τὸν υἱὸν ἀσκῆσαι παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
 στρατείᾳς.

XXXV. Ταῦτα τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων
 ὑποῦλον γεγεννημένην καὶ νοσοῦσαν ἀνέρρηξεν,

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than became a man who had taken active part in so many wars and campaigns. This house, we are told, Cornelia bought for seventy-five thousand drachmas; and not long afterwards Lucius Lucullus purchased it for two million five hundred thousand. So quickly did lavish expenditure spring up, and so great an increase in luxury did life in the city take on. Marius, however, showing a spirit of keen emulation that might have characterized a youth, shook off old age and infirmity and went down daily into the Campus Martius, where he exercised himself with the young men and showed that he was still agile in arms and capable of feats of horsemanship, although his bulk was not well set up in his old age, but ran to corpulence and weight.

Some, then, were pleased to have him thus engaged, and would go down into the Campus and witness his emulation in competitive contests; but the better part were moved to pity at the sight of his greed and ambition, because, though he had risen from poverty to the greatest wealth and from obscurity to the highest place, he knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune, and was not content to be admired and enjoy quietly what he had, but as if in need of all things, and after winning triumphs and fame, was setting out, with all his years upon him, for Cappadocia and the Euxine sea, to fight it out with Archelaüs and Neoptólemus, the satraps of Mithridates. And the justification for this which Marius offered was thought to be altogether silly; he said, namely, that he wished to take part personally in the campaign in order to give his son a military training.

XXXV. These things brought to a head the secret disease from which the state had long been suffering,

- εὐφνέστατον εὐρόντος ὄργανον Μαρίου πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ὄλεθρον τὸ Σουλπικίου θράσος, ὃς διὰ τὰλλα πάντα θαυμάζων καὶ ζηλῶν τὸν Σατορνί-
 νον ἀτολμίαν ἐπεκάλει τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν αὐτοῦ
 2 καὶ μέλλησιν. αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ μέλλων ἐξακοσίους μὲν εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἱππικῶν οἷον δορυφόρους, καὶ τούτους ἀντισύγκλητον ὠνόμαζεν, ἐπελθὼν δὲ μεθ' ὅπλων ἐκκλησιάζουσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοῦ μὲν ἑτέρου φυγόντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τὸν υἱὸν ἐγκαταλαβὼν ἀπέσφαξε, Σύλλας δὲ παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου διωκόμενος, οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος, εἰσέπεσε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν διώκοντας ἔλαθε δρόμῳ παρενεχθέντας, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ Μαρίου λέγεται κατὰ θύρας ἑτέρας ἀσφαλῶς ἀποπεμφθεὶς διεκπε-
 3 σεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. αὐτὸς δὲ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτως φησι καταφυγεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαχθῆναι βουλευσόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν Σουλπίκιος ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἄκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, περισχὼν ἐν κύκλῳ ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς καὶ συνελάσας πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, ἄχρι οὗ προελθὼν ἐκείθεν εἰς ἀγοράν, ὡς ἡξίου ἐκεῖνοι, τὰς
 4 ἀπραξίας ἔλυσε. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὃ τε Σουλπίκιος ἤδη κρατῶν ἐπεχειροτόνησε τῷ Μαρίῳ τὴν στρατηγίαν, ὃ τε Μάριος ἐν παρασκευῇ τῆς ἐξόδου καθειστήκει, καὶ δύο χιλιάρχους ἐξέπεμψε παραληφόμενους τὸ Σύλλα στρα-

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and Marius found a most suitable instrument for the destruction of the commonwealth in the audacity of Sulpicius, who was in all things an admirer and an imitator of Saturninus, except that he charged him with timidity and hesitation in his political measures. Sulpicius himself was not a man of hesitation, but kept six hundred of the Knights about him as a body-guard, which he called his anti-senate; he also made an attack with armed men upon the consuls as they were holding an assembly, and when one of them fled from the forum, Sulpicius seized his son and butchered him; Sulla, however, the other consul, as he was being pursued past the house of Marius, did what no one would have expected and burst into the house. His pursuers ran past the house and therefore missed him, and it is said that Marius himself sent him off safely by another door so that he came in haste to his camp. But Sulla himself, in his *Memoirs*, says he did not fly for refuge to the house of Marius, but withdrew thither in order to consult with Marius about the step which Sulpicius was trying to force him to take (by surrounding him with drawn swords and driving him to the house of Marius), and that finally he went from there to the forum and rescinded the consular decree for the suspension of public business, as Sulpicius and his party demanded.¹ When this had been done, Sulpicius, who was now master of the situation, got the command conferred upon Marius by vote of the people; and Marius, who was making his preparations for departure, sent out two military tribunes to take over the command of Sulla's army.

¹ These proceedings are much more clearly narrated in the *Sulla*, chapter viii. Cf. also Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 55.

τευμα. Σύλλας δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας παροξύνας (ἦσαν δὲ τρισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων οὐ μείους ὀπλίται) προήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. τοὺς δὲ χιλιάρχους, οὓς ἐπέπεμψε Μάριος, προσπесόντες οἱ στρατιῶται διέφθειραν.

- 5 Πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μάριος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν Σύλλα φίλων ἀνηρήκει, καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν ἐκήρυττεν ἐπὶ συμμαχία· λέγονται δὲ τρεῖς μόνοι προσγενέσθαι. μικρὰ δ' ἀντιστὰς εἰσελάσαντι τῷ Σύλλᾳ καὶ ταχέως ἐκβιασθεὶς ἔφυγε. τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτόν, ὡς πρῶτον ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, διασπαρέντων, σκότους ὄντος εἰς τι τῶν ἐπαυλίων αὐτοῦ Σολώνιον
- 6 κατέφυγε. καὶ τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἐπεμψεν ἐκτῶν Μουκίου τοῦ πενθεροῦ χωρίων οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ληψόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς εἰς Ὠστίαν, φίλου τινὸς Νουμερίου πλοῖον αὐτῷ παρασκευάσαντος, οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ Γράνιον ἔχων μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πρόγονον ἐξέπλευσεν. ὁ δὲ 426 νεανίας, ὡς ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ χωρία τοῦ Μουκίου, λαμβάνων τι καὶ σκευαζόμενος ἡμέρας καταλαβούσης οὐ παντάπασι τοὺς πολεμίους ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἦλθον ἱππεῖς ἐλαύνοντες καθ' ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ
- 7 τὸν τόπον· οὓς ὁ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπιμελητὴς προιδόμενος ἔκρυψε τὸν Μάριον ἐν ἀμάξῃ κυάμους ἀγούσῃ, καὶ βούς ὑποζεύξας ἀπῆντα τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἰς πόλιν ἐλαύνων τὴν ἄμαξαν. οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Μάριος διακομισθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ὅσων ἐδεῖτο νυκτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦκε καὶ νεὼς ἐπιβάς εἰς Λιβύην πλεούσης ἀπεπέρασεν.

XXXVI. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης Μάριος ὡς ἀνήχθη, πνεύματι φορῶ κομιζόμενος παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν

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Sulla, however, called upon his soldiers (who were no fewer than thirty-five thousand legionaries) to resent this, and led them forth against Rome. His soldiers also fell upon the tribunes whom Marius had sent and slew them.

Marius, too, put to death many of Sulla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed freedom to the slaves if they would fight on his side. It is said, however, that only three of them joined his ranks, and after a feeble resistance to Sulla's entry into the city he was speedily driven out and took to flight.¹ As soon as he had made his escape from the city his companions were scattered, and since it was dark, he took refuge at one of his farmsteads, called Solonium. He also sent his son to get provisions from the estate of his father-in-law, Mucius, which was not far off, while he himself went down to the coast at Ostia, where a friend of his, Numerius, had provided a vessel for him. Then, without waiting for his son, but taking his step-son Granius with him, he set sail. The younger Marius reached the estate of Mucius, but as he was getting supplies and packing them up, day overtook him and he did not altogether escape the vigilance of his enemies; for some horsemen came riding towards the place, moved by suspicion. When the overseer of the farm saw them coming, he hid Marius in a waggon loaded with beans, yoked up his oxen, and met the horsemen as he was driving the waggon to the city. In this way young Marius was conveyed to the house of his wife, where he got what he wanted, and then by night came to the sea, boarded a ship that was bound for Africa, and crossed over.

XXXVI. The elder Marius, after putting to sea, was borne by a favouring wind along the coast of

¹ Cf. the *Sulla*, chapter ix.

- ἐφοβήθη Γεμίνιον τινα τῶν ἐν Ταρρακίῃ δυνατῶν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ναύταις προεῖπεν εἶργεσθαι Ταρρακίης. οἱ δὲ ἐβούλοντο μὲν αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος εἰς πελάγιον μεθίσταμένου καὶ κλύδωνα κατάγοντος πολὺν οὔτε τὸ πορθμεῖον ἐδόκει περικλυζόμενον ἀνθέξειν, τοῦ τε Μαρίου δυσφοροῦντος καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντος ὑπὸ ναυτίας μόλις ἀντιλαμβάνονται τῶν περὶ τὸ
- 2 **Κίρκαιον αἰγιαλῶν.** τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος αὐξανομένου καὶ τῶν σιτίων ἐπιλειπόντων ἐκβάντες ἐπλάζοντο πρὸς οὐδένα σκοπὸν, ἀλλ' οἷα συμβαίνει ταῖς μεγάλαις ἀπορίαις αἰεὶ φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ὡς χαλεπωτάτου καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀδήλοις. ἐπεὶ πολεμία μὲν ἐκείνοις ἡ γῆ, πολεμία δὲ ἡ θάλασσα, φοβερὸν δὲ ἦν ἀνθρώποις περιπεσεῖν, φοβερὸν δὲ μὴ περιπεσεῖν δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν
- 3 **ἀναγκαίων.** οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὀψέ που βοτῆρσιν ὀλίγοις ἐντυγχάνουσιν, οἱ δοῦναι μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσχον αὐτοῖς δεομένοις, γνωρίσαντες δὲ τὸν Μάριον ἐκέλευον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην· ὀλίγον γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτόθι κατὰ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ συχ-
- 4 **νοὺς ἱππέας ὀφθῆναι διεξελαύνοντας.** ἐν παντὶ δὴ γεγονὼς ἀπορίας, μάλιστα δὲ νηστεία τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαγορευόντων, τότε μὲν ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὕλην βαθεῖαν ἐπιπόνως διενυκτέρευσε. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία συνηγμένος ὑπ' ἐνδείας καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὶν ἐκλελῦσθαι παντάπασι χρήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἐχώρει παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐπιθαρσύνων τοὺς ἐπομένους καὶ

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Italy ; but since he was afraid of one Geminius, who was a powerful man in Terracina and an enemy of his, he told his sailors to keep clear of Terracina. The sailors were willing enough to do as he wished, but the wind veered round and blew towards the shore, bringing in a heavy surge, and it was thought that the vessel would not hold out against the beating of the waves ; besides, Marius was in a wretched plight from sea-sickness, and therefore they made their way, though with difficulty, to the coast near Circeii. Then, as the storm was increasing and their provisions were failing, they landed from the vessel and wandered about. They had no definite object in view, but, as is usual in cases of great perplexity, sought always to escape the present evil as the most grievous, and fixed their hopes on the unknown future. For the land was their enemy, and the sea an enemy as well ; they were afraid they might fall in with men, and they were afraid they might not fall in with men because they had no provisions. However, late in the day they came upon a few herdsman ; these had nothing to give them in their need, but they recognized Marius and bade him go away as fast as he could ; for a little while before numerous horsemen had been seen riding about there in search of him. Thus at his wits' end, and, what was worst of all, his companions fainting with hunger, he turned aside for the while from the road, plunged into a deep forest, and there spent the night in great distress. But the next day, compelled by want, and wishing to make use of his strength before it failed him altogether, he wandered along the shore, trying to encourage his companions, and begging them not to

- δεόμενος μὴ προαποκάμνειν τῆς τελευταίας ἐλπίδος, ἐφ' ἣν ἑαυτὸν φυλάττει μαντεύμασι παλαιοῖς
 5 πιστεύων. νέος γὰρ ὢν ἔτι παντελῶς καὶ διατρίβων κατ' ἀγρὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῷ ἱματίῳ καταφερομένην αἰετοῦ νεοττιὰν ἑπτὰ νεοττοὺς ἔχουσαν· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ θαυμάσοντας διαπυνθάνεσθαι τῶν μάντεων· τοὺς δὲ εἰπεῖν ὥς ἐπιφανέστατος ἀνθρώπων ἔσοιτο καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἑπτάκις αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶη.
- 6 Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς τῷ Μαρίῳ συντυχεῖν οὕτω λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ τοὺς τότε καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην φυγὴν ἀκούσαντας αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστεύσαντας ἀναγράψαι πρᾶγμα κομιδῇ μυθῶδες. αἰετὸς γὰρ οὐ τίκτει πλεῖον τῶν δυεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μουσαῖον ἐψεῦσθαι λέγουσιν εἰπόντα περὶ τοῦ αἰετοῦ, ὡς

Ἵρία μὲν τίκτει, δύο δ' ἐκλέπει, ἐν δ' ἀλεγίζει.¹

τὸ μέντοι πολλάκις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀπορίαις Μάριον εἰπεῖν ὥς ἄχρις ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας πρόεισιν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν.

XXXVII. Ἦδη δὲ Μιντούρνης, πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς, ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπέχοντες ὀρώσιν ἱππέων ἵλην πρόσωθεν ἐλαύνοντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὀλκάδας δύο φερομένας. ὡς οὖν ἕκαστος ποδῶν εἶχε καὶ ῥώμης καταδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ καταβαλόντες ἑαυτοὺς προσενήχοντο ταῖς ναυσί. καὶ λαβόμενοι τῆς ἐτέρας οἱ περὶ τὸν Γράνιον ἀπεπέρασαν εἰς τὴν

¹ *Ὁς τρία μὲν κτλ., as cited in Aristotle, *Hist. An.* vi. 6 (p. 563^a, 17).

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give up the struggle before his last hope could be realized, for which he was still reserving himself in reliance on ancient prophecies. When, that is, he was quite young and living in the country, he had caught in his cloak a falling eagle's nest, which had seven young ones in it; at sight of this, his parents were amazed, and made enquiries of the seers, who told them that their son would be most illustrious of men, and was destined to receive the highest command and power seven times.

Some say that this really happened to Marius; but others say that those who heard the story from him at this time and during the rest of his flight, believed it, and recorded it, though it was wholly fabulous. For, they say, an eagle does not lay more than two eggs at one time, and Musaeus also was wrong when, speaking of the eagle, he says:

"Three indeed she layeth, and two hatcheth, but one only doth she feed."¹

However, that Marius, during his flight and in his extremest difficulties, often said that he should attain to a seventh consulship, is generally admitted.

XXXVII. But presently, when they were about twenty furlongs distant from Minturnae, an Italian city, they saw from afar a troop of horsemen riding towards them, and also, as it chanced, two merchant vessels sailing along. Accordingly, with all the speed and strength they had, they ran down to the sea, threw themselves into the water, and began to swim to the ships. Granius and his party reached one of the ships and crossed over to the opposite

¹ Fragment 21 (Kinkel, *Ep. Graec. Frag.*, p. 229).

- 2 ἀντικρὺς νῆσον· Αἰναρία καλεῖται· αὐτὸν δὲ Μάριον βαρὺν ὄντα τῷ σώματι καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον οἰκέται δύο μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς 427 θαλάττης ἐξάραυτες εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν ἔβεντο ναῦν, ἥδη τῶν ἱππέων ἐφεστώτων καὶ διακελευομένων ἀπὸ γῆς τοῖς ναύταις κατὰγειν τὸ πλοῖον ἢ τὸν Μάριον ἐκβαλόντας αὐτοὺς ἀποπλεῖν ὅπη χρήζοιεν. ἰκετεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ δακρύνοντος, οἱ κύριοι τῆς ὀλκάδος ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλὰς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τῆς γνώμης τροπὰς λαβόντες ὅμως ἀπεκρίναντο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι μὴ προέσθαι τὸν
- 3 Μάριον. ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπελασάντων αὐτοῖς ἐτέρων γενόμενοι λογισμῶν κατεφέροντο πρὸς τὴν γῆν· καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Λίριος ποταμοῦ διάχυσιν λιμνῶδη λαμβάνοντος ἀγκύρας βαλόμενοι παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἐκβῆναι καὶ τροφὴν ἐπὶ γῆς λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεῦσαι κεκακωμένον, ἄχρι οὗ φορὰ γένηται· γίγνεσθαι δὲ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ὥραν τοῦ πελαγίου μαραινομένου καὶ τῶν ἐλῶν αὔραν ἀναδιδόντων ἐπιεικῶς διαρκῇ.
- 4 ταῦτα πεισθεὶς ὁ Μάριος ἔπραττε· καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐξελομένων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατακλινεὶς ἔν τιτι πόᾳ πορρωτάτῳ τοῦ μέλλοντος εἶχε τὴν διάνοιαν. οἱ δὲ εὐθύς ἐπιβάντες ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀναλαβόντες ἔφευγον, ὡς οὔτε καλὸν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Μάριον αὐτοῖς οὔτε σώζειν ἀσφαλές. οὕτω δὲ πάντων ἔρημος ἀπολειφθεὶς πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἀναυδος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἔκειτο, μόλις δὲ πῶς ἀναλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπορεύετο τάλαι-
- 5 πῶρως ἀνοδαίαις· καὶ διεξελθὼν ἔλη βαθέα καὶ τάφρους ὕδατος καὶ πηλοῦ γεμούσας ἐπιτυγχάνει καλύβη λιμνουργοῦ γέροντος, ὃν περιπεσὼν ἰκέ-

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island, Aenaria by name ; Marius himself, who was heavy and unwieldy, two slaves with toil and difficulty held above water and put into the other ship, the horsemen being now at hand and calling out from the shore to the sailors either to bring the vessel to shore or to throw Marius overboard and sail whither they pleased. But since Marius supplicated them with tears in his eyes, the masters of the vessel, after changing their minds often in a short time, nevertheless replied to the horsemen that they would not surrender Marius. The horsemen rode away in a rage, and the sailors, changing their plan again, put in towards the shore ; and after casting anchor at the mouth of the Liris, where the river expands into a lake, they advised Marius to leave the vessel, take some food ashore with him, and recruit his strength after his hardships until a good wind for sailing should arise ; this usually arose, they said, when the wind from the sea died away and a tolerably strong breeze blew from the marshes. Marius was persuaded to follow their advice ; so the sailors carried him ashore, and he lay down in some grass, without the slightest thought of what was to come. Then the sailors at once boarded their vessel, hoisted anchor, and took to flight, feeling that it was neither honourable for them to surrender Marius nor safe to rescue him. Thus, forsaken of all men, he lay a long time speechless on the shore, but recovered himself at last and tried to walk along, the lack of any path making his progress laborious. He made his way through deep marshes and ditches full of mud and water, until he came to the hut of an old man who got his living from the water. At his feet Marius fell

τευε γενέσθαι σωτήρα καὶ βοηθὸν ἀνδρός, εἰ διαφύγοι τὰ παρόντα, μείζονας ἐλπίδων ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδώσοντος. ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, εἴτε πάλαι γινώσκων εἴτε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ὡς κρείττονα θαυμάσας, ἀναπαύσασθαι μὲν ἔφη δεομένῳ τὸ σκηνύδριον ἐξαρκεῖν, εἰ δέ τινας ὑποφεύγων πλάζοιτο κρύψειν

6 αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ μᾶλλον ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντι. τοῦ δὲ Μαρίου δεηθέντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔλος καὶ πτῆξαι κελεύσας ἐν χωρίῳ κοίλῳ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέβαλε τῶν τε καλάμων πολλοὺς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιφέρων ὕλης ὅση κούφη καὶ περιπέσσειν ἀβλαβῶς δυναμένη.

XXXVIII. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διαγενομένου ψόφος αὐτῷ καὶ θόρυβος ἀπὸ τῆς καλύβης προσέπεσεν. ὁ γὰρ Γεμίνιος ἐκ Ταρρακίνης ἔπεμψε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν δίωξιν, ὧν ἔνιοι κατὰ τύχην ἐκεῖ προσελθόντες ἐξεφόβουν καὶ κατεβόων τοῦ γέροντος ὡς ὑποδεδεγμένου καὶ κατακρυβόντος

2 πολέμιον Ῥωμαίων. ἐξαναστὰς οὖν ὁ Μάριος καὶ ἀποδυσάμενος καθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν λίμνην ὕδωρ παχὺ καὶ τελματῶδες ἔχουσαν. ὅθεν οὐ διέλαθε τοὺς ζητοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀνασπασθεῖς βορβόρου κατάπλεως γυμνὸς εἰς Μιντούρνας ἀνήχθη καὶ παρεδόθη τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ἦν γὰρ εἰς ἅπασαν ἤδη πόλιν ἐξενηνεγμένον παράγγελμα περὶ τοῦ Μαρίου δημοσίᾳ διώκειν καὶ κτείνειν τοὺς λα-

3 βόντας. ὅμως δὲ βουλευσάσθαι πρότερον ἐδόκει τοῖς ἄρχουσιν καὶ κατατίθενται τὸν Μάριον εἰς οἰκίαν Φαννίας γυναικὸς οὐκ εὐμενῶς δοκούσης ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ αἰτίας παλαιᾶς.

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down and besought him to save and help a man who, in case he escaped his present perils, would recompense him beyond all his hopes. Then the man, who either knew Marius from of old or saw that in his face which won the regard due to superior rank, told him that if he merely wanted to rest, the cabin would suffice, but that if he was wandering about trying to escape pursuers, he could be hidden in a place that was more quiet. Marius begged that this might be done, and the man took him to the marsh, bade him crouch down in a hollow place by the side of the river, and threw over him a mass of reeds and other material which was light enough to cover without injuring him.

XXXVIII. Not much time had elapsed, however, when a din and tumult at the hut fell upon the ears of Marius. For Gemini^{us} had sent a number of men from Terracina in pursuit of him, some of whom had chanced to come to the old man's hut, and were frightening and berating him for having received and hidden an enemy of Rome. Marius therefore rose from his hiding-place, stripped off his clothes, and threw himself into the thick and muddy water of the marsh. Here he could not elude the men who were in search of him, but they dragged him out all covered with slime, led him naked to Minturnae, and handed him over to the magistrates there. Now, word had already been sent to every city that Marius was to be pursued by the authorities and killed by his captors. But nevertheless, the magistrates decided to deliberate on the matter first; so they put Marius for safe-keeping in the house of a woman named Fannia, who was thought to be hostile to him on account of an ancient grievance.

- Ἦν γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῇ Φαννίᾳ Τιτίνιος· τούτου δια-
 στᾶσα τὴν φερνὴν ἀπῆται λαμπρὰν οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ
 μοιχείαν ἐνεκάλει· καὶ γίνεται Μάριος ὑπατεύων
 4 τὸ ἕκτον δικαστής. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς δίκης λεγομένης
 ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὴν Φαννίαν ἀκόλαστον γεγονέναι
 καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοιαύτην εἰδότα λαβεῖν καὶ συμ-
 βιώσαι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀμφοτέρους δυσχεράνας
 τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τὴν φερνὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοῦναι,
 τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἀτιμίας ἕνεκα τῇ καταδίκῃ χαλ-
 کوὺς τέσσαρας προσετίμησεν.
- 5 Οὐ μὴν ἢ γε Φαννία τότε πάθος γυναικὸς 428
 ἡδίκημένης ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ὥς εἶδε τὸν Μάριον,
 πορρωτάτῳ γενομένη τοῦ μνησικακεῖν, ἐκ τῶν
 παρόντων ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτόν. ὁ
 δὲ κακείνην ἐπήνει καὶ θαρρεῖν ἔφασκε· σημεῖον
 γὰρ αὐτῷ γεγονέναι χρηστόν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον.
- Ὡς ἀγόμενος πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῆς Φαννίας ἐγε-
 γόνει, τῶν θυρῶν ἀνοιχθείσων ὄνος ἔνδοθεν ἐχώρει
 δρόμῳ, πιόμενος ἀπὸ κρήνης ἐγγὺς ἀπορρεούσης·
 6 προσβλέψας δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ λαμυρόν τι καὶ γεγη-
 θὸς ἔστη πρῶτον ἐναντίον, εἷτα φωνὴν ἀφήκε
 λαμπρὰν καὶ παρεσκίρτησε παρ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ γαν-
 ρότητος. ἐξ οὗ συμβαλὼν ὁ Μάριος ἔφασκεν ὥς
 διὰ θαλάσσης αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ γῆς ὑποδείκνυσι
 σωτηρίαν τὸ δαιμόνιον· τὸν γὰρ ὄνον οὐ προσέ-
 χοντα τῇ ξηρᾷ τροφῇ πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 τραπέσθαι.

Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς τῇ Φαννίᾳ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνε-

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Fannia, that is, had been married to Titinnius; but she had separated herself from him and demanded back her dowry, which was considerable. Her husband, however, had accused her of adultery; and Marius, who was serving in his sixth consulship, had presided over the trial. When the case was pleaded, and it appeared that Fannia had been a dissolute woman, and that her husband had known this and yet had taken her to wife and lived with her a long time, Marius was disgusted with both of them, and decreed that the husband should pay back his wife's dowry, while at the same time he imposed upon the woman, as a mark of infamy, a fine of four coppers.

However, at the time of which I speak, Fannia did not act like a woman who had been wronged, but when she saw Marius, she put far from her all resentment, cared for him as well as she could, and tried to encourage him. Marius commended her, and said he was of good courage; for an excellent sign had been given him. And this sign was as follows.

When, as he was led along, he had come to the house of Fannia, the door flew open and an ass ran out, in order to get a drink at a spring that flowed hard by; with a saucy and exultant look at Marius the animal at first stopped in front of him, and then, giving a magnificent bray, went frisking past him triumphantly. From this Marius drew an omen and concluded that the Deity was indicating a way of escape for him by sea rather than by land; for the ass made no account of its dry fodder, but turned from that to the water.

After explaining this to Fannia, Marius lay down

παύετο, τὴν θύραν τοῦ δωματίου προσθεῖναι κελεύσας.

- XXXIX. Βουλευομένοις δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις τῶν Μιντουρνησίων ἔδοξε μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλὰ διαχρήσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ τῶν μὲν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπέστη τὸ ἔργον, ἱππεὺς δὲ Γαλάτης τὸ γένος ἢ Κίμβρος (ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ ² ἱστορεῖται) λαβὼν ξίφος ἐπεισῆλθεν αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ ἔτυχε μέρει κατακείμενος οὐ πάνυ λαμπρὸν φῶς ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ὄντος ἐπισκίου, λέγεται τὰ μὲν ὄμματα τοῦ Μαρίου φλόγα πολλὴν ἐκβάλλοντα τῷ στρατιώτῃ φανῆναι, φωνὴν δὲ μεγάλην ἐκ τοῦ παλισκίου γενέσθαι, “Σὺ δὴ τολμᾷς, ἄνθρωπε, Γάϊον Μάριον ἀνελεῖν;” ἐξῆλθεν οὖν εὐθύς ὁ βάρβαρος φυγῇ, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐν μέσῳ καταβαλὼν ἐχώρει διὰ θυρῶν, τοῦτο μόνον βοῶν, “Οὐ δύναμαι Γάϊον Μάριον ἀποκτείνειν.”
- ³ πάντας οὖν ἐκπληξίς ἔσχεν, εἴτα οἶκτος καὶ μετάνοια τῆς γνώμης καὶ κατάμεμψις ἑαυτῶν ὡς βούλευμα βεβουλευκότων ἄνομον καὶ ἀχάριστον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ σωτῆρι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ᾧ μὴ βοηθῆσαι δεινὸν ἦν. “Ἴτω δ' οὖν ὅπη χρήζει φυγᾶς, ἀνατλησόμενος ἀλλαχόθι τὸ μεμορμένον. ἡμεῖς δὲ εὐχόμεθα μὴ νεμεσῆσαι θεοὺς Μάριον ἄπορον καὶ γυμνὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλοῦσιν.” ὑπὸ τοιούτων λογισμῶν εἰσπεσόντες ἀθρόοι καὶ περισχόντες
- ⁴ αὐτὸν ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἄλλου δὲ ἄλλο τι προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦντος καὶ σπευδόντων ἀπάντων ἐγένετο τριβὴ τοῦ χρόνου. τὸ γὰρ τῆς λεγομένης Μαρίκας ἄλσος, ὃ σέβονται καὶ παραφυλάττουσι μῆθὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκκομισθῆναι τῶν

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to rest alone, after ordering the door of the apartment to be closed.

XXXIX. Upon deliberation, the magistrates and councillors of Minturnae decided not to delay, but to put Marius to death. No one of the citizens, however, would undertake the task, so a horseman, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for the story is told both ways), took a sword and went into the room where Marius was. Now, that part of the room where Marius happened to be lying had not a very good light, but was gloomy, and we are told that to the soldier the eyes of Marius seemed to shoot out a strong flame, and that a loud voice issued from the shadows saying: "Man, dost thou dare to slay Caius Marius?" At once, then, the Barbarian fled from the room, threw his sword down on the ground, and dashed out of doors, with this one cry: "I cannot kill Caius Marius." Consternation reigned, of course, and then came pity, a change of heart, and self-reproach for having come to so unlawful and ungrateful a decision against a man who had been the saviour of Italy, and who ought in all decency to be helped. "So, then," the talk ran, "let him go where he will as an exile, to suffer elsewhere his allotted fate. And let us pray that the gods may not visit us with their displeasure for casting Marius out of our city in poverty and rags." Moved by such considerations, they rushed into his room in a body, surrounded him, and began to lead him forth to the sea. But although this one and that one were eager to do him some service and all made what haste they could, still there was delay. For the grove of Marica, as it was called, which was held in veneration, and from which nothing was permitted to be carried out that had ever

εἰσκομισθέντων, ἐμποδὼν ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁδοῦ, καὶ κύκλῳ περιιόντας ἔδει βραδύνειν, ἄχρι οὗ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις ἐκβοήσας ἔφη μηδεμίαν ἄβατον μηδ' ἀπόρευτον ὁδὸν εἶναι δι' ἧς σώζεται Μάριος. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς λαβὼν τι τῶν κομιζομένων ἐπὶ ναῦν διὰ τοῦ τόπου διεξῆλθε.

XL. Τοιαύτη προθυμία ταχὺ πάντων συμπορισθέντων καὶ Βηλαίου τινὸς ναῦν τῷ Μαρίῳ παρασχόντος, ὃς ὕστερον πίνακα τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὅθεν ἐμβὰς ὁ Μάριος ἀνήχθη, τῷ πνεύματι φέροντι χρώμενος ἐφέρετό πως κατὰ τύχην πρὸς Αἰναρίαν τὴν νῆσον, ὅπου τὸν Γράνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 2 φίλους εὐρὼν ἔπλει μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Λιβύης. ὕδατος δὲ ἐπιλιπόντος αὐτοὺς ἀναγκαίως Σικελία κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυκίνην προσέσχον. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους ὁ Ῥωμαίων ταμίας παραφυλάσσω, καὶ μικροῦ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποβάντα τὸν Μάριον εἶλεν, ἀπέκτεινε δὲ περὶ ἑκκαίδεκα τῶν ὑδρενομένων. Μάριος δὲ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀναχθεὶς καὶ διαπεράσας τὸ πέλαγος πρὸς Μήνιγγα τὴν νῆσον, ἐνταῦθα διαπυθάνεται πρῶτον ὡς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διασέσωσται μετὰ Κεθήγου καὶ πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Νομάδων Ἰάμφαν, δε-
 3 σόμενοι βοηθεῖν. ἐφ' οἷς μικρὸν ἀναπνεύσας ἐθάρρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδονίαν 429 προσβαλεῖν.

Ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῆς Λιβύης τότε Σεξιτίλιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, οὔτε φαῦλον οὔθ' οὔτε χρηστὸν ἐκ Μαρίου προειληφώς, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπ' οἴκτου τι προσδοκώμενος ὠφελήσειν. ἄρτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μετ'

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been carried in, lay between them and the sea as they were going, and if they went round it they must needs lose time. At last, however, one of the older men cried out and said that no path could forbid men's steps and passage if it were the path of safety for Marius. And the speaker himself was the first to take some of the things that were being carried to the ship and pass through the holy place.

XL. Everything was speedily provided through such readiness as this, and a certain Belaeus furnished a ship for Marius. Belaeus afterwards had a painting made representing these scenes, and dedicated it in the temple at the spot where Marius embarked and put to sea. Favoured by the wind he was borne along by chance to the island of Aenaria, where he found Granius and the rest of his friends, and set sail with them for Africa. But their supply of fresh water failed, and they were compelled to touch at Erycina in Sicily. In this neighbourhood, as it chanced, the Roman quaestor was on the watch, and almost captured Marius himself as he landed; he did kill about sixteen of his men who came ashore for water. Marius therefore put out to sea with all speed and crossed to the island of Meninx, where he first learned that his son had come off safely with Cethegus, and that they were on their way to Iampsas the king of Numidia, intending to ask his aid. At this news Marius was a little refreshed, and made bold to push on from the island to the neighbourhood of Carthage.

The Roman governor of Africa at this time was Sextilius, a man who had received neither good nor ill at the hands of Marius, but whom, as it was expected, pity alone would move to give him aid. Hardly, however, had Marius landed with a few companions,

ὀλίγων ἀποβεβηκότος ὑπηρετῆς ἀπαντήσας καὶ καταστάς ἐναντίον εἶπεν, “Ἀπαγορεύει σοι Σεξτίλιος ὁ στρατηγός, ὦ Μάριε, Λιβύης ἐπιβαίνειν· εἰ δὲ μή, φησὶν ἀμυνεῖν τοῖς τῆς βουλῆς δόγμασιν, 4 ὡς Ῥωμαίων πολεμῖν χρώμενος.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μάριον ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἀπορία λόγων ἔσχε, καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἡσυχίαν ἤγε δεινὸν εἰς τὸν ὑπηρετὴν ἀποβλέπων. ἐρομένου δὲ ἐκείνου τί φράζει καὶ τί λέγει πρὸς τὸν στρατηγόν, ἀπεκρίνατο μέγα στενάξας, “Ἀγγελλε τοίνυν ὅτι Γάϊον Μάριον ἐν τοῖς Καρχηδόνης ἐρειπίοις φυγάδα καθεζόμενον εἶδες,” οὐ κακῶς ἅμα τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης τύχην καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μεταβολὴν ἐν παραδείγματος λόγῳ θέμενος.

5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἰάμβας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Νομάδων ἐπαμφοτερίζων τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐν τιμῇ μὲν ἤγε τοὺς περὶ τὸν νέον Μάριον, ἀπιέναι δὲ βουλομένους ἔκ τινος αἰὲ προφάσεως κατεῖχε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ χρηστῷ ποιούμενος τὴν ἀναβολήν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει τι τῶν εἰκότων αὐτοῖς πρὸς σωτηρίαν. ὁ γὰρ νέος Μάριος εὐπρεπῆς ὢν τὴν ὄψιν ἡνία τινὰ τῶν παλλακίδων τοῦ βασιλέως παρ’ ἀξίαν πράττων· ὁ δὲ οἶκος οὗτος 6 ἀρχὴ καὶ πρόφασις ἦν ἔρωτος. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀπετρίβετο τὴν ἀνθρωπον· ὡς δὲ οὔτε φυγῆς ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἐώρα καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνης σπουδαιότερον ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκόλαστον διεπράττετο, δεξάμενος τὴν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνεκπεμφθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἀπέδρα μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ διέφυγε πρὸς τὸν Μάριον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἡσπάσαντο, πορευόμενοι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐντυγχάνουσι σκορπίοις μαχομένοις· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐφάνη τῷ

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when an official met him, stood directly in front of him, and said : "Sextilius the governor forbids thee, Marius, to set foot in Africa ; and if thou disobeyest, he declares that he will uphold the decrees of the senate and treat thee as an enemy of Rome." When he heard this, Marius was rendered speechless by grief and indignation, and for a long time kept quiet, looking sternly at the official. Then, when asked by him what he had to say, and what answer he would make to the governor, he answered with a deep groan : "Tell him, then, that thou hast seen Caius Marius a fugitive, seated amid the ruins of Carthage." And it was not inaptly that he compared the fate of that city with his own reversal of fortune.

Meanwhile Iampsas the king of Numidia, hesitating which course to take, did indeed treat the younger Marius and his party with respect, but always had some excuse for detaining them when they wished to go away, and clearly had no good end in view in thus postponing their departure. However, something occurred which, though not at all extraordinary, led to their escape. The younger Marius, that is, being a handsome fellow, one of the concubines of the king was pained to see him treated unworthily, and this feeling of compassion ripened into love. At first, then, Marius repelled the woman's advances ; but when he saw that there was no other way of escape for him and his friends, and that her behaviour was based on a genuine affection, he accepted her favours ; whereupon she helped him in getting off, and he ran away with his friends and made his escape to his father. After father and son had embraced one another, they walked along the sea-shore, and there they saw some scorpions fighting, which the elder

- 7 *Μαρίῳ πονηρόν. εὐθύς οὖν ἀλιάδος ἐπιβάντες εἰς Κέρκιναν διεπέρων, νῆσον ἀπέχουσαν οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἡπείρου· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔφθασαν ὅσον ἀνηγμένων αὐτῶν ἰππεῖς ὁρᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλαύνοντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὅθεν ἀνήχθησαν. τοῦτον οὐδενὸς ἐλάττονα κίνδυνον ἔδοξεν ἐκφυγεῖν ὁ Μάριος.*

- XLI. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Σύλλας μὲν ἠκούετο τοῖς Μιθριδάτου πολεμεῖν στρατηγοῖς περὶ Βοιωτίαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ στασιάσαντες ἐχώρουν εἰς ὄπλα. καὶ μάχης γενομένης Ὀκτάβιος μὲν κρατήσας ἐξέβαλε Κίνναν ἐπιχειροῦντα τυραννικώτερον ἄρχειν, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτ' αὐτοῦ Κορνήλιον Μερούλλαν ὑπατον, ὁ δὲ Κίννας ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας συναγαγὼν δύναμιν αὐθις διεπολέμει
2 πρὸς αὐτούς. ταῦτα τῷ Μαρίῳ πυνθανομένῳ πλεῦσαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐφαίνετο· καὶ παραλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης Μαυρουσίων τινὰς ἰππότας καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας τινὰς καταφερομένων, συναμφοτέρους οὐ πλείονας χιλίων γενομένους, ἀνήχθη. προσβαλὼν δὲ ¹ Τελαμῶνι τῆς Τυρρηνίας καὶ ἀποβὰς ἐκήρυττε δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν· καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι γεωργούντων καὶ νεμόντων ἐλευθέρων κατὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ συντρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναπείθων τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις χεῖρα μεγάλην ἤθροισε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐπλήρωσεν.
3 Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν μὲν Ὀκτάβιον ἄριστον ἄνδρα καὶ τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τρόπῳ βουλόμενον ἄρχειν, τὸν δὲ Κίνναν ὑποπτόν τε τῷ Σύλλᾳ καὶ πολεμοῦντα τῇ

¹ ἀνήχθη. προσβαλὼν δὲ with Coraës: μεθ' ὧν ἀνήχθη, προσβαλὼν.

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Marius regarded as a bad omen. At once, therefore, they boarded a fishing-boat and crossed over to the island of Cercina, which was not far distant from the mainland; and scarcely had they put out from land when horsemen sent by the king were seen riding towards the spot whence they had sailed. It would seem that Marius never escaped a greater peril than this.

XLI. But in Rome, Sulla was heard of as waging war with the generals of Mithridates in Boeotia; and the consuls quarrelled and were resorting to arms. A battle took place, Octavius won the day, cast out Cinna, who was trying to be too arbitrary in his rule, and put Cornelius Merula in his place as consul; whereupon Cinna assembled a force from the other parts of Italy and made war anew upon Octavius and his colleague. When Marius heard of these things, he thought best to sail thither as fast as he could; so taking with him from Africa some Moorish horsemen, and some Italians who had wandered thither, the number of both together not exceeding a thousand, he put to sea. Putting in at Telamon in Tyrrhenia, and landing there, he proclaimed freedom to the slaves; he also won over the sturdiest of the free farmers and herdsmen of the neighbourhood, who came flocking down to the sea attracted by his fame, and in a few days had assembled a large force and manned forty ships.

And now, knowing that Octavius was a most excellent man and wished to rule in the justest way, but that Cinna was distrusted by Sulla and was making

καθεστῶσῃ πολιτείᾳ, τούτῳ προσνέμειν ἑαυτὸν
 ἔγνω μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἐπαγγε-
 λόμενος ὡς ὑπάτῳ πάντα ποιήσῃ τὰ προστα-
 σόμενα. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ προσα-
 γορεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀνθύπατον, ῥάβδους δὲ καὶ 430
 τᾶλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποστείλαντος, οὐκ
 4 ἔφη πρέπειν αὐτοῦ ταῖς τύχαις τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ'
 ἐσθῆτι φαύλῃ κεχρημένος καὶ κομῶν ἀφ' ἧς ἔφυ-
 γεν ἡμέρας, ὑπὲρ ἑβδομήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη βάδην
 προσῆει, βουλόμενος μὲν ἐλσεινὸς εἶναι, τῷ δὲ
 οἴκῳ συμμέμικτο τὸ οἰκεῖον τῆς ὄψεως αὐτοῦ
 πλέον τὸ φοβερόν, καὶ διέφαινεν ἡ κατήφεια τὸν
 θυμὸν οὐ τεταπεινωμένον, ἀλλ' ἐξηγριωμένον ὑπὸ
 τῆς μεταβολῆς.

XLII. Ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὸν Κίνναν καὶ τοῖς
 στρατιώταις ἐντυχὼν εὐθύς εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου καὶ
 μεγάλην μεταβολὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίησε.
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ σιτηγὰ περικόπτων
 καὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ληϊζόμενος ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀγο-
 ρᾶς, ἔπειτα τὰς παραλίους πόλεις ἐπιπλέων ἤρει.
 τέλος δὲ τὴν Ὀστίαν αὐτὴν λαβὼν ἐκ προδοσίας
 τὰ τε χρήματα διήρπασε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς
 πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ γεφυρώσας τὸν ποταμὸν
 ἀπέκοψε κομιδῇ τὰς ἐκ θαλάσσης εὐπορίας τῶν
 2 πολεμίων. ἄρας δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐχώρει καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰανουκλον ὄρος κατέ-
 σχεν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀπειρία τοῦ Ὀκταβίου τὰ
 πράγματα βλάπτοντος, ὅσον ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν δικαί-
 ων προῖεμένου τὰ χρειώδη παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον, ὅς
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war upon the established constitution, he determined to join Cinna with his forces. Accordingly he sent to Cinna and offered to obey him in everything as consul. Cinna accepted his offer, named him proconsul, and sent him the fasces and other insignia of the office. Marius, however, declared that these decorations were not suited to his fortunes, and in mean attire, his hair uncut since the day of his flight, being now over seventy years of age, came with slow steps to meet the consul. For he wished that men should pity him; but with his appeal for compassion there was mingled the look that was natural to him and now more terrifying than ever, and through his downcast mien there flashed a spirit which had been, not humbled, but made savage by his reverses.

XLII. After greeting Cinna and presenting himself to Cinna's soldiers, he at once began his work and greatly changed the posture of affairs. In the first place, by cutting off the grain-ships with his fleet and plundering the merchants, he made himself master of the city's supplies; next, he sailed to the maritime cities and took them; and finally, he seized Ostia itself, which was treacherously surrendered to him, plundering the property there and killing most of its inhabitants, and by throwing a bridge across the river completely cut off the enemy from such stores as might come by sea. Then he set out and marched with his army towards the city, and occupied the hill called Janiculum. Octavius damaged his own cause, not so much through lack of skill, as by a too scrupulous observance of the laws, wherein he unwisely neglected the needs of the hour. For though many urged him to call the slaves to arms

- γε πολλῶν κελευόντων αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καλεῖν τοὺς οἰκέτας οὐκ ἔφη δούλοις μεταδώσειν τῆς πατρίδος, ἧς Γάϊον Μάριον εἵργει τοῖς νόμοις
- 3 ἀμύνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Μέτελλος υἱὸς Μετέλλου τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ διὰ Μάριον ἐκπεσόντος ἦκεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου στρατηγικώτερος ἐφαίνετο, καταλιπόντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἦκον ὡς ἐκείνον ἄρχειν δεόμενοι καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν· εὐ γὰρ ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ κρατήσκειν ἔμπειρον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δραστήριον λαβόντες. ἀγανακτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπιέναι πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον, ὥχοντο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὑπεξέστη δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἀπογνοὺς τὴν πόλιν.
- 4 Ὀκτάβιον δὲ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ θῦταί τινες καὶ σιβυλλισταὶ πείσαντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατέσχον, ὡς εὐ γεννησομένων. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος δοκεῖ, τᾶλλα Ῥωμαίων εὐγνωμονέστατος γενόμενος καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ὑπατείας ἀκολάκευτον ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων ὥσπερ διαγραμμάτων ἀμεταβόλων διαφυλάξας, ἄρρωστίᾳ τῇ περὶ ταῦτα χρήσασθαι, πλείονα συνὼν χρόνον ἀγύρταις καὶ μάντεσιν ἢ πολιτικοῖς καὶ πολεμικοῖς
- 5 ἀνδράσιν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν, πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Μάριον, ὑπὸ τῶν προπεμφθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κατασπασθεὶς ἐσφάττετο· καὶ λέγεται διάγραμμα Χαλδαϊκὸν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ φονευθέντος εὑρεθῆναι. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα πολλὴν ἀλογίαν εἶχε, τὸ δυεῖν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιφανεστάτων Μάριον μὲν
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under promise of freedom, he said he would not make bondmen members of the state from which he was trying to exclude Marius in obedience to the laws. Moreover, when Metellus (son of the Metellus who had commanded in Africa and had been banished through the intrigues of Marius) came to Rome, it was thought that he was far superior to Octavius as a general, and the soldiers forsook Octavius and came to him, entreating him to take the command and save the city; for they would make a good fight, they said, and win the victory if they got a tried and efficient leader. Metellus, however, was indignant at them and bade them go back to the consul; whereupon they went off to the enemy. Metellus also left the city, despairing of its safety.

But Octavius was persuaded by certain Chaldaeans, sacrificers, and interpreters of the Sibylline books to remain in the city, on the assurance that matters would turn out well. For it would seem that this man, although he was in other ways the most sensible man in Rome, and most careful to maintain the dignity of the consular office free from undue influence in accordance with the customs of the country and its laws, which he regarded as unchangeable ordinances, had a weakness in this direction, since he spent more time with charlatans and seers than with men who were statesmen and soldiers. This man, then, before Marius entered the city, was dragged down from the rostra by men who had been sent on before, and butchered; and we are told that a Chaldaean chart was found in his bosom after he had been slain. Now, it seems very unaccountable that, of two most illustrious commanders, Marius

ὀρθῶσαι τὸ μὴ καταφρονῆσαι μαντικῆς, Ὀκτάβιον δὲ ἀπολέσαι.

- XLIII. Οὕτω δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων ἡ βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον, εἰσιέναι καὶ φείδεσθαι δεομένη τῶν πολιτῶν. Κίννας μὲν οὖν ὡς ὑπατος ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ φιλανθρώπους ἀποκρίσεις ἔδωκε τοῖς πρέσβεσι, Μάριος δὲ τῷ δίφρῳ παρειστήκει φθεγγόμενος μὲν οὐδέν, ὑποδηλῶν δὲ αἰεὶ τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῇ στυγνότητι τοῦ βλέμματος ὡς εὐθὺς ἐμπλήσων
- 2 φόνων τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναστάντες ἐβάδιζον, Κίννας μὲν εἰσῆει δορυφορούμενος, Μάριος δὲ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὑποστὰς εἰρωνεύετο πρὸς ὀργήν, φυγὰς εἶναι λέγων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος εἰργεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, εἰ δὲ χρήζοι τις αὐτοῦ παρόντος, ἐτέρα ψήφῳ λυτέον εἶναι τὴν ἐκβάλλουσαν, ὡς δὴ νόμιμός τις ὦν ἀνὴρ καὶ κατιῶν εἰς πόλιν
- 3 ἐλευθέραν. ἐκάλει δὴ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἀγοράν· καὶ 431 πρὸ τοῦ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας φυλάς ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ψήφον ἀφείς τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τὴν φυγαδικὴν ἐκείνην δικαιολογίαν κατῆει, δορυφόρους ἔχων λογάδας ἐκ τῶν προσπεφοιτηκότων δούλων, οὓς Βαρδυαίους προσηγόρευσεν. οὗτοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ νεύματος ἀνῆρουν προστάσσοντος αὐτοῦ· καὶ τέλος Ἀγχάριον, ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν καὶ στρατηγικόν, ἐντυγχάνοντα τῷ Μαρῖῳ καὶ μὴ προσαγορευθέντα καταβάλλουσιν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς μαχαίραις τύπτον-
- 4 τες. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσους ἀσπασμένους μὴ προσαγορεύσειε μηδὲ ἀντασπάσαιτο, τοῦτο αὐτὸ σύμβολον ἦν ἀποσφάττειν εὐθὺς ἐν

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should succeed by regarding divinations, but Octavius should be ruined.

XLIII. Matters being at this pass, the senate met and sent a deputation to Cinna and Marius, begging them to enter the city and spare the citizens. Cinna, accordingly, as consul, seated on his chair of office, received the embassy and gave them a kindly answer; but Marius, standing by the consul's chair without speaking a word, made it clear all the while, by the heaviness of his countenance and the gloominess of his look, that he would at once fill the city with slaughter. After the conference was over they moved on towards the city. Cinna entered it with a body-guard, but Marius halted at the gates and angrily dissembled, saying that he was an exile and was excluded from the country by the law, and if his presence there was desired, the vote which cast him out must be rescinded by another vote, since, indeed, he was a law-abiding man and was returning to a free city. So the people were summoned to the forum; and before three or four of the tribes had cast their votes, he threw aside his feigning and all that petty talk about being an exile, and entered the city, having as his body-guard a picked band of the slaves who had flocked to his standard, to whom he had given the name of *Bardyaei*. These fellows killed many of the citizens at a word of command from him, many, too, at a mere nod; and at last, when Ancharius, a man of senatorial and praetorial dignity, met Marius and got no salutation from him, they struck him down with their swords before the face of their master. After this, whenever anybody else greeted Marius and got no salutation or greeting in return, this of itself was a signal for the man's

ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ὥστε καὶ τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον ἀγωνίας
 μεστὸν εἶναι καὶ φρίκης ὁσάκις ἀσπασόμενοι τῷ
 Μαρίῳ πελάζοιεν· κτεινομένων δὲ πολλῶν Κίννας
 μὲν ἀμβλὺς ἦν καὶ μεστὸς ἤδη τοῦ φονεύειν,
 Μάριος δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀκμάζοντι τῷ
 θυμῷ καὶ διψῶντι διὰ πάντων ἐχώρει τῶν ὅπως-
 5 οὖν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γεγονότων. καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδός,
 πᾶσα δὲ πόλις τῶν διωκόντων καὶ κυνηγετούντων
 τοὺς ὑποφεύγοντας καὶ κεκρυμμένους ἔγεμεν.
 ἡλέγχετο δὲ καὶ ξενίας καὶ φιλίας πίστις οὐδὲν
 ἔχουσα παρὰ τὰς τύχας βέβαιον· ὀλίγοι γὰρ
 ἐγένοντο παντάπασιν οἱ μὴ προδόντες αὐτοῖς τοὺς
 6 παρὰ σφᾶς καταφυγόντας. ἄξιον οὖν ἄγασθαι
 καὶ θαυμάσαι τοὺς τοῦ Κορνούτου θεράποντας, οἱ
 τὸν δεσπότην ἀποκρύψαντες οἴκοι, νεκρὸν δέ τινα
 τῶν πολλῶν ἀναρτήσαντες ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ
 περιθέντες αὐτῷ χρυσοῦν δακτύλιον ἐπεδείκνυν
 τοῖς Μαρίου δορυφόροις καὶ κοσμήσαντες ὡς
 ἐκείνον αὐτὸν ἔθαπτον. ὑπενόησε δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ'
 οὕτω λαθὼν ὁ Κορνούτος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν εἰς
 Γαλατίαν διεκομίσθη.

XLIV. Χρηστῷ δὲ καὶ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὁ
 ῥήτωρ φίλῳ χρησάμενος ἡτύχησεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄν-
 θρωπος ἦν μὲν πένης καὶ δημοτικός, ὑποδεξάμενος
 δὲ πρῶτον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος
 ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, οἰκέτην ἔπεμψε πρὸς τινα τῶν
 ἐγγὺς καπήλων ληψόμενον οἶνον. διαγενομένου
 δὲ ἐπιμελέστερον καὶ βελτίονα μετρήσαι κελεύον-
 τος ἠρώτησεν ὁ κάπηλος ὃ τι παθὼν οὐχὶ τὸν
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slaughter in the very street, so that even the friends of Marius, to a man, were full of anguish and horror whenever they drew near to greet him. So many were slain that at last Cinna's appetite for murder was dulled and sated; but Marius, whose anger increased day by day and thirsted for blood, kept on killing all whom he held in any suspicion whatsoever. Every road and every city was filled with men pursuing and hunting down those who sought to escape or had hidden themselves. Moreover, the trust men placed in the ties of hospitality and friendship was found to be no security against the strokes of Fortune; for few there were, all told, who did not betray to the murderers those who had taken refuge with them. All the more worthy of praise and admiration, then, was the behaviour of the slaves of Cornutus. They concealed their master in his house; then they hung up by the neck one of the many dead bodies that lay about, put a gold ring on its finger, and showed it to the guards of Marius, after which they decked it out as if it were their master's body and gave it burial. Nobody suspected the ruse, and thus Cornutus escaped notice and was conveyed by his slaves into Galatia.

XLIV. Marcus Antonius also, the orator, found a faithful friend, but it did not save him. For this friend, who was a poor plebeian and had received into his house a leading man of Rome, whom he wished to entertain as well as he could, sent a slave to a neighbouring innkeeper to get some wine. As the slave tasted the wine more carefully than usual and ordered some of better quality, the innkeeper asked him what was the reason that he did not buy the

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- νέον, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ὠνεῖται καὶ δημοτικόν, ἀλλὰ
 2 τοῦ σπουδαίου καὶ πολυτελοῦς. ἀπλῶς δέ πως
 ἐκείνου φράσαντος ὡς πρὸς συνήθη καὶ γνώριμον,
 ὅτι Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον ὁ δεσπότης ἐστὶ παρ'
 αὐτῷ κρυπτόμενον, ἀσεβῆς καὶ μιαρὸς ὢν ὁ
 κύπηλος ἅμα τῷ τὸν οἰκέτην ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸς
 συνέτεινε πρὸς Μάριον ἤδη περὶ δεῖπνον ὄντα, καὶ
 3 Ἀντώνιον. ἀκούσας οὖν ἐκείνος ἐκκραγεῖν λέγεται
 μέγα καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀνακροτῆσαι
 καὶ μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἐξαναστὰς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν
 τόπον φέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ φίλων κατασχόντων Ἀν-
 νιον ἔπεμπε καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' αὐτοῦ κελεύσας
 κατὰ τάχος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κομίζειν.
 ὡς οὖν ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀννιος ὑπέστη
 παρὰ τὰς θύρας, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διὰ κλιμάκων
 ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἀνθ'
 4 ἑαυτοῦ παρεκάλει καὶ προὔβάλλετο. τοιαύτη δέ
 τις ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τῶν λόγων σειρὴν
 καὶ χάρις, ὥστε ἀρξαμένου λέγειν καὶ παραιτεῖ-
 σθαι τὸν θάνατον ἄψασθαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν
 οὐδὲ ἀντιβλέψαι, κάτω δὲ κύψαντες ἐδάκρυον
 ἅπαντες. διατριβῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀναβὰς ὁ Ἀννιος
 ὁρᾷ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον διαλεγόμενον, τοὺς δὲ
 στρατιώτας ἐκπεπληγμένους καὶ κατακεκλημέ-
 νους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· κακίσας οὖν ἐκείνους καὶ προσ-
 δραμὼν αὐτὸς ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν.
 5 Κάτλος δὲ Λουτάτιος Μαρῖφ συνάρξας καὶ
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new and ordinary wine as usual, instead of wanting some that was choice and expensive. The slave, in his great simplicity, conscious that he was dealing with an old acquaintance, told him that his master was entertaining Marcus Antonius, who was concealed at his house. As soon as the slave had gone home, the innkeeper, who was an impious and pestilent fellow, hastened in person to find Marius, who was already at supper, and on being introduced, promised to betray Antonius to him. When Marius heard this, as we are told, a loud cry burst from his lips and he clapped his hands for joy; he actually came near springing from his seat and hurrying to the place himself, but his friends restrained him; so he sent Annius and some soldiers with him, ordering them to bring him the head of Antonius with all speed. Accordingly, when they were come to the house, Annius stopped at the door, while the soldiers climbed the stairs and entered the room. But when they beheld Antonius, every man began to urge and push forward a companion to do the murder instead of himself. So indescribable, however, as it would seem, was the grace and charm of his words, that when Antonius began to speak and pray for his life, not a soldier had the hardihood to lay hands on him or even to look him in the face, but they all bent their heads down and wept. Perceiving that there was some delay, Annius went upstairs, and saw that Antonius was pleading and that the soldiers were abashed and enchanted by his words; so he cursed his men, and running up to Antonius, with his own hands cut off his head.

Again, the friends of Catulus Lutatius, who had been a colleague of Marius in the consulship, and

συνθριαμβεύσας ἀπὸ Κίμβρων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τοὺς
δεομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ παραιτούμενους ὁ Μάρ-
ιος τοσοῦτον μόνον εἶπεν, “Ἀποθανεῖν δεῖ,”
κατακλεισάμενος εἰς οἶκημα καὶ πολλοὺς ἄνθρακας
ἐκζωπυρήσας ἀπεπνίγη.

6 Ῥιπτουμένων δὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἀκεφάλων καὶ 432
πατουμένων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔλεος οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ
φρίκη καὶ τρόμος ἀπάντων πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν. ἡνία
δὲ μάλιστα τὸν δῆμον ἢ τῶν καλουμένων Βαρ-
δουαίων ἀσέλγεια. τοὺς γὰρ δεσπότας ἐν ταῖς
οἰκίαις σφάττοντες ἥσυχνον μὲν αὐτῶν παῖδας,
ἐμίγνυντο δὲ βίᾳ ταῖς δεσποίναις, ἀκατάσχετοι δὲ
ἦσαν ἀρπάζοντες καὶ μαιφονοῦντες, ἕως οἱ περὶ
Κίνναν καὶ Σερτώριον συμφρονήσαντες ἐπέθεντο
κοιμωμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ κατη-
κόντισαν ἅπαντας.

XLV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὥσπερ τροπαίας τινος
ἀμειβούσης ἐφοίτων ἄγγελοι πανταχόθεν ὡς
Σύλλας συνηρηκῶς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον καὶ
τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἀνειληφῶς ἐπιπλέοι μετὰ πολλῆς
δυνάμεως. καὶ τοῦτο βραχεῖαν ἐπίσχεσιν ἐποίησε
καὶ παῦλαν ὀλίγην ἀφάτων κακῶν, ὅσον οὐπω
τὸν πόλεμον ἤκειν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οἰομένων. ὕπατος
μὲν οὖν ἀπεδείχθη τὸ ἑβδομον Μάριος, καὶ προ-
ελθὼν αὐταῖς Καλάνδαις Ἰανουαρίαις, ἔτους ἀρχῇ,
Σέξτον τινὰ Λουκῖνον κατεκρήμνισεν· ὁ κακένοις
καὶ τῇ πόλει τῶν αὐθις ἐδόκει κακῶν γεγονέναι
σημεῖον μέγιστον.

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with him had celebrated a triumph over the Cimbri, interceded for him and begged Marius to spare his life; but the only answer they could get was: "He must die." Catulus therefore shut himself up in a room, lighted up a great quantity of charcoal, and was suffocated.

But headless trunks thrown into the streets and trampled under foot excited no pity, though everybody trembled and shuddered at the sight. The people were most distressed, however, by the wanton licence of the *Bardyaei*, as they were called, who butchered fathers of families in their houses, outraged their children, violated their wives, and could not be checked in their career of rapine and murder until Cinna and Sertorius, after taking counsel together, fell upon them as they were asleep in their camp, and transfixed them all with javelins.¹

XLV. Meanwhile, as if a change of wind were coming on, messengers arrived from all quarters with reports that Sulla had finished the war with Mithridates, had recovered the provinces, and was sailing for home with a large force. This gave a brief stay and a slight cessation to the city's unspeakable evils, since men supposed that the war was all but upon them. Accordingly, Marius was elected consul for the seventh time, and assuming office on the very Calends of January,² which is the first day of the year, he had a certain Sextus Lucinus thrown down the Tarpeian rock. This was thought to be a most significant portent of the evils that were once more to fall both upon the partisans of Marius and upon the city.

¹ Cf. the *Sertorius*, v. 5.

² 86 B.C.

- 2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη τοῖς τε πόνοις ἀπειρηκῶς καὶ ταῖς φροντίσιν οἷον ὑπέραντλος ὢν καὶ κατάπονος, τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τοσαύτην αὐθις ἐπίνοιαν νέου πολέμου καὶ καινῶν ἀγῶνων καὶ φόβων ὑπὸ ἐμπειρίας δεινῶν καὶ καμάτου τρέμουσιν οὐκ ἀνέφερε, λογιζόμενος ὥς οὐ πρὸς Ὀκτάβιον οὐδὲ Μερούλλαν σύγκλυδος ὁμίλου καὶ στασιώδους ὄχλου στρατηγούς ὁ κίνδυνος ἔσοιτο, Σύλλας δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔπεισιν ὁ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὸν ἐξελάσας πάλαι, νῦν δὲ Μιθριδάτην συνεσταλκῶς εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον.
- 3 ὑπὸ τοιούτων θραυόμενος λογισμῶν, καὶ τὴν μακρὰν ἄλην αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγὰς καὶ κινδύνους διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαυνόμενου λαμβάνων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, εἰς ἀπορίας ἐνέπιπτε δεινὰς καὶ νυκτερινὰ δείματα καὶ ταραχῶδεις ὀνείρους, αἰεὶ τινας ἀκούειν φθεγγομένου δοκῶν

δειναὶ γὰρ κοῖται καὶ ἀποιχομένοιο λέοντος.

- μάλιστα δὲ πάντων φοβούμενος τὰς ἀγρυπνίας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς πότους ἑαυτὸν καὶ μέθας ἁώρους καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὥσπερ ἀπόδρασιν τῶν φροντίδων
- 4 τὸν ὕπνον μηχανώμενος. τέλος δὲ ὥς ἡκέ τις ἀπαγγέλλων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, νέοι προσπίπτοντες αὐτῷ φόβοι, τὰ μὲν δέει τοῦ μέλλοντος, τὰ δὲ ὥσπερ ἄχθει καὶ κόρῳ τῶν παρόντων, ῥοπῆς βραχείας ἐπιγενομένης εἰς νόσον κατηνέχθη πλευρίτιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος, αὐτὸς εἰσελ-

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But Marius himself, now worn out with toils, deluged, as it were, with anxieties, and wearied, could not sustain his spirits, which shook within him as he again faced the overpowering thought of a new war, of fresh struggles, of terrors known by experience to be dreadful; and of utter weariness. He reflected, too, that it was not Octavius or Merula in command of a promiscuous throng and a seditious rabble against whom he was now to run the hazard of war, but that the famous Sulla was coming against him, the man who had once ejected him from the country, and had now shut Mithridates up to the shores of the Euxine Sea. Tortured by such reflections, and bringing into review his long wandering, his flights, and his perils, as he was driven over land and sea, he fell into a state of dreadful despair, and was a prey to nightly terrors and harassing dreams, wherein he would ever seem to hear a voice saying :—

“Dreadful, indeed, is the lion’s lair, even though it be empty.”¹

And since above all things he dreaded the sleepless nights, he gave himself up to drinking-bouts and drunkenness at unseasonable hours and in a manner unsuited to his years, trying thus to induce sleep as a way of escape from his anxious thoughts, And finally, when one came with tidings from the sea, fresh terrors fell upon him, partly because he feared the future, and partly because he was wearied to satiety by the present, so that it needed only a slight impulse to throw him into a pleurisy, as Poseidonius the philosopher relates, who says that he

¹ A hexameter verse of unknown authorship.

θεῖν καὶ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ ὧν ἐπρέσβευεν ἤδη
 5 νοσοῦντι φάσκων αὐτῷ. Γάϊος δέ τις Πείσων,
 ἀνὴρ ἱστορικός, ἱστορεῖ τὸν Μάριον ἀπὸ δείπνου
 περιπατοῦντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι
 περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πραγμάτων, ἄνωθεν ἀρξά-
 μενον· καὶ τὰς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα πολλάκις μεταβολὰς
 ἀφηγησάμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἔστι νουν ἔχοντος
 ἀνδρὸς ἔτι τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύειν ἑαυτόν· ἐκ δὲ τού-
 του τοὺς παρόντας ἀσιγασάμενον καὶ κατακλι-
 6 θέντα συνεχῶς ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ τελευτῆσαι. τινὲς δὲ
 τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ φασιν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ παντά-
 πασιν ἀποκαλυφθεῖσαν εἰς ἄτοπον ἐξοκεῖλαι
 παρακοπήν, οἰομένου τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν στρατη-
 γεῖν πόλεμον, εἶτα, ὥσπερ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰώθει τῶν
 ἀγώνων, σχήματα παντοδαπὰ καὶ κινήματα
 σώματος μετὰ συντόνου κραυγῆς καὶ πυκνῶν
 7 ἀλαλαγμάτων ἀποδιδόντος. οὕτως δεινὸς αὐτῷ
 καὶ δυσπαραμύθητος ἐκ φιλαρχίας καὶ ζηλοτυπίας
 ἔρως ἐντετῆκει τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων. διὸ ἔτη
 μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα βεβιωκώς, ὕπατος δὲ πρῶτος
 ἀνθρώπων ἐπτάκις ἀνηγορευμένος, οἰκόν τε καὶ
 πλοῦτον ἀρκοῦντα βασιλείαις ὁμοῦ πολλαῖς
 κεκτημένος, ὠδύρετο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην ὡς ἐνδεὴς 433
 καὶ ἀτελεῖς ὧν ἐπόθει προαποθνήσκων.

XLVI. Πλάτων μὲν οὖν ἤδη πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾷ
 γενόμενος ὕμνει τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην,
 ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄνθρωπος, εἶτα Ἕλλην, οὐ βάρ-
 βαρος οὐδὲ ἄλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο, πρὸς
 δὲ τούτοις, ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτους χρόνοις ἀπήνητησεν

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went in personally and conversed with Marius on the subjects of his embassy after Marius had fallen ill. But a certain Caius Piso, an historian, relates that Marius, while walking about with his friends after supper, fell to talking about the events of his life, beginning with his earliest days, and after recounting his frequent reversals of fortune, from good to bad and from bad to good, said that it was not the part of a man of sense to trust himself to Fortune any longer; and after this utterance bade his friends farewell, kept his bed for seven days consecutively, and so died. Some, however, say that his ambitious nature was completely revealed during his illness by his being swept into a strange delusion. He thought that he had the command in the Mithridatic war, and then, just as he used to do in his actual struggles, he would indulge in all sorts of attitudes and gestures, accompanying them with shrill cries and frequent calls to battle. So fierce and inexorable was the passion for directing that war which had been instilled into him by his envy and lust of power. And therefore, though he had lived to be seventy years old, and was the first man to be elected consul for the seventh time, and was possessed of a house and wealth which would have sufficed for many kingdoms at once, he lamented his fortune, in that he was dying before he had satisfied and completed his desires.

XLVI. Plato, however, when he was now at the point of death, lauded his guardian genius and Fortune because, to begin with, he had been born a man and not an irrational animal; again, because he was a Greek and not a Barbarian; and still again, because his birth had fallen in the times of Socrates.

- 2 ἡ γένεσις αὐτοῦ. καὶ νῆ Δία τὸν Ταρσέα λέγουσιν Ἀντίπατρον ὡσαύτως ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀναλογιζόμενον ὧν τύχοι μακαρίων μηδὲ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας οἰκοθεν εὐπλοίας ἐπιλαθέσθαι, καθάπερ φιλοχρήστου τῆς τύχης ἅπασαν δόσιν εἰς μεγάλην χάριν τιθέμενον καὶ σώζοντα τῇ μνήμῃ διὰ τέλους, ἧς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ταμιεῖον ἀγαθῶν βε-
- 3 βαιότερον. τοὺς δὲ ἀμνήμονας καὶ ἀνοήτους ὑπεκρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα μετὰ τοῦ χρόνου· διὸ μηθὲν στέγοντες μηδὲ διατηροῦντες αἰεὶ κενοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, πλήρεις δὲ ἐλπίδων πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀποβλέπουσι, τὸ παρὸν προϊέμενοι. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ἂν ἡ τύχη κωλύσαι δύναιτο, τὸ δὲ ἀναφαίρετόν ἐστιν·
- 4 ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῦτο τῆς τύχης ὡς ἀλλότριον ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκείνο τὸ ἄδηλον ὀνειρώπτουσιν, εἰκότα πάσχοντες. πρὶν γὰρ ἐκ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἔδραν ὑποβαλέσθαι καὶ κρηπίδα τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀγαθοῖς, συνάγοντες αὐτὰ καὶ συμφοροῦντες ἐμπλήσαι τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ δύνανται τὸ ἀκόρεστον.
- 5 Ἀποθνήσκει δ' οὖν Μάριος ἡμέρας ἑπτακαίδεκα τῆς ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας ἐπιλαβών. καὶ μέγα ἔσχε παραντίκα τὴν Ῥώμην χάσμα καὶ θάρσος ὡς χαλεπῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλαγμένην· ὀλίγαις δὲ ἡμέραις ἦσθοντο νέον ἀντηλλαγμένοι καὶ ἀκμαζόντα ἀντὶ πρεσβύτου δεσπότην· τοσαύτην ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μάριος ὠμότητα καὶ πικρίαν ἀπεδείξατο, τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ δοκιμωτάτους ἀναιρῶν.
- 6 δόξας δὲ καὶ τολμητῆς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος εἶναι

CAIUS MARIUS

And indeed they say that Antipater of Tarsus, when he was in like manner near his end and was enumerating the blessings of his life, did not forget to mention his prosperous voyage from home to Athens, just as though he thought that every gift of a benevolent Fortune called for great gratitude, and kept it to the last in his memory, which is the most secure storehouse of blessings for a man. Unmindful and thoughtless persons, on the contrary, let all that happens to them slip away as time goes on ; therefore, since they do not hold or keep anything, they are always empty of blessings, but full of hopes, and are looking away to the future while they neglect the present. And yet the future may be prevented by Fortune, while the present cannot be taken away ; nevertheless these men cast aside the present gift of Fortune as something alien to them, while they dream of the future and its uncertainties. And this is natural. For they assemble and heap together the external blessings of life before reason and education have enabled them to build any foundation and basement for these things, and therefore they cannot satisfy the insatiable appetite of their souls.

So, then, Marius died, seventeen days after entering upon his seventh consulship. And immediately Rome was filled with great rejoicing and a confident hope that she was rid of a grievous tyranny ; but in a few days the people perceived that they had got a new and vigorous master in exchange for the old one ; such bitterness and cruelty did the younger Marius display, putting to death the best and most esteemed citizens. He got the reputation of being bold and fond of danger in fighting his enemies, and

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ἀρχῇ παῖς Ἄρεος ὠνομά-
ζετο, ταχὺ δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐλεγχόμενος αὐθις
Ἀφροδίτης υἱὸς ἐκαλεῖτο. τέλος δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς
εἰς Πραίνεστόν ὑπὸ Σύλλα καὶ πολλὰ φιλοψυ-
χήσας μάτην, ὥς ἦν ἄφυκτα τῆς πόλεως ἀλίσκο-
μένης, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.

CAIUS MARIUS

in the beginning was called a son of Mars ; but his deeds soon showed what he really was, and he was called instead a son of Venus. And finally he was shut up in Praeneste by Sulla, and after many vain attempts to save his life, when the city was captured and he could not escape, he slew himself.¹

¹ See the *Sulla*, xxxii. 1.

**A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES**

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Actium, 279, 293, 297, a promontory of Acarnania in northern Greece, at the entrance of the Ambraciot gulf.

Aeacides, 59, 347, king of Epeirus and father of Pyrrhus. He was driven from his kingdom in 317 B.C., and recalled in 313, during which year he was defeated and slain by the forces of Cassander.

Aegae, 433, a town in central Macedonia, the burial place of the royal line.

Aemilius, 411, Quintus Aemilius Papus, consul in 282 and 278 B.C. and censor in 275. In all these offices he had Calus Fabricius as colleague.

Aëropus, the Macedonian, 47, 369, not otherwise known.

Agathocles (1), 61, 369, 387 f., tyrant of Syracuse, 210-289 B.C. He also assumed the title of King of Sicily.

Agathocles (2), 77, 117 f., a son of Lysimachus the king of Thrace, sent against Demetrius in 287 B.C. murdered in 284.

Agrippa, 215, 285 f., 305, 331 f., Marcus Vipsanius A., fellow-student of Octavius Caesar at Apollonia, and an intimate friend. He was one of the leading men of the Augustan age. He lived 63-12 B.C.

Agrippina, 333, Agrippina the Younger, daughter of Germanicus

and grand-daughter of Agrippa. In 28 A.D. she married Domitius Ahenobarbus, who died in 40. In 49 she married her uncle, the emperor Claudius.

Ahenobarbus, 333, see Domitius (3).

Albinus, 483, Spurius Postumius A., was consul in 110 B.C. and conducted the war against Jugurtha unsuccessfully. He was condemned for treasonable relations with Jugurtha.

Alcyoneus, 459 f., a son of Antigonus Gonatas, not otherwise mentioned.

Alexander (1), 355, Roxana's son by Alexander the Great, born in 323 B.C., and taken to Macedonia by Antipater in 320. On the death of Antipater in 319, Roxana fled with her son to Epeirus, where he was betrothed to Deldameia, the daughter of King Aeacides. After his restoration to Macedonia by Aeacides in 317, he was imprisoned with his mother by Cassander, and both were murdered in 311.

Alexander (2), 87-91, 341, 361f., 381, a son of Cassander by Thesalonice, the sister of Alexander the Great.

Alexander (3), 371, a son of Pyrrhus and Lanassa, not otherwise mentioned.

Alexander (4), 135, a son of Demetrius and Deldameia, not otherwise known.

Alexander (5), 23, son of Polysperchon, was sent by his father in

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- 318 B.C. to wrest Athens from the power of Cassander (see the *Phocion*, xxxiii.). He was assassinated at Sicyon in 314.
- Alexander (6), 219, 263, son of Antony and Cleopatra, graced the triumph of Octavius Caesar at Rome, and was there reared by Octavia (see the *Antony*, lxxxvii. 1).
- Alexander (7), 245, 249, of Antioch, a friend of Antony, not otherwise known.
- Alexander of Myndus (in Caria), 507, a Greek writer on zoölogy, of uncertain date.
- Alexas the Laodicean, 303 f., not otherwise known.
- Alexas the Syrian, 289, not otherwise known.
- Amanus, 132 f., a range of mountains between Cilicia and Syria, at the head of the gulf of Issus.
- Amorgus, 29, an island in the Aegean Sea, south-east of Naxos.
- Amphissa, 199, the chief town of the Ozolian Locrians, about seven miles west of Delphi.
- Ancharia, 207, first wife of Caius Octavius. Plutarch erroneously identifies her daughter Octavia with the Octavia who was the daughter of Atia.
- Anthesterion, 61 f., the eighth month of the Attic calendar, answering to parts of February and March.
- Anticyra, 295, a town in Phocis, on a bay of the Corinthian gulf.
- Antigenidas, 5, a celebrated Theban flute-player and poet in the times of Alexander the Great.
- Antigone, 357 f., 369, daughter of Berenice and first wife of Pyrrhus.
- Antigonus (1), 7-77, 333 f., 367, 431, surnamed the One-eyed, king of Asia, father of Demetrius Poliorcetes. He fell in the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.).
- Antigonus (2), 99, 111, 129, 133 f., 431 ff., 445 f., 449 f., 459 f., son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Macedonia 283-239 B.C., Antigonus Gonatas.
- Antigonus the Jew, 219, king of
- Judaea. His rival, Herod, was made king of Judaea by the Roman senate, through the influence of Antony. Antigonus was then defeated and captured by Herod (with the assistance of the Roman general Sosius), and delivered over to Antony, who had him executed (37 B.C.).
- Antiochus (1), 71, 77, 93-97, 129 f., Antiochus I., son of Seleucus and king of Syria, killed in battle with the Gauls 261 B.C.
- Antiochus (2), of Commagené, 213 f., established in power by Pompey (64 B.C.), and a supporter of Pompey against Caesar. He died shortly before 31 B.C.
- Antipater (1), 33, 91, 335, regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence in the East, and of Alexander's empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. He died in 319.
- Antipater (2), 87, 91, 361, son of Cassander by Thessalonice the sister of Alexander the Great. After the death of his brother Alexander, Antipater fled for refuge to Lysimachus, who had him put to death.
- Antipater of Tarsus, 597, a Stoic philosopher who was flourishing in 144 B.C.
- Antiphon, 197. It is uncertain which of the many men of this name is meant.
- Antonia (1), 333, elder daughter of Antony and Octavia. Her son by Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus Cneius Domitius, was the father of Nero.
- Antonia (2), 333, younger daughter of Antony and Octavia. She lived to see her grandson Caligula emperor in 37 A.D.
- Antonius (1), 587 f., Marcus Antonius the orator, grandfather of the triumvir, 143-87 B.C. He was consul in 99, censor in 97, and a partisan of Sulla. Cicero often speaks of him as one of the greatest of Roman orators.
- Antonius (2), 139, Marcus Antoninus Creticus, father of the triumvir.

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In 74 B.C. he was given command of the Roman fleet in order to clear the Mediterranean of pirates but he failed ignominiously and was defeated in an attack upon Crete. His surname was given him in derision. He was avaricious and rapacious.

Antonius (3), 157, Caius Antonius, uncle of the triumvir. He served under Sulla in the Mithridatic war, and was expelled from the senate for plundering the allies. He was Cicero's colleague in the consulship in 63 B.C., and in 59 was convicted of extortion in his province of Macedonia, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.

Antonius (4), 171, 185, Caius Antonius, elder brother of the triumvir. After his praetorship he received the province of Macedonia, where he was put to death in 42 B.C. See the *Brutus*, xlv.-xxviii.

Antonius (5), 171, 203, Lucius Antonius, younger brother of the triumvir. He was consul in 41 B.C., and was besieged by Octavius Caesar in Perusia, and compelled to surrender. His life was spared, however, and he was even given command in Spain. Nothing more is heard of him.

Antonius (6), 331, 333, Julius Antonius, younger son of the triumvir by Fulvia. He received great favours from Augustus, and was consul in 10 B.C. But in consequence of an intrigue with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, he was condemned to death in 2 B.C., and took his own life.

Antyllus, 301, 319, 331 (cf. 199 f.), a name given by Greek writers to Marcus Antonius, the elder son of the triumvir by Fulvia. The name is probably a corruption of the diminutive Antonillus. According to Dion Cassius (li. 8, 4), Antony sent Antyllus to appease Octavius Caesar after the battle of Actium.

Apama the Persian, 77, daughter of

Spitamenes the Bactrian prince, and married to Seleucus in 325 B.C., when Alexander and his principal officers took oriental wives.

Apelles, 53, the most celebrated of Greek painters. He flourished at the courts of Philip and Alexander of Macedon.

Apemantus, 297 f., not otherwise known.

Apollonia, 171, an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic it became a famous seat of learning.

Aquae Sextiae, 511, a Roman colony in southern Gaul, founded in 122 B.C., and named from its hot and cold springs, and from its founder, the pro-consul Sextus Calvinus. It is the modern Aix.

Aquillius, 499, Manius A., consul in 101 B.C., and in 88 one of the consular legates to prosecute the war against Mithridates. He fell into the hands of Mithridates, who put him to a cruel death.

Archidamia, 439, mentioned only in this connection.

Archidamus, 85, Archidamus IV., king of Sparta. It was in 296 B.C. that he was defeated by Demetrius.

Archilochus, 87, 213, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.

Arelus, 317, 321, a philosopher of the Stoic school, is said to have been a teacher of Augustus.

Areus, 425 f., 445 f., 453, Areus I., king of Sparta 309-265 B.C. He fell in a battle with the Macedonians at Corinth, and was succeeded by his son Acrotatus.

Arlobarzanes, 11, Arlobarzanes II., king of Pontus 363-337 B.C.

Aristeas, 447, 451, a citizen of Argos who invited Pyrrhus into the city. His rival, Aristippus, favoured Antigonus Gonatas.

Aristobulus, 143, a prince of Judaea, captured and carried to Rome by Pompey in 63 B.C. In 57 he escaped and stirred up war

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- anew in Judaea, but was again captured and sent to Rome by Gabinius. In 49 he was released and sent home by Julius Caesar, but was poisoned to death on the journey by emissaries of Pompey.
- Aristocrates**, 295, not otherwise known.
- Aristodemus**, 21, 39, 41, a friend and flatterer of Antigonus I., sent by him in 315 B.C. to maintain his interests in Peloponnesus against Cassander. The mission for Demetrius in 306 is the last we hear of him.
- Arpinum**, 469, an ancient city of the Volscians, on the river Liris, the birth-place of Marius and Cicero.
- Arruntius**, 289, perhaps the Lucius Arruntius who was consul in 22 B.C.
- Arsaces**, 335, probably Arsaces XV. (Phraates IV.), king of the Parthians 37-2 B.C.
- Artabazus**, 341, clearly an error for Artavasdes (cf. the *Antony*, 1. 4).
- Artavasdes**, 221, 225, 253 f. (341), king of Armenia 55-30 B.C. After the battle of Actium, Cleopatra had him put to death, and sent his head to his inveterate enemy, Artavasdes of Media.
- Asculum**, 413 f., a city in the interior of Apulia.
- Asinius**, 157, a friend of Antony, otherwise little known.
- Atia**, 207, daughter of Marcus Atius Balbus and Julia (the sister of Julius Caesar). She was married to Caius Octavius, by whom she was the mother of Octavius Caesar, afterwards Augustus.
- Attalus (1)**, 275, probably Attalus I., king of Pergamum 241-197 B.C.
- Attalus (2)**, 47, Attalus III., surnamed Philometor, king of Pergamum 138-133 B.C. In his will he made the Romans his heirs.
- Axius**, 105, the principal river of Macedonia, flowing past Pella into the Thermaic gulf.
- coast of Campania, in the bay between Cape Misenum and Puteoli.
- Beneventum**, 427, one of the chief cities of Samnium, in central Italy, east of Capua. It was called Maleventum until 268 B.C., when a Roman colony was established there.
- Berenicé**, 355 f., 361, came to Egypt from Macedonia in attendance on Ptolemy's bride Eurydicé, the daughter of Antipater. She secured the succession for her son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, who paid her divine honours after her death. Theocritus celebrates her virtues in *Idyll* xvii.
- Beroea**, 111, 375 f., a city in the northern part of Macedonia, about thirty miles from Pella, the capital. Cf. *Acts*, xvii. 10, 14.
- Berytus**, 255, a Phœnician city on the coast north of Tyre and Sidon. It became a Roman colony, and was favoured and adorned by Agrippa.
- Bestia**, 483, Lucius Calpurnius B., tribune of the people in 121 B.C., and consul in 111. He made a disgraceful peace with Jugurtha, for which he was tried and condemned in 110.
- Bibulus**, 149, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.C., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He was Pompey's admiral in 49, and died in 48, before the battles at Dyrrhachium.
- Bircenna**, 369 f., wife of Pyrrhus, not otherwise mentioned.
- Bocchoris**, 67, an ancient Egyptian king and legislator, of the ninth century B.C.
- Bocchus**, 485 f. king of Mauretania, and betrayer of Jugurtha to the Romans in 106 B.C.
- Boëdromion**, 61 f., the third Attic month, answering nearly to our September.
- Brundisium**, 155, 215, 279, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural

B

- Balae**, 555, a watering place on the
- 606

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point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 163, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus after his adoption by Aulus Postumius Albinus, the consul of 99 B.C. He was widely employed, highly esteemed and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and yet joined his murderers. After Caesar's death he opposed Antony successfully, but fell a victim to the coalition between Antony and Octavius in 43 B.C.

C

Caepio, 505, 513, Quintus Servilius C., consul in 106 B.C., and proconsul in Gallia Narbonensis for the following year. Ten years after his defeat by the Cimbri (cf. the *Camillus*, xix. 7) he was brought to trial for misconduct in the war, condemned, and thrown into prison.

Caesar, 179 f., Lucius Julius C., uncle of Antony, consul in 64 B.C., legate of Julius Caesar in Gaul in 52. He took no active part in the struggle between Pompey and Caesar, but sided with the aristocracy against Antony. After his life was saved by his sister we hear nothing of him.

Caesarion, 261, 301, 321, according to Cleopatra, her son by Julius Caesar. He was born in 47 B.C.

Caius, 333, Caius Caesar Caligula, youngest son of Germanicus, emperor 37-41 A.D.

Callimachus, 301, a celebrated grammarian, critic, and poet of the Alexandrine period, chief librarian at Alexandria from about 260 B.C. till his death about 240.

Calpurnia, 171, daughter of the Lucius Calpurnius Piso who was consul in 58 B.C. She became the wife of Julius Caesar in 59. See the *Caesar*, lxiii.

Calvisius, 271, Caius C. Statianus, one of the legates of Julius Caesar

in the civil war, and governor of Africa in 45 B.C. He commanded the fleet of Octavius Caesar in the war with Sextus Pompeius.

Canidius, 215, 235, 265, 281, 285, 201 f., 301, Lucius Canidius Crassus, brought about a union between Antony and Lepidus in 43 B.C., and was consul in 40. After the battle of Actium he was put to death by Octavius Caesar.

Canopus, 203, 339, a town in Egypt, about fifteen miles east of Alexandria, on one of the mouths of the Nile.

Capito, 217, Caius Fontelius C., had been sent in 37 B.C. to restore friendship between Octavius and Antony.

Cappadocia, 13, a central district of Asia Minor.

Carbo, 505, Cnaeus Papirius C., was consul with Cinna in 85 B.C. On Sulla's return from the East and victorious advance upon Rome, Carbo fled to Libya, but was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put to death (see the *Pompey*, chapter x.).

Cassander, 19, 41, 53, 77 f., 87, 91, 351 f., 361, a son of Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., when Demetrius Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297.

Cassandreia, 113, a city founded by Cassander on the site of the ancient Potidaea, in the Chalcidic peninsula of eastern Macedonia.

Cassius, 151 f., Quintus C. Longinus, tribune of the people with Antony in 49 B.C., and made governor of Further Spain by Julius Caesar, where he had been praetor and quaestor in 54. Here he renewed the most shameless exactions. He was lost at sea in 47.

Cataonia, 121, one of the divisions of Cappadocia.

Catulus, 501, 503, 523 ff., 527, 531-539, 589, Quintus Lutatius Catu-

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- lus, consul in 102 B.C. with Marius, a highly educated man, author of orations and poems, and of a history of his consulship and the Cimbric war.
- Celaenae, 17, a city of Phrygia at the sources of the Maeander (Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2, 7).
- Cenchreae, 55, the eastern harbour-town of Corinth.
- Caunus, 125, a city in southern Caria with a commodious port.
- Censorinus, 187, Lucius Marcus C., a partisan of Antony, praetor in 43 B.C., consul in 39, and afterwards governor of Macedonia.
- Cerameicus, 29 f., the Inner Cerameicus is meant, which extended from the Dipylum gate through the agora between the Areiopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs.
- Chaonians, 405, 441, one of the chief tribes of Epeirus.
- Chersonese, Syrian, 129, 133, a name given to the valley of the Orontes about the city of Apameia.
- Cineas, 385 f., 389, 393, 403, 407 f., 413, 419, minister and faithful friend of Pyrrhus, and the most eloquent man of his day. His mission to Sicily is the last we hear of him, and he must have died before Pyrrhus returned to Italy in 276 B.C.
- Cinna, 597 f., 585 f., 591, Lucius Cornelius C., leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87-84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85 and 84. He was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he had hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla.
- Circei, 361, a maritime town of Latium, at the foot of Mons Circeius.
- Claudius (1), 403 f., 407, Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.C. and consul in 317 and 296, in which last year he was victorious over the Samnites. His speech in reply in reply to Cineas was extant in Cicero's time (Cicero, *Brutus*, 16, 62).
- Claudius (2), 333, Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, fourth Roman emperor (41-54 A.D.).
- Cleon, 27, the Athenian demagogue and leader of the war party 428-422 B.C. See the *Nicias*, chapters vii. f.
- Cleonymus, 97, 435 ff., younger son of Cleomenes II. king of Sparta, excluded from the throne on his father's death in 309 B.C.
- Cleopatra (1), 161-339 *passim*, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes the king of Egypt, born about 69 B.C. On the death of her father in 51, she became queen of Egypt in conjunction with her younger brother Ptolemy.
- Cleopatra (2), 219, 331, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, born in 40 B.C. By Juba she had a son Ptolemy, who succeeded his father as king of Numidia.
- Clodia (or Claudia), 181, daughter of Clodius by Fulvia. She was betrothed to Octavius Caesar in 43 B.C., but he never regarded her as his wife, and sent her back to her mother at the outbreak of the Perusian war (alluded to in the *Antony*, xxx. 1).
- Clodius, 141, 161, Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the *Sulla*, xxix. 3. He became the most venomous foe of Cicero (cf. the *Cicero*, chapters xxix.-xxxv.).
- Coelius (or Caelius), 285, the text is corrupt, and the name should probably be Sossius (or Sosius).
- Commagené, 213, 277, the northernmost district of Syria.
- Corcyra, 369, 373, an island in the Ionian Sea opposite Epeirus, the modern Corfu.
- Cornelia, 557, daughter of Scipio Africanus the Elder, mother-in-law of Scipio Africanus the Younger, and mother of the Gracchi.
- Cornutus, 436, probably the Marcus Cornutus who had served with distinction in the Marsic war (90 B.C.).

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- Corrhagus (or Corrrhaeus), 7, a Macedonian otherwise unknown.
- Corvinus, 543, Marcus Valerius C., 371-271 B.C., five times dictator and six times consul.
- Cotta, 471, Lucius Aurelius C., consul in 119 B.C.
- Craterus, 33, one of the ablest officers of Alexander the Great, and a man of noble character. He fell in battle against Eumenes in 321 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, chapters v. ff.
- Crates, the philosopher, 117, of Athens, became head of the Academy about 270 B.C. His writings are not preserved.
- Curio, 141, 149, Caius Scribonius C., an able orator, but reckless and profligate. He was tribune of the people in 50 B.C., and sold his support to Caesar, who made him praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence he crossed into Africa to attack the Pompeian forces there, but was defeated and slain (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, ii. 23-44).
- Curius, 427 f., Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290 B.C., during which year he celebrated two triumphs, one over the Samnites and one over the Sabines. He was consul again in 275, when Pyrrhus returned to Italy from Sicily. In 274 he was consul for the third time, and continued the war against the allies of Pyrrhus. Then he retired to his Sabine farm for the remainder of his days, dying in 270.
- Cydnus, 193, a river in eastern Cilicia, on which was the city of Tarsus.
- Cyrené, 135, a Greek city on the northern coast of Africa, in commercial relations with Carthage, Greece, and Egypt.
- Cyrrhestica, 123, 213, a district in northern Syria, south of Comagené.
- D
- Danaüs, 455, mythical ancestor of the Danaï, migrating from Egypt into Greece.
- Deidameia, 59, 73, 79, 135, 349, 355, 363, sister of Pyrrhus, and one of the many wives of Demetrius. She died in 300 B.C.
- Dellius, 191 f., 273, a Roman knight transacting business in Asia, where he joined Dolabella in 44 B.C., and afterwards Antony. He wrote a history of Antony's war with the Parthians, to which Plutarch is indirectly much indebted. Horace dedicated to him the third *Ode* of Book ii.
- Demetrias, 135, a city at the head of the Pagasaean gulf, founded by Demetrius Poliorcetes about 290 B.C.
- Demetrias the Phalerean, 19 f., 25 a celebrated rhetorician and orator (346-283 B.C.). He was regent of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.
- Demochares (1), of Leuconœ, 57 f., was married to the mother of Demosthenes.
- Demochares. (2), of Soli, not otherwise known.
- Deucalion, 347, a mythical king of Phthia in Thessaly, the Noah of the Greek legend of the flood.
- Dexoiüs, 399, known only from this exploit, which, in Frontinus, *Strat.*, ii. 4, 9, is attributed to Laevinus.
- Dicomes, 281, king of the Getae, not otherwise mentioned.
- Dionysius, 401, 415, of Halicarnassus, came to Rome in 29 B.C., where he published his great work on the history of Rome in 7 B.C.
- Dium, 87, an important maritime town in S.E. Macedonia.
- Dodona, 347, a town in Epeirus, seat of the most ancient oracle of Zeus.
- Dolabella (1), 157-165, Publius Cornelius D., the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero. He took part with Caesar, but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a

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- public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.
- Dolabella** (2), 325, Publius Cornelius D., son of the preceding. He was consul in 10 A.D.
- Domitius** (1), 231, 265, 281, Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of the Ahenobarbus who fell at Pharsalus (see the *Pompey*, lxix.1) pardoned by Caesar, but a follower of Brutus and Cassius, reconciled to Antony in 40 B.C.
- Domitius** (2), 333, Lucius D. Ahenobarbus, son of the preceding. He was consul in 16 B.C., and afterwards celebrated a triumph for campaigns in Germany. He died in 25 A.D.
- Domitius** (3), 333 (Ahenobarbus), Cnaeus D. Ahenobarbus, son of the preceding, and father of the emperor Nero. He was consul in 32 A.D. His life was filled with flagrant and unnatural crimes.
- Domitius** (4), 333, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the original name of the emperor Nero. After his adoption by the emperor Claudius he was called Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus.
- Dromichaetea**, 99, 133, king of the Getae, known only from his victory over Lysimachus.
- Dromocleides** the Sphettian, 33, 85, not otherwise known.
- Drusus**, 333, Nero Claudius D. Germanicus, son of Livia by Tiberius Claudius Nero, born in 38 B.C., a younger brother of the emperor Tiberius. He conducted great campaigns against the Gauls and Germans, and died in the field at the age of thirty-one.
- E**
- Edessa**, 107, 381, a city in northern Macedonia, the ancient capital of the country.
- Empedocles**, 13, a famous philosopher and poet of Acragas (Agrigento) in Sicily, flourishing in 440 B.C.
- Epicurus**, 83, 409, founder of the philosophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C.
- Erasistratus**, 93 f., one of the most celebrated physicians of antiquity. After his residence at the court of Seleucus, he lived at Alexandria in the practice of his profession. He was still living in 258 B.C.
- Eumenes**, 275, probably Eumenes II. is meant, king of Pergamum 197-159 B.C.
- Eurycles** the Laconian, 289 f., not otherwise known.
- Eurydicé** (1), 33, 135, one of the wives of Demetrius, not otherwise known.
- Eurydicé** (2), 117, daughter of Antipater and wife of Ptolemy Lagus. Jealous of Berenicé, she withdrew from the court of Egypt and was now (287 B.C.) residing at Miletus.
- F**
- Fabricius**, 401, 407 f., 411 f., Caius F. Lucinius, consul in 282 and 278 B.C. with Aemilius Papus, and censor with him in 275. A fine example of old Roman simplicity and integrity.
- Flaccus**, 543, Lucius Valerius F., colleague of Marius in the consulship of 100 B.C., and censor in 97 with Marcus Antonius the orator. In 86 he was made consul with Cinna and sent to Asia to conduct the war against Mithridates. Here he was murdered by Fimbria (see the *Sulla*, xii. 9, with note).
- Frentanian**, 399, the Frentani were a hardy people of central Italy, allied to the Samnites, by whom they were bordered on the West.
- Fulvia**, 161 f., 181, 197 f., 203-207, 217, 261, 267, 301, wife of Antony. She had previously been the wife of Clodius the demagogue, and of Curio, the friend and legate of Julius Caesar.

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She redeemed what had been a dissolute life by her passionate devotion to Antony.

Furnius, 271, Caius Furnius, tribune of the people in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero, and yet a faithful adherent of Antony. After the battle of Actium he was reconciled to Octavius Caesar, by whom he was highly honoured.

G

Gabinus, 143, 155, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, and consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.

Gallus (1), 235 f., Flavius G., not otherwise known.

Gallus (2), 317, Caius Cornelius G., a distinguished poet and orator at Rome who stood in high favour with Octavius Caesar, and served him in high command. After Cleopatra's death he was made prefect of Egypt. He afterwards fell from the emperor's favour, and, to escape exile, took his own life.

Gaza, 13, an ancient city and stronghold in southern Palestine.

Germanicus, 333, Germanicus Caesar, son of Nero Claudius Drusus, nephew of the emperor Tiberius, and brother of the emperor Claudius. His extraordinary fame and popularity at Rome awakened the jealousy of Tiberius and led to his death in 19 A.D.

Glaucia, 541, Caius Servilius G., praetor in 100 B.C., a partisan of Marius, and a partner of Saturninus in the popular tumults of that year. He perished with Saturninus. Cicero compares him to the Athenian demagogue Hyperbolus (*Brutus*, 62, 224).

H

Halae, 299, a town in N.E. Boeotia, near the sea.

Halicarnassus, 19, a large and strong Dorian city in S.W. Caria.

Helenus, 371, 455, 461, son of Pyrrhus by Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles (erroneously by Bircenna, 371). Nothing further is known of him.

Heracleia, 395, a Greek city in Lucania on the gulf of Tarentum. It was at this time in alliance with Tarentum against Rome.

Hercynii, 491, tribes in central and southern Germany.

Herennius, 473 f., Caius H., tribune of the people in 80 B.C., and opposed to Sulla. After the death of Sulla he joined Sertorius in Spain (76-72 B.C.). See the *Pompey*, xviii. 3.

Herod, 277, 301 f., Herod the Great, made king of Judaea in 40 B.C. by the Roman senate, at the behest of Antony. His title was confirmed by Augustus, to whom he remained loyal till his death in 4 B.C. Cf. *Matthew*, chapter ii.

Hieronymus, 97, 401, 415, of Cardia, a historian of the times following the death of Alexander the Great. He was a friend and companion of Eumenes (cf. the *Eumenes*, xii.) and after the death of Eumenes became a friend of Antigonos, then of Demetrius his son, and finally of Antigonos Gonatas. The death of Pyrrhus (272 B.C.) is mentioned in his history.

Hipparchus, 293, 305, a friend of Antony, not otherwise known.

Hirtius, 175, Aulus H., a warm friend and supporter of Julius Caesar, consul in 43 B.C. He fell in gallantly leading an assault upon Antony's troops (cf. the *Cicero*, xlv. 3 f.).

Hortensius, 185, Quintus H. Hortalus, son of the great orator Hortensius, though apparently cast off by his father on account of his dissolute habits. He joined Caesar in 49 B.C., and served under

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him in important commands (cf. the *Caesar*, xxxii. 2). In 44 B.C. he held the province of Macedonia, and Brutus was to succeed him.

Hybreas, 189, of Mylasa, in Caria, reputed to be the greatest orator of his time. His works are lost.

Hyrodes, 211, 219, another form of Orodes, Orodes I., the same as Arsaces XIV., the king of the Parthians who defeated Crassus in 53 B.C.

I

Ialysus, 51, mythical founder of the city of Ialysus in Rhodes.

Iampsas (Hiempsal), 575 f., king of Numidia. He was expelled from his kingdom by Domitius Ahenobarbus, the leader of the Marian party in Africa, but was reinstated by Pompey in 81 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, xii. 4.

Iapygian promontory, 391. Iapygia was a Greek name of the S.E. district of Italy, called Calabria by the Romans.

Iolcus, 135, an ancient and famous city at the head of the Pagasæan gulf, the assembling place for Jason's Argonauts. It was merged in Demetrias.

Ipsus, 71, 81, 355, a village in southern Phrygia.

Isis, 263, 307, an Egyptian goddess, identified with the Demeter of the Greeks.

J

Juba, 331, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

Jugurtha, 477, 481, 485 f., 493, 553, king of Numidia 112-106 B.C. He was brought a prisoner to Rome, and starved to death in 104.

Julia, 139, 181, daughter of the

Lucius Julius Caesar who was consul in 90 B.C., and mother of Antony. She fled from Rome in 41, but returned to Italy with her son in 39, after she had aided in reconciling him with Octavius Caesar.

L

Labienus, 197, 205, 211, son of the Labienus who fell at Munda in 45 B.C. After the murder of Julius Caesar he joined the party of Brutus and Cassius, and was sent by them into Parthia, where he proved a formidable enemy of Octavius and Antony. He was not slain in his battle with Ventidius, but fled in disguise to Cilicia, where he was discovered and killed by a freedman of Octavius.

Lachares, 81 f., an Athenian demagogue who made himself tyrant of the city in 296 B.C. According to Pausanias (i. 25, 7), he was murdered at Coroneia in Boeotia shortly after his flight from Athens.

Laevinus, 393 f., 399 f., 407, Publius Valerius L., one of the consuls in 280 B.C., known only from this campaign against Pyrrhus. The tradition is through Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who copied Hieronymus, who had access to the Memoirs of Pyrrhus.

Lamis, 37, 45, 55, 61-67, mistress of Demetrius.

Lamprias, 199 f., the grandfather of Plutarch, a convivial soul.

Lanassa, 369 f., 373, daughter of Agathocles, wife of Pyrrhus, and then of Demetrius.

Lentulus (1), 139 f., Publius Cornelius L. Sura, was consul in 71 B.C., but in the following year was expelled from the senate. This led him to join the conspiracy of Catiline.

Lentulus (2), Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, consul in 49 B.C., and author of the violent measures which

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- drove the tribunes, Antony and Curio, to Caesar at Ravenna. On the outbreak of civil war he joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxx. 4.
- Ieonnatus** the Macedonian, 397 f., known only from this incident.
- Leosthenes**, 349, an Athenian general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia (323 B.C.).
- Leotychides**, 435, son of the Spartan king Agis II., excluded from the throne by Lysander (cf. the *Lysander*, chapter xxii.).
- Lepidus**, 153, 161, 169, 175-183, 205, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.C., and was Caesar's consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the triumvirate received Spain and Narbonese Gaul as his provinces, then, in 40, Africa, where he remained till 36. He was then deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.C.
- Lernaean hydra**, 407, a fabled monster haunting the marshy district in south-eastern Argolis, slain by Heracles in his second labour.
- Libo**, 155, Lucius Scribonius L., an adherent of Pompey in the civil war, and legate of Bibulus on Pompey's fleet, succeeding Bibulus in the supreme command. He afterwards served under Sextus Pompeius, but deserted him for Antony in 35 B.C. He was consul with Antony in 34.
- Licymnius**, 459, a mythical personage, half-brother of Alcmené the mother of Heracles. He was slain by Tlepolemus the son of Heracles.
- Liris**, 567, one of the principal rivers of central Italy, flowing S.W. into the sea near Minturnae.
- Lissus**, 155, a coast-town in southern Illyria.
- Livia**, 323, 221 f., Livia Drusilla, married first to Tiberius Claudius Nero, but in 35 B.C. Octavius took her in marriage from her husband. To her first husband she bore Tiberius (afterwards emperor) and Drusus. She bore Augustus no children, but had unbounded influence over him. She died in 29 A.D.
- Lucania**, 385, 395, 401, 427, a district of southern Italy, west of Apulia and north of Bruttium.
- Lucinus**, 591, Sextus L., not otherwise known.
- Lupercalia**, 165, a shepherds' festival in honour of the rustic god Faunus, held in Rome February 15. Cf. the *Caesar* lxi. 1.
- Lygdamis**, 491, leader of the Cimmerians in their invasion of Lydia in the seventh century B.C. Cf. Herodotus, i. 15.
- Lynceus** the Samian, 65, distinguished as comic poet and historian, brother of Duris the historian, and contemporary with Menander in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.
- Lysimachus** (1), 31-133 *passim*, 339, 361 f., 375-381, an officer of Alexander the Great, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace., He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.C.
- Lysimachus** (2), 443, a companion of Pyrrhus, not otherwise known.
- Lutatius**, 501, 589, see Catulus.

M

- Macrinus**, 465, a cognomen denoting leanness.
- Maecenas**, 215, Caius Cilnius M., the great patron of literature and art during the reign of Augustus, whose prime minister he was.
- Mamertines**, 421-425, "Children of Mars," mercenary troops from Campania in the employ of Agathocles tyrant of Syracuse.

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- They seized Messana in 310 B.C. and became a formidable power. They passed finally under the dominion of Rome.
- Manlius**, 513, Cnaeus Manlius Maximus, consul in 105 B.C. He obtained Transalpine Gaul as his province, where he was defeated by the Gauls, chiefly owing to quarrels with his colleague, Servilius Caepio.
- Marcellus** (1), 519, Marcus Claudius M., prominent later (90 B.C.) in the Marsic war, and an orator of some merit (cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 36, 136).
- Marcellus** (2), 149, 207, 331, Calus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Julius Caesar. He took no part in the civil war, and was pardoned by Caesar. As husband of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.C.
- Marcellus** (3), 331, Caius Claudius M., son of the preceding, born in 43 B.C. He married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, in 25, and was also adopted by Augustus. He died in 23. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 860-886.
- Massalia** (Massilla), 213 a town in southern Gaul, east of the Rhone, the modern Marseilles.
- Megacles**, 399, known only from this incident.
- Menelaus**, 35-39, a brother of Ptolemy Lagus, and commander of his fleet. He is not otherwise known.
- Meninx**, 575, an island off the north coast of Africa, near Carthage.
- Merula**, 579, 593, Lucius Cornelius M., chosen consul in 87 B.C., after Cinna had fled the city, by the partisans of Sulla. On the return of Marius and Cinna in the same year, he was summoned to trial for illegally exercising the consulship, and committed suicide.
- Messapia**, 385, 393, like Iapygia, a name given by the Greeks to the south-eastern district of Italy, called Calabria by the Romans.
- Metellus** (1), 465, Quintus Caecilius M. Macedonicus, was praetor in 148 B.C., and received Macedonia as his province, where he was superseded by Lucius Mummius before he could complete the conquest of Greece. He celebrated a triumph, however, in 146, was consul in 143, and died in 115.
- Metellus** (2), 469, Lucius Caecilius M. Dalmaticus, consul in 119 B.C., and winner of a bloodless triumph over the Dalmatians.
- Metellus** (3), 477 ff., 485 f., 541-547, 549, 583, Quintus Caecilius M. Numidicus, consul in 109 B.C., and conqueror of Jugurtha, but supplanted by Marius. He was unjustly expelled from the senate, and went into exile, from which he was recalled in 99, largely through the efforts of his son, Metellus Pius.
- Metellus** (4), 583, Quintus Caecilius M. Pius, son of the preceding. He was consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla's death in 78, Metellus was sent to Spain to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63.
- Meton**, 383 f., known only from this incident.
- Minturnae**, 565, 569, 573, a town of Latium, on the river Liris, about three miles from the sea.
- Misenum**, 207, a promontory and port on the coast of Campania. It was a station for the Roman fleet in the times of Augustus and the Empire.
- Mithridates**, 11 f., Mithridates II., king of Pontus 337-302 B.C. At the time here noted (318 B.C.) he was at the court of Antigonos as a subject vassal.
- Mithridates** (2), 245, 249, not otherwise known.
- Mithridates** (3), 551, 555 f., 579, 593, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly called Mithridates the Great, 120-63 B.C.,

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the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.
Mithridates of Commagené, 277. not otherwise known.
Molossians, 405, 447 f., one of the chief tribes of Epeirus.
Monaesses, 219 f., 245, not otherwise known.
Mummius, 465, **Lucius Mummius Achaicus**, consul in 146 B.C., conqueror of Greece, destroyer of Corinth, establisher of the Roman province of Achaia. He was also censor in 142, with **Scipio Africanus the Younger**.
Munychia, 19, 23 f., 85, the acropolis of the Peiræus.
Munychion, 63, the tenth month of the Attic calendar, answering to parts of April and May.
Musæus, 565, a mythical personage, to whom various poetical works were assigned.
Mutina, 175, an important city in Cisalpine Gaul, south of the Po, the modern Modena.

N

Nero Germanicus, 333, see **Domitianus** (4).
Nicarchus, 295, **Plutarch's** great-grandfather, not otherwise known.
Numantia, 469, 495, a strong city in north-eastern Spain, memorable for its siege and destruction by **Scipio Africanus the Younger** in 134 B.C.

O

Octavia, 205 f., 211, 215 f., 257-261, 265 ff., 273, 303, 233, 331 f., daughter of **Caius Octavius** by his second wife **Atia**, and own sister of **Octavius Caesar** (**Augustus**). She died in 4 B.C. Her son **Marcellus** was destined to be the successor of **Augustus**, but died untimely in 23 B.C.
Octavius (1), 479-585, 593, **Cnaeus Octavius**, consul in 87 B.C. with

Cinna, and supporter of the aristocratic party while **Sulla** was absent in the East.
Octavius (2), 285, was an adherent of **Pompey** in 49 B.C., and served successfully on **Pompey's** fleet. After the battle of **Pharsalus** he fled to Africa, and after that of **Thapsus** claimed joint command with **Cato** (see the *Cato Minor*, lxxv. 2). He is not heard of after the battle of **Actium**.
Olympias, 51, mother of **Alexander the Great**, put to death in 316 B.C. by order of **Cassander**.
Olympus, 321, a physician and historian, not otherwise known.
Omphalé, 337, a mythical queen of **Lydia**, whom **Heracles** served for three years.
Ostia, 561, 581, a city of **Latium** at the mouth of the **Tiber**, the seaport of **Rome**.

P

Pandosia, 395, a small city of **Lucania** near **Heracleia**, to be distinguished from the city of **Pandosia** in **Bruttium**.
Pansa, 175, **Caius Vibius P.**, a devoted friend of **Julius Caesar**, who made him governor of **Cisalpine Gaul** in 46 B.C., and consul for the year 43 with **Hirtius**.
Pantauchus, 101, 365, had been an officer of **Alexander the Great**.
Patras, 23, 275, a town on the coast of **Achaia** near the entrance to the **Corinthian gulf**, the modern **Patras**.
Patrocles, 121, a **Macedonian Greek** in the service of **Seleucus I.**, the king of **Syria**. He was author of a trustworthy geographical work on **India** and other eastern regions, which is cited by **Strabo**.
Paulus, 179, **Lucius Aemilius Paulus** (or **Paullus**), brother of **Lepidus the triumvir**. He was consul in 50 B.C., and a determined foe of **Julius Caesar**. But **Caesar** bribed him into allegiance (see

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- the *Caesar*, xxix. 3). After Caesar's death, Paulus returned to the aristocratic party, and was proscribed by the triumvirs. He escaped death, however, and fled to Miletus, where he died soon afterwards.
- Pelagus, 347, mythical ancestor of the Pelasgians, the earliest inhabitants of Greece.
- Pella, 107, was made the capital of Macedonia by Philip II., and was the birthplace of Alexander the Great. It was west of the river Axios, and some fifteen miles from the sea.
- Pelusium, 143 f., 307, a strong frontier-town on the eastern branch of the Nile.
- Pergamum, 271, in Mysia, capital of the kingdom founded by Eumenes in 263 B.C.
- Perseus, 135, the last king of Macedonia, 179-168 B.C. See the *Aemilius Paulus*, x.-xxxvii.
- Pessinus, 509, a town of Galatia in Asia Minor, famed for its rich temple of Cybelé.
- Petra, 297, chief city of the district of Arabia which borders Egypt on the N.E. It lay about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Arabian Gulf.
- Pharos, 203, 297, an island off Alexandria, artificially united with the mainland.
- Pharsalus, in Thessaly, the scene of the decisive battle between Pompey and Caesar in 48 B.C.
- Phila, 33 f., 51, 65, 77 f., 91, 113, 117, 135, daughter of Antipater and wife of Demetrius, a virtuous and gifted woman, faithfully devoted to Demetrius in spite of all his marital sins.
- Philip, 51, 59, 105, Philip II. of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great, reigned 359-336 B.C.
- Philippides, 31, one of the principal poets of the New Comedy at Athens, flourishing in 325 B.C.
- Philotas, 197 f., 201, known only from these incidents.
- Phylarchus, 439, of Naucratis and Athens, a historian flourishing in 215 B.C., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his *Agis and Cleomenes*, and his *Pyrrihus*.
- Phraata, 223, 227, 253, a place somewhere in ancient Media which served as a residence for the Parthian kings. It was probably named from Phraates.
- Phraates, 219, 223, 229 f., Phraates IV. or Arsaces XV. (this latter name continuing that of the founder of the line), king of Parthia, a man of cruelty and treachery. His son was stolen and carried to Rome, and was surrendered to his father by Augustus on condition of the return of the Roman standards and prisoners captured from Crassus. These were actually returned to Rome in 20 B.C.
- Phraortes, 255, apparently an error for Phraates.
- Piso, 595, Caius P., not definitely known.
- Plancus, 177, 269, Lucius Munatius P., a friend of Julius Caesar, serving under him in Gaul and during the civil war. After Caesar's death he went over to Antony, was consul in 42 B.C., and governor of Syria in 35. He deserted Antony for Octavius Caesar in 32. It was on his proposal that the title of Augustus was conferred upon Octavius in 27.
- Pleistarchus, 77 f., son of Antipater and brother of Cassander. After the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.) he received the province of Cilicia. After his expulsion from this by Demetrius nothing further is heard of him.
- Polemon, 275 f., Polemon I., made king of Pontus about 36 B.C. by Antony. He ransomed himself from the Parthians, and continued to co-operate with Antony. After the battle of Actium he made his peace with Octavius, and was by him confirmed in his kingdom. He died about 2 B.C.
- Polysperchon, 23, 367, a distinguished officer of Alexander the

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- Great, appointed by Antipater to succeed him in the regency. He connived at some of the worst crimes of Cassander. He is last heard of in 303 B.C.
- Pompeius (1), 509; Aulus P., not otherwise known.
- Pompeius (2), 207 f., 217, 263, Sextus P., younger son of Pompey the Great by his third wife, escaped after the battle of Munda (45 B.C.), and was active against the triumvirate until his death in 35.
- Posidonius, 465, 593, a famous Stoic philosopher, of Apameia in Syria, a contemporary of Cicero, taught at Rhodes, and was resident at Athens and Rome.
- Pothinus, 275, one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt. He was put to death by Caesar (cf. the *Caesar*, xlviii. f.). The name must therefore be used oratorically here.
- Priéné, 267, one of the twelve Ionian cities in Asia Minor, north of Miletus.
- Proculius, 315 f., Cornelius P. (Plutarch calls him Procleius), a wealthy Roman knight, afterwards highly honoured by Augustus. Horace mentions him with praise (*Carm.* ii. 2, 5 f.).
- Protenes, 51 f., of Caunus in Caria, one of the most celebrated of Greek painters, contemporary with Apelles, flourishing in 330 B.C.
- Ptolemy (1), 13-117 *passim*, 227 f., 355, 361, 375, Ptolemy Lagus, king of Egypt 306-283, the most far-sighted and successful of the officers of Alexander the Great.
- Ptolemy (2), 109, Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator, king of Egypt 222-205 B.C.
- Ptolemy (3), Ptolemy XI., commonly known as Ptolemy Auletes, restored to the throne of Egypt in 55 B.C. through Pompey's influence. He never regained the goodwill of his people, and died in 51.
- Ptolemy (4), 361, 369, 441, 449, son of Pyrrhus and Antigone, was left in charge of his father's kingdom at the age of fifteen, when Pyrrhus set out for Italy in 280 B.C.
- Ptolemy (5), 263, son of Antony and Cleopatra, surnamed Philadelphus. After the death of Antony his life was spared by Octavius Caesar, and he was brought up by Octavia with her own children. Nothing more is heard of him.
- Publicola, 285 f., Lucius Gellius P., deserted to the side of Octavius and Antony from that of Brutus and Cassius, and was made consul in 36 B.C. He probably perished at the battle of Actium.
- Pyrrha, 347, mythical wife of the mythical Deucalion (cf. Horace, *Carm.* i. 2, 6).
- Pythodorus, 61, the Torch-bearer, an official in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. See the *Alcibiades*, xxli. 3.

Q

- Quinda, 77, a city of Cilicia, later called Anazarbus.

R

- Rhosus, 77, probably a place on the N.W. coast of Syria, below the gulf of Issus.
- Rutilius, 541, Publius Rutilius Rufus, statesman and orator, consul in 105 B.C. He was convicted of peculation in his consulship of Asia (99 B.C.), and retired to Smyrna for the rest of his days. He wrote a History of Rome in Greek.

S

- Sabaco, 473, Cassius S., not otherwise known.
- Sadals, 277, king of Thrace, not otherwise known.

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Salamis, 37 f., 87, a city on the eastern coast of Cyprus.

Samnium (Samnites), 385, 401, 407f., 407 f., 413, 423, 427, a mountainous district in central Italy, east of Latium and Campania. The Samnites did not make final submission to Rome until 272 B.C.

Samosata, 213, the royal residence of the district of Commagene, situated on the upper Euphrates.

Saturn, 411, Italian god of agriculture. For the festival of the Saturnalia, see the note on the *Sulla*, xviii. 6.

Saturninus, 499 f., 541-549, 559, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, a Roman noble who allied himself with Marius and the popular party, tribune of the people in 102 and 100 B.C., in which last year he perished at the hands of a mob.

Scipio (1), 465, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder, 234-183 B.C.

Scipio (2), 469, 493 f., Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus the Younger, son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by Publius Scipio the son of the conqueror of Hannibal, 185-129 B.C.

Seleucus (1), 17-133 *passim*, Seleucus I., surnamed Nicator, founder of the Syrian dynasty, king of Syria 306-280 B.C.

Seleucus (2), 307, apparently an officer serving under Antony and Cleopatra.

Sextilius, 575 f., not otherwise known. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* i. 62.

Sicyon, 205, a city of Achaea in Northern Peloponnesus, near the Corinthian Gulf.

Sidon, 255, a Phoenician city on the coast of Palestine, north of Tyre.

Sillanus, 273, Marcus S., not otherwise known.

Siris, 395, a river of Lucania flowing east into the gulf of Tarentum.

Sosigenes, 125, not otherwise definitely known.

Sossius (or Sosius), 215, Cornelius S., consul in 66 B.C., followed the

fortunes of Antony, who made him governor of Syria and Cilicia in place of Ventidius. He commanded the left wing of Antony's fleet at Actium, escaped from the battle, and was pardoned by Octavius.

Statianus, 223, Oppius S., not otherwise known.

Stilpo, 23 f., founder of a Megarian school of philosophy. Little is known of his life.

Stratocles, 27-33, 57-63, an Athenian orator and demagogue of disreputable character, but persuasive speech.

Stratonice, 77 f., 93-97, 129 f., 135, daughter of Demetrius and Phila.

Sulla, 465, see the *Coriolanus*, xi. 2-4, with the note.

Sulpicius, 555, 559, Publius S. Rufus, one of the most famous orators of his time. He was at first an aristocrat in politics, and as such was made tribune of the people in 83 B.C. But he became the creature of Marius, and was put to death by Sulla (cf. the *Sulla*, x. 1).

T

Taenarum, 291, the southern promontory of Laconia, in Peloponnesus.

Taphosiris, 339, a town in Libya about twenty-five miles west of Alexandria. It contained a "Tomb of Osiris."

Tarentum, 215 f., 279, 383 f., 389 f., 313, 401 f., 407, 413, 419, 423, 427, a wealthy and powerful Greek city in S.E. Italy, at the head of the gulf named from it. It was a Spartan colony, founded about 708 B.C.

Taurus, 119, an extensive mountain range of southern Asia Minor.

Taurus, 285, Statilius T., a distinguished general under Octavius, consul in 26 B.C., and prefect of Rome during the absence of Augustus in 16.

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Telamon, 579, a city on the coast of Etruria (Tyrrhenia).

Terracina (Tarracina), 563, 569, a maritime city of Latium, about ten miles from Circeii.

Thessalonice, 87, wife of Cassander, and sister of Alexander the Great.

Timagenes, 303, of Alexandria, carried prisoner to Rome in 55 B.C., where he regained his freedom and taught rhetoric successfully, enjoying the favour of Augustus for a while.

Timon the Misanthrope, 297 ff., is said to have died in consequence of refusing to have a surgeon set a broken limb.

Titius, 235, 269, Marcus T., owed his life to Sextus Pompeius, but when Sextus was captured in Asia, Titius put him to death. He deserted Antony for Octavius Caesar, by whom he was made consul in 31 B.C.

Torquatus, 465, a cognomen formed from "torques," a chain stripped from a fallen foe.

Trebellius, 157, Lucius T., tribune of the people in 47 B.C., and a colleague of Dolabella. He afterwards, to placate Antony, tried to carry the very measures in which he had opposed Dolabella.

Trebonius, 167, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the first triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and was loaded with favours by him, but still joined his murderers. He was

sent out as pro-consul to Asia in 43, where he was slain by Dolabella, who was acting for Antony against Brutus and Cassius.

U

Utica, 481, a Phoenician colony from Tyre, older than Carthage, on the N.W. coast of Africa, about twenty-seven miles from Carthage.

V

Varius, 179, Lucius Varius, surnamed Cotylon (or Cotyla), had been aedile in 44 B.C., and had served Antony during the siege of Mutina in 43.

Ventidius, 209-215, Publius V. Bassus, a native of Picenum, and brought to Rome as prisoner of war in 89 B.C., where he was manumitted. He served with distinction under Julius Caesar in the civil war, and after the death of Caesar joined Antony. After his triumph nothing is heard of him.

X

Xenocrates the Philosopher, 467, a native of Chalcedon in Bithynia, and a disciple at Athens of Aeschines the Socratic. He lived 396-314 B.C.

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LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.

VOLUME II.

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
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PERICLES AND FABIVS MAXIMVS.
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ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANVS.
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AGESILAÛS AND POMPEY.
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DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO.
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SERTORIUS AND EUMENES.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

X

AGIS AND CLEOMENES, AND TIBERIUS
AND CAIUS GRACCHUS
PHILOPOEMEN AND FLAMININUS



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as a basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important deviation from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. No attempt has been made to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846) or to the new text of the *Lives* by Lindskog and Ziegler (Teubner). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless stated in the note, that of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

In May, 1920, Professor Perrin put the finishing touches upon the eleventh and last volume of this series of the *Lives* of Plutarch for the "Loeb Classical Library," a task which he had undertaken nine years before. On August 31, 1920, he died after a brief illness, having nearly completed his seventy-third year. During the nine years, of which he

PREFATORY NOTE

devoted the leisure hours to the translation of his favourite author, the very magnitude of the task, and the inspiration of the hope that he might leave behind him a version of the *Lives* that would make the famous men of ancient Greece and Rome, so wonderfully depicted by the great biographer, as familiar to the next generation as they were to the youth in his own boyhood, seemed to sustain and strengthen his powers. The wide and discriminating experience with modern men of action which the translator possessed, combined with the classical historian's special knowledge of the times which he was called upon to interpret after Plutarch, an author whom he had studied with sympathetic interest for many years, gave Professor Perrin peculiar qualifications for the task ; and the English-speaking world already knows with what eminent success he achieved it.

The American Editor, who had been called in constant consultation by Professor Perrin during the progress of the work, has by the wish of his family undertaken to see the present and final volume through the press. Volume XI, which will contain an extensive General Index, will, it is hoped, be published in 1922.

THE EDITORS.

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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

VOL. X.

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ΑΓΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ

ΑΓΙΣ

Ι. Οὐκ ἀτόπως τινὲς οὐδὲ φαύλως συγχεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φιλοδόξους ὑπονοοῦσι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰξίονι μῦθον, ὥς δὴ λαβόντι τὴν νεφέλην ἀντὶ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ τῶν Κενταύρων οὕτως γενομένων. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ὥσπερ εἰδώλῳ τινὶ τῇ δόξῃ συνόντες, οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς οὐδ' ὠμολογημένον, ἀλλὰ νόθα καὶ μικτὰ πολλὰ πράττουσιν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας φορὰς φερόμενοι, ζήλοισ καὶ πάθεσιν ἐπακολουθοῦντες, ὅπερ οἱ Σοφοκλέους βοτῆρες ἐπὶ τῶν ποιμνίων λέγουσιν.

τούτοις γὰρ ὄντες δεσπόται δουλεύομεν,
καὶ τῶνδ' ἀνάγκη καὶ σιωπώντων κλύειν.

2 ὅπερ ἀληθῶς οἱ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ὄχλων καὶ ὁρμᾶς πολιτευόμενοι πάσχουσι, δουλεύοντες καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἵνα δημαγωγοὶ καὶ ἄρχοντες ὀνομάζωνται. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ πρωρεῖς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν προορώμενοι τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀφορῶσι πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ τὸ προστασσόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων ποιοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ πολιτευόμενοι καὶ πρὸς δόξαν ὀρώντες ὑπηρετάται μὲν τῶν πολλῶν εἰσιν, ὄνομα δὲ ἀρχόντων ἔχουσιν.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

AGIS

I. Not without rhyme or reason is the supposition of some writers that the tale about Ixion—how it was the cloud that he embraced instead of Hera and begat from thence the Centaurs—has an application to lovers of glory. For such men, consorting with glory, which we may call an image of virtue, produce nothing that is genuine and of true lineage, but much that is bastard and monstrous, being swept now along one course and now along another in their attempts to satisfy desire and passion. The herdsmen of Sophocles say,¹ in speaking of their flocks:—

“Of these, indeed, though masters, we are yet the slaves,
And to them we must listen even though they're dumb.”

And this, in truth, is the experience of public men who act in conformity with the desires and impulses of multitudes, making themselves attendants and slaves in order that they may be called popular leaders and rulers. For just as a ship's lookout, who sees what lies ahead before the ship's captain does, nevertheless turns to him for orders and does what he ordains, so the public man whose eyes are fixed on glory is a servant of the multitude, although he has the name of ruler.

¹ Probably in the lost “*Poimenes*,” or *Shepherds* (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 249).

- II. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπηκριβωμένος καὶ τελείως ἀγαθὸς οὐδ' ἂν ὅλως δόξης δέοιτο, πλὴν ὅση πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις διὰ τοῦ πιστεῦσθαι¹ δίδωσι· νέφ δὲ ἔτι ὄντι καὶ φιλοτιμῷ δοτέον ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δόξῃ τι καλλωπίσασθαι καὶ κομπάσαι. φυόμεναι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τηλικούτοις αἱ ἀρεταὶ καὶ βλαστάνουσai τό τε κατορθούμενον, ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, ἐκβεβαιοῦνται τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὖξονται μετὰ φρονήματος ἐπαί-
2 ρόμεναι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαν πανταχοῦ μὲν ἐπισφαλές, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πολιτικαῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὀλέθριον· ἐκφέρει γὰρ εἰς μανίαν καὶ παραφροσύνην ὑπαιθρον ἐξουσίας μεγάλης ἐπιλαβομένους, ὅταν μὴ τὸ καλὸν ἐνδοξον εἶναι θέλωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὸν ἡγῶνται τὸ ἐνδοξον εἶναι. ὅπερ² οὖν Φωκίων πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἀξιοῦντά τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ καλῶν “Οὐ δύνασαι,” εἶπεν, “ἅμα καὶ φίλῳ Φωκίῳνι χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι,” τοῦτο λεκτέον ἢ ὁμοίον τι
3 τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς· “Οὐ δύνασθε τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ ἀκόλουθον.” ἐπεὶ συμβαίνει γε καὶ οὕτως τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, οὗ φησιν ὁ μῦθος τὴν οὐρὰν τῇ κεφαλῇ στασιάσασαν ἀξιοῦν ἡγεῖσθαι παρὰ μέρος καὶ μὴ διὰ παντὸς 796 ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκείνῃ, λαβοῦσαν δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν τε κακῶς ἀπαλλάττειν ἀνοία πορευομένην καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταξαίνειν, τυφλοῖς καὶ κωφοῖς μέρεσιν ἀναγκαζομένην παρὰ φύσιν ἔπρεσθαι.
4 τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα πεπολιτευμένων ὀρώμεν πεπονθότας· ἐξαρτήσαντες γὰρ

¹ διὰ τοῦ π., Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan : καὶ διὰ τοῦ π.

² ὅπερ Blass and Ziegler (with Ss p.m.) : ὅσπερ.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

II. The man, indeed, whose goodness is complete and perfect will have no need at all of glory, except so far as glory gives him access to achievement by reason of the confidence men have in him; but a man who is still young and is fond of honours may be allowed to plume and exalt himself somewhat even upon glory, provided that glory is the outcome of noble deeds. For the virtues, which are incipient and budding in the young, are confirmed in their proper development, as Theophrastus says, by the praises of men, and complete their growth under the incentive of pride. But excess is everywhere harmful, and in the case of men who cherish political ambitions, it is deadly; for it sweeps them away into manifest folly and madness as they grasp after great power, when they refuse to regard what is honourable as glorious, but consider that what is glorious is good. Therefore, what Phocion said to Antipater, who demanded from him some dishonourable service, "Thou canst not have Phocion as thy friend and at the same time thy flatterer," this, or something akin to this, must be said to the multitude: "Ye cannot have the same man as your ruler and your slave." Since in this case also one certainly can apply the fable of the serpent whose tail rebelled against its head and demanded the right to lead in turn instead of always following; so it took the lead, and by the folly of its progress got itself into mischief and lacerated the head, which was compelled, contrary to nature, to follow a part that had neither eyes nor ears. This, as we see, has been the experience of many of the men whose whole political activity is directed towards the winning of popular favour; they made themselves dependent on the multitude, which is borne

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αὐτοὺς ὄχλων εἰκῇ φερομένων οὐτ' ἀναλαβεῖν
ὕστερον οὐτ' ἐπιστῆσαι τὴν ἀταξίαν ἐδυνήθησαν.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν
ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἐννοήσασιν ἡλικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν
ἐκ τῶν Τιβερίῳ καὶ Γαίῳ τοῖς Γράγχοις συμπε-
σόντων, οὓς κάλλιστα μὲν φύντας, κάλλιστα δὲ
τραφέντας, καλλίστην δὲ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπόθεσιν
λαβόντας, ἀπώλεσεν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπιθυμία δόξης
ἄμετρος, ὥς φόβος ἀδοξίας ἐκ προφάσεως οὐκ
5 ἀγεννοὺς πεφυκώς. μεγάλην γὰρ εὐνοίαν προειλη-
φότες παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἡσχύνθησαν ἐγκαταλι-
πεῖν ὥσπερ χρέος· ἀμιλλώμενοι δ' αἰεὶ πολιτεύμασι
χρηστοῖς τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τιμώμενοι
μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπολιτεύοντο κεχαρισμένως, καὶ
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἴση φιλοτιμία πρὸς τε τὸν
δῆμον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκαύ-
σαντες, ἔλαθον ἀψάμενοι πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς οὐκέτ'
ἦν τὸ ἐπιμεῖναι καλόν, αἰσχρὸν δ' ἤδη τὸ παύ-
σασθαι.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπικρινεῖς αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς διηγῆ-
σεως· παραβάλωμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς Λακωνικὸν ζεύγος
δημαγωγῶν, Ἀγιν καὶ Κλεομένην τοὺς βασιλεῖς.
καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον αὔξοντες, ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι,
καὶ πολιτείαν καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν ἐκλελοιπυῖαν
πολὺν χρόνον ἀναλαμβάνοντες, ὁμοίως ἀπηχθά-
νοντο τοῖς δυνατοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις ἀφεῖναι τὴν
συνήθη πλεονεξίαν. ἀδελφοὶ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦσαν

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

about at random, and then could neither recover themselves nor put a stop to the progress of disorder.

These remarks upon the glory which comes from the favour of the multitude I have been led to make because I was reminded of its great influence by the fortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were men of most generous natures, and had a most generous rearing, and adopted most generous political principles ; and yet they were ruined, I will not say by an immoderate desire for glory, but rather by a fear of losing it. And this fear had no unworthy origin. For after they had enjoyed great kindness from their fellow citizens, they were ashamed to leave it unpaid, like a debt of money ; and so they were forever striving by the excellence of their political services to surpass the honours conferred upon them, and were honoured all the more in consequence of their grateful political services. In this way, after kindling an equal ardour in themselves towards the people and in the people towards themselves, they engaged in enterprises wherein, though they knew it not, it was no longer honourable for them to persist, and already disgraceful for them to stop.

As to this matter, however, my reader will judge for himself from my narrative ; and I shall compare with the Gracchi a pair of popular leaders in Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes the kings. For these also tried to exalt the people, just as the Gracchi did, and tried to restore an honourable and just civil polity which had lapsed for a long time ; and like the Gracchi they incurred the hatred of the nobles, who were unwilling to relax their wonted greed. It is true that the

ἀλλήλων οἱ Λάκωνες, συγγενοῦς δὲ καὶ ἀδελφῆς ἦσαντο πολιτείας, ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες.

- III. Ἐπεὶ παρεισέδου πρῶτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ ζῆλος, καὶ συνηκολούθησε τοῦ πλούτου τῇ μὲν κτήσει πλεονεξία καὶ μικρολογία τῇ δὲ χρήσει καὶ ἀπολαύσει τρυφῇ καὶ μαλακία καὶ πολυτέλεια, τῶν πλείστων ἐξέπεσεν ἡ Σπάρτη καλῶν, καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττουσα παρ' ἀξίαν διετέλει μέχρι τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς Ἄγισ καὶ
- 2 Λεωνίδας ἐβασίλευον, Ἄγισ μὲν Εὐρυπωντίδης καὶ Εὐδαμίδα παῖς, ἕκτος ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ διαβάντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων δυνηθέντος· ἦν γὰρ Ἀγησιλάου μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ περὶ Μανδύριον τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ Μεσσαπίων ἀποθανών, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν υἱὸς Ἄγισ, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ νεώτερος, ὅς, Ἀγιδῶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντος ἀτέκνου, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε, τούτου δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ἕτερος Εὐδαμίδας, Εὐδαμίδα
- 3 δὲ Ἄγισ, περὶ οὗ τάδε γέγραπται· Λεωνίδας δὲ ὁ Κλεωνύμου τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας οἰκίας ἦν Ἀγιάδης, ὄγδοος δὲ ἀπὸ Πausανίου τοῦ νικήσαντος ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχῃ Μαρδόνιον. Πausανίας γὰρ υἱὸν ἔσχε Πλειστῶνακτα, Πλειστῶναξ δὲ Πausανίαν, οὗ φυγόντος εἰς Τεγέαν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ὃ τε πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἀγησίπολις ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου Κλεόμβροτος
- 4 ὁ νεώτερος. ἐκ δὲ Κλεομβρότου πάλιν ἄλλος Ἀγησίπολις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης, ὧν Ἀγησίπολις μὲν οὔτε ἤρξε πολὺν χρόνον οὔτε παῖδας ἔσχε, Κλεομένης δὲ βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Spartans were not brothers; still, they adopted political courses which were kindred and brother to one another. The occasion was as follows.

III. When once the love of silver and gold had crept into the city, closely followed by greed and parsimony in the acquisition of wealth and by luxury, effeminacy, and extravagance in the use and enjoyment of it, Sparta fell away from most of her noble traits, and continued in a low estate that was unworthy of her down to the times when Agis and Leonidas were kings. Agis was of the Eurypontid royal house, a son of Eudamidas, and the sixth in descent from the Agesilaüs who crossed into Asia and became the most powerful Greek of his time. For Agesilaüs had a son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandurium in Italy¹; Archidamus had an elder son Agis, and a younger son Eudamidas, who, after Agis was slain by Antipater at Megalopolis² leaving no issue, became king; Eudamidas was succeeded by Archidamus, Archidamus by another Eudamidas, and Eudamidas by Agis,³ the subject of this *Life*. Leonidas, on the other hand, the son of Cleonymus, was of the other royal house, the Agiad, and was eighth in descent from the Pausanias who defeated Mardonius at Plataea. For Pausanias had a son Pleistoanax, and Pleistoanax a son Pausanias, upon whose exile and flight from Sparta to Tegea⁴ his elder son Agesipolis became king; Agesipolis, dying without issue, was succeeded by a younger brother Cleombrotus, and Cleombrotus, in turn, had two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes, of whom Agesipolis reigned only a short time and left no sons, while Cleomenes, who became king after him, lived to

¹ In 338 B.C.

² In 330 B.C.

³ In 244 B.C.

⁴ In 395 B.C. See the *Lysander*, xxx. 1.

μὲν πρεσβύτερον τῶν υἱῶν Ἀκρότατον ἔτι ζῶν
 ἀπέβαλε, νεώτερον δὲ Κλεώνυμον κατέλιπεν, ὃς
 οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀλλ' Ἄρεως υἱὸν ὦν Κλεο-
 μένους, Ἀκροτάτου δ' υἱός· Ἄρεως δὲ πεσόντος
 5 περὶ Κόρινθον υἱὸς ὦν Ἀκρότατος τὴν βασιλείαν
 κατέσχεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ 797
 περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ τυράν-
 νου, καταλιπὼν ἐγκύμονα τὴν γυναῖκα. παιδίου
 δὲ ἄρρενος γενομένου Λεωνίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμου τὴν
 ἐπιτροπὴν ἔσχεν, εἴτα πρὶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενέσθαι
 τελευτήσαντος, οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλεία περι-
 ἤλθεν οὐ πάνυ τοῖς πολίταις εὐάρμοστον ὄντα.
 6 καίπερ γὰρ ἐγκεκλικότων ἤδη τῇ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ
 πολιτεύματος ὁμαλῶς ἀπάντων, ἦν τις ἐν τῷ
 Λεωνίδᾳ τῶν πατρῶων ἐπιφανὴς ἐκδιαίτησις, ἃτε
 δὴ χρόνον ἡλινδημένῳ πολὺν ἐν αὐλαῖς σατραπι-
 καῖς καὶ τεθεραπευκότι Σέλευκον, εἴτα τὸν ἐκεῖθεν
 ὄγκον εἰς Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα καὶ νόμιμον ἀρχὴν
 οὐκ ἐμμελῶς μεταφέροντι.

IV. Ὁ δ' Ἅγισ οὕτω πολὺ παρήλλαττεν εὐφυΐᾳ
 καὶ φρονήματι ψυχῆς οὐ μόνον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ
 σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ὅσοι μετ' Ἀγησίλαον τὸν μέγαν
 ἐβασίλευσαν, ὥστε μηδέπω γεγωνὸς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος,
 ἐντεθραμμένος δὲ πλούτοις καὶ τρυφαῖς γυναικῶν,
 τῆς τε μητρὸς Ἀγησιστράτας καὶ τῆς μάμμης
 Ἀρχιδαμίας, αἱ πλεῖστα χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίων
 ἐκέκτηντο, πρὸς τε τὰς ἡδονὰς εὐθύς ἀπισχυρί-
 σασθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐπιπρέψαι μάλιστα τῇ χάριτι

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lose his elder son Acrotatus, but left behind him a younger son Cleonymus; Cleonymus, however, did not come to the throne, but Areus,¹ who was a nephew of Cleomenes and son of Acrotatus; Areus fell in battle at Corinth,² and his son Acrotatus came to the throne; Acrotatus also was defeated and slain at Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus, leaving his wife with child; and after she had given birth to a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus was made the child's guardian. But the young king died before reaching manhood, and the kingship therefore devolved upon Leonidas,³ who was altogether unacceptable to the people. For although the destruction of the constitution had already led to a general decline in manners, there was in Leonidas a very marked departure from the traditions of his country, since for a long time he had frequented oriental courts and had been a servile follower of Seleucus, and now sought to transfer the pride and pomp which prevailed abroad into Hellenic relations and a constitutional government, where they were out of place.

IV. Agis, on the contrary, far surpassed in native excellence and in loftiness of spirit not only Leonidas, but almost all the kings who had followed the great Agesilaüs. Therefore, even before he had reached his twentieth year, and although he had been reared amid the wealth and luxury of women, namely, his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia (who were the richest people in Sparta), he at once set his face against pleasures. He put away from his person the adornments which were thought to

¹ See the *Pyrrhus*, xxvi. 8 ff.

² In 265 B.C., in battle with Antigonus Gonatas.

³ About 256 B.C.

τῆς μορφῆς ὥραισμον δοκοῦντα περισπάσας τοῦ σώματος, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκδὺς καὶ διαφυγὼν πολυτέλειαν, ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι τῷ τριβωνίῳ, καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ διαίτας Λακωνικὰς ζητεῖν, καὶ λέγειν ὥς οὐδὲν δέοιτο τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ μὴ δι' αὐτὴν ἀναλήψοιτο τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀγωγὴν.

- V. Ἀρχὴν μὲν οὖν διαφθορᾶς καὶ τοῦ νοσεῖν ἔσχε τὰ πράγματα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καταλύσαντες ἡγεμονίαν χρυσίου τε καὶ ἀργυρίου κατέπλησαν ἑαυτούς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκων ὃν ὁ Λυκούργος ὥρισε φυλαττόντων ἀριθμὸν ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς, καὶ πατρὸς παιδὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἀπολείποντος, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἡ τάξις αὕτη καὶ ἰσότης διαμένουσα τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέφερεν ἀμαρτημάτων.
- 2 ἐφορεύσας δέ τις ἀνὴρ δυνατός, αὐθάδης δὲ καὶ χαλεπὸς τὸν τρόπον, Ἐπιτάδευς ὄνομα, πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενομένης διαφορᾶς ῥήτραι ἐγραψεν ἐξεῖναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κλῆρον ᾧ τις ἐθέλοι καὶ ζῶντα δοῦναι καὶ καταλιπεῖν διατιθέ-
- 3 μενον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ τινα θυμὸν ἀποπιμπλὰς ἰδίου εἰσήνεγκε τὸν νόμον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πλεονεξίας ἔνεκα δεξάμενοι καὶ κυρώσαντες ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρίστην κατάστασιν. ἐκτῶντο γὰρ ἀφειδῶς ἤδη παρωθοῦντες οἱ δυνατοὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐκ τῶν διαδοχῶν· καὶ ταχὺ τῆς εὐπορίας εἰς ὀλίγους συρρυνείσης πενία τὴν πόλιν κατέσχευ, ἀσχολίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἐπιφέρουσα

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besit the grace of his figure, laid aside and avoided every extravagance, prided himself on his short Spartan cloak, observed sedulously the Spartan customs in his meals and baths and general ways of living, and declared that he did not want the royal power at all unless by means of it he could restore the ancient laws and discipline.

V. And here I may say that the Lacedaemonian state began to suffer distemper and corruption soon after its subversion of the Athenian supremacy filled it with gold and silver. However, since the number of families instituted by Lycurgus¹ was still preserved in the transmission of estates, and father left to son his inheritance, to some extent the continuance of this order and equality sustained the state in spite of its errors in other respects. But when a certain powerful man came to be ephor who was headstrong and of a violent temper, Epitadeus by name, he had a quarrel with his son, and introduced a law permitting a man during his lifetime to give his estate and allotment to any one he wished, or in his will and testament so to leave it. This man, then, satisfied a private grudge of his own in introducing the law; but his fellow citizens welcomed the law out of greed, made it valid, and so destroyed the most excellent of institutions. For the men of power and influence at once began to acquire estates without scruple, ejecting the rightful heirs from their inheritances; and speedily the wealth of the state streamed into the hands of a few men, and poverty became the general rule, bringing in its train lack of leisure for noble pursuits and occupations unworthy of freemen, along with envy and

¹ See the *Lycurgus*, viii. f.

μετὰ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας.
 4 ἀπελείφθησαν οὖν ἑπτακοσίων οὐ πλείονες Σπαρ-
 τιᾶται, καὶ τούτων ἴσως ἑκατὸν ἦσαν οἱ γῆν
 κεκτημένοι καὶ κλῆρον· ὁ δ' ἄλλος ὄχλος ἄπορος
 καὶ ἄτιμος ἐν τῇ πόλει παρεκάθητο, τοὺς μὲν
 ἔξωθεν πολέμους ἀργῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἀμυνό-
 μενος, αἰεὶ δέ τινα καιρὸν ἐπιτηρῶν μεταβολῆς
 καὶ μεταστάσεως τῶν παρόντων.

VI. Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καλὸν ὁ Ἄγις, ὥσπερ ἦν,
 ποιούμενος ἐξισῶσαι καὶ ἀναπληρῶσαι τὴν πόλιν,
 ἐπειρᾶτο τῶν ἀνθρώπων. οἱ μὲν οὖν νέοι ταχὺ
 καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ὑπήκουσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ συναπεδύ-
 σαντο πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὥσπερ ἐσθῆτα τὴν δίαιταν
 2 ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ συμμεταβάλλοντες. τῶν δὲ πρε-
 σβυτέρων, ἅτε δὴ πόρρω διαφθορᾶς γεγονότων,
 συνέβαινε τοῖς πλείστοις ὥσπερ ἐπὶ δεσπότην
 ἀγομένους ἐκ δρασμοῦ δεδιέναι καὶ τρέμειν τὸν
 Λυκοῦργον, καὶ καθήπτοντο τοῦ Ἀγίδος ὀδυρο-
 μένου τὰ παρόντα πράγματα καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν 798
 ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπιποθοῦντος. Λύσανδρος
 δὲ ὁ Λίβυος καὶ Μανδροκλείδας ὁ Ἐκφάνους, ἔτι
 δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ συμπαρῳμήσαν
 3 αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν. ἦν δὲ Λύσανδρος μὲν ἐν
 δόξῃ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν, Μανδροκλείδας δὲ
 δεινότατος Ἑλλήνων πράγματα συσκευάσασθαι
 καὶ τὸ συνετὸν τοῦτο καὶ δολερὸν τόλμῃ μεμιγ-
 μένον ἔχων· Ἀγησίλαον δὲ θεῖον ὄντα τοῦ βασι-
 λέως καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως δὲ μαλακὸν καὶ
 φιλοχρήματον, ἐμφανῶς μὲν ὁ υἱὸς Ἱππομέδων



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hatred towards the men of property. Thus there were left of the old Spartan families not more than seven hundred, and of these there were perhaps a hundred who possessed land and allotment; while the ordinary throng, without resources and without civic rights, lived in enforced idleness, showing no zeal or energy in warding off foreign wars, but ever watching for some opportunity to subvert and change affairs at home.

VI. Agis, therefore, thinking it a noble achievement, as it was, to equalize and restore to full numbers the body of citizens, began to sound the inclinations of people. The young men, as he found, quickly and beyond his expectations gave ear to him, and stripped themselves for the contest in behalf of virtue, like him casting aside their old ways of living as worn-out garments in order to attain liberty. But most of the older men, since they were now far gone in corruption, feared and shuddered at the name of Lycurgus as if they had run away from their master and were being led back to him, and they upbraided Agis for bewailing the present state of affairs and yearning after the ancient dignity of Sparta. Lysander, however, the son of Libys, Mandrocleidas the son of Ecphanes, as well as Agesilaüs, approved of the king's aspirations and supported him in them. Lysander was in the highest repute among the citizens, and Mandrocleidas was the ablest Greek of his time in setting schemes on foot, and his sagacity and craft were mingled with daring; Agesilaüs, who was the king's uncle on his mother's side, and a powerful orator, though otherwise effeminate and avaricious, was openly urged on and encouraged by his son

ἐκινεῖ καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν, εὐδόκιμος ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγα δι' εὐνοίαν τῶν νέων
 4 δυνάμενος· ἡ δὲ ἀληθῶς ἀναπείσασα τὸν Ἀγησί-
 λαον αἰτία τῶν πραττομένων μετασχεῖν ὀφλημά-
 των πλήθος ἦν, ὧν ἤλπιζεν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι
 μεταβάλλων τὴν πολιτείαν. ὥς οὖν τάχιστα
 προσηγάγετο τοῦτον ὁ Ἄγης, εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖ μετ'
 αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα πείθειν, ἀδελφὴν οὔσαν τοῦ
 Ἀγησιλάου, πλήθει δὲ πελατῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ
 χρεωστῶν μέγα δυναμένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλὰ
 τῶν κοινῶν διαπραττομένην.

VII. Ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγῃ
 καὶ κατέπαυε τὸ μεράκιον ὥς οὔτε δυνατῶν οὔτε
 λυσιτελῶν ἐφίεμενον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀγη-
 σίλαος ἐδίδασκεν ὥς καλῶς ἔξει καὶ πραχθήσεται
 συμφερόντως, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδεῖτο τῆς
 μητρὸς ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
 τὸν πλοῦτον, ὥς χρήμασι μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος πρὸς
 2 τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς ἐξισωθῆναι (σατραπῶν γὰρ
 οἰκέτας καὶ δούλους ἐπιτρόπων Πτολεμαίου καὶ
 Σελεύκου κεκτῆσθαι πλείονα συμπάντων ὁμοῦ
 τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλέων), ἐὰν δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ
 λιτότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τὰς ἐκείνων ὑπερ-
 βαλόμενος τρυφὰς ἰσότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν κατα-
 στήσῃ τοῖς πολίταις, ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ὥς ἀληθῶς
 βασιλέως μεγάλου κτησόμενος, οὕτω μετέπεσον
 ταῖς γνώμαις αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοτιμίας
 ἐπαρθεῖσαι τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ τοσαύτη κατε-
 3 σχέθησαν οἶον ἐπιπνοία πρὸς τὸ καλόν, ὥστε τὸν

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Hippomedon, who had won fair fame in many wars, and had great influence because he stood in favour with the young men. But what really induced Agesilaüs to take part in the king's enterprise was the multitude of his debts, of which he hoped to rid himself by changing the constitution. As soon, then, as Agis had won over Agesilaüs, he straightway sought with the aid of his uncle to persuade his mother, who was a sister of Agesilaüs, and owing to the multitude of her retainers, friends, and debtors, had great influence in the state and took a large part in public affairs.

VII. When she heard her son's plea, she was at first amazed, and tried to stop the young man from attempting what she thought was neither possible nor profitable; but Agesilaüs tried to show her that the king's project would be feasible and its accomplishment advantageous, and the king himself besought his mother to contribute her wealth for the advancement of his ambition and glory. For in the matter of property, he said, he could not equal the other kings (since the servants and slaves of the satraps and overseers of Ptolemy and Seleucus had larger possessions than all the kings of Sparta put together); but if in self-restraint, simplicity, and magnanimity he should surpass their luxury, and thereby establish equality and community of possession among his citizens, he would win the name and fame of a really great king. The women, lifted up by the young man's high ambition, were so changed in their purposes, and possessed, as it were, by so great an inspiration to take the noble course, that they joined in urging and hastening on the projects of

μὲν Ἄγιν συνεξορμᾶν καὶ συνεπιταχύνειν, μεταπεμπομένας δὲ τοὺς φίλους παρακαλεῖν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις διαλέγεσθαι γυναιξίν, ἅτε δὴ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισταμένας κατηκόους ὄντας αἰετῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ πλείον ἐκείναις τῶν δημοσίων ἢ τῶν ιδίων αὐτοῖς πολυπραγμονεῖν διδόντας.

Ἦν δὲ τότε τῶν Λακωνικῶν πλούτων ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ τοῦτο τὴν πρᾶξιν τῷ
 4 Ἀγιδι δύσεργον καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐποίησεν. ἀντέστησαν γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες οὐ μόνον τρυφῆς ἐκπίπτουσαι δι' ἀπειροκαλίαν εὐδαιμονιζομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἐκαρποῦντο, περικοπτομένην αὐτῶν ὀρώσαι. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λεωνίδα τραπεόμεναι παρεκάλουν ὄντα πρεσβύτερον ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ Ἀγιδος καὶ τὰ
 5 πραττόμενα διακωλύειν. ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδας τοῖς πλουσίοις βοηθεῖν, δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐδὲν ἀντέπραττε φανερώς, λάθρα δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐξήτει κακουργεῖν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ διαβάλλων τὸν Ἄγιν ὡς τυραννίδος μισθὸν τοῖς πένησι τὰ τῶν πλουσίων προτείνοντα, καὶ γῆς μεταδόσεσι καὶ χρεῶν ἀφέσεσι πολλοὺς ὠνούμενον ἑαυτῷ δορυφόρους, οὐ τῇ Σπάρτῃ πολίτας.

VIII. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ διαπραξάμενος ὁ Ἄγισ ἔφορον γενέσθαι τὸν Λύσανδρον, εὐθύς εἰσέφερε δι' αὐτοῦ ῥήτραι εἰς τοὺς γέροντας, ἧς ἦν κεφάλαια χρεῶν μὲν ἀφεθῆναι τοὺς ὀφείλοντας, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἀναδασθείσης τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Πελλήνην χαράδρου πρὸς τὸ Ταύγετον καὶ Μαλέαν καὶ

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Agis, sent for their friends among the men and invited them to help, and held conference with the women besides, since they were well aware that the men of Sparta were always obedient to their wives, and allowed them to meddle in public affairs more than they themselves were allowed to meddle in domestic concerns.

Now, at this time the greater part of the wealth of Sparta was in the hands of the women, and this made the work of Agis a grievous and difficult one. For the women were opposed to it, not only because they would be stripped of the luxury which, in the general lack of higher culture, made their lives seem happy, but also because they saw that the honour and influence which they enjoyed in consequence of their wealth would be cut off. So they had recourse to Leonidas, and besought him, since he was an older man, to withstand Agis and hinder what he was trying to accomplish. Leonidas, accordingly, was desirous of aiding the rich, but he feared the people, who were eager for a revolution. He therefore made no open opposition to Agis, but secretly sought to damage his undertaking and bring it to nought by slandering him to the chief magistrates, declaring that he was purchasing a tyranny by offering to the poor the property of the rich, and by distribution of land and remission of debts was buying a large body-guard for himself, not many citizens for Sparta.

VIII. However, Agis procured Lysander's election as ephor, and at once employed him to introduce a bill into the senate,¹ the chief provisions of which were that debtors should be relieved of their debts, and that the land should be divided up, that which lay between the water-course at Pellene and Taygetus,

¹ About 243 B.C.

Σελασίαν κλήρους γενέσθαι τετρακισχιλίους πεν-
τακοσίους, τὴν δ' ἔξω μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους·
2 καὶ ταύτην μὲν τοῖς ὄπλα φέρειν δυναμένοις 799
τῶν περιόικων μερισθῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἐντὸς αὐτοῖς
Σπαρτιάταις· ἀναπληρωθῆναι δὲ τούτους ἔκ τε
περιόικων καὶ ξένων, ὅσοι τροφῆς μετεσχηκότες
ἐλευθερίου καὶ χαρίεντες ἄλλως τοῖς σώμασι
καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντες εἰεν· σύνταξιν δὲ
τούτων εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα γενέσθαι φιδίτια κατὰ
τετρακοσίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ δίαιταν ἦν εἶχον
οἱ πρόγονοι διαιτᾶσθαι.

ΙΧ. Γραφείσης δὲ τῆς ῥήτρας, καὶ τῶν γερόν-
των εἰς ταὐτὸ ταῖς γνώμας οὐ συμφερομένων,
ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ὁ Λύσανδρος αὐτὸς τε
διελέχθη τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ Μανδροκλείδας καὶ
'Αγησίλαος ἐδέοντο μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἐντρυφῶντας
αὐτοῖς περιῦδεῖν ἐρριμμένον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρ-
της, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε προτέρων χρησμῶν μνη-
μονεῦσαι, τὴν φιλοχρημοσύνην ὡς ὀλέθριον τῇ
Σπάρτῃ φυλάττεσθαι διακελευομένων, καὶ τῶν
ἐναγχοῦ ἐκ Πασιφάας κεκομισμένων αὐτοῖς.
2 'Ιερὸν δὲ Πασιφάας καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν ἐν Θαλά-
μαις τιμώμενον, ἣν τινες μὲν ἱστοροῦσι τῶν 'Ατ-
λαντίδων μίαν οὔσαν ἐκ Διὸς τὸν Ἄμμωνα τεκεῖν,
τινὲς δὲ Κασάνδραν τὴν Πριάμου τελευτήσασαν
ἐνταῦθα καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα
Πασιφάαν προσαγορευθεῖσαν. ὁ δὲ Φύλαρχος
'Αμύκλα θυγατέρα, Δάφνην τοῦνομα, φησὶν ὑπο-
φεύγουσαν Ἀπόλλωνα βουλόμενον αὐτῇ μιγῆναι,
καὶ μεταβαλοῦσαν εἰς τὸ φυτόν, ἐν τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ
3 γενέσθαι καὶ μαντικὴν λαβεῖν δύναμιν. ἔφασαν

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Malea, and Sellasia, into forty-five hundred lots, and that which lay outside this into fifteen thousand; that this larger land should be apportioned among those of the provincials who were capable of bearing arms, and the smaller among the genuine Spartans; that the number of these Spartans should be filled up from the provincials and foreigners who had received the rearing of freemen and were, besides, of vigorous bodies and in the prime of life; and that these should be formed into fifteen public messes by four hundreds and two hundreds, and should practise the mode of life which the ancient Spartans had followed.

IX. The "rhetra" was introduced in the senate, and the senators were divided in opinion. Lysander therefore called together a general assembly and discussed the matter himself with the citizens, and Mandrocleidas and Agesilaiis begged them not to suffer the insolent opposition of a few to blind them to the prostration of Sparta's dignity, but to call to mind the earlier oracles which bade them beware of the love of riches as a fatal thing for Sparta, as well as the oracles which had lately been brought to them from Pasiphaë.

Now there was a temple of Pasiphaë at Thalamae, and her oracle there was held in honour. Some say that Pasiphaë was one of the daughters of Atlas, and the mother of Ammon by Zeus, and some that Cassandra the daughter of Priam died at Thalamae, and was called Pasiphaë because she *declared* her oracles to *all*. Phylarchus, however, says that she was a daughter of Amyclas, Daphne by name, and that, fleeing the embraces of Apollo, she was changed into the tree of like name, after which she was honoured by the god with the gift of prophetic power. Be

οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ ταύτης μαντεῖα προστάττειν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἴσους γενέσθαι πάντας καθ' ὃν ὁ Λυκούργος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔταξε νόμον. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄγισ εἰς μέσον παρελθὼν καὶ βραχέα διαλεχθεὶς ἔφη συμβολὰς διδόναι τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεγίστας ἦν καθίστησι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον οὐσίαν εἰς μέσον τιθέναι, πολλὴν μὲν οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς γεωργουμένοις καὶ νεμομένοις, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἔχουσιν· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς μητέρας ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ οἰκείους, πλουσιωτάτους ὄντας Σπαρτιατῶν.

X. Ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἐξεπλάγη τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ περίχαρής ἦν ὥς δι' ἐτῶν ὁμοῦ τι διακοσίων¹ πεφηνότος ἀξίου τῆς Σπάρτης βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Λεωνίδας τότε δὴ μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦναντίον ἐφιλονείκησε. λογιζόμενος γὰρ ὅτι ταῦτά μὲν ἀναγκασθήσεται ποιεῖν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ χάριν ἔξει παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἂν κέκτηνται κατατιθεμένων μόνῳ τῷ ἀρξαμένῳ προσθήσουσι τὴν τιμὴν, ἡρώτα τὸν Ἄγιν εἰ δίκαιον ἄνδρα καὶ σπουδαῖον² ἡγεῖται γεγονέναι Λυκούργον. ὁμολογήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου, “Ποῦ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “Λυκούργος ἢ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἔδωκεν ἢ ξένους κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ὃς οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐνόμιζεν ὑγιαίνειν τὴν πόλιν μὴ χρωμένην ξενηλασίαις;”

Ὁ δὲ Ἄγισ ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ θαυμάζειν τὸν Λεωνίδα, εἰ τεθραμμένος ἐν ξένη καὶ πεπαιδο-

¹ ὁμοῦ τι διακοσίων Blass (Fuhr) : ὁμοῦ τριακοσίων.

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this as it may, it was now said that the oracles brought from this goddess ordained that all Spartans should be on an equality according to the original law made by Lycurgus. . And finally, King Agis came forward and after a brief discourse said that he offered very large contributions to the constitutions which he was trying to establish ; for in the first place he put into the common stock his own estate, which included extensive tillage and pasture, and apart from this six hundred talents in money ; and, besides, his mother and his grandmother did likewise, together with their relatives and friends, and they were the wealthiest among the Spartans.

X. The people, accordingly, were filled with amazement at the magnanimity of the young man, and were delighted, feeling that after a lapse of nearly two hundred years a king had appeared who was worthy of Sparta ; but Leonidas, now more than ever, strove in opposition. For he reasoned that he would be compelled to do as Agis had done, and that he would not get the same gratitude for it among the citizens, but that if all the rich alike made their property a part of the common fund, the honour for it would be given to him alone who had led the way. He therefore asked Agis if he thought that Lycurgus had shown himself a just and worthy man, and when Agis said that he did, " When, then," said Leonidas, " did Lycurgus either grant abolition of debts or admit foreigners into citizenship—a man who held that the state was in no healthy way at all if it did not practise expulsion of foreigners ? "

But Agis replied that he was not astonished to find Leonidas, who had been reared in foreign lands and

ποιημενος ἐκ γάμων σατραπικῶν ἀγνοεῖ τὸν
 Λυκούργον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὀφείλειν καὶ δανείζειν ἅμα
 3 τῷ νομίσματι συνεξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δ'
 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξένων τοὺς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ
 ταῖς διαίταις ἀσυμφύλους μᾶλλον ἐδυσχέraitνε·
 καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ἤλανθεν οὐ τοῖς σώμασι πολε-
 μῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς τρόπους
 δειδιῶς, μὴ συναναχρωννύμενοι τοῖς πολίταις
 τρυφῆς καὶ μαλακίας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐντέκωσι
 ζῆλον· ἐπεὶ Τέρπανδρόν γε καὶ Θάλητα καὶ
 Φερεκύδην ξένους ὄντας, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Λυ-
 κούργῳ διετέλουν ἄδοντες καὶ φιλοσοφούντες,
 4 ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμηθῆναι διαφερόντως. “Σὺ δὲ
 Ἐκπρέπη μὲν,” ἔφησεν, “ἐπαινεῖς, ὃς ἐφορεύων
 Φρύνιδος τοῦ μουσικοῦ σκεπάρνῳ τὰς δύο τῶν
 ἐννέα χορδῶν ἐξέτεμε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Τιμοθέῳ
 πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράξαντας, ἡμᾶς δὲ μέμφῃ 800
 τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἀλαζονείαν ἐκ τῆς
 Σπάρτης ἀναιρουντας, ὥσπερ οὐχὶ κακείνων
 τὸ ἐν μουσικῇ σοβαρὸν καὶ περιττὸν ὅπως
 ἐνταῦθα μὴ προέλθῃ φυλαττομένων, ὅπου γενο-
 μένων βίων καὶ τρόπων ἀμετρία καὶ πλημμέλεια
 τὴν πόλιν ἀσύμφωνον καὶ ἀνάρμοστον ἑαυτῇ
 πεποίηκεν.”

XI. Ἐκ τούτου τῷ μὲν Ἀγιδι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπη-
 κολουθήσεν, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι τὸν τε Λεωνίδα
 παρεκάλουν μὴ σφᾶς προέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γέροντας,
 οἷς τὸ κράτος ἦν ἐν τῷ προβουλεύειν, δεόμενοι
 καὶ πείθοντες ἴσχυσαν, ὅσον ἐνὶ πλείονας γενέ-
 2 σθαι τοὺς ἀποψηφισαμένους τὴν ῥήτραν. ὁ δὲ
 Λύσανδρος ἔτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ὥρμησε τὸν Λεω-

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had children by an oriental marriage, ignorant that Lycurgus had banished from the state debts and loans along with coined money, and that foreigners in the cities were held by him in less displeasure than men to whom the Spartan practices and ways of living were not congenial; these, indeed, he sought to drive away, not because he was hostile to their persons, but because he feared lest their lives and manners should contaminate the citizens, and breed in them a love of luxury, effeminacy, and greed; for certainly Terpander and Thales and Pherecydes were foreigners, and yet, because the teachings of their songs and philosophy always accorded with those of Lycurgus, they were held in surpassing honour at Sparta. "Thou praisest Ectrepes," said Agis, "who, as ephor, cut out with an edge two of the nine lute-strings of Phrynis the musician, and likewise the magistrates in the time of Timotheus, who did the same thing in their turn, but thou blamest me for trying to remove luxury, extravagance, and ostentation from Sparta, as if those magistrates also were not on the watch to prevent the pompous and superfluous in music from making such advances here that the consequent excess and discord in lives and manners would render the state dissonant and incongruous."

XI. After this, the common people took sides with Agis, but the men of wealth entreated Leonidas not to abandon them. And by prayers and arguments with the senators, whose power lay in their privilege of presenting all measures to the people, they so far prevailed that by a single vote the proposed rhetra was rejected. Lysander, however, who was still ephor, set on foot an indictment of Leonidas by virtue of

νίδαν διώκειν κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον παλαιόν, ὃς οὐκ ἔσθ' τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀλλοδαπῆς τεκνούσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀπελθόντα τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ μετοικισμῷ πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀποθνήσκειν κελεύει. ταῦτα κατὰ τοῦ Λεωνίδα λέγειν ἑτέρους διδάξας, αὐτὸς παρεφύλαττε μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων τὸ σημεῖον.

- 3 Ἔστι δὲ τοιόνδε· δι' ἐτῶν ἑννέα λαβόντες οἱ ἔφοροι νύκτα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀσέληνον, σιωπῇ καθέζονται πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέποντες. εἰάν οὖν ἐκ μέρους τινὸς εἰς ἕτερον μέρος ἀστήρ διάξῃ, κρίνουσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὡς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔξαρμαρτάνοντας, καὶ καταπαύουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς, μέχρι ἂν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἢ Ὀλυμπίας χρησμός ἔλθῃ τοῖς ἡλωκόσι τῶν βασιλέων βοηθῶν.
- 4 Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῷ γεγονέναι λέγων ὁ Λύσανδρος κρίσιν τῷ Λεωνίδᾳ προῦθθηκε, καὶ μάρτυρας παρείχεν ὡς ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀσιανῆς, ἣν τῶν Σελεύκου τινὸς ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ συνοικίσαντος ἔσχε, τεκνώσαιο δύο παιδιά, δυσχεραινόμενος δὲ καὶ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπανάλθοι παρὰ γνώμην οἴκαδε, καὶ διαδοχῆς ἔρημον ἀνέλοιτο τὸ
- 5 βασίλειον. ἅμα δὲ τῇ δίκῃ Κλεόμβροτον ἔπειθε τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, γαμβρὸν ὄντα τοῦ Λεωνίδα, γένους δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδας ἰκέτης γίνεται τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου, καὶ συνικέτευεν ἢ θυγάτηρ τῷ πατρί, τὸν Κλεόμβροτον ἀπολιπούσα. καλουμένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίκην, αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ καταβαίνοντος, ἐκείνον

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an ancient law which forbade any descendant of Heracles to beget children by a foreign woman, and ordained that anyone who left Sparta to settle among foreigners should be put to death.¹ After instructing others to spread these charges against Leonidas, he himself, with his colleagues, proceeded to observe the traditional sign from heaven.

This is observed as follows. Every ninth year the ephors select a clear and moonless night, and in silent session watch the face of the heavens. If, then, a star shoots across the sky, they decide that their kings have transgressed in their dealings with the gods, and suspend them from their office, until an oracle from Delphi or Olympia comes to the succour of the kings thus found guilty.

This sign Lysander now declared had been given him, and indicted Leonidas, and produced witnesses showing that he was the father of two children by a woman of Asia who had been given him to wife by one of the lieutenants of Seleucus; and that owing to the woman's dislike and hatred of him he had come back home against his own wishes, where he had assumed the royal dignity, to which there was then no direct successor. Besides bringing this indictment, Lysander tried to persuade Cleombrotus to lay claim to the royal dignity. Cleombrotus was a son-in-law of Leonidas, and one of the royal line. Leonidas, accordingly, took fright, and fled as a suppliant to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House. His daughter also forsook Cleombrotus and became a suppliant with her father. When Leonidas was summoned to his trial and did not appear, he was

¹ Plutarch here merges two separate laws. Cf. the *Lycurgus*, xxvii. 3.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀποψηφισάμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ παρέδωκαν.

XII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος. οἱ δὲ κατασταθέντες ἔφοροι τὸν μὲν Λεωνίδαν ἀνέστησαν ἰκετεύοντα, τῷ δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ τῷ Μανδροκλείδῃ δίκην ἐπήγουν ὡς παρὰ τὸν νόμον χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι ψηφισαμένοις.

- 2 κινδυνεύοντες οὖν ἐκείνοι πείθουσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὁμοῦ γενομένους χαίρειν ἔαν τὰ τῶν ἐφόρων βουλεύματα· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἰσχύειν ἐκ διαφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων, τῷ τὰ βελτίονα λέγοντι προστιθέμενον τὴν ψῆφον, ὅταν ἄτερος ἐρίξῃ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον· ἀμφοῖν δὲ ταῦτὰ βουλευομένων ἄλυτον εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ παρανόμως μαχεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὧν μαχομένων δαιτῶν καὶ βραβεύειν αὐτοῖς εἶναι προσήκον,
- 3 οὐχὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὁμοφρονούντων. οὕτω δὲ πεισθέντες ἀμφοτέροι καὶ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς ἀγορὰν καταβάντες ἀνέστησαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν δίφρων τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἄλλους δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξαν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἀγησίλαος. ὀπλίσαντες δὲ τῶν νέων πολλοὺς καὶ λύσαντες τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐγένοντο φοβεροὶ τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ὡς πολλοὺς ἀποκτε-
 4 νούντες. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λεωνίδαν εἰς Τεγέαν ὑπεξιόντα βουλευθέντος διαφθεῖραι τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἄνδρας, πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀγίς

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deposed, and Cleombrotus was made king in his place.¹

XII. At this point, Lysander's term expired and he went out of office. The new board of ephors encouraged Leonidas to leave his suppliant's asylum, and brought an indictment against Lysander and Mandrocleidas for violating the law in proposing an abolition of debts and a distribution of land. Thus put in legal peril, Lysander and Mandrocleidas persuaded the two kings to act together and disregard the edicts of the ephors; for that board of magistrates, they said, derived its power from dissension between the two kings, by giving their vote to the king who offered the better advice, whenever the other was at variance with the public good; but when the two kings were in accord, their power was indissoluble, and it would be unlawful for the ephors to contend against them, although when the kings were in contention with one another it was the privilege of the ephors to act as arbiters between them, but not to interfere when they were of one mind. Persuaded by these arguments, both the kings went with their friends into the market place, removed the ephors from their seats, and appointed others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaüs.² Then they armed a large body of young men and set free all who were in prison, thus striking fear into their opponents, who thought they would put many of them to death. No one, however, lost his life at their hands; on the contrary, when Agis learned that Agesilaüs had plotted to make away with Leonidas as he was trying to withdraw to Tegea, and had sent men to assault him on the road, he sent out another company of

¹ About 242 B.C.

² See chapter vi. 3 f.

έτέρους απέστειλε πιστούς, οἱ τὸν Λεωνίδα
 περισχόντες ἀσφαλῶς εἰς Τεγέα κατέστησαν.

- XIII. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πράξεως αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ βαδι- 801
 ζούσης καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνισταμένου μηδὲ διακω-
 λύντος, εἰς ἀνὴρ, Ἀγησίλαος, ἀνέτρεψε πάντα
 καὶ διελυμῆνατο, κάλλιστον διανόημα καὶ Λακω-
 νικώτατον αἰσχίστῳ νοσήματι τῇ φιλοπλουτία
 2 διαφθείρας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκέκμητο μὲν ἐν τοῖς
 μάλιστα πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν χώραν, ὥφειλε δὲ
 πάμπολλα, μήτε διαλύσαι δυνάμενος τὰ χρέα
 μήτε τὴν χώραν προέσθαι βουλόμενος ἔπεισε τὸν
 Ἀγιν ὡς ἀμφοτέρων μὲν ἅμα πραττομένων μέγας
 ἔσοιτο περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ νεωτερισμός, εἰ δὲ τῇ
 τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει θεραπευθεῖεν οἱ κτηματικοὶ
 πρότερον, εὐκόλως ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν¹
 3 ὕστερον ἐνδεχομένων τὸν ἀναδασμόν. ταῦτα δὲ
 καὶ τοῖς περὶ Λύσανδρον ἐδόκει, συνεξαπατω-
 μένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν
 χρεωστῶν γραμματεῖα συνενέγκαντες εἰς ἀγοράν,
 ἃ κλάρια καλοῦσι, καὶ πάντα συνθέντες εἰς ἓν
 συνέπρησαν. ἀρθείσης δὲ φλογὸς οἱ μὲν πλού-
 σιοι καὶ δανειστικοὶ περιπαθοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ὁ
 δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ὥσπερ ἐφυβρίζων οὐκ ἔφη λαμ-
 πρότερον ἑωρακέναι φῶς οὐδὲ πῦρ ἐκείνου καθα-
 ρώτερον.
- 4 Ἀξιούντων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν εὐθύς
 νέμεσθαι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων οὕτω ποιεῖν κε-
 λευόντων, ἀσχολίας τινὰς ἐμβάλλων ὁ Ἀγησί-
 λαος αἰεὶ καὶ προφάσεις λέγων παρήγε τὸν
 χρόνον, ἄχρι οὗ στρατεία συνέβη τῷ Ἀγιδί,
 μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμμάχων ὄντων

¹ καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν Coraës and Ziegler : καθ' ἡσυχίαν.

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trusted followers who took Leonidas under their protection and brought him safely to Tegea.

XIII. Thus the enterprise of the kings was making good progress and no one tried to oppose or hinder them, when one man, Agesilaüs, upset and ruined everything. He allowed a most shameful disease of avarice to wreck a most noble and most truly Spartan plan. For since he was an exceedingly large owner of valuable land, but owed huge sums of money, being unable to pay his debts and unwilling to give up his lands, he persuaded Agis that if both his projects should be carried through at the same time the resulting convulsion in the state would be great; but that if the men of property should first be won over by a remission of their debts, they would afterwards accept the distribution of land contentedly and quietly. This was also the opinion of Lysander, who was deceived in like manner by Agesilaüs. So they caused the mortgages (the Spartans call them "*klaria*," or *allotment pledges*) to be brought into the market-place, heaped them altogether, and set fire to them. As the flames rose, the men of wealth and the lenders of money went away with heavy hearts; but Agesilaüs, as if in mockery of them, declared that his eyes had never seen a brighter or purer flame than that.

And now the multitude demanded also that the land should at once be divided, and the kings gave orders that this should be done; but Agesilaüs would always interpose some obstacle or make some excuse, and so consumed time until it became the duty of Agis to head a military expedition, when the Achaeans, who were their allies, sent

βοήθειαν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος. Αἰτωλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπίδοχοι διὰ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐμβαλοῦντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον· καὶ τοῦτο κωλύσων Ἄρατος ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς ἠθροίζε δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔγραφεν.

- XIV. Οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἄγιν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμπον ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς φιλοτιμίας καὶ προθυμίας τῶν συστρατευομένων. νέοι γὰρ ὄντες οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ πένητες, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν χρεῶν ἀδειαν ἔχοντες ἤδη καὶ λελυμένοι, τοὺς δὲ ἀγροὺς ἐλπίζοντες, ἂν ἐπανέλθωσιν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας, νεμηθήσεσθαι, θαυμαστοὺς τῷ Ἀγιδι παρῆχον ἑαυτούς·
- 2 καὶ θέαμα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἦσαν ἀβλαβῶς καὶ πράως καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀψοφητὶ διαπορευόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ὥστε θαυμάζειν καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἷος ἦν ἄρα κόσμος Λακωνικοῦ στρατεύματος Ἀγησίλαον ἔχοντος ἢ Λύσανδρον ἐκείνον ἢ Λεωνίδα τὸν παλαιὸν ἡγούμενον, ὅπου πρὸς μεράκιον ὀλίγου δεῖν νεώτατον ἀπάντων αἰδῶς τοσαύτη καὶ φόβος ἐστὶ
- 3 τῶν συστρατευομένων.¹ καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νεανίσκος εὐτελείᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἰδιώτου λαμπρότερον ἡμφιέσθαι καὶ ὠπλίσθαι σεμνυνόμενος ἀξιοθέατος ἦν καὶ ζηλωτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε πλουσίοις οὐκ ἤρεσκεν ὁ νεωτερισμὸς αὐτοῦ, δεδιόσι μὴ κίνημα καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε δήμοις γένηται.

XV. Συμμίξας δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ περὶ Κόρινθον ὁ Ἄγης ἔτι βουλευομένῳ περὶ μάχης καὶ παρατάξεως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπεδείξατο καὶ προθυμίαν πολλὴν καὶ τόλμαν οὐ μανικὴν οὐδὲ

¹ συστρατευομένων Blass : στρατευομένων.

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for aid from Sparta. For the Aetolians were expected to invade Peloponnesus by way of Megara; and Aratus, the general of the Achaeans, in an effort to prevent this, was assembling a force and wrote a letter to the ephors.

XIV. These at once sent out Agis, who was exalted in spirit by the ambition and ardour of the soldiers under him. For being young men for the most part and poor, and having now immunity from their debts and absolution, and expecting that they would receive allotments of land if they returned from the expedition, their devotion to Agis was astonishing. And they were a spectacle to the cities as they marched through the Peloponnesus without doing any injury, without rudeness, and almost without noise, so that the other Greeks were amazed and asked themselves what must have been the discipline of a Spartan army under the command of the great Agesilaüs, or the famous Lysander, or Leonidas of old, since towards a stripling who was almost the youngest of the whole army so great reverence and fear were felt by his soldiers. And indeed the young man himself, owing to his simplicity, his love of hardships, and the pride he took in clothing and arming himself with no more splendour than a common soldier, won the admiration and devotion of the multitudes; for to the rich, certainly, his innovating ways were not pleasing, owing to a fear that they might prove a disturbing force and set a bad example among the common people everywhere.

XV. Aratus, when Agis joined him near Corinth, was still deliberating whether or not to meet the enemy in open battle. Here Agis displayed great ardour, and courage which was sane and calculating.

ἀλόγιστον. ἔφη γὰρ αὐτῷ μὲν δοκεῖν διαμά-
χεσθαι καὶ μὴ παριέναι τὸν πόλεμον εἶσω, τὰς
πύλας τῆς Πελοποννήσου προεμένους, ποιήσιν
δὲ τὸ δοκοῦν Ἀράτῳ· καὶ γὰρ πρεσβύτερόν τε
εἶναι καὶ στρατηγεῖν Ἀχαιῶν, οἷς οὐχὶ προσ-
τάξων οὐδὲ ἡγησόμενος, ἀλλὰ συστρατευσόμενος
ἦκοι καὶ βοηθήσων.

2 Ὁ δὲ Σινωπεὺς Βάτων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν μά-
χεσθαι φησι τὸν Ἀγιν Ἀράτου κελεύοντος, οὐκ
ἐντετυχηκῶς οἷς Ἀρατος γέγραφε περὶ τούτων,
ἀπολογιζόμενος ὅτι βέλτιον ἡγεῖτο, τοὺς καρ-
ποὺς σχεδὸν ἅπαντας συγκεκομισμένων ἤδη τῶν
γεωργῶν, παρελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μάχῃ δια-
κινδυνεύσαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων.

3 Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν Ἀρατος ἀπέγνω μάχεσθαι καὶ
τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπαινέσας διαφῆκε, θαυμασθεὶς
ὁ Ἀγίς ἀνεξεύγνυνεν, ἥδη τῶν ἔνδον ἐν Σπάρτῃ 802
θόρυβον πολλὸν ἐχόντων καὶ μεταβολήν.

XVI. Ὁ γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος ἐφορεύων, ἀπηλλαγ-
μένος οἷς ταπεινὸς ἦν πρότερον, οὐδενὸς ἐφείδετο
φέροντος ἀργύριον ἀδικήματος, ἀλλὰ μῆνα τρισ-
καιδέκατον, οὐκ ἀπαιτούσης τότε τῆς περιόδου,
παρὰ τὴν νενομισμένην τάξιν τῶν χρόνων ἐνέβαλε
τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ παρέπραττε. δεδιὼς δὲ τοὺς
ἀδικουμένους καὶ μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων ἔτρεφε
μαχαιοφόρους, καὶ φυλαττόμενος ὑπὸ τούτων
2 κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον. καὶ τῶν βασιλέων
τοῦ μὲν ὅλως καταφρονεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀγιν ἐβούλετο

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For he declared that in his opinion it was best to fight a decisive battle and not to abandon the gate of the Peloponnesus and suffer the enemy to pass inside : "However," he said, "I will do as seems best to Aratus, for Aratus is an older man, and is general of the Achaeans ; I did not come hither to be their leader or to give them orders, but to give them aid and share their expedition."

Baton of Sinopé, however, says that Agis himself was unwilling to give battle although Aratus urged it ; but Baton has not read what Aratus wrote about this matter,¹ urging in self-defence that he thought it better, now that the husbandmen had gathered in almost all their crops, to suffer the enemy to pass by, instead of risking everything in battle.

When, therefore, Aratus decided not to give battle, and dismissed his allies with praises for their proffered aid, Agis, who had won universal admiration, led his forces back to Sparta, where there was already much commotion and a revolution.

XVI. For Agesilaüs, who was one of the ephors, being now freed from what had kept him in restraint before, shrank from no injustice that brought him money, nay, contrary to the customary arrangement of the calendar, and when the time for it had not yet come, he inserted a thirteenth month² and exacted the taxes for it. Moreover, in fear of the victims of his injustice and hated by all men, he kept an armed bodyguard, and would go down to his magistracy under their protection. And as for the kings, he wished men to think that he utterly despised the one,

¹ In his "Commentaries." See the *Aratus*, iii. 2.

² This was regularly done thrice during a period of nine years, but in distinctly specified years. The object was to equalize the lunar and solar years.

δοκεῖν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔν τινι τιμῇ τίθεσθαι. διέδωκε δὲ λόγον ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶς ἐφορεύσων.

Διὸ καὶ θᾶσσον ἀποκινδυνεύσαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ συστάντες ἐκ Τεγέας ἀναφανδὸν τὸν Λεωνίδα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατήγαγον, ἡδέως καὶ τῶν πολλῶν θεασαμένων. ὠργίζοντο γὰρ πεφenaκισμένοι τῆς
 3 χώρας μὴ νεμηθείσης. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαον ὁ υἱὸς Ἴππομέδων, δεόμενος τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πᾶσι προσφιλῆς ὢν δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν, ὑπεξήγαγε καὶ διέσωσε· τῶν δὲ βασιλέων ὁ μὲν Ἀγίς ἐπὶ τὴν Χαλκίοικον κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐλθὼν ἰκέτευε· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τούτῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Λεωνίδας χαλεπὸς εἶναι, καὶ παρὲς τὸν Ἀγιν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνέβη στρατιώτας ἔχων· καὶ κατηγορεῖ μετ' ὀργῆς ὅτι γαμβρὸς ὢν ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφείλετο καὶ συνεξέβαλε τῆς πατρίδος.

XVII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κλεόμβροτος οὐδὲν εἶχεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἠπορημένος ἐκάθητο καὶ σιωπῶν· ἡ δὲ Χιλωνίς, ἡ τοῦ Λεωνίδου θυγάτηρ, πρότερον μὲν ἀδικουμένῳ τῷ πατρὶ συνηδικεῖτο, καὶ τοῦ Κλεομβρότου τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος ἀποστᾶσα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφορὰν ἐθεράπευε, καὶ παρόντι μὲν συνικέτευε, φεύγοντος δὲ πενθοῦσα καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσα πρὸς τὸν Κλεόμβροτον διετέλει, τότε δὲ αὐτὴ πάλιν ταῖς τύχαις συμμετα-

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and held Agis in some slight honour more because of his near relationship than because he was king. He also spread reports that he was going to be ephor again.

For this reason his enemies lost no time in taking the great hazard, and banding together, openly brought home Leonidas from Tegea to exercise the royal power. Even the common people were glad to see this done, for they were incensed at their deception in the promised division of the land. Agesilaüs, accordingly, was taken out of the country and saved by his son Hippomedon, who entreated his fellow-citizens, and was beloved of all because of his valour; and as for the kings, Agis fled for refuge to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, while Cleombrotus went as a suppliant to the sanctuary of Poseidon;¹ for Leonidas was thought to be more bitter against him, and in fact he left Agis unmolested and went up against Cleombrotus with soldiers. And when he arrived he denounced Cleombrotus angrily because, though a son-in-law, he had plotted against him, robbed him of the royal power, and helped in driving him from the country.

XVII. Cleombrotus, on his part, had naught to say for himself, but sat perplexed and speechless; Chilonis, however, the daughter of Leonidas, who before this had felt herself wronged in the wrongs done to her father, and when Cleombrotus was made king had left him and ministered to her father in his misfortunes,—sharing his suppliant life while he was in the city, and in his exile continually grieving for him and cherishing bitter thoughts of Cleombrotus—at this

¹ On the promontory of Taenarum. See the *Cleomenes*, xxii. 5.

- βάλλουσα μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτις ὥφθη καθε-
 ζομένη, περιβεβληκυῖα τὰς χεῖρας ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῶν
 παιδίων τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν, τὸ δ' ἔνθεν ὑφ' αὐτὴν
 2 ἔχουσα. θαυμαζόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ δακρύνοντων
 ἐπὶ τῇ χρηστότητι καὶ φιλοστοργίᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς,
 ὑψαμένη τῶν πέπλων καὶ τῆς κόμης ἀτημελῶς
 ἔχόντων, "Τοῦτο," εἶπεν, "ὦ πάτερ, ἐμοὶ τὸ
 σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐχ ὁ Κλεομβρότου περιτέ-
 θεικεν ἔλεος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν κακῶν καὶ τῆς
 σῆς φυγῆς μεμένηκέ μοι σύντροφον καὶ σύνοικον
 τὸ πένθος. πότερον οὖν δεῖ με σοῦ βασιλεύοντος
 ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ νικῶντος ἐγκαταβιῶναι ταύταις
 ταῖς συμφοραῖς, ἢ λαβεῖν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν καὶ
 βασιλικήν, ἐπιδούσαν ὑπὸ σοῦ τὸν παρθένιον
 3 ἄνδρα φονευόμενον; ὃς εἰ μὴ παραιτεῖταί σε μηδὲ
 πείθει τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς δάκρυσι, χαλεπω-
 τέραν ἢ σὺ βούλει δίκην ὑφέξει τῆς κακοβουλίας
 ἐπιδὼν ἐμὲ τὴν φιλτάτην αὐτῷ προαποθανούσαν.
 τίνι γὰρ ἐμὲ δεῖ ζῆν παρρησία πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας
 γυναῖκας, ἢ μήτε παρ' ἀνδρὸς δεομένη μήτε παρὰ
 πατρός ἑλεός ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ θυγάτηρ
 συνατυχεῖν καὶ συνατιμάζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμαυτῆς
 4 ἐγενόμην. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ τις ἦν λόγος
 εὐπρεπής, ἐγὼ τοῦτον ἀφειλόμην τότε σοὶ συν-
 εξετασθεῖσα καὶ καταμαρτυρήσασα τῶν ὑπὸ
 τούτου γενομένων· σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀδίκημα ποιεῖς
 εὐαπολόγητον, οὕτω μέγα καὶ περιμάχητον ἀπο-
 φαίνων τὸ βασιλεύειν ὥστε δι' αὐτὸ καὶ γαμβροὺς
 φονεύειν καὶ τέκνων ἀμελεῖν εἶναι δίκαιον."

XVIII. Ἡ μὲν Χιλωνὶς τοιαῦτα ποτνιωμένη
 τό τε πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπέθηκε τοῦ
 Κλεομβρότου, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα διεφθαρμένον καὶ

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time changed back again with the changed fortunes of the men, and was seen sitting as a suppliant with her husband, her arms thrown about him, and a little child clinging to her on either side. All beholders were moved to wonder and tears at the fidelity and devotion of the woman, who, touching her robes and her hair, alike unkempt, said: "This garb, my father, and this appearance, are not due to my pity for Cleombrotus; nay, ever since thy sorrows and thine exile grief has been my steadfast mate and companion. Must I, then, now that thou art king in Sparta and victorious over thine enemies, continue to live in this sad state, or put on the splendid attire of royalty, after seeing the husband of my youth slain at thy hands? That husband, unless he persuades and wins thee over by the tears of his wife and children, will pay a more grievous penalty for his evil designs than thou desirest, for he shall see me, his most beloved one, dead before he is. For with what assurance could I live and face the other women, I, whose prayers awakened no pity in either husband or father? Nay, both as wife and as daughter I was born to share only the misfortune and dishonour of the men nearest and dearest to me. As for my husband, even if he had some plausible excuse for his course, I robbed him of it at that time by taking thy part and testifying to what he had done; but thou makest his crime an easy one to defend by showing men that royal power is a thing so great and so worth fighting for that for its sake it is right to slay a son-in-law and ignore a child."

XVIII. Uttering such supplications Chilonis rested her face upon the head of Cleombrotus and turned

συντετηκὸς ὑπὸ λύπης περιήνεγκεν εἰς τοὺς παρόντας. ὁ δὲ Λεωνίδας διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς φίλοις 803
 τὸν μὲν Κλεόμβροτον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστάντα φεύγειν, τῆς δὲ παιδὸς μένειν ἐδεῖτο καὶ μὴ καταλιπεῖν ἑαυτὸν οὕτω φιλοῦντα καὶ δεδοκότα χάριν
 2 τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ σωτηρίαν. οὐ μὴν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' ἀνισταμένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ θάτερον τῶν παιδίων ἐγχειρίσασα, θάτερον δ' ἀναλαβοῦσα καὶ προσκυνήσασα τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ¹ θεοῦ συνεξήλθεν, ὥστε εἰ μὴ πάνυ διεφθαρμένος ἦν ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, εὐτύχημα ἂν ἡγήσατο τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας μείζον εἶναι διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα.
 Μεταστησάμενος δὲ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον ὁ Λεωνίδας καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐφόρους ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἑτέρους δὲ ποιησάμενος, εὐθύς ἐπεβούλευε
 3 τῷ Ἄγιδι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἀναστῆναι καὶ συμβασιλεύειν, ὡς δεδοκὼτων συγγνώμην τῶν πολιτῶν· συνεξηπατήσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου νέον ὄντα καὶ φιλότιμον. ἐκείνου δὲ ὑφορωμένου καὶ κατὰ χώραν μένοντος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπαύσατο φενακίζων καὶ κατειρωνευόμενος, Ἀμφάρης δὲ καὶ Δαμοχάρης καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαος ἀναβαίνοντες εἰώθεσαν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι· καί ποτε καὶ παραλαβόντες ἐπὶ λουτρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατήγαγον καὶ λουσάμενον πάλιν εἰς τὸ
 4 ἱερὸν κατέστησαν. καὶ ἦσαν πάντες· μὲν αὐτῷ συνήθεις, ὁ δὲ Ἀμφάρης καὶ κεχηρημένος² ἔναγχος

¹ τοῦ θεοῦ Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan; τῆς θεοῦ. ² καὶ κεχηρημένος Coraës and Bekker delete καί.



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her eyes, all melted and marred with grief, upon the bystanders. Then Leonidas, after conference with his friends, bade Cleombrotus leave his asylum and go into exile, but begged his daughter to remain, and not to abandon him, since he loved her so much, and had made her a free gift of her husband's life. He could not persuade her, however, but when her husband rose to go she put one of her children in his arms, took up the other one herself, and went forth in his company after an obeisance to the altar of the god; so that if Cleombrotus had not been wholly corrupted by vain ambition, he would have considered that exile was a greater blessing for him than the kingdom, because it restored to him his wife.

After removing Cleombrotus from his asylum, Leonidas expelled the officiating ephors from their office, appointed others in their place, and at once began to lay plots against the life of Agis. To begin with, he tried to persuade Agis to leave his asylum and share the royal power with him, assuring Agis that the citizens had pardoned him, because, being a young man and ambitious, he had been one of those whom Agesilaüs had completely deceived. But Agis continued to be suspicious and would not leave his asylum. So Leonidas himself stopped trying to cheat and play tricks upon him, but Amphares, Damochares, and Arcesilaüs did not. They were wont to go up to the temple and converse with Agis; and once they actually took him in charge and brought him down from the temple for a bath, and after he had bathed, restored him again to the temple. They were all comrades of his, but Amphares had also borrowed recently some

ίμάτια καὶ ποτήρια τῶν πολυτελῶν παρὰ τῆς Ἀγησιστράτας ἐπεβούλευε διὰ ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ὥς ἀποστερήσων. καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ Λεωνίδα λέγεται καὶ παροξύναι τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἦν.

- XIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἄγις τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διέτριβε χρόνον, εἰώθει δὲ καταβαίνειν ὅτε τύχοι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, ἐκεῖ συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν, ὅταν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ γένηται. καὶ παραφυλάξαντες λελουμένον ἀπήντησαν καὶ ἡσπασαντο, καὶ συμπροῆγον ἅμα διαλεγόμενοι καὶ
- 2 παίζοντες ὥς πρὸς συνήθη καὶ νέον. ἐκτροπήν δέ τινα τῆς ὁδοῦ πλαγίαν πρὸς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐχούσης, ὥς ἐγένοντο κατ' αὐτὴν βαδίζοντες, ὁ μὲν Ἀμφάρης διὰ τὸ ἄρχειν ἀψάμενος τοῦ Ἀγιδος, “Ἄγω σε,” εἶπεν, “ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ὧ Ἄγι, λόγον ὑφέξοντα τῶν πεπολιτευμένων.” ὁ δὲ Δαμοχάρης, εὖρωστος ὧν καὶ μέγας, τὸ ἱμάτιον
- 3 περιβαλὼν περὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἵλκεν. ἄλλων δὲ ἐπωθούντων ὀπισθεν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, οὐδενὸς βοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐρημίας οὔσης, ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. εὐθὺς δὲ παρῆν ὁ μὲν Λεωνίδας μισθοφόρους ἔχων πολλούς, καὶ τὸ οἶκημα περιέσχευ ἔξωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι πρὸς τὸν Ἄγιν εἰσῆλθον, καὶ τῶν γερόντων εἰς τὸ οἶκημα μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς ταῦτά βουλομένους, ὥς δὴ κρίσεως αὐτῷ γινομένης, ἐκέλευον ὑπὲρ τῶν πε-
- 4 πραγμένων ἀπολογεῖσθαι. γελάσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν Ἀμφάρης οἰμωξόμενον ἐκάλει καὶ δίκην ὑφέξοντα τῆς ἰταμότητος· ἄλλος δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων, οἶον ἐνδιδούς

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costly vestures and beakers from Agesistrata, and therefore plotted to destroy the king and the women, that he might not have to return what he had borrowed. And he, certainly, more than any-one else, as we are told, followed the counsels of Leonidas and embittered the ephors, of whom he was one, against Agis.

XIX. Now Agis spent most of his time in the sanctuary, but was wont to go down from time to time to his bath. There, then, they determined to seize him, when he was outside the sanctuary. So they waited till he had finished his bath, and then came to meet him with friendly greetings, and walked along with him, conversing and jesting with him after the manner of youthful comrades. But at a certain point the road branched off towards the prison, and when they were come to that place, Amphares, by virtue of his office, laid hands on Agis and said: "I shall lead thee, Agis, to the ephors, to answer for thy measures of state"; and Damochares, who was tall and robust, threw his cloak about the king's neck and dragged him along. Others pushed him along from behind, as had been agreed, and since he had no helper but was without a friend, they thrust him into the prison. At once Leonidas was at hand with a large band of mercenaries and surrounded the prison, while the ephors went in to Agis. After sending for those of the senators who were of the same mind as themselves, as though the king were to have a trial, the ephors ordered Agis to defend his conduct of affairs. The young king laughed at their dissimulation, whereupon Amphares threatened that he would rue the day and be punished for his temerity; but another ephor, as

τῷ Ἀγιδι καὶ δεικνύων ἀποφυγὴν τῆς αἰτίας,
 ἠρώτησεν εἰ ταῦτα ἔπραξεν ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καὶ
 5 Ἀγησιλάου βιασθεῖς. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ
 Ἀγιδος ὡς βιασθεῖς μὲν ὑπ' οὐδενός, ζηλῶν δὲ
 καὶ μιμούμενος τὸν Λυκούργον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
 ἔλθοι πολιτείαν, πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἠρώτησεν εἰ
 μετανοεῖ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ
 νεανίσκου μὴ μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάλλιστα βεβου-
 λευμένοις, κὰν τὰ ἔσχατα πεισόμενον αὐτὸν ἴδῃ,
 θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας
 6 ἐκέλευον ἄγειν εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Δεχάδα. τοῦτο
 δέ ἐστιν οἴκημα τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἐν ᾧ θανατοῦσι τοὺς
 καταδίκους ἀποπνίγοντες. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας
 ὁ Δαμοχάρης οὐ τολμῶντας ἄψασθαι τοῦ Ἀγιδος,
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοὺς παρεστῶτας
 ἀποστρεφομένους καὶ φεύγοντας τὸ ἔργον, ὡς οὐ
 θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ νενομισμένον βασιλέως σώματι τὰς 804
 χεῖρας προσφέρειν, διαπειλησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ
 λαιδορηθεῖς εἰλκεν αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ οἴκημα τὸν Ἀγιν.
 7 ἤδη γὰρ ἦσθηντο πολλοὶ τὴν σύλληψιν, καὶ
 θόρυβος ἦν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις καὶ φῶτα πολλά, καὶ
 παρήσαν ἢ τε μήτηρ τοῦ Ἀγιδος καὶ ἡ μάμμη
 βοῶσαι καὶ δεόμεναι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν
 λόγου καὶ κρίσεως τυχεῖν ἐν τοῖς πολίταις. διὸ
 καὶ μάλιστα κατήπειξαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ὡς ἔξαρ-
 παγησομένου νυκτὸς ἂν πλείονες ἐπέλθωσιν.

XX. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγίς ἐπὶ τὴν στραγγάλην
 πορευόμενος, ὡς εἶδέ τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δακρύ-

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though plainly offering Agis a way of escape from the charges against him, asked him if he had done what he did under compulsion from Lysander and Agesilaüs. And when Agis answered that he had suffered compulsion from no one, but that in admiration and imitation of Lycurgus he had adopted the same public policy as his, the same ephor asked again if he repented of what he had done. But the young king declared that he had no repentance for what he had most excellently planned, and would not have, even if he saw that he was to suffer the extremest penalty. So they condemned him to death, and ordered the officers to lead him into the "Dechas," as it was called. This is a chamber of the prison in which they strangle those who are under sentence of death. But Damochares, when he saw that the officers did not dare to lay hands on Agis, and likewise that even the mercenaries who were there shrank from the deed and were loth to do it, feeling as they did that it was contrary to the laws of God and man to lay hands upon the person of a king, heaped threats and abuse upon them and himself dragged Agis into the chamber of death. For already many people were aware of the arrest, and there was a noisy throng at the door and many torches, and the mother and grandmother of Agis were there, with cries and prayers that the king of the Spartans should have a hearing and a trial before the citizens. For this reason especially the ephors hastened on the king's execution, believing that he would be taken out of their hands in the night if the concourse should increase.

XX. Agis, then, on his way to the halter, saw one of the officers shedding tears of sympathy for him.

- οντα καὶ περιπαθοῦντα, “Παῦσαί με,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἄνθρωπε, κλαίων· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπολλύμενος κρείττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἀναιρούντων.” καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν παρέδωκε τῷ βρόχῳ τὸν
- 2 τράχηλον ἐκουσίως. ὁ δὲ Ἀμφάρης προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὴν Ἀγησιστράταν προσπεσοῦσαν αὐτῷ διὰ συνήθειαν καὶ φιλίαν ἀναστήσας, οὐδὲν ἔφη περὶ τὸν Ἄγιν ἔσεσθαι βίαιον οὐδὲ ἀνῆκεστον· ἐκέλευε δὲ κακείνην, εἰ βούλοιτο, πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰσελθεῖν. ἐκείνης δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα μετ’ αὐτῆς παρῆναι δεομένης οὐδὲν ἔφη κωλύειν
- 3 ὁ Ἀμφάρης· καὶ δεξάμενος ἀμφοτέρας, καὶ πάλιν κλείσαι τὰς θύρας τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου κελεύσας, προτέραν μὲν τὴν Ἀρχιδαμίαν παρέδωκεν, ἥδη σφόδρα πρεσβῦτιν οὔσαν καὶ καταγεγηρακυῖαν ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγίστῳ τῶν πολιτίδων, ἀποθανούσης δὲ ἐκείνης ἐκέλευσε τὴν Ἀγησιστράταν ἔσω
- 4 βαδίζειν. ὥς δὲ εἰσελθοῦσα τὸν τε υἱὸν ἐθεάσατο χαμαὶ κείμενον καὶ τὴν μητέρα νεκρὰν ἐκ τοῦ βρόχου κρεμαμένην, ἐκείνην μὲν αὐτὴ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις συγκαθεῖλε καὶ παρεκτείνασα τῷ Ἀγιδι τὸ σῶμα περιέστειλε καὶ κατεκάλυψε· τῷ δὲ υἱῷ προσπεσοῦσα καὶ φιλήσασα τὸ πρόσωπον, “Ἡ πολλή σε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ, εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ πρᾶον
- 5 καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀπώλεσε μεθ’ ἡμῶν.” ὁ δὲ Ἀμφάρης ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας ὁρῶν τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἀκούων ἐπεισῆλθε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀγησιστράταν μετ’ ὀργῆς εἶπεν· “Εἰ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ταῦτὰ ἐδοκίμαζες τῷ υἱῷ, ταῦτὰ καὶ πείσῃ.” καὶ ἡ Ἀγησιστράτα πρὸς τὸν βρόχον ἀνιστα-

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"My man," said he, "cease weeping; for even though I am put to death in this lawless and unjust manner, I have the better of my murderers." And saying these words, he offered his neck to the noose without hesitation. But Amphares went to the door of the prison, where Agesistrata fell at his feet in an appeal to his friendship and intimacy. Amphares lifted her up and assured her that Agis was not to suffer violence or death; and he bade her, if she wished, go in to her son. And when Agesistrata begged that her mother might go in with her, Amphares said there was nothing to prevent. So he admitted both the women, and after ordering the door of the prison to be locked again, delivered Archidamia first to the executioners. She was now a very aged woman, and had lived all her days in very high repute among her countrywomen. After she had been put to death, Amphares ordered Agesistrata to enter the chamber of execution. So she went in, and when she saw her son lying dead upon the ground, and her mother's dead body still hanging in the noose, with her own hands she helped the officers to take her down, laid her body out by the side of Agis, and composed and covered it. Then, embracing her son and kissing his face, she said: "My son, it was thy too great regard for others, and thy gentleness and humanity, which has brought thee to ruin, and us as well." Then Amphares, who stood at the door and saw and heard what she did and said, came in and said angrily to her: "If, then, thou hast been of the same mind as thy son, thou shalt also suffer the same fate." And Agesistrata, as she rose to present her neck to the

μένη, “Μόνον,” ἔφη, “συνενέγκαι ταῦτα τῇ Σπάρτῃ.”

- XXI. Τοῦ δὲ πάθους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξαγγελλθέντος καὶ τῶν τριῶν σωμάτων ἐκκομιζομένων οὐκ ἦν ὁ φόβος οὔτω μέγας, ὥστε μὴ καταφανεῖς εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας ἀλγοῦντας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι, μισοῦντας δὲ τὸν Λεωνίδα καὶ τὸν Ἀμφάρην, μηδὲν δεινότερον μηδὲ ἀνοσιώτερον ἐξ οὗ Δωριεῖς Πελοπόννησον οἰκοῦσιν οἰομένους ἐν Σπάρτῃ πε-
 2 πρᾶχθαι. βασιλεῖ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ῥαδίως ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπαντῶντες προσέφερον τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ' ἀπετρέποντο δεδιότες καὶ σεβόμενοι τὸ ἀξίωμα. διὸ καὶ πολλῶν γεγρονότων Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγώνων πρὸς Ἑλληνας εἰς μόνος ἀνῆρέθη πρὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δόρατι πληγεῖς περὶ Λεῦκτρα Κλεόμβροτος. Μεσσηνίων δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπον ὑπ' Ἀριστομένους πεσεῖν λεγόντων
 3 οὗ φασι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πληγῇναι δὲ μόνον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει τινὰς ἀμφιλογίας. ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι πρῶτος Ἄγις βασιλεύων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπέθανε, καλὰ μὲν ἔργα καὶ πρέποντα τῇ Σπάρτῃ προελόμενος, ἡλικίας δὲ γεγωνῶς ἐν ἧ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἄνθρωποι συγγνώμης τυγχάνουσι, μεμφθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων δικαιότερον ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὅτι καὶ Λεωνίδα περιέσωσε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίστευσεν, ἡμερώτατος καὶ πραότατος γενόμενος.

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noose, said : " My only prayer is that this may bring good to Sparta."

XXI. When tidings of the sad event had been carried to the city and the three bodies were carried forth for burial, the fear felt by the citizens was not so strong as to prevent them from manifesting sorrow over what had been done, and hatred for Leonidas and Amphares. It was thought that nothing more dreadful or heinous had been done in Sparta since the Dorians had dwelt in Peloponnesus. For against a king of the Lacedaemonians, as it seems, not even their enemies would willingly raise their hands if they met him in battle, but they would spare him, out of fear and reverence for his dignity. And for this reason, although there had been many conflicts between Lacedaemonians and other Greeks, only one Spartan king had been slain up to the time of Philip of Macedon, namely, Cleombrotus, who was smitten by a spear at Leuctra.¹ The Messenians, however, say that Theopompus also fell in battle, at the hands of Aristomenes ; but the Lacedaemonians deny this, and say that their king was only wounded. This matter may be disputed ; but Agis was certainly the first king of Sparta to be put to death by the ephors. And yet he had chosen a line of conduct that was noble and worthy of Sparta, and was of an age in which men are usually pardoned for their errors, and his friends could with more justice blame him than his enemies, because he spared the life of Leonidas, and, most mild and gentle man that he was, put faith in his other foes.

¹ See the *Pelopidas*, xxiii.

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ

- I. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν 805
 Ἀρχίδαμον οὐκ ἔφθη συλλαβεῖν ὁ Λεωνίδας εὐθύς
 ἐκφυγόντα, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα παιδίον ἔχουσαν
 νεογνὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπαγαγὼν βία Κλεομένει
 τῷ υἱῷ συνώκισεν οὐ πᾶν γάμων ὥραν ἔχοντι,
 τὴν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἄλλῳ δοθῆναι μὴ βουλόμενος.
 ἦν γὰρ οὐσίας τε μεγάλης ἐπὶ κληρὸς ἡ Ἀγιάτις
 Γυλίππου τοῦ πατρὸς, ὥρα τε καὶ κάλλει πολὺ
 τῶν Ἑλληνίδων διαφέρουσα καὶ τὸν τρόπον
 2 ἐπιεικής. διὸ πολλὰ μὲν ἐποίησεν, ὥς φασι, μὴ
 βιασθῆναι δεομένη, συνελθοῦσα δὲ εἰς ταῦτό τῳ
 Κλεομένει τὸν μὲν Λεωνίδα ἐμίσει, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν
 τὸν νεανίσκον ἦν ἀγαθὴ γυνὴ καὶ φιλόστοργος,
 ἐρωτικῶς ἅμα τῳ λαβεῖν πρὸς αὐτὴν διατεθέντα
 καὶ τινα τρόπον συμπαθοῦντα τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγιν
 εὐνοίᾳ καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς γυναικὸς, ὥστε καὶ πυν-
 θάνεσθαι πολλάκις περὶ τῶν γεγενομένων καὶ
 προσέχειν ἐπιμελῶς διηγουμένης ἐκείνης ἦν ὁ
 Ἅγις ἔσχε διάνοιαν καὶ προαίρεσιν.
- 3 Ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλότιμος μὲν καὶ μεγαλόφρων ὁ
 Κλεομένης καὶ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ ἀφέλειαν οὐχ
 ἡττον τοῦ Ἀγίδος εὐ πεφυκώς, τὸ δὲ εὐλαβὲς
 ἄγαν ἐκεῖνο καὶ πρᾶον οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ κέντρον τι
 θυμοῦ τῇ φύσει προσέκειτο καὶ μετὰ σφοδρότη-
 τος ὁρμὴ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον αἰεὶ καλόν. ἐφαίνετο
 δὲ κάλλιστον μὲν αὐτῷ κρατεῖν ἐκόντων, καλὸν
 δὲ καὶ μὴ πειθομένων περιεῖναι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον
 ἐκβιαζόμενον.

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I. Upon the death of Agis¹ his brother Archidamus at once took to flight, and thus escaped arrest at the hands of Leonidas; but his wife, who had an infant son, was taken from her home by Leonidas and compelled to marry his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was too young for marriage, but Leonidas was unwilling to have Agiatis marry anyone else. For she was heir to the great estate of her father Gylippus, in youthful beauty she far surpassed the other women of Greece, and she had an excellent disposition. Therefore she begged most earnestly, we are told, that she should not be forced into this marriage, but after she was united to Cleomenes, though she hated Leonidas, to the young man himself she was a good and affectionate wife. And he, as soon as Agiatis was his, became passionately fond of her, and in a way sympathized with her devotion to the memory of Agis, so that he would often ask her about the career of Agis, and listen attentively as she told of the plans and purposes which Agis had formed.

And, besides, Cleomenes was aspiring and magnanimous, and no less prone by nature than Agis to self-restraint and simplicity. He had not, however, the scrupulous and gentle nature for which Agis was remarkable, and his natural courage was always goading him on, as it were, and fiercely impelling him towards that which in any case appeared to be the honourable course. He thought it a most excellent thing to rule over willing subjects, but a good thing also to subdue such subjects as were disobedient, and force them towards the better goal.

¹ About 241 B.C.

II. Οὐκ ἤρεσκε μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ ἡδονῇ κατακεκλημένων τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως πάντα τὰ πράγματα χαίρειν ἑῶντος, εἰ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐνοχλοῖη σχολάζειν ἐν ἀφθόνοις καὶ τρυφᾷν βουλόμενον, ἀμελουμένων δὲ τῶν κοινῶν, κατ' οἰκίαν ἐκάστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλκοντος τὸ κερδαλέον· ἀσκήσεως δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνης νέων καὶ καρτερίας καὶ ἰσότητος οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν τούτων τῶν περὶ Ἄγιν ἀπολωλότων μνημονεύειν.

- 2 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ λόγων φιλοσόφων τὸν Κλεομένη μετασχεῖν ἔτι μειράκιον ὄντα, Σφαίρου τοῦ Βορυσθενίτου παραβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ περὶ τοὺς νέους καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους οὐκ ἀμελῶς διατρίβοντος. ὁ δὲ Σφαῖρος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐγγόνει τῶν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κιτιέως μαθητῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένου εἴκει τῆς φύσεως τὸ ἀνδρώδες ἀγαπῆσαι τε καὶ προσεκαῦσαι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν.
- 3 Λεωνίδα μὲν γὰρ τὸν παλαιὸν λέγουσιν, ἐπερωτηθέντα ποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητῆς γεγονέναι Τυρταῖος, εἰπεῖν· “Ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς κακκανῆν.” ἐμπιπλάμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐνθουσιασμοῦ παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἠφείδουν ἑαυτῶν· ὁ δὲ Στωϊκὸς λόγος ἔχει τι πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας φύσεις καὶ ὀξείας ἐπισφαλὲς καὶ παράβολον, βαθεῖ δὲ καὶ πρᾶφ κεραννύμενος ἤθει μάλιστα εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Λεωνίδου τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τότε δὴ παντάπασιν ἐκλελυμένους ἑώρα, τῶν μὲν πλουσίων καθ' ἡδονὰς ἰδίας καὶ πλεονεξίας παρο-

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II. Of course, then, the condition of the city was not pleasing to him. The citizens had been lulled to sleep by idleness and pleasure ; the king was willing to let all public business go, provided that no one thwarted his desire for luxurious living in the midst of his wealth ; the public interests were neglected, while every man was eagerly intent upon his own private gain ; and as for practice in arms, self-restraint in the young, hardiness, and equality, it was even dangerous to speak of these now that Agis was dead and gone.

It is said also that Cleomenes studied philosophy when he was still a stripling, after Sphaerus of Borysthenis had made a voyage to Sparta and busied himself sedulously there with the youth and young men. Sphaerus had become one of the leading disciples of Zeno of Citium, and it would appear that he admired the manly nature of Cleomenes and increased the fires of his high ambition. For Leonidas of old, as we are told, when asked what manner of poet he thought Tyrtaeus to be, replied ; "A good one to inflame the souls of young men." And indeed they were filled with divine inspiration by his poems, and in battle were prodigal of their lives. However, for great and impetuous natures the Stoic doctrines are somewhat misleading and dangerous, although when they permeate a deep and gentle character, they redound most to its proper good.

III. But at the death of Leonidas¹ Cleomenes came to the throne, and saw that the citizens were by that time altogether degenerate. The rich neglected the common interests for their own private

¹ In 235 B.C. Cleomenes was then about twenty-four years of age.

- ρώντων τὰ κοινά, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν διὰ τὸ πράττειν κακῶς περὶ τὰ οἰκεία καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπροθύμων καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀφιλοτίμων γεγονότων, αὐτοῦ δὲ ὄνομα βασιλεύοντος ἦν
- 2 μόνον, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ πᾶσα τῶν ἐφόρων, εὐθύς μὲν εἰς νοῦν ἔθετο τὰ παρόντα μεθιστάναι καὶ κινεῖν, ὄντος δὲ αὐτῷ φίλου Ξενάρους, ἐραστοῦ γεγονότος (τοῦτο δὲ ἐμπνεῖσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλοῦσιν), ἀπεπειράτο τούτου διαπυνθανόμενος τὸν Ἄγιν, ὁποῖος γένοιτο βασιλεὺς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ καὶ μετὰ τίνων ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν. ὁ δὲ Ξενάρης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐμέμνητο τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνων, ὡς ἐπράχθη καθ' ἕκαστα μυθολο-
- 3 γῶν καὶ διηγούμενος· ὡς δὲ ἦν καταφανὴς ὁ Κλεομένης ἐμπαθέστερον προσέχων καὶ κινούμενος ὑπερφυῶς πρὸς τὴν καινοτομίαν τοῦ Ἀγιδος καὶ ταῦτὰ πολλάκις ἀκούειν βουλόμενος, ἐπέπληξεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ Ξενάρης ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντι, καὶ τέλος ἀπέστη τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδενὶ μέντοι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφρασε τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἔφη γινώσκειν ἐκείνον.
- 4 Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Ξενάρους ἀντικρούσαντος ὁ Κλεομένης καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμοίως ἔχειν ἡγούμενος, αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ συνετίθει τὴν πρᾶξιν. οἰόμενος δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' εἰρήνην μεταστῆσαι τὰ παρόντα, συνέκρουσε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτοὺς διδόντας ἐγκλημάτων προφάσεις. ὁ γὰρ Ἄρατος ἰσχύων μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς μίαν σύνταξιν ἀγαγεῖν Πελοποννησίους, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν στρατηγιῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς πολιτείας ἦν

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pleasure and aggrandizement; the common people, because of their wretched state at home, had lost all readiness for war and all ambition to maintain the ancient Spartan discipline; and he himself, Cleomenes, was king only in name, while the whole power was in the hands of the ephors. He therefore at once determined to stir up and change the existing order of things, and as he had a friend, Xenares, who had been his lover (or *inspirer*, as the Spartans say), he would make trial of his sentiments by inquiring in detail what sort of a king Agis had been, and in what way and with what assistants he had entered upon the course of action so fatal to him. At first Xenares was quite glad to recall those matters, and rehearsed the events at length and in detail; but when it was apparent that Cleomenes took an unusual interest in the story, and was profoundly stirred by the innovations of Agis, and wished to hear about him over and over again, Xenares rebuked him angrily, calling him unsound in mind, and finally stopped visiting and conversing with him. To no one, however, did he tell the reason of their variance, but merely said that Cleomenes understood it.

And so Cleomenes, finding Xenares averse, and thinking that everybody else was of like mind with him, began to arrange his project all by himself. And because he thought that he could better bring about his reforms in time of war than in the midst of peace, he embroiled the state with the Achaeans, who were themselves giving grounds for complaint. For Aratus, the most powerful man among the Achaeans, was from the outset desirous of bringing all the Peloponnesians into one confederation, and this was the end pursued by him during his many

5 τέλος, ἡγουμένῳ μόνῳς ἂν οὕτως ἀνεπιχειρήτους
 ἔσεσθαι τοῖς ἐκτὸς πολεμίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
 σχεδὸν ἀπάντων αὐτῷ προσγεγονότων ἀπελεί-
 ποντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ ὅσοι Λακε-
 δαιμονίοις Ἀρκάδων προσεῖχον, ἅμα τῷ τὸν
 Λεωνίδα ἀποθανεῖν παρηνώχλει τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ
 περιέκοπτεν αὐτῶν μάλιστα τοὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
 ὁμοροῦντας, ἀποπειρώμενος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
 καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένου ὡς νέου καὶ ἀπείρου κατα-
 φρονῶν.

IV. Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένη πρῶτον οἱ ἔφοροι
 πέμπουσι καταληψόμενον τὸ περὶ τὴν Βέλβιναν
 Ἀθηναίων. ἐμβολὴ δὲ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὸ χωρίον
 ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἦν ἐπί-
 δικον. καταλαβόντος δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τειχίσαντος
 τοῦ Κλεομένου ὁ Ἄρατος οὐθὲν ἐγκαλέσας, ἀλλὰ
 νυκτὸς ἐκστρατεύσας ἐπεχείρησε Τεγεαταῖς καὶ
 2 Ὀρχομενίοις. τῶν δὲ προδοτῶν ἀποδειλιασάντων
 ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος ἀνεχώρησε λεληθέναι νομίζων, ὁ
 δὲ Κλεομένης εἰρωνεῖα χρώμενος ἔγραψε πρὸς
 αὐτόν, ὡς δὴ παρὰ φίλου πυνθανόμενος ποῦ τῆς
 νυκτὸς ἐξέλθοι. τοῦ δὲ ἀντιγράψαντος ὡς ἐκείνου
 Βέλβιναν μέλλειν τειχίζειν ἀκούσας καταβαίη
 τοῦτο κωλύσων, πάλιν ὁ Κλεομένης ἀποστείλας
 τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν ἔφη πεπεῖσθαι. “τοὺς δὲ
 φανούς καὶ τὰς κλίμακας,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ τί σοι
 διαφέρει, γράψον ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τί σοι παρηκολού-
 3 θουν.” τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου πρὸς τὸ σκῶμμα γελά-
 σαντος καὶ πυνθανομένου ποῖός τις ὁ νεανίσκος
 εἶη, Δαμοκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς, “Εἴ
 τι πράττεις,” ἔφη, “πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὧρα

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generalships and his long political activity, since he was of the opinion that in this way alone would they be safe from the attacks of their enemies without. Nearly all the other Peloponnesians adopted his views, but the Lacedaemonians, the Eleians, and the Arcadians who sided with the Lacedaemonians, held aloof. Therefore, as soon as Leonidas was dead, Aratus began to harass the Arcadians, and ravaged the territories of those especially who were adjacent to Achaea. His object was to put the Lacedaemonians to the test, and he despised Cleomenes as a young and inexperienced man.

IV. Upon this, the ephors began operations by sending Cleomenes to occupy the precinct of Athena at Belbina. This commands an entrance into Laconia, and was at that time a subject of litigation with the Megalopolitans. After Cleomenes had occupied and fortified this place, Aratus made no public protest, but led out his forces one night and tried to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. Those who were to betray the places to him, however, played the coward, and Aratus withdrew, thinking that his attempt had escaped notice. But Cleomenes wrote him an ironical letter, inquiring, as from a friend, whither he had marched out in the night. Aratus wrote back that hearing of Cleomenes' intention to fortify Belbina he had gone down there to prevent it. Whereupon Cleomenes sent back word again that he believed this story to be true; "but those torches and ladders," said he, "if it is all one to thee, tell me for what purpose thou hadst them with thee." Aratus burst out laughing at the jest, and inquired what manner of youth this was. Whereupon Damocrates, the Lacedaemonian exile, replied: "If thou hast designs

σοι ταχύνειν πρὸ τοῦ κέντρα φῦσαι τοῦτον τὸν νεοσσόν.”

Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένει μετὰ ἱππέων ὀλίγων καὶ πεζῶν τριακοσίων ἐν Ἀρκαδία στρατοπεδευομένῳ προσέταξαν ἀναχωρεῖν οἱ ἑφόροι, φοβούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ Καφύας ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἄρατος, αὐτῷ ἐξέπεμπον τὸν Κλεομένην. λαβόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μεθύδριον καὶ τὴν Ἀργολικὴν καταδραμόντος, ἐξεστράτευσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ δις μυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεύσιν Ἀριστομάχου στρατηγούντος. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ περὶ Παλλάντιον Κλεομένου καὶ βουλομένου μάχεσθαι, φοβηθεὶς τὴν τόλμαν ὁ Ἄρατος οὐκ εἶασε διακινδυνεύσαι τὸν στρατηγόν, ἀλλ’ ἀπήλθε λαιδορούμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, χλευαζόμενος δὲ καὶ καταφρονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐδὲ πεντακισχιλίων τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων. μέγας οὖν τῷ φρονήματι γεγονῶς ὁ Κλεομένης ἐθρασύνετο πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινος αὐτοὺς ἀνεμίμησκε βασιλέων εἰπόντος οὐ μάτην ὅτι¹ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυνθάνονται περὶ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ πόσοι εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ ποῦ εἰσιν.

Ἡ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἠλείοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βοηθήσας, καὶ περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον ἀπιοῦσιν ἤδη τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπιβαλὼν, ἅπαν μὲν 807 ἐτρέψατο καὶ διεπτόησεν αὐτῶν τὸ στράτευμα, συχνοὺς δὲ ἀνείλε καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ περὶ Ἀράτου φήμην ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς τεθνηκότος, ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἐκείνης εὐθὺς ἐπὶ

¹ εἰπόντος οὐ μάτην ὅτι Sintonis (com.) and Blass, after Stephanus: εἰπόντος ὅτι μάτην (MSS.).

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upon the Lacedaemonians, see that thou hastenest, before this young cock grows his spurs."

After this, when Cleomenes with a few horsemen and three hundred foot-soldiers was making an expedition in Arcadia, the ephors, fearing the issue of the war, ordered him to come back home. After he had returned, however, Aratus seized Caphyae, and the ephors sent Cleomenes forth again. He seized Methydrium and overran the territory of Argolis, whereupon the Achaeans marched out with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen under Aristomachus as general. Cleomenes met them at Pallantium and offered battle, but Aratus, in fear of this boldness, would not suffer his general to hazard the issue, and retired. For this he was reproached by the Achaeans, and jeered at and despised by the Lacedaemonians, who were less than five thousand strong. Cleomenes was therefore greatly lifted up in spirit and began to show a bold front to the citizens; and he would often remind them of one of their ancient kings¹ who said, and not idly either, "The Lacedaemonians are wont to ask, not how many, but where, their enemies are."

V. After this, he went to the aid of the Eleians, upon whom the Achaeans were making war, and falling upon the Achaeans near Mt. Lycaenum, as they were withdrawing, he put their entire army to panic flight, slew great numbers of them, and took many prisoners, so that even Aratus was widely reported among the Greeks to be dead. But Aratus, making the best use of his opportunity, immediately after

¹ Agis II. (427-398 B.C.); cf. the *Morals*, pp. 190 c; 215 d.

Μαντίνειαν ἦλθε καὶ μηδενὸς ἂν προσδοκίσαντος
 2 εἶλε τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατέσχε, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων
 παντάπασι ταῖς γνώμαις ἀναπεσόντων καὶ τῷ
 Κλεομένει πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἐνισταμένων, ὥρ-
 μησε μεταπέμπεσθαι τὸν Ἄγιδος ἀδελφὸν Ἀρχί-
 δαμον ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ᾧ βασιλεύειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας
 οἰκίας ἦν προσῆκον, οἰόμενος ἀμβλυτέραν τὴν τῶν
 ἐφόρων ἀρχὴν ἔσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἰσορρόπου
 3 καὶ ὁλοκλήρου γενομένης. οἱ δὲ ἀνηρηκότες πρό-
 τερον τὸν Ἄγιν αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο, καὶ φοβηθέντες
 μὴ δίκην δῶσι τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου κατελθόντος, ἐδέ-
 ξαντο μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγενόμενον
 κρύφα καὶ συγκατήγον, εὐθύς δὲ ἀπέκτειναν, εἴτε
 ἄκοντος τοῦ Κλεομένους, ὥς οἶεται Φύλαρχος,
 εἴτε πεισθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ προεμένου τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῖς. τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπ'
 ἐκείνους ἦλθε βεβιάσθαι τὸν Κλεομένη δοκοῦντας.

VI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κινεῖν εὐθύς ἐγνωκὼς τὰ κατὰ
 τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐφόρους χρήμασιν ὅπως
 αὐτῷ ψηφίσωνται στρατείαν. ἐθεράπευσε δὲ καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων συχνοὺς διὰ τῆς μητρὸς Κρατησι-
 κλείας ἀφειδῶς συγχωρηγούσης καὶ συμφιλιτιμου-
 μένης, ἥ γε καὶ γάμου μὴ δεομένη λέγεται διὰ
 τὸν υἱὸν ἄνδρα λαβεῖν πρωτεύοντα δόξῃ καὶ
 2 δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρα-
 τείαν καταλαμβάνει τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος χωρίον
 Λεῦκτρα· καὶ γενομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀξείας τῶν

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this defeat marched to Mantinea, and to everybody's surprise captured and held the city. At this the Lacedaemonians were altogether disheartened and opposed any further expedition on the part of Cleomenes. He therefore determined to summon from Messene the brother of Agis, Archidamus,¹ who was the rightful king from the other royal house, thinking that the power of the ephors would be diminished if the royal power were restored to its full strength so as to counterbalance it. But those who had formerly murdered Agis comprehended this design, and fearing that they would pay the penalty for their crime if Archidamus was restored, they did indeed receive him when he came secretly into the city, and assisted in his restoration, but immediately put him to death. Cleomenes may have been opposed to this, as Phylarchus thinks, or perhaps he was persuaded by his friends to abandon the hapless man to his murderers. For the greater part of the blame attached itself to them, since they were thought to have constrained Cleomenes.

VI. However, having determined to attempt at once his reforms in the state, Cleomenes bribed the ephors to send him on an expedition. He also won the favour of large numbers of the citizens with the help of his mother Cratesicleia, who assisted him liberally in providing ways and means, and shared his ambitions. It is even said that although she had no desire to marry again, for the sake of her son she took a husband who was foremost among the citizens in reputation and influence. So Cleomenes led forth his forces and occupied Leuctra, a stronghold of Megalopolis. The Achaeans, under the command of

¹ See chapter i. 1.

- Ἀχαιῶν βοηθείας Ἀράτου στρατηγούντος, ὑπὸ
τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν παραταξάμενος ἡττήθη μέρει
τινὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐπεὶ δὲ χαράδραν τινὰ
βαθεῖαν οὐκ εἶασε διαβῆναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὁ
3 Ἀρατος, ἀλλ' ἐπέστησε τὴν διώξιν, ἀγανακτῶν
δὲ Λυδιάδας ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης συνεξώρμησε τοὺς
περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ διώκων εἰς χωρίον ἀμπέλων
καὶ τάφρων καὶ τειχῶν μεστὸν ἐνσείσας καὶ
διασπασθεὶς περὶ ταῦτα κακῶς ἀπήλλαττε, κατι-
δὼν ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνῆκε τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ τοὺς
Κρήτας ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Λυδιάδας ἀμυνόμενος
εὐρώστως ἔπεσε. πρὸς τοῦτο θαρρήσαντες οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ βοῆς ἐνέβαλον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς,
καὶ τροπὴν ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐποίησαν.
4 ἀποθανόντων δὲ συχνῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπο-
σπόνδους ὁ Κλεομένης ἀπέδωκε, τὸν δὲ Λυδιάδαν
νεκρὸν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν κελεύσας, κοσμήσας
πορφυρίδι καὶ στέφανον ἐπιθείς, πρὸς τὰς πύλας
τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἀπέστειλεν. οὗτος ἦν Λυδιά-
δας ὁ καταθέμενος τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τοῖς πολίταις
ἀποδοὺς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσκο-
μίσας Ἀχαιοῖς.

VII. Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένης μέγα φρονῶν ἤδη,
καὶ πεπεισμένος ἂν ὡς βούλεται τοῖς πράγμασι
χρῶμενος πολεμῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ῥαδίως
ἐπικρατήσῃ, ἐδίδασκε τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἄνδρα
Μεγιστόνουν ὡς χρὴ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπαλλαγέντας
εἰς μέσον θῆναι τὰ κτήματα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ
τὴν Σπάρτην ἴσῃ γενομένην ἐγείρειν καὶ προάγειν
ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν. πεισθέντος δ'
ἐκείνου δύο τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἢ τρεῖς προσέ-
λαβε.

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Aratus, came swiftly to the aid of their allies against him, and Cleomenes, after drawing up his forces under the very walls of the city, was worsted at one point. But Aratus would not permit the Achaeans to cross a certain deep ravine, and brought his pursuit to a stop. Lydiadas the Megalopolitan, however, chafing at this, dashed on with the horsemen under his command, and pursuing the enemy into a place full of vines, ditches, and walls, had his ranks broken and thrown into disorder thereby, and began to fall into difficulties. Cleomenes, observing this, sent against him his Tarentines and Cretans, at whose hands Lydiadas, defending himself sturdily, fell. At this the Lacedaemonians took courage and with a shout fell upon the Achaeans and routed their entire army. Great numbers of them were slain, and their bodies Cleomenes restored at the enemy's request; but the body of Lydiadas he asked to have brought to him, arrayed it in a purple robe and put a crown upon the head, and then sent it back to the gates of Megalopolis. This was the Lydiadas who renounced the tyranny, gave back to the citizens their freedom, and attached the city to the Achaean league.

VII. After this, Cleomenes, being now greatly elated, and persuaded that if he could keep the control of things entirely in his own hands during the war with the Achaeans, he would easily obtain the mastery, began to instruct his mother's husband, Megistonoüs, that they must needs get rid of the ephors, put the property of the citizens into a common stock, and rouse and incite the Spartans, thus put upon their old footing of equality, to assume the supremacy in Greece. Megistonoüs was convinced, and enlisted in the cause two or three of his friends besides.

- 2 Συνέβη δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων ἓνα κοιμώμενον ἐν Πασιφύας ὄναρ ἰδεῖν θαυμαστόν· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔθος ἐστὶ καθεζομένοις χρηματίζειν ἓνα δίφρον κεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τέτταρας ἀνηρῆσθαι, καὶ θαυμάζοντος αὐτοῦ φωιῆν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γενέσθαι φρά-
 3 ζουσιν ὡς τοῦτο τῇ Σπάρτῃ λῶόν ἐστι. ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν διηγούμενου τοῦ ἐφόρου πρὸς τὸν Κλεο- 808 μένη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διεταράχθη καθ' ὑποψίαν τινὰ πειράζεσθαι δοκῶν, ὡς δὲ ἐπέισθη μὴ ψεύδεσθαι τὸν διηγούμενον, ἐθάρρησε. καὶ λαβὼν ὅσους ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐναντιώσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, Ἑραίαν καὶ Ἀλσαίαν τὰς πόλεις ταττομένας ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς εἶλε, καὶ σῖτον εἰσέγαγεν Ὀρχομενίοις, καὶ Μαντινεῖα
 4 παρεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ ὅλως ἄνω καὶ κάτω μακραῖς πορείαις ἀποτρύσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέλιπεν αὐτῶν δεηθέντων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἐχώρει. καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν οἷς ἐπίστευε μάλιστα καλῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀνεκοινοῦτο τὴν γνώμην, καὶ προῆει σχέδην, ὡς περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον οὔσι τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπιπέσοι.

VIII. Γενόμενος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγύς, Εὐρυκλείδαν μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων συσσίτιον ἀπέστειλεν ὡς τινα παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἀπὸ στρατιᾶς κομίζοντα, Θηρυκίων δὲ καὶ Φοῖβις καὶ δύο τῶν συντρόφων τοῦ Κλεομένου, οὓς μόθακας καλοῦσιν, ἐπηκολούθουν στρατιώτας ὀλίγους ἔχοντες.

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Now, it came to pass about that time that one of the ephors, who was sleeping in the precinct of Pasiphaë, had an astonishing dream. He dreamed that in the place where the ephors were wont to sit for the prosecution of business, one chair only stood, but the other four had been taken away; and that in his amazement at this a voice came to him from the temple saying that this was better for Sparta. This dream the ephor related to Cleomenes, who at first was much disturbed, and thought that the other had some suspicion of his design and was making trial of him; but when he was convinced that the relater spoke the truth, his courage revived. So taking all the citizens who, as he suspected, would be most opposed to his designs, he seized Heraea and Alsaea, two cities belonging to the Achaean league, introduced supplies of food into Orchomenus, and encamped by Mantinea, from whence he made long marches up and down the land, and utterly wore out the Lacedaemonians, so that it was at their own request that he left most of them in Arcadia, while with his mercenaries he himself set out for Sparta. On the march he imparted his design to those whom he believed to be most favourably disposed to him, and went forward slowly, that he might fall upon the ephors while they were at supper.

VIII. When the city was close at hand, he sent Eurycleidas to the mess-table of the ephors, ostensibly to carry some message of the king from the army; but Therycion, Phoebis, and two of the Helots, who had been bred up along with Cleomenes¹ (they call them "mothakes"), followed after with a few

¹ Such Helot companions afterwards became freemen, and sometimes even citizens in Sparta.

ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Εὐρυκλείδα διαλεγομένου τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπιδραμόντες ἐσπασμέναις ταῖς μαχαίραις ἔπαιον
 2 αὐτούς. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος Ἀγύλαιος, ὡς ἐπλήγη, πεσὼν καὶ τεθνάναι δόξας ἀτρέμα συναγαγὼν καὶ παρέλκων ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἔλαθεν εἰς τι δωμάτιον εἰσερπύσας μικρόν, ὃ φόβου μὲν ἦν ἱερόν, ἄλλως δὲ κεκλεισμένον αἰεί, τότε ἐκ τύχης ἀνεωγμένον ἐτύγχανεν. εἰς τοῦτο συνεισενεγκὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκλεισε τὸ θύριον. οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιβοηθούντων αὐτοῖς οὐ πλείονες ἢ δέκα. τοὺς γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας οὐκ ἔκτειναν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπιόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκώλυον. ἐφείσαντο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀγυλαίου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθόντος.

IX. Ἔστι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐ φόβου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θανάτου καὶ γέλωτος καὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων παθημάτων ἱερά. τιμῶσι δὲ τὸν φόβον οὐχ ὥσπερ οὓς ἀποτρέπονται δαίμονας, ἡγούμενοι βλαβερόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν μάλιστα συνέ-
 2 χεσθαι φόβῳ νομίζοντες. διὸ καὶ προεκήρυττον οἱ ἔφοροι τοῖς πολίταις εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσιόντες, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις, ἵνα μὴ χαλεποὶ ᾧσιν αὐτοῖς· τὸ τοῦ μύστακος, οἶμαι, προτείνοντες, ὅπως καὶ περὶ τὰ μικρότατα τοὺς νέους πειθαρχεῖν
 3 ἐθίζωσι. καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν δέ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφοβίαν, ἀλλὰ φόβον ψόγου καὶ δέος ἀδοξίας οἱ παλαιοὶ νομίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δειλότατοι πρὸς τοὺς νόμους θαρραλεώτατοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσὶ.

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soldiers. These men, while Eurycleidas was still making his report to the ephors, ran in upon them with drawn swords and smote them. The first of them, Agylaeus, on receiving the blow, fell and lay still as though dead ; but afterwards he quietly pulled himself together, dragged himself out of the room, and crept unobserved into a little building which was a temple of Fear. Usually it was closed, but at this time it chanced to be open. Into this building he betook himself and locked the door. But the other four were slain, and also about ten of those who came to their aid. For the people who kept quiet were not killed, nor were those who wished to leave the city prevented. And even Agylaeus was spared when he came out of the temple next day.

IX. Now, the Lacedaemonians have temples of Death, Laughter, and that sort of thing, as well as of Fear. And they pay honours to Fear, not as they do to the powers which they try to avert because they think them baleful, but because they believe that fear is the chief support of their civil polity. For this reason, too, when the ephors enter upon their office, as Aristotle says, they issue a proclamation commanding all men to shave their moustaches, and to obey the laws, that these may not be severe upon them. They insist upon the shaving of the moustache, I think, in order that they may accustom the young men to obedience in the most trifling matters. And the men of old, in my opinion, did not regard bravery as a lack of fear, but as fear of reproach and dread of disgrace. For the men who feel most dread of the laws have most courage in

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καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἥκιστα δεδίασιν οἱ μάλιστα φοβού-
4 μνοι τὸ κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι. διὸ καὶ καλῶς ὁ εἰπών·

. . . ἵνα γὰρ δέος, ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς.

καὶ "Ομηρος,

αἰδοῖός τέ μοί ἐσσι, φίλε ἔκνυρ, δεινός τε·
καί

σιγῇ δειδιότες σημάντορας.

τὸ γὰρ αἰσχύνεσθαι μάλιστα συμβαίνει πρὸς οὓς
καὶ τὸ δεδοικέναι τοῖς πολλοῖς. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τὸ
τῶν ἐφόρων συσσίτιον τὸν φόβον ἵδρυνται Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι, μοναρχίας ἐγγυτάτῳ κατασκευασάμενοι
τὸ ἀρχεῖον.

Χ. Ὁ δ' οὖν Κλεομένης ἡμέρας γενομένης
προέγραψεν ὀγδοήκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν οὓς ἔδει
μεταστῆναι, καὶ τοὺς δίφρους ἀνείλε τῶν ἐφόρων
πλὴν ενός, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενος ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς χρη-
ματίζειν. ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσας ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ
τῶν πεπραγμένων. ἔφη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου
τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συμμιχθῆναι τοὺς γέροντας, καὶ
πολὺν χρόνον οὕτῳ διοικεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν
2 ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς δεομένην, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ πρὸς
Μεσσηνίους πολέμου μακροῦ γενομένου τοὺς βα-
σιλεῖς, διὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀσχόλους ὄντας αὐτοὺς
πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν, αἰρεῖσθαι τινὰς ἐκ τῶν φίλων
καὶ ἀπολείπειν τοῖς πολίταις ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐφόρους
προσαγορευθέντας, καὶ διατελεῖν γε τούτους τὸ

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facing their enemies; and those shun death least who most fear ill fame. Therefore it has been well said¹:

“ . . . for where dread is, there also is reverence.”

And Homer says²:

“ Revered art thou by me, dear father-in-law, and
dreaded too ; ”

and

“ Without a word, in dread of their leaders.”³ ”

For by the multitude reverence is most apt to be felt towards those whom they also fear. For this reason, too, the Lacedaemonians erected a temple to Fear alongside the mess-hall of the ephors, after they had endowed this magistracy with almost absolute powers.

X. And now to resume; Cleomenes, when day came, published a list of eighty citizens who must go into exile, and removed all the ephoral chairs except one; in this he purposed to sit himself for the transaction of public business. Then he called a general assembly and made a defence of his proceedings. He said that Lycurgus had blended the powers of senate and kings, and that for a long time the state was administered in this way and had no need of other officials. But later, when the Messenian war proved to be long, the kings, since their campaigns abroad left them no time to administer justice themselves, chose out some of their friends and left them behind to serve the citizens in their stead. These were called ephors, or *guardians*, and as a matter of fact they

¹ By Stasinus of Cyprus. Cf. Plato, *Euthyphro*, 12 a ; Kinkel, *Ep. Graec. Frag.* i. p. 30.

² *Iliad*, iii. 172, Helen to Priam.

³ *Iliad*, iv. 431, of the Achaeans marshalled for battle.

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- πρώτον ὑπηρέτας τῶν βασιλέων ὄντας, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπιστρέφοντας οὕτως λαθεῖν ἴδιον ἀρχεῖον κατασκευασμένους.
- 3 σημεῖον δὲ τούτου τὸ μέχρι νῦν μεταπεμπομένων τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρῶτον ἀντιλέγειν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον καλούντων ἀναστάντα βαδίζειν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἐπισφοδρύναντα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀνατεινόμενον Ἀστερωπὸν ἡλικίαις ὕστερον πολλαῖς ἔφορον γενέσθαι. μετριάζοντας μὲν οὖν αὐτούς, ἔφη, κρεῖττον ἦν ὑπομένειν, ἐξουσία δὲ ἐπιθέτω τὴν πατριὸν καταλύοντας ἀρχήν, ὥστε τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτινύνειν ἀκρίτους, ἀπειλεῖν δὲ τοῖς ποθοῦσιν αὐθις ἐπιδεῖν τὴν καλλίστην καὶ θειοτάτην ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατάστασιν,
- 4 οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. εἰ μὲν οὖν δυνατὸν ἦν ἄνευ σφαγῆς ἀπαλλάξαι τὰς ἐπείσάκτους τῆς Λακεδαίμονος κῆρας, τρυφᾶς καὶ πολυτελείας καὶ χρέα καὶ δανεισμοὺς καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα τούτων κακά, πενίαν καὶ πλοῦτον, εὐτυχέστατον ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι πάντων βασιλέων ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ ἱατρὸν ἀνωδύνως ἰασάμενον τὴν πατρίδα· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔχειν συγγνώμονα τὸν Λυκούργον, ὃς οὔτε βασιλεὺς ὢν οὔτε ἄρχων, ἰδιώτης δὲ βασιλεύειν ἐπιχειρῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγοράν, ὥστε δείσαντα τὸν βασιλέα Χάριλλον ἐπὶ βωμὸν καταφυγεῖν.
- 5 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὄντα χρηστὸν καὶ φιλόπατριν ταχὺ τῷ Λυκούργῳ τῶν πραττομένων μετασχεῖν
- 70

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continued at first to be assistants of the kings, but then gradually diverted the power into their own hands, and so, ere men were aware, established a magistracy of their own. As proof of this, Cleomenes cited the fact that down to that day, when the ephors summoned a king to appear before them, he refused to go at the first summons, and at the second, but at the third rose up and went to them ; and he said that the one who first added weight to the office, and extended its powers, Asteropus, was ephor many generations later. As long, then, he said, as the ephors kept within bounds, it had been better to bear with them ; but when with their assumed power they subverted the ancient form of government to such an extent as to drive away some kings, put others to death without trial, and threaten such as desired to behold again in Sparta her fairest and most divinely appointed constitution, it was not to be endured. If, then, it had been possible without bloodshed to rid Sparta of her imported curses, namely luxury and extravagance, and debts and usury, and those elder evils than these, namely, poverty and wealth, he would have thought himself the most fortunate king in the world to have cured the disease of his country like a wise physician, without pain ; but as it was, he said, in support of the necessity that had been laid upon him, he could cite Lycurgus, who, though he was neither king nor magistrate, but a private person attempting to act as king, proceeded with an armed retinue into the market-place, so that Charillus the king took fright and fled for refuge to an altar. That king, however, Cleomenes said, since he was an excellent man and a lover of his country, speedily concurred in the measures of Lycurgus and accepted

καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν δέξασθαι τῆς πολιτείας, ἔργῳ δὲ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον ὅτι πολιτείαν μεταβαλεῖν ἄνευ βίας καὶ φόβου χαλεπὸν ἐστίν, οἷς αὐτὸν ἔφη μετριώτατα κεχρηῆσθαι, τοὺς ἐνισταμένους τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἐκποδῶν
6 ποιησάμενον. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἔφη πᾶσι τὴν τε γῆν ἅπασαν εἰς μέσον τιθέναι, καὶ χρεῶν τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ἀπαλλάττειν, καὶ τῶν ξένων κρίσιν ποιεῖν καὶ δοκιμασίαν, ὅπως οἱ κράτιστοι γενόμενοι Σπαρτιᾶται σῶζωσι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ παυσώμεθα τὴν Λακωνικὴν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν λείαν οὔσαν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἀμυνόντων ἐφορῶντες.

XI. Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς εἰς μέσον τὴν οὐσίαν ἔθηκε καὶ Μεγιστόνους ὁ πατρῷς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἕκαστος, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πολῖται πάντες, ἡ δὲ χώρα διενεμήθη. κλήρον δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότων φυγάδων ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστῳ, καὶ κατάξειν ἅπαντας ὁμολόγησε τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ γενομένων.
2 ἀναπληρώσας δὲ τὸ πολίτευμα τοῖς χαριεστάτοις τῶν περιοίκων ὀπλίτας τετρακισχιλίους ἐποίησε, καὶ διδάξας αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ δόρατος χρῆσθαι σαρίσσῃ δι' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα φορεῖν δι' ὀχάνης, μὴ διὰ πόρπακος, ἐπὶ τὴν παιδείαν τῶν νέων ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν λεγομένην ἀγωγὴν, ἧς τὰ πλεῖστα παρὼν ὁ Σφαῖρος αὐτῷ συγκαθίστη, ταχὺ τὸν προσήκοντα τῶν τε γυμνασίων καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων κόσμον ἀναλαμβάνοντων, καὶ συστελλο-

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the change of constitution ; still, as a matter of fact Lycurgus by his own acts bore witness to the difficulty of changing a constitution without violence and fear. To these, Cleomenes said, he had himself resorted with the greatest moderation, for he had but put out of the way the men who were opposed to the salvation of Sparta. For all the rest, he said, the whole land should be common property, debtors should be set free from their debts, and foreigners should be examined and rated, in order that the strongest of them might be made Spartan citizens and help to preserve the state by their arms. "In this way," he said, "we shall cease to behold Sparta the booty of Aetolians and Illyrians through lack of men to defend her."

XI. After this, to begin with, Cleomenes himself placed his property in the common stock, as did Megistonöus his step-father and every one of his friends besides ; next, all the rest of the citizens did the same, and the land was parcelled out. Cleomenes also assigned a portion of land to each man who had been exiled by him, and promised to bring them all home after matters had become quiet. Then he filled up the body of citizens with the most promising of the free provincials, and thus raised a body of four thousand men-at-arms, whom he taught to use a long pike, held in both hands, instead of a short spear, and to carry their shields by a strap instead of by a fixed handle. Next he devoted himself to the training of the young men and to the "agoge," or ancient discipline, most of the details of which Sphaerus, who was then in Sparta, helped him in arranging. And quickly was the proper system of bodily training and public messes resumed, a few out

μένων ὀλίγων μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἐκουσίως δὲ τῶν πλείστων εἰς τὴν εὐτελεῆ καὶ Λακωνικὴν ἐκείνην
 3 δίαιταν. ὅμως δὲ τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας ὄνομα παρα-
 μυθούμενος ἀπέδειξε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα τὸν
 ἀδελφὸν Εὐκλείδαν. καὶ τότε μόνον Σπαρτιάταις
 ἐκ μιᾶς οἰκίας συνέβη δύο σχεῖν βασιλέας.

XII. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τὸν
 Ἄρατον, ὡς ἐπισφαλῶς αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἔχοντων διὰ τὸν νεωτερισμόν, οὐκ ἂν οἰομένους
 προελθεῖν ἔξω τῆς Λακεδαίμονος οὐδὲ ἀπολιπεῖν
 μετέωρον ἐν κινήματι τηλικούτῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ
 ἀγεννὲς οὐδὲ ἄχρηστον ἡγήσατο τὴν προθυμίαν
 2 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐμ-
 βαλὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν Μεγαλοπολιτικὴν ὠφελείας τε
 μεγάλας ἤθροισε καὶ φθορὰν πολλὴν ἀπειργά-
 σατο τῆς χώρας. τέλος δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον 810
 τεχνίτας ἐκ Μεσσήνης διαπορευομένους λαβὼν,
 καὶ πηξάμενος θέατρον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, καὶ προ-
 θεὶς ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα μνῶν ἀγῶνα, μίαν ἡμέραν
 ἐθεᾶτο καθήμενος, οὐ δεόμενος θεάς, ἀλλ' οἶον
 ἐντρυφῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ περιουσίαν τινὰ τοῦ
 κρατεῖν πολὺ τῷ καταφρονεῖν ἐπιδεικνύμενος.
 3 ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν
 στρατευμάτων ἐκείνο μόνον οὐ μίμους παρακο-
 λουθοῦντας εἶχεν, οὐ θαυματοποιούς, οὐκ ὀρχη-
 στρίδας, οὐ ψαλτρίδας, ἀλλὰ πάσης ἀκολασίας
 καὶ βωμολοχίας καὶ πανηγυρισμοῦ καθαρὸν ἦν,
 τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μελετώντων τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν
 πρεσβυτέρων διδασκόντων, τὰς δὲ παιδιὰς, ὅποτε
 σχολάζοιεν, ταῖς συνήθεσιν εὐτραπελίαις καὶ τῷ
 λέγειν τι χάριεν καὶ Λακωνικὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους

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of necessity, but most with a willing spirit, subjecting themselves to the old Spartan regime with all its simplicity. And yet, desiring to give the name of absolute power a less offensive sound, he associated with himself in royal power his brother Eucleidas. And this was the only time when the Spartans had two kings from the same house.

XII. Learning that Aratus and the Achaeans believed that this revolution had jeopardized his position, and therefore did not think that he would venture forth outside of Sparta, or leave the city while it was still in the suspense of so great an agitation, he thought it a fine and helpful thing to make a display of the ready zeal of his army to his enemies. Accordingly, he invaded the territory of Megalopolis, collected large booty, and devastated the country far and wide. And finally arresting a company of actors who were passing through the country from Messen , he built a theatre in the enemy's territory, instituted a contest for a prize of forty minae, and sat spectator for a whole day; not that he felt the need of a spectacle, but in exultant mockery, as it were, of his enemies, and to show to the world by his contempt for them that he held complete control of affairs, with something, as it were, to spare. For at other times, the Spartan alone of Greek or Macedonian armies had no players in attendance, no jugglers, no dancing-girls, no harpists, but was free from every kind of licence, scurrility, and general festivity; while for the most part the young men practised themselves and the elder men taught them, and for amusement, when their work was over, they had recourse to their wonted pleasantries and the interchange of Spartan

διατιθεμένων. ἦν δὲ ἔχει τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς παιδιᾶς εἶδος ὠφέλειαν, ἐν τῷ Λυκούργου βίῳ γέγραπται.

XIII. Πάντων δ' αὐτὸς ἐγίγνετο διδάσκαλος, εὐτελῇ καὶ ἀφελῇ καὶ φορτικὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔχοντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὥσπερ παράδειγμα σωφροσύνης ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος· ὃ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ῥοπήν τινα παρέσχευ αὐτῷ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἐντυγχάνοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεῦσιν οὐχ οὕτω κατεπλήττοντο τοὺς πλούτους καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας, ὡς ἐβδελύττοντο τὴν ὑπεροψίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἐπαχθῶς καὶ τραχέως προσφερομένων τοῖς ἐν-
2 τυγχάνουσι· πρὸς δὲ Κλεομένη βαδίζοντες, ὄντα τε δὴ βασιλέα καὶ καλούμενον, εἶτα ὀρώντες οὐ πορφύρας τινὰς οὐ χλαῖνας περὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ κλι- νιδίων καὶ φορείων κατασκευάς, οὐδ' ὑπ' ἀγγέλων ὄχλου καὶ θυρωρῶν ἢ διὰ γραμματείων χρηματί- ζοντα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἱματίῳ τῷ τυχόντι πρὸς τὰς δεξιώσεις ἀπαντῶντα καὶ διαλεγόμενον καὶ σχολάζοντα τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἱλαρῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως, ἐκηλοῦντο καὶ κατε- δημαγωγοῦντο, καὶ μόνον ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐκείνου ἔφασαν γεγονέναι.

3 Τῶν δὲ δείπνων αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν καθημερινὸν ἦν ἐν τρικλίνῳ σφόδρα συνεσταλμένον καὶ Λακω- νικόν, εἰ δὲ πρέσβεις ἢ ξένους δέχοιτο, δύο μὲν ἄλλαι προσπαρεβάλλοντο κλίνει, μικρῷ δὲ μᾶλ- λον οἱ ὑπηρέται τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπελάμπρυνον, οὐ καρυκείαις τισὶν οὐδὲ πέμμασιν, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἀφθονωτέρας εἶναι τὰς παραθέσεις καὶ φιλανθρω- πότερον τὸν οἶνον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπετίμησέ τινα τῶν

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witticisms. Of what great advantage this sort of amusement is, I have told in my *Life of Lycurgus*.¹

XIII. In all these matters Cleomenes was himself a teacher. His own manner of life was simple, plain, and no more pretentious than that of the common man, and it was a pattern of self-restraint for all. This gave him a great advantage in his dealings with the other Greeks. For when men had to do with the other kings, they were not so much awed by their wealth and extravagance as they were filled with loathing for their haughtiness and pomp as they gave offensive and harsh answers to their auditors; but when men came to Cleomenes, who was a real as well as a titled king, and then saw no profusion of purple robes or shawls about him, and no array of couches and litters; when they saw, too, that he did not make the work of his petitioners grievous and slow by employing a throng of messengers and door-keepers or by requiring written memorials, but came in person, just as he happened to be dressed, to answer the salutations of his visitors, conversing at length with those who needed his services and devoting time cheerfully and kindly to them, they were charmed and completely won over, and declared that he alone was a descendant of Heracles.

His usual supper was held in a room which had only three couches, and was very circumscribed and Spartan; but if he was entertaining ambassadors or guest-friends, two more couches would be brought in, and the servants would make the table a trifle more brilliant, not with sauces or sweetmeats, but with more generous dishes and a kindlier wine. And indeed he censured one of his friends, when he heard

¹ Chapter xii.

φίλων ἀκούσας ὅτι ξένους ἐστιῶν ζωμὸν αὐτοῖς μέλανα καὶ μάζαν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις, παρέθηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν ἐν τούτοις οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους λίαν ἀκριβῶς λακωνίζειν.

- 4 ἀπαρθείσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης εἰσεκομίζετο τρίπους κρατῆρα χαλκοῦν ἔχων οἶνου μεστὸν καὶ φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς δικοτύλους δύο καὶ ποτήρια τῶν ἀργυρῶν ὀλίγα παντάπασιν, ἐξ ὧν ἔπινεν ὁ βουλόμενος, ἄκουτι δὲ οὐδεὶς ποτήριον προσέφερεν. ἀκρόαμα δὲ οὐτ' ἦν οὐτ' ἐπεζητεῖτο· ἐπαιδαγῶγει γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁμιλία τὸν πότον, τὰ μὲν ἐρωτῶν, τὰ δὲ διηγούμενος, οὔτε τὴν σπουδὴν ἀηδῆ τῶν λόγων τὴν τε παιδιὰν ἐπίχαριν καὶ ἀσόλοικον
- 5 ἔχόντων. ἂς μὲν γὰρ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θήρας ἐποιοῦντο, χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς δελεάζοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἀτέχνους καὶ ἀδίκους ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ὁμιλία καὶ λόγῳ χάριν ἔχοντι καὶ πίστιν οἰκιοῦσθαι καὶ προσάγεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐφαίνετο κάλλιστον αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλικώτατον, ὥς οὐδενὶ φίλου διαφέροντα μισθωτὸν ἢ τῷ τὸν μὲν ἤθει καὶ λόγῳ, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀλίσκεσθαι.

XIV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οἱ Μαντινεῖς αὐτὸν ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρεισπεσόντι 811 τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν συνεκβαλόντες ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδοὺς αὐθημερὸν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Τεγέαν. ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐκπεριελθὼν δι' Ἀρκαδίας κατέβαινε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀχαικάς Φεράς,

that in entertaining guest-friends he had set before them the black soup and barley-bread of the public mess-tables; "for," said he, "in these matters and before foreigners we must not be too strictly Spartan." After the table had been removed, a tripod would be brought in on which were a bronze mixer full of wine, two silver bowls holding a pint apiece, and drinking cups of silver, few all told, from which he who wished might drink; but no one had a cup forced upon him. Music there was none, nor was any such addition desired; for Cleomenes entertained the company himself by his conversation, now asking questions, now telling stories, and his discourse was not unpleasantly serious, but had a sportiveness that charmed and was free from rudeness. For the hunt which all the other kings made for men, ensnaring them with gifts and bribes and corrupting them, Cleomenes considered unskilful and unjust. In his eyes it was the noblest method, and one most fit for a king, to win over his visitors and attach them to himself by an intercourse and conversation which awakened pleasure and confidence. For he felt that a hireling differed from a friend in nothing except that the one was captured by a man's character and conversation, the other by a man's money.

XIV. To begin with, then, the Mantineians invited him to help them, and after he had made his way into the city by night, they expelled the Achaean garrison and put themselves in his hands. Cleomenes restored to them their laws and constitution, and on the same day marched away to Tegea. Then, shortly afterwards, he fetched a compass through Arcadia and marched down upon the Achaean city of Pherae. His

βουλόμενος ἡ μάχην θέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
 ἢ διαβάλλειν τὸν Ἄρατον ὡς ἀποδιδράσκοντα καὶ
 προϊέμενον αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν. ἐστρατήγει μὲν γὰρ
 Ὑπερβατᾶς τότε, τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου τὸ πᾶν ἦν
 2 κράτος ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἐξελθόντων δὲ πανδημεὶ
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ στρατοπεδευσασμένων ἐν Δύμαις
 περὶ τὸ Ἑκατόμβαιον, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κλεομένης
 ἔδοξε μὲν οὐ καλῶς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Δυμαίων
 πόλεως, πολεμίας οὐσης, καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αὐλίσασθαι, τολμηρῶς δὲ προκαλού-
 μενος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἠνάγκασε συμβαλεῖν, καὶ
 νικήσας κατὰ κράτος καὶ τρεψάμενος τὴν φά-
 λαγγα πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν,
 πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ζώντων ἐκυρίευσεν. ἐπελθὼν δὲ
 Λάγγωνι καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τοὺς φρουροῦντας
 ἐξελάσας ἀπέδωκεν Ἡλείοις τὴν πόλιν.

XV. Οὕτω δὲ συντετριμμένοις τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὁ
 μὲν Ἄρατος, εἰώθως παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν αἰὲ στρατη-
 γεῖν, ἀπείπατο τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ παρητήσατο κα-
 λούντων καὶ δεομένων· οὐ καλῶς, οἶον ἐν χειμῶνι
 πραγμάτων μείζονι, μεθεῖς ἐτέρῳ τὸν οἶακα
 καὶ προέμενος τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης
 πρῶτον μὲν μέτρια τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐδόκει πρέσβεσιν
 ἐπιτάττειν, ἐτέρους δὲ πέμπων ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ
 παραδιδόναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὡς τὰλλα μὴ διοισό-
 μενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
 2 εὐθὺς ἀποδώσων καὶ τὰ χωρία. βουλομένων δὲ
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις δέχεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις
 καὶ τὸν Κλεομένην καλούντων εἰς Λέρναν, ὅπου

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desire was either to fight a battle with the Achaeans, or to bring Aratus into disrepute for running away and abandoning the country to him. For although Hyperbatas was general at that time, Aratus had the entire power in the Achaean league. Moreover, after the Achaeans had marched out with all their forces and pitched their camp at Dymae, near the Hecatombaeum, Cleomenes came up against them. He did not think it well, however, to pitch his own camp between the city of Dymae, which was hostile, and the army of the Achaeans, and therefore boldly challenged the Achaeans and forced them to engage. He was completely victorious, routed their phalanx, slew many of them in the battle, and took many prisoners also. Then he went up against Langon, drove out the Achaean garrison, and restored the city to the Eleians.

XV. The Achaeans having been thus utterly overwhelmed, Aratus, who was wont to be their general every other year, refused the office and declined to listen to their invitations and prayers; thus unwisely, when the ship of state was in a heavy storm, handing over the helm to another and abandoning the post of authority. Cleomenes, on the other hand, at the first was thought to impose moderate terms upon the Achaean embassy, but afterwards he sent other envoys and bade them hand over to him the leadership among the Greeks, assuring them that on other points he would not quarrel with them, but would at once restore to them their captives and their strongholds.¹ The Achaeans were willing to settle matters on these terms, and invited Cleomenes to come to Lerna,

¹ Cf. the *Aratus*, xxxviii. 5 f.

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔμελλον ἔχειν, ἔτυχε τὸν Κλεομένη
 συντόνως ὁδεύσαντα καὶ χρησάμενον παρὰ καιρὸν
 ὑδροποσίᾳ αἵματος πλήθος ἀνενεγκεῖν καὶ τὴν
 φωνὴν ἀποκοπήναι. διὸ τῶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτων
 ἀπέπεμψε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους,
 τὸν δὲ σύλλογον ὑπερθέμενος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς
 Λακεδαίμονα.

XVI. Τοῦτο διελυμήνατο τὰ πράγματα τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναλα-
 βεῖν αὐτὴν ἔτι καὶ διαφυγεῖν τὴν Μακεδόνων
 ὕβριν καὶ πλεονεξίαν δυναμένης. ὁ γὰρ Ἄρατος,
 εἴτε ἀπιστία καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ Κλεομένου, εἴτε
 φθονῶν εὐτυχοῦντι παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ νομίζων ἔτη
 τρία καὶ τριάκοντα πρωτεύοντος αὐτοῦ δεινὸν
 εἶναι τὴν δόξαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιφύντα
 2 νέον ἄνδρα καθελεῖν, καὶ παραλαβεῖν πραγμάτων
 ἠϋξημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κεκρατημένων χρόνον
 τοσοῦτον ἀρχήν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειράτω τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς παραβιάζεσθαι καὶ διακωλύειν ὥς δὲ
 οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ τοῦ Κλεομένου ἐκπεπληγ-
 μένοι τὸ θράσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δικαίαν ἐποιοῦντο
 τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰς τὸ πάτριον
 3 σχῆμα κοσμοῦντων τὴν Πελοπόννησον, τρέπεται
 πρὸς ἔργον οὐδενὶ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσήκον,
 αἰσχιστον δ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ καὶ πεπολιτευμένων ἀναξιώτατον, Ἀντί-
 γονον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καλεῖν καὶ Μακεδόνων
 ἐμπιπλάναι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, οὗς αὐτὸς ἐκ
 Πελοποννήσου μειράκιον ὧν ἐξήλασεν ἐλευθερώ-
 σας τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, καὶ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς βα-
 σιλεῦσιν ὑποπτος καὶ διάφορος γενόμενος, τουτοῦ

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where they were about to hold their assembly. But it fell out that Cleomenes, who had made a strenuous march and then too soon had drunk water, brought up a great quantity of blood and lost his speech. For this reason he sent back to the Achaeans the most prominent men among their captives, but postponed the conference and went back home to Sparta.

XVI. This ruined the cause of Greece, at a time when she was still able in some way or other to recover from her grievous plight and escape Macedonian greed and insolence. For Aratus (whether it was through distrust and fear of Cleomenes, or because he envied the king his unlooked for success, and thought it a terrible thing after three and thirty years of leadership to have his own fame and power stripped from him by an upstart of a young man, and the authority taken over in a cause which he himself had built up and controlled for so long a time), in the first place tried to force the Achaeans aside and hinder their purpose; but when they paid no heed to him in their consternation at the daring spirit of Cleomenes, but actually saw justice in the demands of the Lacedaemonians, who were seeking to restore the Peloponnesus to its ancient status, Aratus took a step which would have been unmeet for any Greek to take, but was most shameful for him and most unworthy of his career as soldier and statesman. For he invited Antigonus into Greece and filled the Peloponnesus with Macedonians, whom he himself had driven out of Peloponnesus when, as a young man, he delivered Acrocorinthus from their power¹—he who had incurred the suspicion and hostility of all the reigning kings, and of this very Antigonus had

¹ See the *Aratus*, xvi. ff.

- δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰρηκῶς κακὰ μυρία δι' ὧν
 4 ἀπολέλοιπεν ὑπομνημάτων. καίτοι πολλὰ παθεῖν
 καὶ παραβαλέσθαι φησὶν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων,
 ὅπως ἡ πόλις ἀπαλλαγείη φρουρᾶς καὶ Μακεδόνων·
 εἶτα τούτους ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ μεθ' ὅπλων εἰσήγαγεν ἄχρι τῆς γυναικωνί- 812
 τιδος· τὸν δὲ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονότα καὶ βασι-
 λεύοντα Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν,
 ὥσπερ ἁρμονίαν ἐκκελυμένην, ἀνακρουόμενον αὐθις
 ἐπὶ τὸν σῶφρονα καὶ Δώριον ἐκείνιον τοῦ Λυκούρ-
 γου νόμον καὶ βίον, οὐκ ἡξίου Σικυωνίων ἡγεμόνα
 5 καὶ Τριταίων γράφεσθαι, φεύγων δὲ τὴν μάξαν
 καὶ τὸν τρίβωνα, καὶ τὸ δεινότατον ὧν κατηγορεῖ
 Κλεομένους, ἀναίρεσιν πλούτου καὶ πενίας ἐπαν-
 ὀρθωσιν, διαδήματι καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ Μακε-
 δονικοῖς καὶ σατραπικοῖς προστάγμασιν ὑπέρριψε
 μετὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ Κλεομένει ποιεῖν
 δοκῇ τὸ προσταττόμενον, Ἀντιγόνεια θύων καὶ
 παιᾶνας ᾄδων αὐτὸς ἐστεφανωμένος εἰς ἄνθρωπον
 ὑπὸ φθόγης κατασηπόμενον.
 6 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ Ἀράτου βουλόμενοι
 κατηγορεῖν γράφομεν (ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ
 οὗτος Ἑλληνικὸς γέγονε καὶ μέγας), οἰκτείροντες
 δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὴν ἀσθένειαν, εἰ μὴδὲ
 ἐν ἡθεσιν οὕτως ἀξιολόγοις καὶ διαφόροις πρὸς
 ἀρετὴν ἐκφέρειν δύναται τὸ καλὸν ἀνεμέσητον.
 XVII. Ἐλθόντων δὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἄργος αὐθις
 ἐπὶ τὸν σύλλογον καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐκ Τεγέας
 καταβεβηκότος ἐλπίς ἦν πολλή τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 ἔσεσθαι τὴν διάλυσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος, ἤδη διωμο-
 λογημένων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον τῶν με-

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said countless evil things in the commentaries which he left behind him. And still, though he had incurred many hardships and dangers in behalf of Athens, as he says himself, in order that the city might be set free from its garrison of Macedonians, he afterwards brought these Macedonians, under arms, into his own country and into his own home; aye, even into the apartments of his women;¹ but he would not consent that the man who was a descendant of Heracles and king of Sparta, and was seeking to bring its ancient polity, now like a decadent melody, back again to that restrained and Dorian law and life which Lycurgus had instituted, should be entitled leader of Sicyon and Tritaea. Instead of this, to avoid the Spartan barley-bread and short-cloak, and the most dreadful of the evils for which he denounced Cleomenes, namely, abolition of wealth and restoration of poverty, he cast himself and all Achaea down before a diadem, a purple robe, Macedonians, and oriental behests. And that he might not be thought to obey Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to Antigonus and sang paeans himself, with a garland on his head, in praise of a man who was far gone with consumption.

I write this, however, not with any desire to denounce Aratus, for in many ways he was a true Greek and a great one, but out of pity for the weakness of human nature, which, even in characters so notably disposed towards excellence, cannot produce a nobility that is free from blame.

XVII. When the Achaeans came to Argos again for the conference, and Cleomenes had come down from Tegea, there was strong hope that the two men would come to an agreement. But Aratus, since the most important questions between him and Antigonus

¹ See the *Aratus*, xlix. 1.

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- γίστων, φοβούμενος τὸν Κλεομένη μὴ πάντα διαπράξῃται καθομιλήσας τὸ πλῆθος ἢ καὶ βιασάμενος, ἡξίου λαβόντα τριακοσίους ὁμήρους μόνον εἰσιέναι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἢ κατὰ γυμνάσιον ἔξωθεν τὸ Κυλλαράβιον προσελθόντα μετὰ τῆς
- 2 δυνάμεως διαλέγεσθαι. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Κλεομένης ἄδικα πάσχειν ἔφασκε· δεῖν γὰρ εὐθύς αὐτῷ τότε προειπεῖν, οὐ νῦν, ἡκοντος ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς ἐκείνων, ἀπιστεῖν καὶ ἀπελαύνειν. γράψας δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἧς ἦν τὸ πλεῖστον Ἀράτου κατηγορία, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀράτου λοιδορήσαντος αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνέξευξε διὰ ταχέων καὶ κήρυκα πόλεμον προερούντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ εἰς Ἀργος, ἀλλ' εἰς Αἴγιον, ὥς φησιν Ἀρατος, ὅπως φθάσῃ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν.
- 3 Ἐγγέγονει δὲ κίνημα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὥρμησαν αἱ πόλεις, τῶν μὲν δήμων νομὴν τε χώρας καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐλπισάντων, τῶν δὲ πρώτων πολλαχοῦ βαρυνομένων τὸν Ἀρατον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἐχόντων ὡς ἐπάγοντα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ Μακεδόνας. διὸ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Κλεομένης εἰς Ἀχαΐαν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἶλε Πελλήνην ἑξαπίνης ἐπιπεσών, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας ἐξέβαλε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.¹
- 4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φενεὸν προσηγάγετο καὶ Πεντέλειον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ προδοσίαν τινὰ πραττομένην ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Σικυῶνι τοὺς

¹ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν with Blass: μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

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had already been settled, and because he was afraid that Cleomenes would carry all his points by either winning over or constraining the multitude, demanded that Cleomenes, after receiving three hundred hostages, should come into the city alone for his conference with them, or else should come with his army as far as the gymnasium outside the city called Cyllarabium, and treat with them there. When Cleomenes heard this, he declared that he had been wronged; for he ought to have been told of this when the conference was first proposed, and not be distrusted and driven away now, when he had come to their very doors. Then, after writing a letter to the Achaeans on the matter, most of which was denunciation of Aratus, and after Aratus on his part had abused him at great length to the multitude, Cleomenes broke camp with all speed and sent a herald to declare war upon the Achaeans, not to Argos, but to Aegium, in order, as Aratus says, that he might anticipate their preparations for defence.¹

Now, there had been agitation among the Achaeans, and their cities were eager for revolt, the common people expecting division of land and abolition of debts, and the leading men in many cases being dissatisfied with Aratus, and some of them also enraged at him for bringing Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Therefore Cleomenes, encouraged by these conditions, invaded Achaea. First, he took Pellené by a sudden assault, and drove out the Achaean garrison; next, he brought over to his cause Pheneus and Penteleium. Presently the Achaeans, who were afraid that some treachery was afoot in Corinth and

¹ Cf. the *Aratus*, xxxix.

ἱππεῖς καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπέστειλαν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐκεῖ παραφυλάξοντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ Νέμεια καταβάντες εἰς Ἄργος ἦγον, ἐλπίσας, ὅπερ ἦν, ὁ Κλεομένης, ὃχλου πανηγυρικοῦ καὶ θεατῶν τὴν πόλιν γέμουσαν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπελθὼν μᾶλλον τaráξειν, νυκτὸς ἦγε πρὸς τὰ τείχη τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τόπον καταλαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου χαλεπὸν ὄντα καὶ δυσπρόσοδον οὕτως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐξέπληξεν ὥστε μηδένα τραπέσθαι πρὸς ἀλκὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουρὰν λαβεῖν, καὶ δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν ὁμήρους εἴκοσι, καὶ γενέσθαι συμμάχους Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔχοντας ἐκείνου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

XVIII. Οὐ μικρὸν οὖν τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπῆρχεν. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πάλοι βασιλεῖς Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὰ πραγματευσάμενοι προσαγαγέσθαι τὸ Ἄργος βεβαίως ἠδυνήθησαν, ὃ τε δεινότατος τῶν στρατηγῶν Πύρρος εἰσελθὼν καὶ βιασάμενος οὐ κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε καὶ πολὺ συνδιεφθάρη μέρος αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὅθεν ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ 813
διάνοιαν τοῦ Κλεομένου· καὶ οἱ πρότερον αὐτοῦ τὸν Σόλωνα καὶ τὸν Λυκούργον ἀπομιμήσασθαι φάσκοντες ἐν τῇ τῶν χρεῶν ἀφέσει καὶ τῇ τῶν κτημάτων ἐξισώσει καταγελῶντες, τότε παντελῶς ἐπείθοντο τοῦτο αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς περὶ τοὺς
3 Σπαρτιατάς μεταβολῆς. οὕτω γὰρ ἔπραττον τὸ πρὶν ταπεινὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀδυνάτως εἶχον, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδας ἀνδραπόδων ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπαγαγεῖν, ὅτε φασὶν εἰπεῖν τινα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Σπαρτιατῶν ὡς ὤνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀποκουφί-

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Sicyon, sent their horsemen and their mercenaries out of Argos to keep watch over those cities, while they themselves went down to Argos and began celebrating the Nemean games. So Cleomenes, expecting, as was the case, that while the throng was holding festival and the city was full of spectators, his unexpected approach would be more apt to cause confusion, led his army by night up to the walls, occupied the region about the Aspis overlooking the theatre, a region which was rugged and hard to come at, and so terrified the inhabitants that not a man of them thought of defence, but they accepted a garrison and gave twenty citizens as hostages, agreeing to become allies of the Lacedaemonians, and to give Cleomenes the chief command.

XVIII. This greatly increased the reputation and power of Cleomenes. For the ancient kings of Sparta, in spite of numerous efforts, were not able to secure the abiding allegiance of Argos; and the most formidable of generals, Pyrrhus, although he fought his way into the city, could not hold it, but was slain there, and a great part of his army perished with him.¹ Therefore men admired the swiftness and intelligence of Cleomenes; and those who before this had mocked at him for feebly imitating, as they said, Solon and Lycurgus in the abolition of debts and the equalization of property, were now altogether convinced that this imitation was the cause of the change in the Spartans. For these were formerly in so low a state and so unable to help themselves, that Aetolians invaded Laconia and took away fifty thousand slaves. It was at this time, we are told, that one of the elder Spartans remarked that the enemy had helped Sparta

¹ See the *Pyrrhus*, xxxii. ff.

- 4 **σαντες.** ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος ἀψάμενοι μόνον τῶν πατρίων ἔθων καὶ καταστάντες εἰς ἴχνος ἐκείνης τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὥσπερ παρόντι καὶ συμπολιτευομένῳ τῷ Λυκούργῳ πολλὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἀνδρείας ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πειθαρχίας, τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἡγεμονίαν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἀνακτώμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

- XIX. Ἐαλωκότος δὲ Ἄργους καὶ κατόπιν εὐθύς προσθεμένων τῷ Κλεομένει Κλεωνῶν καὶ Φλιούντος, ἐτύγχανε μὲν ὁ Ἄρατος ἐν Κορίνθῳ ποιούμενός τινα τῶν λεγομένων λακωνίζειν ἐξέτασιν· ἀγγελίας δὲ περὶ τούτων προσπεσούσης διαταραχθεὶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποκλίνουσας αἰσθόμενος πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι βουλομένην, ἐκάλει μὲν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοὺς πολίτας, ἔλαθε δὲ διολισθὼν ἄχρι τῆς πύλης. ἐκεῖ δὲ τοῦ ἵππου προσαχθέντος ἀναβάς ἔφυγεν
- 2 εἰς Σικυῶνα. τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἀμιλλωμένων εἰς Ἄργος πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένη φησὶν ὁ Ἄρατος τοὺς ἵππους πάντας ῥαγῆναι, τὸν δὲ Κλεομένη μέμφεσθαι τοὺς Κορινθίους μὴ συλλαβόντας αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐάσαντας διαφυγεῖν· οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν Μεγιστόνουν παρὰ τοῦ Κλεομένου δεομένου παραλαβεῖν τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον (εἶχε γὰρ φρουρὰν Ἀχαιῶν) καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα διδόντος· ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὥς οὐκ ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ἔχεται· ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἄρατος γέγραφε.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους ἐπελθὼν καὶ προσαγαγόμενος Τροιζηνίους, Ἐπιδαυρίους, Ἑρμιονέας, ἤκεν εἰς Κόρινθον καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν περιεχαράκωσε, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ βουλομένων

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by lightening her burden. But now only a little time had elapsed, and they had as yet barely resumed their native customs and re-entered the track of their famous discipline, when, as if before the very eyes of Lycurgus and with his co-operation, they gave abundant proof of valour and obedience to authority, by recovering the leadership of Hellas for Sparta and making all Peloponnesus their own again.

XIX. Thus Argos was taken by Cleomenes, and immediately afterwards Cleonae and Phlius came over to him. When this happened, Aratus was at Corinth, holding a judicial examination of those who were reputed to favour the Spartan cause. The unexpected tidings threw him into consternation, and perceiving that the city was leaning towards Cleomenes and wished to be rid of the Achaeans, he summoned the citizens into the council-hall, and then slipped away unnoticed to the city gate. There his horse was brought to him, and mounting it he fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were so eager to get to Cleomenes at Argos that, as Aratus says, all their horses were ruined. Aratus says also that Cleomenes upbraided the Corinthians for not seizing him, but letting him escape; however, Megistonous came to him, he says, bringing from Cleomenes a request for the surrender of Acrocorinthus (which was held by an Achaean garrison) and an offer of a large sum of money for it; to which he replied that he did not control affairs, but rather affairs controlled him. This is what Aratus writes.

But Cleomenes, marching up from Argos and taking over Troezen, Epidaurus, and Hermioné, came to Corinth. Its citadel he blockaded, since the Achaeans would not abandon it, and after summon-

ἐκλιπεῖν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκέλευσε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα λαβόντας φυλάττειν καὶ διοικεῖν.

4 Τριτύμαλλον δὲ πάλιν τὸν Μεσσήνιον ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὁμοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ διπλὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὴν σύνταξιν ἧς ἐλάμβανε παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀρατος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τε υἱὸν ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμήρων καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔπεισεν Ἀντιγόνῳ παραδιδόναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, οὕτως ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν τε Σικωνίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἐπόρθησε, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Ἀράτου, τῶν Κορινθίων αὐτῷ ψηφισαμένων, δωρεὰν ἔλαβε.

XX. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὴν Γεράνειαν ὑπερβάλλοντος οὐκ ᾔετο δεῖν τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄνεια χαρακώσας καὶ τειχίσας φυλάττειν, καὶ τοπομαχῶν ἀποτρίβεσθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας μᾶλλον ἢ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς φάλαγγα συνησκημένην. καὶ τούτοις χρώμενος τοῖς λογισ-

2 μοῖς εἰς ἀπορίαν καθίστη τὸν Ἀντίγονον. οὔτε γὰρ σίτον εἶχεν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἱκανόν, οὔτε βιάσασθαι τὴν πάροδον, καθημένου τοῦ Κλεομένου, ἣν ῥάδιον ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ παραδύεσθαι διὰ τοῦ Λεχαιίου νυκτὸς ἐξέπεσε καὶ τινὰς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥστε παντάπασι θαρρῆσαι τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπλημένους τῇ 814 νίκῃ τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀθυμεῖν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς οὐκ εὐπόρους κατακλειόμενον ὑπὸ

3 τῆς ἀνάγκης λογισμούς. ἐβουλεύετο γὰρ ἐπὶ

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ing the friends and stewards of Aratus, ordered them to take the house and property of Aratus into their charge and management. Then he sent Tritymallus the Messenian once more to Aratus, proposing that Acrocorinthus should be garrisoned by Achaeans and Lacedaemonians together, and promising Aratus personally double the stipend which he was receiving from King Ptolemy.¹ Aratus, however, would not listen to the proposition, but sent his son to Antigonus along with the other hostages, and persuaded the Achaeans to vote the surrender of Acrocorinthus to Antigonus. Therefore Cleomenes invaded the territory of Sicyon and ravaged it, and accepted the property of Aratus when the Corinthians voted it to him as a gift.

XX. When Antigonus with a large force was crossing the mountain-range of Geraneia, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify thoroughly, not the Isthmus, but the Oneian range of hills, and to wear out the Macedonians by a war of posts and positions, rather than to engage in formal battle with their disciplined phalanx. He carried out this plan, and thereby threw Antigonus into straits. For he had not a sufficient store of provisions, and it was no easy matter to force his passage while Cleomenes sat entrenched. Moreover, when he attempted to slip past his enemy in the night by way of Lechaeum, he was driven out and lost some of his soldiers. Therefore Cleomenes was altogether encouraged, and his men, elated by their victory, betook themselves to supper; but Antigonus was dejected, since he was shut up by necessity to difficult plans. For he was

¹ Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247-222 B.C. See the *Aratus*, xli. 3.

τὴν ἄκραν ἀναξενγύναι τὸ Ἑραῖον κακείθεν εἰς Σικυῶνα πλοίοις περαιῶσαι τὴν δύναμιν· ὃ καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ παρασκευῆς ἦν οὐ τῆς τυχοῦσης. ἤδη δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἦγον ἐξ Ἀργούς κατὰ θάλατταν ἄνδρες Ἀράτου φίλοι, καλοῦντες αὐτὸν ὡς ἀφισταμένων τῶν Ἀργείων τοῦ Κλεομένου. ὁ δὲ πράττων ἦν τὴν ἀπόστασιν Ἀριστοτέλης· καὶ τὸ πλήθος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπεισεν, ἀγανακτοῦν ὅτι χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς οὐκ ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλεο-
 4 μένης ἐλπίσασιν. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἄρατος παρ' Ἀντιγόνου στρατιώτας χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους παρέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκείνον οὐ περιέμενεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολίτας παρα-
 λαβὼν προσεμάχετο τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὴν ἀκρό-
 πολιν· καὶ παρὴν αὐτῷ Τιμόξενος μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ Σικυῶνος βοηθῶν.

XXI. Ταῦτα περὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκούσας ὁ Κλεομένης μετεπέμψατο Μεγιστόνουν, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθύς εἰς Ἄργος βοηθεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀργείων μάλιστα καταπιστω-
 σάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκείνος ἦν, καὶ διεκώλυσεν ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς ὑπόπτους. ἀπολύσας οὖν τὸν Μεγιστόνουν μετὰ δισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν αὐτὸς
 προσεῖχε τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους παρεθάρρυνεν ὡς οὐδενὸς μεγάλου περὶ τὸ Ἄργος,
 ἀλλὰ ταραχῆς τινος ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων γεγενη-
 2 μένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μεγιστόνους τε παρεισπεσὼν εἰς τὸ Ἄργος ἀνῆρέθη μαχόμενος καὶ μόγις ἀν-
 εἶχον οἱ φρουροὶ καὶ διεπέμποντο συχνοὺς πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένην, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Ἄργους οἱ πολέ-
 μοι κρατήσαντες καὶ τὰς παρόδους ἀποκλείσαντες

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planning to march off to the promontory of the Heraeum, and from there to put his army across to Sicyon in transports—an undertaking requiring much time and extraordinary preparations. But when it was already towards evening, there came to him from Argos by sea some friends of Aratus, who summoned him to the city, on the ground that the Argives were ready to revolt from Cleomenes. The author of the revolt was Aristotle; and the multitude were easy to persuade, being incensed because Cleomenes had not brought about the abolition of debts which they expected. Accordingly, Aratus took fifteen hundred soldiers from Antigonus and sailed to Epidaurus. Aristotle, however, did not await his coming, but at the head of the citizens made an attack upon the garrison of the citadel; and Timoxenus came to his aid from Sicyon with the Achaean army.

XXI. It was about midnight when Cleomenes heard of these things, and summoning Megistonoüs, he angrily ordered him to go at once to Argos with assistance; for it was Megistonoüs who had given him most assurances of the fidelity of the Argives, and had thereby prevented him from expelling the suspected citizens. After sending off Megistonoüs, then, with two thousand soldiers, he himself kept watch upon Antigonus and tried to encourage the Corinthians, telling them that there was no great trouble at Argos, but only a slight disturbance made by a few men. However, when Megistonoüs, who had made his way into Argos, was slain in battle, and the garrison held out with difficulty and kept sending frequent messengers to Cleomenes, he was afraid that if the enemy made themselves masters of

αὐτοὶ πορθῶσιν ἀδεῶς τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πολιορκῶσι τὴν Σπάρτην ἔρημον οὔσαν, ἀπῆγεν ἐκ Κορίνθου τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ταύτης μὲν εὐθὺς ἐστέρητο τῆς πόλεως εἰσελθόντος Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φρουρὰν καταστήσαντος· ἐπιβαλὼν δὲ τῷ Ἀργεὶ κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν εἰσαλέσθαι καὶ συνέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς πορείας τὴν δύναμιν, ἐκκόψας δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀσπίδα ψαλίδας ἀνέβη καὶ συνέμιξε τοῖς ἔνδον ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντέχουσι, καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς ἔνια κλίμακας προσθεὶς κατέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐρήμους πολεμίων ἐποίησε, τοῖς βέλεσι
 4 χρῆσασθαι προστάξας τοὺς Κρήτας. ὥς δὲ κατεῖδε τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καταβαίνοντα μετὰ τῆς φάλαγγος, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἤδη ρύδην ἐλαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀπέγνω κρατήσειν· καὶ συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῶς κατέβη καὶ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπηλλάττετο, μεγίστων μὲν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ χρόνῳ πραγμάτων ἐπικρατήσας, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὅλης ὁμοῦ τι μιᾷ περιόδῳ Πελοποννήσου κύριος γενέσθαι δεήσας, ταχὺ δ' αὖθις ἐκπεσὼν ἀπάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησαν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατευομένων, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰς πόλεις παρέδωκαν.

XXII. Οὕτω δ' αὐτῷ πεπραχότι κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ ἀπαγαγόντι τὴν δύναμιν, ἐσπέρας ἤδη περὶ Τεγέαν ἀφίκοντό τινες ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς ἐν χερσὶ θυστυχίαν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, τεθνάναι τὴν γυναῖκα, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ ταῖς πάνυ κατορθουμέναις ἐκεῖνος ἐνεκαρτέρει στρατείαις, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς κατέβαινε εἰς Σπάρτην,

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Argos and shut up the passes, they might ravage at will the Laconian territory and lay siege to Sparta, which he had left without defenders. He therefore led his army away from Corinth. This city was at once lost to him, for Antigonus entered it and set a garrison there; but Cleomenes, on reaching Argos, made an attempt to scale the walls, and with this in view drew his forces together from their march, and cutting his way through the tunnels running under the Aspis, or citadel, he made the ascent and effected a junction with his garrison inside, which was still holding out against the Achaeans. He actually got possession of some portions of the city by using scaling-ladders, and cleared the streets of the enemy by bringing his Cretan archers into action. But when he saw Antigonus with his phalanx descending from the heights into the plain, and his horsemen already streaming into the city, he gave up trying to master it; and gathering all his troops about him he made his way safely down from the citadel and withdrew along past the city wall. He had made the greatest possible conquests in the briefest possible time, and had come within a little of making himself master of all Peloponnesus by a single march through it, but had quickly lost everything again. For some of his allies left him at once, and others after a little while handed their cities over to Antigonus.

XXII. Such was the result of his expedition, and he was leading his army home, when, as it was already evening and he was near Tegea, messengers from Sparta came with tidings of a fresh and even greater calamity, the death of his wife. It was because of her that even in his most successful campaigns he could not endure to the end, but would

ἐρῶν τῆς Ἀγιάτιδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιού-
 2 μενος ἐκείνην. ἐπλήγη μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡλγησεν, ὥς
 εἰκὸς ἦν νέον ἄνδρα καλλίστης καὶ σωφρονε-
 στάτης ἀφρημένον γυναικός· οὐ μὴν κατήσχυεν
 οὐδὲ προήκατο τῷ πάθει τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ
 μέγεθος τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φωνὴν καὶ σχῆμα
 καὶ μορφὴν ἐν ᾧ πρότερον εἶχεν ἦθει διαφυλάτ-
 των τὰ τε προστάγματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου καὶ 815
 περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐφρόντιζεν.
 3 ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα κατέβαινεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ
 μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς οἶκοι καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀπαλγή-
 σας τὸ πένθος εὐθύς ἦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ὅλων
 λογισμοῖς.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς
 ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῷ βοήθειαν ἡξίου λαβεῖν
 ὁμηρα τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὴν μητέρα, χρόνον μὲν
 συχνὸν ἡσχύνητο φράσαι τῇ μητρί, καὶ πολλάκις
 εἰσελθὼν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος τῷ λόγῳ
 κατεσιώπησεν, ὥστε κακέκινεν ὑπονοεῖν καὶ παρὰ
 τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ διαπυνθάνεσθαι μή τι κατοκνεῖ
 4 βουλόμενος ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῇ. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Κλεο-
 μένους ἀποτολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἐξεγέλασέ τε μέγα
 καί, “Τοῦτο ἦν,” εἶπεν, “ὃ πολλάκις ὀρμήσας
 λέγειν ἀπεδειλίσας; οὐ θάττον ἡμᾶς ἐνθέμενος
 εἰς πλοῖον ἀποστελεῖς, ὅπου ποτὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ
 νομίζεις τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο χρησιμώτατον ἔσεσθαι,
 πρὶν ὑπὸ γήρως αὐτοῦ καθήμενον διαλυθῆναι;”

5 Πάντων οὖν ἐτοίμων γενομένων ἀφίκοντο μὲν
 εἰς Ταίναρον πεζῇ καὶ προὔπεμψεν ἡ δύναμις
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις· μέλλουσα δὲ τῆς νεῶς
 ἐπιβαίνειν ἡ Κρατησίκλεια τὸν Κλεομένη μόνον
 εἰς τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπήγαγε, καὶ περι-

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continually be coming home to Sparta, out of love for Agiatis and in supreme devotion to her. Of course, then, he was smitten with grief, as was natural for a young man who had lost a most beautiful and most sensible wife, but he did not allow his suffering to shame or betray the loftiness of his thought or the greatness of his spirit. He maintained his usual speech, dress, and bearing, gave the customary orders to his captains, and took thought for the safety of Tegea. Next morning he returned to Sparta, and after duly mourning his loss with his mother and children at home, he at once engaged in the measures which he planned for the public good.

Now, Ptolemy the king of Egypt promised him aid and assistance, but demanded his mother and his children as hostages. For a long time, therefore, he was ashamed to tell his mother, and though he often went to her and was at the very point of letting her know, he held his peace, so that she on her part became suspicious and enquired of his friends whether there was not something which he wished to impart to her but hesitated to do so. Finally, when Cleomenes plucked up courage to speak of the matter, his mother burst into a hearty laugh and said: "Was this the thing which thou wast often of a mind to tell me but lost thy courage? Make haste, put me on board a vessel, and send this frail body wheresoever thou thinkest it will be of most use to Sparta, before old age destroys it sitting idly here."

Accordingly, when all things were ready, they came to Taenarus by land, while the army escorted them under arms. And as Cratesicleia was about to embark, she drew Cleomenes aside by himself into the temple of Poseidon, and after embracing and kissing

- βαλοῦσα καὶ κατασπασαμένη διαλγούντα καὶ συν-
 6 τεταραγμένον, “Ἄγε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ Λακε-
 δαιμονίων, ὅπως, ἐπὰν ἔξω γενώμεθα, μηδεὶς ἴδῃ
 δακρύοντας ἡμᾶς μηδὲ ἀνάξιόν τι τῆς Σπάρτης
 ποιούντας. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν μόνον· αἱ τύχαι
 δέ, ὅπως ἂν ὁ δαίμων διδῷ, πάρεισι.” ταῦτα δ’
 εἰποῦσα καὶ καταστήσασα τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐπὶ τὴν
 ναῦν ἐχώρει τὸ παιδίον ἔχουσα, καὶ διὰ τάχους
 7 ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαίρειν τὸν κυβερνήτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς
 Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπύθετο
 λόγους παρ’ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ πρεσβείας δεχόμενον,
 περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἤκουσεν ὅτι, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν εἰς διαλύσεις, φοβοῖτο δι’
 ἐκείνην ἄνευ Πτολεμαίου καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλε-
 μον, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ τὰ τῇ Σπάρτῃ πρέποντα
 καὶ συμφέροντα πράττειν καὶ μὴ διὰ μίαν γραῦν
 καὶ παιδάριον αἰεὶ δεδιέναι Πτολεμαῖον. αὕτη μὲν
 οὖν παρὰ τὰς τύχας τοιαύτη λέγεται γεγενῆσθαι.

- XXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου Τεγέαν μὲν παραλα-
 βόντος, Ὀρχομενὸν δὲ καὶ Μαντίνειαν διαρπά-
 σαντος, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Λακωνικὴν συνεσταλμένος
 ὁ Κλεομένης τῶν μὲν ειλώτων τοὺς πέντε μνᾶς
 Ἀττικὰς καταβαλόντας ἐλευθέρους ἐποίει καὶ
 τάλαντα πεντακόσια συνέλεξε, διχιλίους δὲ προσ-
 καθοπλίσας Μακεδονικῶς ἀντίταγμα τοῖς παρ’
 Ἀντιγόνου λευκάσπισιν, ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν βάλλεται
 2 μέγα καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπροσδόκητον. ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις
 ἦν μὲν τότε καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν οὐδέν τι μείων οὐδὲ
 ἀσθενεστέρα τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος, εἶχε δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου βοήθειαν, ἐν
 πλευραῖς καθεζομένου καὶ δοκοῦντος ὑπὸ τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν ἐπικεκλῆσθαι μάλιστα τῶν Μεγαλο-

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him in his anguish and deep trouble, said: "Come, O king of the Lacedaemonians, when we go forth let no one see us weeping or doing anything unworthy of Sparta. For this lies in our power, and this alone; but as for the issues of fortune, we shall have what the Deity may grant." After saying this, she composed her countenance and proceeded to the ship with her little grandson, and bade the captain put to sea with all speed. And when she was come to Egypt, and learned that Ptolemy was entertaining embassies and proposals from Antigonus, and heard that although the Achaeans invited Cleomenes to make terms with them, he was afraid on her account to end the war without the consent of Ptolemy, she sent word to him that he must do what was fitting and advantageous for Sparta, and not, because of one old woman and a little boy, be ever in fear of Ptolemy. Such, then, as we are told, was the bearing of Cratesicleia in her misfortunes.

XXIII. After Antigonus had taken Tegea by siege, and had surprised Orchomenus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now reduced to the narrow confines of Laconia, set free those of the Helots who could pay down five Attic minas (thereby raising a sum of five hundred talents), armed two thousand of them in Macedonian fashion as an offset to the White Shields of Antigonus, and planned an undertaking which was great and entirely unexpected. Megalopolis was at that time of itself fully as large and strong as Sparta, and could have assistance from the Achaeans and from Antigonus; for Antigonus was encamped near by, and it was thought that the Megalopolitans were chiefly responsible for his being called in by the

3 πολιτῶν σπουδασάντων. ταύτην διαρπάσαι διανοηθεὶς ὁ Κλεομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὃ μᾶλλον ἔοικε τὸ ταχὺ καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον ἐκείνης τῆς πράξεως), ἡμερῶν πέντε· σιτίᾳ λαβεῖν κελεύσας ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σελασίαν ὡς τὴν Ἀργολικὴν κακουρῆσθαι· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ καταβάς ἐπὶ τὴν Μεγαλοπολίτικὴν καὶ δειπνοποιησάμενος περὶ τὸ Φαίρειον εὐθύς ἐπορεύετο τὴν δι-

4 Ἐλικοῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· ἀποσχὼν δ' οὐ πολὺ Παντέα μὲν ἔχοντα δύο τάγματα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέστειλε, καταλαβέσθαι κελεύσας μεσοπύργου· δ' τῶν τειχῶν ἐρημότατον εἶναι τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις ἐπυνθάνετο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει σχολαίως ἐπηκολούθει. τοῦ δὲ Παντέως οὐ μόνον ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τεύχους ἀφύλακτον εὐρόντος, καὶ τὰ μὲν καθαιρούντος εὐθύς, τὰ δὲ διασκάπτοντος, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν οἷς ἐνέτυχε πάντας ἀποκτείναντος, ἔφθασε 816 προσμίξας ὁ Κλεομένης, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἔνδον ἦν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως.

XXIV. Φανεροῦ δὲ μόλις τοῦ κακοῦ γενομένου τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ μὲν εὐθύς ἐξέπιπτον ὅσα τυγχάνοι τῶν χρημάτων λαμβάνοντες, οἱ δὲ συνεστρέφοντο μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνιστάμενοι καὶ προσβάλλοντες ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐκκρούσαι, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν παρέσχον, ὥστε μὴ πλείονα τῶν χιλίων ἐγκαταληφθῆναι σώματα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν φθάσαι διαφυγόντας εἰς Μεσσήνην.

2 ἐσώθη δὲ καὶ τῶν προσβοηθούντων καὶ μαχομένων τὸ πλῆθος· ὀλίγοι δὲ παντάπασιν ἤλωσαν,

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Achaean. This city Cleomenes planned to snatch away (for nothing else could better describe the speed and unexpectedness of his famous achievement), and ordering his men to take five days' rations, he led them forth to Sellasia, as though he would ravage the territory of Argos. But from there he descended into the territory of Megalopolis, and after giving his men their supper at the Rhoeteium, he marched at once by way of Helicus against the city itself. When he was not far away he dispatched Panteus with two divisions of Lacedaemonians, ordering him to seize a portion of the wall between two towers which he had learned was the most unprotected part of the walls of Megalopolis, while he himself with the rest of his army followed slowly after. Panteus found not only that particular spot, but also a great part of the wall, undefended, and at once tore down some portions of it, undermining others, and slaying all the defenders whom he encountered. Cleomenes promptly joined him, and before the Megalopolitans were aware of it, he was inside the city with his army.

XXIV. At last the disaster became clear to the citizens, and some of them at once fled the city, taking with them what property they could lay hands on, while others banded together under arms, resisting and assaulting the enemy. These they were not strong enough to eject from the city, but they afforded a safe escape to the citizens who wished to flee, so that not more than a thousand persons were taken in the place; all the rest, together with their wives and children, succeeded in escaping to Messene. Moreover, the greater part of those who tried to save the city by fighting got off alive; but a few of them,

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- ὧν ἦν Λυσανδρίδας τε καὶ Θεαρίδας, ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι καὶ δυνατοὶ μάλιστα τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν. διὸ καὶ λαβόντες αὐτοὺς εὐθύς οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Κλεομένει προσήγον. ὁ δὲ Λυσανδρίδας ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κλεομένην πόρρωθεν, ἀναβοήσας, “Ἐξεστί σοι νῦν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔργον ἀποδειξαμένῳ τοῦ πεπραγμένου κάλλιον
- 3 καὶ βασιλικώτατον ἐνδοξοτάτῳ γενέσθαι.” ὁ Κλεομένης δὲ ὑποτοπήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔντευξιν, “Τί δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Λυσανδρίδα, λέγεις; οὐ γὰρ δὴ πού με τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι κελεύεις;” καὶ ὁ Λυσανδρίδας, “Αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “λέγω καὶ συμβουλεύω μὴ διαφθεῖραι πόλιν τηλικαύτην, ἀλλ’ ἐμπλῆσαι φίλων καὶ συμμάχων πιστῶν καὶ βεβαίων, ἀποδόντα Μεγαλοπολίταις τὴν πατρίδα καὶ σωτήρα δήμου το-
- 4 σούτου γενόμενον.” μικρὸν οὖν ὁ Κλεομένης διασιωπήσας, “Χαλεπόν,” ἔφη, “τὸ πιστεῦσαι ταῦτα, νικάτω δὲ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ λυσιτελὲς παρ’ ἡμῖν.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς Μεσσήνην καὶ κήρυκα παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ, τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις ἀποδιδούς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους ἀποστάντας Ἀχαιῶν.
- 5 Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένους εὐγνώμονα καὶ φιλάνθρωπα προτείναντος οὐκ εἶασε τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πίστιν, ἀλλὰ κατηγορῶν τοῦ Κλεομένους ὡς οὐ ζητοῦντος ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ προσλαβεῖν τοὺς πολίτας, ἐξέβαλε τὸν Θεαρίδαν καὶ τὸν Λυσανδρίδαν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης.

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all told, were captured, among whom were Lysandridas and Thearidas, men of the greatest reputation and influence in Megalopolis. Therefore the soldiers had no sooner seized them than they brought them to Cleomenes. Then Lysandridas, when he saw Cleomenes from afar, cried out with a loud voice and said: "It is in thy power now, O king of the Lacedaemonians, to display an action fairer and more worthy of a king than any that has preceded it, and thereby win men's highest esteem." But Cleomenes, conjecturing what the speaker wished, said: "What meanest thou, Lysandridas? Thou surely canst not bid me give your city back again to you." To which Lysandridas replied: "Indeed, that is just what I mean, and I advise thee in thine own interests not to destroy so great a city, but to fill it with friends and allies who are trusty and true by giving back to the Megalopolitans their native city and becoming the preserver of so large a people." Accordingly, after a short silence, Cleomenes said: "It is difficult to believe that all this will happen, but with us let what makes for good repute always carry the day, rather than what brings gain." And with these words he sent the two men off to Messene attended by a herald from himself, offering to give back their city to the Megalopolitans on condition that they renounce the Achæan cause and be his friends and allies.

However, although Cleomenes made this benevolent and humane offer, Philopoemen would not allow the Megalopolitans to break their pledges to the Achæans, but denounced Cleomenes on the ground that he sought, not so much to give their city back to its citizens, as rather to get the citizens with their city¹; then he drove Thearidas and Lysandridas out

¹ See the *Philopoemen*, v.

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οὗτος ἦν Φιλοποίμην ὁ πρωτεύσας ὕστερον Ἀχαιῶν καὶ μεγίστην κτησάμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δόξαν, ὡς ἰδίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραπται.

- XXV. Τούτων δὲ ἀπαγγελθέντων τῷ Κλεομένει, τετηρηκῶς τὴν πόλιν ἄθικτον καὶ ἀκέραιον, ὥστε μηδένα λαθεῖν μηδὲ τοῦλάχιστον λαβόντα, τότε παντάπασι τραχυνθεὶς καὶ ἀγανακτήσας τὰ μὲν χρήματα διήρπασεν, ἀνδριάντας δὲ καὶ γραφὰς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Σπάρτην, τῆς δὲ πόλεως τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα μέρη κατασκάψας καὶ διαφθείρας ἀνέξεν ἐπ' οἴκου, φοβούμενος τὸν
- 2 Ἀντίγονον καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς. ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἐτύγχανον μὲν γὰρ ἐν Αἰγίφῃ βουλήν ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἄρατος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἔκλαιε τὴν χλαμύδα θέμενος πρὸ τοῦ προσώπου, θαυμαζόντων δὲ καὶ λέγειν κελεύόντων εἶπεν ὅτι Μεγάλῃ πόλιν ἀπόλωλεν ὑπὸ Κλεομένου, ἡ μὲν σύνοδος εὐθύς διελύθη τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καταπλαγέντων τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ
- 3 τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἐπιχειρήσας βοηθεῖν, εἴτα βραδέως αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ἀνισταμένης, ταύτην μὲν αὖθις ἐκέλευσε κατὰ χώραν μένειν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρήλθεν εἰς Ἄργος, οὐ πολλοὺς ἔχων στρατιώτας μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ.

- Διὸ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐγχείρημα τοῦ Κλεομένου ἔδοξε μὲν τετολμῆσθαι παραβόλως καὶ μανικῶς, ἐπράχθη δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς προνοίας, ὡς φησι
- 4 Πολύβιος. εἰδὼς γὰρ εἰς τὰ χειμάδια διεσπαρ-

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of Messene. This was that Philopoemen who afterwards became the leader of the Achaeans and won the greatest fame among the Greeks, as I have written in his own Life.

XXV. When tidings of these things were brought to Cleomenes, although he had taken strict care that the city should be inviolate and unharmed, so that no one took even the least thing without being detected, he was now so incensed and embittered that he plundered it, and sent its statues and pictures off to Sparta; then, after completely demolishing most and the largest portions of the city, he marched back towards home, being in fear of Antigonus and the Achaeans. But these did nothing. For they were holding a general assembly at Aegium; and here Aratus, after mounting the bema, wept for a long time, holding his mantle before his face; and when his audience was amazed and bade him speak, he told them that Megalopolis had been destroyed by Cleomenes. Then the assembly at once broke up, the Achaeans being filled with consternation at the swiftness and magnitude of the calamity. Antigonus at first attempted to give aid, but afterwards, since his forces came up to him but slowly from their winter quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, while he himself proceeded to Argos, having only a few soldiers with him.

And this was the reason why the next attempt of Cleomenes, which was thought to be a deed of extravagant and frantic daring, was really made with great forethought, as Polybius says.¹ For Cleomenes

¹ "Most people thought this a hazardous and foolhardy step; but those who were capable of judging regarded the measure as at once safe and prudent" (ii. 64, 1).

μένους κατὰ πόλιν¹ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ τὸν 817
 Ἀντίγονον οὐ πολλοὺς ἔχοντα μισθοφόρους ἐν
 Ἀργεὶ διαχειμάζοντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐνέβαλεν
 εἰς τὴν Ἀργεῖαν, λογιζόμενος ἢ δι' αἰσχύνην τοῦ
 Ἀντιγόνου παροξυνθέντος ἐπικρατήσῃν ἢ μὴ
 τολμήσαντα μάχεσθαι διαβαλεῖν πρὸς τοὺς
 Ἀργεῖους. ὃ καὶ συνέβη. διαφθειρομένης γὰρ
 τῆς χώρας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων ἀγομένων καὶ
 5 φερομένων, οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι δυσανασχετοῦντες
 ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας συνεστρέφοντο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
 κατεβῶν, μάχεσθαι κελεύοντες ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσιν
 ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος, ὡς
 ἔδει στρατηγὸν ἔμφρονα, τὸ κινδυνεύσαι παρα-
 λόγως καὶ προέσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αἰσχύρον, οὐ
 τὸ κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἡγούμενος, οὐ
 προῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἐνέμενε τοῖς αὐτοῦ λογισμοῖς. ὁ
 δὲ Κλεομένης ἄχρι τῶν τειχῶν τῷ στρατῷ προσ-
 ελθὼν καὶ καθυβρίσας καὶ διαλυμηνάμενος
 ἀδεῶς ἀνεχώρησεν.

XXVI. Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον αὖθις, εἰς Τεγέαν
 ἀκούσας προῖεναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὡς ἐκείθεν εἰς
 τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμβαλοῦντα, ταχὺ τοὺς στρατιώ-
 τας ἀναλαβὼν καὶ καθ' ἐτέρας ὁδοὺς παραλλάξας
 ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἀνεφάνη,
 πορθῶν τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὸν σῖτον οὐ κείρων, ὥσπερ
 οἱ λοιποὶ, δρεπάναις καὶ μαχαίραις, ἀλλὰ κόπτων
 ξύλοις μεγάλοις εἰς σχῆμα ῥομφαίας ἀπειργασ-
 μένοις, ὡς ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ χρωμένους ἐν τῷ πορεύε-
 σθαι σὺν μηδενὶ πόνῳ πάντα συγκατατρίψαι καὶ
 2 διαφθεῖραι τὸν καρπὸν. ὡς μέντοι κατὰ τὴν

¹ κατὰ πόλιν Blass and Ziegler, after Schoemann : κατὰ πόλιν ὡς φησι.

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knew that the Macedonians were dispersed among the cities in their winter quarters, and that Antigonus had only a few mercenaries with him at Argos, where he was spending the winter with his friends. Cleomenes therefore invaded the territory of Argos, calculating that Antigonus would either be shamed into fighting and would be overpowered, or, in case he did not venture to fight, would incur odium among the Argives. And this was what actually came to pass. For while Cleomenes was wasting the country and robbing it of all that was there, the Argives, in distress, kept thronging the doors of the king and calling upon him with loud voices either to fight or yield the leadership to his betters. But Antigonus, as became a prudent general, considering that disgrace lay in taking unreasonable risks and throwing away his security, rather than in being abused by the outside rabble, would not go forth from the city, but stood by his previous plans. So Cleomenes came up to the very walls of the city with his army, wrought insolent havoc, and then withdrew unmolested.

XXVI. A little later, however, hearing that Antigonus had advanced to Tegea with intent to invade Laconia from that city, Cleomenes quickly took his soldiers, marched past the enemy by a different route, and at daybreak appeared suddenly before the city of Argos, ravaging the plain and destroying the grain, not cutting this down, as usual, with sickles and knives, but beating it down with great pieces of wood fashioned like spear-shafts. These his soldiers plied as if in sport, while passing by, and with no effort at all they would crush and ruin all the crop. When, however, they were come to the

Κυλλάραβιν γενόμενοι τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐπεχείρουν προσφέρειν πῦρ, ἐκώλυσεν, ὥς καὶ τῶν περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ὑπ' ὀργῆς μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἄργος ἀναχωρήσαντος, ἔπειτα τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς πάσας φυλακαῖς καταλαβόντος, ἀμελεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν προσποιούμενος ἔπεμψε κήρυκας τὰς κλεῖς ἀξιῶν τοῦ Ἡραίου λαβεῖν, ὅπως ἀπαλλάττοιο
 3 τῇ θεῷ θύσας. οὕτω δὲ παίξας καὶ κατειρωνευσάμενος, καὶ τῇ θεῷ θύσας ὑπὸ τὸν νεῶν κεκλεισμένον, ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Φλιοῦντα τὸν στρατόν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς φρουροῦντας τὸν Ὀλίγυρτον ἐξελάσας κατέβη παρὰ τὸν Ὀρχομενόν, οὐ μόνον τοῖς πολίταις φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος ἐμπεποιηκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνὴρ ἡγεμονικὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ
 4 πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἄξιος. τὸ γὰρ ἐκ μιᾶς πόλεως ὀρμώμενον ὁμοῦ τῇ Μακεδόνων δυνάμει καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅπασι καὶ χορηγία βασιλικῇ πολεμεῖν, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἄθικτον διαφυλάττοντα τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χώραν κακῶς ποιοῦντα τὴν ἐκείνων καὶ πόλεις αἰροῦντα τηλικαύτας, οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἐδόκει δεινότητος εἶναι καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης.

XXVII. Ἄλλ' ὁ πρῶτος τὰ χρήματα νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων προσειπὼν εἰς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα μάλιστα βλέψας τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἔοικε. καὶ Δημάδης, τὰς τριῆρεις μὲν καθέλκειν καὶ πληροῦν ποτε τῶν Ἀθηναίων κελευόντων, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἐχόντων “Πρότερόν ἐστιν,” ἔφη, “τὸ προδεῦσαι τοῦ φυρᾶσαι.”¹ λέγεται δὲ καὶ

¹ τὸ προδεῦσαι τοῦ φυρᾶσαι Bekker and Blass, after 110

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Cyllarabis and attempted to set the gymnasium on fire, Cleomenes stopped them, feeling that his work at Megalopolis had been done to satisfy his anger rather than his honour.

As for Antigonus, in the first place he went back at once to Argos, and then occupied the hills and all the passes with outposts. But Cleomenes pretended to despise and ignore all this, and sent heralds to the king demanding the keys to the Heraeum, that he might offer sacrifice to the goddess before he went away. Then, after this jest and mockery, and after sacrificing to the goddess under the walls of the temple, which was closed, he led his army off to Phlius. From thence, after expelling the garrison of Oligyrtus, he marched down to Orchomenus, not only infusing high spirits and courage into its citizens, but also leading his enemies to think him a man capable of leadership and worthy to wield great power. For he drew his resources from but a single city, and yet waged war against the Macedonian power, all the Peloponnesians, and the treasures of a king together, and not only kept Laconia inviolate, but actually ravaged his enemies' territory and took cities of great size; and men thought this a proof of no ordinary ability and largeness of purpose.

XXVII. But he who first declared that money is the sinews of affairs would seem to have spoken with special reference to the affairs of war. And Demades, when the Athenians once ordered that their triremes should be launched and manned, but had no money, said: "Dough must be moistened before it is kneaded." It is said also that Archidamus of old,

Schoemann: τοῦ προπαιεῦσαι τὸ φυρᾶσαι (*before the lookout-man comes the bread-maker*) with the MSS.

- Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ παλαιὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, κελενόντων εἰσφοράς τάξαι τῶν συμμάχων αὐτόν, εἰπεῖν ὡς ὁ πόλεμος οὐ
 2 τεταγμένα σιτεῖται. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ σεσωμασκηκότες ἀθληταὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καταβαροῦσι καὶ καταγωνίζονται τοὺς εὐρύθμους καὶ τεχνίτας, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐκ πολλῆς ἀναφέρων δυνάμεως πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξεπίνει καὶ κατήθλει τὸν Κλεομένη γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις πορίζοντα τοῖς
 3 ξένοις μισθὸν καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς πολίταις. ἐπεὶ τὰλλὰ γε πρὸς τοῦ Κλεομένου ὁ χρόνος ἦν, τῶν οἴκοι πραγμάτων ἀνιστάντων τὸν Ἀντίγονον. βάρβαροι γὰρ περιέκοπτον ἀπόντος καὶ κατέτρεχον τὴν Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τότε δὴ πολὺς ἀνῴχθη 818 Ἰλλυριῶν ἐμβεβλήκει στρατός, ὑφ' οὗ πορθηόμενοι μετεπέμποντο τὸν Ἀντίγονον οἱ Μακεδόνες. καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς μάχης συνέτυχε ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα κομισθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν· ὧν κομισθέντων εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπῆλθε μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας
 4 Ἀχαιοῖς. ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων κρίνουσα τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν τύχῃ τηλικαύτην ἀπεδείξατο ῥοπὴν καιροῦ καὶ δύναμιν, ὥστε, τῆς μάχης ἐν Σελασίᾳ γενομένης καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένου ἀποβεβληκότος τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, εὐθὺς παρῆναι τοὺς καλοῦντας τὸν Ἀντίγονον. δ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ Κλεομένου οἰκτροτέραν ἐποίησεν. εἰ γὰρ ἡμέρας δύο μόνας ἐπέσχε καὶ παρήγαγε φυγομαχῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ μάχης, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλετο διηλλάγη πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπελθόντων τῶν Μακεδόνων· νῦν δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν ἀχρηματίαν ἐν τοῖς

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towards the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies ordered their contributions for the war to be fixed, said: "War has no fixed rations."¹ And indeed, just as athletes who have taken a full course of training, in time bear down and overpower those who are merely graceful and skilful, so also did Antigonos, who engaged in the war with large resources, wear out and prostrate Cleomenes, who could only meagrely and with difficulty provide pay for his mercenaries and sustenance for his citizen-soldiers. And yet in all other respects, certainly, time was on the side of Cleomenes; for affairs at home demanded the presence of Antigonos. During his absence Barbarians had been overrunning and devastating Macedonia, and at this particular time a large army of Illyrians from the interior had burst in, and in consequence of their ravages the Macedonians summoned Antigonos home. Their letters came within a little of reaching him before the decisive battle. If they had so reached him, he would at once have gone away and left the Achaeans to their own devices. But Fortune, who decides the most important affairs by a narrow margin, favoured him with so slight a preponderance in the scale of opportunity and power, that no sooner had the battle at Sellasia been fought, where Cleomenes lost his army and his city, than the messengers summoning Antigonos arrived. And this more than anything else made the misfortune of Cleomenes to be greatly pitied. For if he could have held out only two days, and continued his defensive tactics, he would not have needed to fight a battle, but the Macedonians would have gone away and he could have made his own terms with the Achaeans. But now, as I said before, his lack of

¹ See the *Crassus*, ii. 7.

ὅπλοις τὸ πᾶν θέμενος ἡναγκάσθη δισμυρίοις, ὥς Πολύβιός φησι, πρὸς τρισμυρίους ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι.

- XXVIII. Καὶ θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν στρατηγόν, ἐκθύμοις δὲ χρησάμενος τοῖς πολίταις, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ξένων μεμπτῶς ἀγωνισαμένων, τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὀπλίσεως καὶ τῷ βάρει τῆς ὀπλιτικῆς φάλαγγος ἐξεθλίβη. Φύλαρχος δὲ καὶ προδοσίαν γενέσθαι φησὶ τὴν μάλιστα τῷ Κλεομένει τὰ πράγματα διεργασάμενην. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντιγόνου τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἐκπεριελθεῖν κρύφα κελεύσαντος καὶ κυκλώσασθαι θάτερον κέρας, ἐφ' οὗ τεταγμένος ἦν Εὐκλείδας ὁ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἀδελφός, εἶτα τὴν ἄλλην ἐπὶ μάχῃ δύναμιν ἐκτάττοντος, ἀπὸ σκοπῆς θεωρῶν ὁ Κλεομένης, ὥς οὐδαμοῦ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων κατείδεν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ πρὸς τι τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντίγονος κέχρηται.
- 3 καλέσας δὲ Δαμοτέλη τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτείας τεταγμένον, ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπως ἔχει τὰ κατὰ νότου καὶ κύκλῳ τῆς παρατάξεως. τοῦ δὲ Δαμοτέλους (ἦν γάρ, ὥς λέγεται, χρήμασιν πρότερον ὑπ' Ἀντιγόμου διεφθαρμένος) ἀμελεῖν ἐκείνων εἰπόντος ὥς καλῶς ἐχόντων, τοῖς δὲ συνάπτουσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσέχειν καὶ τούτους ἀμύνεσθαι, πιστεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐχώρει,
- 4 καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Σπαρτιατῶν ὡσάμενος τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ πέντε πον σταδίους ὑποχωρούντων ἐκβιαζόμενος καὶ

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resources forced him to stake the whole issue on a battle where, as Polybius says,¹ he could oppose only twenty thousand men to thirty thousand.

XXVIII. He showed himself an admirable general in the hour of peril, his fellow countrymen gave him spirited support, and even his mercenaries fought in a praiseworthy manner, but he was overwhelmed by the superior character of his enemies' armour and the weight of their heavy-armed phalanx. Phylarchus, however, says that there was treachery also, and that this was chiefly what ruined Cleomenes. For Antigonus ordered his Illyrians and Acarnanians to go round by a secret way and envelope the other wing, which Eucleidas, the brother of Cleomenes, commanded, and then led out the rest of his forces to battle; and when Cleomenes, from his post of observation, could nowhere see the arms of the Illyrians and Acarnanians, he was afraid that Antigonus was using them for some such purpose. He therefore called Damoteles, the commander of the secret service contingent,² and ordered him to observe and find out how matters stood in the rear and on the flanks of his array. But Damoteles (who had previously been bribed, as we are told, by Antigonus) told him to have no concern about flanks and rear, for all was well there, but to give his attention to those who assailed him in front, and repulse them. So Cleomenes, putting faith in what he was told, advanced upon Antigonus, and by the sweeping onset of his Spartans drove back the phalanx of the Macedonians for about five furlongs,

¹ *Hist.* ii. 65. 2 and 7. The battle of Sellasia was fought in June of 221 B.C.

² A rural police with the special duty of watching the Helots, or slave population.

κρατῶν ἡκολούθησεν. εἶτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐκλεί-
 δαν ἀπὸ θατέρου κυκλωθέντων ἐπιστὰς καὶ κατι-
 δὼν τὸν κίνδυνον, “Οἶχῃ μοι, φίλτατε ἀδελφέ,”
 εἶπεν, “οἶχῃ, γεναῖος ὦν καὶ παισὶ ζηλωτὸς
 5 Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀοίδιμος.” οὕτω δὲ τῶν
 περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ἀναιρεθέντων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείθεν,
 ὡς ἐκράτουν, ἐπιφερομένων ταραττομένους ὁρῶν
 τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μένειν οὐκέτι τολμῶντας,
 ἔσωζεν ἑαυτόν. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ τῶν ξένων
 πολλοὺς λέγουσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἅπαντας
 πλὴν διακοσίων, ἑξακισχιλίου ὄντας.

XXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο, τοῖς
 μὲν ἀπαντήσασι τῶν πολιτῶν παρήνει δέχεσθαι
 τὸν Ἀντίγονον, αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν εἴτε ζῶν εἴτε ἀπο-
 θανών, ὃ μέλλοι τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνοίσειν, τοῦτο
 πράξειν. ὁρῶν δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ
 πεφευγούσι προστρεχούσας καὶ δεχομένας τὰ ὄπλα
 2 καὶ ποτὸν προσφερούσας, αὐτὸς εἰσῆλθε μὲν εἰς
 τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς δὲ παιδίσκης, ἣν εἶχεν,
 ἐλευθέραν οὔσαν ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἀνείληφώς
 μετὰ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτήν, ὡς εἴθιστο,
 προσιούσης καὶ βουλομένης ἀπὸ στρατείας ἡκοντα
 θεραπεύειν, οὔτε πιεῖν ἐκδεδιψηκὼς ὑπέμεινεν
 οὔτε καθίσαι κεκμηκώς, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε 819
 τεθωρακισμένος τῶν κιόνων τινὲ τὴν χεῖρα προσ-
 βαλὼν πλαγίαν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὸν πῆχυν
 3 ἐπιθείς, καὶ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν οὕτω διαναπαύσας
 τὸ σῶμα καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ περιδραμὼν ἅπαντας
 τοὺς λογισμούς, ὥρμησε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς τὸ
 Γύθιον. κακῆϊθεν ἐπιβάντες ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρε-
 σκευασμένων πλοίων ἀνήχθησαν.

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and followed after them victoriously. Then, after Eucleidas with the other wing had been encircled, he came to a stop, and seeing their peril, said ; " I have lost thee, my dearest brother, I have lost thee, thou noble heart, thou great example to Spartan boys, thou theme for a song to Spartan wives ! " After Eucleidas and his forces had in this way been cut to pieces, and the enemy, after their victory there, were coming on against the other wing, Cleomenes, seeing that his soldiers were in disorder and no longer had courage to stand their ground, took measures for his own safety. Many of his mercenaries fell, as we are told, and all the Spartans, six thousand in number, except two hundred.

XXIX. When Cleomenes came to the city, he advised the citizens who met him to receive Antigonus ; as for himself, he said he would do whatever promised to be best for Sparta, whether it called for his life or death. Then, seeing the women running up to those who had escaped with him, relieving them of their arms, and bringing drink to them, he went into his own house. Here his concubine, a free woman of Megalopolis whom he had taken to himself after the death of his wife, came to him, as was her wont upon his return from the field, and wished to minister to him ; but he would neither drink, though he was faint with thirst, nor sit down, though he was worn out. Instead, all in armour as he was, he put his arm aslant against one of the pillars of the house, dropped his face upon his forearm, and after resting himself in this way for a short time, and running over in his thoughts all possible plans, he set out with his friends for Gythium. There he went on board of vessels provided for this very purpose and put to sea.

XXX. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἐξ ἐφόδου παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ χρησάμενος τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις φιλανθρώπως, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης οὐ προπηλακίσας οὐδ' ἐνυβρίσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμους καὶ πολιτείαν ἀποδοὺς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς θύσας, ἀνεχώρησεν ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ, πυθόμενος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πολὺν πόλεμον εἶναι καὶ πορθεῖσθαι τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ νόσημα κατεῖχεν αὐτόν, εἰς φθίσιν ἐκβεβηκὸς ἰσχυρὰν
2 καὶ κατάρρουν σύντονον. οὐ μὴν ἀπεῖπεν, ἀλλ' ἀντήρκεσε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγῶνας ὅσον ἐπὶ νίκη μεγίστῃ καὶ φόνῳ πλείστῳ τῶν βαρβάρων εὐκλεέστερον ἀποθανεῖν, ὥς μὲν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ Φύλαρχον, αὐτῇ τῇ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα κραυγῇ τὸ σῶμα προσαναρρήξας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς ἦν ἀκούειν ὅτι βοῶν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, “ὦ καλῆς ἡμέρας,” πλήθος αἵματος ἀνήγαγε καὶ πυρέξας συντόνως ἐτελεύτησε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀντίγονον.

XXXI. Κλεομένης δὲ πλέων ἀπὸ Κυθήρων εἰς νῆσον ἐτέραν, Αἰγιαλίαν, κατέσχευεν. ὅθεν εἰς Κυρήνην περαιουῖσθαι μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ, τῶν φίλων εἰς ὄνομα Θηρυκίων, ἀνὴρ πρὸς τε τὰς πράξεις φρονήματι κεχρημένος μεγάλῳ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις γεγωνώς τις ὑψηλὸς αἰὲ καὶ μέγανυχος, ἐντυχὼν αὐτῷ κατ' ἰδίαν, “Τὸν μὲν κάλλιστον,” εἶπεν,
2 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, θάνατον τὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ προηκάμεθα· καίτοι πάντες ἤκουσαν ἡμῶν λεγόντων ὥς οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν Ἀντίγονος εἰ μὴ νεκρόν. ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ νῦν ἔτι πάρεστιν ἡμῖν. ποῖ πλέομεν ἀλογίστως,

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XXX. Antigonus marched up and took the city without resistance. He treated the Lacedaemonians humanely, and did not insult or mock the dignity of Sparta, but restored her laws and constitution,¹ sacrificed to the gods, and went away on the third day. For he learned that there was a great war in Macedonia and that the Barbarians were ravaging the country. Moreover, his disease was already in full possession of him, having developed into a quick consumption and an acute catarrh. He did not, however, give up, but had strength left for his conflicts at home, so that he won a very great victory, slew a prodigious number of the Barbarians, and died gloriously, having broken a blood-vessel (as it is likely, and as Phylarchus says) by the very shout that he raised on the field of battle. And in the schools of philosophy one used to hear the story that after his victory he shouted for joy, "O happy day!" and then brought up a quantity of blood, fell into a high fever, and so died. So much concerning Antigonus.

XXXI. As for Cleomenes, he sailed from Cythera to Aegialia, another island, and put in there. As he was about to cross from thence to Cyrene, one of his friends, Therycion by name, a man who brought a large spirit to the conduct of affairs and was always somewhat lofty in his speech and grandiloquent, came to him privately and said: "The noblest death, O King, a death in battle, we have put away from us; and yet all men heard us declare that Antigonus should not pass the king of Sparta except over his dead body. But a death that is second in virtue and glory is now still in our power. Whither do we

¹ As they were before the reforms of Cleomenes.

ἀποφεύγοντες ἐγγὺς ὃν κακὸν καὶ μακρὰν διώ-
κοντες; εἰ γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ δουλεύειν τοῖς
ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς ἀφ' Ἡρακ-
λέους, πλοῦν πολὺν κερδανούμεν Ἀντιγόνῳ παρα-
δόντες ἑαυτοὺς, ὃν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ Πτολεμαίου διαφέρειν
3 ὅσον Αἰγυπτίων Μακεδόνας. εἰ δὲ ὑφ' ὧν κεκρα-
τήμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐκ ἀξιούμεν ἄρχεσθαι, τί
τὸν μὴ νενικηκότα δεσπότην ποιοῦμεν αὐτῶν, ἵνα
ἀνθ' ἐνὸς δυνεῖν κακίους φανῶμεν, Ἀντίγονον μὲν
φεύγοντες, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ κολακεύοντες; ἢ διὰ
τὴν μητέρα φήσομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔκειν; καλὸν
μεντὰν αὐτῇ θέαμα γένοιο καὶ ζηλωτὸν ἐπιδεικνυ-
μένη ταῖς Πτολεμαίου γυναιξὶν αἰχμάλωτον ἐκ
4 βασιλέως καὶ φυγάδα τὸν υἱόν. οὐχ ἕως ἔτι τῶν
ιδίῳν ξιφῶν ἄρχομεν καὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀφορῶ-
μεν, ἐνταῦθα τῆς τύχης ἀπαλλάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς
ἀπολογησόμεθα τοῖς ἐν Σελασίᾳ κειμένοις ὑπὲρ
τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καθεδούμεθα
πυνθανόμενοι τίνα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος σατράπην
Ἀντίγονος ἀπολέλοιπε;

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Θηρυκίωνος εἰπόντος ὁ Κλεο-
μένης ἀπεκρίνατο, “Τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τὸ ῥᾶστον,
ὦ πονηρέ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐν ἐτοίμῳ διώκων, ἀπο-
θανεῖν, ἀνδρείος εἶναι δοκεῖς, φεύγων αἰσχίονα
5 φυγὴν τῆς πρότερον; πολεμίοις μὲν γὰρ ἐνέδωκαν
ἤδη καὶ κρείττονες ἡμῶν, ἢ τύχῃ σφαλέντες ἢ
βιασθέντες ὑπὸ πλήθους· ὁ δὲ πρὸς πόνους καὶ
ταλαιπωρίας ἢ ψόγους καὶ δόξας ἀνθρώπων ἀπα-

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unreasoningly sail, fleeing an evil that is near and pursuing one that is afar off? For if it is not shameful that the descendants of Heracles should be in subjection to the successors of Philip and Alexander, we shall spare ourselves a long voyage by surrendering to Antigonus, who is likely to surpass Ptolemy as much as Macedonians surpass Egyptians. But if we cannot consent to be ruled by those who have conquered us in arms, why should we make him our master who has not defeated us, thus showing ourselves inferior to two instead of one by running away from Antigonus and joining the flatterers of Ptolemy? Or, shall we say that it is on thy mother's account that we come to Egypt? Surely thou wilt make a noble spectacle for her, and one to awaken envy, when she displays her son to the wives of Ptolemy, a captive instead of a king, and a runaway. Let us rather, while we are still masters of our own swords and can gaze upon the land of Laconia, here rid ourselves of Fortune's yoke, and make our peace with those who at Sellasia died in defence of Sparta, instead of sitting idly down in Egypt and asking every now and then whom Antigonus has left as satrap of Lacedaemon."

Such were the words of Therycion, and to them Cleomenes replied: "It is the easiest possible step thou urgest, wretched man, and one that any man may take, this dying; and dost thou think thyself brave when thou art making a flight more shameful than the one preceding it? Better men than we have given in to their enemies before this, having been betrayed by Fortune or overwhelmed by numbers. But he who in the face of toils and hardships, or of the censorious judgments of men, gives up the fight,

γορεύων ἡττᾶται τῆς αὐτοῦ μαλακίας. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν αὐθαίρετον θάνατον οὐ φυγὴν εἶναι πράξεων, ἀλλὰ πρᾶξιν. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ καὶ ζῆν¹ μόνοις 820 ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν· ἐφ' ὃ νῦν σὺ παρακαλεῖς ἡμᾶς, σπεύδων ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν παρόντων, καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χρήσιμον ἄλλο διαπραττόμενος. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ ἑμαυτὸν οἶομαι δεῖν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐλπίδας μὴ καταλιπεῖν· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖναι καταλίπωσι, ῥᾶστα βουλομένοις ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρξει."

Πρὸς ταῦτα Θηρυκίων οὐδὲν ἀντειπὼν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἔσχε καιρὸν ἀποστήναι τοῦ Κλεομένους, ἐκτραπόμενος παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτόν.

XXXII. Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰγιαλῶν ἀναχθεὶς τῇ Λιβύῃ προσέβαλε, καὶ διὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν παραπεμπόμενος ἦκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ὁφθεὶς δὲ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐτύγχανε κοινῶς φιλανθρώπου καὶ μετρίου πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ γνώμης διδοὺς πείραν ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἔμφρων, καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν ὀμιλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ Λακωνικὸν καὶ ἀφελὲς τὴν χάριν ἐλευθεριον εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐδαμῇ καταισχύνων οὐδὲ καμπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ κολακείαν διαλεγομένων πιθανώτερος ἐφαί- 2 νετο, πολλὴ μὲν αἰδὼς καὶ μετάνοια τὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἶχεν ἀνδρὸς ἀμελήσαντα τοιούτου καὶ προέμενον τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ, δόξαν ἅμα κεκτημένῳ τηλικαύτην καὶ δύναμιν, ἀναλαμβάνων δὲ τιμαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις τὸν Κλεομένην παρεθάρρυνεν ὥς μετὰ νεῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἀποστελῶν αὐτόν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ καταστήσων εἰς τὴν βασι-

¹ καὶ ζῆν Blass and Ziegler, after Richards.

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is vanquished by his own weakness. For a self-inflicted death ought to be, not flight from action, but an action in itself. For it is shameful to die, as well as to live, for one's self alone. And yet it is to this that thou now invitest me in thine eagerness to be rid of present troubles, though beyond that thou wilt effect nothing that is honourable or useful. I, however, think it right that neither thou nor I should abandon our hopes for our country; when these abandon us, death will be very easy if we wish it."

To this Therycion made no reply, but as soon as he got an opportunity to leave Cleomenes, he turned aside along the sea-beach and slew himself.

XXXII. But Cleomenes, putting to sea from Aegialia, landed in Libya, and under the escort of the royal officials came to Alexandria. After coming into the presence of Ptolemy, at first he met with only ordinary and moderate kindness from him; but when he had given proof of his sentiments and shown himself to be a man of good sense, and when, in his daily intercourse, his Laconian simplicity retained the charm which a free spirit imparts, while he in no wise brought shame upon his noble birth or suffered the blows of Fortune to bow him down, but showed himself more winning than those whose conversation sought only to please and flatter, then Ptolemy was filled with great respect for him, and deeply repented that he had neglected such a man and abandoned him to Antigonus, who had thereby won great glory and power. Ptolemy therefore sought to regain Cleomenes by honours and kindnesses, and kept encouraging him with assurances that he would send him back to Greece with ships and treasure and restore

- 3 λείαν. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ σύνταξιν αὐτῷ τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. ἀφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος αὐτόν καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὐτελῶς καὶ σωφρόνως διοικῶν, τὰ πλεῖστα κατανήλισκεν εἰς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μεταδόσεις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκπεπτωκότων.

- XXXIII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαῖος πρὶν ἐκτελέσαι τῷ Κλεομένει τὴν ἐκπεμψιν ἐτελεύτησε· τῆς δὲ βασιλείας εὐθὺς εἰς πολλὴν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ παροινίαν καὶ γυναικοκρατίαν
- 2 ἐμπεσούσης ἡμελεῖτο καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κλεομένου. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς οὕτω διέφθαρτο τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ γυναικῶν καὶ πότων ὥστε, ὅποτε νήφος μάλιστα καὶ σπουδαιότατος αὐτοῦ γένοιτο, τελετὰς τελεῖν καὶ τύμπανον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀγείρειν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς πράγματα διοικεῖν Ἀγαθόκλειαν τὴν ἐρωμένην τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν ταύτης μητέρα καὶ πορνοβοσκὸν
- 3 Οἰνάνθην. ὁμῶς δ' οὖν ἔδοξε τις ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένου χρειὰ γεγονέναι. δεδιώξεν γὰρ Μάγαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς ἰσχύοντα διὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ, τὸν Κλεομένη προσελάμβανε καὶ μετεδίδου τῶν ἀπορρήτων συνεδρίων, βουλευόμενος ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἀπάντων τοῦτο πράττειν κελευόντων, μόνος ἀπηγόρευσεν, εἰπὼν ὡς μᾶλλον, εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδει φύσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ πλείονας ἀδελφοὺς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν πραγμάτων. Σωσιβίου δὲ τοῦ πλείστου ἐν τοῖς φίλοις δυναμένου φήσαντος οὐκ εἶναι τὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων αὐτοῖς βέβαια τοῦ Μάγα ζῶντος, ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κλεομένης
- 4

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him to his kingdom. He also gave him an annual pension of twenty-four talents. With this money Cleomenes maintained himself and his friends in a simple and modest manner, and spent the greater part in good offices and contributions to the refugees from Greece who were in Egypt.

XXXIII. Well, then, the elder Ptolemy¹ died before sending Cleomenes off as he had promised; and since the court at once plunged into excessive wantonness and drunkenness, and women wielded the power, the affairs of Cleomenes were neglected. For the king himself was so corrupted in spirit by wine and women that, in his soberest and most serious moments, he would celebrate religious rites and head processions in his palace, timbrel in hand, while the most important affairs of the government were managed by Agathocleia, the mistress of the king, her mother, and a pimp, Oenanthe. But in spite of all this, at the outset Cleomenes seemed to be of some use. For Ptolemy was afraid of his brother Magas, believing that Magas had a strong following among the soldiers owing to his mother's influence, and he therefore took Cleomenes into his following and gave him a place in his privy council, all the while plotting to kill his brother. But Cleomenes, although all other counsellors urged the king to take this step, alone advised against it, saying that it were better, were it possible, to get the king more brothers to increase the security and stability of his affairs. And when Sosibius, who had the most influence among the king's ministers, declared that they could not be sure of the mercenaries as long as Magas was alive, Cleomenes bade him have no concern on that

¹ Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, died in 220 B.C., and was followed by Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator.

ἔνεκά γε τούτου· πλείους γὰρ ἢ τρισχιλίους τῶν
 ξένων εἶναι Πελοποννησίους προσέχοντας αὐτῷ,
 5 κὰν μόνον νεύσῃ, προθύμως μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων
 παρεσομένους. οὗτος ὁ λόγος τότε μὲν οὐ μικρὰν
 τῷ Κλεομένει καὶ πίστιν εὐνοίας καὶ δόκησιν
 ἰσχύος προσέθηκεν, ὕστερον δέ, τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
 τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐπιτεινούσης τὴν δειλίαν, καὶ καθ-
 6 ἀπερ εἴωθεν ἐν τῷ μηδὲν φρονεῖν, τοῦ πάντα
 δεδοικέναι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπιστεῖν ἀσφαλεστάτου
 δοκοῦντος εἶναι, φοβερὸν ἐποίει τὸν Κλεομένη τοῖς
 αὐλικοῖς, ὡς ἰσχύοντα παρὰ τοῖς ξένοις· καὶ
 πολλῶν ἦν ἀκούειν λεγόντων ὅτι “Οὗτος ὁ λέων
 ἐν τούτοις τοῖς προβάτοις ἀναστρέφεται.” τῷ
 γὰρ ὄντι τοιοῦτον διέφαινεν ἦθος ἐν τοῖς βασι-
 λικοῖς, ὑποβλέπων ἀτρέμα καὶ παρεπισκοπῶν τὰ 821
 πραττόμενα.

XXXIV. Ναῦς μὲν οὖν αἰτῶν καὶ στρατιὰν
 ἀπέπε· πυνθανόμενος δὲ τεθνάναι τὸν Ἀντί-
 γονον, Αἰτωλικῷ δὲ πολέμῳ συμπεπλέχθαι τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ποθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ
 παρακαλεῖν,¹ ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ διασπασμῷ τῆς
 Πελοποννήσου γεγεννημένης, ἡξίου μὲν μόνος ἀπο-
 2 σταλῆναι μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἔπειθε δὲ οὐδένα, τοῦ
 μὲν βασιλέως οὐκ εἰσακούοντος, ἀλλ’ ἐν γυναιξὶ
 καὶ θιάσοις καὶ κώμοις συνέχοντος ἑαυτὸν, ὁ δὲ
 τῶν ὅλων προεστηκώς καὶ προβουλευὼν Σωσί-
 βιος μένοντα μὲν τὸν Κλεομένη παρὰ γνώμην
 ἡγεῖτο δυσμεταχείριστον εἶναι καὶ φοβερὸν, ἀφε-
 θέντα δὲ τολμηρόν, ἄνδρα καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα
 καὶ τῆς βασιλείας νοσοῦσης θεατὴν γεγεννημένον.

¹ παρακαλεῖν Ziegler ; παρακαλεῖν ἐκείσε Bekker : παρα-
 καλεῖν ἐκείνον (with the MSS.).

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point at least; for more than three thousand of the mercenaries were Peloponnesians and attached to himself, and if he but gave them a nod they would readily come to his side in arms. At the time this speech won for Cleomenes no little faith in his good will and belief in his strength; but afterwards, when Ptolemy's weakness intensified his cowardice, and, as is wont to happen where there is no sound judgment, his best course seemed to him to lie in fearing everybody and distrusting all men, it led the courtiers to be afraid of Cleomenes, on the ground that he had a strong following among the mercenaries; and many of them were heard to say: "There goes the lion up and down among these sheep." And such, in fact, he clearly was among the courtiers, eyeing with quiet contempt and closely watching what was going on.

XXXIV. For ships, therefore, and an army, he gave up asking; but on learning that Antigonus was dead¹ and that the Achaeans were involved in a war with the Aetolians, and that affairs yearned and called for him now that Peloponnesus was rent asunder and in confusion, he demanded to be sent away with his friends merely; but he could persuade no one. The king would not give him a hearing, but was absorbed with women and Dionysiac routs and revels; and Sosibius, the prime minister and chief counsellor, thought that if Cleomenes remained against his will he might be hard to manage, indeed, and an object of fear, but that if he were sent away he would make some bold attempt, being a man of large undertakings, and one who had been an eye-witness of the distempers of the realm.

¹ Cf. chapter xxx. 2.

3 οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ δωρεαὶ κατεπράυνον αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸν Ἄπιν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διαιτώμενον καὶ τρυφᾶν δοκοῦντα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου καὶ δρόμων ἀφέτων καὶ σκιρτήσεων ἕμερος ἔχει, καὶ δῆλός ἐστι δυσανασχετῶν τὴν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ἱερέων διατριβήν, οὕτως ἐκείνον οὐδὲν ἤρεσκε τῶν μαλθακῶν,

ἀλλὰ φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ,

ὥσπερ Ἀχιλλεύς,

αὐθι μένων, ποθέεσκε δ' αὐτὴν τε πτόλεμόν τε.

XXXV. Τοιούτων δὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ὄντων πραγμάτων ἀφικνεῖται Νικαγόρας ὁ Μεσσήνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀνὴρ μισῶν μὲν τὸν Κλεομένην, προσποιούμενος δὲ φίλος εἶναι· χωρίον δέ ποτε καλὸν αὐτῷ πεπρακὼς καὶ δι' ἀσχολίαν, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ πολέμους οὐκ ἀπειληφὼς τὸ ἀργύριον. τοῦτον οὖν ἐκβαίνοντα τότε τῆς ὀλκάδος ἰδὼν ὁ Κλεομένης (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ κρηπίδι τοῦ λιμένος περιπατῶν) ἡσπάζετο προθύμως καὶ τίς αὐτὸν
2 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄγοι πρόφασις ἡρώτα. τοῦ δὲ Νικαγόρου φιλοφρόνως ἀντασπαζομένου καὶ φήσαντος ἵππους ἄγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καλοὺς τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, γελάσας ὁ Κλεομένης, “Ἐβουλόμην ἄν,” ἔφη, “σε μᾶλλον ἤκειν ἄγοντα σαμβυκιστρίας καὶ κιναίδους· ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν μάλιστα κατεπείγχει τὸν βασιλέα.” καὶ ὁ Νικαγόρας τότε μὲν ἐμειδίασεν· ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον ὀλίγαις ὑπομνήσας τοῦ χωρίου τὸν Κλεομένην νῦν γοῦν ἐδεῖτο τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐνοχλήσας,

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For not even gifts would soften him, but just as the sacred bull Apis, though living in plenty and believed to be having a luxurious time, feels a desire for the life that was his by nature, for coursings without restraint, and leaps and bounds, and is manifestly disgusted with his treatment at the hands of the priests, so Cleomenes took no pleasure in his life of ease and luxury,

—"but kept pining away in his dear heart,"

like Achilles,¹

"As he lingered there, and kept yearning for war-cry and battle."

XXXV. While matters stood thus with him, Nicagoras the Messenian came to Alexandria, a man who hated Cleomenes, but pretended to be a friend. He had at one time sold Cleomenes a fine estate, and owing to the constant demands of war upon the king, as it would seem, had not received the money for it. And so now, when Cleomenes, who chanced to be taking a walk along the quay, saw Nicagoras landing from his vessel, he greeted him heartily and asked what errand brought him to Egypt. Nicagoras returned his greeting in a friendly manner, and said that he was bringing horses for the king, some fine ones for use in war. At this, Cleomenes gave a laugh and said: "I could wish that thou hadst rather brought sambuca-girls and catamites; for these now most interest the king." At the time Nicagoras merely smiled; but a few days later he reminded Cleomenes of the estate, and asked that now at any rate he might get the money for it, saying that he would not have troubled him about the matter if he had not

¹ *Iliad*, i. 491 f.

εἰ μὴ περὶ τὴν τῶν φορτίων διάθεσιν μετρίως¹
 3 ἐζημιούτο. τοῦ δὲ Κλεομένους φήσαντος οὐδὲν
 αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τῶν δεδομένων, λυπηθεὶς ὁ Νικα-
 γόρας ἐκφέρει τῷ Σωσιβίῳ τὸ σκῶμμα τοῦ Κλεο-
 μένου. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀσμένως ἔλαβεν, ἐκ
 δὲ μείζονος αἰτίας τὸν βασιλέα παροξύνει ζητῶν
 ἔπεισε τὸν Νικαγόραν ἐπιστολὴν γράψαντα κατὰ
 τοῦ Κλεομένους ἀπολιπεῖν, ὡς ἐγνωκότος, εἰ
 λάβοι τριήρεις καὶ στρατιώτας παρ' αὐτοῦ, Κυ-
 4 ρήνην κατασχεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικαγόρας ταῦτα
 γράψας ἀπέπλευσε· τοῦ δὲ Σωσιβίου μετὰ τέσ-
 σαραις ἡμέραις τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Πτολε-
 μαῖον ἀνευγκόντος ὡς ἀρτίως αὐτῷ δεδομένην καὶ
 παροξύναντος τὸ μεράκιον, ἔδοξεν εἰς οἰκίαν
 μεγάλην εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ τὴν
 ἄλλην ὁμοίως παρέχοντας δίαιταν ἐξόδω εἶργειν.

XXXVI. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα λυπηρὰ τῷ
 Κλεομένει, μοχθηροτέρας δὲ τὰς περὶ τοῦ μέλ-
 λοντος ἐλπίδας ἔσχευ ἐκ τοιαύτης συντυχίας.
 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Χρυσέρμου φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως
 πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐπιεικῶς διείλεκτο τῷ Κλεο-
 μένῃ, καὶ συνήθειά τις ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρ-
 2 ρησία πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οὗτος οὖν τότε, τοῦ
 Κλεομένους δεηθέντος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦλθε
 μὲν καὶ διελέχθη μέτρια, τὸ ὑποπτον ἐξαιρῶν καὶ
 περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολογούμενος· ἀπὼν δὲ
 πάλιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ μὴ προνοήσας ἐξόπισθεν
 ἄχρι τῶν θυρῶν ἐπακολουθοῦντα τὸν Κλεομένην,
 πικρῶς ἐπετίμησε τοῖς φύλαξιν ὡς δὴ μέγα
 θηρίον καὶ δυστήρητον ἀμελῶς φυλάττουσι καὶ 822

¹ μετρίως Bekker and Blass correct to οὐ μετρίως, after Reiske.

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met with a considerable loss in the disposition of his cargo; and when Cleomenes declared that he had nothing left of the moneys that had been given him, Nicagoras was vexed, and reported to Sosibius the pleasantries of Cleomenes. Sosibius was glad to get even this matter, but he desired to have some larger accusation with which to exasperate the king, and therefore persuaded Nicagoras to write and leave behind him a letter accusing Cleomenes of planning, in case he got triremes and soldiers from Ptolemy, to seize Cyrene. So Nicagoras wrote a letter to this effect and sailed away; and Sosibius, after four days had passed, brought the letter to Ptolemy, pretending that he had just received it, and so exasperated the young man that it was decided to remove Cleomenes into a large house, and while treating him in other ways just as before, to prevent his egress.

XXXVI. Even this usage was grievous to Cleomenes, but his hopes for the future received a greater shock from the following incident. Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, a friend of King Ptolemy, had all the while been on friendly terms with Cleomenes, and they were quite intimate and outspoken with one another. This Ptolemy, then, now that Cleomenes begged a visit from him, came and conversed in a reasonable way with him, seeking to remove his suspicions and excusing the conduct of the king; but when he was leaving the house and did not perceive that Cleomenes was following on behind him as far as the doors, he bitterly reproached the guards for the careless and easy watch they kept upon a great wild beast that was so hard to keep.

- 3 ραθύμως. τούτων ὁ Κλεομένης αὐτήκοος γενόμενος, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀναχωρήσας ἔφρασε τοῖς φίλοις. εὐθύς οὖν παντες ἂς πρότερον εἶχον ἐλπίδας ἐκβαλόντες, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐβουλεύσαντο τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀμυνάμενοι καὶ τὴν ὕβριν ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ὥσπερ ἱερεῖα πιαν-
- 4 θέντας κατακοπήναι· δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ τὰς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ἄνδρα πολεμιστὴν καὶ δραστήριον, διαλύσεις ὑπεριδὼν Κλεομένης κάθηται μητραγύρτου βασιλέως σχολὴν ἀναμένων; ὅταν πρῶτον ἀπόθῃται τὸ τύμπανον καὶ καταπαύσῃ τὸν θίασον, ἀποκτενοῦντος αὐτόν.

XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἰς Κάνωβον ἐξώρμησε, πρῶτον μὲν διέδωκαν λόγον ὡς παραλύοιτο τῆς φυλακῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἔπειτα ἔκ τινος ἔθους βασιλικοῦ τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐξ εἰρκτῆς ἀπολύεσθαι δείπνον τε πεμπομένου καὶ ξενίων, οἱ φίλοι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ Κλεομένει παρασκευάσαντες ἔξωθεν εἰσέπεμψαν, ἐξαπατώντες τοὺς φύλακας οἰομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεστάλ-

2 θαι. καὶ γὰρ ἔθνε καὶ μετεδίδου τούτων ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπιτιθεῖς στεφάνους καὶ κατακλιθεῖς εἰστιάτο μετὰ τῶν φίλων. λέγεται δὲ τάχιον ἢ διεγνώκει πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὀρμήσαι, συναισθόμενος οἰκέτην ἓνα τῶν συνειδόντων τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔξω παρὰ γυναικὶ κεκοιμημένον ἥς ἦρα. καὶ φοβηθεῖς μῆνυσιν, ἐπειδὴ μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἥσθετο καθεύδοντας ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, ἐνδυσάμενος τὸν χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν ῥαφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ

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Cleomenes heard this with his own ears, and without Ptolemy's being aware of his presence went back and told his friends. At once, then, they all abandoned the hopes they had been cherishing and wrathfully determined to avenge themselves on Ptolemy for his injustice and insolence, and die in a manner worthy of Sparta, instead of waiting like sacrificial victims to be first fattened and then smitten down. For it was an intolerable thing that Cleomenes, after scorning to come to terms with Antigonus, a man who fought well and wrought much, should sit idly down and await the leisure of a beggarly priest of a king, who, as soon as he could lay aside his timbrel and stop his dancing, would slay him.

XXXVII. Such being their resolve, and Ptolemy, as chance would have it, making a visit to Canopus, in the first place word was sent about that Cleomenes had been set free by the king; and next, in view of a custom which the king had of sending presents and a banquet to those who were going to be released from imprisonment, the friends of Cleomenes in the city prepared and sent in to him an abundance of such things, thus completely deceiving the guards, who thought the king had sent them. For Cleomenes made a sacrifice and gave the guards a bountiful share of his provisions, and then took his place at table with garlands on his head and feasted with his friends. We are told, too, that he set out upon his enterprise sooner than he had intended, because he learned that a slave who was privy to it had passed the night outside in company with a mistress. So fearing that his plans would be revealed, when noon came and he perceived that his guards were sleeping off their wine, he put on his tunic, opened the seam

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παραλυσάμενος ὤμου, γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει μετὰ τῶν
 φίλων ἐξεπήδησεν ἐνεσκευασμένων ὁμοίως, δεκα-
 3 τριῶν ὄντων. Ἰππίτας δὲ χωλὸς ὢν τῇ μὲν
 πρώτῃ συνεξέπεσεν ὁρμῇ προθύμως, ὥς δὲ ἑώρα
 σχολαίτερον πορευομένους δι' αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσεν
 ἀνελεῖν καὶ μὴ διαφθεῖρειν τὴν πρῶξιν, ἄχρηστον
 ἄνθρωπον περιμένοντας. ἔτυχε δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξαν-
 δρέων τις ἵππον ἄγων παρὰ τὰς θύρας· τοῦτον
 ἀφελόμενοι καὶ τὸν Ἰππίταν ἀναβαλόντες, ἐφέ-
 ροντο δρόμῳ διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ παρεκάλουν
 4 τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. τοῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον,
 ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀλκῆς μετὴν ὅσον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ θαυμά-
 ζειν τὴν τοῦ Κλεομένου τολμᾶν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ
 καὶ βοηθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρει.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν τοῦ Χρυσέρμου Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τῆς
 αὐλῆς ἐξιόντα τρεῖς εὐθύς προσπεσόντες ἀπέ-
 κτειναν· ἐτέρου δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φυλάσσοντος
 τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνοντος ἄρματι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὁρμή-
 σαντες ἐναντίοι τοὺς μὲν ὑπηρέτας καὶ δορυφόρους
 διεσκέδασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ κατασπάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
 5 ἄρματος ἀπέκτειναν. εἶτα πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἐχώ-
 ρουν, ἀναρρήξαι διανοούμενοι τὸ δεσμωτήριον καὶ
 χρήσασθαι τῷ πλήθει τῶν δεδεδεμένων. ἐφθασαν
 δὲ φραζόμενοι καλῶς οἱ φύλακες, ὥστε καὶ
 ταύτης ἀποκρουσθέντα τῆς πείρας τὸν Κλεομένη
 διαφέρεσθαι καὶ πλανᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν,
 οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ προσχωροῦντος, ἀλλὰ φευγόντων
 6 καὶ φοβουμένων ἀπάντων. οὕτως οὖν ἀποστὰς
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπών, “Οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα
 θαυμαστὸν ἄρχειν γυναῖκας ἀνθρώπων φευγόντων
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,” παρεκάλεσε πάντας ἀξίως αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων τελευτᾶν. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν

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over his right shoulder, and with drawn sword sprang forth, accompanied by his friends, who were likewise arrayed, thirteen in number. Hippitas, who was lame, joined in making the first onset with all his soul, but when he saw that he was a hindrance to the progress of his companions, he bade them kill him, and not ruin the enterprise by waiting for a useless fellow. As it chanced, however, an Alexandrian was leading a horse past the doors, so they seized the animal, put Hippitas on its back, and then rushed at full speed through the narrow streets of the city, summoning the throng to win their freedom. These had enough courage, as it would seem, to admire and praise the daring of Cleomenes, but not a man was bold enough to follow and help him.

Well, then, as Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus was coming out of the palace, three of them straightway fell upon him and slew him; and as another Ptolemy, who had the city in his charge, was driving towards them in a chariot, they rushed to meet him, scattered his servants and mercenaries, dragged him from his chariot, and slew him. Then they proceeded to the citadel, purposing to break open the prison and avail themselves of the multitude of prisoners. But the guards were too quick for them and barred the way securely, so that Cleomenes, baffled in this attempt also, roamed up and down through the city, not a man joining with him but everybody filled with fear and flying from him. So, then, he desisted from his attempt, and saying to his friends, "It is no wonder, after all, that women rule over men who run away from freedom," he called upon them all to die in a manner worthy of their king and their past achievements. So Hippitas first, at

Ἰππίτας ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων τινὸς ἐπλήγη δεθηθείς, ἔπειτα τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος εὐκόλως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάττει, πλὴν Παντέως τοῦ πρώτου
 7 Μεγάλην πόλιν καταλαβόντος. τοῦτον δὲ κάλλιστον ὥρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν εὐφύεστατον τῶν νέων γενόμενον ἐρώμενον ἐσχηκὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἴδῃ πεπτωκότας, οὕτω τελευτᾶν. ἤδη δὲ κειμένων 823 ἀπάντων ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁ Παντεὺς καὶ τῷ ξιφιδίῳ παραπτόμενος καθ' ἕκαστον ἀπεπειράτο μή τις διαλανθάνοι ζῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Κλεομένη νύξας παρὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἶδε συστρέψαντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐφίλησεν αὐτόν, εἶτα παρεκάθισε· καὶ τέλος ἔχοντος ἤδη περιβαλὼν τὸν νεκρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπικατέσφαξε.

XXXVIII. Κλεομένης μὲν οὖν ἐκκαίδεκα τῆς Σπάρτης βασιλεύσας ἔτη καὶ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ γενόμενος οὕτω κατέστρεψε. τῆς δὲ φήμης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὄλην σκεδασθείσης ἡ μὲν Κρατησίκλεια, καίπερ οὔσα γενναία γυνή, προὔδωκε τὸ φρόνημα πρὸς τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς μέγεθος, καὶ περιβαλοῦσα
 2 τὰ παιδιά τοῦ Κλεομένους ὠλοφύρετο. τῶν δὲ παιδίων τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἀποπηδήσαν, οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος, ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἔρριψεν ἑαυτό· καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἤρθη βοῶν καὶ ἀγανακτοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ διακωλύεσθαι τελευτᾶν.

Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς ἔγνω ταῦτα, προσέταξε τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένους κρεμάσαι καταβυρσώσαντας, ἀποκτείνει δὲ τὰ παιδιά καὶ τὴν
 3 μητέρα καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν γυναῖκας. ἐν δὲ

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his own request, was smitten down by one of the younger men, then each of the others calmly and cheerfully slew himself, except Panteus, the man who led the way in the capture of Megalopolis.¹ He had once been the king's favourite, because in his youth he was most fair, and in his young manhood most amenable to the Spartan discipline; and now his orders were to wait until the king and the rest of the band were dead, and then to die himself. At last all the rest lay prostrate on the ground, and Panteus, going up to each one in turn and pricking him with his sword, sought to discover whether any spark of life remained. When he pricked Cleomenes in the ankle and saw that his face twitched, he kissed him, and then sat down by his side; at last the end came, and after embracing the king's dead body, he slew himself upon it.

XXXVIII. Such, then, was the end of Cleomenes, who had been for sixteen years king of Sparta, and had shown himself the man whom I have described. The report of his death spread over the entire city, and Cratesicleia, although she was a woman of noble spirit, lost her composure in view of the magnitude of her misfortunes, and throwing her arms about the children of Cleomenes, wailed and lamented. But the elder of the two boys, forestalling all prevention, sprang away and threw himself headlong from the roof; he was badly injured, but did not die, and was taken up crying out resentfully because he was not permitted to end his life.

But Ptolemy, when he learned of these things, gave orders that the body of Cleomenes should be flayed and hung up, and that his children, his mother, and the women that were with her, should be killed.

¹ See chapter xxiii. 4.

- ταύταις ἦν καὶ Παντέως γυνὴ καλλίστη καὶ γεν-
ναιοτάτη τὸ εἶδος. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῖς νεογάμοις οὖσιν
ἐν ἀκμαῖς ἐρώτων αἱ τύχαι συνέβησαν. εὐθύς
μὲν οὖν συνεκπλεῦσαι τῷ Παντεῖ βουλομένην
αὐτὴν οὐκ εἶασαν οἱ γονεῖς, ἀλλὰ βία κατακλεί-
4 σαντες ἐφύλαττον· ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἵππον ἑαυτῇ
παρασκευάσασα καὶ χρυσίδιον οὐ πολὺ νυκτὸς
ἀπέδρα, καὶ διώξασα συντόνως ἐπὶ Ταίναρον,
ἐκείθεν ἐπέβη νεὼς εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεούσης· καὶ
διεκομίσθη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συνδιήνεγκεν
αὐτῷ τὸν ἐπὶ ξένης βίον ἀλύπως καὶ ἰλαρῶς.
αὕτη τότε τὴν Κρατησίκλειαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν ἐξαγομένην ἐχειραγώγει, τὸν τε πέπλον
αὐτῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσα, καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακα-
λοῦσα μηδὲν τι μηδ' αὐτὴν ἐκπεπληγμένην τὸν
θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνον αἰτουμένην, πρὸ τῶν
5 παιδίων ἀποθανεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον
ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα δρᾶν εἰώθεσαν οἱ ὑπηρέται, πρῶτον
μὲν τὰ παιδιά, τῆς Κρατησικλείας ὀρώσης, ἔσ-
φαττον, εἶτα ἐκείνην, ἐν τοῦτο μόνον ἐπὶ τηλι-
κούτοις φθεγξαμένην πάθεισιν, “ὦ τέκνα, ποῖ
ἐμόλετε”; ἡ δὲ Παντέως γυνή, περιζωσαμένη τὸ
ἱμάτιον, εὖρωστος οὔσα καὶ μεγάλη τῶν ἀπο-
θνησκουσῶν ἐκάστην σιωπῇ καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας
ἐθεράπευε καὶ περιέστελλεν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων.
6 τέλος δὲ μετὰ πάσας ἑαυτὴν κοσμήσασα, καὶ
καταγαγούσα τὴν περιβολήν, καὶ μηδένα προσ-
ελθεῖν ἐάσασα μηδὲ ἰδεῖν ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς
σφαγῆς τεταγμένον, ἡρωϊκῶς κατέστρεψεν, οὐ-
δενὸς δεηθεῖσα κοσμοῦντος καὶ περικαλύπτουτος
μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. οὕτω παρέμεινε τῷ θανάτῳ
τὸ κόσμιον τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διεφύλαξεν ἦν ζῶσα
φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι περιέθηκεν.

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Among these women was the wife of Panteus, most noble and beautiful to look upon. The pair were still but lately married, and their misfortunes came upon them in the hey-day of their love. Her parents, indeed, would not permit her to sail away with Panteus immediately, although she wished to do so, but shut her up and kept her under constraint; a little later, however, she procured herself a horse and a small sum of money, ran away by night, made all speed to Taenarum, and there embarked upon a ship bound for Egypt. She was conveyed to her husband, and with him bore their life in a strange land without complaint and cheerfully. She it was who now took the hand of Cratesicleia as she was led forth by the soldiers, held up her robe for her, and bade her be of good courage. And Cratesicleia herself was not one whit dismayed at death, but asked one favour only, that she might die before the children died. However, when they were come to the place of execution, first the children were slain before her eyes, and then Cratesicleia herself was slain, making but this one cry at sorrows so great: "O children, whither are ye gone?" Then the wife of Panteus, girding up her robe, vigorous and stately woman that she was, ministered to each of the dying women calmly and without a word, and laid them out for burial as well as she could. And finally, after all were cared for, she arrayed herself, let down her robes from about her neck, and suffering no one besides the executioner to come near or look upon her, bravely met her end, and had no need of anyone to array or cover up her body after death. Thus her decorum of spirit attended her in death, and she maintained to the end that watchful care of her body which she had set over it in life.

- XXXIX. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαίμων, ἐφαμίλλως ἀγωνισαμένη τῷ γυναικεῖῳ δράματι πρὸς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς ἐπέδειξε τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑβρισθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις οἱ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένου ἀνεσταυρωμένον παραφυλάττοντες εἶδον εὐμεγέθη δράκοντα τῇ κεφαλῇ περιπεπλεγμένον καὶ ἀποκρύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ὥστε μηδὲν
- 2 ὄρνεον ἐφίπτασθαι σαρκοφάγον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δεισιδαιμονία προσέπεσε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ φόβος, ἄλλων καθαρμῶν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀρχὴν παρασχών, ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀνηρημένου θεοφιλοῦς καὶ κρείττονος τὴν φύσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ προσετρέποντο φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἥρωα τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ θεῶν παῖδα προσαγορεύοντες, ἄχρι οὗ
- 3 κατέπαυσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ σοφώτεροι, διδόντες λόγον ὡς μελίττας μὲν βόες, σφήκας δὲ ἵπποι κατασαπέντες ἐξανθοῦσι, κάνθαροι δὲ ὄνων τὸ αὐτὸ παθόντων ζωογονοῦνται, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα σώματα, τῶν περὶ τὸν μυελὸν ἰχώρων συρροήν τινα καὶ σύστασιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λαβόντων, ὅφεις ἀναδίδωσι. καὶ τοῦτο κατιδόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μάλιστα τῶν ζώων τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς ἥρωσι συνωκείωσαν.

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XXXIX. So, then, Sparta, bringing her women's tragedy into emulous competition with that of her men, showed the world that in the last extremity Virtue cannot be outraged by Fortune. And a few days afterwards those who were keeping watch upon the body of Cleomenes where it hung, saw a serpent of great size coiling itself about the head and hiding away the face so that no ravening bird of prey could light upon it. In consequence of this, the king was seized with superstitious fear, and thus gave the women occasion for various rites of purification, since they felt that a man had been taken off who was of a superior nature and beloved of the gods. And the Alexandrians actually worshipped him, coming frequently to the spot and addressing Cleomenes as a hero and a child of the gods; but at last the wiser men among them put a stop to this by explaining that, as putrefying oxen breed bees, and horses wasps, and as beetles are generated in asses which are in the like condition of decay, so human bodies, when the juices about the marrow collect together and coagulate, produce serpents. And it was because they observed this that the ancients associated the serpent more than any other animal with heroes.

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GRACCHUS .

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΟΣ ΓΡΑΙΧΟΙ

Τ. ΓΡΑΓΧΟΣ

Ι. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἱστορίαν ἀποδεω-
κότες ἔχομεν οὐκ ἐλάττονα πάθη τούτων ἐν τῇ
Ῥωμαϊκῇ συζυγίᾳ θεωρῆσαι, τὸν Τιβερίου καὶ
Γαίου βίον ἀντιπαραβάλλοντες. οὗτοι Τιβερίου
Γράγχου παῖδες ἦσαν, ᾧ τιμητῇ τε Ῥωμαίων
γενομένῳ καὶ δις ὑπατεύσαντι καὶ θριάμβους δύο
καταγαγόντι· λαμπρότερον ἦν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς
2 ἀξίωμα. διὸ καὶ τὴν Σκηπίωνος τοῦ καταπολε-
μήσαντος Ἀννίβαν θυγατέρα Κορνηλίαν, οὐκ ὦν
φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διάφορος τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονώς,
λαβεῖν ἡξιώθη μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν. λέ-
γεται δέ ποτε συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης
ζεῦγος δρακόντων, τοὺς δὲ μάντεις σκεψαμένους
τὸ τέρας ἄμφω μὲν οὐκ εἶναι ἀνελεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφεῖναι,
περὶ δὲ θατέρου διαιρεῖν, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἄρρην τῷ
Τιβερίῳ φέροι θάνατον ἀναιρεθείς, ἡ δὲ θήλεια
3 τῇ Κορνηλίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Τιβέριον καὶ φιλοῦντα
τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῇ προσήκειν ὄντι
πρεσβυτέρῳ τελευτᾷ ἡγούμενον ἔτι νέας οὔσης
ἐκείνης, τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα κτεῖναι τῶν δρακόντων,
ἀφεῖναι δὲ τὴν θήλειαν· εἴτα ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ



TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

I. Now that we have duly finished the first part of our story, we have to contemplate fates no less tragic than those of Agis and Cleomenes in the lives of the Roman couple, Tiberius and Caius, which we set in parallel. They were sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who, although he had been censor at Rome, twice consul, and had celebrated two triumphs, derived his more illustrious dignity from his virtue. Therefore, after the death¹ of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal, although Tiberius had not been his friend, but actually at variance with him, he was judged worthy to take Scipio's daughter Cornelia in marriage. We are told, moreover, that he once caught a pair of serpents on his bed, and that the soothsayers, after considering the prodigy, forbade him to kill both serpents or to let both go, but to decide the fate of one or the other of them, declaring also that the male serpent, if killed, would bring death to Tiberius, and the female, to Cornelia. Tiberius, accordingly, who loved his wife, and thought that since she was still young and he was older it was more fitting that he should die, killed the male serpent, but let the female go. A short time afterwards, as the story

¹ In 183 B.C.

χρόνῳ τελευτῆσαι, δεκαδύο παῖδας ἐκ τῆς Κορνηλίας αὐτῷ γεγονότας καταλιπόντα.

- 4 Κορνηλία δὲ ἀναλαβοῦσα τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὸν οἶκον, οὕτω σώφρονα καὶ φιλότεκνον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον αὐτὴν παρέσχευε ὥστε μὴ κακῶς δόξαι βεβουλεῦσθαι τὸν Τιβέριον ἀντὶ τοιαύτης γυναικὸς ἀποθανεῖν ἐλόμενον, ἥ γε καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως κοινουμένου τὸ διάδημα καὶ μνω-
- 5 μένου τὸν γάμον αὐτῆς ἡρνήσατο, καὶ χηρεύουσα τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπέβαλε παῖδας, μίαν δὲ τῶν θυγατέρων, ἣ Σκηπίωνι τῷ νεωτέρῳ συνώκησε, καὶ δύο υἱούς, περὶ ὧν τάδε γέγραπται, Τιβέριον καὶ Γαῖον, διαγενομένους οὕτω φιλοτίμως ἐξεθρεψεν ὥστε πάντων εὐφρεστάτους Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογουμένως γεγονότας πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκεῖν βέλτιον ἢ πεφυκέναι πρὸς ἀρετὴν.

II. Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν πλασσομένων καὶ γραφομένων Διοσκούρων ὁμοιότης ἔχει τινὰ τοῦ πυκτικοῦ πρὸς τὸν δρομικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς μορφῆς διαφοράν, οὕτω τῶν νεανίσκων ἐκείνων ἐν πολλῇ τῇ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἔτι δὲ ἐλευθεριότητα καὶ λογιότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐμφερεῖα μεγάλαι περὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἶον ἐξήνθησαν καὶ διεφάνησαν ἀνομοιότητες, οὐ χεῖρον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ ταύτας προεκθέσθαι.

- 2 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἰδέα προσώπου καὶ βλέμματι καὶ κινήματι πρᾶος καὶ καταστηματικὸς ἦν ὁ

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goes, he died,¹ leaving Cornelia with twelve children by him.

Cornelia took charge of the children and of the estate, and showed herself so discreet, so good a mother, and so magnanimous, that Tiberius was thought to have made no bad decision when he elected to die instead of such a woman. For when Ptolemy² the king offered to share his crown with her and sought her hand in marriage, she refused him, and remained a widow. In this state she lost most of her children, but three survived; one daughter, who married Scipio the Younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives I now write. These sons Cornelia reared with such scrupulous care that although confessedly no other Romans were so well endowed by nature, they were thought to owe their virtues more to education than to nature.

II. Now, just as, in spite of the likeness between Castor and Pollux as they are represented in sculpture and painting, there is a certain difference of shape between the boxer and the runner, so in the case of these young Romans, along with their strong resemblance to one another in bravery and self-command, as well as in liberality, eloquence, and magnanimity, in their actions and political careers great unlikenesses blossomed out, as it were, and came to light. Therefore I think it not amiss to set these forth before going further.

In the first place, then, as regards cast of features and look and bearing, Tiberius was gentle and sedate,

¹ He was consul for the second time in 163 B.C. The year of his death is unknown. This story is told and commented on by Cicero in *De divinatione* i. 18, 36; ii. 29, 62.

² Probably Ptolemy VI., surnamed Philometor, king of Egypt 181-146 B.C.

- Τιβέριος, ἔντομος δὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁ Γαῖος, ὥστε καὶ δημηγορεῖν τὸν μὲν ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ βεβηκότα κοσμίως, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος περιπάτω τε χρήσασθαι καὶ περισπάσαι τὴν τήβεννον ἐξ ὧμου λέγοντα, καθάπερ Κλέωνα 825 τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἰστόρηται περισπάσαι τε τὴν περιβολὴν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀλοῆσαι πρῶτον τῶν 3 δημηγορούντων. ἔπειτα ὁ λόγος τοῦ μὲν Γαίου φοβερὸς καὶ περιπαθὴς εἰς δείνωσιν, ἡδίων δὲ ὁ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπαγωγὸς οἴκτου· τῇ δὲ λέξει καθαρὸς καὶ διαπεπονημένος ἀκριβῶς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δὲ Γαίου πιθανὸς καὶ γεγανωμένος. οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ δίαιταν καὶ τράπεζαν εὐτελὴς καὶ ἀφελὴς ὁ Τιβέριος, ὁ δὲ Γαῖος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παραβαλεῖν σώφρων καὶ αὐστηρὸς, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν διαφορᾷ νεοπρεπὴς καὶ περίεργος, ὡς 4 οἱ περὶ Δροῦσον ἤλεγχον ὅτι δελφίνας¹ ἀργυροῦς ἐπρίατο τιμῆς εἰς ἐκάστην λίτραν δραχμῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων πεντήκοντα. τῷ δὲ ἦθει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου διαφορὰν ὁ μὲν ἐπιεικὴς καὶ πρᾶος, ὁ δὲ τραχὺς καὶ θυμοειδής, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκφερόμενον πολλάκις ὑπ' ὀργῆς τὴν τε φωνὴν ἀποξύνειν καὶ βλασφημεῖν καὶ 5 συνταράττειν τὸν λόγον. ὅθεν καὶ βοήθημα τῆς ἐκτροπῆς ἐποιήσατο ταύτης τὸν Δικίννιον, οἰκέτην οὐκ ἀνόητον, ὃς ἔχων φωνασκικὸν ὄργανον, ᾧ τοὺς φθόγγους ἀναβιβάζουσιν, ὁπισθεν ἐστῶς τοῦ Γαίου λέγοντος, ὀπηνίκα τραχυνόμενον αἰσθοίτο τῇ φωνῇ καὶ παραρρηγνύμενον δι' ὀργήν, ἐνεδίδου τόνον μαλακόν, ᾧ τὸ σφοδρὸν εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος ἄμα

¹ δελφίνας Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, with the MSS. : δέλφικας (*Delphic tables, or tripods*), after Amyot.

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while Caius was high-strung and vehement, so that even when haranguing the people the one stood composedly in one spot, while the other was the first Roman to walk about upon the rostra and pull his toga off his shoulder as he spoke. So Cleon the Athenian is said to have been the first of the popular orators to strip away his mantle and smite his thigh.¹ In the second place, the speech of Caius was awe-inspiring and passionate to exaggeration, while that of Tiberius was more agreeable and more conducive to pity. The style also of Tiberius was pure and elaborated to a nicety, while that of Caius was persuasive and ornate. So also as regards their table and mode of life, Tiberius was simple and plain, while Caius, although temperate and austere as compared with others, in contrast with his brother was ostentatious and fastidious. Hence men like Drusus found fault with him because he bought silver dolphins at twelve hundred and fifty drachmas the pound. Again, their tempers were no less different than their speech. Tiberius was reasonable and gentle, while Caius was harsh and fiery, so that against his better judgment he was often carried away by anger as he spoke, raising his voice to a high pitch and uttering abuse and losing the thread of his discourse. Wherefore, to guard against such digressions, he employed an intelligent servant, Licinius, who stood behind him when he was speaking, with a sounding instrument for giving the tones of the voice their pitch. Whenever this servant noticed that the voice of Caius was getting harsh and broken with anger, he would give out a soft key-note, on hearing which Caius would at once remit the vehemence of his passion and of

¹ See the *Nicias*, viii. 3.

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τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἀνιείς ἐπραΰνετο καὶ παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐανάκλητον.

III. Αἱ μὲν οὖν διαφοραὶ τοιαῦταί τινες ἦσαν αὐτῶν· ἀνδραγαθία δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐγκράτεια, ἀπαράλλακτος. ἦν δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα ὁ Τιβέριος· καὶ τοῦτο τὴν ἐκατέρου πολιτείαν ἀπηρητημένην τοῖς χρόνοις ἐποίησε καὶ τὰς πράξεις οὐχ ἥκιστα διελυμήνατο, μὴ συνακμασάντων μὴδὲ συμβαλόντων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν δύναμιν, μεγάλην ἂν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον γενομένην. λεκτέον οὖν ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἐκατέρου καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου πρότερον.

IV. Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων γενόμενος οὕτως ἦν περιβόητος ὥστε τῆς τῶν Αὐγούρων λεγομένης ἱερωσύνης ἀξιωθῆναι δι' ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν. ἐδήλωσε δὲ Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός καὶ τιμητικός καὶ προγεγραμμένος κατ' ἀξίωμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς καὶ πολὺ φρονήματι τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπεραίρων. ἐστιωμένων γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν ἱερέων, προσαγορεύσας τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς, αὐτὸς ἐμῶν τῇ θυγατρὶ
2 νυμφίον. δεξαμένου δὲ ἀσμένως ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς καταινέσεως οὕτω γενομένης, εἰσιὼν ὁ Ἀππίος οἴκαδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας εὐθύς ἐκάλει τὴν γυναῖκα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ βοῶν, “ὦ Ἀντιστία, τὴν Κλαυδίαν ἡμῶν ἀνδρὶ καθωμολόγηκα.” κακείνη θαυμάσασα, “Τίς,” εἶπεν, “ἡ σπουδὴ ἢ τί τὸ τάχος; εἰ δὲ Τιβέριον αὐτῇ Γράγχον εὐρήκεις¹

¹ εἰ δὲ . . . εὐρήκεις Bekker has εἰ μὴ . . . εὐρίσκεις; Blass and Fuhr εἰ μὴ εὐρήκεις (unless thou hadst found), after Stephanus.

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his speech, grow gentle, and show himself easy to recall.

III. The differences between them, then, were of this nature ; but as regards bravery in the face of the enemy, just dealings with subject peoples, scrupulous fidelity in public office, and restraint in pleasurable indulgence, they were exactly alike. Tiberius, however, was nine years older than his brother ; and this set a different period for the political activity of each, and more than anything else vitiated their undertakings. They did not rise to eminence at the same time, and so did not combine their powers into one. Such an united power would have proved irresistibly great. We must therefore give an account of each by himself, and of the elder first.

IV. Tiberius, then, as soon as he got past boyhood, was so widely known as to be thought worthy of a place among the priests called Augurs ; and this was due to his virtues rather than to his excellent birth, as was clearly shown by Appius Claudius. For Appius, who had been consul and censor, had been made Dean of the Roman senate¹ by virtue of his dignity, and in loftiness of spirit far surpassed his contemporaries, at a banquet of the augurs² addressed Tiberius with words of friendship, and asked him to become the husband of his daughter. Tiberius gladly accepted the invitation, and the betrothal was thus arranged, and when Appius returned home, from the doorway where he stood he called his wife and cried in a loud voice : " Antistia, I have betrothed our Claudia." And Antistia, in amazement, said : " Why so eager, or why so fast ? If thou hadst only found

¹ Princeps Senatus.

² Presumably at the induction of Tiberius into office.

- 3 νυμφίον.” οὐκ ἄγνωῶ δὲ ὅτι τοῦτό τινες ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν Γράγχων Τιβέριον καὶ Σκηπίωνα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀναφέρουσιν, ἀλλ’ οἱ πλείους ὥς ἡμεῖς γράφομεν ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ Πολύβιος μετὰ τὴν Σκηπίωνος Ἀφρικανοῦ τελευτὴν τοὺς οἰκείους φησὶν ἐκ πάντων προκρίναντας τὸν Τιβέριον δοῦναι τὴν Κορινθίαν, ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνέκδοτον καὶ ἀνέγγνον ἀπολειφθεῖσαν.
- 4 Ὁ δ’ οὖν νεώτερος Τιβέριος στρατευόμενος ἐν Λιβύῃ μετὰ τοῦ δευτέρου Σκηπίωνος, ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ὁμοῦ συνδιαιτώμενος ὑπὸ σκηνὴν τῷ στρατηγῷ ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν κατέμαθε, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς ζῆλον ἀρετῆς καὶ μίμησιν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐκφέρουσιν, ταχὺ δὲ τῶν νέων πάντων ἐπρώτευεν εὐταξία καὶ
- 5 ἀνδρεία· καὶ τοῦ γε τείχους ἐπέβη τῶν πολεμίων πρῶτος, ὥς φησι Φάννιος, λέγων καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Τιβερίῳ συνεπιβῆναι καὶ συμμετασχεῖν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀριστείας. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ παρῶν εὐνοίαν εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ πόθον ἀπαλλαττόμενος αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε.
- V. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην αἰρεθεὶς ταμίας ἔλαχε τῶν ὑπάτων Γαῖῳ Μαγκίνῳ συστρατεύειν ἐπὶ Νομαντίνους, ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν οὐ πονηρῷ, βαρυποτμοτάτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τύχαις παραλόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν ἐναντίοις τοῦ Τιβερίου διέλαμψεν οὐ μόνον τὸ συνετὸν καὶ ἀνδρείον, ἀλλ’, ὃ θαυμάσιον ἦν, αἰδῶς τε πολλή καὶ τιμὴ τοῦ ἀρχοντος, ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν οὐδ’ ἑαυτόν, εἰ στρατηγὸς ἐστίν, ἐπιγι-
- 2 νώσκοντος. ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ μάχαις μεγάλαις ἐπε-

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Tiberius Gracchus for betrothal to her!" I am aware that some¹ refer this story to Tiberius the father of the Gracchi and Scipio Africanus Major, but the majority of writers tell it as I do, and Polybius says² that after the death of Scipio Africanus the relatives of Cornelia chose out Tiberius in preference to all others and gave her to him, as one who had been left by her father unaffianced and unbetrothed.

The younger Tiberius, accordingly, serving in Africa under the younger Scipio,³ who had married his sister, and sharing his commander's tent, soon learned to understand that commander's nature (which produced many great incentives towards the emulation of virtue and its imitation in action), and soon led all the young men in discipline and bravery; yes, he was first to scale the enemies' wall, as Fannius says, who writes also that he himself scaled the wall with Tiberius and shared in that exploit. While he remained with the army Tiberius was the object of much good will, and on leaving it he was greatly missed.

V. After this campaign he was elected quaestor, and had the fortune to serve in a war against Numantia under the consul Caius Mancinus,⁴ who was not bad as a man, but most unfortunate of the Romans as a general. Therefore in the midst of unexpected misfortunes and adverse circumstances not only did the sagacity and bravery of Tiberius shine forth all the more, but also—and this was astonishing—the great respect and honour in which he held his commander, who, under the pressure of disasters, forgot even that he was a general. For after he had

¹ Cf. Livy. xxxviii. 57.

² Cf. Polybius, xxxii. 13.

³ In the campaign of 146 B.C., which ended with the destruction of Carthage.

⁴ Consul in 137 B.C.

- χείρησε μὲν ἀναζευγνύναι νυκτός, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον· αἰσθομένων δὲ τῶν Νομαντίνων καὶ τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον εὐθύς λαβόντων, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιπεσόντων φεύγουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους φονευόντων, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἐγκυκλουμένων στράτευμα καὶ συνωθούντων εἰς τόπους χαλεποὺς καὶ διάφευξιν οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι σωτηρίαν ὁ Μαγκίνος ἐπεκηρυκεύετο
- 3 περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ διαλύσεων πρὸς αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἔφασαν οὐδενὶ πλὴν μόνῳ Τιβερίῳ, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκέλευον ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεπόνθησαν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ δι' αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον (ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πλεῖστος λόγος ἐπὶ στρατιᾷς), καὶ μεμνημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς Τιβερίου, ὃς πολεμήσας Ἰβηρσι καὶ πολλοὺς καταστρεψάμενος εἰρήνην ἔθετο πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους καὶ ταύτην ἐμπεδούντα τὸν δῆμον ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως αἰεὶ παρέσχευεν.
- 4 οὕτω δὴ πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ συγγενόμενος τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὰ μὲν πείσας, τὰ δὲ δεξάμενος ἐσπείσατο, καὶ δισμυρίους ἔσωσε περίφανῶς Ῥωμαίων πολίτας, ἄνευ θεραπείας καὶ τῶν ἔξω τάξεως ἐπομένων.

VI. Τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ χάρακι ληφθέντα χρήματα πάντα κατέσχον οἱ Νομαντίνοι καὶ διεπόρθησαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ πινακίδες ἦσαν τοῦ Τιβερίου, γράμματα καὶ λόγους ἔχουσαι τῆς ταμιευτικῆς ἀρχῆς, ἃς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ἀπολαβεῖν, ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ προκεχωρηκότος ἀνέστρεψε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας

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been defeated in great battles, he attempted to abandon his camp and withdraw his forces by night; but the Numantines became aware of his attempt and promptly seized his camp. Then they fell upon his men as they fled, slew those who were in the rear, encompassed his whole army, and crowded them into regions that were full of difficulties and afforded no escape. Mancinus, despairing of forcing his way to safety, sent heralds to the enemy proposing a truce and terms of peace; but the enemy declared that they had confidence in no Roman save only Tiberius, and ordered that he should be sent to them. They had this feeling towards the young man not only on his own account (for he was held in very high esteem by the Numantine soldiery), but also because they remembered his father Tiberius, who waged war against the Spaniards,¹ and subdued many of them, but made a peace with the Numantines, to the observance of which with integrity and justice he always held the Roman people. So Tiberius was sent and held conference with the enemy, and after getting them to accept some conditions, and himself accepting others, effected a truce, and thereby manifestly saved the lives of twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides attendants and camp followers.

VI. However, all the property captured in the camp was retained by the Numantines and treated as plunder. Among this were also the ledgers of Tiberius, containing written accounts of his official expenses as quaestor. These he was very anxious to recover, and so, when the army was already well on its way, turned back towards the city, attended by

In 180-179 B.C.

- 2 **εταίρους.** ἐκκαλέσας δὲ τῶν Νομαντίνων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡξίου κομίσασθαι τὰς δέλτους, ὥς μὴ παράσχοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διαβολὴν οὐκ ἔχων ἀπολογίσασθαι περὶ τῶν ὠκονομημένων. ἡσθέντες οὖν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι τῇ συντυχίᾳ τῆς χρείας παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ὥς δὲ εἰστήκει βουλευόμενος, ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες ἐνεφύοντο ταῖς χερσί, καὶ λιπαρεῖς ἦσαν δεόμενοι μηκέτι νομίζειν αὐτοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὥς φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ
- 3 **πιστεύειν.** ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Τιβερίῳ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, τῶν τε δέλτων περιεχομένῳ καὶ δεδοικότε παροξύνειν ὥς ἀπιστουμένους τοὺς Νομαντίνους. εἰσελθόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν ἄριστον παρέθεσαν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐποιήσαντο δέησιν ἐμφαγεῖν τι κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν καθήμενον· ἔπειτα τὰς δέλτους ἀπέδωκαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἂ βούλοιτο χρημάτων λαβεῖν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἢ τὸν λιβανωτὸν ᾧ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας ἐχρήτο θυσίας λαβὼν, ἀπήλθεν ἀσπασάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς τοὺς ἄνδρας.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν, ἡ μὲν ὅλη πρᾶξις ὥς δεινὴ καὶ καταισχύνουσα τὴν Ῥώμην αἰτίαν εἶχε καὶ κατηγορίαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι μέγα μέρος ὄντες τοῦ δήμου συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον, τὰ μὲν αἰσχροὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἀναφέροντες εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα, δι' αὐτὸν δὲ σώζεσθαι τοσοῦτους πολίτας φάσκοντες.

- 2 οἱ μέντοι δυσχεραίνοντες τὰ πεπραγμένα μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς προγόνους ἐκέλευον· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι 827

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three or four companions. After summoning forth the magistrates of Numantia, he asked them to bring him his tablets, that he might not give his enemies opportunity to malign him by not being able to give an account of his administration. The Numantines, accordingly, delighted at the chance to do him a favour, invited him to enter the city; and as he stood deliberating the matter, they drew near and clasped his hands, and fervently entreated him no longer to regard them as enemies, but to treat and trust them as friends. Tiberius, accordingly, decided to do this, both because he set great store by his tablets, and because he feared to exasperate the Numantines by showing them distrust. After he had entered the city, in the first place the Numantines set out a meal for him, and entreated him by all means to sit down and eat something in their company; next, they gave him back his tablets, and urged him to take whatever he wanted of the rest of his property. He took nothing, however, except the frankincense which he was wont to use in the public sacrifices, and after bidding them farewell with every expression of friendship, departed.

VII. When he came back to Rome, the whole transaction was blamed and denounced as a terrible disgrace to the city, although the relatives and friends of the soldiers, who formed a large part of the people, came flocking to Tiberius, imputing the disgrace in what had happened to his commander, but insisting that it was due to Tiberius that the lives of so many citizens had been saved. Those, however, who were displeased at what had been done urged for imitation the example of their ancestors, who flung to the enemy unarmed the generals

τοὺς ἀγαπήσαντας ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν ἀφεθῆναι στρα-
τηγούς αὐτούς τε τοῖς πολεμίοις γυμνοὺς προσ-
έρριψαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐφαψαμένους καὶ μετασχόντας
τῶν σπονδῶν, οἷον ταμίας καὶ χιλιάρχους, ὁμοίως
προὔβαλον, εἰς ἐκείνους τὴν ἐπιουρκίαν καὶ τὴν
3 διάλυσιν τῶν ὁμολογημένων τρέποντες. ἔνθα δὲ
καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον εὐνοίαν καὶ
σπουδὴν ἐξέφηνεν ὁ δῆμος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὕπατον
ἐψηφίσαντο γυμνὸν καὶ δεδεμένον παραδοῦναι
τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐφείσαντο πάντων
διὰ Τιβέριον. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Σκηπίων βοηθῆσαι,
μέγιστος ὢν τότε καὶ πλεῖστον δυνάμενος Ῥω-
μαίων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐν αἰτίαις ἦν ὅτι τὸν
Μαγκίνον οὐ περιέσωσεν, οὐδὲ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐμπε-
δωθῆναι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις ἐσπούδασε δι' ἀνδρὸς
4 οἰκείου καὶ φίλου τοῦ Τιβερίου γενομένης. τὸ δὲ
πλεῖστον ἔοικεν ἐκ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν ἐπαιρόντων
τὸν Τιβέριον φίλων καὶ σοφιστῶν ἐκγενέσθαι τὰ
τῆς διαφορᾶς. ἀλλ' αὕτη γε πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον
οὐδὲ φαῦλον ἐξέπεσε. δοκεῖ δ' ἂν μοι μηδαμῶς
περιπεσεῖν ὁ Τιβέριος οἷς ἔπαθεν, εἰ παρῆν αὐτοῦ
τοῖς πολιτεύμασι Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός· νῦν δὲ
ἐκείνου περὶ Νομαντίαν ὄντος ἤδη καὶ πολεμοῦντος
ἦψατο τῆς περὶ τοὺς νόμους πολιτείας ἐκ τοιαύτης
αἰτίας.

VIII. Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων χώρας
δσσην ἀπετέμοντο πολέμῳ, τὴν μὲν ἐπίπρασκον,

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themselves who had been satisfied to be let go by the Samnites, and in like manner cast forth those who had taken hand and share in the treaty, as for instance the quaestors and military tribunes, turning upon their heads the guilt of perjury and violation of the pact.¹ In the present affair, indeed, more than at any other time, the people showed their good will and affection towards Tiberius. For they voted to deliver up the consul unarmed and in bonds to the Numantines, but spared all the other officers for the sake of Tiberius. It would seem, too, that Scipio, who was then the greatest and most influential man at Rome, helped to save them; but none the less he was blamed² for not saving Mancinus, and for not insisting that the treaty with the Numantines, which had been made through the agency of his kinsman and friend Tiberius, should be kept inviolate. It would appear that the disagreement between the two men arose chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius and from the friends and sophists who urged him on. But this disagreement certainly resulted in no mischief past remedy. And in my opinion Tiberius would never have met with his great misfortunes if Scipio Africanus had been present at Rome during his political activity. But as it was, Scipio was already at Numantia³ and waging war there when Tiberius began to agitate for his agrarian laws. The occasion of this was as follows.

VIII. Of the territory which the Romans won in war from their neighbours, a part they sold, and a

¹ In 321 B.C. Cf. Cicero, *De off.*, iii. 30, 109.

² By Tiberius and his friends.

³ Scipio was sent against Numantia in 134 B.C., and took and destroyed the city in the following year, in which year also Tiberius was killed.

- τὴν δὲ ποιούμενοι δημοσίαν ἐδίδοσαν νέμεσθαι τοῖς ἀκτήμοσι καὶ ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀποφορὰν οὐ πολλὴν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τελοῦσιν.
- 2 ἀρξαμένων δὲ τῶν πλουσίων ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς ἀποφορὰς καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἐξελαυνόντων, ἐγράφη νόμος οὐκ ἐὼν πλέθρα γῆς ἔχειν πλείονα τῶν πεντακοσίων. καὶ βραχὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέσχε τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο, καὶ τοῖς πένησιν ἐβοήθησε κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν μισθωμένων καὶ νεμομένοις ἢ ἕκαστος ἐξ ἀρχῆς
- 3 εἶχε μοῖραν. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν γειτνιώντων πλουσίων ὑποβλήτοις προσώποις μεταφερόντων τὰς μισθώσεις εἰς ἑαυτοὺς, τέλος δὲ φανερώς ἤδη δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰ πλείστα κατεχόντων, ἐξωσθέντες οἱ πένητες οὔτε ταῖς στρατείαις ἔτι προθύμους παρεῖχον ἑαυτοὺς, ἡμέλουν τε παίδων ἀνατροφῆς, ὥστε ταχὺ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ὀλιγανδρίας ἐλευθέρων αἰσθῆσθαι, δεσμωτηρίων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν ἐμπεπλῆσθαι, δι' ὧν ἐγεώργουν οἱ πλούσιοι τὰ χωρία,
- 4 τοὺς πολίτας ἐξελάσαντες. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν οὖν τῇ διορθώσει Γάϊος Λαίλιος ὁ Σκηπίωνος ἐταῖρος, ἀντικρουσάντων δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν φοβηθεὶς τὸν θόρυβον καὶ παυσάμενος ἐπεκλήθη σοφὸς ἢ φρόνιμος· ἐκάτερον γὰρ ἐδόκει σημαίνειν ὁ σαπίνης. ὁ Τιβέριος δὲ δήμαρχος ἀποδειχθεὶς εὐθύς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὥρμησε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, Διοφάνους τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Βλοσσίου
- 5 τοῦ φιλοσόφου παρορμησάντων αὐτόν, ὧν ὁ μὲν Διοφάνης φυγὰς ἦν Μιτυληναῖος, ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν

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part they made common land, and assigned it for occupation to the poor and indigent among the citizens, on payment of a small rent into the public treasury. And when the rich began to offer larger rents and drove out the poor, a law was enacted forbidding the holding by one person of more than five hundred acres of land. For a short time this enactment gave a check to the rapacity of the rich, and was of assistance to the poor, who remained in their places on the land which they had rented and occupied the allotment which each had held from the outset. But later on the neighbouring rich men, by means of fictitious personages, transferred these rentals to themselves, and finally held most of the land openly in their own names. Then the poor, who had been ejected from their land, no longer showed themselves eager for military service, and neglected the bringing up of children, so that soon all Italy was conscious of a dearth of freemen, and was filled with gangs of foreign slaves, by whose aid the rich cultivated their estates, from which they had driven away the free citizens. An attempt was therefore made to rectify this evil, and by Caius Laelius the comrade of Scipio; but the men of influence opposed his measures, and he, fearing the disturbance which might ensue, desisted, and received the surname of *Wise* or *Prudent* (for the Latin word "*sapiens*" would seem to have either meaning). Tiberius, however, on being elected tribune of the people, took the matter directly in hand. He was incited to this step, as most writers say, by Diophanes the rhetorician and Blossius the philosopher. Diophanes was an exile from Mitylene, but Blossius

ἐξ Ἰταλίας Κυμαῖος, Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ταρσέως
γεγονώς ἐν ἄστει συνήθης καὶ τετιμημένος ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ προσφωνήσεσι γραμμάτων φιλοσόφων.
ἐνιοι δὲ καὶ Κορνηλίαν συνεπαιτιῶνται τὴν μη-
τέρα πολλάκις τοὺς υἱοὺς ὀνειδίζουσιν ὅτι Ῥω-
μαῖοι Σκηπίωνος αὐτὴν ἔτι πενθεράν, οὐπω δὲ
6 μητέρα Γράγχων προσαγορεύουσιν. ἄλλοι δὲ
Σπόριόν τινα Ποστούμιον αἴτιον γενέσθαι λέγου-
σιν, ἡλικιώτην τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ πρὸς δόξαν
ἐφάμιλλον αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς συνηγορίας, ὃν, ὡς
ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, εὐρὼν πολὺ τῇ δόξῃ
καὶ τῇ δυνάμει παρηλλαχότα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον,
ἠθέλησεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπερβαλέσθαι πολιτεύματος
παραβόλου καὶ μεγάλην προσδοκίαν ἔχοντος 828
7 ἀψάμενος. ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάϊος ἐν τινι
βιβλίῳ γέγραφεν εἰς Νομαντίαν πορευόμενον διὰ
τῆς Τυρρηνίας τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν τῆς
χώρας ὀρώντα καὶ τοὺς γεωργοῦντας ἢ νέμοντας
οἰκέτας ἐπεισάκτους καὶ βαρβάρους, τότε πρῶτον
ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὴν μυρίων κακῶν ἄρξασαν
αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν. τὴν δὲ πλείστην αὐτὸς ὁ δῆ-
μος ὀρμὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐξῆψε, προκαλούμενος
διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτὸν ἐν στοαῖς καὶ τοίχοις καὶ
μνήμασι καταγραφομένων ἀναλαβεῖν τοῖς πένησι
τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ γε συνέθηκε τὸν νόμον,
τοῖς δὲ πρωτεύουσιν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῶν πολιτῶν
συμβούλοις χρησάμενος, ὦν καὶ Κράσσος ἦν ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Μούκιος Σκαιβόλας ὁ νομοδείκτης

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was a native Italian from Cumae, had been an intimate friend of Antipater of Tarsus at Rome, and had been honoured by him with the dedication of philosophical treatises. But some put part of the blame upon Cornelia the mother of Tiberius, who often reproached her sons because the Romans still called her the mother-in-law of Scipio, but not yet the mother of the Gracchi. Others again say that a certain Spurius Postumius was to blame. He was of the same age as Tiberius, and a rival of his in reputation as an advocate; and when Tiberius came back from his campaign and found that his rival had far outstripped him in reputation and influence and was an object of public admiration, he determined, as it would seem, to outdo him by engaging in a bold political measure which would arouse great expectations among the people. But his brother Caius, in a certain pamphlet,¹ has written that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and observed the dearth of inhabitants in the country, and that those who tilled its soil or tended its flocks there were imported barbarian slaves, he then first conceived the public policy which was the cause of countless ills to the two brothers. However, the energy and ambition of Tiberius were most of all kindled by the people themselves, who posted writings on porticoes, house-walls, and monuments, calling upon him to recover for the poor the public land.

IX. He did not, however, draw up his law by himself, but took counsel with the citizens who were foremost in virtue and reputation, among whom were Crassus the pontifex maximus, Mucius Scaevola the

¹ Probably a political pamphlet in the form of a letter. Cf. Cicero, *de div.* ii. 29, 62.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- ὑπατεύων τότε καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἀππίος ὁ κηδεστῆς
 2 τοῦ Τιβερίου. καὶ δοκεῖ νόμος εἰς ἀδικίαν καὶ
 πλεονεξίαν τοσαύτην μηδέποτε πραότερος γρα-
 φῆναι καὶ μαλακώτερος. οὓς γὰρ ἔδει δίκην τῆς
 ἀπειθείας δοῦναι καὶ μετὰ ζημίας ἦν παρὰ τοὺς
 νόμους ἐκαρποῦντο χώραν ἀφεῖναι, τούτους ἐκέ-
 λευσε τιμὴν προσλαμβάνοντας ἐκβαίνειν ὧν
 ἀδίκως ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ παραδέχεσθαι τοὺς βοη-
 3 θείας δεομένους τῶν πολιτῶν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω
 τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως οὔσης εὐγνώμονος, ὁ μὲν δῆμος
 ἡγάπα, παρεῖς τὰ γεγενημένα, παύσασθαι τὸ
 λοιπὸν ἀδικούμενος, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι καὶ κτηματικοὶ
 πλεονεξία μὲν τὸν νόμον, ὀργῇ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικία
 τὸν νομοθέτην δι' ἔχθους ἔχοντες, ἐπεχείρουν
 ἀποτρέπειν τὸν δῆμον, ὥς γῆς ἀναδασμὸν ἐπὶ
 συγχύσει τῆς πολιτείας εἰσάγοντος τοῦ Τιβερίου
 καὶ πάντα πράγματα κινούντος.
- 4 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον· ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος πρὸς
 καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ δικαίαν ἀγωνιζόμενος λόγῳ
 καὶ φαυλότερα κοσμήσαι δυναμένῳ πράγματα
 δεινὸς ἦν καὶ ἄμαχος, ὅποτε τοῦ δήμου τῷ βήματι
 περικεχυμένου καταστάς λέγοι περὶ τῶν πενήτων,
 ὥς τὰ μὲν θηρία τὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν νεμόμενα καὶ
 φωλεὸν ἔχει καὶ κοιταῖόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἐκάστω
 5 καὶ καταδύσεις,¹ τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας μαχο-
 μένοις καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αἲρος καὶ φωτός,
 ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἄοικοι καὶ ἀνί-
 δρυτοι μετὰ τέκνων πλανῶνται καὶ γυναικῶν, οἱ
 δὲ αὐτοκράτορες ψεύδονται τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν
 ταῖς μάχαις παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ τάφων καὶ

¹ καταδύσεις Bekker and many other editors have κατάδυσις, after Stephanus and Reiske.



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jurist, who was then consul, and Appius Claudius, his father-in-law. And it is thought that a law dealing with injustice and rapacity so great was never drawn up in milder and gentler terms. For men who ought to have been punished for their disobedience and to have surrendered with payment of a fine the land which they were illegally enjoying, these men it merely ordered to abandon their unjust acquisitions upon being paid their value, and to admit into ownership of them such citizens as needed assistance. But although the rectification of the wrong was so considerate, the people were satisfied to let bygones be bygones if they could be secure from such wrong in the future; the men of wealth and substance, however, were led by their greed to hate the law, and by their wrath and contentiousness to hate the law-giver, and tried to dissuade the people by alleging that Tiberius was introducing a re-distribution of land for the confusion of the body politic, and was stirring up a general revolution.

But they accomplished nothing; for Tiberius, striving to support a measure which was honourable and just with an eloquence that would have adorned even a meaner cause, was formidable and invincible, whenever, with the people crowding around the rostra, he took his stand there and pleaded for the poor. "The wild beasts that roam over Italy," he would say, "have every one of them a cave or lair to lurk in; but the men who fight and die for Italy enjoy the common air and light, indeed, but nothing else; houseless and homeless they wander about with their wives and children. And it is with lying lips that their imperators exhort the soldiers in their battles to

ιερῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐ βωμὸς πατρῶος, οὐκ ἡρίον προγονικὸν τῶν τοσούτων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας τρυφῆς καὶ πλούτου πολεμοῦσι καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι, κύριοι τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μίαν δὲ βῶλον ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντες.

- X. Τούτους ἀπὸ φρονήματος μεγάλου καὶ πάθους ἀληθινοῦ τοὺς λόγους κατιόντας¹ εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐνθουσιῶντα καὶ συνεξανιστάμενον οὐδεὶς ὑφίστατο τῶν ἐναντίων. ἑάσαντες οὖν τὸ ἀντιλέγειν ἐπὶ Μάρκον Ὀκτάβιον τρέπονται τῶν δημάρχων ἓνα, νεανίαν ἐμβριθῆ τὸ ἦθος καὶ κόσμιον, ἐταῖρον δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ συνήθη. διὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἰδούμενος ἐκείνῳ ἀνεδύετο· πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν δεομένων καὶ λιπαρούντων ὥσπερ ἐκβιαθεὶς ἀντικαθίστατο τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ διεκρούετο τὸν νόμον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ κωλύοντος ἐν τοῖς δημάρχοις τὸ κράτος· οὐδὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ κελεύοντες περαίνουσιν ἐνὸς ἐνισταμένου. πρὸς τοῦτο παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Τιβέριος τὸν μὲν φιλάνθρωπον ἐπανείλετο νόμον, τὸν δὲ ἡδίῳ τε τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ σφοδρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰσέφερεν ἤδη, κελεύων ἐξίστασθαι τῆς χώρας ἢν ἐκέκτηντο παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους.
- 4 Ἦσαν οὖν ὁμοῦ τι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀγῶνες αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐν 829 οἷς, καίπερ ἐξ ἄκρας σπουδῆς καὶ φιλονεικίας ἀντερείδοντες, οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν λέγονται περὶ ἀλλήλων φαῦλον, οὐδὲ ῥῆμα προπεσεῖν θατέρου πρὸς

¹ κατιόντας Bekker has κατατείνοντα, after Coraës, from the variant κατατείνοντας.

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defend sepulchres and shrines from the enemy ; for not a man of them has an hereditary altar, not one of all these many Romans an ancestral tomb, but they fight and die to support others in wealth and luxury, and though they are styled masters of the world, they have not a single clod of earth that is their own."

X. Such words as these, the product of a lofty spirit and genuine feeling, and falling upon the ears of a people profoundly moved and fully aroused to the speaker's support, no adversary of Tiberius could successfully withstand. Abandoning therefore all counter-pleading, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the popular tribunes, a young man of sober character, discreet, and an intimate companion of Tiberius. On this account Octavius at first tried to hold himself aloof, out of regard for Tiberius ; but he was forced from his position, as it were, by the prayers and supplications of many influential men, so that he set himself in opposition to Tiberius and staved off the passage of the law. Now, the decisive power is in the hands of any tribune who interposes his veto ; for the wishes of the majority avail nothing if one tribune is in opposition. Incensed at this procedure, Tiberius withdrew his considerate law, and introduced this time one which was more agreeable to the multitude and more severe against the wrongdoers, since it simply ordered them to vacate without compensation the land which they had acquired in violation of the earlier laws.

Almost every day, therefore, there were forensic contests between Tiberius and Octavius, in which, as we are told, although both strove together with the utmost earnestness and rivalry, neither abused the other or let fall a single word about the other which

τὸν ἕτερον δι' ὀργὴν ἀνεπιτήδειον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν βακχεύμασιν,¹ ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν φιλοτιμίαις καὶ ὀργαῖς τὸ πεφυκέναι καλῶς καὶ πεπαιδεύσθαι σωφρόνως ἐφίστησι καὶ κατακοσμεῖ
 5 τὴν διάνοιαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἐνεχόμενον τῷ νόμῳ καὶ κατέχοντα τῆς δημοσίας χώρας συχνὴν ὁ Τιβέριος, ἐδεῖτο παρεῖναι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, ὑφιστάμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν ἀποδώσειν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων, καίπερ οὐ λαμπρῶν ὄντων. οὐκ ἀνασχομένου δὲ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου, διαγράμματι τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας ἐκώλυσε χρηματίζειν,
 6 ἄχρι ἂν ἡ περὶ τοῦ νόμου διενεχθῇ ψῆφος· τῷ δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου ναῷ σφραγίδας ἰδίας ἐπέβαλεν, ὅπως οἱ ταμίαι μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοιεν μηδ' εἰσφέροιεν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν τῶν στρατηγῶν ζημίαν ἐπεκήρυξεν, ὥστε πάντας ὑποδείσαντας ἀφεῖναι
 7 τὴν ἐκάστω προσήκουσαν οἰκονομίαν. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ κτηματικοὶ τὰς μὲν ἐσθῆτας μετέβαλον καὶ περιήεσαν οἰκτροὶ καὶ ταπεινοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐπεβούλευον δὲ τῷ Τιβερίῳ κρύφα καὶ συνίστασαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας, ὥστε κακεῖνον οὐδενὸς ἀγνοοῦντος ὑποζώννυσθαι ξιφίδιον ληστρικόν, ὃ δόλωνα καλοῦσιν.

XI. Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ καλοῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον, ἡρπάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων αἱ ὑδρίαι, καὶ τὰ γινόμενα πολλὴν εἶχε σύγχυσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν περὶ Τιβέριον πλήθει βιάσασθαι δυναμένων καὶ συστρεφομένων ἐπὶ τοῦτο, Μάλλιος καὶ Φούλβιος,

¹ καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν
 οὐδ' ἢ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται
 (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 310 f. (Kirchhoff)).

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anger made unseemly. For not only "in Bacchic revelries," as it appears, but also in the exercise of rivalry and wrath, a noble nature and a sound training restrain and regulate the mind. Moreover, when Tiberius observed that Octavius himself was amenable to the law as a large holder of the public land, he begged him to remit his opposition, promising to pay him the value of the land out of his own means, although these were not splendid. But Octavius would not consent to this, and therefore Tiberius issued an edict forbidding all the other magistrates to transact any public business until such time as the vote should be cast either for or against his law. He also put his private seal upon the temple of Saturn, in order that the quaestors might not take any money from its treasury or pay any into it, and he made proclamation that a penalty would be imposed upon such praetors as disobeyed, so that all magistrates grew fearful and ceased performing their several functions. Thereupon the men of property put on the garb of mourning and went about the forum in pitiful and lowly guise; but in secret they plotted against the life of Tiberius and tried to raise a band of assassins to take him off, so that Tiberius on his part—and everybody knew it—wore a concealed short-sword such as brigands use (the name for it is "dolo").

XI. When the appointed day was come and Tiberius was summoning the people to the vote, the voting urns were stolen away by the party of the rich, and great confusion arose. However, the supporters of Tiberius were numerous enough to force the issue, and were banding together for this purpose, when

ἄνδρες ὑπατικοί, προσπεσόντες τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ
χειρῶν ἀπτόμενοι καὶ δακρύνοντες ἐδέοντο παύσα-
2 σθαι. τοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὅσον οὐπω δεινὸν ἤδη
συμφρονούντος, καὶ δι' αἰδῶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πυθο-
μένου τί κελεύουσι πράττειν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔφασαν
ἀξιόχρεω εἶναι πρὸς τηλικαύτην συμβουλίαν,
ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ τῇ βουλῇ κελεύοντες καὶ δεόμενοι
συνέπεισαν.

Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν ἡ βουλή συνελθοῦσα
διὰ τοὺς πλουσίους ἰσχύοντας ἐν αὐτῇ, τρέπεται
πρὸς ἔργον οὐ νόμιμον οὐδὲ ἐπιεικές, ἀφελῆσθαι
τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Ὀκτάβιον, ἀμηχανῶν ἄλλως ἐπα-
3 γαγεῖν τῷ νόμῳ τὴν ψῆφον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
ἐδεῖτο φανερώς αὐτοῦ, λόγους τε προσφέρων
φιλανθρώπους καὶ χειρῶν ἀπτόμενος, ἐνδοῦναι
καὶ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ δίκαια μὲν ἀξιούντι,
μικρὰ δὲ ἀντὶ μεγάλων πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ληψο-
μένῳ. διωθουμένου δὲ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου τὴν ἔντευξιν,
ὑπειπὼν ὁ Τιβέριος ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρχοντας ἀμφο-
τέρους καὶ περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἀπ' ἴσης
ἐξουσίας διαφερομένους ἄνευ πολέμου διεξελθεῖν
τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ἱαμα τούτου μόνον ὁρᾶν ἔφη τὸ
4 παύσασθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἕτερον. καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ
γε προτέρου τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἐκέλευσε τῷ δήμῳ ψῆ-
φον ἀναδοῦναι· καταβήσεσθαι γὰρ εὐθὺς ἰδιώτης
γενόμενος, ἂν τοῦτο δόξῃ τοῖς πολίταις. τοῦ δὲ
Ὀκταβίου μὴ θέλοντος αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ ἐκείνου
ψῆφον ἀναδώσειν, ἐὰν μὴ μεταγνῶ βουλευσάμενος.

XII. Καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις διέλυσε τὴν

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Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell down before Tiberius, clasped his hands, and with tears besought him to desist. Tiberius, conscious that the future was now all but desperate, and moved by respect for the men, asked them what they would have him do. They replied that they were not competent to advise in so grave a crisis, and urged him with entreaties to submit the case to the senate. To this Tiberius consented.

But the senate in its session accomplished nothing, owing to the prevailing influence of the wealthy class in it, and therefore Tiberius resorted to a measure which was illegal and unseemly, the ejection of Octavius from his office; but he was unable in any other way to bring his law to the vote. In the first place, however, he begged Octavius in public, addressing him with kindly words and clasping his hands, to give in and gratify the people, who demanded only their just rights, and would receive only a trifling return for great toils and perils. But Octavius rejected the petition, and therefore Tiberius, after premising that, since they were colleagues in office with equal powers and differed on weighty measures, it was impossible for them to complete their term of office without open war, said he saw only one remedy for this, and that was for one or the other of them to give up his office. Indeed, he urged Octavius to put to the people a vote on his own case first, promising to retire at once to private life if this should be the will of the citizens. But Octavius was unwilling, and therefore Tiberius declared that he would put the case of Octavius unless Octavius should change his mind upon reflection.

XII. With this understanding, he dissolved the

- ἐκκλησίαν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πάλιν ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τὸν Ὀκτάβιον· ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀμετάπειστος, εἰσήνεγκε νόμον ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν δημαρχίαν, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας εὐθύς ἐκάλει τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφέροντας.
- 2 οὐσῶν δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα φυλῶν, ὡς αἱ δεκαεπτὰ τὴν ψῆφον ἐπενηνόχισαν καὶ μιᾶς ἔτι προσγενομένης ἔδει τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἰδιώτην γενέσθαι, κελεύσας ἐπισχεῖν αὐθις ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Ὀκταβίου καὶ περιέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατησπάζετο, λιπαρῶν καὶ δεόμενος μῆθ' ἑαυτὸν 830 ἄτιμον περιῖδεῖν γεγόμενον μῆτ' ἐκείνῳ βαρέος οὕτω καὶ σκυθρωποῦ πολιτεύματος αἰτίαν προσάψαι.
- 3 Τούτων τῶν δεήσεων οὐ παντελῶς ἄτεγκτον οὐδ' ἄτενῇ λέγουσιν ἀκροᾶσθαι τὸν Ὀκτάβιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δακρύων ὑποπίμπλασθαι τὰ ὄμματα καὶ σιωπᾶν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. ὡς μέντοι πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς κτηματικούς συνεστῶτας ἀπέβλεψεν, αἰδεσθεῖς δοκεῖ καὶ φοβηθεῖς τὴν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀδοξίαν ὑποστήναι πᾶν δεινὸν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς καὶ κελεύσαι πράττειν δὲ βούλεται τὸν
- 4 Τιβέριον. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ νόμου κυρωθέντος ὁ μὲν Τιβέριος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλκύσαι τὸν Ὀκτάβιον· ἐχρήτο δὲ ὑπηρέταις ἀπελευθέρους ἰδίοις, καὶ τοῦτο τὴν ὄψιν οἰκτροτέραν τοῦ Ὀκταβίου παρέσχευ ἐλκομένου
- 5 πρὸς ὕβριν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐφώρμησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν πλουσίων συνδραμόντων καὶ διασχόντων τὰς χεῖρας, ὁ μὲν Ὀκτάβιος ἐσώθη μόλις ἑξαρπαγείς καὶ διαφυγὼν τὸν ὄχλον, οἰκέτην δὲ αὐτοῦ πιστὸν

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assembly for that day; but on the following day, after the people had come together, he mounted the rostra and once more attempted to persuade Octavius. When, however, Octavius was not to be persuaded, Tiberius introduced a law depriving him of his tribuneship, and summoned the citizens to cast their votes upon it at once. Now, there were five and thirty tribes, and when seventeen of them had cast their votes, and the addition of one more would make it necessary for Octavius to become a private citizen, Tiberius called a halt in the voting, and again entreated Octavius, embracing and kissing him in the sight of the people, and fervently begging him not to allow himself to be dishonoured, and not to attach to a friend responsibility for a measure so grievous and severe.

On hearing these entreaties, we are told, Octavius was not altogether untouched or unmoved; his eyes filled with tears and he stood silent for a long time. But when he turned his gaze towards the men of wealth and substance who were standing in a body together, his awe of them, as it would seem, and his fear of ill repute among them, led him to take every risk with boldness and bid Tiberius do what he pleased. And so the law was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to drag Octavius from the rostra; for Tiberius used his freedmen as officers, and this made the sight of Octavius dragged along with contumely a more pitiful one. Moreover, the people made a rush at him, and though the men of wealth ran in a body to his assistance and spread out their hands against the crowd, it was with difficulty that Octavius was snatched away and safely rescued from the crowd; and a trusty servant of his who

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ἔμπροσθεν ἐστῶτα καὶ προτεταγμένον ἐξετύφλωσαν, ἄκοντος τοῦ Τιβερίου, καὶ πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον, ὡς ᾗσθητο τὰ γινόμενα, πολλῇ σπουδῇ καταδραμόντος.

- XIII. Ἐκ τούτου κυροῦται μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς χώρας νόμος, αἰροῦνται δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τὴν διάκρισιν καὶ διανομήν, αὐτὸς Τιβέριος καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἀππίος ὁ πενθερὸς καὶ Γάϊος Γράγχος ὁ ἀδελφός, οὐ παρὼν οὗτος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνι
- 2 πρὸς Νομαντίαν στρατευόμενος. ταῦτα τοῦ Τιβερίου διαπραξαμένου καθ' ἡσυχίαν μηδενὸς ἐνισταμένου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δήμαρχον ἀντικαταστήσαντος οὐδένα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ Μούκιόντινα, πελάτην αὐτοῦ, πρὸς πάντα δυσχεραίνοντες οἱ δυνατοὶ καὶ φοβούμενοι τοῦ Τιβερίου τὴν αὐξήσιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ προεπηλάκιζον αὐτόν, αἰτουμένῳ μὲν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐκ δημοσίου σκηνήν,
- 3 ὅπως ἔχοι διανέμων τὴν χώραν, οὐ δόντες, ἐτέρων ἐπ' ἐλάττωσι χρεΐαις πολλάκις λαβόντων, ἀνάλωμα δὲ εἰς ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐννέα ὀβολοὺς τάξαντες, εἰσηγουμένου ταῦτα Ποπλίου Νασικᾶ καὶ δεδωκότος ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχθραν ἀφειδῶς· πλείστην γὰρ ἐκέκτητο γῆν δημοσίαν, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἐκβαίνειν αὐτῆς ἀναγκαζόμενος.
- 4 Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξεκρέατο· καὶ φίλου τινὸς τῷ Τιβερίῳ τελευτήσαντος αἰφνιδίως καὶ σημείων τῷ νεκρῷ μοχθηρῶν ἐπιδραμόντων, βοῶντες ὑπὸ φαρμάκων ἀνῆρῆσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον

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stood in front of his master and protected him, had his eyes torn out, against the protest of Tiberius, who, when he perceived what was going on, ran down with great haste to appease the tumult.

XIII. After this the agrarian law was passed, and three men were chosen for the survey and distribution of the public land, Tiberius himself, Appius Claudius his father-in-law, and Caius Gracchus his brother, who was not at Rome, but was serving under Scipio in the expedition against Numantia. These measures were carried out by Tiberius quietly and without opposition, and, besides, he procured the election of a tribune in the place of Octavius. The new tribune was not a man of rank or note, but a certain Mucius, a client of Tiberius. The aristocrats, however, who were vexed at these proceedings and feared the growing power of Tiberius, heaped insult upon him in the senate. When he asked for the customary tent at public expense, for his use when dividing up the public land, they would not give it, although other men had often obtained one for less important purposes; and they fixed his daily allowance for expenses at nine obols.¹ These things were done on motion of Publius Nasica, who surrendered completely to his hatred of Tiberius. For he was a very large holder of public land, and bitterly resented his being forced to give it up.

But the people were all the more inflamed; and when a friend of Tiberius died suddenly and his body broke out all over with evil spots, they ran in throngs to the man's funeral, crying out that he had been poisoned to death, and they carried the bier them-

¹ That is, in Roman money, nine sestertii, equivalent to about twenty pence, or forty cents.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν συνέδραμον καὶ τὸ λέχος ἤσαντο
καὶ θαπτομένῳ παρέστησαν, οὐ φαύλως ὑπονοῆσαι
5 τὴν φαρμακείαν δόξαντες. ἐρράγῃ γὰρ ὁ νεκρὸς
καὶ διεφθορότων ὑγρῶν πλήθος ἐξέβλυσεν, ὥστε
ἀποσβέσαι τὴν φλόγα· καὶ φερόντων ἄλλην αὐθις
οὐκ ἐκάετο πρὶν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον μετακομισθῆναι,
καὶ πολλὰ πραγματευσαμένων μόλις ἤψατο τὸ
πῦρ αὐτοῦ. πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον
ὁ Τιβέριος παροξύνων μετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθήτα, καὶ
τοὺς παῖδας προαγαγὼν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ δήμου τούτων
κῆδεσθαι καὶ τῆς μητρός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀπεγνωκῶς
ἑαυτόν.

XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ Φιλομήτορος Ἀττάλου τελευ-
τήσαντος Εὐδήμος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἀνήνεγκε διαθή-
κην ἐν ἣ κληρονόμος ἐγγέγραπτο τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ
Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, εὐθύς ὁ Τιβέριος δημαγωγῶν
εἰσήνεγκε νόμον ὅπως τὰ βασιλικὰ χρήματα
κομισθέντα τοῖς τὴν χώραν διαλαγχάνουσι τῶν
πολιτῶν ὑπάρχοντες πρὸς κατασκευὴν καὶ γεωργίας
2 ἀφορμήν. περὶ δὲ τῶν πόλεων, ὅσαι τῆς Ἀττά-
λου βασιλείας ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἔφη τῇ συγκλήτῳ
βουλευέσθαι προσήκειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δήμῳ γνώμην
αὐτὸς προθήσειν. ἐκ τούτου μάλιστα προσέ- 831
κρουσε τῇ βουλῇ· καὶ Πομπηῖος μὲν ἀναστὰς
ἔφη γειννῶν τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γινώσκειν
Εὐδήμον αὐτῷ τὸν Περγαμηνὸν τῶν βασιλικῶν
διάδημα δεδωκότα καὶ πορφύραν, ὡς μέλλοντι
3 βασιλεύειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κόιντος δὲ Μέτελλος ὠνε-
δισε τὸν Τιβέριον ὅτι τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ

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selves, and stood by at the last ceremonies. And their suspicions of poison were thought to be not without reason. For the dead body burst open and a great quantity of corrupt humours gushed forth, so that the flame of the funeral pyre was extinguished. And when fresh fire was brought, again the body would not burn, until it was carried to another place, where, after much trouble, the fire at last took hold of it. Upon this, Tiberius, that he might exasperate the multitude still more, put on a garb of mourning, brought his children before the assembly, and begged the people to care for them and their mother, saying that he despaired of his own life.

XIV. And now Attalus Philometor died,¹ and Eudemus of Pergamum brought to Rome the king's last will and testament, by which the Roman people was made his heir. At once Tiberius courted popular favour by bringing in a bill which provided that the money of King Attalus, when brought to Rome, should be given to the citizens who received a parcel of the public land, to aid them in stocking and tilling their farms. And as regarded the cities which were included in the kingdom of Attalus, he said it did not belong to the senate to deliberate about them, but he himself would submit a pertinent resolution to the people. By this proceeding he gave more offence than ever to the senate; and Pompeius, rising to speak there, said that he was a neighbour of Tiberius, and therefore knew that Eudemus of Pergamum had presented Tiberius with a royal diadem and purple robe, believing that he was going to be king in Rome. Moreover, Quintus Metellus upbraided Tiberius with the reminder that whenever

¹ In 133 B.C.

- τιμητεύοντος, ὅσάκις ἀναλύοι μετὰ δεῖπνον οἴκαδε, τὰ φῶτα κατεσβέννυσαν οἱ πολῖται, φοβούμενοι μὴ πορρωτέρω τοῦ μετρίου δόξωσιν ἐν συνουσίαις εἶναι καὶ πότοις, τούτῳ δὲ παραφαίνουσι νυκτὸς οἱ θρασύτατοι καὶ ἀπορώτατοι τῶν δημοτῶν.
- 4 Τίτος δ' Ἄννιος, οὐκ ἐπεικῆς μὲν οὐδὲ σώφρων ἄνθρωπος, ἐν δὲ λόγοις πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἄμαχος εἶναι δοκῶν, εἰς ὀρισμὸν τινα προῦκαλεῖτο τὸν Τιβέριον, ἧ μὴν ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ ἄσυλον ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἡτιμωκέναι τὸν συνάρχοντα. θορυβούντων δὲ πολλῶν ἐκπηδήσας ὁ Τιβέριος τὸν τε δῆμον συνεκάλει καὶ τὸν Ἄννιον
- 5 ἀχθῆναι κελεύσας ἐβούλετο κατηγορεῖν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ πολὺν λειπόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητα κατεδύετο, καὶ παρεκάλει μικρὰ πρὸ τῶν λόγων ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Τιβέριον. συγχωροῦντος δὲ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνου καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης εἶπεν ὁ Ἄννιος, “Ἄν σὺ μὲν ἀτιμοῦν με βούλῃ καὶ προπηλακίζῃν, ἐγὼ δὲ τινα τῶν σῶν ἐπικαλέσωμαι συναρχόντων, ὁ δὲ ἀναβῇ βοηθήσων, σὺ δὲ ὀργισθῆς, ἄρά γε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρήσῃ;”
- 6 πρὸς ταύτην λέγεται τὴν ἐρώτησιν οὕτω διαπορηθῆναι τὸν Τιβέριον ὥστε πάντων ὄντα καὶ τὸ λέγειν ἐτοιμότατον καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἰταμώτατον ἀποσιωπῆσαι.

XV. Τότε μὲν οὖν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· αἰσθανόμενος δὲ τῶν πολιτευμάτων τὸ περὶ τὸν Ὀκτάβιον οὐ τοῖς δυνατοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκπαθέστερον (μέγα γάρ τι καὶ καλὸν

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his father, during his censorship, was returning home after a supper, the citizens put out their lights, for fear they might be thought to be indulging immoderately in entertainments and drinking bouts, whereas Tiberius himself was lighted on his way at night by the neediest and most reckless of the populace. Titus Annius, too, a man of no high character or sobriety, but held to be invincible in arguments carried on by question and answer, challenged Tiberius to a judicial wager,¹ solemnly asserting that he had branded with infamy his colleague, who was sacred and inviolable by law. As many senators applauded this speech, Tiberius dashed out of the senate-house, called the people together, and ordered Annius to be brought before them, with the intention of denouncing him. But Annius, who was far inferior to Tiberius both in eloquence and in reputation, had recourse to his own particular art, and called upon Tiberius to answer a few questions before the argument began. Tiberius assented to this and silence was made, whereupon Annius said: "If thou wish to heap insult upon me and degrade me, and I invoke the aid of one of thy colleagues in office, and he mount the rostra to speak in my defence, and thou fly into a passion, come, wilt thou deprive that colleague of his office?" At this question, we are told, Tiberius was so disconcerted that, although he was of all men most ready in speech and most vehement in courage, he held his peace.

XV. For the present, then, he dissolved the assembly; but perceiving that the course he had taken with regard to Octavius was very displeasing, not only to the nobles, but also to the multitude (for

¹ Cf. the *Cato Major*, xxii. 5.

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ἐδόκει τὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀξίωμα μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας
 ἐκείνης διατετηρημένον ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ καθυβρί-
 σθαι), λόγον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διεξήλθεν, οὐ μικρὰ
 παραθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων οὐκ ἄτοπον ἦν,
 ὥστε ὑπονοηθῆναι τὴν πιθανότητα καὶ πυκνό-
 2 τητα τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἔφη γὰρ ἱερὸν τὸν δήμαρχον
 εἶναι καὶ ἄσυλον, ὅτι τῷ δήμῳ καθωσίωται καὶ
 τοῦ δήμου προέστηκεν. ἂν οὖν μεταβαλλόμενος
 τὸν δήμον ἀδικῇ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν κολούῃ καὶ
 παραιρῇται τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπεστέρηκε
 3 τῆς τιμῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἔλαβεν οὐ ποιῶν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ
 Καπετώλιον κατασκάπτοντα καὶ τὸ νεώριον ἐμ-
 πιπράντα δήμαρχον ἔαν δεήσει. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
 ποιῶν δήμαρχός ἐστι πονηρός· ἐὰν δὲ καταλύῃ
 τὸν δήμον, οὐ δήμαρχος ἐστι. πῶς οὖν οὐ
 δεινὸν εἰ τὸν μὲν ὑπατον ὁ δήμαρχος ἄξει,
 τὸν δὲ δήμαρχον οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεται τὴν ἐξου-
 σίαν ὁ δῆμος ὅταν αὐτῇ κατὰ τοῦ δεδωκότος
 4 χρηται; καὶ γὰρ ὑπατον καὶ δήμαρχον
 ὁμοίως ὁ δῆμος αἰρεῖται. καὶ μὴν ἢ γε βασιλεία
 πρὸς τῷ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῇ συλλα-
 βούσα καὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις ἱεουργίαις καθωσίωται
 πρὸς τὸ θεῖον· ἀλλὰ Ταρκύνιον ἐξέβαλεν ἡ πόλις
 ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρός ὕβριν ἢ πάτριος
 ἀρχῇ καὶ κτίσασα τὴν Ῥώμην κατελύθη. τί δὲ
 οὕτως ἅγιον ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ σεμνὸν ὥς αἱ περιέ-
 πουσαι παρθένοι καὶ φυλάττουσαι τὸ ἄφθιτον
 πῦρ; ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἂν ἀμάρτη αὐτῶν, ζῶσα κατο-

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it was thought that the high and honourable dignity of the tribunate, so carefully guarded up to that time, had been insulted and destroyed), he made a lengthy speech before the people, a few of the arguments of which it will not be out of place to lay before the reader, that he may get a conception of the man's subtlety and persuasiveness. A tribune, he said, was sacred and inviolable, because he was consecrated to the people and was a champion of the people. "If, then," said Tiberius, "he should change about, wrong the people, maim its power, and rob it of the privilege of voting, he has by his own acts deprived himself of his honourable office by not fulfilling the conditions on which he received it; for otherwise there would be no interference with a tribune even though he should try to demolish the Capitol or set fire to the naval arsenal. If a tribune does these things, he is a bad tribune; but if he annuls the power of the people, he is no tribune at all. Is it not, then, a monstrous thing that a tribune should have power to hale a consul to prison, while the people cannot deprive a tribune of his power when he employs it against the very ones who bestowed it? For consul and tribune alike are elected by the people. And surely the kingly office, besides comprehending in itself every civil function, is also consecrated to the Deity by the performance of the most solemn religious rites; and yet Tarquin was expelled by the city for his wrong-doing, and because of one man's insolence the power which had founded Rome and descended from father to son was overthrown. Again, what institution at Rome is so holy and venerable as that of the virgins who tend and watch the undying fire? And yet if one of these

ρύσσεται· τὸ γὰρ ἄσυλον οὐ φυλάττουσιν ἀσε-
 βούσαι εἰς τοὺς θεούς, ὃ διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔχουσιν.
 5 οὐκ οὐδὲ δῆμαρχος ἀδικῶν τὸν δῆμον¹ ἔχειν
 τὴν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἀσυλίαν δίκαιός ἐστιν· ἥ γὰρ
 ἰσχύει δυνάμει, ταύτην ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ μὴν εἰ δι-
 καίως ἔλαβε τὴν δημαρχίαν, τῶν πλείστων
 φυλῶν ψηφισαμένων, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ἀφαιρεθείη
 6 δικαιότερον πασῶν ἀποψηφισαμένων; ἱερὸν δὲ 832
 καὶ ἄσυλον οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐστὶν ὥς τὰ τῶν θεῶν
 ἀναθήματα· χρῆσθαι δὲ τούτοις καὶ κινεῖν καὶ
 μεταφέρειν ὥς βούλεται, τὸν δῆμον οὐδεὶς κεκώ-
 λυκεν. ἐξῆν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν δημαρχίαν ὥς
 ἀνάθημα μετενεγκεῖν εἰς ἕτερον. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ
 ἄσυλον οὐδὲ ἀναφαίρετον ἡ ἀρχή, δῆλόν ἐστι τῷ
 πολλάκις ἔχοντας ἀρχὴν τινὰς ἐξόμνησθαι καὶ
 παραιτεῖσθαι δι' αὐτῶν.

XVI. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ κεφάλαια τῆς τοῦ
 Τιβερίου δικαιολογίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνωρῶντες οἱ
 φίλοι τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ τὴν σύστασιν ᾧοντο δεῖν
 ἐτέρας περιέχεσθαι δημαρχίας εἰς τὸ μέλλον,
 αὐτοὶς ἄλλοις νόμοις ἀνελάμβανε τὸ πλῆθος, τοῦ
 τε χρόνου τῶν στρατειῶν ἀφαιρῶν, καὶ διδοὺς
 ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, καὶ
 τοῖς κρίνουσι τότε, συγκλητικοῖς οὖσι, κατα-
 2 μινγνὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμόν, καὶ
 πάντα τρόπον ἤδη τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἰσχὺν κολούων

¹ τὸν δῆμον Cobet : δῆμον.

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breaks her vows, she is buried alive ; for when they sin against the gods, they do not preserve that inviolable character which is given them for their service to the gods. Therefore it is not just that a tribune who wrongs the people should retain that inviolable character which is given him for service to the people, since he is destroying the very power which is the source of his own power. And surely, if it is right for him to be made tribune by a majority of the votes of the tribes, it must be even more right for him to be deprived of his tribuneship by a unanimous vote. And again, nothing is so sacred and inviolate as objects consecrated to the gods ; and yet no one has hindered the people from using such objects, or moving them, or changing their position in such manner as may be desired. It is therefore permissible for the people to transfer the tribunate also, as a consecrated thing, from one man to another. And that the office is not inviolable or irremovable is plain from the fact that many times men holding it resign it under oath of disability, and of their own accord beg to be relieved of it."

XVI. Such were the chief points in the justification of his course which Tiberius made. And now his friends, observing the threats and the hostile combination against him, thought that he ought to be made tribune again for the following year. Once more, therefore, Tiberius sought to win the favour of the multitude by fresh laws, reducing the time of military service, granting appeal to the people from the verdicts of the judges, adding to the judges, who at that time were composed of senators only, an equal number from the equestrian order, and in every way at length trying to maim the power of the senate

πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τοῦ
δικαίου καὶ συμφέροντος λογισμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς
ψήφου φερομένης ἤσθοντο τοὺς ἐναντίους κρα-
τοῦντας (οὐ γὰρ παρὴν ἅπας ὁ δῆμος), πρῶτον
μὲν εἰς βλασφημίας τραπόμενοι τῶν συναρχόντων
εἶλκον τὸν χρόνον· ἔπειτα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφῆκαν,
3 εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀπαντᾶν κελεύσαντες. καὶ
πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταβὰς ὁ Τιβέριος
ικέτευε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυ-
μένος, ἔπειτα δεδοικέναι φήσας μὴ νυκτὸς ἐκ-
κόψωσι τὴν οἰκίαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ διαφθείρωσιν
αὐτόν, οὕτω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέθηκεν ὥστε περὶ
τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παμπόλλους τινὰς αὐλίσασθαι
καὶ διανυκτερεῦσαι παραφυλάττοντας.

XVII. Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα παρὴν ὁ τὰς ὄρνιθας αἰς
διαμαντεύονται κομίζων, καὶ προέβαλλε τροφήν
αὐταῖς. αἱ δ' οὐ προῆλθον, εἰ μὴ μία μόνη, δια-
σείσαντος εὖ μάλα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀγγεῖον·
οὐδὲ αὕτη δὲ τῆς τροφῆς ἔθιγεν, ἀλλ' ἐπάρασα
τὴν ἀριστερὰν πτέρυγα καὶ παρατείνασα τὸ
σκέλος πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἀγγεῖον κατέφυγε. τοῦτο καὶ
τοῦ προτέρου σημείου τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνέμνησεν.
2 ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ κράνος ὃ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐχρήτο,
κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ διάσημον· εἰς τοῦτο
καταδύντες ὅφεις ἔλαθον ἐντεκόντες ὡά, καὶ
ταῦτα ἐξεγλύψαντο. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Τιβέριος
τοῖς περὶ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐταράττετο. προῆι δὲ
ὅμως, ἄνω τὸν δῆμον ἡθροῖσθαι περὶ τὸ Καπετώ-
3 λιον πυνθανόμενος· καὶ πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν προσέπ-
ταισε πρὸς τὸν οὐδόν, σφοδρᾶς οὕτω πληγῆς
γενομένης ὥστε τὸν μὲν ὄνυχά τοῦ μεγάλου δακ-

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from motives of anger and contentiousness rather than from calculations of justice and the public good. And when, as the voting was going on, the friends of Tiberius perceived that their opponents were getting the better of the contest, since all the people were not present, in the first place they resorted to abuse of his fellow tribunes, and so protracted the time; next, they dismissed the assembly, and ordered that it should convene on the following day. Then Tiberius, going down into the forum, at first supplicated the citizens in a humble manner and with tears in his eyes; next, he declared he was afraid that his enemies would break into his house by night and kill him, and thereby so wrought upon his hearers that great numbers of them took up their station about his house and spent the night there on guard.

XVII. At break of day there came to the house the man who brought the birds with which auspices are taken, and threw food before them. But the birds would not come out of the cage, with the exception of one, though the keeper shook the cage right hard; and even the one that came out would not touch the food, but raised its left wing, stretched out its leg, and then ran back into the cage. This reminded Tiberius of an omen that had happened earlier. He had a helmet which he wore in battle, exceptionally adorned and splendid; into this serpents crawled unnoticed, laid eggs there and hatched them out. For this reason Tiberius was all the more disturbed by the signs from the birds. But nevertheless he set out, on learning that the people were assembled on the Capitol; and before he got out of the house, he stumbled against the threshold. The blow was so severe that the nail of his great toe

τύλου ῥαγῆναι, τὸ δὲ αἷμα διὰ τοῦ ὑποδήματος
 ἔξω φέρεσθαι. μικρὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ προελθόντος
 ὤφθησαν ὑπὲρ κεράμου μαχόμενοι κόρακες ἐν
 ἀριστερᾷ· καὶ πολλῶν, ὡς εἰκός, ἀνθρώπων παρ-
 ερχομένων, κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Τιβέριον λίθος
 ἀπωσθεὶς ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν κοράκων ἔπεσε παρὰ
 τὸν πόδα. τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς θρασυτάτους τῶν περὶ
 4 αὐτὸν ἐπέστησεν· ἀλλὰ Βλόσσιος ὁ Κυμαῖος
 παρὼν αἰσχύνην ἔφη καὶ κατήφειαν ἂν εἶναι¹
 πολλήν εἰ Τιβέριος, Γράγχου μὲν υἱός, Ἀφρι-
 κανοῦ δὲ Σκηπίωνος θυγατριδοῦς, προστάτης δὲ
 τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου, κόρακα δείσας οὐχ ὑπακού-
 σειε τοῖς πολίταις καλοῦσι· τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ
 αἰσχρὸν οὐκ ἐν γέλωτι θήσεσθαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς,
 ἀλλ' ὡς τυραννοῦντος καὶ τρυφῶντος ἤδη κατα-
 5 βοήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσέθεον
 πολλοὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Καπετωλῷ
 φίλων, ἐπείγεσθαι κελεύοντες, ὡς τῶν ἐκεῖ καλῶς
 ἔχόντων. καὶ τὰ γε πρῶτα λαμπρῶς ἀπήντα
 τῷ Τιβερίῳ, φανέντι μὲν εὐθὺς ἀραμένων βοῇν
 φίλιον, ἀναβαίνοντα δὲ προθύμως δεχομένων
 καὶ περὶ αὐτόν, ὡς μηδεὶς πελάσειεν ἀγνώς,
 παραταττομένων.

XVIII. Ἀρξαμένου δὲ πάλιν τοῦ Μουκίου
 τὰς φυλὰς ἀναγορεύειν, οὐδὲν ἐπεραίνετο τῶν 833
 εἰωθότων διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων θόρυβον,
 ὠθουμένων καὶ ὠθούντων τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰσβια-
 ζομένους καὶ ἀναμιγνυμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Φούλ-
 βιος Φλάκκος ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἀνὴρ εἰς ἐμφανὲς
 καταστάς, ὡς οὐκ ἦν φθεγγόμενον ἐφικέσθαι,

¹ ἂν εἶναι Cobet and Fuhr: [παρ]εἶναι.

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was broken and the blood ran out through his shoe. He had gone on but a little way when ravens were seen fighting on the roof of a house to his left hand ; and though there were many people, as was natural, passing by, a stone dislodged by one of the ravens fell at the foot of Tiberius himself. This caused even the boldest of his followers to pause ; but Blossius of Cumae, who was present, said it would be a shame and a great disgrace if Tiberius, a son of Gracchus, a grandson of Scipio Africanus, and a champion of the Roman people, for fear of a raven should refuse to obey the summons of his fellow citizens ; such shameful conduct, moreover, would not be made a mere matter of ridicule by his enemies, but they would decry him to the people as one who was at last giving himself the airs of a tyrant. At the same time also many of his friends on the Capitol came running to Tiberius with urgent appeals to hasten thither, since matters there were going well. And in fact things turned out splendidly for Tiberius at first ; as soon as he came into view the crowd raised a friendly shout, and as he came up the hill they gave him a cordial welcome and ranged themselves about him, that no stranger might approach.

XVIII. But after Mucius began once more to summon the tribes to the vote, none of the customary forms could be observed because of the disturbance that arose on the outskirts of the throng, where there was crowding back and forth between the friends of Tiberius and their opponents, who were striving to force their way in and mingle with the rest. Moreover, at this juncture Fulvius Flaccus, a senator, posted himself in a conspicuous place, and since it was impossible to make his voice heard so

διεσήμηνε τῇ χειρὶ φράσαι τι βουλόμενον αὐτὸν
 2 ἰδίᾳ τῷ Τιβερίῳ. καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου δια-
 σχεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀναβὰς μόλις καὶ προσελθὼν
 ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθεζομένης οἱ
 πλούσιοι, τὸν ὑπατον μὴ πείθοντες, αὐτοὶ δια-
 νοοῦνται καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀποκτινύναι τὸν Τιβέριον,
 πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δούλους καὶ φίλους ὥπλι-
 σμένους ἔχοντες.

XIX. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐξήγ-
 γειλεν ὁ Τιβέριος, οὗτοι μὲν εὐθὺς τὰς τε τηβέν-
 νους περιεζώννυντο, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δόρατα
 συγκλῶντες οἷς ἀνείργουσι τὸν ὄχλον, διελάμ-
 βανον ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι τοῖς κλάσμασι τοὺς ἐπερ-
 2 χομένους. τῶν δὲ ἀπωτέρω θαυμαζόντων τὰ
 γινόμενα καὶ πυνθανομένων, ὁ Τιβέριος ἤψατο
 τῇ χειρὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐνδεικνύμενος τῇ ὄψει τὸν
 κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ τῆς φωνῆς οὐκ ἐπήκουον. οἱ δὲ
 ἐναντίοι τοῦτο ἰδόντες ἔθεον πρὸς τὴν βουλήν,
 ἀπαγγέλλοντες αἰτεῖν διάδημα τὸν Τιβέριον· καὶ
 3 τούτου σημεῖον εἶναι τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιθυγά-
 νειν. πάντες μὲν οὖν ἐθορυβήθησαν· ὁ δὲ Να-
 σικᾶς ἡξίου τὸν ὑπατον τῇ πόλει βοηθεῖν καὶ
 καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ πρῶως
 ἐκείνου βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς ὑπάρξειν οὐδὲ ἀναιρή-
 σειν οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκριτον, εἰ μέντοι
 ψηφίσαιτό τι τῶν παρανόμων ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Τιβερίου πεισθεὶς ἢ βιασθεὶς, τοῦτο κύριον μὴ
 φυλάξειν, ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Νασικᾶς, “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν,”
 ἔφη, “προδίδωσιν ὁ ἄρχων τὴν πόλιν, οἱ βουλό-

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far, indicated with his hand that he wished to tell Tiberius something meant for his ear alone. Tiberius ordered the crowd to part for Flavius, who made his way up to him with difficulty, and told him that at a session of the senate the party of the rich, since they could not prevail upon the consul to do so, were purposing to kill Tiberius themselves, and for this purpose had under arms a multitude of their friends and slaves.

XIX. Tiberius, accordingly, reported this to those who stood about him, and they at once girded up their togas, and breaking in pieces the spear-shafts with which the officers keep back the crowd, distributed the fragments among themselves, that they might defend themselves against their assailants. Those who were farther off, however, wondered at what was going on and asked what it meant. Whereupon Tiberius put his hand to his head, making this visible sign that his life was in danger, since the questioners could not hear his voice. But his opponents, on seeing this, ran to the senate and told that body that Tiberius was asking for a crown; and that his putting his hand to his head was a sign having that meaning. All the senators, of course, were greatly disturbed, and Nasica demanded that the consul should come to the rescue of the state and put down the tyrant. The consul replied with mildness that he would resort to no violence and would put no citizen to death without a trial; if, however, the people, under persuasion or compulsion from Tiberius, should vote anything that was unlawful, he would not regard this vote as binding. Thereupon Nasica sprang to his feet and said: "Since, then, the chief magistrate betrays the state, do ye

- 4 *μενοι τοῖς νόμοις βοηθεῖν ἀκολουθεῖτε.*” καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἅμα καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου θέμενος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ Καπετώλιον. ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῷ τῇ χειρὶ τὴν τήβεννον περιελίξας ἐώθει τοὺς ἐμποδῶν, οὐδενὸς ἐνισταμένου πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ φευγόντων καὶ πατούντων ἀλλήλους.
- 5 Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοὺς ῥόπαλα καὶ σκυτάλας ἐκόμιζον οἴκοθεν· αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν δίφρων καταγνυμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος ὄχλου τὰ κλάσματα καὶ τοὺς πόδας λαμβάνοντες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸν Τιβέριον, ἅμα παίοντες τοὺς προτεταγμένους. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦν τροπὴ καὶ φόνος· αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου φεύγοντος ἀντελάβετό τις τῶν ἱματίων.
- 6 ὁ δὲ τὴν τήβεννον ἀφείς καὶ φεύγων ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἐσφάλη καὶ κατηνέχθη περὶ τινος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας. ἀνιστάμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ μὲν ἐμφανῶς καὶ πρῶτος εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξας ποδὶ δίφρου Πόπλιος ἦν Σατυρήϊος εἰς τῶν συναρχόντων· τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ἀντεποιεῖτο πληγῆς Λεύκιος Ῥοῦφος, ὡς ἐπὶ καλῷ τινι σεμνυνόμενος. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ τριακοσίους ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις συγκοπέντες, σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδεῖς.

XX. Ταύτην πρώτην ἱστοροῦσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσιν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι κατέλυσαν, αἵματι καὶ φόνῳ πολιτῶν διακριθῆναι· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας οὔτε μικρὰς οὔτε περὶ μικρῶν γενομένας ἀνθυπεῖκοντες ἀλλήλοις, φόβῳ μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολλῶν, αἰδούμενοι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὁ δῆμος, ἔπαυον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τότε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐνδοῦναι παρη-

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who wish to succour the laws follow me." With these words he covered his head with the skirt of his toga and set out for the Capitol. All the senators who followed him wrapped their togas about their left arms and pushed aside those who stood in their path, no man opposing them, in view of their dignity, but all taking to flight and trampling upon one another.

Now, the attendants of the senators carried clubs and staves which they had brought from home; but the senators themselves seized the fragments and legs of the benches that were shattered by the crowd in its flight, and went up against Tiberius, at the same time smiting those who were drawn up to protect him. Of these there was a rout and a slaughter; and as Tiberius himself turned to fly, someone laid hold of his garments. So he let his toga go and fled in his tunic. But he stumbled and fell to the ground among some bodies that lay in front of him. As he strove to rise to his feet, he received his first blow, as everybody admits, from Publius Satyreius, one of his colleagues, who smote him on the head with the leg of a bench; to the second blow claim was made by Lucius Rufus, who plumed himself upon it as upon some noble deed. And of the rest more than three hundred were slain by blows from sticks and stones, but not one by the sword.

XX. This is said to have been the first sedition at Rome, since the abolition of royal power, to end in bloodshed and the death of citizens; the rest, though neither trifling nor raised for trifling objects, were settled by mutual concessions, the nobles yielding from fear of the multitude, and the people out of respect for the senate. And it was thought that even

- γορηθεὶς ὁ Τιβέριος, ἔτι δὲ ῥᾶον εἶξαι δίχα φόνου
 2 καὶ τραυμάτων ἐπιούσιν· οὐ γὰρ πλείονες ἢ
 τρισχίλιοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὀργῇ
 τῶν πλουσίων καὶ μίσει πλέον ἢ δι' ἧς ἐσκήπ-
 τουτο προφάσεις ἢ σύστασις ἐπ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι·
 καὶ τούτου μέγα τεκμήριον ὡμῶς καὶ παρανόμως
 ὑβρισθεὶς ὁ νεκρός. οὐ γὰρ ἐπέτρεψαν ἀνελέσθαι 834
 τὸ σῶμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ δεομένῳ καὶ θάψαι νυκτός,
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νεκρῶν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν
 3 ἔρριψαν. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
 φίλων αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐξεκέρυττον ἀκρίτους, τοὺς
 δὲ συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπεκτίννυσαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ
 Διοφάνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀπώλετο. Γάϊον δέ τινα
 Βίλλιον εἰς ἀγγεῖον καθείρξαντες καὶ συνεμβα-
 λόντες ἐχίδνας καὶ δράκοντας οὕτω διέφθειραν.
 ὁ δὲ Κυμαῖος Βλόσσιος ἀνήχθη μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ὑπάτους, ἐρωτώμενος δὲ περὶ τῶν γεγενομένων
 ὡμολόγει πεποιηκέναι πάντα Τιβερίου κελεύοντος.
 4 εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Νασικᾶ πρὸς αὐτόν, “Τί οὖν, εἴ
 σε Τιβέριος ἐκέλευσεν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ Καπετώλιον;”
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέλεγεν ὥς οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο Τιβε-
 ρίου κελεύσαντος· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πολλῶν τὸ
 αὐτὸ πυνθανομένων, “Ἀλλ' ἐκείνου γε προστασ-
 στοντος,” ἔφη, “κἄμοι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι καλῶς εἶχεν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν Τιβέριος τοῦτο προσέταξεν, εἰ μὴ τῷ
 δήμῳ συνέφερεν.” οὗτος μὲν οὖν διαφυγὼν ὕστε-

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on this occasion Tiberius would have given way without difficulty had persuasion been brought to bear upon him, and would have yielded still more easily if his assailants had not resorted to wounds and bloodshed; for his adherents numbered not more than three thousand. But the combination against him would seem to have arisen from the hatred and anger of the rich rather than from the pretexts which they alleged; and there is strong proof of this in their lawless and savage treatment of his dead body. For they would not listen to his brother's request that he might take up the body and bury it by night, but threw it into the river along with the other dead. Nor was this all; they banished some of his friends without a trial and others they arrested and put to death. Among these Diophanes the rhetorician also perished. A certain Caius Villius they shut up in a cage, and then put in vipers and serpents, and in this way killed him. Blossius of Cumae was brought before the consuls, and when he was asked about what had passed, he admitted that he had done everything at the bidding of Tiberius. Then Nasica said to him, "What, then, if Tiberius had ordered thee to set fire to the Capitol?" Blossius at first replied that Tiberius would not have given such an order; but when the same question was put to him often and by many persons, he said: "If such a man as Tiberius had ordered such a thing, it would also have been right for me to do it; for Tiberius would not have given such an order if it had not been for the interest of the people."¹ Well, then, Blossius was acquitted, and afterwards went to

¹ For the story of Blossius, cf. Cicero, *De am.* 11. 37; Valerius Maximus, iv. 7. 1.

ρον ὄχετο πρὸς Ἀριστόνικον εἰς Ἀσίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων διαφθαρέντων ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλεν.

- XXI. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ θεραπεύουσα τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε πρὸς τὴν διανομὴν ἔτι τῆς χώρας ἠναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου προὔθηκε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὀριστὴν ἐλέσθαι. λαβόντες δὲ τὰς ψήφους εἶλοντο Πόπλιον Κράσσον, οἰκείου ὄντα Γράγχῳ· θυγάτηρ γὰρ αὐτοῦ Λικιννία Γαῖῳ
- 2 Γράγχῳ συνώκει. καίτοι Νέπως ὁ Κορνηλίου φησιν οὐ Κράσσου, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ θριαμβεύσαντος ἀπὸ Λυσιτανῶν θυγατέρα γῆμαι Γαῖον· ἀλλὰ οἱ πλείους ὥς ἡμεῖς γράφομεν ἱστοροῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἀμύνης περιμένων καιρὸν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δίκαι τῷ Νασικᾷ προανεσείοντο, δέισασα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίζεται μηδὲν δεομένη πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσίαν.
 - 3 οὐ γὰρ ἀπεκρύπτοντο κατὰ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὴν δυσμένειαν, ἀλλ' ἐξηγριαίνοντο καὶ κατεβόων ὅπου προστύχοιεν, ἐναγῇ καὶ τύραννον καὶ μεμιαγκότα φόνῳ σώματος ἀσύλου καὶ ἱεροῦ τὸ ἁγιώτατον καὶ φρικωδέστατον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποκαλοῦντες. οὕτω μὲν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁ Νασικᾶς, καίπερ ἐνδεδεμένος ταῖς μεγίσταις ἱερουργίαις· ἦν γὰρ ὁ μέγιστος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἱερέων. ἔξω δὲ ἀλύων καὶ πλανώμενος ἀδόξως οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον κατέστρεψε
 - 4 περὶ Πέργαμον. οὐδεὶς δὲ θανυμάζειν εἰ Νασικᾶν

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Aristonicus¹ in Asia, and when the cause of Aristonicus was lost, slew himself.

XXI. But the senate, trying to conciliate the people now that matters had gone so far, no longer opposed the distribution of the public land, and proposed that the people should elect a commissioner in place of Tiberius. So they took a ballot and elected Publius Crassus, who was a relative of Gracchus; for his daughter Licinia was the wife of Caius Gracchus. And yet Cornelius Nepos² says that it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of the Brutus who triumphed over the Lusitanians, whom Caius married; the majority of writers, however, state the matter as I have done. Moreover, since the people felt bitterly over the death of Tiberius and were clearly awaiting an opportunity for revenge, and since Nasica was already threatened with prosecutions, the senate, fearing for his safety, voted to send him to Asia, although it had no need of him there. For when people met Nasica, they did not try to hide their hatred of him, but grew savage and cried out upon him wherever he chanced to be, calling him an accursed man and a tyrant, who had defiled with the murder of an inviolable and sacred person the holiest and most awe-inspiring of the city's sanctuaries. And so Nasica stealthily left Italy, although he was bound there by the most important and sacred functions; for he was pontifex maximus. He roamed and wandered about in foreign lands ignominiously, and after a short time ended his life at Pergamum. Now, it is no wonder that the people so much hated

¹ The pretender to the throne of Attalus Philometor (xiv. 1). He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Romans in 130 B.C.

² In a lost biography.

μεμίσηκεν οὕτως ὁ δῆμος, ὅπου καὶ Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανός, οὐ δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι μηδένα δικαιότερον μηδὲ μᾶλλον ἀγαπήσαι, παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ στέρεσθαι τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Νομαντία τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ Τιβερίου πυθόμενος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐκ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν·

ὥς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὃ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι,

- 5 ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ Γαῖον καὶ Φούλβιον αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκκλησίας πυνθανομένων τί φρονοίη περὶ τῆς Τιβερίου τελευταίας, οὐκ ἀρεσκομένην τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεπολιτευμένοις ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀντέκρουσεν αὐτῷ λέγοντι, μηδέπω τοῦτο ποιήσας πρότερον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἰπεῖν κακῶς προήχθη. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τῷ Σκηπίωνος βίῳ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα γέγραπται.

Γ. ΓΡΑΓΧΟΣ

1. Γαῖος δὲ Γράγχος ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἡ δεδιώς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡ φθόνον συνάγων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπεξέστη τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἔχων διέτριβεν, ὥς ἂν τις ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι ταπεινὰ πράττων καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἀπραγμόνως βιωσόμενος, ὥστε καὶ λόγον τισὶ καθ' 835 αὐτοῦ παρασχεῖν ὥς δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ προβε-
2 βλημένου τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου πολιτείαν. ἦν δὲ

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Nasica, when even Scipio Africanus, than whom no one would seem to have been more justly or more deeply loved by the Romans, came within a little of forfeiting and losing the popular favour because, to begin with, at Numantia, when he learned of the death of Tiberius, he recited in a loud voice the verse of Homer¹:—

“So perish also all others who on such wickedness venture,”

and because, in the second place, when Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people what he thought about the death of Tiberius, he made a reply which showed his dislike of the measures advocated by him. Consequently the people began to interrupt him as he was speaking, a thing which they had never done before, and Scipio himself was thereby led on to abuse the people. Of these matters I have written circumstantially in my Life of Scipio.²

CAIUS GRACCHUS

I. Caius Gracchus, at first, either because he feared his enemies, or because he wished to bring odium upon them, withdrew from the forum and lived quietly by himself, like one who was humbled for the present and for the future intended to live the same inactive life, so that some were actually led to denounce him for disliking and repudiating his brother's political measures. And he was also

¹ *Odyssæy*, i. 47 (Athena, of Aegisthus).

² One of the lost biographies.

- καὶ μεράκιον παντάπασιν· ἐννέα γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐλείπετο τὰδελφού καθ' ἡλικίαν, ἐκείνος δὲ οὐπω τριάκοντα γεγονώς ἀπέθανεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου τὸν τε τρόπον ἡσυχῇ διέβαιναν ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας καὶ πότων καὶ χρηματισμῶν ἀλλότριον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν λόγον ὥσπερ ὠκύπτερα κατασκευαζόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν δῆλος ἦν
- 3 οὐκ ἡρεμήσων, δίκην τέ τινι τῶν φίλων φεύγοντι Βεττίῳ συνειπών, τοῦ δήμου συνενθουσιῶντος ὑφ' ἡδονῆς καὶ βακχεύοντος περὶ αὐτόν, ἀπέδειξε τοὺς ἄλλους ῥήτορας παίδων μηδὲν διαφέροντας, εἰς φόβον αὐθις οἱ δυνατοὶ καθίσταντο, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγος ὥς οὐκ ἐάσουσιν ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν τὸν Γαῖον προελθεῖν.
- 4 Συντυγχάνει δὲ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου λαχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Σαρδῶ ταμίαν Ὀρέστη τῷ ὑπάτῳ· καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐγεγόνει, τὸν δὲ Γαῖον οὐκ ἐλύπησεν. ἅτε γὰρ ὢν πολεμικὸς καὶ χεῖρον οὐδὲν πρὸς στρατείας ἡσκημένος ἢ δίκας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸ βῆμα φρίττων, ἀντέχειν δὲ καλοῦντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὐ δυνάμενος, παντάπασι τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐκείνην
- 5 ἡγάπησε. καίτοι κρατεῖ δόξα πολλὴ τοῦτου ἄκρατον γενέσθαι δημαγωγόν, καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Τιβερίου λαμπρότερον πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄχλων δόξαν. οὐκ ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὸ ἀληθές· ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς μᾶλλον οὗτος ἢ προαιρέσεως
- 6 ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ ὥς ἄρα φεύγοντι πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἡρημένῳ ζῆν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὄναρ φανείς καὶ προσαγορεύσας, "Τί δῆτα,"

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quite a stripling, for he was nine years younger than his brother, and Tiberius was not yet thirty when he died. But as time went on he gradually showed a disposition that was averse to idleness, effeminacy, wine-bibbing, and money-making; and by preparing his oratory to waft him as on swift pinions to public life, he made it clear that he was not going to remain quiet; and in defending Vettius, a friend of his who was under prosecution, he had the people about him inspired and frantic with sympathetic delight, and made the other orators appear to be no better than children. Once more, therefore, the nobles began to be alarmed, and there was much talk among them about not permitting Caius to be made tribune.

By accident, however, it happened that the lot fell on him to go to Sardinia as quaestor for Orestes the consul.¹ This gave pleasure to his enemies, and did not annoy Caius. For he was fond of war, and quite as well trained for military service as for pleading in the courts. Moreover, he still shrank from public life and the rostra, but was unable to resist the calls to this career which came from the people and his friends. He was therefore altogether satisfied with this opportunity of leaving the city. And yet a strong opinion prevails that he was a demagogue pure and simple, and far more eager than Tiberius to win the favour of the multitude. But this is not the truth; nay, it would appear that he was led by a certain necessity rather than by his own choice to engage in public matters. And Cicero the orator also relates² that Caius declined all office and had chosen to live a quiet life, but that his brother appeared to him in a dream and addressed him, saying: "Why, pray, dost

¹ In 126 B.C.

² *De dir.* i. 26, 56.

φαίη, “Γαίε, βραδύνεις; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπόδρασις, ἀλλ’ εἰς μὲν ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέροις βίος, εἰς δὲ θάνατος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πολιτευομένοις πέπρωται.”

- II. Γενόμενος οὖν ὁ Γάιος ἐν Σαρδόνι πᾶσαν ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολὺ πάντων διέφερε τῶν νέων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγῶσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους δικαίοις καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ, σωφροσύνῃ δὲ καὶ λιτότητι καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ παρήλλαττε καὶ
- 2 τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. ἰσχυροῦ δὲ καὶ νοσώδους ἅμα χειμῶνος ἐν Σαρδόνι γενομένου καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὰς πόλεις ἐσθήτα τοῖς στρατιώταις αἰτοῦντος, ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ῥώμην παραιτούμενοι. δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν παραίτησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄλλοθεν ἀμφιέζειν τοὺς στρατιώτας κελευούσης, ἀποροῦντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κακοπαθούντων, ἐπελθὼν τὰς πόλεις ὁ Γάιος αὐτοὺς ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν ἐποίησεν ἐσθήτα
- 3 πέμψαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελλόμενα καὶ δοκοῦντα δημαγωγίας προάγωνες εἶναι διετάραττε τὴν βουλὴν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης παρὰ Μικίψα τοῦ βασιλέως πρέσβεις παραγενομένους, καὶ λέγοντας ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς χάριτι Γαίου Γράγχου πέμψειεν εἰς Σαρδόνα σῖτον τῷ στρατηγῷ, δυσχεραίνοντες ἐξέβαλον· ἔπειτα δόγμα ποιοῦνται τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις διαδοχὴν ἀποσταλῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ὀρέστην ἐπιμένειν, ὡς δὴ καὶ τοῦ Γαίου διὰ τὴν
- 4 ἀρχὴν παραμενοῦντος. ὁ δὲ τούτων αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων εὐθὺς ἐξέπλευσε πρὸς ὀργήν, καὶ φανεῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρ’ ἐλπίδας οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν

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thou hesitate, Caius? There is no escape; one life is fated for us both, and one death, as champions of the people."

II. After reaching Sardinia, then, Caius gave proof of every excellence, and far surpassed all the other young men in conflicts with the enemy, in just dealings with the subject peoples, and in the good will and respect which he showed towards his commander, while in self-restraint, frugality, and industry, he excelled even his elders. The winter in Sardinia proved to be rigorous and unhealthy, and the Roman commander made a requisition upon the cities of clothing for his soldiers, whereupon the cities sent to Rome and begged to be relieved from the exaction. The senate granted their petition and ordered the commander to get clothing for his soldiers in some other way. The commander was at a loss what to do, and the soldiers were suffering; so Caius made a circuit of the cities and induced them of their own free will to send clothing and other assistance to the Romans. This was reported to Rome, where it was thought to be a prelude to a struggle for popular favour, and gave fresh concern to the senate. So, to begin with, when ambassadors of King Micipsa came from Africa, and announced that out of regard for Caius Gracchus the king had sent grain to the Roman commander in Sardinia, the senators were displeased and turned them away. In the second place, they passed a decree that fresh troops should be sent to relieve the soldiers in Sardinia, but that Orestes should remain, with the idea that Caius also would remain with him by virtue of his office. But Caius, when this came to his ears, straightway sailed off in a passion, and his unexpected appearance in Rome

αἰτίαν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀλλόκοτον
 ἐδόκει τὸ ταμίαν ὄντα προαποστῆναι τοῦ ἄρχοντος.
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κατηγορίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐπὶ τῶν
 τιμητῶν, αἰτησάμενος λόγον οὕτω μετέστησε τὰς
 γνώμας τῶν ἀκουσάντων ὥς ἀπελθεῖν ἡδικῆσθαι
 5 τὰ μέγιστα δόξας. ἐστρατεῦσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἔφη
 δώδεκα ἔτη, τῶν ἄλλων δέκα στρατευομένων ἐν 836
 ἀνάγκαις, ταμιεύων δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ παραμε-
 μενηκέναι τριετίαν, τοῦ νόμου μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπαν-
 ελθεῖν διδόντος· μόνος δὲ τῶν στρατευσαμένων
 πλήρες τὸ βαλάντιον εἰσενηνοχῶς κενὸν ἐξενηνο-
 χέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκπιόντας ὃν εἰσήμεγκαν
 οἶνον, ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου μεστοὺς δεῦρο τοὺς
 ἀμφορεῖς ἤκειν κομίζοντας.

III. Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἄλλας αἰτίας αὐτῷ καὶ
 δίκας ἐπῆγον ὥς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀφιστάντι καὶ
 κεκοινωνηκότι τῆς περὶ Φρέγελλαν ἐνδειχθείσης
 συνωμοσίας. ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν ἀπολυσάμενος
 καὶ φανεῖς καθαρὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν ὥρμησε,
 τῶν μὲν γνωρίμων ἀνδρῶν ὁμαλῶς ἀπάντων
 ἐναντιουμένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὄχλου δὲ τοσοῦτου
 συρρέοντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ
 συναρχαιρεσιάζοντος ὥς πολλοῖς μὲν οἰκήσεις ἐπι-
 λιπεῖν, τοῦ δὲ πεδίου μὴ δεξαμένου τὸ πλῆθος
 ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν καὶ τῶν κεράμων τὰς φωνὰς συνη-
 2 χεῖν. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν ἐξεβιάσαντο τὸν δῆμον οἱ
 δυνατοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Γαίου καθεῖλον, ὅσον

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not only was censured by his enemies, but also made the people think it strange that he, quaestor as he was, had left his post before his commander. However, when he was denounced before the censors, he begged leave to speak, and wrought such a change in the opinions of his hearers that he left the court with the reputation of having been most grossly wronged. For he said that he had served in the army twelve years, although other men were required to serve there only ten, and that he had continued to serve as quaestor under his commander for more than two years, although the law permitted him to come back after a year. He was the only man in the army, he said, who had entered the campaign with a full purse and left it with an empty one; the rest had drunk up the wine which they took into Sardinia, and had come back to Rome with their wine-jars full of gold and silver.

III. After this, other fresh charges and indictments were brought against him, on the ground that he had caused the allies to revolt and had been privy to the conspiracy at Fregellae,¹ information of which was brought to Rome. But he cleared himself of all suspicion, and having established his entire innocence, immediately began a canvass for the tribuneship. All the men of note, without exception, were opposed to him, but so great a throng poured into the city from the country and took part in the elections that many could not be housed, and since the Campus Martius could not accommodate the multitude, they gave in their voices from the house-tops and tilings. So far, however, did the nobility prevail against the people and disappoint the hopes of Caius that he was not

¹ Fregellae revolted, and was destroyed in 125 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

οὐχ, ὡς προσεδόκησε, πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τέταρτον ἀναγορευθῆναι. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ἦν ἀπάντων πρῶτος, ἰσχύων τε τῷ λέγειν, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτῷ παρρησίαν πολλὴν διδόντος ἀνακλειομένῳ τὸν ἀδελφόν.

- 3 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης προφάσεως περιῆγε τὸν δῆμον, ἀναμιμνήσκων τῶν γεγονότων καὶ παρατιθεὶς τὰ τῶν προγόνων, ὡς ἐκείνοι μὲν καὶ Φαλίσκοις ἐπολέμησαν ὑπὲρ Γενυκίου τινὸς δημάρχου λοιδορηθέντος, καὶ Γαῖου Βετουρίου θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ὅτι δημάρχῳ πορευομένῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς οὐχ ὑπεξέστη μόνος· “Τμῶν δὲ ὁρώντων,” ἔφη, “Τιβέριον ξύλοις συνέκοπτον οὗτοι, καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐσύρετο νεκρὸς ἐκ Καπετωλίου ρίφη-
- 4 σόμενος εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ ἀλίσκομενοι τῶν φίλων ἀπέθηνσκον ἄκριτοι. καίτοι πάτριόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἴ τις ἔχων δίκην θανατικὴν μὴ ὑπακούει, τούτου πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἔωθεν ἐλθόντα σαλπικτὴν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἐπιφέρειν ψῆφον αὐτῷ τοὺς δικαστάς. οὕτως εὐλαβεῖς καὶ πεφυλαγμένοι περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἦσαν.”

IV. Τοιούτοις λόγοις προανασείσας τὸν δῆμον (ἦν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφρονότατος, καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατος ἐν τῷ λέγειν), δύο νόμους εἰσέφερε, τὸν μὲν, εἴ τινος ἄρχοντος ἀφηρῆτο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἐῶντα τούτῳ δευτέρας ἀρχῆς μετουσίαν εἶναι· τὸν

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returned first, as he expected, but fourth. But after entering upon his office¹ he was at once first of all the tribunes, since he had an incomparable power in oratory, and his affliction gave him great boldness of speech in bewailing the fate of his brother. For to this subject he would bring the people round on every pretext, reminding them of what had happened in the case of Tiberius, and contrasting the conduct of their ancestors, who went to war with the people of Falerii on behalf of Genucius, a tribune whom they had insulted, and condemned Caius Veturius to death because he was the only man who would not make way for a tribune passing through the forum. "But before your eyes," he said, "these men beat Tiberius to death with clubs, and his dead body was dragged from the Capitol through the midst of the city to be thrown into the Tiber; moreover, those of his friends who were caught were put to death without trial. And yet it is ancient usage among us that if anyone who is arraigned on a capital charge does not answer to his summons, a trumpeter shall go to the door of this man's house in the morning and summon him forth by sound of trumpet, and until this has been done the judges shall not vote on his case. So careful and guarded were the men of old in capital cases."

IV. Having first stirred up the people with such words as these (and he had a very loud voice, and was most vigorous in his speaking), he introduced two laws, one providing that if the people had deprived any magistrate of his office, such magistrate should not be allowed to hold office a second time;

¹ For the year 123 B.C., ten years after Tiberius had entered upon the same office.

δέ, εἴ τις ἄρχων ἄκριτον ἐκκεκηρύχοι πολίτην,
 2 κατ' αὐτοῦ διδόντα κρίσιν τῷ δήμῳ. τούτων τῶν νόμων ἄντικρυς ὁ μὲν Μάρκον Ὀκτάβιον ἡτίμου τὸν ὑπὸ Τιβερίου τῆς δημαρχίας ἐκπεσόντα, τῷ δ' ἐνείχετο Ποπίλλιος· οὗτος γὰρ στρατηγῶν τοὺς τοῦ Τιβερίου φίλους ἐξεκήρυξε. καὶ Ποπίλλιος μὲν οὐχ ὑποστάς τὴν κρίσιν ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας· τὸν δὲ ἕτερον νόμον Γάϊος αὐτὸς ἐπανείλετο, φήσας τῇ μητρὶ Κορνηλίᾳ δευθεῖσιν χαρίζεσθαι
 3 τὸν Ὀκτάβιον. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἡγάσθη καὶ συνεχώρησε, τιμῶν τὴν Κορνηλίαν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων ἢ τοῦ πατρός, ἧς γε καὶ χαλκῇν εἰκόνα στήσας ὕστερον ἐπέγραψε Κορνηλίαν μητέρα Γράγχων. ἀπομνημονεύεται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Γαίου πολλὰ ῥητορικῶς καὶ ἀγοραίως ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εἰρημένα πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐχθρῶν. “Σύ γάρ,” ἔφη, “Κορνη-
 4 λίαν λαιδορεῖς τὴν Τιβερίον τεκοῦσαν;” ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβεβλημένος ἦν εἰς μαλακίαν ὁ λαιδορηθείς· “Τίνα δέ,” εἶπεν, “ἔχων παρρησίαν συγκρίνεις Κορνηλίᾳ σεαυτόν; ἔτεκες γὰρ ὡς ἐκείνη; καὶ μὴν πάντες ἴσασι Ῥωμαῖοι πλείω χρόνον ἐκείνην ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς οὔσαν ἢ σὲ τὸν ἄνδρα.” τοιαύτη μὲν ἢ πικρία τῶν λόγων ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐστὶν ὅμοια.

V. Τῶν δὲ νόμων οὗς εἰσέφερε τῷ δήμῳ χαρίζο- 837
 μενος καὶ καταλύων τὴν σύγκλητον, ὁ μὲν ἦν κληρουχικὸς ἀνανέμων¹ τοῖς πένησι τὴν δημοσίαν, ὁ δὲ στρατιωτικὸς ἐσθῆτά τε κελεύων δημοσίᾳ

¹ ἀνανέμων Coraës and Bekker, after Du Soul, for the MSS. ἄμα νέμων. Ziegler adopts διανέμων, proposed by Sint.* and Cobet.

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and another providing that if any magistrate had banished a citizen without trial, such magistrate should be liable to public prosecution. Of these laws, one had the direct effect of branding with infamy Marcus Octavius, who had been deposed from the tribunate by Tiberius; and by the other Popillius was affected, for as praetor he had banished the friends of Tiberius. Popillius, indeed, without standing his trial, fled out of Italy; but the other law was withdrawn by Caius himself, who said that he spared Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were pleased at this and gave their consent, honouring Cornelia no less on account of her sons than because of her father; indeed, in after times they erected a bronze statue of her, bearing the inscription: "Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi." There are on record also many things which Caius said about her in the coarse style of forensic speech, when he was attacking one of his enemies: "What," said he, "dost thou abuse Cornelia, who gave birth to Tiberius?" And since the one who had uttered the abuse was charged with effeminate practices, "With what effrontery," said Caius, "canst thou compare thyself with Cornelia? Hast thou borne such children as she did? And verily all Rome knows that she refrained from commerce with men longer than thou hast, though thou art a man." Such was the bitterness of his language, and many similar examples can be taken from his writings.

V. Of the laws which he proposed by way of gratifying the people and overthrowing the senate, one was agrarian, and divided the public land among the poor citizens; another was military, and ordained that clothing should be furnished to the soldiers at

χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τῆς μισθοφορᾶς
 ὑφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν στρατευομένων, καὶ νεώτερον
 ἐτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα μὴ καταλέγεσθαι στρατιώτην·
 ὁ δὲ συμμαχικὸς ἰσοψηφούς ποιῶν τοῖς πολίταις
 2 τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας. ὁ δὲ σιτικὸς ἐπεωννίζων τοῖς
 πένησι τὴν ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ δικαστικὸς, ὃ τὸ πλεῖ-
 στον ἀπέκοψε τῆς τῶν συγκλητικῶν δυνάμεως.
 μόνοι γὰρ ἔκρινον τὰς δίκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβεροὶ
 τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ τρια-
 κοσίους τῶν ἰππέων προσκατέλεξεν αὐτοῖς οὐσι
 τριακοσίοις, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις κοινὰς τῶν ἑξακοσίων
 3 ἐποίησε. τοῦτον τὸν νόμον εἰσφέρων τά τε ἄλλα
 λέγεται σπουδάσαι διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν πρὸ
 αὐτοῦ πάντων δημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον
 ἀφορώντων καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κομίτιον, πρῶτος
 τότε στραφεὶς ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγορῆσαι,
 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἐξ ἐκείνου, μικρὰ παρ-
 εγκλίσσει καὶ μεταθέσει σχήματος μέγα πρᾶγμα
 κινήσας καὶ μετενεγκῶν τρόπον τινὰ τὴν πολιτείαν
 ἐκ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὥς τῶν
 πολλῶν δέον, οὐ τῆς βουλῆς, στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς
 λέγοντας.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐδέξατο τὸν νόμον τοῦτον
 ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνῳ τοὺς κρίνοντας ἐκ τῶν
 ἰππέων ἔδωκε καταλέξαι, μοναρχικὴ τις ἰσχὺς
 ἐγεγόνει περὶ αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον

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the public cost, that nothing should be deducted from their pay to meet this charge, and that no one under seventeen should be enrolled as a soldier; another concerned the allies, and gave the Italians equal suffrage rights with Roman citizens; another related to the supplies of grain, and lowered the market price to the poor; and another dealt with the appointment of judges. This last law most of all curtailed the power of the senators; for they alone could serve as judges in criminal cases, and this privilege made them formidable both to the common people and to the equestrian order. The law of Gracchus, however, added to the membership of the senate, which was three hundred, three hundred men from the equestrian order, and made service as judges a prerogative of the whole six hundred. In his efforts to carry this law Caius is said to have shown remarkable earnestness in many ways, and especially in this, that whereas all popular orators before him had turned their faces towards the senate and that part of the forum called the "comitium," he now set a new example by turning towards the other part of the forum as he harangued the people, and continued to do this from that time on, thus by a slight deviation and change of attitude stirring up a great question, and to a certain extent changing the constitution from an aristocratic to a democratic form; for his implication was that speakers ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

VI. The people not only adopted this law, but also entrusted to its author the selection of the judges who were to come from the equestrian order, so that he found himself invested with something like monarchical power, and even the senate

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- ἀνέχεσθαι συμβουλευόντος αὐτοῦ. συνεβούλευε δὲ αἰεὶ τι τῶν ἐκείνῃ προπόντων εἰσηγούμενος·
- 2 οἷον ἦν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ σίτου δόγμα μετριώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον, ὃν ἔπεμψε μὲν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας Φάβιος ἀντιστράτηγος, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἔπεισε τὴν βουλὴν ἀποδομένην τὸν σῖτον ἀναπέμψαι ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ προσεπαιτιάσασθαι τὸν Φάβιον ὥς ἐπαχθῇ καὶ ἀφόρητον ποιοῦντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐφ' ᾧ μεγάλην ἔσχε δόξαν μετὰ εὐνοίας ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις.
- 3 Ἐγραψε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀποικίδας ἐκπέμπεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατασκευάζεσθαι σιτοβόλια, τούτοις ἅπασι πραττομένοις αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ διοικητὴν ἐφιστάς, καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀποτρύόμενος τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστῷ τινι τάχει καὶ πόνῳ τῶν γινομένων ὥς μόνον ἕκαστον ἐξεργαζόμενος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ μισοῦντας αὐτὸν καὶ δεδοικότας ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸ διὰ πάντων ἀνύσιμον καὶ τελεσιουργόν.
- 4 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν ἐθαύμαζον, ἐξηρητημένον ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ πλῆθος ἐργολάβων, τεχνιτῶν, πρεσβευτῶν, ἀρχόντων, στρατιωτῶν, φιλολόγων, οἷς πᾶσιν ἐντυγχάνων μετὰ εὐκολίας καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἐν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ διαφυλάττων, καὶ νέμων αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρμόττον οἰκείως ἐκάστῳ, χαλεποὺς ἀπεδείκνυε συκοφάντας τοὺς φοβερὸν αὐτὸν ἢ φορτικὸν ὄλως ἢ βίαιον ἀποκαλοῦντας. οὕτω δεινότερος ἦν ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ταῖς

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consented to follow his counsel. But when he counselled them, it was always in support of measures befitting their body; as, for instance, the very equitable and honourable decree concerning the grain which Fabius the pro-praetor sent to the city from Spain. Caius induced the Senate to sell the grain and send the money back to the cities of Spain, and further, to censure Fabius for making his government of the province intolerably burdensome to its inhabitants. This decree brought Caius great reputation as well as popularity in the provinces.

He also introduced bills for sending out colonies, for constructing roads, and for establishing public granaries, making himself director and manager of all these undertakings, and showing no weariness in the execution of all these different and great enterprises; nay, he actually carried out each one of them with an astonishing speed and power of application, as if it were his sole business, so that even those who greatly hated and feared him were struck with amazement at the powers of achievement and accomplishment which marked all that he did. And as for the multitude, they were astonished at the very sight, when they beheld him closely attended by a throng of contractors, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and literary men, with all of whom he was on easy terms, preserving his dignity while showing kindness, and rendering properly to every man the courtesy which was due from him, whereby he set in the light of malignant slanderers those who stigmatised him as threatening or utterly arrogant or violent. Thus he was a more skilful popular leader in his private intercourse with men

πράξεσιν ἢ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος λόγοις δημαγωγός.

- VII. Ἐσπούδασε δὲ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν ὁδοποιίαν, τῆς τε χρείας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν καὶ κάλλος ἐπιμεληθεῖς. εὐθεῖαι γὰρ ἦγοντο διὰ τῶν χωρίων ἀτρεμεῖς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστόρνυτο πέτρα ξεστῇ, τὸ δὲ ἄμμου χώμασι νακτῆς ἐπυκνιούτο. πιμπλαμένων δὲ τῶν κοίλων καὶ ζευγνυμένων γεφύραις ὅσα χεῖμαρροι διέκοπτον ἢ φάραγγες, ὕψος τε τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἴσον καὶ παράλληλον λαμβανόντων, ὁμαλὴν καὶ καλὴν ὄψιν εἶχε δι' ὅλου τὸ ἔργον. 838
- 2 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διαμετρήσας κατὰ μίλιον ὁδὸν πᾶσαν (τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὀκτὼ σταδίων ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖ) κίονας λιθίνους σημεῖα τοῦ μέτρου κατέστησεν. ἄλλους δὲ λίθους ἔλαττον ἀπέχοντας ἀλλήλων ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διέθηκεν, ὥς εἴη ῥαδίως τοῖς ἵππους ἔχουσιν ἐπιβαίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναβολέως μὴ δεομένοις.

- VIII. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ δήμου μεγαλύνοντος αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἐτοίμως ἔχοντος ἐνδείκνυσθαι πρὸς εὐνοίαν, ἔφη ποτὲ δημηγορῶν αὐτὸς αἰτήσειν χάριν, ἣν λαβὼν μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἔξειν, εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοι, μηδὲν ἐκείνοις μεμψιμοιρήσειν. τοῦτο ῥηθὲν ἔδοξεν αἰτήσεις ὑπατείας εἶναι, καὶ προσδοκίαν πᾶσιν ὥς ἅμα μὲν ὑπατείαν, ἅμα δὲ
- 2 δημαρχίαν μετιῶν παρέσχεν. ἐνστάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καὶ μετεώρων ὄντων ἀπάντων ὥφθη Γάϊον Φάννιον κατὰ γων εἰς τὸ πεδίου

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and in his business transactions than in his speeches from the rostra.

VII. But he busied himself most earnestly with the construction of roads, laying stress upon utility, as well as upon that which conduced to grace and beauty. For his roads were carried straight through the country without deviation, and had pavements of quarried stone, and substructures of tight-rammed masses of sand. Depressions were filled up, all intersecting torrents or ravines were bridged over, and both sides of the roads were of equal and corresponding height, so that the work had everywhere an even and beautiful appearance. In addition to all this, he measured off every road by miles (the Roman mile falls a little short of eight furlongs) and planted stone pillars in the ground to mark the distances. Other stones, too, he placed at smaller intervals from one another on both sides of the road, in order that equestrians might be able to mount their horses from them and have no need of assistance.

VIII. Since the people extolled him for all these services and were ready to show him any token whatsoever of their good will, he said to them once in a public harangue that he was going to ask a favour of them, which, if granted, he should value supremely, but if it were refused, he should find no fault with them. This utterance was thought to be a request for a consulship, and led everybody to expect that he would sue for a consulship and a tribuneship at the same time. But when the consular elections were at hand and everybody was on the tip-toe of expectation, he was seen leading Caius Fannius down into the Campus Martius and joining in the canvass for

καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάζων ἐκείνῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. τοῦτο ῥοπὴν ἤνεγκε τῷ Φαννίῳ μεγάλην. καὶ κεῖνος μὲν ὑπατος, Γάϊος δὲ δήμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη τὸ δεύτερον, οὐ παραγγέλλων οὐδὲ μετιών, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου σπουδάσαντος.

- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον ἐχθρὰν ἀντικρυσ, ἀμβλὺν δὲ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ τὸν Φάννιον, αὐθις ἑτέροις νόμοις ἀπηρτήσατο τὸ πλῆθος, ἀποικίας μὲν εἰς Τάραντα καὶ Καπύην πέμπεσθαι γράφων, καλῶν δὲ ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολιτείας τοὺς Λατίνους. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ δείσασα μὴ παντάπασιν ἄμαχος γένηται, καινὴν καὶ ἀσυνήθη πείραν ἐπήγε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀποτροπῆς, ἀντιδημαγωγούσα καὶ
- 4 χαριζομένη παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἦν γὰρ εἰς τῶν τοῦ Γαίου συναρχόντων Λίβιος Δροῦσος, ἀνὴρ οὔτε γεγωνώς τινος Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τεθραμμένος χεῖρον, ἥθει¹ δὲ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῖς μάλιστα τιμωμένοις καὶ δυναμένοις ἀπὸ τούτων ἐνάμιλλος. ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖν οἱ γνωριμώτατοι τρέπονται, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἄψασθαι τοῦ Γαίου καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συστῆναι, μὴ βιαζόμενον μηδὲ ἀντικρούοντα τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἄρχοντα καὶ χαριζόμενον ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καλῶς εἶχεν.

IX. Ἐπιδούς οὖν ὁ Λίβιος εἰς ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δημαρχίαν νόμους ἔγραψεν οὔτε τῶν

¹ ἥθει: Coraës and Bekker retain the old vulgate ἥδη.

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him along with his friends. This turned the tide strongly in favour of Fannius. So Fannius was elected consul, and Caius tribune for the second time, though he was not a candidate and did not canvass for the office; but the people were eager to have it so.

However, he soon saw that the senate was hostile to him out and out, and that the good will of Fannius towards him had lost its edge, and therefore again began to attach the multitude to himself by other laws, proposing to send colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and inviting the Latins to a participation in the Roman franchise. But the senate, fearing that Gracchus would become altogether invincible, made a new and unusual attempt to divert the people from him; they vied with him, that is, in courting the favour of the people, and granted their wishes contrary to the best interests of the state. For one of the colleagues of Caius was Livius Drusus, a man who was not inferior to any Roman either in birth or rearing, while in character, eloquence, and wealth he could vie with those who were most honoured and influential in consequence of these advantages. To this man, accordingly, the nobles had recourse, and invited him to attack Caius and league himself with them against him, not resorting to violence or coming into collision with the people, but administering his office to please them and making them concessions where it would have been honourable to incur their hatred.

IX. Livius, accordingly, put his influence as tribune at the service of the senate to this end, and drew up laws which aimed at what was neither honourable

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- καλῶν τινος οὔτε τῶν λυσιτελῶν ἐχομένους, ἀλλὰ ἐν μόνον, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν Γαῖον ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ, σπεύδων καὶ διαμιλλώμενος. ᾧ καὶ καταφανεστάτην ἐποίησεν ἑαυτὴν ἢ σύγκλητος οὐ δυσχεραίνουσιν τοῖς τοῦ Γαίου πολιτεύμασιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἀνελεῖν ἢ ταπεινῶσαι παντάπασι βουλομένην.
- 2 τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὑποικίας δύο γράψαντα καὶ τοὺς χαριεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσάγοντα δημοκοπεῖν ἡτιῶντο, Λιβίῳ δὲ δώδεκα κατοικίζοντι καὶ τρισχιλίους εἰς ἐκάστην ἀποστέλλοντι τῶν ἀπόρων συνελαμβάνοντο. κακείνῳ μὲν, ὅτι χώραν διένειμε τοῖς πένησι προστάξας ἐκάστῳ τελεῖν ἀποφορὰν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, ὡς κολακεύοντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπηχθάνοντο, Λίβιος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποφορὰν ταύτην
- 3 τῶν νειμαμένων ἀφαιρῶν ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς. ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν τοῖς Λατίνοις ἰσοψηφίαν διδούς ἐλύπει, τοῦ δέ, ὅπως μὴδὲ ἐπὶ στρατείας ἐξῆ τινα Λατίνων ῥάβδοις αἰκίσασθαι γράψαντος ἐβοήθουν τῷ νόμῳ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Λίβιος αἰὲν δημηγορῶν ἔλεγεν ὡς γράφοι ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ δοκοῦντα κηδο-
- 4 μένη τῶν πολλῶν· ὃ δὲ καὶ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον ὑπῆρχεν. ἡμερώτερον γὰρ ἔσχε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ δῆμος· καὶ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ὑφορωμένου καὶ
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nor advantageous; nay, he had the emulous eagerness of the rival demagogues of comedy to achieve one thing, namely, to surpass Caius in pleasing and gratifying the people.¹ In this way the senate showed most plainly that it was not displeased with the public measures of Caius, but rather was desirous by all means to humble or destroy the man himself. For when Caius proposed to found two colonies, and these composed of the most respectable citizens, they accused him of truckling to the people; but when Livius proposed to found twelve, and to send out to each of them three thousand of the needy citizens, they supported him. With Caius, because he distributed public land among the poor for which every man of them was required to pay a rental into the public treasury, they were angry, alleging that he was seeking thereby to win favour with the multitude; but Livius met with their approval when he proposed to relieve the tenants even from this rental. And further, when Caius proposed to bestow upon the Latins equal rights of suffrage, he gave offence; but when Livius brought in a bill forbidding that any Latin should be chastised with rods even during military service, he had the senate's support. And indeed Livius himself, in his public harangues, always said that he introduced these measures on the authority of the senate, which desired to help the common people; and this in fact was the only advantage which resulted from his political measures. For the people became more amicably disposed towards the senate; and whereas before this they had suspected and hated the nobles, Livius softened and

¹ An allusion to the rival demagogues in the *Knights* of Aristophanes.

μισούντος ἐξέλυσε καὶ κατεπράϋνε τὴν μνησικακίαν καὶ χαλεπότητα ταύτην ὁ Λίβιος, ὡς ἐκ 839 τῆς ἐκείνων ὁρμώμενος γνώμης ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

X. Μεγίστη δὲ τῷ Δροῦσῳ πίστις εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῷ μηδ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι γράφοντα. καὶ γὰρ οἰκιστὰς ἐτέρους ἐξέπεμπε τῶν πόλεων καὶ διοικήσεσι χρημάτων οὐ προσήει, τοῦ Γαῖου τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τοιούτων αὐτῷ
 2 προστιθέντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥουβρίου τῶν συναρχόντων ἐνὸς οἰκίζεσθαι Καρχηδόνα γράψαντος ἀνηρημένην ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος, κλήρῳ λαχὼν ὁ Γάιος ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην ἐπὶ τὸν κατοικισμόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιβὰς ὁ Δροῦσος ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ τὸν δῆμον ὑπελάμβανε καὶ προσήγετο, μάλιστα ταῖς
 3 κατὰ τοῦ Φουλβίου διαβολαῖς. ὁ δὲ Φούλβιος οὗτος ἦν τοῦ Γαῖου φίλος, καὶ συνάρχων ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν τῆς χώρας ἡρημένος· ἦν δὲ θορυβώδης, καὶ μισούμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄντικρυς, ὕποπτος δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς τὰ συμμαχικὰ διακινῶν καὶ παροξύνων κρύφα τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας πρὸς ἀπόστασιν. οἷς ἀναποδείκτως καὶ ἀνελέγκτως λεγομένοις αὐτὸς προσετίθει πίστιν ὁ
 4 Φούλβιος οὐχ ὑγιαινούσης οὐδὲ εἰρηνικῆς ὧν προαιρέσεως. τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέλυε τὸν Γάιον ἀπολαύοντα τοῦ μίσους. καὶ ὅτε Σκηπίων ὁ

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dissipated their remembrance of past grievances and their bitter feelings by alleging that it was the sanction of the nobles which had induced him to enter upon his course of conciliating the people and gratifying the wishes of the many.

X. But the strongest proof that Livius was well disposed towards the people and honest, lay in the fact that he never appeared to propose anything for himself or in his own interests. For he moved to send out other men as managers of his colonies, and would have no hand in the expenditure of moneys, whereas Caius had assigned to himself most of such functions and the most important of them. And now Rubrius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, brought in a bill for the founding of a colony on the site of Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, and Caius, upon whom the lot fell, sailed off to Africa as superintendent of the foundation. In his absence, therefore, Livius made all the more headway against him, stealing into the good graces of the people and attaching them to himself, particularly by his calumniations of Fulvius. This Fulvius was a friend of Caius, and had been chosen a commissioner with him for the distribution of the public land; but he was a turbulent fellow, and was hated outright by the senators. Other men also suspected him of stirring up trouble with the allies and of secretly inciting the Italians to revolt. These things were said against him without proof or investigation, but Fulvius himself brought them into greater credence by a policy which was unsound and revolutionary. This more than anything else was the undoing of Caius, who came in for a share of the hatred against Fulvius. And when Scipio Africanus

Ἀφρικανὸς ἐξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίου προφανοῦς ἐτελεύ-
τησε καὶ σημειῖά τινα τῷ νεκρῷ πληγῶν καὶ βίας
ἐπιδραμεῖν ἔδοξεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέ-
γραπται, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τὸν Φούλβιον ἦλθε
τῆς διαβολῆς, ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην
ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῷ Σκηπίωνι λελοιδωρημένον,
5 ἤψατο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Γαίου ὑπόνοια. καὶ δεινὸν
οὕτως ἔργον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ
Ῥωμαίων τολμηθὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε δίκης οὐδὲ εἰς
ἐλεγχον προῆλθεν· ἐνέστησαν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ
κατέλυσαν τὴν κρίσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαίου φοβηθέντες,
μὴ περιπετῆς τῇ αἰτίᾳ τοῦ φόνου ζητουμένου
γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγεγόνει πρότερον.

XI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ περὶ τὸν τῆς Καρχηδόνας
κατοικισμὸν, ἣν ὁ Γάιος Ἰουνωνίαν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν
Ἡραίαν, ὠνόμασε, πολλὰ κωλύματα γενέσθαι
παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λέγουσιν. ἥ τε γὰρ πρώτη
σημαία, πνεύματος ὑφαρπάζοντος αὐτήν, τοῦ δὲ
φέροντος ἐγκρατῶς ἀντεχομένου, συνετρίβη, καὶ
τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπικείμενα διεσκέδασεν ἀνέ-
μου θύελλα καὶ διέρριψεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς
γεγενημένης ὑπογραφῆς, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὄρους
ἀνέσπασαν ἐπελθόντες λύκοι καὶ μακρὰν ὥχοντο
2 φέροντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάντα συντάξας καὶ
διακοσμήσας ὁ Γάιος ἡμέραις ἐβδομήκοντα ταῖς
πάσαις ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην, πιέζεσθαι τὸν
Φούλβιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δρούσου πυνθανόμενος, καὶ
τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας δεομένων.

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died without any apparent cause, and certain marks of violence and blows were thought to be in evidence all over his dead body, as I have written in his Life,¹ most of the consequent calumny fell upon Fulvius, who was Scipio's enemy, and had abused him that day from the rostra, but suspicion attached itself also to Caius. And a deed so monstrous, and perpetrated upon a man who was the foremost and greatest Roman, went unpunished, nay, was not even so much as probed; for the multitude were opposed to any judicial enquiry and thwarted it, because they feared that Caius might be implicated in the charge if the murder were investigated. However, this had happened at an earlier time.²

XI. In Africa, moreover, in connection with the planting of a colony on the site of Carthage, to which colony Caius gave the name Junonia (that is to say, in Greek, Heraea), there are said to have been many prohibitory signs from the gods. For the leading standard was caught by a gust of wind, and though the bearer clung to it with all his might, it was broken into pieces; the sacrificial victims lying on the altars were scattered by a hurricane and dispersed beyond the boundary-marks in the plan of the city, and the boundary-marks themselves were set upon by wolves, who tore them up and carried them a long way off. Notwithstanding this, Caius settled and arranged everything in seventy days all told, and then returned to Rome, because he learned that Fulvius was being hard pressed by Drusus, and because matters there required his presence. For

¹ See the *Tiberius Gracchus*, *ad fin.*, and cf. the *Romulus*, xxvii. 4 f.

² In 129 B.C., six years before Caius became tribune.

Λεύκιος γὰρ Ὀπίμιος, ἀνὴρ ὀλιγαρχικὸς καὶ
 δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, πρότερον μὲν ἐξέπεσεν
 ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλων, τοῦ Γαίου τὸν Φάννιον
 προαγαγόντος, ἐκείνον δὲ καταρχαιρεσιάσαντος·
 3 τότε δὲ πολλῶν βοηθούντων ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὑπατεύ-
 σειν, ὑπατεύων δὲ καταλύσειν τὸν Γάϊον, ἤδη
 τρόπον τινὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ μαραινομένης
 καὶ τοῦ δήμου μεστοῦ γεγονότος τῶν τοιούτων
 πολιτευμάτων διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς πρὸς χάριν
 δημαγωγούντας εἶναι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ὑπέεικεν
 ἐκούσαν.

XII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Παλα-
 τίου μετώκησεν εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγορὰν τόπον
 ὡς δημοτικώτερον, ὅπου πλείστους τῶν ταπεινῶν
 καὶ πενήτων συνέβαινεν οἰκεῖν· ἔπειτα τῶν νόμων
 ἐξέθηκε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὡς ἐπάξων τὴν ψῆφον
 αὐτοῖς. ὄχλου δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ συνιόντος
 ἔπεισεν ἡ βουλὴ τὸν ὕπατον Φάννιον ἐκβαλεῖν
 2 τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντας. γενομένου 840
 δὲ κηρύγματος ἀήθους καὶ ἀλλοκότου, μηδένα
 τῶν συμμάχων μηδὲ τῶν φίλων ἐν Ῥώμῃ φανῆναι
 περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, ἀντεξέθηκεν ὁ Γάιος
 διάγραμμα κατηγορῶν τοῦ ὑπάτου, καὶ τοῖς συμ-
 μάχοις, ἂν μένωσι, βοηθήσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος.
 οὐ μὴν ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλὰ ὁρῶν ἓνα τῶν ξένων
 αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων ἐλκόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν
 τῶν τοῦ Φαννίου, παρήλθε καὶ οὐ προσήμυνεν,
 εἴτε τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιλείπουσαν ἤδη δεδιὼς ἐλέγχειν,

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Lucius Opimius, a man of oligarchical principles and influential in the senate, who had previously failed in a candidacy for the consulship (when Caius had brought forward Fannius and supported his canvas for the office),¹ now had the aid and assistance of many, and it was expected that he would be consul, and that as consul he would try to put down Caius, whose influence was already somewhat on the wane, and with whose peculiar measures the people had become sated, because the leaders who courted their favour were many and the senate readily yielded to them.

XII. On returning to Rome, in the first place Caius changed his residence from the Palatine hill to the region adjoining the forum, which he thought more democratic, since most of the poor and lowly had come to live there ; in the next place, he promulgated the rest of his laws, intending to get the people's vote upon them. But when a throng came together from all parts of Italy for his support, the senate prevailed upon the consul Fannius to drive out of the city all who were not Romans. Accordingly, a strange and unusual proclamation was made, to the effect that none of the allies and friends of Rome should appear in the city during those days ; whereupon Caius published a counter edict in which he denounced the consul, and promised the allies his support, in case they should remain there. He did not, however, give them his support, but when he saw one of his comrades and guest-friends dragged off by the lictors of Fannius, he passed by without giving him any help, either because he feared to give a proof that his power was already on the decline, or because

¹ See chapter viii. 2.

εἶτε μὴ βουλόμενος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ὑψιμαχίας αὐτὸς καὶ συμπλοκῆς ἄρχας ζητοῦσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρασχεῖν.

- 3 Συνέτυχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνάρχοντας ἐν ὀργῇ γενέσθαι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ἔμελλεν ὁ δῆμος θεᾶσθαι μονομάχους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ πλείστοι θεωρητήρια κύκλῳ κατασκευάσαντες ἐξεμίσθουν. ταῦτα ὁ Γάϊος ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς καθαιρεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πένητες ἐκ τῶν τόπων
- 4 ἐκείνων ἀμισθὶ θεάσασθαι δύνωνται. μηδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος ἀναμείνας τὴν πρὸ τῆς θέας νύκτα, καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ὅσους εἶχεν ἐργολάβους ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ παραλαβὼν, τὰ θεωρητήρια καθεῖλε καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ σχολάζοντα μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τόπον· ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ συνάρχοντας ὡς ἰταμὸς καὶ βίαιος ἐλύπησεν. ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἔδοξε δημαρχίαν ἀφηρῆσθαι, ψήφων μὲν αὐτῷ πλείστων γενομένων, ἀδίκως δὲ καὶ κακούργως τῶν συναρχόντων ποιησαμένων τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν καὶ ἀνάδειξιν.
- 5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφισβήτησιν εἶχεν. ἤνεγκε δὲ οὐ μετρίως ἀποτυχῶν, καὶ πρὸς γε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπεγγελῶντας αὐτῷ λέγεται θρασύτερον τοῦ δέοντος εἰπεῖν ὡς Σαρδόνιον γέλωτα γελῶσιν, οὐ γιγνώσκοντες ὅσον αὐτοῖς σκότος ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ περικέχυται πολιτευμάτων.

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he was unwilling, as he said, by his own acts to afford his enemies the occasions which they sought for a conflict at close quarters.

Moreover, it chanced that he had incurred the anger of his colleagues in office, and for the following reason. The people were going to enjoy an exhibition of gladiators in the forum, and most of the magistrates had constructed seats for the show round about, and were offering them for hire. Caius ordered them to take down these seats, in order that the poor might be able to enjoy the spectacle from those places without paying hire. But since no one paid any attention to his command, he waited till the night before the spectacle, and then, taking all the workmen whom he had under his orders in public contracts, he pulled down the seats, and when day came he had the place all clear for the people. For this proceeding the populace thought him a man, but his colleagues were annoyed and thought him reckless and violent. It was believed also that this conduct cost him his election to the tribunate for the third time, since, although he got a majority of the votes, his colleagues were unjust and fraudulent in their proclamation and returns. This, however, was disputed. But he took his failure overmuch to heart, and what is more, when his enemies were exulting over him, he told them, it is said, with more boldness than was fitting, that they were laughing with sardonic laughter, and were not aware of the great darkness that enveloped them in consequence of his public measures.¹

¹ Blass compares the laughter of the doomed suitors in *Odyssey*, xx. 346 ff.—the fatuous smile of men whose fate is sealed, though they are unaware of it.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- XIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀπίμιον καταστήσαντες ὕπατον τῶν νόμων πολλοὺς διέγραφον καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνης ἐκίνουν διάταξιν, ἐρεθίζοντες τὸν Γάϊον, ὥς ἂν αἰτίαν ὀργῆς παρασχὼν ἀναιρεθείη, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐκαρτέρει, τῶν δὲ φίλων καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Φουλβίου παροξύνοντος ὥρμησε πάλιν συνάγειν τοὺς ἀντιταξομένους πρὸς τὸν
- 2 ὕπατον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν μητέρα λέγουσιν αὐτῷ συστασιάσαι, μισθουμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης κρύφα καὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἄνδρας, ὥς δὴ θερίστας· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστολίοις αὐτῆς ἡνιγμένα γεγράφθαι πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ πάνυ τῆς Κορνηλίας δυσχεραίνουσης ταῦτα πράττεσθαι λέγουσιν.
- 3 Ἡ δ' οὖν ἔμελλον ἡμέρα τοὺς νόμους λύσειν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀπίμιον, κατείληπτο μὲν ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἔωθεν εὐθύς τὸ Καπετώλιον, θύσαντος δὲ τοῦ ὑπάτου τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τις αὐτοῦ Κόϊντος Ἀντύλλιος διαφέρων ἐτέρωσε τὰ σπλάγχνα πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φούλβιον εἶπε· “Δότε τόπον ἀγαθοῖς, κακοὶ πολῖται.” τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν βραχίονα γυμνὸν οἶον ἐφ’ ὕβρει
- 4 σχηματίζοντα παρενεγκεῖν. ἀποθνήσκει γοῦν εὐθύς ὁ Ἀντύλλιος ἐκεῖ μεγάλοις γραφείοις κεντούμενος, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ πεποιεῖσθαι λεγόμενοις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος διεταράχθη πρὸς τὸν φόνον, ἐναντία δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔσχε διάθεσις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γάϊος ἤχθετο καὶ κακῶς ἔλεγε τοὺς

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XIII. The enemies of Caius also effected the election of Opimius as consul, and then proceeded to revoke many of the laws which Caius had secured and to meddle with the organization of the colony at Carthage. This was by way of irritating Caius, that he might furnish ground for resentment, and so be got rid of. At first he endured all this patiently, but at last, under the instigations of his friends, and especially of Fulvius, he set out to gather a fresh body of partisans for opposition to the consul. Here, we are told, his mother also took active part in his seditious measures, by secretly hiring from foreign parts and sending to Rome men who were ostensibly reapers; for to this matter there are said to have been obscure allusions in her letters¹ to her son. Others, however, say that Cornelia was very much displeased with these activities of her son.

Be that as it may, on the day when Opimius and his supporters were going to annul the laws, the Capitol had been occupied by both factions since earliest morning, and after the consul had offered sacrifice, one of his servants, Quintus Antyllius, as he was carrying from one place to another the entrails of the victims, said to the partisans of Fulvius: "Make way for honest citizens, ye rascals!" Some say, too, that along with this speech Antyllius bared his arm and waved it with an insulting gesture. At any rate he was killed at once and on the spot, stabbed with large writing styles said to have been made for just such a purpose. The multitude were completely confused by the murder, but it produced an opposite state of mind in the leaders of the two factions. Caius was distressed, and upbraided his followers for

¹ Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 58, 211.

περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς αἰτίαν δεομένοις πάλαι καθ' ἑαυτῶν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δεδωκότας, ὁ δὲ Ὀπίμιος ὥσπερ ἐνδόσιμον λαβὼν ἐπήρτο καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν.

- XIV. Καὶ τότε μὲν ὄμβρου γενομένου διελύθησαν· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν μὲν βουλήν ὁ ὕπατος συναγαγὼν ἔνδον ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἕτεροι δὲ τὸ τοῦ Ἀντυλλίου σῶμα γυμνὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης προθέμενοι δι' ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπίτηδες παρεκόμεζον, οἰμωγῇ χρώμενοι καὶ θρήνῳ, γιγνώσκοντος μὲν τοῦ Ὀπιμίου τὰ πραττόμενα, προσποιουμένων δὲ θαυμάζειν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς
- 2 προελθεῖν. κατατεθείσης δὲ τῆς κλίνης εἰς μέσον οἱ μὲν ἐσχετλίαζον ὡς ἐπὶ δεινῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ πάθει, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ἐπήει μισεῖν καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς, ὡς Τιβέριον μὲν Γράγχον ἐν Καπετωλίῳ φονεύσαντες αὐτοὶ δήμαρχον ὄντα καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν προσεξέβαλον, ὁ δ'
- 3 ὑπηρέτης Ἀντύλλιος, οὐ δίκαια μὲν ἴσως πεπονθώς, τὴν δὲ πλείστην αἰτίαν εἰς τὸ παθεῖν αὐτῷ παρασχών, ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρόκειται, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἢ Ῥωμαίων βουλή θρηνοῦσα καὶ συνεκκομίζουσα μισθωτὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἔτι λειπόμενον ἀνελεῖν τῶν τοῦ δήμου κηδομένων. ἐκ τούτου
- 4 πάλιν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀπελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ προσέταξαν Ὀπιμίῳ τῷ ὑπάτῳ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν ὅπως δύναίτο, καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς τυράννους.

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having given their enemies ground for accusing them which had long been desired ; but Opimius, as though he had got something for which he was waiting, was elated, and urged the people on to vengeance.

XIV. A shower of rain fell just then, and the assembly was dissolved ; but early next morning the consul called the senate together indoors and proceeded to transact business, while others placed the body of Antyllius without covering upon a bier, and carried it, as they had agreed to do, through the forum and past the senate-house, with wailings and lamentations. Opimius knew what was going on, but pretended to be surprised, so that even the senators went out into the forum. After the bier had been set down in the midst of the throng, the senators began to inveigh against what they called a heinous and monstrous crime, but the people were moved to hatred and abuse of the oligarchs, who, they said, after murdering Tiberius Gracchus on the Capitol with their own hands, tribune that he was, had actually flung away his dead body besides ; whereas Antyllius, a mere servant, who perhaps had suffered more than he deserved, but was himself chiefly to blame for it, had been laid out in the forum, and was surrounded by the Roman senate, which shed tears and shared in the obsequies of a hireling fellow, to the end that the sole remaining champion of the people might be done away with. Then the senators went back into the senate-house, where they formally enjoined upon the consul Opimius to save the city as best he could,¹ and to put down the tyrants.

The consul therefore ordered the senators to take

¹ The formal decree of martial law : *consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet* (Cicero, *In Cat.* i. 2, 4).

τοὺς συγκλητικούς, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐκάστῳ
 παράγγελμα δόντος ἄγειν ἔωθεν οἰκέτας δύο
 καθωπλισμένους, ὁ μὲν Φούλβιος ἀντιπαρεσκευά-
 ζετο καὶ συνήγεν ὄχλον, ὁ δὲ Γάϊος ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
 ἀπερχόμενος ἔστη κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδριάντα,
 καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἐμβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐφ-
 5 θέγξατο, δακρύσας δὲ καὶ στενάξας ἀπῆει. τοῦτο
 πολλοῖς τῶν ἰδόντων οἰκτεῖται τὸν Γάϊον ἐπῆλθε·
 καὶ κακίσαντες αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν
 ἄνδρα καὶ προδιδόντες ἤκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ
 παρενυκτέρευον ἐπὶ τῶν θυρῶν, οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς
 τὸν Φούλβιον φυλάττουσιν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐν
 κρότοις καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῖς πίνοντες καὶ θρασυνό-
 μενοι διετέλεσαν, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φουλβίου πρώτου
 μεθυσκομένου καὶ πολλὰ φορτικῶς παρ' ἡλικίαν
 6 φθεγγομένου καὶ πράττοντος· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
 Γάϊον, ὥς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ κοινῇ τῆς πατρίδος ἡσυ-
 χίαν ἄγοντες καὶ περισκοπούμενοι τὸ μέλλον, ἐν
 μέρει φυλάττοντες καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι διῆγον.

XV. Ἄμα δὲ ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν Φούλβιον ἐκ τοῦ
 πότου καθεύδοντα μόλις ἐπεγείραντες ὥπλιζοντο
 τοῖς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ λαφύροις, ἃ Γαλάτας
 νενικηκῶς ὅτε ὑπάτευεν εἰλήφει, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς
 ἀπειλῆς καὶ κραυγῆς ἐχώρουν καταληψόμενοι τὸν
 Ἀβεντῖνον λόφον. ὁ δὲ Γάϊος ὀπλίσασθαι μὲν
 οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐν τηβέννῳ
 2 προῆει, μικρὸν ὑπεζωσμένος ἐγχειρίδιον, ἐξιώντι
 δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς θύρας ἡ γυνὴ προσπεσοῦσα καὶ
 περιπτύξασα τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκείνου, τῇ
 δὲ τὸ παιδίον, “Οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμά σε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ
 Γάϊε, προπέμπω δήμαρχον, ὥς πρότερον, καὶ νομο-

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up arms, and every member of the equestrian order was notified to bring next morning two servants fully armed; Fulvius, on the other hand, made counter preparations and got together a rabble, but Caius, as he left the forum, stopped in front of his father's statue, gazed at it for a long time without uttering a word, then burst into tears, and with a groan departed. Many of those who saw this were moved to pity Caius; they reproached themselves for abandoning and betraying him, and went to his house, and spent the night at his door, though not in the same manner as those who were guarding Fulvius. For these passed the whole time in noise and shouting, drinking, and boasting of what they would do, Fulvius himself being the first to get drunk, and saying and doing much that was unseemly for a man of his years; but the followers of Caius, feeling that they faced a public calamity, kept quiet and were full of concern for the future, and passed the night sleeping and keeping watch by turns.

XV. When day came, Fulvius was with difficulty roused from his drunken sleep by his partisans, who armed themselves with the spoils of war about his house, which he had taken after a victory over the Gauls during his consulship, and with much threatening and shouting went to seize the Aventine hill. Caius, on the other hand, was unwilling to arm himself, but went forth in his toga, as though on his way to the forum, with only a short dagger on his person. As he was going out at the door, his wife threw herself in his way, and with one arm round her husband and the other round their little son, said: "Not to the rostra, O Caius, do I now send thee forth, as formerly, to serve as tribune and law-giver, nor yet to

θέτην, οὐδ' ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἔνδοξον, ἵνα μοι καὶ πα-
 θὼν τι τῶν κοινῶν ἀπολίπῃς τιμώμενον γοῦν πέν-
 θος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Τιβερίου φονεῦσιν ὑποβάλλεις
 ἑαυτόν, ἄνοπλον μὲν καλῶς, ἵνα πάθῃς τι μᾶλλον
 ἢ δράσῃς, πρὸς οὐδὲν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς ὄφελος ἀπολεῖ.
 3 κεκράτηκεν ἤδη τὰ χεῖρω· βία καὶ σιδήρῳ τὰς
 δίκας πράττουσιν. εἰ περὶ Νομαντίαν ὃ σὸς
 ἀδελφὸς ἔπεσεν, ὑπόσπονδος ἂν ἡμῖν ἀπεδόθη
 νεκρὸς· νῦν δὲ ἴσως καὶ γὰρ ποταμοῦ τινος ἢ θα-
 λάττης ἰκέτις ἔσομαι φῆναί ποτε τὸ σὸν σῶμα
 φρουρούμενον. τί γὰρ ἢ νόμοις ἔτι πιστὸν ἢ
 4 θεοῖς μετὰ τὸν Τιβερίου φόνον;” τοιαῦτα τῆς
 Λικιννίας ὀδυρομένης, ἀτρέμα τὰς περιβολὰς
 ἀπολυσάμενος αὐτῆς ὁ Γάιος ἐχώρει σιωπῇ μετὰ
 τῶν φίλων. ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἱματίου λαβέσθαι γλιχο-
 μένη καταρρυεῖσα πρὸς τοῦδαφος ἔκειτο πολὺν
 χρόνον ἄναυδος, μέχρι οὗ λιποθυμήσασαν αὐτὴν
 οἱ θεράποντες ἀράμενοι πρὸς Κράσσον ὥχοντο
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν κομίζοντες.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ Φούλβιος, ὡς ἐγένοντο πάντες
 ἀθρόοι, πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαῖου πέμπει τῶν υἱῶν
 τὸν νεώτερον ἔχοντα κηρύκειον εἰς ἀγοράν. ἦν δὲ 842
 κάλλιστος ὁ νεανίσκος ὀφθῆναι· καὶ τότε κατα-
 στάς κοσμίως καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς δεδακρυμένος ἐποιή-
 σατο συμβατικoὺς λόγους πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον καὶ
 2 τὴν σύγκλητον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν παρόντων
 οὐκ ἀηδῶς πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις εἶχον· ὁ δὲ Ὀπί-
 μιος οὐ δι' ἀγγέλων ἔφη χρῆναι πείθειν τὴν
 σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ καταβάντας ὡς ὑπευθύνους
 πολίτας ἐπὶ κρίσιν καὶ παραδόντας αὐτοὺς οὕτως
 παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ὀργήν· τῷ δὲ μεираκίῳ καὶ
 διηγόρευεν ἐπὶ τούτοις κατίεναι πάλιν ἢ μὴ

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a glorious war, where, shouldst thou die (and all men must die), thou wouldst at all events leave me an honoured sorrow ; but thou art exposing thyself to the murderers of Tiberius, and thou doest well to go unarmed, that thou mayest suffer rather than inflict wrong ; but thy death will do the state no good. The worst has at last prevailed ; by violence and the sword men's controversies are now decided. If thy brother had only fallen at Numantia, his dead body would have been given back to us by terms of truce ; but as it is, perhaps I too shall have to supplicate some river or sea to reveal to me at last thy body in its keeping. Why, pray, should men longer put faith in laws or gods, after the murder of Tiberius?" While Licinnia was thus lamenting, Caius gently freed himself from her embrace and went away without a word, accompanied by his friends. Licinnia eagerly sought to clutch his robe, but sank to the ground and lay there a long time speechless, until her servants lifted her up unconscious and carried her away to the house of her brother Crassus.

XVI. When all were assembled together, Fulvius, yielding to the advice of Caius, sent the younger of his sons with a herald's wand into the forum. The young man was very fair to look upon ; and now, in a decorous attitude, modestly, and with tears in his eyes, he addressed conciliatory words to the consul and the senate. Most of his audience, then, were not disinclined to accept his terms of peace ; but Opimius declared that the petitioners ought not to try to persuade the senate by word of messenger ; they should rather come down and surrender themselves for trial, like citizens amenable to the laws, and then beg for mercy ; he also told the young man plainly to come

- 3 κατιέναι. Γάϊος μὲν οὖν, ὥς φασιν, ἐβούλετο
βαδίζειν καὶ πείθειν τὴν σύγκλητον· οὐδενὸς δὲ
τῶν ἄλλων συγχωροῦντος, αὐθις ἔπεμψεν ὁ Φούλ-
βιος τὸν παῖδα διαλεξόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὅμοια
τοῖς προτέροις. ὁ δὲ Ὀπίμος σπεύδων μάχην
συνάψαι τὸ μὲν μεираκίον εὐθὺς συνέλαβε καὶ
παρέδωκεν εἰς φυλακὴν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Φούλβιον
ἐπῆει μετὰ πολλῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν Κρητῶν,
4 οἱ μάλιστα βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ κατατραυματί-
ζοντες συνετάραξαν. γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ὁ
μὲν Φούλβιος εἰς τι βαλανεῖον ἡμελημένον κατα-
φυγὼν καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀνευρεθεὶς κατεσφάγη
μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παιδός, ὁ δὲ Γάϊος ὥφθη
μὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς μαχόμενος, ἀλλὰ δυσανασχετῶν
τοῖς γινομένοις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
ιερόν· ἐκεῖ δὲ βουλόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν
πιστοτάτων ἐταίρων ἐκωλύθη, Πομπωνίου καὶ
Λικιννίου· παρόντες γὰρ οὗτοι τό τε ξίφος ἀφεί-
5 λοντο καὶ πάλιν φεύγειν ἐπῆραν αὐτόν. ἔνθα δὴ
λέγεται καθεσθεῖς εἰς γόνυ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνα-
τείνας πρὸς τὴν θεὸν ἐπεύξασθαι τὸν Ῥωμαίων
δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἐκείνης καὶ προδοσίας
μηδέποτε παύσασθαι δουλεύοντα· φανερώς γὰρ
οἱ πλεῖστοι μετεβάλλοντο κηρύγματι δοθείσης
ἀδείας.

XVII. Φεύγοντι δ' οὖν τῷ Γαίῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
ἐπιφερομένων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων περὶ τὴν
ξυλίνην γέφυραν, οἱ μὲν δύο φίλοι προχωρεῖν
ἐκείνον κελεύσαντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπέ-
στησαν καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας οὐδένα
2 παρήκαν ἕως ἀπέθανον. τῷ δὲ Γαίῳ συνέφευγεν

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back again on these terms or not come back at all. Caius, accordingly, as we are told, was willing to come and try to persuade the senate; but no one else agreed with him, and so Fulvius sent his son again to plead in their behalf as before. But Opimius, who was eager to join battle, at once seized the youth and put him under guard, and then advanced on the party of Fulvius with numerous men-at-arms and Cretan archers. And it was the archers who, by discharging their arrows and wounding their opponents, were most instrumental in throwing them into confusion. After the rout had taken place, Fulvius fled for refuge into an unused bath, where he was shortly discovered and slain, together with his elder son. Caius, however, was not seen to take any part in the battle, but in great displeasure at what was happening he withdrew into the temple of Diana. There he was minded to make away with himself, but was prevented by his most trusty companions, Pomponius and Licinius; for they were at hand, and took away his sword, and urged him to flight again. Then, indeed, as we are told, he sank upon his knees, and with hands outstretched towards the goddess prayed that the Roman people, in requital for their great ingratitude and treachery, might never cease to be in servitude; for most of them were manifestly changing sides, now that proclamation of immunity had been made.

XVII. So then, as Caius fled, his foes pressed hard upon him and were overtaking him at the wooden bridge over the Tiber, but his two friends bade him go on, while they themselves withstood his pursuers, and, fighting there at the head of the bridge, would suffer no man to pass, until they were killed. Caius had with him in his flight a single servant, by name

- εἰς οἰκέτης ὄνομα Φιλοκράτης, πάντων μέν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀμίλλῃ, παρακελευομένων, οὐδενὸς δὲ βοηθοῦντος, οὐδὲ ἵππον αἰτουμένῳ παρασχεῖν ἐθελήσαντος· ἐπέκειντο γὰρ ἐγγὺς οἱ διώκοντες. ὁ δὲ φθάνει μικρὸν εἰς ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἑριννύων καταφυγών, κακεῖ διαφθείρεται, τοῦ Φιλοκράτους ἀνε-
 3 λόντος ἐκείνου, εἴτα ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάζαντος. ὥς δὲ ἔνιοί φασιν, ἀμφοτέροι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατελήφθησαν ζῶντες, τοῦ δὲ θεράποντος τὸν δεσπότην περιβαλόντος οὐδεὶς ἐκείνου ἡδυνήθη πατάξαι πρότερον ἢ τοῦτον ὑπὸ πολλῶν παιόμενον ἀναιρεθῆναι. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Γαῖου λέγουσιν ἄλλον μὲν ἀποκόψαι καὶ κομίζειν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τούτου φίλον Ὀπιμίου τινά, Σεπτουμουλήϊον· ἦν γὰρ προκεκηρυγμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης ἰσοστάσιον χρυσίον τοῖς ἀνενεγκούσι
 4 τὴν Γαῖου καὶ Φουλβίου κεφαλὴν. ἀννήχθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεπτουμουλήϊου περιπεπαρμένη δόρατι πρὸς τὸν Ὀπίμιον, καὶ ζυγοῦ κομισθέντος ἐντεθεῖσα λίτρας ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ δίμοιρον εἴλκυσε, τοῦ Σεπτουμουλήϊου καὶ περὶ τοῦτο μιανοῦ γενομένου καὶ κακουργήσαντος· ἐξελὼν γὰρ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐνέτηξε μόλυβδον. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Φουλβίου τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίσαντες (ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν ἀσημο-
 5 τέρων) οὐδὲν ἔλαβον. τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφη, τρισχιλίων ἀναιρεθέντων· καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀπέδοντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον. ἀπείπαν δὲ πενθεῖν ταῖς γυναῖξί, τὴν δὲ Γαῖου Λικιννίαν καὶ τῆς προικὸς ἀπεστέρησαν. ὠμότατον δὲ προσειργά- 843
 σαντο τοῦ Φουλβίου τὸν νεώτερον υἱόν, οὔτε

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Philocrates; and though all the spectators, as at a race, urged Caius on to greater speed, not a man came to his aid, or even consented to furnish him with a horse when he asked for one, for his pursuers were pressing close upon him. He barely succeeded in escaping into a sacred grove of the Furies, and there fell by the hand of Philocrates, who then slew himself upon his master. According to some writers, however, both were taken alive by the enemy, and because the servant had thrown his arms about his master, no one was able to strike the master until the slave had first been dispatched by the blows of many. Someone cut off the head of Caius, we are told, and was carrying it along, but was robbed of it by a certain friend of Opimius, Septimuleius; for proclamation had been made at the beginning of the battle that an equal weight of gold would be paid the men who brought the head of Caius or Fulvius. So Septimuleius stuck the head of Caius on a spear and brought it to Opimius, and when it was placed in a balance it weighed seventeen pounds and two thirds, since Septimuleius, besides showing himself to be a scoundrel, had also perpetrated a fraud; for he had taken out the brain and poured melted lead in its place. But those who brought the head of Fulvius were of the obscurer sort, and therefore got nothing. The bodies of Caius and Fulvius and of the other slain were thrown into the Tiber, and they numbered three thousand; their property was sold and the proceeds paid into the public treasury. Moreover, their wives were forbidden to go into mourning, and Licinnia, the wife of Caius, was also deprived of her marriage portion. Most cruel of all, however, was the treatment of the younger son of Fulvius, who had neither lifted a hand

χειρας ανταράμενον οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς μαχομένοις γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ σπονδὰς ἐλθόντα πρὸ τῆς μάχης
 6 συλλαβόντες καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνελόντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μᾶλλον ἠνίασε τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸ κατασκευασθὲν Ὀμονοίας ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀπιμίου· σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ τρόπον τινα θριαμβεύειν ἐπὶ φόνοις τοσούτοις πολιτῶν. διὸ καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ νεῷ παρενέγραψάν τινες τὸν στίχον τοῦτον· “Ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναὸν Ὀμονοίας ποιεῖ.”

XVIII. Οὗτος μέντοι πρῶτος ἐξουσία δικτάτορος ἐν ὑπατείᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ κατακτείνας ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ τρισχιλίοις πολίταις Γάϊον Γράγχον καὶ Φούλβιον Φλάκκον, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἦν ὑπατικὸς καὶ θριαμβικός, ὁ δὲ τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν ἡλικίας ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ πεπρωτευκώς, οὐκ ἀπέσχετο κλοπῆς, ἀλλὰ πεμφθεὶς ὡς Ἰουγούρθαν τὸν Νομάδα πρεσβευτῆς διεφθάρη χρήμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκην ὀφλῶν αἰσχίστην δωροδοκίας ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ κατεγῆρασε μισούμενος καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 2 δήμου, παρ' αὐτὰ μὲν τὰ πραχθέντα ταπεινοῦ γενομένου καὶ συσταλέντος, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκφάναντος ὅσον εἶχεν ἡμέρου καὶ πόθου τῶν Γράγχων. εἰκόνας τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀναδείξαντες ἐν φανερῷ προϋτίθεντο, καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἐφανεύθησαν ἀφιερῶσαντες ἀπήρχοντο μὲν ὧν ὦραι φέρουσι πάντων, ἔθνον δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν πολλοὶ καὶ προσέπιπτον, ὥσπερ θεῶν ἱεροῖς ἐπιφοιτῶντες.

XIX. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἡ Κορνηλία λέγεται τά

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against the nobles nor been present at the fighting, but had come to effect a truce before the battle and had been arrested; after the battle he was slain. However, what vexed the people more than this or anything else was the erection of a temple of Concord by Opimius¹; for it was felt that he was priding himself and exulting and in a manner celebrating a triumph in view of all this slaughter of citizens. Therefore at night, beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this verse :—"A work of mad discord produces a temple of Concord."

XVIII. And yet this Opimius, who was the first consul to exercise the power of a dictator, and put to death without trial, besides three thousand other citizens, Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, of whom one had been consul and had celebrated a triumph, while the other was the foremost man of his generation in virtue and reputation—this Opimius could not keep his hands from fraud, but when he was sent as ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian was bribed by him, and after being convicted most shamefully of corruption, he spent his old age in infamy, hated and abused by the people, a people which was humble and cowed at the time when the Gracchi fell, but soon afterwards showed how much it missed them and longed for them. For it had statues of the brothers made and set up in a conspicuous place, consecrated the places where they were slain, and brought thither offerings of all the first-fruits of the seasons, nay, more, many sacrificed and fell down before their statues every day, as though they were visiting the shrines of gods.

XIX. And further, Cornelia is reported to have

¹ Opimius restored the temple of Concord which had been built by Camillus (see the *Camillus*, xlii. 4).

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τε ἄλλα τῆς συμφορᾶς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν οἷς ἀνηρέθησαν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀξίους οἱ νεκροὶ τάφους ἔχουσιν. αὕτη δὲ περὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Μισηνοὺς διέτριβεν, 2 οὐδὲν μεταλλάξασα τῆς συνήθους διαίτης. ἦν δὲ πολύφιλος καὶ διὰ φιλοξενίαν εὐτράπεζος, αἰ μὲν Ἑλλήνων καὶ φιλολόγων περὶ αὐτὴν ὄντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεχομένων παρ' αὐτῆς δῶρα καὶ πεμπόντων. ἡδίστη μὲν οὖν ἦν αὕτη τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις καὶ συνοῦσι διηγούμενη τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ βίον καὶ δίαιταν, θαυμασιωτάτη δὲ τῶν παίδων ἀπενθῆς καὶ ἀδάκρυτος μνημονεύουσα, καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἀρχαίων τινῶν, ἐξηγουμένη τοῖς 3 πυνθανομένοις. ὅθεν ἔδοξεν ἐνίοις ἔκνους ὑπὸ γήρως ἢ μεγέθους κακῶν γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων ἀναισθητος, αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναισθητοῖς οὖσιν ὅσον ἐξ εὐφυΐας καὶ τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τετράφθαι καλῶς ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς ἀλυπίαν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ τύχης φυλαττομένης μὲν τὰ κακὰ πολλάκις περίεστιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πταῖσαι τὸ φέρειν εὐλογίστως οὐ παραιρεῖται.

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΓΧΩΝ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

Ι. Ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ταύτης πέρας ἐχούσης τῆς διηγήσεως ὑπολείπεται λαβεῖν ἐκ παραλλήλου τῶν βίων τὴν ἀποθεώρησιν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Γράγ-

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borne all her misfortunes in a noble and magnanimous spirit, and to have said of the sacred places where her sons had been slain that they were tombs worthy of the dead which occupied them. She resided on the promontory called Misenum, and made no change in her customary way of living. She had many friends, and kept a good table that she might show hospitality, for she always had Greeks and other literary men about her, and all the reigning kings interchanged gifts with her. She was indeed very agreeable to her visitors and associates when she discoursed to them about the life and habits of her father Africanus, but most admirable when she spoke of her sons without grief or tears; and narrated their achievements and their fate to all enquirers as if she were speaking of men of the early days of Rome. Some were therefore led to think that old age or the greatness of her sorrows had impaired her mind and made her insensible to her misfortunes, whereas, really, such persons themselves were insensible how much help in the banishment of grief mankind derives from a noble nature and from honourable birth and rearing, as well as of the fact that while Fortune often prevails over virtue when it endeavours to ward off evils, she cannot rob virtue of the power to endure those evils with calm assurance.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI COMPARED

I. Now that I have brought this story of the Gracchi also to an end, it remains for me to take a survey of all four lives in parallel. As for the Gracchi,

χους οὐδ' οἱ πάνυ τὰλλα κακῶς λέγοντες καὶ
μισοῦντες ἐτόλμησαν εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ εὐφύεστατοι
πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, καὶ
2 τροφῆς τε καὶ παιδεύσεως ἐκπρεποῦς ἔτυχον· ἡ
δὲ Ἄγιδος καὶ Κλεομένους φύσις ἐρρωμενεστέρα
φαίνεται τῆς ἐκείνων γενομένη, παρ' ὅσον οὔτε
παιδείας μεταλαμβάνοντες ὀρθῆς, ἔθεσί τε καὶ διαίταις
ἐντραφέντες ὑφ' ὧν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι διεφθό- 844
ρισαν, αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐτελείας καὶ σωφρο-
3 σύνης παρέσχον. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν, ὅτε λαμπρότατον
εἶχεν ἡ Ῥώμη καὶ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα καὶ καλῶν
ἔργων ζῆλον, ὥσπερ διαδοχὴν ἀρετῆς πατρῴας
καὶ προγονικῆς ἡσχύνθησαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν· οἱ δὲ
καὶ πατέρων ἀναντία προηρημένων γεγονότες, καὶ
τὴν πατρίδα μοχθηρὰ πράττουσαν καὶ νοσοῦσαν
παραλαβόντες, οὐδέν τι διὰ ταῦτα τὴν πρὸς τὸ
4 καλὸν ἀπήμβλυναν ὁρμήν. καὶ μὴν τῆς γε
Γράγχων ἀφιλοχρηματίας καὶ πρὸς ἀργύριον
ἐγκρατείας μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὅτι λημμάτων ἀδίκων
καθαροὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις διεφύλαξαν
ἑαυτούς· Ἄγισ δὲ κἂν διηγανάκτησεν ἐπὶ τῷ
μηδὲν ἀλλότριον λαβεῖν ἐπαινούμενος, ὃς τὴν
οὐσίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἐπέδωκεν, ἄνευ
τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα νομί-
ματος ἔχουσιν. πηλίκον οὖν ἐνόμιζε κακὸν εἶναι
τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀδίκως ὃ καὶ δικαίως πλέον ἔχειν
ἐτέρου πλεονεξίαν ἡγούμενος;

II. Ἡ γε μὴν ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ τόλμα τῶν καινο-

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then, not even those who utterly revile and hate them on other grounds have ventured to deny that of all Romans they were best equipped by nature for the practice of virtue, and enjoyed a rearing and training which were preëminent; but Agis and Cleomenes would appear to have had even sturdier natural gifts than theirs, in so far as, though they did not receive a correct training, and were reared in those customs and ways of living by which their elders had long ago been corrupted, they nevertheless made themselves leaders in simplicity and self-restraint. And further, the Gracchi, at a time when Rome had her greatest and most splendid repute and an ardour for noble deeds, were prevented by a sense of shame from abandoning what was like an inheritance of virtue from ancestors near and remote; Agis and Cleomenes, on the other hand, though they were sons of fathers who had adopted opposite principles to theirs, and found their country in a wretched plight and full of distempers, did not suffer these things to blunt the edge of their zeal for what was noble. Moreover, the chief proof that the Gracchi scorned wealth and were superior to money lies in the fact that they kept themselves clear from unrighteous gains during their official and political life; whereas Agis would have been incensed to receive praise for not taking anything that was another's, since he freely gave to his fellow citizens his own property, which amounted to six hundred talents in ready money alone, to say nothing of other valuables. How great a baseness, then, would unlawful gain have been held to be by one in whose eyes even the lawful possession of more than another was rapacity?

II. Again, the enterprise and boldness of their

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- τομουμένων πολὺ τῷ μεγέθει παρήλλαττεν. ἐπολιτεύοντο γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὁδῶν κατασκευὰς καὶ πόλεων κτίσεις, καὶ τὸ πάντων νεανικώτατον ἦν Τιβερίῳ μὲν ἀνασῶσαι δημοσίους ἀγρούς, Γαίῳ δὲ μίξαι τὰ δικαστήρια προσεμβάλλοντι τῶν ἵππικῶν τρια-
- 2 κοσίους· ὁ δὲ Ἄγιδος καὶ Κλεομένους νεωτερισμός, τὸ μικρὰ καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἰᾶσθαι καὶ ἀποκόπτειν ὕδραν τινὰ τέμνοντος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, τὴν ἅμα πάντα ἀπαλλάξαι κακὰ καὶ μετασκευάσαι δυναμένην
- 3 μεταβολὴν ἐπήγε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἀληθέστερον δ' ἴσως εἰπεῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι τὴν πάντα ἀπεργασαμένην κακὰ μεταβολὴν ἐξήλαινε, ἀπάγων καὶ καθιστὰς εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον σχῆμα τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἂν τις εἴποι, τῇ μὲν Γράγχων πολιτείᾳ τοὺς μεγίστους ἐνίστασθαι Ῥωμαίων, οἷς δὲ Ἄγισ ἐνεχείρησε, Κλεομένης δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέθηκε, τῶν παραδειγμάτων τὸ κάλλιστον ὑπέκειτο καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον, αἱ πάτριαι ῥήτραι περὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἰσότητος, ὧν τούτοις μὲν ὁ Λυκούργος, ἐκείνῳ¹
- 4 δὲ ὁ Πύθιος βεβαιωτής. ὁ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνων πολιτεύμασιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἡ Ῥώμη μείζον ἐπέδωκε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ὁ Κλεομένης ἔπραξεν, ὀλίγου χρόνου τὴν Σπάρτην τῆς Πελοποννήσου κρατοῦσαν ἢ Ἑλλάδος ἐπέειδε καὶ τοῖς τότε μέγιστον δυναμένοις διαγωνιζομένην ἀγῶνα

¹ ἐκείνῳ Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, after Madvig: ἐκείνοις.

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attempted reforms were certainly very different in magnitude. For in their political activities Caius had in view the construction of roads and the founding of cities, and the boldest of all the projects of the Romans were, in the case of Tiberius the recovery of the public lands, and in that of Caius the reconstitution of the courts of justice by the addition of three hundred men from the equestrian order; whereas Agis and Cleomenes in their reforms, considering that the application of trifling and partial remedies and excisions to the disorders of the state was nothing more than cutting off a Hydra's heads (as Plato says ¹), tried to introduce into the constitution a change which was able to transform and get rid of all evils at once; though perhaps it is more in accordance with the truth to say that they banished the change which had wrought all sorts of evils, by bringing back the state to its proper form and establishing it therein. Besides, this also can be said, that the policies of the Gracchi were opposed by the greatest Romans, whereas those which Agis instituted and Cleomenes consummated were based upon the fairest and most imposing precedents, namely, the ancient rhetras or unwritten laws concerning simplicity of life and equality of property, for which Lycurgus was voucher to them, and the Pythian Apollo to Lycurgus.² But the most important consideration is that through the political activity of the Gracchi Rome made no advance in greatness, whereas, in consequence of the achievements of Cleomenes, within a short time Greece beheld Sparta mistress of the Peloponnesus and carrying on a struggle for the supremacy with those who then had the greatest power, the object of

¹ *Republic*, p. 426 e.

² See the *Lycurgus*, xiii.

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τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οὗ τέλος ἦν ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν Ἰλλυρικῶν ὅπλων καὶ Γαλατικῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κοσμεῖσθαι πάλιν ὑφ' Ἡρακλείδαις.

III. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμφαίνειν τινὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς διαφοράν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, εἶτα φεύγοντες ἐτελεύτησαν· τούτων δὲ Ἄγρις μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα κτείνειν τῶν πολιτῶν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐκὼν ἀπέθανε, Κλεομένης δὲ προπηλακισθεὶς καὶ ἀδικηθεὶς ὥρμησε μὲν ἀμύνασθαι, τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ μὴ παρασχόντος
2 αὐτὸν εὐτόλμως ἀνείλε. πάλιν δὲ τάναντία σκοποῦσιν Ἄγρις μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεδείξατο στρατηγίας ἔργον, ἀλλὰ προανηρέθη, ταῖς δὲ Κλεομένους νίκαις πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς γενομέναις παραβαλεῖν ἔστι Τιβερίου τὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι τοῦ τείχους κατάληψιν, οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον, καὶ τὰς ἐν Νομαντία σπονδάς, αἷς δισμυρίους Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτας οὐκ ἔχοντας ἄλλην ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας περιεποίησε· καὶ Γαῖος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν αὐτόθι, πολλὴν δὲ ἐν Σαρδόνι στρατευόμενος ἀνδραγαθίαν ἔφηνεν, ὥστε τοῖς πρώτοις ἂν ἐναμίλλους Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι στρατηγοῖς, εἰ μὴ προανηρέθησαν.

IV. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας ὁ μὲν Ἄγρις ἔοικεν ἄψασθαι· μαλακώτερον, ἐκκρουσθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ψευδάμενος τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ
845 ὅλως ἐλλιπὴς καὶ ἀτελής ὢν προείλετο καὶ κατήγγειλεν ὑπὸ ἀτολμίας διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γενόμενος· ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τούναντίον θρασύτερον καὶ βιαί-



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which struggle was to set Greece free from Illyrian and Gaulish troops and array her once more under descendants of Heracles.

III. I think, too, that the way in which the men died makes manifest a difference in their high excellence. For the Gracchi fought against their fellow citizens, and then died as they sought to make their escape; but in the case of the Greeks, Agis would not kill a single citizen, and therefore died what one might almost call a voluntary death, and Cleomenes, after setting out to avenge himself for insults and wrongs, found the occasion unfavourable and with a good courage slew himself. But again, when we take the opposite view of their relative merits, Agis displayed no deed worthy of a great commander, but was cut off untimely, and with the many honourable victories won by Cleomenes we can compare the capture of the wall at Carthage by Tiberius, which was no trifling deed, and his truce at Numantia, by which twenty thousand Roman soldiers who had no other hope of salvation were spared; and Caius, too, manifested great bravery in military service at home, and great bravery in Sardinia, so that the brothers might have vied successfully with the foremost Roman generals, had they not been cut off untimely.

IV. In their civic activities, however, Agis would seem to have taken hold of things with too little spirit; he was baffled by Agesilaüs, and broke his promise to the citizens about the re-distribution of lands, and in a word abandoned and left unfinished the designs which he had deliberately formed and announced, owing to a lack of courage due to his youth. Cleomenes, on the contrary, undertook his change of the constitution with too

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- τερον ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῆς πολιτείας, ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἐφόρους παρανόμως, οὗς καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατοῦντα καὶ μεταστῆσαι ῥάδιον ἦν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ὀλίγους ἄλλους
- 2 μετέστησεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ γὰρ ἄνευ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἐπιφέρειν σίδηρον οὔτε ἱατρικὸν οὔτε πολιτικόν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνίας μὲν ἀμφοτέρα, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν μετ' ὁμότητος πρόσεστι. τῶν δὲ Γράγχων οὐδέτερος μὲν ἤρξατο σφαγῆς ἐμφυλίου, Γαῖος δὲ λέγεται μηδὲ βαλλόμενος ὀρμήσαι πρὸς ἄμυναν, ἀλλὰ λαμπρότατος ὢν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀργότατος ἐν τῇ στάσει γενέσθαι.
- 3 καὶ γὰρ προήλθεν ἄοπλος καὶ μαχομένων ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ὅλως πλείονα τοῦ μή τι δρᾶσαι πρόνοιαν ἢ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἔχων ἐωρᾶτο. διὸ καὶ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀτολμίας σημείον, ἀλλ' εὐλαβείας ποιητέον. ἔδει γὰρ ὑπεῖξαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις ἢ μένοντάς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τῷ δρᾶν ἀμύνασθαι.

- V. Τῶν τοίνυν ἐγκλημάτων τῶν κατὰ Τιβερίου μεγιστόν ἐστιν ὅτι τὸν συνάρχοντα τῆς δημαρχίας ἐξέβαλε καὶ δευτέραν αὐτὸς δημαρχίαν μετήει. Γαῖῳ δὲ τὸν Ἀντυλλίου φόνον οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ ἀληθῶς προσετρίβοντο· διεφθάρη γὰρ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος. Κλεομένης δέ, ἵνα τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν ἐφόρων ἐάσωμεν, ἡλευθέρωσε μὲν
- 2 ἅπαντας τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ μόνος, τῷ δὲ ὀνόματι δεύτερος, Εὐκλείδαν τὸν

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much rashness and violence, killing the ephors in unlawful fashion, when it would have been easier to win them over to his views or remove them by superiority in arms, just as he removed many others from the city. For a resort to the knife, except under extremest necessity, is not the mark either of a good physician or statesman, but in both cases shows a lack of skill, and in the case of the statesman there is added both injustice and cruelty. Neither of the Gracchi, however, initiated civil slaughter, and Caius, we are told, would not resort to self-defence even when his life was threatened, but though he was a most brilliant soldier in the field, he showed himself most inactive in civil strife. For he went forth from his house unarmed and withdrew when the battle began, and in a word was seen to be more intent upon not doing any harm to others than upon not suffering harm himself. Therefore we must hold that the flight of the brothers was not a mark of cowardice, but of caution. For they were obliged either to yield to their assailants, or, in case they held their ground, to defend themselves actively against harm.

V. Again, the greatest of the accusations against Tiberius is that he deposed his colleague from the tribuneship and canvassed for a second tribuneship himself; and as for Caius, the murder of Antyllus was unjustly and falsely attributed to him, for it happened contrary to his wishes and much to his displeasure. But Cleomenes, not to mention again his slaughter of the ephors, set free all the slaves, and was king by himself in point of fact, though nominally with another, after he had chosen his brother Eucleidas, a man from the same house, as his col-

ἀδελφὸν ἐκ μιᾶς οἰκίας αὐτῷ προσερόμενος, Ἀρχίδαμον δέ, ὃ προσήκον ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας ὄντι συμβασιλεύειν, ἔπεισε μὲν ἐκ Μεσσήνης κατελθεῖν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τὸν φόνου οὐκ ἐπέξελθὼν ἐβεβαίωσε τὴν αἰτίαν καθ' αὐτοῦ τῆς
 3 ἀναιρέσεως. καίτοι Λυκούργος, ὃν προσεποιεῖτο μιμεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν ἐκὼν ἀπέδωκε τῷ παιδί τῷ ἀδελφοῦ Χαρίλλῳ, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ, κἂν ἄλλως ἀποθάνῃ τὸ μεираκίον, αἰτία τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔλθῃ, πολὺν χρόνον ἔξω πλανηθεὶς οὐ πρότερον ἐπανῆλθεν ἢ παῖδα τῷ Χαρίλλῳ γενέσθαι διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ Λυκούργῳ μὲν οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις Ἑλλήνων παραβλητὸς οὐδεὶς· ὅτι δὲ τοῖς Κλεομένους πολιτεύμασι καινοτομίαι καὶ
 4 παρανομίαι μείζονες ἔνεισι, δεδήλωται. καὶ μὴν οἷ γε τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ψέγοντες τούτοις μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τυραννικὸν καὶ πολεμοποιὸν αἰτιῶνται γενέσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἐκείνων φύσει φιλοτιμίας ἀμετρίαν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ φθονοῦντες ἐπικαλεῖν εἶχον· ἐκριπισθέντας δὲ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνισταμένους ἀγῶνι καὶ θυμῷ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν ὥσπερ πνοαῖς, ἐφεῖναι περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τὴν πολιτείαν
 5 ὡμολόγουν. ἐπεὶ τῆς γε πρώτης ὑποθέσεως τί κάλλιον ἢ δικαιότερον ἦν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ βίαν καὶ δυναστείαν ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἐξῶσαι τὸν νόμον οἱ πλούσιοι περιέστησαν ἀμφοτέροις ἀγῶνας, τῷ μὲν φοβουμένῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ ἐκδικοῦντι τὸν

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league ; and he persuaded Archidamus, who belonged to the other house and should have been his colleague on the throne, to come back to Sparta from Messene, and upon his death, by not following up the murder, he fixed upon himself the blame for his taking off. And yet Lycurgus, whom he professed to imitate, voluntarily surrendered the royal power to Charillus his brother's son, and because he feared lest, if the young man should die by another's hand, some blame might attach to himself, he wandered a long time in foreign parts, and would not come back until a son had been born to Charillus who should succeed to his office.¹ However, with Lycurgus no other Greek is worthy to be compared ; but that the political measures of Cleomenes were marked by greater innovations and illegalities than those of the Gracchi, is evident. And indeed those who are inclined to criticize their characters accuse the two Greeks of having been from the outset over fond of power and strife, and the two Romans of having been by nature immoderately ambitious, though their detractors could bring no other charge against them ; nay, it was agreed that they were caught up by the fury of the contest with their opponents and by a passion contrary to their own natural bent, as by blasts of wind, and so let the state drive into extremest danger. For what could be more just and honourable than their original design ? And they would have succeeded in it, had not the party of the rich, by their violent and partisan attempts to abrogate the agrarian law, involved both of them in fierce struggles, Tiberius through fear for his own life, and Caius in an effort to avenge his brother, who had been slain without justice or

¹ See the *Lycurgus*, iii. 5.

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ἀδελφὸν ἄνευ δίκης καὶ δόγματος οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἄρχοντος
ἀναιρεθέντα;

- 6 Συνορᾷς μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων
τὴν διαφοράν· εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀποφή-
νασθαι, Τιβέριον μὲν ἀρετῇ πεπρωτευκέναι τίθημι
πάντων, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἡμαρτηκέναι τὸ μεираκιον
Ἄγιν, πράξει δὲ καὶ τόλμη Γαῖον οὐκ ὀλίγῳ
Κλεομένους ὕστερον γεγονέναι.

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senatorial decree and without the concurrence even of a magistrate.

From what has been said, then, my reader will perceive for himself the difference between these men; but if I am to express my opinion of them individually, I should say that Tiberius led them all in exemplary virtues, that the youthful Agis committed the fewest errors, and that in achievement and courage Caius fell far short of Cleomenes.

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ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΜΗΝ

- Ι. Κλέανδρος ἦν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ γένους τε πρώτου 356
καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν, τύχη
δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φυγὼν ἤκεν εἰς
Μεγάλην πόλιν οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸν Φιλοποίμενος
πατέρα Κραῦγιν, ἄνδρα πάντων ἔνεκα λαμπρόν,
2 ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνουν οἰκείως ἔχοντα. ζῶντος μὲν
οὖν αὐτοῦ πάντων ἐτύγχανε, τελευτήσαντος δὲ
τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τῆς φιλοξενίας ἀποδιδούς ἔθρεψεν
αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὀρφανὸν ὄντα, καθάπερ φησὶν
Ὅμηρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τραφῆναι,
γενναίαν τινὰ καὶ βασιλικὴν τοῦ ἥθους εὐθὺς ἐξ
ἀρχῆς πλάσιν καὶ αὔξησιν λαμβάνοντος. ἤδη δὲ
τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος ἀντίπαιδος ὄντος Ἐκδημος καὶ
Μεγαλοφάνης οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται διεδέξαντο τὴν
ἐπιμέλειαν, Ἀρκεσιλάφ συνήθεις ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ
γεγονότες καὶ φιλοσοφίαν μάλιστα τῶν καθ'
ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ πολιτείαν καὶ πράξεις προαγαγόντες.
3 οὗτοι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα τυραννίδος ἀπήλ-
λαξαν, τοὺς ἀποκτενοῦντας Ἀριστόδημον κρύφα
παρασκευάσαντες, καὶ Νικοκλέα τὸν Σικωνίων
τύραννον Ἀράτῳ συνεξέβαλον, καὶ Κυρηναίοις

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I. CLEANDER was a man of the highest lineage and greatest influence among the citizens of Mantinea, but he met with reverses and was exiled from his native city. He then betook himself to Megalopolis, chiefly because of Craugis, the father of Philopoemen, a man in every way illustrious, and attached to him by ties of personal friendship. As long as Craugis lived, Cleander's wants were all supplied, and when Craugis died, Cleander, wishing to requite him for his hospitality, undertook the rearing of his orphan son, just as Homer says that Achilles was reared by Phoenix,¹ so that the boy's character took on from the very outset a noble and kingly mould and growth. But as soon as Philopoemen had ceased to be a boy, Ecdemus and Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, were put in charge of him.² They had been comrades of Arcesilaüs at the Academy, and beyond all men of their day had brought philosophy to bear upon political action and affairs of state. They freed their own native city from tyranny, by secretly procuring men to kill Aristodemus; they joined with Aratus in expelling Nicocles the tyrant of Sicyon;³ and at the request of the people of Cyrene, whose city was full

¹ Cf. *Iliad*, ix. 438 ff.

² A brief biography of Philopoemen may be found in Pausanias, viii. 49-51. It agrees, in the main, with that of Plutarch. Philopoemen was born about 252 B.C.

³ See the *Aratus*, ii.-x.

δεηθείσι, τεταραγμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ νοσοῦντων, πλεύσαντες εὐνομίαν ἔθεντο καὶ διεκό-
 4 σμησαν ἄριστα τὴν πόλιν. αὐτοὶ γε μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις καὶ τὴν Φιλοποίμενος ἐποιοῦντο παιδευσιν, ὥς κοινὸν ὄφελος τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀπεργασόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὀψίγονον ἐν γῆρᾳ ταῖς τῶν παλαιῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτεκούσα τοῦτον ἀρεταῖς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἡγάπησε διαφερόντως καὶ συνηύξησε τῇ δόξῃ τὴν δύναμιν. Ῥωμαίων δέ τις ἐπαινῶν ἔσχατον αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων προσεῖπεν, ὥς οὐδένα μέγαν μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄνδρα γειναμένης οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἄξιον.

II. Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος οὐκ αἰσχρὸς, ὥς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν· εἰκόνα γὰρ αὐτοῦ διαμένουσιν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὀρώμεν· τὴν δὲ τῆς ξένης τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἄγνοιαν συμβῆναι λέγουσι δι' εὐκολίαν τινὰ καὶ 357 ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ. πυνθανομένη γὰρ ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐθορυβεῖτο παρασκευάζουσα δεῖπνον, οὐ παρόντος κατὰ τύχην
 2 τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος εἰσελθόντος χλαμύδιον εὐτελὲς ἔχοντος, οἰομένη τινὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν εἶναι καὶ πρόδρομον παρεκάλει τῆς διακονίας συνεφάσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθύς ἀπορρίψας τὴν χλαμύδα τῶν ξύλων ἔσχιζεν· ὁ δὲ ξένος ἐπείσελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος, “Τί τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “ὦ Φιλοποίμην;” “Τί γὰρ ἄλλο,” ἔφη δωρίζων ἐκεῖνος, “ἢ κακᾶς ὄψεως δίκας δίδωμι;”
 3 τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου σώματος τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκώπτων ὁ

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of confusion and political distemper, they sailed thither, introduced law and order, and arranged matters in the city most happily. They themselves, however, counted the education of Philopoemen also among their many achievements, believing that their philosophical teachings had made him a common benefit to Greece. For since he was the child, as it were, of her late old age and succeeded to the virtues of her ancient commanders, Greece loved him surpassingly, and as his reputation grew, increased his power. And a certain Roman, in praising him, called him the last of the Greeks,¹ implying that Greece produced no great man after him, nor one worthy of her.

II. In looks he was not, as some suppose, ill-favoured; for a statue of him is still to be seen at Delphi; and the mistake of his Megarian hostess was due, as we are told, to a certain indifference and simplicity on his part. This woman, learning that the general of the Achaeans was coming to her house, in great confusion set about preparing supper; besides, her husband chanced to be away from home. Just then Philopoemen came in, wearing a simple soldier's cloak, and the woman, thinking him to be one of his servants who had been sent on in advance, invited him to help her in her housework. So Philopoemen at once threw off his cloak and fell to splitting wood. Then his host came in, and seeing him thus employed, said: "What does this mean, Philopoemen?" "What else," said Philopoemen in broad Doric, "than that I am paying a penalty for my ill looks?" And once Titus Flamininus, making fun of certain parts of his

¹ See the *Aratus*, xxiv. 2.

Τίτος εἶπεν, “ὦ Φιλοποίμην, ὡς καλὰς χεῖρας ἔχεις καὶ σκέλη· γαστέρα δ' οὐκ ἔχεις.” ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μέσων στενώτερος. τὸ μέντοι σκῶμμα πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐλέχθη. καὶ γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἔχων ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἱππεῖς χρημάτων πολλάκις οὐκ εὐπόρει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς περὶ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος λέγεται.

III. Τοῦ δ' ἥθους τὸ φιλότιμον οὐκ ἦν παντά-
 πασι φιλονεικίας καθαρὸν οὐδ' ὀργῆς ἀπηλλαγ-
 μένον· ἀλλὰ καίπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδου βουλόμενος
 εἶναι μάλιστα ζηλωτής, τὸ δραστήριον καὶ συνετὸν
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀπαθὲς ἰσχυρῶς ἐμμεῖτο,
 τῷ δὲ πρᾶφ καὶ βαθεῖ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ παρὰ τὰς
 πολιτικὰς διαφορὰς ἐμμένειν οὐ δυνάμενος δι'
 ὀργὴν καὶ φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἐδόκει στρατιω-
 2 τικῆς ἢ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς οἰκείος εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ
 ἐκ παίδων εὐθύς ἦν φιλοστρατιώτης, καὶ τοῖς
 πρὸς τοῦτο χρησίμοις μαθήμασιν ὑπήκουε προ-
 θύμως, ὀπλομαχεῖν καὶ ἱππεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
 παλαίειν εὐφυῶς ἐδόκει καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν ἔνιοι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
 τρώπων, ἠρώτησεν αὐτοὺς μή τι πρὸς τὴν στρα-
 3 τιωτικὴν ἄσκησιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθλήσεως βλαβήσοιτο.
 τῶν δὲ φαμένων, ὅπερ ἦν, ἀθλητικὸν στρατιωτικὸν
 σῶμα καὶ βίον διαφέρειν τοῖς πᾶσι, μάλιστα δὲ
 δίαιταν ἐτέραν καὶ ἄσκησιν εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὑπνω-
 τε πολλῷ καὶ πλησμοναῖς ἐνδελεχέσι καὶ κινήσεσι
 τεταγμέναις καὶ ἡσυχίαις αὐξόντων τε καὶ διαφυ-
 λαττούντων τὴν ἔξιν ὑπὸ πάσης ῥοπῆς καὶ παρεκ-
 βάσεως τοῦ συνήθους ἀκροσφαλῇ πρὸς μεταβολὴν
 οὖσαν, τὰ δὲ πάσης μὲν πλάνης ἔμπειρα καὶ

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figure, said : " Philopoemen, what fine arms and legs thou hast ; but belly thou hast not " ; for Philopoemen was quite slender at the waist. This piece of fun, however, was aimed the rather at his resources. For though he had excellent men-at-arms and horsemen, he was often at a loss for money. However, these stories are told of Philopoemen in the schools of philosophy.

III. But the love of distinction which marked his character was not altogether free from contentiousness nor devoid of anger ; and although he desired to pattern himself most of all after Epaminondas, it was the energy, sagacity, and indifference to money in Epaminondas which he strenuously imitated, while his proneness to anger and contentiousness made him unable to maintain that great leader's mildness, gravity, and urbanity in political disputes, so that he was thought to be endowed with military rather than with civic virtues. For from his very boyhood he was fond of a soldier's life, and readily learned the lessons which were useful for this, such as those in heavy-armed fighting and horsemanship. He was also thought to be a good wrestler, but when some of his friends and directors urged him to take up athletics, he asked them if athletics would not be injurious to his military training. They told him (and it was the truth) that the habit of body and mode of life for athlete and soldier were totally different, and particularly that their diet and training were not the same, since the one required much sleep, continuous surfeit of food, and fixed periods of activity and repose, in order to preserve or improve their condition, which the slightest influence or the least departure from routine is apt to change for the worse ; whereas the

πάσης ἀνωμαλίας προσήκον εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ
 4 φέρειν ῥαδίως μὲν ἔνδειαν εἰθισμένα, ῥαδίως δὲ
 ἀγρυπνίαν, ἀκούσας ὁ Φιλοποίμην οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς
 ἔφυγε τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ κατεγέλασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 στρατηγῶν ὕστερον ἀτιμίαις καὶ προπηλακισμοῖς,
 ὅσον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, πᾶσαν ἄθλησιν ἐξέβαλεν ὥς
 τὰ χρησιμώτατα τῶν σωμάτων εἰς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους
 ἀγῶνας ἄχρηστα ποιούσαν.

IV. Ἀπαλλαγείς δὲ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδα-
 γωγῶν ἐν μὲν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς στρατείαις, ἃς
 ἐποιοῦντο κλωπείας ἔνεκα καὶ λεηλασίας εἰς τὴν
 Λακωνικὴν ἐμβάλλοντες, εἵθισεν αὐτὸν πρῶτον
 μὲν ἐκστρατεούντων, ὕστατον δὲ ἀπερχομένων
 βαδίζειν. σχολῆς δὲ οὐσης ἡ κυνηγῶν διεπώνει
 τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατεσκεύαζε κούφον ἄμα καὶ ῥωμα-
 2 λέον, ἡ γεωργῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγρὸς αὐτῷ καλὸς ἀπὸ
 σταδίων εἴκοσι τῆς πόλεως. εἰς τοῦτον ἐβάδιζε
 καθ' ἡμέραν μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον ἢ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον,
 καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στιβαδίου τοῦ τυχόντος
 ὥσπερ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐργατῶν ἀνεπαύετο. πρῶτ' δὲ
 ἀναστὰς καὶ συνεφαψάμενος ἔργου τοῖς ἀμπε-
 λουργοῦσιν ἢ βοηλατοῦσιν, αὐθις εἰς πόλιν ἀπῆει
 καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι
 συνησχολεῖτο.

3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν στρατειῶν προσιόντα κατα-
 ἀλίσκεν εἰς ἵππους καὶ ὅπλα καὶ λύσεις αἰχμα-
 λώτων, τὸν δὲ οἶκον ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας αὖξεν
 ἐπειράτο δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν χρηματισμῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο 358
 ποιούμενος πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσήκειν

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soldier ought to be conversant with all sorts of irregularity and all sorts of inequality, and above all should accustom himself to endure lack of food easily, and as easily lack of sleep. On hearing this, Philopoemen not only shunned athletics himself and derided them, but also in later times as a commander banished from the army all forms of them, with every possible mark of reproach and dishonour, on the ground that they rendered useless for the inevitable struggle of battle men who would otherwise be most serviceable.

IV. And when, set free from teachers and tutors, he took part in the incursions into Spartan territory which his fellow-citizens made for the sake of booty and plunder, he accustomed himself to march first as they went out, but last as they came back. And when he had leisure, he would give his body hard exercise in hunting, thus rendering it agile and at the same time sturdy, or in cultivating the soil. For he had a fine farm twenty furlongs from the city. To this he would go every day after dinner or after supper, and would throw himself down upon an ordinary pallet-bed, like anyone of his labourers, to sleep for the night. Then, early in the morning, he would rise and go to work along with his vine-dressers or his herdsmen, after which he would go back again to the city and busy himself about public matters with his friends or with the magistrates.

As for what he got from his campaigning, he used to spend it on horses, or armour, or the ransoming of captives; but his own property he sought to increase by agriculture, which is the justest way to make money. Nor did he practise agriculture merely as a side issue, but he held that the man who purposed to

οιόμενος οἰκεῖα κεκτῆσθαι τὸν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφεξόμενον. ἡκροᾶτο δὲ λόγων καὶ συγγράμμασι φιλοσόφων ἐνετύγχανεν, οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ἂφ' ὧν ἐδόκει
 4 πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὠφελεῖσθαι. καὶ τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν ὅσα τὰς πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐγείρειν καὶ παροξύνειν ἐνόμιζε φαντασίας, τούτοις προσεῖχε. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀναγνωσμάτων μάλιστα τοῖς Εὐαγγέλου τακτικοῖς ἐνεφύετο καὶ τὰς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱστορίας κατεῖχε, τοὺς λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ πρᾶγματα καταστρέφειν οἰόμενος, εἰ μὴ σχολῆς ἐνεκα καὶ λαλιᾶς
 5 ἀκάρπου περαίνοντο. καὶ γὰρ τῶν τακτικῶν θεωρημάτων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πινακίοις διαγραφὰς ἑῶν χαίρειν, ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν ἔλεγχον καὶ μελέτην ἐποιεῖτο, χωρίων συγκλινίας καὶ πεδίων ἀποκοπὰς, καὶ ὅσα περὶ ρεῖθροις ἢ τάφροις ἢ στενωποῖς πάθη καὶ σχήματα διασπομένης καὶ πάλιν συστελλομένης φάλαγγος. ἐπισκοπῶν αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ
 6 τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προβύλλων. ἔοικε γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ περαιτέρῳ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐμφιλοκαλῆσαι τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ποικιλιωτάτην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσπάζεταισθαι, καὶ ὅλως καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀπολειπομένων ὡς ἀπράκτων.

V. Ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότος Κλεομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων νυκτὸς ἐξαίφνης προσπεσὼν τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς βιασάμενος ἐντὸς παρήλθε καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κατέλαβεν. ἐκβοηθήσας δὲ Φιλοποίμην τοὺς

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keep his hands from the property of others ought by all means to have property of his own. He also listened to the discourses and applied himself to the writings of philosophers—not all of them, but those whom he thought helpful to him in his progress towards virtue. And as for the poems of Homer, whatever in them was thought by him to rouse and stimulate the activities of the soul which made for valour, to this he would apply himself. Among other writings, however, he was most of all devoted to the “Tactics” of Evangelus, and was familiar with the histories of Alexander, thinking that literature was conducive to action, unless it were prosecuted merely to while away the time and afford themes for fruitless small talk. Indeed, he would ignore the charts and diagrams for the illustration of tactical principles, and get his proofs and make his studies on the ground itself. The ways in which places slope to meet one another, and level plains come to an abrupt end, and all the vicissitudes and shapes of a phalanx when it is elongated and contracted again in the vicinity of ravines or ditches or narrow defiles, these he would investigate by himself as he wandered about, and discuss them with his companions. For it would seem that he brought more zeal than was necessary to the study of military science, setting his affections on war as affording a most manifold basis for the practice of virtue, and despising as unsuccessful men those who left it to others.

V. He was now thirty years of age, when Cleomenes, King of the Lacedaemonians, suddenly attacked Megalopolis by night, forced the guard, made his way into the city, and occupied the market-place. Philopoemen came to the help of the citizens, but had not

μὲν πολεμίους οὐ κατίσχυσεν ἐξελάσαι, καίπερ ἔρρωμένως καὶ παραβόλως διαγωνισάμενος, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέκλεψε, προσμαχόμενος τοῖς ἐπιδιώκουσι καὶ τὸν Κλεομένην περισπῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, ὡς χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ὕστατος ἀπελθεῖν, ἀποβαλὼν τὸν ἵππον καὶ
 2 τραυματίας γενόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσέπεμψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλεομένης εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀπελθοῦσι τὴν τε πόλιν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποδιδούς καὶ τὴν χώραν, ὁρῶν ὁ Φιλοποίμην τοὺς πολίτας ἀσμένως δεχομένους καὶ σπεύδοντας ἐπανελθεῖν ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσε τῷ λόγῳ, διδάσκων ὡς οὐκ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν πόλιν Κλεομένης, προσκτᾶται δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν βεβαιότερον· οὐ γὰρ ἔξειν αὐτὸν ὅπως οἰκίας καὶ τείχη κενὰ φυλάξει καθήμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ὑπ' ἐρημίας ἐκπεσεῖσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων τοὺς μὲν πολίτας ἀπέτρεψε, τῷ δὲ Κλεομένει πρόφασιν παρέσχε λυμῆνασθαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὰ πλείστα τῆς πόλεως καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορήσαντι μεγάλων ἀπελθεῖν.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς βοηθῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Κλεομένην μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰς περὶ Σελλασίαν ἄκρας καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς κατέχοντος αὐτοῦ παρέταξε τὴν δύναμιν ἐγγὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι διανοούμενος, ἦν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἵππευσι μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν τεταγμένος ὁ Φιλοποίμην, καὶ παραστάτας εἶχεν Ἰλλυριοὺς, οἷς τὰ λήγοντα τῆς παρατάξεως συνεπέφρακτο

¹ See the *Cleomenes*, xxiv.

² Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xxvii. and xxviii. The battle of Sellasia was fought in 221 B.C.

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force enough to drive the enemy out, although he fought with vigour and daring. He did, however, steal the citizens out of the city, as it were, by attacking their pursuers and drawing Cleomenes against himself, so that with the greatest difficulty he got away last of all, after losing his horse and receiving a wound. Moreover, when Cleomenes sent to them at Messene, whither they had gone, and offered to give them back their city with its valuables and their territory, Philopoemen, seeing that the citizens would be glad to accept the offer and were eager to go back home, opposed and dissuaded them from it, showing them that Cleomenes was not so much offering to restore their city as he was trying to win over to himself its citizens, that so he might have the city also more securely in his possession; for he would not be able, Philopoemen said, to remain there and guard empty houses and walls, but the solitude would force him to abandon these also. By this speech Philopoemen diverted the citizens from their purpose, but furnished Cleomenes with an excuse for devastating and demolishing the greater part of the city and marching off loaded with booty.¹

VI. Soon, however, Antigonus the king marched with the Achaeans to give aid against Cleomenes, and finding that his enemy was occupying the heights and passes about Sellasia, he drew up his forces near by with the purpose of attacking him and forcing a passage.² Philopoemen was stationed among the Macedonian cavalry with his own fellow-citizens,³ and had as a support the Illyrians, a large body of

³ According to Polybius, ii. 66. 7, a thousand Achaeans and as many Megalopolitans were stationed with the Macedonian cavalry.

2 πολλοῖς οὖσι καὶ μαχίμοις. εἴρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἄχρι ἂν ἀπὸ θατέρου κέρως ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρθῇ φοινικὶς ὑπὲρ σαρίσης διατεταμένη. τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς πειρωμένων ἐκβιάζεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὥσπερ προστετέτακτο, τὴν ἐφεδρείαν ἐν τάξει διαφυλαττόντων, Εὐκλείδας ὁ τοῦ Κλεομένου ἀδελφὸς καταμαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον διάσπασμα περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ταχὺ τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τῶν ψιλῶν περιέπεμψεν, ἐξόπισθεν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπιπσεῖν κελεύσας καὶ περισπᾶν ἐρήμους τῶν ἰππέων ἀπολελειμμένους.

3 Γινομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς περισπώντων καὶ διαταραττόντων, συνιδὼν ὁ Φιλοποίμην οὐ μέγα ὄν ἔργον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ψιλοῖς καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὑφηγούμενον τοῦτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἔφραζε τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ μαίνεσθαι δοκῶν κατεφρονεῖτο, οὐδέπω μεγάλης οὐδὲ ἀξιοπίστου πρὸς τηλικούτο στρατήγημα δόξης περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης, αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλει 359
4 συνεπισπασάμενος τοὺς πολίτας. γενομένης δὲ ταραχῆς τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα φυγῆς καὶ φόνου πολλοῦ τῶν ψιλῶν, βουλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπIRRῶσαι τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ προσμῖξαι κατὰ τάχος θορυβουμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν μὲν ἵππον ἀφήκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς χωρία σκολιὰ καὶ μεστὰ ρείθρων καὶ φαράγγων πεζὸς ἐν ἰππικῷ θώρακι καὶ σκευῇ βαρυτέρα χαλεπῶς καὶ ταλαιπώρως ἀμιλλώμενος διελαύνεται διαμπερὲς ὁμοῦ τοὺς μηρούς ἐκατέρους

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good fighters, who closed up the line of battle. They had been ordered to lie quietly in reserve until, from the other wing, a signal should be made by the king with a scarlet coat stretched upon a spear. But the Illyrians, at the command of their officers, tried to force back the Lacedaemonians, while the Achaeans, as they had been ordered to do, kept quietly waiting at their post. Therefore Eucleidas, the brother of Cleomenes, who noticed the gap thus made in the enemies' line, quickly sent round the most agile of his light-armed troops, with orders to attack the Illyrians in the rear and rout them, now that they had lost touch with the cavalry.

These orders were carried out, and the light-armed troops were driving the Illyrians before them in confusion, when Philopoemen perceived that it would be no great task to attack the light-armed troops, and that the occasion prompted this step. At first he pointed this out to the king's officers. Then, when they were not to be persuaded by him, but looked down upon him as a madman (since his reputation was not yet great enough to justify his being entrusted with so important a manœuvre), he took matters into his own hands, formed his fellow-citizens into a wedge, and charged upon the enemy. At first the light-armed troops were thrown into confusion, then put to rout with great slaughter. And now Philopoemen, wishing to encourage still further the king's troops and bring them swiftly upon the enemy thus thrown into disorder, quitted his horse, and with grievous difficulty forced his way along on foot, in his horseman's breastplate and heavy equipment, towards ground that was irregular and full of water-courses and ravines. Here he had both his thighs pierced

ἐνὶ μεσαγκύλῳ, καιρίας μὲν οὐ γενομένης, ἰσχυρᾶς
 δὲ τῆς πληγῆς, ὥστε τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα
 5 διῶσαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐνσχεθεὶς ὥσπερ
 δεσμῷ παντάπασιν ἀπόρως εἶχε· τὸ γὰρ ἑναμμα
 τῆς ἀγκύλης χαλεπὴν ἐποίει τοῦ ἀκοντίσματος
 ἀνελκομένου διὰ τῶν τραυμάτων τὴν πάροδον· ὥς
 δὲ ὤκνουν οἱ παρόντες ἄψασθαι καὶ τῆς μάχης
 ἀκμὴν ὀξείαν ἐχούσης ἐσφάδαζεν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ
 φιλοτιμίας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, τῇ παραβάσει καὶ
 τῇ παραλλάξει τῶν σκελῶν διὰ μέσου κλάσας τὸ
 ἀκόντισμα χωρὶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλκύσαι τῶν ἀγμάτων
 6 ἐκάτερον. οὕτω δὲ ἀπαλλαγεὶς καὶ σπασάμενος
 τὸ ξίφος ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν προμάχων ἐπὶ τοὺς
 πολεμίους, ὥστε πολλὴν προθυμίαν καὶ ζῆλον
 ἀρετῆς παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις. νικήσας
 οὖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν Μακεδόνων,
 ἐρωτῶν διὰ τί, μὴ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, τὸ ἵππικόν
 7 ἐκίνησαν. τῶν δὲ ἀπολογουμένων ὡς παρὰ γνώμην
 βιασθεῖεν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις μεира-
 κίου Μεγαλοπολιτικοῦ προεμβалόντος, γελάσας
 ὁ Ἀντίγονος “Ἐκεῖνο τοίνυν τὸ μεираκίον,” εἶπεν,
 “ἔργον ἡγεμόνος μεγάλου πεποίηκεν.”

VII. Ἐκ τούτου δόξαν ἔσχεν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ὁ
 Φιλοποίμην. καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἀντιγόνου σπουδά-
 σαντος ὅπως στρατεύοιτο μετ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διδόντος
 ἡγεμονίαν καὶ χρήματα, παρητήσατο, μάλιστα
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν καταμαθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχεσθαι
 δυσκόλως καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσιν, ἀργεῖν δὲ καὶ
 σχολάζειν οὐ βουλόμενος ἀσκήσεως ἕνεκα καὶ
 μελέτης τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰς Κρήτην ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ
 2 στρατείαν. καὶ κεῖ συχρὸν χρόνον ἐγγυμνασάμενος

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through by a thonged javelin. The wound was not fatal, though severe, and the head of the weapon came out on the other side. At first, then, he was held fast as by a fetter, and was altogether helpless ; for the fastening of the thong made it difficult to draw the weapon back through the wound. But since those about him hesitated to attempt this, and since, now that the battle was at its hottest, the ardour of his ambition made him impatient to join in the struggle, by moving his legs backward and forward he broke the shaft of the weapon in two in the middle, and then ordered each fragment to be drawn out separately. Thus set free, he drew his sword and made his way through the front ranks against the enemy, thereby greatly animating the combatants and inspiring them with a desire to emulate his valour. After his victory, therefore, Antigonus put his Macedonians to the question, and asked them why, without his orders, they had brought the cavalry into action. They defended themselves by saying that they had been forced against their will to attack the enemy, because a young man of Megalopolis had first led a charge against them. At this, Antigonus gave a laugh and said : " Well, then, that young man behaved like a great commander."

VII. This naturally brought Philopoemen into high repute. Antigonus was eager that he should take service under him, and offered him command and pay. These Philopoemen declined, chiefly because he well knew that it was naturally unpleasant and hard for him to be under another man's orders. Not wishing, however, to be inactive and idle, for the sake of training and practice in war he sailed to Crete in search of military service. In Crete he practised

- ἀνδράσι μαχίμοις καὶ ποικίλοις μεταχειρίσασθαι
πόλεμον, ἔτι δὲ σῶφροσι καὶ κεκολασμένοις περὶ
δίαιταν, ἐπανήλθεν οὕτω λαμπρὸς εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαι-
3 οὺς ὥστε εὐθὺς ἵππαρχος ἀποδειχθῆναι. παρα-
λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ἵππεῖς φαύλοις μὲν ἵππαρίοις
ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος, ὅτε συμβαίνοι στρατεία,
προσχωμένους, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν στρα-
τειῶν ἀποδιδράσκοντας, ἑτέρους δὲ πέμποντας
ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν, δεινὴν δὲ ἀπειρίαν μετὰ ἀτολμίας
πάντων οὖσαν, περιορῶντας δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ἄρχον-
τας ἀεὶ διὰ τε τὸ πλείστον ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοὺς
ἵππεῖς δύνασθαι καὶ μάλιστα κυρίους εἶναι τιμῆς
4 καὶ κολάσεως, οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν οὐδὲ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν νέων ἕκαστον
ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν συνεξορμῶν, καὶ κολάζων τοὺς
ἀνάγκης δεομένους, μελέταις τε καὶ πομπαῖς καὶ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμίλλαις χρώμενος, ὅπου πλείστοι
θεᾶσθαι μέλλοιεν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσι ῥώμην τε
5 θαυμαστὴν καὶ προθυμίαν παρέστησε καί, ὁ
μέγιστον ἦν ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς, ἐλαφροὺς καὶ ὀξεῖς 360
πρὸς τε τὰς κατ' οὐλαμὸν ἐπιστροφὰς καὶ περι-
σπασμοὺς καὶ τὰς καθ' ἵππον ἐπιστροφὰς καὶ
κλίσεις ἀπειργάσατο, καὶ συνείθισεν ὥς ἐνὶ σώματι
κινουμένῳ καθ' ὁρμὴν ἐκούσιον εἰκέναι τὴν ὅλου
τοῦ συστήματος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς εὐχέριαν.
- 6 Συστάσης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν Λάρισσον αὐτοῖς
ποταμὸν ἰσχυρὰς μάχης πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ
Ἥλείους, ὁ τῶν Ἥλείων ἵππαρχος Δαμόφαντος

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himself for a long time among men who were not only warlike and versed in many kinds of warfare, but also still moderate and restrained in their ways of living, and he came back to the Achaeans with such distinction that they at once made him commander of their cavalry.¹ But he found that the horsemen whom he was to command used worthless animals acquired at random, whenever a campaign was to be undertaken; that they shirked most campaigns themselves, and sent others out in their places; that they were all characterized by a shocking lack of experience, together with its resultant cowardice; and that their commanders always overlooked these things because the knights had the greatest power and influence among the Achaeans and the chief voice in the assignment of rewards and punishments. Philopomen, however, did not yield or give way to them. He went round to the different cities and roused the spirit of ambition in each young man individually, punished those who needed compulsion, introduced drills, parades, and competitive contests in places where there would be large bodies of spectators and thus in a short time inspired them all with an astonishing vigour and zeal, and, what is of the greatest importance in tactics, rendered them agile and swift in wheeling and deploying by squadrons, and in wheeling and turning by single trooper, making the dexterity shown by the whole mass in its evolutions to be like that of a single person moved by an impulse from within.

Moreover, in the fierce battle which they fought at the river Larissus against Aetolians and Eleians, the commander of the Eleian cavalry, Damophantus,

¹ For the year 209-208 B.C.

ᾠρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλοποίμενα προεξελάσας. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκείνος αὐτοῦ καὶ φθάσας τῷ δόρατι παίει καὶ καταβάλλει τὸν Δαμόφαντον. 7 εὐθὺς δὲ τούτου πεσόντος ἔφυγον οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦν ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ὥς οὔτε κατὰ χεῖρα τῶν νέων τινὸς οὔτε συνέσει τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀπολειπόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἱκανώτατος.

VIII. Τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρῶτος μὲν Ἄρατος εἰς ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν ἤρεν, ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ διερριμμένου κατὰ πόλεις συναγαγὼν καὶ πολιτευσάμενος Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον πολιτείαν· ἔπειτα, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν, ἀρξαμένων ὀλίγων ὑφίστασθαι καὶ μικρῶν σωμάτων, ἤδη τὰ ἐπιρρέοντα τοῖς πρῶτοις ἐνισχόμενα καὶ περιπίπτοντα πῆξιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ στερεότητα 2 ποιεῖ δι' ἀλλήλων, οὕτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενοῦς καὶ εὐδιαλύτου φερομένης κατὰ πόλεις ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πρῶτον συστάντες οἱ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ τῶν κύκλῳ πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βοηθεῖν καὶ συνελευθεροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τὰς δὲ ὁμονοία καὶ πολιτεία καταμιγνύντες εἰς ἑαυτούς, ἐν σῶμα καὶ μίαν δύναμιν κατασκευάσαι 3 διανοοῦντο τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἀλλ' Ἀράτου μὲν ζῶντος ἔτι τοῖς Μακεδόνων ὅπλοις ὑπεδύοντο τὰ πολλά, θεραπεύοντες Πτολεμαῖον, εἰτ' αὐθις Ἀντίγονον καὶ Φίλιππον ἐν μέσαις ἀναστρεφομένους ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πράξεσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλοποίμην εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προῆλθεν, ἤδη καθ' ἑαυτούς

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rode out from the ranks and charged upon Philopoemen. But Philopoemen received his onset, was first to drive home a spear-thrust, and threw Damophantus to the ground. Their leader fallen, the enemy at once took to flight, and Philopoemen was in high renown, as one who yielded to none of the young men in personal prowess, and to none of the elder men in sagacity, but both in fighting and in commanding was most capable.

VIII. The commonwealth of the Achaeans was first raised to dignity and power by Aratus, who consolidated it when it was feeble and disrupted, and inaugurated an Hellenic and humane form of government. Then, just as in running waters, after a few small particles have begun to take a fixed position, others presently are swept against the first, adhere and cling to them, and thus form a fixed and solid mass by mutual support, so the Achaeans, at a time when Greece was weak and easily dissolved and drifting along by individual cities, first united themselves together, and then, by receiving into their number some of the cities round about which they had aided and assisted in shaking off their tyrants, and by uniting others with themselves in a harmonious civil polity, they purposed to form the Peloponnesus into a single political body and one power. As long, however, as Aratus lived, they were dependent for the most part on Macedonian armies, paying court to Ptolemy, and then again to Antigonus and Philip, all of whom busied themselves in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopoemen was advanced to leadership among them,¹ they were at last capable of contending

¹ In 207 B.C. ; Aratus had died in 213.

ἀξιόμαχοι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι πλεῖστον ὄντες ἐπαύ-
 4 σαντο χρώμενοι προστάταις ἐπεισάκτοις. Ἄρατος
 μὲν γάρ, ἀργότερος εἶναι δοκῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολε-
 μικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὁμιλία καὶ πραότητι καὶ φιλίαις
 βασιλικάῃς τὰ πλεῖστα κατειργάσατο τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων, ὥς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, Φιλο-
 ποίμην δὲ ἀγαθὸς πολεμιστῆς ὢν καὶ διὰ τῶν
 ὅπλων ἐνεργός, ἔτι δ' εὐτυχῆς καὶ κατορθωτικὸς
 εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς πρώταις γενόμενος μάχαις, ἅμα τῇ
 δυνάμει τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡὔξησε νικᾶν
 ἐθισθέντων μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατευτυχεῖν ἐν τοῖς
 πλείστοις ἀγῶσι.

IX. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ
 τοὺς ὀπλισμοὺς φαύλως ἔχοντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
 ἐκίνησεν. ἐχρῶντο μὲν γὰρ θυρεοῖς μὲν εὐπετέσι
 διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ στενωτέροις τοῦ περιστέλλειν
 τὰ σώματα, δόρασι δὲ μικροτέροις πολὺ τῶν
 σαρισῶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πληῆκται καὶ μάχιμοι
 πόρρωθεν ἦσαν ὑπὸ κουφότητος, προσμίξαντες
 2 δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔλαττον εἶχον· εἶδος δὲ τάξεως
 καὶ σχήματος εἰς σπεῖραν οὐκ ἦν σύνηθες, φάλαγγι
 δὲ χρώμενοι μήτε προβολὴν ἐχούσῃ μήτε συν-
 ασπισμὸν ὡς ἡ Μακεδόνων, ραδίως ἐξεθλίβοντο
 καὶ διεσπῶντο. ταῦτα ὁ Φιλοποίμην διδάξας
 ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ μὲν θυρεοῦ καὶ δόρατος ἀσπίδα
 λαβεῖν καὶ σάρισαν, κράνεσι δὲ καὶ θώραξι καὶ
 περικνημῖσι πεφραγμένους μόνιμον καὶ βεβηκυῖαν
 ἀντὶ δρομικῆς καὶ πελταστικῆς μάχην ἀσκεῖν.

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alone with their most powerful neighbours, and ceased to rely upon foreign protectors. Aratus, indeed, who was thought to be too sluggish for warlike contests, accomplished most of his undertakings by conference, urbanity, and royal friendships, as I have written in his Life ;¹ whereas Philopoemen, who was a good warrior and effective with his weapons, besides proving himself fortunate and successful in his very first battles, increased not only the power but also the courage of the Achaeans, who were accustomed to be victorious under him and to win success in most of their contests.

IX. In the first place, however, he changed the faulty practice of the Achaeans in drawing up and arming their soldiers. For they used bucklers which were easily carried because they were so light, and yet were too narrow to protect the body ; and spears which were much shorter than the Macedonian pike. For this reason they were effective in fighting at a long distance, because they were so lightly armed, but when they came to close quarters with the enemy they were at a disadvantage. Moreover, a division of line and formation into cohorts was not customary with them, and since they employed a solid phalanx without either levelled line of spears or wall of interlocking shields such as the Macedonian phalanx presented, they were easily dislodged and scattered. Philopoemen showed them all this, and persuaded them to adopt long pike and heavy shield instead of spear and buckler, to protect their bodies with helmets and breastplates and greaves, and to practise stationary and steadfast fighting instead of the nimble movements of light-armed troops. After

¹ See the *Aratus*, x.

- 3 πείσας δὲ καθοπλίσασθαι τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρῶτον
 μὲν ἐπῆρε θαρρεῖν ὡς ἀμάχους γεγονότας, ἔπειτα
 τὰς τρυφὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας ἄριστα
 μετεκόσμησεν. ἀφελεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν παντάπασιν
 ἐκ πολλοῦ νοσοῦντων τὸν κενὸν καὶ μάταιον ζῆλον,
 ἐσθῆτας ἀγαπώντων περιττὰς στρωμνάς τε βαπτο- 361
 μένων ἀλουργεῖς καὶ περὶ δεῖπνα φιλοτιμουμένους
 4 καὶ τραπέζας. ὁ δὲ ὑρξάμενος ἐκτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῶν
 οὐκ ἀναγκαίων ἐπὶ τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ καλὰ τὴν
 φιλοκοσμίαν, ταχὺ πάντας ἔπεισε καὶ παρώρμησε
 τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν περὶ σῶμα δαπάνης κολούσαντας
 ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς καὶ πολεμικαῖς παρασκευ-
 5 αῖς διαπρεπεῖς ὁρᾶσθαι κεκοσμημένους. ἦν οὖν
 ἰδεῖν τὰ μὲν ἐργαστήρια μεστὰ κατακοπτομένων
 κυλίκων καὶ Θηρικλείων, χρυσομένων δὲ θωράκων
 καὶ καταργυρουμένων θυρεῶν καὶ χαλινῶν, τὰ δὲ
 στάδια πώλων δαμαζομένων καὶ νεανίσκων ὀπλο-
 μαχοῦντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν γυναικῶν κράνη
 καὶ πτερὰ βαφαῖς κοσμούμενα καὶ χιτῶνων ἱπι-
 κῶν καὶ στρατιωτικῶν χλαμύδων διηνηθισμένων.
 6 ἡ δ' ὄψις αὕτη τὸ θάρσος αὖξουσα καὶ παρακα-
 λούσα τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐποίει φιλοπαράβολον καὶ πρό-
 7 θυμον ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
 ἄλλοις θεάμασι πολυτέλεια τρυφὴν ἐπάγεται καὶ
 μαλακίαν ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς χρωμένοις, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ
 νυγμῶν καὶ γαργαλισμῶν τῆς αἰσθήσεως συνεπι-
 κλώσης τὴν διάνοιαν, ἡ δ' εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥώννυσι
 καὶ μεγαλύνει τὸν θυμόν, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε
 τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα τῶν καινῶν ὅπλων παρατεθέντων

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he had persuaded those of military age to arm themselves in this manner, in the first place he inspired them with confidence that they had thus become invincible, and then made most excellent reforms in their luxurious and extravagant ways of living. For it was not possible to remove altogether their empty and idle emulation from a people long addicted to it. They were fond of costly apparel, the coverings of their couches were dyed purple, and they vied with one another in banquets and table array. But he made a beginning by diverting their love of show from what was unnecessary to what was serviceable and honourable, and speedily persuaded and incited them all to check their daily expenditures upon bodily wants, and to find their chief adornment in military and warlike equipments. And so one might have seen the workshops filled with goblets and Therycleian plate ¹ which were being broken up, with breastplates being gilded, with shields and bridles being silvered over, while in the places of exercise colts were being broken in and young men were learning the use of heavy armour, and in the hands of women there were helmets and plumes for dyeing, and horsemen's tunics or soldiers' cloaks for 'embroidering. The sight of all this increased men's courage, called forth their energies, and made them venturesome and ready to incur dangers. For extravagance in other objects of display induces luxury and implants effeminacy in those who use them, since something like a pricking and tickling of the senses breaks down serious purpose; but when it is seen in the trappings of war it strengthens and exalts the spirit, just as Homer represented Achilles, when his

¹ See the *Aemilius Paulus*, xxxiii. 2.

ἐγγὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως οἷον ὀργῶντα καὶ φλεγόμενον
πρὸς τὴν δι' αὐτῶν ἐνέργειαν.

Οὕτω δὲ κοσμήσας τοὺς νέους ἐγύμναζε καὶ
διεπόνει, ταῖς κινήσεσι προθύμως ὑπακούοντας
8 καὶ φιλοτίμως. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τάξις θαυμαστῶς
ἡγαπᾶτο ἄθραυστόν τι λαμβάνειν πύκνωμα δο-
κοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγίνετο χειροήθη
καὶ κοῦφα, μεθ' ἡδονῆς διὰ λαμπρότητα καὶ
κάλλος ἀπτομένων καὶ φορούντων, ἐναγωνίσασθαι
τε βουλομένων καὶ διακριθῆναι τάχιστα πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους.

X. Ἦν δὲ τότε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὁ πρὸς Μαχανίδαν
πόλεμος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων τύραννον, ἀπὸ πολλῆς
καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἐπιβουλεύοντα πᾶσι Πελο-
ποννησίοις. ὥς οὖν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν ἐμβε-
βληκὼς ἀπηγγέλθη, κατὰ τάχος ὁ Φιλοποίμην
ἐξήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς
πόλεως παρετάξαντο πολλοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐκάτεροι,
τάσais δὲ ὁμοῦ τι ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμεσι.
2 γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσίν, ὁ Μαχανίδας
τοῖς ξένοις τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προτεταγμένους
ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ Ταραντίνους τρεψάμενος ἀντὶ
τοῦ χωρεῖν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ
παραρρηγνύναι τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐξέπεσε διώκων καὶ
παρήλλαξε τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν τᾷξει
3 μενόντων. ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην τηλικούτου πταίσ-
ματος ἐν ἀρχῇ γενομένου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἀπολωλέναι κομιδῇ καὶ διεφθάρθαι δοκούντων,
τοῦτο μὲν ὁμῶς προσεποιεῖτο παρορᾶν καὶ μηδὲν

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new armour was laid down near him, as exulting at the sight and all on fire to get to work with it.¹

After he had thus arrayed and adorned the young men, Philopoemen exercised and drilled them, and they eagerly and emulously obeyed his instructions. For the new order of battle pleased them wonderfully, since it seemed to secure a close array that could not be broken; and the armour which they used became light and manageable for them, since they wore or grasped it with delight because of its beauty and splendour, and wished to get into action with it and fight a decisive battle with their enemies as soon as possible.

X. At this time the Achaeans were carrying on war with Machanidas the tyrant of Sparta, who, relying upon his large and strong forces, was scheming to get control of the whole Peloponnesus. Accordingly, when word came that the tyrant had invaded the territory of Mantinea, Philopoemen quickly led his army out against him. They drew up in battle array near the city, both parties having many mercenaries and almost all their citizen soldiery. When battle was joined, Machanidas with his mercenaries routed the javelineers and Tarantines who had been stationed in front of the Achaean line, and then, instead of advancing directly against the main body of the enemy and breaking up their close array, he dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and so-passed by the phalanx of the Achaeans, which remained drawn up in position. Then Philopoemen, although so great a disaster had occurred at the outset and his cause was thought to be utterly lost and ruined, professed to ignore and make light of it, and seeing what

¹ *Iliad*, xix. 15 ff.

- ἡγεῖσθαι δεινόν, κατιδὼν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅσον
 ἡμάρτανον ἐν τῇ διώξει, τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπορ-
 ρηγνυμένους καὶ κενὴν χώραν διδόντας, οὐκ ἀπὴν-
 τησεν οὐδ' ἐνέστη φερομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς
 4 φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐάσας παρελθεῖν καὶ διάσπασμα
 ποιῆσαι μέγα πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας εὐθύς ἦγε τῶν
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁρῶν τὴν φάλαγγα γυμνὴν ἀπο-
 λελειμμένην, καὶ κατὰ κέρας παραδραμὼν ἐνέ-
 βαλε, μήτε ἄρχοντος αὐτοῖς παρόντος μήτε
 μάχεσθαι προσδεχομένοις· νικᾶν γὰρ ἡγοῦντο
 καὶ κρατεῖν παντάπασι, διώκοντα τὸν Μαχανίδα
 5 ὁρῶντες. ὡσάμενος δὲ τούτους φόνῳ πολλῷ (λέ-
 γονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν)
 ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαχανίδα ἐκ τῆς διώξεως
 ἀναστρέφοντα μετὰ τῶν ξένων. τάφρου δὲ με- 362
 γάλῃς καὶ βαθείας ἐν μέσῳ διειργούσης, παρεξή-
 λαυνον ἀλλήλοις ἐκατέρωθεν, ὁ μὲν διαβῆναι καὶ
 6 φυγεῖν, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο κωλύσαι βουλόμενος. ἦν δὲ
 ὄψις οὐχ ὥς στρατηγῶν μαχομένων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
 θηρίῳ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τρεπομένῳ δεινοῦ
 κυνηγέτου τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος συνεστῶτος. ἔνθα ὁ
 μὲν ἵππος τοῦ τυράννου ῥωμαλέος ὢν καὶ θυμοειδὴς
 καὶ τοῖς μύωψιν αἵμαχθὲς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπετόλ-
 μησε τῇ διαβάσει, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῇ τάφρῳ τὸ
 στήθος ἐβιάζετο τοῖς προσθίοις πέραν ἐρεῖσασθαι
 7 σκέλεσιν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Σιμίας καὶ Πολύαινος,
 οἵπερ αἰὲ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι παρήσαν μαχομένῳ καὶ
 συνήσπιζον, ὁμοῦ προσήλαυνον ἀμφοτέροι τὰς
 αἰχμὰς κλίναντες ἐναντίας. φθάνει δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ
 Φιλοποίμην ἀπαντήσας τῷ Μαχανίδα, καὶ τὸν
 ἵππον αὐτοῦ μετεωρίζοντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸ τοῦ

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a great mistake the enemy had made by going off in pursuit, thus breaking away from his phalanx and leaving a vacant space there, did not oppose or resist their chase after the fugitives, but let them pass him by and make a great gap. Then he led straight against the Lacedaemonian heavy-armed, seeing that their phalanx had been left exposed, and fell upon them in a flank attack, while their commander was away and they were not expecting to fight; for they thought they were victorious and getting the upper hand altogether, since they saw Machanidas pursuing. After Philopoemen had routed these with great slaughter (more than four thousand of them are said to have fallen), he set out against Machanidas, who was returning with his mercenaries from the pursuit. But a broad and deep ditch stretched between them, along which the two leaders rode opposite each other, one wishing to get across and escape, the other to prevent this. The spectacle was not that of two commanders fighting, but that of a powerful hunter attacking a wild beast that has been forced to turn at bay, and Philopoemen was the hunter. And now the tyrant's horse, which was vigorous and high-spirited and felt the bloody spurs in his sides, essayed to make the leap across, and striking against the edge of the ditch with his breast, was struggling with his fore-feet to extricate himself. At this point Simmias and Polyaeus, who were always at Philopoemen's side when he was fighting and protected him with their shields, rode up both at the same time and levelled their spears at the horse. But Philopoemen was before them in attacking Machanidas, and seeing that the tyrant's horse was lifting its head up in front of its rider's body, he

σώματος ὀρῶν μικρὸν ἐνέκλινε τὸν ἴδιον, καὶ δια-
λαβὼν τὸ ξυστὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ὤθει καὶ περιτρέπει
8 τὸν ἄνδρα συνεπερείσας. τοῦτο ἔχων τὸ σχῆμα
χαλκοῦς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἔστηκεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
θαυμασάντων μάλιστα καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ
τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκείνην.

XI. Λέγεται δὲ τῆς τῶν Νεμείων πανηγύρεως
συνεστῶσης¹ στρατηγοῦντα τὸν Φιλοποίμενα τὸ
δεύτερον καὶ νενικηκότα μὲν οὐ πάλαι τὴν ἐν
Μαντινείᾳ μάχην, τότε δὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντα διὰ
τὴν ἑορτὴν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι
κεκοσμημένην τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ κινουμένην,
ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, τοὺς τακτικούς ῥυθμούς μετὰ
2 τάχους καὶ ῥώμης· ἔπειτα κιθαρῳδῶν ἀγωνιζο-
μένων εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρελθεῖν ἔχοντα τοὺς
νεανίσκους ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς χλαμύσι καὶ
τοῖς φοινικοῖς ὑποδύταις, ἀκμάζοντάς τε τοῖς
σώμασιν ἅπαντας καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις παραλλή-
λους, αἰδῶ δὲ πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ
φρόνημα νεανικὸν ὑποφαίνοντας ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ
καλῶν ἀγώνων· ἄρτι δ' αὐτῶν εἰσεληλυθόντων
κατὰ τύχην Πυλάδην τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἄδοντα τοὺς
Τιμοθέου Πέρσας ἐνάρξασθαι

Κλεινὸν ἐλευθερίας τεύχων μέγαν Ἑλλάδι
κόσμον·

3 ἅμα δὲ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ περὶ τὴν
ποίησιν ὄγκου συμπρέψαντος ἐπίβλεψιν γενέσθαι
τοῦ θεάτρου πανταχόθεν εἰς τὸν Φιλοποίμενα καὶ
κρότον μετὰ χαρᾶς, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ παλαιὸν

¹ συνεστῶσης Bekker has ἐνεστῶσης, after Bryan.

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gave his own horse a little swerve to one side, and then, clasping his spear firmly in the middle, pushed it home with all his weight and overturned his enemy. This is the attitude in which he is represented by a bronze statue set up at Delphi by the Achaeans, who admired especially both his deed of prowess and his generalship on that day.

XI. Moreover, we are told that at the celebration of the Nemean games,¹ when he was general of the Achaeans for the second time and had recently won his victory at Mantinea,² but was at leisure the while on account of the festival, Philopoemen in the first place displayed before the assembled Greeks his phalanx, with its splendid array, and performing its tactical evolutions, as it was wont to do, with speed and vigour. Then, while the minstrels were contending for the prize, he came into the theatre with his young men. They wore their soldiers' cloaks and their purple tunics, were all in the prime of their strength and of the same age, and showed not only great respect for their commander, but also that high spirit which young men have after many honourable contests. And just as they made their entrance it chanced that Pylades the minstrel was chanting the opening verse of the *Persians* of Timotheus—

“Glorious the crown of freedom which he fashioneth
for Hellas”;

whereupon, as the splendid voice of the singer fitly sustained the majesty of the poet's words, all the spectators turned their eyes upon Philopoemen and gave him glad applause; for in their hopes the

¹ In the summer of 205 B.C.

² In the spring of 206 B.C.

αἰζίωμα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀναλαμβάνοντων καὶ τοῦ τότε φρονήματος ἔγγιστα τῷ θαρρεῖν γινομένων.¹

XII. Παρὰ δὲ τὰς μάχας καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, ὥσπερ οἱ πῶλοι τοὺς συνήθεις ἐπιβάτας ποθοῦντες, ἐὰν ἄλλον φέρωσι, πτύρονται καὶ ξενοπαθοῦσιν, οὕτως ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτέρου στρατηγούντος ἠθύμει καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐπάπταινε καὶ μόνον ὀφθέντος εὐθύς ὀρθῇ καὶ δραστήριος ἦν διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους αἰσθανόμενοι πρὸς ἓνα τοῦτον τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντιβλέπειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦνομα δεδοικότας, ὥς ἦν φανερόν ἐξ ὧν ἔπρασσον. Φίλιππος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς οἰόμενος, ἂν ἐκποδῶν ὁ Φιλοποίμην γένηται, πάλιν ὑποπτήξειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀργος κρύφα τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας αὐτόν· ἐπιγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς παντάπασιν ἐξεμισήθη καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ πολιορκοῦντες Μέγαρα καὶ λήψεσθαι ταχέως ἐλπίζοντες, ἐξαίφνης λόγου προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς, ὅς. οὐκ ἦν ἀληθής, Φιλοποίμενα βοηθοῦντα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐγγὺς εἶναι, τὰς κλίμακας ἀφέντες ἤδη προσεληρυσμένας τοῖς τείχεσιν ὥχοντο φεύγοντες. Νάβιδος δὲ τοῦ μετὰ Μαχανίδαυ τυραννοῦντος Λακεδαιμονίων Μεσσήνην ἄφνω καταλαβόντος, ἐτύγχανε μὲν ιδιώτης ὢν τότε ὁ Φιλοποίμην καὶ δυνάμει οὐδεμιᾶς κύριος, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν στρατηγούντα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Λύσιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεσ-

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¹ γινομένων Bekker after Coraës : γενομένων.

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Greeks were recovering their ancient dignity, and in their courage they were making the nearest approach to the high spirit of their fathers.

XII. But when it came to perils and battles, just as young horses long for their accustomed riders, and if they have others on their backs, are shy and wild, so the Achæan army, when someone other than Philopoemen was commander-in-chief,¹ would be out of heart, would keep looking eagerly for him, and if he but came in sight, would at once be alert and efficient because of the courage he inspired. For they perceived that he was the one general whom their enemies were unable to face, and whose name and fame they feared, as was evident from what they did. For Philip the king of Macedon, thinking that if Philopoemen could be got out of the way the Achæans would again submit abjectly to his sway, secretly sent men to Argos who were to assassinate him; but the plot became known, and Philip was utterly condemned and hated among the Greeks. Again, the Boeotians were besieging Megara and had hopes of its speedy capture, when suddenly a report reached their ears (and it was a false report) that Philopoemen was coming to the aid of the besieged and was close at hand; so they abandoned their scaling-ladders, which were already planted against the walls of the city, and fled away. And once again, when Nabis, who succeeded Machanidas as tyrant of Sparta, suddenly seized Messene, it chanced that Philopoemen was out of office and had no force under his command; but since Lysippus, the commander-in-chief of the Achæans, could not be persuaded by him to go to the rescue of the

¹ As a rule, the same man could not be general of the Achæan league two years in succession.

σηνίοις, ἀπολωλέναι κομιδῇ φάσκοντα τὴν πόλιν
 ἔνδον γεγονότων τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸς ἐβοήθει
 τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας ἀναλαβὼν οὔτε νόμον οὔτε
 χειροτονίαν περιμείναντας, ἀλλ' ὡς διὰ παντὸς
 ἄρχοντι τῷ κρείττονι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπομένους.
 5 ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ πλησίον ὄντος ἀκούσας ὁ Νάβις
 οὐχ ὑπέστη, καίπερ ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύων,
 ἀλλ' ὑπεκδύς διὰ πυλῶν ἐτέρων κατὰ τάχος
 ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν, εὐτυχία χρήσασθαι δοκῶν
 εἰ διαφύγοι· καὶ διέφυγε, Μεσσήνη δ' ἠλευθέρωτο.

XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καλὰ τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος·
 ἡ δ' εἰς Κρήτην αὖθις ἀποδημία Γορτυνίων δεη-
 θέντων, ὡς χρῆσαιντο πολεμούμενοι στρατηγῷ,
 διαβολὴν ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ πολε-
 μουμένης ὑπὸ Νάβιδος ἀπὴν φυγομαχῶν ἡ
 φιλοτιμούμενος ἀκαίρως πρὸς ἐτέρους. καίτοι
 συντόνως οὕτως ἐπολεμήθησαν Μεγαλοπολῖται
 κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ὥστε τοῖς μὲν τείχεσιν
 ἐνοικεῖν, σπείρειν δὲ τοὺς στενωπούς, περικε-
 κομμένης¹ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων σχεδὸν
 2 ἐν ταῖς πύλαις στρατοπεδευόντων. ὁ δὲ Κρησὶ
 πολεμῶν τηνικαῦτα καὶ στρατηγῶν διαπόντιος
 ἐγκλήματα παρείχε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὡς
 ἀποδιδράσκων τὸν οἶκον πόλεμον. ἦσαν δέ τινες
 οἱ λέγοντες, ἐτέρους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡρημένων
 ἄρχοντας, ἰδιώτην ὄντα τὸν Φιλοποίμενα χρῆσαι
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σχολὴν ἐφ' ἡγεμονία δεηθεῖσι τοῖς

¹ περικεκομμένης Coraës and Bekker, with the vulgate :
 περικεκομμένους.

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Messenians, because, as he said, the city was utterly lost now that the enemy were inside, Philopoemen himself went to their rescue, taking with him his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis, who did not wait for any law or commission, but followed the man whom nature had made superior as though he were always in command. And when Nabis heard that Philopoemen was already close at hand, he did not wait for him to come up, although he was encamped in the city, but stole out by an opposite gate and led his forces off as fast as he could, thinking that he would be fortunate if he should escape; and he did escape, and Messene was set free.

XIII. All these things, then, made for the honour of Philopoemen; but his going away to Crete again at the request of the Gortynians, who wanted him to be their general in their war, brought calumny upon him, and it was said that when his native city was at war with Nabis, he was away, either to avoid fighting or to show kindness out of all season to others. And yet so continuously were the Megalopolitans under hostile attack all that time that they lived upon their walls and planted their grain in the streets, since their fields were ravaged and the enemy were encamped almost in their gates. Philopoemen, however, was waging war in Crete all that while, and serving as general across the sea, and so afforded his enemies a chance to accuse him of running away from the war at home. But there were some who said that since the Achaeans chose other men as their generals and Philopoemen was without public office, he merely put the leisure which belonged to him at the service of the Gortynians when they

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- 3 Γορτυνίοις. ἦν γὰρ ἀλλότριος σχολῆς, καθάπερ ἄλλο τι κτῆμα τὴν στρατηγικὴν καὶ πολεμικὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν διὰ παντὸς ἐν χρήσει καὶ τριβῇ βουλόμενος, ὥς καὶ τῷ περὶ Πτολεμαίου ποτὲ ῥηθέντι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεδήλωσεν. ἐκείνον γὰρ ἐγκωμιαζόντων τινῶν ὥς εὖ μὲν ἐξασκούντα τὸ στράτευμα καθ' ἡμέραν, εὖ δὲ γυμνάζοντα καὶ φιλοπόνως διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τὸ σῶμα, “Καὶ τίς ἄν,” ἔφη, “βασιλέα θαυμάσειεν ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας μὴ ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ἀλλὰ μελετῶντα;”
- 4 Χαλεπῶς δ' οὖν οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται φέροντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ προδοδόσθαι νομίζοντες ἐπεχείρησαν ἀποξενοῦν αὐτόν· οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ διεκώλυσαν Ἀρίσταινον πέμψαντες εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν στρατηγόν, ὃς καίπερ ὦν διάφορος τῷ Φιλοποίμενι περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, οὐκ εἶασε τελεσθῆναι τὴν καταδίκην.
- 5 ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀπέστησε πολλὰς τῶν περιοικίδων κωμῶν, λέγειν διδάξας ὥς οὐ συνετέλουν οὐδὲ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκείνων, καὶ λεγούσαις ταῦτα φανερώς συνηγωνίσατο καὶ συγκατεστασίασε τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.
- 6 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κρήτῃ συνεπολέμει τοῖς Γορτυνίοις, οὐχ ὥς Πελοποννήσιος ἀνὴρ καὶ Ἀρκὰς ἀπλοῦν τινα καὶ γενναῖον πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ Κρητικὸν ἦθος ἐνδύς καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων σοφίσμασι καὶ δόλοις κλωπείαις τε καὶ λοχισμοῖς χρώμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς



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asked him to be their leader. For he was averse to inactivity, and wished to keep his skill as a commander in war, like any other possession, all the while in use and exercise. And he made this evident by what he once said about King Ptolemy. When certain persons were extolling that monarch because he carefully drilled his army day by day, and carefully and laboriously exercised himself in arms, "And yet who," said Philopoemen, "can admire a king of his years for always practising but never performing anything?"

The Megalopolitans, nevertheless, were displeased at this absence, and looking upon it in the light of a betrayal, undertook to make him an exile; but the Achaeans prevented this by sending to Megalopolis Aristaenus, their commander-in-chief, who, although politically at variance with Philopoemen, would not suffer sentence of condemnation to be passed upon him. In consequence of this displeasure, Philopoemen was ignored by his fellow-citizens, and therefore induced many of their outlying villages to secede from them, instructing them to say that they were not tributary to the city and had not originally belonged to it; and when they made this plea, he openly supported them in their contention and helped them to raise a faction against the city in the assembly of the Achaeans. This, however, was at a later time.

In Crete he waged war in the service of the Gortynians; not the straightforward and honourable warfare of a Peloponnesian and Arcadian, but one in which he adopted the Cretan practices, and turning their tricks and wiles and stolen marches and ambuscades against themselves, speedily showed them

ταχὺ παῖδας ἀπέδειξεν ἀνόητα καὶ κενὰ πρὸς ἐμπειρίαν ἀληθινὴν πανουργούντας.

- XIV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ θαυμασθεῖς καὶ λαμπρὸς παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ πράξεων ἀνακομισθεῖς εἰς Πελοπόννησον εὔρε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τίτου καταπεπολεμημένον, τὸν δὲ Νάβιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολεμούμενον. ἐφ' ὃν εὐθύς αἰρεθεῖς ἄρχων καὶ ναυμαχία παραβλόμενος τὸ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου παθεῖν ἔδοξε, πολὺ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ
- 2 κάκιον ἀγωνισάμενος. πλὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ὀκνοῦντα γεῦσαι τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ὠφελειῶν τοὺς πολίτας, ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ λάθωσιν ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ Πλάτωνα, 364 ναῦται γενόμενοι καὶ διαφθαρέντες, ἄπρακτον ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκουσίως.
- 3 Φιλοποίμην δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐπιστήμην καὶ διὰ θαλάττης ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καλῶς ἀγωνίσασθαι πεπεισμένος, ἔγνω τὴν ἄσκησιν ἡλίκον μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πόσῃ ἐπὶ πάντα τοῖς ἐθισθεῖσι δύναμιν προστίθῃσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἔλαττον ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦν τινα, παλαιὰν μὲν, ἔνδοξον δέ, δι' ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα κατασπάσας ἐπλήρωσεν, ὥστε μὴ στεγούσης κινδυνεύσαι τοὺς πλέοντας.

¹ In the battle of Cynoscephalae, 197 B.C. See the *Flaminiinus*, xiii.

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that they were children opposing foolish and vain mischievousness to genuine military experience.

XIV. Having thus won admiration, and having come back to Peloponnesus with a brilliant reputation from his exploits in Crete, he found that Philip had been defeated and subdued by Titus Flamininus,¹ and that the Achaeans and the Romans were waging war upon Nabis. He was at once chosen general against Nabis, and by hazarding the issue on a naval battle would seem to have fared as Epaminondas once did, since he fought on the sea in a manner which fell far short of his great reputation. Epaminondas, however, as some say, was reluctant to give his fellow-citizens a taste of the advantages accruing from naval superiority, in order that they might not surprise him by becoming, instead of "steadfast hoplites," to use Plato's words,² degenerate mariners; and therefore he purposely came back from Asia and the islands without achieving anything.³ Philopoemen, on the other hand, was persuaded that his skill in handling land forces would suffice to give him success in fighting also on the sea, and therefore learned to his cost how large a part of superior excellence consists in practice, and how much additional power it gives to men who have accustomed themselves to all methods of fighting. For not only was he worsted in the sea-fight, owing to his lack of experience, but he actually launched an old but famous ship after forty years of disuse, and manned her, the result being that her seams took in water and her crew came into peril of their lives.

² *Laws*, iv. p. 706. Cf. the *Themistocles*, iv. 3.

³ In 364 B.C., two years before his death, Epaminondas successfully inaugurated a naval policy for Thebes, which enabled her to cope with Athens on the sea.

- 4 Πρὸς ταῦτα γινώσκων καταφρονούντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς παντάπασι πεφευγότος ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ πολιορκούντας ὑπερηφάνως τὸ Γύθιον, εὐθὺς ἐπέπλευσεν αὐτοῖς οὐ προσδοκῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκκελυμένοις διὰ τὴν νίκην. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ προσαγαγών, πῦρ ἐνῆκε ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατέ-
- 5 καυσε καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν. ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις καθ' ὁδὸν ἐν δυσχωρίαις τιςὶν ἄφνω τοῦ Νάβιδος ἐπιφανέντος αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήσαντος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνέλπιστον ἡγουμένους τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐκ τόπων χαλεπῶν καὶ γεγονότων ὑποχειρίων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπιστὰς καὶ περιλαβὼν ὄψει τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἐπέδειξε τὴν τακτικὴν τῶν ἄκρων τῆς πολεμικῆς τέχνην οὖσαν οὕτω μικρὰ κινήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φάλαγγα καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα μεθαρμόσας ἀθορύβως καὶ ῥαδίως διεκρούσατο τὴν ἀπορίαν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς
- 6 πολεμίοις τροπὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐώρα φεύγοντας, ἀλλὰ τῆς χώρας ἄλλον ἄλλη διασπειρόμενον (ὕλῳδης δὲ καὶ περίβουνος ἦν πᾶσα καὶ δύσιππος ὑπὸ ῥείθρων καὶ φαράγγων), τὴν μὲν δίωξιν ἐπέσχε καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε ἔτι φωτὸς ὄντος· τεκμαιρόμενος δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καθ' ἓνα καὶ δύο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπάξειν σκοταίους, ἐλλοχίζει τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἄστυ ῥείθροις καὶ λόφοις πολλοὺς ἔχοντας
- 7 ἐγχειρίδια τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἐνταῦθα πλείστους ἀποθανεῖν συνέβη τῶν τοῦ Νάβιδος· ἅτε γὰρ οὐκ

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Understanding that in consequence of this disaster his enemies despised him, thinking that he had altogether given up activity on the sea, and that they were insolently besieging Gythium, he promptly sailed against them when they did not expect it and were careless because of their victory. He landed his soldiers by night and led them to the attack, set fire to the enemy's tents, burned down his camp, and slew many of his men. A few days afterward, as he was marching through a rough country, Nabis came suddenly upon him and threw the Achaeans into a fright; they despaired of saving themselves from a position which was difficult and already commanded by the enemy. But Philopoemen waited a little while, surveyed the nature of the ground, and then demonstrated that skill in drawing up an army is the crowning feature in the art of war. For by changing his order of battle a little and adapting it to the present exigency, with no confusion and no trouble he evaded the difficulty, and charging upon the enemy put them to utter rout. Then, observing that they were not fleeing towards the city, but scattering themselves hither and thither through the region (which was woody, entirely surrounded by hills, and impracticable for cavalry owing to water-courses and ravines), he checked his pursuit and encamped while it was still light. But judging that the enemy after their flight would steal back to the city by ones and twos under cover of the night, he placed large numbers of his Achaeans armed with swords in ambush among the water-courses and hills about the city. Here very many of the followers of Nabis met their death; for since they did not make

ἀθρόαν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκάστοις αἱ φυγαὶ συνετύγχανον, ὥσπερ ὄρνιθες ἡλίσκοντο περὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων χεῖρας καταίροντες.

XV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγαπώμενος καὶ τιμώμενος ἐκπρεπῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις φιλότιμον ὄντα τὸν Τίτον ἡσυχῇ παρελύπει. καὶ γὰρ ὡς Ῥωμαίων ὑπατος ἀνδρὸς Ἀρκάδος ἡξίου θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ὑπερβάλλειν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἡγείτο, δι' ἐνὸς κηρύγματος ἐλευθέρωσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὄση Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐδούλευσεν.

- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταλύεται μὲν ὁ Τίτος τῷ Νάβιδι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀποθνήσκει δὲ ὁ Νάβις ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν δολοφονηθείς. τεταραγμένης δὲ τῆς Σπάρτης ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀρπάσας τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιπίπτει μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀκόντων, τοὺς δὲ συμπείσας προσηγάγετο καὶ μετεκόμισεν εἰς
- 3 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὴν πόλιν. οὐ γενομένου θαυμαστῶς μὲν εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, προσκτησάμενος αὐτοῖς ἀξίωμα πόλεως τηλικαύτης καὶ δύναμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν μικρὸν Ἀχαΐας μέρος γενέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην), ἀνέλαβε δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς ἀρίστους, φύλακα τῆς ἐλευθερίας
- 4 ἐκείνων ἐλπίσαντας ἔξειν. διὸ καὶ τὴν Νάβιδος οἰκίαν καὶ οὐσίαν ἐξαργυρισθεῖσαν καὶ γενομένην

¹ Cf. the *Flaminius*, chapter x.

² Cf. the *Flaminius*, ix. 5.

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their return in a body, but as the chances of flight disposed them severally, they fell into the hands of their enemies and were caught like birds about the city.

XV. In consequence of this exploit Philopoemen was beloved by the Greeks and conspicuously honoured by them in their theatres, thus giving secret umbrage to Titus Flamininus, who was an ambitious man. For as Roman consul he thought himself more worthy of the Achaeans' admiration than a man of Arcadia, and he considered that his benefactions far exceeded those of Philopoemen, since by a single proclamation he had set free all those parts of Greece which had been subject to Philip and the Macedonians.¹

After this Flamininus made peace with Nabis,² and Nabis was treacherously put to death by the Aetolians.³ Sparta was therefore in a state of confusion, and Philopoemen, seizing his opportunity, fell upon the city with an armed force, and partly by compulsion, partly by persuasion, brought it over to his purposes and made it a member of the Achaean league. This achievement brought him an amazing reputation among the Achaeans, since through his efforts they had acquired a city of so great dignity and power (and indeed it was no slight matter that Sparta had become a member of the Achaean league); moreover, Philopoemen carried with him the principal men among the Spartans, who hoped to have in him a guardian of their liberties. Therefore, after they had confiscated the house and property of Nabis and obtained thereby a

¹ In 192 B.C. Nabis had called in the Aetolians to help him against the Achaeans and Romans (Liv., xxxv. 35-37).

εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ταλάντων ἐψηφίσαντο δωρεὰν αὐτῷ δοῦναι, πρεσβείαν ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμψαντες. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ διεφάνη καθαρῶς ἐκείνος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐ δοκῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὢν ἄριστος. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδρὶ τοι- 365 οὔτῳ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ δωροδοκίας, ἀλλὰ δεδοικότες καὶ ἀναδυνόμενοι προεβάλοντο τὸν ξένον αὐτοῦ

5 Τιμόλαον. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Τιμόλαος, ὡς ἦλθεν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν, ἐστιαθεὶς παρὰ τῷ Φιλοποίμηνι καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς διαίτης καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐγγύθεν οὐδαμῇ προσιτὸν οὐδὲ εὐάλωτον ὑπὸ χρημάτων κατανοήσας, ἀπεσιώπησε περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἑτέραν δέ τινα πρόφασιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁδοῦ ποιησάμενος ᾧχετο ἀπιών. καὶ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου

6 πεμφθεὶς ταῦτὸν ἔπαθε. τρίτῃ δὲ ὁδῷ μόλις ἐντυχὼν ἐδήλωσε τὴν προθυμίαν τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην ἡδέως ἀκούσας ἤκεν αὐτὸς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς μὴ τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς δεκάζειν, ὢν προῖκα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔξεστιν ἀπολαύειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καταστασιάζοντας ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖρειν, ἵνα τῷ λαβεῖν ἐπιστομισθέντες ἦττον ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς· βέλτιον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν παραιεῖσθαι τὴν παρρησίαν

¹ See the *Aristides*, iii. 4.

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hundred and twenty talents, they voted to make a present of the money to Philopoemen, and to send an embassy to Megalopolis on the matter. Here, indeed, it became perfectly clear that Philopoemen not only seemed to be, but actually was, a most excellent man.¹ For, to begin with, no Spartan was willing to confer with a man of his character about the acceptance of a gift, but they were all so reluctant and afraid to do it that they entrusted the business to a guest-friend of his, Timolaüs. And in the second place, Timolaüs himself, when he came to Megalopolis, having been entertained at the house of Philopoemen, and having learned thoroughly how dignified he was in his converse with others, how simple his ways of living, and how his character was nowhere to be approached and much less easy to be overcome by bribes, held his peace about the gift of money, and after giving some other excuse for his visit to him, went back home. And when he was sent a second time on the same errand, he did as before. On his third visit, however, he at last got so far as to acquaint Philopoemen with the earnest desire of his city. Then Philopoemen, who was pleased by what he heard, went in person to Sparta, and counselled the people there not to try to bribe good men who were their friends, and by whose virtues they could profit without payment of money, but rather to buy up and corrupt the bad men who were ruining the city by their factious conduct in the assembly, to the end that such might have their mouths stopped in consequence of their venality, and so be less annoying to their fellow-citizens; for it was better, he said, to take away freedom of speech from their enemies rather than

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ἡ τῶν φίλων. οὕτως μὲν ἦν πρὸς χρήματα λαμπρός.

XVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους νεωτερίζειν ἀκούσας ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Διοφάνης ἐβούλετο κολάζειν, οἱ δὲ εἰς πόλεμον καθιστάμενοι διετάρασσον τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐπειρᾶτο πρᾶννεν καὶ καταπαύειν τὸν Διοφάνη τῆς ὀργῆς ὁ Φιλοποίμην, διδάσκων τὸν καιρόν, ὥς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τηλικούτοις αἰωρουμένων στρατοπέδοις ἐκείσε χρὴ τὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ οἰκεῖα μὴ κινεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παριδεῖν τι καὶ παρα-
2 κούσαι τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων. οὐ προσέχοντος δὲ τοῦ Διοφάνους, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμβαλόντος ἅμα τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ βαδιζόντων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ἔργον οὐ νόμιμον, οὐδ' ἀπηκριβωμένον ἐκ τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλὰ μέγα καὶ μεγάλῳ φρονήματι τολμήσας, εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα παρήλθε καὶ τὸν τε στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸν ὑπατον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰδιώτης ὧν ἀπέκλεισε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς ἔπαυσε καὶ κατέστησε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν εἰς τὸ κοινόν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦσαν.

3 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐγκαλέσας τι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις στρατηγῶν ὁ Φιλοποίμην τὰς μὲν φυγὰς κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥς Πολύβιός φησιν, ὥς δὲ

¹ Philopoemen was for the sixth time general in 188 B.C.

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from their friends. Such was his splendid spirit in matters of money.

XVI. Soon, however, Diophanes, the general of the Achaean league, hearing that the Lacedaemonians were once more agitating for a change, determined to punish them, and the Lacedaemonians, determining upon war, were throwing the Peloponnesus into confusion. Here Philopoemen tried to mollify Diophanes and put a stop to his wrath, showing him what the occasion demanded, and that since King Antiochus and the Romans were hovering about in Greece with armies so great, it behoved the general of the league to pay attention to them, and not to stir up domestic troubles, but even to be somewhat oblivious to the transgressions of his colleagues. Diophanes, however, paid no heed to this advice, but invaded Laconia along with Titus Flamininus, and marched directly upon the city of Sparta. Incensed at this, Philopoemen ventured upon an act which was not lawful, nor even exactly just, but great and prompted by a great spirit. He went on past them into Sparta, and, private man though he was, shut out therefrom both the general of the Achaean league and the Roman consul, put an end to the disorders in the city, and brought the Lacedaemonians back again into the league, as they were at the outset.

At a later time, however, when he had some ground for accusation against the Lacedaemonians, as general of the league¹ Philopoemen brought back its exiles to the city, and put to death eighty Spartans, according to Polybius,² or according to

¹ In a passage not extant. Livy gives the same number (xxxviii. 33).

- 4 Ἀριστοκράτης, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους. τὰ δὲ τείχη καθεῖλε, χώραν δὲ πολλὴν ἀποτεμόμενος προσένειμε τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἀποδεδειγμένοι πολῖται τῆς Σπάρτης, μετῴκιζεν ἅπαντας ἀπάγων εἰς Ἀχαΐαν πλὴν τρισχιλίων· τούτους δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας καὶ μὴ βουλομένους ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἐπώλησεν, εἰθ' οἶον ἐφυβρίζων ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει στοὰν ᾠκοδόμησεν.
- 5 ἐμπιπλάμενος δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν πεπραχόσιν ἐπεμβαίνων, τὸ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔργον ὠμότατον ἐξειργάσατο καὶ παρανομώτατον. ἀνείλε γὰρ καὶ διέφθειρε τὴν Λυκούργειον ἀγωγὴν, ἀναγκάσας τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους τὴν Ἀχαϊκὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου παιδείας μεταβαλεῖν, ὥς οὐδέποτε μικρὸν ἐν τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις φρονήσοντας.
- 6 Τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν μεγάλων ὥσπερ νεῦρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκτεμεῖν τῷ Φιλοποίμενι παρασχόντες, ἐγένοντο χειροήθεις καὶ ταπεινοί, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τὴν μὲν Ἀχαϊκὴν ἔφυγον πολιτείαν, ἀνέλαβον δὲ καὶ κατεστήσαντο τὴν πάτριον, ὥς ἦν ἀνυστὸν ἐκ κακῶν καὶ φθορᾶς τηλικαύτης.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἐν 366
τῇ Ἑλλάδι συνέστη πόλεμος, ἦν μὲν ἰδιώτης ὁ
Φιλοποίμην, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον αὐτὸν ἐν
Χαλκίδι καθήμενον περὶ γάμους καὶ παρθένων

¹ In 184 B.C. (Livy, xxxix. 34).

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Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty. He also tore down the walls of the city, and cutting off a large part of its territory, annexed it to Megalopolis; moreover, in the case of those who had been made citizens of Sparta by the tyrants, he removed them all into Achaia, with the exception of three thousand who would not obey him and were unwilling to go away from Sparta. These he sold into slavery, and then, as if in mockery of their fate, erected a portico in Megalopolis with the money which they brought. And now, glutting his anger at the Lacedaemonians and unworthily trampling upon them in their misery, he treated their constitution in the most cruel and most lawless fashion. For he took away and abolished the system of training which Lycurgus had instituted, and compelled their boys and their young men to adopt the Achaean in place of their hereditary discipline, being convinced that while they were under the laws of Lycurgus they would never be humble.

For the time being, then, owing to their great calamities, the Spartans suffered Philopoemen to cut away, as it were, the sinews of their city, and became tractable and submissive; but a while afterwards,¹ having obtained permission from the Romans, they abandoned the Achaean polity, and resumed and re-established that which had come down from their fathers, so far as was possible after their many misfortunes and great degeneration.

XVII. When the Romans went to war with Antiochus in Greece,² Philopoemen was without command, and seeing that Antiochus himself was sitting idly down in Chalcis and spending his time

¹ In 191 B.C. Cf. the *Flamininus*, xv.

- ἔρωτας οὐ καθ' ὥραν σχολάζοντα, τοὺς δὲ Σύρους ἐν ἀταξίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ χωρὶς ἡγεμόνων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πλαζομένους καὶ τρυφῶντας, ἤχθετο μὴ στρατηγῶν τότε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔλεγε φθονεῖν τῆς νικῆς. “Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄν,” ἔφη, “στρατηγῶν ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις κατέκοψα τούτους
 2 πάντας.” ἐπεὶ δὲ νικήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐνεφύοντο τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μᾶλλον ἤδη, καὶ περιεβάλλοντο τῇ δυνάμει τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑποκατακλινομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἡ δ' ἰσχὺς ἐπὶ πάντα πολλὴ μετὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐχώρει, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐγγὺς ἦν εἰς ὃ τὴν τύχην ἔδει περιφερομένην ἐξικέσθαι, καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης πρὸς κύμα διεριδόμενος ὁ Φιλοποίμην τὰ μὲν ἐνδιδόναι καὶ παρείκειν ἡναγκάζετο τοῖς καιροῖς, περὶ δὲ τῶν πλείστων διαφερόμενος τοὺς τῷ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἰσχύοντας ἀντισπᾶν ἐπειρᾶτο πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
- 3 Ἀρισταίνου δὲ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολίτου δυναμένου μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς μέγιστον, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους αἰὲν θεραπεύοντος καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ οἰομένου δεῖν ἐναντιοῦσθαι μηδὲ ἀχαριστεῖν ἐκείνοις, ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λέγεται τὸν Φιλοποίμενα σιωπᾶν ἀκούοντα καὶ βαρέως φέρειν, τέλος δὲ ὑπ' ὀργῆς δυσανασχετοῦντα πρὸς τὸν Ἀρίσταινον εἰπεῖν·
 “ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τί σπεύδεις τὴν πεπρωμένην τῆς
 4 Ἑλλάδος ἐπιδεῖν;” Μανίου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτου νενικηκότος μὲν Ἀντίοχον, αἰτουμένου δὲ

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in a courtship and marriage which were not suited to his years,¹ while his Syrian troops, in great disorder and without leaders, were wandering about among the cities and living luxuriously, he was distressed because he was not general of the Achaeans at that time, and kept saying that he begrudged the Romans their victory. "For if I had been general," he said, "I would have cut off all these fellows in their taverns." But soon the Romans, after conquering Antiochus, applied themselves more closely to the affairs of Greece. They encompassed the Achaean league with their power, since the popular leaders gradually inclined to their support; their strength, under the guidance of the heavenly powers, grew great in all directions; and the consummation was near to which the fortunes of Greece must come in their allotted revolution. Here Philopoemen, like a good helmsman contending against a high sea, was in some points compelled to give in and yield to the times; but in most he continued his opposition, and tried to draw to the support of freedom the men who were powerful in speech or action.

Aristaenus the Megalopolitan² was a man of the greatest influence among the Achaeans, but he always paid court to the Romans and thought that the Achaeans ought not to oppose or displease them in any way. As this man was once speaking in the assembly, we are told that Philopoemen listened to him a while in silent indignation, but at last, overcome by anger, said to him: "My man, why art thou eager to behold the fated end of Greece?" Again, Manius, the Roman consul, after his victory

¹ Cf. the *Flaminius*, xvi. i. ² Cf. chapter xiii. 4.

παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὅπως ἐάσωσι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων φυγάδας κατελθεῖν, καὶ Τίτου ταῦτὸ τῷ Μανίῳ περὶ τῶν φυγάδων ἀξιούντος, διεκώλυσεν ὁ Φιλοποίμην οὐ τοῖς φυγάσι πολεμῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ Τίτου μηδὲ Ῥωμαίων χάριτι τοῦτο πραχθῆναι· καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰς τοῦπιόν αὐτὸς κατήγαγε τοὺς φυγάδας. οὕτως εἶχέ τι πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ φρονήματος δύσερι καὶ φιλόνεικον.

XVIII. Ἦδη δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτος ἐβδομηκοστόν, ὀγδοοὺν δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγῶν, ἡλπιζεν οὐ μόνον ἐκείνην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέμῳς διάξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ μεθ' ἡσυχίας καταβιώναι τὰ πράγματα παρέξειν. ὥς γὰρ αἱ νόσοι ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ῥώμαις συναπομαραίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσιν ἐπι-
2 λειπούσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἔλγηε τὸ φιλόνεικον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Νέμεσις τις ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν εὐδρομοῦντα πρὸς τέρμασι τοῦ βίου κατέβαλε. λέγεται γὰρ ἔν τινι συλλόγῳ τῶν παρόντων ἐπαινούντων ἄνδρα δεινὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα περὶ στρατηγίαν εἰπεῖν τὸν Φιλοποίμενα, “ Καὶ πῶς ἄξιον ἐκείνου λόγον ἔχειν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅστις ἡλὼ ζῶν ὑπὸ τῶν
3 πολεμίων;” μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ ὀλίγας Δεινοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος, ἄνθρωπος ἰδίᾳ τε τῷ Φιλοποίμενι προσκεκρουκῶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαχθῆς διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν, τὴν τε Μεσσήνην ἀπέ-

¹ Cf. chapter xiii. 3.

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over Antiochus, asked the Achaeans to permit the exiles from Sparta to go back home, and Titus Flamininus joined Manius in making this request. But Philopoemen successfully opposed the request, not out of hostility to the exiles, but from a desire that they should owe this favour to himself and the Achaeans, and not to Flamininus and the Romans; indeed, as general for the following year he restored the exiles to their city.¹ To such a degree did his lofty spirit lead him to strive and contend against men in power.

XVIII. But being now seventy years of age, and for the eighth time general of the Achaeans,² he hoped not only to pass that year of office without war, but also that affairs would permit him to spend the rest of his life in peace and quiet. For as our diseases seem to lose their virulence as our bodily strength declines, so among the Greek cities the spirit of contention lapsed as their power waned. Nevertheless, some divine displeasure threw him down, like an all but victorious runner, at the very goal of his life. For it is recorded that at some conference, when others present were lavishing praise upon one who was reputed to be a redoubtable general, Philopoemen contemptuously said: "Yet why should any account be made of this man, who has been taken alive by his enemies?" And a few days afterwards Deinocrates the Messenian, a man who had a private quarrel with Philopoemen³ and was obnoxious to everybody else because of his baseness and unbridled life, induced Messene to

² In 182 B.C. Plutarch passes over the years 187-183, during which the Achaean league and Philopoemen came increasingly into collision with the Roman power.

³ Cf. the *Flamininus*, xvii. 3.

- στησε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ κώμην τὴν καλουμένην
 Κολωνίδα προσηγγέλθη μέλλων καταλαμβάνειν.
 ὁ δὲ Φιλοποίμην ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν Ἀργεὶ πυρέσσων,
 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα συνέτεινεν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν
 ἡμέρα μιᾷ σταδίου πλείονας ἢ τετρακοσίους.
 4 κακείθεν εὐθὺς ἐβοήθει τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἀναλαβών,
 οἵπερ ἦσαν ἐνδοξότατοι μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν, νέοι δὲ
 κομιδῇ, δι' εὐνοίαν τοῦ Φιλοποίμενος καὶ ζῆλον
 ἐθελονταὶ συστρατεύοντες. ἵππασάμενοι δὲ πρὸς
 τὴν Μεσσήνην καὶ περὶ τὸν Εὐάνδρου λόφον
 5 ἀπαντῶντι τῷ Δεινοκράτει συμπεσόντες ἐκείνον 367
 μὲν ἐτρέψαντο, τῶν δὲ πεντακοσίων, οἱ τὴν χώραν
 τῶν Μεσσηνίων παρεφύλαττον, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιφερο-
 μένων καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἡττημένων, ὥς τούτους
 κατείδον, αὐθις ἀνὰ τοὺς λόφους ἀθροιζομένων,
 δείσας ὁ Φιλοποίμην κυκλωθῆναι καὶ τῶν ἵππέων
 φειδόμενος ἀνεχώρει διὰ τόπων χαλεπῶν, αὐτὸς
 οὐραγῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀντεξελαύνων τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις καὶ ὅλως ἐπισπώμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, οὐ
 τολμώντων ἀντεμβαλεῖν ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ κραυγαῖς
 6 καὶ περιδρομαῖς χρωμένων ἀποθεν. ἀφιστάμενος
 οὖν πολλάκις διὰ τοὺς νεανίσκους καὶ καθ' ἕνα
 παραπέμπων ἔλαθεν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπομονωθεὶς
 πολεμίοις. καὶ συνάψαι μὲν εἰς χεῖρας οὐδεὶς
 ἐτόλμησεν αὐτῷ, πόρρωθεν δὲ βαλλόμενος καὶ
 βιαζόμενος πρὸς χωρία πετρώδη καὶ παράκρημα
 χαλεπῶς μετεχειρίζετο καὶ κατέξαινε τὸν ἵππον.
 7 αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ μὲν γῆρας ὑπὸ ἀσκήσεως πολλῆς
 ἐλαφρὸν ἦν καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον εἰς τὸ

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revolt from the Achaean league, and was reported about to seize the village called Colonis. Philopoemen at the time lay sick of a fever at Argos, but on learning these facts, he hastened to Megalopolis in a single day, a journey of more than four hundred furlongs. From there he at once set out for the rescue, taking with him the horsemen. These were the city's most prominent men, but altogether young, and serving as volunteers under Philopoemen out of good will and admiration for him. They rode off towards Messene and encountered Deinocrates, who came to meet them at Evander's hill. Him they put to flight; but the five hundred men who were guarding the open country of Messene suddenly attacked them, and when those who had before been worsted saw this, they collected together along the hills. Then Philopoemen, fearing that he would be enveloped, and trying to spare his horsemen, withdrew over difficult ground, bringing up the rear himself and frequently riding out against the enemy, and trying to draw their attacks entirely upon himself. They did not venture, however, to return his attacks, but merely shouted and threatened his flanks. Withdrawing from the line frequently, then, to spare his young men, and sending them one by one into safety, before he was aware of it he was left alone among numerous enemies. Even then no one ventured to come to close quarters with him, but he was pelted with missiles from a distance and forced upon rocky and precipitous places, so that he had difficulty in managing his horse and kept tearing him with the spur. His age, owing to his generous exercise, was not burdensome, and in no way impeded his escape; but at that time his body

σωθῆναι, τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν τοῦ σώματος ἐνδεοὺς γεγονότος καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν κατακόπου, βαρὺν ὄντα καὶ δυσκίνητον ἤδη σφαλεῖς ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέβαλε. σκληροῦ δὲ τοῦ πτώματος γενομένου καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς παθούσης ἔκειτο πολὺν χρόνον ἄναυδος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τεθνάναι δόξαντας αὐτὸν ἐπιχει-
 8 ρεῖν στρέφειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ σκυλεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας διέβλεψεν, ἀθρόοι περιπε-
 σόντες ἀπέστρεφον αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ὀπίσω καὶ δῆσαντες ἤγον, ὕβρει χρώμενοι πολλῇ καὶ λοιδο-
 ρία κατ' ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ ὄναρ ἂν ποτε παθεῖν ὑπὸ Δεινοκράτους ταῦτα προσδοκήσαντος.

XIX. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ μὲν ἀγγελία θαυμα-
 στῶς ἐπαρθέντες ἠθροίζοντο περὶ τὰς πύλας· ὥς
 δὲ εἶδον ἐλκόμενον τὸν Φιλοποίμενα παρ' ἀξίαν
 τῆς τε δόξης καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἔργων καὶ τρο-
 παίων, ἡλέησαν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ συνήλγησαν,
 ὥστε καὶ δακρῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐκφλαυ-
 ρίσαι δύναμιν ὥς ἄπιστον καὶ τὸ μηδὲν οὔσαν.
 2 οὕτω δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς πολλοὺς φιλόανθρωπος
 ἐχώρει λόγος ὥς μνημονευτέον εἶη τῶν πρόσθεν
 εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἣν ἀπέδωκεν
 αὐτοῖς Νάβιν ἐξελάσας τὸν τύραννον. ὀλίγοι δὲ
 ἦσαν οἱ τῷ Δεινοκράτει χαριζόμενοι στρεβλοῦν
 τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κτείνειν ἐκέλευον ὥς βαρὺν πολέ-
 μον καὶ δυσμεΐλικτον, αὐτῷ τε Δεινοκράτει
 φοβερώτερον εἰ διαφύγοι καθυβρισμένος ὑπ'
 3 αὐτοῦ καὶ γεγονῶς αἰχμάλωτος. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ
 κομίσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Θησαυρόν,
 οἶκημα κατάγειοι οὔτε πνεῦμα λαμβάνον οὔτε
 φῶς ἔξωθεν οὔτε θύρας ἔχον, ἀλλὰ μεγάλῳ λίθῳ

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was enfeebled by sickness and worn out with a long journey, so that he was heavy and stiff, and at length his horse stumbled and threw him to the ground. His fall was a heavy one and his head was hurt, and he lay for a long time speechless, so that his enemies thought him dead and tried to turn his body over and strip it of its armour. But when he raised his head and opened his eyes, they threw themselves in a throng upon him, tied his hands behind his back, and led him away, treating with great insolence and contumely a man who could never have even dreamed that he would suffer such a fate at the hands of Deinocrates.

XIX. The people of Messene, wonderfully elated at the news, gathered in throngs at the gates. But when they saw Philopoemen dragged along in a manner unworthy of his fame and of his former exploits and trophies, most of them were struck with pity and felt sympathy for him, so that they actually shed tears and spoke with bitterness of the inconstancy and vanity of human greatness. And so, little by little, many were led to say humanely that they ought to remember his former benefactions, and especially how he had restored to them their freedom by expelling the tyrant Nabis. But there were a few who, to gratify Deinocrates, urged that the captive should be tortured and put to death as a stern and implacable enemy, and one more than ever to be feared by Deinocrates himself in case he made his escape after having been taken prisoner and loaded with insults by him. However, they carried Philopoemen into the Thesaurus, as it was called, a subterranean chamber which admitted neither air nor light from outside and had no door,

περιαγομένῳ κατακλειόμενον, ἐνταῦθα κατέθεντο, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπιρράξαντες ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους κύκλῳ περιέστησαν.

- 4 Οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἀναλαμβάνοντες αὐτούς, ὡς οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ἦν ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ἀλλ' ἐδόκει τεθνάναι, πολλὸν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέστησαν ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ διδόντες ἀλλήλοις λόγον ὡς αἰσχροὺς σωτηρίαν καὶ ἄδικον σώζονται προέμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν στρατηγὸν
- 5 ἀφειδήσαντα τοῦ ζῆν δι' αὐτούς, ἔπειτα προϊόντες ἅμα καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντες ἐπύθοντο τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διήγγελλον εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. οἱ δὲ συμφορὰν ποιούμενοι μεγάλην ἀπαιτεῖν μὲν ἔγνωσαν τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων πρεσβείαν πέμψαντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν.

XX. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἔπραττον. Ὁ δὲ Δεινοκράτης μάλιστα τὸν χρόνον ὡς σωτήριον τῷ Φιλοποίμηνι δεδοικῶς καὶ φθάσαι τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βουλόμενος, ἐπεὶ νύξ ἐπῆλθε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησε τῶν Μεσσηνίων, ἀνοίξας τὸ δεσμωτήριον εἰσέπεμψε δημόσιον οἰκέτην φάρμακον κομίζοντα, προσενεγκεῖν καὶ παραστήναι 368

- 2 μέχρι ἂν ἐκπῇ κελεύσας. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ χλαμυδίῳ κατακείμενος, οὐ καθεύδων, ἀλλὰ λύπη καὶ θορύβῳ κατεχόμενος, ἰδὼν δὲ φῶς καὶ παρεστώτα πλησίον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντα τὴν κύλικα τοῦ φαρμάκου, συναγαγὼν μόλις ἑαυτὸν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας ἀνεκάθιζε. καὶ δεξάμενος ἠρώτησεν εἰ

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but was closed by dragging a huge stone in front of it. Here they placed him, and after planting the stone against it, set a guard of armed men round about.

Meanwhile the horsemen of the Achaeans recovered themselves after their flight, and when Philopoemen was nowhere to be seen, but was thought to be dead, they stood for a long time calling aloud upon their leader and reproaching one another for having won an unlawful and shameful safety by abandoning to the enemy their general, who had been prodigal of his life for their sakes. Then they went forward in a body, and by diligent effort learned of his capture, and sent word of it to the cities of the Achaeans. The Achaeans felt that they had suffered a great calamity, and determined to send an embassy and demand Philopoemen from the Messenians, while they themselves prepared an expedition against the city.

XX. The Achaeans, then, were thus engaged. But Deinocrates, who feared that delay was the one thing most likely to save Philopoemen, and wished to forestall the efforts of the Achaeans, when night came on and the multitude of Messene had dispersed, opened the prison and sent in a public official with poison, ordering him to give it to Philopoemen and to stand by his side until he had drunk it. Now, Philopoemen was lying down wrapped in his soldier's cloak, not sleeping, but overwhelmed with trouble and grief. When, however, he saw a light and a man standing by him holding the cup of poison, he pulled himself together as much as his weakness permitted and sat up. Then taking the cup he asked the man if he had heard anything

τι περὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ μάλιστα Λυκόρτα πεπυ-
 3 σμένος ἐστίν. εἰπόντος δὲ τὰνθρώπου διαπεφευ-
 γέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἐπένευσε τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ
 διαβλέψας πρῶως πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, “Εὖ
 λέγεις,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ πάντα κακῶς πεπράχαμεν.”
 ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν εἰπὼν μηδὲ φθεγξάμενος ἐξέπτε καὶ
 πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀπέκλινεν, οὐ πολλὰ πράγματα τῷ
 φαρμάκῳ παρασχών, ἀλλ’ ἀποσβεσθεὶς ταχὺ διὰ
 τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

XXI. Ὡς οὖν ὁ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς λόγος ἦκεν
 εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, τὰς μὲν πόλεις αὐτῶν κοινὴ
 κατήφεια καὶ πένθος εἶχεν, οἱ δ’ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μετὰ
 τῶν προβούλων συνελθόντες εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν
 οὐδ’ ἡντινοῦν ἀναβολὴν ἐποίησαντο τῆς τιμωρίας,
 ἀλλ’ ἐλόμενοι στρατηγὸν Λυκόρταν εἰς τὴν Μεσση-
 νίαν ἐνέβαλον καὶ κακῶς ἐποιοῦν τὴν χώραν, ἄχρι
 2 οὗ συμφρονήσαντες ἐδέξαντο τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς. καὶ
 Δεινοκράτης μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν φθάσας διεχρήσατο,
 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοις μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἔδοξε Φιλο-
 ποίμενα δι’ αὐτῶν¹ ἀπέθνησκον, ὅσοις δὲ καὶ
 βασανίσαι, τούτους ἐπ’ αἰκίαις ἀπολουμένους
 συνελάμβανεν ὁ Λυκόρτας. τὸ δὲ σῶμα καύ-
 σαντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ λείψανα συνθέντες εἰς
 ὑδρίαν ἀνεξεύγνυσαν, οὐκ ἀτάκτως οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν,
 ἀλλ’ ἐπινίκιον πομπὴν τινα ἅμα ταῖς ταφαῖς
 3 μίξαντες. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐστεφανωμένους ἰδεῖν, ἦν
 δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ δακρύνοντας, ἦν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 δεσμίους ἀγομένους. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὑδρίαν ὑπὸ
 πλήθους ταινιῶν τε καὶ στεφάνων μόλις ὀρωμένην
 ἐκόμιζεν ὁ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παῖς

¹ δι’ αὐτῶν Bekker and Blass have δι’ αὐτῶν (died by their own hands), with Stephanus.

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about the horsemen, and particularly about Lycortas, and on being told by him that the greater part of them had escaped, he nodded his head, and with a kindly look at the man said to him: "That is good news, if we have not wholly lost." Without another word and even without a sigh he drained the cup and laid himself down again. He did not give the poison much to do, but breathed his last speedily, so weak was he.

XXI. Accordingly, when the report of his death reached the Achaeans, their cities were filled with general dejection and grief, and the men of military age, together with the members of the council, assembled at Megalopolis. With no delay whatsoever they proceeded to take revenge. They chose Lycortas general, invaded Messenia, and ravaged the country, until the Messenians with one consent received them into their city. Deinocrates anticipated their vengeance by making away with himself, but all the others who had voted to put Philopoemen to death they slew, and as for those who would have had him tortured also, these Lycortas seized and held for a more excruciating death. Then they burned Philopoemen's body, collected his ashes in an urn, and set out for home, not in loose or promiscuous order, but with a blending of triumphal procession and funeral rites. For their heads were wreathed with garlands while their eyes were full of tears, and they led their foes along with them in chains. The urn itself, almost hidden from sight by a multitude of fillets and wreaths, was borne by Polybius, the son of the Achaean general, and about

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- Πολύβιος καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὠπλισμένοι μὲν αὐτοί, τοῖς δ' ἵπποις κεκοσμημένοις ἐπηκολούθουν, οὔτε, οἶον ἐπὶ πένθει τοσοῦτῳ, κατηφεῖς οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ
- 4 γαυριῶντες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν διὰ μέσου πόλεων καὶ κωμῶν ἀπαντῶντες, ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐπανιόντα δεξιούμενοι, τῆς ὑδρίας ἐφήπτοντο, καὶ συμπροῆγον εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν. ὥς οὖν συνανεμίχθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, ὀλοφυρμὸς ἤδη διὰ παντὸς ἐχώρει τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιποθοῦσαν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βαρέως φέρουσαν, οἰομένην συναποβεβληκέναι τὸ πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.
- 5 Ἐτάφη μὲν οὖν, ὥς εἰκός, ἐνδόξως, καὶ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον οἱ τῶν Μεσσηνίων αἰχμάλωτοι κατελεύσθησαν. οὐσῶν δὲ πολλῶν μὲν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ, μεγάλων δὲ τιμῶν, ἃς αἱ πόλεις ἐψηφίσαντο, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κόρινθον ἀτυχήμασι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνελεῖν ἀπάσας καὶ διώκειν αὐτόν, ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὥσπερ ἔτι ζῶντα,
- 6 Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον καὶ κακόνουν γενέσθαι. λόγων δὲ λεχθέντων καὶ Πολυβίου πρὸς τὸν συκοφάντην ἀντειπόντος οὗθ' ὁ Μόμμιος οὔτε οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπέμειναν ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου τιμὰς ἀφανίσαι, καίπερ οὐκ ὀλίγα τοῖς περὶ Τίτον καὶ Μάνιον ἐναντιωθέντος, ἀλλὰ τῆς χρείας τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκείνοι καὶ τὸ

¹ In 146 B.C., at the close of Rome's war with the Achaean league.

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him were the chief men of the Achaeans. The soldiers followed after, in full armour themselves, and with their horses decorated; they were neither dejected in view of their great affliction nor exultant over their victory. Moreover, the people from the cities and villages on the way came to meet them, as if receiving Philopoemen on his return from an expedition; they laid their hands upon his urn, and accompanied him to Megalopolis. And so when they had been joined by the old men and by the women and children, a lamentation at once spread through the entire army and into the city, which longed for the presence of Philopoemen and was grievously cast down at his death, feeling that with him it had lost its supremacy among the Achaeans.

He was buried, then, as was fitting, with conspicuous honours, and at his tomb the captive Messenians were stoned to death. Many statues of him were erected and many honours decreed him by the cities. All these a Roman, in the disastrous days of Greece following the fall of Corinth,¹ attempted to have removed, and he attacked the memory of Philopoemen himself, accusing him, as if still alive, of having been a malevolent enemy of the Romans. After the proposal had been discussed and Polybius had spoken in opposition to Philopoemen's detractor, neither Mummius nor the members of the commission² would consent that the honours paid to an illustrious man should be obliterated, although he had made no little opposition to Flamininus and Manius. These judges distinguished, as

² A commission of ten, appointed by the Roman senate to settle the affairs of Greece. It was before this body that Philopoemen's memory was attacked and defended.

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καλόν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς διώριζον, ὀρθῶς
καὶ προσηκόντως τοῖς μὲν ὠφελούσι μισθὸν καὶ
χάριν παρὰ τῶν εὖ παθόντων, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς
τιμὴν ὀφείλεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀεὶ νομί-
ζοντες.

Ταῦτα περὶ Φιλοποίμενος.

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it would appear, between virtue and necessity, between honour and advantage. They rightly and fitly considered that benefactors ought always to receive reward and gratitude from their beneficiaries, and good men honour from the good.

So much concerning Philopoemen.

TITUS FLAMININUS

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V

ΤΙΤΟΣ

- Ι. "Ον δὲ παραβάλλομεν αὐτῷ, Τίτος Κοϊντίος 369
Φλαμινῖνος, ιδέαν μὲν ὁποῖος ἦν πάρεστι θεάσα-
σθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ χαλκῆς
εἰκόνας, ἥ κεῖται παρὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν
ἐκ Καρχηδόνας ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, γράμμα-
σιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένη, τὸ δὲ ἦθος ὁξὺς
λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ πρὸς χάριν.
2 οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἐλαφρὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ κολάζειν
καὶ οὐκ ἐπίμονος, πρὸς δὲ τὰς χάριτας τελεσι-
ουργὸς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσι διὰ παντὸς ὥσπερ
εὐεργέταις εὖνους, καὶ πρόθυμος, ὡς κάλλιστα
τῶν κτημάτων, τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
περιέπειν ἀεὶ καὶ σώζειν. φιλοτιμότητος δὲ καὶ
φιλοδοξότητος ᾧ ἐβούλετο τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ
μεγίστων πράξεων αὐτουργὸς εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς δεο-
μένοις εὖ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς εὖ ποιῆσαι δυνα-
μένοις ἔχαιρε, τοὺς μὲν ὕλην τῆς ἀρετῆς, τοὺς δὲ
ὥσπερ ἀντιπάλους πρὸς δόξαν ἡγούμενος.
3 Παιδευθεὶς δὲ παιδεῖαν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν τῶν
στρατιωτικῶν, πολλοὺς τότε καὶ μεγάλους τῆς

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I. In parallel with Philopoemen we shall put Titus Quintius Flamininus. What his outward appearance was may be seen by those who wish it from the bronze statue of him at Rome. It stands by the side of the great Apollo from Carthage, opposite the Circus,¹ and has upon it an inscription in Greek characters. As to his disposition, he is said to have been quick to show anger as well as to confer favours, though not in like extent. For he was gentle in his punishments and not persistent, whereas in his favours he was unremitting, always well disposed towards his beneficiaries as though they were his benefactors, and eager to protect at all times and preserve those who had ever met with kindness at his hands, as though they were his choicest possessions. But since he was covetous of honour and fame, he desired that his noblest and greatest achievements should be the result of his own efforts, and he took more pleasure in those who wanted to receive kindness than in those who were able to bestow it, considering that the former were objects upon which he could exercise his virtue, while the latter were his rivals, so to speak, in the struggle for fame.

From his earliest years he was trained in the arts of war, since at that time Rome was carrying on

¹ The Circus Flamininus is meant, which was erected in 221 B.C. by the censor Flamininus Nepos.

Ῥώμης ἀγωνιζομένης ἀγῶνας καὶ τῶν νέων εὐθύς
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ στρατεύεσθαι στρατηγεῖν διδασκο-
 μένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀντίβαν πολέμῳ
 χιλίαρχος ὑπατεύοντι Μαρκέλλῳ συνεστρατεύ-
 4 σατο. καὶ Μάρκελλος μὲν ἐνέδρα περιπεσὼν
 ἐτελεύτησε, Τίτος δὲ τῆς περὶ Τάραντα χώρας
 καὶ Τύραντος αὐτοῦ τὸ δεύτερον ἡλωκότος ἔπαρχος
 ἀποδειχθεὶς εὐδοκίμησεν οὐχ ἡττον ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαί-
 οις ἢ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν. διὸ καὶ πεμπομένων
 ἀποίκων εἰς δύο πόλεις, Νάρνειάν τε καὶ Κῶνσαν,
 ἄρχων ἡρέθη καὶ οἰκιστής.

II. Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπῆρε μάλιστα τὰς διὰ
 μέσου καὶ συνήθεις τοῖς νέοις ἀρχὰς ὑπερβάντα,
 δημαρχίαν καὶ στρατηγίαν καὶ ἀγορανομίαν, εὐθύς
 αὐτὸν ὑπατείας ἀξιοῦν· καὶ κατῆι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
 κληρουχιῶν ἔχων προθύμους. τῶν δὲ περὶ
 Φούλβιον καὶ Μάνιον δημάρχων ἐνισταμένων καὶ
 δεινὸν εἶναι λεγόντων ἄνδρα νέον εἰς τὴν μεγίστην
 ἀρχὴν εἰσβιάζεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἶον ἀτέ-
 λεστον ἔτι τῶν πρώτων ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων τῆς
 2 πολιτείας, ἣ μὲν σύγκλητος ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ
 τὴν ψῆφον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὑπατον
 μετὰ Σέξτου Αἰλίου, καίπερ οὐπω τριάκοντα ἔτη
 γεγονότα. κλήρῳ δὲ λαγχάνει τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον
 καὶ Μακεδόνας πόλεμον, εὐτυχία τινὶ τῶν Ῥωμαί-
 ων συλλαχὼν πράγμασι καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐ πάντα
 πολέμῳ καὶ βίᾳ χρωμένου δεομένοις ἄρχοντος,

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many great contests and her young men from the very outset were taught by service as soldiers how to command soldiers. To begin with, then, he served as military tribune in the war against Hannibal under Marcellus the consul. Marcellus fell into an ambush and lost his life,¹ but Titus was appointed governor of the country about Tarentum and of Tarentum itself, now captured for the second time. Here he won a good name, no less for his administration of justice than for his conduct in the field. For this reason he was also chosen director-in-chief of the colonists sent out to the two cities of Narnia and Cosa.

II. This success more than anything else so exalted his ambition that he ignored the intervening offices which young men generally sought, the offices of tribune, praetor, and aedile, and thought himself worthy at once of a consulship; so he became a candidate for that office, with the eager support of his colonists. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manius opposed his course, and said that it was a monstrous thing for a young man to force his way into the highest office contrary to the laws, before he had been initiated, as it were, into the first rites and mysteries of government. The senate, however, referred the matter to the votes of the people, and the people elected him consul² along with Sextus Aelius, although he was not yet thirty years old. The lot assigned him to the war with Philip and the Macedonians, and it was a marvellous piece of good fortune for the Romans that he was thus designated for a field of activity where the people did not require a leader relying entirely upon war and

¹ In 208 B.C. Cf. the *Marcellus*, xxviii. f. ² In 198 B.C.

- ἀλλὰ πειθοῖ καὶ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον ἀλωσίμοις.
- 3 Φιλίππῳ γὰρ ἦν στόμωμα μὲν εἰς μάχην ἀπο-
 χρῶν ἢ Μακεδόνων ἀρχή, ῥώμη δὲ πολέμου
 τριβὴν ἔχοντος καὶ χορηγία καὶ καταφυγὴ καὶ
 ὄργανον ὅλως τῆς φάλαγγος ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 δύναμις, ὧν μὴ διαλυθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου
 μιᾶς μάχης οὐκ ἦν ἔργον ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμος.
- 4 ἡ δ' Ἑλλὰς οὐπω πολλὰ συνεννηγεμένη Ῥωμαίοις,
 ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον ἐπιμιγνυμένη ταῖς πράξεσιν,
 εἰ μὴ φύσει τε χρηστὸς ἦν ὁ ἄρχων καὶ λόγῳ
 μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ἐντυγχάνοντί τε 370
 προσῆν πιθανότης καὶ πραότης ἐντυγχανομένῳ
 καὶ τόνος πλείστος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, οὐκ ἂν
 οὕτως ῥαδίως ἀντὶ τῶν συνήθων ἀλλόφυλον ἀρχὴν
 ἡγάπησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῦ
 δηλοῦται.

III. Πυνθανόμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ
 στρατηγούς, τοῦτο μὲν Σουλπίκιον, τοῦτο δὲ
 Πόπλιον, ὁψὲ τῆς ὥρας ἐμβαλόντας εἰς Μακε-
 δονίαν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου βραδέως ἀψαμένους
 κατατετριφθαι τοπομαχοῦντας καὶ διαπληκτιζο-
 μένους ἀκροβολισμοῖς ὑπὲρ ὁδῶν καὶ σιτολογίας

2 πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐκ ᾔετο δεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι
 καταναλώσαντες οἴκοι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τιμαῖς καὶ
 πολιτείαις ὕστερον ἐξώρμησαν ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας,
 οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπικερδᾶναι τῇ ἀρχῇ,
 τὸν μὲν ὑπατεύσας, τῷ δὲ πολεμήσας, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ

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violence, but were rather to be won over by persuasion and friendly intercourse. For the realm of Macedonia afforded Philip a sufficiently strong force for actual battle, but in a war of long duration his phalanx was dependent for its vigour, its support, its places of refuge, and in a word for its entire effectiveness, upon the states of Greece, and unless these were detached from Philip, the war with him would not be a matter of a single battle. Greece, however, had not yet been brought into much contact with the Romans, and now for the first time was drawn into political relations with them. Unless, therefore, the Roman commander had been a man of native goodness who relied upon argument more than upon war, and unless he had been persuasive when he asked an audience and kind when he granted one, ever laying the greatest stress upon what was right and just, Greece would not so easily have been satisfied with a foreign supremacy instead of those to which she had been accustomed. However, this will be made clear in the story of his achievements.

III. Titus learned that the generals who had preceded him in this field, first Sulpicius, and then Publius Villius, had invaded Macedonia late in the season, had prosecuted the war slowly, and had wasted time in manœuvring for position or in long range skirmishes with Philip to secure roads and provisions. These men had squandered the year of their consulship at home in the honours and political activities of their office, and afterwards had set out on their campaigns. But Titus did not think it right to imitate them and thus add a year to his term of office, acting as magistrate during one, and

φιλοτιμούμενος ἐνεργὸν τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 παρασχεῖν, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς καὶ προ-
 3 ἐδρίας ὑφῆκεν, αἰτησάμενος δὲ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ Λεύκιον ἄρχοντα νεῶν συστρα-
 τεύειν, καὶ τῶν μετὰ Σκηπίωνος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ μὲν
 Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐν Λιβύῃ δὲ Ἀννίβαν αὐτὸν κατα-
 μεμαχημένων τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ἔτι καὶ προθύμους
 ἀναλαβὼν ὥσπερ στόμωμα, τρισχιλίους γενο-
 μένους, εἰς τὴν Ἑπειρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διεπέρασε.
 4 καὶ τὸν Πόπλιον εὐρὼν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντι-
 στρατοπεδεύοντα τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὰς περὶ τὸν
 Ἄψον ποταμὸν ἐμβολὰς καὶ τὰ στενὰ φυλάτ-
 τουσι πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ περαίνοντα
 διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν χωρίων, παρέλαβε τὸ
 στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀποπέμψας κατε-
 σκέπτετο τοὺς τόπους. εἰσὶ δὲ ὀχυροὶ μὲν οὐχ
 ἦττον τῶν περὶ τὰ Τέμπη, κάλλη δὲ δένδρων, ὥς
 ἐκείνοι, καὶ χλωρότητα ὕλης καὶ διατριβὰς καὶ
 5 λειμῶνας ἡδεῖς οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ὁρῶν δὲ μεγάλων
 καὶ ὑψηλῶν ἐκατέρωθεν εἰς μίαν φάραγγα με-
 γίστην καὶ βαθεῖαν συμφερομένων διεκπίπτων
 ὁ Ἄψος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ τάχος ἐξομοιοῦται πρὸς
 τὸν Πηνειόν, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἀποκρύπτων
 ὑπώρειαν, ἐκτομὴν δὲ κρημνώδη καὶ στενὴν παρὰ
 τὸ ρεῖθρον ἀπολείπων ἀτραπὸν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ῥα-
 δίαν στρατεύματι διελθεῖν, εἰ δὲ καὶ φυλάττοιτο,
 παντελῶς ἄπορον.

IV. Ἦσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ τὸν Τίτον ἄγειν κύκλῳ
 διὰ τῆς Δασσαρήτιδος κατὰ Λύκον εὐπορον

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as general for a second. On the contrary, he was ambitious to prosecute the war at the same time that he served as consul, and therefore renounced his honours and special privileges in the city, and after asking the senate that his brother Lucius might accompany him on his expedition as naval commander, he took with him as the main part of his force those of Scipio's soldiers who were still in full vigour of body and spirit after conquering Hasdrubal in Spain and Hannibal himself in Africa (they were three thousand in number), and crossed safely into Epirus. He found Publius Villius encamped with his forces over against Philip, who for a long time now had been guarding the narrow passes along the river Apsus. Publius was making no progress, owing to the strength of his adversary's position, and Titus therefore took over his army, sent Publius home, and began an examination of the ground. It has no less natural strength than the Vale of Tempe, but is without the beautiful trees, green woods, agreeable haunts, and pleasant meadows which there abound. Great and lofty mountains on either side slope down and form a single very large and deep ravine, and through this the Apsus dashes with a volume and speed which make it the equal of the Peneius. Its water covers all the rest of the ground at the foot of the mountains, but leaves a cut, precipitous and narrow, for a path along past its current; this path would not be easy for an army to traverse at any time, and when guarded, it would be utterly impassable.

IV. There were some, therefore, who tried to have Titus lead his forces by a roundabout way through

- ὁδὸν καὶ ῥαδίαν ἐπιχειροῦντες. ὁ δὲ δεδοικῶς μὴ
 πόρρω θαλάττης ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τόπους
 γλίσχρους καὶ σπειρομένους πονηρῶς τοῦ Φιλίπ-
 που φυγομαχοῦντος ἀπορήσῃ σιτίων καὶ πάλιν
 ἄπρακτος, ὥσπερ ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγός, ἀνα-
 χωρεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἔγνω
 προσβαλὼν ἀνὰ κράτος διὰ τῶν ἄκρων βιάσα-
 2 σθαι τὴν πάροδον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ὄρη τοῦ Φιλίππου
 τῇ φύλαγγι κατέχοντος, ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων παντα-
 χόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀκοντίων καὶ τοξευ-
 μάτων φερομένων, πληγαὶ μὲν ἐγίνοντο καὶ
 ἀγῶνες ὀξεῖς καὶ νεκροὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔπιπτον,
 οὐδὲν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας ἐφαίνετο, προσῆλθον
 ἄνθρωποι τῶν αὐτόθι νεμόντων φράζοντές τινα
 κύκλωσιν ἀμελουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἣ τὸν
 στρατὸν ἄξειν ὑπισχνοῦντο καὶ καταστήσειν
 3 μίλιστα τριταῖον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. γνώστην δὲ τῆς
 πίστεως παρείχοντο καὶ βεβαιωτὴν Χάροπα τὸν
 Μαχάτα, πρωτεύοντα μὲν Ἡπειρωτῶν, εὖνουν δὲ
 Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα καὶ κρύφα φόβῳ τοῦ Φιλίππου
 συναγωνιζόμενον. ὧ πιστεύσας ὁ Τίτος ἐκπέμπει
 χιλιάρχον ἓνα πεζοὺς ἔχοντα τετρακισχιλίους
 καὶ ἵππεῖς τριακοσίους. ἡγούντο δὲ οἱ νομεῖς
 ἐκεῖνοι δεδεμένοι· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἀνεπαύοντο
 κοίλους προβαλλόμενοι καὶ ὑλῶδεις τόπους,
 ὥδενον δὲ νύκτωρ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην· καὶ γὰρ ἦν
 διχόμηνος.
- 4 Ὁ δὲ Τίτος τούτους ἀποστείλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας 371
 ἡμέρας διανέπαυε τὸν στρατὸν ὅσα μὴ περισπᾶν
 τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους, καθ' ἣν δὲ
 ἐμελλον ὑπερφανήσεσθαι τῶν ἄκρων οἱ περιῶντες,

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Dassaretis towards Lycus, a safe and easy road. But he was afraid that if he went far away from the sea and got into regions that were poorly tilled and barren, while Philip avoided a battle, lack of provisions would compel him to come back again to the sea with his task undone, like the general who had preceded him. He therefore determined to attack with all his might, and force his passage through the heights. But Philip was occupying the mountains with his phalanx, and on the flanks of the Romans javelins and arrows came flying from all directions against them. Sharp encounters took place, men were wounded and men fell dead on both sides, and no end of the war was in sight. But at last some herdsmen of the vicinity came to Titus and told him of a roundabout path which the enemy was neglecting to guard; over this they promised to lead his army and bring it, in three days at the farthest, to a position on the heights. As surety and voucher for their good faith they brought Charops the son of Machatas, a leading man in Epirus, who was well-disposed to the Romans and was secretly co-operating with them through fear of Philip. In him Titus put confidence, and sent out a military tribune with four thousand foot-soldiers and three hundred horsemen. They were conducted by the herdsmen, who were in bonds. By day they rested under cover of caves or woody places, and they travelled in the night, by the light of the moon, which was at the full.

After sending off this detachment, Titus kept his army quiet for two days, except so far as he drew off the enemy's attention by skirmishes; but when the day came on which the enveloping party were expected to show themselves on the heights, at daybreak

ἄμ' ἡμέρα πᾶν μὲν βαρύν, πᾶν δὲ γυμνητικὸν ὄπλον ἐκίνει· καὶ τριχῇ νείμας τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὸ στενωτάτον παρὰ τὸ ρεῖθρον ὀρθίας ἀνήγε τὰς σπείρας βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ συμπλεκόμενος τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι περὶ
 5 τὰς δυσχωρίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐκατέρωθεν ἅμα πειρωμένων ἀμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ ταῖς τραχύτησιν ἐμφυομένων προθύμως, ὃ τε ἥλιος ἀνέσχε καὶ καπνὸς οὐ βέβαιος, ἀλλ' οἶον ὄρειος ὀμίχλη πόρρωθεν ἀνατέλλων καὶ διαφαινόμενος τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἐλάνθανε, κατὰ νότου γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἤδη τῶν ἄκρων ἐχομένων, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δόξαν ἔσχον ἀμφίβολον ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα
 6 πρὸς τὸ βουλόμενον λαμβάνοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξανόμενος καὶ διαμελαίνων τὸν α�έρα καὶ πολὺς ἄνω χωρῶν ἐδηλοῦτο πυρσὸς εἶναι φίλιος, οἱ μὲν ἀλαλάξαντες ἐπέβαινον ἐρρωμένως καὶ συνέστελλον εἰς τὰ τραχύτατα τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δὲ ὀπισθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἀντηλάλαξαν.

V. Φυγὴ μὲν οὖν ἦν εὐθύς ὀξεῖα πάντων, ἔπeson δὲ δισχιλίῳν οὐ πλείους· ἀφηροῦντο γὰρ αἱ δυσχωρίαι τὴν δίωξιν. χρήματα δὲ καὶ σκηναὶ καὶ θεραπείοντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαρπάσαντες ἐκράτουν τῶν στενῶν, καὶ διώδενον τὴν Ἡπειρον οὕτω κοσμίως καὶ μετ' ἐγκρατείας τοσαύτης ὥστε, τῶν πλοίων καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μακρὰν ὄντας αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὸν ἐπιμήνιον σῖτον μὴ μεμετρημένους οὐδ'

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he put all his heavy-armed and all his light-armed troops in motion. Dividing his forces into three parts, he himself led his cohorts in column formation up into the narrowest part of the ravine along the stream, pelted with missiles by the Macedonians and engaging at close quarters with those who confronted him at each difficult spot; the other divisions, one on either side, strove to keep pace with him, and grappled eagerly with the difficulties presented by the rough ground. Meanwhile the sun rose, and a smoke—not clearly defined, but resembling a mountain mist—lifted itself and came into view from afar. The enemy did not notice it, for it was behind them, where the heights were already occupied, and the Romans were of doubtful mind about it, but as they struggled and laboured on, they let their wishes determine their hopes. But when the smoke increased in size and darkened the air, and ascending in great volume was clearly seen to be a fire-signal from their friends, then the Romans below raised shouts of triumph and dashed upon their foes and crowded them together into the roughest places, while the Romans behind the enemy sent down answering shouts from the heights.

V. At once, then, the enemy fled precipitately, but not more than two thousand of them fell;¹ for the difficulties of the ground made pursuit impossible. However, the Romans made spoil of their money, tents, and slaves, mastered the pass, and traversed all parts of Epirus, but in such an orderly manner and with so great restraint that, although they were far from their fleet and the sea, and although their monthly rations of grain had not been measured out

¹ So Livy, xxxii. 12.

εὐποροῦντας ἀγρορᾶς, ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας ἀμ-
 2 φιλαφεῖς ὠφελείας ἐχούσης. ὁ γὰρ Τίτος πυν-
 θανόμενος τὸν Φίλιππον, ὡς ὅμοια φεύγοντι τὴν
 Θετταλίαν διερχόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ
 τῶν πόλεων ἀνίστησιν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, τὰς δὲ πόλεις
 καταπίμπρησι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὰ λειπόμενα
 διὰ πλήθος ἢ βάρος ἀρπαγὴν προτίθεται, τρόπον
 τινὰ τῆς χώρας ἐξιστάμενος ἤδη Ῥωμαίοις, ἐφι-
 3 λοτιμεῖτο καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας ὥσπερ
 οἰκείας καὶ παρακεχωρημένης κηδομένους βαδί-
 3 ζειν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ παρέίχεν αὐτοῖς τὰ γινόμενα
 τῆς εὐταξίας αἰσθῆσιν εὐθύς. προσεχώρουν μὲν
 γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἀψαμένοις Θετταλίας, οἱ δ' ἐντὸς
 Πυλῶν Ἕλληνες ἐπόθουν καὶ διεπτόνητο ταῖς
 ὁρμαῖς πρὸς τὸν Τίτον, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου
 συμμαχίαν ἀπειπάμενοι πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο
 4 μετὰ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὀπούντιοι δέ, καί-
 περ Αἰτωλῶν τότε Ῥωμαίοις συναγωνιζομένων
 προθυμότατα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀξιούντων παραλα-
 βεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν, οὐ προσέσχον, ἀλλὰ μεταπεμ-
 ψάμενοι τὸν Τίτον ἐκείνῳ διεπίστευσαν ἑαυτοὺς
 καὶ παρέδωκαν.

Πύρρον μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀπὸ
 σκοπῆς κατείδε τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων
 διακεκοσμημένον, εἰπεῖν οὐ βαρβαρικὴν αὐτῷ
 φανῆναι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων παράταξιν· οἱ δὲ
 Τίτῳ πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνοντες ἠναγκάζοντο παρα-
 5 πλησίας ἀφιέναι φωνάς. ἀκούοντες γὰρ τῶν
 Μακεδόνων ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων βαρβάρου στρα-

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to them and they could buy little, they nevertheless refrained from plundering the country, which offered abundant booty. For Titus had learned that Philip, in passing through Thessaly like a fugitive, was driving the inhabitants from their cities into the mountains, burning down the cities, and allowing his soldiers to plunder the wealth which was too abundant or too heavy to be carried away, thus in a manner ceding the country already to the Romans. Titus was therefore ambitious, and exhorted his soldiers accordingly to spare the country in marching through it, and to treat it as though it had been handed over to them and were their own. And indeed the results showed them at once the advantages of this orderly conduct. For as soon as they reached Thessaly the cities came over to them, the Greeks south of Thermopylae were all eagerness and excitement to find Titus, and the Achaeans, renouncing their alliance with Philip, voted to join the Romans in making war upon him. The Opuntians, moreover, although the Aetolians, who were at that time fighting most zealously on the side of the Romans, asked permission to take Opus in charge and protect the city, would not grant the request, but sent for Titus and gave themselves with the fullest confidence into his hands.

Now, we are told that Pyrrhus, when for the first time he beheld from a look-out place the army of the Romans in full array, had said that he saw nothing barbaric in the Barbarians' line of battle;¹ and so those who for the first time met Titus were compelled to speak in a similar strain. For they had heard the Macedonians say that a commander

¹ Cf. the *Pyrrhus*, xvi. 5.

τιῶς ἔπεισι δι' ὅπλων πάντα καταστρεφόμενος
καὶ δουλούμενος, εἴτα ἀπαντῶντες ἀνδρὶ τὴν τε
ἡλικίαν νέφ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φιλανθρώπῳ, φωνὴν
τε καὶ διάλεκτον "Ἑλληνι καὶ τιμῆς ἀληθοῦς
ἐραστῇ, θαυμασίως ἐκηλοῦντο, καὶ τὰς πόλεις
ἀπιόντες ἐνεπίμπλασαν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
6 ὥς ἐχούσας ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
Φιλίππῳ δοκοῦντι συμβατικῶς ἔχειν εἰς ταὐτὸν
ἐλθὼν προὔτεινεν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς
Ἑλλήνας αὐτονόμους ἔαν καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἀπαλ- 371
λάττειν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, παντάπασιν ἤδη τότε
καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσι τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου παρέστη
Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσοντας ἦκειν οὐχ "Ἑλλησιν,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων Μακεδόσι.

VI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα προσεχώρει καθ' ἡσυχίαν
αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ Βοιωτίαν ἀπολέμῳς ἐπιπορευομένῳ
Θηβαίων ἀπήντησαν οἱ πρῶτοι, φρονούντες μὲν
τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο διὰ Βραχύλλην, ἀσπαζόμενοι
δὲ καὶ τιμώντες τὸν Τίτον, ὥς φιλίας πρὸς ἀμφο-
2 τέρους ὑπαρχούσης. ὁ δ' ἐντυχὼν αὐτοῖς φιλαν-
θρώπως καὶ δεξιωσάμενος προῆγεν ἡσυχῇ καθ'
ὁδόν, τὰ μὲν ἐρωτῶν καὶ πυνθανόμενος, τὰ δὲ
διηγούμενος, καὶ παράγων ἐπίτηδες ἄχρι τοὺς
3 στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς πορείας. οὕτω δὲ
προάγων συνεισηλθε τοῖς Θηβαίοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
οὐ πάνυ μὲν ἡδομένοις, ὀκνοῦσι δὲ κωλύειν, ἐπεὶ

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of a barbarian host was coming against them, who subdued and enslaved everywhere by force of arms; and then, when they met a man who was young in years, humane in aspect, a Greek in voice and language, and a lover of genuine honour, they were wonderfully charmed, and when they returned to their cities they filled them with kindly feelings towards him and the belief that in him they had a champion of their liberties. After this Titus had a meeting with Philip (who seemed disposed to make terms), and proffered him peace and friendship on condition that he allowed the Greeks to be independent and withdraw his garrisons from their cities; but this proffer Philip would not accept. Then at last it became quite clear even to the partisans of Philip that the Romans were come to wage war, not upon the Greeks, but upon the Macedonians in behalf of the Greeks.

VI. Accordingly, the other parts of Greece came over to the side of Titus without any trouble; but as he was entering Boeotia without hostile demonstrations, the leading men of Thebes came to meet him. They were in sympathy with the Macedonian cause through the efforts of Brachyllas, but welcomed Titus and showed him honour, professing to be on friendly terms with both parties. Titus met and greeted them kindly, and then proceeded quietly on his journey, sometimes asking questions for his own information and sometimes discoursing at length, and purposely diverting them until his soldiers should come up from their march. Then he led them forward and entered the city along with the Thebans, who were not at all pleased thereat, but hesitated to oppose him, since a goodly number of

στρατιώται γε μέτριοι τὸ πλῆθος εἶποντο. καὶ μέντοι παρελθὼν ὁ Τίτος, ὡς οὐκ ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἔπειθεν ἐλῆσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως συναγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνεξορμῶντος τοὺς Θηβαίους. ἀλλ' Ἀτταλος μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ γήρως προθυμότερον ἑαυτὸν τῷ Τίτῳ ῥήτορα παρασχεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν προσπεσόντος ἱλίσσου τινὸς ἢ ῥεύματος ἄφνω τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐπιληφθεὶς ἔπεσε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀποκομισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

- VII. Φιλίππου δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε καὶ ὁ Τίτος παρ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πράξοντας ὅπως ἐπιψηφίσηται ἢ σύγκλητος χρόνον αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου μένοντος, εἰ δὲ μὴ, δι' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην γενέσθαι. φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ἰσχυρῶς ἐδεδόκει πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
- 2 ἑτέρου στρατηγοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. διαπραξαμένων δὲ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν Φίλιππον ὢν ἔχρηζε τυχεῖν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνῳ φυλαχθῆναι, δεξόμενος τὸ δόγμα καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπαρθεὶς εὐθύς εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον ὥρμησεν, ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίου καὶ δισμυρίου ἔχων στρατιώτας, ὧν Αἰτωλοὶ πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἵππεῖς τετρακοσίους παρείχον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸ στράτευμα τῷ πλήθει παραπλήσιον.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ βαδίζοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ γενόμενοι περὶ τὴν Σκοτοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν ἔμελ-

¹ Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.

² So Livy, xxxiii. 4.

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soldiers were in his following. Titus, however, just as though the city were not in his power, came before their assembly and tried to persuade them to side with the Romans, and Attalus the king seconded him in his appeals and exhortations to the Thebans. But Attalus, as it would appear, in his eagerness to play the orator for Titus, went beyond his aged strength, and in the very midst of his speech, being seized with a vertigo or an apoplexy, suddenly fainted and fell, and shortly afterwards was conveyed by his fleet to Asia, where he died. The Boeotians allied themselves with the Romans.

VII. Philip now sent an embassy to Rome, and Titus therefore dispatched thither his own representatives, who were to induce the senate to vote him an extension of command in case the war continued, or, if it did not, the power to make peace. For he was covetous of honour, and was greatly afraid that he would be robbed of his glory if another general were sent to carry on the war. His friends managed matters so successfully for him that Philip failed to get what he wanted and the command in the war was continued to Titus. On receiving the decree of the senate, he was lifted up in his hopes and at once hastened into Thessaly to prosecute the war against Philip. He had over twenty-six thousand soldiers, of whom six thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry were furnished by the Aetolians.¹ Philip's army also was of about the same size.²

The two armies advanced against each other until they came into the neighbourhood of Scotussa, and there they proposed to decide the issue by battle.³

¹ On the same battlefield Pelopidas had been defeated and slain by Alexander of Pherae, in 364 B.C. Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxxii.

στρατιῶται γε μέτριοι τὸ πλῆθος εἶποντο. καὶ μέντοι παρελθὼν ὁ Τίτος, ὡς οὐκ ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἔπειθεν ἐλέσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως συναγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνεξορμῶντος τοὺς Θηβαίους. ἀλλ' Ἀτταλος μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ γήρως προθυμότερον ἑαυτὸν τῷ Τίτῳ ῥήτορα παρασχεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν προσπεσόντος ἱλίου γινὸς ἢ ῥεύματος ἄφνω τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐπιληφθεὶς ἔπεσε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀποκομισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν· οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

- VII. Φιλίππου δὲ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε καὶ ὁ Τίτος παρ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πράξοντας ὅπως ἐπιψηφίσηται ἡ σύγκλητος χρόνον αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου μένοντος, εἰ δὲ μὴ, δι' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην γενέσθαι. φιλότιμος γὰρ ὢν ἰσχυρῶς ἐδεδίει πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
- 2 ἑτέρου στρατηγοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. διαπραξαμένων δὲ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν Φίλιππον ὢν ἔχρηζε τυχεῖν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνῳ φυλαχθῆναι, δεξιόμενος τὸ δόγμα καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπαρθεὶς εὐθύς εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον ὥρμησεν, ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίου καὶ δισμυρίου ἔχων στρατιώτας, ὢν Αἰτωλοὶ πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἵππεῖς τετρακοσίους παρείχον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸ στράτευμα τῷ πλήθει παραπλήσιον.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ βαδίζοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ γενόμενοι περὶ τὴν Σκοτοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν ἔμελ-

¹ Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.

² So Livy, xxxiii. 4.

soldiers were in his army, and he was as though the only one who was with them in their assembly and with the Romans, and he was in his appeal and exhortation. But Attalus, as it would seem, did not play the orator for his own strength, and in the very midst of the seizure with a surge of a ship, and fell, and shortly afterwards the fleet to Asia, where it joined themselves with the Romans.

VII. Philip now sent Titus therefore dispatching representatives, who were to him an extension of command, continued, or, if it did not, for he was covetous of power, afraid that he would be ruined if general were sent to carry on the managed matters so successfully, failed to get what he wanted, the war was continued, a decree of the senate, and at once hastened war against Philip. He had soldiers, of whom his army had hundred cavalry were Philip's army also was of about the same size.

The two armies, when they came into the region, there they prepared to fight.

On the same day, when they were slain by Alexander, the king of the xxxiii.

λον, οὐχ, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, πρὸς δέους ἔλαβον οἱ στρατοὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων γειτνίασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπληροῦντο, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν, εἰ Μακεδόνων κρατήσουσιν, ὧν ὄνομα δι' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀλκῆς καὶ δυνάμεως πλείστον ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς, Μακεδόνες δὲ Ῥωμαίους Περσῶν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν ἤλπιζον, εἰ περιγένοιτο, λαμπρό-
 4 τερον ἀποδείξειν Ἀλεξάνδρου Φίλιππον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τίτος παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι καὶ προθύμους, ὥς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ θεάτρῳ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μέλλοντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος, εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε ὑπὸ σπουδῆς παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀγνοήσας, ἦν γάρ τι πολυάνδριον ὑψηλὸν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπὶ τοῦτο προβὰς ἤρξατο μὲν, οἷα πρὸ μάχης φιλεῖ, διαλέγεσθαι καὶ παρορμᾶν, ἀθυμίας δὲ δεινῆς πρὸς τὸν οἰωνὸν ἐμπεσούσης διαταραχθεὶς ἐπέσχε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.

VIII. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον, ἐκ μαλακῆς καὶ νοτίου νυκτός, εἰς ὀμίχλην τῶν νεφῶν τρεπομένων, ἀνεπίμπλατο ζόφου βαθέος πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ κατῆι παχὺς ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων ἀῆρ εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων, εὐθύς ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἀποκρύπτων τοὺς τόπους. οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὑποσταλέντες ἐφεδρείας ἔνεκα καὶ κατασκοπῆς ἐν πάνυ βραχεῖ περιπεσόντες ἀλλή-
 • λοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Κυνὸς κεφαλῆς, αἱ λόφων οὔσαι πυκνῶν καὶ παραλλήλων

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Their mutual proximity did not inspire them with fear, as might have been expected; on the contrary, they were filled with ardour and ambition. For the Romans hoped to conquer the Macedonians, whose reputation for prowess and strength Alexander had raised to a very high pitch among them; and the Macedonians, who considered the Romans superior to the Persians, hoped, in case they prevailed over them, to prove Philip a more brilliant commander than Alexander. Accordingly, Titus exhorted his soldiers to show themselves brave men and full of spirit, assured that they were going to contend against the bravest of antagonists in that fairest of all theatres, Greece; and Philip, too, began a speech of exhortation to his soldiers, as is the custom before a battle. But, either by chance or from ignorance due to an inopportune haste, he had ascended for this purpose a lofty mound outside his camp, beneath which many men lay buried in a common grave, and a dreadful dejection fell upon his listeners in view of the omen, so that he was deeply troubled and refrained from battle that day.

VIII. Towards morning on the following day, after a mild and damp night, the clouds turned to mist, the whole plain was filled with profound darkness, a dense air came down from the heights into the space between the two camps, and as soon as day advanced all the ground was hidden from view. The parties sent out on either side for purposes of ambush and reconnoissance encountered one another in a very short time and went to fighting near what are called the *Cynoscephalæ*, or *Dog's Heads*. These are the sharp tops of hills lying close alongside one another,

ἄκραι λεπταὶ δὲ ὁμοιότητα τοῦ σχήματος οὕτως 373
 2 ὠνομάσθησαν. γενομένων δὲ οἶον εἰκὸς ἐν τόποις
 σκληροῖς μεταβολῶν κατὰ τὰς φυγὰς καὶ διώξεις,
 ἑκάτεροι τοῖς πονοῦσιν αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπι-
 πέμποντες βοήθειαν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, καὶ ἤδη
 τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνακαθαιρομένου καθορῶντες τὰ γινό-
 μενα πανστρατιᾷ συνέβαλον.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν δεξιῷ περιῆν ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐκ τόπων
 καταφερῶν ὅλην ἐπερείσας τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς
 Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ βάρος τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τὴν
 τραχύτητα τῆς προβολῆς τῶν σαρισῶν οὐχ ὑπο-
 3 μινάντων· τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου διασπασμὸν ἀνὰ τοὺς
 λόφους καὶ περίκλασιν λαμβάνοντος, ὁ Τίτος, τὸ
 μὲν ἡττώμενον ὑπογνούς, πρὸς δὲ θάτερον ὀξέως
 παρελάσας, προσέβαλε τοῖς Μακεδόσι συστήναι
 μὲν εἰς φάλαγγα καὶ πυκνῶσαι τὴν τάξιν εἰς
 βάθος, ἥπερ ἦν ἀλκὴ τῆς ἐκείνων δυνάμεως, κωλυο-
 μένοις διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν
 χωρίων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα συμπλέκεσθαι
 4 βαρεῖ καὶ δυσέργῳ χρωμένοις ὀπλισμῷ. ζῶφ γὰρ
 ἢ φάλαγξ ἔοικεν ἀμάχῳ τὴν ἰσχύν, ἕως ἔν ἐστι
 σῶμα καὶ τηρεῖ τὸν συνασπισμὸν ἐν τάξει μᾶ.
 διαλυθείσης δὲ καὶ τὴν καθ' ἓνα ῥώμην ἀπόλλυσι
 τῶν μαχομένων ἕκαστος διὰ τε τὸν τρόπον τῆς
 ὀπλίσεως καὶ ὅτι παντὸς ὅλου τοῖς παρ' ἀλλήλων
 μέρεσι μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτὸν ἰσχύει. τραπομένων
 δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐδίωκον τοὺς φεύγοντας, οἱ δὲ
 τοὺς μαχομένους τῶν Μακεδόνων παρεκδραμόντες
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and got their name from a resemblance in their shape. As was natural on a field so difficult, there were alternations of flight and pursuit, each party sending out aid from their camps to those who from time to time were getting the worst of it and retreating, until at last, when the air cleared up and they could see what was going on, they engaged with all their forces.¹

With his right wing, then, Philip had the advantage, since from higher ground he threw his entire phalanx upon the Romans, who could not withstand the weight of its interlocked shields and the sharpness of its projecting pikes; but his left wing was broken up and scattered along the hills, and Titus, despairing of his defeated wing, rode swiftly along to the other, and with it fell upon the Macedonians. These were unable to hold their phalanx together and maintain the depth of its formation (which was the main source of their strength), being prevented by the roughness and irregularity of the ground, while for fighting man to man they had armour which was too cumbersome and heavy. For the phalanx is like an animal of invincible strength as long as it is one body and can keep its shields locked together in a single formation; but when it has been broken up into its parts, each of its fighting men loses also his individual force, as well because of the manner in which he is armed as because his strength lies in the mutual support of the parts of the whole body rather than in himself. This wing of the Macedonians being routed, some of the Romans pursued the fugitives, while others dashed out upon the flank of the

¹ For a fuller description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxiii. 7-10 (Polybius, xviii. 20-27).

ἐκ πλαγίων ἔκτεινον, ὥστε ταχὺ καὶ τοὺς νικῶντας
 περισπᾶσθαι καὶ φεύγειν τὰ ὄπλα καταβάλλ-
 5 λοντας. ἔπεσον μὲν οὖν ὀκτακισχιλίων οὐκ
 ἐλάττους, ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ πεντακισχιλίους. τοῦ
 δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν
 ἔλαβον Αἰτωλοί, περὶ ἄρπαγὴν γενόμενοι καὶ
 πόρθησιν τοῦ χάρακος ἔτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων διω-
 κόντων, ὥστε μὴθὲν εὐρεῖν ἐκείνους ἐπανελθόντας.

ΙΧ. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐγένοντο λοιδορίαι καὶ
 διαφοραὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων
 μᾶλλον αἰεὶ τὸν Τίτον ἐλύπουν ἑαυτοῖς ἀνατιθέντες
 τὸ νίκημα καὶ τῇ φήμῃ προκαταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας, ὥστε καὶ γράφεσθαι καὶ ᾄδεσθαι προ-
 τέρους ἐκείνους ὑπὸ ποιητῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὑμνούν-
 2 των τὸ ἔργον. ὧν μάλιστα διὰ στόματος ἦν τουτὶ
 τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

Ἄκλανστοι καὶ ἄθαπτοι, ὁδοιπόρε, τῷδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ
 Θεσσαλίας τρισσαὶ κείμεθα μυριάδες,
 Αἰτωλῶν δμηθέντες ὑπ' Ἄρεος ἡδὲ Λατίνων,
 οὓς Τίτος εὐρείης ἤγαγ' ἀπ' Ἰταλίας,
 Ἡμαθίῃ μέγα πῆμα. τὸ δὲ θρασὺ κείνο Φιλίππου
 πνεῦμα θοῶν ἐλάφων ὥχεται ἐλαφρότερον.

3 Τοῦτο ἐποίησε μὲν Ἀλκαῖος ἐφυβρίζων Φιλίππῳ
 καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐπιψευδόμενος,
 λεγόμενον δὲ πολλαχοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν μᾶλλον
 ἡγία τὸν Τίτον ἢ τὸν Φίλιππον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀντι-
 κωμῳδῶν τὸν Ἀλκαῖον τῷ ἐλεγείῳ παρέβαλεν·

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enemy who were still fighting and cut them down, so that very soon their victorious wing also faced about, threw away their weapons, and fled. The result was that no fewer than eight thousand Macedonians were slain, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Philip, however, got safely away, and for this the Aetolians were to blame, who fell to sacking and plundering the enemy's camp while the Romans were still pursuing, so that when the Romans came back to it they found nothing there.

IX. This, to begin with, gave rise to mutual quarrels and recriminations; but afterwards the Aetolians vexed Titus more and more by ascribing the victory to themselves and prepossessing the minds of the Greeks with the fame of it, so that they were mentioned first in the writings and songs of poets and historians who celebrated the event. Of these the one most in vogue was the following epigram in elegiac verses :—

“Unwept and without graves are we, O traveller, who on this ridge of Thessaly lie dead, in number thirty thousand, subdued by the sword of the Aetolians, and of the Latins whom Titus led from spacious Italy, Emathia's great bane. And the bold spirit that Philip had displayed was gone; it showed itself more agile than swift deer.”

This poem was composed by Alcaeus in mockery of Philip, and its author exaggerated the number of the slain; however, being recited in many places and by many persons, it gave more annoyance to Titus than to Philip. For Philip simply made fun of Alcaeus with an answering elegiac distich :—

Ἄφλοιος καὶ ἄφυλλος, ὁδοιπόρε, τῷδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ
Ἀλκαίῳ σταυρὸς πηγνυται ἡλίβατος·

- 4 τὸν δὲ Τίτον φιλοτιμούμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐ μετρίως παρώξυνε τὰ τοιαῦτα. διὸ καὶ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔπραττε καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. οἱ δὲ ἤχθοντο, καὶ προσδεξαμένου λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβείαν ἐπὶ συμβάσεσι παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι¹ περιϋόντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐβύων, πωλεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην Φιλίππῳ, παρὸν ἐκκόψαι τὸν πόλεμον ἄρδην καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἀρχὴν ὑφ' ἧς
- 5 πρώτης ἐδουλώθη τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ταῦτα τῶν Αἰτωλῶν λεγόντων καὶ διαταραττόντων τοὺς συμμάχους, αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὰς 374 διαλύσεις ἀνέλε τὴν ὑποψίαν, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ Τίτῳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ καθ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτω καταλύεται τὸν πόλεμον ὁ Τίτος· καὶ τὴν μὲν Μακεδονικὴν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος προσέταξεν ἀποστῆναι, χιλίοις δὲ τάλαντοις ἐξημίωσε, τὰς δὲ ναῦς πάσας παρείλετο πλὴν δέκα, τῶν δὲ παίδων τὸν ἕτερον, Δημήτριον, ὁμηρεύσοντα λαβὼν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν, ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος καὶ προλαβὼν τὸ μέλλον.
- 6 Ἀννίβου γὰρ τοῦ Λίβυος, ἀνδρὸς ἐχθίστου τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ φυγάδος, ἤδη τότε πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἡκοντος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ παροξύνοντος αὐτὸν εἰς

¹ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι Coraës, with the MSS. : τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο after Reiske.

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“ Leafless and without bark, O traveller, on this ridge
A cross is planted for Alcaeus, and it towers in the
sun ” ;

but Titus was ambitious to stand well with the Greeks, and such things irritated him beyond measure. For this reason he conducted the rest of his business by himself, and made very little account of the Aetolians. They on their part were displeased at this, and when Titus received an embassy from the Macedonian king with proposals for an agreement, they went round to the other cities vociferously charging him with selling peace to Philip, when it was in his power to eradicate the war entirely and destroy a power by which the Greek world had first been enslaved. While the Aetolians were making these charges and trying to make trouble among the Roman allies, Philip himself removed all grounds for suspicion by coming to terms and putting himself and his realm in the hands of Titus and the Romans. And in this manner Titus¹ put an end to the war; he returned to Philip his kingdom of Macedonia, but ordained that he should keep aloof from Greece, exacted from him an indemnity of a thousand talents, took away all his ships except ten, and taking one of his sons, Demetrius, to serve as hostage, sent him off to Rome, thus providing in the best manner for the present and anticipating the future.

For Hannibal the African, a most inveterate enemy of Rome and an exile from his native country, had already at that time² come to the court of King

¹ Rather, the ten commissioners sent from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece (chapter x. 1). Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 30 (Polybius xviii. 44).

² In 196 B.C., according to Nepos, *Hannibal*, vii. 6. According to Livy (xxxiii. 47), it was in the following year.

τὸ πρόσθεν προΐεναι τῇ τύχῃ τῆς δυνάμεως εὐ-
 ρουσύης, ἤδη καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πραγμάτων
 μεγάλων, ἃ κατεργασάμενος μέγας ἐπωνομάσθη,
 πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβλέποντα, μά-
 7 λιστα δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνιστάμενον, εἰ μὴ
 τοῦτο προΐδων ὁ Τίτος ἐμφρόνως ἐνέδωκε πρὸς
 τὰς διαλύσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν Φιλιππικὸν ὁ Ἀντιο-
 χικὸς κατειλήφει πόλεμος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ
 συνέστησαν ὑπ' αἰτιῶν ἀμφοτέροι κοινῶν οἱ
 μέγιστοι τῶν τότε καὶ δυνατώτατοι βασιλέων ἐπὶ
 τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔσχεν ἂν ἀγῶνας ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ
 8 κινδύνους τῶν πρὸς Ἀντίβαν οὐκ ἐλάττους. νῦν
 δὲ τῶν πολέμων μέσσην κατὰ καιρὸν ἐμβαλὼν τὴν
 εἰρήνην ὁ Τίτος, καὶ πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τὸν μέλλοντα
 διακόψας τὸν παρόντα, τοῦ μὲν τὴν ἐσχάτην
 ἐλπίδα, τοῦ δὲ τὴν πρώτην ὑφείλεν.

Χ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ δέκα πρέσβεις, οὓς ἡ σύγκλητος
 ἔπεμψε τῷ Τίτῳ, συνεβούλευον τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
 Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν, Κόρινθον δὲ καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ
 Δημητριάδα διατηρεῖν ἐμφρούρους ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς
 Ἀντίοχον ἀσφαλείας, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ταῖς κατηγο-
 ρίαις λαμπροὶ λαμπρῶς τὰς πόλεις ἀνερρήγγυσαν
 Αἰτωλοί, τὸν μὲν Τίτον κελεύοντες τὰς πέδας τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος λύειν (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος εἰώθει τὰς
 2 προειρημένas πόλεις ὀνομάζειν), τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας
 ἐρωτῶντες εἰ κλοιὸν ἔχοντες βαρύτερον μὲν,
 λειότερον δὲ τοῦ πάλαι τὸν νῦν, χαίρουσι, καὶ
 θαυμάζουσι τὸν Τίτον ὡς εὐεργέτην, ὅτι τοῦ ποδὸς
 λύσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ τραχήλου δέδεκεν. ἐφ'
 οἷς ἀχθόμενος ὁ Τίτος καὶ βαρέως φέρων, καὶ
 δεόμενος τοῦ συνεδρίου, τέλος ἐξέπεισε καὶ ταύτας

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Antiochus, and was trying to incite him to further achievements while fortune gave his power successful course. Antiochus himself also, in consequence of the magnitude of his achievements, by which he had won the title of Great, was already fixing his eyes on universal dominion, and had a particular hostility to the Romans. Therefore, had not Titus, in view of all this, made favourable terms of peace, and had the war with Antiochus in Greece found the war with Philip still in progress there, and had a common cause brought these two greatest and most powerful kings of the time into alliance against Rome, that city would have undergone fresh struggles and dangers not inferior to those which marked her war with Hannibal. But as it was, by interposing an opportune peace between the two wars, and by cutting short the existing war before the threatening war began, Titus took away the last hope from Philip, and the first from Antiochus.

X. And now the ten commissioners, who had been sent to Titus by the senate, advised him to give the rest of the Greeks their freedom, but to retain Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias under garrisons, as a safeguard against Antiochus. Thereupon the Aetolians stirred up the cities with the most vociferous denunciations, ordering Titus to strike off the shackles of Greece (for that is what Philip was wont to call these three cities), and asking the Greeks whether they were glad to have a fetter now which was smother than the one they had worn before, but heavier; and whether they admired Titus as a benefactor because he had unshackled the foot of Greece and put a collar round her neck. Titus was troubled and distressed at this, and by labouring with the commission

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

τὰς πόλεις ἀνεῖναι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ὅπως ὁλόκληρος ἡ χάρις ὑπάρξῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

- 3 Ἴσθμίων οὖν ἀγομένων πλῆθος μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ καθῆστο τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα θεωμένων, οἷα δὴ διὰ χρόνων πεπαυμένης μὲν πολέμων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' ἐλπίσιν ἐλευθερίας, σαφεῖ δὲ εἰρήνῃ πανηγυριζούσης· τῇ σάλπιγγι δὲ σιω-
- 4 πῆς εἰς ἅπαντας διαδοθείσης, προελθὼν εἰς μέσον ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνείπεν ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ Τίτος Κοῖντιος στρατηγὸς ὑπατος καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἀφιασιν ἀφρουρήτους· καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀφορολογήτους, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις, Κορινθίους, Λοκρούς, Φωκεῖς, Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς Φθιώτας, Μάγνητας, Θετταλοὺς, Περραιβοὺς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οὐ πάνυ πάντες οὐδὲ σαφῶς ἐπήκουσαν, ἀλλ' ἀνώμαλος καὶ θορυβώδης κίνησις ἦν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ θαυμαζόντων καὶ διαπυν-
- 5 θανομένων καὶ πάλιν ἀνείπειν κελεύοντων· ὥς δ' αὖθις ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἀναγαγὼν ὁ κῆρυξ τὴν φωνὴν προθυμότερον εἰς ἅπαντας ἐγεγώνει καὶ διήλθε τὸ κήρυγμα, κραυγὴ μὲν ἄπιστος τὸ μέγεθος διὰ χαρὰν ἐχώρει μέχρι θαλάττης, ὀρθὸν δὲ ἀνειστήκει τὸ θέατρον, οὐδεὶς δὲ λόγος ἦν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, ἔσπευδον δὲ πάντες ἀναπηδῆσαι καὶ δεξιώσασθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν τὸν σωτῆρα τῆς 375 Ἑλλάδος καὶ πρόμαχον.

- 6 Τὸ δὲ πολλάκις λεγόμενον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φωνῆς καὶ μέγεθος ὥφθη τότε. κόρακες γὰρ

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finally persuaded it to free these cities also from their garrisons, in order that his gift to the Greeks might be whole and entire.

Accordingly, at the Isthmian games, where a great throng of people were sitting in the stadium and watching the athletic contests (since, indeed, after many years Greece had at last ceased from wars waged in hopes of freedom, and was now holding festival in time of assured peace), the trumpet signalled a general silence, and the herald, coming forward into the midst of the spectators, made proclamation that the Roman senate and Titus Quintius Flamininus proconsular general, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians, restored to freedom, without garrisons and without imposts, and to the enjoyment of their ancient laws, the Corinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Euboeans, the Achaeans of Phthiotis, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhaebians. At first, then, the proclamation was by no means generally or distinctly heard, but there was a confused and tumultuous movement in the stadium of people who wondered what had been said, and asked one another questions about it, and called out to have the proclamation made again; but when silence had been restored, and the herald in tones that were louder than before and reached the ears of all, had recited the proclamation, a shout of joy arose, so incredibly loud that it reached the sea. The whole audience rose to their feet, and no heed was paid to the contending athletes, but all were eager to spring forward and greet and hail the saviour and champion of Greece.

And that which is often said of the volume and power of the human voice was then apparent to the

ὑπερπετόμενοι κατὰ τύχην ἔπεσον εἰς τὸ στάδιον. αἰτία δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἀέρος ῥῆξις· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη φέρεται, διασπώμενος ὑπ' αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀντερείδει τοῖς πετομένοις, ἀλλ' ὀλίγημα ποιεῖ καθάπερ κενεμβατοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία πληγῇ τινι μᾶλλον ὥς ὑπὸ βέλους διελαυνόμενα πίπτει καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. δύναται δὲ καὶ περιδίνησις εἶναι τοῦ ἀέρος, οἷον ἐλιγμὸν ἐν πελάγει καὶ παλιρρύμην τοῦ σάλου διὰ μέγεθος λαμβάνοντος.

XI. Ὁ δ' οὖν Τίτος, εἰ μὴ τάχιστα τῆς θέας διαλυθείσης ὑπιδόμενος τὴν φορὰν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἐξέκλινεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκει περιγενέσθαι τοσούτων ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτῷ περιχεομένων. ὥς δ' ἀπέκαμον περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ βοῶντες ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης, αὐθις οὔστινας ἴδοιεν ἢ φίλους ἢ πολίτας ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ περιπλεκόμενοι, πρὸς δεῖπνα καὶ πότους ἐτρέποντο
 2 μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἐν ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὥς εἰκός, ἡδομένοις ἐπῆρει λογίζεσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅσους πολεμήσασα πολέμους διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οὐπω τύχοι βεβαιότερον οὐδὲ ἥδιον αὐτῆς, ἐτέρων προαγωνισαμένων ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀναίμακτος αὐτὴ καὶ ἀπενθῆς φερομένη τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ περιμαχητότατον ἄθλον. ἦν δ' ἄρα σπάνιον μὲν ἀνδρεία καὶ φρόνησις ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σπανιώτατον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ὁ δίκαιος.
 3 οἱ γὰρ Ἀγησίλαοι καὶ Λύσανδροι καὶ οἱ Νικίαι

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eye. For ravens which chanced to be flying overhead fell down into the stadium. The cause of this was the rupture of the air; for when the voice is borne aloft loud and strong, the air is rent asunder by it and will not support flying creatures, but lets them fall, as if they were over a vacuum, unless, indeed, they are transfixed by a sort of blow, as of a weapon, and fall down dead.¹ It is possible, too, that in such cases there is a whirling motion of the air, which becomes like a waterspout at sea with a reflux flow of the surges caused by their very volume.

XI. Be that as it may, had not Titus, now that the spectacle was given up, at once foreseen the rush and press of the throng and taken himself away, it would seem that he could hardly have survived the concourse of so many people about him at once and from all sides. But when they were tired of shouting about his tent, and night was already come, then, with greetings and embraces for any friends and fellow citizens whom they saw, they betook themselves to banqueting and carousing with one another. And here, their pleasure naturally increasing, they were moved to reason and discourse about Greece, saying that although she had waged many wars for the sake of her freedom, she had not yet obtained a more secure or more delightful exercise of it than now, when others had striven in her behalf, and she herself, almost without a drop of blood or a pang of grief, had borne away the fairest and most enviable of prizes. Verily, they would say, valour and wisdom are rare things among men, but the rarest of all blessings is the just man. For men like Agesilaüs, or Lysander, or Nicias, or Alcibiades could indeed

¹ Cf. the *Pompey*, xxv. 7.

καὶ οἱ Ἀλκιβιάδαι πολέμους μὲν εὖ διέπειν καὶ μάχας νικᾶν κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἄρχοντες ἠπίσταντο, χρῆσθαι δὲ πρὸς χάριν εὐγενῇ καὶ τὸ καλὸν οἷς κατώρθουν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ Μαραθώνιον τις ἔργον ἀφέλοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ Θερμοπύλας καὶ τὰ πρὸς Εὐρυμέδοντι καὶ τὰ περὶ Κύπρον Κίμωνος ἔργα, πάσας τὰς μάχας ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ μεμάχεται πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ πᾶν τρόπαιον αὐτῆς συμφορὰ καὶ ὄνειδος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔστηκε, τὰ πλείστα κακία καὶ φιλονεικία
 4 τῶν ἡγουμένων περιτραπίσης. ἀλλόφυλοι δὲ ἄνδρες, ἐναύσματα μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα κοινωνήματα παλαιοῦ γένους ἔχειν δοκοῦντες, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ λόγῳ τι καὶ γνώμῃ τῶν χρησίμων ὑπάρξαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι θαυμαστὸν ἦν, οὗτοι τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις καὶ πόνοις ἐξελλόμενοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεσποτῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ τυράννων ἐλευθεροῦσι.

XII. Ταῦτα δὴ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπῆει· καὶ τὰ τῶν ἔργων ὁμολογοῦντα τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ἅμα γὰρ ἐξέπεμπεν ὁ Τίτος Λέντλον μὲν εἰς Ἀσίαν Βαργυλιήτας ἐλευθερώσοντα, Στερτίνιον δὲ εἰς Θράκην τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις καὶ νήσους ἀπαλλάξοντα τῶν Φιλίππου φρουρῶν. Πόπλιος δὲ Οὐίλλιος ἔπλει διαλεξόμενος Ἀντιόχῳ περὶ τῆς
 2 τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Τίτος εἰς Χαλκίδα παρελθὼν, εἴτα πλεύσας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Μαγνησίαν, ἐξῆγγε τὰς φρουρὰς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπεδίδου τοῖς δήμοις. ἀγωνοθέτης δὲ Νεμείων ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὴν τε πανήγυριν ἄριστα διέθηκε, καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἀνεῖπεν.

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conduct wars well, and understood how to be victorious commanders in battles by land and sea, but they would not use their successes so as to win legitimate favour and promote the right. Indeed, if one excepts the action at Marathon, the sea-fight at Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae, and the achievements of Cimon at the Eurymedon and about Cyprus, Greece has fought all her battles to bring servitude upon herself, and every one of her trophies stands as a memorial of her own calamity and disgrace, since she owed her overthrow chiefly to the baseness and contentiousness of her leaders. Whereas men of another race, who were thought to have only slight sparks and insignificant traces of a common remote ancestry, from whom it was astonishing that any helpful word or purpose should be vouchsafed to Greece—these men underwent the greatest perils and hardships in order to rescue Greece and set her free from cruel despots and tyrants.

XII. So ran the thoughts of the Greeks; and the acts of Titus were consonant with his proclamations. For at once he sent Lentulus to Asia to set Barygia free, and Stertinius to Thrace to deliver the cities and islands there from Philip's garrisons. Moreover, Publius Villius sailed to have a conference with Antiochus concerning the freedom of the Greeks who were under his sway. Titus himself also paid a visit to Chalcis, and then sailed from there to Magnesia, removing their garrisons and restoring to the peoples their constitutions. He was also appointed master of ceremonies for the Nemeian games at Argos, where he conducted the festival in the best possible manner, and once more publicly proclaimed freedom to the

- 3 ἐπιφοιτῶν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν εὐνομίαν ἄμα καὶ δίκην πολλὴν ὁμόνοιάν τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνην πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρεῖχε, καταπαύων μὲν τὰς στάσεις, κατάγων δὲ τὰς φυγὰς, ἀγαλλόμενος δὲ τῷ πείθειν καὶ διαλλάσσειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐχ ἡττον ἢ τῷ κεκρατηκέναι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὥστε μικρότατον ἤδη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν δοκεῖν ὧν εὐεργετοῦντο.
- 4 Ξενοκράτην μὲν οὖν τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὅτε Λυ- 371
κούργος αὐτὸν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν ἀγόμενον πρὸς τὸ μετοίκιον ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῖς ἄγουσιν ἐπέθηκε δίκην τῆς ἀσελγείας, λέγεται τοῖς παισὶν ἀπαντήσαντα τοῦ Λυκούργου, “ Καλὴν γε ὑμῶν, ὦ παῖδες,” φάναι, “ τῷ πατρὶ χάριν ἀποδίδωμι· πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπαινοῦσιν ἐφ’ οἷς ἔπραξε,” Τίτῳ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὧν τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργέτησαν οὐκ εἰς ἐπαίνους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίστιν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δύναμιν ἢ χάρις ἀπῆντα
- 5 δικαίως. οὐ γὰρ προσδεχόμενοι μόνον τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι καὶ καλοῦντες ἐνεχειρίζον αὐτούς. οὐδὲ δῆμοι καὶ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ἀδικούμενοι βασιλέων κατέφευγον εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων χεῖρας, ὥστε ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ, τάχα πού καὶ θεοῦ συνεφαπτομένου, πάντα αὐτοῖς ὑπήκοα γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέγιστον ἐφρόνησεν ἐπὶ
- 6 τῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλευθερώσει. ἀνατιθεὶς γὰρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀσπίδας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θυρεὸν ἐπέγραψε·

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Greeks. Then he visited the different cities, establishing among them law and order, abundant justice, concord, and mutual friendliness. He quieted their factions and restored their exiles, and plumed himself on his persuading and reconciling the Greeks more than on his conquest of the Macedonians, so that their freedom presently seemed to them the least of his benefactions.

Xenocrates the philosopher, as the story runs, was once being haled away to prison by the tax-collectors for not having paid the alien's tax, but was rescued out of their hands by Lycurgus the orator, who also visited the officials with punishment for their impudence. Xenocrates afterwards met the sons of Lycurgus, and said: "My boys, I am making a noble return to your father for his kindness towards me; for all the world is praising him for what he did." In the case of Titus and the Romans, however, gratitude for their benefactions to the Greeks brought them, not merely praises, but also confidence among all men and power, and justly too. For men not only received the officers appointed by them, but actually sent for them and invited them and put themselves in their hands. And this was true not only of peoples and cities, nay, even kings who had been wronged by other kings fled for refuge into the hands of Roman officials, so that in a short time—and perhaps there was also divine guidance in this—everything became subject to them. But Titus himself took most pride in his liberation of Greece. For in dedicating at Delphi some silver bucklers and his own long shield, he provided them with this inscription:—

Ζηνὸς ἰὼ κραιπναῖσι γεγαθότες ἵπποσύναισι
 κούροι, ἰὼ Σπάρτας Τυνδαρίδαι βασιλεῖς,
 Αἰνεάδας Τίτος ὕμιν ὑπέρτατον ὥπασε δῶρον,
 Ἑλλήνων τεύξας παισὶν ἐλευθερίαν.

7 ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι στέφανον
 ἐπιγράψας.

Τόνδε τοι ἄμβροσίοισιν ἐπὶ πλοκάμοισιν ἔοικε¹
 κεῖσθαι, Λατοῖδα, χρυσοφαῇ στέφανον,
 ὃν² πόρεν Αἰνεαδᾶν ταγὸς μέγας. ἀλλ',
 Ἐκάεργε,
 ἀλκᾶς τῷ θείῳ κῦδος ὄπαζε Τίτῳ.

8 Τῇ δ' οὖν³ Κορινθίων πόλει πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 τὸ αὐτὸ δις ἤδη συμβέβηκε· καὶ γὰρ Τίτος ἐν
 Κορίνθῳ τότε καὶ Νέρων αὐθις καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν
 Κορίνθῳ παραπλησίως Ἰσθμίων ἀγομένων τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκαν, ὁ
 μὲν διὰ κήρυκος, ὡς εἴρηται, Νέρων δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
 τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ βήματος ἐν τῷ πλήθει δημηγο-
 ρήσας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

XIII. Ὁ δὲ Τίτος τότε καλλίστου καὶ δικαιο-
 τάτου τοῦ πρὸς Νάβιν ἀρξάμενος πολέμου, τὸν
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξωλέστατον καὶ παρανομώτατον
 τύραννον, ἐν τῷ τέλει διεψεύσατο τὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἐλπίδας, ἐλεῖν παρασχὼν οὐκ ἐθέλησας, ἀλλὰ
 σπείσάμενος καὶ προέμενος τὴν Σπάρτην ἀναξίως
 δουλεύουσιν, εἴτε δείσας μὴ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος
 λαμβάνοντος ἄλλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν στρα-

¹ ἔοικε an anonymous correction adopted by Sintenis² and Blass; Coraës and Bekker retain the vulgate ἔθηκε.

² ὃν Bekker corrects to ὅς, after Jacobs.

³ δ' οὖν Bekker and Blass: γοῦν.

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“O ye sons of Zeus, whose joy is in swift horsemanship, O ye Tyndaridae, princes of Sparta, Titus, a descendant of Aeneas, has brought you a most excellent gift, he who for the sons of the Greeks wrought freedom.”

He also dedicated a golden wreath to Apollo, and it bore this inscription :—

“This will fitly lie on thine ambrosial locks, O son of Leto, this wreath with sheen of gold ; it is the gift of a great leader whose descent is from Aeneas. Therefore, O Far-darter, bestow upon the god-like Titus the glory due to his prowess.”

It follows, then, that the city of Corinth has twice now been the scene of the same benefaction to the Greeks ; for it was in Corinth that Titus at this time, and at Corinth that Nero again in our own times—in both cases at the Isthmian games—made the Greeks free and self-governing, Titus by voice of herald, but Nero in a public address which he delivered in person, on a tribunal in the market-place amidst the multitude. This, however, came at a later time.¹

XIII. Titus now began a most honourable and righteous war, the war against Nabis, that most pernicious and lawless tyrant of Sparta, but in the end he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For though it was in his power to capture the tyrant, he refused to do so, and made peace with him, thus leaving Sparta to the fate of an unworthy servitude. He was led to this step either by his fear that a protraction of the war would bring another general from Rome

¹ In 67 A.D.

τηγὸς ἀνέληται τὴν δόξαν, εἴτε φιλονεικία καὶ
 2 ζηλοτυπία τῶν Φιλοποίμενος τιμῶν, ὃν ἔν τε τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄνδρα δεινότατον τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ὄντα καὶ περὶ ἐκείνον τὸν πόλεμον ἔργα θαυμαστὰ
 τόλμης καὶ δεινότητος ἀποδειξάμενον ἴσα τῷ Τίτῳ
 κυδαίνοντες Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ τιμῶντες ἐν τοῖς θεύτροις
 ἐλύπουν ἐκείνον, οὐκ ἄξιόντα Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτῳ
 προπολεμοῦντι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄνθρωπον Ἀρκάδα,
 μικρῶν καὶ ὁμόρων πολέμων στρατηγόν, ὅμοια
 3 θαυμάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ
 Τίτος ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπελογεῖτο, καταθέσθαι τὸν
 πόλεμον ὡς ἐώρα σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ τῶν ἄλλων
 Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπολούμενον τὸν τύραννον.

Τῶν δὲ Ἀχαιῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ πρὸς τιμὴν
 ψηφισαμένων οὐδὲν ἐδόκει πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσίας
 ἐξισοῦσθαι πλὴν μιᾶς δωρεᾶς, ἣν ἐκείνος ἀντὶ
 4 πάντων ἡγάπησεν. ἦν δὲ τοιάδε. Ῥωμαίων οἱ
 δυστυχήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν πολέμῳ
 πολλαχοῦ μὲν ὧνιοι γενόμενοι καὶ διασπαρέντες
 ἐδούλευον· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι
 τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν, αἱ μὲν οἰκτροὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς,
 τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐντυγχάνοντες οἱ
 μὲν υἱοῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοῖς, οἱ δὲ συνήθεσιν, ἐλευθέ-
 5 ροις δοῦλοι καὶ νικῶσιν αἰχμάλωτοι. τούτους ὁ 377
 μὲν Τίτος οὐκ ἀφείλετο τῶν κεκτημένων, καίπερ
 ἀνιώμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ λυτρωσάμενοι

¹ Cf. the *Philopoemen*, xv. 1-3.

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to succeed him and rob him of his glory, or by his jealous displeasure at the honours paid to Philopoemen. For in all other matters Philopoemen was a most capable man among the Greeks, and in that war particularly he displayed astonishing deeds of ability and daring, so that he was extolled by the Achaeans as much as Titus, and equally honoured in their theatres. This annoyed Titus, who thought it out of keeping that a man of Arcadia, who had held command in small border wars, should receive just as much admiration from the Achaeans as a Roman consul, who was waging war in behalf of Greece.¹ However, Titus himself had this to say in defence of his course, namely, that he put an end to the war when he saw that the destruction of the tyrant would involve the rest of the Spartans also in serious disaster.²

The Achaeans voted Titus many honours, none of which seemed commensurate with his benefactions except one gift, and this caused him as much satisfaction as all the rest put together. And this was the gift: The Romans who were unhappily taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal had been sold about hither and thither, and were serving as slaves. In Greece there were as many as twelve hundred of them. The change in their lot made them pitiful objects always, but then even more than ever, naturally, when they fell in with sons, or brothers, or familiar friends, as the case might be, slaves with freemen and captives with victors. These men Titus would not take away from their owners, although he was distressed at their condition, but the Achaeans

² Titus offered this defence of his course to the congress of Greek states at Corinth (Livy, xxxiv. 48 f.).

πέντε μνῶν ἕκαστον ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγόντες εἰς ταὐτὸ πάντα ἤδη περὶ πλοῦν ὄντι τῷ Τίτῳ παρέδωκαν, ὥστε αὐτὸν εὐφραινόμενον ἀποπλεῖν, ἀπὸ καλῶν ἔργων καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ πρεπούσας ἀνδρὶ
 6 ⁶ μεγάλῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ κεκομισμένον· ὃ δὴ δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτῷ πάντων ὑπάρξαι λαμπρότατον. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὗτοι, καθάπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὅταν ἐλευθερωθῶσιν, ξύρεσθαί τε τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πιλία φορεῖν, ταῦτα δράσαντες αὐτοὶ θριαμβεύοντι τῷ Τίτῳ παρείποντο.

XIV. Καλλίῳ δὲ καὶ τὰ λάφυρα πομπευόμενα παρείχεν ὄψιν, Ἑλληνικὰ κράνη καὶ πέλται Μακεδονικαὶ καὶ σάρισαι. τό τε τῶν χρημάτων πλήθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦν, ὡς ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ περὶ Τουδιτανὸν ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ κομισθῆναι χρυσοῖον μὲν συγκεχωνεμένου λίτρας τρισχιλίας ἑπτακοσίας δεκατρεῖς, ἀργύρου δὲ τετρακισμυρίας
 2 ² τρισχιλίας διακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα, φιλιππίους δὲ χρυσοὺς μυρίους τετρακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους δεκατέσσαρας, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ χίλια τάλαντα Φίλιππος ὤφειλεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐπίεσθησαν Ῥωμαῖοι, μάλιστα τοῦ Τίτου συμπράξαντος, ἀφεῖναι τῷ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ σύμμαχον ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπήλλαξαν αὐτῷ τῆς ὀμηρείας.

XV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ περαιωθεὶς ἀφίστη τὰς πόλεις καὶ διεστασίαζεν, Αἰτωλῶν αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβανομένων καὶ πάλαι διακειμένων πρὸς

¹ The mina was one sixtieth part of a talent, or one hundred drachmas.

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ransomed them all at five minas¹ the man, collected them together, and made a present of them to Titus just as he was about to embark, so that he sailed for home with a glad heart; his noble deeds had brought him a noble recompense, and one befitting a great man who loved his fellow citizens. This appears to have furnished his triumph with its most glorious feature. For these men shaved their heads and wore felt caps, as it is customary for slaves to do when they are set free, and in this habit followed the triumphal car of Titus.

XIV. But a more beautiful show was made by the spoils of war which were displayed in the procession—Greek helmets and Macedonian bucklers and pikes. Besides, the amount of money exhibited was large. Tuditanus records that there were carried in the procession three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds of gold bullion, forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy pounds of silver, and fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen gold coins bearing Philip's effigy.² And apart from this money Philip owed his fine of a thousand talents.³ This fine, however, the Romans were afterwards persuaded to remit to Philip, and this was chiefly due to the efforts of Titus; they also made Philip their ally, and sent back his son whom they held as hostage.

XV. Presently, however, Antiochus crossed into Greece⁴ with many ships and a large army, and began to stir the cities into faction and revolt. The Aetolians made common cause with him, a people which had long been most inimically disposed towards

² These "Philip's" were nearly equivalent to sovereigns. Cf. Livy's description of the triumph (xxxiv. 52).

³ Cf. chapter ix. 5. ⁴ In the autumn of 192 B.C.

τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἐχθρῶς καὶ πολεμικῶς, ὑπό-
 θεσιν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πρόφασιν διδόντων ἐλευ-
 θεροῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲν δεομένους (ἐλεύθεροι
 2 γὰρ ἦσαν), ἀλλ' εὐπρεπεστέρας αἰτίας ἀπορία τῇ
 καλλίστῃ τῶν ὀνομάτων χρῆσθαι διδασκόντων,
 καὶ σφόδρα δείσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀνύστασιν
 καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως, στρατηγὸν μὲν
 ὑπατον τοῦ πολέμου Μάνιον Ἀκίλιον κατέπεμψαν,
 πρεσβευτὴν δὲ Τίτον διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὧν τοὺς
 μὲν εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖς ἐποίησε βεβαιοτέρους, τοὺς δὲ
 ἀρχομένους νοσεῖν ὥσπερ τι¹ ἐν καιρῷ φάρμακον
 ἐνδιδούς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν ἔστησε καὶ
 3 διεκώλυσεν ἑξαμαρτεῖν. ὀλίγοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξέφυγον
 ἤδη προκατειλημμένοι καὶ διεφθαρμένοι παντά-
 πασιν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, οὓς καίπερ ὀργισθεῖς
 καὶ παροξυνθεῖς ὅμως μετὰ τὴν μάχην περιε-
 ποίησεν. Ἀντίοχος γὰρ ἡττηθεῖς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις
 καὶ φυγὼν εὐθὺς εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπέπλευσε, Μάνιος
 δ' ὁ ὑπατος τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν
 ἐπολιόρκει, τοὺς δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ συνεχώ-
 4 ρησεν ἐξαιρεῖν. ἀγομένων δὲ καὶ φερομένων ὑπὸ
 τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦτο μὲν Δολόπων καὶ Μαγνήτων,
 τοῦτο δὲ Ἀθαμάνων καὶ Ἀπεραντῶν, αὐτοῦ δὲ
 τοῦ Μανίου τὴν μὲν Ἡράκλειαν διαπεπορθηκότος,
 τὴν δὲ Ναύπακτον Αἰτωλῶν ἐχόντων πολιορκούν-
 τος, οἰκτείρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁ Τίτος διέπλευσεν

¹ ὥσπερ τι Coraëa, Bekker, and Blass, after Stephanus :
 ὥσπερ τις.

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the Romans, and they suggested to him, as a pretext that would account for the war, that he should offer the Greeks their freedom. The Greeks did not want to be set free, for they were free already; but for lack of a more appropriate ground for his action the Aetolians taught Antiochus to make use of that fairest of all names. The Romans, greatly alarmed by reports of defection among the Greeks and of the power of Antiochus, sent out Manius Acillius as consular general for the war, but made Titus his lieutenant to please the Greeks. The mere sight of him confirmed some of these in their loyalty to Rome, while to others, who were beginning to be infected with disloyalty, he administered a timely medicine, as it were, in the shape of good will towards himself, and thus checked their malady and prevented them from going wrong. A few, however, escaped his influence, having been already won over beforehand and totally corrupted by the Aetolians, but even these, in spite of his vexation and anger, were spared by him after the battle. For Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylae¹ and put to flight, and at once sailed back to Asia; while Manius the consul went against some of the Aetolians himself and besieged them, leaving others to King Philip to destroy. And so it came about that the Dolopians and Magnesians here, the Athamanians and Aperantians there, were harried and plundered by the Macedonians, while Manius himself, after sacking Heracleia, was engaged in the siege of Naupactus, which the Aetolians held. Then Titus, out of pity for the Greeks, sailed across from Peloponnesus to

¹ In 191 B.C. For a description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxvi. 14-21.

ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον. καὶ πρῶτον
 μὲν ἐπετίμησεν εἰ νενικηκῶς αὐτὸς τὰ ἔπαθλα τοῦ
 πολέμου Φίλιππον ἐὰν φέρεσθαι, καὶ τριβόμενος
 περὶ μιᾷ πόλει κάθηται δι' ὀργήν, ἔθνη δὲ οὐκ
 5 ὀλίγα καὶ βασιλείας Μακεδόνες αἰροῦσιν. ἔπειτα
 τῶν πολιορκουμένων, ὡς εἶδον αὐτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ
 τείχους ἀνακαλούντων καὶ χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων καὶ
 δεομένων, τότε μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπών, ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς
 καὶ δακρύσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὕστερον δὲ διαλεχθεὶς τῷ
 Μανίῳ καὶ καταπαύσας τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ διεπρά-
 ξατο τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἀνοχὰς δοθῆναι, καὶ χρόνον
 ἐν ᾧ πρεσβεύσαντες εἰς Ῥώμην μετρίου τινὸς
 τυχεῖν ἀξιώσουσι.

XVI. Πλείστον δὲ ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνον αὐτῷ 378
 παρεῖχον αἱ περὶ Χαλκιδέων δεήσεις πρὸς τὸν
 Μάνιον, ἐν ὀργῇ γεγονότων διὰ τὸν γάμον ὃν παρ'
 αὐτῶν ἔγημεν Ἀντίοχος ἡδὴ τοῦ πολέμου συνε-
 στῶτος, οὐ καθ' ὥραν οὐδὲ κατὰ καιρόν, ἀλλ'
 ἐρασθεὶς ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος κόρης, ἢ θυγάτηρ μὲν
 ἦν Κλεοπτολέμου, καλλίστη δὲ λέγεται παρθένων
 2 γενέσθαι. τοῦτο τοὺς Χαλκιδεῖς ἐποίησε βασιλί-
 σαι προθυμότατα καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν
 πόλεμον ὀρμητήριον παρασχεῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν
 ὡς τάχιστα μετὰ τὴν μάχην φεύγων προσέμιξε
 τῇ Χαλκίδι, τὴν τε κόρην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὰ
 χρήματα καὶ τοὺς φίλους εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπέπλευσε·
 τὸν δὲ Μάνιον εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδεῖς σὺν ὀργῇ

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the consul. At first he chided Manius because, although the victory was his own, he was permitting Philip to carry off the prizes of the war, and to gratify his anger was wasting time in the siege of a single city, while the Macedonians were subduing many nations and kingdoms. Then, when the besieged citizens caught sight of him from their walls and called aloud upon him and stretched out their hands to him imploringly, he turned away, burst into tears, and left the place, without saying anything more at the time; afterwards, however, he had an interview with Manius, put an end to his wrath, and induced him to grant the Aetolians a truce, and time in which to send an embassy to Rome with a plea for moderate terms.

XVI. But the hardest toils and struggles fell to Titus when he interceded with Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. They had incurred the consul's wrath because of the marriage which Antiochus had made in their city after the war had already begun, a marriage which was not only unseasonable, but unsuitable for the king's years, since he was an elderly man and had fallen in love with a girl (the girl was a daughter of Cleoptolemus, and is said to have been most beautiful among maidens).¹ This marriage induced the Chalcidians to take the king's side most zealously and allow their city to be his base of operations for the war. Antiochus, therefore, fleeing with all speed after the battle at Thermopylae, came to Chalcis, and taking with him his girl-wife, his treasure, and his friends, sailed back to Asia; but Manius immediately marched against Chalcis in a rage. He was accompanied, however, by Titus, who

¹ Cf. the *Philopoemen*, xvii. 1.

πορευόμενον ὁ Τίτος παρακολουθῶν ἐμάλαττε καὶ παρητεῖτο καὶ τέλος ἔπεισε καὶ κατεπράυνεν, αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων δεόμενος.

- 3 Οὕτω διασωθέντες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναθημάτων τῷ Τίτῳ καθιέρωσαν, ὧν ἐπιγραφὰς ἔστι τοιαύτας ἄχρι νῦν ὁρᾶν. “Ὁ δῆμος Τίτῳ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τὸ γυμνάσιον,” ἐτέρωθι δὲ πάλιν, “Ὁ δῆμος Τίτῳ
4 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ Δελφίνιον.” ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερεὺς χειροτονητὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο Τίτου, καὶ θύσαντες αὐτῷ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ἄδουσι παιᾶνα πεποιημένον, οὐ τᾶλλα διὰ μῆκος ἡμεῖς παρέντες ἀνεγράψαμεν ἅ πανόμενοι τῆς ᾠδῆς λέγουσι.

πίστιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων σέβομεν,
τὰν μεγαλευκτοτάταν ὅρκους φυλάσσειν·
μέλπετε κοῦραι,
Ζῆνα μέγαν Ῥώμαν τε Τίτον θ' ἅμα Ῥωμαίων
τε πίστιν·
λήϊε Παιάν, ὦ Τίτε σῶτερ.

- XVII. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων¹ τιμαὶ πρέπουσαι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς ἀληθινὰς ποιοῦν, εὐνοια θαυμαστὴ δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἤθους. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις ἐκ πραγμάτων ἢ φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα, καθάπερ Φιλοποίμενι καὶ πάλιν Διοφάνει στρατηγούντι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, προσέκρουσεν, οὐκ ἦν βαρὺς οὐδ' εἰς ἔργα διατείνων ὁ θυμός, ἀλλ' ἐν λόγῳ παρρησίαν τινὰ πολιτικὴν ἔχοντι πανόμενος.
2 πικρὸς μὲν οὖν οὐδενί, πολλοῖς δὲ ὀξὺς ἐδόκει καὶ

¹ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Coraës and Blass, after Bryan: τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

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tried to mollify and intercede with him and at last won him over and calmed him down by entreaties addressed both to him and the other Romans in authority.

Having been thus saved by Titus, the Chalcidians dedicated to him the largest and most beautiful of the votive offerings in their city, and on them such inscriptions as these are still to be seen: "This gymnasium is dedicated by the people to Titus and Heracles," and again in another place, "This Delphinium is dedicated by the people to Titus and Apollo." Moreover, even down to our own day a priest of Titus is duly elected and appointed, and after sacrifice and libations in his honour, a set hymn of praise to him is sung: it is too long to be quoted entire, and so I will give only the closing words of the song:

"And the Roman faith we revere, which we have solemnly vowed to cherish; sing, then, ye maidens, to great Zeus, to Rome, to Titus, and to the Roman faith: hail, Paean Apollo! hail, Titus our saviour!"

XVII. He also received from the rest of the Greeks fitting honours, and these were made sincere by the astonishing good will which his equitable nature called forth. For even if the conduct of affairs or the spirit of rivalry brought him into collision with any of them, as, for instance, with Philopoemen, and again with Diophanes the general of the Achaeans, his resentment was not heavy, nor did it carry him into violent acts, but when it had vented itself in the outspoken language of free public debate, there was an end of it. However, he was never bitter,

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- κοῦφος εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἄλλως δὲ συγγενέσθαι πάντων ἥδιστος καὶ εἰπεῖν ἐπίχαρις μετὰ δεινότητος. Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν γὰρ σφετεριζομένους τὴν Ζακυνθίων νῆσον ἀποτρέπων ἔφη κινδυνεύσειν, ἂν ὥσπερ αἱ χελῶναι πορρωτέρω τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Πελοποννήσου προτείνωσι. Φιλίππου δέ, ὁπηνίκα περὶ σπογδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης τὸ πρῶτον εἰς λόγους συνῆεσαν, εἰπόντος μετὰ πολλῶν ἤκειν ἐκείνον, αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τίτος, “ Αὐτὸν γάρ,” ἔφη, “ μόνον ἐποίησας ἀποκτείνας τοὺς φίλους
- 3 καὶ συγγενεῖς.” ἐπεὶ δὲ Δεινοκράτης ὁ Μεσσήνιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρὰ πότον μεθυσθεὶς ὠρχήσατο λαβὼν ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον, τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν Τίτον ἡξίου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ διανοομένῳ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀφιστάναι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ταῦτα μὲν ἔφη σκέψεσθαι, θαυμάζειν δὲ ἐκείνον, εἰ τηλικαύταις ἐπικεχειρηκῶς πράξειςιν ὀρχεῖσθαι δύναται παρὰ πότον
- 4 καὶ ᾄδειν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τῶν παρὰ Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεων πλῆθός τι¹ τῆς βασιλικῆς στρατιᾶς καταλεγόντων καὶ καταριθμουμένων πολλὰς προσηγορίας, ὁ Τίτος ἔφη δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ ξένῳ καὶ μεμφομένου τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κρεῶν καὶ θαυμάζοντος πόθεν οὕτω ποικίλης ἀγορᾶς εὐπόρησεν, εἰπεῖν τὸν ξένον, ὡς ὕεια πάντα ἐστὶ τῇ σκευασίᾳ διαφέροντα καὶ τοῖς ἡδύσμασι.
- 5 “ Μὴ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ μηδὲ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοί,

¹ πλῆθος τι Coraës and Bekker have πλῆθος τε, after Bryan.



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although many imputed hastiness and levity to his nature, and in general he was a most agreeable companion and able to say a graceful thing with force. For instance, when he was trying to dissuade the Achaeans from appropriating the island of Zacynthos, he said it would be dangerous for them, like a tortoise, to stick their head out of its Peloponnesian shell.¹ Again, when he held his first conference with Philip concerning a truce and peace, and Philip remarked that Titus had come with many attendants while he himself had come alone, Titus answered, "Yes, thou hast made thyself alone by slaying thy friends and kindred."² Again, when Deinocrates the Messenian, who had taken too much wine at a drinking-party in Rome, and after putting on a woman's robe had executed a dance, on the following day asked Titus to assist him in his plan to separate Messene from the Achaean league, Titus said he would consider the matter; "But I am amazed," said he, "that when thou hast matters of so great moment in hand, thou canst dance and sing at a drinking-party."³ And once more, when an embassy from Antiochus was recounting to the Achaeans the vast multitude of the king's forces and enumerating them all by their various appellations, Titus said that once, when he was dining with a friend, he criticised the multitude of meats that were served, wondering where he had obtained so varied a supply; whereupon his host told him they were all swine's flesh, and differed only in the way they were cooked and dressed. "And so in your case," said he, "men of

¹ Cf. Livy, xxxvi. 32; Plutarch, *Morals*, p. 197 b.

² Cf. *Morals*, p. 197 a (Polybius, xviii. 7).

³ Cf. the *Philopoemen*, xviii. ff. (Polybius, xxiii. 5).

θαυμίζετε τὴν Ἀντιόχου δύναμιν λογχοφόρους καὶ ξυστοφόρους καὶ πεζεταίρους ἀκούοντες· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι Σύροι εἰσὶν ὀπλαρίοις διαφέροντες.”

XVIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ 379
τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον ἀπεδείχθη τιμητῆς, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ μεγίστη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπιτελείωσις. καὶ συνῆρχε μὲν αὐτῷ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ πεντάκις ὑπατεύσαντος υἱός, ἐξέβαλον δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν οὐκ ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν τέσσαρας, προσεδέξαντο δὲ πολίτας ἀπογραφομένους πάντας, ὅσοι γονέων ἐλευθέρων ἦσαν, ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου Τερεντίου Κουλέωνος, ὃς ἐπηρεάζων τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον ταῦτα ψηφίσασθαι.

- 2 Ἦν δὲ γνωριμωτάτων κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων ἐν τῇ πόλει διαφερομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος καὶ Μάρκου Κάτωνος, τὸν μὲν προέγραψε τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς ἄριστον ἄνδρα καὶ πρῶτον, Κάτωνι δ' εἰς ἔχθραν ἦλθε συμφορᾷ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος. ἀδελφὸς ἦν Τίτῳ Λεύκιος Φλαμινῖνος, οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα προσεοικῶς ἐκείνῳ τὴν φύσιν ἔν τε ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀνελεύθερος δεινῶς
- 3 καὶ ὀλιγωρότατος τοῦ πρέποντος. τούτῳ συνῆν μεираκίσκος ἐρώμενος, ὃν καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄρχων ἐπήγετο καὶ διέπων ἐπαρχίας εἶχεν αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτόν. ἐν οὖν πότῳ τινὶ θρυπτόμενος πρὸς τὸν

¹ Cf. *Morals*, p. 197 c (Livy, xxxv. 49).

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Achaia, do not be astonished when you hear of the Spear-bearers and Lance-bearers and Foot-companions in the army of Antiochus; for they are all Syrians and differ only in the way they are armed.”¹

XVIII. After his achievements in Greece and the war with Antiochus, Titus was appointed censor.² This is the highest office at Rome, and in a manner the culmination of a political career. Titus had as colleague in this office a son of the Marcellus³ who had been five times consul, and the two censors ejected from the senate four men of lesser note, and received into citizenship all who offered themselves for enrolment, provided they were born of free parents. To this step they were forced by the tribune Terentius Culeo, who wanted to spite the nobility and so persuaded the people to vote the measure.

The two men of his time who were most notable and had the greatest influence in the city, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were at variance with one another. Of these, Titus appointed Scipio to be Dean of the Senate,⁴ believing him to be its best and foremost man; but with Cato he came into hostile relations, owing to the following unfortunate circumstances. Titus had a brother, Lucius, who was unlike him in all other ways, and especially in his shameful addiction to pleasure and his utter contempt of decency. This brother had as companion a young boy whom he loved, and took him about and kept him always in his train, whether he was commanding an army or administering a province. At some drinking party, then, this boy was playing the coquet

² In 189 B.C. ³ Cf. chapter i. 3.

⁴ Cf. the *Tiberius Gracchus*, iv: 1; *Cato the Elder*, xvii. 1.

Λεύκιον οὕτως ἔφη σφόδρα φιλεῖν αὐτόν, ὥστε
 θέαν μονομάχων ἀπολιπεῖν οὐπω γεγονῶς ἀνθρώ-
 που φονευομένου θεατῆς, τὸ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἡδὺ τοῦ
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν πλείονι λόγῳ θέμενος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος
 ἡσθεὶς “Οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “δεινόν· ἰύσομαι γὰρ ἐγώ
 4 σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.” καὶ κελεύσας ἓνα τῶν κατα-
 δίκων ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου προαχθῆναι, καὶ τὸν
 ὑπηρέτην μεταπεμψάμενος, ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ προσ-
 ἔταξεν ἀποκόψαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν τράχηλον.
 Οὐαλλέριος δὲ Ἀντίας οὐκ ἐρωμένῳ φησίν, ἀλλ’
 ἐρωμένη τοῦτο χαρίσασθαι τὸν Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ
 Λίβιος ἐν λόγῳ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι φησίν,
 ὡς Γαλάτην αὐτόμολον ἐλθόντα μετὰ παίδων καὶ
 γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας δεξάμενος εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον
 ὁ Λεύκιος ἀπέκτεινεν ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ τῷ ἐρωμένῳ χαρι-
 5 ζόμενος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἰκὸς εἰς δεινῶσιν εἰρῆσθαι
 τῆς κατηγορίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος· ὅτι δὲ οὐκ
 αὐτόμολος ἦν, ἀλλὰ δεσμώτης ὁ ἀναιρεθεὶς καὶ
 ἐκ τῶν καταδίκων, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Κικέρων
 ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ γήρως αὐτῷ Κάτωνι τὴν
 διήγησιν ἀναθεὶς εἵρηκεν.

XIX. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κάτων τιμητῆς γενόμενος
 καὶ καθαίρων τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπῆλασε τῆς βουλῆς
 τὸν Λεύκιον, ὑπατικοῦ μὲν ἀξιώματος ὄντα, συνα-
 τιμοῦσθαι δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δοκοῦντος αὐτῷ. διὸ
 καὶ προελθόντες εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀμφοτέροι ταπεινοὶ

¹ Cf. Livy, xxxix. 43.

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with Lucius, and said he loved him so ardently that he had come away from a show of gladiators in order to be with him, although he had never in all his life seen a man killed; and he had done so, he said, because he cared more for his lover's pleasure than for his own. Lucius was delighted at this, and said: "Don't worry about that! I will give thee thy heart's desire." Then ordering a man who had been condemned to death to be brought forth from his prison, and sending for a lictor, he commanded him to strike off the man's head there in the banquet-hall. Valerius Antias, however, says it was not a lover, but a mistress whom Lucius thus sought to gratify.¹ And Livy says that in a speech of Cato himself it is written that a Gaulish deserter had come to the door with his wife and children, and that Lucius admitted him into the banquet-hall and slew him with his own hand to gratify his lover. This feature, however, was probably introduced by Cato to strengthen the force of his denunciation; for that it was not a deserter, but a prisoner, who was put to death, and one who had been condemned to die, is the testimony of many others, and especially of Cicero the orator in his treatise "On Old Age," where he puts the story in the mouth of Cato himself.²

XIX. In view of this, when Cato became censor³ and was purging the senate of its unworthy members, he expelled from it Lucius Flamininus, although he was a man of consular dignity, and although his brother Titus was thought to be involved in his disgrace. Therefore the two brothers came before the people in lowly garb and bathed in tears, and

² Cf. *Cato the Elder*, xvii. 1-4; Livy, xxxix. 42.

³ In 184 B.C.

καὶ δεδακρυμένοι μέτρια δεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν
 ἐδόκουν, ἀξιοῦντες αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ
 λόγον, ᾧ χρησάμενος οἶκον ἔνδοξον ἀτιμία τοσαύτη
 2 περιβέβληκεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ὑποστειλάμενος ὁ Κάτων
 προῆλθε, καὶ καταστὰς μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος
 ἠρώτησε τὸν Τίτον εἰ γινώσκει τὸ συμπόσιον.
 ἰρνούμενου δὲ ἐκείνου, διηγησάμενος εἰς ὅρισμόν
 προεκαλεῖτο τὸν Λεύκιον εἰ τί φησι τῶν εἰρημένων
 μὴ ἀληθὲς εἶναι. τοῦ δὲ Λευκίου σιωπήσαντος,
 ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἔγνω δικαίαν γεγονέναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν
 καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα προέπεμψε λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 3 βήματος, ὁ δὲ Τίτος τῇ συμφορᾷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
 περιπαθῶν συνέστη μετὰ τῶν πάλοι μισούντων
 τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ πείσας μὲν ἃς ἐκείνος ἐποίησατο
 τῶν δημοσίων ἐκδόσεις καὶ μισθώσεις καὶ ὧνάς
 ἠκύρωσε καὶ ἀνέλυσε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κρατήσας,
 πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας δίκας κατ' αὐτοῦ παρε-
 σκεύασεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εὖ καὶ πολιτικῶς πρὸς
 ἄρχοντα νόμιμον καὶ πολίτην ἄριστον ὑπὲρ
 ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου μὲν, ἀναξίου δὲ καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα
 4 πεπονθότος ἀνήκεστον ἔχθραν ἀράμενος. οὐ μὲν 380
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ δήμου θεῶν ἔχοντος ἐν
 τῇ θεάτρῳ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ὥσπερ εἶωθε, κόσμῳ
 προκαθημένης, ὀφθεῖς ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις που
 καθήμενος ἀτίμως καὶ ταπεινῶς οἶκτον ἔσχε· καὶ
 τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλ' ἐβόων
 μεταβῆναι κελεύοντες, ἕως μετέβη, δεξαμένων
 αὐτὸν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τῶν ὑπατικῶν.

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made what seemed a reasonable request of their fellow citizens, namely, that Cato should state the reasons which had led him to visit a noble house with a disgrace so great. Without any hesitation, then, Cato came forward, and standing with his colleague before Titus, asked him if he knew about the banquet. Titus said he did not, whereupon Cato related the incident and formally challenged Lucius to say whether any part of the story told was not true. But Lucius was dumb, and the people therefore saw that he had been justly disgraced, and gave Cato a splendid escort away from the rostra. Titus, however, was so affected by the misfortune of his brother that he leagued himself with those who had long hated Cato, and after getting the upper hand in the senate, revoked and annulled all the public rentals and leases and contracts which Cato had made, besides bringing many heavy indictments against him.¹ That he acted the part of a good man or a good citizen I cannot affirm, in thus cherishing an incurable hatred against a lawful magistrate and a most excellent citizen on account of a man who, though a kinsman, was nevertheless unworthy and had suffered only what he deserved. However, as the Roman people was once enjoying a spectacle in the theatre, and the senate, according to custom, had seats of honour in the foremost rows, Lucius was seen sitting somewhere in the rear among the poor and lowly, and excited men's pity. The multitude could not bear the sight, but kept shouting to him to change his place, until he did change his place, and was received among their own number by the men of consular rank.

¹ Cf. *Cato the Elder*, xix. 2; Livy, xxxix. 44.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- XX. Τὸ δ' οὖν φύσει Τίτου φιλότιμον, ἄχρι μὲν ἱκανὴν εἶχεν ὕλην περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους πολέμους διατρίβοντας, εὐδοκίμει· καὶ γὰρ ἐχιλιάρχησεν αὐθις μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν, οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος· ἀπαλλαγείς δὲ τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἡλέγχετο μᾶλλον, ἐν οὐκ ἔχοντι πράξεις ἔτι τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ σπαργώντα πρὸς δόξαν καὶ νεανίζοντα
- 2 τῷ πάθει κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν οὐ δυνάμενος. τοιαύτη γάρ τινι καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀννίβαν φορὰ ἐδόκει πράξας ἐπαχθῆς γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας οἰκοθεν μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ὑπεκδράς Ἀντιόχῳ συνῆν, ἐκείνου δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μάχην εἰρήνης ἀγαπητῶς τυχόντος, αὐθις φεύγων καὶ πλανηθεὶς πολλὰ τέλος ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ κατέστη Προυσίαν θεραπεύων, οὐδενὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀγνοοῦντος, ἀλλὰ παρορώντων ἀπάντων δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας ὥσπερ ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης.
- 3 Τίτος δὲ πρεσβευτῆς δι' ἑτέρας δὴ τινας πράξεις ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὸν Προυσίαν ἀφικόμενος καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἰδὼν αὐτόθι διαιτώμενον, ἡγανάκτησεν εἰ ζῇ, καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ Προυσίου δεομένου καὶ λιπαροῦντος ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἰκέτου καὶ συνήθους οὐ παρήκε. χρησμοῦ δέ τινος, ὡς ἔοικε, παλαιοῦ περὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου τελευτῆς οὕτως ἔχοντος,

Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας,

¹ The battle at Magnesia, in Lydia, 191 B.C. Under the terms of peace, Antiochus was to deliver Hannibal to the Romans. Cf. Livy, xxxvii. 45.

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XX. Now, the native ambition of Titus, as long as it had sufficient material to gratify it in the wars which I have mentioned, met with praise, as, for instance, when he served a second time as military tribune after having been consul, though there was no necessity for it; but after he had ceased to hold office and was well on in years, he met the rather with censure, because, although the portion of life which still remained to him did not admit of great activity, he was unable to restrain his passion for glory and his youthful ardour. For by some such fierce impulse, as it would seem, he was led to his treatment of Hannibal, which made him odious to most people. Hannibal had secretly fled from his native Carthage and spent some time at the court of Antiochus; but when Antiochus, after the battle in Phrygia,¹ had gladly accepted terms of peace, Hannibal took to flight once more, and after many wanderings, finally settled down at the court of Prusias in Bithynia. No one at Rome was ignorant of this, but all ignored him on account of his weakness and old age, regarding him as a castaway of Fortune. Titus, however, who had been sent by the senate as ambassador to the court of Prusias on some other business,² and saw that Hannibal was staying there, was incensed that he should be alive, and although Prusias made many fervent intercessions in behalf of a man who was a suppliant and familiar friend, would not relent. There was an ancient oracle, as it would appear, concerning Hannibal's death, and it ran as follows:—

“Libyssan earth shall cover the form of Hannibal.”

² According to Livy (xxxix. 51), Hannibal's presence in Bithynia was part of Rome's complaint against Prusias.

ὁ μὲν ἄρα Λιβύην ὑπενόει καὶ τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι
 4 ταφίς, ὡς ἐκεῖ καταβιωσόμενος· ἐν δὲ Βιθυνία
 τόπος ἐστὶ θινώδης ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ
 κώμη τις μεγάλη Λίβυσσα καλεῖται. περὶ ταύ-
 την ἔτυχε διατρίβων Ἀννίβας. αἰεὶ δὲ ἀπιστῶν
 τῇ τοῦ Προυσίου μαλακίᾳ καὶ φοβούμενος τοὺς
 Ῥωμαίους τὴν οἰκίαν ἔτι πρότερον ἐξόδοις ἑπτὰ
 καταγείοις συντετρημένην ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διαίτης
 εἶχεν, ἄλλου κατ' ἄλλο τῶν ὑπονόμων, πόρρω δὲ
 5 πάντων ἀδήλως ἐκφερόντων. ὥς οὖν ἤκουσε τότε
 τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Τίτου, φεύγειν μὲν ὥρμησε διὰ
 τῶν ὑπονόμων, ἐντυχὼν δὲ φυλακαῖς βασιλικάις
 ἔγνω δι' αὐτοῦ τελευτᾶν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν
 ὡς ἰμίτιον τῷ τραχήλῳ περιβαλὼν καὶ κελεύσας
 οἰκέτην ὀπισθεν εῖρεισαντα κατὰ τοῦ ἰσχίου τὸ
 γόνυ καὶ σφοδρῶς ἀνακλύσαντα συντείνειν καὶ
 περιστρέψαι, μέχρι ἂν ἐκθλίψαι τὸ πνεῦμα,
 διαφθείρειεν αὐτόν· ἔνιοι δὲ μίμησάμενον Θεμι-
 6 στοκλέα καὶ Μίδαν αἶμα ταύρειον πιεῖν· Λίβιος
 δὲ φησι φάρμακον ἔχοντα κεράσαι καὶ τὴν κύλικα
 δεξάμενον εἰπεῖν· “Ἀναπαύσωμεν ἤδη ποτὲ τὴν
 πολλὴν φροντίδα Ῥωμαίων, οἳ μακρὸν ἡγήσαντο
 καὶ βαρὺ μισουμένου γέροντος ἀναμεῖναι θάνατον.
 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Τίτος ἀξιοζήλωτον ἀποίσεται νίκην
 οὐδὲ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίαν, οἳ Πύρρῳ πολεμοῦντι
 καὶ κρατοῦντι τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑποπέμψαντες κατε-
 μήνυσαν φαρμακείαν.”

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Hannibal thought this referred to Libya and a burial at Carthage, and believed that he would end his days there ; but there is a sandy tract in Bithynia on the sea-shore, and on its border a large village called Libyssa. Near this village Hannibal was living. But he had always distrusted the weakness of Prusias and feared the Romans, and therefore even before this time his house had been provided with seven underground exits leading from his own chamber. These ran in different directions beneath the surface of the ground, but all had secret issues far away. Accordingly, when he now heard of the behest of Titus, he set out to make his escape by way of the underground passages, but encountered guards of the king, and therefore determined to take his own life. Some say that he wound his cloak about his neck and then ordered a servant to plant his knee in the small of his back, pull the rope towards him with all his might until it was twisted tight, and so to choke and kill him ; some, too, say that he drank bull's blood in imitation of Themistocles¹ and Midas ; but Livy says² that he had poison which he ordered to be mixed, and took the cup with these words : " Let us now at last put an end to the great anxiety of the Romans, who have thought it too long and hard a task to wait for the death of a hated old man. Nevertheless, Titus will not bear away an enviable victory, nor one worthy of his forefathers, who sent secret information to Pyrrhus, when he was at war with them and a victor over them, of the poisoning that was going to be attempted." ³

¹ Cf. the *Themistocles*, xxxi. 5.

² Livy, xxxix. 51. ³ Cf. the *Pyrrhus*, xxi. 1-3.

XXI. Οὕτω μὲν τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν. ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐπαχθῆς ἔδοξεν ὁ Τίτος καὶ περιττὸς ἄγαν καὶ ὤμός, ὥσπερ ὄρνιν ὑπὸ γήρως ἀπτῆνα καὶ κόλουρον ἀφειμένον ζῆν χειροθήη τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀποκτείνας, οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ δόξαν, ὡς ἐπώνυμος τοῦ θανάτου
 2 γένοιτο. καὶ τὴν Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος ἐκτιθέντες πραότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθαύμαζον, ὡς ἀήττητον ὄντα καὶ φοβερὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ καταπολεμήσας Ἀννίβαν οὔτε ἐξήλασεν 381 οὔτε ἐξητήσατο παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης εἰς λόγους ἔλθων ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην σπενδόμενος οὐδὲν ἐπετόλμησεν οὐδ'
 3 ἐπενέβη τῇ τύχῃ τοῦ ἀνδρός. λέγεται δὲ αὐθις ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συμβαλεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ συμπεριπατεῖν τοῦ Ἀννίβου τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐν ἀξιώματι τάξιν ἐκείνῳ¹ προλαβόντος ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ περιπατεῖν ἀφελῶς τὸν Ἀφρικανόν, ἔπειτα λόγου περὶ στρατηγῶν ἐμπεσόντος καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου κράτιστον ἀποφνημαμένου γεγονέναι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἶτα Πύρρον, τρίτον δὲ αὐτόν, ἡσυχῇ μειδιάσαντα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν εἰπεῖν, “Τί δ', εἰ μὴ σε ἐγὼ νενικήκειν;” καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν,
 4 “Οὐκ ἄν, ὦ Σκηπίων,” φάναι, “τρίτον ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐποιούμην τῶν στρατηγῶν.”

Ταῦτα δὴ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος οἱ πολλοὶ θαυμάζοντες

¹ ἐκείνῳ Coraüs and Bekker, after Reiske: εἶναι. Blass corrects to προσήκουσαν ἐν ἀ. τάξιν.

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XXI. Such are the accounts of the death of Hannibal. When the story of it was brought to the senate, many of them thought the conduct of Titus odious, officious, and cruel ; for he had killed Hannibal when he was like a bird permitted to live a tame and harmless life because too old to fly and without a tail, and there had been no necessity for his doing this, but he did it to win fame, that his name might be associated with the death of Hannibal. Men also pointed to the clemency and magnanimity of Scipio Africanus and admired it all the more, since after defeating a Hannibal who had not been conquered before and was filling Africa with fear, he neither drove him from the country nor demanded his surrender by his fellow citizens, nay, he actually gave him a kindly greeting when he held conference with him before the battle, and after the battle, in making terms of peace, he did not insult or trample upon the fortunes of his foe.¹ Moreover, we are told that the two men met again at Ephesus, and in the first place, that when, as they were walking about together, Hannibal took the side which more properly belonged to Scipio as the superior, Scipio suffered it and walked about without paying any heed to it ; and again, that when they fell to discussing generals and Hannibal declared Alexander to have been the mightiest of generals, and next to him Pyrrhus, and third himself, Scipio asked with a quiet smile, " And what wouldst thou have said if I had not conquered thee ? " To which Hannibal replied, " In that case, Scipio, I should not have counted myself third, but first of generals. " ²

Such conduct on the part of Scipio most people

¹ Cf. Livy, xxx. 29 ff.

² Cf. Livy, xxxv. 14.

- ἐκάκιζον τὸν Τίτον ὡς ἄλλοτρίῳ νεκρῷ προσε-
νεγκόντα τὰς χεῖρας. ἔνιοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τὸ πεπρα-
γμένον ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἕως ἔξῃ,
5 πῦρ ἡγούμενοι δεόμενον τοῦ ῥιπίζοντος· μηδὲ γὰρ
ἀκμάζοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὴν
χεῖρα φοβερὰν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἐμπει-
ρίαν γεγονέναι μετὰ τῆς ἐμφύτου πικρίας καὶ
δυσμενείας, ὣν οὐδὲν ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλ'
ὑπομένειν τὴν φύσιν ἐν τῷ ἥθει, τὴν δὲ τύχην οὐ
διαμένειν ὁμοίαν, ἀλλὰ μεταπίπτουσιν ἐκκαλεῖ-
σθαι ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις τοὺς αἰὶ τῷ
6 μισεῖν πολεμοῦντας. καὶ τὰ ὕστερά πως ἔτι
μᾶλλον ἐμαρτύρησε τῷ Τίτῳ, τοῦτο μὲν Ἀριστό-
νικος ὁ τοῦ κιθαρωδοῦ διὰ τὴν Εὐμενοῦς δόξαν
ἐμπλήσας ἅπασαν ἀποστάσεων καὶ πολέμων τὴν
Ἀσίαν, τοῦτο δὲ Μιθριδάτης μετὰ Σύλλαν καὶ
Φιμβρίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄλεθρον στρατευμάτων
καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐθις ἐπὶ Λεύκολλον ἐκ γῆς ὁμοῦ
καὶ θαλάττης ἀναστὰς τηλικούτος.
- 7 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Γαίου Μαρίου ταπεινότερος Ἀννί-
βας ἔκειτο. τῷ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς φίλος ὑπῆρχε
καὶ βίος ἦν συνήθης καὶ διατριβαὶ περὶ ναῦς καὶ
ἵππους καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν· τὰς δὲ Μαρίου
τύχας Ῥωμαῖοι γελῶντες ἀλωμένου καὶ πτωχεύ-
οντος ἐν Λιβύῃ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ σφαττό-
μενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι προσεκύνουν. οὕτως

¹ In 131-130 B.C.

² In 88-84 B.C.

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admired, and they blamed Titus for having laid violent hands on one whom another had slain. But some there were who praised what he had done and thought that Hannibal, as long as he was alive, was a consuming fire which needed only to be fanned; for when he was in his prime, they said, it was not his body nor his arm that had been formidable to the Romans, but his ability and experience coupled with his ingrained bitterness and hostility, and from these naught is subtracted by old age, but the natural characteristics remain unchanged: whereas fortune does not remain the same, but changes sides, and summons with hope to fresh undertakings those whom hatred makes perpetual foes. And subsequent events were perhaps still more a justification of Titus; for Aristonicus, the son of a harpist's daughter, used his reputed connexion with Eumenes to fill all Asia with wars and rebellions,¹ and Mithridates, notwithstanding his defeats by Sulla and Fimbria and his great losses in armies and generals,² rose once more to be a formidable antagonist of Lucullus by land and sea.³

However, not even Hannibal was reduced to a lower level than Caius Marius. For Hannibal had a king as his friend, and his days as usual were occupied with ships and horses and the care of soldiers; whereas Marius in his misfortunes was a laughing-stock to the Romans as he wandered about and begged his way in Africa, though after a little while he was in Rome with his axes at their necks and his rods at their backs, and they were humbly begging his mercy. So true is it that nothing in the present

³ In 74-67 B.C. The argument is that if so great dangers to Rome were latent in Asia, the presence of Hannibal there was a menace.

οὐδὲν οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα τῶν παρόντων πρὸς
 τὸ μέλλον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μία τοῦ μεταβάλλειν
 8 τελευτὴ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι. διὸ καὶ φασιν ἔνιοι Τίτον
 οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ταῦτα πράξαι, πεμφθῆναι δὲ πρεσ-
 βευτὴν μετὰ Λευκίου Σκηπίωνος, οὐδὲν ἄλλο τῆς
 πρεσβείας ἐχούσης ἔργον ἢ τὸν Ἀννίβου θάνατον.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι τούτων κατόπιν οὔτε
 πολιτικὴν τοῦ Τίτου πράξιν οὔτε πολεμικὴν ἱστο-
 ρήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῆς ἔτυχεν εἰρηνικῆς,
 ὥρα τὴν σύγκρισιν ἐπισκοπεῖν.

ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Μεγέθει μὲν οὖν τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 εὐεργεσιῶν οὔτε Φιλοποίμενα Τίτῳ παραβάλλειν
 οὔτε πάνυ πολλοὺς τῶν Φιλοποίμενος ἀμεινόνων
 ἀνδρῶν ἀξιὸν ἐστὶ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλλησι πρὸς
 Ἕλληνας οἱ πόλεμοι, τῷ δὲ οὐχ Ἕλλησι καὶ ὑπὲρ
 Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ὅτε Φιλοποίμην ἀμυχανῶν τοῖς
 ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις ἀμύνειν πολεμουμένοις εἰς Κρήτην
 ἀπῆρε, τότε νικήσας Τίτος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 Φίλιππον ἡλευθέρου καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις
 2 ἀπάσας. εἰ δέ τις ἐξετάζοι τὰς μάχας ἐκα-
 τέρου, πλείους Ἕλληνας Φιλοποίμην Ἀχαιῶν
 στρατηγῶν ἢ Μακεδόνας Τίτος Ἕλλησι βοηθῶν
 ἀνείλε.

Τὰ τοίνυν ἀμαρτήματα τοῦ μὲν φιλοτιμίας,

PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS COMPARED

is either small or great in view of what may happen in the future, but change, like life, can only end with death. For this reason some say that Titus did not take this step on his own account, but that he was sent as ambassador with Lucius Scipio, and their embassy had no other object than the death of Hannibal.

We do not find that Titus was active after this, either as statesman or soldier, and his end was a peaceful one. It is therefore time to think of our comparison.

COMPARISON OF PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS

I. ACCORDINGLY, in the magnitude of their benefactions to the Greeks, neither Philopoemen nor any one of the Greeks who were better men than Philopoemen is worthy of comparison with Titus. For they were Greeks and waged their wars against Greeks; whereas Titus was not a Greek and waged war in behalf of Greeks; and at a time when Philopoemen was unable to defend his own countrymen from the attacks of their enemies, and had gone off into Crete, at that very time Titus won a victory over Philip in the heart of Greece and set her peoples and all her cities free. And if we examine into the battles which each fought, we shall find that the Greeks slain by Philopoemen as general of the Achaeans were more in number than the Macedonians slain by Titus as helper of the Greeks.

And then as to their errors, in the one they were

τοῦ δὲ φιλονεικίας γέγονε, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὁ μὲν
 εὐκίνητος, ὁ δὲ καὶ δυσπαραίτητος. Τίτος μὲν 382
 γὰρ καὶ Φιλίππῳ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς βασιλείας
 ἐφύλαξε καὶ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς εὐγνωμόνησε, Φιλο-
 ποίμην δὲ τῆς πατρίδος δι' ὀργὴν ἀφείλετο τὴν
 3 περιοικίδα συντέλειαν. ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν τοῖς εὖ
 παθοῦσιν ἀεὶ βέβαιος, ὁ δὲ θυμῷ λῦσαι χάριν
 ἔτοιμος. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εὐεργέτης πρότερον
 ὢν ὕστερον καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψε καὶ τὴν
 χώραν περιέκοψε καὶ τέλος αὐτὴν μετέβαλε καὶ
 διέφθειρε τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν βίον
 ὀργῇ προέσθαι καὶ φιλονεικία, μὴ κατὰ καιρόν,
 ἀλλ' ὀξύτερον τοῦ δέοντος εἰς Μεσσήνην ἐπειχθεῖς,
 οὐχ ὥσπερ Τίτος πάντα λογισμῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφά-
 λειαν στρατηγήσας.

II. Ἀλλὰ πλήθει γε πολέμων καὶ τροπαίων ἡ
 Φιλοποίμενος ἐμπειρία βεβαιότερα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ
 τὰ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐκρίθη δυοῖν ἀγώνοις, ὁ δὲ
 μυρίας μάχας κατορθώσας οὐδεμίαν ἀμφισβήτησιν
 τῇ τύχῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀπολέλοιπεν. ἔτι
 δὲ ὁ μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀκμὴν ἐχούσῃ δυνάμει
 χρησάμενος, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἤδη φθινούσης
 ἐπακμάσας, δόξαν ἔσχεν, ὥστε τοῦ μὲν ἴδιον, τοῦ
 δὲ κοινὸν ἔργον εἶναι τὸ κατορθούμενον· ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ ἤρχεν ἀγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἀγαθοῦς ἐποίει.
 2 καὶ μὴν τό γε πρὸς Ἑλληνας τούτῳ γενέσθαι τοὺς
 ἀγῶνας οὐκ εὐτυχῇ μὲν, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς
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due to ambition, in the other to a spirit of contention. For Titus preserved Philip's royal dignity and showed favour to the Aetolians; whereas the anger of Philopoemen led him to rob his native city of its supremacy over the surrounding villages. And further, the one was always constant towards his beneficiaries, while the other, to indulge his wrath, was ever ready to cancel a kindness. For instance, though he had once been a benefactor of Sparta, he afterwards tore down her walls, reduced her territory, and finally altered and destroyed her very constitution. And it would appear that he threw away his life in a fit of anger and contentiousness, by hastening to attack Messene before occasion offered and more quickly than was feasible; for he did not, like Titus, conduct all his military operations with deliberation and a due regard for safety.

II. But surely the multitude of his wars and trophies put the military experience of Philopoemen on a firmer basis. For the campaign of Titus against Philip was decided by two conflicts, whereas Philopoemen was successful in countless battles and left no room for the claim that his victories were due to fortune rather than to skill. And besides, Titus, in his quest of fame, availed himself of the culminating power of Rome; whereas Philopoemen flourished when Greece was already in declension. Therefore the success of Philopoemen was his own work, while that of Titus was the result of a community of effort; for the latter was commander of good soldiers, while the former, as commander, had to make his soldiers good. And surely the fact that Philopoemen's conflicts were with Greeks furnished a proof of his valour which was convincing even

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ἀπόδειξιν παρείχεν· οἷς γὰρ ὅμοια τᾶλλα, τῷ προὔχειν ἀρετῇ κρατοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πολεμκωτάτοις Ἑλλήνων Κρησὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμήσας, τῶν μὲν πανουργοτάτων δόλφ, τῶν δ' ἄλκιμωτάτων τόλμῃ περιεγένετο.

- 3 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Τίτος μὲν ἐξ ὑποκειμένων ἐνίκα, χρώμενος ὀπλισμοῖς καὶ τάξεσιν αἷς παρέλαβε, Φιλοποίμην δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπεισενεγκὼν καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον, ὥστε τὸ νικητικώτατον ὑφ' οὗ μὲν οὐκ ὄν εὐρήσθαι, τῷ δὲ ὑπάρχον βοηθεῖν. κατὰ χεῖρα τοίνυν Φιλοποίμενος μὲν ἔργα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, θατέρου δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τις αὐτὸν Ἀρχέδημος ἐπέσκωπτεν ὥς, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἐσπασμένος τὴν μάχαιραν ἔθει δρόμῳ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ τοὺς συνεστῶτας τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ Τίτου τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπτίας ἀνατείναντος ἐστῶτος καὶ προσερχομένου.

- III. Καὶ μὴν Τίτῳ μὲν ἄρχοντι συνέβη καὶ πρεσβεύοντι πάντα πρᾶξαι τὰ καλὰ, Φιλοποίμην δὲ οὐ χείρονα παρέσχεν οὐδὲ ἀπρακτότερον ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην ἢ στρατηγὸν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἰδιώτης μὲν γὰρ ὢν Νάβιν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης καὶ Μεσσηνίους ἡλευθέρωσεν, ἰδιώτης δὲ Διοφάνην τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Τίτον ἐπερχομένους ἀπέκλεισε τῆς
- 2 Σπάρτης καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους διέσωσεν. οὕτως
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though unfortunate: for where other things are equal, they prevail who surpass in valour. And so it was that although he carried on war with the most warlike of the Greeks, namely, the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, he surpassed the first in wiles, though they were most crafty, and the second in daring, though they were most brave.

In addition to this it may be said that Titus won his victories by using what lay ready to his hand, since he availed himself of styles of armour and formation which had come down to him, whereas Philopoemen won his successes by making contributions and changes of his own in these matters, so that in the one case what was most essential for victory did not exist and had to be discovered, while in the other it lay ready for service. In the way of personal prowess, moreover, Philopoemen performed much that was great, but Titus nothing at all; nay, an Aetolian named Archedemus mocked at him because, when he himself had drawn his sword and was running at full speed against the Macedonians who were holding together and fighting, Titus was standing with his hands stretched up towards heaven and praying for help.

III. And further, Titus was either a commander or an ambassador when he did all his noble deeds, whereas Philopoemen showed himself no less active and effective for the Achaeans when he was a private citizen than when he was their general. For it was as a private citizen that he expelled Nabis from Messene and set the Messenians free, and as a private citizen that he shut the gates of Sparta against the coming of Diophanes the general and Titus, and so saved the Lacedaemonians.

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ἡγεμονικὴν φύσιν ἔχων οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἄρχειν ἠπίστατο πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, οὐ δεόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων λαβεῖν τὸ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ χρώμενος αὐτοῖς, ὅπου καιρὸς εἴη, τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φρονοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡρημένον ἡγούμενος στρατηγόν.

- 3 Γενναῖα μὲν οὖν Τίτου τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπεικὴ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα, γενναιότερα δὲ Φιλοποίμενος τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὕχυνά καὶ φιλελεύθερα· ῥᾶον γὰρ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ λυπεῖν ἀντιτείνοντα τοὺς δυνατωτέρους. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐξεταζομένων δυσθεώρητος ἡ διαφορά, σκόπει, μὴ τῷ μὲν Ἕλληνι τὸν ἐμπειρίας πολεμικῆς καὶ στρατηγίας στέφανον, τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ τὸν δικαιοσύνης καὶ χρηστότητος ἀποδιδόντες οὐ φαύλως διαιτᾶν δόξομεν.

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Having this natural gift of leadership, he not only knew how to use it in accordance with the laws, but also how to dominate the laws for the common good ; he did not think it necessary to be appointed commander by the people, but took them under his command when occasion required it, considering that he who took wise counsel in their behalf, rather than he who had been elected by them, was their real general.

Nobly generous, then, was the clemency and humanity which Titus showed to the Greeks, but more nobly generous was the firmness and love of freedom with which Philopoemen opposed the Romans ; for it is easier to confer favours on suppliants than it is to vex with opposition those who are more powerful. But since, after this examination, the difference between the two men is hard to define, I leave it to my reader to say whether, if we award to the Greek the crown for military experience and generalship, and to the Roman that for justice and goodness of heart, we shall not make a fair decision.

**A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES**

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

XI

ARATUS, ARTAXERXES, GALBA AND OTHO

INDEX TO ALL THE LIVES BY

J. W. COHOON



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- (18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
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ΑΡΑΤΟΣ

Ι. Παροιμίαν τινὰ παλαιάν, ὦ Πολύκρατες, Paris
Edition.
a. 1624
δείσας μοι δοκεῖ τὸ δύσφημον αὐτῆς, ὁ φιλόσοφος 1027
Χρύσιππος, οὐχ ὃν ἔχει τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς
ᾤετο βέλτιον εἶναι, διατίθεται,

τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει, εἰ μὴ εὐδαίμονες υἱοί;

Διονυσόδωρος δὲ ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἐλέγχων αὐτὸν
ἀντεκτίθησι τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει, εἰ μὴ κακοδαίμονες υἱοί;

- 2 καὶ φησι τοὺς ἀφ' αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς ἀξίους ὄντας,
ὑποδουμένους δὲ προγόνων τινῶν ἀρεταῖς¹ καὶ
πλεονάζοντας ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπαίνοις ὑπὸ τῆς
παροιμίας ἐπιστομίζεσθαι. ἀλλ' ὧ γε φύσει τὸ
γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει ἐκ πατέρων, κατὰ Πίνδαρον,²
ὥσπερ σοὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἀφομοιοῦντι τῶν
οἴκοθεν παραδειγμάτων τὸν βίον, εὐδαιμον ἂν εἴη
τὸ μεμνήσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἀρίστων, ἀκούοντας
3 περὶ αὐτῶν αἰεὶ τι καὶ λέγοντας. οὐ γὰρ ἰδίῳν

¹ ἀρεταῖς Sint. and Ziegler with S^g; Bekker has ἀρετάς, with inferior MSS.

² Pyth. viii. 44f. (φυᾷ . . . ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα).

ARATUS

I. There is an ancient proverb, Polycrates,¹ which the philosopher Chrysippus puts not as it really is, but as he thought better :—

“Who will praise a father, except happy sons?”

But Dionysodorus of Troezen corrects him, and restores the true form thus :—

“Who will praise a father, except unhappy sons?”

And he says that the proverb stops the mouths of those who, being worthless in themselves, take refuge in the virtues of certain ancestors and are forever praising them. But surely for a man in whom, to use Pindar's words, “the noble spirit naturally displays itself as inherited from sires,” and who, like thee, patterns his life after the fairest examples in his family line,—for such men it will be good fortune to be reminded of their noblest progenitors, ever and anon hearing the story of them, or telling it themselves. For it is not that they lack

¹ A friend of Plutarch, not otherwise known, to whom he thus dedicates this *Life*. See the note on the *Theseus*, i. 1.

ἀπορία καλῶν ἐξαρτῶσιν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπαίνων τὴν
 δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκείνων τὰ οἰκεία συνάπτοντες,
 ὥς καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τοῦ βίου καθηγεμόνας
 εὐφημοῦσι. διὸ καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀράτου τοῦ σοῦ πολί-
 του καὶ προπάτορος βίον, ὃν οὔτε τῇ δόξῃ τῇ
 περὶ σεαυτὸν οὔτε τῇ δυνάμει καταισχύνεις, ἀπέ-
 σταλκά σοι συγγραψάμενος, οὐχ ὥς οὐχὶ πάντων
 ἀκριβέστατά σοι μεμεληκὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπίστασθαι
 4 τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις, ἀλλ' ὅπως οἱ παῖδές σου
 Πολυκράτης καὶ Πυθοκλῆς οἰκείοις παραδείγμα-
 σιν ἐντρέφονται, τὰ μὲν ἀκούοντες, τὰ δὲ ἀνα-
 γινώσκοντες, ἅπερ αὐτοὺς μιμῆσθαι προσήκει.
 φιλαύτου γὰρ ἀνδρός, οὐ φιλοκάλου, παντὸς αἰεὶ
 βέλτιστον ἡγεῖσθαι.

II. Ἡ Σικυωνίων πόλις, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς
 ἀκράτου καὶ Δωρικῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὥσπερ ἄρμο-
 νίας συγχυθείσης εἰς στάσεις ἐνέπεσε καὶ φιλο-
 τιμίας δημαγωγῶν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο νοσοῦσα καὶ
 ταραττομένη καὶ τύραννον ἐκ τυράννου μεταβάλ-
 λουσα, μέχρι οὗ Κλέωνος ἀναιρεθέντος εἵλοντο
 Τιμοκλείδαν ἄρχοντα καὶ Κλεινίαν, ἄνδρας ἐν-
 δόξους τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν
 2 ὄντας. ἤδη δὲ τίνα τῆς πολιτείας κατάστασιν
 ἔχειν δοκούσης Τιμοκλείδας μὲν ἀπέθανεν, Ἀβαν- 1028
 τίδας δὲ ὁ Πασέου τυραννίδα πράττων ἐαυτῷ
 τὸν Κλεινίαν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων
 τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνείλεν. ἐζήτει δὲ
 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Ἄρατον, ἀνελεῖν, ἐπταετῇ
 3 καταλελειμμένον. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τα-

¹ In 264 B.C.

noble qualities of their own and make their reputation dependent on their praises of others, nay rather, they associate their own careers with the careers of their great ancestors, whom they hail both as founders of their line and as directors of their lives. And therefore, now that I have written the life of Aratus, who was thy countryman and forefather, and to whom thou thyself art no discredit in either reputation or influence, I send it to thee, not as though thou hadst not been at pains from the beginning to have the most precise knowledge of thy great ancestor's career, but in order that thy sons Polycrates and Pythocles may be reared, now by hearing and now by reading, after examples found in their own family line—examples which it well becomes them to imitate. For it is the lover of himself, and not the lover of goodness, who thinks himself always superior to others.

II. The city of Sicyon, as soon as it had fallen away from its pure Doric form of aristocracy (which was now like a harmony dissolved) and had become a prey to factions and the ambitious schemes of demagogues, was without cease distempered and agitated, and kept changing one tyrant for another, until, after the murder of Cleon, Timocleides and Cleinias were chosen chief magistrates, men of the highest repute and influence among the citizens. But no sooner did the government appear to be somewhat settled than Timocleides died, and Abantidas the son of Paseas, attempting to make himself tyrant, slew Cleinias,¹ and, of the friends and kinsmen of Cleinias, banished some and killed others. He tried to kill also the son of Cleinias, Aratus, left fatherless at the age of seven. But in the confusion

ραχῇ συνεκπεσὼν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὁ παῖς, καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει περίφοβος καὶ ἀβοήθητος, κατὰ τύχην ἔλαθεν εἰς οἰκίαν παρελθὼν γυναικός, ἀδελφῆς μὲν Ἀβαντίδου, Προφάντῳ δὲ τῷ Κλεινίου ἀδελφῷ γεγαμημένης, ὄνομα Σωσοῦς. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἦθος οὔσα γενναία καὶ σὺν θεῷ τινι τὸ παιδίον οἰομένη καταπεφευγέναι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπέκρυψεν ἔνδον, εἶτα νυκτὸς εἰς Ἄργος ὑπεξέπεμψεν.

- III. Οὕτῳ δ' ἐκκλαπέντι τῷ Ἀράτῳ καὶ διαφυγόντι τὸν κίνδυνον εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνεφύετο καὶ συνηύξετο τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ διάπυρον μῖσος ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους. τρεφόμενος δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Ἄργει ξένοις καὶ φίλοις πατρώοις ἐλευθερίως, καὶ τὸ σῶμα βλαστάνον ὀρώων εἰς εὐεξίαν καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀσκήσει τῇ περὶ παλαίστραν, ὥστε καὶ πένταθλον ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ
 2 στεφάνων τυχεῖν. ἐπιφαίνεται δ' ἀμέλει καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἀθλητικῇ τις ἰδέα, καὶ τὸ συνετὸν τοῦ προσώπου καὶ βασιλικὸν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀρνείται τὴν ἀδηφαγίαν καὶ τὸ σκαφεῖον. ὅθεν ἐνδεέστερον ἴσως ἢ πολιτικῷ προσήκον ἦν ἀνδρὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἐσπούδασε· καίτοι γεγονέναι κομψότερον εἰπεῖν ἢ δοκεῖ τισιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων κρίνουσιν, ἃ παρέργως καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα διὰ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ὀνομάτων ἀμλλησάμενος κατέλιπε.
 3 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀβαντίδαν μὲν οἱ περὶ Δεινίαν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν διαλεκτικόν, εἰωθότα τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν σχολαζόντων ἐκά-

¹ A contest involving the five arts of running, leaping, hurling the spear, boxing, and wrestling.

which prevailed about the house the boy made his escape with the fugitives, and wandering about in the city, full of fear and helpless, by chance got unnoticed into the house of a woman who was a sister of Abantidas, but had married Prophantus the brother of Cleinias. Her name was Soso. This woman, who was of a noble nature, and thought it a divine dispensation that the boy had taken refuge with her, hid him in the house, and at night sent him secretly off to Argos.

III. Thus was Aratus stolen away from the peril that threatened him, and at once that vehement and glowing hatred of tyrants for which he was noted became a part of his nature and grew with his growth. He was reared in liberal fashion among the guests and friends of his father's house at Argos, and since he saw that his bodily growth promised high health and stature, he devoted himself to the exercises of the palaestra, going so far as to win wreaths of victory in contesting the pentathlum.¹ And indeed even his statues have plainly an athletic look, and the sagacity and majesty of his countenance do not altogether disown the athlete's full diet and wielding of the mattock. Wherefore his cultivation of oratory was perhaps less intense than became a man in public life; and yet he is said to have been a more ornate speaker than some think who judge from the Commentaries which he left; these were a bye-work, and were composed in haste, off-hand, and in the words that first occurred to him in the heat of contest.

Some time after the escape of Aratus, Abantidas was slain by Deinias and Aristotle the logician. The tyrant was wont to attend all their public disputations

στοτε παρῆναι καὶ συμφιλονεικεῖν, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοιαύτην διατριβὴν καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἐπιβουλήν ἀνείλον, Πασέαν δὲ τὸν Ἀβαντίδου πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπολαβόντα Νικοκλῆς δολο-
 4 φονήσας ἑαυτὸν ἀνέδειξε τύραννον. τοῦτον ἐμ-
 φερέστατον λέγουσι τὴν ὄψιν Περιάνδρῳ τῷ Κυψέλου γενέσθαι, καθάπερ Ἀλκμαίῳ μὲν τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω τὸν Πέρσην Ὀρόντην, Ἐκτορι δὲ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον νεανίσκον, ὃν ἱστορεῖ Μυρτίλος ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν θεωμένων, ὥς τοῦτο ἔγνωσαν, καταπατηθῆναι.

IV. Τοῦ δὲ Νικοκλέους τέσσαρας μῆνας τυραν-
 νούντος, ἐν οἷς πολλὰ κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐργασά-
 μενος ἐκινδύνευσεν ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν ἐπιβουλευομένην
 αὐτὴν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἤδη μεираκίον ὁ Ἄρατος ὦν
 ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν εἶχε δι' εὐγένειαν καὶ φρόνημα,
 ὃ διέφαιεν οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ ἀργόν, ἐμβριθὲς δὲ καὶ
 παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀσφαλεστέρα γνώμη κεκραμένον.
 2 ὅθεν οἱ τε φυγάδες μάλιστα τὸν νοῦν ἐκείνῳ προσ-
 εἶχον, ὃ τε Νικοκλῆς οὐκ ἡμέλει τῶν πραττο-
 μένων, ἀλλ' ἀδήλως ἀπεθεώρει καὶ παρεφύλαττεν
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμήν, τόλμημα μὲν οὐδὲν τηλικούτου
 δεδιὼς οὐδὲ ἔργον οὐδὲν οὕτω παρακεκινδυνευ-
 μένον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτὸν δια-
 3 λέγεσθαι φίλοις οὔσι καὶ ξένοις πατρώοις. καὶ
 γὰρ ἀληθῶς ὁ Ἄρατος ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκεί-
 νην βαδίζειν. ὥς δὲ Ἀντίγονος μὲν ὑπισχνού-
 μενος ἡμέλει καὶ παρήγε¹ τὸν χρόνον, αἱ δὲ ἀπ'

¹ παρήγε Coraës and Ziegler, with Ss: παρήκε (*let the time pass*).

in the market-place and to take part in them; they encouraged him in this practice, laid a plot, and took his life. Paseas also, the father of Abantidas, after assuming the supreme power, was treacherously slain by Nicocles, who then proclaimed himself tyrant. This man is said to have borne a very close resemblance to Periander the son of Cypselus, just as Orontes the Persian did to Alcmaeon the son of Amphiaraüs, and as the Spartan youth mentioned by Myrtilus did to Hector. Myrtilus tells us that when the throng of spectators became aware of this resemblance, the youth was trampled underfoot.

IV. Nicocles was tyrant of the city for four months, during which he wrought the city much harm, and narrowly escaped losing it to the Aetolians when they plotted to seize it. By this time¹ Aratus, now a young man, was held in marked esteem on account of his high birth, and of his spirit. This was showing itself to be not insignificant nor yet unenterprising, but earnest, and tempered with a judgement safe beyond his years. Wherefore the exiles from Sicyon had their minds fixed most of all upon him, and Nicocles was not neglectful of what was going on, but kept secret watch and ward over his undertakings, not because he feared any deed of so great daring and hazard as that in which Aratus finally engaged, but because he suspected that Aratus was in communication with the kings who had been on terms of friendship and hospitality with his father. And in truth Aratus had attempted to travel along that path. But since Antigonus² neglected his promises and prolonged the time, and since the hopes derived

¹ Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia 283-239 B.C.

Αἰγύπτου καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου μακρὰν ἦσαν ἐλπίδες, ἔγνω δι' αὐτοῦ καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον.

V. Πρώτοις δὲ κοινοῦται τὴν γνώμην Ἀριστομάχῳ καὶ Ἐκδηλῳ. τούτων ὁ μὲν ἐκ Σικυῶνος ἦν φυγάς, ὁ δὲ Ἐκδηλος Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ πρακτικός, Ἀρκεσιλάου τοῦ Ἀκαδημιακοῦ γεγονώς ἐν ἄστει συν-
2 ἦθης. δεξαμένων δὲ τούτων προθύμως διελέγετο τοῖς ἄλλοις φυγάσιν, ὧν ὀλίγοι μὲν αἰσχυρθέντες ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν ἐλπίδα μετεῖχον τῶν πρατ- 1029 τομένων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ἐπειρῶντο κατακωλύειν ὥς ἀπειρία πραγμάτων θρασυνόμενον.

3 Βουλευομένου δ' αὐτοῦ χωρίον τι τῆς Σικυωνίας καταλαβεῖν, ὅθεν ὠρμημένος διαπολεμήσει πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος ἀνὴρ Σικυῶνιος ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀποδεδρακώς· ἦν δὲ τῶν φυγάδων ἐνὸς Ξενοκλέους ἀδελφός· καὶ τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσ-
αχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξενοκλέους ἔλεγε τοῦ τείχους καθ' ὃν ὑπερβὰς αὐτὸς ἐσώθη τόπον, ἐντὸς μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐπίπεδον εἶναι, προσπεφυκότα χωρίοις
4 πετρώδεσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, τὸ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὕψος ὑπὸ κλιμάκων οὐ πάνυ ἀνέφικτον. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκου-
σεν ὁ Ἄρατος, ἐκπέμπει μετὰ τοῦ Ξενοκλέους οἰκέτας ἰδίους δύο, Σευθᾶν τε καὶ Τέχωννα, κατα-
σκεψομένους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐγνωκώς, εἰ δύναιτο, κρύφα καὶ πρὸς ἓνα κίνδυνον ὀξέως τὸ πᾶν ἀναρ-
ρῖψαι μᾶλλον ἢ μακρῷ πολέμῳ καὶ φανεροῖς ἀγῶσιν ἰδιώτης ἀντικαθίστασθαι πρὸς τύραννον.
5 ὥς δ' ἐπανῆλθον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ξενοκλέα τοῦ μὲν τείχους εἰληφότες μέτρα καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν

from Egypt and Ptolemy¹ were a long way off, he resolved to overthrow the tyrant by his own efforts.

V. The first to whom he imparted his design were Aristomachus and Ecdelus. Of these, the one was an exile from Sicyon, and Ecdelus was an Arcadian of Megalopolis, a student of philosophy and a man of action, who had been an intimate friend of Arcesilaüs the Academic at Athens. These men eagerly adopted his proposals, and he then began conversations with the other exiles. A few of these took part in the enterprise because they were ashamed to disappoint the hope placed in them, but the majority actually tried to stop Aratus, on the ground that his inexperience made him over-bold.

While he was planning to seize some post in the territory of Sicyon from which he might sally forth and make war upon the tyrant, there came to Argos a man of Sicyon who had run away from prison. He was a brother of Xenocles, one of the exiles; and when he had been brought to Aratus by Xenocles, he told him that the part of the city's wall over which he had climbed to safety was almost level with the ground on the inside, where it had been attached to steep and rocky places, and that on the outside it was not at all too high for scaling-ladders. When Aratus had heard this, he sent with Xenocles two servants of his own, Seuthas and Technon, to make an examination of the wall; for he was resolved, if he could, to hazard the whole enterprise on one secret and swift attempt, rather than in a long war and in open contests to match his private resources against those of a tyrant. So when Xenocles and his party came back with measurements of the wall

¹ Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt 283-247 B.C.

ἀπαγγέλλοντες οὐκ ἄπορον οὐδὲ χαλεπήν, τὸ δὲ λαθεῖν προσελθόντας ἐργῶδες εἶναι φάσκοντες ὑπὸ κηπουροῦ τινος κυναρίων, μικρῶν μὲν, ἐκτόπως δὲ μαχίμων καὶ ἀπαρηγορήτων, εὐθὺς ἐνίστατο τὴν πράξιν.

- VI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὀπλων παρασκευὴ συνήθης ἦν, πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τότε κλωπεῖαις χρωμένων καὶ καταδρομαῖς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους· τὰς δὲ κλίμακας Εὐφρίνωρ ὁ μηχανοποιὸς ἀναφανδὸν ἐπήξατο, τῆς τέχνης αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποπτον διδούσης, ἐπεὶ
- 2 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν τῶν φυγάδων. ἄνδρας δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἀργεὶ φίλων ἕκαστος ἐξ ὀλίγων δέκα παρέσχευ, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκετῶν τριάκοντα καθώπλισεν. ἐμισθώσατο δὲ καὶ διὰ πρώτου Ξενοφίλου τῶν ἀρχικλῶπων οὐ πολλοὺς στρατιώτας, οἷς διεδόθη λόγος ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἵππους τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἔξοδος ἔσοιτο. καὶ προεπέμφθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ σποράδες ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυγνώτου πύργον, ἐκεῖ κελευσθέντες περιμεῖναι.
- 3 προεπέμφθη δὲ καὶ Καφισίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τεσσάρων ἄλλων εὗζωνος, οὓς ἔδει πρὸς τὸν κηπουρὸν ἀφικέσθαι σκοταίους, φάσκοντας ὁδοιπόρους εἶναι, καὶ καταυλισαμένους αὐτόν τε συγκλείσαι καὶ τοὺς κύνας· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλη παρελθεῖν. τὰς δὲ κλίμακας διαλυτὰς οὕσας ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀχίνας καὶ κατακαλύψαντες ἐφ' ἁμαξῶν προαπέστειλαν.
- 4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατασκόπων τινῶν ἐν Ἀργεὶ τοῦ Νικοκλέους φανέντων καὶ περιιέναι λεγομένων ἀδήλως καὶ παραφυλάττειν τὸν Ἄρατον, ἅμ'

which they had taken, and with a report that the place was by nature not impassable nor even difficult (although they declared that it was hard to get to it undetected owing to a certain gardener's dogs, which were little beasts, but extraordinarily fierce and savage), Aratus at once undertook the business.

VI. Now the laying in of arms was nothing unusual, since almost everybody at that time indulged in robberies and predatory forays; and as for scaling-ladders, Euphranor the engineer made them openly, since his trade screened him from suspicion; and he too was one of the exiles. As for men, each of the friends of Aratus in Argos furnished him with ten out of the few they had, and he himself equipped thirty of his own servants with arms. Through Xenophilus, the foremost of the robber captains, he also hired a few soldiers, to whom it was given out that a foray was to be made into the territory of Sicyon to seize the horses of Antigonus. And most of them were sent on ahead in small bands to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait there. Aratus also sent on in advance Caphisias, lightly armed, with four companions; their orders were to come to the gardener's when it was dark, pretending to be travellers, and after taking up quarters there for the night, to shut up him and his dogs; for there was no other way to get past them. The scaling-ladders, which could be taken apart, were packed in boxes, and thus concealed were sent on ahead in waggons.

In the meantime some spies of Nicocles appeared in Argos and were reported to be secretly going about and watching the movements of Aratus. As soon as it was day, therefore, Aratus left his house

ἡμέρα προελθὼν καὶ φανερός ὢν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διέτριβε
μετὰ τῶν φίλων· εἶτ' ἀλειψάμενος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ
καὶ παραλαβὼν τινας ἐκ τῆς παλαίστρας τῶν
εἰωθότων πίνειν καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ νεανί-
σκων ἀπῆγεν οἴκαδε· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐωρᾶτο τῶν
οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ δι' ἀγορᾶς ὁ μὲν στεφάνους φέρων,
ὁ δὲ λαμπάδας ὠνούμενος, ὁ δὲ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις
παρὰ πότον ψάλλειν καὶ αὐλεῖν γυναίοις διαλεγό-
5 μενος. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ κατάσκοποι πάντα ὁρῶντες
ἐξηπάτηντο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀναγελῶντες ἔλε-
γον· “Οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα τυράννου δειλότερον, εἰ καὶ
Νικοκλῆς τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἔχων καὶ τοσαύτην
δύναμιν ὀρρωδεῖ μεράκιον εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους
μεθημερινούς τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐφόδια καταχρώ-
μενον.”

VII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτω παραλογισθέντες ἀπηλ-
λάγησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος εὐθύς μετ' ἄριστον ἐξελ-
θὼν καὶ συνάψας πρὸς τὸν Πολυγνώτου πύργον
τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς Νεμέαν προῆγεν, ὅπου τὴν
πρᾶξιν ἐξέφευγε τοῖς πολλοῖς τότε πρῶτον, ὑπο-
2 σχέςεις τε καὶ παρακλήσεις ἐποιήσατο· καὶ σύν- 1030
θημα παραδούς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπερδέξιον προῆγεν
ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, συμμέτρως τῇ περιφορᾷ τῆς σε-
λήνης ἐπιταχύνων καὶ πάλιν ἀνιείς τὴν πορείαν,
ὥστε τῷ μὲν φωτὶ χρῆσθαι καθ' ὁδόν, ἤδη δὲ
δυομένης περὶ τὸν κῆπον εἶναι πλησίον τοῦ τεί-
3 χους. ἐνταῦθα Καφισίας ἀπῆντησεν αὐτῷ, τῶν
μὲν κυναρίων οὐ κρατήσας (ἔφθη γὰρ ἀποπηδή-
σαντα), τὸν δὲ κηπουρὸν ἐγκεκλεικώς. ἀθύμους
δὲ τοὺς πλείστους γενομένους καὶ κελεύοντας
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι παρεθάρρυνεν ὁ Ἄρατος, ὡς ἀπ-
4 ἄξων, ἂν οἱ κύνες ἄγαν ἐνοχλῶσιν αὐτοῖς. ἅμα

and showed himself openly in the market-place, conversing with his friends; then he anointed himself in the gymnasium, took with him from the palaestra some of the young men who were wont to drink and make holiday with him, and went back home; and after a little one of his servants was seen carrying garlands through the market-place, another buying lights, and another talking with the women that regularly furnished music of harp and flute at banquets. When the spies saw all this, they were completely deceived, and with loud laughter said to one another: "Nothing, you see, is more timorous than a tyrant, since even Nicocles, though master of so great a city and so large a force, is in fear of a stripling who squanders on pleasures and mid-day banquets his means of subsistence in exile."

VII. The spies, then, thus misled, left the city; but Aratus, immediately after the morning meal, sallied forth, joined his soldiers at the tower of Polygnotus, and led them on to Nemea. Here he disclosed his design, to most of them then for the first time, and made them exhortations and promises. Then, after giving out as watchword "Apollo Victorious," he led them forward against Sicyon, quickening or retarding his progress according to the revolution of the moon, so as to enjoy her light while on the march, and as soon as she was setting to be at the garden near the wall. There Caphisias came to meet him; he had not secured the dogs (for they had bounded off before he could do this), but had locked up the gardener. Most of his men were disheartened at this and urged Aratus to retire; but he tried to encourage them, promising to lead them back if the dogs should prove too troublesome for

δὲ τοὺς τὰς κλίμακας φέροντας προπέμψας, ὧν
 Ἐκδηλος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Μνασίθεος, αὐτὸς ἐπηκο-
 λούθει σχολαίως, ἥδη τῶν κυναρίων εὐτόνως ὑλα-
 κτούντων καὶ συμπαρατρεχόντων τοῖς περὶ τὸν
 Ἐκδηλον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσέμιξάν τε τῷ τείχει
 καὶ προσήρρισαν τὰς κλίμακας ἀσφαλῶς. ἀνα-
 5 βαινόντων δὲ τῶν πρώτων, ὁ τὴν ἐωθινὴν φυλακὴν
 παραδιδούς ἐφώδευε κώδωνι, καὶ φῶτα πολλὰ καὶ
 θόρυβος ἦν τῶν ἐπιπορευομένων. οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ
 εἶχον, αὐτοῦ πτήξαντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλιμάκων τού-
 τους μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔλαθον, ἄλλης δὲ φυλακῆς
 ἐναντίας ταύτῃ προσερχομένης εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον
 6 κίνδυνον ἦλθον. ὥς δὲ κάκεινὴν διέφυγον παρ-
 ελθοῦσαν, εὐθὺς ἀνέβαινον οἱ πρῶτοι Μνασίθεος
 καὶ Ἐκδηλος, καὶ τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ὁδοὺς τοῦ
 τείχους διαλαβόντες ἀπέστελλον Τέχνηνα πρὸς
 Ἄρατον ἐπείγεσθαι κελεύοντες.

VIII. Ἦν δὲ οὐ πολὺ διίστημα ἀπὸ τοῦ κήπου
 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὸν πύργον, ἐν ᾧ κύων μέγας
 ἐφρούρει θηρατικός. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἦσθετο
 τὴν ἔφοδον, εἴτε φύσει νωθὴς ὢν, εἴτε μεθ' ἡμέραν
 κατάκοπος γεγονώς. τῶν δὲ τοῦ κηπουροῦ κυνα-
 ρίων κάτωθεν ἐκκαλουμένων αὐτὸν ὑπεφθέγγετο
 τυφλὸν καὶ ἄσημον τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα μᾶλλον ἐπ-
 2 ἔτεινε παρερχομένων. καὶ κατεῖχεν ἥδη πολλὸν
 ὑλαγμὸς τὸ χωρίον, ὥστε τὸν πέραν φύλακα
 κραυγῇ μεγάλῃ πυθάνεσθαι τοῦ κυνηγοῦ, πρὸς
 τίνα τραχέως οὕτως ὁ κύων ὑλακτεῖ, καὶ μὴ τι

¹ The sentries who had formed the night-watch came up at the sound of the bell, to be inspected, and then relieved by the morning-watch.

them. At the same time he sent forward the men who carried the scaling-ladders, under the command of Ecdelus and Mnasitheus, while he himself followed after them slowly, the dogs already barking vigorously and running along by the side of Ecdelus and his party. However, they reached the wall and planted their ladders against it without mishap. But as the first men were mounting the ladders, the officer who was to set the morning-watch began making his rounds with a bell, and there were many lights and the noise of the sentries coming up.¹ The invaders, however, crouched down just where they were on the ladders, and so escaped the notice of this party without any trouble; but since another watch was coming up to meet the first, they incurred the greatest danger. However, they escaped the notice of this guard also as it passed by, and then the leaders, Mnasitheus and Ecdelus, at once mounted to the top, and after occupying the approaches to the wall on either side, sent Technon to Aratus, urging him to hasten up.

VIII. Now it was no great distance from the garden to the wall, and to the tower, in which a huge dog was on the watch, a hunter. The dog himself did not notice their approach, either because he was naturally sluggish, or because during the day he had become tired out. But when the gardener's whelps challenged him from below, he began to growl in response, faintly and indistinctly at first, then bayed out more loudly as they passed by. Presently the whole place resounded with barking, so that the watchman opposite called with a loud cry to the huntsman asking why his dog was baying so savagely and whether some mischief was not afoot. The hunts-

γίνεται καινότερον. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου αὐτῷ¹
 ἀντεφώνησε μηδὲν εἶναι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν κύνα
 πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῶν τειχοφυλάκων καὶ τὸν ψόφον
 3 τοῦ κώδωνος παρωξύνθαι. τοῦτο μάλιστα τοὺς
 Ἀράτου στρατιώτας ἐπέρρωσεν, οἰομένους τὸν
 κυνηγὸν ἐπικρύπτειν κοινωνοῦντα τῇ πράξει, εἶναι
 δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς συν-
 εργοῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ τείχει προσβαλόν-
 των χαλεπὸς ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ μῆκος ἐλάμβανε,
 τῶν κλιμάκων κραδαινομένων εἰ μὴ καθ' ἓνα καὶ
 σχολαίως ἀναβαίνοιεν· ἡ δὲ ὥρα κατήπειγεν, ἥδη
 φθεγγομένων ἀλεκτρυόιν, καὶ ὅσον οὐπω τῶν
 ἐξ ἀγροῦ τι φέρειν εἰωθότων πρὸς ἀγορὰν ἐπερχο-
 4 μένων. διὸ καὶ σπεύδων ὁ Ἄρατος ἀνέβαινε,
 τεσσαράκοντα τῶν πάντων ἀναβεβηκότων πρὸ
 αὐτοῦ· καὶ προσδεξάμενος ἔτι τῶν κάτωθεν ὀλί-
 γους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὸ στρα-
 τήγιον ἀνῆλθεν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ μισθοφόροι
 παρενυκτέρευον. ἄφνω δὲ ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ
 συλλαβὼν ἅπαντας, οὐδένα δὲ ἀποκτείνας, εὐθὺς
 διεπέμπετο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀνακαλούμενος
 5 ἕκαστον ἀπ' οἰκίας. καὶ συνδραμόντων παν-
 ταχόθεν, ἡμέρα μὲν ὑπέλαμπεν ἥδη καὶ τὸ θέατρον
 ἦν ὄχλου μεστόν, ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἄδηλον αἰωρου-
 μένων φήμην καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἰδότων ὑπὲρ τῶν
 πραττομένων, πρὶν γε δὴ προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ εἶπεν
 ὥς Ἄρατος ὁ Κλεινίου παρακαλεῖ τοὺς πολίτας
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

IX. Τότε δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἤκειν ἅ πάλαι
 προσεδόκων, ὥρμησαν ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ

man answered him from the tower that there was nothing to fear, but that his dog had been excited by the lights of the sentries and the din of the bell. This more than anything else gave heart to the soldiers of Aratus. They thought that the huntsman was privy to their design and was trying to conceal it, and that there were many others also in the city who would assist them. However, when the rest of the company essayed the wall, their peril was grievous and protracted, since the ladders shook unless they mounted one by one and slowly; moreover, time was pressing, since cocks were already crowing, and directly the people who brought produce from the country to the market-place would be coming up. Therefore Aratus also mounted the wall in haste, after forty in all had mounted before him; and when he had been joined by a few more of those below, he went up against the tyrant's house and the praetorium, where the mercenary soldiers passed the night. And after falling upon these suddenly and capturing them all, but killing none, he straightway sent messages to his friends summoning them all from their homes, and they ran together from all quarters. Day was now breaking, and the theatre was thronged with people who still were in suspense because of the uncertain rumour that prevailed and in utter ignorance of what was afoot, until the herald came forward and made proclamation that Aratus the son of Cleinias invited the citizens to secure their freedom.

IX. Then, convinced that what they had long expected was come, they rushed in a body to the

¹ ἀπὸ . . . αὐτῶ bracketed by Sint.²; Ziegler reads πρὸς αὐτόν, with Stephanus.

- τυράννου πῦρ ἐπιφέροντες. ἤρθη δὲ φλόξ μεγάλη καὶ καταφανὴς μέχρι Κορίνθου τῆς οἰκίας ἀναφθείσης, ὥστε θαυμάσαντας τοὺς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παρὰ μικρὸν ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικοκλῆς ἔλαθε διὰ τινων ὑπονόμων ὑπεκδύς
- 2 καὶ ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καταπαύσαντες μετὰ τῶν Σικυωνίων τὸ πῦρ διήρπαζον τὴν οἰκίαν. καὶ οὔτε ταῦτα ἐκώλυσεν ὁ Ἄρατος, τά τε λοιπὰ χρήματα τῶν τυράννων εἰς μέσον ἔθηκε τοῖς πολίταις. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἐτρώθη τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐπελθόντων οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καθαρὰν καὶ ἄθικτον αἵματος ἐμφυλίου τὴν πρᾶξιν ἢ τύχη διεφύλαξε.
- 3 Κατήγαγε δὲ φυγάδας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ Νικοκλέους ἐκπεπτωκότας ὀγδοήκοντα, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τυράννων οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων, οἷς μακρὰ μὲν ἡ πλάνη καὶ ὁμοῦ τι πεντηκονταετῆς ἐγεγόνει. κατελθόντες δὲ οἱ πλείστοι πένητες, ὧν κύριοι πρότερον ἦσαν ἐπελαμβάνοντο, καὶ βαδίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς οἰκίας δεινὴν ἀπορίαν τῷ Ἀράτῳ παρείχον, ἐπιβουλευομένην μὲν ἕξωθεν καὶ φθονουμένην ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου τὴν πόλιν ὀρώντι διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ταραττομένην δὲ ὑφ' αὐτῆς καὶ στασιάζουσαν.
- 4 Ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄριστα κρίνας προσέμιξεν αὐτὴν φέρων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς· καὶ Δωριεῖς ὄντες ὑπέδυσαν ἐκουσίως ὄνομα καὶ πολιτείαν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν οὔτε ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν οὔτε μεγάλην ἰσχὺν ἐχόντων τότε. μικροπολῖται γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ γῆν οὔτε χρηστὴν οὔτε ἄφθονον

residence of the tyrant, carrying firebrands. A great flame arose as the house caught fire, and it was visible as far as Corinth, so that the people of Corinth were astonished and were on the point of sallying forth to help. Nicocles, then, slipped out unnoticed by way of certain underground passages, and ran away from the city, and the soldiers, after extinguishing the fire with the aid of the Sicyonians, plundered his house. Nor did Aratus prevent this, but put the rest of the wealth of the tyrants at the disposition of the citizens. And not a man was killed or even wounded at all, either among the assailants or their enemies, but fortune preserved the enterprise free from the taint of civil bloodshed.

Aratus restored eighty exiles who had been banished by Nicocles, and those also who had fled the city during the reign of former tyrants, to the number of five hundred. These had long been wanderers, yes, for close to fifty years. And now that they had come back, most of them in poverty, they laid claim to the property which they had formerly held, and by going to their farms and houses threw Aratus into great perplexity. For he saw that the city was plotted against by outsiders and eyed with jealousy by Antigonus because it had regained its freedom, while it was full of internal disturbances and faction.

Wherefore, as things stood, he thought it best to attach the city promptly to the Achæan League; and so, though the people of Sicyon were Dorians, they voluntarily assumed the name and civil polity of the Achæans, who at that time had neither brilliant repute nor great strength. For most of them lived in small cities, owned land that was

ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ θαλάττῃ προσώκουν ἀλιμένῳ, τὰ
πολλὰ κατὰ ῥαχίας ἐκφερομένη πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον.
5 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ διέδειξαν οὗτοι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν
ἀλκὴν ἀπρόσμαχον οὔσαν, ὅσάκις τύχοι κόσμου
καὶ συντάξεως ὁμοφρονούσης καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος
ἡγεμόνος, οἱ τῆς μὲν πάλαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκμῆς
οὐδέν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μέρος ὄντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε μιᾷς
ἀξιολόγου πόλεως σύμπαντες ὁμοῦ δύναμιν οὐκ
6 ἔχοντες, εὐβουλία καὶ ὁμονοία, καὶ ὅτι τῷ πρώτῳ
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐδύναντο μὴ φθονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν, οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ πόλεων
καὶ δυνάμεων τηλικούτων καὶ τυραννίδων διεφύ-
λαξαν ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλή-
νων ὡς πλείστους ἐλευθεροῦντες καὶ σώζοντες
διετέλουν.

X. Ἦν δὲ Ἀρατος τῷ τρόπῳ πολιτικός, μεγα-
λόφρων, ἀκριβέστερος εἰς τὰ κοινὰ μᾶλλον τῶν
ιδίῳν, πικρῶς μισοτύραννος, ἔχθρας ὄρω καὶ
2 φιλίας ἀεὶ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροντι χρώμενος. ὅθεν
οὐχ οὕτως δοκεῖ γεγονέναι φίλος ἀκριβής, ὡς
ἐχθρὸς εὐγνώμων καὶ πρᾶος, ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτείας
ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τῷ καιρῷ μεταβαλλόμενος, ὁμονοίας
ἐθνῶν καὶ κοινωνίας πόλεων καὶ συνεδρίου καὶ
θεάτρου μίαν φωνὴν ἀφιέντος ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου
τῶν καλῶν ἐραστής, πολέμῳ καὶ ἀγῶνι χρήσα-
σθαι φανερώς ἀθαρσῆς καὶ δύσελπις, κλέψαι δὲ
πράγματα καὶ συσκευάσασθαι κρύφα πόλεις
3 καὶ τυράννους ἐπηβολώτατος. διὸ καὶ πολλὰ
τῶν ἀνελπίστων κατορθώσας ἐν οἷς ἐτόλμησεν,
οὐκ ἐλάττονα δοκεῖ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν

neither fertile nor extensive, and were neighbours to a sea that had no harbours and for the most part washed a precipitous and rocky shore. But this people more than any other showed the world that Greek prowess was invincible, whenever it enjoyed good order, harmonious discipline, and a sensible leader. For though they had taken almost no part in the ancient glories of Greece, and at this time, though counted all together, had not the power of a single considerable city, still, owing to their good counsels and their concord, and because they were able, in place of envying, to obey and follow the one who was pre-eminent among them for virtue, they not only preserved their own freedom in the midst of so great cities and powers and tyrannies, but also were continually saving and setting free very many of the other Greeks.

X. Aratus was by natural bent a statesman, high-minded, more exact in his public than in his private relations, a bitter hater of tyrants, and ever making a regard for the public weal determine his enmity or his friendship. Wherefore he seems to have proved not so much a strict friend, as a considerate and mild enemy, changing his ground in either direction according to the exigencies of the state, loving concord between nations, community of cities, and unanimity of council and assembly, beyond all other blessings. It was manifest that he resorted to open warfare and strife without courage and with little confidence, but that in stealing advantages and secretly managing cities and tyrants he was most proficient. Therefore, though he won many unexpected successes where he showed courage, he seems to have lost no fewer favourable opportunities through

δι' εὐλάβειαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, θηρίων
 τινῶν ὄψεις ἐνεργοὶ διὰ σκότους οὖσαι μεθ' ἡμέ-
 ραν ἀποτυφλοῦνται ξηρότητι καὶ λεπτότητι τῆς
 περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὑγρότητος μὴ φερούσης τὴν
 πρὸς τὸ φῶς σύγκρασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινότης τίς
 ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου καὶ σύνεσις ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ
 διακεκηρυγμένοις εὐτάρακτος φύσει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς
 ἐπικρύφους καὶ λαθραίους ἀναθαρσοῦσα πράξεις.
 1 τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην ἀνωμαλίαν ἔνδεια λόγου φιλοσό-
 φου περὶ τὰς εὐφυΐας ἀπεργάζεται, τὴν ἀρετὴν,
 ὥσπερ καρπὸν αὐτοφυῆ καὶ ἀγεώργητον, ἐκφερού-
 σας δίχα τῆς ἐπιστήμης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐξετα- 103
 ζέσθω τοῖς παραδείγμασιν.

XI. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος, ἐπεὶ κατέμιξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
 ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι στρατευ-
 ὁμενος ἠγαπᾶτο δι' εὐπείθειαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων,
 ὅτι, καίπερ συμβολὰς τῷ κοινῷ μεγάλας δεδωκὼς
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος δύναμιν,
 ὡς ἐνὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων χρῆσθαι παρείχεν αὐτῷ
 τὸν αἰεὶ στρατηγοῦντα¹ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἴτε Δυ-
 μαῖος, εἴτε Τριταιεὺς, εἴτε μικροτέρας τινὸς ὧν
 2 τύχοι πόλεως. ἦκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρημάτων δωρεὰ
 παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα.
 ταῦτα ἔλαβε μὲν ὁ Ἄρατος, λαβὼν δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
 πολίταις ἐπέδωκεν ἀπορουμένοις εἷς τε τὰλλα
 καὶ λύτρωσιν αἰχμαλώτων.

XII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες ἦσαν ἀπαρηγόρητοι
 τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς κτήσεις ἐνοχλοῦντες, ἥ τε πόλις
 ἐκινδύνευεν ἀνάστατος γενέσθαι, μίαν ὁρῶν ἐλπίδα
 τὴν Πτολεμαίου φιλανθρωπίαν ὥρμησεν ἐκπλεῦ-

¹ τὸν αἰεὶ στρατηγοῦντα Ziegler, with Sint.¹ and the MSS.:
 τῷ αἰεὶ στρατηγοῦντι.

over-caution. For not only in the case of certain wild beasts, as it would seem, is the vision strong by night but wholly blinded in the day-time (since the humour in their eyes is too dry and delicate to bear contact with the light), but there is also in some men a cleverness and sagacity which is prone to be confounded in transactions that are carried out under the open sky and proclaimed abroad by public criers, but when confronting hidden and secret enterprises recovers its courage. Such unevenness a lack of philosophy may cause in men of good natural parts; they produce virtue without scientific knowledge, and it is like spontaneous and uncultivated fruit. This can be proved by examples.

XI. Aratus, now, after uniting himself and his city with the Achaeans, served in the cavalry, and was beloved by his commanders on account of his ready obedience. For although he had made great contributions to the commonwealth in his own reputation and the power of his native city, he gave his services like those of any ordinary person to the one who from time to time was general of the Achaeans, whether he was a man of Dyme or of Tritaea, or of a meaner city. And there came to him also a gift of money from the king of Egypt, five-and-twenty talents. These Aratus accepted, but gave them at once to his fellow-citizens, who were in want of money, especially for the ransoming of such as had been taken prisoners.

XII. But the exiles were not to be dissuaded from molesting those who were in possession of their property, and the city was in danger of an upheaval. Aratus saw that his only hope was in the generosity of Ptolemy, and therefore determined to sail to

- σαι καὶ δεηθῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως ὅπως αὐτῷ
 2 χρήματα συμβάληται πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις. ἀν-
 ήχθη μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Μοθώνης ὑπὲρ Μαλέας, ὡς τῷ
 διὰ πόρου δρόμῳ χρησόμενος. πρὸς δὲ μέγα
 πνεῦμα καὶ πολλὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ πελάγους κατι-
 οῦσαν ἐνδόντος τοῦ κυβερνήτου, παραφερόμενος
 μόλις ἤψατο τῆς Ἀδρίας πολεμίας οὔσης. ἐκρα-
 τεῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φυλακὴν εἶχεν· ἦν
 φθάσας ἀπέβη, καὶ τὴν ναῦν καταλιπὼν ἀπ-
 εχώρησε μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἔχων ἓνα τῶν
 3 φίλων σὺν αὐτῷ Τιμάνθην. καὶ καταβαλόντες
 ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τινα τόπον ὕλης γέμοντα χαλεπῶς
 ἐνυκτέρευον. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ φρούραρχος
 ἐπελθὼν καὶ ζητῶν τὸν Ἄρατον ὑπὸ τῶν θερα-
 πόντων ἐξηπατήθη τῶν ἐκείνου, δεδιδαγμένων
 λέγειν ὡς εὐθὺς ἀποδρὰς εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἐξέπλευσε.
 τὰ μέντοι κομιζόμενα καὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ τοὺς θερα-
 ποντας ἀπέφηνε πολέμια καὶ κατέσχε.
 4 Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς ἐν ἀπόροις ὄντι τῷ
 Ἀράτῳ γίνεταί τις εὐτυχία, Ῥωμαϊκῆς νεῶς
 παραβαλοῦσης κατὰ τὸν τοπον ἐν ᾧ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ
 σκοπὴν ἀνιών, τὰ δὲ κρυπτόμενος διῆγεν. ἔπλει
 μὲν οὖν ἡ ναὺς εἰς Συρίαν, ἐπέβη δὲ πείσας τὸν
 ναύκληρον ἄχρι Καρίας διακομισθῆναι· καὶ διεκο-
 μίσθη κινδύνοις αὖθις οὐκ ἐλάττωσι χρησάμενος
 5 κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐκ δὲ Καρίας χρόνῳ πολλῷ
 περαιωθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτόθεν τε τῷ βασιλεῖ
 διακειμένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείως ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τεθερα-

Egypt and beg the king to furnish him with money for the settlement of these disputes. So he put to sea from Mothone above Malea, intending to make the shortest passage. But the steersman could not make head against a strong wind and high waves that came in from the open sea, and being carried out of his course got with difficulty to Adria,¹ which was a hostile place. For it was in the power of Antigonos, and held a garrison of his. Aratus anticipated arrest by landing, and forsaking the ship withdrew a long way from the sea, having with him one of his friends, Timanthes. They threw themselves into a place that was thickly covered with woods, and had a grievous night of it. A little later the commander of the garrison came to the ship in search of Aratus, and was deceived by his servants, who had been instructed to say that he had run away at once and had sailed off to Euboea. The ship, however, with its cargo and the servants of Aratus, was declared a prize of war and detained.

After a few days, while still in this helpless plight, Aratus met with a rare piece of good fortune, for a Roman ship put in at the place where he was staying, sometimes on a lookout-place, and sometimes hiding himself. The ship was bound for Syria, but after going on board Aratus persuaded the master of the vessel to convey him as far as Caria. Thither he was conveyed, encountering fresh perils by sea and perils as great as before. From Caria, after a long time, he made his way across to Egypt, and found the king both naturally well disposed towards him, and much grati-

¹ The text is probably corrupt. Bergk suggested Hydrea, an island off the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus. Others think of Andros, an island S.E. of Euboea.

πνευμένῳ γραφαῖς καὶ πίναξιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν οἷς κρίσιν ἔχων οὐκ ἄμουςον ὁ Ἄρατος αἰετι τῶν τεχνικῶν καὶ περιπτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ Παμφίλου καὶ Μελάνθου, συνάγων καὶ κτώμενος ἀπέστελλεν.

XIII. Ἦνθει γὰρ ἔτι δόξα τῆς Σικυωνίας μούσης καὶ χρηστογραφίας, ὥς μόνης ἀδιάφθορον ἐχούσης τὸ καλόν, ὥστε καὶ Ἀπελλὴν ἐκείνον ἤδη θαυμαζόμενον ἀφικέσθαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ ταλάντῳ, τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τέχνης δεόμενον μεταλαβεῖν. διὸ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας εἰκόνας τῶν τυράννων ἀνεῖλεν εὐθύς ὁ Ἄρατος, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε, περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀριστράτου κατὰ Φίλιππον ἀκμάσαντος ἐβου-
 2 λεύσατο πολὺν χρόνον. ἐγράφη μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Μέλανθον ἄρματι νικηφόρῳ παρεστῶς ὁ Ἀρίστρατος, Ἀπελλοῦ συνεφασαμένου τῆς γραφῆς, ὥς Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἱστόρηκεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιοθέατον, ὥστε γνάμπτεσθαι τὸν Ἄρατον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης, αὐθὶς
 3 τε μίσει τῷ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξαγόμενον κελεύειν καθαιρεῖν. τὸν οὖν ζωγράφον Νεάλκη φίλον ὄντα τοῦ Ἀράτου παραιτεῖσθαι φασὶ καὶ δακρύειν, ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῖς τυράννοις πολεμητέον, οὐ τοῖς τῶν τυράννων. “Ἐάσωμεν οὖν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὴν Νίκην, αὐτὸν δέ σοι 1033
 παρέξω τὸν Ἀρίστρατον ἐγὼ παραχωροῦντα τοῦ πίνακος.” ἐπιτρέψαντος οὖν τοῦ Ἀράτου δι-

¹ Philip II., 382-336 B.C.

fied because Aratus had sent him drawings and paintings from Greece. In these matters Aratus had a refined judgement, and was continually collecting and acquiring works of artistic skill and excellence, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus. These he would send to Ptolemy.

XIII. For the fame of Sicyon's refined and beautiful paintings was still in full bloom, and they alone were thought to have a beauty that was indestructible. Therefore even the great Apelles, when he was already admired, came to Sicyon and gave a talent that he might be admitted into the society of its artists, desiring to share their fame rather than their art. Hence it was that Aratus, although he at once destroyed the other portraits of the tyrants when he had given the city its freedom, deliberated a long time about that of Aristratus (who flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon¹). For it was the work of Melanthus and all his pupils, and Aristratus was painted standing by a chariot in which was a Victory; Apelles also had a hand in the painting, as we are told by Polemon the Topographer. And the work was a marvellous one, so that Aratus was moved by the artistic skill therein; but afterwards, such was his hatred of the tyrants, that he ordered it to be removed and destroyed. Accordingly, the painter Nealces, who was a friend of Aratus, interceded with him for the picture, as we are told, and with tears, and when he could not persuade him, said that war should be waged against the tyrants, but not against the treasures of the tyrants. "Let us therefore leave the chariot and the Victory, but Aristratus himself I will undertake to remove from the picture." Aratus

ἤλειψεν ὁ Νεάλκης τὸν Ἀρίστρατον, εἰς δὲ τὴν χώραν φοίνικα μόνον ἐνέγραψεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε παραβαλεῖν. τοὺς δὲ πόδας ἐξαλειφομένου τοῦ Ἀριστράτου διαλαθεῖν ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα λέγουσιν.

- 4 Ἐκ τε δὴ τούτων ὁ Ἄρατος ἠγαπᾶτο, καὶ διδοὺς πείραν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἤψατο τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ δωρεὰν ἔλαβε τῇ πόλει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. καὶ τούτων τεσσαράκοντα μὲν εὐθύς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κομίζων εἰς Πελοπόννησον κατήρε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διελὼν εἰς δόσεις ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕστερον κατὰ μέρος ἀπέστειλεν.

XIV. Ἦν μὲν οὖν μέγα καὶ τὸ χρήματα τοσαῦτα πορίσαι τοῖς πολίταις, ὅσων μικρὸν μέρος ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ δημαγωγοὶ λαμβάνοντες παρὰ βασιλέων ἠδίκουν καὶ κατεδουλοῦντο καὶ προέπινον αὐτοῖς τὰς πατρίδας, μείζων δὲ ἢ διὰ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευασθεῖσα τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους διάλυσις καὶ ὁμόνοια, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ παντὶ σωτηρία καὶ ὑσφύλεια, θαυμαστὴ δὲ ἢ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτη
2 μετριότης. ἀποδειχθεὶς γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ διαλλακτῆς καὶ κύριος ὅλως ἐπὶ τὰς φυγαδικὰς οἰκονομίας μόνος οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν πολιτῶν προσκατέλεξεν ἑαυτῷ, μεθ' ὧν πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μεγάλαις πραγματείαις κατειργάσατο καὶ συνήρμωσε φιλίαν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς πολίταις. ἐφ' οἷς οὐ μόνον κοινῇ σύμπαντες οἱ πολῖται τιμὰς ἀπέδωκαν αὐτῷ πρεπούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ'

therefore yielded, and Nealcēs erased the figure of Aristratus, and in its place painted a palm-tree merely, not daring to introduce anything else. We are told, however, that the feet of the erased figure of Aristratus were left by an oversight beneath the chariot.

In consequence of this love of art Aratus was already beloved by the king, and in personal intercourse grew yet more upon him, and received for his city a gift of a hundred and fifty talents. Forty of these Aratus took with him at once and sailed to Peloponnesus; the rest the king divided into instalments, and sent them to him afterwards one by one.

XIV. Now it was a great achievement to procure so large a sum of money for his fellow-citizens; other generals and leaders of the people had taken but a fraction of this sum from kings in payment for wronging, enslaving, and betraying to them their native cities. But it was a far greater achievement by means of this money to have effected a harmonious adjustment of the disputes between rich and poor, and safety and security for the entire people. Moreover, we must admire the moderation of the man in the exercise of so great power. For when he was appointed independent arbiter, with absolute powers for settling the money affairs of the exiles, he would not accept the office alone, but associated with himself fifteen of his fellow-citizens, by whose aid, after much toil and great trouble, he established peace and friendship among his fellow-citizens.¹ For these services not only did the entire body of citizens bestow fitting public honours upon him, but the exiles also on their own account erected a bronze

¹ Cf. Cicero, *De Off.* ii. 23, 81ff.

ἰδίαν οἱ φυγάδες εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἀναστήσαντες
ἐπέγραφαν τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον·

- 3 βουλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄεθλα καὶ ἡ περὶ Ἑλλάδος ἀλκά
τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς στάλαις πλάθεται Ἡρακλέους·
ἄμμες δ' εἰκόν', Ἄρατε, τεὰν νόστοιο τυχόντες
στάσαμεν ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς ἥδὲ δικαιοσύνας
σωτῆρος σωτήρσι θεοῖς, ὅτι πατρίδι τᾷ σᾷ
δαιμόνιον¹ θείαν τ' ὥπασας εὐνομίαν.

- XV. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ Ἄρατος τοῦ μὲν
πολιτικοῦ φθόνου μείζων ἐγεγόνει διὰ τὰς χάριτας,
Ἀντίγονος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνιῶμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ
βουλόμενος ἢ μετάγειν ὅλως τῇ φιλίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἢ διαβάλλειν πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ἄλλας τε
φιλανθρωπίας ἐνεδείκνυτο μὴ πάνυ προσιεμένῳ,
καὶ θύων θεοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ μερίδας εἰς Σικυῶνα
2 τῷ Ἀράτῳ διέπεμπε. καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐστι-
ωμένων πολλῶν, εἰς μέσον φθεγξάμενος, “Ὀμιην,”
ἔφη, “τὸν Σικυῶνιον τοῦτον νεανίσκον ἐλευθέριον
εἶναι τῇ φύσει μόνον καὶ φιλοπολίτην· ὁ δὲ καὶ
βίων ἔοικε καὶ πραγμάτων βασιλικῶν ἱκανὸς
εἶναι κριτής. πρότερον γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὑπερεώρα ταῖς
ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἐθαύμαζε
πλοῦτον, ἐλέφαντας καὶ στόλους καὶ αὐλὰς
ἀκούων, νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σκηνὴν ἐωρακῶς πάντα τὰ
ἐκεῖ πράγματα τραγωδίαν ὄντα καὶ σκηνογραφίαν
3 ὅλος ἡμῖν προσκεχώρηκεν. αὐτός τε οὖν ἀπο-
δέχομαι τὸ μεираκίον ἐγνωκῶς εἰς ἅπαντα χρῆ-

¹ δαιμόνιον Sint.² and Ziegler, after Zeitz: δαίμον' ἴσον.

statue of him, and inscribed thereon the following elegiac verses:—

“The counsels, valorous deeds, and prowess in behalf of Hellas, which this man has displayed, are known as far as the Pillars of Heracles; but we who achieved our return through thee, Aratus, for thy virtue and justice, have erected to the Saviour Gods this statue of our saviour, because to thy native city thou hast brought a sacred and heavenly reign of law.”

XV. These successful achievements placed Aratus beyond the jealousy of his fellow-citizens, owing to the gratitude which he inspired; but Antigonus, the king, was annoyed by the policy of Aratus, and wished either to bring him over into complete friendship with himself or to alienate him from Ptolemy. He therefore showed him many kindnesses which were not at all welcome, and especially this, that as he was sacrificing to the gods at Corinth, he sent portions of the victims to Aratus at Sicyon. And at the banquet which followed, where many guests were present, he said, so that all could hear: “I thought this Sicyonian youth was merely free-spirited and a lover of his fellow-citizens; but he would seem to be a capable judge also of the lives and actions of kings. For formerly he was inclined to overlook us, fixing his hopes elsewhere, and he admired the wealth of Egypt, hearing tales of its elephants, and fleets, and palaces; but now that he has been behind the scenes and seen that everything in Egypt is play-acting and painted scenery, he has come over entirely to us. Therefore I both welcome the young man myself, having determined to make every possible use of

σθαι, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ φίλον νομίζειν.” τούτους τοὺς λόγους ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντες οἱ φθονεροὶ καὶ κακοήθεις διημιλλῶντο ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἀλλήλοις, πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῇ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀράτου τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ γράφοντες, ὥστε κακεῖνον ἐγκαλοῦντα πέμψαι. ταῖς μὲν οὖν περιμαχήτοις καὶ διαπύροις τοξευομέναις ἔρωσι φιλίαις βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων τοσοῦτον προσῆν φθόνου καὶ κακοηθείας.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος αἰρεθεὶς στρατηγὸς τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν μὲν ἀντιπέραν Λοκρίδα καὶ Καλυδωνίαν ἐπόρθησε, Βοιωτοῖς δὲ μετὰ μυρίων στρατιωτῶν βοηθῶν ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης, ἣν ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἡττήθησαν, 1034 Ἀβοιωκρίτου τε τοῦ βοιωτάρχου καὶ χιλίων σὺν αὐτῷ πεσόντων. ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον αὐτοῖς στρατηγῶν ἐνίστατο τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον πρᾶξι, οὐ Σικυωνίων οὐδ' Ἀχαιῶν κηδόμενος, ἀλλὰ κοινὴν τινα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅλης τυραννίδα, τὴν Μακεδόνων φρουράν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελάσαι διανοούμενος. 3 Χάρης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τινι μάχῃ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς εὐτυχήσας ἔγραψε τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς νενικήκοι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης ἀδελφὴν· ταύτην δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις ἀδελφὴν προσειπὼν τῆς Πελοπίδου τοῦ Θηβαίου καὶ Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τυραννοκτονίας, πλὴν ὅτι τῷ μὴ πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ἀλλὰ ἐπακτὸν ἀρχὴν γεγόνεναι 4 καὶ ἀλλόφυλον αὕτη διήνεγκεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἴσθ-

him, and I ask you to consider him a friend." These words were seized upon by the envious and malevolent, who vied with one another in writing to Ptolemy many grievous charges against Aratus, so that the king sent an envoy and upbraided him. So great malice and envy attend upon the friendships of kings and tyrants, for which men strive and at which they aim with ardent passion.

XVI. Aratus now, having been chosen general of the Achaean League for the first time, ravaged the opposite territories of Locris and Calydonia, and went to the assistance of the Boeotians with an army of ten thousand men. He came too late, however, for the battle at Chaeroneia, in which the Boeotians were defeated by the Aetolians, with the loss of Aboecritus, their Boeotarch, and a thousand men. A year later,¹ being general again, he set on foot the enterprise for the recovery of Acrocorinthus,² not in the interests of Sicyonians or Achaeans merely, but purposing to drive from that stronghold what held all Hellas in a common subjection,—the Macedonian garrison. Chares the Athenian, having been successful in a battle with the king's generals, wrote to the people of Athens that he had won a battle which was "sister to that at Marathon"; and this enterprise of Aratus may be rightly called a sister of those of Pelopidas the Theban and Thrasybulus the Athenian, in which they slew tyrants, except that it surpassed them in being undertaken, not against Greeks, but against a foreign and alien power. For

¹ In 243 B.C., two years later. The office of general in the League could not be held by the same person in successive years. Cf. chap. xxiv. 4.

² The citadel of Corinth.

μός. ἐμφρυσσων τὰς θαλάσσας, εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγει
τὸ τοπῶ¹ καὶ συνάπτει τὴν ἡπειρον ἡμῶν, ὃ δὲ
Ἀκροκόρινθος, ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, ἐκ μέσης ἀνα-
πεφυκῶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅταν λάβῃ φρουράν, εἰ-
σταται καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πᾶσαν
ἐπιμιξιῶν τε καὶ παρόδων καὶ στρατειῶν ἐργασίας
5 τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἓνα κύριον
ποιεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κατέχοντα φρουρᾷ τὸ
χωρίον, ὥστε μὴ παίζοντα δοκεῖν τὸν νεώτερον
Φίλιππον, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς, ἐκάστοτε πέδας τῆς Ἑλ-
λάδος τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν προσαγορεύειν.

XVII. Πᾶσι μὲν οὖν περιμάχητος ἦν ὁ τόπος
αἰεὶ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις, ἡ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου
σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπε πάθει τῶν ἐμ-
μανεστάτων ἐρώτων, ἀλλ' ὅλος ἀνήρτητο ταῖς
φροντίσιν ὅπως ἀφαιρήσεται δόλῳ τοὺς ἔχοντας,
2 ἐπεὶ φανερώς ἀνέλπιστος ἦν ἡ ἐπιχείρησις. Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου γάρ, ὑφ' ὃν τὸ χωρίον ἦν, ἀποθανόντος
(ὥς λέγεται) φαρμάκοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Νικαίας δὲ
τῆς ἐκείνου γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
γενομένης καὶ φυλαττούσης τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον,
εὐθὺς ὑποπέμπων Δημήτριον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῇ, καὶ
γλυκείας ἐλπίδας ἐνδιδούς γάμων βασιλικῶν καὶ
συμβιώσεως πρὸς οὐκ ἀηδὲς ἐντυχεῖν γυναικὶ
3 πρεσβυτέρᾳ μεираκίον, αὐτὴν μὲν ἡρήκει, τῷ παιδὶ
χρησάμενος ὥσπερ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν δελεασμάτων
ἐπ' αὐτῇ, τὸν δὲ τόπον οὐ προῖεμένης, ἀλλ' ἐγκρα-
τῶς φυλαττούσης, ἀμελεῖν προσποιούμενος ἔθνε
γάμους αὐτῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ θέας ἐπετέλει καὶ

¹ τὸ τόπω Carps: τῷ τόπω.

the Isthmus of Corinth, forming a barrier between the seas, brings together the two regions, and thus unites our continent; and when Acrocorinthus, which is a lofty hill springing up at this centre of Greece, is held by a garrison, it hinders and cuts off all the country south of the Isthmus from intercourse, transits, and the carrying on of military expeditions by land and sea, and makes him who controls the place with a garrison sole lord of Greece. Therefore it is thought that the younger Philip of Macedon¹ uttered no jest, but the truth, whenever he called the city of Corinth "the fetters of Greece."

XVII. Accordingly, the place was always an object of great contention among kings and dynasts, but the eagerness of Antigonus to secure it fell nothing short of the most frenzied passion, and he was wholly absorbed in schemes to take it by stratagem from its possessors, since an open attempt upon it was hopeless. For when Alexander,² in whose hands the place was, had died of poison given him (it is said) in obedience to Antigonus, and his wife Nicaea had succeeded to his power and was guarding the citadel, Antigonus at once sent his son Demetrius to her in furtherance of his schemes, and by inspiring her with pleasant hopes of a royal marriage and of wedded life with a young man who would be no disagreeable company for an elderly woman, he captured her, using his son for all the world like a bait for her. The citadel, however, she did not give up, but kept it under strong guard. Pretending, therefore, indifference to this, Antigonus celebrated the nuptials of the pair in Corinth, exhibiting

¹ Philip V., 237-179 B.C.

² The tyrant of Corinth.

πότες συνήγε καθ' ἡμέραν, ὥς ἂν τις μάλιστα
 παίζειν καὶ σχολάζειν τὴν διάνοιαν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
 4 καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ἀφεικῶς. ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν,
 ἄδοντας Ἀμοιβέως ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρέπεμπε τὴν
 Νίκαιαν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἐν φορεῖῳ κεκοσμη-
 μένῳ βασιλικῶς, ἀγαλλομένην τε τῇ τιμῇ καὶ
 πορρωτάτῳ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὖσαν. γενόμενος δὲ
 τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτροπὴν τὴν ἄνω φέρουσαν,
 ἐκείνην μὲν ἐκέλευσε προάγειν εἰς τὸ θέατρον,
 αὐτὸς δὲ χαίρειν μὲν Ἀμοιβέα, χαίρειν δὲ τοὺς
 γάμους ἑάσας ἀνῆει πρὸς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἀμιλ-
 λώμενος παρ' ἡλικίαν· καὶ κεκλεισμένην τὴν πύ-
 λην εὐρών, ἔκοπτε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ κελεύων ἀνοίγειν.
 5 οἱ δ' ἔνδον ἀνέφξαν καταπλαγέντες. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ
 τόπου κρατήσας, οὐ κατέσχευεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἔπινε
 παίζων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς, καὶ δι'
 ἀγορᾶς αὐλητρίδας ἔχων καὶ στεφάνους περικεί-
 μενος, ἰνὴρ γέρων καὶ τηλικαύταις πραγμάτων
 μεταβολαῖς κεχρημένος, ἐκώμαζε δεξιούμενος καὶ
 προσαγορεύων τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ
 λύπης καὶ φόβου μᾶλλον ἐξίστησι καὶ σάλον
 παρέχει τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ χαίρειν ἄνευ λογισμοῦ
 παραγινόμενον.

XVIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος μὲν, ὥσπερ εἴρη-
 ται, κτησάμενος τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἐφύλαττε,
 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς ἐπίστευε μάλιστα καὶ Περ- 1035
 σαῖον ἐπιστήσας ἄρχοντα τὸν φιλόσοφον. ὁ δὲ
 Ἄρατος ἔτι μὲν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ζῶντος ἐπεχεί-
 ρησε τῇ πράξει, γενομένης δὲ συμμαχίας τοῖς
 2 Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπαύσατο. τότε

spectacles and giving banquets every day, as one whom pleasure and kindness led to think chiefly of mirth and ease. But when the crucial moment came, and as Amoebeus was about to sing in the theatre, he escorted Nicaea in person to the spectacle. She was borne in a litter which had royal trappings, plumed herself on her new honour, and had not the remotest suspicion of what was to happen. Then, arrived at the diverging street that led up to the citadel, Antigonus gave orders that Nicaea should be borne on into the theatre, while he himself, bidding adieu to Amoebeus, and adieu to the nuptials, went up to Acrocorinthus with a speed that belied his years; and, finding the gate locked, he beat upon it with his staff and ordered it to be opened. And the guards within, stupefied, opened it. Thus master of the place, he could not contain himself for joy, but drank and disported himself in the streets, and with music-girls in his train and garlands on his head, old man that he was and acquainted with so great vicissitudes of fortune, revelled through the market-place, greeting and clasping hands with all who met him. Thus we see that neither grief nor fear transports and agitates the soul as much as joy that comes unexpectedly.

XVIII. Antigonus, then, having got Acrocorinthus into his power, as I have said, kept it under guard, putting men there whom he most trusted, and making Persaeus the philosopher their commander. Now Aratus, even while Alexander was still living, had set his hand to the enterprise, but an alliance was made between the Achaeans and Alexander, and he therefore desisted. At the time of which I speak,

δὲ αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἑτέραν ἔλαβε τῆς πράξεως ὑπόθεσιν τοιαύτην.

- Ἦσαν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τέσσαρες ἀδελφοὶ Σύροι τὸ γένος, ὧν εἷς ὄνομα Διοκλῆς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ μισθοφορῶν διέτριβεν. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς κλέψαντες βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἦλθον εἰς Σικυῶνα πρὸς Αἰγίαν τινὰ τραπεζίτην, ᾧ διὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ Ἄρατος ἐχρῆτο. καὶ μέρος μὲν εὐθύς διέθεντο τοῦ χρυσίου, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν εἰς αὐτῶν Ἐργίνος ἐπιφοιτῶν ἡσυχῇ
- 3 κατήλλαττεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενόμενος τῷ Αἰγία συνήθης, καὶ προαχθεὶς εἰς λόγον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς, ἔφη πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀναβαίνων πρὸς τὸ κρημνῶδες ἐντομὴν καθεωρακέσαι πλαγίαν, ἄγουσαν ἢ χθαμαλώτατον ἐπωκοδόμηται τῷ φρουρίῳ τὸ τεῖχος. προσπαίξαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Αἰγίου καὶ εἰπόντος· “Εἵτα, ᾧ βέλτιστε, διὰ μικρὸν οὕτω χρυσίον ἀνασπᾶτε τὰς βασιλικὰς πράξεις, δυνάμενοι μίαν ὥραν πολλῶν ἀποδόσθαι χρημάτων; ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τοιχωρύχοις καὶ προδόταις ἀλοῦσιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχει;”
- 4 γελάσας ὁ Ἐργίνος τότε μὲν ὡμολόγησεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τοῦ Διοκλέους (τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις ἀδελφοῖς μὴ πάνυ τι πιστεύειν), ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπανελθὼν συντίθεται τὸν Ἄρατον ἄξειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ὅπου τὸ ὕψος οὐ μεῖζον ἦν πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν, καὶ τὰλλα συμπράξειν μετὰ τοῦ Διοκλέους.

XIX. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα δώσειν κατορθώσας ὡμολόγησεν, ἣν δὲ ἀποτύχη, σωθῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνων, οἰκίαν ἐκατέρῳ καὶ τάλαντον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει παρὰ τῷ Αἰγία τὰ ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα κείσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐργίνον,

however, a new and fresh basis for the enterprise was found by him in the following circumstances.

There were in Corinth four brothers, Syrians by race, one of whom, Diocles by name, was serving as a mercenary soldier in the citadel. The other three, after stealing some gold plate of the king's, came to Aegias, a banker in Sicyon with whom Aratus did business. A portion of the gold they disposed of to him at once, but the remainder was being quietly exchanged by one of them, Erginus, in frequent visits. Erginus thus became well acquainted with Aegias, and having been led by him into conversation about the garrison in the citadel, said that as he was going up to see his brother he had noticed in the face of the cliff a slanting fissure leading to where the wall of the citadel was at its lowest. Thereupon Aegias fell to jesting with him, and said: "Do you, then, best of men, thus for the sake of a little gold plate rifle the king's treasures, when it is in your power to sell a single hour's work for large sums of money? Don't you know that burglars as well as traitors, if they are caught, have only one death to die?" Erginus burst out laughing, and as a first step agreed to make trial of Diocles (saying that he had no confidence at all in his other brothers), and a few days afterwards came back and bargained to conduct Aratus to the wall at a spot where it was not more than fifteen feet in height, and to aid in the rest of the enterprise together with Diocles.

XIX. Aratus on his part agreed to give the men sixty talents if he was successful, and in case he failed, and he as well as they got off safely, to give each of them a house and a talent. Then, since the sixty talents had to be deposited with Aegias for

ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχεν οὔτε ἐβούλετο
 δανειζόμενος αἰσθησιν ἐτέρῳ τῆς πράξεως παρα-
 σχεῖν, λαβὼν τῶν ἐκπωμάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τὰ
 χρυσία τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπέθηκε τῷ Αἰγία πρὸς τὸ
 2 ἀργύριον. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπῆρτο τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τοσοῦ-
 τον ἔρωτα τῶν καλῶν πράξεων εἶχεν, ὥστε τὸν
 Φωκίωνα καὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐπιστάμενος
 Ἑλλήνων δικαιοτάτους καὶ κρατίστους γεγονέναι
 δοκούντας ἐπὶ τῷ διώσασθαι δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ
 μὴ προέσθαι χρημάτων τὸ καλόν, αὐτὸς εἰς ταῦτα
 δαπανᾶσθαι κρύφα καὶ προεισφέρειν, ἐν οἷς ἐκιν-
 δύνευσεν μόνος ὑπὲρ πάντων οὐδὲ εἰδόντων τὰ πρατ-
 3 τόμενα, ἥρεϊτο. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε καὶ
 συναγωνίσαιτο ἔτι νῦν τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τοῦ ἄν-
 δρός, ὠνούμενου χρημάτων τοσοῦτων κίνδυνον
 τηλικούτον, καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα δοκούντα τῶν κτη-
 μάτων ὑποτιθέντος, ὅπως παρειαχθεὶς νυκτὸς
 εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους διαγωνίσσηται περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς,
 ἐνέχυρον λαβὼν τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ καλοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν,
 ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν;

XX. Οὐσαν δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν ἐπισφαλὴ τὴν πρᾶ-
 ξιν ἐπισηφαιεστέραν ἐτοίμησεν ἁμαρτία τις εὐθύς
 ἐν ἀρχῇ συμβᾶσα δι' ἄγνοιαν. ὁ γὰρ οἰκέτης τοῦ
 Ἀράτου Τέχνων ἐπέμφθη μὲν ὡς μετὰ τοῦ Διο-
 κλέους κατασκεψόμενος τὸ τεῖχος, οὐπω δ' ἦν τῷ
 Διοκλεῖ πρότερον ἐντετυχηκὼς κατ' ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν μορφήν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εἶδος δοκῶν κατέχειν ἐξ
 ὧν ὁ Ἐργίνος ἐπεσήμηνεν οὐλοκόμην καὶ μελάγ-
 2 χροον καὶ ἀγένειον. ἐλθὼν οὖν¹ ὅπου συνετέ-

¹ ἀγένειον. ἐλθὼν οὖν Coraës and Ziegler, with the MSS.: ἀγένειον, ἐλθὼν.

Erginus, and Aratus neither had them himself nor was willing by borrowing them to give anyone else a suspicion of his undertaking, he took most of his plate and his wife's golden ornaments and deposited them with Aegias as security for the money. For he was so exalted in spirit and had so great a passion for noble deeds that, knowing as he did that Phocion and Epaminondas were reputed to have been the justest and best of Greeks because they spurned great gifts and would not betray their honour for money, he elected to expend his own substance secretly, as an advance, on an enterprise in which he alone was risking his life for the whole body of citizens, who did not even know what was going on. For who will not admire the magnanimity of the man, and yearn even now to lend a helping hand, who purchased at so high a price so great a danger, and pledged what he thought the most precious of his possessions in order that he might be introduced by night among his enemies and contend for his life, receiving as his security from his countrymen the hope of a noble action, and nothing else?

XX. Now the enterprise was dangerous in itself, but was made more dangerous still by a mistake which occurred at the very beginning through ignorance. For Technon, the servant of Aratus, had been sent to inspect the wall with Diocles, and had not yet met Diocles face to face, but thought he would know how he looked because Erginus had described him as curly-haired, of a swarthy complexion, and without a beard. Having come, therefore, to the place appointed, he was

τακτο, τὸν Ἑργῖνον ὡς ἀφιζόμενον μετὰ τοῦ Διοκλέους ἀνέμενε πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πρὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Ὀρνιθος. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς Ἑργίνου καὶ Διοκλέους ὄνομα Διονύσιος οὐ συνειδὼς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐδὲ κοινωνῶν, ὁμοιος δὲ τῷ Διοκλεῖ, προσήει κατὰ τύχην. ὁ δὲ Τέχνων πρὸς τὰ σημεῖα τῆς μορφῆς τῇ ὁμοιότητι κινήθεις 1036 ἠρώτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἴ τι συμβόλαιον αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἑργῖνον εἴη. φήσαντος δὲ ἀδελφὸν εἶναι, παντάπασιν ὁ Τέχνων ἐπείσθη τῷ Διοκλεῖ διαλέγεσθαι· καὶ μήτε τοῦνομα πυθόμενος μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν προσμείνας τεκμήριον ἐμβάλλει τε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν συγκειμένων πρὸς τὸν Ἑργῖνον ἐλάλει καὶ κείνον ἀνέκρινεν. ὁ δὲ δεξιόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν πανούργως ὡμολόγει τε πάντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέψας ὑπήγεν 4 ἀνυπόπτως διαλεγόμενος. ἤδη δὲ πλησίον ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος ὅσον οὐπω τὸν Τέχνωνα διαλαμβάειν, ἀπὸ τύχης αὐτὸν πάλιν ὁ Ἑργῖνος αὐτοῖς ἀπήντησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον διὰ νεύματος ἐδήλωσε τῷ Τέχνωνι φεύγειν· καὶ ἀποπηδήσαντες ἀμφοτέροι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον ἀπεσώθησαν. οὐ μὲν ἀπέκαμε ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἔπεμψεν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἑργῖνον χρυσίον τε τῷ Διονυσίῳ κομίζοντα καὶ 5 δεησόμενον αὐτοῦ σιωπᾶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον ἄγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον ἦλθεν. ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκέτι διῆκαν, ἀλλὰ δήσαντες ἐφύλαττον ἐν οἰκίσκῳ κατακεκλεισμένον· αὐτοὶ δὲ παρσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν.

XXI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἔτοιμα πάντα, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην

waiting for Erginus to come there with Diocles, just outside the city, near what was called the Ornis. As he was waiting, however, the oldest brother of Erginus and Diocles, named Dionysius, who was not privy to the enterprise and took no part in it, but resembled Diocles, chanced to come up. So Technon, moved by the similarity in the marks of his outward appearance, asked him if he was connected at all with Erginus; and on his saying that he was a brother, Technon was altogether convinced that he was talking with Diocles, and without inquiring his name, or waiting for any other proof whatever, gave him his hand and began chatting with him and asking him questions about what had been agreed upon with Erginus. Dionysius took cunning advantage of his mistake, assented to all that he said, and turning his back towards the city led him along in unsuspecting conversation. But just as he was near the city, and was at the very point of seizing Technon, by a second chance Erginus met them. Erginus comprehended the trick and the danger, motioned Technon to fly, and both of them ran off and got safely to Aratus. Aratus, however, would not give up hope, but at once sent Erginus to bribe Dionysius and beg him to hold his tongue. Erginus not only did this, but actually brought Dionysius with him to Aratus. And now that Dionysius was there they would not let him go, but bound him and kept him indoors under lock and key, while they themselves prepared for their attack.

XXI. When all things were ready, Aratus ordered

- δύναμιν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν νυκτερεύειν, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ λογάδας τετρακοσίους οὐδ' αὐτοὺς εἰδότας τὰ πραττόμενα, πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἤγε πρὸς τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Ἑραιῶν. ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἔτους ἡ περὶ θέρος ἀκμάζον ὥρα, τοῦ δὲ μηνὸς πανσέληνος, ἡ δὲ νύξ ἀνέφελος καὶ καταφανής, ὥστε καὶ φόβον τὰ ὄπλα παρέχειν ἀντιλάμποντα πρὸς
- 2 τὴν σελήνην, μὴ τοὺς φύλακας οὐ λάθωσιν. ἤδη δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνέδραμε νέφη καὶ κατέσχε τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν ἔξω τόπον ἐπίσκιον γενόμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συγκαθίσαντες ὑπελύοντο τὰς κρηπίδας· οὔτε γὰρ ψόφον ποιοῦσι πολὺν οὔτ' ὀλισθήματα λαμβάνουσι γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν κλιμάκων· ὁ δὲ Ἑργίνος ἐπτά λαβὼν νεανίσκους ἐσταλμένους ὁδοιπορικῶς ἔλαθε
- 3 τῇ πύλῃ προσμίξας. καὶ τὸν πυλωρὸν ἀποκτινύουσι καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ φύλακας. ἅμα δὲ αἶτε κλίμακες προσετίθεντο καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ Ἄρατος ὑπερβιβάσας ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας ὥς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα, τὰς κλίμακας ἀναρπάσας ἐχώρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἥδη περιχαρὴς διὰ τὸ λανθάνειν ὥς κατορθῶν.
- 4 Καί πως ἔτι πρόσωθεν αὐτοῖς ἀπήντα σὺν φωτὶ φυλακὴν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν οὐ καθορωμένοις· ἔτι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ σκιαζομένῳ τῆς σελήνης· ἐκείνους δὲ προσιόντας ἐξ ἐναντίας καθορώσι. μικρὸν οὖν ὑποστείλας τειχίοις τισὶ καὶ οἰκοπέδοις, ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καθίζει. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπεσόντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος πληγεὶς ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔφυγε, βοῶν ἔνδον εἶναι

the rest of his forces to pass the night under arms, and taking with him four hundred picked men, few of whom knew what was on foot themselves, led them towards the gate of Corinth near by the temple of Hera. It was midsummer, the moon was at its full, and the night was cloudless and clear, so that they feared lest the gleam of their arms in the moonlight should disclose them to the sentinels. But just as the foremost of them were near the wall, clouds ran up from the sea and enveloped the city itself and the region outside, which thus became dark. Then the rest of them sat down and took off their shoes, since men make little noise and do not slip if they are barefooted when they climb ladders; but Erginus, taking with him seven young men equipped as travellers, got unnoticed to the gate. Here they slew the gate-keeper and the sentries who were with him. At the same time the ladders were clapped to the wall, and after getting a hundred men over in all haste, Aratus ordered the rest to follow as fast as they could; then he pulled his ladders up after him and marched through the city with his hundred men against the citadel, being already full of joy at his escape from detection and confident of success.

A little farther on they encountered a watch of four men with a light; they were not seen by them, being still in the shade of the moon, but saw them coming up in the opposite direction. So they drew back a little for shelter beneath some walls and buildings, and set an ambush for the men. Three of them they killed in their attack, but the fourth, with a sword-wound in his head, took to flight, crying

5 τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν αἶτε σάλπιγγες ἐπεσήμαινον, ἥ τε πόλις ἐξανίστατο πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα, πλήρεις τε ἦσαν οἱ στενωποὶ διαθεόντων, καὶ φῶτα πολλά, τὰ μὲν κάτωθεν ἤδη, τὰ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας περιέλαμπε, καὶ κραυγὴ συνερρήγνυτο πανταχόθεν ἄσημος.

XXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος ἐμφὺς τῇ πορείᾳ παρὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ἡμιλλᾶτο, βραδέως καὶ τάλαιπῶρος τὸ πρῶτον, οὐ κατακρατῶν, ἀλλ' ἀποπλανώμενος τοῦ τρίβου παντάπασιν ἐνδεδυκότος καὶ πεοισκιαζομένου ταῖς τραχύτησι καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἐλιγμῶν καὶ παραβολῶν περαίνοντος πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. εἶτα θαυμάσιον οἶον ἢ σελήνη λέγεται διαστέλλουσα τὰ νέφη καὶ ὑπολαμπούσα,¹ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ χαλεπώτατον σαφηνίζειν, ἕως ἥψατο τοῦ τείχους καθ' ὃν ἔδει τόπον· ἐκεῖ δὲ πάλιν συνεσκήασε καὶ ἀπέκρυσσε νεφῶν συνελθόντων.

2 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔξω περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἀπολειφθέντες τοῦ Ἀράτου στρατιῶται, τριακόσιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ὥς ποτε παρεισέπεσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν θορύβου τε παντοδαποῦ καὶ φώτων 1037 γέμουσαν, οὐ δυνηθέντες ἐξανευρεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν τρίβον οὐδ' εἰς ἵχνος ἐμβῆναι τῆς ἐκείνων πορείας, ἔπτηξαν ἀθρόοι πρὸς τινι παλινσκήῳ λαγόνι τοῦ κρημνοῦ συστείλαντες ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ διεκαρτέρουν ἐνταῦθα περιπαθοῦντες καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες.

3 βαλλομένων γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἤδη τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον καὶ μαχομένων, ἀλαλαγμοὺς ἐναγώνιος ἐχώρει κάτω, καὶ κραυγὴ περιήχει, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρῶν ἀνάκλασιν συγκεχυμένη καὶ ἄδηλος

¹ ὑπολαμπούσα Coraës and Bekker, adopting an anonymous conjecture: ὑπολαβοῦσα.

out that the enemy were in the city. And presently the trumpets were sounding, the city was in an uproar over what was happening, the streets were full of people running up and down, many lights were flashing, some in the city below and some in the citadel above, and a confused shouting broke forth on all hands.

XXII. Meanwhile Aratus was struggling up the steep with all his might, slowly and laboriously at first, unable to keep to the path and wandering from it, since it was everywhere sunk in the shadows of the jutting cliffs and had many twists and turns before it came out at the wall of the citadel. Then, marvellous to relate, the moon is said to have parted the clouds and shone out, making the most difficult part of the road plain, until he got to the wall at the spot desired; there the clouds came together again and everything was hidden in darkness.

But the soldiers of Aratus whom he had left at the gate outside near the temple of Hera, three hundred in number, when once they had burst into the city and found it full of lights and manifold tumult, were unable to discover the path which their comrades had taken or follow in their steps. So they crouched down and huddled themselves together in a shaded flank of the cliff, and there remained in great distress and impatience. For Aratus and his party were now assailed with missiles from the citadel and were fighting, the shouts of the combatants came down the slopes, and cries echoed round about which the reverberations from

ὅθεν εἵληφε τὴν ἀρχήν. διαπορούντων δὲ αὐτῶν
 ἐφ' ὃ τι χρή τραπέσθαι μέρος, Ἀρχέλαος ὁ τῶν
 βασιλικῶν ἡγεμὼν στρατιώτας ἔχων πολλοὺς
 μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀνέβαινε καὶ σαλπίγγων, ἐπιφερόμε-
 νος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, καὶ παρήλλαττε τοὺς
 4 τριακοσίους. οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀναστάντες
 ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ διαφθείρουσιν οἷς ἐπέθεντο
 πρώτοις, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον φο-
 βήσαντες ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατεδίωξαν ἄχρι τοῦ
 σκεδασθῆναι περὶ τὴν πόλιν διαλυθέντας. ἄρτι
 δὲ τούτων νενικηκότων Ἐργίνος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω
 μαχομένων ἦλθεν, ἀγγέλλων συμπεπλέχθαι τοῖς
 πολεμίοις τὸν Ἄρατον ἀμυνομένοις εὐρώστως, καὶ
 μέγαν ἀγῶνα περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος εἶναι, καὶ τάχους
 5 δεῖν τῆς βοηθείας. οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι
 καὶ προσβαίνοντες ἅμα φωνῇ διεσήμενον ἑαυτοὺς,
 ἐπιθαρρύνοντες τοὺς φίλους· ἢ τε πανσέληνος
 ἀπέφαινε τὰ ὄπλα πλείονα φαινόμενα τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς πορείας, καὶ τὸ τῆς νυκτὸς
 ἡχῶδες τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν ἀπὸ πολλαπλασιόνων ἢ
 6 τοσούτων ἐποίει δοκεῖν φέρεσθαι. τέλος δὲ συν-
 ερείσαντες ἐξωθοῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ καθ-
 υπέρτεροι τῆς ἄκρας ἦσαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον εἶχον,
 ἡμέρας ἤδη διαυγούσης, ὃ τε ἥλιος εὐθὺς ἐπέλαμπε
 τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ παρῆν ἐκ Σικυῶνος ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις
 τῷ Ἀράτῳ, δεχομένων κατὰ πύλας τῶν Κορινθίων
 προθύμως καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς συλλαμβανόντων.

XXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἐδόκει πάντα ἔχειν,
 κατέβαινε εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας, πλήθους

the hills rendered confused and of uncertain origin. Then, as they were at a loss which way to turn, Archelaüs, the commander of the king's forces, having many soldiers with him, made up the ascent amid shouts and the blare of trumpets to attack Aratus and his party, and thus passed by the three hundred. These, rising up from ambush as it were, fell upon him, slew the first whom they attacked, put the rest, together with Archelaüs, to panic flight, and pursued them until they were scattered and dispersed about the city. And just as this victory had been won, Erginus came from the party fighting on the heights, with tidings that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, that these were defending themselves vigorously, that a great struggle was going on at the very wall, and there was need of speedy help. The three hundred at once ordered him to lead the way; and as they took to the ascent their cries signalled their coming and encouraged their friends; the light of the full moon also made their arms appear more numerous to the enemy than they really were, owing to the length of their line of march, and the echoes of the night gave the impression that the shouts proceeded from many times the number of men there really were. At last, with a united onset, they repulsed the enemy, mastered the citadel, and held its garrison in their power. Day was now breaking, the sun at once shone out upon their success, and the rest of the forces of Aratus came up from Sicyon, the Corinthians readily receiving them by the gates and helping them to seize the king's soldiers.

XXIII. When everything appeared to be safe Aratus came down from the citadel into the theatre

ἀπείρου συρρέοντος ἐπιθυμία τῆς τε ὄψεως αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῶν λόγων οἷς ἔμελλε χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Κο-
2 ρινθίους. ἐπιστήσας δὲ ταῖς παρόδοις ἐκατέρωθεν
τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς εἰς μέσον
προῆλθε, τεθωρακισμένος καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ διὰ
τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν ἡλλοιωμένος, ὥστε
τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ γαυρούμενον καὶ χαῖρον ὑπὸ τῆς
3 περὶ τὸ σῶμα βαρύτητος κατακρατεῖσθαι. τῶν
δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἅμα τῷ προσελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκχυθέν-
των ταῖς φιλοφροσύναις, μεταλαβὼν εἰς τὴν
δεξιὰν τὸ δόρυ, καὶ τὸ γόνυ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ῥοπῇ
μικρὸν ἐγκλίνας καὶ ἀπερεισάμενος, εἰστίκει πο-
λὺν χρόνον σιωπῇ δεχόμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς κρότους
καὶ τὰς ἐπιβοήσεις, ἐπαινούντων μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν,
4 ζηλούντων δὲ τὴν τύχην. ὥς δὲ ἐπαύσαντο καὶ
κατέστησαν, συναγαγὼν ἑαυτὸν διεξῆλθε λόγον
ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τῇ πράξει πρέποντα, καὶ συν-
έπεισε τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ
τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖς ἀπέδωκε τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ
τῶν Φιλιππικῶν καιρῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις γενομένας.
τῶν δὲ Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγῶν Ἀρχέλαον μὲν
ἀφῆκεν ὑποχείριον γενόμενον, Θεόφραστον δὲ ἀν-
5 εἶλεν οὐ βουλόμενον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Περσαῖος δὲ
τῆς ἄκρας ἀλισκομένης εἰς Κεγχρεὰς διεξέπεσεν.
ὕστερον δὲ λέγεται σχολάζων πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα
μόνον αὐτῷ δοκεῖν στρατηγὸν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν,
“ Ἀλλὰ νῆ θεούς,” φάναι, “ τοῦτο μάλιστα κάμοι
ποτε τῶν Ζήνωνος ἤρεσκε δογμάτων· νῦν δὲ μετα-
βάλλομαι νουθετηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σικωνίου νεανίου.”
ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Περσαίου πλείονες ἱστοροῦσιν.

whither an immense multitude streamed with an eager desire to see him and hear what he would say to the Corinthians. After stationing his Achaeans at both the side-entrances, he himself advanced from the back-scene into the orchestra, with his breastplate still on and his countenance altered by toil and loss of sleep, so that the exultation and joy of his spirit were overpowered by the weariness of his body. Since the multitude, when he came forward to address them, were profuse in their friendly expressions, taking his spear in his right hand and slightly inclining his knee and his body, he supported himself upon it and stood thus for a long time silently receiving their applause and acclamations, their praises of his valour and their congratulations on his success. But when they had ceased and quiet had ensued, he summoned his strength and in behalf of the Achaeans made a speech which befitted their exploit, and persuaded the Corinthians to join the Achaean League. He also gave them back the keys to their gates, of which they then became possessed for the first time since the time of Philip of Macedon. Of the officers of Antigonos, he dismissed Archelaüs, who had been taken prisoner, but Theophrastus, who would not quit his post, he slew; as for Persaeus, on the capture of the citadel he made his escape to Cenchreae. And at a later time, as we are told, when he was leading a life of leisure, and someone remarked that in his opinion the wise man only could be a good general, "Indeed," he replied, "there was a time when I too particularly liked this doctrine of Zeno's; but now, since the lesson I got from the young man of Sicyon, I am of another mind." This story of Persaeus is told by many writers.

XXIV. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρατος εὐθὺς τό τε Ἡραῖον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸ Λέχαιον ἐποιήσατο· καὶ νεῶν μὲν 1038 εἰκοσιπέντε βασιλικῶν ἐκυρίευσεν, ἵππους δὲ πεντακοσίους καὶ Σύρους τετρακοσίους ἀπέδοτο· τὸν τε Ἀκροκόρινθον ἐφύλαττον οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τετρακοσίοις ὀπλίταις καὶ πεντήκοντα κυσὶ καὶ κυνηγοῖς ἴσοις ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τρεφομένοις.

- 2 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Φιλοποίμενα θαυμάζοντες Ἑλλήνων ἔσχατον προσηγόρευον, ὡς μηδενὸς μεγάλου μετ' ἐκείνουν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι γενομένου· ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πράξεων ταύτην ἔσχάτην καὶ νεωτάτην φαῖναι ἂν πεπραχθαι, τοῦτο μὲν τόλμη, τοῦτο δὲ τύχη ταῖς ἀρίσταις ἐνάμιλλον, ὡς ἐδήλωσεν εὐθὺς τὰ γινόμενα.
- 3 Μεγαρεῖς τε γὰρ ἀποστάντες Ἀντιγόνου τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσέθεντο, καὶ Τροιζήνιοι μετὰ Ἐπιδαυρίων συνετάχθησαν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἔξοδόν τε πρῶτην θεμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διαβὰς ἐλεηλάτησεν, ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς λελυμένη τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐφ' ὃ τι βούλοιτο χρώμενος. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, ἀρχὰς ἀποστάσεως ἐνδιδούς
- 4 αὐτοῖς. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ σύμμαχον ἐποίησε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα πολέμου καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν. οὕτω δὲ ἰσχυσεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ὥστ', εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξῆν, παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν αἰρεῖσθαι στρατηγὸν αὐτόν, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ γνώμῃ διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν. ἐώρων γὰρ αὐτόν οὐ πλοῦτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐ φιλίαν βασιλικήν, οὐ τὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος συμφέρον, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενον.

XXIV. As for Aratus, he at once made himself master of the temple of Hera and the harbour of Lechaeum; he also seized five-and-twenty of the king's ships, and sold five hundred horses and four hundred Syrians; Acrocorinthus, too, was garrisoned by the Achaeans with four hundred men-at-arms, and fifty dogs with as many keepers were maintained in the citadel.

Now the Romans, in their admiration of Philopoe-men, call him "the last of the Greeks," implying that no great man arose among the Greeks after him; but I should say that this capture of Acrocorinthus was the very last and latest achievement of the Greeks, and that it rivalled their best, not only in daring, but also in happy results, as events at once showed. For Megara seceded from Antigonus and attached herself to Aratus; Troezen and Epidaurus were enrolled in the Achaean League; and Aratus, making a distant expedition for the first time, invaded Attica, and crossing the strait plundered Salamis, his Achaean forces, as though released from prison, obeying his every wish. But the freemen among his prisoners he sent back to the Athenians without ransom, thus laying a foundation for their revolt from Antigonus. He also made Ptolemy an ally of the Achaeans, with the leadership in war on land and sea. And he was so influential among the Achaeans that, since it was not permissible every year, they chose him general every other year, though, in fact, his wisdom made him their leader all the time. For they saw that he put first and foremost, not wealth, not fame, not friendship with kings, not his own native city's advantage, but only the growth in power of the Achaean League. For he considered

5 ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς ἰδίᾳ τὰς πόλεις ὑπαρχούσας
 σώζεσθαι δι' ἀλλήλων ὥσπερ ἐνδεδεμέναις τῷ
 κοινῷ συμφέροντι, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ μέρη τοῦ
 σώματος ζῶντα καὶ συμπνέοντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς
 ἀλλήλα συμφυΐαν, ὅταν ἀποσπασθῇ καὶ γένηται
 χωρίς, ἀτροφεῖ καὶ σήπεται, παραπλησίως τὰς
 πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν διασπώντων
 τὸ κοινόν, αὔξεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ὅταν ὅλου
 τινὸς μεγάλου μέρη γενόμεναι κοινῆς προνοίας
 τυγχάνωσιν.

XXV. Ὅρων δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν προσοί-
 κων αὐτονομουμένους, Ἀργείοις δὲ δουλεύουσιν
 ἀχθόμενος, ἐπεβούλευεν ἀνελεῖν τὸν τύραννον
 αὐτῶν Ἀριστόμαχον, ἅμα τῇ τε πόλει θρεπτήρια
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοῦναι φιλοτιμούμενος καὶ
 2 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς προσκομίσαι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν
 τολμῶντες εὐρέθησαν, ὧν Αἰσχύλος προειστήκει
 καὶ Χαριμένης ὁ μάντις· ξίφη δὲ οὐκ εἶχον, ἀλλ'
 ἀπείρητο κεκτῆσθαι καὶ ζημίαι μεγάλαι τοῖς κεκτη-
 μένοις ἐπῆσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου. κατασκευάσας
 οὖν ὁ Ἄρατος αὐτοῖς ἐν Κόρινθῳ μικρὰς παραξιφί-
 δας ἐνέρραψεν εἰς σάγματα· καὶ ταῦτα περιθεὶς
 ὑποζυγίοις σκεύη τινὰ παρημελημένα κομίζουσιν
 3 εἰς Ἄργος ἀπέστειλε. Χαριμένους δὲ τοῦ μάντεως
 προσλαβόντος ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄνθρωπον, οἱ περὶ
 τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἡγανάκτησαν καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἔπρατ-
 τον, τοῦ Χαριμένου καταγνόντες. αἰσθόμενος
 δὲ ἐκείνος ὀργῇ κατεμήνυσε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤδη
 βαδίζοντας ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον· ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι
 φθάσαντες ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπέφυγον καὶ διεξέπεσον
 εἰς Κόρινθον.

¹ Cf. chap. iii. 1.

that the Greek states which were weak would be preserved by mutual support when once they had been bound as it were by the common interest, and that just as the members of the body have a common life and breath because they cleave together in a common growth, but when they are drawn apart and become separate they wither away and decay, in like manner the several states are ruined by those who dis sever their common bonds, but are augmented by mutual support, when they become parts of a great whole and enjoy a common foresight.

XXV. And so, since he saw that the best of the neighbouring peoples were autonomous, and was distressed at the servitude of the Argives, he plotted to kill Aristomachus the tyrant of Argos, being ambitious to restore its freedom to the city as a reward for the rearing it had given him,¹ as well as to attach it to the Achaean League. Accordingly, men were found to dare the deed, of whom Aeschylus and Charimenes the seer were the chief. They had no swords, however, the tyrant having prohibited the possession of them under heavy penalties. Aratus, therefore, ordered small daggers to be made for them in Corinth and sewed them up in pack-saddles; these he put upon beasts of burden carrying ordinary wares and sent them into Argos. But Charimenes the seer took on a partner in the enterprise, at which Aeschylus and his friends were incensed and proceeded to act on their own account, ignoring Charimenes. When Charimenes was aware of this, he was angry and informed against the men just as they were setting out to attack the tyrant; most of them, however, succeeded in escaping from the marketplace and fled to Corinth.

- 4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ χρόνου βραχέος διελθόντος ἀπο-
 θνήσκει μὲν ὑπὸ δούλων Ἀριστόμαχος, ὑπο-
 λαμβάνει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν φθάσας Ἀρίστιππος,
 ἐξωλέστερος ἐκείνου τύραννος. ὅσοι δὲ τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παρόντες ἔτυχον, τούτους
 ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Ἄρατος ἐβοήθει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
 ὀξέως, οἰόμενος εὐρήσειν τὰ τῶν Ἀργείων πρό-
 5 θυμα. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἤδη διὰ συνήθειαν ἐθελο-
 δούλως ἐχόντων καὶ μηδενὸς ἀφισταμένου πρὸς
 αὐτόν, ἀνεχώρησεν ἔγκλημα κατεσκευακὼς τοῖς
 Ἀχαιοῖς ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλεμον ἐξενηνοχόσι. καὶ
 δίκην ἔσχον ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ Μαντινεῦσιν, ἣν 1039
 Ἀράτου μὴ παρόντος Ἀρίστιππος εἶλε διώκων
 6 καὶ μνῶν ἐτιμήθη τριάκοντα. τὸν δὲ Ἄρατον
 αὐτὸν ἅμα καὶ μισῶν καὶ δεδοικὼς ἐπεβούλευεν
 ἀνελεῖν συνεργούντος Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως·
 καὶ πανταχοῦ σχεδὸν ἦσαν οἱ τοῦτο πράττοντες
 αὐτοῖς καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες.
- 7 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν οἶον ἀληθινὴ καὶ βέβαιος εὐνοία
 φυλακτήριον ἀνδρὸς ἄρχοντος. ὅταν γὰρ ἐθισθῶ-
 σιν οἳ τε πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ δυνατοὶ μὴ τὸν ἡγούμενον,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγουμένου δεδιέναι, πολλοῖς μὲν
 ὄμμασιν ὁρᾷ, διὰ πολλῶν δὲ ὥτων ἀκούει, καὶ
 προαισθάνεται τὰ γινόμενα. διὸ καὶ βούλομαι
 τὸν λόγον ἐπιστήσας ἐνταῦθά που διεξελεῖν
 περὶ τῆς Ἀριστίππου διαίτης, ἣν ἡ ζηλοτυπου-
 μένη τυραννὶς αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ
 περιβοήτου μοναρχίας ὄγκος περιέθηκεν.

XXVI. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ Ἀντίγονον μὲν ἔχων

Nevertheless, after a little while Aristomachus was killed by slaves, and Aristippus, a more pernicious tyrant than he, soon succeeded in seizing the power. Aratus at once took all the Achaeans of military age who were at hand and went swiftly to the aid of the city, supposing that he would be welcomed by the Argives. But since most of them were by this time habituated to slavery and willing to endure it, so that not a man came over to his side, he retired, after involving the Achaeans in the charge of having gone to war in time of peace. They were prosecuted on this charge before the Mantineans, and in the absence of Aratus, Aristippus as plaintiff won his case and was awarded damages to the amount of thirty minas.¹ Aratus himself the tyrant both hated and feared, and so laid plots to kill him with the assistance of Antigonus the king; and almost everywhere there were men who undertook this deed for them and watched for an opportunity.

But there is no safeguard for a ruler like a sincere and steadfast goodwill on the part of the ruled. For when both the common people and the leading men are afraid, not of their leader, but for their leader, he sees with many eyes, hears with many ears, and so perceives betimes what is going on. Therefore I wish to stop my story at this point, in order to describe the life that Aristippus led. This was laid upon him by his office of tyrant, so envied of men, and by the pride and pomp of monarchy, which men celebrate and call blessed.

XXVI. For though he had Antigonus as ally, and

¹ Half a talent, equivalent to about £118, or \$600, a merely nominal fine. Mantinea acted as arbitrator, perhaps by special agreement.

- σύμμαχον, τρέφων δὲ πολλοὺς ἕνεκα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας, οὐδένα δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ζῶντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπολελοιπώς, τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους καὶ φύλακας ἔξω παρεμβάλλειν ἐκέ-
 2 λευεν ἐν τῷ περιστύλῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας, ὅποτε δειπνήσαι, τάχιστα πάντα ἐξελαύνων καὶ τὴν μέταυλον ἀποκλείων μετὰ τῆς ἐρωμένης αὐτὸς εἰς οἶκημα κατεδύετο μικρὸν ὑπερῶον, θύρα καταρρακτῇ κλειόμενον· ἥς ὑπεράνω τὴν κλίνην ἐπιτιθεὶς ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς εἰκὸς καθεύδειν τὸν οὕτως
 3 ἔχοντα, ταραχδῶς καὶ περιφόβως. τὸ δὲ κλιμάκιον ἢ τῆς ἐρωμένης μήτηρ ὑφαιροῦσα κατέκλειεν εἰς ἕτερον οἶκημα, καὶ πάλιν ἅμ' ἡμέρα προσετίθει καὶ κατεκάλει τὸν θαυμαστὸν τύραννον, ὥσπερ ἐρπετὸν ἐκ φωλεοῦ κατερχόμενον. ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὅπλοις κατὰ βίαν, νόμῳ δὲ ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἀκατάπανστον ἀρχὴν περιπεποιημένος, ἐν ἱματίῳ καὶ χλαμυδίῳ τῷ τυχόντι, τῶν πώποτε τυράννων κοινὸς ἀποδοδεδειγμένος ἐχθρὸς, ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας γένος εὐδοκιμώτατον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἐν τοῖς
 4 Ἕλλησιν. ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν τὰς ἄκρας καταλαμβανόντων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τρεφόντων καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας προβαλλομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας ὀλίγοι τὸν ἐκ πληγῆς θάνατον, ὥσπερ οἱ λαγωοί, διέφυγον· οἶκος δὲ ἢ γένος ἢ τάφος ἔχων τιμωμένην μνήμην οὐδενὸς λέλειπται.

XXVII. Πρὸς δ' οὖν τὸν Ἀρίστιππον ὁ Ἄρατος καὶ κρύφα πολλάκις καὶ φανερώς προσέπταισεν ἐπιχειρήσας καταλαμβάνειν τὸ Ἄργος. ἅπαξ δὲ κλίμακας προσθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβη παραβόλως, καὶ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας

kept many guards to protect his person, and had left no single enemy alive in the city, yet he would order his spearmen and guards to bivouac outside in the colonnade; and as for his servants, as soon as supper was over he would drive them all out. Then he would lock the doors of the inner house, and betake himself with his mistress to a little upper room, which was closed by a trap-door; on this door he would place his couch and sleep, as one in his state of mind would naturally sleep, by fits and starts and in great fear. The ladder the mother of his mistress would take away and lock up in another room, and in the morning would put it in place again and call the wonderful tyrant, who would come down like a creeping thing out of its hole. Aratus, on the other hand, not by force of arms, but legally and in consequence of his virtues, had invested himself with an enduring power, and yet went about in ordinary tunic and cloak; he declared himself a public foe of any and every tyrant; and he left behind him a posterity of the highest repute among the Greeks down to this day.¹ But of the men who seize citadels, maintain spearmen, and depend upon arms and gates and trap-doors for the safety of their persons, only a few, like timorous hares, have escaped a violent death; while not one of them has left a house, or a family, or a tomb to keep his memory in honour.

XXVII. Against Aristippus, then, and in trying to seize Argos, Aratus made many open and secret attempts in vain. Once he set up scaling-ladders, at great hazard got upon the wall with a few followers, and killed the sentries that defended the

¹ Cf. chap. liv. *ad fin.*

- 2 ἐνταῦθα τῶν φυλάκων ἀπέκτεινεν. εἶτα ἡμέρας ἐπιφανείσης καὶ τοῦ τυράννου πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσβάλλοντος, οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι, καθάπερ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνῳ ἐλευθερίας τῆς μάχης οὔσης, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Νεμείων βραβεύοντες, ἴσοι καὶ δίκαιοι θεαταὶ καθήντο τῶν γινομένων, πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντες, ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος εὐρώστως ἀμυνόμενος λόγχῃ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς διελαύνεται τὸν μηρόν, ἐκράτησε δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεώσθη μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.
- 3 εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν νύκτα τῷ πόνῳ προσεταλαιπώρησεν, οὐκ ἂν διήμαρτεν· ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἤδη περὶ δρασμὸν εἶχε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν προεξέπεμψε· νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐξαγγείλαντος πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον, ὕδατος δὲ ἐπιλιπόντος, ἑαυτῷ δὲ χρήσασθαι διὰ τὸ τραῦμα μὴ δυνάμενος, ἀπήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας.

XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην ἀπέγνω τὴν ὁδόν, ἐμβαλὼν φανερώς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν ἐπόρθει· καὶ περὶ τὸν Χάρητα ποταμὸν ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης γενομένης πρὸς Ἀρίστιππον αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ προέμενος τὸ νίκημα. τῆς γὰρ ἄλλης δυνάμεως 104 ὁμολογουμένως ἐπικρατούσης καὶ τῷ διωγμῷ πολὺ προελθούσης εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν, αὐτὸς οὐχ οὕτως ἐκβιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἀπιστῶν τῷ κατορθώματι καὶ φοβηθεὶς, ἀνεχώρησε

2 τεταραγμένος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανελθόντες οἱ λοιποὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὅτι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πολὺ πλείονας ἐκείνων καταβαλόντες ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολέσαντες παραλελοίπασιν τοῖς ἡττη-

place. Then day came and the tyrant attacked him from all sides, while the Argives, as though it were not a battle to secure their liberties, but a contest in the Nemean games of which they were the judges, sat as just and impartial spectators of what was going on, without lifting a finger. Aratus, fighting sturdily, had his thigh transfixd by a spear-thrust, yet held his ground, and could not be dislodged at close quarters until night, though harassed by his enemies. And if through the night also he had maintained the struggle, he would not have failed in his attempt; for the tyrant was already bent on flight and had sent on many of his goods to the sea. As it was, however, no one told Aratus of this, and since water was failing him and he could not use his strength by reason of his wound, he led his soldiers away.

XXVIII. Then, since he despaired of success in this way, he openly invaded the territory of Argos with his army and ravaged it; and in a fierce battle with Aristippus at the river Chares, he was accused of abandoning the struggle and throwing away the victory. For although the rest of his forces admittedly had the upper hand and had gone far on ahead in pursuit, he himself, not so much because he was ousted from his position by his opponents, as out of mistrust of success and in utter fear, withdrew in disorder to his camp. But when the rest of his army came back from the pursuit and were indignant because, though they had routed the enemy and slain far more of them than they had lost of their own number, they had suffered the vanquished to

μένοις στήσαι κατ' αὐτῶν τρόπαιον, αἰσχυνθεῖς
 πάλιν ἔγνω διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ τροπαίου, καὶ
 μίαν ἡμέραν διαλιπὼν αὖθις ἐξέτασσε τὴν στρα-
 3 τιάν. ὥς δὲ ἦσθετο πλείονας γεγονότας καὶ
 θαρραλεώτερον ἀνθισταμένους τοὺς περὶ τὸν τύ-
 ραννον, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε τοὺς νεκροὺς
 ὑποσπόνδους ἀνελόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ περὶ
 τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐμπειρία καὶ χάριτι
 τὴν διαμαρτίαν ταύτην ἀναμαχόμενος προσηγά-
 γετο τὰς Κλεωναὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα
 τῶν Νεμείων ἤγαγεν ἐν Κλεωναῖς, ὥς πάτριον
 4 ὄντα καὶ μᾶλλον προσήκοντα τούτοις. ἤγαγον
 δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ συνεχύθη τότε πρῶτον ἡ
 δεδομένη τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀσυλία καὶ ἀσφάλεια,
 πάντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅσους ἔλαβον ἡγωνισμένους
 ἐν Ἀργεῖ, διὰ τῆς χώρας πορευομένους ὥς πολε-
 μίους ἀποδομένων. οὕτω σφοδρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαρ-
 αίτητος ἐν τῷ μισεῖν τοὺς τυράννους.

XXIX. Ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον ἀκούσας τὸν Ἀρί-
 στιππον ἐπιβουλεύειν μὲν ταῖς Κλεωναῖς, φοβεῖ-
 σθαι δὲ ἐκείνους ἐν Κορίνθῳ καθεζόμενον, ἤθροισεν
 ἐκ παραγγέλματος στρατείαν. καὶ σιτία κε-
 λεύσας πλειόνων ἡμερῶν κομίζειν εἰς Κεγχρεὰς
 κατῆλθεν, ἐκκαλούμενος δι' ἀπάτης τὸν Ἀρίστιπ-
 πον ὥς αὐτοῦ μὴ παρόντος ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς
 Κλεωναίοις· ὃ καὶ συνέβη. παρῆν γὰρ εὐθύς ἐξ
 2 Ἀργεῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀρατος εἰς
 Κόρινθον ἤδη σκοταῖος ἐκ Κεγχρεῶν ὑποστρέψας,

¹ After the events narrated in xxxiv. ff.

erect a trophy over the victors, Aratus was ashamed and determined again to fight out the question of the trophy, and on the next day but one put his army once more in battle array. However, on perceiving that the forces of the tyrant were more numerous than before and more courageous in their resistance, he would not venture a decisive battle, but withdrew after being allowed to take up his dead under a truce. Nevertheless, by his skill in dealing with men and public affairs, and by the favour in which he stood, he retrieved this failure, brought Cleonae into the Achaean League, and celebrated the Nemean games in that city, on the ground that it had an ancient and more fitting claim upon them. But the games were also celebrated at Argos, and then for the first time the privilege of asylum and safe-conduct which had been granted to contestants in the games was violated, since the Achaeans treated as enemies and sold into slavery all contestants in the games at Argos whom they caught travelling through their territory. So fierce and implacable was Aratus in his hatred of tyrants.

XXIX. A little while after this,¹ Aratus heard that Aristippus was plotting against Cleonae, but feared to attack it while his enemy was posted at Corinth; he therefore assembled an army by public proclamation. And after ordering his troops to carry provisions for several days, he marched down to Cenchreae, by this stratagem inviting Aristippus to attack Cleonae in the belief that his enemy was not at hand; and this was actually what happened. For the tyrant set out at once from Argos with his forces. But Aratus, returning from Cenchreae to Corinth as soon as it was dark, and posting guards

- καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλακαῖς διαλαβών, ἤγε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπομένους οὕτω μὲν εὐτάκτως, οὕτω δὲ ταχέως καὶ προθύμως ὥστε μὴ μόνον ὁδεύοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρελθόντας εἰς τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης καὶ συνταξαμένους ἐπὶ μάχην ἀγνοεῖ-
- 3 σθαι καὶ λανθάνειν τὸν Ἀρίστιππον. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν καὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἐγκελευσαμένης, δρόμῳ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ προσπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐθὺς ἐτρέψατο, καὶ κατεῖχε διώκων ἢ μάλιστα φεύγειν ὑπενύει τὸν Ἀρίστιππον, ἐκτροπὰς πολλὰς τῶν χωρίων ἐχόν-
- 4 των. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διώξεως ἄχρι Μυκηνῶν, ὁ μὲν τύραννος ὑπὸ Κρητὸς τινος, ὡς Δεινίας ἱστορεῖ, τοῦνομα Τραγίσκου, καταληφθεὶς ἀποσφάττεται, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ χιλίους πεντακοσίους. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος οὕτω λαμπρῶς εὐτυχήσας καὶ μηδένα τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλὼν, ὅμως οὐκ ἔλαβε τὸ Ἄργος οὐδὲ ἠλευθέρωσε, τῶν περὶ Ἀγίαν καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ἀριστόμαχον μετὰ δυνάμεως βασιλικῆς παρεισπεσόντων καὶ κατασχόντων τὰ πράγματα.
- 5 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πολὺ τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ λόγους καὶ σκώμματα καὶ βωμολοχίας παρείλετο τῶν κολακευόντων τοὺς τυράννους καὶ διεξιόντων, ἐκείνοις χαριζομένων, ὡς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκταράττειτο μὲν ἡ κοιλία παρὰ τὰς μάχας, κάρος δὲ προσπίπτει καὶ ἱλιγγος ἅμα τῷ παραστήναι τὸν σαλπικτήν, ἐκτάξας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παρεγγυήσας, καὶ πυθόμενος τῶν ὑποστρατήγων καὶ λοχαγῶν, μή τις αὐτοῦ χρεία παρόντος (βεβλῆσθαι γὰρ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους), ἀπέρχοιτο καραδοκίῃσιν πόρρωθεν τὸ

along all the roads, led his Achaeans towards Cleonae, and they followed him in such good order and with such swiftness and alacrity that not only while they were on the march, but also when they had got into Cleonae, before the night was over, and had arrayed themselves for battle, Aristippus knew nothing at all of it. Then, at daybreak, the gates were thrown open, the trumpet gave its loud signal, and dashing at a run and with shouts upon the enemy Aratus routed them at once, and kept on pursuing where he most suspected that Aristippus was in flight, the country having many diverging routes. The pursuit continued as far as Mycenae, where the tyrant was overtaken and slain by a certain Cretan named Tragiscus, as Deinias relates; and besides him there fell over fifteen hundred. But although Aratus had won so brilliant a success, and had lost not a single one of his own soldiers, he nevertheless did not take Argos nor set it free, since Agias and the younger Aristomachus burst into the city with troops of the king and took control of affairs.

This success, then, refuted much of the calumny heaped upon Aratus, as well as the scoffing and abusive stories of the flatterers of the tyrants, who would recount, to please their masters, how the general of the Achaeans always had cramps in the bowels when a battle was imminent, and how torpor and dizziness would seize him as soon as the trumpeter stood by to give the signal, and how, after he had drawn up his forces and passed the watchword along, he would ask his lieutenants and captains whether there was any further need of his presence (since the die was already cast), and then go off to await the issue anxiously at a distance. For

6 συμβησόμενον. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως ἴσχυσεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς ζητοῦντας εἰ τὸ πάλ्लεσθαι τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ χρώμα τρέπεσθαι καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἐξυγραίνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα δεινὰ δειλίας ἐστὶν ἢ δυσκρασίας τινὸς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ψυχρότητος, ὀνομάζειν αἰετὸν Ἄρατον ὡς ἀγαθὸν μὲν ὄντα στρατηγόν, αἰετὸν δὲ ταῦτα πάσχοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας.

XXX. Ὡς δ' οὖν τὸν Ἀρίστιππον ἀνείλεν, 1041
εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευσε Λυδιδάδῃ τῷ Μεγαλοπολίτῃ τυραννοῦντι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὦν ἀγεννὴς οὐδὲ ἀφιλότιμος τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν μονάρχων ἀκρασία καὶ πλεονεξία πρὸς ταύτην ῥυεῖς τὴν ἀδικίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπαρθεὶς ἔρωτι δόξης ἔτι νέος καὶ λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ κενοὺς λεγομένους περὶ τυραννίδος, ὡς μακαρίου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ πράγματος, εἰς μέγα φρόνημα παραδεξάμενος ἀνοήτως, καὶ καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν τύραννον ταχὺ μεστὸς ἦν τῆς ἐκ μοναρχίας βαρύ-
2 τητος. ἅμα δὲ ζηλῶν εὐήμεροῦντα καὶ δεδοικῶς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τὸν Ἄρατον ὥρμησε καλλίστην ὁρμὴν μεταβαλόμενος, πρῶτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσαι μίσους καὶ φόβου καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ δορυφόρων, εἶτα τῆς πατρίδος εὐεργέτης γενέσθαι καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Ἄρατον ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μετεκόμισεν. ἐφ' οἷς μεγαλύνοντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο.

3 Φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ εὐθὺς ὑπερβαλεῖν δόξῃ τὸν Ἄρατον ἄλλας τε πολλὰς πράξεις οὐκ ἀναγκαίας εἶναι δοκούσας καὶ στρατείαν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρήγγελλεν. ἐνιστάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄρατος αὐτῷ

these stories were so prevalent that even in the schools of philosophy, when the query arises whether palpitation of the heart and change of colour and looseness of the bowels, in the presence of seeming peril, are the mark of cowardice, or of some faulty temperament and chilliness in the body, Aratus is always mentioned by name as one who was a good general, but always had these symptoms when a contest was impending.

XXX. Having thus made away with Aristippus, Aratus at once began to plot against Lydiades, who was tyrant in his native city of Megalopolis. This Lydiades was neither of mean birth nor naturally lacking in high ambition, nor, like most sole rulers, had he been driven by licence and rapacity into this iniquity, but he had been fired with a love of glory while still young, and had thoughtlessly associated with his high spirit the false and empty doctrines current concerning tyranny, to the effect that it was a wonderful and blessed thing. And now that he had made himself tyrant, he was quickly sated with the burdens which devolve upon the sole ruler. Therefore, at once envying the successes of Aratus and fearing his plots, he adopted a new and most admirable plan, first, to free himself from hatred and fear and guards and spearmen, and second, to become a benefactor of his native city. So he sent for Aratus, resigned his power, and made his city a member of the Achaean League. Wherefore the Achaeans exalted him and chose him general.

Lydiades was at once ambitious to surpass Aratus in reputation, and not only did many other things which were thought unnecessary, but also proclaimed an expedition against the Lacedaemonians. Aratus

φθονεῖν ἐδόκει· καὶ τό γε δεύτερον ὁ Λυδιάδης
στρατιγὸς ἤρέθη, ἀντιπράττοντος ἀντικρυς Ἀρά-
του καὶ σπουδάζοντος ἐτέρῳ παραδοθῆναι τὴν
ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς μὲν γάρ, ὡς εἴρηται, παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν
4 ἦρχε. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τρίτης στρατηγίας ὁ Λυ-
διάδης εὖ φερόμενος διετέλει καὶ παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν
ἦρχεν ἐναλλάξ τῷ Ἀράτῳ στρατηγῶν· φανεράν
δὲ ἐξενεγκάμενος ἔχθραν καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ
κατηγορήσας ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀπερρίφη καὶ
παρώφθη, πεπλασμένῳ δοκῶν ἦθει πρὸς ἀλη-
5 θινὴν καὶ ἀκέραιον ἀρετὴν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι. καὶ
καθάπερ τῷ κόκκυγι φησιν Αἰσωπος, ἐρωτῶντι
τοὺς λεπτοὺς ὄρνιθας ὅ τι φεύγοιεν αὐτόν, εἰπεῖν
ἐκείνους ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ ἰέραξ, οὕτως ἔοικε τῷ
Λυδιάδῃ παρακολουθεῖν ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπο-
ψία βλάπτουσα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς μεταβολῆς.

XXXI. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρατος εὐδοκίμησε καὶ περὶ
τὰς Αἰτωλικὰς πράξεις, ὅτε συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς
πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ὠρμημένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,
καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀγιδος
ἀφικομένου μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ συνεξορμῶντος
ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐναντιωθεὶς καὶ
πολλὰ μὲν ὀνειδῆ, πολλὰ δ' εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ
ἀτολμίαν καὶ σκώμματα καὶ χλευασμὸν ὑπομεί-
νας οὐ προήκατο τὸν τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμὸν
διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ παρεχώρησε
τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερβαλοῦσι τὴν Γεράνειαν ἀμα-
2 χεὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. ὥς μέντοι παρ-
ελθόντες ἐξαίφνης Πελλήνην κατέλαβον, οὐκέτ' ἦν
ὁ αὐτός, οὐδ' ἔμελλε διατρίβων καὶ περιμέγειν

¹ Chap. xxiv. 4.

² About 241 B.C. Cf. the *Agis*, xiv. f.

opposed him, but was thought to do so out of jealousy; and Lydiades was chosen general for the second time, though Aratus openly worked against him and was eager to have the office given to someone else. For Aratus himself, as I have said,¹ held the office every other year. Accordingly, until he was general for the third time, Lydiades continued to be held in favour, and held the office every other year in alternation with Aratus; but after displaying an open enmity to him and frequently denouncing him before the Achaeans, he was cast aside and ignored, since it was apparent that he was contending, with a fictitious character, against a genuine and unadulterated virtue. And just as the cuckoo, in the fable of Aesop, when he asks the little birds why they fly away from him, is told by them that he will one day be a hawk, so it would seem that since Lydiades had once been a tyrant he was never free from a suspicion, which did injustice to his real nature, that he would change again.

XXXI. In the Aetolian war also Aratus won a good repute. For when the Achaeans were bent on an engagement with the Aetolians in front of Megara,² and Agis the king of the Lacedaemonians was come up with an army and joined in urging the Achaeans on to battle, Aratus opposed this counsel, and in spite of much vilification and much scoffing abuse for weakness and cowardice would not abandon, because of any seeming disgrace, which he judged to be for the general advantage, but allowed the enemy to cross the Geraneian range without a battle and pass on into Peloponnesus. When, however, after thus passing on, they suddenly seized Pellene, he was no longer the same man, nor would he wait at

ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ συνελθεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ πανταχόθεν
 τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὥρμησε μετὰ τῶν παρόν-
 των ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἀσθενε-
 3 στάτους δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ ὕβριν ὄντας. ἅμα γὰρ
 τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται
 διασπαρέντες ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν, ἐξωθοῦντες
 ἀλλήλους καὶ διαμαχόμενοι περὶ τῶν χρημάτων,
 ἡγεμόνες δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς
 θυγατέρας τῶν Πελληνέων περιῶντες ἥρπαζον,
 καὶ τὰ κράνη τὰ αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦντες ἐκείναις
 περιετίθεσαν τοῦ μηδένα λαβεῖν ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ τῷ
 κράνει δῆλον εἶναι τὸν δεσπότην ἐκάστης. οὕτω
 δὲ διακειμένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα πράττουσιν
 ἐξαίφνης ὁ Ἄρατος ἐπιπεσὼν προσηγγέλθη. καὶ
 γενομένης ἐκπλήξεως, οἷαν εἰκὸς ἐν ἀταξίᾳ τοι-
 αύτῃ, πρὶν ἢ πάντας πυθέσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ πρῶ-
 τοι περὶ τὰς πύλας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τὰ προάστεια
 συμπεσόντες ἔφευγον ἤδη νενικημένοι, καὶ κατε- 104
 πίμπλασαν ἐλαυνόμενοι προτροπάδην ἀπορίας
 τοὺς συνισταμένους καὶ προσβοηθούντας.

XXXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ταραχῷ μία τῶν
 αἰχμαλώτων, Ἐπιγῆθους ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου θυγάτηρ,
 αὐτὴ δὲ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει σώματος εὐπρεπής,
 ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζομένη τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος,
 οὗ κατέστησεν αὐτὴν ὁ ἐπιλεκτάρχης ἐλὼν ἑαυτῷ
 καὶ περιθεὶς τὴν τριλοφίαν, ἄφνω δὲ ἐκδραμοῦσα
 2 πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον, ὥς ἔστη πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ
 ἱεροῦ καὶ κατέβλεψεν εἰς τοὺς μαχομένους ἄνωθεν
 ἔχουσα τὴν τριλοφίαν, αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς πολίταις

all in order that his forces might assemble and come together from all quarters, but at once set out with those he had against the enemy, whom the disorder and wantonness attendant upon their success had wholly weakened. For as soon as they had entered the city, the common soldiers had scattered themselves among the houses, jostling and fighting with one another over the booty, while the leaders and captains were going about and seizing the wives and daughters of the Pellenians, on whose heads they put their own helmets, that no one else might seize them, but that the helmet might show to whom each woman belonged. But while they were in this situation and thus engaged, word was suddenly brought them that Aratus had attacked. Dismay fell upon them, as was natural amid such disorder, and before all had learned of the danger the foremost of them, engaging with the Achaeans at the gates and in the suburbs, were already conquered and in full flight, and being driven in headlong rout, they filled with dismay those who were collecting together and coming to their aid.

XXXII. In the midst of this confusion, one of the captive women, daughter of Epigethes, a man of distinction, and herself conspicuous for beauty and stateliness of person, chanced to be sitting in the sanctuary of Artemis, where she had been placed by the captain of a picked corps, who had seized her for his prize and set his three-crested helmet upon her head. But suddenly she ran forth to view the tumult, and as she stood in front of the gate of the sanctuary and looked down upon the combatants from on high, with the three-crested helmet on her head, she seemed to the citizens themselves a vision

θέαμα σεμνότερον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἐφάνη, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις φάσμα θεῖον ὁρᾶν δοκοῦσι φρίκην ἐνέβαλε καὶ θάμβος, ὥστε μηδένα τρέπεσθαι πρὸς ἀλκὴν.

Αὐτοὶ δὲ Πελληνεῖς λέγουσι τὸ βρέτας τῆς θεοῦ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἀποκεῖσθαι χρόνον ἄψαυστον, ὅταν δὲ κινήθην ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας ἐκφέρηται, μηδένα προσβλέπειν ἐναντίον, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπεσθαι πάντας· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ὄραμα φρικτὸν εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δένδρα ποιεῖν ἄφορα καὶ καρπὸν ἀπαμβλίσκειν, δι' ὧν ἂν κομίζηται.

3 τοῦτο δὴ τότε τὴν ἱερείαν ἐξενεγκαμένην καὶ τρέπουσαν αἰὲ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀντιπρόσωπον ἐκφρονας καταστήσαι καὶ παρελῆσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἶρηκε τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ φησι τρεψάμενος τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ φεύγουσι συνεισπεσὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξελάσαι κατὰ κράτος, ἐπτακοσίους δὲ ἀποκτείνει. τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διεβοήθη, καὶ Τιμάνθης ὁ ζωγράφος ἐποίησεν ἐμφαντικῶς τῇ διαθέσει τὴν μάχην ἔχουσαν.

XXXIII. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς συνισταμένων εὐθύς ὁ Ἄρατος ἔπραττε φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς, καὶ Πανταλέοντι τῷ πλεῖστον Αἰτωλῶν δυναμένῳ συνεργῶ χρησάμενος οὐ μόνον εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐποίησε.

2 Τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους σπουδάζων ἐλευθερῶσαι διεβλήθη καὶ κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι σπονδὰς πεποιημένων αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ ἀνοχὰς ἀγόντων ἐπεχείρησε τὸν Πειραιᾶ

of more than human majesty, while the enemy thought they saw an apparition from heaven and were struck with amazement and terror, so that not a man of them thought of defending himself.

But the Pellenians themselves tell us that the image of the goddess usually stands untouched, and that when it is removed by the priestess and carried forth from the temple, no man looks upon it, but all turn their gaze away ; for not only to mankind is it a grievous and terrible sight, but trees also, past which it may be carried, become barren and cast their fruit. This image, then, they say, the priestess carried forth from the temple at this time, and by ever turning it in the faces of the Aetolians robbed them of their senses and took away their reason. Aratus, however, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of such a thing, but says that after routing the Aetolians and bursting into the city with them as they fled, he drove them out by main force, and slew seven hundred of them. The action was extolled as among the greatest exploits, and Timanthes the painter made a picture of the battle which in its composition vividly portrayed the event.

XXXIII. Notwithstanding, since many peoples and dynasts were combining against the Achaeans, Aratus at once sought to make friends of the Aetolians, and with the assistance of Pantaleon, their most influential man, not only made peace, but also an alliance between them and the Achaeans.

But in his eagerness to set Athens free he incurred the bitter reproaches of the Achaeans, because, though they had made a truce and suspended hostilities with the Macedonians, he attempted to seize

καταλαβείν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρνούμενος ἐν τοῖς ὑπο-
 μνήμασιν οἷς ἀπολέλοιπεν Ἐργίνον αἰτιάται, μεθ'
 3 οὐ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἔπραξεν. ἐκείνον
 γὰρ ἰδίᾳ τῷ Πειραιεῖ προσβαλόντα καὶ τῆς κλί-
 μακος συντριβείσης διωκόμενον ὀνομάζειν καὶ
 καλεῖν συνεχῶς Ἄρατον ὥσπερ παρόντα, καὶ δια-
 φυγεῖν οὕτως ἐξαπατήσαντα τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ
 μὴν δοκεῖ πιθανῶς ἀπολογεῖσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Εργί-
 νον, ἄνθρωπον ἰδιώτην καὶ Σύρον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἦν
 εἰκότος ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὴν τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν,
 εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἄρατον εἶχεν ἡγεμόνα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου
 τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸν καιρὸν εἰλήφει πρὸς τὴν ἐπί-
 4 θεσιν. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄρατος οὐ δις
 οὐδὲ τρίς, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες,
 ἐπιχειρήσας τῷ Πειραιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαμαρτίας
 οὐκ ἀποκαμών, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν αἰεὶ καὶ
 σύνεγγυς ἀποσφάλλεσθαι τῶν ἐλπίδων πρὸς τὸ
 θαρρεῖν ἀνακαλούμενος. ἅπαξ δὲ καὶ τὸ σκέλος
 ἔσπασε διὰ τοῦ Θριασίου φεύγων· καὶ τομὰς
 ἔλαβε πολλὰς θεραπευόμενος, καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον
 ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος ἐποιεῖτο τὰς στρατείας.

XXXIV. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ Δη-
 μητρίου τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος ἔτι μᾶλλον
 ἐνέκειτο ταῖς Ἀθήναις καὶ ὅλως κατεφρόνει τῶν
 Μακεδόνων. διὸ καὶ κρατηθέντος αὐτοῦ μάχη
 περὶ Φυλακίαν ὑπὸ Βίθνος τοῦ Δημητρίου στρα-
 τηγοῦ, καὶ λόγου γενομένου πολλοῦ μὲν, ὡς
 ἐάλωκε, πολλοῦ δὲ ὡς τέθνηκεν, ὁ μὲν τὸν Πει- 1043
 2 ραιᾶ φρουρῶν Διογένης ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς

¹ Antigonus Gonatas died in 239 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Demetrius II., who reigned ten years.

the Peiraeus. He himself, however, in the Commentaries which he left, lays the blame for this attempt upon Erginus, with whose aid he had effected the capture of Acrocorinthus. He says that Erginus attacked the Peiraeus on his own private account, and that when his scaling-ladder broke and the enemy were pursuing him, he kept calling upon Aratus by name, as if Aratus were there, and thus deceived and made his escape from them. But this defence does not seem to be convincing. For Erginus was a private man and a Syrian, and there is no likelihood that he would have conceived of so great an undertaking if he had not been under the guidance of Aratus and obtained from him the force and the fitting time for the attack. And Aratus himself also made this plain, since he assaulted the Peiraeus, not twice or thrice, but many times, like a desperate lover, and would not desist in spite of his failures, but was roused to fresh courage by the very narrowness of the slight margin by which he was disappointed of his hopes. And once he actually put his leg out of joint as he fled through the Thriasian plain; and while he was under treatment for this, the knife was often used upon him, and for a long time he was carried in a litter upon his campaigns.

XXXIV. When Antigonus died and Demetrius succeeded to the throne,¹ Aratus was all the more bent upon getting Athens, and wholly despised the Macedonians. And so, after he had been overcome in a battle at Phylacia by Bithys the general of Demetrius, and reports were rife, one that he had been captured, and another that he was dead, Diogenes, the guardian of the Peiraeus, sent a letter to

Κόρινθον ἐξίστασθαι τῆς πόλεως κελεύων τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐπειδὴ Ἄρατος ἀπέθανεν· ἔτυχε δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων κομισθέντων παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ διατριβὴν οἱ τοῦ Διογένους καὶ γέλωτα πολὺν παρασχύντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναῦν ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ἧς κομισθήσεται
 3 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄρατος δεδεμένος. πᾶσαν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κουφότητα κολακείας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας ὑπερβάλλοντες ἐστεφανηφόρησαν ὅτε πρῶτον ἠγγέλθη τεθνηκώς. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν εὐθὺς ἐκστρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῆς Ἀκαδημείας προῆλθεν· εἴτα πεισθεὶς οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι συμφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐπεὶ Δημητρίου τελευτήσαντος ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ
 4 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἐκεῖνον ἐκάλουν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἐτέρου μὲν ἄρχοντος τότε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρρωστίᾳ μακρᾷ κλινήρης ὑπάρχων, ὅμως ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος ὑπὶντησε τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς Διογένη συνέπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τὸ Σούνιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὼν ταλάντοις, ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ
 5 Ἄρατος εἴκοσι τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. προσεχώρησαν δ' εὐθὺς Αἰγινίται καὶ Ἑρμιονεῖς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ἥ τε πλείστη τῆς Ἀρκαδίας αὐτοῖς συνετέλει. καὶ Μακεδόνων μὲν ἀσχόλων ὄντων διὰ τινὰς προσοίκους καὶ ὁμόρους πολέμους, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ συμμαχούντων, ἐπίδοσιν μεγάλην ἢ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐλάμβανε δύναμις.

Corinth ordering the Achaeans to quit the city, since Aratus had been killed ; but when the letter arrived at Corinth, Aratus chanced to be there in person, and so the messengers of Diogenes, after furnishing much diversion and laughter, went away. Moreover, the king himself sent a ship from Macedonia, on which Aratus was to be brought to him in chains. And the Athenians, carrying their flattery of the Macedonians to the highest pitch of levity, crowned themselves with garlands as soon as they heard that Aratus was dead. Therefore he was wroth, and at once made an expedition against them, and advanced as far as the Academy ; then he listened to their entreaties and did them no harm.

So the Athenians came to recognize the excellence of his character, and when, upon the death of Demetrius,¹ they set out to regain their freedom, they called upon him. Then Aratus, although another was at that time general of the Achaeans, and he himself was confined to his bed by a long sickness, nevertheless was carried in a litter to help the city in its time of need, and joined in persuading Diogenes, the commander of the garrison, to give up the Peiraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians for a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which Aratus contributed himself. Moreover, Aegina and Hermione at once came over to the Achaeans, and the greater part of Arcadia joined their league. And since the Macedonians were busy with certain neighbouring and adjacent wars, and the Aetolians were in alliance with the Achaeans, the power of the Achaean League was greatly increased.

¹ In 229 B.C. He was succeeded by Antigonus Doson, who reigned nine years.

- XXXV. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ἐξεργαζόμενος τὴν παλαιὰν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ δυσανασχετῶν τὴν ἐν Ἀργεῖ τυραννίδα γειτνιῶσαν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειθε πέμπων τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ζηλώσαντα Λυδιάδην ἔθνους τηλικούτου μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ τιμῆς στρατηγὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ μιᾶς πόλεως κινδυνεύοντα
- 2 καὶ μισούμενον τύραννον. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πέμψαι τὸν Ἄρατον, ὅπως ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ διαλύσῃται τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ στρατευομένους, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ποριζομένων, ὁ Λυδιάδης ἔτι στρατηγῶν καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ἴδιον αὐτοῦ πολίτευμα τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι, τοῦ μὲν Ἀράτου κατηγόρει πρὸς Ἀριστόμαχον ὡς δυσμενῶς καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτως αἰεὶ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἔχοντος, αὐτῷ δὲ πείσας τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιτρέψαι προσήγαγε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
- 3 ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα φανεράν ἐποίησαν οἱ σύεδροι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον εὐνοίαν καὶ πίστιν. ἀντειπόντος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ δι' ὀργὴν ἀπήλασαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον· ἐπεὶ δὲ συμπεισθεὶς πάλιν αὐτὸς ἤρξατο περὶ αὐτῶν διαλέγεσθαι παρών, πάντα ταχέως καὶ προθύμως ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ προσεδέξαντο μὲν τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ Φλιασίους εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον εἴλοντο στρατηγόν.
- 4 Ὁ δὲ εὐήμερῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐκάλει τὸν Ἄρατον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. ὁ δὲ ἔγραφε μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν στρατείαν ἀπαγορεύων καὶ ¹ τῷ Κλεομένει θράσος

¹ καὶ bracketed by Sint.²

XXXV. And now Aratus, seeking to effect his long-standing purpose, and impatient of the tyranny so near the Achaeans in Argos, sent messengers and tried to persuade Aristomachus to give his city freedom and attach it to the Achaean League, urging him to imitate Lydiades and be general of so great a nation with praise and honour, rather than tyrant of a single city with peril and hatred. Aristomachus consented, and told Aratus to send him fifty talents, in order that he might disband and send away the soldiers under him, and the money was being provided. Upon this, Lydiades, who was still general and had an ambition that the Achaeans should regard this transaction as his own work, denounced Aratus to Aristomachus as a man who had always been an implacable enemy of tyrants, and after persuading Aristomachus to entrust the matter to himself, brought him before the Achaean council. Then the members of the council put into clearest light their goodwill towards Aratus and their confidence in him. For when he angrily opposed the project, they drove Aristomachus away; but when he had been won over again, and came before them in person, and began to argue for the project, they speedily and readily adopted all his proposals, admitted Argos and Phlius into the league, and a year later¹ actually choose Aristomachus general.

Aristomachus, then, being in high favour with the Achaeans, and wishing to invade Laconia, summoned Aratus from Athens. Aratus wrote him a letter in which he tried to dissuade him from the expedition, and expressed unwillingness to involve the Achaeans in hostilities with Cleomenes, who was daring and

¹ In 227 B.C.

ἔχοντι καὶ παραβόλως αὐξανομένῳ συμπλέεσθαι
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ βουλόμενος, ὥρμημένου δὲ πάν-
 5 τως ὑπήκουσε καὶ παρὼν συνεστράτευεν. ὅτε δὴ
 καὶ κωλύσας περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον τοῦ Κλεο-
 μένους ἐπιφανέντος αὐτοῖς μάχην συνάψαι τὸν
 Ἀριστόμαχον ὑπὸ Λυδιάδου κατηγορήθη, καὶ
 περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας εἰς ἀγῶνα καὶ ἀντιπαραγ-
 γελίαν αὐτῷ καταστάς ἐκράτησε τῇ χειροτονίᾳ
 καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον ἤρέθη στρατηγός.

XXXVI. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ περὶ τὸ
 Λύκαιον ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἔφυγε· καὶ 1044
 πλανηθεὶς νυκτὸς ἔδοξε μὲν τεθνάναι καὶ πάλιν
 οὗτος ὁ λόγος κατ' αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἐξεφοίτησεν εἰς
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἀνασωθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώ-
 τας συναγαγὼν οὐκ ἡγάπησεν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν,
 2 ἀλλ' ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος οὐδενὸς προσ-
 δοκῶντος οὐδὲ συλλογιζομένου τὸ μέλλον ἐξαίφ-
 νης ἐπέπεσε Μαντινεῦσι συμμάχοις οὔσι τοῦ
 Κλεομένους· καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν φρουρὰν ἐνέβαλε
 καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους πολίτας ἐποίησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ
 μόνος ἂ νικῶντες οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως ἔσχον ἐκτήσατο
 νενικημένοις τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.

3 Αὐθις δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Μεγάλην
 πόλιν στρατευσάντων βοηθήσας ὥκνει μὲν ἀψι-
 μαχοῦντι τῷ Κλεομένει λαβὴν παρασχεῖν καὶ
 τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις βιαζομένοις ἀντεῖχεν, οὔτε
 ἄλλως πρὸς τὰς κατὰ στόμα μάχας εὖ πεφυκῶς
 καὶ τότε λειπόμενός τε πλήθει καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα
 τολμητὴν καὶ νέον ἤδη παρακμᾶζοντι τῷ θυμῷ
 καὶ κεκολασμένη τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ συνεστηκίως, καὶ

¹ See the *Cleomenes*, iv. 3-4.

² 226 B.C. Cf. the *Cleomenes*, v. ³ Cf. the *Cleomenes*, vi.

growing marvellously in power; but, since Aristomachus was altogether insistent, Aratus obeyed orders and accompanied the expedition in person. It was at this time that he prevented Aristomachus from joining battle when Cleomenes came upon them at Pallantium,¹ and was denounced therefore by Lydiades, with whom he came into contest and competition for the office of general, winning the vote and being chosen general for the twelfth time.

XXXVI. In the campaign of this year² he was defeated by Cleomenes near Mount Lycaeus, and took to flight; and, since he lost his way in the night, he was thought to be dead, and once more a story to this effect had wide currency among the Greeks. But he escaped alive and rallied his soldiers, and then was not content to come off safely, but making the best use of his opportunity, when no one expected or had any idea of what was to happen, he suddenly made an assault upon Mantinea, which was in alliance with Cleomenes; and having taken the city, he set a garrison there, and made its alien residents full citizens, thus acquiring single-handed for the conquered Achaeans what they could not easily have obtained as conquerors.

And again, when the Lacedaemonians made an expedition against Megalopolis,³ he went to the aid of the city, but was loth to give Cleomenes a chance for the hand-to-hand fighting which he desired, and resisted the importunities of the Megalopolitans. For he was never at any time well fitted by nature for set battles, and at this time in particular he was inferior in numbers, and was matched against a man who was young and daring, while his own courage was past its prime, and his ambition chastened. He

νομίζων ἦν διὰ τοῦ τολμᾶν ἐκεῖνος ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων ἐκτᾶτο δόξαν αὐτῷ κεκτημένῳ φυλακτέον εἶναι διὰ τῆς εὐλαβείας.

XXXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ψιλῶν ἐκδραμόντων καὶ ὠσαμένων τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ περὶ τὰς σκηναὺς διασπαρέντων, ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος οὐδ' ὥς ἐπήγαγεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν χαράδραν ἐπέστησε καὶ κατεκώλυσε διαβῆναι τοὺς ὀπλίτας· ὁ δὲ Λυδιάδης περιπαθὼν πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τὸν Ἄρατον κακίζων ἀνεκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὡς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς διώκουσι καὶ μὴ προέσθαι τὸ νίκημα μηδὲ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμενον. πολλῶν δὲ συστραφέντων καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρωσθεὶς ἐνέβαλε τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τρεψάμενος ἐδίωκεν, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀταμιεύτως ἐπισπασθεὶς εἰς χωρία σκολιὰ καὶ μεστὰ δένδρων πεφυτευμένων καὶ τάφρων πλατειῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ Κλεομένου ἐπέσε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν ἀγωνων ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς πατρίδος. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ συνταράξαντες τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὅλον τὸ στράτευμα τῆς ἡττης ἐνέπλησαν. αἰτίαν δὲ μεγάλην ὁ Ἄρατος ἔλαβε δόξας προέσθαι τὸν Λυδιάδην· καὶ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀπερχομένων πρὸς ὀργὴν ἠκολούθησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς Αἴγιον. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο μὴ δίδόναι χρήματα αὐτῷ μηδὲ μισθοφόρους τρέφειν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ πορίζειν, εἰ δέοιτο πολεμεῖν.

also thought that the glory which his adversary was trying to acquire by his daring and did not possess, had already been acquired by himself and must be preserved by his caution.

XXXVII. Nevertheless, his light infantry once made a sally, drove the Spartans as far as to their camp, and were scattered about among the tents. Aratus, however, would not even then lead up his men, but putting a ravine between himself and the enemy, halted there, and would not suffer his men-at-arms to cross it. Then Lydiades, distressed at what was going on, and loading Aratus with reproaches, called his horsemen to him and exhorted them to go to the help of the pursuers, and not to let the victory slip out of their hands nor leave in the lurch a commander who was fighting in behalf of his native city. Many brave men gathering at his call, he was emboldened to charge upon the right wing of the enemy, which he routed and pursued. But his ardour and ambition robbed him of discretion, and he was drawn on into places that were intricate and full of planted trees and broad trenches. Here Cleomenes attacked him and he fell, after a brilliant and most honourable combat at the gates of his native city. The rest of his men fled to their main line, threw the men-at-arms into confusion, and thus infected the whole army with their defeat. Aratus was severely blamed for this, being thought to have betrayed Lydiades; and when the Achaeans left the field in anger, they forced him to accompany them to Aegium. Here they held an assembly, and voted not to give him money and not to maintain mercenaries for him; if he wanted to wage war, he must provide the means himself.

XXXVIII. Οὕτω δὲ προπηλακισθεὶς ἐβουλεύ-
 σατο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τὴν
 στρατηγίαν ἀφεῖναι, λογισμῷ δὲ χρησάμενος τότε
 μὲν ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πρὸς Ὀρχομένον ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς μάχην ἔθετο πρὸς Μεγιστόνουν τὸν
 Κλεομένους πατρῶον, ἐν ᾗ κρατήσας τριακοσίου
 μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, ζῶντα δὲ τὸν Μεγιστόνουν συν-
 2 ἔλαβεν. εἰωθὼς δὲ στρατηγεῖν παρ' ἐνιαυτόν,
 ὥς ἡ τάξις αὐτῷ περιῆλθε, καλούμενος ἐξωμό-
 σατο, καὶ Τιμόξενος ἡρέθη στρατηγός. ἐδόκει δὲ
 ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους ὀργὴ πρόφασις εἶναι
 λεγομένη τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἀπίθανος, αἰτία δ' ἀλη-
 θῆς τὰ περιεστῶτα τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, οὐκέθ' ὥς πρό-
 3 τερον ἀτρέμα καὶ σχέδην τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐπιβαί-
 νοντος οὐδ' ἐμπλεκομένου ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς,
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὴν χώραν
 ἀναδασάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν μετοίκων ἐμβα-
 λὼν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσχεν ἰσχὺν ἀνυπεύθυνον,
 εὐθὺς ἐπικειμένον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 ἑαυτὸν ἀξιούντος. διὸ καὶ μέμφονται τὸν Ἄρα-
 4 τον ἐν σάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ χειμῶνι τῶν πραγμάτων
 φερομένων ὥσπερ κυβερνήτην ἀφέντα καὶ προέ- 1045
 μενον ἐτέρῳ τοὺς οἴακας, ὅτε καλῶς εἶχε καὶ ἀκόν-
 των ἐπιστάντα σώζειν τὸ κοινόν· εἰ δ' ἀπεγνώκει
 τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἴξαι
 τῷ Κλεομένει, καὶ μὴ πάλιν τὴν Πελοπόννησον
 ἐκβαρβαρῶσαι φρουραῖς Μακεδόνων, μηδὲ πληρῶ-
 σαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον Ἰλλυρικῶν ὅπλων καὶ
 Γαλατικῶν, μηδὲ οὖς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι κατα-

¹ Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xv. 1.

² For the year 224 B C.

³ Cf. the *Cleomenes*, viii., xi.

XXXVIII. Smarting under this insult, he resolved to give up his seal at once, and resign the office of general, but upon reflection he held on for the present, and after leading the Achaeans forth to Orchomenus, fought a battle there with Megistonoüs, the stepfather of Cleomenes, in which he got the upper hand, killing three hundred of the enemy and taking Megistonoüs prisoner. But when, accustomed as he was to be general every other year, his turn came round again and he was invited to take the office, he formally declined,¹ and Timoxenus was chosen general.² Now the grounds usually given for this refusal of Aratus, namely, his anger at the people, were not thought to be convincing, and the real reason for it was the situation of the Achaeans. For the invasions of Cleomenes were no longer quiet and restrained, as formerly, nor was he fettered by the civil authorities, but after he had killed the ephors, divided up the land, advanced many resident aliens to the citizenship, and thus got an irresponsible power,³ he immediately pressed the Achaeans hard, and demanded the supreme leadership for himself. And therefore men blame Aratus, because, when the ship of state was driving in a great surge and storm, he forsook the pilot's helm and left it to another, although it had been well, even if the people were unwilling, to remain at their head and save them; and if he despaired of the government and power of the Achaeans, he ought to have yielded to Cleomenes, and not to have made Peloponnesus quite barbarous again under Macedonian garrisons, nor to have filled Acrocorinthus with Illyrian and Gallic arms, nor, in the case of

- στρατηγῶν καὶ καταπολιτευόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
 ὑπομνήμασι λοιδोरῶν διετέλει, τούτους ἐπάγεσθαι
 δεσπότας ταῖς πόλεσι συμμάχους ὑποκοριζόμενον.
- 5 εἰ δὲ Κλεομένης ἦν, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως, παράνο-
 μος καὶ τυραννικός, ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεῖδαι πατέρες
 αὐτῷ καὶ Σπάρτῃ πατρίς, ἧς τὸν ἀφανέστατον
 ἄξιον ἀντὶ τοῦ πρώτου Μακεδόνων ἡγεμόνα ποιεί-
 σθαι τοὺς ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν τιθεμένους
 εὐγένειαν. καίτοι Κλεομένης ἦτει τὴν ἀρχὴν
 παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὥς πολλὰ ποιήσων ἀγαθὰ τὰς
 πόλεις ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκείνης,
- 6 Ἀντίγονος δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
 αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἀναγορευθεὶς οὐχ ὑπήκουσε
 πρὶν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁμολογηθῆ-
 ναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, ἀτεχνῶς τὸν Αἰσώπου μι-
 μησάμενος κυνηγόν. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἐπέβη τοῖς
 Ἀχαιοῖς δεομένοις καὶ ὑποβάλλουσιν αὐτοὺς διὰ
 τῶν πρεσβειῶν καὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἢ τῇ φρουρᾷ
 καὶ τοῖς ὁμήροις ὥσπερ χαλινουμένους ἀνασχέ-
 7 σθαι. καίτοι πᾶσαν ὁ Ἄρατος ἀφήσει φωνὴν ἀπο-
 λογιζόμενος τὴν ἀνάγκην. ὁ Πολύβιος δὲ αὐτὸν
 ἐκ πολλοῦ φησι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑφορώμε-
 νον τὸ θράσος τοῦ Κλεομένου κρύφα τῷ
 Ἀντιγόνῳ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας
 προκαθεῖναι δεομένους Ἀχαιῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν
 Ἀντίγονον. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπιέζοντο τῷ πολέμῳ
 μάλιστα, συνεχῶς ἄγοντος αὐτοὺς καὶ φέροντος
 8 τοῦ Κλεομένου. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Φύλαρχος ἰστό-

¹ *Histories*, ii. 47, 4 ff.

men whom he was always defeating in the fields of war and statesmanship and abusing in the pages of his Commentaries, to have made these men lords over the cities under the endearing name of allies. And if Cleomenes was, as must be granted, lawless and arbitrary, still, Heracleidae were his ancestors, and Sparta was his native land, the meanest citizen of which was more worthy than the foremost Macedonian to be made their leader by those who had any regard for Greek nobility of birth. And yet Cleomenes asked the Achaeans for the office, with the promise that he would confer many benefits upon their cities in return for that honour and its title, whereas Antigonus, although he was proclaimed leader with full powers by land and sea, would not accept the office until Acrocorinthus had been promised him as the pay for his leadership. In this he acted just like Aesop's hunter. For he would not mount the Achaeans, although they prayed him to do so and presented their backs to him by way of embassies and decrees, until they consented to wear the bit and bridle of the garrison they received and the hostages they gave. And yet Aratus says everything that he can say in explaining the necessity that was upon him. Polybius, however, says¹ that for a long time, and before the necessity arose, Aratus mistrusted the daring temper of Cleomenes and made secret overtures to Antigonus, besides putting the Megalopolitans forward to beg the Achaeans to call in Antigonus. For the Megalopolitans were most oppressed by the war, since Cleomenes was continually plundering their territory. A similar account of these matters is given by Phylarchus also, in whom, but for the testimony of

ρηκε περὶ τούτων, ὧ μὴ τοῦ Πολυβίου μαρτυροῦν-
τος οὐ πάνυ τι πιστεύειν ἄξιον ἦν. ἐνθουσιᾷ γὰρ
ὅταν ἄψηται τοῦ Κλεομένους, ὑπ' εὐνοίας, καὶ
καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῷ μὲν ἀντιδικῶν
διατελεῖ, τῷ δὲ συναγορεύων.

XXXIX. Ἀπέβαλον δ' οὖν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν
Μαντίνειαν, πάλιν ἐλόντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Κλεομέ-
νους, καὶ μάχῃ μεγάλῃ περὶ τὸ Ἑκατόμβαιον
ἡττηθέντες οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν ὥστε πέμπειν
εὐθύς ἐφ' ἡγεμονία τὸν Κλεομένη καλοῦντες εἰς
2 Ἄργος. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ὡς ἦσθετο βαδίζοντα καὶ
περὶ Λέρναν ὄντα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, φοβηθεὶς
ἀπέστελλε πρέσβεις τοὺς ἀξιούντας ὡς παρὰ
φίλους καὶ συμμάχους αὐτὸν ἤκειν μετὰ τρι-
ακοσίων, εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ, λαβεῖν ὁμήρους. ταῦτα
ὕβριν εἶναι καὶ χλευασμὸν αὐτοῦ φήσας ὁ
Κλεομένης ἀνέξεν, ἐπιστολὴν γράψας τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀράτου
3 καὶ διαβολὰς ἔχουσιν. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ κεῖνος ἐπι-
στολὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους· καὶ ἐφέροντο
λοιδορίαι καὶ βλασφημίαι μέχρι γάμων καὶ
γυναικῶν ἀλλήλους κακῶς λεγόντων.

Ἐκ τούτου κήρυκα πέμψας ὁ Κλεομένης
πόλεμον προερούντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, μικροῦ μὲν
ἔλαθε τὴν Σικυωνίων πόλιν ἀρπάσας διὰ προδο-
σίας, ἔγγυθεν¹ δὲ ἀποτραπείς Πελλήνη προσέβα-
λε καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεσόντος
ἔσχε τὴν πόλιν. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Φενεὸν
4 ἔλαβε καὶ Πεντέλειον. εἴτ' εὐθύς Ἀργεῖοι προσ-
εχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ Φλιάσιοι φρουρὰν ἐδέξαντο·
καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἐπικτήτων βέβαιον ἦν

¹ ἔγγυθεν Bekker reads ἐκεῖθεν, with the Al^line.

Polybius, one should not put entire credence. For goodwill makes his every mention of Cleomenes ecstatic, and as if he were pleading in a court of law, he is for ever accusing Aratus in his history, and defending Cleomenes.

XXXIX. So, then, the Achaeans lost Mantinea, which was taken again by Cleomenes, and after being defeated in a great battle at Hecatombaeum they were so dismayed that they sent at once and invited Cleomenes to come to Argos and assume the leadership. But Aratus, when he learned that Cleomenes was on the way and at Lerna with his forces, feared the issue, and sent an embassy to demand that he should come with three hundred men only, as to friends and allies, and that if he was distrustful, he should accept hostages. Cleomenes declared that he was insulted and mocked by this demand, and retired with his army, after writing a letter to the Achaeans which was full of bitter accusations against Aratus. Aratus also wrote letters against Cleomenes; and their mutual abuse and defamation reached the point of maligning one another's marriages and wives.

As a result of this, Cleomenes sent a herald to declare war against the Achaeans, and almost succeeded in seizing the city of Sicyon with the help of traitors; he turned aside, however, when close at hand, and assaulted and took the city of Pellene, from which the Achaean commander fled. And not long afterwards he took Pheneus also and Penteleium. Then Argos went over to his side, and Phlius received a garrison which he sent. In a word, not one of their acquisitions longer held firm to the

τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ἀλλὰ θόρυβος πολὺς ἄφνω περι-
ειστῆκε τὸν Ἄρατον, ὁρῶντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον
κραδαινομένην καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐξανισταμένας ὑπὸ
τῶν νεωτεριζόντων πανταχόθεν.

XL. Ἡτρέμει γὰρ οὐδέν οὐδὲ ἔστεργεν ἐπὶ τοῖς
παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σικυωνίων αὐτῶν καὶ Κοριν- 1046
θίων ἐγένοντο πολλοὶ καταφανεῖς διειλεγμένοι
τῷ Κλεομένει καὶ πάλαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἰδίων
ἐπιθυμία δυναστειῶν ὑπούλως ἔχοντες. ἐπὶ τού-
τους ἐξουσίαν ἀνυπεύθυνον ὁ Ἄρατος λαβὼν
τοὺς μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι διεφθαρμένους ἀπέκτεινε,
τοὺς δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ πειρώμενος ἀναζητεῖν καὶ
κολάζειν ἐξηγρίαине τὸ πλῆθος ἥδη νοσοῦν καὶ
βαρυνόμενον τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πολιτείαν.
συνδραμόντες οὖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν
μετεπέμποντο τὸν Ἄρατον, ἀνελεῖν ἢ συλλαβεῖν
πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγνωκότες. ὁ δὲ ἦκε μὲν
αὐτὸς ἐφελκόμενος τὸν ἵππον ὥς οὐκ ἀπιστῶν
οὐδὲ ὑποπτεύων, ἀναπηδησάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ
λοιδορουμένων αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγορούντων εὖ πως
καθεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πρῶως
ἐκέλευε καθίσαι καὶ μὴ βοᾶν ἀτάκτως ἐστῶτας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὄντας εἰσω παριέναι
καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ὑπεξῆει βάδην ὥς παρα-
δώσων τινὲ τὸν ἵππον. οὕτως δὲ ὑπεκδύς καὶ
τοῖς ὑπαντῶσι τῶν Κορινθίων ἀθορύβως διαλε-
γόμενος καὶ κελεύων πρὸς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον βαδί-
ζειν, ὥς ἔλαθε πλησίον τῆς ἄκρας γενόμενος,
ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ Κλεοπάτρῳ τῷ
ἄρχοντι τῆς φρουρᾶς διακελευσάμενος ἐγκρατῶς

¹ With this chapter cf. the *Cleomenes*, xvii.—xix. 1.

² See chap. xli. 1.

Achaean, but a vast confusion suddenly encompassed Aratus. He saw Peloponnesus shaking, and its cities everywhere stirred to revolt by restless agitators.¹

XL. For there was no quiet anywhere, and no contentment with present conditions, but even among the Sicyonians and Corinthians themselves there were many who were known to have been in conference with Cleomenes, men whom a desire for private domination had long ago led into secret hostility towards the common interests. For the punishment of these men Aratus was clothed with absolute power,² and seizing those in Sicyon who were thus corrupted he put them to death; but when he tried to seek out and chastise those in Corinth, he roused the resentment of the populace there, which was already disaffected and ill at ease under the Achaean administration. So they assembled hastily in the temple of Apollo and sent for Aratus, determined to kill him or seize him, and then to revolt. He came, accordingly, leading his horse after him, as though he had no distrust or suspicion, and when many sprang up and abused and denounced him, with a composed countenance and gentle words he bade them sit down and not stand there shouting in disorderly fashion, but to admit also those who were outside at the door; and as he spoke, he withdrew slowly, as if he would hand his horse over to somebody. Having thus slipped out of the crowd, he conversed calmly with the Corinthians who met him, bidding them go to the temple of Apollo, and so, before his enemies were aware of it, came nigh the citadel. Then he leaped upon his horse, and after giving orders to Cleopater the commander of the garrison in the citadel to guard

φυλάττειν ἀφίππευσεν εἰς Σικυῶνα, τριάκοντα μὲν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἐπομένων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγκαταλιπόντων καὶ διαρρύντων.

- 5 Αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετ' ὀλίγον τὴν ἀπόδρασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διώξαντες, ὥς οὐ κατέλαβον, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ παρέδωσαν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν οἰομένῳ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὅσου διήμαρτεν ἀφέντων Ἄρατον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν, προσγενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀκτὴν κατοικούντων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρισάντων, ἀπεσταύρου καὶ περιετείχιζε τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον.

- XLI. Τῷ δὲ Ἀράτῳ συνῆλθον εἰς Σικυῶνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ πολλοί.¹ καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ περιστήσατο φρουρὰν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη καὶ τρία πεπολιτευμένος ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, πεπρωτευκῶς δὲ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τότε δὲ ἔρημος καὶ ἄπορος συντετριμμένος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσοῦτῳ
2 σάλῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ διαφερόμενος. καὶ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ δεομένου βοηθεῖν ἀπείπαντο, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν χάριτι τοῦ Ἀράτου πρόθυμον οὖσαν οἱ περὶ Εὐρυκλείδην καὶ Μικίωνα διεκώλυσαν. ὄντων δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ καὶ χρημάτων ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ οἰκίας, ὃ Κλεομένης ἤψατο μὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ ἄλλον εἶασε, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς διοικητὰς ἐκέλευε

¹ οὐ πολλοί Ziegler, with Sg and most good MSS.: οἱ πολλοί.

it with a strong hand, he rode off to Sicyon, followed by only thirty of his soldiers; the rest deserted him and dispersed.

After a little while the Corinthians learned of his flight and pursued him, but did not overtake him. Then they sent for Cleomenes and delivered their city into his hands,¹ although he thought that he had gained by what they gave him far less than he had lost by their letting Aratus get away. Cleomenes, accordingly, after the accession to him of the inhabitants of Acte, as the district is called, who placed their cities in his hands, proceeded to run a wall and palisade about Acrocorinthus.

XLI. But a few of the Achaeans came together with Aratus at Sicyon; and in an assembly there held he was chosen general with full powers. And now he surrounded himself with a guard from among his own citizens. For three-and-thirty years he had directed public affairs among the Achaeans, and had enjoyed more power and reputation than any other Greek; but now, abandoned by his allies and helplessly crushed, he was like one drifting about in great surge and peril on the wreck of his native city. For the Aetolians refused him their aid when he asked for it, and the Athenians, whom gratitude made eager to help him, were prevented by Eurycleides and Micion.² As for the house and property belonging to Aratus in Corinth, Cleomenes would not touch them at all, nor permit anyone else to do so, but sent for the friends and stewards of Aratus and ordered them to administer and watch over

¹ Early in 223 B.C. The story is told very differently in the *Cleomenes*. xix. 1 f.

² Two leading orators of the time.

πάντα διοικεῖν¹ καὶ φυλάσσειν ὡς Ἀράτῳ λόγον
 3 ὑφέζοντας· ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε Τρίπυλον
 καὶ πάλιν Μεγιστόνουν τὸν πατρῶν ὑπισχνού-
 μενος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ δώδεκα τάλαντα
 σύνταξιν ἐνιαύσιον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῷ ἡμίσει
 Πτολεμαίῳ· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔξ τάλαντα τῷ Ἀράτῳ
 κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπέστελλεν. ἡξίου δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 ἡγεμῶν ἀναγορευθῆναι καὶ κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν
 4 φυλάσσειν τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου
 φήταντος ὡς οὐκ ἔχοι τὰ πράγματα, μᾶλλον δὲ
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔχοιτο, καὶ κατειρωνεύσασθαι δό-
 ξαντος, ἐμβαλὼν εὐθὺς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐπόρθει
 καὶ κατέφθειρε καὶ προσεκάθητο τῇ πόλει τρεῖς
 μῆνας, ἐγκαρτεροῦντος τοῦ Ἀράτου καὶ δια-
 ποροῦντος εἰ δέξεται τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τῷ
 παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον· ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ
 ἐβούλετο βοηθεῖν.

XLII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀχαιοὶ συνεληλυθότες εἰς
 Αἴγιον ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀρατον ἐκάλουν. ἦν δὲ κίνδυνος,
 τοῦ Κλεομένους πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύοντος,
 διελθεῖν. καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ πολῖται, δεόμενοι καὶ 1047
 προήσσεσθαι τὸ σῶμα τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων
 οὐ φάσκοντες· ἐξήρτηντο δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες
 ἡδὴ καὶ παῖδες ὥσπερ πατὴρ κοινὸν καὶ σωτῆρος
 2 περιεχόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ θαρ-
 ρύνας καὶ παραμυθησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐξίππευσεν
 ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἔχων δέκα φίλους καὶ τὸν

¹ διοικεῖν suggested by Sintenis, with comparison of *Cluomeneas*, xix. 3: ποιεῖν.

everything as though they are to render an account to Aratus. Moreover, he privately sent Tripylus to Aratus, and afterwards Megistonoüs, his stepfather, promising to give him, besides many other things, a yearly pension of twelve talents, thus doubling the amount which Aratus received annually from Ptolemy; for he sent six talents each year to Aratus.¹ Cleomenes demanded, however, that he should be proclaimed leader of the Achaeans, and together with them should have the keeping of Acrocorinthus. Aratus made answer that he did not control affairs, but rather was controlled by them; whereupon Cleomenes, thinking himself mocked, at once invaded the territory of Sicyon, ravaged and laid it waste, and encamped before the city three months. All this while Aratus held out patiently, and debated with himself whether he should accept Antigonus as an ally on condition of handing over to him Acrocorinthus! for on any other terms Antigonus was unwilling to give him help.²

XLII. Accordingly, the Achaeans came together at Aegium and invited Aratus thither. But there was danger in his trying to get there, since Cleomenes was encamped before Sicyon. Besides, the citizens tried to detain him, beseeching him not to go and refusing to let him expose himself while the enemy were near; and presently the women and children were clinging to him and tearfully embracing him as a common father and preserver. Nevertheless, after encouraging and comforting them, he rode out to the sea, accompanied by ten friends and by his

¹ Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247—222 B C.

² Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xix. 3 f.

υἷον ἤδη νεανίαν ὄντα· καὶ παρορμούντων ἐκεῖ πλοίων, ἐπιβάντες εἰς Αἴγιον παρεκομίσθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ᾗ καλεῖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ παραδιδόναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον.

3 ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἷον Ἀρατος πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμήρων. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Κορίνθιοι χαλεπῶς φέροντες τά τε χρήματα διήρπασαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κλεομένει δωρεὰν ἔδωκαν.

XLIII. Τοῦ δ' Ἀντίγονου προσιόντος ἤδη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως (ἦγε δὲ πεζοὺς δισμυρίους Μακεδόνας, ἵππεῖς δὲ χιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους) ἀπήντα μετὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν ὁ Ἀρατος αὐτῷ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Πηγάς, λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ πάνυ τι θαρρῶν τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐδὲ πιστεύων τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. ἦδει γὰρ ηὐξημένον ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνους κακῶς ἐποίησε καὶ πρώτην εἰληφότα μεγίστην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν πρὸς

2 Ἀντίγονον τὸν παλαιὸν ἔχθραν. ἀλλὰ ὁρῶν ἀπαράιτητον ἐπικειμένην ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν καιρὸν, ᾧ δουλεύουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ δεινόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος, ὥς τις αὐτῷ προσιόντα τὸν Ἀρατον ἔφρασε, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἡσπάσατο μετρίως καὶ κοινῶς, ἐκείνον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπάντησιν ἐδέξατο τῇ τιμῇ περιπτῶς, καὶ τᾶλλα πειρώμενος ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἐνδοτέρω τῆς χρείας προσηγάγετο.

3 Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρατος οὐ μόνον ἐν πράγμασι

son, who was now a young man. Vessels were lying at anchor off the shore, and upon these the party were conveyed to Aegium, where the assembly was sitting. Here it was voted to call in Antigonus and hand over to him Acrocorinthus.¹ Aratus even sent his son to Antigonus with the other hostages. At this the Corinthians were indignant; they plundered his property and made a present of his house to Cleomenes.

XLIII. And now, as Antigonus was approaching with his forces (he was followed by twenty thousand Macedonian footmen and thirteen hundred horse), Aratus, in company with his High Councillors,² went by sea to meet him at Pegae, eluding the enemy. He had no very great confidence in Antigonus, and put no trust in the Macedonians. For he knew that his own rise to power had been a consequence of the harm he had done to them, and that he had found the first and the chief basis for his conduct of affairs in his hatred towards the former Antigonus.³ But seeing how inexorable was the necessity laid upon him in the demands of the hour, to which those we call rulers are slaves, he went on towards the dread ordeal. But Antigonus, when he was told that Aratus was coming to him, gave the rest of the party an ordinary and moderate welcome; Aratus, however, he received at this first meeting with superlative honour, and afterwards, finding him to be a man of worth and wisdom, drew him in closer intimacy to himself.

For Aratus was not only helpful in large under-

¹ In the spring of 223 B.C. Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xix. 4.

² A body of ten men, chosen as admirers of the general.

³ Antigonus Gonatas. See the note on xxxiv. 1.

μεγάλοις ὠφέλιμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολάζοντι βασιλεῖ
 συγγενέσθαι παρ' ὄντινόν ἐπίχαρις. διό, καίπερ
 ὦν νέος ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ὡς κατενόησε τὴν φύσιν
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μηδὲν ἀργὸν εἰς φιλίαν βασιλικὴν
 οὖσαν, οὐ μόνον Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μακεδόνων
 τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα¹ χρώμενος
 4 ἐκείνῳ διετέλει· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἀπέβαινεν ὡς ὁ
 θεὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔδειξε. λέγεται γὰρ οὐ πρὸ
 πολλοῦ θύοντι τῷ Ἀράτῳ δύο χολὰς ἐν ἡπατι
 φανῆναι μιᾷ πιμελῇ περιεχομένας· καὶ τὸν
 μάντιν εἰπεῖν ὡς ταχὺ πρὸς τὰ ἔχθιστα καὶ
 πολεμιώτατα σύνεισιν εἰς ἄκραν φιλίαν. τότε
 μὲν οὖν παρήνεγκε τὸ ῥηθέν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως πολὺ
 νέμων πίστεως ἱεροῖς καὶ μαντεύμασιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ
 5 λογισμῷ χρώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕστερον εὖ χωροῦν-
 τι τῷ πολέμῳ συναγαγὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐστίασιν
 ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ὑποδεχόμενος τὸν Ἀρα-
 τον ἐπάνω κατέκλινεν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν
 αἰτήσας περιβόλαιον ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ κάκείνῳ
 ψῦχος εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ῥιγοῦν φήσαντος,
 ἐκέλευσε προσχωρεῖν ἐγγυτέρῳ καὶ δάπιδος κομι-
 σθείσης ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοῦ περιέβαλον οἱ παῖδες,
 τότε δὴ τὸν Ἀρατον ἀναμνησθέντα τῶν ἱερῶν
 ἐκείνων γέλως ἔλαβε, καὶ διηγείτο τῷ βασιλεῖ
 τὸ σημεῖον καὶ τὴν προαγόρευσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
 μὲν ἐπράχθη χρόνοις ὕστερον.

XLIV. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πηγαῖς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες
 ὄρκους εὐθύς ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ
 περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀγῶνες ἦσαν, εὖ πεφραγμένου

¹ πάντων μάλιστα Coraüs and Ziegler, after Reiske : πάντα.

takings, but also more acceptable than anyone else as a companion in the king's leisure hours. Therefore, although Antigonus was young, as soon as he perceived that Aratus was naturally well fitted to be a king's friend, he continually treated him with greater intimacy than anyone else, whether of the Achaeans, or of the Macedonians in his following; and thus the omen proved true which the god had given to Aratus in his sacrificial victims. For it is related that as he was sacrificing a little while before this, a liver was found which had two gall-bladders enclosed in a single coil of fat; whereupon the seer had declared that Aratus would soon enter into close friendship with what he most hated and fought against. At the time, then, Aratus paid no heed to the utterance, since in general he put little faith in victims and divinations, and trusted rather to his reasoning powers. Later, however, when the war was going on well, Antigonus gave a feast in Corinth, at which he had many guests, and made Aratus recline just above himself. After a little while the king called for a coverlet, and asked Aratus if he too did not think it cold; and when Aratus replied that he was very chilly, the king ordered him to come nearer; so that the rug which the servants brought was thrown over both of them together. Then, indeed, Aratus called to mind his sacrificial victims and burst out laughing, and told the king about the omen and the seer's prediction. But this took place at a later time.

XLIV. At Pegae Antigonus and Aratus exchanged oaths of fidelity, and straightway marched against the enemy at Corinth. And there were conflicts about the city, Cleomenes being well fortified, and

τοῦ Κλεομένους καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀμυνομένων
 προθύμως. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Ἀργεῖος
 φίλος ὢν Ἀράτου διαπέμπεται κρύφα πρὸς
 αὐτόν, ὡς ἀποστήσων τὴν πόλιν, εἰ στρατιώτας
 2 ἐκεῖνος ἔχων ἔλθοι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου φράσαντος
 τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων
 εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ πλοίοις κομιζομένου
 κατὰ τάχος, οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι προεξαναστάντες
 ἐπέθεντο τοῖς τοῦ Κλεομένους καὶ κατέκλεισαν
 εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πυθόμενος 1048
 ταῦτα, καὶ δείσας μὴ κατασχόντες οἱ πολέμιοι
 τὸ Ἄργος ἀποκόψωσιν αὐτόν τῆς οἴκαδε σωτη-
 ρίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐβοή-
 3 θει. καὶ παρελθὼν μὲν εἰς Ἄργος ἔφθη καὶ
 τροπὴν τινα τῶν πολεμίων ἐποίησεν, ὀλίγῳ δὲ
 ὕστερον Ἀράτου προσφερομένου καὶ τοῦ βασι-
 λέως ἐπιφαινομένου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπ-
 εχώρησέν εἰς Μαντίνειαν. ἐκ τούτου τοῖς μὲν
 Ἀχαιοῖς πάλιν αἱ πόλεις ἅπασαι προσεχώρη-
 σαν, Ἀντίγονος δὲ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον παρέλαβεν,
 Ἄρατος δὲ στρατηγὸς αἰρεθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀργείων
 ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰ τε τῶν τυράννων
 καὶ τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν χρήματα δωρεὰν δοῦναι.
 4 τὸν δὲ Ἀριστόμαχον ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς στρεβλώσαντες
 κατεπόντισαν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα κακῶς ἤκουσεν
 ὁ Ἄρατος, ὡς ἄνθρωπον οὐ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 κεχρημένον ἐκείνῳ καὶ πεπεισμένον ἀφείναι τὴν
 ἀρχὴν καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν πόλιν,
 ὅμως περιῶδὼν παρανόμως ἀπολλύμενον.

XLV. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνῳ τὰς
 αἰτίας ἐπέφερον, οἷον ὅτι τὴν μὲν Κορινθίων πόλιν

the Corinthians defending themselves with ardour. Meanwhile, however, Aristotle the Argive, who was a friend of Aratus, sent secretly to him and promised to bring his city to revolt from Cleomenes if Aratus would come thither with soldiers. So Aratus, after informing Antigonus, took fifteen hundred men and sailed from the Isthmus to Epidaurus with all speed.¹ But the Argives, revolting prematurely, attacked the garrison of Cleomenes and shut them up in the citadel, and Cleomenes, learning of this, and fearing that if his enemies got possession of Argos they would cut him off from a safe return home, abandoned Acrocorinthus while it was still night and went to their aid. He succeeded in getting into Argos first, routing some of the enemy on the way; but shortly afterwards Aratus came up, and Antigonus showed himself with his forces, and Cleomenes therefore retreated to Mantinea. Upon this the cities all came over to the Achaeans again, Acrocorinthus was handed over to Antigonus, and Aratus, having been chosen general by the Argives, persuaded them to make a present to Antigonus of the property of the tyrants and of the traitors. As for Aristomachus, he was tortured at Cenchreae and then thrown into the sea; for which deed, more than any other, Aratus was reproached, on the ground that he had allowed a man to be lawlessly put to death who was not wicked, but had coöperated with him, and at his persuasion had renounced his power and attached his city to the Achaean League.²

XLV. Presently, too, men began to blame Aratus for whatever else was done, as, for instance, that the

¹ Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xx. 3 f.

² Cf. chap. xxxv.

- Ἀντιγόνῳ δωρεὰν ἔδωκαν, ὥσπερ κώμην τὴν τυ-
 χούσαν, τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν δὲ συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ
 διαρπάσαντι φρουρὰν ἐμβαλεῖν Μακεδονικὴν,
 ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ ἄλλῳ μὴ γράφειν βασιλεῖ μηδὲ
 πρεσβεύειν πρὸς ἄλλον ἄκοντος Ἀντιγόνου,
 2 τρέφειν τε καὶ μισθοδοτεῖν ἡναγκάζοντο τοὺς
 Μακεδόνας, θυσίας δὲ καὶ πομπὰς καὶ ἀγῶνας
 Ἀντιγόνῳ συνετέλουν, ἀρξαμένων τῶν Ἀράτου πο-
 λιτῶν καὶ δεξαμένων τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὑπ'
 Ἀράτου ξενιζόμενον, ἡτιῶντο πάντων ἐκείνου,
 ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τὰς ἡνίας ἐκείνῳ παραδεδωκὼς
 καὶ τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐφελκόμενος ἐξουσίας
 οὐδενὸς ἦν ἢ μόνης φωνῆς ἔτι κύριος, ἐπισφαλῇ
 3 τὴν παρρησίαν ἐχούσης. ἐπεὶ φανερώς γε πολλὰ
 τῶν πραττομένων ἐλύπει τὸν Ἀρατον, ὥσπερ τὸ
 περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων· ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος τὰς μὲν τῶν
 ἐν Ἀργεὶ τυράννων καταβεβλημένας ἀνέστησε,
 τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐλόντων τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἐστῶσας
 ἀνέτρεψε πλὴν μιᾶς τῆς ἐκείνου· καὶ πολλὰ περὶ
 4 τούτων δεηθεὶς ὁ Ἀρατος οὐκ ἔπεισεν. ἐδόκει δὲ
 καὶ τὰ περὶ Μαντίνειαν οὐχ Ἑλληνικῶς διωκῆ-
 σθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. κρατήσαντες γὰρ αὐτῶν δι'
 Ἀντιγόνου τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πρώτους
 ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέδοντο,
 τοὺς δ' εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέστειλαν ἐν πέδαις¹
 δεδεμένους, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἡνδραποδί-
 σαντο, τοῦ δὲ συναχθέντος ἀργυρίου τὸ τρίτον
 αὐτοὶ διείλοντο, τὰς δὲ δύο μοίρας ἔνειμαν τοῖς

¹ ἐν πέδαις Sint.², followed by Ziegler: πέδαις.

Achaean made a present to Antigonus of the city of Corinth, as if it had been an ordinary village; that they allowed the king to plunder Orchomenus and put a Macedonian garrison in it; that they decreed not to write or send an embassy to any other king against the wishes of Antigonus; that they were forced to furnish supplies and pay for the Macedonian troops; and that they celebrated sacrifices, processions, and games in honour of Antigonus, the fellow-citizens of Aratus leading the way and receiving Antigonus into their city, where he was the guest of Aratus. For all these things men blamed Aratus, not knowing that, since he had entrusted the reins to the king and was dragged along in the wake of the king's power, he was no longer master of anything except his tongue, which it was dangerous for him to use with freedom. At any rate Aratus was plainly annoyed at many acts of the king, and especially at his treatment of the statues in Argos; for those of the tyrants, which had been cast down, Antigonus set up again, while those of the captors of Acrocorinthus, which were standing, he threw down, that of Aratus only excepted; and though Aratus made many appeals to him in the matter, he could not persuade him. It was thought also that the treatment of Mantinea by the Achaeans was not in accord with the Greek spirit. For after mastering that city with the aid of Antigonus, they put to death the leading and most noted citizens, and of the rest, some they sold into slavery, while others they sent off into Macedonia in chains, and made slaves of their wives and children, dividing a third of the money thus raised among themselves, and giving the remaining two-thirds to the Macedonians.

5 Μακεδόσι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔσχε τὸν τῆς ἀμύνης νόμον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ δεινὸν ἄνδρας ὁμοφύλους καὶ συγγενεῖς οὕτω μεταχειρίσασθαι δι' ὀργήν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνάγκαις γλυκὺ γίνεται καὶ σκληρόν,¹ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ὥσπερ ἀλγοῦντι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ φλεγμαίνονται θεραπείαν καὶ ἀναπλήρωσιν προσφερόντων. τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντα περὶ τὴν πόλιν οὕτ' εἰς καλὴν οὕτ' εἰς ἀναγκαίαν ἐστὶ
6 θέσθαι τῷ Ἀράτῳ πρόφασιν. τῶν γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν τὴν πόλιν παρ' Ἀντιγόνου δωρεὰν λαβόντων καὶ κατοικίξειν ἐγνωκότων αὐτὸς οἰκιστῆς αἰρεθεὶς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὢν ἐψηφίσατο μηκέτι καλεῖν Μαντίνειαν, ἀλλ' Ἀντιγόνειαν, ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν καλεῖται. καὶ δοκεῖ δι' ἐκείνον ἢ μὲν ἐρατεινὴ Μαντίνεια παντάπασιν ἐξαληλίφθαι, διαμένει δὲ ἢ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τῶν ἀπολεσάντων καὶ ἀνελόντων τοὺς πολίτας.

XLVI. Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένης μὲν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ μεγάλη περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐξέλιπε τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, Ἀντίγονος δὲ πάντα τὰ δίκαια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῷ Ἀράτῳ πεποιηκῶς ἀνέξευξεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, 1049 καὶ κεῖ νοσῶν ἤδη τὸν διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας Φίλιππον, οὐπω πάνυ μεράκιον ὄντα, πέμπων εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀράτῳ μάλιστα προσέχειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐντυχεῖν
2 καὶ γνωρισθῆναι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ

¹ καὶ σκληρόν with Bergk (*Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii.⁴ p. 530): καὶ οὐ σκληρόν.

¹ The repeated treacheries of the Mantineians towards the Achaeans are related at length in Polybius, ii. 57 f.

² Homier, *Iliad*, ii. 607.

It is true that this came under the law of reprisal ;¹ for though it is a terrible thing to treat men of the same race and blood in this way, out of anger, still "in dire stress even cruelty is sweet," as Simonides says, when men, as it were, give satisfaction and healing care to a mind that is in anguish and inflamed. But the subsequent treatment of the city by Aratus was neither necessary nor honourable, and cannot be excused. For after the Achaeans had received the city from Antigonus as a present and had decided to colonize it, Aratus himself was chosen to be the founder of the new settlement, and being then general, got a decree passed that the city should no longer be called Mantinea, but Antigoneia, and this is its name down to the present time. And so it was due to Aratus that the name of "lovely Mantinea"² was altogether extinguished, and the city continues to bear the name of him who destroyed and slew its former citizens.³

XLVI. After this, Cleomenes, having been defeated in a great battle at Sellasia,⁴ forsook Sparta and sailed off to Egypt, and Antigonus, after having accorded to Aratus fair and kindly treatment in every way, led his army back to Macedonia. There, being now a sick man, he sent Philip, his successor in the kingdom, who was still a stripling, into the Peloponnesus, and urged him to attach himself to Aratus above all others, and through him to deal with the cities and make the acquaintance of the Achaeans.

¹ The old name of the city was restored by the Emperor Hadrian. Pausanias, viii. 8. 12.

⁴ In 221 B.C., cf. the *Cleomenes*, xxviii. ff.

παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄρατος οὕτως διέθηκεν ὥστε πολλῆς μὲν εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτόν, πολλῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὁρμῆς μεστὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀποστεῖλαι.

XLVII. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου καταφρονήσαντες Αἰτωλοὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὴν ῥαθυμίαν (ἐθισθέντες γὰρ ἀλλοτρίαις σώζεσθαι χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόνων ὅπλοις αὐτοὺς ὑπεσταλκότες ἐν ἀργίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ ἀταξίᾳ διῆγον) ἐπέθεντο τοῖς κατὰ Πελοπόννησον πρᾶγμασι· καὶ τὴν μὲν Πατρέων καὶ Δυμαίων λεηλασίαν ὁδοῦ πάρεργον ἐποιήσαντο, τὴν δὲ Μεσσηνὴν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρ-
 2 θουν. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἄρατος ἀγανακτῶν καὶ τὸν στρατηγούμενον τότε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Τιμόξενον ὁρῶν ὀκνοῦντα καὶ διατρίβοντα τὸν χρόνον, ἥδη τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτῷ τελευτώσης, αὐτὸς ἡρημένος ἄρχειν μετ' ἐκείνον προέλαβεν ἡμέραις πέντε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἕνεκα τοῦ βοηθῆσαι Μεσσηνίοις. καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀγυμνάστους ὄντας καὶ ταῖς διανοαῖς ἐκλελυμένους
 3 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡττᾶται περὶ Καφύας· καὶ θυμικώτερον ἐστρατηγηκέναι δόξας οὕτως αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀπημβλύνθη καὶ προήκατο τὰ πρᾶγματα καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὥστε πολλάκις λαβὴν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς παρασχόντας ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ περιορᾶν ὥσπερ κωμάζοντας ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μετὰ
 4 πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύτητος. αὐθις οὖν τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπεσπῶντο καὶ κατήγον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον

¹ In 221 B.C. See the *Cleomenes*, xxx.

² In 220 B.C. See the *Cleomenes*, xxxiv. 1.

And indeed Aratus did take the prince in hand, and managed matters so as to send him back to Macedonia full of great goodwill towards his patron and of ardour and ambition for the conduct of Hellenic affairs.

XLVII. But upon the death of Antigonus¹ the Aetolians, despising the Achaeans on account of their slothful ways (for now that they were accustomed to save themselves by other men's prowess and had taken shelter behind the Macedonian arms, they were living in great inactivity and lack of discipline), proceeded to interfere in the affairs of Peloponnesus;² and after plundering the territories of Patrae and Dyme on their way, they invaded Messenia and ravaged it. At this Aratus was incensed, and seeing that Timoxenus, who at that time was general of the Achaeans, was hesitant and dilatory, since his term of office was just about to expire, he himself, having been chosen to succeed Timoxenus, anticipated his term of office by five days for the sake of giving aid to the Messenians. And having assembled the Achaeans, who were physically and mentally unfit for war, he met with defeat at Caphyae. Then, being thought to have conducted the campaign with too much ardour, his purposes were once more blunted and he gave up the cause and his hopes for lost, so that oftentimes, when the Aetolians gave him an advantage, he neglected it, and suffered them to revel, as it were, in Peloponnesus, with great boldness and wantonness. Once more, therefore, the Achaeans stretched out their hands imploringly to Macedonia, and brought Philip down to take part in Hellenic affairs, above all things because his goodwill towards Aratus

εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πίστιν ἐλπίζοντες εὐκόλῳ περὶ πάντα χρήσεσθαι καὶ χειροῖθι.

XLVIII. Καὶ τότε πρῶτον Ἀπελλοῦ καὶ Μεγαλέου καὶ τινων αὐλικῶν ἄλλων διαβαλλόντων τὸν Ἄρατον ἀναπεισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάσας τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως, ἐσπούδασε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐλέσθαι στρατηγὸν
 2 Ἐπήρατον. ὥς δ' ἐκείνου μὲν καταφρονουμένου τελέως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου παραμελοῦντος ἐγένετο τῶν χρησίμων οὐδέν, ἔγνω διαμαρτάνων τοῦ παντὸς ὁ Φίλιππος. καὶ ἀνακρουσάμενος αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ὅλος ἦν ἐκείνου, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς τε δύναμιν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἐπιδιδόντων ἐξήρτητο τοῦ ἀνδρός,
 3 ὥς δι' ἐκείνους εὐδοκιμῶν καὶ αὐξόμενος. ἐδόκει τε πᾶσιν ὁ Ἄρατος οὐ μόνον δημοκρατίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι παιδαγωγός· ἡ γὰρ προαίρεσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἦθος ὥς χρῶμα ταῖς πράξεσι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπεφαίνετο. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμαρτόντας μετριότης τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ἡ πρὸς Κρήτας ὁμιλία, δι' ἧς ὅλην προσηγάγετο τὴν νῆσον ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, ἥ τε πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς στρατεία γενομένη θαυμαστῶς ἐνεργὸς εὐπειθείας μὲν τῷ Φιλίππῳ δόξαν, εὐβου-
 4 λίας δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσετίθει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον οἱ βασιλικοὶ φθονοῦντες, ὥς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον κρύφα διαβάλλοντες, ἀναφανδὸν ἐλοιδοροῦντο καὶ προσέκρουον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοὺς πότους μετὰ

¹ Cf. Polybius, v. 30.

and his confidence in him led them to hope that they would find him easy-tempered in all things and manageable.

XLVIII. And now for the first time Apelles, Megaleas, and sundry other courtiers made false charges against Aratus to which the king listened, and joining in the canvass made by those of the opposite faction, he favoured the election of Eperatus as general of the Achaeans. But Eperatus was altogether despised by the Achaeans,¹ and as long as Aratus gave little heed to public matters nothing went well. Philip therefore perceived that he had been entirely wrong. So he reversed his course, went back to Aratus, and was wholly his; and since the progress of events now brought him increased power and reputation, he depended altogether upon Aratus, convinced that his repute and strength were due to him. And all the world thought that Aratus was a good guardian and tutor for a kingdom no less than for a democracy; for his principles and character were manifest, like colour in a fabric, in the actions of the king. For instance, the moderation of the young prince in dealing with the offending Lacedaemonians, his engaging behaviour towards the Cretans, by means of which he won the whole island to obedience in a few days, and the astonishingly vigorous conduct of his campaign against the Aetolians, all added to the reputation of Philip for taking good advice, and to that of Aratus for giving it. For this reason, too, the royal courtiers were all the more envious of him, and since they could accomplish nothing by their secret calumnies, they took to abusing and insulting him openly at their banquets,

πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ βωμολοχίας· ἅπαξ δὲ καὶ λίθοις βάλλοντες ἀπιόντα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον κατεδίωξαν. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φίλιππος ὀργισθεὶς εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐξημίωσεν εἴκοσι ταλάντοις, ὕστερον δὲ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ ταραττεῖν δοκοῦντας ἀπέκτεινεν.

XLIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς τύχης εὐροούσης ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς πράγμασι πολλὰς μὲν ἀνέφυε καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιθυμίας, ἣ δ' ἔμφυτος κακία, τὸν παρὰ 1050 φύσιν σχηματισμὸν ἐκβιαζομένη καὶ ἀναδύουσα, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπεγύμνου καὶ διέφαινε αὐτοῦ τὸ ἦθος, πρῶτον μὲν ἰδίᾳ τὸν νεώτερον Ἄρατον ἠδίκηει περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐλάνθανεν ἐφέστιος ὧν καὶ ξενιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν· ἔπειτα πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἐξετραχύνετο πολιτείας καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἤδη τὸν Ἄρατον ἀπο-
2 σειόμενος. ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑποψίας τὰ Μεσσηνιακὰ παρέσχε. στασιασάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος ὑστέρει βοηθῶν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἡμέρα μιᾷ πρότερον ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς οἷστρόν τινα κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐρωτῶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Μεσσηνίων εἰ νόμους κατὰ τῶν πολλῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πάλιν τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν προεστῶτας εἰ χεῖρας κατὰ
3 τῶν τυραννούντων οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θαρρήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπελ-

with great wantonness and scurrility; and once they actually pursued and threw stones at him as he was going to his tent after supper. At this Philip was enraged, and for the nonce fined them twenty talents; afterwards, however, regarding them as a noxious and confusing element in his affairs, he put them to death.¹

XLIX. But soon, as the king's fortune flowed smoothly on, he was lifted up by his success, and developed many inordinate desires; his inherent badness, too, forcing aside the unnatural restraints of his assumed deportment and making its way to the light, little by little laid bare and revealed his true character. In the first place he inflicted a private wrong upon the younger Aratus by corrupting his wife, and was for a long time undetected, since he was a housemate and a guest of the family; in the second place, he began to show hostility towards the civil politics of the Greeks, and it was presently clear that he was trying to shake off Aratus. First grounds of suspicion were afforded by his conduct at Messene. For there was factional strife in the city, and Aratus was tardy in coming to its aid, and Philip, who got to the city a day before Aratus, at once goaded on the two parties against one another. In private he asked the generals of the Messenians if they had not laws to enforce against the common people, and again in private he asked the leaders of the common people if they had not hands to lift against the tyrants. Upon this the officials plucked up courage and tried to lay hands upon the leaders of the people, and they, coming to the attack at the head of their followers,

¹ Cf. Polybius, v. 15 f.

θόντες τούς τε ἄρχοντας ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγον ἀπολείποντας διακοσίων.

- L. Οὕτω δὲ δεινὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένου τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ συγκρούοντος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἄρατος αὐτός τε δῆλος ἦν φέρων βαρέως καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιτιμῶντα πικρῶς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ λοιδορούμενον οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν. ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος ἐρᾶν τοῦ Φιλίππου· καὶ τότε λέγων εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥς οὐδὲ καλὸς ἔτι φαίνοιτο τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα δράσας, 2 ἀλλὰ πάντων αἰσχιστος. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε, καίπερ ἐπίδοξος ὢν, ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ πολλάκις ἐξυλακτῆσας λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον, ὡς ἐνηνοχῶς πράως τὰ λεχθέντα καὶ τις ὢν μέτριος καὶ πολιτικὸς τὴν φύσιν, ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ προσῆγεν εἰς τὸν Ἰθωμάταν τῷ τε Διὶ θύσων καὶ 3 θεωρήσων τὸν τόπον. ἔστι γὰρ οὐχ ἥττον εὐερκῆς τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου, καὶ λαβὼν φρουρὰν γίνεται χαλεπὸς καὶ δυσεκβίαστος τοῖς παροικοῦσιν. ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ θύσας, ὡς προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ βοῦς ὁ μάντις, ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπολαβὼν ἐδείκνυε τῷ τε Ἀράτῳ καὶ τῷ Φαρίῳ Δημητρίῳ, παρὰ μέρος ἀποκλίνων εἰς ἑκάτερον καὶ πυνθανόμενος τί καθορώσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, κρατοῦντα τῆς ἄκρας αὐτὸν ἢ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποδιδόντα. 4 γελάσας οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος, “Εἰ μὲν,” ἔφη, “μάντεως ἔχεις ψυχὴν, ἀφήσεις τὸν τόπον· εἰ δὲ βασιλέως, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κεράτων τὸν βούν καθέξεις,” αἰνιττόμενος τὴν Πελοπόν-

¹ A precinct of Zeus, on the summit of Mt. Ithome. Cf. Pausanias, iv. 3. 9.

slew the officials and nearly two hundred citizens besides.

L. After this outrageous deed of Philip's, and while he was striving more than ever to set the Messenians by the ears, Aratus reached the city. He showed clearly that he was indignant himself, and would not check his son when he bitterly reproached and reviled Philip. Now, it would seem that the young man was a lover of Philip; and so at this time he told Philip, among other things, that he no longer thought him fair to look upon, after so foul a deed, but the most repulsive of men. Philip made no answer to him, although it was expected that he would, since in his anger he had many times cried out savagely while the young man was speaking, but as though he meekly submitted to what had been said and was a person of moderation and not above the ordinary citizen, he gave the elder Aratus his hand, led him forth from the theatre, and brought him to the Ithomatas,¹ in order to sacrifice to Zeus and take a view of the place. For it is quite as well walled in as Acrocorinthus, and with a garrison in it is difficult of access and a hard place for its neighbours to take by force. Thither Philip went up, and offered sacrifice, and when the seer brought him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands and showed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos, leaning towards each one in turn and asking them what indications they saw in the omens; was he to be master of the citadel, or to give it back to the Messenians? Demetrius, with a laugh, replied: "If thou hast the spirit of a seer, thou wilt give up the place; but if that of a king, thou wilt hold the ox by both its horns," speaking darkly of Peloponnesus,

νησον, ὥς, εἰ προσλάβοι τὸν Ἰθωμάταν τῷ Ἀκρο-
 κορίνθῳ, παντάπασιν ἐσομένην ὑποχείριον καὶ
 5 ταπεινὴν. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡσύχαζε,
 δεομένου δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸ φαινόμενον λέγειν,
 “Πολλὰ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Φίλιππε, Κρητῶν ὄρη
 καὶ μεγάλα, πολλαὶ δὲ Βοιωτῶν ἄκραι καὶ
 Φωκέων ἐκπεφύκασι τῆς γῆς· εἰσὶ δέ που πολλοὶ
 καὶ τῆς Ἀκαρνάνων τοῦτο μὲν χερσαῖοι, τοῦτο
 δ’ ἑναλοὶ τόποι θαυμαστὰς ὀχυροτητας ἔχοντες·
 ἀλλ’ οὐδένα τούτων κατέληφας, καὶ πάντες
 6 ἐκουσίως σοι ποιοῦσι τὸ προστασσόμενον. λησταὶ
 γὰρ ἐμφύονται πέτραις καὶ κρημνῶν περιέχονται,
 Βασιλεῖ δὲ πίστεως καὶ χάριτος ἰσχυρότερον
 οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὀχυρώτερον. ταῦτά σοι τὸ Κρητικὸν
 ἀνοίγει πέλαγος, ταῦτα τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἀπὸ
 τούτων ὀρμώμενος σὺ τοσοῦτος ἡλικίαν τῶν μὲν
 ἡγεμῶν, τῶν δὲ κύριος ἤδη καθέστηκας.” ἔτι
 λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν σπλάγχνα τῷ μάντει
 παρέδωκεν ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐκείνον δὲ τῆς χειρὸς
 ἐπισπασάμενος, “Δεῦρο τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “τὴν αὐτὴν
 ὁδὸν ἴωμεν.” ὥσπερ ἐκβεβιασμένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ
 τὴν πόλιν ἀφηρεμένος.

ΛΙ. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ἀπορρέων ἤδη τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ
 κατὰ μικρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς
 τον Φίλιππον συνηθείας, διαβαίνοντος εἰς Ἡπει- 1051
 ρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ δεομένου συστρατεύειν, ἀπείπατο
 καὶ κατέμεινε, δεδιὼς ἀναπλησθῆναι δόξης πονη-
 2 ρᾶς ἀφ’ ὧν ἐκείνος ἔπραττεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσας αἰσχιστα καὶ ὅλως ἀπο-
 τυχῶν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννη-
 σον, καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους αὖθις ἐπιχειρήσας
 φενακίζειν καὶ μὴ λαθὼν ἡδίκηκε φανερώς καὶ τὴν

which, if Philip added the Ithomatas to Acrocorinthus, would be altogether subject and submissive to him. Aratus held his peace for a long time, but upon Philip's asking him to express his opinion, said: "There are many lofty hills in Crete, O Philip, and many towering citadels in Boeotia and Phocis; in Acarnania, too, I suppose, as well inland as on its shores, there are many places which show an amazing strength; but not one of these dost thou occupy, and yet all these peoples gladly do thy bidding. For it is robbers that cling to cliffs and crags, but for a king there is no stronger or more secure defence than trust and gratitude. These open up for thee the Cretan sea, these the Peloponnesus. Relying upon these, young as thou art, thou hast already made thyself leader here, and master there." While he was yet speaking, Philip handed the entrails to the seer, and drawing Aratus to him by the hand, said: "Come hither, then, and let us take the same road," implying that he had been constrained by him and made to give up the city.

LI. But Aratus presently began to withdraw from the court and little by little to retire from his intimacy with Philip. When the king was about to cross into Epeirus¹ and asked him to join the expedition, he refused and remained at home, fearing that he would be covered with ignominy by the king's proceedings. Philip lost his fleet most shamefully at the hands of the Romans, and after utter failure in his undertakings, came back into Peloponnesus. Here he tried once more to hoodwink the Messenians, and after being detected in this, wronged

¹ In 215 B.C. Philip had made an alliance with the Carthaginians against the Romans.

χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθει, παντάπασιν ὁ Ἄρατος ἀπεστράφη καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς αὐτόν, ἤδη καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἀδικημάτων αἰσθόμενος καὶ φέρων ἀνιαρῶς αὐτός, ἀποκρυπτόμενος
 3 δὲ τὸν υἱόν· εἰδέναι γὰρ ὑβρισμένον περιῆν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν, ἀμύνασθαι μὴ δυναμένῳ. μεγίστην γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος δοκεῖ καὶ παραλογωτάτην μεταβαλέσθαι μεταβολήν, ἐξ ἡμέρου βασιλέως καὶ μειρακίου σώφρονος ἀνὴρ ἀσελγῆς καὶ τύραννος ἐξώλης γενόμενος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἄρα μεταβολὴ φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπίδειξις ἐν ἀδείᾳ κακίας πολλὸν χρόνον διὰ φόβον ἀγνοηθείσης.

LII. "Οτι γὰρ ἦν μεμιγμένον αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον αὐτοῦ πάθος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συντεθραμμένον, ἐδήλωσεν οἷς ἔπραξε περὶ αὐτόν. ἐπιθυμῶν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ νομίζων οὐδ' ἂν ἐλεύθερος ἐκείνου ζῶντος εἶναι, μή τί γε τύραννος ἢ βασιλεύς, βία μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπεχείρησε, Ταυρίωνα δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τινα καὶ φίλων ἐκέλευσεν ἀδήλῳ τρόπῳ τοῦτο πράξαι, μάλιστα διὰ φαρμάκων,
 2 αὐτοῦ μὴ παρόντος. ὁ δὲ ποιησάμενος τὸν Ἄρατον συνήθη φάρμακον αὐτῷ δίδωσιν, οὐκ ὀξύ καὶ σφοδρόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν θερμῶν τε μαλακὰς τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ βῆχα κινούντων ἀμβλείαν, εἶτα οὕτως κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς φθορὰν περαινόντων. οὐ μὲν ἔλαθέ γε τὸν Ἄρατον· ἀλλ' ὥς οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος ἐλέγχοντι, πράως καὶ σιωπῇ τὸ πάθος, ὥς δὴ τινα νόσον κοινὴν καὶ συνήθη
 3 νοσῶν, διήντλει. πλὴν ἐνός γε τῶν συνήθων ἐν

them openly and ravaged their territory. Then Aratus was altogether estranged and filled with distrust of the king, being now aware also of the crime committed against his domestic life. At this he was sorely vexed himself, but kept it hidden from his son, who could only know that he had been shamefully abused, seeing that he was not able to avenge himself. For Philip would seem to have undergone a very great and inexplicable change,¹ in that from a gentle prince and chaste youth he became a lascivious man and a pernicious tyrant. In fact, however, this was not a change of nature, but a showing forth, in time of security, of a baseness which his fears had long led him to conceal.

LII. For that the feelings which he had cherished from the beginning towards Aratus had an admixture of shame and fear, was made plain by what he did to him at the last. For he desired to kill Aratus, and thought he could not be a free man while Aratus lived, much less a tyrant or a king. In a violent way, however, he made no attempt upon him, but ordered Taurion, one of his officers and friends, to do this in a secret way, preferably by poison, when the king was absent. So Taurion made an intimate companion of Aratus, and gave him poison, not of a sharp and violent sort, but one of those which first induce gentle heats in the body, and a dull cough, and then little by little bring on consumption. The thing was not hidden from Aratus, but since it was no use for him to convict the criminal, he calmly and silently drank his cup of suffering to the dregs, as if his sickness had been of a common and familiar type. However, when one of his intimate com-

¹ Cf. Polybius, vii. 13.

τῷ δωματίῳ παρόντος ἀναπτύσας δίαιμον, ἰδόντος ἐκείνου καὶ θαυμάσαντος, “Ταῦτα,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Κεφάλων, ἐπίχειρα τῆς βασιλικῆς φιλίας.”

LIII. Οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐν Αἰγίῳ τὸ ἑπτακαιδέκατον στρατηγούντος, καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φιλοτιμουμένων ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι ταφὰς καὶ μνήματα πρέποντα τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός, Σικυῶνιοι συμφορὰν ἐποιοῦντο μὴ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τεθῆναι
 2 τὸ σῶμα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀχαιοὺς ἔπεισαν ἐφίεναι, νόμου δὲ ὄντος ἀρχαίου μηδένα θάπτεσθαι τειχῶν ἐντός, ἰσχυρᾶς τε τῷ νόμῳ δεισιδαιμονίας προσούσης, ἔπεμψαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐρησόμενοι τὴν Πυθίαν. ἡ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖ τὸν χρησμὸν τόνδε·

βουλεύη, Σικυῶν, ζῳάγριον αἰὲν Ἀράτου,
 ἀμβ’ ὅσῃ θαλίῃ τε κατοικομένοιο ἄνακτος;
 ὥς τὸ βαρυνόμενον τῷδ’ ἀνέρι καὶ τὸ βαρῦνον
 γαίης ἔστ’ ἀσέβημα καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἡδὲ θαλάσσης.

3 κομισθείσης δὲ τῆς μαντείας οἳ τε Ἀχαιοὶ σύμπαντες ἦσθησαν, καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ Σικυῶνιοι μεταβαλόντες εἰς ἰορτὴν τὸ πένθος εὐθύς ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγίου τὸν νεκρὸν ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ λευχειμοῦντες ὑπὸ παιάνων καὶ χορῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνῆγον, καὶ τόπον ἐξελόμενοι περίοπτον ὥσπερ
 4 οἰκιστὴν καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκήδευσαν. καὶ καλεῖται μέχρι νῦν Ἀράτειον, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ

¹ In 213 B.C.

panions who was with him in his chamber saw him spit blood, and expressed surprise, "Such, my dear Cephalo," said Aratus, "are the wages of royal friendship."

LIII. And so he died,¹ at Aegium, while general for the seventeenth time, and the Achaeans were very desirous that he should have burial there and memorials befitting his life. But the Sicyonians regarded it as a calamity that he should not be buried in their city, and persuaded the Achaeans to surrender his body to them. They had, however, an ancient law that no one should be buried inside the city walls, and the law was supported by strong feelings of superstition. So they sent to Delphi to get advice in the matter from the Pythian priestess, and she gave them the following oracular answer:—

"Would'st thou, O Sicyon, pay Aratus lasting
honour for the lives he saved,
And join in pious funeral rites for thy departed
lord?

Know that the place which vexes or is vexed by
him

Is sacrilegious, be it in earth or sky or sea."

When the oracle was brought to them the Achaeans were all delighted, and the Sicyonians, in particular, changing their mourning into festival, at once put on garlands and white raiment and brought the body of Aratus from Aegium into their city, amid hymns of praise and choral dances; and choosing out a commanding place, they buried him there, calling him founder and saviour of the city. And the place is called to this day Arateium, and yearly sacrifices are made to Aratus there, one on the day when he

θυσίαν, τὴν μὲν, ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλλαξε τῆς τυ-
 ραννίδος ἡμέρα πέμπτη Δαισίου μηνός, ὃν Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν
 ἐκείνην Σωτήρια προσαγορεύουσι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ
 μηνός ἐν ἣ γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα διαμνημονεύουσι. 1052
 τῆς μὲν οὖν προτέρας ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος
 κατήρχετο θυπόλος, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ὁ τοῦ
 Ἀράτου, στρόφιον οὐχ ὀλόλευκον, ἀλλὰ μεσο-
 5 πόρφυρον ἔχων, μέλη δὲ ἦδετο πρὸς κιθάραν ὑπὸ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, καὶ συνεπόμε-
 πνευεν ὁ γυμνασίάρχος ἡγούμενος τῶν τε παίδων
 καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων, εἶτα ἐφείπετο ἡ βουλή στεφα-
 νηφοροῦσα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὁ βουλόμενος.
 ὧν ἔτι δείγματα μικρὰ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
 ἐξοσιούμενοι διαφυλάττουσιν· αἱ δὲ πλείστα
 τῶν τιμῶν ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ πραγμάτων ἄλλων
 ἐκλελοιπασιν.

LIV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἀρατος
 οὕτω βιώσαι καὶ τοιοῦτος γενέσθαι τὴν φύσιν
 ἱστορεῖται· τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μιὰς ὥν φύσει
 καὶ μετ' ὠμότητος ὑβριστῆς ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ θανα-
 σίμοις, ἀλλὰ μανικοῖς ἐξέστησε τοῦ λογισμοῦ
 φαρμάκοις· καὶ παρέτρεψεν εἰς δεινὰς καὶ ἄλλο-
 κότους ἐπιφοράς, πράξεων ἀτόπων καὶ σὺν αἰ-
 σχύνῃ παθῶν ὀλεθρίων ὀρεγόμενον, ὥστε τὸν
 θάνατον αὐτῷ, καίπερ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἀνθούντι, μὴ
 συμφοράν, ἀλλ' ἀπόλυσιν κακῶν καὶ σωτηρίαν
 2 γενέσθαι. δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ μεμπτὰς
 Διὶ ξενίῳ καὶ φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης
 τίνων διετέλεσε. καταπολεμηθεὶς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ
 Ῥωμαίων ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνοις τὰ καθ' αὐτόν, ἐκ-

freed the city from its tyranny—the fifth day of the month Daesius (which the Athenians call Anthesterion), which sacrifice has the name Soteria, and one on the day of the month when, according to the records, he was born. The first of these sacrifices was performed by the priest of Zeus the Saviour; the second by the priest of Aratus, who wore a headband, not pure white but purple and white, and hymns with accompaniment of lyre were sung by the artists of Dionysus, and the gymnasiarch took part in the procession, at the head of the boys and young men of military age; then followed the councillors wearing garlands, and all other citizens who desired. Of these ceremonial rites the Sicyonians still preserve slight traces, celebrated on the same days of the year, but most of them, owing to the passage of time and the pressure of other matters, have lapsed.

LIV. Such was the life and such the nature of the elder Aratus, as history tells us; and as for his son, he was deprived of his reason by Philip, who had an abominable nature and added savage cruelty to his wanton exercise of power. He gave the young man poisons which did not kill, but crazed, and thus made him a prey to strange and dreadful impulses, under which he grasped at absurd activities, and experiences not only shameful but destructive, so that death came to him, although he was young and in the flower of his life, not as a calamity, but as release from evils, and salvation. For this unholy deed, however, Philip paid ample penalties to Zeus, the guardian of hospitality and friendship, as long as he lived. For after being subdued by the Romans and putting his fortunes in their hands, he was

πεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχῆς καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλήν
 πέντε πᾶσας προέμενος καὶ χίλια προσεκτίσειν
 ὁμολογήσας τάλαντα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὁμηρεύσοντα
 παραδοὺς δι' οἶκτον ἔτυχε Μακεδονίας καὶ τῶν
 συντελούντων. ἀποκτείνων δὲ αἰεὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους
 καὶ συγγενεστάτους φρίκης ἐνέπλησε καὶ μίσους
 3 ὅλην τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐν δὲ μόνον ἐν
 τοσούτοις κακοῖς εὐτύχημα κτησάμενος, υἱὸν
 ἀρετῇ διαφέροντα, τοῦτον φθόνῳ καὶ ζηλοτυπία
 τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τιμῆς ἀνείλε, Περσεὶ δὲ
 θατέρῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν, ὃν οὐ γνήσιον,
 ἀλλ' ὑπόβλητον εἶναί φασιν, ἐκ Γναθαινίου τινὸς
 ἀκεστρίας γενόμενον. τοῦτον Αἰμίλιος ἐθριάμ-
 βευσε· καὶ κατέστρεψε ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀντιγονικῆς
 βασιλείας ἡ διαδοχή. τὸ δὲ Ἀράτου γένος ἐν τῇ
 Σικυῶνι καὶ τῇ Πελλάνῃ διέμενε καθ' ἡμᾶς.

stripped of most of his dominions, surrendered all his ships but five, agreed to pay a thousand talents besides, gave up his son to serve as hostage, and only out of pity obtained Macedonia and its tributaries. But he was for ever putting to death the noblest of his subjects and his nearest kin, and thus filled his whole kingdom with horror and hatred of him. One piece of good fortune only was his, amid so many ills, and that was a son of surpassing excellence; but this son he killed, out of envy and jealousy of the honour paid him by the Romans, and left his kingdom to his other son, Perseus, who was not legitimate, as we are told, but supposititious, the child of a sempstress, Gnathaenion.¹ This king graced the triumph of Aemilius, and with him ended the royal line of the Antigonids; whereas the descendants of Aratus were living at Sicyon and Pellene in my time.

¹ See the *Aemiliu. Paulus*, viii. 6 f. ; xxxiv., xxxvi.

ΑΡΤΟΞΕΡΞΗΣ

I. Ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Ἀρτοξέρξης, τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλέων πραότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχία πρωτεύσας, Μακρόχειρ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὴν δεξιὰν μείζονα τῆς ἐτέρας ἔχων, Ξέρξου δὲ ἦν υἱός· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφεται, Μνήμων ἐπικληθεὶς ἐκ θυγατρὸς ἦν ἐκείνου. Δαρείου γὰρ καὶ Παρυσάτιδος παῖδές ἐγένοντο τέσσαρες, πρεσβύτατος μὲν Ἀρτοξέρξης, μετ' ἐκείνον δὲ Κῦρος, νεώτεροι δὲ 1012
2 τούτων Ὀστάνης καὶ Ὁξάθρης. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κῦρος ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ τοῦνομα ἔσχευ, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου γενέσθαι φασί· Κῦρον γὰρ καλεῖν Πέρσας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης Ἀρσίκας πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο· καίτοι Δείνων φησὶν· ὅτι Ὀάρσης. ἀλλὰ τὸν Κτησίαν, εἰ καὶ τᾶλλα μύθων ἀπιθάνων καὶ παραφόρων ἐμβέβληκεν εἰς τὰ βιβλία παντοδαπὴν πυλαίαν, οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν ἀγνοεῖν τοῦνομα τοῦ βασιλέως παρ' ᾧ διέτριβε θεραπεύων αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας.

II. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κῦρος ἔντονόν τι καὶ σφοδρὸν εὐθύς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας εἶχεν, ἄτερος δὲ πραότερος ἐδόκει περὶ πάντα καὶ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς φύσει μαλακώτερος εἶναι. γυναῖκα δὲ καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἔλαβε μὲν τῶν γονέων κελευόντων, ἐφύλαξε

¹ Artaxerxes I. 465–425 B.C. The parallel form Artaxerxes has become fixed in English.

ARTAXERXES

I. THE first Artaxerxes,¹ preëminent among the kings of Persia for gentleness and magnanimity, was surnamed Longimanus, because his right hand was longer than his left, and was the son of Xerxes; the second Artaxerxes,² the subject of this Life, was surnamed Memor, or *Mindful*, and was the grandson of the first by his daughter Parysatis. For Dareius³ and Parysatis had four sons—an eldest, Artaxerxes, and next to him Cyrus, and after these Ostanès and Oxathres. Cyrus took his name from Cyrus of old,⁴ who, as they say, was named from the sun; for “Cyrus” is the Persian word for *sun*. Artaxerxes was at first called Arsicas; although Deinon gives the name as Oarses. But it is unlikely that Ctesias, even if he has put into his work a perfect farrago of extravagant and incredible tales, should be ignorant of the name of the king at whose court he lived as physician to the king’s wife and mother and children.

II. Now Cyrus, from his very earliest years, was high-strung and impetuous, but Artaxerxes seemed gentler in everything and naturally milder in his impulses. His wife, a beautiful and excellent woman, he married in compliance with his parents’ bidding,

¹ Artaxerxes II. 404–362 B. C.

² Dareius II. 424–404 B. C.

³ Cyrus the Elder, 559–529 B. C.

δὲ κωλύοντων· τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἀποκτείνας
 2 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐβουλεύετο κῦκείνην ἀνελεῖν, ὁ δὲ
 Ἀρσίκας τῆς μητρὸς ἱκέτης γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ
 κατακλαύσας μόλις ἔπεισε μήτε ἀποκτείνειν μήτε
 αὐτοῦ διαστήσαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ
 ὑπῆρχε τὸν Κῦρον μᾶλλον φιλοῦσα καὶ βουλομένη
 βασιλεύειν ἐκείνον. διὸ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς νοσοῦν-
 τος ἤδη μετάπεμptos ἀπὸ θαλάσσης γενόμενος
 παντάπασιν ἀνέβαινε εὐελπὶς ὢν, ὡς κατειργα-
 σμένης ἐκείνης διάδοχον αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς
 3 ἀρχῆς. καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν εὐπρεπῆ λόγον ἢ Παρύ-
 σατις, ᾧ καὶ Ξέρξης ὁ παλαιὸς ἐχρήσατο, Δημα-
 ράτου διδάξαντος, ὡς Ἀρσίκαν μὲν ἰδιώτῃ, Κῦρον
 δὲ βασιλεύοντι Δαρείῳ τεκεῖν.¹ οὐ μὲν ἔπεισεν,
 ἀλλ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς, Ἀρτο-
 ξέρξης μετονομασθεὶς, Κῦρος δὲ Λυδίας σατράπης
 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στρατηγός.

III. Ὀλίγω δ' ὕστερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Δαρεῖον
 ἐξήλασεν εἰς Πασαργάδας ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅπως τελε-
 σθείη τὴν βασιλικὴν τελετὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις
 ἱερέων. ἔστι δὲ θεᾶς πολεμικῆς ἱερόν, ἣν Ἀθηναῖ
 2 ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν. εἰς τοῦτο δεῖ τὸν τελούμενον
 παρελθόντα τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἀποθέσθαι στολὴν, ἀνα-
 λαβεῖν δὲ ἣν Κῦρος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐφόρει πρὶν ἢ βα-
 σιλεὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ σύκων παλάθης ἐμφαγόντα
 τερμίνθου κατατραγεῖν καὶ ποτήριον ἐκπιεῖν ὀξυ-
 γάλακτος. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερ' ἅττα δρῶσιν,
 3 ἄδηλόν ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα δρᾶν Ἀρτοξέρξου

¹ τεκεῖν Bekker has τέκοι, after Coraës.

and kept her in defiance of them; for after the king had put her brother to death, he wished to kill her also. But Arsicas, throwing himself at his mother's feet and supplicating her with many tears, at last obtained her promise that his wife should neither be killed nor separated from him. But the mother had more love for Cyrus, and wished that he should succeed to the throne. Therefore, when his father was now lying sick, Cyrus was summoned home from the sea-coast, and went up in full hope that by his mother's efforts he had been designated as successor to the kingdom. For Parysatis had a specious argument (the same that Xerxes the Elder employed on the advice of Demaratus¹), to the effect that she had borne Arsicas to Darius when he was in private station, but Cyrus when he was a king. However, she could not prevail, but the elder son was declared king, under the new name of Artaxerxes, while Cyrus remained satrap of Lydia and commander of the forces in the maritime provinces.²

III. A little while after the death of Darius, the new king made an expedition to Pasargadae, that he might receive the royal initiation at the hands of the Persian priests. Here there is a sanctuary of a warlike goddess whom one might conjecture to be Athena. Into this sanctuary the candidate for initiation must pass, and after laying aside his own proper robe, must put on that which Cyrus the Elder used to wear before he became king; then he must eat of a cake of figs, chew some turpentine-wood, and drink a cup of sour milk. Whatever else is done besides this is unknown to outsiders. As Artaxerxes

¹ See Herodotus, vii. 3.

² Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 1, 1 ff.

μέλλοντος ἀφίκετο Τισαφέρνης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων
 ἓνα τῶν ἱερέων, ὃς ἐν παισὶ Κύρου τῆς νομιζομένης
 ἀγωγῆς ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος καὶ διδάξας μαγεύειν
 αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἡττον ἐδόκει Περσῶν ἀνιάσθαι μὴ
 ἀποδειχθέντος ἐκείνου βασιλέως· διὸ καὶ πίστιν
 4 ἔσχε κατηγορῶν Κύρου. κατηγόρει δὲ ὡς μέλ-
 λοντος ἐνεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐκδύηται
 τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δια-
 φθείρειν αὐτόν. οἱ μὲν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς διαβολῆς
 τὴν σύλληψιν γενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ παρελ-
 θεῖν τὸν Κῦρον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ παραδοθῆναι
 5 κρυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως. μέλλοντα δὲ αὐτὸν
 ἤδη ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ μήτηρ περισχοῦσα ταῖς ἀγκά-
 λαις καὶ τοῖς βοστρύχοις περιελίξασα καὶ συλ-
 λαβοῦσα τὸν ἐκείνου τράχηλον πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς,
 ὀδυρομένη πολλὰ καὶ ποτνιωμένη παρητήσατο
 καὶ κατέπεμψεν αὐθις ἐπὶ θάλατταν, οὐκ ἀγα-
 πῶντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνην, οὐδὲ μεμνημένον τῆς
 διέσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς συλλήψεως, καὶ δι' ὀργὴν
 σπαργῶντα μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

IV. "Ενιοι δέ φασιν οὐκ ἀρκούμενον οἷς ἐλάμ-
 βανεν εἰς τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν δεῖπνον ἀποστήναι
 βασιλέως, εὐήθη λέγοντες. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλο μηδέν,
 ἀλλὰ ἢ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε, χρῆσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν
 ὅσα βούλοιτο τῶν αὐτῆς παρέχουσα καὶ διδοῦσα.
 μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τὸ μισθοφορικὸν
 πολλαχόθι διὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ξένων αὐτῷ παρα-
 τρεφόμενον, ὡς Ξενοφῶν εἴρηκεν. ἀθρόους μὲν
 γὰρ οὐ συνήγαγει, ἔτι τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπικρυπτό-

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¹ *Anab.* i. 1, 6-11.

was about to perform these rites, Tissaphernes brought to him a certain priest who had conducted Cyrus through the customary discipline for boys, had taught him the wisdom of the Magi, and was thought to be more distressed than any one in Persia because his pupil had not been declared king. For this reason, too, his accusation against Cyrus won credence. And he accused him of planning to lie in wait for the king in the sanctuary until he should put off his garment, and then to fall upon him and kill him. Some say that Cyrus was arrested in consequence of this false charge, others that he actually made his way into the sanctuary and hid himself there, and was delivered into custody by the priest. But now, as he was about to be put to death, his mother clasped him in her arms, twined her tresses about him, pressed his neck against her own, and by much lamentation and entreaty prevailed upon the king to spare him, and sent him back to the sea-coast. Here he was not satisfied with the office assigned to him, nor mindful of his release, but only of his arrest; and his anger made him more eager than before to secure the kingdom.

IV. Some say that he revolted from the king because his allowance did not suffice for his daily meals, which is absurd. For had no other resource been his, still, his mother was resource enough, who gave freely from her own wealth all that he wished to take and use. And that he had wealth is proved by the mercenary troops that were maintained for him in many places by his friends and connections, as Xenophon tells us.¹ For he did not bring these together into one body, since he was still trying to conceal his preparations, but in one place and another,

- μενος, ἀλλὰ χόθι δὲ ἄλλους ἐπὶ πολλαῖς προφάσεσι
 2 ξενολογούντας εἶχε. βασιλέως δὲ ἥ τε μήτηρ
 παροῦσα τὰς ὑποψίας ἀφῆρει, καὶ Κῦρος αὐτὸς αἰεὶ
 θεραπευτικῶς ἔγραφε, τὰ μὲν αἰτούμενος παρ'
 αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ Τισαφέρνους ἀντικατηγορῶν, ὥς δὴ
 πρὸς ἐκείνον αὐτῷ ζήλου καὶ ἀγῶνος ὄντος.
 3 Ἦν δέ τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ βασι-
 λέως, ἐπιείκεια φαινομένη τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐν ἀρχῇ
 δὲ καὶ πάνυ ζηλοῦν ἔδοξε τὴν Ἀρτοξέρξου τοῦ
 ὁμωνύμου πραότητα, ἡδῖω τε ἑαυτὸν παρέχων
 ἐντυγχάνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι
 τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ὑπερβάλλων, κολάσεως δὲ πάσης
 ἀφαιρῶν τὸ ἐφυβρίζον καὶ ἡδόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ
 δέχεσθαι χάριτας οὐχ ἡττον τοῖς διδοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς
 λαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῷ δίδόναι φαινόμενος εὐχαρις
 4 καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν οὕτως μικρόν τι
 τῶν διδομένων ὃ μὴ προσεδέξατο προθύμως, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ῥόαν μίαν ὑπερφυῇ μεγέθει προσενέγκαντος
 Ὀμίσου τινὸς αὐτῷ, “Νῆ τὸν Μίθραν,” εἶπεν,
 “οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πόλιν ἂν ἐκ μικρᾶς ταχὺ
 ποιήσκει μεγάλην πιστευθείς.”

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλων ἄλλα προσφερόντων καθ'
 ὁδὸν αὐτουργὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἐπὶ καιροῦ φθάσας
 εὐρεῖν τῷ ποταμῷ προσέδραμε καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν
 ὑπολαβὼν τοῦ ὕδατος προσήνεγκεν, ἡσθεὶς ὁ
 Ἀρτοξέρξης φιάλην ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ χρυσὴν καὶ
 χιλίους δαρεικοὺς. Εὐκλείδα δὲ τῷ Λάκωνι, πολ-
 λὰ παρρησιαζομένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐθαδῶς, ἐκέ-
 λευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν χιλιάρχον ὅτι “Σοὶ μὲν ἔξεστιν

and on many pretexts, he kept recruiting-agents. And as for the king's suspicions, his mother, who was at court, tried to remove them, and Cyrus himself would always write in a submissive vein, sometimes asking favours from him, and sometimes making countercharges against Tissaphernes, as if his eager contention were against him.

There was, too, a certain dilatoriness in the nature of the king, which most people took for clemency. Moreover, in the beginning he appeared to be altogether emulous of the gentleness of the Artaxerxes whose name he bore, showing himself very agreeable in intercourse, and bestowing greater honours and favours than were really deserved, while from all his punishments he took away the element of insult or vindictive pleasure, and in his acceptance and bestowal of favours appeared no less gracious and kindly to the givers than to the recipients. For there was no gift so small that he did not accept it with alacrity; indeed, when a certain Omisus brought him a single pomegranate of surpassing size, he said: "By Mithra, this man would speedily make a city great instead of small were he entrusted with it."

V. Once when he was on a journey and various people were presenting him with various things, a labouring man, who could find nothing else at the moment, ran to the river, and, taking some of the water in his hands, offered it to him; at which Artaxerxes was so pleased that he sent him a goblet of gold and a thousand darics. To Eucleidas the Lacedaemonian, who would often say bold and impudent things to him, he sent this word by his officer of the guard: "It is in thy power to say

εἰπεῖν ἂ βούλει, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν.”
 2 ἐν δὲ θήρα τινὶ Τηριβάζου δείξαντος αὐτῷ τὸν
 κάνδυν ἐσχισμένον, ἠρώτησεν ὃ τι δεῖ ποιεῖν.
 ἐκείνου δὲ εἰπόντος, “Ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἔνδυσαι, τοῦ-
 τον δὲ ἐμοὶ δός,” οὕτως ἐποίησεν, εἰπών, “Δίδωμι
 μὲν, ὦ Τηρίβαζε, σοὶ τοῦτον, φορεῖν δὲ ὑπαγο-
 ρεύω.” τοῦ δὲ Τηριβάζου μὴ φροντίσαντος (ἦν
 γὰρ οὐ πονηρός, ὑπόκουφος δὲ καὶ παράφορος),
 ἀλλὰ τὸν τε κάνδυν εὐθύς ἐκείνον ἐνδύντος καὶ
 δέραια χρυσᾶ καὶ γυναικεῖα τῶν βασιλικῶν περι-
 θεμένου, πάντες μὲν ἠγανάκτουν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν), ὁ
 μέντοι βασιλεὺς κατεγέλασε καὶ εἶπε· “Δίδωμί
 σοι καὶ τὰ χρυσία φορεῖν ὥς γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν
 3 στολὴν ὥς μαινομένῳ.” τραπέζης δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς
 μηδενὸς μετέχοντος ἀλλ’ ἢ μητρὸς βασιλέως ἢ
 γαμετῆς γυναικὸς, καθεζομένων τῆς μὲν ὑπ’ αὐτόν,
 τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, Ἀρτοξέρξης καὶ τοὺς
 ἀδελφούς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάλει τράπεζαν, Ὀστά-
 νην καὶ Ὀξάθρην, νεωτέρους ὄντας. ἐν δὲ τοῖς
 μάλιστα κεχαρισμένην ὄψιν παρῆχε τοῖς Πέρ-
 σαις ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς Στατεΐρας ἀρμάμαξα γυμνὴ
 τῶν παραπετασμάτων ἀεὶ προφερομένη καὶ διδοῦ-
 σα ταῖς δημότισιν ὑσπάσασθαι αὐτὴν καὶ προσ-
 ελθεῖν, ὅθεν ἠγαπᾶτο τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ βασιλεία.

VI. Τὸν μέντοι Κῦρον οἱ νεωτερισταὶ καὶ πολυ-
 πράγμονες ὥς λαμπρὸν ἄνδρα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ
 πολεμικὸν διαφερόντως καὶ φιλέταιρον ᾧοντο τὰ
 πράγματα ποθεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 βασιλέως δεῖσθαι φρόνημα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἔχον-
 2 τος. οὐχ ἥττον οὖν τοῖς ἄνω πιστεύων ὁ Κῦρος
 ἢ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρει τῷ πολέμῳ· καὶ

what thou pleasest, but it is in mine both to say and to do." Again, when he was hunting once and Teribazus pointed out that the king's coat was rent, he asked him what was to be done. And when Teribazus replied, "Put on another for thyself, but give this one to me," the king did so, saying, "I give this to thee, Teribazus, but I forbid thee to wear it." Teribazus gave no heed to this command (being not a bad man, but rather light-headed and witless), and at once put on the king's coat, and decked himself with golden necklaces and women's ornaments of royal splendour. Everybody was indignant at this (for it was a forbidden thing); but the king merely laughed, and said: "I permit thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe as a madman." Again, no one shared the table of a Persian king except his mother or his wedded wife, the wife sitting below him, the mother above him; but Artaxerxes invited to the same table with him his brothers Ostanès and Oxathres, although they were his juniors. But what gratified the Persians most of all was the sight of his wife Stateira's carriage, which always appeared with its curtains up, and thus permitted the women of the people to approach and greet the queen. This made her beloved of the common folk.

VI. Nevertheless, restless and factious men thought that affairs demanded Cyrus, a man who had a brilliant spirit, surpassing skill in war, and great love for his friends; and that the magnitude of the empire required a king of lofty purpose and ambition. Accordingly, Cyrus relied quite as much upon the people of the interior as upon those of his own province and command, when he began the war.

Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔγραφε παρακαλῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ
 συνεκπέμπειν ἄνδρας, οἷς ἔφη δώσειν, ἂν μὲν
 πεζοὶ παρῶσιν, ἵππους, ἂν δὲ ἵππεῖς, συνωρίδας·
 ἂν δ' ἀγροὺς ἔχωσι, κώμας· ἂν δὲ κώμας, πόλεις·
 μισθοῦ δὲ τοῖς στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ
 3 μέτρον ἔσεσθαι. μεγαληγορῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ 1014
 πολλὰ καὶ καρδίαν ἔφη τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φορεῖν βαρυ-
 τέραν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν μᾶλλον καὶ μαγεύειν βέλτιον,
 οἶνον δὲ πλείονα πίνειν καὶ φέρειν· ἐκείνους δὲ
 ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ μαλακίας ἐν μὲν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις
 μηδὲ ἐφ' ἵππου, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 θρόνου καθῆσθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν σκυτά-
 λην πρὸς Κλέαρχον ἀπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ
 4 πάντα κελεύοντες. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ
 βασιλέα βαρβαρικήν τε πολλὴν ἔχων δύναμιν
 καὶ μισθοφόρους Ἑλληνας ὀλίγῳ τρισχιλίων καὶ
 μυρίων ἀποδέοντας, ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ποιούμενος
 προφάσεις τῆς στρατείας. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθέ γε εἰς
 πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἦκε βασιλεῖ Τισαφέρνῃς
 αὐτάγγελος· καὶ πολὺς θόρυβος εἶχε τὰ βασίλεια,
 τῆς τε Παρυσάτιδος τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν τοῦ
 πολέμου φερομένης, καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῆς ἐν
 5 ὑποψίαις ὄντων καὶ διαβολαῖς. μάλιστα δὲ ἡνία
 τὴν Παρύσατιν ἢ Στάτειρα τῷ πολέμῳ περιπα-
 θοῦσα καὶ βοῶσα, “Ποῦ νῦν αἱ πίστεῖς ἐκείναι;
 ποῦ δὲ αἱ δεήσεις, αἷς ἐξελομένη τὸν ἐπιβουλεύ-
 σαντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἐμπέπληκας
 ἡμᾶς;” ἐκ δὴ τούτων μισοῦσα τὴν Στάτειραν ἢ
 Παρύσατις, καὶ φύσει βαρύθυμος οὖσα καὶ βάρ-

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 1, 9; 2, 21; 4, 3.

He also wrote to the Lacedaemonians, inviting them to aid him and send him men, and promising that he would give to those who came, if they were footmen, horses; if they were horsemen, chariots and pairs; if they had farms, he would give them villages; if they had villages, cities; and the pay of the soldiers should not be counted, but measured out. Moreover, along with much high-sounding talk about himself, he said he carried a sturdier heart than his brother, was more of a philosopher, better versed in the wisdom of the Magi, and could drink and carry more wine than he. His brother, he said, was too effeminate and cowardly either to sit his horse in a hunt, or his throne in a time of peril. The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, sent a dispatch-roll to Clearchus ordering him to give Cyrus every assistance.¹ So Cyrus marched up against the king with a large force of Barbarians and nearly thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries,² alleging one pretext after another for his expedition. But the real object of it was not long concealed, for Tissaphernes went in person to the king and informed him of it. Then there was a great commotion at the court, Parysatis being most blamed for the war, and her friends undergoing suspicion and accusation. And above all was she vexed by Stateira, who was greatly distressed at the war, and kept crying: "Where now are those pledges of thine? And where are the entreaties by which thou didst rescue the man who had plotted against the life of his brother, only to involve us in war and calamity?" Therefore Parysatis hated Stateira, and being naturally of a harsh

² Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 7, 10, where the force of Barbarians is said to have numbered one hundred thousand.

6 βαρος ἐν ὀργαῖς καὶ μνησικακίαις, ἐπεβούλευεν αὐτὴν ἀνελεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δείνων μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν εἶρηκε, Κτησίας δὲ ὕστερον, ὃν οὔτε ἀγνοεῖν τὸν χρόνον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ παρόντα ταῖς πράξεσιν, οὔτε ἐκὼν αἰτίαν εἶχεν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου μεταστῆσαι τὸ ἔργον, ὥς ἐπράχθη διηγούμενος, οἷα πάσχει πολλάκις ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ δραματικὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδωκε χώραν ἕξει.

VII. Κύρῳ δὲ προσιόντι φῆμαι καὶ λόγοι προσ- ἐπιπτον, ὥς οὐ μάχεσθαι βασιλέως εὐθύς ἐγνω- κότος οὐδὲ συνδραμεῖν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ σπεύδοντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Πέρσαις ὑπομένειν ἄχρι ἂν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐκεῖ πανταχόθεν συνέλθωσι. καὶ γὰρ τάφρον εὖρος ὀργυιῶν δέκα καὶ βάθος ἴσων ἐπὶ σταδίου διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τετρακοσίους ἐνέβαλε· καὶ ταύτης τε περιεΐδε τὸν Κύρον ἐντὸς παρελθόντα καὶ Βα- 2 βυλῶνος αὐτῆς οὐ μακρὰν γενόμενον. Τηριβάζου δέ, ὥς φασι, πρώτου τολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν ὥς οὐ δεῖ φυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ Μηδίας ἐκστάντα καὶ Βα- βυλῶνος ἅμα¹ καὶ Σούσων ἐνδύεσθαι τῇ Περσίδι, πολλαπλασίαν μὲν ἔχοντα δύναμιν τῶν πολεμίων, μυρίους δὲ σατράπας καὶ στρατηγούς Κύρου καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι βελτίονας, ὥρμησε διαγω- νίσασθαι τὴν ταχίστην.

3 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαίφνης καταφανεῖς ἐνενή- κοντα μυριάσι στρατοῦ διακεκοσμημέναις λαμ-

¹ ἅμα Bekker and Ziegler, after Coraïs : ἀλλά.

temper and savage in her wrath and resentment, she plotted to kill her. Deinon says that her plot was carried out during the war. Ctesias, however, says that it was accomplished afterwards, and neither is it likely that he was ignorant of the time since he was at the scene of action, nor had he any occasion, in his narrative of the deed, to change the time of it on purpose, however often his story turns aside from the truth into fable and romance. I shall therefore give the event the place which he has assigned to it.¹

VII. As Cyrus proceeded on his march, rumours and reports kept coming to his ears that the king had decided not to give battle at once, and was not desirous of coming to close quarters with him, but rather of waiting in Persia until his forces should assemble there from all parts. For he had run a trench, ten fathoms in width and as many in depth, four hundred furlongs through the plain; and yet he allowed Cyrus to cross this and to come within a short distance of Babylon itself.² And it was Teribazus, as we are told, who first plucked up courage to tell the king that he ought not to shun a battle, nor to retire from Media and Babylon, as well as Susa, and hide himself in Persia, when he had a force many times as numerous as that of the enemy, and countless satraps and generals who surpassed Cyrus in wisdom and military skill. The king therefore determined to fight the issue out as soon as possible.

So, to begin with, by his sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men in brilliant

¹ See chap. xix.

² Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 7, 14-17.

πρῶς, τοὺς πολεμίους ἀσυντάκτους καὶ ἀνόπλους
διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν ὁδοιποροῦντας
ἐξέπληξε καὶ συνετάραξεν, ὥστε σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ
βοῇ πολλῇ μόλις εἰς τάξιν καθίστασθαι τὸν
Κῦρον· ἔπειτα σιγῇ καὶ σχέδην ἐπάγων θαῦμα
τοῖς "Ελλησι τῆς εὐταξίας παρεῖχε, κραυγὰς ἀτά-
κτους καὶ σκιρτήματα καὶ πολὺν τάραχον αὐτῶν
καὶ διασπασμὸν ἐν πλήθει τοσοῦτῳ προσδεχομέ-
4 νοις. εὖ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς "Ελληνας ἀντέταξε τῶν
δρεπανηφόρων τὰ ῥωμαλεώτατα πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
φάλαγγος, ὡς πρὶν ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι διακόψοντα
τὰς τάξεις βία τῆς εἰσελάσεως.

VIII. Τὴν δὲ μάχην ἐκείνην πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγ-
γελκότων, Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μονονουχὶ δεικνύοντος
ᾧ ψει, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς οὐ γεγεννημένοις,
ἀλλὰ γινομένοις, ἐφιστάντος ἀεὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν
ἐμπαθῇ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν,
οὐκ ἔστι νοῦν ἔχοντος ἐπεξηγεῖσθαι, πλὴν ὅσα
2 τῶν ἀξίων λόγου παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἐκείνον. ὁ μὲν
οὖν τόπος, ἐν ᾧ παρετάξαντο, Κούναξα καλεῖται 1015
καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπέχει σταδίου πεντακοσίου.
Κῦρον δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης Κλεάρχου παρακα-
λοῦντος ἐξόπισθεν τῶν μαχομένων εἶναι καὶ μὴ
κινδυνεύειν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν φασι, "Τί λέγεις, ᾧ
Κλέαρχε; σὺ κελεύεις με τὸν βασιλείας ὀρεγό-
3 μενον ἀνάξιον εἶναι βασιλείας;" ἀμαρτόντος δὲ
Κύρου μέγα τῷ δύναι προπετῶς εἰς μέσα τὰ
δεινὰ καὶ μὴ φυλάξασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, οὐχ ἥττον
ἤμαρτεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, Κλέαρχος ἀντιτάξι

¹ *Anab.* i. 8.

array, he so terrified and confounded the enemy, who were marching along in loose order and without arms because of their boldness and contempt for the king, that Cyrus could with difficulty bring them into battle array amid much tumult and shouting; and again, by leading his forces up slowly and in silence, he filled the Greeks with amazement at his good discipline, since they had expected in so vast a host random shouting, and leaping, with great confusion and dissipation of their lines. Besides this, he did well to draw up in front of his own line, and over against the Greeks, the mightiest of his scythe-bearing chariots, in order that by the force of their charge they might cut to pieces the ranks of the Greeks before they had come to close quarters.

VIII. Now, since many writers have reported to us this battle, and since Xenophon¹ brings it all but before our eyes, and by the vigour of his description makes his reader always a participant in the emotions and perils of the struggle, as though it belonged, not to the past, but to the present, it would be folly to describe it again, except so far as he has passed over things worthy of mention. The place, then, where the armies were drawn up, is called Cunaxa, and it is five hundred furlongs distant from Babylon. And we are told that Cyrus, before the battle, when Clearchus besought him to remain behind the combatants and not risk his life, replied: "What sayest thou, Clearchus? Dost thou bid me, who am reaching out for a kingdom, to be unworthy of a kingdom?" It was a great mistake for Cyrus to plunge headlong into the midst of the fray, instead of trying to avoid its dangers; but it was no less a mistake, nay, even a greater one, for Clearchus to refuse to array his

κατὰ τὸν βασιλέα μὴ θελήσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ προσμίξας τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ δεξιόν, ὥς μὴ κυκλωθείη. τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν ἐξ ἁπαντος διώκοντα καὶ πλείστον λόγον ἔχοντα τοῦ μηδὲν
 4 παθεῖν οἴκοι μένειν ἦν κράτιστον. ὁ δὲ μυρίους σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν ὅπλοις ἀναβεβηκὼς μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, ἀλλ' ὅπως Κῦρον εἰς τὸν θρόνον καθίσῃ τὸν βασιλείον, εἶτα περισκοπῶν χώραν καὶ τάξιν, οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς σώσειε τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ μισθοδότην, ἀλλ' ἐν τίνι θέμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀσφαλῶς μαχεῖται καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ὅμοιος ἦν ὑπὸ δέους τῶν παρόντων ἐκβεβληκότι τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὅλων λογισμοὺς καὶ προῖεμένῳ τὴν τῆς στρατείας
 5 ὑπόθεσιν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπέμεινε τῶν τεταγμένων περὶ βασιλέα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐμπεσόντας, ὡσθέντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ βασιλέως φυγόντος ἢ πεσόντος ὑπῆρχε Κύρῳ νικῶντι σώζεσθαι καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων δῆλόν ἐστι. διὸ τὴν Κλεάρχου μάλλον εὐλάβειαν ἢ τὸ τοῦ Κύρου θράσος αἰτιατέον ὥς τὰ πράγματα καὶ Κῦρον
 6 ἀπολέσασαν. εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐσκόπει βασιλεὺς ὅπου τάξας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀβλαβεστάτοις χρήσεται πολεμίοις, οὐκ ἂν ἐτέραν ἐξεῦρεν ἢ τὴν ἀπωτάτῳ χώραν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ ἑαυτόν, ἀφ' ἧς οὔτε νικηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἦσθετο καὶ Κῦρος ἔφθη κατακοπείς ἢ χρησάμενός τι τῇ Κλεάρχου νίκῃ.
 7 καίτοι Κῦρος τὸ συμφέρον οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ Κλέαρχον ἐκέλευε τάττεσθαι κατὰ μέσον. ὁ δ' αὐτῷ μέλειν εἰπὼν ὅπως ἔξει κάλλιστα, τὸ πᾶν διέφθειρεν,

Greeks over against the king, and to keep his right wing close to the river, that he might not be surrounded. For if he sought safety above everything else and made it his chief object to avoid losses, it had been best for him to stay at home. But he had marched ten thousand furlongs up from the sea-coast under arms, with no compulsion upon him, but in order that he might place Cyrus upon the royal throne; and then, in looking about for a place and position which would enable him, not to save his leader and employer, but to fight safely and as he pleased, he was like one who, through fear of instant peril, had cast aside the plans made for general success and abandoned the object of the expedition. For had the Greeks charged upon the forces arrayed about the king, not a man of them would have stood his ground; and had these been routed and the king either slain or put to flight, Cyrus would have won by his victory, not only safety, but a kingdom. This is clear from the course of the action. Therefore the caution of Clearchus rather than the temerity of Cyrus must be held responsible for the ruin of Cyrus and his cause. For if the king himself had sought out a place to array the Greeks in which their attack would be least injurious to him, he could have found no other than that which was most remote from himself and his immediate following, since he himself did not know that his forces had been defeated there, and Cyrus could take no advantage at all of the victory of Clearchus, because he was cut down too soon. And yet Cyrus well knew what was for the best, and ordered Clearchus to take his position accordingly in the centre. But Clearchus, after telling Cyrus he would see to it that the best was done, ruined everything.

- IX. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ὅσον ἐβούλοντο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκων καὶ διώκοντες ἐπὶ πλείστον προήλθον· Κύρῳ δὲ γενναῖον ἵππον, ἄστομον δὲ καὶ ὑβριστὴν ἐλαύνοντι, Πασακᾶν καλούμενον, ὡς Κτησίας φησὶν, ἀντεξήλασεν ὁ Καδουσίῳ ἀρχῶν
- 2 Ἀρταγέρσης μέγα βοῶν, “ὦ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν Πέρσαις ὄνομα Κύρου καταισχύνων, ἀδικώτατε ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀφρονέστατε, κακοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας ἔρχη κακὴν ὁδὸν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἀγαθὰ, δεσπότην δὲ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἐλπίζων ἀναιρήσειν, ὃς σοῦ μυριάκις μυρίους δούλους ἔχει κρείσσονας. αὐτίκα δὲ πειράσῃ· πρότερον γὰρ ἀπολεῖς ἐνταῦθα τὴν σεαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἢ θεά-
- 3 σασθαι τὸ βασιλέως πρόσωπον.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξηκόντισεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ θώραξ στερεῶς ἀντέσχε, καὶ οὐκ ἐτρώθη μὲν ὁ Κῦρος, ἐκραδάνθη δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς προσπεσούσης. ἀποστρέψαντος δὲ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ Ἀρταγέρσου βαλὼν ὁ Κῦρος ἔτυχε, καὶ διήλασε παρὰ τὴν κλεῖδα διὰ τοῦ τραχήλου τὴν αἰχμὴν.
- 4 Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρταγέρσην ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν· περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ Κύρου τελευτῆς ἐπεὶ Ξενοφῶν ἀπλῶς καὶ συντόμως, ἅτε δὴ μὴ παρὼν αὐτός, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει τὰ Δείνωνος ἰδίᾳ καὶ πάλιν τὰ Κτησίου διελθεῖν.
- X. Φησὶν οὖν ὁ μὲν Δείνων ὅτι τοῦ Ἀρταγέρσου πεσόντος εἰσελάσας βιαίως ὁ Κῦρος εἰς τοὺς προτεταγμένους τοῦ βασιλέως κατέτρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον, ὁ δὲ ἀπερρῦν· Τηριβάζου δὲ

IX. For the Greeks were victorious to their hearts' content over the Barbarians, and went forward a very great distance in pursuit of them; but Cyrus, riding a horse that was high-bred, but fierce and hard to guide (his name was Pasacas, as Ctesias tells us), was met in full course by Artagerses, commander of the Cadusians, who cried with a loud voice: "O thou who disgracest the name of Cyrus, that noblest name among the Persians, thou most unjust and senseless of men, thou art come with evil Greeks on an evil journey after the good things of the Persians, and thou hopest to slay thine own brother and thy master, who hath a million servants that are better men than thou. And thou shalt at once have proof of this; for thou shalt lose thine own head here before thou hast seen the face of the king." With these words he hurled his spear at Cyrus. But the breastplate of Cyrus stoutly resisted, and its wearer was not wounded, though he reeled under the shock of the mighty blow. Then, as Artagerses turned his horse away, Cyrus hurled his spear and hit him, and drove its head through his neck past the collar-bone.

Thus Artagerses died at the hands of Cyrus, as nearly all writers are agreed in saying; but as regards the death of Cyrus himself, since Xenophon makes simple and brief mention of it,¹ because he was not present himself when it happened, there is no objection perhaps to my recounting, first what Deinon says about it, and then what Ctesias says.

X. Accordingly, Deinon says that after Artagerses had fallen, Cyrus charged furiously into those drawn up in front of the king, and wounded the king's horse, and that the king fell to the ground; but

¹ *Anab.* I. viii. 26 f.

ἀναβαλόντος αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἵππον ταχὺ καὶ εἰπόντος, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέμνησο τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης· οὐ γὰρ ἀξία λήθης ἐστί,” πάλιν ὁ Κῦρος ἐνσείσας τῷ ἵππῳ κατέβαλε τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην.
 2 πρὸς δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἐπέλασιν δυσανασχετήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς βέλτιόν ἐστι μὴ ζῆν, ἀντεξήλαυνε τῷ Κύρῳ προπετῶς καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως εἰς ἐναντία βέλη φερομένων. καὶ βάλλει μὲν αὐτὸς ἀκοντίῳ, βάλλουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν. πίπτει δὲ ὁ Κῦρος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσι, πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροί τινες, Καρὸς ἀνθρώπου πατάξαντος, ὃ γέρας ἔδωκε τῆς πράξεως ταύτης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀλεκτρυόνα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ δόρατος αἰὲ πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις κομίζειν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Κᾶρας ἀλεκτρυόνας οἱ Πέρσαι διὰ τοὺς λόφους, οἷς κοσμοῦσι τὰ κράνη, προσηγόρευον.

XI. Ἡ δὲ Κτησίῳ διήγησις, ὡς ἐπιτεμόντι πολλὰ συντόμως ἀπαγγεῖλαι, τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι. Κῦρος ἀποκτείνας Ἀρταγέρσην ἤλανθεν εἰς αὐτὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἵππον, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἐκείνον, ἀμφότεροι σιωπῇ. φθάνει δὲ βαλὼν Ἀριαῖος ὁ Κύρου φίλος βασιλέα, καὶ οὐκ ἔτρωσε. βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀφείς τὸ δόρυ Κύρου μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε, Σατιφέρνην δέ, πιστὸν ἄνδρα Κύρῳ καὶ γενναῖον, ἔβαλε καὶ
 2 ἀπέκτεινε. Κῦρος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξακοντίσας διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἔτρωσε τὸ στῆθος, ὅσον ἐνδύναι δύο δακτύλους τὸ ἀκόντιον, πεσεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. φυγῆς δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἀναστὰς μετ'

Teribazus quickly mounted him upon another horse, saying, "O king, remember this day, for it deserves not to be forgotten"; whereupon Cyrus again plunged in and dismounted Artaxerxes. But at his third assault, the king, being enraged, and saying to those who were with him that death was better, rode out against Cyrus, who was rashly and impetuously rushing upon the missiles of his opponents. The king himself hit him with a spear, and he was hit by the attendants of the king. Thus Cyrus fell, as some say, by a wound at the hands of the king, but as sundry others have it, from the blow of a Carian, who was rewarded by the king for this exploit with the privilege of always carrying a golden cock upon his spear in front of the line during an expedition; for the Persians call the Carians themselves cocks, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets.

XI. But the narrative of Ctesias, to give it in a much-abbreviated form, is something as follows. After he had slain Artagerses, Cyrus rode against the king himself, and the king against him, both without a word. But Ariaeus, the friend of Cyrus, was beforehand in hurling his spear at the king, though he did not wound him. And the king, casting his spear at Cyrus, did not hit him, but struck and killed Satiphernes, a trusted friend of Cyrus and a man of noble birth. But Cyrus threw his spear at the king and wounded him in the breast through the cuirass, so that the weapon sank in two fingers deep, and the king fell from his horse with the blow. Amid the ensuing confusion and flight of his immediate followers, the king rose to his feet, and with a few companions

- ὀλίγων, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας ἦν, λόφον τινὰ πλη-
σίον καταλαβὼν ἡσύχαζε· Κῦρον δὲ τοῖς πολε-
μίοις ἐνειλούμενον ὁ ἵππος ἐξέφερεν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ
μακράν, ἥδη σκότους ὄντος ἀγνοούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
3 πολεμίων καὶ ζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων. ἐπαι-
ρόμενος δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ μεστὸς ὦν ὁρμῆς καὶ
θράσους διεξήλαυνε βοῶν, “Ἐξίστασθε, πενι-
χροί.” τοῦτο δὲ Περσιστὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ
βοῶντος, οἱ μὲν ἐξίσταντο προσκυνοῦντες, ἀπο-
πίπτει δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ τιάρα τοῦ Κύρου. καὶ
παρατρέχων νεανίας Πέρσης ὄνομα Μιθριδάτης
ἀκοντίῳ βάλλει τὸν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν
4 ὀφθαλμόν, ἀγνοῶν ὅστις εἴη. πολὺν δὲ αἶμα τοῦ
τραύματος ἐκβαλόντος ἱλιγγιάσας καὶ καρωθείς
ὁ Κῦρος ἔπεσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ὑπεκφυγὼν ἐπλά-
ζετο, τὸν δ’ ἐφίππειον πῖλον ἀπορρυνέντα λαμβάνει
τοῦ τὸν Κῦρον βαλόντος ἀκόλουθος αἵματος περί-
πλεω. τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέροντα
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις εὐνοῦχοί τινες ὀλίγοι παρόντες
ἐπεχείρουν ἐπ’ ἄλλον ἵππον ἀναθέσθαι καὶ σῶζειν.
5 ἀδυνάτως δ’ ἔχοντα καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ προθυμούμενον
βαδίζειν ὑπολαβόντες ἤγον, τῷ μὲν σώματι καρη-
βαροῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον, οἰόμενον δὲ νικᾶν
ἀκούοντα τῶν φευγόντων ἀνακαλουμένων Κῦρον
βασιλέα καὶ φείδεσθαι δεομένων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
Καύνιοί τινες ἄνθρωποι κακόβιοι καὶ ἄποροι καὶ
ταπεινῶν ὑπουργημάτων ἕνεκα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως
στρατιᾷ παρακολουθοῦντες ἔτυχον συναναμιχθέν-
6 τες ὡς φίλοις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κῦρον. ὡς δὲ μόλις

among whom also was Ctesias, took possession of a certain hill near by and remained there quietly; but Cyrus, enveloped by his enemies, was borne on a long distance by his spirited horse, and since it was now dark, his enemies did not recognize him and his friends could not find him. But lifted up by his victory, and full of impetuosity and confidence, he rode on through his foes, crying out, "Clear the way, ye beggars!" Thus he cried out many times, in Persian, and they cleared the way, and made him their obeisance. But the turban of Cyrus fell from his head, and a young Persian, Mithridates by name, running to his side, smote him with his spear in the temple, near the eye, not knowing who he was. Much blood gushed from the wound, and Cyrus, stunned and giddy, fell to the ground. His horse escaped and wandered about the field, but the horse's saddle-cloth, which had slipped off, was captured by the attendant of the man who had struck Cyrus, and it was soaked with blood. Then, as Cyrus was slowly and with difficulty recovering from the blow, a few eunuchs who were at hand tried to put him upon another horse and bring him to a place of safety. But since he was unable to ride and desired to go on his own feet, they supported him and led him along. His head was heavy and he reeled to and fro, but he thought he was victorious because he heard the fugitives saluting Cyrus as king and begging him to spare them. Meanwhile some Caunians—low and poverty-stricken men who followed the king's army to do menial service—chanced to join the party about Cyrus, supposing them to be friends. But when at last they perceived that the tunics

συνεΐδον τὰ ἐπιθωρακίδια φοινικᾶ, λευκοῖς χρω-
μένων τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀπάντων, ἔγνωσαν πολε-
μίους ὄντας. εἰς οὖν ἐκείνων ἐτόλμησεν ἀγνοῶν
ἐξόπισθεν βαλεῖν τὸν Κῦρον ἀκοντίῳ. τῆς δὲ
περὶ τὴν ἰγνύαν φλεβὸς ἀναρραγείσης πεσὼν ὁ
Κῦρος ἅμα παίει πρὸς τινι λίθῳ τὸν τετρωμένον
κρόταφον καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Κτη-
σίου λόγος, ᾧ καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ ξιφιδίῳ μόλις
ἀναιρῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνήρηκεν.

XII. Ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος Ἀρτασύρας ὁ
βασιλέως ὀφθαλμὸς ἔτυχεν ἵππῳ παρεξελαύνων.
γνωρίσας οὖν τοὺς εὐνούχους ὀλοφυρομένους
ἠρώτησε τὸν πιστότατον αὐτῶν, “Τίνα τοῦ- 1017
τον, ὦ Παρίσκα, κλαίεις παρακαθήμενος;” ὁ δὲ
εἶπεν· “Οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὦ Ἀρτασύρα, Κῦρον τεθνη-
κότα;” θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀρτασύρας τῷ μὲν
εὐνούχῳ θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύσατο καὶ φυλάττειν
2 τὸν νεκρόν, αὐτὸς δὲ συντείνας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτο-
ξέρξην, ἀπεγνωκότα μὲν ἤδη τὰ πράγματα, κακῶς
δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακείμενον ὑπὸ τε δίψης καὶ
τοῦ τραύματος, χαίρων φράζει ὡς αὐτὸς ἴδοι
τεθνηκότα Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς ὥρ-
μησεν αὐτὸς ἰέναι, καὶ τὸν Ἀρτασύραν ἄγειν
ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολὺς ἦν λόγος
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ φόβος ὡς διωκόντων καὶ πάντα
νικῶντων καὶ κρατούντων, ἔδοξε πλείονας πέμψαι
3 ἔχοντες ἐπέμφθησαν. αὐτῷ δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολεί-
ποντι τοῦ τεθνάναι διὰ τὸ διψῆν Σατιβαρζάνης

over their breastplates were of a purple colour, whereas all the king's people wore white ones, they knew that they were enemies. Accordingly, one of them, not knowing who Cyrus was, ventured to smite him from behind with his spear. The vein in the ham of Cyrus was ruptured and he fell, and at the same time struck his wounded temple against a stone, and so died. Such is the story of Ctesias, in which, as with a blunt sword, he is long in killing Cyrus, but kills him at last.

XII. When Cyrus was now dead, Artasyras, the king's Eye,¹ chanced to pass by on horseback, and recognizing the eunuchs as they lamented, he asked the trustiest of them, "Who is this man, Pariscas, by whom thou sittest mourning?" And Pariscas answered: "O Artasyras, dost thou not see Cyrus dead?" Astonished at this, then, Artasyras bade the eunuch be of good courage and guard the dead body, but he himself went in hot haste to Artaxerxes (who had already given up his cause for lost, and besides was physically in a wretched plight from thirst and from his wound), and joyfully told him that with his own eyes he had seen Cyrus dead. At first the king promptly set out to go in person to the place, and ordered Artasyras to conduct him thither; but since there was much talk about the Greeks, and it was feared that they were pursuing and conquering and making themselves masters everywhere, he decided to send a larger company to see where Cyrus lay. So thirty men were sent, with torches. Meanwhile, since the king was almost dead with thirst, Satibarzanes the eunuch

¹ A confidential officer of high rank, a Superintendent of the Realm.

ὁ εὐνοῦχος περιθέων ἐζήτει ποτόν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τὸ χωρίον ὕδωρ, οὐδὲ ἦν ἐγγὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον· μόλις οὖν ἐπιτυγχάνει τῶν Καυνίων ἐκείνων τῶν κακοβίων ἐνὸς ἐν ἀσκήῳ φαύλῳ διεφθαρμένον ὕδωρ καὶ πονηρὸν ἔχοντος, ὅσον ὀκτὼ κοτύλας· καὶ λαβὼν τοῦτο καὶ κομίσας τῷ βασιλεῖ δίδωσιν. ἐκπιόντα δὲ ἅπαν ἠρώτησεν εἰ μὴ πάνυ δυσχε-
 4 ραίνει τὸ ποτόν. ὁ δὲ ὤμοσε τοὺς θεοὺς μήτε οἶνον ἡδέως οὕτως πώποτε πεπωκέναι μήτε ὕδωρ τὸ κουφότατον καὶ καθαρώτατον, “Ὡστε,” ἔφη, “τὸν δόντα σοι τοῦτο ἄνθρωπον, ἂν ἐγὼ μὴ δυνηθῶ ζητήσας ἀμείψασθαι, τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομαι ποιῆσαι μακάριον καὶ πλούσιον.”

XIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσήλαυνον οἱ τριάκοντα λαμπροὶ καὶ περιχαρεῖς, ἀναγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνέλπιστον εὐτυχίαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ πλήθει τῶν συντρεχόντων πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνισταμένων ἐθάρρει, καὶ κατέβαινεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου φωτὶ
 2 πολλῷ περιλαμπόμενος. ὥς δὲ ἐπέστη τῷ νεκρῷ, καὶ κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον Περσῶν ἢ δεξιὰ χεῖρ ἀπεκόπη καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι· καὶ τῆς κόμης δραξάμενος οὔσης βαθείας καὶ λασίας ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμφιδοξοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ φεύγουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐθαύμαζον καὶ προσεκύνουν, ὥστε ταχὺ μυριάδας ἐπτά περὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ συνεισελάσαι πάλιν
 3 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐξεληλάκει δέ, ὥς ὁ Κτησίας φησὶν, ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Δείνωνα καὶ Ξενοφῶντα πολὺν πλείονας γενέσθαι λέγουσι τὰς μεμαχημένας. ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν ὁ Κτησίας ἑνακισχιλίους ἀνενεχθῆναι

ran about in quest of a drink for him; for the place had no water, and the camp was far away. At last, then, he came upon one of those low Caunians, who had vile and polluted water in a wretched skin, about two quarts in all: this he took, brought it to the king, and gave it to him. After the king had drunk it all off, the eunuch asked him if he was not altogether disgusted with the drink. But the king swore by the gods that he had never drunk wine, or the lightest and purest water, with so much pleasure. "Therefore," said the king, "if I should be unable to find and reward the man who gave thee this drink, I pray the gods to make him rich and happy."

XIII. And now the thirty messengers came riding up with joy and exultation in their faces, announcing to the king his unexpected good fortune. Presently, too, he was encouraged by the number of men who flocked back to him and formed in battle array, and so he came down from the hill under the light of many torches. And after he had halted at the dead body of Cyrus, and its right hand and head had been cut off (in accordance with a law of the Persians), he ordered the head to be brought to him; and grasping it by the hair, which was long and bushy, he showed it to those who were still wavering and disposed to fly. These were amazed, and made obeisance to the king, so that very soon seventy thousand men were about him and marched back with him to their camp. He had marched out to the battle, as Ctesias says, with four hundred thousand men. But Deinon and Xenophon say that the army which fought under him was much larger. As to the number of his dead, Ctesias says that it

φησι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην, αὐτῷ δὲ δισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους φανῆναι τοὺς κειμένους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει διαμφισβήτησιν· ἐκείνο δὲ τοῦ Κτησίου λαμπρὸν ἤδη ψεῦσμα, τὸ πεμφθῆναι φάναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸν μετὰ Φαλίνου τοῦ Ζακυνθίου
 4 καὶ τινων ἄλλων. ὁ γὰρ Ξενοφῶν ἠπίστατο συνδιατρίβοντα βασιλεῖ Κτησίαν· μέμνηται γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις τούτοις ἐντετυχηκῶς δῆλός ἐστιν· οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἐλθόντα καὶ λόγων τοσούτων ἐρμηνέα γενόμενον παρήκεν ἀνώνυμον, Φαλῖνον δὲ τὸν Ζακύνθιον ὠνόμαζεν· ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως ὁ Κτησίας, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ οὐχ ἥττον φιλολάκων καὶ φιλοκλέαρχος αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐν τῇ διηγῇσι χώρας ἑαυτῷ δίδωσιν, ἐν αἷς γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ μεμνήσεται Κλεάρχου καὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος.

XIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην δῶρα κάλλιστα μὲν ἐξέπεμψε καὶ μέγιστα τῷ Ἀρταγέρσου παιδὶ τοῦ πεσόντος ὑπὸ Κύρου, καλῶς δὲ καὶ Κτησίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμησε. τὸν δὲ Καύνιον ἐκείνον ἐξανευρών, ὃς ἐπέδωκε τὸ ἀσκίον, ἐξ ἀδόξου καὶ πένητος ἔντιμον καὶ πλούσιον ἐποίησεν. ἦν δέ τις ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἐξαμαρτόντων δικαιο-
 2 ῳσεις. Ἀρβάκην μὲν γάρ τινα Μῆδον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς Κῦρον φυγόντα καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου πεσόντος μεταστάντα, δειλίαν καὶ μαλακίαν καταγινούς, οὐ προδοσίαν οὐδὲ κακόνοιαν, ἐκέλευσε γυμνὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντα πόρνην περιβάδην ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης ἐν ἀγορᾷ περιφέρειν. ἐτέρου δὲ πρὸς

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¹ Anab. ii. 1. 7-23.

was reported to Artaxerxes as nine thousand, but that he himself thought the slain no fewer than twenty thousand. This matter, then, is in dispute. But it is certainly a glaring falsehood on the part of Ctesias to say that he was sent to the Greeks along with Phalinus the Zacynthian and certain others. For Xenophon knew that Ctesias was in attendance upon the king, since he makes mention of him and had evidently read his works; if, then, Ctesias had come to the Greeks and served as an interpreter in so momentous a colloquy, Xenophon would not have left him nameless and named only Phalinus the Zacynthian.¹ The truth is that Ctesias, being prodigiously ambitious, as it would seem, and none the less partial to Sparta and to Clearchus, always allows considerable space in his narrative for himself, and there he will say many fine things about Clearchus and Sparta.

XIV. After the battle, the king sent the largest and most beautiful gifts to the son of that Artagerses who fell at the hands of Cyrus; he also gave generous rewards to Ctesias and others, and when he had found out the Caunian who had given him the skin of water, he raised him from obscurity and poverty to honour and wealth. There was much watchful care also in his punishment of those who had gone wrong. For example, in the case of Arbaces, a Mede, who had run away to Cyrus during the battle, and, when Cyrus fell, had changed back again, the king pronounced him guilty, not of treachery, nor even of malice, but of cowardice and weakness, and ordered him to take a naked harlot astride his neck and carry her about in the market-place for a whole day. And in the case of another man, who, besides

τῷ μεταστῆναι ψευσαμένου καταβαλεῖν δύο τῶν
πολεμίων, προσέταξε διαπεῖραι τρισὶ βελόνας
3 τὴν γλῶτταν. οἰόμενος δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος δοκεῖν
καὶ λέγειν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὡς αὐτὸς ἀπεκτόνοι
Κῦρον, Μιθριδάτη τε τῷ βαλόντι πρώτῳ Κῦρον
ἐξέπεμψε δῶρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς διδόντας
ὡς “Τούτοις σε τιμᾷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι τὸν ἐφίπ-
πειον Κῦρου πῖλον εὐρών ἀνήνεγκας.” τοῦ δὲ
Καρὸς, ὑφ’ οὗ τὴν ἰγνύαν πληγεὶς ὁ Κῦρος ἔπεσε,
καὶ αὐτοῦ δωρεὰν αἰτοῦντος, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τοὺς
διδόντας ὅτι “Σοὶ ταῦτα δίδωσιν βασιλεὺς εὐαγ-
γελίων δευτερεῖα· πρῶτος γὰρ Ἀρτασύρας, μετ’
ἐκείνῳ δὲ σὺ τὴν Κῦρου τελευτὴν ἀπήγγειλας.”
4 ὁ μὲν οὖν Μιθριδάτης ἀπῆλθε σιωπῇ λυπούμενος·
τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον Κᾶρα κοινόν τι πάθος ἐξ ἀβελτερίας
κατέσχε. διαφθαρεῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἀναπεισθεὶς εὐθύς ἀντιποιεῖ-
σθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, οὐκ ἡξίου τὰ δοθέντα
μισθὸν εὐαγγελίων ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ἠγανάκτει μαρτυρό-
μενος καὶ βοῶν ὅτι Κῦρον οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, ἀλλ’
αὐτὸς ἀπεκτόνοι, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀδίκως ἀποστε-
ροῖτο. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς σφόδρα
παρωξύνθη καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεμεῖν
5 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. παρούσα δ’ ἡ μήτηρ, “Μὴ σύ
γε,” εἶπεν, “οὕτω τὸν Κᾶρα τοῦτον, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀπαλλάξης, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἐμοῦ τὸν
ἄξιον ἀπολήψεται μισθὸν ὧν τολμᾷ λέγειν.”
ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκέλευσε τοὺς
ἐπὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἡ Παρύσατις λαβόντας τὸν

going over to the enemy, had lyingly boasted that he had slain two of them, the king ordered that his tongue should be pierced with three needles. Moreover, believing, and wishing all men to think, and say, that he had killed Cyrus with his own hand, he sent gifts to Mithridates, the one who first hit Cyrus, and ordered the bearers of the gifts to say: "This is thy reward from the king because thou didst find and bring to him the trappings of the horse of Cyrus." Again, when the Carian, from whom Cyrus received the blow in the ham which brought him down, asked that he also should receive a gift, the king ordered its bearers to say: "The king gives thee these things as a second prize for good tidings; for Artasyras came first, and after him thou didst come, with tidings of the death of Cyrus." Now, Mithridates went away without a word, although he was vexed; but the wretched Carian, in his folly, gave way to a common feeling. That is, he was corrupted, it would seem, by the good things which he had, and led by them to aspire at once to things beyond his reach, so that he would not deign to take the gifts as a reward for good tidings, but was indignant, calling men to witness and crying in loud tones that it was he himself, and no one else, who had killed Cyrus, and that he was unjustly robbed of his glory. When the king heard of this, he was vehemently angry and gave orders that the man should be beheaded. Whereupon the king's mother, who was present, said to him: "O King, do not let this accursed Carian off so easily, but leave him to me, and he shall receive the fitting reward for his daring words." So the king consigned the man to Parysatis, who ordered the executioners to

ἄνθρωπον ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα στρεβλοῦν, εἴτα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξαντας εἰς τὰ ὦτα θερμὸν ἐντῆ-
κειν χαλκὸν ἕως ἀποθάνῃ.

XV. Κακῶς δὲ ἀπώλετο καὶ Μιθριδάτης μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀβελτερίας. κληθεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔνθα καὶ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς μη-
τρὸς εὐνοῦχοι παρῆσαν, ἦκεν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ
2 κεκοσμημένος οἷς ἔλαβε παρὰ βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ πίνειν ἀφίκοντο, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ μέγι-
στον δυνάμενος τῶν Παρυσάτιδος εὐνούχων. “Ὡς καλὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτά σοι ταύτην, ὦ Μιθριδάτα, ὁ βασιλεὺς δέδωκε, καλὰ δὲ στρεπτά καὶ ψέλια· πολλοῦ δὲ ἄξιος ὁ ἀκινάκης. ἡ μακάριόν σε καὶ
περίβλεπτον ἅπασι πεποίηκεν.” ἤδη δὲ μεθύων ὁ Μιθριδάτης, “Τί δὲ ταῦτά ἐστιν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Σπαραμίζη; μαιζόνων γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ καλλιόνων βασιλεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν παρ-
3 ἐσχον.” καὶ ὁ Σπαραμίζης ἐπιμειδιάσας, “Φθόνος μὲν οὐδεὶς, ὦ Μιθριδάτα,” εἶπεν. “ἐπεὶ δὲ φασιν “Ἕλληνες οἶνον καὶ αἰλήθειαν εἶναι, τί λαμπρόν, ὦ τᾶν, ἡ μέγα, πῖλον εὐρεῖν ἵππου περιρρυέντα καὶ τοῦτον ἀνενεγκεῖν;” ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὸ αἰληθὲς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος ἐκκαλύψαι πρὸς τοὺς παρίντας ὑπεκίνει τὴν κουφότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λάλου καὶ ἀκρατοῦς γεγονότος διὰ τὸν
4 οἶνον. εἶπεν οὖν μὴ κατασχών. “Ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὅ τι βούλεσθε, πῖλους λέγετε καὶ φλυάρους· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω διαρρήδην ὑπὸ ταύτης ἀνηρῆσθαι Κῦρον τῆς χειρός. οὐ γὰρ ὥς Ἀρταγέρσης ἠκόν-
τισα κενὸν καὶ μάταιον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὀφθαλμοῦ

take him and rack him on the wheel for ten days, then to gouge out his eyes, and finally to drop molten brass into his ears until he died.

XV. Mithridates also came to a miserable end a little while after, owing to the same folly. For being invited to a banquet at which eunuchs of the king and of the queen-mother were present, he came decked out with raiment and gold which he had received from the king. And when the company were at their cups, the chief eunuch of Parysatis said to him: "Mithridates, how beautiful this raiment is which the king gave thee, and how beautiful the collars and bracelets! Costly, too, is thy scimitar. Verily the king has made thee happy in the admiring eyes of all men." Then Mithridates, now flushed with wine, replied: "Sparamizes, what do these things amount to? Surely my services to the king on that day were worthy of greater and more beautiful gifts." Here Sparamizes smiled at him and said: "There's no grudging them to thee, Mithridates; but since, according to the Greek maxim, there is truth in wine, what great or brilliant exploit was it, my good fellow, to find a horse's trappings that had slipped off, and bring them to the king?" In saying this, Sparamizes was not ignorant of the truth, but he wished to unveil Mithridates to the company, and therefore slyly stirred up his vanity when wine had made him talkative and robbed him of self-control. Accordingly, Mithridates threw away constraint and said: "Ye may talk as ye please about horse-trappings and such nonsense; but I declare to you explicitly that Cyrus was slain by this hand of mine; for I did not, like Artagerses, make a futile and an idle cast of spear, but I

μικρὸν ἤμαρτον, τοῦ δὲ κροτάφου τυχὼν καὶ διελά-
 5 σας κατέβαλον τὸν ἄνδρα· καὶ τέθηκεν ὑπ' ἐκεί-
 νου τοῦ τραύματος.” οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τὸ τέλος
 ἤδη τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν ὀρῶν-
 τες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔκυψαν· ὁ δ' ἐστιῶν αὐτούς, “ὦ 1019
 τᾶν,” ἔφη, “Μιθριδάτα, πίνωμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 καὶ ἐσθίωμεν τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα προσκυννοῦν-
 τες, λόγους δὲ μείζους ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐάσωμεν.”

XVI. Ἐκ τούτου τῇ μὲν Παρυσάτιδι φράζει
 τὸν λόγον ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐκείνη δὲ βασιλεῖ· βασιλεὺς
 δὲ ἡγανάκτησεν ὥσπερ ἐξελεγχόμενος καὶ τὸ
 κάλλιστον καὶ ἡδιστον ἀπολλύων τῆς νίκης.
 ἐβούλετο γὰρ βαρβάρους ἅπαντας πεπεῖσθαι καὶ
 Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐξελάσεσι καὶ συμπλοκαῖς
 δούς καὶ λαβὼν πληγὴν ἐτρώθη μὲν αὐτός, ἔκ-
 τεινε δὲ ἐκείνον. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν τὸν Μιθριδάτην
 ἀποθανεῖν σκαφευθέντα.

- 2 Τὸ δὲ σκαφευθῆναι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· σκάφας δύο
 πεποιημένας ἐφαρμόζειν ἀλλήλαις λαβύντες, εἰς
 τὴν ἐτέραν κατακλίνουσι τὸν κολαζόμενον ὑπτιον·
 εἶτα τὴν ἐτέραν ἐπάγοντες καὶ συναρμόζοντες,
 ὥστε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἔξω καὶ τοὺς
 πόδας ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν
 ἀποκεκρῦφθαι, διδόασιν ἐσθίειν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, κἂν
 μὴ θέλῃ, προσβιάζονται κεντοῦντες τὰ ὄμματα·
 φαγόντι δὲ πιεῖν μέλι καὶ γάλα συγκεκραμένον
 ἐγχέουσιν εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου
 3 καταχέουσιν. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀεὶ στρέφου-
 σιν ἐναντία τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ μυιῶν προσκαθημέ-

narrowly missed his eye, struck him in the temple, pierced it, and brought the man down; and it was of that wound that he died." The rest of the company, then, who already saw the end of Mithridates and his hapless fate, bowed their faces towards the ground; and their host said: "My good Mithridates, let us eat and drink now, revering the good genius of the king, and let us waive discourse that is too weighty for us."

XVI. Afterwards the eunuch told the matter to Parysatis, and she to the king; and the king was incensed, as being openly convicted of falsehood, and likely to forfeit the fairest and most pleasing feature of his victory. For he wished that all Barbarians and all Greeks should be fully persuaded that when he and his brother had charged and grappled with each other, he had given and received a blow, being only wounded himself, but killing his brother. He therefore gave orders that Mithridates should be put to death by the torture of the boats.

Now, this torture of the boats is as follows. Two boats are taken, which are so made as to fit over one another closely; in one of these the victim is laid, flat upon his back; then the other is laid over the first and carefully adjusted, so that the victim's head, hands, and feet are left projecting, while the rest of his body is completely covered up. Then they give him food to eat, and if he refuse it, they force him to take it by pricking his eyes. After he has eaten, they give him a mixture of milk and honey to drink, pouring it into his mouth, and also deluge his face with it. Then they keep his eyes always turned towards the sun, and a swarm of flies settles down

νων πλήθος πᾶν ἀποκρύπτεται τὸ πρόσωπον.
 ἐντὸς δὲ ποιούντος ὅσα ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν
 ἐσθίοντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πίνοντας, εὐλαὶ καὶ
 σκώληκες ὑπὸ φθορᾶς καὶ σηπεδόνος ἐκ τοῦ
 4 σῶμα διαδυομένων εἰς τὰ ἐντός. ὅταν γὰρ ἤδη
 φανερὸς ᾗ τεθνηκὼς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀφαιρεθείσης
 τῆς ἐπάνω σκάφης ὀρώσι τὴν μὲν σάρκα κατεδη-
 δεσμένην, περὶ δὲ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοιούτων θηρίων
 ἐσμούς ἐσθιόντων καὶ προσπεφυκότων. οὕτως
 ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἑπτακαίδεκα ἡμέρας φθειρόμενος
 μόλις ἀπέθανε.

XVII. Λοιπὸς δ' ἦν τῇ Παρυσάτιδι σκοπὸς ὁ
 τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Κύρου
 Μασαβύτης, βασιλέως εὐνοῦχος. ὥς οὖν αὐτὸς
 οὐδεμίαν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λαβὴν παρεδίδου, τοιούτον
 2 ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον ἡ Παρύσατις συνέθηκεν. ἦν
 τά τε ἄλλα θυμόσοφος γυνὴ καὶ δεινὴ κυβεύειν·
 διὸ καὶ βασιλεῖ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πολλάκις συν-
 ἐκύβευε· μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον διαλυθεῖσα πρὸς
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔφευγε τὰς φιλοφροσύνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 συνέπαιζε καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐκοινώνει σύμπράτ-
 τουσα καὶ παροῦσα, καὶ ὅλως μικρότατον αὐτοῦ
 τῇ Στατεΐρᾳ μετεδίδου χρῆσθαι καὶ συνεῖναι,
 μισοῦσά τε μάλιστα πάντων ἐκείνην καὶ μέγιστον
 3 αὐτῇ βουλομένη δύνασθαι. λαβοῦσα δὴ ποτε τὸν
 Ἄρτοξέρεξην ὠρμημένον ἀλύειν σχολῆς οὔσης
 προὔκαλεῖτο περὶ χιλίων δαρεικῶν κυβεύσαι· καὶ
 κυβεύοντα περιεΐδε νικῆσαι καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἀπ-
 ἔδωκε. προσποιουμένη δὲ ἀνιάσθαι καὶ φιλονει-

upon his face and hides it completely. And since inside the boats he does what must needs be done when men eat and drink, worms and maggots seethe up from the corruption and rottenness of the excrement, devouring his body, and eating their way into his vitals. For when at last the man is clearly dead and the upper boat has been removed, his flesh is seen to have been consumed away, while about his entrails swarms of such animals as I have mentioned are clinging fast and eating. In this way Mithridates was slowly consumed for seventeen days, and at last died.

XVII. And now there was one mark left for the vengeance of Parysatis—the man who had cut off the head and right hand of Cyrus, Masabates, an eunuch of the king. Against this man, then, since he himself gave her no chance to get at him, Parysatis concocted a plot of the following sort. She was in general an ingenious woman, and greatly addicted to playing at dice. For this reason she frequently played at dice with the king before the war, and after the war was over and she had been reconciled with him, she did not try to avoid his friendly overtures, but actually joined in his diversions, and took part in his amours by her coöperation and presence, and, in a word, left very little of the king for Stateira's use and society. For she hated Stateira above all others, and wished to have the chief influence herself. So, one day, finding Artaxerxes trying to amuse himself in a vacant hour, she challenged him to play at dice for a thousand darics, allowed him to win the game, and paid the money down. Then, pretending to be chagrined at her loss and to seek revenge, she challenged the king to play

κείν ἐκέλευσεν αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ εὐνούχου
 4 διακυβεῦσαι· καὶ κείνος ὑπήκουσε. ποιησάμενοι δὲ
 συνθήκας πέντε μὲν ἐκάτερον ὑπεξελέσθαι τοὺς
 πιστοτάτους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὃν ἂν ὁ νικῶν
 ἔλθῃ, δοῦναι τὸν ἡττώμενον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκύ-
 βεον. σφόδρα δὲ γενομένη πρὸς τῷ πράγματι
 καὶ σπουδάσασα περὶ τὴν παιδίαν, εὖ δέ πως
 αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν κύβων πεσόντων, νικήσασα λαμβά-
 νει τὸν Μασαβίτην· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὑπεξηρη-
 5 μένοις. καὶ πρὶν ἐν ὑποψία γενέσθαι βασιλέα
 τοῦ πράγματος ἐγχειρίσασα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τιμω-
 ριῶν προσέταξεν ἐκδεῖραι ζῶντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα
 πλάγιον διὰ τριῶν σταυρῶν ἀναπῆξαι, τὸ δὲ δέρμα
 χωρὶς διαπατταλεῦσαι. γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ
 βασιλέως χαλεπῶς φέροντος καὶ παροξυνομένου
 πρὸς αὐτήν, εἰρωνευομένη μετὰ γέλωτος, “Ὡς
 ἡδύς,” ἔφασκεν, “εἰ καὶ μακύριος, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις
 διὰ γέροντα πονηρὸν εὐνούχον, ἐγὼ δὲ χιλίους ἐκ-
 6 κυβευθεῖσα δαρεικοὺς σιωπῶ καὶ στέργω.” βασι-
 λεὺς μὲν οὖν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐξηπατήθη μεταμελόμενος
 ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἡ δὲ Στάτειρα καὶ πρὸς τὰλλα
 φανερώς ἠναντιοῦτο καὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχέraitεν, ὥς
 ἄνδρας εὐνούχους καὶ πιστοὺς βασιλεῖ διὰ Κῦρον
 ὁμῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἀπολλυούσης αὐτῆς.

XVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλέαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 1020
 στρατηγοὺς Τισαφέρνης ἐξηπάτησε καὶ παρ-
 εσπόνδησεν ὄρκων γενομένων καὶ συλλαβὼν ἀν-
 ἐπεμψεν ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένους, δεθῆναι φησιν
 αὐτοῦ τὸν Κλέαρχον ὁ Κτησίας ὅπως κτενὸς
 εὐπορήσειε. τυχόντα δὲ καὶ τημελήσαντα τὴν
 κεφαλὴν ἡσθῆναι τε τῇ χρεῖα καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον

a second game, with an eunuch for the stake, and the king consented. They agreed that both might reserve five of their most trusty eunuchs, but that from the rest the loser must give whichever one the winner might select, and on these conditions played their game. Parysatis took the matter much to heart and was in great earnest with her playing, and since the dice also fell in her favour, she won the game, and selected Masabates; for he was not among those who had been excepted. And before the king suspected her design, she put the eunuch in the hands of the executioners, who were ordered to flay him alive, to set up his body slantwise on three stakes, and to nail up his skin to a fourth. This was done, and when the king was bitterly incensed at her, she said to him, with a mocking laugh: "What a blessed simpleton thou art, to be incensed on account of a wretched old eunuch, when I, who have diced away a thousand darics, accept my loss without a word." So the king, although sorry that he had been deceived, kept quiet in the matter, but Stateira openly opposed Parysatis in other things, and above all was angry with her because, for the sake of Cyrus, she was cruelly and lawlessly putting to death eunuchs and others who were faithful to the king.

xviii. Now, when Clearchus and his fellow-generals had been completely deceived by Tissaphernes,¹ and, contrary to solemn oaths, had been seized and sent up to the king in chains, Ctesias tells us that he was asked by Clearchus to provide him with a comb. Clearchus got the comb and dressed his hair, and being pleased at the service

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. 5.

- αὐτῷ δοῦναι σύμβολον φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν
 Λακεδαίμονι συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους· εἶναι δὲ
 γλυφὴν ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι Καρυάτιδας ὀρχουμένης.
- 2 τὰ δὲ πεμπόμενα σιτία τῷ Κλεάρχῳ τοὺς συν-
 δεδεμένους στρατιώτας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ κατ-
 αναλίσκειν, ὀλίγα τῷ Κλεάρχῳ διδόντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν.
 ἰύσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Κτησίας, πλείονα
 τῷ Κλεάρχῳ πέμπεσθαι διαπραξάμενος, ἰδία δὲ
 ἕτερα τοῖς στρατιώταις δίδοσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
 ὑπουργῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ τῆς
- 3 Παρυσάτιδος. πεμπομένου δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ
 Κλεάρχῳ κωλῆνος ἐπὶ τοῖς σιτίοις, παρακαλεῖν
 αὐτὸν καὶ διδάσκειν ὥς χρή μικρὸν εἰς τὸ κρέας
 ἐμβαλόντα μαχαίριον ἀποκρύψαντα πέμψαι καὶ
 μὴ περιῖδεῖν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως ὠμότητι τὸ τέλος
 αὐτοῦ γενόμενον· αὐτὸς δὲ φοβούμενος μὴ ἐθελή-
 σαι. βασιλέα δὲ τῇ μὲν μητρὶ παραιτουμένη
 μὴ κτείνειν τὸν Κλεάρχον ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ ὁμόσαι·
 πεισθέντα δὲ αὐθις ὑπὸ τῆς Στατείρας ἀποκτείνειν
- 4 πάντας πλὴν Μένωνος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν Παρύ-
 σατιν ἐπιβουλευσαι τῇ Στατείρᾳ καὶ συσκευά-
 σασθαι τὴν φαρμακείαν κατ' αὐτῆς, οὐκ εἰκότα
 λέγων, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἀλογίαν ἔχοντα τῆς αἰτίας,
 εἰ δεινὸν ἔργον οὕτως ἔδρασε καὶ παρεκινδύνευσεν
 ἢ Παρύσατις διὰ Κλεάρχον, ἀνελεῖν τολμήσασα
 τὴν γυναικίαν βασιλέως γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνων κοινω-
- 5 νὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τρεφομένων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
 οὐκ ἄδηλον ὥς ἐπιτραγωδεῖται τῇ Κλεάρχου
 μνήμῃ. καὶ γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντων φησὶ τῶν στρα-
 τηγῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπὸ κυνῶν σπαράττεσθαι

rendered, gave Ctesias his ring as a token of friendship which he might show to his kindred and friends in Sparta; and the device in the seal was a group of dancing Caryatides. Moreover, as Ctesias says, the provisions sent to Clearchus were seized by the soldiers in captivity with him, who consumed them freely and gave only a small part of them to Clearchus. This hardship also Ctesias says he remedied, by getting more provisions sent to Clearchus, and a separate supply given to the soldiers; and these services he says he rendered and performed to please Parysatis, and at her suggestion. He says further that a fitch of bacon was sent to Clearchus every day to supplement his rations, and that Clearchus earnestly advised him that he ought to bury a small knife in the meat and send it to him thus hidden away, and not allow his fate to be determined by the cruelty of the king; but he was afraid, and would not consent to do this. The king, Ctesias says, at the solicitation of his mother, agreed and swore not to kill Clearchus; but he was won back again by Stateira, and put all the generals to death except Menon. It was because of this, Ctesias says, that Parysatis plotted against the life of Stateira and prepared the poison for her. But it is an unlikely story, and one that gives an absurd motive for her course, to say that Parysatis thus risked and wrought a dreadful deed because of Clearchus, and dared to kill the king's lawful wife, who was the mother by him of children reared for the throne. Nay, it is quite evident that he adds this sensational detail out of regard for the memory of Clearchus. For he says that after the generals had been put to death, the rest of them were torn by dogs and birds, but that

καὶ ὀρνέων, τῷ δὲ Κλεάρχου νεκρῷ θύελλαν ἀνέμου γῆς θίνα πολλὴν φέρουσιν ἐπιχῶσαι καὶ ἐπικρύψαι τὸ σῶμα· φοινίκων δὲ τινων διασπαρέντων ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ θαυμαστὸν ἄλλος ἀναφῦναι καὶ κατασκιᾶσαι τὸν τόπον, ὥστε καὶ βασιλεῖ σφόδρα μεταμέλει, ὡς ἄνδρα θεοῖς φίλον ἀνηρηκότι τὸν Κλεάρχον.

- XIX. Ἡ δ' οὖν Παρύσατις, μίσους τε πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποκειμένου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας, ὀρώσα τὴν μὲν αὐτῆς δύναμιν αἰδουμένου βασιλέως καὶ τιμῶντος οὖσαν, τὴν δ' ἐκείνης ἔρωτι καὶ πίστει βέβαιον καὶ ἰσχυράν, ἐπεβούλευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν
- 2 μεγίστων, ὡς ᾔετο, παραβαλλομένη. θεράπαιναν εἶχε πιστὴν καὶ δυναμένην παρ' αὐτῇ μέγιστον ὄνομα Γίγιν, ἣν ὁ μὲν Δείνων ὑπουργῆσαι τῇ φαρμακείᾳ φησί, συγγνώμην δὲ μόνον ἄκουσαν ὁ Κτησίας. τὸν δὲ δόντα τὸ φάρμακον οὗτος μὲν ὀνομάζει Βελιτάραν, ὁ δὲ Δείνων Μελάνταν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρόσθεν ὑποψίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ἀρξάμενοι πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτᾶν καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἀλλήλαις, ὅμως τῷ δεδιέναι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς σιτίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο.
- 3 γίνεται δὲ μικρὸν ἐν Πέρσαις ὀρνίθιον, ᾧ περιτώματος οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅλον διάπλεων πιμελῆς τὰ ἐντός· καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀνέμῳ καὶ δρόσῳ τρέφεσθαι τὸ ζῶον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ῥυντάκης. τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Κτησίας μικρᾷ μαχαιρίδι κεχρισμένη τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατὰ θάτερα τὴν Παρύσατιν διαιροῦσαν ἐκμάξαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ μέρει τὸ φάρμακον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὸν εἰς τὸ στόμα βαλοῦσαν

in the case of Clearchus, a blast of wind carried a great mass of earth and heaped it in a mound which covered his body; upon this some dates fell here and there, and in a short time a wonderful grove of trees sprang up and overshadowed the place, so that even the king was sorely repentant, believing that in Clearchus he had killed a man whom the gods loved.

XIX. Parysatis, accordingly, who from the outset had a lurking hatred and jealousy of Stateira, saw that her own influence with the king was based on feelings of respect and honour, while that of Stateira was grounded fast and strong in love and confidence; she therefore plotted against her life and played for what she thought the highest stake. She had a trusted maidservant named Gigis, who had most influence with her and assisted her in preparing the poison, according to Deinon, although Ctesias says she was merely privy to the deed, and that against her will. The poison was actually given by a man named Belitaras, according to Ctesias; Deinon gives his name as Melantas. After a period of dissension and suspicion, the two women¹ had begun again to meet and eat with one another, although their mutual fear and caution led them to partake of the same dishes served by the same hands. Now, there is a little Persian bird which has no excrement, but is all full of fat inside; and the creature is thought to live upon air and dew; the name of it is "rhyntaces." It was a bird of this species, according to Ctesias, that Parysatis cut in two with a little knife smeared with poison on one side, thus wiping the poison off upon one part only of the bird; the undefiled and wholesome part she then put into her

¹ *i.e.*, Parysatis and Stateira.

αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, δοῦναι δὲ τῇ Στατεΐρα τὸ πεφαρμαγ-
 4 μένον· ὁ δὲ Δείνων οὐ τὴν Παρύσατιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
 Μελάνταν τέμνοντα τῷ μαχαιρίῳ τὰ φαρμασ-
 σόμενα τῶν κρεῶν τιθέναι κατὰ τὴν Στατεΐραν.
 ἀποθνήσκουσα δ' οὖν ἡ γυνὴ μετὰ πόνων μεγάλων 1021
 καὶ σπαραγμῶν αὐτὴ τε συνησθάνετο τοῦ κακοῦ
 καὶ βασιλεῖ παρέσχεν ὑποψίαν κατὰ τῆς μητρός,
 5 εἰδότε τὸ θηριῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ δυσμεΐλικτον. ὅθεν
 εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ὁρμήσας τοὺς μὲν ὑπηρέτας
 καὶ τραπεζοκόμους τῆς μητρός συνέλαβε καὶ
 κατεστρέβλωσε, τὴν δὲ Γίγιν ἡ Παρύσατις πολὺν
 χρόνον εἶχεν οἶκοι μεθ' αὐτῆς καὶ βασιλέως
 ἐξαιτούντος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον αὐτῆς
 δεηθείσης εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀφεθῆναι νυκτός, αἰσθό-
 μενος καὶ λόχον ὑφεῖς συνήρπασε καὶ κατέγνω
 6 θάνατον. ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ οἱ φαρμακεῖς ἐν
 Πέρσαις κατὰ νόμον οὕτως· λίθος ἐστὶ πλατύς,
 ἐφ' οὗ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταθέντες αὐτῶν ἐτέρῳ λίθῳ
 παίουσιν καὶ πιέζουσιν, ἄχρι οὗ συνθλάσῃσι τὸ
 πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Γίγισ
 οὕτως ἀπέθανε, τὴν δὲ Παρύσατιν ὁ Ἄρτοξέρξης
 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτε εἶπε κακὸν οὔτε ἐποίησεν,
 εἰς δὲ Βαβυλῶνα βουλομένην ἐξέπεμψε εἰπών,
 ἕως ἐκείνη περίεστιν αὐτὸς οὐκ ὄψεσθαι Βαβυ-
 λῶνα. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὕτως εἶχεν.

XX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς Κύρῳ συναναβάντας Ἕλ-
 ληνας σπουδάσας λαβεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἡττον
 ἢ Κύρου περιγενέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατα-
 σχεῖν οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ Κύρον τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ
 τοὺς αὐτῶν στρατηγοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν
 μονορουχὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἐσώθησαν, ἐξελέγξαντες

own mouth and ate, but gave to Stateira the poisoned part. Deinon, however, says it was not Parysatis, but Melantas who cut the bird with the knife and placed the flesh that was poisoned before Stateira. Be that as it may, the woman died, in convulsions and great suffering, and she comprehended the evil that had befallen her, and brought the king to suspect his mother, whose fierce and implacable nature he knew. The king, therefore, at once set out upon the inquest, arrested the servants and table-attendants of his mother, and put them on the rack. Gigis, however, Parysatis kept for a long time at home with her, and would not give her up at the king's demand. But after a while Gigis herself begged to be dismissed to her own home by night. The king learned of this, set an ambush for her, seized her, and condemned her to death. Now, the legal mode of death for poisoners in Persia is as follows. There is a broad stone, and on this the head of the culprit is placed; and then with another stone they smite and pound until they crush the face and head to pulp. It was in this manner, then, that Gigis died; but Parysatis was not further rebuked or harmed by Artaxerxes, except that he sent her off to Babylon, in accordance with her wish, saying that as long as she lived he himself would not see Babylon. Such was the state of the king's domestic affairs.

XX. Now, the king was no less eager to capture the Greeks who had come up with Cyrus than he had been to conquer Cyrus and preserve his throne. Nevertheless, he could not capture them, but though they had lost Cyrus their leader and their own commanders, they rescued themselves from his very palace, as one might say, thus proving clearly to the

καὶ ἀποφήναντες τὰ Περσῶν καὶ βασιλέως πράγ-
 2 ματα χρυσὸν ὄντα πολὺν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ γυ-
 ναϊκάς, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τῦφον καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, πᾶσα
 μὲν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐξεθάρρησε καὶ κατεφρόνησε τῶν
 βαρβάρων, Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο
 μὴ νῦν γε δουλείας ἐξελέσθαι τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν
 κατοικοῦντας Ἑλληνας μηδὲ παῦσαι προπηλακι-
 3 ζομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν. πρότερον δὲ διὰ Θίμβρωνος,
 εἴτα διὰ Δερκυλλίδου πολεμοῦντες, οὐδὲν δὲ
 πράττοντες ἀξίολογον, Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ
 4 τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ὁ δὲ περαιωθεὶς ναυσὶν
 εἰς Ἀσίαν εὐθὺς ἦν ἐνεργὸς καὶ δόξαν εἶχε μεγά-
 λην καὶ Τισαφέρνην παραταξάμενος ἐνίκησε καὶ
 τὰς πόλεις ἀφίστη. τούτων δὲ γενομένων συμ-
 φρονήσας ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὃν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἐστι
 πολεμητέον, ἔπεμψε Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρυσίον πολὺ κομίζοντα, διδόναι
 καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς πλείστον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι
 δυναμένους κελεύσας, καὶ πόλεμον Ἑλληνικὸν
 4 κινεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. τοῦ δὲ Τιμοκράτους
 ταῦτα πράττοντος καὶ τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων
 συνισταμένων καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου διαταρατ-
 τομένης, μετεπέμποντο τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐκ τῆς
 Ἀσίας οἱ ἄρχοντες. ὅτε δὴ καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν
 ἀπιόντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν ὥς τρισμυρίους
 τοξόταις ἐξελαύνοιτο τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως·
 τὸ γὰρ Περσικὸν νόμισμα τοξότην ἐπίσημον
 εἶχεν.

XXI. Ἐξέβαλε δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης Λακε-
 δαιμονίους Κόνωνι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ μετὰ Φαρνα-
 βάζου στρατηγῷ χρησάμενος. ὁ γὰρ Κόνων

world that the empire of the Persians and their king abounded in gold and luxury and women, but in all else was an empty vaunt. Therefore all Greece took heart and despised the Barbarians, and the Lacedaemonians in particular thought it strange if now at least they could not rescue the Greeks that dwelt in Asia from servitude, and put a stop to their outrageous treatment at the hands of the Persians. The war they waged was at first conducted by Thimbron, and then by Dercyllidas, but since they accomplished nothing worthy of note, they at last put the conduct of the war in the hands of their king, Agesilaüs. He crossed over to Asia with a fleet, went to work at once, won great fame, defeated Tissaphernes in a pitched battle, and set the Greek cities in revolt. This being the case, Artaxerxes considered how he must carry on the war with Agesilaüs, and sent Timocreon the Rhodian into Greece with a great sum of money, bidding him use it for the corruption of the most influential men in the cities there, and for stirring up the Greeks to make war upon Sparta. Timocrates did as he was bidden, the most important cities conspired together against Sparta, Peloponnesus was in a turmoil, and the Spartan magistrates summoned Agesilaüs home from Asia. It was at this time, as we are told, and as he was going home, that Agesilaüs said to his friends; "The king has driven me out of Asia with thirty thousand archers"; for the Persian coin has the figure of an archer stamped upon it.¹

XXI. The king also expelled the Lacedaemonians from the sea, employing Conon the Athenian as his commander along with Pharnabazus. For Conon

¹ Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xv. 6.

διέτριβε μὲν ἐν Κύπρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποτα-
μοῖς ναυμαχίαν, οὐ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλὰ
τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολήν, ὥσπερ ἐν πε-
2 λάγει τροπήν, περιμένων. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς δυνάμει καὶ τὴν βασιλέως
δύναμιν ἀνδρὸς ἔμφρονος δεομένην, ἔπεμψεν ἐπι-
στολὴν βασιλεῖ περὶ ὧν διενοεῖτο. καὶ ταύτην
ἐκέλευσε τὸν κομίζοντα μάλιστα μὲν ἀποδοῦναι
διὰ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κρητὸς ἢ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Μεν-
δαίου· τούτων δ' ἦν ὁ μὲν Ζήνων ὀρχηστής, ὁ
δὲ Πολύκριτος ἱατρός· ἂν δὲ οὗτοι μὴ παρῶσι,
3 διὰ Κτησίου τοῦ ἱατροῦ. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Κτησίας
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λαβὼν παρεγγράφαι τοῖς ὑπὸ
τοῦ Κόνωνος ἐπεσταλμένοις ὅπως καὶ Κτησίαν
ἀποστείλῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ὠφέλιμον ὄντα ταῖς
ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πράξεσιν. ὁ δὲ Κτησίας αὐτὸν ἀφ'
ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα φησὶ προσθεῖναι τὴν λειτουρ-
γίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην.

4 'Αλλ' ἐπεὶ κρατήσας τῇ περὶ Κνίδον ναυμαχίᾳ 1022
διὰ Φαρναβάζου καὶ Κόνωνος ἀφείλετο τὴν κα-
τὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπέστρεψε
πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ
τὴν περιβόητον εἰρήνην βραβεῦσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι
5 τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου προσαγορευομένην. ὁ δὲ
'Ανταλκίδας Σπαρτιάτης ἦν, Λέοντος υἱός, καὶ
σπουδάσας βασιλεῖ διεπράξατο τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ
πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἀπάσας καὶ νήσους, ὅσαι
προσκυροῦσιν Ἀσίᾳ, παρεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίους
αὐτῷ κεκτῆσθαι φόρων ὑποτελεῖς, εἰρήνης γενο-
μένης τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ὑβριν καὶ προδοσίαν εἰρήνην καλεῖν, ἧς πόλεμος
οὐδεὶς ἀκλεέστερον ἤνεγκε τέλος τοῖς κρατηθεῖσι.

passed the time at Cyprus, after the sea-fight at Aegospotami,¹ not satisfied with mere safety, but awaiting a reversal in the course of affairs, as he would a change of wind at sea. And seeing that his own plans needed a military force, and the king's force needed a sagacious leader, he wrote a letter to the king explaining his purposes. This letter he ordered the bearer, if possible, to give the king by the hand of Zeno the Cretan or Polycritus the Mendaean (Zeno was a teacher of dancing, and Polycritus was a physician); but if these were not at court, by the hand of Ctesias the physician. And it is said that Ctesias, on receiving the letter, added to the suggestions which Conon made to the king a request to send Ctesias also to him, as likely to be of service in matters on the sea-coast. Ctesias, however, says that the king of his own accord conferred upon him this new duty.

But after Artaxerxes, by the sea-fight which Pharnabazus and Conon won for him off Cnidus, had stripped the Lacedaemonians of their power on the sea, he brought the whole of Greece into dependence upon him, so that he dictated to the Greeks the celebrated peace called the Peace of Antalcidas.² Now Antalcidas was a Spartan, son of Leon, and acting in the interests of the king he induced the Lacedaemonians to surrender to the king all the Greek cities of Asia, and all the islands adjacent to Asia, to possess them on payment of tribute; and peace was thus established among the Greeks, if the mockery and betrayal of Greece can be called peace, a peace than which no war ever brought a more inglorious consummation to the defeated.

¹ 405 B.C. Cf. the *Alcibiades* xxxvii. 2.

² In 387 B.C. Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xxiii. 1 ff.

- XXII. Διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Σπαρτιάτας αἰὲν βδελυττόμενος ὁ Ἄρτοξέρξης, καὶ νομίζων, ὥς φησι Δείνων, ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀναιδεστάτους εἶναι, τὸν Ἀνταλκίδαν ὑπερηγάπησεν εἰς Πέρσας ἀναβάντα. καὶ ποτε λαβὼν ἓνα τῶν ἀνθινῶν στεφάνων καὶ βύψας εἰς μύρον τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ἀπὸ δείπνου ἔπεμψε τῷ Ἀνταλκίδᾳ· καὶ
- 2 πάντες ἐθαύμασαν τὴν φιλοφροσύνην. ἥν δέ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐπιτήδειος οὗτος ἐντρυφηθῆναι καὶ τοιοῦτον λαβεῖν στέφανον, ἐξορχησάμενος ἐν Πέρσαις τὸν Λεωνίδα καὶ τὸν Καλλικρατίδαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος, ὥς ἔοικε, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “Φεῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπου μηδίζουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ Λάκωνες,” “Οὐ μᾶλλον,” εἶπεν, “οἱ Μῆδοι λακωνίζουσι;” τοῦ δὲ ῥήματος ἡ κομψότης τὴν τοῦ πράγματος αἰσχύνην οὐκ ἀφείλεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπώλεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀγωνισάμενοι κακῶς, ἡ δὲ δόξα τῆς Σπάρτης προαπώλετο ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἐκείναις.
- 3 Ἄχρι μὲν οὖν ἐπρώτευεν ἡ Σπάρτη, ξένον ἐποιεῖτο καὶ φίλον ὠνόμαζεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀνταλκίδαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττήθησαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, ταπεινὰ πράττοντες ἐδέοντο μὲν χρημάτων καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐξέπεμψαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν Ἄρτοξέρξην παρακαλῶν
- 4 ἐπαρκέσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. ὁ δ’ οὕτως ἐξημέλησε καὶ παρείδε καὶ ἀπέρριψεν αὐτόν, ὥστε καταβάντα καὶ χλευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, φοβούμενον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἀποκαρτερῆσαι. Ἀνέβη δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ

XXII. For this reason Artaxerxes, although he always held other Spartans in abomination, and considered them, as Deinon tells us, the most shameless of all mankind, showed great affection for Antalcidas when he came up to Persia. On one occasion he actually took a wreath of flowers, dipped it in the most costly ointment, and sent it to Antalcidas after supper; and all men wondered at the kindness.¹ But Antalcidas was a fit person, as it would seem, to be exquisitely treated and to receive such a wreath, now that he had danced away among the Persians the fair fame of Leonidas and Callicratidas. For Agesilaüs, as it would appear, when someone said to him: "Alas for Greece, now that the Spartans are medizing," replied, "Are not the Medes the rather spartanizing?" However, the wittiness of the speech could not remove the shame of the deed, and the Spartans lost their supremacy in the disastrous battle of Leuctra,² though the glory of Sparta had been lost before that by this treaty.

So long, then, as Sparta kept the first place in Greece, Artaxerxes treated Antalcidas as his guest and called him his friend; but after the Spartans had been defeated at Leuctra, they fell so low as to beg for money, and sent Agesilaüs to Egypt, while Antalcidas went up to Artaxerxes to ask him to supply the wants of the Lacedaemonians. The king, however, so neglected and slighted and rejected him that, when he came back home, being railed at by his enemies, and being in fear of the ephors, he starved himself to death.

Ismenias the Theban also, and Pelopidas, who had

¹ Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxx. 4.

² In 371 B.C. Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xxviii. 5.

Θηβαῖος καὶ Πελοπίδας ἤδη τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην νενικηκώς. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐποίησεν. Ἰσμηνίας δὲ προσκυνῆσαι κελευόμενος ἐξέβαλε πρὸ αὐτοῦ χαμᾶζε τὸν δακτύλιον, εἴτα κύψας ἀνείλετο καὶ παρέσχε δόξαν προσκυνούν-
 5 τος. Τιμαγόρα δὲ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ διὰ Βηλούριδος τοῦ γραμματέως εἰσπέμψαντι γραμματίδιον ἀπόρρητον ἡσθεὶς μυρίους τε δαρεικοὺς ἔδωκε, καὶ γάλακτος βοείου δεομένῳ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὄγδοηκοντα βούς ἀμέλγεσθαι παρηκολούθουν· ἔτι δὲ κλίνην καὶ στρώματα καὶ τοὺς στρωννύντας ἔπεμψεν, ὥς οὐ μεμαθηκότων Ἑλλήνων ὑποστρωννύναι, καὶ φορεῖς τοὺς κομίζοντας αὐτὸν μέχρι
 6 θαλίσης μαλακῶς ἔχοντα. παρόντι δὲ δεῖπνον ἐπέμπετο λαμπρότατον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, Ὀστάνην, “ὦ Τιμαγόρα,” φάναι, “μέννησο ταύτης τῆς τραπέξης· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικροῖς οὕτω σοι κεκοσμημένη παράκειται.” τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὀνειδισμὸς εἰς προδοσίαν μᾶλλον ἢ χάριτος ὑπόμνησις. Τιμαγόρου μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν δωροδοκίαν Ἀθηναῖοι θάνατον κατέγνωσαν.

XXIII. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης ἐν ἀντὶ πάντων ὧν ἐλύπει τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐφραине, Τισαφέρην τὸν ἔχθιστον αὐτοῖς καὶ δυσμενέστατον ἀποκτείνας. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ ταῖς διαβολαῖς αὐτοῦ τῆς Παρυσάτιδος συνεπιθεμένης. οὐ γὰρ ἐνέμεινε τῇ ὀργῇ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ διηλλάγη τῇ μητρὶ καὶ μετεπέμψατο, νοῦν μὲν ὀρῶν ἔχουσαν

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¹ Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxx. 1-3.

² Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxx. 6 f.

³ Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, x. 3 f.

just been victorious in the battle of Leuctra, went up to the king.¹ Pelopidas did nothing to disgrace himself; but Ismenias, when ordered to make the obeisance to the king, threw his ring down on the ground in front of him, and then stooped and picked it up, thus giving men to think that he was making the obeisance. With Timagoras the Athenian, however, who sent to him by his secretary, Beluris, a secret message in writing, the king was so pleased that he gave him ten thousand darics, and eighty milch cows to follow in his train because he was sick and required cow's milk; and besides, he sent him a couch, with bedding for it, and servants to make the bed (on the ground that the Greeks had not learned the art of making beds), and bearers to carry him down to the sea-coast, enfeebled as he was. Moreover, during his presence at court, he used to send him a most splendid supper, so that Ostanes, the brother of the king, said: "Timagoras, remember this table; it is no slight return which thou must make for such an array." Now this was a reproach for his treachery rather than a reminder of the king's favour. At any rate, for his venality, Timagoras was condemned to death by the Athenians.²

XXIII. But there was one thing by which Artaxerxes gladdened the hearts of the Greeks, in return for all the evils which he wrought them, and that was his putting Tissaphernes to death, their most hated and malicious enemy.³ And he put him to death in consequence of accusations against him which were seconded by Parysatis. For the king did not long persist in his wrath against his mother, but was reconciled with her and summoned her to court, since he saw that she had intellect and a lofty

- καὶ φρόνημα βασιλείας ἄξιον, αἰτίας δὲ μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης ἐμποδὼν ἔτι δι' ἣν ὑπόψονται συνόντες
- 2 ἀλλήλοις ἢ λυπήσουσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάντα πρὸς χάριν ὑπουργοῦσα βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ πρὸς μηδὲν ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττε δυσκολαινεῖν ἔχουσα τὸ δύνασθαι παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τυγχάνειν ἀπάντων, ἥσθητο τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν θυγατέρων, Ἀτόσσης, ἐρώντος ἔρωτα δεινόν, ἐπικρυπτομένου δὲ δι' ἐκείνην οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ κολάζοντος τὸ πάθος, ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, καίτοι γεγενημένης ἤδη πρὸς τὴν
- 3 παρθένον ὁμιλίας αὐτῷ λαθραίας. ὥς οὖν ὑπώπτευσεν ἡ Παρύσατις, τὴν παῖδα μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἡσπάζετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην ἐπήνει τό τε κάλλος αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἦθος, ὥς βασιλικῆς καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς. τέλος οὖν γῆμαι τὴν κόρην ἔπεισε καὶ γυνεσίαν ἀποδείξαι γυναῖκα, χαίρειν ἑάσαντα δόξας Ἑλλήνων καὶ νόμους, Πέρσαις δὲ νόμον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δικαιοτὴν αἰσχυρῶν
- 4 καὶ καλῶν ἀποδεδειγμένον. ἔνιοι μέντοι λέγουσιν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Κυμαῖος, οὐ μίαν μόνον τῶν θυγατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν, Ἀμυστριν, γῆμαι τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην, περὶ ἧς ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν. τὴν δ' Ἀτοσσαν οὕτως ἠγάπησεν ὁ πατὴρ συνοικοῦσαν ὥστε ἀλφοῦ κατανεμηθέντος αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα δυσχερᾶναι μὲν ἐπὶ
- 5 τούτῳ μὴδ' ὁτιοῦν, εὐχόμενος δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τῇ Ἡρᾷ προσκυνῆσαι μόνην θεῶν ἐκείνην, ταῖς χερσὶ τῆς γῆς ἀψάμενος, δῶρά τε τῇ θεῷ τοσαῦτα πέμψαι τοὺς σατράπας καὶ φίλους αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ὥστε τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἐκκαίδεκα στάδια χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ ἵππων ἐμπλησθῆναι.

spirit worthy of a queen, and since there was no longer any ground for their suspecting and injuring one another if they were together. After this she consulted the king's pleasure in all things, and by approving of everything that he did, acquired influence with him and achieved all her ends. She perceived that the king was desperately in love with one of his two daughters, Atossa, and that, chiefly on his mother's account, he was trying to conceal and restrain his passion, although some say that he had already had secret intercourse with the girl. When, accordingly, Parysatis became suspicious of the matter, she showed the girl more affection than before, and would speak to Artaxerxes in praise of her beauty and her disposition, saying that she was truly royal and magnificent. At last, then, she persuaded the king to marry the girl and proclaim her his lawful wife, ignoring the opinions and laws of the Greeks, and regarding himself as appointed by Heaven to be a law unto the Persians and an arbitrator of good and evil. Some, however, say, and among them is Heracleides of Cymé, that Artaxerxes married, not one of his daughters only, but also a second, Amestris, of whom we shall speak a little later.¹ Atossa, however, was so beloved by her father as his consort, that when her body was covered with leprosy he was not offended at this in the least, but offered prayers to Hera in her behalf, making his obeisance and clutching the earth before this goddess as he did before no other; while his satraps and friends, at his command, sent the goddess so many gifts that the sixteen furlongs between her sanctuary and the royal palace were filled with gold and silver and purple and horses.

¹ Chap. xxvii. 4.

XXIV. Πόλεμον δὲ πρὸς μὲν Αἰγυπτίους διὰ Φαρναβάζου καὶ Ἰφικράτους ἐξενεγκὼν ἀπέτυχε, στασιασάντων ἐκείνων· ἐπὶ δὲ Καδουσίους αὐτὸς ἐστράτευσεν τριάκοντα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ μυρίοις ἵππευσιν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ εἰς χώραν τραχύτητι χαλεπὴν καὶ ὁμιχλώδη καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σπόρου καρπῶν ἄγονον, ἀπίοις δὲ καὶ μῆλοις καὶ τοιούτοις ἄλλοις ἀκροδρύοις τρέφουσιν ἀνθρώπους πολεμικοὺς καὶ θυμοειδεῖς, ἔλαθε μεγάλας ἀπορ-
 2 ρίαις καὶ κινδύνοις περιπεσών. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐδώδιμον ἦν λαμβάνειν οὐδὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπείσάγεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια μόνον κατέκοπτον, ὥστε ὄνου κεφαλὴν μόλις δραχμῶν ἐξήκοντα ὄνιον εἶναι. τὸ δὲ βασιλικὸν δαίπνον ἐξελείφθη· καὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀλίγοι περιῆσαν ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐσθίοντες κατανηλώκεσαν.

Ἐνταῦθα Τηρίβαζος, ἀνὴρ πολλάκις μὲν ἐν πρώτῃ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν τάξει γενόμενος, πολλάκις δὲ ἀπορριφεὶς διὰ κουφότητα καὶ τότε ταπεινὰ πράττων καὶ περιορώμενος, ἔσωσε βασιλέα καὶ
 3 τὸν στρατόν. ὄντων γὰρ δυεῖν ἐν τοῖς Καδουσίοις βασιλέων, ἑκατέρου δὲ χωρὶς στρατοπεδεύοντος, ἐντυχὼν τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ καὶ φράσας περὶ ὧν διανοεῖτο πράττειν, ἐβάδιζεν αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν Καδουσίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον κρύφα τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμπε. ἐξηπάτα δὲ ἑκάτερον ἑκάτερος, λέγων ὡς ἄτερος ἐπιπρεσβεύεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην φιλίαν μόνῳ πράττων ἑαυτῷ καὶ συμμαχίαν· οὐκοῦν, εἰ σωφρονεῖ, χρῆναι πρότερον ἐντυγχάνειν ἐκείνῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ συμπράξειν ἅπαντα.
 4 τούτοις ἐπείσθησαν ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ φθάνειν ἀλλή-

XXIV. In the war which Pharnabazus and Iphicrates conducted for him against Egypt he was unsuccessful, owing to the dissensions of these commanders; against the Cadusians, therefore, he made an expedition in person, with three hundred thousand footmen and ten thousand horse. But the country which he penetrated was rough and hard to traverse, abounded in mists, and produced no grains, although its pears and apples and other such tree-fruits supported a warlike and courageous population. Unawares, therefore, he became involved in great distress and peril. For no food was to be got in the country or imported from outside, and they could only butcher their beasts of burden, so that an ass's head was scarcely to be bought for sixty drachmas. Moreover, the royal banquets were abandoned; and of their horses only a few were left, the rest having been consumed for food.

Here it was that Teribazus, a man whose bravery often set him in a leading place, but whose levity as often cast him down, so that at this time he was in disgrace and overlooked, saved the king and his army. For the Cadusians had two kings, and each of them encamped separately. So Teribazus, after an interview with Artaxerxes in which he told him what he purposed to do, went himself to one of the Cadusian kings, and sent his son secretly to the other. Each envoy, then, deceived his man, telling him that the other king was sending an embassy to Artaxerxes to secure friendship and alliance for himself alone: he should, therefore, if he were wise, have an interview with Artaxerxes before the other did, and he himself would help him all he could. Both kings were persuaded by this argument, and

λους νομίζοντες ὁ μὲν τῷ Τηριβάζῳ συνέπεμψε
 πρέσβεις, ὁ δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ Τηριβάζου. διατρι-
 βῆς δὲ γενομένης ὑποψίαι καὶ διαβολαὶ κατὰ τοῦ
 Τηριβάζου τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ προσέπιπτον· αὐτὸς
 δὲ δυσθύμως εἶχε καὶ μετενόει πιστεύσας τῷ
 Τηριβάζῳ, καὶ τοῖς φθονοῦσιν ἐγκαλεῖν παρέιχεν.
 5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν ὁ Τηρίβαζος, ἦκε δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ 1024
 τοὺς Καδουσίους ἄγοντες, ἐγένοντο δὲ σπονδαὶ
 πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ εἰρήνη, μέγας ὢν ὁ Τηρί-
 βαζος ἥδη καὶ λαμπρὸς ἀνεξεύγνυε μετὰ τοῦ
 βασιλέως, ἐπιδεικνυμένου πᾶσαν τὴν δειλίαν καὶ
 τὴν μαλακίαν οὐ τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας, ὥσπερ
 οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἔκγονον οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ μοχθη-
 ρὰς φύσεως καὶ ἀγεννοῦς καὶ δόξαις πονηραῖς
 6 ἐπομένης. οὔτε γὰρ χρυσὸς οὔτε κᾶνδυσ οὔτε ὁ
 τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων ταλάντων περικείμενος
 αἰὲν τῷ βασιλέως σώματι κόσμος ἐκείνῳ ἀπεκώ-
 λυε πονεῖν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ τυχόντες,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν τε φαρέτραν ἐνημμένος καὶ τὴν πέλτην
 φέρων αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζε πρῶτος ὁδοὺς ὀρεινὰς καὶ
 προσάντεις, ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον, ὥστε τοὺς
 ἄλλους πτεροῦσθαι καὶ συνεπικουφίζεσθαι τὴν
 ἐκείνου προθυμίαν καὶ ῥώμην ὀρῶντας· καὶ γὰρ
 διακοσίων καὶ πλείονων σταδίων κατήνυεν ἡμέρας
 ἐκάστης πορείαν.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς σταθμὸν κατέβη βασιλικὸν
 παραδείσους ἔχοντα θαυμαστοὺς καὶ κεκοσμημέ-
 νους διαπρεπῶς ἐν τῷ πέριξ ἀδένδρῳ καὶ ψιλῷ
 χωρίῳ, κρύους ὄντος, ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκ
 τοῦ παραδείσου ξυλίζεσθαι τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντας,
 2 μῆτε πεύκης μῆτε κυπαρίττου φειδομένους. ὁκ-

each thinking that he was anticipating the other, one sent his envoys along with Teribazus, and the other with the son of Teribazus. But matters were delayed, and suspicions and calumnies against Teribazus came to the ears of Artaxerxes; he himself also was ill at ease, and repented him of having put confidence in Teribazus, and gave occasion to his rivals to malign him. But at last Teribazus came, and his son came too, both bringing their Cadusian envoys, and a peace was ratified with both kings; whereupon Teribazus, now a great and splendid personage, set out for home with the king. And the king now made it plain that cowardice and effeminacy are not always due to luxury and extravagance, as most people suppose, but to a base and ignoble nature under the sway of evil doctrines. For neither gold nor robe of state nor the twelve thousand talents' worth of adornment which always enveloped the person of the king prevented him from undergoing toils and hardships like an ordinary soldier; nay, with his quiver girt upon him and his shield on his arm he marched in person at the head of his troops, over precipitous mountain roads, abandoning his horse, so that the rest of the army had wings given them and felt their burdens lightened when they saw his ardour and vigour; for he made daily marches of two hundred furlongs and more.

XXV. At length he came down to a royal halting-place which had admirable parks in elaborate cultivation, although the region round about was bare and treeless; and since it was cold, he gave permission to his soldiers to cut the trees of the park for wood, sparing neither pine nor cypress. And when they

νούντων δὲ καὶ φειδομένων διὰ τὰ κάλλη καὶ τὰ
 μεγέθη, λαβὼν πέλεκυν αὐτὸς ὅπερ ἦν μέγιστον
 καὶ κάλλιστον τῶν φυτῶν ἔκοψεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
 ξυλιζόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ πυρὰ ποιοῦντες εὐμαρῶς
 ἐνυκτέρευσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς
 ὑποβαλὼν ἄνδρας, ἵππους δὲ ὁμοῦ τι πάντας
 3 ἐπανήλθε. καὶ δόξας καταφρονεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν
 ἀτυχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπότευξιν τῆς στρατείας, ἐν
 ὑποψίαις εἶχε τοὺς πρώτους· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
 ἀνῆρει δι' ὀργήν, πλείονας δὲ φοβούμενος. ἡ γὰρ
 δειλία φονικώτατόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς τυραννίσιν,
 ἴλεων δὲ καὶ πρᾶον καὶ ἀνύποπτον ἢ θαρραλεό-
 της. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ ἀτιθάσευτα καὶ
 δυσεξημέρωτα ψοφοδεῇ καὶ δειλιά, τὰ δὲ γενναῖα
 πιστεύοντα μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν οὐ φεύγει τὰς
 φιλοφροσύνας.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν
 ἠσθάνετο τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀγῶνα περὶ τῆς βασιλείας
 ἐν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἔχοντας. οἱ μὲν
 γὰρ εὐγνώμονες ἠξίουσαν, ὥς ἔλαβεν αὐτός, οὕτως
 ὑπολιπεῖν πρεσβεῖα Δαρείῳ τὴν ἐρχήν. ὁ δὲ
 νεώτατος Ὀχὸς ὀξύς ὢν καὶ βίαιος εἶχε μὲν καὶ
 τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειον οὐκ ὀλίγους σπουδαστάς,
 ἠλπιζε δὲ μάλιστα κατεργάσεσθαι τὸν πατέρα
 2 διὰ τῆς Ἀτόσσης. ἐκείνην γὰρ ἐθεράπευεν ὥς
 γαμησομένην καὶ συμβασιλεύσουσαν αὐτῷ μετὰ
 τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν. ἦν δὲ λόγος ὅτι καὶ
 ζῶντος ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῇ πλησιάζων. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
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hesitated and were inclined to spare the trees on account of their great size and beauty, he took an axe himself and cut down the largest and most beautiful tree. After this the men provided themselves with wood, and making many fires, passed the night in comfort. Nevertheless, he lost many and brave men, and almost all his horses before he reached home. And now, thinking that his subjects despised him because of the disastrous failure of his expedition, he was suspicious of his chief men; many of these he put to death in anger, and more out of fear. For it is cowardly fear in a tyrant that leads to most bloodshed; but bold confidence makes him gracious and mild and unsuspecting. So also among wild beasts, those that are refractory and hardest to tame are timorous and fearful, whereas the nobler sorts are led by their courage to put more confidence in men, and do not reject friendly advances.

XXVI. But Artaxerxes, being now advanced in years, perceived that his sons were forming rival parties among his friends and chief men with reference to the royal succession. For the conservatives thought it right that, as he himself had received the royal power by virtue of seniority, in like manner he should leave it to Dareius. But his youngest son, Ochus, who was of an impetuous and violent disposition, not only had many adherents among the courtiers, but hoped for most success in winning over his father through the aid of Atossa. For he sought to gain Atossa's favour by promising that she should be his wife and share the throne with him after the death of his father. And there was a report that even while his father was alive Ochus had secret relations with Atossa. But Artaxerxes

μὲν ἡγνόησεν ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης· ταχὺ δὲ βουλόμενος
 ἐκκροῦσαι τῆς ἐλπίδος τὸν Ὀχον, ὅπως μὴ τὰ
 αὐτὰ Κύρῳ τολμήσαντος αὐτοῦ πόλεμοι καὶ
 ἀγῶνες αὐτῷ καταλάβωσι τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀνέ-
 δειξε τὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλέα πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος
 γεγονότα, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην κίταριν ὀρθὴν
 3 φέρειν ἔδωκε. νόμου δὲ ὄντος ἐν Πέρσαις δωρεὰν
 αἰτεῖν τὸν ἀναδειχθέντα καὶ διδόναι τὸν ἀναδεί-
 ξαντα πᾶν τὸ αἰτηθέν, ἅνπερ ἢ δυνατόν, ἤτησεν
 Ἀσπασίαν ὁ Δαρεῖος τὴν μάλιστα σπουδασθεῖ-
 σαν ὑπὸ Κύρου, τότε δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παλλακευ-
 ομένην. ἦν δὲ Φωκαῖς τὸ γένος ἀπ' Ἰωνίας,
 4 ἐλευθέρων γονέων καὶ τεθραμμένη κοσμίως. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ Κύρου δειπνοῦντος εἰσῆχθη μεθ' ἐτέρων γυναι-
 κῶν, αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι παρακαθεζόμεναι προσπαί-
 ζοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπτομένου καὶ σκώπτοντος οὐκ
 ἀηδῶς ἐνεδέχοντο τὰς φιλοφροσύνας, ἐκείνη δὲ
 παρὰ τὴν κλίνην εἰστήκει σιωπῇ καὶ Κύρου
 καλοῦντος οὐχ ὑπήκουε· βουλομένων δὲ προσ-
 ἄγειν τῶν κατευναστῶν, “Οἰμώζεται μέντοι τού-
 των,” εἶπεν, “ὅς ἂν ἐμοὶ προσαγάγῃ τὰς χεῖρας.”
 ἔδοξεν οὖν ἄχαρις τοῖς παροῦσιν εἶναι καὶ ἄγροι-
 5 κος. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἡσθεὶς ἐγέλασε, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς
 τὸν ἀγαγόντα τὰς γυναῖκας, “Ἄρα ἤδη συνορᾷς
 ὅτι μοι μόνην ταύτην ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον
 ἦκεις κομίζων;” ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσεῖχεν ἀρξά-
 μενος αὐτῇ, καὶ μάλιστα πασῶν ἔστερξε καὶ
 σοφὴν προσηγόρευσεν. ἐάλω δὲ Κύρου πεσόντος
 ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ διαρπαζομένου τοῦ στρατοπέδου.
 XXVII. Ταύτην ὁ Δαρεῖος αἰτήσας ἡμίασε τὸν

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 10. 2; Plutarch, *Pericles*, xxiv. 7.

was ignorant of this ; and wishing to shatter at once the hopes of Ochus, that he might not venture upon the same course as Cyrus and so involve the kingdom anew in wars and contests, he proclaimed Dareius, then fifty years of age, his successor to the throne, and gave him permission to wear the upright "kitanis," as the tiara was called. Now, there was a custom among the Persians that the one appointed to the royal succession should ask a boon, and that the one who appointed him should give whatever was asked, if it was within his power. Accordingly, Dareius asked for Aspasia, who had been the special favourite of Cyrus, and was then a concubine of the king. She was a native of Phocaea, in Ionia, born of free parents, and fittingly educated. Once when Cyrus was at supper she was led in to him along with other women. The rest of the women took the seats given them, and when Cyrus proceeded to sport and dally and jest with them, showed no displeasure at his friendly advances. But Aspasia stood by her couch in silence, and would not obey when Cyrus called her ; and when his chamberlains would have led her to him, she said : " Verily, whosoever lays his hands upon me shall rue the day." The guests therefore thought her a graceless and rude creature. But Cyrus was delighted, and laughed, and said to the man who had brought the women : " Dost thou not see at once that this is the only free and unpervverted woman thou hast brought me ? " From this time on he was devoted to her, and loved her above all women, and called her *The Wise*. She was taken prisoner when Cyrus fell in the battle at Cunaxa and his camp was plundered.¹

XXVII. This was the woman for whom Dareius

- πατέρα· δύσζηλα γὰρ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ δεινῶς περὶ τὸ ἀκόλαστον, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν προσελθόντα καὶ θιγόντα παλλακῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐν πορείᾳ προεξελθόντα καὶ διεξελεύσαντα τὰς ἀμάξας ἐφ' αἷς κομίζονται, θανάτῳ κολάζεσθαι.
- 2 καίτοι τὴν μὲν Ἀτοσσαν εἶχεν ἔρωτι ποιησάμενος γυναῖκα παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐξήκοντα δὲ καὶ τριακόσiai παρετρέφοντο κάλλει διαφέρουσαι παλλακίδες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτηθεὶς ἐκείνην ἐλευθέραν ἔφησεν εἶναι καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσε βουλομένην, ἄκουσαν δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι. μεταπεμφθείσης δὲ τῆς Ἀσπασίας καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλομένης τὸν Δαρεῖον, ἔδωκε μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τοῦ νόμου, δούς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον
- 3 ἀφείλετο. τῆς γὰρ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις, ἣν Ἀναῖτιν καλοῦσιν, ἰέρειαν ἀνέδειξεν αὐτήν, ὅπως ἀγνὴ διάγῃ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον, οἰόμενος οὐ χαλεπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετρίαν τινὰ καὶ παιδιᾷ μεμιγμένην ταύτην λήψεσθαι δίκην παρὰ τοῦ παιδός. ὁ δ' ἤνεγκεν οὐ μετρίως, εἴτ' ἔρωτι τῆς Ἀσπασίας περιπαθὲς γεγονώς, εἴτε ὑβρίσθαι καὶ κεχλευάσθαι νομίζων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός.
- 4 Αἰσθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα Τηρίβαζος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετράχυνεν, ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου σινιδῶν τὰ καθ' αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα. πλειόνων οὐσῶν βασιλεῖ θυγατέρων ὠμολόγησε Φαρναβάζῳ μὲν Ἀπάμαν δώσειν γυναῖκα, Ῥοδογούνην δὲ Ὀρόντη,

asked, and he gave offence thereby to his father ; for the Barbarian folk are terribly jealous in all that pertains to the pleasures of love, so that it is death for a man, not only to come up and touch one of the royal concubines, but even in journeying to go along past the waggons on which they are conveyed. And yet there was Atossa, whom the king passionately loved and had made his wife contrary to the law, and he kept three hundred and sixty concubines also, who were of surpassing beauty. However, since he had been asked for Aspasia, he said that she was a free woman, and bade his son take her if she was willing, but not to constrain her against her wishes. So Aspasia was summoned, and contrary to the hopes of the king, chose Dareius. And the king gave her to Dareius under constraint of the custom that prevailed, but a little while after he had given her, he took her away again. That is, he appointed her a priestess of the Artemis of Ecbatana, who bears the name of Anaïtis, in order that she might remain chaste for the rest of her life, thinking that in this way he would inflict a punishment upon his son which was not grievous, but actually quite within bounds and tintured with pleasantry. The resentment of Dareius, however, knew no bounds, either because he was deeply stirred by his passion for Aspasia, or because he thought that he had been insulted and mocked by his father.

And now Teribazus, who became aware of the prince's feelings, sought to embitter him still more, finding in his grievance a counterpart of his own, which was as follows. The king had several daughters, and promised to give Apama in marriage to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes, and Amestris

Τηριβάζω δὲ Ἀμηστριν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις
 ἔδωκε, Τηρίβαζον δὲ ἐψεύσατο γήμας αὐτὸς τὴν
 Ἀμηστριν, αὐτ' ἐκείνης δὲ τῷ Τηριβάζῳ τὴν
 5 νεωτάτην Ἀτοσσαν ἐνεγύησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύ-
 την ἐρασθεὶς ἔγημεν, ὡς εἴρηται, παντάπασι
 δυσμενῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Τηρίβαζος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲ
 ἄλλως στάσιμος ὢν τὸ ἦθος, ἀλλ' ἀνώμαλος καὶ
 παράφορος. διὸ καὶ νῦν μὲν εὐημερῶν ὅμοια
 τοῖς πρώτοις, νῦν δὲ προσκρούων καὶ σκορακιζό-
 μενος οὐδεμίαν ἔφερεν ἐμμελῶς μεταβολήν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τιμώμενος ἦν ἐπαχθῆς ὑπὸ χαννότητος, καὶ
 τὸ κολουόμενον οὐ ταπεινὸν οὐδὲ ἡσυχαιόν, ἀλλὰ
 τραχὺ καὶ ἀγέρωχον εἶχε.

XXVIII. Πῦρ οὖν ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐγένετο τῷ νεανίσκῳ
 προσκείμενος ὁ Τηρίβαζος αἰεὶ καὶ λέγων ὡς οὐδὲν
 οὐνινησιν ἢ κίταρις ἐστῶσα περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς
 ὑφ' αὐτῶν μὴ ζητοῦντας ὀρθοῦσθαι τοῖς πράγ-
 μασι, κακείνων ἀβέλτερα φρονεῖν, εἰ, τοῦ μὲν
 ἀδελφοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐνδυομένου τοῖς
 πράγμασι, τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς οὕτως ἐμπληκτον ἦθος
 καὶ ἀβέβαιον ἔχοντος, οἶεται βέβαιον αὐτῷ τὴν
 2 διαδοχὴν ὑπάρχειν. ὁ γὰρ Ἑλληνικοῦ χάριν
 γυναιίου τὸν ἄψευστον ἐν Πέρσαις ψευδάμενος
 νόμον οὐ δὴ που πιστός ἐστι τὰς περὶ τῶν μεγί-
 στων ὁμολογίας ἐμπεδώσειν. οὐ ταὐτὸ δ' εἶναι
 τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν Ὀχῷ κακείνῳ τὸ στέρεσθαι τῆς
 βασιλείας· Ὀχον μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα κωλύσειν
 ἰδιώτην βιοῦν μακαρίως, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἀποδεδειγμένῳ
 βασιλεῖ βασιλεύειν ἀνάγκη ἢ μηδὲ ζῆν εἶναι.

¹ Chap. xxiii. 2 ff.

² Cf. chap. xxvi. 2.

to Teribazus. He kept his promise to the other two, but broke his word to Teribazus and married Amestris himself, betrothing in her stead to Teribazus his youngest daughter, Atossa. But soon he fell enamoured of Atossa also and married her, as has been said,¹ and then Teribazus became a downright foe to him. Teribazus was at no time of a stable disposition, but uneven and precipitate. And so, when he would be at one time in highest favour, and at another would find himself in disgrace and spurned aside, he could not bear either change of fortune with equanimity, but if he was held in honour his vanity made him offensive, and when he fell from favour he was not humble or quiet, but harsh and ferocious.

XXVIII. Accordingly, it was adding fire to fire when Teribazus attached himself to the young prince and was forever telling him that the tiara standing upright on the head² was of no use to those who did not seek by their own efforts to stand upright in affairs of state, and that he was very foolish if, when his brother was insinuating himself into affairs of state by way of the harem, and his father was of a nature so fickle and insecure, he could suppose that the succession to the throne was securely his. Surely he whom regard for a Greek courtesan had led to violate the inviolable custom of the Persians, could not be trusted to abide by his agreements in the most important matters. Moreover, he said it was not the same thing for Ochus not to get the kingdom and for Dareius to be deprived of it; for no one would hinder Ochus from living happily in private station, but Dareius had been declared king, and must needs be king or not live at all.

- 3 Καθόλου μὲν οὖν ἴσως, τὸ Σοφόκλειον,
ταχεῖα πειθὼ τῶν κακῶν ὁδοιπορεῖ.

λεία γάρ τις ἢ πορεία καὶ κατάντης ἐπὶ τὸ βουλό-
μενον. βούλονται δὲ οἱ πλείστοι τὰ φαῦλα δι'
ἀπειρίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἄγνοϊαν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ 1026
τὸ μέγεθος τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ὀχον
τοῦ Δαρείου δέος ὑπόθεσιν τῷ Τηριβάζῳ παρ-
εῖχε· Κυπρογένεια δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἀναίτιος, ἢ
τῆς Ἀσπασίας ἀφαίρεσις.

- XXIX. Ἐπέδωκεν οὖν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Τηριβάζῳ·
καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη συνισταμένων, εὐνοῦχος ἐδήλωσε
τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, εἰδὼς
ἀκριβῶς ὅτι νυκτὸς ἐγνώκασιν ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ
κατακείμενον ἀναιρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεισελθόντες. ἀκού-
σαντι δὲ τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ καὶ τὸ παριδεῖν κίνδυνον
τηλικούτον, ἀμελήσαντα τῆς διαβολῆς, δεινὸν
ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ πιστεῦσαι μηδεὶος ἐλέγχου γενο-
2 μένου δεινότερον. οὕτως οὖν ἐποίει· τὸν μὲν
εὐνοῦχον ἐκείνοις ἐκέλευσε παρῆναι καὶ παρ-
ακολουθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ θαλάμου τὸν ὀπισθεν
τῆς κλίνης τοῖχον ἐκκόψας καὶ θυρώσας κατ-
εκάλυψε ἀνλαίαν τὰς θύρας. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς
ὥρας καὶ φράσαντος τοῦ εὐνούχου τὸν καιρὸν,
ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ὑπέμεινε καὶ οὐκ ἐξανέστη πρό-
τερον ἢ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐρχομένων τὰ πρόσωπα
3 κατιδεῖν καὶ γνωρίσαι σαφῶς ἕκαστον. ὥς δὲ
εἶδεν ἐσπασμένους τὰ ἐγχειρίδια καὶ προσφερο-
μένους, ταχὺ τὴν ἀνλαίαν ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεχώρησεν

¹ From an unknown play, Nauck, *Trag. Græc. Frag.*²,
p. 315.

Now, perhaps it is generally true, as Sophocles says,¹ that—

“Swiftly doth persuasion unto evil conduct make
its way” ;

for smooth and downward sloping is the passage to what a man desires, and most men desire the bad through inexperience and ignorance of the good. However, it was the greatness of the empire and the fear which Dareius felt towards Ochus that paved the way for Teribazus although, since Aspasia had been taken away, the Cyprus-born goddess of love was not altogether without influence in the case.

XXIX. Accordingly, Dareius put himself in the hands of Teribazus ; and presently, when many were in the conspiracy, an eunuch made known to the king the plot and the manner of it, having accurate knowledge that the conspirators had resolved to enter the king's chamber by night and kill him in his bed. When Artaxerxes heard the eunuch's story, he thought it a grave matter to neglect the information and ignore so great a peril, and a graver still to believe it without any proof. He therefore acted on this wise. He charged the eunuch to attend closely upon the conspirators ; meanwhile he himself cut away the wall of his chamber behind the bed, put a doorway there, and covered the door with a hanging. Then, when the appointed hour was at hand and the eunuch told him the exact time, he kept his bed and did not rise from it until he saw the faces of his assailants and recognised each man clearly. But when he saw them advancing upon him with drawn swords, he quickly drew aside the

εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς οἶκημα καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπήρραξε
 κράζων. ὀφθέντες οὖν οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
 πράξαντες δὲ μηθέν, ἀπεχώρουν φυγῇ διὰ θυρῶν,
 καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τηρίβαζον ἐκέλευον ἀποχωρεῖν
 4 ὡς φανεροὺς γεγονότας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι διαλυ-
 θέντες ἔφυγον· ὁ δὲ Τηρίβαζος συλλαμβανόμενος
 πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε τῶν βασιλέως δορυφόρων καὶ
 μόγις ἀκοντίῳ πληγὴς πόρρωθεν ἔπεσε. τῷ δὲ
 Δαρείῳ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀναχθέντι καθίσας τοὺς
 βασιλείους δικαστάς, οὐ παρὼν αὐτός, ἀλλ'
 ἐτέρων κατηγορησάντων, ἐκέλευσεν ὑπηρέτας τὴν
 ἐκάστου γραψαμένους ἀπόφασιν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπανε-
 5 νεγκεῖν. ἀποφνηαμένων δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ
 καταγνόντων τοῦ Δαρείου θάνατον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέ-
 ται συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκημα πλησίον ἀπ-
 ἤγαγον, ὁ δὲ δήμιος κληθεὶς ἦκε μὲν ξυρὸν ἔχων,
 ᾧ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτέμνουσι τῶν κολαζομένων,
 ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἀνεχώρει πρὸς
 τὰς θύρας ἀποβλέπων, ὥς οὐ δυνησόμενος οὐδὲ
 6 τολμήσων αὐτόχειρ γενέσθαι βασιλέως. ἔξωθεν
 δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπειλούντων καὶ διακελευομένων
 ἀναστρέψας καὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ δραξάμενος τῆς
 κόμης αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγαγὼν ἀπέτεμε τῷ ξυρῷ
 τὸν τράχηλον.

Ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ τὴν κρίσιν γενέσθαι βασιλέως
 αὐτοῦ παρόντος, τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον, ὡς κατελαμ-
 βάνετο τοῖς ἐλέγχοις, ἐπὶ στόμα πεσόντα δεῖσθαι
 7 καὶ ἰκετεύειν· τὸν δὲ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀναστάντα καὶ
 σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην τύπτειν ἕως ἀπέκτεινεν·

hanging, retired into the inner chamber, closed the door with a slam, and raised a cry. The murderers, accordingly, having been seen by the king, and having accomplished nothing, fled back through the door by which they had come, and told Teribazus and his friends to be off since their plot was known. The rest, then, were dispersed and fled; but Teribazus slew many of the king's guards as they sought to arrest him, and at last was smitten by a spear at long range, and fell. Dareius, together with his children, was brought to the king, who consigned him to the royal judges for trial. The king was not present in person at the trial, but others brought in the indictment. However, the king ordered clerks to take down in writing the opinion of each judge and bring them all to him. All the judges were of one opinion and condemned Dareius to death, whereupon the servants of the king seized him and led him away into a chamber near by, whither the executioner was summoned. The executioner came, with a sharp knife in his hand, wherewith the heads of condemned persons are cut off; but when he saw Dareius, he was confounded, and retired towards the door with averted gaze, declaring that he could not and would not take the life of a king. But since the judges outside the door plied him with threats and commands, he turned back, and with one hand clutching Dareius by the hair, dragged him to the ground, and cut off his head with the knife.

Some say, however, that the trial was held in the presence of the king, and that Dareius, when he was overwhelmed by the proofs, fell upon his face and begged and sued for mercy; but Artaxerxes rose up in anger, drew his scimitar, and smote him till he

εἶτα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν προελθόντα τὸν Ἥλιον προσ-
κυνῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· “Εὐφραίνεσθε ἀπιόντες, ὦ
Πέρσαι, καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι τοῖς ἄθεσμα
καὶ παράνομα διανοηθεῖσιν ὁ μέγας Ὀρομάξης
δίκην ἐπιτέθεικεν.”

- XXX. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιβουλὴ τοιοῦτον ἔσχε
τέλος. ὁ δὲ Ὀχος ἤδη μὲν ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσι λαμ-
πρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀτόσσης ἐπαιρόμενος, ἔτι δὲ ἐφο-
βεῖτο τῶν μὲν γυναικῶν τὸν ὑπόλοιπον Ἀριάσπην,
τῶν δὲ νόθων Ἀρσάμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριάσπης
οὐ διὰ τὸ πρεσβύτερος εἶναι τοῦ Ὀχου, πρῶτος
δὲ καὶ ἀπλοῦς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ἡξιούτο βασι-
λεύειν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάμης καὶ νουν
ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ μάλιστα τῷ πατρὶ προσφιλὲς
2 ὦν οὐκ ἐλάνθανε τὸν Ὀχον. ἐπιβουλεύων οὖν
ἀμφοτέροις καὶ δολερὸς ὦν ὁμοῦ καὶ φονικὸς
ἐχρήσατο τῇ μὲν ὀμότητι τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὸν
Ἀρσάμην, τῇ δὲ κακουργίᾳ καὶ δεινότητι πρὸς
τὸν Ἀριάσπην. ὑπέπεμψε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐ-
νοῦχους καὶ φίλους βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς τινὰς αἰεὶ
καὶ λόγους φοβεροὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας, ὥς τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐγνωκότος ἀποκτινύνειν αὐτὸν ὁμῶς καὶ
3 ἐφυβρίστως. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐκφέρειν
δοκοῦντες ὥς ἀπόρρητα, καὶ τὰ μὲν μέλλειν, τὰ
δὲ ὅσον οὐπω πράσσειν βασιλέα λέγοντες, οὕτως 1027
ἐξέπληξαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλον
πτοίαν αὐτῷ καὶ ταραχὴν καὶ δυσθυμίαν εἰς τοὺς
λογισμούς, ὥστε φάρμακον σκευάσαντα τῶν θανα-
4 σίμων καὶ πιόντα τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαγῆναι. πυθό-
μενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν τρόπον τῆς τελευτῆς,
ἐκείνον μὲν ἀπέκλαυσε, τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν ὑπώπτευν.
ἐλέγχειν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν ἐξαδυνατῶν διὰ γῆρας ἔτι

had killed him; then, going forth into court, he made obeisance to the sun and said: "Depart in joy and peace, ye Persians, and say to all whom ye meet that those who contrived impious and unlawful things have been punished by great Oromasdes."

XXX. Such, then, was the end of the conspiracy. And now Ochus was sanguine in the hopes with which Atossa inspired him, but he was still afraid of Ariaspes, the only legitimate son of the king remaining, and also of Arsames among the illegitimate sons. For Ariaspes, not because he was older than Ochus, but because he was mild and straightforward and humane, was deemed by the Persians worthy to be their king; Arsames, however, was thought to have wisdom, and the fact that he was especially dear to his father was not unknown to Ochus. Accordingly, he plotted against the lives of both, and being at once wily and bloody-minded, he brought the cruelty of his nature into play against Arsames, but his villainy and craft against Ariaspes. For he secretly sent to Ariaspes eunuchs and friends of the king, who constantly brought him word of sundry threatening and terrifying utterances implying that his father had determined to put him to a cruel and shameful death. Since they pretended that these daily reports of theirs were secrets of state, and declared, now that the king was delaying in the matter, and now that he was on the point of acting, they so terrified the prince, and filled his mind with so great trepidation, confusion, and despair, that he drank a deadly poison which he had prepared, and thus rid himself of life. When the king was informed of the manner of his death, he bewailed his son. He also suspected what had caused his death, but being

μάλλον ἡσπάζετο τὸν Ἀρσάμην, καὶ δῆλος ἦν
 μάλιστα πιστεύων ἐκείνῳ καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος.
 ὅθεν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀχον οὐκ ἀνεβάλλοντο τὴν
 πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' Ἀρπάτην υἱὸν Τηριβάζου παρα-
 σκευάσαντες ἀπέκτειναν δι' ἐκείνου τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
 5 ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς μικρᾶς ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης διὰ τὸ
 γῆρας ἤδη τότε· προσπεσόντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ περὶ
 τὸν Ἀρσάμην πάθους οὐδὲ ὀλίγον ἀντέσχευ, ἀλλ'
 εὐθὺς ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ δυσθυμίας ἀπεσβέσθη,
 βιώσας μὲν ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη, βασι-
 λεύσας δὲ δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα, δόξας δὲ πρᾶος εἶναι
 καὶ φιλυπήκοος οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸν υἱὸν Ὀχον
 ὡμότητι καὶ μαιφονίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενον.

unable by reason of his age to search out and convict the guilty one, he was still more well-affectioned towards Arsames, and clearly made him his chief support and confidant. Wherefore Ochus would not postpone his design, but set Arpates, a son of Teribazus, to the task and by his hand slew the prince. Now Artaxerxes, by reason of his age, was already hovering between life and death; and when the sad fate of Arsames came to his ears, he could not hold out even a little while, but straightway expired of grief and despair. He had lived ninety-four years, and had been king sixty-two, and had the reputation of being gentle and fond of his subjects; though this was chiefly due to his son Ochus, who surpassed all men in cruelty and blood-guiltiness.

ΓΑΛΒΑΣ

I. Ὁ μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Ἰφικράτης τὸν μισθοφό- 1053
 ρον ἡξίου στρατιώτην καὶ φιλόπλουτον εἶναι καὶ
 φιλήδονον, ὅπως ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χορηγίαν ἐπιζη-
 τῶν ἀγωνίζεται παραβολώτερον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι,
 καθάπερ ἐρρωμένον σῶμα, τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀξιού-
 σιν ἰδίᾳ μηδέποτε χρώμενον ὁρμῇ συγκινεῖσθαι
 2 τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. διὸ καὶ Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον
 λέγουσι τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δύναμιν παραλαβόντα
 λαλιᾶς καὶ περιεργίας, οἷον διαστρατηγοῦσαν,
 ἀνάπλεων, παρεγγυῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα ποιεῖν ἐτοί-
 μην καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν ἕκαστον, αὐτῷ δὲ
 3 τῶν ἄλλων μελήσειν. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων οὐδὲν ἔργον
 ὁρῶν ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῦ στρατιᾶς
 μὴ σωφρονούσης μηδὲ ὁμοπαθούσης, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 πειθαρχικὴν ἀρετὴν ὁμοίως τῇ βασιλικῇ νομίζων
 φύσεως γενναίας καὶ τροφῆς φιλοσόφου δεῖσθαι,
 μάλιστα τῷ πρᾶφ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ θυμοειδὲς
 καὶ δραστήριον ἐμμελῶς ἀνακεραυνυμένης, ἄλλα
 τε πάθη πολλὰ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίοις συμπεσόντα
 μετὰ τὴν Νέρωνος τελευτὴν ἔχει μαρτύρια καὶ
 παραδείγματα τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι φοβερώτερον ἀπαι-

¹ With Plutarch's *Galba* may be compared Suetonius, *Galba*; Dion Cassius, lxi. 1-9; Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 1-45.

GALBA¹

I. IPHICRATES the Athenian used to think that the mercenary soldier might well be fond of wealth and fond of pleasure, in order that his quest for the means to gratify his desires might lead him to fight with greater recklessness ; but most people think that a body of soldiers, just like a natural body in full vigour, ought to have no initiative of its own, but should follow that of its commander. Wherefore Paulus Aemilius, as we are told, finding that the army which he had taken over in Macedonia was infected with loquacity and meddlesomeness, as though they were all generals, gave out word that each man was to have his hand ready and his sword sharp, but that he himself would look out for the rest.² Moreover, Plato³ sees that a good commander or general can do nothing unless his army is amenable and loyal ; and he thinks that the quality of obedience, like the quality characteristic of a king, requires a noble nature and a philosophic training, which, above all things, blends harmoniously the qualities of gentleness and humanity with those of high courage and aggressiveness. Many dire events, and particularly those which befell the Romans after the death of Nero, bear witness to this, and show plainly that an empire has nothing more fearful to

² See the *Aemilius*, xiii. 4.

³ Cf. *e. g.* *Republic* 376 C.

δεύτοις χρωμένης καὶ ἀλόγοις ὀρμαῖς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ
 4 στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως. Δημάδης μὲν γὰρ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος εἵκαζε τὴν Μακε-
 δόνων στρατιὰν ἐκτετυφλωμένῳ τῷ Κύκλωπι,
 πολλὰς κινουμένην ὀρῶν κινήσεις ἀτάκτους καὶ
 παραφόρους· τὴν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ὅμοια
 τοῖς λεγομένοις Τιτανικοῖς πάθεσι καὶ κινήμασι
 κατελάμβανεν, εἰς πολλὰ διασπωμένην ἅμα καὶ
 πολλαχόθεν αὐθις ἑαυτῇ συμπίπτουσαν, οὐχ
 οὕτως ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας τῶν ἀναγορευομένων αὐτο-
 κρατόρων, ὡς φιλοπλουτίας καὶ ἀκολασίας τοῦ
 5 στρατιωτικοῦ δι' ἀλλήλων ὥσπερ ἦλους τοὺς
 ἡγεμόνας ἐκκρούοντος. καίτοι Διονύσιος Φεραῖον
 ἄρξαντα Θετταλῶν δέκα μῆνας, εἵτα εὐθύς ἀν-
 αιρεθέντα, τὸν τραγικὸν ἀνεκάλει τύραννον, ἐπι-
 σκώπτων τὸ τάχος τῆς μεταβολῆς. ἡ δὲ τῶν
 Καισάρων ἐστία, τὸ Παλάτιον, ἐν ἐλάσσονι χρό-
 νῳ τέσσαρας αὐτοκράτορας ὑπεδέξατο, τὸν μὲν
 εἰσαγόντων ὥσπερ διὰ σκηνῆς, τὸν δ' ἐξαγόντων.
 ἀλλ' ἦν γε παραμυθία τοῖς κακῶς πάσχουσι μ' αὖ
 τὸ μὴ δεηθῆναι δίκης ἐτέρας ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ'
 ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν φονευομένους, πρῶτον δε
 καὶ δικαιοτάτα πάντων τὸν δελεάσαντα καὶ δι-
 δάξαντα τοσοῦτον ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ Καίσα-
 ρος ὅσον αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο, κάλλιστον ἔργον δια-
 βαλὼν τῷ μισθῷ, τὴν ἀπὸ Νέρωνος ἀποστασίαν
 προδοσίαν γενομένην.

II. Νυμφίδιος γὰρ Σαβῖνος ὢν ἑπαρχος, ὥσπερ
 εἴρηται, μετὰ Τιγελλίνου τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐπεὶ τὰ
 Νέρωνος ἀπέγνωστο παντάπασι καὶ δῆλος ἦν

¹ An allusion to the proverb ἦλαφ ὁ ἦλος ἐκκρούεται.

show than a military force given over to untrained and unreasoning impulses. Demades, indeed, after Alexander had died, likened the Macedonian army to the blinded Cyclops, observing the many random and disorderly movements that it made; but the Roman Empire was a prey to convulsions and disasters like those caused by the Titans of mythology, being torn into many fragments, and again in many places collapsing upon itself, not so much through the ambition of those who were proclaimed emperors, as through the greed and licence of the soldiery, which drove out one commander with another as nail drives out nail.¹ And yet the Pheraean² who ruled Thessaly for ten months and was then promptly killed, was called the tragedy-tyrant by Dionysius, with scornful reference to the quickness of the change. But the house of the Caesars, the Palatium, in a shorter time than this received four emperors, the soldiery ushering one in and another out, as in play. But the suffering people had one consolation at least in the fact that they needed no other punishment of the authors of their sufferings, but saw them slain by one another's hands, and first and most righteously of all, the man who ensnared the soldiery and taught them to expect from the deposition of a Caesar all the good things which he promised them, thus defiling a most noble deed by the pay he offered for it, and turning the revolt from Nero into treachery.

II. It was Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the court guard along with Tigellinus, as I have already stated,³ who, when Nero's case was altogether desperate, and

¹ Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. See the *Pelopidas*, xxiv.-xxxv.

² Probably in the lost *Life of Nero*.

ἀποδρασόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπεισε τὸ στρατιω-
 τικόν, ὡς μηκέτι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἤδη πεφευγότες,
 2 αὐτοκράτορα Γάλβαν ἀναγορεῦσαι, καὶ δωρεὰν
 ὑπέσχετο κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς αὐλικοῖς καὶ στρατη-
 γικοῖς προσαγορευομένοις δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας
 πεντακοσίας, τοῖς δὲ ἐκτὸς στρατευομένοις πεντή-
 κοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις, ὅσον ἀμήχανον
 ἦν συναγαγεῖν μὴ πλείονα μυριάκις κακὰ παρα-
 3 σχόντα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὧν Νέρων παρέσχε. τοῦ- 1054
 το γὰρ εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώλεσε Νέρωνα, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ
 Γάλβαν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ληψόμενοι προήκαντο,
 τὸν δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. εἶτα τὸν
 τοσοῦτον δώσοντα ζητοῦντες ἔφθησαν ἐν ταῖς
 ἀποστάσεσι καὶ προδοσίαις ἀναλώσαντες αὐτοὺς
 ἢ τυχόντες ὧν ἠλπισαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἕκαστα
 τῶν γενομένων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀκριβῶς τῆς πραγ-
 ματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐστίν, ὅσα δὲ ἄξια λόγου τοῖς
 τῶν Kaisarōn ἔργοις καὶ πάθεσι συμπέπτωκεν,
 οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ προσήκει παρελθεῖν.

III. Γάλβας Σουλπίκιος ὅτι μὲν ἰδιώτης πλου-
 σιώτατος ἀπάντων εἰς τὸν Kaisarōn παρήλθεν
 οἶκον, ὁμολογεῖται· μέγα δὲ ἔχων εὐγενείας ἀξίω-
 μα τὸν Σερουτίων οἶκον, αὐτὸς ἐφρόνει μεῖζον ἐπὶ
 τῇ Κάτλου συγγενείᾳ, πρωτεύσαντος ἀνδρὸς
 ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν, εἰ καὶ τὸ δύνα-
 2 σθαι μᾶλλον ἐκὼν ἐτέροις παρήκεν. ἦν δέ τι καὶ
 Λιβία τῇ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ κατὰ γένος προσή-
 κων ὃ Γάλβας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Λιβίας παρασχού-

¹ Plutarch uses the Greek word drachma for the corresponding Roman denarius, a silver coin about equivalent to

it was clear that he was going to run away to Egypt, persuaded the soldiery, as though Nero were no longer there but had already fled, to proclaim Galba emperor, and promised as largess seventy-five hundred drachmas apiece for the court, or praetorian, guards, as they were called, and twelve hundred and fifty drachmas¹ for those in service outside of Rome, a sum which it was impossible to raise without inflicting ten thousand times more evils upon the world than those inflicted by Nero. This promise was at once the death of Nero, and soon afterwards of Galba: the one the soldiers abandoned to his fate in order to get their reward, the other they killed because they did not get it. Then, in trying to find someone who would give them as high a price, they destroyed themselves in a succession of revolts and treacheries before their expectations were satisfied. Now, the accurate and circumstantial narration of these events belongs to formal history; but it is my duty also not to omit such incidents as are worthy of mention in the deeds and fates of the Caesars.

III. That Sulpicius Galba was the richest private person who ever came to the imperial throne, is generally admitted; moreover, his connection with the noble house of the Servii gave him great prestige, although he prided himself more on his relationship to Catulus, who was the foremost man in his time in virtue and reputation, even if he gladly left to others the exercise of greater power. Galba was also somehow related to Livia, the wife of Augustus Caesar, and therefore, at the instance of Livia, he was made

the franc. But a Roman writer would reckon by sestertii, the sestertius being worth about a quarter of the denarius.

σης ὕπατος ἐκ Παλατίου προῆλθε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ στρατεύματος ἐν Γερμανίᾳ καλῶς ἄρξαι καὶ Λιβύης ἀνθύπατος γενόμενος σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπαινεθῆναι. τὸ δὲ εὐκόλῳ αὐτοῦ τῆς διαίτης καὶ φειδωλὸν ἐν δαπάναις καὶ ἀπέριτον αἰτίαν ἔσχευ αὐτοκράτορος γενομένου μικρολογίας, ἣν ἔωλόν τινα δόξαν εὐταξίας ἔφερε καὶ σωφροσύνης.

3 ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος Ἰβηρίας ἄρχων, οὐπω δεδιδαγμένου φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώμασι μεγάλους¹ τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ φύσει δοκοῦντι πράῳ γεγονέναι προσετίθει πίστιν εὐλαβείας τὸ γῆρας.

IV. Ἐπεὶ² δέ, τῶν ἀλιτηρίων ἐπιτρόπων ὡμῶς καὶ ἀγρίως τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνῳ διαφορούντων, ἄλλο μὲν εἶχεν οὐδὲν βοηθεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι συναλγῶν καὶ συναδικούμενος ἀμῶς γέ πως ἀναπνοήν τινα καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς καταδικαζομένοις καὶ πωλουμένοις παρέσχε· καὶ ποιημάτων εἰς Νέρωνα γινομένων καὶ πολλαχοῦ περιφερομένων καὶ ἀδομένων, οὐκ ἐκώλυνεν οὐδὲ συνηγανάκτει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις· ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠγαπάτο ὑπὸ

2 τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη συνήθης, ἔτος ὄγδοον ἐκείνο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐν ᾧ Ἰούνιος Οὐίνδιξ ἐπανεστη Νέρωνι, Γαλατίας ὢν στρατηγός. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀποστάσεως γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Οὐίνδικος, οἷς μήτε πιστεῦσαι μήτε μηνῦσαι καὶ κατειπεῖν,

¹ μεγάλους Coraës and Bekker have *μεγάλοις*, after Reiske.

² ἐπεὶ Sint.² corrects to ἐκεῖ (*there*).

consul¹ by the emperor. We are told also that he commanded an army in Germany with distinction, and that when he was pro-consul of Africa,² he won such praise as few have done. But his simple and contented way of living, the sparing hand with which he dealt out money, always avoiding excess, were counted unto him, when he became emperor, as parsimony, so that the reputation which he bore for moderation and self-restraint was an insipid sort of thing. By Nero he was sent out as governor of Spain,³ before Nero had yet learned to be afraid of citizens who were held in high esteem. Galba, however, was thought to be of a gentle nature, and his great age gave an added confidence that he would always act with caution.

IV. But when, as the nefarious agents of Nero savagely and cruelly harried the provinces, Galba could help the people in no other way than by making it plain that he shared in their distress and sense of wrong, this somehow brought relief and comfort to those who were being condemned in court and sold into slavery. And when verses were made about Nero, and men circulated and sang them freely, he did not put a stop to it nor share in the displeasure of Nero's agents; wherefore he was still more beloved by the inhabitants. For he was by this time well known to them, since it was in the eighth year of his governorship that Junius Vindex, a general in Gaul, revolted against Nero. It is said, indeed, that even before the open rebellion Galba received letters from Vindex, and that he neither put any trust in them nor gave accusing information

¹ In 33 A.D.² In 45 A.D.³ In 61 A.D.

ὥς ἕτεροι τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῖς
 γραφείσας ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ διέφθειραν
 ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἧς ὕστερον μετα-
 σχόντες ὠμολόγησαν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ ἐκεί-
 3 νου προδόται γεγονέναι. ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ λαμπρῶς
 τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφήνας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἔγραψε τῷ Γάλβα
 παρακαλῶν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ
 παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἰσχυρῷ σώματι ζητοῦντι κε-
 φαλήν, ταῖς Γαλατίαις δέκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν
 ὀπλισμένων ἐχούσαις ἄλλας τε πλείονας ὀπλίσαι
 δυναμέναις, προὔθηκε βουλὴν τοῖς φίλοις. ὧν οἱ μὲν
 ἡξίουں περιμένειν καραδοκοῦντα τίνα κίνησιν ἢ
 4 Ῥώμη καὶ φορὰν ἔξει πρὸς τὸν νεωτερισμόν. Τίτος
 δὲ Οὐίνιος ὁ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ τάγματος ἡγεμὼν
 αὐτοῖς¹ εἶπεν. “ὦ Γάλβα, τίνα τρόπον βου-
 λεύεσθε; τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν Νέρωνι εἰ πιστοὶ μενοῦ-
 μεν, οὐκ ἤδη μενόντων ἐστίν. ὥς οὖν ὑπάρχοντος
 ἐχθροῦ Νέρωνος οὐ δὴ προετέον τὴν τοῦ Οὐίνδι-
 κος φιλίαν, ἢ καὶ κατηγορητέον εὐθύς αὐτοῦ καὶ
 πολεμητέον, ὅτι σὲ βούλεται Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν
 ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον ἢ Νέρωνα τύραννον.”

V. Ἐκ τούτου προγράμματι μὲν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ
 Γάλβας ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐλευθερώ-
 1055 σεις ἀποδώσει τοῖς δεομένοις, λαλιὰ δὲ καὶ φήμη
 προεκπεσοῦσα πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἤθροισε προ-
 θύμων ἐπὶ τὸν νεωτερισμόν. οὐκ ἔφθη γοῦν
 φανερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος γενόμενος, καὶ πάντες
 2 αὐτὸν ὁμοφώνως αὐτοκράτορα προσεείπον. ὁ δὲ
 ταύτην μὲν εὐθύς οὐ προσεδέξατο τὴν προσ-
 ηγορίαν, κατηγορήσας δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ τῶν
 ἀνηρημένων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστά-

¹ αὐτοῖς suggested by Sint.² for the αὐτός of the MSS.

about them, although other provincial governors sent to Nero the letters written to them, and thus did all they could to ruin the enterprise of Vindex; and yet they afterwards took part in it, and thus confessed that they had been false to themselves no less than to Vindex. But after Vindex had openly declared war, he wrote to Galba inviting him to assume the imperial power, and thus to serve what was a vigorous body in need of a head, meaning the Gallic provinces, which already had a hundred thousand men under arms, and could arm other thousands besides. Then Galba took counsel with his friends. Some of these thought it best for him to wait and see what movement Rome would set on foot in response to the revolution; but Titus Vinius, the captain of the praetorian guard, said to them: "O Galba, what counsels are these? For to ask whether we shall remain faithful to Nero means that we are already unfaithful. Assuming, then, that Nero is an enemy, we surely must not reject the friendship of Vindex; or else we must at once denounce him and make war upon him because he wishes the Romans to have thee as their ruler rather than Nero as their tyrant."

V. After this, Galba issued an edict appointing a day on which he would grant individual manumissions to all who desired them, and gossip and rumour flying all abroad brought together a multitude of men who were eager for the revolution. At any rate, no sooner was Galba seen upon the tribunal than all with one voice hailed him as emperor. However, he did not at once accept this appellation, but after denouncing Nero, and bewailing the most illustrious of the men who had been put to

τους ὀλοφυράμενος, ὡμολόγησεν ἐπιδώσειν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν, οὔτε Καῖσαρ οὔτ' αὐτοκράτωρ, στρατηγὸς δὲ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενος.

- 3 "Οτι δ' ὀρθῶς ὁ Οὐνδιξ καὶ λελογισμένως ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάλβαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπιστώσατο μάρτυρι τῷ Νέρωνι. προσποιούμενος γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονεῖν καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ Γαλατῶν, ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Γάλβαν (ἔτυχε δὲ λελουμένος καὶ ἀριστῶν) ἀνέτρεψε τὴν
- 4 τράπεζαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης πολέμιον τὸν Γάλβαν αὐτὸς τε παίζειν καὶ θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους βουλόμενος, οὐ φαύλην ἔφη πρόρρησιν ἐμπεπτωκέναι λογισμοῦ δεομένῳ χρημάτων αὐτῷ· καὶ τὰ μὲν Γαλατῶν, ὅταν ὑποχείριοι γένωνται, λαφυραγωγήσεσθαι, ἡ δὲ Γάλβα πάρεστιν οὐσία χρῆσθαι καὶ πωλεῖν ἤδη
- 5 πολεμίου πεφηνότος. οὗτός τε δὴ τὰ Γάλβα πιπράσκειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ Γάλβας ἀκούσας, ὅσα Νέρωνος ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ κηρύττων εὔρισκε πολλοὺς προθυμοτέρους ὠνητάς.

- VI. Ἀφισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ πάντων ἐπιεικῶς τῷ Γάλβᾳ προστιθεμένων, μόνος Κλώδιος Μάκρος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ Οὐεργίνιος Ῥοῦφος ἐν Γαλατία τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγούμενος αὐτοῖ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔπραττον, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν
- 2 αἵρεσιν ἔχοντες. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κλώδιος, ἐν ἀρπαγαῖς πραγμάτων γεγωνὸς καὶ φόνοις ἀνδρῶν δι' ὠμότητα καὶ πλεονεξίαν, δῆλος ἦν ἐν τῷ μήτε κατέχειν μήτε ἀφίεναι τὴν ἀρχὴν δύνασθαι περιφερόμενος, Οὐεργίνιος δὲ ταγμάτων ἐπιστατῶν δυνατωτάτων πολλῶν αὐτὸν ἀναγορευόντων αὐτοκράτορα καὶ

death by him, promised to devote his best powers to the service of his country, taking as his title, not Caesar, nor Emperor, but General of the Roman Senate and People.

Now, that Vindex acted wisely and well in calling upon Galba to be emperor, was convincingly proved by Nero. For though he pretended to despise Vindex and to regard matters in Gaul as of no moment, as soon as he learned what Galba had done—Nero had just taken his bath and was at breakfast—he overturned his table. However, after the Senate had voted Galba an enemy, Nero, with a desire to jest and put on a bold countenance with his friends, said that an excellent idea had occurred to him in his need of money: the property of the Gauls would not fall to him as spoil of war until after they should be subdued; but Galba's estate was ready to be used and sold at once, now that Galba had been declared a public enemy. So he ordered the property of Galba to be sold, and Galba, when he heard of it, put up at public sale all that Nero owned in Spain, and found many readier buyers.

VI. Many were now falling away from Nero, and almost all of them attached themselves to Galba; only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Verginius Rufus in Gaul (where he commanded the German forces), acted on their own account, though each took a different course. Clodius, whose cruelty and greed had led him into robberies and murders, was clearly in a strait where he could neither retain nor give up his command; while Verginius, who commanded the strongest legions and was often saluted by them as emperor and strongly urged to take the title, declared

βιαζομένων οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη λήψεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὔτε ἄλλῳ περιόψεσθαι διδομένην, ὃν ἂν μὴ ἢ
 3 συγκλητος ἔληται. ταῦτα τὸν Γάλβαν οὐ μετρίως ἐθορύβει τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Οὐεργινίου καὶ Οὐίνδικος στρατεύματα τρόπον τινὰ βία τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥσπερ ἡνιόχους κρατῆσαι χαλινῶν μὴ δυνηθέντας, εἰς μάχην ἐξενεγκόντα μεγάλην συνέρραξαν, καὶ Οὐίνδικος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελοντος ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις Γαλατῶν πεσοῦσι, διῆλθε λόγος ὡς βουλομένων πάντων ἐπὶ νίκη τοσαύτῃ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάλιν
 4 μεταβαλουμένων πρὸς Νέρωνα, τότε δὴ παντάπασι περίφοβος γενόμενος ὁ Γάλβας ἔγραψε τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ, παρακαλῶν κοινοπραγεῖν καὶ διαφυλάσσειν ἅμα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν Ῥωμαίοις· αὐτὶς δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Κλουνίαν, Ἰβηρικὴν πόλιν, ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τῷ μετανοεῖν περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ποθεῖν τὴν συνήθη καὶ σύντροφον ἀπραγμοσύνην μᾶλλον ἢ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων διέτριβεν.

VII. Ἦν δὲ θέρος ἤδη, καὶ βραχὺ πρὸ δείλης ἦκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης Ἰκελος ἀνὴρ ἀπελευθερος ἐβδομαῖος. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἀναπαύεσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐβάδιζε συντόνως ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ βία τῶν θαλαμηπόλων ἀνοίξας καὶ παρελθὼν
 2 ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Νέρωνος, οὐκ ὄντος δὲ φανεροῦ, τὸ στράτευμα πρῶτον, εἴτα ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀναγορεύσειεν, ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον ἀπαγγελθεῖν τεθνηκὼς ἐκεῖνος· οὐ μὴν αὐτὸς γε πιστεύσας ἔφη τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπελθὼν τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ κείμενον θεασάμενος, οὕτως ἐξελεθῆν.

that he would neither assume the imperial power himself, nor allow it to be given to anyone else whom the senate did not elect. These things greatly disturbed Galba at first; but presently the armies of Verginius and Vindex in a manner forced their leaders, like charioteers who had lost control of the reins, into the crash of a great battle, and Vindex, after the loss of twenty thousand Gauls, died by his own hand, and a report was current that all the soldiers desired Verginius, in view of the great victory he had won, to assume the imperial power, or they would go back again to Nero. Then indeed Galba was all alarm, and wrote to Verginius inviting him to join in efforts for the preservation alike of the empire and the freedom of the Romans. But after this he retired with his friends to Clunia, a city in Spain, and spent his time in repenting of what he had done and in longing for his habitual and wonted freedom from care, rather than in taking any of the steps now made necessary.

VII. It was now summer,¹ and shortly before sunset there came from Rome a freedman named Icelus, who had made the journey in seven days. Having learned that Galba was reposing by himself, he went in hot haste to his chamber, opened the door in spite of the chamberlains, entered, and announced that while Nero was still alive, but in hiding, that the army first, and then the senate and people, had proclaimed Galba emperor, and that a little while afterwards it was reported that Nero was dead; Icelus himself, however, as he said, had not believed the report, but had gone and seen the dead body where it lay, and then had set out on his journey. This announcement

¹ Of 68 A.D.

3 ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόμενα λαμπρὸν ἦρε τὸν Γάλβαν, καὶ συνέδραμε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ θύρας ἐκτεθαρρηκότων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βεβαίως. καίτοι τὸ τάχος ἦν ἄπιστον. ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον¹ Οὐίνιος Τίτος² ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μεθ' ἐτέρων ἀφίκετο τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀπαγγέλλων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς τάξιν ἔντιμον προήχθη· τῷ δ' ἀπελευθέρῳ δακτυλίους τε χρυσοὺς ἔδωκε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὁ Ἰκελὸς ἡδη καλούμενος εἶχε τὴν πρώτην ἐν τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις δύναμιν.

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- VIII. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Νυμφίδιος Σαβῖνος, οὐκ ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ὁμοῦ, πάντα πράγματα φέρων περιήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ὥς Γάλβαν μὲν ὄντα πρεσβύτην καὶ μόλις εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξαρκέσοντα φοράδην κομισθῆναι διὰ γῆρας· ἦν γὰρ ἑτῶν τριῶν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τὰ δὲ αὐτόθι στρατεύματα, καὶ πάλαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνόως ἔχοντα καὶ νῦν ἐνὸς ἐξηρητημένα μόνου, διὰ τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς μέγεθος εὐεργέτην ἐκείνον ἡγεῖσθαι,
- 2 Γάλβαν δὲ χρεωφειλέτην. εὐθὺς οὖν Τιγελλίνῳ μὲν τῷ συνάρχοντι προσέταξεν ἀποθέσθαι τὸ ξίφος, ὑποδοχὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς ὑπατικούς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονικούς, ἔτι τὸ Γάλβα προστιθεὶς ὄνομα ταῖς κλήσεσιν, ἔν τε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολλοὺς παρεσκεύασε λέγειν ὥς πεμπτέον ἐστὶ πρὸς Γάλβαν αἰτουμένους ἔπαρχον εἰσαεῖ Νυμφίδιον ἄνευ συνάρχοντος.
- 3 Ἄ δὲ ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τιμὴν ἔπραττεν αὐτοῦ

¹ ὕστερον supplied by Coraës, after Amyot.

highly elated Galba, and there came running to his door a multitude of men who had gained complete confidence as the result of Icelus' report. And yet the messenger's speed was incredible. But two days afterwards Titus Vinius with others came from the camp and reported in detail the decrees of the senate. Vinius, accordingly, was advanced to a position of honour, and as for the freedman, he was allowed to wear the gold ring, received the name of Marcianus instead of Icelus, and had the chief influence among the freedmen.

VIII. But at Rome Nymphidius Sabinus was forcing the entire control of affairs into his own hands, not slowly and little by little, but all at once. He thought that Galba was an old man and would hardly have the strength to be carried to Rome on a litter, by reason of his age, for he was in his seventy-third year; moreover, he knew that the soldiery in the city had long been well disposed towards him and were now devoted to him alone, regarding him as their benefactor because of the large gifts which he promised, but Galba as their debtor. Straightway, therefore, he ordered his colleague Tigellinus to lay down his sword, gave receptions at which he banqueted men who had been consuls or in high command (although he still affixed the name of Galba to his invitations), and instigated many of the soldiers to declare that a deputation ought to be sent to Galba demanding that Nymphidius be made prefect for life without a colleague.

Moreover, the senate did much to enhance his

² Τίτος after this name the words πολλά τῶν, deleted by Coraës and Bekker, are retained by Sint.² with indication of a lacuna (πολλά . . . τῶν).

καὶ δύναμιν, ἀνακαλοῦσα εὐεργέτην καὶ συντρέ-
 χουσα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παντὸς ἐξάρχειν
 δόγματος ἀξιούσα καὶ βεβαιοῦν, ἔτι περαιτέρω
 τόλμης ἀνῆγεν αὐτόν, ὥστε ὀλίγου χρόνου τοῖς
 4 ρὸν εἶναι. τῶν δ' ὑπάτων οἰκέτας δημοσίους
 προχειρισαμένων τὰ δόγματα κομίζοντας τῷ αὐτο-
 κράτορι, καὶ τὰ καλούμενα διπλώματα σεσημα-
 σμένα δόντων, ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ κατὰ πόλιν
 ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀμοιβαῖς ἐπιτα-
 χύνουσι τὰς προπομπὰς τῶν γραμματηφόρων, οὐ
 μετρίως ἠγανάκτησεν ὅτι μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 σφραγίδα καὶ στρατιώτας λαβόντες ἀνέπεμψαν,
 ἀλλὰ λέγεται καὶ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῶν ὑπάτων,
 εἴτα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπολογησαμένοις καὶ δεηθεῖσιν
 5 ἀνῆκε. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἐκώλυε τὸν
 παραπίπτοντα τῶν Νέρωνος ἀποτυμπανίζειν.
 Σπῖκλον μὲν οὖν τὸν μονομάχον ἀνδριάσι Νέρωνος
 ἐλκομένοις ὑποβαλόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ διέφθειραν,
 Ἀπόνιον δὲ τινα τῶν κατηγορικῶν ἀνατρέψαντες
 ἀμάξας λιθοφόρους ἐπήγαγον, ἄλλους δὲ διέσπα-
 σαν πολλούς, ἐνίους μὴδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ
 Μαύρικον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ ὄντα καὶ δο-
 κοῦντα, πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰπεῖν ὅτι φοβεῖται
 μὴ ταχὺ Νέρωνα ζητήσωσιν.

IX. Οὕτω δὲ προσάγων ὁ Νυμφίδιος ἐγγυτέρω
 ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οὐκ ἔφευγε Γαίου Καίσαρος υἱὸς
 λέγεσθαι τοῦ μετὰ Τιβέριον ἄρξαντος. ἐγνώκει
 γὰρ ὁ Γαῖος, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι

¹ Caligula.

honour and power, giving him the title of benefactor, assembling daily at his door, and allowing him the privilege of initiating and confirming all their decrees. This raised him to a still higher pitch of boldness, so that within a short time those who paid court to him were filled, not only with jealousy, but also with fear. When the consuls provided public servants to carry the decrees of the senate to the emperor, and gave to these the diplomas, as they were called, sealed with their official seal (in order that the magistrates of the various cities, recognising this, might expedite the supply of fresh vehicles for the journey of the couriers), he was vexed beyond all bounds because the decrees had not been sent under his seal and in charge of his soldiers, nay, it is said that he actually thought of proceeding against the consuls, but put away his wrath when they excused themselves and begged for forgiveness. Again, in his desire to gratify the people, he would not prevent them from beating to death any follower of Nero who fell into their hands. Accordingly, they cast Spiculus the gladiator under statues of Nero that were being dragged about in the forum, and killed him; Aponius, one of Nero's informers, they threw to the ground and dragged waggons laden with stone over him; and many others, some of whom had done no wrong, they tore in pieces, so that Mauricus, who was justly deemed one of the best men in Rome, told the senate that he was afraid they would soon be searching for a Nero.

IX. Thus coming in his hopes nearer and nearer to his goal, Nymphidius was not averse to having it said that he was the son of the Caius Caesar¹ who succeeded Tiberius. For Caius, as it would appear, while still

μειράκιον ὦν οὐκ ἀειδῆ τὴν ὄψιν οὖσαν, ἐκ δ' ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου Καλλίστῳ, Καίσαρος ἀ-
 2 ελευθέρῳ, γεγεννημένην. ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ πρὸς Γαίῳ
 ἔντευξις αὐτῆς, ὡς ἔοικε, νεωτέρα τῆς Νυμφιδίου
 γενέσεως, αἰτίαν δὲ ἔσχεν ἐκ Μαρτιανοῦ τοῦ μο-
 νομάχου γεγονέναι, τῆς Νυμφιδίας ἐρασθείσης
 διὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καθ' ὁμοιότητα
 3 τῆς ἰδέας ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν. ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶν γε
 Νυμφιδίας εἶναι μητρὸς ἔργον μὲν αὐτοῦ μόνου
 τὴν Νέρωνος ἐποιεῖτο κατάλυσιν, ἄθλα δὲ αὐτῆς
 οὐ νομίζων ἱκανὰ καρποῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰ
 χρήματα καὶ τὸ Σπόρῳ τοῦ Νέρωνος συγκαθεύδειν,
 ὃν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς ἔτι καιομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ
 μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκείνος ἐν γαμετῆς εἶχε τάξει καὶ 1057
 Ποππαίαν προσηγόρευεν, ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν παρ-
 4 ἐδύετο τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 διὰ τῶν φίλων ὑπειργάζετο, καὶ γυναικῶν τινων
 αὐτῷ καὶ συγκλητικῶν ἀνδρῶν κρύφα συλλαμβα-
 νομένων, ἓνα δὲ τῶν φίλων, Γελλιανόν, εἰς Ἰβηρίαν
 ἔπεμψεν κατασκεψόμενον.

Χ. Τῷ δὲ Γάλβᾳ μετὰ τὴν Νέρωνος τελευτὴν
 ἐχώρει πάντα. Οὐεργίνιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος ἀμφίβολος
 ὦν ἔτι φροντίδα παρείχε, μὴ τῷ δυνάμειος πολλῆς
 καὶ μαχιμωτάτης ἄρχειν προσειληφὼς τὸ νενικηκέ-
 ναι Οὐίνδικα καὶ κεχειρῶσθαι μέγα μέρος τῆς
 Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, ἐν σάλῳ γενομένην ἀποστα-
 2 τικῷ Γαλατίαν ἄπασαν, ὑπακούσαι τοῖς παρα-
 καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἦν
 ὄνομα μείζον, οὐδὲ εἶχε δόξαν οὐδεὶς ὅσῃν ὁ Οἰερ-

a young man, had been intimate with the mother of Nymphidius, a woman of comely appearance and a daughter of Callistus, Caesar's freedman, by a hired sempstress. But this intimacy, as it would seem, was later than the birth of Nymphidius, and it was believed that he was a son of Martianus, the gladiator (with whom Nymphidia fell in love on account of his fame), and his resemblance to Martianus was thought to favour this connection. But although he certainly admitted that Nymphidia was his mother, he took to himself sole credit for the overthrow of Nero, and thinking himself insufficiently rewarded for this by the honours and wealth which he enjoyed, and by the company of Sporus, Nero's favourite (whom he had sent for at once, while Nero's body was yet burning on its pyre, and treated as his consort, and addressed by the name of Poppaea), he aspired to the succession in the empire. Some secret steps to this end he himself took at Rome through the agency of his friends, and certain women and men of senatorial rank secretly assisted him, and one of his friends, Gellianus, he sent to Spain to keep an eye upon matters there.

X. But everything went well with Galba after the death of Nero. Verginius Rufus, it is true, who was still hesitating, gave him anxiety. For besides commanding a large and most efficient army, Verginius had the added prestige of his victory over Vindex and his subjugation of all Gaul, which was a large part of the Roman Empire and had been in the throes of revolt. Galba therefore feared that Verginius might listen to those who invited him to take the supreme power. For no man's name was greater than that of Verginius, and no man had a reputation

γίνιος, ὥς μεγίστη ῥοπή τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πραγμασι
 τυραννίδος ὁμοῦ χαλεπῆς καὶ Γαλατικῶν πολέ-
 μων ἀπαλλαγῇ γενόμενος. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τότε τοῖς
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμμένων λογισμοῖς ἐφύλαττε τῇ συγ-
 κλήτῳ τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καίτοι φα-
 νεράς γε τῆς Νέρωνος τελευτῆς γενομένης τό τε
 πλήθος ἐνέκειτο τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ πάλιν, καὶ τῶν
 χιλιάρχων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ σπασάμενος τὸ
 ξίφος ἐκέλευε τὸν Οὐεργινιον δέχεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμο-
 3 νίαν ἢ τὸν σίδηρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φάβιος Οὐάλης
 ἄρχων ἐνὸς τάγματος ὥρκωσε πρῶτος εἰς Γάλβαν,
 καὶ γράμματα ἤκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης περὶ ὧν ἡ σύγ-
 κλητος ἐψηφίσατο, χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, ἔπεισε
 δ' οὖν τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλβαν
 ἀνειπεῖν· καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ διάδοχον Φλάκκον
 Ὀρδεώνιον ἐδέξατο. καὶ παραδοὺς ἐκείνῳ τὴν
 δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἀπῆντησε τῷ Γάλβᾳ πρόσω χω-
 ροῦντι, καὶ συνανέστρεφεν, οὔτε ὀργῆς οὔτε τιμῆς
 4 ἐπιδήλου τυγχάνων. αἷτιος δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ
 Γάλβας αἰδούμενος τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῦ δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ
 μάλιστα Οὐίνιος Τίτος, ὑπὸ φθόνου τὸν Οὐεργί-
 νιον οἰόμενος μὲν κολοῦειν, ἡγνύει δὲ ἄρα τῷ
 Οὐεργινίου χρηστῷ δαίμονι συνεργῶν, ἥδη τὸν
 ἄνδρα πολέμων καὶ κακῶν, ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγε-
 μόνας κατέσχευε, ἐκτὸς εἰς βίον ἀκύμονα καὶ
 γῆρας εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας μεστὸν ὑπεκτιθεμένῳ.

XI. Γάλβαν δὲ περὶ Νάρβωνα, πόλιν Γαλατι-
 κήν, οἱ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου πρέσβεις ἐντυχόντες
 ἡσπάζοντο, καὶ παρεκάλουν ἐπιφανῆσαι τῷ δήμῳ
 ποθοῦντι ταχέως. ὁ δὲ τὰς τε ἄλλας παρείχεν
 ἐντεύξεις καὶ συνουσίας αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωποῦς καὶ

equal to his, since he had exercised the greatest influence in ridding the Roman state alike of a grievous tyrant and of Gallic wars. But in the present crisis he was true to his original resolves and maintained the senate's right to choose the emperor. And yet when Nero's death was known for certain, the mass of his soldiery were insistent again with Verginius, and one of the military tribunes in his tent drew his sword and ordered Verginius to choose between imperial power and the steel. But after Fabius Valens, commander of a legion, had led off in taking the oath of allegiance to Galba, and letters had come from Rome telling of the senate's decrees, he succeeded at last, though with the greatest difficulty, in persuading his soldiers to declare Galba emperor; and when Galba sent Flaccus Hordeonius to succeed him, Verginius received that officer, handed over his army to him, and went himself to meet Galba as he advanced, and turned back in his company without receiving any clear mark either of his anger or esteem. This was due, in the one case, to Galba himself, who had a wholesome respect for Verginius, and in the other to Galba's friends, especially Titus Vinus. Vinus was jealous of Verginius, and thought to block his career; but without knowing it he was aiding the man's good genius, which was now removing him from all the wars and miseries which encompassed the other leaders, and bringing him into a calm haven of life, and an old age full of peace and quiet.

XI. At Narbo, a city of Gaul, Galba was met by the deputies from the senate, who greeted him and begged him to gratify speedily the eager desire of the people to see him. In his general interviews and meetings with them he was kind and unassuming,

δημοτικάς, πρὸς τε τὰς ἐστιάσεις πολλῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ θεραπείας βασιλικῆς παρούσης, ἣν ἐκ τῶν Νέρωνος ὁ Νυμφίδιος αὐτῷ προσέπεμψεν, οὐδενὶ χρώμενος ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πᾶσιν, εὐδοκίμει, μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ κρείττων ἀπειροκαλίας φαινόμενος. ταχὺ μέντοι τὰ γενναῖα ταῦτα καὶ ἄτυφα καὶ πολιτικὰ δημαγωγίαν Οὐίνιος ἀποφαίνων καὶ κομψότητα μεγάλων ἀπαξιούσαν αὐτήν, ἔπεισε χρήμασί τε χρῆσθαι τοῖς Νέρωνος καὶ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς πολυτελείας. καὶ ὅλως αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐνίῳ γενησομένου παρεῖχεν ὁ πρεσβύτης.

XII. Ἦν δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀργυρίου μὲν ἐσχάτως καὶ παρ' ὄντινούν ἥττων, ἔνοχος δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ γυναῖκας ἀμαρτήμασιν. ἔτι γὰρ ὢν νέος καὶ στρατευόμενος ὑπὸ Καλβισίῳ Σαβίνῳ τὴν πρώτην στρατείαν ἀκόλαστον οὖσαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρεισήγαγε νύκτωρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐσθῇτι στρατιωτικῇ καὶ διέφθειρεν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις, ἃ πριγκίπια καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ἔδῃσεν αὐτόν· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος εὐτυχία χρησάμενος ἀπελύθη. δειπνῶν δὲ παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν ὑφείλετο· πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῇ ὑστεραία πάλιν αὐτόν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν, ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνῳ μηδὲν ἀργυροῦν, ἀλλὰ κεράμια πάντα προσφέρειν καὶ παρατιθέναι τοὺς ὑπηρέτας.

3 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος μετριότητα κωμικωτέραν γενομένην γέλωτος, οὐκ ὀργῆς ἄξιον ἔδοξεν· ἃ δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἔχων ὑφ' αὐτῷ, καὶ δυνάμενος

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and when he entertained them, though there was an abundance of royal furniture and service at his command, which Nymphidius had sent him from Nero's palace, he used none of it, but only what was his own, thus winning a good repute, and showing himself a man of large mind who was superior to vulgarity. Vinius, however, by declaring to him that this dignified, simple, and unassuming course was merely a flattery of the people and a refinement of delicacy which thought itself unworthy of great things, soon persuaded him to make use of Nero's riches, and in his receptions not to shrink from a regal wealth of outlay. And in general the aged man let it be seen little by little that he was going to be under the direction of Vinius.

XII. Now Vinius was to the last degree and beyond all compare a slave of money, and was also addicted to loose conduct with women. For when he was still a young man and was serving his first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought his commander's wife, an unchaste woman, by night into the camp in the garb of a soldier, and had commerce with her in the general's quarters (the Romans call them "*principia*"). For this offence Caius Caesar put him in prison; but on the death of the emperor he had the good fortune to be released. While he was at supper with Claudius Caesar, he purloined a silver drinking-cup, and Caesar, learning of it, invited him to supper again the next day, and when he came, ordered the attendants to set before him no silver plate at all, but only earthenware. This misdeed, it is true, owing to the comic turn which Caesar's moderation took, was thought worthy of laughter, not of anger; but what he did when he had

μέγιστον ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἔπραττε, τραγικῶν παθῶν καὶ συμφορῶν μεγάλων τοῖς μὲν αἰτίαν, τοῖς δὲ πρόφασιν παρέσχεν.

XIII. Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφίδιος εὐθύς ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ Γελλιανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὃν ἔπεμψε τοῦ Γάλβα τρόπον τινὰ κατάσκοπον, ἀκούσας τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἔπαρχον ἀποδεδεῖχθαι Κορνήλιον Λάκωνα, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι τοῦ Οὐνίου κράτος, αὐτῷ δὲ μηδέποτε τοῦ Γάλβα στήναι πλησίον ἐγγεγονέναι μηδὲ ἐντυχεῖν ἰδίᾳ, πάντων αὐτὸν ὑφορωμένων καὶ διαφυλαττόντων, ἐθορυβήθη· καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔφη Γάλβαν μὲν αὐτὸν εἶναι πρεσβύτην ἐπιεικῇ καὶ μέτριον, ἐλάχιστα δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ χρώμενον λογισμοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐνίου καὶ Λάκωνος οὐκ εὖ διοικεῖσθαι. πρὶν οὖν λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἦν ἔσχε Τιγελλῖνος ἰσχυρὸν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι κτησάμενους, πεμπτέον εἶναι πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τοὺς διδάξοντας ὅτι τῶν φίλων δύο μόνους τούτους ἀποσκευασάμενος ἡδίων παρέ-
3 σται πᾶσι καὶ ποθεινότερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἄτοπον ἐδόκει καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ἡγεμόνα πρεσβύτην, ὥσπερ ἄρτι γενόμενον ἐξουσίας μεираκίον, οἷς χρήσεται φίλοις ἢ μή, ῥυθμίζειν, ἐτέραν ὁδὸν τραπόμενος ἔγραφε τῷ Γάλβα δεδιττόμενος, νῦν μὲν ὡς ὑπουλα καὶ μετέωρα πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης, νῦν δὲ Κλώδιον Μάκρον ἐν Λιβύῃ τὰ σιτηγὰ κατέχειν, αὐθις δὲ παρακινεῖν τὰ Γερμανικὰ τάγματα, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Ἰουδαίᾳ δυνάμεων ὅμοια πυνθάνεσθαι.

Galba under his control and was most influential with him in financial matters, was partly a cause and partly a pretext for tragic events and great calamities.

XIII. For Nymphidius, as soon as Gellianus had come back to him, whom he had sent to be a sort of spy upon Galba, heard that Cornelius Laco had been appointed prefect of the praetorian guard, and that Vinus was all powerful with Galba, while Gellianus had never stood near him or seen him in private, but had been looked upon with suspicion and distrust by everyone. Nymphidius was therefore much disturbed, and calling together the officers of the army, told them that Galba himself was a well-meaning and moderate old man, but did not follow his own counsels in the least, and was badly directed by Vinus and Laco. Therefore, before these men had succeeded in secretly acquiring the power which Tigellinus had held, a deputation should be sent to the emperor from the camp, to inform him that if he would put away from his company of friends only these two men, he would be more acceptable and welcome to all on his arrival. But this speech of Nymphidius did not convince his hearers; nay, they thought it a strange and unnatural thing to dictate to an aged emperor, as if he had been a youth just tasting power, what friends he was to have or not to have. Nymphidius therefore took another course, and wrote to Galba messages intended to alarm him—now, that there was much hidden distemper and unrest in the city, now, that Clodius Macer was holding back the grain supplies in Africa; again, that the legions in Germany were mutinous, and that like news came concerning the forces in Syria and Judaea. But since Galba gave

4 τοῦ δὲ Γάλβα μὴ πάνυ τὸν νοῦν προσέχοντος αὐτῷ μηδὲ πιστεύοντος ἔγνω προεπιχειρεῖν· καίτοι Κλώδιος Κέλσος Ἀντιοχεύς, ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων, εὖνους δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πιστός, ἀπηγόρευε, λέγων οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθαι μίαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνοικίαν Καίσαρα προσεῖπείν Νυμφίδιον. ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ κατεγέλων, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐπισκώπτων τὴν φαλακρότητα καὶ ῥυσσότητα τοῦ Γάλβα νῦν ἔφη τινὰ δοκεῖν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ὀφθέντα δὲ φανεῖσθαι τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἃς καλεῖται Καίσαρ, ὄνειδος.

XIV. Ἔδοξεν οὖν περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν παραγαγόντας ἀναδεικνύειν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Νυμφίδιον. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν χιλιάρχων Ἀντώνιος Ὀνωράτος ἐσπέρας γενομένης τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν ἐκάκιζε μὲν αὐτόν, ἐκάκιζε δὲ ἐκείνους ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τροπὰς τοσαύτας τρεπομένους κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδὲ αἵρεσιν ἀμεινόνων, ἀλλὰ δαίμονός τις αὐτοὺς ἐκ προδοσίας εἰς προδοσίαν ἐλαύνοντος.

2 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα προφάσεις ἔχειν τὰ Νέρωνος ἐγκλήματα· νῦν δὲ Γάλβαν προδιδόναι, τίνα φόνον μητρὸς ἐγκαλοῦντας ἢ σφαγὴν γυναικός, ἢ ποίαν αἰδουμένους θυμέλην ἢ τραγωδίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος; “Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐκείνον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπεμείναμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ Νυμφιδίῳ πεισθέντες ὅτι πρῶτος ἡμᾶς ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ πέφευγεν εἰς

3 Αἴγυπτον. πότερον οὖν Νέρωνι Γάλβαν ἐπιθυσώμεθα, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Νυμφιδίας ἐλόμενοι Καίσαρα τὸν ἐκ Λιβίας ἀνέλωμεν, ὥς τὸν ἐξ Ἀγριπ-

no heed to him whatever and put no confidence in his reports, he determined not to wait before making his attempt. And yet Clodius Celsus of Antioch, a man of good sense, who was well-disposed and faithful to him, tried to dissuade him, saying that in his opinion not a single precinct in Rome would give Nymphidius the title of Caesar. But many ridiculed Galba, and especially Mithridates of Pontus, who scoffed about his bald head and wrinkled face, and said that now the Romans thought him a great personage, but when they saw him they would regard all the days in which he had borne the title of Caesar as a disgrace to them.

XIV. It was decided, therefore, to bring Nymphidius into the camp about midnight and proclaim him emperor. But when it was evening, the leading military tribune, Antonius Honoratus, calling together the soldiers under his command, reviled himself, and reviled them for changing about so often in so short a time, not according to any plan or choice of better things, but because some evil spirit drove them from one treachery to another. In the first instance, he said, they had an excuse in the crimes of Nero; but now, if they were to betray Galba, what charge of murdering his mother or slaying his wife could they bring against him, or what feelings of shame that their emperor should appear in public as musician or tragic actor? "Nay, not even with these provocations would we consent to abandon a Nero, but we had to be persuaded by Nymphidius that Nero had first abandoned us and fled to Egypt. Shall we, then, sacrifice Galba after Nero, and choosing the son of Nymphidia as our Caesar, shall we slay the scion of the house of Livia,

πίνης ἀνείλομεν; ἢ τούτῳ δίκην ἐπιθέντες ὧν 1059
δέδρακε, τιμωροὶ μὲν Νέρωνος, Γάλβα δὲ φύλακες
ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ φανῶμεν;”

Ταῦτα λέγοντι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ προσέθεντο πάντες
οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσιόντες ἐμμέ-
νειν παρεκάλουν τῇ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πίστει·
4 καὶ τοὺς πλείους μετέστησαν. ἀρθείσης δὲ βοῆς,
εἴτε πεισθεὶς ὁ Νυμφίδιος, ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, καλεῖν
αὐτὸν ἤδη τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἴτε προλαβεῖν σπεύ-
δων τὸ θορυβοῦν ἔτι καὶ διστάζον, ὑπὸ φωτὶ
πολλῷ προῆει, λόγον τινὰ κομίζων ἐν βιβλίῳ
γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ Κιγγωνίου Βάρρωνος, ὃν ἐκμε-
5 μελετῇκει πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰπεῖν. ἰδὼν δὲ
κεκλεισμένας τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὰς πύλας καὶ
περὶ τὰ τεῖχη πολλοὺς ὥπλισμένους ἔδεισε· καὶ
προσιὼν ἡρώτα τί βούλονται καὶ τίνας κελεύ-
σαντος ἐν ὅπλοις γεγόνασιν. ἀπαντήσης δ' αὐτῷ
παρὰ πάντων μιᾶς φωνῆς, Γάλβαν αὐτοκράτορα
γινώσκειν, κακεῖνος ὁμόσε χωρῶν ἐπευφήμει καὶ
6 τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐκέλευε. τῶν δὲ παρὰ τὰς πύλας
παρέντων αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων αὐτὸς
ἀκοντίζεται λόγχῃ· καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐδέξατο πρὸ
αὐτοῦ θυρεῷ Σεπτίμιος, ἄλλων δὲ γυμνοῖς ξίφεσιν
ἐπιφερομένων φυγῶν καὶ διωχθεὶς ἐν οἰκήματι
στρατιώτου σφάττεται. καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς μέσον
ἐλκύσαντες καὶ περιβαλόντες κιγκλίδα θέαμα τοῖς
Βουλομένοις μεθ' ἡμέραν παρέσχον.

XV. Οὕτῳ δὲ τοῦ Νυμφιδίου καταστρέψαντος
ὁ Γάλβας πυθόμενος, καὶ τῶν συνωμοτῶν αὐτοῦ

as we have slain the son of Agrippina? Or, shall we inflict punishment on Nymphidius for his evil deeds, and thereby show ourselves avengers of Nero, but true and faithful guardians of Galba?"

So spoke the tribune, and all his soldiers took his side, and visiting their fellow-soldiers, exhorted them to maintain their fidelity to the emperor; and they brought over the greater part of them. But now loud shouts arose, and Nymphidius, either because he was convinced, as some say, that the soldiers were already calling him, or because he was anxious to win over betimes the element that was still unruly and mutinous, came up in a glare of lights, carrying in his hand a speech written out for him by Cingonius Varro; this he had got by heart to deliver to the soldiers. But when he saw the gate of the camp closed and a great number of men under arms along the walls, he was struck with fear; and drawing near, he asked what they meant, and by whose command they were under arms. One cry came to him from the lips of all, and this was that they acknowledged Galba as emperor, whereupon he also, as he joined them, shouted in approval, and bade his followers do the same. But after the soldiers at the gate had permitted him to enter with a few followers, a lance was hurled at him. This weapon was received in the shield which Septimius interposed, but others assailed him, with drawn swords, whereupon he fled, was pursued, and was cut down in a soldier's hut. His dead body was dragged forth, surrounded with a paling, and exposed to public view all day.

XV. Such was the violent end of Nymphidius, and when Galba learned of it, he ordered such of his

- κελεύσας ἀποθανεῖν ὅσοι μὴ δι' αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἀπέθανον, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κιγγώνιος ὁ τὸν λόγον γράψας καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικός, ἔδοξε μὴ νομίμως, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, μὴδὲ δημοτικῶς ἀνηρηκέναι πρὸ κρίσεως ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀσήμους. ἕτερον γὰρ ἡγεμονίας σχῆμα προσεδέχοντο πάντες, ἔξαπατώ-
 2 μνοι συνήθως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγομένων. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἠνίασεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ Νέρωνι πιστὸς ἀποθανεῖν κελευσθεῖς, Πετρώνιος Τουρπιλιανός. Μάκρον¹ γὰρ ἐν Λιβύῃ διὰ Τρεβωνίου¹ καὶ Φοντήϊον ἐν Γερμανίᾳ διὰ Οὐᾶλεντος ἀνελὼν πρόφασιν εἶχεν ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις ὄντας φοβηθῆναι. Τουρπιλιανὸν δέ, γέροντα γυμνὸν καὶ ἄνοπλον, λόγου μεταλαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, εἴ τις ἦν ἐπαγγέλλεται μετριότητα τοῖς πράγμασιν² ἔργῳ φυλάξειν ἔμελλε.
- 3 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας ἔχει μέμψεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσιὼν ἀπέιχε τῆς πόλεως περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, ἐνετύγχανεν ἀκοσμία καὶ θορύβῳ τῶν ἐρετῶν τὴν ὁδὸν προκατεχόντων καὶ περικεχυμένων πανταχόθεν. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οὓς εἰς ἐν τάγμα
 4 ὁ Νέρων συλλοχίσας ἀπέφηνε στρατιώτας· καὶ τότε παρόντες ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν οὐτ' ὀφθῆναι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν οὐτ' ἀκουσθῆναι παρίεσαν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν βοή σημεῖα τῷ τάγματι καὶ χώραν αἰτοῦντες. ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπερτιθεμένου καὶ πάλιν εἰπεῖν³ κελεύσαντος,

¹ Μάκρον (as in xiii. 3), Τρεβωνίου, suggested by Sint.³ for Μάκρωνα and Τρεβωνιανοῦ of the MSS.

² πράγμασιν Sint.² has γρίμμασιν (*in his letters*), after Emporius.

³ πάλιν εἰπεῖν Bekker has παρείκειν (*yield*), after Coraës.

fellow-conspirators as had not at once taken their own lives to be put to death. Among these was Cingonius, who wrote the speech for Nymphidius, and Mithridates of Pontus. But it was held to be illegal and despotic, even though just, to put to death without a trial men who were not without distinction. For everyone expected a different mode of government, being thoroughly deceived, as is usual, by assurances made in the beginning. And people took it still more amiss when Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity who was faithful to Nero, was ordered to take his own life. For in having Macer taken off in Africa at the hands of Trebonius, and Fonteius in Germany at the hands of Valens, Galba could excuse himself with the fear they inspired as commanders of armed forces. But there was no reason why Turpilianus, a helpless old man and unarmed, should not have a chance to defend himself, if the emperor was really going to observe that moderation in his dealings which he promised.

Such, then, was the censure to which these acts exposed Galba. Moreover, when, in his approach to the city, he was distant from it about five-and-twenty furlongs, he fell in with a disorderly and tumultuous crowd of seamen, who beset his way and encompassed him on all sides. These were men whom Nero had formed into a legion and given the title of soldiers. And now they were there to enforce their just rights as soldiers, and would not suffer the emperor to be seen or heard by those who came to meet him, but with tumultuous shouts demanded standards for their legion and regular quarters. When Galba put off their demand and told them to renew it at another time, they declared

ἀρνήσεως σχῆμα τὴν ἀναβολὴν εἶναι φάσκοντες ἠγανάκτουν καὶ παρείποντο μὴ φειδόμενοι βοῆς. ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας σπασαμένων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γάλβας. ὑπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐθύς ἀνατραπέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες διεφθάρησαν, οὐ χρηστὸν οὐδὲ αἷσιον ποιοῦντες τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸν οἶωνόν ἐισιόντι διὰ πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τοσοῦτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνει πρότερον ἀσθενοῦς καὶ γέροντος ὀρωμένου, τότε πᾶσι φρικώδης καὶ φοβερὸς ἐγένετο.

XVI. Βουλόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀμετρίας καὶ πολυτελείας τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποδεικνύει μεγάλην μεταβολήν, ἀστοχεῖν ἐδόκει τοῦ πρέποντος. Κάνου γὰρ αὐλήσαντος αὐτῷ παρὰ 1060 δεῖπνον (ἀκρόαμα δὲ ἦν ὁ Κάνος εὐδοκιμούμενον) ἐπαινέσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι τὸ γλωσσόκομον· καὶ λαβὼν χρυσοῦς τινὰς ἐπέδωκε τῷ Κάνῳ, φήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, οὐκ 2 ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χαρίζεσθαι. τὰς δὲ δωρεὰς ἃς Νέρων ἔδωκε τοῖς περὶ σκηνὴν καὶ παλαίστραν, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι συντόνως κελεύσας πλὴν τοῦ δεκάτου μέρους, εἴτα μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα κομιζόμενος (ἀνηλώκεσαν γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν λαβόντων, ἐφήμεροι καὶ σατυρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις ἄνθρωποι) τοὺς πριαμένους παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ λαβόντας ὁτιοῦν 3 ἀνεξήτει καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐξέπραττε. τοῦ δὲ πρύγματος ὅρον οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ πόρρω νεμομένου καὶ προϊόντος ἐπὶ πολλούς, αὐτὸς μὲν 238

that the postponement was merely a way of refusing their demands, and were incensed, and followed along with unremitted shouts. Some actually drew their swords, and then Galba ordered his horsemen to charge upon them. Not a man of them stood his ground, but some were done to death at once in the rout, and others as they fled, nor was it a happy and auspicious omen that Galba should enter the city through so much slaughter and so many dead bodies. But whereas many had before this despised him and looked upon him as a weak old man, now all regarded him with shuddering fear.

XVI. And now, in his desire to display a great change from Nero's immoderate and extravagant manner of giving, he was thought to fall short of what was fitting. For example, after Canus had played on the flute for him at a banquet (now Canus was a performer of high repute), he was loud in his praises and ordered his purse to be brought to him; and taking from it a few gold pieces, he gave them to Canus, with the remark that the gift was made from his own, and not from the public moneys. Again, he ordered that the gifts which Nero had made to people of the theatre and palaestra should be demanded back again with strictness, all but the tenth part; and then, when he got only slight and grudging returns (for most of the recipients had squandered their largess, being men of a loose and improvident way of living), he had a search made for such as had bought or received anything whatsoever from them, and tried to exact it from these. The business had no limits, but was far extended and affected many; it gave the emperor himself a bad

ἡδόξει, φθόνον δὲ καὶ μῖσος εἶχεν Οὐίνιος, ὥς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνελεύθερον παρέχων τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ μικρολόγον, αὐτὸς δὲ χρώμενος ἀσώτως καὶ λαμβάνων πάντα καὶ πιπράσκων.

4 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἑσίοδος

ἀρχομένου τε πίθου καὶ λήγοντος κορέσασθαι φησὶ δεῖν, ὁ δὲ Οὐίνιος ὁρῶν ἀσθενῇ καὶ γέροντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἐνεπίμπλατο τῆς τύχης, ὥς ἅμα μὲν ἀρχομένης, ἅμα δὲ φθινοῦσης.

XVII. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἡδικεῖτο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦ Οὐινίου κακῶς διοικούντος, ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ὀρθῶς προηρεῖτο διαβάλλοντος ἢ κωλύοντος· οἷον ἦν τὸ περὶ τὰς κολάσεις τῶν Νερωνιανῶν.

2 ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ Ἥλιος καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Πετῖνος καὶ Πατρόβιος. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκρότει, καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτῶν ἀγομένων ἐβόα καλὴν μὲν εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλῇ πομπήν, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ παιδαγωγὸν τῆς τυραννίδος Τιγελλῖνον. ἐφθάκει δὲ ὁ γενναῖος προειληφὼς ἀρραβῶσι

3 μεγάλοις τὸν Οὐίνιον. εἵτα Τουρπιλιανὸς μὲν, ὅτι μὴ προεδίδου μηδὲ ἐμίσει τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοιοῦτον ὄντα μισούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲ ἐν μέγα συναδικήσας, ἀπέθανεν· ὁ δὲ καὶ ποιήσας ἄξιον θανάτου Νέρωνα καὶ γενόμενον τοιοῦτον ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ προδοὺς περιῆν, μέγα δίδαγμα

¹ *Works and Days*, 366.

name, and brought envy and hatred upon Vinus as having made the emperor ungenerous and sordid with everybody else, while he himself used money lavishly, taking everything that was offered and selling freely. For Hesiod¹ bids men to

“ Drink without stint at the beginning and end of the cask,”

and so Vinus, seeing that Galba was old and feeble, sated himself with the good fortune which he thought was just beginning and at the same time was soon to end.

XVII. But the aged emperor suffered injustice not only when Vinus, as at first, administered affairs badly, but also when he brought into odium or prevented wise measures set on foot by Galba himself; as, for instance, in the matter of punishing the adherents of Nero. For Galba set out to kill the bad ones, among whom were Helius and Polycleitus and Petinus and Patrobius. And the people applauded the act, and shouted, as the culprits were dragged through the forum to their doom, that it was a goodly procession indeed, and acceptable to the gods, but that gods and men alike demanded justice on the tutor and teacher of the tyrant, namely, Tigellinus. That worthy minister, however, had won the protection of Vinus betimes, by means of large advances. Again, Turpilianus, who was hated merely because he would not betray nor show hatred to Nero in spite of all that emperor's crimes, but apart from this had participated in no one serious offence, was put to death; whereas the man who had made Nero worthy of death, and betrayed and forsook him when he had come to that pass, was left alive – a great

τοῦ μηδὲν ἄπρακτον εἶναι παρὰ Οὐνίῳ μηδὲ
 4 ἀνέλπιστον τοῖς διδοῦσιν. οὐδενὸς γὰρ οὕτω
 θεάματος ἐρασθεῖς ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ὡς τοῦ
 Τιγελλίνου ἰδεῖν ἀπαγόμενον, οὐδὲ πανσάμενος
 ἐν πᾶσι θεάτροις καὶ σταδίοις αἰτούμενος ἐκείνῳ,
 ἐπεπλήχθη διαγράμματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Τι-
 γελλίνου μὲν οὐ πολὺν ἔτι βιώσεσθαι φάσκον-
 τος χρόνον ὑπὸ φθινάδος νόσου δαπανώμενον,
 ἐκείνους δὲ παραιτουμένου μὴ διαγριαίνειν
 5 μηδὲ τυραννικὴν ποιεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἀχθο-
 μένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καταγελῶντες ὁ μὲν Τιγελ-
 λῖνος ἔθυσσε σωτήρια καὶ παρεσκεύασε λαμπρὰν
 ἐστίαν, ὁ δὲ Οὐνίος ἀναστὰς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτο-
 κράτορος μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐκώμασεν ὡς ἐκείνῳ,
 ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα χήραν οὔσαν. καὶ προῦπιεν
 ὁ Τιγελλῖνος αὐτῇ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας
 ἀργυρίου, καὶ τῶν παλλακίδων τὴν ἀγελαρ-
 χούσαν ἐκέλευσε τὸν περιδέραιον κόσμον ἀφελο-
 μένην ἐκείνῃ περιάψαι, πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων
 εἶναι λεγόμενον.

XVIII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὰ μετρίως πρατ-
 τόμενα διαβολὴν εἶχεν, ὡς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας
 Οὐνδίκι συναραμένους. ἐδόκουν γὰρ οὐ φιλαν-
 θρωπία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ ὠνούμενοι παρὰ
 Οὐνίου τυγχάνειν ἀνέσεώς τε δασμῶν καὶ
 2 πολιτείας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπηχθάνοντο, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας
 τὴν δωρεὰν μὴ κομιζομένους ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐλπίς
 παρήγεν ὡς, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον

object-lesson to show that Vinus could do anything and fulfil any expectation for those who gave him enough. For there was no spectacle on which the Roman people had so set their hearts as that of Tigellinus dragged away to punishment, and in all the theatres and circuses they would not cease demanding him, until they were quelled by an edict of the emperor in which he declared that Tigellinus was wasting away with consumption and had not much longer to live, and advised them not to exasperate the government or force it to be tyrannical. Then, in mockery of the dissatisfied people, Tigellinus offered sacrifices for his preservation and prepared a splendid feast; and Vinus, rising from beside the emperor, afterwards went to a drinking-bout in Tigellinus' house, leading his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus pledged her health with a gift of twenty-five myriads of money,¹ and ordered the governess of his concubines to take the necklace from her own neck and put it about hers. The necklace was said to be worth fifteen myriads.

XVIII. After this, even the reasonable measures of the emperor fell under censure, as, for instance, his treatment of the Gauls who had conspired with Vindex. For they were thought to have obtained their remission of tribute and their civil rights, not through the kindness of the emperor, but by purchase from Vinus. Such were the reasons, then, why most of the people hated the government; but the soldiers, though they had not received their promised largess, were led on at first by the hope that Galba would give them, if not the whole of it, at least as much as

¹ See the note on Chap. ii. 2.

Νέρων ἔδωκεν, ἀποδώσοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεμφομένους ἀκούσας ἀφῆκε φωνὴν ἡγεμόνι μεγάλῳ πρέπουσαν, εἰπὼν εἰωθέναι καταλέγειν στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀγοράζειν, πυθομένοις τοῦτο δεινὸν εἰσῆλθε 100 μῖσος καὶ ἄγριον πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστερεῖν μόνος, ἀλλὰ νομοθετεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορας.

- 3 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν¹ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τυφλὸν ἦν ἔτι κίνημα, καὶ τις αἰδῶς ἅμα πρὸς παρόντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀμβλύτητα καὶ μέλλησιν ἐνεποίει τῷ νεωτερισμῷ, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμφανῇ μεταβολῆς ὀρᾶσθαι συνέστελλε καὶ συνέκρυπτεν ἀμῶς γέ πως τὴν δυσμένειαν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ὑπὸ Οὐεργινίῳ γενόμενοι, τότε δ' ὄντες ὑπὸ Φλάκκῳ περὶ Γερμανίαν, μεγάλων μὲν ἀξιούντες αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν μάχην ἣν ἐμαχέσαντο πρὸς Οὐῖνδικα, μηδενὸς δὲ τυγχάνοντες, ἀπαρηγόρητοι τοῖς 4 ἄρχουσιν ἦσαν. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Φλάκκον ὑπὸ συντόνου ποδάγρας ἀδύνατον ὄντα τῷ σώματι καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ παράπαν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ ποτε θέας οὔσης, καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν τὸ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες εὐτυχίαν ἐπευχομένων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Γάλβα, διεθορύβησαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐπιμενόντων ἐκείνων ἀντεφώνουν “Εἰ ἄξιος.”

XIX. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνῳ ταγμάτων ὑβριζόντων πολλάκις, ἐπέμπετο γράμματα τῷ Γάλβα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων· ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ὥς μὴ μόνον διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ

¹ τὸ μὲν Coraës and Bekker have τῶν μὲν, the correction of Reiske.

Nero had given. When, however, Galba heard that they were complaining, he spoke out as became a great emperor, and declared that it was his custom to enroll soldiers, not to buy them; whereupon they began to cherish a dire and savage hatred towards him. For they thought that he was not only defrauding them himself, but laying down the law and giving instructions for succeeding emperors.

But the agitation at Rome was still smouldering, and at the same time a certain respect for Galba's presence blunted and delayed the spirit of revolution, and the absence of any manifest occasion for a change repressed and kept under cover, somehow or other, the resentment of the soldiers. But the army which had formerly served under Verginius, and was now serving under Flaccus in Germany, thinking themselves deserving of great rewards on account of the battle they had fought against Vindex, and getting nothing, could not be appeased by their officers. Of Flaccus himself, who was physically incapacitated by an acute gout, and inexperienced in the conduct of affairs, they made no account whatever. And once at a spectacle, when the military tribunes and centurions, after the Roman custom, invoked health and happiness upon the emperor Galba, the mass of the soldiery raised a storm of dissent at first, and then, when the officers persisted in their invocation, cried out in response, "If he deserves it."

XIX. The legions also that were under the command of Tigellinus frequently behaved with similar insolence, and letters on the subject were sent to Galba by his agents. So the emperor, fearing that it was not only his old age but also his

διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρονούμενος, ἐβουλεύετο
 παῖδα θέσθαι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινα νεανίσκον καὶ
 2 διάδοχον ἀποδείξαι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἦν δὲ Μάρκος
 Ὅθων, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν οὐκ ἀφανῆς, τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ
 φιληδονίαις εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων ἐν ὀλίγοις Ῥωμαίων
 διεφθαρμένος. ὥς δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ὅμηρος
 “Ἐλένης πόσιν ἡϋκόμοιο,” μὴδὲν ἔχοντα πρὸς
 δόξαν ἄλλο σεμνύνων ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὀνομάζει
 πολλάκις, οὕτως γεγωνὸς περιβόητος ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 διὰ τὸν Ποππαίας γάμον, ἧς ἦρα μὲν ὁ Νέρων
 Κρισπίνῳ συνούσης, ἔτι δ’ αἰδούμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
 γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα φοβούμενος ὑψῆκε τὸν
 3 Ὅθωνα πειρῶντα τὴν Ποππαίαν. φίλῳ δὲ τῷ
 Ὅθωνι καὶ συμβιωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἐχρήτο,
 καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις εἰς μικρο-
 λογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἔχαιρε. λέγεται δέ
 ποτε μύρῳ τῶν πολυτελῶν χρισαμένου τοῦ
 Νέρωνος καὶ τὸν Ὅθωνα καταβρέξαντος, ἐκείνος
 πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δεχόμενος αὐτὸν ἅμα πολλα-
 χόθεν ἀργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς προβαλεῖν ἄφνω
 σωλήνας, ὥσπερ ὕδωρ τὸ μύρον ἐκχέοντας καὶ
 4 κατακλύζοντας. ἀλλὰ τὴν γε Ποππαίαν προμοι-
 χεύσας τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ διαφθείρας ταῖς εἰς
 ἐκείνον ἐλπίσιν, ἔπεισεν ἀποστήναι τοῦ ἀνδρός.
 ἐλθούσης δὲ παρ’ αὐτὸν ὡς γαμετῆς οὐκ ἡγάπα
 μετέχων, ἀλλ’ ἡσχαλλε μεταδιδούς, οὐδὲ αὐτῆς
 ἀχθομένης, ὥς φασι, τῇ ζηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς Ποππαίας.
 5 καὶ γὰρ ἀποκλείσαι τὸν Νέρωνα λέγεται μὴ
 παρόντος τοῦ Ὅθωνος, εἴτε τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀφαιρούσα
 τὸ πλῆσμιον, εἴτε, ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, βαρυνομένη

childlessness that brought him into contempt, planned to adopt some young man of illustrious family and appoint him his successor. Marcus Otho, now, was a man of good lineage, but from his very childhood corrupted by luxury and the pursuit of pleasure as few Romans were. And as Homer often calls Paris "the husband of fair-haired Helen," giving him a dignity borrowed from his wife, since he had no other title to fame, so Otho was celebrated at Rome for his marriage with Poppaea. With Poppaea Nero was enamoured while she was the wife of Crispinus, but since he respected his own wife still and feared his mother, he put Otho up to soliciting her favours for him. For because of Otho's lavish prodigality Nero made an intimate friend of him, and was well pleased to be rallied by him often for parsimony and meanness. Thus, we are told that Nero once anointed himself with a costly ointment and sprinkled a little of it upon Otho; whereupon Otho, entertaining the emperor in his turn on the following day, suddenly brought into play gold and silver pipes on all sides of the room, out of which the ointment gushed freely, like so much water. But as for Poppaea, Otho corrupted her with hopes of Nero's favour and seduced her first himself, and persuaded her to leave her husband. However, after she had come to live with him as his wife, he was not content to have only a share in her favours, and was loth to give Nero a share, while Poppaea herself, as we are told, was not displeased at the rivalry between them. For it is said that she would shut out Nero although Otho was not at home; whether it was that she sought to keep his pleasure in her from cloying, or whether, as some

τὸν Καίσαρος γάμον, ἐραστῇ δὲ μὴ φεύγουσα
χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ φιλακόλαστον. ἐκινδύνευσεν
οὖν ὁ Ὅθων ἀποθανεῖν· καὶ παράλογον ἦν ὅτι
τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἀποκτείνας διὰ τὸν
Ποππαίας γάμον ἐφείσατο τοῦ Ὅθωνος.

XX. Σενέκαν δὲ εἶχεν εὖνουν· κακεῖνον τὸν
Νέρωνα πείσαντος καὶ παραινέσαντος ἐξεπέμφθη
Λυσιτανῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠκεανόν. καὶ
παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἄχαριν οὐδὲ ἐπαχθῇ τοῖς
ὑπηκόοις, εἰδὼς φυγῆς ὑποκόρισμα καὶ παρακά-
2 λυμμα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ δεδομένην. ἀποστάντος
δὲ Γάλβα πρῶτος αὐτῷ¹ προσεχώρησε τῶν
ἡγεμόνων, καὶ φέρων ὅσον εἶχεν ἐν ἐκπώμασι καὶ
τραπέζαις ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἔδωκε κατακόψαι
ποιουμένῳ νόμισμα, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἔδωρήσατο 1062
τοὺς εἰθισμένους περὶ δίαίταν ἡγεμόνι ἐμμελῶς
ὑπουργεῖν. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ
διδούς πείσαν οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἐδόκει πραγμάτων
ἐμπειρος εἶναι· καὶ βαδίζοντι τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπασαν
ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς συνοχούμενος διετέλεσεν.
3 ἐν δὲ τῇ συνοδίᾳ καὶ τῇ συνηθείᾳ τὸν Οὐίνιον
ἐξεθεράπευσεν ὁμιλία καὶ δώροις, μάλιστα δὲ
τῶν πρωτείων ὑφιέμενος αὐτῷ τό γε μετ' ἐκείνον
δύνασθαι δι' ἐκεῖνον εἶχε βεβαίως. τῷ δὲ ἀν-
επιφθόνῳ περιῆν, προῖκα συμπράττων πάντα τοῖς
δεομένοις, καὶ παρέχων ἑαυτὸν εὐπροσήγορον καὶ
φιλάνθρωπον ἅπασι. πλείστα δὲ τοῖς στρατιω-
τικοῖς συνελάμβανε καὶ προῆγε πολλοὺς ἐφ'

¹ αὐτῷ Coraës and Bekker, after Du Soul : αὐτός.

¹ Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 45 f.

say, she recoiled from a marriage with the emperor, but was not averse to having him as a lover, out of mere wantonness. Otho, accordingly, came into peril of his life; and it was strange that although his own wife and sister were put to death by Nero on account of his marriage with Poppaea, Otho himself was spared.¹

XX. But Otho had the good will of Seneca, by whose advice and persuasion Nero sent him out as governor of Lusitania to the shores of the western ocean. Here he made himself acceptable and pleasing to his subjects, although he knew that his office had been given him to disguise and mitigate his banishment. When Galba revolted, Otho was the first of the provincial governors to go over to him, and bringing all the gold and silver that he had in the shape of drinking-cups and tables, he gave it to him for conversion into coin, presenting him also with those of his servants who were qualified to give suitable service for the table of an emperor. In other ways he was trusted by Galba, and when put to the test was thought to be inferior to none as a man of affairs; and during the entire journey of the emperor he would travel in the same carriage with him for many days together. Moreover, amid the intimacies of the common journey he paid court to Vinus, both in person and by means of gifts, and, above all else, by yielding to him the first place, he got his aid in holding securely the place of influence next to him. But in avoiding envy he was superior to Vinus, for he gave his petitioners every aid without any reward, and showed himself easy of access and kindly to all men. But it was the soldiers whom he was most ready to help, and he advanced many of

ἡγεμονίας, τὰ μὲν αἰτούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκρά-
 4 τορος, τὰ δὲ τὸν Οὐίνιον καὶ τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους
 παρακαλῶν Ἰκελον καὶ Ἀσιατικόν· οὗτοι γὰρ
 ἦσαν ἐν δυνάμει μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν.
 ὁσάκις δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν εἰστία, τὴν παραφυλάτ-
 τουσαν αἰεὶ σπείραν ἐδέκαζε χρυσοῦν ἐκάστω
 διανέμων, οἷς τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ἐδόκει καταπολιτευό-
 μενος καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στρατιωτικόν.

XXI. Ἀλλ' οὖν βουλευομένον γε τοῦ Γάλβα
 περὶ διαδόχου τὸν Ὀθωνα παρεισήγεν ὁ Οὐίνιος,
 οὐδὲ τοῦτο προῖκα πράσσω, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γάμφῳ τῆς
 θυγατρὸς, ὁμολογίας γενομένης γαμεῖν αὐτὴν τὸν
 Ὀθωνα παῖδα τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ διάδοχον ἀποδει-
 χθέντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας. ὁ δὲ Γάλβας αἰεὶ μὲν ἦν
 δῆλος πρὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τὸ κοινὸν τιθέμενος καὶ ζητῶν
 οὐχ αὐτῷ θέσθαι τὸν ἡδιστον, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις
 2 τὸν ὠφελιμώτατον. δοκεῖ δὲ μὴδ' ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 ἰδίοις χρήμασι μόνον ἐλέσθαι τὸν Ὀθωνα κληρο-
 νόμον, ἀκόλαστον εἰδὼς καὶ πολυτελεῆ καὶ πεντα-
 κισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον.
 ὅθεν ἀκούσας τοῦ Οὐνίου σιωπῇ καὶ πρᾶως
 ὑπερέθετο τὴν διάθεσιν. ἀποδείξας δ' αὐτὸν
 ὕπατον καὶ συνάρχοντα τὸν Οὐίνιον ἐπίδοξος ἦν
 ἔτους ἀρχῇ τὸν διάδοχον ἀναγορεύσειν· καὶ τὸ
 στρατιωτικὸν ἡδέως εἶχε τὸν Ὀθωνα παρ' ὄντιν' οὖν
 ἄλλον ἀναγορευθῆναι.

XXII. Καταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι μέλλοντα

¹ See the note on Chap. ii. 2.

them to places of command, sometimes asking the appointment from the emperor, and sometimes getting the support of Vinus, and of the freedmen Icelus and Asiaticus; for these were the most influential men at court. And as often as he entertained Galba, he would compliment the cohort on duty for the day by giving each man a gold piece, thus showing honour to the emperor, as it was thought, while really scheming for the support and favour of the soldiery.

XXI. So, then, while Galba was deliberating upon a successor, Vinus suggested Otho. And yet not even this was done for nothing, but as a return for the marriage of his daughter. For it had been agreed that Otho should marry her when he had been adopted by Galba and declared his successor. But Galba always showed clearly that he placed the public good before his private interests, and in the present case that he aimed to adopt, not the man who was most agreeable to himself, but the one who would be most serviceable to the Romans. And it does not seem that he would have chosen Otho merely as the heir of his own private fortune, since he knew that he was unrestrained and extravagant and immersed in debts amounting to five millions.¹ Wherefore, after listening to Vinus calmly and without a word, he postponed his decision. But he appointed himself and Vinus consuls for the following year, and it was expected that on their accession to office he would declare his successor. And the soldiery would have been glad that Otho, rather than anyone else, should be so declared.

XXII. But while the emperor was hesitating and deliberating, he was overtaken by the dis-

- καὶ βουλευόμενον ἐκραγέντα τὰ Γερμανικά. κοινῇ γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὸν Γάλβαν ἐμίσουν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τὴν δωρεάν, ἰδίας δὲ ἐκείνοι προφάσεις ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεργίνιον τε Ῥούφον ἀπερριμμένον ἀτίμως καὶ Γαλατῶν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας
- 2 αὐτοῖς δωρεῶν τυγχάνοντας, ὅσοι δὲ μὴ προσέθεντο Οὐῖνδικοι κολαζομένους, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸν Γάλβαν χάριν εἰδέναι καὶ τιμᾶν τεθνηκότα καὶ γεραίρειν δημοσίοις ἐναγισμοῖς, ὥς ὑπ' ἐκείνου Ῥωμαίων
- 3 ἀποδεδειγμένον αὐτοκράτορα. τοιούτων ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη λόγων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερομένων ἐπῆλθεν ἡ νουμηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι· τοῦ δὲ Φλάκκου συναγαγόντος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρκον ὃν ἔθος ἐστὶν ὀμνύειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ Γάλβα προσελθόντες ἀνέτρεψαν καὶ κατέσπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὁμόσαντες ὑπὲρ συγκλήτου καὶ
- 4 δήμου Ῥωμαίων διελύθησαν. εἶτα τοῖς ἡγεμονικοῖς παρίστατο δεδοικέναι τὴν ἀναρχίαν ὥς ἀπόστασιν. λέγει δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς· “Τί πάσχομεν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, μήτ' ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦμενοι μήτε τὸν νῦν ὄντα φυλάττοντες, ὥσπερ οὐ Γάλβαν, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι
- 5 φεύγοντες; Φλάκκον μὲν οὖν Ὀρδεώνιον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ σκιὰν ὄντα Γάλβα καὶ εἰδωλον ἑατέον, ἡμέρας δὲ μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἀφέστηκεν ἡμῶν Οὐῖτέλλιος, ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας Γερμανίας ἡγούμενος, πατρός τε τιμητοῦ καὶ τρις ὑπάτου γενομένου καὶ Κλαυδίῳ 103
Καίσαρι τρόπον τινὰ συνάρξαντος, αὐτός τε τὴν

¹ See Chap. iv. 3.

orders which broke out among the troops in Germany. For the soldiers in all parts of the empire had a common hatred of Galba because he had not given them their usual largess, but those in Germany made special excuses for themselves out of the fact that Verginius Rufus had been cast off in dishonour; that the Gauls who had fought against them were getting rewards, while all those who had not joined Vindex were being punished; and that to Vindex alone Galba showed gratitude by honouring him when he was dead and giving him the distinction of public obsequies, on the ground that Vindex had proclaimed him emperor of the Romans.¹ Such arguments as these were already circulating openly in the camp, when the first day of the first month came, which the Romans call the Calends of January. On this day Flaccus assembled the soldiers that they might take the customary oath of allegiance to the emperor; but they overturned and pulled down all the statues of Galba which they could find, and after swearing allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, went to their quarters. Then their officers began to fear that their lawless spirit might issue in revolt, and one of them made this speech: "What is wrong with us, my fellow soldiers? We are neither supporting the present emperor nor setting up another. It is as though we were averse, not to Galba, but to all rule and obedience. Flaccus Hordeonius, indeed, who is nothing but a shadow and image of Galba, we must ignore, but there is Vitellius, who is only a day's march distant from us, and commands the forces in the other Germany. His father was censor, thrice consul, and in a manner the colleague of Claudius Caesar, and

λοιδορουμένην ὑπ' ἐνίων πενίαν δεῖγμα λαμπρὸν ἔχων χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης. φέρε, τοῦτον ἐλόμενοι δείξωμεν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ὡς Ἰβήρων καὶ Λυσιτανῶν ἀμείνους ἐσμέν αὐτοκράτορα αἰρεῖσθαι."

- 6 Ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἤδη προσιεμένων, τῶν δ' οὐ προσιεμένων, εἰς ὑπεξελθὼν σημαιοφόρος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Οὐϊτελλίῳ νυκτός, ἐστιωμένων πολλῶν παρ' αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ λόγου διαπεσόντος εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα πρῶτος Φάβιος Οὐάλης, ἡγεμὼν ἐνὸς τάγματος, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετὰ ἱππέων συχνῶν ἐλάσας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Οὐϊτέλλιον προσεΐπεν.
- 7 ὁ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἡμέρας ἐδόκει διωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναδύεσθαι, τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβούμενος, τότε δέ φασιν οἴνου διάπλεων καὶ τροφῆς ὄντα μεσημβρινῆς προελθεῖν καὶ ὑπακούσαι Γερμανικὸν ὄνομα θεμένων αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος
- 8 οὐ προσδεξάμενον. εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ Φλάκκου στρατεύμα τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ δημοκρατικούς εἰς σύγκλητον ὄρκους ἀφέντες ὥμοσαν Οὐϊτελλίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ποιήσιν τὸ προστασσόμενον.

XXIII. Οὕτω μὲν ἀνηγορεύθη Οὐϊτέλλιος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν ἐκεῖ νεωτερισμὸν ὁ Γάλβας οὐκέτι τὴν εἰσποίησιν ἀνεβάλλετο. γινώσκων δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐνίους μὲν ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ὑπὲρ Ὁθωνος ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας, ὧν οὐδέτερον ἐδοκίμαζεν αὐτός, ἄφνω μὴδὲν προειπὼν μετεπέμψατο Πείσωνα, Κράσσου καὶ Σκριβωνίας ἔκγονον, οὓς Νέρων

2 ἀνηρήκει, νεανίαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εὐφυΐᾳ τὸ κόσμιον καὶ αὐστηρὸν ἐμφανέστατα

Vitellius himself, in the poverty with which some reproach him, affords a splendid proof of probity and magnanimity. Come, let us choose him, and so show the world that we know how to select an emperor better than Iberians and Lusitanians."

While some of the soldiers were already for adopting this proposal and others for rejecting it, one standard-bearer stole away and brought tidings of the matter by night to Vitellius, as he was entertaining many guests. The news spread swiftly to the troops, and first Fabius Valens, commander of a legion, rode up next day with a large body of horsemen and saluted Vitellius as emperor. Hitherto Vitellius had seemed to decline and avoid the office, fearing the magnitude of it; but on this day, as they say, being fortified with wine and a midday meal, he came out to the soldiers and accepted the title of Germanicus which they conferred upon him, though he rejected that of Caesar. And straightway the army with Flaccus also, casting aside those fine and democratic oaths of theirs to support the senate, took oath that they would obey the orders of Vitellius the emperor.

XXIII. Thus was Vitellius proclaimed emperor in Germany; and when Galba learned of the revolution there he no longer deferred his act of adoption. Knowing that some of his friends favoured the selection of Dolabella, and most of them that of Otho, neither of whom was approved by himself, he suddenly, and without any previous notice of his intention, sent for Piso (whose parents, Crassus and Scribonia, had been put to death by Nero), a young man in whose predisposition to every virtue the traits of gravity and decorum were most conspicuous; then

ἔχοντα· καὶ κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκεί-
νον ἀποδείξων Καίσαρα καὶ διάδοχον. καίτοι
μεγάλαι μὲν εὐθύς ἐξιώντι διοσημίαι παρηκολού-
θουν, ἀρξαμένου δὲ τὰ μὲν λέγειν ἐν τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ, τὰ δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν, τοσαυτάκις ἐβρόντησε
καὶ κατήστραψε, καὶ τοσοῦτος ὄμβρος καὶ ζόφος
ἐξεχύθη εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς
κατάδηλον εἶναι μὴ προσιέμενον μηδὲ ἐπαινοῦν τὸ
3 δαιμόνιον γινομένην οὐκ ἐπ' ἰγαθῷ τὴν εἰσποίη-
σιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὕπουλα καὶ
σκυθρωπὰ μηδὲ τότε δωρεᾶς αὐτοῖς δοθείσης.

Τοῦ δὲ Πείσωνος οἱ παρόντες ἐθαύμασαν τῇ
τε φωνῇ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ τηλι-
καύτην χάριν ἀνεμπλήκτως, οὐ μὴν ἀναισθήτως
δεχόμενον, ὥσπερ αὖ τοῦ Ὀθωνος ἐπεφαίνετο
πολλὰ σημεῖα τῇ μορφῇ πικρῶς καὶ σὺν ὀργῇ
τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν ἀπότευξιν φέροντος, ἥς πρῶτος
ἀξιωθείς καὶ τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐγγυτάτῳ γενόμενος τὸ
μὴ τυχεῖν ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖον ἔχθους ἅμα καὶ κακο-
4 νοίας τοῦ Γάλβα πρὸς αὐτόν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἄφοβος
ἦν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πείσωνα
δεδιῶς καὶ τὸν Γάλβαν προβαλλόμενος καὶ τῷ
Οὐνίῳ χαλεπαίνων ἀπῆει πολλῶν παθῶν πλήρης.
οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἐλπίζον ἐκλιπεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπαγορεῦσαι
παντάπασιν εἶων οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες αἰεὶ μάντις
καὶ Χαλδαῖοι, εἰς τὰ μάλιστα δὲ Πτολεμαῖος
ἰσχυριζόμενος τῷ προειπεῖν πολλάκις ὥς οὐκ
ἀποκτενεῖ Νέρων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τεθνήσκει πρότερος,
αὐτὸς δὲ περιέσται καὶ ἄρξει Ῥωμαίων (ἐκείνο γὰρ
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he went down to the camp to declare him Caesar and heir to the throne. And yet as soon as he set out, great signs from heaven accompanied him on his way, and after he had begun to pronounce and read his address to the soldiers, there were many peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, and much darkness and rain pervaded both the camp and the city, so that it was plain that the act of adoption was inauspicious and was not favoured or approved by the heavenly powers. The soldiers also were secretly disloyal and sullen, since not even then was their largess given to them.

As for Piso, those who were present at the scene and observed his voice and countenance were amazed to see him receive so great a favour without great emotion, though not without appreciation; whereas in the outward aspect of Otho there were many clear signs of the bitterness and anger with which he took the disappointment of his hopes. He had been the first to be thought worthy of the prize, and had come very near attaining it, and his not attaining it was regarded by him as a sign of ill-will and hatred on Galba's part towards him. Wherefore he was not without apprehension for the future, and fearing Piso, blaming Galba, and angry with Vinius, he went away full of various passions. For the soothsayers and Chaldaeans who were always about him would not suffer him to abandon his hopes or give up altogether, particularly Ptolemaeus, who dwelt much upon his frequent prediction that Nero would not kill Otho, but would die first himself, and that Otho would survive him and be emperor of the Romans (for now that he could point to the first part of the prediction as true, he thought that Otho

ἀληθὲς ἀποδείξας ἡξίου μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπελπίζειν). οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' οἱ συναχθόμενοι κρύφα καὶ συνεπιστένοντες ὡς ἀχάριστα πεπονθότι. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν περὶ Τιγελλίνον καὶ Νυμφίδιον ἐν τιμῇ γεγονότων ἀπερριμμένοι τότε καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνηγανάκτουν καὶ παρώξυνον.

XXIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτοις Οὐετούριος καὶ Βάρβιος, ὁ μὲν ὀπτίων, ὁ δὲ τεσσεράριος· οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦνται οἱ διαγγέλων καὶ διοπτήρων ὑπηρεσίας τελοῦντες. μεθ' ὧν Ὁθωνος ἀπελεύθερος Ὀνόμαστος ἐπιφοιτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίσι διέφθειρεν ἤδη σαθροὺς ὄντας καὶ δεομένους προφάσεως. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ἔργον ὑγιαίνοντος στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι πίστιν, ὅσαι μεταξὺ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἐγένοντο καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς. ἕκτη γὰρ ἀνῆρέθησαν, ἣν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ δεκαοκτῶ καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων.

- 2 Ἐκείνη γὰρ ἔωθεν εὐθὺς ὁ μὲν Γάλβας ἔθνευ ἐν Παλατίῳ τῶν φίλων παρόντων, ὁ δὲ θύτης Ὀμβρίκιος ἅμα τῷ λαβεῖν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ προσιδεῖν οὐ δι' αἰνιγμῶν, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἔφη σημεῖα μεγάλης ταραχῆς, καὶ μετὰ δόλου κίνδυνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐπικείμενον τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, μονονουχὶ τὸν Ὁθωνα τοῦ θεοῦ
- 3 χειρὶ ληπτὸν παραδιδόντος. παρὴν γὰρ ὁπισθεν τοῦ Γάλβα, καὶ προσεῖχε τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ δεικνυμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμβρικίου. θορυβουμένῳ

¹ January 15th (A.D. xviii. Cal. Feb.), 68 A.D.

should not despair of the second part). Above all, Otho was encouraged by those who secretly shared his resentment and chagrin on the ground that he had been thanklessly treated. Moreover, most of the adherents of Tigellinus and Nymphidius, men who had once been in high honour, but were now cast aside and of no account, treacherously went over to Otho, shared his resentment, and spurred him on to action.

XXIV. Among these were Veturius and Barbius, the one an "optio," the other a "tesserarius" (these are the Roman names for *scout* and *messenger*). In company with these Onomastus, a freedman of Otho's, went round corrupting the soldiers, some with money, and others with fair promises. The soldiers were already disaffected and wanted only a pretext for treachery. For four days would not have sufficed to change the allegiance of a loyal army, and only so many days intervened between the act of adoption and the murder, since on the sixth day after the adoption (the Romans call it the eighteenth before the Calends of February ¹), Galba and Piso were slain.

On that day, shortly after dawn, Galba was sacrificing in the Palatium in the presence of his friends; and as soon as Umbricius, the officiating priest, had taken the entrails of the victim in his hands and inspected them, he declared not ambiguously, but in so many words, that there were signs of a great commotion, and that peril mixed with treachery hung over the emperor's head. Thus the god all but delivered Otho over to arrest. For Otho was standing behind Galba, and noted what was said and pointed out by Umbricius. But

δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χροῶας ἀμείβοντι παντοδαπὰς ὑπὸ
 δέους παραστὰς Ὀνόμαστος ἀπελεύθερος ἤκειν
 ἔφη καὶ περιμένειν αὐτὸν οἴκοι τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας.
 ἦν δὲ σύμβολον καιροῦ, πρὸς ὃν ἔδει ἀπαντῆσαι
 4 τὸν Ὀθωνα τοῖς στρατιώταις. εἰπὼν οὖν, ὅτι
 παλαιὰν ἐωνημένος οἰκίαν βούλεται τὰ ὑποπτα
 δείξαι τοῖς πωληταῖς, ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς Τιβε-
 ρίου καλουμένης οἰκίας καταβὰς ἐβάδιζεν εἰς
 ἀγοράν, οὗ χρυσοῦς εἰστήκει κίων, εἰς ὃν αἱ
 τετμημέναί τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι τελευτῶσιν.

XXV. Ἐνταῦθα τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκδεξαμένους
 αὐτὸν καὶ προσειπόντας αὐτοκράτορά φασι μὴ
 πλείους τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσι γενέσθαι. διό, καίπερ
 οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μαλακίαν καὶ θηλύτητα
 τῇ ψυχῇ διατεθρυμμένος, ἀλλὰ ἰταμὸς ὢν πρὸς
 2 τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἄτρεπτος, ἀπεδειλίασεν. οἱ δὲ
 παρόντες οὐκ εἶων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς
 περιϊόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ φορεῖον ἐκέλευον αἶρεσθαι,
 παραφθεγγομένου πολλάκις ἀπολωλέναι καὶ τοὺς
 φορειαφόρους ἐπιταχύνοντος. ἐξήκουον γὰρ ἔνιοι
 θαυμάζοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταραττόμενοι διὰ τὴν
 ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἀποτετολμημένων. φερομένῳ δὲ
 οὕτω δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀπήντησαν ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι, καὶ
 πάλιν κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας ἄλλοι προσεπέ-
 3 λαζον. εἶτα συνανέστρεφον ἅπαντες ἀνακαλού-
 μενοι Καίσαρα καὶ γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προῖσχύμενοι.
 τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου Μαρτίαλις, ὥς φασι, μὴ συνειδώς,
 ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ καὶ φοβηθεὶς

as he stood there in confusion and with a countenance changing to all sorts of colours through fear, Onomastus his freedman came up and told him that the builders were come and were waiting for him at his house. Now, this was a token that the time was at hand when Otho was to meet the soldiers. With the remark, then, that he had bought an old house and wished to show its defects to the vendors, he went away, and passing through what was called the house of Tiberius, went down into the forum, to where a gilded column stood, at which all the roads that intersect Italy terminate.

XXV. Here, as we are told, the soldiers who first welcomed him and saluted him as emperor were no more than twenty-three. Therefore, although he was not sunken in spirit to match the weakness and effeminacy of his body, but was bold and adventurous in presence of danger, he began to be afraid. The soldiers who were there, however, would not suffer him to desist, but surrounding his litter with their swords drawn, ordered it to be taken up, while Otho urged the bearers to hasten, saying to himself many times that he was a lost man. For he was overheard by some of the bystanders, and they were astonished rather than disturbed, owing to the small number of those who had ventured upon the deed. But as he was thus borne through the forum, he was met by as many more soldiers, and others again kept joining the party by threes and fours. Then all crowded around the litter, saluting Otho as emperor and brandishing their drawn swords. At the camp, Martialis, the military tribune in charge of the watch at the time, who was not privy to the plot, as they say, but was confounded by their unexpected

ἐφήκεν εἰσελθεῖν. γενομένῳ δὲ ἐντὸς οὐδεὶς ἀντέπεσεν. οἱ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ πραπτόμενα τοῖς εἰδόσι καὶ συνεστῶσιν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμπεριεχόμενοι καθ' ἓνα καὶ δύο σποράδες, ὑπὸ δέους τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα πεισθέντες ἐπηκολούθησαν.

- 4 Εἰς δὲ τὸ Παλάτιον εὐθύς μὲν ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Γάλβα παρόντος ἔτι τοῦ θύτου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσπειθῶς καὶ ἀτενῶς ἔχοντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν τὸ θεῖον· ὄχλου δὲ παντοδαποῦ συρρέοντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, αὐτῷ μὲν Οὐίνιος καὶ Λάκων καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔνιοι γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προῖσχόμενοι παρέστησαν, ὁ δὲ Πείσων προελθὼν τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὴν αὐλὴν δορυφόροις
5 ἐνετύγχανε. τοῦ δ' Ἰλλυρικοῦ τάγματος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ παστάδι Βιψανία στρατοπεδεύοντος ἀπεστάλη Μάριος Κέλσος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, προκαταληψόμενος.

XXVI. Βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γάλβα προελθεῖν, καὶ Οὐνίου μὲν οὐκ ἔωντος, Κέλσου δὲ καὶ Λάκωνος παρορμώντων καὶ σφοδρότερον τοῦ Οὐνίου καθαπτομένων, θροῦς διῆλθε πολὺς ὡς ἀνηρημένου τοῦ Ὀθωνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὥφθη Ἰούλιος Ἀττικὸς τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμεν ἐν τοῖς δορυφόροις στρατευόμενος γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει προσφερόμενος καὶ βοῶν ἀνηρηκῆναι τὸν Καίσαρος πολέμιον· ὡσάμενος δὲ διὰ τῶν προεστώτων

- 2 ἔδειξε τῷ Γάλβα τὸ ξίφος ἡμαγμένον. ὁ δὲ βλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, “Τίς σε,” εἶπεν, “ἐκέλευσε;” τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὴν πίστιν εἰπόντος καὶ τὸν

appearance and terrified, permitted them to enter. And after Otho was inside the camp, no one opposed him. For those who were ignorant of what was going on, scattered about as they were by ones and twos, were designedly enveloped by those who knew and were privy to the plot, and so gave in their adherence, at first through fear, and then under persuasion.

News of this was carried at once to Galba in the Palatium and the priest was still standing there with the entrails in his hands, so that even men who were altogether indifferent and sceptical about such matters were confounded and filled with wonder at the divine portent. And now a motley crowd came streaming out from the forum; Vinus and Laco and some of the freedmen stood at Galba's side brandishing their naked swords; Piso went out and held conference with the guards on duty in the court; and Marius Celsus, a man of worth, was sent off to secure the allegiance of the Illyrian legion encamped in what was called the Vipsanian portico.

XXVI. And now, as Galba purposed to go forth, and Vinus would not permit it, while Celsus and Laco urged it and vehemently chided Vinus, a rumour spread insistently that Otho had been slain in the camp; and after a little, Julius Atticus, a soldier of distinction among the guards, was seen rushing up with his sword drawn, and crying out that he had slain the enemy of Caesar; and forcing his way through the crowd about Galba, he showed him his sword all stained with blood. Then Galba fixed his eyes upon him and said, "Who gave thee thy orders?" Whereupon the man replied that it was his fidelity and the oath that he had sworn, at

ὄρκον ὃν ὤμοσε, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοῶντος ὡς
 εὖ, καὶ κροτοῦντος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ φορεῖον ἐκομί-
 ζετο τῷ τε Διὶ θῦσαι καὶ φανῆναι τοῖς πολίταις
 βουλόμενος. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν,
 ὥσπερ τροπαία πνεύματος, ἀπήντησε φήμη κρα-
 3 τεῖν τὸν Ὀθωνα τοῦ στρατεύματος. οἷα δὲ ἐν
 πλήθει τοσούτῳ, τῶν μὲν ἀναστρέφειν, τῶν δὲ
 προΐεναι, τῶν δὲ θαρρεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀπιστεῖν βοών-
 των, καὶ τοῦ φορείου, καθάπερ ἐν κλύδωνι, δεῦρο
 κῦκεῖ διαφερομένου καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπονέοντος, ἐφαί-
 νοντο πρῶτον ἵππεῖς, εἶτα ὀπλῖται διὰ τῆς Παύ-
 λου βασιλικῆς προσφερόμενοι, μιᾷ φωνῇ μέγα
 4 βοῶντες ἐκποδὼν ἴστασθαι τὸν ἰδιώτην. τῶν
 μὲν οὖν πολλῶν δρόμος ἦν, οὐ φυγῇ σκιδναμένων,
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς ἀγορᾶς,
 ὥσπερ θέαν καταλαμβανόντων. Ἀτιλλίου δὲ
 Βεργελίωτος εἰκόνα Γάλβα προσουδίσαντος, ἀρ-
 χὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι περιηκόντισαν τὸ
 φορεῖον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, προσήγον
 ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσιν. ἤμυνε δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ
 ὑπέστη πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν μόνον ἥλιος ἐπέϊδεν
 ἐν μυριάσι τοσαύταις ἄξιον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγε-
 5 μονίας· Σεμπρώνιος ἦν Δῆνσος ἑκατοντάρχης,
 οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ χρηστὸν ὑπὸ Γάλβα πεπονθώς, τῷ δὲ
 καλῷ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθῶν προέστη τοῦ φορείου.
 καὶ τὸ κλῆμα πρῶτον, ᾧ κολάζουσιν ἑκατοντάρ-
 χαι τοὺς πληγῶν δεομένους, ἐπαράμενος τοῖς
 ἐπιφερομένοις ἐβόα καὶ διεκελεύετο φεῖδεσθαι τοῦ
 αὐτοκράτορος. ἔπειτα συμπλεκομένων αὐτῷ

which the multitude cried out that he had done well, and gave him their applause. Then Galba got into his litter and was carried forth, wishing to sacrifice to Jupiter and show himself to the citizens. But when he was come into the forum, there met him, like a change of wind, a report that Otho was master of the army. Then, as might be expected in so great a crowd, some cried out to him to turn back, others to go forward; some bade him to be of good courage, others urged him to be cautious; and so, while his litter was swept hither and thither, as in a surging sea, and often threatened to capsize, there came into view, first horsemen, and then men-at-arms, charging through the basilica of Paulus, and with one voice loudly ordering all private citizens out of their way. The multitude, accordingly, took to their heels, not scattering in flight, but seeking the porticoes and eminences of the forum, as if to get a view of a spectacle. Hostilities began with the overthrow of a statue of Galba by Attilius Vergilio, and then the soldiers hurled javelins at the litter; and since they failed to strike it, they advanced upon it with their swords drawn. No one opposed them or tried to defend the emperor, except one man, and he was the only one, among all the thousands there on whom the sun looked down, who was worthy of the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus, a centurion, and though he had received no special favours from Galba, yet in defence of honour and the law he took his stand in front of the litter. And first, lifting up the switch with which centurions punish soldiers deserving of stripes, he cried out to the assailants and ordered them to spare the emperor. Then, as they came to

σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἤμύνατο πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως τυφθεὶς τὰς ἰγνύας ἔπεσε.

XXVII. Τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν, ἀποκλιθέντος τοῦ φορείου περὶ τὸν Κυρτίου καλούμενον λάκκον, ἐκκυλισθέντα τεθωρακισμένον ἔτυπτον ἐπιδραμόντες. ὁ δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν προτείνας, “Δρᾶτε,” εἶπεν, “εἰ τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων ἄμεινόν ἐστι.”

2 πολλὰς μὲν οὖν ἔλαβε πληγὰς εἰς τε τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας, ἀπέσφαξε δὲ αὐτόν, ὥς οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, Καμούριός τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαίδεκάτου τάγματος. ἔνιοι δὲ Τερέντιον, οἱ δὲ Λεκά-
νιον ἱστοροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Φάβιον Φάβουλον, ὃν καὶ φασιν ἀποκόψαντα τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίζειν τῷ ἱματίῳ συλλαβόντα, διὰ τὴν ψιλότητα δυσπερί-
3 ληπτον οὔσαν· ἔπειτα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κρύπτειν οὐκ ἐόντων, ἀλλ’ ἐκφανῇ πᾶσι ποιεῖν τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν, περιπεύραντα περὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀναπήλαντα πρεσβύτου πρόσωπον, ἄρχοντός τε κοσμίῳ καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ὑπάτου, δρόμῳ χωρεῖν, ὥσπερ αἱ βύκχαι, πολλὰκις μεταστρεφόμενον, καὶ κραδαίνοντα τὴν λόγχην αἵματι καταρρεομένην.

Τὸν δ’ Ὀθωνα, τῆς κεφαλῆς κομισθείσης, ἀνακραγεῖν λέγουσιν. “Οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὦ συστρα-
4 τιῶται, τὴν Πείσωνός μοι κεφαλὴν δείξατε.” μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ ἦκε κομιζομένη· τρωθεὶς γὰρ ἔφευγεν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ καταδιωχθεὶς ὑπὸ Μούρκου τινὸς ἀπεσφάγη πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἑστίας. ἀπεσφάττετο δὲ καὶ Οὐίνιος ὁμολογῶν κοινωνὸς γεγοῖναι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Γάλβαν συνωμοσίας· ἐβόα γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν παρὰ τὴν Ὀθωνος γνώμην. ἀλλὰ

close quarters with him, he drew his sword, and fought them off a long time, until he fell with a wound in the groin.

XXVII. The litter was upset at the place called Lacus Curtius, and there Galba tumbled out and lay in his corselet, while the soldiers ran up and struck at him. But he merely presented his neck to their swords, saying: "Do your work, if this is better for the Roman people." So, then, after receiving many wounds in his legs and arms, he was slain, as most writers state, by a certain Camurius, of the fifteenth legion. Some, however, ascribe his death to Terentius, others to Lecanius, and others still to Fabius Fabulus, who, they say, cut off Galba's head and was carrying it wrapped in his cloak, since its baldness made it difficult to grasp; then, since his companions would not suffer him to hide his deed of valour, but insisted on his displaying it to all eyes, he impaled on his spear and thrust on high the head of an aged man, who had been a temperate ruler, a high priest, and a consul, and ran with it, like a bacchanal,¹ whirling about often, and brandishing the spear all dripping with blood.

But Otho, as they say, when the head was brought to him, cried out: "This is nothing, fellow-soldiers; show me the head of Piso." And after a little it was brought to him; for the young man had been wounded and tried to escape, and a certain Murcus ran him down and slew him at the temple of Vesta. Vinius also was slain, and he admitted himself a party to the conspiracy against Galba by crying out that he was put to death contrary to the wishes of

¹ So the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1153 ff.).

γὰρ καὶ τούτου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες καὶ
 Λάκωνος ἐκόμισαν πρὸς τὸν Ὀθωνα δωρεὰς αἰ-
 5 τούντες. ὥς δέ φησιν Ἀρχίλοχος,

ἐπὶ τὰ γὰρ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, οὓς ἐμάρψαμεν
 ποσίν,
 χίλιοι φονῆες ἐσμέν,

οὕτως τότε πολλοὶ τοῦ φόνου μὴ συνεψά-
 μενοι, χεῖρας δὲ καὶ ξίφη καθαιμάσσοντες ἐπε-
 δείκνυντο καὶ δωρεὰς ἤτουν βιβλία διδόντες τῷ
 Ὀθωνι. εἴκοσι γοῦν καὶ ἑκατὸν εὐρέθησαν
 ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν γραμματίων, οὓς ὁ Οὐϊτέλλιος
 6 ἀναζητήσας ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἦκε δὲ καὶ
 Μάριος Κέλσος εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. καὶ πολ-
 λῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορούντων ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας
 ἔπειθε τῷ Γάλβᾳ βοηθεῖν, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους
 ἀποκτινύνειν βοῶντος, Ὀθων οὐκ ἐβούλετο· φο-
 βούμενος δὲ ἀντιλέγειν οὐχ οὕτως ἔφη ταχέως 106
 ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτόν· εἶναι γὰρ αἱ δεῖ πρότερον ἐκπυ-
 θέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν δήσαντας
 φυλάττειν, καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς μάλιστα πιστευ-
 ομένοις.

XXVIII. Εὐθύς δὲ βουλὴ συνεκαλείτο. καὶ
 καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες ἢ θεῶν ἄλλων γεγονό-
 των συνελθόντες ὥμνουν ὄρκον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὀθωνος,
 ὃν αὐτὸς ὁμόσας οὐκ ἐτήρησε· καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ
 Σεβαστὸν ἀνηγόρευον, ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀκεφάλων
 ἐν ταῖς ὑπατικαῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἐρριμμένων ἐπὶ τῆς
 2 ἀγορᾶς. ταῖς δὲ κεφαλαῖς ὥς οὐδὲν εἶχον ἔτι
 χρῆσθαι, τὴν μὲν Οὐνινίου τῇ θυγατρὶ δισχιλίων

¹ Bergk, *Lyr. Gr. Frag.* ii.⁴ p. 398.

Otho. However, they cut off his head, and Laco's too, and brought them to Otho, of whom they demanded largess. And as Archilochus says¹ that,

“Only seven lay dead on the ground, where we trod their bodies under foot. But we who slew are a thousand,”

so in this case, many who had no part in the murder smeared their hands and swords with blood and showed them to Otho, as they presented him with written petitions for largess. At any rate, a hundred and twenty were afterwards discovered by means of these petitions, all of whom were sought out and put to death by Vitellius. Marius Celsus also came into the camp. There many denounced him for trying to persuade the soldiers to defend Galba, and the majority clamoured for his death, but Otho did not wish it; however, since he was afraid to oppose them, he said he would not put Celsus to death so quickly, since there were matters about which he must first question him. He therefore ordered that he be fettered and kept under guard, and handed over to those in whom he put most trust.

XXVIII. A senate was at once convened. And as if they were now other men, or had other gods to swear by, they united in swearing an oath to support Otho—an oath which he himself had sworn in support of Galba, but had not kept. Moreover, they gave him the titles of Caesar and Augustus, while the dead bodies, all headless in their consular robes, were still strewn over the forum. And as for the heads, when they had no further use for them, that of Vinius they sold to his daughter for twenty-

καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν ἀπέδοντο, τὴν δὲ Πείσωνος ἡ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν Οὐερανία δεηθεῖσα, τὴν δὲ Γάλβα τοῖς Πατροβίου δούλοις ἐδωρήσαντο.
 3 λαβόντες δὲ ἐκείνοι καὶ πάντα τρόπον αἰκισάμενοι καὶ καθυβρίσαντες ἔρριψαν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Kaisάρων κολαζομένους θανατοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ τόπος Σεσσώριον καλεῖται. τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Γάλβα Πρίσκος Ἐλβίδιος ἀνείλετο, τοῦ Ὁθωνος ἐπιτρέψαντος· ἔθαψε δὲ νυκτὸς Ἀργεῖος ἀπελεύθερος.

XXIX. Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γάλβαν, ἄνδρα μήτε γένει μήτε πλούτῳ πολλῶν ἀπολειφθέντα Ῥωμαίων, ὁμοῦ δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει πρωτεύσαντα πάντων τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, πέντε αὐτοκρατόρων ἡγεμονίαις ἐμβιώσαντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, ὥστε τῇ δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει καθ-
 2 ελεῖν Νέρωνα. τῶν γὰρ¹ συνεπιτιθεμένων τότε τοὺς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἠξίωσε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἱ δ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπηξίωσαν, Γάλβας δὲ καὶ κληθεὶς καὶ ὑπακούσας αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τῇ Οὐῖνδικος ἐμπαρασχὼν ὄνομα τόλμῃ, κίνημα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν αὐτοῦ λεγομένην τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐποίησε πόλεμον
 3 ἐμφύλιον, ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικοῦ τυχούσαν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν οἰόμενος διδόναι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἄρχειν ἠξίου τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνου καὶ Νυμφιδίου τετιθασευμένων ὡς Σκηπίων ἤρχε καὶ Φαβρίκιος καὶ
 4 Κάμιλλος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων. ὑπερειπόμενος δὲ τῷ γήρα, ἄχρι τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἄκρατος ἦν καὶ ἀρχαῖος αὐτοκράτωρ, Οὐνίῳ

¹ καθελεῖν Νέρωνα. τῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Bekker, after Coraës : καθελὼν Νέρωνα τῶν κ.τ.λ.

five hundred drachmas; that of Piso was given to his wife Verania in answer to her prayers; and that of Galba was bestowed upon the servants of Patrobius. They took it, and after heaping all manner of insult and outrage upon it, cast it into a place called Sessorium, where those under condemnation of the emperors are put to death. The body of Galba was taken up by Priscus Helvidius, with the permission of Otho; and it was buried at night by Argivus, a freedman.

XXIX. Such were the fortunes of Galba, a man surpassed by few Romans in lineage and wealth, and both in wealth and lineage the foremost of his time. During the reigns of five emperors he lived with honour and high repute, so that it was by his high repute, rather than by his military power, that he overthrew Nero. For of his partners in the task, some were by all men deemed unworthy of the imperial dignity, and others deemed themselves unworthy. But to Galba the imperial title was offered and by him it was accepted; and by simply lending his name to the bold measures of Vindex, he gave to his revolt (as his rebellious agitation was called) the character of a civil war, because it had acquired a man who was worthy to rule. Wherefore, in the belief that he was not seizing the conduct of affairs for himself, but rather giving himself for the conduct of affairs, he set out with the idea of commanding the petted creatures of Tigellinus and Nymphidius as Scipio and Fabricius and Camillus used to command the Romans of their time. But being gradually weighed down by his years, in arms and camps, indeed, he was an "imperator" of a severe and ancient type; but

δὲ καὶ Λάκωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις πάντα τὰ
πράγματα πωλοῦσι παρέχων ἑαυτόν, οἷον Νέρων
παρεῖχε τοῖς ἀπληστοτάτοις, οὐδένα ποθοῦντα
τὴν ἀρχήν, οἰκτείραντας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν
θάνατον ἀπέλιπεν.

just as Nero put himself in the hands of his most insatiate favourites, so Galba put himself in the hands of Vinius and Laco and their freedmen, and they made merchandise of everything, so that he left behind him no one who wished him still in power, but very many who were moved to pity at his death.

OTHO

ΟΘΩΝ

Ι. Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος αὐτοκράτωρ ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προ-
 ελθὼν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔθυσεν καὶ κελεύσας
 Μάριον Κέλσον ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσπάσατο
 καὶ διελέχθη φιλανθρώπως, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τῆς
 αἰτίας ἐπιλαθέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀφέσεως μνη-
 μονεύειν. τοῦ δὲ Κέλσου μήτ' ἀγεννῶς ἀποκρι-
 ναμένου μήτ' ἀναισθητῶς, ἀλλὰ φήσαντος αὐτὸ
 τοῦ τρόπου διδόναι τὸ ἔγκλημα πίστιν, ἐγκεκλή-
 σθαι γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβα βέβαιον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχεν,
 ὃ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ὥφειλεν, ἡγάσθησαν οἱ παρόντες
 2 ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπήνεσεν. ἐν δὲ
 συγκλήτῳ πολλὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα δια-
 λεχθεῖς, ὃν μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπατεύειν χρόνον ἤμελλε,
 τούτου μέρος ἔνειμεν Οὐεργινίῳ Ῥούφῳ, τοῖς δὲ
 ἀποδεδειγμένοις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἢ Γάλβα πᾶσιν
 ἐτήρησε τὰς ὑπατείας. ἱερωσύναις δὲ τοὺς καθ'
 3 ἡλικίαν προήκοντας ἢ δόξαν ἐκόσμησε. τοῖς δὲ 1067
 ἐπὶ Νέρωνος φυγοῦσι καὶ κατελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ Γάλβα
 συγκλητικοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα μὴ πεπραμένα
 τῶν κτημάτων ἐκάστου¹ ἐξεύρισκεν. ὅθεν οἱ
 πρῶτοι καὶ κράτιστοι πεφρικότες πρότερον ὥς

¹ ἐκάστου Coraës and Bekker, after Stephanus, for the
 ἑκαστον of the MSS. : ἐκάστων.

OTHO ¹

I. At daybreak the new emperor went forth to the Capitol and sacrificed; then, having ordered Marius Celsus to be brought to him, he greeted that officer, conversed with him kindly, and urged him to forget the cause of his imprisonment rather than to remember his release. Celsus replied in a manner that was neither ignoble nor ungrateful, saying that the very charge made against him afforded proof of his character, for the charge was that he had been loyal to Galba, from whom he had received no special favours. Both speakers were admired by those who were present, and the soldiery gave their approval. In the senate Otho spoke at length in a kindly strain and like a popular leader. For part of the time during which he himself was to have been consul, he assigned the office to Verginius Rufus, and all those who had been designated as future consuls by Nero or Galba he confirmed in their appointment. To the priesthoods he promoted those who were preëminent in age or reputation. Moreover, to all the men of senatorial rank who had been exiled under Nero and restored under Galba, he restored whatever portions of each man's property he found to be unsold. Wherefore the citizens of highest birth and greatest influence, who before this

¹ With Plutarch's *Otho* may be compared Suetonius, *Otho*; Dion Cassius, lxiv. 10—15; Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 46—ii. 49.

οὐκ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τινος ἢ Ποινῆς ἢ παλαμναίου
δαίμονος ἄφνω τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιπεπτωκός,
ἡδIOUS ἐγένοντο ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
ὥσπερ διαμειδιῶσαν.

II. Ὅμοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίους πάντας οὐδὲν εὐφρανεν
οὕτως οὐδὲ ᾤκειώσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ περὶ
Τιγελλίνον. ἐλελήθει μὲν γὰρ ἤδη κολαζόμενος
αὐτῷ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς κολάσεως ἣν ὡς χρέος ἀπῆτει
2 δημόσιον ἢ πόλις, καὶ νοσήμασιν ἀνηκέστοις
σώματος, αὐτάς τε τὰς ἀνοσίους καὶ ἄρρητους ἐν
γυναιξὶ πόρναις καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις ἐγκυλινδήσεις,
αἷς ἔτι προσέσπαιρε δυσθανατοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸ
ἀκόλαστον ἐπιδραττόμενον, ἐσχάτην τιμωρίαν
ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πολλῶν ἀντάξια θανάτων οἱ
σωφρονοῦντες. ἡνία δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁμῶς τὸν
ἥλιον ὀρῶν μετὰ τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους δι'
3 αὐτὸν οὐχ ὀρῶντας. ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ
Ὅθων εἰς τοὺς περὶ Σινόεσσαν ἀγρούς· ἐκεῖ γὰρ
διητᾶτο, πλοίων παρορμούντων, ὡς φευζόμενος
ἀπωτέρω. καὶ τὸν γε πεμφθέντα χρυσίῳ πολλῷ
πείθειν ἐπεχείρησε παρεῖναι· μὴ πεισθέντι δὲ
δῶρα μὲν ἔδωκεν οὐδὲν ἡττον, ἔδεήθη δὲ ὑπομεῖναι
ἕως ἂν ἀποξύρηται τὸ γένειον· καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸς
ἑαυτὸν ἐλαιμοτόμησεν.

III. Οὕτω δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δικαιοτάτην ἡδονὴν
ἀποδοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, αὐτὸς ἰδίας ἔχθρας οὐδενὶ
τοπαράπαν ἐμνησικάκησε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς χαρι-
ζόμενος οὐκ ἔφευγε τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις
Νέρων προσαγορεύεσθαι· καὶ τινων εἰκόνας Νέ-

had felt a shuddering fear that it was not a man, but some genius of retribution or avenging spirit, that had suddenly fallen upon the state, became more cheerful in their hopes for a government which wore a face so smiling.

II. But nothing so gladdened all Romans alike, and won their allegiance to the new emperor so much, as his treatment of Tigellinus. Men were not aware that Tigellinus was already punished by his very fear of that punishment which the city was demanding as a debt due to the public, and also by incurable bodily diseases; and besides, there were those unhallowed and unspeakable grovelling of his among the vilest harlots, for which his lustful nature still panted, clutching after them as his life painfully ebbed away; these were looked upon by reasonable men as extremest punishment and an equivalent of many deaths. Nevertheless it vexed the common people that he should see the light of day after so many good men had been robbed of that light by him. Accordingly, Otho sent a messenger to fetch him from his country estate at Sinuessæ; for he was staying there, where vessels lay at anchor, that he might fly to more distant parts. He tried to bribe the messenger with a large sum of money to let him go, but failing in this, he made him gifts nevertheless, and begged him to wait till he had shaved; and taking the razor he cut his own throat.

III. And now that the emperor had given the people this most righteous gratification, he did not remember his own private grievances against any man soever, and in his desire to please the multitude did not refuse at first to be hailed in the theatres by the name of Nero, and when statues of Nero

ρωνος εἰς τὸν μφανὲς προθεμένων οὐκ ἐκώλυσε.
 2 Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥούφος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν φησὶ κομισθῆναι
 διπλώματα, οἷς ἐκπέμπουσι τοὺς γραμματη-
 φόρους, τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος θετὸν ὄνομα προσγε-
 γραμμένον ἔχοντα τῷ τοῦ Ὁθωνος. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ
 τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ κρατίστους αἰσθόμενος ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπαύσατο.

Τοιαύτην δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν αὐτῷ
 λαμβανούσης, οἱ μισθοφόροι χαλεποὺς παρῆχον
 ἑαυτοὺς, ἀπιστεῖν παρακελευόμενοι καὶ φυλάτ-
 τεσθαι καὶ κολοῦειν τοὺς ἀξιολόγους, εἴτ' ἀληθῶς
 φοβούμενοι δι' εὐνοίαν, εἴτε προφάσει χρώμενοι
 3 ταύτῃ τοῦ ταραττεῖν καὶ πολεμοποιεῖν. Κρισπῖ-
 νον δὲ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑπτακαιδεκάτην
 σπεῖραν Ὡστίας ἀπάξοντα, κἀκείνου νυκτὸς ἔτι
 συσκευαζομένου καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐπιτι-
 θέντος, οἱ θρασύτατοι πάντες ἐβόων οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς
 τὸν Κρισπῖνον ἤκειν διανοούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύγ-
 κλητον ἐπιχειρεῖν πρῶγμασι νεωτέροις, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα
 4 κατὰ Καίσαρος, οὐ Καίσαρι παρακομίζεσθαι. τοῦ
 δὲ λόγου πολλῶν ἀπτομένου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οἱ
 μὲν ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἀμαξῶν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐνι-
 σταμένους ἑκατοντάρχας δύο καὶ τὸν Κρισπῖνον
 αὐτὸν ἀπέκτειναν, πάντες δὲ διασκευασάμενοι καὶ
 παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους Καίσαρι βοηθεῖν ἤλαν-
 νον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην· καὶ πυθόμενοι παρ' αὐτῷ
 δειπνεῖν ὀγδοήκοντα συγκλητικούς, ἐφέροντο πρὸς
 τὰ βασίλεια, νῦν καιρὸν εἶναι λέγοντες ἐν ταύτῳ
 5 πάντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς Καίσαρος πολεμίους. ἡ μὲν
 οὖν πόλις ὥς αὐτίκα διαρπαγησομένη θόρυβον

¹ Cf. Chap. viii 4

were produced in public, he did not prevent it. Moreover, Cluvius Rufus tells us that "diplomas,"¹ such as couriers are provided with, were sent to Spain, in which the cognomen of Nero was added to the name of Otho. However, perceiving that the men of highest birth and greatest influence were displeased at this, Otho gave up the practice.

But while he was placing his government on this basis, the paid soldiers began to make themselves troublesome by urging him not to trust the influential citizens, but to be on his guard against them and restrict their power. It is uncertain whether their goodwill led them to be really apprehensive for him, or whether they used this pretext for raising disturbance and war. And so, when the emperor sent Crispinus to bring back the seventeenth legion from Ostia, and while that officer was still getting the baggage together at night and loading the arms upon the waggons, the boldest of the soldiers all began to cry out that Crispinus was come on no good errand, and that the senate was attempting to bring about a revolution, and that the transportation of the arms was an act of hostility, not of service, to the emperor. The notion prevailed with great numbers and exasperated them; some attacked the waggons, others killed two centurions who opposed them, as well as Crispinus himself; and then the whole body, putting themselves in array and exhorting one another to go to the help of the emperor, marched to Rome. Here, learning that eighty senators were at supper with Otho, they rushed to the palace, declaring that now was a good time to take off all the emperor's enemies at one stroke. Accordingly, the city was in great commotion,

εἶχε πολύν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἦσαν διαδρομαί, καὶ τὸν Ὀθωνα δεινὴ κατελάμβανεν ἀπορία. φοβούμενος γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἦν φοβερός ἐκείνοις, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνηρτημένους ἑώρα ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἀναύδους καὶ περιδεεῖς, ἐνίους καὶ μετὰ
 6 γυναικῶν ἤκοντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἐπάρχους ἀπέστελλε τοῖς στρατιώταις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πρᾶνναι κελεύσας, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς κεκλημένους ἄνδρας ἀναστήσας καθ' ἑτέρας θύρας ἀφῆκε· καὶ μικρὸν ἔφθησαν ὑπεκφυγόντες, διὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὠθουμένων εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα καὶ πυνθανομένων τί γεγόνασιν οἱ Καίσαρος πολέ-
 7 μιοι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὀρθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης πολλὰ 1068 παρηγορήσας καὶ δεηθεὶς καὶ μηδὲ δακρύων φεισάμενος μόλις ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτούς· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ δωρησάμενος ἅπαντας κατ' ἄνδρα χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ
 8 στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπήνεσεν, ὥς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὖνουν καὶ πρόθυμον, ὀλίγους δέ τινας οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ φήσας ὑποικουρεῖν, διαβάλλοντας αὐτοῦ τὴν μετριότητα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων εὐστάθειαν, ἡξίου συναγανακτεῖν καὶ συγκολάζειν. ἐπαινούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κελευόντων, δύο μόνους παραλαβὼν, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἔμελλεν ἄχθεσθαι κολασθεῖσιν, ἀπηλλάγη.

IV. Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἀγαπῶντες ἤδη καὶ πιστεύοντες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν μεταβολήν, οἱ δ' ἀναγκαῖα πολιτεύματα πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἡγούντο,

expecting to be plundered at once; in the palace there were runnings to and fro; and a dire perplexity fell upon Otho. For while he had fears about the safety of his guests, he himself was an object of fear to them, and he saw that they kept their eyes fixed upon him in speechless terror, some of them having even brought their wives with them to the supper. But he sent the prefects of the guard with orders to explain matters to the soldiers and appease them, while at the same time he dismissed his guests by another door; and they barely succeeded in making their escape as the soldiers, forcing their way through the guards into the great hall, asked what was become of the enemies of Caesar. In this crisis, then, Otho stood up on his couch, and after many exhortations, and entreaties, and not without plentiful tears, at last succeeded in sending them away; but on the following day, after making a gift of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas to every man, he went into the camp. There he commended the great body of the soldiers for their goodwill and zeal in his service, but said that there were a few of them who were intriguing to no good purpose, thereby bringing his moderation and their fidelity into disrepute, and he demanded that they share his resentment against these and assist him in punishing them. All his hearers approving of this and bidding him to do as he wished, he took two men only, at whose punishment no one was likely to be distressed, and went away.

IV. Those who were already fond of Otho and put confidence in him admired this change in his behaviour, but others thought it a policy forced upon him by the situation, wherein he courted popular

- δημαγωγοῦντος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. ἤδη γὰρ ἠγγέλλετο βεβαίως Οὐϊτέλλιος ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοκράτορος ἀνειληφώς· καὶ πτεροφόροι συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων αἰεὶ τι προσχωρεῖν ἐκείνῳ φράζοντες, ἕτεροι δὲ¹ τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Δαλματικὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ Μυσίαν στρατεύματα δηλοῦντες
- 2 ἤρῃσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ὀθωνα. ταχὺ δὲ ἀφίκετο καὶ παρὰ Μουκιανοῦ γράμματα καὶ παρὰ Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ φίλια, τοῦ μὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐχόντων. ὑφ' ὧν ἐπαίρομενος ἔγραψεν Οὐϊτελλίῳ παραινῶν στρατιωτικὰ φρονεῖν, ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ βιώσεται ῥᾶστον καὶ ἡδιστον
- 3 βίον μεθ' ἡσυχίας. ἀντέγραψε δὲ καὶ κεῖνος αὐτῷ κατειρωνευόμενος ἡσυχῇ πρῶτον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου διερεθιζόμενοι πολλὰ βλάβσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῇ χλευάζοντες ἀλλήλοις ἔγραφον, οὐ ψευδῶς μὲν, ἀνοήτως δὲ καὶ γελοίως θατέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἢ προσῆν ἀμφοτέροις ὀνειδέη λοιδοροῦντος. ἀσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μαλακίας καὶ ἀπειρίας πολέμων καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ χρεῶν πλήθους ἔργον ἦν εἰπεῖν ὅποτέρῳ μείον αὐτῶν μέτεστι.
- 4 Σημείων δὲ καὶ φαντασμάτων πολλῶν λεγομένων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φήμας ἀδεσπότους καὶ ἀμβιβόλους εἶχεν, ἐν δὲ Καπιτωλίῳ Νίκης ἐφεστώσης ἄρματι τὰς ἡνίας πάντες εἶδον ἀφειμένας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, ὥσπερ κρατεῖν μὴ δυναμένης, καὶ τὸν ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ νήσῳ Γαῖου Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα

favour because of the war. For already there were sure tidings that Vitellius had assumed the dignity and power of emperor; and swift couriers were continually coming with accounts of ever new accessions to him, although others made it clear that the armies in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their leaders, adhered to Otho. And quickly there came also friendly letters from Mucianus and Vespasian, who were at the head of large forces, the one in Syria, the other in Judaea. Otho was elated by these, and wrote to Vitellius advising him not to have more than a soldier's ambitions, in which case he should be rewarded with a large sum of money, and a city, where he could live in the utmost ease and pleasure and be undisturbed. Vitellius also wrote to Otho in reply, at first in a somewhat dissembling manner; but afterwards both got excited and wrote one another abusive letters filled with shameful insults; not that either brought false charges, but it was foolish and ridiculous for one to storm the other with reproaches applicable to both. For as regards prodigality, effeminacy, inexperience in war, and multiplicity of debts incurred in a previous state of poverty, it were hard to say which of them had the advantage.

There were many reports of signs and apparitions, most of which were of uncertain and dubious origin; but everybody saw that a Victory standing in a chariot on the Capitol had dropped the reins from her hands, as if she had not power to hold them, and that the statue of Caius Caesar on the island in

¹ δὲ supplied by Sint.², after Schaefer; Bekker assumes a lacuna before ἐρεποι.

μήτε σεισμῷ γεγονότος μήτε πνεύματος ἀφ' ἑσ-
 5 πέρας μεταστραφέντα πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς· ὃ φασι
 συμβῆναι περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐν αἷς οἱ περὶ
 Οὐεσπεσιανὸν ἐμφανῶς ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντε-
 λαμβάνοντο. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν δὲ σύμ-
 πτωμα σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πολλοὶ μοχθηρόν.
 ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὥρα περὶ ἣν μάλιστα οἱ ποταμοὶ πλή-
 θουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐπω τοσοῦτος ἦρθη πρότερον, οὐδὲ
 ἀπώλεσε τοσαῦτα καὶ διέφθειρεν, ὑπερχυθεὶς καὶ
 κατακλύσας πολὺ μέρος τῆς πόλεως, πλείστον
 δὲ ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐπὶ πράσει διαπωλοῦσι σῖτον, ὥς
 δεινὴν ἀπορίαν ἡμερῶν συχνῶν κατασχεῖν.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς κατέχοντες ἤδη
 προσηγγέλλοντο Κεκίνας καὶ Οὐάλης Οὐῖτελλίῳ
 στρατηγούμεντοις, ἐν Ῥώμῃ Δολοβέλλας, εὐπατρί-
 δης ἀνὴρ, ὑποψίαν παρῆχε τοῖς μισθοφόροις
 νεώτερα φρονεῖν. ἐκείνον μὲν οὖν, εἴτε αὐτὸν εἴτε
 ἄλλον δεδοικώς, εἰς πόλιν Ἀκύνιον παρέπεμψε πα-
 ραθαρρύνας. καταλέγων δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει συνεκδή-
 μους ἔταξεν ἐν τούτοις καὶ Λεύκιον τὸν Οὐῖτελλίου
 ἀδελφόν, οὔτε προσθεὶς οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελὼν ἧς
 2 εἶχε τιμῆς. ἰσχυρῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπεμε-
 λήθη τοῦ Οὐῖτελλίου καὶ τῆς γυναικός, ὅπως
 μηδὲν φοβήσονται περὶ αὐτῶν. τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης
 φύλακα Φλαούιον Σαβῖνον, ἀδελφὸν Οὐεσπεσια-
 νοῦ, κατέστησεν, εἴτε καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἐπὶ τιμῇ
 Νέρωνος (παρ' ἐκείνου γὰρ εἰλήφει τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ὁ Σαβῖνος, ἀφείλετο δὲ Γάλβας αὐτόν), εἴτε μᾶλ-
 λον εὐνοίαν ἐνεδείκνυτο Οὐεσπεσιανῶ καὶ πίστιν
 αὐξων Σαβῖνον.

3 Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν Βριξίλλῳ, πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας

the Tiber, without the occurrence of earthquake or wind, had turned from west to east, which is said to have happened during the time when Vespasian was at last openly trying to seize the supreme power. The behaviour of the Tiber, too, was regarded by most people as a baleful sign. It was a time, to be sure, when rivers are at their fullest, but the Tiber had never before risen so high, nor caused so great ruin and destruction. It overflowed its banks and submerged a great part of the city, and especially the grain-market, so that dire scarcity of food prevailed for many days together.

V. And now, when word was brought to Rome that Caecina and Valens, who were in command with Vitellius, were in possession of the Alps, Dolabella, a man of noble family, was suspected by the praetorian soldiers of revolutionary designs. Otho therefore sent him away (through fear of him or of someone else) to the town of Aquinum, with words of encouragement. And in his selection of the men in authority who were to accompany him on his expedition he included also Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, without either increasing or diminishing his honours. He also took strong measures for the safety of the wife and mother of Vitellius, that they might have no fear for themselves. Moreover, he appointed Flavius Sabinus, a brother of Vespasian, prefect of the city, either because in this way also he could honour the memory of Nero (for Nero had bestowed the office upon Sabinus, but Galba had deprived him of it), or rather because, by advancing Sabinus, he could show how he favoured and trusted Vespasian.

Well, then, Otho himself tarried behind at Brixil-

περὶ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν ἀπελείφθη, στρατηγούς δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξέπεμψε Μάριόν τε Κέλσον καὶ Σουητώνιον Παυλίον ἔτι τε Γάλλον καὶ Σπουρίναν, ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους, χρήσασθαι δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς προηροῦντο τοῖς ἑαυτῶν λογισμοῖς δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ θρασύτητα τῶν
 4 στρατιωτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἡξίουں ἐτέρων ἀκούειν, ὡς παρ' αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἄρχειν ἔχοντος. ἦν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑγιαίνοντα παντάπασιν οὐδὲ χειροήθη τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτα καὶ σοβαρὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις ἐμπειρία γε παρῆν τοῦ μάχεσθαι
 5 καὶ τὸ κάμνειν¹ ἐθάδες ὄντες οὐκ ἔφευγον, οὔτοι δὲ μαλακοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ὑπὸ σχολῆς καὶ διαίτης ἀπολέμον, πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ παρὰ σκηνὴν βεβιωκότες, ὕβρει δὲ καὶ κόμπῳ ἐπαμπέχειν ἐβούλοντο, προσποιήσασθαι τὰς λειτουργίας ὡς κρείττονες ἀπαξιούντες, οὐχ ὡς ἀδύνατοι φέρειν. ὁ δὲ Σπουρίνας προσβιαζόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκινδύνευσεν μικρὸν ἐλθόντας ἀν-
 6 ελεῖν αὐτόν. ὕβρεως δὲ καὶ βλασφημίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐφείσαντο, προδότην καὶ λυμεῶνα τῶν Καίσαρος καιρῶν καὶ πραγμάτων λέγοντες. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ μεθυσθέντες ἤδη νυκτὸς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφόδιον αἰτοῦντες· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα βαδιστέον, ὅπως ἐκείνου κατηγορήσωσιν.

VI. Ὦνησε δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ Σπουρίναν ἐν τῷ παραντίκα λοιδορία περὶ Πλακεντίαν γενομένη τῶν στρατιωτῶν. οἱ γὰρ Οὐῖτελλίου τοῖς τείχεσι προσβάλλοντες ἐχλεύαζον τοὺς Ὀθωνος ἐστῶτας

¹ τὸ κάμνειν Bekker, after Coraës : τοῦ κάμνειν.

lum, a town of Italy on the river Po, but sent his forces on under the command of Marius Celsus and Suetonius Paulinus, besides Gallus and Spurina. These were men of distinction, but were unable to conduct the campaign according to their own plans and wishes, owing to the disorderly and arrogant spirit of their soldiers. For these would not deign to obey other officers, since, as they said, they had made the emperor their commander. It is true that the enemy's troops also were not altogether in condition, nor under the control of their officers, but fierce and haughty, and for the same reason. Nevertheless, they were certainly experienced in fighting, and being accustomed to hard labour, they did not shun it; whereas Otho's men were soft, owing to their lack of employment and their unwarlike mode of life, having spent most of their time at spectacles and festivals and plays, and they wished to cloak their weakness with insolence and boasting, disdaining to perform the services laid upon them because they were above the work, not because they were unable to do it. When Spurina tried to force them into obedience, he came near being killed by them. They spared him no abuse nor insolence, declaring that he was betraying and ruining the opportunities and the cause of Caesar. Nay, some of them who were drunk came at night to his tent and demanded money for a journey, for they must go, they said, to Caesar, in order to denounce their commander.

VI. But Spurina and the emperor's cause were helped for the time by the abuse which his soldiers received at Placentia. For when the troops of Vitellius assaulted the walls, they railed at the

- παρὰ τὰς ἐπάλξεις, σκηνικοὺς καὶ πυρριχιστάς
καὶ Πυθίων καὶ Ὀλυμπίων θεωροὺς, πολέμου δὲ
καὶ στρατείας ἀπείρους καὶ ἀθεάτους ἀποκαλοῦν-
τες, καὶ μέγα φρονούντας ἐπὶ τῷ γέροντος ἀν-
όπλου κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, τὸν Γάλβαν λέγοντες,
εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα καὶ μάχην ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐκφανῶς
2 καταβάντας. οὕτω γὰρ ἐταράχθησαν ὑπὸ τού-
των τῶν ὀνειδῶν καὶ διεκάησαν ὥστε προσπεσεῖν
τῷ Σπουρίνα, δεόμενοι χρῆσθαι καὶ προστάττειν
αὐτοῖς, οὐδένα κίνδυνον οὐδὲ πόνον ἀπολεγο-
μένοις. ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ συστάσης τειχομαχίας καὶ
μηχανημάτων πολλῶν προσαχθέντων ἐκράτησαν
οἱ τοῦ Σπουρίνα, καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους
ἀποκρουσάμενοι διετήρησαν ἔνδοξον πόλιν καὶ
τῶν Ἰταλῶν οὐδεμιᾶς ἤττον ἀνθούσαν.
- 3 Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν Οὐϊτελλίου στρατη-
γῶν οἱ Ὀθωῖος ἐντυχεῖν ἀλυπότεροι καὶ πόλεσι
καὶ ἰδιώταις· ἐκείνων δὲ Κεκίνας μὲν οὔτε φωνὴν
οὔτε σχῆμα δημοτικός, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθῆς καὶ ἀλλό-
κοτος, σώματος μεγάλου, Γαλατικῶς ἀναξυρίσι
καὶ χειρίσιν ἐνεσκευασμένος, σημείοις καὶ ἄρχου-
4 σι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς διαλεγόμενος. καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα
παρέπεμπον αὐτῷ λογάδην ἵππεῖς ὀχουμένην
ἵππῳ κεκοσμημένην ἐπιφανῶς. Φάβιον δὲ Οὐά-
λεντα τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν οὔτε ἄρπαγαὶ πολε-
μίων οὔτε κλοπαὶ καὶ δωροδοκίαι παρὰ συμμάχων
ἐνεπίμπλασαν χρηματιζόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδόκει
διὰ τοῦτο βραδέως ὀδεύων ὑστερῆσαι τῆς προτέ-
5 ρας μάχης. οἱ δὲ τὸν Κεκίαν αἰτιῶνται, σπεύ-
δοντα τὴν νίκην ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι πρὶν ἐκείνου

soldiers of Otho who manned the ramparts, calling them actors, dancers, spectators at Pythian and Olympian games, men who had never known or seen a campaign or fighting, and thought highly of themselves because they had cut off the head of a defenceless old man (meaning Galba), but would not openly enter a conflict and battle of men. Otho's soldiers were so disturbed by these reproaches, and so inflamed, that they threw themselves at the feet of Spurina, begging him to use them and command them, and pleading excuse from no danger or toil. And so, when a fierce assault was made upon the walls and many siege-engines were brought to bear upon them, Spurina's men prevailed, repulsed their opponents with great slaughter, and held safe a city which was famous and more flourishing than any in Italy.

In other ways, too, the generals of Vitellius were more vexatious than those of Otho in their dealings with both cities and private persons. One of them, Caecina, had neither the speech nor the outward appearance of a Roman citizen, but was offensive and strange, a man of huge stature, who wore Gaulish trousers and long sleeves, and conversed by signs even with Roman officials. His wife, too, accompanied him, with an escort of picked horsemen; she rode a horse, and was conspicuously adorned. Fabius Valens, the other general, was so rapacious that neither what he plundered from the enemy nor what he stole or received as gifts from the allies could satisfy him. Indeed, it was thought that this rapacity of his had delayed his march, so that he was too late for the battle at Placentia. But some blame Caecina, who, they say, was eager to win the

ἐλθεῖν, ἄλλοις τε μικροτέροις περιπεσεῖν ἁμαρτή-
μασι καὶ μάχην οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν οὐδὲ γενναίως
συνάψαι, μικροῦ πάντα τὰ πράγματα διαφθεί-
ρασαν αὐτοῖς.

- VII. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀποκρουσθεὶς τῆς Πλακεντίας
ὁ Κεκίνας ἐπὶ Κρεμώνην ὥρμησεν, ἐτέραν πόλιν
εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, πρῶτος μὲν Ἄννιος
Γάλλος πρὸς Πλακεντίαν Σπουρίνα βοηθῶν, ὡς
ἤκουσε καθ' ὁδὸν τοὺς Πλακεντίνοὺς περιγεγονέ-
ναι, κινδυνεύειν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Κρεμώνῃ, μετήγαγεν
ἐκεῖ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλη-
σίον τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
2 ἕκαστος ἐβοήθει τῷ στρατηγῷ. τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα
λοχίσαντος εἰς λάσια χωρία καὶ ὑλώδη πολλοὺς
ὀπλίτας, ἵππεῖς δὲ προεξελάσαι κελεύσαντος, καὶ 1070
συνάψωσιν οἱ πολέμοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναχωρεῖν
καὶ ἀναφεύγειν, ἄχρι ἂν ὑπάγοντες οὕτως ἐμβά-
λωσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξήγγειλαν αὐτό-
μολοι τῷ Κέλσῳ. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἵππεῦσιν
ἀγαθοῖς ἀντεξελάσας, πεφυλαγμένως δὲ χρώ-
μενος τῇ διώξει καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν περισχὼν καὶ
συνταράξας, ἐκάλει τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-
3 πέδου. καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἂν ἐπελθόντες ἐν καιρῷ μη-
δένα λιπεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ μετὰ
Κεκίνα στράτευμα συντρίψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐπισπό-
μενοι τοῖς ἵππεῦσι· νυνὶ δὲ ὁ Παυλῖνος ὀψὲ καὶ
σχυρῇ προσβοηθήσας αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ἐνδεέστερον
4 τῆς δόξης στρατηγήσαι δι' εὐλάβειαν. οἱ δὲ
πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ προδοσίαν ἐνεκά-
λουν αὐτῷ, καὶ παρώξυνον τὸν Ὀθωνα, μεγαλη-

victory himself before Valens came, and so not only made other minor mistakes, but also joined battle inopportunately and without much spirit, thereby almost ruining their whole enterprise.

VII. For when Caecina, repulsed from Placentia, had set out to attack Cremona, another large and prosperous city, first Annius Gallus, who was coming to the help of Spurina at Placentia, hearing upon the march that Placentia was safe, but that Cremona was in peril, changed his course and led his army to Cremona, where he encamped near the enemy; then his colleagues¹ came one by one to his aid. Caecina now placed a large body of men-at-arms in ambush where the ground was rough and woody, and then ordered his horsemen to ride towards the enemy, and if they were attacked, to withdraw little by little and retreat, until they had in this way drawn their pursuers into the ambush. But deserters brought word of all this to Celsus, who rode out with good horsemen to meet the enemy, followed up his pursuit with caution, surrounded the men in ambush, and threw them into confusion. Then he summoned his men-at-arms from the camp. And apparently, if these had come up in time to the support of the cavalry, not a man of the enemy would have been left alive, but the whole army with Caecina would have been crushed and slain. As it was, however, Paulinus came to their aid too slowly and too late, and incurred the charge of sullyng his reputation as a commander through excessive caution. But most of the soldiers actually accused him of treachery, and tried to incense Otho against him,

¹ Celsus, Paulinus, and Spurina (v. 3), although Spurina is not mentioned further.

γοροῦντες ὡς νενικηκότων αὐτῶν, τῆς δὲ νίκης οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν προελθούσης κακία τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ Ὀθων οὐχ οὕτως ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐβούλετο μὴ δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν. ἔπεμψεν οὖν Τιτιανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Πρόκλον τὸν ἑπαρχον, ὃς εἶχεν ἔργῳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρχήν, 5 πρόσχημα δὲ ἦν ὁ Τιτιανός. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον καὶ Παυλῖνον ἄλλως ἐφείλκοντο συμβούλων ὄνομα καὶ φίλων, ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι μηδεμίαν ἔχοντες. ἦν δὲ θορυβώδη καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐάλεντι· καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν μάχης ἀπαγγελθείσης ἐχαλέπαινον ὅτι μὴ παρεγένοντο μηδὲ ἤμυναν ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων ἀποθανόντων. μόλις δὲ πείσας καὶ παραιτησάμενος ὠρμημένους αὐτοὺς βάλλειν ἀνέζευξε καὶ συνῆψε τοῖς περὶ Κεκίαν.

VIII. Ὁ δὲ Ὀθων παραγενόμενος εἰς Βητριάκον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον (ἔστι δὲ πολίχνη πλησίον Κρεμώνης τὸ Βητριάκόν) ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς μάχης. καὶ Πρόκλῳ μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ Τιτιανῷ, τῶν στρατευμάτων ὄντων προθύμων καὶ προσφάτου τῆς νίκης, διαγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀμβλύνοντα τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ περιμένοντα Οὐϊτέλλιον αὐτὸν ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐπελθεῖν. 2 Παυλῖνος δὲ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἔφη πάντα μεθ' ὧν μαχοῦνται παρεῖναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν, Ὀθωνι δὲ τῆς ἤδη παρούσης οὐκ ἐλάττονα προσδόκιμον εἶναι δύναμιν ἐκ Μυσίας καὶ Παννονίας, ἃν τὸν αὐτοῦ περιμένῃ καιρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στρατηγῇ πρὸς 3 τὸν τῶν πολεμίων. οὐ γὰρ ἀμβλυτέροις γε χρή-

loudly boasting that they had been victorious, but that their victory was made incomplete by the cowardice of their commanders. Otho did not believe them, and yet wished to avoid the appearance of disbelieving them. He therefore sent to the armies his brother Titianus, and Proculus, the prefect of the guards; of these two men Proculus had the entire authority in reality, and Titianus only in appearance. Celsus and Paulinus, too, enjoyed the empty title of friends and counsellors, but had no power or influence in the conduct of affairs. There were disturbances also among the enemy, and especially among the troops of Valens; for when these were told about the battle at the ambuscade, they were enraged because they were not present and had given no aid where so many men had lost their lives. They actually began to stone Valens, but he finally succeeded in pacifying them, and then broke camp and joined Caecina.

VIII. Otho now came to the camp at Bedricum (a little village near Cremona) and held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of the opinion that he ought to fight a decisive battle while his armies were flushed with their recent victory, and not sit there dulling the efficiency of his troops and waiting for Vitellius to come in person from Gaul. Paulinus, on the contrary, said that the enemy already had all the resources with which they would give battle, and lacked nothing, whereas, in the case of Otho, a force as large as the one he already had might be expected from Mysia and Pannonia, if he would only wait for his own best opportunity and conduct the campaign to suit that of the enemy. For his men were now confident of success in spite

σεσθαι τότε τοῖς νῦν θαρροῦσιν ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων, ἂν πλείονας τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους προσλάβωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιουσίας ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τούτου τὴν διατριβὴν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις πᾶσιν ὄντων, ἐκείνοις δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἀπορίαν παρέξειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν πολεμῖα καθεζομένοις.

4 ταῦτα λέγοντι Παυλίνῳ Μάριος Κέλσος ἐγένετο σύμψηφος. Ἄννιος δὲ Γάλλος οὐ παρῆν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐθεραπεύετο πεπτωκὼς ἀφ' ἵππου, γράψαντος δὲ Ὀθωνος αὐτῷ συνεβούλευσε μὴ σπεύδειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας περιμένειν δύναμιν ἥδη καθ' ὁδὸν οὔσαν. οὐ μὲν ἐπείθετο τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησαν οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην παρορμῶντες.

IX. Αἰτίαι δὲ πλείονες ἄλλαι ὑπ' ἄλλων λέγονται· προδήλως δὲ οἱ στρατηγικοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι καὶ τάξιν ἔχοντες δορυφόρων, τότε μᾶλλον ἀληθινῆς γενομένοι στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατριβὰς καὶ διαίτας ἀπολέμους καὶ πανηγυρικὰς ποθοῦντες, οὐκ ἦσαν καθεκτοὶ σπεύδοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ὥς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους. δοκεῖ δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὸς Ὀθων ἐξαναφέρειν ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἀδηλότητα μηδὲ ὑπομένειν ἀηθεία καὶ μαλακότητι τοὺς περὶ τῶν δεινῶν λογισμούς, ἐκπονούμενος δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι σπεύδειν ἐγκαλυψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ,

3 μεθεῖναι τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τὸ συντυχόν. καὶ 1071 τοῦτο μὲν διηγείτο Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενομένος τοῦ Ὀθωνος. ἐτέρων δὲ ἦν

of their inferior numbers, and he would not find them less keen after they had received reinforcements, nay, their superiority would lead them to fight all the better. And besides, delay was to their advantage, since they had everything in abundance, while to the enemy time would bring a scarcity of supplies, since they were occupying a hostile country. So Paulinus argued, and Marius Celsus voted with him. Annius Gallus was not present, being under treatment for a fall from his horse, but Otho asked his advice by letter, and his counsel was not to hasten the battle, but to await the forces from Mysia, which were already on the march. Nevertheless, Otho would not listen to these counsels, and the day was carried by those who urged immediate battle.

IX. Various other reasons for this are given by various writers; but manifestly the praetorian soldiers, as they were called, who served as the emperor's guards, since they were now getting a more generous taste of real military service and longed for their accustomed life of diversion at Rome in which festivals abounded and war was unknown, could not be restrained, but were eager for the battle, feeling sure that at the very first onset they would overwhelm their opponents. Moreover, it would seem that Otho himself could not longer bear up against the uncertainty of the issue, nor endure (so effeminate was he and so unused to command) his own thoughts of the dire peril confronting him; but worn out by his anxieties, he veiled his eyes, like one about to leap from a precipice, and hastened to commit his cause to fortune. And this is the account given by Secundus the rhetorician, who was Otho's secretary. But others would tell us

ἀκούειν ὅτι τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀμφοτέροις παρί-
 σταντο ὅρμαϊ πολλαὶ ὥς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνελθεῖν· καὶ
 μάλιστα μὲν αὐτοὺς ὁμοφρονήσαντας ἐκ τῶν πα-
 ρόντων ἡγεμονικῶν ἐλέσθαι τὸν ἄριστον, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
 τὴν σύγκλητον ὁμοῦ καθίσαντας ἐφεῖναι τὴν
 4 αἵρεσιν ἐκείνη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καὶ οὐκ ἀπει-
 κός ἐστι, μηδετέρου τότε τῶν προσαγορευομένων
 αὐτοκρατόρων εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ἐπιπίπτειν τοιού-
 τους διαλογισμοὺς τοῖς γνησίοις καὶ διαπόνοις καὶ
 σωφρονούσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥς ἔχθιστον εἶη
 καὶ δεινόν, ἃ πάλαι διὰ Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον, εἴτα
 Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήϊον ᾤκτείροντο δρῶντες ἀλ-
 λήλους καὶ πᾶσχοντες οἱ πολῖται, ταῦτα νῦν ὑπο-
 μένειν ἢ Οὐῖτελλίῳ λαιμαργίας καὶ οἰνοφλυγίας
 ἢ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας Ὁθωνι τὴν ἡγεμο-
 5 νίαν χορήγημα προθεμένους. ταῦτ' οὖν ὑπο-
 νοοῦσι τοὺς τε περὶ τὸν Κέλσον αἰσθανομένους
 ἐμβαλεῖν διατριβήν, ἐλπίζοντας ἄνευ μάχης καὶ
 πόνων κριθήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοὺς περὶ
 τὸν Ὁθωνα φοβουμένους ἐπιταχῦναι τὴν μάχην.

Χ. Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν εἰς Βρίξιλλον ἀνεχώρησε,
 καὶ τοῦτο προσεξαμαρτῶν, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τὴν ἐν
 ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ παρόντος αἰδῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
 ἀφεῖλε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐρρω-
 μενεστάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους δι' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς
 καὶ πεζοὺς ἀπαγαγὼν φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος
 ὥσπερ εἰ στόμῳμα¹ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέκοψε.

2 Συνέβη δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ περὶ τὸν
 Ἡριδανὸν ἀγῶνα γενέσθαι, τοῦ μὲν Κεκίνα ζευ-
 γνύντος τὴν διάβασιν, τῶν δὲ Ὁθωνος εἰργόντων

that both armies were strongly inclined to confer; and above all, if they could agree, to elect as emperor the best of the commanders who were with them, but if not, to convene the senate and commit to it the choice of an emperor. And since neither of the men who then had the title of emperor enjoyed high repute, it is not unlikely that the real soldiers, those who knew what hardship was and had sense, should be led to reflect that it would be a dreadful and most hateful thing if the evils which the citizens had once to their sorrow inflicted upon one another and suffered because of Sulla and Marius, and again because of Caesar and Pompey, should now be endured again only to make the imperial power a means for providing for the gluttony and drunkenness of Vitellius or for the luxury and licentiousness of Otho. It is suspected, then, that Celsus was aware of these feelings, and therefore tried to interpose delay, hoping that the issue would thus be decided without hardship and battle, and that Otho, fearing this, hastened on the battle.

X. Otho himself returned to Brixillum, and in this too he made a mistake, not only because he took away from the combatants the respect and ambition which his presence and oversight inspired, but also because, by leading away as his bodyguard of foot and horse the men who were most vigorous and eager to please him, he cut away, as it were, the head and front of his army.

During this time there was also a conflict at the river Po, where Caecina tried to build a bridge across the stream, and Otho's soldiers attacked him

¹ *στόμωμα* Doehner's correction of the vulgate *τι σῶμα*, adopted by Sint.²

καὶ προσμαχομένων. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἐνθεμένων εἰς τὰ πλοῖα δᾶδα θείου καὶ πίττης ἀνάπλεων, διὰ τοῦ πόρου πνεῦμα προσπεσὼν ἄφνω τὴν παρεσκευασμένην ὕλην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμί-
 3 οὺς ἐξερρίπιζε. καπνίου δὲ πρῶτον, εἶτα λαμπρᾶς φλογὸς ἐκπεσούσης, ταραττόμενοι καὶ ἀποπηδῶντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὰς τε ναῦς ἀνέτρεπον καὶ τὰ σώματα τοῖς πολεμίοις μετὰ γέλωτος παρεῖχον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τοῖς Ὀθωνος μονομάχοις περὶ νησίδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσμίζαντες ἐκράτησαν καὶ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους.

XI. Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ τῶν ἐν Βητριάκῳ στρατιωτῶν τοῦ Ὀθωνος ἐκφερομένων μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρόκλος ἐκ τοῦ Βητριάκου, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων οὕτως ἀπείρως καὶ καταγελάστως ὥστε, τῆς μὲν ὥρας ἑαρινῆς οὔσης, τῶν δὲ κύκλῳ πεδίων πολλὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς
 2 ἀεννάους ἐχόντων, ὕδατος σπάνει πιέζεσθαι. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλόμενον προάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐλάττονα σταδίων ἑκατὸν οἱ περὶ τὸν Παυλῖνον οὐκ εἶων, ἀλλ' ὥντο δεῖν περιμένειν καὶ μὴ προπονεῖν ἑαυτούς, μηδὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ πορείας μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας ὀπλισμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ προΐασιν αὐτοὶ τοσαύτην ὁδὸν ἀναμεμιγ-
 3 μένων ὑποζυγίων καὶ ἀκολουθῶν. οὔσης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀντιλογίας ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἦλθε παρ' Ὀθωνος ἵππεὺς τῶν καλουμένων Νομάδων γράμματα κομίζων κελεύοντα μὴ μένειν μηδὲ διατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ἄγειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἄραντες ἐχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Κεκίνας

and tried to prevent it. Not succeeding, Otho's men loaded their vessels with torchwood full of sulphur and pitch, and began to cross the river; but a blast of wind suddenly smote the material which they had prepared for use against the enemy, and fanned it afire. First smoke arose from it, then bright flames, so that the crews were confounded and leaped overboard into the river, upsetting their boats, and putting themselves at the mercy of a jeering enemy. Moreover, the Germans attacked Otho's gladiators at an island in the river, overpowered them and slew not a few of them.

XI. These disasters threw Otho's soldiers at Bedriacum into a rage for battle, and Proculus therefore led them forth out of Bedriacum, and after a march of fifty furlongs pitched his camp, but in a manner so ignorant and ridiculous that his men were troubled by lack of water, although it was the spring of the year and the plains around abounded in running streams and rivers that never dried up. On the following day he proposed to make a march of no less than a hundred furlongs and attack the enemy, but Paulinus objected, and thought they ought to wait and not tire themselves beforehand, nor join battle immediately after a march with men who had armed and arrayed themselves at their leisure, while they themselves were advancing so great a distance with all their beasts of burden and camp-followers. While the generals were disputing about the matter, there came from Otho a Numidian courier with a letter which ordered them not to wait or delay, but to march at once against the enemy. Accordingly, they decamped and moved forward, and Caecina, who was much disturbed on

πυθόμενος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπολιπὼν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
 4 ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὥπλισμένων δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παραλαμβανόντων παρὰ τοῦ Οὐάλεντος, ἐν ὅσῳ τὴν τάξιν διελάγχανε τὰ τάγματα, τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων προεξέπεμψαν.

XII. Ἐμπίπτει δὲ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις τῶν Ὀθωνος ἐκ δὴ τινος αἰτίας δόξα καὶ λόγος ὡς μεταβαλουμένων τῶν Οὐῖτελλίου στρατηγῶν πρὸς αὐτούς. ὡς οὖν ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἡσπάσαντο φιλίως συστρατιώτας προσαγορεύσαντες. ἐκείνων δὲ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐκ εὐμενῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ φωνῆς πολεμικῆς ἀμειψαμένων, τοῖς μὲν ἀσπασαμένοις ἀθυμία, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπόνοια κατὰ τῶν ἀσπασαμένων ὡς προδιδόντων
 2 παρέστη. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐτάραξεν 10 ἥδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων. εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἦν κόσμῳ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν μὲν ἀταξίαν τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐμπλαζόμενα παρείχε, πολλοὺς δὲ τὰ χωρία διασπασμοὺς ἐποίει τάφρων ὄντα μεστὰ καὶ ὀρυγμάτων, ἃ φοβούμενοι καὶ περιϊόντες ἠναγκάζοντο φύρδην καὶ κατὰ μέρη πολλὰ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς
 3 ἐναντίοις. μόναι δὲ δύο λεγεῶνες (οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τάγματα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν), ἐπὶ κλησιν ἢ μὲν Οὐῖτελλίου Ἀρπαξ, ἢ δὲ Ὀθωνος Βοηθός, εἰς πεδίον ἐξελίξασαι ψιλὸν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένον, νόμιμόν τινα μάχην, συμπεσοῦσαι φαλαγγηδόν, ἐμάχοντο πολὺν χρόνον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ὀθωνος ἄνδρες ἦσαν εὖρωστοι καὶ ἀγαθοί, πολέμου δὲ καὶ μάχης τότε πρῶτον πείραν λαμβάνοντες· οἱ

learning of their approach, hastily abandoned his operations at the river and came to his camp. There most of the soldiers had already armed themselves, and Valens was giving out the watchword to them, and while the legions were taking up their positions, the best of the cavalry were sent out in advance.

XII. And now, for some reason, it was believed and rumoured among Otho's vanguard that the generals of Vitellius would come over to their side. Accordingly, when these drew near, Otho's men greeted them in a friendly fashion and called them fellow-soldiers. The enemy, however, returned the salutation in no kindly spirit, but with anger and hostile cries, so that those who had greeted them were dejected, and were suspected of treachery by the others on their side. This was the first thing that threw Otho's men into confusion, and at a time when the enemy were close at hand. And besides, nothing else was done properly, since the baggage-train wandered about among the fighting men and caused great disorder. Moreover, the line of battle was often broken by the nature of the ground, which was full of trenches and pits, and in avoiding or going around these the men were compelled to engage their opponents promiscuously and in many detachments. Only two legions (to use the Roman word), that of Vitellius called "*Rapax*" (or *Devourer*) and that of Otho called "*Adiutrix*" (or *Helper*), got out into a treeless and extended plain, engaged in full formation, and fought a regular battle for a long time. Otho's men were sturdy and brave, but were now for the first time getting a taste of war and fighting; those of Vitellius, on the

δὲ Οὐϊτελλίου πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἐθάδες, ἤδη δὲ γηραιοὶ καὶ παρακμάζοντες.

- 4 Ὀρμήσαντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ὅθωνος ἐώσαντο καὶ τὸν αἰτὸν ἀφείλοντο, παντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς προμάχους ἀποκτείναντες· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης καὶ ὀργῆς ἐμπεσόντες αὐτοῖς τὸν τε πρεσβευτὴν τοῦ τάγματος Ὀρφίδιον ἔκτειναν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν σημείων ἤρπασαν. τοῖς δὲ μονομάχοις ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ θάρσος ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς συμπλοκάς δοκοῦσιν ἐπήγαγεν Οὐάρος Ἀλφῆνος τοὺς καλουμένους
- 5 Βατάβους. εἰσὶ δὲ Γερμανῶν ἵππεῖς ἄριστοι, νῆσον οἰκοῦντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου περιρρεομένην. τούτους ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν μονομάχων ὑπέστησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς σπεύρας τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόθι τεταγμένας, ὑφ' ὧν ἀμυνόμενοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς διεφθάρησαν.
- 6 αἰσχιστα δὲ ἠγωνίσαντο πάντων οἱ στρατηγικοί, μηδὲ ὅσον ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ὑπομείναντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀηττήτους ἔτι φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀνεπίμπλασαν φεύγοντες δι' αὐτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ γε τῶν Ὅθωνος νενικηκότες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐβιάσαντο καὶ διεξέπεσον διὰ τῶν πολεμίων κρατούντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XIII. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὔτε Πρόκλος οὔτε Παυλῖνος συνεισελθεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐξέκλιναν φοβούμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤδη τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τρέποντας. Ἄννιος δὲ Γάλλος ἀνελάμβανεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης συλληγομένους, ὥς ἀγχωμάλου γεγενημένης καὶ πολλοῖς κεκρατηκότας μέρεσι

2 τῶν πολεμίων. Μάριος δὲ Κέλσος τοὺς ἐν τέλει

other hand, had seen many battles and were used to them, but they were now old and past their prime.

So Otho's men charged upon them, drove them back, and captured their eagle, killing nearly all who stood in the first rank ; but the others, impelled by shame and anger, fell upon their foes, slew Orfidius, the commander of the legion, and seized many of their standards. Against Otho's gladiators, too, who were supposed to have experience and courage in close fighting, Alfenus Varus led up the troops called Batavians. They are the best cavalry of the Germans, and come from an island made by the Rhine. A few of the gladiators withstood these, but most of them fled towards the river, where they encountered cohorts of the enemy in battle array, and in defending themselves against these, were cut off to a man. But the praetorian soldiers fought more shamefully than any others. They did not even wait for their opponents to come to close quarters, but fled through the ranks of their still unvanquished comrades, filling them with fear and confusion. Notwithstanding all this, many of Otho's men conquered those who opposed them, forced their way through the victorious enemy, and regained their camp.

XIII. But as for their generals, neither Proculus nor Paulinus ventured to enter the camp with them, but turned aside through fear of the soldiers, who were already laying the blame for their defeat upon their commanders. But Annius Gallus received into the town the soldiers who gathered there out of the battle, and tried to encourage them. The battle had been nearly equal, he said, and in many parts of it they had overcome their enemies. Marius Celsus,

συναγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε σκοπεῖν τὸ κοινόν, ὥς ἐπὶ
 συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ φόνῳ τοσοῦτῳ πολιτῶν
 μηδὲ Ὅθωνος, εἴπερ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστίν, ἐβελή-
 στοντος ἔτι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης, ὅπου καὶ Κάτων
 καὶ Σκηπίων, Καίσαρι κρατοῦντι μετὰ Φάρσαλον
 εἶξαι μὴ θελήσαντες, αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν ὥς πολλοὺς
 καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν Λιβύῃ παραναλώσαντες
 οὐκ ἀναγκαίως, καίπερ ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῆς
 3 Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας. τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα κοινὴν ἢ
 τύχην παρέχουσα πᾶσιν ἑαυτὴν ἐν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὸ καὶ πταίσωσιν εὐλογιστεῖν πρὸς
 τὰ συντυγχάνοντα.

Ταῦτα λέγων ἔπειθε τοὺς ἡγεμονικοὺς. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ πειρώμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐώρων εἰρήνης
 δεομένους καὶ Τιτιανὸς ἐκέλευε πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ
 ὁμονοίας, ἔδοξε Κέλσῳ καὶ Γάλλῳ βαδίζειν καὶ
 διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίαν καὶ Οὐάλεντα.
 4 βαδίζουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπήντησαν ἑκατοντάρχαι τὴν
 μὲν δύναμιν ἤδη κεκινημένην λέγοντες ἐρχομένην
 ἐπὶ τὸ Βητριάκον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν
 ἀπεστάλθαι περὶ ὁμονοίας. ἐπαινέσαντες οὖν οἱ
 περὶ τὸν Κέλσον ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀναστρέψαν-
 τας πάλιν ἀπαντᾶν μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν
 Κεκίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ὁ
 Κέλσος. ἔτυχον γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἡττη-
 5 μένοι πρότερον ἱππεῖς προεξελαύνοντες. ὥς οὖν
 προσιόντα τὸν Κέλσον κατείδον, εὐθύς βοήσαντες
 ὤρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχαι προ-
 ἔστησαν ἀνείργοντες· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λοχαγῶν

moreover, assembled the officers and urged them to consult the public good. In view of so great a calamity, he said, and the slaughter of so many citizens, not even Otho himself, if he were a good man, would wish to make further trial of his fortune, since even Cato and Scipio, by refusing to yield to a victorious Caesar after Pharsalus, had incurred the charge of needlessly squandering the lives of many brave men in Africa, although their struggle was in behalf of Roman freedom. For in general all men alike are subject to the decrees of fortune, but of one thing she cannot rob a good man, and that is the privilege, in case of adversity, of taking reasonable measures to correct the situation that confronts him.

By this speech Celsus won over the officers. And after they had sounded the soldiers and found them desirous of peace, and when Titianus urged that an embassy be sent in the interest of concord, Celsus and Gallus decided to go and confer with Caecina and Valens. But as they were on the way they were met by some centurions of the enemy, who said that their army was already in motion and was on its way to Bedriacum, and that they themselves had been sent out by their generals to treat for concord. Accordingly, Celsus commended them, and bade them turn back with him and go to meet Caecina. But when they were near the army of Caecina, Celsus ran risk of his life. For it chanced that the horsemen who had formerly been worsted by him at the ambush were riding on in advance. So when they saw Celsus coming up, they forthwith raised a shout and dashed against him. But the centurions stood in front of him and kept them off;

φείδεσθαι βοώντων οἱ περὶ τὸν Κεκίαν πνθόμενοι καὶ προσελάσαντες τὴν ἄκοσμίαν ταχὺ τῶν ἱππέων ἔπαυσαν, τὸν δὲ Κέλσον ἀσπασάμενοι φιλοφρόνως ἐβάδιζον μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ Βητριακόν.

6 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μετάνοια Τιτιανὸν ἔσχεν ἐκπέμψαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις· καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς θρασυνομένους αὐθις ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Κεκίαν προσελάσαντος τῷ ἱππῳ καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ὀρέγοντος οὐδεὶς ἀντέσχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς στρατιώτας, οἱ δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐξήρσαν καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο τοῖς προσ-

7 ἡκουσιν. ἡδίκηει δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοφροσύναι καὶ δεξιώσεις ἦσαν, ὅμοσαν δὲ πάντες περὶ τοῦ Οὐϊτελλίου καὶ προσεχώρησαν.

XIV. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν παραγενομένων ἀπαγγέλλουσι γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦντες εἰδέναι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ὀδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μέστριος Φλῶρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ μετὰ τοῦ Ὀθωνος γενομένων, νεῶν ὄντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγείτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σωρὸν τηλικούτον ὥστε

2 τοὺς ἐπιπολῆς ἄπτεσθαι τῶν αἰετῶν. καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη ζητῶν οὔτε αὐτὸς εὔρεῖν οὔτε παρ' ἄλλου του πνθέσθαι. θνήσκειν μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους, ὅταν τροπὴ γένηται, πλείονας εἰκὸς ἐστὶ, τῷ μηδένα ζωγρεῖν, χρῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἀλισκομένοις, ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο

the other officers also shouted to the horsemen to spare Celsus, and Caecina, hearing their cries, rode up and speedily brought his horsemen to order. Then he greeted Celsus in a friendly manner and went on with him to Bedriacum. But meanwhile Titianus had repented of having sent the embassy, and after ordering the more resolute of the soldiers back again upon the walls, he exhorted the rest to go to their support. However, when Caecina rode up on his horse and stretched out his hand to them, not a man resisted further, but some greeted his soldiers from the walls, while others, throwing open the gates, went forth and mingled with the advancing troops. There were no hostilities, on the part of Otho's men, but only friendly salutations and greetings, and all took oath to support Vitellius and went over to his side.

XIV. This is the account which most of the participants give of the battle, although they themselves confess that they were ignorant of its details, owing to the disorder and the unequal fortunes of the several groups. At a later time, when I was travelling through the plain, Mestrius Florus, one of the men of consular rank who were at that time with Otho (by constraint, and not of their own will), pointed out to me an ancient temple, and told me how, as he came up to it after the battle, he saw a heap of dead bodies so high that those on top of it touched the gable of the temple. The reason for this he said he could neither discover himself nor learn from anyone else. It is natural, indeed, that in civil wars, when a rout takes place, more men should be killed, because no quarter is given (there being no use for prisoners); but why the dead

σωρεία καὶ συμφόρησις οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν εὐσυλλόγιστον.

XV. Τῷ δὲ Ὀθωνι πρῶτον μὲν ἀσαφής, ὥσπερ εἶθε περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων, προσέπεσε λόγος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τετρωμένοι τινὲς ἦκον ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀπαγγέλλοντες, τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἦπτον ἂν τις ἐθαύμασεν οὐκ ἐὼντας ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν παρακελευομένους, τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάθος ἅπασαν ὑπερέβαλε πίστιν. ὥς οὐδεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, οὐδὲ μετέστη πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας, οὐδ' ὥφθη τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ζητῶν ἀπεγνωσμένου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, πάντες δ' ὁμαλῶς ἐπὶ θύρας ἦλθον, ἐκάλουν αὐτοκράτορα, προελθόντος ἐγίνοντο προστρόπαιοι, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ἰκεσίας χειρῶν ἦπτοντο, προσέπιπτον, ἐδάκρυν, ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, μὴ προδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέωσι καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὁμοῦ πάντες ἰκέτευσαν. εἷς δὲ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων ἀνατείνας τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπὼν, “Ἴσθι, Καῖσαρ, οὕτως ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρατεταγμένους ἅπαντας,” ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν.

Ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐπέκλασε τὸν Ὀθωνα, φαιδρῷ δὲ καὶ καθεστῶτι προσώπῳ πανταχόσε τὰς ὄψεις περιαγαγών, “Ταύτην,” εἶπεν, “ὧ συστρατιῶται, τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ με πρῶτον ἐποιήσατε αὐτοκράτορα, μακαριωτέραν ἡγοῦμαι, τοιούτους ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς καὶ τηλικούτων ἀξιούμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ μείζονος ἀποστερεῖτε, τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων πολιτῶν. εἰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἄξιος γέγονα, δεῖ με τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀφειδεῖν. οἶδα τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὔτε βεβαίαν οὔτε

bodies should be collected and heaped up in such a manner is not easy to determine.

XV. To Otho there came at first, as is usual in such catastrophes, an indistinct rumour of the result; but presently some of his soldiers who had been wounded came with direct tidings of the battle. Here one cannot so much wonder that his friends would not let him give up all for lost, and exhorted him to be of good cheer; but the feelings of his soldiers towards him passed all belief. Not a man of them left him, or went over to the victorious side, or was seen to despair of the emperor's cause and seek his own safety, but all alike came to his door, called upon him as emperor, became his humble suppliants when he appeared before them, seized his hands with cries and prayers, fell down before him, wept, begged him not to abandon them, and not to betray them to their enemies, but to use their lives and persons in his service as long as they had breath. Such were their united supplications. And one obscure soldier held up his sword, and with the words "Know, O Caesar, that all of us stand in this fashion at thy side," slew himself.

None of these things, however, broke Otho down, but looking all around with a countenance composed and cheerful, he said: "This day, my fellow-soldiers, I deem more blessed than that on which ye first made me emperor, since I see you so devoted to me and am judged worthy of so high honour at your hands. But do not rob me of a greater blessedness—that of dying nobly in behalf of fellow-citizens so many and so good. If I was worthy to be Roman emperor, I ought to give my life freely for my country. I know that the victory of our adversaries

ἰσχυρὰν οὖσαν. ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας
 ἡμῶν δύναμιν οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχειν,
 5 ἣδη καταβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν. Ἀσία καὶ
 Συρία καὶ Αἴγυπτος καὶ τὰ πολεμοῦντα Ἰουδαίους
 στρατεύματα μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἣ τε σύγκλητος παρ'
 ἡμῖν καὶ τέκνα τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ γυναῖκες. ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς Ἀντίβαν οὐδὲ Πύρρον οὐδὲ Κίμ-
 βρους ὁ πόλεμος ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοις
 πολεμοῦντες ἀμφότεροι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ νικῶντες
 ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ νικώμενοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ
 6 κρατοῦντος ἐκείνη κακὸν ἔστι. πιστεύσατε πολ-
 λάκις ὅτι δύναμαι κάλλιον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἄρχειν.
 οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ τί τηλικούτον Ῥωμαῖοις ὄφελος
 ἔσομαι κρατήσας, ἡλίκον ἐπιδούς ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὲρ
 εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πάλιν ἡμέραν
 τοιαύτην ἐπιδεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν.”

XVI. Τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεῖς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνί-
 στασθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀπισχυρι-
 σάμενος, τοὺς τε φίλους ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι
 καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοὺς παρόντας· τοῖς δὲ μὴ
 παροῦσιν ἐπέστελλε καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς
 πόλεις, ὅπως παρακομισθῶσιν ἐντίμως καὶ μετὰ
 2 ἀσφαλείας. προσαγόμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν
 Κοκκήϊον, ἔτι μειράκιον ὄντα, θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει
 καὶ μὴ δεδιέναι Οὐϊτέλλιον, οὗ καὶ μητέρα καὶ
 γενεὰν καὶ γυναῖκα αὐτός, ὥσπερ οἰκείων κηδό-
 μενος, διαφυλάξαι. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ θέσθαι
 παῖδα βουλόμενος αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν
 εἰσποίησιν, ὅπως συνάρχῃ κρατήσαντος αὐτοῦ,
 μὴ προσαπόλοιτο πταίσαντος. “Ἐκείνο δέ,”
 εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ, παρεγγυῶμαί σοι τελευταῖον,

is neither decisive nor assured. I have word that our forces from Mysia are already approaching the Adriatic, and are only a few days distant from us. Asia, Syria, Egypt, and the armies fighting against the Jews, are on our side; the senate, too, is with us, as well as the wives and children of our adversaries. Still, it is not to defend Italy against Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbri, that our war is waged, but both parties are waging war against Romans, and we sin against our country whether we conquer or are conquered.^a For the victor's gain is our country's loss. Believe me when I insist that I can die more honourably than I can reign. For I do not see how my victory can be of so great advantage to the Romans as my offering up my life to secure peace and concord, and to prevent Italy from beholding such a day again."

XVI. So he spake, and after resisting firmly those who tried to oppose and dissuade him, he ordered his friends to depart, as well as the men of senatorial rank who were present; to those who were absent he sent the same command, and wrote to the cities urging them to escort the travellers on their way with honour and in safety. Then he sent for his nephew Cocceius, who was still a youth, and bade him be of good cheer and not fear Vitellius, whose mother and wife and children he had kept safe and cared for as though they were his own. He had desired, he said, to make him his son, but had put off the adoption, in order that the youth might share his power after he had prevailed, and not perish with him after he had failed. "And now, my boy," he said, "this is my last charge to thee; do not alto-

μήτε ἐπιλαθέσθαι παντάπασι μήτε ἄγαν μνημονεύειν ὅτι Καίσαρα θεῖον ἔσχες.”

- 3 Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων μετὰ μικρὸν ἤκουσε θορύβου καὶ βοῆς ἐπὶ θύραις. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι διηπείλουν ἀποσφάζειν, εἰ μὴ παραμενοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ οἰχίσονται τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταλιπόντες. πάλιν οὖν προῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φοβηθεῖς, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὐκέτι δεητικὸς οὐδὲ πρᾶος, ἀλλὰ τραχὺς ὀφθείς, καὶ μετ’ ὀργῆς εἰς τὸ θορυβοῦν μάλιστα διαβλέψας, ἀπελθεῖν ἐποίησεν εἴξαντας καὶ διατρέσαντας.

- XVII. Ἦδη δὲ ἐσπέρας οὔσης ἐδίψησε, καὶ πιὼν ὀλίγον ὕδατος, δυνεῖν ὄντων αὐτῷ ξιφῶν, ἐκατέρου κατεμάνθανε τὸ σπᾶσμα πολὺν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἀπέδωκε, θάτερον δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀγκύλας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς οἰκέτας προσεκαλεῖτο. καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος διένεμε τῶν χρημάτων τῷ μὲν πλέον, τῷ δὲ ἔλαττον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλοτρίων ἀφειδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατ’ ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ μέτριον
- 2 ἐπιμελῶς φυλάττων. ἀποπέμψας δὲ τούτους ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνεπαύετο τῆς νυκτός, ὥστε τοὺς κατευναστὰς αἰσθάνεσθαι βαθέως αὐτοῦ καθεύδοντος. ὄρθρου δὲ καλέσας ἀπελεύθερον ᾧ συνδιώκησε τὰ περὶ τοὺς συγκλητικούς, μαθεῖν προσέταξε· καὶ πυθόμενος γεγονέναι τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ὧν ἕκαστος ἔχρηζεν, “Ἴθι τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “σύ, καὶ ποίει τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμφανῆ σεαυτόν, εἰ μὴ θέλεις κακῶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν ὡς ἐμοὶ
- 3 συμπράξας τὸν θάνατον.” ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ξίφος ὑποστήσας ὄρθρον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσί, καὶ περιπεσὼν ἄνωθεν, ὅσον ἅπαξ

gether forget, and do not too well remember, that thou hadst a Caesar for an uncle."

This done, after a little he heard tumult and shouting at his door. For as the men of senatorial rank were departing, the soldiers threatened to kill them if they did not remain, instead of forsaking their emperor. Once more, then, he went forth, since he feared for the men's safety. He was no longer gentle and suppliant, however, but stern of countenance, and looking angrily round upon the most turbulent of the soldiers, he made them go away submissively and in fear.

XVII. It was now evening, and being thirsty, he drank a little water. He had two swords, and after examining the blade of each for a long time, he laid one of them aside, but put the other under his arm, and then called his servants. These he addressed kindly, and distributed money to them, more to one and less to another, not as though lavish with what was no longer to be his, but with strict regard to moderation and the claims of merit. After sending the servants away, he betook himself to rest for the remainder of the night, and slept so soundly that his chamberlains heard his heavy breathing. Just before dawn he called a freedman with whom he had arranged for the departure of the senators, and bade him learn how they fared. And when he was told that all of them had what was needful for their journey, "Go thou, then," he said to the freedman, "and show thyself to the soldiers, unless thou wishest them to put thee to a miserable death for helping me to die." Then, when the man had gone out, with both hands he held his sword upright beneath him, and fell upon it, giving but a

στενάξαι μόνον ἦσθετο τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς αἰσθησιν παρέσχεν. ἀραμένων δὲ τῶν παίδων οἰμωγὴν εὐθὺς ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέιχε κλαυθμός· καὶ μετὰ βοῆς οἱ στρατιῶται εἰσέπεσον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας καὶ ὠλοφύροντο, περιπαθοῦντες καὶ λαιδοροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς μὴ φυλάξαντας τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲ κωλύσαντας ἀπο-
 4 θανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ἀπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν κατ' αὐτόν, ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ κοσμήσαντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρὰν κατασκευάσαντες ἐξεκόμιζον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις οἱ φθάσαντες ὑποδύναι καὶ βαστάσαι τὸ λέχος ἐπιγαυρούμενοι. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν τὸ τραῦμα τοῦ νεκροῦ κατεφίλουν προσπίπτοντες, οἱ δὲ ἤπτοντο τῶν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ προσεκύνουν πόρρωθεν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῇ πυρᾷ λαμπάδας ὑφέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οὐδὲν ἐκδήλως οὔτε πεπονθότες χρηστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὔτε πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεδιό-
 5 τες. ἀλλ' ἔοικε μηδενὶ τῶν πωποτε τυράννων ἢ βασιλέων δεινὸς οὕτως ἔρως ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ περιμανῆς τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὥς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ὑπακούειν Ὀθωνος ἠράσθησαν· οὓς γε μηδ' ἀποθανόντος ὁ πόθος προὔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ παρέμεινεν εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἔχθος Οὐϊτελλίῳ τελευτήσας.

XVIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα καιρὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχει λεχθῆναι· κρύψαντες δὲ τῇ γῇ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Ὀθωνος οὔτε μεγέθει σήματος οὔτ' ἐπιγραφῆς
 1075 ὄγκῳ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν ἐπίφθονον. εἶδον δὲ ἐν Βριξίλλῳ γενόμενος καὶ μνήμα μέτριον καὶ
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single groan as he felt the pang. The servants outside heard his groan and raised a wailing cry, and at once the whole camp and the city were filled with lamentation. The soldiers, with loud cries, burst in at the door, and then bewailed their emperor, full of anguish, and reviling themselves because they had not watched over him and prevented him from dying in their behalf. Not one of his followers went away, although the enemy were near, but after attiring the body and preparing a funeral pyre for it, they escorted it thither with military honours, and full of exultation were those who won the privilege of carrying the bier. Of the rest, some embraced the emperor's body and kissed his wound, others grasped his hands, and others still made him their obeisance at a distance. There were some, too, who first put their torches to the pyre and then slew themselves, not, so far as could be known, because they were either indebted to the dead for favours, or fearful of punishment at the hands of the victor. Nay, it would seem that no king or tyrant was ever possessed by so dire and frenzied a passion for ruling as was that of these soldiers for being ruled and commanded by Otho; not even after his death did their yearning for him leave them, nay, it abode with them until it finally changed into an incurable hatred for Vitellius.

XVIII. Well, then, the rest of the story is now in place. They buried the remains of Otho, and made a tomb for them which neither by the great size of its mound nor by the boastfulness of its inscription could awaken jealousy. I saw it when I was at Brixillum. It is a modest memorial and the inscrip-

τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσιν, εἰ μεταφρασθεῖη·
 “Δηλώσει¹ Μάρκου Ὀθωνος.”

- 2 Ἀπέθανε δὲ Ὀθων ἔτη μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βιώσας, ἄρξας δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας, ἀπολιπὼν δὲ μὴ χεῖρονας μὴδ’ ἐλάττους τῶν τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ψεγόντων τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τὸν θάνατον. βιώσας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπιεικέστερον Νέρωνος ἀπέθανεν εὐγενέστερον.
- 3 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται Πολλίωνος τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ἐπάρχων ὁμνύειν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Οὐῖτέλλιον κελεύσαντος ἔδυσχέραινον· καὶ πυθόμενοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐνίους ἔτι παρῆναι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀφῆκαν, Οὐεργινίῳ δὲ Ῥούφῳ πράγματα παρῆχον ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ κατακαλοῦντες αὐθις καὶ κελεύοντες ἄρχειν ἢ
- 4 πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡττωμένων παραλαβεῖν, νενικηκότων πρότερον μὴ θελήσας, μανικὸν ἡγεῖτο· πρεσβεύειν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς δεδιώς, πολλὰ βεβιάσθαι παρὰ γνώμην ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντας, ἔλαθε δι’ ἐτέρων θυρῶν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσας ἑαυτόν. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται, τοὺς τε ὅρκους ἐδέξαντο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίαν προσέθεντο συγγνώμης τυχόντες.

¹ Δηλώσει Bekker adopts Δαίμοσι, the correction of Lobeck.

tion on it, in translation, runs thus: "To the memory of Marcus Otho."

Otho died at the age of thirty-seven years, but he had ruled only three months, and when he was gone, those who applauded his death were no fewer or less illustrious than those who blamed his life. For though he lived no more decently than Nero, he died more nobly.

As for his soldiers, when Pollio, their remaining prefect,¹ ordered them to swear allegiance at once to Vitellius, they were incensed; and when they learned that some of the senators were still there, they let all of them go except Verginius Rufus, and him they annoyed by going to his house in military array and inviting him again,² and even urging him, to assume the imperial power, or to go on an embassy in their behalf. But Verginius thought it would be madness for him to accept the imperial dignity now, when they were defeated, after refusing it before, when they were victorious, and as for going on an embassy to the Germans, he feared to do so, since they felt that he had often done them violence beyond all reason; and so he stole away unobserved by another door. When the soldiers learned of this, they consented to take the oaths, and joined the forces of Caecina, thus obtaining pardon.

¹ The other was Proculus, (vii. 4 ; xiii. 1).

² See *The Galba*, vi. 3 ; x. 2 ff.

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The Roman numerals refer to the volume, the Arabic to the page. Numbers marked off by semicolons belong to *lemmata* omitted for the sake of brevity.

A name without a number following two or more with numbers indicates uncertainty as to the identity of the person referred to.

Bergk is used for Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th ed.; Kock for Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*; Nauck for Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2nd ed.

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- Lycurgus (1), when he lived, I. 204; his lineage, 206; after death of Polydectes became king of Sparta for short time, 208; resigning kingship makes himself guardian of his brother's son, the new king, 210; accused of desiring the king's death, goes abroad and studies various forms of government, 212; on returning to Sparta undertakes to change the existing order of things entirely, 216; his most important innovation was the institution of a senate or Council of Elders, 218; gets oracle from Delphi to lend sanction to his work, 220; (ephors introduced later to curb the oligarchical element), 224; as 2nd measure redistributes the land, 226;

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